

A Grammar of Atong

Submitted by

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Summary

This thesis is a grammar of Atong, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the South Garo Hills district of Meghalaya State in Northeast India. The grammar is based primarily on data collected during a total of twelve months of fieldwork, spread out over two trips, between 2005 and 2007, in the villages of Badri Maidugytym and Siju.

I will summarise a few important typological features of the language. Atong is an analytic and mildly polysynthetic language with suffixes and phrasal and clausal enclitics. There are no prefixes or proclitics. Several phrasal enclitics can also function as clausal enclitics. Constituent order in a clause is pragmatically determined. Atong makes extensive use of zero anaphora, i.e. referents that are retrievable from the context (co-textual as well as real-world context) are usually omitted; no NP has to be obligatorily expressed in any clause. Semantic role marking of NPs is determined by different pragmatic and lexical factors. Clauses with multiple unmarked NPs are common and their semantic role has to be inferred from the context. Boundaries between word classes in Atong can be fuzzy, as not only verbs, but also nouns and members of several other word classes can function as predicate head.

As for the phonology, Atong does not have phonological tone, but exhibits glottalisation, a prosodic feature that operates on the level of the syllable. Depending on the syllable type, glottalisation manifests itself in different ways, all of which involve the occurrence of a glottal stop in the phonetic realisation of the syllable. Moreover, Atong does not allow any consonant clusters in word-initial syllables, except in loanwords. In non-initial syllables, only clusters with /r/ as second member are allowed, but a schwa can always be inserted in these cases, as is frequently done by native speakers.

The grammar consists of 29 chapters. The first is a general introduction to the Atong language, its speakers and also discusses its possible historical affiliations. Chapter 2 describes the phonology and discusses the phenomenon of glottalisation. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the word classes. The different word classes are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 to 17. Chapter 18 describes the different types of word-class-changing derivation. Chapters 19 and 20 describe the phrasal morphology

of the language. Chapter 21 treats the subject of transitivity, which plays only a minor role in the language. Chapters 22 to 25 describe the predicate and predicate morphology. Chapter 26 gives an overview of the different clause types, some of which are treated in more detail in that chapter, while others are treated in chapters 27 to 29.

There are two appendices to this thesis. The first appendix contains five Atong texts of different genres. Four of them are fully glossed and translated, one serves as an example of the seemingly dying practice of spirit incantation and cannot be translated. The second appendix is an Atong-English dictionary. The Atong entries and examples in this dictionary are written in the orthography I designed for the language.

Statement of authorship

Except where referenced in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

The author, Jonkheer Egbert Joost Seino Clifford Kocq van Breugel, has published and will publish under the name Seino van Breugel. All references to Seino van Breugel in this thesis refer to the author of this thesis.

Jonkheer Egbert Joost Seino Clifford Kocq van Breugel, M.A.

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Dakanggaba katha

Badri khu•chuksang

Ian dakanggaba Atongkhu•chukmyng gremyr. Dakangdo Atongkhu•chuk saina man•chachym, te•do diksyneriba golpholekhaba ganangok. Ie golpholekhaba diksyneriba pang•a morotdyrangna taksakwamyng dong•ni noai ang kha•donga. Ytykyimyingdo ie lekhaaw saina taksakwamyng gymyn ang Atongmorotdyrangaw ang bajudyrangaw dyngthangmancha mythela. Nang•tym angna Atongkhu•chuk nemai sykiok. Ytykyimying saigabasangba atongba sangwalwamyngba katha perengchagabadarang ganangchido, angaw khema kha•phabo. Ang ie khu•chukaw bibyrokxon saina rai•athirini. Umyng gesepchian ang nang•tymna kha•pakni. Anga nang•tymaw sung ra•khamni. Ytykyimying Atongmorotdyrangaw sangwalchawa. Mythela,

Seino

Sijyw khu•chuksang

Ian dakanggaba Atongkhu•chukmi gremyr. Dakangdo Atongkhu•chuk saina man•chachym, te•ewdo diksyneriba golpholekhaba ganangok. Ie golpholekhaba diksyneriba pang•a morotdyrangna taksakwami dong•ni noai ang kha•donga. Ytykyimudo ie lekhaaw saina taksakwami gymyn ang Atongmorotdyrangaw ang bajudyrangaw dyngthangmancha mythela. Nang•tym angna Atongkhu•chuk nemai sykiok. Ytykyimu saigabasangba atongba awanwamiba katha perengchagabadarang ganangchido, angaw khema kha•phabo. Ang ie khu•chukaw bibyrokxon saina rai•athirini. Umi gesepchian ang nang•tymna kha•pakni. Anga nang•tymaw sung ra•khamni. Ytykyimu Atongmorotdyrangaw awanchawa. Mythela,

Seino

Foreword in English

This is the first grammar of the Atong language. Before, it was not possible to write Atong, but this has now changed. Now there is a dictionary and a story book. I hope that the dictionary and the story book will be useful for many people. I thank the Atong people and especially my friends for helping me to write these books. You have taught me your language well. Please forgive me for any mistakes and misconceptions in these writings. I will come back one day to study your language again. In the mean time I will miss you. I will keep remembering you. I will not forget the Atong people.

Thank you,

Seino

List of abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

&co	associative	IMP	imperative
A	transitive subject	IMPEMPH	imperative emphasiser
AC	attributive clause	INCEPT	inceptive
ACC	accusative	INCOM	incompletive
ADD	additive ‘and, also’	INDEF	indefinite
ADV	adverbial	INSTR	instrumental
ALL	allative	interj	interjection
ALT	alternative	IRR	irrealis
ATTR	attributive	LIKE	similative
CAUS	causative	Lit.	literally
CC	copula complement	LOC	locative
CLF	classifier	MIR	mirative
COM	comitative	MOB	mobilitative
CONF	confirmative	Name	person’s name
CONJ	conjunctive	NEG	negative
COS	change of state	NP	noun phrase
CP	comparative	NR	nominaliser
CS	copula subject	O	transitive object
CUST	customary aspect	p	plural ¹
DAT	dative	PARTRED	partial reduplication
DCL	declarative	pe	plural exclusive
DESI	desiderative	pi	plural inclusive
DIS	distributive	Pname	place name
DLIM	delimitative	POS	emphatic positive
DREF	definite & referential	ppp	personal pronoun plural
DREL	derelational	PRIV	privative
DST	distal demonstrative	PROG	progressive
DUR	durative	PROH	prohibitive
e	exclusive	PRX	proximate demonstrative
E	third argument of an extended transitive verb	PUR	purposive
EMPH	emphatic	Q	interrogative suffix
FACT	factive, reification		
FC	focus marker		
FC/ID	focus/identifier		
FUT	future		
GEN	genitive		
i	inclusive		
IE.be	identity/equation copula		
IFT	imperious future		

¹ Also as superscript to disambiguate English glosses.

QF	interrogative	SEQ	sequential
	formative	SIMP	simplicative
QUOT	quotative	Sname1	first surname
RC	reciprocal	Sname2	second surname
REF	referential suffix	SPEC	speculative modality
REM	remote	TAG	affirmation seeking
	demonstrative		marker
REMEMPH	emphatic remote	TOP	topic
	demonstrative	VIA	perlative
Rname	river name	WHILE	concomitant action
S	intransitive subject	XS	excessive
s	singular		

Symbols

-	morpheme boundary
=	enclitic boundary
+	morpheme boundary in compound
/.../	phoneme
<...>	morpheme
{...}	predicate boundaries
[...]	In Atong example sentences the square brackets indicate phrases. In the translation or gloss square brackets indicate that the words inside must be inferred from the context.
...	clause boundaries
<	comes from
*	this form is ungrammatical or reconstructed
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Chapter 1 The Atong language and its speakers

In the most beautiful part of the jungle-clad South Garo Hills, around the Mountain of the Great Spirit and in the stream area of the scenic Symsang river live the Atong people, who speak a language with the same name. The literature provides us with different ways of spelling this name and there is no formal spelling for most of their villages, as we will see in section 1.2. Section 1.3 will reveal the ethnic affiliation of the Atongs, and relates about their way of life as I observed it during my fieldwork, complemented by citations and references from the relevant literature. Where they live and how many of them there are will be pointed out and commented upon in section 1.1. Atong speakers are not the only inhabitants of the South Garo Hills. The linguistic environment in which the language is spoken is one of the topics of section 1.4, where language status and use will also be discussed. Contrary to prior beliefs of the speakers themselves, the Atong language can be written, and even has an orthography especially designed for the language by the author of this grammar. Section 1.5 introduces and explains the orthography to the reader. There is not one way to speak Atong but several. The phenomenon of dialectal variation is treated in section 1.6. Section 1.7 on linguistic affiliation contains evidence for the idea that Atong is a Central Boro-Garo language, more closely related to Boro than to Rabha and Koch. However, before the reader will be presented with this evidence, (s)he will get an overview of different genetic classifications of Atong in the literature, from the earliest sources to the most recent ones. An overview of the research that has been done on Atong in the past is given in section 1.8. Finally, section 1.9 gives the bare facts about the fieldwork that was conducted to write this grammar.

1.1 Location of the language and number of speakers

Atong is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the stream area of the Symsang [səmsaŋ] river in the south Garo Hills District of Meghalaya in Northeast India, and in adjacent areas in the West Khasi Hills and, according to my Atong friends, the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. Map 1 shows the location of Meghalaya within

India. Map 2 depicts the area where Atong is spoken within Meghalaya and Map 3 is a close-up of the language area in which Nangwalbibra (locally called Nongal [nɔŋal]) demarcates the northern border of the language area and Baghmara the southern one. In Nongal and Jadi [dzadi], Atong, Garo and Indic speakers live side by side. These places are market towns where different tradespeople from all over North India have settled to set up shop. The main languages spoken in these places are Garo, Atong, Bengali, Punjabi and Nepali; there are also a few settlers from Rajasthan and Bihar. Code switching and mixing is commonplace here. Atong people from the villages along the main road up to Badri frequently come to Jadi and Nongal to shop and work.

Between Jadi, Raiwak, Rongsu and Waimong Mountain lies the heart of the Atong speaking area. Between Raiwak and Baghmara lie many villages where Garo is spoken and a few where Atong is spoken alongside Garo. As one approaches Baghmara the number of Atong speakers dwindles considerably. In Baghmara there are many Atong speakers, but they seldom or never speak their language outside their homes. Many people in Baghmara were Atong speakers in their childhood but have now switched to Garo completely.

There are a few Atong villages in the West Khasi Hills district of Meghalaya which are not on the map due to lack of information about their exact location. According to some of my consultants, there are many Atong people living on the Bangladeshi side of the border, south and southeast of Baghmara. Some say that these Atong still speak Atong, while others claim that they are now speaking Bengali or Garo. I was not able to travel to Bangladesh and verify the existence of an Atong language community there. Exploring the Bangladeshi side of the Meghalaya-Bangladesh border will be a matter for future fieldwork investigations.

Many Atong have migrated to Tura, the capital of the Garo Hills (see Map 2), in search of work or for their education. There are at least several hundred Atong speakers in the city, many of which are still in regular contact with family members in the Atong speaking area in the South Garo Hills. Atong people in Tura do not speak their language in public, but use Garo instead. Atong is spoken in the home, amongst family or friends, when there are no Garo speakers present. There are also many people, sometimes whole families, of Atong background who have completely given

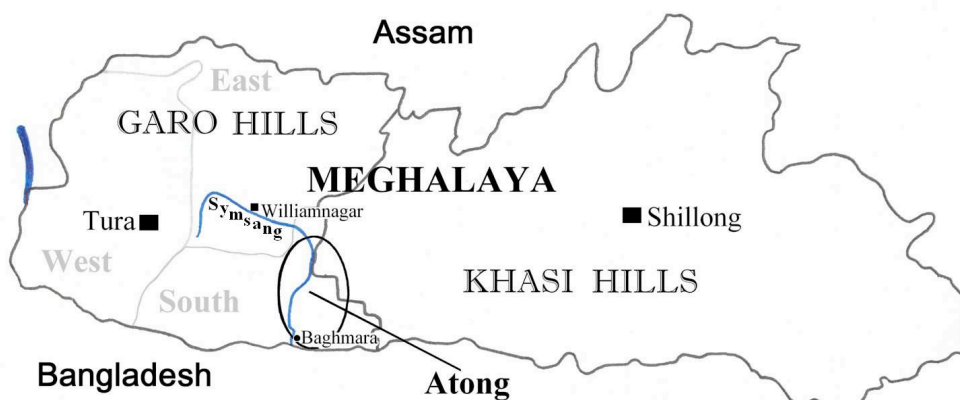
up their language and now speak only Garo. This language shift takes place under pressure of Garo as prestige language in the region.

There is no official account of the number of Atong speakers. Grierson (1902: 85) mentions some fifteen thousand Atong speakers, while Van Driem (2001: 541) speaks about “a few thousand”. Even after twelve months of fieldwork in the area, it was impossible to estimate the number of speakers. New Atong-speaking villages are reportedly still being built, while at the same time Garo, a closely related and regionally important language, encroaches rapidly on a lot of existing Atong-speaking villages.

Map 1 The location of the state of Meghalaya within India



Map 2 The Atong language area within Meghalaya



Map 3 The Atong speaking area in South Garo Hills District



The boundaries on maps 1, 2, and 3 are not necessarily authoritative.

1.2 Names and allonyms

1.2.1 Language names

The Atongs call themselves Atong [atɔŋ] or Atong morot² [atɔŋ morɔt] ‘Atong person’ and call their language Atong [atɔŋ] or Atong khu’chuk [atɔŋ kʰutɕuk]. The origins of the name of the language are not known. There is an interrogative, or question word, in the Atong language with the same pronunciation, viz. /atɔŋ/ [atɔŋ] ‘what?’. Atong is also known under the following names in the literature: Grierson (1902): *Ātong*, *Kuchu*, or *Āting*. Remark: The word *kuchu* must be related to the ethnonym Koch. Playfair (1975 :21) remarks: “To nearly all other Garos the Atongs are known as Kochu, though they themselves prefer the former appellation.” Today, where the Atongs are generally known as Atongs. Atong speakers refer to the Garo language and its speakers (see §1.4) as Ha•chyk [haʔcək]. Jacquesson (2006), Shafer (1953 and 1974), Benedict (1972), Burling (1959 and 1963) and Playfair (1909) write *Atong*. Van Driem (2001) and Burling (2003) and Gordon (2005 a) write *A’tong*. Burling (2004) writes *A•tong*, with a glottal stop represented by the raised dot ‘•’. I write the name of the language as ‘Atong’, because this orthography reflects the way the Atong people pronounce the name of their language.³

1.2.2 Remarks on some toponyms on Map 3

The spelling of place names (toponyms) in Map 3 is, for the most part, unconventional. Place names in the Atong language area find their origin in different languages, viz. Atong, Garo, Indic (Hindi, Bengali or Assamese) and English. Baghmara, the headquarters of the South Garo Hills district, Siju and Nangwalbibra are spellings found on maps of the region. Baghmara is also spelled Bāghmāra on some maps but is pronounced [bakmara] by the Atongs. The market place of Nangwalbibra is locally known as Nongal [nɔŋal]. According to the Atongs, Siju

² The Atong word *morot* ‘person, man’ is an Indic loan, cf Hindi मर्द /mard/ ‘man’.

³ There is also a Niger-Congo language in the African country of Cameroon which is called *Atong*. This language also goes under the alternate name of *Etoh* (see Gordon (2005 b)).

[sidzu] is the Garo pronunciation of the name of the village; the Atong pronunciation is [sidzəw]. The Garo pronunciation is widely used among the Atongs nowadays, and Siju is the conventional way to write the name of this village. However, because I think that the Atong pronunciation should not be forgotten, I give both the Garo spelling, Siju, and the Atong spelling, Sijyw, on Map 3.

The places Badri Maidugytym [badri majdugətəm], also recorded with an aspirated /t/ as Badri Maidugythym [badri majdugəthəm], Badri Rongdyng Ha'wai [badri rɔŋdɔŋ haʔwaj], and Badri Rong'sa Ha'wai [badri rɔŋsa haʔwaj] are also found written in Garo as Badri Maidugittim, Badri Rongding Awe and Badri Rongsawe respectively. Raiwak is spelled Rewak in Garo and there is no conventionalised pronunciation or spelling for the place Artika, also recorded pronounced as [areteka ~ arətika ~ arəktika].

Waimong mountain, *Waimong ha•byri* [wajmɔŋ haʔbəri] in Atong, is the most significant landmark in the region. Its summit is at an altitude of 1026 metres (3367 feet). As one drives from Baghmara to Siju, its flat peak changes its shape from triangular to rectangular. A traditional story tells how a giant took the mountain out of the ground in Balphakram (conventional spelling Balpakram) and carried it on its back to its current location. This explains why there is such a huge, deep gorge in Balphakram, the land of the spirits, now a national park, about ninety kilometres east of Baghmara. In Garo the mountain is known as Chutmang [tɕutmaŋ]. The Atong name Waimong is made up of two elements, viz. <way> 'spirit' and <moŋ> 'main', the second of which we also see in the word *soŋ-moŋ* (village-main) 'main village'. The name of the mountain could be freely translated as Mountain of the Great Spirit. Finally, the main river in the region goes by two names, an Indic one: Someswari, and a "local" one, of which the pronunciation is [səmsaŋ] in both Garo and Atong. Although the Garo spelling, found on maps, is Simsang, I have given the spelling in Atong, which is Symsang.

1.3 The Atong people

“The finest physique is to be met with among the inhabitants of the higher ranges, and among the Atongs of the Someswari valley.” (Playfair, 1975: 2)

1.3.1 Ethnic affiliation

Although Atong and Garo are not mutually intelligible, the Atongs consider themselves and are considered by the surrounding populations to be ethnically Garo (see also Burling, 2004: 11, 2003 a: 176, 2003 b: 387, 1961: 80, 1963: 390-4, 1959: 437, Playfair, 1975: 62). Their cultural traits and customs, as far as I have been able to observe, are mostly the same as those of the Garos, a fact which has also been observed by Burling (1963: 390). Functionally equivalent cultural activities may have different names in both languages. The biggest cultural festival, for instance, during which the people drink, dance, sing and tell epic stories, is called *Chywgyn* /*cəwɡən*/ [təwɡən] in Atong but *Wanggala* in Garo.

Garos and Atongs intermarry and share the same surnames. A surname is made up of two components that refer to groups of people which Burling (1963: 22-23) refers to as “sib” and “moiety”. I will refer to the components of the surname as first and second surname. In the surname *Mongsrang Sangma*, for example, the component *Mongsrang* is the first surname and *Sangma* the second surname. The second surname represents what Burling (1963: 22) refers to as a matrilineal descent group. There are five of those groups within the Garo ethnic community “which, ideally, should be completely exogamous” (idem). The biggest groups are *Sangma* [saŋma] and *Marak* [marak]; *Momyn* [momən] (written *Momin* in Garo) is a smaller one, *Sira* [sira] is very small and there are reportedly no Atong people that belong to the group called *Areng* [arɛŋ]. Burling writes the following on the groups of people associated with the first surname or “sib”:

“Each moiety is divided into numerous named divisions which can be called sibs. These name groups frequently include many thousands of people and extend over too wide an area for all the members to cooperate or even know of each other’s existence. Since the moieties are exogamous, no evident function is left to the sib, though Garos do feel more strongly about a breach of sib

exogamy than about the necessity for moiety exogamy. The sib amounts to little more than a name group, but by virtue of the name it is one of the few kin groups with completely unambiguous membership.” (1963: 22-23)

Playfair (1975: 155-6) lists 138 “names of some subdivisions of the Garo exogamous septs”, i.e. first surnames for the groups Momin, Marak and Sangma, but not for Sira and Areng. People always inherit the whole surname, i.e. both components together, from their mother, a matter which will be discussed further below. Some of the first surnames are different in Atong and Garo. Table 1 lists pairs of surnames that represent the same blood lineage for Garo and Atong speakers but have different pronunciations in the two languages.

Table 1 List of pairs of last names that represent the same blood lineage for Garo and Atong speakers but that have a different pronunciation in both languages.⁴

Atong	Garo
Geneng [gɛnɛŋ] Sangma	Dawa [dawa] Sangma
Sinthang [sinthaŋ ~ sɔ̃nthaŋ] Marak	Sinthang [sɔ̃nthaŋ ~ sinthaŋ] Marak
Dicham [diteam] Sangma	Chisim [teisəm ~ teisim] Sangma
Raicyl [rajtɕəl] Marak	Rechil [retɕəl ~ retɕil] Marak

One of the most important cultural traits shared by speakers of Garo and Atong is the fact that they are matrilineal and matrilocal. Matrilineal means that the blood lineage, indicated by someone’s surname, is inherited through the mother. The matrilocal aspect of the culture refers to the practice that when a man marries, he will move to the house of his wife when she is the heiress of her family. When a man marries a woman who is not the heiress of her family, then the young couple will have to build a new house somewhere else in the village.

⁴ The Atong varieties are written in the Atong spelling as explained above, the Garo varieties are written in their Garo spelling. Pronunciation of first surnames is given in IPA.

Of all the Tibeto-Burman speaking populations in Northeast India, only the Garo (i.e. those belonging to the Garo ethnicity, which includes Atong speakers), Rabha and Koch are matrilineal and matrilocal (see Jacquesson 2006: 281). Interestingly these populations live next to the Khasis, who are also matrilineal. The Khasis, who speak Mon-Khmer languages, are believed to be the remnant of the oldest population in the area which lived there long before the arrival of the speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages. Before the arrival of the Tibeto-Burmans, the Khasis must have occupied a much larger area than today, and almost certainly formed part of one continuous Mon-Khmer language area stretching out from Vietnam, through Southeast Asia, all the way to the state of Orissa in India, where the Munda languages are still spoken today (Jacquesson 2006: 279-80, see also van Driem 2001: 411-17 for a more detailed discussion). Matrilineage of speakers of Atong, Garo, Rabha and Koch, although unique amongst Tibeto-Burman people, might not be so strange when seen in the light of their adjacency to the Khasis. Jacquesson (2006: 281) states that this remarkable fact of matrilineage “s’expliquerait soit par l’influence profonde et ancienne des Khasi sur ces gens qui occupent comme eux le Meghalaya et ses abords, soit même par leur changement de langue, si l’on fait l’hypothèse qu’une partie de ces gens ont été ethniquement des Khasi : ils auraient abandonné leurs parlers mon-khmer d’autrefois pour passer aux parlers tibéto-birmans des nouveaux venus plus influents, mais auraient conservé une part décisive de leur organisation sociale.”⁵

1.3.2 Social organisation

Despite the Atongs being matrilineal, the society is patriarchal. The men with the most power in making decisions concerning family matters are the older brothers of a

⁵ English translation of quote: Jacquesson (idem) states that this remarkable fact “can be explained either by the profound and ancient influence of the Khasis on the peoples who, like them, occupied the Meghalaya and adjacent areas, or by the fact that they swapped languages, when we hypothesise that part of the population was once ethnically Khasi: they would have given up their Mon-Khmer languages that they used to speak before and started speaking the Tibeto-Burman languages of the more influential newcomers, however, they preserved an important part of their social organisation.”

married woman. These older brothers are collectively known as the *chara* and the eldest of a married woman's brothers is called the *charamong*.

The society is layered according to age, generation and marital status. The younger ones must have more respect for the elder members of society and married couples are higher on the social hierarchy than unmarried boys and girls. The groups of which the society consists are the children (*sa•gyrai* 'child'), the unmarried men (*banthai* 'bachelor') and women (*nawmyl* 'marriageable girl'), the married men (*me•apha* 'married man') and women (*me•ama* 'married woman'), elderly men (*achu* 'grandfather') and women (*awyi, abu* 'grandmother'). Although there is a specific word for marriageable girl, viz. *nawmyl*, there is no specific word for marriageable boy. When talking about marriageable boys and girls, the Atongs use the expression *bipha nawmyl*, where *bipha* means 'male, man, boy' and *nawmyl* 'marriageable girl'. The ways in which different members of society are addressed is treated in Chapter 1.

Like the Garos, the Atongs practice cross cousin marriage. Cross cousins are the children of mother's brother or father's sister (see Table 31). As was mentioned above, a marriage between a couple with different first and second surnames is preferred.

1.3.3 Living environment: the compound

Most Atongs live in houses made of wood and bamboo, called *nok*, with roofs of corrugated iron, as reed, which is used for thatch, has become very scarce and therefore very expensive. Only very rich people can afford to build a cement house, called *bilding* (from English 'building'). All houses are built on a piece of land that has been made completely level, called *nok+hap* (house+place). Every traditional Atong household lives in a compound consisting of at least two, but often more structures. There is a main house in which the married couple, their small children and sometimes the parents of the wife sleep. The main house has one big central room to receive guests and smaller side rooms which are bedrooms. There are separate bedrooms for the married couple, the wife's parents and the male and female children.

Many main houses are built on a wooden frame that is lifted about 1 to 1½ metre from the ground by big rocks fixed in the ground. Cooking is not done in the main house. There is a separate kitchen house (*babylsi*) opposite the main house on the compound. Meals are prepared and eaten in the kitchen. Toilets (called *letrin, toilyt*,

toilet, di•kyntyk or paikhana) are also separated from the main house and are constructed outside the compound.

When young men become old enough, they build separate rooms either as an attachment to the main house, when it is not elevated, or as separate structure on the compound. These separate structures are called *nokbanthai* (*nok* 'house' + *banthai* 'bachelor') 'bachelor's house'. There the young, unmarried men live until they marry and move to their wife's house.

A little away from the compound, there may be a place where water comes out continuously from the end of a pipe, lifted two or three feet off the ground with a stick or pole. This is the place where people wash themselves, their clothes and the dishes. Usually more than one household makes use of a single pipe. The pipes get their water from the nearest river, in which they are fixed with stones. Other households wash in a nearby river or stream.

Those rich families that live in cement houses usually have only this one building in their compound, which contains different rooms for the functions that traditional families spread out over different structures.

Many households keep domestic animals like dogs, chicken, pigs and sometimes cows. These either run around freely or are kept in separate enclosures away from the compound. Usually meat is bought at the market from butchers. Usually households slaughter their domestic animals only on special occasions, such as weddings, funerals, Christmas and Easter, although dogs make a tasty meal all year round, but not everyone eats them. Sometimes domestic animals are kept to fatten or get pregnant, after which either the pregnant animals or the offspring are sold.

Around the compound is usually a stretch of land where edible fruit trees grow, like banana, jackfruit, coconut, betel nut, lychee, star fruit, mango and sometimes also pineapple and useful species of bamboo. These fruits and plants are usually eaten by the household themselves, but can also be sold, e.g. betel nut is a big source of income for many households.

1.3.4 Living environment: the jungle

The jungle of the South Garo hills is thick and quasi-impenetrable, with many steep slopes and many streams that flow in beds invariably sewn with rocks. Though much of the jungle has been cut at some time or other to give way to rice fields, there are

probably still many untouched areas. These areas contain wild animals that can be hunted for food, and the Atongs eat every one of them, and some plants that are used as medicine or food, e.g. bamboo shoots. The jungle also provides timber to build houses. Almost all edible fruits, on the other hand, are grown in the village in people's gardens or on plantations, as are all the useful bamboo species, i.e. those used for the construction of houses and the making of baskets and other artefacts.

The most dangerous animals in the jungle are the elephants, which abound in the South Garo Hills. Rice fields but also villages can be destroyed by these powerful animals that inspire such awe into the hearts of the Atong that they cannot call the animal by its name, *mungma* or *mongma*, while walking in the jungle. Instead they call the animal *achu*, which means grandfather, so as to not attract its wrath. Other animals that we can find in the jungle are squirrels, several species of deer, porcupines, wild pigs, gibbons and macaques, many species of snake and wild cats. Wild birds, as far as I can tell, are not eaten, but young boys love to shoot them with their slingshots.

"The scenery in many parts of the hills is very fine, the finest being that on the Someswari river, which flows through a very narrow valley between high and precipitous hills." (Playfair, 1975: 6) There is an incredible multitude of streams and rivers in the Garo Hills, which is not surprising since it is one of the areas on earth with the most rainfall per year, all of which falls within several months during the monsoon, which begins in June and ends mid-October. There might be some occasional light rain in March, April and May. During the dry season, from mid-October until the end of February, not a drop of rain falls from the sky. Every village is close to one or several streams or has streams running through it. The rivers and streams are the source for drinking water and provide the Atongs with snails, shrimp, fish, eels, frogs and crabs to eat and a place to wash.

1.3.5 Ceremonies and festivals

Unfortunately I did not witness any traditional religious ceremonies during my fieldwork. This is probably due to the fact that most of the Atong in the villages where I conducted my fieldwork are Christians. The Atong probably abandoned their old ceremonial practices after conversion. It might also be that they have been able to hide them from me very successfully, but this I cannot know. On a trip to the village of

Dajong, I once saw a non-Christian religious bamboo object, which indicates that the non-Christian religious practices are still surviving. Unfortunately nobody wanted to explain to me what the altar was for. The conversion of the Atongs began between forty and fifty years ago. Old people can still remember how life was before the conversion, but are reluctant to talk about it.

Before the advent of Christianity, the Atong believed in gods, *myte* [məte], spirits, *wai* [waj], and ghosts *me•mang* [me²maŋ] or *mi•mang* [mi²maŋ]. The word for ‘thunder’, *goira* [gɔjra], for example, comes from the name of the god of thunder, *Goira*. The supreme God was *Babyra* [babəra], and there were the gods of the sun, *Saljong* [saldzɔŋ], and the moon, of which I did not record the name, and maybe many others whose names are not mentioned any more or are forgotten, at least in the villages where I conducted my fieldwork. There were priests, *kamal* in Atong, in each village, who performed incantations to summon spirits and cure the sick. How this is done is told in Text 3, which was told by a man who had been a *kamal* before he converted to Christianity a few years ago. I recorded from him part of the incantation of the *cha•masangmi wai* [ca²masaŋmi waj] ‘downstream spirit’, which is untranslatable according to my Atong friends. This incantation is presented as Text 4. I was not able to find any source that relates to the spiritual life of the Atong speaking population in pre-Christian times. To get an idea of what pre-Christian spiritual life in a Garo village must have been, I refer the reader to Burling (1963: 54 ff), who describes it in much detail.

The wedding and funeral ceremonies I witnessed were conducted much like in Western countries, and were presided over by members of the Christian church. Funeral ceremonies retain a very pleasant aspect of the old days: after the death of the person, a wake is held at the house of the family of the deceased which lasts two days and one night, during which people come and go. The visitors eat, drink and smoke and play cards to distract the family of the diseased and make them happy. Marriage and funeral ceremonies are important family gatherings at which the boys and girls get to know their marriageable cousins (see Chapter 1).

I witnessed the new rice festival, called *maidan syla toka* [majdan sələj tɔka] (rice+new beautiful beat) in the village of Badri Maidugytym. This festival is celebrated at the end of October or the beginning of November. The richest men in the village slaughtered a cow, some pigs and a lot of chickens to be cooked and eaten, and

invited the neighbouring villagers to come and join in the celebration, which lasted two days. The whole village helped in preparing the food.

The village of Siju has the tradition to organise the yearly *waribula* festival on the Symsang river and its banks at Dabatwari, the place on the Symsang river where the river from the Bat Cave (Tawpakthal [tawpakhal]) comes out into the Symsang, and where Siju has its origins as a village. During the festival people try to catch as many big fish as possible while others compete in wrestling. The festival takes place in January or February on a day that the weather is favourable. Unfortunately, due to pollution of the Symsang river, the catch gets smaller and more disappointing every year.

The festival of *chywgyn* [cəwgən], equivalent to the *wanggala* festival of the Garos, is not celebrated any more in the villages where I did my fieldwork, since it is considered a heathen festival. It is, however, still held in other villages, but unfortunately, I was unable to attend the festival. According to my Atong friends, during *chywgyn* people drink, dance, sing and tell epic stories. The festival lasts for more than a week, it is said. *Chywgyn* is celebrated after the harvest, between November and January. Each village has its own festival on a different date. For a description of the *wanggala* festival of the Garos, see Burling (1963: 63 ff).

1.3.6 Contact with others

The Atong people are a very mobile lot. People frequently travel for miles on foot or by motorised transport to visit friends, relatives or to go to the market or to school, or to play sport competitions in other villages etc. This means that people from different places are in frequent contact with each other and news travels fast. There are a few bus services that connect Bari and Siju, as well as the other villages along the main road, to Williamnagar, headquarters of the East Garo Hills district, Baghmara, headquarters of the South Garo Hills district, and Tura, the headquarters of the West Garo Hills district. People also travel by private, shared taxis and in the dry season there are many coal and stone trucks on which young people can hitch a ride. Only some rich people have their own car or motorbike.

Some Atongs have a radio, although, apart from an English language station broadcasting from Shillong and a few stations that broadcast in Indic languages, there is little that can interest them, as Russian and Chinese speaking stations fill the rest of

the ether. Some Atong people, even in remote villages, have a TV with a satellite dish and can watch not only the news in Garo and several other Indian languages, but also CNN and BBC World, and much more. They also have the opportunity, for instance, to take notice of modern Western trends on house decoration and holidays, but this is usually not a favoured way to pass their time in front of the TV. Many Atong that have a TV don't have a satellite dish but do have a VCD player. The most favoured thing everybody likes to watch are Hollywood action movies, Christian movies and Bollywood movies, which can be bought on the market.

1.3.7 Economy

As far as their economic situation is concerned, until today most of the Atongs practice the traditional slash-and-burn agriculture. They cut part of the jungle on the slope of a hill, and use it for one year to cultivate dry rice and a variety of vegetables and tubers. Very few places are suitable for the cultivation of wet rice. Although the clearing of the jungle is an activity organised by almost the whole village, the clearing is divided into several plots, one for each household. The borders between the plots are indicated by partly burned, black tree branches. Each household has its own rice field house where those who work in the field can eat and sleep. In the villages where I stayed during my fieldwork, in the Badri area and Sijyw, this form of cultivation is never enough to support a whole village, or even one household for the course of a year, so that rice grown elsewhere in India and other food supplies have to be bought on the market.

The Atong living in the Badri area, Badri Maidugytym, Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, earn most of their money from the exploitation of their coal mines. These, however, are only operable during the dry season. During the rainy season money and work are scarce for most of the male part of the population. On the rice fields, though, work is abundant during the monsoon. While clearing and burning the jungle and the construction of rice field houses is a man's job, the maintenance of the fields and the harvest is done mostly by the women. Some young Badri men earn money by driving and repairing taxis and coal trucks. Meat is obtained mostly through hunting and fishing in the jungle, which is a man's job. Meat can also be bought on the market.

The people in Sijyw earn their money doing many diverse jobs, but mainly by the sale of betel nut. The village, when looked at from above, can hardly be discerned

because most of the houses are invisible under the leaves of the betel nut palms. Apart from that, money is made by the cutting of stones, which the road contractors buy, the sale of sand, bamboo, dry and fermented fish and other products on the market and fishing. A few Sijyw people have jobs in one of the schools in the village or in the government administration in Baghmara.

Other Atong villages that I visited on the western side of the Symsang river also sell betel nut and stones. The villages on the eastern side of the Symsang river, especially those at the foot of the Waimong mountain, grow and sell oranges and some sell reed, which is used to thatch roofs.

1.4 Linguistic environment, language status and language use

The Atong are surrounded by speakers of different Garo dialects on all sides of their language area. Garo is at the same time the name for a group of dialects spoken in the Garo Hills and adjacent areas in the Khasi Hills, Assam and Bangladesh, the name for the speakers of these dialects and an ethnonym comprising the speakers of the Garo dialects, the Ruga people, who live in the East Garo Hills and who have lost their Ruga language, having all converted to speaking Garo, and Atong speakers (see below and §1.3.1 for more details about ethnic affiliation, and Burling 2004:9 for more information about the term Garo). Burling (2004: 9) reports that there are more than half a million Garos in India and “well over a hundred thousand” in Bangladesh. The Garo language is written and has a standardised form often referred to as A•chik. The standard form is based mainly on the A•we dialect of Garo spoken in the northern part of the Garo hills (see Burling 2004: 11). Together, the Garo dialects have more speakers than all other languages spoken in the Garo Hills.

Only in the western-most part of the Atong language area is there direct contact with speakers of Khasi languages, which belong to the Mon-Khmer language family. There does not seem to be any influence of the Khasi languages on Atong, as far as I am aware; however, the influence of Garo on Atong is rather great. Unfortunately, due to the fact that Atong and Garo are closely related, although not mutually intelligible, it is not always possible to tell whether identical lexical items are borrowed or not and in which direction the borrowing went. There are many cases in which it is possible to identify Garo loans, mainly on phonological criteria, e.g. the retention of initial clusters in the pronunciation of Garo loans. The influence of Garo

on Atong is particularly noticeable in the use of numerals, at least in the villages where I conducted my fieldwork. The Atongs in those villages, especially the younger speakers, count almost exclusively in Garo (see Chapter 1).

Almost all Atong speakers in the places where I did fieldwork, on the western side of the Symsang river, are bilingual in Garo from a very early age. Only in some of the more isolated villages on the eastern side of the river is the situation different in favour of Atong: the proficiency of people in Garo is much less developed there. Garo replaces Atong in several domains in daily life. First of all, the Atong do not speak their language to strangers. If a stranger visits the village, they will first speak Garo until another suitable language of communication is found. The Atong also do not speak their language when they are in the company of Garo speakers. In market places like Jadi and Nangwalbibra (see Map 3), when an Atong speaker addresses an unknown sales person, they will always speak Garo, even if the sales person reveals herself or himself to be Atong. The Atongs have a rather negative image of their own language and are not comfortable speaking it in front of strangers and non-Atong speakers, especially Garos and especially in Tura, since Atong speakers there are often ridiculed by some Garo speakers who say that the Atong are backward savages.

Secondly, Garo is the language of the Church. Almost the entire Atong-speaking population on the west side of the Symsang river are Christians. On the other side, in the more isolated villages, the amount of converts is, as far as I was able to make out, much less, although this situation is changing rapidly as Christian proselytisation continues relentlessly. In all churches, Baptist, Catholic and United Church Association alike, services are held entirely in Garo. Even personal prayers to God are in Garo. The same is true for private services held in peoples' houses. When I asked an Atong friend whether it was possible to pray in Atong, he said no, they have to pray in Garo. When I asked if God did not understand Atong, my friend thought for a while and then said that of course God did understand Atong, since He understands all languages. He was visibly surprised by my question and then remarked that he did not fully understand why they had to pray in Garo. The main reason that Garo is the language of the Church is, I think, because the bible has not been translated into Atong, while there is a bible in Garo. Moreover, all mission work is carried out in Garo. The local Catholic missionaries, for example, who run a nunnery and an English school in Siju, all Indians from the state of Kerala, do not learn to speak the

language of their congregation, but learn to speak Garo instead. Even church functionaries who are native Atong speak Garo as soon they are in church, and often even switch to Garo when speaking about church related matters when they are outside the church.

Thirdly, Garo is the language of education. This is true for all villages where there is a school. The only exceptions are the English school in Gangga, Siju, behind the football field, and the Catholic mission school, where the medium of education is a local variety of English. Many Atong students who are still in school by the age of 15 seem to go to places like Williamnagar and Tura (see Map 2) for their education, where Garo is the main language.

On top of the use of Garo in certain domains of life, the fact that Atong speakers hold Garo to be a prestigious language can be seen in the remark that one of my friends once made about his brothers, i.e. that they like to show off their proficiency in Garo. A contrary experience also needs to be documented. While we were driving to Balphakram, land of the spirits and national park, an Atong friend told a Garo speaker that he knew a beautiful story about a certain subject, but that he would not be able to tell the story in Garo. Although Atong is under a lot of pressure from Garo, the language is still learnt by most children in villages where Atong is the dominant language and shows no signs of obsolescence. It is impossible for me to say objectively what the situation of Atong is at the moment. Given the enormous percentage of bilingual speakers and the prestige of Garo, the majority of the Atong language community could simply decide to abandon their language overnight. I have no idea how long this situation has already existed and how long it will still continue to exist. It seems to me that the language will not just disappear within a few generations. When last I left the Garo Hills, in September 2007, some of the most popular tunes of the moment in the Garo Hills were pop music songs sung in Atong. These songs are distributed on cassettes through shops. Even Garo speakers were trying to sing them without knowing the meaning of words.

Indic languages have been of great influence on Atong allegedly for many centuries. Atong is heavily infiltrated with Indic loans, some of which look like Hindi, and others are probably Bengali or Assamese. Because of the similarity of the languages, no attempt will be made in this thesis to distinguish between loans from Assamese, Bengali and Hindi. Examples of Indic loans in Atong are *duk* 'sorrow,

sadness', *bia* 'wedding', *tas* 'game of cards', *gari* 'vehicle', *baji* 'hour' and *tan̄ka* 'money'. Meghalaya is surrounded by speakers of Assamese in the west, north and east, and of Bengali in the west and south. As has been noted above, speakers of Indic languages from all over north India come to market places like Jaidi and Nangwalbibra for commerce. Although non-tribal people in Meghalaya cannot possess land, they can rent property, and thus settle among the Tibeto-Burman population. The police force consists mainly of people who speak Indic languages. There are also a lot of Bengali immigrants, mostly economic refugees, who continuously pour into Meghalaya and settle there, often illegally. Road workers and workers in the coal mines of the Badri area are also mostly Bangladeshis. During the dry season there is a great influx of seasonal workers, mainly Northwest Indians working in the transport sector and coal trade. Many Punjabis, for instance, use their huge trucks to transport fruit in summer and coal in winter.

English also has an impact on the Atong language. Many words for modern objects, notions and practices that are newly introduced into the culture are borrowed from English, e.g. *skul* 'school', *edres* 'address', *tibi* 'TV', *sendel* 'flip flops, sandals', *gilas* ~ *g̃alas* 'glass', *rens* 'wrench' and *iŋgēc* 'engage' (see also §1.11.2i and van Breugel, 2009 a). For lack of native English speakers in their direct environment, we have to assume that these words are all borrowed indirectly through the various people who sell these new modern objects and through the schools and churches where people learn about new notions and practices associated with a modern way of living. As was said above, there are two schools in the Atong language area that provide education in English, both of them in Siju. No doubt loans find their way into society through education. Another source of English loans is the administration. The official language of government administration in Meghalaya is English. My perception was that English is mainly used as a written language and that the administrative staff speak whatever language is most convenient with the person they are talking to. Village meetings on the other hand are held in Atong or Garo. For a historical overview and references on colonial historical description I refer the reader to van Driem (2001: 528 ff). All I will say here is that, despite the fact that the British colonial administration gained control over the Garo Hills in the 1870s, the Atong speaking area was reportedly still almost inaccessible in the 1950s for lack of a road.

Atong and Garo speakers intermarry, being of the same ethnicity and having the same surnames. As a result, in most villages Atong and Garo people live side by side. In some villages that are said to have been Atong speaking in the past, the presence of Garo speakers has led to the complete disappearance of the Atong language from the village. It is impossible for me to say whether the number of Atong speakers is on the rise or not at the moment.

Until 2006 Atong was an unwritten language. When I arrived in the area, the people even thought that their language could not be written. Luckily, they were wrong. I have developed an orthography for the language based on the Roman alphabet, which will be explained in the next section. Today, the first editions of an Atong-English dictionary and a book with stories collected during my fieldwork are being written (van Breugel, 2009 a and b), while draft editions of the same books have already been distributed in the language community. With some of my Atong friends I now maintain correspondences in writing in Atong via mail and sms messages. Time will tell if literacy in the language catches on and becomes more wide spread.

1.5 The Atong spelling system

The way in which the Roman or Latin alphabet is used to write Atong is represented in Table 2 below. An overview of the phonology can be found in Chapter 2. Most of the writing system is self evident. Only a few remarks are in place.

As we see in Table 2, the grapheme <i> is used to represent both the vowel phoneme /i/ as well as the glide /y/. This choice was made because the Roman letter y is used to represent /ə/, like in Welsh. As a consequence, the orthography makes Atong look like it has diphthongs, e.g. *kyi* /kəy?/ ‘dog’, *askhui* /askhuy/ ‘star’, and *mai* /may/ ‘rice’, while phonologically, diphthongs do not exist in the language, but are in fact sequences of vowels and the off-glide /y/ or /w/, as is discussed in §2.2.6. Because literate Atong alive today have already learned how to spell in Garo, I preserved the tradition of the Garo writing system by representing the phoneme /c/ with the digraph ch and /ŋ/ with the digraph <ng>. It is not necessary to write /c/ as a digraph, since the letter <c> is not used anywhere else in the language, but this is the

Table 2 The relationship between the phonemes of Atong and the way they are written in the orthography developed for the language.

Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes
ph	ph	m	m	i	i
th	th	n	n	e	e
kh	kh	ŋ	ng	a	a
p	p	r	r	o	o
t	t	l	l	u	u
k	k	s [ɕ ^h ~ ɕ]	s	ə	y
b	b	c [tɕ]	ch	ī	ii
d	d	j [dz]	j	ē	ee
g	g	h	h	ō	oo
w	w	y [j]	i	ā	aa
glottalisation [ʔ]			• or ’		

way my consultants insisted on writing their language, and they are right that it is convenient when one is already accustomed to writing the same phoneme in Garo like that. It goes without saying that sequences of /ŋ/ and /g/ are spelt <ngg> in the orthography, e.g. *hanggal* /haŋgal/ ‘charcoal’.

The raised dot <•> to represent the glottal stop that is the result of glottalisation of the syllable (see §2.12) is also a perpetuation of Garo spelling and can also be written with an apostrophe, which is readily available on all typewriter and computer keyboards.

I do not propose a standardised spelling for Atong. The language is spoken in different ways and the spelling system can represent all the dialectal differences that I came across during my fieldwork. The word for ‘big knife’, for example, is *chaw•kyi* /cawʔkəy/ in the Badri dialect and *chang•kui* /caŋʔkuy/ in Siju and both varieties can be spelt. For more detailed information on the spelling I refer the reader to the introductions of van Breugel (2009 a and b).

1.6 Dialectal variation

Although I was not able to conduct a dialectal survey throughout the whole of the Atong speaking area, I was told by various speakers that there were four major

dialectal areas in Atong, viz. Badri, Rongsu, Siju and Baghmara. From my encounters with people from those places, I know that all these dialects are completely mutually intelligible and that the main differences between them are purely lexical and morphological, morphological differences being very small. In addition to there is a difference in pronunciation: Atong speakers from Siju and Baghmara speak softer and more melodic, while people from Badri and Rongsu speak loud and more monotonous. I have the impression that the Rongsu dialect is closer to that of Badri and the Baghmara dialect closer to that of Siju.

This grammar is based on the dialects of Badri and Siju. The Atong foreword to this grammar is an illustration of how different the two dialects are. Table 3 presents a list of some of the most important lexical and morphological differences between the two dialects. It has to be noted that the sound correspondences shown in the table are not regular.

Table 3 Illustration of the variation in lexemes and grammatical morphemes in the dialects of Badri and Sijyw

BADRI	SIJYW	gloss
lexeme/morpheme	lexeme/morpheme	
<i>sangwal-</i>	<i>awan-</i>	‘to forget’
<i>awəy</i>	<i>abu</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>khugri</i>	<i>koksi</i>	‘small basket’
<i>haʔceɸceɸ</i>	<i>gukceɸceɸ</i>	‘cricket’
<i>cengkuy</i>	<i>cawʔkəy</i>	‘big knife’
<i>gukmadəm</i>	<i>gukmatəm</i>	‘grasshopper’
<i>kririp</i>	<i>kəyrəp</i>	‘type of edible plant’
<i>tawʔtəy</i>	<i>tawʔti</i>	‘egg’
<i>badəl</i>	<i>patəl</i>	‘slingshot, catapult’
<i>=məŋ</i>	<i>=mi</i>	genitive/ablative case
<i>=məŋ</i>	<i>=mu ~ =muŋ</i>	comitative case
<i>=məŋ</i>	<i>=mu ~ =muŋ ~ =muna~ =muŋna</i>	sequential clausal enclitic

There is also significant difference in elocution between the two dialects. Badri speakers insert more glottal stops when vowels meet across morpheme boundaries, while Sijyw speakers tend to fuse adjacent vowels into one, within the same word, which makes their language more difficult to understand.

Both Siju and Badri people think of themselves as speaking what they call “pure Atong”. To my amusement they always wanted to demonstrate this by accusing each other of using a certain word for ‘shirt’: “In Siju they say *chola*, but the real Atong word is *jama*!”, the Badri people would say, and vice versa. Unfortunately, both *chola* and *jama* are not Atong at all, but loanwords from some Indic language.⁶ Given the huge number of loan words in the language, there is no such thing as “pure Atong”, there are just different varieties of it.

1.7 Linguistic affiliation

Most authors who have worked on the linguistic history of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam remark that they have many words in common, so that it is easy to see that they are historically related. Nevertheless, because of the scantiness of the data on most languages, often not more than small lists of vocabulary transcribed in disparate ways, there appear to be many different genetic classifications or groupings of the languages of Assam, Meghalaya and the adjacent areas.

The available documentation on languages generally held to belong to the same group as Atong (the Bodo-Garo or Bodo-Koch group) is short. For Garo we have a grammatical description by Burling (1961, 2004). Rabha is described by Joseph in his grammar (2007) and Rabha-English dictionary (2000). The earliest documentation of

⁶ The Atong word *chola* and *jama* could be borrowed from Bengali, Assamese or Hindi: Bengali চোলা /cōla/ ‘bodice, corset, modesty vest, skirt’, pronounced as [tɔɽla], related to Assamese চোলা [sɔla] ‘jacket, tunic, coat’ and Hindi चोला /cōlā/ ‘gown, cloak, bride’s garment. As for the origin of Atong *jama*: Bengali or Assamese জামা /jāmā/ ‘coat, shirt, blouse jacket’, related to Hindi जामा /jāmā/ ‘gown, wedding robe’. It hank Stephen Morey for helping me here with his knowledge of Assamese and Bengali.

Boro (or Bodo) is by Reverent Endle (1881), who calls the language Kachari or Bårå. Later descriptions are by Bhattacharya (1977) and Basumatary (2005). Deuri is described by Jacquesson (2005).

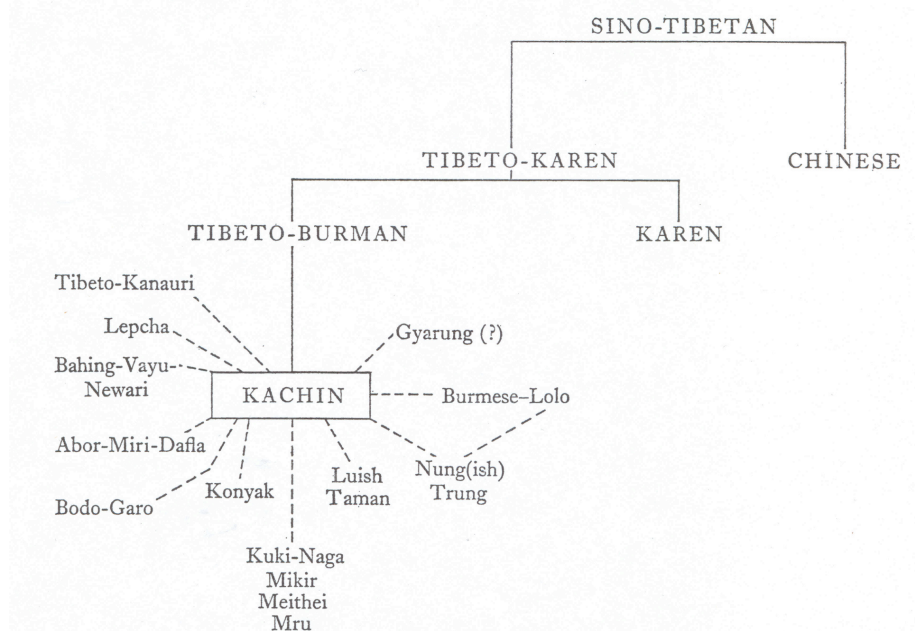
As we will see below, it was noted as early as Grierson (1902) that Atong is closely related to Garo, and other languages spoken in and around the Garo Hills. However, opinions about which languages belong to the same group as Atong, the nature of the relationship and the name of the group change with time. I will give an overview of the different affiliations of Atong claimed by different authors in the twentieth and twenty first century.

Grierson, in the famous Linguistic Survey of India (1902: 85), and Benedict, in his equally famous (1972) Sino-Tibetan conspectus, consider Atong to be a dialect of Garo, which, on a higher taxonomic level, belongs to the Bodo-Garo group or “nucleus” within Tibeto-Burman (see Figure 1).⁷ Benedict (1972: 6-7) states the following in connection to the affiliation of Atong: “Garo shows an interesting division into two subtypes, which we have named ‘Garo A’ (Rabha, Ruga, Atong) and ‘Garo B’ (Abeng, Achik, Awe), the latter spoken by the dominant political divisions of the tribe.” Robins Burling (2003 a: 176) reacts to Benedict’s classification, saying: “It has long been clear that the languages of the A’tong and Ruga are close to Rabha, which is spoken to the north and northwest of the Garo area, and Benedict duly included Rabha among the ‘Garo A’ languages, even though no one considers the Rabhas to be Garos. To call A’tong and Ruga ‘Garo A’ is to recognise common

⁷ The existence of Koch is not mentioned in Benedict (1972). This is interesting because the status of Koch as a separate language, or group of dialects, is questioned in Grierson (1902: 95-96), who writes: “The name ‘Kōch’, in fact, everywhere connotes a Hinduized Bodo who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and the ancestral Bodo language for Bengali or Assamese. There is, however, in Dacca, the Garo Hills and Goalpara a small body of people who are known as Kōch or Pāni Koch, and who still speak a language belonging to the Bodo group, and are either animistic or nominal Hindus. Six sections have been recorded in the Garo Hills, viz., Harigayā, Satpariyā, Dasgayā, or Banai, Chapra, Wanāng, and Tintekiyā. [...] These six sections used to be considered to be the only pure Kōches in existence, but it is now believed to be much more likely that they are not Kōches at all, but are Gārōs who have never got beyond an imperfect stage of conversion to Hinduism, involving merely the abstinence from beef. [...] Their language, so far as I can judge from the specimens which I have seen, is a mongrel of Gārō, Bengali or Assamese.” For more information and references to literature on Koch, see van Driem 2001: 534 ff.

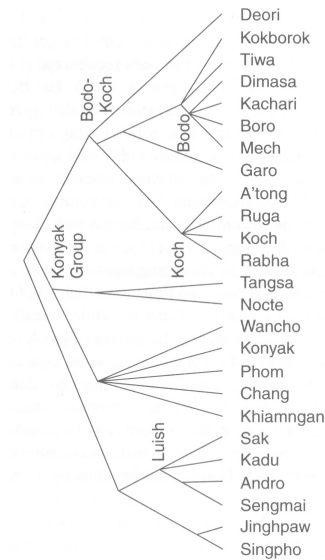
ethnicity; to group Rabha with A'tong and Ruga is to recognise *linguistic* similarity. To conclude that Rabha is a kind of Garo is like calling Welsh a form of French because it is so much like Breton, whose speakers are French. The Rabha do not count as Garos either by ethnicity or by language, any more that the Welsh count as French." Burling attributes the great similarity between Atong and Garo to heavy mutual influence of the two languages on each other.

Figure 1 Schematic chart of Sino-Tibetan Groups, from Benedict (1972: 6)



Burling (1959: 437 and 1961: 80), as did Shafer (1953: 228), classified Atong as belonging to the Koch group of languages. The Koch group, in turn, is part of a larger Bodo group of languages, which consists of Koch, Garo and Bodo. Bodo and Garo are somewhat more closely related to each other than to the languages of the Koch group. In later work, viz. Burling (2003 a: 175-6), his view on the position of Atong within Tibeto-Burman remains unchanged, but the genetic super grouping is different and more refined: the Koch group of languages is now part of a larger group called Bodo-Koch which is, in turn, part of the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw super group of Tibeto-Burman languages, as is represented in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Relationships among the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw languages, from Burling (2003 a: 175)



Van Driem (2001: 501-2, 534) also classifies Atong as belonging to the Koch group of languages. This classification is based on references and not on his own diachronic research. Probably based on his interpretation of Burling (1961), van Driem states that Atong is a “Koch dialect” (2001: 541), which, as we will see below, is not the case. The other languages of the Koch group, according to van Driem, are Ruga, Rabha and Pani Koch. The Koch language group is a subgroup of the Bodo-Koch languages which all belong to the Brahmaputran branch of Tibeto-Burman. On page 501, Brahmaputran consists of Konyak, Bodo-Koch, Dhimaslish and Kachinic, whereas on page 502, Brahmaputran consists of Bodo-Koch, Dhimaslish, Northern Naga and Kachinic. There is no explanation for these different constituencies of Brahmaputran.

Robert Shafer (1974) has a totally different classification of the languages within what he calls the ‘Sino-Tibetan language family’ than the authors mentioned so far. According to Shafer Atong belongs to the South Central Branch of the Barish Section within the Baric Subdivision of Sino-Tibetan. The languages Shafer regards as closest linguistic relatives of Atong are: Rabha, Ruga, Konts, Tintekiya, Cooch Behar and Kot. Shafer’s classification is the result of a thorough phonological comparison between the languages of the Baric Subdivision.

In Joseph and Burling (2006: 1), Boro-Garo is presented as “one of the longest recognised and most coherent subgroups of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages”. Boro-Garo, where Boro is just a different way to spell Bodo, consists of four

subgroups, viz. Garo (several dialects), Koch (consisting of Atong, Rabha, Ruga, the Koch languages and maybe Mandai (the existence of this language is not certain)), Boro (Boro, Kokborok and Tiwa, Kachari and Mech) and Deuri (a language that constitutes a branch on its own).

Jacquesson (2006) poses a number of phonological criteria on the basis of which he divides the Boro-Garo languages in three groups: Western, Central and Eastern. The phonological criteria are the occurrence or not of “diphthongs” in the language, of nasal vowels, of consonant clusters /kr-/ , /gr-/ in first syllables, and of the existence of a phonological distinction between /l/ and /r/ in the languages. The division of Boro-Garo languages proposed by Jacquesson is represented in Figure 3.

The most striking difference between the Central group and the two other groups of Boro-Garo languages is the occurrence of so called “diphthongs” in the Central group and their absence in the Western and Eastern groups. These “diphthongs” of the Central group, written /ai, au, əi, əu/, show regular correspondences with monophthongs in the other Boro-Garo languages, e.g. Kokborok *təi* ‘water’, with the “diphthong” /əi/, corresponds to Garo /či/ ‘water’, with the monophthong /i/ (see Jacquesson 2006: 286). Only Boro and Mech have all four of the “diphthongs”, the other languages present different subsets (idem: 294), e.g. Boro *thəi*² ‘blood’ with the diphthong /əi/, corresponds to Dimasa *thi*² ‘blood’ (idem: 288) with a monophthong /i/ etc.

Figure 3 The classification of Boro-Garo languages according to François Jacquesson (2006: p. 293)

1. Western group (Groupe occidentale)
 - Garo
 - Rabha, Koch
2. Central group (Groupe central)
 - Boro and Mech
 - Bru
 - Dimasa and Moran
 - Kokborok
3. Eastern group (Groupe orientale)
 - Deuri

Jacquesson (2006: 292-3) discards Burling’s classification of Atong as a Koch language, indicating at the same time why Burling’s label ‘Koch’ for the group of

languages that are not Bodo is infelicitous. Given that Atong has “diphthongs”, Jacquesson classifies it as a Boro language. It is worth quoting Jacquesson in extenso:

“Malheureusement, outre qu’il est fort imprudent de promouvoir le nom d’une langue (koch) qui n’est plus guère attestée depuis longtemps, il se trouve que ses propres données sur l’atong montrent que cette langue possède plusieurs diphtongues, ce qui la classe selon nous dans le groupe du boro... Tout récemment⁸ un jeune chercheur qui étudie ce parler, S. van Breugel, nous a aimablement confirmé qu’il possédait quatre diphtongues analogues à celle du boro.

Il nous semble donc inutile d’utiliser cette étiquette de «bodo-koch», puisque qu’en réalité nos meilleurs renseignements sur le koch montrent qu’il s’agit d’un parler très proche de celui des Rabha [...] Quant à l’atong, en attendant les résultats de S. van Breugel, il paraît raisonnable d’y voir un parler de type boro.”⁹

Since historical comparison lies outside the scope of this grammar, I will limit myself to showing that, by Jacquesson’s criteria, Atong is indeed a Central Boro language, but not without first making an important remark. What Burling and Jacquesson analyse as the diphthongs /ai, au, əi, əu/, I analyse phonologically as sequences of vowels and off-glides. The argumentation for this analysis can be found in Chapter 2. Moreover, Atong has seven of these vowel-plus-off-glide sequences, viz. /aw, əw, ew,

⁸ “Tout récemment” ‘very recently’: Jacquesson means during the first conference of the Northeast Indian Linguistics Society (NEILS), held at Guwahati on 6 & 7 February 2006, see also van Breugel (2008).

⁹ English translation of quote: Unfortunately, except for the fact that it is very unwise to promote the name of a language (Koch) that has not been attested for a long time, it turns out that his own data on Atong show that this language has several diphthongs, which classifies this language, according to our criteria, in the same group as Boro... Very recently, a young researcher who studies this language, S. van Breugel, has confirmed that it has four diphthongs corresponding to those in Boro. Therefore, it seems futile to us to use the label “Bodo-Koch’, because, in reality, our inquiries on Koch show that this language is very close to Rabha [...] As for Atong, while we await the results of S. van Breugel, it seems reasonable to consider it as a language of the type to which Boro also belongs.

ay, əy, oy, uy/. I would like to remind the reader that my grammar is a synchronic description of the Atong language, and that I have analysed the sounds in the language on the basis of their current function in the phonemic system and not on the basis of their alleged history, however well documented.

Let us now turn to the classification of Boro-Garo languages according to the criteria as presented in Jacquesson (2006: 294). I will list the criteria, translated into English and slightly adapted to fit the phonology of Atong, and copy the table that Jacquesson presents, in which he indicates how the criteria apply to the different Boro-Garo languages, adding Atong to it (Table 4).

Table 4 The classification of Boro-Garo languages according to Jacquesson (2006: 294) including Atong, until now correctly suspected to be closest to Boro (see Jacquesson (2006: 293, quoted above).

Criteria:

- A typical diphthongs/vowel-plus-off-glide combinations
- B which diphthongs/vowel-plus-off-glide combinations
- C nasal vowels
- D clusters /kr-/ , /gr-/ in the first syllable
- E distinction between /r/ and /l/

	Criteria →	A	B	C	D	E
Western	Garó	no		no	yes	no
	Rabha, Koch	no		no	no	yes
Central	Boro, Mech	yes	ai, au, əi. əu	no		
	Atong	yes	ay, aw, əy. əw, oy, uy, ew	no	no	no
	Bru	yes	ai, au, əi	no		
	Dimasa, Moran	yes	ai, au	no		
	Kokborok	yes	ai, əi	no		
Eastern	Deuri	no		yes	no	no

As we can see, according to criterion A, typical diphthongs/vowel-plus-off-glide combinations, Atong is a language very much like Boro, since Atong has the same “diphthongs” as Boro, viz. /ay, aw, əy. əw/ plus three additional ones: /oy, uy, ew/.¹⁰ When we look at criterion D, clusters /kr-/ , /gr-/ in the first syllable, the claim that Atong is a Central Boro-Garo language seems to hold. Although he leaves the box under D empty for Boro and Mech in Table 4, Jacquesson tells us that some languages allow clusters only when a syllable is not the first one in a word, and that certain languages tend to simplify the cluster by dropping the /r/. Jacquesson writes: “Les seules langues où il n’y ait pas de groupes dans ces conditions sont le boro et le deuri. En kokborok, la situation diffère selon les dialectes [...]” (2006: 286).¹¹ A simple extract of the compared data presented by Jacquesson (idem: 285) will serve as evidence for the classification of Atong. This evidence is the comparison of the four lexical items shown in Table 5. We see that the box under ‘to buy’ in the last column has been left empty for Atong since there is no verb ‘to buy’ in the language.¹² In addition to the verb *khəp-* ‘to cover’, presented in the table, I also recorded the form *gəɾəp-* ‘to cover’, in which the /r/ of the proto-form has been preserved¹³, the cluster

¹⁰ It has to be noted that according to Joseph and Burling (2006: 15) Boro has eight diphthongs, viz. /iu, eo, ou, ao, oi, ai, uui, ui/. Not only is the amount of diphthongs given by Joseph and Burling twice as much as the inventory presented in Table 4 for Boro, but Joseph and Burling’s Boro diphthongs also seem to be phonetically different in nature, so that they are very difficult to compare to the Atong diphthongs. Basumatary (2005: 23) also describes eight diphthongs for Boro, but these are different from those in to Joseph and Burling, viz. /ui, wi, wu, oi, ou, au, eu, ai/. Finally, Endle (1881: 3) describes six diphthongs for Boro, written as /au, aú, áu, ai, úí, oi/. The description of the phonetic realisation of these sounds is hard to understand and can therefore not be given with certainty here in IPA symbols. Not indicated in Jacquesson’s table (2006: 293) and therefore not in Table 4, are the “diphthongs” of Garo and Rabha, which are available from Joseph and Burling (2006), Joseph (2007) and Burling (2004). Joseph and Burling (2006: 20) posit three diphthongs for Garo, viz. /ai, oi, au/ of which /oi/ only occurs in loanwords (see also Burling 2004: 29-31) and eight for Rabha, viz. /ai, ao, au, uui, ui, oi, eu, eo/ (2006: 25, see also Joseph 2007: 57-66).

¹¹ English translation of quote: The only languages where there are no clusters in these conditions are Boro and Deuri. In Kokborok the situation differs according to the dialect [...].

¹² The verb *ra2-* ‘to get’ is used in the same situations where English uses the verb ‘to buy’. If a speaker wants to emphasise that money was involved in obtaining something, he can express that using the word *taŋka* ‘money’ as we can see in example (429) in §20.2.

¹³ I also recorded another such word in which the proto */r/ or */l/ is preserved but where the insertion of schwa prevents a cluster, viz. *gəɾəw-* ‘to shake (a fixed object)’. It might well be that there are word families (see Matisoff, 1978 and 2000: 344-7) within Atong of lexical items that have lost proto */r/ or */l/ in clusters with initial /g/ or /k/ and which exists alongside words that have preserved proto */r/ or */l/ but have broken the cluster up with a schwa; in certain cases the schwa might have assimilated to the

has been broken up by a schwa to meet the phonological requirement that there be no consonant clusters in initial syllables.¹⁴

Table 5 The reflexes of Proto-Boro-Garo */kr, gr, kl/ in Garo, Rabha, Boro, according to Jacquesson (2006: 285) with the addition of Atong.

gloss		to cry	sour	to cover	to buy
proto-Boro-Garo form		*grap	*krəi-	*kləp-	*brai-
Garo	CC	grap-		krip-, kip	bre-
Rabha	C(C)	khap-	khi-	khəp-	pri-
Boro	C	gab-	khəi-	khəb-	bai-
Atong	C	kep-	khəy-	khəp-	

Finally, we examine criterion D, distinction between /r/ and /l/. As I argue in §2.2.4, the two phonemes are in contrast in syllable-initial position. This might of course be due to unrecognisable integrated loans in the language. Only in animal names containing the initial syllable *ruk* ~ *luk* are /l/ and /r/ interchangeable, e.g. *rukwak* ~ *lukwak* ‘type of frog’, *rupek* ~ *lupek* ‘type of frog’. In syllable-final position Atong only has /l/ in indigenous words (see §2.2.4). It is difficult to find possible Atong cognates for two of the four words used as evidence in this matter in the second table on page 285 of Jacquesson (2006). Thus to find proof, other vocabulary items should be compared for which there are clear Atong cognates. This remains a matter for further investigation. All I can add to the table in question found in Jacquesson (2006) are the words for ‘dry’, *ranʔ-*, and ‘long’, *rawʔ-*, as compared to the other Boro-Garo languages in Table 6, adopted from Jacquesson (2006). As we can see, the distinction between /r/ and /l/ that existed in the proto language is no longer there in Atong,

vowel in the next syllable (see §2.6). Thus in Atong the verbs *khəp-* and *gəpəp-* are ‘allofams’ within one word family, i.e. “phonosemantically similar but not identical forms that can be traced back to a single etymon” (Matisoff, 2000: 344).

¹⁴ In non-initial syllables we find speakers alternating freely between clusters CrV and Cərv (see Chapter 2).

where proto */l/ has been replaced by /r/. It has to be remarked that there are many more words starting with /r/ than with /l/ in Atong (see van Breugel, 2009 a).

Table 6 The reflexes of Proto-Boro-Garo */r/ and, */l/ in Boro-Garo languages, according to Jacquesson (2006: 285) with the addition of Atong.¹⁵

gloss	dry	long
proto form	*ran ²	*lau ²
Garó	ranʔ-	roʔ-
Rabha	ran ² -	ro ² -
Atong	ranʔ-	rawʔ-
Tiwa	ran-	luw-
Dimasa	raiŋ ² -	lao ² -
Boro	ran ² -	lao ² -
Kokborok	ran ²	lok ² -
Deuri	ran ² -	lu-

We can conclude that, when following Jacquesson's criteria for the classification of Boro-Garo languages, Atong seems to be more closely related to Boro than to Koch and Rabha, as Jacquesson already assumed. However, despite all the surface similarities between all the languages of the Boro-Garo group, I think that in order to refine our knowledge about the way in which these languages are related, internal reconstruction should precede interlingual historical comparison. This is a task that has yet to be begun for all of the languages concerned. We should heed Matisoff's words when he writes: 'The easiest proposals to dismiss as chimerical are those which depend entirely on surface similarity among forms from modern languages, without

¹⁵ The superscript ...2 indicates high tone in the languages that have tone, viz. Rabha, Dimasa, Boro and Kokborok. Since the tones of Tiwa are not yet fully understood, tone is not indicated for this language. Garó, Atong and Deuri have no tones. Garó's glottal stop and Atong's glottalised syllables correspond to syllables with a high tone in the other languages (see also Joseph and Burling 2006).

bothering to attempt reconstructions of proto-forms in the languages to be compared.” (2000: 357)

1.8 Previous work on Atong

The linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1902: 85-88) mentions the existence of Atong as a dialect of Garo and briefly presents some aspects of the grammar and a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son with interlinear glosses in English, translated by the Rev. E.G. Philips. Unfortunately there is no analysis of the phonology of the Atong or a guide to the pronunciation of the text. However, the parable, despite the confusing orthography, is clearly written in Atong. The differences with modern Atong as recorded in this grammar are mostly orthographic in nature. There is no separate symbol in the writing system for the phoneme /ə/, and therefore we must assume that the text is written with the assumption that /i/ and /ə/ are allophones, as is analysed for standard Garo, where /i/ has an allophone [i] in open and [i] in closed syllables (see Burling 2004). The verb which I recorded as /thəy/ [thəj] ‘to die’ is written *tai* in Grierson in the word *taio^ggit’chim* ‘died’ (page 87 and 88). It would be far fetched to assume that Atong did not have the sound [ə] around the turn of the nineteenth century. Modern Atong, as described in this grammar, has three series of stops, viz. plain voiceless, voiceless aspirated and voiced (see Chapter 2). The text in Grierson makes no difference in the orthography between aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless stops.

Salient lexical differences between the Atong recorded in Grierson and that recorded for this grammar are the verb ‘to give’, which is *hun*’ in Grierson and *hən?* in my recordings, and the word for ‘but’, which is *utakchiba* in Grierson and *ətəkci^ba* in my recordings. In Figure 4 below are the first few lines of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by the Rev. E.G. Philips, taken from Grierson (1901: 86), followed by the first few lines of the same parable as told to me by Kempai A Sangma in the village of Siju in 2006, presented in examples (1)-(5). The indicated “translation” of Philips’ text consists only of the interlinear glosses.

The most salient grammatical difference between the text in Grierson and the text recorded by me is the occurrence of a morpheme *git’chim* ~ *chim* ‘was’. The form *chim*, treated separately in Grierson on page 85 and glossed ‘was’, but in the text in occurs most frequently as *git’chim*, e.g. *ganangit’chim* ‘were’ (first line in Figure 4)

and *ma'akgit'chim* 'lost-was' (Grierson, 1902: 87). This morpheme corresponds in form and function to what I call the irrealis clausal enclitic $\leq c\acute{a}m \gt$ (IRR), e.g. (1) and (34).

Figure 4 The first few lines of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by the Rev. E.G. Philips, taken from Grierson (1901: 86).

ĀTONG OR KUCHU DIALECT.

(The Rev. E. G. Philips.)

(DISTRICT, GARO HILLS.)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Chāng-mī-bā sā'-bāntai ming'-nī gānāngit'chim. Utim-ming ming'-sā jong
Some-one's son-male person-two were. Them-of person-one brother
 milgābā wā'gābā-nā bālok. 'ō āwā', jin-miō āng mǎn'-nā
small-the father-the-to said, 'O father, (the) property-from my get-to
 nānggābā-ō āng-nā hun'bō.' Umingān uē utim-nā jānggi kēngwā-mingāō
necessary-the me-to give.' Then he them-to life (the) living-of
 hāntiok. U-mī kinkin hāotai sǎn jārāwāchiān jong milgābā
divided. That-of after some time delaying brother the-small
 jin-gumukāō rā'aimu song jān'gābāsāng rē'engok; umiē umingān
property-(the) whole taking country far-the-to went; and there
 nemchāgābāō tākaimu gē'tēngming jinā-ō jāmātok. Umiē uming jinā-ō
evil doing his-own property ended. And his property
 jāmetmān'wāmī kinkinān uē song-chī nēmēn ā'kāl dong'bēok. Uchin uē
ended-after afterwards that country-in very scarcity was-very. Then he

The following examples present the beginning of the Parable of the Prodigal Son told to me by Kempai A Sangma in the village of Siju in 2006.

- (1) *soŋ dam sa =ci morot məŋ? sa*
 village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC person CLF:HUMANS one
man? =ay sa? -bi =gaba ganəŋ =no =cəm.
 in.great.amounts=ADV eat -VERY =ATTR exist =QUOT =IRR

'In a village supposedly lived a very rich person (lit. 'a person who ate in very great amounts'), it is said.'

- (2) *ue u =ci saʔ banthay mənʔ ni ganaŋ =no =ro,*
 he DST=LOC child bachelor CLF:HUMANS two exist =QUOT =EMPH
manʔ =ay saʔ=gaba mənʔ sa morot =ci.
 in.great.amounts=ADV eat =ATTR CLF:HUMANS one person =LOC
 ‘He supposedly had two sons there, it is said, the very rich person.’
- (3) *ətəkəymu waʔ =gaba =ci gam paŋʔ -a =no.*
 so.then father =DREL =LOC riches many-CUST =QUOT
 ‘So then, the father had lots of riches, it is said.’
- (4) *ue gam paŋʔ -wa =mi gəmən kam paŋʔ -wa =mi gəmən*
 DST riches many-FACT =GEN reason riches many-FACT =GEN reason
geʔthenʔthen məkəruk =ay =mu: “baba haʔgəlsak =ci
 3p jealous =ADV =SEQ dad world =LOC
aŋ =mi suk =do niʔ -ok.
 1s =GEN happiness =TOP not.exist -COS
 ‘Because of the wealth and riches, because they were jealous of each other:
 “Dad, I have no happiness left in the world.”
- (5) *aŋ =do dəŋthaŋmanca naŋʔ khaʔgal =ci =do naŋʔ =mi gamʔ =aw*
 1s =TOP especially 2s love =LOC=TOP 2s =GEN riches =ACC
aŋ =na hathi -pha =bo no =ay =mu
 1s =DAT divide -IN.ADDITION =IMP say=ADV =SEQ
joŋ =gaba =e bal -wa =no.
 younger.brother =DREL =FC say -FACT =QUOT.
 ‘If you especially love me, divide your wealth for me’, he said, the younger brother, and he spoke, it is said.’

What gives the text in Grierson a particularly artificial trait is the lack of right dislocated NPs, i.e. the fact that all clauses are predicate final, and, in addition, the complete absence of quotative enclitics or the verb *no* ‘to say’, to indicate that the storyteller got the information from someone else, e.g. (1), (2), (3) and (5). Had the story really been recited by a native speaker, it would certainly have appeared with left dislocated NPs and quotative constructions, as we can see in (2), where the Location NP *manʔ=ay saʔ=gaba mənʔ sa morot =ci* (in.great.amounts=ADV eat=ATTR CLF:HUMANS one person=LOC) ‘at the rich man’ is right dislocated after the predicate *ganaŋ* ‘exist’.

Other than the material in Grierson, very little Atong language material has been published. Playfair (1975: 167) presents a short comparative vocabulary of Awé, Atong, Ruga, Rabha and Koch words with English translation. Playfair does not mark glottalised syllables in his transcription. There are no occurrences of the sequence /əy/ in his list where we find them in the data collected for this grammar. Moreover, Playfair does not distinguish between plain and aspirated voiceless bilabial and velar stops in his transcription. Basically, the list is only understandable when one already speaks Atong and can infer what is meant by the transcription by looking at the English gloss.

Burling (1959) collected a list of Atong lexical items which he published in an interesting article where he makes a convincing case for the reconstruction of Proto-Bodo. In his transcription of Atong there are only two series of stops, one glide, /w/, one voiceless affricate, /c/, and one lateral, /r/. As this grammar will illustrate (see Chapter 2), Atong as I recorded it has three series of stops, viz. voiced, plain voiceless and voiceless aspirated, two glides, /w, y/, a voiced and voiceless affricate, /j, c/ and two laterals, /l, r/.

The latest publication of Atong language material –before van Breugel 2008– is that used in the historical comparison of the Baric languages by Shafer (1974: 426–448). Shafer’s transcriptions do not always correspond with the data recoded for this grammar, and, like the sources mentioned above, fails to mention that there are dialectal differences within Atong, which affect the lexicon and some grammatical morphemes (see Table 3).

1.9 Fieldwork

1.9.1 Data collection

My fieldwork was carried out in two stages, the first from 27 June 2005 to 2 May 2006 and the second from 13 June to 12 September 2007. During my first fieldtrip I spent half the time in the village of Badri Maidugytym [badri majdugətəm] and half the time in Sijyw [sidzəw], also called Siju [sidzu] (see Map 3), where I was hosted by very hospitable and generous Atong families. During my second fieldtrip I spent somewhat less time in Badri and more in Siju. During both fieldtrips I also visited several other Atong speaking villages on excursions. For the translation of the

recorded material into English, I had to take regular trips to Tura, since there was nobody in the Atong villages who could speak English sufficiently to help me with this task. During these trips I got acquainted with the urban Atongs.

I practised the fieldwork technique of participant observation to learn how the Atong use the language in their daily life and as a result I learned to speak the language. Language proficiency is of great help during the grammatical analysis. I collected the following types of materials that form the data base for this grammatical description of Atong:

1. Notes on the language as it was used in day to day life with descriptions of the context, objects, animals, materials etc.
2. Audio recordings of stories and three songs. Most of these are written down, glossed and translated with the help of consultants.
3. Video recordings of spontaneous speech of young, unmarried men from Siju (just under six minutes), presented in this grammar as Text 1 and Text 2.
4. Written material produced by native speakers: one story and four short letters.

I recorded approximately four hours of language on tape. I recorded the speech of both male and female speakers and of speakers of all ages. Male speakers are represented most in the recorded materials. Although most people do not know when they were born, and are thus unable to tell me their age, I estimate that the oldest person I recorded was around seventy and the youngest around six years of age. I recorded twenty six different speakers. I recorded many different genres of language use, viz. spontaneous speech of unmarried men; stories for children told by adults and by children themselves; epic stories, where the language is more complicated; historical narratives etc. Most of the collected material consists of fictional narratives (stories) of different kinds, e.g. fables and adventures, but historical narratives are also well represented in the corpus. A smaller part of the material consists of epic stories, narratives about cultural phenomena and activities in and around the village. Songs and spontaneous speech are least represented in the corpus that was recorded on tape. However, my fieldwork notes, written in the notebooks that I carried around with me continuously while in the field, contain many spontaneous speech utterances, some with and some without a short description of their context. I recorded one woman

singing a Christian song in Atong, and my corpus holds two transcriptions of pop music songs that were very popular at the time of my fieldwork.

When I set out on my fieldwork trip, I had not planned to use video recordings for the collection of language data. The two short videos of spontaneous speech were recorded by Samrat N Marak of Siju, who had borrowed my camera while I was out of the village for a day. Although just under six minutes in length, these videos provide evidence that some grammatical structures that are seldom attested in narratives, occur frequently in spontaneous veryday speech.

A list of recorded fieldwork materials is given in Table 7. The list is ordered alphabetically by autor, i.e. the speaker or writer of a text, and lists all the text collected during my fieldwork, their medium of communication and the processing. The table also indicates whether the autor is male or female, their age estimate and the place where the text was srecorded or written. Spoken texts were recorded on tape and are indicated as “recorded” in Table 7, while written texts that were not recorded on tape are indicated as “written”. In a few instances whas a text first written down by the author and then recorded; this, too, is indicated in the table.

Almost all texts are used to draw example from for this grammar, except two or three texts, which were not usefull because they had not been transcribed and translated or because they were written translations from Garo into Atong; in the latter case, I was not sure whether the words and contstructions that were used were natural language or the result of calquing from Garo.

Almost all examples in this grammar are drawn from natural speech, either from the tape-recorded texts or from the fieldnotes. As few elicited examples were used as possible. Unfortunately, when I started this project, because my original supervisor advised me not to mark the source of each example, I did not indicate which were elicited. At present it is not feasible to go back and source each example.

Table 7 List of texts collected during fieldwork

Author's name. Male/Female. Age estimate. Recording place. Genre. Medium (Written/Recorded (on tape)).

Transcribed and translated?

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. anonymous. female. 30-40. Badri. Christian song. recorded. yes | 26. Kiubirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes |
| 2. Aristo J Momin. male. 18-25. place unknown. published pop song, recorded (recording no longer in my possession). yes | 27. Limbu M Sangma. male. 14-16. Badri. fable. recorded. no |
| 3. Cheng M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 28. Limbu M Sangma. male. 14-16. Badri. fable. recorded. no |
| 4. Dalcheng M Sangma. male. 18-25. Badri. adventure story. recorded. yes | 29. Miksrang. male. 14-16. Badri. short letter. written. not translated |
| 5. Derus R Marak. male. 30-40. Siju. epic story. written then recorded. yes | 30. Miksrang. male. 14-16. Badri. anecdote. recorded. yes |
| 6. Dilseng R Sangma. male. 20-25. Siju. fable. recorded. yes | 31. Monjila M Sangma. female 40-50. Siju. local history. recorded. yes |
| 7. Dorina A Sangma. female. 30-40. Siju. local history. recorded. yes | 32. Monjila M Sangma. female. 40-50. Siju. local history. recorded. yes |
| 8. Genda R Marak. male. 40-50. Siju. adventure story. recorded. yes. | 33. Negverson M Sangma. male. 20-25. Badri. cultural story. recorded. yes |
| 9. Genda R Marak. male. 40-50. Siju. historical cultural story. recorded. yes. (See TEXT 3 <i>Way khuruta</i>) | 34. Negverson M Sangma. male. 20-25. Badri. cautionary story. recorded. yes |
| 10. Genda R Marak. male. 40-50. Siju. incantation. recorded. yes (See TEXT 4 <i>Ca?masajmi way</i>) | 35. Negverson M Sangma. male. 20-25. Badri. fable. recorded. yes |
| 11. Gongran Ch Marak. male. 50-60. Siju. cultural story with some singing. recorded. no | 36. Nikseng S Marak. male. 18-21. Badri. adventure story. written. translated |
| 12. Gongran Ch Marak. male. 50-60. Siju. attempt at epic story. recorded. no. | 37. Rangsewa M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. love story. recorded. yes |
| 13. Jamila M Sangma. female. 30-40. Siju. recipe. recorded. yes | 38. Rangsewa M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. fable. recorded. yes |
| 14. Janita M Sangma. female. 18-25. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 39. Rangsewa• M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. local history. recorded. yes |
| 15. Jendik S Marak. male. 40-50. Badri. fable. recorded. yes. | 40. Rangsewa• M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. story. recorded. yes |
| 16. Jendik S Marak. male. 40-50. Badri. comical cautionary tale. story. recorded. yes | 41. Ranus M Sangma. male. 20-25. Badri. description of game. recorded. yes |
| 17. Jendik S Marak. male. 40-50. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 42. Salseng R Sangma. male. 20-25. Tura. Translation of Garo pop song. written. translated |
| 18. Jendik S Marak. male. 40-50. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 43. Samrat N Marak. male. 18-21. Siju. adventure story. recorded. yes |
| 19. Jentibirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. adventure. recorded. yes | 44. Samrat N Marak. male. 18-21. Siju. fable. recorded. yes |
| 20. Jentibirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 45. Samrat N Marak. male. 18-21. Siju. cautionary story. recorded. yes |
| 21. Jentibirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 46. Sandish M Sangma. male. 15-17. Badri. short letter. written. not translated |
| 22. Johan A Sangma. male. 17-21. Siju. local history. written then recorded. yes | 47. Sandish M Sangma. male. 15-18. Badri. short letter. written. not translated |
| 23. Kempai A Sangma. male. 40-50. Siju. parable. recorded. yes | 48. Sandish M Sangma. male. 15-18. Badri. short letter. written. translated |
| 24. Kiubirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 49. Sandish M Sangma. 15-18. Badri. cautionary story. story. recorded. yes |
| 25. Kiubirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes | 50. Todan M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. local history. recorded. transcribe but not translated |

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>51. Todan M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. local history. recorded. transcribed but not translated.</p> <p>52. Todan M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. local history. recorded. yes</p> <p>53. Tonton M Sangma, male, 20-25 Badri. adventure story. recorded. yes (See TEXT 1)</p> <p>54. Tontonjyw•. female. 40-50. Badri. counting from 1-100. recorded. yes</p> <p>55. Tontonwa•. male. 40-50. Badri. counting from 1-100. recorded. yes</p> | <p>56. Wilseng S Marak. 18-25. place unknown. male. published pop song. recorded (recording no longer in my possession). yes</p> <p>57. Samrat N Marak, Nilam R Sangma. males. 17-21. Siju. spontaneous speech. recorded (video). yes</p> <p>58. Samrat N Marak, Nilam R Sangma, Johan A Sangma. males. 17-21. Siju. spontaneous speech. recorded (video). yes</p> |
|---|--|
-

1.9.2 Recording equipment

I used two analogue recorders, as was the policy of RCLT at the time of my PhD. Most of the material was recorded on a Sony TCM-500EV in combination with a Røde NT3 microphone. Some of the material was recorded with a Sony TCM-400DV. All recordings are mono. For all recordings I used TDK SA 90 high position tapes. The video recordings are made on my own Sony digital camera. Once back at the RCLT, I digitalised my analogue recordings with the program Audacity into WAV files and transcribed them in the program Transcriber. Ultimately the recorded material will be archived at the Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC, see <http://paradisec.org.au>).

Chapter 2 Phonology

2.1 Syllable structure

In Atong we find morphemes, i.e. roots, suffixes and enclitics, with the syllable structures V, CV, VC and CVC. We can thus say that the canonical syllable structure in Atong is (C)V(C) and that the minimum syllable consists of only a vowel. Except for the bound forms <u> and <i> of the demonstratives *ue* ~ *u* ‘distal demonstrative’ and *ie* ~ *i* ‘proximal demonstrative’ and the interjections *o* ‘expression of understanding/acknowledgment’ and *a* ‘strong attention seeking interjection’, there are no roots that consist exclusively of a vowel. There is one suffix that consists of just one vowel and two enclitics, viz. the imperfective aspect suffix <-a> (CUST), the focus enclitic <=e> (FOC) and the allomorph <=e> of the adverbial clausal enclitic <=ay ~ =e> (ADV). The majority of the predicate head suffixes, other than event specifiers (see Chapter 25), and the majority of enclitics are monosyllabic with a CV structure, fewer suffixes and enclitics have a CVC or VC structure and other syllabic patterns occur even less frequently. Most event specifiers and NP suffixes have a CVC or CVCV syllable structure.

In word initial syllables consonant clusters are not allowed. On the other hand, in non-initial syllables we find speakers alternating freely between clusters of which the second phoneme is /r/ and the same cluster broken up by a schwa, i.e. CrV(C) and CərV(C); for example, the noun /*haʔbəri*/ ‘hill, mountain’ can be pronounced [haʔbəri] with a schwa between the /b/ and the /r/, or as [haʔbri] with a cluster of stop plus /r/, and the noun /*sukəruŋ*/ ‘river snail’ can be pronounced with the schwa as [sukəruŋ] or without the schwa as [sukruŋ]. Likewise, the event specifier suffix /-*ɛraŋ*/ ‘V totally, etc’ (see Chapter 25) can be pronounced with or without the schwa, viz. [ɛraŋ ~ ɛraŋ]. The pronunciation with the schwa breaking up the consonant cluster is the most usual. Consonant sequences of all sorts can occur at morpheme boundaries and schwa is never inserted, e.g. *cak-si* (hand-finger) [tɛaksi] ‘finger’, *tok-thəning* (neck-?) [tɔkthəniŋ] ‘neck’; unless the morpheme boundary becomes obscure and then a schwa can be inserted, as in *məkren* ~ *məkəren* ‘eye’. The morpheme *mək* ‘eye’ (< Proto-Tibeto-Burman *mik (see Matisoff, 2003: 346)) never occurs on its own, but

is only found in compounds e.g. *mək-səməl* (eye-?) ‘eyebrow’ and *mək-səram* (eye-?) ‘eyelash’ etc.

2.2 Consonants

Atong has an inventory of nineteen consonants, presented in Table 8 below. Not all consonants occur in all positions in the syllable. All phonemes occur syllable initially except /ŋ/ and /y/. Table 13 below gives an overview of the syllable final consonants. All phonemes will be treated separately below.

Table 8 Atong consonant inventory

Place of articulation→ Manner of articulation↓		bilabial	alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	aspirated	ph	th		kh	
	voiceless	p	t		k	
	voiced	b	d		g	
Affricates	voiceless			c [tɕ]		
	voiced			j [dʒ]		
Fricatives				s [ɕ ^h ~ ɕ]		h
Tap or trill			r [ɾ ~ r]			
Continuants	oral		l			
	nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Glides		w		y [j]		

2.2.1 Stops

In syllable-initial position Atong has three series of stops in bilabial, dental and velar position, viz. aspirated /ph/, /th/, /kh/, pronounced [ph], [th], [kh] respectively, plain voiceless /p/, /t/, /k/, pronounced [p], [t], [k] respectively, and voiced /b/ [b], /d/ [d], /g/ [g]. All stops occur word internally. Examples of words with aspirated syllable initial stop are *phaksa* ‘long half’, *bangphak* ‘posts at the entrance of the bachelor’s house between the floor and the horizontal beam above the entrance’, *thəy* ‘blood’, *khaʔthoŋ* ‘heart’, *khaw* ‘hair of the head’, *rokhom* ‘type, shape’. Examples of words with syllable initial and word internal plain voiceless stops are *pan* ‘tree’, *hapun* ‘fishing-hook’, *təy* ‘water’, *kaltək* ‘person who never washes’, *kəy* ‘dog’, *akay* ‘mother’s older sister’. Words with voiced syllable initial stops are *baju* ‘friend’, *abon* ‘maize’, *dəkəm* ‘head’, *damdəl* ‘woven bamboo matting used as the side of a house’,

gawi ‘woman, girl’, *khangal* ‘poor person’. Table 9 below shows the phonemic contrast between plain voiceless, aspirated and voiced stops.

Table 9 Evidence for aspiration and voicing opposition in stops

ph – p – b	th – t – d	kh – k – g
<i>phal</i> - ‘share, shift of work’	<i>thap</i> - ‘to beat (up)’	<i>khal</i> ‘hole’
<i>pal</i> ‘flower’	<i>tap</i> ‘time, turn’	<i>kal</i> ‘horn’
<i>bal</i> - ‘say, tell’	<i>dap</i> - ‘to be on top, to press’	<i>gal</i> ‘pride’

2.2.2 Fricatives

Atong has two fricatives, both voiceless, viz. /s/ and /h/. The phoneme /h/ occurs only syllable initially, whereas /s/ occurs in both syllable initial and syllable-final position. The phoneme /s/ is an aspirated alveo-palatal fricative [ɕ^h] in syllable-initial position. This phoneme has a non-aspirated allophone [ɕ] in syllable-final position. There are very few occurrences of syllable final /s/, e.g. *ros* [roɕ] ‘juice’ and *anaros* [anaroɕ] ‘pineapple’; this phoneme occurs mostly in syllable-initial position, for example in words like *saʔ* [ɕ^haʔ] ‘child’ and *samal* [ɕ^hamal] ‘small ant’. The latter word, *anaros* ‘pineapple’, is very likely to be a loan. I have no evidence of the origin of the word *ros* ‘juice’ and cannot say with certainty that it is a loan, although one would expect it to be one on the basis of its aberrant phonological structure, i.e. the fact that the word has final /s/. The phoneme /s/ occurs word internally in words like *kənsaŋ* ‘later’ and *hapsan* ‘together, the same’. The phoneme /s/ is written phonemically as <s> in this grammar for two reasons, the first one being convenience: it is easy to type, and the second reason being that it is written as <s> in the orthography of the language (see §1.5).

The phoneme /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. It occurs only in syllable-initial position and mostly before the vowel /a/. Only in very few words does the phoneme /h/ occur before another vowel. The phoneme /h/ occurs in words like *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’, *haʔba* ‘dry rice and vegetable field on the slope of a mountain’, *hawci* ‘yonder’, *hoŋkhot*- ‘to go out’, *huŋa* ‘to swim’ and *huraw* ‘gibbon’. The phoneme /h/ occurs word internally in the unanalysable word *cokhoy* ‘bamboo fishing basket’, and in the word *laha* ‘resin’. The following table provides some minimal pairs with the phonemes /h/ and /s/.

Table 10 Evidence for the phonemic contrast of the two fricatives /s/ and /h/

<i>haʔ</i>	‘Take this!’	<i>saʔ</i>	‘Eat!’
<i>hap</i>	‘place’	<i>sap-</i>	‘to know’
<i>hok-</i>	‘to call loudly’	<i>sok-</i>	‘to succeed, to hold out’

2.2.3 Affricates

The opposition in the affricates is that of voiceless versus voiced. The voiceless alveo-palatal affricate is /c/ [tɕ] and the voiced alveo-palatal affricate is /j/ [dʒ]. Both phonemes occur exclusively in syllable-initial position. The opposition between the two phonemes /ch/ and /j/ can be proved by minimal pairs like *ca* ‘tea’, *ja* ‘month’, *cək-* ‘cold’, *jək* ‘spouse’ and *cəw* ‘liquor’, *jəw-* ‘to sleep’. The phonemes /c/ and /j/ occur word internally in words such as *ajot* ‘a children’s game’, *rajasa* ‘one hundred’, *ici* ‘here’, *macət* ‘to finish, complete’. Although affricates are phonetically built up of a stop element followed by a fricative element, they function as single units in Atong. In Atong complex onsets do not occur. Where complex onsets would occur, an indeterminate vowel breaks them up and syllabifies them. No indeterminate vowel (i.e. schwa) insertion is found between the phonetic elements of the affricates, hence they are phonological units. Moreover, although there are three series of stops, viz. voiced, plain voiceless and voiceless aspirated, we only find a voiced-voiceless opposition in the affricates, which is another argument in favour of treating them as phonological units. Although affricates are phonological units, only the stop element gets lengthened under stress, as we will see in §2.9.

2.2.4 The tap or trill and the oral continuant

The phoneme /r/ is pronounced as an alveolar tap (otherwise known as a flap) [ɾ] and less frequently an alveolar trill [r]. The phoneme /l/ is a voiced lateral continuant [l]. The two phonemes /r/ and /l/ contrast in syllable-initial position in words like *reʔeŋa* ‘to go away, leave’, *leŋla* ‘to drag one’s foot’ and *raydi* ‘turmeric’, *laysak* ‘type of vegetable’. In words which are truly of Atong origin, only /l/ occurs syllable finally, e.g. *ol-* ‘to talk’, *wil-* ‘to go down’, *təykhəl* ‘river’. The phonemes /r/ and /l/ occur word internally in, for example, *dala* ‘round bamboo mat’, *khokhəlaŋ* ‘bold person’, *karaŋ* ‘wings’ and *‘haʔbəri* ‘hill, mountain’. There are some words, all containing the bound root *ruk* ~ *luk* ‘frog’, in which /l/ and /r/ are in free variation in syllable-initial position, e.g. *rukwak* ~ *lukwak* ‘type of frog’, *lukchokchok* ‘type of frog’ etc. In loan words the phonemes /r/ and /l/ behave

differently. More about these phonemes will be discussed in the section on the phonology of loan words.

2.2.5 Nasal continuants

The oral nasal phonemes /m/ [m] and /n/ [n] occur both syllable initially as well as syllable finally and word internally. Examples of words containing these phonemes are *naway* ‘retard, idiot’, *san* ‘day’, *manap* ‘morning’, *riməla* ‘slippery’, *sam* ‘weeds, medicine’. The velar nasal /ŋ/ [ŋ] occurs exclusively in syllable-final position. Word internal /ŋ/ is also recorded. Examples of words with the velar nasal phoneme are: *dingəray* ‘fish trap’, *kənsaŋ* ‘later’ and *boŋboŋ* ‘liar’. Minimal and near minimal pairs that demonstrate the phonological opposition between /m, n, ŋ/ are given in Table 11.

Table 11 Evidence of the phonemic contrasts of the nasal continuants

Syllable initially:	<i>mat-</i> , ‘to be sharp’, <i>nat-</i> ‘to clean by scrubbing’
Root internally:	<i>ama</i> ‘mother’, <i>anay</i> ‘aunt: father’s sister’, <i>aŋa</i> ‘first person singular pronoun’
Syllable finally:	<i>ran?</i> - ‘to be dry’, <i>ram</i> ‘road’, <i>raŋ</i> ‘rain’

2.2.6 Glides

The phoneme /w/ is a labio-velar glide [w]. This phoneme occurs both syllable initially and syllable finally. Examples of words with /w/ include *wa* ‘bamboo’, *wen* ~ *wet* ‘classifier for times/turns’, *ray?wil-* ‘to walk around something’, *wəyset* ‘to wipe off’, *khaw* ‘hair of the head’, *te?ew* ‘now’, and *jəw?* ‘mother’, *taw?* ‘chicken, bird’. The phoneme /w/ occurs root internally in words such as *haw?nokhol* ‘father-in-law’ and *gawi* ‘girl, female’ and *daw?gep* (bird-?) ‘duck’. The off-glide /w/ occurs only after /ə/ and /a/, e.g. *jəw?* ‘mother’, and *taw?* ‘chicken, bird’, except in the words *te?ew* ‘now’ and *cew?khəy* ‘big knife (Siju dialect)’, where it occurs after /e/.

The glide /y/ is a palatal oral glide [j] and occurs only syllable finally. Words like *təy* ‘water’, *təy?* ‘blood’, *hay* ‘come on!, let’s go!’, *tay?ni* ‘today’, and *maynəl* ‘sticky rice’ are examples of words with this phoneme. The glide /y/ occurs after /ə, a, o, u/, e.g. *kəy?* ‘dog’, *may* ‘rice’, *cok-hoy* ‘bamboo fishing-basket’, *askuy* ~ *askhuy* ‘star’. Combinations of /i/ or /e/ followed by a glide do not occur. An overview of all possible combinations of vowels followed by a glide is given in Table 12.

Table 12 The possible combinations of vowels plus glide in Atong

Close			uy
Close-mid		əw, əy	
Open-mid	ew		oy
Open		aw, ay	

Several reasons led me to the analysis of the glides /y, w/ as consonant phonemes instead of the alternative analysis presenting them as diphthongs /ai, au, əi, əu, oi, ui/. The alternative analysis as part of diphthongs would create several problems, which are solved by the analysis of a consonant inventory with glides. First of all they cannot be followed by a consonant in a root, e.g. *CauC, *CəiC etc. The glides also do not occur before or after another consonant but this is in accordance with the canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure in the language. Analysing sequences as vowel plus glide safeguards the canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure of Atong.

Secondly, if one would analyse these phonemes as diphthongs, the second element of these diphthongs would never receive any pitch or stress. In sentences like (6) and (7) below, intensity and higher pitch stress falls on the bold and underlined vowel, not on the second element of the putative diphthong, despite the fact that the general intonation pattern of a word is from low to high with most prominence on the last vowel. Vowel sequences occur in Atong only at morpheme boundaries, i.e. the sequence /eo/ in the predicate of *rak-bebe-ok=no* (hard-TRULY-COS-QUOT) ‘ran really hard, it is said’, where the /e/ and the /o/ belong to different morphemes, are therefore not diphthongs, and both have the possibility to be stressed or to receive a higher pitch than the other. However, pitch and stress patterns like (8) and (9) never occur, i.e. the final vowel of the diphthong would never receive pitch and would never be stressed. In example (7), the vowel is very long and very high in falsetto voice to mark the surprise and awe of the speaker.

- (6) *nəmái rē?ē**ηbó**!*
*/nemay re?e**η**bo/*
*nemay re?e**η** =bo*
well go.away =IMP
‘Go carefully!’

- (7) *àtǎw!*
/atǎǎǎǎw/
‘Wow!’

- (8) **nèmaí rēʔēḡbó!*
 */*nemai reʔeḡbo/*
nemay reʔeḡ =bo
 well go.away =IMP
 ‘Go carefully!’
- (9) **àtəú: !*
 */*atəuuuu/*
 ‘Wow!’

All in all, it seems more natural to me to analyse /w/ and /y/ as off-glides and to posit seven possible combinations of vowel plus off-glide than to posit diphthongs. If I write combinations of vowels, e.g. /eo, ei, ie/, the two vowels always belong to separate syllables.

Only a subset of the phonemes presented in Table 8 occur syllable finally. These include the voiceless unaspirated stops, and the continuants. The possible syllable final consonants are listed in Table 13 below. It should be noted that many more consonants occur syllable initially than syllable finally.

Table 13 Syllable final consonants

Place of articulation→ Manner of articulation↓		bilabial	alveolar	velar
Stops	voiceless	p	t	k
Fricative			s	
Continuants	nasal	m	n	ŋ
	oral		l	
	glides	w	y [j]	

The phonemes /ŋ/ and /y/ occur exclusively in syllable-final position, as was mentioned above. Final stops are unreleased, i.e. /-p/ [p̚], /-t/ [t̚] and /-k/ [k̚]. Syllable final /l/ in loans can be pronounced [l ~ r ~ ɾ] (see section 2.16).

2.3 The morphophonological process of fusion

When the declarative enclitic <=te> (DCL) follows the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG), the vowel of the negative may partly assimilate to the vowel of the declarative enclitic and rises to /i/. This /i/ becomes voiceless as it is wedged in between a voiceless affricate and a voiceless stop. The resulting form after the fusion of the two morphemes is then <-cite> [tɕite] <NEG/DCL>. The optional assimilation of /e/ to /u/ under the influence of the

following /w/ in the word *gəwəŋ* [gu.əŋ] and the raising of /a/ to /i/ in the morpheme <-cite> (NEG/DCL) are the only instances of regressive assimilation in Atong.

There is only one morpheme that has an allomorph consisting exclusively of a consonant. This morpheme is the perfective suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS). The allomorph <-k> (COS) of this morpheme occurs only after the negative marker <-ca> NEG. The negative perfect <-ca-k> (NEG-COS) will then sound like [tɛak]. Forms like *[tɛa:k] or *[tɛaʔak] which one would equally expect to occur in a combination <-ca-ak> (NEG-COS) do not occur in Atong. For an explanation of these possible ungrammatical forms see section 2.10. In the form <-ca-k> [cak] (-NEG-COS) the two morphemes are still clearly distinguishable, but the negative marker <-ca> (NEG) forces the perfective morpheme <-ok ~ -ak> (COS) to discard its vowel and both of them fuse into a single syllable, i.e. /cak/, e.g. (10).

(10) *gawigamuba olrukancakno. mama manithaŋgamuba olrukancakno.*

[gawiga] =mu =ba {ol -ruk -an -ca -k} =no
 wife =COM =ADD speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

[mama mani] =thaŋ =ga =mu =ba
 father-in-law mother.in.law =OWN =DEREL =COM =ADD

{ol -ruk -an -ca -k} =no
 speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

‘He didn’t speak with his wife any more, it is said. He did not speak with his own father and mother-in-law any more, it is said.’

The factitive morpheme <-wa> (FACT) (see Chapter 1) is pronounced without its initial consonant /w/ when it occurs after a root ending in the labial /m/ or /p/. In these cases the factitive is homophonous with the customary aspect marker <-a> (CUST). In most cases the context will provide a clue as to how to analyse certain forms with a suffix which sounds like [a], e.g. (11) below. In this example we see a suffix <-a> in the verb *ram-a* (cook-CUST/FACT). The presence of the locative enclitic <=ci> (LOC), marking the clause as a Location adjunct (see §27.5), is the clue to the analysis of the morpheme <-a> as the factitive, since customary aspect cannot occur on predicates of locative-marked clauses.

(11) [...] *gawigaba kumiri rəmacie, naʔlame gudukoknowa.*

[*gawigaba kumiri*]{*rə~~m~~-a*} =*ci* =*e* [*naʔlam* =*e*]
 wife Pname cook -FACT =LOC=FC type.of.fish =FC

{*guduk-ok*} =*noa*
 wiggle -COS =QUOT

‘[...] when the wife Kumiri cooked, the fish wiggled about, it is said.’

2.4 Vowels

Table 14 below shows the vowel inventory of the Atong language, whereas the next table presents minimal and near minimal pairs to demonstrate the vowel contrasts.

Table 14 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i [i ~ ɪ]		U [ʊ ~ u]
Mid	e [e ~ ɛ]	ə [ə]	O [ɔ ~ o]
Open		a [ɑ ~ a]	

Table 15 Evidence for vowel quality contrast

a – i		e – ə	
<i>git</i>	‘music’	<i>kəreŋ</i>	‘bone’
<i>təy-gat</i>	‘place in the river where one washes, gets drinking water and washes clothes and dishes’	<i>kəɾəŋ</i>	‘sound’
a – e		i – o	
<i>cek</i>	‘fishing net’	<i>riŋ</i>	‘yam’
<i>cak</i>	‘hand’	<i>roŋ</i>	‘colour’
a – o		i – u	
<i>boŋ-boŋ</i>	‘liar’	<i>riŋ</i>	‘yam’
<i>baŋ-baŋ</i>	‘empty’	<i>ruŋ</i>	‘boat’
a – u		i – ə	
<i>cuŋ-</i>	‘big’	<i>riŋ</i>	‘yam’
<i>caŋ</i>	‘who’	<i>rəŋ-</i>	‘to drink’
a – ə		<i>diŋ-gəray</i>	‘fish trap’
<i>maŋ-</i>	‘classifier for animals’	<i>dəŋ-daŋ</i>	‘alone’
<i>məŋ-</i>	‘classifier for spoken things’	<i>kirin</i>	‘to have a hole in it’
e – i		<i>kəɾəŋ</i>	‘a sound’
<i>neʔ</i>	‘bee’	<i>cing</i>	‘classifier for bamboo shoots’
<i>niʔ-</i>	‘not.exist’	<i>cən-</i>	‘to offer something to a dead person’
e – o		o – u	
<i>dep-</i>	‘to be on top of something’	<i>ruŋ</i>	‘boat’
<i>dok-</i>	‘to take off, take apart’	<i>roŋ</i>	‘colour’
e – u		o – ə	
<i>kəreŋ</i>	‘bone’	<i>roŋ</i>	‘colour’
<i>khəruŋ</i>	‘wanting to lay an egg’	<i>rəŋ-</i>	‘to drink’
<i>thep</i>	‘classifier for heaps and small packets’	u – ə	
<i>thup</i>	‘nest’	<i>tuŋ</i>	‘hot’
		<i>təŋ-</i>	‘to know a fact/someone’

The Atong language has six vowels. The vowel phoneme /i/ is a close front unrounded vowel [i]. In closed syllables it may be pronounced slightly more lowered and retracted as [ɪ]. This phoneme occurs in all positions in the word, i.e. word initially, medially and finally, e.g. *ici* ‘here’, *riŋ* ‘yam’, *tayʔni* ‘today’. The only originally Atong words which start with /i/ are the proximal demonstrative pronoun in its free form *ie* (PRX) and those words formed on the bound form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *i-* (PRX), although not all of these are synchronically analysable as such, e.g. *ici* ‘here’, *i-thara-an* (PRX-only-FC/ID) ‘only this one’, *i-san* (PRX-MOB) ‘thither’.

The vowel phoneme /e/ varies freely between a heightened mid-close front unrounded vowel [e] and the mid-open front unrounded vowel [ɛ]. Examples of words containing the phoneme /e/ are: *sene* [sɛɛ ~ sene] ‘seven’, *khenʔ* [khenʔ ~ khienʔ] ‘river crab’, *era* [ɛra ~ ɛra] ‘type of small river fish’. Word initial /e/ is always pronounced more closed as [e], while word final /e/ is pronounced more open as [ɛ].

The vowel phoneme /a/ varies between the open central unrounded vowel [a] and the open back unrounded vowel [ɑ]. Examples are: *hapsan* [hapsan ~ hapsan] ‘the same’, *rayʔiari* [ɾajʔjari ~ ɾajʔjari] ‘just go!’, *balwa* [balwa ~ balwa] ‘wind’, *atoŋ* [atɔŋ ~ atɔŋ] ‘what’. The phoneme /a/ may be found articulated lower and more to the back in closed syllables but I have also occasionally heard the lower allophone in open syllables so we can say that the allophones are in free variation.

The vowel phoneme /o/ varies between [o ~ ɔ], i.e. the back close-mid rounded vowel [o], with often a quite high pronunciation, and the back open-mid rounded vowel [ɔ] respectively. The back open mid-rounded variant has a tendency to occur mostly in closed syllables, but due to assimilation to the vowel in the next syllable words containing two /o/ phonemes in adjacent syllables speakers often, but not always, pronounce both phonemes with about the same quality, e.g. *hoʔoŋ* [hɔʔɔŋ ~ hoʔɔŋ] ‘yes’, *ortho* [ortho ~ ɔrtho] ‘meaning’.

The vowel phoneme /u/ is a high back unrounded or not so very rounded vowel and may be pronounced a bit towards the mid section of the vowel triangle. Examples of words containing the phoneme /u/ are *jadu* [dʒadu ~ dʒadu] ‘magic’, *mudu* [muɖu ~ mudu] ‘papaya’, *ue* [ue ~ ue] (DST).

The vowel phoneme /ə/, the central unrounded vowel [ə], occurs in words like *akrudəgəl* ‘pumpkin’, *ətakəy* ‘like that’ and *thəʔək-* ‘to have the hiccups’, *nəgəl*

‘market’, *rəgən* ‘near’, *jək* ‘spouse’, *kən* ‘back’, and *dəkəm* ‘head’. Let me emphasise here that /ə/ is NOT just a reduced vowel, but a full phoneme in Atong.

2.5 Vowel devoicing and elision

When a vowel appears between two voiceless stops or voiceless affricates or a combination of the two, the vowel may become devoiced when the following voiceless consonant is intervocalic. This devoicing and elision may occur in rapid and normal, and even in emphatic speech. The two consonants that cause the devoicing may belong to the same syllable or to different syllables within the same word. The vowel phoneme may even disappear altogether after /s/ and /c/. When the vowel is lost the preceding /s/ may be lengthened to fill up the gap left by the absent vowel. The result is a phonetic cluster with long [s:]. Examples of these phenomena are given in the list here below in phonological form accompanied by their most usual pronunciation variants.

/sək-a/	[ɛəka ~ ɛ̥əka ~ ɛ:ka]	<sək-a>	(want-CUST)	‘want’
/cək-a/	[tɛəka ~ tɛ̥əka ~ tɛka]	<cək-a>	(cold-CUST)	‘cold’
/macət-ok/	[mateətok ~ matetok]	<macət-ok>	(finish-COS)	‘finished’
/caksi khol/	[teakeikhəl ~ teakejikhəl]	<caksi khol>	(finger-skin)	‘fingernail’
/disu təy/	[diɛtəy]	<disu təy>	(piss-water)	‘piss’
/sətha/	[ɛətha ~ ɛ̥ətha ~ ɛ̥ətha ~ ɛ:tha]			‘umbrella’

Even when there is no phonetic vowel in the nucleus of the root in the second example above, i.e. /cək-a/ [tɛka] (cold-CUST), the second phonological consonant may still be lengthened as a means of stress assignment to the first syllable, viz. [tek:a]. This is how Dilseng R. Sangma starts his story:

(12) *aŋdo cəkaydonga!*

pronunciation: [aŋdo ck:ajdoŋa]

[aŋ] =do {cək -aydoŋa}

1s =TOP cold -DUR

‘I am cold!’

The word /gəwaŋ/ ‘spider’ may be pronounced [gawaŋ ~ guwaŋ] or [gwaŋ]. The choice between [guwaŋ] and [gwaŋ] seems to depend on speed, the latter being

preferred in fast speech. Whereas /ə/ seems to assimilate to the glide in the bi-syllabic pronunciation [guwaŋ], in the monosyllabic pronunciation [gwaŋ] the /ə/ disappears altogether. This is the only word which I have discovered so far with a stop – /w/ onset sequence in which /ə/ may elide.

2.6 Vowel assimilation

In roots consisting of more than one syllable, the vowel /ə/ assimilates in rounding, height and position (front-back) to the vowel in the last syllable which I call the main syllable. This harmonisation mechanism typically affects schwas in syllables of the CV type in roots with a CV.CVC or CV.CV.CVC syllable structure. The vowel harmony may be incomplete, i.e. schwa does not have to assimilate completely to the vowel in the last syllable of the root, which means that there is some variation in pronunciation of (Cə).Cə.CVC words. Assimilation is fullest when /ə/ stands between two stops that would violate the sonority sequencing principle if they would be pronounced together in the same syllable as a cluster. Another way of putting it would be that the sequence of these consonants in their position relative to the main nucleus violates the sonority sequencing hierarchy (see Lass 1984:264 and Laver 1994: 504). A good example of this mechanism is the word *səkəruŋ* ‘river snail’. The word *səkəruŋ* ‘river snail’ is most often pronounced [sukəruŋ ~ sʊkəruŋ] although other possible varieties are also heard. The sequence s-k violates the sonority sequencing hierarchy whereas k-r does not, hence the vowel between /k/ and /r/ is normally not as much assimilated to the /u/ of the main syllable as the vowel between /s/ and /k/. All this may not lead us to believe that the schwas in these types of (CV).CV.CVC words are only there to break up phonological clusters in Atong. There are no complex onsets in the language. Moreover the schwas in the kind of words under discussion contrast phonemically with other vowels, viz. vowels which do not assimilate to the last syllable of the root e.g.

paləŋ ‘jungle’
awəy ‘grandmother (Badri
 dialect)

bugərək ‘type of vegetable’
bisəl ‘coin’

There are many bi-syllabic words with identical vowels which never show any variation or reduction of their first syllable. These words represent full vowel harmony in both syllables always. Examples are given below.

<i>siri</i>	‘snow’	<i>paraŋ</i>	‘reed’
<i>biri</i>	‘cigarette made of <i>dəmbəl</i> ’	<i>sorok</i>	‘road’
<i>gasam</i>	‘afternoon, evening’	<i>sokhop</i>	‘a cover’
<i>cini</i>	‘sugar’	<i>samal</i>	‘type of black ant’
<i>ganaŋ</i>	‘LOC be’	<i>morot</i>	‘person, man’
<i>purun</i>	‘goat’		

There are three words in which /ə/ does not assimilate to the following vowel, viz. *joŋsəri* ‘brother-in-law’, *kəɾəthaŋ* ‘father’s older sister’s child’ *təru-* ‘to take a bath’. Furthermore, we have to remark that schwa assimilation also occurs in compounds, i.e. word internal CV.CVC syllable structures. Examples are given below with their most usual pronunciation variants.

<i>/kan.tə.ra/</i>	[kantara ~ kantəra] ‘empty’, this word cannot be broken up into smaller morphemes.
<i>/a.sən.thə.lak/</i>	[æənthalak ~ æenthəlak] ‘type of fish’, this word cannot be broken up into smaller morphemes.
<i>/a.kə.ru.də.gəl/</i>	[akurudəgəl ~ akərudəgəl] ‘type of pumpkin’, < <i>akəru-dəgəl</i> > (pumpkin-?).
<i>/riʔ.kə.ran/</i>	[riʔkaran ~ riʔkəran] ‘testicles’ < <i>ri-kəran</i> > (penis-wings).
<i>/sal.nə.ram/</i>	[ɛalnaram ~ ɛalnəram] ‘the east’, not synchronically analysable ¹⁶ .
<i>/rayʔa-thəri/</i>	[rajʔjathəri ~ rajʔjathiri] < <i>rayʔa-thəri</i> > (come-back) ‘come back’.
<i>/ci-nəra/</i>	[tɛinara ~ tɛinəra] ‘type of lemon’, not analysable.
<i>/gaʔ-sələk-/</i>	[gaʔɛələk ~ gaʔɛələk] ‘to sprain one’s foot’, not analysable.
<i>/gu-thəni/</i>	[guthəni ~ guthini] ‘pointed stick, spear’, not analysable.
<i>/tok-thəniŋ/</i>	[tokthiniŋ ~ tokthəniŋ] ‘neck’ < <i>tok-</i> > ‘neck’ < <i>-thəniŋ</i> > ?.
<i>/wa-dəkəloŋ/</i>	[wadokoloŋ ~ wadəkəloŋ] ‘bamboo water pipe’ < <i>waʔ</i> > ‘bamboo’, but this word seems to have lost its glottal stop in this obscure compound.

Two words which are compounds, but of which the constituents are bound morphemes whose meaning is not clear synchronically, have allomorphs with /ə/

¹⁶ The word *salnəram* can be partly analysed with the help of Garo: *sal* ‘sun, day’, *nə* ‘?’ (does not occur as a word in Atong), *ram* ‘place’. The word for ‘east’ in Garo is *salaram*.

which does not assimilate to the following vowel. These words are *mækren* ~ *məkəren* ‘eye’ and *oknaŋ-* ~ *ogənaŋ-* ‘pregnant’.

The bound morpheme *mək-* ‘eye’ appears in other words having to do with facial body parts and some other words:

<i>məkcel-</i>	‘to shine in the eyes’	<i>məksep</i>	‘corner of the eye’
<i>məkep</i>	‘temple’	<i>məksəməl</i>	‘eyebrow’
<i>məkgul</i>	‘eyelid’	<i>məksəram</i>	‘eyelash’
<i>məkhəŋ</i>	‘face, front’	<i>məksu-</i>	‘to wash your face’
<i>məkjəw-</i>	‘to almost fall asleep’	<i>məktəy</i>	‘tear’
		<i>məksolkhare</i>	‘ring finger’
		<i>məkthoram</i>	‘middle finger’

Particular types of monomorphemic (Cə).Cə.CVC roots in which schwa occurs and may assimilate to the vowel in the CVC syllable are certainly discernable. These types are based on particular sequences of consonant phonemes in the onsets of all syllables in the respective roots and are given below.

Type 1A Stop_{vd} + /ə/ + Stop or Affricate

Type 1B Affricate_{vl} + /ə/ + Stop

Type 1A includes roots such as the following.

<i>bədəy</i>	‘old man’	<i>gəthəy</i>	‘unripe, raw, uncooked’
<i>bətəy</i>	‘fat of animal, to smell nice’	<i>gəbeŋ</i>	‘width, breadth’
<i>bəthəy</i>	‘porcupine’	<i>gəciŋ</i>	‘to make an angle, be tilted’
<i>dəkəm</i>	‘head’	<i>gəcun</i>	‘ladder, stairs’
<i>dəpəw</i>	‘snake’	<i>gəduk</i>	‘almost’
<i>dətəy</i>	‘father’s elder brother’	<i>bəthu-~</i>	
<i>dəkaŋ</i>	‘type of vegetable’	<i>bəthəw-</i>	‘to boil (intr.) (of water)’
<i>dəkham</i>	‘very small wooden stool’	<i>gətum ~</i>	
		<i>gətəm</i>	‘village which forms a specific area with certain other villages’

I also include the word *giciŋ* ‘to make an angle’, be tilted’ in this type although its second consonant is not a stop but the voiceless affricate. Affricates, however, do have a stop element in them as we can see if we write the word *giciŋ* ‘to make an angle’ in IPA, viz. [gitɕiŋ].

All word initial onsets in the roots above are voiced stops. It is worth noticing that onset sequences of the type voiceless stop – voiced stop or affricate onset do not occur in Atong except in the word *ətəkəy* ‘like that’ and the perlative/similative phrasal enclitic *<=təkəy>* (VIA/LIKE). The word *ətəkəy* ‘like that’ consists of one morpheme.

Type 1B includes roots like the following.

<i>cəbəm</i>	‘forehead’	<i>cəgəp</i>	‘to fall face down on the ground’
<i>cəkhəw</i>	‘nine’	<i>cəduk</i>	‘to be upside down’
<i>cəgəl</i>	‘type of snail’		

Type 2 of the (Cə).Cə.CVC roots consist of a sequence of two consonantal onsets, of which the first is a continuant. Examples of words of type 2A are given here below.

<i>rəmət</i>	‘yellow’	<i>mənok</i>	‘to swallow, devour’
<i>rəgən</i>	‘near’	<i>rəcok</i>	‘picket’
<i>rədəm</i>	‘to sprout young leaves’	<i>səthi</i>	‘alcoholic rice from which a beverage is drawn by adding water’
<i>rəphi</i>	‘to cover the floor with a new layer of clay and cow dung’	<i>səkəp</i>	‘to fold and close’
<i>səki</i>	‘to learn, teach’	<i>sətha</i>	‘umbrella’
<i>nəgəl</i>	‘market’	<i>pəlak</i>	‘piece of split bamboo to stir with’
<i>məte</i>	‘deity’		

Type 2B consists of consonantal onsets, of which the second is a continuant.

<i>bərəy</i>	‘four’	<i>pərəw</i>	‘to have a hole in it’
<i>gərəw</i>	‘to shake’	<i>sərəŋ</i>	‘web’
<i>gəroŋ</i>	‘to meet’	<i>gəwaŋ</i>	‘spider’
<i>kəran</i>	‘wing’	<i>gəwaŋ</i>	‘spider’
<i>khərip</i>	‘type of vegetable’	<i>gəsɯ</i>	‘to cough’
<i>khəruŋ</i>	‘wanting to lay an egg’	<i>thəlampak</i>	‘tongue’
<i>kəroŋ</i>	‘horn’	<i>cərəm</i>	‘heavy’
<i>jəroŋ</i>	‘to dissolve’	<i>thəmbəloŋ</i>	‘to be damaged (of a road or bridge)’
<i>jərəm</i>	‘quietly’		

Type 3 consists of roots consisting of three syllables, of which the first two, or all three, contain a schwa. At least one of the syllable onsets in each root is /r/.

<i>gəɾəθop</i>	‘type of small plant’	<i>gəɾəmak</i>	‘storage rack in the kitchen’
<i>səkəruŋ</i>	‘type of river snail’	<i>kəɾədəl</i>	‘hanging root’
		<i>dəkəɾet</i>	‘to threaten’

Note again that onset sequences of the type VOICELESS STOP-SCHWA-VOICED STOP do -vowel not occur, e.g. **təbV*, **pəgV*. When word initial, the phoneme /s/ only occurs before voiceless stops and /t/, e.g. *səɾaŋ* ‘web’ and *səki* ‘to learn, teach’.

2.7 Vowel phonotactics

The phoneme /a/ is the most versatile vowel of all. This phoneme occurs in all positions in the root, stem and word.

As was mentioned above, the vowel /i/ occurs word initially only in the proximal demonstrative <ie ~ i> (PRX). Root or stem final /i/ is rare in Atong. There are two suffixes with final /i/, viz. the future suffix <-ni> (FUT) and the locative <-ci> (LOC).

The vowel /e/ seldom occurs root or stem finally. The vowel /e/ does not occur word initially except in two fish names, viz. *eloŋ* and *era*, and in loan words.

The vowel /o/ does not occur root or stem finally except in very few words which are probably loans, viz. *salgəro* ‘north’ and *balgəto?* ‘orchid’. The only root ending in /o/ is *no* ‘to say’. There are four enclitics ending in /o/, viz. the hearsay evidential or quotative <=no> (QUOT), the imperative emphasiser <=to> (IMPEMPH), the imperative <=bo> (IMP) and the topic enclitic <=do> (TOP).

The only two words that begin with the vowel /u/ are the distal demonstrative pronoun <-ue ~ -u> (DST) and *uʔciŋ ~ ukciŋ ~ uciŋ* ‘leech’. The only two roots which end in /u/ are the kinship terms *abu* ‘grandmother’ and *acu* ‘grandfather’. One enclitic ends in /u/, viz. the allomorph <=mu> of the sequential clausal enclitic <=mu ~ =muŋ ~ =məŋ ~ =muŋna> (SEQ) of which the allomorphs are in free variation. Its distribution makes /u/ a predominantly word internal vowel phoneme.

The only recorded words that begin with /ə/ are *əm* ‘yes’, *əmbəŋ* ‘bamboo flute’, *əmpoŋ* ‘lopsided’, *əməy*, an interjection of surprise, *əndən* ‘in vain, for nothing’, and grammaticalised derivations of the verb *ətək* ‘do like this/that’. The phoneme /ə/ never occurs root or stem or word finally.

The VC sequences /ay/, /aw/, /əy/, /əw/, /oy/ and /uy/ do not occur word initially, only root or stem finally, the only exception is the interjections *ayaw*, *aya* and *ayu*, which indicate surprise and grief (see §17.6). As mentioned in section 2.2.6, the

sequences /uy/ and /oy/ are rare in Atong whereas the other vowel-plus-glide combinations are frequent.

2.8 Morphophonological vowel assimilation

There are three types of morphophonological assimilation in Atong. The first type is progressive and obligatory, the second type is progressive and optional, and the third type is regressive and optional. The first type of morphophonological assimilation occurs when the vowel of a suffix assimilates to the immediately preceding vowel of the stem. The perfective suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) occurs as its allomorph <-ak> (COS) directly after stems which end in /a/ or /aʔ/ (glottalised syllable with /a/), e.g. (13). If the stem ends in a consonant or another vowel the allomorph <-ok> (COS) will occur, e.g. (14).

- (13) *sathiriaymuṇna umi caythiriciba, baʔ, matdam saʔakno.*

{*sa* -*thiri*} =*ay* =*muṇna* [*u*] =*mi* {*cay* -*thiri*} =*ci* =*ba*
 put.a.trap -again =ADV =SEQ DST=GEN look -AGAIN=LOC=INDEF

[*baʔ*] [*matdam*] {*saʔ* -*ak*} =*no*
 interj otter eat -COS =QUOT

‘When he had put [the fish trap] in place again, then, when he looked again, the otters had eaten [the fish] again.’

- (14) *təykhal patwaci roŋʔ riməlaymu gaʔsokokaymuna kokceŋ galatokno, saphawba galatokno.*

[*təykhal*] {*pat -wa*} =*ci* [*roŋʔ*] {*riməl*} =*ay* =*mu*
 river cross -FACT =LOC stone slippery =ADV =SEQ
 {*gaʔsokok*} =*ay* =*muna* [*kokceŋ*] {*galat -ok*} =*no*
 stumble.and.fall =ADV =SEQ basket fall -COS =QUOT
 [*saphaw*] =*ba* {*galat -ok*} =*no*
 rabbit =ADD fall -COS =QUOT

‘When they crossed the river, because the stones were slippery, they stumbled and fell and the basket fell, it is said, and the rabbit also fell, it is said.’

As already mentioned, the allomorph <-k> of the morpheme <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) occurs invariably after the negative <-ca>. The first syllable of the progressive/durative marker <-aydoŋ ~ -ayroŋ ~ aydok ~ ayrok ~ aroŋ ~ arok~ aydoŋa ~ -ayroŋa ~ aroŋa> (PROG/DUR) is pronounced [e] after a stem ending in the vowel /i/, e.g. *sandi-edoŋa-cəm* (search-PROG =IRR) ‘[they] are searching in vain’.

The second case of progressive vowel assimilation optionally occurs when the indeterminate noun *je* ‘whatever, any’ is marked by the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID). The /a/ of the enclitic is raised to /ɛ/, which gives the resultant form *je-en* [jeɛn] (whatever=FC/ID) ‘whatever, a certain’. The noun and the focus/identifier enclitic may also fuse to *jen* [jɛn] (whatever.FC/ID) ‘whatever, a certain’.

The third type of morphophonological assimilation occurs in compounds when the vowel of the first syllable of the compound assimilates to the vowel in the next syllable which is the second member of the compound, e.g. *nok* ‘house’ + *-khuy* ‘roof’ → *nukkhuy* [nuk^huɲ] ‘roof’. This assimilation is optional as the variant *nokkhuy* [nok^huɲ] ‘roof’ also occurs. Allomorphs that exist as a result of this type of assimilation are in free variation.

2.9 Consonant length

There are no phonemic long consonants in Atong. Coda consonants can be lengthened optionally. This lengthening is one of the ways a speaker can assign stress to a syllable. Stops, except the glottal stop, and affricates can only be lengthened when they are in intervocalic position, the other consonants can be lengthened in all positions. The word *jamok* <*jam-ok*> (complete-COS) ‘finished’, was alternatively

written as *jammok* or *jamok* by my Atong friends when it appeared at the end of a story they transcribed for me. This word may be pronounced as [dʒamok], [dʒa:mok], [dʒamo:k] or [dʒam:ok], which is sometimes reflected in the writing of my Atong friends. The same mechanism was reflected in other words like *sapa* <*sap-a*> (to.be.skilled-INF) ‘is skilled’ which was sometimes written *sappa*, as its occasional pronunciation [sap:a] suggests. This form also occurs as [sapa] *sapa* <*sap-a*> (to.be.skilled-INF) ‘is skilled’. There are of course no verbal roots **sapp-* and **jamm-*; what the writing of my Atong friends reflect is optional lengthening of an intervocalic consonant. All consonantal phonemes are subject to this optional process, including the affricates. The word *san-san* (day-day) ‘every day’ may be pronounced [sǎn:san] with a long /n/ when the first syllable is stressed. In this word the /n/ is in preconsonantal position and not intervocalic.

If stress is expressed through lengthening of the consonant, it is always the coda consonant of the stressed syllable which gets lengthened. If the syllable does not have a consonant in the coda phonemically, the onset of the next syllable is geminated, so that phonetically the coda slot of the stressed syllable will be filled and thus the condition for consonantal stress is met.

When an affricate is lengthened, it affects only the stop element. The word *acu* ‘grandfather’ may be pronounced both [atɕu] with a single [t], or [at:ɕu] with a long [t]. An example with the voiced affricate is *raja-sa* (hundred-one) ‘one hundred’, which may be pronounced as [radʒasa ~ ra:dʒasa] or [rad:ʒasa]. Affricate lengthening only occurs when the previous syllable has an empty coda because affricates only occur syllable initially.

When two of the same consonants are juxtaposed across a syllable or morpheme boundary, they merge into one and are not pronounced as a long consonant. Lengthening as a result of stress assignment is optional, e.g. *tan-ni* (put-FUT) [tani] ‘will put’, *tawʔpak-khal* (bat-cave) [tawʔpakʰal] ‘bat cave’.

Good examples of the possibility to lengthen either the vowel or the coda consonant of the syllable are examples (25) and (26) in §2.13 below.

2.10 Vowel length

Vowel length is not phonologically contrastive in Atong. With some speakers, and not at all times, vowels in a clearly closed syllable may be pronounced as shorter and lowered or backed than vowels in a clearly open syllable. This means that sometimes the word *wak* ‘pig’ is pronounced as [wak ~ wak ~ wa:k] and that the word *wa* ‘tooth’ is always pronounced as [wa]. This means that vowel length and allophonic variation are no indication of the syllable structure in Atong.

When two of the same vowel phonemes are juxtaposed across a morpheme boundary, three different things may happen in the pronunciation, viz.

1. The two vowel phonemes merge into one short vowel, e.g. <*okha-ak*> [okhak] (hungry-COS) ‘very hungry’.
2. The two vowels are both pronounced as one long vowel. <*okha-ak*> [okha:k] (hungry-COS) ‘very hungry’.
3. A glottal stop may be inserted between the two vowel phonemes. <*okha-ak*> [okhaʔak] (hungry-COS) ‘very hungry’.

All these strategies appear to be pretty much in free variation. There is a tendency for certain speakers to prefer a certain strategy. Another tendency seems to be that the faster a person speaks, the more likely he is to merge the two vowels. Conversely, the slower he speaks, the more likely he is to pronounce the two vowels as a long vowel or to insert a glottal stop.

2.11 Ambisyllabic consonants

We can only know what syllable structures Atong displays when we know its morphological structure. Most morphemes in Atong are monosyllabic. It is on the basis of known, productive morphemes that we can know what phonemes can occur in syllable initial and final position and in which combinations. There are, however, some multisyllabic morphemes. Polysyllabic morphemes with intervocalic consonants, i.e. those consonants that can appear in both syllable initial and syllable-final position, are all ambisyllabic in the sense that the intervocalic consonant cannot be assigned unambiguously to just one of the syllables. Since there are no morphemes which serve as indicators of the syllabic make up of multisyllabic roots, suffixes and

enclitics, we cannot know where their internal syllabic boundaries are. Polysyllabic roots of this type are *gawi* [gawi ~ gawi] ‘girl’, *gətam* ‘village’, *ətəkəy* ‘like this’, *pipuk* ‘belly, womb, intestines’ and *sene* [sene ~ sene ~ senɛ] ‘seven’. Examples of polysyllabic suffixes and enclitics are the event specifier <-*ɛəraŋ*> (TOTALLY, COMPLETELY), the concomitant action predicate head suffix <-*butuŋ*> (WHILE), and the phrasal enclitic <=*maran*> (TOGETHER).

Since polysyllabic morphemes cannot be divided into smaller meaningful elements, their internal syllabic structure is not only unknowable but also irrelevant for the synchronic description of the language. For example, since the lexeme *gawi* [gawi ~ gawi] ‘girl’ cannot be broken up into smaller meaningful elements and the phoneme /w/ can occur both syllable initially and syllable finally, it is impossible to establish whether the root internal syllable boundary is before the /w/, i.e. *ga.wi* or after the /w/, i.e. *gaw.i*, or in between to possible /w/ phonemes, i.e. *gaw.wi*.

The complete consonantal phoneme inventory of Atong is displayed in Table 8. Morphological analysis shows us that only a limited set of consonants can occur in syllable-final position. These phonemes are given in Table 13. Thus, if a polysyllabic morpheme contains an intervocalic phoneme that cannot occur in syllable-final position, we can say that the syllable boundary of this morpheme lies before this consonant. An example of such a polysyllabic morpheme is *acu* [atɛu ~ at:ɛu] ‘grandfather’. The allophone [at:ɛu] with the long stop element of the affricate /c/ is the result of the rule of optional consonant lengthening explained in §2.9, where it is stated that all intervocalic consonants can be lengthened for reasons of stress and that, when the affricates are lengthened, it affects only the stop element. The phoneme /c/ cannot occur syllable finally, so if we for some reason had to syllabify this root, the phonotactics as they occur on monosyllabic morphemes would be an argument to say that the syllable boundary in the polysyllabic morpheme *acu* ‘grandfather’ lies before the /c/, i.e. *a.cu*. The same monomorpheme-based phonotactics would prompt us to argue that the syllable boundary in the first person singular morpheme *aŋa* (1s) lies after the /ŋ/, i.e. *aŋ.a*, since this morpheme cannot occur syllable initially.

It is phonotactically impossible for Atong syllables to end in a consonant cluster, so in polymorphemic roots with intervocalic consonant clusters, it is possible to assign the consonants to either the coda of the first syllable or the onset of the second syllable. Examples of such morphemes are *makbul* ‘bear’, *matdam* ‘otter’ and

məks(ə)raŋ ‘eyebrow’. In these examples, the syllable structure has to be *mak.bul* ‘bear’, *mat.dam* ‘otter’ and *mək.s(ə.)raŋ* ‘eyebrow’, where the last word can optionally contain an extra syllable because non-first syllable consonant clusters with /r/ as second element can be broken up by the insertion of a schwa (see §2.1).

As mentioned above, the syllabification of morphemes like this is irrelevant for the synchronic description of Atong, since they are not dividable into smaller meaningful elements. However, monomorpheme-based phonotactics help us to explain why certain consonantal sequences, i.e. **VpŋV* or **VcnV* never occur in polysyllabic morphemes, the reason being that synchronically unanalysable polysyllabic morphemes obey the same phonotactic rules as monosyllabic ones. This phenomenon can be explained diachronically when one argues that polysyllabic morphemes are the product of fossilised combinations of monosyllabic ones. I will not, however, at this time argue in favour or against this explanation, since internal reconstruction and historical comparison of Atong lies outside the scope of this thesis.

2.12 Glottalisation

Glottalisation, or glottal prosody, in Atong is a feature that operates on the level of the syllable, and that manifests itself as a glottal stop at the end of the syllable.

Glottalisation only affects open syllables and syllables ending in a continuant. A prosodic feature that only affects part of the syllable is called “syllable-part prosody” (Lass 1984: 244). In this grammar, glottalisation is written phonemically as a glottal stop at the end of the affected syllable.¹⁷

An open glottalised syllable ends in a glottal stop which is not released, e.g. *caʔ* [tɕaʔ] ‘leg/foot’.¹⁸ There are two phonetic possibilities for the release of a glottalised continuant, depending on the following phoneme.

¹⁷ In the orthography of Atong, glottalised syllables are written with a raised dot or apostrophe after the affected syllable, as explained in §1.5.

¹⁸ Lexical morphemes ending in a glottal stop do **NOT** have an echo vowel after the glottal stop as in the A•chik [aʔtɕək] dialect of Garo (see Burling 2004: 34-35). Thus the word *caʔ* ‘leg/foot’ is pronounced [caʔ] and the bare imperative of the verb *raʔ-* ‘to get’ is *raʔ* [raʔ] ‘Get [it]!’

- If the glottalised continuant is followed by a consonant, the glottalised phoneme is not released, i.e. *manʔ-khu-tɛa* [manʔ.khutea] (be.able-INCOM-NEG) ‘is not yet possible’.
- If the glottalised continuant is followed by a vowel, it is released and the release repeats the continuant so that it can be said to act like the onset of the following syllable, e.g. *manʔ-ok* [manʔ.nok] (be.able-COS) ‘was able’.

In a glottalised syllable with final /l/ the glottal stop usually precedes the oral closure of the [l] when followed by another vowel, e.g. *melʔ-a* [meʔ.la] (be.fat-CUST) ‘is fat’. This phenomenon also happens, but less frequently, with syllables ending in /m/, e.g. *noʔm-a* [noʔ.ma ~ nomʔ.ma] (be.soft-CUST) ‘is soft’.

As a result of the feature of repetition of an intervocalic glottalised continuant, some suffixes and enclitics are not phonetically differentiated on certain words the root or stem of which ends in a glottalised consonant. This means that a word which sounds like [tanʔna] may, according to the context, be analysed morphologically as <*tanʔ-a*> (cut-INF) ‘cut’ or <*tanʔ-na*> (cut=DAT) ‘in order to cut’. Another example is a word that sounds like [sawʔwa] which may be analysed as either <*sawʔ-a*> (burn-INF) ‘burn’ or as <*sawʔ-wa*> (burn-FACT) ‘burned’.

When a stem-final glottalised continuant is followed by a suffix or enclitic beginning with the same continuant, the phonetic effect is the same as that of a repeated intervocalic glottalised continuant. This can be exemplified thus: */manʔni/* [manʔni] <*manʔ-ni*> (be.able-FUT) ‘will be able’.

There are two alternative analyses of the occurrence of the glottal stop, viz. a glottal stop phoneme or a series of glottalised continuants, which will be treated below and which are not favoured over glottalisation as a prosodic feature. An argument in favour of the glottal prosody analysis is that it simplifies the phonological analysis of the language. There is no need for either a glottal stop phoneme with a restricted occurrence or for a series of glottalised continuants. Just like a series of glottalised continuants, glottal prosody solves the problem of non-canonical syllable final consonant clusters. Glottal prosody can also account for the phonetic behaviour of affected continuants as described above.

Another argument in favour of glottal prosody at syllable level comes from languages closely related to Atong, namely Tiwa, Bodo/Boro and Rabha. What has

been observed for Garo (Joseph and Burling 2006: 21) is also valid for Atong. Glottalised syllables in Atong correspond to syllables with a high tone in Tiwa, Bodo/Boro and Rabha in words with similar phonetic/phonological make up and meaning.¹⁹ The distribution of glottalised syllables in Atong differs from Garo. In Atong any syllable within a grammatical or prosodic word can be glottalised.

Glottalisation prosody as occurs in Atong has been described for a number of Australian languages in the central north of the continent (Dixon 2002: 616-8). In two sets of these languages “glottal articulation is found only at the end of a syllable after a vowel or continuant (never after a stop)” (ibid.), similar to Atong.²⁰

Glottalisation in Atong happens mostly at morpheme boundaries but there are some instances of glottalisation in medial position in multisyllabic unanalysable words. Maybe there once was a morpheme boundary where the glottal prosody occurs, before the putative compound became non-transparent, e.g. *caʔma* ‘lower side, downstream’, *meʔmaŋ* ‘ghost’. Table 16 below shows some minimal pairs of syllables with and without glottal prosody.

Table 16 Minimal pairs of syllables with and without glottal stop

Plain		Glottalised	
<i>si-</i>	‘to peel’	<i>siʔ-</i>	‘to sharpen a pointy object’
<i>nepal</i>	‘Nepali, Nepalese, Nepal’	<i>neʔkat</i>	‘type of bee’ (<i>neʔ</i> ‘bee’ + <i>kat</i> ‘?’)
<i>ca</i>	‘tea’	<i>caʔ</i>	‘foot, leg’
<i>na-</i>	‘to hear’	<i>naʔ</i>	‘fish’
<i>susət-</i>	‘to wash (something)’	<i>suʔ</i>	‘vagina’
<i>riməla</i>	‘slippery’	<i>riʔ məl-a</i>	(penis small-CUST) ‘the penis is small’
<i>wal</i>	‘night’	<i>walʔ</i>	‘fire’
<i>roŋ</i>	‘colour’	<i>roŋʔ</i>	‘stone’
<i>man-</i>	‘to crawl’	<i>manʔ-</i>	‘to be able, to achieve’
<i>ram-</i>	‘to dry’	<i>ramʔ-</i>	‘to search’
<i>təy</i>	‘water’	<i>thəyʔ</i>	‘blood’
<i>taw</i>	‘to go up’	<i>tawʔ</i>	‘chicken, bird’

¹⁹ Although no internal reconstruction of any of the languages cited has been attempted or published yet, the plethora of correspondences between lexical items in terms of phonetic/phonological make up and meaning is striking.

²⁰ What is described as glottalisation in Cherokee (Iroquoian, Oklahoma and North Carolina) by Scancarelli (1992: 139) is “generally realized as either a prenasal glottal stop or as falling pitch on a lengthened vowel preceding the consonant. This is a different type of glottalisation than in Atong.

2.12.1 Alternative analyses against glottal prosody.

As was mentioned above, there are two alternative analyses that account for the occurrence of a glottal stop in Atong, viz. the glottal stop as a phoneme, and a series of glottalised continuants. These alternatives are not favoured over the analysis of glottalisation as a prosodic feature, but should not be totally disregarded either.

Arguments in favour of the prosodic analysis have been given above.

i The glottal stop as a phoneme

The glottal stop could be analysed as a phoneme that can only occur in syllable-final position after a vowel. The glottal stop would then also occur word internally in syllable-final position as in the words *coʔsa* [tɕoʔsa] ‘a little bit’, *coʔmot* [coʔmot] ‘really’, *teʔew* [teʔew] ‘now’, *neʔ+kat* [neʔkat] (bee+?) ‘type of bee’. There are several features that make the glottal stop different from all the other consonants phonemes. As mentioned before, the glottal stop only occurs syllable finally in postvocalic position. In case a syllable ends in a consonant other than the glottal stop, the preceding vowel may get shortened and or lowered or is articulated more to the back. Thus with most speakers most of the time there is a difference in pronunciation between *wa* [wa:] ‘bamboo’ and *wak* [wak] ‘pig’. The effect of the glottal stop on the preceding vowel is not the same as that of all the other syllable final consonants. Before a glottal stop lowering or back articulation and shortening of the preceding vowel never occurs. The distinction between the words *wa* [wa] ‘tooth’ and *waʔ* [waʔ] ‘bamboo’ for example, is therefore only the presence or absence of the glottal stop. The word *neʔ* ‘bee’ is never pronounced as [nɛʔ] but always as [neʔ] and the word *naʔ* ‘fish’ always as [naʔ]. The difference between the previous examples and the word *wak* [wak] ‘pig’ is that in the word *wak* ‘[wak]’ ‘pig’ the vowel may be shorter and articulated more to the back. Alternative articulations of vowels in closed syllables are in free variation and differ from speaker to speaker and even from instance to instance with the same speaker. This means that the pronunciation [wak] for *wak* ‘pig’ has also been recorded.

Another indication that the glottal stop is not like the other stops in the phonological system of Atong is the fact that it does not prevent morphophonological vowel assimilation of the vowel of the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) to the preceding vowel. This preceding vowel is always /a/. The change of state suffix

<-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) occurs as its allomorph <-ak> (COS) directly after stems which end in /a/ or /aʔ/, e.g. *tawʔ raʔ-ak* (chicken get-COS) '[I] bought a chicken'. If the stem ends in any other consonant the allomorph <-ok> (COS) will occur, e.g. *tawʔ tokok* (chicken beat-COS) '[I] beat a chicken'. Assimilation is possible across a syllable boundary with an intervening glottal stop, but not across a syllable boundary with any other consonant.

ii Glottalised continuants

If one were to analyse the glottal stop as a separate phoneme, there could be two compelling reasons to postulate a series of glottalised consonants in addition. Glottalised continuants have been described for the North American languages Navaho, Nootka and Kwakiutl (Sapir, 1938/1951). The first argument is the canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure. If one would analyse /ʔ, mʔ, nʔ, ŋʔ, wʔ, yʔ/ as a cluster of consonant plus glottal stop, the odd situation occurs that there are no other syllable final consonant clusters except those of a consonant plus glottal stop. This is of course awkward and may be easily avoided by adding a series of glottalised segments to the phoneme inventory.

The second and equally compelling reason to posit glottalised phonemes is the phonetic behaviour of these glottal segments. When a glottalised consonant occurs in between two vowels, the consonant is, as it were, doubled, continuing after it has been stopped by the glottal stop, e.g. */tanʔaribo/* [tanʔnaribo] <*tanʔ-ari-bo*> (cut-SIMP-IMP) 'just cut!', *ramaydok* [ramʔmajdok] <*ramʔ-ay-dok*> (search=ADV-PROG) 'searching', */rayʔani/* [rajʔjani] <*rayʔa-ni*> (come-FUT) 'will come'. First there is the phenomenon of simultaneous glottal and oral closure after which the consonant is released from the same place of articulation into the following vowel. Thus glottalisation affects the syllable-final consonantal segment such that it stretches over the onset of the next syllable. The glottalised consonant /ʔ/ behaves phonetically different from the other glottalised consonants in that it often happens that the glottal closure precedes the oral one so that the oral closure acts as onset of the next syllable, e.g. *gawi melʔ-a* [gawi meʔ.la] (girl fat-CUST) 'the girl is fat'. Glottalised continuants that are followed by another consonant are unreleased.

2.12.2 Conclusion

If we were to posit a separate glottal stop phoneme, it would have three disadvantages, viz. its atypical phonetic effect on vowels in closed syllables, its restricted occurrence, and the appearance of consonantal clusters in codas with continuants, which violate the canonical CVC syllable structure of the language. In order to avoid this violation, we could postulate a series of glottalised continuants. However, these glottalised continuants would then behave phonetically different from other consonants. Glottal prosody can account for the phonetic behaviour of affected continuants. Glottal prosody, as seen in §2.12, solves the problem of non-canonical syllable final consonant clusters, and it simplifies the phonological analysis of the language. We can conclude that, of the three analyses advanced above for dealing with the occurrence of a glottal stop in Atong, viz. a glottal prosody, a glottal stop phoneme, and a series of glottalised continuants, the glottal prosody analysis is the simplest and most suitable one.

2.13 The Atong word

The phonological word in Atong is usually, but not always, characterised by a low pitch on the first syllable. The grammatical word is that form which can occur on its own as constituent of a clause. Other than these, I have found no clearcut criteria on which to distinguish phonological and grammatical word in Atong. Properties of the phonological word listed in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 13) do not work for Atong or cannot yet be applied because more fieldwork is needed to find out about possible stress patterns in the language. The verb may be in the same phonological word as the preceding phrase, but frequently verbs have a low pitched first syllable and can thus be said to be phonological words on their own. Classifiers followed by numerals will be in the same phonological word as the preceding noun. Maybe sentence intonation patterns are interacting with word intonation patterns, which is a very complicated issue and would require a more thorough understanding of the language and more fieldwork research to figure out than the time which is provided to write this PhD thesis.

As far as I am able to judge, there seems to be no syllable timing mechanism that determines the make-up of a phonological word. In other words, I have not been able

to discover obligatory stress patterns in the language, such as iambic or trochaic. The minimal phonological words can be just one syllable in Atong.

2.14 Accentuation, stress and prosody

The following intonation symbols will be used in this section:

- ˆ higher pitch than previous syllable
- v lower pitch than previous syllable
- ˘ low pitch
- ˜ falsetto voice
- ˉ same pitch as previous syllable
- ˊ rising intonation
- ˆ higher intensity or amplitude

Length symbols ‘:’ are phonetic and not of phonological importance.

In Atong the realisation of a syllable may be influenced by one of the following features:

- An increased intensity or amplitude.
- Length.
- A difference in pitch. I will distinguish low and higher pitch.
- Extra high pitch characterised by falsetto voice, indicated by the symbol “˜”.

None of these features is phonemic and all may occur optionally. Increased intensity, length and extra high pitch are means to stress the syllable. This means that Atong presents phonetic stress. I adopt the definition stated by Van Der Mark that phonetic stress is “a method of marking prominent syllables that may involve several acoustic variables such as pitch, loudness, duration and vowel quality. [...] Crucially, phonetic stress cannot be marked by pitch alone.” (2003:21). In Atong vowel quality does not change in stressed or unstressed syllables. Only in unstressed syllables containing the vowel /ə/ can this vowel assimilate to the vowel in the next syllable, as has been discussed above. Extra high pitch or falsetto voice in Atong is always accompanied by extra lengthening of the vowel and is a phonetic means to mark intensity. In (15) we see an example of sentence with a falsetto syllable.

- (15) *nèṇdúgàimū āṇdō, dōṇárók.*

{*neṇ -duga*} =*ay* =*mu* [*aṇ*] =*do* {*doṇ -arok*}
 tired -XS =ADV =SEQ 1s =TOP be.enough -PROG
 ‘Because I am too tired it’s enough.’

In (15) above, the extra high pitch characterised by falsetto voice is a means to emphasise the fact that the speaker is really very tired. Hence the excessive suffix <-*duga*> (XS) is stressed. If the speaker wants to emphasise the fact that a certain train of events had to be completed in order for another event to take place, he can stress the sequential clausal enclitic <=*mu* ~ =*məṇ* ~ =*muṇ* ~ =*muṇna*> (SEQ) as we can see in the next example where the first occurrence of <=*məṇ*> (SEQ) is stressed.

- (16) *ətəkəyməṇ kənsáṇ [phaltaṇaw] cònúkgābāāw nā?āyməṇ, alsia rājā : “nāh, āṇā ātəkəy cōlīē cōlīsəmcāāydok” noāyməṇ tē?ēwbā, jəkməṇ jàláyđōknō.*

ətəkəyməṇ [*kənsaṇ*] [[*phalthaṇ* =*aw* {*conuk* =*gaba* =*aw*
 so.then later self =ACC criticise =ATTR =ACC

{*na*} =*ay* =*məṇ* [*alsia rāja*] [*na*] [*aṇa*] [*ətəkəy*] {*coli* =*e*
 hear =ADV =SEQ lazy.person king excl 1s like.this succeed =TOP

coli -*səm* -*ca* -*aydok*} {*no*} =*ay* =*məṇ* [*te?ew*] =*ba*
 succeed -CERTAINLY -NEG -PROG say =ADV =SEQ now =EMPH

[*jək*] =*məṇ* {*jal -aṇ -ok*} =*no*
 spouse =GEN run -AWAY -COS =QUOT

‘So then, after hearing those who criticise him, the lazy king [said]: “Nah! as far as succeeding is concerned, I have certainly not succeeded”, he said [and] he runs away from his wives.’

Differences in pitch between syllables in Atong may be small and subtle. Most often all word classes receive a low pitch on the first syllable followed by higher pitch on all other syllables. In a sentence, numeral-classifier phrases do not have to start with a low pitched first syllable but may just continue on the same pitch as the last syllable of a preceding word. Interrogatives and numeral-classifier phrases are never stressed on the first syllable. Other word classes may just receive stress on any syllable which the speaker finds most noteworthy. It is possible for two or more consecutive syllables to be stressed. An example of this phenomenon is (17) below where the word *cuṇ=gaba* (big=ATTR) ‘which is big’ has higher amplitude on the first and second

syllable and the first syllable has a higher pitch than the second syllable the nucleus of which has been lengthened to great extent.

(17) *ucí phəlēm cúŋga:ba, phəlgəm cùŋgábā, diʔítāy tanaŋokno.*

uci [phəlgəm {cuŋ} =gaba] [phəlgəm {cuŋ} =gaba]
 then type.of.bird big =ATTR type.of.bird big =ATTR

{diʔit} =ay {tan-aŋ -ok} =no
 defecate =ADV put -AWAY-COS =QUOT

‘Then a really big eagle, a big eagle, left his shit behind [on the drying greens].’

When nouns are stressed on the first syllable they will still have a low pitch. When a word is pronounced in isolation it generally starts with stress and a low pitch on the first syllable and then the intonation rises all through the word, which will then generally end with much higher intonation on the last syllable, e.g. *jàbék* ‘curry’, *thàmáláŋ* ‘type of edible root’. Any other syllable of the word may also receive stress, which will then be marked by a high pitch, after which the intonation may go down or even further up. It most often happens that the first syllable of a word has the low pitch but no intensity and no length and then the second syllable has high pitch. In summary, word intonation goes from low to high, with the first and the last syllable being the most prominent ones, the first syllable because of its low pitch and the last syllable because of its high pitch, except when the last syllable is the quotative clausal enclitic <=no> (QUOT) (see below). If other than the first or the last syllable is stressed, this stressed syllable can have a higher or lower pitch than the last syllable but always higher than the first syllable, and moreover the stressed syllable will have the greatest length, which will be either expressed on the vowel nucleus or on an intervocalic consonant (see 2.5 and 2.9).

This word-prosodic pattern is also the general pattern of prosody we find in the sentence. A sentence will start in general with a low pitch on the first syllable and then the intonation rises all through the first word. All subsequent words, especially non-verbals, will generally have a low pitched and stressed first syllable again. Most of the rising intonation of the sentence occurs on the final verb which may start at the same pitch as the last syllable of the preceding word and no stress on the first syllable or it may have a low pitch on the first syllable and rising intonation from there. This

intonation pattern is the same for subordinate and main clauses. This means that generally after a stress peak on the last stressed syllable of the subordinate clause, the following clause starts on a lower pitch.

Another possible sentence intonation pattern is that there is a rise in the first part of the sentence, and then after the most important word according to the speaker, the intonation goes down again to the end of the sentence. This is particularly frequent in telling events, i.e. non-quotation parts, in story telling. Low pitched stress is an optional property of the first syllable of a word, and the high pitched stresses are conditioned by the speaker. A good example of a stretch of speech with intonation is given here below.

- (18) *ùcíé, k̀ỳnók̀hólthá̀ngá̀bádó sǎn: sanán dàbátwárisáj ò̀ngárāy sǎnā r̀è̀ɛ̀ỳroŋa
noro. ətəkə̀ymū ò̀ngáráy sǎakno. k̀ə̀nsáj̀dó, mǎn á: p m i s̀irímə̀nmə̀n
r̀è̀ɛ̀ỳaymə̀ŋna, dàbátwárisáj, ò̀ngáráy sǎákno.*

ucie [kynokhol] =*hay* =*gaba* =*do* [san san] =*an*
then son-in-law =OWN =ATTR =TOP day -day =FC/ID

[*dabat wari*] =*say* [*dingaray*] {*sa*} =*na*
Pname deep.section.in.river =MOB fish.trap set.as.trap =DAT

{*reɛy* -*roŋ* -*a*} =*no* =*ro*
go.away -USUALLY -CUST =QUOT =EMPH

[*ətəkə̀ymu*] [*dingaray*] {*sa* -*ak*} =*no*
so.then fish.trap set.as.trap -COS =QUOT

[*kə̀nsay*] =*do* [*manap*] =*mi* *sirimə̀nmə̀n*
later =TOP morning =GEN break.of.dawn

{*reɛy*} =*ay* =*mə̀ŋna* [*dabat wari*] =*say*
go.away =ADV =SEQ Pname deep.section.of.river =MOB

[*dingaray*] {*sa* -*ak*} =*no*
fish.trap set.as.trap -COS =QUOT

‘Then, the son-in-law went to Dabatwari every day to put up his fish trap. So, he has put up his fish trap. Later, very early in the morning at the break of dawn, having gone to Dabatwari, he managed his fish trap.’

In the next example we can clearly observe how the pitch of the first syllable of the subordinate verb *páy-ca-ay-mə̀ŋ* (bear-NEG=ADV=SEQ) ‘not bear’ is higher than that of the preceding syllable and that the overall intonation of the verb goes from high to low so that the subordinate clause ends on a low pitch. All of this may mean

that there are no uniform prosodic criteria to distinguish between different words and different clauses in a sentence.

- (19) *ùcísá màcánā màkbúlnā mòḡmánā páycaayməḡ, bəldəḡbəldaḡ jàlná
hāʔbācēḡok.*

uci =sa [*maca*] =na [*makbul*] =na [*moḡma*] =na
then =DLIM tiger =DAT bear =DAT elephant =DAT

{*pay -ca*} =ay =məḡ [*bəldəḡbəldaḡ*] [*jal* =na] [*haʔbaceḡ -ok*]
bear -NEG =ADV =SEQ all.over.the.place run.away =DAT begin -COS

‘Then the villagers did not bear the tigers, bears and elephants any more and started running away all over the place.’

Interrogatives never receive high pitch or high amplitude on the first syllable, The name of the language under discussion is pronounced [atə↔ḡ] with higher pitch on the second syllable.

The quotative enclitic <=no> (QUOT) and any following enclitic are seldom stressed. Normally there is a sharp drop in pitch and intensity on the quotative enclitic <=no> (QUOT). However, the most powerful stress of the whole word may be shifted to the quotative enclitic <=no> (QUOT) or any enclitic that comes after <=no> (QUOT) as in (20) below. In that sentence the first syllables of all the words are pronounced with a low pitch, the rest of the word has a higher pitch that the first syllable and the quotative enclitic is stressed and has the highest pitch.

- (20) *ùāwbā sàʔāncākno. gāwīgāmūnā òlrūkāncākno. māmā mənīthāḡāmūbā
òlrūkāncākno.*

[*u*] =aw =ba {*saʔ -an -ca -k*} =no
DST=ACC=EMPH eat -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

[*gawiga* =mu -na] {*ol -ruk -an -ca -k*} =no
wife =COM =DAT speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

[*mama manī*] =thaḡ =ga =mu =ba
father-in-law mother-in-law =OWN =DREL =COM =ADD

{*ol -ruk -an -ca -k*} =no
speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

‘He didn’t eat that any more, it is said. He didn’t speak to his wife any more, it is said. He didn’t speak to his mother-in-law any more either, it is said.’

Nouns positioned after the main verb of the sentence can occur in the same prosodic sentence as the main clause or as an afterthought with an overall lower pitch than the main sentence.

The question enclitic $\leq ma \gt$ (Q), when occurring on a predicate head, may receive a separate high pitched stress even though the preceding syllable also has a high pitched stress, e.g. (21) below.

- (21) *rèʔéŋāydōŋmá.*
 {*reʔeŋ -aydoŋ*} =*ma*.
 go.away -PROG =Q
 ‘Are you going?’

Question clauses may also lack the question enclitic $\leq ma \gt$ (Q). There are no special interrogative intonations for interrogative sentences or clauses. As for interrogative clauses without interrogative pronouns and without the question enclitic $\leq ma \gt$ (Q), the fact that the clause is a question has to be deduced from the context. If a speaker is really surprised about something, the sentence will have a higher overall pitch and rising intonation. In (22) a son asks his mother why her cooking is so good today and the mother replies. Then in (23) the same son asks or exclaims his surprise about the reason why the food is so tasty, to which the mother gives a strong affirmative answer. In (24) we observe two question sentences with level intonation on every syllable except the last one, which is higher in pitch.

- (22) “à:tóŋtākēy tàʔnídō thàwòksáʔ jaʔbēk?”, *noōknō*. “àtóŋ dāwwā āmá?” *noōknō. hǎʔ nìʔwáté bàbá [...]*”

[*atoŋ*] =*əkəy* [*tayʔni*] =*do* {*thaw -ok*} =*səy* [*jaʔbek*]
 what =LIKE today =TOP tasty -COS =MIR curry

[*atoŋ*] {*dəw -wa*} [*ama*] [*hə*] {*niʔ -wa*} =*te* [*baba*]
 what add -FACT mother interj not.exist -FACT =DCL son

“‘Why is the curry so tasty today?’” he said, it is said. “‘What did you add, mother?’” he said, it is said. “‘Huh? Nothing, [my] boy!’”

- (23) “*phəlgəm diʔitdapay tanəwə?!*” *nookno*. “*hoʔoŋ*” *nookno*.
 [phəlgəm] {diʔit -dap} =ay {tan -aŋ -wa} {no-ok} =no
 eagle shit -ON.TOP =ADV put -AWAY -FACT say -COS =QUOT
 [hoʔoŋ] {no-ok} =no
 yes say -COS =QUOT
 ‘“A very big bird shat [in the curry]?!” he said, it is said. “Yes.” she said, it is said.’
- (24) *atāknā kārēwá? mōrōtmādārāŋná?*
 [takna] {kəre-wa} [morot] =maʔ =darəŋ =na
 why fear -FACT person =interj =p =DAT
 ‘Why are you afraid? Because of the people?’ [the fox says to the other animals].

Exclamatory sentences are characterised by an overall higher amplitude and optionally extra stress on the last syllable of the sentence. The overall intonation of the sentence may rise as in (25) but may also rise and then fall as in (26).

- (25) *cà:ʔmāsāŋmīāw cāycéŋ!*
 [caʔmasaŋ] =mi =aw {cay -ceŋ}
 down.side =GEN=ACC look.at -FIRST
 ‘Look at [your] lower side first!’
- (26) *càʔ:māsāŋba cayok naʔá!*
 [caʔmsaŋ] =aw =ba {cay -ok} [naʔa]
 lower.side =ACC=EMPH look.at -COS 2s
 ‘I looked at the lower side, oh you!’

The above examples (25) and (26) form a nice minimal pair to show that in a stressed syllable it is either the vowel or coda consonant which gets lengthened. Example (26) is also a good example to show that the glottal stop is susceptible to lengthening in stressed syllables and that it can be lengthened in preconsonantal position.

2.15 Phonologically aberrant words

There are a number of words which show phonological anomalies. One of these words is the negative proclausal /hmʔm/ [mʔm] ‘no’. This word has no vowels, is

spoken with the mouth shut and has a voiceless nasal as first consonant, a sound which is found nowhere else in the language. Exclamations may end in strong post vocalic aspiration, e.g. *hah!* ‘exclamation of satisfaction’. No other words in Atong end in /h/. Furthermore some exclamations end in /ə/ like the mirative exclamation *həʔ!* ‘Huh?!’. No other words in Atong end in /ə/.

Onomatopoeia are sometimes phonologically aberrant. The sound a goat makes is pronounced with a strong and long trilled /r/ in syllable-final position. The sound is *dur:meme*. The onomatopoeia denoting someone smoking vigorously is *krrrrrrrr* with a long syllabic trilled /r/.

As said in Table 8 the word for ‘to have the hiccups’, *thəʔək-*, is phonologically aberrant. It is the only word in which the sequence /əʔ/ occurs. The word *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ is phonologically aberrant in that it is the only word in which the sequence /oʔo/ occurs in a root. However, the form *hoʔoŋ* meaning ‘yes’ is not at all aberrant when one takes a cross linguistic perspective, as in Parker (1996). In this article Parker exhibits a template or canonical pattern with the shape /heʔ(e)/ which he proposes to posit as “the default form for ‘yes’”. The nasal /ŋ/ in the Atong word *hoʔoŋ* is explainable through rhinoglottophilia (Matisoff 1975).

A full analysis of all phonologically aberrant words is a matter for a separate investigation, and will therefore not be pursued in this grammar.

2.16 The phonology of loan words

This section deals with the most salient features of loan words in Atong. Atong has many loans from Garo, English and Indic languages, viz. Bengali, Assamese and Hindi. Since it is not always possible to establish the exact origin of an Indic word, all loans from these languages will be termed Indic loans.

2.16.1 Vowels

Atong has six vowels occurring in indigenous as well as loan words. In addition, there are four vowels which are only found in loanwords from English and Indic languages. These are the so called “loanvowels” (see below), which are usually, but not always pronounced longer than the indigenous vowels. The loanvowels are represented in Table 17. In the orthography they are simply written double. Note that /ū/ (u with macron) and schwa with macron are not attested.

Loanvowels are usually but not always pronounced long, and when they are not pronounced long, the difference between the loan and the indigenous words is a matter of vowel quality. In closed syllables, where Atong vowels would be pronounced lowered and more retracted, the loanvowels will have the same quality as the Atong vowels in open syllables. Not all loan words that have long vowels in the source language have long vowels in Atong, and not all loans that can be pronounced with a long vowel in Atong have a long vowel in the source language.

Table 17 Loanvowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ī [i: ~ i]		
Mid	ē [e: ~ e]		ō [o: ~ o]
Open		ā [a: ~ a]	

Examples of minimal pairs and near minimal pairs are given in Table 18. Although long vowels are only found in loans, not all loans contain long vowels, as we can see in the first minimal pair. The word *tin* ‘corrugated iron’ is an English loan without long vowel, which contrasts phonologically with the Indic loan *tīn* ‘three’, which does contain a long vowel.

Table 18 Minimal and near-minimal pairs of words with and without loanvowels

Without loanvowel		With loanvowel	
<i>tin</i> [tin ~ tun]	‘corrugated iron’	<i>tīn</i> [ti:n ~ tin] <i>baji</i>	‘three o’clock’
<i>pel-</i> [peɪ]	‘to copulate’	<i>pēl</i> [pe:l ~ pel] <i>donʔok</i>	‘failed’
<i>mat</i> [mat]	‘wild animal’	<i>āt</i> [a:t ~ at] <i>baji</i>	‘eight o’clock’ (see Table 44)
<i>ret</i> [ret]	‘children’s game’	<i>rēl</i> [re:l ~ rel]	‘train’
<i>riʔgol</i> [riʔgɔl]	‘penis (as swearword)’	<i>gōl</i> [go:l ~ gol] <i>saʔak</i>	‘got a goal’

I am not familiar enough with the Indic languages Hindi, Assamese and Bengali, which are all possible sources for the Indic loans we find in Atong, to give a precise description of the vowel changes that occur when words from these languages are borrowed into Atong. As far as I can judge, Indic vowels undergo very little change in the process of borrowing. Indic differences between /e/ and /ɛ/ and /o/ and /ɔ/ are merged into Atong /e/ and /o/ respectively. Any Indic nasality is discarded in Atong.

Words borrowed from English undergo very intricate, sometimes seemingly random vowel changes so that they cannot all be described in detail in this grammar. Especially English schwa has a wide variety of pronunciations in Atong. I will just give a few examples. Vowel harmony plays a role in the sense that English schwas can be assimilated in Atong to a neighbouring vowel, e.g. English *government* > Atong: *gobormen*. Some English schwas can be pronounced with different Atong vowels in free variation, e.g. English *November* > Atong *nobembəl ~ nobombol*. Sometimes the English schwa becomes a totally different vowel in Atong, e.g. English *first* > Atong: *phas*. The English word *August* is borrowed by Atong as *agos*, while English *October* is *oktobol ~ oktobəl* in Atong, reflecting two different results of the English vowel /ɔ/.

2.16.2 Consonants

Atong changes all loan words in such a way that they fit the Atong consonant inventory and sound system. There are very few exceptions. Loans from English, Indic languages and Garo will be treated separately. A list of English loans in Atong can be found in the appendix of van Breugel (2009 a).

i Loans from English

The most salient sound changes that occur when English words are borrowed into Atong are the following: (English > **Atong**) f > **ph**, v > **b**, θ > **t** and ɹ > **r ~ l**. English /s/ and /ʃ/ collapse together in Atong into /s/. Examples of these changes are:

	English		Atong
English /f/ to Atong /ph ~ p/	<i>officer</i>	>	<i>ophisər ~ opisər</i>
English /v/ to Atong /b/	<i>government</i>	>	<i>gobormen</i>
English /θ/ to Atong /t/	<i>thirty</i>	>	<i>tərti</i>

English /ɹ/ to Atong /r ~ l/	<i>radio</i>	>	<i>redio</i>
	<i>September</i>	>	<i>septembyl</i>
English /ʃ, tʃ/ to Atong /s/	<i>national</i>	>	<i>nesənəl</i>
	<i>wrench</i>	>	<i>rens</i>

Moreover, word final clusters are simplified, e.g. English: *licence* > Atong: *laysen*, English: *government* > Atong: *gobormen*. Word initial clusters are usually broken up, e.g. English: *clip* > Atong: *kilip* ~ *kylip*, English: *glass* > Atong: *gilas* ~ *gylas*. The English word ‘blue’ is borrowed into Atong as *bəlu* ~ *blu* ‘blue’ with two syllables by some speakers and with initial cluster by others. However, *skul* is always [skul] ‘school’ and never *[səkul]. This phenomenon may reflect different chronological layers of loans. An exceptional, new loan word, that breaks the rules of Atong word formation, because the affricate /c/ appears syllable finally, is the English loan *ingēc*, ‘engage’, which can only be used with the support verb *khaʔ*- ‘to do’ (see §22.7), e.g. *ingēc khaʔ-ak niŋ=do* (engage do-COS 1pe=TOP) ‘We are engaged to be married’.

ii Loans from Indic languages

The most salient sound change in words of Indic origin is the collapse of the retroflex trills and taps into one phoneme /l ~ r/ and the loss of the distinction between dental and retroflex consonants. Aspiration is not borrowed consistently but varies freely with non-aspirated consonants in Atong, e.g. Atong: *kata* ~ *khata* ~ *katha* ~ *khata* ‘word’, corresponding to Hindi कथा (kathā) ‘story, talk’.

In words of Indic origin the phonological distinction between /l/ and /r/ is neutralised. Whenever a syllable final /l ~ r/ occurs it can be pronounced as [l ~ r ~ ɾ]. Some instances of /r ~ l/ in Atong come from the retroflex series in Assamese and Bengali. I recorded the word *golmal* ‘chaos, quarrel, fight, dispute’ pronounced as [gɔɾmal], sometimes [gɔlmal]. Of the following word, meaning ‘axe’, three variants have been recorded, viz. *kulal* ~ *kular* ~ *kural*. The word *isor* ~ *isol* ‘God’, is an Indic loan, cf. Sanskrit *asura* ‘god, evil spirit’, Hindi *asur* ‘demon, evil spirit’, though Garo *isol* ‘God’, the meaning ‘God’ being undoubtedly imposed by the missionaries that converted the Garos to Christianity. In Garo it is invariably pronounced as [isol], but in Atong the final phoneme is in free variation with /r/. The word *papol* ~ *papor* ‘food

made of wheat' comes from Bengali *pāpoḍ*. Some speakers in the Badri area pronounce this word with a very long and strong [r:], i.e. [papor:] maybe to accentuate their awareness that it is a loan. Another example of this phenomenon is the word *baṅgal* ~ *baṅgar* 'Bangladeshi, Indic person' which is often pronounced as [baṅgar:] in Badri. This strongly vibrating of /r/ can also appear word internally as in the word *hagersak* 'everything, the world'.

This phenomenon of syllable final [r ~l] variation is a good indication that a certain word is not of Atong origin. The word *haʔgəlsak* 'everything, the world' looks very much Atong but is in fact a Garo loan which may be detected though the variant *ha-gərsak* with syllable final /r/. On the contrary, some English loans ending in /r/ are ostentatiously pronounced with final [l], e.g. *mastel* 'male teacher'. There are some words in which the two allophones of final /l/ are never mixed up, viz. *skul* 'school' and *sendel* 'sandal', both English loans. An example of an English loan with /l ~ r/ in free variation is *kabar* ~ *kabal* 'cover, lid'. It can be presumed that early English loans conform more to Atong phonology than later ones. Thus *skul* 'school', *mastel* 'male teacher' and *sendel* 'sandal' are early English loans and *kabar* ~ *kabal* 'cover, lid' is a late English loan.

iii Loans from Garo

Although the Garo and Atong phonological systems are very similar, there are subtle differences that can indicate Garo loans in the Atong lexicon. For a description of Garo phonology I refer the reader to Burling (2004). Garo loans other than those with /l/ do not present any problem to the Atong phonology and are taken into the language without alternation. Even complex syllable onsets which are not split up in Garo may be kept in tact in Atong, e.g. *grok*- [grək] and not *[gərək] 'classifier of gulps, i.e. amounts of liquid drunk at a time'.

There are other modifications that loans can undergo to make them fit in to the Atong sound system, but there are so many English and Indic loans borrowed at different stages into Atong that describing them all in detail lies beyond the scope of this grammar.

Chapter 3 Word Classes: an overview

Word classes in Atong share properties. The most salient overlapping properties of the major word classes in Atong have to do with the possibility to function as predicate head. Sometimes the differences between word classes can be very subtle or even fuzzy.

Atong distinguishes the word classes listed in Table 19. This table also indicates whether a member of a word class can function as head of a predicate or not and where the word classes are treated in this grammar. Table 20 gives an overview of some of the salient tendencies of four major word classes, viz. Verbs, Type 1 and 2 adjectives and nouns. Type 1 adjectives are a subclass of intransitive verb.

Table 19 List of word classes

OPEN WORD CLASSES	CAN FUNCTION AS PREDICATE HEAD?
Verbs	YES
Nouns	YES
Adverbs	no
CLOSED WORD CLASSES	
Type 1 adjectives	YES
Type 2 adjectives	YES
Time words	no
Postpositions	no
Demonstratives	YES
Deictic-only demonstratives	no
Interrogatives	SOME
Indefinite proforms	no
Discourse connectives	no
Numerals	no
Classifiers	no
The additive conjunction	no
Personal pronouns	YES
The generic pronoun	no
Proclauses	no
Onomatopoeia	no
Interjections	no
The prohibitive word	no

Table 20 Some salient general tendencies of verbs, Type 1 and Type 2 adjectives and nouns

VERBS		ADJECTIVES TYPE 1	ADJECTIVES TYPE 2	NOUNS
MORPHOLOGICAL CRITERIA				
can undergo valency changing derivations			cannot undergo valency changing derivation	
can take all event specifiers			difficult to use with event specifiers when head of a predicate	
can take all predicate head suffixes (see Table 63)		not attested with all predicate head suffixes	cannot take all predicate head suffixes	
can form compounds with nouns and verbs		only a few lexicalised compounds with nouns are attested	can form compounds with nouns and verbs	
CLAUSE LEVEL FUNCTIONS				
can occur as predicates of all clause types		not attested as predicate in all clause types	can only occur as predicate in one independent/main clause type: identity/equation clause and in some subordinate clause types	
can take all argument types	as head of a predicate can only take S argument			
can function as argument in a clause only if nominalised		can function as argument in a clause and be case-marked		
can participate in comparative and excessive constructions				
PHRASE LEVEL FUNCTIONS				
usually predicate head, but does not have to be head in complex predicates (see §22.6.1)		can be predicate head	usually a constituent or head of an NP, can be head of a predicate	
		can be modifier in an NP		
			can be possessor and possessed	
			can be morphologically marked for plural	
			can be quantified	
		can be counted		
SEMANTIC CRITERIA				
The change of state has change of state value	The change of state has the effect of reinforcement of the quality denoted by the Type 1 adjective as well as indicating the result of a change of state.	The change of state indicates the result of a change of state: “has become X”		

Chapter 4 Verbs

Verbs form an open class. The properties of verbs functioning as head of a predicate are compared to those of adjectival and nominal predicate heads in Table 62 in Chapter 22. Other properties of verbs compared to adjectives and nouns are summed up in Table 20 above. An overview of the properties of verbs is given in sections 4.1 to 4.4. Subclasses of verbs are treated in section 4.5. The phenomenon of transitive and intransitive verb pairs is discussed in section 4.6.

4.1 Clausal properties

Verbs can be the head of a predicate of all clause types. An important criterion of verb-hood is the possibility to appear as the head of a predicate of an imperative clause. However, stative verbs and most of the type 1 adjectives (a subclass of verbs denoting qualities) seldom appear in imperative clauses. This presumably has to do with the fact that imperative clauses are usually used to command others to do an activity that they can control, and an interlocutor can usually not control the occurrence of a quality. A counter-example is (27).

- (27) *tarakboto naʔa!*
 {*tarak*} =*bo* =*to* [*naʔa*]
 fast =IMP =IMPEMPH 2s
 ‘Be fast, oh you!’

This means that the imperative clause criterion is not a distinctive criterion by which to define a verb for many members of that class. Interestingly stative verbs and type 1 adjectives can express imperious future (see §23.10.1). Verbs do not obligatorily have to be a predicate in a clause, as a single or reduplicated bare verbal root can modify a verbal predicate, e.g. (28) (see also Chapter 18). In the example below, the reduplicated verbal root *awan* ‘to forget’ functions as adverbial modifier to the predicate *wen-ok* (wind-COS) ‘wound’. The adverbial phrase *awan awan* ‘forgettingly’

is separated from the predicate it modifies by three NPs, viz. *deʔthen* ‘he’, *i* ‘here’ and *dəkəm* ‘head’.

- (28) *ətəkəymuna phalthaŋ kangabaaw awan awan deʔthenba ici dəkəmci wenoknoro.*

ətəkəymuna [[*phalthaŋ*] {*kan*} =*gaba*] =*aw* [*awan awan*]
 CONJ self wear =ATTR =ACC forget RED

[*deʔtheng*] =*ba* [*i*] =*ci* [*dəkəm*] =*ci* {*wen-ok*} =*no* =*ro*
 3S =EMPH PRX =LOC head =LOC wind -COS =QUOT =EMPH

‘So then, he forgetfully wound what he himself was wearing, here, around his head, it is said.’

Verbs can take arguments, which is one of the most salient differences to nouns, which cannot take arguments when functioning as predicate head. However, no argument in any clause has to be expressed when retrievable from the context, which means that it is difficult to determine which types of arguments are obligatorily conceptualised with certain verbs. Moreover, there are a few verbs denoting natural phenomena which have a valency of zero.

4.2 Phrasal properties

A bare root or a reduplicated bare root can modify another verb which functions as head of a predicate, e.g. (28), (see also Chapter 18). A non-finite predicate can modify another verbal predicate head. A verbal predicate head can be modified by an adverb, e.g. (265) in §6.6.

4.3 Morphological properties

Verbs can take all predicate head suffixes (see Table 63 in Chapter 22), provided the construction is semantically felicitous. They can undergo valency changing derivation by means of transitivity.

4.4 Semantic properties

Verbs denote activities, processes, states and qualities. Verbs denoting qualities are called Type 1 adjectives.

4.5 Subclasses of verbs

The following subclasses of verbs have been identified depending on the semantics of the verb and the types of argument that they can take. Primary-A verbs (see Dixon 2006 b) are verbs of which all arguments must be NPs or pronouns. There are very few Primary-B verbs (see Dixon 2006 b), i.e. verbs which can take an NP or pronoun or a complement clause as second argument apart from the subject (A). The list of verbs that can only take complement clauses as second argument (apart from an A argument), the so called Secondary verbs (see Dixon 2006 b), is very short. Secondary verbs are verbs that cannot take an NP as their argument, but can only take a complement clause as an argument. Speech act verbs are treated separately because they can embed direct speech in a clause.

Table 21 Types of verbs

Primary-A verbs

Intransitive verbs

Type 1 adjectives

Other intransitive verbs

Verbs of emotion and interaction

Transitive verbs

Extended transitive verbs

Verbs that take arguments which are obligatory unmarked for case

The verb *məŋ*- ‘to call someone/something a name’

The interrogative verb *atak* ‘to do what?’

The demonstrative verb *ytyk*- ‘to do like this/that’.

Verbs denoting natural phenomena

Primary-B verbs

Secondary verbs

The secondary speech verb *no* ‘to say’

Phasal verbs

Atong has a number of intransitive-transitive lexical pairs which are discussed separately in §4.6.

4.5.1 Primary-A verbs

i Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are verbs that cannot occur in transitive constructions and that cannot take an O argument, unless they take transitivity morphology. Type 1 adjectives, a group of intransitive verbs denoting qualities, are treated in §5.1. The following example illustrates the use of the intransitive verb *jal-* ‘to run away’. The only NP expressed in the clause, i.e. *matsa* ‘tiger’, has to be interpreted as the S.

(29) *matsae jalaŋokno.*

[*matsa*]_S =*e* {*jal* -*aŋ* -*ok*} =*no*
 tiger =FC run.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT
 ‘The tiger ran away, it is said.’

ii Verbs of emotion and interaction

Verbs denoting emotions and interactions are *khaʔgal-* ‘to love’, *barat-* ‘to be ashamed of, feel shy’, *canpheŋ-* ‘to defend’, *payʔ-* ‘to bear’, *sak-* ‘to bear’ etc. One can argue that these verbs are intransitive because they cannot take an accusative-marked O argument. When, besides the S argument, a second argument is expressed it is usually a Target which is dative-marked. Examples (30) and (31) here below are illustrative. As is mentioned in Chapter 21, no NP has to be expressed obligatorily in any clause and it is impossible to test whether the dative-marked NPs of the verbs of emotion and interaction are obligatorily conceptualised when they are not expressed. Hence we cannot determine whether these NPs have core argument status or not.

(30) *Boro naŋʔna ətəkphinʔay khaʔgalano, ətəkciba naŋʔna baratano.*

[*boro*]_S [*naŋʔ*] =*na* {*ətək* -*phinʔ*} =*ay* {*khaʔgal-a*} =*no*
 Pname 2s =DAT do.like.this-FULLY =ADV love -CUST =QUOT
ətəkciba [*naŋʔ*] =*na* {*barat -a*} =*no*
 but 2s =DAT be shy -CUST =QUOT

‘Boro loves you so much, [she] says, but she feels shy toward you, [she] says.’

(31) *aŋ randay raŋsanna pay?ca*

[aŋ randay]_S [raŋsan] =na {pay? -ca}
 1s body sun =DAT bear -NEG
 ‘My body does not support the sun.’

Verbs denoting negative emotions and interactions are transitive since they can have an accusative-marked O argument. Example (32) below is illustrative.

(32) *aŋ phulistaw ka?peta bajuau tokwana*

[aŋ] [phulis =taw] {ka?pet -a} |[baju] =aw {tok -wa}| =na
 1s police =ACC be.angry -CUST friend =ACC beat -FACT =DAT
 ‘I’m angry with the police because [they] beat [my] friend.’

iii Verbs that take arguments which are obligatory unmarked for case

So far only two verbs have been recorded for which both core arguments are obligatorily unmarked for case. These are the verbs *pləl?*- ‘to change into’ and the identity/equation copula *doŋ?*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be), treated in the next section. The verb *phəl?*- ‘to change into’ is intransitive and therefore the NP that is the undergoer of the change is S, the second argument is a Result, which is a type of NP that is always unmarked. Hence the clause headed by *pləl?* ‘to change into’ contains two obligatorily unmarked arguments, e.g. (33).

(33) *imi wa? juw? wak phəl?wa.*

[i =mi wa? jəw?]_S [wak]_{RESULT} {phəl? -wa}
 PRX =GEN father mother pig change.into -FACT
 ‘This one’s father and mother have changed into pigs.’

iv The copula and the locative/existential verbs

There is one copula in Atong, viz. the identity/equation copula *doŋ?*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be), of which the allomorphs are in free variation. The copula functions as the head of the predicate of copula clauses (see §26.5) and in support-verb constructions (see §22.7.2iii). The copula is not attested in non-finite clauses.

The identity equation copula *doŋ?*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be) supports two arguments, i.e. the Copula Subject and the Copula Complement, e.g. (34). Both CS and CC are unmarked for case.

- (34) *ue hape cigacak te?ew kol india kolani hapan doŋ?wacəmnno.*

[ue hap] =e [cigacak]_{CS} [te?ew][kol india kolani]
DST place=FC Pname now coal India colony

hap]_{CC} -an {doŋ? -wa} =cəm =no
place =FC/ID IE.be -FACT =IRR =QUOT

‘That place Chigachak is now supposedly the Coal India Colony place, it is said.’

The identity/equation copula *doŋ?* ~ *doŋ-* (IE.be) is homophonous with the intransitive verb *doŋ?* ~ *doŋ-* ‘be enough, be sufficient’, which occurs in the next example.

- (35) *aya taŋka doŋ?tawancakthay aŋdo roŋcəygəksaan raariwa.*

aya [taŋka]{doŋ? -taw -an -ca -k} =thay} [aŋ] =do
interj money enough-UPWARD -REF -NEG -COS =MIR 1s =TOP

[roŋ cəygək] =sa =an {ra -ari -wa}
CLF:MONEY ten =DLIM =FC/ID bring-SIMP-FACT

‘Damn! To my surprise the money is not enough any more (does not reach up to enough), I only brought ten rupees.’

There is also a homophone *doŋ?*- ‘to arrive’, also intransitive, shown in the next example.

- (36) *ətakəyməŋ ray?akno ray?akno , nokthaŋcina doŋ?okno.*

ətakəyməŋ {ray? -ak} =no {ray? -ak} =no
CONJ go -COS =QUOT go -COS =QUOT

[nok -thaŋ] =ci =na {doŋ? -ok} =no
house -OWN =LOC =ALL arrive-COS =QUOT

‘So then, he went and went, it is said, [and] arrived at his own house, it is said.’

The identity/equation copula *doŋʔ- ~ doŋ-* (IE.be) is used to tell the time (37).

- (37) “*atoŋ bajima.*” “*tin baji doŋok.*”
 [atoŋ baji] =ma [tin baji] {doŋ -ok}
 what hour =Q three hour IE.be -COS
 “‘What’s the time?’” “‘It’s past three.’”

The locative existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘exist’ and the negative locative existential verb *niʔ-* ‘not.exist’ are intransitive verbs. They support one core argument, i.e. S, as illustrated here below in examples (38) (39) and (40). These verbs can express the same grammatical categories as other verbs (see Table 63 in Chapter 22) as long as the result is semantically possible in the context of the utterance. The locative/existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘exist’ cannot take the customary aspect <-a> (CUST) except when it carries a derivative suffix (38). To express a customary aspectual meaning the locative existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘exist’ occurs without any suffix. In the Badri dialect, the causative form of the negative existential and locational verb *niʔ-* not.exist occurs most frequently in the sense ‘to switch off’, e.g. *layt niʔ-et=bo* (light not.exist-CAUS=IMP) ‘Switch of the light!’.

- (38) *morot mæŋʔsa ganaŋno. uba jəwʔtaraanokno. waʔ niʔokno. ue gawicie saʔ mæŋʔkorok ganaŋno aro deŋtheŋ pipukci saʔ mæŋʔsa ganaŋkhuano.*
 [morot mæŋʔ -sa]s {ganaŋ} =no [u]s =ba
 person CLF:HUMAN one exist =QUOT DST =EMPH
 {jəwʔ -tara =an -ok} =no [waʔ]s {niʔ -ok} =no
 mother-EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID -COS =QUOT father not.exist -COS =QUOT
 [ue gawi] =ci =e [saʔ mæŋʔ korok]s {ganaŋ} =no
 DST woman=LOC =FC child CLF:HUMAN six exist =QUOT
 aro [deŋtheŋ pipuk] =ci [saʔ mæŋʔ sa]s
 and 3d belly =LOC child CLF:HUMAN one
 {ganaŋ-khu -a} =no
 exist -INCOM-CUST =QUOT

‘There is one person, it is said. She has become only a mother [by herself], it is said. There is no father any more, it is said. The woman has six children, it is said and in her belly there is one more, it is said.’

- (39) *taŋka niʔciba ganaŋciba aŋ naŋʔaw nemnuka.*

[*taŋka*] {*niʔ*} =*ci* =*ba*} {*ganaŋ*} =*ci* =*ba*}
 money not.exist =LOC =INDEF exist. =LOC =INDEF

[*aŋ*] [*naŋʔ*] =*aw* {*nemnuk -a*}
 1s 2s =ACC like -CUST

‘Whether you have money or not, I like you.’

- (40) *sandis niʔwa.*

[*sandis*] {*niʔ* -*wa*}
 Name not.exist -FACT
 ‘Sandish is not [here].’

Example (41) below illustrates that the negative locational/existential verbs can take event specifier suffixes. The topic is a comparison between two Swiss army knives. The speaker of the next example keeps pulling the different tools out of each knife and notices that one knife has something the other does not have. So then he says:

- (41) *ici ətəkəy niʔsiga*

[*i*] =*ci* [*ətəkəy*] {*niʔ* -*siga*}
 PRX =LOC like.this not.exist -ALT
 ‘On this one [a tool] like this is not there in turn.’

As an answer to all kinds of questions, the reified form *niʔ-wa* (not.exist-FACT) can be used with the meaning ‘nothing’ with a variety of interpretations depending on the context and the intonation of the speaker, as (42) (43) and (44) illustrate.

- (42) “*aya atoŋ kəŋəwa?*” *nowacie.* “*ay niʔwa naʔa. aŋ diphusa*” *nowano.*

aya [*atoŋ*] {*kəŋə* -*wa*} {*no-wa*} =*ci* =*e*}
 interj what make.sound -FACT say -FACT =LOC =FC

ay {*niʔ* -*wa*} [*naʔa*] [*aŋ diʔphu*] =*sa* {*no-wa*} =*no*}
 interj not.exist -FACT you 1s fart =DLIM say -FACT =QUOT

‘When he said: “Wow! what made that sound?” Oh! nothing [‘don’t worry’], oh you. It’s only my fart.” they/he said, it is said.’

- (43) “*atakaron bayrik?*” “*ni?wa.*”
 {*atak -aron*} [*bayrik*] {*ni? -wa*}
 do.what -PROG Name not.exist-FACT
 “‘What are you doing Bairik?’ ‘Nothing.’” (This can be interpreted as really
 ‘nothing’ or as ‘I don’t want to tell you’/‘it’s none of your business’.)
- (44) “*bisan re?enwa?*” “*ni?wa.*”
 [*bi*]=*san* {*re?en -wa*} {*ni? -wa*}
 QF =MOB go.away -FACT not.exist-FACT
 “‘Where did you go?’ ‘Nothing.’” (Interpretation: ‘I don’t want to tell
 you’/‘it’s none of your business’.)

Example (45) illustrates the locative/existential verbs as head of a predicate of an attributive clause, and (46) shows the negative locative existential verb as predicate head of a clause nominalised by the genitive/nominaliser clausal enclitic <=*mi*> (GEN/NR).

- (45) *garuaw ue di? ganangabaaw susetca, dāwetoknoro.*
 [*garu*] =*aw* |[*ue di?*] {*ganang*} =*gaba*] =*aw* {*suset -ca*}
 mustard =ACC DST shit exist =ATTR =ACC wash -NEG
 {*dāw -et -ok*} =*no* =*ro*
 add -CAUS -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘[She] did not wash the vegetables with that shit on them [but/and] added them, it is said.’
- (46) *moŋmawa ni?wamian man?ay sa?cak khaŋgal doŋ?ok.*
 |[*moŋma -wa*] {*ni? -wa*}| =*mi* =*an* {*man?*} =*ay* {*sa? -ca -k*}
 elephant -tooth not.exist -FACT =NR =FC/ID obtain =ADV eat -NEG -COS
 [*khaŋgal*] {*doŋ? -ok*.}
 poor.person IE.be -COS
 ‘[Because of] the non-existence of the elephant tusks, [they] were no longer rich, [they] had become poor.’

v Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are those verbs that can occur in transitive constructions and maximally take two core arguments, A and O (47). A is always unmarked for case and O can either be unmarked or, only when referential and definite, accusative-marked,

but this accusative marking is optional (see Chapter 20). The following example illustrates the use of a transitive verb, i.e. *dəpələŋ*- ‘to flatten’.

- (47) *gari beŋbəlɔkəw dəpələŋɔk*
 [gari]_A [beŋbəlɔk]_O =aw {dəpələŋ-ok}
 vehicle toad =ACC flatten -COS
 ‘The car has flattened the toad.’

vi Extended transitive verbs

So far, only two extended transitive verb have been discovered in the language. These are the verbs *məŋ*- ‘to call something a name’ and *no*- ‘to call something a name’. The obligatory extended argument, semantically the Name of a named entity, is always unmarked for case. The named entity is the O argument and receives accusative marking (48).

- (48) *ue haʔbəriawə seŋʔsotay matsa cawʔkəy məŋsigaariok.*
 [ue haʔbəri]_O =aw =e {seŋʔsot} =ay [matsa cawʔkəy]_{E/NAME}
 DST hill =ACC =FC abbreviate =ADV Pname
 {məŋ -siga -ari -ok}
 call.a.name -ALT -SIMP -COS
 ‘That hill is also just called Matsa Caw•kyi for short.’

vii The interrogative verb *atak*

Atong has an interrogative verb, viz. *atak* ‘to do what’. I will demonstrate its different usages with the following examples. In (49) we see how the verb is used to inform about the actions of a specific person.

- (49) *ayaw! aŋdo cəkaydoŋa. atakwa? Teʔewmaŋmaŋsa təyruwa naʔa.*
 [ayaw] [aŋ] =do {cək -aydoŋa}
 interj 1s =TOP cold -PROG
 {atak -wa}
 do.what -FACT
 [teʔew -maŋmaŋ] =sa {təyru -wa} [naʔa]
 now ONLY =DLIM bathe -FACT 2s
 ‘Ow! I’m cold. What have you done? I took a bath just now, oh you!’

Sometimes the verb is used as a device in discourse to create an expectation about the following stretch of discourse. In these cases the predicate containing the interrogative verb *atak-* ‘to do what?’ can be translated as ‘what happened?’, as we see in (50).

- (50) *kənsaŋdo atakoknowa? jamjolay gopca amakawe.*
 [ənsaŋ]=do {tak -ok} =nowa
 later =TOP do.what -COS =QUOT
 {jamjol} =ay {gop -ca} [amak] =aw =e
 complete=ADV burry-NEG monkey =ACC=FC
 ‘What did [they] do later, it is said?’ alternatively ‘What happened later, it is said?’ They didn’t burry [him_i] at all, the monkey_i.’

The interrogative verb can be used to ask for a reason. In this case the clause in which the verb appears is dative-marked (see Chapter 27) and can be translated with ‘why?’ in English, as we can see in (51). By simplification of the cross-morphemic cluster /kn/ to /n/, the dative-marked form gave rise to a real, opaque interrogative morpheme *atana* ‘why’, as described in §9.5.

- (51) *“na?a atakna jumuaydoŋa ie haʔthaphəraawe?” nowano*
 [naʔa] {atak} =na {jumu -aydoŋa} [ie haʔthaphəra] =aw =e
 2s do.what =DAT collect -PROG PROX ashes =ACC=FC
 {o -wa} =no
 say -FACT QUOT
 “‘Why are you collecting those aches?’ [they] said, it is said.’
 Literally: “‘You are collecting those ashes to do what?’”

The interrogative verb can occur as the predicate of an attributive clause, modifying a noun which is the head of an arch NP (see Chapter 29), as we can see in example (52).

In that example the noun *raja* ‘king’ is modified by the attributive clause *atak=gaba* (do.what=ATTR). In these cases, the arch NP can best be translated into English as ‘what kind of X?’, since the question is more about what kind of X it is than about what activities the X actually does

- (52) “*atakgaba raja naʔa aŋna gore lapcagabaaw watetwa*” *nookno*.

-----arch NP-----

-AC-

[*latak*] =*gaba* *raja* [*naʔa*] [*aŋ*] =*na* [*gore lap -ca*] =*gaba*] =*aw*
do.what =ATTR king 2s 1s =DAT horse profit-NEG =ATTR =ACC
{*watet -wa*} {*no-ok*} =*no*
send -FACT say -COS =QUOT

“‘What kind of king are you [that] you send me a good-for-nothing horse?’,
[he] said, it is said.’ Literally: ‘You are a king who does what?’

viii The demonstrative verb *ətək-*

There is one demonstrative verb in Atong: *ətək-* ‘to do/be like this/that’ and *itək-* ‘to do like this’. By far most occurrences of this verb in the corpus collected during my fieldwork are anaphoric, i.e. coreferential to whatever action or state a verb earlier in the in the text referred to; only one instance of purely deictic use of this verb is attested, which is illustrated in example (30), here repeated as (53). In this example, the extent of Boro’s love has to be inferred from the context in which this sentence was uttered, not from any preceding discourse.

- (53) *Boro naŋʔna ətəkphinʔay khaʔgalano, ətəkriba naŋʔna baratano.*

[*boro*]_s [*naŋʔ*] =*na* {*ətək -phinʔ*} =*ay* {*khaʔgal -a*} =*no*
Pname 2s =DAT do.like.this-FULLY =ADV love -CUST =QUOT
ətəkriba [*naŋʔ*] =*na* {*barat -a*} =*no*
but 2s =DAT be shy -CUST =QUOT

‘Boro loves you so much, [she] says, but she feels shy toward you, [she] says.’

Example (54), taken from TEXT 1 (lines 24-28), demonstrates the anaphoric use of the demonstrative verb. In the last line of the example, the demonstrative verb is coreferential with the verb *thik-an-ca* (be.good-REF-NEG) ‘are not good’ in the

second line, i.e. both verbs refer to the state of not being good. Other example of the anaphoric use of this verb are (273), (587), (693) and line 40 of TEXT 2.

- (54) Speaker 1: *atakna watna naʔa, ma?*
 Speaker 2: *gawian thikanca.*
 Speaker 1: *o thikanca?*
 Speaker 2: *hoʔoŋ.*
 Speaker 1: *ətəkaria, teʔewrawrawmi gawido.*

atakna wat -na ma
 why send.away -DESI Q
 ‘Why do you want to send her away [i.e. dump her]?’

gawi =an thik -an -ca
 girl =FC/ID right -REF -NEG
 ‘The girl is not decent.’

o thik -an -ca
 interj right -REF -NEG
 ‘Oh, not decent.’

hoʔoŋ
 yes

ətək -ari -a teʔew-rawraw -mi gawi =do
 do.like.that -SIMP -CUST now -CONTINUOUSLY -GEN girl =TOP
 They do just like that, the girls of nowadays.

ix Verbs denoting natural phenomena

Verbs describing natural phenomena are a small closed class of verbs. The five members are listed in Table 22. The verb *balwa*- ‘to blow (of the wind)’ can only take the cognate S *balwa* ‘wind’ as its argument. The verbs *wal*- ‘to (be) night’, *manap*- ‘to (be) morning’ and *gasam*- ‘to (be) evening’ have a valency of zero, i.e. they cannot take any arguments. The only S argument said to be possible with the verb *wal*- ‘to (be) night’ is *san* ‘day’, but I have never heard it in spontaneous speech. The verb *wa*- ‘to rain’ is intransitive and can only have the prototypically associated noun *raŋ* ‘rain’ as its S argument. Verbs denoting natural phenomena can express the same grammatical categories as other verbs except imperative.

Table 22 Verbs denoting natural phenomena and their corresponding nouns

VERB	VALENCY	EXAMPLE	NOUN
<i>balwa-</i> ‘to blow (as wind)’	cognate S only	(55)	<i>balwa</i> ‘wind’
<i>wal-</i> ‘to (be) night’	prototypically associated S only, i.e. <i>san</i> ‘day’	(56)	<i>wal</i> ‘night’
<i>manap-</i> ‘to (be) morning’	nil	-	<i>manap</i> ‘morning’
<i>gasam-</i> ‘to (be) evening’	nil	-	<i>gasam</i> ‘evening’
<i>wa-</i> ‘to rain’	prototypically associated S only, i.e. <i>raŋ</i> ‘rain’	(58)	--

(55) *tay?ni balwa tha?rakay balwaanok.*

[*tay?ni*] [*balwa*] {*tha?rak*} =ay {*balwa-an* -ok}
 today wind strong =ADV wind -AWAY -COS
 ‘The wind blew strong today.’

(56) *te?ewdo walnaka.*

[*te?ew*] =do {*wal* -naka}
 now =TOP night -IFT
 ‘It will soon become night now.’

(57) *kənsaŋ golphook golphook golphook. golpho kha?wacie walaŋaydok.*

[*kənsaŋ*] {*golpho* -ok} {*golpho* -ok} {*golpho* -ok}
 later.on talk.extensively -COS talk.extensively -COS talk.extensively -COS
 [*golpho*] {*kha?* -wa} =ci =e {*wal-an* -aydok}
 story do -FACT =LOC =FC night -AWAY -PROG

‘Later on they talked and talked and talked extensively. When they talk/talked, it is/was becoming night.’ Literally: ‘When they did story it is/was nighting away’.

In the next example the prototypically associated noun *raŋ* ‘rain’ might be incorporated into the predicate because the noun is unmarked, non-referential and together with the verb it can denote one recognisable unitary concept (see Mithun 1984). It is, however, possible to separate the noun *raŋ* ‘rain’ and the verb *wa-* ‘to rain’ as (59) illustrates. Moreover the verb can be used without the noun as in (60).

- (58) *asiṅkatiməṅ somayci nemen raṅ waakno.*

[*asiṅkati* =*məṅ* *somay*] =*ci* [*nemen*] {*raṅ* *wa* -*ak*} =*no*
 August.September=GEN time =LOC very rain rain -COS =QUOT
 ‘In August and September it rained very hard, it is said.’

- (59) *rang paṅṇay waaydok*

[*raṅ*] [*paṅṇay*] =*ay* {*wa* -*aydok*}
 rain much =ADV rain -PROG
 ‘Rain is falling heavily.’

- (60) *raṅsan raṅbərəmaydoṅa, waynikhon*

[*raṅsan*] {*raṅbərəm* -*aydoṅa*} {*wa* -*ay* -*ni*} =*khon*
 sun be.shrouded.in.clouds -PROG rain -TOWARDS -FUT =SPEC
 ‘The sun is blocked by the clouds, it might rain.’

The only attested verb denoting a natural phenomenon functioning as the predicate of an attributive clause is given here below.

- (61) *aṅ raṅ wagaaw nemnuka*

[*aṅ*] [*raṅ*] {*wa*} =*ga*] =*aw* {*nemnuk* -*a*}
 1s rain rain =ATTR =ACC like -CUST
 ‘I like the rain that falls.’

4.5.2 Primary-B and Secondary verbs

All arguments of Primary-B verbs can be NPs or pronouns but one argument can alternatively be a clause. The complement clause fulfils the function of O argument in the matrix the clause. Most Primary-B verbs take dative clauses as complements; only one verb has been discovered that can take either a dative- or a factitive-marked clause as complement, viz. the verb *gaṇak*- ‘to be compelled to’. Secondary verbs cannot take an O argument but have to take a dative-marked clause as a complement. The Primary-A and Secondary verbs are listed in Table 23 below. Factitive clauses are treated in Chapter 1 and dative-marked clauses are treated in Chapter 27.

Table 23 List of Primary-B and Secondary verbs (not exhaustive)

VERB	MEANING	Can take NP as O argument	Type of clausal complement
Primary B verbs			
<i>naŋ-</i>	to need, have to	yes	dative clause
<i>manʔ-</i>	to be able; to obtain	yes	
<i>tak-</i>	to do	yes	
<i>canci-</i>	to think about	yes	
<i>haʔbaceŋ-</i>	to begin	yes	
Secondary verbs			
<i>paʔ-</i>	to dare	no	dative clause
<i>sək-</i>	to want	no	
<i>sap-</i>	to know a skill	no	
<i>nengʔ-</i>	to lack, to fail to	no	
<i>myksoŋ-</i>	to plan, to intend	no	
<i>gaʔak-</i>	to be compelled to	no	dative or factitive clause

4.5.3 The Secondary speech-verb

The verb *no-* ‘say’ can participate in only two constructions. First, it can take a quote, i.e. a stretch of direct speech as its complement, in order to form a grammatical clause. Thus it can embed a direct speech report into a higher clause. This is the most common usage of the verb, e.g. (62). In this example the direct speech report is underlined and is the complement of the verb *no-* ‘to say’, which is subordinate to the main verb *bal-* ‘to speak, say, tell’. The topic marker *<=do>* (TOP) does not mark the reported speech, but only the phrase *tayʔni* ‘today’.

- (62) *ətakciba pherue* “*hmʔm, kakay saʔarini naŋʔaw tayʔnido*” *noayməŋ balariano.*

ətakciba [pheru]_A =*e* [*hmʔm*]_{no} [*kak*]_{bite} =*ay* {*-saʔ-ari -ni*} [*naŋʔ=aw*
 but fox =FC no bite =ADV eat -SIMP-FUT 2s =ACC
 [*tayʔni*]_{today} =*do* {*no*} =*ay* =*məŋ* {*bal -ari -ok*} =*no*
 today =TOP say =ADV =SEQ speak -SIMP-COS =QUOT

‘But the fox having said: “No, I will just bite and eat you today” just spoke, it is said.’

Second, it can take a dative-marked complement clause, of which there is only one recorded example (755), which is presented in §27.2.1. The use of this verb is compulsory in clauses in which direct speech is embedded, to signal the direct speech.

4.5.4 Phasal verbs

Phasal verbs indicate beginning or completion. So far only three phasal verbs have been discovered in Atong. They cannot all take NP's as O argument but they can all take complement clauses of which the predicate is factitive-marked. These complement clauses never occur accusative-marked. Table 24 below lists the phasal verbs in Atong.

Table 24 Phasal verbs

VERB	MEANING	Can take noun as O argument	Type of clausal complement
<i>jam-</i>	to finish, complete	yes	factive clause
<i>macot-</i>	to finish	yes	
<i>danʔ-</i>	to enter a state of	no	

4.6 Intransitive-transitive lexical pairs

Atong displays a few vestiges of an old, now unproductive, system of verbal transitivity. These remnants have resulted in lexical pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs. The transitive verbs show reflexes of what is presumably the proto Tibeto-Burman causative prefix *s-. There are two systems.

In one system, to which most pairs adhere, the transitive verbs are derived from the intransitive ones with an unproductive prefix <thə- ~ də-> (TRANSITIVE). The schwa of the unproductive causative prefix assimilates completely to the vowel of the root. The distribution of the allomorphs of the unproductive Atong transitive prefix is as follows. The allomorph <-də> occurs before plain voiceless and aspirated initial stops while the allomorph <-thə> occurs before voiced initials and /s/. Transitive verbs with initial affricate /c/ or /j/ have not been recorded. Surprisingly similar to the fossilised Atong prefix in phonetic make up and distribution are the palatalised allomorphs <šə- ~ džə-> of the causative prefix <s- ~ šə- ~ džə-> in Jingpho (see Matisoff 2003: 101) or Kachin, as the language is called by Benedict (1972: 105).

The proto Tibeto-Burman causative prefix **s-* is reflected as devoicing and aspiration of initial stop on one pair of verbs, viz. *bay* ‘to break (intransitive)’ and *phay?* ‘to break (transitive), to translate’²¹, in which the consonant initial varies between a voiced stop for the intransitive verbs and a voiceless aspirated stop for the transitive ones. Limbu, a Kiranti language of Nepal (van Driem 1987: 245 sq.) and Burmese (Okell 1969: 42), have many similar verb pairs that reflect Proto-Tibeto-Burman **s-*. The intransitive and transitive verbal pairs are listed here below in Table 25.

Table 25 Transitive and intransitive verb pairs

intransitive		transitive	
System 1			
<i>barat-</i>	‘to be ashamed’	<i>thabarata</i>	‘to make ashamed’
<i>bejaw-</i>	‘to tickle’	<i>thebajaw-</i>	‘to experience the sensation of being tickled’
<i>galʔ-</i>	‘to fall’	<i>thagalʔ-</i>	‘to loose’
<i>kuŋ-</i>	‘to be dammed up a circle of stones’ (of water in the river as a technique to catch fish)	<i>dukuŋ-</i>	‘to dam up water by making a circle of stones in the river(as a technique to catch fish)
<i>mət-</i>	‘to extinguish’	<i>thəmət-</i>	‘to put out’ (of fire)
<i>mimi-</i>	‘to smile’	<i>thimimi-</i>	‘to make someone smile’
<i>myn-</i>	‘to be ripe’	<i>thymyn-</i>	‘to ripen (after being picked)’
<i>nuk-</i>	‘to see’	<i>thunuk</i>	‘to show’
<i>sa-</i>	‘to wake up’	<i>thasa-</i>	‘to wake somebody up’
<i>khəp- ~khup-</i>	‘to put clothes on, to cover,	<i>dəkhəp- ~ dukhup-</i>	‘to dress someone’
<i>kəɾəŋ-</i>	‘to make noise’	<i>dəkəɾəŋ-</i>	‘to make noise on purpose’
<i>kəɾəy-</i>	‘to fear’	<i>dəkəɾəy-</i>	‘to threaten’
<i>thəy-</i>	‘to die’	<i>dəthəy-</i>	‘to kill (for ceremonial purpose)’
<i>kirin</i>	‘torn (of clothes, paper etc.)’	<i>dikirin-</i>	‘to tear (clothes, paper etc)’
<i>phiŋ-</i>	‘to be full’	<i>diphiŋ-</i>	‘to fill’
-not recoded-		<i>dəpələŋ-</i>	‘to flatten’
System 2			
<i>bay-</i>	‘to break’	<i>phayʔ-</i>	‘to break, to translate’

²¹ Interestingly, whereas in Atong only the transitive verb *phay?* ‘to break’ is glottalised, in Burmese both the transitive and the intransitive member of the pair have a final glottal stop, viz. *hpya?* ‘cut, break’ and *pya?* ‘be cut, broken; snap’ (Okell 1969:42).

Chapter 5 Adjectives

There are two small closed classes of adjectives in Atong which I will call Type 1 and Type 2. The criteria for distinguishing these two types can be found summarised in Table 20. Type 1 adjectives form a subclass of intransitive verbs, they denote a quality and are used primarily predicatively. For type 1 adjectives to be used attributively to an NP, an attributive form needs to be derived with the attributive clausal enclitic $\langle =gaba \sim =ga \rangle$ (ATTR), the function of which is extensively treated in Chapter 29. Type 2 adjectives can be used either predicatively or attributively without any derivational process.

Approximately forty five members of the Type 1 adjective class have been recorded indicating the semantic types (see Dixon, 2004 a) of dimension, value, colour, physical property, position, quantification. Approximately fifty Type 2 adjectives have been recorded. Type 2 adjectives denote age, colour, physical property, position, speed, quantification, possessiveness and similarity. There are some adjectives that have a semantic extension, viz. Type 1 *rak-* means ‘hard’ as physical property and ‘difficult’ and the Type 1 adjective *gaʔ-* ‘good’ as a value can be extended to human propensity meaning ‘good hearted’. It is noteworthy that there are no other adjectives signifying human propensity in Atong. Table 26 below lists the adjectives of both classes recorded to date.

It has to be noted that the property of being able to participate in comparative, superlative and excessive constructions is not a property that is characteristic only of adjectives but also of verbs (see Table 20 above). Both word classes can express the comparative (‘more...than’)/superlative $\langle -khal \rangle$ (CP/SUP) and the excessive $\langle -duga \rangle$ (XS) categories. This is illustrated in the next examples with adjectives of Type 1 (63), (65) and verbs (64), (66).

(63) *cak rawʔkhalay suletkhubo.*

[*cak*] {*rawʔ -khal*} =*ay* {*sulet -khu*} =*bo*
 arm/hand long -CP =ADV stretch -INCOM=IMP
 ‘Stretch your arm longer.’

- (64) *geʔthen ʔna dayay saʔkhala.*

[*geʔthen*] [*ʔna*] =*na* {*day*} =*ay* {*saʔ -khal-a*}
 3s 1s =DAT be.bigger=ADV eat -CP -CUST
 ‘He eats more than me.’

- (65) *tibimi kərənggaba rakdugabutungci cangba nietok*

[*tibi*] =*mi* [*kərəŋ*] =*gaba*] {*rak -duga-butung*} =*ci*
 television =GEN sound =ATTR strong -XS -WHILE =LOC
 [*cəŋ*] =*ba* {*ni -et -ok*}
 who =INDEFnot.exist -CAUS -COS

‘When the sound of the TV was too loud, someone turned it off.’

- (66) *geʔthengdo may saʔdugaak.*

[*geʔtheng*] =*do* [*may*] {*saʔ -duga -ak*}
 3s =TOP rice eat -XS -COS
 ‘He has eaten too much rice.’

An alternative interpretation, with *may* ‘rice’ incorporated into the predicate (see Chapter 22):

[*geʔtheng*] =*do* {*may saʔ -duga -ak*}
 3s =TOP rice eat -XS -COS
 ‘He has eaten too much.’ Literally: ‘he has rice-eaten too much.’

5.1 Type 1 adjectives

Type 1 adjectives are a subclass of intransitive verbs, i.e. they are stative verbs denoting a quality. They are distinguished from other intransitive verbs only on the basis of their semantics and the semantic effect that the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak> (COS) has on these adjectives. The change of state marker can produce an intensifying effect on Type 1 adjectives, e.g. *səl-* ‘beautiful’ → *səl-ok* (beautiful-COS) ‘very beautiful’, *thaw-* ‘tasty’ → *thaw-ok* (tasty-COS) ‘very tasty’, *gaʔsu-* ‘splendid, great, cool’ → *gaʔsu-ok* (cool-COS) ‘totally cool, very cool’. However, in the right context a change of state morpheme on a Type 1 adjective can also be interpreted as asserting a change of state (67).

(67) *golpho lekha catok.*

[*golpho lekha*] [*cat -ok*]
 story book thick -COS

‘The story book has become thick.’ or ‘The story book is very thick.’

The different properties of Type 1 adjectives as predicate head are compared with those of other verbs, Type 2 adjectives and nouns in Table 62 in Chapter 22.

Type 1 adjectives are intrinsically predicating (68), but as head of a predicate of an attributive clause (see also Chapter 29) they can be used as modifiers of nouns (69).

(68) *ue gawi səla.*

[*ue gawi*] [*səl -a*]
 DST girl beautiful -DCL
 ‘That girl is beautiful’

(69) *təi gaʔgaba wari thəwʔgaba təysamci hap səlgabaci mənʔni bayʔsigathəmaran “caŋ tərəwceənaka” noaydoŋano.*

[*təy* {*gaʔ*} =*gaba*] [*wari* {*thəwʔ*} =*gaba*] [*təysam*] =*ci*
 water good =ATTR deep.place.in.river deep =ATTR water.edge =LOC

[*hap* {*səl*} =*gaba*] =*ci* [*mənʔ* *ni* *bayʔsiga-thə -maran*]
 place beautiful =ATTR LOC CLF:HUMAN two friend -OWN-RC

l{*caŋ tərəw -ceŋ -naka*}l{*no-aydoŋa*} =*no*
 who take.a.bath -FIRST -IFT say -PROG =QUOT

‘At the waterside of a place in the river where there was nice and deep water, in a beautiful place, the two friends are arguing who will take a bath first, it is said.’

In the next example we see how a Type 2 adjective, in this case *abun* ‘other, different’, does not need to be attributivised before it can function attributively to a noun, in this case the noun *khuʔcuk* ‘language’.

(70) *khu?cuk abunsəŋ balcido blenpayriŋ noay balna man?nicəm.*

[*khu?cuk abun*] =*səŋ* {*bal*} =*ci* =*do*
language other =INSTR speak =LOC =TOP

[*blenpayriŋ*] {*no*} =*ay* {*bal*} =*na* {*man? -ni*} =*cəm*
blank.firing say =ADV say =DAT be.able -FUT =IRR

‘If [you] say it in another language, [you] could say blank firing.’ Literally:
‘you could sayingly say *blenpayriŋ*’.

Table 26 List of adjectives sorted by semantic category and class

DIMENSION Type 1

<i>cun-</i>	‘big’
<i>məl-</i>	‘small’
<i>thəw?</i>	‘deep’
<i>cəw?</i>	‘high’
<i>raw?</i>	‘long’ (time, body, thing)
<i>sun-</i>	‘short’ (time, body, thing)

AGE Type 2

<i>pidan</i>	‘new’ (thing)
<i>picam</i>	‘old’ (thing)
<i>bədəy</i>	‘old’ (person)

COLOUR Type 1

<i>bok-a</i>	‘white, unripe’
<i>nak-a</i>	‘black’
<i>sak-a</i>	‘red’

COLOUR Type 2

<i>pi?bok</i>	‘white, unripe’
<i>pinak</i>	‘black’
<i>pi?sak</i>	‘red, blond’
<i>keŋcek</i>	‘green, blue’
<i>rəmət</i>	‘yellow, orange’
<i>bəlu</i>	‘blue’
<i>khengsərək</i>	‘dark green’

VALUE Type 1

<i>nem-</i>	‘good’
<i>ga?</i>	‘good’
<i>ga?su-</i>	‘sensational, cool’
<i>hanseŋ-</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>thaw-</i>	‘tasty’
<i>rak-</i>	‘hard, strong, difficult’
<i>damrak-</i>	‘expensive, costly’
<i>səl-</i>	‘pretty, beautiful’
<i>səm-</i>	‘sweet’
<i>bətəm-</i>	‘nice smelling’
<i>manam-</i>	‘foul smelling’
<i>bylak-</i>	‘strong’ (of persons)
<i>məthel-</i>	‘thankful’

PHYSICAL PROPERTY Type 1

<i>ka?</i>	‘bitter’
<i>kəy-</i>	‘sour’
<i>rak-</i>	‘hard, strong, difficult’
<i>gaŋ-</i>	‘erect’
<i>təysi-</i>	‘wet’
<i>cek-</i>	‘cold’
<i>bəlak-</i>	‘strong’
<i>tuŋ-</i>	‘warm’
<i>kanjot-</i>	‘skinny’
<i>manak-</i>	‘dark’
<i>mel?</i>	‘fat’
<i>nom?</i>	‘soft, tender’
<i>neŋ?</i>	‘tired’
<i>cərəm-</i>	‘heavy’
<i>demdoŋ-</i>	‘weak, soft’
<i>su?ut-</i>	‘damp’
<i>ceŋ-</i>	‘light, not heavy’
<i>cəŋ?</i>	‘bright’

Table 26 continued

PHYSICAL PROPERTY Type 2

<i>gəthəŋ</i>	~
<i>githing</i>	~
<i>githyng</i>	‘unripe, uncooked, raw’
<i>dəŋdaŋ</i>	‘alone’
<i>bəkphəl</i>	‘inside out’
<i>phangphyl</i>	‘upside down’
<i>dəmdam</i>	‘naked’
<i>rawʔreŋ</i>	‘long and slender’
<i>baŋbaŋ</i>	‘empty’
<i>karam</i>	‘poisonous’
<i>khuruŋ</i>	‘wanting to lay an egg’
<i>kirin</i>	‘torn’ (paper, clothes)
<i>nagok</i>	‘deaf’
<i>təykaran</i>	‘thirsty’
<i>bukalaŋ</i>	‘to have a hole in it’ (clothes)
<i>thəmbəloŋ</i>	‘to have holes in it, damaged’ (road, bridge)
<i>pəraw</i>	‘to have a hole in it’ (walls)
<i>moŋ</i>	‘main’
<i>brəmbərəm</i>	‘multicoloured’
<i>thokbəram</i>	‘multicoloured’
<i>(təy)karan</i>	‘thirsty’
<i>jaŋʔjot</i>	‘narrow in the middle’
<i>əmpoŋ</i>	‘lopsided’
<i>thəwkhəŋ</i>	‘bulging’
<i>khingcəŋ</i>	‘aslant, slant’
<i>cingʔphəŋ</i>	‘aslant, slant’
<i>pylaŋ</i>	‘flat’

VALUE Type 2

<i>ramram</i>	‘ordinary, normal’
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POSITION Type 1

<i>janʔ-</i>	‘far’
<i>neka-</i>	‘near’

POSITION Type 2

<i>sul</i>	‘next, neighbouring’
<i>cuʔret</i>	‘stuck’
<i>cəŋgaŋ</i>	‘upright’
<i>bathan</i>	‘lying on its/his back’
<i>bərap</i>	‘lying on its/his belly’
<i>gəciŋ</i>	‘nearby, slant, aslant’
<i>abun</i>	‘following, next, neighbouring, other, someone else, different’

SPEED Type 2

<i>khasin</i>	‘slow’
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SIMILARITY Type 2

<i>hapsan</i>	‘the same’
<i>gapsan</i>	‘the same’
<i>dəŋthaŋ</i>	‘different’
<i>alaga</i>	‘other’.
<i>baybay</i>	‘the same’

QUANTIFICATION Type 1

<i>paŋʔ-</i>	‘many’
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QUANTIFICATION Type 2

<i>bayʔdam</i>	‘some’
<i>maŋmaŋ</i>	‘only, exclusively’

TEMPORAL Type 1

<i>jaʔraw-</i>	‘long’
<i>khengkhang</i>	‘eternal’

POSSESSIVE Type 2

<i>gəŋgaŋ</i>	‘having, with’
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5.2 Type 2 adjectives

An overview of properties is listed here below followed by examples. Type 2 adjectives share some nominal and some verbal properties. The properties of Type 2 adjectives functioning as predicate head are compared to verbs and nouns in Table 63

in Chapter 22. In Table 20 in this chapter other properties of Type 2 adjectives are compared with those of verbs and nouns.

5.2.1 Clausal properties

Type 2 adjectives can function as head of a predicate of an identity/equation clause, just like Type 1 adjectives.

5.2.2 Phrasal properties

Type 2 adjectives can modify a noun within an NP in post or pre-head position without any difference in meaning; a Type 1 one adjective needs to be attributivised before it can do this.

Type 2 adjectives can modify a verb as head of a predicate of an adverbial clause without being adverbialised with the adverbial clausal enclitic $\leq ay \gt$ (ADV), but also occur with this adverbial enclitic (more fieldwork is needed to determine the factors that determine this choice); Type 1 adjectives need to be adverbialised.

5.2.3 Morphological properties

Type 2 adjectives can be reduplicated or partially reduplicated to express greater intensity, which Type 1 adjectives cannot.

5.2.4 Semantic properties

Type 2 adjectives express age, colour, physical property, position, speed, quantification, value, possessiveness and similarity. Some of these categories overlap with those of Type 1 adjectives (see above).

Type 2 adjectives can modify nouns in unmarked form and usually in post head position, e.g. (70) above, (71) and (75) below. A Type 2 adjective can take case marking and other nominal morphology, e.g. (71), even when it appears without its head noun, e.g. (72), (73) and (74).

(71) *geʔtheŋo nok picamthaŋaw payʔgərumok.*

[*geʔtheŋ*]=do [*nok* *picam*]=thaŋ =aw {*payʔ* -*gərum* -*ok*}
 3s TOP house old =OWN =ACC break -collapse -COS
 ‘He has destroyed his own old house.’

- (72) *thəmbəlonaw rayʔcawa.*

[*thəmbəlon*] =aw {*rayʔ-ca -wa*}
 with.holes.in.it=ACC go -NEG -FACT
 ‘I will not take the one with holes in it.’ (Speaking about a road.)

To use a Type 1 adjective in the same construction as (72), we would have to use an attributive clause in a headless arch NP (see Chapter 29), viz. [{*nem*}=gaba]=aw *rayʔ-naka* (good=ATTR=ACC go-IFT) ‘[I] will take the good [one (i.e. road)]’.

- (73) *bayʔdam Ronʔdəŋ təykhal haʔwaycina jalaŋok.*

[*bayʔdam*] [*Ronʔdəŋ təykhal haʔway*] =ci =na {*jal -aŋ -ok*}
 some Pname river plain =LOC =ALL run -AWAY -COS
 ‘Some [people] run away to the Rongdyng river plain.’

- (74) *dakaŋmi picammi kamdəaraŋdo...*

[*dakaŋ*] =mi [*picam*] =mi [*kam*] =dəraŋ=do...
 in.the.past =GEN old =GEN activities=p =TOP
 ‘As for how things went in the old days...’

Type 2 Adjectives can function as head of a predicate of identity/equation clauses, where it shares properties with both nominal and verbal predicate heads (75). The properties of Type 2 adjectival predicate heads are discussed in §22.4.

- (75) *nok rəmət picamanca.*

[*nok rəmət*] {*picam-an -ca*}
 house yellow old -REF -NEG
 ‘The yellow house is not old.’

Type 2 adjectives can take the adverbial clausal enclitic <=ay> (ADV) to modify a following predicate (76), (77) or be reduplicated (78), (79).

- (76) *geʔtheŋ pinakay səla.*

[*geʔtheŋ*] {*pinak*} =ay {*səl -a*}
 3s black =ADV beautiful -CUST
 ‘She is black and beautiful. (lit. blackly beautiful)’

(77) *bəɾəpaj jəwbo.*

{*bəɾəp*}_____={*ay*} {*jəw*} =*bo*
 lying.on.belly =ADV lie.down =IMP
 ‘Lie down on your belly.’

(78) *khasin khasin reʔenbo.*

[*khasin khasin*] *reʔen* =*bo*
 slow RED go.away =IMP
 ‘Walk slowly!’

(79) *naʔnaʔ dəŋdaŋ dəŋdaŋ hapsan ɡəlgəlɲi.*

[*naʔnaʔ*] [*dəŋdaŋ -dəŋdaŋ*] [*hapsan*] {*ɡəlgəlɲi*}
 weⁱ alone -RED together roam
 ‘Weⁱ will both roam alone.’

5.3 Remarks on certain adjectives

The word *bədəy* ‘old’ (persons), Type 2, also occurs as a noun meaning ‘old man’.

The adjective *bədəy* also occurs as a bound morpheme suffixed to the word *jəwʔ* ‘mother’, where it yields the meaning *jəwʔbədəy* ‘old/married woman’. The compounding of adjectives with nouns is not a productive process.

The word *alaga* ‘other’, Type 2, also occurs as a noun meaning ‘someone else’. Compare the following examples where it is used as adjective in (80) and as noun in (81). The adjective *alaga* ‘other’ cannot modify verbs.

(80) *nok alaga*

nok alaga
 house other
 ‘another house’

(81) *alagami nok*

alaga =*mi* *nok*
 someone.else =GEN house
 ‘someone else’s house’

The prefix <*pi*-> ‘?’ on the Type 2 colour and age adjectives is unproductive. The adjectives *pidan* ‘new’ and *picam* ‘old’ also occur as bound morphemes without the

unproductive prefix *pi-* ‘?’ in the words *maydan* ‘new rice’, *soŋcam* ‘former village’ and *waʔcam* ‘post-harvest rice stalk’. As was said above, suffixing adjectives to nouns is an unproductive process.

The Type 2 adjective *khasin* ‘slow’ is the only adjective of its type that has been recorded as a command: *Khasin!* ‘slowly!’, and with the imperative clausal enclitic *<=bo>* (IMP) *khasin=bo!* (slow=IMP) ‘Slowly!’.

The Type 2 adjective *hapsan* ~ *gapsan* ‘same, together’ (allomorphs in free variation) can be used as pre-head or post head modifier. As post head modifier this adjective can function as head of a predicate, e.g. (83), whereas in pre-head position it cannot, e.g. (82). The adjective *hapsan* ~ *gapsan* ‘same’ can modify other adjectives of both types as in the equative construction in (84).

(82) *ie hapsan nok*

[*ie*] {*hapsan nok*}
PRX same house
‘This is the same house’

(83) *ie nok hapsan*

[*ie*] *hok* {*hapsan*}
PRX house same
‘This house is the same.’

(84) *aŋ naŋʔmi hapsan cuŋa.*

[*aŋ*] [*naŋʔ*] *-mi* [*hapsan*] {*cuŋ -a*}
1s 2s =GEN same big -DCL
‘I am as big as you’.

In (84) above we see an example of the equative construction in Atong. The structure of the equative construction is Comparee – Standard – *hapsan* – Parameter. The standard takes the genitive case and hence functions as second object of the predicative adjective. *Hapsan* functions as a modifier of the predicate just like in (79) and (85) here below. It is a property of Type 2 adjectives that they can modify verbs.

(85) *naʔnaŋ hapsan saʔnine.*

[*naʔnaŋ*] [*hapsan*] {*saʔ -ni*} =*ne*
1pi together eat -FUT =TAG
‘We will eat together, OK?’

Chapter 6 Nouns

Nouns are an open class. We will start with an overview of the properties of this word class in sections 6.1 to 6.4. Nominal subclasses are treated in section 6.5. In section 6.6 we will examine the different interpretations of juxtaposed nouns.

6.1 Clausal properties

Nouns can function as core or peripheral argument (adjunct/oblique argument). Nouns can also function as predicate head. Nominal predicates are treated in §22.5.

6.2 Phrasal properties

The noun is the head of the NP. The NP can take NP enclitics such as case-marking (see Chapter 20) and other phrasal enclitics (see Chapter 19). Demonstratives always occur in the left-most position in the NP, before the head. Other modifiers within the NP can precede or follow the head without any apparent difference in meaning. whether the variation of the modifiers within the NP results in subtle pragmatic differences will have to be determined by more fieldwork.

Other phrasal properties of nouns are that they

- can be incorporated into the predicate (see §22.7),
- can modify another noun in juxtaposition (see §6.6 below),
- can be modified by Type 2 adjectives (see §5.2) and attributive clauses (see Chapter 29),
- can be possessed

6.3 Morphological properties

Nouns can be pluralised and quantified (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 12). Mass nouns can only be quantified with measure nouns (see §12.4). The noun determines the choice of classifier and reduces the scope of reference of classifiers (see Chapter 12).

6.4 Semantic properties

Nouns denote activities, places, abstract notions, animals, artefacts, body parts, food items, geographic, geological or natural phenomena, kinship terms, locations, measure terms, names of persons and locations, plants, qualities, quantities, shapes, substances and time.

Reduplication of a noun has an adverbialising function (see §18.8). The properties of nouns functioning as head of a predicate compared to verbs and adjectives are given in Table 62 in Chapter 22.

6.5 Subclasses of nouns

On the basis of their syntactic, phrasal and morphological properties, Atong presents the following subclasses of nouns:

1. Common nouns
2. Nouns denoting proper names and persons
3. Kinship terms (treated in Chapter 1)
4. Inherently locational nouns
5. Mass nouns
6. Gender sensitive nouns
7. Auto-classifiers (treated in §12.3)
8. Measure nouns (treated in §12.4)

The first four subclasses will be treated below in this chapter, the three remaining subclasses are treated in other chapters, as indicated above.

6.5.1 Common nouns

The class of common nouns consists of all nouns that do not belong to any of the other subgroups. Common nouns denote concepts in the following semantic domains: abstract nouns, human activities, results of or circumstances related to human activities, animals, artefacts, body parts of humans and animals, diseases, food items,

ingredients used for food, geographical, geological or natural phenomena, plants, parts of plants, qualities, quantities, and shapes.

6.5.2 Nouns denoting persons and proper names

Proper names (86) and nouns denoting persons (87), (88) are the only ones that can take the associative plural *<=para>* (&co). This agrees with the generalisation pointed out in Moravcsik (2003: 472) that the focal referent of a group referred to by the associative plural must be a definite human individual. Nouns denoting animals are also eligible to take the associative plural, but only in stories, when they talk and act like humans (89). Kinship terms also denote persons and are treated separately in Chapter 1. Examples (87) and (88) contain a kinship term marked by the associative plural.

Proper name:

(86) *aŋa letitparaməŋ nokci saʔni.*

[aŋa] [letit =para =məŋ nok] =ci {saʔ -ni}
 1s Pname =&co =GEN house =LOC eat -FUT
 ‘I will eat at the house of Latith and company.’

Noun denoting close human relationship (subset of kinship terms):

(87) *naŋʔ bajupara caʔmasaŋ naʔ punna reʔeŋwa.*

[naŋʔ baju] =para [caʔma] =saŋ {naʔ pun =na} {reʔeŋ -wa}
 2s friend =&co down.side =MOB fish catch.fish =PUR go.away -FACT
 ‘Your friend and his company went to the river side to catch fish.’

Kinship term:

(88) *ah baba, naŋʔ dadaparado usaŋ sikal ramna reʔeŋok.*

ah baba [naŋʔ dada] =para =do [u] =saŋ
 interj grandson 2s older.brother=&co =TOPDST=MOB
 [sikal] {ram =na} {raʔeŋ -ok}
 hunting search =DAT go.away -COS

‘Oh grandson, the group of your elder brothers went that way to try to hunt.’

Animal in story:

(89) *amakparaē bədāy baday reʔeŋaydoknowa.*

[*amak*] =*para* =*e* [bədāy baday] {*reʔeŋ* -*ok*} =*no* -*wa*

monkey =&co =FC old couple go.away -COS =QUOT-FACT

‘The monkeys in each other’s company, the old couple, went away, it is said.’

Of all the subclasses of nouns, the personal names subclass is the most open of all because new lexical items are being added continuously. In the culture of the Atong, just as in that of the Garos (Burling, 2004: 228-9), parents go to considerable lengths to find unique names for their children. Hence it is usually only some weeks after its birth that a child is named. Names usually vary from two to five syllables in length and can consist of entirely invented sequences of sounds as long as they produce a pleasant sound. Alternatively they can be taken from other languages (outside the tribal communities of Meghalaya). Some names consist of a mix of invented syllables as well as existing lexemes and grammatical morphemes to give the name a symbolic value. Every name conforms to the patterns of Atong phonology in speech. The way in which names are written may be quite different from the way they are pronounced, especially when the name is or is supposed to resemble a Western name, e.g.

Holybirth [olibat], Fernanda [pananda]. There are certainly whims of fashion in syllables used for naming children. There are a considerable number young males now having a name ending in *-bat* (< English: birth, written as ‘birth’ but pronounced [bat]) and a considerable number of slightly older males having names ending in *-seŋ*.

Proper names behave like prototypical nouns: they can take the full set of case markers and other phrasal enclitics, can function as head of a predicate and can be modified, can be used as argument of a verb and can even be possessed and quantified.

6.5.3 Inherently locational nouns

Inherently locational nouns denote places and names of places (proper names).

Inherently locational nouns do not have to be marked with the mobilitative enclitic <=*saŋ*> (MOB) when they function as Direction adjunct, e.g. (90), (91).

(90) *nəgəl reʔeŋwa*

[*nəgəl*]_{DIRECTION} {*reʔeŋ* -*wa*}
 market go.away -FACT
 ‘[I] went to the market.’

(91) *hanep bakmara reʔeŋni*

[*hanep*] [*bakmara*]_{DIRECTION} {*reʔeŋ* -*ni*}
 tomorrow Pname go.away -FUT
 ‘Tomorrow [we] will go to Baghmara.’

6.5.4 Mass nouns

Mass nouns denote substances and distinguish themselves from other nouns in that they can only be quantified with measure nouns (see §12.4). Among the members of this subclass of nouns are *jaʔbek* ‘curry’, *may* ‘rice’, *təy* ‘water’, *thəyʔ* ‘blood’, *səmʔ* ‘salt’, *walʔ* ‘fire’, etc. These nouns can take the plural phrasal enclitic <=*dəraŋ*> (p) which will then indicate a large quantity of the substance denoted by the noun, e.g. (92). However, depending on the semantics of the noun, sometimes clitisisation of the plural denotes more than one unit of the substance, e.g. (93).

(92) *aŋ ie maydəraŋaw saʔcawa.*

[*aŋ*] [*ie may*] =*dəraŋ*=*aw* {*saʔ* -*ca* -*wa*}
 1s PRX rice =p =ACC eat -NEG -FACT
 ‘I will not eat so much rice.’

(93) *walʔdəraŋaw nukca imi*

[*walʔ*] =*dəraŋ*=*aw* {*nuk* -*ca*} [*i*] =*mi*]
 fire =p =ACC see -NEG PRX =GEN
 ‘[We] don’t see the fires from here.’

6.5.5 Gender sensitive nouns

There are only a few nouns in Atong which change their phonological shape to agree with the sex of their referent. These nouns are all Indic loans and are borrowed in masculine/feminine pairs. The masculine form ends in /a/ and the feminine form in /i/, All the gender sensitive nouns recorded so far appear in Table 27.

Table 27 Gender sensitive nouns

MASCULINE	gloss	FEMININE	gloss
<i>boba</i>	‘crazy man’	<i>bobi</i>	‘crazy woman’
<i>raja</i>	‘king’	<i>rani</i>	‘queen’
<i>harata</i>	‘lazy man’	<i>harari</i>	‘lazy woman’

6.6 Juxtaposition of nouns

The interpretation of two or more unmarked juxtaposed nouns depends on the context.

The following interpretations are possible:

1. The nouns belong to the same NP and do not modify each other, the interpretation is one of addition.
2. The nouns belong to the same NP and one modifies the other.
3. The nouns belong to different NPs with different argument statuses.

6.6.1 Addition interpretation

In case both nouns belong to the same NP but do not modify each other, they share the headedness of the construction. Examples are given in (94) and (95). In (94) both nouns, *pan* ‘wood’ and *waʔ* ‘bamboo’, form the head of the arch NP (an NP comprising a head and an attributive clause). This head is modified by the attributive clause (AC) of which the verb *mat-* ‘to cut’ is the predicate (see Chapter 29). The nouns do not modify each other and the relation between them is additional, hence the translation with an added ‘and’ in English.

(94) -----arch NP-----
 -AC-
 [*pan* *wa?* {*mat*} =*gaba*] =*thəŋ* =*na* =*an*
 wood bamboo cut =ATTR =CONTINUOUSLY =DAT=FC/ID
 ‘because of continuously cutting wood [and] bamboo’ (the person got many
 wounds on his body).

Another example of an unmarked additional relationship between two nouns within the same NP is (95). The two nouns are both the O argument of the predicate *thik kha?*- (exactly do) ‘to agree upon’. Again, their relationship is one of addition.

(95) *takrukna san somay thik kha?wacəm.*

{*takruk*} =*na* [*san somay*]_O {*thik kha? -wa*} =*cəm*
 fight =DAT day time exactly do -FACT =IRR
 ‘to fight, [they] had supposedly agreed upon a day [and] time.’

In example (607) in §23.12 we see three unmarked nouns, *simen tota tin* ‘cement, plank, corrugated iron’ in the same NP in an additive relationship. The NP is in O function in the adverbial clause of which the verb *pirin* ‘to mix’ is the predicate.

6.6.2 Modifying interpretation

When, as was given as the second option, the nouns belong to the same NP and one modifies the other, one noun will be the head and the other the dependent of a compound noun. The modifier always precedes the head, e.g. *macha nokbanthay* (tiger house+bachelor) ‘the tigers’ bachelors’ house’, where the head is *nokbanthay* ‘bachelors’ house’. Other examples are: *taw? nok* (chicken house) ‘chicken coop’, *ma?su khol* (cow skin) ‘cow skin’, *taw? sagəray* (chicken child) ‘chick’, *pan bəthən* (tree shadow) ‘the tree’s shadow’, *rupek bisi* (frog poison) ‘frog’s poison’ *muɣma wa* (elephant tooth) ‘elephant’s tusk’, *dawa mahari* (Dawa family) ‘the Dawa family’ and *səl daray* (iron sword) ‘iron sword’ This construction is also used in toponyms (place names): the name will precede the head which indicates the kind of place it is, e.g. *siju son* (Siju village) ‘the village of Siju’, *dabat wari* (Dabat deep.place.in.the.river) ‘the wari called Dabat’, *rongdəŋ təykhal* (Rongdyng river) ‘Rongdyng river’, *waymoŋ ha?bəri* (Waimong mountain) ‘Waymong mountain’ and *taw?pak khal* (bat hole) ‘the bat cave’. Compounds of more than one noun, although infrequent, do occur, e.g. (633) in §24.1 where we see the quantified compound *ha? nəŋ? tanran* (earth inside layer) ‘layers of the earth’s inside’.

The compounds we have seen above are all very transparent. Some compounds developed meaning extensions that are not obviously predictable from the meanings of the components. The compound *di? khal* (shit hole) ‘arse, bottom’, for example, has extended its meaning to bottoms of receptacles. Some combinations have lost their transparency altogether and have to be treated as unanalysable lexical items. The word *təykhal*, for instance, can be dissected into the components *təy* ‘water’ and *khal* ‘hole’ but the meaning is that of ‘river’.

The classifier that will be used to count compounds like the ones we have just seen depends on the referent of the compound as a whole, not only on the meaning of the head. The words *saʔgəray* means ‘human child’ when it is not modified and is counted with the classifier for humans, *məŋʔ*. The compound *tawʔ sagəray* (chicken child) ‘chick’ refers to an animal and is therefore counted with the classifier for animals.

Only one compound has been recorded where the head precedes the modifier, viz. in the word *nokbanthay*, which can be analysed as *nok+banthay* (house+bachelor) ‘bachelors’ house’. This word has the allomorphs *nokphandai* and *nokphande*, which sound more like Garo word */nokpante/* [nokphanthe] with the same meaning.

6.6.3 Different-NP interpretation

The third interpretation of juxtaposed nouns can be that they belong to different NPs and have different argument statuses. An example of this is given in (823), of which we present the relevant part here in (96), where we see that the compound *moŋma waʔ* (elephant tooth) ‘elephant’s tusk’ is the head of an arch NP (an NP that comprises a head noun and an attributive clause, see Chapter 29) which functions as O in a matrix clause, hence the accusative enclitic. The quantified noun *dora* ‘weight measure of about 5 kg) is the only argument, the copula complement, of the identificational/equational copula *doŋʔ-* (IE.be), which is the predicate of the attributive clause (AC, between vertical lines) that modifies the head of the arch NP.

(96) *moŋma waʔ dora bəɾəy doŋʔgabaaw*

-----arch NP-----					
-----AC-----					
<i>[moŋma waʔ</i>	<i> [dora</i>	<i>bəɾəy]</i>	<i>{doŋʔ}</i>	<i> =gaba]</i>	<i>=aw</i>
elephant tooth	weight	four	IE.be	=ATTR	=ACC
‘an elephant tusk that weighs four <i>dora</i> ’					

Chapter 7 Kinship terms

Key to the symbols used in tables this chapter

♀ ‘male’

♂ ‘female’

x ‘married to’

The Atongs have a classificatory Kinship system.²² The system is typical for Tibeto-Burman languages, as it distinguishes cross cousins and parallel cousins. Cross cousins are the children of mother’s brother or father’s sister. Parallel cousins are the children of mother’s sister or father’s brother. Cross cousins are considered real cousins and marriages between such cousins are allowed and encouraged, while parallel cousins are considered brothers and sisters and are not marriageable. Furthermore, like the other Tibeto-Burman languages, the Atongs use the same address terms for mother’s brother and father-in-law (*mama*), and for father’s sister and mother-in-law (*mani*). Atong also has some purely “descriptive” kinship terms, such as some reciprocal kinship terms, terms to distinguish between maternal and paternal aunts and uncles and to refer to in-laws and some specific relations between in-laws. In addition, Atong distinguishes kinship relative age, like most of the languages in Asia.

To elucidate the use of the term “descriptive” used above: an Atong speaker can refer to his/her father-in-law as *mama* and address him as *mama*, which is the same term that is used to refer to and address mother’s brother. However if a speaker wants to be very specific, the term *haw?nokhol* can be used, which is a referential term that only denotes ‘father-in-law’, and cannot be ambiguous.

In section 1 all kinship terms will be divided into two classes, based on their morphological properties. Kinship terms can also be divided on the basis of their

²² The Atong classificatory kinship system has a lot in common with that of the Australian Aborigine’s as described in Elkin, 1970: 51-58.

semantic oppositions, as is described in section 2. Section 3 describes the address terms that occur in Atong. Section 4 gives an overview of the terminological organisation of the consanguineal relations (blood relations). The affinal relations (relations by marriage, i.e. in-laws) are treated in section 5. Section 6 tells us about the terminology used when people lose relatives. Finally, in section 7 we will look at how kinship terms are used to address people who are not kin.

7.1 Morphology-based division of kinship terms: the enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*>

Kinship terms are a subclass of noun and include some nouns which do not denote kinship relations, e.g. *baju* ‘friend’ and *bayʔsiga* ~ *bayʔsega* ‘friend’. Although these nouns do not denote kinship relations, but close human relationships, they behave morphologically the same as kin-denoting nouns, and therefore I consider them to be part of the subclass of kinship terms

On morphological grounds, kinship terms are divided into two subclasses of which the members are listed below.

1. Type 1, which **cannot** attach the derelational enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (DREL) directly to the root. (This type includes the synonymous nouns *baju* ‘friend’ and *bayʔsiga* ‘friend’.)
2. Type 2, which **can** enclitise the derelational enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (DREL) directly to the root. (This type includes the noun *jək* ‘spouse’.)

All kinship nouns can take the possessive derivational enclitic <=*thaŋ*> (OWN). After attaching the possessive enclitic <=*thaŋ*> (OWN) the derelational enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (DREL) can be attached, i.e. the form **dətəy=gaba* (uncle=DREL) of the Type 1 kinship term *dətəy* ‘uncle: father’s elder brother’ is not possible, but *dətəy=thaŋ=gaba* (uncle=OWN=DREL) ‘own uncle: father’s elder brother’ is grammatically correct.

The data that have been recorded so far make the use of the derelational enclitic seem almost completely optional. However, there are some principles:

1. Any kinship term used as an address term cannot take the enclitic when you address your own kin. Thus one cannot address one's elder brother like this: * *o joŋ=gaba!* (interj younger.brother=DREL). The grammatically correct way would be like this: *o joŋ!* (interj younger.brother) 'Hey younger brother!'.
2. However, the enclitic can be used optionally when you address somebody else's kin, e.g. (97).

(97) *o samratmi hawʔ(gaba)!*
 o [samrat =mi hawʔ] (=gaba)
 interj Pname =GEN uncle:mother's.brother =DREL
 'Hey Samrat's uncle!'

Thus, kinship terms can only be used with <=gaba> (DREL) when speaking about someone else's kin or friend and not when you speak about your own kin or friend.

It seems that the enclitic <=gaba ~ =ga> marks derelationalisation when certain inherently relational nouns denoting kinship and close human relationships are used in less- or non-prototypical situations. (Shin 2004: 67, 68 is insightful on this matter.) The prototypical situation is one where an inherently relational noun occurs with its prototypical possessor, a speech act participant. In this prototypical situation the inherently relational noun is most likely to be unmarked. Example (98) is illustrative. In this example we see the kinship term *saʔbanthay* 'son' with a prototypical possessor: *aŋ*, the first person singular.

(98) "*o ie aŋ saʔbanthay coŋʔmotan bebe*" *nookno*.
 o [ie] {aŋ saʔbanthay} [coŋmot] =an [bebe] {no-ok} =no
 interj this 1s son really =FC/ID truly say -COS =QUOT
 '"O, this [is] really and truly my son", he said, it is said.'

Less prototypical situations, in which a third person (i.e. non-speech act participant) occurs with an inherently relational noun are more likely to be marked, e.g. (99), and most likely to be marked are non-prototypical situations in which the inherently relational term is used without any possessor, as in (100). In other words, the derelational marking allows certain inherently relational nouns to function in non-

prototypical situations. This is similar to what Lehmann (2003:73-75) calls absolutivisation in Yucatec (Mayan, Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico).

In example (99) we see how the kinship term *saʔbanthay* is marked with the derelational enclitic, while it occurs as the Possessum of a third person. The Possessor is implied and is coreferential with the A argument of the clause, *morot* ‘man’.

(99) *morot saʔbanthaigabaaw kənci baaymu dawʔrej kawwano.*

[*morot*]_A [*saʔbanthay*]_O =*gaba* =*aw* [*kən*] =*ci* {*ba*} =*ay* =*mu*
 man son =DREL =ACC back =LOC carry.a.child=ADV =SEQ
 [*dawʔrej*] {*kaw-wa*} =*no*
 eagle shoot-FACT =QUOT

‘A man carrying [his] son on [his] back shot the eagle, it is said.’

In example (100), the kinship term *joŋgaba* ‘younger brother’ occurs without even an implied possessor, and is therefore marked with the derelational enclitic.

(100) *əʔəkmaʔciba ue joŋgabae katha raʔcano.*

əʔəkmaʔciba [*ue joŋ*] =*gaba* =*e* [*katha*] {*raʔ -ca*} =*no*
 but that younger.brother =DEREL =FC word get -NEG =QUOT
 ‘But the younger brother did not obey [his father’s] words, it is said.’

Since derelational marking is not obligatory, we also find counterexamples in Atong of the marking mechanism described above, e.g. (101), where the classificatory kinship term *naw* ‘younger sister’ is unmarked. In the example below, the kinship term *naw* ‘younger sister’ does not carry the derelational enclitic despite the fact that it occurs with a third person possessor.

(101) *geʔheŋmi nawaw aŋdo khəmthirini.*

[*geʔheŋ* =*mi* *naw*] =*aw* [*aŋ*] =*do* {*khəm -thiri -ni*}
 3s =GEN younger.sister =ACC 1s =TOP marry-AGAIN-FUT
 ‘I will again marry his younger sister.’

Conversely, the same morpheme <*gaba ~ ga*> is attested as relational morpheme on a few other nouns, not belonging to the subclass denoting close human relationships and not inherently relational. The morpheme <*gaba- ~ ga*> (RELATIONAL) has changed the meaning of these nouns to relational nouns. Examples are given in Table 28 below. Since attachment of the relational morpheme on nouns is not productive we have to consider these formations as fossilised. Synchronically, nouns with the relational morpheme are morphologically non-transparent lexical items.

Table 28 Nouns occurring with the morpheme <*gaba ~ -ga*> (RELATIONAL)

lexical item	gloss of parts	meaning
<i>gawi-gaba</i>	female-RELATIONAL	‘wife’
<i>bipha-gaba</i>	male-RELATIONAL	‘husband’
<i>nok-gaba</i>	house-RELATIONAL	‘landlord, house owner’

7.2 Semantic division of kinship terms

There are three different types of semantic opposition between kinship terms in Atong.

1. classificatory versus descriptive
2. reciprocal versus non-reciprocal
3. reference terms versus address terms

These different semantic oppositions will be commented on one by one below.

7.2.1 Classificatory versus descriptive kinship terms

When a descriptive term is used, it can only represent one type of relationship between two people, while a classificatory term represents one of many different types of relationships. Table 29 and Table 30 give an overview of all kinship terms. The different referents of classificatory terms and those of the descriptive ones are given in Table 29 and Table 30. All classificatory kinship terms can be used as

address terms, except for the purely referential terms *saʔmāncək* ‘daughter’ and *saʔbanthay* ‘son’.²³

7.2.2 Reciprocal versus non-reciprocal kinship terms

Reciprocal kinship nouns denote a relation between two or more people, whereas non-reciprocal kinship nouns denote the unidirectional relation of one person to another.

The term *gumi* ‘brother-in-law: elder sister’s husband’, for instance, denotes the relation of a person to his elder sister’s husband, but not the inverse relation and is thus a non-reciprocal kinship term. The term used to indicate the relation of someone’s elder sister’s husband to this someone is *joŋsəri* ‘brother-in-law: wife’s younger brother’. The relation of men who married women that are sisters is called *sadu*, which is a reciprocal kinship term. These men will call each other *sadu* and will call each other’s elder brother *sadu cuŋga(ba)* (*sadu* big=ATTR) ‘big *sadu*’ and each other’s younger brother *sadu məlga(ba)* (*sadu* small=ATTR) small *sadu*. Note that the relative enclitic has two allomorphs, viz. <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (ATTR).

The terms *baju*, *bayʔsiga* ~ *bayʔsega*, *camay* ~ *came*, *sadu*, *bonəŋ*, *mawsa* ~ *mosa*, (see Table 29 for glosses) are ‘real’ reciprocal terms, in that they only denote reciprocal relations. The term *jaʔcuŋ* ‘the relation of a man and his wife’s elder sister, or of a woman and her younger sister’s husband’ or ‘sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife’ is confusing because speakers in neither Badri nor Siju agreed on its meaning. Therefore it is represented twice in Table 29 (a) and (c). Some speakers thought that *jaʔcuŋ* and *boci* are synonyms, while others said that *boci* is actually Garo. According to some speakers *jaʔcuŋ* is a reciprocal kinship term, and according to others it is not.

There are two reciprocal kinship terms that also denote non-reciprocal relations. The terms *acu* ‘grandfather’ and *baba* ‘father’ are only used to indicate the relationship between grandfather and grandchild and between father and son, when

²³ The kinship term *saʔbanthay* can be split up into two existing lexemes, viz. *saʔ* ‘offspring, child’ and *banthay* ‘bachelor’. We recognise the same morpheme, *saʔ* ‘offspring, child’ in the kinship term *saʔmāncək* ‘daughter’. The second element of this term, *māncək* ‘female’ is not a lexeme in Atong at present, but is cognate with the Garo word *meʔcik* ‘female’.

they are used as address terms. This means that the grandchild can call his/her grandfather *acu* and the grandfather can call his grandchild *acu* back. It is reported that the reciprocal use of *baba* ‘father’ is falling into disuse. Hence the following recorded comment.

- (102) *waʔgabaawba baba noariate dakaŋmi casoŋdo. aŋmi waʔaw baba nohiba aŋawba baba noaria.*

[*waʔ*] =*gaba* =*aw* =*ba* [baba] {*no-ari -a*} =*te*
 father =DREL =ACC=EMPH father say -SIMP-CUST =DCL

[*dakaŋ* =*mi* *casoŋ*] =*do*
 before =GEN generation/era =TOP

[*aŋ*] =*mi* [*waʔ*] =*aw* =*ba* [baba] {*no*} =*ci* =*ba*
 1s =GEN father =ACC=ADD father say =LOC=INDEF

[*aŋ*] =*aw* =*ba* [baba] {*no-ari -a*}
 1s =ACC=ADD father say -SIMP-CUST

‘[We] just said *baba* to [our] father, I’m telling you, (in) the past generation/era. Whenever [I] would say *baba* to my father, [he] would just say *baba* to me too.’

The reciprocal kinship terms all belong to Type 1, except for *jək* ‘spouse’, which denotes the relationship of a married couple.

7.2.3 Reference versus address kinship terms

Reference terms are used to talk about someone, whereas address terms are used to get someone’s attention. Whereas all address terms can also be used as reference terms, the inverse is not the case. Address terms are treated in more detail in the next section.

Table 29 gives an overview of Type 1 kinship nouns, i.e. those kinship nouns that cannot attach the derelational enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (DREL) directly to the root. This table is divided in three sections (a) reciprocal terms, (b) consanguineal terms (terms of blood relations) and (c) affinal terms (relations by marriage, in-laws). Table 30 gives an overview of Type 2 kinship terms, i.e. those that can attach the derelational enclitic directly after the root. As we can see in these tables, some kinship terms have extended meanings, and some are used to address persons that are not kin.

7.3 Address terms

An address term is used to address someone or call someone to get this person's attention. All address terms can also be used referentially, while not all referential terms can be used as address terms. The noun *jəw?* 'mother', for instance, cannot be used as an address term. To address his/her mother, an Atong speaker uses the noun *ama* 'mother'. Table 29 and Table 30 indicate whether a kinship term can be used as address term or not. There are several remarks to be made about the information in these tables.

All kinship terms that can be used reciprocally can be used as address terms. All kinship terms beginning with /a/ can be used as address terms. Some of these, all core family terms, have a corresponding referential form without the initial /a/, viz. *wəy* – *awəy* 'grandmother', *wa?* – *awa* 'father' (note the absence of glottal stop in the address term), *səy* – *asəy* 'aunt: father's younger sister', *waŋ* – *awaŋ* 'uncle: mother's younger brother', *naɣ* – *anaɣ* 'aunt: mother's sister' and *nəŋ* – *anəŋ* 'aunt: mother's sister'. Both the forms with and without initial /a/ can be used referentially, but only the forms with the /a/ can be used as address terms. This has led me to believe that the /a/, in these cases, is a fossilised vocative prefix that has now become part of the stem. Matisoff (1982: 65) describes a prefix *a-* for Lahu that forms vocatives of kinship terms, and remarks that "[t]his kin-prefix is extremely widespread in Tibeto-Burman".

Table 29 Kinship terms Type 1: (a) Consanguineal kinship terms

reciprocal	Term	Meaning as reference term	Can be used as address term	Extended meaning	Other uses or referents
	<i>baju</i>	‘friend’	yes		
	<i>bayʔsiga ~ bayʔsega</i>	‘friend’	yes		
	<i>camay ~ came</i>	1. ‘female cross cousin’ 2. ‘the relation of female cross cousins’ 3. ‘the relation of the parents of a married couple’	yes	‘girlfriend (in the sense of lover or sweetheart)’	
	<i>sadu</i>	‘brother-in-law: the relation of men who married women that are sisters’	yes		
	<i>bonəŋ</i>	‘brother-in-law: the relation of a man and his younger sister’s husband or a man and his wife’s elder bother’	yes		
	<i>mawsa ~ mosa</i>	1. ‘male cross cousin’ 2. ‘the relation of male cousins from intermarriageable families’	yes	‘a male friend belonging to a marriageable family’	
	<i>jaʔcuŋ</i>	1. (Siju and Badri dialects) ‘the relation of a man and his wife’s elder sister, or of a woman and her younger sister’s husband’ 2. (Badri dialect) ‘sister-in-law: elder sister of one’s wife or elder brother’s wife’	yes		
	<i>acu</i>	‘grandfather’	yes	‘the relation of grandfather and grandson’, only when used as address term	to address an elderly man
	<i>baba</i>	‘father’	yes	‘the relation of father and son’, only when used as address term	to refer to or address an uncle

Kinship terms Type 1 continued: (b) Consanguineal kinship terms

core family	Term	Meaning as reference term	Can be used as address term	Other uses or referents
	<i>abu</i>	‘grandmother’	yes	to address an unrelated elderly woman
	<i>awəy</i> (archaic)	‘grandmother’	yes	
	<i>akay</i>	‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’	yes	to address an unrelated married woman older than the speaker
	<i>asəy</i> ~ <i>asi</i>	‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’	yes	
	<i>mama</i>	‘uncle: mother’s brother’	yes	to address an unrelated man older than the speaker, to address one’s father-in-law
	<i>ama</i>	‘mother’	yes	to talk about or address an aunt, used by a mother to address her daughter.
	<i>awa</i> (archaic)	‘father’	yes	
	<i>abi</i>	‘elder sister’	yes	mothers-in-law can call each other <i>abi</i>
	<i>nono</i>	‘younger sister’	yes	to talk about or address a related younger female of your generation: cousin, to address a young unrelated female person younger than the speaker
	<i>dada</i>	‘elder brother’	yes	to speak about or address a related older male of your own generation: cousin, or to address an unrelated man older than you
	<i>jojoŋ</i>	‘younger brother’	yes	to talk about or address a related younger male of your own generation: cousin, to address a young unrelated male person younger than the speaker
	<i>anəŋ</i>	‘aunt: father’s sister’	yes	
	<i>nəŋ</i>	‘aunt: father’s sister’	yes	‘sister-in-law: husband’s elder sister
	<i>anay</i>	‘aunt: father’s sister’	yes	address term for mother-in-law
	<i>mani</i>	‘aunt: father’s sister’	yes	
	<i>dətəy</i>	‘uncle: father’s elder brother’	yes	address term for father-in-law
	<i>away</i>	‘uncle: father’s younger brother’	yes	children call their stepfather <i>away</i>
	<i>ade</i>	‘stepmother’	yes	
	<i>khəŋythaŋ</i>	‘nephew’	yes	
	<i>namcək</i>	‘niece’	yes	
	<i>namgaba</i>	‘niece’	no	

Kinship terms Type 1 continued: (c) Affinal kinship terms

i n - l a w s	Term	Meaning ass reference term	Can be used as address term	Address term
	<i>gumi</i>	'brother-in-law: elder sister's husband or husband's elder brother'	yes	
	<i>biawthaŋ</i>	'brother-in-law: wife's elder brother'	yes	
	<i>boci ~ ja?cuŋ</i>	'sister-in-law: elder brother's wife or elder sister of one's wife'	yes	
	<i>nawsəri</i>	'sister-in-law: younger brother's wife'	yes	
	<i>joŋsəri</i>	'brother-in-law: spouse's younger brother'	yes	
	<i>nay?nokhol</i>	'mother-in-law'	no	<i>mani/anai</i>
	<i>haw?nokhol</i>	'father-in-law'	no	<i>mama</i>
	<i>kənokhol</i>	'son-in-law'	yes	
	<i>namnokhol</i>	'daughter-in-law'	yes	

Table 30 Type 2 kinship terms, consanguineal and affinal

Term	Meaning as reference term	Can be used as address term	address term	Other uses or referents
<i>jək</i>	'spouse'	yes		
<i>jəw?</i>	'mother'	no	<i>ama</i>	
<i>wa?</i>	'father'	no	<i>awa</i> (archaic), <i>baba</i>	
<i>səy</i>	'uncle: mother's younger brother'	no	<i>asəy ~ asi</i>	
<i>haw?</i>	'uncle: mother's brother'	no	<i>mama</i>	
<i>nay?</i>	'aunt: father's sister'	no	<i>anəŋ, anay, mani, nəŋ</i>	
<i>waŋ</i>	'uncle: father's younger brother'	no	<i>awaŋ</i>	children can refer to their stepfather with <i>waŋ</i>
<i>naw</i>	'younger sister'	yes	(alternatively, and more respectfully) <i>nono</i>	to address a younger female cousin or an unrelated woman younger than the speaker
<i>joŋ</i>	'younger brother'	yes	(alternatively and more respectfully) <i>jojong</i>	to address a younger male cousin or an unrelated man younger than the speaker
<i>ja?naw</i>	'elder sister'	yes	(alternatively and more respectfully) <i>abi</i>	to address an older female cousin or an unrelated woman older than the speaker
<i>paw?joŋ</i>	'elder brother'	yes	(alternatively and more respectfully) <i>dada</i>	to address an older male cousin or an unrelated man older than the speaker

Type 2 kinship terms continued

Term	Meaning as reference term	Can be used as address term	address term	Other uses or referents
<i>səw?</i>	‘grandchild’	no	<i>cucu</i> ‘grandchild’, <i>acu</i> ‘the relation of grandfather and grandson’	(no information on other reference)
<i>saʔbanthay</i>	‘son’	no	the name of the child, <i>baba</i> ‘the relation of father and son’	to refer to the children of my elder or younger brother
<i>saʔmənəkək</i>	‘daughter’	no	the name of the child, <i>ama</i> ‘the relation of mother and daughter’	to refer to the children of my elder or younger brother

7.4 The consanguineal family from the perspective of *aŋ* ‘me’

The consanguineal family, or blood relations, are the kin without the in-laws, or those relatives that are related by birth and not by marriage. Table 31 below is a family diagram with reference and address terms from the perspective of *aŋ* ‘me’, i.e. the table shows how I would call the members of my blood relations. The diagram organises the kinship terms by generation. Within my generation and my parents’ generation there is a subdivision into older and younger siblings. The underlined lexical items can be used as address terms. As we can see, there are specific reference terms for cross cousins, viz. *mawsa* ~ *mosa* ‘male cross cousin’ and *camay* ~ *came* ‘female cross cousins whereas the parallel cousins are treated as younger siblings in both reference and address terms. The cross cousins, which are marriageable to *aŋ* ‘me’, are the children of *anay* ‘father’s sister’ and *mama* ‘mother’s brother’. The children of *akay* ‘mother’s elder sister’, *dətəy* ‘father’s elder brother’ are unmarriageable cousins, *asəy* ‘mother’s younger sister’ and *awayəŋ* ‘father’s younger brother’ are parallel cousins and are not marriageable to *aŋ* ‘me’. The word *camay* ~ *came* has an additional meaning ‘sweetheart, lover, girlfriend’. People usually address their marriageable cousins as an older or younger sister or brother. As was mentioned above, the word for marriageable male cousin, *mawsa* ~ *mosa*, is also used to address unrelated men of a marriageable family in a familiar way, like friends.

Small children can be addressed with their name, or, when it is a boy, with *babu*, and when it is a girl with *rāni* [rani], which is an Indic loan, related to Hindi रानी (rānī) ‘queen’. I have not witnessed a parent addressing their children with *saʔgəray* ‘child’, except when they are angry. Small boys can be addressed by their parents

with *baba* and by other people with *babu*. I have no information about special address terms for small girls. When the children grow up and are not very young any more, their parents will call them exclusively by their name.

The people in the generation above me, i.e. parents, aunts and uncles, refer to me as *saʔbanthay* ‘son’ or *saʔmāncək* ‘daughter’, except for mother’s brothers, *mama*, and father’s sisters, *nay* ~ *nəŋ*, who refer to me as *khəṛəythaŋ* ‘nephew’ and *namgaba* ‘niece’. Table 33 gives a detailed overview of this information and of how cousins from marriageable families address each other. A person can speak about his or her aunts and uncles as if they were his or her parents. Thus it can occur that the fieldworker walks around the village with a friend and is amazed at the large number of fathers and mothers this friend has. The children of *akay* ‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’ and *dətəy* ‘uncle: father’s elder brother’ are treated as my siblings, as we expect in a Tibeto-Burman classificatory kinship system.

Table 32 gives an overview of the kinship terms of spouses of aunts, uncles and siblings and how their grandchildren and/or children call me. In that table the address terms are underlined. Remember that all address terms can also be used referentially. The table should be read as follows. My *asəy* is married to a man I call *away* or *waŋ*. Their children are my *mawsa* ~ *mosa* and *camay* ~ *came* and their grandchildren are my *nono* and *jojoŋ*. The grandchildren call me *ama* when I am a female and *baba* when I am a male.

Table 31 My blood relations.

The underlined forms can be used as address terms. All address terms can also be used referentially. The non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms. The colours match the cousins to their parents.

grandparents		♀ <i>abu, awəy, wəyʔgaba</i> ‘grandmother’		♂ <i>acu</i> ‘grandfather’		
my parents’ generation	older siblings	maternal		paternal		
		♀ <i>akay</i> ‘aunt’	♂ <i>hawʔ, hawʔgaba</i> <i>mama</i> ‘uncle’	♀ <i>nayʔ, nayʔgaba, nəŋ</i> <i>anay, anəŋ, mani</i> ‘aunt’	♂ <i>dətəy</i> ‘uncle’	
	parents	♀ <i>jəwʔ, jəwʔgaba, ama</i> ‘mother’		♂ <i>waʔ, wa·gaba, baba, awa</i> ‘father’		
	younger siblings	♀ <i>səygaba, asəy ~ asi</i> ‘aunt’	♂ <i>hawʔ, hawʔgaba, mama</i> ‘uncle’	♀ <i>nayʔ, nayʔgaba, nəŋ</i> <i>anay, anəŋ, mani</i> ‘aunt’	♂ <i>waŋ, waŋgaba, awaŋ</i> ‘uncle’	
my generation	older siblings	♀ <i>jaʔnaw, jaʔnawgaba, abi</i> ‘elder sister’		♂ <i>dada, phawʔjoŋ, phawʔjoŋgaba</i> ‘elder brother’		
	cousins	♀ <i>camay ~ came</i> ‘cousin’	♂ <i>mawsa ~ mosə</i> ‘cousin’	♀♂ <i>aŋ</i> ‘me’	♀ <i>naw, nawgaba, nono</i> ‘younger sister’	♂ <i>joŋ, joŋgaba, jojoŋ</i> ‘younger brother’
	marriageable cross cousins		unmarriageable parallel cousins			
younger siblings	♀ <i>naw, nawgaba, nono</i> ‘younger sister’		♂ <i>joŋ, joŋgaba jojoŋ</i> ‘younger brother’			
my children		♀ <i>sa·məncək, saʔməncək</i> ‘daughter’		♂ <i>sa·banthay, saʔbanthay</i> <i>baba</i> ‘son’		
my grandchildren		♀♂ <i>səwʔ, səwʔgaba, cucu</i>				

The Atong are matrilineal. They inherit their family names, and therefore their clan membership, from their mother. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 1.

Table 32 Spouses of aunts, uncles and siblings, their children and grand children and their relation to me

	my aunt, uncle, brother or sister		term for husband or wife
The parents are my	♀ <u>asəy</u> , <u>səy</u> 'aunt: mother's younger sister'	x	♂ <u>away</u> , <u>way</u> 'uncle: father's younger brother'
Their children and their spouse are my	♂ <u>mawsa</u> ~ <u>mosa</u> 'marriageable male cousin'		♀ <u>camay</u> ~ <u>came</u> 'marriageable female cousin'
Their grandchildren are my	♀ <u>naw</u> , <u>nono</u> 'younger sister'		♂ <u>joŋ</u> , <u>jojoŋ</u> 'younger brother'
Their grandchildren call me	♀ <u>ama</u> 'mother', ♂ <u>baba</u> 'father'		
The parents are my	♂ <u>mama</u> 'uncle: mother's brother'	x	♀ <u>anay</u> , <u>nay?</u> 'aunt: father's sister'
Their children and their spouse are my	♂ <u>mawsa</u> ~ <u>mosa</u> 'marriageable male cousin'		♀ <u>camay</u> ~ <u>came</u> 'marriageable female cousin'
Their grandchildren are my	♀ <u>naw</u> , <u>nono</u> 'younger sister'		♂ <u>joŋ</u> , <u>jojoŋ</u> 'younger brother'
Their grandchildren call me	♀ <u>ama</u> 'mother', ♂ <u>baba</u> 'father'		
The parents are my	♀ <u>ja?naw</u> , <u>abi</u> 'elder sister'	x	♂ <u>gumi</u> 'brother-in-law: elder sister's husband'
Their children and their spouse are my	♀ <u>namgaba</u> , <u>namcək</u> 'niece'		♂ <u>khəɾəythaŋ</u> 'nephew'
These children call me	♂ <u>mama</u> 'uncle: mother's brother' ♀ <u>asəy</u> ~ <u>asi</u> 'aunt: mother's younger sister'		
The parents are my	♂ <u>phaw?joŋ</u> , <u>dada</u> 'elder brother'	x	♀ <u>boci</u> 'sister-in-law: elder brother's wife'
Their children and their spouse are my	♀ <u>sa?mənəcək</u> 'daughter'		♂ <u>sa?banthay</u> 'son'
These children call me	♂ <u>way</u> , <u>away</u> 'uncle: father's younger brother' ♀ <u>nay?</u> , <u>nəŋanay</u> , <u>anəŋ</u> , <u>mani</u> 'aunt: father's sister'		
The parents are my	♀ <u>naw</u> , <u>nono</u> 'younger sister'	x	♂ <u>bonəŋ</u> 'brother-in-law: younger sister's husband'
Their children and their spouse are my	♀ <u>namgaba</u> <u>namcək</u> 'niece'		♂ <u>khəɾəythaŋ</u> 'nephew'
These children call me	♂ <u>mama</u> , 'uncle: mother's brother' ♀ <u>akay</u> 'aunt: mother's elder sister'		
The parents are my	♂ <u>joŋ</u> , <u>jojoŋ</u> 'younger brother'	x	♀ <u>nawsəri</u> 'sister-in-law: younger brother's wife'
Their children and their spouse are my	♀ <u>sa?mənħcək</u> , 'daughter'		♂ <u>sa?banthay</u> 'son'
These children call me	♂ <u>dətəy</u> 'uncle: father's elder brother' ♀ <u>nay?</u> , <u>nəŋanay</u> , <u>anəŋ</u> , <u>mani</u> 'aunt: father's sister'		

Table 33 Reference terms uncles and aunts use for me.

The underlined forms can be used as address terms or reference terms, whereas the non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms.

	These people	refer	to <i>ay</i> 'me' as	
my parents' generation	<i>səy</i> , <u><i>asəy</i></u> 'aunt: mother's younger sisiter'	→	♀ <i>saʔməncək</i> 'daughter'	♂ <i>saʔbanthay</i> 'son'
	<i>waŋ</i> , <u><i>awaŋ</i></u> 'uncle: father's younger brother'			
	<u><i>akay</i></u> 'aunt: mother's elder sisiter'			
	<u><i>dətəy</i></u> 'uncle: father's elder brother'			
	<i>nay</i> , <i>nəŋ</i> , <u><i>anay</i></u> , <u><i>anəŋ</i></u> , <u><i>mani</i></u> 'aunt: father's brother'	→	♀ <u><i>namgaba</i></u> 'niece'	♂ <u><i>khəɾəythaŋ</i></u> 'nephew'
	<u><i>mama</i></u> 'uncle: mother's brother'			
my generation	<u><i>mawsa</i></u> ~ <u><i>mosa</i></u> 1. 'marriageable male cousin' 2 'the relation of cousins from intermarriageable families'	→	♀ <u><i>came</i></u>	♂ <u><i>mosa</i></u>
	<u><i>camay</i></u> ~ <u><i>came</i></u> 1. 'marriageable female cousin', 2 'the relation of female cousins from marriageable families'	→	♀ <u><i>came</i></u>	♂ <u><i>mosa</i></u>

7.5 The in-law family

Table 34 gives an overview of the referential terms for in-laws from the perspective of a male spouse, whereas Table 35 does the same from the perspective of a female spouse. Some terms have to be added here, which I will introduce from the perspective of *ay* 'me'. My parents and the parents of my spouse address each other as *camay* ~ *came* 'the relation of the parents of a married couple'. The referential term of this relation is *nokcama* 'the relation of parents of a married couple'. My *anay* 'mother-in-law' and my *ama* 'mother' can also call each other *abi* 'elder sister'. In the dialect of Siju, my wife's elder sister and me call each other *jaʔcuŋ* 'the relation of man and his wife's elder sister or of a woman and her younger sister's husband'. The word *jaʔcuŋ* in the Badri dialect means either 'sister-in-law: elder sister of one's wife' or 'sister-in-law: brother's elder sister'. Elder brother's wife is referred to and addressed as *boci* in the Siju dialect.

Table 34 My in-laws, me being masculine.

The underlined forms can be used as address terms or reference terms, whereas the non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms.

♂ <i>ay</i> 'me'	x	♀ <i>nayʔnokhol</i> , <u><i>anay</i></u> , <u><i>mani</i></u> 'mother-in-law'	x	♂ <i>hawʔnokhol</i> , <u><i>mama</i></u> 'father-in-law'	wife's parents
		♀ <u><i>jaʔcuŋ</i></u> 'the relation of man and his wife's elder sister or of a woman and her younger sister's husband'		♂ <i>biawthaŋ</i> 'brother-in-law'	wife's older siblings
		♀ <i>gawigaba</i> 'wife'			
		♀ <u><i>nawsəri</i></u> 'sister-in-law'		♂ <u><i>jonsəri</i></u> 'brother-in-law'	wife's younger siblings

Table 35 My in-laws, me being feminine.

The underlined forms can be used as address terms or reference terms, whereas the non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms.

husband's parents	♀ <i>nayʔnokhol</i> , , <i>nay</i> , <u><i>anay</i></u> , <u><i>mani</i></u> 'mother-in-law'	x	♂ <i>hawʔnokhol</i> , <u><i>mama</i></u> 'father-in-law'	x	ay ♀ 'me'
husband's older siblings	♀ <u><i>anəŋ</i></u> ~ <i>nəŋ</i> 'sister-in-law'		♂ <u><i>gumi</i></u> 'brother-in-law'		
	♂ <i>biphagaba</i> 'husband'				
husband's younger siblings	♀ <u><i>nawsəri</i></u> 'sister-in-law'		♂ <u><i>jonsəri</i></u> 'brother-in-law'		

The referential terms that the parents-in-law use to indicate me and my siblings are given in Table 36. According to some Atong speakers, the terms *kənokhol* 'son-in-law' and *namnokhol* 'daughter-in-law' are used to refer to and address both the son/daughter-in-law and his/her siblings. Other Atong speakers say that the siblings are referred to and addressed by different terms, viz. *khərythaŋ* 'nephew' and *namgaba/namcək* 'niece'.

Table 36 Address terms that my in-laws use for me and my siblings.
The underlined terms can be used as address terms, the non-underlined terms are only referential.

These persons		use	this referential/address term	for these referents.
<i>nay?nokhol</i> ‘mother-in-law’, <i>haw?nokhol</i> ‘father-in-law’	Account 1	→	<u><i>kənokhol</i></u> ‘son-in-law’	<i>aŋ</i> ♂ ‘me’, <i>dada</i> ‘[my] elder brother’, <i>jojoŋ</i> ‘[my] elder sister’
		→	<u><i>namnokhol</i></u> ‘daughter-in-law’	<i>aŋ</i> ♀ ‘me’, <i>abi</i> ‘[my] elder sister’, <i>nono</i> ‘[my] younger sister’
	Account 2	→	<u><i>kənokhol</i></u> ‘son-in-law’	<i>aŋ</i> ♂
		→	<u><i>namnokhol</i></u> ‘daughter-in-law’	<i>aŋ</i> ♀
		→	<i>khəryəthaŋ</i>	<i>dada</i> ‘[my] elder brother’, <i>jojoŋ</i> ‘[my] elder sister’
		→	<i>namgaba</i> , <u><i>namcək</i></u>	<i>abi</i> ‘[my] elder sister’ <i>nono</i> ‘[my] younger sister’

The address terms that brothers- and sisters-in-law use for *aŋ* ‘me’ are the same as the reference terms and are represented in Table 37.

Table 37 Address terms that my brothers- and sisters-in-law use for me.
(All address terms can also be used referentially).

These people	call	me (<i>aŋ</i>)	
<i>gumi</i> ‘brother-in-law: elder sister’s husband’	→	<i>joŋsəri</i> ♂ ‘brother-in-law: wife’s younger brother’	<i>nono</i> ♀ ‘younger sister’
<i>boci</i> (Siju dialect), <i>ja?cuŋ</i> (Badri dialect) ‘sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife or elder sister of one’s wife’			
<i>bonəŋ</i> ‘brother-in-law: younger sister’s husband’	→	<i>bonəŋ</i> ♂ ‘brother-in-law: wife’s elder brother’	<i>nono</i> ♀ ‘younger sister’
<i>nawsəri</i> ‘sister-in-law: younger brother’s wife’	→	<i>gumi</i> ♂ ‘brother-in-law: husband’s elder brother’	<i>boci</i> ♀ ‘sister-in-law: husband’s elder sister’

7.6 Family loss

The reference term for ‘widow’ and ‘widower’ is *jəkəry*. When a widower marries again, his children will call his new wife *ade* ‘stepmother’. When a widow marries again, her new husband will be addressed as *awaŋ* ‘father’s younger brother’ by her children. A stepmother/stepfather refers to her/his stepchildren as *sa?māncək* ‘daughter’ and *sa?banthay* ‘son’ or just *sa?* ‘child’ or *sa?gyray* ‘child’. The word for stepchild, used to refer to someone else’s stepchildren, is *sa?thəra*. A child who lost

his mother is called *jəwʔ=ri* (mother=LOST). A child who has lost his father is called *waʔ=ri* (father=LOST). When a child lost both his parents, an orphan, it is referred to as *waʔ=ri jəwʔ=ri* (father=LOST mother=LOST).²⁴

7.7 How to address people who are not kin

As Table 29 and Table 30 show us, some address terms can only be used to address a person the speaker is related to, i.e. kin. The term *bonəŋ* ‘brother-in-law: the relation of a man and his younger sister’s husband’ can only be used to address your *bonəŋ* and the term *namcək* ‘niece’, can only be used to address your *namcək*. Other kinship terms can also be used to address persons to whom the speaker is not related, i.e. non-kin. The choice of kinship term to address an unrelated person depends on the following factors:

1. age of the speaker relative to the addressee, older/younger
2. sex of the addressee, male/female,
3. level of familiarity and respect, not respectful/respectful

Scenarios where the addressee is younger than the speaker are described in §7.7.1, and scenarios where the addressee is older in §7.7.2.

Some address terms are only used between people who are approximately the same age. The terms *mawsa* ~ *mosa* ‘male cousin of marriageable family’, can be used by men to address other, non-related, men in a friendly and familiar way.

Usually it is used to address someone from a family that the family of the speaker can intermarry with. There are two words for ‘friend’, the more intimate *baju*, which I heard women use as well as men, and the less intimate *bayʔsiga* ~ *bayʔsega*, which I only heard men use.

²⁴ The NP *waʔri jəwʔri* consists of two suffixed nouns in coordination.

7.7.1 Addressee is younger than the speaker

When the addressee is a small child, male or female, it can be addressed as *saʔgəray* ‘child’. When it is a boy, it can be addressed as *babu*, and when it is a girl you can call it *rāni* [rani], which is an Indic loan, similar to Hindi रानी (rānī) ‘queen’. Remember that the address term *baba* is only used to address the speaker’s own small male children. A group of children can also be addressed as *saʔgəray*, when some of them are the speaker’s kin and some are not. Small children can also be addressed with their name. When the addressee is female and not a small child any more, she can be addressed as *naw* ‘younger sister’ or, more respectfully, *nono* ‘younger sister’. When the addressee is a younger male, the term of address would be *joŋ* ‘younger brother’ or, more respectfully *jojŋ*, ‘younger brother’. People of the same age or younger than the speaker can also be addressed with their name, if it is known to the speaker. Using proper names is an intimate way to address someone.

7.7.2 Addressee is older than the speaker

An older female can be addressed as *jaʔnaw* ‘elder sister’, or more respectfully as *abi* ‘elder sister’, when she is just a little older than the speaker. When she is lot older than the speaker, but could not yet be the speaker’s grandmother, she can be addressed as *akay* ‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’. This term is used especially when unmarried boys and girls address an unrelated woman who is most probably married. Old women are addressed as *abu* ‘grandmother’. An older male can be addressed as *phawjoŋ* ‘elder brother’ or more respectfully as *dada* ‘older brother’ or very respectfully as *mama* ‘uncle: mother’s brother’. Old men are addressed as *acu* ‘grandfather’. It is offensive to call people older than you by their first name or to talk about them using their first name. If you want to talk about someone older than yourself who is not related to yourself or (one of) the persons you talk to, you either call them by the name of their first child, e.g. *dambe waʔ* (Dambe father) ‘Dambe’s father’ or *dambe jəwʔ* (Dambe mother) ‘Dambe’s mother’, or you talk about them in terms of their kinship relation to someone else.

Chapter 8 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a closed class containing two members, viz.

<i>ie</i> ~ <i>i</i>	proximal demonstrative (PRX) (first deictic degree),
<i>ue</i> ~ <i>u</i>	distal demonstrative (DST) (second deictic degree).

The bound forms <*i*> (PRX) and <*u*> (DST) of the demonstratives are used when enclitics immediately follow the demonstratives. The free forms are used when there are no enclitics immediately following the demonstratives. A demonstrative can take all case markers and can occur as all possible types of argument (see Table 58). Other properties of the demonstratives are treated here below. The deictic-only demonstratives are a separate word class, described in §8.8.

8.1 Deictic properties

No matter what syntactic function it has, a demonstrative can be used anaphorically or purely deictically. Moreover, the demonstratives can be used for both substitution anaphora and textual anaphora (cf. Dixon 2003). I have no clear cut examples of demonstratives used for cataphora in the language. For textual cataphora Atong uses the adverbial demonstrative *ətəkəy* treated below in §8.7.

8.1.1 Purely deictic use

Here are some examples of deictically used demonstratives with various case markings.

Locational deixis:

(103) *naŋ? bayk ici tanbo* [*speaker points with his head*].

[<i>naŋ?</i>	<i>bayk</i>]	[<i>i</i>]	= <i>ci</i>	{ <i>tan</i> }	= <i>bo</i>
2s	motorcycle	PRX	=LOC	put	=IMP

‘Put your bike here [*speaker points with his head*].’

The demonstrative can always be followed by another locative-marked NP in apposition to the demonstrative phrase, e.g. (104)

(104) *naŋ bayk ici bəthənci tanbo.*

[naŋ? bayk] [i] =ci [bəthən] =ci {tan}=bo
 2s motorcycle PRX =LOC shade =LOC put =IMP
 ‘Put your bike here in the shade.’

Goal deixis:

(105) *aŋ icina seŋ?khalay ray?ana naŋacəm.*

[aŋ] [[i] =ci =na [seŋ? -khal] =ay {ray?} =na
 1s PRX =LOC=ALL early-CP =ADV go =DAT
 {naŋ -a} =cəm
 need -CUST =IRR
 ‘I should have come here earlier’

Source deixis:

(106) *təy umi jokaydok.*

[təy] [u] =mi {jok -aydok}
 water DST=ABL escape -PROG
 ‘The water comes out from there.’

(107) *usangmi ray?acwa. dolong nosto don?ok.*

[u] =saŋ =mi {ray?a -ca -wa} [dolon] {nosto don? -ok}
 DST=MOB =ABL come -NEG -FACT bridge damage IE.be -COS
 ‘[They] will not come from there. The bridge is damaged.’

Pathway deixis:

(108) *utəkəy ray?na man?ca. moŋma paŋ?a.*

[u] =təkəy {ray? =na} {man? -ca} [moŋma] {paŋ -a}
 DST=VIA go =DAT be.able -NEG elephant many-CUST
 ‘[We] can’t go like that/via that way. There are many elephants.’

Comitative adjunct deixis:

(109) *uməŋ ray?cawa.*

[u]=məŋ {ray?-ca -wa}
 DST=COM go -NEG -FACT
 ‘[I] will not go with him.’

8.1.2 Anaphora

The demonstrative functions as a pronoun. The next example illustrates how the distal demonstrative *u* (DST) refers back to the location, Badri, mentioned in the previous clause.

- (110) [...] *gandruṇawsa badri mənçeṇwano. uci muḃbutuṇ somayci badri nemen manḃay saḃano.*

[*gandruṇ*] =aw =sa [*badri*] {*mən* -ceṇ -wa} =no
Pname =ACC=DLIM Pname call.a.name -first -FACT =QUOT

[*u*] =ci muḃ -butuṇ +soday} =ci
DEM =LOC stay -WHILE +time =LOC

[*badri*] [*nemen*] {*manḃ*} =ay {*saḃ* -a} =no
Pname very in.great.amounts=ADV eat -CUST =QUOT

‘[...] Gandrung was the first [village] to be called Badri, it is said. At that time when [they] were living there, Badri was very rich, it is said.’

In the following example we see how the distal demonstrative refers back to the NP *teḃewrawrawmi gawi* in the previous clause.

- (111) Speaker N: *əṭəkaria, teḃewrawrawmi gawido.*
Speaker S: *unan symsakna naṇaro.*

{*əṭək* -ari -a} [*teḃew* =rawraw =mi gawi =do
do.like.that-SIMP-CUST now =CONTINUOUSLY =GEN girl =TOP

[*u*] =na =an {*səm* -sak} =na {*naṇ* -a} =ro
DST=DAT=FC/ID follow -APPROPRIATELY=DAT must -CUST =EMPH

Speaker N: ‘They just do like that, the girls from now on.’ (i.e. ‘the girls of today’)

Speaker S: ‘For those ones in particular you have to be careful.’ (Lit. ‘you have to follow appropriately for them.’)

- (112) *hay sigyret hynḃetsəraṇ naḃa uaw.*

[*hay*] [*sigəret*] {*hənḃ* -et -səraṇ} [*naḃa*] [*u*] =aw
come.on cigarette give -CAUSE-TOTALLY 2s DST=ACC
‘Come on, give the cigarettes, oh you, those!’

8.2 Clausal properties

Demonstratives

- can be head of a predicate of an identity/equation clause, in which case it has to be marked by the focus/identifier enclitic <=*an*> (FC/ID), e.g. [*daba*] {*i=an*} (coconut PRX=FC/ID) ‘this is a coconut’.
- can be an argument, core or oblique.

In the next example we see the proximal demonstrative as an oblique argument (peripheral argument/oblique), viz. a Facsimile, hence marked by the similitive enclitic <=*təkəy*> (LIKE). The demonstrative in this example, the last sentence of a story, refers back to the story that has just been told.

(113) *aŋdo itəkəy balaymu tanarinaka.*

[*aŋ=do* [*i*]=*təkəy*] {*bal*}=*ay* =*mu* {*tan -ari -naka*}
 1s =TOP PRX =LIKE tell =ADV =SEQ put -SIMP-IFT
 ‘Having told like this, I will now just stop.’

In the next example we see the proximal demonstrative *i=təkəy* (PRX=LIKE) ‘like this’ used deictically, referring to a trampling movement with the feet that the speaker makes while saying the sentence.

(114) *utəkəyimu uaw doʔreŋgo wadačoŋawdo acu ambido tawnaan doʔreŋgo waʔdačoŋ jatram saphayram noaymu samaw caʔaw itəkəy [gestures] tokano.*

utəkəyimu [*u =aw doʔreŋgo waʔdačoŋ*] =*aw =do* [*acu ambi*] =*do*
 CONJ DST=ACC Pname =ACC=TOP grandpa grandma =TOP
 {*taw*} =*na =an* [*doʔreŋgo waʔdačoŋ*] [*jatram saphayram*] {*no*}=*ay*
 go.up =DAT=FC/ID Pname type.of.plant type.of.plant say =ADV
 =*mu* [*sam*] =*aw* [*caʔ*] =*aw* [*i*]=*təkəy* {*tok -a*} =*no*
 =SEQ medicine=ACCfoot/leg =ACCPRX =LIKE beat -CUST =QUOT

‘As for Do•renggo Wa•dachong, in order to go up on Do•renggo Wa•dachong, our ancestors beat so called *jatram* and *saphayram* medicinal plants with their feet like this [gestures], it is said.’

8.3 Properties as head of a predicate

Demonstratives are attested with a limited number of predicate marking categories and clausal enclitics, viz. negative polarity <-ca> (NEG), irrealis <=cəm> (IRR), speculative modality <=khon> (SPEC), examples (115) and (116) below are illustrative. No evidence exists that demonstratives can take aspectual suffixes. Given that a demonstrative predicate head can be negated, I predict that it can also take the change of state suffix <-k> (COS), which is the allomorph that follows the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG).

In the following example we see, in the last clause, how the proximal demonstrative functions as head of the predicate and is marked by the phrasal focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) and the irrealis clausal enclitic <=cəm> (IRR).

- (115) *naʔnaʔmi garohils ie indiami nəʔci nembatgaba haʔkəŋgore, nembatgaba haʔsaldo iancəm.*

[*naʔnaʔ*] = *mi garohils* [*ie india* = *mi nəʔ* = *ci*] {*nem -bat*} = *gaba*
 1_{pi} = GEN P_{name} PRX P_{name} = GEN inside = LOC good -MOST = ATTR
haʔkəŋgore] [{*nem -bat*} = *gaba haʔsal*] = *do*
 area that falls under one headman good -MOST = ATTR fertile land = TOP
 {[*i*] = *an*} = *cəm*
 PRX = FC/ID = IRR

‘Our Garo Hills, this [is] the best area which falls under one headman in India, this was, but is not any more [because the indigenous population did not know how to make good use of it], the most fertile land.’

In the example below, we see that the proximal demonstrative functions as head of the predicate of two main clauses. In the first clause the demonstrative is marked with the phrasal focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) followed by the quotative and speculative clausal enclitics <=no> (QUOT) and <=khon> (SPEC), in their typical order (see §26.9). In the second clause, we see the demonstrative marked by the phrasal focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) and the speculative and declarative clausal enclitics <=khon> (SPEC) and <=te> (DCL) respectively.

(116) *iannokhon. amami garu ramgabaci deʔtgaba iankhonte ie.*

{[i] =an} =no =khon [[ama =mi garu {ram} =gaba] =ci]
 PRX =FC/ID =QUOT =SPEC mother=GENmustard.leaves dry =ATTR =LOC
 {deʔet} =gaba] {[i] =an} =khon =te [ie]
 shit =ATTR PRX =FC/ID =SPEC =DCL PRX

‘This might be the one, it is said. This might be the one which shat in mother’s
 drying mustard leaves, I’m telling you, this one!’

8.4 Phrasal properties

Demonstratives

- can make up a complete NP on their own, and this occurs frequently in Atong. This is the so called “demonstrative pronoun” function (see Dixon 2003:65).
- can modify a noun, e.g. (269), (118), (119), (120), (121).
- cannot co-occur with a personal pronoun, except when the personal pronoun possessively modifies another noun (117).

(117) *ie aŋ mola həŋgabaaw rəŋancəy*

[[ie aŋ mola] {hən} =gaba] =aw {rəŋ -an -cəy}
 PRX 1s tobacco give =ATTR =ACC drink -REF -TRY
 ‘Try to smoke this my tobacco which I give.’

Other phrasal properties of demonstratives are that they

- cannot modify a verb,
- cannot be modified,
- have a tendency to attract the case and other marking, such as topic marking, on the noun phrase away from the head (118), (119), or to be marked in addition to the head, e.g. (120), (121). This tendency is caused by the inherent topicality and referentiality of demonstratives.

There are two ways in which a demonstrative can modify a noun. The first is anaphoric modification, as illustrated in (118), (119) and (120). In these examples the referent has been mentioned before. The second way is deictic modification as illustrated by (121).

- (118)
- umido uaw kamal sandini.*

umido [*u =aw kamal*] {*sandi -ni*}
 then DST=ACC priest search -FUT
 ‘Then, [they] will search the priest.’

- (119)
- ətakəyməŋ naʔdərəŋdo uaw rukpek bisi rəŋaymu gumukan thəytokoknowa.*

ətakəyməŋ [*naʔ*] =*dərəŋ* =*do* [*u =aw rupek bisi*] {*rəŋ*} =*ay* =*mu*
 so.then fish =p =TOP DST=ACC frog poison drink =ADV =SEQ
 [*gumuk*] =*an* {*thəy-thok -ok*} =*no* -*wa*
 all =FC/ID die -ALL -COS =QUOT -FACT

‘So then, the fish, having drunk that frog poison, all died, it is said.’

In the following examples we see how the demonstratives attract the topic and the accusative enclitics which are repeated in the string of phrasal enclitics. The heads of the NPs are in order of appearance: *jəwʔ* ‘mother’, *diʔ* ‘shit’, *paraŋ goyʔ sa* (reed CLF:RESIDU one) ‘one culm of reed’.

- (120)
- udo jəwʔgabado uaw diʔawba asetca, ətakəyan rətaymuŋna hənʔarokno.*

[*u =do jəwʔ*] =*gaba* =*do* [*u =aw diʔ*] =*aw* =*ba* {*aset -ca*}
 DST=TOP mother=DREL =TOP DST=ACC shit =ACC=EMPH throw.away -NEG
 [*ətakəy*] =*an* {*rat*} =*ay* =*muŋna* {*hənʔ -arok*} =*no*
 like.that =FC/ID collect =ADV =SEQ give -PROG =QUOT

‘That mother does not throw away that shit, having collected [the mustard leaves, she] is just giving it, it is said.’

- (121)
- de naʔa reʔeŋaroŋcido iaw paraŋ goyʔsaaw kawancəy.*

de [*naʔa*] {*reʔeŋ -aroŋ*} =*ci* =*do*
 well.then 2s go.away -PROG =LOC=TOP
 [*i =aw paraŋ goyʔ sa*] =*aw* {*kaw -an -cəy*}
 PRX =ACC reed CLF:RESIDUE one=ACC shoot-REF -try

‘Well then, if you are going anyway, try to shoot this one culm of reed.’

A demonstrative can also modify a proper name as the next example illustrates.

(122) *ie radiba atoŋ taksəraŋok ie?*

[*ie* *radi*] =*ba* [*atoŋ*] {*tak* -*səraŋ* -*ok*} [*ie*]
 PRX Pname =EMPH what do -TOTALLY -COS PRX
 ‘What the heck is that Radi doing, that one?’

8.5 Morphological properties

Demonstratives

- have a free form and a bound form,
- can take case marking,
- can be pluralised,
- cannot be counted,
- cannot be possessed.

The demonstratives occur in their free form when they are not followed by phrasal enclitics or predicate suffixes and before the question marker <*ma*> (Q), e.g. *ie ma ie?* (PRX Q PRX) ‘This one or this one?’

8.6 Other functions of the demonstratives

The locative-marked distal demonstrative *u=ci* (DST=LOC), but not the proximal one, can be used for temporal deixis meaning ‘then’ or for non-temporal deixis meaning ‘in that case’ and are then analysed as having grammaticalised into discourse connectives, described in Chapter 1. Both demonstratives, but most frequently the distal one, can function as sentence initial adverbials anaphorically referring to a proposition or string of propositions. In this function the demonstratives are locative or genitive marked.

The following example illustrates the use of the distal demonstrative with the reason postposition *gəməŋ* ‘reason’ which governs the genitive. In that example the demonstrative refers to the whole story that precedes.

- (123) *umi gəmən̄sa ie hapawe badri rongdəŋhaʔway noanowa, aro raŋawba məkha badri məŋwanowa.*

[*u* =*mi gəmən̄*] =*sa* [*ie hap*] =*aw =e* [*badri rongdəŋ haʔway*]

DST=GENreason =DLIM PRX place=ACC=FC Pname

{*no-a*} =*noa* *aro* [*raŋ*] =*aw =ba* [*məkha badri*]

say -CUST =QUOT and rain =ACC=ADD long.heavy.rain

{*məŋ* -*wa*} =*noa*

call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘That’s why this place is called Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said, and the rain is also called *mykha badri*, it is said.’

A demonstrative can refer to a third person. When a demonstrative refers to a third person it can take the highly selective personal pronoun plural suffix <-*təm*> (ppp). When the demonstrative refers to a third person, the choice between the proximal and the distal demonstrative depends on the involvement of this third person in the conversation. If the referent is more involved, the proximal demonstrative will be used, whereas if the referent is less involved the distal demonstrative will be used.

A good example of this parameter can be found in TEXT 1, line 16, represented below as (124). In the video of which that text is a transcription, the speaker directs his attention to the camera, seeking the attention of whoever will be the future viewer, and begins to speak about this person. It is obvious that in that instance the person talked about is greatly involved, hence the use of the proximal demonstrative.

- (124) Songken (speaking into the camera)

ie, ie, i =*do* *mamuŋ* =*an* *doŋʔ -khu* -*ca.*

PRX PRX PRX =TOP nothing =FC/ID IE.be -INCOM-NEG

‘He, he, he is nothing yet.’

8.7 The adverbial demonstrative *ətəkəy*

The adverbial manner demonstrative *ətəkəy* can refer to objects ‘one like this/that, e.g. (41), and can be used adverbially ‘doing like this/that’. This demonstrative can be used anaphorically, e.g. (125), cataphorically, as in (126) and deictically. When used deictically it is usually accompanied by gestures, as in (127).

- (125) “*atakna jalwa bai?sigadəraŋ?*” “*ayu! ətakəy ətakəy doŋ?wacəm takrukna san somay thik kha?wachəm.*”

atak =*na* {*jal* -*wa*} [*bai?sigə*] =*dəraŋ*
do.what =DAT run.away-FACT friend =p

[*ayu*] [*ətakəy*] [*ətakəy*] {*doŋ?* -*wa*} =*cəm*
interj like.this like.this IE.be -FACT =IRR

[*san somay*] {*thik kha?* -*wa*} =*cəm*
day time precisely do -FACT =IRR

“‘Why are you running away, friends?’” “‘Oh! This [and] this supposedly happened. [They] supposedly fixed a day [and] a time [to fight with each other].’”

- (126) *ətakəymu de?thenge ətakəy takokno. mən?sa morot man?ay sa?gabaci wak rakhina ga?akoknoaro.*

ətakəymu [*de?then*] =*e* [*ətakəy*] {*tak* -*ok*} =*no* || [*mən? sa*
so.then 3s =TOP like.this do -COS =QUOT one -CLF:HUMANS
morot {*man?*} =*ay* {*sa?*} =*gaba*] =*ci* [*wak*] {*rakhi*}| =*na*
-person in.great.amounts=ADV eat =ATTR =LOC pig look.after =DAT
{*ga?ak* -*ok*} =*no*
be.compeled -COS =QUOT

‘So then he did like this, it is said. He was forced to look after the pigs at [the house of] a rich man, it is said.’

- (127) *ge?then dəkəməw ətakəy [gesture] caŋ?kuisang tan?thongok..*

[*ge?then*] [*dəkəmə*] =*aw* [*ətakəy*] [*caŋ?kui*] =*saŋ* {*tan?thoŋ* -*ok*}
3s head =ACC like.this big.knife =INSTR decapitate -COS
‘He cut the head of with a big knife like this (gesture).’

The adverbial demonstrative is not to be confused with the homophonous demonstrative verb *ətak-* ‘to do like this/that’ (see section 4.5.1). The non-finite sequential form of this verb has developed into a discourse connective, viz. *ətakəymu* ~ *ətakəymən* ~ *ətakəymuŋ* ~ *ətakəymuŋna* indicating the occurrence of a new event in discourse, e.g. (126). In this connective form the adverbial clausal enclitic <=*ay*> (ADV) underwent vowel harmony giving /əy/ and while in most allomorphs the sequential enclitic <=*mu* ~ <=*mən* ~ <=*muŋ*> (SEQ) is still recognisable, another allomorph, <=*muŋna*> has evolved just for this connective. It is usually translated in this grammar as ‘so then’, though the literal translation would be ‘having done like this/that’.

8.8 Deictic-only demonstratives

Deictic-only demonstratives are a closed word class consisting of two members, viz. *hawē* ~ *haw* remote and non-visual demonstrative (REM) (third deictic degree), *həyawē* ~ *həyaw* emphatic remote demonstrative (REMEMPH) (third deictic degree).

The properties of the quasi demonstratives are given here below.

Semantic properties: Deictic-only demonstratives cannot be used as third person personal pronouns.

Discourse properties: Deictic-only demonstratives can be used deictically but cannot be used anaphorically,

Clausal properties: Deictic-only demonstratives cannot be the head of a predicate, but can be an oblique argument (128).

(128) *te?do hawci ciakol ruguŋci jəwsawaydoŋnote, magacakdo.*

[*te?*] =do [*haw*] =ci [*ciakol* (Garó) *ruguŋ*] =ci
now =TOP REM =LOC well edge =LOC

{*jəw* -saw -aydoŋ} =no =te [*magacak*] =do
sleep -SURELY -PROG =QUOT =DCL deer =TOP

‘Now [he] was fast asleep way over there next to a well, it is said, the deer.’

Phrasal properties

Deictic-only demonstratives

- cannot modify a noun,
- cannot modify a verb,
- cannot be modified,
- in isolation can be used deictically to refer to objects (129).

(129) *uci khambayci nok ganəŋ, həyawē.*

[*u*] =ci [*khambay*] =ci [*nok*] {*ganəŋ*} [*həyawē*]
DST=LOC top =LOChouse exist REMEMPH

‘There on top is a house, that one way over there.’

Morphological properties

Deictic-only demonstratives

- can take case marking, except accusative,
- cannot be counted,
- cannot be possessed.

Chapter 9 Interrogatives

The sixteen members of the closed word class of interrogatives are listed below in Table 38.

Table 38 List of interrogatives

section	MORPHEMES	FORM	GLOSS
9.2	opaque	<i>caŋ</i>	‘who?’
9.3	opaque	<i>atoŋ</i>	‘what?’
9.4	what=VIA/LIKE	<i>atoŋ=təkəy</i>	‘why?’ ‘how?’
9.5	do.what=DAT ~ opaque	<i>atak=na ~ atana</i>	‘why?’ ‘for what purpose?’
9.6	what-?	<i>atoŋ-may?na</i>	‘why?’ ‘for what purpose?’
9.7	do.what=ADV ~ opaque	<i>atakay ~ atəkəy</i>	‘how?’
9.8	QF unbound form	<i>bie ~ bi-</i>	‘which? where?’
9.9	opaque	<i>biskən, bəysək</i>	‘how much, how many?’
9.10	QF=EMPH	<i>bi=ba</i>	‘when?’ / ‘in whatever place’
9.11	QF=VIA	<i>bi-təkəy</i>	‘by which way?’
9.12	QF=LOC	<i>bi=ci</i>	‘where?’
9.13	QF=MOB	<i>bi=səŋ</i>	‘to/from where?’
	QF=MOB=GEN	<i>bi=səŋ=mi ~ bi=səŋ=məŋ</i>	‘from where?’
9.14	QF=GEN	<i>bi-mi ~ bi=məŋ</i>	‘from where?’
9.15	QF=ATTR	<i>bi=gaba</i>	‘which?’

Roughly half of the interrogatives are formed with the interrogative formative morpheme <bi> (QF), which in its unbound form *bie* means ‘which’ or ‘where’. The others, except *caŋ* ‘who’, are formed with what might be a fossilised prefix <a-> (?), possibly a remnant of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix *ʔa- ~ *(ʔ)ə- ~ ʔə@- ~ *ʔaŋ- ~ *ʔak- which had quite a number of distinct functions, among which ‘indicator of stativity or intransitivity’ which might be relevant here (see Matisoff 2003: 104-107). The interrogative verb *atak-* ‘to do what’ seems to be derived from the verb *tak-* ‘to do’ with this *a-* prefix.

The interrogative form /*biskən*/ [bis.kən] ‘how much/many’ has an affirmative counterpart /*isəkən ~ iskən*/ ‘this many/much’. The morpheme <*səkən*> never appears anywhere else in the language except in the indefinite proform *jesəkən* ‘however much/many’. Therefore, although *isəkən ~ iskən* ‘this many/much’, *biskən* ‘how

much/many' and *jesəkən* 'however much/.many' may be historically analysable as containing a suffix <-səkən> (QUANTITY), these forms are now opaque for Atong speakers.

The question word *atakay* ~ *atəkəy* 'why' has developed from the adverbial form of the verb *atak* 'to do what?': *atak*=*ay* (do.what=ADV) 'doing something'. The form *atəkəy* is a more grammaticalised, more opaque form with the vowels reduced to schwa. About the origin of the element *mayʔna* (?) in *atoŋ-mayʔna* I can only speculate that the element *mayʔ* might be historically related to the Garo question word *may* 'what?' (without glottal stop). Of course this is all highly speculative.

9.1 Properties of interrogatives

Interrogatives cannot express any grammatical categories expressed by predicate heads (see Chapter 22), except for *biskən* 'how much/many' and *bisaŋ* 'to where', which can take the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) and thus function as head of a predicate of a verbless content question interrogative clause. Interrogatives cannot be modified. All the interrogatives will be treated one by one.

The position of the interrogative in the clause can vary just like the position of other core and peripheral arguments. However, unlike NPs, interrogatives never appear in right dislocated position after the predicate, except for one example with the interrogative *biskən* 'how much/many?', presented below in (130).

(130) *maʔ, cuŋa biskənan?*

[*maʔ*] {*cuŋ* -a} [*biskən*] =an
 interj big -DCL how.much =FC/ID
 'How big [did you say it was]?'

The following interrogatives can occur as constituents of predicateless interrogative clauses. Predicateless interrogative clauses are treated in §26.1.2.

caŋ 'who?'
atoŋ 'what?'
bie 'which?,where?'
bici 'where?'
atakna ~ *atana* 'why?'

The interrogatives *biskən* ‘how much/many’ and *bisaŋ* ‘to where’ can express perfectivity by means of the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) and can even take event specifiers. Therefore these interrogatives can always be identified as predicate head when they appear in verbless interrogative clauses. Examples of interrogatives as head of a predicate can be found in §26.1.3. More fieldwork is required to find out if there are restrictions on the types of event specifier that can appear on these interrogatives.

9.2 *caŋ* ‘who’

The interrogative *caŋ* ‘who’ has human reference and can be used as an argument, core (131), (132), or oblique (peripheral), e.g. (132), and as a adnominal modifier with and without the genitive enclitic, e.g. (1), (134). In (131) we see the interrogative in S function and in (132) in O function and marked with the accusative enclitic. In example (132) *caŋ* ‘who?’ functions as peripheral argument.

(131) *caŋ ray?awa?*

[*caŋ*]_S {*ray?a -wa*}
 who come -FACT
 ‘Who has come?’

(132) “*caŋmu re?eŋni? aŋga caŋaw morot baju man?phanaka?*

[*caŋ*]=*mu* {*re?eŋ -ni*}
 who =COM go.away -FUT
 [*aŋga*][*caŋ*]=*aw* [*morot baju*] {*man? -pha -naka*}
 1s who =ACC human friend get -IN.ADDITION -IFT

“‘With whom shall we go?’ Who will I get as human friend?’” (Said the lazy king after the tiger had defied him.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the interrogative *caŋ* ‘who?’ as an adnominal modifier within an NP. In (1) the interrogative is genitive-marked while in (134) it is unmarked for case and modifies the noun through juxtaposition.

(133) *caŋməŋ git?*

[*caŋ* =*məŋ* *git*]
 who =GEN song
 ‘Whose song?’

(134) *naʔa caŋ saʔ?*

[*naʔa*] [*caŋ* *saʔ*]
 2s who child
 ‘Whose child are you?’

Example (1) is the reaction to something that somebody had said about a certain song. The example is a fragment (see also §20.8.3), i.e. it is not a clause and it does not mean ‘Whose song is it?’.

9.3 *atoŋ* ‘what’

The interrogative *atoŋ* ‘what’ has non-human reference. It can replace the interrogated NP in a clause, and it can be used as an adnominal modifier within an NP. In the next example the interrogative is E argument and in (136) O.

(135) *ue usaŋmi? bimuiŋ atoŋ məŋwa?*

[*ue*] [*u*] =*saŋ* =*mi*
 DST DST=MOB =GEN
 [*bimuiŋ*]_O [*atoŋ*]_E {*məŋ* -*wa*}
 name what call.a.name -FACT
 ‘Where is he from? What is [his] name?’

(136) *ətəkəiməŋ thəmay caybutuŋcie atoŋaw nukokno geʔtheŋe?*

ətəkəiməŋ {*thə**m*} =*ay* {*cay* -*butuŋ*} =*ci* =*e*
 CONJ lay.in.ambush =ADV look -WHILE =LOC=FC

[*atoŋ*]_O=*aw* {*nuk* -*ok*} =*no* [*geʔtheŋ*]=*e*
 what =ACC see -COS =QUOT 3s =FC

‘So then, while he was looking while laying in ambush, what did he see?, it is said.’

This interrogative can also be used attributively to nouns as shown in (137), where it modifies the noun *kam* ‘work’.

- (137) *kamba aton kamaw kha?ay mu?naka ie?*

[kam] =ba [aton kam] =aw {kha?} =ay {mu?-naka} [ie]
 work =EMPH/ADD what work =ACC do =ADV stay -IFT PRX
 ‘And then that work, what work will [he] do when [he] will stay here, this
 guy?’ Lit. ‘What work doing will he stay?’

9.4 *aton?akay* ‘why, how come’

This interrogative questions which event has taken place for a situation to be the way it is. Therefore *aton?akay* is translatable as ‘why’ or ‘how come?’, e.g. (138). The word is transparently made up of the interrogative *aton* and the perlative/similative case enclitic <=*takay*> (VIA/LIKE).

- (138) “*atotakay tay?ni ja?bek thawoksay?*” *nookno*. “*Aton dawa ama?*” *nookno*.

[*aton?akay*] [tay?ni] [ja?bek] {thaw -ok} =say {no-ok} =no
 why today curry tasty -COS =MIR say -COS =QUOT
 [*aton*] {dawa -wa} [ama] {no-ok} =no
 what add -FACT mother say -COS =QUOT

“‘How come, to my surprise, the curry is so very tasty today?’ [he] said, it is said. ‘What did you add, mother?’ [he] said, it is said.’

9.5 *atakna ~ atana* ‘why’

This interrogative questions a purpose or reason (139), (140). The allomorph *atakna* is transparently made up of the root of the interrogative verb *atak* ‘to do what?’ (see §4.5.1vii) and the dative enclitic <=*na*> (DAT). The more opaque allomorph *atana* appears most often in quick speech.

- (139) *na?a atakna icina rat?awa?*

[na?a] [*atakna*] [i] =ci =na {ray?a -wa}
 2s why PRX =LOC=ALL come -FACT
 ‘Why have you come all the way here?’

- (140) *atakna karewa, morotma?darangna?*

[*atakna*] {kare-wa} [morot] =ma? =dara?na
 why fear -FACT human =interj =p =DAT
 ‘Why do you fear the humans, hey?’

The interjection *ma?* in (140) signals surprise (see also (285) in §16.1.5).

9.6 atongmay?na ‘why’

This interrogative can occur anywhere in the clause before the predicate. It questions a reason.

(141) “*madam tokwa.*” “*atongmay?na?*” “*ətəkəyan tokariwa.*

[*madam*] {*tok -wa*} [*atongmay?na*] [*ətəkəy*] =*an* {*tok -ari -wa*}
 female.teacher beat -FACT why like.that =FC/ID beat -SIMP-FACT
 “The teacher beat [me].” “Why?” “[She] beat [me] just like that (i.e. for no reason).”

9.7 atakay ~ atəkəy ‘how’

This interrogative can appear anywhere in the clause before the predicate. It questions a method. The allomorph *atakay* is morphologically transparent and consists of the verbal root *atak* ‘to do what?’ and the adverbial enclitic <=ay> (ADV). The allomorph *atəkəy* is less transparent since it has reduced most of the vowels into schwa. There is no verb **atək*. Examples with both allomorphs are given below.

(142) *atakay kəreca na?a, aŋdo kərea!*”

[*atakay*] {*kəre -ca*} [*na?a*] [*aŋ*] =*do* {*kəre -a*}
 why be.afraid -NEG 2s 1s =TOP be.afraid -CUST
 ‘Why are you not afraid? I am afraid.’

(143) *e alsia raja atəkəy keŋaydok? atəkəyan jəkaw haldunna man?aydok?*

[*ie alsia raja*] [*atəkəy*] {*keŋ -aydok*} [*atəkəy*] =*an* [*jək*] =*aw*
 PRX lazy.person king how live -PROG how =FC/ID spouse =ACC
 {*haldun*} =*na* {*man? -aydok*}
 feed =DAT be.able -PROG

‘How does this lazy king live? How is he able to feed his wives?’

9.8 bie ~ bi ‘which, where’

This interrogative questions both a place, as in (144), and one item out of a collection. In the latter function the interrogative can function as modifier of a noun, as in (145), or as a constituent on its own, as we see in (146). This interrogative has a free and a bound allomorph. The free form *bie* is used without phrasal enclitics. When it takes a phrasal enclitic, the bound form *bi* is used (147).

- (144)
- bie naŋ? joŋdaraŋe? naŋ? joŋe bie?*

[*bie*] [naŋ? joŋ] =daraŋ=e
 where 2s younger.brother =p =FC

[naŋ? joŋ] =e [*bie*]
 2s younger.brother =FC where

‘Where [are] your younger brothers? As for your younger brothers, where [are they]’

- (145) “
- sam manama.*
- ” “
- bie same?*
- ”

[*sam*] {*manam -a*} [*bie sam*] =e
 medicine stink -CUST which medicine=FC
 ‘The medicine stinks.’ ‘Which medicine?’

- (146)
- ətakəymu biaw məkcana ətakgaraŋawe?*

ətakəymu [*bi*] =aw {*məkca*} =na {*ətak*} =ga =raŋ=aw =e
 CONJ which =ACC fancy -DAT do.like.that=ATTR =p =ACC =FC
 ‘So which one(s) am [I] supposed to fancy, those who do like that?’

The context of the next example is as follows. A man is talking to his daughter about the fish traps he had put up. He says: “When I inspected the one upstream, otters had eaten the fish. When I inspected the one downstream, otters had also eaten the fish.” Then the man utters (147). This example illustrates the bound form of the interrogative *bie* ~ *bi* ‘which?, where?’

- (147) “
- biaw caykhuna? aŋna ni?ok*
- ”
- nookno.*

[*bi*] =aw {*cay -khu -na*} [*aŋ=na*] {*ni?* -ok} {*no-ok*} =no
 which =ACClook -INCOM-DESI 1s DAT not.exist -COS say -COS =QUOT
 “‘Which other one [is there] to look at? I have no more”, he said, it is said.’
 Alternatively: “‘Which other one can I/am I supposed to look at?’”

9.9 *biskən* and *bəysək* ‘how much/many’

The interrogative *biskən* ‘how much/many’ questions a quantity. This can be done as a phrase, e.g. (130), (149) as an adnominal modifier, e.g. (148), or as a predicate (150). This interrogative can modify countable as well as uncountable nouns.

(148) *udo biskən somay doŋʔokte?*

[*u*] =*do* [*biskən* *somay*] {*doŋʔ* -*ok*} =*te*
 DST=TOP how.much time IE.be -COS =DCL
 ‘As for him, how much time has it been?’

(149) *biskən raʔwa?*

[*biskən*]_O {*raʔ* -*wa*}
 how.much buy -FACT
 ‘For how much did [you] buy [it]?’

(150) *ie gari biskən?*

[*ie* *gari*]_S {*biskən*}
 PRX vehicle how.much
 ‘How much is this vehicle? i.e. ‘what’s the price?’

We know this interrogative, when unmarked, can function as a predicate because it can take the change of state predicate head suffix <-ok> (COS), as we see in (151). The headless quantified NP is a right dislocated, antitopical Beneficiary.

(151) *biskənok, məŋʔthamna?*

{*biskən* -*ok*} [*məŋʔ* *tham*] =*na*
 how.much -COS CLF:HUMANS three =DAT
 ‘How much is it in total, for three persons?’

This interrogative has another form *bəysək* ‘how much/many’ used after classifiers and auto-classifiers (see Chapter 12). Example (152) is illustrative. In this example we see that the interrogative *bəysək* modifies a headless quantified NP with the residual classifier *goyʔ*.

- (152) “*naŋʔtəme goyʔbəysək manʔphawa ie bəlsi?*” *noay səŋʔrukthoka*.

[*naŋʔ-təm*] = *e* [*goyʔ* _____ *bəysək*] {*manʔ -pha* _____ *-wa*}
 2s -ppp FC CLF:RESIDUAL how.many get -IN.TOTAL -FACT

[*ie bəylsi*] {*no*} = *ay* {*səŋʔ-ruk -thok -a*}
 PRX year say =ADV ask -RC -ALL -CUST

‘How many [baskets full of rice] did you get in total this year?’ [they] all ask each other.’ (Lit. ‘[they] sayingly ask each other.’)

9.10 *biba* ‘when, in whatever place’

The interrogative *biba* ‘when, in whatever place’ has both temporal and spatial reference. When it is used with spatial reference it has an indefinite meaning and is used as a pre-nominal modifier, e.g. (153). When it is used to question a temporal constituent, *biba* ‘when’ is used adverbially and its position in the clause is variable (154).

- (153) *teʔewe biba soŋ damsacie boba mənʔsa ganaŋcəmnoro*.

[*teʔew*] = *e* [*biba* _____ *soŋ* _____ *dam* _____ *sa*] = *ci* [*boba* _____]
 now =FC wherever village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC crazy.person
mənʔ _____ *sa*] {*ganaŋ*} = *cəm* = *no* = *ro*
 CLF:HUMANS one exist =IRR =QUOT =EMPH

‘Now, in a certain village wherever, supposedly was a crazy person, it is said.’

- (154) *ie radi bibaan rayʔanaka?*

[*ie radi*] [*biba*] = *an* {*rayʔa -naka*}
 PRX Pname when =FC/ID come -IFT
 ‘When precisely will Radi come?’

9.11 *bitəkəy* ‘by which way?’

This interrogative, consisting of the question formative *bi* (QF) and the perlativ/similitiv case enclitic <=*təkəy*> (VIA/LIKE), questions a Pathway. The following example is illustrative. Although the case marker <=*təkəy*> (VIA/LIKE) also marks facsimile adjuncts (peripheral arguments/obliques), the interrogative *bitəkəy* ‘by which way?’ is only attested questioning Pathways.

(155) *bitəkəy reʔeɲnima? Ie ramtəkəyma utəkəy?*

[*bitəkəy*] {*reʔeɲ -ni*} =*ma* [*ie ram =təkəy =ma*][*u*] =*təkəy*
 by.which.way go.away -FUT =Q PRX road =VIA =Q DST=VIA
 ‘By which way shall we go? By this road or by that one?’

9.12 *bici* ‘where’

The interrogative *bi=ci* (QF=LOC) only questions spatial location. Its place in the clause is right before the predicate (156). In a verbless clause the position of the interrogative is variable, e.g. *ue bici?* (DST where) or *bici ue?* (where DST) ‘Where is he?’.

(156) *ayaw! cabi bicin tanəɲok?*

ayaw [*cabi*] [*bici*] =*n* {*tan -aɲ -ok*}
 interj key where =FC/ID put -AWAY -COS
 ‘Oooh! Where did I put my key away (so that I cannot find it any more)?’ (In Dutch this could be accurately translated by ‘Waar heb ik mijn sleutel toch weggelegd?’)

9.13 *bisaɲ* ‘to/from where’ and *bisaɲmi* ‘from where’

These interrogatives question a direction. Their position in the clause is right before the predicate, e.g. (157).

(157) *ha? atəɲ cucu? naʔa bisaɲ reʔeɲaydoɲa?*

ha [atəɲ] [*cucu*] [*naʔa*] [*bisaɲ*] {*reʔeɲ -aydoɲa*}
 interj:SURPRISE what grandson 2s to/from.where go -PROG
 ‘Huh? What is it, Grandson? Where are you going?’

The interrogative *bi=səɲ* (QF=MOB) ‘to/from where’ might well be the most frequently used one in the language since it is used in the common greeting *bisaɲ reʔeɲwa?* meaning ‘where have you come from?’ often just shortened to *bisaɲ?* ‘where to /where from?’. What direction is implied depends on the verb. The verb *reʔeɲ-* ‘to go.away, leave’ in the factitive implies movement away from somewhere with past time reference and therefore the interpretation of *bisaɲ* will be ‘from where’, asking for a source. In (157) we see the same verb in the progressive, in which case the *bisaɲ* is interpreted as questioning a goal. When no verb is used, it depends

entirely on the context or on the choice of the listener how to interpret the question. If the speaker wants to make it absolutely clear that he is asking for a source, he will use the interrogative with the ablative/genitive case enclitic $\leq mi \sim =m\eta$ (GEN/ABL), e.g. (158).

- (158) *naŋʔ bisanmən rayʔa -wa*
 [*naŋʔ*] [*bisan*] _____ **=mən** {*rayʔa -wa*}
 2s to/from.where =ABL come -FACT
 ‘Where have you come from?’

There are two recorded instances, both in the same story, of *bisan* ‘to/from where?’ with a dative case added onto it. This will emphasise that the speaker questions a Goal rather than a Source. These are also the two recorded occasions on which this question word was used with the delimitative enclitic. Examples are given below.

- (159) *bisanasa naŋʔtyme?*”
 [*bi*]=*saŋ* **=na** =*sa* [*naŋʔ-təm*] =*e*
 QF =MOB =DAT=DLIM 2s -ppp =FC
 ‘To where exactly [are] you [going]?’

- (160) *aya! phulis bisanasa rayʔarumasəy tayʔnido?*
 aya [*phulis*] [*bi*]=*saŋ* **=na** =*sa*
 interj police QF =MOB =DAT=DILM
 {*rayʔa -ram* *-a*} =*səy* [*tayʔni*] =*do*
 go -SEARCH -CUST =MIR today =TOP
 ‘Huh?! Where exactly are the police to my surprise trying to go to today?’

9.14 *bimi ~ bimən* ‘(from) where’

Another way of questioning a place or a source is by means of the interrogative *bimi ~ bimən* ‘from where, where’, which can be analysed as the bound form of the interrogative *bie ~ bi* ‘which, where’ with the ablative case enclitic $\leq mi \sim =m\eta$ (ABL) (homophonous with the genitive). The interpretation of this interrogative depends on the form of the verb in the same way as described above for *bisan* ‘to/from where’. This interrogative appears right before the predicate (161).

(161) *bimi akwa ue?*

[bi] =mi {ak -wa} [ue]
 where =ABL pluck-FACT DST
 Where did you pluck them?

The interrogative *bimi ~ miməŋ* ‘from where, where’ can be used as modifier of an NP postponed to the interrogative, of which (162) below is illustrative. This example comes from a story about a man who is selling the ashes of his burnt house. When people see him selling these ashes on the market they ask (162).

(162) *iawe biməŋ morot raʔnaka?*

[i] =aw =e [bi]=məŋ morot {raʔ -naka} =ma
 PRX =ACC=FC QF =ABL person get -IFT =Q
 ‘A person from where will buy this?’

9.15 *biga ~ bigaba* ‘which’

This interrogative functions as modifier to a noun which is the head of an NP. It can attract the case marking away from the head or the last element in the noun phrase just as demonstratives are likely to do. Example (163) is illustrative.

(163) *bigaaw biskut raʔnima?*

[biga =aw biskut] {raʔ -ni -ma}
 which =ACCBiscuit buy -FUT -Q
 Which biscuits shall I buy?

The interrogative *biga ~ bigaba* ‘which’ consists of two morphemes, viz. the question formative *bi* (QF) and the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR) (see §29.12). The function of the morpheme <gaba ~ ga> is extensively treated in Chapter 29.

Chapter 10 Indefinite proforms

There are eleven indefinite proforms in Atong. They have different syntactic and morphological properties and therefore belong to different word classes. All proforms are listed in Table 39 and will be treated separately below.

Table 39 List of indefinite proforms

section	PROFORM	LABEL OF PARTS	GLOSS
10.1	<i>je</i>		‘any, whichever, whatever’
	<i>je=mi ~ je=məŋ</i>	any=GEN	‘any’ followed by a time noun in the locative
10.2	<i>je=səŋ=ba</i>	any=MOB=INDEF	‘to wherever’
	<i>je=ci=ba</i>	any=LOC=INDEF	‘anywhere, wherever’
	<i>je-səkən</i>	any-QUANTITY	‘however much/many’
10.3	<i>caŋ=ba</i>	who=INDEF	‘someone’
	<i>atoŋ=ba</i>	what=INDEF	‘something’
	<i>bi=ci=ba</i>	QF=LOC=INDEF	‘somewhere, sometimes’
	<i>bi=səŋ=ba</i>	QF=MOB=INDEF	‘to somewhere’
	<i>bi-mi=ba ~ bi=məŋ=ba</i>	QF=GEN=INDEF	‘from somewhere’
10.4	<i>caŋ=gaba</i>	who=ATTR	‘whoever’
10.5	<i>daraŋba</i>	opaque	‘anybody’
10.6	<i>gumuk=səŋ</i>	all=MOB	‘everywhere’

10.1 The indefinite proform *je* ‘any, whichever, whatever’

The indefinite proform *je* ‘any, whichever, whatever’²⁵ modifies any postposed noun in any syntactic function, e.g. (164). It has a genitive-marked derived form *je=mi ~ je=məŋ* (any=GEN) with a more restricted use. This derived form only appears before locative-marked nouns indicating a unit of time and the word *somay* ‘time’, e.g. (165).

²⁵ This word may have an Indic origin: cf the Hindi relative and indefinite pronoun *जे ~ जी* /*je ~ jo*/ ‘the one who, which; whichever, what ever, whoever’.

As we can see in (166) the other attested form modifying locative time nouns is the focus/identifier-marked form.

(164) *haʔcək soŋgumukdo məkha badri noaria je raŋawba.*

[*haʔcək soŋ*] =gumuk =do [*məkha Badri*] {*no-ari -a*}
 Garo village =ALL =TOP long.havy.rain say -SIMP-CUST

[*je raŋ*] =aw =ba
 any rain =ACC=EMPH

‘Really all the Garo villages just say *məkha Badri* to all rain.’

(165) *jemi sancı dibaŋkhongdaŋaw matsa kakok.*

[*je =mi san*] =ci [*dibaŋkhongdaŋ*] =aw [*matsa*] {*kak -ok*}
 any=GENday =LOCName =ACC tiger bite -COS
 ‘On a certain day a tiger bit Dibangkongdang.’

The only other enclitic that *je* has been recorded with is the focus identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID), which frequently assimilates its vowel to the indefinite article. The resultant forms are *jeen* [jeɛn] ~ *jen* [jɛn], but the form *jean* also occurs, e.g. (166).

(166) *jean sancı jada məŋʔsa nukokno.*

[*je =an san*] =ci [*jada məŋʔ*] [*sa*] {*nuk -ok*} =no
 any=FC/ID day =LOCidiot CLF:HUMANS one see -COS =QUOT
 ‘On a certain day [he] saw an idiot, it is said.’

There are both other proforms and adverbs derived opaquely and transparently from the morpheme *je* ‘any, whichever, whatever’. The derived adverbs are listed in Table 49 below. The derived proforms are mobilitative, locational and quantificational, and will be discussed separately below.

10.2 Derivations from *je* ‘any, whichever, whatever’

The indefinite proforms *je=san=ba* (any=MOB=INDEF) ‘to wherever’ replaces a Direction adjunct, e.g. example (167), which comes from Text 3, line 26.

(167) *kamalnado jesaŋba walduk sandukba rəkarini, khurutna.*

[kamal] =na =do [je]=saŋ =ba [wal -duk san -duk] =ba
priest =DAT=TOP any=MOB =INDEF night -sorrow day -sorrow =ADD

{rək -ari -ni} {khurut} =na
chase-SIMP-FUT perform.an.incantation =DAT

‘[People] will search anywhere for a priest, whether it is day or night, to perform an incantation.’

The indefinite locational proforms replaces a Location adjunct, e.g. (168).

(168) *jeciba naŋ? mu?ciba aŋ naŋ?na kha?gala.*

[je]=ci =ba [naŋ?] {mu?}=ci =ba [aŋ] [naŋ?] =na {kha?gal-a}
any=LOC=INDEF 2s stay =LOC=INDEF 1s 2s =DAT love -CUST
‘Wherever you are, I love you.’

The indefinite quantificational proform *jesəkən* ‘however much/many’ replaces a quantity, as in (169). It is not attested with the indefinite enclitic <=ba> (INDEF).

This proform is one of three lexical items that contain the bound morpheme <səkən> (QUANTITY), the others being *i-səkən* (PRX-QUANTITY) and *biskən* (QF.QUANTITY) ‘how much/many’, which is syllabified as [bis.kən].

(169) *jesəkən naŋ?ci ganaŋ cənaribo, kamalna.*

[je -səkən] [naŋ?] =ci {ganaŋ} {cən -ari} =bo [kamal] =na
any-QUANTITY 2s =LOC exist offer -SIMP =IMP priest =DAT
‘However much you have, just offer it to the priest.’

10.3 *caŋba, atoŋba, biciba, bisaŋba and bimiba*

These indefinite proforms are all derived from their respective interrogatives (see Chapter 9) by means of the indefinite phrasal enclitic <=ba> (INDEF). This means that Atong has polysemy of indefinites and interrogatives. *caŋba* (who=INDEF) ‘someone’ has human reference, *atoŋba* (what=INDEF) ‘something’ has non-human reference, *bi=ci=ba* (QF=LOC=INDEF) ‘somewhere’ refers to a Location, *bi=saŋba* (QF=MOB=INDEF) refers to a Direction and *bi-mi=ba ~ bi=məŋba* (QF=GEN=INDEF) refers to a Source. The proforms *caŋba* ‘someone’ and *atoŋba* ‘something’

can fulfil all argument and adjunct functions and can take case marking. Examples of all these respective proforms are given here below.

- (170) *cangba geʔtheŋ songmi bayaw badayok.*

[*caŋ*] = *ba* [*geʔtheŋ* *soŋ* = *mi* *bay*] = *aw* {*baday* -*ok*}
 who =INDEF3s village =GENborder =ACCCross.a.border -COS
 ‘Somebody crossed the border of his village.’

- (171) *naŋʔdo tayʔnido atoŋba dəwwa. jaʔbekaŋ thawokte.*

[*naŋʔ*] = *do* [*tayʔni*] = *do* [*atoŋ*] = *ba* {*dəw* -*wa*}
 2s =TOP today =TOP what =INDEF add -FACT
 [*jaʔbek*] = *an* {*thaw* -*ok*} = *te*
 curry =FC/ID tasty -COS =DCL
 ‘You have added something today. This curry is very tasty, really!’

- (172) *umigəmən biciba gisep gisep cəti sayietrukarinaka.*

[*u* = *mi* *gəmən*] [*bi*] = *ci* = *ba* [*gisep gisep*²⁶] [*cəti*]
 DST=GEN reason QF =LOC=INDEF middle RED letter
 {*say* -*et* -*ruk* -*ari* -*naka*}
 write -CAUS -RC -SIMP-IFT

‘Because of that, we will sometimes write each other letters from time to time/in the mean time.’

- (173) *geʔtheŋ bisaŋba reʔeŋok.*

[*geʔtheŋ*] [*bi*] = *saŋ* = *ba* {*reʔeŋ* -*ok*}
 3s QF =MOB =INDEF go.away -COS
 ‘He has gone somewhere.’

²⁶ The morpheme *gysep* ~ *gisep* ~ *gesep* means ‘middle’ or ‘space’ and is, apart from reduplicated, only found in the body part noun *caksi-gysep* ‘space in between fingers’ and in the expression *u=mi gysep=ci=an* (DST=GEN middle=LOC=FC/ID) ‘in the meantime’.

(174) *phorendəraŋ bimiba indiami nəŋʔdəraŋmi rayəʔaymu [...]*

[*phoren*] = *dəraŋ* [*bi*] = *mi* = *ba* [*india* = *mi* *nəŋʔ*] = *dəraŋ* = *mi*
 foreigner = p QF = GEN = INDEF Pname = GEN inside = p = GEN
 {*rayəʔa*} = *ay* = *mu*
 come = ADV = SEQ

‘Foreigners come from the interior [places] of India from somewhere [and ...]’

The pro-form *bisaŋba* ‘to/from somewhere’ has been recorded as modifier to an NP.

Moreover, this indefinite proform is inflected with the genitive case, marking the proform as a Source.

(175) *raaria, phorensaŋməŋ, bisaŋbaməŋ morotdarəŋ.*

{*ra -ari -a*} [*phoren*] = *saŋ* = *məŋ*
 get -SIMP-CUST foreign.country = MOB = GEN
 [*bi*] = *saŋ* = *ba* = *məŋ* [*morot*] = *darəŋ*
 QF = MOB = INDEF = ABL person = p

‘[They] will just buy it, from foreign countries, people from somewhere.’

10.4 *cəŋgaba* ‘whoever’

The relational/derelational/attributive/adverbial morpheme <*gaba ~ ga*>

(REL/DREL/ATTR/ADV) has many functions (see §14.2 and Chapter 29, especially §29.12) some of which are more productive than others. However, none of these seem to fit the lexeme *cəŋgaba* ‘whoever’ very well. Since the morpheme <*gaba ~ ga*> is not productive as a suffix on indefinite proforms, I consider the lexeme under discussion to be opaque. However, given the indefinite meaning of this proform, I suggest that if one had to make a guess as to the segmentation of this word, it would be *cəŋ-ga=ba* (who-?=INDEF) with the indefinite enclitic <=*ba*> (INDEF) as last element. Examples (176) and (177) below illustrate the use of this indefinite proform. Example (176) comes from Text 3, line 21.

- (176) *cangaba manʔay saʔa cangaba nokdaŋ taka, umi biməŋgumukawan thalay mənaymusa [...]*

[*cangaba*] {*manʔ*} =ay {*saʔ -a*} [*cangaba*] [*nokdaŋ*]
 whoever in.great.amounts=ADV eat -CUST whoever household

{*tak -a*} [*u =mi biməŋ*] =gumuk =aw =an]
 do -CUST DST=GEN name =all =ACC=FC/ID

{*thal*} =ay {*məŋ*} =ay =mu =sa
 complete=ADV call.a.name =ADV =SEQ=DLIM

‘Whoever is rich [lit. ‘eats in great amounts’] whoever has a family only after having called clearly/explicitly upon all their names, [...]’

- (177) *cangabaaw gawiaŋ kəmsəmnaka?*

[*cangaba*] =aw [*gawiaŋ*] =aw {*kəm -sym -naka*}
 whoever =ACCfemale =ACCmarry -FOLLOW -IFT

‘Who will [he] remarry?’ or ‘Who will [he] marry next?’ or ‘Whatever woman will [he] marry next?’ Literally: ‘Whoever woman will [he] marry next?’

10.5 *darəŋba* ‘anybody’

The proform *darəŋba* ‘anybody’ has human reference. Although the form is opaque for speakers of Atong, we can recognise the indefinite enclitic <=ba> (INDEF). The first morpheme is homophonous with the nominal plural morpheme <=darəŋ> (p), and the two might actually be historically related. This proform was found in the example given below.

- (178) *aŋ soŋci darəŋba atəŋkhuʔcuk olna manʔca.*

[*aŋ soŋ*] =ci [*darəŋba*] [*atəŋ khuʔcuk*] {*ol*} =na {*manʔ -ca*}
 1s village =LOC anybody Atong language speak =DAT get -NEG
 ‘In my country [I] get nobody to talk Atong with.’

10.6 *gumuksaŋ* ‘everywhere’

The proform *gumuk=saŋ* is composed of the lexeme <gumuk> ‘all, everything, everybody’ and the mobilitative/locative case enclitic <=saŋ> (MOB/LOC) making this a transparent lexeme meaning ‘everywhere’. This proform can refer to both a Location (179) and a Direction (180) depending on the verb. It can take genitive case-marking to explicitly refer to a Source. It is not attested with dative-marking for explicit reference to Goals but this is possible. The only other enclitic attested on this

proform is the focus/identifier enclitic $\leq an \geq$ (FC/ID). The reason that this proform refers to both a Direction and a Location is that the second syllable *saŋ* can be interpreted as both the mobilitative case enclitic and as the old bound morpheme meaning ‘place’ or ‘side’ still found in a few other words as well. When this proform refers to a place, it is always marked with the focus/identifier enclitic $\leq an \geq$ (FC/ID).

(179) *gumuksaŋan ganaŋ ukciŋ.*

[gumuk]	=saŋ	=an	{ganaŋ}	[ukciŋ]
everywhere	=place/LOC	=FC/ID	exist	leech
‘They are everywhere, leeches.’				

(180) *geʔtheŋ gumuksaŋ reʔeŋok.*

[geʔtheŋ]	[gumuk]	=saŋ	{reʔeŋ -ok}
3s	all	=MOB	go.away -COS
‘He went everywhere.’			

Chapter 11 Numerals

This chapter gives an overview of the numerals and classifiers in Atong and how they function morphologically, syntactically and semantically. An Atong speaker quantifies objects with numerals from four different languages, viz. Atong, Garo, Hindi and English. Within the Atong language itself there are various ways of counting, some more popular than others. Some numerals have allomorphs participating in different paradigms. Moreover, speakers have a choice of using two types of vigesimal systems and a decimal system for numbers higher than 39. It looks like the vigesimal systems are on their way out at least in the areas where research has been conducted so far, i.e. Badri and Siju.

The different types of Atong numerals are discussed in the first section. Borrowed numerals are treated in section 11.2. The use of English and especially of Hindi borrowed numerals is restricted in Atong. Section 11.3 answers the question of what is quantified with which numerals. Classifiers and nouns often occur together. There are situations in which classifiers can be omitted when numerals are used, viz. in enumeration and when ordinal numerals precede the noun they modify. There are also situations in which a classifier needs to be repeated. Section 11.4 treats the position of the classifiers. The syntactic and morphological properties of Atong numerals are treated in section 11.5. We will look at ordinal numerals in section 11.6, and finally, the different functions and grammaticalisations of the number one will be treated in section 11.7.

When a noun is used in combination with a numeral it is said to be quantified, or more specifically, the NP is quantified. The term ‘counting’ is defined as the use of numerals in a sequence without referencing an entity, i.e. without quantifying an entity. The terms ‘enumerating’ and ‘enumeration’ are defined as sequential quantification, i.e. ‘three houses, four houses, five houses’ and ‘three, four, five houses’ are acts of enumeration. Table 40 gives a paradigmatic overview of the different ways of counting in Atong. Loans from English and Hind are listed in Table 43 and Table 44. For an overview of Garo numerals I refer the reader to Burling (2004: 245-6).

“We need something to count!” said Tononjyw• [tontonjəw?] and Tontonwa• [tontonwa?] two elderly people, the parents of Tonton, who agreed to count for me in Atong so that I could record it. So they looked around and found a basket of garlic cloves. They put them in a heap on the ground and started counting them moving them from one heap to the other. When the source heap neared depletion the counted cloves were quickly recycled by the spouse. The analysis in this chapter is based on the data obtained by this and many other experiences with native speakers counting in Atong.

11.1 Types of Atong numerals

This section discusses the original Atong numerals and the different paradigms in which they appear and the use of numerals borrowed from Garo. An overview of Atong numerals in their respective paradigms is presented in Table 40. Section 11.2 discusses the Hindi and English loans.

Table 40 Counting in Atong.

The analysis and translation of the individual components of the numerals will be presented in Table 41 and Table 42. The morpheme *roŋ* (CLF:ROUND.THINGS) is functioning as default classifier in this table and will be commented upon in §11.1.1.

UNIT NUMERALS

1	<i>roŋ sa</i>	11	<i>ci sa</i>
2	<i>roŋ ni</i>	12	<i>ci ni</i>
3	<i>roŋ tham</i>	13	<i>ci tham</i>
4	<i>bərəy</i>	14	<i>ci bəri</i>
5	<i>baŋa</i>	15	<i>ca raŋa ~ ci baŋa</i> (calque on Garo)
6	<i>korok</i>	16	<i>ci dok</i>
7	<i>sene</i>	17	<i>ci sene ~ ci səni</i>
8	<i>catgək</i>	18	<i>ci cat</i>
9	<i>cəkhəw</i>	19	<i>ci səkhu</i>
10	<i>cəygək</i>	20	<i>kholgək ~ kholgrək</i> (Garo loan) ~ <i>khol</i>

<u>Paradigm 1</u>	<u>paradigm2</u>	<u>paradigm 3</u>	<u>paradigm 4</u>
21	<i>khole roŋ sa</i>	<i>kholgək sa</i>	<i>kholgrək sa</i>
22	<i>khole roŋ ni</i>	<i>kholgək ni</i>	<i>kholgrək ni</i>
23	<i>khole roŋ tham</i>	<i>kholgək tham</i>	<i>kholgrək tham</i>
24	<i>klolə bərəy</i>	<i>khole roŋ bəri</i>	<i>kholgək bərey</i>
25	<i>khole baŋa</i>	<i>khole roŋ baŋa</i>	<i>kholgək baŋa</i>
26	<i>khole korok</i>	<i>khole roŋ korok</i>	<i>kholgək korok</i>
27	<i>khole sene</i>	<i>khole roŋ sene</i>	<i>kholgək sene</i>
28	<i>khole catgək</i>	<i>khole roŋ catgək</i>	<i>kholgək catgək</i>
29	<i>khole cəkhəw</i>	<i>khole roŋ cəkhəw</i>	<i>kholgək cəkhəw</i>

Paradigm 5

30	<i>khole cəy</i>	<i>khola ci</i>
31	<i>khole cit sa</i>	<i>khola ci sa</i>
32	<i>khole ci ni</i>	<i>khola ci ni</i>
33	<i>khole ci tham</i>	<i>khola ci tham</i>
34	<i>khole ci bəri</i>	<i>khola ci byri</i>
35	<i>khole ca raŋa</i>	<i>khola ci baŋa</i>
36	<i>khole ci dok</i>	<i>khola ci dok</i>
37	<i>khole ci sene</i>	<i>khola ci sene</i>
38	<i>khole ci cat</i>	<i>khola ci cat</i>
39	<i>khole ci səkhu</i>	<i>khola ci səkəw</i>

MULTIPLIED ROUND-NUMBER NUMERALS

<u>Vigesimal 1</u>		<u>Decimal</u>
40	<i>rum? ni</i>	<i>sot bəri</i>
41	<i>rum? ni roŋ sa</i>	<i>sot bəri sa</i>
42	<i>rum? ni roŋ ni</i>	<i>sot bəri ni</i>
43	<i>rum? ni roŋ tham</i>	<i>sot bəri tham</i>
44	<i>rum? ni bərəy</i>	<i>sot bəri bərəy</i>
45	<i>rum? ni baŋa</i>	<i>sot bəri baŋa</i>
46	<i>rum? ni korok</i>	<i>sot bəri korok</i>
47	<i>rum? ni sene</i>	<i>sot bəri sene</i>
48	<i>rum? ni catgək</i>	<i>sot bəri catgək</i>
49	<i>rum? ni cəkhəw</i>	<i>sot bəri cəkhəw</i>
50	<i>rum? ni cəygək</i>	<i>sot boŋa</i>
51	<i>rum? ni cit sa</i>	<i>sot boŋa sa</i>
52	<i>rum? ni ci ni</i>	<i>sot boŋa ni</i>
53	<i>rum? ni ci tham</i>	<i>sot boŋa tham</i>
54	<i>rum? ni ci bəri</i>	<i>sot boŋa bərəy</i>
55	<i>rum? ni ca raŋa</i>	<i>sot boŋa baŋa</i>
56	<i>rum? ci dok</i>	<i>sot boŋa korok</i>
57	<i>rum? ci sene</i>	<i>sot boŋa sene</i>
58	<i>rum? ni ci cat</i>	<i>sot boŋa catgək</i>
59	<i>rum? ni ci səkhu</i>	<i>sot boŋa cəkhəw</i>

Vigesimal 1

60	<i>rum? tham</i>
61	<i>rum? tham roŋ sa</i>
62	<i>rum? tham roŋ ni</i>
63	<i>rum? tham roŋ tham</i>
64	<i>rum? tham bəɾəy</i>
65	<i>rum? tham baŋa</i>
66	<i>rum? tham korok</i>
67	<i>rum? tham sene</i>
68	<i>rum? tham catgək</i>
69	<i>rum? tham cəkhəw</i>
70	<i>rum? tham cəygək</i>
71	<i>rum? tham cit sa</i>
72	<i>rum? tham ci ni</i>
73	<i>rum? tham ci tham</i>
74	<i>rum? tham ci bəri</i>
75	<i>rum? tham ca raŋa</i>
76	<i>rum? tham ci dok</i>
77	<i>rum? tham ci sene</i>
78	<i>rum? tham ci cat</i>
79	<i>rum? tham ci səkhu</i>

Vigesimal 1

80	<i>rum? bəɾəy</i>
81	<i>rum? bəɾəy roŋ sa</i>
82	<i>rum? bəɾəy roŋ ni</i>
83	<i>rum? bəɾəy roŋ tham</i>
84	<i>rum? bəɾəy roŋ bəɾəy</i>
85	<i>rum? bəɾəy baŋa</i>
86	<i>rum? bəɾəy korok</i>
87	<i>rum? bəɾəy sene</i>
88	<i>rum? bəɾəy catgək</i>
89	<i>rum? bəɾəy cəkhəw</i>
90	<i>rum? bəɾəy cəygək</i>
91	<i>rum? bəɾəy cit sa</i>
92	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci ni</i>
93	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci tham</i>
94	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci dok</i>
95	<i>rum? bəɾəy ca raŋa</i>
96	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci dok</i>
97	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci sene</i>
98	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci cat</i>
99	<i>rum? bəɾəy ci səkhu</i>

Decimal

<i>sotok ~ sotdok ~ sodok</i>
<i>sotok sa</i>
<i>sotok ni</i>
<i>sotok tham</i>
<i>sotok bəɾəy</i>
<i>sotok baŋa</i>
<i>sotok korok</i>
<i>sotok sene</i>
<i>sotok catgək</i>
<i>sotok cəkhəw</i>
<i>sot sene ~ sot səni</i>
<i>sot sene sa</i>
<i>sot sene ni</i>
<i>sot sene tham</i>
<i>sot sene bəɾəy</i>
<i>sot sene baŋa</i>
<i>sot sene korok</i>
<i>sot sene sene</i>
<i>sot sene catgək</i>
<i>sot sene cəkhəw</i>

Vigesimal 2

<i>kholcaŋ bəɾəy</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ sa</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ ni</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ tham</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ bəɾəy</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri baŋa</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri korok</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri sene</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri catgək</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri cəkhəw</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri cəygək</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri cit sa</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci ni</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci tham</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci bəri</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ca raŋa</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci dok</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci sene</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci cat</i>
<i>kholcaŋ bəri ci səkhu</i>

Decimal

<i>sot cet</i>
<i>sot cet sa</i>
<i>sot cet ni</i>
<i>sot cet tham</i>
<i>sot cet bəɾəy</i>
<i>sot cet baŋa</i>
<i>sot cet korok</i>
<i>sot cet sene</i>
<i>sot cet catgək</i>
<i>sot cet cəkhəw</i>
<i>sot səkhu</i>
<i>sot səkhu sa</i>
<i>sot səkhu ni</i>
<i>sot səkhu tham</i>
<i>sot səkhu bəɾəy</i>
<i>sot səkhu baŋa</i>
<i>sot səkhu korok</i>
<i>sot səkhu sene</i>
<i>sot səkhu catgək</i>
<i>sot səkhu cəygək</i>

Paradigm 6100 *raja sa*101 *raja sa roŋ sa*102 *raja sa roŋ ni*103 *raja sa roŋ tham*104 *raja sa roŋ bəɾəy*105 *raja sa roŋ baŋa*

etc.

115 *raja sa ca raŋa ~ raja sa ci boŋa* (calque on Garo, see Table 41)

etc.

200 *raja ni*300 *raja tham*

etc.

1000 *hajal ~ hajar sa* (< Hindi हज़ार (hazār) ‘thousand’)1101 *hajal sa raja sa roŋ sa*

etc.

2000 *hajal ni*

etc.

7895 *hajal sene raja catgək kholcaŋ bəɾəy ca raŋa* (vigesimal)~*hajal sene raja catgək sot səkhu baŋa* (decimal)**Paradigm 7***rumʔ baŋa**rumʔ baŋa roŋ sa**rumʔ baŋa roŋ ni**rumʔ baŋa roŋ tham**rumʔ baŋa roŋ bəɾəy**rumʔ baŋa roŋ baŋa*

etc.

For numbers higher than 99,999 the multiplier *lak* ‘100,000’ has to be used.

250675 *lak kolgək baŋa raja korok sot səni baŋa* (decimal) ~*lak khole baŋa raja korok rumʔ tham baŋa* (vigesimal)

All numerals can be preceded by a classifier (see Chapter 12). We distinguish Round-Number numerals and Unit numerals. These terms are defined on the basis of the morphosyntactic behaviour and semantics of the numerals and not on the basis of their everyday use in English. For the purpose of the following formulae Round-Number numerals are indicated with the symbol R. A multiplied R is written as RX. The Unit numerals are indicated by U. The following formulae define Unit and Round-Number numerals distributionally and semantically.

1. A U can occur as a free form.
2. A U cannot be multiplied.
3. An R cannot occur without a following U or RX.

The semantic relationship between different numerals can be additive or multiplicative. Both relationships are obtained by simple juxtaposition and depend on the three conditions below.

1. If a U is followed by another U they are in an additive relationship, e.g. *ca raṇa* (10 [plus] 5) ‘15’ and *kholgāk sa* (20 [plus] 1) ‘21’.
2. If an R is followed by only a U, R and U are in a multiplicative relationship with each other, e.g. *rum? tham*-(TWENTY [times] 3) ‘60’, *sot cet* (TEN [times] 8) ‘80’, *raja sene* (hundred [times] 7) ‘700’.
3. If an RX is followed by another RX, they are in an additive relationship, e.g. *hajal tham raja ni sot cet tham* (1000 [times] 3 [plus] 100 [times] 2 [plus] TEN [times] 8 [plus] 3) ‘3283’.

Unit numerals will be treated further in §11.1.1 and Round-Number numerals in §11.1.2. Atong has one multiplier, viz. the Hindi loan *lak* (< लख (lakh)). A multiplier adds a numeral value to a number and cannot be preceded by a classifier. Some speakers treat the archaic numeral *rum?* ‘TWENTY’ as a multiplier as shall be discussed below.

11.1.1 Unit numerals

Unit numerals are all the numerals from 1 to 39.²⁷ Table 40 gives an overview of the different paradigms in which the morphemes occurring in Unit numerals occur. The internal structure of compound Units is morphologically complex and irregular. The morphemes that can be distinguished are listed in Table 41 with their occurrence restrictions. The semantic relationship of Unit numerals in compounds is additive.

²⁷ Note that the different morphemes denoting ‘10’ and ‘20’ in Table 41 are not Round-Number numerals because they do not fit the definition of Round-Number numerals given above, but do fit the definition of Unit numerals.

Table 41 Morphemes participating in the formation of Unit numerals

SET	FORM	MEANING	REMARKS
Set 1	<i>sa</i>	1	Have to be preceded by a classifier, even when counting for the sake of counting
	<i>ni</i>	2	
	<i>tham</i>	3	
Set 2	<i>bərəy</i>	4	Can occur as free form
	<i>baŋa</i>	5	Can occur as free form or in a compound with <i>ci</i> '10' which will then be a calque on Garo <i>ci boŋa</i> '15'. What native speakers identify as the real Atong form for fifteen is <i>ca-raŋa</i> (10 [plus] 5) '15'. ²⁸
	<i>korok</i>	6	Can occur as free form.
	<i>sene</i>	7	Can occur as free form or in a compound with <i>ci</i> '10'
	<i>catgək</i>	8	Can occur as free form.
	<i>cəkhəw</i>	9	
	<i>cəygək</i>	10	
Set 3	<i>kholgək</i>	20	Is identified by native speakers as the real Atong form. Paradigm 3.
	<i>kholgrək</i>	20	Is identified by native speakers as code switching to Garo. However, this numeral has almost completely replaced the use of <i>kholgək</i> and can be seen as an allomorph of <i>kholgək</i> . Paradigm 3
Set 4	<i>bəri</i>	4	Can only occur in a compound with <i>ci</i> '10' and <i>sot</i> 'TEN'.
	<i>raŋa</i>	5	Can only occur in a compound with <i>ca</i> '10' but not with <i>sot</i> 'TEN'. ²⁹
	<i>boŋa</i>	5	Can only appear in a compound with <i>sot</i> 'TEN'.
	<i>dok</i>	6	Can only occur in a compound with <i>ci</i> '10' and <i>sot</i> 'TEN'.
	<i>səni</i>	7	
	<i>cat</i>	8	
	<i>səkhə</i>	9	
Set 5	<i>khole</i>	20	Occurs only in compound Unit numerals. Takes <i>cəy</i> as morpheme for '10' to form numerals from 30-39. Paradigm 1
	<i>khola</i>	20	Occurs only in compound Unit numerals. Takes <i>ci</i> as morpheme for '10' to form numerals from 30 to 39. Paradigm 2
	<i>cəy</i>	10	Occurs only in compound Unit numerals after <i>khole</i> '20'. Paradigm 1
	<i>ci ~ cit ~ ca</i>	10	Cannot occur on its own but have to be followed by a numeral of Set 1 or Set 3. The allomorph <i>cit</i> only occurs before <i>sa</i> 'one', the allomorph <i>ca</i> occurs only before <i>raŋa</i> '5'
Set 6	<i>khol</i>	20	Cannot be multiplied, cannot be compounded but can only occur as free form without classifier. Since <i>khol</i> '20' is not attested as a noun outside the counting system it is considered a numeral used exclusively in enumeration

²⁸ Speakers volunteered this information only for this particular number.²⁹ Atong reflexts both prefixes allofams reconstructed by Benedict (1972:31, see also Matisoff, 2003: 129-30) for the numeral five at the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level, **l-ŋa ~ b-ŋa*.

When we examine Table 41, we can observe the following: All numerals from Set 2 can occur as free forms. Set 3 numerals can occur as free forms or in additive relationship with numerals from Set 1 and 2 except *cəygək* ‘10’. The numerals from Set 4 only occur in compounds with *ci ~ cit ~ ca* ‘10’. Numerals from Set 5 cannot occur on their own but have to be compounded to another, lower numeral. Set 6 consists only of the numeral *khol* ‘20’. Since *khol* ‘20’ is not attested as a noun outside the counting system it is considered a numeral used exclusively in sequential enumeration to indicate that a unit of 20 has been reached as in example (181). Note that I analyse the word *khol+caŋ* (TWENTY+multiplied.by) ‘TWENTY’ as one Round-Number numeral morpheme (see the next paragraph).

(181) [...] *rum? tham ci səkhu, khol. kholcaŋ bərəy*. [...] *kholcaŋ bərəy ci səkhu, khol. raja sa*.

<i>[rum? tham ci səkhu]</i>	<i>[khol]</i>	<i>[kholcaŋ bərəy]</i>
TWENTY 3	TEN 9	TWENTY TWENTY 4

<i>[kholcaŋ bərəy ci səkhu]</i>	<i>[khol]</i>	<i>[raja sa]</i>
TWENTY 4	TEN 9	TWENTY 100 1

‘[...] 79, a Unit of twenty: 80. [...] 99, a Unit of twenty: one hundred.’

The numerals *sa* ‘1’, *ni* ‘2’ and *tham* ‘3’ never occur without a classifier unless they are in a compound with *ci ~ cit* ‘10’ or multiplying a multipliable Round-Number numeral, e.g. *khole roŋ tham* (TWENTY CLF:ROUND.THINGS 3) ‘23’ but *rum? tham* (TWENTY 3) ‘60’. In counting for the sake of counting, the classifier for round objects and money is used obligatorily with the numerals one to three, but not in 11, 12 and 13. This also applies in numerals above twenty in the vigesimal paradigms, e.g. *khole roŋ sa* (TWENTY CLF:ROUND.THING one) ‘21’, *rum? tham roŋ tham* (TWENTY CLF:ROUND.THINGS three) ‘63’ etc (see Table 40). This means that the classifier *roŋ* (CLF:ROUND.THINGS) is the functionally unmarked or default classifier (see also Aikhenvald, 2003-b: 335-6). When quantifying objects, too, the classifier has to be present before the last numeral in every cycle of twenty, e.g. *rum? ni khung sa* (TWENTY 2 CLF:FLAT.THINGS 1) ‘41 flat things’, *rum? ni khung ni* (TWENTY 2 CLF:FLAT.THINGS 2) ‘42 flat things’ etc. Usually the classifier is omitted again after ‘3’, e.g. *rum? ni khun bərəy* (TWENTY 2 CLF:FLAT.THINGS 4) ‘44’. The numerals *sa* ‘1’, *ni* ‘2’ and *tham* ‘3’ are

monosyllabic and the fact that they attract a classifier might just be to give them a bisyllabic form.

11.1.2 Round-Number numerals and the use of different paradigms

The Round-Numerals³⁰ are listed in Table 42. As was mentioned above, a Round-Number numeral cannot occur unmultiplied.

Table 42 Round-Number numerals

Form	Meaning	Remarks
<i>sot</i>	TEN	Used in the decimal paradigm.
<i>kholcaŋ</i>	TWENTY	Used in the Vigesimal 2 paradigm.
<i>rumʔ</i>	TWENTY	Used in the Vigesimal 1 paradigm.
<i>raja</i>	100	Preferred to the continuation of the vigesimal paradigm.
<i>hajał ~ hajar</i>	1000	From Hindi हज़ार (hazār) ‘thousand’.

There is one Hindi loan that is incorporated into the Atong counting system and combines with Atong classifiers and numerals, viz. *hajał ~ hajar* ‘1000’ (< Hindi हज़ार (hazār) ‘thousand’). The word for 100,000 is the Hindi loan *lak* (< लख (lakh) ‘hundred thousand’) which is a multiplier since it cannot be used in combination with another classifier when quantifying nouns.³¹

The morpheme *sot* ‘TEN’ can only be multiplied by Set 1 and by all of the Set 4 Unit numerals except *raŋa* ‘5’ (see Table 41). There is a special morpheme for ‘5’ to multiply *sot* ‘TEN’, viz. *boŋa* ‘5’, that appears nowhere else in the counting system. When multiplied with *dok* ‘6’ the result may be one of three forms, viz. a voiceless fused form /*sotok*/ [sotok ~ sot:ok], a coordinated form /*sotdok*/ [sotdok] and a voiced fused form /*sodok*/ [sodok ~ sod:ok].

³⁰ I use the term Round-Number numerals in analogy to Matisoff’s (1982: 92) “Round-number classifiers”.

³¹ I did not attest the use of the Hindi word करोड़ (krōṛ) (borrowed into Indian English as *crore*) ‘10,000,000’ in Atong, which of course does not exclude its use in the language.

The morpheme *caŋ* ‘times, multiplied by’ is only attested in combination with *khol* ‘TWENTY’ and nowhere else in the language. However, the combination *kholcaŋ* ‘TWENTY’ appears to be transparent to Atong speakers because they translate the two syllables separately. The compound *kholcaŋ* functions as one multipliable Round-Number numeral in the language. It is in complementary distribution with *khol*, which cannot be multiplied, whereas *kholcaŋ* cannot indicate only one unit of twenty.³² Example (181) is illustrative of both the use of *khol* ‘20’ and *kholcaŋ* ‘TWENTY’. In that example the classifier is left out because of the enumeration of the quantified objects.

Some speakers interpret the multipliable Round-Number numeral *rum?* (TWENTY) as a multiplier which cannot be preceded by a classifier. The following example is illustrative of this opinion.

(182) *niŋ soŋci morot rum?ni məŋ?ni ganaŋ*

[*niŋ soŋ* =*ci* [*morot rum?* *ni məŋ?* *ni*] {*ganaŋ*}
 1pe village =LOC person TWENTY 2 CLF:HUMANS 2 exist
 ‘In our village there are 42 people.’ Literally: ‘In our village exist 42 people.’

However, other Atong speakers consider *rum?* (TWENTY) to be a Round-Number numeral that can be preceded by a classifier, as we see in example (183). In this example *rum?* ‘TWENTY’ is preceded by the auto-classifier for houses *nukhuŋ* ‘roof’.

(183) *uci nukhuŋ raja ni kholgək mu?wano. nukhuŋ raja ni kholgək mu?gabae
 thometsəngrepha rangkhaymadophae nukhuŋ rum?tham, jekhay ha?cəksaŋ
 balcido sotok, roŋkhay təy səmsaŋ jalaŋokno*

[*u*] =*ci* [*nukhuŋ raja ni kholgək*] {*mu?-wa*} =*no*
 DST=LOC roof 100 2 20 stay -FACT=QUOT

³² The fact that *kholcaŋ* ‘TWENTY’ is used as a Round-Number numeral and not *khol* ‘TWENTY’ might have to do with syllabicity. The *caŋ* provides an unstressed syllable in between two stressed ones. Future investigation into the matter of syllabicity in Atong is required to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

[[*nkuhuŋ* *raja* *ni* *kholgək*] {*mu?*=*gaba* =*e*}] [*th.* *r.*] =*e*
 roof 100 2 20 stay =ATTR =FC Name Name =FC
nukhuŋ *rum?* *tham*] [*jekay*] [*ha?cik*] =*saŋ* {*bal*} =*ci* =*do*
 roof TWENTY 3 somehow Garo =INSTR speak =LOC =TOP
 [*sotok*] [*roŋkhay* *təysəm*] =*saŋ* {*jal* *-aŋ* *-ok*} =*no*
 60 Pname river.bank =MOB run.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT
 ‘There were 220 roofs (i.e. houses), it is said. As for the 220 roofs which were there, 60 roofs belonging to Thometsyngrepha [and] Rangkhaimadopha, if [you] say it in Garo *sotok* (60), run away to the Rongkhai river bank, it is said.’

The vigesimal paradigm with *rum?* ‘TWENTY’ (Vigesimal 1 in Table 40) is archaic and not even known by all younger speakers in Badri and Siju. Speakers of middle age, when questioned about this morpheme, are often not sure if its value is 20 or 40 and often argue about this with each other. It might well be that *rum?* ‘TWENTY’ was used exclusively as a multiplier in the past.

Most speakers in Badri and Siju mix Garo and Atong numerals most of the time, although I have not recorded an Atong speaker using the Garo numeral *rica* ‘100’ for Atong *raja* ‘100’. As for the numbers between 20 and 40, paradigms 1, 2 and 3 (see Table 40) are still used by middle aged and older Atong speakers in Badri and Siju. Young people usually use paradigms 4 and 5 with the Garo loan *kholgrək* ‘20’.

When counting numbers higher than 39, the decimal system of counting now prevails in Badri and Siju. Young people tend to count in Garo and if they count in Atong they usually use the decimal system. A lot of younger people do not know the vigesimal systems any more. Older people who do still know the vigesimal system seldom use it. The least frequently used is the vigesimal system with the morpheme *caŋ* ‘times, multiplied by’, which is called Vigesimal 2 in Table 40. Example (184) is illustrative of the use of *kholcaŋ* ‘TWENTY’. The Round-Number numeral is preceded by the auto-classifier *nukhuŋ* ‘roof’. Paradigm 7 with the numeral *roŋ?* ‘TWENTY’ for numerals from 100 up is never used in normal speech any more. Paradigm 7 with the numeral *raja* ‘100’ has replaced it.

In example (183) above and (184) below, the speaker, an old man, implies that the decimal system is actually Garo. Since Atong and Garo are closely related languages in close contact, it is difficult to say if the decimal system is actually borrowed from Garo into Atong or not and I will make no attempt to propose any arguments in favour

or against the old man's assertions. Note that the speaker uses the vigesimal system with *kholcaŋ* (TWENTY) in example (184) and the vigesimal system with *rum?* (TWENTY) in example (183).

- (184) *anaktancepa khəmaŋbalcepa grətʔoksəŋpa sanagaʔjəŋphadarəŋ cigasaŋ
jaləŋgabaə nukhuŋ sotcet ganaŋno. atəŋsaŋ balcido nukhuŋ kholcaŋbərəŋ
doŋʔanowa.*

[*a.* *kh.* *g.* *s.*] =*darəŋ* [[*ciga*] =*saŋ*
Name Name Name Name=p Pname =MOB

{*jal* *-aŋ*} =*gaba* =*e* [*nukhuŋ sot cet*] {*ganaŋ*} =*no*
run.away -AWAY =ATTR =FC roof TEN 8 exist =QUOT

[*atəŋ*] =*saŋ* {*bal*} =*ci* =*do* [*nukhuŋ kholcaŋ brərəŋ*]
Atəŋg =INSTRspeak =LOC =TOP roof -TWENTY 4

{*doŋʔ-a*} =*no* *-wa*
IE.be -CUST =QUOT-FACT

'There where 80 roofs (i.e. houses) belonging to Anaktancepa
Khymanbalcepa Gryt•oksəŋpa [and] Sanaga•jyngpha, those who had run
away to Chiga, it is said. If said in Atəŋg it is *kholchangbyryi* (80) roofs, it is
said.'

The different systems, vigesimal and decimal are presented in Table 40 in paradigms but in reality, when people enumerate things, they mix up forms from different paradigms and often also put in some Garo numerals. The mixing seems to happen at random and unbound by any rules or principles. We can only remark that it seems that Atəŋg numerals are becoming obsolescent and the Garo numerals are taking over, at least in Siju and Badri, where the data for this grammar were collected. At the moment the language uses the Garo and Atəŋg numerals side by side. Some Garo numerals are so frequent that they can be considered loans and therefore I have represented them in the table. The numeral *kolgrək* '20', invariably pronounced with a word medial, syllable initial cluster /gr/, is a loan from Garo. Words borrowed from Garo tend to keep their consonant clusters in Atəŋg whereas Atəŋg phonology avoids consonant clusters. The Atəŋg numeral *ci baŋa* (TEN 5) '15' is a calque on Garo *ci baŋa* (TEN 5) '15'. The Atəŋg often corrected themselves when they said *ci baŋa* '15', or the Garo form *ci baŋa* '15', or *kolgrək* '20' and then emphatically said that they meant *carəŋa* '15' or *kolgək* '20'. This means that they are aware of the foreign origin of the numerals they are using.

11.2 Borrowed numerals

Atong has borrowed English and Hindi numerals. As we will see in the next section, these loans are usually used to count English and Hindi loan words referring to objects associated with modern day life introduced into the Atong society in Hindi or English.

11.2.1 English loans

Numerals borrowed from English are given in Table 43. The sound changes are regular. The most salient sound changes are the following: (English > Atong) $f > p$, $v > b$, $\theta > t$, $t^h > t$ and $ɹ > r$. Voicing distinction in syllable final stops does not occur in Atong so the English word final voiced consonants became voiceless in Atong. Some consonant clusters are preserved, albeit sometimes phonetically modified. Only *siks* ‘six’ can be pronounced with a single final consonant, viz. *sik* ‘six’ and the cluster in ‘sixty’ is simplified to *sikty* ‘sixty’ while ‘sixteen’ can be pronounced both as *sikstin* or *siktin*. The English numerals borrowed into Atong combine as in English to form higher numerals. The use of the English loan *jero* ‘zero’ is the only way to say ‘zero’ since Atong does not have a native term to express this number.

Not only did Atong borrow the morphemes of the English numerals, they borrowed the counting system, i.e. the order in which the morphemes are combined to make compound numerals. Thus ‘two hundred fifty two’ in the Atongs English loan paradigm is *tu handrət pipit tu* ‘2 100 50 2’.

Both English and Hindi loans are used without classifiers and the order of the elements in the noun phrase is NOUN NUMERAL, which is different from the NOUN CLASSIFIER NUMERAL or CLASSIFIER NUMERAL NOUN make up of the noun phrase when Atong or Garo numerals are used.

Table 43 English numerals borrowed into Atong

0	<i>jero</i>	10	<i>ten</i>
1	<i>wan</i>	11	<i>ileben</i>
2	<i>tu</i>	12	<i>twelp</i>
3	<i>tri</i>	13	<i>tərtin</i>
4	<i>por</i>	14	<i>portin</i>
5	<i>payp</i>	15	<i>piptin</i>
6	<i>siks ~ sik</i>	16	<i>sikstin ~ siktin</i>
7	<i>seben</i>	17	<i>sebentin</i>
8	<i>et</i>	18	<i>etin</i>
9	<i>nayn</i>	19	<i>nayntin</i>
	20	<i>twenti</i>	
	30	<i>tərti</i>	
	40	<i>porti</i>	
	50	<i>pipti</i>	
	60	<i>sikti</i>	
	70	<i>sebenti</i>	
	80	<i>eti</i> [e.ti]	
	90	<i>naynti</i>	
	100	<i>wan handrət</i>	
	1000	<i>wan tawsən</i>	
	1000000	<i>wan milyon</i>	

11.2.2 Hindi loans

Numerals borrowed from Hindi are listed in Table 44. Only the numbers one to twelve are recorded to have been borrowed. This is due to the fact that the use of numerals borrowed from Hindi is very restricted, as we will see below.

Sound changes occurred when the numerals were borrowed into Atong. The original nasalisation of the Hindi source language in the numeral पाँच (pāc) ‘five’ has been lost in Atong but consonant clusters are retained in *panc* ‘5’ and *gyara* ‘11’. The retroflex stop in आठ (āṭ) ‘eight’ has lost its retroflexion. The Hindi aspirated palatal affricate phoneme छ (ch) has been replaced by /c/ in Atong. The difference between the vowels औ (aw) and ओ (o) in दो (do) ‘2’ and नौ (naw) ‘9’ and the length distinctions on other vowels have disappeared in Atong. Finally, the numeral ‘4’ can be pronounced with or without final /r/ and 10 has two allomorphs *dəs* ~ *das* reflecting Hindi दस (das).

Table 44 Numerals borrowed into Atong from Hindi

	<u>Atong</u>	<u>Hindi</u>	<u>transliteration</u>
1	<i>ēk</i>	एक	ek
2	<i>do</i>	दो	do
3	<i>tin</i>	तीन	tīn
4	<i>ca ~ car</i>	चार	cār
5	<i>panc</i>	पाँच	pāc
6	<i>ce</i>	छः	chē
7	<i>sat</i>	सात	sāt
8	<i>at</i>	आठ	āt
9	<i>no</i>	नौ	naw
10	<i>dās ~ das</i>	दस	das
11	<i>gyara</i>	ग्यारह	gyāra
12	<i>bara</i>	बारह	bāra

11.3 What is quantified with which numerals?

When telling the time, the hours are quantified in Hindi, because the word *baji* ‘hour’ is a Hindi loan. For example if one asks *atoŋ baji?* (what hour) ‘What’s the time?’, the answer at eleven o’clock will be *gyara baji* (eleven hour) ‘Eleven o’clock’. Minutes and seconds are quantified in English because the words *minit ~ minət* ‘minute’ and *sekən* ‘second’ come from English. When it is twelve minutes past eleven, an Atong speaker says it is *gyara baji twelp minit*. In the case of time telling, the noun and how to quantify it were borrowed together. This is also the case for the measure loans *kilomitər* ‘kilometre’, *mitər* ‘metre’ and *sentimitər* ‘centimetre’. But this symmetry is not always the case. Gears of a car or other vehicle are also quantified in Hindi, even though the word *ger* ‘gear’ itself is a loan from English. When my friends were teaching me how to drive a motorbike, on different occasions they remarked: *te?ew tin ger* ‘now [in] third gear’. When they admire a new car or truck they enumerate the number of gears: *ek, do, tin, ca, panc, ce ger* ‘[the car has] one, two, three, four, five, six gears’. However, the number of gears a car has in total is stated in English: *ie siks ger gari* ‘it’s a six gear vehicle’.

The use of Hindi numerals in Atong is restricted to the quantification of hours and gears. Since vehicles do not have twelve gears, and hours are counted according to the 12 hour system, twelve is the highest numeral borrowed from Hindi into Atong.

Telephone numbers and numbers on number plates of vehicles are counted with English loans. This is due to the fact that these items were introduced in English

when they entered India and ultimately entered Atong society. This means that the Atong speakers took over the habit of counting these items in English from speakers of Indic languages rather than directly from English speakers.

As was already mentioned above Hindi and English numerals are used without classifiers and the order of the constituents within the NP is NOUN NUMERAL.

Apart from the items described above, Atong numerals are used to quantify all other things. Some English and Hindi loans or loans from other Indic languages, such as Bengali, either came into Atong through Garo and were thus not perceived as loans, or are assimilated into Atong to such an extent that speakers do not perceive them as loans any more. These loans are quantified with classifiers and Atong numerals. Borrowed and incorporated measure nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a receptacle and its volume (see §12.4), are quantified with Atong numerals but without classifiers, just as indigenous measure nouns are. Examples of these assimilated loans are listed in Table 45. In this table I make a distinction between nouns borrowed from English or Indic languages without specifying which Indic language the noun comes from. More research is needed to trace the exact origin of all Indic loans and sometimes similar lexical forms exist in multiple Indic languages, which makes it impossible to trace the source.

Money and playing cards, despite both the objects and the words being of non-Atong origin, are enumerated and quantified in Atong. Example (185) is a part of a recorded speech act of enumerating cards. The classifier is left out when counting above *tham* ‘three’, as is usual during enumeration. The word for ‘money’ in Atong is the Indic loan *taṅka* ‘money, rupee’. I did not record the word for ‘playing card’ but the word for the game is the Indic loan *tas* ‘card game’ (cf. Hindi तलश (tālś)), which in Hindi refers both to the game and to the individual cards.

(185) *khuy sa, khuy ni, khuy tham, bəɾəy* [...]

<i>khuy</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>khuy</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>khuy</i>	<i>tham</i>	<i>bəɾəy</i>
CLF:FLAT.THINGS 1		CLF:FLAT.THINGS 2		CLF:FLAT.THINGS 3		4
‘One [card], two [cards], three [cards], four [cards] [...]						

Table 45 Examples of loans from English (probably through an Indic language) and Indic languages with their classifiers. This is not an exhaustive list.

ASSIMILATED COMMON NOUNS				
Borrowed noun	Meaning	Origin	Classifier	Meaning
<i>sendel</i>	sandal	English ‘sandal’	<i>jora</i>	CLF:THINGS.OCCURRING .IN.PAIRS
<i>longpen</i>	a pair of trousers	English ‘long pants’	<i>khung</i>	CLF: FLAT THINGS
<i>glas</i> (Can also be used as measure noun.)	glass or its contents	English ‘glass’	<i>goy?</i>	CLF:RESIDUE
<i>khap</i> (Can also be used as measure noun.)	cup or its contents	English ‘cup’	<i>goy?</i> , <i>thay?</i>	CLF:RESIDUE, CLF:RECIPIENTS
<i>gari</i>	vehicle	Indic	<i>pan</i>	CLF:APPARATUS
<i>cola</i>	T-shirt, shirt	Indic	<i>khun</i>	CLF:FLAT.THINGS
<i>jama</i>	T-shirt, shirt	Indic	<i>khun</i>	CLF:FLAT.THINGS
<i>khiil</i>	iron nail	Indic	<i>con</i>	CLF:IRON.NAILS
ASSIMILATED MEASURE NOUNS				
<i>inci</i>	‘inch’	English ‘inch’	-	
<i>pit</i>	‘foot’	English ‘feet’	-	

When objects are quantified but not enumerated, a classifier is obligatory with any numeral. The example below is illustrative.

(186) *aydo morot mən? seneaw wet saci so?otna man?gaba.*

[*ay*] =do {[*morot mən?* *sene*] =aw [*wet sa*] =*ci*
 1s =TOP man CLF:HUMANS 7 =ACC turn 1 =LOC
 {*so?ot*}| =*na* {*man?*} =*gaba*}}
 kill =DAT be.able =ATTR

‘I [am] the one who can kill seven men in one go.’

11.4 The position of the classifier

The classifier precedes the numeral. A classifier can be repeated between the last multipliable Round-Number numeral and Unit numeral. This repetition is obligatory with the Units *sa* ‘1’, *ni* ‘2’ and *tham* ‘3’ but is not obligatory for the higher Units, as we can see in the next two examples. In example (187) the classifier for animals, *man*, is repeated before the numeral *ni* ‘2’ but not before *catgak* ‘8’. In example (188) the classifier for trees, *phan*, is not repeated before the numeral *sene* ‘7’.

- (187) *morot manʔay saʔgaba biana tawʔ maŋ rajasa maŋni raʔakno, husəriŋ maŋ rajasa catgək raʔakno.*

[*morot manʔay saʔ =gaba bia*] =*na*
 person in.great.amounts eat =ATTR wedding=DAT

[*tawʔ maŋ raja sa maŋ ni*] {*raʔ-ak*} =*no*
 chicken CLF:ANIMANLS 100 1 CLF:ANIMALS 2 get -COS =QUOT

[*husəriŋ maŋ raja sa catgək*] {*raʔ-ak*} =*no*
 rabbit CLF:ANIMALS 100 1 8 get -COS =QUOT

‘For the wedding of a rich man, [he] got 102 chicken, it is said [and he] got 108 rabbits, it is said.’

- (188) *ie baganci pan phan rumʔ ni sene ganaŋ*

[*ie bagan*] =*ci* [*pan phan rumʔ ni sene*] {*ganaŋ*}
 PRX garden =LOC tree CLF:TREES twenty 2 7 exist

‘There are 47 trees in this garden.’ Literally: ‘In this garden exist 47 trees.’

Classifiers are always used before *khole* (TWENTY) and *kholcaŋ* (TWENTY), as demonstrated in the following examples. In example (189) the word *nok* ‘house’ is an auto-classifier, i.e. a noun that can be quantified without intervention of a classifier (see Chapter 12).

- (189) *niŋ soŋci nok khole nok tham ganaŋ.*

[*niŋ soŋ*] =*ci* [*nok khole nok tham*] {*ganaŋ*}
 1pe village =LOC house TWENTY house 3 exist

‘In our village are 43 houses.’ Literally: ‘In our village exist 43 houses.’

- (190) *morot manʔay saʔgabaci gore maŋ kholcaŋ bəɾəy maŋ sa ganaŋ.*

[*morot manʔay saʔ=gaba*] =*ci*
 person in.great.amounts eat =ATTR =LOC

[*gore maŋ kholcaŋ brəɾəy maŋ sa*] {*ganaŋ*}
 horse CLF:ANIMALS TWENTY 4 CLF:ANIMALS 1 exist

‘A rich man had/has 81 horses.’ Literally: ‘At a man [who] ate/eats in great amounts exist 81 horses.’

The same principle of repetition of the classifier applies in very complex numerals with the incorporated loan numeral *haja* ~ *hajar* ‘1000’, as we can see in the example below.

- (191) *niŋ soŋci morot məŋ? hajal sa raja baŋa khole məŋ? tham ganaŋ.*

[*niŋ soŋ*] =*ci*
1^{pe} village =LOC

[*morot məŋ? hajal sa raja baŋa khole məŋ? tham*]
person CLF:HUMANS 1000 1 100 5 TWENTY CLF:HUMANS 3

{*ganaŋ*}
exist

‘In our village there are 1523 people.’ Literally: ‘In our village exist 1523 people.’

Auto-classifiers, too, have to be repeated between the last multipliable Round-Number numeral and Unit numeral as is illustrated in (189) and with the following example.

- (192) *umikənsaŋ san khole-san sa cəw rəŋkhuənowa. ha?cəksaŋ balcido sal kholgrəksa noay məŋnicəm*

[*u =mi kənsaŋ*] [*san khole san sa*] [*cəw*]
DST =GEN after day 20 day 1 rice.beer

{*rəŋ -khu -a*} =*no -wa*
drink -INCOM-CUST =QUOT -FACT

‘[The rain stopped after 14 days]. After that they continued drinking rice beer for 21 more days, it is said.’

11.5 Syntactic and morphological properties of numerals

Numerals are nominal modifiers and are dependent on classifiers for their modifying function. Classifiers in turn, cannot modify a noun on their own but are not solely dependent on numerals to exercise their modifying function. The distributive enclitic <=*phək*> (DIS), the interrogative morpheme *bəysək* ‘how much/many?’ and the Type 2 adjective *abun* ‘other’ have been observed in place of a numeral after a classifier. Unlike in Languages such as Thai and Chinese, in Atong demonstratives are not used with classifiers to modify NPs, which we can see when we compare Chinese and Atong in (193). In this example we see that Chinese uses a classifier, viz. 个 *ge*, after the distal demonstrative 那 *nèi*, whereas in Atong there is no classifier after the distal demonstrative *ue*.

(193) ‘That girl is pretty’

(a) Chinese:

nèi ge nǚhár hěn piàoliàng

那 个 女孩儿 很 漂亮

DIST CLF girl very pretty

(b) Atong:

ue gawi səl -a

DST girl pretty -CUST

The order of the constituents within a quantified NP is either NOUN CLASSIFIER NUMERAL or CLASSIFIER NUMERAL NOUN. The latter order occurs less often than the previous but is not uncommon. The meaning of the NP is the same regardless of the position of the classifier phrase. Possible pragmatic overtones or differences require further investigation. Only nouns which are auto-classifiers can be modified directly by a numeral. In the case of auto-classifiers the constituent order is fixed NOUN_{auto classifier} NUMERAL (see §12.3). Examples (194) and (195) constitute a minimal pair for the position of the classifier and numeral. In both examples the head of the NP is the first person plural inclusive personal pronoun *naʔnaŋ* (1pi). In (194) the classifier and numeral follow the pronominal head and in (195) they precede the pronominal head.

(194) *ətəkodo naŋnaŋ məŋʔ ni saʔay muʔna manʔnaka*

{ətək -ok} =odo [*naʔnaŋ məŋʔ ni*]
do.like.that-COS =TOP 1pi CLF:HUMANS 2

{saʔ} =ay {muʔ=na {manʔ -naka}
eat =ADV sit =DAT be.able-IFT

‘When [we] will have done like that, us two will certainly be able to sit and eat.’

(195) *hay məŋʔ ni naʔnaŋ kakay saʔna*

[hay] [*məŋʔ ni naʔnaŋ*] {kak} =ay {saʔ -na}
come.on CLF:HUMANS 2 1pi bite =ADV eat -DESI

‘Come on! Us two want/intend to bite and eat [you].’

Case marking is always encliticised to the last constituent of the NP and has scope over the whole NP. Case marking can thus encliticise to a numeral if it is the last constituent of an NP. Example (196) is illustrative of this phenomenon and contrasts with (197), where the noun is the last constituent of the NP and thus receives the case

marking. Example (196) is also an illustration of the use of the residue classifier *goy?*. In this example, *paraŋ* ‘thatch’ could also have been classified with the classifier for culms, *kun?*.

(196) *de? na?a re?ejaŋcido iaw paraŋ goy? saaw kawancəy*

de [na?a] {re?ejaŋ -aŋ} =ci =do
well 2s go.away-PROG =LOC=TOP

[i =aw paraŋ goy? sa] =aw {kaw-an -cəy}
PROX=ACC thatch CLF:RESIDUE **one** =ACC shoot-REF -TRY

‘Well, if you are going, try to shoot this one [culm of] thatch.’

(197) *aŋna məŋ? tham naŋ? sa?aw poraykhalna watetboto.*

[aŋ] =na [məŋ? tham naŋ? sa?] =aw
1s =DAT CLF:HUMANS 3 2s child =ACC

{poray-khal} =na {watet} =bo =to
study -MORE =DAT send =IMP =IMPEMPH

‘For my benefit, do send three of your children to study more.’

Sometimes, phrasal enclitics occur not attached to the last constituent of the NP but only encliticised to the constituent over which they have scope, although this seldom happens in the recorded material. This can be seen in example (198), where the enclitic <=*rara*> (AMONGST) is encliticised to the head of the NP and not the numeral which forms the last constituent. The enclitic has scope only over the noun *boba* (<Indic) ‘crazy person’. Everywhere in the language where an enclitic does not encliticise to the last element in the phrase, it only has scope over constituents that precede it but not over those that follow it.

(198) *te?do ge?theŋtheŋdo, bobarara məŋ?ni golpho ka?rukokno.*

[te?] =do [ge?theŋtheŋ] =do [boba =*rara* məŋ? ni]
now =TOP 3P =TOP crazy.person =AMONGST CLF:HUMANS 2

{golpho kha?-ruk -ok} =no
story do -RC -COS =QUOT

‘Now the two crazy persons gossiped amongst each other.’

In example (199) the scope of the focus/identifier enclitic <=*an*> stretches only over the noun. Example (199) contrasts with (200) where the noun is omitted and the focus identifier appears on the numeral head.

(199) *ucie soŋməŋ morotan məŋ? tham re?eŋəyməŋ [...]*

ucie [*soŋ* =*məŋ* *morot* =*an* *məŋ?* *tham*] {*re?eŋ*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 then village =GEN person =FC/ID CLF:HUMANS 3 go.away =ADV =SEQ
 ‘Then, the three villagers having gone, [...].’

In example (200) the NP *məŋ? korokawan* is headless. The classifier refers to the older brothers of a child who, in the story from which this example is taken, is searching for them.

(200) *phəlgəŋ cunggaba monokrumokno məŋ? korokawan.*

[*phəlgəŋ* {*cuy*} =*gaba*] {*monok -rum -ok*} =*no*
 eagle big =ATTR swallow -ALL -COS =QUOT

[*məŋ?* *korok*] =*aw* =*an*
 CLF:HUMANS 6 =ACC =FC/ID

‘The big eagle had swallowed all 6 persons, it is said.’

When the quantified noun is understood from the context, it can be elided as we see in example (200). What remains after the elision of the noun is a headless NP. The numeral-plus-classifier combination can stand on its own or be preceded by a demonstrative, as we see in example (201).

Demonstratives invariably occur in NP initial position in Atong. When the NP is headless, the demonstrative will remain in that position and may thus precede a classifier-plus-numeral, as we can see in example (201). In this example, the NP *ue məŋ? sa* (DST CLF:HUMANS 1) ‘that (one) person’ refers to a lazy king. The clause is of the equation/identity type with a nominal predicate. The head of the NP that functions as the predicate is ellipsed. What is left in the predicate is an attributive clause (see Chapter 29) indicated between vertical lines.

(201) *teʔawba ue mənɣʔ sa {kam khaʔna haratgaba.}*

-----attributive clause-----
 [teʔew]=ba [ue mənɣʔ sa]_s {[kam] {khaʔ} =na {harat}| =gaba}
 now =EMPHDST CLF:HUMANS 1 work do =DAT reluctant =ATTR
 ‘Now that one is [someone who is] reluctant to do work.’

Auto-classifier noun phrases cannot omit the noun since this would leave the numeral standing on its own without classifier and that would be ungrammatical. The noun *nok* can be used as an auto-classifier, e.g. *nok sa* (house 1) ‘one house’. If *nok* ‘house’ were omitted it would result in ungrammaticality.

Classifier-plus-numeral combinations can function as head of a predicate of an existential clause. This is shown in example (202), where the whole enumeration functions as non-verbal predicate head. Classifier-plus-numeral phrases together with the noun they quantify are not attested together as predicate head. More fieldwork needs to be carried out to find out if such constructions are possible.

(202) *mənɣʔ byryi mənɣʔ baŋa mənɣʔ korokkhua*

{mənɣʔ bərəy mənɣʔ baŋa mənɣʔ korok -khu -a}
 CLF:HUMANS 4 CLF:HUMANS 5 CLF:HUMANS 6 -INCOM -CUST
 ‘There are still four, five, six persons left.’

Quantified NPs can take the plural enclitic <=*daraŋ*> (p). This enclitic makes the quantification approximate, e.g. example (203).

(203) *imi kilomitər kolgəkdəraŋtəkəy niʔwa raŋ.*

[i] =mi [kilomitər kolgək] =dəraŋ =təkəy {niʔ -wa} [raŋ]
 PRX =ABL kilometre 20 =p =VIA/LIKE not.exist-FACT rain
 ‘About twenty kilometres from here there is none, rain.’

Approximation can also be expressed by enumeration. The following example, from a story about incantation, is illustrative. In this example we see that the classifier is present before each numeral. The perlocative/simulative enclitic <=*təkəy*> (VIA/LIKE) is not compulsory in this construction. The context is as follows. There are many people in the village who claim they know how to perform incantations. In reality they don’t know.

(204) *məŋʔ sa məŋʔ-nitəkəy sapa.*

[məŋʔ sa məŋʔ ni] =təkəy {sap -a}
 CLF:HUMANS 1 CLF:HUMANS 2 =VIA/LIKE know-CUST
 ‘One or two actually know.’

The plural enclitic can also be used to reinforce the notion of plurality, of which the next example is illustrative. The context and the use of the delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM) help to interpret the use of the plural enclitic in this case.

(205) *teʔew wenthamdaraŋsa miniksuri baysigane.*

teʔew [wen -tham]=daraŋ=sa {miniksuri -ni} [bayʔsiga] =ne
 now turn -three -p =DLIM flat.haired -FUT friend =TAG
 ‘Now three times [and] you will be flat-haired, friend ok.’ (said the deer to the fox who was bathing in the river but whose hair kept standing up instead of getting flat.)

11.6 Ordinal numbers

Atong and Garo numerals both simple and compound, but not borrowed numerals, can be turned into ordinal numerals with the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR). The result of this process is translated into English with an ordinal numeral. The suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR) is attached to the last element of a numeral.

Ordinal numerals function as modifiers of nouns. The ordinal numeral can precede or follow the noun it modifies with no difference in meaning. However, when the ordinal numeral follows the noun it modifies, it is always accompanied by a classifier preceding the ordinal numeral, whereas the classifier is absent when the ordinal numeral precedes the noun it modifies.

Example (206) is an illustration of an ordinal numeral preceding the noun it modifies. Notice the absence of a classifier. This example contrasts with example (207), where the ordinal numeral accompanied by the classifier follows the noun it modifies.

(206) *sagaba naw nemkhalbutuŋci thəyok.*

[sa -gaba naw] {nem -khal -butuŋ} =ci {thəy-ok}
 1 -ATTR younger.sister good -CP -WHILE =LOC die -COS
 When [my] first younger sister was getting better [she] died.

- (207) *unasa boba mən? sagaba te?ew abun boba nukaysigaakno*

unasa [*boba* *mən?* *sa-gaba*] [*te?ew*] [*abun boba*]
 then crazy.person CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR now other crazy.person

{*nuk -ay* *-siga -ak*} =*no*
 see -TOWARDS -ALT -COS =QUOT

‘The first crazy person now saw another crazy person coming towards him, it is said.’

An ordinal numeral can occur in a headless NP just as a numeral, as we have seen in the previous section. In this function the ordinal number is usually accompanied by a preceding classifier, which limits the scope of reference of the headless NP. This is illustrated in the following example.

- (208) *una mən? sagababa, sa?banthay mən?sagaba, bəcəməkno.*

una [*mən?* *sa-gaba*] =*ba*
 then CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR =EMPH

[*sa? banthay mən?* *sa -gaba*] {*bəcəmə -ok*} =*no*
 child bachelor CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR pull.out -COS =QUOT

‘Then the first [son] pulled out the other son, it is said.’

However, in enumerations the classifier is omitted in headless NPs. Example (209) comes from a text in which the speaker enumerates all the Atong speaking villages. The two clauses presented in this example are of the identity/equation type with a nominal predicate.

- (209) *sagaba Rəndəŋ ha?way. [...] sotbyrisagaba bakmara konagəthum.*

[*sa =gaba*]_S {*rəndəŋ ha?way*}
 1 -ATTR Pname

[*sot -byrisa -gaba*]_S {*bakmara konagəthum*}
 TEN 4 1 -ATTR Pname

‘The first [village is] Rongdyng Ha•wai. [...] The forty first [village is] Baghmara Konagythum.’

As we saw in example (208), the construction [CLF *saga(ba)*] ...[CLF *saga(ba)*] means ‘one... the other’. The following example shows that [CLF *saga(ba)*] on its

own in the appropriate context can also mean ‘the other’. The context is as follows:
Someone comes home late and his children ask where he has been. He answers that he was at their uncle’s house, to which the children reply that he is lying since the uncle had visited them that day and has not left yet. Then the late person replies (210).

(210) *naŋ? away mən? sagami nokcisate!*

[*naŋ?* *away* *mən?* *saga* =*mi*
2s father’s.younger.brother CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR=GEN

nok] =*ci* =*sa* =*te*
house=LOC =DLIM =DCL

‘At your other uncle’s house I say!’

11.7 The numeral *sa* ‘one’: its different functions and grammaticalisations

The morpheme *sa* has several functions which can be seen as grammaticalisations of the numeral *sa* ‘one’. We shall now examine the different functions of this morpheme one by one.

A) Numeral

The numeral may be used to indicate that there is really one item of something, e.g. example (211).

(211) *ue gawici sa? mən? korok ganaŋnoro aro de?theŋ pipukci ganaŋkhua mən? sa, mo.*

[*ue* *gawi*] =*ci* [*sa?* *mən?* *korok*] {*ganaŋ*} =*no* =*ro* *aro*
DST woman=LOC child CLF:HUMANS 6 exist =QUOT=EMPH and

[*de?theŋ* *pipuk*] =*ci* {*ganaŋ-khu -a*} [*mən?* *sa*]
3s belly =LOC exist -INCOM-CUST CLF:HUMANS 1

‘The woman has/had six children, it is said, and in her belly there is/was one more.’

B) Indefinite article

A noun in Atong is not marked for singular or plural and therefore can be interpreted as referring to one or more than one entity. So the clause *matdam saʔ-ak* (otter eat-COS) can mean either ‘the otter had eaten [the fish]’ or ‘the otters had eaten [the fish]’. The numeral *sa* ‘one’ is often used to make the plural reading of a noun impossible. In such cases the meaning of *sa* ‘one’ is more like that of the English indefinite article *a/an*, e.g. (212).

(212) *ucie ramci pheru man sa goronwano.*

ucie [ram] = ci [pheru man sa] {goron-wa} = no
 then road =LOCFOX CLF:ANIMALS one meet -FACT=QUOT
 ‘Then, on the road he met a fox, it is said.’

As an indefinite article, the numeral *sa* ‘one’ is often used to introduce new referents, as is the case in example (212). This function of the numeral one has also been described for Lahu in Matisoff (1982: 87) and it is attested in languages around the world, (see Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2201) and Givón (1981, 1984: 432-35)

C) ‘Other’

The combination CLF one-ATTR means either ‘one.....the other’ if it occurs twice in a row (213), or just ‘the next one, another one’ (214). Any classifier can participate in this construction, as, for example, the auto-classifier (see §12.3) *dol* ‘group’ in (213) and the classifier for humans, *mən*, in (214).

(213) *dol sagaba rajamən jagəsisən dol sagaba rajamən jagarasəntakay muʔni.*

[dol sa -gaba] [raja =mən jagəsi =sən] [dol sa -gaba]
 group 1 -ATTR king =GEN right =MOB group 1 -ATTR
 [raja =mən jagara] =sən =takay {muʔ -ni}
 king =GEN left =LOC=LIKE sit -FUT

‘One group will sit to the king’s left hand side and the other group will sit to the king’s right hand side.’ Literally: ‘the other group will sit king’s-left-sidedly’.

- (214) *məŋʔ saba rəŋokno. məŋʔ sa do rəŋmanokno, jamancakno. ətəkəymuna məŋʔ sagaba rəŋthiriokno. uba jamancano.*

[məŋʔ sa] =ba {rəŋ -ok} =no [məŋʔ sa] =do
CLF:HUMANS 1 =EMPH drink -COS =QUOT CLF:HUMANS 1 =TOP

{rəŋ -man -ok} =no {jam -an -ca -k} =no
drink -ALREADY -COS =QUOT finish -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

ətəkəymuna [məŋʔ sa-gaba] {rəŋ -thiri -ok} =no
so.then CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR drink -AGAIN -COS =QUOT

[u] =ba {jam -an -ca -k} =no
DST=EMPH finish -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

‘One [of the brothers] smoked, it is said. One [of them] has already smoked, [it] is said, [he] did not finish [it], it is said. So then another [brother] smoked, it is said. That one also did not finish it, it is said.’

The next example illustrates the use of the construction CLF one-ATTR meaning ‘one.....the other’, but without the classifier. The noun *soŋ* ‘village’ is not an auto-classifier. The classifier normally used for villages is *dam* (CLF:VILLAGES). The use of this construction without a classifier is only attested for the noun *soŋ* ‘village’.

- (215) *soŋ sagabaaw soŋmoŋ məŋwanowa, soŋ sagabaaw soŋgadal məŋwanowa.*

[soŋ sa -gaba] =aw [soŋmoŋ] {məŋ -wa} =no -wa
village one-ATTR =ACC Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT -FACT

[soŋ sa -gaba] =aw [soŋgadal] {məŋ -wa} =no -wa
village one-ATTR =ACC Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT -FACT

One village was called Songmong, the other village was called Songgadal.

This type of grammaticalisation of the numeral ‘one’ is also attested for the languages Bulu and Yagira, (see Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 223).

D) Delimitative

The delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM) is a grammaticalisation of the numeral one into an enclitic. The delimitative enclitic is found on subordinate clauses, NPs, adverbs, personal pronouns, discourse connectives and demonstratives, and limits the reference of the clause or phrase. The meaning of the morpheme can schematically be represented as ‘only/exclusively/precisely X’.

The following examples show occurrences of the delimitative on a noun functioning as predicate head and on a clause with a verbal predicate head respectively.

- (216) *naŋʔmi jorado naŋʔmi madamsate!*

[*naŋʔ* =*mi* *jora*] =*do*_S {[*naŋʔ* -*mi* *madam*] =*sa*} =*te*
 2s =GEN lover =TOP 2s =GEN female.teacher =DLIM =DCL
 ‘Your lover is no one other than your teacher!’

- (217) *soŋgumukan ue moŋma wana waykhurutaysa boli hənʔaysa manʔay saʔthokwano.*

[*soŋ* =*gumuk*] =*an* [*ue moŋma wa*] =*na* {*way khurut* =*ay*} =*sa*
 village =whole =FC/ID DST elephant tooth =DAT spirit incantate =ADV =DLIM
 {*boli hənʔ*} =*ay* =*sa*
 offering give =ADV =DLIM
 [*manʔay*] {*saʔ -thok -wa*} =*no*
 in.great.amounts eat -everyone -FACT =QUOT
 ‘The whole village, precisely [because] [they] prayed to the elephant tusk [and] precisely [because they] gave offerings, [they] all became rich (lit. ‘[they] all ate in great amounts’), it is said.’

Example (218) illustrates the use of the delimitative enclitic on a quantified NP.

- (218) *morot mənʔsasa bətaŋwano.*

[*morot mənʔ* *sa*] =*sa* {*bət -aŋ -wa*} =*no*
 person CLF:HUMANS one =DLIM lead -AWAY -FACT =QUOT
 ‘Only one man led him away, it is said.’

In the next example we see the distal demonstrative with the delimitative enclitic. The second occurrence of that enclitic is on a headless NP with an attributive clause.

- (219) *rasoŋ manʔay takokno usa, cuncuŋgaraŋsa.*

[*rasoŋ*] {*manʔ*} =*ay* {*tak -ok*} =*no* [*u*] =*sa*
 boasting in.great.amounts =ADV do -COS =QUOT DST =DLIM
 [*cun cun* =*ga*] =*raŋ* (Garó) =*sa*
 big RED =ATTR =P =DLIM
 ‘Those very [ones] boasted a lot [about themselves], it is said, those eldest ones.’

The following example shows an occurrence of the delimitative enclitic on a discourse connective.

(220) *umuŋsa soŋgumuk thomʔaymuŋ haʔba haʔrən haʔrənaw sowalni.*

umuŋ =*sa* [soŋ] =gumuk {thomʔ} =ay =muŋ
then =DLIM village =whole gather =ADV =SEQ

[haʔba] [haʔrən haʔrən] =aw {sowal-ni}
dry.rice.and.vegetable.field plot RED =ACC divide -FUT

‘[In the beginning [they] begin with a general meeting.] Only then, after the whole village has gathered together, will [they] divide the dry rice and vegetable field plot by plot.’

The development of the number *sa* ‘one’ to the delimitative enclitic <=*sa*> (DLIM) might very well have involved a hypothetical intermediate stage in which the morpheme was interpreted in certain contexts as meaning ‘only one, unique’ before it developed further into the delimitative enclitic, which means ‘only, just’.

Chapter 12 Classifiers

In Chapter 1 we have already discussed the following. Classifiers are only used with indigenous Atong numerals and with Garo loan numerals. Classifiers are nominal modifiers in the sense that they limit the number of possible referents of an NP. When the quantified noun is understood from the context, it can be elided, with the result being a headless NP. In a headless NP a classifier cannot take over the syntactic functions of the elided noun in that it cannot take any case or other nominal suffixes. These affixes will go onto the numeral instead, which is always the last element in the headless NP.

In §12.2 of this chapter we look at the different types of classifiers and how they are subcategorised. We will look at the use of classifiers and determine the parameters that determine the choice of a certain classifier with a certain noun. Subsequently, in §12.3 we will look at a subclass of nouns that does not need a classifier to be quantified, the so-called auto-classifiers. In §12.4 we will look at the double function of measure nouns. Section 12.5 treats the origin of the Atong classifiers. All classifiers are given in Table 47 at the end of this chapter, organised according to different semantic and formal categories.

12.1 The syntactic and semantic properties of classifiers

As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, the order of the elements in a quantified NP is either NOUN CLASSIFIER NUMERAL or CLASSIFIER NUMERAL NOUN. The latter order is not frequently attested but by no means uncommon in the language. The meaning of the NP is the same regardless of the position of the classifier phrase. Possible pragmatic overtones or differences require further investigation. Only nouns which are auto-classifiers can be modified directly by a numeral. In the case of auto-classifiers the constituent order is fixed as NOUN_{auto classifier} NUMERAL (see §12.3). Examples (194) and (195) in Chapter 1 constitute a minimal pair for the position of the classifier and numeral.

As is discussed in §11.5, the classifier relies on the following numeral to carry case and other enclitics. As is also mentioned in Chapter 1, numerals are nominal modifiers and are dependent on classifiers for this modifying function. Classifiers, in turn, cannot modify a noun on their own but are not solely dependent on numerals to exercise their modifying function. The distributive phrasal enclitic *<=phek>* (DIS), the interrogative morpheme *bəysək* ‘how much/many?’ and the Type 2 adjective *abun* ‘other’ are attested in place of a numeral after a classifier.

Example (221) below illustrates the most common use of a classifier, i.e. in combination with a numeral after the head noun in the NP.

- (221) *ketketa buraci kəy? maŋ sa ganaŋno*

[ketketa bura] =ci [kəy? man sa] {ganaŋ} =no
 Name =LOC dog CLF:ANIMALS 1 exist =QUOT
 ‘Ketsketa Bura has a dog, it is said.’

A classifier can be used to narrow down the scope of reference of an NP. If the context is sufficiently clear, a classifier can be used without a noun, in which case we have to do with a headless NP. This phenomenon was described and discussed in §11.5. The following example illustrates the use of a classifier without a noun and without a numeral. Instead of a numeral the classifier is followed by the distributive enclitic *<=pek>* (DIS). This is the only recorded example where the long form of the first person personal pronoun, *aŋa* (1s) (see §17.2), is not in A or S but seemingly in oblique function.

- (222) “*aca nanʔtəme aŋa sanci manpek hənʔni* “ *nowano*.

aca [*nanɲ²-təm*] =_{eA} [*ɲa*]OBLIQUE/RECIPIENT [*san*] =_{ci}
interj 2s -ppp =_{FC} 1s day =_{LOC}

[man]_o _____ = pek {*hənʔ-ni*} {*no-wa*} = *no*
CLF:ANIMALS = DIS give -FUT say -FACT = QUOT

“Right then, you^p shall give me one of each animal every day”, [the lion] said, it is said.’

There is one recorded occurrence of a Type 2 adjective directly after a classifier. This is the Type 2 adjective *abun* ‘other’, as we can see in example (223). Since there is

only one recorded occurrence of this type of construction, chances are that it was a mistake of speaker or that we are dealing here with a new emerging construction. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out whether this construction is really productive in Atong or not.

- (223) *boba məŋ?saɣabaci məŋ?abun bobaci te?ewdo bobarara məŋ?ni golpho kha?rukokno*

[*boba məŋ? sa =gaba*] [*məŋ? abun boba*] =*ci*
 crazy.person CLF:HUMANS 1 =ATTR CLF:HUMANS other crazy.person =LOC

[*te?ew*] =*do* [*boba =rara məŋ? ni*]
 now =TOP crazy.person =AMONG CLF:HUMANS 2

{*golpho kha?-ruk -ok*} =*no*
 story do -RC -COS =QUOT

‘The first crazy person to the other crazy person, now, among crazy persons, the two of them gossiped to each other, it is said.’

Example (224) illustrates the occurrence of a classifier with the interrogative morpheme *bəysək* ‘how much/many?’. This postposition can only occur after classifiers (see also §9.9).

- (224) *naŋ?təme goy?bəysək man?phawa ie bəlsie?*

[*naŋ? -təm*] =*e* [*goy? bəysək*] {*man? -pha -wa*}
 2s -ppp =FC CLF:RESIDUE how.many obtain -IN.TOTAL -FACT

[*ie bəlsi*] =*e*
 PRX year =FC

‘How many did you get this year?’ Implied: ‘How many baskets were you able to fill with rice this year?’ (during the rice harvest).

Classifier-plus-numeral combinations can be the head of a predicate of an existential clause, as has been remarked in §11.5 and illustrated by example (202), repeated here as (225). The sentence in this example consists of a coordination of two clauses, each of which contains a headless quantified NP as a predicate. The second clause consists of headless quantified NPs which are in an enumerative relationship to each other, the last one of which is the head of the predicate taking the incompletive and customary aspect suffixes.

(225) *məŋʔthamkhua; məŋʔbərəy məŋʔbanga məŋʔ korokkhua*

{*məŋʔ* *tham -khu -a*} {[*məŋʔ* *brərəy*]

CLF:HUMANS -three -INCOM -CUST CLF:HUMANS four

[*məŋʔ* *bəŋa*] [*məŋʔ* *korok -khu -a*]

CLF:HUMANS five CLF:HUMANS six -INCOM -CUST

‘There are still three persons left; there are still four, five, six persons left.’

12.2 Categories and types of classifiers and their use

Classifiers are divided into two major classificatory categories, viz. sortal, mensural. The sortal classifiers are used for animate, inanimate and count nouns. All classifiers can be divided into two major semantic categories, depending on the animacy of the nouns they can occur with, viz. Animate and Inanimate. Mensural classifiers are only attested with inanimate nouns, while Sortal classifiers occur with both animate and inanimate nouns. The category Animate classifiers is divided into two sub-categories, viz. Humans and Animals. The category Inanimate is in turn split up into smaller groups of classifiers, viz. plants, shape and dimension, consistency, function, mensural, residue, repeater and specific. Mensural classifiers are divided into three subcategories, viz. those classifying objects by arrangement, those classifying objects by both arrangement and shape and those classifying objects by quantity, i.e. volume, length or distance, weight and surface. The categorisation of classifiers is represented in Table 46.

As for group classifiers, there are none. There are two words that mean ‘group’, viz. *dol* and *jinma*. These words are auto-classifiers, i.e. nouns that can be quantified without classifier (see §12.3). These words have all nominal properties. The words *dol* is only attested to refer to groups of people, while *jinma* can be used for both groups of people and of animals.

Mensural classifiers, treated in §12.2.3, below, individuate in terms of quantity (see Lyons 1977:463), while all other categories of classifiers individuate whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is or the way people relate to it (see Lyons 1977:163) and are thus “sortal” classifiers. Sortal classifiers will be treated in §12.2.1. Repeaters, treated in §12.2.2, only occur with compounded NP heads and only very few are attested so far.

Some nouns can take alternative classifiers when they are quantified. The choice of classifier depends on which property of the quantified noun the speaker wants to

focus on or finds most relevant in the context of the utterance, as we shall see in §12.2.4. Not every noun has a fixed classifier. The possibilities of reclassification of the noun referent are discussed in the same section.

Table 46 The categorisation of Atong classifiers

Sortal	—Animate	—humans —animals	
	—Inanimate	—plants —shape and dimension —consistency —function —repeater —specific	
Mensural		—residue	
		—mensural by arrangement —mensural by arrangement and shape	
		—mensural by quantity	—volume —length/distance —weight —surface

It is important not to confuse classifiers with auto-classifiers and measure nouns. The former are a subclass of nouns and the latter are a separate word class. Both will be treated separately below in §12.3 and §12.4 respectively.

12.2.1 Sortal classifiers

The choice of sortal classifier is determined by the inherent physical and semantic properties of the quantified object. First of all, objects are categorised according to animacy into humans, animals and inanimate objects. There is one classifier for all nouns denoting a human, viz. *məŋʔ* (CLF:HUMANS) and one for all nouns denoting animals, viz. *maŋ* (CLF:ANIMALS). It is interesting to note that the classifier for animals is also used for knives and other tools, in which case it can be labelled as (CLF:TOOLS).

About one score of sortal classifiers denoting different types of inanimate objects has been recorded so far. The different semantic categories that determine the choice

of the classifier are plants, shape and dimension, consistency, function, apparatus/appliances.

The classifier *goy?* (CLF:RESIDUE) can be used to classify almost anything in cases where the speaker does not want to use a more specific classifier. This use of *goy?* is illustrated in example (196) in Chapter 1. The classifier *goy?* (CLF:RESIDUE) is also frequently used when the object quantified is a loanword. This is the residue classifier function, e.g. *gari goy? tham* (vehicle CLF:RESIDUE 3) ‘3 vehicles’. The classifier *goy?* (CLF:RESIDUE) is not attested to replace the human or animal classifiers *məŋ?* (CLF:HUMANS) and *maŋ* (CLF:ANIMALS), but can replace Inanimate, and, less frequently, Mensural classifiers. As replacement of a mensural classifier, *goy?* is only attested replacing a volume, e.g. (224).

When counting for the sake of counting the default classifier *roŋ* (CLF:ROUND.THINGS) is used, as has been said in §11.1.1. To put it more specifically, the core semantics of the default classifier *roŋ* is round objects, but it can also have an unspecified referent function i.e. when the speaker does not express a referent (e.g. counting for the sake of counting), whereas the residue classifier *goy?* does not have a core semantic meaning and has both a residue function, to classify nouns that fall outside the semantic domain of certain other classifiers, and a default function, in which *goy?* can be substituted for other classifiers when “the speaker wants to abandon the available precision of a semantically specific classifier in favour of a semantically neutral [one]” (Zubin and Shimojo, 1993: 491).

12.2.2 Repeater classifiers

A repeater classifier can only occur in Atong if this classifier morpheme is the same form as the last morpheme of a compound which is the quantified head of the NP. Not just any noun that is the last morpheme of a nominal compound can occur as a repeater classifier. The number of repeaters seems to be very restricted, since not many of them have been recorded in Atong.

Compounds containing the root *khal* ‘hole’ all take *khal* as a repeater classifier, e.g. *haŋʔkhal khal sa* (cave³³ CLF:HOLES 1) ‘one cave’ and *nakhun khal khal ni* (nose hole CLF:HOLES 2) ‘two nose holes’, but note that *nakhun khal ni* ‘two nose holes’ without classifier is also possible. Note that the compound *na+khal* (to.hear+hole) ‘ear’ is quantified as a limb, viz. *nakhal sam sa* (ear CLF:LIMBS 1) ‘one ear’ and the lexical compound *təy+khal* (water+hole) ‘river’ is quantified with the classifier for roads and rivers, *col*, since it is not seen as a type of hole in the language. There are several other morphemes in the language, both bound and free, that behave similarly to *khal* ‘hole’ in compounds, e.g. the bound morpheme *taŋ* ‘?’³⁴ that only occurs in the noun *koktaŋ* ‘type of basket’ in which the morpheme *kok* ‘basket’ is a recurrent element in many names for baskets. The basket *koktaŋ* is counted by repeating the last morpheme, viz. *koktaŋ taŋ sa* (type of basket CLF:KOKTAŋ-one) ‘one *koktaŋ*’. Another repeater is found for the noun *waʔsuŋ* ‘bamboo cylinder used to cook food in’³⁵ which is counted *waʔsuŋ suŋ tham* ‘three bamboo cylinders used to cook food in’. Table 47 contains an exhaustive list of repeater classifiers so far attested in Atong.

³³ The morpheme *haŋʔ* ‘?’, of which the meaning is unknown, has only been attested in the compound noun *haŋʔkhal* ‘cave’.

³⁴ The morpheme *taŋ* only occurs in the noun *koktaŋ* ‘type of basket’ and might go back to Proto-Tibeto-Burman **taŋ* ‘tense/tight’ (Matisoff 2003: 614) which would mean that it is a tightly woven basket.

³⁵ The word *suŋ* as free morpheme has only been recorded in Atong with the meaning ‘remembrance, thought, mind, brain, intelligence’ and as the repeater morpheme of the only compound it apparently occurs in, viz. *waʔsuŋ* ‘bamboo cylinder (used as container)’. The Atong lexeme *waʔsuŋ* ‘bamboo cylinder (used as container)’ is no doubt cognate with the Garo word */waʔsiŋ/* (phonological representation based on Burling 2004). pronounced [waʔsiŋ], orthography *wa•sing*, with the same meaning. Atong and Garo are very closely related languages and in both languages *waʔ* means ‘bamboo’ and can occur as a free morpheme. In Garo the second element of the compound *waʔ+siŋ* does not occur as a free morpheme or in any other compound. In the Garo dictionary by Nengminza (2001: 232) under the entry “**sing-**” we read: “A numeral prefix [i.e. classifier] used for bamboo cups as **wa[•]sing sing-sa** —one bamboo cup or a bamboo tube.” There is no other entry *sing* in the dictionary. It is conceivable, although speculative, that in an older stage of Atong and Garo there was a word meaning ‘tube, cylinder, receptacle’ that only survived in the compounds *waʔsiŋ* in Garo and *waʔsuŋ* in Atong and as their repeater classifiers.

12.2.3 Mensural classifiers

The mensural classifiers recorded so far have only been used to quantify quantities of inanimate objects. There are three types of mensural classifiers in Atong, viz. **1.** mensural by arrangement, **2.** mensural by arrangement and shape and **3.** mensural by quantity. The choice of the classifier is determined for

- Type 1 only by the arrangement in which a quantity of objects occurs,
- Type 2 by the shape of the objects itself and by the arrangement in which the objects occurs,
- Type 3 only by the quantity in which the objects occur.

Type 3 mensural classifiers can be subdivided into those denoting length or distance, weight, volume and surface.

It is interesting to note that according to Aikhenvald (2003-b: 115) in the majority of the world's languages the choice of a mensural classifier is determined by only two factors, viz. "the quantity, or measure, of an entity, and its physical properties". Atong belongs to this majority of languages. The physical properties that Atong uses to determine the use of a mensural classifier are both temporary, i.e. arrangement, and permanent, i.e. shape.

12.2.4 The relationship between noun and classifier

A classifier can help determine the exact denotation of a noun, i.e. can disambiguate potentially polysemous nouns. Some nouns have alternative choices of classifier depending on which property of the noun is in focus. If a speaker talks about oranges as fruits, he will use the classifier for round things, *ron*, e.g. *naraŋ ron ni* (orange CLF:ROUND.THINGS 2) 'two oranges'. But if a speaker indicates oranges in little heaps on the market, it will be *naraŋ comʔ ni* (orange CLF:HEAPS.OF.SMALL.ROUND.FRUIT.SAND.VEGETABLES 2) 'two heaps of oranges'. There is also the possibility to speak about an orange as a tree, in which case the classifier for trees, *phaŋ*, is used, e.g. *naraŋ phaŋ sa* (orange CLF:TREES 1) 'one orange tree'. An umbrella can be classified as an apparatus when it is closed and as a flat thing when it is open, e.g. *satha pan ni* (umbrella CLF:APPARATUS 2) 'two umbrellas', *satha khuŋ sa* (umbrella CLF:FLAT.THINGS 1) 'one umbrella'. In stories animals are often reclassified as humans because they act like humans, e.g. (226), where the classifier refers to a toad, a frog

and a bird, who together are on their way to beat-up an elephant for destroying their dwellings.

(226) *ətəkəyməŋ məŋʔtham reʔeŋokno.*

ətəkəyməŋ [məŋʔ _____ tham] {reʔeŋ -ok} =no
 so.then CLF:HUMANS 3 go.away-COS =QUOT
 ‘So then the three of them went away.’

Nouns with human referents have to be classified as humans and cannot be classified as something else. Animals can be classified as animals or, in stories, as humans. Nouns that can be classified according to their arrangement can also be classified according to their shape and dimension. Nouns that fall into the function category can also be classified according to their shape and dimension. Nouns that have specific classifiers can be classified with the residue classifier *goyʔ*. Some apparatus can be classified according to their shape and dimension. Nouns which require repeater classifiers cannot be reclassified. More research is needed to find out what the precise dynamics are within the classifier system.

Loan words can be classified by their semantics just like native Atong words. Certain words are more frequently classified by the residue classifier than others and this might be due to the degree with which these loans are integrated into Atong. Moreover, certain semantic classes of borrowed nouns are more frequently classified according to their semantics than others. The borrowed measure nouns *dipot* ‘teapot’, *gylas* ‘glass’ and *khap* ‘cup’ (all English loans), for example, are usually counted with the residue classifier *goyʔ*. Borrowed nouns denoting clothes, like *jama* ‘shirt’, *cola* ‘shirt’, *muja* ‘sock’ (all Indic loans) and *lonpen* ‘long trousers’ (English loan) are classified like other clothes, i.e. with the classifier for flat things *kuŋ* or the classifier for things that occur in pairs *jora*.

12.3 Auto-classifiers

Auto-classifiers are a subclass of nouns that can be quantified without intervention of a classifier. Instead the numeral always directly follows the noun. Auto-classifiers consist of: **1.** Time Nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a unit of time, and **2.** some miscellaneous nouns.

The Time Nouns are *bəlsi* ‘year’, *ja* ‘month’, *nəgəltəy* ‘week’, *san* ‘day’, *khantha* ‘hour’, *minit* ‘minute’ and *sekən* ‘second’. Example (227) shows how the Time Noun *san* ‘day’ is quantified without the intervention of a classifier between it and the compound numeral.

(227) *range san cibəri wawano.*

[*raŋ*] = *e* [*san ci bəri*] {*wa -wa*} = *no*
 rain =FC day 10 4 rain -FACT=QUOT
 ‘the rain rained fourteen days, it is said.’

Examples of other nouns that are auto-classifiers are *wen?* ~ *wet* ‘time, turn’, *nok* ‘house’, *nukhuŋ* ~ *nokhuŋ* ‘roof’, *khal* ‘hole’, *məm?* ‘fist’, *jinma* ‘group’, *dol* ‘group’ and *bəl?* ‘stroke, blow’. The allomorph *wet* ‘time, turn’ appears only before the numeral *sa* ‘one’ and the allomorph *wen?* before all other numerals as well as before *sa* ‘one’. In example (228) we see the noun *bəl?* ‘stroke, blow’ quantified without the intervention of a classifier between it and the numeral.

(228) *ətəkəymuŋ bəl? sa toketokno.*

ətəkəyməŋ [*bəl? sa*] {*tok -et -ok*} = *no*
 so.then blow 1 beat -CAUS-COS=QUOT
 ‘So then [he] gave (Lit. ‘hit’) another blow, it is said.’

Auto-classifiers can be interrogated with the interrogative morpheme *bəysək* ‘how much?, how many?’ just like classifiers. Example (229) illustrates the use of this interrogative morpheme with a Time Noun, while in (230) we see it with a more prototypical noun.

(229) *sanbəysək mu?ni?*

[*san bəysək*] {*mu? -ni*}
 day how.many stay -FUT
 ‘How many days will [you] stay?’

(230) *naŋ? soŋci nokbəysək ganaŋ?*

[*naŋ? soŋ*] = *ci* [*nok bəysək*] {*ganaŋ*}
 2s village =LOC house how.many exist
 ‘How many houses are there in your village?’

Between the last Round-Number numeral and Unit numeral (see §11.1 for the definitions), auto-classifiers can be repeated just as other classifiers, as we saw above in §11.4. Examples (189) and (231) are illustrative. In example (231) the speaker clarifies the vigesimal number by translating it into Garo, in which counting is different.

- (231) *umikənsaŋ san khole san sa cəw rəŋkhuənowa. haʔcəkəsəŋ balcido sal kholgrəkəsa noay məŋnicəm*

[u =mi kənsaŋ] [san khole san sa] [cəw] {rəŋ -khu -a}
 DST=GEN after day TWENTY day 1 rice.beer drink -INCOM-CUST
 =no -wa [haʔcək] =saŋ {bal} =ci =do [sal kholgrək sa]
 =QUOT -FACT Garo =INSTR speak =LOC=TOP day twenty 1
 {no} =ay {məŋ -ni} =cəm
 say =ADV call.a.name -FUT =IRR

‘[The rain stopped after 14 days]. After that they continued drinking rice beer for 21 more days, it is said.’ If [you] say [it] in Garo, [you] would say *sal kholgrək sa*.’

When they are quantified, the auto-classifiers *wet* ~ *wenʔ* ‘time, turn’ and *bəlʔ* ‘stroke, blow’ can function as verbal action classifiers, i.e. a type of adverbial phrase modifying the following predicate, as is illustrated in example (228) with *bəlʔ* ‘stroke, blow’ and in (232) with *wet* ~ *wenʔ* ‘time, turn’.

- (232) *wenʔ ni rəpwacian miniksuru takokno.*

[wenʔ ni] ACTION CLASSIFIER {rəp -wa} =ci =an
 time 2 stay.under.water -FACT =LOC =FC/ID
 [miniksuru] {tak -ok} =no
 be.flat-haired do -COS =QUOT

‘When [he] had stayed under water twice, [his fur] was flat-haired, it is said.’

The noun *nəgəltəy* ‘week’ is counted by partial deletion, viz. fore-clipping (233), and can be made distributive by partial reduplication, i.e. final reduplication of the last syllable: *nəgəltəy-təy* (week-PARTRED) ‘every week’.

(233) *roŋʔsuci nəgəltəysa təyni muʔni.*

[*roŋʔsu*] =*ci* [*nəgəltəy sa*] [*təy* *ni*] {*muʔ-ni*}
 Pname =LOC week one week.PARTIALLY.DELETED.FORM two stay -FUT
 ‘[I] will stay one or two weeks in Rong•su

12.4 Measure nouns

Measure nouns are a potentially open grammatical and semantic subclass of nouns that can function as nouns as well as mensural classifiers. Measure nouns denote receptacles and their volumes. The most frequently used measure nouns are listed below.

khap ‘a cup or the volume of whichever glass or cup is used to serve the substance’
gəlas ‘a glass or the volume of whichever glass is used to serve the substance’
paway ‘a bowl to serve curry in or its volume’
thali ‘a plate or its volume’
botəl ‘a bottle or its volume’

The words *khap* ‘cup’, *gəlas* ‘glass’ and *botəl* ‘bottle’ are English loans and the word *thali* is a Indic borrowing (cf. Hindi थाली (*thālī*)). All nouns denoting pots, pans, plates, jugs and baskets can be used to indicate a volume and are thus measure nouns.

The word *thothak* ‘a drop or its volume’ is the only auto-classifier that can also be used as a mensural classifier. e.g. *thothak sa* ‘one drop (of dew or rain)’, *məkren sam thothak sa* (eye medicine CLF:DROPS 1) ‘one drop of eye medicine’ *məktəy thothak sa* (tear CLF:DROPS 1) ‘one teardrop’.

When measure nouns are used as mensural classifiers denoting a volume, they are preceded by a semantically compatible noun and followed by a numeral, just like other classifiers. When measure nouns are used as nouns denoting an object, they can be quantified themselves with the right classifier. The following example shows the word *thali* ‘plate’ being used as a mensural classifier to indicate a number of platefuls.

(234) *uci thalibaŋa sʔakno may.*

uci [*thali* *baŋa*] {*saʔ -ak*} =*no* [*may*]
 then CLF:PLATEFUL 5 eat -COS =QUOT rice
 ‘Then he ate five plates of rice, it is said.’

The next examples illustrate the use of the morpheme *khap* ‘cup’ as a classifier in (235) and as a noun in (236).

(235) *ca khap bəɾəy hənʔbo.*

<u>[ca</u>	<u>khap</u>	<u>bəɾəy]</u>	{	<i>hənʔ</i>	}	= <i>bo</i>
tea	CLF:CUPFUL	4		give		=IMP
‘Give four cups of tea.’						

(236) *khap goyʔ ni bayʔok.*

<u>[khap</u>	<u><i>goyʔ</i></u>	<u>ni]</u>	{	<i>bayʔ</i>	-ok}
cup	CLF:RESIDUE	2		break	-COS
‘[He] has broken two cups.’					

When the measure nouns are quantified in their function as noun, denoting an object and not a volume, they are used with their own classifiers. For most measure nouns, but especially for the borrowed ones, the residue classifier *goyʔ* is normally used. There is also a special classifier for receptacles, viz. *thayʔ*, that can be used for all measure nouns, but some measure nouns use other classifiers. The basket *koktaŋ* ‘type of basket’ uses a repeater classifier, e.g. *koktaŋ taŋ ni* (type of basket CLF:KOKTAŋ-two) ‘two *koktaŋ*’.

12.5 The origin of classifiers in Atong

The origin of the Atong classifiers lies in both nouns and verbs. This makes it a system of classifiers of mixed origin (see Aikhenvald 2003-b: 352-67). Some of these nouns and verbs are still attested in the modern language and some might now have become obsolete. The classifier for cylindrical objects and long sharp or pointy things, *-phoŋ*, comes from the still attested noun *phoŋ* ‘wooden handle for big knives, axes and spears’. Some classifiers correspond to nouns that are only attested with a fossilised prefix. The classifier for animals, knives and tools, *maŋ*, and the one for spoken things, *məŋ*, for example, correspond to the nouns *bimaŋ* ‘body, appearance’ and *bimaŋ* ~ *bimuŋ* ‘name’ respectively, in which *bi-* is a fossilised prefix. It has to be noted that the vowel variation /i ~ u/ that exists for the noun *bimaŋ* ~ *bimuŋ* ‘name’ does not occur in the classifier, which has only one shape, i.e. *məŋ*. Some classifiers come from nouns that are only attested as bound morphemes in compounds. The

classifier for villages, *dam*, for instance, corresponds to the bound morpheme *dam* ‘place’ found in the compounds *jabol-dam* (garbage-place) ‘garbage heap’ and *ca?wek-dam* (chaff-place) ‘place where the chaff is thrown after winnowing the rice’.

Loans have also been attested among the classifiers, especially among the mensural ones. Most loans come from English, e.g. *keji* ‘kilogram’, *sentimitər* ‘centimetre’, *peket* (< English: packet) ‘classifier for packets’ and *layn* (< English: line) ‘classifier for a collection of items lined up inside packets or on shelves’. One Indic loan has been detected so far, viz. the classifier for things that occur in pairs (not body parts), *jora*. This classifier corresponds to the Hindi noun जोड़ा (*joṭā*) ‘pair’. In its use as a noun in Atong, *jora* means ‘match in love’.

Some nouns have grammaticalised into both classifiers and event specifiers, e.g. the nouns *thon?* ‘half (the result of a cut across the width)’ and *phak* ‘side, half (the result of a cut along the length or longitudinal cut)’. The classifiers that are derived from these nouns are *thon?* ‘classifier for cylindrical objects and for halves of objects cut across the width’ and *phak* ‘classifier for parts of objects that are the result of a cut along the length or longitudinal cut’. Examples of the use of these classifiers are given in Table 47 below. The corresponding event specifiers are *–thon?* ‘V in half’, and *–phak* ‘V by the side of something, V side by side, V for a little while’, where V stands for any semantically compatible verb.

Some classifiers correspond to verbs as well as nouns. The classifier for small round objects etc., *roŋ* (without glottal prosody), probably derived from the noun *roŋ?* ‘stone’ (with glottal prosody) and corresponds to the verb *roŋroŋ-* ‘to roll’, in which we see the syllable used for the classifier reduplicated. The classifier for things that are like a fist, *məm?*, corresponds to the noun *məm?* ‘fist’ and to the verb *məm?* ‘to be like a fist’. The above-mentioned classifier for spoken things, *məŋ*, has a corresponding verb *məŋ* ‘to call somebody/something a name’ and noun *biməŋ* ~ *biməŋ* ‘name’.

For two classifiers no corresponding noun is attested but only a corresponding verb. These are the classifier for small heaps of round fruits and vegetables, *com?*, and the mensural classifier for armfuls, *khabak*, which correspond to the verbs *com* ‘to stack, pile up’ (without glottal prosody) and *khabak* ‘to embrace’ respectively.

The attested nouns and verbs corresponding to classifiers are represented in Table 47 below.

Table 47 List of classifiers

Organised according to their functional properties, and examples. Where possible, the corresponding verb, noun or event specifier is given with the example.

Animate	Humans	<i>məŋʔ</i>	classifier for humans
	Animals	<i>maŋ</i>	classifier for animals, knives and tools <i>bəthəy maŋ sa</i> ‘one porcupine’, <i>cawʔkəy ~ caŋʔkuy maŋ sa</i> ‘one big knife’ NOUN: <i>bimaŋ</i> ‘body (of human or animal)’
Inanimate			
	Plants	<i>phaŋ</i>	classifier for trees and flowers, culms and stalks <i>samsi phaŋ sa</i> ‘one culm of grass’ <i>naraŋ phaŋ sa</i> ‘one orange tree’
	Shape and dimension	<i>phek</i>	classifier for branches of trees <i>dala phek sa</i> ‘a smaller but not very small branch of a tree and not directly derived from the trunk’
		<i>roŋ</i>	classifier for small round objects, money, small stones, seeds, stones in a game (when they have a value) and fruits, default classifier for counting for the sake of counting <i>naraŋ roŋ sa</i> ‘one orange’, <i>tanka roŋ cəyɡək</i> ‘ten rupees’ NOUN: <i>roŋʔ</i> ‘stone’ VERB: <i>roŋroŋ-</i> ‘to roll’ Notice that the noun has a glottal prosody which is absent on the classifier and the verb.
		<i>phak</i>	classifier for parts of objects that are the result of a cut along the length or longitudinal cut <i>aŋ bucot=aw phak tham kanʔ-ni</i> (1s mango=ACC CLF:LONGITUDINAL.CUTS three cut-FUT) ‘I will cut the mango in three pieces.’ NOUN: <i>phak</i> ‘side, half/slice/part which is the result of a longitudinal cut’ also found in the compounds <i>dəkəm phak</i> ‘place where the head is’ and <i>caʔ+phak</i> ‘thigh’ EVENT SPECIFIER: <i>-phak</i> ‘to VERB lengthwise, to VERB by the side of something, to VERB side by side, to VERB for a little while, to VERB partly’

Table 47 continued (a)

Inanimate	shape and dimension (continued)	<i>thoŋ?</i>	classifier for cylindrical objects and for parts of objects cut across the width <i>batəri thoŋ? berəy</i> 'four batteries' NOUN: <i>thoŋ</i> 'half (the result of a cut across the width)' EVENT SPECIFIER: <i>-thoŋ?</i> 'to VERB in half (crosswise)'
		<i>kun?</i>	classifier for culms <i>paraŋ kun? sa</i> 'one culm of thatch' NOUN: <i>kun?</i> 'stick'
		<i>khuy</i>	classifier for flat things, clothes, written things and pictures, even when the pictures appear on a computer screen <i>citi khuy ni</i> 'two letters', <i>loŋpen khuy sa</i> 'one pair of trousers' NOUN: <i>khuy</i> carapace, the shell of a crab, tortoise etc.
		<i>məm?</i>	auto-classifier for fists and classifier for things that are like a fist (cf. Dutch 'gebald') <i>məm? ni</i> 'two fists' NOUN: <i>məm?</i> 'fist' VERB: <i>məm?</i> - 'to be like a fist', (in Dutch: 'gebald zijn')
		<i>dot</i>	classifier for long cylindrical things like logs (of wood), candles and bananas <i>wa? dot sa</i> 'one culm of bamboo', <i>kendel dot sa</i> 'one candle', <i>pan dot sa</i> 'one log (of wood)'
		<i>thut ~ thun</i>	classifier for big spherical things, stones, bricks, rocks, heads, hills, mountains and bars of soap <i>ha?bəri thut sene</i> seven hills, mountains <i>sabun thut sa</i> one bar of soap <i>dəkəm thut sa</i> 'one head' <i>roŋ?thay thut tham</i> 'three stones/rocks'
		<i>phoŋ</i>	classifier for cylindrical objects and for long sharp or pointy things NOUN: <i>phoŋ</i> 'wooden handle for big knives, axes and spears'
		<i>təŋ</i>	classifier for long thin things like ropes, chains and hair BOUND MORHEME IN NOUNS: <i>pi?-təŋ</i> (?-string) 'thread' <i>ray-təŋ</i> (reed-string) 'clothes line', <i>puk-təŋ</i> (belly-string) 'small intestine' <i>wa?-təŋ</i> (bamboo-string) 'bamboo string'

Table 47 continued (b)

Inanimate	shape and dimension (continued)	<i>khaw?</i>	classifier for teeth, planks, sheets of corrugated iron for roofs and flattened bamboos used to make mats (<i>jəw?</i>) when they are in a mat (<i>damdəl</i>) <i>damdəl khaw? sa</i> ‘one <i>jəw?</i> of a <i>damdəl</i> ’, <i>wa khaw? ni</i> ‘two teeth, two tusks’, <i>tota khaw? tham</i> ‘tree planks’, <i>tin khaw? brərəy</i> ‘four sheets of corrugated iron’
		<i>khap</i>	classifier for flat materials <i>tota khap sa</i> ‘one plank’ <i>tin kahp sa</i> ‘one sheet of corrugated iron’ <i>damdəl khap sa</i> ‘one bamboo mat used for the side of a house’
		<i>kep</i>	classifier for small flat things <i>biskut kep sa</i> ‘one biscuit’
		<i>geŋ</i>	classifier for long vegetables <i>rasunok geŋ sa</i> ‘one spring onion’
		<i>jora</i>	classifier for things that occur in pairs <i>sendel jora sa</i> ‘one pair of sandals’ <i>mu?thay jora sa</i> ‘one pair of breasts’ <i>məkren jora sa</i> ‘one pair of eyes’ NOUN: <i>jora</i> ‘match in love’ (< Indic, cf. Hindi जोटा (<i>joṭā</i>) ‘pair’)
	Consistency	<i>phel</i>	classifier for baked things <i>barata phel sa</i> ‘one flat bread’ <i>biskut phel sa</i> ‘one biscuit’
	Function	<i>phat</i>	classifier for cloths <i>ri?pan phat sa</i> ‘one cloth’
		<i>thay?</i>	classifier for receptacles, e.g. jugs, boxes etc. <i>boyom thay? sa</i> ‘one jug’ <i>dipot thay? sa</i> ‘one teapot’ <i>khap thay? sa</i> ‘one cup’ <i>ge?thenj boiom thay? ni bay?ok</i> . ‘He broke two jugs.’ NOUN: <i>thay?</i> ‘fruit’
		<i>pan</i>	classifier for apparatus, appliances, mechanical and electrical things, cars, bikes, bicycles, mortars and umbrellas <i>radio pan sa</i> ‘one radio’ <i>satha pan sa</i> ‘one umbrella’ <i>gari pan sa</i> ‘one car’ <i>thep pan sa</i> ‘one tape’, <i>tibi pan sa</i> ‘one TV’, <i>asam pan tham</i> ‘three mortars’
Inanimate/ Mensural	Residue	<i>goy?</i>	residue classifier e.g. (196), (224) and (236)
Inanimate	Mensural by arrangement	<i>sat</i>	classifier for bundles <i>garu sat tham</i> ‘three bundles of mustard leaves’

Table 47 continued (c)

Inanimate	Mensural by arrangement (continued)	<i>ali</i>	classifier for small heaps or piles of things <i>naray ali tham</i> ‘three piles of oranges’
		<i>cok</i>	classifier for bunches or small heaps <i>jaʔrət cok sa</i> ‘one small heap of chillies’ <i>rasunok cok sa</i> ‘one bundle of spring onions’
		<i>thayʔ</i>	classifier for boxes and other receptacles <i>boyom thayʔ sa</i> ‘one jug’ <i>dipot thayʔ sa</i> ‘one teapot’ <i>khap thayʔ sa</i> ‘one cup’ NOUN: <i>thayʔ</i> ‘fruit’
		<i>thom</i>	classifier for things in heaps or piles <i>jəwʔ thom sa</i> a pile of flattened bamboo used to make mats
		<i>tum</i>	classifier for packets
		<i>peket</i>	classifier for packets <i>sigəret peket sa</i> ‘one packet of cigarettes’ NOUN: <i>peket</i> (< English) ‘packet’
		<i>thep</i>	classifier for heaps and small packets
		<i>phan</i>	classifier for food packed in bundles in <i>rayʔcak</i> ‘big leaf used to pack food’
		<i>layn</i>	classifier for a collection of items lined up inside packets or on shelves NOUN: <i>layn</i> (< English) ‘line’
	Mensural by arrangement and shape	<i>hasot</i>	classifier for bundles of things with stalks <i>raʔsun hasot sa</i> ‘one bundle of onions’ (that have stalks)
		<i>comʔ</i>	classifier for small heaps of round fruits and vegetables the way they are presented at the market <i>naray comʔ ni hənʔbone.</i> (orange CLF:PILES-two give=IMP-TAG) ‘Give two little piles of oranges.’ VERB: <i>com-</i> ‘to stack, to pile up, to fuck’ (NB. no glottal stop in the verbal root)

Table 47 continued (d)

Inanimate	Mensural by quantity	volume	<i>khabak</i>	an armful VERB: <i>khabak</i> - ‘to embrace’		
			<i>khatom</i>	classifier for bagsful <i>raʔsunok khatom sa</i> ‘one bagful of spring onions’		
			<i>cakwak</i>	classifier for handfuls <i>roŋʔ cakwak citsa</i> ‘eleven handfuls of stones’		
			<i>litər</i>	‘litre’	(English loans)	
	<i>inci</i>	‘inch’				
		length/distance	<i>pit</i>	‘the length of two fists and two thumbs when one joins the thumbs at the tip while making fists’ (possibly an English loan cf. <i>feet</i>)		
			<i>mək</i>	‘the length from the elbow to the top of the middle finger’		
			<i>maynəm</i>	‘length from the elbow to the top of the fist’		
			<i>khuru</i>	‘length from the top of the thumb to the top of the middle finger when one puts one’s hand down on the table on these points’		
			<i>bawaŋ</i>	‘length of the widely stretched arms and hands’		
			<i>caʔpha</i>	‘a foot-length’ NOUN: <i>caʔ</i> ‘leg/foot’, <i>pha</i> ‘sole of the foot’; <i>caʔpha</i> ‘foot-sole’		
			<i>sentimitər</i>	‘centimetre’	(English loans)	
			<i>mitər</i>	‘metre’		
			<i>kilomitər</i>	‘kilometre’		
			weight	<i>grem</i>		‘gram’
				<i>keji</i>		‘kilogram’
		<i>mon</i>		‘weight unit of 40 kg’		
			<i>dora</i>	‘weight unit of 5 kg’		
			surface	<i>bikha</i>	classifier for surfaces of 80 by 80 <i>pit</i> . (A <i>pit</i> is the length of two fists and two thumbs when one joins the thumbs at the tip while making fists)	

Table 47 continued (e)

Inanimate	SPECIFIC	<i>təm</i>	classifier for fields <i>haʔba təm ni</i> ‘two dry rice and vegetable fields’
		<i>məŋ</i>	classifier for spoken things, games and of the word <i>bostu</i> ‘thing’ (< Indic, cf. Hindi वस्तु (vastu) ‘object, thing’) <i>khata məŋ ni</i> ‘two words’, <i>golpho məŋ ni</i> ‘two stories’, <i>gīt məŋ ni</i> ‘two songs’ <i>bostu məŋ tham</i> ‘three things’ VERB: <i>məŋ-</i> ‘to call somebody/something a name’ NOUN: <i>biməŋ ~ bimun</i> ‘name’
		<i>col</i>	classifier for ways, roads, paths and rivers <i>təykhəl col ni</i> ‘two rivers’, <i>ram col tham</i> ‘three roads, paths’, <i>sorok col brəray</i> ‘four roads’
		<i>khan</i>	classifier for log boats <i>ruŋ khan ni</i> ‘two boats’
		<i>coŋ</i>	classifier for iron nails <i>khiil coŋ sa</i> ‘one (iron) nail’
		<i>dam</i>	classifier for villages <i>soŋ dam ni</i> ‘two villages’ BOUND NOUN: <i>-dam</i> ‘place’ found in words like <i>jabol-dam</i> (garbage-place) ‘garbage heap’ and <i>caʔwek-dam</i> (chaff-place) ‘place where the chaff is thrown after winnowing the rice’
		<i>tum</i>	classifier for places <i>hap tum-bəysək?</i> (place CLF:PLACES-how.many) ‘How many places?’
		<i>tuy</i>	classifier for things like bridges <i>doloŋ tuy sa</i> ‘one bridge’
		<i>sam</i>	classifier for limbs: hands, arms, legs, feet, ears and tires <i>nakhəl sam sa</i> ‘one ear’, <i>caʔ sam sa</i> ‘one leg/foot’, <i>tayər sam ni</i> ‘two tires’
		<i>khap</i>	flat piece of hard material like stone or metal, classifier for flat pieces of hard material <i>soʔrekhap khap ni</i> two pieces of mica NOUN: flat piece of hard material like stone or metal
		<i>they</i>	classifier for pieces of meat <i>maʔsu+randay they sa</i> (cow+meat CLF:PIECES.OF.MEAT one) ‘one piece of beef’

Table 47 continued (f)

Inanimate	specific (continued)	<i>khaw</i>	classifier for teeth <i>wa khaw sa</i> ‘one tooth’
		<i>ciŋ</i>	classifier for bamboo shoots <i>may?wa ~ maywa? ciŋ sa</i> ‘one bamboo shoot’
	Repeater	<i>khal</i>	classifier for orifices, holes and caves <i>haŋ?khal khal ni</i> ‘two caves’, <i>nakhun?khal khal ni</i> ‘two nose holes’ (<i>nakhun?khal ni</i> ‘two nose holes’ is also possible) NOUN: <i>khal</i> ‘hole’
		<i>suy</i>	classifier for hollow cylinders <i>wa?suy suy tham</i> ‘three bamboo cylinders’ BOUND MORPHEME IN NOUN: <i>wa?suy</i> ‘bamboo cylinder used to cook food in’ (<i>wa?</i> ‘bamboo’, for <i>suy</i> see the footnote 35 in §12.2.2)
		<i>taŋ</i>	classifier for <i>koktaŋ</i> ‘type of basket’ <i>koktaŋ taŋ ni</i> ‘two <i>koktaŋ</i> ’
		<i>cak</i>	classifier for leaves <i>pancak cak sa</i> ‘one leaf’ NOUN: <i>cak</i> ‘hand’ <i>pan+cak</i> (tree+hand) ‘leaf’

Chapter 13 Postpositions

Postpositions occur after the NP and the case marking enclitic they occur with. Five postpositions are attested in Atong, viz. *dakaŋ* ‘before’, *kənsaŋ* ‘after’, *gəməŋ* ‘because of, about’, *dabat* (LIMIT) ‘since, until’ and *thəlʔ* ‘up to’, treated separately below in this order. Except for *gəməŋ* ‘because of, about’ and *dabat* ‘(LIMIT)’, the other postpositions also have other functions in the grammar. Some aspects of *dakaŋ* and *kənsaŋ* are treated in Chapter 1. *thəlʔ* also exists as a verb meaning ‘go very far’.

13.1 The postposition *dakaŋ*

As a postposition, *dakaŋ* is only attested followed by the focus identifier/enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) The complement NP is marked by the dative case enclitic, as we can see in the example below.

- (237) *naŋʔtəm̩mi naŋgabaaw naŋʔtəm̩mi piʔaydoŋabaaw, naŋʔna dakaŋan phetaŋok, naŋʔna dakaŋan udo reʔeŋsawok*

[[*naŋʔ -təm̩*]=*mi* {*naŋ*} =*gaba*]=*aw*
2s -ppp =GEN need =ATTR =ACC

[*naŋʔ-təm̩*]=*mi* {*piʔ-aydoŋ*} =*gaba*] =*aw*
2s -ppp =GEN ask -PROG =ATTR =ACC

[[*naŋʔ =na*] *dakaŋ*]=*an* {*phet -aŋ -ok*}
2s =DAT before =FC/ID arrive -AWAY -COS

[[*naŋʔ =na*] *dakaŋ*]=*an* [*u*] =*do* {*reʔeŋ -saw -ok*}
2s =DAT before =FC/ID DST=TOP leave -CERTAINLY -COS

‘[The curse] which you^p needed, which you^p were asking for, had arrived before you [and] it has certainly left before you.’

Dative-marked clauses functioning as complement of this postposition are treated in §27.3.

13.2 The postposition *kənsaŋ*

The postposition *kənsaŋ* occurs with the genitive, as is illustrated by example (238) and (239). Example (658) (in §24.5) illustrates a clause functioning as complement of this postposition.

(238) *teʔewdo paŋʔa bəlsidarangmi kənsaŋan [...] ue way alaga soŋsaŋ jaləŋokno.*

[*teʔew*]=*do* [[*paŋʔ* -*a* *bəlsi*]=*daraŋ* =*mi* ***kənsaŋ***]
 now =TOP many -CUST year =p =GEN later
 [*ue way*] [*alaga soŋ*] =*saŋ* {*jal* -*aŋ* -*ok*} =*no*
 DST spirit other village =MOB run.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT

‘Now, many years later, [because the village of Siju has gotten dirty,] that spirit has run away to another village, it is said.’

(239) *umi kənsaŋ san khole san sa cəw rəŋkhuwanowa.*

[*u* =*mi* ***kənsaŋ***] [*san khole san sa*] [*cəw*]
 DST=GEN after day twenty -day one liquor
 {*rəŋ -khu -wa*} =*no* -*wa*
 drink -INCOM-FACT =QUOT -FACT

‘After that [the people of Badri] drank liquor for twenty one more days, it is said.’

13.3 The postposition *gəməŋ*

Examples (240) and (241) below are illustrative of the use of the postposition *gəməŋ* ‘reason, about’. Clauses of which the predicate carries the factitive suffix <-*wa*> (FACT) also take the genitive when they function as complement of this postposition, as we can see in example (657) in §24.5. The only phrasal enclitic that is attested to occur after this postposition is the delimitative <=*sa*> (DLIM).

(240) *ətəkəyməŋ geʔtheŋe alu kobi habijabi ətəkəy samcakraŋməŋgəməŋ bagan takwano.*

ətəkəyməŋ [*geʔtheŋ*]=*e* [*alu kobi habijabi ətəkəy*]
 so.then 3s =FC potato cabbage all.sorts like.that
samcak =*raŋ* (Garó) =*məŋ* ***gəməŋ*** [*bagan*] {*tak -wa*} =*no*
 vegetable =p =GEN reason garden make-FACT =QUOT

‘So then, because of potatoes, cabbage and all kinds of vegetables like that, he made a garden, it is said’

(241) *uan joramigəmən co?sa golpho ka?etwa.*

[*u* =*an* *jora* =*mi* ***gəmən***] [*co?sa*] {*golpho* *kha?* -*et* -*wa*}
 DST=FC/ID love.match=GEN about a.little story do -CAUS -FACT
 ‘I have a little bit told a story about that love match.’

There are two recorded occurrences of an accusative-marked postposition phrase, both by the same speaker, represented in examples (242) and (243). A possible analysis is that the accusative-marking means that this speaker considers *gəmən* to be a noun and head of the NP. In this case the accusative indicates that the NP is definite and referential. The accusative-marked argument of the verb *bal* ‘to say, tell, speak’ is always the person or thing talked about, e.g. *morotdaraŋ naŋ?=**aw** bal-aydoŋ* (person 2s=ACC tell-FUT) ‘People are talking about you.’ The lexeme *gəmən* only occurs in genitive constructions after other NPs and never on its own as lexical item.

(242) *aŋa imigəmənaw baletni.*

[*aŋa*] [*i* -*mi* ***gəmən***] =*aw* {*bal* -*et* -*ni*}
 1s PRX =GEN about =ACC tell -CAUS -FUT
 ‘I will tell about this.’

(243) *aŋa ie dakaŋmi acu ambimigəmənaw baletni.*

[*aŋa*] [*ie* *dakaŋ* =*mi* *acu* *ambi* =*mi* ***gəmən***] =*aw*
 1s PRX in.the.past =GEN grandfather grandmother =GEN about =ACC
 {*bal* -*et* -*ni*}
 tell -CAUS -FUT
 ‘I will tell about the ancestors of long ago.’

13.4 The limitative postposition *dabat*

The limitative postposition *dabat* (LIMIT) indicates a temporal limit and marks both the Source, e.g. (244), and the Goal, e.g. (245). To indicate a spatial Source limit, the complements of this postposition, e.g. time words, demonstratives and nouns, have to be genitive-marked.

(244) *umi dabatsa iawe dabat məɾwanoro.*

[*u -mi dabat*]=*sa* [*i*] =*aw* =*e* [*dabat*]
DST=GEN LIMIT =DLIM PRX =ACC=FC Pname

{*məɾ -wa*} =*no* =*ro*
call.a.name -FACT =QUOT =EMPH

‘Since then this [place] is called Dabat.’

(245) *tayʔnimi dabat naɳʔməɳan baju takcaka.*

[*tayʔni =mi dabat*] [*naɳʔ*]=*məɳ* =*an* {*baju tak -ca -ka*}
today =GEN LIMIT 2s =COM =FC/ID friend do -NEG -INCOM
‘From today onward [I] will not be your friend any more.’

Predicates of clauses functioning as complement of this postposition take the factitive suffix <-wa>, e.g. (246), (247). Since the factitive-marked verb does not take any case marking, I analyse this as a complementation strategy in which the verb and its arguments, if any, become the complement of the postposition. This is the same complementation strategy as the strategy that is used for the verbs like *macot*- ‘to finish’ and *jam*- ‘to finish’, which also take factitive-marked verbal complements, (see §24.3).

Complement clauses for which the predicate head is factitive-marked do not (usually) take any case marking and therefore rely on another mechanism to determine whether the construction should be interpreted as a temporal Source or Goal. This mechanism is polarity. Atong can use the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG) in non-negative contexts to indicate that an event has not been realised yet. Negated verbs do not take the factitive suffix, which can be seen in example (246). In example (246) the negation is put in to signal that the event denoted by the verb has not been realised yet, and not to express negative polarity. In the corpus collected for this grammar there are not many instances of this emphatic use of the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG), but enough to ensure its function in clearly positive clauses.

- (246) “*ətakciba naʔa angna aro aɲməŋ jəkna naŋʔ kheŋwa dabat aŋ thəyca dabat aŋaw muʔay saʔna hənʔbo*” *nookno*.

ətakciba [naʔa] [aŋ] =na aro [aŋ =məŋ jək] =na
but 2s 1s =DAT and 1s =GEN spouse =DAT

[[naŋʔ] {kheŋ -wa} dabat] [[aŋ] {thəy-ca} dabat]
2s live -FACT LIMIT 1s die -NEG LIMIT

[aŋ] =aw {muʔ} =ay {saʔ} =na {hənʔ} =bo {no -ok} =no
1s =ACC stay =ADV eat =DAT give =IMP say-COS=QUOT

“‘However, you keep giving me and my wife to eat as long as you live until I die’, [he] said, it is said.’ Alternatively in French: ‘jusqu’à je ne meure’.

The use of the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG) to signal that an event has not yet been realised is the same as the function of the ‘ne explétif’ in French, as we can see in the alternative translation of (246).

The use of the expletive negative to indicate a Goal clause is optional. Example (247) below shows that the verb *sok-* ‘to succeed, to hold out’, which is the predicate of the clausal complement of the postposition *dabat*, is not negative-marked and can still only be interpreted as the Goal.

- (247) *ətakəyməŋ pherudo rəpaŋthiriokno. phalthaŋ sokwa dabatdo təynəŋʔci roŋʔci pəyʔayməŋ wa khuʔceŋphinʔay sakcikaydokno pheruba*.

ətakəyməŋ [pheru]=do {rəp -aŋ -thiri -ok} =no
so.then fox =TOP be.in.the.water-AWAY -AGAIN -COS=QUOT

[[phalthaŋ] {sok -wa} dabat] =do [təy nəŋʔ] =ci
self hold.out -FACT LIMIT =TOP water inside =LOC

[roŋʔ] =ci {pəyʔ} =ay =məŋ
stone =LOC hold.on.to =ADV =SEQ

{wa khuʔceŋ -phinʔ} =ay
tooth bite.teeth.firmly.together -FULLY=ADV

{sak =cik -aydok} =no [pheru]=ba
bear -AS.LONG.AS.YOU.CAN-PROG =QUOT fox =EMPH

‘So then the fox soaked in the water again, it is said. Until [he] could not hold out any longer, [he] sat under water as long as [he] could bear [it], holding on to a stone and biting [his] teeth firmly together, it is said.’

There is one recorded instance of a factitive complement clause taking case marking to indicate that the event is a Goal. This example, presented here below, comes from

an epic story told in an unusually complicated register and translated from Garo. The verb *tak-* ‘to do’ is nominalised with the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) and on top of that we see the locative <=ci> (LOC) and allative <=na> (ALL).

(248) *thot thəŋʔthot takwacina dabat səkromayməŋ khanetsigaaydoŋno.*

[[*thot thəŋʔthot*] {*tak -wa*} =ci =na *dabat*]

drop last.drop do -FACT =LOC=ALL LIMIT

{*səkrom*} =ay =məŋ {*khan -et -siga -aydoŋa*} =no
hold.the.whole.body=ADV =SEQ poor -CAUS -ALT -PROG =QUOT

‘Until the last drop (was done) he in turn is poring [the liquor into her mouth] holding her whole body.’

As can be noted from the above examples, the postposition *dabat* (LIMIT) can take the delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM), as in (244), or the topic enclitic <=do> (TOP), as in (247). It is not attested with any other enclitics.

13.5 The limitative postposition *thəlʔ*

The postposition *thəlʔ* ‘up to, until’ governs the genitive and marks a spatial boundary, as is illustrated in example (249).

(249) *ie caʔmasaŋmi way khurucido, ue həysaŋmiaw baŋgəladəsmi thəlʔ koŋosmi jaria haʔgəlsakgumukawan məŋani.*

[*ie caʔmasaŋ* =mi *way*] {*khurut*} =ci =do [*ue*
PROX downstream=GEN spirit summon.a.spirit =LOC =TOP DST

həy] =saŋ =mi =aw [*baŋgəladəs =mi thəlʔ*] [*koŋos* =mi
REM =MOB=GEN=ACC Pname =GEN up.to Pname =GEN

jaria] [*haʔgəlsak*] =gumuk =aw =an {*məŋa -ni*}
influence world/everything =all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT

‘When he summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the influence of Kongos, all of them.’

This postposition is attested as a verb with the event specifier <-aŋ> attached to it, as we can see in (250).

(250) *gaʔthəŋaymuna thəlʔaŋok.*

{*gaʔthəŋ* =*ay* =*muna*} {*thəlʔ* -*aŋ* -*ok.*}
 kick =ADV =SEQ go.very.far-AWAY -COS
 ‘Because I kicked [it], [it] went very far.’

Chapter 14 Time words

Time words are half way on the cline between nouns and adverbs and share properties with both. The properties of the time words are summed up in section 14.1. Most time words are deictic, but *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past, earlier’ and *kənsaŋ* ‘later, after’ can be deictic or relative depending on the context. The time word *dakaŋ* is found in many more different syntactic environments than the other time words and is treated separately in section 14.2. The words *dakaŋ* and *kənsaŋ* can both function as postpositions. This function is treated in sections 13.1 and 13.2 respectively.

Time words are a closed class, the fifteen members of which are listed here below, illustrated by examples.

Table 48 List of time words

Deictic	
<i>maya</i>	‘the day before yesterday or longer ago’
<i>maja</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>tayʔsa</i>	‘a moment ago, just now, a little while ago’
<i>tayʔni</i>	‘today’
<i>teʔew</i>	‘now’
<i>teʔen</i>	‘later but still today’
<i>hampəy</i>	‘later today, in the evening’
<i>hanep</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>ceknaɣ</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>hambun</i>	‘later but not today, in the far future’
<i>teraka</i>	‘last year’
<i>taray</i>	‘this year’
<i>nayja</i>	‘next year’
Deictic/Relative	
<i>dakaŋ</i>	‘before, in the past, earlier’
<i>kənsaŋ</i>	‘after, later’

14.1 The Properties of time words

i Clausal properties

Time words cannot be the head of a predicate and occur canonically as adjunct to a clause indicating Temporal Location.

ii Phrasal properties

Time words

- can be the head of a temporal phrase indicating Temporal Location,
- can modify nouns,
- can possess a noun but cannot be possessed.

The following example illustrates the time word *məya* ‘yesterday’ modifying a verb which is the predicate of an attributive clause in a headless arch NP (see Chapter 29), which functions as the nominal head of the predicate of an identity/equation clause.

(251) *ie məya khaʔgasega*

-----arch NP-----

[*ie*]_s { [[*məya*] {*khaʔ*} =*ga*] =*sega* }

PRX yesterday make =ATTR =ALT

‘These [are] now the ones made yesterday.’ (Said about some pictures that were shown after seeing some other pictures that were made last year)

TEXT 1 line 28, presented here as (252), presents an occurrence of the genitive-marked time word *teʔew* ‘now’, functioning as Possessor and thus modifying the following noun *gawi* ‘girl’.

(252) Songken says: *əʔəkaria, teʔewrawrawmi gawido*.

{*əʔək* *-ari -a*} [*teʔew -rawraw* =*mi* *gawi*] =*do*
do.like.that-SIMP-IMPF now -CONTINUOUSLY =GEN girl =TOP
‘Yes. They do like that, the girls from now on.’ (i.e. today’s girls’)

iii Morphological properties

Time words

- occur with a limited set of case markers corresponding to the limited types of peripheral argument that time words can be. Note that, as Temporal Location adjunct, a time word cannot take the locative case enclitic <=*ci*> (LOC), the reason being that time words are inherently temporal locational. Only when a time word functions as a Goal adjunct can it be locative-plus-dative-marked, e.g. (254).

- have been recorded with a limited set of other enclitics and suffixes, viz. <=do> (TOP) and <=e> (FC), <=an> (FC/ID), <=ba> (EMPH/ADD), <=sa> (DLIM), which all function as phrasal enclitics, and <-maṇmaṇ> ‘just, only’ and <-rawraw> (continuously), which also function as event specifiers on verbal predicate heads, e.g. (252).
- can take the plural morpheme <=daraṇ> (p) meaning ‘approximately TIME WORD’, e.g. (253).
- cannot be counted.
- cannot occur with classifiers.

The example here below illustrates a pluralised time word. A plural-marked time word expresses an approximate time reference.

(253) *geʔtheŋ tayʔnidaraṇ rayʔanikhon*

[*geʔtheŋ*] [*tayʔni*] =*daraṇ* {*rayʔa -ni*} =*khon*
 3s today =p come -FUT =SPEC
 ‘He might come today or so.’

The next example shows the time word *teʔew* ‘now’ used as a Goal and hence marked with the locative and dative enclitics.

(254) *ue haʔbəriawe teʔewcinakhəŋkhəŋ atoŋ khuʔcuksaŋ matsa cawʔkəy asetram məŋwano.*

[*ue haʔbəri*] =*aw* =*e* [*teʔew*] =*ci* =*na* [*khəŋkhəŋ*]
 DST hill =ACC =FC now =LOC =ALL still

[*atoŋ khuʔcuk*] =*saŋ*
 Atong language =INSTR

[*matsa cawʔkəy asset ram*] {*məŋ -wa*} =*no*
 tiger big.knife throw.away place call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘[We] call that hill up till now still *matsa cawʔkəy asetram* in the Atong language, it is said.’

In the next example the time word *tayʔsa* ‘a little while ago’ appears as a Facsimile adjunct marked with the simulative enclitic <=təkəy> (LIKE).

(255) *uan tayʔsatəkəy kantaraaw kərəkərək reʔeɲəyməŋ səŋʔetthiriokno.*

[u] =an [*tayʔsa*] _____ =təkəy [kantara] =aw [kərək-kərək]
DST =FC/ID a.little.wile.ago =LIKE emptiness =ACC quickly

{reʔeɲ} =ay =məŋ {səŋʔ-et -thiri -ok} =no

go.away =ADV =SEQ ASK -CAUS -AGAIN-COS =QUOT

‘Just like a little while earlier he quickly went to the emptiness and asked again.’

iv Semantic properties

Time words express a location in time. The next example illustrates the use of the deictic/relative time word *kənsaŋ* ‘later, after’.

(256) “*aŋ tərucəŋna bayʔsiga, naʔa kənsaŋ tərubone*” *noaydoŋano magacakan.*

[aŋ] {təru -ceŋ =na} [bayʔsiga] [naʔa] [*kənsaŋ*]
1s take.a.bath -FIRST =DESI friend 2s later/after

{təru} =bo =ne {no-aydoŋa} =no [magacak] =an
take.a.bath =IMP =TAG say -PROG =QUOT deer =FC/ID

“‘I want to take a bath first, friend. You take a bath later, OK?’” the deer is saying, it is said.’

When nouns indicating a period of time, i.e. *bəlsi* ‘year’, *ja* ‘month’, *nəgəltəy* ‘week’, *san* ‘day’, *manap* ‘morning’ and *gasam* ‘evening, afternoon’ are preposed to and thus modifying deictic time words in asyndetic coordination, the resulting new NP has the properties of a time word, which is the head, and cannot take the locative case marker any more. Examples of these compounds are *tayʔni gasam* ‘this evening/afternoon/later part of the day’, *məya manap* ‘yesterday morning’, *hambun nəgyltəy* ‘a week in the far future’, (257).

(257) *tayʔnigasam niŋ noksaŋ kəyʔ saʔna reʔeɲbone.*

[tayʔni gasam] [niŋ nok] =saŋ [kəyʔ] {saʔ} =na {reʔeɲ} =bo =ne
today evening 1p house =MOB dog eat =DAT go.away =IMP =TAG
‘Go to our house this evening to eat dog, OK?’

14.2 The word *dakaŋ*

The word *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past, earlier’ is attested in six syntactic environments, viz.

1. as time word in topic function,
2. as a genitive-marked Possessor modifying a following NP,
3. with the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ba> (ATTR) functioning as NP modifier,
4. with the adverbialising suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ADV) functioning as clausal adverb,
5. as underived adverb modifying a predicate,
6. as a postposition governing the dative: see §13.1.

Examples of all of these different occurrences, except as postposition, will be given below.

14.2.1 As time word

Whether = *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past, earlier’ as a time word indicates deictic or relative time depends on the context. Example (258) illustrates the use of *dakaŋ* ‘before, earlier, in the past’, as a deictic time word, functioning as a pre-clausal topic.

(258) *dakaŋdo, mamuŋ khem niʔwacido dəmcəraŋsaŋsa cəwgəŋ rəŋwano.*

[***dakaŋ***] =do [mamuŋ khem] {niʔ -wa} =ci =do
in.the.past =TOP nothing drum not.exist -FACT =LOC =TOP

[dəmcəraŋ] =saŋ =sa [cəwgəŋ] {rəŋ -wa} =no
snare.instrument =INSTR =DLIM festival.of.the.dead drink -FACT =QUOT

‘As for the past, when there were no drums, [they] celebrated the festival of the dead only with the *dəmcəraŋ*, it is said.’

A deictic or relative temporal interpretation is possible for the clause in which *dakaŋ* occurs in the next example.

(259) *aŋ ie khata dakaŋdo təŋcacəŋ, teʔewdo nemay təŋok.*

[aŋ] [ie khata] [***dakaŋ***] =do {təŋ -ca} =cəŋ
1s PRX word before =TOP know -NEG =IRR

[teʔew] =do {nem} =ay {təŋ -ok}
now =TOP good =ADV know-COS

‘I did not know this word before/in the past, but this is not the case any more; as for now [I] know [it] well.’ (Literally: ‘I have come to know it well’)

14.2.2 As a genitive-marked Possessor

The next example illustrates the use of *dakaŋ* as a Possessor, modifying the following NP *casoŋ* ‘generation’. This ability to occur as Possessor is a property that *dakaŋ* shares with the other time words.

(260) *uan gam məŋa, dakaŋmi casoŋdo.*

[*u*] =*an* [*gam*] {*məŋ* -*a*} [*dakaŋ* =*mi* *casoŋ*] =*do*
 DST=FC/ID wealth call.a.name -CUST past =GEN generation =TOP
 ‘That was called wealth, as for the generation(s) of the past.’

14.2.3 With the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ga>

The lexeme *dakaŋ* can take the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR). The resulting form, *dakaŋ-gaba* (before-ATTR) means ‘the first’, and can thus function attributively to nouns, as we can see in (261). The meaning of *dakaŋgaba* ‘first’ is distinct from that of *dakaŋ*=*mi* (past=GEN) (see §14.2.2 above). The different functions of the attributive morpheme <*gaba* ~ *ga*> (ATTR) are discussed extensively in Chapter 29.

(261) *uci thəmayməŋ geʔtheye [...] dakaŋgaba bobaan diriceŋokno.*

[*u*] =*ci* {*thəm* =*ay* =*məŋ* [*geʔtheye*] =*e*
 DST=LOC lay.in.ambush=ADV =SEQ 3s =FC
 [*dakaŋ* =*gaba* *boba* =*an*] {*diri* -*ceŋ* -*ok*} =*no*
 before =ATTR crazy.man =FC/ID hold -FIRST -COS =QUOT
 ‘[Having lain in ambush,] the first crazy person got hold of [the horse’s tail] first, it is said.’

14.2.4 With the adverbialising suffix <-gaba ~ -ga>

The suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ADV) can turn *dakaŋ* into the clausal adverb *dakaŋgaba* ‘first of all, the first time’, as we can see in (262) and (263).

(262) *dakaŋgabado jinal mitiŋceŋni.*

[*dakaŋ* =*gaba*] =*do* {*jinal* *mitiŋ* -*ceŋ* -*ni*}
 before =ADV =TOP general -hold.a.meeting -FIRST -FUT
 ‘First of all a general meeting will be held.’

(263) *dakaŋgaba turaci muɔwaci mobinaw gorongwa*

[*dakaŋ*=*gaba*] [*tura*] =*ci* {*muɔ*-*wa*} =*ci* [*mobin*]=*aw* {*goron*-*wa*}
 before =ADV Pname =LOC stay -FACT =LOC Pname =ACC meet -FACT
 ‘The first time [I] stayed in Tura, [I] met Mobbin.’

14.2.5 As underived adverb

There is one recorded instance of *dakaŋ* being used as an underived adverb, meaning ‘previously’, modifying the following predicate *məŋ* ‘to call something/somebody a name’. This instance is shown in (264). The fragment in this example consists of the village name *soŋma soŋni khəcu Badri* which is modified by two attributive clauses (AC) (see Chapter 29), one pre- and one post-head.

(264) [...] *dakaŋ məŋgaba soŋma soŋni khəcu badri nogaba* [...]

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC----- --AC--
 [| [*dakaŋ*] {*məŋ*} |] =*gaba soŋma soŋni khəcu badri* | {*no*} | =*gaba*]
 before call.a.name =ATTR Pname say =ATTR
 ‘the previously so called Songma Songni Khychu Badri’

Chapter 15 Adverbs

The class of adverbs is open since there are productive processes to derive adjectives from nouns, verbs and adjectives as will be discussed in Chapter 18. There are some non-derived or opaquely, unproductively derived adverbs which I will call the primary adverbs, which might form a closed subclass, although it is likely that not all members have been recorded yet.

Adverbs are morphologically quite invariable, incapable of taking any suffixes or phrasal enclitics except for some who have been recorded with the delimitative *<=sa>* (DLIM) and emphatic *<=ba>* (ADD/EMPH). Some adverbs can be reduplicated for intensification (indicated in list below). Although some adverbs seem to be reduplicated forms, those have a different meaning from what appears to be the simplex form, i.e. *bək* ‘suddenly’ and *bəkək* ‘quickly’. Some adverbs look like reduplicated forms with vowel alternation, e.g. *dəmdəm damdam* ‘carelessly, disorderly’. Other adverbs show partial reduplication, e.g. *koŋken naken* ‘zigzag’.

Adverbs behave differently from adjectives in that they only modify adjectives, verbs and clauses, but not nouns. The adverb can be separated by other constituents from the predicate that it modifies. An adverb always modifies something that follows it, not something that precedes it in the clause. Adverbs cannot function as head of a predicate, cannot take case marking and cannot express negation, aspect, modality or any other verbal or nominal category and cannot be nominalised. There are three adverbs that only modify adjectives (of both types) when they are head of a predicate, viz. the intensifiers *nemen* ‘very’, *bəloŋen* ‘very’ and *iskən* ‘so much, to this extent’.

Table 49 below presents a list of the adverbs and intensifiers that is by no means exhaustive. Here are some examples of the use of adverbs.

Example (265) illustrates the use of the adverb *bək* ‘suddenly’. We cannot be certain whether the adverb has scope only over the immediately following predicate of the adverbial clause, *ho* ‘to jump’, or over both the main and the adverbial predicate.

Table 49 List of adverbs and intensifiers

<i>thanɣuduk</i>	‘suddenly’ <i>caca</i> ‘exactly’
<i>phaŋnan</i>	‘ever, never’ (can be reduplicated)
<i>isəkən</i>	‘that much’
<i>coŋɔ̌mot ~ coɔ̌mot</i>	‘really’
<i>əndən</i>	‘simply, in vain, for free’
<i>səkathaŋ</i>	‘carelessly, disorderly’
<i>keplelep</i>	‘stretched out flat on your belly’
<i>bək</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>biciba</i>	‘never’
<i>biciba biciba</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>bəkbək</i>	‘quickly’
<i>wetwet</i>	‘quickly’
<i>wetancian</i>	‘every time’
<i>capcap</i>	‘close together (as in a crowd)’
<i>rəmram</i>	‘rolling down’
<i>jərəm jərəm</i>	‘quietly’
<i>səraksərak</i>	‘exactly, precisely’
<i>dəkdək</i>	‘for a short while’
<i>kərək kərək</i>	‘swiftly’
<i>dəmdəm damdam</i>	‘carelessly, disorderly’
<i>koŋken naken</i>	‘zigzag’
<i>alaməla</i>	‘somewhat, a little’
<i>pəltawtaw</i>	‘jerkingly over a rough road’ (can be reduplicated)
<i>pəwtawtaw</i>	‘jerkingly over a rough road’ (can be reduplicated)
<i>sirimənmən</i>	‘at the crack of dawn’
<i>bibərokhon ~</i>	
<i>bibəkhon</i>	‘some day’
<i>hawtəy</i>	‘for some time’
<i>ətəkəy</i>	‘like this/that’
<i>biciba</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>biciba biciba</i>	‘sometimes, seldom’
<i>gasam gasam</i>	‘seldom’
<i>gisep gisep ~</i>	
<i>gysep gysep</i>	‘from time to time’
<i>jenethene</i>	‘somehow’
<i>jebadoŋ</i>	‘anyway, however it may be’ <i>jekhay</i> ‘for example’
<i>jetəkəy</i>	‘somehow’
<i>hasinsin</i>	‘slowly’
<i>phas</i>	‘first’ (<English: first)
<i>las</i>	‘last’ (<English: last)
<i>manapmi</i>	‘very early in the morning’

Intensifiers

<i>nemen</i>	‘very’
<i>bəloŋen</i>	‘very’
<i>iskən</i>	‘so much, to this extent’

(265) *matsado uci bək hoay jalaŋokno.*

[*matsa*] =do [u] =ci ***bək*** {*ho*} =ay {*jal* -aŋ -ok} =no
 tiger =TOP DST=LOC suddenly jump =ADV run.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT
 ‘Then the tiger suddenly jumped [and] run away, it is said.’

In the next example we see the use of the clausal adverb *jekhay* ‘for example’, modifying the whole following locative- and topic-marked subordinate clause, of which the predicate is *bal* ‘to speak’.

(266) *jekhay atonŋaŋ balcido song pidan doŋacəm.*

[***jekhay***] [atonŋ] =saŋ {*bal*} =ci =do [*soŋ* -pidan]
 for.example Atong =INSTR speak=LOC =TOP village new

{*doŋ*? -a} =cəm
 IE.be -CUST =IRR

‘For example when [you] speak in Atong [you] supposedly say *soŋ pidan*.’

The adverb *phaŋnan* can be translated as ‘always’ when the predicate is not negative, e.g. (267) and as ‘never’ when the predicate is negative, e.g. (268). In (267), the adverb is separated from the predicate or predicates (scope uncertain) it modifies by the NP *moŋma* ‘elephant’.

(267) *taw?reksərup maŋsa ge?theŋməŋ thup phaŋnan moŋma phay?ay sa?roŋwana moŋma mathayaw tapna re?eŋaydoŋanowa.*

[*taw?reksərup maŋ* sa] [*ge?theŋ* =məŋ *thup*]_O [***phaŋnan***]
 type.of.bird CLF:ANIMALS one 3s =GEN nest always

[*moŋma*]_A {*phay?*} =ay {*sa?* -roŋ -wa} =na
 elephant break =ADV eat -usually -FACT =DAT

[*moŋma mathay*] =aw {*tap* =na}
 elephant bachelor.elephant=ACC hit =DAT

{*re?eŋ* -aydoŋa} =no -wa
 go.away -PROG =QUOT-FACT

‘As for the banana bird, because his nest was always brokenly eaten by an elephant, [it] went to hit the lonely elephant, it is said.’

(268) *paŋnaan hən?roŋcane udo rajado*

[***paŋnaan***] {*hən?* -roŋ -ca} =ne [u] =do [*raja*] =do
 never give -USUALLY -NEG =TAG DST=TOP king =TOP

‘[He] usually never gives [the drum], that king.’

The following three examples illustrate the use of the intensifiers. Both are interchangeable in all circumstances. In (269) and (270) we see the intensifiers modifying a Type 2 adjective functioning as predicate head. In (271) the intensifier modifies a predicate of which the head is a stative verb.

(269) *ue waye bəlonen cuŋano.*

[*ue way*] =*e* [*bəlonen*] {*cuŋ -a*} =*no*
DST spirit =FC very big -CUST =QUOT
‘That spirit was very big, it is said.’

(270) *te?ew wensa rəpay naŋ?do nemen səlnaka” noaydoŋano pherue.*

[*te?ew*] [*wen sa*] {*rəp*} =*ay* [*naŋ?*] =*do* [*nemen*] {*səl -naka*}
now time one soak =ADV 2s =TOP very beautiful -IFT
{*no-aydoŋa*} =*no* [*pheru*] =*e*
say -PROG =QUOT fox =FC

‘“Now [you] soak once more [and] you will certainly be very beautiful”, the fox is saying, it is said.’

(271) *uci mu?butung somayci badri nemen man?ay sa?ano.*

[*u*] =*ci* {*mu?-butuŋ +somay*} =*ci*
DST=LOC live -WHILE +time =LOC
[*badri*] [*nemen*] {*man?*} =*ay* {*sa?*} -*a* =*no*
Pname very in.great.amounts =ADV eat -CUST =QUOT

‘During the time [they] lived there, Badri was very rich (Lit. ‘ate in great amounts’), it is said.’

The adverbs *phas* ‘first’ and *las* ‘last’, borrowed from English via Indic, are the only adverbs that can be attributivised with the attributive clausal enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (ATTR), as we can see in example (272) below.

(272) *aŋa pasgaba, ge?theŋ lasgaba*

[*aŋa*] {*pas*} =*gaba* [*ge?theŋ*] {*las*} =*gaba*
1s be.first =ATTR 3s be.last =ATTR
‘I’m the first [sibling], he’s the last [sibling].’

Chapter 16 Discourse connectives

Discourse connectives indicate the semantic relationship between stretches of text. Syntactically a discourse connective comes either at the beginning of a clause or at the end of one. A discourse connective can belong to either the preceding clause or the following depending on the prosody, i.e. whether there is a pause before or after the discourse connective. If there is no pause at all, it is impossible to say to which clause the discourse connective belongs. Sometimes, too, there is a pause before as well as after the discourse connective and then it stands alone, syntactically and prosodically.

There are two types of discourse connective depending on their morphological make up, which correlates with their usage. Both types will be treated separately below. Both types of discourse connective are grammaticalisations of forms found elsewhere in the language. The members of the two types of discourse connective are listed in Table 50 below.

16.1 Type 1 discourse connectives

Discourse connectives of Type 1 are the result of grammaticalisations of various forms of the verb *ətək*-³⁶ ‘to do like this/that’. There are two groups within Type 1 depending on their morphological make up. Group A consists of the connectives *ətəkəysa* ‘therefore, that’s why’ and *ətəkəyməŋ ~ ətəkəymu ~ ətəkəymuna ~ ətəkəymuŋ ~ ətəkəymuŋna* ‘so then, having done that/this’. These connectives consist of the verbal root *ətək*- ‘to do like this/that’, followed by an altered form of the adverbial enclitic, viz. *<əy>* instead of the normal form *<ay>* (ADV), followed by

³⁶ The verb *ətək*- ‘do.like.this/that’ itself seems to stand in a vowel alternation relationship with the interrogative verb *atak*- ‘to do what?’. The etymological connection between these two verbs deserves further study which lies outside the scope of this grammar.

Table 50 List of discourse connectives and their historical make up

Type 1				
MOPHOLOGICAL MAKE UP	FORMS		GLOSS	CONNECTIVE MEANING
<i>ətək-</i> 'to.do.like.this/that' + <-əy> + <=ay> (ADV) + <=məŋ ~ =mu ~ =muŋ ~ =muna ~ =muŋna.> (SEQ)	<i>ətəkəyməŋ ~</i> <i>ətəkəymu ~</i> <i>ətəkəymuna ~</i> <i>ətəkəymuŋ ~</i> <i>ətəkəymuŋna</i>	Group A	'so then, having done that/this'	sequential, pause filler
<i>ətək-</i> 'to.do.like.this/that' + <-əy> < <=ay> (ADV) + <=mu> (SEQ) + <=an> (FC/ID)	<i>ətəkəymuan</i>		'so then, having done that/this'	sequential, pause filler
<i>ətək-</i> 'to.do.like.this/that' + <əy> < <=ay> (ADV) + <=sa> (DLIM)	<i>ətəkəysa</i>		'therefore, that's why, then'	reason, sequential
<i>ətək-</i> 'to.do.like.this/that' + <=ci> (LOC) + <=do> (TOP)	<i>ətəkcido</i>	Group B	'in that case'	condition
<i>ətək-</i> 'to.do.like.this/that' + <=ci> (LOC) + <=ba> (INDEF)	<i>ətəkciba</i>		'but'	contrastive
<i>ətək-</i> 'to.do.like.this/that' + <i>maʔ</i> 'well then, ok' + <=ci> (LOC) + <=ba> (INDEF)	<i>ətəkmaʔciba</i>		'but'	contrastive
Type 2				
MOPHOLOGICAL MAKE UP	FORM		GLOSS	
<i>u</i> (DST), <=ci> (LOC), <=e> (FC), <=an> (FC/ID)	<i>uci ~ ucie ~ ucian</i>		'then'	sequential
<i>u</i> (DST) + <=ci> (LOC) + <=ba> (INDEF)	<i>uciba</i>		'but then, but'	contrastive/ sequential, contrastive
<i>u</i> (DST) + <=na> (DAT)	<i>una</i>		'then, therefore, because of that'	sequential, reason
<i>u</i> (DST) + <=mi ~ =məŋ> (GEN) + <i>gəmən</i> (REASON') + <=ci> (LOC)	<i>umigəmānci ~</i> <i>uməŋgəmānci</i>		'for that reason, therefore, that's why'	reason

the delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM) or the sequential enclitic <=məŋ ~ =mu ~ =muŋ ~ =muna ~ =muŋna> (SEQ) respectively.

The verb *ətək-* ‘to do like this/like that’ still exists in Atong (see section 4.5.1) and its productive adverbial form is *ətək-ay* (do.like.this/that=ADV) ‘doing like this/that’. In Atong as it is today, the form *ətəkəy* cannot function as discourse connective but only as the adverb ‘like this/that’.³⁷

Group B consists of connectives that have a locative enclitic attached directly to the root of the verb *ətək-* ‘to do like this/that’. One exception in this group is the form *ətəkmaʔciba* ‘but’, which we will discuss below.

Example (273) here below illustrates the use of the verb *ətək-* ‘to do like this/that’. After this example we will look at all the Type 1 discourse connectives separately.

(273) *nanʔba teʔewsa aŋna ətəkaydoŋ, teʔen bisəŋ jokay jalna?*

[nanʔ] =ba [teʔew] =sa [aŋ] =na {ətək -aydoŋ} [teʔen] [bi =saŋ
2s =EMPH now =DLIM 1s =DAT do.like.this-PROG later QF =MOB

{jok} =ay {jal -na}
escape =ADV run.away-DESI

‘You are doing like this to me now, where are you intending to run to and escape later?’

16.1.1 The origin of Type 1 discourse connectives

All Type 1 discourse connectives were historically most probably verbal tail-head linkage devices. As has been said above, they are all grammaticalised forms of the verb *ətək-* ‘to do like this/that’ and were once used anaphorically as non-finite verbal forms referring to the event in the preceding clause. The form *ətəkəyməŋ* comes most likely from *ətək-ay=məŋ* (do.like.this/that=ADV=SEQ) ‘having done like this/that’. This form will have participated in tail-head linkage of a sequential kind, while the form *ətək=ay=sa* (do.like.this/that=ADV=DLIM) was most probably involved in

³⁷ Chapter 20 on case marking treats further grammaticalisation of the verb *ətək-* ‘to do like this/that’ into the perlocative and similative suffixes. The lexeme *ətəkəysa* is homophonous with the delimitative-marked form of the adverb *ətəkəy* ‘like this/that’, e.g. (279).

simultaneous tail-head linkage before it grammaticalised into the modern day reason discourse connective *ətəkəysa* ‘therefore, that’s why’. The forms in Group B of Table 50 were evidently involved in tail-head linkage of a temporal locative nature.

In the present synchronic state of the language, discourse connectives do not refer to the event in the previous clause but only indicate a certain abstract relationship between sentences and paragraphs.

16.1.2 *ətəkəyməŋ* and its allomorphs

The discourse connective *ətəkəyməŋ* ~ *ətəkəymu* ~ *ətəkəymuna* ~ *ətəkəymuŋ* ~ *ətəkəymuŋna* ~ *ətəkəymuan* ‘so then’ has a series of allomorphs which are all in free variation although different forms are more frequently used in certain dialects. In Badri the allomorph *ətəkəyməŋ* and *ətəkəymuŋ* are most popular while in Siju the forms *ətəkəymuŋ*, *ətəkəymu* and *ətəkəymuŋna* are most frequently used. Only one instance of the use of the allomorph *ətəkəymuan* has been recorded, which was in Siju.

The connective *ətəkəyməŋ* ‘so then’ and its allomorphs is the most frequently used connective in Atong. This connective usually signals that the speaker has not finished talking yet but that more is yet to come in the discourse or narrative. It is also used as pause filler, giving the speaker time to think what he will say next.

Example (274), from a story told in the Badri dialect, illustrates the use of the discourse connective ‘so then’ in the allomorph *ətəkəyməŋ*.

- (274) *teʔewe alsia rajano soŋ dam saci. [PAUSE] ətəkəyməŋ alsia raja soŋ dam saci noaysa [PAUSE] kam khaʔna nobo haratanoaro ue, alsiae. [PAUSE] ətəkəyməŋ jəkba məŋʔni khəmanoro. [PAUSE] jək məŋʔni khəmano. [PAUSE] ətəkəyməŋ saʔnaba jək payna naŋano, jəwna jək payna naŋano.*

[teʔew] =e {alsia raja} =no [soŋ dam sa] =ci
now =FC lazy.person king =QUOT village -CLF:VILLAGES one =LOC

ətəkəyməŋ [alsia raja] [soŋ dam sa] =ci
so.then lazy.person king village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC

{no} =ay =sa
say =ADV =DLIM

{kam khaʔ} =na {harat -a} =no =aro [ue alsia] =e
work =do =DAT be.reluctant -CUST =QUOT =EMPH DST -lazy.person =FC

ətəkəyməŋ [jək] =ba [məŋʔ ni] {khəm -a} =no =ro
so.then spouse =EMPH CLF:HUMANS two marry -CUST =QUOT =EMPH

[jək] =ba [məŋʔ ni] {khəm -a} =no
spouse =EMPH CLF:HUMANS two marry -CUST =QUOT

ətəkəyməŋ {saʔ} =na =ba [jək] {pay} =na {naŋ -a} =no
so.then eat =DAT =ADD spouse carry.by.hand =DAT need-CUST =QUOT

{jəw} =na [jək] {pay} =na {naŋ -a} =no
sleep =DAT spouse carry.by.hand =DAT need -CUST =QUOT

‘Now, [there is] a lazy king, it is said, in a [certain] village. So then, a lazy king in a [certain] village, [I]’m saying, right. [He] is reluctant to do work, it is said, that one, the lazy person. So then, [he] is married to two wives, it is said. [He] is married to two wives, it is said. So then, [his] wives have to carry [the lazy king] in order to eat, it is said, and [his] wives have to carry [him] in order to sleep, it is said.’

As we can see in example (274) above, the first clause is a presentative clause with only a nominal predicate head *alsia rajano* and a postposed locative adjunct *soŋ dam sa ci*. The discourse connective following that clause does not refer to any event in that clause but functions as a pause filler. The second occurrence of this connective is also as pause filler. The second occurrence of the connective is between the third clause *kam khaʔna nobo haratanoaro ue, alsiae*, which is the end of a sentence, and the beginning of the next sentence in which more information about the king is given, i.e. that he is married to two wives. The narrator is not warmed up yet and needs a lot of time to think about what to say next, so he repeats the previous sentence before he throws in the discourse connective again and continues with more information about the living conditions of the king. This example is typical of the use of the discourse connective *ətəkəyməŋ* ‘so then’ and its allomorphs.

The discourse connective *ətakəyməŋ ~ ətakəymu ~ ətakəymuna ~ ətakəymuŋ ~ ətakəymuŋna* ‘so then’ can be used in tail-head linkage constructions. Tail-head linkage in Atong is done by repeating the whole or part of the last clause with the predicate in a sequential form. Example (275) is illustrative of a tail-head linkage construction. In this example we see two tail-head links, both of which repeat the main verb of the previous clause in sequential form, i.e. *thorokaŋəyməŋ* ‘having jumped in’ and *rəpayməŋ* ‘having stayed in the water’.

- (275) *magacakdo biskutaw təysamci tanəyməŋ caw thorokaŋəyokno. thorokaŋəyməŋ hawtəy rəpokno magacake. bewal rəpayməŋ phetaakno.*

[*magacak*] =do [*biskut*] =aw [*təysam*] =ci {*tan*} =ay =məŋ
 deer =TOP biscuit =ACCriver.bank =LOC put =ADV =SEQ

[*caw*] {*thorok* -aŋ -ok} =no_{TAIL}
 interj.:SPLASH jump.down -AWAY -COS =QUOT

{*thorok* -aŋ} =ay =məŋ_{HEAD}
 jump.down -AWAY =ADV =SEQ

[*hawtəy*] {*rəp* -ok} =no_{TAIL} [*magacak*] =e
 for.some.time stay.under.water -COS =QUOT deer =FC

[*bewal*] {*rəp*} =ay =məŋ_{HEAD}
 for.some.time stay.under.water =ADV =SEQ

{*phet* -a -ak} =no
 arrive -TOWARDS -COS =QUOT

‘The deer, having put the biscuits on the river bank, splash! jumped in, it is said. Having jumped in, he stayed under water for some time, it is said. Having stayed under water for some time, he emerged, it is said.’

Example (276) illustrates how the discourse connective *ətakəyməŋ* (or one of its allomorphs) can occur before the head in a tail-head link.

- (276) *ətəm mənʔ korokan haʔ kamarokno. ətəkəymuŋna kamaymuŋna kənsaŋdo
jəwʔgaba noksaŋ rayʔaakno.*

[ətəm mənʔ korok] =an {haʔ kam -arok} =no_{TAIL}
3p CLF:HUMANS six =FC/ID soil work -PROG =QUOT

-----HEAD-----

ətəkəyməŋna {kam} =ay =muŋna [kənsaŋ] =do
so.then work =ADV =SEQ after =TOP

[jəwʔ] =gaba [nok] =saŋ {rayʔa -ak} =no
mother=DREL house =MOB come -COS =QUOT

‘The six of them worked [weeding] the land, it is said. So then, after working the land [their] mother came home, it is said.’

16.1.3 *ətəkəysa*

The discourse connective *ətəkəysa* can be used in contexts where it has a sequential meaning and in other contexts where it has to be interpreted as indicating a reason relationship between sentences or stretches of discourse. The difference in meaning between *ətəkəysa* ‘then’ as sequential connective and the sequential connective *ətəkəyməŋ ~ ətəkəymu ~ ətəkəymuŋ ~ ətəkəymuŋna ~ ətəkəymuna*. is probably very subtle and they are often used in contexts, which seem completely similar to non-native speakers of Atong. The connective *ətəkəysa* differs from *ətəkəyməŋ* and its allomorphs in that the former does not occur in tail-head linkage constructions and the latter does.

Although the connective *ətəkəysa* could be analysed historically as the verbal root *ətək-* ‘to do like this/that’ and the delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM), its meaning is context dependent and cannot be construed on the basis of the root and the suffix or enclitics. Therefore I treat this connective as unanalysable in Atong as it is spoken today.

The following example illustrates the use of the sequential meaning of the discourse connective *ətəkəysa* ‘then’. It is the beginning of a description about how to cook food in a bamboo cylinder.

- (277) *waʔda waʔruŋ tanʔaysa, payʔak. payʔaak həyawe səmsaŋ rewetsaŋaw.
ətəkəysa nokcina doŋʔwaci suʔbəlokna tanʔa.*

[*waʔda* *waʔruŋ*] {*tanʔ*} =*ay* =*sa* {*payʔ* -*ak*}
type.of.bamboo young bamboo cut =ADV =DLIM carry.on.body -COS

{*payʔ* -*a* -*ak*} [*həyawe səmsaŋ* *rewet*] =*saŋ* =*aw*
carry.on.body -TOWARDS -COS yonder River.name river.bank =MOB =ACC

ətəkəysa [*nok*] =*ci* =*na* {*doŋʔ* -*wa*} =*ci* {*suʔ* -*bəlok*} =*na*
then house =LOC=DAT arrive -FACT =LOC pound -INTO.PULP=DAT

{*tanʔ*-*a*}
cut -CUST

‘Having cut young *waʔda*, [you] carry it. You have carry it towards [home] from the river bank of the Symsang way over there. Then, when [you] have arrived home, [you] cut it so that [you] can pound [the food inside] to pulp.’

The next example shows the use of the discourse connective *ətəkəysa* in a context in which it indicates a reason link.

- (278) *ue təygaŋ rəŋwanasa ue təykhalawe roŋdəŋ məŋwano. ətəkəysa ie hapawe roŋdəŋ təykhalci muʔwanasa roŋdəŋ haʔway noay.*

||*ue təygaŋ*] {*rəŋ* -*wa*}| =*na* =*sa* [*təykhal*] =*aw* =*e* [*roŋdəŋ*]
DST water.place drink -FACT =DAT=DLIM river =ACC=FC Rname

{*məŋ* -*wa*} =*no*
call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

ətəkəysa [*ie hap*] =*aw* =*e* ||*roŋdəŋ təykhal*] =*ci*
therefore PRX place=ACC=FC Rname river =LOC

{*muʔ*-*wa*} =*na* =*sa*}|
stay -FACT =DAT=DLIM

[*roŋdəŋ haʔway*] {*no*} =*ay*
Rname plain say =ADV

Because [the Rongdyng clan] drank from that water place, [they] called the river Rongdyng, it is said. Therefore, because [they] stayed at the Rongdyng river, they sayingly [called the village and the area] Rongdyng Plain.

In the following example we see the use of the homophonous adverb *ətəkəysa* ‘like this/that’. This example forms the end of the description about how to cook food in a bamboo cylinder, of which we have just read the beginning in example (277) above. An adverb always immediately precedes the predicate it modifies. and thus differs in

position from a discourse connective, which is always the first or last element in a sentence.

(279) *atoŋdo ətakəy -sa bereŋay saʔa.*

[*atoŋ*] =do [*ətakəy*] =sa {*bereŋ*} =ay {*saʔ -a*}
 Atong =TOP like.that =DLIM cook.food.in.bamboo.cylinder =ADV eat -CUST
 ‘Like this the Atong eat food cooked in a bamboo cylinder.’

16.1.4 *ətakcido*

The discourse connective *ətakcido* ‘in that case’ seems morphologically the most transparent of the Type 1 discourse connectives, viz. (do.like.that =LOC=TOP) ‘if do like that’. This discourse connective can be postponed to the predicate of a main clause and still link that clause or sentence to the preceding stretch of discourse. This is illustrated by example (280). Other discourse connectives always occur in between the clauses or sentences they link.

The context of example (280) is as follows. The lazy king wants to convince the barber to come with him to the jungle, not adding that this is to support the lazy king in his fight against the tiger. The barber says he is busy, but the lazy king says that he should come since there will be many wild animals to be seen just like in a zoo. Then the barber says (280).

(280) *ay! cayna naŋni ətakcido.*

[*ay*] |{*cay*}| =na {*naŋ -ni*} *ətakcido*
 interj watch =DAT need -FUT in.that.case
 ‘Ay! [I] will have to watch [that], in that case.’

An alternative analysis of *ətakcido* in (280) above is as adverb with anaphoric reference.

The following example shows the most frequent occurrence of the connective *ətakcido* before the sentence which it links to the preceding discourse. The context is as follows. The most powerful god has explained the mission to Bandi. The god has told Bandi about the dangers of the road which he has to take to the person he is supposed to meet. This is a lengthy stretch of discourse. The explanation ends with

the words “‘If you meet enemies, don’t go slowly. Defend yourself.” he said, it is said.’ Then Bandi answers (281).

(281) *ətakcido aŋa aŋ reʔeŋcie aŋawe təŋsawnima?*

ətakcido [aŋa][aŋ] {reʔeŋ} =ci =e [aŋ] =aw =e
 in.that.case 1s 1s go.away =LOC=FC 1s =ACC=FC
 {təŋ -saw -ni} =ma
 know-CERTAINLY -FUT =Q

‘In that case, as for me, if I go, will [he] certainly recognise me?’

There is a third alternative for the placement of *ətakcido* ‘in that case’. It can be preceded by a pronoun in address term function and/or an interjection, as is the case in the following example, where *ətakcido* links sentences 1 and 2 (delimited by big square brackets) but is preceded by an interjection and a pronoun in Vocative function.

(282) “*niŋa jetəkəyba takan cəyŋi aro uaw kawna reʔeŋarini niŋdo acu*” *nookno*.
 “*de acudəraŋ, ətakcido reʔeŋancəybo*.”

[*niŋa*][*jetəkəyba*] {tak -an -cəy -ni} aro [u] =aw {kaw}| =na
 1pe somehow do -REF -try -FUT and DST=ACC shoot =DAT
 {reʔeŋ -ari -ni} [*niŋ*] =do [*acu*] {no-ok} =no] SENTENCE 1
 go.away -SIMP-FUT 1pe =TOP grandfather say -COS =QUOT
 [*de*] [*acu*] =*dəraŋ* ***ətakcido*** [{reʔeŋ -an -cəy} =*bo*] SENTENCE 2
 interj grandson=p in.that.case go.away -REF -try =IMP

“‘We will try to do [it] somehow and we will just try to go in order to shoot that [eagle], grandpa”, [they] said, it is said. “Very well, grandchildren, in that case try to go.”

16.1.5 *ətakciba* and *ətakmaʔciba*

The locative-plus-indefinite combination of enclitics occurs on non-main clause predicates and indicates the notion ‘whenever event X is the case’ (see §27.5). It is therefore not clear where the contrastive sense comes from in the discourse connective *ətakciba* and *ətakmaʔciba* ‘but’. Historically they both come from the verb *ətak-* ‘to do like this/that’, and can be analysed as *ətak=ci=ba* ‘(do.like.this/that =LOC=INDEF) and *ətak=maʔ=ci=ba* (do.like.this/that=interj=LOC=INDEF) and

that can be translated as ‘whenever do like this/that’. When the verbal form *ətakciba* developed into the discourse connective it became opaque since the meaning cannot be deduced any more from the sum of the morphemes still visible in the word.

Example (283) here below illustrates the contrastive meaning of this discourse connective.

- (283) “*aŋna maməŋawan naŋcawa, ətakciba naʔa aŋna aro aŋməŋ jəkna naŋʔ
kheŋwa dabat aŋ thəyca dabat aŋaw muʔay saʔna hənʔbo*” *nookno*.

[*aŋa*][*mamuŋ*] = *aw* = *an* {*naŋ* -*ca* -*wa*}
1s nothing =ACC=FC/ID need -NEG -FACT

ətakciba [*naʔa*] [*aŋ*] = *na* aro [*aŋ* = *məŋ* *jək*] = *na*
but 2s 1s =DAT and 1s =GEN spouse =DAT

[[*naŋʔ*] {*kheŋ* -*wa*} *dabat*] [[*aŋ*] {*thəy* -*ca*} *dabat*]
2s live -FACT LIMIT 1s die -NEG LIMIT

[*aŋ*] = *aw* {*muʔ*} = *ay* {*saʔ*} = *na* {*hənʔ*} = *bo* {*no* -*ok*} = *no*
1s =ACC stay =ADV eat =DAT give =IMP say -COS =QUOT

“‘I don’t need anything. However, you keep giving me and my wife to eat as long as you live until I die’”, he said, it is said.’

As mentioned above and discussed in Chapter 27, the combination <=*ci*=*ba*>

(LOC=INDEF) on predicate heads indicates an indefinite location in time. Example

(284) here below is illustrative.

- (284) *je takay patəŋciba ruŋ bətroŋreŋəŋariano*.

[*je*] {*tak* -*ay*} {*pat* -*aŋ* = *ci* = *ba*} [*ruŋ*]
whatever do =ADV cross -AWAY =LOC=INDEF boat

{*bət* -*roŋreŋ* -*aŋ* *ari* -*a* = *no*}
drive -SPIN -AWAY -SIMP-CUST =QUOT

‘Whenever [you] cross in whatever way (Lit. ‘doing whatever’), the boat will just spin around and around, it is said.’

The form *ətak=maʔ=ci=ba* contains the morphemes (do.like.this/that=interj=LOC=INDEF/ADD) and means ‘but’. This discourse connective is interesting because it contains an interjection in what used to be its string of enclitics. The interjection signals surprising or unexpected contrasts, as we can see in example (285) here below.

The surprising event expressed in the last clause is further signalled by the mirative clausal enclitic $\leq t\dot{a}y \gt$ (MIR).

- (285) *gadakciciaymuna thəpsetthiriokno. ətəkmaʔciba uba saʔgərayba jumu khaʔthirithirioknotəy.*
- {*gadak-cici*} =*ay* =*muna* {*thəp -set -thiri -ok*} =*no*
 cut.up -into.pieces =ADV =SEQ throw -DISPOSE.OF -AGAIN-COS =QUOT
- ətəkmaʔciba* [*u =ba saʔgəray*] =*ba*
 but DST=EMPH child =EMPH
- [*jumu*] {*khaʔ -thiri -thiri -ok*} =*no* =*təy*
 collect do -AGAIN-RED -COS =QUOT =MIR
- ‘They cut him up into pieces and threw him away again, it is said. But that child joined together again and again, it is said to our surprise.’

16.2 Type 2 Discourse connectives

Type 2 discourse connectives are all forms of the distal demonstrative $\leq u \gt$ (DST). These discourse connectives indicate a temporally precise relationship between stretches of text and are often used to indicate the climax of a stretch of text but they are also used in the same way as the Type 1 discourse connectives to simply indicate that there is more to follow in a narrative.

These discourse connectives might be formally similar to demonstratives, functionally they are not for the following reasons. Firstly, demonstratives are dependents in an NP and are always the first constituent in an NP, discourse connectives have a fixed position, i.e. in between sentences. Secondly, demonstratives modify nominal heads, whereas discourse connectives link sentences and stretches of discourse. Let us look at the use of the Type 2 discourse connectives one by one.

16.2.1 *uciba*

Although it is clear that *uciba* ‘but then, but’ consists of the distal demonstrative followed by the locative $\leq ci \gt$ (LOC) and the indefinite morpheme $\leq ba \gt$ (INDEF), the meaning of this lexeme is not predictable from the sum of its morphemes. Therefore, I treat it as morphologically opaque and gloss it in its entirety instead of breaking it up into its alleged morphemes. Further study is required to find out what

the exact difference is between *uciba* ‘but (then)’ and *ətək(maʔ)ciba* ‘but’ treated in §16.1.5. The following example illustrates the use of this discourse connective.

(286) *aro jaŋgalan kawokno. uciba khirumancano.*

aro [jaŋgal] =an {kaw-ok} =no
and everybody =FC/ID shoot-COS =QUOT

uciba {khi -rum -an -ca} =no
but hit.the.mark -ALL -REF -NEG =QUOT

‘And everyone shot, it is said. But all of them did not hit [the reed culm], it is said.’

16.2.2 *umigəmānci* ~ *uməŋgəmānci*

In the form *umigəmānci* ~ *uməŋgəmānci* ‘that’s why, therefore, for that reason’ we can clearly discern the distal demonstrative followed by the genitive <=*mi* ~ =*məŋ*> (GEN), the bound reason postposition *gəmən* (REASON) and the locative enclitic <=*ci*> (LOC). Only on the discourse connective and nowhere else in the grammar, does the locative appear after the bound reason postposition *gəmən* (REASON). This non-productive occurrence of the locative indicates the non-compositionality of the lexeme. The following example illustrates the use of this discourse connective. It links the last clause of the story about a place in the Symsang river called Dabatwari to the entire story that precedes.

(287) *umigəmānci iawdo dabatwari məŋwano.*

umigəmānci [i] =aw =do [dabatwari] {məŋ -wa} =no
that’s why PRX =ACC=TOP Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT
‘That’s why [we] call this place Dabatwari, it is said.’

16.2.3 *una*

The discourse connective *una* ‘then, therefore, because of that’ seems to be morphologically and semantically transparent, consisting of the distal demonstrative and the dative case enclitic <=*na*> (DAT). The meaning ‘therefore’ can be deduced from the meaning of the morphemes, as the next example suggests. However, this analysis means that only dative-marked distal demonstrative phrases but no other phrase types can be interpreted as a Reason adjunct. Otherwise only dative marked

clauses can fulfil this semantic role (see Chapter 27). The discourse connective *una* is the result of a grammaticalisation of the dative-marked distal demonstrative.

In the next example we see the discourse connective *una* ‘therefore’ which refers back to the text in the paragraph that precedes the clause in this example. Note that this discourse connective can take the delimitative enclitic *<=sa>* (DLIM).

(288) *teʔcinakhəŋkhəŋ unasa badri rongdəŋ haʔway məŋwano.*

[*teʔ*] =*ci* =*na* [*khəŋkhəŋ*] *una* =*sa* [*badri rongdəŋ haʔway*]
 now =LOC=DAT still therefore=DLIM Pname

{*məŋ* -*wa*} =*no*
 call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘Until now, still, exactly because of that, [we] call [it] Badri Rongdyng
 Ha•wai, it is said.’

A reason to treat *una* ‘then, therefore, because of that’ as one unit rather than as a sequence of the distal demonstrative *<-u>* (DST) and the dative case *<=na>* (DAT), is that the lexeme *una* also has a temporal sequential interpretation ‘then’ which cannot be deduced at all if we analyse it as a distal demonstrative with a dative case enclitic.

The example below illustrates the temporal interpretation of the discourse connective *una* ‘then, therefore, because of that’.

(289) “*coʔisa rawkhalay*” *nowano. una jomʔaymu sinthongʔwaci “aya!” noaymu jalaŋokno*

[*coʔisa*] {*raw -khal*} =*ay* {*no-wa*} =*no*
 a.little long -CP =ADV say -FACT =QUOT

una {*jomʔ*} =*ay* =*mu* {*sinthongʔ-wa*} =*ci* [*aya*]
 then sneak.up.on =ADV =SEQ cut.in.half-FACT =LOC interj

{*no*} =*ay* =*mu* {*jal -aŋ -ok*} =*no*
 say =ADV =SEQ run.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT

“‘A bit longer”, [he] said, it is said. Then, having sneaked up on [her], when he cut her in half, she said “Ouch!” and ran away, it is said.’

This leaves us with only three morphologically and semantically transparent discourse connectives, viz. *u=ci* (DST=LOC) ‘then’ and its focused forms *u=ci=e* (DST=LOC=FC) ‘then’ and *u=ci-an* (DST=LOC=FC/ID) ‘then’. The locative case

indicates both Spatial and Temporal Location, and the interpretation of the forms under discussion as temporal demonstratives is pragmatically conditioned.

As example (290) shows, the discourse connective *uci ~ ucie ~ ucian* ‘then’ can function in the same way as the Type 1 discourse connective *ətəkəyməŋ ~ ətəkəymu ~ ətəkəymuna ~ ətəkəymuŋ ~ ətəkəymuŋna* ‘so then, having done that/this’, i.e. to signal that more is to follow in the story. The example is taken from the beginning of a story and starts with a presentative clause consisting, as presentative clauses do (see the chapter on clause types) of a nominal predicate head.

- (290) *nay?nokholthaŋgaba aro kənokholthaŋgabano. ucie kənokholthaŋgabado sansanan dabatwarisaŋ diŋgaray sana re?eŋroŋanoro.*

[*nay?nokhol*] =*thaŋ* =*gaba* aro [*kənokhol*] =*thaŋ* =*gaba* } =*no*
mother-in-law =OWN =DREL and son-in-law =OWN =DREL =QUOT

ucie [*kənokhol*] =*thaŋ* =*gaba* =*do* [*san san*] =*an* [*dabatwari*] =*saŋ*
then son-in-law =OWN =DREL =TOP day RED =FC/ID Pname =MOB

[*diŋgaray*] {*sana*} {*re?eŋ -wa*} =*no*
fish.trap put.as.trap go.away -FACT =QUOT

‘A mother-in-law and a son-in-law, it is said. Then, the son-in-law goes to Dabatwari every day to put fish traps, it is said.’

As was mentioned above, Type 2 discourse connectives can be used to indicate temporally precise relationships between events. The next example illustrates this. The context is as follows. A small bird, a frog and a toad are punishing an elephant because he always destroys their houses. After they picked at the elephant’s eyes, the elephant becomes blind and because of the toad and the bird pestering him all day, he has gotten thirsty. As part of the plan, the frog lures the elephant to the edge of a ravine by quacking at the bottom of it. The elephant will of course not see the cliff, fall down and die.

- (291) *ətəkəyməŋ teʔdo tawʔreksərupməŋ beŋblokməŋ baletaydokno. “ha parawbo bayʔsiga” noayməŋ, uci rupeke həyawwe roŋʔka ətəkənəŋʔsaŋ “pekpek pekpek” noay parawaydoknowa.*

ətəkəyməŋ [teʔ] =do [tawʔreksərup =məŋ beŋblok =məŋ]
 so.then now =TOP banana.bird =COM toad =COM

{*bal -et -aydok*} =no
 speak -CAUS -PROG =QUOT

[*ha*] {*paraw*} =bo [*bayʔsiga*] {*no*} =ay =məŋ
 interj make.animal.sound =IMP friend say =ADV =SEQ

uci [*rupek*]=e [*həyawwe*][*roŋʔka otyk nənʔ*] =saŋ
 then frog =FC yonder cliff bottom.of.ravine inside =LOC

[*pekpek pekpek*] {*noay*} {*paraw -aydok*} =no -wa
 frog.sound frog.sound say make.animal.sound -PROG -QOT -FACT

‘So then, now, the banana bird and the toad are speaking, it is said. “Hey, call, friend!” they say and then the frog, way over there, at the bottom of the ravine is calling “pekpek! pekpek!”, it is said.’

Note that in the above example the morpheme <=saŋ> is glossed as locative.

Historically this morpheme comes from the noun *saŋ* meaning ‘place, side’ and is still found with that meaning in a few compounds, e.g. *saŋphak* ~ *samphak* ‘side’.

Chapter 17 Other word classes

The word classes treated in this chapter are: the additive conjunction *aro* ‘and’, the personal pronouns, the generic pronoun, the proclauses, the onomatopoeia and the interjections. The Prohibitive word <*ta*> (PROH) is treated in §26.2.3.

17.1 The additive conjunction *aro* ‘and’

The additive conjunction *aro* ‘and, more’ is a linking device that links both clauses and NPs. This word also functions as adjective meaning ‘more’. As adjective *aro* ‘more, other’ always precedes the NP it modifies. The word *aro* is an Indic loan, borrowed from Assamese or Bengali.

In example (290) above we see how *aro* ‘and’ links two nouns in an NP which functions as nominal predicate head of a presentative clause. In example (292) here below we see the clause linking function of *aro* ‘and’.

(292) *aŋna bunduk hənʔetbo. aro aŋna curiba hənʔetbo.*

[aŋ] =na [bunduk] {hən -et} =bo aro [aŋ] =na [curi] =ba
 1s =DAT gun give -CAUS =IMP and 1s =DAT knife =ADD
 {hənʔ -et} =bo
 give -CAUS =IMP

‘Give me a gun and give me also a knife.’

As mentioned above, *aro* can also be used adjectivally meaning ‘more, other’. The following example illustrates the use of this adjective meaning ‘more’. In example (427) in §20.2.2 we see its use with the meaning ‘other’.

(293) *aro jaʔbek hənʔbo*

[aro jaʔbek] {hənʔ} =bo
 more curry give =IMP
 ‘Give [me] more curry.’

Example (294) below illustrates that it is not always possible to tell whether *aro* functions as adjective or clause linker. Translation A mirrors the clause linking interpretation whereas translation B mirrors the adjectival interpretation.

- (294) *məŋʔsa them! kawoknotəy. khiancano. aro məŋʔsa kawtheriokno. them!
kawokno. uba khiancano. aro jaŋgalan kawokno. uciba khirumancano.*

[məŋʔ sa] [them] {kaw-ok} =no =təy
CLF:HUMANS one bang shoot-COS =QUOT =MIR

{khi -an -ca}-=no
hit.the.mark -REF -NEG =QUOT

aro məŋʔ sa {kaw-theri -ok} =no [them] {kaw-ok} =no
and CLF:HUMANS one shoot-AGAIN-COS =QUOT bang shoot-COS =QUOT

Translation A: ‘One person shot, bang! [he] did not hit [the reed culm], it is said, to [our] surprise. **And** another person shot again, it is said. Bang! he shot, it is said.’

Translation B: ‘One person shot, bang! [he] did not hit [the reed culm], it is said, to [our] surprise. One **more** person shot again, it is said. Bang! he shot, it is said.’

17.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are a closed class. Table 51 lists the personal pronouns in Atong. Personal pronouns are deictic and the third person pronouns can also be used anaphorically. They constitute the only word class in Atong that expresses number, viz. singular and plural. In addition the first person has an inclusive versus exclusive distinction in the plural.

Table 51 Personal pronouns

<i>aŋ ~ aŋa</i>	1s
<i>naŋʔ ~ naʔa</i>	2s
<i>geʔthenŋ ~ deʔthenŋ</i>	3s
<i>naʔnaŋ</i>	1pi
<i>niŋ ~ niŋa</i>	1pe
<i>naŋʔ-təm (2s-ppp)</i>	2p
<i>geʔthenŋthenŋ</i>	3p
<i>itəm</i>	3p
<i>utəm ~ ətəm</i>	3p
<i>phalthanŋ</i>	‘self’

Clausal properties

Personal pronouns can function as core or oblique arguments. Personal pronouns can function as head of a predicate of identity/equation clauses and are attested with the

referential suffix <-an> (REF), the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG) and the change of state suffix under negation <-k> (COS).

Phrasal properties

Personal pronouns

- can function as head of an NP,
- can modify nouns possessively by juxtaposition with or without genitive marking, the order is always Personal Pronoun (Possessor)-Noun (Possessed)
- cannot be modified or possessed.
- two juxtaposed unmarked personal pronouns can be interpreted as being in an additive relationship, e.g. (457) §20.5.

Morphological properties

Personal pronouns can take all the cases and other phrasal enclitics but cannot be pluralised with the plural enclitic <=*dəraŋ*> (p). The second person plural is formed with the short form *naŋ?* (2s) and the personal pronoun plural suffix <-*təm*> (ppp), which is also used to form the third person plural from the distal demonstrative <*u*> (DST), viz. *utəm* (3p) and can be distinguished in the allomorph with *ətəm* (3p), where the vowel of the distal demonstrative has been reduced to schwa. The third person *ge?theŋ* (3s) and the reflexive pronoun *phalthaŋ* ‘self’ form their plurals through partial reduplication, viz. *ge?theŋtheŋ* (3p) and *phalthaŋthaŋ* ‘selves’.

The two forms of the first and second person singular, *aŋa* ~ *aŋ* (1s) and *na?a* ~ *naŋ?* (2s), are in free variation in A and S function but there are certain differences. The forms *aŋa* (1s) and *na?a* (2s) only occur as S or A argument in a clause. Semantically the longer forms *aŋa* (1s) and *na?a* (2s) are more emphatic and they can serve in situations of contrastive focus and new topic. Morphologically, too, there are differences between the two forms. First of all, the allomorphs *aŋa* (1s) and *na?a* (2s) cannot take suffixes. Secondly, the allomorphs *aŋa* (1s) and *na?a* (2s) are unable to enter into a possessive relation with a following NP by juxtaposition. The long form of the first person plural exclusive, *niŋa* (1pe) is only attested four times in the recorded material, in stories by two different speakers. In all cases of its appearance, the pronoun is in A function.

Only the second person singular allomorph *na?a* is used as an address term at the end of sentences when the speaker wants to express that the contents of the sentence

are of particular importance to the interlocutor. The next examples illustrate the second person personal pronoun *naʔa* (2s) in address term function. In (295) and (296) we see two dialogues, at the end of which the speaker adds the pronoun *naʔa* (2s) to the clause.

(295) Speaker 1: *aŋ =do cək -aydoŋa*.
 1s =TOP cold -DUR
 ‘I’m cold!’

Speaker 2: *atak -wa?*
 do.what -FACT
 ‘What did [you] do?’

Speaker 1: *teʔew -maŋmaŋ =sa təyru -wa naʔa*.
 now -EXCLUSIVELY =DLIM take.a.bath -FACT 2s
 ‘[I] only just took a bath, oh you!’

(296) “*thup*” *thokwaci* “*wek*” *nothiriokno*. “*atakwa?*” *nookno*. “*aŋ diʔphusa naʔa*.”

[*thup*] {*thok -wa*} =*ci* [*wek*] {*no -thiri -ok*} =*no*
 hitting.sound hit -FACT =LOC pig’s.cry.sound say -AGAIN-COS =QUOT

{*atak -wa*} {*no-ok*} =*no* [*aŋ diʔphu*] =*sa* [*naʔa*]
 do.what -FACT say-COS =QUOT 1s fart =DLIM 2s

‘When [he] hit [it] “Thwack!” [the pig] said “Squeel!” again, it is said. “What did you do/What happened?” [he] said, it is said. “[it’s] only my fart, oh you!’’

The Atong form *naŋʔ* ‘2s’ is the only form used in “you-youing”³⁸. An example of “you-youing” is given in (103) below. The pronoun *naʔa* (2s) cannot be used here.

³⁸ As in Dutch *jijbakken* ‘you-youing’, which is the childish activity of passing accusations back and forth by saying “You” “You”.

(297) *you-youing: Person A and Person B are talking to each other.*

Person A: *kaltək!* 'Person who never washes!'

Person B: *naŋʔ!* 'You!'

Person A: *naŋʔ!* 'You!'

Person B: *naŋʔ!* 'You!'

Person A: *naŋʔ!* 'You!'

The two forms of the third person singular <*geʔtheŋ* ~ *deʔtheŋ*> (3s) are in free variation, the allomorph <*geʔtheŋ*> (3s) occurs much more frequent than <*deʔtheŋ*> (3s). The composition of the first person plural inclusive <*naʔnaŋ*> (1pi) is opaque in the current stage of the language. However, it might have originated from a compound of which the elements no longer occur as separate morphemes in the language of today. The demonstratives <*ue* ~ *u-*> (DST) and <*ie* ~ *i-*> (PRX) can also be used as third person personal pronouns. As such they can take the highly selective personal pronoun plural suffix <-*təm*> (ppp). The resultant forms are *utəm* (3p) and *itəm* (3p) which are personal pronouns. The other third person plural *geʔtheŋtheŋ* shows partial reduplication. Historically the element <-*theŋ*> might have been a suffix. It might have been the phrasal enclitic <=*thaŋ*> (own), of which the vowel was harmonised with the front vowel in the first syllable /*ge* ~ *de*/. The only other enclitic that can be reduplicated with the meaning plural is <=*thaŋ*> 'own' as the next example illustrates. This enclitic probably also forms a fossilised element in the now opaque reflexive pronoun *phalthaŋ* 'self' and its plural form *palthaŋthaŋ* 'selves'.

(298) [...] *khasin-khasin gumukawan paləŋci jalɡabadəraŋaw jəkthaŋthaŋaw jumuphənnakno.*

[*khasin-khasin*] [*gumuk*] =*aw* =*an* [[*paləŋ*] =*ci*
 slow -RED all =ACC=FC/ID jungle =LOC
 {*jal*} =*ɡaba*] =*dəraŋ*=*aw*] [*jək*] =*thaŋ* =*thaŋ* =*aw*
 run.away=ATTR -p =ACC spouse =OWN =RED =ACC
 {*jumu* -*phən* -*a* -*ak*} =*no*
 collect =BACK -TOWARDS -COS =QUOT

'[They] slowly collected all their husbands back who [had] run into the jungle.'

There is another third person plural pronoun, viz. *ətəm*, which is a phonologically altered form of the distal demonstrative with the personal pronoun plural suffix

<-təm> (ppp). As far as I am aware, all the different third person plurals are in free variation.

17.3 The generic pronoun

Atong has one generic pronoun which has a free form *hay?e* (GPN) and a bound form *hay?* (GPN). The generic pronoun can be used as filler or as replacement for any NP in a clause when the speaker cannot think of the correct word ('Let me see; uh, whatchamacallit') or does not want to say it, e.g. (299), (300).

- (299) *te?do ucian pherudo biskutaw payay jalokno, paŋ?ay paŋ?ay jalokno magacakməŋ, hay?e [pause], baŋgalməŋ biskutaw.*

[te?] =do [u] =ci =an [pheru]=do [biskut] =aw {pay} =ay
now =TOP DST=LOC=FC/ID fox =TOP biscuit =ACC carry.in.hand =ADV

{jal -ok} =no {paŋ?} =ay {paŋ?} =ay {jal -ok} =no
run.away-COS =QUOT many =ADV many =ADV run.away-COS =QUOT

[magacak] =məŋ [hay?e] [baŋgal] =məŋ [biskut] =aw
deer =GEN FILLER Bengali =GEN biscuit =ACC

'Now then the fox ran away carrying the biscuits, he ran [with] a lot, a lot [of] the deer's, uh, the Bengali's biscuits.'

- (300) *Speaker S: ue, usaŋmi? bimuiŋ atonŋ məŋwa?*

Speaker J: hay?e na?a, joŋken.

[ue] [bi]=saŋ =mi [bimuiŋ] [atonŋ] {məŋ -wa}
DST QF =MOB =ABL name what call.a.name -FACT

[hay?e] [na?a] [joŋken]
FILLER 2s Pname

Speaker S: He, from where [is he]? What [is his] name called?

Speaker J: Let me see, oh you!, Jonken.

There are no clauses recorded in which the generic pronoun co-occurs with a demonstrative pronoun or any other modifier. The following example illustrates the use of the determiner. Only the relevant passages of the narrative sample have been glossed. These passages have been bolded and underlined in the translation.

- (301) [...] *ətəkəymuŋna hayʔaw garu ramgabaaw deʔthen garu ramgabaaw rətokno.*
 [...] “*uan phəwramu hayʔe garutara dəwariwate.*”

‘[... having packed the whole lunch, having done all this and having done all this and having [put] the leafy greens outside to dry she left to weed in the dry rice and vegetable field. [...] The mother came back to cook rice. **So then she collected the dried leafy greens.** [...] “Mother, oh! the curry is really tasty! You don’t cook tasty very often, why is it so tasty today, the curry? What did you add, mother?” [the son] said, it is said. [...] **“I added only that rice powder with the leafy greens, I’m telling you!”**’

ətəkəymuna [*hayʔ*] =*aw* [*garu* {*ram*} =*gaba* =*aw*
 so.then GPN =ACC mustard dry =ATTR =ACC
 [[*deʔthen garu*] {*ram*} =*gaba*] =*aw* {*rət -ok*} =*no*
 3s mustard dry =ATTR =ACC collect -COS =QUOT

‘So then she collected the dried leafy greens.’

[*u =an phəwra*] =*mu* [*hayʔe garu*] =*tara*
 DST=FC/ID rice.powder =COM GPN mustard =EXCLUSIVELY
 {*dəw -ari -wa*} =*te*
 add -just -FACT =DCL

‘I added only that, eh, rice powder with these leafy greens, I’m telling you!’

There is a homophonous generic pro-verb *hayʔ-* (PRO-VERB) which can also be used as filler for any verbal predicate head and can be translated as ‘do something, do this, this happens’ (302).

- (302) *ətəkəy phetaaymuŋna hayʔokno* [...]

[*ətəkəy*] {*phet*} -*a* =*ay* =*muna* {*hayʔ -ok*} =*no*
 like.that arrive -TOWARD =ADV =SEQ PRO-VERB -COS =QUOT
 ‘After arriving this happened, it is said [...]’

17.4 Proclauses

There are six words that form clauses on their own. These are the proclauses listed below in Table 52. The combination /hm/ stands for a voiceless bilabial nasal [m̥].

Table 52 List of proclauses

<i>hay</i>	‘Come on!; Let’s go!’
<i>haʔ</i>	‘take it from me!’
<i>hoʔoŋ</i>	‘yes’
<i>əm</i>	‘affirmative’
<i>ʔm:hmʔ</i>	‘that’s right’ This pro clause is clearly bisyllabic, it has a lower pitch on the first syllable. Pronunciation: glottal stop followed by a long voiced bilabial nasal that becomes voiceless and ends in a glottal stop.
<i>hmʔm</i>	‘no’
<i>hayda</i>	‘I don’t know.’

Proclauses differ from interjections (see §17.6) in various ways. Most proclauses express polarity, viz. *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’, *əm* ‘affirmative’, *ʔm:hmʔ* ‘that’s right’ and *hmʔm* ‘no’, while interjections do not do this. The proclause *hay* ‘Come on! Let’s go!’ is an adhortative expression and therefore expresses mood, something interjections cannot do. Some proclauses can be followed by clausal enclitics, which is another property that interjections do not have. The word *hay* ‘Come on! Let’s go!’ can take the imperative emphasiser clausal enclitic *<=to>* (IMPEMPH) as example (303) below illustrates. The word *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ can occur with the irrealis clausal enclitic *<=cəm>* (IRR) (see §26.8, example (724)), the speculative clausal enclitic *<=khon>* (SPEC) (see §26.9, example (740)) and the confirmative clausal enclitic *<=mo>* (CONF), e.g. TEXT 2, line 23, and example (520) in §21.4.

Proclauses cannot take arguments or any kind of modificatory phrase. Two proclauses, viz. *hay* ‘Come on!; Let’s go!’ and *haʔ* ‘take it from me’ can, however, have nouns that are associated with them. These nouns are always unmarked for case. The nouns that can be associated with *hay* ‘Come on!; Let’s go!’ is the person to whom the command is directed, i.e. Vocatives, which are not part of the clause, which can be any person, e.g. (303), (304). The noun associated with *haʔ* ‘take it from me’ can only be the object given, e.g. (305). Between the proclauses and their Vocatives, there will usually be a pause, but not always.

(303) *hayto mosa, naʔa aŋna həncakama.*

hay =to [mosa] [naʔa] [aŋ] =na {hən -ca -ka} =ma
 come.on = IMPEMPH friend 2s 1s =DAT give-NEG -IFT =Q
 ‘Come on buddy, aren’t you going to give [some bananas] to me?’

- (304) “
- hay aŋba*
- ”
- nookno beŋbloke*

hay [aŋ] =ba {no -ok} =no [beŋblok] =e
 come.on I =ADD say -COS =QUOT toad =FC
 “‘Come on! Me also’ said the toad, it is said.’

- (305)
- haʔ, cabi*
- .

haʔ *cabi*
 take.it.from.me key
 ‘take it from me, a/the/it’s a key.’

The affirmative and negative proclauses *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ and *hmʔm* ‘no’ indicate the attitude of the speaker towards an utterance of his interlocutor. If the speaker agrees with the utterance he will use *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ and if he disagrees *hmʔm* ‘no’ (306), (307), (308). These proclauses can be used in addition to the appropriate form of the predicate (309) or on their own as a complete answer to the question (310). If both a proclause and a predicate are expressed, the answer word usually precedes the predicate.

- (306) “
- mamuŋ dəwancate*
- ”
- nookno. ucie: “hmʔm ama naŋʔdo tayʔnido atonba dəwwa.”*

[*mamuŋ*] {*dəw-an -ca*} =te {no-ok} =no [u] =ci =e
 nothing add -REF -NEG =DECL say -COS =QUOT DST=LOC=FC

hmʔm [*ama*] [*naŋʔ*] =do [*tayʔni*] =do [*atong* =ba {*dəw-wa*}
 no mother 2s =TOP today =TOP what =INDEF add -FACT

“‘[I] did not add anything, I tell you!’ [she] said, it is said. Then: ‘No, mother, today you added something.’”

- (307) “
- ram riməlnakakhonay*
- ” “
- hoʔoŋ riməlnakakhon*
- ”

[*ram*] {*riməl -naka*} =khon =ay *hoʔoŋ* {*riməl -naka*} =khon
 road slippery -IFT =SPEC =POS yes slippery -IFT =SPEC
 “‘The road might certainly be slippery, positively!’ ‘Yes, [it] might certainly be.’”

- (308) “
- naŋʔ rayʔcawaʔ*
- ” “
- hoʔoŋ*
- .”

[*naŋ*] {*rayʔ-ca -wa*} *hoʔoŋ*
 2s go -NEG -FACT yes
 ‘You will not be going?’ ‘Yes’ (i.e. ‘I will not be going.’)

- (309) “*cəw rəɲnima?*” “*hmʔm, rəɲcawa.*”

[*cəw*] {*rəɲ -ni*} =*ma* ***hmʔm*** {*rəɲ -ca -wa*}
 rice.alcohol drink -FUT =Q no drink -NEG -FACT
 “‘Shall [we] drink liquor? No, [I] will not drink.’”

- (310) “*phəlgəm deʔetdapay tanəɲwa?*” “*hoʔoɲ*” *noʔokno.*

[*phəlgəm*] {*deʔ -et -dap*} =*ay* {*tan -aɲ -wa*}
 eagle shit -CAUS -ON.TOP =ADV put -AWAY -FACT

hoʔoɲ {*no-ok*} =*no*
 yes say -COS =QUOT

“‘An eagle dropped shit [on it]?’” “‘Yes’ [she] said’

In Text 2, line 55 we see the proclause *hoʔoɲ* ‘yes’ used as answer to the statement in line 54. The same text provides a good example of the use of the proclause *ʔm:hmʔ* ‘that’s right’ in line 47.

There is another affirmative word, viz. *əm* ‘affirmative’ that is used as the acknowledgment to statements (311), (312) and imperatives (313).

- (311) “*naɲʔawba manʔsegaɲine*” *nookno.* “*əm manʔniba naɲʔawba.*”

[*naɲʔ*] =*aw* =*ba* {*manʔ -sega-ni*} =*ne* {*no-ok*} =*no*
 2s =ACC=ADD be.able -ALT -FUT =TAG say -COS =QUOT

əm {*manʔ -ni*} =*ba* [*naɲʔ*] =*aw* =*ba*
 affirmative be.able -FUT =ADD/EMPH 2s =ACC=ADD/EMPH

“‘I’ll get you back!’” he said, it is said. “‘Yes, I’ll get you too/indeed!’”

- (312) “*ici tawʔbanok*” *nookno.* “*əm. rawʔbo*” *nookno.*

[*i*] =*ci* [*tawʔ*] {*ban -ok*} {*no-ok*} =*no*
 PRX =LOC bird trapped-COS say -COS =QUOT

əm {*rawʔ bo*} {*no-ok*} =*no*
 affirmative catch =IMP say -COS=QUOT

“‘There’s a bird trapped here’” he said, it is said. “‘Ok, catch it, he said it is said.’”

- (313) “*aṇnaba ata phulni tanbo*”, *nookno*. “*əṁ*.”

[*aṇ*] =*na* =*ba* [*ata phul* *ni*] {*tan*}=*bo*
 1s =DAT=ADD flour CLF.ROUND.BAKED.THINGS two put =IMP

{*no-ok*} =*no*

say -COS =QUOT

əṁ

affirmative

“‘Put aside two round baked things for me’ he said, it is said. ‘We will.’”

The words *hoʔoṇ* ‘yes’ and *hmʔm* ‘no’ can also be used as affirmative interjections to react to statements or conceptions, e.g. (314) and (315).

- (314) *interruption in a story and continuation*

speaker A: *ucie*...

then

speaker B: *phagoṇma* =*ci*

shoulder =LOC

speaker A: *hoʔoṇ* [*phagoṇma*] =*ci* [*saʔ*] {*gat*}=*ay* =*mu*
 yes shoulder =LOC child load =ADV =SEQ

ucie {*day -aṇ -ok*} =*no* =*ro*

then enter -AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH

speaker A: ‘Then’

speaker B: ‘On [his] shoulder’

speaker A: ‘Yes, on [his] shoulder having loaded the children, then, he went in, it is said.’

In the next example a child roaming through the forest sees a deer, and says:

- (315) *hmʔm, iawdo kawcaka*.

hmʔm [*i*] =*aw* =*do* {*kaw -ca -ka*}

no PRX =ACC=TOP shoot-NEG -IFT

‘No, I will not shoot this one.’

In the above example the child is answering an inner conception, i.e. the question of whether to shoot that deer or not.

The proclause *hayda* ‘I don’t know’ expresses ignorance on the part of the speaker and is the answer to a polar question or to a statement, e.g. (316), where a son asks a question and the mother answers that she doesn’t know.

- (316) *“ido diʔan thawokona, randaydo atongtəkəy thawarəŋnaka, mo ama?!”*
nookno. “hayda”

[i] =do [diʔ] =an {thaw -ok} =ona [randay =do [atoŋ] =təkəy
 PRX =TOP shit =FC/ID tasty -COS =DAT meat =TOP what =LIKE

{thaw -arəŋ -naka} [mo] [ama]
 tasty -DUR -IFT CONF mother

[hayda]
 I.don’t.know

“‘Because this, the shit, is so tasty, how tasty must that meat be, aren’t I right, mother?’” “I don’t know.”

17.5 Onomatopoeia

There are many onomatopoeia in Atong covering a large variety of sounds occurring in their environment. As (318) shows, onomatopoeia can be unmarked O of the verb *tak-* ‘to do’. Here are some examples.

- (317) *mmmmm, mmmmm*

Both with high falling intonation, mimics the call of an eagle.

- (318) *ətəkəymuna tokərəŋaw manʔaymuŋna haʔcina wuuuuuuuk dəm!*
takramphinoknotəy phəlgəm galʔwaan.

ətəkəymuna [tokərəŋ]=aw {manʔ} =ay =muŋna} [haʔ] =ci =na
 so.then neck =ACC get =ADV =SEQ ground =LOC =DAT

[wuuuuuuk dəm] {tak -ram -phin -ok} =no =təy
 shooooosh thud do -INEVITABLY -TOTALLY -COS =QUOT =MIR

[phəlgəm galʔ -wa] =an
 giant.eagle fall -FACT =FC/ID

‘So then, after [the little child] got [the giant eagle] in the neck, it inevitably did “swooooosh, thud!” right to the ground the fall of the (giant) eagle.’

- (319) *rəŋokno rəŋokno rəŋokno, krrrrr jamoknotəy. wetsacian jamjolay hupokno saʔgəray məlgabado.*

{*rəŋ -ok*} =*no* {*rəŋ -ok*} =*no* {*rəŋ -ok*} =*no*
 drink-COS =QUOT drink-COS =QUOT drink-COS =QUOT

krrrrr {*jam -ok*} =*no* =*təy* [*wet sa*] =*ci* =*an*
 vicious.smoking.sound finish -COS =QUOT =MIR time one=LOC=FC/ID

{*jam -jol*} =*ay* {*hup -ok*} =*no* [*saʔgəray {məl}*] =*gaba*] =*do*
 finish -QUICKLY =ADV inhale -COS =QUOT child small =ATTR =TOP

‘[He] smoked and smoked and smoked, it is said, krrrrrrr, finished quickly to everyone’s surprise. In one go [he] quickly finishingly inhaled, it is said, the little child.’

Onomatopoeia can modify verbs. Onomatopoeia cannot be the head of a predicate, cannot be a constituent in a clause, cannot be modified and cannot modify nouns.

17.6 Interjections

There are many interjections in the Atong language expressing a variety of emotions on the part of the speaker. Interjections are not part of the clause. They cannot be modified or modify nor can they take any suffixes or enclitics. Table 53 presents just a few examples of what might very well be a closed class. Those which can be glossed satisfactorily will be glossed.

Table 53 List of interjections

Anger

hət ‘Hey!’

hət sala ‘Damn! / You bastard!’

tyi sala ‘Damn! / You idiot!’

sala ‘Damn! / ‘Idiot’ This lexeme can function both as interjection meaning something like ‘damn!’ or as a noun meaning ‘idiot’. (Indic loan)

Indignation

həyts expresses indignation

Surprise and admiration

atəəəw pronounced with a long and falsetto /ə/ ‘Wooooow!’

baaa pronounced in low pitch and with a long [a]. ‘Wooooow!’ (Indic loan)

baaapre (idem) (Indic loan)

Surprise

hari ~ hare ‘Huh?’ (Indic loan)

əməy ‘Huh?’

Table 53 continued

Surprise, astonishment, amazement and grief

From strongest to lightest expression:

ayaw

aya

ayu

All can be translated as ‘Jeez!’, ‘Goodness!’ or ‘Huh?!’. The interjections *ayaw* and *aya* can also be used to express grief.

Mutual understanding

ba? ‘OK then’

ma? ‘Very well then. This interjection is attested in two instances as part of a chain of enclitics: a productive chain in (140) in §9.5 and a fossilised chain in (285) in §16.1.5. In both cases this interjection indicates surprise or unexpectedness.

de ‘OK then.’ (According to some Atong speakers this is a Garo loan.)

Attention seeking

hu hu ‘Hello?’

oy ‘Oy!’

o this interjection is pronounced on a higher pitch than the following word, usually a proper name. There is no pause between the interjection and the following word. The proper name that follows is pronounced with falling intonation, e.g. *o samrat!* ‘Hey Samrat!’

Self location

kəw pronounced short and in falsetto ‘I’m here!’

Acknowledgment

o pronounced long with rising intonation.

Chapter 18 Word-class-changing derivation

18.1 Types of derivation

Atong shows nine types of word-class changing derivation, two of which are not productive. Here below is an overview of the types of derivation. Noun incorporation by means of the support verb constructions is treated in Chapter 22.

NOUN	↔ zero derivation	↔ VERB (not productive). §18.2
NOUN	↔ zero derivation	↔ Type 2 ADJECTIVE (not productive). §18.3
ADJECTIVE	→ suffixation	→ VERB. §18.4
NOUN	→ suffixation	→ more Verb-like. §18.5
VERB/ADJECTIVE	→ reduplication	→ ADVERB. §18.6
VERB	→ zero derivation	→ ADVERB. §18.7
NOUN	→ reduplication	→ ADVERB. §18.8
VERB	→ nominalisation	→ PERSON NOUN. §18.9

18.2 Denominal verbs or deverbal nouns, zero derivation

The only aspect a nominal predicate with a prototypical noun as its head can express is negative change of state. Very few lexical items are attested, however, that can occur both as constituents in a clause and as verbal predicate heads, and can carry aspect and modality marking which only occurs on verbal/adjectival predicate heads, such as non-negative change of state (56), (327), (331), progressive aspect (329), future modality (331) and customary aspect and the imperative mood (331). All verbal occurrences of these lexical items are intransitive. Since this phenomenon occurs so rarely, I have the suspicion that we have to deal here with a closed set of lexical items that can function both as verbs and as nouns. I cannot say in which function these words appear most frequently and thus it is impossible to establish whether they are basically nouns or verbs. Table 54 presents some examples. The list is not exhaustive. Examples (324)-(327) illustrate these words as head of an NP and as predicate head.

Table 54 Nouns that also occur as verbal predicate heads.

NOUN	example	VERB	valency	example
<i>balwa</i> ‘wind’	(55)	<i>balwa</i> - ‘to blow (as wind)’	S: only the noun <i>balwa</i> ‘wind’	(55)
<i>cəwgən</i> ‘festival of the dead’	(326)	<i>cəwgən</i> - ‘to celebrate the festival of the dead, drink for a dead person’	S, A, O	(327), (328)
<i>golpho</i> ‘story’	(458)	<i>golpho</i> ‘to talk extensively’	S, A, O	(57)
<i>diʔphu</i> ‘fart’	(330)	<i>diʔphu</i> ‘to fart’	S	(331)
<i>wal</i> ‘night’	(324)	<i>wal</i> ‘to (be) night’	<i>san</i> ‘day’	(322), (56)
<i>manap</i> ‘morning’		<i>manap</i> - ‘to be morning’	zero	
<i>gasam</i> ‘evening’		<i>gasam</i> - ‘to be evening’	zero	(322)
<i>məkhaŋ</i> ‘face’		<i>məkhaŋ</i> - ‘to-face’	S and Direction	(320), (321)
<i>təyʔ</i> ‘egg’		<i>təyʔ</i> - ‘to lay an egg’	S	

(320) *aŋ geʔtheŋsaŋ məkhaŋni*

[*aŋ*] [*geʔtheŋ*] = *saŋ* {*məkhaŋ* -*ni*}
 1s 3s =MOB face -FUT
 ‘I will sit face-to-face with him.’

(321) *məkhaŋrukbo!*

{*məkhaŋ* -*ruk*} = *bo*
 face -RC =IMP
 ‘Face each other!’

(322) *teʔewdo gasamok. rayʔna manʔancak. phetaŋna dakaŋ walnaka.*

[*teʔew*] = *do* {*gasam* -*ok*} {*rayʔ*} = *na* {*manʔ* -*an* -*ca* -*k*}
 now =TOP evening-COS go =DAT be.able -REF -NEG -COS
 [*phet* -*aŋ*] = *na* [*dakaŋ*] {*wal* -*naka*}
 arrive -AWAY =DAT before night -IFT

‘Now it has become evening. We can’t go any more. It will certainly be night before we arrive.’

There is a derivation of the body-part noun *kən* ‘back’, i.e. *kənjuŋ*- ‘to turn your back to somebody’. Apart from *kən* ‘back’ and *məkhaŋ* ‘face’ no other body-part noun can function as a verb.

- (323)
- tay?ni balwa tha?rakay balwaanok.*

[*tay?ni*] [*balwa*] {*tha?rak*}=*ay* {*balwa-an* -*ok*}
 today wind strong =ADV wind -AWAY -COS
 ‘The wind blew strong today.’

- (324)
- walci ha? saw?naka.*

[*wal*] =*ci* [*ha?*] {*saw?-naka*}
 night =LOC soil burn -IFT
 ‘At night we will burn the soil.’

- (325)
- te?ewdo walok.*

[*te?ew*] =*do* {*wal* -*ok*}
 now =TOP night -COS
 ‘It has become night now.’

Notice that the verbs *wal*- ‘to (be) night’, *manap*- ‘to be morning’ and *gasam* ‘to be evening’ have a valency of zero, i.e. they cannot take any arguments. This is not unusual for verbs indicating weather events; however, in Atong these are the only verbs of such type that have zero valency. The verb *wa*- ‘to rain’ is always used with the noun *raŋ*- ‘rain’, viz. *raŋ wa-aydok* (rain rain-PROG) ‘rain is raining’. As far as other weather events are concerned, they are expressed as follows: *səltəy rat-a* (iron water hit –IMPF) ‘hail hits’, *raŋsan kam-a* (sun burn-CUST) ‘the sun burns’ (alt. ‘it’s hot’) and *balwa ganay* (wind Exist) ‘wind is’ (alt. ‘the wind blows’) Also recorded but uncertain is the lexeme *balwa* ‘wind’ used as a verb with zero valency, viz. *balwa-aydoŋa* (wind-PROG) ‘[it] is wind-ing’ in English: ‘the wind is blowing’.

- (326)
- dakaŋdo mamuŋ khem ni?wacido, dəmcəraŋsaŋsa cəwgəŋ rəŋwano.*

[*dakaŋ*] =*do* [*mamuŋ khem*] {*ni?* -*wa*} =*ci* =*do*
 before =TOP nothing drum not.exist -FACT =LOC=TOP

[*dəmcəraŋ*] =*saŋ* =*sa* [*cəwgəŋ*] {*rəŋ* -*wa*} =*no*
 snare.instrument =INSTR=DLIM festival.of.the.dead drink-FACT=QUOT

‘In the past, when there was no drum, [we] celebrated (lit. drunk) the festival of the dead only with snare instruments, it is said.’

- (327) [...] *acu ambitəkəy dəthəyciŋay takayməŋ uan meʔməŋ sawʔetokno cəwɡənokno.*

[*acu ambi*] =*təkəy* {*dəthəy -ciŋ*} =*ay* {*tak*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 grandpa grandma =LIKE kill.ritually-FIRST=ADV do =ADV =SEQ

[*u =an meʔməŋ*] {*sawʔ -et -ok*} =*no*
 DST =FC/ID ghost burn -CAUS -COS =QUOT

{*cəwɡəŋ -ok*} =*no*
 celebrate.the.festival.of.the.dead-COS=QUOT

‘Like [their] ancestors (lit. grandfather-grandmother) [in the past] having ritually killed [a lizard] [they] burned that ghost, it is said [and] celebrated the festival of the dead, it is said.’

- (328) *sangumuk morot thəygaaw cəwɡənok.*

[*san*] =*gumuk* [*morot {thəy}*] =*ga*] =*aw* {*cəwɡəŋ -ok*}
 day =whole person die =ATTR =ACC celebrate.the.festival.of.the.dead-COS
 ‘We drank the whole day at the house of the family of the dead person.’

- (329) *kəŋsaŋ golphook golphook golphook. golpho khaʔwacie walaŋaydok.*

kəŋsaŋ {*golpho -ok*} {*golpho -ok*} {*golpho -ok*}
 later.on talk.extensively -COS talk.extensively -COS talk.extensively -COS

[*golpho*] {*khaʔ-wa*} =*ci* =*e* {*wal -aŋ -aydok*}
 story do -FACT=LOC =FC night -AWAY -PROG

‘Later on they talked and talked and talked extensively. When they talk/talked, it is/was becoming night.’ Literally: ‘When they did story it is/was nighting away’.

In the next example we see the lexeme *diʔphu* ‘fart’ as a possessed noun. The Possessor is the first person singular *aŋ* ‘my’. The ability to be possessed is an exclusively nominal characteristic. Example (331) shows three occurrences of the same lexical item *diʔphu* ‘fart’: 1: as the predicate of a nominalised clause, 2: in the imperative, marked for future modality and 3: marked for change of state.

- (330) “*maʔ atəŋ kəɾəŋwa?*” *nowacie*, “*aya naqa! aŋ diʔphusa*” *nowano*
 [maʔ] [atəŋ] {kəɾəŋ -wa} {no -wa} =ci =e aya [naʔa]
 interj what make.noise -FACT say -FACT =LOC=FC excl 2s
 [aŋ diʔ-phu] =sa {no -wa} =no
 1s shit-blow =SIMP say -FACT =QUOT
 ‘When [the turtle] said “What? What was/is making that noise?”, “Aya, oh you! just my fart” [the monkey] said, it is said.’
- (331) “*aŋ diʔphuna səkaydokay.*” “*khaʔsinay diʔphubo*”, *nookno*. “*həyts! khaʔsinay diʔphuni, khasin khasin*”, *nookno*. *phəŋ!! diʔphuokno. maca thop khiʔokno, jalaŋokno.*
 [aŋ] {diʔ-phu} =na {sək -aydok -ay} {khaʔsin} =ay
 1s shit -blow =DAT want -PROG -POS soft =ADV
 {diʔ-phu} =bo {no -ok} =no [həyts] {khaʔsin} =ay
 shit -blow =IMP say -COS =QUOT interj:indignation soft =ADV
 {diʔ-phu -ni} {khaʔsin khaʔsin} {no -ok} =no
 shit -blow -FUT soft RED say -COS =QUOT
 [phəŋ] {diʔ-phu -ok} =no [maca] thop {khiʔ-ok} =no
 brap! shit -blow -COS =QUOT tiger SOUND.SYMBOL hit -COS =QUOT
 {jal -aŋ -ok} =no
 run.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT
 “[I] want to fart really badly!” “Fart softly!”, [he] said, it is said. “Huh! [I] will softly fart, softly”, [he] said, it is said. Brap!! [he] farted, it is said. [The fart] hit the tiger *thop*, it is said [and the tiger] run away, it is said.’

The word *diʔphu* ‘fart’ consists of the free morpheme *diʔ* ‘shit’ and the bound morpheme *-phu* which means something like ‘blow’ and also occurs in lexemes like *gaŋ-phu* (be.erect-blow) ‘to swell’, *hapfu* (?-blow) ‘to blow’, *tokhəphu* (neck-blow) and *thaphu* (?-blow) ‘a blister’. It is, at least in the current state of research, not clear whether the lexeme *diʔphu* ‘fart’ is basically nominal or verbal.

18.3 De-adjectival nouns or Denominal adjectives: zero derivation

There are two cases in which a noun corresponds to a Type 2 adjective with the same form. One of them is the morpheme *alaga*, which, as noun, has the meaning ‘someone else’ (332), and as Type 2 adjective has the meaning ‘other’ (333). The other correspondence is the morpheme *bədəy*, which means ‘old man’ as a noun and ‘old (of persons)’ as a Type 2 adjective.

- (332) *alagami nok*
 [*alaga* =mi *nok*]
 someone.else =GEN house
 ‘someone else’s house’

- (333) *nok alaga*
 [*nok* *alaga*]
 house other
 ‘another house’

I cannot say in which function these words appear most frequently and thus it is impossible to establish whether they are basically nouns or Type 2 adjectives.

18.4 De-adjectival verbs

Type 2 adjectives can function as modifiers to nouns and as predicate heads. The simplicitive suffix <-*ari*> (SIMP), the event specifier suffix <-*aŋ*> (AWAY) and maybe other event specifier suffixes make Type 2 adjectives more verb-like. Firstly, by expanding the range of aspectual suffixes they can take. Type 2 adjectives marked with the simplicitive can occur with the customary aspect marker <-*a*> (CUST), which otherwise never happens (334). Secondly, on a Type 1 adjective with the event specifier <-*aŋ*> (AWAY), the change of state suffix <-*ok*> (COS) no longer has the possibility of being interpreted as having an intensifying meaning (see §5.1) and can only be interpreted as denoting change of state (335). Thirdly, an adjective marked with an event specifier can only function as a predicate head. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the exact effects of event specifier suffixation on adjectives are. De-adjectival verbs are not attested in the recorded stories but appear frequently in colloquial speech.

- (334) *gapsanaria*
 {*gapsan-ari* -*a*}
 same -SIMP -CUST
 ‘[It’s/they’re] just the same.’

(335) *ətəkəymən teʔdo janʔaŋokno baŋgaldo.*

ətəkəymən [teʔ] =do {janʔ-aŋ -ok} =no [baŋgal] =do
 so.then now =TOP far -AWAY -COS =QUOT Bengali =TOP
 ‘So now he had gotten far away, it is said, the Bengali.’

18.5 Making a noun more verb-like

The simplicitive suffix <-ari> (SIMP), the event specifier <-phin> (V back), and maybe other semantically compatible event specifiers, make nouns functioning as predicate heads more verb-like by expanding the range of aspectual categories they can express. Nominal predicate heads marked with the simplicitive can take the customary aspect marker <-a> (CUST), which nominal predicate heads otherwise cannot do. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the exact effects of event specifier suffixation on nouns are. Nominal predicate heads with the simplicitive and the customary aspect are not attested in recorded stories but occur frequently in colloquial speech. Example (336) is an example from colloquial speech in which we see the noun *baju* ‘friend’ functioning as predicate head with the simplicitive event specifier suffix <-ari> (SIMP) and the customary aspect suffix <-a> (CUST) attached to it.

(336) *geʔtheŋmiba bajuaria*

{[geʔtheŋ] =mi =ba baju -ari -a}
 3s =GEN=EMPH friend -SIMP-CUST
 ‘[She] is just his friend.’

The noun *kanʔ* ‘body (of human)’ can be used as a verb after suffixation of the event specifier <-phin> (V back), viz. *kanʔphin-* ‘to turn to/on the side (of the body)’ (337).

(337) *geʔtheŋ kanʔphinay jəwarəŋ*

[geʔtheŋ] {kanʔ -phin} =ay {jəw -arəŋ}
 3s side.of.body-RETURN =ADV sleep -PROG
 ‘He is sleeping on his side.’

18.6 Deverbal and de-adjectival adverbs by reduplication

Verbal and adjectival (both types) roots, possibly enhanced with event specifier suffixes, can be reduplicated to modify the following predicate head. Example (338)

illustrates a reduplicated verbal stem, (339) shows a reduplicated Type 1 adjective with event specifier suffix, and in (482) and (340) we see a reduplicated Type 2 adjective. The deverbal and de-adjectival adverbs cannot take arguments.

- (338) *uci amakməŋ diʔsa cəret cəret hoŋkhotaydoŋano.*

uci [*amak* =*məŋ* *diʔ*] =*sa* {*cəret* *cəret*}
 then monkey =GEN shit =DLIM squirt RED

{*hoŋkhot* -*aydoŋa*} =*no*
 come.out -PROG =QUOT

‘Then the monkey’s shit came squirting out.’ Literally ‘squirtingly came out’.

- (339) *ətakəymu teʔdo jaraw jaraw roŋʔci pəyʔthatayməŋ rəpaydokno pherudo.*

ətakəymu [*teʔ*] =*do* {*ja* -*raw* *ja*-*raw*} [*roŋʔ*] =*ci*
 so.then now =TOP long.time -CONTINUOUSLY RED stone =LOC

{*pəyʔ* -*that*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 hold.on.to -EXCESSIVELY =ADV =SEQ

{*rəp* -*aŋ* -*thiri* -*ok*} =*no* [*pheru*] =*do*
 stay.in.water -AWAY -AGAIN -COS =QUOT fox =TOP

‘So then, now, [he] held on tightly to a stone and stayed in the water again for a long time it is said, the fox.’

- (340) [...] *khasin khasin gumukawan paləŋci jalgabadarəŋaw jəkthanŋthanaw jumuphəŋnaakno.*

{*khasin* *khasin*}
 slow RED

[*gumuk*] =*aw* =*an* [[*paləŋ*] =*ci* {*jal*} =*gaba*] =*daraŋ* =*aw*
 all =ACC =FC/ID jungle =LOC run.away=ATTR =p =ACC

[*jək* -*than* -*than*] =*aw* {*jumu* -*phən* -*a* -*ak*} =*no*
 spouse -own -RED =ACC collect-again-TOWARDS -COS =QUOT

‘[...the women] slowly collected everybody again, their own husbands, [the ones who] had run away to the jungle, it is said.’

- (341) *naʔnaŋdəŋdaŋ dəŋdaŋ hapsan gəlɡəlŋi*

[*naʔnaŋ*] [*dəŋdaŋ* *dəŋdaŋ*] [*hapsan*] {*gəlɡəl*-*ni*}
 1pi alone RED together roam -FUT

‘We both will roam alone in different places.’

18.7 Deverbal adverbs by zero derivation

Verbal roots and stems, i.e. the root plus stem-forming suffixes (see Table 63), can function as adverbs modifying an immediately following predicate head. The deverbal adverb cannot take any arguments. Here below are some illustrative examples of this phenomenon.

Another possible analysis of this construction is to say that the bare verbal root or stem is incorporated into the predicate of the verb it modifies. However, it appears to be possible to separate the two verbs with other elements in colloquial speech. More fieldwork is needed to test the grammaticality of the construction when elements intervene between the two verbs.

In (342) the verb *ray-thiri-thiri* ‘go again’ functions adverbially to the verb *mu?* ‘stay’. The verb *mu?* ‘stay’ adds the aspectual value of durativity to the clause, which is reflected in the English translation with ‘keep’.

- (342) *ram təŋphacaayməŋ ue ətəkəy ray?sotwae ray?mangabaaw ray?thirithiri mu?na naŋok*

[*ram*] {*təŋ -pha -ca*} =*ay* =*məŋ* [*ue*] [*ətəkəy*]
road know -IN.ADDITION -NEG=ADV =SEQ DST like.that

[*ray?* -*sot wa*] =*e*
go -directly -FACT=FC

[{*ray?-man*} =*gaba*] =*aw* [*ray?-thiri -thiri*] {*mu?*} =*na* [*naŋ -ok*]
go -ALREADY =ATTR =ACC go -AGAIN-RED stay =DAT need-COS

‘Because all of [them] did not know the way as well, that, like, shortcut, [they] had to keep taking [the road] which [they] had already taken again and again.’

Adverbialised verbs often occur in support verb constructions with the verbs *tak-* ‘to do’ and *kha?* ‘to do’ (see Chapter 22), as illustrated in the following examples.

- (343) *magacakmi mən?do təysiwacian miniksuru takjolarianoro*

[*magacak=mi mən?*] =*do* {*təysi-wa*} =*ci -an*
deer =GEN body.hair =TOP wet -FACT=LOC =FC/ID

[*miniksuru*] {*tak -jol ari -a*} =*no* =*ro*
be.flat-haired do -QUICKLY -SIMP-CUST =QUOTE=EMPH

‘As for the deer’s body hair, when [it] is wet [it] just quickly get’s flat-haired, it is said.’

- (344) [...] “*phalthaŋ peŋʔay tananɣabaw raʔphin khaʔna, deŋet khaʔna*” *noymu, bandiaw watetna cayaydokno.*

[[*phalthaŋ*] {*peŋʔ*} =*ay* {*tan-an*} =*gaba*] =*aw* [*raʔ-phin*] {*khaʔ*} =*na*
 self curse =ADV put -AWAY=ATTR =ACC get -back do =DAT

[*deŋ -et*] {*khaʔ*} =*na* {*no*} =*ay* =*mu*
 untie -CAUS do =DAT say =ADV =SEQ

[*bandi*] =*aw* {*wat-et*} =*na* {*canci -aydok*} =*no*
 Name =ACC send -CAUS =DAT think -PROG =QUOT

‘[...the supreme god] [I] want to undo [literally: ‘to get back’], to untie the curse which [I] [my]self have put [upon the village], [he] said and, [he] was/is thinking about sending Bandi, it is said.’

- (345) *ətəkmaʔciba uba saʔgərayba jumu khaʔthirithirioknotəy.*

ətəkmaʔciba [*u*] =*ba* [*saʔgəray*] =*ba*
 but DST=EMPH child =EMPH

[*jumu*] {*khaʔ -thiri -thiri -ok*} =*no* =*tyi*}
 reassemble do -AGAIN -RED -COS =QUOT =MIR

‘But that child reassembled once again, it is said to our surprise.’

18.8 Denominal adverbs

Adverbs can be derived from nouns by reduplication. The results of these processes can be classified in terms of their adverbial versus nominal character as illustrated in Table 55.

Table 55 The properties of denominal adverbs compared to those of adverbs and nouns

ADVERBS	ADVERBIALISED NOUNS		NOUNS
	REDUPLICATION		
	TEMPORAL NOUNS	OTHER NOUNS	
cannot function as head of a predicate			can function as head of a predicate
cannot take case marking	not attested with case marking	can take case marking	
can modify adjectives and verbs			cannot modify verbs and adjectives

As we can see in Table 55 the adverbialised temporal nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a period of time, are most adverbial, while all other adverbialised nouns still display a nominal property, i.e. they can take case-marking. On adverbial temporal nouns, e.g.

(346), case marking is never attested, whereas example (347) has case marking on a non-temporal denominal adverb.

- (346) *ayaw nawməl san sanba nangʔnaba khaʔgalwa jamcaaydok.*

ayaw [*nawməl*] [*san san*]=*ba* [*nangʔ*] =*na* =*ba*
 excl unmarried.girl day RED =EMPH 2s =DAT=EMPH
 {*khaʔgal* -*wa*} {*jam-ca* -*aydok*}
 love -FACT stop -NEG-PROG

‘The girls are not stopping to love you every day.’

- (347) *umuṅsa soṅgumuk thomʔaymuṅ haʔba haʔrən haʔrənaw sowalni.*

umuṅsa [*soṅ*] =*gumuk* {*thomʔ*} =*ay* =*muṅ*
 CONJ village =whole assemble =ADV =SEQ
 [*haʔba*] [*haʔrən haʔrən*]=*aw* {*sowal* -*ni*}
 dry.rice.and.vegetable.field plot RED =ACC divide-FUT

‘Then, the whole village having come together, [they] will divide the land plot by plot.’

In example (347) we see an overlap of clausal functions, viz. affected participant and adverbial clause. The reduplication in (347) has case marking because not only does it indicate the way in which the action denoted by the verb takes place, the adverbial function, but the reduplicated noun is also marked by the speaker as the O argument with the accusative enclitic <=*aw*> (ACC), because the plots of land are what is seen as most affected by the verb *sowal*- ‘to divide’ and as a topical NP. It is impossible to determine whether the NP *haʔba* ‘dry rice and vegetable field’ is in S or O function in the clause, since we can interpret the verb as being used as an S_O ambitransitive or as transitive with an ellipsed A, which would be coreferential with *soṅ=gumuk* (village=whole) ‘the whole village’. O arguments can be unmarked in Atong and case marking is primarily semantically and pragmatically based³⁹.

³⁹ It is possible for a clause in Atong to contain two accusative-marked arguments, i.e. in sentences with a causativised transitive verb where Causee and O are both accusative-marked and in clauses as

18.9 Nominalisation

Nominalisation creates a noun denoting a person from a verb by using only a verbal root plus nominal derivational enclitic or a root plus an event specifier. Bare verbal roots are not attested as nominalised person noun derivations. Nouns denoting a person are attested in predicate head function, as clausal constituent and as term of address. Both phenomena, the root plus nominal derivational enclitic or a root plus an event specifier, can be called ‘zero-marked nominalisation’ because the derivation is semantic and syntactic but not formal, i.e. there is no specific nominaliser morpheme involved. As for the verbal roots with phrasal enclitics, one can also say that the enclitics act as nominalisers.

Most derived person nouns come from transitive verbs, but, when semantically appropriate in the right context, also from intransitive ones, as we can see in (349). Derived person nouns can take nominal inflectional and derivational morphology.

Example (348) comes from a contemporary Atong rap song by Samrat Nokrek Marak. In this example the two derived person nouns *məkca* ‘sweetheart’ and *khaʔgal* ‘love’, i.e. ‘person who someone loves’, both carry the third person A/S co-referential possessive derivational enclitic *=thaŋ* (OWN). Both derived person nouns are interpreted as Patient nominalisations.

(348) *muʔ, muʔ, caʔmethaŋmu muʔ. məkcathaŋ khaʔgalthaŋ je səkgamu muʔ.*

{*muʔ*} {*muʔ*} [*caʔme*] =*thaŋ*=*mu* [*muʔ*]
 stay stay sweetheart =OWN=COM stay
 [*məkca*] =*thaŋ* [*khaʔgal*] =*thaŋ* [*je* {*sək*} =*ga*] =*mu* {*muʔ*}
 fancy =OWN love =OWN whoever want =ATTR =COM stay
 ‘Stay, stay, stay with your sweetheart. With the one [you] fancy, with your love, with whoever [you] want, stay.’

illustrated by the following example. In that example the first NP, *sam* ‘grass’, is semantic patient and the second, *caʔ* ‘foot/leg’ an instrument.

samaw caʔaw itəkəy tokano.

[*sam*] =*aw* [*caʔ*] =*aw* [*i*] =*təkəy* {*tok-a*} =*no*
 grass =ACC foot =ACC PRX =LIKE hit -CUST =QUOT
 ‘[They] trample the grass like this with [their] feet.’

A verbal root or stem can possibly be an imperative. However, in Text 2, line 32 we find the clause represented here for convenience as (349). And there we see that the clause contains a topical S argument, which would not be possible if the clause were an imperative since imperatives in Atong are second person only. Thus, the verbal form can be analysed as a partial nominalisation indicating a person. Other examples of this grammatical phenomenon are (350) and (351).

An alternative analysis of the unmarked forms verbal roots or stems in (349) and (350) is the following: these forms are actually verbs functioning as predicate heads of declarative clauses but without any predicate marking and hence with an habitual overtone. This analysis is problematic for (351), since the bare stem is used as address term, but this could well be explained as a pragmatic interpretation.

(349) *aŋdo niʔsəraŋ.*

[aŋ] =do { [niʔ _____ -səraŋ]_{NP} }_{PREDICATE HEAD}

1s =TOP not.exist -TOTALLY

‘I’m a total not-haver.’ Alternatively: ‘I totally never have [a girlfriend].’

Other examples of zero-marked nominalisation are given here below. The context in which these occur is as follows. The story teller is saying how precious the soil of the Garo Hills is, but that the Atong and Garo do not know how to make use of it. And then the foreigners came and they are so great and rich. They have big salaries, they can read and study and do not bother their mother. How much do they earn in a month? They always have enough money to meet expenses. This is not so with the Garo and Atong, because of (350).

(350) *naʔnaŋacido tiktikca. saʔboŋboŋ rəŋboŋboŋ. manʔgabaaw saʔphet rəŋphet.*

[naʔnaŋ] =ci =do { tiktik _____ -ca }

1pi =LOC=TOP be.sufficient -NEG

{ [saʔ-boŋboŋ] } { [rəŋ-boŋboŋ] }

eat -MORE.THAN.NECESSARY drink -MORE.THAN.NECESSARY

[{manʔ}] =gaba =aw { [saʔ-phet] } { [rəŋ-phet] }

have =ATTR =ACC eat -TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT drink -TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT

‘We do not meet our expenses with out money. (Lit. ‘At us [it is] not sufficient’.) [We are] gluttons and drunks.’ Alternatively: ‘[We] always eat too

much and drink too much.’ ‘Those who are rich (Literally: ‘those who have’) are self-destructive drunks and gluttons’ Alternatively: ‘Those who are rich always eat and drink to their detriment.’

Zero-marked nominalisations can be used in an address term function, i.e. something to call a person. One of the most frequently used is shown in (351):

- (351) *reʔeŋ butaŋ!*
 {*reʔeŋ*} [*but* *-aŋ*]
 go.away penetrate-WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK
 ‘Go away, fucker!’

Zero-marked nominalisations are not attested with arguments, i.e. as a clause. So it might well be that they have lost this verbal property. More fieldwork is needed to find out exactly what the morphological and syntactic properties these zero-marked nominalisations have. It would be interesting to know if these zero-marked nominalisers can be modified with demonstratives and occur in possessive constructions. I have the strong impression that the process of zero-marked nominalisation is either not fully productive or that only certain, semantically suitable verbs used in the right context can take part in this process, i.e. zero-marked nominalisation could be pragmatically constrained. More fieldwork needs to be carried out to find out what exactly these pragmatic constraints are.

Chapter 19 Phrasal enclitics

Phrasal enclitics are grammatical words that modify a phrase and occur in a fixed position at the end of the phrase, irrespective of whether the last constituent of that phrase is the head or not (see Anderson, 1992). For a phrasal enclitic to occur, its semantics must be compatible with the semantics of the phrase they enclitise to. Table 56 gives an overview of the phrasal enclitics in Atong. Some of the enclitics, indicated in the table, also function as clausal enclitics. All the enclitics will be described one by one below, except for the case markers, which are treated in Chapter 20.

Table 56 Overview of NP enclitics

NAME	MORPHEME	LABEL	
possessive	<= <i>thaŋ</i> >	(OWN)	
reciprocal	<= <i>maran</i> >	(RC)	
plural	<= <i>dəraŋ</i> >	(p)	
quantifier	<= <i>gumuk</i> >	‘all, whole’	
distributive	<= <i>pek</i> >	(DIS)	
exclusive	<= <i>tara</i> >	(EXCLUSIVELY)	
privative	<= <i>nəy</i> ~ = <i>ni</i> >	(PRIV)	
privative	<= <i>ri</i> >	(LOST)	
locational/quantificational-delimitative	<= <i>rara</i> >	(AMONG/ALL.EXCLUSIVELY)	
associative	<= <i>para</i> >	(&co)	
alternative	<= <i>sega</i> ~ = <i>sigə</i> >	(ALT)	
additive/emphatic	<= <i>ba</i> >	(ADD/EMPH)	Also clausal enclitic (see Table 70)
focus/identifier	<= <i>an</i> >	(FC/ID)	
topic	<= <i>do</i> >	(TOP)	
focus	<= <i>e</i> >	(FC)	
delimitative	<= <i>sa</i> >	(DLIM)	Also clausal enclitic, treated in §11.7.
case marking enclitics (see Table 58)			

19.1 The possessive enclitic <=*than*>

The NP enclitic <=*than*> (OWN) has two functions. One function is as a third person co-referential possessor marker. The enclitic codes intra-clausal co-reference with the S or A of the clause which is the possessor of the constituent marked by <=*than*> (OWN), e.g. (768) and (353).

(352) *ətakəyməŋ teʔewdo amakdo nokthanɕina doŋaŋwacido naʔ niʔoknoa.*

ətakəyməŋ teʔew =do [amak]_S =do [nok] =*than* =ci =na
so.then now =TOP monkey =TOP house -SF.OWN =LOC=DAT

{*doŋ -aŋ -wa*} =ci =do [naʔ] {*niʔ -ok*} =no
enter -AWAY -FACT =LOC=TOP fish NEG.be -COS =QUOT

‘So then, now, when the monkey reached his own house, there was no more fish left.’

In example (353) the morpheme <=*than*> (OWN) is coreferential with the A argument, viz. *amak=ba* (monkey-EMPH) ‘monkey’ of the clause and not with the genitive-marked NP constituent *rupek-məŋ* (frog=GEN).

(353) [...] *noay takaidoŋano, amakba, rupek-məŋ bayʔsigathangaba budiaw təŋsəmay takayməŋ.*

{*no*} =ay {*tak =aydoŋa*} =no [amak] =ba
say =ADV do -PROG =QUOT monkey -EMPH

[*rupek =məŋ bayʔsiga*] =*than* =gaba [*budi*] =aw
frog =GEN friend OWN =DREL -trick=ACC

{*təŋ -səŋ*} =ay {*tak*} =ay =məŋ
know-IMITATE=ADV do =ADV =SEQ

‘[“Just look in my mind later”] [he] said, the monkey, having remembered and imitated the trick of his own friend the frog.’ Literally: ‘[...] sayingly did [he], the monkey, having think-followed the trick of his own friend the frog.’

The possessive is the only enclitic that can be reduplicated; the reduplication indicates plurality of the S/A referent, as we can see in examples (354).

- (354) *uan baydamdo hawʔaŋmanʔgaba haʔgun saʔaŋmanʔgaba haʔrənthəŋthaŋaw khaŋa.*

[u] =an [baydam] =do {hawʔ -aŋ -manʔ} =gaba
DST=FC/ID some.people =TOP clear.the.jungle -AWAY -ALREADY =ATTR

haʔgun {saʔ -aŋ -manʔ} =gaba
old.rice.field eat -AWAY -ALREADY =ATTR

[haʔrən] =thaŋ =thaŋ =aw {khaŋ -a}
parcel =OWN =OWN =ACC occupy-CUST

‘As for those, some people occupy their own parcels: old rice fields which have already been cleared, which have already been eaten up.’

The other function of <=thaŋ> is that of a marker of kinship terms (Chapter 1) independently of the syntactic function this noun has in the clause.

19.2 The reciprocal enclitic <=maran>

The enclitic <=maran> (RC) indicates reciprocity on NPs and indicates plurality. It occurs only on NPs referring to kinship relations and other interpersonal relations and seldom occurs without the possessive enclitic <=thaŋ> (OWN) preceding it. When the enclitic <=maran> (RC) is added to an NP, the NP refers to a group of two or more people that are at the same time Possessor and Possessee, which makes the possessive relationship reciprocal. Examples (355) and (356) are illustrative of the usual co-occurrence of the reciprocal and the possessive enclitics.

- (355) *ətakəyməŋ bayʔsigathaŋmaran təy dukuŋokno dukuŋokno dukuŋokno.*

ətakəyməŋ [bayʔsiga] =thaŋ =**maran** [təy] {dukuŋ-ok} =no
so.then friend OWN =RC water dam.up-COS =QUOT

{dukuŋ-ok} =no {dukuŋ-ok} =no
dam.up-COS =QUOT dam.up-COS =QUOT

‘So then, the mutual friends dammed up the water and dammed [it] up and dammed [it] up.’

- (356) *ətəkəyməŋ geʔthen thendo bədəythaŋmaran koksikoŋdaŋ dukunaydoknoa.*
 ətəkəyməŋ [geʔthenthen] =do [bədəy] =thaŋ =**maran** koksikoŋdaŋ
 so.then 3p =TOP old.person =OWN =RC disorderly
 {dukunaydok} =noa
 dam.up-PROG =QUOT
 ‘So then, they, the old couple, dammed [the water] up disorderly.’

When, in the two examples above, the reciprocal enclitic would be removed, the meaning would change: *bayʔsiga=thaŋ* (friend=OWN) ‘[somebody’s] friend(s)’ and *bədəy=thaŋ* (old.person=OWN) ‘[somebody’s] old person(s)’.

There are very few recorded instances of the enclitic <=maran> (RC) being used without <=thaŋ> (OWN), e.g. (357) and (358).

- (357) [...] *nosalimu kaŋsalimusa jaʔnawmaran naʔceŋ jəwʔna reəŋaymusa* [...].
 [nosali =mu [kaŋsali] =mu =sa [jaʔnaw] =**maran**
 Name =COM Name =COM =DLIM sister =RC
 [naʔceŋ] {joyʔ} =na {reʔeŋ} =ay =mu =sa
 shrimp catch =DAT go.away =ADV =SEQ =DLIM
 ‘The “mutual” sisters [‘sisters to each other’] Kaŋsai and Kaŋsali went to catch shrimps...’
- (358) [...] *gambirimu gamsilimu jaʔnawmarane senthiokno.*
 [gambiri] =mu [gamsili] =mu [jaʔnaw] =**maran** =e
 type.of.tree =COM type.of.tree =COM sister =RC =FC
 {senthi-ok} =no
 lament -COS =QUOT
 ‘[“When are you going to dress us in clothes?”] lamented the *gambiri* and *gamsili* tree to the mutual sisters.’

The titles of TEXT 1 and 2, viz. *sadu=thaŋ=maran məŋʔ tham* (the.relationship.between.men.whose.wives.are.sisters=OWN=RC CLS:HUMANS three) ‘The three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’, prove that NPs with a reciprocal enclitic can also refer to a reciprocal possessive relationship between more than two persons.

19.3 The plural enclitic <=*daraŋ* ~ *dəraŋ*>

The morpheme <=*daraŋ* ~ *dəraŋ*> (p), whose allomorphs are in free variation, indicates plurality on NPs with countable nouns and quantification on NPs with uncountable nouns as their head. This enclitic also occurs on demonstratives. The distal demonstrative functioning as personal pronoun has a personal pronoun plural form *utəm* ~ *ətəm* (3p). NPs in Atong do not have to be marked for plural to indicate plurality of the referents. The plural enclitic is thus used on NPs with countable nouns:

- to indicate plurality in a context in which the plurality of the nominal referent would not otherwise be evident, e.g. (359), (360).
- to emphasise the notion of plurality of the referents, e.g. (361), (366),
- to indicate plurality or multiple occurrence when it appears on time words (362).

The following example is the opening sentence of a story. Plural marking on the NP is used here to disambiguate the fact that there was more than one animal, since no previous context is available for disambiguation.

(359) *sagaba matbəraŋdəraŋ* : “*naŋnaŋdo raja niŋkhua*”.

[*sa* -*gaba*] [*matbəraŋ*] =*daraŋ* [*naŋnaŋ* =*do*] [*raja*] {*niŋ* -*khu* -*a*}
 one-ATTR animal =p 1pi =TOP king NEG.be -INCOM -CUST
 ‘Firstly the animals [said]: “Weⁱ don’t have a king yet.”’

The plural marking in (360) is used by the speaker to indicate that he is talking about all the foreign people, i.e. white people, instead of just about the one in the audience, i.e. the author.

(360) *mayawdo paŋʔay saŋca phorenmi morotdəraŋdo*.

[*may* -*aw*] =*do* {*paŋʔ*} =*ay* {*saŋ* -*ca*}
 rice =ACC=TOP much =ADV eat -NEG
 [*phoren* =*mi* *morot*] =*daraŋ* =*do*
 foreign =GEN person =p =TOP
 ‘[They] don’t eat a lot of rice, foreign people.’

Example (361) illustrates the use of the plural enclitic to emphasise the notion of plurality of the referents.

- (361) *ətəkəyməŋ naʔdaraŋdo uaw rukpek bisi rəŋaymu gumukan thəytokoknoa.*
 ətəkəyməŋ [naʔ] =daraŋ =do [u =aw rupek bisi] {rəŋ} =ay =mu
 so.then fish =p =TOP DST =ACC frog poison drink =ADV =SEQ
 [gumuk] =an {thəy-ok} =noa
 all =FC/ID die -COS =QUOT
 ‘So then, the fish, having drunk that frog’s poison, all died, it is said.’

That the plural enclitic <=*daraŋ* ~ =*daraŋ*> (p) can indicate plurality or multiple occurrence in a very abstract way becomes clear when it appears on abstract nouns like in example (362) here below, where *somay*, an Indic loan, is an abstract noun meaning ‘time’. The example describes a recurring event, a custom, which is also indicated by the customary aspect morpheme on the prediacte head. The use of the word *somay* ‘time’ in the plural is reminiscent of the plural use of the English word ‘time’ in sentences as ‘in those times one went to school at seven’ or ‘during times of crisis...’.

- (362) *umuŋdo marsja somaydaraŋci sawʔa.*
 umuŋ =do [mars ja =ci somay] =daraŋ =ci {sawʔ-a}
 CONJ =TOP March month =LOC time =p =LOC burn -CUST
 ‘So then, whenever March comes [you] burn [the jungle].’ Literally: ‘So then, in the times of month of March...’

Example (363) here below shows that when the event is not recurring there is no plural marking on *somay* ‘time’ in the same construction as above in (362).

- (363) *dakaŋmi somaydo niŋ piʔsa məlbutuŋcido nokma nodagdo manʔay saʔgasa gam paŋʔgasa nokma mənə.*

[*dakaŋ* =*mi* ***somay***] =*do* [[*piʔsa* (*Garó*)] {*məl* -*butuŋ*} =*ci* =*do*
before =GEN time =TOP child small -WHEN =LOC =TOP

[[*nokma*] {*no*} =*ga*] =*do* [{*manʔ*} =*ay* {*saʔ*} =*ga*] =*sa*
big.shot say =ATTR =TOP in.great.amounts =ADV eat =ATTR =DLIM

[*gam* {*paŋʔ*} =*ga* =*sa* [*nokma*] {*mənə* -*a*}
wealth big =ATTR =DLIM big.shot call.a.name -CUST

‘In the past, when [I] was a small child, as for a so called *nokma*, only [someone] who was rich (lit. ‘eats in great amounts’) [and] whose wealth was great was called a *nokma*.’

The plural morpheme on NPs referring to uncountable or mass nouns can indicate a great quantity of some substance, e.g. (364). In that example we see the NP with the uncountable noun *may* ‘rice’ as its head.

- (364) *aŋ ie maydəraŋaw saʔcawa.*

[*aŋ*] [*ie may*] =***daraŋ*** =*aw* {*saʔ* -*ca* -*wa*}
1s PRX rice =p =ACC eat -NEG -FACT
‘I’m not going to eat all that rice.’

The enclitic <=*daraŋ* ~ =*dəraŋ*> (p) can occur on quantified NPs with a numeral higher than one:

- to reinforce the notion of plurality,
- to indicate that the number is approximate (see §11.5).

Context is an important factor for the interpretation of the plural marker on a quantified NP. The plural marker is not attested on NPs containing the numeral one. Atong has no numeral for zero.

Example (365) illustrates that it is not necessary to mark a noun for plural when the context already indicates this. The words *saʔ* ‘child’ and *saʔgəraŋ* ‘child’, in bold face, are not marked for plural throughout the text, although it is clear from the start that the referents are plural. This example contrasts with example (366) below where the plural is used to emphasise the plurality of the referents of the same word *saʔ* ‘child’.

- (365) *te?ewba gorialci sa? mən? sene ganaŋno. [...] “aya bay?sigā, naŋ?cido sa? paŋ?ate! Aŋa mən?tham naŋ? sa?aw poraykalna watetbo”, noaymən pherue pi?okno. [...]. ucido pheru balokno: “naŋ? sa?do bəlonen leka porayna man?a”. [...] “naŋ? sa? ataknaay nokci tanna?” noaymən. [...] te?ewdo pherudo kakay sa?manokno sa?gəraydo.*

[*te?ew*]=*ba* [*gorial*] =*ci* =*e* [*sa?* *mən?* *sene*] {*ganaŋ*=*no*
now =EMPH crocodile=LOC=FC child CLF.HUMANS seven exist =QUOT

aya bay?sigā [*naŋ?*]=*ci* =*do* [*sa?*] {*paŋ?* -*a*} =*te*
interj friend 2s =LOC=TOP child many -CUST =DCL

[*aŋa*][*mən?* *tham naŋ?* *sa?*] =*aw*
1s CLF.HUMANS three 2s child =ACC

{*poray* -*khal*} =*na* {*watet*} =*bo* {*no*} =*ay* =*mən?*
teach -CP =DAT send =IMP say =ADV =SEQ

[*pheru*]=*e* {*pi?* =*ok*} =*no* [*u*] =*ci* =*do* [*pheru*]{*bal* -*ok*} =*no*
fox =FC ask -COS =QUOT DST=LOC=TOP fox say -COS =QUOT

[*naŋ?* *sa?*] =*do* [*bəlonen*] [*leka*] {*poray*} =*na* {*man?* -*a*} [*naŋ?* *sa?*]
2s child =TOP very book read =DAT be.able -CUST 2s child

[*atakna*] =*ay* [*nok*] =*ci* {*tan*} =*na* {*no*} =*ay* =*mən?* [*te?ew*] =*do*
why =POS house =LOC keep =DAT say =ADV =SEQ now =TOP

[*pheru*] =*do* {*kak*} =*ay* {*sa?* -*man* -*ok*} =*no* [*sa?gəray*] =*do*
fox =TOP bite =ADV eat ALREADY -COS QUOT child =TOP

‘Now the crocodile had seven children, it is said. “Jee, friend, you have a lot of children! Send me three of your children to teach”, sayingly asked the fox. Then the fox said, it is said: “Your children can read books very well. Why would you like to keep your [other] children at home?” [he] said. [and he asked to teach the other four as well]. Now the fox had already devoured (lit. ‘bitingly eaten’) [them], it is said, the children.’

- (366) *ətakəymu sa?daraŋba paŋ?anoa.*

ətakəymu [*sa?*] =*daraŋ* =*ba* {*paŋ?* -*a*} =*noa*
so.then child =p =EMPH many -CUST =QUOT
‘So then, there where many children, it is said.’

The morpheme *daraŋ* occurs as a modifier preceding a noun in example (385). In that example the gloss of *daraŋ* is ‘every’. The morpheme *daraŋ* also occurs as a free noun, as in example (178), where it is glossed ‘anybody’.

19.4 The quantifier enclitic <=*gumuk*>

As can be seen in example (361), the enclitic *gumuk* can occur as a noun on its own meaning ‘all, everything, everybody’. The same morpheme can be cliticised to other

NPs and demonstratives with the meaning ‘all, whole’. This is demonstrated in examples (367) and (368). The enclitic can attach to NPs with both countable and uncountable nouns. In the example below the enclitic occurs on countable nouns. An example of *<=gumuk>* on an uncountable noun is [*jan̩gi kheŋ-wa*]=*gumuk* (life live-FACT=whole) ‘[your] whole life’.

- (367) *soŋgumukan ue moŋma wana waykhurutaysa boli hənʔaysa manʔay saʔthokwano.*

[*soŋ*] =*gumuk* =*an* [*ue moŋma wa*] =*na*
village =whole =FC/ID DST elephant tooth =DAT

{*way khurut*} =*ay* =*sa* {*boli hənʔ*} =*ay* =*sa*
spirit incantate=ADV =DLIM offering give =ADV=DLIM

{*manʔ* =*ay*} {*saʔ -thok -wa*} =*no*
in.great.amounts=ADV eat -ALL -FACT =QUOT

‘The whole village, [because] [they] prayed to the elephant tusk [and because] [they] gave offerings, [they] all became rich, it is said.’

- (368) *ətəm məŋʔ nie sangumuk gəl̩gəlaroŋno*

[*ətəm məŋʔ ni*] =*e* [*san*] =*gumuk* {*gəl̩l -aroŋ*} =*no*
3p CLF:HUMANS two =FC day =whole roam -PROG =QUOT

‘The two of them are roaming the whole day, it is said.’

19.5 The distributive enclitic *<=pek>*

The distributive enclitic *<=pek>* (DIS) can be reduplicated to reinforce a notion of plurality of the referent to which it is enclitised. The enclitic occurs on nouns (369) and numeral classifiers (370) and is only attested with reference to countable nouns.

- (369) *paleŋma buruŋ baŋa baŋa haw?waan puŋpek phiŋano.*

[*paleŋma* *buruŋ* *baŋa baŋa*] {*haw?* -*wa*} =*an*
type.of.plant bush five RED clear -FACT=FC/ID

[*puŋ*]_____ =*pek* {*phiŋ* -*a*} =*no*
rice.stock.house =DIS be.full-CUST =QUOT

‘[They] cut five bushes of *Barebinia xariegata* each [and] one rice stock house each was filled, it is said.’

- (370) *aca naŋ?təme aŋa sancī maŋpek hən?ni [...]*

aca [*naŋ?təme*] =*e* [*aŋa*] [*sancī*] =*ci* [*maŋ*]_____ =*pek* {*hən?* -*ni*}
interj 2s -ppp =FC 1s day =LOC CLF.ANIMALS =DIS give -FUT

‘“Right then, you^p shall give me one of each animal [every] day”, [the lion said, it is said].’

19.6 The “exclusive” enclitic <=*tara*>

The morpheme <=*tara*> (EXCLUSIVELY) can be understood as indicating ‘exclusively the referent’. The following examples illustrate this.

- (371) *morot məŋ? sa ganəŋno. uba jəw?taraanokno. wa? ni?okno.*

[*morot* *məŋ?* *sa*] {*ganəŋ*} =*no*
person CLF:HUMANS one exist =QUOT

[*u*] =*ba* {[*jəw?*]_____ =*tara* =*an* -*ok*} =*no*
DST=EMBH mother =EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID -COS =QUOT

[*wa?*] {*ni?* -*ok*} =*no*
father not.exist -COS =QUOT

‘There is one person, it is said. She has become a single mother, it is said. There is no more father, it is said.’

- (372) *umigəmən na?nəŋe ie ha?gəlsakci phalthəŋawtara cuŋnukna naŋarica, gumukan hapsan ra?na nəŋa.*

[*u* =*mi* *gəmən*] [*na?nəŋe*] =*e* [*ie* *ha?gəlsak*] =*ci*
DST=GEN reason 1pi =FC PRX world =LOC

[*phalthəŋ*] =*aw* =*tara* {*cuŋ*} {*nuk*} =*na* {*naŋ* -*ari* -*ca*}
self =ACC-only big see =DAT must -SIMP-NEG

[*gumuk*] =*an* [*hapsan*] {*ra?*} =*na* {*naŋ* -*a*}
everybody =FC/ID same take =DAT must -CUST

‘Therefore we must not just consider only ourselves as big in this world, [we] have to consider everybody [as being] the same.’

19.7 The privative enclitics <=*nəy* ~ *ni*> and <=*ri*>

The enclitic <=*nəy* ~ *ni*> (PRIV) is most probably an Indic loan, cf the Hindi negative morpheme नहीँ /*nəhĩ̃*/. The allomorphs of the privative enclitic <=*nəy* ~ *ni*> (PRIV) are in free variation, the allomorph <=*nəy*> is predominant in the Badri area whereas <=*ni*> is most often used in Siju. The difference between the two morphemes is that <=*ri*> (LOST) means that something was lost and therefore not present whereas <=*nəy* ~ *ni*> (PRIV) simply indicates that something is not present (374). There are only two occurrences of <=*ri*> (LOST) in the recorded corpus; they are represented here below in (373).

(373) *haʔgəlsakci aŋa jəkri muʔwaba, uanarinaka, saʔri paraŋwaba, [...]*.

[*haʔgəlsak*] =*ci* [*aŋa*] [*jək*] =*ri* {*muʔ-wa*} =*ba*
 world =LOC 1s wife =LOST stay-FACT =EMPH

{[*u*] =*an* -*ari* -*naka*} [*saʔ*] =*ri* {*paraŋ* -*wa*} =*ba*
 DST =FC/ID -SIMP -IFT child =LOST wander.around-FACT =EMPH

‘I lived in the world having lost a wife indeed, it will just be the same, [I] wandered around having lost [my] children indeed, [it will be the same. What benefit is there in being married to you?].’

(374) *cininəy·ca takbo*

[*cini*] =*nəy* [*ca*] {*tak*} =*bo*
 sugar=PRIV tea make=IMP
 ‘Make tea without sugar.’

19.8 The enclitic <=*rara*>

The morpheme <=*rara*> ‘among, all/exclusively’ has two meanings, viz. a locational one and an quantificational/delimitative one. The locational sense is illustrated in (375), (376) and (381) below, where seems to indicate category of origin to which something belongs.

(375) *te?do ge?the?the?do bobarara mən?ni golpho ka?rukoko.*

[*te?ew*]=*do* [*ge?the?the?*] =*do* [*boba*]_____=*rara* [*mən?* -*ni*]
 now =TOP 3p =TOP crazy.person =AMONG CLF.HUMANS -two

{*golpho ka?-ruk -ok*} =*no*
 story do -RC -COS =QUOT

‘Now then, the crazy men amongst each other, two of them, talked [lit. ‘did story’] to each other, it is said.’

(376) *alsia rajado morotraraanno.*

[*alsia raja*] =*do* {[*morot*] -*rara* =*an*} =*no*
 lazy king =TOP human -AMONG =FC/ID =QUOT

‘The lazy king is only a human, it is said.’ Alternatively: ‘the lazy king is from among the humans.’

The quantificational/delimitative function of the enclitic <=*rara*> is illustrated in the following example.

(377) *utəme morote gawigababa biphagababa bobirara bobararanowa.*

[*u -təm*] =*e* [*morot*] =*e* [*gawigaba*] =*ba* [*biphagaba*] =*ba*
 DST-ppp =FC person =FC wife =ADD husband =ADD

{[*bobi*]_____=*rara*]
 crazy.woman =ALL/EXCLUSIVELY

[*boba*]_____=*rara*] =*no* -*wa*
 crazy.man =ALL/EXCLUSIVELY =QUOT -FACT

‘They, these people, the wives and husbands, [are] all crazy women and crazy men, it is said.’

19.9 The associative enclitic <=*para*>

The associative only occurs on personal names (378), kinship terms (379) and on nouns denoting persons or animals, but only when the animals act like persons in stories (380). The associative indicates that the referent belongs to a group of people associated with a named person (see Moravcsik, 2003). In two instances an associative-marked noun has been lexicalised, viz. *ama=para* (mother-&co) and *jəw?ə=para* (mother-&co) both mean ‘mother’s household/mother’s house’. The associative can be enclitised to an NP in any function in the clause.

- (378) *məya jenetaparaməŋ wakaw saʔwa.*

[məya] [[jenet]=para =məŋ wak] =aw {saʔ -wa}
 yesterday Name =&co =GEN pig =ACC eat -FACT
 ‘Yesterday we ate the pig of Janet and her company.’

- (379) *ah! nanʔ dadaprardo usaŋ phəlgəm cunɡaaw kawna reʔeŋwanote.*

ah [nanʔ dada] _____ =para [u] =saŋ [phəlgəm {cunɡ} =ga] =aw
 interj 2s older.brother=&co DST=MOB eagle big =ATTR =ACC
 {kaw} =na {reʔeŋ -wa} =no =te
 shoot =DAT go.away -FACT =QUOT =DCL

‘Oh! The company (group) of your elder brothers went there (in that direction) to shoot the big eagle, it is said.’

- (380) *ətəkəymu rupekba tawʔreksərupparaba beŋblokparaba moŋma mathayaw thokni tayʔnido.*

ətəkəymu [rupek]=ba [tawʔreksərup] =para =ba
 so.then frog =ADD banana.bird -&co =ADD
 [beŋblok] =para =ba [moŋma mathay] =aw
 toad -&co =ADD elephant bachelor.elephant =ACC
 {thok -ni} [tayʔni] =do
 hit -FUT today =TOP

‘So then the frog and the banana bird and his company and the toad and his company are going to beat up the elephant today.’

19.10 The “alternative” enclitic <=sega ~ =siga>

The two allomorphs of the alternative enclitic <=sega ~ =siga> (ALT) are in free variation. However, the allomorph <=siga> predominates in the Badri area while the allomorph <=sega> predominates in Siju. Apart from alternative marker on nouns, this morpheme also occurs with the same meaning as event specifier on verbal and adjectival predicate heads (see Table 68). The meaning of <=sega ~ =siga> (ALT) is ‘X in turn’, ‘the other’, ‘next’.

The noun marked with the alternative often stands in a possessor-possessed relationship with another noun which can be marked with the genitive case as in (381) or be unmarked for case as in (382).

- (381) *morotmi morotsigaaw joŋmi joŋsigaaw bayʔsakarara kakrukok. soŋsami soŋsigacina nawrukok tanʔrukok.*

[*morot*] =*mi* [*morot*] =*siɡa* =*aw* [*joŋ*] =*mi* [*joŋ*] =*siɡa* =*aw*
 man =GEN man =ALT =ACC brother=GEN brother=ALT =ACC

[*bayʔsak*] =*rara* {*kak -ruk -ok*}
 friend =AMONG bite -RC -COS

[*soŋ sa*] =*mi* [*soŋ*] =*siɡa* =*ci* =*na*]
 village one=GEN village =ALT =LOC=DAT

{*naw -ruk -ok*} {*tan -ruk -ok*}
 scold -RC -COS slay -RC -COS

‘Fellow men and brothers fought with each other among friends. From one village to the next [people] scolded each other and slew each other.’ Literally: ‘man [and] man in turn, brother [and] brother in turn’.

- (382) *ucie sunibalsansegaci phetokno*

ucie [*sunibal san*] =*seɡa* =*ci* {*phet -wa*} =*no*
 then Saturday day -ALT =LOC arrive -FACT =QUOT
 ‘Then he arrived the day after Saturday, it is said.’

The following example shows the only recorded occurrence of the alternative enclitic on a postpositional phrase with the postposition *kənsaŋ* (see §13.2) This example also illustrates the use of the alternative enclitic as an event specifier, i.e. predicate head suffix, in this case on the predicate *rayʔa* ‘to come’.

- (383) *uməŋ kənsaŋsiga teʔew cancicəpay dolsaŋməŋ teʔedo rayʔasiganaka.*

[*u =məŋ kənsaŋ*] =*siɡa* *teʔew* {*cancicəp*} =*ay* [*do*] =*saŋ* =*məŋ*
 DST=GEN after =ALT now suppose =ADV group =MOB =GEN

[*teʔe*] =*do* {*rayʔa -siɡa -naka*}
 now =TOP come -ALT -IFT

‘In turn after that, supposing that from the group now will come another [person] in turn.’

19.11 The additive/emphatic enclitic <=ba>

The additive/emphatic enclitic <=ba> (ADD/EMPH) indicates either addition or emphasis, depending on the context. This enclitic functions on both phrases and clauses. The difference between addition and enumeration is that addition highlights the whole of the added constituents whereas in enumeration the whole is irrelevant. It

also marks speakers in speech report constructions. We will address all types of occurrences separately below. The appearance of $\leq ba$ (EMPH) in complex predicates is treated in §22.6.1. This enclitic is homophonous with the indefinite clausal enclitic $\leq ba$ (INDEF), which occurs on locative-marked clauses (see Chapter 27) and indefinite proforms (see Chapter 1)

19.11.1 Addition

The additive/emphatic enclitic is frequently found on two or more NPs in any syntactic function in an enumeration. This can be NPs in the same clause as in (380) or in different clauses as in (384). It is not obligatory to mark enumerated NPs with $\leq ba$ (EMPH) as we can see in (385). Juxtaposition of NPs or clauses can also signal enumeration. Example (385) follows on from (384) in the original text.

- (384) *ucie bəthəyba reʔeŋok, macokba reʔeŋok, magacakba reʔeŋok, seʔelba reʔeŋok, moŋma reʔeŋok. saʔak sancɪ maŋphek.*

ucie [bəthəy] $\leq ba$ {reʔeŋ -ok} [*macok*] $\leq ba$ {reʔeŋ -ok}
 then porcupine =ADD go.away -COS barking.deer =ADD go.away -COS

[*magacak*] $\leq ba$ {reʔeŋ -ok} [*seʔel*] $\leq ba$ {reʔeŋ -ok}
 small.deer =ADD go.away -COS jackal =ADD go.away -COS

[*moŋma*] $\leq ba$ {reʔeŋ -ok} {saʔ -ak} [*san*] =ci maŋ =phek
 elephant =ADD go.away -COS eat -COS day =LOCCLF.ANIMALS =DIS

‘Then the porcupine went, the barking deer went, the small deer went, the jackal went, the elephant went. [The lion] ate one animal a day.’

- (385) *maca reʔeŋok, amak reʔeŋok huʔraw reʔeŋok, daʔraŋ matan reʔeŋok, jamok.*

[*maca*] {reʔeŋ -ok} [*amak*] {reʔeŋ -ok} [*huʔraw*] {reʔeŋ -ok}
 deer go.away -COS monkey go.away -COS gibbon go.away -COS

[*daraŋ mat*] =an {reʔeŋ -ok} {jam -ok}
 every animal =FC/ID go.away -COS complete-COS

‘The tiger went, the monkey went, the gibbon went, every animal went, completed [i.e. all of them].’

19.11.2 Emphasis

Examples of the enclitic $\leq ba$ used as marker of emphasis are (28), where it is used on a personal pronoun; (494), where it appears on a prototypical noun; and (38),

where we can see it used on a demonstrative. The following example illustrates the use of the enclitic *<=ba>* (ADD/EMPH) in its function as emphasiser on a clause.

- (386) “*aŋmi joraaw cayna manʔnima?*” “*manʔniba.*”
 [aŋ=mi jora]=aw {cay}=na {manʔ-ni}=ma
 1s =GEN lover=ACC see =DAT be.able-FUT =Q
 {manʔ=ni}=ba
 be.able -FUT =EMPH
 “‘Can I see my lover?’” “‘You can indeed.’”

19.11.3 Marker of speaker

NPs referring to speakers are often marked by the enclitic *<=ba>* (EMPH), as is illustrated in the following example, where the toad, *beŋblok*, is the speaker. Speakers can also be marked with the focus/identifier enclitic *<=an>* (FC/ID), the topic enclitic *<=do>* (TOP) or the focus enclitic *<=e>* (FC). More fieldwork is needed to find out if there are any conditions that determine the appearance of different enclitics on NPs denoting speakers.

- (387) “*bisaŋ rayʔna bayʔsiga?*” *noay səŋʔaydoŋano beŋblokba.*
 [bi]=saŋ {rayʔ}=na [bayʔsiga]
 QF =MOB go =DAT friend
 {no}=ay {səŋʔ-aydoŋa}=no [beŋblok]=ba
 say =ADV ask -PROG =QUOT toad =EMPH
 “‘Where are you intended to go, friend?’” sayingly asked the frog.’

19.12 The focus/identifier enclitic *<=an>*

The focus/identifier enclitic can be used to uniquely identify a phrase or clause. The border between unique identification and focus is difficult to define. It might be better to say that the two functions go hand in hand and that one is more salient according to the context and the type of phrase to which *<=an>* (FC/ID) is enclitised. If, for example, *<=an>* (FC/ID) is enclitised to a question word, it is for its focus function, whereas on NPs headed by animate nouns, the enclitic is likely to be used for its unique identification function. In (388) we see the focus/identifier enclitised to a personal pronoun phrase. The focus/identifier enclitic always marks factitive-marked

clauses when they function as Comparee in an event comparison, of which example (653) is illustrative.

In the context out of which the following example has been taken, the wild animals are all running away in fear for the seemingly brave and strong lazy king, when they meet a fox. The fox says that the wild animals do not need to be afraid of the human and then continues saying:

(388) *hay, aŋ ganaŋ. aŋan raja aŋan balthumni.*

hay [aŋ] {ganaŋ} [aŋ] =an {raja}
come.on 1s exist 1s =FC/ID king

[aŋ] =an {bal -thum -ni}
1s =FC/ID speak -on.behalf.of-FUT

‘Come on! I am here. I am the king. I shall speak on your behalf.’

Examples (389) and (390) are illustrative of the focus identifier enclitic on an indefinite pronoun and a question word phrase respectively.

(389) *thəymanaydoŋnaka. atoŋbaan takaydoŋnaka.*

{thəy-man -aydoŋ -naka} [atoŋ] =ba =an {tak -aydoŋ -naka}
die -already -PROG -IFT what =INDEF=FC/ID do -PROG -IFT
‘He will almost certainly already be dying. [Someone] will almost certainly be doing something [bad to him].’ (thought the father whose son had run away).

(390) *atəkəyan jəkaw halduna man?aydok?*

atəkəy =an [jək] =aw {haldun} =na {man? -aydok}
how =FC/ID spouse =ACC feed =DAT be.able -PROG
‘How can [he] feed his wives?’

In (391) we see the focus identifier enclitic on a headless quantified NP.

(391) *utəm məŋ?korokan ha?kamarokno.*

[u -təm] [məŋ? korok] =an [ha?] {kam -arok} =no
DST-ppp clf.humans six =FC/ID soil to.work -PROG =QUOT
‘They, the six of them, worked in the field.’

In verbless clauses of the type PRONOUN-NOUN or DEMONSTRATIVE- NOUN the focus/identifier enclitic marks a potentially modifying constituent. In a PRONOUN-NOUN construction the pronoun is always understood as the possessor of the following noun, unless the pronoun is marked by the focus/identifier enclitic *<=an>* (FC/ID) as in (388). The phrase *aŋ raja* (1s king) would always be understood as ‘my king’. Alternatively the focus/identifier morpheme can also mark the predicate head in a verbless clause of the type PRONOUN-NOUN provided that the pronoun phrase is marked by the emphatic enclitic *<=ba>* (EMPH) or the topic enclitic *<=do>* (TOP).

A demonstrative usually modifies the noun it precedes, e.g. *ie daba* (PRX coconut) ‘this coconut’. When the demonstrative phrase takes the enclitic *<=an>* (FC/ID) it stops being a modifier and becomes a focused/identified NP on its own or a predicate head. In verbless clauses (393) as well as in clauses with a verbal or adjectival predicate like (394) or even when the predicate is nominalised like in (395), when the demonstrative is not a modifier, or when it is a predicate head, marking it with *<=an>* (FC/ID) is obligatory. This enclitic is not the marker of Copula Subject per se in a verbless identity clause, as it can also occur on the predicate head.

(392) *daba ian*

[*daba*] {*i*} *=an*
coconut PRX =FC/ID
‘A coconut is this.’

(393) *ian badrimi oltho.*

[*i*] *=an* {*badri =mi oltho*}
PRX =FC/ID Pname =GEN meaning
‘This is the meaning of Badri.’

Keeping in line with the AOV/SV order of the language, the last constituent of the clause is the predicate. The order of the elements in the clause can be permuted according to topicality. It is the first constituent that is talked about and specified by the second. This is according to the ‘topic first’ principle.

(394) *uawan gam məŋa.*

[*u*] *=aw =an* [*gam*] [*məŋ* -a]
dst =ACC=FC/ID wealth call.a.name -CUST
‘That is called wealth.’

(395) *ian balgabaawba jametarinaka.*

[i] =an {bal} =gaba] =aw =ba {jam -et -ari -naka}
 PRX =FC/ID speak =ATTR =ACC-EMPH complete-CAUS -SIMP-IFT
 ‘I will now just make this which is told (story) finish.’

The focus/identifier enclitic also occurs in copula clauses, as we can see in (726), repeated here as (396), and in (397)a), and in clauses which contain a single overt constituent, i.e. a referent which also functions as predicate, e.g. (397)b).

(396) *ue bihap cigacak te?ew kol india kolani hapan doŋ?wacəmnnoa.*

[ue bihap (<Garó)]_{CS} =e [cigacak]_{CS} te?ew
 DST place =FC Pname now
 [kol india kolani hap]_{CC} =an {doŋ? -wa} =cəmnnoa
 Pname place =FC/ID IE.be -FACT =IRR =QUOT
 ‘The place Chigachak is now supposedly the Coal India Colony place.’

(397) a) *aŋna daygabaan ganəŋ.*

b) *siŋhoan*

a) [[aŋ] =na] {day} =gaba]_{CS} =an {ganəŋ}
 1s =DAT be.bigger=ATTR =FC/ID exist

b) {siŋho} =an
 lion =FC/ID

a) ‘There is one bigger than me.

b) [It]’s the lion.’

There is one example where the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) marks the Focus in a sentence which has an ellipsed A argument. It can thus be said that this sentence contains a focused extraposed topic.

(398) *bajolwamian khu?cuk olna sapjolariano.*

[{ba -jol -wa} =mi]_{FOCUS} =an [{khu?cuk] {ol} =na
 be.born -QUICKLY -FACT =GEN =FC/ID language speak =DAT
 {sap -jol -ari -a} =no
 know.a.skill -QUICKLY -SIMP-CUST =QUOT

‘As far as [his] quick birth is concerned, [he] was just able to speak language quickly, it is said.’

NPs can be postposed to the predicate as afterthoughts or anti-topics. In narratives postposed NPs almost always carry a focus, topic or focus/identifier enclitic, e.g. (399). In colloquial speech, however, postposed NPs are almost always unmarked for these categories.

- (399) “*caŋ tərucɛŋnaka?*” *noaydoŋano magacakan*. “*aŋ tərucɛŋna bayʔsiga. naʔa kənsaŋ tərubone*” *noaydoŋano pheruan*.

[*caŋ*] {*təru* -*naka*} {*no-aydoŋa*} =*no* [*magacak*] =*an*
 who take.bath-IFT say-PROG =QUOT deer =FC/ID

[*aŋ*] {*təru* -*ceŋ*} =*na* *bayʔsiga* [*naʔa*] *kənsaŋ* {*təru*} =*bo* =*ne*
 1s take.bath-FIRST =DAT friend 2s later take.bath=IMP =TAG

{*no-aydoŋa*} =*no* [*pheru*] =*an*
 say-PROG =QUOT fox =FC/ID

‘“Who will take bath first?” [he] said, the deer. “I will take bath first, friend. You take bath later, ok.” [he] said, the fox.’

The focus/identifier anclitic <=*an*> (FC/ID) also occurs on relator nouns and demonstratives used as temporal adverbs and conjunctions. In these cases it is attested as co-occurring with the topic enclitic <=*do*> (TOP), e.g. (400). Example (401) shows the focus/identifier morpheme on a question-word phrase.

- (400) *ətakəy takaymu kənsaŋdoan khusi doŋʔaymu rayʔaphinwana* [...]

ətakəy {*tak*} =*ay* =*mu* [*kənsaŋ*] =*do* =*an*
 like.that do =ADV =SEQ later =TOP =FC/ID

{*khusi doŋʔ*} =*ay* =*mu* {*rayʔa -phin-wa*} =*na*
 happy IE.be =ADV =SEQ come -back-FACT =DAT

‘Having done like that, being very happy because [he] had returned [...]

(401) *biskənan jaci saʔaydoŋa? taŋkaawba tiktika.*

[*biskən*] =*an* [ja] =*ci* {*saʔ -aydoŋa*}
 how.much =FC/ID month =LOC eat -PROG

[*taŋka*] =*aw* =*ba* {*tiktik -a*}
 money =ACC=EMPH save -CUST

‘How much are they eating in a month? [They] save the money.’

Climaxes in event sequences are also marked by the use of the focus/identity morpheme <=*an*>(FC/ID). In these cases it occurs on the discourse connective *uci* ‘then’, as is illustrated in examples (402) and (403). Observing the use of the discourse connectives *uci* ‘then’ and *uci=an* (then=FC/ID) ‘then’, it seems that, for many young speakers, there is no difference in meaning between the two forms.

Example (402) comes from a story about the deer and the fox who stole biscuits from a *banggal* ‘non-tribal Indian or Bangladeshi’. Before eating the biscuits the deer and the fox want to take a bath in a river. First they argue who will take a bath first. It is decided that it will be the deer. The deer quickly finishes his bathing and then it’s the fox’s turn. The fox takes a long time to bathe and while he is in the water the deer quickly eats as many of the biscuits as he can. When the fox comes out of the water, the deer says that he’s not yet clean and makes the fox bathe again and again. Every time the fox goes into the water, the deer eats more of the biscuit loot and then the storyteller says (402).

(402) *ucian magacakdo biskutan manʔay manʔnay manʔay saʔaydokno.*

uci =*an* [*magacak* =*do*] [*biskut* =*an*] {*manʔ*} =*ay*
 then =FC/ID deer =TOP biscuit=FC/ID in.great.amounts=ADV
 {*manʔ*} =*ay* {*manʔ*} =*ay* {*saʔ -aydok*} =*no*
 in.great.amounts=ADV in.great.amounts=ADV eat -PROG =QUOT

‘Then the deer ate the biscuits in great great great amounts, it is said.’

Example (403) comes from a story about a hanging root (type of vine) which changes into an old lady at night. If you are unlucky enough to fall asleep under one of those roots, the old lady will pester you with scratching her long arm all night. If you don’t do it, she will threaten to devour you. In the story a woman has been harassed by the old hanging root lady for some nights in a row while her husband was away to the

market. In the end the husband comes back, takes the place of his wife under the hanging root, dressed up in women's clothes, and cuts the arm of the old lady with a sword. Then the storyteller continues with (403), the last sentence of the story.

(403) *ucian manapci caywacido karadəlsa thəy? cokcokay mu?aydoŋno.*

[*uci*] =*an* [manap] =*ci* {*cay*} =*ci* =*do*
 then =FC/ID morning =LOC look =LOC=TOP

[*karadəl*] =*sa* [*thəy?*] {*cokcok*} =*ay* {*mu?aydoŋ*} =*no*
 hanging.root=DLIM blood drip =ADV stay -PROG =QUOT

'Then, when [they] looked in the morning, the hanging root was hanging (lit. 'staying') there dripping blood.'

19.13 The topic enclitic <=*do*>

The topic enclitic <=*do*> (TOP) occurs on both phrases and clauses. It also occurs in complex predicates with identical verbs (see §22.6.1). When it occurs on clauses immediately after the change of state predicate head suffix <=*ok* ~ *-ak* ~ *-k*> (COS), the topic enclitic will appear as the allomorph <=*odo*> (TOP). I analyse this enclitic as a topic-marker for the following reasons:

- it occurs on left-most clausal constituents which are topical, in the sense that they designate the referent that proposition is about (see Lambrecht 1994: 127-128).
- it occurs on locative-marked clauses and change of state-marked predicates with conditional interpretation (see §27.5 and example (614) in §23.13 respectively, see Haiman, 1978),
- it occurs on right dislocated antitopic constituents, (see below),

In addition to these functions, the topic enclitic is found on time words in pre-clausal position, functioning as discourse connectives, or in tail-head linkage constructions.

Time words in this environment are almost always topic-marked, e.g. (404).

(404) *kənsaŋdo jəw?caŋna naŋokno.*

kənsaŋ =*do* {*jəw?* -*caŋ*} =*na* {*naŋ* -*ok*} =*no*
 later =TOP sleep -SUDDENLY =DAT need -COS =QUOT

'Later, [he] suddenly needed to sleep, it is said.'

In example (276) we see how the relative time words *kənsaŋ* ‘after’ participates in a tail-head linkage construction and is topic-marked.

It is not unusual for another a topic-marked constituent to occur immediately after the topic-marked time word (405). Since I consider the time word to be in discourse connective function, and therefore pre-clausal, the topic-marked constituent is still the left-most constituent in the clause.

As was mentioned above, the topic enclitic also marks right dislocated constituents as antitopic (see Lambrecht 1994: 117-205), of which examples (680) and (405) are illustrative as well as Text 2 line 39, presented below as (406).

(405) *kənsaŋdo matsado morot sən man?aiməŋ ray?wilokno alsiado.*

kənsaŋ =do [*matsa*]_{TOPIC} =do [*morot sən*] {*man?*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 later =TOP tiger =TOP human scent get =ADV =SEQ
 {*ray?-wil -ok*} =*no* [*alsia*]_{ANTITOPIC} =do
 go -AROUND-COS =QUOT lazy.person =TOP

‘Later, the tiger, having smelled the scent of a human, walked around [him_j], it is said, [around] the lazy person_j that is.’

(406) *dəkəm saa aŋdo*

[*dəkəm*]_S {*sa -a*} [*aŋ*]_{ANTITOPIC} =do
 head hurt -IMPF 1s =TOP
 ‘[My] head hurts, as far as i’m concerned.’

Topic-marked clausal constituents can be indistinguishable from subjects when they are in clause initial position and no other constituent is present that could be interpreted as the subject, as we can see in examples (532), (585), (603). Non-subject phrases can also be topic-marked, e.g. (577) and (360). Whereas the antitopics in examples (405) and (406) are not coreferential with the subject of the clause, in (407) the antitopic is coreferential with the implied subject of the clause, i.e. the deer.

(407) *ətakəyməŋ jalaŋthiriokno magacakdo.*

ətakəyməŋ {*jal -aŋ -thiri -ok*} =*no* [*magacak*]_{ANTITOPIC} =do
 so.then run.away-AWAY -AGAIN-COS =TOP deer =TOP
 ‘So then [he_j] ran away again, the deer_j.’

Most clauses on which the topic enclitic occurs are subordinate. There are very few cases of topic-marked main clauses and their predicates are all marked with the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) (see Chapter 1) e.g. (666).

19.14 The focus enclitic <=e>

I have to stress that the label ‘focus’ of the enclitic <=e> is preliminary, since it occurs in several different pragmatic environments, which I will describe one by one. Most salient is the use of this enclitic when new referents are introduced in the text or discourse.

The enclitic <=e> marks new discourse topics conveyed by NPs that are not part of the argument structure of the clause they precede, e.g. (408) which is the opening sentence of a narrative about the history of the meaning of the place Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai. The subject of the clause is an implicit third person plural. The NP Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai is the pre clausal focus-marked NP referring to the new discourse topic: the story will be about the meaning of Badri Rongdyng ha•wai.

(408) *badri roŋdəŋ haʔwaymi oltoe, dakaŋdo cigacakeisa muʔwano.*

[badri roŋdəŋ haʔway =mi oltho] =e

Pname =GEN meaning =FC

dakaŋ =do [cigacak] =ci =sa {muʔ-wa} =no

in.the.past =TOP Pname =LOC=DLIM stay -FACT =QUOT

‘As for the meaning of Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, in the past, [they] lived in Chigachak, it is said.’

The focus enclitic marks NPs in topic position, i.e. clause initial, which are also subjects, when these NPs refer to newly introduced referents. These referents do not need to be topical. The following example, taken from Text 1 (line 20) is illustrative. The speaker who produced this example, presented below as (409), was speaking about something totally different, when he suddenly turns to Nongken and starts speaking about the break up of Silat and Manchi, marking Silat with the enclitic <=e> (FC). When we read the following lines in the text, we notice that the topic of the conversation is clearly not Silat but Manchi.

(409) *silate atakna manchiaw wat-ok?*

[*Silat*] =*e* [*atakna*] [*Manchi*]=*aw* {*wat* -*ok*}
 Pname =FC why Pname =ACC send.away -COS
 ‘Why did Silat send Mansi away?’ (i.e. ‘Why did Silat break up with Mansi?’)

The focus enclitic is often encountered marking NPs in situations where antitopical referents alternate, in other words the <=*e*> (FC) marks contrasting antitopics, e.g.

(410). The context of this example is as follows. The deer is pretending to be lame to lure the Bengali away from the place where he has put down his load of biscuits. The Bengali sees the deer walking slowly and chases it. But when the Bengali almost catches up with it, the deer quickly runs away. What kind of deer is this? Now it walks again as if it is lame.

(410) *una ræktheriokno bangale. tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakay jalariano magachake. ətəkəyməŋ bakrawraw bakrawraw janʔaŋoknoa. teʔdo uchian pherudo biskutaw payay jalokno [...]. ətəkəyməŋ teʔdo janʔaŋokno bangaldo, manʔanchaknoa. “ian jaʔnaka” nowachi teʔdo magachakdo [...].*

una {*ræk* -*theri* -*ok*} =*no* [*bangal*] =*e*
 then chase-AGAIN-COS =QUOT Bengali =FC

{*tharap*} =*na* {*guduk* *tak* -*wa*} =*ci* =*ba*
 catch.up =DAT almost do -FACT =LOC=INDEF

{*tarak*} =*ay* {*jal* -*ari* -*a*} =*no* [*magacak*] =*e*
 quick =ADV run.away-SIMP-CUST =QUOT deer =FC

‘Then [he] chased [it] again, it is said, the Bengali. Whenever he almost caught up [with it], [it] ran away quickly, it is said, the deer.

Another example of the focus enclitic indicating a new topic constituent can be found in (411). The elephant, *moŋma*, has already been introduced in the first sentence, but not as a topic. Because the topic alternates in the second sentence, the new topic is marked by the enclitic <=*e*> (FC).

- The focus enclitic also occurs on case-marked phrases, as in the following example, where it occurs on an accusative-marked demonstrative phrase. In this example the focus enclitic does not indicate the change of a referent or the introduction of a new one. In this example the enclitic indicates that the phrase is in focus in the clause. The preceding context translates as follows: Now in a village supposedly lives Bil, it is said. Then, there is also a wife, it is said. Now, [Bil] is reluctant to do work and so spends his time sleeping and sitting, it is said.

- The topic enclitic <=do> (TOP) and the focus enclitic <=e> (FC) cannot occur together on the same NP, but both enclitics can co-occur in the same clause on different NPs.

Chapter 20 Case Marking

Transitivity plays a role in Atong. There are transitive-intransitive verb pairs, (see Table 25 in §4.6). Intransitive verbs appear in constructions where O arguments are not usually conceivable and transitive verbs are those that appear can appear in constructions where O arguments are conceived or implied. There is a transitive derivation of intransitive verbs and adjectives of Type 1 with the causative predicate suffix <-et> (CAUS). A and S are never marked for case and O arguments can optionally be marked with the accusative phrasal enclitic <=*aw* ~ =*taw*> (ACC). This enclitic does not only mark Patients, but has a range of other functions as well (see §20.8), and therefore, not all accusative-marked NPs are O arguments. Whether an unmarked NP can be interpreted as Agent, Actor or Undergoer (i.e. entity most effected by the event denoted by the verb) depends on the context.

In this chapter I will talk about the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors that condition case marking. Case assignment on NPs depends on the following factors:

- the semantics of the verb
- the semantics of the NPs
- the semantics of the case marker
- pragmatic factors

Atong distinguishes the following types of arguments: the core arguments A, S, E (the third argument of an extended transitive verb), CS (copula subject), CC (copula complement), O and adjuncts or peripheral arguments. No NP is obligatorily expressed in Atong when it is retrievable from the context. Only the E argument of the verb *məŋ-* ‘to call something/someone a name’, the name of a named entity, cannot be ellipsed. The order of the NPs in the clause depends on semantic and pragmatic conditions. When NPs are expressed in a clause, their case marking depends on semantics and pragmatics and not on their syntactic role. Transitive subjects (A arguments) and intransitive subjects (S arguments) are never marked for case. Patients, Recipients, Beneficiaries, Directions and Possessors do not need to be case-marked when their semantic role is clear from the context. NPs indicating a Location in space and time, Source, Pathway, Goal or Standard of comparison are

obligatorily case-marked for these semantic functions. Table 57 gives an overview of marked and unmarked arguments.

Table 57 Marked and unmarked syntactic and semantic argument types

ALWAYS UNMARKED	MAY BE UNMARKED		OBLIGATORILY MARKED	
ARGUMENT	ARGUMENT	CASE MARKER	ARGUMENT	CASE MARKER
S	O	<= <i>aw</i> ~ = <i>taw</i> > (ACC)	Location in space and time (Location in time can only be fulfilled by locative clauses)	<= <i>ci</i> > (LOC)
A	Patient	<= <i>aw</i> ~ = <i>taw</i> > (ACC)	Source	<= <i>mi</i> ~ = <i>məŋ</i> > (ABL)
	Beneficiary	<= <i>na</i> ~ = <i>ona</i> > (DAT)	Pathway	<= <i>təkəy</i> > (VIA)
	Possessor	<= <i>mi</i> ~ = <i>məŋ</i> > (GEN)	Goal	<= <i>ci</i> = <i>na</i> > (LOC=ALL)
Causer	Causee	<= <i>aw</i> ~ = <i>taw</i> > (ACC)		
Experiencer as the argument of an experiencer verb	Direction, if expressed by an inherently locational noun	<= <i>saŋ</i> > (DIR)	Instrument	<= <i>saŋ</i> > (INSTR)
			Comitative adjunct	<= <i>mu</i> ~ = <i>muŋ</i> ~ = <i>məŋ</i> > (COM)
			Reason (can only be fulfilled by a reason clause)	<= <i>na</i> > (DAT)
CS	Recipient	<= <i>na</i> ~ = <i>ona</i> > (DAT)		
CC				
Result				
E = Name				
Comparee				
Duration				
Agent				
Actor				
			Direction, if expressed by a noun which is not inherently locational	<= <i>saŋ</i> > (DIR)
			Facsimile	<= <i>təkəy</i> > (LIKE)
			Dative marked O arguments of verbs of emotion and interaction <= <i>na</i> > (DAT)	
			Standard of comparison in comparative, non-equative constructions	<= <i>na</i> > (DAT)
			Standard of comparison equative constructions	<= <i>mi</i> ~ = <i>məŋ</i> > (GEN)
			Reason (can only be fulfilled by dative-marked clause)	<= <i>na</i> ~ = <i>ona</i> > (DAT)
			Purpose (can only be fulfilled by dative-marked clause)	<= <i>na</i> ~ = <i>ona</i> > (DAT)

The semantic and syntactic role of any expressed unmarked NP is determined by the

- context
- semantics of the verb
- semantics of the NP
- position of the NP in the animacy hierarchy
- co-occurrence with other NPs

The language does not mark the syntactic role but only the semantic role of NPs.

What is marked as S, A and O are those NPs that are most likely to be interpreted as such.

More fieldwork needs to be undertaken to find out whether A and S control reflexivisation. Control over reflexivisation is not a universal property of these core arguments. Though most of the time the controller and the reflexive appear in the same clause, and it may therefore appear to always control reflexivity, it takes some special contexts to see whether this is indeed the case. In Chinese, for example, reflexives are pragmatically or semantically controlled (see LaPolla, 1993). The sole property of O is that it can be accusative-marked when referential and definite. A clause can occur with only one or with more case-marked NPs, e.g. (413) and (414). In these examples the case-marked NP or NPs indicate primarily semantic role, syntactic function being less important because all of the NPs are peripheral. A clause can also occur with a mix of marked and unmarked NPs none of which is S or A and the semantic and syntactic function of the unmarked NPs is determined by the factors described above, e.g. (415).

In example (413) we see a clause with only one Location adjunct. This adjunct is locative-marked to show its semantic function.

(413) *sanci re?eɲni*

<i>[san]</i>	LOCATION	=ci	{	<i>re?eɲ</i>	-ni}
day		=LOC		go.away	-FUT
'[We] will go during the day.'					

Inherently locational nouns can be mobilitative-marked, as in (414), but do not have to be. When used in the right context, their meaning is enough to assign the semantic role of Direction to them, as we see in (415).

(414) *sanci nǝgǝlsaŋ reʔeŋni*

[*san*]_{LOCATION} =*ci* [*nǝgǝl*]_{DIRECTION} =*saŋ* {*reʔeŋ* -*ni*}
 day =LOC market =MOB go.away -FUT
 ‘[We] will go to the market during the day.’

(415) *sanci nǝgǝl reʔeŋni*

[*san*]_{LOCATION} =*ci* [*nǝgǝl*]_{DIRECTION} {*reʔeŋ* -*ni*}
 day =LOC market go.away -FUT
 ‘[We] will go to the market during the day.’

Since we can only determine the syntactic status of an NP after having determined its semantic role, I argue that case marking in Atong determines primarily semantic roles and that syntactic role indication is secondary. The accusative case, however, indicates primarily a syntactic role but also has pragmatic functions treated below. Case-marking on NPs helps to determine:

- the semantic role of an NP in a clause,
- the relationship between nouns within an NP,
- the syntactic role of an NP in a clause.

The animacy hierarchy and identifier marking can help, too, to determine who does what to whom. Because no NPs are obligatorily expressed in a clause, it is not always possible to determine with certainty which NPs are obligatorily conceptualised, i.e. are core arguments of a verb and which are not.

The identification of CS and CC in copula clauses is easy because of the limited freedom in constituent order and the limited number of NPs possibly expressed in the clause. In identity/equation copula clauses the constituent order is either CS-CC-COPULA or CC-COPULA+ADDITIONAL NP marked for topic, focus, focus/identification or emphasis. CC and CS are always unmarked.

Case marking in Atong is done with phrasal enclitics. The accusative is frequently found marking only one constituent, in a NP which consists of more than one nominal. In these cases the case marker still has scope over the whole NP. All case

markers listed in Table 58 and their functions will be treated one by one in this chapter. We will discuss the conditions for occurrence of a case marker as well as the non-occurrence and repetition of it. In §20.10 we will see how Atong makes use of multiple case marking. Finally, in §20.11 we summarise the motivations for repeated case marking,

Table 58 The Atong case markers and the types of NPs they can mark.

CASE MARKERS	MEANING	SYNTACTIC FUNCTION	SEMANTIC ROLE
none	unmarked	A,S,CS,CC,O, oblique	Agent, Patient, Goal, Source, Possessor, Beneficiary, Recipient, Comparee
<=saŋ> MOB/LOC/INSTR	mobilitative/locative/ instrumental	oblique	Goal, Source, Location, Instrument
<=ci> LOC	locative	oblique	Location
<=məŋ ~ =mi> GEN/ABL	genitive/ablative	A, oblique	Agent, Possession, Source
<=mu ~ =muŋ ~ =məŋ> &CO	comitative	A, S, oblique	Comitative
<=na> DAT/ALL	dative/allative	O, oblique	Recipient, Beneficiary, Goal, Standard of comparison, Emotor, Purpose (only clauses), Reason (only clauses)
<=aw ~ =taŋ> ACC	accusative	O	Patient, Material, Road
<=təkəy> VIA/LIKE	perlative/similative	oblique	Pathway/Facsimile

20.1 Zero marking

A, S, E, CS, CC and Result (417) NPs are never marked for case. O arguments may be left unmarked and of the obliques Recipients, Beneficiaries, Possessors and Direction adjuncts may be left unmarked. Whether or not these adjuncts receive case marking depends on three factors, viz.

- Type of NP
- Context
- Pragmatic factors, which differ per case

Inherently locational nouns can be Direction adjuncts without being marked for case, as has been mentioned above. The higher a noun is in the animacy hierarchy the more chance it has to be an unmarked Possessor. Animate nouns can be unmarked Recipients or Beneficiaries.

In the next example the verb *hənʔ*- ‘to give’ has four NPs, viz. two core arguments A and O, and two adjuncts/peripheral arguments, viz. Recipient and Temporal Location. Three of these NPs are unmarked for case. The context is as follows. The animals have gathered to appoint a king. Nobody wants to be the king because they all say that there is a greater animal than them who is more apt to be the king. When the animals ask the lion, he says that he will only accept when the animals give him what he asks in (416). In that clause all NPs belong to a different level on the animacy hierarchy: *aŋa* (1s) > *naŋʔtəm* (2p) > *maŋ* ‘classifier for animals’. Furthermore there is no ambiguity as to who gives what to whom because everybody is supposed to know that lions eat animals.

(416) “*aca naŋʔtəme aŋa sanci maŋpek hənʔni* “ *nowano*.

aca [naŋʔ-təm]_A =e [aŋa]_{RECIPIENT} [san] =ci
 interj 2s -ppp =FC 1s day =LOC
 [maŋ]_O =pek {hənʔ -ni} {no-wa} =no
 CLF:ANIMALS =DIS give -FUT say -FACT =QUOT

“‘Right then, you^p shall give me one of each animal every day’, [the lion] said, it is said.’

The next example shows a Result adjunct that is unmarked for case.

(417) *aŋ buʔcotaw phaktham kanʔni*

[aŋ] [buʔcot]_{PATIENT} =aw [phak _____ tham]_{RESULT} {kanʔ -ni}
 1s mango =ACC longitudinal half three cut -FUT
 ‘I will cut the mango in three pieces.’

Let us now explore the different case markers, their functions, semantics and the conditions under which these markers are applied to an NP.

20.2 The mobilitative/locative/instrumental case marker <=saŋ>

Depending on the context, the mobilitative/locative/instrumental case enclitic <=saŋ> (MOB/INSTR) marks adjuncts that are semantically Directions, e.g. (428), Locations and Instruments, e.g. (429). Although they are expressed with the same morpheme, there are functional differences between the mobilitative and the instrumental case. NPs expressing an instrument are obligatorily case-marked whereas mobilitative marking can be omitted on NPs headed by an inherently locational nouns. As instrumental marker <=saŋ> (INSTR) is not attested in combination with other case markers, whereas case stacking is possible on a Direction adjunct (see section 20.10). The different functions of the enclitic <=saŋ> (MOB/LOC/INSTR) will be exemplified one by one.

20.2.1 Mobilitative interpretation

When the enclitic <=saŋ> (MOB) marks a Direction adjunct it indicates movement. The movement can be from a source (418), to a destination (418), (419), or in a certain direction (423). The mobilitative enclitic, however, does not indicate the direction of the movement. The direction of the movement is most often made clear by the context and by the form of the verb of movement. It is possible to stack the genitive/ablative case <=məŋ ~ =mi> (GEN/ABL) (with ablative interpretation in these cases) onto the mobilitative to unambiguously express movement away from somewhere as in (420). This method is rarely practised in colloquial speech. Mobilitative marking can be omitted on inherently locational nouns (421) but can be added when needed for emphasis (418) or contrast as in (422).

In example (418) the mobilitative designates the noun *tura* ‘Tura’ either as Source or as Goal depending on the context.

(418) *turasan re?eŋwa.*

[*tura*] =saŋ {*re?eŋ* -wa}

Pname =MOB go.away -FACT

‘[I] left from Tura ~ [I] come from Tura. ~ [I] went to Tura (but now I’m back). [Somebody] went to Tura (and is still gone). etc.’

In (419) here below, the fact that the noun *soŋ* ‘village’ marked by the mobilitative is a Goal is disambiguated by the future form of the predicate head.

(419) *soŋsaŋ reʔeŋni*

[soŋ] = saŋ {*reʔeŋ* -*ni*}
 village =MOB go.away -FUT
 ‘[I] will go to the village.’

Example (420) here below illustrates the morpheme <=*mi* ~ =*məŋ*> (GEN/ABL) as marker of a Source adjunct, i.e. in ablative function, stacked onto a mobilitative case in the underlined NP *phoren=saŋ=mi*. The nouns in the NP *phoren=mi morot* (foreign.country=GEN person) can be interpreted as being in a Possessor-Possessed relationship and thus the morpheme <=*mi*> is glossed as genitive.

(420) *phorenmi morot rayʔadoŋa, phorensaŋmi rayʔaydoŋa.*

[*phoren* =*mi* *morot*] {*rayʔ* -*aydoŋa*} [*phoren*]_{SOURCE} = *saŋ* = *mi*
 foreign.country =GEN person come -PROG foreign.country =MOB =ABL
 {*rayʔay* -*doŋa*}
 come -PROG
 ‘Persons belonging to foreign countries are coming, [they] are coming from foreign countries.’

In example (421) the Direction adjunct is an unmarked inherently locational noun, *jadi*. This example contrasts with (422), where the mobilitative is used. The inherently locational nouns *jadi* ‘Jadi’ in (422) is presumably mobilitative-marked because the speaker needs to distinguish between “to” and “from”. The source in (422) is indicated only with the genitive.

(421) *sunibal sancɪ jadi reʔeŋwano biphagabae.*

[*sunibal san*] =*ci* [*jadi*] {*reʔeŋ* -*wa*} =*no* [*biphagaba*=*e*]
 Sunday day =LOC Pname go.away -FACT=QUOT husband =TOP
 ‘On Sunday the husband went to Jadi.’

- (422) *teʔewba roŋəŋ haʔwayməŋ morot məŋ? sa [...] daŋsawayməŋ caʔaw reʔəyaydonano jadinəgəlsaŋ.*

[*teʔew*]=*ba* [[*roŋdəŋ haʔway*] =*məŋ* [*morot məŋ?* *sa*]]_s
 now =EMPH Pname =GEN person CLF:HUMANS one

[*daŋsaway*]_{SOURCE} =*məŋ* [*caʔ*] =*aw* {*reʔeŋ -aydoŋa*}
 Pname =ABL foot =ACC go.away -PROG

[*jadi nəgəl*] =*saŋ*
 Pname market =MOB

‘Now then, a person from/belonging to Rongdyng Ha•wai went from Dangsawai on foot to Jadi market.’

The following example comes from a story in which the context makes clear that the persons mentioned were first living in a place called Songmong. At a certain moment, described in example (463), the people start running away from there. Thus the mobilitative-marked place Durama• can only be interpreted as the direction in which these people go and the place Gandyrung as the limit.

- (423) *aro ceŋsənmətraŋ renaŋdəlkhaŋjoŋsikjeŋbal aseŋgoŋsane duramaʔsaŋ gandəruŋcina jaltawokno.*

aro [*ceŋsənmətraŋ renaŋdəlkhaŋ joŋsikjeŋbal aseŋgoŋsan*] =*e*
 and Name Name Name Name =FC

[*duramaʔ*]_{DIRECTION} =*saŋ* [*gandəruŋ*]_{LIMIT} =*ci* =*na*
 Pname =MOB Pname =LOC=DAT

{*jal -taw -ok*} =*no*
 run.away-UPWARD -COS =QUOT

‘And Chengsynmatrang, Rynangdylkhang, Jongsikjengbal [and] Asenggoŋsan run away upward in the direction of Durama• up till Gandrung, it is said.’

The mobilitative can be used to indicate a Direction, both concrete, as in (424), and abstract as we can see in example (425).

- (424) Speaker: *cabi hən?bo* (Giver makes a mistake and gives the key to the wrong person) Speaker, irritated: *aŋsaŋ hən?bo!*

[*cabi*] {*hən?*} =*bo* [*aŋ*]_{DIRECTION} =*saŋ* {*hən?*} =*bo*
 key give =IMP 1s =MOB give =IMP

‘Give the key. Give the key to me!’ Literally: ‘Give the key in my direction!’

- (425) *ətəkəymuŋ ucie nayʔnokholthanɡabado kənokholthanɡasaŋ nukaymuna cayancaknoay. baratokno.*

ətəkəymuŋ [u] =ci =e [nayʔnokhol] =thaŋ =ɡaba =do
so.then DST=LOC=FC mother-in-law =OWN =DREL =TOP

[*kənokhol -thaŋ =ɡa*] =saŋ {nuk} =ay =muna
son-in-law -OWN=DREL =MOB see =ADV =SEQ

{*cay -an -ca -k*} =no =ay {*barat -ok*} =no
look -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT =POS be.ashamed -COS =QUOT

‘So then, at that moment, his own mother-in-law having thrown a look in the direction of her own son-in-law, she stopped looking, it is said. She was ashamed, it is said.’

20.2.2 Locative interpretation

I think that, historically, this morpheme comes from the noun *saŋ* meaning ‘place, side’ and is still found with that meaning in a few compounds, e.g. *saŋphak* ~ *samphak* ‘side’. Thus it is not surprising that the enclitic <=saŋ> (MOB/LOC/INSTR) can sometimes still be used as a locative, i.e. marking Location adjuncts, as is illustrated in examples (426) and (427). Line 23 from Text 3 is represented below as (426). In this example no movement of the frog is implied; the animal is just sitting at the bottom of the ravine and is making a noise.

- (426) *uci rupeke həyawə roŋʔka otəkənəŋsaŋ “pekpek pekpek” noay parawaydoknowa.*

uci [rupek]=e [*həyawə roŋʔka otək* *nəŋʔ*] =saŋ
then frog =FC yonder cliff bottom.of.ravine inside =LOC

[*pekpek pekpek*] {*noay*} {*paraw -aydok*} =no -wa
frog.sound frog.sound say make.animal.sound -PROG =QUOT -FACT

Then the frog way over there at the bottom of the ravine is calling “pekpek! pekpek!”, is said.’

- (427) *ətakəymudo uan, geʔtheŋ, sagaba: “aŋdo nemkhalanca” nocio aro kamalsan thama caithiria.*

ətakəymudo [u] =an [geʔthe] [sa =gaba]
so.then DST=FC/ID 3s be.ill =ATTR

[aŋ] =do {nem -khal -an -ca} {no} =ci =do
1s =TOP good-CP -REF-NEG say =LOC=TOP

[aro kamal] =san {thama cay -thiri -a}
other priest =LOC divination look -AGAIN-CUST

‘So then, as for that sick [person], if [he] says: “I am not better”, [they] will practice divination again at the place of another priest.’

20.2.3 Instrumental interpretation

Examples (428) and (429) here below are illustrative of the use of the morpheme <=san> (INSTR) as instrumental case marker.

- (428) *aŋ rongʔsan depəwaw ratwa*

[aŋ] [ronʔ] =san [depəw] =aw {rat -wa}
1s stone =INSTR snake =ACC hit -FACT
‘I hit the snake with a stone’

- (429) *aŋ ie biskutaw taŋkasāŋ raʔwa*

[aŋ] [ie biskut] =aw [taŋka] =san {raʔ -wa}
1s PRX biscuit =ACCmoney =INSTR get/buy-FACT
‘I bought the biscuits with money.’

The instrumental is also used with verbs of speaking to mark the language that one speaks (430), (431) or that one speaks a certain language using the word *khuʔcuk* ‘language’ (432).

- (430) [...] *haʔcək khuʔcuksaŋ məkha badri moəy məŋwano.*

[haʔcək khuʔcuk] =saŋ [məkha badri]
Garo language =INSTR rain heavy.incessant.rain

{no} =əy {məŋ -wa} =no
say =ADV call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘[Because they held a drinking competition with the rain in that place], [they] sayingly call [it] *məkha badri* in Garo, it is said.’

(431) *atoŋsaŋ balcido soŋ pidan doŋʔacəm.*

[*atoŋ*] {*bal*} =*ci* =*do* [*soŋ pidan*] {*doŋʔ-a*} =*cəm*
 Atong speak =LOC=TOP village new IE.be -CUST=IRR
 ‘If you would say it in Atong, it would be *soŋ pidan*.’

(432) *khuʔcuk abunsan balcido bleŋ payriŋ noay balna manʔnicəm.*

[*khuʔcuk abun*] =*saŋ* {*bal*} =*ci* =*do* [*bleŋ payriŋ*]
 language other =INSTR say =LOC=TOP blank firing
 {*no*} =*ay* {*bal*} =*na* {*manʔ -ni*} =*cəm*
 say =ADV say =DAT be.able -FUT =IRR
 ‘If you would say it in another language, you could sayingly say *bleŋ payriŋ*
 (< English ‘blank firing’).’

20.3 The locative case marker <=*ci*> (LOC)

The locative case <=*ci*> (LOC) marks oblique arguments (adjuncts/peripheral arguments). Both temporal (433) and spatial (434) locations are marked by the locative case.

(433) *sanci reʔeŋni*

[*san*] =*ci* {*reʔeŋ -ni*}
 day =LOC go.away-FUT
 ‘[We] will go during the day.’

(434) *deʔtheŋ pipukci ganakhua mənʔ sa.*

[*deʔtheŋ pipuk*] =*ci* {*ganak-khu -a*} [*mənʔ sa*]
 3s belly =LOC exist -INCOM-CUST CLF:HUMANS one
 ‘In her belly she had one [child] more.’

The locative case can be omitted from NPs with generic time reference, whereas NPs with specific time reference need to be locative-marked. The following two examples form a contrastive pair. In (435) the locative <=*ci*> (LOC) on *somay* ‘time’ is omitted, whereas in (436) it is present. The time reference in (435) is generic whereas in (436) it is precise and topical.

- (435) *ronḡdəŋmi oltoe dakaŋ somay jaksonram maca nok phandaymi macamu ronḡdəŋ maharimu takrukwanao.*

[*ronḡdəŋ* =*mi oltho*] =*e* [*dakaŋ somay*] [*jaksonram maca*
Pname =GEN meaning =FC in.the.past time Pname tiger

nok phanday =*mi maca*] =*mu* [*ronḡdəŋ mahari*] =*mu*
house bachelor =GEN tiger =COM Pname clan =COM

[*takruk-wa*] =*noa*
fight -FACT =QUOT

‘As for the meaning of Rongdyng, in ancient times, the tigers of the tiger’s bachelor house of Jaksonram fought with the Rongdyng clan, it is said.’

In example (436) here below we see the concomitant action clause *uci muḡbutuŋ* ‘when [they] stay there’. The clause functions as a temporal adjunct in the main clause. The concomitant action suffix is compounded with the noun *somay* ‘time’. This phenomenon is treated extensively in §27.6.

- (436) *uci muḡbutuŋ somayci badri neman manḡay saḡano.*

[*u*] =*ci* {*muḡ-butuŋ +somay*}| =*ci*
DST =LOC stay -WHILE+time =LOC

[*badri*] *neman* {*manḡ*} =*ay* {*saḡ -a*} =*no*
Pname very in.great.amounts =ADV eat -CUST =QUOT

‘At the time of [their] stay there, Badri was very rich.’ Literally: ‘Badri ate in great amounts’.

Inherently locational nouns also need to be locative-marked when they function as locative adjuncts in a clause (437). An inherently locational noun can function as S argument and is then unmarked as in example (438). Since the predicate *muḡ*- ‘stay’ of the attributive clause is not a verb of movement, interpretation of the place name Siju as a movement oblique without mobilative marking is impossible.

- (437) *dakaŋdo cigacakcisa muḡwano.*

[*dakaŋ*] =*do* [*cigacak*] =*ci* =*sa* {*muḡ-wa*} =*no*
before =TOP Pname =LOC =DLIM stay -FACT=QUOT
‘In the past [they] just lived in Chigachak.’

(438) *teʔew sijəw soŋ muʔaydoŋgaba bihapci*

[*teʔew*] [*sijəw soŋ*] {*muʔ-aydoŋ*} =*gaba* [*bihap*] =*ci*
 now Pname village stay -PROG =ATTR place =LOC
 ‘at the place where the village of Siju is now situated’

There are some verbs that take their third argument in the locative case, e.g. *caduk-* ‘to bump’ (intransitive) (439) and *thot-* ‘to hit’ (intransitive) (440).

(439) *dəkəm bəlbanci cadukwa*

[*dəkəm*] [*bəlbən*] =*ci* {*caduk-wa*}
 head crossbeam =LOC hit -FACT
 [I] bumped [my] head against the wooden beam above the door.

(440) *cak roŋʔci thotwa*

[*cak*] [*roŋʔ*] =*ci* {*thot-wa*}
 foot stone =LOC hit -FACT
 [I] hit [my] foot on a stone

20.4 The genitive/ablative/nominaliser case marker <=*mi* ~ =*məŋ*>

The two allomorphs of the genitive /ablative/nominaliser morpheme <=*mi* ~ =*məŋ*> (GEN/ABL/NR) are in free variation although the allomorph <=*məŋ*> is used mostly in the Badri area and <=*mi*> more in Siju. The genitive has a number of functions in Atong. **1)** It indicates the relationship between nouns within an NP. **2)** The genitive enclitic marks adjuncts which indicate a Source. This is the ablative function of the morpheme. **3)** The genitive marks the standard of comparison in equative constructions. **4)** The genitive appears as a nominalising enclitic on clauses of which the predicate carries the factitive suffix <=*wa*> (FACT) (see also §24.3.1). **5)** The genitive marks nominal obliques which are the complements of the postpositions <*gəməŋ*> (REASON), <*kənsəŋ*> ‘later, after’ and <*dabat*> (LIMIT). Example (420) shows types **1** and **3**. Examples of **5** can be found in Chapter 1. We will now explore **1**, **2**, **3** and **4** separately below.

20.4.1 Indication of the relationship between nouns within an NP

Within an NP the genitive marks the possessor in a Possessor-Possessed relationship between nouns, e.g. (441).

(441) *baydam roṅsa thəykhalmi haʔwaycina jalaṅok.*

[*baydam*] [*roṅsa* _____ *thəykhalmi* =*mi* *haʔway*] =*ci* =*na*
 some.people RIVERname river =GENplain =LOC=ALL

{*jal* -*aŋ* -*ok*}

run.away-AWAY -COS

‘Some ran away to the plains of the river Rongsa.’

The first and second person pronouns have a long and a short form (see §17.2), viz. *aŋa* ~ *aŋ* (1s), *naʔa* ~ *naʔ* (2s) and, very rarely encountered, *niŋa* (1p) the long form of the usual form *niŋ* (1p). When the short form of personal pronoun is followed by a noun it will almost always be interpreted as a Possessor-Possessed relationship and the personal pronoun need not to be marked, e.g. (434), (442). An example of a context in which this interpretation is unlikely is found in (428), where the stone is non-referential and not possessed. The Possessor-Possessed interpretation is also not likely when the noun following the personal pronoun is compounded to the verb and thus not an argument. The Possessor-Possessed interpretation is not possible with the long forms of the personal pronouns, which are inherently A/S (or, in the case of *naʔa* (2s), used as address term), e.g. (443).

(442) *phaŋnan niŋ nokaw thokroŋa.*

[*phaŋnan*] [*niŋ* *nok*] =*aw* {*thok* -*roŋ* -*a*}
 always 1p house =ACC destroy-USUALLY -CUST
 ‘[The elephant] always destroys our house.’

In the next example (443) the pronoun *aŋa* (1s) is a separate NP. If it were in the form without final /a/, it would be interpreted to be the possessor of *sona* ‘gold’ in the NP *aŋ sona* (1s gold) ‘my gold’. Note that it is perfectly normal for the allomorphs *aŋ* (1s) and *naŋ* (2s) to function as A/S argument as is illustrated in (429).

- (443) [...] *aŋa sonaməŋ biʔcamcəm ician haʔmaŋməŋ piriayməŋ nok rəphiwaci cəŋʔcetnagaba ganəŋ.*

[aŋa] [*sona*=məŋ *bicam*] [*i*] =ci =an [*haʔmaŋ*] =məŋ
1s gold =GEN piece PRX =LOC=FC/ID soil =COM

{*pirin*} =ay =məŋ [{*nok*] {*cəŋʔcetna*} =gaba] {*ganəŋ*}
to.mix =ADV =SEQ house to.glitter =ATTR EXIST

‘after I mix golden pieces with soil now, when [I] plaster my house [I] will have a shiny one’

20.4.2 Marker of a Source

A source can be marked with both the mobilitative and genitive/ablative case, as in (420), or solely with the genitive/ablative case, as in (422) above and (444), (445) and (446) below. Case marking of a Source is obligatory.

- (444) *nokmi hoŋkotangbo!*

[nok] =mi {*hoŋkot -aŋ*} =bo
house =ABL to.exit -AWAY =IMP

‘Exit away from the house!’ Alternatively: ‘Go outside!’ (Said when both the speaker and hearer were inside.)

- (445) *imi ang walʔ nuketca.*

[i] =mi [*walʔ*] {*nuk -et -ca*}
PRX =ABL fire see -CAUS -NEG
‘From here I do not see the fire at all.’

- (446) “*na, aŋa ətəkəy colie colisemcaaydok*” *noayməŋ teʔewba jəkməŋ jaləŋokno.*

na [*aŋa*] [*ətəkəy*] {*coli* =e *coli* -sem -ca -aydok}
interj 1s like.that succeed =FC succeed -CERTAINLY -NEG -PROG

{*no*} =ay =məŋ [*teʔew*] =ba [*jək*] =məŋ {*jal* -aydok} =no
say =ADV =SEQ now =EMPH spouse =ABL run.away-PROG =QUOT

‘“Nah! like this, as far as succeeding is concerned, I’m not succeeding”, [the lazy king] said and now he is running away from his wives.’

- (449) *morot thəywami somayci atongtakay naʔnangae taknaka?*

[*morot thəy -wa*] *=mi* *somay =ci*
 person die -FACT =GEN time =LOC

[*aton*] =*takay* [*naʔnangae*] =*e* {*tak -naka*}
 what =LIKE 1pi =FC do -IFT

‘At the time of a person’s death/dying, how will we do [it]?’

- (450) *pheru nuksegaakno saʔwamiaw.*

[*pheru*] {*nuk -sega-ak*} =*no* [*saʔ -wa*] *=mi* =*aw*
 fox see -ALT -COS =QUOT eat -FACT =NR =ACC

‘This time the fox saw [it], it is said, the food.’

In the next example we see a state nominalisation.

- (451) [...] *niŋ atonʔdo dakaŋdo maməŋ thoromaw niʔwami somaycido wayaw mania.*

[*niŋ aton*] =*do* [*dakaŋ*] =*do*
 2p Atong =TOP in.the.past =TOP

[[*maməŋ thorom =aw niʔ -wa*] *=mi*] *somay*] =*ci* =*do*
 nothing religion =ACC not.exist -FACT =NR time =LOC=TOP

way =aw mani -a
 spirit =ACC worship -CUST

‘[...] we the Atongs, in the past, in a time when religion did not exist, [we] worshiped the spirits.’

20.4.5 Repeated genitive case marking

Genitive case marking is repeated when nouns are in an additive relationship within an NP as illustrated in the next example. In that example *acu ambi* (grandfather grandmother) ‘ancestors’ is a fixed collocation.

- (452) [...] *sansa dən̄taŋmanca thariaysa kamalna rəkaysa way khuruta, niŋ acu ambimi niŋmi piʔsacido.*

[*san sa*] [*dən̄thaŋmanca*] {*thari*} =*ay* =*sa* [*kamal*] =*na*
 day one special prepare=ADV =DLIM priest =DAT

{*rək*} =*ay* =*sa* [*way*] {*khurut* -*a*}
 search =ADV =DLIM spirit summon.a.spirit -CUST

[[*niŋ acu* ____ *ambi*] ____ =*mi* [*niŋʔ*] ____ =*mi piʔsa*] =*ci* =*do*
 1pe grandpa grandma =GEN 1pe =GEN childhood =LOC=TOP

[...and] one special day [they] prepare [stuff], search a priest and perform the incantation to summon a spirit, in the childhood of our forefathers and of us.'

20.5 The comitative case marker <=*mu* ~ =*muŋ* ~ =*məŋ*>

The allomorphs of the comitative morpheme <=*mu* ~ =*muŋ* ~ =*məŋ*> (COM) are in free variation, although <=*məŋ*> is predominantly used in Badri and <=*mu* ~ =*muŋ*> are predominantly used in Siju. The comitative marks a relationship between nouns in different NPs which are in a comitative or additive relationship. When the nouns in a comitative or additive relationship at phrase level and at inter-NP level are marked for comitative case, all of them are always marked, not just one of them. When two nouns are juxtaposed, they need not be marked for case at all to receive an additive interpretation (see §6.6). A noun in a comitative relationship can be ellipsed when retrievable from the context. Comitative marked NPs can be in A, S and oblique function in the clause. Comitative marked nouns in O function are not attested. The comitative functions only at NP level in a clause. In example (453) here below we see comitative-marked nouns which function as A arguments in the clause.

- (453) *teʔewba magacakməŋ lukwakməŋe khenʔ raʔaknote.*

[*teʔew*] =*ba* [*magacak*]_A =*məŋ* [*lukwak*]_A =*məŋ* =*e*
 now =EMPH deer =COM toad =COM =FC

[*khenʔ*]_O {*raʔ* -*ak*} =*no* =*te*
 crab get -COS =QUOT =DCL

'Now the deer and the toad got (river) crabs, it is said, I'm telling you.'

The following example illustrates how the comitative case marks nouns belonging to different oblique NPs in a clause. The example also illustrates double case marking with the dative and the comitative. The dative enclitic <=*na*> (DAT) marks the NPs

jahas ‘ship’ and *bagaji* ‘fortune-teller’ as Recipients and the nominalised dative-marked clause as a Purpose adjunct. The comitative indicates the relation between the NPs. The dative marking is repeated because the NPs are enumerated.

(454) *jahasnamu, ca rəṇnamu, bagajinamu rajani taṇka jamok.*

-Purpose clause--
 [jahas] =na =mu | [ca] {rəṇ} | =na =mu
 ship =DAT=COM tea drink =DAT=COM
 [bagaji] =na =mu [raja ni taṇka] {jam -ok}
 fortune-teller =DAT=com hundred two money/rupee finish -COS

‘On the ship (for the benefit of the ship), on drinking tea, on the fortune-teller the two hundred rupees were all spent [lit. ‘were finished’].’

The comitative marks A and S arguments. Example (455) shows how the comitative can appear only once in an NP and clause. In this example one of the constituents of the A argument of the reciprocal verb *ol-ruk-* (speak-RC) ‘speak to each other’ is ellipsed as it is clear from the context. The two nouns in additive relation in the stated A NP are not in a comitative relation to each other, but are together in a comitative relation to the ellipsed A argument. Hence only one of the constituents of the NP is comitative-marked with the marker having scope over the whole NP.

(455) *mama manithaṇgamuba olrukancakno.*

[mama mani]_A =thaṇ =ga =mu =ba
 elder.brother mother-in-law =OWN =DREL =COM =EMPH
 {ol -ruk -an -ca -k} =no
 speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

‘[He and] his elder brother [and] his mother-in-law did not speak to each other any more.’

In some cases, where the constituents of a comitative NP are doing something amongst themselves, the alternative is not used on both nouns as in the next example in which the comitative and the alternative mark the constituents of an S argument. The two nouns belong to the same NP, which is focused with the focus marker *<=e>* (FC) attached to the second noun in the clause.

(456) *morotməŋ morotsegaʔe takrukaydoŋno.*

[[*morot*] =məŋ [*morot*] -siga] =e_s {*takruk* -aydoŋ =no
 person =COM person -ALT =FC fight -PROG =QUOT
 ‘One person and another person are fighting, it is said.’

The above examples all show comitatives used in coordinative constructions.

Examples (435), (443) and (748) are good examples of basic comitative-marked participants in non-coordinative constructions.

As was mentioned above, an additive relation between nouns does not have to be marked with the comitative morpheme <=mu> (COM), but can be obtained by simple juxtaposition of two or more unmarked nouns. This is also the case with two juxtaposed unmarked personal pronouns. Example (457) here below illustrates an unmarked additive relation between two personal pronouns within the same NP. Note that Atong has a separate pronoun for the first person plural inclusive, viz. *naʔnaŋ*. Note also that the combination pronoun-plus-noun is interpreted as a possessive relationship with the pronoun as the Possessor, e.g. *aŋ gawi* (1s girl) ‘my girl’.

(457) *reʔeŋni naŋʔ aŋ.*

{*reʔeŋ* -ni} [*naŋʔ* aŋ]
 go.away -FUT 2s 1s
 ‘[We] will go, you [and] I.’

20.6 The dative/allative case marker <=na>

The morpheme <=na> will be labelled as allative (ALL) when it marks Goal adjuncts, and will be labelled dative (DAT) in all other cases. The dative case marks the following NPs:

- (A) Adjuncts,
- (B) Clauses in adjunct function to any other verb (see Chapter 27).
- (C) Complements of the postposition *dakaŋ* ‘before, earlier, in the past’ (see §27.3),

The morpheme <=na> (DAT/ALL) marks NPs which are either Beneficiaries (458), Recipients (459), Goals, Experiencer (460) or Standard of comparison in comparative

clauses (461), (462). Goal marking involves the locative case and is treated under multiple case marking in section 20.10. Example (416) above illustrates an unmarked Beneficiary/Recipient.

(458) *hanep aŋa naŋ?na golpho balni.*

hanep [aŋa]_A [naŋ?] _{BENEFICIARY} =na [golpho]_O {bal -ni}
 tomorrow 1s 2s =DAT story tell -FUT
 ‘Tomorrow I will tell a story for you.’

(459) *na?a aŋna hən?cakma?*

[na?a]_A [aŋ] _{RECIPIENT} =na {hən? -ca -k} =ma
 2s 1s =DAT give -NEG -COS =Q
 ‘You will not give [some] to me any more?’

(460) *aŋna aton? khu?cuk nemen raka.*

[aŋ] _{EXPERIENCER} =na [aton? khu?cuk] {nemen rak -a}
 1s =DAT Atong language very difficult -CUST
 ‘To me the Atong language is very difficult.’ Alternatively: ‘I find the Atong language very difficult.’

(461) *abun soŋna dayay ie soŋ hanseŋkhala.*

STANDARD	-----MARK-----	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	INDEX
[abun soŋ]	=na {day}	=ay [ie soŋ]	{hanseŋ -khal -a}	
next village	=DAT be.bigger=ADV	PRX village	beautiful	-CP -CUST

‘The next village is much more beautiful than this village.’

(462) *aŋ naŋ?na cuŋkhala.*

COMPAREE	STANDARD	MARK	PARAMETER	INDEX
[aŋ]	[naŋ?] =na	{cuŋ -khal -a}		
1s	2s =DAT	big	-CP -CUST	

‘I am bigger than you.’

20.7 Repeated dative case marking

Dative case marking is found to be repeated on enumerated nouns in a coordinated structure which are all NPs of the same verb, as in (463), where we see a sequence of three nouns marked by the dative. The dative-marked nouns all belong to different NPs which are coordinated.

- (463) *ucisa macana makbulna moŋmana paycaaymuŋ bəldəŋbəldaŋ jalna haʔbaceŋok.*

ucisa [maca]=na [makbul]=na [moŋma]=na {pay-ca} =ay =məŋ
 then tiger =DAT bear =DAT elephant =DAT bear-NEG =ADV =SEQ

[bəldəŋbəldaŋ] {jal} =na {haʔbaceŋ-ok}
 all.over.the.place run.away=DAT begin -COS

‘Then, not bearing the tigers, the bears and the elephants any more, [they] stared to run away all over the place.’

20.8 The accusative case <=aw ~ =taw>

The allomorph <=taw> (ACC) is used when the NP it attaches to ends in /t/. The allomorph <=aw> (ACC) is used everywhere else. The accusative marks a variety of NPs, viz.

- Patients (syntactic O arguments), treated in §20.8.1,
- Materials of which some artefact is made, treated in §20.8.2,
- the word *ram* ‘road’ as Pathway of the verbs *rayʔ-* ‘to go’, *rayʔa* ‘to come’ and *reʔeŋ* ‘to go away’,
- the word *caʔ* ‘foot/leg’ is used as an instrument, e.g. in the expression *caʔ=aw reʔeŋ-* (foot=ACC go.away), e.g. (422) and (492),

Moreover, the morpheme <=aw ~ =taw> (DREF) can be used purely to mark referentiality, individuation or definiteness on NPs that are fragments, as we will see in §20.8.3. In this case the label (DREF) ‘definite & referential’ is used. Fragment NPs are not predicative, as in presentative clauses (see §26.4) and are not part of a clause as argument, adjunct, nor are they topics. Finally, the morpheme <=aw ~ =taw> (DREF) is found on clause initial NPs that cannot be interpreted as Patient or O argument. This use will be treated in §20.8.4.

- (464) *ətakəy rayʔsotwae rayʔmangabaaw rayʔthirithiri muʔna naŋok.*

ətakəy {*rayʔ* -sot -wa} =e [{*rayʔ* -man} =gaba] =aw
 like.that -go -DIRECTLY -FACT =FC go -ALREADY =ATTR =ACC

[*rayʔ-thiri* -thiri] {*muʔ*} =na {*naŋ* -ok}
 go -AGAIN-RED stay =DAT need -COS

‘Like that [they] went directly [and they] had to keep taking (lit. ‘going’) [the road] which they had already gone again and again.’

20.8.1 The marking of O arguments

An O argument does not have to be case-marked. There are certain pragmatic conditions under which an O argument receives accusative marking. These conditions are summed up in Table 59.

Table 59 Pragmatic conditions for accusative case-marking of O

A)	position of the referent on the animacy hierarchy relative to any other NP or NPs in the clause or in the context
B)	ambiguity about the semantic status or affectedness of the argument
C)	referentiality

A) RELATIVE POSITION OF THE REFERENT IN THE ANIMACY HIERARCHY. The higher an O argument is in the animacy hierarchy, the more likely it is to be accusative marked. This pragmatic criterion is connected to the ambiguity criterion treated below under B. The clause in the next example preceded the clause in (416) in the story of the Lion and the Fox. Here below in (465) we find the only argument *siḡho* ‘lion’ marked with the accusative. If there were no case marking the lion, being high in the animacy hierarchy, could be misinterpreted as the agent, as the one who did the appointing. Apart from that the lion is the new topic of the story. So here two criteria together are responsible for the accusative marking of the O, viz. position of the referent on the animacy hierarchy and topicality.

(465) *te?do siḡhoaw soḡokno.*

[*te?*] =*do* [*siḡho*]_{PATIENT} =*aw* {*soḡ* -*ok*} =*no*
 now =TOP lion =ACC appoint-COS =QUOT
 ‘Now [they] appointed the lion.’

B) AMBIGUITY ABOUT THE SEMANTIC STATUS OR AFFECTEDNESS OF THE

ARGUMENT. An argument can be accusative marked to disambiguate its semantic status. Ambiguity is likely to occur if arguments of the same clause are on a par to each other in the animacy hierarchy, as in example (466). If the name of the person had not been accusative-marked, there could be confusion about who saw whom.

(466) *naŋ? ranustaw nukama nukanca?*

[*naŋ?*] [*ranus*]=*taw* {*nuk -a*} =*ma* {*nuk -an -ca*}
 2s Name =ACC see -CUST =Q see -REF -NEG
 ‘Have you seen Ranus or not?’

In the next example the speaker marks the NP *wiliamnagal* ‘Williamnagar’ (a village name) with the accusative, because the verb *məŋ-* ‘to call a name’ is used transitively and its O argument, the named entity, is a semantic Patient. *Wiliamnagal* ‘Williamnagar’ and Symsanggre (the former name of the same village) are both low on the animacy hierarchy. Therefore case marking is necessary in his case because there could be confusion about which is the affected participant, the O, if both were left unmarked since the order of the NPs in Atong is free. Since a place name is always uniquely referential and definite, affectedness of the participant is the dominating factor for the case-marking here. In Atong the named entity is seen as the affected argument and thus *wiliamnagal* ‘Williamnagar’ is accusative-marked and the other argument is unmarked for case. It is not possible for both NPs to be accusative-marked in this construction.

(467) *wiliamnagalaw səmsaŋgre noay məŋa.*

[*wiliamnagal*]_O =*aw* [*səmsaŋgre*]_E {*no*} =*ay* {*məŋ -a*}
 Pname =ACC Pname say =ADV call.a.name -CUST
 ‘Williamnagar used to be called Symsanggre.’ Alternatively: ‘[People] saying used to call Williamnagar Symsanggre.’

In the next example we see two animate NPs of the verb *məŋ-* ‘to call someone or something a name’. Again the named entity is accusative-marked and the name, the E argument, is unmarked for case.

(468) *aŋməŋ amaw goje em saŋma məŋgwa.*

[*aŋməŋ ama*]_O =*aw* [*goje em saŋma*]_E {*məŋ -wa*}
 1s =GEN mother=ACC Pname Sname1 Sname2 call.a.name -FACT
 ‘My mother’s name is Goje M. Sangma.’

The normal way to make people to know what your name is in Atong is the following expression (469), where the verb *məŋ-* ‘to call a name’ is an extended intransitive and

neither of the arguments S or E are marked for clausal case. In this case there is no ambiguity about the syntactic status of the NPs.

(469) *aŋmi bimuw todan em saŋma məŋwa.*

[aŋ=mi bimuw]_S [todan em saŋma]_E {məŋ -wa}
 1s =GENname Pname Sname1 Sname2 call.a.name -FACT
 ‘My name is called Todan M Sangma.’

If there is no ambiguity, i.e. when the situation of who did what to whom is clear from the context, the affected participant can be left unmarked for case, as in the next example, where the O argument *jək* ‘wife’ is unmarked despite the high position in the animacy hierarchy. The context is as follows. In a country supposedly lived/lives a lazy king. He has two wives who have to carry him on their hands when he eats and sleeps. He is so lazy that he does not work, has no money and cannot sustain his two wives any more. The people are speaking disdainfully about him and so he feels ashamed and decides to run away. The ellipsed A in (470) is the lazy king.

(470) *te?ewe jək asteay jalaŋwacie soŋreaŋokno.*

[te?ew]=e [jək]_O {asset} =ay {jalaŋ -wa} =ci =e
 now =FC wife throw.away =ADV run.away-FACT =LOC=FC
 {soŋreaŋ -ok} =no
 wander.around-COS =QUOT

‘Now when [he] had divorced [lit. ‘threw away/disposed of’] his wives, and ran away, [he] wandered around, it is said.’

In the next example we see a mix of animate and non-animate affected participants. When the context is sufficiently clear, the affected participants are unmarked for case. When the speaker thinks there is reason to doubt about the affected status of a participant, it is accusatively marked.

- (471) *tawʔreksərup maŋsa geʔtheŋməŋ thup phaŋnan moŋma phayʔay saʔroŋwana, moŋma mathayaw tapna reʔeŋaydoŋanoa. teʔedo ue moŋmaay rekci thupay thupay muʔgabaaw phaŋnan phayʔay phayʔay saʔroŋano. ətəkəyməŋ hawtəy reʔeŋwacian beŋblok maŋsaʔaw goronokno [...] sakhapci aŋ thupay muʔwaci phaŋnan aŋ thupawba payʔay payʔay saʔroŋa.*

[*tawʔreksərup maŋ* *sa*] [*geʔtheŋ thup*] [*phaŋnan*] [*moŋma*]
 banana.bird CLF:ANIMALS one 3s nest always elephant

{*phayʔ*} =*ay* {*saʔ -roŋ* -*wa*} =*na*
 break =ADV eat -USUALLY -FACT =DAT

[*moŋma mathay*] _____ =*aw* {*tap*} =*na* {*reʔeŋ -aydoŋa*} =*no* -*wa*
 elephant bachelor.elephant =ACC hit =DAT go.away -PROG =QUOT -FACT

[*teʔe*] =*do* [*ue moŋma*] =*ay* [*rek*] =*ci* {*thup*} =*ay* {*thup*} =*ay*
 now =TOP DST elephant =FC banana.tree =LOC to.nest=ADV to.nest =ADV

{*muʔ*} =*gaba*] =*aw* {*saʔ -roŋ* -*a*} =*no*
 stay =ATTR =ACC eat -USUALLY -CUST =QUOT

ətəkəyməŋ [*hawtəy*] {*reʔeŋ -wa*} =*ci* =*an*
 so.then REM go.away -FACT =LOC=FC/ID

[*beŋblok maŋ* _____ *sa*] =*aw* {*goron -ok*} =*no*
 toad CLF:ANIMALS one=ACC meet -COS =QUOT

[*sala*] [*sakhap*] =*ci* [*aŋ*] {*thup*} =*ay* {*muʔ-wa*} =*ci*
 idiot type.of.tree =LOC 1s to.nest =ADV stay -FACT =LOC

[*phaŋnan*] [*aŋ thup*] =*aw* =*ba* {*payʔ*} =*ay* {*payʔ*} =*ay*
 always 1s nest =ACC=EMPH break =ADV break =ADV

{*saʔ -roŋ* -*a*}
 eat -USUALLY -CUST

‘An elephant always breaks and eats (lit. ‘breakingly eats’) a banana bird’s nest (lit. ‘his nest’). Now as for the elephant, [he] always breaks the [thing] that stays nestingly in the banana tree. So when [the banana bird] goes way over there he meets a toad. [“Where are you going, friend?”, asks the toad. “I am going to beat-up the elephant today”, he says. “Come on! I will also go.] The idiot, when [I] nestingly stay in the *sakhap* tree [the elephant] always breaks and eats my nest.”

The next example shows an O argument without case marking but with focus marking. The situation, who does what to whom, is clear from the context.

(472) [...] *gambirimu gamsilimu jaʔnawmarane senthiokno*.

[*gambiri*] =*mu* [*gamsili*] =*mu* [*jaʔnaw*] =*maran=e*
 type.of.tree =COM type.of.tree =COM sister =RC =FC

{*senthi-ok*} =*no*

lament -COS =QUOT

‘[“When are you going to dress us in clothes?”] lamented the *gambiri* and *gamsili* tree to the “mutual” sisters (those who were sisters to each other).’

C) Referentiality. In the next example the biscuits are referential. They are not just biscuits, they are the biscuits which the fox and the deer are trying to steal from the Bangladeshi as is already clear from what preceded in the story. The biscuits being significantly lower in the animacy hierarchy than the Bangladeshi, do not necessarily need to be accusative-marked to understand who does what to whom in this sentence.

(473) *əʔəkəyməŋ baŋgale biskutaw tanayməŋ* [...]

əʔəkəyməŋ [*baŋgal*] =*e* [*biskut*] =*aw* {*tan*} =*ay* =*məŋ*

so.then Bangladeshi =FC biscuit =ACC put =ADV =SEQ

‘So then, the Bangladeshi, having put [down] the biscuits[: “Hey, that deer is lame”, he said and chased it].

In an NP consisting of a demonstrative and a noun it may occur that the demonstrative receives the accusative case marking and not the following noun. The case marker still has scope over the whole NP. Maybe this preferential marking of the demonstrative instead of the noun has to do with the fact that demonstratives are inherently more referential than nouns.

(474) *umido uaw kamal sandini. uaw waʔphekgumuk, waʔ pangumuk tharithəloŋaymusa* [...]

umido [*u* =*aw* *kamal*] {*sandi -ni*}

then DST=ACC priest search -FUT

[*u* =*aw* *waʔphek*] =*gumuk* [*waʔ* *pan*] =*gumuk*

DST=ACCsmall.type.of.bamboo =all bamboo firewood =all

{*thari -thəloŋ*} =*ay* =*mu* =*sa*

prepare-NICELY =ADV =SEQ =DLIM

‘Then [they] will look for that priest, all that small bamboo [and] bamboo for the fire (alternatively ‘bamboo and firewood’) are nicely prepared...’

20.8.2 Marking of material of which something is made

The enclitic <=*aw* ~ =*taw*> (ACC) is found marking the Material of which some artefact is made. The NP referring to the artefact itself can be unmarked for case when it is a Patient, as in (475). In the first clause of example (475) we see that Material *haʔbəkun* ‘sand’ is marked with the accusative, whereas the Patient NP *morot* ‘person’ is clearly a Patient and unmarked for case. More fieldwork is needed to find out if the accusative-marked Material NP functions syntactically as a modifier in a larger, complex NP with the noun denoting the artefact.

The last clause of example (475) contains one of the few nouns that can also fully function as a verb, i.e. *cəwɣən* ‘the festival of the dead’ and *cəwɣən-* ‘to celebrate the festival of the dead’.

- (475) *haʔbəkunaw morot takaymuba kaŋkelekaw soʔotaymu cigəraŋsaŋ
dəmcəraŋsaŋ dakaŋmi acu ambitəkəy dəthəyɕiŋay takaymu uan meʔmaŋ
saʔwetokno, cəwɣənokno.*

[*haʔbəkun*] =*aw* [*morot*]_O{*tak*} =*ay* =*mu* =*ba* [*kaŋkəlek*] =*aw*
sand =ACC person make=ADV=SEQ=EMPH lizard =ACC
{*soʔot*} =*ay* =*mu* [*cigəraŋ*] =*saŋ* [*dəmcəraŋ*] =*saŋ*
kill =ADV =SEQ snare.instrument=INSTR snare.instrument=INSTR
[*dakaŋ* =*mi* *acu* *ambi*] =*təkəy* {*dəthəy* =*ciŋ* =*ay*}
before =GEN grandpa grandma =LIKE kill -FIRST =ADV
{*tak*} =*ay* =*mu* [*u*] =*an* [*meʔmaŋ*] {*sawʔ* -*et* -*ok*} =*no*
do =ADV =SEQ DST=FC/ID ghost burn -CAUS -COS =QUOT
{*cəwɣən* -*ok*} =*no*
celebrate.the.festival.of.the.dead -COS =QUOT

‘Having made a person out of sand and having killed a lizard, with [their] string instruments, like [their] ancestors from long ago [they] killed and burned the ghost, it is said [and] celebrated the festival of the dead.’⁴⁰

⁴⁰ After a person dies the spirit continues to live in the house for a year. Sometimes a small house is built in front of the deceased’s house for its spirit to live in. The burning of the ghost is a ceremony which is performed one year after the death of a person as described above or, when appropriate, by burning the small house of the spirit. The spirit of the dead person then leaves the house and travels to the land of the dead through the way of the forest fire. The land of the dead is Balpakram, now a national park on the border with Bangladesh and the Khasi Hills.

In example (476) we see that both the Material NP, *pan* ‘wood’, and the artefact NP, in this case modified by an Attributive clause (see Chapter 29), are accusative-marked.

(476) [...] *bondəkaw payay, panaw jap kha?gabaaw kawtawna thəmokno.*

[*bondək*] =*aw* {*pay*} =*ay* [*pan*] =*aw* [*jap*]
gun =ACC carry.in.hand =ADV wood =ACC defence.wall

{*kha?*} =*gaba* =*aw* {*kaw -taw*} =*na* {*thəm -ok*} =*no*
make =ATTR =ACC shoot-UPWARD =DAT lie.in.ambush-COS =QUOT

‘...carrying guns [using] the defence wall made of wood [they] laid in ambush to shoot upward, it is said.’

20.8.3 Purely referential/individuating/definiteness usage of the morpheme

<=*aw* ~ =*taw*>

The morpheme <=*aw* ~ =*taw*> can be used purely as a marker of referentiality, individuation and definiteness on NPs that are neither predicates, as in presentative clauses (see §26.4), nor part of a clause, i.e. fragments or free constituents (see Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 187). The best label for the morpheme in these cases is (DREF) ‘definite & referential’. Definiteness & referential marking in this case is used for emphasis. Examples (477) and (478) are illustrative. The context from which example (478) is taken is as follows. A cunning man called Theng•ton [t^hɛŋ?ton] has been trapped in a big basket by the people of his village, who want to drown him in the river. On the way to the river, Teng•ton’s carriers take a break to eat. While they are not paying attention to the basket, a Nepali arrives and asks:

- (477) “*ha! naʔa caŋ koksechi dangabae?*” *nowano. ucie: “aŋcəm”, nowano.*
“atakaba morot?” nochie “aŋ, aŋawdo!”

ha [naʔa [caŋ koksep⁴¹] =ci {daŋ} =gaba =e {no} -wa =no
 interj 2s who cage.basket =LOCenter=ATTR =FC say -FACT =QUOT

uchie l{aŋ}lPRESENTATIVE CLAUSE =cəm {no} -wa =no
 then 1s =IRR say -FAT =QUOT

[atak =gaba morot] {no} =ci =e
 do.what =ATTR person say -FACT =FC

[aŋ]FRAGMENT [aŋ]FRAGMENT =aw =do
 1s 1s =DREF =TOP

“Hey! Who are you, [the one who] entered into the cage-basket?”, [the Nepali] said, it is said. Then: “It is supposedly me!” [Theng•ton] said, it is said. When [the Nepali] said: “What kind of person?” [literally: ‘a person who does what?’], [Theng•ton said:] “Me, me!”

In the above example we see that the definite- & referential-marked fragment (underlined) in the last line is the emphatic answer to the question asked in the line above. The context illustrates the reason for the emphasis: the Nepali had already asked who Theng•ton was before, and when he asked a second time, Theng•ton answered emphatically to make sure the Nepali got the message. The definite- & referential-marked fragment NP has no other reason to be marked as such other than to emphatically indicate its referentiality or individuation, since it does not comply with any of the other criteria to be accusative-marked, viz. being a Patient or O argument, a Material etc. as listed in §20.8. The fragment is not only definite- & referential-marked but also topic-marked for extra emphasis, although this topic-marking is not obligatory on accusative-marked fragments, as we can see in the next example.

Example (478), below, illustrates another instance of a definite-& referential-marked fragment. The speaker starts telling a story, and breaks off the second sentence – which ends in a rising intonation indicating that the sentence was not

⁴¹ A *koksep* is the term for a variety of big, loosely woven bamboo baskets in which animals, usually chicken and pigs, are kept while they are being transported to and sold at the market.

finished yet – in order to state his name for the recording. He first announces that he wants to do this by the definite- & referential-marked fragment *aŋ=mi biməŋ=aw* (1s=GEN name=DREF) ‘this name of mine’. This fragment has a falling intonation and is therefore a statement on its own; it does not belong to the next clause. The fragment is referential, definite and introduces a new topic. Contrary to example (477) above, the fragment is not topic-marked, despite the fact that a new topic is introduced. The morpheme *<=aw ~ =taw>* (ACC/DREF) marks only referential NPs which can be topical in addition (see 20.8).

(478) *aŋa imi gəməŋaw baletni. ie əəə dakaŋmi acu ambi.... əəə aŋmi biməŋaw. aŋmi biməŋ genda ar marak.*

aŋa i =mi gəməŋ =aw bal -et -ni
1s PRX =GEN ABOUT =ACC tell -CAUS -FUT

ie əəə dakaŋ =mi acu ambi
PRX interj:HESITATION in.the.past =GEN grandfather grandmother

əəə aŋ =mi biməŋ =aw FRAGMENT
interj:HESITATION 1s =GEN name =ACC

aŋ =mi biməŋ genda ar marak
1s =GEN name Pname SURNAME

‘I will tell about this. These, uh, ancestors of the past... Uh, this name of mine. My name is Genda R Marak.’

The marking of fragments with the morpheme *<=aw ~ =taw>* (ACC/DREF) is very common in Atong and speakers of all ages do it.

20.8.4 The morpheme *<=aw ~ =taw>* on clause initial topical S arguments

Two instances have been discovered in the recorded corpus of language material where a clause initial NP that cannot possibly be interpreted as Patient or O argument is marked with the accusative enclitic *<=aw>* (ACC). These instances, represented below as examples (479) and (480), occur in texts of two different older speakers. The speaker who produced (480) was very old. Example (479) comes from TEXT 2 (line 24) and the wider context of (480) can be found in (350).

- (479) *khurutna sapgaba morotawsa* [pause] *soṅgumukciba soṅci paṇṭramaria*.

[*khurut* _____ =*na* *sap* _____ =*gaba morot*]_{TOPIC/S} =*aw* =*sa*
 perform.an.incantation =DAT know.a.skill=ATTR person =ACC=DLIM
 [*soṅ*] =*gumuk* =*ci* =*ba* [*soṅ*] =*ci*
 village =whole =LOC=emph village =LOC
paṇṭ -*ram* -*ari* -*a*
 be.many -FORTUITOUSLY -SIMP-CUST

‘As for precisely those people [who] know how to perform incantations, in all villages [and] in this village, [there are] many [of them] for no good reason.’

- (480) *manṭgabaaw saṭphet rəṇphet*.

[*manṭ* =*gaba*]_{TOPIC/S} =*aw* {*saṭ* -*phet*} {*pəṇ* -*phet*}
 have =ATTR =ACC eat -TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT drink -TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT

‘The one’s who are rich (lit. ‘who have’) [are] eaters to their [own] detriment [and] are drunkards to their [own] detriment.’

Although not marked by the topic enclitic <=do> (TOP) (see §19.13) or the focus enclitic <=e> (FC) (see §19.14), the accusative-marked NPs in both examples above introduce new topics. These topics are referential and definite and therefore marked by the accusative enclitic <=aw> (ACC); in (479) the accusative-marked NP is also delimitative-marked for a more precise reference. In (479) the new topic is separated from the rest of the clause by a pause, but there is no such pause in (480).

Both accusative marked NPs function as S argument in their respective sentences. In (479) the NP *khurutna sapgaba morotawsa* ‘precisely those people [who] know how to perform incantations’ is the S of the predicate *paṇṭramaria* ‘are many for no good reason’. In (480) the NP *manṭgabaaw* ‘the ones who have’ is a headless attributive clause (see Chapter 29) functioning as the S argument of the predicates *saṭphet* ‘eat to one’s detriment’ and *rəṇphet* ‘drink to one’s detriment’. In §18.9 is argued that these are actually nominal predicates (see also §22.5).

In the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson, 1902: 86-88), reverend E.G. Philips uses the gloss ‘the’ every time the accusative/definite morpheme occurs. He correctly recognised that this morpheme only occurs on referential and definite NPs. Maybe a hundred years ago the sole purpose of the morpheme <=aw ~ =taw> was one like the definite article in English, marking NPs as referential and definite. In the language of today this morpheme has developed a second function, i.e. that of accusative marker

that helps to distinguish O arguments from other NPs, but only when the O is definite and referential.

Since S and A are always unmarked for case and O can only be marked with the morpheme $\langle =aw \sim =taw \rangle$ (ACC) when it is referential and definite and since the morpheme $\langle =aw \sim =taw \rangle$ (ACC/DREF) does not exclusively mark O arguments, the syntactic and semantic function of unmarked NPs has to be assessed pragmatically.

20.8.5 Repeated accusative case marking

Accusative marking is found to be repeated for emphasis as in (481) and (482). The accusative-marked NPs in (482) are in apposition to each other and have the same semantic and syntactic roles. That the accusative-marked NPs are in apposition and not part of one complex NP is apparent by the pauses in between the accusative marked clausal constituents. In example (482) the pauses are marked in seconds.

(481) *udo jəwʔgabado uaw, diʔawba, asetca.*

[*u*] =*do* [*jəwʔ*] =*gaba* =*do* [*u*] =*aw* [*diʔ*] =*aw* =*ba* {*asset* -*ca*}
 DST=TOP mother=DREL =TOP DST=ACC shit =ACC =EMPH throw.away-NEG
 ‘That mother does not throw that [stuff], the shit, away. [She simply collected the vegetables and cooked them]’

The next example illustrates the co-occurrence of accusative case marking and focus/identification-marking on the noun *gumuk* ‘all, everything’. The reason for the accusative marking here is ambiguity about the semantic status of *gumuk* ‘all, everything’. If unmarked it could be interpreted as referring to the women who collected their husbands and not to the husbands.

- (482) *khasin khasin (2.8) gumukawan (0.4) paləŋci jalɡabadaraŋaw (0.7)*
jəkthaŋthaŋaw (0.4) jumuphənnakno.
- {*khasin khasin*}
 slow RED
 [*gumuk*] =*aw* =*an* [*paləŋ*] =*ci* {*jal*} =*ɡaba*] =*daraŋ* =*aw*
 all =ACC =FC/ID jungle =LOC run.away =ATTR =p =ACC
 [*jək*] =*thaŋ* =*thaŋ*] =*aw* {*jumu -phən -a -ak*} =*no*
 spouse -OWN -RED =ACC collect-AGAIN-TOWARDS -COS =QUOT
 ‘[...the women] slowly collected everybody again, their own husbands, [the
 ones who] had run away to the jungle, it is said.’

When a noun is modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative and the noun often both take the case-marker, e.g. (481) and (496).

20.8.6 More than one accusative marked NP in a clause

In (492) we can see accusative marking on two different NPs with different syntactic and semantic functions. In that example *sam* ‘grass’ is the actual O argument, whereas *ca?* ‘foot’ is an adjunct in the semantic function of instrument. The noun *ca?* ‘foot’ is always accusative-marked when used as an instrument while other body parts and other instruments are marked with the instrumental case <=*saŋ*> (INSTR), e.g. *cak=saŋ kha?ɡaba* (hand=INSTR make=ATTR) ‘made by hand’.

Another clause type where we can find two accusative-marked NPs is the causative clause. Causative clauses with two accusative-marked NPs have been obtained by elicitation as they did not occur in any of the recorded materials (483). Causativisation is treated in the chapter on valency changing derivation. In the next example the animacy hierarchy makes it clear that the third person singular (*ge?theŋ*) is the Causee argument acting in turn on the girl (*ɡawi*) which is lower on the animacy hierarchy. The real O argument (483) is *ɡawi* ‘girl’ because, as we can see in (484), the Causee can be instrumental-marked if lower on the animacy hierarchy than the O. Common nouns are lower in the animacy hierarchy than pronouns.

- (483) *aŋ ge?theŋaw ɡawiaw so?otetwa.*
- [*aŋ*]_A[*ge?theŋ*] =*aw* [*ɡawi*] =*aw* {*so?ot -et -wa*}
 1s 3s =ACCgirl =ACC kill -CAUS -FACT
 ‘I made him kill the girl.’

When you want to express the reverse, i.e. ‘I made the girl kill him’, the girl has to be instrumental-marked because it is lower in the animacy hierarchy than the third person *geʔtheŋ* (3s) (484).

(484) *aŋ geʔtheŋaw gawisaŋ soʔotetwa.*

[aŋ]	[geʔtheŋ]	=aw	[gawi]	=saŋ	{soʔot -et -wa}
1s	3s	ACC	girl	=INSTR	kill -CAUS -FACT

‘I made the girl kill him’

20.9 The homophonous markers <=*təkəy*> (VIA) for the perlocative and <=*təkəy*> (LIKE) for the similative

Although the markers are homophonous, they are presumably used in two historically related but synchronically different grammatical processes. We can hypothesise that similative is a derivational morpheme, viz. an adverbialiser. A similative-marked NP indicates how the action denoted by the verb takes place. The perlocative is not adverbialising because semantically the NP it occurs on refers to a pathway, and so it does not indicate how the action denoted by the verb is done, but via which place or path an action takes place. The reading of the specific function of the morpheme depends on the word class it enclitises to, the semantics of the verb and the context.

The analysis seems problematic since we cannot know if the Atong speakers conceptualise the two possible functions of the morpheme <=*təkəy*> (VIA/LIKE) as one cognitive operation or not. If for the Atong speakers marking an NP or adverbial clause with the marker under discussion is one cognitive operation, then I would assume it is an adverbialising one. This would mean that Atong speakers conceptualise ‘doing something in the way their forefathers did’ (475) in the same way as ‘going in a Baghmara-like fashion’ (485).

(485) *naʔnaŋ bagmaratəkəy reʔeŋni.*

[naʔnaŋ]	[bagmara]	PATHWAY	= <u>təkəy</u>	{reʔeŋ -ni}
1pi	Pname		=VIA	go.away -FUT

‘We will go through/via Baghmara.’

A purely adverbialising function is also what one would expect considering the origin and grammaticalisation path of the morpheme <=*təkəy*> (VIA/LIKE) as explained

below, i.e. coming from a grammaticalised adverbial clause with the predicate *ətək-* ‘do like this/that’.

Since it is impossible to know the conceptualising processes that go on in the mind of an Atong speaker, one could argue that “splitting” the morpheme into two homophonous enclitics with different grammatical functions is arbitrary or based on the grammar of the language in which this grammar is written, e.g. English.

There is one argument in favour of a cognitive split. There are separate interrogatives in Atong that ask for the pathway, viz. *bi=təkəy* (QF=VIA) ‘via which way?’ and for the way some action came about or is done, viz. *atoŋ=təkəy* (what?=LIKE) ‘doing what?/why?/how?’ (486).

An argument against the split is the fact that the marker *<=təkəy>* (VIA/LIKE) appears on the predicate heads of non-verbal clauses like (494). Adverbs cannot be predicate heads of non-verbal clauses.

Thus I describe the perlocative/simulative enclitic as a case enclitic that marks constituents as Pathway or Facsimile adjuncts (peripheral arguments), depending on contextual interpretation.

- (486) *atoŋtəkəy tayʔnido thawoksəyi jaʔbek?*
atoŋ =təkəy [tayʔni] =do {thaw -ok} =səy [jaʔbek]
 what =LIKE today =TOP tasty -COS =MIR curry
 ‘Why is [it] so tasty today, the curry?’

The following examples illustrate the use of the simulative enclitic on a prototypical noun (487), and on a classifier-numeral phrase (488).

- (487) *phulistəkəy nukramphinokno bunduk paygana.*
[phulis] =təkəy {nuk-ram -phin -ok} =no
 police =LIKE see -INADVERTENTLY-OBVIOUSLY-COS =QUOT
[[bunduk] {pay} =ga] =na
 gun carry.in.hands =ATTR =DAT
 ‘[They] inadvertently obviously looked like the police, it is said, because of the carrying of guns.’

(488) *udo paŋʔaydo sapdamca. mənʔsa mənʔnitəkəy sapa.*

[u] =do {paŋʔ} =ay =do {sap -dam -ca}
DST =TOP many =ADV =TOP know.a.skill-TRUELY -NEG

[mənʔ sa mənʔ ni] =təkəy {sap -a}
CLF:HUMANS one CLF:HUMANS two =LIKE know.a.skill-CUST

‘Not many [people] truly know that skill. [They only] one-or-two-ingly know the skill.’ (i.e. ‘only one or two of them know the skill’).

It seems that morpheme <=təkəy> (VIA/LIKE) is a grammaticalised form of the non-finite form of verb *ətək=ay* (do.like this/that=ADV) with reduced vowel quality of the non-finite enclitic <=ay> (ADV) and loss of the non-productive prefix <ə-> (?) which makes it phonologically less heavy and more apt to be an enclitic. Grammaticalised differently, but from the same source is the adverb *ətəkəy* ‘like that’, e.g. (489), which in turn is more grammaticalised than the homophonous discourse connective *ətəkəy* ‘so then’ which still has a verbal property in that it can take the sequential marker <=mənʔ ~ =muŋ ~ =muŋna> (SEQ).

(489) *ətəkəy tawʔphinbo.*

ətəkəy {tawʔ -phin} =bo
like.that ascend -BACK =IMP
‘Go back up like that/through that way.’

The perlative is the most grammaticalised form since it is no longer adverbialiser but marks adjuncts indicating a pathway. Tracing this path of grammaticalisation helps us to explain the adverbialising character of the similative function of the case marker <=təkəy> (LIKE). The whole grammaticalisation path of this case marker is summarised in Table 60.

Table 60 The grammaticalisation path of the case marker
<=təkəy> (VIA/LIKE)

verb →	non-finite form → ↘	discourse conjunctive →	adverb
<i>ətək-</i> ‘to do like this/that’	<i>ətək=ay</i> (do.like.this/that=ADV) ‘doing thusly’	<i>ətəkəy</i> ‘so then’	<i>ətəkəy</i> ‘like this/that’
		similative →	perlative
		<=təkəy> (LIKE)	<=təkəy> (VIA)

Here below is an example of the perlative on demonstratives.

- (490) (Speaker A) *itəkəy reʔeɲnima itəkəy?* (Speaker B) *utəkəy.*

[*i* =*təkəy*] {*reʔeɲ* -*ni*} =*ma* [*i*] =*təkəy* [*u*] =*təkəy*

PRX =VIA go.away -FUT =Q PRX =VIA DST=VIA

‘(Speaker A) Will we be going through here or through here? (Speaker B) Through there.’

Relativised clauses can also take the perlative enclitic as is illustrated in the following example.

- (491) *samna jekay rəkgabatəkəy rəka, kamalnado.*

[*sam*] =*na* [*jekay* {*rək*} =*gaba*] =*təkəy* {*rəka*} [*kamal*] =*na* =*do*

medicine=DAT some search =ATTR =VIA search priest =DAT=TOP

‘Medicine is sought through some searcher, for the priest.’

The following example shows the similative on a demonstrative. The utterance was accompanied by gestures of the speaker.

- (492) *samaw caʔaw itəkəy tokano.*

[*sam*] =*aw* [*caʔ*] =*aw* [*i*] =*təkəy* {*tok* -*a*} =*no*

grass =ACC foot =ACC PRX =LIKE hit -CUST =QUOT

‘[They] trample the grass like this with [their] feet.’ Alternatively: ‘[They] hit the grass like this on foot.’

In the example here below the similative appears on a time word, i.e. *tayʔsa* ‘just a little while ago’. Time words are noun-like but do not have all the properties of a prototypical noun.

- (493) *uan tayʔsatəkəy kantaraaw kərəkərək reʔeɲayməɲ səɲʔetthiriokno.*

[*u*] =*an* [*tayʔsa*] =*təkəy* [*kantara*] =*aw* [*kərəkərək*]

DST=FC/ID a.little.wile.ago =LIKE emptiness =ACC quickly

{*reʔeɲ*} =*ay* =*məɲ* {*səɲʔ* -*et* -*thiri* -*ok*} =*no*

go.away =ADV =SEQ ask -CAUS -AGAIN-COS =QUOT

‘Like just a little while earlier he quickly went to the emptiness and asked again.’

Example (494) illustrates the similative on a demonstrative which functions as the predicate head of a verbless clause.

- (494) *phalthaŋci waʔcurek saʔna manʔarino. naʔnaŋba utəkəy.*
 [[*phalthaŋ* =ci *waʔcurek*] {*saʔ*} =na {*manʔ* -ari} =no
 self =LOC capacity eat =DAT be.able -SIMP=QUOT
 [*naʔnaŋ*] =ba {[*u*] =*təkəy*}
 1pi =ADD DST =LIKE
 ‘[Earthworms] can only eat their own capacity. We are also like that.’

20.10 Multiple case marking

This section sums up all the examples with multiple case marking from this chapter and presents some new examples as well. Dixon (2002: 148-9), in his summary of double case in Australian languages, presents three types of double occurrence of case morphemes on an NP:

- (a) marking of phrasal function (genitive, comitative, privative) plus marking of clausal function (ergative, accusative, dative, instrumental, etc.);
- (b) local marking plus marking of clausal function;
- (c) marking of clausal function plus marking of clausal function.

Atong has interesting variations on (a) and (b); there is no construction akin to Dixon’s type (c). We can clearly see that Atong uses case marking to indicate semantic roles which I will indicate where appropriate.

20.10.1 Local/Direction marking + marking of clausal function

This type of double case-marking is akin to Dixon’s type be (b) mentioned above.

i Location and O

In (495) and (496) we see a use of the marker <=*saŋ*> as a locative.⁴² *Baljoŋ=saŋ* (Pname=MOB) ‘at Baljong’ is a local modifier and functions as afterthought in post-

⁴² This marker grammaticalised from the noun **saŋ* ‘side, place’ now only found as a bound morpheme in some nouns. Compounding with this bound morpheme is not productive.

verbal position. It is marked with accusative marker $\leq aw \gt$ (ACC) because the NP is referential and definite.

(495) *dakaŋ haʔ sawʔ wacəm, baljoŋsaŋaw.*

[dakaŋ] [haʔ] {sawʔ -wa} =cəm [baljoŋ] =saŋ =aw
 before land burn -FACT =IRR Pname =MOB =ACC
 ‘In the past [people] supposedly burned the land, [the land] at Baljong.’ (i.e. they practised slash-and-burn agriculture).

(496) *ətəkəymuŋna haʔ hawʔay saʔayroŋnotəy, usaŋaw raŋpənramsaŋaw haʔ hawʔay saʔayroŋno.*

ətəkəymuŋna {haʔ hawʔ} =ay {saʔ ayroŋ} =no =əy
 so.then soil clear.the.jungle =ADV eat -PROG =QUOT=MIR
 [u] =saŋ =aw [aŋpənram] =aw {haʔ hawʔ} =ay
 -DST =MOB =ACC Pname =ACC soil clear.the.jungle =ADV
 {saʔ -ayroŋ} =no
 eat -PROG =QUOT

‘So then, [she] is living off a rice field, it is said, [she] is living off that rice field at Rangpynram, it is said.’

ii Marking a Location as a Goal

Besides marking Beneficiary, Recipient and Experiencer (see section 20.6, this chapter) the morpheme $\leq na \gt$ (DAT/ALL) can also mark a Goal, in which case the morpheme is labelled as the allative case marker. NPs referring to Goals have to be obligatorily allative-marked. Only locations can be Goals and thus a Goal also needs to be obligatorily locative-marked. The locative $\leq ci \gt$ (LOC) marks the NP as a location. The allative marker has a clausal function. Thus we find double marking for semantic role on NPs functioning as Goals. The locative case is marked closest to the root or stem, followed by the allative marker, i.e. $\leq ci=na \gt$ (LOC=ALL) as is illustrated here below in (497) and above in (423) and (441).

- (497) *ətəkəyməŋ ketketa bura reʔeŋokno reʔeŋokno, jəwʔparacina phetaŋokno.*
 ətəkəyməŋ [ketketa bura] {reʔeŋ -ok} =no {reʔeŋ -ok} =no
 so.then Name go.away -COS =QUOT go.away -COS =QUOT
 [jəwʔ] =para =ci =na {phet -aŋ -ok} =no
 mother=&co LOC =ALL reach -AWAY -COS =QUOT
 ‘So then Ketketa Bura went and went and reached the house of his mother’s family.’

Locative-allative marking is found repeated on two nouns within the same NP which are in an additive relation to each other in (498). Both nouns are modified by the reduplicated type 2 adjective *dəŋthaŋ* ‘different’. The reduplication of the adjective indicates plural in this case. In (499) the locative-allative marking is found repeated on two nouns belonging to different NPs in coordination.

- (498) *ətəkəysa dəŋthaŋdəŋthaŋ soŋcina bihapcina jalthokna gaʔakok.*
 ətəkəysa [dəŋthaŋ dəŋthaŋ soŋ] =ci =na [bihap] =ci =na
 so.then different RED village =LOC=ALL place =LOC=ALL
 {jal -thok} =na {gaʔak -ok}
 run.away-TOGETHER =DAT be.compelled -COS
 ‘So then [they] were compelled to all run away to different villages [and] to [different] places.’
- (499) *may bətwaməŋdo puŋcina soncina khayrata.*
 [may bəŋ] =waməŋ =do [puŋ] =ci =na
 rice pull =NR =TOP rice.stock.house =LOC=ALL
 [soŋ] =ci =na {khay -rat -a}
 village =LOC=DAT carry.on.body -DOWNWARD -CUST
 ‘The rice harvest is carried down on the body to the rice stock house, to the village.’

20.10.2 Local marking + local marking: Direction and Source

In (500) the implication of the mobilative plus ablative marking is ‘movement away from something’. Therefore, semantically, the combination of mobilative + ablative marks the NP for movement and source.

- (500) *phorenmi morot rayʔadoŋa, phorensaŋmi rayʔaydoŋa.*

[*phoren* =*mi morot*] {*rayʔ -aydoŋa*}[*phoren*] =*saŋ -mi*
 foreign.country =GEN person come -PROG foreign.country =MOB =ABL
 {*rayʔ-aydoŋa*}
 come-PROG

‘Persons belonging to foreign countries are coming, [they] are coming from foreign countries.’

20.10.3 Local marking + local marking + clausal function: Direction, Source and O

The following example illustrates how an NP, in this case a demonstrative, is marked by three cases. It is marked as Direction by the mobilitative, as a Source by the ablative. The motivation for the accusative marking is referentiality and definiteness, and to mark the constituent as a Patient. The NP under discussion is underlined.

- (501) *ie caʔmasaŋmi way khurucido ue həysaŋmiaw baŋgəladəsmi thəlʔ-kəŋosmi jaria haʔgərsakgumukawan məŋani.*

[*ie caʔma saŋ* =*mi way*] {*khurut*} =*ci =do* [*ue*]
 PRX downstream =MOB =GEN spirit summon =LOC=TOP DST
həy] =*saŋ =mi =aw* [*baŋgəladəs =mi thəlʔ*] [*kəŋos =mi*]
 far.away =MOB =ABL=ACC Pname =GEN up.to Pname =GEN
jaria] [*haʔgərsak*] =*gumuk =aw =an* {*məŋa -ni*}
 influence the.world/everything =everything =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT

‘When he summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the area of Kongos, all of them.’

20.10.4 Marking of clausal function first and then of phrasal function

The following example illustrates double case marking with the dative and the comitative. The example is the same as (454) above and also illustrates how the comitative case marks nouns belonging to different peripheral NPs in a clause. The dative marker <=*na*> (DAT) has a clausal function, marking the NPs as Recipients and the nominalised clause *ca rəŋ* (tea drink) as a Purpose adjunct, and the comitative indicates the relation between the NPs, which is a phrasal function. The dative marking is repeated because the NPs are enumerated and therefore coordinated.

(502) *jahasnamu, ca rəṇnamu, bagajinamu rajani taṇka jamok.*

[*jahas*]_{RECIPIENT} =na =mu |[*ca*] {*rəṇ*}|_{PURPOSE} =na =mu
 ship =DAT=COM tea drink =DAT=COM

[*bagaji*]_{RECIPIENT} =na =mu [*raja ni taṇka*] {*jam -ok*}
 fortune-teller =DAT=COM hundred two money/rupee finish-COS

‘On the ship (for the benefit of the ship), on drinking tea, on the fortune-teller the two hundred rupees were all spent [lit. ‘were finished’].’

20.10.5 Stem-forming genitive governed by <*gəməṇ*> ‘reason, about’

The postposition <*gəməṇ*> ‘reason, about’ occurs with the genitive case. Thus the genitive functions as a stem-forming suffix as treated in section 20.4 B. Examples can be found in §13.3. This postposition only marks adjuncts.

In the following example the proximal demonstrative carries the genitive governed by the postposition <*gəməṇ*> ‘reason, about’. The whole NP receives accusative marking because it is referential.

(503) *aṇa imigəməṇaw baletni.*

[*aṇa*][*i* =*mi gəməṇ*]=*aw* {*bal -et -ni*}
 1s PRX =GEN about =ACC tell -CAUS -FUT
 ‘I will tell about this.’

20.11 Repeated case marking summary

Repeated case marking means that more than one noun in a sequence of nouns is marked with the same case. Double case is always repeated as a whole. The motivations for repeated case marking differ from case to case. The motivations and the cases for which the motivation holds are listed in Table 61.

Table 61 What cases are found repeated and why.

MOTIVATION	CASE	EXAMPLE
Nouns in additive relationship within an NP	GENITIVE	(452)
	LOCATIVE-dative	(498)
Enumeration/ Coordination	DATIVE	(463)
	DATIVE=COMITATIVE	(454)
	LOCATIVE-dative	(499)
Emphasis / Referentiality	ACCUSATIVE	(481), (482)

Cases for which repetition is not attested: mobilitative/instrumental/locative <=*saŋ*> (MOB/INSTR/LOC), locative <=*ci*> (LOC), perlative/similative <=*təkəy*> (VIA/LIKE). All NPs in a comitative relationship are marked with the comitative case. A single comitative-marked NP in a clause can occur when the other comitative argument is ellipsed, e.g. (455), when the action is reciprocal e.g. (456), or when the comitative is used to express a simple comitative relation on an NP rather than comitative coordination., e.g. (435), (443) and (748).

Chapter 21 Transitivity

Transitivity in Atong is a property of a construction that corresponds to a clause and therefore a discourse phenomenon that involves more than the argument frame of a verb, as has been described for Iatmul (Ndu family, East Sepik, Papua New Guinea, see Jendraschek, 2008). A clause is transitive when it either contains an NP that functions as O argument, or when an O argument must be inferred from the context. A clause is intransitive when there is neither an overt NP in the clause that can function as O argument, nor an implicit O argument that is recoverable from the context. As we will see below, it is not always possible to know whether the speaker conceptualises an O when it is not explicitly stated in the clause.

Transitivity is also related to valency, i.e. the property of the verb to take complements (core arguments). I adopt Jendraschek's definition of transitive verb: "a verb that can be used in transitive constructions". We will see that transitive verbs in Atong can also appear in intransitive constructions, whereas an intransitive verb cannot appear in a transitive construction. Thus we can define intransitive verbs as 'verbs that cannot be used in transitive constructions'.

Transitivity plays a role in Atong, given the existence of a small number of transitive and intransitive verbal lexical pairs (see Table 25 in §4.6) and the existence of the causative predicate head suffix <-et> (CAUS). Other than the occurrence in transitivity pairs of some verbs, there are no morphological criteria to distinguish transitivity classes. Since, as was mentioned above, no NP needs to be expressed obligatorily in any clause, we can say that there is no obvious relationship between the transitivity of the clause and the valency of the verb when we look at the morphosyntactic structure of the language. The number of overt dependents that are expressed in a clause and their case marking is a matter of semantics and pragmatics rather than syntax.

The following observations can be made for Atong syntax:

1. There is no formal distinction between core syntactic roles such as case marking or word order.
2. Complements need not be overtly stated when retrievable from the context.

3. S=A ambitransitivity is impossible to diagnose.
4. S=O ambitransitivity is possible when no A can possibly be retrieved from the context.
5. NPs can coalesce with the verb, i.e. be incorporated into the predicate, and thus lose their argument status. As a result the predicate becomes intransitive (see §22.7.1).
6. There are pivots in coreference for a small number of clause combinations.

Point 1 will be discussed in section 21.1. Points 2 and 3 are treated in section 21.2, followed by a discussion on point 4, S=O ambitransitivity, in section 21.3 which also involves observations concerning point 5. Finally, point 6 will be treated in section 21.4.

21.1 No formal distinction between core syntactic roles

The core arguments intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A), (CS) and copula complement (CC) cannot be distinguished on the basis of case marking. S and A, CS and CC are always unmarked, and transitive object (O) can optionally be accusative-marked, but only when the NP is referential and definite. However, the accusative/definite-&-referential morpheme $\leq aw \sim =taw$ (ACC/DREF) does not only mark O arguments, as is discussed in §20.8, but also Materials of which artefacts are made, e.g. the word *caʔ* ‘foot/leg’ when used as an instrument. A clause with more than one accusative marked NP is not exceptional, e.g. (504). In this example we see that both the Patient, *sam* ‘medicinal plant’, and the Instrument, *caʔ* ‘leg/foot’, are marked with the morpheme $\leq aw$ (ACC). Neither the syntactic nor the semantic role of these NPs can be assessed on the basis of the case-marking, although the case marking does narrow down the number of possible interpretations.

(504) [...] *samaw caʔaw itəkəy* [gestures] *tokano*.

[<i>sam</i>] _{PATIENT}	= <u><i>aw</i></u>	[<i>caʔ</i>] _{INSTRUMENT}	= <u><i>aw</i></u>	[<i>i</i>]	= <i>təkəy</i>	{ <i>tok -a</i> }	= <i>no</i>
medicinal.plant	=ACC	foot/leg	=ACC	PRX	=LIKE	beat -CUST	=QUOT

‘[... our ancestors] beat the medicinal plants with [their] feet like this (gestures), it is said.’

Moreover, NPs with other semantic roles can be unmarked for case as well. Semantic roles that can optionally be left unmarked for case are given in Table 58. Goals, for example, can be left unmarked when the noun is inherently locational. The Name NP in a clause with the verb *məŋ*- ‘to call someone/something a name’ is always unmarked for case, while the named entity can optionally be accusative-marked. In the next example, we see a clause where both the named entity and the Name are unmarked for case. Thus, context has to make clear what is named what. Examples (467) and (468) in §20.8.1 shows a case where the named entity is accusative-marked.

(505) *aŋmi bimur Samrat məŋwa.*

[*aŋ*=*mi* *bimur*]_{NAMED ENTITY} [*Bairik*]_{NAME} {*məŋ*_____ -*wa*}
 1s =GEN name Bairik call.a.name -FACT
 ‘[One] calls my name Bairik.’ ‘Alternatively: ‘My name is called Bairik.’

As for word order, most often the Topic is the first NP of the clause. The topic most often corresponds to the Actor or Agent of the clause, or, when seen from a syntactic perspective, with the A or S argument. When not the A argument but the O is the topic, the O can be accusative-marked when referential, e.g. (506). Non-referential O arguments cannot be accusative-marked (see §20.8).

The referents of the two core argument NPs expressed in the next example, *Dilbangkhongdang*, the name of a man, and *matsa* ‘tiger’, are both high on the animacy hierarchy and are both referential. The O argument, *Dilbangkhongdang*, is the Topic and therefore preposed to the A argument, *matsa* ‘tiger’. To indicate its O status, the inherently referential NP *Dilbangkhongdang* is accusative-marked.

(506) *jemi sanci dibangkhongdaw matsa kakok.*

[*je* =*mi* *san*] =*ci* [*dibangkhongdaw*]_{TOPIC/O} =*aw* [*matsa*] {*kak* -*ok*}
 any=GENday =LOC Pname =ACC tiger bite -COS
 ‘On a certain day a tiger bit Dibangkongdang.’

In the context of example (507), all the animals have gathered to elect a king. They elect several animals, who all decline. Finally they elect the lion, who accepts. We can see that the accusative-marked NP *siŋho* ‘lion’ is the only NP in the clause. The referent is high in the animacy hierarchy and could therefore easily be interpreted as

the Agent. However, the fact that *siŋho* ‘lion’ is accusative-marked allows the hearer to infer that an A argument is implied, i.e. the animals, retrievable from the context, are the ones who elect.

(507) *teʔdo songhoaw soŋokno.*

teʔ =do [*siŋho*]_{TOPIC/O} =*aw* {*soŋ -ok*} =*no*
 now =TOP lion =ACC elect -COS =QUOT
 ‘Now, [the animals] elected the lion, it is said.’

In addition to this, Atong lacks cross reference of arguments on the predicate and the predicate does not agree in any way in person or number with any NP in a clause. The syntactic function of every unmarked NP and every NP marked by the morpheme <=*aw* ~ =*taw*> (ACC/DREF) must therefore be assessed pragmatically. All NPs that are marked as being S, A or O in this grammar are marked based on the inference of the syntactico-semantic function of the NPs in the context of the example.

21.2 Optionality of complements and S=A ambitransitivity

Adverbials are optional in Atong, i.e. they need not be overtly stated when they are clear from the context. It is therefore not possible to diagnose complements with a deletion test. English differs from Atong in this respect, since omission of NPs in English can lead to ungrammatical clauses. In Atong omission of a Location NP with the verb *tan-* ‘to put’, for instance, results in a perfectly grammatical clause, as we can see in (508).

(508) *ətakəyməŋ baŋgale biskutaw tanayməŋ [...]*

ətakəyməŋ baŋgal =*e* *biskut* =*aw* *tan* =*ay* =*məŋ*
 so.then Bengali =FC biscuits =ACC put =ADV =SEQ
 ‘So then, the Bengali put the biscuits down [and said ...]’

In the same way, all NPs in Atong can be omitted when retrievable from the context. In line 1 of TEXT 1 the subjects of the two transitive clauses are omitted since it is clear that the speaker is speaking about himself. This example is represented below as (509).

(509) *aaah jəwna səkarokte. cəyʔa.*

aaah jəw =na sək -arok =te. cəiʔ -a.
 interj sleep =DAT want -PROG =DCL tired -IMPF
 ‘Oh! [I] want to sleep. [I]’m tired.’

Since all verbal complements are optional, it is impossible to distinguish between the S=A ambitransitive use of a verb (i.e. the intransitive use of a transitive verb) and the transitive use with omitted O. So (510) could well be an ellipsed version of (511).

(510) *raŋsan khama.*

raŋsan kham-a
 sun burn -CUST
 ‘The sun burns’ (Possible interpretations: ‘It’s very hot’ or ‘the sun burns X’.)

(511) *raŋsan aŋaw khama*

raŋsan aŋ =aw kham-a
 sun 1s =ACC burn -CUST
 ‘The sun burns me.’

Jendraschek (2008: 2) states about Iatmul, that “[i]n intransitive use, any inferred patient [...] would be non-referential. An omitted O in contrast would have been introduced in the context and therefore correspond to a definite NP [...]. In Atong it is possible to walk into a kitchen, see someone eating and say ‘*aŋ=ba saʔ-ni*’ (1s

=ADD eat-FUT) ‘I will also eat’, but we cannot be sure that the speaker is not implying an ellipsed O, namely the same food as that of the person who is already eating. Therefore, we cannot be sure if the construction is transitive or not. The uncertainty holds true for the clause with the transitive verb in the next example, where, although it has not been stated anywhere during the conversation, we can assume that the one that is being hit is the student. Since this referent can be retrieved from the extra-linguistic context, the clause can be interpreted as transitive with an omitted O argument.

- (512) teacher: *bi =saŋ reʔeŋ -wa naʔa?*
 QF =MOB go.away -FACT 2s
 ‘Where did you go to?’
- student: *“u =saŋ nalsasaŋ reʔeŋ -wa.”*
 DST =MOB the.other.side.of.the.water go.away -FACT
 ‘[I] went there, to the other side of the [sea].’
- teacher: *“hmʔm, bal =bo atak =na reʔeŋ -wa.*
 no tell =IMP do.what =DAT go.away -FACT
bal -ca =ci =do tok -ni.”
 tell -NEG =LOC=TOP beat -FUT
 ‘No! Tell [me], why did you go? If you don’t tell, I’ll beat [you].’

The point is that there is usually something in the real world context that is understood by the speaker and the hearer as an implied O in those cases where a transitive verb is used without overt O. We cannot look into the speaker’s mind to see whether this possible O is implied or not, i.e. whether we have a case of S=A ambitransitivity or not.

Atong often inserts a prototypical noun in cases where English uses an ambitransitive verb without O. This prototypical noun coalesces with the verb, i.e. it gets incorporated into the predicate and loses its argument status altogether. As a result of the incorporation, the predicate becomes intransitive (see §22.7.1). In Text 2 line 65, represented here as (513), Atong incorporates the prototypical noun *may* ‘rice’ into the predicate, whereas the non-literal English translation does not have an O. We can see that the NP *may* ‘rice’ is not an O argument, because the quantifying event specifier *-thok* ‘ALL’ functions on an S/O basis (see §25.5), and in this case it quantifies the S of this intransitive clause.

- (513) *may saʔhokokma naŋʔtəme?*
 {*may saʔ-thok-ok*} =ma [naŋ -təmə] =e
 rice eat -ALL -COS =Q 2s -ppp =FC
 ‘Have you all eaten?’ Literally: ‘Have you all rice-eaten?’

21.3 S=O ambitransitivity

In the same way that it is almost impossible to know whether a speaker implies an O in a seemingly S=A ambitransitive clause, it is in some cases equally impossible to diagnose whether a speaker implies an A or not when no A NP is overtly stated, i.e. in

what could be S=O ambitransitive clauses. When there is no A in the linguistic context, we can only assume none is implied, but our assumption might be wrong, as when, for example, someone asks if a certain fruit is eaten or not, and when the interlocutor answers that it is not, and there is no particular A mentioned in the whole conversation, e.g. (514). The interpretation could be one of S=O ambitransitivity or of an implied, non referential A.

- (514) Speaker 1: [*cicot*]_{S=O?} {*saʔ -a*} =*ma?*”
 dud.jackfruit eat -CUST =Q
 ‘Do you/does one/do people eat dud jackfruit?’ Alternatively: ‘Can you/one/people eat dud jackfruit? Alternatively: ‘Is dud jackfruit eaten?’
- Speaker 2: [*cicot*]_{S=O?} {*saʔ -ca*}
 dud.jackfruit eat -NEG
 ‘You/one/people don’t eat dud jackfruit.’ Alternatively: ‘You/one/people can’t eat dud jackfruit.’ Alternatively: ‘Dud jackfruit is not eaten.’ Alternatively: ‘Dud jackfruit is not edible.’

The NP *cicot* in (514) is non-referential. In example (516) we see a referential NP that appears in a clause that may be interpreted as being S=O ambitransitive. However, the potential A, i.e. the monkey children, has already been introduced in the preceding part of the clause. The verb *nuk-* ‘to see’ is transitive, as we can see in (515).

- (515) *aŋa naŋʔaw nukjərəŋaria.*
 [*aŋa*]_A [*naŋʔ*]_O =*aw* {*nuk -jərəŋ -ari -a*}
 1s 2s =ACC see -DAILY -SIMP-CUST
 ‘I just see you every day.’

- (516) *walməkrakwaci teʔedo saʔdərɲe*: “*awaməɲ nakhaldo thawso thawso nukwa*”
noaydoɲanoa amak saʔay.

walməkrak -wa =ci =e *teʔe* =do *saʔ* =dərɲe=e
 saty.awake.all.night -FACT =LOC =FC now =TOP child =p =FC

[*awa* =*məɲ* *nakhal*]_{S=O?} =do [*thaw* -su *thaw* -su] {*nuk* -wa}
 father =GEN ear =TOP tasty -REALLY tasty -REALLY look.like -FACT

no -aydoɲa =no *amak* *saʔ* =ay
 say -PROG =QUOT monkey child =FC

When they stayed up all night, now, the children: “Father’s ears sure look tasty” (Alternative, more literal translation with implied A argument:) “[We] see father’s ears tastily”, said the monkey children, it is said. [after the mother had killed the father monkey accidentally, and then the mother and the children ate the father monkey.]

In the context of example (517), a mother has just told her newly born prodigious baby, who can already talk, that his brothers are away to hunt a giant eagle. Just after the example, the baby tells his mother that he will go in search of his brothers. The NP *gandurian* ‘umbilical cord’, in this example, is not very likely to be interpreted as an A argument, since it is very low on the animacy hierarchy. A possible interpretation of this clause is the S=O ambitransitive one, since the mother, although mentioned not long before in the context, does not have to be conceptualised as the implicit A of the clause. But we have no proof that the speaker does conceptualise an A argument, and there we have two choices, the mother, who was said to be all alone in her house at the time of the birth, or the child, since it is expressed as an antitopic and because it is prodigious and could therefore cut its own umbilical cord.

- (517) *gandurian cotkhucano ue saʔgəraye*.

[*gandurian*]_{S=O?} {*cot* -*khu* -ca} [*ue* *saʔgəray*]_{ANTITOPIC}=e
 umbilical.cord tear -INCOM -NEG DST child =FC

‘The umbilical cord was not yet torn, as far as that child is concerned.’

Alternatively: ‘[The mother] had not yet torn the umbilical cord...’

Alternatively: ‘[The child] had not yet torn the umbilical cord...’

The first clause in the next example has the best chance of being intended as a real S=O ambitransitive, albeit with an omitted S, since there is no particular A available anywhere in the context. A group of brothers are walking through the jungle carrying guns. They accidentally meet an old woman who thinks that they are the police.

(518) *phulistəkəy nukramphinokno bunduk paygana.*

[*phulis*] =*təkəy* {***nuk*** -*ram* -*phin* -*ok*} =*no*
 police =LIKE look.like -UNINTENTIONALLY -TOTALLY -COS =QUOT

[*bunduk*] l{*pay*}l =*ga*] =*na*
 gun carry.in.hand =ATTR =DAT

‘[They] unintentionally looked totally like the police because of the guns carried.’

We can conclude that although Atong has no morphosyntactic means to distinguish transitive from ambitransitive clauses, it is possible to interpret certain clauses, in contexts where no A argument can be recovered, as being S=O ambitransitive.

21.4 Pivots

There seem to be some co-reference restrictions on subjects (S/A) in certain clause combinations in Atong, examples of which are presented in a later section of this grammar to which I will only make reference in this section. Because of these restrictions, Atong can be said to have pivots (see Dixon 1994) which constrain clause combinations and possibly the occurrence of more than one S/A for the two combined clauses, but this topic needs further fieldwork research. The subject (S/A) of dative-marked complement clauses (see §27.2.1) of purposive clauses (see §27.2.3) and of adverbial clauses (see §28.1) is always co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. When the subjects are not co-referential, other syntactic constructions must be used.

In all other clause combinations, there are no co-reference restrictions of any kind, e.g. (519). In this example the O argument of the sequential clause (see §28.2), viz. *cep=gaba* (imprison=ATTR) ‘the prisoner’, is coreferential with the S argument of the main clause, viz. *geʔthey* ‘he’. In a language like English, one would expect the referent of *geʔthey* ‘he’ to be the implied A of the sequential clause. In Atong there are no such grammatically determined expectations about the reference of the third person singular, which is pragmatically determined.

(519) *ətəkəymən cepgaba deŋəymən geʔthen hoŋkotokno.*

ətəkəymən [*cep* *=gaba*]_O {*deŋ*} =*ay* =*mən*
 so.then imprison=ATTR untie =ADV =SEQ

[*geʔthen*]_S {*hoŋʔkhot -ok*} =*no*
 3s come.out -COS =QUOT

‘So then, having untied the prisoner_i [Lit. the imprisoned], he_j came out, it is said.’

Another example of a lack of co-reference restrictions is (520), where we see a reason clause (see §27.1.1), syntactically subordinate, where the implied O of the transitive verb *tanʔ*- ‘to cut (up), to slay’ is coreferential with the S of the verb in the matrix clause predicate *thəy*- ‘to die’.

(520) *tanʔmanokona thəyok udo, mo*

{*tanʔ-man* -*ok*} =*ona* {*thəy-ok*} [*u*] =*do* *mo*
 cut -already -COS =DAT die -COS DST=TOP CONF

‘Because [they] had cut [him_j] up, [he_j] died, that one, isn’t it.’

Chapter 22 The Predicate

22.1 Defining the predicate and the predicate head

The predicate is the part of the clause which contains the predicate head and anything semantically tightly linked or prototypically associated to that head. Words from several different word classes can function as predicate head, viz. verbs, Type 2 adjectives, demonstratives, personal pronouns, numeral-plus-classifier compounds, the interrogatives *bisaj* ‘to/from where?’ and *biskən* ‘how much/many?’ and nouns. Table 62 below summarises the properties of the different types of predicate heads. As we can see, there are no clear boundaries between the different types; their properties overlap. We will refer to predicates with a noun as head as “nominal predicates”, to those with verbs as head as “verbal predicates”, etc. First, in §22.2 we will look at the morphological structure of the predicate head. Verbal predicates are treated in §22.3, Type 2 adjectival ones in §22.4, and verbal ones in §22.5.

There are two types of predicate, viz. simple and complex. Only verbs and Type 2 adjectives can be the head of a complex predicate. In complex predicates, the head is always the right-most constituent. It is only the head that can take predicate suffixes, although in complex predicates the constituent which is not the head can carry enclitics. Complex predicates without incorporated nouns will be treated in §22.6, and those with incorporated nouns §22.7.

Table 62 Properties of different types of predicate depending on the head

Type of head		
VERB	TYPE 2 ADJECTIVES	NOUN
Syntactic criteria		
can occur as the predicate of a non-finite clause		
can take all argument types	can only take S arguments that are Attributants	
can be the predicate of an imperative clause	occurs only in identity/equation clauses	
	cannot be a predicate of an imperative clause	
can be modified by adverbial clauses and adverbs		cannot be modified by adverbial clauses and adverbs
Morphological criteria		
can be the head of a complex predicate		cannot be the head of a complex predicate
can take all event specifiers		difficult to use with event specifiers
can take the causative suffix <et> (CAUS)		cannot be causativised
cannot occur as bare stem as predicate of a main clause, except in imperative clauses	can also be used without any marking, i.e. as bare root	
	does not have to express but can take most of the same categories as a verbal predicate head but is not attested with all of them, can occur without predicate suffixes in main clauses	can express fewer categories than verbal and adjectival predicates, can occur without predicate suffixes in main clauses

22.2 The morphological structure of the predicate head

A predicate head consists of a root, followed optionally by one or more stem-forming suffixes, followed optionally by one or more inflectional suffixes indicating negation, aspect, modality and polarity. An overview of all predicate suffixes is given in Table 63. As we can see in that table, the suffixes are ordered in echelons and columns.

There are four columns in Echelon 1 and three in Echelon 2. The suffixes in Echelon 1 appear on both main and subordinate clause predicates. Some suffixes in Echelon 2 only appear on subordinate clause predicates, some only on main clause predicates and some on both. The suffixes that appear in the same column are not attested to occur simultaneously. The only exceptions are the event specifiers. Although all event specifiers are ranked in column 2, more than one event specifier can occur on a single predicate head. The function and meaning of all the individual predicate head suffixes is treated in Chapter 23. Event specifiers are treated in Chapter 25.

Suffixes from Echelon 1 and 2 are never attested to occur in the reverse order. Within Echelon 2, suffixes from column 5, 6 and 7 do not occur in other orders. The columns in Echelon 1, however, do not represent absolutely fixed positions, but rather a strong tendency for morphemes to appear in a certain order. Variations in the order are attested. These variations might signify variations in scope of the suffixes, but

there is also a chance that some variations are in free variation. More fieldwork is needed to find out more about this positioning variability. A frequently attested

Table 63 Predicate head suffixes in their respective slots.
Morphemes that are attested on nominal predicate heads and on clauses with nominal predicate heads are in bold face.

Echelon 1 Stem-forming suffixes

column 1

Causative <-et> (CAUS)

column 2

Event specifiers

There are a great number of event specifiers in Atong, possibly hundreds, not all of which have been recorded yet. Those which have been discovered fall into twelve categories, viz. manner, manner/direction, aspect, extent, direction/extent, direction, epistemic, deontic, determinacy, location, conative and quantification. Event specifier suffixes are treated in Chapter 25.

column 3

Reciprocal <-ruk> (RC)
Comparative <-khal> (CP)
Excessive <-duga> (XS)

column 4

Simplicitive <-ari> (SIMP)
Incomplete aspect <-khu> (INCOM)

Echelon 2 Inflectional suffixes

column 5

Main clause predicate suffixes

Customary aspect <-a> (CUST)
Desiderative <-na> (DESI)
Future modality <-ni> (FUT)
Imperious future modality <-naka> (IFT) (in non-negative predicates)
Referential <-an> (REF)

column 6

Main and non-main clause predicate suffix

Negative <-ca> (NEG)

column 7

Main clause predicate suffix

Imperious future modality <-ka> (IFT) (after the negative suffix)

Main and non-main clause predicate suffixes

Factive <-wa> (FACT)
Concomitant action <-butuŋ> (WHILE)
Change of state <-ok ~-ak ~-k> (COS)
Progressive/durative aspect <-aydoŋa ~-aydoŋ ~-aydok ~-aroŋa ~-aroŋ ~-arok> (PROG)

example of the variable position of two Echelon 1 suffixes is given below. In (521) the progressive suffix precedes the incomplete suffix and in b) the situation is reverse. Both clauses in have the same meaning.

(521) Variation in the position of the progressive and incomplete aspect suffixes:

- a) *saʔ -aydon -khu -a*
eat -PROG -INCOM-CUST
- b) *saʔ -khu -aydon -a*
eat -CUST -PROG -CUST
'[I] am still eating.'

The two examples below show that Echelon 1 suffixes can be combined to indicate two contrastive views of the same event on one predicate. In the English translations we need to express with two clauses what Atong does with one. In example (522) (from TEXT 2, line 59) we see how the meanings of incomplete and negative suffixes contrast with the meaning of the future suffix.

(522) *hayda rayʔakhucaaronnikhon.*

- hayda rayʔa-khu -ca -aron -ni =khon.*
I.don't.know come-INCOM -NEG -PROG -FUT =SPEC
'I don't know. He has not come yet but he might still be coming.'

The next example illustrates how two contrastive directions of the movement expressed by a motion verb are expressed on one predicate. The suffix <-aŋ> indicates movement away from the deictic centre, while the suffix <-theri> indicates the opposite.

(523) *londonsaŋ jalaŋtheriaymuŋ*

- london =saŋ jal -aŋ -theri =ay =muŋ*
London =MOB run.away-AWAY -BACK =ADV =SEQ
'having run away to London and back again'

The stem-forming suffixes in Echelon 1 can occur in combination with all of the Echelon 2 suffixes. Suffixes from Echelon 1 can occur simultaneously, if they are semantically compatible. Co-occurrences of Echelon 2 suffixes are heavily restricted.

Suffixes from column 5 and 7 never co-occur. The imperative, customary aspect and both future modality suffixes in column 5, cannot co-occur with the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG). The only column 5 suffix that is attested to cooccur with the negative suffix is the referential suffix <-an> (REF). The imperious future suffix has two allomorphs, viz. <-naka> (IFT), which occurs in non-negated predicates, and the allomorph <-ka> (IFT), which occurs after the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG). All column 7 suffixes can occur under negation.

22.3 The verbal predicate

The verbal predicate can take all types of arguments and can occur in all clause types depending on the verb's valency and its subtype (for subtypes of verbs see Table 21). For example Type 1 adjectives (stative verbs denoting a quality) are not usually attested as heads of imperative clauses, unless causativised. This is of course due to the semantics of these verbs, which are not usually combined with the semantics of the imperative category. An Atong speaker does not often want to order someone to have a certain physical property, age, dimension etc.⁴³ The only Type 1 adjective found as head of an imperative predicate is *tharak*- 'fast' in (27), repeated here as (524).

(524) *tarakboto naʔa!*

{ <i>tarak</i> }	=bo	=to	[naʔa]
fast	=IMP	=IMPEMPH	2s
'Be fast, oh you!'			

There are two types of verbal predicate, viz. simple and complex. The simple predicate consists only of a head possibly followed by predicate suffixes. Complex predicates consist of the head and a semantically tightly linked or prototypically associated preceding lexical item, i.e. a verbal root with a limited set of possible

⁴³ For a list of different semantic categories expressed by Type 1 and 2 adjectives, see Table 26 in §5.1.

enclitics or a bare nominal root. Only verbs, Type 1 and Type 2 adjectives can occur in complex predicates. Complex predicates are treated in the next section.

Except in imperative clauses, the verbal predicate of a main clause cannot occur without an Echelon 2 predicate suffix expressing either negation, aspect or modality, or a combination of these. Verbal predicates of non-main clauses can occur without predicate suffixes, but in these cases the clause will have a clausal enclitic attached to it, marking the clause as subordinate (see Chapter 27 and Chapter 28).

22.4 The type 2 adjectival predicate

Type 2 adjectival predicates share properties with both verbs and nouns (see Table 20 in Chapter 3). A Type 2 adjectival predicate cannot occur as the head of an imperative clause, unless causativised with the suffix <-et> (CAUS). A Type 2 adjectival predicate can occur without any suffixal marking (525), as can nominal predicates. Type 2 adjectival predicates are intransitive and can only have an S argument that is semantically an Attributant (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:115).

(525) *ie ram thambəloŋ*

<i>[ie</i>	<i>ram]</i>	Attributant/S	<i>{thambəloŋ}</i>
PROX	road		have.holes.in.it
'This road is damaged.'			

22.5 The nominal predicate

Nominal predicates can express negation, and aspect, but not modality. Aspect marking on nominal predicates is reminiscent of what Nordlinger and Sadler (2004) describe as “independent nominal TAM” in that the aspectual and modality suffixes specify “information intrinsic to the nominal itself” (2004:778). The marking in Atong is different from Nordlinger and Sadler’s description in that they mostly discuss TAM on NPs in NP functions, i.e. as arguments or obliques, and not on nouns functioning as predicates. The same clausal enclitics that occur on clauses with verbal predicates also occur on clauses with nominal predicates. Nouns cannot occur as predicates of imperative clauses. Table 63 shows the suffixes that are attested on nominal predicates in bold.

It is important to note that nominal predicates occur in main as well as in subordinate clauses. Main and subordinate clauses will be discussed separately. Nouns functioning as predicate head can still carry NP enclitics, except case-marking, as we will see in the examples below.

22.5.1 Main clause nominal predicates

Nominal predicates of main clauses occur only in identity/equation clauses (this label includes identity, equation and attributive clauses which are all formally indistinguishable) and can only take S arguments that are semantically Attributants. When a clause consists of just two nouns, which are both devoid of suffixes, it is impossible to determine on formal grounds which one is the predicate, given that in main clauses any constituent can be right dislocated, i.e. occur after the predicate, for backgrounding. The predicate has to be determined on semantic and pragmatic grounds. In pragmatically unmarked clauses, the predicate is the final constituent. Example (526) shows an identity/equation clause with two nouns, neither of which carries any predicate suffixes. Given the situation in which the utterance occurs, viz. in a kitchen where someone is cooking, and the semantics of both nouns, the hearer can deduce that the curry, *jaʔbek*, has to be the thing talked about, and therefore the Attributant, and that pumpkin, *gomənda*, is the predicate. The enclitic *<=thara>* ‘exclusively’ is an NP enclitic.

(526) *jabekan goməndathara*

[*jabek*] =*an*_{Attributant/S} {[*gomənda*] =*thara*}
 curry =FC/ID pumpkin =EXCLUSIVELY
 ‘The curry is only pumpkin.’

The focus/identifier enclitic *<=an>* (FC/ID) does not help in the determination of the Attributant, since it can occur both on NPs and clauses, depending on its scope. In (526) the enclitic has phrasal scope and in (527) clausal scope.

(527) *jabek goməndatharaan*

[*jabek*]_{Attributant/S} {*gomənda -thara*} | =*an*
 curry pumpkin -EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID
 ‘The curry is only pumpkin.’

Only when nominal predicates carry predicate suffixes are they formally recognisable as predicates. The example below shows two main clauses in apposition. The NP *san tham* (day three) ‘three days’ is functioning as main clause predicate, and because it carries the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) it can only be interpreted as a predicate.

(528) *santhamok karen ni?wa.*

{*san tham -ok*} [*karen*] {*ni? -wa*}
 day three -COS electricity not.exist -FACT
 ‘It has been three days [and] there is no electricity.’

Main clause clausal enclitics also occur on clauses with nominal predicate heads.

Example (529) illustrates the use of the speculative aspect enclitic <=*khon*> (SPEC) and the declarative enclitic <=*te*> (DCL) on a main clause with a nominal predicate. The use of the irrealis on a main clause with nominal predicate is illustrated by example (530). Clausal enclitics are treated in Chapter 26.

(529) *naŋ?təme bobamorotkhonte.*

[[*naŋ? -təme*]_S {*boba morot*}| =*khon* =*te*
 2s -ppp crazy.person person =SPEC =DCL
 ‘Maybe you all are crazy persons, I’ll say!’

22.5.2 Subordinate clause nominal predicates

Nominal predicates are attested in the following clauses: the reason clause (see §27.1.1), e.g. (745), the concomitant action type locative-marked clause (see §27.6), e.g. (783) below and (530) below, and the sequential clause (see §28.2), e.g. (808). In all these cases the predicate is followed by at least one clausal enclitic and is therefore formally identifiable as predicate. In the following example we see the nominal predicate *bay?sega-thaŋ-maran* (friend=OWN=RC) followed by the irrealis clausal enclitic <=*cəm*> (IRR).

(530) *ge?then?then balrukbutuŋci bay?segathaŋmarancəm.*

[*ge?then?then*] {*bal -ruk-butuŋ*} =*ci* { [*bay?sega*] =*thaŋ* =*maran* } =*cəm*
 3p speak-RC -while =LOC friend =OWN =RC =IRR
 ‘When they were speaking to each other, they were no longer friends.’

22.5.3 Not only nouns

Nominal predicates do not have to be only nouns. Other non-verbal word classes can fulfil this function as well, viz. demonstratives, personal pronouns, numeral plus classifier compounds and even two interrogatives, viz. *bisaŋ* ‘to/from where?’ and *biskən* ‘how much/many?’. The interrogatives, apart from being able to take event specifiers, can only take the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) (for examples see Chapter 9). Demonstratives are attested to take negation, irrealis and speculative modality suffixes (examples can be found in Chapter 1). Personal pronouns are attested to express only negative, change of state, speculative modality, and irrealis (see §17.2 for examples).

22.6 Complex predicates

Complex predicates can be headed by either a verb or a Type 2 adjective. There are four types of complex predicates in Atong, divided into two categories:

A. Complex predicates without nouns (§22.6).

1. Complex predicates with two identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives (§22.6.1).
2. The Type 2 adjective-plus-support-verb predicate (§22.6.2).

B. Complex predicates with incorporated nouns (§22.7)

3. The predicate with a prototypically associated noun (§22.7.1).
4. The nouns-plus-support-verb predicate (§22.7.2).

22.6.1 Complex predicates with identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives

The first type of complex predicate consists of two identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives and is emphatic or bestows a greater intensity on the event denoted by the predicate. The first verb or Type 2 adjective is marked as Topic, Focus or emphatic with one of the following enclitics: topic <=do> (TOP), focus <=e> (FC), focus/identifier <=an> (FC/ID) or emphatic <=ba> (EMPH). These enclitics are attached to the first verb or Type 2 adjective, which cannot take any other affixes or enclitics and can thus not be negated separately from the predicate head. The second verb, the predicate head, is marked for other categories. Nothing can intervene between the two verbs or Type 2 adjectives. The order of the verbs/Type 2 adjectives is fixed. The two verbs/Type 2 adjectives share transitivity and share all their

arguments. All types of verbs and Type 2 adjectives can occur in this type of complex predicate. Complex predicates of this type are only attested in independent clauses. In examples we see complex predicates in which the first constituents are marked with the emphatic enclitics $\leq ba \geq$ (EMPH) and the topic enclitic $\leq do \geq$ (TOP) respectively.

(531) *ucian gadakba-gadakjolokno*

ucian {*gadak* $\leq ba \geq$ *gadak* -*jol* -*ok*} =*no*
 then cut.in.pieces =EMPH cut.in.pieces -QUICKLY -COS =QUOT
 ‘Then, as for cutting, [he] cut [the big eagle] quickly in pieces, it is said.’

(532) *aŋdo saʔdo saʔak.*

[*aŋ*] =*do* {*saʔ* $\leq do \geq$ *saʔ* -*ak*}
 1s =TOP eat =TOP eat -COS
 ‘As for me, as far as eating is concerned, [I] have eaten.’

Further fieldwork needs to be conducted to find out how many nominal properties the first verb of a complex predicate with identical verbs has before we can say that this verb is nominalised or not. Example (533) illustrates a complex Type 2 adjectival predicate in which the first constituent is marked with the focus enclitic $\leq e \geq$ (FC).

(533) *naŋʔ abu bəḍəye bəḍəyok.*

[*naŋʔ* *abu*] {*bəḍəy* $\leq e \geq$ *bəḍəy* -*ok*}
 2s grandmother old =FC old -COS
 ‘Your grandmother is really old.’

One example has been recorded of a complex predicate in which the first verb carries the focus/identifier enclitic $\leq an \geq$ (FC/ID), viz. (534). The reason why in this construction it is the focus/identifier enclitic $\leq an \geq$ (FC/ID) and not the referential suffix $\leq an \geq$ (REF) is that the referential suffix $\leq an \geq$ (REF) never occurs without the negative suffix $\leq ca \geq$ (NEG). This complex predicate construction is clearly a means of emphasising or reinforcing the action denoted by the verbs in the predicate.

- (534) *lukwake roŋɔaw jamcano. uci magacakdo jaman jamsəraŋcano.*

[*lukwak*] =*e* [*roŋɔ*] =*aw* {*jam* -*ca*} =*no* [*u*] =*ci*
 toad =FC stone =ACC complete-NEG =QUOT DST=LOC

[*magacak*] =*do* {*jam* -*an* *jam* -*səraŋ* -*ca*} =*no*
 deer =TOP complete=FC/ID complete-COMpletely -NEG =QUOT

‘The toad could not complete [move] the stone, it is said. Then, the deer could not complete [move] [the stone] at all, it is said.’

As the following example demonstrates, the locative/existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘to exist’ has a truncated root *ga-* which is only found in this complex predicate.

- (535) *gado ganaŋcəm, gawi thogiok.*

{*ga*} =*do* *ganaŋ* =*cəm* [*gawi*] {*thogi* -*ok*}
 exist =OP exist =IRR girl cheat -COS

‘I did have [a girlfriend] but not any more, the girl cheated on me.’

22.6.2 Type 2-adjective-plus-support-verb compounds

Bare roots of Type 2 adjectives can be compounded with the support verb *tak-* ‘to do’. The two elements are tightly knit together, the bare root form of the verb modifying the light verb predicate head. The verb in the bare root form provides the lexical content for the predicate while the head carries the grammatical information concerning negation, modality, aspect etc. The support verb compound can add a sense of liveliness or irony to the clause. In the following examples we see the Type 2 adjectives *ceŋgaŋ* ‘upright’, *miniksuru* ‘flat-haired’ and *cuɔret* ‘stuck’ with the support verb *tak-* ‘to do’.

- (536) *coɔsa rəpayməŋ jarawacian mənɔan ceŋgaŋ takariano.*

coɔsa {*rəp*} =*ay* =*məŋ* {*jaraw* -*wa*} =*ci* =*an*
 a.little.bit be.in.the.water=ADV =SEQ be.a.long.time -FACT =LOC=FC/ID

[*məŋɔ*] =*an*] {*ceŋgaŋ* *tak* -*ari* -*a*} =*no*
 body.hair =FC/ID be.upright do -SIMP-CUST =QUOT

‘Having been under water a bit for some time, [the fox’s] hair was still upright.’

- (537) *ətəkəyməŋ ha! wenni rəpwacian miniksuru takokno səlokno magacakmi nən?do.*

ətəkəyməŋ [ha] [wen? -ni] {*rəp* -wa} =ci =an
so.then interj turn/time-two be.in.the.water-FACT =LOC=FC/ID

{*miniksuru tak -ok*} =no
be.flat-haired do -COS =QUOT

{*səl -ok*} =no [*magacak -mi mən?*] =do
pretty -COS =QUOT deer =GEN body.hair =TOP

‘So then, ha! when he was in the water the second time, [it] was flat-haired and very pretty, the deer’s fur.’

- (538) *ri?do cu?ret takəŋwano ca?masaŋ na?pitsaŋ.*

[ri?] =do {*cu?ret tak -aŋ -wa*} =no [*ca?ma*] =saŋ [*na?pit*] =saŋ
penis=TOP stuck do -AWAY-FACT =QUOT down =MOB barber =MOB
‘[The fox’s] penis was stuck in a downward direction towards the barber.’

The verb *guduk-* means ‘to wobble, to move in an unstable way’ and can be used in a compound with the verb *tak-* ‘to do’. The result is a lexicalised compound, viz. *guduk tak-* ‘to almost VERB’. This predicate requires a verbal complement marked with the dative marker <=na> (DAT), e.g. (539) and (540).

- (539) *te?do tharapna guduk takwaci ha?təkəy jalwano magacake*

[te?e]=do {*tharap*} =na {*guduk tak -wa*} =ci [*ha?*] =təkəy
now =TOP catch.up =DAT almost do -FACT =LOC ground =VIA

{*jal -wa*} =no [*magacak*] =e
run.away-FACT =QUOT deer =FC

‘Now when [he] almost caught up with [the deer], [it] run away, the deer.’

- (540) *okhana guduk takaydoŋ*

{*okha*} =na {*guduk tak -aydoŋ*}
be.full =DAT almost do -PROG

‘I am almost full.’

The following example shows a complex predicate with two Type 2 adjectives before the head.

(541) *caʔe dabakuntəkəy əmoŋ jaŋʔjot takarioknotəy.*

[*caʔ*] =*e* [*daba kun*] =*təkəy*

leg =FC coconut stick =LIKE

{*əmpoŋ jaŋʔjot tak -ari -ok*} =*no* =*təy*

bulging narrow do-SIMP -COS =QUOT =MIR

‘[His] legs were just like a coconut stick bulging and narrow, it is said to [our] surprise.’

22.7 Complex predicates with incorporated nouns

This section describes the phenomenon whereby a noun is incorporated into a predicate with a verbal head. We are not dealing here with noun incorporation that refers to a type of compounding in which a verb and a noun combine to form a new verb (see Aikhenvald 2007: 11), because in this construction, morphemes can intervene between the noun and the verb, as we will see below. What gets incorporated into the predicate is the free form of the noun, sometimes even with an emphatic enclitic as in (546). The noun and the verb are simply juxtaposed and form a tight bond. The relationship between the noun and the verb is somewhere in the middle on the cline between an argument/adjunct-predicate relationship on the one hand, and incorporation through compounding on the other. The noun loses its syntactic status as argument/adjunct of the clause (see Mithun 1984: 849). The incorporated noun and the verb, i.e. the predicate head, can form one phonological word but do not have to. Atong distinguishes two types of predicates with incorporated nouns, i.e. nouns incorporated into support verb predicates and predicates with a prototypically associated noun which is I call prototypically associated noun incorporation. They are treated separately below.

22.7.1 The predicate with a prototypically associated noun

There are transitive and intransitive verbs which can be, but do not have to be, accompanied by a prototypically associated noun which is not referential and does not belong to the argument structure (i.e. is not an argument or adjunct) but is incorporated into the predicate. The arguments for the non-argument status of this type of noun are:

- they are non-referential,
- they have a fixed position before the predicate head, whereas arguments can appear in post predicate position,
- they cannot receive case marking,
- they cannot be modified,
- they are not affected by the action denoted by the predicate head,
- their meaning is closely semantically related to or specifies the event denoted by the verb that is the head of the predicate. Both the noun and the verb denote a unitary activity in which the components lose their individual salience,
- they cannot be referred to by quantifying event specifiers.

Hence I consider the prototypically associated noun to be part of the predicate, e.g. (544), (545) and (546). Most of these arguments are also mentioned in Mithun (1984). The loss of argument/adjunct status is most clearly seen in predicates where the semantic relationship between the noun and the verb is that of Location, e.g. *təy huŋ-* ‘to water-swim’ where *təy* ‘water’ is not an adjunct because it is not locative-marked. Location adjuncts (peripheral arguments) are otherwise obligatorily locative-marked, e.g. *təy=ci huŋ-* (water=LOC swim) ‘to swim in the water’.

As mentioned before, the prototypically associated noun is not obligatory. All verbs with which they occur can also be used without these nouns. The incorporation of the prototypically associated noun is a pragmatic mechanism, making the predicate more explicit. I call this phenomenon prototypically associated noun incorporation.

The relationship between the prototypically associated noun and the predicate is somewhere in between an argument/adjunct-predicate relationship and incorporation through compounding. Although the noun is not case-marked, it does occupy an argument/adjunct-like position in front of the verb. However, since the noun cannot be case-marked, the relationship between the noun and the verb is semantic rather than syntactic. The semantic relations that are so far attested between the verb and the incorporated noun are Patient, viz. *haʔ haw-* (land/earth/soil clear) ‘to clear the land’ and *may saʔ* (rice eat) ‘to eat’, Instrument, viz. *nakhal na-* (ear hear) ‘to hear’ and *məkren nuk-* (eye see) ‘to see’, Location, viz. *haʔ kən* (earth/land/soil collect) ‘to collect the remaining cinders after burning the jungle’ and *haʔ kham* (earth/land/soil

burn) ‘to burn the land (although what is actually burnt is the jungle)’ and Pathway, viz. *ram ray?*- (road go) ‘to go’. Only the compounds *nakhal na*- (ear hear) ‘to hear’ and *mækren nuk*- (eye see) ‘to see’ are still transitive, e.g. (548). The other noun-verb constructions cannot take an O argument any more. One could say that the nouns *nakhal* ‘ear’ and *mækren* ‘eye’ are more incorporated than the other nouns.

A good example of incorporated Patient can be found in the Text 2 line 65, represented here as (542).

(542) *may saʔhokokma naŋʔtəme?*

{*may saʔ-thok-ok*} =*ma* [*naŋ -təm*] =*e*
 rice eat -ALL -CoS =Q 2s -ppp =FC
 ‘Have you all eaten?’ Literally: ‘Have you all rice-eaten?’

In this example the word *may* ‘rice’ is incorporated in the predicate. The quantifying event specifier *-thok* ‘all’ refers on an S/O basis. If *may* ‘rice’ functioned as O argument, the suffix *-thok* ‘all’ would have to refer to it. However, in this clause the suffix *-thok* refers to *naŋʔtəm* ‘you.plural’, which is in S function in this clause, and not to *may* ‘rice’ because *may* ‘rice’ is not an O argument but part of the predicate.

Table 64 Prototypically associated nouns with their verbs.

SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NOUN AND VERB	COMPOUND FORM	GLOSS OF PARTS	TRANSLATION
Theme	<i>jaŋgi keŋ-</i>	life live	to live
Theme	<i>jaŋgi həy-</i>	life die	to die
Instrument	<i>mækren nuk-</i>	eye see	to see
Instrument	<i>nakhal na-</i>	ear hear	to hear
Location	<i>təy huŋ-</i>	water swim	to swim
Location	<i>haʔ khən-</i>	earth/soil/land collect	to collect the remaining cinders after burning the jungle
Location	<i>haʔ kham-</i>	earth/soil/land burn	to burn the land (actually what is burnt is the jungle)
Pathway	<i>ram ray-</i>	road go	to go
Patient	<i>haʔ haw-</i>	earth/soil/land clear	to clear the land
Patient	<i>may saʔ-</i>	rice eat	to eat

The following example shows an incorporated Pathway, *ram* ‘road’.

(543) *utəkəymu ie haʔbərītəkəy ramraʔano.*

utəkəymu [*ie haʔbəri*] =*təkəy* {*ram rayʔ -a*} =*no*
 CONJ PRX hill =VIA road go -CUST =QUOT

‘So then, they went via this mountain, it is said’ Lit. ‘they road-went over this mountain’.

Prototypically associated nouns can have a detransitivising effect on transitive verbs when they get incorporated, e.g. (544). In that example the transitive verb *nuk*- ‘to see’ is detransitivised by the associated noun *məkren* ‘eye’. The semantic relation of the noun to the verb is that of Instrument.

(544) *naŋʔ walci məkrennukamaʔ*

[*naŋʔ*] [*wal*] =*ci* {*məkren nuk -a*} =*ma*
 2s night=LOC eye see -CUST =Q
 ‘Do you see at night?’ Lit. ‘Do you eye-see at night?’

Since *məkren* ‘eye’ in the above example is low on the animacy hierarchy, it is not likely to be interpreted as A. This would then mean that *wal* ‘night’ was in a Possessor-Possessed relationship with the personal pronoun *naŋʔ* and then we would get a ridiculous meaning like *[Does person X] see eyes in your night?’ Moreover, the interpretation as unmarked instrument for *məkren* ‘eye’ is not possible since instruments cannot be unmarked for case.

The next example illustrates the incorporation of the noun *təy* ‘water’ which is semantically a Location in relation to the verb *huŋ*- ‘to swim’.

(545) *naŋʔ təyhuŋna sapamaʔ*

[*naŋʔ*] {*təy huŋ*} =*na* {*sap -a*} =*ma*
 2s water swim=DAT know.a.skill -PUR =Q
 ‘Do you know how to swim?’ Lit. ‘Do you know to water-swim?’

Since *təy* ‘water’ in the example above is not an inherently locational noun, it cannot be interpreted as an unmarked location.

In (546) we see the incorporated noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’ which is a Theme in relation to the verb *thəy*- ‘to die’.

(546) *aŋa jaŋgiba thəymanok.*

[*aŋa*] {*jaŋgi* =*ba* *thəy* -*man* -*ok*}
 1s life =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS
 ‘I have already died.’ Lit. ‘I life-died.’

Since the verb *thəy*- ‘to die’ is intransitive and *aŋa* ‘I’ is the S argument, *jaŋgi* ‘life’ cannot be interpreted as O. Moreover, the emphatic pronoun *aŋa* (1s) cannot be in a Possessor-Possessed relation to a following noun since emphatic pronouns cannot be possessors. Thus the noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’, despite the emphatic enclitic <=*ba*> (EMPH), is not an argument/adjunct and therefore has to be incorporated into the predicate.

It is always possible for the prohibitive free morpheme <*ta*> (PROH) to come in between the prototypically associated noun and the predicate head, as can also be seen in examples (547) with the verb *huŋ* ‘to swim’ and its prototypically associated noun *təy* ‘water’ and in (548) with the verb *na* ‘to hear’ and its prototypically associated noun *nakhal* ‘ear’, which is still transitive, as we can see by the accusative-marked O argument.

(547) *təy ta huŋ.*

{*təy* *ta* *huŋ*}
 water PROH swim
 ‘Don’t swim.’ Literally: ‘Don’t swim water.’

(548) *nəkseŋmi malgabaaw nakhal ta na!*

[[*nəkseŋ*]=*mi* {*bal*}=*gaba*] =*aw* {*nakhal* *ta* *na*}
 Name =GEN say =ATTR =ACC ear PROH hear
 ‘Don’t you listen to the things that Nikseng says!’

Since prototypically associated nouns are unmarked they could be mistaken for S, A or unmarked, non-referential O.⁴⁴ Prototypically associated nouns in complex predicates differ from non-referential O arguments in a clause. The referent of a

⁴⁴ Which arguments can occur unmarked and under what conditions is treated in Chapter 20.

prototypically associated noun is not in any way affected by the action denoted by the predicate head, i.e. it cannot be interpreted as an unmarked O argument. Neither are they likely to be interpretable as A or S argument in the context in which they appear. Rather, the complex predicate as a whole just denotes one event. The prototypically associated noun denotes something that is circumstantially involved in the event denoted by the predicate head like an Instrument in (544), a Location in (545) or something that can be associated semantically with the predicate head, like the Theme in (546), to make the predicate as it were more explicit.

The construction *may sa-* (rice eat) is used to indicate the action of eating while it does not actually have to be rice that is eaten. The context will determine whether or not the referent of the noun *may* 'rice' is interpreted as affected by the action denoted by the verb *saʔ-* 'to eat' and whether or not *may* 'rice' can be interpreted as O argument. It is impossible to draw the line between prototypically associated nouns, which are not part of the argument structure, and non-referential O arguments, which are. Therefore it might be a better analysis to consider a scale with on the one hand case-marked referential O's and on the other hand prototypically associated nouns. In (549) for example, *may* 'rice' is non referential and might or might not be seen as a prototypically associated noun.

(549) *may saʔakma?*

[*may*]_O { *saʔ-ak* } =*ma*
 rice eat -COS =Q
 'Have you eaten (rice)?'

An argument in favour of *may* 'rice' in (549) being an O argument is that it is affected by the event denoted by the verb. Moreover, *may* 'rice' can be accusative-marked and be questioned as O argument. If we were to mark the noun *may* 'rice' with an accusative, it becomes referential, and the sentence would still be felicitous, viz. *may =aw saʔ-ak=ma?* (rice=ACC eat-COS=Q) 'have you eaten the rice?' If, on the other hand, we would put a case marker on a prototypically associated noun, and thus make it referential and cast it out of the predicate into the argument structure, the clause would have a very strange meaning, as in the following examples, which are

manipulations of (544), (545) and (546) respectively. This test shows that these compounds are lexicalised.

(550) ? *naŋ² walci məkrenaw nukama?*

[*naŋ²*] [*wal*] =*ci* [*məkren*] =*aw* {*nuk -a*} =*ma*
 2s night=LOC eye =ACC see -CUST =Q
 'Do you see (your/the) eyes at night?'

(551) * *naŋ² ty-iaw huŋ=na sap-a-ma?*

[*naŋ²*] [*təy*] =*aw* {*huŋ*} =*na* {*sap -a*} =*ma*
 2s water=ACC swim =DAT know.a.skill -CUST =Q
 'Do you know how to swim the water?'

(552) * *aŋa jaŋgiawba thəymanok.*

[*aŋa*] [*jaŋgi*] =*aw* =*ba* {*thəy-man -ok*}
 1s life =ACC=EMPH die -ALREADY-COS
 'I died my life.'

22.7.2 The noun-plus-support-verb predicate

Nouns can be incorporated into a complex predicate with the support verbs *tak-* 'to do', *kha²-* ~ *kha-* 'to do, make', and *ra²-* 'to take, get'. There are four arguments that support incorporation instead of co-ordination of predicates. 1) The incorporated noun is not referential. 2) The incorporated noun is not part of the argument structure because the referent of the noun is not affected by the event denoted by the verb. 3) In the support verb construction nothing can come between this noun and the inflected form of the support verb. 4) The incorporated noun cannot be modified. The two elements are tightly knit together. The noun provides the lexical content for the predicate while the head carries the grammatical information concerning negation, modality, aspect etc. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the criteria are for the use of either *tak-* 'to do' or *kha²-* ~ *kha-* 'to do, make' as support verb in the complex predicate. More fieldwork is also needed to find out whether the prohibitive word <*ta*> (PROH) can come between the noun and the support verb.

i The support verbs *khaʔ- ~ kha-* ‘to do, make’ and *tak-* ‘to do’

Any noun seems to be incorporable in a support verb predicate. This type of incorporation is used in several cases:

- where the language has no verbal equivalent for the NOUN-VERB compound, as in (553) with the noun and *bayʔsiga* ‘friend’ and in (554) with the noun *dengu* ‘extortion’ inside the predicate;
- to create the notion of ‘pretending to do something’, as in (555), where the noun *khora* ‘lame person’ is part of the predicate;
- to express the notion ‘be like something’ as in (556), where the noun *naway* ‘confused person, idiot’ is part of the predicate.

Sometimes loans have to be incorporated in order to use them as we can see in (557).

(553) *teʔewe amakmən rupekən bayʔsiga khaʔwano.*

[teʔew]=e [amak] =mən [rupek]=mən {**bayʔsiga** *khaʔ -wa*} =no
 now =FC monkey=COM FROG =COM friend do -FACT =QUOT
 ‘Now the monkey and the frog are friends, it is said.’

(554) “*aŋ dengū takni naʔa, naʔa payay jalbone*” *noaydoŋano magacakan.*

[aŋ] {**dengū** *tak -ni*} [naʔa] [naʔa] {pay} =ay
 1s extortion do -FUT 2s 2s carry.in.hand =ADV

{jal} =bo =ne {no-aydoŋa} =no [magacak] =an
 run.away=IMP =TAG say -PROG =QUOT deer =FC/ID

“‘I will do extortion, oh you! you carry [the biscuits and] run away, ok?’ [he] is saying, it is said, the deer’

(555) “*aŋ khora taknane, naʔa payay jalbone bayʔsigane*” *noaydoŋano.*

[aŋ] {**khora** *tak -na*} =ne [naʔa] {pay} =ay
 1s lame.person do -DESI =TAG 2s carry.in.hand =ADV

{jal} =bo =ne [bayʔsiga] =ne {no -aydoŋa} =no
 run.away=IMP =TAG friend =TAG say -PROG =QUOT

“‘I will pretend to be lame, you carry [the biscuits and] run away, ok, friend, right”, he is saying, it is said.’

(556) *jaŋgalan ətəkəy naway takthokaroknoro.*

[jaŋgal] =an [ətəkəy] {**naway** *tak -thok -ok*} =no =ro
 everybody =FC/ID like.that confused.person do -ALL -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘So everybody was like really confused.’

In the next example the Indic loan *thik* ‘agreement’ is incorporated into the support verb complex predicate. In this example the word *əsəkən* is a phonologically reduced form of *isəkən* ‘this much’. The loan *thik* ‘agreement’ also occurs in complex predicates with the identity/equation copula *doŋʔ- ~ doŋ-* (IE.be) of which example (562) is illustrative.

(557) *kənsaŋdo beanbebe əsəkən san əsəkən somay thik kaʔakno.*

[*kənsaŋ*] =do [*beanbebe*][*əsəkən san*] [*əsəkən somay*]

after =TOP truly this.much day this.much time

{*thik kaʔ -ak*} =no

agreement make-COS=QUOT

‘Then they truly agreed on a certain day and a certain time for the event.’

There are cases in which the support verbs *tak-* ‘to do’ and *khaʔ- ~ kha-* ‘to do, make’ are juxtaposed to bare verbal roots or verbal stems. It is possible for verbal roots or stems to modify immediately following predicates and therefore it is possible to consider verbal roots or stems followed by the support verbs to be normal (zero-derived) adverb plus verb constructions. It appears that other elements can intervene between the two verbs in colloquial speech, although more fieldwork is needed to test the grammaticality of the construction with intervening elements. Examples can be found in §18.7.

ii The support verb *raʔ-* ‘to take, get’

There is a third support verb that allows incorporation of nouns into the predicate, viz. *raʔ-* ‘to take, get’. Contrary to the other two support verbs treated above, *raʔ-* ‘to take, get’ only allows incorporation of a small number of specific nouns. The nouns incorporated into predicates with *raʔ-* ‘to take, get’ which have been discovered up to now are listed here in Table 65, followed by some examples.

Table 65 Elements incorporated into predicates with the support verb *raʔ*- ‘to take’

GLOSS	INCORPORATED ELEMENT	WORD CLASS	COMPOUND	TRANSITIVITY	GLOSS
snore	<i>hogol</i>	noun	<i>hogol raʔ</i> -	intransitive	‘to snore’
thought	<i>suŋ</i>	noun	<i>suŋ raʔ</i> -	transitive	‘to remember’
word	<i>khatha ~ khata</i> ~ <i>katha ~ kata</i>	noun	<i>khata raʔ</i> -	transitive	‘to obey’
respect	<i>man</i>	noun	<i>man raʔ</i> -	transitive	‘to respect’

(558) *naŋʔ geʔthenɣaw man raʔna naŋa*

[*naŋʔ*] [*geʔthenɣ*]=aw {*man raʔ*}=na {*naŋ -a*}
 2s 3s =ACC respect take =DAT need -CUST
 ‘You have to respect him.’

(559) *jəwceŋwaci naŋʔ hogol raʔwa*

{*jəw -ceŋ -wa*} =ci [*naŋʔ*] {*hogol raʔ -wa*}
 sleep -first -FACT =LOC 2s snore take -FACT
 ‘When you were asleep first, you snored’

(560) *nokgumuk khusidoŋay isolaw suŋ raʔay, je kristen doŋgabado isolaw phiʔay saʔceŋa.*

[*nok*] =gumuk {*khusi doŋ* =ay} [*isol*] =aw {*suŋ raʔ*} =ay
 house =whole happy IE.be =ADV God =ACC thought get =ADV

[*je kristan*] {*doŋ*} =gaba] =do
 any Christian IE.be =ATTR =TOP

[*isol*] =aw {*phiʔ*} =ay {*saʔ -ceŋ -a*}
 God =ACC beg =ADV eat -FIRST -CUST

‘The whole house is happy [and] remembers God (Alt.: ‘praises God’) [and then] whoever is a Christian, prays to God first [and] starts eating.’

iii The copula as support verb

There are certain predicative constructions, all of which contain loanwords, which require the presence of the identity/equation copula *doŋʔ*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be) as support verb to be able to occur in a clause. The word *khusi* ‘happy’ in (561) is an Indic loan as is *thik* ‘agreement’ in (562) below. The word *phēl* ~ *pēl* [p^he:l ~ pe:l] ‘fail’ comes from the English word ‘fail’ (563). All these loans are part of the predicate of the clauses in which they occur. There is also an expression *thik kha*- (agreement make) which means ‘to agree upon a place and time for the event’ which is illustrated in example (557) above.

- (561) *geʔtheŋtheŋ khusi doŋʔthamakayməŋ gore diʔmayci phalthaŋ cak diriga saŋwalayməŋ watokno.*

[*geʔtheŋtheŋ*] {***khusi*** *doŋʔ -thamak*} =ay =məŋ
 3p happy IE.be -EXCESSIVELY =ADV =SEQ
 [*gore diʔmay*] =ci [[*phalthaŋ cak*] {*diri*} =ga] {*saŋwal* =ay =məŋ
 horse tail =LOC self hand hold =ATTR forget =ADV =SEQ
 {*wat -ok*} =no
 depart -COS =QUOT

‘They were so excessively happy that they forgot their own hands which were holding the horse’s tail and they let go, it is said.’

- (562) *isaŋməŋ məŋaytanaŋmangaba bimui aro usaŋmyŋ rayʔagaba morot cancicəpay thik doŋʔokodo [...]*

[[*i*] =saŋ =məŋ {*məŋ*} =ay {*tan-aŋ -man*} =gaba *bimui*]
 PRX =IRIN =ABL call.a.name =ADV put -AWAY -already=ATTR name
aro [[*u*]=saŋ =məŋ {*rayʔa*} =gaba *morot*]
 and DST-IRIN =GEN come =ATTR person
 {*cancicəp*} =ay {***thik*** *doŋʔ -ok*} =odo
 suppose =ADV agreement IE.be -COS =TOP

‘Then now suppose that if the name that [someone] gave from this side and the person from that side are in agreement, then [in] this game *ajot* the king will certainly say “ajot” to him.’ (In the children’s game called *ajot*).

- (563) *geʔtheŋ lekha nemay poreanca, ətəkəymu poreka pel doŋʔok.*

[*geʔtheŋ*][*lekha*] {*nem*} =ay {*pore -an -ca*}
 3s book good =ADV study/read -REF -NEG
ətəkəymu [*poreka*]_O {***pəl*** *doŋʔ -ok*}
 so.then exam fail IE.be -COS

‘He did not study the book well, so then he failed the exam.’

Integrating or incorporating loans into the language by combining them with native verbs is not uncommon in other languages as well. Haig (2001: 213) describes how Iranian languages “make extensive use of combinations of often borrowed nominal elements plus a semantically bleached native ‘support verb’ to extend their verb lexicon.” The same has been described for Japanese and Korean (see Sohn 1999: 254-5 for Korean).

Chapter 23 Predicate head suffixes

In this chapter the predicate head suffixes will be treated separately in the order in which they appear in Table 63, except for the event specifiers, which are treated in Chapter 25, the factitive suffix <-*wa*> (FACT), which is treated in Chapter 1, and the concomitant action suffix <-*butuŋ*> (WHILE), which is treated in §27.6.1.

23.1 The causative suffix <-*et*>

The causative is signalled by the morpheme <-*et*> (CAUS). It occurs on both transitive and intransitive verbs. The causative is not attested on type 2 adjectives or nouns functioning as predicate. On intransitive verbs and adjectives the causative increases the transitivity and the valency, i.e. it makes it possible for the verb or adjective to have an A argument, semantically a Causer. On transitive verbs the causative can have a valency increasing effect, or a different effect, which will be discussed below.

The next example illustrates the occurrence of the causative on the Type 1 adjective *tuŋ*- ‘to be hot’. Type 1 adjectives are a subtype of intransitive verb. In its causative form *tuŋ-et* (hot-CAUS) the meaning is straightforward ‘to make hot, to heat up’.

(564) *may tuŋetnima?*

[*may*]_O {*tuŋ* -*et* -*ni*} =*ma*
 rice hot -CAUS -FUT =Q
 ‘Shall [I] make the rice hot?’

23.2 The causative on transitive verbs

On transitive verbs the causative can have a valency increasing effect, i.e. it adds a Causer to the clause. However, the causative does not have to add any participants. The causative on transitive verbs certainly does not always add the meaning of causation. There are many instances of the use of a causative without any apparent difference in the meaning of the verb to which it is attached. More fieldwork needs to

be conducted to find out what subtle meaning the causative adds to transitive verbs in these cases.

The following example was uttered by a boy who wanted me to make a girl write a letter to him. We can assume that the causative in this clause has a valency increasing function. Another example with the verb *say*- ‘to write’ where the morpheme may or may not have a valency increasing function is (566).

(565) *naʔa citi sayetbo!*

[*naʔa*]_A [*citi*]_O {*say* -*et*} =*bo*
 2s letter write -CAUS =IMP
 ‘You, make [her] write a letter!’

In the following example, which was dictated to me by the speaker, the transitive verb *bal*- ‘to speak, say, tell’ is used with the causative for an apparent reason, i.e. the speaker can’t write, so he makes someone else write the letter for him. This means that, given this context, one could analyse Miksrang as the Causer and the Causee being ellipsed in the clause. However, it might also be that Miksrang does not want Barbara to know that he can’t write and so he uses the causative to stress his own involvement in the action, or something else. Again, we can only conclude that more fieldwork needs to be conducted to find this out.

(566) *barbara, naʔna miksrang salam baletwa*

[*barbara*] [*naʔ*] =*na* [*miksrang*]_{CAUSER} [*salam*]_O {*bal* -*et* -*wa*}
 Name 2s =DAT Name greeting say -CAUS -FACT
 ‘Barbara, Miksrang makes [someone] say greetings to you.’ (Via a letter written by someone else because Miksrang himself is illiterate.)

The next example is the opening sentence of a letter. Here the author of the letter might well have used the causative to express his intense involvement in the event.

- (567)
- aŋ naŋʔna paŋʔca khatadəraŋaw sayay baletna.*

[aŋ] [naŋʔ] =na [{paŋʔ -ca} [khata]=dəraŋ=aw
 1s 2s =DAT many -NEG word =p =ACC

{say} =ay {bal -et -na}
 write =ADV say -CAUS -DESI

‘I am intending to writingly say some words to you.’

In the next example the causative might well be attached to the transitive verb *dəw-* ‘to add’ to express that the event was difficult or involved effort. More fieldwork is needed to find out if the causative suffix can be left out in this example and if there would then be a difference in meaning.

- (568)
- phikheŋ phikheŋ rəmay naʔamdo pipuk phəciba thəycagabakona pawayci dəwetwacie biphagaba manʔnagabaaw gawigaba kumiri rəmacie naʔlame gudukokno.*

phikheŋ phikheŋ {rəmay} =ay [naʔlam] =do
 raw RED cook =ADV fish =TOP

[pipuk] {phe} =ci =ba [{thəy -ca} =gaba] -ak} =ona
 stomach to.gut =LOC=EMPH die -NEG =ATTR -COS =DAT

[pawa] =ci {dəw-et -wa} =ci =e
 pan =LOC add -CAUS -FACT =LOC=FC

[[biphagaba] {manʔ -a} =gaba] =aw
 husband obtain -TOWARDS -REF =ACC

[gawigaba] [kumiri] {rəmay -wa} =ci =e
 wife Name cook -FACT =LOC=FC

[naʔlam] =e {guduk-ok} =no
 type.of.fish =FC wiggle -COS =QUOT’

‘Cooking [it] raw, the fish, really when they [had] gut[ted] the belly [it] was/is not yet dead, when [they] put [it] into the pan [with difficulty], that which the husband obtained, when the wife Kumiri cooked [it] the fish wiggle[d] about.’

The next example the morpheme <-et> (CAUS) seems to indicate telicity.

- (569) *ucie səṣsəṣkol thəwʔgaba nukayok, ciakol. ətəkəy cayetwacie phalthəṣaw nukok.*

ucie [səṣsəṣkol thəwʔ =gaba] [nuk -ay -ok] [ciakol]
 then deep.hole.in.the.ground deep =ATTR see -POS -COS well

ətəkəy {*cay -et -wa*} =ci =e [phalthəṣ] =aw {nuk -ok}
 like.that look -CAUS -FACT =LOC=FC self =ACC-see -COS

‘Then [he] saw a deep hole in the ground. When [he] looked like that [he] saw himself.’

What do other languages tell us about the semantic effects of causative marking on verbs? In Manambu (Ndu family) the causative prefix *kay-* derives straightforward causatives from intransitive verbs (see Aikhenvald, 2008). However, “when used with transitive verbs, it does not add any participants: instead, it marks manipulative effort, forceful action or multiplicity and extent of the object” (Aikhenvald, forthcoming b).

In Garo (Burling, 2004: 143-144) the causative apparently also has two functions which resemble those of the Atong causative, which is not surprising given that the two languages are closely related. In Garo intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs can be causativised with the meaning ‘make/cause to V’. Burling remarks that in some cases, a causative added to a transitive verb “seems simply to emphasize the transitive nature of the verb” or indicates that the action denoted by the verb was done with more force or that the O argument of the verb was fully affected.⁴⁵

23.3 The reciprocal suffix <-ruk>

The reciprocal morpheme <-ruk> (RC) is a stem-forming morpheme which signals that the event denoted by the verb is reciprocal. It occurs only on transitive verbal predicate heads, e.g. (571) and (572). It can occur on Type 1 adjectives functioning as

⁴⁵ David A. Peterson (personal communication) says it is common for morphemes that have a causative effect on intransitive verb to have an applicative effect with transitive verbs. Peterson treats causative/applicative isomorphism this in his book on applicative constructions (2007: 64-66). The causative morpheme could also have a reference-tracking function (LaPolla, personal communication) in discourse. I need to do extensively more research than is possible within the time limits for this PhD to find out what the exact interpretational possibilities are for predicates with what I now call the causative suffix <-et> (CAUS).

predicate head when they are causativised and thus transitivised, e.g. *sak-et-ruk-* (red-CAUS-RC) ‘to make each other red’ but also when they are not causativised. In that case the adjective expresses a quality that mutually holds for two things as in example (570) here below. Type 2 adjectives are not attested with the reciprocal.

(570) *naʔnaʔe soŋ janʔrukok.*

[*naʔnaʔe*] = *e* *soŋ* {*janʔ-ruk -ok*}
 1pi =FC village far -RC -COS
 ‘Our villages are very far apart from each other.’

(571) *jalaŋayməŋ kəsəŋdo janʔgabami ətəkəy olrukokno.*

{*jal -aŋ*} = *ay* = *məŋ* [*kəsəŋ*] = *do* [{*janʔ*] = *gaba*] = *mi*
 run.away-away =ADV =SEQ after =TOP far =ATTR =GEN
ətəkəy {*ol -ruk -ok*} = *no*
 like.this speak -RC -COS =QUOT

‘Having run away, later, from far [they] spoke to each other like this, it is said.’ [The tiger and the lazy king after the lazy king had bitten the tiger in the thigh and the tiger had run off].

(572) *soŋsami soŋsigacina nawrukok tanʔrukok. tanrukciɓa patok niʔwa.*

[*soŋ sa*] = *mi* [*soŋ*] = *siɓa* = *ci* = *na* {*naw-ruk -ok*}
 village one=GEN village=ALT =LOC-ALL scold-RC -COS
 {*tanʔ-ruk -ok*} {*tanʔ-ruk*} = *ci* = *ba* [*patok*] {*niʔ -wa*}
 slay -RC -COS slay -RC =LOC =EMPH prison NEG.be-FACT

‘From one village to another [they] scold each other, slay each other. When [they] slay each other there is no prison.’

There is one example in the recorded corpus of the reciprocal preceding an event specifier, represented here as (573). As we can see in Table 63, event specifiers usually precede the reciprocal morpheme. This example shows that the order of the suffixes is not fixed and probably depends on their scope.

(573) *nanʔtəme goyʔ-bəysək manʔphawa ie bəlsie? noay syŋʔrukthoka.*

[*nanʔ-təm*]=*e* [*goyʔ* *bəysək*] {*manʔ* -*pha* -*wa*}
2s -ppp =FC CLF:RESIDUE how.many obtain -IN.TOTAL -FACT

[*ie bəlsi*]=*e* {*no*} =*ay* {*səŋʔ-ruk* -*thok-a*}
PRX year =FC say =ADV ask -RC -ALL -CUST

“‘How many did you get this year?’” everybody asks. Lit. ‘sayingly all ask each other’. Implied: ‘How many baskets were you able to fill with rice this year?’ (during the harvest).

23.4 The comparative/superlative suffix <-*khal*>

The morpheme <-*khal*> (CP/SUP) occurs on both Type 1 adjectives as well as other verbs to form comparatives, superlatives and predicates with the meaning ‘V more, V-er’, where V stands for any verb. Whether a predicate with the suffix <-*khal*> has to be interpreted as a comparative or a superlative depends on the context. The suffix is labelled (SUP) when the context prompts a superlative interpretation and (CP) in all other contexts. The suffix <-*khal*> (CP) functions as Index in comparisons, whether the Parameter is qualitative, i.e. a Type 1 adjective, as we can see in (653), (654), (750) – (752), or any other verb, as in (574).

(574) *geʔtheŋ aŋna dayay saʔkhala.*

STANDARD	COMPAREE	-----MARK-----	PARAMETER	INDEX
[<i>geʔtheŋ</i>]	[<i>aŋ</i>]	= <i>na</i> { <i>day</i> } = <i>ay</i>	{ <i>saʔ</i>	- <i>khal</i> - <i>a</i> }
3s	1s	=DAT be.bigger=ADV	eat	-CP -CUST

‘He eats more than me.’

It has to be noted that the Comparee and the Mark are not compulsory for the clause to be comparative, e.g. *aŋ=an cuŋ-khal-a* (1s=FC/ID big-CP-CUST) ‘I’m bigger’.

The next two examples, from the story about a lazy king called Bil, illustrate how the interpretation of the suffix <-*khal*> (CP/SUP) as comparative or superlative depends on the context. In (575) <-*khal*> indicates a superlative, whereas the three occurrences of this suffix in (576) all have to be interpreted as comparatives. In the clause leading up to (575), king Bil says to the king of another country: “I don’t need anything”.

- (575) *naʔa aŋna naŋʔməŋ gore jalna rakkhalgabaaw hənʔetaribo.*

naʔa aŋ =na *naŋʔ* =məŋ *gore jal* =na *rak -khal* =gaba =aw
 2s 1s =DAT 2s =GEN horse run =DAT strong -SUP =ATTR =ACC

hənʔ -et -ari =bo
 give -CAUS -SIMP=IMP

‘You just give me your fastest running horse.’

- (576) *gore jalna rakbebeokno. khaʔsinkhalay jalkhalna noayməŋ gaʔdukdukci
 rakkhalay rakkhalay jalariokno*

gore jal =na *rak -bebe -ok* =no
 horse run =DAT strong -TRULY-COS =QUOT

khaʔsin -khal =ay *jal* =na *no* =ay =məŋ *gaʔdukduk* =ci =ba
 slow -CP =ADV run =DAT say =ADV =SEQ prod.with.leg =LOC=INDEF

rak -khal =ay *rak -khal* =ay *jal -ari -ok* =no
 strong -CP =ADV strong -CP =ADV run -SIMP-COS =QUOT

The horse ran really quickly, it is said. Having told [it] to run slower, whenever [he] prodded [it] with his legs, [it] just ran faster and faster, it is said.

The comparative suffix does not just function in comparative constructions, as the example below illustrates.

- (577) [...] *nemkhalciba nemkhalcaciba ue morotnado dəkəkəsa caysakni.*

{*nem-khal*} =ci =ba {*nem-khal-ca*} =ci =ba
 good -CP =LOC=EMPH good -CP -NEG =LOC=EMPH

[*ue morot*] =na =do [*dəkəkək*] =sa {*cay -sak -ni*}
 DST person =DAT=TOP a.little.while =DLIM look -APPROPRIATELY -FUT

[After having called upon all those who are rich and their family members, after having invoked the spirits and after having eaten and drunk,] whether [the sick person] is better or not better, [one] will maybe wait a little while [to see how the person’s condition will develop].’

23.5 The excessive suffix <-duga>

The excessive suffix <-duga> (XS) indicates that the event denoted by the predicate is carried out to an excessive extent or, in the case of a predicate indicating a quality, is too much. This suffix is attested on verbal and Type 2 adjectival predicates.

(578) *umynggymynci thogigaba morotaw agrai bebe raʔdugana baino.*

uməŋgəməŋci [{*thogi*}=*gaba morot*] =*aw* [*agray*]
therefore lie =ATTR person =ACC EXCESSIVELY

{*bebe raʔ-duga*} =*na* =*bay* =*no*
truly get -XS =DAT=PROH =QUOT

‘Therefore [you] shouldn’t too much believe persons who are lying, it is said.’

(579) *tibimi kəraŋgaba rakdugabutuŋci caŋba niʔetok.*

[*tibi* =*mi* *kəraŋ* =*gaba*] {*rak -duga -butuŋ*} =*ci*
television =GEN make.sound =ATTR strong -XS -when =LOC

[*caŋ*] =*ba* {*niʔ -et -ok*}
who =INDEF not.exist -CAUS -COS

‘When the sound of the TV was too strong, someone turned [it] off.’

(580) *ie ram thmblongdugaʔa*

[*ie ram*] {*thəmbəloŋ -duga -a*}
PRX road have.holes.in.it (of roads/bridges) -XS -CUST

‘This road is too damaged.’

The meaning of a Type 1 adjectives can still be reinforced by the change of state morpheme (see §5.1) when the excessive suffix is attached, e.g. *məl-duga-ak* (small-XS-COS) ‘much too small’, alternatively: ‘has become too small’.

23.6 The simplicitive aspect suffix <-ari>

The simplicitive expresses that the event denoted by the verb is executed with ease, without any trouble or hindrance or without discussion or further ado, and is signalled by the morpheme <-ari> (SIMP). The Atong simplicitive differs from the English lexeme ‘just’ in that <-ari> (SIMP) has no delimitative meaning. Example (581) is illustrative of the use of this morpheme.

(581) *aŋ ətəkəy balayməŋ tanarinaka.*

[*aŋ*] [*ətəkəy*] {*bal*} =*ay* =*məŋ* {*tan -ari -naka*}
1s like.this speak =ADV =SEQ PUT -SIMP-IFT

‘I, having spoken like this, will just/simply stop now [without further ado].’

23.7 The incomplete aspect suffix <-khu>

The incomplete aspect suffix <-khu> (INCOM) indicates that the action denoted by the verb has not yet reached the point of completion or is still the case. It can also be used to form the polite imperative (see §26.2).

When used together with the progressive/durative aspect suffix, both the order incomplete-progressive/durative, e.g. (582), and progressive/durative-incomplete, e.g. (583), are attested. The speakers' judgement is that the former order, which has been recorded more often (see Table 63) is better than the latter. Example (202) illustrates the use of the incomplete on a nominal predicate head.

(582) *saʔkhuaydoŋa geʔtheŋdo.*

{*saʔ -khu -aydoŋa*} [*geʔtheŋ*] =*do*
eat -INCOM-PROG 3s =TOP
'He's still eating.'

(583) *aŋ pipuk baŋbaŋaydoŋkhua*

[*aŋ pipuk*] {*baŋbaŋ -aydoŋ -khu -a*}
1s belly/stomach empty -DUR -INCOM-CUST
'My stomach is still empty.'

Under negation, the incomplete signals that something is not yet the case, e.g. (584) and (585).

(584) *saʔkhuca.*

saʔ -khu -ca
eat -INCOM-NEG
'[I] have not yet eaten.'

(585) *aŋdo sawamigəmən teʔewrawrawdo reʔeŋna manʔkhucaaydoŋa.*

[*aŋ*] =*do* {*sa -wa*} =*mi* *gəmən teʔew-rawraw* =*do*
1s =TOP be.ill -FACT =GEN cause now -continuously =OP
{*reʔeŋ*} =*na* {*manʔ -khu -ca -aydoŋa*}
go.away =DAT be.able -INCOM -NEG -PROG
'As for me, [I] can not yet go to school because of [my] illness.'

23.8 The customary aspect suffix <-a>

The customary aspect suffix <-a> (CUST) is used to express regularly recurring, unchangeable or ongoing events. The customary aspect cannot be expressed under negation. The following example presents prototypical instances of the use of the customary aspect suffix. The example is taken from a story about the slash-and-burn-cultivation as practices by the Atong people.

- (586) *haʔkhənmanwaməŋsa maysi khita. uməŋ aboŋdərəŋ cala, dacaŋdərəŋ cala. ətəkəyməŋsa calmanwa macotwaməŋsa may kayʔceŋa.*

[haʔ] {khən -man -wa} =məŋ =sa [maysi] {khit -a}
soil collect/clear -ALREADY -FACT =SEQ =DLIM millet sow -CUST

uməŋ [aboŋ] =dərəŋ {cal -a}
then corn =p sow.by.making.a.hole.in.the.ground -CUST

[dacaŋ] =dərəŋ {cal -a}
type.of.shrub =p sow.by.making.a.hole.in.the.ground -CUST

ətəkəyməŋ =sa {cal -man -wa}
so.then =DLIM sow.by.making.a.hole.in.the.ground -ALREADY -FACT

{macot-wa} =məŋ =sa [may] {kayʔ -ceŋ -a}
finish -FACT =SEQ =DLIM rice plant -INCEPT -CUST

‘Having already cleared the charred detritus off the ground, millet is sown. thereafter corn is sown, *dacaŋ* is sown. Only then, having already finished sowing, [you] begin to plant the rice.’

The next example is the conclusion to a story in which the storyteller makes a statement, i.e. he says that something is always like that.

- (587) *niŋ jatdo ətəka*

[niŋ jat] =do {ətək -a}
1p tribe =TOP do.like.this/that -CUST

‘Our tribe does like that.’ Alternatively: ‘Thus are the ways of our tribe.’

23.9 The desiderative suffix <-na>

The desiderative suffix <-na> (DESI) can occur on the predicate head of independent clauses and indicates a desire or wish, e.g. (588), (589), or an implied impossibility, e.g. in Text 1 line 36 and example (590). The desiderative suffix can occur on verbal predicate heads of content questions as we can see in (588) and declarative clauses as

illustrated in (589). Desiderative-marked predicate heads of independent clauses of any type cannot take any modality or polarity suffixes, i.e. inflectional suffixes, but the stem-forming incompletive aspect is attested, e.g. in Text 1 line 36 and example (590). (Types of predicate suffixes are treated in Chapter 23.) Dependent desiderative clauses can express change of state. Although the desiderative suffix <-na> (DESI) is a homophone of the allomorph <=na> of the dative enclitic <=na ~ =ona> (DAT), the two morphemes are clearly functionally distinct since they occur in different clause types. It cannot be excluded that the two morphemes are etymologically related. Dative-marked clauses are treated in Chapter 27.

(588) *bisaŋ ray?na bay?sigā?*

[bi]=saŋ {ray? -na} [bay?sigā]
 QF =MOB go -DESI friend
 'Where do you intend to go, friend?'

(589) *hay bay?sigā, biskut sa?khawna*

[hay] [bay?sigā] [biskut] {sa? -khaw -na}
 come.on friend biscuit eat -SNEAKILY -DESI
 'Come on, friend, I intend/want to steal the biscuits.'

In the context of the next example a man is talking to his daughter about the fish traps he had put up.

(590) “*ca?masaŋba cayok! khambaysaŋawba cayok. ca?masaŋmi cayciba matdam sa?ak, khambaysaŋmi cayciba matdam sa?ak. biaw caykhuna? aŋna ni?ok*”
nookno.

[ca?masaŋ] =ba {cay -ok} [khambaysaŋ] =aw =ba {cay -ok}
 downside =ADD look -COS upstream =ACC=ADD look -COS

[ca?masaŋ] =mi {cay} =ci =ba [matdam] {sa? -ak}
 downside =GENlook =LOC=ADD otter eat -COS

[khambaysaŋ] =mi {cay} =ci =ba [matdam] {sa? -ak}
 upstream =GEN look =LOC=ADD otter eat -COS

[bi] =aw {cay -khu -na}
 which =ACC look -INCOM-DESI

[aŋ] =na {ni? -ok} {no-ok} =no
 1s =DAT not.exist -COS say -COS =QUOT

“‘I looked downstream. I also looked upstream. Whenever I looked at the one downstream, the otters had eaten it. Whenever I looked at the one upstream, the otters had eaten it. Which other one [is there] to look at? I have no more”, he said, it is said.’ Alternatively: “‘Which other one can I/am I supposed to look at?’”

The following example comes from the story of the prodigal son told by Kempai A Sangma. Apparently, the son of the wealthy king has returned to his father after years of wandering. The king sits in his palace and hears the rumours. He then thinks (591) to himself:

- (591) *bici rayʔaphinʔkhuna? aŋa iskən gamaw hanthietok. iskən janʔgaba soŋsaŋ deʔthenʔjalaŋok. bici ucie aŋcina rayʔakhuna?*

[bi]=ci {raya -phin -khu -na} [aŋa][iskən gam] =aw
QF =LOC come -RETURN -INCOM-DESI 1s so.much wealth =ACC

{hanti -et -ok}
divide -CAUS -COS

[[iskən] {janʔ} =gaba soŋ] =saŋ [deʔthenʔ]{jal -aŋ -ok}
so.much far =ATTR country =MOB 3s run.away-AWAY -COS

[bi]=ci [ucie] [aŋ] =ci =na {rayʔa -khu -na}
QF =LOCt hen 1s =LOC=ALL come -CP -DESI

‘What should [he] return for? I bestowed so much wealth on him. He ran away to such a far country. What then should he return to me for?’

23.10 The Future modalities

There are two morphemes indicating that an event takes place in the future, viz the future suffix <-ni> (FUT) and the imperious future suffix <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF). The suffix <-ni> (FUT) indicates the uncertain future, and the suffix <-naka> (IFT) a more certain future. The differences between these two future modalities will be discussed in greater detail below.

The future has characteristics of both tense and modality; it contains the epistemic element of “probability” and the tense-related element “future temporal location of an event”. How are we now going to decide whether the future in Atong is a modality, or a tense? Bhat (1999: 175-177) argues that “the notion of future would be temporal or modal depending upon the prominence that the language attaches to the categories of tense, aspect and mood respectively”. Atong can be said to be an aspect and modality

prominent language since both categories play an equally important role in the language.

There are two arguments in favour of calling the future categories modalities in Atong. Firstly, the future <-ni> (FUT) exists alongside the imperious future <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF). Together they form an epistemic modal system in which the former indicates less certainty about the occurrence of the event and the latter indicates more certainty. The second argument in favour of considering the future and the imperious future as modal categories comes from the Atong speakers themselves. One of my Atong friends and consultants pointed out to me that with <-ni> (FUT) you are 50% sure and with <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF) you are 95% sure that the event you are talking about will indeed happen.

The morphemes under discussion do certainly not indicate prospective aspect. It is not possible for these future modality morphemes to be used in situations such as “Yesterday, just as I was about to cook the soup”. The next sections will treat in detail the uses of the two future categories.

23.10.1 The imperious future suffix <-naka ~ -ka>

The imperious future modality is signalled by the morpheme <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF). The allomorph <-ka> (IMF) is used when immediately following the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG), whereas the allomorph <-naka> is used in all other environments. The imperious future in non-negative polarity expresses that an event will almost certainly take place in the future or that an event is about to take place, depending on the context. In negative polarity it expresses that an event will almost certainly not take place or that an event will not go on any more from now on, depending in the context.

The imperious future forms an epistemic pair with the future category (see next section) and is also used as indicator of what will happen or happens usually in certain circumstances. Example (600) in the next section illustrates the difference in degree of certainty between the two future categories. The fact that the future cannot co-occur with other modal categories, such as the irrealis, confirms its status as a modality. The following examples illustrate some uses of the imperious future.

(592) *ama, may saʔnaka niŋdo.*

ama {*may saʔ-naka*} [*niŋ*] =*do*
 mother rice eat-IMF 1se =TOP
 ‘Mother, we’ll eat rice now.’

(593) *raŋ nemcie ataknakasəy?*

[*raŋ*] {*nem*} =*ci* =*e* {*atak -naka*} =*səy*
 rain good =LOC=FC do.that -IFT =MIR
 ‘Now that the rain has stopped, what the heck shall we do?’

(594) *ca rəŋayməŋ, may sa-ayməŋ, ray-naka.*

[*ca*] {*rəŋ*} =*ay* =*məŋ* [*may*] {*saʔ*} =*ay* =*məŋ* {*rayʔ-naka*}
 tea drink =ADV =SEQ rice eat =ADV =SEQ go -IFT
 ‘After drinking tea and eating rice, we will go.’

One of the most common occurrences of the imperious future is in the following expression whose functional equivalent in English would come close to ‘good bye’. It is impolite to leave somebody without saying (595).

(595) *rayʔnaka.*

{*rayʔ-naka*}
 go -IFT
 ‘[I/We]’ll go now.’ (And then the speaker or the speaker and his company usually leave instantly after saying this.)

On adjectives of Type 1 the imperious future imparts the meaning of ‘enough’ to the predicate, i.e. *səm-naka* (sweet-IFT) ‘sweet enough’, *cuy-ca-ka* (big-NEG-IFT) ‘not big enough’. The imperious future is not attested on Type 2 adjectives. Nominal predicate heads cannot take modality suffixes.

Under negation the meaning of the imperious future does not change. When, for example, someone asks you: “*pipuk saʔ-ni=ma?*” (intestines eat-FUT=Q) ‘Will you eat intestines?’, and you want to answer in the negative, you can say: “*saʔ-ca-ka.*” (eat-NEG-IFT) ‘I will certainly now not eat [it].’

23.10.2 The future suffix <-ni>

Future modality is signalled by the morpheme <-ni> (FUT), which indicates that an event might take place in the future and that there is a rather big chance that it will not. The future is also used to point out what event will occur or occurs usually in a certain circumstance. The future modality forms an epistemic pair with the imperious future treated in the previous section. A noticeable fact about the future modality is that it cannot be negated. This means that the opposition between the two futures is neutralised under negation as the imperious future can be negated.

The use of the future suffix <-ni> (FUT) as indicator of a possible future event is illustrated below.

- (596) *o came, aŋmi naŋ?na kha?galgabaaw naŋ?mi khathoŋci daŋetna man?phanima?*

[*o came*] [*aŋ*] =mi [*naŋ?*] =na {*kha?gal*} =gaba] =aw
 interj sweetheart 1s =GEN 2s =DAT love =ATTR =ACC
 [*naŋ?=mi kha?thoŋ*] =ci {*daŋ -et*} =na {*man? -pha -ni*} =ma
 2s =GEN heart =LOC enter-CAUS =DAT be.able -IN.ADDITION -FUT =Q
 ‘O sweetheart! will you be able to insert also into your heart me who loves you?’

- (597) *morot so?otgabaaw gobormen so?otsigani, sakhawgabaaw jurimana kamna naŋni.*

[[*morot*] {*so?ot*} =gaba] =aw [*gobormen*] {*so?ot -siga -ni*}
 person kill =ATTR =ACC government kill -ALT -FUT
 {*sa? -khaw*} =gaba] =aw [*jurimana*] {*kam*} =na {*naŋ -ni*}
 eat -secretively =ATTR =ACC penalty remove =DAT must -FUT
 ‘Those who kill people, the government will kill in turn, those who steal will have to pay a fine.’

- (598) *ronḁəṅ haʔwayci muʔgaba moṅsəraṅ maharidəraṅba caksan macadu hənʔphani noəy khuʔrasakokno.*

[[*ronḁəṅ haʔway*] =*ci* {*muʔ*} =*gaba*} *moṅsəraṅ mahari*] =*dəraṅ* =*ba*
 Pname =LOC live =ATTR Sname1 family =p =EMPH

[*caksan*] [*macadu*] {*hənʔ -pha* -*ni*} {*no*} =*əy*
 bracelet tiger/man give -IN.ADDITION -FUT say =ADV

{*khuʔrasak -ok*} =*no*
 promise -COS=QUOT

‘Those very Moṅsəraṅ families who lived in Roṅḁəṅ Haʔway promised to also give a bracelet to the *macadu* (creatures who are human during the day but tigers at night), it is said.’ Literally: ‘Those very Moṅsəraṅ families who lived in Roṅḁəṅ Haʔway, to also give a bracelet to the *macadu*, [they] sayingly promised, it is said.’

The future can be used as indicator of what will happen or happens usually in certain circumstances. It is logical that the epistemic (less certain) future category is used in these cases because the speaker does not know, when creating a condition, if that condition will be met or not as in (599). And in case of a certain circumstance in which something will usually be done, the speaker does not know if this circumstance will actually occur or not. Only in those cases that the speaker is certain that an event must occur, will he use the imperious future, as in (600) c) and g).

- (599) *balcacido tokni.*

{*bal -ca*} =*ci* =*do* {*tok -ni*}
 tell -NEG =LOC=TOP hit -FUT
 ‘If [you] don’t tell, I’ll hit [you].’

The next example comes from TEXT 3, lines 8 to 14, about incantation of spirits. The storyteller explains the process.

(600) a) *umido uaw kamal sandini*. [...]

b) *ətəkəymu kamal khurutni*. [...]

c) *naʔa way cuŋgabaaw nukok noay cancibo, maʔsu raʔnaka, purun raʔnaka, tawʔ raʔna naŋni, wak raʔna naŋni, unado.*

d) *umi cəwba səmʔna naŋni, ue kmalna.*

e) *ətəkəymu kamalna cəw səmʔay hənʔaymu aro unaba may jabek raʔaŋna naŋni, kamalnaba*. [...]

f) *ətəkəymu taŋkaba kharayci cəyni*. [...]

g) *kamal uan kamaldo dəŋdaŋ hoŋkhotəŋnaka.*

h) *khurutgabami niamaw ətəkəy balnine.*

a) *umido* [kamal] {sandi -**ni**}

then priest search -FUT

‘Then [they] will maybe search for a priest.’

b) *ətəkəymu* [kamal] {khurut -**ni**}

so.then priest perform.incantation -FUT

‘So then the priest will maybe perform an incantation.’

c) [naʔa] [way {cuŋ} =gaba] =aw {nuk -ok} {no} =ay
2s spirit big =ATTR =ACC see -PF say =ADV

{canci} =bo [maʔsu] {raʔ -naka} [purun] {raʔ -naka}

imagine =IMP cow get -IFT goat -get -IFT

[tawʔ] {raʔ} =na {naŋ -**ni**} [wak] {raʔ} =na {naŋ -**ni**}

chicken -get =DAT need -FUT pig get =DAT need -FUT

[u] =na =do

DST=DAT=TOP

‘[Sayingly] imagine that you see a big spirit, [you] will certainly get a cow, [you] will certainly get a goat, maybe [you] will need to get a chicken, maybe [you] will need to get a pig, for him.’

d) *umi* [cəw] =ba {səməʔ} =na {naŋ -**ni**} [ue kamal] =na

then liquor =ADD prepare=DAT need -FUT DST priest =DAT

‘Then [you] will need to prepare some liquor for that priest.’

e) *ətəkəymu* [kamal] =na [cəw] {səməʔ} =ay {həŋʔ} =ay =mu aro

so.then priest =DAT liquor prepare=ADV give =ADV =SEQ and

[u] =na =ba [may] [jabek] {raʔ -aŋ} =na {naŋ -**ni**}

DST=DAT=EMPH rice curry get -AWAY =DAT need -FUT

[kamal] =na =ba

priest =DAT=EMPH

‘So then, after having given the prepared liquor to the priest, [you] will maybe also have to give rice and curry, to the priest that is.’

- f) *ətəkəymu [taŋka]=ba [kharay]=ci {cəy -ni}*
 so.then money =ADD big.pan =LOC offer -FUT
 ‘So then, [you] will offer money in a big pan.’
- g) *[kamal] [u =an kamal]=do [dəŋdaŋ] {hoŋkhot -aŋ -naka}*
 priest DST=FC/ID priest =TOP alone come.out -AWAY -IFT
 ‘The priest, that priest, will come out alone.’
- h) *[{khurut} =gaba =mi niam] =aw [ətəkəy] {bal -ni} =ne*
 perform.incantation =ATTR =GEN rules =ACC like.that tell-FUT=TAG
 ‘I will now tell the rules of performing an incantation, ok.’

23.11 The referential suffix <-an>

The referential marker <-an> (REF) occurs on negated predicate heads and indicates that the S or O argument refers to a specific referent. The absence of this morpheme indicates that the S or O is non-referential, i.e. does not refer to a specific referent. On negated predicate heads before the morpheme <-ca> (NEG) is the only place the referential morpheme can occur. The following examples illustrate the use of the referential marker <-an>-(REF). Proper names, place names and personal pronouns are always referential and therefore <-an> (REF) occurs in (601), (602) and (603). In (602) we see the homophonous focus/identifier NP enclitic <=an> (FC) on the S argument, i.e. the place name *cokpot* ‘Chokpot’.

(601) *ranustaw nukama nukanca?*

[ranus]_O =taw {nuk -a} =ma {nuk -an -ca}
 Name =ACC see -CUST =Q see -REF -NEG
 ‘Have [you] seen Ranus or not?’

(602) *cokpotan ga?suanca.*

[cokpot]_S =an {ga?su -an -ca}
 Pname =FC/ID splendid -REF -NEG
 ‘Chokpot is not splendid.’

(603) *angdo nemkhalanca*

[aŋ]_S =do {nem -khal -an -ca}
 1s =TOP good -CP -REF -NEG
 ‘As for me, [I] am not better.’

In the following example the main predicate indicates that the falling rocks, which are in O function, are referential.

(604) *ronḡ? galetgaaw nukrumancak*

[*ronḡ?* {*gal -et*} =*ga*]_O =*aw* {*nuk -rum -an -ca -k*}
 rock fall -CAUS =ATTR =ACC see -all -REF -NEG -COS
 '[You] cannot see the rocks [I] all caused to fall any more.' Alternatively:
 'The rocks that were all caused to fall down cannot be seen any more.' (said
 Samrat when he threw some stones into a vast and deep ravine.)

Even when the S or O are ellipsed the negative predicate can still take the referential suffix to indicate that the implied S or O refers to a specific referent, e.g. (605). In this example the money, *taṅka* 'money', is mentioned in the first sentence, but in the third sentence it is ellipsed. Still the negative predicate in that sentence contains the referential marker. In this case the referential marker has an anaphoric function.

(605) *aya! taṅka doṅ?tawcakthay. aṅdo roṅcəygəksan raariwa. həys! doṅ?tawancak.*

aya [*taṅka*] { *doṅ?* -*taw* -*an* -*ca* -*k* }
 interj.surprise money be.enough -UPWARDS -REF-NEG -COS
 [*aṅ*] =*do* [*roṅ* *cəygək*] =*sa* =*an* { *ra* -*ari* -*wa* }
 1s =TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS ten =DLIM =FC/ID take -SIMP-FACT
həys { *doṅ?* -*taw* -*an* -*ca* -*k* }
 interj.disapproval be.enough -UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS

'Huh?! I don't have enough money any more. I took only ten rupees. Damn! it is not enough any more.'

Apart from the plain negative, <-*an*> (REF) can only be expressed on the negative change of state <-*ca-k*> (NEG-COS) and does not co-occur with any other predicate head suffixes (see Table 63). The referential marker does not co-occur with the negated inceptive <-*khu-ca*> (INCOM-NEG) nor with the negated simplicative <-*ari-ca*> (SIMP-NEG) nor in any negative subordinate clause.

I have one elicited example of a negated Type 2 adjective with a referential S but without the referential marker (606). More fieldwork needs to be conducted to find out if it is really impossible to have <-*an*> (REF) on a Type 2 adjective with referential S argument.

(606) *ie ram thəmbəlonca*

[*ie ram*]_s {*thəmbəlon* -*ca*}
 PRX road to.have.holes.in.it -NEG
 ‘This road is not damaged.’

23.12 The negative suffix <-ca>

The negative suffix <-ca> (NEG) indicates that something is not the case. As an extended function it is also used to indicate that an event has not yet been realised, as we shall see further below. The negative suffix is a predicate head marker and occurs on nominal, both types of adjectival and verbal predicate heads. Demonstratives, interrogatives and other possible non-verbal predicate heads (see Chapter 22) are not attested under negation. Both main and dependent clause predicates can be negated. The verb *ni* ‘to not exist’ cannot be negated. There are no recorded examples of negated purpose clauses (see §27.2.3). Furthermore, customary aspect and future modality cannot be expressed under negation:

In Atong the grammatical system relating to the predicate is dependent on polarity. The fact that fewer categories relating to the predicate can be expressed under negation than in positive clauses is in accordance with observations made in Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998). It is relevant to quote a short passage from page 63 of that article as it describes exactly what happens in Atong.

“The type of dependency is simple. Since positive is always the unmarked term, another type of grammatical system, if it depends on polarity, will have more choices available in the positive than in the negative.”

The position of the negative morpheme is variable as is mentioned below in this section. However, in the overwhelming majority of the recorded occurrences its position relative to the other morphemes is as represented in Table 63. The scope of the negation is always the predicate.

The following example illustrates the use of the negative suffix on a non-referential nominal predicate. The conversation is not about a particular house but any house built by a Khasi.

(607) Speaker A: *noksamci simen, tota, tin pirinay hama.*

Speaker B: *nokhuŋci?*

Speaker A: *nokhuŋca! noksamci.*

[*nok sam*] =*ci* [*simen tota tin*]
house side =LOC cement plank corrugated iron

{*pirin*} =*ay* {*ham*} -*a*
mix =ADV build -CUST

[*nokhuŋ*] =*ci*
roof =LOC

{*nokhuŋ*} -*ca* [*nok sam*] =*ci*
roof -NEG house side =LOC

A: 'For the wall of a house (lit. 'at the side of a house') [the Khasis] mix cement, planks and metal plates.'

B: 'For the roof?'

A: 'Not the roof! For [lit. 'at'] the wall of the house.'

The following example illustrates the occurrence of a negated verbal predicate.

Example (606) shows a negated Type 2 adjective.

(608) *aŋa ketketa bura nogabaawan təŋkhuca.*

[*aŋa*] [*ketketba bura* {*no*} =*gaba*] =*aw* =*an* {*təŋ -khu -ca*}
1s Name say =ATTR =ACC =FC/ID know -INCOM -NEG
'I don't yet know this so-called Ketketa Bura.'

There are very few recorded instances of stem-forming suffixes that come after the Echelon 1 suffix <-*ca*> (NEG) viz. (609) and (610). In those examples the stem-forming suffixes are event specifiers. This adds to the evidence that the position of suffixes is to a great degree variable depending on the sope the speaker wants the suffix to have (see also Chapter 22).

- (609) *ətəkəymu agalaw ram ray?aymu thəycaphingadəraŋdo agal ruguŋmi wayphinano.*

ətəkəymu [*agal*] =*aw* *ram* {*ray?*} =*ay* =*mu*
 so.then forest.fire =ACC road go =ADV =SEQ

{*thəy-ca -phin*} =*ga*] =*dəraŋ=do*] [*agal ruguŋ*] =*mi*
 die -NEG -FULLY =ATTR =p =TOP forest.fire edge =GEN

{*way -phin -a*} =*no*
 return -RETURN -CUST =QUOT

‘So then, having gone the road of the forest fire, those who are not dead altogether return [via] the edge of the forest fire.’

- (610) *te?ewrawraw morot nemcabatsəraŋgaba.*

te?ew -rawraw [*morot*] {*nem -ca -bat -səraŋ*} =*gaba*
 now -CONTINUOUSLY person good -NEG -VERY -COMPLETELY =ATTR
 ‘Still now people are extremely bad.’

As was said above, another function of the negative morpheme is to indicate that an event has not yet taken place. Examples of the negation of a not yet realised event are given above in (248) in §13.4 and below in (611). The latter example comes from a story in which a cunning man called Theng•thon [then?ton] has just impoverished his village people by getting them to burn their houses with the promise that they would be able to sell the ashes and cinders at the market and get rich. However, after the villagers have discovered that nobody wants to buy their ashes, they become very angry with Theng•thon and utter (611). The fact that the event is bound to take place is marked by the imperious future suffix <-ka> (IFT).

- (611) *ramci hampəy na?naŋdo watcaka ge?theŋawdo.*

[*ram*] =*ci* [*hampəy*] [*na?naŋ*] =*do* {*wat -ca -ka*}
 road =LOC this.evening 1pi =TOP get.rid.of -NEG -IFT

[*ge?theŋ*] =*aw* =*do*
 r3s =ACC=TOP

‘This evening we will certainly get rid of him on the road.’

23.13 The change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k>

The change of state aspect is signalled by the morpheme <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS). The allomorph <-ak> (COS) occurs after a root or stem ending in /a/ or /a?/. This means

that for roots and stems ending in /a/, there are three possible pronunciations, which all occur in the recorded material. First possibility: the two vowels can collapse into one. Second, a glottal stop can occur on the morpheme boundary. Third: the two vowels are both pronounced, the result of which sounds like one long vowel. The allomorph <-k> (COS) occurs always after the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG). There is not one recorded instance of a form *<-ca-ak> (NEG-COS) with one of the pronunciations [tea:k] or [teaʔak] which are phonetically possible. For an explanation of what happens when two of the same vowels are juxtaposed across morpheme boundaries, see §2.10.

This suffix is attested on verbs, including stative verbs and Type 1 adjectives (i.e. stative verbs expressing a quality), nouns and interrogatives functioning as predicate head; it is not attested on Type 2 adjectives. An alternative might be to label this suffix as “perfective aspect”, however, the fact that it occurs on Type 1 adjectives and nouns, makes the label change of state more suitable, even though the semantics of this suffix are compatible with activity verbs.

The semantic interpretations of the change of state suffix are different according to the type of predicate head it suffixes to. These interpretations will be treated one by one below. First we will see the effects of this suffix on verbal predicates, excluding Type 1 adjectives, then on Type 1 adjectives, then on nouns and on other types of predicate head. Examples of this suffix on interrogatives can be found in Chapter 9. Negated predicates are treated separately after that.

23.13.1 On verbal predicates

When it occurs on verbal predicate heads the change of state suffix indicates that a change has taken place in the situation that supposedly held for the S or A argument before the event denoted by the predicate took place. In text example (612) we see the change of state contrast with the factitive. The contrastive factitive- and change of state-marked predicates are underlined. In line 2 the speaker indicates that the fish trap has been set up, where before it had not yet been set up, hence the change of state suffix on the predicate *sa-ak* (put.as.trap-COS). This change of state contrasts with the already existing situation in line 3, where nothing changes and thus the factitive suffix is used on the predicate *sa-wa* (put.as.trap-FACT). In line 4 the speaker puts forth the fact that there are no fish in the river, and therefore marks the predicate with the

factitive suffix, viz. *niʔ-wa* (not.exist-FACT). This statement contrasts with that in line 8 where the speaker indicates a change of state in the existence of fish, presupposing that there had been fish before the otter ate them. hence the change of state suffix on the predicate *niʔ-ok* (not.exist-COS).

(612) *kənsaŋdo manapmi sirimənən reʔeŋayməŋna dabat warisaŋ, diŋgaray saakno. sangumuk diŋgaray sawado, niʔwanoro, naʔba. ətəkəymuna kambaysaŋmi diŋgarayaw naʔ cayokno. uciba matdam saʔakno ətəkəymuna kambaysaŋmi diŋgaraymi cayciba, uciba naʔan niʔokno. uciba matdam saʔakno uawba.*

- a. [*kənsaŋ*] =do [*manapmi*] [*sirimənən*] {*reʔeŋ*} =ay =məŋna
after =TOP very.early.in.the.morning at.the.crack.of.dawn go.away =ADV=SEQ
- b. [*dabat wari*] =saŋ [*diŋgaray*] {*sa* _____ *-ak*} =no
Pname deep.place.in.river=MOB fish.trap put.as.trap -COS =QUOT
- c. [*saŋ*] =gumuk [*diŋgaray*] {*sa* _____ *-wa*} =do
day =whole fish.trap put.as.trap -FACT =TOP
- d. {*niʔ* _____ *-wa*} =no =ro [*naʔ*] =ba
not.exist -FACT =QUOT =EMPH fish =EMPH
- e. *ətəkəymuna* [*caʔma*] =saŋ =mi [*diŋgaray*] =aw [*naʔ*] {*cay* -ok} =no
so.then downstream =MOB =GEN fish.trap =ACC fish look -COS =QUOT
- f. [*u*] =ci =ba [*matdam*] {*saʔ* -ak} =no
DST=LOC=EMPH otter eat -COS =QUOT
- g. *ətəkəymuna* [*kambay*] =saŋ =mi [*diŋgaray*] =mi {*cay*} =ci =ba
so.then upstream =MOB =GEN fish.trap =GEN look =LOC=EMPH
- h. [*u*] =ci =ba [*naʔ*] =an {*niʔ* _____ *-ok*} =no
DST=LOC=EMPH fish =FC/ID not.exist -COS =QUOT
- i. [*u*] =ci =ba [*matdam*] {*saʔ* -ak} =no [*u*] =aw =ba
DST=LOC=EMPH otter eat -COS -QOUT DST=ACC=EMPH

‘Later, in the morning, at the crack of dawn, having gone to Dabatwari, [he] set fish traps, it is said. The whole day he set fish traps, it is said, [but] there was none, fish that is. So then, [he] looked for fish [in] the fish trap(s) from downstream, it is said. There an otter had eaten [them], it is said. So then he indeed looked at [those] from the upstream funnel(s). There (also) there was no more fish, it is said. There (also) an otter had eaten them, it is said, those [fish].

A series of at least two, usually three or four, repeated predicate heads marked by the change of state aspect indicate an event of long duration (613). As an important side effect, the speaker can repeat the predicate head, marked for all categories, as many times as he wants and in the meantime think about what he will say next.

- (613) *jalaŋok ue banthay mənʔsado. teʔdo sagal təysamci poreok poreok porepok poreok. kənsaŋdo cuŋgaba kam manʔok.*

{jal -aŋ -ok} [ue banthay mənʔ sa] =do [teʔ] =do
run.away-away -COS DST bachelor CLF.HUMANS one=TOP now =TOP

[sagal təysam] =ci {pore -ok} {pore -ok} {pore -ok} {pore -ok}
sea water.side =LOC study -COS study -COS study -COS study -COS

‘[He] run away that young lad. Now, at the seaside he studied [and] studied [and] studied [and] studied. [After that he got a great job.]’

The change of state suffix is also attested on predicates of subordinate clauses, viz. dative-marked reason clauses (see Chapter 27) and on topic-marked clauses, e.g.

(614), where it refers to a possible future event.

- (614) *hap pidan rama manʔokodo jətnaka?*

[[hap pidan] {ram} =na {manʔ -ok}] =odo {jət -naka}
place new search =DAT obtain -COS =TOP move -IFT

‘When/if [you] have found a new place you’ll immediately move?’

23.13.2 On Type 1 adjectival predicates

On Type 1 adjectival predicate heads the change of state aspect can have two possible interpretations according to the context. The first possible interpretation is a reinforcement of the property denoted by the adjective, as we can see in the translation one of my consultants made of the Atong sentences in (615). The second possible interpretation is change of state, as is illustrated in (67) and (771).

- (615) *ama! ah! ta-nido ja-bek thawokte. naʔa paŋnando thaway rəmca. atoŋtəkəy tay-nido thawoksəy jaʔbek?*

[ama] ah [taʔni] =do [jaʔbek] {thaw -ok} =te
mother Interj today =TOP curry tasty -COS =DCL

[naʔa] [paŋnan] =do {thaw} =ay {rəm -ca}
2s always =TOP tasty =ADV cook -NEG

[atoŋ] =təkəy [tayʔni] =do {thaw -ok} =səy jaʔbek
what -through today =TOP tasty -COS =MIR curry

‘Mother! Oh! today the curry is very tasty! You don’t cook tasty all the time. Why is [it] today to my surprise so very tasty, the curry?’

23.13.3 On nominal predicate heads

Nouns can only function as predicate heads in identity/equation clauses. On nominal predicate heads the change of state effect of the suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) is very clear, as we can see in (683) repeated here as (616).

(616) *ido theŋʔthonte. meʔmaŋokma jəwmaŋok?*

[i] =do {theŋʔthon} =e {meʔmaŋ -ok} =ma {jəwmaŋ -ok}
 PRX =TOP Name =FC ghost -COS =Q dream -COS
 ‘This is Theng•thon, I’m telling you. Has [he] become a ghost or a dream?’

23.13.4 On other types of predicates

On numeral plus classifier constructions the change of state aspect implies a totality, as is illustrated in the answer of example (617).

(617) *naŋʔci roŋbəysək teʔewe? roŋbəraŋok.*

[naŋʔ] =ci [roŋ bəisək] [teʔew] =e {roŋ bəraŋ -ok}
 2s =LOCCLF.MONEY how.many now =FC CLF.MONEY four -COS
 ‘How much money do you have now? Four rupees in total.’

There is one recorded instance of an adverb functioning as predicate head marked by the change of state. This is represented in the following example.

(618) *kənsaŋdo amakdo dəŋdaŋanok.*

[kənsaŋ] =do [amak] =do {[dəŋdaŋ] =an -ok}
 after =TOP monkey =TOP alone =FC/ID -COS
 ‘After [that], the monkey was alone.’

23.13.5 On negated predicates

When occurring on negated predicates, the change of state suffix indicates that something is not the case any more, e.g. (619) with a nominal predicate and with a verbal predicate in (620). Interrogatives functioning as predicate head cannot be negated.

(619) *geʔthey mastelancak*

[*geʔthey*]{*mastel* -*an* -*ca* -*k*}
 3s male.teacher -REF -NEG -COS
 ‘He is not a teacher any more.’

(620) *teʔewdo matsa cawʔkəy asetram məngancak. ue haʔbəriawe sengʔsotay matsa cawʔkəy məngsigaariok*

[*teʔew*]=*do* [*matsa cawʔkəy asetram*] {*məŋ* -*an* -*ca* -*k*}
 now =TOP tiger big.knife throw.away place call.a.name -REF -NEG -COS

[*ue haʔbəri*] =*aw* =*e* {*səŋʔsot*} =*ay*
 DST hill =ACC=FC abbreviate =ADV

[*matsa cawʔkəy*] {*məŋ* -*sig* -*ari* -*ok*}
 Pname call.a.name -ALT -SIMP-COS

‘Now [we] don’t call [it] Matsa Chaw•kyi Asetram⁴⁶ any more. This hill has come to be abbreviatedly called Matsa Chaw•kyi’

23.14 The progressive/durative aspect suffix

The interpretation of the progressive/durative suffix depends on the semantics of the predicate. The progressive/durative aspect indicates that an event is ongoing (progressive interpretation) or that a state is continuing (durative interpretation). All its allomorphs, viz. <-*aydoŋa* ~ -*aydoŋ* ~ -*aydok* ~ -*aroŋa* ~ -*aroŋ* ~ -*arok*> (PROG/DUR) are in free variation. When a root ends in /-i/ the sequence /ay/ and the vowel /a/ of the progressive/durative morpheme assimilate to /e/ creating the allomorphs <-*edoŋa* ~ -*edoŋ* ~ -*edok* ~ -*eroŋa* ~ -*eroŋ* ~ -*erok*> (PROG/DUR). The progressive/durative aspect suffix is only attested on verbal (including Type 1 adjectival) predicates. Example (621) illustrates the use of this suffix on a Type 1 adjective, in which case we get a durative interpretation, because Type 1 adjectives are stative verbs that denote a quality (see Chapter 5). The example is taken from a story about the fox and the deer. The fox has just found the deer after a wild chase.

⁴⁶ In this name the word *matsa* is short for *matsadu*. A *matsadu* is a creature which is human during the day and changes into a tiger at night. The name of the place in the example is related to an event in the history of the Atong and translates roughly as ‘the place where the *matsadu* threw away their weapons’.

The deer says it is guarding the king's royal fan. The fox says that he is hot and wants to use the fan. The deer says that the king does not give it to anyone, not even to him.

(621) *aŋan tuŋaydoŋa, aŋnaan hənʔanca raja.*

[aŋ] =an {tuŋ}-aydoŋa [aŋ] =na =an {hənʔ -ca} [raja]
 1s =FC/ID hot -DUR 1s =DAT=FC/ID give -NEG king
 'I'm hot, the king doesn't even give [it] to me.'

A series of at least two, usually three or four, repeated predicate heads marked by the progressive/durative aspect, and often also the quotative clausal enclitic, indicate an event of long duration, just as the same construction with the change of state suffix described in the previous section. As an important side effect, the speaker can repeat the predicate head, marked for all categories, as many times as he wants and in the meantime think about what he will say next. The following example is illustrative. In this example we encounter the progressive interpretation of the progressive/durative suffix, since the verb *reʔeŋ*- 'to go away' is an activity verb.

(622) *"niŋa kawarini" noaymu reʔeŋarokno reʔeŋarokno reʔeŋarokno reʔeŋarokno.*

[niŋa] {kaw-ari -ni} {no} =ay =mu
 1pe shoot-SIMP-FUT say =ADV =SEQ
 {reʔeŋ -arok} =no {reʔeŋ -arok} =no {reʔeŋ -arok} =no
 go.away -PROG =QUOT go.away -PROG =QUOT go.away -PROG =QUOT
 {reʔeŋ -arok} =no
 go.away -PROG =QUOT

Having said: "We will just shoot [it]", they are going, it is said, [and] going, it is said, [and] going, it is said, [and] going, it is said, [and] going, it is said.

One example has been recorded where the suffix under discussion occurs on a Type 1 adjective (a stative verb denoting a quality, in this case *cuŋ* 'to be big') but has to be interpreted as the progressive and not the durative, viz. TEXT 1, line 22. This example is presented below as (623). Because of the event specifier suffix <-aŋ> (WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK), the predicate *cuŋ-aŋ* (be.big-WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK) 'get really big' is dynamic. This dynamic predicate takes the suffix <-arok> (PROG/DUR) which now has to be interpreted as the progressive, i.e.

the action of getting big is ongoing. This is why my Atong consultant insisted on translating the predicate in the example as ‘are getting really big’.

(623) *muthayba cuŋaŋarok, teʔewe.*

[*muʔthay*] =*ba* {*cuŋ -aŋ* _____ *-arok*} [*teʔew*] =*e*.
 bosom =EMPH big -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -**PROG** now =FC
 ‘[Her] breasts are getting really big, though, now.’

The progressive/durative aspect is also attested on predicates of subordinated locative-marked clauses, of which example (121) is an illustration.

Chapter 24 The factitive suffix

The factitive suffix <-*wa*> (FACT)⁴⁷ occurs in five different syntactic environments, viz.

- 1 on main clause predicates, treated in §24.1,
- 2 on predicates of subordinate clauses which are governed by a matrix clause predicate, i.e. complement clauses in S or O function, discussed in §24.3,
- 3 on subordinate clause predicates in adjunct function, modifying a matrix clause, see §24.4,
- 4 on lexicalised object nominalisations, also treated in §24.4,
- 5 on complement clauses of the limitative postposition *dabat* (LIMIT), see §24.5.

The function of the factitive on main clause predicates is reification, i.e. presenting the event denoted by the verb as a fact. It does not appear to have this function in all types of subordinate clauses, but it is very clear that the suffix does have this function on Temporal Location adjuncts. If a noun functions as predicate of a Reason clause, it has to be factitive-marked to appear in this function. As we shall see below, this is not in conflict with the function this suffix has on verbal predicates. A summary of the functions of the factitive suffix is given in §24.6 followed by a note on a possible diachronic development of the suffix in §24.7.

24.1 Factitive-marked main clause predicates

The factitive suffix <-*wa*> (FACT) on main clause predicates is a marker of reification, i.e. it presents the event denoted by the verb as a fact, as something that is the case, which is an epistemic modality function. I adopt Lyons's definition of epistemic modality, which is:

⁴⁷ I have taken the term 'factitive' from Roland Rutgers (1998: 231).

“Any utterance in which the speaker explicitly qualifies his commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence he utters, whether this qualification is made explicit in the verbal component [...] or in the prosodic or paralinguistic component, is an epistemically modal or modalized, utterance.” (1977: 797)

The factitive modality is one of the possibilities an Atong speaker has to modify the information denoted by the predicate. The other modality suffixes, treated in Chapter 23, are presented in Table 66 together with clausal enclitics indicating modality (see §26.826.9). The factitive can occur in clauses which are marked by the speculative or the irrealis clausal enclitics.

Table 66 Suffixes and clausal enclitics indicating a modality

TYPE OF MODALITY	MORPHEME	LABEL
factitive	<i>-wa</i>	FACT
imperious future (more certain)	<i>-naka ~ -ka</i>	IFT
future (less certain)	<i>-ni</i>	FUT
irrealis	<i>=cəm</i>	IRR
speculative	<i>=khon</i>	SPEC

The factitive suffix is not attested on Type 2 adjectives and nominal predicates of main clauses, but does occur on nominal predicates of co-subordinate clauses, as we will see below.

Polarity has an influence on the interpretation of the time reference of a factitive-marked predicate, except when the predicate is a Type 1 adjective (see §24.2). When the factitive suffix occurs on a negated predicate the event can be interpreted as having future or present time reference but never as having past time reference. On a non-negated predicate the factitive suffix usually induces past time reference interpretation of the verb, but can also have a present time reference interpretation depending on the verb and the context. Note that the factitive suffix is by no means a tense marker. Let us look at negated verbs first.

The following two examples present a contrasting pair of negated main clause predicates. The main predicate *manʔ-ca* (be.able-NEG) ‘cannot’ in (624) is not factitive-marked and has an habitual interpretation, whereas the main predicate in (625), *manʔ-ca-wa* (be.able-NEG-FACT) ‘will not be able’ is factitive marked and is interpreted as having future time reference. The context of example (624) is as

follows. The fox has chased after the deer and finds it lying next to a well. The deer says it is guarding the king's well. The fox is thirsty and wants to drink water from the well but the deer says that the king does not allow anyone to drink water from the well and then says (624).

(624) *aŋan rəŋna manʔca iaw*

[aŋ] =an {rəŋ} =na {manʔ-ca} [i] =aw
 1s =FC/ID drink =DAT be.able-NEG PRX =ACC
 'Even I cannot drink this [water].'

Example (625) comes from a story in which a group of brothers go into the jungle to hunt a giant eagle. They meet an old man who says that they are only fit to shoot the eagle if they can smoke his tobacco. But the tobacco is so strong that none of the brothers can smoke it. One of the brothers exclaims (625).

(625) *niŋdo kawna manʔcawa udo*

[niŋ] =do {kaw} =na {manʔ-ca -wa} [u] =do
 1pe =TOP shoot =DAT be.able-NEG -FACT DST=TOP
 'We will not be able to shoot that [eagle].'

When a non-negated main verb is marked by the factitive it can be interpreted as an event that happened in the past. This is not surprising if one were to state that a reified event is something that must already have occurred in order to be a fact. When people meet on the road, they usually ask where you have come from and do this with a factitive-marked predicate. The reply will also be factitive-marked. Example (626) is illustrative of such a conversation on the road.

(626) “*bisaŋ reʔeŋwa naʔa?*” “*turaŋ reʔeŋwa.*”

[bi]=saŋ {reʔeŋ -wa} [naʔa]
 QF =MOB go.away -FACT 2s
 [tura] =saŋ {reʔeŋ -wa}
 Pname =MOB go.away -FACT

Literally: “From where have [you] left, oh you?!” “[I] have left from Tura.”
 Alternatively: “Where do you come from?” “I come from Tura.”

Not all occurrences of non-negated factitive-marked main clause predicates have to be interpreted as having past time reference. The usual way to say what you are called in Atong is with the predicate marked by the factitive suffix, as we see in (627). The verb in the predicate, *məŋ*- ‘to call someone/something a name’, is factitive-marked and has no past time interpretation. The predicate just states a fact.

(627) *aŋmi bimun Samrat məŋwa.*

[*aŋ*=*mi* *bimun*] [*Samrat*] {*məŋ* _____ -*wa*}
 1s =GEN name Samrat call.a.name -FACT
 ‘[One] calls my name Samrat.’ ‘Alternatively: ‘My name is called Samrat.’

In the next example a factitive-marked predicate is contrasted with a customary aspect-marked predicate. The predicate in (628) refers to an event which may take place in general and its object is non-referential, whereas in (629) we see that the factitive makes the situation more concrete, that the event is interpreted as having past time reference, and that, in this case, the object can be interpreted as referential and can hence take the accusative suffix <=*aw*> (ACC).

(628) *may saʔama?*

[*may*] {*saʔ* -*a*} =*ma*
 rice eat -CUST =Q
 ‘Do [you] eat rice (in general)?’

(629) *may saʔwama?*

[*may*] =*aw* {*saʔ* -*wa*} =*ma*
 rice =ACCEat -FACT =Q
 ‘Did [you] eat the rice (which was provided for you)?’

Example (635) below comes from a story about a fox and a deer. This sentence can be translated into English with a past time interpretation, using the past tense, or with a present time interpretation, using the present tense. In Atong there is no tense, so that nothing makes you have to choose between one or the other temporal interpretation. A story, like the one about the deer and the fox, which does not explicitly refer to a certain time by using time words or other lexical means, can always be translated in

English using either the past tense or present tense. My consultants use past and present tense in English indiscriminately when translating their language in cases when there is no explicit temporal reference. This can indicate that they don't know, or are not aware of the difference between the past and present tense in English, or that they do not care, since the story makes sense no matter how you translate it.

The factitive also occurs in combination with the irrealis clausal enclitic *<=cəm>* (IRR) or the speculative modality enclitic *<=khon>* (SPEC). The irrealis and speculative enclitics occur exclusively on main clause predicates. The irrealis also co-occurs with the customary aspect suffix *<-a>* (CUST). The customary aspect and factitive suffixes are mutually exclusive. The temporal reference interpretation of factitive and irrealis- and factitive and speculative-marked predicates depends on polarity for negated verbs and on the meaning of the verb and the context for non-negated verbs, as described above. In example (630) the interpretation of the factitive and irrealis-marked predicate is of past time reference and in (631) of present time reference, but there is nothing in the verbal forms that indicates this reading.

(630) *raw?na bakwacəm ətəkciba man?anca*

[*raw?*] =*nal* {*bak -wa*} =*cəm* *ətəkciba* {*man?* -*an* -*ca*}
 catch =DAT try -FACT =IRR but be.able-REF -NEG
 'He attempted to catch it in vain, but he could not.'

(631) *aŋna daygaba ni?wacəm.*

[[*aŋ*] =*na* {*day*} =*gaba*] {*ni?* -*wa*} =*cəm*
 1s =DAT be.bigger=ATTR not.exist -FACT=IRR
 'There is supposedly no one greater than me.' Alternatively: 'There cannot be anyone greater than me' (i.e. it is unimaginable).

The only occurrence of a factitive and speculative-marked predicate is presented in example (632).

(632) *naŋ?təmdo nukcawakhonay.*

[*naŋ?-təm*] =*do* {*nuk -ca -wa*} =*khon* =*ay*
 2pe -ppp =TOP see -NEG -FACT =SPEC =POS
 'You^p might not see (the eagle) at all!'

A factitive-marked main clause predicate can take the topic enclitic <=do> (TOP) and the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) as is illustrated with the next examples. In (633) we see the intransitive verb *kəɾəŋ* ‘to (make a) sound’ with the factitive suffix and the topic enclitic. The context from which this example is taken is as follows. The fox wants to play on the king’s drum but the deer, who is guarding it, says that it is not possible. The king’s drum makes a very special sound, says the deer.

(633) “*haʔnəŋʔ tarəŋ cinina iməŋ kəɾəŋwado rajami dama*” *noaydoŋano*.

[*haʔ nəŋʔ tarəŋ ci ni*] =*na* [*i*] =*məŋ* {*kəɾəŋ -wa*} =*do*
 earth inside layer TEN two =DAT PRX =ABL sound -FACT =TOP

[*raja =mi dama*] {*no-aydoŋa*} =*no*
 king =GENdrum say -PROG =QUOT

“‘The king’s drum sounds from here to the twelve layers of the earth’s inside’,
 [the deer] is saying, it is said.

In example (634) the first clause indicates the topical event, of which has been spoken in the two preceding clauses as well, and the second clause a comment which is also the conclusion of the paragraph. The two co-ordinated main clauses are in a contrastive relationship, due to the semantics of both clauses.

(634) *sangumuk diŋgarayi sawado, niʔwanoro naʔba*

[*sani*] =*gumuk* [*diŋgaray*] {*sa* _____ *-wa*} =*do*
 day =whole fish.trap put.as.trap -FACT =TOP

{*niʔ -wa*} =*no* =*ro* [*naʔ*] =*ba*
 not.exist -FACT =QUOT =EMPH fish =EMPH

‘[He] put up fish traps the whole day, [but] there was no fish.’

The following example comes from the story about the deer and the fox. The fox and the deer are friends. The deer has stolen a pack of biscuits from a Bengali. The two friends went to a beautiful place on the riverside to take a bath and eat the biscuits together. But the deer deceives the fox by eating all the biscuits alone while the fox is bathing. The example contains a complex predicate consisting of a repetition of the same verb (see §22.6). The factitive-marked main verb is focused by the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID).

(635) *pheru rəpwa rəpwaci magacak saʔwaan.*

[pheru]{*rəp -wa* *rəp -wa*} =ci [magacak] {*saʔ -wa*} =***an***
 fox bathe-FACT bathe-FACT =LOC deer eat -FACT =FC/ID
 ‘When the fox was/is bathing and bathing, the deer ate/eats.’

24.2 The factitive on Type 1 adjectives

Type 1 adjectives are a subclass of verb and indicate qualities. The main characteristic that sets Type 1 adjectives apart from other verbs is the reinforcing interpretation that the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak> (COS) can have on the meaning denoted by these adjectives when they are used predicatively.⁴⁸

The factitive suffix is not widely attested on Type 1 adjectives. In the instances that this suffix is attested, it always occurs in contexts where one cannot have any other interpretation than that it denotes emphatic reinforcement of the quality denoted by the Type 1 adjective. One such instance is presented in example (636) from a story about a child and a giant eagle. A very small prodigious child, actually a newly born baby, is walking through the jungle in search of his brothers when he meets an old woman. He talks to the old woman to get her attention. So the old woman tries to look for a person but sees nobody. This is because the child is very small, as is stated by the narrator in (636). The factitive suffix is stressed by a pronunciation in falsetto voice and a very long vowel /a/ as can be seen in the IPA transcription of the predicate. This intensified pronunciation of the factitive suffix intensifies its emphatic reinforcement function on the Type 1 adjective.

(636) *saʔgəray məlwə [məlwā] hagəlsakno isəŋ ganəŋno.*

[saʔgəray] {*məl -wā*} [hagəlsak] =no [i] =səŋ {ganəŋ} =no
 child small-FACT interj =QUOT PRX =LOC exist =QUOT
 ‘A very small child indeed, my goodness, it is said, is here, it is said.’

⁴⁸ It should be noted that the change of state interpretation of the suffix <-ok ~ -ak> (COS) is also possible on Type 1 adjectives, depending on the context.

In the next example the predicative Type 1 adjective is functioning as a main clause predicate. This example comes from a song about a beautiful girl. The singer, Wilseng S Marak, wants to emphasise how beautiful she is and uses the factitive on the predicative Type 1 adjective and in addition to that he adds the emphatic positive clausal enclitic $\leq ay \geq$ (POS) for extra emphasis.

(637) [...] *naŋʔ bimaŋ səlwaʔay*.

[<i>naŋʔ</i>	<i>bimaŋ</i>]	{ <i>səl</i>	<i>-wa</i> }	<i>=ay</i> .
2s	appearance/body	beautiful	-FACT	=POS
'your appearance/body is very beautiful indeed'				

24.3 Factitive-marked complement clauses

This section treats factitive-marked complement clauses. One could argue that the factitive morpheme has the function of clausal nominaliser on subordinate clauses, whereas it is a modality marker on main clauses. However, as we will see in section 24.4.3, these two functions are not very clearly separable. Moreover, factitive-marked clauses have almost no nominal properties, except the possibility to be case-marked, although the number of cases attested on factitive-marked clauses is very limited, as we shall see below.

Factitive-marked complement clauses only occur in S and O function, just like dative-marked complement clauses treated in Chapter 27. Complement clauses in S and O function are treated in separate sections. The first section also treats some of the characteristics of factitive lexicalisations.

24.3.1 Factitive-marked object complement clauses and nominalisation

The phasal verbs *macot*- 'to complete/finish an activity', *jam*- 'to complete, finish', which are Primary-B verbs, and the Secondary verb *daŋʔ*- 'to enter (into a state)',⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The verb *daŋʔ*- 'to enter' is intransitive. The thing that one enters into is marked with the locative $\leq ci \geq$ (LOC) or mobilitative $\leq saŋ \geq$ (MOB) e.g. *təy naŋʔ=səŋ daŋʔ-aŋ-ok=no* (water inside=MOB enter=AWAY-COS=QUOT) '[he] entered into to water, it is said' and *u=ci-an soŋ=ci daŋʔ-ok*

take factitive-marked complement clauses as O argument as we can see in, (638), (639) and (640) respectively.

(638) *may saʔwa jamkhuca.*

[[*may*] {*saʔ* -*wa*}]_O {*jam* -*khu* -*ca*}
 rice eat -FACT finish -INCOM-NEG
 '[I] have not finished eating rice yet.'

(639) *ucian aŋa naŋʔaw nukjərərɥwacian naŋʔna khaʔgalwa daŋʔok.*

[*ucian*][*naŋʔ*]_O =*aw* {*nuk* -*jərərɥ* -*wa*} =*ci* =*an*
 then 2s =ACC see -DAILY -FACT =LOC=FC/ID

[[*naŋʔ*]=*na* {*khaʔgal* -*wa*}]_O {*daŋʔ* -*ok*}
 2s =DAT to.love -FACT enter -COS

'Then, when [I] saw you every day, [I] started loving you.' Alternatively: '[I] entered into the state of loving you.'

No factitive-marked object complement clause has been recorded which has a different implied subject (S/A) from that of the matrix clause. It has to be investigated through future fieldwork whether or not there is a pivot constraint that prohibits this clause type from having a different subject from the matrix clause, like dative-marked complement clauses (see §27.2.1) and purpose clauses (see §27.2.3).

In example (640) we see a factitive-marked complement clause functioning as O argument of the matrix verb *macot*- 'to finish'. Even though no overt A arguments are expressed in either the complement or the matrix clause, the implied arguments in both clauses have to be co-referential. In this example the implied argument of the subordinate verb, *cal*- 'to sow by making a hole in the ground with a stick and putting a seed into it', and the verb of the matrix clause, *macot*- 'to finish', is *aboŋ* 'corn'. The matrix clause with the predicate *macot*- 'to finish' is subordinate to the main

(DST=LOC=FC/ID village=LOC enter-COS) 'then [they] entered the village'. This verb takes factitive complement clauses only when the meaning is extended to 'enter into a state'.

clause with the predicate *kay-* ‘to plant’, i.e. not embedded, not governed, but functioning as a modifier to the main clause (see 28.2).

(640) *calmanwa macotwamuṇsa may kay?ceṇa.*

[[cal -man -wa]_O {macot-wa}| =muṇ =sal
sow -ALREADY -FACT finish -FACT =SEQ =DLIM

[may] {kay? -ceṇ -a}
rice plant -FIRST -CUST

‘Only after sowing is finished is the rice planted first.’

Factitive object complement clauses with arguments are not attested with accusative marking on the clause, which is a good indication that the clause is not nominalised, because the accusative is a phrasal and not a clausal enclitic. Accusative marking is attested only when the factitive-marked derivations are lexicalised and therefore have more nominal properties. The following example, in which we find the lexicalised object nominalisation *sa?-wa* (eat-FACT) ‘food’, is illustrative.

(641) *ətəkəymuna pankambayci pəwaymuna ətəkəy sa?khucano sa?waawdo.*

ətəkəymuna [pan kambay] =ci {pəw =ay =muna [ətəkəy]
so.then tree top =LOC fly =ADV =SEQ like.this

{sa? -khu -ca} =no [sa? -wa] =aw =do
eat -INCOM-NEG =QUOT eat -FACT =ACC=TOP

‘So then, having flown up in the treetop like this, [the crow] had not yet eaten [it], it is said, the food.’

As was mentioned in §24.3, the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) sometimes competes with the construction in which a clause of which the predicate is carrying the factitive suffix is followed by the genitive/nominaliser enclitic <=mi ~ =məṇ> (GEN/NR) to derive lexical nominalisations from verbs, i.e. nouns denoting physical objects. In the same text from which example (641) is taken, where the word meaning ‘food’ is derived from the verb *sa?-* ‘to eat’ by means of the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT), we also find the meaning ‘food’ derived from a clause with the same verb by means of the factitive-plus-nominaliser-enclitic construction <-wa=mi> (FACT=NR). The latter derivation is given in (642).

(642) *pheru nuksegaakno saʔwamiaw.*

[pheru] {nuk -sega -ak} =no [saʔ -wal] =mi =aw
 fox see -ALT -COS =QUOT eat -FACT =NR =ACC
 'The fox saw [it] this time, the food.'

Since $\langle =mi \sim =mən \rangle$ (NR) is also used to derive action/state nominalisations from verbs, the word *saʔ-wa=mi* (eat-FACT=NR) can also refer to the act of eating, as is illustrated in the next example. In that example the storyteller describes what the main character of the story sees when he looks at his potato garden in the morning after a horse has eaten the plants.

An alternative analysis of this example is to treat *saʔ-wa* (eat-FACT) as a factitive-marked lexicalisation and the morpheme $\langle =mən \rangle$ to be the genitive, since the postposition *gəmən* 'reason' requires the preceding NP to take the genitive case marker (see §13.3). Cases where clauses are nominalised by the enclitic $\langle =mi \sim =mən \rangle$ (NR) are followed by the genitive, so as to have two of the same morphemes in a row, has not been recorded.

(643) *una aludaraŋaw rədamabutuy sokaw saʔwaməŋgəmən teʔew manap caywacido gumukan cokrūmokno.*

una [alu] =daraŋ =aw [[{rədam -a -abutuy} [sok] =aw
 then potato =p =ACC sprout -TOWARDS -WHILE sprout =ACC
 [saʔ -wa =mən gəmən]
 eat -FACT =NR/GEN reason
 [[teʔew] [manap] {cay -wa} =ci =do
 now morning look -FACT =LOC=TOP
 [gumukan] {cok -rum -ok} =no
 all rip.off -ALL -COS=QUOT

'Then, the potatoes, because of the eating of the sprouts while [they] were sprouting, when [he] now looked in the morning, were all torn off, it is said.'

Alternative free translation: 'When he looked in the morning at the potatoes, he saw that they were all ripped off because the young leaves had been eaten while they were sprouting, it is said.'

The derivations *saʔwami* ~ *saʔwaməŋ* and *saʔwa* meaning 'food' are used to refer to food in a very general way. More fieldwork is needed to find out which nominal properties factitive derivations have. The fact that factitive-marked verbs can still be

modified by adverbial clauses, as we can see in example (648), means that they are not fully nominal, since NPs cannot be modified by adverbial clauses. The derivations with the clausal enclitic $\leq mi \sim m\emptyset\eta \rangle$ (NR) do have all nominal properties. It seems that in the case of examples (641) and (642) both derivations have exactly the same meaning even though they are derived with different morphemes. In every-day speech the different derivations $sa\lambda wami \sim sa\lambda wam\emptyset\eta$ and $sa\lambda wa$ are used side by side, in what appears to be the same contexts, to denote ‘food’.

Lexicalised factitive nominalisations occur with one other phrasal enclitic, viz. $\leq gumuk \rangle$ ‘all, whole’. Example (644) illustrates this phenomenon. From the material gathered in the corpus, it seems that factitive lexicalisations have a limited ability to take nominal derivational morphology but further fieldwork is required to investigate their precise morphological properties.

(644) *bətwagumuk khayrataysa macota*

$[b\emptyset t \ -wa] \leq gumuk \{khay \quad -rat\} \quad =ay \quad =sa$
 pull -FACT =whole carry.on.body -DOWNWARD=ADV =DLIM
 $\{macot-a\}$
 finish -CUST
 ‘[They] finish by carrying the whole harvest down (on their body).’

When a factitive-marked clause functions as the complement clause of a verb of emotion and interaction (see §4.5.1ii), it has to take the dative enclitic $\leq na \rangle$ (DAT), as we can see in examples (645) and (646). As can be seen in example (645), which is elicited, speakers find it acceptable to mark the predicate head of the complement clause for modality with an inflectional suffix, in this case the uncertain future modality suffix $\leq ni \rangle$ (FUT). Modality marking with inflectional suffixes on factitive complement clauses has not been recorded in narratives or spontaneous conversation.

(645) *muŋma aŋaw gaʔphənekniwana kəreya.*

$[[muŋma] \ [aŋ] =aw \ \{gaʔphənek \ -ni \ -wa\} \leq na \mid \{kəɾəy \ -a\}$
 elephant 1s =ACC stamp.to.death-FUT-FACT =DAT be.afraid -CUST
 ‘[I]’m afraid an elephant will stamp me to death.’

Factitive- and dative-marked object complement clauses are formally, but not semantically or syntactically, similar to Reason clauses (described in §27.1.1). The complement clause is functioning as a core argument within the matrix clause and is thus governed by the predicate, while the Reason clause is an adjunct and is thus a modifying clause. Both factitive-marked clause types take the dative case enclitic $\leq na$ (DAT) and both clause types are dependent. The semantic and syntactic difference between the Reason adjunct and the factitive-marked complement clause is caused by the semantics of the matrix clause predicate. The following two examples are illustrations of a factitive-and-dative marked complement clause and a Reason adjunct respectively. The valency of verbs of emotion and interaction, like *kəre-* ‘to fear’ in (646), is discussed in §4.5.1ii. The delimitative in (647) is optional and can also occur on adjunct clauses such as (646).

(646) *morot təywana kərea.*

$[[\text{morot}]_{\text{person}} \text{die} \text{-FACT}] \leq na \{kəre-a\}_{\text{fear -CUST}}$
 ‘I fear the person’s death.’ Alternatively: ‘I’m afraid the person will die.’

(647) *ue təygat rəṇwanasa ue təykhawə rəṇdəṇ məṇwano.*

$[[\text{ue} \text{təygat}]_{\text{DST water.place}} \text{drink-FACT}]_{\text{REASON}} \leq na \leq sa$
 $[\text{ue} \text{təykhə}]_{\text{DST river}} =aw =e [\text{rəṇdəṇ}]_{\text{Rname call.a.name}} \{məṇ \text{-wa}\}_{\text{-FACT}} =no$
 ‘Because [they] drunk from that water place, [they] named that river Rongdyng, it is said.’

Multiple embedding is possible with factitive-marked complement clauses just as with other types of nominalisation. The following example shows a factitive-marked clause embedded in a headless complex NP (i.e. an NP of which the head, which is modified by an attributive clause, is ellipsed) which is in turn embedded in a main clause. This example also illustrates that factitive-marked clauses, like verbs, can be modified by adverbial clauses. The adverbial clause *rəm-ay* (cook=ADV) modifies *saʔ-wa* (eat-FACT).

- (648) *gasamci rəmay saʔwa jamcagabaaw naweŋpara kumiriparae garan bawʔay tanoknokhon.*

-----arch NP-----
 -----attributive clause-----
 -----complement clause-----
 [gasam] =ci [| {rəmə} =ay {saʔ -wa} |_O {jam -ca} | =gaba] _O =aw
 evening =LOC cook =ADV eat -FACT finish -NEG =ATTR =ACC
 [naweŋ=para kumiri] _A =para=e {garan baw} =ay
 Pname =&co Pname =&co =FC jerky make.jerky=ADV
 {tan -ok} =no =khon
 put -COS =QUOT =SPEC

‘It might be the case that in the evening Naweng and Kumiri (in each other’s company), put [the food which they] had not finished eating cooked [above the fire] to make jerky, it is said.’ Literally, Naweng and Kumiri jerky-makingly put [the food above the fire].’

Elicitation has shown that factitive-marked complement clauses cannot be pluralised, i.e. cannot take the plural enclitic <=daraŋ> (p). This has to do with the fact that this clause type is not a prototypical nominalisation in the sense that it does not have all the nominal properties. More fieldwork is needed to find out if lexicalised factitive nominalisations can be pluralised although they do not occur in the recorded data. It might well be that even lexicalised factitive nominalisations do not have the full array of nominal properties and that the action/state nominaliser enclitic <=wami ~ =waməŋ> (NR) is upcoming as a derivational morpheme of object nouns from verbs in addition to its function as action state nominaliser.

24.3.2 Factitive-marked subject complement clauses

The factitive is used to mark the predicate of complement clauses in S function in matrix clauses with a Type 1 adjective as predicate, as is illustrated in examples (649) and (650) below. This is in contrast to the small group of verbs, treated in the paragraph above that can take complement clauses in O function.

- (649) *morot dəkəmcɪ tokwa gaʔca.*

[morot] [dəkəmcɪ] =ci {tok -wa} _S {gaʔ -ca}
 person head =LOC hit -FACT good-NEG
 ‘Hitting a person on the head is not good.’

(650) *jəksaŋ rayʔsəraŋcaka. sala! jalpəraŋwaan nemnaka aŋa, sala!*

[jək] =saŋ {rayʔ -səraŋ -ca -ka} sala
 spouse =MOB go -COMPLETELY -NEG -IFT interj

!{jal -pəraŋ -wa}!s =an {nem-naka} [aŋa][sala]
 run.away-WITHOUT.DESTINATION -FACT =FC good -IFT 1s interj

‘[I] will not go back to my wives at all, damn! Running away without destination will certainly be good that damn!’

One secondary verb has been recorded with both dative and factitive complement clauses. This is the verb *gaʔa*- ‘to be compelled’. In Text 2 line 58 we find an example with a factitive complement clause and an example with a dative complement clause is shown in (758).

24.3.3 The syntactic status of factitive-marked complement clauses

Factitive-marked complement clauses, with the exclusion of dative-marked complements of verbs of emotion and interaction, are formally the same as independent or main clause factitive-marked predicates, as we will see in the examples below. Moreover, case marking and argument structure in this type of complement clause are the same as in main clauses. Since factitive-marked complement clauses can occur as independent clauses forming a sentence on their own, they are not dependent on a matrix clause for their occurrence. However, since the complement clause does function as core argument, and is thus governed by the predicate in the matrix clause, it is subordinate. It is worth quoting Christian Lehmann (2007).

If the term ‘asyndesis’⁵⁰ is applied to verbal expressions (verbal sentences and clauses), it presupposes their finiteness. This is because a non-finite verb form signals its syntactic dependence morphologically. As a consequence,

⁵⁰ The term ‘asyndesis’ means that there is a lack of morphological marking. In the case of the type of clause type under discussion there is no morphological marking that signals its subordination.

subordination can be diagnosed under conditions of asyndesis only for intrinsic interpropositional relations, as in E22.

E22. I thought you were younger.

Here the valency of the verb in the first clause forces the analysis of the second clause as a subordinate one.

In Atong, it is the semantics of the sentence that forces the analysis of the first clause as being its complement and therefore subordinate.

Let us look at a set of examples that demonstrate the independent status of the factitive-marked complement clause. In example (651) we see a factitive-marked complement clause is S function in a matrix clause. In (652) we see that this same clause can stand alone as a sentence.

(651) *ninba ətakəy takwa gaʔnima?*

||*nin*||_S =*ba* ||*ətakəy*|| {*tak* -*wa*}|_S {*gaʔ* -*ni*} =*ma*
 1_{pe} =ADD like.that do -FACT be.good -FUT=Q
 'Will our doing like that be good?'

(652) *ninba ətakəy takwa.*

||*nin*||_S =*ba* ||*ətakəy*|| {*tak* -*wa*}
 1_{pe} =ADD like.that do -FACT
 'We also did like that.'

24.4 Factitive-marked clauses with dative and locative case-marking

Factitive-marked clauses with dative and locative case marking cannot occur as a clause on their own and are thus dependent on a matrix clause for their appearance. Factitive-marked adjunct clauses occur with various semantic roles, viz. Standard of Comparison (dative-marked), Temporal Location (locative-marked) and Facsimile (perlative/similative-marked). The various types of adjuncts will be treated one by one in this order.

24.4.1 Factitive-marked Standard of comparison and Comparee clauses

The Standard of comparison and the Comparee in an event comparison are factitive-marked clauses. As is discussed in Chapter 27, Standard of comparison clauses take the dative enclitic $\leq na \gt$ (DAT), of which example (751), repeated below for convenience as (653), is illustrative. There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments in the Standard of comparison clause and the main clause. This is illustrated in Chapter 27 by comparing examples (751) and (752). The dative case functions as mark of the Standard of comparison clause just as it does on Standard of comparison NPs.

The Comparee NP is also a factitive-marked clause and is always marked by the focus/identifier enclitic $\leq an \gt$ (FC/ID). The syntactic function of the Comparee is S and thus it is a complement clause of the verb *nem*- ‘be good’ which functions as the Parameter. Since factitive-marked main clauses can also occur with the focus/identifier enclitic $\leq an \gt$ (FC/ID), of which example (635) is illustrative, this complement clause, like the others treated above, represents a case of asyndetic subordination (see §24.3.3).

(653) *umi gəməŋci aŋa naŋʔaw khəmana dayaydo asetwaan nemkhalnaka.*

	STANDARD			-----MARK-----		
<i>umigəməŋci</i>	<i>[aŋa]_A</i>	<i>[naŋʔ]_S</i>	<i>=aw</i>	<i>{khəmə -a⁵¹}</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>{day}</i>
therefore	1s	2s	=ACC	marry -FACT	=DAT	be.bigger=ADV
	-----COMPAREE-----			PARAMETER	INDEX	
	<i>{aset</i>	<i>-wa_S}</i>	<i>=an</i>	<i>{nem</i>	<i>-khal</i>	<i>-naka}</i>
	throw.away/dispose	-FACT	=FC/ID	good	-CP	-IFT
‘Therefore [it] will certainly be much better to throw [you] away than to be married to you.’						

The following example illustrates the use of the dative enclitic on the NP *khasi khuʔcuk* ‘Khasi language’ functioning as Standard of comparison. This example also

⁵¹ The form of the factitive suffix in this example is $\leq -a \gt$ due to the phonological rule that the /w/ elides when the verbal root or stem ends in /m/ or /p/ (see Chapter 2).

illustrates that nominal Comparee NPs do not need to take the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) as do clausal Comparees.

(654) *khasi khu?cukna dayay atong khu?cuk rakkhala*

STANDARD	-----MARK-----	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	INDEX
[<i>khasi khu?cuk</i>] <u>=na</u> { <i>day</i> }	=ay	[<i>atong khu?cuk</i>] { <i>rak</i>		- <i>khal -a</i> }
Khasi language =DATbe.bigger=ADV		Atong language hard		-CP -CUST
The Atong language is more difficult than the Khasi language.				

24.4.2 Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the dative case

Factitive-marked clauses can be dative-marked to fulfil an adjunct function in a clause. The following semantic roles of dative-marked adjunct clauses can be distinguished: Standard of comparison and Reason. Reason clauses are described in §27.1. It is interesting to note that nouns can also function as predicate head of a reason clause. The function of the factitive on nominal predicate heads is to mark them as predicate.

24.4.3 Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the locative case

Factitive-marked clauses can be locative-marked to fulfil the adjunct function of Temporal Location. This adjunct clause type is discussed in §27.5. In that section, factitive-marked temporal adjunct clauses are contrasted with temporal adjuncts without the factitive suffix, but with the locative encliticised directly to the root of the verb. It is shown that the function of the factitive suffix is the same as that on main clause predicates, i.e. reification, presenting the event denoted by the verb as a fact.

24.4.4 Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the similitive case

Factitive-marked clauses can take the perlative/similitive enclitic <-*təkəyi* ~ -*takay* ~ -*takəy*> (LIKE) (see §20.9), illustrated in (655) here below. In all recorded instances the factitive-marked clauses with this suffix were Facsimile NPss and not Pathways. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out if it is possible for factitive-marked clauses to occur as Pathway. There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments of the Facsimile clause and those of the main clause.

- (655)
- ian maja nanʔbalwatəkəy deʔtheŋ gam jamok*

[i] =an [maja] [nanʔ] {bal -wa} =**təkəy**

PRX =FC/ID in.the.past 2s say -FACT =LIKE

[deʔtheŋ gam] {jam -ok}

3s wealth finish -COS

‘This [is] like you said in the past, his wealth has finished.’

24.5 Factitive-marked complement clause of postposition

The limitative postpositions *dabat* (LIMIT), *gəməŋ* ‘reason, about’ and *kənsaŋ* ‘after’ require verbal complements to be marked with the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT).

Example (656) is illustrative of a complement clause of the postposition *dabat* (LIMIT). The postpositions *gəməŋ* ‘reason, about’ and *kənsaŋ* ‘after’ govern the genitive, hence the occurrence of the enclitic <=məŋ> (GEN) on the complement clauses in (657) and (658).

- (656)
- ətəkəyməŋ jaraw jaraw geʔtheŋ sokwa dabatdo sakcikaydoŋano pheruba.*

ətəkəyməŋ [jaraw jaraw] [geʔtheŋ] [{sok -wa} **dabat**] =do

so.then LONG RED 3s not.hold.out -FACT LIMIT =TOP

{sak -cik -aydoŋa} =no [pheru] =ba

hold.out -AS.LONG.AS.YOU.CAN-PROG =QUOT fox =EMPH

‘So then, for a long time, until he did not hold out any longer, [he] was holding out as long as he could, it is said, the fox.’

- (657)
- ronḡdəŋ təykhal haʔwayci muʔwamigəməŋsa ronḡdəŋ haʔway noay məŋwano.*

[[ronḡdəŋ təykhal haʔway] =ci {muʔ-wa} =**mi** **gəməŋ**]

RIVER.name river plain =LOC stay -FACT =GEN reason

[ronḡdəŋ haʔway] {no} =ay {məŋ -wa} =no

Pname say =ADV call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘Because they live in the plains of the river Rongdyng, [they] sayingly call [the village] Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said.’

- (658) *nok rəphiwaməŋ kənsaŋdo teʔew geʔthey nokawan alaga morotdaraŋdo teŋcəpcəpay nukariokno.*

[[*nok*] {*rəphi -wa*} =*məŋ kənsaŋ*] =*do*
house plaster -FACT =GEN after =TOP

[*teʔew*][*geʔthey nok*] =*aw =an*
now 3s house =ACC=FC/ID

[*alaga morot*] =*dəraŋ=do* {*teŋ -cəpcəp*} =*ay* {*nuk -ari -ok*} =*no*
other person =p =TOP shine -ALL.OVER =ADV see -SIMP -COS =QUOT

‘After the plastering of the house, now other people found his house just shiny all over, it is said.’ (Because he had plastered it with a mix of cow dung and gold flakes.)

Postpositions are treated in detail in Chapter 1.

24.6 Summary of properties of factitive-marked clauses

The factitive suffix clearly functions as a modality suffix on main clause predicates and can be seen as a clausal nominaliser on subordinate clauses. However, factitive-marked clauses have no nominal properties, except for the fact that they can be case-marked, and the number of attested cases on subordinate clauses is very limited, viz. dative (Standard of comparison, Reason), locative (Temporal Location) and perlative/similative (Facsimile; Pathway not attested).

The difference between the modality function and the nominalising function of <-wa> (FACT) is clearest when we compare main clauses and complement clauses. Complement clauses refer to actions or states, depending on the semantics of the verb, while main clauses do not. By contrasting factitive-marked with non-factitive-marked Temporal Location adjunct clauses, we see that the role of the factitive is the same as in main clauses, viz. reification, presenting the event denoted by the verb as a fact. This means that, although the factitive was probably once a nominaliser in an earlier stage of the language, it has developed in the direction of a modality marker, although it still preserves a hint of its old nominalising function.

There are some lexicalised object nominalisations with the factitive suffix, but it appears that these do not possess all nominal properties. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the differences are between factitive lexicalisations and object nominalisations with the enclitic <=*wami* ~ =*waməŋ*> (NR).

Factitive-marked Reason clauses can have a noun as predicate head. If the factitive suffix were not there, they could not be interpreted as Reason adjuncts since nouns cannot fulfil this function, only clauses can. Dative marked nouns can be Patient, Recipient, Beneficiary, Experiencer, Goal, and Standard of comparison. The factitive on nouns thus indicates that the noun functions as a predicate. This is not converse to the function of the factitive on subordinate clauses with verbal predicates, since it is not the factitive but the case marker that indicates that the clause is used as adjunct. Factitive-marked predicates without case can occur as main clause on their own, but a predicate head that is case-marked cannot. Table 67 presents a schematic summary of the different functions of the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) on different types of predicates with and without case marking.

Table 67 The functions of the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) on different types of predicates with and without case marking

	on verbal predicates			on nominal predicates
	NO CASE MARKER		WITH CASE MARKER	
CLAUSE TYPE	independent/main clauses	governed subordinate clauses in S or O function, i.e. complement clauses or complement of postposition	modifying subordinate clauses in adjunct function to a matrix clause	modifying subordinate clause in adjunct function to a matrix clause
FUNCTION	reification modality	clausal nominaliser/reification modality	modality marker, nominaliser	marker of predication
SEMANTIC ROLE AS ADJUNCT			Reason, Standard of comparison, Temporal Location, Facsimile	Reason

24.7 Diachronic note

No internal reconstruction of Atong has thus far been attempted let alone historical comparison with other languages of the Bodo-Koch group. Therefore, any diachronic statement about the language is highly speculative. However, it is important to note that, although it may be probable that the morpheme <-wa> (FACT) historically derives from the Proto Tibeto-Burman nominaliser **pa*, it does not serve as a nominaliser in main clauses in the current stage of Atong but rather as a modality

suffix of reification, i.e. indicating that the event denoted by the verb is a fact. This modality function has spread to locative adjunct clauses as we can see in §27.5. The nominalising function of the factitive suffix is still preserved in other semantic types of subordinate clauses and lexicalised object nominalisations. It is conceivable that a main clause predicate marked with <-wa> (FACT) could once have been considered a stand-alone nominalisation in the sense of Matisoff (1972: 246) and Noonan (1997: 380-1), but this stage has clearly come to an end.

Chapter 25 Event specifiers

Atong has a wide variety of event specifiers. Due to limitations of space, they cannot all be treated in this grammar. Therefore, this chapter simply provides an overview of the event specifiers recorded to date. Some examples of the use of event specifiers will be given as illustration.

25.1 The function of event specifiers

Event specifiers are predicate head suffixes that give information about how the state or event depicted by the predicate comes about. These suffixes may also simply reinforce the meaning of the predicate. A verbal predicate head can take more than one event specifier suffix. Type 2 adjectival and nominal predicate heads with more than one event specifier are not attested. The event specifiers seem to appear in a semantically motivated order, the suffixes that come later having scope over those preceding. Event specifiers are Echelon 1 column 2 suffixes (see Table 63) and can co-occur with all other types of suffixes in the suffixal string of the predicate head, as long as the result of the combination is semantically felicitous. As has been mentioned in Chapter 22, the order of the suffixes within Echelon 1 is not fixed but varies. There is, however, a strong tendency for the suffixes to appear in the order in which they are depicted in Table 63.

The combinatory possibilities of event specifiers with predicate heads depend on the semantics of the head and the suffix. Some event specifiers have a very specific meaning and a semantically felicitous combination can only be made with a select group of verbs. Other event specifiers can be used on almost any verb and even with Type 2 adjectives and nouns, because their meaning is less specific.

As has been illustrated in Chapter 18, certain event specifiers participate in the process of word class changing derivation, bestowing verbal properties on the non-verbal predicate head they attach to. More fieldwork is needed to find out exactly which event specifiers participate in this grammatical process and exactly what verbal properties they can and cannot transfer to a non-verbal predicate head.

25.2 Origin and meaning differentiation

Some event specifiers correspond to verbs, nouns and adverbs which are found in the language as separate lexical items. This suggests that event specifiers are the result of grammaticalisation through compounding and reanalysis (see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 32-62). Event specifiers have lost part of the meaning that they had as lexical items and came to have a more abstract meaning. The event specifier *-taw* ‘V upwards’, for instance, is homophonous to the verbal root *taw* ‘to go up, ascend’, and the event specifier *-phak* ‘V in half lengthwise, V lengthwise, V and go through lengthwise, V by the side of something, V side by side’ has a nominal cognate form *phak* ‘half (the result of a longitudinal cut)’. In example (659) we see the morpheme *taw* function as the verb ‘to go up, ascend’, contrasting with its semantic counterpart *wəl-* ‘to descend’. In (660) we see the same form functioning as event specifier.

(659) *rayʔsotwae tawaŋaymu ue gripnok⁵² hamgabatəkəysa wəlaŋthiriokno.*

[*rayʔ-sot* *-wa*] =*e* {*taw* *-aŋ*} =*ay* =*mu*
go -DIRECTLY -FACT =FC ascend -AWAY =ADV =SEQ

[*ue* *grip* *nok* *ham* =*gaba*] =*təkəy* =*sa*
DST Name house build =ATTR =VIA =DLIM

{*wəl* *-aŋ* *-thiri* *-ok*} =*no*
descend -AWAY -AGAIN -COS =QUOT

‘Having gone up the shortcut, [he] descended again via the G.R.E.E.F. house, which is built [there]’

⁵² *Grip* is the Atong pronunciation of the abbreviation G.R.E.E.F. (some Atong speakers say), which was probably the name of a British coal mining company operating in the Garo Hills. Although the company does not exist any more, the remnants of the mining business can still be found between Jadi and Badri.

(660) *gore* [...] *kambaysaŋ pəwtawaŋokno*.

[*gore*] [*kambay*] =*saŋ* {*pəw -taw -aŋ -ok*} =*no*
 horse above =MOB fly -UPWARD -AWAY -COS =QUOT
 ‘the horse, [having seen the idiot, having run away], flew away upward to the
 above [i.e. into the sky].’

Some event specifiers can be interpreted differently, depending on the verb they are suffixed too, and on the context. The next example illustrates the use of the event specifier *-aŋ* ‘V away’ on the verb *bət-* ‘to lead’, and can be compared to example (765) in Chapter 27 where the same event specifier is used with the meaning ‘V without holding back’ on the verb *khuʔmoŋ* ‘to conspire’.

(661) [...] *geʔtheŋ maʔsu maŋbərəyaw bətaŋayməŋ* [...].

[*geʔtheŋ*][*maʔsu maŋ bərəy*] =*aw* {*bət -aŋ*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 3s cow CLF:ANIMALS four =ACC lead -AWAY =ADV =SEQ
 ‘he lead the four cows away [and ate them, it is said].’

25.3 Categories

I am convinced that there are many more event specifiers in Atong than those recorded during the fieldwork for this grammar. The ones so far collected can be divided into twelve categories according to their meanings. These categories are manner, manner/direction, aspect, extent, direction/extent, direction, epistemic, deontic, determinacy, location, conative and quantification.

25.4 Striking phonetic feature

One of the striking features of event specifiers is the versatility in the pronunciation of the glottalised consonant coda, if they have one. Different speakers pronounce the same event specifier in different ways, i.e. with or without glottalised consonant coda. The same speaker may use the same morpheme in the same context with a glottalised and plain consonant coda. The pronunciation does not seem to have anything to do with a preceding morpheme containing a glottalised consonant or glottal stop coda as in Garo (see Burling 2004: 35-38).

25.5 Overview and some comments

All the event specifiers recorded to date are given by category and in alphabetical order in Table 68. In the column “Meaning” in this table, the capital V stands for any Atong verb, or to be more precisely, predicate,⁵³ although nouns and Type 2 adjectives are almost never used with event specifiers.

The suffix <-tən> ‘lead in V-ing, V as the leader’ can have a transitivity effect on intransitive verbs. In example (662) we see how the transitive intransitive verb *jal-* ‘to run away’ becomes transitive and can therefore take the accusative-marked O argument *sipay* ‘soldiers’.

(662) “*tayʔnido doŋʔancak naʔnaŋdo*” *noayməŋ sipaydəraŋaw jalʔənokno*.

[*tayʔni*] =do {*doŋʔ* -an -ca -k} [*naʔnaŋ*] =do {*no*} =ay =məŋ
today =TOP sufficient -REF -NEG -COS 1pi =top say =ADV =SEQ

[*sipay*] =dəraŋ=aw {*jal* -tən -ok} =no
soldier =P =ACC run.away-AS.THE.LEADER -COS =QUOT

‘Today [things] are not right any more, as far as we are concerned’, [he] said
and lead the soldiers away running.’

The quantifying event specifiers (see Table 68 (c)) work on an S/O basis. In example (663) it is the S argument *phulis* ‘police’ that is quantified on the predicate by the event specifier *rum* ‘all’, while in (664) it is the O argument *məŋʔ korok* (CLF:HUMANS four) ‘four people’ that is quantified by the same event specifier.

(663) *phulis bisangsa rayʔarumwasəy tayʔnido?*

[*phulis*]_S [*bi*] =saŋ {*rayʔ-rum* -wa} =səy [*tayʔni*] =do
police QF =MOB go -ALL -FACT =MIR today =TOP
‘Where are the police all going today?’

⁵³ This way of representing the meaning of event specifiers is inspired by Okell and Allott 2001.

(664) *phəlgəm cuŋgaba monokrumokno məŋ? korokawan.*

[*phəlgəm cuŋ=gaba*]_A {*monok -rum -ok*} =*no*
 eagle big=ATTR swallow -ALL -COS =QUOT

[*məŋ? korok*]_O =*aw* =*an*
 CLF:HUMANS four =ACC=FC/ID

‘The big eagle had swallowed them all, the four [of them].’

As was said above, sometimes an event specifier can be used to simply reinforce the meaning of the predicate, to add emphasis. Especially the suffix *-səraŋ* ‘V completely, V wholly, V till the end, V very much’ is frequently used in colloquial speech for this purpose. Good examples of this event specifier as emphasiser can be found in Text 2 lines 33, 35, 38 and 57. Line 35 is presented here as example (665).

(665) *hay, wal?bətawba hən?etsəraŋ*

[*hay*] [*wal?bət*]=*aw* =*ba* {*hən -et -səraŋ*}
 come.on match =ACC=EMPH give-CAUS -TOTALLY
 ‘Come on, give the matches too already.’

Table 68 Event specifiers
listed according to category with corresponding lexical items where these
were found.

EVENT SPECIFIER	MEANING	CORRESPONDING LEXICAL ITEM	MEANING
MANNER			
<i>-caŋ</i>	V suddenly		
<i>-cap</i>	V along with someone/something		
<i>-cep</i>	V alone		
<i>-cəp</i>	V wastefully, V unsuccessfully		
<i>-cici</i>	V with force, V into pieces		
<i>-cikcak</i>	V in a swarm		
<i>-damdam</i>	V in different places	<i>dam</i> (noun)	place
<i>-dap</i>	V and add, V on top	<i>dap-</i> (verb)	to cover, to be on top
<i>-gak</i>	V accidentally		
<i>-jokjok</i>	V up and down		
<i>-jol</i>	V quickly		
<i>-joljol</i>	V very quickly		
<i>-khaw</i>	V secretly, V and steal		
<i>-khelek</i>	V for fun	<i>khele-</i> (verb)	to play
<i>-khep</i>	V firmly		
<i>-naŋ</i>	V in a beautiful or nice way		
<i>-nap</i>	V with all your heart		
<i>-paraŋ ~ -pəraŋ</i>	V without destination, without goal, aimlessly	<i>praraŋ- ~ pəraŋ-</i> (verb)	to journey, to travel, to wander, go astray
<i>-pəl</i>	V rapidly		
<i>-pərak</i>	V and cut		
<i>-phak</i>	V in half lengthwise, V lengthwise, V and go through lengthwise, V by the side of something, V side by side	<i>phak</i> (noun, classifier)	NOUN: half (the result of a longitudinal cut); CLASSIFIER for halves of objects cut lengthwise
<i>-phet</i>	V detrimentally		
<i>-phetphet</i>	V repeatedly		
<i>-phinʔ ~ -phənʔ</i>	V back, over-V, obviously V, V fully		
<i>-ramram</i>	V normally, V naturally	<i>ramram</i> (adverb)	usual
<i>-sak</i>	V appropriately	<i>sak-</i> (verb)	to fit (into)
<i>-saw</i>	V and wait, V expectantly, V for sure		
<i>-sega ~ -siga</i>	V in turn, (alternative) (also phrasal enclitic, see Chapter 19)		
<i>-sek</i>	V and steal		
<i>-səm</i>	V and follow; imitate someone's V-ing		
<i>-seme</i>	V reluctantly		

Table 68 continued (a): manner, manner/direction

EVENT SPECIFIER	MEANING	CORRESPONDING LEXICAL ITEM	MEANING
Manner continued			
<i>-səmsəm</i>	V continuously		
<i>-set ~ -sət</i>	to V so as to dispose of something		
<i>-sot</i>	V directly		
<i>-susa</i>	V competitively		
<i>-tən</i>	V as the leader, lead in V-ing		
<i>-təŋtaŋ</i>	V all over the place		
<i>-thəl</i>	V and avoid, V ahead		
<i>-thəloŋ</i>	V nicely		
<i>-thəŋ ~ -thiŋ</i>	only V		
<i>-thəŋthəŋ</i>	only V and nothing else, continuously V (more intense than <i>-thəŋ</i>)		
<i>-thirithiri ~ -therirtheri</i>	V again and again		
<i>-thoŋʔ</i>	V in half, V crosswise, V and go through crosswise	<i>thoŋʔ</i> (noun, classifier)	NOUN: half (the result of a crosscut); CLASSIFIER for halves of objects cut crosswise
<i>-thum</i>	V on behalf of someone else, V for the benefit of someone else/something		
<i>-wenwen</i>	V in circles		
<i>-wəŋwaŋ</i>	V in a confused way		
<i>-wil ~ -wilwil</i>	V around		
MANNER/DIRECTION			
<i>-roŋreŋ</i>	V while spinning around		
<i>-thiri ~ -theri</i>	V again, back, reversely/backward		

Table 68 continued (b): aspect, extent

EVENT SPECIFIER	MEANING	CORRESPONDING LEXICAL ITEM	MEANING
ASPECT			
<i>-ceŋ</i>	V first	<i>haʔba-ceŋ</i> (?-first) ⁵⁴ (verb)	to begin
<i>-dəkɔk</i>	about to V		
<i>-gat</i>	V upon to, to start V-ing (inceptive)		
<i>-man ~ -manʔ</i>	already V-ed		
<i>-muʔ</i>	keep V-ing	<i>muʔ-</i> (verb)	to sit, stay
<i>-rawraw</i>	continue to V		
EXTENT			
<i>-an</i>	still V-ing		
<i>-baray</i>	V always		
<i>-bat</i>	V even more, V most		
<i>-bəlɔk</i>	V into pulp		
<i>-bi</i>	very		
<i>-boŋboŋ</i>	V more than necessary, V in abundance (pejorative), V scandalously much	<i>boŋboŋ</i> (noun)	liar
<i>-cik ~ -cək</i>	V as long as you can		
<i>-gacak</i>	V until it is red hot		
<i>-jərən</i>	V daily, V all the time		
<i>-lanlan</i>	very		
<i>-maŋmaŋ</i>	V simply, as best you can, barely, just		
<i>-pərət</i>	over-V		
<i>-roŋ</i>	usually, always		
<i>-ruru</i>	V more and more, V around, V all over the place		
<i>-səraŋ</i>	V completely, V wholly, V till the end, V very much		
<i>-teŋ</i>	still too V		
<i>-teŋteŋ</i>	still much too V		
<i>-tham</i>	barely V		
<i>-thamak</i>	barely V		
<i>-that</i>	V excessively		
<i>-theŋtheŋ</i>	still too V (more intense than <i>-teŋ</i>)		

⁵⁴ I consider the two parts of the verb *haʔba-ceŋ* ‘to begin’ to be bound morphemes. While the second part is readily identifiable as the morpheme corresponding to the event specifier *-ceŋ* ‘V first’ the first part *haʔba-* does not occur as a separate verb in the language and has not been attested in any other lexical item. There is a noun *haʔba* ‘dry rice and vegetable field’ which I do not consider to have anything to do with the bound morpheme in question.

Table 68 continued (c): direction/extent, location, epistemic, deontic, determinacy, conative, quantification

EVENT SPECIFIER	MEANING	CORRESPONDING LEXICAL ITEM	MEANING
DIRECTION/EXTENT			
<i>-aŋ</i>	V away, V affluently, V without holding back		
DIRECTION			
<i>-a ~ ay</i>	V towards		
<i>-pat</i>	V across	<i>pat-</i> (verb)	to cross, go across
<i>-rat</i>	V downward	<i>rat-</i> (verb)	to go down, descend
<i>-soso</i>	V to/on the ground		
<i>-taw</i>	V upward	<i>taw-</i> (verb)	to go up, ascend
<i>-wil</i>	V around		
<i>-wilwil</i>	V around and around		
LOCATION			
<i>-dap</i>	V on top of something	<i>dap-</i> (verb)	to be on top, to press, keep together by force, pinch together, to pinch, to crush, to stack
<i>-təŋtaŋ</i>	V all over the place		
EPISTEMIC			
<i>-asol</i>	really V, verily V, actually V	<i>asol</i> (adverb)	really
<i>-bebe</i>	truly V verily V	<i>bebe</i> (adverb)	truly
<i>-cay ~ -cəy</i>	try to V	<i>cay-</i> (verb)	to look (at)
<i>-dam</i>	truly V		
DEONTIC			
<i>-tat</i>	compulsory V		
DETERMINACY			
<i>-comot ~ -coŋmot</i>	V determinedly, V certainly, V definitely		
<i>-thel</i>	surely V		
CONATIVE			
<i>-cay ~ -cəy</i>	try to V, V and see	<i>cay-</i> (verb)	to see
<i>-ram</i>	V inadvertently, V unintentionally, V fortuitously, V because of the situation	<i>ram-</i> (verb)	to search
QUANTIFICATION S/O			
<i>-gorop</i>	V together, V with a whole group		
<i>-kəɾəm</i>	V in a group		
<i>-pha</i>	V also, V in addition, V along with, V together, V in total		
<i>-rum</i>	V all, all V		
<i>-thok</i>	V together, everybody V, all V		

Chapter 26 Clause Types

This chapter treats the general properties of dependent and independent clauses, and subsequently focuses on independent clauses. Dependent clauses are also called ‘subordinate clauses’ and the independent ones can also be termed ‘main clauses’. The major clause types in Atong are presented in Table 69 below. The predicates of all clause types can be headed by a verb except in presentative clauses and predicateless interrogative clauses. There are fewer clause types in which Type 2 adjectives are attested as predicate head and even less of those in which nominals can head the predicate.

Main clauses can, but do not have to carry a clausal enclitic, while all subordinate clauses are signalled by a clausal enclitic. All main and subordinate clause clausal enclitics are summed up in Table 70. The main clause types will be treated one by one below. Subordinate clauses are treated in separate chapters as can be seen in Table 69. The last two sections treat the functions of the irrealis and the speculative enclitics.

Table 69 Clause types in Atong

Their syntactic status and the type of predicate head that they can occur with are ordered by section. The abbreviations used in this table are as follows. V ‘verb’, ADJ2 ‘Type 2 adjective’, N ‘nominal’.

Section	SYNTACTIC STATUS	CLAUSE TYPE	ATTESTED PREDICATE HEADS
26.1	INDEPENDENT/MAIN	Interrogative clauses	V, ADJ2, N
26.1.1		content questions	
26.1.2		predicateless interrogative clauses	
26.1.4		marked polar questions	V, ADJ2, N
		unmarked polar questions	
26.2		Imperative clauses	V
		different levels of politeness, prohibitives and optative	
26.3		Declarative clauses	V, ADJ2, N
		marked declarative clauses	
		unmarked declarative clauses	
26.4		presentative clauses	N
26.5		copula clauses	V (copula)
Chapter 27	DEPENDENT/ SUBORDINATE	Dative-marked	V, N
Chapter 28		Locative-marked clauses	V, ADJ2, N
		Sequential clauses	V, ADJ2, N
		Adverbial clauses	
Chapter 29		Attributive clauses	V

Table 70 Clausal enclitics

The ones in bold are attested on clauses with nominal predicates

Main clause clausal enclitics

column 1

Irrealis modality	<=cəm> (IRR) Also particle, see §26.8.
Speculative modality	<=khon> (SPEC) Also particle, see §26.9.
Imperative mood	<=bo> (IMP)
Prohibitive mood	<=bay> (PROH)

column 2

Declarative	<=te> (DCL)
Mirative	<=thay ~ =təy ~ =səy> (MIR)
Emphatic positive	<=ay> (POS)
Confirmative tag	<=mo> (CONF) ‘obviously,naturally’, Also used as particle.
Affirmation seeking tag	<=ne> (TAG) Also used as particle
Emphatic/Additive	<=ba> (EMPH/ADD) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)
Interrogative	<=ma> (Q) Also particle.
Emphatic	<=aro ~ =ro> (EMPH)
Imperative emphasiser	<=to ~ =ta> (IMPEMPH)

Main clause movable clausal enclitic: Evidentiality

Quotative	<=no> (QUOT)
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Subordinate clause clausal enclitics

column 1

Attributive	<=gaba ~ =ga> (ATTR)
Locative	<=ci> (LOC) (see §24.4)
Dative	<=na ~ =ona> (DAT) (see Chapter 27)
Adverbial	<=ay ~ =e> (ADV)

column 2

Sequential	<=məŋ ~ =muŋ ~ =muŋna ~ =mu> (SEQ)
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column 3

Focus	<=e> (FC) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)
-------	---

Main and subordinate clause clausal enclitic

column 3

Focus/identifier	<=an> (FC/ID) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)
Delimitative	<=sa> (DLIM) Also phrasal enclitic (see §11.7)
Indefinite	<=ba> (INDEF)
Topic	<=do ~ =odo> (TOP) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)

General properties of independent and dependent clauses

Both independent and dependent clauses can have verbal and non-verbal predicates. Presentative clauses, as can be seen above in Table 69, only contain nominal predicates, and in predicateless interrogative clauses no predicate can be identified.

The majority of clauses in the recorded material are predicate final. However, any constituent, i.e. argument or adjunct, of a main clause can be right dislocated, i.e. appear after the predicate for backgrounding. Right dislocation is impossible in subordinate clauses.

All clause types can be juxtaposed to clauses of the same type and there are no restrictions on the focusability or topic marking of constituents in any clause type. However, constituents of dependent clauses tend to be less frequently marked for topic or focus than those of independent clauses. When we look at topic or focus marking of whole clauses, we find that only dependent clauses can be focused and that both dependent and independent clauses can be topic-marked. However, only independent clauses with a predicate head carrying the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) can be topic-marked, whereas dependent clauses of all types can be topic-marked.

The following example illustrates a topic-marked main clause with right dislocated subject (S) *raja=mi dama* (king=GEN drum) ‘the king’s drum’.

(666) “*haʔnəʔ tarəŋ cinina iməŋ kərəŋwado rajami dama*” *noaydoŋano*.

[*haʔ nəʔ tarəŋ ci ni*] =*na* [*i*] =*məŋ* {*kərəŋ -wa*} =*do*
 earth inside layer TEN two =DAT PRX =ABL sound -FACT =TOP

[*raja =mi dama*]_s
 king =GEN drum

“‘The king’s drum sounds from here to the twelve layers of the earth’s inside’,
 [the deer] is saying, it is said.’

Case marking of constituents (described in Chapter 20) is the same in all types of clauses.

Table 71 below summarises the general properties of independent and dependent clauses.

Table 71 General properties of independent and dependent clauses

PROPERTY	INDEPENDENT CLAUSES	DEPENDENT CLAUSES
Type of predicate head	verbal and non-verbal	
Constituent order	Relatively free, predicate final in unmarked scenario. Any constituent can be right dislocated, i.e. postposed to the predicate.	Strictly predicate final
Marking of predicate head	More marked.	Less marked.
	Can be negated	
Referentiality	Can be expressed.	Cannot be expressed.
Evidentiality with quotative suffix	Can be expressed.	Cannot be expressed.
Declarative	Can be expressed.	Cannot be expressed.
Imperative	Can be expressed.	Cannot be expressed.
Interrogative	Can be expressed.	Cannot be expressed.
Juxtaposition with clauses of the same type	Yes.	
Focus/Topic marking of constituents	Often	Rare
Focus/Topic marking of clause	Rare	Yes
Grammatical relations	Case-marking of NPs is the same for all types	

26.1 Interrogative clauses

There are three types of interrogative clauses, viz. marked polar questions and content questions and predicateless content questions. In this section I will also treat the alternative question strategy, which is a sentence which consists of minimally two clauses. We will see how unmarked polar questions are just a function of declarative clauses. The predicate head of an interrogative clause can be inflected for all independent clause categories (see Table 63 and Table 69) except declarative $\leq te \geq$ (DCL) and mirative $\leq thay \sim t\acute{a}y \sim s\acute{a}y \sim si \geq$ (MIR). The constituent order in interrogative clauses is not fixed, just like in other clause types.

26.1.1 Content questions

Content question clauses contain an interrogative or question word. Interrogatives are treated in Chapter 9. There is a tendency for interrogatives to appear in clause initial position, but this is not obligatory. Examples of interrogative clauses can be found at the beginning of Text 2. As we can see in lines 7, 10 and 25 of Text 1, content question clauses can also consist of just a question word, in which case they are

elliptical. Examples (667) and (668) are illustrations of content questions with more than one constituent.

(667) *atoŋ balaŋnaka?*

[*atoŋ*] {*bal -aŋ* *-naka*}
 what tell -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -IFT
 ‘What more shall [I] tell?’

(668) *caŋ aŋna daygaba raja?*

[*caŋ*] {l[*aŋ*] =*na* {*day*}l =*gaba raja*}
 ‘who 1s =DAT be.bigger=ATTR king
 ‘Who is a bigger king than me?’

Example (669) is a desiderative content question. Desiderative content questions question a possibility. The context of the next example is as follows. A man explains to his wife that he has inspected both the fish traps upstream and downstream in the river. Then he says (669).

(669) *biaw caykhuna? aŋna ni?ok*”

[*bi*] =*aw* {*cay -khu -na*} [*aŋ*] =*na* {*ni?* *-ok*}
 which=ACC look.at -INCOM-DESI 1s =DAT not.exist -COS
 ‘Which other one can I look at? I have no more.’

An example of a desiderative content question can be found in the text1, line 36.

26.1.2 Predicateless focus content question clauses

In a predicateless focus content question clause the noun which is the focus of the interrogation is always marked by the focus enclitic <=*e*> (FC). In this clause type it is impossible to determine which constituent is the predicate head since none of the constituents can take any predicate suffixes as can nouns when they are the head of a predicate of a non-interrogative clause (see Table 63). It has also been impossible to determine any subject properties for the constituents of these clauses. All interrogatives can occur as constituent of predicateless content question clauses as in (670) (671) and (672) below.

(670) “*bie naŋʔ joŋdaraŋe? naŋʔ joŋe bie?*” *nookno*.

[*bie*] [*naŋʔ joŋ*] =*daraŋe*=*e*|_{CLAUSE}
 where 2s younger.brother =p =FC

[*naŋʔ joŋ*] =*e* [*bie*]|_{CLAUSE} {*no-ok*} =*no*
 2s younger.brother =FC where say -COS =QUOT

“‘Where are your younger brothers? Where are your younger brothers?’” [she] said, it is said.

(671) *naŋʔmi jorae caŋ?*

[*naŋʔ*] =*mi* *jora* =*e* [*caŋ*]
 2s =GEN love.match=FC who
 ‘Who’s your love match?’

(672) *bisaŋnasa naŋʔtame?*

[*bi*]=*saŋ* =*na* =*sa* [*naŋʔ-tam*] =*e*
 QF =MOB =DAT=DLIM 2s -ppp =FC
 ‘To where exactly [are] you [going]?’

One could hypothesise, by analogy with the interrogatives treated below in 26.1.3, that the interrogative is the predicate head.

26.1.3 Clauses with interrogatives as predicate head

The interrogatives *biskən* ‘how much/many’ and *bisaŋ* ‘to where’ can express perfectivity by means of the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS), e.g. (673) (674) and can even take event specifiers as is illustrated in (675). Therefore these interrogatives can always be identified as predicate head when they appear change of state-marked in verbless interrogative clauses. More fieldwork is required to find out if there are restrictions on the types of event specifier that can appear in these interrogatives.

(673) *ama, dadaparae bisaŋok?*

ama [*dada*] =*para* =*e* {*bi* =*saŋ* -ok}
 mother older.brother=&co =FC QF =MOB -COS
 ‘Mother, where did [my] elder brothers go off to?’

Example (151), here repeated as (674), illustrates a change of state-marked interrogative functioning as predicate head with a right-dislocated dative adjunct.

(674) *biskənok, məŋʔthamna?*

{*biskən* -ok} [*məŋʔ* *tham*] =na
 how.much -COS CLF:HUMANS three =DAT
 ‘How much is it in total, for three persons?’

In example (675) we see the interrogative *bi=səŋ* (QF=MOB) ‘to/from where?’ functioning as predicate head and carrying an event specifier suffix, viz. the quantifier <-rum> ‘ALL’ and the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS).

(675) *bisəŋrumok nəŋʔtəm sendele?*

{*bi=səŋ* -rum -ok} [*nəŋ* -təm *sendel*] =e
 QF =MOB -ALL -COS 2s ppp sandal =FC
 ‘Where have all your sandals gone?’

26.1.4 Marked and unmarked polar questions

Marked polar questions have the same structure and intonation as declarative clauses except that the question enclitic <=ma> (Q) appears on the clause, which is an epistemic modal indicating the speaker’s uncertainty about the event. This enclitic receives stress and that means that it is usually pronounced at a higher pitch than the rest of the clause. The use of the question enclitic <=ma> excludes all other enclitics from the clause.

Examples (676) and (678) below are examples of marked polar questions. In (678) the polar question is an embedded direct speech complement of the verb *no* ‘to say’.

(676) *nəŋʔ soŋci may saʔama?*

[*nəŋʔ* *soŋ*] =ci [*may*] {*saʔ* -a} =ma
 2s village =LOC rice eat -CUST =Q
 ‘Is rice eaten in your village (alternatively: ‘country’)?’

- (677) *o came, aṇmi naṇṇa khaṇgalgabaaw naṇṇmi khathoṇci daṇetna manṇphanima?*

[*o came*] [[*aṇ*] =*mi* [*naṇṇ*] =*na* {*khaṇgal*} =*gaba*] =*aw* [*naṇṇ*] =*mi*
 interj sweetheart 1s =GEN 2s =DAT love =ATTR =ACC 2s =GEN
khaṇthoṇ] =*ci* {*daṇ -et*} =*na* {*manṇ -pha -ni*} =*ma*
 heart =LOC enter -CAUS =DAT be.able -IN.ADDITION -FUT =Q

‘O sweetheart! will you be able to insert also my love for you into your heart?’

- (678) *ucie nepale “əṭəkido aṇ reṇṇsiganima naṇṇmṇ phal?” nowano.*

ucie [*nepal*] =*e* {*əṭək*} =*ci* =*do*
 then Nepali =FC do.like.that=LOC=TOP

[*aṇ*] {*reṇṇ -siga -ni*} =*ma* [*naṇṇ*] =*mṇ phal*] {*no-wa*} =*no*
 2s go.away -ALT -FUT =Q 2s =GEN place say -FACT =QUOT

‘Then the Nepali: “In that case, shall I go instead of you?” sayingly said, it is said.’

Nominals and adjectives can also be the head of a predicate of a marked polar question as examples (679) and (680) respectively illustrate. In (680) the first person personal pronoun, *aṇ*, is right dislocated as antitopic (see Lambrecht 1994: 202).

- (679) *cikərakca, aṇa saṇṇərayma?*

{*cikərak -ca*} [*aṇa*] {*saṇṇəray*} =*ma*
 joke -NEG 1s child =Q
 ‘[I] don’t joke. Am I a child?’

- (680) *məkhaṇ pisakma aṇdo?*

[*məkhaṇ*] {*pisak*} =*ma* [*aṇ*] =*do*
 face red =Q 1s =TOP

‘Is my face red?’ Literally: ‘Is the face read, as far as I’m concerned?’

Unmarked polar questions are formally indistinguishable from declarative clauses and can therefore be said to be just one of the pragmatic functions of a declarative clause. Intonation does not help to distinguish declarative clauses indicating a statement from unmarked polar questions. Marked polar questions can have the same falling intonation as declarative clauses, but are formally distinguishable from declarative clauses because of the clausal enclitic <=*ma*> (Q). Usually unmarked polar questions

have a falling intonation, just like declarative clauses indicating a statement. When a speaker is surprised or otherwise emotional, the unmarked clause will have a rising or fairly level intonation with maybe a slight dip at the end and can still be interpreted either as a polar question, as a statement, or even an exclamation, e.g. (718).

26.1.5 Alternative question sentences

The alternative question sentence is a strategy in which two clauses are combined. The predicate head of the first clause is marked with the enclitic $\leq ma \gt$ (Q) and the second is not. The predicate head of the second clause cannot take any clausal enclitics. The alternative question has falling intonation stretched out over the entire sentence.

The following two examples show alternative questions with verbal predicates. As example (682) illustrates, both predicates do not have to consist of the same verb.

(681) *ranustaw nukama nukanca?*

[*ranus*] =*taw* {*nuk -a*} =*ma* {*nuk -an -ca*}
 Name =ACC see -CUST =Q see -REF -NEG
 ‘Have you seen Ranus or not?’

(682) *raŋ nemceŋama naŋnaŋ cəw jamceŋa*

[*raŋ*] {*nem-ceŋ -a*} =*ma* [*naŋnaŋ cəw*] {*jam -ceŋ -a*}
 rain good -FIRST -CUST =Q 1pi liquor finish -FIRST -CUST
 ‘Will the rain get better [i.e. ‘stop’] first or will we run out of liquor first?’ [the Badri people said and they started a drinking competition with the rain.]

The following examples show alternative questions with non-verbal predicates. In (683) the predicates are nominal, whereas in (684) they consist of demonstratives. Since the question morpheme $\leq ma \gt$ (Q) is a clausal enclitic and not a suffix, the demonstratives appear in their unbound form, viz. *ie* (PRX) instead of their bound form $\lt i \gt$ (PRX).

(683) *ido theŋ?thonte. me?maŋokma jəwmaŋok?*

[*i*] =*do* {*theŋ?thon*} =*e* {*me?maŋ -ok*} =*ma* {*jəwmaŋ -ok*}
 PRX =TOP Name =DCL ghost -COS =Q dream -COS
 ‘This is Theng•thon, I’m telling you. Has [he] become a ghost or a dream?’

- (684) *iema ie?*
 {ie} =ma {ie}
 PRX =Q PRX
 ‘This one or this one?’

26.2 Imperative clauses

The imperative is the only clause type in which a verbal predicate head can appear as a bare root or stem without any predicate head suffixes or clausal enclitics, and it is the only main clause type in which a verbal predicate can occur without predicate head suffixes. The bare stem is the root plus stem-forming suffixes (predicate head suffixes are listed in Table 63). An imperative can optionally be signalled by the imperative clausal enclitic <=bo> (IMP), depending on the level of politeness, as we will see below. The structure of the predicate head of an imperative clause is shown in Table 72 and will be explained below. Imperatives are second person only. Atong also has an optative, treated below in §26.2.4, which is only attested with third person.

Table 72 The structure of the fully inflected imperative predicate head

	Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
r o o t	causative <-et> (CAUS)	event specifier	imperative <=bo> (IMP)	other clausal enclitics (only after <=bo> (IMP))
		simplicative <-khu> (IMP)		
		incompletive <- ari> (SIMP)		

Not all stem-forming suffixes can occur on imperatives; only the derivational causative <-et> (CAUS), event specifiers, the simplicative <-ari> (SIMP) and incompletive aspect suffix <-khu> (INCOM) can. Atong imperatives cannot take the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG). The only aspectual suffix which can possibly occur on an imperative is the incompletive aspect stem-forming suffix <-khu> (INCOM). Imperative clause predicates cannot take any inflectional suffixes (see Table 63).

Event specifiers, the simplicative and the incompletive suffixes are all mutually exclusive on predicates of imperative clauses. When an event specifier is used, the simplicative or incompletive cannot be added to the stem, which is a restriction not found in other clause types.

The incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) has two meanings in imperative clauses, viz. as marker of incompletive aspect and as politeness marker. Politeness

levels will be treated below. In all other clause types the suffix <-*khu*> is not polysemous and only indicates incomplete aspect. In imperative clauses the suffix <-*khu*> (INCOM) can be followed by the imperative clausal enclitic <=*bo*> (IMP). In those cases the context has to provide clues as to whether the incomplete suffix has to be understood as politeness marker or as marker of incomplete aspect. The imperative enclitic <=*bo*> (IMP) can optionally be followed by one of the following other clausal enclitics, whereas the incomplete suffix <-*khu*> (INCOM) cannot.

- a. affirmation seeking tag <=*ne*> (TAG)
- b. emphatic positive <=*ay*> (POS)
- c. emphatic imperative <=*to* ~ =*ta*> (IMPEMPH)

26.2.1 Politeness

Atong imperatives display three levels of politeness. These levels are marked by the following forms from rude to most polite: the bare imperative, the imperative with the imperative clausal enclitic <=*bo*> (IMP), and with the incomplete suffix <-*khu*> (INCOM). They will be treated one by one below.

i The bare imperative

The bare imperative is a clause of which the predicate head consists only of the root or the stem, (i.e. the root plus stem-forming suffixes). The bare imperative is the impolite form of imperative. It can be used to children and close friends or family when addressing younger kin or in emotional situations. Examples (685), (686) and (687) are illustrations of bare imperative clauses. Example (687) comes from Text 2, line 33. Line 35 in the same text is another example of the bare imperative.

(685) *reʔeŋ.*

{*reʔeŋ*}
go.away
'Go away!'

(686) *saʔari.*

saʔ-ari
eat -SIMP
'Just eat.'

(687) *hay sigəret hənetsəraŋ naʔa uaw.*

[*hay*] [*sigəret*] {*hənʔ -et -səraŋ*} [*naʔa*] [*u =aw*]
come.on cigarette give -CAUS -TOTALLY 2s DST=ACC
'Come on, give the cigarettes, oh you, those!'

The event specifier *-səraŋ* (TOTALLY) in (687) is used to give an emphatic effect to the command.

ii The imperative with <=*bo*>

The imperative signalled by the imperative mood clausal enclitic <=*bo*> (IMP) is the mid-level politeness form. It can be used to anybody, in any situation and can even be very cordial or compelling depending on the tone of voice of the speaker. Examples of this type of imperative can be found in abundance in Text 2, lines 4, 11, 13, 18, 20, 30 and 45. In order to emphasise the imperative, one of the discourse level suffixes treated above can be added after the imperative enclitic, e.g. in Text 1 line 41 and in Text 2, lines 4, 40, 42 and 43. The next example is a dialogue between a mother and her sons. This example comes from a story in which six sons are leaving their mother's house to shoot a giant eagle.

- (688) *ətəkəymuŋna* “ama niŋ ue phəlgəməw kawna reʔeŋnane” nookno. ucie, “əm, nemay reʔeŋboay. bunduk raʔaŋbo” nookno.

[ətəkəymuŋna] [ama] [niŋ] [ue pəlgəmə] =aw {kaw} =na
so then mother 1pe DST eagle =ACC shoot =DAT

{reʔeŋ -na} =ne {no-ok} =no ucie
go.away -DESI=TAG say -COS =QUOT then

[əm] {nem} =ay {reʔeŋ} =bo =ay
yes good =ADV go.away =IMP =POS

[bunduk] {raʔ -aŋ} =bo {no-ok} =no
gun take -AWAY =IMP say -COS =QUOT

‘So then: “Mother, we want to go to shoot that eagle”, [they] said, it is said.
Then: “Yes. Do go carefully. Take the guns.” [she] said, it is said.’

iii The imperative with <-khu>

An imperative ending in the incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) signals a request and is the most polite form of imperative in Atong. Examples (689) and (690) are illustrative.

- (689) *baba, aŋna taŋka ratjani hənʔkhu.*

[baba] [aŋ] =na [taŋka ratja ni] {hənʔ -khu}
father 1s =DAT money hundred two give -INCOM

‘Father, please give me two hundred rupees.’

The following example comes from the story of the hanging root that changes into an old woman at night. When you happen to sleep under a hanging root, the old woman will ask you to scratch her arm the whole night or else she will rip you open with her long nails and eat you.

- (690) “*haʔ ambi aŋ cakaw khenetkhu*” nookno.

[haʔ] [ambi] [aŋ cak] =aw {khen -et -khu} {no-ok} =no
interj grandchild 1s arm/hand =ACC scratch -CAUS -INCOM say -COS =QUOT
“‘Hey grandchild, please scratch my arm”. [she] said, it is said.’

As mentioned above, the incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) can be followed by the imperative mood enclitic <=bo> (IMP). In that case the incompletive can be understood either as politeness marker or as marker of the incompletive aspect.

Example (691) below was uttered during a meal and is clearly a command to eat more. So there the incompletive suffix functions as marker of the incompletive aspect.

(691) *may saʔkhubo*

[*may*] {*saʔ -khu*} =*bo*
 rice eat -INCOM=IMP
 'Eat more rice.'

Example (692) below comes from the story about a cunning man called Theng•thon [thenʔthon]. Theng•thon is much hated in his village for being such a bad person. The villagers burn down his house because of his bad behaviour. Theng•thon collects the ashes and cinders and goes to the market to sell them. The village people think he's mad. "Who will buy ashes and cinders?" they say. On his way back home from the market, Theng•thon steals a large sum of money somewhere. Later he sits in front of his house counting the coins which attracts the attention of the other villagers. When Theng•thon tells them that he sold all his ashes and cinders for this large sum of money, the other people wonder if they cannot become rich too when they burn down their houses and sell the remains on the market. Theng•thon says they certainly can. The result is that the other village people have found out that they have been conned, they capture Theng•thon and want to torture him. Then Theng•thon utters (692), which can be interpreted as a request or a polite request.

If we consider that it is the first time in the story that Theng•thon asks for forgiveness, it is a request and the incompletive signals politeness. But because Theng•thon has been bad in the past, which was why his house was burned down in the first place, it might have occurred in the past that he has asked the other villagers for forgiveness and so (692) can be interpreted as a request to forgive him again, in which case the incompletive suffix signals incompletive aspect.

(692) *naŋʔtəm angaw wetsado khema khaʔkhubo.*

[*naŋʔ-təm*] [*aŋ*] =*aw* [*wet sa*] =*do* {*khema* *khaʔ -khu*} =*bo*
 2s -ppp 1s =ACC time one=TOP forgiveness do -INCOM=IMP
 'Please forgive me one more time.' or 'Please forgive me this once.'

26.2.2 The prohibitive with <=*bay*>

The construction most frequently used to form prohibitives in Atong is formed with the prohibitive clausal enclitic <=*bay*> (PROH) attached to a dative-marked clause. The prohibitive clausal enclitic <=*bay*> (PROH) is homophonous with the intransitive verb *bay*- ‘to break’. It is very likely that the prohibitive under discussion grammaticalised from a secondary verb construction (see Chapter 27) with the verb *bay*- ‘to break’ as main clause predicate and the action that is prohibited in the form of a dative complement clause.⁵⁵ I analyse <=*bay*> (PROH) as prohibitive enclitic for the following reasons:

- No other constituent can intervene between the dative-marked verb and the prohibitive morpheme and the position of the dative-marked verb is fixed before this morpheme. If *bay* was considered a main clause predicate and the dative-marked verb its complement, it would have been possible for constituents to intervene between dative complement clause and the predicate of the matrix clause (see Chapter 27).
- The grammatical unity between the dative-marked verb and the prohibitive morpheme is reinforced by the linking element /m/.
- A prohibitive clause cannot take the imperative mood enclitic <=*bo*> (IMP).

The structure of a prohibitive is given in Table 73 below. We can see that the inflectional possibilities of the prohibitive are more limited than those of the imperative shown in Table 72 above. The change of state suffix <-*ok*> (COS) can be attached to a prohibitive for emphasis. The result is a stronger prohibition. The change of state suffix can have the same emphatic function on Type 1 adjectival predicate

⁵⁵ The same construction has been described for A•chik (Garo) by Burling (2004:127), except that there seems to be no linking phoneme /m/ in A•chik. The element *na*, which immediately precedes *be* in A•chik, is homophonous with the dative case marker, like in Atong, and *be* in the A•chik prohibitive (‘negative imperative’) is also homophonous with the verb *be*- ‘to break’. Although the grammaticalisation of the verb ‘to stop’ into a marker of the prohibitive is well attested in languages around the world (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 283-284), there are no other cases known to me of this happening to the verb ‘to break’ except for Atong and A•chik.

heads, as is discussed in §5.1. This means that the meaning of the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) varies depending on the clause type and the word class.

Table 73 The structure of the prohibitive with <=bay>

root	stem-forming suffixes		clausal enclitic	linking element	clausal enclitic	inflectional suffix	clausal suffix
	<-et> (CAUS)	<-khu> (INCOM)	<=na> (DAT)	/m/	<=bay> (PROH)	<-ok> (COS)	<=ne> (TAG)
	optional			optional		optional	

Here below are some illustrative examples of the prohibitive with <=bay> (PROH)

We clearly see that the linking element /m/ is optional. Examples (693) and (694) below come from the same paragraph in the same story. The prohibitive verbs in (693) have the linking /m/, whereas the verb in (694) does not.

(693) *ətaknambay baba. ətakəy takkhunambay.*

{*ətak*} =na -m- =bay [*baba*]

do.like.this=DAT-LINK- =PROH son

[*ətakəy*] {*tak -khu*} =na -m- =bay

like.this do -INCOM=DAT-LINK- =PROH

‘Don’t do like this, son. Don’t do like this any more.’

(694) *“naŋʔba məkhaŋsaŋba ətakəy taknabay” nooknoaro.*

[*naŋʔ*] =ba [*məkhaŋ*] =saŋ =ba [*ətakəy*] {*tak*} =na =bay

2s =EMPH face =MOB =EMPH like.this do =DAT=PROH

{*no -ari -ok*} =no

say -SIMP-COS =QUOT

‘“Don’t you do like this [any more] in the future,” they just said, it is said.’

The following example exhibits change of state-marked prohibitive forms indicating a stronger prohibition. This construction is comparable to the English ‘V already’ imperative, e.g. *Stop already!*, and to the Dutch and German imperative with the past participle, e.g. Dutch: *Afgelopen nu!* [‘afχəlopə(n) ny] ‘Stop now!’ (where *afgelopen* is the past participle of the verb *aflopen* [‘aflopə(n)] ‘to finish’).

(695) *te?ewdo morot so?otnam bayok sa?khawnambayok darinambayok.*

[*te?ew*] = *do* [*morot*] {*so?ot*} = *na -m-* = *bay* *-ok*
 now =TOP person kill =DAT-LINK- =PROH -COS

{*sa?* -*khaw*} = *na -m-* = *bay* *-ok*
 eat -SECRETIVELY =DAT-LINK- =PROH -COS

{*dari* = *na*} -*m-* = *bay* *-ok*
 behave.badly =DAT-LINK- =PROH -COS

‘Now don’t kill people, don’t steal, don’t behave badly.’

In the above example, the combination *sa?khaw* (eat-SECRETIVELY) means ‘to steal’ in this case, and not ‘to eat secretly.’

Predicates of prohibitives can be modified by adverbial clauses and adverbs, as is illustrated in examples (696) and (697) here below.

(696) *ramci dolon khagaba ganay. kha?sinay re?eynabayne.*

[*ram*] = *ci* [*dolon*] {*kha?*} = *gaba*] {*ganay*}
 road =LOC bridge make =ATTR exist

{*kha?sin*} = *ay* {*re?ey*} = *na* = *bay* = *ne*
 slow =ADV go.away =DAT=PROH =TAG

‘There is a bridge on the road. Don’t go slowly, ok.’

(697) *alaga morotna dāmdām damdam hən?na bay*

[*alaga morot*] = *na* [*dāmdāmdāmdam*] {*hən?*} = *na* = *bay*
 other person =DAT just.like.that give =DAT=PROH

‘Don’t give it to someone else just like that.’

26.2.3 The prohibitive with <ta>

The use of the prohibitive construction with *ta* (PROH) is much rarer than the construction with the clausal enclitic <=*bay*> (PROH) (see above). Predicates in prohibitive constructions cannot express aspect or modality. The word *ta* (PROH) is a free morpheme with only one restriction: it has to precede the predicate. Thus the next sentence has three variants with the same meaning; the only difference between them is the position of the morpheme <*ta*> (PROH).

(698) a: ta ie nok dəŋdaŋ ham.

b: ie nok ta dəŋdaŋ ham.

c: ie nok dəŋdaŋ ta ham.

[ta] [ie nok] [dəŋdaŋ] {ham}
 PROH PRX house alone build
 'Don't build this house alone'

To emphasise the imperative force of the utterance the imperative emphasiser clausal enclitic <=to ~ =ta> (IMPEMPH) (allomorphs in free variation) can be cliticised to the clause, e.g. (699). The result is a stronger prohibition. This enclitic is usually used when the speaker is annoyed or impatient.

(699) naʔa ta dəkəŋəto!

[naʔa] [ta] {dəkəŋə} =to
 2s PROH make.noise =IMPEMPH
 'You, don't make noise!'

The prohibitive morpheme *ta* (PROH) can even be combined with the imperative enclitic <=bo> (IMP) as the next example illustrates. In this example the prohibitive morpheme has scope over both predicate heads.

(700) ta rophilrambo cikarakbo!

ta {rophil-ram} =bo {cikarak} =bo
 PROH joke -try =IMP joke =IMP
 'Don't try to joke [or] be funny!'

The predicate head of a prohibitive clause cannot take any inflectional suffixes, i.e. cannot express modality, aspect and polarity by means of the suffix <-ca> (NEG). (For the types of predicate suffixes see Table 63.) The predicate head can, however, take stem-forming suffixes and the prohibitive clauses can take clausal enclitics as is illustrated by the next example.

(701) oy ta səŋʔdugasi, aŋdo cəkaydok.

[oy] [ta] {səŋʔduga} =si [aŋ] =do {cək -aidok}
 interj PROH ask -XS =MIR 1s =TOP cold -DUR
 'Oy! Don't ask too much, I'm cold.'

26.2.4 The optative

A root plus the comparative suffix <-*khal*> (CP) signals the optative in Atong. In other constructions the comparative suffix has a comparative function comparable to the suffix *-er* in English, e.g. *nem-khal-a* (good-CP-CUST) '[it is/was] better'. The optative is only attested with a third person, both singular and plural, e.g. (702), and is not attested in negated form.

(702) *geʔthen reʔeŋkhal!*

[*geʔthen*] {*reʔeŋ* *-khal*}

3s go.away -CP

'May he go away!' or in French: 'Qu'il s'en aille!'

26.2.5 The hortative strategy

Atong has the proclause *hay* 'Come on!, Let's go!' which can be used to imply a hortative for first or second person singular or plural just by putting another clause after it. This second clause will usually be a desiderative clause, as in (703), or declarative clause with future-marked predicate, e.g. (704) or an imperative clause, of which example (705) is illustrative. A simple fragment may suffice too, as in (706).

(703) "*dada, dada! hay naʔnaŋdo, ama garu ramgabaci phəlgəm deʔetay tanəŋgabaaw, phəlgəmaŋ kawna rayʔna*" *nookno*.

[*dada*] [*dada*] [*hay*] [*naʔnaŋ*] =*do*
elder.brother elder.brother come.on 1pi =TOP

[*ama* *garu* {*ram*} =*gaba*] =*ci*
mother mustard dry =ATTR =LOC

[*phəlgəm* {*deʔet*} =*ay* {*tan -aŋ*} =*gaba*] =*aw* [*phəlgəm*] =*aw*
eagle shit =ADV put -AWAY =ATTR =ACC eagle =ACC

{*kaw*} =*na* {*rayʔ-na*} {*no-ok*} =*no*
shoot =DAT go -DESI say -COS =QUOT

'“Older brother, older brother! Come on, us, [we] want to go to shoot the eagle, the eagle which shat in mother's dry mustard [leaves]”, [he] said, it is said.'

The context for the next example is as follows. An animal says: “The animals don't have a king yet. In the whole world, in foreign countries, in India, in the Garo Hills, there is no king”, after which comes (704).

(704) *“hay raja soṇnaka” nowanowa.*

[*hay*] [i] {*soṇ -naka*} {*no-wa*} =*no* -*wa*
 come.on king elect -IFT say -FACT =QUOT -FACT
 ‘‘Come on, [we] will elect a king now’’, they said it is said.’

In the following example a frog gets pinched by a river crab. His friend the deer urges the frog to hit the river crab by uttering (705).

(705) *hay, hay iaw tokboto tokboto tokboto!*

[*hay*] [*hay*] [*i*] =*aw* {*tok*} =*bo* =*to* {*tok*} =*bo* =*to*
 come.on come.on PRX =ACC beat =IMP =IMPEMPH beat=IMP =IMPEMPH
 {*tok*} =*bo* =*to*
 beat =IMP =IMPEMPH
 ‘Come on, come on, beat it, beat it, beat it!’

The following example comes from a story in which a banana bird is on his way to beat up an elephant for always destroying his nest and eating it. The bird meets a toad and explains where he is going to. Then the toad says that the elephant also always destroys his nest and joins the bird saying (706). This construction cannot be negated.

(706) *hay aṇba*

[*hay*] [*aṇ*] =*ba*
 come.on 1s =ADD
 ‘Come on, me too.’ Alternatively: ‘Let me go too.’

26.3 Declarative clauses and identity/equation clauses

The declarative clause is a type of independent clause that is used to express statements and facts. The predicate head of a declarative clause can be marked for all independent clause categories (see Table 63). Declarative clauses can take the declarative clausal enclitic <=*te*> (DCL) or the mirative <=*thay* ~ =*təy* ~ =*səy* ~ =*si*> (MIR) whereas interrogatives cannot.

Lines 19 the second clause, 28, 30 and 31 in Text 1 are illustrative of declarative clauses. The first clause in line 19 of this text is a presentative clause which will be treated in the next paragraph. The following example contains three declarative clauses, two with a nominal predicate head and one with a verbal predicate head. A

declarative clause with a noun as predicate head is interpreted either as a (verbless) identity/equation/attributive clause. There is no formal distinction in Atong between these three clause types; the term identity/equation clause is used in this grammar to cover the three different interpretations. Example (707) comes from the story about the giant eagle in which six sons are on their way to shoot it when they come to a clearing in the jungle with a huge tree in it. In the tree the giant eagle is perching and one of the brothers says (707).

(707) *iannokhon, amami garu ramgabaci de?etgaba iankhonte ie. hay na?naŋdo kawnaka.*

{i =an} =khon [[ama =mi garu {ram}=gaba] {de?et} =gaba]
PRX =FC/ID =SPEC mother=GEN mustard dry =ATTR shit =ATTR

{i =an} =khon =te [ie] [hay] [na?naŋ] =do {kaw -naka}
PRX =FC/ID =SPEC =DCL PRX come.on 1pi =TOP shoot -IFT

‘That might [be it], that might [be] the one which shat in mother’s dry mustard [leaves]. Come on, we will certainly shoot it.’

Members of other non-verbal word classes, like demonstratives (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 22), can also be predicate head of an identity/equation clause, e.g. (708).

(708) *daba ian*

[daba] {i =an}
coconut PRX =FC/ID
‘This [is] a coconut.’

26.4 The presentative clause

A presentative clause is a declarative clause that contains only a nominal predicate head. The properties of nominal predicate heads are treated in Chapter 22. Its function is to present background information for what follows, as the first clause of line 19 in

Text 1 and the first two clauses of example (709) below, which is the beginning of a story.⁵⁶

- (709) *morot məŋ?sanoromo. jəw?taraannokmo, wa? ni?ok. ue gawicie sa?*
məŋ?korok ganaŋnoro aro de?theŋ pipukci ganaŋkhua məŋ?sa, mo.
- {morot məŋ? sa} =no =ro =mo
 person CLF:HUMANS one =QUOT =EMPH =CONF
- {[jəw? -tara] =an -ok} =mo [wa?] {ni? -ok}
 mother -EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID -COS =CONF father not.exist -COS
- [ue gawi] =ci =e [sa? məŋ? korok] {ganaŋ} =no =ro
 DST woman=LOC=FC child CLF:HUMANS six exist =QUOT =EMPH
- aro [de?theŋ pipuk] =ci {ganaŋ-khu -a} [məŋ? sa] =mo
 and 3s belly =LOCexist INCOM -CUST CLF:HUMANS one =CONF
- ‘One person, OK. Only a mother [is left], OK. There is no father any more.
 The woman has six children, it is said, and in her belly there is one more, OK.’

26.5 Copula clauses

The identity/equation copula in Atong is *doŋ?~ doŋ-* (IE.be). The allomorphs are in free variation. A copula clause can be identified as such if it contains the identity/equation copula *don?~ doŋ-* (IE.be) and at least one core argument, viz. the copula complement. Both copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC) are obligatorily unmarked for case. This obligatory unmarkedness of the two core arguments is one feature which distinguishes copula clauses from transitive clauses in which O can be accusative-marked under certain pragmatic conditions, (see §20.8).

The equation/identity copula is mostly used in emphatic (710) or contrastive (711) circumstances or to express the sense of ‘become’ (712). In non-emphatic and non-contrastive circumstances the copula can be dropped in most cases, and then we have a (verbless) identity/equation clause, treated above as declarative clause subtype.

⁵⁶ It was interesting to note that some Atong speakers did not approve of presentative clauses in the written language. When one of my friends read the book of compiled stories, he wanted to add a verb to the first clause in example (709) so that it would read *morot məŋ? sa ganaŋ=no=ro=mo* (person CLF:HUMANS one exist=QUOT=EMPH=CONF) ‘[There] is one person, OK.’

As mentioned above, the identity/equation copula is mostly used in emphatic or contrastive situations and does not need to be expressed under normal conditions because nominal predicate heads can also express negation, aspect and modality and can also take dependent clause marking. The copula is, however, obligatory when it is used as support verb in complex predicates with certain loan words as treated in §22.7.2iii.

26.6 Quotative clauses

Quotative clauses are marked by the quotative enclitic <=*no*> (QUOT). This enclitic is a marker of evidentiality that indicates that the speaker has the information from hearsay. The quotative enclitic is historically derived from the verb *no* ‘to say’. Older speakers often pronounce the enclitic with two syllables, [*noa* ~ *noə*], or an off-glide [a̤] or [ə̤], [*noa* ~ =*noə̤*], but younger speakers do not. Older speakers indicated that this second syllable or off glide is in fact the factitive suffix <=*wa*> (FACT), which is a predicate head suffix (see Chapter 23). This means that in the language of older speakers the grammaticalisation process from verb to clausal enclitic has not yet been fully completed, since they can still attach a factitive-like element to the quotative. Younger speakers who helped me to transcribe texts never wanted to write anything else but /no/ for the quotative, even when I insisted that I heard something else in the recording. For the younger speakers the process of grammaticalisation of the verb into an enclitic is complete, and all traces of verbness have vanished. Examples of quotative clauses can be found throughout this grammar.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ I use the term quotative to label this hearsay evidential morpheme so as to keep in line with the terminology used in other grammars of the group of languages that Atong belongs to, viz. the grammar of Garo by Burling (2004) and the grammar of Rabha by Joseph (2007).

26.7 Reactions to independent clauses involving proclauses

Atong has all three systems treated in Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 189-91) that involve proclauses *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ and *hmʔm* ‘no’ and *əm* ‘affirmative’ which are reactions to independent clauses, viz.

- the agree/disagree system,
- the yes/no system,
- the echo system.

Systems 1 to 3 can be used to react to all types of independent clauses except that the echo system does not apply to imperatives. For imperative clauses the proclause *əm* ‘affirmative’ must be used as positive reaction or agreement proclause. The echo system is freely interchangeable with either the agree/disagree or the yes/no system. The proclauses and echo answers can be combined, the most frequently used one is PRO-CLAUSE followed by PREDICATE. All reactions will be treated separately below.

26.7.1 The agree/disagree system

Negative questions and statements are answered according to the agree/disagree system in which the affirmative proclause *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ means that the presupposition of his interlocutor was correct, e.g. line 26 and 27 in Text 1. The negative proclause *hmʔm* ‘no’ means that the speaker disagrees with the interlocutor’s presupposition, e.g. (714) and (715).

(714) “*may saʔkhuca?*” “*hmʔm.*”

{*may saʔ -khu -ca*} [*hmʔm*]

rice eat -INCOM-NEG no

“‘Haven’t [you] eaten yet? Yes [I have].”

- (715) “*atoŋ dawa ama?*” *nookno*. “*hə? niʔwate baba, aŋa mamuŋawan dawancate. uan phəwramu hayʔe garutara dəwariwate. mamuŋ dawancate*” *nookno. ucie*: “*hmʔm ama naŋʔdo tayʔnido atoŋba dawa. jaʔbekaŋ thawokte*.”

[*atoŋ*] {*dəw-wa*} [*ama*] {*no-ok*} =*no* [*həʔ*] {*niʔ -wa*} =*te*
 what add -FACT mother say -COS =QUOT interj not.exist -FACT =DCL

[*baba*] [*aŋa*] [*mamuŋ*] =*aw* =*an* {*dəw-an -ca*} =*te* [*u*] =*an*
 son 1s nothing =ACC=FC/ID add -REF -NEG -DCL DST=FC/ID

[*phəwra*] =*mu* [*hayʔe garu*] =*tara* {*dəw-ari -wa*} =*te*
 rice.powder =COM GPN mustard =EXCLUSIVELY add -SIMP-FACT =DCL

[*mamuŋ*] {*dəw-an -ca*} =*te* {*no-ok*} =*no* [*ucie*] [*hmʔm*] [*ama*]
 nothing add -REF -NEG -DCL say -COS -QUPOT then no mother

[*naŋʔ*] =*do* [*tayʔni*] =*do* [*atoŋ*] =*ba* {*dəw-wa*} [*jaʔbek*] =*an*
 2s =TOP today =TOP what =INDEFadd -FACT curry =FC/ID

{*thaw -ok*} =*te*
 tasty -COS =DCL

“‘What did you add, mother?’, [he] said, it is said. ‘Huh?! Nothing, son, I did not add anything, I’m telling you. I only added that rice powder and these, um, mustard [leaves], I’m telling you. I added nothing, really’, [she] said, it is said. Then: ‘No, mother, you did add something today. The curry is very tasty, really.’”

Prohibitives require *əm* ‘affirmative’ as agreement reaction and *hmʔm* ‘no’ as disagreement reaction proclausal, e.g. (716). Other examples of the use of the proclausal *əm* ‘affirmative’ can be found in §17.4.

- (716) “*reʔeŋnabay!*” “*hmʔm / əm*”

{*reʔeŋ*} =*na* =*bay*
 go.away =DAT=PROH

Answer A: [*hmʔm*]
 no

Answer B: [*əm*]
 affirmative

“‘Don’t go!’” Answer A: “‘Yes, [I will go]’”. Answer B: “‘No, [I won’t go].’”

26.7.2 The yes/no system

Positive questions and statements can be answered with the yes/no system. In this case the positive proclausal *hoʔoŋ* and *ʔm: hmʔ* ‘that’s right’ mean affirmation of the interlocutor’s presupposition, e.g. (717) below. The negative *hmʔm* ‘no’ contradicts

the interlocutor's presupposition, of which example (718) and (719) below are illustrative and as can be seen line 68 of Text 2, which is the negative answer to the positive question in line 65.⁵⁸

(717) “*tət! diʔphuramʔama?*” *nookno*. “*hoʔoŋ manamaydoŋmo*” *noatakoko*,
phalthaŋba, amakba.

[*tət*] {*diʔphu -ram -a*} =*ma* {*no-ok*} =*no*
interj fart -INADVERTENTLY -FACT =Q say -COS =QUOT

[*hoʔoŋ*] {*manam -aydoŋ*} =*mo*
yes stink -PROG =CONF

{*no-wa*} {*tak -ok*} =*no* [*phalthaŋ*] =*ba* [*amak*] =*ba*
say -FACT do -COS =QUOT self =EMPH monkey =EMPH

“‘Hey! Did you just accidentally fart?’”, he said, it is said. “‘Yes, it stinks, doesn’t it’”, [he] said, it is said, [he] himself, the monkey.’

Text 2 provides ample examples of yes/no-system answers. In lines 9 and 10 we find an example of a marked polar question followed by a proclause answer. Line 22 spoken by Jongken in the same text is interpreted as a polar question by Songken, who answers with a proclause. Note that the intonation does not mark line 22 as a polar question. The same holds for the polar question in line 30. In line 46 and 47 we find a presupposition in the form of a declarative clause answered by the affirmative proclause *ʔmhmʔ* ‘that’s right’. Line 51 presents a proclausal answer to the rhetorical content question in line 50.

⁵⁸ Note that in this question {*may saʔ-thok-ok*} =*ma* [*naŋʔ-təm*] =*e?* (rice eat-ALL-COS=Q 2s-ppp=FC) ‘Have all of you eaten rice?’ the word *may* ‘rice’ is incorporated in the predicate since the quantifying S/O event specifier suffix *-thok* ‘all’ refers to *naŋʔtəm* ‘you.plural’, in S function, and not to *may* ‘rice’. For more detail see Chapter 22.

- (718) “*phəlgəm deʔetdapetanəŋwa?!*” *nookno*. “*hoʔoŋ*” *nookno*.

[*phəlgəm*] {*deʔet -dap -et*} {*tan -aŋ -wa*} {*no-ok*} =*no*
 eagle shit -ON.TOP -CAUS put -AWAY -FACT say -COS =QUOT

[*hoʔoŋ*] {*no-ok*} =*no*
 yes say -COS =QUOT

“‘An eagle shat on [it]?!’ ‘he said, it is said.’ ‘Yes’ [she] said, it is said.’

- (719) “*hay coʔsa saʔna naʔa bayʔsiga*.” “*hmʔm manʔca*” *noariano*.

[*hay*] [*coʔsa*] {*saʔ -na*} [*bayʔsiga*]
 come.on a.little eat -DESI friend

[*hmʔm*] {*manʔ -ca*} {*no -ari -a*} =*no*
 no be.able-NEG say -SIMP-CUST =QUOT

“‘Come on, [I] want to eat a bit, friend.’ ‘No, [you] can’t’, [he] just said, it is said.’

Imperative clauses require the proclause *əm* ‘affirmative’ as positive answer and *hmʔm* ‘no’ as negative answer, e.g. (720) here below. Other examples of the use of the proclause *əm* ‘affirmative’ can be found in §17.4.

- (720) *uci nepaldo*: “*naʔa aŋ maʔsu maŋ rajasaaw tənəŋsegabone*” *nookno*. “*əm*” *noaiməŋ thenʔthonba tənəŋokno*.

uci [*nepal*] =*do* [*naʔa*] [*aŋ maʔsu maŋ* *raja sa*] =*aw*
 then Nepali =TOP 2s 1s cow CLF:ANIMALS hundred one=ACC

{*tən -aŋ -sega*} =*bo* =*ne* {*no -ok*} =*no*
 lead -AWAY -ALT =IMP =TAGs ay -COS=QUOT

[*əm*] {*no*} =*ay* =*məŋ* [*thenʔthon*] =*ba* {*tən-aŋ -ok*} =*no*
 affirmative say=ADV =SEQ Name =EMPH lead-AWAY -COS =QUOT

‘Then the Nepali: “You lead my hundred cows away [instead of me], ok”, [he] said, it is said. Having said: “Yes [I will]”, Theng•thon led them away, it is said.’

26.7.3 The echo system

The echo system functions in answers to polar questions where the predicate of the interrogative clause is repeated in the desired positive or negative form, e.g. (721) and (722).

(721) “*may saʔakma?*” “*saʔak. / saʔkhuca*”

{*may saʔ -ak*} =*ma*
rice eat -COS =Q

Answer A: {*saʔ -ak*}
eat -COS

Answer B: {*saʔ -khu -ca*}
eat -INCOM-NEG

“‘Have you eaten?’” Literally: “‘have you rice-eaten?’” Answer A: “‘Yes’”

Answer B: “‘Not yet.’”

(722) “*khaʔrekma ie?*” “*khaʔrekanca, saman.*”

{*khaʔrek*} =*ma* [ie] {*khaʔrek -an -ca*} {*sam*} =*an*
yardlong.bean =Q PRX yardlong.bean -REF -NEG weed =FC/ID
“‘Is this a string bean [plant]?’” “‘[They are] not beans, [They are] weeds.’”

If the predicate of the polar question was marked with <=*ma*> (Q), the predicate of the answer will frequently be marked by the emphatic marker <=*ba*> (EMPH), as in the greeting and answer expressed in (723). This emphatic marking is not obligatory. The enclitic <=*ba*> (EMPH) can also occur on predicates when the polar question was not marked by <=*ma*> (Q).

(723) “*nemaydoŋama?*” “*nemaydoŋaba.*”

{*nem-aydoŋa*} =*ma* {*nem-aydoŋa*} =*ba*
good -DUR =Q good -DUR =EMPH
“‘Are you well?’” “‘Well indeed.’”

The echo clause can be an emphatic complex predicate as is the case in line 67 of, Text 1, which is the reaction to the marked polar question in line 65.

We will now turn our attention to two clausal enclitics in Atong, viz. the irrealis and the speculative. These enclitics do not indicate different clause types, but only occur on independent declarative clauses.

26.8 The irrealis enclitic <=*cəm*>

The irrealis only occurs on independent declarative clauses and is signalled by the morpheme <=*cəm*> (IRR) and indicates that something is supposedly the case (epistemic modality connotation) or that a certain event was going on but was

stopped, which is the ‘irresultative’ interpretation. Depending on the context the use of the morpheme $\leq cəm \geq$ (IRR) can also have a ‘frustrative’ implication, or it can mean that an event could have been otherwise, i.e. the ‘implicative’ interpretation. All these interpretations will be treated one by one.

The use of the irrealis is independent of that of the predicate head suffixes indicating aspect and modality. The irrealis also appears as a particle after the proclause *hoʔoŋ* ‘yes’ (see §17.4), as we can see in line 55 of TEXT 1, which is represented here with its context as (724). The comma indicates the pause that usually precedes the irrealis in this construction. The speculative clausal enclitic $\leq khon \geq$ (SPEC) (see §26.9) and the confirmative tag enclitic $\leq mo \geq$ (CONF), e.g. TEXT 2, line 23 and (520), are also attested on this proclause.

(724) Jonken says:

{*banthay*} =*ci* =*ba* [*taŋka poysa*] [*naŋʔ*] {*naŋ -arok*} =*ona...*
 bachelor =LOC=INDEF money money 2s need -PROG =DAT
 ‘when you are a bachelor, because you need money...’

Nongken says:

hoʔoŋ, cəm.
 yes IRR
 ‘Yes, supposedly’

26.8.1 Supposition interpretation

In examples (725), (726) and (727) the irrealis functions as a modality marker, indicating that something is supposedly the case. The first two examples are the opening sentences of stories, creating a fictional character of whom an adventure will be told, the third example is a simple supposition. When a clause is both irrealis- and quotative-marked, the irrealis usually comes after the quotative enclitic, as we see in (714). Less usual is the position of the irrealis before the quotative, as we see in (715). When the clause is marked for emphasis with the emphatic enclitic $\leq aro \sim ro \geq$ (EMPH) in addition to the irrealis and quotative enclitics, the order of the enclitics is always =IRREALIS=QUOTATIVE=EMPHATIC, e.g. (716). The different positions of the quotative have no effect on scope of the enclitic, or on the meaning of the clause.

Irrealis after quotative:

(725) *soŋ damsaci morot məŋsa manʔay saʔgaba ganaŋnocəm.*

[*soŋ dam sa*] =ci [*morot məŋsa*]
village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC person CLF.HUMANS one
manʔ =ay *saʔ=gaba*] {*ganaŋ*} =no =cəm
in.great.amounts=ADV eat =ATTR exist =QUOT =IRR

‘In a village is/was supposedly a man who ate in great amounts (a rich man), it is said.’

Irrealis before quotative:

(726) *ue bihape cigacak teʔew kol india kolani hapan doŋʔwacəmnoa.*

[*ue bihap* (<Garo)] =e [*cigacak teʔew*]
DST place =FC Pname now
[*kol india kolani hap*] =an {*doŋʔ -wa*} =cəm =noa
Pname place=FC/ID I E.be -FACT =IRR =QUOT

‘The place Chigachak is now supposed to be the Coal India Colony place.’

Irrealis preceeds quotative followed by emphatic:

(727) *Teʔewe biba soŋ damsacie boba məŋsa ganaŋcəmnoro.*

[*teʔew*] =e [*biba soŋ dam sa*] =ci =e
now =FC in.whatever.place village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC=FC
[*boba məŋsa*] {*ganaŋ*} =cəm =no =ro
crazy.man CLF.HUMANS one exist =IRR =QUOT =EMPH

‘Now, in a village wherever supposedly is/was a lazy king, it is said.’

26.8.2 Irresultative interpretation

In example (728) we see the irrealis on a clause of which the predicate carries the change of state suffix. A certain event had come about during a game of cards, but the event did not continue. The discontinuity of the event is signalled by the irrealis.

(728) *aŋ tayʔsa rajasa lapokcəm. thəyok.*

[*aŋ*] [*tayʔsa*] [*raja sa*] {*lap -ok*} =cəm {*thəy-ok*}
1s just.now hundred one make.profit-COS =IRR die -COS
‘I just made one hundred [rupees] profit. I died (i.e. lost the game).’
Alternatively: ‘I just won a hundred rupees but I lost at the end.’

The sentence in (729) was uttered when a young woman came into the room to get a small stool which had been there earlier, which she had seen. At the moment of

utterance the small stool had been removed. Just like in the example above, the irrealis is used to signal the discontinuation of an event, in this case the existence of the small stool.

(729) *mura tayʔsa ganaŋcəm, teʔew niʔwa.*

[*mura*] *tayʔsa* {*ganaŋ*} **=cəm** *teʔew* {*niʔ* -*wa*}
 small.stool just now exist =IRR now not.exist -FACT
 ‘There was supposed to be a small stool here [but] now it’s gone.’

Discontinuation of a negated event can also occur. This means that something was once not the case, but is the case now. The next example is illustrative.

(730) *aŋ ie khata dakaŋdo təŋgcacəm. teʔewdo nemayan təŋok*

[*aŋ*] [*ie* *khata*] *dakaŋ* =*do* {*təŋ* -*ca*} **=cəm**
 1s PRX word before =TOP know -NEG =IRR

[*teʔew*] =*do* {*nem*} =*ay* =*an* {*təŋ* -*ok*}
 now =TOP good =ADV =FC/ID know -COS

‘I did not know this word before. Now I know it well.’

26.8.3 Frustrative interpretation

I adopt the definition of frustrative as used in Aikhenvald (2003: 280) for the frustrative enclitic *-tha* in Tariana. This definition states that the frustrative is used when an action “has failed already or is bound to fail; or that the success of an attempted action is not yet certain.” The frustrative interpretation of the irrealis morpheme <=*cəm*> (IRR) is illustrated in the next examples. In the context of (731), a small child is walking through the forest in search of his brothers, but he cannot find them anywhere. When he meets an old woman, the child says:

(731) *abu, aŋdo dadaparaaw sandiedoŋacəm.*

abu [*aŋ*] =*do* [*dada*] =*para* =*aw* {*sandi* -*edoŋa*} **=cəm**
 grandma 1s =TOP older.brother=&co =ACC search -PROG =IRR
 ‘Grandma, I am searching in vain for my elder brothers.’

While in the above example the event is ongoing but ‘frustrated’, because it is in vain, the event in the following example has failed already.

(732) *naŋʔawdo boro tayʔsa sandiwacəm.*

[*naŋʔ*] =*aw* =*do* [*boro*] [*tayʔsa*] {*sandi* -*wa*} =*cəm*
 2s =ACC=TOP Name just.now search -FACT =IRR
 ‘Boro just searched you in vain.’

26.8.4 Implicative interpretation

The morpheme <=*cəm*> (IRR) also signals another kind of irrealis, viz. that something could be or could have been otherwise. This is the implicative interpretation, illustrated by examples (733) - (735).

(733) *biskut dəŋthaŋ ramacəm*

[*biskut dəŋthaŋ*] {*ram* -*wa*} =*cəm*
 biscuit different search -FACT =IRR
 ‘You could have searched for other biscuits.’ (said the mother to her daughter who came in with some biscuits which were apparently not the ones the mother wanted.)

In the next example both occurrences of the irrealis can be interpreted as signaling an implication.

(734) *aŋ naŋʔaw bəlonen nukna səkaydoŋacəm. aŋ phalthaŋ reʔeŋnado səkaydokcəm, ətəkciba aŋa sawamigəmən reʔeŋna manʔcaaydoŋa.*

[*aŋ*] [*naŋʔ*] =*aw* [*bəlonen*] {*nuk*} =*a* {*sək* -*aydoŋa*} =*cəm*
 1s 2s =ACC very see =DAT want -PROG =RR

[*aŋ phalthaŋ*] {*reʔeŋ*} =*na* =*do* {*sək* -*aydok*} =*cəm*
 1s self go.away =DAT=TOP want -PROG =IRR

ətəkciba [*aŋa*] [*sa* -*wa*] =*mi* =*gəmən*] {*reʔeŋ*} =*na*
 but 1s be.ill -fact =GEN=REASON go.away =DAT

{*manʔ* -*ca* -*aydoŋa*}
 be.able -NEG -PROG

‘I am really wanting to see you, (but something prevents me from attaining this). I would have liked to come myself but because of me being ill I am not able to go.’

(735) *haʔcəksaŋ balcido sal kolgrəksa noay məɲnicəm.*

[*haʔcək*] =*saŋ* {*bal*}=*ci* =*do* [*sal kolgrək sa*]

Garo =INSTR say =LOC=TOP day twenty one

{*no*} =*ay* {*məɲ* -*ni*} =*cəm*

say =ADV call.a.name -FUT =IRR

‘When you say it in Garo, it would be called *sal kolgrəksa* (‘twenty one days’).’

The next example is a comment from a speaker whom I had just told that if Atong people would go to “my country” (Holland) they would not become white like me. My interlocutor did not agree and said:

(736) *boknicəmdo.*

{*bok* -*ni*} =*cəm* =*do*

white-FUT =IRR =TOP

‘[We] might become white anyway.’

I am not sure whether to interpret this use of the irrealis as an implicative or a supposition.

26.9 The speculative enclitic <=*khon*>

The speculative enclitic <=*khon*> (SPEC) can only be encliticised to independent declarative clauses, and expresses speculative modality, which indicates that the speaker is uncertain and speculating about the coming about of an event which he did not witness. The occurrence of the speculative modality clausal enclitic is independent of the occurrence of any other aspect or modality predicate head suffixes. When used in combination with the quotative enclitic, the speculative enclitic always follows the quotative, e.g. (737). Clauses where the speculative enclitic precedes the quotative are not attested. In colloquial speech the speculative marker is most often followed by the declarative enclitic <=*te*> (DCL) whereas this combination is rare in narrative texts. The position of the speculative enclitic in relation to the quotative is purely morphosyntactically conditioned and does not change the scope of the enclitics nor the meaning of the clause.

The following example illustrates the use of the speculative enclitic in a narrative about the past. The speaker tells us that a family with some children wanted to swim across a dangerous river. Why they wanted to swim across is speculated upon in (737).

(737) *ucie te?ewdo ruŋ ni?wanokhon.*

ucie [te?ew]=do [ruŋ] {ni? -wa} =no =khon
 then now =TOP boat not.exist -FACT =QUOT =SPEC
 ‘Then, well, there might not have been any boats, it is said.’

Example (60), repeated here as (738), is a speculation about a future event, as can be seen by the appearance of the future modality predicate head suffix <-ni> (FUT) in the second, underlined clause.

(738) *raŋsan raŋbərəmaydoŋa, waynikhon.*

[raŋsan] {raŋbərəm -aydoŋa} {wa -ay -ni} =khon
 sun be.shrouded.in.clouds -DUR rain -TOWARDS -FUT =SPEC
 ‘The sun is blocked by the clouds, it might rain.’

Examples of the speculative on clauses with predicates marked by other aspect and modality suffixes can be found in line 22 of TEXT 2, with the change of state suffix, line 46 of TEXT 2, with the incomplete and the negative, and in example (307) in §17.4, with the imperious future. Example (116) in §8.3 illustrates the occurrence of the speculative enclitic on a clause with a demonstrative as predicate head. The following example shows the speculative enclitic on a clause with a nominal predicate head. While walking through the jungle, one of my friends heard a sound and said:

(739) *muŋmakhonte*

{muŋma} =khon =te
 elephant =SPEC =DCL
 ‘It might be an elephant.’

Like the irrealis <=cəm> (IRR), see §26.8, and the confirmative tag enclitic <=mo> (CONF), e.g. TEXT 2, line 23 and (520), the speculative enclitic occurs as a particle

after the proclause *hoʔoŋ* (see 17.4), as the next example illustrates. The comma indicates the pause which usually precedes the occurrence of the particles in this construction.

(740) Speaker 1: *naŋ ama nəgəlsaŋ reʔeŋwama?*

Speaker 2: *hoʔoŋ, khon.*

[*naŋ ama*] [*nəgəl*] = *saŋ* { *reʔeŋ* -*wa* } = *ma*
 2s mother market =MOB go.away -FACT =Q

hoʔoŋ, khon

yes SPEC

“‘Has your mother gone to the market?’” “Yes, possibly.

Chapter 27 Dative- and locative-marked clauses

The dependent status of dative- and locative-marked clauses is signalled by case marker morphemes.⁵⁹ These clauses can fulfil a number of semantic roles in a matrix clause. Dative marked clauses range in syntactic status from adjuncts to complements whereas locative-marked clauses only occur as adjuncts, modifying a matrix clause.

There are two kinds of predicates, according to formal criteria, on which the dative and locative cases occur, viz. inflected and non-inflected. The variety of different predicate inflections is bigger for dative clauses than for locative clauses and all of these are main clause inflections, i.e. without the case marker, the predicate could stand as a sentence on its own. The dative enclitic can occur after the change of state suffix, the progressive/durative aspect or the factitive suffix, as we will see in §27.1, while the locative enclitic can only occur after the factitive suffix, as will be discussed in §27.5. The factitive suffix on locative-marked clauses has the same effect as the factitive on main clauses, i.e. as marker of factitive modality, as is discussed in Chapter 1.

Dative marking on non-inflected clauses is discussed in §27.2. The dative case enclitic also marks complement clauses of the temporal postposition *dakaŋ* ‘before’, as we will see in §27.3. Section 27.4 summarises the most important properties of dative-marked clauses. Everything about locative-marked clauses will be discussed in §27.5. Finally, §27.6 is a description of the different functions of the concomitant action suffix <-*butuŋ*> (WHILE).

⁵⁹ Atong is not the only language that uses case marking as a clause linkage device. A list of languages from around the world that also exhibit this phenomenon is given in Aikhenvald (forthcoming 2009).

27.1 Dative marking on inflected predicates

Predicate heads inflected with either the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT), the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) or the progressive/durative suffix <-aydoŋa ~ -aydoŋ ~ -aydok ~ -aroŋa ~ -aroŋ ~ -arok> (PROG) can take the dative enclitic <=na> (DAT) to fulfil an adjunct role in a matrix clause. The factitive, change of state and progressive/durative are all main clause suffixes, i.e. without the dative case enclitic, predicates with these suffixes can stand as sentences on their own; the dative enclitic is the marker of subordination.

Change of state-plus-dative- and progressive/durative-plus-dative-marked predicate heads can only be interpreted as Reason adjuncts. Factitive-plus-dative-marked predicates can be either Reason adjunct, Standard of comparison or O argument, depending on the main clause predicate and the context. Factitive-plus-dative marked complement clauses in O function are treated in Chapter 1.

There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments of an inflected dative clause and a main clause. Case marking of NPs in dative-marked subordinate clauses is the same as in main clauses, i.e. A and S unmarked for case and O can be optionally accusative-marked when the NP is referential and definite (see §20.8). Argument structure in dative-marked and main clauses is also the same. Reason clauses and standard of comparison clauses are treated separately below.

27.1.1 Reason clauses

A Reason clause is a dative-marked subordinate clause that is syntactically an adjunct to a matrix clause. The allomorph <=ona> occurs after the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) and after the allomorphs <-aydok ~ -arok> (PROG) of the progressive/ durative aspect suffix.⁶⁰ The allomorph <=na> occurs elsewhere.

⁶⁰ The appearance of the homophonous desiderative suffix <-na> (DESI) on independent clauses indicating an implied possibility, a wish or intention is treated in §23.9. See also example (762) in this chapter.

Examples (741) and (742) illustrate Reason clauses whose verbal predicate head is inflected with the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) and the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) respectively. In example (741) we see that the subordinate clause headed by the transitive predicate *saʔroŋwana* has a fully fledged argument structure. The NPs inside the subordinate clause are marked in the same way as in a main clause, viz. the O argument *geʔtheŋməŋ thup* ‘his nest’ is marked as accusative by the enclitic <=aw> (ACC) and the A argument *moŋma* ‘elephant’ is unmarked for case.

- (741) *tawʔreksərup maŋsa geʔtheŋməŋ thupaw phaŋnan moŋma phayʔay saʔroŋwana, moŋma mathayaw thapna reʔeŋaydoŋanowa.*

[*tawʔreksərup* *maŋ* *sa*] |[*geʔtheŋməŋ thup*]_O =aw [*phaŋnan*]
 babana.bird CLF:ANIMALS one 3s =GEN nest =ACC always

[*moŋma*]_A {*phayʔ*} =ay {*saʔ -roŋ* *-wa*}| =na [*moŋma*]
 elephant break =ADV eat -USUALLY -FACT =DAT elephant

mathay] =aw {*thap*} =na {*reʔeŋ -aydoŋa*} =no *-wa*
 bachelor.elephant=ACC beat.up =DAT go.away -PROG =QUOT -FACT

‘A banana bird, because an elephant always breaks/broke and eats/ate his nest [lit. ‘breakingly eats’], is/was going to beat up the bachelor elephant, it is said.’

In example (742) the S argument of the intransitive subordinate predicate *thawokona* is unmarked for case just like in a main clause.

- (742) *ido diʔan thawokona, randaydo atongtəkəy thawarongnaka, mo ama?!*

|[*i*] =do [*diʔ*]_S =an {*thaw -ok*}| =ona [*randay*] =do [*aton*] =təkəy
 PRX =TOP shit =FC/ID tasty -COS =DAT meat =TOP how =LIKE

{*thaw -arəŋ-naka*} [*mo*] [*ama*]
 tasty -DUR -IFT CONF mother

‘Because this, the shit, is so tasty, how tasty will the meat certainly be, won’t it, mother?!’

Nominal predicate heads of Reason clauses can also either be change of state-marked, e.g. (743), (744)⁶¹ or factitive-marked, e.g. (745). Factitive-marked nominal predicate heads are rare in Atong. To express the factitive category instead of the nominal, the copula can be used as predicate, as we can see in example (746).

The context of the next example is as follows. The lazy king, having become a tramp, is at the market and wants to buy a bullock cart because he is too lazy to walk. He tries to find the cheapest cart so he asks several salesmen. Then he returns to the first salesman and asks again how much the cart costs and the salesman replies (743). The dative-marked nominal predicate which is the focus in this example consists of the round number numeral *hajar* ‘1000’ and the unit numeral *sa* ‘one’ followed by the suffix <-ak> (COS) and the dative morpheme. The head noun and classifier are elided since they are understood from the context, i.e. the predicate is a headless NP.

(743) *ceŋwaməŋ damdo hajarsaakona, hajarsa.*

[[*ceŋ* -wa =məŋ dam]_S=do {*hajar* *sa* -ak}|=ona {*hajar* *sa*}
begin -FACT =GEN price =TOP thousand one-COS =DAT thousand one
‘Because the first price was one thousand, (it is still) one thousand.’

Whereas the change of state-marked nominal predicate head of the Reason clause in (743) consists of a numeral, the following example shows a prototypical noun as change of state-marked head of a Reason clause.

(744) *balphakram haʔbərigumukokona, rayʔsotna manʔca.*

[[*balphakram*] {[*haʔbəri*] =gumuk -ok}|=ona
Pname hill =all -COS =DAT
|{*rayʔ* -sot}| =na {*manʔ* -ca}
go -DIRECTLY =DAT be.able -NEG
‘Because Balphakram is all hills, you cannot go [there] directly.’

⁶¹ Other examples of change of state-marked Reason clauses are (766) and line 32 and 33 of the Text 1 and line 50 of the text Text 2.

The following example illustrates the use of the factitive and dative enclitics on a nominal predicate head.

(745) *saʔgəraywana kəmcawa.*

l{*saʔgəray -wa*}l =na {*kəm -ca -wa*}
 child -FACT =DAT marry-NEG -FACT
 ‘Because she’s a child, I will not marry her.’

The factitive marks the noun *saʔgəray* ‘child’ as predicate head. Without the factitive on *saʔgəray* ‘child’ this noun cannot be interpreted as Reason adjunct since only clauses can fulfil this semantic role. The sentence *saʔgəray=na kəm-ca-wa* (child=DAT marry-NEG-FACT) would mean ‘I will not marry for (the benefit of) the child’. The dative is interpreted as the marker of a Beneficiary. For a more detailed discussion, see §24.6.

More fieldwork is needed to find out what the difference in meaning is between a factitive-marked and a change of state-marked nominal predicate head of a Reason clause.

Example (746) below illustrates the use of the copula verb *doŋʔ-* taking the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) instead of the noun in copula complement function. The copula is used for emphasis in this example, instead of suffixing the factitive directly to the nominal predicate head as in (745).

(746) *aŋ piʔsaci amapara babapara khaŋgal doŋʔwana [...]*

l[aŋ piʔsa] =ci [ama]_{CS} =para [baba]_{CS} =para
 1s childhood =LOC mother =&co father =&co
 [khaŋgal]_{CC} {*doŋʔ -wa*}l =na
 poor.person EXIST -FACT =DAT

‘In my childhood, because my mother [and] father and those associated with them were poor people [...].’

The only clausal enclitic that is attested on a factitive-marked Reason clause is the delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM). The example below is illustrative.

- (747) *saʔkhawca naʔa. niʔwa naʔa, goŋʔwanasa balwa sakay muʔaron.*
 {saʔ -khaw -ca} [naʔa] {niʔ -wa} [naʔa]
 eat -SECRETLY -NEG 2s not.exist -FACT 2s
 |{goŋʔ -wa}| =na =sa [balwa] {sak =ay} {muʔ-aron}
 be.willing -FACT =DAT=DLIM wind enjoy=ADV sit -PROG
 ‘[I] did not steal, oh you! [There’s] nothing, oh you! Only because [I] want to [I]’m sitting [here] enjoying the wind.’

A Reason clause can be negated, as the next example illustrates.

- (748) *raŋ sokcawanasa teʔewcinakhəŋkhəŋ raŋmu cəw rəŋsusawanasa məkha badri bimun meŋwanowa.*
 |[raŋ]{sok -ca -wa}| =na =sa [teʔew]=ci =na [khəŋkhəŋ]
 rain succeed -NEG -FACT =DAT=DLIM now =LOC=ALL still
 |[raŋ]=mu {cəw rəŋ -susa -wa}| =na =sa
 rain =COM liquor drink =COMPETITIVELY -FACT =DAT=DLIM
 [məkha badri] [bimun] {məŋ -wa} =no -wa
 Pname name call.a.name -FACT =QUOT -FACT
 ‘Because the rain did not succeed, still up till now, precisely because [they] competitively drank with the rain, the name is called Mykha Badri, it is said.’

In Text 2, line 3, presented as example (749) below, we see a Reason clause as an afterthought postposed to the predicate of the main clause and separated from the main clause by a pause.

- (749) *o, gəlɣəlaroŋ ətəken, haratwanasa.*
 [o] {gəlɣəl-aron} [ətəken], |{harat-wa}| =na =sa
 interj roam -PROG just.like.this lazy -FACT =PUR=DLIM
 ‘Oh, [I]’m just roaming like this, just because [I]’m lazy.’

27.1.2 The standard of comparison clause

Events, expressed by verbs, can be compared in Atong just as objects, expressed by nouns, can be compared. To compare events, the dative case is attached to the factitive-marked predicate of the clause which functions as Standard of comparison (see Dixon 2006-c). There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments of the standard of comparison clause and the main clause.

The dative case functions as mark of the Standard of comparison clause just as it does on Standard of comparison NPs. The next example shows the dative enclitic marking the NP *abun soŋ* ‘other village’ as Standard of comparison (see also §20.6 (A)), whereas in (751) and (752) the dative marks a whole clause as such.

(750) *abun sonna dayay ie son hansenkhala.*

STANDARD	-----MARK-----	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	INDEX
[<i>abun soŋ</i>] =na	{ <i>day</i> }	=ay	[<i>ie soŋ</i>] { <i>hansen</i> }	-khal -a}
other village =DAT	be.bigger=ADV	PRX	village beautiful	-CP -CUST
‘This village is more beautiful than the other village.’				

In (653), here repeated as (751), the arguments of the Standard of comparison clause are co-referential with those in the Comparee clause. In (752) the arguments in both clauses are different.

(751) *umigəmənci aŋa naŋʔaw khəmana dayaydo asetwaan nemkhalnaka.*

STANDARD		-----MARK-----	
[<i>umigəmənɕi</i>]	[<i>aŋa</i>] _A [<i>naŋʔ</i>] =aw { <i>khəm -a</i> ⁶² } =na { <i>day</i> } =ay =do		
therefore	1s	2s	=ACC marry -FACT =DAT be.bigger=ADV =TOP
COMPAREE		PARAMETER	INDEX
{ <i>asset</i> -wa}	=an	{ <i>nem</i> -khal -naka}	
throw.away/dispose -FACT	=FC/ID	good	-CP -IFT

‘Therefore it will certainly be much better to throw you away than to be married to you.’ Literally: ‘Therefore, than being married to you, throwing you away is biggerly better.’

It is not possible to determine whether the A argument, *aŋa* (1s), in (751) belongs to the dative-marked clause or to the main clause. Therefore alternative bracketing for the dative clause in (751) would be: | [*aŋa*]_A [*naŋʔ*=aw] {*khəm-wa=na*} |.

⁶² The form of the factitive suffix in this example is <-a> due to the phonological rule that the /w/ elides when the verbal root or stem ends in /m/ or /p/ (see Chapter 2).

(752) *khaw kan?wana dayaydo na?naŋe ici cayay mu?waan ga?sukhalnaka.*

STANDARD			-----MARK-----			COMPAREE		
<i>khaw</i>	{ <i>kan?</i> - <i>wa</i> }	<i>=na</i>	{ <i>day</i> }	<i>=ay</i>	<i>=do</i>	<i>na?naŋ</i>	<i>=e</i>	
hair	cut	-FACT =DAT	be.bigger=ADV	=TOP	1pi		=FC	
						PARAMETER	INDEX	
[<i>i</i>]	<i>=ci</i>	{ <i>cay</i> }	<i>=ay</i>	{ <i>mu?</i> - <i>wa</i> }	<i>=an</i>	{ <i>ga?su</i>	<i>-khal</i>	<i>-naka</i> }
PRX	=LOC	look	=ADV	sit/stay -FACT	=FC	splendid	-CP	-IFT

‘It is better that we sit here and watch than that you cut hair.’ Literally: Than cutting hair, us watchingly sit here will certainly be more splendid.’

27.2 Dative marking on verbal roots or stems

As we saw in the previous sections, predicate heads inflected with the factitive or the change of state marker can be dative-marked to mark Reason adjuncts or Standard of comparison adjuncts. The dative-marked constructions treated in this paragraph are those in which the dative case encliticises directly to the verbal root or stem.

The semantic and syntactic function that the dative clause fulfils in the matrix clause depends on the type of verb in the predicate of the matrix clause.

- Dative complement clauses of Primary-B and Secondary verbs (see §4.5 for an explanation of these terms) are always in O function. These are thus non-canonically-marked O arguments just like the O arguments of the verbs of emotion and interaction. Syntactic status: embedded (subordinate).
- Dative complement clauses of any intransitive verb can function as S argument. Syntactic status: embedded (subordinate).
- Dative clauses in a subordinate linkage relationship with other verbs, both transitive and intransitive, can function as adjuncts indicating a Purpose.

The subject (S/A) of the dative-marked clause has to be co-referential with the subject in the main clause. It is not always possible to tell if this NP belongs to the matrix or to the dative-marked clause.

27.2.1 Dative-marked complement clauses

All arguments of Primary-B verbs (see §4.5) can be personal pronouns or NPs; however, alternatively the O argument can also be a dative clause. Secondary verbs can only take dative clauses as O argument. A list of Primary-B and Secondary verbs can be found in Table 23 in §4.5.2.

Dixon (2006-b: 1) defines a complement clause as a clause that functions as a core argument in a matrix clause. When a dative-marked clause appears embedded in a matrix clause headed by a Primary-B or Secondary verb predicate, it is always in O function and hence a complement clause. Complement clauses can be questioned with the question *atoŋ* ‘what?’ followed by a form of the main clause verb, e.g. “what do you want?” or “what are you thinking?”. Dative complement clauses are the only non-canonically-marked O arguments.

Example (753) illustrates a dative complement clause of the Primary-B verb *hənʔ*- ‘to give’ and (754) of the Secondary verb *sək*- ‘to want’.

- (753) “*ətəkciɓa naʔa angna aro aŋməŋ jəkna naŋʔ kheŋwa dabat aŋ thəyca dabat aŋaw muʔay saʔna hənʔbo*” *nookno*.

ətəkciɓa [naʔa] [aŋ] =na aro [aŋməŋ jək] =na
but 2s 1s =DAT and 1s =GEN spouse =DAT

[[naŋʔ] {kheŋ -wa} dabat] [[aŋ] {thəy-ca} dabat]
2s live -FACT LIMIT 1s die -NEG LIMIT

[[aŋ]=aw⁶³ {muʔ} =ay {saʔ} | =na {hənʔ} =bo {no -ok} =no
1s =ACC stay =ADV eat =DAT give =IMP say -COS=QUOT

“‘However, you keep giving me and my wife to eat as long as you live until I die”, he said, it is said.’⁶⁴

The subject (S/A) of the dative-marked O complement clause is always co-referential with that of the matrix clause and, if overt, it is only stated once, usually before the complement clause. This might be a syntactic restriction or just be cause it is the only logical inference that can be made in the contexts in which these clauses usually occur, but more fieldwork is needed to find this out. There are no recorded

⁶³ The accusative marking might be a mistake of the speaker. I have no idea why else it would appear in this example, because the phrase is clearly a Beneficiary and one would expect a dative case marker.

⁶⁴ Example (753) contains an instance of the expletive negative in the predicate *thəy-ca* (die-NEG). The expletive negative reinforces the notion that the event denoted by the verb is unrealised. This phenomenon is treated in more detail in §13.4. A more accurate translation of the clause in question can be obtained in French, viz. [[aŋ]{thəyca}dabat] ‘jusqu’à ce que je ne meure’, which involves the subjunctive.

examples of the subject being stated twice, once in the subordinate clause and once in the main clause. The next example, containing a Secondary main verb, illustrates that it is not always possible to determine to which clause an NP belongs. The NP *phalthaŋ* ‘self’ in example (754) is in S function in the dative-marked clause and in A function in the matrix clause and it is impossible to determine to which clause it belongs. The alternative analysis of the first line of the example is presented below the translation.

(754) *aŋ phalthaŋan reʔeŋnado səkaydokcəm.*

aŋ phalthaŋ =*an*⁶⁵ |{*reʔeŋ*}| =*na* =*do* |{*sək* -*aydok*} =*cəm*
 1s self =FC/ID go.away =DAT=TOP want -PROG =IRR
 ‘I would like to go myself, [but because of my illness I cannot go.]’
 Alternatively: ‘I myself would like to go[, but...]’

Alternative bracketing including the NP *phalthaŋ* ‘self’ in the dative-marked clause:

|[*aŋ phalthaŋ* =*an*] |{*reʔeŋ* =*na* =*do*| {*sək* -*aydok*} =*cəm*
 1s self =FC/ID go.away =DAT=TOP want -PROG =IRR

There are no arguments in favour or against either analysis.

Dative complement clauses can be used as an indirect speech report strategy. The speech report is cast as a dative complement of the verb indicating speech, e.g. (755) or thought, e.g. *canci-* ‘to think’ in (756). Direct speech report constructions can stand alone or can be embedded in a higher clause when they are cast as a complement of the direct speech report verb *no-* ‘to say’, e.g. (62) above. Example (755) is a continuation of the same story that example (767) below comes from. “The horse was really quick, it is said.” then (755) happened.

⁶⁵ There are two possible ways to bracket this part of the example, viz. [*aŋ*] [*phalthaŋ-an*] (1s self=FC/ID), corresponding to the first translation, or, [*aŋ phalthaŋ-an*], corresponding to the second translation. Both ways of bracketing are equally felicitous considering the context from which this example is taken.

- (755) *khaʔsinkhalay jalkhalna noayməŋ gaʔdukduciba, rakkhalay rakkhalay jalariokno.*

|{*khaʔsin-khal*} =*ay* |{*jal* -*khal*} =*na*| {*no*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 slow -CP =ADV run.away-CP =DAT say =ADV =SEQ

{*gaʔdukduk*} =*ci* =*ba*
 prod.with.legs =LOC=INDEF

{*rak* -*khal*} =*ay* {*rak* -*khal*} =*ay* {*jal* -*ari* -*ok*} =*no*
 strong -CP =ADV strong -CP =ADV run.away-SIMP-COS =QUOT

Having told [the horse] to run slower, whenever he prods [it] with his legs, [it] just runs faster and faster, it is said.

- (756) *bandiaw watetna canciaydokno.*

|{*bandi*} =*aw* {*watet*}| =*na* {*canci* -*aydok*} =*no*
 Name =ACC send =DAT think -PROG =QUOT

‘He is/was thinking to send Bandi.’ Or: ‘He was thinking about sending Bandi.’

When Primary-B verbs are used with a noun as O argument, as in (757), the noun cannot be marked by the dative case as in the next example.

- (757) *taŋka naŋcawa*

[*taŋka*]_O {*naŋ* -*ca* -*wa*}
 money need -NEG -FACT
 ‘[I] don’t need money.’

One secondary verb has been recorded with both dative and factitive complement clauses. This is the verb *gaʔa*- ‘to be compelled’. In Text 2 line 58 we find an example with a factitive complement clause and here below is an example with a dative complement clause.

- (758) *əʔəkəysa dəŋthaŋdəŋthaŋ soŋcina hapcina jalthokna gaʔakok.*

[*əʔəkəysa*] |{*dəŋthaŋ* *dəŋthaŋ* *soŋ*} =*ci* =*na* [*hap*] =*ci* =*na*
 that’s.why different RED village =LOC=ALL place =LOC=ALL

{*jal* -*thok*}|_O =*na* {*gaʔak* -*ok*}
 run.away-ALL =DAT compel-COS

‘Precisely like that/That’s why/So [they] were all forced to run away to different villages [and] places.’

Contrary to other Primary-B and Secondary verbs, phasal verbs cannot take dative adjuncts but only factitive-marked complement clauses (see §24.3.1). In the following example we see the verb *jam-* ‘to complete, finish’ with a dative-marked adjunct. In this example the subject (S/A) of the main and the dative-marked subordinate clause are co-referential, as is always the case in Purpose constructions.

(759) *ətəkəyməŋ raja soŋnae matkaketdo jamok.*

ətəkəyməŋ | [*raja*] {*soŋ*} | *=na* =e [*mat -kaket*] =do {*jam -ok*}
 so.then king appoint=DAT=FC animal -ALL =TOP complete -COS
 ‘So then, all the animals were gathered in order to appoint a king.’ Literally:
 ‘all the animals were complete in order to appoint a king.’

27.2.2 Dative-marked subject complement clauses

Dative-marked clauses can also occur in S function with intransitive main verbs as long as the verb of the main predicate and the verb of the dative-marked predicate are semantically compatible. Examples (760) and (761) are illustrative.

(760) *mamuŋ taŋka ni?wa aro sa?na rəŋnaba ni?wa*

[*mamuŋ taŋka*]_S {*ni?* -wa} *aro* | {*sa?*} | *=na* | {*rəŋ*} | *=na* =ba
 nothing money not.exist -FACT and eat =DAT drink =DAT =ADD/EMPH
 {*ni?* -wa}
 not.exist -FACT

‘[I] don’t have any money and nothing to eat [and/or] to drink.’ Literally:
 ‘Money does not exist and eat [and/or] drink does not exist.’

(761) *sigəret rəŋnaan thawa*

| [*sigəret*] | {*rəŋ*} | *=na* =an {*thaw -a*}
 cigarettes smoke =DAT=FC/ID tasty -CUST
 ‘Smoking cigarettes is tasty.’

Dative-marked clauses cannot occur in transitive subject (A) function since they will always be the O argument of Primary B and Secondary verbs and Purpose adjunct of other transitive verbs.

27.2.3 Purpose adjunct clauses

Purpose adjunct clauses function as adjuncts to a matrix clause and give additional information about the event depicted by the main clause predicate. The specific properties of this clause type are given here below. There are no recorded occurrences of negated purpose adjuncts.

- Purpose adjuncts cannot appear in a clause with a Primary-B or Secondary verb as predicate head for the reason that a dative-marked clause will be a complement clause in O function. Apart from this caveat, any verb can have a Purpose adjunct.
- Purpose adjuncts provide information to the question as to why the event expressed by the main verb is taking place.

Example (762) shows a Purpose clause with an O argument. The verb in the main clause is intransitive. The S of the main clause is co-referential with the implied A of the dative adjunct clause.

(762) *ama niŋ ue phəlgəməw kawna reʔeŋnane.*

[ama] [niŋ]_S |[ue phəlgəmə]=aw {kaw}|=na {reʔeŋ -na} =ne
 mother 1pe DST eagle =ACC shoot =DAT go.away -DESI=TAG
 ‘Mother, we want/intend to go to shoot that eagle, OK.’

As said above, the subject (S/A) of the uninflected dative-marked clause is always co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. Just like with the dative-marked O complement clauses treated above, the subject which is common to both clauses, if overt, is only stated once, i.e. before the purpose clause. More fieldwork needs to be conducted to find out whether this is a syntactic restriction or not. When the subjects are not coreferential, other constructions must be used, for instance an imperative or an attributive clause, e.g. (763). In this example there is just one subject, i.e.

Cherong, who is the A argument of the verbs *nuk* ‘see’ and *cay* ‘look, watch’ and *bandi rayʔagaba* ‘Bandi who comes’ is the O argument. *Bandi* is modified by the Attributive clause and is therefore not a clausal constituent on its own (see Chapter 29).

- (763) *bandi ray?agabaaw nukayməŋ caysawaymu balaydoŋano cerongiba [...]*
[bandi ray?a=gaba] =aw {nuk} =ay =mu
 Pname come=ATTR =ACC see =ADV =SEQ
 {cay -saw} =ay =mu {bal -aydoŋa} =no [cerongɪ]=ba
 watch -EXPECTANTLY =ADV =SEQ speak -PROG =QUOT Name =EMPH
 ‘[He (Cheronggi)] saw Bandy who comes, having watched expectantly, [and]
 is saying, it is said, [this] Cheronggi: [“why are you arriving so tired?”]’

In addition to this co-reference restriction, other arguments can also be shared by the main and the co-subordinate clause. In the following example the noun *wak* ‘pig’ is both the O argument of the verb *raw?* ‘to catch’ and of the verb *khat* ‘to slaughter’. In this example the implied A argument, i.e. first person plural, of the Purpose adjunct clause is the same as the A of the main clause. This example is the answer to the question “What are you doing?”.

- (764) *biana wak khatna raw?aydoŋa*
 [bia] =na [wak]_O {khat} =na {raw? -aydoŋa}
 wedding =DAT pig slaughter=DAT catch -PROG
 ‘[We] are catching a pig to slaughter for the wedding.’

It is not possible to prove whether or not the NP *wak* ‘pig’ is a constituent of the Purpose adjunct clause or not. Because of this, the boundaries of the Purpose clause in (764) are not indicated by vertical lines.

In example (765) here below the accusative-marked personal pronoun (underlined) can be considered either as constituent of the Purpose adjunct clause or of the main clause. Both the underlined NP and the purposive adjunct clause can be omitted from the clause without making the clause ungrammatical or changing the meaning. In fact, all NPs can always be omitted if they are recoverable from the context.

(765) “*ge?thenaw watkhuna so?otthelarinaka*” *noay khu?moṇaṇokno*.

[*ge?then*]=*aw =do* |{*wat -khu*}| =*na* {*so?ot -thel -ari -naka*}
 3e =ACC=TOP banish -INCOM =DAT kill -SURELY -SIMP -IFT

{*no*} =*ay* {*khu?moṇ -aṇ -ok*} =*no*
 say =ADV conspire -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -COS =QUOT

“‘In order to get rid of him once more [we] will surely kill him”, [they] freely conspired, it is said.’

The alternative boundaries of the Purpose clause indicated by columns would be

|[*ge?then*]=*aw =do* {*wat -khu*}| =*na*.

Type 1 adjectives, which are a subtype of intransitive verb, also take Purpose adjuncts, as we can see in examples (766) and (767). In (766) it is the Type 1 adjective *jaṇ*- ‘be quick’ that takes a dative adjunct. As is mentioned in the chapter on word classes, the change of state suffix on Type 1 adjectives can intensify the meaning of the adjective, which is what happens in this example.

(766) *soṇmi nokgumukan wa?raraakona wal? khamna jaṇok*.

|[*soṇ =mi nok*] =*gumuk=an* {[*wa?*] =*rara -ak*}| =*ona*
 village=GEN house=all =FC/ID bamboo=EXCLUSIVELY -COS =DAT

|{*wal? kham*}| =*na* {*jaṇ -ok*}
 fire burn =DAT be.quick -COS

‘Because all the houses of the village are made only of bamboo, [they] are very quick to catch fire.’ Literally: ‘[they] are very quick to fire-burn.’

The following example comes from a story about a weak and cowardly king called Bil, who has to fight the enemy of his ally-king. Bil asks his ally for the fastest horse. But not knowing how to fight, Bil thinks (767) to himself.

(767) *gore jalna rakcido joljol jalaṇarinaka noay canciokno*.

[*gore*] |{*jal*}| =*na* {*rak*} =*ci =do* [*joljol*]
 horse run.away=DAT strong =LOC =TOP quickly

{*jal -aṇ -ari -naka*} {*no*} =*ay* {*canci -ok*} =*no*
 run.away-AWAY -SIMP-IFT say =ADV think -COS =QUOT

“‘If the horse is strong to run, [I/it] will just quickly run away”, [he] sayingly thought.’ Alternatively: ‘If the horse can really run fast...’

27.3 Dative-marked clauses as complement of postposition

The postposition *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past, earlier’ occurs with the dative case (see 13.1). If the complement of the postposition is a noun, it will be dative-marked, e.g. *aŋ=na dakaŋ* (1s=DAT before) ‘before me (in time)’. Similarly, if the complement of the postposition is a verbal clause, the predicate head will also receive dative marking, as we can see in examples (768) and (769) here below. There are no co-reference restrictions between the subject (S/A) of the complement of the postposition clause and that of the matrix clause or the main clause.

(768) *ca hən?na dakaŋ balokno.*

[[*ca*]₁ [*hən?*]₂] =*na* *dakaŋ*] {*bal-ok*} =*no*
 tea give =DAT before say-COS =QUOT
 ‘Before [she] gave the tea [she] spoke, it is said.’

(769) *unasa ruŋ cawna dakaŋan ətəkəy ruŋ dəkəməw gaʔtəŋaymuna “kha dawa!, kha dawa!” noaymusa ruŋ cawaymu patroŋanoro.*

[*unasa*] [l{*ruŋ caw*}l] =*na* *dakaŋ*] [*ətəkəy*] [*ruŋ dəkəm*] =*aw*
 then boat stream =DAT before like.this boat head =ACC
 {*gaʔtən*} =*ay* =*muna* [*kha dawa kha dawa*]
 stamp =ADV =SEQ interj Sname1 interj Sname1
 {*no*} =*ay* =*mu* =*sa*
 say =ADV =SEQ =DLIM
 [*ruŋ*] {*caw*} =*ay* =*mu* {*pat -aŋ -a*} =*no* =*ro*
 boat stream=ADV =SEQ cross -AWAY -CUST =QUOT =EMPH

‘That’s exactly why, before going by boat, after having stamped on the head of the boat like this [and] only after saying “Kha Dawa! Kha Dawa!” [one] goes by boat and usually crosses, it is said.’

27.4 Summary of dative-marked clauses

The dative enclitic appears on predicates inflected with the change of state suffix, the progressive/ durative aspect suffix or the factitive modality suffix as well as on uninflected verbal roots. In all cases the dative case enclitic indicates the dependency of the clause and limits the interpretations of the semantic role of the clause. Only Reason clauses can have a noun functioning as predicate. In those cases, the factitive suffix indicates the predicative role of the noun. Table 74 summarises the effect of the dative case enclitic on-inflected and non inflected clauses.

Table 74 The effects of the dative case enclitic on clauses

	on inflected predicates		on verbal root
	CHANGE OF STATE- OR PROGRESSIVE/DURATIVE-MARKED PREDICATE PLUS DATIVE ENCLITIC	FACTITIVE-MARKED PREDICATE PLUS DATIVE ENCLITIC	
SYNTACTIC ROLE	subordinate: adjunct modifying a matrix clause	subordinate: as adjunct modifying a matrix clause or governed as O	subordinate: governed as S, O or complement of postposition or as adjunct
SEMANTIC ROLE AS ADJUNCT	Reason	Reason, Standard of comparison	Purpose

27.5 Locative-marked clauses

Locative clauses are marked by the locative case enclitic *<=ci>* (LOC) and fulfil the adjunct function of Temporal Location in a matrix clause. This clause type indicates punctual temporal location, except when the predicate carries the concomitant action suffix *<-butuŋ>* (WHILE), treated in §27.6. The predicate of a Location clause can either be a bare root or stem or an already inflected verb with a factitive suffix, *<-wa>* (FACT) as in (770), or after the concomitant action suffix *<-butuŋ>* (WHILE), which will be treated in the next section. The function of the factitive suffix on predicates of locative-marked clauses will be discussed below. When the predicate does not carry the factitive suffix, the locative enclitic has to be accompanied by either the topic enclitic *<=do>* (TOP) as in (772), or the indefinite enclitic *<=ba>* (INDEF), illustrated in (776), the delimitative enclitic *<=sa>* shown in (778), the focus/identifier enclitic *<=an>* (FC/ID) (771) or the focus enclitic *<=e>* (FC) illustrated in (779). This means that the temporal locative meaning of the independent predicate head, which is characterising the clause type, has to be further specified as being factual, topical, both, or indefinite, delimited, or focused. Factitive-plus=LOCative-marked predicates can also be topic-marked, e.g. (775). The arguments of a locative-marked clause do not have to be co-referential with those of the matrix clause.

Examples (770) and (771) below illustrate the occurrence of the locative enclitic on a verbal predicate head marked by the factitive. In this example the event denoted by the locative-marked predicate has already occurred, i.e. Ketketa Bura, the main

character of the story from which this example has been taken, is already fat when the other events described in the sentence occur. In (771) the event described by the locative-marked predicate is pragmatically interpreted as a condition for a general truth expressed by the locative clause and the main clauses combined.

- (770) *una jəwʔparaē may hənʔayməŋ melʔwaci juta loŋpen muja tupi dəkəpayməŋ bondək pansa hənʔayməŋ watetokno.*

una [jəwʔ] =para =e [may] {hənʔ} =ay =məŋ
 then mother =&co =FC rice give =ADV =SEQ

|{*melʔ -wa*}| =ci
 fat -FACT =LOC

[juta][loŋpen] [muja] [tupi]{dəkəp} =ay =məŋ
 shoe trousers sock hat dress.someone=ADV =SEQ

[bondək pan sa] {hənʔ} =ay =məŋ {watet -ok} =no
 gun CLF:APPARATUS one give =ADV =SEQ send.away -COS =QUOT

‘Then, [Ketsketa Bura’s] mother, having given [him] rice, when [he] was fat, after [she] had dressed [him] in shoes, long trousers, socks [and] a hat, having given [him] a gun, [she] sent him away, it is said.’

A more literal translation of the locative clause *melʔ-wa=ci* (fat-FACT=LOC) in the above example would be ‘when it was the case that he was fat’. Although the factitive can be seen as a nominaliser in dependent clauses, the abstract noun ‘fatness’ would be derived by means of the construction in which a factitive-marked verb takes the genitive/nominaliser enclitic <=mi ~ =məŋ> (GEN/NR), viz. *melʔwami* ~ *melʔwaməŋ* (fat-FACT=NR) ‘fatness’, which could then take cases and function as a real noun (see Chapter 24.1 §24.6).

- (771) *magacakmi mənʔdo təysiwačian miniksuru takjolarianoro.*

[magacak =mi mənʔ] =do {təysi -wa} =ci =an
 deer =GEN body.hair =TOP wet -FACT =LOC=FC/ID

[miniksuru] {tak -jol -ari -a} =no =ro
 flat-haired do -QUICKLY -SIMP-CUST =QUOT =EMPH

‘As far as the deer’s body hair goes, when it is the case that it is wet, it quickly becomes flat-haired.’

The question now arises what exactly the function of the factitive is in examples (770) and (771). As is discussed in §24.1, the factitive is an epistemic modality suffix that is used by speakers to present the event denoted by the verb as a fact. Since factitive-marked predicates in dependent clauses can take case marking, the factitive can be

considered to be a nominaliser, or, the fact that the factitive licences case-marking on predicates can be seen as a remnant of its role as a nominaliser in an earlier stage of the language. Nominalising the event, or “reifying” it, makes the occurrence or non-occurrence of the event expressed by a factitive-marked verb factual. Example (770), with nominalised predicate, contrasts with (772), where the event denoted by the predicate of the locative-marked clause is not nominalised or “reified” by the factitive and therefore interpreted as hypothetical in that it did not occur. But independently from the presence or absence of the factitive, a locative-marked clause functions as a Temporal location adjunct indicating temporal simultaneity.

(772) *aro aŋ maʔsu paŋʔkhucido tanʔayməŋ kereŋaw phalkhunicəm.*

aro [aŋ maʔsu] {paŋʔ -khu} =ci =do {tanʔ} =ay =məŋ
 and 1s cow many -INCOM=LOC=TOP slaughter =ADV =SEQ
 [kereŋ] =aw {phal -khu -ni} =cəm
 bone =ACC sell -INCOM-FUT =IRR

‘And if I [had had] more cows, having slaughtered [them] I could have sold more bones.’ Literally: ‘And at my cows’ greater quantity...’.

In the above example there are three clauses, represented here below as 1, 2 and 3.

1. *aro aŋ maʔsu paŋʔ-khu=cido* ‘at my cow’s greater quantity’
2. *tanʔ-ay=məŋ* ‘having slaughtered’
3. *kereŋ=aw phal-khu-ni=cəm* ‘would have sold more bones’

The conditional relationship between clauses 1 and 3 is pragmatically inferred. As we see below in example (775), locative-marked clauses can also be topic-marked and the semantic relationship between the two clauses in that example is temporal and not conditional. The only difference between nominalised and non-nominalised locative clauses is the degree of certainty of the taking place of the event denoted by the predicate head of the locative clause. Events of nominalised locative predicate heads are more certain to occur or to have occurred than those of non-nominalised ones. Because non-nominalised locative-marked events are unlikely to occur or to have occurred, they are interpreted as conditional, as in (772) above, but what is marked on the predicate head of the locative clause is just Temporal Location and topicality. Of course topics are easily interpreted as conditionals as is discussed at length in Haiman

(1978). Below, in example (777) we shall see that locative clauses without topic marker can also be interpreted as conditionals.

The two following examples are a minimal pair. In example (773) the subordinate predicate is factitive- marked and in example (774) it is not. In example (773) the subordinate predicate is not topic-marked whereas in (774) it is. However, factitive-marked clauses like the one in (773) can be topic-marked, and when they are, they will not be interpreted as conditionals, as we can see in example (775).

(773) *turasaŋ reʔeŋwaci aŋna topi raʔbone.*

[tura] =saŋ {reʔeŋ -wa} =ci [aŋ] =na [topi] {raʔ} =bo =ne
 Pname =MOB go.away -FACT =LOC 1s =DAT hat get =IMP =TAG
 ‘When you go to Tura, buy me a hat.’ or ‘When your going to Tura is a fact, buy me a hat.’

(774) *turasaŋ reʔeŋcido aŋna topi raʔbone.*

[tura] =saŋ {reʔeŋ} =ci =do [aŋ] =na [topi] {raʔ} =bo =ne
 Pname =MOB go.away =LOC=TOP 1s =DAT hat get =IMP =TAG
 ‘If you go to Tura, buy me a hat.’

In both examples the event of going is expressed by the verb *reʔeŋ* ‘to go away’. In (773) the verb is marked by the factitive and in (774) the factitive is absent. Although the events in both examples have not yet taken place, and are thus hypothetical, the event of going in (773) is reified, i.e. presented as a fact, and, in the speaker’s opinion, is much more likely to occur than the event in (774). This is another way of saying that the event in (773), marked by the factitive, is presented by the speaker as much more factual or realistic than the event in (774) where the factitive is absent. In (773), according to the speaker, the person will certainly go to Tura sooner or later, we only do not yet know when. In (774) the speaker does not expect the person to go to Tura at all.

Example (775) below illustrates how a nominalised locative predicate head can also be topicalised. As we can see in example (772) above, when the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) is left out and only the locative and topic suffixes are used on the predicate head, the event is interpreted as hypothetical because the event was not

In the next example the storyteller is giving an account of something that is actually happening and therefore uses the factitive on the predicate of the locative clause. The indefinite enclitic *<=ba>* (INDEF) supplies the meaning of indefinite time.⁶⁶

(777) *tarapna guduk takwaciba tarakay jalariano magacake.*

|{tarap}|=na [guduk]⁶⁷ {tak -wa} =ci =ba
 catch.up =DATwobble do -FACT =LOC=INDEF

{jal -ari -a} =no [magacak] =e
 run.away-SIMP-CUST =QUOT deer =FC

‘Whenever [the Bengali] almost caught up, [he] just run away, it is said, the deer.’

As we can see in the following example, the delimitative-marked locative clause can be interpreted as either temporal or conditional. The absence of a topic enclitic on the locative clause proves that the topic enclitic *<=do>* (TOP) is not the only morpheme responsible for the interpretation of non factitive-marked locative clauses as conditionals.

The delimitative defines the boundaries of the temporal interpretation of the locative clause.

(778) *nemsakca takcisa, mənʔsa kamal takthirini.*

[nem -sak -ca] {tak} =ci =sa [mənʔ sa kamal]
 good -APPROPRIATELY-NEG do =LOC=DLIM CLF:HUMANS one priest

{tak -thiri -ni}
 do -AGAIN-FUT

‘Only at those times when/if it is not done appropriately well, another priest will do it again.’

⁶⁶ The indefinite enclitic *<=ba>* (INDEF) also occurs on indefinite proforms. This suffix is homophonous with the emphatic/additive enclitic *<=ba>* (EMPH/ADD) that occurs on arguments and adjuncts, both phrasal and clausal (see Chapter).

⁶⁷ As was mentioned in §22.6.2, this is the root of the verb *guduk*- ‘to wobble, to move unstably’ which functions adverbially in a light verb construction with the verb *tak*- ‘to do’. The construction *guduk tak*- means ‘to almost V’.

The next two examples illustrate that even when the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) is not present on the predicate of the locative clause, the clause does not have to be interpreted as conditional and is in fact still temporal. Example (779) comes from a story about the history of the Badri area. Example (780) was a spontaneous utterance of wonder by one of my friends.

(779) *raŋmu cəw rəŋsusaay cəycie, raŋe san ci bri wawano.*

[*raŋ*] =*mu* {*cəw rəŋ -susa*} =*ay*} {*cəy*} =*ci* =*e*
rain =COM liquor drink -COMPETITIVELY=ADV try =LOC=FC

[*san ci bri*] {*wa -wa*} =*no*
day TEN four rain -FACT =QUOT

‘When [the people of Badri] tried to drink competitively with the rain, the rain fell for fourteen days, it is said.’

(780) *raŋ nemcie ataknakasəy?*

[*raŋ*] {*nem*} =*ci* =*e* {*atak -naka*} =*səy*
rain good =LOC=FC do.what -IFT =MIR

‘Now that the rain has stopped (Lit. ‘is good’), what the hell shall [we] do?’

Locative clauses can be negated. The following example is illustrative. Remarkably, no negated factitive-marked locative clauses are attested in Atong. More fieldwork is necessary to find out if it is possible to negate such clauses or not.

(781) *balcacido tokni.*

{*bal -ca*} =*ci* =*do* {*tok -ni*}
tell -NEG =LOC=TOP hit -FUT

‘If [you] don’t tell it, [I]’ll hit [you].’

27.6 The concomitant action suffix

The aspectual suffix <-*butuŋ*> (WHILE) is found on the predicates of subordinate clauses that function as Temporal Location adjunct in the matrix clause. This morpheme indicates concomitant action, i.e. that the event in the subordinate clause takes place simultaneously with the event in the matrix clause, or that the event in the subordinate clause is already ongoing when the event in the main clause occurs.

Predicates carrying the concomitant action suffix occur in two different syntactic constructions, which will be treated one by one below. The constructions are:

1. on predicates of Temporal Location adjunct clauses,
2. on the predicates of Temporal attributive clauses⁶⁸

These constructions will be treated separately below. Predicates carrying the concomitant action suffix can be negated but are not attested with any other aspect or modality suffixes.

27.6.1 Temporal Location adjunct clauses

The subordinate clause carries the locative case enclitic *=ci* (LOC). There are no coreference restrictions between the arguments of the Temporal Location clause and the matrix clause. Verbs, nouns and Type 2 adjectives have all been recorded as predicates of concomitant action type Temporal Location clauses.

The following example presents a Type 2 adjective, viz. *thəmbəlon* ‘have holes’ as the head of the predicate of the subordinate clause. Type 2 adjectives can function as modifiers as well as predicates and are treated in §5.2.

(782) *ie ram thəmbəlonbutuŋci gari galatok.*

[[*ie ram*]_s {*thəmbəlon -butuŋ*} | *=ci* [*gari*] {*galat -ok*}
 PRX road have.holes -WHILE =LOC car fall -COS
 ‘While this road was damaged, cars fell’.

Example (783) illustrates the concomitant action suffix on a subordinate nominal predicate. The locative-marked clause functions as Temporal Location.

⁶⁸ Out of a total of 23 predicates with the concomitant action suffix, 18 occurred in Temporal Location adjunct clauses, i.e. 78%, and 5 occurred in temporal attributive clauses, i.e. 22%

(783) *geʔtheŋ saʔgəraybutuŋciba sansan paləŋsaŋ naʔ punna reʔeŋwa*

[*geʔtheŋ*] {*saʔgəray* -*butuŋ*}| =*ci* =*ba*
 3s child -WHILE =LOC=INDEF

[*san san*] [*paləŋ*] =*saŋ* {*naʔ pun*} =*na* {*reʔeŋ* -*wa*}
 day RED jungle =MOB fish catch.fish =DAT go.away -FACT

‘When he was a child, he went to the jungle every day to catch fish.’

The next examples show verbal predicates carrying the concomitant action suffix. In

(784) there is no coreference between the implied subject of the subordinate clause and the stated subject of the main clause. The implied S of the first clause (the Temporal Location adjunct) is the lazy king, who is sad because he does not have any friends, while the S of the main clause is *naʔpit* ‘barber’.

(784) *phepci səntibutuŋci teʔewe naʔpit məŋʔ sa rayʔphaknoro.*

[*phep*] =*ci* {*sən̄thi* -*butuŋ*}| =*ci*
 banyan.tree=LOC suffer -WHILE =LOC

[*teʔew*] =*e* [*naʔpit məŋʔ* *sa*]_S {*rayʔ* -*pha* -*k*} =*no* =*ro*
 now =FC barber CLF:HUMANS one come -IN.ADDITION -COS=QUOT =EMPH

‘While he was suffering in the banyan tree, a barber came by, it is said, really.’

(785) *ətakəyməŋ thəmay caybutuŋcie atəŋaw nukokno geʔtheŋe?*

ətakəyməŋ |{*thəm*} =*ay* {*cay* -*butuŋ*}| =*ci* =*e*
 so.then lay.in.ambush =ADV watch -WHILE =LOC=FC

[*atəŋ*] =*aw* {*nuk* -*ok*} =*no* [*geʔtheŋ*] =*e*
 what =ACC see -COS =QUOT 3s =FC

‘So then, while he_i was lying in ambush and watching, what did he_i see?’

The subordinate predicate in (786) is the Type 1 adjective (a subclass of intransitive verb), *nem* ‘to be good’ with the event specifier suffix <-*khal*> (CP).

(786) *sagaba naw nemkhalbutuŋci thəyok*

{*sa*} =*gaba* [*naw*]_S {*nem-khal* -*butuŋ*} =*ci* {*thəy* -*ok*}
 be.ill -ATTR younger.sister good -CP -WHILE =LOC die -COS
 ‘When my younger sister was getting better, she died.’

The absence of locative enclitic on the predicate *saʔ-butɯŋ* (eat-WHILE) in (787) can be explained when we consider the two predicates *saʔ-butɯŋ* (eat-WHILE) and *rəŋ-butɯŋ* (drink-WHILE) to be part of a complex predicate with the locative enclitic attached to it.

(787) *aŋ babaci amaci maha maha saʔbutuŋ rəŋbutuŋcian, randay saʔna jamca.*

[*aŋ babaci*] =*ci* [*ama*] =*ci* [*maha maha*]
1s father =LOC mother =LOC great RED

{*saʔ -butuŋ rəŋ -butuŋ*} =*ci* =*an*
eat -WHILE drink -WHILE =LOC =FC/ID

[*randay*] {*saʔ*} =*na* {*jam -ca*}
meat eat =DAT finish -NEG

‘While I ate and drank in great amounts at my father and mother [‘s place],
[we] didn’t finish eating meat.’

The next example contains an illustration of a negated Temporal Location clause.

(788) *geʔtheng jəwcabutuŋcii kəŋgaba nawa*

[*geʔtheng*] {*jəw -ca -butuŋ*} =*ci* [*kəŋgaba*] =*gaba* {*na -wa*}
3s sleep -NEG -WHILE =LOC make.sound =ATTR hear -FACT

‘While he was not [yet] sleeping, he heard a sound’

There are two recordings of a Temporal Location clause of which the noun *somay* ‘time’ occurs compounded on the predicate after the concomitant action suffix <-*butuŋ*> (WHILE). The noun *somay* ‘time’ does not add any semantic content to the predicate, but simply emphasises the ongoing or temporally stretched-out character of the event expressed by the predicate. The concomitant action suffix together with the noun *somay* ‘time’ form a double marker of subordination. It is conceivable that this noun is in the process of grammaticalising as a linker. The two recorded examples with this construction are almost identical and therefore just one of them is represented here. The noun *somay* ‘time’ is an Indic loan related to Hindi समय (samay) ‘time’.

(789) *uci mu?butuŋ somayci badri nemen man?ay sa?ano*

[*u* =*ci* {*mu?*-***butuŋ*** +***somay***}=*ci*
DST =LOC stay -WHILE+time =LOC

[*badri*] [*nemen*] {*man?*} =*ay* {*sa?* -*a* =*no*
Pname very in.great.amounts=ADV eat -CUST =QUOT

‘During the time [they] lived there, Badri was very rich (ate in great amounts), it is said.’

A very similar phenomenon is described for Tamil (see Lehmann, 1989: 341 cited in Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 299), where the noun *pootu* ‘time’ can function as a temporal clause marker. Heine and Kuteva write: “This is an instance of a process whereby a noun, on account of some salient semantic property, gives rise to a grammatical marker highlighting that property [...]”. The same can be said about the use of *somay* ‘time’ in Atong.

27.6.2 Temporal attributive clauses

Attributive clauses are treated in Chapter 29, which the reader is advised to consult first for theoretical details. In summary, the attributive clause functions as modifier to a noun which is the head of a complex NP called the arch NP⁶⁹. The arch NP functions as a constituent in a matrix clause and can be case-marked with enclitics. The attributive clause can occur on either side of the head of the arch NP without difference in meaning. There can be a semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause, which has to be inferred semantically and/or pragmatically. There are no grammatical constraints that force any semantic interpretation of an arch NP.

In (790) we see that the temporal attributive clause modifies the head *sok* ‘sprout’ and that the whole arch NP is accusative-marked for its O function in the matrix clause of which the predicate is *sa?-wa* (eat-FACT). The inferred semantic

⁶⁹ The term ‘arch NP’ refers specifically to an NP of which the head is modified by a clause. I invented this term to make it easy to refer to such NPs without using a lot of words, like ‘NP of which the head is modified by a clause’.

relationship of the head of the arch NP, the noun *sok* ‘sprout’, to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Actor.

- (790) *una aludaraŋaw rədəmabutuŋ sokaw saʔwaməŋ gəməŋ teʔew manap caywacido gumukan cokarumokno*

una [alu] =daraŋ=aw
therefore potato =p =ACC

-----matrix clause-----

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

[l{rədəma -**butuŋ**}|sok_{ACTOR}]_O=aw {saʔ-wa} =məŋ [gəməŋ]
sprout -WHILE sprout =ACC eat -FACT =GEN reason

[teʔew] [manap] {cay -wa} =ci =do
now morning look -FACT =LOC=TOP

[gumuk] =an {coka -rum -ok -no}
all =FC/ID tear -ALL -CoS -QUOT

‘Therefore, when he looked in the morning, the potatoes were all torn, because all the sprouts were eaten while they were sprouting, it is said.’

In the following example we see a headless arch NP that carries prototypical nominal morphology, i.e. the plural enclitic <-daraŋ> (p), The accusative case enclitic <-aw> (ACC) marks the arch NP for its semantic role as O argument in the matrix clause.

- (791) *sala burbok saʔgəray naʔa niŋ jəwsukbutuŋdaraŋ atakna halakaʔwa?*

sala [burbok saʔgəray] [naʔa]
interj idiot child 2s

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

[[niŋ] l{jəw -suk -**butuŋ**}|]_O=daraŋ =aw
1pe sleep -COMFORTABLY -WHILE =p =ACC

[atakna] {hala kaʔ-wa}
why disturb do -FACT

‘Damn you idiot child! Why did you disturb us, [the ones who] were comfortably asleep?’

In (792), from the same story as (790), is certainly a headless arch NP in which the implied head is *gore* ‘horse’. The predicate of the temporal attributive clause is *saʔ-*

butuŋ (eat-WHILE) and the predicate of the matrix clause in which the arch NP functions as O argument is *nuk-ok-no* (see-COS-QUOT).

- (792) *teʔewe beanbebe raŋrasaŋmi gore maŋsa rayʔaayməŋ geʔtheŋ alubagan habijabi samcakaw saʔbutuŋaw nukokno.*

-----arch NP-----→

[*teʔew*]=*e* *beanbebe* [*l[raŋra]*]=*saŋ* =*mi* [*gore* *maŋ* *sa*]
 now =TOP truly sky =MOB =ABL horse CLF:ANIMALS one
 {*rayʔa*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 come =ADV =SEQ

→-----arch N-----
 -----AC-----

[*geʔtheŋ* *alu* *bagan* *bari* *habijabi* *samcak*] =*aw* {*saʔ* ***-butuŋ***}|_O =***aw***
 3s potato garden garden all.sorts vegetable =ACC eat -WHILE =ACC
 {*nuk -ok*} =*no*
 see -Cos =QUOT

‘Now [he] truly saw a horse having come from the sky while [the horse was] eating all kinds of vegetables of his garden.’ Alternatively: ‘He truly saw a horse having come from the sky, [which horse] at that time was eating all kinds of vegetables of his garden.’

Hale (1976) uses the label “adjoined relative clause” to refer to a clause type that can have both adverbial and relative functions, similar to the clause with a predicate head marked by <*-butuŋ*> (WHILE) in Atong. The classic illustration of the adjoined relative clause comes from Warlpiri. (Hale, 1976: 78, example 1), here represented as (793).

- (793) *Ngajulu-rlu rna yankirri pantu-rnu, [kuja-lpa ngapa nga-rnu].*

I-ERG AUX emu spear-PAST COMP-AUX water drink-PAST
 ‘I speared the emu which was/while it was drinking water’

Chapter 28 Adverbial and sequential clauses

Adverbial and sequential clauses are subordinate clauses marked with special clausal enclitics that have no function elsewhere in the grammar, viz. the adverbial enclitic $\langle =ay \sim =e \rangle$ (ADV) and the sequential enclitic $\langle =məŋ \sim =muŋ \sim =mu \sim =muŋna \sim =muna \rangle$ (SEQ). Adverbial clauses function as manner adverbs modifying the following clause and are treated in §28.1. Sequential clauses, treated in §28.2, give background information and can be used to imply a cause and effect relationship between two clauses.

28.1 Adverbial clauses

Clauses with the clausal enclitic $\langle =ay \sim =e \rangle$ (ADV) function as adverbial adjunct clauses in a matrix clause. The allophone $\langle =e \rangle$ of the adverbial enclitic appears after a stem ending in /i/, and the allomorph $\langle =ay \rangle$ occurs elsewhere. Verbs and Type 2 adjectives, and nouns (see example (808)), are attested to function as predicate of this clause type. Adverbial predicates cannot take aspect or modality suffixes but can take the negative suffix $\langle -ca \rangle$ (NEG). The subject (S/A) of the adverbial predicate is always co-referential with the subject of the predicate it modifies. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out if this is a syntactic restriction or not. Argument structure in adverbial clauses is the same as in main clauses and so is NP marking, i.e. S and A unmarked for case and O can be accusative-marked (see Chapter 20).

Since adverbial clauses cannot occur as sentences on their own, they are dependent on the matrix clause for their appearance. Adverbial clauses function as manner adverbs, indicating how the event denoted by the modified predicate comes about, examples (794), (795) and (796) are illustrative.

(794) *pheru panci cagakay thəyokno*

[*pheru*][*pan*]=ci {*cagak*}=*ay* {*thəy-ok*}=*no*
 fox tree =LOC hit =ADV die -COS =QUOT
 ‘The fox hit a tree and died, it is said.’

(795) *lekha kirinay sayok.*

[*lekha*] {*kirin*} =*ay* {*say* -*ok*}
 paper to.tear =ADV write -COS
 ‘[I] wrote [on] the paper and tore it.’ Literally: ‘[I] tearingly wrote [on] the paper.’

(796) *wak rəmay saʔa niŋdo*

[*wak*] {*rəmə*} =*ay* {*saʔ* -*a*} [*niŋ*] =*do*
 pig cook =ADV eat -CUST 1p =TOP
 ‘We eat pig cooked.’

An adverbial predicate modifies the following predicate even when this following predicate is itself subordinate. In (794)-(796), the following predicates are all main clause predicates. Looking back at example (779) we can see how an adverbial clause modifies a Locative-marked clause, which is subordinate. In example (648) in §24.3.1 we see the adverbial clause *rəmə-ay* (cook=ADV) modifying the subordinate predicate *saʔ-wa* (eat-FACT). In (797) below we see a subordinate clause functioning as Facsimile adjunct modified by the adverbial clause *takruk-ay* (fight=ADV).

(797) [...] *takrukay rayʔasemgabatakəy nuksawphinokno.*

{*takruk* =*ay*} [{*rayʔa* -*sem*} =*gaba*] =*təkəy*
 fight =ADV come -CERTAINLY =ATTR =LIKE
 {*nuk* -*saw* -*phin* -*ok*} =*no*
 look.like -CERTAINLY -COMPLETELY -COS =QUOT

‘[...] he] certainly looks like someone who certainly came fightingly [or ‘in fighting manner’ or ‘as if he had been fighting’⁷⁰], it is said.’

Example (798) shows how an adverbial clause is used in a context in which a cause and effect relationship between the adverbial and main clause can be inferred

⁷⁰ The adverbial clause can be translated into English in different ways. In Atong this adverbial clause simply functions as a manner adverb, indicating in which way the event denoted by the following predicate comes about.

pragmatically. The adverbial clauses indicate the cause and the main clause the effect. What is important in this example is that the adverbial construction is used to convey the message that the praying and the offering to the elephant tusks happened simultaneously to becoming very rich. In this respect the adverbial clause differs from the sequential clause that is also used in contexts in which cause and effect can be inferred pragmatically. The sequential clause indicates that the events expressed in the sequential and main clause happened in succession.

- (798) *songgumukan ue moŋmawana way khurutaysa boli hən?aysa man?ay sa?thokwano.*

[*soŋ*] =*gumuk* =*an* [*ue moŋma wa*] =*na*
village =whole =FC/ID DST elephant tooth =DAT

{*way khurut*}_{cause} =*ay* =*sa*
spirit perform.an.incantation =ADV =DLIM

{*boli hən?*}_{cause} =*ay* =*sa*
offering give =ADV =DLIM

{*man?*} =*ay* {*sa? -thok -wa*}_{effect} =*no*
in.great.amounts=ADV eat -ALL -FACT =QUOT

‘Precisely because the whole village prayed and offered to the elephant tusks, they all became very rich, it is said. Alternatively: ‘They became very rich, it is said, the whole village [by/whilst] offering and praying to the elephant tusk’.

Adverbial predicates can be negated, which is illustrated in example (799) here below.

- (799) *phəwra səw?aymuŋna garu susetcaay dəwetoknoay.*

[*phəwra*] {*səw?*} =*ay* =*məŋna* [*garu*] {*suset -ca*} =*ay*
rice.powder pound =ADV =SEQ mustard.leaves wash -NEG =ADV

{*dəw -et -ok*} =*no* =*ay*
add -CAUS -COS =QUOT =POS

‘Having pounded rice powder, [she] added the mustard leaves without washing [them], really!’

Type 2 adjectives can also function as predicate of a non-finite clause. The following example illustrates a Type 2 adjective as predicate head of a simultaneous clause. The

example comments on a girl with dark skin whose beauty was renowned among unmarried boys throughout the region.

(800) *pinakay səla*

{*pinak*} =*ay* {*səl* -*a*}
 black =ADV beautiful -CUST
 '[She's] black and beautiful.'

28.2 Sequential clauses

A sequential clause cannot occur as a sentence on its own and is therefore dependent on a main clause for its occurrence. As a sequential clause is not governed by the main clause predicate, i.e. it does not function as core argument, but is dependent on the main clause for its occurrence and is hence grammatically a modifier and thus subordinate.

A sequential clause is marked with both the adverbial enclitic <=*ay* ~ =*e*> (ADV)⁷¹ and the sequential enclitic <=*məŋ* ~ =*muŋ* ~ =*mu* ~ =*muŋna* ~ =*muna*> (SEQ). The allomorphs of the sequential morpheme are in free variation. In the Badri dialect there is a strong preference for the allomorph <=*məŋ*> whereas in the dialect of Siju the other allophones are preferred.

There is only one story in the recorded corpus in which the sequential enclitic is not preceded by the adverbial enclitic <=*ay* ~ =*e*> (ADV) but by the factitive suffix <=*wa*> (FACT). Example (640) is illustrative. Why the speaker uses the factitive in sequential clauses has to be investigated in future fieldwork.

Sequential clauses usually provide background information and therefore usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. However the position of a sequential clause is quite variable. Example (801) shows a sequential clause before the main clause predicate and in example (802) the sequential clause comes after the main clause predicate. When a sequential clause follows a finite predicate it is considered to be an

⁷¹ As was mentioned in the previous section, the allophone <=*e*> of the adverbial enclitic appears after a stem ending in /i/, the allomorph <=*ay*> occurs elsewhere

afterthought. Example (803) illustrates that sequential clauses can also come in between a subordinate clause and a main clause.

- (801) *ca rəŋayməŋ, may saʔayməŋ, rayʔ-naka.*

[[*ca*] {*rəŋ*}] =*ay* =*məŋ* [[*may*] {*saʔ*}] =*ay* =*məŋ* {*rayʔ* -*naka*}
 tea drink =ADV =SEQ rice eat =ADV =SEQ go -IFT
 ‘Having drunk tea, having eaten rice, we’ll go.’

- (802) *ətakəymuŋna phalthaŋ diŋgaray sagaawdo caythirina noaymu reʔeŋokno, awanaymu.*

ətakəymuŋna [[*phalthaŋ diŋgaray*] {*sa*} =*ga*] =*aw* =*do*
 so.then self fish.trap put.as.trap =ATTR =ACC=TOP
 {*cay* -*thiri*} =*na* {*no* =*ay*}] =*mu* {*reʔeŋ* -*ok*} =*no*
 look -AGAIN =DAT say=ADV =SEQ go.away -COS =QUOT
 |{*awan*}| =*ay* =*mu*
 forget =ADV =SEQ

‘So then, having looked again at the fish trap that he had put up himself, as said before, he went away, it is said, having forgotten [it].’ (i.e. having forgotten that he was not wearing any underwear under the *gamusa* ‘cloth tied around the waist with a knot’ he was wearing and which he had wound around his head against the sun.)

The arguments of a co-subordinate sequential clause, even when implied, do not have to be co-referential with those of the main clause, as we can see in example (807) below and (803) below. In example (803), the implied A argument in clause 2, i.e. the person who shot Arong Nokma in the face, is not the same as the person who dies. In fact, it is Arong Nokma who dies, who is the S argument of the first clause and of the third clause.

- (803) *arəŋ nokma caykhawwaci arəŋ nokmami mukhaŋaw khiemu thəyokno.*

clause 1 [*arəŋ nokma*]_S {*cay* -*khaw* -*wa*} =*ci* =*e*
 Name headman look -SURREPTITIOUSLY -FACT =LOC=FC
 clause 2 [*arəŋ nokma* =*mi* *məkhay*]_O =*aw* {*khi*} =*e* =*mu*
 Name headman =GEN face =ACC hit.the.mark =ADV =SEQ
 clause 3 {*thəy* -*ok*} =*no*
 die -COS =QUOT

‘When headman Arong_i looked surreptitiously, having hit Arong’s face, [he_i] died.’

Sequential clauses are a clause chaining device. Speakers easily produce clause chains involving four or more sequential clauses of which example (804) is illustrative. As

we can see in this example, the adverbial phrase *manapmi=an* (very.early.in.the.morning=FC/ID) ‘very early in the morning’ has scope over the whole sentence and each of the following sequential clauses has scope over all subsequent clausal constituents of the sentence. The order of the sequential clauses is iconic.

- (804) *manapmian may jaʔbek rəmaymuɲna, may jaʔbek mənmanaymuɲna rəmay saʔaymuɲna, maysangumuk pənʔaymuɲna, hayʔaw garu balagaci ramay tanaŋokno.*

clause 1 [*manapmi*] =an | [*may jaʔbek*]_O {*rəm*} | =ay =muɲna
very.early.in.the.morning =FC/ID rice curry cook =ADV =SEQ

clause 2 [*may jaʔbek*]_S {*mən-man*} | =ay =muɲna
rice curry ripe -already =ADV =SEQ

clause 3 | {*rəm*} =ay {*saʔ =ay*} | =muɲna
cook =ADV eat =ADV =SEQ

clause 4 [*may san*]_O =gumuk {*pənʔ*} | =ay =muɲna
rice day =all pack =ADV =SEQ

clause 5&6 [*hayʔ=aw garu*]_O [*balaga*] =ci
GPN =ACC mustard.leaves outside =LOC

{*ram*} =ay {*tan -aŋ -ok*} =no
dry =ADV put -AWAY -COS =QUOT

‘Very early in the morning, having cooked rice, the rice having become ready, having eaten it cooked, having packed all the rice for lunch, [she] put that, eh, mustard leaves outside to dry, it is said.’

The sequential nature of the relationship between a sequential and main clause can be reinforced by the relative time postposition *kənsaŋ* ‘later, after’ as we see in example (805).

- (805) *ətakəymuɲna kamaymuɲna kənsaŋdo jəwʔgaba noksaŋ rayʔaakno.*

ətakəymuɲna {*kam*} _____ =ay =muɲna [*kənsaŋ*] =do [*jəwʔ =gaba*]
so.then work.on.the.land=ADV =SEQ after =TOP mother=DREL

[*nok*] =saŋ {*rayʔa -ak*} =no
house =MOB come -COS =QUOT

‘So then, after working in the rice field, the mother came home, it is said.’

Note that the postposition *kənsaŋ* ‘later, after’ governs the genitive case and that sequential clauses do not take the genitive enclitic because sequential clauses are not nominalisations.

Sequential clauses can be negated, which is illustrated in the following example. The fox has jumped into a deep well because he wanted to drink water. But... (806):

(806) *gaʔkhatna manʔcaayməŋ thəyokno.*

||{*gaʔkhat*}| =*na* {*manʔ* -*ca*}| =*ay* =*məŋ* {*thəy-ok*} =*no*
 climb =DAT be.able -NEG =ADV =SEQ die -COS =QUOT
 ‘Not having been able to climb out, [he] died, it is said.’

Sometimes a cause and effect relationship between the sequential and the main clause can be pragmatically inferred. Examples (807) and (808) are illustrative and contrast with examples (801) and (802) above in which the non-finite sequential clauses simply indicate that the events in the stretch of narrative happened in sequence. When a cause-effect relationship can be inferred, as in the examples below, the sequential clause will indicate the Cause and the main clause the effect. This semantic role of the sequential clause is inferred pragmatically from the context since the clause is not marked for its role as Reason, but rather only as sequential.

(807) *balwa rakayməŋ waʔ bayʔok.*

[*balwa*] {*rak*} =*ay* =*məŋ* [*waʔ* *bayʔ* -*ok*]
 wind strong =ADV =SEQ bamboo break -COS
 ‘The wind having been hard, the bamboo has broken.’ Alternatively: ‘Because of the hard wind the bamboo has broken.’

Example (808) illustrates the use of a sequential nominal predicate head. The word *calak* ‘cunning’ is a Type 2 adjective modifying the head noun *morot* ‘person’.

(808) *hengʔthondo seŋʔano, calak morotayməŋ udo teʔewcinaan keŋgaydoŋano.*

[*theŋthon*] =do {*seŋʔ* -a} =no {*calak morot*} =ay =məŋ
 Pname =TOP intelligent -CUST =QUOT cunning person =ADV =SEQ

[*u*] =do [*teʔew*] =ci =na =an {*keŋ* -aydoŋa} =no
 DST=TOP now =LOC=ALL =FC/ID be.alive -DUR =QUOT

‘Theng•thon is intelligent, it is said, [because] he is a cunning man, he is now still alive, it is said.’ Alternatively: ‘having been a cunning man, he is now still alive’.

In everyday speech the Atong seem to use the sequential clause construction much more frequently than the factitive-plus-dative-marked reason clause construction to express cause and effect. This might have to do with the truth value of the Reason clause. Since it is factitive-marked (see Chapter 1), the reason clause has a strong truth value. A speaker will only use it if he is certain or wants to imply that he is certain that what he says is factual, i.e. that the causal event was factual. To avoid taking responsibility for letting people think that a causal event was factual, a speaker uses the sequential clause construction. He can then express a temporal connection between two events and the hearer can decide whether or not to take it as an implied cause and effect relationship.

We find Reason clauses particularly often when speakers are talking about themselves and in stories about history in which reason clauses are used to present historical facts. These are all situations in which the speaker can easily express causal events with certainty. In the case of first person, because you usually know what you yourself did, and in the case of historical fact, there is really no discussion possible. So a correlation between person and the construction used to express causality is certainly expected. More examples need to be found through future fieldwork.

It might be that the use of the sequential clause construction when talking about events other than in the first person has attained the status of politeness. It would be interesting to find out, through more fieldwork, if people find it rude to speak about things that happened to others with reason clauses and therefore prefer to use sequential clauses.

In the next example the speaker uses a sequential clause to talk about something that happened to a third person.

(809) *ie morot t̤əy huŋna sapcaaymu t̤əy cawʔwa.*

[*ie morot*] {*t̤əy huŋ*} =*na* {*sap -ca*} =*ay =mu*
 PRX person water swim=DAT know.a.skill -NEG =ADV =SEQ
 {*t̤əy cawʔ -wa*}
 water stream-FACT

‘This person, not having known how to swim, drowned.’ Alternatively:
 ‘Because this person did not know how to swim, he drowned.’

An example with a Reason clause used in a first person situation can be found in Text 2 line 3, which is also represented in example (749).

Example (810) illustrates the use of a Reason clause to tell an undisputable historical fact in the story about the history of the Badri area.

(810) *ue t̤əygat r̤əŋwanasa ue t̤əykhawə r̤əŋd̤əŋ m̤əŋwano.*

[*ue t̤əygat*] {*r̤əŋ -wa*} =*na =sa* [*ue t̤əykhawə*] =*aw =e*
 DST water.place drink-FACT =DAT=DLIM DST river =ACC=FC
 [*r̤əŋd̤əŋ*] {*m̤əŋ -wa*} =*no*
 Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘Because [the Rongdyng clan] had drunk at that water place, that river was called Rongdyng, it is said.’

It is quite probable that the sequential enclitic <=*m̤əŋ* ~ =*muŋ* ~ =*mu* ~ =*muŋna* ~ =*muna*> (SEQ) derives historically from the allomorph <=*m̤əŋ*> of the genitive/ablative phrasal enclitic <=*m̤əŋ* ~ =*mi*> (GEN/ABL). Some allomorphs seem to have fused with the dative case enclitic <=*na*> (DAT). Today, as has been mentioned above, these allomorphs are in free variation, although there is a strong preference for certain allomorphs in certain dialects.

Chapter 29 Attributive clauses

29.1 Terminological preliminaries

When I set out to describe attributive clauses in Atong, I found the traditional theoretical literature on relative clauses (Keenan and Comrie 1977, Comrie 1981, Keenan 1985) not very helpful to describe the phenomenon in the language. Keenan (1985), for example, tells the reader that a restrictive relative clause (RC) is an NP (see page 141) and that such an NP consists of an optional determiner, an omitable “common noun” also called the “domain noun” and a restrictive clause (S_{rel}) that modifies the domain noun (see page 142). The domain noun is said to be the “head” of the RC (see page 145). Keenan gives no arguments why the noun should be called “common noun”. Furthermore, Keenan indicates that he will only treat RCs of which the domain noun or head occurs outside the S_{rel} and then calls these constructions “external RCS” (external relative clauses).⁷²

This terminology is confusing, because the so called “head” is not external to the RC but to the S_{rel} . The “head” is internal to the RC, because that is how Keenan defines an RC (see page 142). For me the head of a clause is the predicate. A determiner cannot be seen as a separate constituent in a clause since it is part of an NP. And it is confusing to have the same name or abbreviation ((restrictive) relative clause (RC), restrictive clause (S_{rel})) for the NP in which the modified noun occurs and the clause that modifies it. Regretfully, Keenan’s terminology has had many reverberations in later literature and so the confusion has been perpetuated.

The solution to this confusion, when describing Atong at least, is to have separate, clear, typologically transparent terms for the separate elements that we find in relative or attributive clause constructions. For Atong we can define these elements as follows. An attributive clause construction involves two clauses, a matrix clause and

⁷² In section 5 of his article, Keenan (1985: 168 ff.) treats non-restrictive relative clauses as “other relative-like constructions”. In Atong there is no grammatical distinction between non-restrictive and restrictive attributive clauses.

an attributive clause. The attributive clause predicate is marked with the clausal enclitic $\leq\text{gaba} \sim \text{ga}\gt$ (ATTR), of which the allomorphs are in free variation.⁷³ An attributive clause modifies a noun. Together, the attributive clause and the modified noun form the so called ‘arch NP’ of which the modified noun is the head.⁷⁴ The arch NP as a whole functions as a constituent in the matrix clause. Aside from the attributive clause an arch NP can also contain other modifiers, as we will see below. As will be argued in section 29.2, the head of the arch NP is not a constituent of the attributive clause. The evidence for this is the inability of the noun to be marked for case. A semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause can be inferred, but is not compulsory in any way. As we will see in section 29.3, there are also arch NPs where no semantic relationship can be inferred between the head and the predicate of the attributive clause, e.g. (831). This example is also evidence for the lack of a gap in Atong attributive clauses.

We can see in example (811) how this terminology explains the syntactic situation in Atong. The predicate of the attributive clause is *cuy* ‘to be big’. The head of the arch NP is *phəlgəm* ‘eagle’. The head is modified by the attributive clause. Atong marks case with phrasal enclitics. In this example we see that the accusative enclitic indicates the O function of the arch NP in the matrix clause. The semantic relation of the head of the arch NP to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of *Attributant*. The semantic role of *Attributant* indicates the relationship between a Type 1 adjective (a stative verb denoting a quality, see Chapter 5), and its S argument.

⁷³ Older speakers prefer to use the allomorph $\leq\text{gaba}\gt$ while younger speakers prefer $\leq\text{ga}\gt$.

⁷⁴ Andrews (2007: 206) calls an NP whose reference is being restricted by a relative clause the “NP_{mat}”, because this NP occurs in the matrix clause. NP_{mat} and arch NP are thus synonyms, since an arch NP also occurs in the matrix clause. I prefer to use the term arch NP to avoid any misreading of NP_{mat} as “matrix noun phrase”. An NP containing a noun-modifying clause can occur embedded as a modifier in a higher NP (as we will see below, e.g. (813)), which could in that case be the matrix NP, and we would still have terminological confusion.

(811) *ucie phəlgəm cunggabaaw nukokno*

-----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 ---AC---
ucie [*phəlgəm*_{Atbtnt}] {*cung*} | =*gaba*]_O =*aw* {*nukok*} =*no*
 then eagle big =ATTR =ACC see =QUOT
 ‘Then [he] saw the big eagle, it is said.’

It is important to note that, except in more complicated cases, which will be treated in sections 29.6 and 29.7 below, the attributive clause can precede or follow the head of the arch NP without any conceivable difference in meaning.⁷⁵ In (812) we see how the head of the arch NP, *kam* ‘work’ is modified by a preceding attributive clause with the predicate *cun* ‘to be big’. The arch NP is not accusative-marked for its O function in the matrix clause because it is not referential.

(812) *kənsaŋdo cunḡaba kam manʔok, sagaltəysamci.*

-----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 --AC--
kənsaŋ =*do* [|{*cun*}| =*gaba* *kam*_{Attributant}]_O {*manʔ -ok*} [*sagal təysam*] =*ci*
 later =TOP big =ATTR work get -COS sea waterside =LOC
 ‘Later [he] got a big job at the seaside.’

The arch NP as a whole can be embedded as a modifier within another NP, as we can see in (813), where the noun *dada* ‘elder brother’ is the head.

⁷⁵ There might be subtle pragmatic differences depending on whether the attributive clause follows or precedes the head, although thorough investigations in the field and of the recorded data have revealed no differences at all.

(813) saʔgəray məlgabami dadadaraŋ

-----arch NP-----

-AC-

[[saʔgəray |məl| =gaba] =mi dada]_{MATRIX NP} =darang
 child be.small =ATTR =GEN elder.brother =p
 ‘the small child’s elder brothers’

The clausal enclitic $\leq \text{gaba} \sim \text{ga} \rangle$ (ATTR) is not a nominaliser. I define nominalisation as a derivational process of which the outcome, whether it be a clause or a single morpheme, can function as the head of an NP, which is the most salient property of nouns. The attributive enclitic in Atong turns clauses (with or without NPs) into nominal modifiers. Modifying a noun is not an exclusively nominal property, but is also a property of demonstratives (see Chapter 1), some interrogatives (see Chapter 9), personal pronouns (see §17.2), Type 2 adjectives (see Chapter 5) and some indefinite proforms (see Chapter 1). Therefore I think that it is infelicitous to call clauses with the attributive enclitic $\leq \text{gaba} \sim \text{ga} \rangle$ (ATTR) nominalisations.

Only members of the word class of verbs are attested as head of the predicate of an attributive clause. Attributive clause predicates seem to behave exactly like main clause predicates in the possibilities of inflection that they can express and the arguments they can take. Being able to take arguments, core or oblique, is one of the most important verbal properties. Although not all aspectual and modality suffixes are attested on predicates of attributive clauses, when elicited, speakers find attributivised verbs marked for any type of aspect and modality acceptable and even natural. Example (818) is an illustration of a progressive-marked attributivised predicate. Example (814) below exhibits a factitive-marked attributive clause predicate. The biggest difference between main and attributive clause predicates is the fact that nouns and Type 2 adjectives cannot function as predicates of attributive clauses, while they can function as main clause predicates.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Type 2 adjectives can modify an NP in post head position, can function as predicate of identity/equation clauses, like nouns, but cannot take the customary aspect suffix.

In the example below we see a headless, genitive-marked arch NP which functions as a Possessor in a larger NP of which the noun *bimuŋ* ‘name’ is the head. The predicate of the attributive clause is factitive-marked.

(814) *badrido cigacakci mu?wagabami bimuŋ doŋ?acəm.*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [badri] =do [[[cigacak] =ci {mu?-wa} | =gaba] =mi bimuŋ]
 Pname =TOP Pname =LOC stay -FACT =ATTR =GEN name
 {doŋ? -a} =cəm
 IE.be -CUST =IRR

‘As for Badri, [it] is supposedly the name from [the people] that were living in Chigachak.’ i.e. Badri was supposedly the name that the people who lived in Chigachak gave to the village.

In some languages the predicate of a noun-modifying clause is non finite, e.g. the subject relative clause in Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Bodic Branch, Nepal, see Watters2002: 2001), Hayu (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal, see Michailovsky, 1988: 185 ff) and Turkish (see Comrie 2006: 147 and 150), in the sense that these predicates include no marking for person or number agreement, while cross reference does occur on main clause predicates. Atong predicates never show cross-reference with any of their NPs in any clause type, so the distinction finite versus non-finite is not relevant for the language if one defines finiteness in terms of showing cross-reference. If, however, one defines a finite verb as “any verb whose form is such that it can stand in a simple declarative sentence” (Matthews, 1977: 129), predicates of attributive clauses in Atong are finite. Although most attested forms lack inflectional predicate head suffixes (see Table 63), and verbal forms without inflectional predicate head suffixes usually occur in imperative clauses, they also arguably appear in declarative clauses of which the predicate has an habitual overtone (see §18.9).

In section 29.3 it will be argued that there is no need to posit a “gap” in attributive clauses in Atong. The terms pre- and post-head attributive clause will be explained in section 29.4. Arch NPs with post-head attributive clauses are the focus of section 29.5. Because the head of the arch NP is not a clausal constituent, and can thus not function as argument or adjunct (peripheral argument) in the attributive clause, there

is no such thing as an “internally headed” attributive clause. Besides this, section 29.6 treats the way in which genitive-marked NPs should be analysed. Section 29.7 treats constraints in the variation of the position of the attributive clause within the arch NP. We will see that these constraints are determined by the transitivity of the attributive clause predicate, the number of nouns expressed in the arch NP and the animacy of the nouns. Which semantic relationships can obtain between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause will be treated in section 29.8. That arch NPs can function as head of a predicate of a verbless equation/identity clause, like any other noun or NP, is illustrated in section 29.9. Headless arch NPs, in which the noun modified by the attributive clause is ellipsed, are treated in section 29.10. Headless arch NPs can become lexicalised as we will see in section 29.11. Lexicalisations are nominalisations of the participant and abstract type. Abstract nominalisations provide more evidence against the presence of a gap in Atong attributive clauses.

In his 1998 (a) article, Comrie proposes the term “attributive clause construction” for Asian languages that present a single grammatical construction that covers European relative clauses, fact-S constructions (or noun-complement construction, see for example Matsumoto (1997)), e.g. (815) from Korean (Comrie 1998 a: 52 example (4), my bracketing and labelling) and “other possibilities/interpretations”, such as *the sound of knocking at the door* (Comrie 1998 a: 54-55). Matsumoto (1997) has already discussed such “noun-modifying constructions” in Japanese.

(815) Korean:

-----attributive clause-----
 [[*ku namca -ka ku yeca -eyke cayk -ul cwu -n*] *sasil*]_{NP}
 the man -NOM the woman -to book -ACC give -PRS.PRT fact
 ‘the fact that the man gave a book to the woman’

Although attributive clauses in Atong do not cover the interpretations mentioned above, other than relative clauses and “other possibilities/interpretations” (Comrie 1998 a: 54-55), as we can see in example (831), it would still be appropriate, in my view, to term attributive clauses in Atong as such, because of the evidence that the morpheme <*gaba ~ ga*> (ATTR) has an attributivising function on other word classes apart from verbs, i.e. numerals, the attributive time postposition *dakan* ‘before, in the

past’ and the bound interrogative formative morpheme <bi-> (QF) as we shall discuss in section 29.12. Finally, section 29.13 explicitly points out the fact that attributive clauses in Atong are not part of a nominalisation ~ relativisation ~ genitivation syncretism.

29.2 No common argument

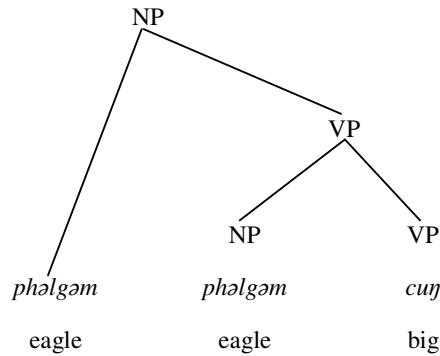
The term common argument refers to the syntactic relationship which holds simultaneously between the head of the arch NP on the one hand and the predicates of the matrix clause and the relative clause on the other hand. For Atong it would be a mistake to call the head of the arch NP the “common argument”, suggesting that it simultaneously partakes in the argument structure of the attributive as well as the matrix clause. This assumption is mistaken, because it is not the head of the arch NP that functions as argument in the matrix clause, but the arch NP as a whole. In the English clause *I eat a big apple*, the noun ‘apple’ is not the O argument of the clause but the NP [*a big apple*] is. The head of an NP can not be seen as a separate clausal constituent from the modifier of that head. Semantically the head of an NP denotes, whereas an NP as a whole refers (see Lyons 1977: 174 ff. for a discussion on denotation and reference). The referent is structurally represented by the whole NP constituent (if represented at all). Hence the head of the modified NP cannot be a constituent of the matrix clause.

If one says that the head of the arch NP is a “common argument” (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2008: 469 ff and Dixon, 2004 b: 525), this would entail that this noun is simultaneously governed by the predicate of the attributive clause and controlling the same predicate as a modifier within the NP. In reality the attributive clause modifies the head noun of the arch NP. When we make a diagram of the arch NP in (811), according to the theory that prescribes the common argument, we would get (816), constituent analysis, or (817), dependency analysis. One has to bear in mind that *cun* ‘to be big’ is a verb in Atong. These diagrams tell us that Atong people are actually thinking “the big eagle is big”, which is then later “transformed” into “the big eagle” after the deletion of one of the two occurrences of eagle. The head of the arch NP is governed by the relative clause predicate and at the same modified by it. This would be a very strange representation of the facts attested in the language, a representation to which I do not adhere.

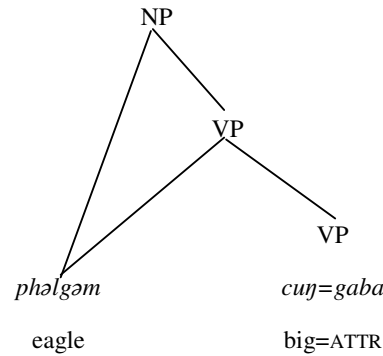
(816) -----arch NP----- *Consituent analysis*

--AC--
 [phəlgəm |{cuŋ}| =gaba]
 eagle big =ATTR
 'a/the big eagle'

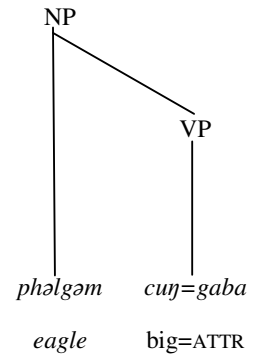
Before "deletion"



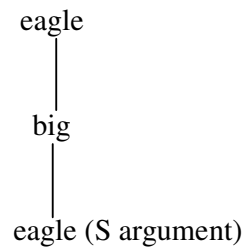
After "deletion"



In reality

(817) *Dependency analysis of the arch NP in (811).*

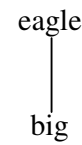
Before "deletion"



After "deletion"



In reality



In Atong, the fact that the head of the arch NP is not a constituent of any clause can be seen by the fact that it cannot be case-marked. Case marking in Atong functions roughly as follows. S and A are always unmarked, O can be accusative-marked when the NP is referential, adjuncts (or peripheral arguments) have to be case-marked according to their semantic function. Case-marking of NPs in attributive clauses is the same as in main clauses.

However, although the head of the arch NP is not a clausal constituent, in Atong, and other languages with attributive (or relative) clauses, a semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause can be inferred, but no semantic relationship is grammatically required, as we shall see in the

next section. In Atong the factors that limit the interpretation of the possible semantic relationship are the semantics and argument restrictions of the attributive clause predicate, the position, semantics and case marking of other NPs within the arch NP, the semantics of the head itself and the context. We shall discuss these factors in detail below. Now consider the following example.

- (818) *an muʔaydonɡaba mura gaʔanca.*
 -----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [*an*_S {*muʔ* -*aydon*}] = *ɡaba* *mura*_{Location}]_S {*gaʔ* -*an* -*ca*}
 1s sit -PROG =ATTR stool good -REF -NEG
 ‘The stool on which I sit is not good.’

Example (818) consists of two clauses, viz. the attributive clause, between vertical lines, of which the intransitive verb *muʔ* ‘to sit’ is the predicate, and the matrix clause, of which *gaʔ* ‘to be good’ is the predicate. The noun *mura* ‘stool’ is the head of the arch NP which functions as S argument in the matrix clause. Since S arguments are always unmarked for case, the arch NP has no case enclitic following it. The semantic relationship that obtains between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause has to be pragmatically inferred. The semantics of the predicate and of the head prompt the hearer to understand *mura* ‘stool’ as the thing sat on, not the thing doing the sitting. In this example we also see that the argument of the attributive clause, the first person singular personal pronoun *an*, appears in the normal argument position before the predicate. Personal pronouns cannot function as the head of an arch NP in Atong. Hence identification of the head of the arch NP is easy: it is the right-most constituent of the arch NP.

As was said above, adjuncts have to be marked for case according to their semantic role. Thus when *mura* ‘stool’ would be a constituent of a clause, for instance a main clause, it would have to be locative-marked. The main clause version of the attributive clause involving the word *mura* ‘stool’, could be either (819) or (820), depending on the speaker’s desire to make sure that the S argument is not confused with the possessor of the stool. In Atong an unmarked personal pronoun followed by a noun can always be interpreted as Possessor-Possessed. In (819) only one

interpretation is possible, viz. *aŋ* ‘I’ is the S argument. In (820) it is not possible to distinguish S argument from Possessor.

(819) *muraci aŋ muʔaydoŋa.*

[*mura*] = *ci* [*aŋ*]_S {*muʔ*-*aydoŋa*}
 stool =LOC 1s sit -PROG
 ‘I am sitting on a stool.’

(820) *aŋ muraci muʔaydoŋa*

aŋ mura = *ci* {*muʔ*-*aydoŋa*}
 1s stool =LOC sit -PROG
 ‘I am sitting on a stool.’ or ‘[X]
 am/is/are sitting on my stool.’

In (821) we again see an arch NP with a head that has the semantic role of Location, but, whereas in (818) above, the clause precedes the head, below, the attributive clause follows the head. We see that the noun *nok* ‘house’ is the head of an arch NP with an intransitive attributive clause of which the predicate is *muʔ* ‘to stay, to sit’. The head is not marked for case because it is neither a constituent of the attributive clause nor of the matrix clause. The arch NP as a whole functions as S argument in the matrix clause, which is an adverbial-marked subordinate clause. The head should be interpreted as a Location given its semantics in combination with the semantics of the predicate of the attributive clause. The arch NP is unmarked for case. The first person personal pronoun *aŋ*, which is the S argument of the attributive clause, is in the same position as in the example above, i.e. in argument position, immediately preceding the predicate. Identification of the head of the arch NP is again easy, since it is now the left-most phrasal constituent of the arch NP, immediately preceding the modifying clause.

(821) *nok aŋ muʔgaba gurumok.*

-----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----

[*nok*]_{Location} | [*aŋ*]_S {*muʔ*} | = *gaba*]_S {*gurum* -*ok*}
 house 1s stay =ATTR collapse -Cos
 ‘The house in which I lived has collapsed.’

In (822) the most likely interpretation of the semantic role of the noun *bostu* ‘thing’ with respect to the transitive predicate of the attributive clause, is that of Patient, i.e. the thing eaten and not the thing doing the eating.

- (822)
- phaŋnan saʔroŋcagaba jilami bostudəraŋaw raay hənayməŋ [...]*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [[*phaŋnan*] {*saʔ* -*roŋ* -*ca*} | =*gaba jila* =*mi* ***bostu***] =*dəraŋ*=*aw*
 always eat -USUALLY -NEG =ATTR district=GEN thing =p =ACC
 {*ra*} =*ay* {*hənʔ*} =*ay* =*məŋ*
 bring=ADV give =ADV =SEQ
 ‘Having brought and given things from the district which are usually never eaten...’

Note that, in the above example, the head of the arch NP is not only modified by the attributive clause, but also by a genitive-marked Possessor. Identification of the head of the arch NP is easy: it is the right-most phrasal constituent in the arch NP.

Nouns can be modified by more than one attributive clause. In example (823) the head of the arch noun, *wa* ‘tooth’, is modified by an attributive clause on either side. In addition the head noun is modified by another noun in apposition, viz. *moŋma* ‘elephant’ (see §6.6 for possible interpretations of nouns in juxtaposition). The semantic relationship of the head of the arch NP to the predicate of AC1 is Patient, and to that of AC2 Attributant. The whole arch NP functions as O argument in the matrix clause.

- (823) [...]
- nokphanday doʔkhakhuci khacapay tangaba moŋmawa dora bəraŋ doŋʔgabaaw raʔay jalaŋokno*
- .

arch NP {
 -----AC 1-----
 [[*nokphanday doʔkhakhu*] =*ci* {*kha* -*cap* -*ay*} {*tan*} | =*gaba*
 bachelor’s.house king.post =LOC tie -ALONG.WITH -ADV put =ATTR
moŋma ***wa***_{Patient/Attributant}
 elephant tooth
 -----AC 2-----
 [[*dora bəraŋ*] {*doŋʔ*} | =*gaba*]_O =*aw*
 weight.of.5kg four IE.be =ATTR =ACC
 {*raʔ*} =*ay* {*jal* -*aŋ* -*ok*} =*no*
 take =ADV run.away -AWAY-CoS =QUOT
 ‘[...they] ran away taking the four *dora* (20 kg) weighing elephant tusk which was tied to the king post of the bachelor’s house, it is said.

In example (824), of which we have seen a shortened version in (822), all attributive clauses are grouped to the left of the noun they modify. The head of the arch NP has a certain semantic relationship to the predicates of the attributive clauses AC1 and AC2 and another to the predicate of AC3. To AC1 and AC2 the head is *Attributant*. The relationship between the head of the arch NP and AC3 is *Patient*.

- (824) *thawgaba səmgaba phaŋnan saʔroŋcagaba jilami bostudəraŋaw raay hənʔaymuŋ* [...]
- | | | | |
|--|--|----------------|--------------------------------|
| | --AC1-- | --AC2-- | -----AC 3----- |
| <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">arch NP</div> | [{ <i>thaw</i> } = <i>gaba</i> { <i>səm</i> } = <i>gaba</i> { <i>phaŋnan</i> } { <i>saʔ</i> - <i>roŋ</i> - <i>ca</i> } = <i>gaba</i> | | |
| | tasty =ATTR | sweet =ATTR | always eat -USUALLY -NEG =ATTR |
| | <i>jila</i> = <i>mi</i> <u><i>bostu</i></u> <small>Attributant/Attributant/Patient</small> <i>O</i> = <i>dəraŋ</i> = <i>aw</i> | | |
| | district =GEN | thing | =p =ACC |
| | { <i>ra</i> } = <i>ay</i> { <i>hənʔ</i> } = <i>ay</i> = <i>məŋ</i> | | |
| | bring =ADV | give =ADV =SEQ | |
- ‘Having brought and given tasty, sweet things from the district which are usually never eaten...’

In examples like (825) below it is not the noun *ram* ‘road’ that functions as topicalised S in the matrix clause, but the NP *dajoŋsaŋ reʔeŋgaba ram* ‘the road that goes to Dajong’ as a whole. The semantic relation of the head of the arch NP to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of *Actor*.

- (825) *dajoŋsaŋ rayʔgaba ramdo tuka.*
- | |
|--|
| -----matrix clause----- |
| -----arch NP----- |
| -----AC----- |
| [{ <i>dajoŋ</i> } = <i>saŋ</i> { <i>rayʔ</i> } = <i>gaba</i> <u><i>ram</i></u> <small>Actor</small> <i>S</i> = <i>do</i> { <i>tuk</i> - <i>a</i> } |
| Pname =MOB go =ATTR road =TOP overgrown-CUST |
- ‘The road which goes to Dajong is overgrown.’

To recapitulate, the arch NP contains an attributive clause and a modified noun, which is the head of the arch NP. This analysis is also discussed by Lehmann (1984). Although he did not invent the term “arch NP”, Lehmann describes the relative/attributive clause construction as being a complex NP consisting of a modifying relative clause, the “*Relativsatz*”, and the head, i.e. the noun modified by

the relative clause, which Lehmann calls the “Bezugsnominal”. Given the great relevance of his work to the analysis proposed in this article, Lehmann is worth quoting extensively:

“[...] nennen wir das Nominal, das von Bezugsnominal und RS [Relativsatz] konstituiert wird, das höhere Nominal. Dieses, d.h. jedes Nominal, das einen RS als unmittelbare Konstituente hat, heißt Relativkonstruktion [...] Es handelt sich hier um ein **endozentrische Konstruktion**; das Bezugsnomen ist ihr Nukleus, der RS ihr **Satellit**. Ein Satellit ist, semantisch gesprochen, ein **Modifikator**. Ein Satellit, der ein Nominal modifiziert und also ein (komplexes) Nominal mitkonstituiert, ist ein **Attribut**. Daher sind RSe [...] Attribute und heißen auch Attributsätze.” (1984: 44)⁷⁷

The head of the arch NP does not function as constituent of either the attributive clause or the matrix clause;⁷⁸ therefore, it cannot be case-marked. The arch NP as a whole functions as a constituent of the matrix clause, and can be case-marked for its syntactic function in the matrix clause when appropriate (see above). Any semantic relationship between the predicate of the attributive clause and the head of the arch NP needs to be inferred pragmatically. There are no grammatical constraints that force any semantic interpretation, nor indeed the presence of a semantic relationship. The arch NP functions in all respects as a prototypical noun and there are no restrictions on inflection or syntactic functions that it can have in the matrix clause.

⁷⁷ English Translation: “[...] we call the NP that consists of the head and the relative clause, a higher NP. This, i.e. every NP that has a relative clause as constituent, is called a relative construction. The construction is endocentric; the noun modified by the relative clause is the nucleus, the relative clause is its satellite. A satellite is, in semantic terms, a modifier. A satellite that modifies a nucleus and therefore participates in the construction of a higher (complex) NP is an attribute. Therefore relative clauses are attributes, and are also called attributive clauses.”

⁷⁸ Here my analysis also concurs with Lehman (1984: 45) who says: “Eine Subkonstituente eines [Nominalsyntax]s – hier der Nukleus des [Relativsatz]es in Gestalt des Bezugsnomens – kann keine eigene syntaktische Funktion im Matrixsatz haben.” English translation: “A subconstituent of an NP – in this case the nucleus of the relative clause in the form of the modified head – cannot have a syntactic function of its own in the matrix clause.”

In the next example, the head of the arch NP, *soŋ* ‘country’, is in an Attributant (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:115) function relation to the predicate of the attributive clause. The arch NP functions as a directional adjunct in the matrix clause and is therefore marked with the Mobilative case enclitic <-*saŋ*> (MOB).

(826) *iskən janʔgaba soŋsaŋ jalaŋok.*

-----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [I[*iskən*] {*janʔ*} I=*gaba* *soŋ*_{Atbnt}] *Direction adjunct*=*saŋ* {*jal* -*aŋ* -*ok*}
 so.much far =ATTR country =MOB run.away-AWAY -COS
 ‘[He] has run away to such a far country.’

The next examples confirm the nominal character of arch NPs. In (827) we see the phrasal enclitic <=*rara*> ‘EXCLUSIVELY’, whereas in (828) the arch NP is inflected with the phrasal enclitic <=*daraŋ*> (p). Both enclitics occur exclusively on NPs. The arch NPs in both examples are headless. Headless arch NPs are treated in more detail in section 29.10. The headless arch NP in (827) functions as the predicate of an identity/equation clause. This is another nominal property: all nouns can function as the predicate of an identity/equation clause. In the example below the S argument is ellipsed.

(827) *kara khərəŋgabararasano*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 { [I[*kara*] {*khərəŋ*} I=*gaba*] =*rara* =*sa*} =*no*
 vein narrow =ATTR =exclusively =DLIM =QUOT
 ‘[They are] exclusively narrow veined [men], it is said.’

(828) *paləŋci jalgabadəraŋaw*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [I[*paləŋ*] =*ci* {*jal* -*aŋ*} I=*gaba*] =*dəraŋ* =*aw*
 jungle =LOC run.away-away =ATTR =p =ACC
 ‘the ones that run away to the jungle’

29.3 No gapping and no obligatory semantic relationship

About the examples of arch NPs in (825) and (826) above one could of course say that the modified nouns, *ram* ‘road’ and *soŋ* ‘country’, have been “extracted” from the attributive clause and that there is a gap in the attributive clause that corresponds to the modified nouns, which has been “put” after the predicate. A gap represents a syntactically obligatory omission. In other words, a gap assures a syntactic representation, a zero, of the head of the arch NP inside a relative clause of languages in which main clauses need all core arguments to be present in order to be grammatically correct. However, this would make the analysis unnecessarily complicated for Atong. I adopt Matsumoto (1997) and Comrie’s (1998 a and b) point of view that certain languages do not need a gap in the attributive clause to account for any missing NP. Like Korean and Japanese, Atong makes extensive use of zero anaphora, i.e. NPs can be left out of any clause if they are retrievable from the context. This means that main clauses without NPs are perfectly grammatical in Atong and no gap needs to occur in the attributive clause. Moreover, it is difficult to determine which arguments should be conceptualised as core arguments of any potentially multivalent verb, since all arguments can be omitted and then transitive or intransitive interpretation depends on the context in which a clause occurs. When there is no case marking on an NP, its semantic relationship with the predicate can only be inferred. Even with possibly omitted A or O arguments there is no constraint, syntactic or semantic, that forces us to posit a gap in the attributive clause in Atong. Semantically we could imagine numerous participants, but none of these are grammaticalised in Atong, to the point where there are syntactic constraints on their occurrence in a clause. In English, for example, the S (intransitive subject) argument has to be expressed in intransitive and A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) in transitive clauses and the A, O and Location all must be expressed in a clause with the verb *to put*. In Atong we could multiply the gaps *ad infinitum* for lack of syntactic proof of what should be conceived of as a “core argument” or obligatorily conceived NP, which therefore should be present in a clause. In reality, the appearance of NPs in a clause is pragmatically conditioned. Any construction has to be interpreted in a context, which is when the relationship between the head of the arch NP and the attributive clause becomes clear. The utterance in (829) (person kill=ATTR) can be interpreted in three ways:

(829) *morot soʔot =gaba*
 person kill =ATTR

- a) The verb *soʔot* ‘to kill’ can be interpreted as intransitive: ‘a person who kills’, where the stated NP is the Agent, or the S argument of the intransitive verb.
- b) The verb can be interpreted as transitive: ‘a person who kills persons’, in which, according to my consultants, the stated NP is most likely to be interpreted as the Patient and the Agent is implied.
- c) The stated noun can be interpreted as Patient and no Agent is implied: ‘a killed person’.

The construction in (829) can only be interpreted, i.e. gets a meaning, in a context. In the context of (830), the different interpretations are listed in order from more to less felicitous; interpretation c) is not felicitous in this context, whereas if we would change the verb to, for example, ‘hit’, it could be felicitous.

(830) *morot soʔot =gaba =aw gobormen soʔot -siga -ni*
 person kill =ATTR =ACC government kill -ALT -FUT
 a) ‘A person who kills, the government will kill in turn.’
 b) ‘[A person] who kills persons, the government will kill in turn.’
 c) *‘A killed person, the government will kill in turn’

It was already mentioned above that a semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause is a matter of inference. Sometimes it is impossible to say what the “main clause equivalent” of an arch NP could be. What could have been gapped? In (831) we see an arch NP where different semantic relationships between the predicate of the attributive clause and the head can be inferred.

(831) *kam paŋʔgaba morot*

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

$[[kam]_S \{paŋʔ\}] = gaba \text{ morot }$

work much/many =ATTR person

‘a person whose work is much’, alternatively: ‘a person who has a lot of work’

The predicate of the attributive clause, *paŋʔ* ‘to be much/many’ is intransitive and it is difficult to imagine any other participants than those already stated. However, two different main clause “equivalents” (they are of course totally different clauses with different meanings from the attributive clause) of the attributive clause in (831) can be conceived. One where *morot* ‘person’ is the Possessor of the *kam* ‘work’, as we can see in (832), and one where the person is a Location, as in (833).

(832) *morotməŋ kam paŋʔa*

*morot*_{POSSESSOR} =məŋ *kam* *paŋʔ* -a

person =GEN work be.much-CUST

‘The person’s work is much.’

(833) *morotci kam paŋʔa*

*morot*_{LOCATION} =ci *kam* *paŋʔ* -a

person =LOC work be.much -CUST

‘At the person the work is much..’

It would be unnecessary to analyse a gap in any attributive clause in Atong because there is no syntactic or semantic ground for it. There is nothing inside the attributive clause that is co-referential with the head of the arch NP.

The fact that Atong attributive clauses cover the “other interpretations” or “possibilities” type, although they do not cover the “fact-S” or noun complementation type in Comrie’s (1998 a) typology of attributive clauses, is a strong argument in favour of calling them attributive clauses and not relative clauses.

29.4 Pre- and post-head attributive clauses

Attributive clauses that precede the head of the arch NP, as in (818), will be called pre-head attributive clauses, whereas those that follow the head of the arch NP, as in

(821), will be termed post-head attributive clauses. In arch NPs with pre-head attributive clauses the head is the right-most phrasal constituent in the NP, always immediately following the predicate of the attributive clause. In arch NPs containing post-head attributive clauses, the head is the phrasal constituent immediately preceding the attributive clause. Personal pronouns that are Possessors (818) and demonstratives (834) are always the first constituents in any arch NP, regardless of whether the attributive clause precedes or follows the head. In the following example we see how the distal demonstrative precedes the attributive clause while the head of the arch NP comes after the attributive clause.

- (834) *ue gorongaba acu*
 -----arch NP-----
 --AC--
 [*ue* |*goron*| =*gaba* *acu*]
 DST meet =ATTR grandfather
 ‘the old man (lit. ‘grandfather’) [whom they] met’

Thus, identification of the head is easy given its position before or after the modifier. The syntactic principles are the same in arch NPs containing pre-and post-head attributive clauses, only the order of the constituents is different, hence it is possible for a head to be modified by attributive clauses on either side of it, as we have seen in (823) above. Let us now look closer at arch NPs containing post-head attributive clauses.

29.5 Arch NPs with post-head attributive clauses

The interpretation of arch NPs containing pre-head attributive clauses is very straightforward, since the NP immediately following the attributive clause can only be interpreted as the head, e.g. (811). Arch NPs containing post-head attributive clauses with a transitive predicate can be ambiguous, because they can sometimes be interpreted as headless, as we will see below. In between those two extremes lies the arch NP with a post-head intransitive attributive clause, such as (821), repeated here as (835).

(835) *nok ang mu?gaba gurumok.*

-----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [**nok**_{Location} | [*an*]_S { *mu?* } | = *gaba*]_S { *gurum* -*ok* }
 house 1s stay =ATTR collapse -Cos
 ‘The house in which I lived has collapsed.’

In the example above, the verb *mu?* ‘to stay’ is intransitive and its only argument, the first person personal pronoun *an*, cannot be the head of the arch NP because personal pronouns cannot be the head of an arch NP.

Arch NPs containing transitive post-head attributive clauses, then, can be analysed in the same way. It is important to remember that the head of the arch NP cannot be case-marked because it is not a constituent of the attributive clause or of the matrix clause. When we look at example (836) we see that the head of the arch NP, *bandi* stands in a (semantic) Agent relationship to the predicate of the transitive attributive clause.

(836) *bandi payanggabaaw mækren wa?thok soṇphin?ay grəṇgrəṇ caysəmaydoṇano.*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [**bandi**_{Agent} | { *pay* -*an* } | = *gaba*] =*aw*
 Pname carry.by.hand -AWAY =ATTR =ACC
 [*mækren wa?thok soṇ -phin?*]_{adverbial expression} =*ay*
 eye bamboo.stick raise -COMPLETELY =ADV
 [*grəṇgrəṇ*]_A { *cay -səm -aydoṇa* } =*no*
 Name look.at -follow-PROG =QUOT
 ‘Grynggrang⁷⁹ is watching the carrying Bandi (alternatively: Bandi who is carrying) with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.’

⁷⁹ The name *grəṇgrəṇ* comes from Garo and is used in Atong without breaking the clusters up with the phoneme /ə/.

The alternative analysis of (836) is to see *Bandi* as Possessor of an arch NP with an ellipsed head, i.e. a headless arch NP (treated below). The translation would be: ‘Grynggrang is watching [the thing which] Bandi is carrying...’, but this interpretation is not intended in this context.⁸⁰ It is identification of the head of the arch NP that will play an important role to determine the superiority of the analysis described above, to other possible analyses.

Identification of the head in an arch NP with a post-head attributive clause is easy since it is always the noun that immediately precedes the attributive clause, as was mentioned above. When there are no other non-clausal modifiers, the head is the left-most constituent in the arch NP. When the head is modified by non-clausal modifiers such as demonstrative, a personal pronoun or another noun, this modifier will always come before the head. When two nouns stand in apposition they can, but do not have to, be interpreted as the first modifying the second (see also §6.6). When this occurs in an arch NP, pragmatics will have to make clear whether it has to do with a head modified by the preceding noun or whether the first noun is the head and the second noun a constituent of the attributive clause. In (837) we see how two nouns occur in apposition. The most likely interpretation is the one where *morot* ‘person, human’ is the head of the arch NP and not a modifier of the following noun *wa?* ‘bamboo’.

(837) *morot wa? sa?gaba*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----

[morot |wa?| sa?| =gaba]

person/human bamboo eat =ATTR

‘a person who eats bamboo’, i.e. a tough person.

Unlikely interpretation: *the human bamboo which is eaten’, bracketing:

[morot wa? |sa?| =gaba]

person/human bamboo eat =ATTR

⁸⁰ The attributive clause in example (836) is non-restrictive, as there aren’t lots of Bandis around in the context to be distinguished. This example, then, shows that non-restrictive and restrictive attributive clauses have the same structure.

In the next example it is clear from the context in the story from which the example is taken that the first noun, *ama* ‘mother’, is a modifier, viz. a Possessor, of the second noun, *garu* ‘mustard’ and not the head of the arch NP, which is *garu* ‘mustard’.

(838) *ama garu ramgabaci de?etgaba iankhonte ie.*

-----arch NP-----

-AC-

[*ama* ***garu*** | *ram* | =*gaba*]=ci
mother mustard cook =ATTR =LOC

[*de?et*] =*gaba*] {*i* =*an*} =*khon* =*te* [*ie*]
shit =ATTR PRX=FC/ID =SPEC =DCL PRX

‘This might be [the eagle that] shat in mother’s cooked mustard.’

Wrong interpretation in context of the story: ‘This might be [the eagle that] shat on the mother who cooked the mustard.’

29.6 Genitive-marked A argument or Possessor? / No “internal head”

Consider the following example of an arch NP with a post head attributive clause. It is important to note that the predicate of the attributive clause, *hən?* ‘to give’, is transitive. The noun *mola* ‘tobacco’ is the head of the arch NP.

(839) *ie, aŋmi mola dolay hən?gabaaw nang?tym iaw ryngna man?cido [...]*

[*ie*] [*aŋ* =*mi* ***mola*** {*dol*} =*ay* {*hən?*} =*gaba*]_O =*aw*
PRX 1s =GEN tobacco roll.up =ADV give =ATTR =ACC

[*nəŋ?-təm*] [*i*] =*aw* {*rəŋ*} =*na* {*man?*} =*ci* =*do*
2s -ppp PRX =ACC drink =DAT be.able =LOC=TOP

‘If you^P can smoke this, my tobacco that [I] give [you^P] rolled up, [...]

The constituent order in the example above is Possessor – Head – Attributive clause. It is important to note that the constituent order Head – Possessor – Attributive clause does not occur in corpus of recorded material. The head of the arch NP is *mola* ‘tobacco’ This constituent is modified to the left by a personal pronoun, which is a genitive-marked possessor, *aŋ=mi* (1s=GEN) ‘my’. The nucleus is modified to the right by the attributive clause. As we argued above, the head of the arch NP cannot be case-marked, since it is not syntactically a constituent, hence the lack of accusative

marking although the semantic relationship with the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Patient.

Since the predicate of the attributive clause is transitive, an A argument is implied, which is the same as the genitive-marked constituent, i.e. first person singular. When the attributive clause is pre-head, the Possessor always precedes the attributive clause, as we can see in (840).

(840) *babami hantigaba gam jəm*

-----arch NP-----

---AC---

[*baba* =*mi* [| { *hanti* } | =*gaba gam jəm*]] =*aw*
 father =GEN divide =ATTR wealth riches =ACC
 ‘father’s divided wealth [and] riches’

I have no recorded examples of transitive attributive clauses in which the A argument is different from the genitive-marked constituent in the arch NP. This leads us to suspect that the genitive-marked constituent is the A argument of the attributive clause. This is unlikely for three reasons:

Firstly, we have already established that the impossibility to receive case marking means that the head is not a clausal constituent. If the genitive-marked noun were a clausal constituent, this would lead to the syntactically strange situation in which the head of the attributive clause as non-clausal constituent appears in the middle of a clause.

The second reason is that genitive-marked nouns also occur in arch NPs with intransitive attributive clauses, in which case it is very easy to see that they are possessors and not S arguments. The following example is illustrative. In this example, the horse, *gore*, is the one that runs and not the genitive-marked second person singular *naŋʔ=məŋ*.

(841) *naʔa anɲa naŋʔmən gore jalna rakkhalgabaaw hənʔetaribo.*

[*naʔa*] [*aŋ*] =*na*
2s 1s =DAT

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

[*naŋʔ =mən gore*] |{*jal*} =*na* {*rak -khal*}| =*gaba*] =*aw*
2s =GEN horse run =DAT strong -SUP =ATTR =ACC

{*hənʔ -et -ari*} =*bo*
give -CAUS -SIMP=IMP

‘You just give me your horse that is strongest in running.’ Alternatively: ‘You just give me your horse that runs fastest.’

Thirdly, as we can see in (844), an actor in an arch NP that is not the head, in this case the Agent *phulis* ‘police’, will not necessarily have genitive marking. Therefore, those constituents that do have genitive marking should be true genitives, and not actors.

Having taken these arguments into account, we can conclude that the genitive-marked noun in (839) is a Possessor and not an A argument.⁸¹ The implied A argument of the attributive clause is co-referential with the possessor. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out if it is possible to have attributive clauses in which the A argument is not co-referential with the Possessor of the head of the arch NP.

Recalling the observation that heads of arch NPs cannot be case-marked, when we look again at (836) we can understand why *bandi* can only be interpreted as the head of the arch NP, the phrasal constituent modified by the attributive clause: because it is not genitive-marked. If *bandi* were genitive-marked, it could not be the head of the arch NP and we would have a situation equal to that in (842) below, where the genitive case prevents *dəkhi* from being interpreted as the A of the predicate of the arch NP and thus must be an A argument in the attributive clause of a headless arch

⁸¹ This use of genitive case marking is different from Shigatse (Haller 2000: 114) where all modified nouns preceding the predicate of the relative clause are usually genitive-marked. Unfortunately Haller does not explain what conditions cause the genitive-marking of nouns that precede relative clauses predicates.

NP, since there is no other constituent within the arch NP to be interpreted as the head. As was said above, genitive-marked nouns modifying the head of an arch NP can only precede the attributive clause. In (842) we see how the genitive-marked noun *dəkhī* modifies the ellipsed head of the arch NP.

(842) *dəkhimi balgabatəkəy khaʔsin-kadəmay reʔeŋca.*

-----arch NP-----
 --AC--
 [*dəkhī* =*mi* |{*bal*}| =*gaba*] =*təkəy*
 Name =GEN speak =ATTR =LIKE
 {*khaʔsin kadəm*} =*ay* {*reʔeŋ -ca*}
 slow slow =ADV go.away -NEG
 ‘Like [the words] Dykhi had spoken, [Bandi] does not go slowly.’

When there would be another animate candidate for head in the arch NP, i.e. if both potential arguments of a transitive attributive clause predicate are expressed and both are animate nouns, we get a situation as in (843). This example shows us an arch NP where the Agent (semantic relation to the predicate of the attributive clause) *phulis* ‘police’ is the head. The Patient, *mobbin*, who is the O argument of the attributive clause, is thus accusative-marked. In other words, genitive case-marking disambiguates, because a case-marked noun cannot be the head of an arch NP.

(843) *phulis mobbin tokgaaw aŋ kaʔpetaydoŋ.*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [*phulis*_{Agent} |*mobbin*_{Patient} =*aw* {*tok*}| =*ga*]_O =*aw*
 police Name =ACC beat =ATTR =ACC
 [*aŋ*] {*kaʔpet -aydoŋ*}
 1s be.angry.with -PROG
 ‘I am angry with the police who beat Mobbin.’

In the example above it would be difficult to perceive the police as modifier of Mobbin, and the most felicitous interpretation is thus for the police to be the head and Mobbin to be the argument of the predicate of the attributive clause.

In (843) both nouns in the arch NP are animate and the Agent is the head of the arch NP. If the Patient is the head, as in (844), it cannot be accusative-marked, because of the impossibility of heads to be case-marked, but the Agent can also not be genitive-marked, or it would be a Possessor modifying the head. In example (844), *mobbin*, the Patient of the predicate of the attributive clause, is the head of the arch NP and is therefore not marked for case. The head is the left-most phrasal constituent. The Agent and transitive subject (A) of the attributive clause, *phulis* ‘police’, is unmarked for case, just as A arguments in all other clauses, and is positioned after the head, directly in front of the predicate. These are the expected case-markings and positions for the head of the arch NP and the NP constituents of any clause.

(844) *mobbin phulis tokgaba ha?ci mu?aron.*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [*mobbin*]_{Patient} |[*phulis*]_{Agent} {*tok*} | =*gaba*] [*ha?*] =*ci* {*mu?* -*aron*}
 Name police beat =ATTR ground=LOC sit -PROG
 ‘Mobbin who has been beaten by the police, is sitting on the ground.’

The above evidence shows again that genitive-marked constituents of an arch NP are Possessors and not arguments of the attributive clause. This means that an attributive clause modifies the head of an arch NP in exactly the same way whether the attributive clause is preposed or postposed to the head. In other words, there are no so called “internally headed” attributive clauses in Atong in which a genitive-marked Agent as argument of the predicate of the attributive clause precedes the head of the arch NP, thus creating the odd situation in which this head would be inside the attributive clause.

29.7 Variation constraints in the position of the attributive clause

In cases like (844) above with two animate nouns within the arch NP with a transitive attributive clause, where the Patient is the head and the Agent is expressed in the attributive clause, the attributive clause will always be post-head. When there is only one noun expressed in the arch NP and this is the head, the attributive clause can precede or follow the head. The same is true for arch NPs in which there is also a pronoun apart from the head, because pronouns cannot be the head of an arch NP and

will thus always be a constituent of the attributive clause. When a pronoun precedes the head, it will always be interpreted as a Possessor. In Atong a personal pronoun or other noun need not be genitive-marked to function as possessor; simple juxtaposition is enough.⁸² Example (845) is illustrative (see also (851) and (853) below).

(845) *aŋ garu ramay tananɣaci*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [aŋ_{Possessor} *garu*_{Patient} | {*ram*} =ay {*tan-aŋ*} | =ga] =ci
 1s mustard dry.in.the.sun =ADV put-AWAY =ATTR =LOC
 ‘in my mustard (leaves) which [I] left (literally: ‘put away’) in the sun to dry’

The constituent order in the arch NP of (818) can be changed to (846).

(846) *mura aŋ muʔaydonɣaba gaʔanca.*

-----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [mura_{Location} | aŋ_s {*muʔ-aydon*} | =gaba]_s {*gaʔ-an -ca*}
 stool 1s sit -PROG =ATTR good -REF -NEG
 ‘The stool on which I sit is not good.’

Example (811) can have (847) as variant.

(847) *ucie cunggabaaw phəlgəŋ nukokno*

-----arch NP-----
 ---AC---
ucie [| {*cung*} | =gaba *phəlgəŋ*_{Attributant}]O =aw {*nuk-ok*} =no
 then big =ATTR eagle =ACC see -COS =QUOT
 ‘Then [he] saw the big eagle, it is said.’

⁸² In these cases, the left noun is always the possessor and the right noun the Possessed. Juxtapositions can also form compounds (see §6.6).

Finally, example (836) can be transformed into (848).

(848) *payanggaba bandiaw* [...].

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [|{*pay* *-aŋ*}| =*gaba* ***bandi***_{Agent}] =*aw*
 carry.by.hand-AWAY=ATTR Pname =ACC
 '[Grynggrang⁸³ is watching] the carrying Bandi [with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.]'

Thorough investigations in the field have made me conclude that there is no difference in meaning between arch NPs of which the head is modified by a preceding or following attributive clause.

It appears that there is a strong tendency for both transitive and intransitive attributive clauses that contain adjuncts (peripheral arguments) to be pre-head, e.g. (849). In this example the attributive clause contains a Location adjunct. The head is the noun *sotmay* 'fly'.

(849) *phalthaŋ khu?cukci dumgaba sotmay*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [|(*phalthaŋ* *khu?cuk*)_{Location} =*ci* {*dum*}| =*gaba sotmay*]
 self mouth =LOC swarm =ATTR fly
 'the flies that swarmed in his own mouth'

The following example shows one of only two examples in the corpus of an arch NP with post-head attributive clause that contains an adjunct.

⁸³ The name *grəŋgrəŋ* comes from Garo and is used in Atong without breaking the clusters up with the phoneme /ə/.

(850) *bəlsi sene abek akankhambayci tangaba*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [bəlsi sene abek⁸⁴ | [akan khambay] =ci {tan}| =gaba]
 year seven drinking.spoon rack.above.fire top =LOC put =ATTR
 ‘a seven year [old] drinking spoon which had been put on top of the rack
 above the fire’

29.8 Attested attributivisations

An “attributivisation” is the semantic relationship that obtains between a noun modified by an attributive clause and the predicate of the attributive clause. So far we have seen Location (818), (821), Patient (822), (823), (824), (839), (840), (844), (845) (850), Actor, (825), Agent (836), (841), (843), (849), and Attributant (811), (812), (824), (826) attributivisations. Together with Attribute (823), Target (851), Instrument (852) and Beneficiary (853) attributivisations, these are the ones attested in Atong. Example (831) shows a type of arch NP where there is no semantic relationship between the head and the predicate of the attributive clause.

⁸⁴ It has to be mentioned that (850) is only one of two recorded appearances of a modifying construction like this, viz. *bəlsi sene abek* (year seven drinking.spoon) ‘a seven year old drinking spoon’. The noun *bəlsi* ‘year’ is an autoclassifier (see §12.3) quantified by the numeral *sene* ‘seven’. The quantified noun functions as a modifier to the following noun. The text from which this example is taken is an epic story told in a register that is far from colloquial and very difficult to understand, even for native speakers. This particular speech register could well be the reason that this type of modification of a noun shows up here. The other recorded example of this construction comes from the same story, viz. *bəlsi sene=mi cəw* (year seven=GEN liquor) ‘seven year old liquor’, but with a small difference: the modifier is genitive-marked. The colloquial way of saying that something is seven years old requires an attributive clause with the identity/equation copula *doŋ?*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be): *cəw bəlsi sene doŋ?=gaba* (liquor year seven IE.be=ATTR) ‘liquor which is seven years old’.

Target attributivisation:

(851) *aŋ jaŋgimi khaʔgalgaba baju*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----

[*aŋ jaŋgi*_{Possessor} =*mi* |{*khaʔgal*}| =*gaba* *baju*_{Target}]
 1s life =GEN love =ATTR friend
 ‘the friend whom I love my [whole] life’ Litterally: ‘my life’s beloved friend’.

Instrument attributivisation:

(852) *roŋdəŋ maharimu takruk nagaba bostuaw tansetay jalphinəŋoknowa.*

-----arch NP-----
 -----AC⁸⁵-----

[|*roŋdəŋ mahari*| =*mu* {*takruk*}=*na*| =*gaba* *bostu*_{Instrument}]_O =*aw*
 Name family =COM fight =DAT=ATTR thing =ACC

{*tan -set -ay*} {*jal -phin -aŋ -ok*} =*no -wa*
 put -DISPOSE.OF -ADV run.away-back-AWAY -COS =QUOT -FACT

‘[They] ran away back, leaving behind the things for fighting with the Rongdyng family, it is said.’

Beneficiary attributivisation:

(853) *aŋ taŋka hənʔgba morot uci ganəŋ.*

-----arch NP-----
 ---AC--

[|*aŋ taŋka*| |{*hənʔ*}| =*gaba* *morot*_{Beneficiary}]_S [*u*] =*ci* {*ganəŋ*}
 1s money give =ATTR person DST=LOC exist

‘The person to whom [I] gave my money is there.’

The meaning of the above example has to be determined by the context. Without context three interpretations are possible, including the one given above. The other two interpretations are: ‘The person who gave me money is there’ and ‘The person who gave my money (to someone else) is there’.

⁸⁵ The dative enclitic <=na> (DAT) marks the clause as purposive (see Chapter 27). Thus the purposive clause *roŋdəŋ mahari takruk=na* ‘in order to fight with the Rongdyng family’ is attributivised as a whole.

Given the miscellaneous collection of possible relationship that are attested in Atong between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause, it is my impression, that, like in the Japanese and Korean attributive clauses, any relationship is possible, i.e. that there are no grammatical restrictions on what can be attributivised upon, if the context is specific enough to interpret it correctly. More fieldwork is needed to find out if this impression is right.

The verb *no*- ‘to say’ signals direct speech reports. The verbatim repeated words are the Quote of a speech report construction. Although Quotes are not attested as heads of arch NPs, they can be a constituent of an attributive clause with *no* ‘say’ as predicate, as in (854). In this example the arch NP is headless and the implied head is the speaker who says the quote. The whole arch NP functions as Beneficiary in the matrix clause.

(854) “*aya! awaydo na? man?wate*” *nogabana man tham tanayaydoṇanowa*.

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

-----Quote-----

[|*aya* {*away* =*do* *na?* *man?*-*wa*} =*te*] {*no*}|=*gaba*]_{Beneficiary} =*na*
interj uncle =TOP fish get -FACT =DCL say =ATTR =DAT

[*man* *tham*] {*tan* -*ay* -*aydoṇa*} =*no* -*wa*
CLF:ANIMALS three put -AWAY -PROG =QUOT -FACT

‘For [the one who] said “Hey! Uncle got fish!” [he] left three [fishes] behind, it is said.’

29.9 Arch NPs as predicates of verbless clauses

Verbless clauses are of the identity/equation type. Arch NPs, i.e. head noun plus modifying attributive clause, can function as predicates of verbless clauses, just like any NP or prototypical noun. In (855) we see a prototypical noun, *raja* ‘king’, as head of a predicate. Other examples of nominal predicates are given in §22.5.

(855) *aŋan raja*

[aŋ] =an {raja}
 1s =FC/ID king
 'I am the king.'

Just like other NPs, an arch NP does not need to be marked for aspect, modality, mood or polarity, as we see in (856) and (857). In those examples the arch NPs are headless, as are the majority of arch NPs that were recorded as predicates. The S or Topic of the clause, of which the arch NP is the predicate, is always coreferential with the implied head of the arch NP. An arch NP can also function as S or Topic of a verbless clause, as is shown in (861).

(856) *aŋdo usaŋmi paraŋgaba.*

-----predicate-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [aŋ] =do { [| [u]=saŋ =mi {paraŋ}| =gaba] }
 1s =TOP DST=MOB =ABL travel =ATTR
 'I am [someone who] has travelled from there.' Alternatively: 'As for me, [I am someone who] has travelled from here.'

(857) *naŋʔtəm tholʔramay balgabae.*

-----predicate-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 [naŋ -təm] { [| {tholʔam -ay} {bal}| =gaba] } =e
 2s -ppp lie -ADV speak =ATTR =FC
 'You^p are liars.' Literally: 'You [are persons] who speak lyingly.'

The following example shows a nominal predicate that is change-of-state-marked. The arch NP is headless. The context is as follows. The wild animals meet the fox on the road while they are running away in fear of the lazy king. The fox asks the animals why they are afraid of the lazy king. The animals say that the lazy king is very brave, since he sat all alone in the banyan tree and jumped out to fight with them.

(858) *thoroksəraŋok una, niŋdo jalgabak.*

-----predicate-----
 -----arch NP-----
 --AC--

{*thorok* -*səraŋ* -*ok*} *una* [*niŋ*] =*do* { [| {*jal*} |] =*gaba*] -*k* }
 jump.out-TOTALLY -CoS then 1pe =TOP run.away =ATTR -CoS
 '[He] jumped out, then we became [the ones] that ran away.'

Example (859) is an illustration of a headed arch NP functioning as predicate. The head of the arch NP is *raja* 'king'. The S argument of the verbless identity/equation clause is the interrogative *caŋ* 'who'.

(859) *caŋ aŋna daygaba raja?*

-----predicate-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----

[*caŋ*]_S { [| [*aŋ*] =*na* {*day*} |] =*gaba* *raja*_{Attributant}] }
 who 1s =DAT be.bigger=ATTR king?
 'Who is a greater king than me?'

29.10 Headless arch NPs

When the head of the arch NP is not expressed, the arch NP is headless. The NP that the attributive clause modifies is only implied. The ellipsed NP and its intended relation to the predicate of the attributive clause must be deduced from the context and the restrictional properties on semantic roles of the predicate of the attributive clause. In most of the recorded cases, the ellipsed NP, head of the arch NP, is in an Agent role relationship to the predicate of the attributive clause. Other semantic roles can of course also be implied, of which some are shown in the examples below, where the attributive clauses are underlined.

Implying a Location NP

(860) *phaŋnan rupek muʔgabaacido təy ganəŋ.*

-----arch NP-----

[*phaŋnan*] [*rupek*]{*muʔ*}| =*gaba*] =*ci* =*do* [*təy*] {*ganəŋ*}

always frog stay =ATTR =LOC =TOP water exist

‘At [the place where] a frog stays, is always water.’

Incorrect interpretation: *‘At the sitting frog is always water.’

Implying an Agent NP with transitive attributive clause predicate

(861) *iaw balgabaə derus ar marak.*

-----arch NP-----

[*i*] =*aw* {*bal*}| =*gaba*] =*e* {*derus ar marak*}

PRX =ACC tell =ATTR =FC Name Sname1 Sname2

‘The one who tells this [is] Derus R Marak.’

Implying an Object NP

(862) *ian balgabaaw jametarinaka.*

-----arch NP-----

[*i*] =*an* [*bal*]| =*gaba*] =*aw* {*jam -et -ari -naka*}

PRX =FC/ID speak =ATTR =ACC finish-CAUS -SIMP-IFT

‘This, [the story] which [I] told, [I] will now just make it come to an end.’

Implying an Attributant NP

(863) *jalaŋayməŋ kənsaŋdo janʔgabaməŋ ətəkəy olrukokno:*

-----arch NP-----

{*jal -aŋ*} =*ay* =*məŋ*} [*kənsaŋ*] =*do* [*janʔ*]| =*gaba*] =*məŋ*

run.away-AWAY =ADV =SEQ after =TOP far =ATTR =GEN

[*ətəkəy*] {*ol -ruk -ok*} =*no*

like.this speak-RC -COS =QUOT

‘After having run away, from [a place which is] far, [they] spoke to each other like this.’

Headless arch NPs are the most frequently attested form in the collected fieldwork data, followed closely by post-head attributive clauses, while both of these types greatly outnumber pre-head attributive clauses in the language.⁸⁶

29.11 Lexicalisations

There are constructions that look like headless arch NPs, but it is impossible to find any implied ellipsed NP. Moreover, these headless arch NPs have a fixed, unpredictable meaning and the verb does not function as a predicate any more, i.e. it cannot take any arguments or verbal modifiers. These constructions are nominalisations. Lexicalised nominalisations with the attributive enclitic $\leq gaba \sim =ga>$ (ATTR) can be participant or abstract nominalisations, body parts, objects, artefacts, places and persons. Most of the recorded lexicalisations are participant nominalisations. The meaning of $kha?gal=gaba$ (love=ATTR), in example (864), is the abstract notion ‘love’ and is therefore an abstract nominalisation. One could say that the attributivised verb is the head of the NP.

- (864) *o came, aŋmi naŋ?na kha?galgabaau naŋ?mi khaton?ci daŋ?etna man?phanima?*

----- NP-----
 ---AC---

[o]	[came]	[aŋ =mi [naŋ?] =na	<u>kha?gal</u> =gaba]	=aw
interj	sweetheart	1s =GEN 2s =DAT	love =ATTR	=ACC

[[naŋ? =mi kha?thon] =ci {daŋ -et}| =na
 2s =GEN heart =LOC enter -CAUS =DAT

{man? -pha -ni} =ma
 be.able-IN.ADDITION -FUT =Q

‘O sweetheart, will you be able to insert also my love for you into your heart?’

⁸⁶ Out of the 317 arch NPs counted for this thesis 146 are headless (46%), 120 are post-head (38%), and 51 are pre-head (16%). I did not count elicited and incomprehensible examples, but only the ones that come from spontaneous speech.

Lexicalised headless attributive clause predicates never take any aspect or modality suffixes. Examples of lexicalised verbs with the attributive enclitic <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> (ATTR) are listed in Table 75.

Table 75 Examples of lexicalised attributivised verbs

<u>lexical item</u>	<u>gloss of parts</u>	<u>meaning</u>
<i>məkca=gaba</i>	fancy=ATTR	'sweetheart, someone you fancy'
<i>khəm=gaba</i>	marry=ATTR	'spouse'
<i>cicu=gaba</i>	blister=ATTR	'a blister'
<i>nangthay=gaba</i>	swell=ATTR	'abscess'
<i>bas neŋ=tak=gaba</i>	bus rest=do=ATTR	'bus stop'
<i>cal=gaba</i>	support=ATTR	'a support'
<i>rin=gaba</i>	keep.as.domestic.animal=ATTR	'fishery'
<i>kəɾəŋ=gaba</i>	make.noise=ATTR	'sound'
<i>okgənaŋ=gaba</i>	pregnant=ATTR	'pregnancy'
<i>haʔbacəŋ=gaba</i>	begin=ATTR	'beginning'
<i>tak-sak=gaba</i>	do-appropriately=ATTR	'help'

Abstract nominalisations provide more evidence for the lack of gap in attributive clauses in Atong. As we have seen in (831), if there is a head of the arch NP there need not be a semantic relation between it and the predicate of the attributive clause. In the case of abstract nominalisations, we see that a head does not even have to be implied and that the nominalised verb has no arguments.

29.12 The morpheme <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> as attributive suffix

As was already said in the introduction, attributive clauses in Atong do not cover fact-S clauses like in Japanese and Korean, and “other possibilities/interpretations” type clauses, such as *the smell of meat cooking* (Comrie 1998 a: 57). The reason to call noun modifying clauses in Atong “attributive clauses” and not “relative clauses” is that the same morpheme <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> is used as attributiviser on other word classes. The morpheme <=*gaba* ~ =*ga*> as attributive suffix occurs on i) numerals, ii)

interrogatives and iii) the time word *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past’.⁸⁷ The reason that the morpheme <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> is analysed as a suffix in this section and not as enclitic, is that the scope of the morpheme is not the NP but the lexical item itself.

i Numerals

Suffixed to numerals, the morpheme <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> (ATTR) derives ordinal numbers e.g. *bəɾəy* ‘four’ → *bəɾəy-ga* (four-ATTR) ‘fourth’ (see also §11.6). Ordinal numbers are nominal modifiers. This means that the suffix <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> (ATTR) has an attributivising function, transforming a numeral into an entity that can modify nouns. The following example is illustrative.

- (865) *gəniɡaba soŋ badri maydugətəm.*
 [*gəni* -*gaba* *soŋ*] {*badri maydugətəm*}
 two -ATTR village Pname
 ‘The second village is Badri Maidugytym’

ii The bound interrogative formative

The suffix <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> (ATTR) can be combined with the bound interrogative formative morpheme <*bi*-> (QF) to form the interrogative *bigaba* ~ *biga* ‘which?’ (see also §9.15), e.g. (866). The suffix has an attributivising function in this case, just as with the numerals.

- (866) *bigaaw biskut raʔnima?*
 [*bi* -*ga* =*aw* *biskut*]⁸⁸ {*raʔ* -*ni*} =*ma*
 QF -ATTR =ACC biscuit buy -FUT =Q
 Which biscuits shall I buy?

⁸⁷ The same morpheme also occurs as adverbialiser suffix on the relative time postposition *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past’ (see §14.2.4), as derelationaliser suffix on kinship terms (see §7.1) and unproductively on certain other nouns as relational suffix (see §7.1), e.g. the word *nokgaba* ‘landlord’ can be analysed diachronically as *nok-gaba* (house-RELATIONAL).

⁸⁸ The accusative case enclitic in Atong is the only case marker that does not need to occur on the last element of the NP. It also often happens that more than one NP constituent is accusative-marked. The prosody of example (866) is that of a normal clause without any pause or hesitation.

iii The time word *dakaŋ*

The time word *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past’ (see 14.2 for more details about this lexeme), but not *kəŋsaŋ* ‘after’, is frequently attested with the suffix <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> (ATTR). The lexeme *dakaŋ-gaba* (before-ATTR) means ‘the first’, and can thus function attributively to nouns, as we can see in example (867).

(867) *dakaŋgaba boba alu kayʔayməŋ* [...]

[<i>dakaŋ-gaba</i>	<i>boba</i>]	[<i>alu</i>]	{ <i>kayʔ</i> = <i>ay</i> = <i>məŋ</i> }
before -ATTR	crazy.person	potatoes	plant =ADV =SEQ
‘The first crazy person, having planted his potatoes [...]			

29.13 The nominalisation ~ relativisation ~ genitivisation syncretism

Many Tibeto-Burman languages use the same morpheme or morphemes to mark nominalised clauses, relative clauses and genitive. Although this seems to be a very common pattern in Tibeto-Burman languages, it does not hold for Atong, where these functions are marked differently, and where attributive clauses are not nominalisations, as we shall see below. Let me give a brief overview of what has been written in the Tibeto-Burman literature about the nominalisation ~ relativisation ~ genitivisation syncretism.

Matisoff (1972) describes the three functions of the Lahu morpheme *ve*, viz. relativisation, nominalisation and genitive. Noonan (1997) describes the impressive range of different functions of the morpheme <-*wa*> in Chantyal, among which are nominalisation and relativisation. (Bickel (1999) introduced the term Standard Sino-Tibetan Type Nominalisation (SSTN) inspired by the work of Matisoff, (1972), Genetti (1992) and others. Bickel comments on their work by saying that: “It is well-known that in many if not most Sino-Tibetan languages relative clause and attribute/genitive markers are identical with nominalisation devices and that sentences bearing such markers can also function as independent utterances [...]” (1999: 271). In most Bodic languages, however, relative clauses are nominalised clauses marked by the genitive (Noonan 1997, DeLancey 1999). DeLancey (1999: 233) proposes a “basic pattern of TB relativisation: the use of a nominalised clause to modify a noun. Since the clause is syntactically a nominal, it is typically marked by the genitive when it is subordinate to another nominal.”

As was said above, nominalisation, genitive and relativisation, here called ‘attributivisation’, are marked differently in Atong. Attributive clauses in Atong are marked with the clausal enclitic $\leq gaba \sim =ga$ (ATTR), which is different from the genitive/ablative/nominaliser enclitic $\leq mi \sim =m\eta$ (GEN/ABL/NR) (see §20.4) and example (868) below. The genitive can also function as action/state/object nominaliser, labelled (NR), on clauses of which the predicate head is marked by the factitive suffix $\leq -wa$ (FACT) (see §20.4 and §24.3.1), e.g. (868) and (869) below. In these examples the verbal roots *bal* ‘speak, say, tell’ and *saʔ* ‘eat’, marked by the factitive suffix $\leq -wa$ (FACT) and the genitive enclitic $\leq mi$ (GEN); these nominalised clauses function as heads of NPs. In (868) we see that this head can be modified, in this case by a Possessor $\eta\eta = mi$ (1s=GEN) ‘my’, and in (869) we see a nominalised clause with accusative case-marking $\leq aw$ (ACC).

(868) *aymi balwami ician jametwa.*

[*ay* =*mi* *bal -wa* =*mi*] [*i*] =*ci* =*an* {*jam -et* -*wa*}
 1s =GEN talk-FACT =NR PRX =LOC=FC/ID end -CAUS -FACT
 ‘I will end my talking here.’

(869) *pheru nuksegaakno saʔwamiaw.*

[*pheru*]{*nuk -sega -ak*} =*no* [*saʔ -wa* =*mi*] =*aw*
 fox see -ALT -COS =QUOT eat -FACT =NR =ACC
 ‘This time the fox saw [it], it is said, the food.’

An attributive clause in Atong is not a nominalisation since it cannot function as the head of an NP, except when it is lexicalised (as was treated in §29.11). Attributive clauses are modifiers within an NP. This chapter provided ample examples in which this fact was demonstrated.

29.14 Conclusion

As I found the terminology used in the canonical literature about relative clauses confusing and unsatisfactory to describe attributive clauses in Atong, I set out to find a more appropriate and transparent way in which this grammatical phenomenon can be analysed. This led me to coin the term “arch NP” to designate the grammatical unit

which comprises the attributive clause and the noun it modifies, i.e. the head. The arch NP as a whole functions as constituent in the matrix clause.

There is no such thing as a “common argument”. The head of the arch NP is always unmarked for case, just because it is neither a constituent of the attributive clause nor of the matrix clause. For the same reason, there is also no such thing as an “internally headed” attributive clause in Atong, where the head of the arch NP occurs within the attributive clause surrounded by its constituents.

It is not necessary to posit a “gap” in the attributive clause, because Atong allows zero anaphora or ellipsis of NPs, when they are retrievable from the context. I see a gap as a zero representation of a syntactically required NP in the attributive clause. It is not possible for the head of the arch NP to be at the same time governed or controlled by the predicate of the attributive clause and to be modified by it. There are no grammatical constraints that force the inference of NPs when these are not expressed in the clause.

A semantic relation between the predicate of the attributive clause and the head of the arch NP can, but does not have to be inferred.

Attributive clauses in Atong do not cover interpretations of what Matsumoto (1997) calls “noun-complement constructions”, and Comrie (1998 a and b) terms “fact-S constructions”, e.g. (815). Despite these two shortcomings, it would still be appropriate, in my view, to consider attributive clauses in Atong as such. Firstly, because Atong attributive clauses are used to cover constructions with “other possibilities/ interpretations” (Comrie 1998 a: 54- 55). Secondly, because of the evidence that the attributive morpheme <*gaba ~ ga*> (ATTR) has an attributivising function on other word classes apart from verbs, i.e. numerals, the attributive time postposition *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past’ and the bound interrogative formative morpheme <*bi*> (QF).

Appendix 1 Texts

This section presents five texts of different genres. The first two texts represent the spontaneous speech of two and three unmarried men respectively. The third text is an informative text, telling us about the summoning of spirits. The text that follows is an incantation. The last text is a fictional story about a lazy king. All texts are represented almost exactly as they were recorded. The only alternations that are made are the removal of hesitations, false entries and unnecessary repetitions. These alternations are, however, very few in number. Apart from the incantation, all texts are glossed and translated. The incantation, being untranslatable according to my friends, is not recognisable as either Atong or Garo and might be some language that is only used by priests in incantations.

TEXT 1 *Saduthaŋmaran məŋ?tham*

‘The three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’

part 1

Saduthaŋmaran part 1 and *part 2* are the transcriptions of two short films taken by one of my friends, Samrat N Marak, in Siju in the summer of 2007 with my Sony digital photo camera. The films are improvised plays but treat serious every day matters in the lives of the main characters Songken, Jongken and Nongken two of which feature in Part one, i.e. Songken and Nongken. The speakers age lies somewhere between 16 and 23 years old. Because the plays are improvised, the language is spontaneous and colloquial and therefore the films give an excellent impression of the every day conversational speech of unmarried men from Siju.

The word *sadu* is a reciprocal kinship term indicating the relation of men whose wives are sisters (see Chapter 1). The title *saduthaŋmaran məŋ?tham* is morphologically analysed as follows: *sadu*-OWN-RC CLF:HUMAN three ‘three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’.

1. **Songken**

aaah jəw =na sək -arok =te. cəi? -a.
 interj sleep =DAT want -PROG =DCL tired -IMPF
 ‘Oh! [I] want to sleep. [I]’m tired.’

2. **Nongken**

ayaw!
 interj
 ‘Jeez!’

3. **Songken**

ie radi jadi tak -a. biba =an ray?a -naka?
 PRXC Name crazy.woman do -IMPF when=FC/ID come -IFT
 ‘This Radi is acting like a fool. When will [she] be coming?’

4. *johan de?et =na re?eŋ -wa?*

Name shit =DAT go.away -FACT
 ‘Johan went away to shit?’

5. **Nongken**

m?m. cabi =ba. ho?oŋ.
 yes key =ADD yes.
 ‘Yes. And the key (Implies ‘And he went about the key’). Yes.’

6. **Songken**

ayaw! cabi bi =ci =n tan -aŋ -ok? na?naŋ=e, ie mm...
 interj key QF =LOC=FC/ID put -AWAY -COS 1pi =FC PRX interj
 ‘Oh! Where did [X] put the key? We, this um...’

7. *aŋ =do ie na?naŋ atoŋ =aw, hay? =aw, golpho thari =ga =aw*
 1s =TOP PRX 1pi what =ACC GPN =ACC story prepare =ATTR =ACC8. *lapstori, aŋ =mi gəməŋ tari =na sək -aroŋa =cəm. asol =an!*
 love.story 1s =GEN about prepare=DAT want-PROG =IRR really =FC/ID
 ‘As for me, this our, what... what’s it?... prepared story, the love story, I want to prepare [it] about me. Really!’9. *ga?su =ay =sa tari -ni =cəm. thari -ok =odo...*
 splendid =ADV =DLIM prepare-FUT =IRR prepare-COS =TOP
 ‘I should prepare it really splendidly. When I’ll have prepared it...’10. **Nongken**

ho?oŋ
 yes
 ‘Yes’

11. **Songken**

caŋ?
 who
 ‘Who?’

12. **Nongken***hayda.*

I.don't.know

'I don't' know.'

13. **Nongken** and **Songken***hu!*

interj

'Hey!'

14. **Songken***hu! caŋ?*

interj who

'Hey! Who?'

15. **Nongken***hayda.*

I.don't.know

'I don't know.'

16. **Songken***aya!*

interj

'What a pity!'

-Hindi singing-

17. **Songken** (speaking into the camera)*ie, ie, i =do mamuŋ =an doŋ? -khu -ca.*

PRX PRX PRX =TOP nothing =FC/ID IE.be -INCOM-NEG

'He, he, he is nothing yet.'

18. *ie burbok=taka =do i =do.*

PRX idiot =LIKE =TOP PRX =TOP

'He's like an idiot, [yes] he.'

19. *i =səi, nawaŋ =taka =səi.*

PRX =MIR fool =LIKE =MIR

'[It is] him to my amusement, [he] to my amusement is like a fool!'

(Speaking to Nongken)

20. *silat =e atakna manchi=aw wat -ok?*⁸⁹
 Pname =FC why Pname =ACC send.away -COS
 ‘Why did Silat send Manchi away?’ (i.e. ‘Why did Silat break up with Manchi?’)
21. *kam =ni duk =ni. nem -pha =cəm ue.*
 wealth -WITHOUT grief -WITHOUT good -IN.ADDITION =IRR DST
 ‘Good for nothing, no grief. [She] was supposedly no good either, she.’
22. *mu?thay =ba cuŋ-aŋ -arok, te?ew =e.*
 bosom =EMPH big -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -PROG now =FC
 ‘[Her] breasts are getting really big, though, now.’
23. *te? =do wat =na naŋ -ca =cəm!*
 now =TOP send.away =DAT need -NEG =IRR
 You should not have sent her away!
24. *atakna wat =na na?a? [pause] ma?*
 why send.away =DAT 2s Q
 Why send her away, oh, you? Well?
25. **Nongken**
gawi =an thik -an -ca.
 girl =FC/ID right -REF -NEG
 ‘That girl was not decent.’
26. **Songken**
o thik -an -ca?
 interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT right -REF -NEG
 ‘Oh, she was not decent?’
27. **Nongken**
ho?oŋ.
 yes
 ‘Yes’
28. **Songken**
ətək -ari -a, te?ew -rawraw =mi gawi =do.
 do.like.that-SIMP-IMPF now -CONTINUOUSLY =GEN girl =TOP
 ‘Yes. They do like that, the girls from now on.’ (i.e. today’s girls’)

⁸⁹ Silat and Manchi are not the real names of the persons involved. Their names have been altered for reasons of privacy.

29. **Nongken**

hm?m.
interj
'Yeah.'

30. **Songken**

u =na -n səm -sak =na naŋ -a -ro.
DST=DAT=FC/ID follow -APPROPRIATELY =DATneed -IMPF=EMPH
'You have to be careful with them, really.' Literally: 'You have to follow them appropriately.'

31. **Nongken**

naŋ? =mi =ba thik -an -ca -khon =te.
2s =GEN=ADD right -REF -NEG -SPEC =DCL
'Yours might not be decent either, I tell you.'

32. **Songken**

m?m. kam ni? -wa na?a, nuk -a =no =na
yes wealth NEG.be -FACT 2s see -IMPF=QUOT =DAT

məkca -arok -ona.
fancy -PROG -DESI
'Yes. They are worth nothing, because [whoever] they see, it is said, they'll want to fancy.'

33. **nuk -wa =no -wa =na**
see -FACT =QUOT -FACT =DAT

məkca -damdam -ari -a =te,
fancy -ONE.AFTER.THE.OTHER -SIMP -IMPF=DCL

te?ew -rawraw gawi =e.
now -CONTINUOUSLY girl =FC
'It is said that because [whoever] they see, they'll fancy one after the other, I'm telling you, the girls of nowadays.'

34. **cancip -ay, te?ew naŋ? =aw məkca -ni,**
suppose =ADV now 2s =ACC fancy -FUT

u =mi =do alaga =aw məkca -naka.
DST=GEN=TOP other =ACCFancy -IFT
'Suppose, now [a girl] will fancy you, after that she'll certainly fancy someone else.'

35. **ətək -ram? -ari -a.**

do.like.that-INADVERTENTLY -SIMP-IMPF
'It just inadvertently happens like that.' Alternatively: 'It just happens like that and there is nothing we/they can do about it.'

36. *ətəkəymu bi =aw məkca =na ətək =ga =raŋ* (Garo) *=aw =e?*
 CONJ which =ACCfancy =DATdo.like.that=ATTR p =ACC=FC
 ‘So which ones am [I] supposed to fancy, those who do like that?’

- 36.a *gaʔsu -ca maʔ ca. kam =niʔ.*
 cool -NEG interj NEG wealth =PRIV
 ‘It’s really not cool. Worthless’

37. **Nongken**

riʔgol!
 penis (this is the form of the word when it is used as swearword)
 ‘Dick!’

38. **Songken**

caŋ riʔ? naŋ? riʔgol ma aŋ riʔgol? aaah! təi sala!
 who penis 2s penis Q 1s penis interj interj idiot
 ‘Who’s a dick? Are you a dick or am I a dick? Argh! Jeez, idiot!’

39. **Nongken**

johan!
 Name
 ‘Johan!’

40. **Songken**

caŋ?
 who
 ‘Who?’

41. **Nongken**

tarak =bo =to naʔa!
 fast =IMP =IMPEMPH 2s
 ‘Hurry up, oh you!’

42. **Songken**

diʔsu =na =ba sasək sasək tak -arok.
 piss =DAT=EMPH feel.an.urge RED do -PROG
 ‘[He]’s feeling an urge to piss.’

-Hindi singing-

TEXT 2 *Saduthaṇmaran məŋʔtham*
 ‘The three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’
 part 2

1. **Jongken**

o morot =dəraŋ! atəŋ tak -aroŋ?
 interj person=p what do -PROG
 ‘Hey people! What are [you] doing?’

2. **Nongken**

atakna rayʔa -wa?
 why come -FACT
 ‘Why have you come?’

3. **Jongken**

o, gəlgał -aroŋ ətəken, harat-wa =na =sa.
 interj roam -PROG just.like.this lazy -FACT =DAT=DLIM
 ‘Oh, [I]’m just roaming like this, just because I’m lazy.’

4. **Nongken**

muʔ =bo. ca cini =ba coʔoysa ra =bo =to.
 sit =IMP tea sugar=EMPH a.little give =IMP =MPEMPH
 ‘Sit. Give some tea and sugar, come on.’

5. **Songken**

caŋ rayʔa -wa?
 who come -FACT
 ‘Who has come?’

6. **Nongken**

ue, u =saŋ =mi. biməŋ atəŋ məŋ -wa?
 DST DST=MOB =GEN name what call.a.name -FACT
 ‘He, from over there. What’s [your] name?’

7. **Jongken**

hayʔe naʔa, joŋken.
 whatchamatsallit 2s Name
 ‘Um, oh, you! Jongken.’

8. **Nongken***joŋken.*

Pname

‘Jongken.’

9. **Songken***ooo.**ca =ma?*

interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT tea =Q

‘Oooh. Tea?’

10. **Nongken***ho?oŋ.*

yes

‘Yes’

11. **Songken***oo.**ha?, rəŋ =bo.*

inter:jACKNOWLEDGEMENT take.this drink=IMP

‘Ok. Take this, drink.’

12. **Jongken***ayaw naŋ -ca -wa =cəŋ =te.*

interj need -NEG -FACT =IRR =DCL

‘Jeez, that should not have been necessary, really.’

13. **Nongken***rəŋ =bo!*

drink=imp

‘Drink!’

14. **Songken***biskut =an i =tara =an -ok =ay bay?*

biscuit =FC/ID PRX =EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID -COS =POS friend

‘There are only these biscuits [left], friend.’ Lit. ‘The biscuits have become only these really, friend.’

15. **Jongken***əŋ.*

AFFIRMATIVE

‘Ok.’

16. **Songken***atakna na?a ray?a -wa =cəŋ?*

why 2s come -FACT =IRR

‘Why might you have come?’

17. **Jongken***ni? -wa ətəkəy =an gəlɡəl -ari -wa, aŋ =do te?ew -maŋmaŋ*

NEG.be -FACT like.that =FC/ID roam -SIMP-FACT 1s =TOP now -ONLY

may sa²-wa =do sa²-wa =cəm ca =ba.
 rice eat -FACT =TOP eat -FACT =IRR tea =EMPH
 ‘Nothing, [I] just roamed around like that, I have just now eaten rice and tea.’

18. Nongken & Songken

o, saʔ=bo!
inter:JACKNOWLEDGEMENT eat =IMP
'Oh, eat!'

19. Jongken

harat-wa.
lazy -FACT
'[I'm] lazy.'

20. Songken

khaʔsin *saʔ*=bo. ie... *naʔnaŋ* *hayʔ*=ci *doreŋgo* =e *bewal*
slowly eat =IMP PRX 1pi GPN =LOC Pname =FC maybe

jan? -a =ma?
 far -IMPF =Q
 'Eat slowly. This... Our, this, eh, Dorenggo, is it far, by chance?'

21. Jongken

hayda =e *aŋ* =ba *taw* =do *taw* -aŋ -khu -ca.
 I.don't.know=FC 1s =EMPH go.up =TOP go.up -AWAY -INCOM-NEG
 'I don't know, even I have not yet gone up [there].

22. *ətəkciɓa morot =dəraŋbal -wa janʔ -ok =khon =te.*
 but people =p say-FACT far -COS =SPEC =DCL
 ‘But people say that it might be very far for sure.’

23. Songken

hoʔoŋ mo. ayaw.
yes CONF interj
'Yes, of course. Jeez!'

24. Nongken

aŋ =*ba* *nuk* =*na* *sək* -*aroŋ* =*cəm*
1s =EMPH see =DAT want -PROG =IRR
'Even I would like to see it.'

25. Songken

naʔa məkca khaʔgal -wa niʔ -wa =ma ganəŋ?
 2s fancy love -FACT NEG.be -FACT =Q exist
 'Do you have [someone] you fancy [and] love or not?'

26. Jongken

ayaw te?ew -dabat =do ni? -way.
interj now -until =TOP NEG.be -FACT.POS
'Jeez, untill now [I] haven't.'

27. **Songken**

ni? -wa.
 NEG.be -FACT
 ‘[I] haven’t.’

28. **Jongken**

naʔa.
 2s
 ‘[What about] you?’

29. **Songken**

ga =do ganəŋ =cəm, gawi thogi -ok.
 exist =TOP exist =IRR girl betray -COS
 ‘There certainly was, but not any more, the girl betrayed [me].’

30. **Jongken**

gawi thogi -ok?
 girl betray -COS
 ‘The girl betrayed [you]?’

31. **Songken**

hoʔoŋ
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

32. **Nongken**

aŋ =do ni? -səraŋ.
 1s =TOP NEG.be -TOTALLY
 ‘As for me, [I] totally don’t have [one].’ Literally: ‘As for me, [I’m] a total not-haver.’

33. **Songken**

hay sigəret hən? -et -səraŋ naʔa u =aw.
 come.on cigarette give -CAUS -TOTALLY 2s DST=ACC
 ‘Come on, give cigarettes!, oh you, those.’

34. **Nongken**

ooo! əh! awan -arok aŋ =do.
 interj interj forget -PROG 1s =TOP
 ‘Oh! Ah! I forgot. Lit. ‘I’m forgetting.’

35. **Songken**

ha wal? +bət hən? -et -səraŋ =bo =to.
 hey fire +drive give -CAUS -TOTALLY =IMP =IMPEMPH
 ‘Hey, give matches too!’

36. **Nongken**

ha! rəŋ =bo. ayaw!
 take.this drink =IMP interj
 ‘Take this! Smoke. Jeez!’

37. **Jongken**

aŋ -ba dakaŋ canci-a tak -wa =cəm
 1s =EMPH in.the.past think =ADV do -FACT =IRR

gawi ətəkəy tak -wa =nan aŋa.
 girl like.that do -FACT =DAT.FC/ID 1s
 'I also used to think like that because girls do like that, me.'

38. **Songken**

ie radi =ba atoŋ tak -səraŋ -ok ie?
 PRX Pname =EMPH what do -TOTALLY -COS PRX
 'What the hell did this Radi do?'

39. **Nongken**

dəkəm sa -a aŋ =do.
 head hurt -IMPF 1s =TOP
 'My head hurts.'

40. **Songken**

ie jək =ba sa? =ba ətək -rum -ari -a na?a.
 PRX spouse =EMPH child =EMPH do.like.this-ALL -SIMP-IMPF 2s
 'The women and children are all doing like like this, oh you!'

atakna ie? ha! rəŋ -səraŋ =bo =to.
 why PRX take.this drink -TOTALLY =IMP =IMPEMPH
 'Why this? Take this! Smoke it all, go on.'

41. **Jongken**

aŋ =do ca rəŋ -aroŋ.
 1s =TOP tea drink -PROG
 'I'm drinking tea.'

42. **Songken**

(to Nongken) *rəŋbo.* (to Jongken) *ca rəŋ -ceŋ =bo =to.*
 drink tea drink -FIRST =IMP =IMPEMPH
 (to Nongken) 'Smoke.' (to Jongken) 'Drink tea first, go on.'

43. **Nongken**

(to Jongken) *rəŋ =bo =to.*
 drink =IMP =IMPEMPH
 'Drink!'

44. **Songken**

na?a, sadu =e.
 2s man.who.married.my.wife's.sister =FC
 'Oh you, *sadu*!'

45. **Nongken** (about Songken's sigaret)

thoŋ? sa hən? -ari =bo sadu.
 longitudinal.half one give -SIMP-=IMP man.who.married.my.wife's.sister
 'Just give me half.'

46. **Songken**

o doŋ? -ari -ni =ba. aŋ =do na?naŋ jək...
 interj:ACKNOWLEDGMENT IE.be -SIMP-FUT =EMPH 1s =TOP 1pi spouse
 'Sure, that'll be all right. As for me, our wives...'

naŋ? jək =ba ray?a -khu -ca =khon =te.
 2s spouse =EMPH come -INCOM-NEG =SPEC =DCL
 'Your wife has maybe not come yet?'

47. **Nongken**

?m:hm?
 that's.right
 'Nope.'

48. **Songken**

?mmm.
 interj:PENSIVE
 'Mmm.'

49. **Jongken**

aŋ =do gəlgəl -roŋ -ca -wa =na =sa te?ew nok =ci
 1s =TOP roam -USUALLY -NEG -FACT =DAT=DLIM now house =LOC

raŋ wa =ay =mu kam kha? =na harat -ok,
 rain rain =ADV =SEQ work do =DAT reluctant -COS

man?dək -ok kam kha? =na.
 difficult -COS work do =DAT
 'As for me, precisely because [I] usually roam [around] now [that] it is raining,
 I've become reluctant to work at home, it's very difficult to work.' Alternatively
 'It has become difficult to work.'

50. **Songken**

ho?oŋ u =do naŋ? =do banthay morot -ok =ona
 yes DST=TOP 2s =TOP bachelor person -COS =DAT
gəlgəl -aŋ =ci =ba atakna ie?
 roam -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK =LOC=INDEF why PRX
 'That's right. As for that [doing work], because you are a bachelor person, if you
 roam around as much as you like, why this [doing work]?'

51. **Nongken**

ho?oŋ
 yes
 'That's right.'

52. **Jongken**

ni? -wa. harat-ay =sa.
 NEG.be -FACT lazy =ADV =DLIM
 ‘Nothing, just lazy.’

53. **Songken**

ʔhmmm. uφ:! *dəkəm sa -phin -a aṇ =do.*
 interj PUFFING.SOUND head hurt -FULLY-IMP 1s =TOP
 ‘Sigh. Oofff! My head totally hurts.’

nokday =mi gəmən ətəkəy cancie =ci =do...
 people.that.live.in.one.house =GENreason like.that think =LOC=TOP
 ‘Because of the people that live in your house, it you think like that...’

54. **Jongken**

ʔhm! kam =ba atoṇ kam =aw kha? =ay mu? -naka ie?,
 interj work =EMPH what work =ACCdo =ADV stay -IFT PRX
 ‘GRUNT! ‘And then that work, what work will he be doing while he stays here?’

54.a *banthay =ci =ba taṅka poysa naṇ? naṇ -arok =ona...*
 bachelor =LOC=INDEF money money 2s need -PROG =DAT
 ‘when you are a bachelor, because you need money...’

55. **Nongken**

hoʔoṇ, cəm.
 yes IRR
 ‘Yes, supposedly’

56. **Songken**

teʔew niṇ meʔapha tak -gaba =raṇ (Garo) =ba alamala
 now 1p married.man do =ATTR =p =EMPH a.little.bit

i =ba, i =mi haʔselsa khəm =na naṇ -wa naʔ aṇ =ba.
 PRX =ADD PRX =GENfor.no reason marry =DATmust -FACT 1pi =EMPH
 ‘Now that we are like married man, this... because of this we had to marry for no reason, you and me.’

57. **Nongken**

saʔ mən? sa baʔ =ay =muṇ, manʔdək -arok.
 child CLFHUMAN one be.born =ADV =SEQ difficult -DUR
 ‘After one child has been born, it is difficult.’

Songken

manʔdək -asol -a hoʔoṇ. ie jenkon =para =ba
 difficult -truly -IMP yes PRX Name =&co =EMPH

rayʔa -səraṇ -ca -k.
 come -TOTALLY -NEG -COS
 ‘Difficult indeed, yes. This Jenkon and those associated with him never come any more.’

58. **Nongken**

welʔaŋ welʔaŋ cuŋgalgal -wa =sa gaʔ -naka =cəm.
 quickly RED grow.up -FACT =DLIM be.compelled -IFT =IRR
 '[He] will almost certainly be compelled to grow up quickly.'

jeŋkon =para =ba rayʔa-khu -ca =khon?
 Name =&co =EMPH come-INCOM -NEG =SPEC
 'Jenkon and company might not have come yet.'

59. **Jongken**

hayda rayʔa-khu -ca -aroŋ -ni =khon.
 I.don't.know come-INCOM-NEG -PROG -FUT =SPEC
 'I don't know. He has not come yet but he might still be coming.'

60. **Songken**

sayno =mi naw =aw aŋ =do khəm -thiri -ni,
 Name =GENyounger.sister =ACC 1s =TOP marry -AGAIN-FUT
 'I will again marry Seino's younger sister.'

aŋ jək khəm =ami khambay =ci =an.
 1s spouse marry =NOM top =LOC=FC/ID
 '?'

khəm =ay =mu aŋ =do i =saŋ bət -ai -ni -khon.
 marry =ADV =SEQ 1s =TOP PRX =MOB lead -TOWARDS -FUT SPEC
 'After marrying [her], I will maybe bring [her] here.'

61. **Jongken**

ʔhm
 interj
 'Ok.'

62. **Songken** (giving Nongken his cigarette)

haʔ sadu.
 take this man.whose wife is your wife's sister
 'Take this, *sadu*.'

63. **Nongken** (taking the cigarette)

o.
 interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
 'Ok.'

64. **Songken**

ayaw!
 interj (maybe of boredom, maybe because the speaker is worried, reason not sure)
 'Oh'

65. **Jongken**

may saʔ-thok-ok =ma naṇ-təm =e?
 rice eat -ALL -COS =Q 2s -ppp =FC
 ‘Have you all eaten?’

66. **Songken**

o saʔ-ak =ba. saʔ-ak =cəm =ay, naʔa saʔ-ak?
 interj eat -COS =EMPH eat -COS =IRR =pos 2s eat -COS
 ‘Yea, [I] have indeed. [I] supposedly have indeed, have you eaten?’

67. **Jongken**

aṇ =do saʔ=do saʔ-ak.
 1s =TOP eat =TOP eat -COS
 ‘I sure have eaten.’

68. **Songken**

hmʔm.
 no
 ‘No.’

69. **Jongken**

may saʔ=nan jaʔbek walʔbek thaw-ca -wa =nan.
 rice eat =DAT.FC/ID curry burnt.curry tasty -NEG -FACT =DAT.FC/ID
 ‘As for eating rice, the curry was burnt, it was not tasty.’

70. **Songken**

ue pipuk =an okha khamʔ =ay muʔ -aroṇa aṇ =do.
 DST belly =FC/ID full burn =ADV stay -PROG 1s =TOP
 ‘That stomach is full [and/but] keeps burning, as far as I’m concerned.’

71. **Nongken**

ue gumuk =an. okhi -an -ca.
 DST all =FC/ID hungry-REF -NEG
 ‘All of that.’ [I]’m not hungry.’

72. **Jongken**

atoṇ =aw saʔ-wa no naʔ?
 what =ACCEat -FACT say 2s
 ‘Tell, oh you! what did you eat?’

73. **Songken**

jaʔbek =an gaʔsu -an -ca naʔa niṇ =ba.
 curry =FC/ID splendid -REF -NEG 2s 1p =ADD
 ‘Our curry wasn’t nice either, oh you.’

TEXT 3

Way khuruta
‘To perform an incantation’

Told by Genda R Marak,
in the village of Siju in 2006

Having been a priest himself, before he turned to the Christian religion a few years before I did my first fieldwork on Atong, Mr. Genda R Marak tells us about the art of spirit incantation. Spirits are summoned by priests to cure the sick. As we will read, it is by no means a cheap practice.

1. *niŋ soŋsərek =do, niŋ aton =do dakaŋ =do*
1pe heathen =TOP 1pe Atong =TOP in.the.past =TOP
maməŋ thorom =aw ni? wa =mi somay =ci =do
nothing religion =ACC not.exist -FACT =GEN time =LOC=TOP
way =aw mani -a.
spirit =ACC worship -CUST
‘We heathens, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, [we] worshipped spirits.’
2. *way =aw mani -wa =mi oltho =do thama cay -a,*
spirit =ACC worship -FACT =GEN meaning =TOP devination look -CUST
kamal =ci thama cay -a.
priest =LOC devination look -CUST
‘The meaning of spirit worship is divination, divination is practised at the priest’s.’
3. *thama cay =ay =mu aton way doŋ? -ok.*
devination look =ADV =SEQ what spirit IE.be -COS
‘Having practised divination, [we can see] which spirit has appeared.’
4. *cancicəp =ay way cuŋ=gaba doŋ? -ok.*
suppose =ADV spirit big =ATTR IE.be -COS
‘Suppose a big spirit has appeared.’ Literally: ‘Supposingly a big spirit has appeared.’
5. *way cuŋ=gaba doŋ? =ci =do purun ra? -a.*
spirit big =ATTR IE.be =LOC=TOP goat get -CUST
‘If it is a big spirit, we buy [lit. ‘get’] a goat.’

6. *purun ra =ʔay =mu maʔsu raʔ -a.*

goat get =ADV =SEQ cow get -CUST
 ‘Having bought [lit. ‘gotten’] a goat, we buy a cow.

7. *maʔsu naŋ -a, wak naŋ -a, tawʔ naŋ -a, cəw naŋ -a*
 cow need -CUST pig need -CUST chicken need -CUST liquor need -CUST

way khurut =na.

spirit perform.an.incantation =DAT

‘[You] need a cow, [you] need a pig, [you] need a chicken, [you] need liquor in order to perform an incantation.’

8. *umido u =aw kamal sandi -ni.*

then DST=ACC priest search -FUT

‘Then [you] will search for the priest.’

u =aw waʔphek =gumuk, waʔ pan =gumuk
 DST =ACC type.of.small.bamboo =all bamboo wood =all

thari -thəlon =ay =mu =sa,
 prepare-NICELY =ADV =SEQ =DLIM

san sa dəŋthaŋmanca thari =ay =sa,
 day one especially prepare =ADV =SEQ

kamal =na rək =ay =sa, way khurut -a,
 priest =DAT chase =ADV =DLIM spirit perform.an.incantation -CUST

niŋ acu ambi =mi niŋ =mi piʔsa =ci =do.
 1pe grandfather grandmother =GEN 1pe =GEN childhood =LOC =TOP
 ‘Only after having prepared all that small bamboo, only after having nicely prepared the bamboo and the fire wood, only on an especially prepared day, [you] call for [lit. ‘chase’] a priest [and] perform the spirit incantation, in the [time] of our ancestors [lit. ‘grandfather and grandmother’] in our childhood.’

9. *ətəkəymu kamal khurut -ni.*

so.then priest perform.an.incantation -FUT

‘So then, the priest performs the incantation.’

10. *naʔa way cuŋ =gaba =aw nuk -ok no =ay canci =bo,*

2s spirit big =ATTR =ACC see -COS say =ADV suppose =IMP

maʔsu raʔ -naka, purun raʔ -naka, tawʔ raʔ =na naŋ -ni,
 cow get -IFT goat get -IFT chicken get =DAT need -FUT

wak raʔ =na naŋ -ni, u =na =do.

pig get =DAT need -FUT DST = DAT = TOP

‘Suppose you have seen a big spirit, [you] will get a cow, [you] will get a goat, [you] will need to get a chicken, [you] will need to get a pig, for him [that is].’

11. *umi cəw =ba səmʔ =na naŋ -ni, ue kamal =na.*
 then liquor =ADD soak⁹⁰ =DAT need -FUT DST priest =DAT
 ‘Then [you] will also need to take out some liquor for the priest.’

ətakəymu kamal =na cəw səmʔ =ay hənʔ =ay =mu aro
 so.then priest =DAT liquor soak =ADV give =ADV =SEQ and

u =na =ba may jabek raʔ -aŋ =na naŋ -ni,
 DST=DAT=ADD rice curry get -AWAY =DAT need -FUT
kamal =na =ba.
 priest =DAT=EMPH

‘So then, having taken out and given the liquor of the priest, [you] will also have to give him rice and curry, to the priest.’

12. *ətakəymu taŋka =ba kharay =ci cəy -ni.*
 so.then money =add big.pan=LOC offer -FUT
 ‘So then [you] will also offer money in a big pan.’

13. *kolgək =eŋ cəygək =eŋ je səkən ganəŋ*
 twenty =monetary.unit ten =monetary.unit whatever many exist

pal =ci =do sot boŋa =ba cən -ari -a, kamal =na =do.
 sell=LOC=TOP hundred five =ADD offer -SIMP-CUST priest =DAT=EMPH
 ‘[They] will just offer twenty [or] thirty [rupees?] whatever [you] have, if [you] sell [it], they just offer fifty, to the priest.’

14. *kamal =do u =an kamal =do dəŋdaŋ hoŋkhot -aŋ -naka.*
 priest =TOP DST=FC/ID priest =TOP alone come.out-AWAY -IFT
 ‘The priest, that priest, will come out alone.’

khurut =gaba =mi niam =aw ətakəy bal -ni =ne.
 perfom.an.incantation =ATTR =GEN rules =ACC like.this tell -FUT =TAG

khurut =gab =mi niam =do:
 perfom.an.incantation =ATTR =GEN rules =TOP
 ‘[I] will tell the rules for the incantation like this, ok, as for the rules for the incantation.’

⁹⁰ The verb *səmʔ*- here refers to the way in which liquor is gotten out of the pot it is prepared in, called *gora*. You slowly dip a hollow spoon, called *abek*’ with repeated small up-down movements deeper and deeper into the filter, *janti*, which stands in the middle of the *gora*. When the spoon is full, you take it out carefully and drink out of it or empty it in a glass.

15. *caʔmasaŋ =mi way doŋʔ =ci =do,*
 downstream =GEN spirit IE.be =LOC=TOP

kambaysaŋ=mi way =aw =do manʔ -pat -ca -wa.
 upstream =GEN spirit =ACC=TOP be.able -CROSS -NEG -FACT
 ‘When the spirit of downstream [along the Symsang river] appears, [he] will not have any influence on the spirit of upstream.’

16. *u -təm =do sima ganaŋ, way =ba. naŋʔ =mi eria thokthok =təkəy.*
 DST-ppp =TOP limit exist spirit =ADD 1pe =GEN area exactly =LIKE
 ‘As for them, spirits too have limits, exactly like our areas.’

17. *kambaysaŋ=mi way nuk =ci =do*
 upstream =GEN spirit see =LOC=TOP

dəŋthaŋ khurut -a.
 different perform.an.incantation -CUST

caʔmasaŋ =mi way nuk =ci -do
 downstream =GEN spirit see =LOC=TOP

dəŋthaŋ khurut -a.
 different perform.an.incantation -CUST
 ‘If [you] see the upstream spirit, a different incantation if performed, if [you] see the downstream spirit, a different incantation is performed.’

18. *mani məŋ -wa =an, hap =aw =an*
 worship call.a.name -FACT =FC/ID place =ACC=FC/ID

dəŋthaŋ dəŋthaŋ məŋa -a, thokthok məŋa -a.
 different RED call.upon-CUST according.to.the.division call.upon-CUST
 ‘As for what [we] call the worshipping, different places are called upon, [they] are called upon according to the division.’

19. *ie caʔmasaŋ =mi way khurut =ci =do*
 PRX downstream =GEN spirit perform an incantation =LOC=TOP

ue həy =saŋ =mi =aw baŋglades =mi thəlʔ
 DST REM =MOB =GEN=ACC Bangladesh =GEN up.to

koŋos =mi jaria haʔgərsak =gumuk =aw =an məŋa -ni.
 Kongos =GEN influence the.lot =all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT
 ‘When [he] summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the influence of Kongos, of them all.’

20. *baghmara takmara gumuk =aw =an məŋa -ni u =sǎŋ* [long, fasetto voice]
 Baghmara RED all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT DST=MOB

roŋara toŋara gumuk =aw =an məŋa -ni.
 Rongara RED all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT

jaksoŋram taksoŋram haʔgərsak =aw =an məŋa -ni.
 Jaksonram RED all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT
 ‘[He] will call upon Baghmara Takmara all of them way over there Rongara
 Tongara [he] will call upon [them]all, Jaksongram Taksongram [he] will call upon
 all of them.’

21. *cəŋgaba manʔ =ay saʔ-a cəŋgaba nokdaŋ tak -a,*
 whoever in.great.amounts=ADV eat -CUST whoever family do -CUST

u =mi biməŋ =gumuk =aw =an thal =ay
 DST=GEN name =all =ACC=FC/ID clearly/explicitely =ADV

məŋa =ay =mu =sa,
 call.upon=ADV =SEQ =DLIM

way khurut =ay =mu, saʔ =ay rəŋ =ay =mu,
 spirit perform.an.incantation =ADV =SEQ EAT =ADV drink=ADV =SEQ

nem -khal =ci =ba nem -khal -ca =ci =ba
 good -CP =LOC=INDEF good -CP -NEG =LOC=INDEF

ue morot =na =do dəkdək =sa cay -sak -ni.
 DST person =DAT=TOP for.a.short.while =DLIM look -APPROPRIATELY-FUT
 ‘Whoever is rich [lit. ‘eats in great amounts’] whoever has a family only after
 having called clearly/explicitely upon all their names, having performed the
 incantation, having eaten and drunk, whether or not [the patient] has improved,
 [they] will wait for a short while for that person.’ Alternatively: ‘[they] will wait
 for a little while to see if the patient has improved or not.’

22. *ue nem -sak -ca, nem -sak -ca tak =ci =sa,*
 DST good -APPROPRIATELY good -APPROPRIATELY-NEG do =LOC=DLIM

məŋəʔ sa kamal tak -thiri -ni.
 CLF:HUMANS one priest do AGAIN -FUT
 ‘He is not appropriately well, only when [the patient] is not appropriately well,
 another priest will do [it] again.’

23. *ətakəymudo u =an geʔthey sa =gaba:*
 so.then DST=FC/ID 3s be.ill =ATTR

“aŋ =do nem -khal -an -ca” no =ci =do
 1s =TOP good -CP -REF -NEG say=LOC=TOP

aro kamal =saŋ thama cay -thiri -a.
 and priest =LOC devination look -again -cust
 ‘So then, as for that sick [person], if [he] says: “I am not better”, [they] will practice divianation again at the place of another priest.’

24. *khurut =na sap =gaba morot =aw =sa*
 perform.an.incantation =DAT know.a.skill =ATTR person =ACC=DLIM

soŋ =gumuk =ci =ba soŋ =ci paŋ? -ram -ari -a.
 village =whole =LOC=EMPH village =LOC be.many -FORTUITOUSLY -SIMP-CUST
 ‘As for precesely those people [who] know how to perform incantations, in all villages [and] in this village, [there are] many [of them] for no good reason.’

25. *u =ba paŋ? =ay =do sap -dam -ca.*
 DST=EMPH many=ADV =TOP know.a.skill -TRULY-NEG
 ‘Many of them don’t truly know [how to do it].’

məŋ? sa məŋ? ni təkəy sap -a.
 CLF:HUMANS one CLF:HUMANS two =LIKE know.a.skill -CUST
 ‘[They only] one-or-two-ingly know the skill.’ i.e. ‘only one or two of them know the skill.’

26. *kamal =na =do jesəŋba wal duk san duk =ba*
 priest =DAT=TOP wherever night sorrow day sorrow =ADD

rək -ari -ni, khurut =na;
 chase-SIMP-FUT perform.an.incantation =DAT
 ‘[People] will search anywhere for a priest, whether it is day or night, to perform an incantation;’

27. *sam =na je tak =ay rək =gaba =təkəy rək -a,*
 medicine=DAT whatever do =ADV chase=ATTRT =like chase -CUST

kamal =na =do.
 priest =DAT=TOP
 ‘just like a medicine searches searches for medicine in whatever way, [they search] for a priest.’⁹¹

⁹¹ This passage can be interpreted as follows: ‘A skilled priest is searched with great zeal just like someone searches for medicine if a person is sick and will die.’

28. *ətəkəymu khurut* =ay =mu *cancicəp* =ay *nem* =ok.
 so.then perform.an.incantation =ADV =SEQ suppose =ADV GOOD -COS
 So then, having performed the incantation, [the patient] has supposingly improved.'
29. “*ayaw naŋʔ khurut* =ay =sa” *no* =ay =mu
 interj:SURPRISE 2s perform.an.incantation =ADV =DLIM say=ADV =SEQ

kamal =aw =ba *məθel -a*
 priest =ACC=ADD thank -CUST

aro thama cay -thum =gaba =aw =ba
 and devination look -ON.BEHALF.OF.SOMEONE.ELSE =ATTR =ACC=ADD

məθel -a.
 thank -CUST
 ‘Having said: “Wow! Because of your incantation [I am better]”, [he] thanks the priest and [he] thanks [the person who] has practiced the devination on his behalf.’
30. *i* =an *aŋ* =mi *bal* =gaba =aw =ba *jam -et -ari -naka*.
 PRX =FC/ID 1s =GEN speak =ATTR =ACC=EMPH finish -TRANS-SIMP-IFT
 ‘As for this, [I] will now just end my story.’

TEXT 4

Caʔmasaŋmi way

‘The downstream spirit’

An incantation by Genda R Marak
in the village of Siju in 2006

This text presents part of the incantation used to summon the downstream spirit, i.e. the spirit who dwells in the area downstream of the Symsang river. My friends did not want to translate this text, saying that it contained too many difficult words, that it was not real language, or that the language was too complicated and ultimately, that it was Ha•chyk (Garo). To me the incantation appears mostly incomprehensible I recognise some words that exist in Atong and many words that look like Atong words but are just a bit different. The language is not recognisable as Garo either. It might be some language that is only used by priests in incantations. The text is presented here below to preserve some of the pre-Christian culture for future generations.

The stressed vowels in each line are underlined>. Stress is obtained by means of intensity and a lower pitch. The phenomenon of prolonged consonants to mark stress (as described in §2.9) does not occur in this incantation. Most lines consist of two times an equal amount of syllables, although some lines have additional syllables before or after the first rhyme. Most lines are around twelve syllables long, but there is a lot of variation. The rhymes occurs with the last syllable or syllables of each half of a line, e.g. line 1 *kusumaŋ giŋgəŋpha jaʔsəŋmal coŋgdəŋpha*, where the bigger, bold syllables rhyme. The incantation presents a variety of different meters usually consisting of two or four of the same type of foot, but there are meters that consist of different types of foot. We find the dactylic meter, e.g. *ku.su.maŋ giŋ.gəŋ.pha*, the trochaic meter, e.g. line 8 *ian nangʔna* (*i=an nanʔ =na* PRX=FC/ID 2S=DAT ‘this [is] for you’), the iambic meter, e.g. line 14 *ka.mal kha.li go.ra kha.n.di*.

Apart from these we find meters that consist of prolonged iambic feet and of prolonged trochaic feet. A prolonged iambic foot consists of four syllables, with the accent falling on the second syllable. Line 13 is an example of such a meter: *gokabara baŋsəŋgetok*. A prolonged trochaic foot consists of four syllables, with the accent falling on the first syllable. Line 12 is an example of a meter with prolonged trochaic

feet: *cawdānaymu cawgataymu*. The same words, or words that are almost the same, can be stressed in different ways to create different meters, compare line 42 to line 67:

42 *honʔcuaydok honʔbotaydok* (*honʔcu*-PROG *honʔbot*-PROG)

67 *honʔcuokay honʔbotokay* (*honʔcu*-COS-POS *honʔbot*-COS-POS)

Both lines contain predicates with the stem *honʔcu* and *honʔbot* of which I have no translation, and it is not in the Garo school dictionary (Nengminza 2001). Although the predicates have different suffixal morphology, the stems have the same number of syllables in each line. However both stems are stressed differently in the two lines, viz. on the second syllable in 42 and on the first in 67.

For a better understanding of the origin, context and meaning of incantations such as the one presented here, I will need to learn more about the culture that preceded the advent of Christianity. I hope that future fieldwork will provide me with this opportunity.

1. *oooy! aaah!*
2. *kusumaŋ giŋgəŋpha jaʔsənmal cəŋdəŋpha*
3. *haʔjoŋ baʔgabaw udi meŋʔgaba,*
4. *seək haʔsoŋna pukil cigana,*
5. *naŋʔna,*
6. *khajananaka naŋʔna miluwanaka,*
7. *aaah!*
8. *ian naŋgʔna,*
9. *naŋʔna ian,*
10. *aaah!*
11. *agaraŋaw matgacamaw,*
12. *cawdānaymu cawgataymu,*
13. *gokabara bansəŋgetok,*
14. *kamal khali gora khandi,*
15. *naŋʔna raqatwataymu raʔtawaymu,*
16. *caŋkophaŋgynaŋ beŋrarugunaŋ,*
17. *naŋʔna honʔcuaydok honʔbotaydok,*
18. *aaah!*
19. *naŋʔ ruraaysa koŋkhalaysa,*
20. *jakramaysa jakdaŋaysa,*
21. *aaah!*
22. *kuʔkarekwa kuʔkabolwa,*
23. *caʔaw napjava, rəŋaw thojawa,*
24. *aaah!*
25. *dawqde khaʔsiŋdəkbo balnindakbo,*
26. *aaah!*

27. *dawqde jajumaŋciba jakhariciba,*
28. *naŋʔba jakrəmkuʔnam jakdaŋkuʔnam,*
29. *rurakuʔnam kondaŋkuʔnam,*
30. *jaksepkuʔnam jaknolkuʔnam,*
31. *naŋʔna ian aʔna matcu salna doʔbok,*
32. *honʔcuaydon honʔbotaydon,*
33. *naŋʔ karaw rəkwana naŋwa səmana,*
34. *naŋʔna honʔcuaydokay, honʔbotaydokay,*
35. *jumaŋsaŋba karisaŋba,*
36. *naŋʔba jaʔkhu rəkkhunambay biɖəŋ səŋkunambay,*
37. *naŋʔna kaʔja niʔok meluwaʔak,*
38. *cawʔpaŋ gənaŋ beŋraru gənaŋ,*
39. *ceksi balbəŋ waʔma thaɖdəŋ,*
40. *soŋthəŋ rəŋʔay soŋbakjakaymu,*
41. *naŋʔna ian,*
42. *honʔcuaydok honʔbotaydok,*
43. *aaah!*
44. *kaʔsindəkbo bəlɛnindəkbo,*
45. *caʔaw naphakalʔna rəŋo thoɸaʔkhalʔna,*
46. *bugi koksətheʔwacina, waʔma səŋʔkisawacina,*
47. *jaʔma rakphakhalʔna jaŋgi thaŋphakhalna,*
48. *haʔwatphaɸo deŋdatphaɸo,*
49. *aaah!*
50. *ian naŋʔna teʔewdo,*
51. *naŋʔna,*
52. *goroŋwaʔthariaw khiʔmi sawariaw,*
53. *raʔsuaymu raʔbotaymu,*
54. *naŋʔna ian khajan niʔaydok beri dəŋaydok,*
55. *honʔcuaydok honʔbotaydok,*
56. *teʔewdo naŋʔba kaʔsindəkphaboay bəlɛnindəkphaboay,*
57. *aaah!*
58. *jajumaŋciba jakhariciba,*
59. *rurakhunam konʔdakuʔdam,*
60. *jaksepkuʔnam jaknolkuʔnam,*
61. *daŋʔna khajam niʔok naŋʔna miɸuwaʔak,*
62. *naŋʔna goronwaʔ thariaw khiʔmi sawariaw,*
63. *raʔsuaymu raʔgataymu,*
64. *goka bəyra baŋsəŋgətokaw,*
65. *aaah!*
66. *sawʔdənaaymu sawʔgataymu,*
67. *honʔcuokay honʔbotokay,*
68. *ie naŋʔna!*

TEXT 5

Alsia Raja

‘The lazy king’

Told by Tonton M Sangma
in the village of Badri Maidugytym in 2005

A typical fictional narrative about a lazy king, who is also somewhat stupid. The king runs away from home, and gets into all sorts of unfortunate situations. Ultimately he ends up in the jungle where he has an appointment to fight with a tiger. Due to a series of incredible coincidences, the king escapes unharmed and victorious.

1. *te?ew =e alsia raja =no, soŋ dam sa =ci.*
now =FC lazy.person king =QUOT village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC
‘Now, a lazy king, it is said, in a village.’
2. *ətəkəyməŋ alsia raja soŋ dam sa =ci*
so then lazy.person king village CLF:VILLAGES one =LOC

no =ay =sa.
say=ADV =DLIM
‘So then. I just said: “A lazy king in a village”.’
3. *kam kha? =na təŋen harata =no =aro ue, alsia =e.*
work do =DAT very reluctant =QUOT =EMPH DST lazy.person =FC
‘He is very reluctant to do work, it is said, the lazy one.’
4. *ətəkəyməŋ jək =ba məŋ? ni khəm -a =no =ro.*
so.then spouse =EMPH CLF.HUMANS two marry -FACT =QUOT =EMPH
‘So then, he is married to two wives, it is said.’
5. *jək məŋ? ni khəm -a =no.*
spouse CLF:HUMANS two marry -FACT =QUOT
‘[He] is married to two wives, it is said.’
6. *ətəkəyməŋ sa? =na =ba jək pai =na naŋ -a*
=no,
so.then eat =DAT=ADD spouse carry.by.hand =DAT need -CUST =QUOT
‘So then, to eat, [his] wives have to carry [him] on [their] hands, it is said,
7. *jəw =na =ba jək pay =na naŋ -a =no.*
sleep =DAT=ADD spouse carry.by.hand =DAT need -CUST =QUOT
‘and to sleep, [his] wives have to carry [him] on [their] hands, it is said.’

8. *kənsaŋ morot =dəraŋ conək -phin -aydok =no =e.*
 later person =p look.down.upon -COMPLETELY -PROG =QUOT =FC
 ‘Later, the people are looking very much down on him, it is said.’
9. *“ie alsia raja atəkəy kheŋ -aydok?”*
 PRX lazy.person king how live -PROG
 “‘How does this lazy king live?’”
10. *“atəkəy =an jək =aw haldun =na man? -aydok?”*,
 how =FC/ID spouse =ACC feed =DAT be.able -PROG

no =ay =mu morot cancip -aydok =no =ro, morot =dəraŋ.
 say =ADV =SEQ person think -PROG =QUOT =EMPH person -p

 “‘How can [he] feed his wives?’” they said and thought, it is said, the people.’
11. *ətəkəyməŋ kənsaŋ conuk =te cunok =te...*
 so.then later look.down.upon =DCL look.down.upon =DCL
 ‘So then, [they] are looking down, looking down [upon the lazy king]...’
12. *cunuk =gaba =aw na =ay =məŋ alsia raja =e:*
 look.down.upon =ATTR =ACC hear =ADV =SEQ lazy.person king =FC
 ‘Having heard [those that] look down [upon him], the lazy king [says]:’
13. *“na aŋa atəkəy coli =e coli -sem -ca -aydok,”*
 interj 1s like.this succeed =FC succeed -CERTAINLY -NEG -PROG
14. *no =ay =məŋ teʔew =ba jək =məŋ jal -aydok =no.*
 say =ADV =SEQ now =EMPH spouse =abl run.away -PROG =QUOT
 “‘Well, like this I am certainly not succeeding.’” (Literally, ‘as far as
 succeeding is concerned, I am certainly not succeeding.’) [he] said and now he
 has ran away from his wives, it is said.’
15. *coli =e coli -ca -aydok =no*
 succeed =FC succeed -NEG -PROG =QUOT
 ‘As far as succeeding is concerned, [he] is certainly not succeeding, it is said.’
16. *jək -məŋ jal -aŋ -ok =no.*
 spouse -ABL run.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT
 ‘[He] has ran away from his wives, it is said.’
17. *teʔew =e jal -aŋ -wa =ci =e...*
 now =FC run.away -AWAY -FACT =LOC =FC
 ‘Now when [he] runs away...’

18. *jək =aw aset =ay jal -aŋ -wa =ci =e de*
 spouse =ACC dispose.of =ADV run.away-AWAY -FACT =LOC=FC interj
soŋre -aŋ -ok =no =ro.
 travel -AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘He disposed of his wives (i.e. divorced) and when he ran away, well, he travelled away, it is said.’
19. *taŋka =nəy mamuŋ taŋka ni? -wa aro*
 money =PRIV nothing money not.exis -FACT and
sa? =na rəŋ =na =ba =nəy.
 eat =DAT drink =DAT=ADD =PRIV
 ‘Without money, no money at all (lit. ‘no money exists’) and without food and drink.’
20. *te?ew roŋ ni sa?khaw -aŋ -wa =no =khon,*
 now CLF:ROUND.THINGS two steal -AWAY -FACT =QUOT =SPEC
gawigaba =məŋ =aw.
 wife =GEN =ACC
 ‘Now, he might have stolen two rupees, it is said, from his wife.’
21. *ətəkəyməŋ nəgəl =ci =na phet -ok =no.*
 so.then market =LOC=DAT arrive -COS =QUOT
 ‘So then he arrived at a market, it is said’
22. *ma?su gari dam =aw səŋ? -ok =no ue.*
 cow vehicle price =ACC ask -COS =QUOT DST
 ‘He asks about bullock carts, it is said.’
23. *“ie ma?su gari dam =e biskən?”*
 PRX cow vehicle price =FC how.much
 “‘How much is this bullock cart?’”
24. *“həy sala, ie alsia raja =e taŋka =e*
 interj interj PRX lazy.person king =FC money =FC
ni? =e ni? -wa.”
 not.exist =FC not.exist -FACT
 “‘Oh Damn! that lazy king has absolutely no money!’”
25. *“mamuŋ =təkəy =an doŋ? -an -ca.”*
 nothing =LIKE =FC/ID IE.be -REF -NEG
 “‘He as absolutely nothing!’”
26. *“naŋ? =na =təŋ =do roŋ baŋa phal -ari -ni.”*
 2s =DAT=ONLY =TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS five sell -SIMP-FUT
 “‘Just for you I will sell [it] for five rupees.’”

27. “*aya dam noʔm-a =te maʔ.*”
interj price soft -CUST =DCL interj
“‘Jeez! the pice is cheep, goodie!’”
28. “*sala aṇa ama =para =mi saʔkhaw =ay =məṇ*
interj 1s mother=&co =GEN steal =ADV =SEQ

rayʔ -naka san abun =ci”, *canci-aydok =no.*
go -IFT day other=LOC think -PROG =QUOT
“‘Damn! having stolen money from my mother and her company, I can will go
away the next day’”, he is thinking, it is said.’
29. *ətəkəyməṇ canci=ay =məṇ teʔe =do gari nuk -ok =no =aro.*
so.then think=ADV =SEQ now =TOP vehicle see -COS =QUOT =EMPH
‘So then, having thought like this, he saw a vehicle, it is said.’
30. “*ie gari biskən?*”
PRX vehicle how.much
“‘How much is this vehicle?’”
31. “*nehi* (Indic)*naʔa taṇka niʔ =e niʔ -wa.*”
no 2s money not.exist =FC not.exist-FACT
“‘No! You have absolutely no money!’ Literally: ‘your money, as far as not
existig is concerned, does not exist’.
32. “*naṇʔ =na =do roṇ cəygək phal -ari -ni,*”
2s =DAT=TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS ten sell -SIMP -FUT

canci-ok =no.
think -COS =QUOT
“‘I will just sell [it] to you for ten rupees’”, he thought, it is said.’
33. *təkəyməṇ: “salaṇa ama =para =məṇ taṇka saʔkhaw =ay =məṇ*
so.then interj 1s mother=&co =GEN money steal =ADV =SEQ

raʔ=na naṇ -ni gari aro maʔsu gari =aw.”
get =DAT need-FUT vehicle and cow vehicle =ACC
‘So then: “Damn! Having stolen money from my mother and her company
(i.e. his mother’s house ot household), I will need to get/buy a vehicle and a
bullock cart.’”
34. *teʔ =do roṇ baṇa saʔkhaw =ay*
now =TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS five steal =ADV

rayʔa-k jəwʔ =para =məṇ =aw.
come-COS spouse =&co =ABL =ACC
‘Now, he went and stole five rupees from his mother’s house.’

35. *saʔkhaw =ay rayʔ -wa =ci =e teʔew =e*
steal =ADV go -FACT =LOC=FC now =FC
səŋʔ -thiri -ok =no.
ask -AGAIN-COS =QUOT
'Having gone and stolen, now, he asked again, it is said.'
36. *ie gari biskən?*
PRX vehicle how.much
"How much is this vehicle?"
37. *həw naʔa raʔ =na =e səŋʔ =e seŋʔ -ca =gaba tak =na =e*
interj 2s get =DAT=FC ask =FC ask -NEG =ATTR do =DAT=FC
səŋ =e səŋʔ -ca =gaba.
ask =FC ask -NEG =ATTR
"Hey! you are only pretending to be someone to asks to buy it, someone who pretends to ask."
38. *ah hazar sa.*
interj thousand one
"Ah, one thousand."
39. *"cheŋ -wa =məŋ dam =do hazar sa -ak =ona, hazar sa."*
begin -FACT =GEN price =TOP thousand one-COS =DAT thousand one
"Because the price was one thousand to begin with: one thousand."
40. *"aya doŋʔ -taw -an -ca -k =te aŋ taŋka =do."*
interj be.enough UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS =DCL 1s money =TOP
"Jeez! It is not enough any more, my money!"
41. *"sala maʔsu gari =do aŋa manʔ-ni*
interj cow vehicle =TOP 1s get -FUT
dam komi -khal =gaba =aw =do", canci-aydoŋa =no.
price cheap -CP =ATTR =ACC=TOP think -PROG =QUOT
"Damn! As for a bullock cart, I will get [one which is] cheaper", he is thinking, is is said.'
42. *səŋʔ -ok =no: "ie maʔsu gari biskən?"*
ask -COS =QUOT PRX cow vehicle how.much
'He asked again: "How much is this bullock cart?"'
43. *"raʔ =na =e tak =e tak -ca =gaba*
get =DAT=FC do =FC do -NEG =ATTR
maja =an səŋʔ =e səŋʔ -manʔ -ok naʔa dəmdam
yesterday =FC/ID ask =FC ask -ALREADY -COS 2s fortuitously

bal -ari =gaba =e, raja sa”, *no -ok =no*.
 speak -SIMP=ATTR =FC hundred one say -COS =QUOT
 “[You] are only pretending to buy it, yesterday you already asked, you are
 someone who just talks foruitously, one hundred”, he said, it is said.’

44. “*aya taŋka doŋ? -taw -an -ca -k =te*.”
 interj money be.enough -UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS =DCL
 “‘Jeez! my money is not enough!’”
45. “*aŋ =do roŋ cəygək =sa =an ra? -ari -wa*.”
 1s =TOP CLF:ROUND THINGS ten =DLIM =FC/ID get -SIMP-FACT
 “‘I only brought ten rupees.’”
46. “*həys doŋ? -taw -an -cha -k*.”
 interj be.enough -UPWARD -REF -NEG -COS
 “‘Damn! [it] is not enough any more.’”
47. “*jək =saŋ =ba ray? -ca -ka aŋa*.”
 spouse=MOB =EMPH go -NEG -IFT 1s
 “‘I will certainly not go to my wives.’”
48. “*aŋ =aw =e ama =para =e naw =ba naw -naka*”
 1s =acc =FC mother=&co =FC scold=EMPH scold-IFT

tok =ba tok -naka.”
 beat =EMPH beat -IFT
 “‘My mother and her company will scold me [and] beat me hard.’”
49. *jək =saŋ =ba ray? -səraŋ -ca -ka*.”
 spouse=MOB =EMPH go -totally-NEG -IFT
 “‘[I] will certainly also not go to my wives.’”
50. “*sala jal -pəraŋ -wa =an nem -naka aŋa, sala*.”
 interj run.away-AIMLESSLY -FACT =FC/ID good -IFT 1s interj
 “‘Damn, it is better to run away without destination, as far as I’m concerned,
 damn!’”
51. *cənthay roŋ ni ra? -aŋ -ok =no*,
 meolon clf.round.things two get -AWAY -COS =QUOT

hay? =məŋ roŋ baŋa... roŋ baŋa =məŋ.
 GPN =GEN clf.round.things five clf:round.things five =GEN
 ‘He brought two melons [with him], it is said. from those, eh, five... from
 those five rupees.’
52. *cinthay roŋ ni ra? =ay =məŋ*
 melon CLF:ROUND.THINGS two get =ADV =SEQ

soŋre -aŋ =te soŋre -aŋ.
 travel -AWAY=DCL travel -AWAY
 ‘Having gotten two melons, he travelled away, travelled away.’

53. *kənsaŋ=do jəw? -caŋ =na naŋ -ok =no.*
 later =TOP sleep-SUDDENLY =DAT need -COS =QUOT
 ‘Later he suddenly had to sleep, it is said.’

54. *ucie jəw -caŋ =na naŋ -wa =ci =e*
 then sleep-suddenly =DAT need -FACT =LOC=FC

matsa goron -tat -ok =no =te,
 tiger meet -COMPULSARY -COS =QUOT=DCL

maykap =ci jəw -wa =ci.
 hay =LOC sleep-FACT =LOC
 ‘Then, when [he] suddenly needed to sleep, [he] could not help but meet a tiger, it is said, I’m telling you, when he was sleeping in the hay.’

55. *kənsaŋ=do matsa =do morot sən man? =ay =məŋ*
 later =TOP tiger =TOP person smell obtain =NF =SEQ

ray? -wil -ok =no alsia =do.
 go -AROUND-COS =QUOT lazy.person =TOP
 ‘Later, having caught the smell of a human, [the tiger] walked around the lazy king.’

56. *ray? -wilwil -ok =no.*
 go -AROUND-COS =QUOT
 ‘[He] went round and round, it is said.’

57. *“matsa? =e atak =na?” canci -aydoŋa =no ue,*
 tiger =FC do.waht =DESI think -PROG =QUOT DST

kəre -aydok =no kəre -wa =ba.
 be.afraid -PROG =QUOT be.afraid -FACT =EMPH
 ‘“What is the tiger planning to do?” he thought, [he] is afraid, it is said, [he] is afraid indeed.’

58. *ətakəy te?ew jəw =ci =e kənsaŋ =e:*
 so.then now sleep=LOC=FC after =FC

“aŋa thəy =e thəy -man -ok.”
 1s die =FC die -ALREADY -COS
 ‘So then, now, later, when he is asleep: “I am certainly dead.”’

59. *ician: “aŋa jaŋgi =ba thəy -man -ok.”*
 then 1s life =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS
 ‘Then: “I already life-died.”’

60. *nok =saŋ rayʔ =na =ba phaʔ -phin -ca -aydok.*
house =MOB go =DAT=EMPH dare -TOTALLY -NEG -PROG
“I totally don’t dare to go home.”
61. *jebadoŋ aŋa takruk -səraŋ -ari -naka.*
somehow 1s fight -TILL.THE.END -SIMP-IFT
“Somehow I will just fight to the end.”
62. *mat[sa]... caʔphuŋ =aw. matsa =mi caʔphuŋ =aw*
tiger thigh =ACC tiger =GEN thigh =ACC

waŋʔ -jol -ok =no =aro, khabak =ay =məŋ.
bite -QUICKLY -COS =QUOT =EMPH hold.tightly =ADV =SEQ
‘[On the] ti[ger]’s)... On the thigh; he quickly bites the tiger on the thigh, it is said, having grasped him tightly.’
63. *waŋʔ -wa =ci =e kənsaŋ =e: “ay i =do alsia =e*
bite -FACT =LOC=FC after =FC interj PRX =TOP lazy.person =FC

kak-a =te.”
bite-CUST =DCL
‘Having bitten, later on: “Auch! that lazy person bites!”
64. *“sok -ca -ka =te =ma aŋ =do” no =ay =myng matsa =do,*
succeed -NEG -IFT =DCL=Q 1s =TOP say=ADV =SEQ tiger =TOP

jenethene jok =ay =məŋ jal -aŋ -ok =no =ro.
barely escape =ADV =SEQ run.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH
‘Having said: “I will not succeed, what?!” the tiger, [he] barely escaped and run away, it is said.’
65. *jal -aŋ =ay =məŋ kənsaŋ =do janʔ =gaba =məŋ*
run.away-AWAY =ADV =SEQ after =TOP far =ATTR =GEN/ABL

ətəkəy ol -ruk -ok =no =aro:
like.this speak -RC -COS =QUOT =EMPH
‘After having ran away, [they] spoke to eachother like this, it is said:’
66. *“aŋa =e sok =e ok -ca -k.”*
1s =FC succeed =FC succeed -NEG -COS
“I lost.” Litterally: ‘As far as succeeding is concerned, I don’t succeed any more.’
67. *jal -aŋ -an -ca =noə.*
run.away-AWAY -REF -NEG =QUOT
‘He did not ran away, it is said.’

68. *aŋa =e sok =e sok -ca -k*
 1s =FC succeed =FC succeed -NEG -COS
ʔmhm, sok =e sok -ca -k.
 no succeed =FC succeed -NEG -COS
 “‘I lost, yes, I lost.’”
 Litterally: “‘As far as succeeding is concerned, I don’t succeed any more, no,
 as far as succeeding is concerned, I don’t succeed any more.’”
69. *aŋ =ba baju phi -e -naka,*
 1s =ADD friend invite -TOWARDS -IFT
naŋʔ =ba baju phi -e =bo,
 2s =ADD friend invite -TOWARDS =IMP
jat morot no =gaba, aŋ =ba matburuŋ no =gaba
 spieces human say =ATTR 1s =ADD wild.animals⁹² say =ATTR
khaket =aw phi -a -ni, no -ok =no =ro.
 all =ACC invite -TOWARDS -FUT say -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 “‘I will invite friends over here, you also invite friends over here, [of] the so
 called humans species, and I will invite all the wild animals over here”, [he]
 said, it is said.’”
70. *kənsaŋ =do bean bebe iskən san iskən somay*
 later =TOP truly this.much day this.much time
thik khaʔ -ak =no =aro.
 exactly do -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘Later, truly, they fixed a time and a day, it is said.’

⁹² The word *matburuŋ* ~ *matbərũŋ* ‘wild animal’ is a close cognate to or a loan from Garo and is a compound of *mat* ‘animal’ and *buruŋ* ‘jungle’ and means thus literally ‘jungle animal’. In Garo the word *mat* means both ‘animal’ and ‘squirrel’. There is another cognate, which speakers identify as “real Atong”, which is *matpaləŋ* ‘wild animal’, which is also a compound, with the same literal translation of ‘jungle animal’. The word *mat* means only ‘animal’ in Atong and not ‘squirrel’, as in Garo (the Atong word for squirrel being *karat*). The second element of the compound, *paləŋ*, means ‘jungle’. The morpheme *buruŋ* ~ *bərũŋ* is not used outside this compound. When talking about the jungle, Atong speakers use the cognate lexeme *paləŋ* ‘jungle’.

71. *phep japan =ci mu? -saw -khal =na*
 banyan.tree foot.of.tree=LOC sit -EXPECTANTLY -CP =DAT
bal -ok =no.
 speak -COS =QUOT
 ‘[They] said to wait at the foot of a banyan tree, it is said.’
72. *kənsaŋ =do matsa =ba baju phi =aydok =no:*
 ater =top tiger =EMPH friend invite =PROG =QUOT
 ‘Later the tiger indeed is inviting [his] friends, it is said.’
73. *jat matbərurŋ no =ga =do ne?khat =ba doŋ?*
 species wild.animals say=ATTR =TOP bee =add ?
je ha?gəlsak =ba muŋma =ba matsa =ba
 any all =ADD alaphant =ADD tiger =ADD
jekhay amak tak =ga =aw gumuk =an.
 for.example monkey do =ATTR =ACC all =FC/ID
 ‘as far as the species of so called wild animals is concerned, bees and all kinds [of animals] and elephants and tigers [and] for example different types of monkeys, all [of them].’
74. *i =saŋ =do morot =do na?pit əh mayba =do*
 PRX =MOB =TOP human =TOP barber uh interj =TOP
alsia raja =do moro =tara =an =no.
 lazy.person king =TOP human =EXCLUSIVE =FC/ID =QUOT
 ‘Here [however], as far as the species of humans is concerned, the barber – uh, what’s it? – the lazy king [is] the only human, it is said.’
75. *“aŋa caŋ =aw morot baju man? -pha -naka?*
 1s who =ACC human friend obtain -IN.ADDITION -IFT
 “‘Who else will I get as a human friend?’”
76. *aŋ =do aŋ dəŋdaŋ =an”, canci-aydoŋa =no =ro.*
 1s =TOP 1s alone =FC/ID think -PROG =QUOT =EMPH
 “‘As for me, I am alone”, [he] is thinking, it is said.’
77. *phep =ci sənti =butuŋ =ci, te?ew =e*
 banyan.tree =loc lament =WHILE =LOC now =FC
na?pit məŋ? sa ray? -pha -k =no =ro.
 barber CLF:HUMANS one come-IN.ADDITION -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘While [he] is lamenting in the bunyan tree, a barber came along, it is said.’
78. *alsia raja =do thol? =ok =no.*
 lazy.person king =TOP lie -COS =QUOT
 ‘The lazy king lied, it is said.’

79. “*napit, naʔa bi =saŋ?*”
barber 2s QF =MOB
“‘Barber, where [are you going]?’”
80. “*khaw khanʔ =na rayʔ -aydoŋa aŋ =do.*”
hair cut =dat go -prog 1s =top
“‘I’m going to cut hair.’”
81. “*aya khaw khaʔ -wa =na day =ay =do naʔnaŋ=e*
interj hair cut -FACT =DATbe.bigger=ADV =top 1pi =FC

i =ci cay =ay muʔ -wa =an gaʔsu -khal -naka.”
PRX =LOC watch =ADV sit -FACT =FC/ID splendid -CP -IFT
“‘Hey! It is better that we sit here and watch than that you cut hair.’” Literally:
Than cutting hair, us watchingly sit here will certainly be more splendid.’
82. “*matbəruij no =ga khakhet rayʔ -a -ni =no tayʔni*
=do.”
wild.animals say=ATTR all come-TOWARDS -FUT =QUOT today =TOP
“‘All so called wild animals will come today, it is said.’”
83. “*u =aw naʔnaŋ=e cay =ay muʔ -naka*”, *no -ok =no*
=ro.
DST =ACC 1pi =FC watch =ADV sit -IFT say -COS =QUOT =EMPH
“‘We will sit and watch them’, [he] said, it is said.’
84. “*cirokhana =takay cay =ay muʔ -naka.*”
zoo =like watch =adv sit -ift
“‘[We] will sit and watch them like a zoo.’”
85. “*rayʔ -a =bo*”, *tholʔ -ok =no.*
come-TOWARDS =IMP lie -COS =QUOT
“‘Come!’, [he] lied, it is said.’
86. “*ay cay =na naŋ -ni ətəkcido.*”
interj watch =DAT need -FUT in.that.case
“‘Oh! In that case, [we] will have to watch.’
87. *teʔew =do phep kambay =ci duŋ =ay*
now =TOP banyan.tree top =LOCclimb =ADV

cay -saw -arok =no =te, alsia raja =para
look -EXPECTANTLY -PROG =QUOT =DCL lazy.person king =&co

naʔpit =para =do.
barber =&co =TOP
‘Now climbing in the top of the banyan tree, the Lazy king and his company
[and] the barber and his company are expectantly looking out for the animals, it
is said.’

88. *kənsaŋ=do u =saŋ matbəruŋ =dəraŋ=ba ray? -adok =no*
 later =TOP DST=MOB wild.animals=p =ADD come-PROG =QUOT
jamjol =ay =an.
 complete=ADV =FC/ID
 ‘Later, the wild animals are also coming, all of them.’
89. *thep! gaw! no -arok =no =an.*
 [SOUND] [SOUND] say -PROG =QUOT =FC/ID
 ‘[They] go *thep! gaw!* [the noise the animals produce while they are moving en masse], it is said.’
90. *haʔgəlsak =an ray? -arok =no =aro.*
 all =FC/ID come-PROG =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘All [of them] are coming, it is said.’
91. *pheru, pheru =ba ray? -adok =no =ro.*
 fox fox =ADD come-PROG =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘The fox, the fox is also coming, it is said.’
92. *pheru =an raja =no.*
 fox =FC/ID king =QUOT
 ‘The fox [is] the king, it is said.’
93. *kənsaŋ=do ray? -wa =ci =e naʔpit =do muŋma matsa =na*
 later =TOP come-FACT =LOC=fc barber =TOP elephant tiger =DAT
neka -rawraw -wa =na kəre -thəŋ =ay =məŋ
 close -CONTINUOUSLY -FACT =DAT fear -SO.MUCH =ADV =SEQ
phəp =məŋ gal? -səraŋ -ok =no naʔpit =do.
 banyan.tree =ABL fall.down -COMPLETELY -COS =QUOT barber =TOP
 ‘Later, the barber was so afraid of the tigers [and] elephants because [they] were coming continuously closer, [that] he fell down all the way out of the banyan tree, it is said, the barber.’
94. *ucie muŋma matsa =gumuk =an...*
 then elephant tiger =all =fc/id
 ‘Then all the elephants and tigers...’
95. *oh mayba aŋ tayʔsa saŋwal -wa.*
 interj maybe 1s a.little.while.ago forget -fact
 ‘Oh, maybe I forgot something just then.’
96. *mayba =do pheru =do ni? -khu -a =aro.*
 maybe =TOP fox =TOP not.exist -INCOM-CUST =EMPH
 ‘Maybe the fox was not there yet.’

- 96.a *muŋma matsu haʔgəlsak matbəruŋ khakhet =do*
 elephant tiger all wild.animals all =TOP
 alsia raja thorok -ok.
 lazy.person king jump.down -COS
 ‘The elephants, the tigers, all the wild animals, the lazy king jumped down.’
97. “*jal =bo!*” *no =ay =məŋ jal -theri -ok =no*
 run.away-IMP say=ADV =SEQ run.away-AGAIN-COS =QUOT
naʔpit galʔ =gaba =na.
 barber fall.down =ATTR =DAT
 “‘Run away!’ [someone]⁹³ said, and they run away again, it is said.”
98. *kənsaŋ=do thik ue naʔpit =e pheap*
 later =TOP exactlyDST barber =FC banyan.tree
caʔ kok nəŋʔ =saŋ galat -wa =e,
 foot basket inside =MOB fall.down -FACT =FC
daŋʔ -jol -aŋ -wa =no =ro.
 enter-QUICKLY -AWAY-FACT =QUOT-EMPH
 ‘Later, precisely, that barber fell into a hollow between the roots of the tree and quickly disappeared in it, it is said.’
99. *ətakəyməŋ matbəruŋ jal =gaba kaket =aw*
 so.then wild.animals run.away=ATTR all =ACC
pheru goron -ok =no =aro.
 fox meet -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘So then the fox met all the animals [that] are running away, it is said.’
100. *pheru goron -wa =ci =e:.*
 fox meet -FACT =LOC=FC
 ‘When the fox meets [them].’
101. “*atakna jal -wa bayʔsiga =dəraŋ?*”
 why run.away-FACT friend =p
 “‘Why do you run away, friends?’”

⁹³ Here it is not clear, even to my consultants, who says “Run away!”. At first it was believed to be the lazy king, telling the barber to run away. Later however, the context seems to suggest that it is one of the animals that says it. This is a good case of contextual ambiguity due to lack of referents expressed in the clause.

102. “*ayu, ətəkəy ətəkəy doŋ? -wa =cəm takruk =na san somay*
interj like.that like.that IE.be -FACT =IRR fight =DAT day time

thik kha? -wa =cəm;
exactly do -FACT =IRR
“‘Oh! This and this supposedly happened, [they] supposedly fixed a day and time to fight;’”
103. *te?ew =e niŋ =an kəre -phin? -a.*
now =FC 1pe=FC/ID fear -BACK -CUST
“‘Now it is us who are afraid [of him].’” Alternatively: “‘now we we are afraid back.’”
104. “*alsia raja =do kha?doŋ -ari -a.*”
lazy.person king =TOP be.courageous -SIMP -CUST
“‘The lazy king is just courageous.’”
105. “*thorok -səraŋ -ok u =na, niŋ =do jal =gaba -ak.*”
jump.down -totally-COS DST=DAT 1pe =top run.away=ATTR -COS
“‘He totally jumped out [of the banyan tree] and so we became the ones who ran away.’”
106. “*atakna kəre -wa, morot =ma? =dəraŋ=na?*”
why fear -FACT human =interj =P =DAT
“‘Why are you afraid of the humans?’”
107. “*hay aŋ ganaŋ. aŋ =an raja.*”
come.on 1s exist 1s =FC/ID king
“‘Come on! I am here, I am the king,’”
108. *aŋ an bal -thum -ni,*
1s =FC/ID speak -ON.BEHALF.OF.SOMEONE.ELSSE-FUT

no -ok =no =ro pheru =e.
say -COS =QUOT =EMPH fox =FC
“‘I will talk on your behalf’”, [he] said, it is said, the fox.’
109. *ray? -ak =no.*
go -COS =QUOT
‘[The fox] went.
110. *phep =ci ətəkəy mu? -aydoŋ =no =aro.*
banyan.tree =LOC like.this sit -PROG =QUOT =EMPH
‘[He] is sitting down in the banyan tree like this, it is said.’
111. *mu? -wa =ci =e ri? =do cu?ret tak -aŋ -wa =no*
sit -FACT =LOC=FC penis=TOP stuck do -AWAY -FACT =QUOT

ca?ma =saŋ na?pit =saŋ.
lower.side =MOB barber =MOB

‘When [he] sits, his penis got totally stuck, it is said, downward, in the direction of the barber.’

112. *“aŋ kak=bo no -wa =ci =e kak=bo.”*
 1s bite=IMP say -FACT =LOC=FC bite=IMP
 “‘When I say “Bite!”, bite!’”
113. *“aŋ kak=bo no -wa =ci =e kak =bo”, no =ay,*
 1s bite=IMP say -FACT =LOC=FC bite =IMP say =ADV

cin tak -ayroŋ =no =ro.
 sign do -PROG =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘Saying: “When I say “Bite!”, bite!”, [he] is making a sign, it is said.’
114. *ri? =do cu?ret gal -aŋ -aydok =no ca?ma =saŋ.*
 penis=TOP stuck fall.down -AWAY -RPOG =QUOT lower.side =MOB
 ‘His penis is falling down and is stuck, it is said, downwards.’
115. *aŋ “tambo” no -wa =ci =e tambo.*
 1s wait.IMP say -FACT =LOC=FC wait.IMP
 “‘Whan I say “Wait!”, wait!’”
116. *ucie jamjol =ay jal⁹⁴ -aŋ -ok =no =ro.*
 then complete=ADV ran.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘Then [they] all ran away, it is said.’
117. *hay, no -wa =ci =an, ri? =do ri? =an*
 come.on say -FACT =LOC=FC/ID penis=TOP penis=FC/ID

na?pit =do ri? cu?ret tak =gaba =aw, hay? =məŋ
 barber =TOP penis stuck do =ATTR =ACC whatchamacallit =GEN

pheru =mi ri? =aw kan? cot -et -ok =no =aro.
 fox =GEN penis=ACC cut tear -CAUS -COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘When [he] said “Come on!” the penis, this penis..., as for the barber, the stuck penis..., the what’s it..., the fox’s penis, [he] cuts and tears it, it is said.’
118. *“aya! aŋ ri? =do kan? cot -səraŋ -ok na?pit.”*
 interj 1s penis=TOP cut tear -TOTALLY -COS barber
 “‘Ouch! the barber has cut and torn my penis!’”

⁹⁴ The speaker used the verb *gal*- ‘to fall down’ here, but this was replaced by the verb *jal*- ‘to ran away’ by my friend who transcribed this text for me, because otherwise the sentence would not make sense in the context.

119. “*jal* =*bo!*”, *no* =*ay* =*məŋ paraw -ok* =*no*.
 run.away=IMP say=ADV =SEQ yell -COS =QUOT
 “‘Run away!’ [he] said and shouted, it is said.’”
120. *matbəruŋ* =*raŋ* (*Garó plural*) =*do* *jal* -*ok* =*no*.
 wild.animals=p =TOP run.away-COS =QUOT
 ‘The wild animals ran away, it is said.’
121. *ətəkəyməŋ alsia* *raja* =*an* *jam* -*gop -ari -ok* =*no* =*aro*.
 so.then lazy.person king =FC/ID win -? -SIMP-COS =QUOT =EMPH
 ‘So then the lazy king had just won, it is said.’
122. *i* =*an* *golpho* *jam* -*ok* =*ay* *aŋ* =*do*.
 PRX =FC/ID story finish -COS =POS 1s =TOP
 ‘This story is finished, as far as i’m concerned.’
123. **Other speaker in background:**
jam -*ok* *i* =*ci* =*an*.
 end-COS PRX =LOC=FC/ID
 ‘[It] ends here.’
124. **Tonton:**
hoʔoŋ.
 yes
 ‘Yes’
125. *tholʔ -ok* =*ma bebe -ok* =*ma?*
 lie -COS =Q true -COS =Q
 ‘Did [I] lie or tell the truth?’ Alternatively: ‘Did [I] lie or was [I] true?’
126. *aŋa na* -*wa* =*thaŋ* =*təkəy* =*sa* *bal -ay* -*wa*.
 1s hear -FACT =OWN =LIKE =DLIM tell -TOWARDS -FACT
 ‘I told it [to you] like I myself heard it.’

Appendix 2 Atong-English Dictionary

This dictionary contains well over 3000 entries and contains all the lexical items that I collected during my fieldwork (see §1.9) as well as grammatical morphemes. Since it is my intention to publish the dictionary in India, to make it accessible to the Atong speaking community, it is written in the orthography I developed for the language, which is explained in §1.5. Table 2 from that section, showing the relationship between the phonemes and the orthography, is repeated here as Table 76 for convenience.

Table 76 The relationship between the phonemes of Atong and the way they are written in the orthography.

Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes
p^h	ph	m	m	i	i
t^h	th	n	n	e	e
k^h	kh	ŋ	ng	a	a
p	p	r	r	o	o
t	t	l	l	u	u
k	k	s	s	ə	y
b	b	c	ch	ī	ii
d	d	j	j	ē	ee
g	g	h	h	ō	oo
w	w	y	i	ā	aa
glottalisation			• or ’		

Apart from an indication of the word class or the type of grammatical morpheme (according to the list of abbreviations given below), the semantic field of each noun, too, is indicated in the dictionary. The semantic fields and their abbreviations are listed below. Most of the verbs, and some of the other morphemes, are accompanied by stretches of text that illustrate their use. Examples of the use of the grammatical morphemes can be found in the grammar.

The order of the symbols in the Atong alphabet is given below. Every symbol has a name and an example in which the letter occurs, which makes it easier for speakers to remember the alphabet. The examples are, for the convenience of the readers of this thesis, accompanied by a phonemic transcription and an English gloss.

The Atong Alphabet

symbols	name	example	phonemically	gloss
• ’	raka	mym• sa	/məmʔ sal/	‘one fist’
A a	a	Atong	/atɔŋ/	‘Atong’
B b	ba	baju	/baʒul/	‘friend’
C c	cha	chak	/cak/	‘hand’
D d	da	dam	/dam/	‘price’
E e	e	era	/eral/	‘type of fish’
G g	ga	gawi	/gawil/	‘girl’
H h	ha	ha•ba	/haʔbal/	‘dry rice and vegetable field’
I i	i	ichi	/ici/	‘here’
J j	ja	ja•bek	/jaʔbek/	‘curry’
K k	ka	ku•chuk	/khuʔcuk/	‘mouth’
L l	la	laha	/lahal/	‘resin’
M m	ma	mai	/may/	‘rice’
N n	na	net	/net/	‘type of basket’
O o	o	ong•ang	/oŋʔaŋ/	‘type of frog’
P p	pa	panchung	/pancuŋ/	‘jackfruit’
R r	ra	rai	/ray/	‘reed’
S s	sa	symgong	/səmgɔŋ/	‘type of plant’
T t	ta	tyi	/təy/	‘water’
U u	u	u•ching ~ ukching	/uʔciŋ ~ ukciŋ/	‘leech’
W w	wa	wak	/wak/	‘pig’
Y y	y	ymbyng	/əmbəŋ/	‘bamboo flute’

Abbreviations for word classes

<i>adj1</i>	adjective class 1	<i>sfx</i>	suffix
<i>adj2</i>	adjective class 2	<i>tw</i>	time word
<i>adv</i>	adverb	<i>v</i>	transitive, intransitive or ambitransitive verb
<i>bound</i>	bound morpheme	<i>V</i>	verb, used in the definition of event specifiers, e.g. – <i>ang</i> ‘V away etc’. Instead of the V a semantically appropriate verb can be inserted, e.g. <i>byt-</i> ‘to drive etc.’ The result will then be <i>bytang-</i> ‘to drive away’.
<i>clf</i>	classifier	<i>vB</i>	Primary-B verb (transitive verb that can take a dative-marked O complement clause)
<i>conj</i>	conjunction	<i>vdatt</i>	verb which takes its Theme, Patient or Target NP in the dative case
<i>cop</i>	copula verb	<i>vØ</i>	verb that cannot take any argument, i.e. with zero valency
<i>dem</i>	demonstrative	<i>vphase</i>	phasal verb
<i>discon</i>	discourse connective	<i>vS1</i>	intransitive verb which can only take one specific S (intransitive subject) argument
<i>encl.cl</i>	clausal enclitic	<i>vsec</i>	Secondary verb (can take dative- marked verbal complements in O function)
<i>encl.phr</i>	phrasal enclitic		
<i>encl.phr.cl</i>	phrasal and clausal enclitic		
<i>evsp</i>	event specifier suffix		
<i>interj</i>	interjection		
<i>interr</i>	interrogative		
<i>khjyks</i>	<i>khatha jyksai</i> , coordinate compound that consists of two synonyms		
<i>n</i>	noun		
<i>num</i>	numeral		
<i>onom</i>	onomatopoeia		
<i>postp</i>	postposition		
<i>ppron</i>	personal pronoun		
<i>procl</i>	proclause		
<i>prof</i>	proform		
<i>prtcl</i>	particle		

The tilde ‘~’ indicates a variant spelling and/or pronunciation of a word

Abbreviations for semantic domains of nouns

ABSTR	abstract noun	KIN	kinship terms
ACT	human activities, results of or circumstances related to such activities	MSRE	measure terms
ANIM	animals	PERS	persons, designations for people or groups of people
ART	artefacts including materials used in their production	PLACE	places, landmarks and points used for orientation
BODY	body parts of humans and animals	PLANT	plants and parts of plants
CORP	diseases or substances produced by the body	QUAL	qualities
FOOD	food items, ingredients used for food	QUANT	quantity
GEO	geographic, geological or natural phenomena	SHAPE	geometrical and other forms and shapes
		SUBST	substances (not those used for food or for the production of artefacts)
		TIME	time expressions

•**mh**• *procl* That's right.

-a *sfx* customary/imperfective aspect suffix

-a ~ -ai *evsp* V towards the speaker
Nang•do hambun isang
rai•aphinwachi, jykthangaw
bytaibone. Later, when you come
 back here, bring your wife, OK.
 "Angdo hanep nang•sang
re•engni." "Rai•abo." "I will
 go/come to your place tomorrow."
 "Come."

abek *n* ART long hollow drinking
 spoon made of a dried fruit with a
 hole at the top and a hole in the
 side of the bulge at the bottom used
 to scoop rice beer (*chyu*) out of the
 filter (*janti*) which stands in the
 middle of a large earthen pot (*gora*)
 filled with fermented rice (*sithi*).
 The spoon is held by its long slim
 part and slowly lowered into the
 liquor in the filter. The liquor seeps
 into the spoon though the hole in
 the bulge. Then the spoon is
 carefully pulled out again, and the
 liquor is drunk by emptying the
 spoon in the mouth through the
 opening in the top of the slim end
 without touching it with the lips.

abi *n* KIN elder sister. Mothers-in-law
 can call each other *abi*.

abong *n* PLANT corn

abu *n* KIN grandmother. Is also used
 to address an unrelated elderly
 woman.

abun *adj2* next, following,
 neighbouring, other, someone
 else's *Bil nogabamynggymyn*
abundyrangmyngaw naakno. He
 heard about this so called Bil from
 other people.

achepchep *n* ANIM type of cricket

achi- *v* to be born *Ang Dajongchi*
achiwa. I was born in Dajong.

achu *n* KIN grandfather. Can also be
 used by a grandson when
 addressing his grandfather. Is also
 used to address an unrelated elderly

man. *achu ambi* grandparents,
 ancestors. This word is also used to
 talk about or address an elephant
 when you are in the jungle.

ade *n* KIN stepmother

aganggi *n* ANIM type of grasshopper

agos *n* TIME August

agre ~ agrai *adv* too much

aguk *n* ANIM grasshopper

-ai *encl.cl* adverbial clausal enclitic

-ai *sfx* emphatic positive suffix *Nang•*
re•enganchate. *Angdo re•engokai*.
 You will not go. I will go!

-ai ~ -a *evsp* V towards the speaker

-ai ~ -e *encl.phr.cl* focus enclitic,
 occurs on NPs and on predicate
 heads of locative clauses.

ai•ai•ai *interj* interjection to call a pig

aiai *interj* interjection of surprise

aiaw *interj* interjection of excitement

aiding *n* ACT hopscotch (a children's
 game)

-aidonga ~ -aidong ~ -aidok ~ -

aronga ~ -arong ~ -arok *sfx*

progressive/durative aspect suffix

ain *n* ACT custom, law, tradition *ain*
niam laws, customs, traditions

aina *n* ART mirror *Ainachi chaiwachi*
phalthangau nuka. When I look in
 the mirror I see myself.

aiy *interj* interjection of inquiry and
 surprise: what are you doing?!

aja *n* KIN elder sister

ajip *n* ART fan

ajot *n* ART children's game played
 with two groups of unlimited size.
 Between the two groups sits a
 person called the 'king'. Children
 from both groups have to whisper
 the name of a child from the other
 group into the king's ear, first a
 child from one group, then a child
 from the other group. If two
 children whisper the same name,
 the king will call "Ajot!" and the
 person whose name has been
 whispered is out. The group that is
 depleted first loses.

ak- *v* to pluck (leaves, fruit etc. not feathers), to pick (flowers)
-ak ~ -ok ~ -k *sfx* change of state suffix
akai *n* KIN aunt: mothers elder sister. I also used to address an unrelated married woman older than the speaker.
akan *n* ART wooden rack above the cooking fire
akyrudygyl *n* PLANT pumpkin
alabok *n* ANIM white crane bird
alaga *n* PERS/ABSTR other (person/thing), somebody else, different *Alaga morotna dymdym damdam hyn•na bai*. Don't just give it to someone else.
ali *clf* classifier for small heaps or piles of things *narang ali tham* three piles of oranges
alsia ~ halsia *n* PERS lazy person
althu•- *adjl* easy
alu *n* PLANT potato
alukotar *n* ART helicopter
alupren *n* ART aeroplane
ama *n* KIN mother. Can also be used to talk about or address an aunt. Can also be used by a mother to address her daughter.
aman *n* ART pestle, heavy wooden pole used for flattening rice in an *assam* by pounding *aman goi• ni* two pestles
ambisuthyk *n* ANIM type of gold-coloured metallic beetle that flips itself back on its feet when it lies on its back
ambret bambret *n* ACT children's game
ambyrai *n* PLANT type of tree
-an *encl.phr.cl* focus/identifier enclitic, occurs on NPs and clauses
-an *evsp* still V-ing
-an *sfx* referential suffix
anai *n* KIN aunt: fathers sister
anaros *n* PLANT pineapple
ang *ppron* I, me, first person singular
-ang *evsp* V away, V without holding back, V affluently

anyng *n* KIN 1. aunt: fathers sister, 2. sister-in-law: husband's wife
aphap *n* PLANT yeast used to make *sithi* 'fermented rice'
apun *n* ART fishing hook
apunkara *n* ART fishing line
apunphong *n* ART fishing rod
aragong *n* PERS a person who is too big for his age
-ari *sfx* simplicitive suffix, just, simply
aro *conj/disccon* and, furthermore, moreover
-aro ~ -ro *encl.phr.cl* 1. emphatic enclitic 2. enclitic signalling that the speaker will say more
asalchong• *n* ANIM type of black hairy caterpillar that lives on jackfruit trees
asam *n* ART mortar, big heavy hollowed log in which rice is flattened by pounding it with an *aman asam pan byryi* four mortars
aset- ~ asyt- *v* to throw away, to dispose of, *jyk aset-* to divorce *Alsia rajae jyk asetai jalangwachie songreangokno*. The lazy king divorced his wives and travelled away, it is said.
aski ~ askhui ~ askui *n* GEO star
asok *n* ART type of woven bamboo basket to keep live pigs in to sell at the market, type of fish trap
asol *adv* really
-asol *evsp* really
asu *n* PLANT thorn
asyi ~ asi *n* KIN aunt: mothers younger sister
asynthalak *n* ANIM type of fish
asyt- ~ aset- *v* to throw away, to dispose of, *jyk aset-* to divorce *Alsia rajae jyk asetai jalangwachie songreangokno*. The lazy king divorced his wives and travelled away, it is said.
ata *n* FOOD flour
atak *n* PLANT type of tree
atak- *v* to do what (interrogative verb) "Aiaw! Angdo chykaidonga."
"Atakwa?" "Teewmangmangsa"

tyiruwa na•a. “Oh! I’m cold!” “What have you done?” “I just took a bath, man!” **Kynsangdo atakoknowa•jamjolai gopcha amakawe.** What happened later? / What did they do later? They didn’t burry him at all, the monkey. **“Na?a atakna jumuaidonga ie ha•thaphyraawe?” nowano.** “Why are you collecting these ashes?” they said, it is said. **“Atakgaba raja na•a angna gore lapchagabaaw watetwa” nookno.** What kind of king are you that you send me a good-for-nothing horse?!

ataikai *interr* how?

atakna *interr* why?

atha *n* MSRE half

athom *n* BODY stomach

atong *interr* what?, *Atong mai•na?* Why?

Atong *n* ABSTR/PERS the Atong language, Atong person

atongba *prof* something *Ge•thengna atongawba hyn•bo.* Buy something for him *Seino na•a te•ew nang•songsang re•engchido angna atongbaaw ra•bone.* Seino, if you now go to your country, buy me something, OK.

atongtykyi How?, How come?, Why?

atyw *interj* interjection of surprise

-aw ~ -taw *encl.phr* accusative enclitic

awa *n* KIN father

awan *n* ART winnowing basket
Awanchi mai chawa. Rice is winnowed in a winnowing basket.

awan- *v* to forget

awang *n* KIN 1. uncle: fathers younger brother, 2. what children call their stepfather

awyi *n* KIN grandmother

-ba *encl.phr* additive/emphatic enclitic: and, also, too; indeed
“Ytykchido nang•na randai angna kerengne” nowachie. “Hy! Angba randai sa•ni” nowano. “In that case you will get the meat and I will get the bones”, he said and

then: “Hey! I also want to eat meat”, he said, it is said. *“Na•ru bimyingaw poknaka bydyi?” noatakaidonga amak gawian.* *“Te•en ang sungaw chaiaribo” noai takaidongano amakba rukpekmyng bai•sigathanggaba budiaw tyngsymai takaimyng.* “Where will we uproot the *na•ru*, old man?” the wife of the monkey is asking. “Just look into my mind later”, the monkey is saying who wants to imitate the idea of his friend the frog.

-ba *encl.cl* clausal enclitic: additive/emphatic suffix on main clauses: also, too; indeed
“Nang•tym ang nokaw saw•waba nemariok. Anga nang•tymaw mythelbiok aro ang nok chungkhuchido, ina daiai man•nichym anga tangka” nookno. *Ytykchido ningba phalthang nokaw saw•aimyng ha•thapyra phalchie man•nima?”* “*Man•niba, nang•tymba*” nowano. ‘You burnt my house indeed and that’s just fine.’ I’m very grateful to you all and when my house was even bigger, I could have gotten more money for it”, he said, it is said. “In that case, when we burn our own houses and sell the ashes, can we also get money?” Yes, you, too, will indeed get money”, he said, it is said.

-ba *encl.cl* indefinite enclitic on dependent locative clauses: whenever *Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake.* Whenever he almost caught up with it, it quickly ran away, the deer.

ba- **ba•-** *v* to be born *Sa•baak/ba•ak.* The child is born.

ba•- *v* to carry a child *Dada jojongaw ba•aidonga.* The older brother is carrying his younger brother. *Nawgabaaw ja•nawgaba okmachi ba•aidok.* The elder sister is

carrying her younger sister on the front of her body.

baba *n* KIN father, daddy, dad. Can also be used by father or mother when they address their son. Can also be used to talk about or address an uncle.

babaji *n* PERS fortune teller

babelsi ~ babylsi *n* PLACE kitchen

babu *n* PERS child or baby (used to call a small child or baby)

Babyra *n* PERS supreme god

bada *n* MSRE a bunch

badai- *v* to cross beyond the limit, to pass a certain point *Changba ge•theng songmi baiaw badaiook*. Somebody crossed the border of his village. *Dolong khagabaaw badaiwachi, ramchi agal saw•gaba ganang*. When you will have passed the hanging bridge, there will be a forest fire along the road.

badal- *v* to unfold

badym *n* PLACE paddy field, wet rice field

badying- *v* to trade, to deal in, to do business in *Dakangmi chasongdo rangdarangaw, rykdarangawsa barudarangawsabadynga*. As for the past era/generation, they traded brass gongs and all kinds of ornaments.

bagan *n* PLACE garden

bagu *n* ART cloth for man worn around the waist

bagukhawa *n* ART turban with a knot on the front side of the head

baguriwa *n* GEO rainbow

bai *n* PLACE border

bai• *n* PERS friend, kin

bai•- *v* to break *Balwa rakaimyng wa• bai•ok*. Because of the hard wind the bamboo has broken.

bai•khop *n* PLANT type of big broad green and purple bean

bai•siga ~ bai•sega *n* KIN friend

baibai *adj*2 the same *Ang hanep baibai kha•di khanphinni*. Tomorrow I will wear the same clothes again.

baidam *n* PERS some (people)

Ytykyisa dyngthangdyngthang songchina hapchina jaltokna ga•akoknowa. Baidam wa•thaigyrymchi mu•ok, uawdo wa•thaigythym myngok. Bai•dam Rongsa thyikhalmi ha•waichina jalangok, uawdo Rongsa Ha•wai myngok. That's why they were forced to run away to different villages and different places, it is said. Some stayed in *Wa•thaigyrym*; that village is now called *Wa•thaigythym*. Some stayed in the plains of the river *Rongsa*; that village is not called *Rongsa Ha•wai*.

baik *n* ART bike

baisykyl *n* ART bicycle

baji *n* TIME hour “*Atong baji te•ewe?*” “*Tin baji dong•ok.*” “What time is it now?” “It's past three o'clock.” Note that hours are counted with numerals borrowed from Hindi.

baju *n* KIN friend

bak- *v* to run after someone or something *Kyi• ma•suaw kakna bakaidong*. The dog is running after the cow to bite it. *Banggaldo tharapna guduk takwachiba, tarakai jalariano magachake. Ytykimyng bakrawraw bakrawraw jan•angoknowa*. When the Bengal almost reached it, the deer just ran fast, it is said. So then, chasing it more and more, they got far away, it is said.

bak- *v* to attempt, to try *Raw•na bakwachym ytykhiba man•ancha*. He attempted to catch it but he could not.

bak- *v* to catch up with, to overtake

bak- *v* to scrape with a spade *Samsiaw bakaidonga*. She is scraping away the weeds with a spade.

bak- *v* to make barren, to weed out all the plants *Khudalsang ha• bakwa*. We weeded the land with a chopper.

bakbak *adv* easily
baket *n* ART bucket
baki *n* ACT credit *Baki hyn•chawa*. I don't give credit.
bal- *v* to speak, to tell, to say *Na•a atong khu•chukaw balaidonga?* What language do you speak? "Nang-mi jorae chang?" "Balchawa angdo." "Who is your lover?" "I will not tell." *Te•ewe ie myngsa khelegabamynggymyn anga choi•sa balna sykaidonga*. Now I want to tell a little about this game. *Bydyi myng•sa balai hyn•aimyng, baju takphinokno*. After an old man gave advice, they became friends again, it is said. *Angmi balwami ichian jametwa. Walnam*. I will finish my story telling now. Good night.
Ang nang•aw balni. I will tell about you.
balaga *n* PLACE outside
balgyto• *n* PLANT orchid
balphak- *v* to blow away
Balphakram *n* PLACE land of the spirits of the dead, national park in the South Garo Hills District
balpisa *n* PLACE place to piss
balsem- *v* to talk very long
balsyruk- *v* to whisper
balwa *n* SUBST wind, air
balwa- *v*S1 to blow (of the wind)
bam- *v* to brood, to sit on an egg *Taw•kurungchi bamaidong*. The chicken is brooding in her nest.
bam- *vdat* to obey, to surrender *Ie sa•gyrai angnado bamcha*. This child does not obey me. *Arong nokmae Duraaw Dorenggo Wadachongaw panchi jap khaaimu Englanmi Britis gobormen sason ka•gabana bamchano*. Having tied a trap in a tree, Arong headman did not surrender to the reign of the British government.
ban- *v* to trap, to catch in a trap *Jaga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno*. They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.

ban- *v* to flow (of rivers) *Symsang tyi Nongal dolongtakai banaidong*. The water of the Symsang river flows under Nongal bridge.
bando *n* ART tree house
bang *num* five
bangbang *adv* empty
bangbol *n* ANIM type of fish
Banggal *n* PERS Bengali, non-Garo/Atong person
bangganai *n* ANIM type of fish
bangka *n* ART fan
Banglades *n* PLACE Bangladesh
bangphak *n* ART posts at the entrance of the bachelors' house
bangsi *n* ART flute
banthai *n* PERS bachelor, unmarried man
bapai- *v* to drop
bara- *v* to put in a hole, pan, *wa•sung*, bag etc.
-barai *evsp* V always
baram- *adj1* rough
barat *n* ART string that pulls the skin of a drum tight
barat- *vdat* to be ashamed, to be shy *Ie gawi nang•na barataidong*. This girl is feeling shy towards you. *Nawang na•a! Ang nang•na barataidong*. You idiot! I am ashamed of you.
barata *n* FOOD paratha, flatbread *barata phelsa* one paratha
baratwami *n* ACT shame
bari *n* garden
bas *n* ART bus
basak- *v* to burn and cause a rash *Thamat ~ thamotba na•jekwa•ba khi•chido basaka*. If you touch the *thamat/thamot* plant and the *na•jek* bamboo they cause irritation.
basak- *v* to cause irritation or itching *Thamat basaka. Ta pyi•!* The *thamat* plant causes irritation. Don't touch it!
basnengtakgaba *n* PLACE bus stop
basu *n* ANIM crown feathers of a bird
-bat *evsp* most
bat- *v* to stick in *Kun ha•bykungchi batbo*. Stick the stick in the sand.

batdyl *n* ART slingshot
bathan *adj2* lying on his back
Bathanai juwbo. Lie down on your back.
batkynying- *v* to smash
baton *n* ART button
batphai- *v* to throw hard
batpyret- *v* to smash by throwing something to the ground
baw•- *v* to dry: to make jerky, to dry vegetables
bawang *clf* length of the widely stretched arms and hands
bawbyl *n* PERS enemy
bawbyl chambyl *n khjyks* PERS enemy
bawen *n* SHAPE circle *bawen sene* seven circles
bawen- *v* to move in a circle, to make a circle around something
bawra *n* ACT arrogance *bawra tak-* to be arrogant
bebe *adv* truly *bebe ra•-* to believe
Ang nang•aw bebe ra•cha. I don't believe you.
bebe- *v* to believe *Me•mangaw bebea.* I believe in ghosts.
bejaw- *v* to experience the sensation of being tickled *Nang• angau thebajauwa, ang bejawok.* You tickled me and I feel tickled.
bek *n* ART bag
bel• ~ bil•- *v* to retract the foreskin from the glans penis *Nang• ri•aw bel•bo.* Retract your foreskin!
belcha *n* ART spade
bengblok *n* ANIM toad, type of frog
bera *n* ART a fence
bering *n* FOOD food cooked in a *wa•sung*
bering-- bereng- *v* to cook in a bamboo cylinder (*wa•sung*) which is sealed with banana leaves and placed in the fire
beringwa ~ berengwa *n* FOOD food cooked in a *wa•sung*
betyri *n* ART battery *betyri thong• byryi* four batteries
bewal *n* ACT tradition, habit
-bi *evsp* very

bi•chamchym *n* ACT fragment
bi•thyn ~ pi•thyn *n* BODY liver
bia *n* ACT wedding *bia kha•-* to marry, to have a wedding *bia kha•ak* to be married
biambong *n* BODY biceps
biawthang *n* KIN brother-in-law: wife's elder brother
biba *interr* when? *Na•a bibasa rai•ani?* When exactly will you come?
biba *n* BODY breath, vapour, steam
bibasa *adv* wherever
bibyrokxon ~ bibakoron *adv* some day
bichi *interr* where?
bichiba *adv* sometimes, somewhere
Ang chabiaw bichiba thagalok. I lost my key somewhere.
bichiba bichiba *adv* sometimes, seldom
bichylap *n* BODY abdominal membrane
bie *interr* which?, where? *Sam Manama. Bie same?* The medicine stinks. Which medicine? "*Bie nang• jongdyrange? Nang• jonge bie?*" *nookno janggaklchi syng•okno.* "Where is your younger brother? Your younger brother, where is he?" she said, it is said.
bigaba ~ biga *interr* which? *Bigaaw biskut ra•nima?* Which biscuits shall I buy?
biji *n* ART injection, injection needle
biji su•- to give an injection *biji phong ni* two injections, two injection needles
bijyrang- *v* to hang to dry *Kha•di bijyrangbo.* Hang the clothes to dry.
bikha *clf* classifier for surfaces of 80 by 80 *pit*
bil• ~ bel•- *v* to retract the foreskin from the glans penis *Nang• ri•aw bel•bo.* Retract your foreskin!
ilding *n* ART house built with cement, building
bimang *n* ABSTR body, appearance

bimung ~ bimying *n* ABSTR name
Angmi bimung Samrat myngwa.
 My name is Samrat.

bins *n* PLANT type of green bean

bipha *n* PERS lad, man, male *Gawi khaketsaan songchi mu•ariok, bipha kakhetdo palyngsang jalangok.* Only the women stayed in the village, all the men ran away to the jungle. *ma•su bipha* bull *mongma bipha* male elephant

biphagaba *n* PERS husband

biri *n* ART cigarette

bisang *interr* to where?, from where?

bisangba *ilocprof* somewhere

bisangba *prof* somewhere *Ge•theng bisangba re•engok.* He has gone somewhere.

bisangmi ~ bisangmyng *interr* from where?

bisi *n* SUBST poison

biskut *n* FOOD biscuit *biskut kep sa* one biscuit (focus on small size and flatness) *biskut phel sa* one biscuit (focus on the fact that it is a baked thing)

biskyn *interr* how much? how many?

bistibal *n* TIME Thursday

bisyl *n* ART coin

bitykyi *interr* by which way? *Bitykyi re•engnima? Ie ramtykyima utykyi?* By which way shall we go? By this road or by that one?

-bo *encl.cl* imperative mood clausal enclitic

bo•rang *n* ART tree house

boba *n* PERS crazy man, idiot

bobi *n* PERS crazy woman, idiot

bobylawthok *n* PERS fool

bochi (Siju dialeht), ja•chung (Siju dialeht) *n* KIN sister-in-law: elder brothers wife

bodol- *v* to change

boiom *n* ART a jug *boiom thai• sa* one jug *Ge•theng boiom thai• tham bai•ok.* He broke three jugs.

bokbok *n* PERS liar

bol- *v* to cause irritation or itching
Thamat bola. Ta puy•! The *thamat*

plant causes irritation. Don't touch it!

boli *n* ACT offer to a spirit

Songgumukan ue mongmawana wai khurutaisa boli hyn•aisa man•ai sa•thokwano. Because the whole village prayed and offered to the elephant tusks, they all became very rich, it is said.

bonduk ~ bondyk ~ byndyk *n* ART gun, shotgun

-bongbong *evsp* *V* more than necessary, *V* in abundance, *V* scandalously much

bongbong ~ bong *n* PERS liar *Ta bong!* You liar!

bonyng *n* KIN brother-in-law: the relation of a man and his younger sisters husband or a man and his wife's elder brother

borong *n* PLANT cob, part of the fruit where the seeds are set in *abongborong* cob of corn. Jackfruit also has a cob which is called *panchungborong* jackfruit cob

bosok- *v* to itch, to be irritated, to experience the sensation of irritation or itching *Na•jekwa• khiaimu cha• bosokaidonga.* Having touched the *na•jek* bamboo my leg is itching.

hostu *n* ABSTR thing *hostu myng tham* three things

bot- *v* to court, to woo, to flatter *Nang• Turachi nawmyl botwama?* Did you court the girls in Tura?

botol *n* ART bottle or its volume, bottleful

breket ~ brekyt *n* bracket
Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha. The words in brackets are not very important.

Britis *n* PERS British

bu- *adjl* to be sharp (of pointed things)

bu•chok- *v* to be sharp (of pointy objects)

bu•chot *n* PLANT mango

buchotpan *n* PLANT mango tree

budbal *n* TIME Wednesday

bugyryk *n* PLANT type of vegetable

bui- *adj1* murky, turbid *Tyi buia*. The water is murky/turbid.

bukalang *adj2* to have holes in it (of clothes)

bul- *v* to stir

bul- *v* to dig up, to unearth

Noksangsamsang khudal

paiaimying, tangkaaw bulai

Thengt•honna hyn•etokno. Having carried a chopper to the side of the house, he dug up the money and gave it to Thengt•thon, it is said.

buna *n* ANIM big black and yellow flying insect

burbok ~ bulbok *n* PERS idiot

but- *v* to squeeze in, to penetrate, to go inside a hole *Saphawba hang•khalnyng•sang butai jalangokno*. The rabbit runs away and squeezes into a hole. *Bandi palyng butangwachi matsa chunggaba gorongokno*. When Bandi penetrated the jungle, he met a big tiger, it is said. *Ne•kat wa•hang•khalnyng•sang butangaidonga*. The bees are going into the bamboo hole.

butang *n* PERS fucker (swearword)

butbal *n* TIME Wednesday

buthu- *v* to seal, to close a receptacle by putting something in the opening *Wa•sung rekchaksang buthuok*. The bamboo cylinder is sealed with banana leaves.

buthu- ~ buthyw-- bythyw- *v* to boil (of water)

butsa *n* ANIM type of big red ant

-butung *sfx* concomitant action suffix

bychym- *v* to pull up/out *Una myng•sagaba sa•banthai myng•sagaba bychymokno, uchiba patangphaariok, dang•angphaariokno*. Then one son pulled the other out [from the water], it is said, but then they just crossed and they all just drowned, it is said.

bydyi *adj2* old (for persons)

bydyi *n* PERS old man

bydyi badai *n* PERS old couple

byira *n* ANIM cat *byira amanthong* jungle cat (the pattern on the skin of this cat is in the shape of an *aman*) *byirakhem* type of bee

byirakhem *n* ANIM type of bee

byisa- ~ bysa- *v* to dance

byisyk *interr* how much? how many? *San byisyk mu-ni?* How many days will you stay? *Nang•chi rong byisyk ganang?* How much money have you got?

bykbyk *adv* quickly

bykot- *v* to unsheathe, to take out

Gal•aimuna kysangdo phylgymaw

uan rykjolaimuna kukuri

bykotaimuna tokyrengaw

tan•thongokno. After the eagle had fallen to the ground, he ran and unsheathed his knife and cut off its head, it is said.

bykphyl *adj2* inside out *Nang•jama/chola bykphyl*. Your shirt is inside out.

byl *n* ABSTR/BODY strength, muscle *Ido sa•gyraido hambundo chungwachido alamyla byldo bylnikhon*. In the future that child might really become a bit stronger.

byl- *v* to make a drum and cover it with skin

byl- *v* to cut and kill a big animal or person, to slay

byl• *n* ACT strike *Ma•su tan•na byl•sa nangni ge•thengo*. To slaughter the cow he needs one strike.

bylak- *adj1* strong *Uchi mu•tyngabae bylakbatgabae Arong nokma dong•anoa*. The strongest one who lives there is headman Arong, it is said.

bylbang *n* ART tie beam

bylet *n* ART razor blade

-bylok *evsp* V into pulp

bylong- *v* to be too much *Na•a bylongdugaai the!•nabyi*. 'Don't tie it too hard. *Bylongok!* It's too much!

bylongen *adv* very

bylongok *interj* So stupid! *Bylongokte nang•do angaw taksakchagado.* You are so stupid if you don't help me.

bylsi *n* TIME year *bylsi thinian* every year *Bylsi chykhywdyrang dong•phinokno.* Nine years have passed, it is said.

bylu *n* QUAL blue

byryi *num* four

byrymbyrym *adj2* multicoloured

byryp *adj2* lying on his belly *Byrypai juwbo.* Lie down on your belly.

byt- *v* to pull, to drag, to drive, to ride, to transport, to lead, to haul, to draw, to shock (electricity) *Na•a gari bytna sapama?* Do you know how to drive (a vehicle)? *Odek ang khaw bytai thetok.* The baby pulled my hair and pulled it out. *Mai bytwamyngdo pungchina songchina khairata.* We carry the rice harvest down to the granary, to the village.

bytai- *v* to lead here, to bring here (by driving)

bytchirit- *v* to draw a line

bytganggang- *v* to drive a vehicle over a bumpy road

bythyi *n* ANIM porcupine

bythyn *n* GEO shade *Ichi mu•bo. Ichi bythyn gal•ok.* Sit here. The shade is here. (lit. The shade has fallen here.)

bythyw- *v* to be blocked

Wa•sung/paip bythywok. The *wa•sung*/water pipe is blocked.

bythyw- *v* to close the *wa•sung* or such containers with *rai•chak* so that the vapour cannot come out

bytjekjek- *v* to give short jerks

bytphin- *v* to rewind

bytphuruk- *v* to tear out with the roots *Ge•theng wa•aw bytphurukwa.* He tore out the bamboo.

bytsek- *v* to take away a person, to steal a person *gawi bytsekgaba* a person who steals somebody else's girlfriend

bytsorok- *v* to pull out

bytwa ~ bytwami ~ bytwamyng *n* ACT harvest

bytwami *n* ACT tug-of-war

bytym *n* ACT good smell

bytym *n* BODY/FOOD fat (of human or animal), grease

bytym- *v* to smell nice *Palengma bytyma.* The flower of the *palengma* smells nice.

bytyw- *v* to boil (of water)

bywsa- *v* to dance

cha *n* FOOD tea

cha *n* FOOD tea

-cha *sfx* negative polarity suffix

cha• *n* BODY leg, foot *cha•kantara* barefoot

cha•ang- *v* to set (of the sun) *Rangsan cha•anga.* The sun sets.

cha•bykung *n* BODY instep

cha•chak *n* PLANT tea leaf

cha•chok *n* BODY sole of the foot

cha•dok ~ cha•tok *n* BODY heel

cha•dyl *n* BODY/PLANT root, vein

cha•dylmorong *n* PLANT main root of a tree

cha•dylsaphek *n* PLANT small root

cha•gyl *n* ACT footstep *Nokhapalchi cha•gyl kiryngaidonga.* Footsteps are making noise outside.

cha•gywgyw- *v* to kneel

cha•gywgyw- *v* to kneel down

cha•kereng *n* BODY shinbone, shin

cha•khawak ~ cha•khok *n* BODY hollow side of the knee

cha•khok ~ cha•khawak *n* BODY hollow side of the knee

cha•khop ~ ja•hop *n* ART shoe

cha•kok *n* PLACE hollow between the roots of a tree *Kyngsangdo thik ue na•pite phep cha•koknyng .sang galatwa.* Later the barber fell exactly into a hollow between the roots of the banyan tree.

cha•kyw ~ cha•ku *n* BODY knee, length from the knee to the foot *Uchie Theng•thon khudalsang ha•aw saw•aidongano.* *Saw•aidongano, thyw•angaidokno, cha•kyw chyigykdarangdo.* Then

Theng•thon is digging in the ground with a chopper, it is said. He is digging and he is getting deep, it is said, about four metres deep.

cha•ma *n* PLACE lower side,

downstream, bottom, below

cha•man *n* ACT footprint

cha•muk *n* BODY medial malleolus

cha•myn *n* BODY leg hair

cha•pa *n* BODY sole of the foot

cha•pakithyk *n* BODY heel

cha•pathai *n* BODY calf

cha•pha *clf* a foot *cha•pha tham* three feet

cha•phak *n* BODY groin

cha•phong ~ ca•phung *n* BODY thigh

cha•phung *n* BODY upper leg

cha•pungdym *n* BODY hip

cha•ri *n* PLANT seed for planting

cha•si *n* BODY toe

cha•sijyw•bydyi *n* BODY big toe

cha•syrong- *v* to stretch your leg

cha•tok ~ cha•dok *n* BODY heel

cha•wek *n* PLANT chaff

cha•wekdam *n* PLACE place where the chaff is thrown after winnowing the rice

chabak- *v* to fall (of water in a waterfall)

chabi *n* ART key

chachek *n* ART tea strainer

chachura *n* BODY hair on top of the head

chaduk- *v* to bump

chagak *n* BODY palate

chagak- *v* to hit, to crash *Uchi, pherudo panchi chagakai thyiokno.* Then the fox hit a tree and died, it is said.

chagodot- *v* to stumble *Gandichi chagodotwa.* I stumbled over a log.

chai- *v* to look (at), to watch *Te•do biphagaba Naweng aina chaiaimying tangabasang biphagaba ka•myn rokaimying aina tanman•gabaaw kynaimying biphagaba ni•wachi chaiai chyichie phalthangaw nukwanoaro.* Now when she picked up the

mirror which her husband had put down after looking into it to shave his beard, she saw herself, it is said. *Angba piktjyr chaina.* I also want to see the photos. *Ang nang•aw chaikhuni.* I will take revenge on you.

-chai ~ -chy *evsp* try to V, V and see

chai•si- *v* to hate

chaikhaw- *v* to spy

chaira *n* ACT a traditional song

chairuru- *v* to look around

chaisi- *v* to be annoyed by the looks of something

chaithum- *v* to guard, to watch over

chaitunggaba *n* PERS watchman

chak *clf* classifier for leaves *panchak chaksa* one tree leaf

chak *n* BODY arm, hand

-chak *n* PLANT leaf

chak- *v* to ignite *wal chak-* to make fire *Wal•thum• chakbo.* Light the *wal•thum!*

chak chok *n khjyksai* BODY hand

Tykywtokreng chak chok

dangchagabachi mai

rymetaidongano. She is cooking rice in a water pot of which the neck is so narrow that you cannot stick your hand in it.

chaka *n* ART wheel

chakchuk *n* BODY elbow

chakgydok *n* BODY wrist

chakgytok *n* BODY underarm

chakkhawak *n* BODY hollow part of the elbow, elbow pit

chakkhop *n* ART glove

chakol *n* PERS servant

chakpha *n* BODY palm of the hand

chakphakhung *n* BODY back of the hand

chakphong ~ cakphung *n* BODY arm, upper arm

chaksi *n* BODY finger *chaksi goi• banga* five fingers

chaksigysep *n* BODY space in between the fingers

chaksijotram *n* BODY index finger

chaksijwbydyi *n* BODY thumb

chaksikhol *n* BODY fingernail

chaksikhum *n* BODY back of the hand

chaksirengma *n* BODY little finger

chaksiweng *n* BODY knuckles

chaksyrong- *v* to stretch your arm

chakwak *clf* classifier for handfuls

rong•chakwak chit sa eleven handfuls of stones

chal- *v* to support

chal- *v* to sow or plant by making a hole in the ground with a stick and putting the seed into the hole. *Ha•khymanwamungsa maisi khita. Umung abongdarang chala, dachangdarang chala.* Only after collecting the unburnt remains of the jungle from the land, we sow millet. Then we plant maize and we plant *dachang*.

chalak *adj2* cunning, clever *Song damsachi Theng•thon mynggaba morot myngsa ganangno. Ue bylongen chalakno.* In a village lived a man called Theng•thon, it is said. He was very cunning, it is said. *Chalak morotaimyng udo te•ewchinaan khengaidongano.* Because he is a cunning man, he is now still alive, it is said.

chalgaba *n* ART a support

chamai ~ chame *n* KIN 1.

marriageable female cousin, 2 the relation of female cousins from intermarriageable families, 3. the relation of the parents of a married couple, 4. girlfriend, lover, sweetheart

chame ~ chamai *n* PERS/KIN

sweetheart, female cousin, daughter of mother's brother (*mama*)

chanchi- *vB* to think (about/of) “*Ie alsia raja atyki khengaidok? Atykian jykaw haldunna man•aidok?*” *noai morotdyrang chanchiphinaidoknoro.* “How does this lazy king live? How does he feed his wives?” thought the people, it is said. *Bandiaw watetna chanchiaidokno.* He thought about

sending Bandi, it is said. *Jesang ang re•engchiba, man•cha nang•aw awana. chanchia ang nang•awrarasa.* (Aristo J Momin) Wherever I go, I cannot forget you, I think only of you.

chanchichyp- *v* to suppose *Morot chanchichypai thik dongokodo, uchian rajaan uaw ajot nosawnaka.* Suppose someone gets it right, then the king will tell him *ajot.*

chanchok- *v* to lean on

chanchora ~ chanchura *n* ANIM sparrow

chanet- *v* to put on the fire

chang interr who?

-chang bound multiplied by, times.

This morpheme is only used in compound numerals with *khol* ‘twenty’. It can be seen as a bound morpheme and written together with *khol* in numerals, viz. *khokchang byryi rong sa eighty one.*

-chang evsp V suddenly

chang•ai *n* GEO the moon

changba prof somebody, someone

changchon *n* BODY waist

changgaba prof whoever *Changgaba man•ai sa•a changgaba nokdang takga, umi bimying gumukawan thalai myngaimusa, wai khurutaimu, sa•ai ryngaimu, nemkhalchiba nemkhalchachiba ue morotnado dykdyksa chaisakni.*

Whoever is rich, whoever is wealthy, having called all their names clearly, having performed the incantation of the spirit, having eaten and drunk, the person has to wait for a short while to see whether or not he has got better.

chanpat- *v* to build a bamboo bridge

chanpheng- *vdat* to defend *Ang ha•songna chanphengni.* I will defend my country.

-chap evsp V along with

chap- *v* to stand (be in standing position)

chapchap *adv* close together (as in a crowd)

chara *n* PERS mother's brothers, the *chara* come together when important decisions concerning the family have to be made

chara *n* PLANT sapling

charamong *n* PERS mother's eldest brother

charanga *num* fifteen

chasong *n* ABSTR generation, era
Dakang achu ambi chasongchido balphakramaw myngsynga. Te•e chasongsa balphakramaw myngsynganchak aro me•mangsong donganchakno. In the era/generation of our ancestors Balphakram was well known. This era/generation does not know Balphakram well any more and it is no longer the land of the ghosts, it is said.

chat- *adjl* thick (of substances and things), bulky

chat- *v* to be fixed together (like a stapled pile of paper or a pile of wood etc.)

chat- *v* to promise *Ang una sot bonga hyn•na chatwa.* I promised to give him fifty rupees.

chatgyk *num* eight

chaw *onom* splash! the sound of something plunging into the water
Ytykimyng magachakdo biskutaw tyisamchi tanaimyng chaw! thorokangokno. So then, having put the biscuits by the side of the water, the deer splash! jumped into the water, it is said.

chaw- *v* to go by boat, to stream (of a river) *Rung chawchiba rung bytrongreng.* When you row the boat, the boat spins.

chaw- *v* to winnow *Awanchi mai chawa.* Rice is winnowed in a winnowing basket.

chaw•- *v* to winnow

chaw•- *v* to stream (of water in a river), to drown *Ie morot tyi hungna sapchaimu tyi chau•wa.*

Because this person did not know how to swim, he drowned. / This person, not having known how to swim, drowned.

chaw•ki ~ chaw•kyi ~ chengkui *n*

ART big knife with a curled blade used in the kitchen to prepare food as well as in the field to cut plants and weeds

chek *n* ART net, fishing net

chek *num* ten *Rong chek hyn•bo.* Give me ten rupees *Mityr chek howwa.* I jumped ten metres.

chek- ~ **chyk-** *adjl* cold "Aiaw! *Angdo chykaidonga.*" "Atakwa?" "Te•ewmangmangsa tyiruwa na•a." "Jeez, I'm cold." "What did you do?" "I just took a bath, man!"

cheknai *adv* the day after tomorrow

chel *n* BODY bosom of a man

chelbak *n* BODY chest

chelku *n* BODY rib cage

chem•- *v* to melt away, to burn up *Pan wal•chi chemok.* The wood burned up in the fire. *Choklet khu•chukchi chem•ok.* The sweet melted away in my mouth.

chen *n* ART chain, zip fastener, zipper, zip

-cheng *evsp* V first

cheng•- *adjl* light

cheng•khu ~ cheng•khyw *n* PLANT ginger

chengchangbengchang *n* ACT noise, racket

chengcheng *n* PLANT tamarind

chengchengmachok *n* ANIM spider with a long stomach with yellow stripes which can be fried and eaten

chenggang- *v* to be upright, to be erect *Cho•sa rypaimyng jarawachian myn•an chenggang takariano pherumi myn•do.* He stayed a bit in the water and after a long time, his fur was still upright, the fox's fur.

chengkhyna *n* BODY jaw

chengkhyw ~ cheng•khu *n* PLANT ginger

chengkui ~ chaw•ki ~ chaw•kyi *n*

ART big knife with a curled blade used in the kitchen to prepare food as well as in the field to cut plants and weeds

-chep *evsp* *V* alone

chep- *v* to milk *Ma•sudut cheparong*. She's milking cow's milk.

chep- *v* to release contained air or water, to leak *Robol balwa chapok*. The football has deflated./The football has leaked air. *Maityk tyi chepaidok*. The rice-cooking pot is leaking water.

chep- ~ chip- ~ chyp- *v* to be imprisoned, to be caught (*Theng•thone*): “*Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo*.” “*Yhy! Khema man•chak*” *noaimyng koksep wataimyng koksepchi chypangokno*. “Please forgive me one more time”, (said *Theng•thon*). “No! You cannot get any more forgiveness”, they said and they made a big bamboo basket and imprisoned him in it, it is said. *Uchie Nepale*: “*Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•myng phal?*” *nowano*. “*Ma• ytykchido dong•arini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo*” *nooknoro*. *Kha•akno, Theng•thonawdo*. *Ytykimyng chepgaba dengaimyng ge•theng hongkotokno*. Then the Nepali said: “So then I will go instead of you?”, it is said. “Very well, in that case, it's all right. Untie my hands”, he said, it is said. He untied *Theng•thon*. So then, having untied the prisoner, the prisoner came out, it is said. *Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha*. The words in brackets are not very important.

chep- ~ chyp- *v* to close *Ue Ha•dura waie songchi morot thyinaakodo rong•khalmi nokapaw chepchangano*. *Ue nokap chepachian songgumukmi morotdyrangan naano*. As for that

spirit of *Ha•dura*, when a person had died, the door of the cave would suddenly close, it is said. When that door is closes, the people in the village hear it, it is said. *Kha•sinai chypangsa dawang takaidonga*. She is slowly closing and opening her eyes. (*Gostar R Sangma*)

chepchap chepchap *onom* the sound of a mouse *Abeknyng•chi muchot sa•gyrai mang byryi chepchap chepchap parawthokaidonga*. Inside the *abek* are four baby mice squeaking eek eek.

chepchep chepchap *onom* squeak squeak (sound of a mouse) *Muchot chepchep chepchap parawa*. A mouse says squeak squeak.

cherym- ~ chyrym- *adjl* heavy

chet- *v* to tear clothes

chetpyrak- *v* to tear apart

chew•khyi *n* ART big knife

chi *num* ten. This word is only used in compound numerals *ci byri* fourteen.

-chi *encl.phr.cl* locative enclitic

chi bri *num* fourteen

chi chat *num* eighteen

chi dok *num* sixteen

chi ni *num* twelve

chi sykhu *num* nineteen

chi syni *num* seventeen

chi tham *num* thirteen

-chichi *evsp* *V* with force

-chichi *evsp* to *V* into pieces

chichot *n* PLANT small inedible jackfruit

chichu- *v* to blister

chichugaba *n* BODY a blister

chichugaba *n* BODY a blister

chigi *n* PLANT type of plant

-chik ~ -chyk *evsp* *V* as long as you can

chikarak- *v* to joke

-chikchak *evsp* swarming

chikchak wekwak *adv* swarming around something like fish around bait

chin *n* ACT a sign

chin•thai *n* PLANT melon

chinara *n* PLANT lemon

ching *clf* classifier for bamboo shoots
mai•wa ~ maiwa• chingsa one bamboo shoot

ching•pheng *adj2* aslant, slant *Nok bydyiaimu ching•pengok*. The house, having become old, is aslant.

chingchongphyrot ~

chomchomphyrot *n* PLANT type of white edible mushroom

chini *n* FOOD sugar

chinik *n* BODY dirt on your body

chinkak *n* PLANT type of plant

chip- ~ **chep-** ~ **chyp-** *v* to be imprisoned, to be caught
(*Theng•thone*): “*Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo*.” “*Yhy! Khema man•chak*” *noaimyng koksep wataimyng koksepchi chypangokno*. “Please forgive me one more time”, (said *Theng•thon*). “No! You cannot get any more forgiveness”, they said and they made a big bamboo basket and imprisoned him in it, it is said. *Uchie Nepale*: “*Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•myng phal?*” *nowano*. “*Ma• ytykchido dong•arini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo*” *nooknoro*. *Kha•akno, Theng•thonawdo*. *Ytykyimyng chepgaba dengaimyng ge•theng hongkotokno*. Then the Nepali said: “So then I will go instead of you?”, it is said. “Very well, in that case, it’s all right. Untie my hands”, he said, it is said. He untied *Theng•thon*. So then, having untied the prisoner, the prisoner came out, it is said. *Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha*. The words in brackets are not very important.

chirokhana *n* PLACE zoo

chisat- *v* to vomit, to throw up, to barf

chisol *n* ART a cross

chit- *v* to tear, rip

chit sa *num* eleven

chithong- *v* to tear cloths to shreds

chiti *n* ART letter

chiwal- *v* to trade, to deal in, to do business in

cho•chep- *v* to be crumpled *Wetsa re•engrawrawwachian dobachi amakba ga•sorotaimu bunduk bai•thongsyrangokno*. *Bonduk baithongaimu kokchengba cho•chepokno nemanachakno*. Once when they went a little further, the monkey slipped and fell in the mud and broke the gun in pieces, it is said. The gun was broken and the *kokcheng* was crumpled and not good any more, it is said.

cho•isa ~ **cho•sa** *adv* a little bit

cho•mot ~ **chong•mot** *adv/evsp* actually, really “*Anga Ketketa Bura dong•cha*. *Ketketa Bura kanjota, anga mel•a chaibataw*” *noaimyng, pheruna Ketketa Bura balwano*. *Ytykchiba pherue*: “*Nang•an cho•mot ketketa Bura*” *nookno*. “I’m not Ketketa Bura. Ketketa Bura is thin, I look much fatter”, said Ketketa Bura to the fox, it is said. But the fox said: “You are really Ketketa Bura”, it is said.

cho•sa ~ **cho•isa** *adv* a little bit

chogop- *v* fully bent but not touching the ground (used only with plants)
Rek chogopok. The banana tree is bent.

chogyp- *v* to break off and fall down (for branches and big leaves)
Balwana narykhelchak chogypok. Because of the wind the branch of the coconut tree has broken off and fallen down.

chok *clf* classifier for bunches or small heaps *ja•ryt choksa* one small heap of chillies *rasunok choksa* one bundle of spring onions

chok- *v* to scoop, serve up, dish up, dish out *khaw chok-* to comb one’s hair

choka- *v* to be taken apart, to be disassembled, to be torn *Pen chokaak*. The pen is disassembled.

Gore mangsa ge•thengmi aluaw jamai sa•akno. Una aludarangaw rydymabutung sokaw sa•wamynggymyn te•ew manap chaiwachido gumukan chokarumokno. A horse had eaten all his potatoes. Therefore, when he looked in the morning, the potatoes were all torn, because all the sprouts were eaten while they were sprouting, it is said.

choka- *v* to cut off

chokchok- *v* to sharpen (a pointy object)

chokdeng *n* BODY throat

chokdeng *n* PLACE the end of a pointy object

choket- *v* to scoop (for solid substances)

chokhoi *n* ART fishing basket made of bamboo

choki ~ chuki *n* ART chair

chokida *n* PERS warden

choklet *n* FOOD a sweet, chocolate

chokset- *v* to scoop away

chol *clf* classifier for ways, roads, paths and rivers *tyikhal chol ni* two rivers *ram chol tham* three roads, paths *sorok chol byryi* four roads

chol *n* ACT idea *Na•nangdo myngsa cholawdo taknaka.* We will execute one idea.

chola *n* ART shirt

cholwat *n* ABSTR a space

chom- *v* to stack, to pile up, to fuck

chom• *clf* classifier for little piles of fruit *Narang chom• ni hyn•bone.*

Give me two little piles of oranges.

chong *clf* classifier for iron nails *khil chong ni* two iron nails

chong• *n* ANIM insect, bug, lice

chong•su *n* ANIM caterpillar

chongchang *n* ART bird cage made of bamboo

chongchyro- *v* to squat

-chongmot ~ -chomot *evsp* V determinedly, V certainly, V definitely *San nidyraang*

dong•phinaidok, nang•noksang rai•anado

pa•chong•motchaaidokkhon” nookno. It has been two days and maybe he really does not dare to come to your house.

chonnyk- *v* to look down on

Ytykyimying kynsang phalthangaw chonnykgabaaw naaimyng alsia rajae: “*Na anga ytykyi cholie cholisemchaaidok*” *noaimyng te•ewba jykmyng jalaidokno.* So then, later, having heard the ones that looked down on him, the lazy king said: “Well, I certainly have not succeeded at all” and then he ran away from his wives, it is said.

chot- *v* to tear (off) *Sendel chotok.* My sandal is broken. *Aia thetnabai! Ang chak chotni! Ouch! Don’t pull! My arm will tear off!*

chu•- *v* to wrap into something

chu•ret *adv* stuck *Phepchi pheru ytykyi mu•aidonoaro. Mu•wachie ri•do chu•ret takangokno cha•masang na•pitsang.* The fox was sitting in the banyan tree like this, it is said. While he was sitting there, his penis was stuck, it is said, downward, toward the barber.

chu•sok- *v* to succeed *Nang•tyme iawan phalthangthangna hyn•gaawan kamtykyi chu•soketchachido nang•tyme atongtykyi phylgym kawna man•a?* If you cannot succeed in the job that I gave to yourselves, how can you shoot the eagle?

chuduk- ~ chyduk- *v* to turn upside down, to turn over

chugup *v* on its side *Rung chugup paitanbo.* Turn the boat on its side. *Chugupai tanwa.* I put it on its side. *Rung chugupok.* The boat is lying on its side.

chugup- *v* to cover with a lid

chui *interj* interjection to chase away a pig

chui *interj* interjection to chase away a domestic animal

chuki ~ choki *n* ART chair

chuli- *v* to be useful *Tangka poisaba, kamba janggina chulia*. Money and wealth are useful in life.

chultet- *v* to shake off

chun *n* BODY trump

chun *n* FOOD limestone (in ground form)

chung- *adjl* big

chunggalgal- *v* to grow up, to become an adult “*Sa•myng•sa ba•aimung, man•dykarok.*” “*Man•dykasola ho•ong. ie jenkongparaba rai•asyrangchak.*” “*Wel•ang wel•ang chunggalgalwasa ga•nakachym. jengkongparaba rai•akhuchakhon?*” “After one child has been born, it is difficult.” “Difficult indeed, yes. This Jenkon and those associated with him never come any more.” “He will almost certainly be compelled to grow up quickly.”

chungtaw- *v* to grow

chungthai *n* BODY big bosom *Samsa mylthai samsa chungthai*. One big bosom, one small bosom.

chup ~ chyp *adv* fully dressed, with all your clothes on, wearing whatever it is you are wearing *Ang chyp tyruok*. I took a bath with all my clothes on. *Ang chup re•engariok*. I just went wearing the clothes I was wearing at that time.

churi *n* ART knife (Hindi छुरि)

churu *n* FOOD very little food

chuwil chuwal *adv* spinning *Thot thyng•thot takwachina dabat sykromaimyng khanetsigaaaidongno. Bandi chakwatwamian chuwil chuwal takjolangokno*. He (Bandi) grasped her (Sore) and poured the liquor into her mouth to the last drop. When Bandi let go of her (Sore), her head was spinning.

chuwying chuwang *adv* with a spinning head, dizzily

chybym *n* BODY forehead

chyduk- ~ chuduk- *v* to turn upside down, to turn over

chygyl *n* ANIM type of eel that comes out of the river when it rains a lot

chygyp- *v* to fall face down on the ground

chyhyl *n* ANIM type of snail

chy- *adjl* vexing, irritatingly boring, irritatingly tiring

chy- *v* to try *Chaiai chyini gorongnima gorongcha*. Let's try to meet him. (literally: We will try by seeing if we will meet him or not meet him.)

-chy- *~ -chai evsp* try to V, V and see

chy- *adjl* tired

chyigyk *num* ten

chyk- ~ chek- *adjl* cold

-chyk ~ -chik evsp V as long as you can

chykyw *num* nine

chym *encl.cl/prtcl* irrealis enclitic or particle *Mura tai•sa ganangchym, te•ew ni•wa*. There was supposed to be a small stool here, now it's gone. *Jongkene: “hm! kamba atong kamaw kha•aimunaka ie? banthaichiba tangka poisa nang• nangarokona.”*

Nongkene: “Ho•ong, chym.” Jonken says: “Hm! And then that work, what work will he be doing while he stays here? When you are a bachelor, because you need money...” Nongken says: “Yes, supposedly.”

chym- *v* to chew *Goiaw nemai chym•aimu dakbo*. Chew the betel nut well, then spit it out.

chymbuk *n* ART magnet

chympyret- *v* to hit with your fist, to crash head-on

chyn- *v* to offer to the dead *Ie taw• mama thyigabana chynkhuni*. We will offer this chicken to our dead uncle.

chyndyk *n* ANIM domestic water buffalo

chyng- *adjl* bright

chyng•- *v* to burn *le pan nemai chyngni*. This wood will burn well.

chyng•chet- *v* to glitter

chyngaba *n* ACT offer to a dead person

chyngmat *n* BODY comb of a rooster

-chyp *evsp* *V* wastefully, *V* unsuccessfully, *V* completely

chyp- *v* to close *Te•ewchinaan ue waimi bimungsang songawba Siju Duramong noai te•ewchinaan myngairongkhua*. Ytykimung *ue rong•khal te•ewdo chypok*. Now still, the village is called Siju Duramong after the spirit's name, still today. But the cave is closed now.

chyp- *v* to imprison, to lock up *Uchie Theng•thon balokno*: “*Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo*.” “*Yhy! Khema man•chak*” *noaimyng koksep wataimyng koksepchi chypangokno*. Then Theng•thon said: “Please forgive me one more time.” “No! We cannot forgive you any more”, they said and having woven a big bamboo cage, they locked him up in the bamboo cage, it is said.

chyp- ~ chep- *v* to close *Ue Ha•dura waie songchi morot thyinaakodo rong•khalmi nokapaw chepchangano*. *Ue nokap chepachian songgumukmi morotdyrangan naano*. As for that spirit of Ha•dura, when a person had died, the door of the cave would suddenly close, it is said. When that door is closes, the people in the village hear it, it is said. *Kha•sinai chypangsa dawang takaidonga*. She is slowly closing and opening her eyes. (Gostar R Sangma)

chyp- ~ chip- ~ chep- *v* to be imprisoned, to be caught (*Theng•thone*): “*Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo*.” “*Yhy! Khema man•chak*” *noaimyng*

koksep wataimyng koksepchi chypangokno. “Please forgive me one more time”, (said Theng•thon). “No! You cannot get any more forgiveness”, they said and they made a big bamboo basket and imprisoned him in it, it is said. *Uchie Nepale*: “*Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•myng phal?*” *nowano*. “*Ma• ytykchido dong•arini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo*” *nooknoro*. *Kha•akno, Theng•thonawdo*. Ytykimyng *chepgaba dengaimyng ge•theng hongkotokno*. Then the Nepali said: “So them I will go instead of you?”, it is said. “Very well, in that case, it's all right. Untie my hands”, he said, it is said. He untied Theng•thon. So then, having untied the prisoner, the prisoner came out, it is said. *Breketmyng nying•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha*. The words in brackets are not very important.

chyp ~ chup *adv* fully dressed, with all your clothes on, wearing whatever it is you are wearing *Ang chyp tyruok*. I took a bath with all my clothes on. *Ang chup re•engariok*. I just went wearing the clothes I was wearing at that time.

chyrym- ~ cherym- *adjl* heavy

chys *interj* interjection of disapproval

chyw *n* FOOD rice beer, alcohol, wine, liquor *chyw chek-* to scoop the *chyw* out of the *gora* with an *abek*

chyw• *n* PLANT the new young leaves of a tree

chyw•- *adjl* high, steep *ha•kha chyw•a* the mountain slope is steep

chywgyng *n* ACT the festival of the dead at which the soul of a dead person is sent out of the house to rest in peace. The festival is held around the end of February or the beginning of March. During *chywgyng* people indulge in different activities such as *chyw*

rynga 'to drink liquor', *khata juw•kyna* 'to tell stories', *chaira rynga* 'to sing songs' and *Wal•jan byta* 'to tell the love story about Wal•jan'.

chywgyn- *v* to celebrate the festival of the dead

da•rat- *v* to fall down (for person)

daba *n* PLANT coconut

dabat *postp* since, from, until (indicating a limit in time)
"Ytykchiba na•a angna aro angmyng jykna nang• khengwa dabat ang thyicha dabat angaw mu•ai sa•na hyn•bo" *nookno*.
 "However, you have to keep giving me and my wife food as long as you live until I die", he said, it is said. *umyng ~ umi dabat* since that time, from that time onward *uchina dabat* until then, until that time *Tai•nimyng dabat nang•myngan baju takchaka*. As from today I will not be your friend any more.

dabogos *n* ART skewer

dachang *n* PLANT type of shrub of which both the leaves and the flowers are eaten

dachang ~ datchang *n* PLANT type of shrub of which the leaves and flowers are cooked and eaten

dada *n* KIN elder brother. Is also used to speak about or address a related older male relative of your own generation: cousin, or to address an unrelated man older than you.

dagi *n* BODY scar

dai- *v* to be bigger, greater *daiaiok* over, finished

dai•- *v* to wash away (as in a landslide) *Rrang wawana, ha• nom•aimu ha•byri dai•ok*. Because of the rain the ground had become soft and therefore the mountain washed away.

daijol- *v* to overstay

dainingrum *n* PLACE dining room

dairamphin•- *v* to work overtime

dairukruk- *v* become more and more

dak *n* BODY freckle

dak- *v* to spit

dakal ~ takal *n* PERS witch

dakan- *v* to dress someone else

dakang *adv* previously *"Ie hapaw atong myngnaka"* *noai, Gandrung songchamchi ram•ai chyichie dakang mynggaba Songma Songgni Khychu Badri nogaba, bimungsang, khata jyksaisang, Badri myngnaka noai, Gandrungawsa Badri myngchengwano*. "What shall we call this place?" they said and when trying to search in the old village of Gandrung, which was the previously so called Songma Songgni Khychu Badri, that was its name, with two words with the same meaning, and they called it Badri, and so Gandrung was first called Badri, it is said.

dakang *postp* ago, before *Bylsi sana dakang jyk khymok ge•thengdo*. He got married one year ago. *Nang•tymmi nanggabaaw nang•tymmi pi•aidongabaaw, nang•na dakangan phetangok, nang•na dakangan udo re•engsawok*. That which you needed, that which you were asking for, had arrived before you and it has certainly left before you. *Sa•na dakang chaksua*. Before eating I wash my hands.

dakang *tw* past, in the past, before, earlier *Dakangdo, mamung khem ni•wachido dymchygangsangsa chywgyn ryngwano*. In the past, when there were no drums, they celebrated the festival of the dead only with the *dymchyrang*, it is said. *Gam man•ni udo uan, tangka poisa. Uan gam mynga, dakangmi chasongdo. Te•ewsas kepasyti noai myngaidonga. Chasongna kri gam myngariaro, tangka poisa*. He will obtain wealth, money. Earlier generations called that "wealth". Now they call it "capacity".

According to my generation this money is called “wealth”.

dakanggaba *adjl* first *Uchi thymaimyng, dakanggaba bobaan dirichengokno*. Then, having lain in ambush, the first crazy person got hold of (the horse’s tail) first, it is said.

dakanggaba *adv* first, the first time *Dakanggabado jiner al mitingchengni. Umungsa song gumuk thom•aimung ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow sowalni*. First they will start with a general meeting. Then the whole village comes together and they will divide the *ha•ba* plot by plot. *Dakanggaba Turachi mu•wachi Mobbinaw gorongwa*. The first time I stayed in Tura I met Mobbin.

dakham *n* ART very small wooden stool consisting of one rectangular wooden board to sit on and two small rectangular wood blocks attached underneath as supports

dakmanda *n* ART long women’s dress tied around the waist, skirt

dala *n* ART round bamboo mat made of *wa•tyng* for drying *papol* or chillies in the sun, also called *damplak*

dala *n* PLANT branch of a tree not directly attached to the trunk, young plant *dalasa* one branch *dala pheksa* one branch

daldi *n* PERS beloved person, love, darling

dalibibi *n* ART doll *dalibibi goi•sa* one doll

dalim *n* PLANT pomegranate

dam *clf* classifier for villages *Song damsachi alsia raja myng•sa ganangchym*. In a certain village there was supposedly a lazy king.

dam *n* ABSTR price *Ie ma•sugari dame biskyn?* What is the price of this bullock cart?

dam *n* ART bamboo mat

-dam *bound* PLACE place *jaboldam* rubbish heap *cha•wekdam* place where the chaff is thrown

-dam *evsp* V truly

dam ~ dym *onom* “bam!” “Thud!” sound of something heavy hitting the ground *Ytykimuna tokyrengaw man•aimunga ha•china wuuuuuuuk dym! takramphinoknotyi phylgym gal•waan*. So then, having got him in the neck, the giant eagle fell to the ground woouoosh bam!

dama *n* art drum “Raja! Nang•

damaw cho•sa ie ang

baisigathang pheru tam•nano”

noai takaidongano. Ytykimyng

kan•taraaw “Tam•bono

tam•bono” noai tanangarioknoe

magachakdo. Ytykimyng tam•ai

chaichie te•do byirakhem

hongkotruruaimu

kaksyrangokno pheruawdo.

No•mangaidokno udo.

Ytykimyng jalangthiriokno

magachakdo. “O King, can my friend the fox play a bit on your drum?” he pretended to say, it is said. “Go ahead and play, go ahead and play!” the deer pretended that the king said, it is said. So then, when he tried to play it, the bees all came out and bit the fox all over, it is said. The fox became weak, it is said. So then the deer ran away again, it is said.

-damdam *evsp* V in different places, V one after the other, V continuously

damdyl *n* ART bamboo mat that is used as the side of a house *damdyl khapsa* one *damdyl*

damplak *n* ART round bamboo mat, also called *dala*, made of *wa•tyng* for drying *papol* or chillies in the sun

damthol *n* ART a rolled up mat

dan- *v* to spread out, to lay out (mats etc.) *Na•aw khan•tongai danwa*. She laid the fish down and cut it in pieces. *Palongchi kombol danbo*.

Spread a blanket over the bed.
(when preparing it to go to sleep)

dan- *v* to spread *Kombol palongchi danbo*. Spread the blanket out over the bed.

dandan- *v* to be pressed with your back against something, to lean against something *Dandanai mu•bo*. Sit with your back against the wall (or anyu other supporting object). *Panchi dandanaidonga*. He's leaning against a tree.

dang•- *v* to enter, to go/come in
Ytykyisa ue Arong nokma thyiwamisa saepe bondyk paiaimu sipaidyrang dang•na man•okno. *Sipaidyrang dang•wachie kan•tyra gulinyi kawphetphetai rai•aaknokhon*. *Uchian songchi dang•ok*. That's why, after headman Arong's death, the gun carrying sahibs were able to come in, it is said. When the sahibs entered, they might only have fired without bullets. Then they entered the village, it is said. *Sansado ue harataimying hajambutungchi umying khu•chuksang sotmai dumna dang•thokokno*. One day, while he was yawning, a swarm of flies entered his mouth. *Noksang byk dang•jolai jalangoknoai*. He quickly ran into the house. *Uchie pagongmachi sa• gataimu uchie dang•angoknoro ge•thengdo*. *Ytykimu tyinyng•sang dang•angokno* Then, having put the children on his shoulders, he went in, it is said. So then he entered the water, it is said. "*Ma baba, atykyimu walawa?*" *nookno amakaw, amakmi sa•dyrange*. "*Ni•wa. Ue nange•awangpara nokchi dang•phakawa na•a*" *noatakokno*. "But daddy, why are you so late? It is already night", the monkey's children said. "Don't worry. I visited your uncle" he said, it is said. *Re•enwachian rangsan dang•aimu walokno*.

When he left, after the sun had set, it was night, it is said.

dang•- *vphase* to enter into a mental state, to start *Anga nang•aw nukjyryngaria uchian anga nang•aw nukjyryngwachian nang-na kha•galwa dang•ok*. I just saw you every day, then, when I saw you every day, I started loving you.

dangkhym- *v* to collapse

dangthym- *v* to collapse (of a road or bridge), to go into a hole

danyl *n* ART shield

-dap *evsp* V on top, V more, V and add

dap- ~ **dep-** *v* to be on top, to press, keep together by force, pinch together, to pinch, to crush, to stack

dapet *adv* insipid, not tasty *Jabek dapet dapet takaidong*. The curry is not tasty.

darai *n* ART sword

-darang ~ **-dyrang** *encl.phr* plural enclitic

darangba *prof* anybody, anyone, nobody, no one *Ang songchi darangba Atong khu•chuk olna man•cha*. In my country there is nobody to talk Atong with.

dareng *n* PLACE edge

dari- *v* to commit adultery, to have sex, to be a bad person, to behave badly

dau•sik *n* ANIM parrot

daw- *v* to open, to peel *Kelkhi dawai tanaimu, daw•kha nokmi ruti sa•khawokno*. Because somebody had left the window open, a crow had stolen bread from the house, it is said. *Nokhap dawbo!* Open the door! *Khophylak dawarok*. She's peeling the skin of a fruit. *Narykel dawaidong*. He's peeling an orange. *Taw•ti dawbo*. Peel the egg. *Kha•sinai chypangsa dawang takaidonga*. She is slowly closing and opening her eyes. (Gostar R Sangma)

daw• *n* ANIM bird. This is the bound form of the word *taw•* ‘chicken, bird’ that appears before the name of the bird.

daw•blok *n* ANIM bulbul bird

daw•gamdot *n* ANIM eagle

daw•gep *n* ANIM duck

daw•kha *n* ANIM black crow

daw•kharasun *n* PLANT crow onion, type of onion

daw•kruha•sym *n* ANIM green pigeon

daw•kyru *n* ANIM pigeon

daw•phaw *n* ANIM owl

daw•phylgym *n* ANIM type of big eagle

daw•reng *n* ANIM eagle

daw•sik *n* ANIM parrot

dawel- *v* to be circular

de *inter* o.k. then, well

de•et- ~ **di•it-** ~ **di•et-** *v* to shit, to do number two *Udo de•etna re?eŋwa*. ‘He went for a shit’ *Nakhung di•etsetaronga*. He is picking his nose.

de•theng ~ **ge•theng** *ppron* he/she, third person singular pronoun referring to animates

de•thengtheng ~ **ge•thengtheng** *ppron* they, third person plural pronoun referring to animates

dekdek- *v* to shiver, to tremble
Dekdekai thyiok. He died shivering.

dekoresyn *n* ART decoration

del- ~ **dyl-** *v* to sting (of a bee etc.)

delang ~ **dylang** *n* ART little house for the spirit of a dead person built close to the house where the dead person is burnt to keep his remains and ashes. The spirit of the diseased will live in this little house until it is burnt in the ceremony called *me•mang saw•eta* about one year after his death and the spirit will go to *Balphakram*.

dem•- *v* to fold

demdong- *adjl* weak, soft

dempharai *n* ART lengthwise cut long bamboo strip used in the construction of a house

deng- *v* to untie *Ang chakaw dengbo*. Untie my hands.

dengga *n* PLANT type of small leafy green

denggu *n* ACT extortion, naughtiness

dep- ~ **-dap-** *v* to be on top, to press, keep together by force, pinch together, to pinch, to crush, to stack

deppyleng- ~ **deppy•leng** ~ **deppyl•eng** *v* to flatten, to make flat *Gari bengbylokaw depylengok, ytykyimu bengbyloke pylengok*. The car flattened the toad, so the toad was flat.

di• *n* BODY shit

di•but *n* ANIM dung beetle

di•chongkhanthyi *n* BODY pygostyle. The pygostyle is the main component of the structure colloquially known as Pope’s nose, parson’s nose or sultan’s nose. This is the fleshy protuberance visible at the posterior end of a bird (most commonly a chicken or turkey) that has been dressed for cooking.

di•chyarak- *v* to have diarrhoea

di•congkhamai *n* ANIM cloaca

di•it- ~ **de•et-** ~ **di•et** *v* to shit, to do number two *Nakhung di•etsetaronga*. He is picking his nose.

di•khal *n* BODY/PLACE arse, anus, bottom

di•kyntyk *n* PLACE toilet

di•mai *n* BODY tail

di•phathai *n* BODY buttock

di•pyru- *v* to have diarrhoea

di•pyryw- *v* to shit your pants

di•sep *n* BODY arse crack

di•sepra *n* BODY arse crack

di•thap *n* MSRE/ART half (of a volume), dipper *Gylas di•thapan phingancha*. The glass is not half full *Gylas di•thaphtharaan*. only half a glass. *Jyw•gaba sa•garaiaiw di•thap pha•etaidonga*. The mother is putting a dipper on the child.

di•thom *n* BODY gizzard. The gizzard, also referred to as the ventriculus, gastric mill, and

gigerium, is an organ in the digestive tract found in birds, reptiles, earthworms, some fish, and other creatures. This specialized stomach constructed of thick, muscular walls often contains swallowed sand or grit, which helps in the mechanical breakdown of food.

digi *n* well, ditch

dikirin- *v* to tear (clothes, paper etc.)

diksyneri *n* ART dictionary

dil *n* BODY body smell *Mongmadil manama*. The body smell of an elephant stinks.

dile *n* ACT delay

din *n* PLACE bedroom

dinggarai *n* ART fish trap

diphing- *v* to fill *Gylaschi tyi diphingbo*. Fill the glass with water. *Gylas phingok, diphingna man•chaka*. The glass is full; you cannot fill it any more.

diphu *n* BODY a fart

diphu- *v* to fart

dipot *n* ART teapot *dipot thai• ni* two teapots

diprin *n* PLANT type of vegetable

diri- ~ **dyri** *v* to hold

dirikhap- *v* to catch

diritat- *v* to hold firmly

disembyl *n* TIME December

disko *n* PLACE disco

distrik *n* PLACE district

disu- *v* to piss, to pass urine, to do number one, to urinate

disutyi *n* BODY piss

disutyitup *n* BODY urine bladder

-do ~ **-odo** *encl.phr.cl* topic enclitic

do•de *n* ANIM peacock

do•khakhu *n* ART carved, ornamented and colourfully painted king post of the bachelors' house above the entrance in between the tie beam (*bylbang*) and the peak of the roof

do•pho *n* ANIM owl

doba *n* SUBST mud

doi- *v* to catch

doi•- *v* to hold, to grasp

doi•- *v* to scoop into a receptacle

dok- *v* to take off (clothes), to take apart, to disassemble, to unblock

dok- *v* to weave

dokhan *n* PLACE shop

dokra *n* ART bag

doksylok- *v* to be detached

dol *n* MSRE group *dol ni* two groups

dol•romrom- *v* to roll up

dolong *n* ART bridge

dong•- *v* to arrive *Ytykyimying rai•akno rai•akno, nokthangchina dong•okno*. So then, he went and went, it is said, and arrived at his own house, it is said.

dong•- ~ **dong-** *cop* to be, identity/equation copula *Ue hape Chigachak te•ew Kol India kolani hapan dong•wachymno*. That place Chigachak is now supposedly the Coal India Colony place, it is said.

dong•- ~ **dong-** *v* to be enough, to be sufficient, to be OK, to be convenient, to have passed, to be past (*Nepale*) “*Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•mi phal?*” (*Thengthone*) “*Ma• ytykchido dongarini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo*” *nooknoro*. “But shall I go instead of you?” “Very well then, in that case, it will be most convenient, untie my hands”, he said, it is said. *Aia! tangka dong•tawanchakthai angdo rong chyigyksaan raariwa*. Damn! To my surprise the money is not enough any more, I only brought ten rupees. *Bylsi chykywydyrang dong•phinokno*. Nine years have passed, it is said. *No baji dong•ok*. It's past nine o'clock.

dong•wa *n* ACT event

dongang- *v* to arrive

dora *clf* weight of 5 kg.

dorai *n* PLANT type of vegetable

dorma ~ **dolma** *n* ART salary

dosi *n* ACT blame “*Aca, na•a angmyng goreaw dosi hyn•ok*” *nowano rangramyng rajado*. “So, you blame my horse”, said the king of the sky, it is said.

dot *clf* classifier for cylindrical objects like candles and bananas and logs (but not for batteries) *wa• dotsa* one culm of bamboo *kendel dotsa* one candle *pan dotsa* one log

drakha *n* PLANT grape

dram *n* ART drum, barrel

-duga *sfx* excessive suffix, V too much, too V

duk *n* ACT sorrow, sadness

dukhup- ~ dykhyp- *v* to put clothes on someone else

dukung- *v* to dam, to make circular a wall of stones in the water in the river to trap fish.
Bai•sigathangmaran tyi dukungokno. Na•do ramramanchakno. The friends dammed the water. There was plenty of fish.

dum- *v* to gather, to swarm
Hajambutungchi umyng khu•chuksang sotamai dumna dang•thokokno. When he was yawning a swarm of flies entered his mouth, it is said.

duma *n* PERS crowd

duma- *v* to gather (of people)

dumut- *adjl* moulded

dumuta *n* PLANT type of edible mushroom

dung- *v* to put something in something

dung•- *v* to climb *Amakdo wel•ang wel•ang pankambaisang dung•khatai jalangokno. Pherudo pan dung•na man•cha.* The monkey quickly ran away, climbing to the top of a tree. The fox cannot climb trees. *Bildo te•awba gore dung•na sapchanoty.* Bil does not know how to ride a horse, it is said, to our surprise.

dupliket *n* ART a fake

durrrmeme *onom* sound of a bleating goat: eeeeeee! Pronunciation of this English word in Atong orthography would be e•e•e•e•e•e.

dykdyk *adv* for a short while, quickly

-dykdyk *evsp* about to V *Ransan songdykdykangaidok.* The sun is about to set.

dykhyp- ~ dukhup- *v* to put clothes on someone else

dykyl *n* PERS Khasi person (pejorative)

dykyl *n* PERS cannibal

dykym *n* BODY/PLACE head, upside, top

dykymphak *n* PLACE side where the head is, space above the head
Dokra dykymphakchi syithaiwa. The bag hangs above your head.

dykyret- *v* to threaten

dykyryng- *v* to make noise on purpose

dyl *n* PLANT root, vine

dyl- *v* to lead *Songmongaw dylgabae Dilbangkongdang Umangchalmang mu•tynwano.* The leaders of Songmong were Dibangkongdang and Umangchalmang, it is said.

dyl- ~ del- *v* to sting (of a bee etc.)

dylang ~ delang *n* ART little house for the spirit of a dead person built close to the house where the dead person is burnt to keep his remains and ashes. The spirit of the deceased will live in this little house until it is burnt in the ceremony called *me•mang saw•eta* about one year after his death and the spirit will go to *Balphakram.*

dylgaba *n* PERS leader *Songmongaw gylgabae Dibangkongdang Umangchalmang mu•tynwano. Songgadalaw dylgabae Thometsangrepha Rangkhaimadopha mu•tynwano.* The leaders of Songmong village were Dibangkongdang and Umangchalmang, it is said. The leader of Songgadal village were Thometsangrepha and Rangkhaimadopha, it is said.

dym- *v* to grow (of plants), to sprout

dym ~ dam *onom* “bam!” “Thud!” sound of something heavy hitting

the ground *Ytykimuna tokyrengaw man•aimunga ha•china wuuuuuuuk dym! takramphinoknotyi phylgym gal•waan*. So then, having got him in the neck, the giant eagle fell to the ground woooooosh bam!

dymbyl *n* PLANT leaf of a tree which can be dried and smoked like tobacco

dymbyra dymbyra *adv* scattered about

dymchyrang *n* ART type of snare instrument played by plucking

dymdam *adj2* naked

dymdam *adv* gratuitously, simply

dymdym damdam *adv* carelessly, just, any way *Alaga morotna dymdym damdam hyn•na bai*. Don't just give it to someone else.

dyngdai- *v* to dangle

dyngdang *adj1* alone *Biphagaba thyiokno. Kynsangdo gawigabado dyngdanganokno*. The husband died, it is said. Then the wife was alone, it is said.

dynggyini *n* ANIM type of fish

dyngthang *adj2* different

dyngthangmancha *adv* especially

dypyw *n* ANIM snake

dyra- *v* to rape

-dyrang ~ -darang *encl.phr* plural enclitic

dyri- ~ diri- *v* to hold

dytyi *n* KIN uncle: fathers elder brother

dyw- *v* to add

-e ~ -ai *encl.phr.cl* focus enclitic, occurs on NPs and on locative clauses.

echaluk *n* ANIM snail

edres *n* PLACE address

ek- *v* to separate *Pheruna hyn•cha sa•wana amak, pherudo jalokno. Baju ekokno. Ytykimuna kynsangdo amakdo dyngdanganok*. Because the monkey gave nothing to the fox, the fox ran away, it is said. The friends separated. So then, later the monkey was alone, it is said.

elong *n* ANIM type of fish

Endia *n* PLACE India

engkal ~ ingkal *n* ART handkerchief

epril *n* TIME April

epyl *n* PLANT apple

era *n* ANIM type of fish

-et *sfx* causative suffix, on transitive verbs this suffix indicates that the action is manipulated, more intense or emphasises that the O argument is affected

ga•- *adj1* good

ga•- *v* to trample, to trod *mai ga•-* to thresh rice

ga•ak- *vsec* to be compelled to, to be forced to *Mongma wa ni•wamian man•ai sa•chak, khanggal dong•ok. Ytykimu hapsan nukhung raja sa mu•chido man•ai sa•na neng•ok. Ytykisa dyngthangdyngthang songchina hapchina jalthokna ga•akok*. Because the elephant tusks were gone, they [the people of Badri] were not rich any more, they became poor. So then, if they would stay together in the hundred houses, they would run out of wealth/food. Therefore they were all compelled to run away to different villages and places.

ga•dap- *v* to step on

ga•dukduk- *v* to prod with your legs or feet *Gore jalna rakbebeokno. Kha•sinkhalai jalkhalna noaimyng ga•dukdukchiba rakkhalai rakkhalai jalariokno*. The horse ran really quick, it is said. Having told it to run slower, whenever he prodded it with his legs, it just ran faster and faster, it is said.

ga•jonong- *v* to trample on, to crush, destroy *Uchi rupekba: "Hai angba. Ang ha•bilchi nok takai mu•gabaaw phangnan mongmae ga•jononga"*. Then the frog said: "Come on, me too. The elephant always crushes my earthen shelter like a house in which I live."

ga•jyret- *v* to crush with your foot

ga•khat- *v* to climb *Amakdo pan ga•khatna man•a*. Monkeys can climb trees.

ga•kynyng- *v* to trample on, to crush, to destroy *Uchi rupekba*: “*Hai angba. Ang ha•bilchi nok takai mu•gabaaw phangnan mongmae ga•kynynga*.” Then the frog said: “Come on, me too. The elephant always crushes my earthen shelter like a house in which I live.”

ga•phak- *v* to hit with your foot while walking

ga•phynek- *v* to stamp to death

ga•pyret- *v* to stamp to death, to crush with your foot

ga•pyryw- *v* to stamp through something, to pierce by stamping *Thikthak saphaw butangga rong•khalawan hai•ba mongmaba ga•pyrywman•oknote*. The elephant stamped exactly through the hole where the rabbit had squeezed in, it is said.

ga•reret- *v* to tread on, to step on something

ga•su- *adj1* splendid, cool, terrific

ga•sylek- *v* to sprain one’s foot

ga•syrot- *v* to slip and fall *Wetsa re•engrawrawwachian dobachi amakba ga•sorotaimu bunduk bai•thongsyranokno*. Once when they went a little further, the monkey slipped and fell in the mud and broke the gun in pieces, it is said.

ga•tha *n* PERS idiom

ga•thymbylong *v* to make a hole in a road or bridge by stamping *Ge•theng dolongchi ga•thymbylongok*. He made a hole in the bridge by stamping on it.

ga•thyng *v* to kick

-gaba ~ -ga ~ -gyba *encl.cl* 1. Attributive clausal enclitic: marking a clause as an attributive clause. *Iskyn jan•gaba songsang jalangok*. He has run away to such a far country. *Phangnan rupek mu•gabachido tyi ganang*. At

places where frogs live, there’s always water. *Rongdyngmaharimu takrukngaba bostuaw tansetai jalphinangoknowa*. They ran away leaving behind the things with which to fight with the Rongdyng clan, it is said. 2. Lexical nominalisation: creating deverbal nouns that can function as argument in a clause. *Tibimi kyrynggaba rakdugabutuychi changba ni•etok*. When the sound of the television was too loud, someone turned it off. *Phalthangaw chonykgabaaw naaimyng alsia rajae jalangokno*. Having heard those who despised himself, the lazy king ran away, it is said.

-gaba ~ -ga ~ -gyba *sfx* 1. Derelationaliser of nouns of close human relationship, making certain inherently relational nouns as derelational. *Morot sa•banthaigabaaw kynchi baaimu daw•reng kawwano*. A man carrying his son on his back, shot the eagle, it is said. 2. Attributiviser of numerals, interrogatives and the time noun *dakang*, making the word function as a modifier to an NP. *Gynigaba song Badri Maidugytym*. The second village is Badri Maidugytym. *Bigaaw biskut ra•nima?* Which biscuits shall I buy? *Dakanggaba morot jalangaimyng, gumukan jalangthokwa*. After the first person ran away, everybody ran away. 3. Adverbialiser of the time noun *dakang*. *Dakanggaba Turachi mu•wachi Mobbinaw gorongwa*. The first time I stayed in Tura, I met Mobbin.

gada *n* ANIM donkey

gadak- *v* to cut in pieces, to cut up, *Phylgym chungga•awdo gadakaimu ra•akno, kokchenggumuk*. Having cut up the

big eagle, they took it with them, a whole *kokcheng* full.

gadang *n* ART shelf

gajol *n* PLANT type of red carrot

-gak evsp *v* accidentally

gakat- *v* to climb

gakji *n* PLANT lemon

gal *n* ACT pride, arrogance *Phalthang khu•chuk dungaba sotmaiaw hongkotna man•chaaimeyng thygabaaw gal takokno*. He was proud of the flies which had gathered in his own mouth and had died not being able to come out.

gal•- *v* to fall down *Kynsangdo rai•wachie na•pitdo mongma matsana nekarawrawna kyrethyngaimyng phepmeyng gal•syrangokno na•pitdo*. Later, when (the animals) were coming, he feared the tigers, the elephants, the ones that were continuously coming closer, so much, he fell out of the banyan tree, it is said, the barber.

gal•ruru- *v* scatter all over the place

galat- *v* to fall *Tyikhal patwachi rong•rimylaimu ga•sokhokaimuna, kokcheng galatokno, saphawba galatokno*. When they were crossing the river, because the stones were slippery, the *kokcheng* fell and the rabbit fell too, it is said.

galcha- *v* to boast

galdai *n* PLANT star fruit, carambola, *averrhoa carambola*

galjak ~ kaljak *n* ANIM catfish

galon *n* ART/MSRE jerry can

gambiri *n* PLANT type of tree of which traditional drums called *khem* were made

gamchat- *v* to be valuable, to be important *Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha*. The words in brackets are not very important.

gamchatga(ba) *n* ABSTR value

gamsa *n* ART a cloth

gamsili *n* PLANT type of tree of which traditional drums called *khem* were made

gan•thong *n* ART stick, handle (of knife etc.), stump (of a tree)
gan•thong thong•ni two sticks

ganang *v* locative/existential verb, to exist, to be *Nang sa•gyrai ganangma?* Do you have children? *Tanka ni•chiba ganangchiba ang nang•aw nemnuka*. Whether you have money or not, I like you. *Ie songchi nok kola chit sa ganang*. There are thirty one houses in this village. *Song dam sachi alsia raja myng•sa ganangchym*. In a village supposedly lived a lazy king.

gandalak *n* ANIM type of frog which says *gagagagaga*

gandi *n* PLANT a log

gandurian *n* BODY umbilical cord

gandyru *n* BODY bellybutton, navel
gandyru goi•korok six bellybuttons

gang- *v* to be erect, to have an erection, to have a hard on, *Nang•ri•gangama?* Do you have an erection?/Do you have a hard on?

ganggawa *n* ANIM mosquito

gangma *n* BODY pimple

gangphu- *v* to swell, to blow up (like a chapatti on the fire)

gangthai *n* BODY fin (of fish)

gantai *n* ANIM type of beetle

ganthai *n* ANIM small brown insect that makes a loud whistling sound

gantheng *n* PLANT stalk

gantirengreng *n* ANIM type of beetle that makes a very loud and high pitched sound

gapsan ~ hapsan *adj2* the same, together

garamak *n* ART storage rack

garan *n* FOOD jerky

gari *n* ART vehicle, car

Gar *n* PERS/ACT Garo (person and language)

garu *n* PLANT mustard

gasam *n* TIME afternoon, evening, later part of the day *Gasam tin*

bajichi re•engni. We will leave this afternoon at three o'clock. *myia gasam* yesterday evening/afternoon, *tai•ni gasam* today in the evening/afternoon, this evening/afternoon *Tai•ni gasam re•engphinni*. I will go back in this evening/afternoon.

gasam- *vØ* to be evening *Gasamok*. It has become evening. *Gasamnaka*. It will soon be night.

gasam gasam *adv* sometimes, seldom
gasamphang *n* TIME afternoon, evening, later part of the day

-gat evsp *V* up onto, to start V-ing

gat- *v* to dig

gat- *v* to put in/on, to load into/onto
Phagongmachi sa• gataimying tyinyng•sang dang•angokno. Having put the child on his shoulders he entered into the water, it is said.

gatdap- *v* to stack, to put on top

gatha *n* PERS fool, crazy person (masculine)

gathi *n* PERS fool, crazy person (feminine)

gawak *n* BODY disease

gawang ~ guwang *n* ANIM spider

gawangsyryng *n* ANIM spider web

gawasu *n* BODY rib *gawasu tyn tham* three ribs

gawi *n* PERS female, girl (unmarried)

gawigaba *n* PERS wife

gawsu *n* BODY rib

ge•theng ~ de•theng *ppron* he/she, third person singular pronoun referring to animates

ge•thengtheng ~ de•thengtheng *ppron* they, third person plural pronoun referring to animates

gebeng *n* ABSTR width, breadth

geng *clf* classifier for long vegetables
rasunok gengsa one spring onion

genji *n* ART tank top *genji khung/jora ni* two tank tops

ger *n* ART gear

gesep ~ gysep ~ gisep *n* PLACE space, interval *Bandi nochie atongaw balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie*

kanwani chungwani kalai kharutchungaban theng•chidokno. Dykymchi khyrykrara, di•khal gesepchi di•rara, pi•puke moina chongchang takariokno. When I talk about Bandi, what can I say? He had no clothes; he wore a loincloth tied together with sixteen knots. On his head swarmed the lice, his ass crack was full of shit, his belly looked like a bird cage, it is said. *Pang•a bylsidarang re•engok umi gesepchian thyikhal goi•sachian rong•khal khalsa ganangchym. Ue rong•khalaw Durakhal myngwachym*. Many years ago, in a river, there was a cave, but not any more, it is said. That cave was supposedly called Durakhal.

giching ~ gyching *adj2* aslant, slant, diagonal

ginggang *adj2* having, with

gisep ~ gysep ~ gesep *n* PLACE space, interval *Bandi nochie atongaw balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie kanwani chungwani kalai kharutchungaban theng•chidokno. Dykymchi khyrykrara, di•khal gesepchi di•rara, pi•puke moina chongchang takariokno*. When I talk about Bandi, what can I say? He had no clothes; he wore a loincloth tied together with sixteen knots. On his head swarmed the lice, his ass crack was full of shit, his belly looked like a bird cage, it is said. *Pang•a bylsidarang re•engok umi gesepchian thyikhal goi•sachian rong•khal khalsa ganangchym. Ue rong•khalaw Durakhal myngwachym*. Many years ago, in a river, there was a cave, but not any more, it is said. That cave was supposedly called Durakhal.

gisep gisep ~ gysep gysep *adv* from time to time *Na•nage song jan•rukok. Umi gymyn bichiba gisep gisep chiti saietrukarinaka.* Our countries are very far from each other. Therefore we will sometimes write each other letters from time to time.

git *n* ART music, music with lyrics, a song

githing *adj2* unripe

githyng ~ gythyng ~ githing *adj2* unripe, uncooked, raw

gobormen *n* ACT government

godot- *v* to bump *Cha•rong•chi godotwa.* I bumped my food on a stone

gogak *n* ANIM beetle

gogat- *v* to carry on the shoulders

gogylek *n* ANIM cock, rooster, cockerel

goi *n* PLANT betel nut, areca nut (Areca catechu)

goi• *clf* non-specific classifier

goichara *n* PLANT a young betel nut tree

goichara *n* PLANT betel nut sapling

goilapan *n* FOOD betel nut and paan/pan

Goira *n* GEO the god of thunder *goira kawa* the god of thunder shoots / the thunder roars *goira byl•tan•ok* the god of thunder has struck / lightning has struck

gol ~ gool *n* ACT goal *Ge•theng gol sa•ak.* He got a goal (in football).

golap *n* PLANT rose

golmal ~ gormal *n* ACT a fight, a quarrel, chaos

golmen *n* ACT government

golpho *n* ART story

golpho- *v* to talk extensively

gom *n* PLANT wheat

gom- *v* to bend *gomga(ba)* leech

gomagundai *n* PLANT thick type of banana

gompyra *n* ANIM poisonous black ant

gomynda *n* PLANT pumpkin

gomynthyri *n* PLANT type of vegetable

gondu *n* ANIM rhinoceros, rhino

gong•- *v* to be willing, to agree, “Atakaronga?” *nookno mongmado. "Ni•wa. Mu•ariaronga ytykyian" nookno amake. "Atongba sa•khawarongkhonne nang•do" nookno. "Sa•khawcha na•a. Ni•wa na•a, gong•wanasa balwa sakai mu•arong" noatakokno amakba.* “What are you doing?”, said the elephant? “Nothing. I’m just sitting here like this”, said the monkey. “Maybe you are stealing something!” said [the elephant] “I’m not stealing! There’s nothing going on. I’m just sitting here enjoying the wind because I want to”, said the monkey. “*Ha•ambi ang chakaw khenetkhu*” *nowano. "Gong•chak angdo sa•jywtynnaka te•do. Nang•na myia khenetokte" nowano.* “Hey grandchild, please scratch my arm!” she said. “I don’t want to any more, I am going to put my child to bed now. I scratched you yesterday”, she said, it is said.

gongchit *n* ANIM type of black beetle

gongdang *adj2* bent **Ytykyimying te•do magachakdo, ytykyi pan gongdang takgabachi ne• nangwanote. Ne• nanggaba okkumachi jywsawtheriaidokno.** So then, now, as for the deer, so there was a bees’ nest hanging from a bent tree branch, it is said. He was fast asleep under the bees, it is said.

gonggong- *v* to bend over

gop- *v* to bury, to hide *Nang•baba noksamchi tangka gopgaba ganangno.* Under your father’s house lies buried money, it is said. *Morot thyigabaaw hanep gopnaka.* Tomorrow they will bury the dead person. *Theng•thon morot tangka bisyl pang•ai khaigabaaw nukokno. Ytykyimying hap damsachi syruk syruk gopaidongano. Uaw nukaimyng ge•thengdo thymai*

chaioknoro. Theng•thon sees a man who was carrying a lot of coin money, it is said. So then, he is hiding secretly, it is said. Having seen him, he lay in ambush and watched him, it is said.

gopram *n* PLACE grave

gora *n* ART large earthen pot in which rice liquor (*chyu*) is made.

gorai ~ gore *n* ANIM horse *gore dung•*- to ride a horse

gorial *n* ANIM crocodile

gorong- *v* to meet

-gorop *evsp* V with a whole group, V together

gorothon *n* PLANT type of small leafy green

grem *clf* gram, gr.

gremyr *n* ART/ABSTR grammar

guchung *n* ART ladder

guduk- *v* to wiggle, to be unstable, to

wobble, to move (unstably) *guduk*

tak- almost [verb] *Na•lam*

gudukwachie te•ewdo tyi

thangpytpytai myng jyksaiaawan

Nawengawmu Kumiribaawma•

khamoknowa. When the *na•lam*

(type of fish) wiggled, water

splashed on the married couple

Naweng and Kumiri and burned

them, it is said. *Rong• gudukaimu*

galatok. Because the stone moved,

I fell. “*Aia! Udo magachakdo*

khorate” *noaimyng rykoknowa*.

Tharapna guduk takwachiba

tarakai jalariano magachake.

“Hey, this deer is lame!” he said

and chased after it, it is said. When

he almost caught up with the deer,

it run away fast, it is said, the deer.

gugyren *n* ANIM type of grasshopper

gukchepchep *n* ANIM grasshopper

gukmadym *n* ANIM grasshopper

gulgulgalgal *onom* growling noise

that the stomach makes *Pipuk*

gulgulgalgal takaidonga. My

stomach is growling.

gumi *n* KIN brother-in-law: elder

sisters husband or husbands elder

brother

gumuk *n* MSRE all, whole,

everybody, everyone, everything

-gumuk *encl.phr* all, whole

gumuksangan *adv* everywhere

gumuksangan ~ gumuksang *prof*

everywhere *Gumuksangan ganang*

ukching. There are leeches

everywhere. *Ge•theng gumuksang*

re•engok. He went everywhere.

gun montyro man•ga(ba) *n* PERS

person who can control the spirits

gunda *n* PERS brawler, fighter

guri *n* GEO mist, fog *Guri thupa*. The fog is thick.

guruchup- *v* to be shrouded in clouds

Waimong nukcha, guruchupok.

Waimong mountain is not visible,

it is shrouded in clouds.

gurum- *v* to collapse, to break off and

fall down *Banggyriaimu nok*

gurumok. Because of the

earthquake the house has collapsed.

Narykhelchak gurumok. The leaf of

the coconut tree has broken off and

fallen down.

gusu- *v* to cough

gusum- *v* spoiled (only used with

meals) *Mai ja•bek gusumok*. The

rice and curry are spoiled

guthini *n* ART spear

guthini *n* ART bamboo spear which is part of an elephant trap

guthyni *n* ART walking stick

gutum ~ gytym ~ gytum *n* ART

village

guwang ~ gawang *n* ANIM spider

gycheng *n* PLACE side, near *Jyksaian*

phong•gychengchian mu•aidonga.

The married couple are sitting near

the cooking place.

gyching *n* LOC/ABSTR vicinity,

angle, inclination *gychingching*

mu•- to be tilted, to make an angle

gyching ~ giching *adj* 2 aslant, slant,

diagonal

gyl- *adj* 1 strong *Usang, songga*

Manggagremi banthaidarangba

rai•aaithokaidongano,

Rakarehwakmadare,

Gyrynggyrang, Saljapang,

Aragundi, Motbanda, Asyngduraparaba gumukan rai•athokaidongano. Chakphong gylgabasano, kara khyrynggabararasano, alamylichagabasano. They are all coming to there, the young man from the strange village of Manggare: Rakarelwakmadare, Gyrynggyrang, Saljapang, Aragundi, Motbanda, Asyngduraparaba, they are all coming, it is said. They are men with strong arms and tight veins all over, it is said, they are not ordinary men, it is said.

gyl- *v* to collect, to gather

gylas ~ gilas *n* ART glass or its volume, glassful *cha gylas ni* two glasses of tea. *Gylas goi•tham bai•ok ge•thene.* He has broken three glasses.

gylgyl- *v* to roam

gylja *n* PLACE church

gyljanok *n* PLACE church

gymyn *postp* cause, reason, because of, about *Ue gam pang•wami gymyn kam pang•wami gymyn ge•thengtheng mykbyrukoko.* Because of this wealth and these riches they had become jealous of one another, it is said. *Unmi gymynsa ie hapawe Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai noyi te•chinakhyngkhyng myngwano.* That's precisely why this place is still called Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai up till now. *Uan jorami gymyn cho•sa golpho ka•etwa.* I have told a bit about that love match.

gynching ~ giching *adj2* aslant, slant, diagonal

gyp *onom* hitting sound: thunk!, tap!, bam! *Ue uawdo kunsang gyp satetok.* He hit him bam! with a stick.

gyryp- *v* to cover

gyryw- *v* to shake (an object that you can pick up, a non-fixed object)

gysep ~ gisep ~ gesep *n* PLACE space, interval *Bandi nochie atongaw balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie kanwani chungwani kalai kharutchungaban theng•chidokno. Dykymchi khyrykrara, di•khal gesepchi di•rara, pi•puke moina chongchang takariokno.* When I talk about Bandi, what can I say? He had no clothes; he wore a loincloth tied together with sixteen knots. On his head swarmed the lice, his ass crack was full of shit, his belly looked like a bird cage, it is said. *Pang•a bylsidarang re•engok umi gesepchian thyikhal goi•sachian rong•khal khalsa ganangchym. Ue rong•khalaw Durakhal myngwachym.* Many years ago, in a river, there was a cave, but not any more, it is said. That cave was supposedly called Durakhal.

gysep gysep ~ gisep gisep *adv* from time to time *Na•nage song jan•rukoko. Umi gymyn bichiba gisep gisep chiti saietrukarinaka.* Our countries are very far from each other. Therefore we will sometimes write each other letters from time to time.

gythyng ~ githyng ~ githing *adj2* unripe, uncooked, raw

gytym ~ gythym ~ gutum ~ gytum *n* ART village

ha• *n* SUBST soil, earth

ha• *procl* Take this! Take this from me.

ha•haw•- *v* to cut/clear the land to make a *ha•ba Phasgaba ha•haw•chenga. Umungsa ha•haw•aimungsa wa•cham tan•a.* First we clear the jungle. Then, having cleared the jungle, we cut the old rice stalks.

ha•kam- *v* to clear the field, to cut the jungle to make a field, to tear out weeds

ha•ba *n* PLACE dry rice and vegetable field on the slope of a hill made by cutting away and burning the jungle *ha•ba tym ni* two dry rice and vegetable fields on the slope of a mountain

ha•bacheng- *vB* to start, to begin
Uchisa matsana makbulna mongmana paichaaimung byldyng byldang jalna ha•bachengok. Then, not bearing the tigers and elephants any more, they started to run all over the place.

ha•bachenggaba *n* ABSTR beginning

ha•banok *n* PLACE rice field house

ha•bykung *n* SUBST sand

ha•byreng *n* PLACE old *ha•ba*

ha•byri *n* GEO hill, mountain *ha•byri thut tham* three hills, mountains

ha•chak *n* ACT wages

ha•chepchep *n* ANIM grasshopper

Ha•chyk *n* PERS/ACT Garo (person and language)

ha•dawak *n* PLACE lower side of a hill, low ground

ha•gun *n* PLACE old plot of land in a *ha•ba Baidamdo haw•angman gaba ha•gun sa•angman•gaba ha•rynthangthangaw kanga*. Some people occupy their old already cut plot, their own parcel which is already used completely.

ha•gyrsak ~ ha•gylsak *interj* interjection of astonishment “*Na•a sa•gyrai mylthengtheng bisangre•engaidong na•a bunduk pairama takaimu?*” *nookno*. “*Myla ha•gylsakno sa•gyraido. Na•a bisang re•engaidong na•a sagyrai mylthengtheng?*” “You child which is still very much too small, where are you going carrying that gun in your hand?” he said. “Good Lord, that child is small! Where are you going, you child who is still much too small?”

ha•gyrsak ~ ha•gylsak *n* ABSTR everything, all, world *Mekalaia ha•gelsakgumukchi*

wabatsyranggaba. Meghalaya is the rainiest place on earth.

ha•jagyra *n* ACT the first weeding of the *ha•ba Mai kai•manwamungsa ha•jagara kama. Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kynsange jakun kama. Jakun kamaimungsa nobembyl, oktobylysomaichi saigyn khan•a. Umungdo mai mynokodo maidan syla toka*. Having planted the rice, we weed the land for the first time. Having cleared the weeds for the first time, we will clear them for a second time. Having weeded the land for a second time, in October or November we do a third weeding. Then, when the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

ha•ka *n* PLACE upper side of a hill, high ground *Ha•kasang tawangbo*. Climb to a higher part of the hill.

ha•kha *n* PLACE a mountain slope, a steep slope

ha•kha- *v* very tight *Ian ha•khaai kha•bo*. Tie this very tightly.

ha•khong *n* PLACE valley

ha•khung *n* GEO river bank

ha•khyng *n* PLACE area

ha•mai *n* ANIM type of white earthworm

ha•mang *n* SUBST soil, earth, clay

ha•mangkyrang *n* ANIM scorpion

ha•mangkyrang *n* ANIM scorpion

ha•mangrong *adj2* brown

ha•mat *adv* troublesome

ha•pal *n* PLACE outside

ha•phal *n* PLACE field

ha•rongrong *n* PLACE lower side of a hill, low ground *Ha•rongrongsang wylangbo*. Go down to a lower part of the hill.

ha•ryn *n* parcel (of land), plot (of land) *Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow sowalni*. The whole village gathers and will divide the *ha•ba* parcel by parcel.

ha•ryn *n* PLACE plot of land, parcel *Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow sowalni*. The

whole village gathers and will divide the *ha•ba* parcel by parcel.

ha•saw *n* ANIM type of black snake with red neck and head

ha•sel *adv* for no reason, uselessly, troublesome

ha•song *n* PLACE country, village and surrounding lands

ha•thywkong *n* GEO a puddle

ha•tykylok *n* GEO a puddle

ha•wai *n* PLACE plain area

hachi- *v* to sneeze

hai *procl* Let's go! Come on!

hai• *determiner* the, this, that (thing or person just mentioned)

hai• *v* general verb, to do whatever, to happen, to do this/that, such and such happens, it is like... *Uchie karydyl chunggaba hai•wano. "ha• ambi ang chakaw khenetkhu" nowano.* Then the hanging root did this, it is said. "Hey grandchild, scratch my arm!" she said, it is said. "*Phylgymsa hai•wa na•a ue. Garu ramgabachi na•nang garu ramtananggachi di•etdapai tanangwa*" *nookno.* "The giant eagle did this, oh you! In the dried mustard, in our dried mustard, he left a big shit", she said, it is said. *Ytykyi phetaaimungna hai•okno, nokchina janggalan: "Bie nang• jongdyrange? Nang• jonge bie?" nookno janggaklchi syng•okno.* So when they had arrived, it was like..., at home, all of them: "Where is your younger brother? Your younger brother, where is he?" she said, it is said.

Uchiansega hai•okno, pheru nuksegaakno sa•wamiaw. Then in turn, this thing happened, the fox spotted some food, it is said. *Rymai sa•wachie, amakdo pan ga•khatna man•ano. Khu•sumdo hai•okno. Khu•sumdo ga•khatna man•chano.* Having cooked and eaten it, the monkey is able to climb into a tree, it is said. As for the turtle, he did

whatever, it is said. The turtle cannot climb trees, it is said.

hai•e ~ hai•- *determiner*

determiner/general noun, Let me see...; uh...; whatchamacallit

Utykyi dongwano ie

Wiliamnagarmi hai•e Do•renggo

Wa•dachongmi histyri. That's how

it is, it is said, Williamnagar's...

uh... *Do•renggo Wa•dachong's*

history. *San sachi amak aro pherue*

ytym myng• ni bajunoro, mo.

Ytykimuna kynsangdo atakokno?

Ytym myng•nie sangumuk

gylgylarongno glgylarongno

gylgylarongno. Uchie amakan

hai•aw rekthai myngaaw

nukoknoro. One day the monkey

and the fox were friends, it is said,

OK. So then, then, what happened?

They, the two of them roamed

around the whole day. Then the

monkey saw these ripe bananas.

haida *procl* I don't know.

hajal ~ hajar *num* thousand *hajal sa* one thousand.

hajam- *v* to yawn

hal- *v* to feed *mu•thai hal-* to breastfeed

hala kha•- *v* to wake someone up, to disturb someone

haldun- *v* to feed, to maintain "*Ie*

alsia raja atykyi khengaidok?

Atykyian jykaw haldunna

man•aidok?" noai morotdyrang

chanchiphinaidoknoro. "How does

this lazy king live? How does he

feed his wives?" thought the

people, it is said.

halsia ~ alsia *n* PERS lazy person

ham- *v* to build, to construct

hama *n* PLACE underneath, below, space between the floor or the base of something and the ground

Tau-sa-grai nok hamaaw

jalphakangaidonga. The chicks are

running under the house (from one

side to the other).

hambun *tw* later (but not today), in the future

hampyi *tw* in the late afternoon, in the evening

han•cheng *n* SUBST sand

han•tung- *adj1* to be a dangerous place *Mungma pang•wachi palyng han•tunga*. When there are a lot of elephants the jungle is a dangerous place.

han•tung- *v* to feel secure, to feel safe *Morot pang•ai rai•bo, hanthungkhala*. Go with lots of people, you will feel safer.

hanep *n* tomorrow *Hanep sansaanok*. Tomorrow there will be one day left.

hang- *v* to warm your hands by the fire

hang•khal *n* GEO cave, hole *hang•khal khal chatgyk* eight caves

hangkhyn *n* ANIM small insect that lives inside wood and eats it

hangkyn *n* ANIM type of ant

hangkyn raja *n* ANIM type of ant

hanseng- *adj1* happy, joyful *Ytykyimying na•do amak di sa•aimu hansengtokaaidoknoa*. So then, after the fish had eaten the monkey's shit, they were all very happy, it is said.

hansenga ~ hansinga *adj2* beautiful

hanthi- *v* to divide *Angdo dyngthangmancha nang•kha•galchido nang•mi gamaw angna hathiphabo*. If you love me especially, divide your wealth for me.

hanthi- *v* to divide, to share *Umi gesepchian gamaw hanthiokno wa•gabae*. In the meantime the father had divided his fortune, it is said. *Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow hanthini*. The whole village gathers and will divide the *ha•ba* parcel by parcel. *Je ha•ryn ni•gababado uan hanthirukai haw•a*. As for those whoever does not have a plot, those mutually share and clear the land.

hap *n* GEO place *Umigymynsa ie hapawe Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai*

noanowa, aro rangawba mykha badri myngwanowa. That's why this place is called Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said, and the rain is also called *mykha Badri*, it is said.

hap *n* QUANT half

haphu- *v* to blow

hapjyt- *v* to move house

happen *n* ART short pants, shorts

hapsan ~ gapsan *adj2* the same, together *Ang nang•mi/nang•myng hapsan chungu*. I am as big as you.

hat- *v* to fuck *Teraka krismassomaichi ue gawiauw babylysichi nokwengchi hatok angdo*. Last year at Christmas I fucked that girl on the floor in the kitchen.

haw• *n* KIN uncle: mothers brother

haw•- *v* to clear/cut the jungle to make a rice field

haw•nokhol *n* KIN father-in-law, addressed as *mama*

hawchi *dem* over there, yonder

hawe ~ haw- *dem* that over there, very far, non-visual demonstrative

hawtyi *adv* for some time *Thorokaimyng hawtyi rypokno magachake*. Having jumped down, he stayed in the water for sometime, it is said, the deer.

heng•- *v* widely spaced, sparse

henraiting *n* ACT handwriting

het- *v* to clean an orifice or hole *Nakhal hetbo*. Clean your ears!

hijra *n* PERS gay person, homosexual

hil *n* ART heel (of a shoe) *Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen kanai juta hilaw...* The girl who just went by wearing trousers and shoes with high heels...

hira *n* ART diamond

hit- *v* to command

hm•m ~ m•m *procl* no

ho- *v* to jump

ho•ong *procl* yes

hogol *n* snoring *Juwchenwachi nang•hogol ra•wa*. For the first part that you were asleep you snored

hojokjok- *v* to jump up and down

hok- *v* to call loudly

Holen *n* PERS/PLACE Holland, Dutch
Holenmorot Dutchman /
 Dutchwoman

hongkhot- *v* to come out *Ytykyimying amak gawigaba biphagabaaw kynaw thup, thup tokaidongano. Uchian amakmu di•sa chat chat hongkhotaidongano.* So then, the monkey's wife beats her husband's back tok, tok. Then the monkey's shit comes out squirt! squirt! it is said.

hongkot- *v* to come out, to ejaculate, to cum

hot- *v* to extract

hu•raw *n* ANIM gibbon

huk- *v* to sweep together

huksetgaba ~ huksetga *n* ART
 dustpan

hung- *v* to swim

hup- *v* to suck

huraw *n* ANIM gibbon, *Hylobates hoolock*

husyring *n* ANIM rabbit

hy• *interj* no

hyiawchi *dem* over there, yonder

hyiawe ~ hyiaw- *dem* that over there, very far, emphatic non-visual demonstrative

hyn•- *v* to give *Angna tangka ratja banga hyn•etbo.* Give me five hundred rupees. *Nang•ba happy new year hyn•etaidong.* We wish you a happy new year too.

hyt *interj* interjection to chase a person or animal away, interjection of anger

ie ~ i- *dem* this, proximal demonstrative

ilektrisiti *n* ART electricity

inchi *clf* the width of the upper joint of the thumb, i.e. the joint under the nail

India *n* GEO India

inggeech

n ACT engagement *Inggeech kha•ak.* I am engaged to be married.

Inggylan *n* PLACE England

Inggylis *n* PERS English

ingkal ~ engkal *n* ART handkerchief

insuren *n* ACT insurance

isor ~ isol *n* ABSTR God

isykyn *adv* this much, this many

itha ~ ita *n* ART brick *itha thut sa* one brick

itihas *n* ACT history

ja *interj* interjection to chase a cow away

ja *n* TIME month, moon *ja sa•-* to wake up *ja phetok* the moon has risen

ja•bek *n* FOOD curry

ja•chung *n* KIN 1. (Siju and Badri dialects) the relation of a man and his wives elder sister, or of a woman and her younger sisters husband, 2. (Badri dialect) sister-in-law: elder sister's of one's wife

ja•ga *n* ART a trap *Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno.* They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said. *ja•ga sa•gaba* someone who sets traps, an enemy

ja•garu *n* PLANT type of vegetable

ja•jol ~ ja•gol *n* PERS person with long legs

ja•khop *n* ART shoe

ja•naw *n* KIN elder sister. Is also used to address an older female cousin or a woman older than the speaker.

ja•phang *n* PLACE foot of a tree
Uchie panja•phangchi thymsawaimu, khu•sum amakmyng ri•karan kakhchotokno. Then, having lain in ambush at the foot of the tree, the turtle bit and tore off the monkey's balls, it is said.

ja•raw- *adjl* for a long time

ja•ryt *n* PLANT chilli pepper

jaboldam *n* ART garbage heap

jabyra *n* PERS fool, crazy person

jada *n* PERS stupid person, idiot

jadu *n* ACT magic

jagydok *n* BODY biceps, strength *Ido sa•gyraido hambundo chungwachido alamyla byldo bylnikhon, jagydokdo*

jagydoknikhon. In the future that child might really become a bit

stronger, it might really get strength.

jagyra *n* PLACE right, right hand, right hand side

jagyryng *n* ACT shadow cast by a person

jagysi *n* PLACE left, left hand, left hand side

jahas *n* ART ship

jai- *v* to scold someone

jai- *v* to oppose, to refuse *Unasa Ketketa Burae pheruna jai•sakna chol man•cha cho•motaimyng*: “Acha, ytykchido anga ang nokkhuthaisa anga dykdyksa chaigamaimyng kepai mu•khuna” *noaimyng thol•thiriokno, pheruna Ketketa Burae*. Because Ketketa Bura could really not come up with an idea to oppose the fox, he said: “Ok, in that case I will quickly look out from the top of my house and sit and cry”, he lied again to the fox, it is said, Ketketa Bura.

jajong *n* GEO moon

jajyrenng *n* ACT confusion

jajyrenng- *vdat* to worry *Ang nang•na jajyrennga*. I am worried about you.

jakhal- *v* to use

jakhalthaw- *adj1* to be very useful

jakhep *clf* as much as is contained in the palm of the hand when clenched, the quantity contained in the closed palm

jaksithem *n* ART ring

jakun *n* ACT the second weeding of the *ha•ba Mai kai•manwamungsa ha•jagara kama. Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kysange jakun kama. Jakun kamaimungsa nobembyl, oktobylysomaichi saigyn khan•a. Umungdo mai mynokodo maidan syla toka*. Having planted the rice, we weed the land for the first time. Having cleared the weeds for the first time, we will clear them for a second time. Having weeded the land for a second time, in October or

November we do a third weeding. Then, when the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

jal- *v* to run away *Iskyn jan•gaba songsang de•theng jalangok*. He ran away to such a far country. *Uchisa matsana makbulna mongmana paichaimung byldyng byldang jalna ha•bachengok*. Not bearing the tigers and bears any more, they started to run away all over the place. *Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake*. When [the Bengal] almost catches, [it] just runs away, it is said, the deer.

jaljeng *n* ART cupboard

jalphakang- *v* to run from one side to the other

jam- *vphase* to complete, to finish *Sa•wa jamkhucha*. I have not finished eating yet. “*Rang nemchengama na•nang chyw jamchenga*” *noai rangmu chyw ryngsusai chyichie, range san chi byri wawano*. “Will our liquor finish first or will the rain stop first?” they said and while they were trying to compete with the rain in drinking, the rain fell for fourteen days, it is said. *Gasamchi rymai sa•wa jamchagabaaw Nawengpara Kumiriparae sawaimyng garan baw•ai tanoknokhon*. The food that they didn’t finish in the evening, having fried it, they might have dried it above the fire, it is said. *Ang amaparami nokchi randai sa•na jamcha*. At my mother’s house, there is always meat to eat. *ja jamangwasang* at the end of the month

jama *n* ART shirt

jamang- *v* to set (of the sun) *Rangsan jamanga*. The sun sets.

jamkhamwa *n* ABSTR the last one

jamura *n* PLANT pomelo

jan- *adj1* far *Ha•ba jan•rukwaan nukruketchawa*. The rice fields are

very far apart from each other, you will not see each other.

jang- *adj1* quick

jang•jot *adj2* biconcave, curved on both sides like the inner surface of a sphere, narrow in the middle
Bandi nochie atongaw balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie kanwani chungwani kalai kharutchungaban theng•chidokno. Dykymchi khyrykrara, di•khal gesepchi di•rara, pi•puke moina chongchang takariokno. Cha•e dabakun tykyi ympong jang•jot takarioknotyi. What more can we tell about this so called Bandi? When he was a child he was half naked, wearing only a loin cloth tied together with sixteen knots, it is said. His head was all lice, his arse crack was full of shit, his belly was big like a bird's cage, it is said. As for his legs, they looked like coconuts on sticks: bulgy in some parts and very thin in other, it is said to our surprise.

janggal *n* QUANT everybody, everything, all, all of them, all of it
Sa•gyrai mylgabami dadadarangawdo janggalawan monokokno. Phylgym chunggaba monokrumokno myng•korokawan. As for the brothers of the small child, they were devoured, it is said. The big eagle had devoured them all, the six of them.

janggi *n* ACT life *Kynsangdo matsado morotsyn man•aimyng rai•wilokno alsiado. Rai•wilwilokno. "Matsae atakna?" chanchiaidongano ue. Kyreaidokno kyrewaba. "Anga thyie thyimanok". Ichian: "Anga janggiba thyimanok.* Later, the tiger caught the scent of the human and walked in circles around the lazy person, it is said. "What does the tiger want?", he thought. He was very afraid, it is said. "I'm as good as dead!" Then: "My life is already gone."

janggi khenwa *n* *khjyks* ACT life *Ang janggi khengwa gumuk Atong khu•chuk balwa.* I have spoken Atong all my life.

janira *n* ART mirror

jantg• *v* to be quick

janti *n* ART filter for rice beer (*chyw*).
 Woven cylindrical filter made of reed that stands in the jug (*gora*) to form a permeable membrane between the fermented rice on the outside of the filter and the alcoholic water inside the filter. Water is poured onto the fermented rice and the alcoholic liquid is collected inside the filter and scooped out with an *abek*.

januari *n* TIME January

jap *n* ART trap to drive away enemies.
 A pile of rocks is stacked on a hill behind a plank. The plank is tied to a tree. When the enemy comes, the rocks are released, roll down and crush the enemy.

jap- *v* to pile up

japang *n* PLANT tree trunk

japrukruk *adv* one on top of the other, in a pile

jarambong *n* GEO full moon

jari- *v* to be startled

jasa- *v* to wake up, to get up, to get out of bed

jaseng• *v* to shine

jat *n* PERS tribe, race

jatha *n* ART a spear

jatram *n* PLANT type of medicinal plant

jaw• *v* to fry

je *prof* any, whichever, whatever *Jeen sanchi morot thyiok.* One day somebody died. *Jemi sanchi Dibangkhongdangaw matsa kakok.* On a certain day a tiger bit Dibangkongdang.

jechiba *prof* anywhere

jekhai *adv* for example, for instance, as *Rongkhaisang jalanggaba Thometsangrepha Rangkhaimadophae nukkhung sot dokmyng, jekhai Atongsang*

balchido nokkhung rum•thammang ganangno. Thometsangrepha Rangkhaimadopha, who ran away to Rongkhai, had about sixty houses, as you would say in Atong, about sixty houses.

jel- *v* to increase, to multiply, to be numerous *Mahari jela*. The family is big.

jenetene *adv* somehow

jenetne *adv* somehow *Ytyktyimying jenetne rajamyng noksang phetangokno*. So then, somehow they reached the king's house.

jeng *n* PLANT plant of which brooms are made

jero *num* zero

jesangba *prof* wherever, somewhere *Ge•theng jesangba re•engok*. He has gone somewhere.

jesykyn *prof* *Jesykyn nang•chi ganang chynaribo, kamalna*. However much you have, just offer it to the priest.

jiner *general* *Dakanggabado jiner* *mitingchengni*. *Umungsa song gumuk thom•aimung ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni*. First they will start with a general meeting. Then the whole village comes together and they will divide the *ha•ba* plot by plot.

jingjong- *adjl* wiggly, unstable

jingonget- *v* to shake

jinka *n* PLANT type of vegetable

jinma *n* QUANT group, herd

Bajudyranggumukan jinmami palyngsang sikhal kha•na re•engwa. All the friends went to the jungle in a group to hunt. *mongmajinma* a herd of elephants

jit- ~ **jyt-** *v* to move *Rong•awan jitna jamchano*. He could not move the rock, it is said.

joba *n* PLANT Chinese rose

joi- *v* to drag, to catch (by dragging a net through the water)

jojong *n* KIN younger brother. Is also used to talk about or address a related younger male of your own

generation: cousin, to address a young male unrelated person younger than the speaker.

jok- *v* to escape, to be freed, to come out, to leak out, to jump because something startled you *"Atakna re•engwa. Balchachido tokni", madame. "Jora chaiwa." "Sala! mylteng te•euan jora chaina, roalan jokkhucha!"* "Why did you go? If you don't tell me I will hit you", said the teacher. "I saw my lover." "Damn! you are still too small now to see your lover; you have not even finished primary school yet!" *U•ching kakaimu thyi jokok*. Because he got bitten by a leech, blood came out. *Na•a ie sastaw rakna man•chido jokangni*. If you can endure this punishment, you will be freed. *Khabakaimyng wang•wachie kysange*: "Ai! ido alsiae kakate! Sokchakate angdo" *noaimyng, matsado jenethene jokaimyng jalangoknoro*. After having grabbed him firmly and bitten him, the tiger said: "Ouch! This lazy person bites, I'm telling you!" and having somehow escaped, he ran away, it is said. *Robolmi balwa jokok*. Air has leaked out of the football.

jokal *n* PERS/ART comic strip, cartoon, anime; a character from one of these categories

-jokjok *evsp* V up and down

jokset- *v* to drain

-jol *evsp* V quickly

jol- *v* to roll up

-joljol *evsp* V quickly

jolpi *n* ART bamboo fish trap

jom- *v* to sneak, to sneak up on somebody

jomphol *n* ART hoist, crow bar, pry bar

jong *n* KIN younger brother. Is also used to address a younger male cousin or an unrelated man younger than the speaker.

jongsyri *n* KIN brother-in-law:
spouses younger brother
jonja *n* PERS twin
jonong- ~ jorong- *v* to dissolve *Chini tyichi jorongok*. The sugar has dissolved in the water.
jora *clf* classifier for things that occur in pairs *sendel jora sa* one pair of sandals *mu•thai jora sa* one pair of breasts *mykren jora sa* one pair of eyes
jora *n* PERS partner, love (person), match in love
jorong- ~ jonong- *v* to dissolve *Chini tyichi jorongok*. The sugar has dissolved in the water.
jot- *v* to prod, to point, to fidget *Jong, na•a re•engaribo, chaksi jotetgaba thongthong re•engaribo*. Brother, you just go. Just go straight in the direction of the finger with which I point. *Waiphinwami gesepchi baratdugaaimu, wa•na jyw•na baratai, bai•na tyngna baratai, nawna bai•na baratai, de•thengdo dang•anaan chaithylaisa, mu•arongno, gopjyrujyutykyi. ha•san bamai, chaksi jotai, chaksi phai•ai nemen chanchiaidongno*. In the time before he returned, having become very ashamed (when he was thinking of what his parents would think of him), when he entered (his father's house) he looked away and looked down, bending his head, fidgeting with his fingers and wringing his hands he was in deep thought, it is said.
jothat- *v* to prod
jotkhyngkhyng- *v* to mash
joton *n* ACT attempt, try *joton kha•-* to try, to make an attempt *Hanep rai•na jotong kha•ni*. I will try to go tomorrow.
jotpyryw- *v* to pierce
juk- *v* to wink
jul- *v* to walk through the jungle with difficulty
jul- *v* to jack up, to lift up *Rukwakdo pan mylgaba paiatakaimu rong•aw*

julokno. The toad took a small stick and jacked up the stone, it is said.
jul- gul- *v* to walk through the jungle with difficulty.
julai *n* TIME July
jumang ~ jywmang *n* ACT dream
Atong jumang nukwa? What did you dream? / What dream did you see? *Taija walchi jywwachi jywmangsang banggirigaba nukwa*. Last night at night when I was sleeping, I saw an earthquake in my dream.
jumu- *v* to collect
jun *n* TIME June
jut- *v* to encourage *Ge•theng angaw sa•khawkhalna jutwa*. I encouraged him to steal.
juta *n* ART shoe *Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen kanai juta hilaw...* The girl who just went by wearing trousers and shoes with high heels...
jyk *n* KIN spouse
jyjkjak- *v* to be noisy, to make noise
jykmong ~ jykmongma *n* PERS first wife of a man who has two wives
jyknayi *n* PERS widow, widower
jykrat- *v* to accuse of adultery
jykri *n* PERS widow, widower
jyksai *n* PERS husband and wife, married couple
jyktyi *n* PERS second wife of a man who is already married
jykyryi *n* PERS widow, widower
jyngjang *adj2* dense
jyryk- *v* to have a nice taste
-jyryng evsp *V* daily, *V* all the time
jyryng jyryng *adv* always
jyryngnam *adv* always
jyryp *adv* quietly *jyryp mu•bo sit* quietly
jyrypet- *v* to shut somebody up, to make someone be quiet
jyt- ~ jit- *v* to move *Rong•awan jitna jamchano*. He could not move the rock, it is said.
jyw- *v* to lie down (both the movement and the position), to sleep

jyw• *n* ART a flattened bamboo used to make mats *jyw•sa* one flattened bamboo *damdyl khaw•sa* one *jyw•* of a *damdyl*

jyw• *n* KIN mother

jyw•wa *n* PERS parents

jyw•bydyi *n* PERS old woman, woman with children

jyw•para *n* PERS mother's house, mother's household

jyw•ri ~ jyw•ryi *n* PERS child who lost his mother

jywdap- *v* to lie on

jywmang ~ jumang *n* ACT dream
Atong jywmang nukwa? What did you dream? / What dream did you see? *Taija walchi jyw wachi jyw mangsang banggirigaba nukwa.* Last night at night when I was sleeping, I saw an earthquake in my dream.

-ka ~ -naka *sfx* imperious future or certain future suffix

ka•- *adj1* bitter

ka•dymbai *n* BODY chin

ka•myn• *n* BODY beard

ka•ran- ~ kha•ran- *v* to be thirsty for
Tyiba ka•ranok bai•siga angdo.
Ang tyi cho•sa ryngna. I am thirsty for water, my friend. I want to drink a little water.

kabal ~ kabar *n* ART cover

kabin *n* ANIM type of big black ant

kai•- *v* to plant *Ha•*

khynmanwamungsa maisi khita.

Umung abongdarang chala,

dachangdarang chala.

Ytykimungsa chalmanwa

machotwamungsa mai kai•chenga.

Only after collecting the unburnt remains of the jungle from the land, we sow millet. Then we plant maize and we plant *dachang*. Then, only after we finish planting these do we plant/sow rice.

kak *n* ART lid *potolkak* lid of a bottle

kak *n* ART lid

kak *onom* the sound of something hitting or slapping

kak- *v* to bite *Jemi sanchi*

Dibangkhangdangaw matsa kakok.

On a certain day, a tiger bit

Dibangkongdang. "Ang nang•aw kakai sa•ni" nowano pherue. I will bite and eat you, he said, it is said, the fox.

kak- *v* to close with a lid

kakdep- *v* to bite on something

kakhet *adv* all, very much, really

kakhirok *n* ANIM head lice, pubic lice, crabs

kakmyn• *n* BODY antenna (of insect), feeler

kakpyret- *v* to crush by biting

kal *n* ART horn (traditional instrument)

kal•tek *n* ANIM type of big red ant

kal•thek *n* ANIM big red ant

kala *n* PERS deaf person

kalai *n* ART loin cloth

kaljak ~ galjak *n* ANIM catfish

kalthek *n* ANIM type of big red ant

kaltyk *n* PERS person who never washes

kam *n* ACT work, wealth *Kam kha•na harataidong angdo.* I'm reluctant to work. *Kam ni•wa.* Worthless.

kam- *v* to clear the field, to cut the jungle to make a field, to tear out weeds

kam- *v* to suffer a penalty

Sa?khawgabaaw jurimana kamna nangni. Thiefs have to suffer a penalty.

kamal *n* PERS priest

kambai ~ khambai *n* PLACE top, upstream

kan- *v* to wear *Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen kanai juta*

hilaw... (Wilseng) The girl who just went by wearing trousers and shoes with high heels...

kan• *n* BODY body (of human)

kan•- *v* to last *Bigaba nygyymi ra•wa ie? Tyngen kan•okte ido.* *Angba ytykgaba botolaw ra•nichymte.* From which market did you buy this? It lasts very long. I should buy one such a bottle too.

kan•jot- *adjl* slim, skinny, thin (of person)
kan•peng *n* BODY side of the body
kana *n* PERS blind person
kanggal *n* PERS poor person, pauper
kangguru *n* ANIM Kangaroo
kangkang *n* ANIM type of edible frog, green with black spots, which lives in caves and the hollows of stones at the side of a river
kangkylek *n* ANIM type of lizard with red neck, said to drink human blood
kantara *n* PLACE emptiness
kanting- *v* to tear spontaneously
kap- *v* to catch, to close
kapangsi *n* ANIM a clamp
kapkap- *v* to lie flat on your belly
Ytykyimying rukpeke rong•phelang sylgabachi kapkapai hyn•oknowa.
 So then the frog presented himself on a beautiful flat stone lying flat on his belly, it is said.
kapkung *n* ANIM snail
kar- *v* to peel off *Abong karai sa•a angdo* I eat the corn while peeling off the seeds with my hand.
kara *n* ART rope, vein
karan *n* PLANT seed, kernel, fruit stone
karang *n* BODY wing *ri•karang* testicle, balls, scrotum
karat ~ ka•rat *n* ANIM squirrel
karaw *n* ACT debt, obligation, trouble
Nang•do uaw takchido karaw man•nine. If you do that, you'll be in trouble. *Nang•aw ang karaw balni nang•angmi bostu sa•khawchido.* I'll tell you what your debt will be if you steal my things.
karen *n* ART electricity *San thamok karen ni•wa.* It has been three days [and/that] there is no electricity.
kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khatha *n* ACT word *kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khatha jyw•khyinwa* to tell long epic stories during the festival of *chywgyn*, one story usually takes one night or longer to tell. *kata ~*

khata ~ katha ~ khatha jyksai
 coordinate compound that consists of two synonyms
katha *n* ART shallow bamboo basket
katua ~ khatua *n* ANIM turtle, tortoise
kaw *n* PLANT type of fruit
kaw- *v* to shoot
kaw•warai *n* BODY gill
kawrawraw *adv* easily, without effort
"Ama, angdo mai sa•naka." "Ym, kawrawraw ga•wa, te•en sa•bo."
"Mom, I will eat rice." "Yes, that will be easy, eat later."
ke•ret *n* BODY gall
kebyl *n* ART cable
keji *clf* kilogram, kg
kek *n* FOOD cake
kek- *adjl* blunt (of pointed things)
kek- *v* to grow
kek- *v* to chop wood
keko *n* ANIM type of large brown tokay gecko with narrow white stripes on its back and white-and-brown ringed tail and brown eyes
kel- *v* to hide *Mykhang baketchi kelaidong.* She's hiding her face in a bucket.
kelki ~ khelki *n* ART window
kemyra *n* ART camera
kendyl *n* ART candle *kendyl dot sa* one candle
kensi ~ kesi *n* ART scissors
kep *clf* classifier for small flat things
biskut kep sa one biscuit
kep *n* PLACE cave
kep- *v* to cry
kepleplep ~ kepreprep *adv* stretched out on your belly *Ytykyimying te•edo amak ge•thengdo rong•pelang sylgabachi kepleplep bamai hyn•takkonoa.* So then, now the monkey, as for him, he willingly lay down stretched out on his belly on a flat stone, it is said.
kereng *n* BODY bone
keset ~ kheset *n* ART cassette, tape
kesi ~ kensi *n* ART scissors
ket- *v* to be tight *Jama keta.* The shirt is tight.

kewal *n* ART a peddle

kha *interj* interjection to threaten somebody and to warn that you might fight, war cry, Beware! Beware for X! This interjection precedes a clan name and in some cases the proper name of a mythical person in a story. *Kha Marak!* Beware Marak! This interjection can also be used before the clan name of the person who says it as a way of self support, i.e. 'Beware of me!' "*Kha Bandi Goira!*" *noangthiraidonga Bandiba*. "Beware of Bandi and the god of thunder!" Bandi is saying again, it is said.

kha- *v* to tie *Nokbanthai do•khakhuchi khachapai tangaba mongmawa dora byryi don•gabaaw rai•ai jalangokno*. They took the elephant tusks weighing twenty kilos which were kept tied to the *do•khakhu* of the bachelors' house and ran away, it is said. "*Angawdo gorechi cha•aw nemen khabone*" *nookno*. "As for me, tie my legs well to the horse", he said it is said.

kha• *n* ABSTR fighting spirit *Ge•thengdo kha•rara taka, angba kha• ganang, ge•thengnado kyrecha, takrukarini*. He has fighting spirit, but I also have fighting spirit, I am not afraid of him and will just fight with him.

kha•- *v* to be bitter

kha•- *v* to do, to work *Kam kha•ni*. I will work. *Angna phone kha•etboto!* Call me (on the phone)!

kha•- *v* to pour liquid into a jug

kha•at- *v* to work with, to handle *Ge•theng koila kha•ata*. He works with/handles coal.

kha•dang- *vdat* to care for with great love *Ama thyaaimu akai sa•gyraina kha•danga*. After the mother died, her elder sister took care of the child with great love.

kha•di *n* ART clothes

kha•dong *v* to hope

kha•dong- *v* to be courageous, to be hopeful *Te•ewe ningan kyryipin•a. Alsia rajado kha•dongaria. Thoroksyrangok una, ningdo jalgabaak*. Now it is us who are afraid [of him]. The lazy king is just courageous. He jumped out [of the banyan tree] and so we became the ones who ran away.

kha•gal- *vdat* to love *Ang nang•na kha•gala*. I love you.

kha•pak- *vdat* to miss *Ang songna kha•paka*. I miss my village.

kha•pet- *v* to be angry with *Ang bajuaw kha•petaidong*. I am angry with my friend.

kha•phak *n* BODY chest

kha•ran- ~ **ka•ran-** *v* to be thirsty for *Tyiba ka•ranok bai•siga angdo. Ang tyi cho•sa ryngna*. I am thirsty for water, my friend. I want to drink a little water.

kha•rek *n* PLANT yard long bean, yardlong bean, also known as the long-podded cowpea, asparagus bean, snake bean, or Chinese long bean. The subspecies name is *sesquipedalis*.

kha•rekrek- *v* to vomit, to barf

kha•rongthai *n* BODY chicken heart

kha•si- *v* to not like and ignore *Ge•thengthengrara gorongrukokno gorongaimyngdo te•do, kha•sirukarokno*. They met each other and having met, they did not like each other and ignored each other, it is said.

kha•sin *adj2* slowly

kha•sin-kadym *adj2 khjys* slow *Uaw badaiangwachian bean bebe darairaragabasang dolong khagabachina phetangoknowa, Badido. Dykhimi balgabatykyi kha•sin kadymai re•engcha. Jaljoljolangaidongano*. When he crosses beyond that point, truly Bandi arrives at a bridge made entirely out of swords, it is said. As Dykhi had said, he does not go

slow. He is running quickly, it is said.

kha•sop *n* BODY lung

kha•thol *n* ANIM wattle (of a chicken)

kha•thong *n* BODY heart *O chame, angmi nang•na kha•galgabaau nang•mi kha•thongchi dang•etna man•phanima?* (Sandish M Sangma) *O* sweetheart, will you be able to insert also my love for you into your heart?

kha•wa *n* PERS lover

kha•wak khu•wak *adv* with open mouth “*Me•mangma morotma ie sa•gyraido?*” *noaimu kha•wak khu•wak chaisawthokaidongano.* “Is that child a ghost or a man?” they said and all were surely watching him with open mouth, it is said.

khabak *clf* as much as the arms can encompass, an armful

khabak- *v* to embrace, to grab firmly as in an embrace *Alsia rajado matsami cha•phungaw wang•joloknoaro.*

Khabakaimyng wang•wachie kysange: “Ai! ido alsiae kakate! Sokchakate angdo” noaimyng, matsado jenethene jokaimyng jalangoknoro. The lazy king bit the tiger on the leg, it is said. After having grabbed him firmly and bitten him, the tiger said: “Ouch! This lazy person bites, I’m telling you!” and having somehow escaped, he ran away, it is said.

khachol *n* ANIM type of fish

khadok *n* ANIM type of fish

khagymyk *n* ANIM type of fish

khai- *v* to carry on the body *Ytykimyng te•do ge•thengthengdo na• khynaimyng bai•sigathangmaran rukpekba tangsa, amakba tang sa•khaiaknowa.* So then, now, as for them, having collected the fish, the frog and the monkey carried one basket each, it is said.

khaithyi- *v* to hang oneself *Ie nokchi morot phalthangaw khaithyiwa.* In this house somebody has hanged herself.

khakhudyl *n* PLANT type of plant

khal *clf* classifier for orifices, holes and caves *hang•khal khal ni* two caves *nakhungkhal ni* two nostrils

khal *n* PLACE hole *khal sene* seven holes

-khal *sfx* intensifier suffix used in comparative and superlative constructions, more than, -er as in bigger, larger and greener, most, -est as in biggest, largest, greenest *Mamyngawan nangchawa raja na•a angna nang•myng gore jalna rakkhalgabaaw hyn•etaribo” nookno.* “I don’t need anything, o king, you just give your fastest running horse”, he said, it is said. *Gore jalna rakbebeokno. Kha•sinkhalai jalkhalna noaimyng ga•dukdukchiba rakkhalai rakkhalai jalariokno.* The horse ran really quickly, it is said. Having told it to run slower, whenever he prodded it with his legs, it just ran faster and faster, it is said.

khalbong *n* PERS person who eats scandalously much

khali *adv* only, exclusively

khaljong *n* ANIM type of fish

khalpak *n* ART belt that goes around the head to carry a basket

khalput *n* PERS dirty person

khaltyi *n* SUBST soda

kham- *v* to burn *Rangsan khama.* The sun burns/it is hot *Wal• nokaw khamok.* The fire burnt the house.

khambai ~ kambai *n* PLACE top, upstream

khambykthai *n* PLANT type of edible tuber

khamphung *n* PLANT type of edible tuber

khampyryw- *v* to have a hole in a cloth or paper as the result of burning

khamthymbylong- *v* to have a hole in a road or bridge as the result of burning *Dolong wal•sang khamthymbylongok*. The fire burned a hole in the bridge. / The bridge was damaged by the fire.

khamynkhap *n* ANIM type of fish

khan *clf* classifier for objects like log boats *rung khan ni* two boats

khan *n* PLANT cassava

khan- *v* to suckle

khan•- *v* to slaughter, to chop, to mince, to cut

khan•chot- *v* to cut *Nang ang khaw khan•chotbo*. Cut my hair.

khan•peret- *v* to split, to cut open

khana *n* PLACE port, harbour, station

khanchot- *v* to cut (hair)

khang- *v* to solidify

khang- *v* to occupy *Baidamdo haw•angman/gaba ha•gun sa•angman•gaba ha•rynthangthangaw khanga*. Some people occupy their own parcel which is already cleared and used up completely.

khanmychyw *n* PLANT cassava

khanmynchyw *n* PLANT type of edible shrub

khanphyt- *v* to cut a solid object in half lengthwise

khanpyrak- *v* to cut a hollow object in half lengthwise

khansynen *n* PLANT type of edible tuber red on the outside and white on the inside

khansyrui *n* ANIM earthworm

khanta *n* QUANT hour

khanthong- *v* to cut in half

khantongthong•- *v* to cut up in pieces

khap *clf* classifier for flat materials
tota khap sa one plank *tin kahp sa* one sheet of corrugated iron
damdyl khap sa one *damdyl*

khap *clf* classifier for flat pieces of hard material like stone or metal
so•rekhap khap ni two pieces of mica

khap *n* ART cup, teacup or its volume, cupful *khap goi• sa* one teacup

khap thai• sa one teacup *Cha khap tham hyn•bo*. Give three cups of tea.

khap *n* SUBST flat piece of hard material

khap- *v* to be cooked without *mai•tyi ~ maiti jabek khapgaba* curry without *mai•tyi ~ mai•ti*

khapeng- *v* to hinder

kharok *n* ANIM type of very small fish

kharongthai *n* BODY kidney

Khasi *n* PERS Khasi

khasi- *v* to castrate, to remove the testicles

hasin *adj2* slow

hasot *clf* classifier for bundles
ra•sun khasot sa a bundle of onions

khat *interj* interjection to chase a dog away

khat- *v* to slaughter *Biana wak khatna raw•aidonga*. We are catching a pig to slaughter for the wedding.

khata ~ khatha ~ kata ~ katha *n*
ACT word *kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khatha jyw•khynwa* to tell long epic stories during the festival of *chywgyn*, one story usually takes one night or longer to tell. *kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khatha jyksai* coordinate compound that consists of two synonyms

khatdep- *v* to wrap, to wrap up, to fold

khatom *clf* classifier for bagsful
ra•sunok khatom sa one bagful of spring onions

khatua ~ katua *n* ANIM turtle, tortoise

khaw *clf* classifier for teeth *wa khaw sa* one tooth

khaw *n* BODY hair (of the head)

-khaw evsp *V* secretly, *V* surreptitiously

khaw• *clf* classifier for teeth, planks, sheets of corrugated iron for roofs and flattened bamboos used to make mats (*jyw•*) when they are in a mat *damdyl khaw• sa* one *jyw•* of a *damdyl wa khaw• ni* two teeth,

two tusks (of elephant) *tota khaw•
tham* tree planks, *tin khaw• byryi*
four sheets of corrugated iron

khaw•- *v* to catch water in the palms
of your hands *Paipmi tyi ge•theng
khaw•aimu ryngok*. He caught the
water from the pipe in his hands
and drank it.

khawakwak- *v* to vomit, to barf

khawcha•ryng *n* BODY sideburn

khawchi *n* BODY grey hair

khawchyryng *n* BODY scalp hair

khawdam- *v* to put down

khawkhai ~ khawkhi *n* BODY grey
hair

khawkham *n* ART pillow

khawkhirok *n* BODY dandruff

khawkhuthuk *n* ART cloth for men
worn around the head

khawphyng *n* ART turban

khawsuk *n* PLACE source of a river

khe- *v* to be proper, suitable *Nang•
mykchagaba biphae khecha*. The
boy you fancy is not suitable (to
marry).

khel *n* ACT care

khele- *v* to play

khelegaba *n* ACT game *khelegaba
myng sa* one game

-khelek *evsp* *V* for fun

khelhi ~ kelki *n* ART window

khem *n* ART drum (traditional
instrument)

khema *n* ACT forgiveness *Nang•tym
angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo*.
Please forgive me one more time.

khen- *v* to scratch *Machok kan•
panchi khenaronga*. A deer is
scratching his body against a tree.

khen• *n* ANIM river crab

khen•khorong *n* BODY claws of a
crab

kheng- *v* to be alive

khengchek *adj2* green, blue

khengkhang *adj2* eternal

khengsyryk *adj2* dark green

khengwa *n* ACT life

-khep *evsp* *V* firmly *Raw•khepbo!*
Hold it firmly!

khep- *v* to cry

khep- *v* to pinch, to cut with scissors
*Rong•khalchi khonokaimu khen•
chak khepok*. When I felt under the
stone, a river crab pinched my
hand.

khep ~ khup ~ khyp- *v* to close, to
cover, to spread out, to put on
clothes

khereng- *v* to struggle, to make a
great effort

khereng- *v* to resist

khewal *n* ART oar *khewal phong sa*
one oar

khi- *v* to count

khi- *v* to hit (a target), to touch *Myng•
sa them! Khawoknotyi*.

Khianchano. One person shot,
pow! He did not hit it, it is said.

khiil *n* ART nail (iron) *khiil chong sa*
one iron nail.

khingcheng *adj2* aslant, slant

khirip ~ kyiryp *n* PLANT type of
edible plant of which the leaves are
mashed and dried and then cooked
to pulp

khit- *v* to sprinkle, to sow seeds
*Ha•khyinmanwamungsa maisi
khita*. Only after collecting the
unburnt jungle material from the
land, we sow millet.

khok- *v* to remove (skin, bark, peel,
dress etc.)

khokalang *n* PERS bold person

khol *n* BODY skin (of human, animal
or plant), hide (of animal), scale (of
fish) *ma•sukhol* cow-hide, cow-
skin

khol *num* twenty

kholchang *num* twenty, used only in
compound numerals *kholchang
byryi rong ni* eighty two.

khole *num* twenty. This word is only
used in compound numerals *khole
rong sa* twenty one.

khole chyi ~ kola chi *num* thirty

kholgyk ~ kholgryk *num* twenty. The
variant *kholgryk* is a loan from
Garo but is used overwhelmingly
more frequently than *kholgyk*.

kholjisop *n* BODY infection of the inner ear, labyrinthitis

kholthyrat- *v* to shed skin, to come off (of skin) *Rangsan khamaimu ang nakhung kholthyrat*ok. After the sun burnt it, the skin on my nose came off.

khom- *v* to sit with your head in your lap and your legs pulled up

khon *encl.cl/prtcl* speculative modality enclitic or particle *Rangsan rangbyrymaidonga, wainikhon*. The sun is blocked by clouds, it might rain. “*Nang•ama nygylsang re•engwama?*” “*Ho•ong, khon.*” “Did your mother go to the market?” Yes, maybe.”

khong- *v* to bark

khonok- *v* to search by feeling *Ichirong•khalchi khen• ganangthel mang sa mangnido, ganangthelnaba ganang. Hai, nang• usang khonokbo ang isang khonoknaka*. Here in these holes under the stones there are crabs for sure. Let’s go, you feel and search over there and I will feel and search over here.

khopalak *n* PLANT skin of onion, garlic, corn etc.

khophylak *n* PLANT/ANIM skin of fruit, eggshell

khophynga *n* ART cloth for women worn on the head with a knot at the back of the head

khorat *n* ART a saw

khori *n* ART watch

khorong *n* BODY horn (of animal)

khoryndachong *n* ANIM silkworm

-khu *sfx* incomplete aspect suffix

khu•hamgaba *n* ART grammar

khu•bisi- *v* to hate, to dislike

khu•cheng- *v* to bite your teeth firmly together *Ytykyimying pherudo rypangthiriokno. Phalthang sokwa dabatdo tyinyng•chi rong•chi pyi•aimyng wa khu•chengphin•ai sakchikaidokno*. So then the fox soaked in the water again, it is said. Until he could not hold out any

longer, he sat under water as long as he could bear it, holding on to a stone and biting his teeth firmly together, it is said.

khu•chi- *v* to dislike *Mongma ranai sa•na ang khu•chia*. I don’t like to eat elephant meat.

khu•chuk *n* ACT mouth, language

khu•chul *n* BODY lip

khu•ma *n* PERS dumb person, someone who cannot speak

khu•mong- *v* to conspire “*Ramchi hampyi na•nangdo watchaka ge•thengawdo, sala! Ge•thengaw watkhuna so•othelarinaka*” *noai khu•mongangokno*. “This evening we will seize him on the road, the bastard! We will kill him after all to banish him once more”, they conspired freely, it is said.

khu•rang *n* BODY voice

khu•rasak- *v* to promise. *Rongdyng maharimu Jaksongram matsanokphandaimi matsamu takrukaisa Rongdyng maharidyrange dokra Ha•beng khungsa ri•pan patsai sympak khungsa hyn•naka noyi khu•rasakokno*. Because the Rongdyng family fought with the tigers from the bachelors’ house of Jaksongram, the Rongdyng families promised to give one Ha•beng bag, one woman’s dress and one sleeping mat, it is said.

khu•sak- *v* to answer, to reply, to respond

khu•sum ~ ku•sum *n* ANIM tortoise

khu•symang *n* BODY facial hair

khu•thi khu•thyriga(ba) *n* mumbling

khu•ti khu•thyriga(ba) *n* ACT mumbling

khu•tip- *v* to close your mouth *Hongkhotphinna man•chaaiyng khu•thipwachie sotmai mang sene man•symokno*. Not being able to come out again, when he closed his mouth, he swallowed the seven flies, it is said.

khu•tyisot- *v* to spit
khuchia *n* ANIM type of fish
khuchina *n* ANIM eel
khudal *n* ART hoe, chopper
khugyri *n* ART small basket made of bamboo and reed
khul *n* ART pillow stuffing
khuli *n* FOOD opium
khuli- *v* to open
khung *clf* classifier for flat things (and photos even when displayed on a computer screen) *tangka khung sa* one banknote *piktiyr khung sa* one photograph, picture
khung *n* BODY shell of a crab, tortoise etc., carapace
khup- ~ **khep-** ~ **khyp-** *v* to close, to cover, to put on clothes
khuru *clf* length from the top of the thumb to the top of the middle finger when one puts one's hand down on the table on these points
khurung *adj2* wanting to lay an egg
khurut- *v* to perform an incantation, to summon a spirit
khusep *n* BODY corner of the mouth
khusi dong- ~ **dong-** *v* to be happy
Ge•thengthengh khusi
dong•thamakaimyng gore
di•maichi phalthang cak diriga
sangwalaimyng watokno. They were so excessively happy that they forgot their own hands which were holding the horse's tail and they let go, it is said.
khutai *n* top (of a house)
khuthym- ~ **ku•tum** *v* to kiss
khutyi ~ **khuti** *n* BODY spittle, saliva, spit
khyi- *adj1* sour
khym- *v* to marry *Ue alsia rajae jykba myng• ni khymanoro.* That lazy king married two wives, it is said.
khymgaba *n* PERS spouse
khyn- *v* to pick up, to gather, to collect, *Tyipaichi sukyrung khynok ningdo.* We have gathered river snails in the Tyipai river. *Saw•aisa ha•khamchido khynna nangcha.*
Ha•khamchachido ha•khynchenga,

ha•khynmanwamungsa maisi khita. After burning the jungle, if the land is completely burnt, it is not necessary to collect the remaining unburnt jungle material. If the land is not burnt, we collect the unburnt jungle material from the land first, only after collecting it, we sow millet.

-khyngkhyng *adv* still, continuing *Ue ha•byriawe te•ewchina khyngkhyng Atong khu•chuksang Matsa Chaw•kyi Asetram myngwano.* We call that mountain up till now still *Matsa Chaw•kyi Asetram* in the Atong language, it is said. *Angdo te•ewrawrawdo isykynmi dukna khyngkhyngdo nemai mu•phaaidonga.* I am still well despite my continuing suffering.

khyp- *v* to take a bite

khyp- ~ **khup-** ~ **khep-** *v* to close, to cover, to put on clothes

khyryithang ~ **khyrythang** *n* KIN nephew

khyryk *n* ANIM louse (plural: lice)

khyw- *v* to drain, to shake out fluid

kilip ~ **kylip** *n* ART clip

kilomytyr *clf* kilometre

kingreng kingcheng *adv* like a chicken without a head, like crazy
Thot thyng•thot takwachina dabat sykromaimyng
khanetsigaaidongno. Bandi chakwatwamian chuwil chuwal takjolangokno. Taw•tokai watetwatykyi usang kingreng usang kingcheng takjoletarioknoti. He (Bandi) grasped her (Sore) and poured the liquor into her mouth to the last drop. When Bandi let go of her, her head was spinning. Like letting go of a beheaded chicken she ran around like a chicken without a head.

kirin *adj2* to be torn (of cloth and paper)

kirin- *v* to tear *Longpen kirinok.* The trousers are torn.

kitap *n* ART book

klas *n* PLACE class *Ando klas wan mangmangsaan dong•phaarikhuwa*. I have only gotten as far as class one.

ko•rot *n* PLANT sugarcane

kobi *n* PLANT cabbage

koila *n* SUBST coal

koilagari *n* ART coal truck

kok *n* ART basket

kokalang *n* PERS a bold person

kokbal *n* ART biggest basket used to store food in

kokbal *n* ART enormous basket made of bamboo and used to store rice and vegetables in the kitchen.

kokcheng *n* ART type of basket made of bamboo carried on the back with a strap around the head, smaller than a *koktang*.

koke *n* ANIM type of large gecko that lives in trees

kokpylak *n* PLANT chaff

koksep *n* big woven bamboo cage used to keep chicken in when they are sold on the market

koktang *n* ART big basket made of bamboo used to carry goods and worn on the back with a strap from the head

kol *n* ACT telephone call

Kol India *n* PLACE Coal India

kolachi ~ kolechyi *num* thirty

kolachita *n* PLANT *Momordica charantia*, bitter gourd, bitter lemon

kolani *n* PLACE colony

kom- *v* to feel like a loser *Angdo barataimying komok*. Me, being ashamed, I felt like a loser.

kombol *n* ART blanket

komok- *v* to feel insulted

kompiutyr *n* ART computer

komputer *n* ART computer

kompyl ~ kongpyl *adj2* to be bent
kun• kompyl a bent stick/the stick is bent

komyla *n* PLANT orange

kon• *adj1* winding

kong•- *v* to have rabies

kongkenaken *adv* zigzag, winding

kongpyl ~ kongpyl *adj2* to be bent
kun• kompyl a bent stick/the stick is bent

kongtoksi *n* PERS used in the expression *halsia kongtoksi* 'lazy person (pejorative)'

kontrektyr *n* PERS contractor

kopi *n* FOOD coffee

kopja *n* ART a hinge

koplak *n* BODY egg shell

korea *n* ART big metal pan

korok *num* six

korong ~ kyrong *n* BODY horn (of an animal)

koros *n* ACT expenses

korot *n* ART a saw

kri *postp* in accordance with, according to *Gam man•ni udo uan, tangka poisa. Uan gam mynga, dakangmi chasongdo. Te•ewsas kepasyti noai myngaidonga. Chasongna kri gam myngariaro, tangka poisa*. He will obtain wealth, money. Earlier generations called that "wealth". Now they call it "capacity". According to my generation this money is called "wealth".

krismas *n* TIME Christmas

kristan ~ kristen *n* PERS Christian

krymkraw *adv* together, in unison, in co-operation

ku•sum ~ khu•sum *n* ANIM tortoise

kukuri *n* ART type of knife with a blade with an obtuse angle used to survive in the jungle

kulal ~ kular ~ kural *n* ART axe

kuli- *v* to open

kun- *adj1* curly

kun• *clf* classifier for stick-like things
nokwek kun banga five brooms

kun• *n* ART a stick

kural ~ kular ~ kulal ~ kurar *n* ART axe

kurasak- *v* to promise

kusymang *n* BODY facial hair, beard, moustache

kutuuukutukutuk *interj* interjection to call a dog

kyi• *n* ANIM dog

kyi•wa *n* BODY canine teeth
kyimang *n* ANIM fruit fly
kyiryp ~ khirip *n* PLANT type of edible plant of which the leaves are mashed and dried and then cooked to pulp
kykgul *n* BODY eyelid
kyl- *v* to hide, to avoid
kylchap *n* PLANT cotton
kylip *n* ART a clip
kylip ~ kilip *n* ART clip
kyltuk *n* PLANT type of tree which, in the dry season, brings forth bunches of bright red and yellow beans with black seeds. The seeds, when eaten, make you sleepy.
kymkha *n* PLANT type of berry
kyn *n* BODY back *Ang nang•aw kyn kyn symni*. I will follow you closely.
kyndam *n* PLACE land behind a village
kyngjung- *v* to turn your back to someone *Angsang kynjungbo*. Turn your back to me.
kynkyreng *n* BODY spine
kynokhol *n* KIN son-in-law
kynpha- ~ kympha- *v* to be last, later *le sa•gyraido kynphaai phetdangok*. This child arrived last
kynphak- *v* to sleep in. *Rang wawamigymyn manaphci kynphakwa*. Because of the rain I slept in this morning.
kynsang *n* PLACE behind *nokapmyng kysang* behind the door
kynsang postp *Ytykyimying walchi rai•aphyinokno. Rai•aphin•aisa beanbebe phalthangmyng nokaw ge•thengdo ma•su di•myng phirinaimying ue sona bi•chamchymaw nok ryphiokno. Nok ryphiwamying kysangdo te•ew ge•theng nokawan alaga morotdyrangdo tengchypchypai nukariokno*. So then he came back at night, it is said. Having come back, having mixed it with cow dung, he plastered his house with the golden flakes, it is said. After

plastering his house now, other people saw how his house was shiny, it is said. *“Rang nemchengama na•nang chyw jamchenga” noai rangmu chyw ryngsusaai chyichie, range san chibri wawano. Umi kysang san khole san sa chyw ryngkhuanowa*. “Will the rain stop first or will we finish our liquor first?” they said and while competing in drinking with the rain, the rain fell for fourteen days, it is said. Thereafter they still drank liquor for twenty one days, it is said. *Phetangaidokno, dong•aidoknotyi, sane san chidok wal chidok re•engwami kysangsa*. He has arrived, it is said, he had reached his destination, to our surprise, it is said, after going for sixteen days and sixteen nights.

kysang *tw* PLACE later afterwards, *Kysangdo jyw•changna nangokno. Uchie jywchangna nangwachie matsa gorongtatoknotyi, maikapchi jywachi. Kysangdo matsado morotsyn man•aimyng rai•wilokno alsia rajado*. Later he had to stay the night somewhere, it is said. Then, when he needed to stay the night, he met a tiger when he was sleeping on the hay, it is said. Later, after the tiger had smelled the sent of a human, it walked in circles, it is said, around the lazy king.

kyp- *v* to fit tightly, to fit and close off
kyrewami ~ kyriwami *n* ABSTR danger

kyrong ~ korong *n* BODY horn (of an animal)

kyrydyl *n* PLANT type of liana that looks like a long arm with elbow joints as it hangs between trees

kyryi *n* ACT fear

kyryi- *vdad* to be afraid of *Ang mongmana kyryia*. I am afraid of elephants.

kyryiwa *n* ACT fear “*Bil! Bil! Ningdo nang•aw phina rai•wachym!*”
nookno. Uchie Bile: “Atakna?”
nookno. Ytykyimying phina
re•enggabadyrangba kyryiwa
ganang. “Bil! Bil! We have come
to invite you!” they said, it is said.
Then Bil said: “Why?”, it is said.
So then in turn, the ones that came
to ask were afraid.

kyryk- *v* to be clear, transparent

-kyrym *evsp* to V in a group *Taw•*
dang•kyrymangok, taw•nokchi. The
chickens have all entered their
coop.

kyrymkyraw *adv* united, together, in
cooperation

kyryng- *adj* tight *Usang, songga*
Manggagremi banthaidarangba
rai•aaithokaidongano,
Rakarelwakmadare,
Gyrynggyrang, Saljapang,
Aragundi, Motbanda,
Asyngduraparaba gumukan
rai•athokaidongano. Chakphong
gylgabasano, kara
khyrynggabararasano,
alamylachagabasano. They are all
coming to there, the young man
from the strange village of
Manggare: Rakarelwakmadare,
Gyrynggyrang, Saljapang,
Aragundi, Motbanda,
Asyngduraparaba, they are all
coming, it is said. They are men
with strong arms and tight veins all
over, it is said, they are not
ordinary men, it is said.

kyryng- *v* to make noise, to make a
sound

kyrynggaba *n* ABSTR sound, noised

kyryngwa *n* ACT sound, noise

kyryw *n* ART thin strip of bamboo
used to make rope, bamboo rope

kyw *interj* I am here! (answer to a
search call)

laha *n* SUBST resin

lain *clf* classifier for a collection of
objects lined up on shelves

laisak *n* PLANT cabbage

laisen *n* ART licence

lait *n* GEO/ART light

laktak- *v* to prod in an orifice or hole
for pleasure, to nag

-langlang *evsp* very

lap *n* ACT profit, interest, gain, value
Ha•gylsakaw chol takai chyichiba
nang•aw khymaido angdo mamying
lap ni•okte. When you try all sorts
of small jobs, it will not benefit me
to be married to you.

lap- *v* to gain, to make profit, to be
profitable *Ang tai•sa rajasa*
lapokchym, thyiok. I just made a
hundred rupees profit but I lost the
game. “*Atakgaba raja na•a angna*
gore lapchagabaaw watetwa”
nookno. “What kind of king are
you to send me a worthless
horse?”, he said, it is said.

lapan *n* PLANT pan/paan leaf

lapchagaba *n* PERS a good-for-
nothing

lapchagaba *adj* good-for-nothing,
unprofitable, worthless

las *n* ABSTR the last one

lathia *n* ANIM type of fish

law *n* PLANT cucumber-like vegetable

lechu *n* PLANT lychee

lekadaw•reng *n* ART kite

lekat- *v* to waste time *Na•a mai*
syw•khalna balwachymte. Na•a
te•ewchinaba lekataidongkhua.
You said that you would pound
some more rice. Until now you
have been waiting time and you are
still wasting time.

lekha *n* ART book, paper

leklek- *v* to prod in an orifice or hole

lengla *adv* crippled

lepstik *n* ART lipstick

letrin *n* PLACE toilet

lityr *clf* litre

lolal *n* ART roller

longpen *n* ART a pair of pants,
trousers, long pants, long trousers
Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen
kanai juta hilaw... The girl who
just went by wearing trousers and
shoes with high heels... *longpen*

khung sa a pair of pants, trousers, long pants, long trousers
loskor *n* PERS highest rank in the system of customary law of Garos, judge
lukchok ~ rukchok *n* ANIM type of frog
lukchokchok *n* ANIM type of small gecko that creeps up the walls of houses at night
lukpekpek ~ rukpek *n* ANIM type of frog
lukwak ~ rukwak *n* ANIM toad
m•m ~ hm•m *procl* no
ma *encl.cl/prtcl* question enclitic or particle
ma- *v* to lose *Sunglas palyngchi maak angdo*. I lost my sunglasses in the jungle.
ma• *inter* o.k., o.k. then, (very) well then (*Nepale*) “*Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•mi phal?*” (*Thengthone*) “*Ma• ytykchido dongarini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo*” *nooknoro*. (The Nepali) “But shall I go instead of you?” (*Theng•thon*) “Very well then, in that case, it will be most convenient, untie my hands”, he said, it is said.
ma•am- *v* to moan
ma•chong *n* PERS clan
ma•chot- *v* to be an orphan
ma•su *n* ANIM cow
ma•subolot *n* ANIM ox
ma•sugari *n* ART bullock cart
machak- *v* to be vengeful *Ang nang•aw machakaidonga* I am vengeful towards you.
machirit- *v* to scratch, to be scratched
machok *n* ANIM type of large deer
machot- *vphase* to finish, to end, to stop *Mongmaaw chaina sa•wa machotok*. I stopped eating to look at the elephant.
madam *n* PERS female teacher
magachak *n* ANIM type of small deer
magal *n* ANIM type of fish
magana- *v* to lose *Amakan rai•atkaimuna*: “*Mykhangba syma*

dymbrubru. Di•maiba raw•a dymbrubru” *noaimuna balatakokno. Rasong man•atakarokno hai•aw daw•khaaw, amakansega. Uchido*: “*Ho•ong, ho•ong, aak! aak!*” *noatakarongnote. Uchie byk galatokno rutido. Uawdosega pherusa kakkhypaimu sa•akno. Ytykimuna kysangdo daw•khado maganaak, sa•na man•anchakno*. The monkey cam: “Your face is black and shiny and you have a black and shiny tail.” he said, it is said. The crow became proud because of the monkey, it is said. Then the crow said: “Yes, yes! Caw! Caw!”, it is said. Then the bread fell down, it is said. The fox then grabbed it with its mouth and ate it, it is said. And so the crow had lost its bread and could not eat it any more, it is said.
magyna *adv* in vain
mahari *n* PERS relatives, family
mai *n* FOOD rice (cooked)
mai ~ mei *n* TIME May
mai•cheng *n* PLANT edible shrub with scented (nice smelling) leaves and soft thorns, (maybe related to *Zanthoxylum oxyphyllum*)
mai•tyi ~ mai•ti *n* FOOD juice from *ja•bek*
mai•wek *n* ANIM type of bird that is believed to call every time somebody comes to visit the village
maichek~ maichyk *n* FOOD cold rice
maidan *n* PLANT new rice (just harvested) *Mai mynokodo maidan syla toka*. When the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.
maigasam *n* FOOD meal eaten in the later part of the day or evening, dinner
maijyk ~ maimijyk *n* ANIM dragonfly
maijyreng *n* FOOD dried rice for the pigs

maijyren *n* FOOD leftovers of cooked rice dried in the sun used to feed the pigs
maikap *n* PLANT hay
maikholnang *n* PLANT unpeeled rice
maikhyt *n* FOOD burned rice
maikung *n* ACT second rice harvest (in November)
maimanap *n* FOOD meal eaten in the morning, breakfast
maimijyk ~ maijyk *n* ANIM dragonfly
mainym *clf* length from the elbow to the top of the fist
maip ~ mep *n* ART map
mairong *n* PLANT husked rice, uncooked rice
mairugu ~ meringgu ~ meringgaw ~ merenggaw *n* PLANT mushroom (edible)
maisai *n* FOOD meal eaten in the middle of the day, lunch
maisen *n* FOOD sticky rice in a banana leaf
maisi *n* PLANT millet
maityk *n* ART pot for cooking rice
maiwa• ~ mai•wa *n* PLANT bamboo shoot *mai•wa ~ maiwa• ching sa* one bamboo shoot
maja *tw* the day before yesterday, some time ago, in the recent past
makbul *n* ANIM bear
mal- *v* to be familiar, easy to deal with
mama *n* KIN mother's brother. Is also used to address an unrelated man older than the speaker in a respectful way, and to address my father-in-law.
mamylet *n* FOOD omelette
man *n* ACT respect *Ge•thengaw man ra•na nanga*. You have to respect him.
man- *v* to crawl, to creep *Khyryk khawchi manaidonga*. Lice are crawling in my hair. *Atongbatykyi ga•sokok aksokok hunthamakaimuna saphawba ha•khungchina mangatokno*. Somehow the rabbit, stumbling and

barely swimming, crawled onto the river bank, it is said.

-man• ~ -man *evsp* already V-ed
man•- *vB* to be able, to get, to obtain, to succeed *man•ai sa•-* to eat in great amounts, to be rich *Sa•gyrai rai•na man•a*. The child can walk *man•ai* in great amounts *Morot bilding chunggabaci mu•gaba man•ai sa•ak*. The man who lives in that big house is rich. *Uchian magachakdo biskutaw man•a man•a man•a man•a sa•aidokno*. Then the deer ate the biscuits in great amounts, it is said. *Ang baju kam man•ok* My friend got work/a job. *Kawbutungchi thik thokyrengaw man•okno*. When he shot [the giant eagle] he got it exactly in the neck.

man•ai *adv* in great amounts, see *man•-*

man•dapwami *n* ACT profit, interest, gain

man•dyk- *adj1* difficult, complicated, troublesome *Angdo gylgylongchawanasa te•ew nokchi rang waimu kam kha•na haratok, man•dykok kam kha•na*. As for me, precisely because I usually roam around now that it is raining, I've become reluctant to work, it's very difficult to work. Alternatively: It has become difficult to work.

man•symrukruk- *v* to inherit

manak- *adj1* dark

manam *n* ACT bad smell, stench

manam- *adj1* to stink *Di• manama*. Shit stinks.

manap *n* TIME morning

manap- *vØ* to be morning *Manapok*. It has become morning.

Manapnaka. It will soon be morning.

manapmi *adv* very early in the morning *Kynsangdo manapmi sirimynmyn re•engaimungna Dabatwarisang dinggarai saiakno*. Then, having gone to Dabatwari very early in the morning at the

break of dawn, [he] put up his fish traps, it is said.

mandal *n* PLANT erithrina superosastriata, type of tree with thorns and very red flowers which blossom in the late part of the dry season

mang- *clf* classifier for animals, knives and tools *bythyi mang sa* one porcupine *chaw•kyi ~ chang•kui mang sa* one big knife

manggywak *n* ANIM millipede

mangka *n* ANIM type of fish

mangkung *n* ANIM type of cricket

mangkyrang ~ mankyrang *n* ANIM scorpion

mangmang *adv* only, just, exclusively

-mangmang *evsp* only

mangneng- *v* to whine *Ytykyimu isangdo jykdo sa•do, sa•do jongdo mai okhaimu mangnengaidokno mangnengaidokno. Babado biba rai•naka?" noaidokno.* So then at home, because they got hungry, his wife and children are whining and whining, it is said. "When is dad coming back?" they are saying, it is said.

mangsong- *v* to plan

mani *n* KIN aunt: father's sister. Is also used to address your mother-in-law.

mani- *v* to worship *Ning songsyrekdo ning atongdo dakangdo mamyang thoromaw ni•wami somaichido waiaw mania.* We heathens, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, we worshipped spirits.

manjuri ~ manjyri *n* ART post, supporting post

mankyrang ~ mangkyrang *n* ANIM scorpion

mansylang *n* BODY spleen

mantaw *n* PLANT type of gourd

mantawbylati *n* PLANT tomato

mantawthai *n* PLANT type of vegetable

mars *n* TIME March

mastel *n* PERS male teacher

mat *n* ANIM wild animal

mat *n* BODY a wound

mat- *v* to be sharp, to be wounded, to (be able to) wound, to (be able to) cut

matdi *n* ANIM wild water buffalo

mathai ~ ma•thai *n* ANIM bachelor elephant

matji ~ maji *n* PLACE middle *Ang Sandishmyng Bittermyng matjichi mu•aidonga.* I'm sitting in between Sandish and Bitter.

Ang gumukmyng matjichi mu•aidonga. I'm sitting in the middle of everybody.

matpalyng *n* ANIM wild animal

matrong *n* ANIM jungle goat

matsa *n* ANIM tiger

matsadu *n* PERS/ANIM creature which is human during the day and becomes a tiger at night

mausa *n* PERS friendly name to call a person

mawkhoh *n* PLANT bark (of a tree)

mawsa ~ mosa *n* KIN 1. marriageable male cousin: the child of *mama* 'mothers brother' and *anay* 'father's sister' or of *away* 'father's younger brother' and *asay* 'mothers younger sister', 2. the relation of male cousins from intermarriageable families, 3. a male friend belonging to an intermarriageable family

me•ama *n* PERS married woman

me•apha *n* PERS married man

me•maNkyi ~ mi•mangkyi *n* ANIM type of small frog that says *pekpekpekpek*

me•mang ~ mi•mang *n* PERS ghost, spirit of a dead person *me•mang saw•et-* ceremony performed a year after someone's death. The spirit of the dead person then leaves the house and goes to *Balphakram*.

me•mangguchung *n* PLANT type of liana, woody vine that grows in the jungle as winding branch with an undulating pattern twirling itself around other trees for support. The

name of this plant translates as 'ghost ladder'

me•mangkereng *n* ANIM stick insect, walking stick, phasmadotea

me•mangkoksi ~ mi•mangkoksi *n* PLANT pitcher plant

me•mesi *n* ANIM flying insect

mei ~ mai *n* TIME May

mejakbal *n* ANIM alligator

Mekalaia *n* PLACE Meghalaya

mel•- *adjl* fat (of person)

melanggaw *n* ANIM poisonous red or black ant

memaboro *n* PLANT type of nice smelling rice

memaboro *n* PLANT nicely smelling type of rice

menpart *n* PERS most important or most salient person

mep ~ maip *n* ART map

meringgu ~ meringgaw ~ merenggaw ~ mairugu *n* PLANT mushroom (edible)

mes *n* ANIM sheep

-mi ~ -myng *encl.phr* genitive enclitic

mi•mang ~ me•mang *n* PERS ghost, spirit of a dead person *me•mang saw•et-* ceremony performed a year after someone's death. The spirit of the dead person then leaves the house and goes to *Balphakram*.

mi•mangkoksi ~ me•mangkoksi *n* PLANT pitcher plant

mi•mangkyi ~ me•maNkyi *n* ANIM type of small frog that says *pekpekpekpek*

mili- *v* to assemble, to meet, to come together, to be appropriate

milimityr *clf* millimetre

mimi- *v* to laugh at someone *Ie biphae gawigumukaw mimia*. This guy is laughing at all the girls.

miniksuru- *v* to be flat-haired (of animals) *Magachakmi myn•do tyisiwachian miniksuru takjolarianoro*. When the deer's fur is wet, it just quickly gets flat-haired, it is said.

mirang *n* ANIM neck feathers of chicken

mistryi *n* PERS mason, house builder and painter

miting *v* to hold a meeting

Bai•sigathangmaran myng•tham mitingaidoknowa. The friends are holding a meeting, it is said.

Dakanggabado jinerall mitingchengni. *Umungsa song gumuk thom•aimung ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow sowalni*. First they will start with a general meeting. Then the whole village comes together and they will divide the *ha•ba* plot by plot.

mityr *clf* metre

mmmm mmmm *onom* the sound of an eagle

mo *encl.cl/prtcl* confirmative tag enclitic or particle. "Tyt!

di•phuram•ama?" nookno.

"ho•ong manamaidongmo" "Hey! did you just accidentally fart?" he, said, it is said. "Yes, it stinks, doesn't it." *Tan•manokona thyiok udo, mo*. Because they had cut him up, he died, that one, isn't.

mobail *n* ART mobile phone

mobil *n* SUBST motor oil, engine oil

mochok *n* PLANT sapling

moila *n* SUBST dirt, filth

moina *n* ANIM type of bird

mojekjek- *v* to shake (a fixed object)

mojet- ~ mojot- *v* to suck

mon *clf* unit of 40kg *mon sa* one unit of 40kg

monggolbal *n* TIME Tuesday

mongma *n* ANIM elephant

mongmachong• *n* ANIM caterpillar

mongmachong•su *n* ANIM giant caterpillar

mongnal *n* PLANT lotus

mongyrenng *n* ART knife

monok- *v* to swallow, to devour

Goilapan chym•aimu monokbo.

After chewing the betel nut and paan, swallow it. *Sa•gyrai*

mylgabami dadadarangawdo

janggalawan monokokno. *Phylgym*

chunggaba monokrumokno myng•

korokawan. As for the brothers of

the small child, they were devoured, it is said. The big eagle had devoured them all, the six of them.

montyri *n* PERS minister

morot *n* PERS person, human, human being, man

morot- *v* to grate

mosa ~ mawsa *n* KIN 1. marriageable male cousin: the child of *mama* 'mothers brother' and *anai* 'father's sister' or of *away* 'father's younger brother' and *asyi* 'mothers younger sister', 2. the relation of male cousins from intermarriageable families, 3. a male friend belonging to an intermarriageable family

mot- *v* to shake a fixed object

-mu• *evsp* durative: to keep V-ing,

mu•- *v* to stay, to sit (be in sitting position), to sit down, to be at, to live somewhere *Phylgymdo nukanchano. Atongba sa•ai mu•arongno*. The giant eagle did not see [him]. He was sitting and eating something. *Dakangdo Dawa maharisa ichi mu•wanokhone*. Perhaps in the past the Dawa family lived here, it is said. *Chokichi mu•bo*. Sit down on the chair. *Dakanggaba Turachi mu•wachi Mobbinaw gorongwa*. The first time I stayed in Tura I met Mobbin.

mu•chonchyro- *v* to squat *Gari hapalchi mu•chonchyroai chaibo*. Look under the car squatting.

mu•dap- *v* to sit on

mu•khuchok *n* BODY nipple

mu•peng- *v* to prevent

mu•pyret- *v* to crush by sitting on something

mu•rong- *v* to shit on

mu•ten- *v* to look after, to watch, to keep company

mu•thai *n* BODY breast (of woman), bosom *mu•thai hal-* to breastfeed

muchu *n* ANIM type of fish

muchot *n* ANIM mouse, rat

Abeknyng•chi muchot sa•gyrai mang byryi chepchap chepchap parawthokaidonga. Inside the *abek* are four baby mice squeaking eek eek.

mudu *n* PLANT papaya

muja *n* ART sock

muk- *v* to smoke

mukthai *n* ABSTR asperity, protrusion

mula *n* PLANT white radish

muluwa• *n* ART type of bamboo

mungmawa *n* BODY elephant tusk

muni *n* ACT magic spell *Ma•*

pynwasama muni ma• ang mykrenaw, ma• nang•chi ganang atongba jadu. (Wylseng S Marak)

Whether my eyes are covered by a magic spell, you have something magical.

mura *n* ART stool (to sit on)

muri *n* FOOD popped rice

musuri *n* ART mosquito net

mychym- *v* to smile at someone *Gawi angaw mychymaidok*. A girl is smiling at me.

myia *tw* yesterday

myk *clf* the length from the elbow to the top of the middle finger

myk- *v* to tell lies

mykbu- *v* to be jealous

mykbryw- *v* to have itchy eyes

mykcha- *v* to like somebody

mykchagaba *n* PERS sweetheart, girl or boy that you fancy

mykchel- *v* to shine in the eyes

mykchep- *v* to look down upon, to despise, to scorn *Atakna nang•do angaw mykchepa?* Why do you despise me?

mykep *n* BODY temple

mykgythal *n* ABSTR reality

Mykgythaldo dong•cha jyw mangsa. It's not reality, it's just a dream.

mykha badri *n* GEO long period of incessant heavy rainfall *Ue hapchi mu•wachi rangmu chyw ryngsusawanasa Ha•chyk khu•chuksang mykha badri noyi*

myngwano.

Te•echinakhyngkhyngba Ha•chyk songgumukdo mykha badri noaria je rangawba. Ytykchiba ie Badri joldo asingkatiba septembyr oktobolmi rangawsa mikha badriwa asing badri kati marsatwa noyi mynga. Ramram rangawdo mykha badri myngcha.

Umigymynsa ie hapawe Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai noanowa, aro rangawba mykha badri myngwanowa. When they stayed in that place to hold the drinking competition with the rain, they called it *mykha badri* in Garo. Until now all Garo villages call any rain *mykha badri*. But the Badri area calls only the rains in September and October *mykha badri marsat*. Ordinary rain is not called *mykha badri*. That's why this place is called Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said, and the rain is also called *mykha badri*, it is said.

mykhal- *v* to be older than someone
Ge•theng ang mykhalgaba. He is my elder.

mykhang *n* BODY/PLACE face, front
Kyi• nok mykhangchi mu•aidonga. The dog is sitting in front of the house. *Arong nokma chaikhawwachi, Arong nokmamying mykhangaw khiaimyng thyiokno.* When headman Arong peeked, headman Arong's face was hit and he died, it is said.

mykhang- *v* to face *Isang mykhangbo.* Face this way. *Mykhangrukbo.* Face each other. *Ang ge•thengsang mykhangaidong.* I'm facing him.

mykhi ~ mykkhi *n* BODY slime from the eyes

mykjiwym- *v* to doze off

mykphylyp- *v* to blink with your eyes

mykrak- *v* to hold a wake (often used with the incorporated noun *wal* 'night') *Wa•gaba thyigabana sa•dyrangba jyw•gabamyng wal mykrakaidonga.* The children and

the mother are holding a wake for the dead father.

mykraket- *v* to warn *Ang nang•aw mykraketarong.* I'm warning you.

mykren ~ mykyren *n* BODY eye
mykren wa•thok songruk- to look attentively

myksep *n* BODY corner of the eye

myksolkhare *n* BODY ring finger

myksong- *v* to plan, to intend *Ang kymna myksongarongchym ytykchiba man•ni ma man•chabai kymna.* I intend to get married but maybe I will not be able to.

myksu- *v* to wash your face *Angdo phangnan ja sa•aimyng myksua.* I always wash my face after getting up.

myksymyl *n* BODY eyebrow

myksyram *n* BODY eyelash

mykthoram *n* BODY middle finger

myktoksi *n* PLANT plant with beautiful white flowers with a yellow heart that look like big jasmine flowers

myktyi *n* BODY tear *myktyi thothak ni* two tears/two teardrops

myktyiwatram *n* BODY side of the hand under the index finger

mykyren ~ mykren *n* BODY eye

myl- *adj* small

mylthai *n* BODY small bosom *Rong sa mylthai, rong sa chungthai.* One big bosom, one small bosom. *Phak sa mylthai, phak sa chungthai.* On one side a big bosom on the other a small bosom.

mym• clf classifier for fists and things that are like a fist

mym• *n* BODY a fist (counted without classifier)

mym•- *v* to be like a fist

myn- *v* to be ripe, to be cooked, to be ready *Mai mynokodo maidan syla toka.* When the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival. *Ie panchung mynkhucha.* This jackfruit is not yet ripe. *Ja•bek mynok.* The curry is ready.

myn• *n* BODY body hair (of human), fur (of animal)

myn•sym- *v* to be hairy with small hairs

myn•tyi *n* BODY/PLANT pus; rosin; latex of jackfruit, thick fluid of various fruits *Myn•tyi gumukan takapa*. All thick fluids of plants are sticky./All pus is sticky.

myng- *clf* classifier for spoken things, games and for the word *bostu golpho myng sa* one story *khata myng ni* two words *bostu myng tham* three things

myng- *v* to call someone/somebody a name *Wiliamnagalaw symsanggre noai mynga*. Williamnagar used to be called Symsanggre. *Angmi bimung Braiton myngwa*. My name is Braiton. *Angmyng amaaw Goje M Sangma myngwa*. My mother is called Goje M Sangma.

-myng ~ -mi *encl.phr* genitive enclitic

-myng ~ -mung ~ -mu *encl.phr* comitative enclitic

-myng ~ -mung ~ -mu ~ -mungna ~ -muna *encl.cl* sequential clausal enclitic

myng•- *clf* classifier for persons *myng• thamkhua* there are still six persons left

mynga- to call upon someone or something *Kambaisangmi wai nukchido dyngthang khuruta. Cha•masangmi wai nukchido dyngthang khuruta. Mani myngwaan, hapawan dyngthangdyngthang myngaa, thokthok myngaa. Ie cha-masangmi wai khurutchido ue hyisangmiaw Banggladesmi thyl• Kongosmi jaria ha•gyrsakgumukawan myngani*. If you see the upstream spirit, a different incantation if performed, if you see the downstream spirit, a different incantation is performed. As for what we call the worshipping, different places are called upon, they are called upon according to the devision. When

[he] summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the influence of Kongos, all of them.

myngkhelek- *v* to call somebody by a nickname *Ang nang•aw Matsumoto myngkheleka*. I call you by the nickname Matsumoto.

myngkheleka *n* ACT nickname

myrumyru *adv* not clearly

myryng myryng *adv* barely *Hyiawchi ha•banokba ganang, myryng myryng nuketaria*. There is also a rice field house, it is barely visible.

myt- *v* to extinguish *Wal• mytok*. The fire is out.

myte *n* ABSTR deity, god

mythel- *v* to thank, to appreciate *Anga nang•tymaw mythelbiok*. I thank you very much.

na- *v* to hear

-na ~ -ona *encl.phr* dative enclitic

-naN *evsp* V in a beautiful or nice way

na• *n* ANIM fish

na•chan *n* ANIM firefly

na•cheng *n* ANIM river shrimp

na•garang *n* ANIM type of electric fish

na•gungphel *n* ANIM type of fish

na•jek *n* ANIM type of fish

na•kha *n* ANIM type of fish

na•lam *n* ANIM type of blue, purple river fish that tastes particularly good when prepared in a bamboo cylinder (see *bering-*)

na•luk *n* ANIM tadpole

na•matsa *n* ANIM type of fish

na•nang *ppron* we, first person plural inclusive

na•nyl *n* ANIM electric eel

na•pat *n* ANIM type of fish

na•phok *n* ANIM type of fish

na•rong *n* ANIM type of fish

na•ru *n* ANIM type of fish

na•rym *n* ANIM type of fish

na•rymkhu *n* ANIM type of fish

na•sak *n* ANIM type of red fish

na•saw *n* FOOD fermented fish

na•wachak *n* ANIM type of fish
na•wak *n* ANIM type of fish
nabak *n* ART knot
nadanggorot *n* BODY oesophagus
nadekaram *n* BODY earlobe
nagok *adj*2 deaf
nai• *n* KIN aunt: fathers sister
nai•nokhol *n* KIN mother-in-law,
 addressed as *mani*
naija *tw* next year, at some time in the
 far future
nak- *adj*1 black
-naka ~ -ka *sfx* imperious future or
 certain future suffix
nakamai *n* ART small basket to sow
 rice from
nakhal *n* BODY ear *nakhal sam sa*
 one ear
nakhal cha•dan *n* BODY part of the
 head behind the ear
nakhong *n* BODY backside of the ear
nakhung *n* BODY nose *nakhung goi•*
sa one nose
nakhungkhal *n* BODY nostril
nakhungkhal ni two nostrils
nakhungmyn• *n* BODY nose hair
nakung *n* BODY nose; snot (liquid)
nakung di• *n* BODY hard piece of
 snot
nal- *v* to gorge, to stuff your face
nalangtaupal *n* ANIM type of fish
nalbas *adv* nervous
nalsasang *n* LOC the other side
namakai ~ nakamai *n* ART small
 basket used to sow rice out of
nambal ~ nombol *n* ABSTR number
namchyk *n* KIN niece
namgaba *n* KIN niece
namnokhol *n* KIN daughter-in-law
nang- *v* to bear fruit
nang- *v* to need, to have to, must
nang•ppron you (singular), second
 person singular
nang•tym *ppron* you, second person
 plural
nangchomot- *adj*1 important
nanggandai *adv* naked
nanggandai *n* PERS naked person
nanggodolong *n* PERS naked person
nangthaigaba *n* BODY swelling

nangthaigaba *n* BODY abscess
-nap *evsp* V with all your heart
napit *n* PERS hairdresser
narang *n* PLANT orange
narot *n* PLANT type of edible tuber
narykel *n* PLANT coconut
narykeltyi *n* PLANT coconut milk
narykhel *n* PLANT coconut
nasi- *v* to suffer from a loud noise or
 sound *Kyi• parawchido ang nasia.*
 When the dog barks I suffer from
 the loud sound.
nat- *v* to scrub, to scour, to clean by
 scrubbing, to remove by scrubbing
Wa natbo. Brush your teeth. *Nang•*
nonoe tyigatchi nataidok. Your
 younger sister is washing the
 dishes at the water place.
natheng *n* BODY side of the head
nathym- *v* to listen to
naw *n* KIN younger sister. Is also used
 to address a younger female cousin
 or an unrelated woman younger
 than the speaker
naw- *v* to scold *Angawe amaparae*
nawba nawnaka tokba toknaka.
 The people in my mother's house
 will certainly scold me and beat
 me. *Angdo Tura re•engni,*
dongchachido angaw baba nawni.
 I will go to Tura, otherwise father
 will scold me.
nawang *n* PERS retard, half-brain,
 fool, stupid, confused person
nawchak *n* ANIM type of fish
nawmyl *n* PERS marriageable girl
nawsyri *n* KIN sister-in-law: younger
 brothers wife
ne *encl.cl/prtcl* affirmation seeking tag
 enclitic or particle *Uchi Nepaldo:*
"Na•a ang ma•su mang rajasaaw
tynangsegabone" nookno. "Ym"
noaimyng Theng•thonba
tynangokno. Then the Nepali said:
 "You lead my hundred cows away,
 ok?" "Yes", he said and
 Theng•thon led them away, it is
 said. *Nemai re•engbo bai•siga, ne.*
 Go carefully, my fiend, ok?
ne• *n* ANIM bee

ne•kat *n* ANIM type of bee
ne•kattuhp ~ nekhathup *n* ART hive, bee's nest
ne•wal *n* ANIM type of bee
Nedyran *n* PLACE The Netherlands, Dutch
nek- *adjl* close, near *Rame tyi nekokno*. The road is very close to the water. Literally: As for the road, the water is very near.
neksem- *adjl* to be very near
nem- *adjl* good
nemen *adv* very "*Te•ew wen sa rypa nang•do nemen synaka*" *noaidongano pherue*. "If you go into the water once more you will certainly be very beautiful" said the fox, it is said.
nemgyini *n* ABSTR advantage, good fortune, good luck
nemnuk- *v* to like
neng- *adjl* tired
neng•- *vsec* to lack, to fail to *Ha•chamai Bandi, byl neng•chiba chak neng•chiba iaw ryngetphabo!* Take this sweetheart Bandi, when you lack strength, when your hands are tired, drink this! *Wak rakhiwami gesepchian de•thenge maimynawan man•ai sa•na neng•okno*. When he was herding pigs, he could not eat a lot of rice.
neng•tak- *v* to rest
nengtak- ~ ningtak- *v* to take a rest, stop for a while
Nepal *n* PERS/ACT/PLACE Nepali (person and language), Nepal (country)
nesynyl haiwe *n* PLACE national highway
net *n* ART medium size basket worn on the waist to put in the harvested rice
ni *num* two
-ni *sfx* non-certain future modality suffix
-ni ~ -nyi *encl.phr* without *Chininyi-cha takbo*. Make tea without shugar.

ni•- ~ **nyi•-** *v* negative
 locative/existential verb, to not exist, to not be *na•a mykcha kha•galwa ni•wama ganang?* Do you have someone you fancy, someone you love or not? *Ning songsyrekdo ning atongdo dakangdo mamying thoromaw ni•wami somaichido waiaw mania*. We pagans, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, we worshipped spirits. *Somaido nyi•ok* There's no time left.
ni•et- *v* to switch off, to turn off *Lait ni•etbo*. Switch off the light!
ni•wa *interj* nothing
niam *n* ACT custom, law, tradition
ning *ppron* we, first person plural exclusive
ning *ppron* we, us, first person plural
nisi- *v* to poison *Sanarai sa•chido ang nang•aw nisina man•chaka*. If you eat a centipede, I will certainly not be able to poison you.
-no *encl.cl* quotative clausal enclitic *Song damsachi morot myng• sa man•ai sa•bigyba ganangnochym*. In a village was supposedly a very rich man, it is said.
no- *v* to say
nobembyl ~ nobembol *n* TIME November
noga *n* ART tree-house
nok *n* PLACE house *nok tham* three houses
nokap *n* ART door
nokbanthai *n* PLACE bachelors' house. Before Christianity each village had a Bachelors' house for every clan that lived in the village. In this house lived young, unmarried men. They would practice fighting, hunting, singing, story telling and all kinds of things that young men would have to learn before getting married. Women and members of other clans were not allowed to enter the bachelors' house.

nokchama *n* KIN the relationship of the parents of a married couple
nokchol *n* ART door, entrance
nokdang *n* ABSTR the family that live together in one house
nokgaba *n* PERS landlord, house owner, God
nokhap *n* PLACE level piece of land on which a house is built
nokhap *n* ART door
nokhol ~ nokhor *n* PERS slave
nokhung ~ nukhung ~ nokkhung *n* ART roof
nokma *n* PERS village headman, rich man *Dakangmi somaido ning sa•gyrai mylbutungchido nokma nogado man•ai sa•gasa, gam pang•gasa nokma mynga*. As for the past, when we were small children, a so called *nokma* was a wealthy person, only someone with a lot of wealth was called *nokma*.
nokphandai *n* PLACE bachelors' house
nokphin- *v* to return home *Nokphinniba utymdo*. They will return home.
noksam *n* ART wall of a house, the piece of ground where a house is built on *Noksamchi simen, tota, tin pirinai hama*. They build the walls of their houses with a mix of cement, planks and corrugated iron. *Nang• baba noksamchi tangka gopgaba ganangno*. Under your father's house lies buried money, it is said.
noktapa *n* ANIM type of small gecko that creeps up the walls of houses at night
nokthai *n* ART small house next to the main house
nokwek *n* ART broom (for sweeping) *nokwek kun tham* three brooms
nokweng *n* ART floor
nol *n* ART fenced enclosure
nom- *adj* soft, weak, easy *Dam nom•a*. It's cheap. "**Raja! Nang• damaw cho•sa ie ang baisigathang pheru tam•nano**"

noai takaidongano. Ytykyimying **kan•taraaw "Tam•bono tam•bono"** noai tanangarioknoe magachakdo. Ytykyimying **tam•ai chaichie te•do byirakhem hongkotruruaimu kaksyrangokno pheruawdo. No•mangaidokno udo.** Ytykyimying **jalangthiriokno magachakdo**. "O King, can my friend the fox play a bit on your drum?", he pretended to say, it is said. "Go ahead and play, go ahead and play!", the deer pretended that the king said, it is said. So then, when he tried to play it, the bees all came out and bit the fox all over, it is said. The fox became weak, it is said. So then the deer ran away again, it is said.

nombok- *v* to be unconscious, to be tired after eating a lot *Tai•sa nombokok*. A little while ago he was unconscious. *nombok thyibok* almost dead

nombol ~ nambal *n* ABSTR number
nong- *v* to apply, to put (on the skin or body, like a cream or medicine), to smear, to spread, to crush and smear out *Khu•chul pisak nongwa lepstik* She has put lipstick on her red lips. *Ja•ryt chamussang nongaidong*. I'm crushing and smearing out the chillies with a spoon.

nono *n* KIN younger sister. Is also used to talk about or address a related younger female of your generation: cousin, to address a young unrelated female person younger than the speaker.

norok *n* LOC hell

nosto dong- *v* to be damaged

nuk- *v* to see, to look like, to find *Uchie phylgym chunggabaaw nukokno*. Then he saw a very big eagle, it is said. *Ie kuy• matsatykyi nuka*. This dog looks like a tiger. *Sa•banthaigaba noaian tynganchakno. Kan•jotokno*.

Morottykyi nukanchakno. He did not recognise his so called son, it is said. He was very skinny, it is said. He did not look human any more.
Nang• Atonggawiaaw sylai nukama?
 Do you find Atong girls pretty?

nukcham- *v* to see into the future
nukhu *n* PLACE courtyard
nukhung ~ nokhung ~ nokkhung *n* ART roof
nygyl *n* PLACE market
nygyltyi *n* TIME week *nygyltyi sa tyi ni* one week or two *Nygyltyi rai•agadyrangchi rai•ani.* He will come sometime next week.
nygyktyityi every week
-nyi ~ -ni *encl.phr* without
Chininyi-cha takbo. Make tea without sugar.
nyi• ~ ni•- *v* to not exist *Mamung tangka ni•wa aro sa•na ryngnaba ni•wa* I don't have any money and nothing to eat or drink. *Ang sa•grai ni•wa.* I don't have children.
nyng *n* KIN aunt: fathers sister
nyng• *n* PLACE inside
nyng•tyw- *v* deep
o *interj* Oh! This interjection can be pronounced long to indicate acknowledgement.
obosta *n* ACT event
odek *n* PERS baby
-odo ~ -do *encl.phr.cl* topic enclitic
ogynang- ~ oknak- ~ oknang- *v* to be pregnant
ogynanggaba ~ okgynanggaba *n* BODY pregnancy
oi *interj* interjection to draw someone's attention
ok *n* ACT hunger
-ok ~ -ak ~ -k *sfx* perfective aspect suffix
okgynanggaba ~ ogynanggaba *n* BODY pregnancy
okha- *v* to be full after eating
okhi- *v* to be hungry *Mai okhiedok angdo.* I'm hungry. Alternative spelling: *Mai okhiaidok angdo.*
okhynyng- *v* to break a round hollow object in half (not lengthwise, i.e.

the result is a cross section, see *thong•*)
okma *n* BODY the front of the body
Nawgabaaw ja•nawgaba okmachi ba•aidok. The elder sister is carrying her younger sister on the front of her body.
okmyng- *v* to starve
oknak- ~ ogynang- ~ oknang- *v* to be pregnant
oktobyl *n* TIME October
ol- *v* to speak, talk
oltho ~ ortho *n* ABSTR meaning
-ona ~ -na *encl.phr.cl* dative enclitic
ong *n* ANIM wasp
ong•ang *n* ANIM big edible frog
ongang *n* ANIM type of frog
opis ~ ophis *n* PLACE office
opiser ~ ophiser *n* PERS officer
ortho ~ oltho *n* ABSTR meaning
Ostyalia *n* PLACE Australia
oto *n* ART auto rickshaw
otorewain *n* ACT auto rewind
otyk *n* PLACE bottom of ravine or cliff
pa•- *adj1* low, plain, flat, thin (of things)
pa•- *v* to perch *Sympak cunggabachi phylgym pa•ai mu•sawaidongano.* The eagle is perching in a *sympak* tree.
pa•- *vsec* to dare *San nidyrang dong•phinaidok, nang• noksang rai•anado pa•chong•motchaaidokkhon"*
nookno. It has been two days and maybe he really does not dare to come to your house.
pai- *v* to carry by hand *Banggal myng• sa biskut chyrymbiai paiaidonganote.* A Bengal is carrying a heavy load of biscuits.
Ue alsia rajae jykba myng• ni kymanoro. Ytykyimying jykba myng• nian sa•naba jyk paithumna nangano, jywnaba jyk paina nangano. That lazy king was married to two wives, it is said. So then, as for these wives, the two of them, when he eats his wives have

to carry him on their hands, and when he sleeps his wives have to carry him on their hands, it is said.

pai- *vdat* to support, to tolerate *Ang khol rangsanna paicha*. My skin does not tolerate the sun. *Uchisa matsana makbulna mongmana paichaaimumg byldyng byldang jalna ha•bachengok*. Then, not bearing the bears and elephants any more, they started to run away all over the place.

paila *n* ART scale (for weighing)

paip *n* ART water pipe

paitaw- *v* to lift up

pakara ~ **pakya** *n* PLANT stalk of a fruit, cord for *kukuri*

pakyl *n* ART centre strap of a sandal

pal *n* PLANT flower *Pal man•ok*. The flower is blossoming. *pal mochoka* a flower bud

pal- *v* to bloom *Pan palaidonga*. The tree is in bloom.

palak *n* ART bamboo spoon: piece of bamboo split in half and used to stir

palengma *n* PLANT *Barebina-xariegata*, tree with beautiful white flowers that smell very nice like magnolia and are edible

palong *n* ART bed

pan *clf* classifier for apparatus, appliances, mechanical and electrical things, cars, bikes, bicycles, mortars and umbrellas *gari pan sa* one car *radio pan sa* one radio *satha pan sa* one umbrella *thep pan sa* one tape, *tibi pan sa* one TV, *asam pan tham* three mortars

pan *n* PLANT tree, firewood *pan phan sa* one tree *pan dot sa* one log

pan•pyrak- *v* to cut breadth wise

panachol *n* PLANT mushroom (not edible)

panbai *n* PLANT firewood

panchak *n* PLANT leaf

panchoka *n* PLANT small log

panchong *n* PLANT tree trunk

panchung *n* PLANT jackfruit

panchungchong•su *n* ANIM type of black hairy caterpillar that lives on jackfruit trees

panchyksi *n* PLANT twig *panchyksi goi• sa* one twig

pang•- *adjl* a lot, many

pang•wami *n* ABSTR quantity, abundance

pangkol *n* PLANT guava

pangkywal *n* PLANT guava

pangrym *n* PLANT jungle thicket

panju *n* PLANT firewood

pankhol *n* PLANT bark (of a tree)

pannok *n* wood shed

panphek *n* PLANT sapling, young tree

pansok *n* PLANT end of a branch where the tree grows

panthai *n* PLANT type of fruit

pantiki *n* SUBST wood chip

pape *n* ANIM tokkeh, type of gecko

papol *n* FOOD pasta

papret- *v* to throw to death

-para *encl.phr* associative plural enclitic, X and company, X and those associated with him/her

parang *n* PLANT/ART reed, thatch

parang *v* to wander, to go astray

-parang *evsp* V without destination, V without goal, V aimlessly

parap- *v* (too) salty

paraw- *v* to call (of animal), to shout (of animal and human)

parawchyrik- *v* to shout loudly *Morot sorokchi kepai parawchyrikaidong*. The man was shouting loudly on the road because he was angry.

-pat *evsp* V across

pat- *v* to cross *Sikhar kha•na re•engokno re•engokno re•engokno*. *Tyikhal goi•saaw patna nangokno*. They went hunting, they went and went. Then they had to cross a river.

patal ~ **phatal** ~ **phathal** ~ **pathal** *n* GEO stone

patyl *n* ART slingshot

paw•- *v* to agree

paw•jong *n* KIN elder brother. Is also used to address an older male

cousin or a man older than the speaker.

pawai *n* ART bowl or its volume, bowlful classifier for curries
"Atong ja•bek sa•ak?" "Alu na•saw pawai sa, taw•khirip pawai sa." "What curry did you eat?" "Potatoes with fermented fish and chicken with *khirip*."

pawdyr *n* SUBST powder, baby powder

peel ~ **pheel dong-** ~ **dong-** *v* to fail
Ge•theng lekha nemai poreancha, ytykimu poreka peel dong•ok. He did not study the book well, so then he failed his exam.

-pek *encl.phr* distributive enclitic

pek- *v* to be drunk *pekok* drunk

pekset *clf* classifier for packets *Sigyret*
pekset sa ganangkhuama? Do you still have a packet of cigarettes?

peking ~ **pheking** *n* ACT luggage, packing

pel- *v* to fuck

pelang *adj*2 flat

peleng- ~ **pe•leng-** *v* to deflate

pen *n* ART pen

peng- *v* to prevent, to block, to hinder

peng- *v* to curse *Takgaba*
Rywgabasang Phatigaba
Rarongabasang phalthang peng•ai tananggabaaw ra•phinkha•na dengetkha•na. The supreme god wanted to lift the curse that he himself had put [on the village].

pereng- *adj*1 straight

-peret *avsp* to V open, to V so that it splits (open)

peret- *v* to split, to cut in half, to crack, to explode

pering- *v* to be straight

pering tongtong *adv* straight

-pha *evsp* V also, V in addition, V along with, V together (S/O quantifier)

pha- *v* to dare *"Noksang rai•naba pha•phinchaaaidok. Jebadong anga takruksyranagarinaka."* Matsami *cha•phungaw wang•joloknoaro, alsia rajae.* "I don't dare to go

home. Anyway, I will just fight to the end" He bit the tiger on the thigh, it is said, the lazy king.

pha•at- ~ **pha•et-** *v* to apply, to put on, to put on a wound, to apply to a wound *Sambanggyri akaiokno, tokdepdepaimu pha•atokno.* He plucked *sambanggyr*, crushed it and put it on the wound, it is said.
Jyw•gaba sa•garaiaaw di•thap pha•etaidonga. The mother is putting a diaper on the child.

phagongma ~ **phagungma** *n* BODY shoulder

phai- *v* to break, to translate

phai•thong- *v* to break a solid object in half (not lengthwise, i.e. the result is a cross section, see *thong•*)

phaikana ~ **paikhana** *n* PLACE toilet

phaithawa *n* BODY cheek

phak *clf* classifier for halves of objects cut lengthwise

phak *n* SHAPE side, half which is the result of a longitudinal section or a cut along the length

-phak *evsp* V lengthwise, V for a little while, V by the side of something

phak- *v* to throw out, to empty

phakphaklak- *v* to spill

phakset- *v* to throw away (for solid substances and things)

phakwal *n* BODY armpit

phal *n* PLACE share, shift of work, instead of *Ang re•engsigama nang•mi phal?* Shall I go instead of you?

phal- *v* to sell *Ang ie narykhel te•en nygylsang raangaimyng phalni.* I will bring these coconuts to the market and sell them later.

phal•ak *n* ART piece of old cloth used to clean things

phal•ap *n* PERS whore, prostitute

phalthang *ppron* self

phalthangthang *ppron* selves

phan *clf* classifier for trees; classifier for food packed in bundles in *rai•chak pan phan sa* one tree

phang *clf* classifier for grass, trees and flowers *narang phang sa* one

orange tree *narang rong sa* one orange

phangnan *adv* always, never
Phangnan rupek mu•gabachido tyi ganang. There is always water where there are frogs. *Thawgaba syngaba phangnan sa•rongchagaba jilami bostudyrangaw raai hyn•aimung khasin khasin gumukawan palyngchi jalgabadyrangaw jykthangthangaw jumuphynaakno*. Having brought and given tasty and sweet things from the district which are usually never eaten, they slowly recollected all their husbands who had run away into the jungle, it is said.

phangphyl *adj2* upside down
phangphylok to be turned over, to be upside down

phanthai *n* PLANT type of sour fruit

phas *n* ABSTR the first one

phasgaba *adv* first *Phasgaba ha•haw•chenga*. *Umungsa ha•haw•aimungsa wa•cham tan•a*. First we clear the jungle. Then, having cleared the jungle, we cut the old rice stalks.

phat *clf* classifier for clothes

phat- *v* to chuck away, to throw out

phathi- *v* to bless, to bestow upon

phatsai *n* ART woman's dress

phe- *v* to disembowel, to gut (fish),

phe•ep ~ phep *n* PLANT banyan tree

phebaw *n* PERS person with a swollen cheek

phebuari *n* TIME February

pheel ~ peel dong• ~ dong- *v* to fail
Ge•theng lekha nemai poreancha, ytykyimu poreka peel dong•ok. He did not study the book well, so then he failed his exam.

phek *clf* classifier for smaller branches of trees *dala phek sa* one branch

pheking ~ peking *n* ACT luggage, packing

phel *clf* classifier for flat baked things and coins *barata phel sa* one

paratha, *biskut phelsa* one biscuit
tangka phel sa one coin

phep ~ phe•ep *n* PLANT banyan tree

pheru *n* ANIM fox

-phet *sfx* *V* detrimentally

phet- *adj1* to be thin

phet- *v* to swell up

phet- *v* to arrive (at), to reach, to come out of the water, to emerge

Ytykyimying ue raja nygylchina phetokno. So then the king arrived at/reached the market, it is said.

Bewal rypaimying phetaakno.

Having been in the water for some time, he emerged, it is said.

Ytykyimying jenetne rajamying noksang phetangokno. So then he somehow reached the house of the king, it is said.

-phetphet *evsp* *V* repeatedly

phi- *v* to invite *Beanbebe*

montyridyrngba Bilaw phina takyi

hongkotangthokokno. The ministers truly all went out to invite Bil, it is said.

philm *n* ART film, movie

phing- *v* to be full *Gylaschi tyi phingok*. The glass is full of water.

Gylas phingok, diphingna

man•chaka. The glass is full; you cannot fill it any more. *Nang•mi kha•thong bangbang dong•chido ang phingetni*. (Samrat N Marak) If your heart is empty, I will fill it.

phing- *v* to fill

phingpyryt- *v* to be overfull

pho•ot ~ phot *n* ANIM mythical black amphibian like a salamander

phok- *v* to swell, to lift up

phok- *v* to uproot, to pluck

phone ~ phoon *n* ART/ACT

telephone, telephone call *Angna phone kha•etboto!* Call me (on the phone)!

phong *clf* classifier for cylindrical objects and for long sharp or pointy objects

phong *n* ART wooden handle of big knives, axes and spears

phong• *n* ART fire place for cooking

phong•thu *n* ART fire place for cooking

phoren *n* PERS/PLACE white person, foreigner, foreign country

phot ~ po•ot *n* ANIM mythical black amphibian like a salamander

phu•chul *n* ANIM big water reptile that can eat humans *Kha Dawa nochachido phu•chul ra•arianoro*. If you don't say "Kha Dawa" the *phu•chul* will get you, it is said.

phuchul *n* ANIM type of big water lizard

phulis *n* PERS police

phulkobi *n* PLANT cauliflower

phuruk- *v* to become uprooted *Bildo kyryiaimying pandyrangchi pyi•chiba panba baiariokno, wa•chi pyi•chiba wa•ba phurukariokno*. As for Bil, because he was afraid, when he held on to the trees, the trees would break, when he held on to bamboo, the bamboo would just become uprooted, it is said.

phuthi *n* ANIM type of fish

phyl•- *v* to transform, to change into

phyl•- *v*Ø to transform, to change into *Imi wa• juw wak phyl•wa*. Her father and mother have changed into pigs.

phylgym *n* ANIM type of big eagle

phyltawtaw *adv* jerkingly (over a rough road)

phylp- *v* to blink (with your eyes) *Mykrenmi phylp chaiwaan*. I looked at her with blinking eyes. (Gostar R Sangma)

phylp- *v* to blink once with your eyes

phyn- *v* to cover *Ang kombol phynaidonga*. A blanket is covering me./I am lying under a blanket.

-phyn• ~ -phin ~ -phyn• ~ -phin• *evsp* V backward, V back, over-V, V overtime, V fully

phyt- *v* to slice

phyw- *v* hollow

phywra *n* FOOD rice powder

pi•- *v* to ask, to beg, to pray

pi•sa *n* ABSTR childhood

pi•thyn ~ bi•thyn *n* BODY liver

pi•ti ~ pi•tyi *n* FOOD rice beer (gold coloured)

pi•tyi ~ pi•ti *n* FOOD rice beer (gold coloured)

pi•tyng *n* ART thread, necklace

pibok *adj2* white, unripe, very light green

picham *adj2* old (of things)

pidan *adj2* new

pidio *n* ART video

pido *n* ACT game played with small stones. The game can be played by just one person or a small group of people. Every round consists of a series of jugglings that become more difficult each time a round is completed.

pijyw *n* PLANT rice seeds for sowing, newly harvested rice

piktiyr *n* ART picture

pinak *adj2* black

ping- *v* to block the way

pipuk *n* BODY belly, intestines, bowels, stomach

pirin- *v* to mix

piryt *n* BODY gall bladder

pisak *adj2* red, blond

pit *clf* the length of two fists and two thumbs when one joins them

po•tolong *n* PERS person with a naked chest

pok- *v* to swell

pokotia *n* PERS freeloader, sponger, person who takes advantage of the kindness of others

poop *n* FOOD triangular pastry eaten with tea

porai- ~ pore- *v* to read; to study

poram- *v* to fly over

pore- ~ porai- *v* to read; to study

porika *n* ACT exam, examination

puksuk *n* BODY waist, side of the body

puktyng *n* BODY small intestine

pung *n* ART granary, rice stock house *Mai bytwamyingdo pungchina songchina khairata*. We carry the rice harvest down to the rice stock house, to the village.

purun *n* ANIM goat

pusipusi *interj* interjection to call a cat

puspus *interj* interjection to call a cat

puyikhyrep *v* to crush with your hand

pyi• ~ **pyi•** *v* to touch, to grasp *Uchie songmyng morotmyng jyrym thymaimyng Theng•thonaw raw•okno pyigoropokno*. Then the people of the village, having quietly lain in ambush, caught Theng•thon, they grasped him all together, it is said.

pyi•khap• *v* to catch

pyi•ram• *v* to feel for, to search by feeling

pyikhap• *v* to hold firmly

pyiru• *v* to collapse

pyjyw• *v* to sow seeds by scattering them

-pyl *evsp* *V* rapidly

pylang *adj2* flat *Ytykyimying te•edo amak ge•thengdo rong•pelang sylgabachi kepleplep bamai hyn•takkonoa*. So then, now the monkey, as for him, he willingly lay down stretched out on his belly on a flat stone, it is said.

pyleng• ~ **py•leng** ~ **pyl•eng** *v* to be fat *Gari bengbylokaw depylengok, ytykyimu bengbyloke pylengok*. The car flattened the toad so the toad was flat.

pyn• *adj1* dense, thick

pyn• *v* to pack, to wrap up, to pack in a banana leaf, to cook in a banana leaf

pyndap• *v* to cover

-pyrak *evsp* *V* and cut

pyrap• *v* to be too salty

pyru• ~ **pyryw•** *v* to pierce, to make a hole in something

pyryi• *v* to be mature

-pyryt *evsp* over-*V*

pyryw *adj2* to have a hole in it (of walls)

pyt• *v* to wrap neatly as a present

pyw• *v* to fly

pywgak• *v* to crash (in flight)

pywtaw• *v* to jump over something
Muraaw ang pywtawa. I jump over the small stool.

ra *procl* Give!

ra• *v* to bring, give

ra• *v* to get, buy, take “*Nang•ie tupi bimi ra•ak?*” “*Turami ra•ak.*” “Where have you bought that cap?” “I bought it in Tura.” *Ang nang•aw bebe ra•cha*. ‘I don’t believe you.’ *Wa•mi jyw•mi balgabaaw katha ra•chagabae anga ytykgachina dong•ok*. Because I did not listen to the words of my parents, I have become like this.

ra•ang• *v* to take away

ra•sak• *v* to welcome *Nang•tym angaw tyichi typratwaba nemariok aro koksep chungkhuna nang•achym*. *Wa•tyng tyngphekna ma•su mangphek hyn•wa, gumuk-gamak angna ma•su mang raja sa hyn•etwa angnado aro tyinyng•sangba nawmyl sylsylvagabasa ra•saksawa*. You threw me into the water and that was good, and I should have had a bigger *koksep*. For every bamboo strip they gave me a cow and in all they gave me one hundred cows and inside the water only beautiful girls welcomed me.

ra•sek• *v* to snatch

ra•sek• *v* to accept, to receive *Angdo myng•sa agrai ra•sakchawa*. I will not accept/receive more than one person.

raani ~ **rani** *n* PERS queen, also used to call your daughter when she is a little child, like in English ‘little princess’

Rabuga *n* PERS god who created the world according to ancient religion

rai *n* PLANT reed

rai• *v* to go; to come *Hai, rai•naka* Come on, let’s go. *Kynsangdo matsado morotsyn man•aimyng rai•wilokno alsia rajado*. Later, after the tiger had smelled the scent of a human, it walked in circles, it

is said, around the lazy king.

Maisanaw sa•na re•engbutungchi sa•butungchi Nepal myng• sa boba takgaba rai•awanoro. While they were leaving to eat lunch, a crazy Nepali came, it is said.

rai•a- *v* to come *Phorenmi morot rai•adonga, phorensangmi rai•aidonga.* Foreign people are coming, they come from foreign countries. “*Angdo hanep nang•sang re•engni.*” “*Rai•abo.*” “I will go/come to your place tomorrow.” “Come.”

rai•byt- *v* to carry around

rai•chak *n* ART big leaf used to pack food

rai•ganggang- *v* to go/drive/ride over things on a bumpy road *Rong•aw rai•ganggangwa.* I bumped over a stone while going.

rai•phak- *v* to hit with your elbow while walking

rai•sotwa *n* ACT shortcut

rai•tyng *n* ART washing line, clothes line *rai•tyng tyng tham* three washing lines

rai•wil- *v* to walk around something

raidi *n* PLANT turmeric

raithai *n* PLANT tree with thorns on its stem

raityng *n* ART line (to dry clothes on)

raityng *n* PLANT cane

raja *n* PERS king

raja *num* hundred *raja sa* one hundred

rak- *adjl* hard, difficult, loud, glottal stop

raka *n* ACT glottal stop

rakhi- *v* to guard, to keep

rakhigaba *n* PERS caretaker

raki- *vdat* to protect, to guard against *Ning ha•bachi mongmana amakna mai sa•niwana rakiaronga.* We are protecting our dry rice and vegetable field against elephants and monkeys so that we will eat rice.

ram *n* PLACE road, way, path *ram chol tham* three roads, paths, ways

-ram *evsp* *V* inadvertently, *V* unintentionally, *V* fortuitously, *V* because of the situation

ram- *v* to dry in the sun, to put in the sun to dry *Garu balagachi ramai tanaimuna, ha•basang ha•kamna re•engokno.* After she had put the mustard leaves outside to dry in the sun, she went to work in the rice field, it is said.

ram•- *v* to search, to want

ramram *adj2* ordinary, normal *Ie ramram dong•cha.* This is not normal. *Bai•sigathangmaran tyi dukungokno. Na•do ramramanchakno.* The friends dammed the water. There was plenty of fish.

-ramram *evsp* *V* normally, *V* naturally, *V* commonly

ramramtyi *n* BODY sweat

ran•- *adjl* to be dry

randai *n* FOOD meat, flesh, body

rang *n* ART type of drum (instrument)

rang *n* GEO rain *Rang waaidong.* It's raining. *Rang nemok.* The rain has stopped. “*Rang nemchengama na•nang chyw jamchenga*” *noai rangmu chyw ryngsusaie range san chi byri wawano.* “Will the rain stop first or will we finish our liquor first?” they said and while competing in drinking with the rain, the rain fell for fourteen days, it is said.

rang•set- *v* to breathe

rangbrym *n* GEO cloud

rangbyrym- *v* to be shrouded in/blocked by clouds *Rangsang rangbyrymaidonga, rang wanikhon.* The sun is blocked by the clouds, it might rain.

rangchinek *n* GEO cloud

rangdylekpa *n* GEO lightning

ranggorai *n* ANIM macaque. Monkey with a long tail, brown body and a red face.

rangra *n* GEO sky

rangsang *n* GEO/TIME sun, day

rani ~ raani *n* PERS queen, also used to call your daughter when she is a little child, like in English ‘little princess’

rap- *v* to thatch, to roof

-rara *encl.phr* exclusively, only, among, amongst

rasong *n* ACT boasting, praise *Rasong man•ai takokno usa, chungchunggarangsa, udo phylgymawdo jonggaba kawwano.* The eldest ones boasted a lot (about themselves) although it had been the younger brother who had shot the eagle, it is said.

rasun *n* PLANT onion *rasun pibok* garlic *rasun pisak* red onion *rasun tyisuk* type of onion

-rat *evsp* V downward

rat- *v* to throw *Matsa rong ratwa.* A tiger threw a stone.

ratat- *v* to take out

ratsok- *v* to miss the mark

raw•- *adjl* tall, long

raw•- *v* to catch *Changba bydyi myng•sa khen• raw•arong* Somebody, an old man, is catching river crabs. *Uchie songmyng morotmyng jyrym thymaimyng Theng•thonaw raw•okno pyigoropokno.* Then the people of the village, having quietly lain in ambush, caught Theng•thon, they grasped him all together, it is said.

raw•reng- *adjl* slender and long

raw•soksok- *v* to fail to catch

-rawraw *evsp* continue to V

rawsykot- *v* to slip out of the hand

re•eng- *v* to go, to go away, to leave *Bisang re•engwa na•a?* “*Usang nalsasang re•engwa.*” “Where do you come from?” “I come from the other side of the river.” *Kynsange nygyltyi ni re•engwachi thikthak jahas kanachina dong•angok.* Later, when she had been going for two weeks, she arrived exactly at the ship and the harbour. *Garu balagachi ramai tanaimuna, ha•basang ha• kamna re•engokno.*

Having put the mustard leaves outside to dry, she went to the *ha•ba* to weed. *Hanep na•nang myng• ni Turasang re•engine.* Tomorrow the two of us will go to Tura, OK? “*Angdo hanep nang•sang re•engni.*” “*Rai•abo.*” “I will go/come to your place tomorrow.” “Come.”

redio *n* ART radio

reel *n* ART train, rail

rek *n* PLANT banana tree

rekhep *n* PLANT type of huge beans

rekhep- *v* to be dry (of plants), to be wrinkled (of person)

rekkun *n* PLANT banana flower

rekphang *n* PLANT banana tree

rekphul *n* PLANT non-edible banana flower

rekthai *n* PLANT banana

relgari ~ reelgari *n* ART train

rens

n ART wrench

repa chepa *adv* in various places

ret *n* ACT children’s game played in a grid. There are hunters who may only move along the lines of the grid. The other children have to try to cross the grid without being touched by a hunter.

rewet *n* PLACE riverside, riverbank

-ri ~ -ryi *encl.phr* without, privative enclitic

ri• *n* BODY penis *ri• goi• ni* two penises

ri•ambanthai *n* BODY gland of the penis

ri•baw *n* PERS person with one testicle bigger than the other

ri•gan•thong *n* BODY erect penis, erection, hard-on *Nangchi ri•gan•thong ganang.* You have an erection/ a hard-on.

ri•gol *n* BODY penis (used as swearword for men), dick

ri•karan ~ ri•keren *n* BODY testicle, balls, scrotum *ri•karan rong ni* two balls, testicles

ri•khu•chul *n* BODY foreskin

ri•kun *n* BODY glans penis, dickhead

ri•myn *n* BODY male pubic hair
ri•pan *n* ART a short dress that women wear around the waist
ri•ros *n* BODY sperm, semen
ri•sokop *n* BODY scrotum
ri•tyi ~ ri•ti *n* BODY sperm, semen
rijap *n* PLACE forest reserve
rimirimi *adv* used in the expression *Mykren rimirimi takaidong*. My eyes are closing because I'm so tired.
rimyl- *adj1* slippery
rin- *v* to keep as domestic animal
ring *n* PLANT taro, type of edible tuber
ringaba *n* ART place where you keep a domestic animal
ringaba *n* ART fishery
riphi- ~ ryphi- *v* to plaster (with a mix of clay and cow dung)
riprip- *v* to rub
roal *n* PLACE (lower) primary school
robol *n* ART/ACT football, soccer
robolphil ~ robolpil *n* PLACE soccer field, football field, playground
rochok *n* ART picket, pole
rochong *n* PLANT tree stump
-rogoi *encl.phr* alternative enclitic
rok- *v* to shave *Ka•myn• rokai matok*. I cut myself while shaving my beard.
rokhom *n* ABSTR shape, type
rokset- *v* to wipe off
romthom- *v* to be spherical *Robol romthoma*. A football is round.
rong *clf* classifier for small round objects, money, small stones, seeds, stones in a game (when they have a value) and fruits, default classifier for counting *buchuot rong sa* one mango *tangka rong chek* ten rupees
rong *n* GEO colour
-rong *evsp* usually V
rong• *n* GEO stone *rong• thut sa* one stone *rong• rong sa* one small round stone in a game
rong•cheret *n* GEO pebble size stone
rong•chun *n* SUBST lime stone (in rock form)

rong•chung *n* GEO big rock
rong•chung thut sa one rock, one big stone
rong•chyret *n* GEO very small stone
rong•dep- *v* to crush with a stone
rong•gyrym ~ rong•rymrym *adj2*
 GEO being full of big rocks, stony land *Ie ram ronggyrymrara, angdo rai•chawa*. This road is full of big stones, I will not go.
rong•ka *n* PLACE cliff
rong•khal *n* PLACE space under a stone *Ichi rong•khalchi khen• ganangthelnaba ganang*. Here in the spaces under the stones there are river crabs for sure.
rong•khol *n* GEO cave
rong•misi *n* GEO very small stone, to be covered by a stone
rong•patal *n* GEO big rock
rong•phek *n* GEO a grain of sand or very small stone
rong•rymrym ~ rong•gyrym *adj2*
 GEO being full of big rocks, stony land *Ie ram ronggyrymrara, angdo rai•chawa*. This road is full of big stones, I will not go.
rong•sa *n* ART whetstone, flat stone for sharpening knives or edged tools
rong•syrek *n* GEO small stone
rong•thai *n* GEO a rock
rong•thyk *n* GEO a big rock
rongmyng- *v* to shuffle cards
-rongreng *evsp* V while spinning around
rongthal- *v* to clean, to clarify, to explain
rongthala- *adj1* clean
rongtyk *n* ART large clay pot to keep rice in, rice pot
ronok- *adj1* smooth
rophil- ~ rophyl- *v* to joke
ros *n* BODY/PLANT/FOOD sperm, semen, juice (of meat and fruit)
rot- *v* to boil (something in water)
rubibal *n* TIME Sunday
ruchut- *v* to join, to connect “*Sala burbok sa•gyrai na•a ningaw*

halakha•gabaai” *noaimungna bunduk ra•asetetaimungna uaw sa•gyraiaaw gadakchichiokno. Gadakchichiaimuna singsingkhongsang typsetyi tanangokno, typsetyi tanangokno. [...]* *Ytykimuna uba ruchutethiraimungna rai•aronganoro*. “Damn you stupid child who disturbed us!” they said and they took out their guns and smashed the child into pieces, it is said. Having smashed him up, they threw him into a deep hole in the ground and left him there, it is said. [...] But then it came (home) back after it had joined together again, it is said.

ruda *n* PLANT type of cactus

rugung *n* PLACE edge

-ruk *sfx* reciprocal suffix

rukchok ~ lukchokchok *n* ANIM type of frog

rukpek ~ lukpekpek *n* ANIM type of frog

rukwak ~ lukwak *n* ANIM toad

-rum *evsp* all (S/O quantifier)

rum• *num* twenty. This word is only used in compound numerals *rum•tham* sixty.

rumal *n* ART head band

rung *n* ART river boat made out of a hollowed tree trunk *rung khan sa* one boat

rungskhut *n* FOOD broken rice

runi *n* BODY brains

rupek ~ rukpek *n* ANIM type of small frog which says *pekpekpekpek*

-ruru *evsp* more and more *V* around, *V* all over the place

ruru- *v* to make liquid come out

rydym- *v* to sprout leaves

rygyn *n* PLACE side *rygynchi* near, next to *Ang choki rygynchi chapaidonga*. I’m standing next to the chair.

-ryi ~ -ri *encl.phr* without, privative enclitic

ryk *n* ART necklace

ryk- *v* to chase, to herd *Sa•gyrai ma•su rykarok*. The children are herding the cows. “*Tai•ni kakai sa•chongmotnaka*” *noaimyng rykaidokno magachakaw banggale*. “Today I will really devour it”, the Bengal said and chased the deer, it is said.

rym- *v* to cook

rymkhap- *v* to cook without *mai•tyi ~ mai•ti* *Angdo ja•bek rumkhapni*. I will cook curry without *mai•tyi ~ mai•ti*.

rymreng rymreng *adv* dazed

rymyl *n* PERS 1. marriageable female cousin, 2 the relation of female cousins from intermarriageable families, 3. the relation of the parents of a married couple, 4. girlfriend, lover, sweetheart

rymyt *adj2* yellow, orange

ryng- *v* to drink *Tyi ryngbo*. Drink water. *Sigyret ryngbo*. Smoke a cigarette.

ryng•- *v* to sing

ryngchyw ~ ryngchu *n* FOOD flattened rice

ryngkhaw- *v* to drink sneakily

ryngkhele- *v* to drink for fun

ryp- *v* to dive, to be/stay under water, to immerse, to submerge *Ytykimyng magachakdo biskutaw tyisamchi tanaimyng chaw! thorokangokno. Thorokangaimyng hawtyi rypokno magachake. Bewal rypaimyng phetaakno*. So then, the deer, having put the biscuits on the river bank, splash! jumped in, it is said. Having jumped in, he stayed under water for some time, it is said, the deer. Having stayed under water for some time, he emerged, it is said.

ryphi- ~ riphi- *v* to plaster (with a mix of clay and cow dung) *Nok riphiaidong*. I’m plastering the (floor of) the house.

sa *interj* interjection to chase away a chicken

sa num one, a/an Combined with the attributive suffix, the form *sagaba* ~ *saga* can mean 'first', or 'one...the other'. *Ue gawichi sa•myng• korok ganangnoro aro de•theng pipukchi ganangkhuwa myng• sa*. That woman had six children, it is said, and in her belly she had one more. *Uchie ramchi pheru mang sa gorongwano*. Then they met a fox on the road. *Unasa boba myng•sagaba te•ew abun boba nukaisigaakno*. Then the first fool saw another fool, it is said. *Songsagabaaw Songmong myngwanowa, songsagabaaw Songgadal myngwanowa*. One village was called Songmong, it is said, the other village was called Songgadal, it is said.

-sa encl.phr.cl delimitative enclitic

sa- *v* to be ill, sick *dykym sa-* to have malaria

sa- *v* to set in place as a trap

sa- ~ sai- *v* to set as a trap, to set in place, to do *Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno*. They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.

sa• *n* PERS child

sa•- *v* to eat *Maijyrenng sa•cha, wakna*. You don't eat dried rice, it's for the pigs. *Darai warem sa•ak*. The sword has rusted. *Ge•theng gol sa•ak*. He has got/kicked a goal (in football). *Mamathanggaba sa•mynchykgana khyrethangaw ra•ai sa•naka*. Mother's brother will marry his daughter to her cousin. *Song damsachi morot man•ai sa•gaba ganangnochym*. In a village lived a rich man. (Literally 'a man who eats in great amounts'.) *Ge•thengdo morot wa•sa•agaba*. He is a tough person. (Literally 'He is a person who eats bamboo'). *Nang•e bichi krismas sa•nima?* Where will you celebrate Christmas?

sa•banthai *n* KIN son. Is also used to talk about the male children of my elder or younger brother.

sa•dap- *v* to spill, to take more and more

sa•gyrai *n* PERS child, *sa•gyrai odek* baby *Sa•gyraiwana khymchawa*. Because she's a child I will not marry her.

sa•khaw- *v* to steal "*Hai bai•siga biskut sa•khawna*" *noaidongano*. "Come on, my friend, let's steal the biscuits", he said, it is said.

sa•khele- *v* to eat for fun

sa•lak- *v* to lick

sa•mynchyk *n* KIN daughter. Is also used to talk about the male children of my elder or younger brother.

sa•nala ~ sa•nyl- *vdat* to be jealous of *Ge•theng angna sa•nala*. He's jealous of me. *Ge•theng angna jama sa•nyla*, He's jealous of my shirt.

sa•rong *adj2* to be of the same age

sa•thup *n* BODY uterus, womb

sa•tyra *n* PERS child without father

sabun *n* ART soap *sabun thut ni* two bars of soap

sadu *n* KIN brother-in-law: the relation of men who married women that are sisters, *sadu chunggaba* the elder brother of a *sadu sadu mylgaba* the younger brother of a *sadu*

sagal *n* GEO sea

sai *n* PERS husband

sai- *v* to write

sai- *v* to choose, to select, to elect

sai- ~ sa- *v* to set as a trap, to set in place, to do *Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno*. They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.

saido *n* ART fishing line

saigon *n* PLANT teak tree

saigyn *n* ACT the third weeding of the *ha•ba Mai kai•manwamungsa ha•jagara kama*. *Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kynsange jakun kama*. *Jakun kamaimungsa*

nobembyl, oktobylysomaichi saigyn khan•a. Umungdo mai mynokodo maidan syla toka. Having planted the rice, we weed the land for the first time. Having cleared the weeds for the first time, we will clear them for a second time. Having weeded the land for a second time, in October or November we do a third weeding. Then, when the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

sainokga(ba) *n* PERS author

saip ~ saep *n* PERS European, white person, British military commander

sajin *n* BODY illness that makes everything taste bitter

-sak *evsp* *V* appropriately

sak- *adjl* red

sak- *v* to fit

sak- *v* to make a rope by rubbing thread between your hands

sak- *v* to bear, to persevere, to endure, to enjoy, to hold out, to be patient, to suffer *Rangsan sakna man•chaaimyng nokchi dang•ok.* Not being able to bear the sun any more, he went into the house. *balwa saka* to enjoy the wind *Na•a ie sastiaw rakna man•chido jokangni.* If you can endure this punishment, you will be freed.

“Gong•wanasa balwa sakai

mu•arong” noatakokno amakba.

“I’m just sitting here enjoying the wind because I want to”, said the monkey. Aiaw! Biskynba bylsi

nidyrang dong•phinai duk

sakwachido de•thengna mamying

tangka poisa, de•thengmi duk

sakwana, wak rakhiganaba, tangka poisa hyn•chano. Oh!

Approximately two years have past in which he suffered from sorrow, he got no money for his suffering and for the pig keeping they gave him no money either.

sak- *vdat* to depend on *Ang maharina sakaidong.* I’m depending on my family.

sakchyk- *v* to behave well *Ie sa•gyrai sakchykna man•cha.* ‘These children cannot behave well.’

saket- *v* to insert, to plug in

sakhi *n* PERS witness

sakhyna- *v* to be wounded

saknaram ~ salnyram *n* PLACE east

sakrem- *v* to twist

salam *interj* hello

salam- ~ selem- ~ serem- ~ saram- *v* to break/tear easily, to be easily damaged *Ie mudupan serema.* This papaya tree breaks easily.

salgypeng *n* PLACE south

salgyro *n* PLACE north

Saljong *n* PERS sun god

salniram *n* PLACE west

salnyram ~ saknaram *n* PLACE east

sam *clf* classifier for hands, arms, legs, feet, ears and tires *nakhal sam sa* one ear *cha• sam sa* one leg/foot *taiyr sam ni* two tires

sam *n* PLANT/FOOD medicine, plant, weed

sam- *v* to wait *Mosa na•a sambota.*

Hyn•niba nang•na te•en. Hey friend, wait! I will give it to you, ok, later.

samalmaisirong *n* ANIM very small type of ant

samanggyri *n* PLANT type of small plant

sambanggyri *n* PLANT medicinal plant that stops bleeding. *U•ching cha•aw kakaimu, sambanggyri tokdepdepaimu pha•wa.* Because a leech bit him on the foot, he crushed *sambanggyri* and put it on the wound.

samchak *n* FOOD vegetable

samkong *n* PLANT high grass

samsai *n* PLANT low grass

samsi *n* PLANT grass

samsin *n* BODY abscess, boil

san *n* TIME day *Range san chi bri wawano.* The rain fell for fourteen days, it is said.

san- *v* to put in a bag

sanarai *n* ANIM centipede

sandi- *v* to inquire, to search for “*Abu, angdo dadaparaaw sandiedongachym*” *nookno*. “*Ha? Dadaparaaw? Nang• dadaparado usang phylgym chunggaaw kawna re•engwanote*. “Grandma, I am searching in vain for my elder brothers” he said. “Huh? Your elder brothers? Your elder brothers went that way to shoot the big eagle!”

sang *bound* side, place (see also *sangphak*) *cha•masang* downstream, bottom of a hill *kambaisang ~ khambaisang* upstream, top of a hill

-sang *encl.phr* mobilative/instrumental enclitic

sang- *v* to burn *Ie pan nemai sangni*. This wood will burn well.

sangori *n* GEO fog

sangphak ~ samphak *bound* side *isangphak* this side *usangphak* that side *ha•byrisangphak* the side of the mountain *Ytykimuna kambaisangmi dinggaraimi chaichiba, uchiba na•an ni•okno*. *Uchiba matdam sa•akno uawba*. *Ytykimuna san thongsachinado sathiriokno*. *Sathiraimungna umi chaithirichiba, ba•, matdam sa•akno, aro kysang ga•samsangphak chaithirichi uawba matdam sa•akno*. So then, whenever he went to inspect the fish trap, then there were no fish, it is said. An otter had eaten it. So then, he set his traps out in the river again for half the day, it is said. Having set out the traps, when he later inspected them again, well, the fish had all been eaten, it is said, and later, when he looked again in the evening, an otter had eaten them again. it is said.

sangwal- *v* to forget

sanmaji *n* TIME noon, midday

sanyrai *n* ANIM centipede

sap- *v* to swoop down (of birds of prey)

sap- *vsec* to know a skill *Bildo te•ewba gore dungna sapchanoty*.

Bil does not know how to ride a horse, it is said to my surprise.

saphairam *n* PLANT type of medicinal plant

saphang *n* ACT first rice harvest (in August)

saphaw *n* ANIM rabbit

sapset- *v* to drain *piseri sapsetbo* drain the fish-tank

saram *n* ACT new rice offering festival in which the first rice is offered to the gods or spirits.

saram *n* FOOD dry rice grains *Saram syw•ai sa•a*. Dry rice grains are flattened (by pounding them with an *asam* in an *aman*, and eaten.

saraw- *v* to borrow *Bengmi tangka sarawni angdo*. I will borrow money from the bank. *Ang nang•na tangka sarawai hyn•ni*. I will lend you the money.

sasti *n* ACT punishment *Sa•khawchido na•a sasti man•ni*. If you steal, you will be punished.

sat *clf* classifier for bundles *garu sat tham* three bundles of mustard

sat- *v* to spill

sat- *v* to hit with a stick or bat, to cut with a sword

sat- *v* to flush out

satha ~ sytha *n* ART umbrella *satha khung byryi* four umbrellas

sathup *n* PERS sick person

satkhap- *v* to box, to slap

satpyret- *v* to hit with the open hand

-saw *evsp* V expectantly, V and wait, keep V-ing, V and stay, V patiently, V certainly

saw- *v* to be rotten

saw- *v* to curse at (use bad words)

saw•- *v* to dig *Nokdanggumuk gopram saw•wa habryi nalsasang*. The whole family dug graves at the other side of the hill. *Uchie Theng•thon khudalsang ha•aw saw•aidongano*. *Saw•aidongano, thyw•angaidokno, cha•kyw chyigykdarangdo*. Then

Theng•thon is digging in the ground with a chopper, it is said. He is digging and he is getting deep, it is said, about ten knees deep.

saw• *v* to burn, to roast on the hot ashes of the fire
Nokphandaidyrangaw saw•aimung nok phandai do•khakhuchi khachapai tangaba mongma wa dora byryi dong•gabaaw ra•ai jalangkno. Having burnt the bachelors' houses, they took the 20 KG weighing elephant tusks which were tied to the *do•khakhu* and ran away, it is said. *Ramchi agal saw•gaba ganang.* On the road is a burning forest fire. *Ja•ryt saw•ai, mantaw saw•ai, mai•chengmung na•lammung thiksa berengai sa•a.* We roast the chilli pepper, we roast the brinjal and cook it until it is well done with *mai•cheng* (a type of leafy green) and *na•lam* (a type of fish) in a bamboo cylinder and eat it.

saw•myk- *v* to smell rotten, to smell foul

saw•saw- *v* be able to cause a burning sensation

sawel *n* PLANT type of vegetable

sawkun *n* ANIM vulture

sawn *n* ACT sound

sawthal *n* PERS dirty person, person who never washes

sawyl *n* PLANT type of vegetable

-sega ~ -siga *evsp* V in turn, (alternative suffix)

-sek *evsp* to V and steal

sekari *n* ART pin lock

sel- *v* to leak *Tenkimi mobil selarong.* Oil is leaking from the tank.

sel• *v* to pour

selsoksok *v* to masturbate, to wank, to jack off, to jerk off, to whack off
Ri• selsoksokni angdo. I will wank.

selu *n* ANIM cockroach

-seme *evsp* V reluctantly

sendel ~ sendyl *n* ART sandal, *sendel jora ni* two sandals

sene *num* seven

seng- *adjl* clever, intelligent

seng- *v* to shine, to dawn, to become light *Wal sengwachi Sijunygylsang re•engni.* At dawn we will go to Siju market.

seng• *v* to shine

seng• *v* to bother by misbehaving

seng•sot- *v* to abbreviate *Ue ha•byriawe seng•sotai Matsa Chang•kui myngsigaariok.* That mountain is just called Matsa Chang•kui for short.

sengki *n* PLANT type of fruit

sengsymp *n* ANIM type of small fish

sentimityr *clf* centimetre

sep- *v* to be stuck *Wang•ai sa•chido abongrandai wa•chi sepni.* If I eat the cob windingly the corn will get stuck between my teeth.

sep- *v* to wring, to squeeze out

sepjyrot- *v* to wring

sepsep- *v* to masturbate, to wank, to jack off, to jerk off, to whack off
Ri• sepsepni angdo. I will wank.

septembyl *n* TIME September

serabera *n* SUBST dirt *serabera tak-* to be dirty *Ang longpen rai•tyngmi gal•aimu serabera takthiriok.* Because my trousers have fallen off the clothes line they have become dirty again.

serek *n* ABSTR surface,

serek *n* PLACE balcony of a rice field house

serekmyk *n* MSRE the length of one forearm

serem- ~ **salam-** ~ **selem-** ~ **saram** *v* to break/tear easily, to be easily damaged *Ie mudupan serema.* This papaya tree breaks easily.

serembut *n* ANIM type of fish

-set *evsp* V and do away with, V and dispose of, V away

si- *v* to starve *Ang pi•sachi amapara babapara kanggal dong•wana sa•a siwa.* When I was a child, because my mother and father and their families were poor, we starved for food. *kha•thong si-* to feel pity

Angdo ue sa•gyraina kha•thong sia. I feel pity for that child.
si- *v* to peel
si•- *v* to sharpen (a pointy object)
si•wil- *v* to carve, to sharpen a pointy object
sidikeset *n* ART CD, compact disc
-siga ~ -sega *evsp* *V* in turn, (alternative suffix)
sigyret *n* FOOD cigarette
Sijyw *n* PLACE Siju
sik- *v* to scratch, to pinch
sikol *n* ART a chain
siksik- *v* to scrape, to rub
silongket *n* PLANT Shillong tree
sima *n* ABSTR boundary, limit
simen *n* SUBST cement
singho *n* ANIM lion
singsip *n* ANIM type of fish
sinthong•- *v* to cut/break in two pieces, to cut/break in half
sintongtong- *v* to cut up in many pieces
sip- *v* to smell
sipai *n* PERS soldier
sipyling ~ spyling *n* ACT spelling
Atong khu•chukmyng sipyling/spyling rakancha. The spelling of the Atong language is not difficult.
siri ~ suri *n* SUBST snow
sirong *n* BODY scrotum
sit *interj* interjection to chase a cat away
sit- ~ syt- *v* to take out the shit from an animal's intestines *Angdo ma•su pipuk sytaidong.* I'm taking out the shit from the cow's intestines.
Nang•do na•pipuk sitbo. Take the shit out of the fish's intestines.
sithi *n* FOOD fermented rice from which *chyw* is drawn by adding water
sithi *n* FOOD fermented rice
skrin ~ sykrin *n* ART screen
skul *n* PLACE school
so•ot- *v* to kill, to murder
Chigachakchi Dibangkongdang Umangchalmangsa mongmaaw so•otai matsaaw so•otai

mu•tynwano. At Chigachak Dibangkogdang Umangchalmang, killing the tigers and killing the elephants, lived as the leader.
so•re *n* SUBST mica
so•sorot- *v* to slip *Ramchi so•sorotok.* I slipped on the road.
soal- ~ sual- *v* to divide, to share
Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow sowalni. The whole village gathers and will divide the *ha•ba* parcel by parcel.
Je ha•ryn ni•gababado uan soalrukai haw•a. As for those who do not have a plot, those mutually share and clear the land.
sojana *n* PLANT type of long thin vegetable
sok *n* PLANT the new young leaves of a plant (but not a tree) or vegetable, a shoot, sprout
sok- *v* to succeed, to hold out “*Aia! ido alsiado kakaty! Sokchakaty angdo*” *noaimyng matsado jenetene jokaimyng jalangokno.* “Jeez! That lazy person bites to my surprise. I will not be able [to fight]/ I will not succeed [to fight with him]”, the tiger said and having escaped somehow, he ran away, it is said. *Ytykyimyng pherudo rypangthiriokno. Phalthang sokwa dabatdo tyinyng•chi rong•chi pyi•aimyng wa khu•chengphin•ai sakchikaidokno.* So then the fox soaked in the water again, it is said. Until he could not hold out any longer, he sat under water as long as he could bear it, holding on to a stone and biting his teeth firmly together, it is said.
sokhop *n* ART cover, sheath
soksek- *v* to shake something without picking it up
soksok- *v* to masturbate, to wank, to jerk off, to whack off
soldi *n* BODY a cold *Soldi man•ok.* I have caught a cold.
sombal *n* TIME Monday

somphi *n* ACT a joke, a riddle

song *n* PLACE village

song- *v* to set up post, to dig a hole and stick something in it so that it keeps standing up, to raise
Wa•sung ha•bykungchi songbo.
 Dig a hole in the sand and put the bamboo stick in it. *Myng•sene bytwa motchagabaaw man•chagabaaw gudukchagabaaw chaiaimu, Bandiba kawraw bytjasaaimyng phalthang phagongmathangchi phaiiai rai•aaidonganote, Bandiba. Bandi paianggabaaw mykren wa•thok song•phinai Gyrynggyrang chaisymaidongano.* Having watched the seven unable men and the pillar that does not move, Bandi easily pulled the pillar out and is carrying it on his shoulder, it is said, I'm telling you!
 Gyrynggyrang is watching the carrying Bandi with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.

song- *v* to elect *Songchi nokchi raja songna angawtara nukariokno. Angaw bytangaidonga, song damsachi angaw raja songnino.* In the village the people wanted to elect a king and they just saw only me. They are carrying me away; they will elect me king in a certain village.

song•khot- *v* to come out of a narrow space

Songdu *n* PLACE the Brahmaputra river *Symsangdo Gohatichigaba Songduna kylkhala.* The Symsang is smaller than the Brahmaputra in Guwahati.

songga *n* PLACE another village
songgamyng morot a person from another village

songkhot- *v* to come out of a small opening, to squeeze out of

songmong *n* GEO main village

songrai- ~ songre- *v* to travel

songrat- *adj1* to be bent

songre- ~ songrai- *v* to travel

songsal *n* ACT society

songsyrek ~ songsarek *n* PERS
 pagan, heathen *Dakangmi pichammi kamdyrangdo ie Garohils Ha•beng Ha•rot Chisak Rangtak Badrijol Kychujol gumukan songsyrek dong•butungchido bylongen hansenga.* In ancient times, when the Ha•beng-Ha•rot Chisak Rangtak, Badri areas and the Koch areas were all pagan, we were very happy.

sorok *n* PLACE road, path, way *sork chol ni* two ways, roads, paths

sorok- *v* to re-pound the rice

sorong *adj2* straight

sorong- *adj1* straight *khaw soronga* straight hair

sorot- *v* celebration in commemoration of a dead person one year after this person died *Ning achuaw sorotaidong.* We are celebrating in commemoration of our dead grandfather.

sosila *n* PLANT plant of the Arum family with a pink inflorescence consisting of an elongate or ovate spathe (a sheathing bract) which envelops the pink spadix (a flower spike with a fleshy axis). This plant looks remarkably like the *Amorphophallus bulbifer.*

-soso *evsp* *V* to/on the ground

Neng•dugaaimyng mu•sosoangokno. Having gotten tired, he sat down on the ground.

sot *n* ANIM very small type of fly that comes out in the evening and at night and cause itchiness

-sot *evsp* *V* directly **sot-** *v* to spit
Ainachi sa•gyrai khu•ti sotjaak.
 The child has spat on the mirror again.

sotmai *n* ANIM housefly

sotok ~ sot dok *num* sixty

spit *n* ABSTR speed

spun *n* ART spoon

spyling ~ sipyling *n* ACT spelling

Atong khu•chukmung

spyling/sipyling rakancha. The spelling of the Atong language is not difficult.

ss *interj* interjection to chase away a chicken

stel *n* ABSTR haughtiness

Ge•thengchi stel pang•a. He/she is very haughty. This word probably comes from English 'style'.

stulkhabar *n* ART tablecloth

su- *v* to scold

su• *n* BODY vagina, cunt, pussy, slit, snatch, twat

su• ~ syw• *v* to pound, to punch, to prod, to inject, to crush *Ang khawchi mu•gaba khyrykaw syw•bone*. Crush the lice in my hair, will you?

su•bylok- *v* to mash *Beringwa mynwachido su•byloka*. When the food cooked in the *wa•sung* is ready, we mash it.

su•gol *n* PERS vagina (used as a swearword for women), cunt, bitch

su•kherek- *v* to crash down *Jariaimu su•kherekaimu wa khaw• sa bai•okno*. *Wa khaw• sa baiokno mongmaba*. Because he was startled, he crashed down and broke one tusk, it is said. He broke one tusk, it is said, the elephant.

su•myn *n* BODY pubic hair (female)

su•nadylep *n* BODY clitoris

su•that- *v* to prod, to poke

su•ut- *adjl* damp

sua *n* ACT profanation

sual- ~ soal- *v* to divide, to share *Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni*. The whole village gathers and will divide the *ha•ba* parcel by parcel. *Je ha•ryn ni•gababado uan soalrukai haw•a*. As for those who do not have a plot, those mutually share and clear the land.

suis *n* ART switch

suk *n* comfort *Juwna suk dong•ancha*. We did not sleep enough.

suk- *v* to be well, to be comfortable, to enjoy sexually *Na•a gawi hatchido sukama?* Do you enjoy it when you fuck a girl?

suk- *v* to insert, to stitch

suksai *n* PLANT type of plant of which traditional umbrellas are made

sukulbal ~ sykulbal ~ sykubal *n* TIME Friday

sukyrung ~ sykurung *n* ANIM type of river snail

sul *adj* 2 next, neighbouring *song sul* the next/neighbouring village

sun- *v* to move, to shift

sun ~ sundul *n* BODY trunk

sung *clf* classifier for hollow cylinders *wa•sung sung tham* three bamboo cylinders

sung *n* ACT/BODY remembrance, thought, mind, brain, intelligence, spirit, life *sung ra•-* to remember, to think (of, about), to keep in mind *Isolaw sung ra•ai je Kristen donggabado Isol phi•aia sa•chengna*. Thinking of God, anyone who is a Christian will pray to God and start eating. *Ge•thengchi sung ganang*. He is intelligent.

sung•- *adjl* short (of time, person, thing)

sungman- ~ suman - vdat/v to remember. Some speakers mark the second argument (the Theme) with the dative and others with the accusative. *Nokchi ang dyngdang mu•chiba, sungmaneta anga nang•na*. (Aristo J Momin) When I'm sitting at home alone, I think of you. Alternatively: *Nokchi ang dyngdang mu•chiba, sungmaneta anga nang•aw*. When I'm sitting at home alone, I think of you.

sunibal *n* TIME Saturday

suri ~ siri *n* SUBST snow

-susa *evsp* V competitively, compete in V-ing

suset- ~ susut- ~ susyt- *v* to wash

susu *n* BODY penis

suthul *n* BODY comb of a rooster
suting *n* TIME taking pictures, photo shooting
sutuk- *v* to put over, to cover, to hide
Mykhang baketchi sutuka. She's hiding her face in the bucket.
swich *n* ART switch
syi *n* KIN uncle: mothers younger brother
-syi ~ -si ~ -thai ~ -tyi *sfx* mirative suffix, to (my) surprise
syithai- ~ syithyi- ~ syithi- *v* to hang
Syithai tanarong raityngchi. It's hanging on the washing line.
syk- *v* to insert, to be inserted, to press, to push
syk- *vsec* to want *Jywna sykaidongkhua.* I still want to sleep.
sykdep- *v* to press with a finger
syket- *v* to insert
sykhathang *adv* disorderly, carelessly, simply, for nothing, for free
sykhym- *v* to moan, to complain, to feel sorrow, to mourn
syki- *v* to learn, to teach
sykjyret- *v* to crush with your hand
sykrin ~ skrin *n* ART screen
sykrom- *v* to grasp someone *Thot thyng•thot takwachina dabat sykromaimyng khanetsigaaidongno.* He (Bandi) grasped her (Sore) and poured the liquor into her mouth to the last drop.
sykulbal ~ sykubal ~ sukulbal *n* TIME Friday
sykup- *v* to fold
sykurung *n* ANIM river snail
sykurung ~ sukyrung *n* ANIM type of river snail
syl *n* SUBST iron
syl- *adjl* beautiful, pretty
Atongnawmyl sylate. Atong girls are pretty!
syl•et- *v* to pour in
sy lasyng *n* ART necklace
syldangkhep *n* ART big pliers to take pans off the fire

sylet- *v* to make beautiful
sylkeng *n* ART hoop, ring
sylkengkun *n* ART stick to drive a hoop
syltyi *n* SUBST hail, ice
sym *adjl* sweet
-sym *evsp* V and follow, imitate in V-ing
sym- *v* to follow *Ang nang•aw kyn kyn symni.* I will follow you closely.
sym• *n* SUBST salt, medicine
sym•- *v* to build a fence
sym•- *v* to soak, to make wet
sym•thap- *v* to taste
syngong *n* PLANT type of plant of which the red flowers are edible and produce a lot of honey which you can shake out
sympak *n* PLANT type of tree
sympak *n* ART type of blanket
symsak- *vdat* to care for/about, to be careful about *Phalthangthangna symsakaribo, jalthikaribo!* Just care for yourselves, just run away!
Symsang *n* PLACE the Simsang river, also called Someswari
-symsym *evsp* V continuously
syn *n* ACT a smell *Syn man•aidong.* He smells something.
syng•- *v* to ask
syng•gaba *n* ACT question
synggera *n* BODY moustache that sticks out
synggi *n* ANIM type of fish
syngsyngkholong *n* PLACE deep hole in the ground
synthi- *v* to suffer, to regret, to repent, to lament, to moan, to whine
Phepchi synthibutungchi te•ewe na•pit myng• sa rai•phaknoro. While he was suffering in the banyan tree, a barber came by.
sypsak- *v* to be scratched *Ha• khamaimu chak sypsakarok.* After working in the field my arm is scratched.
-syrang *evsp* V very much, V strongly, V completely, wholly V, V till the end
syrong- *v* to stretch

syrup- *v* to suck

sryng *adv* not clearly *Angdo ge•thengmi balgaba srynh sryng nawa*. I did not hear clearly what he said.

sryng *n* ANIM web (of spider)

sryng- *v* to stretch out (rope etc.), to build a bamboo bridge

syt *interj* interjection to chase away a cat

syt- ~ sit- *v* to take out the shit from an animal's intestines *Angdo ma•su pipuk sytaidong*. I'm taking out the shit from the cow's intestines. *Nang•do na• pipuk sitbo*. Take the shit out of the fish's intestines.

sytha ~ satha *n* ART umbrella

syw• *n* KIN grandchild

syw•- ~ su•- *v* to pound, to crush, to punch, to prod, to inject *Ang khawchi mu•gaba khyrykaw syw•bone*. Crush the lice in my hair, will you?

ta *interj* interjection used in accusations *Ta bongbong!* You liar!

ta *prtcl* prohibitive particle *Na•a ta dykyryngto!* Don't make noise! *Ta ie nok dyngdang ham*. Don't build this house alone.

-ta ~ -to *sfx* emphatic imperative suffix

tai•nep *tw* this morning

tai•ni *tw* today *Ge•theng tai•nidarang rai•anikhon*. He might come sometime today.

tai•sa *tw* a little while ago (today), at a certain time in the past today

taia- *v* to pull

taija *tw* last night *Taija walchi jywwachi jyw mangsang banggirigaba nukwa*. Last night at night when I was sleeping, I saw an earthquake in my dream.

tairakrak *adv* not too big and not too small *Amakdo ge•theng bai•sigathanggabamying kynaw rongpatal syltengbigabachi kepreprep bamai hyn•butungchi pantong myk sa donggabasang*

tairakrak takgabasang tep tep tep tep tokaidoknoa. The monkey hit his friend who was lying flat on his belly on the very beautiful flat stone with a stick of one *myk*, which was made not too long not too short, tap, tap, tap, tap on the back.

taiyr *n* ART tire *taiyr sam/rong/goi•tham* three tires

tak- *vB* to do, to make, to pretend, to act like *Ie khamaw krymkraw takna nangni*. We will have to do this work together. *Magachake*: “*Hai bai•siga biskut sa•khawna*” *noaidongano*. “*Hyt man•cha nang•ba atong budi*” *nowano pherue*. “*Ang denggu takni na•a. Na•a paiai jalbone*” *noaidongano magachakan*. The deer said: “Come on, friend, I want to steel those biscuits!” “What?! You can't! What are you thinking?!” said the fox, it is said. “I will do some extortion. You carry the biscuits and run away, ok?” said the deer, it is said. *Te•do magachakan khora takaidongano*. Now the deer is pretending to be lame, it is said. *Alsia rajae*: “*Ie gari biskyn?*” “*Hyw na•a ra•nae syng•e syng•chagaba taknae syng•e syng•chagaba*.” The lazy king asked: “How much for this bullock cart?” “Hey! As far as your buying is concerned, you are just acting like someone who asks but who is not really interested.”

Chigachakchi Dibangkongdang Umangchalmangsa, mongmaaw so•otai matsaaw so•otai mu•tynwano. Uchi song damni takwano. In Chigachak, Dibangkongdang and Umangchalmang, having killed the elephants and tigers, lived as the leaders, it is said. There they built two villages, it is said. *Ytykyimying, ha! wen•ni rypwachian miniksuru takokno sylokno magachakmi*

nyn•do. So then, ha! when he had bathed twice, his fur was flat, it is said, it was beautiful, it is said, the deer's' fur. "Angdo *ma•suba pang•phachaaimyng ni•wa, jamaaiawan tan•awachym*" *noai golphoa takaidongano. Uchi myng•sagaba*: "Angdo *jamaaiawan tan•asyrangok mangthamawan*" *noai bala takaidongano*. "As for me, I already had only a few cows, and now there is not one left; I slaughtered them all", he is telling, it is said. Then another man says: "I slaughtered all three of them" it is said. "Aia! *Udo magachakdo khorate*" *noaimyng rykoknowa. Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake*. "Hey, this deer is lame!" he said and chased after it, it is said. When he almost caught up with the deer, it run away fast, it is said, the deer.

takal ~ dakal *n* PERS witch

takap- *v* to stick

takbewal *n* ACT tradition

takruk- *v* to have an orgasm (of a woman)

takruk- *v* to fight "Noksang *rai•naba pha•phinchaaidok. Jebadong anga takruksyranarinaka.*" *Matsami cha•phungaw wang•joloknoaro, alsia rajae*. "I don't dare to go home. Anyway, I will just fight to the end." He bit the tiger on the thigh, it is said, the lazy king. *Rongdyngmi oltoe, dakang somai Jaksongram matsa nok phandaimi matsamu Rongdyng maharimu takrukwanoa*. As for the meaning of Rongdyng, in times long ago, the tigers of Jaksonram's tiger's bachelors' house fought with the Rongdyng clan, it is said.

taksak- *v* to help

taksakgaba *n* ACT help

tala *n* ART a lock *Tala thekbo*. Lock the lock.

tam- *v* to wait, to stop

tam- *v* to trim, to prune

tam•- *v* to play an instrument *tam•a toka* to play an instrument

tam•o ~ tam•aw *interj* Wait!

tan- *v* to put, to stop *Theng•thon tangkaaw ra•aimyng, uaw kerengaw palyngchi gopai tansigaakno*. Theng•thon took the money and left those bones buried in the jungle. *Balai tanangok*. I have already said it. *Angdo ytykyi balaimyng tanarinaka*. As for me, having spoken like this, I will just stop now.

tan•- *v* to cut, to cut up, to slay, to slaughter *Gal•aimuna kysangdo phylgymaw uan rykjolaimuna kukuri bykotaimuna tokyrengaw tan•thongokno. Tokyreg tan•thongaimungna kysangdo dykymawdo jytsetetokno, ytykimungna pi•pukaw tan•pyrakokno. Uchie phalthangmi dadadyrangaw nukokno, phaw•jonggarangaw*. After falling down, having run quickly towards the eagle, having drawn his knife, he cut the neck off, it is said. After decapitating the bird by cutting its neck, he pushed the head away, it is said. So then he cut the belly open, it is said. Then he saw his own brothers, his elder brothers, it is said. *Una phalthangmyng ma•suthangthangaw tan•aimyng khaiangokno. Ramchi golphoanga takaidongano*: "Angdo *ma•suba pang•phachaaimyng ni•wa, jamaaiawan tan•awachym*" *noai golphoa takaidongano*. Then, having slaughtered their own cows, they carried them to the market, it is said. On the way, they are taking, it is said. "I don't have many cows, but I would have slaughtered all of them anyway", he said while chatting, it is said.

tan•chekchek- *v* to cut into small pieces

tan•choleng- *v* to cut a piece out of something

tan•pyrak- *v* to cut open *Tokyreng tan•thongaimungna kysangdo dykymawdo jytsetetokno, ytykyimungna pipukaw tan•pyrakokno. Uchie phalthangmi dadadyrangaw nukokno* After having decapitated (the eagle), he pushed the head out of the way, it is said. So then he cut its belly open, it is said. Then he saw his own elder brothers, it is said.

tan•thong- *v* to decapitate, cut off the head; to cut off *Gal•aimuna kysangdo phylgymaw uan rykjolaimuna kukuri bykotaimuna tokyrengaw tan•thongokno.* After the eagle had fallen to the ground, he ran and unsheathed his knife and cut off its head, it is said.

tandap- *v* to be on top, to cover
tang *clf* classifier for *koktang* baskets
Ytykyimying te•do ge•thengthengdo na• khynaimying bai•sigathangmaran rukpekba tangsa, amakba tang sa•khaiaknowa. So then, now, as for them, having collected the fish, the frog and the monkey carried one basket each, it is said.

tangka *n* ART money *tangka poisa* money *tangka phel sa* one coin *tangka kung sa* one banknote *tangka rong chykhyw* nine rupees

tankynying- *v* to cut up in many pieces

tannet *n* ART measure basket

tanset- *v* to abandon, to leave behind

tap *n* time, turn *tap sa* once *tap ni* twice *tap tham* three times

tap- *v* to hit, to beat-up

-tara *encl.phr* only, exclusively

tarai *tw* this year

tarak- *v* quick, fast, swift *Hare! Ie atakgaba magachake? Te•do lengla lengla jaltherianoa. Una ryktheriokno banggale. Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake. "Huh?!"* What kind of a deer is that?" Now it is running as if it is lame again, it is said. Then the Bengal chases

after it again, it is said. Whenever he almost catches up with it, the deer just runs away quickly, it is said. *Anga noksang tarakai rai•na nangaidong.* I need to go home quickly. *Tarakbo na•a!* Hurry up!

tarang *n* PLACE layer *Angdo ie rajami khemna jywthumaidonga, damana. Ramramchagaba kyryngwa ido. Ha•nyng• tarang chinina imying kyryngwado rajami dama".* I am lying here guarding the royal drum. It has an unusual sound, this thing. The sound of it reaches twelve layers inside the earth.

tarik *n* TIME date

tas *n* ACT cards (the game) *Tas keleni ningdo.* We are going to play cards.

-tat *evsp* V compulsorily

tat- *v* to drive in (as with a nail in wood)

-taw *evsp* V upward

taw- *v* to go up, to ascend

-taw ~ -aw *encl.phr* accusative enclitic

taw• *n* ANIM bird, chicken

taw• sa•gyrai *n* ANIM chick

taw•di•mai *n* BODY tail feathers

taw•gurung *n* nest

taw•gylyk *n* ANIM type of jungle bird

taw•karang *n* BODY bird's wing

taw•khasi *n* ANIM capon, castrated rooster/cock

taw•kurung *n* PLACE the nest of a chicken

taw•myn• *n* BODY fluff, body feathers

taw•nok *n* ART chicken cove, coop

taw•pachi *n* ANIM swallow (Family of *Hirundinidae*)

taw•pak *n* ANIM bat, butterfly, moth

taw•pakhal *n* GEO cave in Siju

taw•paksa *n* ANIM moth

taw•paktyi *n* ANIM caterpillar

taw•palyng *n* ANIM jungle fowl

taw•pynchyrep *n* ANIM type of small bird with green wings and tail feathers, a white chest and brownish red head and beak,

approximately seven centimetres
from head to tail
taw•reksyrup *n* ANIM banana bird, if
translated literally its name is
'banana tree sucking bird'
taw•sa•gyrai *n* ANIM chick
taw•thup *n* ART nest
taw•ti ~ taw•tyi *n* ANIM egg
tawa *n* ART frying pan
tawel *n* ART towel
-te *sfx* declarative suffix
te•en *tw* later today
te•ew *tw* now *te•ew mangmang* just
now
tebyl *n* ART table
tek- *v* to tie
telephon *n* ART telephone
teng *onom* sound of falling money
-teng *evsp* still too V
tengchypchyp- *v* to shine, to glitter
Ytykyimying walchi rai•aphyinokno.
Rai•aphin•aisa beanbebe
phalthangmyng nokaw ge•thengdo
ma•su di•myng phirinaimying ue
sona bi•chamchymaw nok
ryphiokno. Nok ryphiwamying
kynsangdo te•ew ge•theng nokawan
alaga morotdyrangdo
tengchypchypai nukariokno. So
then he came back at night, it is
said. Having come back, having
mixed it with cow dung, he
plastered his house with the golden
flakes, it is said. After plastering
his house now, other people saw
how his house was shiny, it is said.
-tengteng *evsp* still much too V
tenki *n* BODY tank
teraka *tw* last year
tet- *v* to pour out
tha•gythyng *n* PLANT type of
vegetable
tha•let- *vdat* to explain *Ang nang•na*
Atong khu•chuk saina tha•letni. I
will explain to you how to write the
Atong language.
tha•makhu *n* PLANT tobacco
thabisi *n* ART amulet, antidote

thagal•- *v* to lose an object *Ang*
chabiaw bichiba thagal•ok. I have
lost my keys somewhere.
-thai ~ -tyi ~ -syi ~ -si *sfx* mirative
suffix, to (my) surprise
thai• *clf* classifier for receptacles
boiom thai• sa one jug *dipot thai•*
sa one teapot *khap thai• sa* one cup
Ge•theng boiom thai• ni bai•ok. He
broke two jugs
thai• *n* PLANT/FOOD fruit
thai•ma•thaigundai *n* PLANT type of
bright orange fruit that grows in
creepers high in the jungle trees in
the rainy season. The round fruits
are about seven centimetres in
diameter. The outside consists of a
thick, uneven leathery rind while
inside there are about eight sweet
orange carpels each containing a
smooth stone.
thai•symphak *n* PLANT type of plant
thajyri- *v* to make trouble
thal- *adjl* clear, explicit
thali *n* ART plate (for eating) or its
volume, plateful
tham *num* three
-tham *evsp* barely V
thama *n* ACT divination, *thama chai-*
to see the future, to practice
divination *Kamalchi thama chaia.*
At a priest's house, divination is
practiced.
-thamak *evsp* V barely, V excessively
thamat *n* PLANT green plant that
grows in the jungle and of which
the side leaves, the young leaves,
and the fruits cause irritation when
touched
thamylang *n* PLANT type of
vegetable
than•khoana- *v* to gut lengthwise,
longitudinally
thang *v* to fall down on
-thang *encl.p* own *ang nokthang* my
own house
thang- *v* to throw away with great
force *Matsa kherengwachido*
wa•chungbyryidarangdo
thang•aaidonga Bandiba. Bandi

kherengwachido wa•chu byryi wawa wawa thangasigaaidoknote. When the tiger makes a great effort, he throws Bandi one bamboo length away. When Bandi makes a great effort, he throws the tiger whoooooosh! four bamboo lengths away, it is said, I'm telling you!

thang•chichat- *v* to drain

thangguduk *adv* suddenly

thangphytphyt *v* to splash *Na•lam gudukwachie te•ewdo tyi thangpytptyaimyng jyksaiaiaawan Nawengawmu Kumiribaawma• khamoknowa.* When the *na•lam* (type of fish) wiggled, water splashed on the married couple Naweng and Kumiri and burned them, it is said.

thangtaw- *v* to squirt out

thanthong- *adjl* blunt (of pointed things)

thanyng *n* BODY brain

thap *onom* the sound of something hitting *thok, thap!* hit, slap!

thap- *v* to beat, to beat up, to destroy “*Phangnan ning nokaw thaparonga*” *noai balokno. Ytykimyng myng•tham re•engokno mongma mathaiaw thapna.* “He always destroys out houses” he said, it is said. So then the three of them went on their way, it is said, to beat up the elephant.

thaphu- *v* to blister

thapthap *adv* quickly

thapyra *n* SUBST ashes

tharai- *v* to change, to exchange, to swap *Ge•theng chola ga•chawana nygylmyngaw tharaiok.* He changed the bad shirt for a new one from the market.

tharap- *v* to catch up with, to be on time “*Aia! Udo magachakdo khorate*” *noaimyng rykoknowa. Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake.* “Hey, this deer is lame!” he said

and chased after it, it is said. When he almost caught up with the deer, it ran away fast, it is said, the deer.

thari- *v* to prepare, to arrange, to repair

thasa- *v* to wake somebody up

Thasabo uaw. Wake him up!

-that *evsp* *V* excessively

thatthongthong- *v* to tear to pieces

thaw *onom* bang! (sound of a gun firing)

thaw- *adjl* tasty

thaw•jyw *n* PLANT type of fruit

thawal *n* BODY scab

the•met- *v* to fold

the•myt *n* PLANT cucumber

thebajaw- *v* to tickle *Nang• angau thebajauwa, ang bejawok.* You tickled me and I feel tickled.

thek- *v* to block off, to lock *Tala thekbo.* Lock the lock.

thek- *v* to insert *Waiyr karenchi thekbo.* Put the wire into the electric socket.

-thel *evsp* surely *V Ichi rong•khalchi khen• ganangthelnaba ganang.*

Here in the spaces under the stones there are river crabs for sure.

thel•- *v* to tie

them *onom* sound of a gunshot, pow *Myng•sagado them! kawokno.* The first one shot, pow! it is said.

themtaw- *v* to roll up

theng *clf* classifier for pieces of meat

thep *clf* classifier for heaps and small packets

thet- *v* to pull out, to pull *Ang*

phakwalmyn• theta. I pull out the hair in my armpit.

thetchot- *v* to break by pulling *Ning kara thetchotok.* ‘We broke our rope.’

thik *adv* exactly, well cooked, well done *Kawbutungchi thik thokyrengaw man•okno.* When he shot [the giant eagle] he got it exactly in the neck. *Ja•ryt saw•ai, mantaw saw•ai, mai•chengmung na•lammung thiksa berengai sa•a.* We roast the chilli pepper, we roast

the brinjal and cook it until it is well done with *mai•cheng* (a type of leafy green) and *na•lam* (a type of fish) in a bamboo cylinder and eat it.

thik dong- ~ **dong-** *v* to be correct
Morut chanchichypai thik dongokodo, uchian rajaana uaw ajot nosawnaka. Suppose someone gets it right, then the king will tell him *ajot*.

thik kha- *v* to fix a date and time
Takrukna san somai thik kha•wachym. They supposedly fixed a time and a day to fight.

thikthak *adv* exactly, precise, precisely *Kynsange nygyltyi ni re•engwachi thikthak jahas kanachina dong•angok.* Later, when she had been going for two weeks, she arrived exactly at the ship and the harbour. *Thikthak phangnado chykhyw bajichi sa•aidonga.* He always eats exactly at nine o'clock. *Thikthak kawoknotyi ue sa•gyraie.* *Kawbutungchi thik thokyrengaw man•okno.* That child shot very precisely. When he shot [the giant eagle] he got it exactly in the neck.

thimini- *v* to make someone smile

thimini- *v* to make someone smile

thingthingthing *onom* “klang klang!”
sound of something falling made of metal

thintaw- *v* to climb up

thiri *n* ART bow (of bow and arrow)

thiri *n* ART arrow (of bow and arrow)

-thiri *evsp* *V* again

thirikun• *n* ART arrow (of bow and arrow)

thiriphong *n* ART part of an elephant trap

-thirithiri *evsp* *V* again and again

tho *n* FOOD mustard oil

tho- *v* to compare

tho•ma *n* ACT group

thogi- *v* to betray, to cheat (on), to deceive *Gawi angaw thogiok.* The

girl has betrayed me/cheated on me.

thojekjek- *v* to shake a fixed object *Ie panaw thojekjekchido thai•gal•khalni.* If you shake this tree, fruit will fall down.

-thok *evsp* *V* together, everybody (S/O quantifier)

thokbyrang *adj2* multicoloured, many coloured

thokbyrym *adj2* multicoloured, many coloured

thokthok *adv* precisely

thol- *v* to lie, to tell lies “*Anga Ketketa Bura nogaawan tyngkhucha*” *noaimyng Ketketa Burae phalthangawan pheruna thol•okno.* “I don’t know this so called Ketketa Bura yet”, lied Ketketa Bura about himself to the fox, it is said.

thol•am *n* PERS liar

thom *clf* classifier for things in heaps or piles *jyw• thom sa* a pile of flattened bamboo used to make mats

thom- *v* to come together *Song gumuk thom•aimung ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynow sowalni.* The whole village comes together and they will divide the *ha•ba* plot by plot.

thom•- *v* to make a heap *Rong• thomaidonga.* He’s making a heap of stones.

thong• *clf* classifier for cylindrical objects *betyri thong• byryi* four batteries

thong• *n* SHAPE half which is the result of a cross section or a cut across the width or a crosscut

-thong• *evsp* *V* in half

thongthong *adv* straight

thop *onom* hitting sound: thok! thunk!

thop- *v* to gang up on “*Watnabai iaw alagaaw!*” *noaimyng rykathokaidongano, Bandiaw thopna.* “Don’t let this stranger go!” they said and they were chasing him, they wanted to gang up on Bandi.

thorok- *v* to jump (down from / out of) *Alsia raja phe•pmyng thorokokno*. The lazy king jumped out of the banyan tree, it is said. *Ytykymyng magachakdo biskutaw tyisamchi tanaimyng chaw! thorokangokno*. So then, having put the biscuits by the side of the water, the deer splash! jumped into the water, it is said.

thorom *n* ACT religion *Ning songsyrekdo ning atongdo dakangdo mamyng thoromaw ni•wami somaichido waiaw mania*. We pagans, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, we worshipped spirits.

thot- *v* to hit, to bump into something or against something *Cha•ron•chi thotwa*. I hit my foot on a stone.

thot thyng•thot *adv* to the last drop *Thot thyng•thot takwachina dabat sykromaimyng khanetsigaaidongno*. He (Bandi) grasped her (Sore) and poured the liquor into her mouth to the last drop.

thothak *n* QUANT/MSRE a drop, classifier for drops *myktyi thothak ni* two tears/two teardrops *mykrensam thothak ni* two drops of eye medicine.

thotphyret- *v* to smash by hitting against or on something

thuk- *v* to enclose with a fence *nol thuka* to fence

thuk- *v* to wicker a bamboo mat *Damdyl thukaimu nok hama*. Having made the bamboo mats, they build the house.

-thum *evsp* *V* on behalf, instead of someone else

thunuk- *v* to show

thup *n* PLACE nest *Taw•reksyrup mang sa ge•thengmyng thup phangnan mongma phai•ai sa•rongwana, mongma mathaiaw thokna re•engaidongano*. Because the nest of a banana bird always gets broken and eaten by an

elephant, it is on its way to beat the bachelor elephant up, it is said.

thup *onom* beating sound: thunk!, slap!

thup- *v* to nest, to be thick (of fog or mist) *Te•edo ue mongmaai rekchi thupai thupai mu•gabaaw phangnan phai•ai pha•ai sa•ronga*. Now this elephant always breaks and eats the place in which I nest in the banana tree. *Guri thupa*. The fog is thick.

thut ~ thun *clf* classifier for big spherical things, stones, bricks, rocks, heads, hills, mountains and bars of soap *rong thut tham* three rocks *ha•byri thut sene* seven hills, mountains *sabun thut sa* one bar of soap, *dykym thut sa* one head

thy•yk- *v* to have the hiccups

thyi- *v* to die

thyi• *n* BODY blood

thyikhop *n* ART dried fruit in which water is stored for consumption

thyiwami *n* ACT death

thyk *n* ART pan for cooking rice

thyk- *v* to be fixed sideways

-thyl *evsp* *V* and avoid, *V* ahead

thyl• *postp* up to, until (spatial) *Ie cha-masangmi wai khurutchido ue hyisangmiaw Bangladesmi thyl• Kongosmi jaria*

ha•gyrsakgumukawan myngani. When he summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the area of Kongos, all of them.

thyl•- *v* to go very far

Ga•thyngaimuna thyl•angok.

Because [I] kicked [it], [it] went very far.

thylapak ~ thylampak *n* BODY tongue

-thylong *evsp* *V* nicely

thym- *v* to lay in ambush

thym- *v* to take revenge

thymbylong *adj2* to have a hole in it, damaged (of roads, bridges and wooden planks)

thymyn *v* to ripen *Panchung thymyetbo*. Keep the jackfruit so that it can ripen.

thymyn- *v* to ripen

thymyt- *v* to put out (fire), to switch off, to extinguish

-thyng *evsp* *V* so much

thyng- *v* to kick

thyngel- *v* to tilt

thyngpyret- *v* to kick

-thyngthyng *evsp* *V* so much, *V* continuously

thyp- *v* to throw (sidearm) *Wakaw paiaimungna amake wel•an wel•ang pankambaichi dung•angaimungna sa•sigaaknotyi dyngdang. Dyngdang sa•sigaakno. "Sala! Na•a angna kholaw hynatemo." nookno khu•sume. Amake: "Tambone hyn•ni nang•naba" noaimuna "Ha•kerengaw sa•bo!" noai thypratetokno*. Having carried the pig, the monkey quickly climbed to the top of a tree and ate alone. "Damn you! You can at least give me the skin!" said the turtle. "Wait, OK! I'll give you something too", the monkey said and then: "Take this, eat the bones!" he said and threw them down. *Uchie ge•theng nokhapchina tangkaaw thypai thypai khiaidongano, "Rong sa, rong ni, rong tham" noaimyng*. Then he goes home and is counting the money throwing it on the ground saying: "One rupee, two rupees, three rupees". *"Dada, anga nang•jongsaba" nookono. "Sala burbok sa•gyrai na•a ningaw hala kha•gabaai" noaimungna bunduk ra•asetetaimungna uaw sa•gyraiaw gadakchichiokno. Gadakchichiaimuna singsingkhongsang thypsetyi tanangokno*. "Brothers, brothers, I am your younger brother!" he said, it is said. "Damn you stupid child! You have woken us up!" they said and, having thrown away their

guns, they cut the child up in pieces, it is said. Having cut him into pieces, they threw him in a deep hole in the ground, it is said.

thyrgyryw *v* to shake something large and unmovable

thyw•- *adj1* deep

thywkhong *adj2* globular, protruding, bulging

Tibet *n* PLACE Tibet

tibi *n* ART television

tiititi *interj* interjection to call a chicken

tin *n* ART corrugated iron sheet used to make roofs *tin kap sa* one sheet of corrugated iron

tintyrin *n* PLANT tamarind

tiup *n* ART tube

-to ~ -ta *sfx* emphatic imperative suffix

to•theng *n* PERS the little forest spirit of wealth

toilet ~ toilyt *n* PLACE toilet

tok- *v* to beat, to beat up, to play an instrument *Taw•reksyrup mang sa ge•thengmyng thup phangnan mongma phai•ai sa•rongwana, mongma mathaiaw tokna re•engaidongano*. Because the nest of a banana bird always gets broken and eaten by an elephant, it is on its way to beat the bachelor elephant up, it is said.

Ang phulistau kha•peta bajuaw tokwana I am angry with the police because they beat up my friend. *Uaw Do•renggo Wadachongawdo achu ambido tawnaan Do•renggo Wa•dachong jatram saphairam noaimu samaw cha•aw ityki tokano*. As for Do•renggo Wa•dachong, in order to go up on Do•renggo Wa•dachong, our ancestors beat so called *jatram* and *saphairam* medicinal plants with their feet like this, it is said. *"Ue atakwa jong?" "Madam tokwa." "Atongmai•na?" "Ytykyian tokariwa."* What happened there, son?" "My (female) teacher has hit

me.” “Why?” “Like that she just hit me.”

tokdepdep- *v* to crush, to grind

Sambanggyri akaio kno,
tokdepdepaimu pha•atokno. He
plucked *sambanggyri*, crushed it
and put it on the wound, it is said.

tokgepgep- *v* to beat to pulp

tokhynyng- *v* to smash into pieces

tokkhyphu ~ tokybu *n* BODY throat,
area just under the chin

tokorot *n* BODY throat, glottal area

tokphyrong- *v* to take a powdered
substance in the palm of one hand
and softly tap on it with the other
hand

tokpyret- *v* to crush by hitting

tokset- *v* to cough, to have a cold

tokset- *v* to pull loose

tokta *n* SUBST type of wood

toktai- *v* to hang oneself

tokthining ~ tokthynyng *n* BODY
neck

tokthong•- *v* to smash in half

tokthynyng ~ tokthining *n* BODY
neck

toktokylek *n* PLANT type of flower

tokyphu *n* BODY gullet, throat

toky reng *n* BODY neck

tong- *v* to fuck

tota *n* ART plank *tota kap sa* one
plank *tota khaw• sa* one plank

totakhaw• *n* ART a plank *tota khaw•*
sa one plank

totyp *adj2* bent *Bandi mu•etwachian*

dakhamba ha•china chaksi ni
dong•na guduk totyp totyp
takaidonganote. When *Bandi* sits
on the *dakhamba* it bent almost
completely to but two fingers from
the ground, it is said.

tu•- ~ ty•- *v* to feed (by putting food
or drink into the mouth *Sa•gyraina*
mai tu•wa. I fed the child rice.

Bylsi senemi chywaw pityi jyngjang
phinggabaw botol
chaksijyw•sykyngabaaw
kanetaidongano. “*Dada cho•isa*
ka•wakbone” *noaimyng*
hyn•etaidongano. “*Atong churu*

ryngnaka?” *noaimu* “*Botolgumuk*
ty•etsyrangbo.” They are pouring
seven year old wine from a fully
filled bottle as small as a thumb, it
is said. “Elder brother, open your
mouth a little” they said and then
“What little will I drink?” he said
“Feed me the whole bottle.”

tuk- *v* overgrown, dense (of
vegetation) *Ram tuka*. The road is
overgrown. *Palyng tuka*. The
jungle is dense.

tum *clf* classifier for places and
packets *Hap tumbyisyk?* ‘How
many places?’

tun- ~ tyn- *v* to lead, to guide to lead,
to guide *Na•a ang ma•su mang*
raja saaw tynangsegabone. You
lead my hundred cows away, OK?

tung *clf* classifier for objects like
bridges *dolong tung ni* two bridges

tung•- *adj1* hot, warm

tupi *n* ART cap, heat

ty•- ~ tu•- *v* see *tu•-*

tyi *n* SUBST water; fruit juice

tyi• *n* ANIM egg

tyi•- *v* to lay an egg

tyibal *n* GEO wave

tyibasal *n* GEO whirlpool

tyibek *n* ART traditional bottle used to
drink water out of and made of a
dried vegetable also called *tyibek*

tyichabakram *n* GEO waterfall,
cascade

tyichang *n* PLACE island

tyigat *n* place place in a river or at the
end of a water pipe where the
people get drinking water, take a
bath and wash their clothes and
dishes.

tyigum *n* ART water container made
of metal and shaped like a big vase
used to store water in the kitchen.
Its place in the house is in the
tyinok

tyikaran ~ tyikha•ran ~ tyika•ran
adj2 thirsty

tyikhal *n* GEO river *thyikhal chol ni*
two rivers

tyimong *n* GEO main river

tyimuk *n* GEO spring, source
tyimyik *n* GEO source
tyinala *n* PLANT algae
tyinok *n* ART place in the kitchen where the water pots (*tyigum*) and other utensils like plates, cups and glasses are stored.
tyiphek *n* GEO tributary river, the smaller one of two rivers that flow together
tyisam *n* PLACE river bank, edge of the water *Tyi ga•gaba wari thyw•gaba tyisamchi hap sylgabachi myng• ni bai•sigathangmaran* “*chang tyrywchegnaka?*” *noaidongano*. By the side of a deep *wari* with good water on a beautiful spot the two friends were arguing about who would take a bath first, it is said.
tyisi- *v* to be wet *Magachakmi myn•do tyisiwachian miniksuru takjolarianoro*. When the deer’s fur is wet, it just quickly gets flat-haired, it is said.
tyisurung *n* GEO rainwater that streams over the ground
tyithai *n* ART water scoop made of a hollow, dried gourd.
tyksyl *n* ART pan for cooking rice
-tykyi *encl.phr* perlativ/similfactive enclitic
tykyw *n* ART water pot
tym *clf* classifier for fields *ha•ba tym ni* two dry rice and vegetable fields on the slope of a mountain
-tym *sfx* personal pronoun plural suffix used to form the second person plural exclusive personal pronoun from the second person singular and the third person plural from the distal demonstrative: *nang•tym* you (plural exclusive) *utym* they
-tyn *evsp* lead/bring to V, be the leader of the action, *Keletynbo!* Play with the others as the leader.
tyn- ~ **tun-** *v* to lead, to guide *Na•a ang ma•su mang raja saaw*

tynangsegabone. You lead my hundred cows away, OK?
tyng *clf* classifier for long thin objects like ropes, chains, hairs etc. *kara tyng sa* one rope
tyng- *v* to know, to recognise
“Ketketa Bura? Anga Ketketa Bura nogaawan tyngkhucha” noaimyng Ketketa Burae phalthangawan pheruna thol•okno. “Ketketa Bura? I don’t know this so called Ketketa Bura yet”, lied Ketketa Bura about himself to the fox, it is said. *Ang ie khata dakangdo tyngchachym, te•ewdo nemen tyngok*. I did not know this word before but now I know it well. *Nang•baletgaba morote atongtykyi angawe tyngsawnaka?* How will the person you talk about certainly recognise me?
tyngcheng- *v* to know first, to discover
tyngen *adv* very *Ue raja kam kha•naba tyngen haratachym*. That king was supposedly very reluctant to do work.
tynggetwami ~ **tynggetwamyng** *n* ART announcement, notice
tyngkarang *adv* in one go
-tyngtang *evsp* V all over the place
tyngtet- *v* to hang someone *Tyng•tet kha•ai tan•!* Hang him up!/Kill him by hanging him!
tyngwami *n* ACT knowledge, understanding
typ- *v* to throw down “*Sala burbok sa•gyrai na•a ningaw halakha•gabaai*” *noaimungna bunduk ra•asetetaimungna uaw sa•gyraiaw gadakchichiokno. Gadakchichiaimuna singsingkhologsang typsetyi tanangokno, typsetyi tanangokno*. “Damn you stupid child who disturbed us!” they said and they took out their guns and cut the child into pieces, it is said. Having cut him up, they threw him into a

deep hole in the ground and left him there, it is said.

tyret- *v* to bathe someone else

tyru-~ tyiru- ~ tyiryw- *v* to bathe, to take a bath, to wash oneself

tyt- *v* to pour *Ue tyigummi tyi tytbo depotchi*. Pour water from that *tyigum* into the teapot.

uchi *discon* then

uchiba *discon* but then *Una myng•sagaba sa•banthai sa•banthai myng•sagaba bychymokno, uchiba patangphaariok, dang•angphaariokno*. Then one son pulled the other out [from the water], it is said, but then they just crossed and they all just drowned, it is said.

uching ~ u•ching ~ ukching *n* ANIM leech

ue ~ u- *dem* that, there, distal demonstrative

umi ~ umido ~ umisa ~ umyng ~ umung ~ umyngdo ~ umyngsa *discon* then *Na•a wai chunggabaaw nukoknoai chanchibo, ma•su ra•naka, purun ra•naka, taw• ra•na nangni, wak ra•na nangni, unado. Umi chywba sym•na nangni, ue kamalna*. Suppose you see a big spirit. You'll get a cow you'll get a goat, you'll need to get a chicken, you'll need to get a pig, for him. Then you'll also need to brew some liquor for that priest. *Ma•su nanga, wak nanga, taw• nanga, chyw nanga waikhurutna. Umido uaw kamal sandini*. You need a cow, you need a pig, you need a chicken, you need liquor to perform an incantation. Then you will search for that priest. *Phasgaba ha•haw•chenga. Umungsa ha•haw•aimungsa wa•cham tan•a*. First we clear the jungle. Then, having cleared the jungle, we cut the old rice stalks.

umigymynchi ~ umynggymynchi

discon for that reason, therefore, because of that

umyng ~ umung~ umyngdo ~

umyngsa ~ umi ~ umido ~ umisa

discon then *Phasgaba*

ha•haw•chenga. Umungsa ha•haw•aimungsa wa•cham tan•a.

First we clear the jungle. Then, having cleared the jungle, we cut the old rice stalks. *Na•a wai chunggabaaw nukoknoai chanchibo, ma•su ra•naka, purun ra•naka, taw• ra•na nangni, wak ra•na nangni, unado. Umi chywba sym•na nangni, ue kamalna*.

Suppose you see a big spirit. You'll get a cow you'll get a goat, you'll need to get a chicken, you'll need to get a pig, for him. Then you'll also need to brew some liquor for that priest. *Ma•su nanga, wak nanga, taw• nanga, chyw nanga waikhurutna. Umido uaw kamal sandini*. You need a cow, you need a pig, you need a chicken, you need liquor to perform an incantation.

Then you will search for that priest.

una *discon* therefore, then *Jetakai patangchiba rung bytrongrengangariano, sangkyningan. Unasa rung chawna dakangan ytykyi rung dykymaw ga•tyngaimuna “kha Dawa!, kha Dawa!” noaimusa rung chawaimu patranganoro*. Whatever you do whenever you cross, the boat will spin. That is the water dragon. Therefore, before you cross by boat, because you stamp on the head of the boat saying “Kha Dawa! Kha Dawa!” and then having gone by boat, you usually cross, it is said. Only then does the water dragon not get you, it is said.

utym *ppron* they, third person plural personal pronoun

wa *n* BODY tooth, tusk (of elephant) *wa khaw• ni* two teeth, two tusks

-wa *sfx* factitive suffix

wa- vS1 to rain *Rang waaidok*. It's raining. Literally: Rain is raining. This verb can only take the noun *raŋ* as its subject.

wa.tana *n* ART part of an elephant trap

wa• *n* PLANT bamboo *wa• dot sa* one culm of bamboo *wa•khaw• sa* one long half of a bamboo *morot wa• sa•gaba* a strong and tough person

wa• *n* KIN father

wa•cham *n* PLANT old rice stalk which is left over after harvesting the rice

wa•chu *n* MSRE one bamboolength

wa•chun *n* MSRE the length of one bamboo stick

wa•churek *n* ABSTR capacity

wa•chyrik- *vdat* to be startled *Gari horn kha•wanasa wa•chyrikok, ge•thenge*. Because the car blew its horn he was startled.

wa•da *n* PLANT type of bamboo of which each culm comes out of the ground individually instead of in a bush

wa•dokolong *n* ART water pipe made of bamboo

wa•gat *n* ART bamboo shoulder yoke

wa•gatram *n* BODY shoulder, literally: 'the place where you put the bamboo shoulder yoke'

wa•gydok *n* ART water pipe made of bamboo

wa•jong *n* PLANT type of bamboo

wa•kai *n* PLANT type of big bamboo

wa•khal *n* ANIM grasshopper-like insect

wa•khaw• *n* PLANT one long half of a bamboo split lengthwise *wa•khaw sa* one long half of a bamboo

wa•khynta *n* PLANT type of bamboo

wa•phuk *n* ART white half of a strip of bamboo used to make rope

wa•ri ~ wa•ryi *n* PERS child who lost his father

wa•rung *n* PLANT young bamboo

wa•sung *n* ART bamboo cylinder used as container and used to cook

bering in *wa•sung sung ni* two bamboo cylinders

wa•syl *n* ART green half of a strip of bamboo used to make rope

wa•thok *n* PLANT hollow bamboo stick *Myng•sene bytwa motchagabaaw man•chagabaaw gudukchagabaaw chaimu, Bandiba kawraw bytjasaaimyng phalthang phagongmathangchi phaiai rai•aaidonganote, Bandiba. Bandi paianggabaaw mykren wa•thok song•phinai Gyrynggyrang chaisymaidongano*. Having watched the seven unable men and the pillar that does not move, Bandi easily pulled the pillar out and is carrying it on his shoulder, it is said, I'm telling you! Gyrynggyrang is watching the carrying Bandi with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.

wa•thyrai *n* PLANT type of bamboo

wa•tyng *n* ART bamboo strip used to make baskets, and other woven utensils as well as rope. *Nang•tym angaw tyichi typratwaba nemariok aro koksep chungkhuna nang•achym. Wa•tyng tyngphekna ma•su mangphek hyn•wa, gumuk-gamak angna ma•su mang raja sa hyn•etwa angnado*. You threw me into the water and that was good, and I should have had a bigger *koksep*. For every bamboo strip they gave me a cow and in all they gave me one hundred cows.

wach *n* ART watch

wachyw *n* BODY incisors (the four front teeth used for biting)

wadi ~ wakhi *n* BODY plaque

wagydok *n* ART bamboo water pipe

wagyleng *n* PERS person who is missing one or more teeth

wai *n* PERS spirit *wai khurut-* to perform an incantation, so summon a spirit

wai- *v* to return, to go/come back *Rangsando saniarokno, sikharba*

kha•chypanchakno, ytykthyngai somai jamchypaimuna jyksang sa•sang waiangokno. The sun was setting. The hunting had failed and having done all this, having wasted time, he went back to his family, it is said.

wai- *v* to plough *Bydyi myng• sa ha•phal khamaidongano, ma•susang ha•phal waiaidongano.* An old man is working in the field, it is said. He is ploughing the field with a cow, it is said.

wai•- *v* to scoop (of liquid) *Angna chyw gylaschi wai•bo.* Scoop some liquor into the glass for me. *Tyikhalmi tyi wai•aimu ge•theng ryngok.* He scooped out some water from the river and drank it.

wai•seng *n* ART very big knife traditionally used to kill tigers and men *wai•seng mang sa one wai•seng*

waiphin *n* ACT return *Waisa waiphin lak sa nanga.* To go and come back you need one hundred thousand rupees.

waiphin- *v* to go back, to return *Nang•mi sa•banthai waiphinaakte.* Your son has returned.

waisa *n* ACT the going (to somewhere) *Waisa waiphin lak sa nanga.* To go and come back you need one hundred thousand rupees.

waiset- *v* to drain a little bit of water, to scoop out water *Chamussang waisetbo.* Scoop it out with a spoon.

waiyr *n* ART wire

wak *n* ANIM pig, pork

wakam *n* BODY molar (tooth)

wakeng *n* ART axe

wakhi• ~ wadi• *n* BODY plaque

wakhol ~ wakholong *n* PERS person who is missing one or more teeth

wakhu *n* ART chopper

waknok *n* ANIM domestic pig

waknol *n* ART pigsty

wakpalyng *n* ANIM wild pig

wal *n* TIME night

wal- *v*S1 to be night *Walni.* It will be night. *San walok.* It has become night. (Literally: The day has become night.)

wal• *n* GEO fire, torch *Nokhapalchi wal• chakbo.* Light a fire outside the house. *Na•nang walchi wal• netaimu khen• rawna re•engni.* We will light a torch and go catch river crabs at night.

wal•bek *n* FOOD burnt curry *Mai sa•naan ja•bek wal•bek thawcawanaan.* As far as eating rice is concerned, the curry was burnt, it was not tasty.

wal•byt *n* ART match (to make fire)

wal•cham *n* ART bamboo torch

wal•di *n* SUBST ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

wal•khu *n* SUBST smoke

wal•khu- *v* to produce smoke

wal•kungki *n* SUBST black ashes

wal•sam *n* PLACE fireside

wal•thum• *n* fire that is burned during the winter outside the house to keep warm

wala- *v* to arrive at night, to be late so that it is already night “*Ma baba, atykyimu walawa?*” *nookno amakaw, amakmi sa•dyrange.* “*Ni•wa. Ue nang•awangpara nokchi dang•phakawa na•a*” *noatakokno.* “But daddy, why are you so late? It is already night”, the monkey’s children said. “Don’t worry. I visited your uncle” he said, it is said.

walchak- *v* to kindle the fire with your breath by blowing

walsymsym *n* GEO twilight

-wami ~ -wamyng *encl.cl* action/state nominaliser clausal enclitic

wang *n* KIN 1. uncle: fathers younger brother 2. stepfather

wang- *v* to bite a bit out of something

wang•- *v* to turn, to wind

wanggala *n* ACT biggest Garo festival

warasak- *v* to defend, to shield, to protect

warem *n* SUBST rust

wari *n* PLACE deep place in the river where you can swim or take a bath
Tyi ga•gaba wari thyw•gaba tyisamchi hap sylgabachi myng• ni bai•sigathangmaran “*chang trywchengnaka*” *noaidongano*. At the waterside of a place in the river where there was nice and deep water, in a beautiful place, the two friends are arguing about who will take a bath first, it is said.

waribul- *v* to fish at the festival of *waribula*

waribula *n* ACT the Siju fishing festival in the Symsang river at Dabatwari

wat- *v* to weave things from reed or bamboo, to make a mat or basket from bamboo or reed *Ge•theng koksep watna man•a*. He can weave a bamboo cage.

wat- *v* to send away, to banish, to get rid of, to switch on an electrical apparatus like a radio, TV, computer etc., to let go *Ge•thengmi nokaw ge•theng watok, ytykyimu dynthang nokchi mu•arok*. His family sent him away, so now he is staying in another house. *Git watbo*. Play some music. (on the radio/tape/CD/etc.) *Ram watbo*. Go out of the way. *Su•nyng•chi ri•tyi watchawa*. I will not cum inside her vagina/cunt. In the negative this verb can mean ‘to seize, to capture’. “*Ramchi hampyi na•nangdo watchaka ge•thengawdo, sala! Ge•thengaw watkuna so•otthelarinaka*” *noai khu•mongangokno*. “This evening we will certainly get rid of him on the road, the bastard! We will kill him after all to get rid of him once more”, they conspired freely, it is said. *Ytykyi pywtynangaimyng kynsangdo dong•na guduk takwachian ge•thengtheng khusi dongthamakaimyng gore di•maichi phalthang chak diriga sangwalaimyng khusi dong•aimyng*

watokno. Ytykyimying galai thyiokno. So then, having flown away, later, when they almost arrived, because they were so very happy, they forgot to hold on to the horse’s tail with their own hands, and because they were so happy, they let go, it is said. So then they fell down and died, it is said.

watet- *v* to send (away), to post *Ang songthangchina dong•angwachi nang•tymna chiti watetni*. When I have arrived in my own country I will send you letters. *Stem rong chi dok tanaimu chiti wateta*. You put sixteen rupees worth of stamps and post the letter.

watwa watwa *adv* scattered all over the place

watyi *n* TIME rainy season

wawa *onom* throwing sound *Bandi kherengwachido wa•chu byryi wawa wawa thangasigaaidoknote*.

When Bandi makes a great effort, he throws the tiger whooooooh! four bamboo lengths away, it is said, I’m telling you!

wek *onom* the sound of a pig: squeal! oink!

wek- *v* to sweep

wekwak- *adjl* to be very soft (like mud), sloppy *Ram wekwakok*. The road is very soft like mud.

welet- *v* to flash

wen• ~ wen- *v* to wind around, to wrap around, make as a coil

wen• ~ wet *n* MSRE time, turn *wet sa ~ wen• sa* once, *wen• ni* twice *wen• tham* three times

wen• ~ wyn• ~ wyt- ~ wot *v* to sharpen, to whet

weng• *n* PLANT node (of bamboo), joint

wenphak- *v* to wind around something *Dypyw ang chakaw wenphakwa*. The snake wound itself around my hand.

wet ~ wen• *n* MSRE time, turn *wet sa ~ wen• sa* once, *wen• ni* twice *wen• tham* three times

wetanchian *adv* every time
wetantian *adv* every time, time and time again
-wil ~ -wilwil *evsp* V around
winwin- *v* to wind (something around something)
wongong- *v* to stir
wongwet- *v* to dangle
wot- ~ wyt- ~ wen•- ~ wyn•- *v* to sharpen, to whet
wungwung- *v* to stir
wyiset- *v* to wipe off
wyl- *v* to go down, to descend
wylang- *v* to go down, descend
wyn• ~ wen• ~ wyt- ~ wot- *v* to sharpen, to whet
wynget- *v* to dangle
-wyngwang *evsp* V in a confused way
wyngwang- *v* to wag *Kyi• di•mai* *wyngwangaidong*. The dog is wagging its tail.
wyngwet- *v* to swing, to move back and forth
wyt- ~ wot- ~ wen•- ~ wyn•- *v* to sharpen, to whet
ym *procl* I agree, affirmative, OK, that's right, yes
ymbyng *n* ART bamboo flute
ympong *adj2* lopsided, convex, having a surface or boundary that curves or bulges outward, as the exterior of a sphere *Tyibekan ympong*. A traditional water bottle is lopsided.
ymyi *interj* interjection of surprise
yndyn *adv* for nothing, in vain, for free, simply
ytyk- *v* to do like this/that *Ytykaria, te•ewrawrawmi gawido*. They do just like that, the girls of nowadays.
ytykchiba *discon* but, however "Acha babaji, angmi joraaw chaina man•nima?" "man•niba. ytykchiba raja sa nangnine. "Ok, fortuneteller, can you see my love match?" "I can, but I will of course need one hundred [rupees]." *Angna mamyingawan nangchawa, ytykchiba na•a angna aro angmyng jykna nang• khengwa dabat ang*

thyicha dabat angaw mu•ai sa•na hyn•bo" *nookno*. "I don't need anything. However, you keep giving me and my wife something to eat as long as you live until I die", he said, it is said.

ytykchido *discon* so, in that case "Nang•tym ang nokaw saw•waba nemariok. Anga nang•tymaw mythelbiok aro ang nok chungkhuchido, ina daiai man•nichym anga tangka" *nookno*. "Ytykchido ningba phalthang nokaw saw•aimyng ha•thapyra phalchie man•nima?" "It is really good that you burnt down my house. I thank you very much and if my house had been bigger, I would have gotten more money than this", Theng•thon said, it is said. "In that case, after we will have burnt down our own houses and sold the ashes, will we get money too?"

ytyken *adv* like this/that "Atakna rai•awa?" "O, gylgylarong ytyken, haratwanasa." "Why have you come?" "Oh, I am just roaming like this, just because I'm lazy."

ytykgaba *adj2* this kind of, like this, such *Angba ytykgaba kha•di ra•nichymte*. I would also buy clothes like these.

ytykma•chiba *discon* but, however *Gadakchichiaimuna thypsetthiriokno. Ytykma•chiba uba sa•gyraiba jumu kha•thirithirioknotyi*. He cut it into pieces again and disposed of it again, it is said. But that child reassembled once again, it is said to our surprise.

ytykyi *adv* like this/that "Ma•, man•ni dongchido ie parang kun•sa•aw kawanchyi" *noai hyn•okno. Ytykyi songtawai hyn•okno*. "Well, you will (be able to shoot the eagle), try to shoot this culm of reed", she said and gave one. She chose one and put it upright like this, it is said.

ytykyimying ~ ytykyimu ~

ytykyimuna ~ ytykyimung ~

ytykyimungna *discon* so then, having done that/this *Te•ewe alsia rajano song dam saci. Ytykyimying alsia raja song dam saci noaisa.*

Kam kha•na nobo haratanoaro ue, alsiae. Ytykyimying jykba myng• ni khymanoro. Jyk myng• ni khymano. Ytykyimying sa•naba jyk paina nangano, jywna jyk paina nangano.

Now, there is a lazy king, it is said, in a certain village. So then, a lazy king in a certain village, I'm saying, right. He is reluctant to do work, it is said, that one, the lazy person. So then, he is married to two wives, it is said. He is married to two wives, it is said. So then, his wives have to carry the lazy king in order to eat, it is said, and his wives have to carry him in order to sleep, it is said. *Ytym myng• korokan ha• kamarokno. Ytykyimungna kamaimungna kysangdo jyw•gaba*

noksang rai•aakno. The six of them worked weeding the *ha•ba*, it is said. So then, after weeding the *ha•ba* their mother went home, it is said.

ytykyisa *discon/adv* therefore, like that/this, then, that's why, so *"Saepdyrang jalangokkhon" noai Arong nokma chaikhawwachi Arong nokmami mukhangaw khiemu thyiokno. Ytykyisa ue Arong nokma thiywamisa saepe bondyk paiaimu sipaidyran dang•na man•okno.* He said: "Maybe the white soldiers have run away" and when headman Arong surreptitiously looked, having hit headman Arong in the face, he died, it is said. That's why, because of headman Arong's death, the gun-carrying white soldiers were able to enter the village, it is said. *Ytykyisa Bandie balaidongano [...]* Bandi spoke like this, it is said [...]

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