A Grammar Research Guide for Ngwi Languages

Eric B. Drewry
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in cooperation with SIL International—East Asia Group

SIL International
2016
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Abstract

This grammar research guide describes the range of syntactic variety found in a representative group of well-described Ngwi languages. This overview of syntactic variety should make the guide useful for field linguists preparing to describe any of the forty-eight Ngwi languages that were recognized for the first time in the sixteenth edition of the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009). This is done by giving examples of where and how widely the languages in this group vary even within the typical categories of the Ngwi languages, including sentence introducers, conjunctions, noun types, compounding, derivation, noun particles, postnominal clausal particles, classifiers and numerals, negation, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, verb types, verb concatenations, preverbal and postverbal slots, verb particles, clause-final and sentence-final particles, simple sentences, compound sentences, and complex sentences. The representative languages that supply examples of syntactic variety are Lalo Xishanba [ywt] and Lahu [lhu] (Central Ngwi languages), Nuosu[iii] (a Northern Ngwi language), and Bisu [bzi] (a Southern Ngwi language), with additional information about Akha [ahk] (another Southern Ngwi language). All of the languages in the southeastern branch on the Ngwi language group are among the recently recognized languages, so no member of this group has been comprehensively described for inclusion in this guide.
Contents

Introduction
Abbreviations
1 Sentence introducers
  1.1 Interjections
     1.1.1 Bisu interjections
     1.1.2 Lahu interjections
     1.1.3 Lalo interjections
     1.1.4 Nuosu interjections
  1.2 Conjunctions
     1.2.1 Bisu conjunctions
     1.2.2 Lahu conjunctions
     1.2.3 Lalo conjunctions
     1.2.4 Nuosu conjunctions
2 Nouns
  2.1 Noun types, compounding, and derivation
     2.1.1 Bisu noun types, compounding, and derivation
     2.1.2 Lahu noun types, noun structures, and derivation
     2.1.3 Lalo noun types, compounding, and derivation
     2.1.4 Nuosu noun types, compounding, derivation, and nominalization
  2.2 Noun phrase structure
     2.2.1 Bisu noun phrase structure
     2.2.2 Lahu noun phrase structure
     2.2.3 Lalo noun phrase structure
     2.2.4 Nuosu noun phrase structure
  2.3 Noun particles
     2.3.1 Bisu noun particles
     2.3.2 Lahu noun particles
     2.3.3 Lalo noun particles
     2.3.4 Nuosu noun particles
  2.4 Postnominal clausal particles
     2.4.1 Bisu postnominal clausal particles
     2.4.2 Lahu postnominal clausal particles
     2.4.3 Lalo postnominal clausal particles
     2.4.4 Nuosu postnominal clausal particles
  2.5 Noun case usage
     2.5.1 Bisu noun case usage
     2.5.2 Lahu noun case usage
     2.5.3 Lalo noun case usage
     2.5.4 Nuosu noun case usage
3 Numerals
  3.1 Bisu numerals
     3.1.1 Cardinal numerals
     3.1.2 Ordinal numerals
     3.1.3 Fractions
     3.1.4 Approximations
  3.2 Lahu numerals
  3.3 Lalo numerals
  3.4 Nuosu numerals
4 Classifiers
  4.1 Bisu classifiers
     4.1.1 Object classifier: People
     4.1.2 Object classifier: Individual
     4.1.3 Autoclassifiers
  4.2 Lahu classifiers
     4.2.1 General, special, auto-, and round number classifiers
     4.2.2 Time and group classifiers
     4.2.3 Reduplication
  4.3 Lalo classifiers
     4.3.1 Unit classifier
     4.3.2 Measure classifier
     4.3.3 Container classifier
     4.3.4 Autoclassifier
  4.4 Nuosu classifiers
     4.4.1 Shape classifier
     4.4.2 Function

5 Negation
  5.1 Bisu negation
  5.2 Lahu negation
     5.2.1 ‘Not’ to distinguish types of vps
     5.2.2 Nouns and nominalized clauses
     5.2.3 Negative imperatives
  5.3 Lalo negation
  5.4 Nuosu negation
     5.4.1 Forms and placement
     5.4.2 Degrees of negation
     5.4.3 Negative imperatives

6 Adjectives
  6.1 Bisu adjectives
     6.1.1 Six types
     6.1.3 Form
     6.1.4 Juxtaposition of adjectives
     6.1.5 Reduplication
     6.1.6 Increased emphasis or intensity
     6.1.7 Comparison
     6.1.8 Function
  6.2 Lahu adjectives
     6.2.1 Restrictions for combining
     6.2.2 Reduplication
     6.2.3 With suffixes
  6.3 Lalo adjectives
  6.4 Nuosu adjectives
     6.4.1 Prefixes
     6.4.2 Emphasis
     6.4.3 Comparative

7 Pronouns
  7.1 Pronoun types
     7.1.1 Bisu pronoun types
     7.1.2 Lahu pronouns types
     7.1.3 Lalo pronouns types
     7.1.4 Nuosu pronoun types
7.2 Pronoun use
  7.2.1 Bisu pronoun use
  7.2.2 Lahu pronoun use
  7.2.3 Lalo pronoun use
  7.2.4 Nuosu pronoun use

8 Adverbs
  8.1 Akeu adverbs
  8.2 Bisu adverbs
    8.2.1 Modifiers
    8.2.2 Complements
  8.3 Lahu adverbs and adverbial expressions
    8.3.1 Order
    8.3.2 Qha-adverbials of manner, equality, and extent
    8.3.3 Reduplication
    8.3.4 “Verbal elaborate” expressions
  8.4 Lalo adverbs and adverbial expressions
    8.4.1 Common adverbs
    8.4.2 Xa- and elaborated adverbs
    8.4.3 ‘Like that/this’ adverbs
  8.5 Nuosu adverbs and adverbial expressions
    8.5.1 Adverbs that precede their heads
    8.5.2 Adverbs that follow their heads
    8.5.3 Adverbs that can either precede or follow their heads
    8.5.4 Particle that makes adjectives into adverbs

9 Verbs
  9.1 Verb types
    9.1.1 Bisu verb types
    9.1.2 Lahu verb types and verb phrase types
    9.1.3 Lalo verb types
    9.1.4 Nuosu verb types
  9.2 Verb concatenations: Number of possible verbs combined
    9.2.1 Preverbal slots in concatenations
  9.3 Main/head verbs
    9.3.1 Bisu main/head verbs
    9.3.2 Lahu main/head verbs
    9.3.3 Lalo main/head verbs
    9.3.4 Nuosu main/head verbs
  9.4 Posthead verbal slots in concatenations
    9.4.1 Akeu posthead verbal slots
    9.4.2 Akha posthead verbal slots
    9.4.3 Bisu posthead verbal slots
    9.4.4 Lahu posthead verbal slots
    9.4.5 Lalo postverbal slots
    9.4.6 Nuosu postverbal slots
  9.5 Pre- and posthead verb coordination of auxiliaries/versatiles
    9.5.1 Lahu pre- and posthead verb coordination of auxiliaries in Lahu
  9.6 Verb particles
    9.6.1 Bisu verb particles
    9.6.2 Lahu verb particles
    9.6.3 Lalo verb particles
    9.6.4 Nuosu verb particles
9.7 Clause-final particles and sentence-final particles
  9.7.1 An Akeu sentence-final particle
  9.7.2 Akha sentence-final particles
  9.7.3 Bisu sentence-final particles
  9.7.4 Lahu clause-final particles and sentence-final particles
  9.7.5 Lalo clause-final and sentence-final particles
  9.7.6 Nuosu clause-final and sentence-final particles

10 Unrestricted particles

11 Sentential structure
  11.1 Simple sentences
      11.1.1 Bisu simple sentences
      11.1.2 Lahu simple sentences
      11.1.3 Lalo simple sentences
      11.1.4 Nuosu simple sentences
  11.2 Compound and complex sentences
      11.2.1 Bisu compound and complex sentences
      11.2.2 Lahu compound and complex sentences
      11.2.3 Lalo compound and complex sentences
      11.2.4 Nuosu compound and complex sentences

References
Introduction

A new language group

In the sixteenth edition of the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009), a new group of Sino-Tibetan languages was recognized: the Ngwi languages, a branch of Burmic (see www.ethnologue.com/family/17-4039). The term “Ngwi” was recommended by Bradley (2005:164–166) as less pejorative than the term “Lolo,” less ambiguous than “Yi,” and more descriptive than “Yipho,” which were the traditional terms that have been used to describe many of the known languages that have now been assigned to this group. The group includes seventy-five languages, divided into the Northern (17 languages), Central (24), Southeastern (24), and Southern (10) Ngwi languages. Five were formerly classified as Hani, and twenty-two were formerly classified as Loloish or Yi, so these twenty-seven were simply reassigned from one category to another. The other forty-eight languages were recognized officially for the first time during the five years between the fifteenth edition of the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) and the sixteenth (Lewis 2009). None of the forty-eight newly recognized languages has a written form, and a number of them were newly encountered, endangered languages. During the past two decades, linguists have become increasingly vocal about the loss of knowledge and cultural wealth that occurs when a language dies (Woodbury 2000). This growing concern was expressed relatively early in a Linguistic Society of America publication, The Need for the Documentation of Linguistic Diversity (1994). Language documentation as a specific discipline within linguistics was promoted relatively early by Nikolaus Himmelmann, as president and co-founder in 1997 of The Society for Endangered Languages (GBS) in Germany. In 2005, it was still possible for him to call the idea of language documentation as a separate subdiscipline of linguistics “radical”: “The central concern of this article, however, was to explore another, somewhat more radical possibility, i.e., to conceive of language documentation as a field of linguistic inquiry and research in its own right (Himmelmann 2005:31). Much more public attention has been drawn to the issue of language documentation through linguist K. David Harrison’s 2010 elegant, poignant plea in The Last Speakers, where he lists four degrees of endangerment and six “language hotspots” that he deemed “urgent” (2010:87–118).

Endangered Ngwi languages

Although UNESCO (2003) disseminated a detailed series of nine factors to use to determine whether a language variety is endangered, a recently published study of the Phula clan of languages within the Ngwi group has shown that one factor stands out as the most telling diagnostic for language vitality or lack thereof—the distinctions one can observe in language use between the older and younger generations. “The set of generalizations that proved most useful for identifying a graded typology of endangerment status relevant to all Phula languages were generational distinctions. These proved more fruitful than questions about literacy, technology, language attitudes or domains of language use” (Pelkey 2011:419–420).

In looking at the level of language vitality in each of more than 1,150 Phula-speaking villages in southern Kunming Province, China, Pelkey shows how it is possible to create a fine-grained, multidimensional view of the vitality of any given language across a region (Pelkey 2011:221–222). For the Northern Muji language, for example, he shows that

- in about a fifth of the 61 villages where it is spoken, language use is vibrant and thriving across all generations; but that
- in about half of them language use is highly threatened and only spoken by the older generation;
- in a quarter of the Northern Muji-speaking villages, the language is moderately threatened because children learn from other children and not from their own parents; and that
- in one village, the language is totally moribund.
This variation in degree of endangerment makes it difficult to speak in generalities about a given language as being vital or very endangered. It does, however, give a clearer idea of where one might start to work with local groups to revitalize languages that are in decline. This multidimensional view of vitality also gives field linguists a model to use as they analyze the relative vitality of a minority language across an entire region.

Pelkey’s analysis shows that intergenerational transmission is the most significant factor in assessing language vitality. This implies that a speech group’s population size is less useful information in such an assessment.

Where detailed information about intergenerational language use is not available, however, population size can still serve as an index of the need for more detailed attention to specific languages, especially where that number is small and shrinking. This is the case for the newly recognized Ngui languages that have not yet been investigated. Population size is not a direct index of vitality or morbundity, but rather an indication to field linguists that certain minority groups may need a more detailed survey.

Three graded scales of language endangerment were developed over the past three decades: one by Fishman (1991), another by UNESCO (2003), and a third by Lewis (2006, 2008, 2009). These were combined into the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), a thirteen-level evaluation of weighted factors to describe the extent of a language’s vitality (Lewis and Simons 2010).

An examination of the population statistics and EGIDS levels of the seventeen Northern Ngwi languages spotlights four of them as probably in need of field linguist attention to evaluate if outside help is appropriate to revive or encourage language vitality:

- Katso [kaf] (in China, with extensive Mandarin contact; bilingual with L2 literacy at 90%; there are 4,000 speakers (Bradley 1997) and decreasing in number); EGIDS level 7 “in trouble” but “revitalization efforts could restore transmission...in the home” (Lewis et al. 2013)
- Samatao [ysd] (there are only 400 speakers); EGIDS level 8a “moribund,” so “it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission through the home; a mechanism outside the home would need to be developed” (Lewis et al. 2013)
- Sanie [ysy] (in China there are a few elderly speakers); EGIDS level is also 8a “moribund,” like Samatao
- Chesu [ych] (in China there are 3,000 speakers, but no usage information is available); EGIDS level 7 “in trouble” but “revitalization efforts could restore transmission...in the home” (Lewis et al. 2013)

Of the twenty-four Central Ngwi languages, two stand out as in need of attention from outside linguists:

- Lamu [llh] (in China, only 120 speakers); EGIDS level 8b “nearly extinct” (Lewis et al. 2015)
- Tanglang [ytl] (in China; speakers are bilingual in Mandarin, but no population estimate is available); EGIDS level 6b “threatened.” It is “losing speakers,” but “it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home” (Lewis et al. 2015)

Of the ten Southern Ngwi languages, five more could be also considered in need of attention from outside linguists. Each one of them has an EGIDS level of 6b “threatened,” “losing speakers,” but “it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home” (Lewis et al. 2015):

- Bisu [bzi] (in China there are 240 speakers; in Thailand, 1,000)
- Laomian [lwm] (in China there are 1,600 speakers)
- Sangkong [sgk] (a population of 1,500 in 1997 (Bradley 1997:59), decreasing in number)
- Chepya [ycp] (in China there were 2,000 speakers in 2007; the number in Laos is unknown)
- Muda [ymd] (in China there were 2,000 speakers in 2007, decreasing in number)

Among the twenty-four Southeastern languages, four languages stand out in terms of need of attention from outside linguists. Each one also has an EGIDS level of 6b “threatened.” It is “losing speakers,” but “it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home” (Lewis et al. 2015):
• Phola Alo [ypo] (in China there were about 500 speakers in 2009 (Pelkey 2011))
• Phupa [ypp] (in China there were 3,000 speakers in 2007, decreasing in number)
• Phupha [yph] (in China there were 1,300 speakers in 2007, decreasing in number), and
• Thopho [ytp] (in China there were 200 speakers in 2007, decreasing in number)

Grammar research guides

As linguists have invested more attention in the documentation of endangered languages, many research instruments have been developed. One instrument to orient field linguists preparing to encounter a previously undocumented language variety is a metastudy of the syntactic variety of previously and comprehensively described related languages, sometimes called a “grammar research guide.” A grammar research guide

- is useful because it allows linguists to predict the syntactic profile of an undocumented language by outlining the variability and complexity of known, related languages;
- helps the linguist anticipate what questions to investigate and what phenomena to be aware of on the basis of their existence in related languages; and
- gives a range of the syntactic variety.

As such, it exemplifies a contribution to language documentation of endangered languages by academic (or “armchair”) linguists (Harrison 2010:37).

This grammar research guide to the Ngwi languages features

- two Central Ngwi languages, Lalo Xishanba [ywt], and Lahu [lhu];
- one Northern Ngwi language, Nuosu [iii] (previously called “Nosu”);
- one Southern Ngwi language, Laomian [lwm], or Bisu [bzi]; and
- less extensive information about two other Southern Ngwi languages, Akeu [aeu], and Akha [ahk].

All Southeastern Ngwi languages were newly recognized, so none had been described in literature prior to the sixteenth edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009).

Predictable characteristics of Ngwi languages

Some syntactic features of Ngwi languages are predictable from their place within much larger groups of languages:

- As is true of every Burmese language, Ngwi languages are “verb-final, with complex tonal and initial consonant systems but little or no morphology” (Bradley 1997:38).
- As with other Tibeto-Burman languages, Ngwi adpositions are “postpositions…, [and they] place genitive modifiers before the possessed noun, …relative clauses (if they are externally headed) before the head noun…postpositional phrases before the verb, employ clause-final markers for subordinate clauses, …, and place auxiliary verbs after the main verb” (Dryer 2003:42–43).
- Since they are in the Eastern area among Tibeto-Burman languages, Ngwi languages are likely “to order manner adverbs before the verb, and nouns before modifying adjectives” (Dryer 2003:43–44).

Predictable areas of variability among Ngwi languages

In addition to what is generally uniform among the Ngwi languages and the larger family to which they belong, there are also areas of predictable variability among Ngwi languages. For example, there is likely to be variability “in the order of modified word modifier for nouns modified by numerals or demonstratives, and for adjectives modified by degree words” (Dryer 2003:43–44).
Unpredictable areas of variability among Ngwi languages

In addition to general trends, a number of more specific syntactic traits of Ngwi languages emerge from this research grammar guide:

- Characteristics of lexical categories: Which lexical classes are open or closed? In Lahu, interjections are an open class, but in Lalo, they are closed. In Lahu adverbs are a closed class, but in Lalo they are open.
- Morphology: In Lahu there is a plural morpheme, but not in Nuosu.
- Noun case and word order: In Nuosu the direct object precedes the indirect object, but in Lalo the reverse is true.
- Pronoun distribution: Can pronouns fill a noun phrase (NP) slot in Number-Classifier-NP constructions? In Lalo they can not, but in Lahu, Laomian, and Nuosu (previously called Nosu) they can. Are there different classes of pronouns? Not in Lahu; there are only five pronouns, all personal. In Nuosu, however, there are personal (6), personal possessive (6), reflexive (6), demonstrative (3), interrogative (7), and indefinite (8) pronouns. Additionally, it is useful to ask whether there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive ‘we’. Laomian has such a distinction, but Lalo does not. Are there separate dual pronouns? In Laomian there are, but there are not in Lalo.

Putting the languages next to one another in a research grammar guide also allows a view of the variety within a given category. For instance, Laomian has thirty demonstrative pronouns (Björverud 1998:67), while Lalo has only two (Xu 2001:99).

Verb systems also vary in some unpredictable ways. For instance, does the concept “verb transitivity” have explanatory value? Not in Lahu or Lalo, but it does in Nuosu, where a pair of preverbal proper nouns is interpreted as a compound subject for an intransitive verb and as a subject-object pair for a transitive verb (Fu 1997:117).

The variety of particles is also striking:

- Akha has 87 particles including declaratives (statement, weak assertion, probability, possibility, appreciation, contra-expectation, negative prediction), jussives (command, negative, mitigative, exhortative, hortative, proposal, advisory, precautionary), and interrogatives (wh- and yes-no questions) (Heh 2002:3–5).
- Laomian has structural (6), aspectual (7), quantifying (5), and sentential particles (5) (Xu 2001:117).
- Lahu’s 25 verb particles encode reciprocity and directionality, subjective attitude, and aspect, in addition to the 24 sentence-final particles including evidentials and illocutionary force markers (Matisoff 1973:315).
- Lalo has predicative (8), aspectual (11), clausal (13), and final (4) particles (Björverud 1998:74–75).
- Nuosu has particles (8) that include nominalizing, illocutionary, and interrogative (Fu 1997:103–107, 123–124, 174).

Besides the cross-linguistic observations, a number of single-language phenomena come to light in this research grammar guide. One is the potential for ambiguity in certain structures typical of Ngwi languages:

- A noun particle meaning ‘with’ in the string ‘I father-with come (affirmative declaration)’ could mean ‘I come to Father’ or ‘I come from Father’ in Lahu (Matisoff 1973:161).
- Noun usage without NP-object marking in the string ‘priest money to make an offering’ could be interpreted to mean ‘to offer money to the priest’ or ‘the priest offers money’ in Lahu (Matisoff 1973:307).
- Classifier reduplication as in the string ‘two person-person’ can mean either ‘both people’ or ‘about two people’ in Lahu (Matisoff 1973:93).

Verb chains also provide possible ambiguity, as in the subordination scope between prehead and posthead verbs, such as the string ‘begin talk causative’, which could be either ‘begin to make him talk’, or ‘make him begin to talk’ (Matisoff 1973:93, 257).
Sometimes it is also unclear whether a verb form is being used as a full verb or an auxiliary verb, as in the string ‘begin (prehead auxiliary or head verb) easy (posthead auxiliary or head verb)’, which could mean either ‘easy to begin’ (prehead auxiliary + verb) or ‘begin to be easy’ (verb + posthead auxiliary) (Matisoff 1973:201, 238).

This grammar research guide as a tool

Since it became increasingly clear that globalization has led to the acceleration of minority language extinction, many linguists have assumed the lead in documenting endangered languages. The need to describe and document a number of the Ngwi languages is also becoming clearer. A research grammar guide is one of the many tools that can be of assistance in such efforts.

This grammar guide does not aim to forge a new analytic path through the syntax of these languages. In that sense, the grammar research guide is not aimed at specialists but rather at those who may be preparing to encounter one of the undocumented languages with the hope of getting oriented to the variety of possible syntactic structures. Thus, the grammar guide helps define what some of the exploratory field linguist’s questions might be, but not the answers. The grammar categorizes the range of syntactic structures for the language group and then contrasts the differences among them. Examples are taken from standard descriptive works about each of the languages.

This guide is focused on the syntactic variability of the subset of Ngwi languages that have the most complete published descriptions. The sentences showing given structures all reproduce the original author’s orthography, but glossing has been standardized as reflected in the list of abbreviations, in so far as that is practical. In a very few instances there was no gloss. This has led to a lack of uniformity in the phonetic transcriptions. Another way in which the grammar research guide is less than ideal for some purposes is the decision not to include phonetic renderings of all the Ngwi language vocabulary for the grammatical particles that are discussed. Instead, all grammatical particles are discussed in terms of their closest English meanings. This means that the original Ngwi pronunciations might have to be found in other reference works, including those listed in “References” and cited for each example sentence. Meanings are emphasized in the hope that this will allow researchers to check for a similar variety and range of meanings in as yet undescribed Ngwi languages. The example sentences do however show a large variety of the grammatical lexemes.

Because this guide has a functional-structural orientation, it can be searched for given syntactic structures or functions. One potential weakness of this edition of the grammar research guide to the Ngwi languages is that there may not be a relevant example for a particular syntactic structure. Readers may therefore have to consult the more detailed data in the grammar of a particular language in order to see an example of a given morphosyntactic function or structure.

Order of description

In each section of the grammar research guide, languages are discussed in the following alphabetical order, with representative examples and coverage of Bisu, Lahu, Lalo, and Nuosu and less complete coverage of Akeu and Akha; works referenced are also listed:

- Akeu (formerly described as Southern Yipho/Loloish; now Southern Ngwi ); Kosonen 2007
- Akha (formerly Southern Yipho/Loloish; now Southern Ngwi ); Hansson 1985; Heh 2002; Egerod 1985
- Bisu/Laomien (formerly Southern Yipho/Loloish; now Southern Ngwi ); Xu 2001; Person 2000
- Lahu (formerly Central Yipho/Loloish; non-Yi; now Central Ngwi); Matisoff 1973
- Lalo (formerly Central Yipho/Loloish; Western Yi; now Central Ngwi ); Björverud 1998
- Nuosu (formerly Northern Yipho/Loloish, Northern-Yi; now Northern Ngwi ); Fu 1997 (Fu used the alternate term “Nosu”)
The order of grammatical topics in this guide is based on Xu (2001), with additions from Fu (1997), and Matisoff (1973). There are no prepositions (or postpositions) in these languages (Xu 2001:70, Fu 1997:130 explicit; Matisoff 1973:45, 167 inferential).
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>adjective/adjectival</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
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<td>affirmative</td>
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<tr>
<td>P_unf</td>
<td>nonfinal unrestricted particle</td>
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<tr>
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<td>verb particle</td>
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<td>Q</td>
<td>question particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>QP</td>
<td>quantifier (a numeral plus classifier)</td>
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<tr>
<td>rem.pst</td>
<td>remote past</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>sentence, as in PS rules like S - &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEME</td>
<td>thematic equalizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>a variable as in ‘do X well’; or ‘by’ as in ‘2X2’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3PLR</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
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</tr>
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1 Sentence introducers

Sentence introducers consist of interjections and conjunctions, which occur in that order when both are present (Matisoff 1973:396). They can be distinguished syntactically and semantically, as interjections can comprise a complete utterance by themselves, while conjunctions cannot. Syntactically, interjections can also be followed by an utterance-final particle, while conjunctions cannot (Matisoff 1973:397). Some Bisu conjunctions are not sentence introducers; see section 11.2.

1.1 Interjections

Where present, interjections are generally the first element of a sentence and can serve as an independent utterance (Matisoff 1973:401). Interjections do not support any contextual relationship between the two clauses where they intervene, and are often “used to give the speaker time to think,” like English “Well” (Matisoff 1973:401). Their initial position is stable even under sentence transformations that re-order “all the other morphemes in the sentence,” which shows that they are only tangentially related to sentential syntax (Matisoff 1973:396). Interjections are not part of clausal structure (Xu 2001:135).

1.1.1 Bisu interjections

Bisu interjections are generally monosyllabic with a single vowel. They include the following meanings (Xu 2001:135–136):

- pleasant surprise
- astonishment or sudden realization
- regret
- pain
- a shout or call
- assent

1.1.2 Lahu interjections

Matisoff (1973:37, 401) mentions eleven Lahu interjections with the following meanings:

- ‘Nya, Nya, I told you so!’
- ‘Oh!’ (mild surprise)
- ‘Yes!’
- ‘That’s right!’
- ‘Huh?’ (asking for repetition)
- ‘My goodness!’ (surprise, shock, disbelief)
- ‘Dear me!’ (chagrin)
- ‘Bravo!’ (approbation)
- ‘Here; take it.’ (when handing something over)
- ‘Well…’ (pause for thinking)
- ‘Ah!’ (satisfaction)
Two additional interjections are derived by compounding (Matisoff 1973:401):

- ‘I suppose so/Probably so’ (= Yes! + dubative universal final particle)
- ‘Is that so?’ (= Yes! + yes/no question particle). Matisoff implies that other such combinations are possible.

The tonal contour of many Lahu interjections may be elongated and contorted and the vowel lengthened (Matisoff 1973:37, 401).

### 1.1.3 Lalo interjections

Lalo interjections are a closed class. They are either trisyllabic with an initial a-prefix, or monosyllabic with glottal stop initial. Björverud (1998:77) lists four possible meanings for this closed class:

- Displeased surprise
- ‘Oh dear’
- ‘Yuck’
- ‘Ah!’

Interjections constitute their own clause but may be inserted into other clauses at phrase junctions. Prolonging the vowel of the last syllable shows greater emotional involvement.

### 1.1.4 Nuosu interjections

Fu (1997:147–148) lists twelve Nuosu interjections:

- ‘compliance’
- ‘dissent’
- ‘lack of comprehension’
- ‘surprise’
- ‘sorrow’
- ‘hatred’
- ‘welcome’
- ‘amusement’
- ‘direct address’ (vocative)
- ‘pain or pity’
- ‘unbearable pain’
- ‘praise’

The final two are phonetically interesting because they are clicks: ‘unbearable pain’ is a [ʘʰ], labiodental click, and ‘praise’ is either [ǁ], a dental click, or [ʘ], a bilabial click.

### 1.2 Conjunctions

Bisu conjunctions may show the relationship of the previous sentence to the following discourse (Xu 2001:151–152). Lahu conjunctions show the relationship of the following sentence to the previous discourse (Matisoff 1973:396).
1.2.1 Bisu conjunctions

Bisu distinguishes between conjunctions linking clauses and those linking smaller grammatical units (words and phrases) within clauses.

1.2.1.1 Conjunctions linking subclausal units

Conjunctions linking subclausal units express four types of relations (Xu 2001:132):
- coordinating/consecutive relations, meaning ‘and’ (two lexical items: one for NPs and one for verb phrases (VPs))
- progressive/comparative relations, meaning ‘more…more’ (two items) and ‘even more’
- hypothetical relations connecting VPs only, meaning ‘if’
- conditional relations (two items), meaning ‘only if’, and ‘no matter’

Of these conjunctions, only the ‘more…more’ is correlative (Xu 2001:132–134). They are usually placed between the elements being joined, with the exception of ‘and’, which may follow both elements (Xu 2001:134–135).

1.2.1.2 Conjunctions linking clauses

Bisu has conjunctions showing six different types of relationships between the clauses (Xu 2001:132):
- one coordinating/consecutive conjunction: ‘and’
- one comparative conjunction: ‘even more’
- three hypothetical conjunctions: all meaning ‘if’
- two conditional conjunctions: ‘whatever’, and ‘no matter’
- three contrastive conjunctions: all meaning ‘but’
- three causal conjunctions: ‘because’, ‘so’, and ‘since’

Bisu clauses showing temporal sequences use other particles than the conjunctions listed above to show relationships (Xu 2001:150):
- ‘As soon as…’
- ‘No sooner had…than’
- ‘After they had…’

(1) a³¹ ba³³ e⁵⁵ aŋ⁵⁵ za³¹ ki³³ uŋ⁵⁵ aŋ⁵⁵ la⁵⁵
    mother go p child cry p come/start
    ‘As soon as the mother left, the child began to cry.’ (Xu 2001:150)

The three Bisu conjunctions meaning ‘if’ vary in position depending on whether they start the hypothetical clause, end that clause, or both start and end it (Xu 2001:151). See examples in section 11.2.

1.2.2 Lahu conjunctions

Lahu conjunctions show the following seven relationships to prior discourse:
- additive (‘and’, ‘furthermore’),
- explanatory (‘because’),
- temporal order (‘then’, ‘thereupon’, ‘having done that’, ‘having first done that’),
- consequential (‘so’, ‘if it is thus’, ‘this’),
• contrastive (‘but’, ‘nevertheless’),
• concessive (‘however/even so’, ‘in any event’, ‘anyway’), and
• cautionary (‘lest’).

(2) à mù, phi šā că ghé à
lest dog meat eat able assertive
‘(You must take care) lest the dogs eat the meat.’ (Matisoff 1973:400)

1.2.3 Lalo conjunctions

Lalo has two coordinating conjunctions (Björverud 1998:147):
• a commonly used conjunction meaning ‘and then/thereafter’
• a correlative conjunction for contrasting clauses of the ‘neither…nor’ type [ половники]

See examples in section 11.2.

There are six Lalo subordinating conjunctions that include the following meanings (Björverud 1998:148–151):
• critique (positive for 1p subjects and negative for non-1p subjects),
• concessive/contrastive ‘although’ or ‘but’,
• temporal ‘after’ (with six allomorphs),
• conditional ‘if’,
• temporal ‘(not) yet’,
• temporal ‘(the time) when’.

See examples in section 11.3.

Lalo compound clause particle-locative particle combinations are
• temporal (future), using one of three such compounds: [dì à], [dì ál], and [dì tjhì)]; and
• temporal (past), using one such combination: [kú a].

For both types of compound clause particle-locative particle combinations, exceptions from the normal time frame have been found for the opposite time frame (Björverud 1998:151–152).

1.2.4 Nuosu conjunctions

Fu lists the Nuosu conjunctions ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘because’, ‘therefore’, and ‘if’ for the Nuosu dialects known to him, except for the Sikang dialect, which has/had none. The conjunction ‘and’ in the various Nuosu dialect forms can only connect words, but does not connect clauses. The variety between the dialects allowed ‘and’ to sometimes be placed between the words joined, and sometimes following them. The forms of the word for ‘but’ are all placed between the joined clauses. The word ‘because’ is placed at the end of the initial clause, except in one dialect where it is used in coordination with ‘therefore’, in which case each word begins one of the two clauses in this combination. The syntactic variety of the conditional clauses is extreme: in the Ch’a-tsu dialect the conditional clause has specific initial and final particles; in the Ta-t’un dialect one particle follows the subject and another ends the clause; in the Pa-meit dialect a single particle begins the conditional clause (Fu 1997:206).
2 Nouns

Definitions

- A noun is a lexical item or phrase that can be modified by a following “number + classifier” combination (Matisoff 1973:50).
- Nouns are words that may immediately precede a noun particle (Björverud 1998:50). Note that in Lalo “noun particles” mark nouns as either “oblique” or “locative” (Björverud 1998:117, 124, 126; Björverud also agrees with Matisoff’s definition, but only for common nouns).
- Nouns and pronouns are words that cannot be negated by the common adverb of negation, ³a (Fu 1997:91).

Noun typology

- Typology A (Fu 1997:92):
  - common nouns, which take the general numerative
  - other nouns, which take a specific numerative
- Typology B (Matisoff 1973:49)
  - “autonomous” nouns may occur with Numeral + Classifier
  - “limited” nouns combine first with n-morphemes, then Numeral + Classifier

Special groupings of nouns

- Kinship terms and forms of address: Both Lahu and Nuosu have vocative particles that are used in direct address (Matisoff 1973:65,154; Fu 1997:93,194). In Bisu, the forms used for third-person direct reference are also used for direct address without a vocative particle (Xu 2001:71).
- Locative nouns: These include nouns such as ‘side’ when used to mean ‘beside’ and ‘back’ to mean ‘behind’ (Xu 2001:72).
- Quantifier NPs: The numerals used are ‘1–9’ (and their compounds), ‘several’, and ‘how many’ (Matisoff 1973:44).
- Numeral-classifier NPs: These occur always and only following numerals (Matisoff 1973:45).

2.1 Noun types, compounding, and derivation

2.1.1 Bisu noun types, compounding, and derivation

2.1.1.1 Noun types

Xu recognizes three types of nouns, which are common nouns (the “vast majority”), kinship terms or forms of address, and locative nouns (2001:71–72).

(3) laŋ⁵⁵ ba₃³ than⁵⁵
river side
‘beside the river’

(4) lo₃³ ba₃³ noj³¹ khau³¹
stone back behind
‘behind the stone’ (Xu 2001:73)
Kinship terms are bisyllabic, which sometimes requires adding a prefix to one-syllable roots, such as the words father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, or aunt (Xu 2001:71, 241–242). Locative nouns function very much as postpositions do (Xu 2001:72–73).

2.1.1.2 **Compounding**

In noun-noun modification and compounding, the head follows the modifier:

(5) \[ \text{xəŋ}^{31} \text{phγ}^{31} \text{la}^{55} \text{ku}^{55} \]
    \[ \text{table} \quad \text{leg} \]
    ‘table leg’ (Xu 2001:74)

(6) \[ \text{mγ}^{55} + \text{s}^{31} \rightarrow \text{mγ}^{55}s^{31} \]
    \[ \text{gunpowder} \quad \text{grain, pebble} \rightarrow \text{‘bullet’} \]
    (Xu 2001:46)

In noun-adjective compounds, the head noun is first:

(7) \[ \text{pou}^{31} + \text{an}^{33} \text{tshau}^{55} \rightarrow \text{pou}^{31}\text{tshau}^{55} \]
    \[ \text{cylinder} \quad \text{sweet} \rightarrow \text{‘sugar cane’} \]
    (Xu 2001:46)

2.1.1.3. **Derivation**

In Bisu, nouns meaning ‘mother’, ‘wife’, and the ‘wife’s father’ and ‘wife’s mother’ (in-laws from one side) and some domestic animals where gender is relevant, such as ‘ram-ewe’, ‘rooster-hen’, ‘stallion-mare’, ‘boar-sow’, are distinguished by suffixes marking ‘male’ -pha31 or -la31 or -fu31 and ‘female’ -ba33.

2.1.2 **Lahu noun types, noun structures, and derivation**

2.1.2.1 **Noun types**

Typologically, Lahu has autonomous nouns and limited nouns.

2.1.2.1.1 **Autonomous nouns**

These include common nouns, pronouns, interrogatives, spatial demonstratives, and the word meaning ‘this’. They are followed immediately by a number + classifier combination, and can head an NP.

2.1.2.1.2 **Limited nouns**

These are prefixes, prefixable morphemes, bound constituents of compounds, and bound morphemes of amount, size, length, distance, sameness or not, and totality or not, which cannot be immediately followed by a number + classifier combination, but can combine with other words to become autonomous nominals (Matisoff 1973:117). Proper nouns are a “not very interesting” subset of common nouns (Matisoff 1973:49).
2.1.2.2 Polymorphemic noun structures

Structurally, Lahu nouns can consist of just one morpheme (simple), or they can become polymorphemic by compounding (Matisoff 1973:53–79), reduplication (Matisoff 1973:47, 80–81), or “elegant” extension (Matisoff 1973:81–85) to a four-morpheme structure with identical first and third morphemes (A-B-A-C) or identical second and fourth morphemes (A-B-C-B) (Matisoff 1973:82).

(8) yɛ̀ qɔ̀ʔ yɛ̀ le
   House corner house middle
   ‘every corner in the house’

(9) qhâʔ qɔ̀ʔ qhâʔ le
   village corner village middle
   ‘every corner in the village’ (Matisoff 1973:83)

All polysyllabic structures in an NP are considered compound nouns except the following: noun particles, numerals, classifiers, the determiner ‘this/these’, and the possessor nuclei in genitive constructions (Matisoff 1973:53–54).

(10) vàʔ šā chu à cî
    (compound) pig meat fat raw thing
    ‘raw pork-fat’ (Matisoff 1973:54)

(11) cà-pî nê ve ś phi
    (genitive) starling POSS nest
    ‘a starling’s nest’ (Matisoff 1973:56)

2.1.2.3 Derivation

2.1.2.3.1 Affixes

The nominalizing prefix ‘ɔ̀-’ can be affixed to nouns (where it is often, but not always, optional) and verbs (where it can form cognate-object combinations) (Matisoff 1973:68).

Examples with nouns:
- má = ɔ̀-má ‘son-in-law’, but šā ‘animal’ ≠ ɔ̀-šā ‘meat’

Example with a verb:
- me ‘to name’, ɔ̀-me ‘a name’, ɔ̀-me me ve ‘to give a name to’

A plural morpheme -hî is used only rarely, primarily to produce ‘we’, ‘you’, and ‘they’ by suffixation to the singular pronouns. It can also combine with some proper nouns to mean ‘the Shans’, ‘the northern Thai’ (in general), or ‘Jalaw and his friends/group/family’. With common nouns referring to living things, it is used rarely: šàl̄ā-gūn-hî ‘doctors, the medical profession’ or khî-yî-hî ‘sambar deer in general’ (Matisoff 1973:65).

2.1.3 Lalo noun types, compounding, and derivation

2.1.3.1 Noun Types

Noun types in Lalo consist of pronouns, common nouns, locative nouns, and proper nouns.
2.1.3.1.1 Pronouns

Since Björverud defines nouns as words that “may immediately precede a noun particle,” she considers pronouns in Lalo a type of noun (Björverud 1998:50–51). Pronouns are discussed in section 7.1.

2.1.3.1.2 Common and locative nouns

A limited number of common and locative nouns can be marked as demonstrative, interrogative, or indefinite (Björverud 1998:50, but no examples have been found). Among the four types of nouns, only common nouns are followed by a Num-CLF phrase (Björverud 1998:50).

2.1.3.1.3 Proper nouns

Proper nouns can be semantically divided into personal names, place names, and names of ethnic groups (Björverud 1998:52). Personal names used to consist of a prefix, numeral (indicating ordinal positioning among the person’s siblings), and a suffix for females, since the male suffix had become obsolete in an earlier generation. Naming now follows local Chinese practices (Björverud 1998:52). Ethnic names are used to apply to individuals, not groups. Only six such names exist, and all but one end in a suffix that is homonymous with, and related to, the “agentive” particle (Björverud 1998:53–54, 152).

2.1.3.2 Compounding

Besides borrowing many words from Chinese, Lalo can create new words by compounding and by affixation (Björverud 1998:55). There are two kinds of compounds (Björverud 1998:56):

- genitival compounds (for example, bee + water = honey), which accounts for a “substantial” fraction of all nouns
- attributional compounds (for example, turnip + red + small = carrot), where the adjectival attribute becomes a part of a new noun whose parts are not deducible from the original morphemes

2.1.3.3 Derivation

2.1.3.3.1 Affixes

In Lalo affixes can be divided into those referring to gender, size, and importance. When combined, “the gender suffixes usually precede the size suffixes.” The most productive of these is the homonym for ‘son’, which is used as a diminutive (Björverud 1998:58–59).

2.1.3.3.2 Bound morphemes

Nominalization of verb phrases can be done with any of five bound morphemes:

- agentive (for example, sell-grass-er = grass-seller)
- instrumental (wipe-thing = rag)
- locative (book-study-place = school)
- thematic (horse-grass-feed-theme = grass with which to feed the horse; similar to a relative clause),

Such nouns function exactly like “any other noun with regard to quantification and modification” (Björverud 1998:54).
2.1.4 Nuosu noun types, compounding, derivation, and nominalization

2.1.4.1 Noun Types

Nouns and pronouns are words that cannot be negated by ə, the common adverb of negation (Fu 1997:97, 198). Nuosu syntax does not distinguish between proper, abstract, collective, or material (mass) nouns (Fu 1997:91). Nouns are divided into one large class that takes the general numerative/classifier, and another class, or many smaller sub-classes that take(s) a specific numerative/classifier. General class nouns make up almost half of the entire inventory of nouns (Fu 1997: 92).

Nouns can be made definite or specific in Nuosu when they are followed by a numerative. Without a numerative, the noun has a generic meaning (Fu 1997:91–92). Grammatical gender and inflections showing number are unknown in Nuosu, and biological gender can be shown by adding a word meaning ‘male’ or ‘female’ to another noun (Fu 1997:93).

2.1.4.2 Compounding

Compounding in Nuosu can be noun + noun = noun, noun + adj = noun, noun + verb = noun, noun + numerative = noun, noun + numeral = noun, and occasionally noun + verb + noun = noun, and noun + noun + verb = noun (Fu 1997:150–152).

(12)  2djie + 2ʒ = 2djie 2ʒ
     bee + water = honey
     (Fu 1997:150)

(13)  1mo + 2sɔ = 1mo 2sɔ
     mother + two = mother and two of her daughters
     (Fu 1997:152)

2.1.4.3 Derivation

In addition to compounding via autonomous words, nouns can be derived in several ways:
- prefixation (using one of five prefixes)
- suffixation (using one of eight suffixes)

Two nominal suffixes make personal or demonstrative pronouns plural. Four others are added to interrogative pronouns of place or person (‘where’ and ‘who(m)’). The other two are used to derive diminutives or augmentatives. The following is an example of the diminutive suffix.

(14)  3nɯ(po) + 2zu = 3nɯu’zu
     ear + son/diminutive = earlobe
     (Fu 1997:154)

2.1.4.4 Nominalization

Two nominalizing particles add either the meaning “agent” or “theme” to a verb, as in the following two examples.

(15)  3sɿ + 2su = 3sɿ 2su
     know + agent = wise man
\[(\,^3s\,^1 + ^2du\, = \,^3s\,^2du\]

\[\text{know + theme} = \text{knowledge}\]

(Fu 1997:155)

### 2.2 Noun phrase structure

#### 2.2.1 Bisu noun phrase structure

Noun phrases (NPs) in Bisu follow a predictable order of possessor, head, adjective, determiner, numeral, classifier (Person 2000:39). This order is not rigid because the demonstrative + classifier phrase can sometimes follow the noun head (Xu 2001:75).

\[[\text{ga}^{33} \text{an}^{33} \text{ja}^{31} \text{an}^{33} \text{la}^{33} \text{man}^{33}]\]

I child beloved CLF

‘my beloved child’ (Person 2000:39)

In demonstrative pronoun-classifier-noun combinations and numeral-classifier-noun combinations, the noun may precede or follow the modification, although the usual orders are pronoun-classifier-noun, and noun-numeral-classifier (Xu 2001:75).

Usual orders:

\[[\text{ni}^{55} \text{tsum}^{55} \text{za}^{33} \text{an}^{33} \text{ba}^{33} \text{an}^{33} \text{bja}^{31}]\]

this flock chickens female more

‘There are more hens in this flock of chickens.’

\[[\text{za}^{31} \text{man}^{31} \text{thi}^{31} \text{fu}^{33} \text{la}^{55} \text{an}^{55}]\]

old person one CLF come PROG

‘An old person is coming.’ (Xu 2001:75)

Variant orders:

\[[\text{la}^{55} \text{po}^{31} \text{ni}^{55} \text{po}^{31} \text{khau}^{55} \text{y}^{33} \text{la}^{55} \text{tsho}^{31} \text{an}^{33} \text{tsa}^{33}]\]

Bamboo tube this CLF inside water have

‘There is water inside this bamboo tube.’ (Xu 2001:75)

\[[\text{ni}^{31} \text{man}^{55} \text{a}^{31} \text{man}^{55} \text{a}^{55} \text{mu}^{45} \text{an}^{43} \text{tsa}^{45} \text{tsa}^{31} \text{ni}^{31} \text{s}^{33}]\]

two CLF cows now fodder eat PROG

‘Two cows are eating grass.’ (Xu 2001:76)

Adjectives usually follow the noun they are modifying, except for adjectives with an intensifying suffix (Xu 2001:75):

\[[\text{ma}^{55} \text{tsup}^{31} \text{an}^{33} \text{nu}^{55} \text{an}^{43} \text{cin}^{55}]\]

tangerines green sour

‘Green tangerines are sour.’

\[[\text{nu}^{55} \text{do}^{31} \text{do}^{31} \text{kan}^{31} \text{ba}^{33} \text{thi}^{31} \text{khja}^{55} \text{kan}^{33}]\]

green-intensive vegetables one basket fill

‘The fresh green vegetables filled a whole basket.’
Pronouns always precede the noun they are modifying, with possessive pronouns preceding demonstrative pronouns (Xu 2001:74,76):

(24)  
\[ \text{ga}^{33} \text{xy}^{33} \text{ni}^{55} \text{mja}^{33} \]  
I POSS this knife  
‘this knife of mine’

2.2.2  **Lahu noun phrase structure**

An NP in Lahu has a nominal nucleus (an autonomous noun with all its modifications) followed by zero to two noun particles signifying, for example, ‘vocative’, ‘accusative object’, ‘because of N’, ‘together with N’, ‘place of N’, ‘only N’ (Matisoff 1973:155–166), followed by zero to six particles that are either

- universal particles (meaning, for instance, ‘during N’, ‘as much/many as N’, ‘only/just N’, ‘because of N’, and Ns (Matisoff 1973:170–171); or

- NP-final topical or emphatic particles (meaning, for example ‘as for N’, ‘also/even N’, and N (Matisoff 1973:174–178).

Sentence-final particles may follow the NP in “minor” sentences that have no VP (VPs are outlined in section 9.2.2 and section 9.5.2). A minor sentence is a “sentence whose final phrase is a natural NP” (Matisoff 1973:40). A sentence with a final NP in an SOV language has no VP.

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<td>Universal particles</td>
<td>NP-final particles</td>
<td>Sentence-final particle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(25)  
\[ \text{Thây-chó} \quad \text{ce} \quad \text{tí} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{Lâhu-khş} \quad \text{mà śié} \]  
N (Thai) \quad \text{P}_{\text{univ}} \quad \text{P}_{\text{univ}} \quad \text{P}_{\text{univ}} \quad \text{Lahu-language} \quad \text{not know}  
(to extent of N) (only N) (because of N)  
‘Since he’s only a Thai, he doesn’t know Lahu.’ (Matisoff 1973:173)

2.2.2.1  **Types of NP nuclei**

There are several types of NP nuclei (Matisoff 1973:110–153):

- determined nucleus
- extentive nucleus
- genitive nucleus
- quantified nucleus
- special nucleus

A determined nucleus has the determiner ‘this/these’, and is often quantified (Matisoff 1973:110). The structure of a determined nucleus can vary as follows (Matisoff 1973:110–113):

- the word ‘this/these’ as an autonomous (pro)noun
- Noun + ‘this/these’
- ‘this/these’ + genitive particle + N (meaning the same as the second construction)
- N + ‘this/these’ + genitive particle, also equivalent to constructions 2) and 3).

Matisoff (1973:113–115) describes seven structures having a quantified nucleus (with “QP” being a numeral + classifier) that are related to the determined nucleus (see previous paragraph):
Extentive nuclei characterize the “size, location, quantity, sameness or difference, wholeness or partiality” of nouns (Matisoff 1973:117). All are limited nouns and cannot occupy the initial position of an NP nucleus (Matisoff 1973:130). There are four subclasses:

1. Extentives of amount, size, length, and distance
   a. As much as N, as big as N, as long as N, and as far as N
   b. N (+ this/these) + extentive (Matisoff 1973:117–124)

2. Diminutive extentives of amount, size, length, and distance
   a. As few as N, as small as N, as short as N, and as close as N
   b. N + this/these + extentive (Matisoff 1973:127–130)

3. Extentives expressing “more than N” and “all N (considered individually)” with the structure N + extentive (Matisoff 1973:130–133)

4. Extentives meaning ‘like/as N’, ‘just like N’, ‘up to N’, ‘all N (as a single entity)/everything’, also with the structure N + extentive

Extentive particles in the first subclass of extentive nuclei can be reduplicated (Matisoff 1973:123), and can occur with quantified NP nuclei of various structures. Extensive particles of the third and fourth subclasses of extentive nuclei may follow not only natural nouns, but also clauses that have been nominalized by the genitive particle (Matisoff 1973:132, 136–140).

Example of extentive nuclei of the first subclass: distance

(26) Cî-mày fi
    Chiangmai distance
    ‘the distance to Chiangmai’

Example of the second subclass: diminutive

(27) chi hî-ê ve há-pi-šên
    this small-amount of jewel
    ‘such a tiny jewel’

Example of the fourth subclass: ‘like N’

(28) Cî-mày fi qhec
    Chiangmai distance like
    ‘about the distance to Chiangmai’ (Matisoff 1973:129)

### 2.2.3 Lalo noun phrase structure

There are nine possible slots in an NP in Lalo, as given in the schematic below (Björverud 1998:117).
Table 2. Slots possible in an NP in Lalo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot # 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phrasal relativizer</td>
<td>Noun specifier (genitive)</td>
<td>NP head</td>
<td>Adjective modifier</td>
<td>Phrasal relativizer</td>
<td>Deter- mines Noun</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>Noun Classifier</td>
<td>Noun particle (accusative or locative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexeme: má</td>
<td>γə̀</td>
<td>má</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The relativizer (Björverud calls it a “phrasal specifier”) introduces a relative clause. In the first slot, it is followed by a comma pause. It is more usual in the fifth slot (Björverud 1998:123).

2. The possessive lexeme γə̀ is obligatory after personal pronouns to make them possessive pronouns, except when indicating kinship relations (Björverud 1998:123). With nested genitives γə̀ ‘the mother’s father’s cousin’ is only used once, before the head of the NP (Björverud 1998:122).

3. The head of the NP may be a noun or pronoun. If a noun, it may be compound (Björverud 1998:117).

4. Adjectives are usually used as predicates and not attributively, so this slot is generally left unoccupied (Björverud 1998:118).

5. Slots 6–8 together make up the quantification of the head.

6. Lalo only has two determiners, ‘this’ and ‘that’. (Björverud 1998:67).


8. There are only seven unit classifiers (song/poem, same-gender siblings, mixed-gender siblings, people, some, and two nonspecific classifiers), and an open class of measure/container classifiers. There are also six adverbial noun classifiers, for adverbial expressions such as ‘twice’, ‘a while’, and ‘mouthfuls’ (Björverud 1998:69).

9. There are four noun particles that mark location or predication (Björverud 1998:124–132). The subject may be topicalized by one of two clause particles, which allows the insertion of a comma pause (Björverud 1998:132).

(29) Ánízà má u dì guq
child TOP 3PL OBJ/PRED afraid
‘The children feared her.’ (Björverud 1998:127)

2.2.4 **Nuosu noun phrase structure**

Genitive noun-noun combinations in an attributive relation occur frequently by juxtaposition without any intervening particle (Fu 1997:197). In subject or predicate functions, possessive NPs are formed using the possessive/genitive particle ꞇve.

(30) ꞇ[ˈtʃʰ] ꞇgu ꞇlo ꞇm ꞇka ꞇve ꞇŋɯ]
this PL Lo-ho M-ka POSS be
‘These are Lo-ho M-ka’s.’ (Fu 1997:197)

There is no affix indicating plural in Nuosu (Fu 1997:96).
2.3 Noun particles

Noun particles are not themselves nouns and must modify a preceding autonomous noun, or follow another noun particle (Matisoff 1973:154). Several postnominal particles may follow one another, but “[a]s always, the length of a string of particles is inversely proportional to its frequency of occurrence” (Matisoff 1973:180).

2.3.1 Bisu noun particles

Bisu (Xu 2001:117–124) has structural particles that follow NPs to indicate the roles of

- agent,
- patient,
- a declaration about the subject,
- possessive of the NP,
- adverbial use of a numeral-classifier NP, and
- a location in/among/to/on/from/up the NP.

Five additional particles indicate degrees of plurality (Xu 2001:128–129).

2.3.1.1 Agent, patient, and subject

Agent, patient, and subject particles are discussed in section 2.5.1.

2.3.1.2 Possessive

The possessive marker can follow nouns or pronouns, creating a possessive modifier for another NP. Where the context is clear, the modified NP can be deleted.

(31) [ni₅⁵ tuŋ₃¹ na₃¹ xau₃₃ xy₃³ (na₃¹)]
    this CLF field other people POSS
    ‘This field is somebody else’s (field).’ (Xu 2001:121)

2.3.1.3 Adverbial use

Adverbial use of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and numeral-classifier phrases is marked (Xu 2001:122–123).

(32) [naj⁷³ thī₃¹ lum₃¹ thī₃¹ lum₃¹ ne₅³ tsə₃¹]
    you one CLF one CLF ADV eat
    ‘You are eating them one by one.’

2.3.1.4 Location

Location near an NP is marked in a manner similar to a generalized postposition (Xu 2001:123).

(33) kan₃¹ phaⁿ¹ Y₃¹ la₃¹ phi₃¹ tsə₃¹
    vegetables LOC chillies have
    ‘There are chillies among the vegetables.’
2.3.1.5 Plurality

According to Xu, there are five noun particles that mark types and degrees of plurality.

- One plural marker \( ba^{31} \) acts as a suffix on personal pronouns and nouns naming humans only (Xu 2001:128).
- Another can be used for “any countable object with a definable shape” and with numeral-classifier NPs (Xu 2001:128).
- A third noun plurality particle can follow a series of “personal pronouns, personal nouns, or” NPs representing a group and marks them as forming a group “together” (Xu 2001:128–129).
- A fourth delimits a “personal pronoun, noun or numeral-classifier” NP as the “only” one spoken of.
- The fifth noun plurality particle indicates “more” than the number stated in a numeral-classifier NP, and allows the head noun to be deleted (Xu 2001:129).

2.3.2 Lahu noun particles

There are two types of noun particles in Lahu: vocative and nonvocative.

2.3.2.1 Vocative

Of the vocative particles, one is for questions only and one is for either questions or statements. The interrogative vocative particle can only modify nouns or names that are loosely attached to the end of questions that themselves end in a final-unrestricted particle. The more general vocative particle can follow nouns of address that are either at the beginning or end of an utterance.
2.3.2.2 Nonvocative

There are ten nonvocative noun particles:
- dative/accusative marker, which marks the indirect object (person) if it is present, and the direct object if no indirect object is present
- causal particle (‘because of N’)
- co-occurrence in a place or situation (‘with N’)
- four various locative markers (~ ‘at/in/from’ depending on context) (Matisoff 1973:155–167):
  - a strong deictic/interrogative locative marker (‘right there’/ ‘that very spot’) limited to combine with only six (very frequent: ‘(t)here, (t)hither, (t)hence, where, whither, whence’) nouns
  - a weak locative marker (‘somewhere there’) that has developed from a homophonous topicalizing particle
  - a weak locative particle that is colloquial
  - a strong literary/formal locative marker
- informal minimizing (‘only/just N’)
- strong topic setter-off (‘hmm, this N now’)

Table 3. Co-occurrence restrictions of nonvocative noun particles in Lahu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>accusative/dative</th>
<th>causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘with N’ (only animate)</td>
<td>deictic/interrogative locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘only/just N’</td>
<td>strong topic off-setter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(40) nä thà? tâ d5?
I ACC don’t hit
‘Don’t hit me.’ (Matisoff 1973:156)

(41) gĩ̂ ša ve bo pa-tô
God 5 CAUS P
‘because of God’s grace’ (Matisoff 1973:159)

(42) yè 5
house TOP LOC
‘near/around the house’ (Matisoff 1973:166)

(43) ö kà? 5 te aʔ
over there deictic TOP LOC do suggestion
‘Please put it right over there.’ (Matisoff 1973:164)
\( \text{(44) } \) ŋà 5-pa ge là ve yò  
I father with come AFFIRM DECL  
‘I have come to/from Father (ambiguous).’ (Matisoff 1973:161)

\subsection*{2.3.3 Lalo noun particles}

Lalo has three types of noun particles (Björverud 1998:74): locative particles, case particles, and topic particles. Several have been grammaticalized and serve more than one function (Björverud 1998:74, 126, 128). Pronouns have a plural marker (see 2.3.3.2).

\subsubsection*{2.3.3.1 Locative}

There are four locative noun markers meaning
\begin{itemize}
  \item ‘on’ (and also grammaticalized to mark either the direct or indirect object),
  \item ‘in front of’ (and also used to mean ‘with’),
  \item ‘in’ or ‘into,’ and
  \item ‘around’ or ‘near’ (Björverud 1998:126–131).
\end{itemize}

\( \text{(45) } \) ánţà mà u dì guq  
child TOP 3SG OBJ afraid  
‘he children feared her/him.’

\( \text{(46) } \) ʃá.ǹ̩ʔnuq dì à tjìh sè pe djà  
maize tip on top rice seed stick on DUR  
‘Rice seeds are/were sticking on the tip of the maize.’

\subsubsection*{2.3.3.2 Case}

Besides the grammaticalized “object” case marker, there is a reflexive case marker, and a possessive case marker (Björverud 1998:74, 122). The possessive case marker may mark either nouns or pronouns, and is obligatory with pronouns (Björverud 1998:122). Noun-noun juxtaposition may indicate possession and nested possession is possible (Björverud 1998:122).

\( \text{(47) } \) u tsa ɣə̀ fw  
3SG PL POSS silver  
‘their silver’

\( \text{(48) } \) ʃíntjàn màqʔnỳ yò ʔlà  
mayor wife POSS trousers  
‘the mayor’s wife’s trousers’ (Björverud 1998:122)

There are four topicalizers (Björverud 1998:132–133, 142–143):
\begin{itemize}
  \item The two most common (má ~ ɗ, and bɛ̀) may mark either an NP or an entire clause.
  \item These two, and the somewhat old-fashioned nà, often topicalize subjects, but may also topicalize objects.
  \item The fourth topicalizer le usually topicalizes objects, but may also mark subjects.
  \item They further differ in that bɛ̀ and nà mark their NP (or clause) as somewhat unexpected. Once a topic is established, the particle is not needed again except to mark a new topic.
\end{itemize}
‘They couldn’t abide feeding the son-in-law.’

‘But what are you doing?’ (Björverud 1998:144)

2.3.4 **Nuosu noun particles**

2.3.4.1 **Subject**

Nuosu has two interchangeable subject/nominative case-marking particles (a third is literary). It is often the only marker used to distinguish agent-patient relationships.

2.3.4.2 **Object**

Nuosu also has two object dative/accusative case-marking particles (for animate objects), which are only used with a small number of verbs (Fu 1997:196):

- tell
- ask
- give
- present
- borrow
- exchange
- protect

2.3.4.3 **Vocative**

Nuosu also has a vocative particle, ‘a (Fu 1997:93, 194). For more on case usage, see section 2.5.

2.4 **Postnominal clausal particles**

2.4.1 **Bisu postnominal clausal particles**

Several of the Bisu noun particles described in section 2.3.1 fill the same semantic roles as the postnominal clausal particles described in Lahu (section 2.4.2). These Bisu noun particles, however, seem restricted in their syntax to phrasal modifiers and not clausal modifiers. One example of the semantic overlap between the two languages is the Bisu particle used for “informal minimizing (‘only/just N’),” in 2.3.1.4, example (36). This corresponds semantically to the Lahu postnominal clausal particle used in indicate “minimizing ‘just/simply’ ” as described below in section 2.4.2 point 2, particle 3.

2.4.2 **Lahu postnominal clausal particles**

Some clausal particles can occur after both NPs and VPs (and other particles and certain adverbials). This flexibility is reflected in Matisoff’s term, “unrestricted” particles (1973:45). In Lahu there are three kinds of postnominal clausal particles:
• “final unrestricted particles,” which occur only after a final NP (necessarily in a sentence without a verb) or after a final VP
• “nonfinal unrestricted particles,” which occur only after a nonfinal NP (or a nonfinal VP in a compound sentence)
• “universal unrestricted particles,” which occur after either final or nonfinal phrases and are always ordered before the other two types of “unrestricted particles” (Matisoff 1973:46, 168–169)

2.4.2.1 Universal unrestricted particles

Several universal unrestricted particles may follow a noun, and their ordering is fixed:
1. Temporal ‘when’ N
2. Extentive ‘as much as’ N
3. Minimizing ‘just/simply’ N
4. Either causal ‘because it’s an’ N or assertive ‘this very’ N
   One postnominal particle that can also occur after an NP falls outside of these considerations. It is the genetivizing particle (similar to possessive apostrophe -s in English), called “the most important of all universal unrestricted particles” (Matisoff 1973:173), which is unique in also occurring between NPs in genitive constructions.

2.4.2.2 Nonfinal unrestricted particles

Several nonfinal unrestricted particles may potentially follow nonfinal nouns (and any associated universal unrestricted particles) in a prescribed order:
1. Topic-contrasting ‘as for’ N or weaker topic clarifying N ‘now’
2. Stronger topic-clarifying N ‘now’ or weakest topic-clarifying/space-filling ‘well’ N, or ‘also/even’ N (one of two with the same meaning), or colloquial ‘even’ N, or suspensive/ /coordinating ‘and’ N
3. Only after colloquial ‘even’ N, the second-position ‘also/even’ N may follow in third position

2.4.2.3 Possible sequences of universal and nonfinal unrestricted particles

Table 4. Possible sequences of Lahu universal and nonfinal unrestricted particles (Matisoff 1973:181)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universal nonrestricted particles</th>
<th>Nonfinal unrestricted particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporal</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘when’ N</td>
<td><strong>Topic-contrasting</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘as for’ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extentive ‘as much as’ N</td>
<td>Stronger topic-clarifying:&lt;br&gt;‘also/even’ N (either of 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimizing ‘just/simply’ N</td>
<td>Weaker topic-clarifying:&lt;br&gt;N ‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal ‘because it’s an’ N (or)</td>
<td>Colloquial ‘even’ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive ‘this very’ N</td>
<td>‘also/even’ N (either of 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suspensive/ coordinating ‘and’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Sequences of more than three unrestricted particles within a single NP are rare.” (Matisoff 1973:180)

Example of a relatively large number of particles:

(51) Kɔ́lɔ́c tɛ́ tɛ́ qo ƙ te mə̀ pə̀
Thai as much as only just because it’s as for well do/make not finish

tù hɛ́
will (FUT) maybe (dubative)
‘If it’s really only the Thai (doing it), they’ll probably never get it finished.’
(Matisoff 1973:181)

2.4.3 Lalo postnominal clausal particles

Two noun particles, mə̀ and bɛ̀, are also clause markers. Mə̀ indicates that the clause preceding it is the topic or the background of the clause to come. It is only used with nonfinal clauses (Björverud 1998:143). Bɛ̀ indicates that the clause preceding it is unexpected or strange (Björverud 1998:144).

(52) tjhə̀ khə́ mə́ djú́ á bɛ̀ ɨ̀hə̀
one CLF not have PERF P right!
‘[He] can’t have an[other] [trump] card—right!’

2.4.4 Nuosu postnominal clausal particles

All but one of the clausal particles in Nuosu are postverbal (Fu 1997:159–179). For cumulative compound clauses, such as “He has come, and his friend has come, too” Nuosu uses the particle ‘ɲi’, meaning ‘too’, following the subject NP of each clause to mark the compounding:

(53) 2ts’i 1ɲi 2a 2bo, 2ts’i 3tɕ’io 3po 1ɲi 2a 2bo
he too not go he friend too not go
‘He is not going, and his friend will not go, either.’ (Fu 1997:178)

2.5 Noun case usage

2.5.1 Bisu noun case usage

2.5.1.1 Subject

There is a subject-marking particle. In declarative sentences (usually those missing the copula ‘be’) the subject is marked explicitly (Xu 2001:121).

(54) ni55 a31 a31saŋ31 xɣ33 ko33khja55
this SUBJ who POSS back-basket
‘Whose back-basket is this?’ (Xu 2001:121)
2.5.1.2 Agent and patient

The agent and patient particles may be left out where the semantic roles are obvious, leaving four instances where they are often used:

1. with verbs whose agent and patient are both animate, such as ‘help,’ ‘let,’ ‘allow,’ and ‘hit’

   (56) a\textsuperscript{31}ba\textsuperscript{33} no\textsuperscript{31} za\textsuperscript{31}ki\textsuperscript{33} na\textsuperscript{33} zu\textsuperscript{31} pi\textsuperscript{31} ne\textsuperscript{31}
       mother AG child PAT sleep allow (existing action)
   ‘The mother allowed the child to sleep.’(Xu 2001:117)

2. with ditransitive verbs, such as ‘give’ (where the indirect object is usually the only marked NP)

   (57) zoŋ\textsuperscript{33} naŋ\textsuperscript{33} na\textsuperscript{33} tsyk\textsuperscript{55} thi\textsuperscript{31} lum\textsuperscript{31}
       they you PAT lend one CLF
   ‘They’ll lend you one.’ (Xu 2001:119).

3. in cases of deletion of the NP,

   (58) thi\textsuperscript{31}ba\textsuperscript{31} no\textsuperscript{31} kha\textsuperscript{33} aŋ\textsuperscript{33}bja\textsuperscript{31}.
       some AG plant many
   ‘Some (households) planted a lot.’ (Xu 2001:118)

4. in fronting or extraposition of the NP.

   (59) za\textsuperscript{31}ki\textsuperscript{33} na\textsuperscript{33} noŋ\textsuperscript{33} xa\textsuperscript{33} duŋ\textsuperscript{31}
       child(ren) PAT you(PL) make awake
   ‘You woke the children up.’ (Xu 2001:119)

   (60) noŋ\textsuperscript{33} kha\textsuperscript{33} ga\textsuperscript{33} sa\textsuperscript{33}mjaŋ\textsuperscript{55} ne\textsuperscript{33}la\textsuperscript{31} zaŋ\textsuperscript{33} na\textsuperscript{33}
       you certainly found question he PAT
   ‘Have you finally found him?’ (Xu 2001:120)

In instances 3 and 4, the semantic role particle is obligatory. Since the direct object should follow the indirect object, reversal of this order also requires the patient particle to mark the indirect object (no data given).

2.5.2 Lahu noun case usage

2.5.2.1 Object and subject

Nouns in the role of direct or indirect object can be marked as an object. When both an indirect and direct object are present, it is the indirect object that is marked as an object, to show that it is not the subject of the sentence and to avoid ambiguity (compare with example, below right) (Matisoff 1973:307). Note the following contrasting examples (Matisoff 1973:307):

(55) zaŋ\textsuperscript{33} a\textsuperscript{31} naŋ\textsuperscript{33} tchi\textsuperscript{33} la\textsuperscript{31}? zaŋ\textsuperscript{33} a\textsuperscript{33}
    she SUBJ you sister Q she SUBJ
   ‘Is she your elder sister? She is.’ (Xu 2001:122)
Nouns used as instrumentals, locatives, or semantic specifiers have no special marking and may seem to be either subjects or objects when they are not. Semantic factors control the interpretation in these cases (Matisoff 1973:308–311).

2.5.2.2 Vocative

The vocative is shown by the prefix a- (Matisoff 1973:65).

2.5.3 Lalo noun case usage

2.5.3.1 Topic

Lalo has four topicalizers. Three include the two most common má ~ á and bè and the somewhat old-fashioned nà to topicalize subjects, but that may also topicalize objects. The fourth topicalizer, le, usually topicalizes objects, but also marks subjects. Once a topic is established, the particle is not needed again except to mark a new topic (Björverud 1998:132–133, 142–143).

Typical usages:

(62) zèmè ú tjå má má nà hà
daughter small this CLF TOP sick nonfinished aspect
‘(As for) this younger daughter (she) has become sick.’ (Björverud 1998:143)

(63) ñà bè átsá pí ha thí à
you TOP what do nonfinished aspect EMPH
‘But what are you doing?’ (Björverud 1998:144)

(64) gùphìq le ṃà jí hà
money TOP I not want nonfinished aspect
‘As for the money, I don’t even want [it].’ (Björverud 1998:133)

Variant usages (Björverud 1998:143, 133):

(65) ñìqṿw tjhà má dì má tjàq mà iq
son-in-law one CLF OBJ TOP feed not abide
‘[They] couldn’t abide feeding the son-in-law.’

(66) ñà le mà.á sì nè pì á pà.ň mú
I TOP.not be if so do PERF clause-final P witnessed by speaker
‘If it weren’t for me, [they] would have done it like that.’
2.5.4 **Nuosu noun case usage**

2.5.4.1 **Subject and Object**

Nouns used as subjects can optionally be marked by any of three subject/nominative case-marking particles, of which one is strictly for literary style. The other two are interchangeable. Such use allows the object to be fronted for emphasis (Fu 1997:194). The original position of the object may also be occupied by the 3sg pronoun (Fu 1997:196). The subject marker is often the only marker used to distinguish agent-patient relationships when the predicate has a direct object and no indirect object (Fu 1997:196).

```
(67) ³lo ³ho ³m ³ka ³nu ³ma ³v1 ³tsu ³lu ³la ³dze ³ndu
     Lo-ho M-ka SUBJ Ma Vz-da Chu-lu La-dze hit
     ‘Lo-ho M-ka is hitting Ma Vz-da and Chu-lu.’
```

```
(68) ³lo ³ho ³m ³ka ³ma ³v1 ³le ³tsu ³lu ³la ³dze ³dʒi ³ndu
     Lo-ho M-ka Ma Vz-da SUBJ Chu-lu La-dze mutually hit
     ‘Lo-ho M-ka, and Ma Vz-da are hitting Chu-lu.’
```

```
(69) ³lo ³ho ³m ³ka ³ma ³v1 ³da ³tsu ³lu ³la ³dze ³dʒi ³se
     Lo-ho M-ka Ma Vz-da Chu-lu La-dze mutually fight
     ‘Lo-ho M-ka, Ma Vz-da, and Chu-lu La-dze are fighting each other.’
```

When there are two objects, the direct object precedes the indirect (Fu 1997:196).

2.5.4.2 **Dative and accusative**

Nuosu has two dative/accusative case-marking object particles (for animate objects), which are only used with a small number of verbs (Fu 1997:196):

- tell
- ask
- give
- present
- borrow
- exchange
- protect

For ditransitives with two animate objects, they mark the indirect object. One exception is that the particle 'dʒi' marks the inanimate direct object for the verbs 'give' and 'present' (Fu 1997:197).

```
(70) ³ŋa ³n/Open ³tɕio ³he.
     I OBJ speak
     ‘I speak to you.’ (Fu 1997:196)
```
2.5.4.3 Vocative

Nuosu has a vocative particle, ʰa (Fu 1997:93, 194).

3 Numerals

Numerals must always be followed by a classifier, with very few exceptions, among which are arithmetic tables and book titles, such as “1 Corinthians” (Matisoff 1973:87). The number ‘one’ occurs in eight special constructions where no other numeral can occur (Matisoff 1973:87). See section 3.2. For numbers larger than ten, a larger number followed by a smaller number usually implies addition. For example, ‘ten-three’ = 10 + 3. A smaller number followed by a larger one usually implies multiplication, such as, ‘three-ten’ = 3×10 (Fu 1997:137). The number 21 is literally ‘two-ten-one’, which reflects the regular system through 99 (Fu 1997:138).

3.1 Bisu numerals

Xu divides the numbers into four sections (Xu 2001:104–107):
- cardinal numbers
- ordinal numbers
- fractions
- approximations

3.1.1 Cardinal numerals

There are cardinal numerals in Bisu for ‘one’ to ‘ten’, ‘one hundred’, ‘one thousand’, ‘ten thousand’, and ‘one hundred million’ (Xu 2001:275–276). These are combined in the same way as in other Sino-Burmese languages. When words such as ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ stand alone, the standard prefix for an adjective an^5^ is used. When other numerals precede them, however, this prefix is not used (Xu 2001:105).

3.1.2 Ordinal numerals

Bisu has no specific ordinal numbers and uses Chinese loan words instead. The one exception seems to be the construction for order of birth or priority about people.

(72) ʰtʃaŋ^5^ sum^5^ san^5^ ʰl^2^ ʰo
     person three classifier for person
     ‘third in line’ (Xu 2001:105)

3.1.3 Fractions

With fractions, there are four words for ‘half’ (Xu 2001:107, 276), depending on whether the object is
- abstract and uncountable,
- divisible and countable,
• cut open, or
• liquid.

Other fractions are formed using the paradigm “denominator + p—possessive particle—numerator + ‘part’.”

\[
\text{eight p POSS five p} \\
\text{‘five-eighths’}
\]

### 3.1.4 Approximations

Approximations often use adjacent numbers starting with the smaller number (Xu 2001:106).

\[
\text{pigs three four (CLF)} \\
\text{‘three or four pigs’}
\]

For larger values, approximate numbers use the particle \(tsan\) following a numeral to mean ‘more than’ (Xu 2001:106).

\[
\text{two ten (CLF) plus} \\
\text{‘over (more than) twenty’}
\]

Approximations of a given numeral use the paradigms “x-up, x-down” or “x-down-up” with a choice between lexemes meaning ‘down’ and ‘up’ (Xu 2001:106).

\[
\text{twenty years up twenty years down} \\
\text{‘about twenty years of age’}
\]

\[
\text{fifty years down up} \\
\text{‘about fifty years of age’}
\]

### 3.2 Lahu numerals

There are numerals in Lahu for ‘one’ to ‘ten’, ‘one hundred’, ‘one thousand’, ‘several’, ‘how many’, and ‘this many’ (Matisoff 1973:86). The number ‘one’ occurs in eight special constructions where no other numeral can occur (Matisoff 1973:87–88):

- exactly one less than two
- similar to English indefinite ‘a/an’
- ‘a/the whole one’
- ‘any one’
- in combination with certain classifiers referring to groups
- before “classifier + ‘every’” combinations
- before “classifier + ‘only’” combinations, such as ‘alone’, ‘suddenly’, and ‘simultaneously’
- in ordinal expressions beyond ‘first’
3.3 Lalo numerals

Numerals in Lalo are a closed class and entirely monosyllabic (Björverud 1998:67). Only the words for ‘one’ to ‘eleven’ are considered numerals. ‘Eleven’ apparently preserves an alternative form of the word ‘one’ (Björverud 1998:67). Larger numbers are expressed with a number + classifier phrase. ‘Zero’ is a loan word from Chinese (Björverud 1998:67–68). Large numbers are strung together from greater to lesser values as in English: first ‘thousands’, then ‘hundreds’…. Empty spots in a longer number phrase are filled by the term *ni ka*, which can indicate either one or two zeroes in the number (Björverud 1998:68):

- ‘one thousand *ni ka* three ten’ = 1030
- ‘one thousand *ni ka* three’ = 1003

Two consecutive numbers (most often ‘two’ and ‘three’) may be strung together to indicate an approximate value (Björverud 1998:68).

3.4 Nuosu numerals

There is one lexeme for numbers one to ten. ‘Eleven’ is literally ‘ten-one’, and this is regular through ‘nineteen’, with tones and some loss of aspiration for some numbers (Fu 1997:137). A variation on the number ‘two’ is used for ‘twenty’, which is literally ‘two-ten’ (Fu 1997:138). For higher numbers, there are specific lexemes for ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’, ‘ten thousand’, and ‘hundred thousand’ (Fu 1997:138). Compounding for still higher numbers is somewhat flexible in that ‘five hundred thousand’, for example, can be represented either by ‘five – hundred thousand’ or ‘fifty – ten thousand’. Similarly, a ‘hundred million’ can be either ‘ten thousand – ten thousand’ or a ‘thousand – hundred thousand’. (Fu 1997:138).

4 Classifiers

Classifiers are “a type of limited noun” that appears “only after numerals (or after another classifier), and whose selection is determined by a preceding (overt or implicit) noun” (Matisoff 1973:88). Nouns may select a number of classifiers, some being more elegant than others. An “autoclassifier” is a noun that is used as the classifier for itself.

4.1 Bisu classifiers

Xu distinguishes two main types of classifiers: object classifiers and action classifiers. There are many more object classifiers, which are divided into three subcategories according to what kind of nouns are being counted: individual, collective, and indefinite classifiers. Examples of collective entities are ‘group’, ‘flock’, ‘herd’, ‘type’, ‘sheaf’, ‘bunch’, and ‘bundle’. The indefinite classifiers each mean ‘some’. The most common action classifier is ‘time/occurrence’. Others are ‘stroke, bit, and a while’. These always refer to some action. Autoclassifiers, a third type of classifier, are nouns that select themselves as classifiers.

4.1.1 Object classifier: People

A point of complexity in usage concerns the two classifiers for people (Xu 2001:108):

- one is for counting
- the other is used with ‘this’ and ‘that’ or with a numeral to indicate ranking or seniority
The noun tshaŋ⁵⁵ ‘person’ can also be used as a classifier, but its word order remains that of a noun:

(78) tshaŋ⁵⁵ xan⁵⁵ fu³³ san⁵⁵
    person four CLF CLF
    ‘four people’

(79) tshaŋ⁵⁵ xan⁵⁵ san⁵⁵
    person four CLF
    ‘the fourth person (or) the fourth eldest’ (Xu 2001:108)

4.1.2 Object classifier: Individual

In the Hauipa dialect of Bisu, there are only three specific individual classifiers that are not autoclassifiers:
- one for people and animals
- a general one
- one without a glossed meaning

There are four such individual object classifiers in Lanmeng dialect, which is Xu’s main source of data:
- two different ones for people
- one for animals, birds, boats, and containers
- a general one

4.1.3 Autoclassifiers

In addition to the specific individual classifiers, Xu lists fifty-one autoclassifiers (2001:277-278), including the following:
- places
- clouds
- trees
- knives
- string (and other long, slender objects)
- rods or sticks
- stones
- leaves
- songs
- cigarettes
- sentences
- night
- month
- year
- mountains or buildings (and other large immobile objects)
• ears (of grain)
• pieces (of fruit, of clothing, of lumber/wood—three different lexical items)
• plots/pieces of land
• roads

Also listed among the autoclassifiers are measure words:
• pair
• bottle
• bowl
• jar
• armspan
• handspan
• double handful
• spoonful
• bucket
• basket (of vegetables)
• pile
• drop
• a short period of time
• an instant

Autoclassifiers also include the Chinese measures for the following:
• length (inch +, foot +)
• land area (1/6 of an acre)
• weight (50 grams and 500 grams)
• liquid volume (10 liters)

4.2 Lahu classifiers

4.2.1 General, special, auto-, and round number classifiers

Lahu has four kinds of classifiers (Matisoff 1973:88–92):
• a general classifier that is unmarked and can often substitute for more specific classifiers
• special classifiers (including measure words, such as ‘liter’) that are selected by a smaller number of nouns, e.g., one for human beings, others for animals, places, fields, elongated objects, and one for books or papers
• autoclassifiers, which occur where the noun selects itself as its classifier, such as for the nouns for houses, villages and countries, e.g., ye tê ye’, literally ‘house-one-house’, meaning ‘a/one house’ (Matisoff 1973:89)
• round number classifiers, such as the nouns tens, hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, and millions

4.2.2 Time and group classifiers

Time classifiers require separate consideration since they may appear directly after a numeral, or they may appear as autoclassifiers or with the general classifier. So the following are all acceptable: tê qhɔ̀,
literally ‘one year’, qhɔ̀ tê qhɔ̀ with an autoclassifier, and qhɔ̀ tê mà, with the general classifier. All have the meaning: ‘one year’ (Matisoff 1973:90).

There are several “group classifiers” that are limited to use exclusively with the numeral ‘one’. When preceded by ‘one’, the various classifiers mean (Matisoff 1973:90–91)

- ‘a group/pack/bunch’,
- ‘the whole group’,
- ‘some’,
- ‘together’ (literally ‘one witness’), and
- ‘a pair/couple’.

4.2.3 Reduplication

Classifiers (except for autoclassifiers) may reduplicate and change the meaning in one of two ways:

- ‘each/every’ individual-instance, or
- ‘approximately that number’ of individuals/instances.

Context is required to distinguish these two possibilities. For example, without context nî g̈â-g̈â, literally ‘two person-person’, can mean either ‘both people’ or ‘about two people’ (Matisoff 1973:93).

4.3 Lalo classifiers

Classifiers are either autoclassifiers (point 5, below) or one of these three classes of traditional classifiers (Björverud 1998:68):

- unit classifiers
- measure classifiers, and
- verb classifiers.

4.3.1 Unit classifier

These are the only words that may immediately follow a numeral ‘two’. There are seven unit classifiers, with the following meanings (Björverud 1998:69):

1) and 2) general nonspecific meaning (one of them, mà, being the most often-used in the language),
3) ‘some’,
4) ‘people’,
5) same gender siblings (for example, sisters),
6) mixed gender siblings (that is, sisters and brothers), and
7) songs or poems.

4.3.2 Measure classifier

There are two types of measure classifiers:

- “true” measure classifiers
- container classifiers

Only five classifiers count as “true” measure classifiers:

- jin (Chinese unit of weight, approximately 600 grams)
- bowlful
• basketful
• handspan (used mostly for measuring when sewing and knitting)
• handful

### 4.3.3 Container classifier

Container classifiers, in contrast, are an open class, since “any noun that may hold an amount of something else may be used as a container classifier” (Björverud 1998:69).

There are six verb classifiers with the following meanings:

• occasion,
• a while (only with the number ‘one’),
• hits,
• steps,
• mouthfuls,
• crowings.

As the meanings indicate, these classifiers form nominal numeral-classifier phrases that modify verbs (or adjectives) adverbially (Björverud 1998:69; no examples given).

### 4.3.4 Autoclassifier

Besides the three groups of classifiers, there is a group of five autoclassifiers (Björverud 1998:70):

• village
• tree
• leaf (or door)
• bowful
• pod/larger seed

The autoclassifier “bowful” is the same lexical item as the one listed as a “true” measure classifier, in 4.3.2.

### 4.4 Nuosu classifiers

#### 4.4.1 Shape classifier

Fu lists eighteen classifiers (“numeratives” in his terminology) that “suggest the shape” of various nouns (Fu 1997:140) for the following categories (Fu 1997:141–142):

• plants,
• flat-surfaced objects,
• meals,
• books,
• guns/saddles/locks,
• articles of clothing,
• quantities of tobacco (products),
• villages,
• most living things that move (including humans),
• slender objects whether alive or not (except people and plants),
• brooks/rivers/bean curd,
• bladed tools,
• rooms,
• flat pieces “of anything”,
• songs/poems,
• sheets of paper/bows,
• clouds, and
• cloudbursts.
This number seems much smaller to him than other Yipho dialects he knows, such as Pai-mei, which has forty-four (Fu 1997:143). He distinguishes numeratives from “counting units,” which are weights and measures, and units of time (1997:143).

4.4.2 Function

When a classifier/numerative follows a noun without a numeral, its function is similar to English ‘a/an’:

(77) 3ve 2se 2ma 3de 3ve 2ma 1Io 2pi 2ći
        host  CLF   guest  CLF  respect  should
    ‘A host should respect a guest.’

A classifier/numerative can follow a verb or adjective and turn it into a noun (Fu 1997:141):

(78) 2na 2sa 2ma 2ša 2šl 2ma 2a 2ša
    I  to live  CLF  seek  to die  CLF  not  seek
    ‘I am looking for a living one, not a dead one.’

After the interrogatives ‘what/which’, ‘how many’ used for people, and for number + classifier groups of three or more people, the usual classifier 2ma is replaced by 2io.

(79) 2š’o 2š’sl 2šo 2io 2ći 2io 2nul?
        three  these  person  CLF  what  CLF  be
    ‘What are these three persons?’ (Fu 1997:142)

5 Negation

The negative adverb ‘not’ is analytically useful in determining what are words in Yipho/Loloish languages should be considered verbs, since all and only verbs may be negated by ‘not’ (Matisoff 1973:193).

5.1 Bisu negation

Bisu has a single negative adverb for ba31 ‘not’ and another for the negative imperative a31 ‘don’t’. Each of them precedes the verb or adjective that it is modifying.

(80) zor33 xa33šl31 ba31 tsa31
        they  bananas  not  eat
    ‘They don’t eat bananas.’ (Xu 2001:115)

In negative imperatives, the second person pronoun may be expressed as follows (Xu 2001:115, 96):
(81)  nan\(^33\) a\(^31\) le\(^33\) tso\(^33\)
     you don’t go should
   ‘Don’t (you) go!’ (Xu 2001:116)

The copula is used only with the negative adverb ‘not’, whether in existential clauses or in negative
questions (Xu 2001:78–79).

(82)  zaŋ\(^33\) aŋ\(^33\) lai\(^33\) lin\(^33\)fu\(^33\) ba\(^31\) a\(^31\) la\(^31\)
     he student not be Q
   ‘Isn’t he a student?’ (based on Xu 2001:79)

Affirmative nominal predicates delete the copula (Xu 2001:143). The homophonous declarative
particle has a different syntactic position from the copula.

(83)  ga\(^33\) a\(^31\) (aŋ\(^33\) lai\(^31\) ma\(^31\)fu\(^33\) )
     I DECL (teacher)
   ‘I am (a teacher).’ (Xu 2001:143)

5.2 Lahu negation

Lahu has a single negative adverb for ‘not’ and two for the negative imperative ‘don’t’.

5.2.1 ‘Not’ to distinguish types of VPs

The negative adverb ‘not’ is analytically useful in determining the difference between disyllabic verbs
that are lexical compounds and verb-verb combinations that are resultative (‘catch fire’, ‘fit into’), since
the first are never split by the adverb in negation, while the latter always are (Matisoff 1973:208).

In verb concatenations, where there are prehead versatiles, the adverb ‘not’ must precede the entire
concatenation (Matisoff 1973:266).

(84)  mâ qɔʔ ga gu bù?
     not again help revise/fix write
   ‘It does not help rewrite it again.’ (Matisoff 1973: 213, 219, 220, 238)

When there are no prehead versatiles, the adverb ‘not’ may negate the entire VP, in which case it
precedes the VP. Or it may negate subparts of the concatenation, which it then immediately precedes.
These two sentences exemplify the contrast (Matisoff 1973:267).

(85)  mâ ni mɔ
     not look see
   ‘Didn’t even look.’

(86)  ni mâ mɔ
     look not see
   ‘Looked but didn’t see.’ (Matisoff 1973:267)

5.2.2 Nouns and nominalized clauses

Nouns and (nominalized) clauses are negated periphrastically, with the phrase meaning ‘it is not the
case’ (Matisoff 1973:269):
(87) lâhû-yâ mâ hè?
Lahu not case
‘(He’s) not a Lahu.’

(88) ší pɔ̀ qay ve mâ hè? phà? qay ve yò
tomorrow go NOM not the case day after go NOM yes/AFFIRM
‘It’s not the case that I’m going tomorrow; I’m going the day after.’ (Matisoff 1973:269)

5.2.3 **Negative imperatives**

The negative imperative is often softened by adding the “persuasive” final particle to make it more urging. The negative imperative is usually used with action verbs, and not with adjectives, so ‘Don’t be fat’ must expressed paraphrastically (Matisoff 1973:271). So the first example below is unacceptable because the negative imperative cannot be used with an adjective.

(89) *tâ chu
don’t fat
‘Don’t be fat.’

(90) chú ɛ̀ tâ te
fat ADV don’t do
‘Don’t be fat’ (literally, ‘don’t do fatly’). (Matisoff 1973:271)

There is a sarcastic negative imperative that is used less frequently (Matisoff 1973:358):

(91) câ mâ-yo-?
eat don’t
‘OK, don’t eat (but you'll be sorry later…).’ (Matisoff 1973:358, 682)

5.2.3.2 **Negative probability**

Negative probability is expressed by a particle that is a negative polarity item; it can only be used if the preceding verb has been negated.

(92) ngà ve mâ hè? tâ
I POSS not case probability
‘It’s probably not mine.’ (Matisoff 1973:349)

5.3 **Lalo negation**

Lalo has a single negative adverb for ‘not’ and another for the negative imperative ‘don’t’. No word may intervene between the adverb and the verb/adjective that they modify (Björverud 1998:71).

5.4 **Nuosu negation**

5.4.1 **Forms and placement**

Nuosu has a single negative adverb for ‘not’ and another for the negative imperative ‘don’t’. The negative adverb ‘not’ precedes monosyllabic words that it is modifying (Fu 1997:198).
The negative adverb ‘not’ is inserted into disyllabic words that it is modifying.

(95) ɣ a le 2ts’ɿ 2do’ma 2gu’du 3he 2a 1ndzo
never he words false speak not remote past
‘He has never lied before.’ (Fu 1997:200).

The idea of ‘not yet’ is produced by adding the adverb ‘yet’ after the modified word (Fu 1997:200).

(99) 2ts’ɿ 3a 2bo 2sɿ
he not go yet
‘He hasn’t gone yet.’ (Fu 1997:200)

### 5.4.3 Negative imperatives

The second person pronoun may optionally precede the negative imperative, but usually does not. The pronoun precedes monosyllabic verbs and is inserted into disyllabic verbs (Fu 1997:200, 128).

(100) (ɔnu) 2ts’ɿ 1t’a 1ndu
you he don’t strike
‘Don’t strike him!’ (Fu 1997:200)
Negative imperatives referring to first or third person subjects is produced by adding ‘not right’ after the verb (Fu 1997:201).

\[(101) \quad ^2t’s^1 \quad ^2y^u \quad ^1t^a \quad ^1m^o \quad \text{he \quad see \quad don’t \quad meet} \quad \text{‘Don’t look at him!’ (Fu 1997:200)}\]

\[(102) \quad ^2n^a \quad ^2b^o \quad ^2a \quad ^2t^s^u \quad \text{I \quad go \quad not \quad right} \quad \text{‘I mustn’t go!’ (Fu 1997:201)}\]

### 6 Adjectives

Adjectives differ from verbs in that they directly modify nouns, whereas verbs do not (Björverud 1998:61). They are properly called “adjectival verbs” and differ from “action” verbs in that adjectives (Matisoff 1973:193–4, 316)

- are followed by fewer verb particles,
- are more limited in forming verb chains, and
- reduplicate more frequently than action verbs.

They take prefixes meaning ‘greater extent’ and ‘lesser extent’, while verbs do not (Fu 1997:116).

#### 6.1 Bisu adjectives

##### 6.1.1 Six types

Xu distinguishes six types of adjectives on semantic grounds (2001:91–92):

1. Shapes of objects
2. Qualities of objects
3. Speed, quantity, and weight of objects
4. Nature and mood of people and objects
5. Sensations
6. Temporal and spatial conditions.

In addition, Xu notes that antonyms are common (Xu 2001:91).

##### 6.1.3 Form

The form of adjectives is characteristic. Adjectives are bisyllabic with the prefix ȯŋ, preceding a monosyllabic root. There are “a few isolated” exceptions (Xu 2001:90). For example, deletion of the prefix is predictable when (Xu 2001:91)

- the negative adverb precedes the adjective,
- an intensifier follows the adjective,
- the adjective is in the comparison construction or in certain reduplicated forms, and
- the adjective is followed by an adverb “expressing a change in appearance or situation.”
6.1.4  **Juxtaposition of adjectives**

Juxtaposing two different adjectives while maintaining their prefixes produces a coordinate structure, while juxtaposing their roots without the prefix, always showing some form of reduplication, produces a single (usually intensified) meaning. Compare:

(103) \[ \text{naŋ}^{33} \text{ za}^{31} \text{ki}^{33} \text{ anŋ}^{33} \text{vai}^{31} \text{ anŋ}^{33} \text{khjaŋ}^{55} \]
     you child fast diligent
     ‘Your child is dexterous as well as hardworking.’ (Xu 2001:95)

(104) \[ \text{vai}^{31} \text{vai}^{31} \text{khjaŋ}^{55} \text{khjaŋ}^{55} \]
     fast fast work work
     ‘hardworking’ (Xu 2001:93)

6.1.5  **Reduplication**

There are four types of adjective reduplication in Bisu:

- The root is reduplicated without the adjectival prefix, giving a bisyllabic word; this bisyllabic word can sometimes be augmented with an additional medial adverb, giving a trisyllabic word:

(105)  
    \begin{align*}
    &\text{bisyllabic: } \text{anŋ}^{33} \text{mon}^{33} = \text{high}; \text{ mon}^{31} \text{mon}^{31} = \text{very high} \quad \text{(Xu 2001:92)} \\
    &\text{trisyllabic: } \text{anŋ}^{33} \text{mon}^{55} = \text{long}; \text{ mon}^{55} \text{mu}^{55} \text{mon}^{55} = \text{really long} \quad \text{(Xu 2001:92)} \\
    &\quad \text{mu}^{55} = \text{and} \quad \text{(Xu 2001:115)}
    \end{align*}

- The entire bisyllabic adjective can be reduplicated, giving a quadrisyllabic word:

(106) \[ \text{anŋ}^{33} \text{saŋ}^{55} = \text{clean}; \text{ anŋ}^{33} \text{saŋ}^{55} = \text{very clean} \quad \text{(Xu 2001:92)} \]

- The roots of two complementary adjectives can each be reduplicated and adjoined, producing a quadrisyllabic word:

(107) \[ \text{anŋ}^{33} \text{vau}^{55} = \text{busy}; \text{ anŋ}^{33} \text{ki}^{55} = \text{hurried}; \quad \text{(Xu 2001:93)} \\
    \text{vau}^{55} \text{vau}^{55} \text{ki}^{55} \text{ki}^{55} = \text{hurriedly, hastily} \quad \text{(no comment on adverb)}
    \]

- The quadrisyllabic word that is formed from two complementary adjectives, each reduplicated and adjoined to form a quadrisyllabic word, can be reduced to a trisyllabic word. This always produces an intensified meaning:

(108) \[ \text{anŋ}^{33} \text{pan}^{55} = \text{black}; \text{ anŋ}^{33} \text{saŋ}^{55} = \text{clean}; \text{ pan}^{55} \text{saŋ}^{33} \text{saŋ}^{55} = \text{pitch black} \quad \text{(Xu 2001:93)} \\
    \text{reduced } \text{anŋ}^{33} \text{pon}^{31} = \text{white}; \text{ anŋ}^{33} \text{saŋ}^{55} = \text{clean}; \text{ pon}^{31} \text{ saŋ}^{53} \text{saŋ}^{55} = \text{pure white} \quad \text{(Xu 2001:93)}
    \]

6.1.6  **Increased emphasis or intensity**

Increased emphasis or intensity can also (in addition to trisyllables, as in section 5.4.1), be produced by adding any one of six or seven phrases that all mean ‘really far’ or ‘very far’ after the adjective (Xu 2001:94), or by preceding the adjective with a demonstrative, such as ‘this’ (Xu 2001:95). Certain forms of the word ‘really’ can precede or follow an adjective to add emphasis (Xu 2001:95–96). Reduced emphasis is produced by adding the adjective meaning ‘a little’ or ‘few’ in front of the adjective (Xu 2001:94). Equality is stated by preceding the adjective with the word ‘equally’ (Xu 2001:96).
6.1.7 Comparison

Comparison of adjectives can be analogized to English '-er', 'even -er', and '-est' forms. The simple comparative uses the word 'above', in an NP-NP-'above'-AP order. The higher degrees of comparison use a reduplicated form of the adjective.

(109) naŋ33 xyn31 ga33 tha31 ɣ33 vai31
you run I above fast
‘You run faster than I (do/can).’

(110) zon33 xyn31 ne33 an33 xyn31 vai31 vai31
they run existing action run fast fast
‘They run even faster (than that).’

(111) zaŋ33 xyn31 ne33 an33 vai31 vai31 ma55
he run existing action fast fast really
‘He runs the fastest.’ (Xu 2001:94)

Comparisons of the form ‘much -er’ use an adjective such as ‘big’, or ‘full’ after the compared adjective (Xu 2001:95). The noun phrase ‘above’-noun phrase order of the ‘hot’ example, below, is seen in another example in Xu’s data (2001:96):

(112) ga33 zaŋ33 tha31 ɣ33 moŋ33 ma55
I he above tall plump,full
‘I am much taller than he is.’

(113) mi55 nu33 ɣ55 tha31 ɣ33 mi55 nu33 loŋ55 xu31
last year above this year hot big
‘Last year was much hotter than this year.’

6.1.8 Function

Adjectives may function attributively or predicatively, and sometimes may “modify or complement verbs.” In addition, they may also serve as subjects or objects (Xu 2001:96). An adjective functioning as subject or object has the meaning ‘the ___ one(s)’. The form may be the bisyllabic prefixed form or the monosyllabic root (with the prefix an33-) followed by the verb particle meaning ‘existing action’ (Xu 2001:96):

(114) ni55 ne32 an33 men31
yellow existing.action good
‘The yellow one is good.’ (Xu 2001:96)

6.2 Lahu adjectives

Adjectives, or adjectival verbs, are a subclass of verbs (Matisoff 1973:195). Adjectival verbs have meanings generally translatable by adjectives or past participles in English (Matisoff 1973:193).

6.2.1 Restrictions for combining

Adjectival verbs cannot combine with verb particles indicating ‘permanent state’ or ‘prior action’, ‘mutuality’, ‘benefaction’, ‘transportatory motion’, ‘motion toward’, or with any of the several imperative

6.2.2 Reduplication

Under reduplication, action verbs’ meaning becomes “protracted action” or an imperative, while adjectival verbs’ meaning becomes intensified (Matisoff 1973:194).

6.2.3 With suffixes

Some adjectives can take a suffix that
• intensifies the meaning (for example, nâʔ = ‘black’; nâʔ-tɔ́ = ‘jet black’), or
• attenuates the meaning (only = chwɛ, for example, mɔ́ = ‘a long time’, mɔ́-chwɛ́ = ‘a rather long time’) (Matisoff 1973:295).

6.3 Lalo adjectives

Bjørverud considers adjective “an open subclass of predicatives,” (1998:61) where predicatives include adjective phrases and verb phrases. Syntactically, predicatives are recognized as the words that may immediately follow the adverb of negation, mà. Also, “predicatives are the only words that may be immediately followed by predicative particles” (1998:60). Adjectives differ from verbs in their ability to directly modify nouns (1998:61). As to form, they are predominantly monosyllabic. As to function, they may be used both attributively and predicatively, but are exceedingly rare in attributive position. For pragmatic reasons, once adjectives are introduced predicatively, at least in texts, they rarely recur (Björverud 1998:62).

6.4 Nuosu adjectives

Adjectives can be negated by ‘not’ (3a) in the same way that a verb can be (Fu 1997:109).

6.4.1 Prefixes

Adjectives can also accept prefixes meaning ‘to a greater extent’ or ‘to a lesser extent’, which verbs cannot (Fu 1997:109–110). With some lexical items (the contrasting pairs ‘long’/‘short’, ‘broad’/‘narrow’, ‘thick’/‘thin’, ‘high’/‘low’, ‘heavy’/‘light’, and ‘many’/‘few’) the prefixes are mandatory.

(115) ²a ²šo ²e ²šo
‘long’ ‘short’

(116) ²a ²m̥m̥ ²e ²m̥m̥
‘deep/high’ ‘shallow/low’

Other adjectives have differing stems and only accept the prefix ‘to a greater extent’: contrasting pairs ‘old’/‘new’, ‘young’/‘old’, ‘dry’/‘wet’, and the color adjectives. For these the prefix is also mandatory. For a few adjectives (‘beautiful’, ‘sharp’, ‘smooth’, ‘clear’) the prefixes are not used at all, and their opposites are created by simple negation. For all other adjectives, the prefixes are optional when used attributively and obligatory when used predicatively or as a pronoun in subject position (“the A ones are B”) (Fu 1997:110).
6.4.2 Emphasis

Any adjective can be repeated for emphasis. Further emphasis can be added with the emphatic particle ‘very’ (Fu 1997:113–114).

6.4.3 Comparative

The comparative degree is often expressed by “adjective + emphatic particle (‘very’) + adjective” (Fu 1997:114).

(119) зи ModelAttribute ModelAttribute ‘this one beautiful and that one beautiful very beautiful’

‘This one is beautiful and that one is more beautiful (or very beautiful).’ (Fu 1997:114)

In some cases, simple repetition expresses the comparative degree, and the addition of an emphatic particle expresses the superlative degree (Fu 1997:114).

7 Pronouns

7.1 Pronoun types

7.1.1 Bisu pronoun types

Bisu has three basic types of pronouns (Xu 2001:97–102):

- personal (1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1DU, 2DU, 3DU, 1PL.EXCL, 1PL.INCL, 2PL, and 3PL, as well as emphatic forms of each, for example, ‘he himself’, and singular and plural forms (only) for ‘another person’, ‘other people’)
- demonstratives (near, far, further, and furthest, which can be suffixed to apply to persons, objects, location, time and manner or degree)
- interrogatives (who, what, which, where, how many, when, and how/why)

The systematic use of the distal (distant) pronouns is seen most easily in chart form, where certain lacunae can also be noticed. Table 5 has been modified from the one in Brassett’s translation to reflect Xu’s textual explanations more closely (Xu 2001:99).
Table 5. Demonstratives in Bisu/Laomian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance Reference</th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Distant</th>
<th>Further</th>
<th>Furthest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General</strong></td>
<td>‘This’ ni₅ˢ</td>
<td>‘That’ bi₅ˢ, or thi₅ˢ</td>
<td>‘That’ xi₅ˢ</td>
<td>‘That’ i₅ˢ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Persons or objects</strong></td>
<td>‘This’ ni₅ˢ + classifier</td>
<td>‘That’ bi₅ˢ + classifier</td>
<td>‘That’ xi₅ˢ + classifier</td>
<td>‘That’ i₅ˢ + classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects</strong></td>
<td>‘This one’ niᵢ₅ˢ</td>
<td>‘That one’ biᵢ₅ˢ</td>
<td>‘That one’ xiᵢ₅ˢ</td>
<td>‘That one’ iᵢ₅ˢ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Persons or objects</strong></td>
<td>‘These’ ni₅ˢ lo₃¹</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>‘Those kinds’ xi₅ˢ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>‘Here’ ni₅ˢ ky₃₃</td>
<td>‘There’ bi₅ˢ ky₃₃</td>
<td>‘There’ xi₅ˢ ky₃₃</td>
<td>‘There’ i₅ˢ ky₃₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>‘That time’ xi₅ˢ my₃₃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manner or degree</strong></td>
<td>‘This way’</td>
<td>‘That way’ thi₅ˢ ne₃₃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.1.2 Lahu pronouns types

Lahu has only four single-morpheme pronouns, all of which are personal pronouns: 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and remote 3SG/3PL. These can be compounded into first-, second- and third-person dual forms by suffixation with the non-remote forms (Matisoff 1973:49, 65).

Lahu has two types of nouns which would be grouped with pronouns in other language descriptions:
- interrogatives (‘who’, ‘what (kind of)’, ‘where’, ‘how’ (2), ‘which one’, ‘when’)
- demonstrative proforms (‘this’, ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘way over there’, ‘up there’, and ‘down there’) (Matisoff 1973: 50–52)

### 7.1.3 Lalo pronouns types

Lalo pronouns have first, second, third person, and third person remote forms in both singular and plural and may be modified by noun particles, allowing them to be considered nouns (Björverud 1998:51). Lalo makes no distinction between ‘we’ first plural inclusive and exclusive, nor are there any dual-number pronouns (Björverud 1998:51). There is a plural suffix that readily attaches to produce 1–3P pronouns, but the 3P-remote pronoun rarely uses the plural suffix. This plural suffix is never used with common nouns (Björverud 1998:51). There are two forms of the second person; one shorter, and one longer. The shorter form is considered unmarked (Björverud 1998:51).

### 7.1.4 Nuosu pronoun types

In Nuosu, there are six types of pronouns:
- personal pronouns 1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL, and 3PL, which are identical for subject case, for object case, and for use as possessive determiners (Fu 1997:97). These can all be suffixed with ‘two’ to
create dual first-, second- and third-person forms. By suffixing the 1pl, 2pl, or 3sg forms with the numeral for ‘three’ or higher plus the classifier for persons, trials and higher order pronouns can be created (Fu 1997:100).

- personal possessive pronouns, which are created from the six personal pronouns by adding the possessive particle, leading to Fu’s comment, “We cannot, as maintained by other authors, say that there is no inflection in Lolo [Nuosu]” (Fu 1997:97)
- reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the the morpheme ‘self’ to the end of the six personal pronouns (Fu 1997:100)
- possessive reflexive pronouns ‘my own’, ‘your own’, …, which are formed by adding the possessive particle to the end of the six reflexive pronouns with (Fu 1997:100)
- demonstrative pronouns (3), which express varying distance ‘this’, ‘that’, and ‘yon’. They are also used as demonstrative determiners (Fu 1997: 101)
- demonstratives of place pronouns ‘this/that/yonder place’ or ‘this/that/yonder part’, which are formed by adding a suffix to the basic demonstrative pronouns (Fu 1997: 101)

7.2 Pronoun use

7.2.1 Bisu pronoun use

The three distal (distance) pronouns (see table 5 in section 7.1.1) differentiate not only degrees of distance, but also degrees of height (Xu 2001:98):

- ‘far’ indicates the higher position
- ‘further’ indicates the horizontal position
- ‘furthest’ indicates the lower position

If only two objects are mentioned, general ‘this’ and ‘that’(further) are used to indicate either a difference in distance or height or no clear difference in distance or height (Xu 2001:98). If one mentions three or four objects together, the three distal pronouns are said in the order far, further, furthest (Xu 2001:98).

The demonstrative pronoun for time, meaning ‘that time’, has no proximal correlative since the word ‘now’ is used instead of what might be ‘this time’ (Xu 2001:101).

(120) thi₃⁵ne₃³ a₃¹ zu₃¹ tso₃³, ni₅⁵ne₃³ zu₅⁵ [sic] tso₃³
that way don’t hold should this way hold should
‘Don’t hold it like that, [you] should hold it like this.’ (Xu 2001:101)

7.2.2 Lahu pronoun use

Pronouns can replace nouns except in certain circumstances (Matisoff 1973:50):

- if they cannot be reduplicated (no example given)
- if they are modified by a determiner

(121) *ŋa chi
I this
‘this I/me’
• if they are modified by a possessive

(122) *qhâʔ chi ve nó
village this poss you
‘this village’s you’

• if they are modified by a relative clause

(123) *yàʔ-qä qay ve nó
road go poss you
‘you who are walking down the road’ (Matisoff 1973:50)

Interrogative “pronouns” may be used to form free relatives (whatever, whenever), but Matisoff shows them to be nouns rather than pronouns since “all member of the class occur directly before NUM + CLF” (Matisoff 1973:50).

7.2.3 Lalo pronoun use

Pronouns may not be modified by either DET-CLF-constructions or NUM-CLF-constructions. This latter restriction contrasts with other languages in the Ngwi-group, where NUM-CLF-PRN constructions occur (Björverud 1998:51, Matisoff 1973:50 in section 7.2.2 Lahu).

7.2.4 Nuosu pronoun use

Interrogative pronouns can be used noninterrogatively to produce to nominal clauses or free relatives (‘whoever’, ‘wherever’…) (Fu 1997:106).

(124) 1kha 2di 1ni 3ŋa 1tʃo 2ku 2se 2bo 2ŋa 3a 2si
who your gun steal take go I not know
‘I don’t know who took your gun.’ (Fu 1997:106)

8 Adverbs

Adverbs semantically tell the “degree, manner, and frequency of actions, behavior or conditions, as well as affirmation or negation” (Xu 2001:114).

8.1 Akeu adverbs

There are three types of adverbs in Akeu:

• Manner adverbs, such as ‘together’, precede the head verb and any negative adverb and are thus the first element of the verb phrase (Kosonen 2007:36).

(125) khimeŋ thuŋ gaŋ khaŋ le thaŋ neŋ
and then together go past P-DECL
‘And they went together.’
• Temporal adverbs, such as ‘already’, follow the head verb and precede tense and mood markers (Kosonen 2007:37).

(126) tshɔ̃a˦ paʔ˧ la˥ ɔ˨ la˦ ɔ˨ nɔ˥
human being be come already DECL
‘He has become a human being already.’ (Kosonen 2007:37)

• Epistemic adverbs, such as ‘probable’ and ‘uncertain’, are the final elements in a sentence, following any mood marker (Kosonen 2007:37).

8.2 Bisu adverbs

There are five types of adverbs in Bisu:
• degree (preverb/adjectival: modifying or postverb/adjectival: complementary
• time and frequency
• manner
• affirmation or negation
• association

8.2.1 Modifiers

Certain adverbs are classified as modifiers based on their position (preverbal or pre-adjectival) (Xu 2001:115–116):
• really/definitely
• just
• together
• certainly
• no
• don’t
• and/also/all

Although the meanings of ‘really’ and ‘very’ are almost the same, ‘really’ always comes before the verb or adjective it is modifying and ‘very’ always follows it.

(127) munŋ31nunŋ31 a55ma55 vuŋ55 ma55manŋ55
sun really dark definitely
‘The sky is really very dark.’ (Xu 2001:115)

8.2.2 Complements

The adverb ‘often’ usually precedes the verb, but may also follow it. Adverbs following the verb or adjective are considered complements (Xu 2001:116):
• one another
• again
• completely
• very
8.3 Lahu adverbs and adverbial expressions

In Lahu, it is more useful to speak of “adverbial expressions,” than adverbs. Adverbial expressions include a range from single morphemes to whole clauses. There are fewer than twenty single words that qualify as “true adverbs” (Matisoff 1973:265–277). These include all the six morphemes of negation:

- mâ, before verbs
- mâ hêʔ, after nouns and nominalized clauses
- tâ, the negative imperative
- mâ-yo, a less-used negative imperative
- tèʔ-chí, superlative negation
- cî -cî (not) too/very

and twelve others:

- (very) diligently (gâ-thêʔ)
- quickly/soon (hâʔ)
- more/please (a-cî)
- gradually/slowly (a-yɛ́)
- first (a-lî)
- recently (î- šî)
- thus/like this (qhe)
- for free (a-qhe-lê)
- gratuitously (tû)
- almost (à-là-qhe)
- how (qhà-qhe), and
- completely (qha)

(128) tèʔ-chí mâ qôʔ lâ
    nothing not say P-BEN
    ‘He didn’t tell us anything.’ (Matisoff 1973:271)

(129) cî-cî tâ-  şi
    (not) too much don’t laugh
    ‘Don’t laugh too much.’ (Matisoff 1973:272)

(130) a-cî  dà?
    more good
    ‘better’ (Matisoff 1973:273)

8.3.1 Order

Adverbial expressions are found directly before the verbal nucleus (defined in section 9.2.2, par. 2), and often end with a subordinating (“adverbializing”) particle (ê) (Matisoff 1973:265, 278). The negative adverb mâ must stand immediately before the head-verb (or before any prehead concatenation) in negations of the entire clause, or immediately before the posthead versatile/auxiliary verb if only that verb is being negated (Matisoff 1973:265–268). Another exception to the rule that adverbial expressions precede the head-verb (besides the negative adverb mâ’s sometimes not being after the v-head), one
other true adverb can (indeed must) occur after the V-head: “be nearly V-ing/be on the verge of V-ing” (ŋɔ-ŋɔ) (Matisoff 1973:302).

(131) yɔ́-h’ yàʔ dàʔ nɔ-ŋɔ te ve
They quarrel p-mutual about to happen p-genitive
‘They’re on the verge of quarreling with one another.’ (Matisoff 1973:302)

### 8.3.2 Qha-adverbials of manner, equality, and extent

Adverb expressions using ‘completely’ (qha) + verb (+ɛ̀) are very productive for adverbs of manner (using also nongradable adjectival verbs), for example (Matisoff 1973:278–281, 283):

- qha + ‘be satiated’ (bûʔ) + verb = verb to satiety
- qha + ‘be full’ (bî) + verb = verb abundantly
- qha + ‘be correct’ (cɔ̂) + verb = verb skillfully

(132) qha-pà ɡa sî ðă lâ
all finish manage understand p-PERF p-y/n Q
‘Has he managed to understand it completely yet?’

Qha-adverbials using ‘completely’ (qha) + (gradable) adjectival verb + optional ɛ̀ and/or reduplication are productive for adverbs of equality (Matisoff 1973:282):

- qha + ‘be numerous’ (mâ) + verb = to verb in equal amounts
- qha + ‘high’ (mu) + verb = to verb equally high
- qha + ‘big’ (hî) + verb = to verb equally big

(133) qha- fi ɛ̀ mâ ɡa qay
all distance P-ADV not able go
‘He couldn’t go the same distance.’ (Matisoff 1973:282)

The following table shows how adverbs of equality are produced, applying various verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘completely’ (qha)</th>
<th>(gradable) adjectival verb</th>
<th>optional element</th>
<th>+ verb</th>
<th>‘to verb equally’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘completely’ (qha)</td>
<td>‘be numerous’ (mâ)</td>
<td>ɛ̀</td>
<td>ye (use)</td>
<td>to use in equal amounts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘completely’ (qha)</td>
<td>‘be high’ (mu)</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>tâʔ (climb)</td>
<td>to climb equally high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘completely’ (qha)</td>
<td>‘big’ (hî)</td>
<td>ɛ̀</td>
<td>tâʔ (cut)</td>
<td>to cut the same size</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qha-adverbials reduplicate in several ways, but the most common is A-BB. Reduplication often intensifies the meaning, for example, qha + ‘be satiated’ (bûʔ) → qha-bûʔ- bûʔ: ‘to utter satiety’, but sometimes it weakens the meaning, for example, qha + ‘to be sufficient’ bûʔ = ‘(verb) sufficiently,’ but qha-bûʔ-bûʔ means ‘(verb) about enough’ (Matisoff 1973:280–281). ABAB reduplication is usual for a smaller number of qha-adverbials, for example, qha + ‘to reach’ (gà) = ‘verb all the way’. An example with “go (qay) + imperative(ʔ)” is: qha-gà qha-gà qay-ʔ = ‘Go until you really get there!’ (Matisoff 1973:281).

Qha-adverbials are sometimes displaced from preverbal position to VP-final position, as an afterthought (Matisoff 1973:284).
8.3.3 Reduplication

Reduplicated verbs may be used adverbially in prehead verb position. Reduplication of action verbs generally indicates repetition or continuation of an action. Reduplication of adjectival verbs generally indicates emphasis or intensity.

(135) dàʔ-dàʔ  (ë) te ve
good-good do P-subordinate
‘do very well’ (Matisoff 1973:293)

(136) tâʔ- tâʔ  yâʔ- yâʔ  te ve tí yò
climb descend do P-subordinate only P AFFIRM
‘just keeps going up and down’ (Matisoff 1973:293)

Intensified adjectives may be reduplicated in adverbial position for emphasis, for example, 
\[ nâʔ-t≈ = \text{jet black} + \text{phëʔ? (to become) } \rightarrow nâʔ- nâʔ  t≈ -t≈ \text{ phëʔ? tū yò = ‘it’ll become as black as coal’ } \]
(Matisoff 1973:296)

8.3.4 “Verbal elaborate” expressions

So-called “verbal elaborate” expressions usually function as adverbials and can also function as adjectivals. Their form is standard: they have four elements, of which either the first and third or second and fourth members are identical. At least two of the four elements are verbs, and all four can be verbal if two of them are versatiles (grammaticalized forms derived from full verbs). Two of the members may be adverbs, verbal, or unrestricted particles or nominal arguments of the two verbs (Matisoff 1973:297).

(137) g̈àʔ - mû - g̈àʔ - bɔʔ
catch P pejorative chase shoot
‘chasing around shooting at things’

(138) thê - chê - cɔ - chê
straight remain fitting remain
‘remaining righteous’ (Matisoff 1973:299)

8.4 Lalo adverbs and adverbial expressions

Adverbs in Lalo are defined as words that may immediately precede a predicative which they modify (Björverud 1998:71). Adverbs are an open class with one large class (the common adverbs) and three smaller subclasses (Björverud 1998:71):

- the adverb ‘how’
- two negative adverbs, ‘not’ and ‘don’t’
- two demonstrative adverbs, ‘like this’ and ‘like that’

The negative adverbs must always immediately precede the predicate they are negating with no other words intervening (Björverud 1998:71).
8.4.1 Common adverbs

Common adverbs generally have three or four syllables evidencing reduplication and blending of syllables. This latter can result in rising or falling contour tones, which is atypical of Lalo tonality (Björverud 1998:70). The relatively few mono- and disyllabic adverbs are among the most commonly used in the language, for example, ‘only’, ‘anything’, ‘together’, ‘just’, ‘quickly’, ‘the more’, ‘really’, ‘a little’, and ‘much’ (Björverud 1998:70).

8.4.2 Xa- and elaborated adverbs

One frequent and productive source of adverbs is prefixation with the syllable xa- and reduplication of the second syllable of the root word, which is often an adjective and occasionally a verb. Such “xa-adverbs” are adverbs of result. “Xa-adverbs” with a third syllable that is not reduplicated do exist, but the process is no longer productive (Björverud 1998:73).

Elaborate adverbs have a four-syllable structure, generally involving one of the following patterns of reduplication: ABAB, ABAC, or ABCB, although instances of AABB have been found (Björverud 1998:73):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexemes</td>
<td>khó</td>
<td>fè</td>
<td>liq</td>
<td>fè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(139)  khó fè liq fè  
hand boast foot boast  
‘boastful(ly)’

Adverbs formed from ‘hand’ and ‘foot’ root morphemes are called “attitudinal ABCB adverbs” (Björverud 1998:74).

Adverbials that are xa-adverbs or elaborated adverbs or adverbial clauses may be followed by the adverbial particle ni, but common adverbs may not. The longer the adverbial, the more likely the use of ni (Björverud 1998:112).

(140)  tjhà bà jì tjhà bà lú ni pỳ  
one CLF:side heavy one CLF:side light ADV carry  
‘to carry with one side heavy and the other side light’ (Björverud 1998:112)

When the reduplicated or elaborated adverbial is the most salient feature of the predicate, this may be expressed by using ‘do’ or ‘be’ as a dummy verb, followed by the adverbial particle (Björverud 1998:114).

(141)  khó-tjhì-liq-tjhì ni pì tąq  
shivering all over ADV do PERM  
‘already shivering all over’

(142)  tshúmù à mù-ná-jí-ná ni ṇá là  
elderly TOP sickly ADV be ASP  
‘Old people are prone to sickness.’ (Björverud 1998:114)

8.4.3 ‘Like that/this’ adverbs

An adverb or adverbial may be joined to the predicate by using one of two demonstrative adverbs, meaning ‘like that/this’ (Björverud 1998:114):
(143) nɛ́ tjìq
like that cook
‘cook like that’

(144) tjé ṇá
like this be
‘be like this’

(145) ndy saq-tjì1-liq-sí pì tàq nɛ́ dú
head thrown back do PERM like that drink
‘[The child] drinks by leaning [his] head back.’

8.5 Nuosu adverbs and adverbial expressions

Syntactic position allows the division of adverbs into three types (Fu 1997:131):
- those that precede their head
- those that follow their head
- those that may either precede or follow their head

8.5.1 Adverbs that precede their heads

Fu lists 23 adverbs that precede their heads, including “most of the adverbs of time” (Fu 1997:131–133):
- often
- for a while
- in a moment
- forever
- now
- at this (very) time
- just now
- presently
- every day
- previously
- in olden times
- in the future
- all (together)
- badly
- carefully
- too/even/either
- anyway
- only
- certainly
- not (negation)
• once
• twice
• three times...
All expressions of time are usually placed in first position in the sentence (Fu 1997:136).

### 8.5.2 Adverbs that follow their heads

There are ten adverbs that follow their heads (Fu 1997:133–134):
• well
• with difficulty
• easily
• in pieces
• early
• late
• yet/longer time
• soon
• again
• very/too

### 8.5.3 Adverbs that can either precede or follow their heads

Four adverbs can either precede or follow their heads (Fu 1997:134):
• slowly
• quickly
• far
• near

Fu remarks that there are few “adverbs proper” in Nuosu, but that the adverbial particle ʔmʔta or sometimes ʔm can be appended to adjectives, verbs, nouns, pronouns, phrases, and clauses to form adverbial expressions (Fu 1997:134).

(146) ʔts’ɿ 3ʔma 3do 1ʔma 3he.
     3SG laugh ADV P words speak
     he speaks laughingly (Fu 1997:135)

(147) ʔnu ʔts’ɿ ʔma ʔts’ɿ ʔma ʔm ʔta ʔhe
     2SG one CLF one CLF ADV P speak
     speak one after another (Fu 1997:135)

When the adjective ‘good’ follows the verb, it becomes adverbial, meaning ‘(verb) well’ and does not need the adverbial particle. When the adjective ‘good’ precedes its head, the adverbial particle is required, and the meaning becomes ‘(verb) precisely’ (Fu 1997:136).

### 8.5.4 Particle that makes adjectives into adverbs

Another adverbializing particle, ʔko, makes adjectives into adverbs when it is interposed between a verb (or adjective) and its modifier (Fu 1997:122). This particle is homophonous with the imperative particle discussed in section 9.4.6 and treated by Fu as identical.
9 Verbs

The following has been stated about verbs in relation to syntax:

- The verb takes the predicative function in the sentence. It is in clause final position and may form a verbal chain with other verbs and aspectual and modal particles. All of these are negated by ba31 'not' (Xu 2001:78).
- Verbs include “all (and only) the words which may directly follow” one specific negative adverb (similar to Mandarin Chinese méʲ). This is true for “all Tibeto-Burman languages so far studied” (Matisoff 1973:193).
- Verbs differ from adjectives in their inability to directly modify a noun (Björverud 1998:61).
- Verbs can be negated like an adjective, but cannot take adjectival prefixes (Fu 1997:116).

In relation to semantics, Xu has stated that verbs express actions, behavior, judgments, and existence (Xu 2001:78).

9.1 Verb types

Loloish has semantic and syntactic verb types as determined by various authors.

Semantic

Matisoff (1973:193) describes the following semantic verb types:

- action verbs
- adjectival verbs

Xu (2001:78) distinguishes five semantic verb types:

- factive: most verbs, including “directional” verbs as a subclass
- copular: only ‘to be’, used only in negative questions and negative existential clauses
- modal: closed class of 7 verbs about desires, wishes, or probability
- directional: verbs showing motion up/down and toward/away from the speaker
- causative: one verb, meaning ‘cause, request, or allow’; carries an object; is used with a factive verb

Björverud (1998:61) includes the following as semantic verb types:

- common verbs (not verbs of motion)
- verbs of motion

Syntactic

Matisoff (1973:193) describes two syntactic verb types:
• action verbs: combine freely with all verb particles; reduplicate only for protracted action or imperatives
• adjectival verbs: cannot combine with particles meaning mutuality, benefaction, certain directional particles or imperative particles; reduplicate frequently

Fu (1997:116) uses three syntactic verb types:
• transitive
• intransitive
• auxiliary particles

Terminology

+/- Transitive

The terminology “+/- transitive” is considered not applicable to Lahu (Matisoff 1973:195), or to Lalo (Björverud 1998:60), but is considered necessary for Nuosu (Fu 1997: 116-117).

Simple or concatenated

Ngwi verbs can be simple or “concatenated.” Concatenated verbs contain one or more versatile or auxiliary verbs before and/or after the head verb (see sections 9.3 to 9.7). These verb strings can be followed by several types of verb particles (see sections 9.8 and 9.9).

Verb particles or versatiles

“Versatile verbs” (Björverud 1998) are those that can function as main verbs or as nonmain (auxiliary) verbs in a verb concatenation, usually with a more abstract/grammatical meaning. Verb particles (Matisoff 1973, Xu 2001) are divided into four groups, using varying classifications and groupings for different languages. These particles are discussed separately for each language in the following sections.

| Table 8. Verb particles divided into four groups, according to language |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|
|              | Bisu           | Lalo             |
| Structural particles | Predicative particles | I. directionality/durativity particles |
| Aspectual particles | Aspectual particles | II. Subjective attitudinal particles |
| Quantifying particles | Clausal particles | III. Aspectual particles |
| Sentential particles | Final particles | IV. Imperative/Interj. particles |
| (Xu 2001:117) | (Björverud 1998: 74-75) | universal particles, final particles |
|                 |                 | (Matisoff 1973: xv-xvi, 316-360) |

9.1.1 Bisu verb types

Verbs in Bisu can be divided semantically into factitive (+/- transitive), copular, modal, directional, and causative (Xu 2001:78). Factitive and directional verbs can all be negated by the negative adverb ba21 (Xu 2001:78, 81). The copula a21 must also be negated by ba21, while modals can be negated by either ba21 or a21 ‘don’t’ (Xu 2001:78–79).

• Factitive: This includes most verbs, such as human activities, the actions of plants and animals, and the appearance of objects. It also includes “directional” verbs as a subclass.
• Copular: Only ‘to be’ is included, used only in negative questions and negative existential clauses.
• Modal: This is a closed class of 7 verbs about desires, wishes, or probability.
• Directional: Verbs showing motion up/down and toward/away from the speaker make up this class.
• Causative: This consists of one verb, meaning ‘cause’, ‘request’, or ‘allow’. It has an object clause with an NP and a factitive verb whose action is caused, requested, or allowed.

9.1.2 Lahu verb types and verb phrase types

Lahu verbs are either action or adjectival. Action verbs combine freely with all verb particles and they reduplicate only for protracted action or imperatives. Adjectival verbs cannot combine with particles meaning mutuality, benefaction, certain directional particles, or imperative particles; and they reduplicate frequently (Matisoff 1973:193–194).

9.1.2.1 Simple or concatenated verb nucleus

Verb phrases contain a verb nucleus that can be either simple or concatenated. Simple verb nuclei have single head verbs, which can be one of five morphological types (Matisoff 1973:192): monomorphemic, compounded, intensified, reduplicated, and elaborated. Concatenated verbs contain one or more versatile verbs before and/or after the head verb and in “some sort of subordinate relationship to the head verb” (Matisoff 1973:199). These verb nuclei can be followed by any of several types of verb particles.

9.1.2.2 Causative

In Lahu, causatives are produced by an auxiliary cɨ “after any verb (action or adjectival) to express either the coercive or permissive causative,” to an animate causee (Matisoff 1973:244).

9.1.2.3 Reduplication

Verbs are freely reduplicable. Reduplication of action verbs generally indicates repetition or continuation of an action. Reduplication of adjectival verbs generally indicates emphasis or intensity, but can (as with adverbials section 8.3) result in a less definite, approximate meaning (Matisoff 1973:292). Reduplicated verbs are commonly used as adverbials in prehead verb position. Disyllabic verbs in adverbial position can reduplicate as AABB or ABAB or ABB with little or no difference in meaning.

(150)  chá-chî = be dirty; phê = become: chá-chî chá-chî phê ve = become filthy
       nâʔ-tî = be black; phê = become: nâʔ-nâʔ-tî-tî phê ve = get as black as coal
       (Matisoff 1973:293, 296)

9.1.3 Lalo verb types

Lalo verbs can be divided into two mutually exclusive categories (Björverud 1998:61), namely, common verbs and verbs of motion.

The verb ‘do’ often serves as the head of predicates that are modified by semantically heavy adverbials (Björverud 1998:61). Verbs of motion require that the locative object is marked by a locative marker. This is usually done through the addition of locative noun particles (Björverud 1998:61). Most verbs of motion are versatile (Björverud 1998:61).

Verbs are contrasted with adjectives in the inability of verbs “to directly modify a noun” (Björverud 1998:60).
9.1.4 *Nuosu verb types*

There are three verb types in Nuosu: transitive, intransitive, and auxiliary.

9.1.4.1 *Transitive and intransitive*

Fu distinguishes transitive from intransitive verbs (contra Matisoff) as “those which take an object…, although they naturally do not always do so” (Fu 1997:116):

(151) 2ŋa 3a 1tciá
       ‘I do not fear’

(152) 2ŋa 2tsɿ 3a 1tciá
       I him do not fear
       ‘I am not afraid of him.’ (Fu 1997:116)

In order to distinguish (in)transitives, Fu shows the effect of “placing two pronouns or substantives before (the verb)” (Fu 1997:117):

(153) 2ŋa 2tsɿ 1mo 2o
       I he meet past
       ‘I have met him.’ (transitive)

(154) 2ŋa 2tsɿ 2tcią
       I he jump
       ‘I and he jump.’ (intransitive)

9.1.4.2 *Auxiliary*

The third type of Nuosu verb is the auxiliary verbs (Fu 1997:117–120):

- modals: can (two modals meaning ability or possibility), wish, dare, must, ought/should
- aspectuals: successful completion of either intransitive/transitive action, successful completion of transitive action, progressive or imperative action, development of an action to a certain point
- directionals: motion toward speaker, motion away from speaker

9.1.4.2.1 *Aspectual examples*

(155) 2ŋa 2tsɿ 1m 2to 2o
       I it do completed(intransitive/transitive) past
       ‘I have succeeded in doing it.’

The auxiliary ‘2da’ also indicates that some action has been successfully completed, but it may only be used where “the object of the action is considered to share in this action.” (Fu 1997: 119) So ‘2da’ may not be substituted for ‘2to’ in the above example.

(156) s2ŋa 2tsɿ 1m 2da 2o
     *I it do completed(transitive) past
     * ‘I have succeeded in doing it.’ (Fu 1997:118–119)
9.1.4.2.2 Directional examples

(158) Ꙡse Ꙡla
take come
‘Bring (it) here.’

(159) Ꙡse Ꙡʒ̩
take go
‘Take (it) there.’ (Fu 1997:120)

9.1.4.3 Passive

Passive voice can be expressed by having the logical object in the subject position and the agent deleted. (Fu 1997:123)

(160) Ꙡtsʻɔ Ꙡma Ꙡse Ꙡʃɿ Ꙡɔ
man NUM kill past
‘A man is killed.’ (sic; Fu 1997:123)

9.2 Verb concatenations: Number of possible verbs combined

Concatenated verbs contain one or more versatile verbs before and/or after the head verb and in “some sort of subordinate relationship to the head verb” (Matisoff 1973:199). The structure of the predicating verb in verb concatenations is characterized by defined slots that may be occupied only by a certain class of versatile verbs or particles, sometimes before and sometimes after the main verb, and sometimes in both positions. Even though many slots are possible and not necessarily mutually exclusive, the restricted number of possible combinations of semantic features limit the total length to about four auxiliaries, whether prehead and posthead auxiliaries (Matisoff 1973:260). The maximum number of concatenated verbs in the Bisu folk tale corpus is four (Person 2000:42).

9.2.1 Preverbal slots in concatenations

There are several slots possible preceding the head verb. These versatile verbs have more abstract meanings than when they function as head verbs. Their meanings related to the preverbal slots seem most abstract at a greater distance from the head verb, and least abstract when immediately before the head verb.

9.2.1.1 Akeu preverbal slots

The first element of the VP (if present) is a manner adverb (Kosonen 2007:35). The second preverbal slot is occupied by the adverb of negation, ʃɿ. It comes before status markers and any prehead verb (or the head verb) (Kosonen 2007:39–40). Status markers follow the adverb of negation and indicate future or past time (Kosonen 2007:40):
(161) miŋgoŋ eʔ maŋja le a
yesterday he NEG status go past
‘Yesterday he didn’t go to.’ [↑ here means ‘get to’]

Prehead verbs seem to occupy the same slot as the status markers. Co-occurrence is unclear. After nonhead verbs and immediately before the verb head is the directional marker (Kosonen 2007:38–39).

9.2.1.2 Akha preverbal slots

There are two prehead slots in a verb chain, and a total of four preverbal auxiliaries that can occupy these slots with the following meanings:

- ‘furthermore v(head)’, or ‘v(head) again’
- ‘must v(head)’
- ‘cause someone to v(head)’
- ‘cause the object to be v(head)’

None of these auxiliaries is a verb, and none can serve as the head of a verb chain.

When two preverbal auxiliaries are present, their order is fixed (referring to the letters in table 9):

- (a) ‘Again/furthermore’ must be first and can be followed by either (b) ‘must’ or (c) ‘cause someone…’.
- (d) must be final and can be preceded by (b) or (c). (b) ‘must’ can only be preceded by (a) ‘again’ or followed by (c) or (d).
- (c) ‘cause someone…’ can be preceded by (a) ‘again’ or (b) ‘must’, or it can be followed by (d) ‘cause the object…’.

Table 9. Four lexemes to fill two preverbal slots in Akha (Hansson 1985:288)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position (a)</th>
<th>Position (b)</th>
<th>Position (c)</th>
<th>Position (d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘again’/ ‘furthermore’</td>
<td>a + b + v, e.g., ‘again/furthermore’ + ‘must’ + v</td>
<td>a + c + v, e.g., ‘again/furthermore’ + ‘cause someone to’ + v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘must’</td>
<td>b + c + v, e.g., ‘must’ + ‘cause someone to’ + v</td>
<td></td>
<td>b + d, e.g., ‘must’ + ‘cause the object to be v’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cause someone to’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c + d, e.g., ‘cause someone to’ + ‘cause the object to be v’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example showing order of preverbal auxiliaries:

(162) phá ja thó
furthermore must recite
‘must recite again’ (Hansson 1985:297)
9.2.1.3  Bisu preverbal slots

When directional verbs carry the main semantic load, factive verbs + a subordinating particle ne³³ precede the (directional) head verb.

(163)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{naŋ³³} & \text{za³¹} & \text{xyn³³} & \text{ne³³} & \text{la⁵⁵} \\
you & \text{child} & \text{run} & \text{P} & \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘Your child is running towards here.’ (Xu 2001:82)

When negated, the modal ‘permit, cause, request’ occurs before the main verb.

(164)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{za³¹ki³³} & \text{na³³} & \text{a³¹} & \text{pl³³} & \text{e⁵⁵} & \text{tsə³³} \\
\text{child} & \text{P} & \text{patient} & \text{don’t} & \text{permit} & \text{go should} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘Don’t let the child go.’ (Xu 2001:83)

Although Xu 2001 does not categorize it as such, Bisu has a construction similar to that described in section 9.4.2 Akha, where the first verb has the meaning ‘cause the object to be V (head)’. This versatile verb, in contrast to the Akha auxiliary, can serve as the head of a verb chain.

(165)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{le³¹tu³¹} & \text{na³³} & \text{xa³³} & \text{ton³¹} \\
\text{rope} & \text{PAT} & \text{make} & \text{break} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘The rope has been broken.’ (Xu 2001:141)

9.2.1.4  Lahu preverbal slots

There is a group of lexical verbs with denotations that can precede main verbs: ‘pull’, ‘get’, ‘return’, ‘begin’, ‘seek’, ‘help’, ‘gather’, ‘steal’, ‘adhere’, ‘request’, ‘take’, ‘do/make’, and ‘repair’. The meaning of these prehead verbs changes to become more abstract when they precede the main verb. It is possible to group the more abstract meanings of the prehead verbs into the following groups:

- enlivener: ‘pull’, ‘get’ + V
- modal/aspectual: ‘must (obligatory)’, ‘again (iterative)’, ‘begin (inceptive)’

These groups have ordered slots which they must occupy, as shown in the chart below.

Table 10. Three slots for Lahu prehead verb concatenations by semantic groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlivener</th>
<th>Modal/aspectual</th>
<th>Specifics (most concrete meanings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

There is a restriction on combining any of the least abstract group of prehead verbs with adjectival verbs (Matisoff 1973:217).

The following example sentence has four preverbal versatiles:

(166)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{ŋà-hi} & \text{ŋa} & \text{qɔʔ} & \text{phɔʔ} & \text{lɔ} & \text{c̃ə} & \text{ve} \\
\text{we} & \text{must} & \text{again} & \text{together} & \text{beg} & \text{to eat} & \text{P-NOM} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘We must again ask together to eat it.’ (Matisoff 1973:214, 218)
9.2.1.5 Lalo preverbal slots

In the sequence of the predicate phrase, only adverbs may precede the main verb. This includes the negative adverbs (Björverud 1998:78, 109–115). No prehead auxiliaries had been found in Lalo as of 1998 when Björverud wrote (1998:87).

Multiple adverbs may precede the main verb (Björverud 1998:113):

(167) xakhəq khəq nú thyəm ki
tightly there bundle up inside
‘bundle up very tightly inside there’

Where it is present, the demonstrative adverb ‘like that’ is almost always next to the main verb (Björverud 1998:113):

(168) liqphiq xaphuthəq né phəq təq xá tji
arm swollen like that swell PERM away predicate p (no further gloss)
The arm has swollen up a lot.’

9.2.1.6 Nuosu preverbal slots

The particle 2ko precedes the main verb to mark its being in the predicative position as in the example below. When it follows a verb, it introduces “adverbs, second predicates or…other words following the verb” (Fu 1997:121). In the following example, the combination 2ko + ‘to teach’ indicates the predicate nature of the verb teach. Fu does not consider this example a ‘to write’ + 2ko combination:

(169) ʰtsʰi ʰno ʰsu ʰbu ʰma ʰbu ʰko ʰma
he Nuosu characters write ko teach
‘He teaches the writing of Lolo/Nuosu characters.’ (Fu 1997:122, §195(6))

9.3 Main/head verbs

Several main verbs may follow one another without there being a concatenation (compare with section 8.3). This can occur in lexical compounds, in resultative compounds, and when actions are listed or narrated in series.

9.3.1 Bisu main/head verbs

Consecutive actions may be expressed by juxtaposed main verbs (especially where the second has no object) (Xu 2001:82, 144).

(170) gu²³ maŋ⁵⁵ pum³¹ tcit²³ le³² sy³¹
we maize break off go p (no gloss—FUT?)
‘We will go and harvest the maize.’ (Xu 2001:82)

In juxtaposed vps, which may be considered separate clauses, the object of the second verb may intervene.

(171) zoŋ³³ nau³³ sy⁵⁵ an³³ myŋ⁵⁵ le³³ an³³ lai³¹ zyŋ³³ vy⁵⁵
they tomorrow into town go book PL buy
‘They are going into town tomorrow to buy books.’ (Xu 2001:144)
The verbs ‘make/do’, ‘lend’, ‘obtain’ can form a compound verb to express the result of an action (Xu 2001:141).

(172) kha31 lau33 xa33 zik31 tel55 a31
clothes make tear DECL
‘The clothes have been torn.’ (Xu 2001:141)

This usage of ‘make’ is considered a preverbal slot in verbal concatenations by scholars of Akha and Lahu (section 9.2).

(173) kha55 zum55 zum55 an55 xə31 ga53 duŋ55
every family house new obtain live
‘Every family is living a new house.’ (Xu 2001:141)

Certain fixed expressions involve multiple main verbs (Xu 2001:83–84):
• verb-‘learn-learn’ = ‘to learn to do’ verb
• verb-‘look’-particle= ‘try to do’ verb
• verb-‘go down’-verb = ‘do’ verb ‘for a short time’

9.3.2 Lahu main/head verbs

9.3.2.1 Verbs referring to actions in chronological order, or that occur simultaneously

Matisoff (1973:203–210) states that several main verbs may follow one another when referring to actions that succeed one another in time, or the actions can be simultaneous and the verbs simply listed one after another.

(174) mû-cha lɛ̀ yì? lɛ...
warm oneself suspensive sleep suspensive
p p
‘warming themselves in the sun and sleeping…’

In “fortuitous concatenations” representing consecutive or serial actions, the “suspensive” particle le, which indicates that the preceding clause is not the final clause in a series, may be inserted between the verbs without significantly changing the meaning of the series (Matisoff 1973:204).

Multiple main verbs of the sort described in this section (9.3.2.1) may be underlyingly compound sentences from which some or all of the nonfinal particles have been deleted.

9.3.2.2 Lexical compound verbs

Some lexical compound verbs are found only in pairs, fixed in their ordering with each other, fixed in their meaning, considered single lexical items, and never split by the negative adverb ‘mû’ (Matisoff 1973:209).

There is a separate instance of double main verbs that are nonproductive resultative complements such that the second indicates the success or not of the first main verb, such as ‘kindle + catch fire’, or ‘chase + catch’ (Matisoff 1973:207).

9.3.2.3 Resultative compound verbs

Resultative compounds are distinguishable from lexical compound verbs by being able to be split by the adverb of negation (Matisoff 1973:208).
9.3.2.4 Elaborated verb structures

Elaborated verb structures are discussed under ‘adverbs’, section 8.3.

9.3.3 Lalo main/head verbs

The head of a predicative (verb or adjective) phrase in Lalo has six possible slots, but only the first three can be filled if the head is a simple head (Björverud 1998:78–87):

- a negative adverb (either plain negation or imperative negation) immediately before the main verb, which negates the verb
- the main verb
- any predicative particle(s)

Complex heads have three more slots (Björverud 1998:85–109):

- a complement predicative (verb or adjective)
- two for verb concatenations:
  - an auxiliary predicative (or ‘versatile’ verb)
  - any predicative particle

Thus predicative particles may appear in any of four positions in the head of the predicate phrase. They have the following meanings (Björverud 1998:81–85):

- causative (‘make’)
- concessive (‘let’)
- beneficial (‘for’)
- exhaustive (‘any more’?, ‘all around’?)
- reciprocal (‘one another’)
- permanence (‘already’)
- comparative (‘more’ or ‘better’)
- repetitive (‘again’)

These modify only the predicative that they follow, and the entire slot they occupy modifies the main predicative (Björverud 1998:80).

Table 11. Head of a predicative (verb or adjective) phrase in Lalo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot 1</th>
<th>Slot 2</th>
<th>Slot 3</th>
<th>Slot 4</th>
<th>Slot 5</th>
<th>Slot 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plain negation</td>
<td>Main predicative (verb or adjective)</td>
<td>Predicative particle</td>
<td>Simple negation</td>
<td>Complement predicative</td>
<td>Auxiliary predicative (versatile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3.4 Nuosu main/head verbs

More than one main verb may follow another when referring to actions that succeed one another in time, or the actions can be simultaneous and the verbs simply listed one after another (Fu 1997:125).
They are coming to see me.’

9.4 Posthead verbal slots in concatenations

The number of possible postverbal slots is generally greater than the number of preverbal slots, and the generalization seems to hold that the meanings are most abstract for the slots farthest away from the head verb. For languages with a large number of slots (>3, for instance) the first postverbal slot seems to be used to indicate direction. For languages with fewer slots, the remaining slots seem reserved for the most abstract meanings. Following these concatenations come other particles for aspect, illocutionary force, and evidential or epistemic information (Björverud 1998:75; 7b, 187–189).

9.4.1 Akeu posthead verbal slots

Durative aspect is marked as the suffix -ɛ to the verb head (Kosonen 2007:38). The same position can also be occupied by the past tense suffix -a (Kosonen 2007:41). Either suffix forms a vowel glide with the vowel of the main verb. Co-occurrence is unclear.

There are eight possible verbal slots following the head verb. The first lexical slot is occupied by the auxiliaries ‘able’ or ‘can’ (Kosonen 2007:39).

Aspect markers follow the auxiliaries ‘able’ or ‘can’ when both are present (Kosonen 2007:35).

The slot after the aspect marker is occupied by the evidential marker, indicating a third-party source for the utterance (Kosonen 2007:42).

Following the slot for the evidential marker is a slot for the new participant particle (Kosonen 2007:42).

Following the slot for the new participant is a slot for the remote-past particle (Kosonen 2007:41).

Following the remote-past particle is a slot for a temporal adverb (Kosonen 2007:35).

Following the temporal adverb is a slot for a mood particle (interrogative, declarative, or imperative) (Kosonen 2007:43).

The only particle that can occur in the VP after the mood particle is an occasional epistemic adverb (possibility or uncertainty) (Kosonen 2007:43).

(176) paʔ˨ buʔ˨ tuʔ˨ mə˧ de ʔ˧ la˧ bi˧ frog one CLF and continue be-inside indirect evidence new participant

tha˧ ne˧ remote past DECL mood

‘There was a frog in the basket.’ (Kosonen 2007:42)

9.4.2 Akha posthead verbal slots

9.4.2.1 Four posthead verb positions

Hansson stated that there are four posthead verb positions possible (1985:288).

9.4.2.2 Sequencing categories

Verbs fall into five sequencing categories with respect to posthead concatenation:

- head only
- restricted posthead versatile verbs
• nonrestricted posthead versatile verbs
• restricted posthead versatile auxiliaries (these are not full verbs)
• nonrestricted posthead versatile auxiliaries

9.4.2.1.1 Sequencing category restrictions

Each category has the following restrictions (Hansson 1985:288):
• Group 1 are head-only verbs, which can only function as head of a verb chain, and cannot occupy
  either prehead or posthead position. An extremely small number of these will not allow
  concatenation.
• Group 2 are restricted posthead versatile verbs, which can function both as a head verb and in the
  first posthead position, but no other position.
• Group 3 are nonrestricted posthead versatile verbs, which can function both as a head verb and in
  more than one posthead position.
• Group 4 are restricted posthead versatile auxiliaries, which cannot serve as head verbs and can only
  occupy the first posthead position, and no other position.
• Group 5 are nonrestricted posthead versatile auxiliaries, which cannot serve as head verbs, but can
  occupy more than one posthead position.

Groups 2 and 4 are thus mutually exclusive, and concatenations containing a restricted verb, or
restricted auxiliary, relegate members of the nonrestricted groups to the second posthead position or
later. Among the most frequent restricted versatile verbs (group 2) are the ones with these meanings:
• ‘up, out, away, see, get stuck’
• ‘excessively’ (literally, ‘to death’)

None of the restricted verbal auxiliaries (group 4) is commonly used. Each is quite specific in
meaning:
• ‘replace/instead of, be first, cover, pretend, keep up, hang up, tight’
• ‘in piles’

The most frequent of the nonrestricted versatile verbs (group 5) are those meaning ‘go down’ and
‘come up’. As a versatile, ‘go down’ can mean ‘go down to v’ or change meaning to ‘down’ or ‘become A’
(where the head verb is adjectival). As a versatile, ‘come up’ can change meaning to ‘up’ or ‘start to v’.

Table 12. Head verb and posthead verb concatenations by combinatorial possibilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Head only</th>
<th>2) Restricted head versatile verbs</th>
<th>3) Nonrestricted posthead versatile verbs</th>
<th>4) Restricted posthead versatile auxiliaries (not full verbs)</th>
<th>5) Nonrestricted posthead versatile auxiliaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Position as Verb-head only</td>
<td>Position as Verb-head or first posthead position only</td>
<td>Position as Verb-head or in several of the four posthead positions</td>
<td>Position as only in first posthead position (never as Verb-head)</td>
<td>Position not as Verb-head but in several of the four posthead positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(203 verbs)</td>
<td>(99 verbs)</td>
<td>(26 verbs)</td>
<td>(8 auxiliaries)</td>
<td>(16 auxiliaries)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the nonrestricted versatile verbs (group 3) and the nonrestricted verbal auxiliaries (group 5)
may occupy several of the four posthead verb positions, but their internal order is determined according
to six semantic groupings:
• Specific meanings are always first.
• Benefactive/directional meanings are usually first.
• Motion meanings can be first or second.
• Miscellaneous meanings fits in the middle group, or third position.
Potential/attitudinal meanings are in the fourth position.
Temporal meanings are always last.

Examples of the six semantic groups are as follows (Hansson 1985:291-292):

- benefactives (aux: ‘for first person’ or ‘for nonfirst person’; no verb examples given)
- directional (aux: ‘towards first persons’, ‘towards nonfirst person’; v: ‘go up’, ‘come down’)
- miscellaneous: ‘more’—comparative, ‘to keep’, ‘remain (so)’
- potential (aux: ‘not…able’, ‘not…allow’; no verb examples given)
- temporal (aux: ‘continue’; v: be first)

The following is an example of a verb chain in Akha:

(177) phá ɣə xòq ha nè djí
    AUX V V-head V AUX V AUX V AUX V-versatile
further drag back take for non-1P all
‘further drag taking all back to them’ (Hansson 1985:296) (Hansson 1985:298, 291, 302)

Some verbs can follow specific head verbs to create unique two-verb chains. They can occur only in first posthead position, and may follow only a single lexical item. They are listed here (Hansson 1985:298–299) for convenience, and not in the charts above, since their use in concatenations is so limited:

- ‘wet’ (‘hit’ + ‘wet’ = ‘wet being hit (by rain)’)
- ‘divide’ (‘hit’ + ‘divide’ = ‘split to divide’)
- ‘give’
- ‘clean’
- ‘clear (land)’
- ‘believe’
- ‘pregnant’
- ‘in a circle’
- ‘into’
- ‘not completely v-ed’
- ‘to addiction’ (‘consume’ + ‘to addiction’ = ‘smoke/drink to addiction’)
- ‘evil’
- ‘graze’
- ‘together’
- ‘out of fright’
- ‘count’
- ‘drunk’
- ‘strip off’
- ‘sleep’
- ‘comb’
- ‘complete’
- ‘teach’
- ‘long(time)’
• ‘stick on to’
• ‘to fainting’
• ‘lick’
• ‘black’
• ‘red’
• ‘catch on fire’
• ‘borrow’
• ‘tight’
• ‘bury’
• ‘get free/open’
• ‘fall down’
• ‘become’ (‘cut’ + ‘become’ = ‘cut to become’)
• ‘roll over’
• ‘roast’
• ‘be friendly’
• ‘sprinkle’
• ‘know’
• ‘to distress’
• ‘sharp’
• ‘be related’
• ‘lift up’
• ‘cut through’
• ‘keep in mouth’
• ‘correctly’
• ‘wash’
• ‘penetrate/into’
• ‘stab through’
• ‘pass time’

9.4.3 Bisu posthead verbal slots

9.4.3.1 Four posthead verbal slots

The first slot after the verb head is occupied by directional verbs. They may immediately follow the main (factive) verb to show the direction of the action (Xu 2001:81).

Next, modal verbs, such as tso33 ‘should’, and ɕi55 ‘want’, phy31 ‘can’ may follow the directional verb (Xu 2001:83). The causative verb pi31 follows the factive verb in affirmative statements and intercedes between the negative adverb and the factive verb in negative statements (Xu 2001:82).

Third, aspectual particles with these meanings may follow the modals (Xu 2001:83):
• ‘action about-to-begin’ ni55 a31 ‘existing visible-reality’ ni55
• ‘action in-progress’ pym22 ne55
• ‘action already begun/done’ aj55
• ‘action yet-continuing’ (ba55 ...sɿ55 for negation; ...ne55 sɿ33 for affirmative)
• ‘action-happened’ an31
These particles are often the final element in a sentence. The position of the particle for ‘action already begun/done’ ˈaŋ is exceptional in that it precedes directional verbs and may even intervene in the middle of a bisyllabic verb.

(178) xā̞55 man̄55 aŋ̄33 xu31 to33 aŋ̄55 la55
wind big appear p come

‘It is becoming very windy.’ (Xu 2001:126)

Two different pairings of the aspectual particles are possible (Xu 2001:127):
- ‘in-progress + yet-continuing’ pȳ̝n33 ne55 sʔ33
- ‘begun + about-to-begin’ ˈaŋ55 ni55a31

The final (fourth) slot after the main verb is occupied by a particle with one of the following meanings (Xu 2001:117, 129–131):
- ‘objective-declarative’ tɕī̝55 a31
- ‘subjective-declarative’ tɕī̝55, ‘probable’ ga33
- ‘yes-no question’ la31
- ‘wh-question’ ni55 ɣ31

9.4.3.2 Examples of verb chains in Bisu

(179) za̞31 man̄33 xā̞33 thun31 tsা̞31 phy31 ga33
elderly person barley cake eat can p-probable
‘Elderly people can eat barley cakes.’ (Xu 2001:83)

(180) mун̄31 nun̄31 to33 ne33 la55 aŋ̄55 tɕī̝55 a31
sun appear p’modify’ p’perfective’ p’declarative
‘The sun has come out.’ Xu 2001:122)

9.4.4 Lahu posthead verbal slots

9.4.4.1 Four postverbal positions

The first position after the main verb is exclusively occupied by one lexeme from a group of verbal particles with these meanings:
- ‘into’ kə
- ‘enter’ lòʔ
- ‘appear’ tɔ̂ʔ
- ‘come’ là
- ‘go’ qay
- ‘descend’ yàʔ
- ‘ascend’ tâʔ
- ‘send back’ qò
- ‘take back’ qhɔ̀ʔ
- ‘throw’ bà
- ‘fall’ ce
- ‘send’ pə
There is a second slot occupied by members of an open group of active-verbs and adjectival-verbs with semantically specific but very heterogenous meanings, such as ‘be late’, ‘dare’, ‘be busy’, ‘be easy’, ‘be wearisome’, ‘be numerous’, and ‘be bored’ (Matisoff 1973:221,225). Only one verb from this group may occupy the second slot after the main verb.

There is a third postverbal slot occupied by a group of nonmutually exclusive verbs involving either
- potentiality (possible to, able to do X well, get to/manage to, and must); or
- meanings such as ‘be fitting/correct’, be time to, be (too) many/much.

In the second and third postverbal slots, members of a fourth group of verbs may also be found. Their meanings are very abstract in posthead position:
- ‘continuative’
- ‘causative’
- ‘inchoative’
- ‘durative’
- ‘tentative’
- ‘compleative/exhaustive’
- ‘benefactive’
- ‘permissio-causitive’
- ‘sufficitive’

Several members of this group can occur in series.

9.4.4.2 Schematic for possible order of groups/positions

The following schematic describes the possible ordering of the four groups in posthead verb position:
- 0) head-verb
- 1) up to one directional indicator
- 1a) zero, one or more of the fourth group
- 2) up to one of the second group
- 2a) zero, one or more of the fourth group
- 3) up to two of the third group
- 3a) zero, one or more of the fourth group

The length of any given verb chain is limited by semantic hierarchy of headedness among the posthead verbs such that each of the verbs to the left of a given verb serves as the head verb of the given verb.

In addition some posthead verbs co-occur with certain prehead verbs in relationships of subordination, coordination, or mutual exclusivity. (Matisoff 1973:263). Sometimes this results in ambiguity:

(181) tà yə ci
     begin talk CAUS
     ‘begin to make him talk’ or ‘make him begin to talk’ (Matisoff 1973:257)

The following example illustrates a posthead verb concatenation in Lahu:

(182) ci  ëò  tšʔ  mā  pî  cõ
     teeth pull out show how BEN ought
     ‘(They) ought to show them how to pull out teeth.’ (Matisoff 1973:239)
Table 13. Posthead verb concatenations in Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 221–249);
Maximum length is four (1973:260)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Just after v-head, only one of this first group</th>
<th>Only one verb from this second group may follow</th>
<th>Several of this third group may follow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Several members of this group (called “variables”) can occur in series, and before, after, and among the above two groups.


Matisoff does not think such an order can be reduced to a phrase structure rule such as the following:

“Verbal nucleus → v-head + (0–1) group 1 items + (0–1) variable + (0–1) group 2 items + (0–2) variables + (0–2) group 3 items + (0–2) variables”

He considers such a formulation “most jejune” (Matisoff 1973:238). The problem is that it suggests a linear relationship, instead of a hierarchical one. He summarizes his point this way: “All of the verbs to the left of a given verb serve as the latter’s head verb” (Matisoff 1973:239).

Since some auxiliaries can also be full verbs, some two-verb combinations are ambiguous. When a prehead auxiliary and a posthead auxiliary of this dual sort form a chain, either one can become the head verb, resulting in structural ambiguity (Matisoff 1973:201, 238):

(183)  tà = ‘begin’ (prehead auxiliary or head verb)
       ša = ‘easy’ (posthead aux or head verb)

tà ša = ‘easy to begin’ (prehead auxiliary + head verb)

tà ša = ‘begin to be easy’ (head verb + posthead auxiliary)

9.4.5  Lalo postverbal slots

9.4.5.1 Six postverbal positions

The first position after the verb head is occupied by a lexeme from the “Direction I” group with the following meanings (Björverud 1998:87–97):


Only one of these may occur in this first position after the head of the verb phrase (Björverud 1998:89).

The second position is occupied by a versatile verb of the “Direction II” with one of the following meanings (Björverud 1998:97):

• ‘to come’, ‘to go’, ‘to rise’.

This verb is an indicator of movement (with main verbs of motion) or change of state (with other main verbs or adjectival verbs) (Björverud 1998:98).

The third position is occupied by a versatile from the “Resultative and other” group with one of the following meanings:


Only one of these modal-like verbs may occupy the third posthead verb slot (Björverud 1998:100).
The fourth position is occupied by at most one versatile from the Modals group, which immediately follows the third group (Björverud 1998:105). These have the meanings (Björverud 1998:105–109)

- can, should, eager to, able to, want to, willing to, not dare to, accustomed to, customarily, or must/have to.

The fifth group is comprised of predicative particles, whose meanings are quite abstract, such as

- causative, concessive, beneficiary, object exhausted, each other, result, more, or again.

These have four possible positions, outlined in section 9.3.3, and are relevant here as occupying a position after an auxiliary (Björverud 1998:78).

There is a sixth group, comprised of aspectual particles that optionally follow at the end of the entire predicate and indicate

- perfective, imperfective, durative, hypothetical, intention/planning to, about to, two preparatory aspects, after having, completed, or confirmatory validation of the predicate (Björverud 1998:78, 115–116).

Table 14. Posthead verb concatenations in Lalo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At most one of the following in the first position after the head verb</th>
<th>At most one of the following in the second position after the head verb</th>
<th>At most one of the following in the third position after the head verb</th>
<th>At most one modal follows in the fourth position after the head verb</th>
<th>At the end of the entire predicative phrase comes one aspectual particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up, out, bring, into, cross, on, rise, return, open, down, arrive, away</td>
<td>to come, to go, to rise</td>
<td>endure, obtain, complete, try, enough, have time, catch, lose, among, succeed</td>
<td>can, should, eager to, able to, want to, willing to, not dare to, accustomed to, customarily, or must/have to</td>
<td>perfective, imperfective, durative, hypothetical, intention/planning to, about to, or confirmatory validation of the predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At most one predicative particle may follow the head verb and any of the auxiliaries in slots one to four (Björverud 1998:78, no data): causative, concessive, beneficiary, object exhausted, each other, result, more, or again.

The following phrase illustrates the order of postverbal positions:

(184) tý lá ya dá
    return come obtain can
    ‘can fulfill (the requirements) for returning’ (Björverud 1998:88)

9.4.6 Nuosu postverbal slots

Directional verbs follow main verbs and may be the final element of a sentence or may be followed by an aspectual verb (Fu 1997:120–121):

- motion toward speaker ²se ²la or ²la ‘come’
- motion away from speaker ²ko ²ṣa, ²ṣ, or ²le ‘go’
- motion up toward speaker ᵗọ

Auxiliaries follow main verbs (and directionals—inferential) and may be the final element of a sentence (Fu 1997:117–118):

- ‘able to/maybe’ ʰku
Aspectual particles include:

- ‘possible’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘to wish’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘dare’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘must’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘ought/should’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘successful completion’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘succeed at’ ʰʰʰʰ
- ‘achievement to a certain point’ ʰʰʰʰ

Aspectual particles include:

- ‘successful completion of an action’
- ‘duration or result of an action’
- ‘development of an action to a certain point’ (the same lexeme as the directional ‘come’)

These precede tense particles (Fu 1997:119) and seem to occupy the same slot as directionals (implicit Fu 1997:119–120). Examples (183) illustrate two aspectual particles: ‘successful completion’ and ‘result of an action’.

(185) ʰʰʰʰ ʰʰʰʰ ʰʰʰʰ ʰʰʰʰ
I think DUR/resultative near past
‘I have made up my mind.’ (Fu 1997:118)

(186) ʰʰʰʰ ʰʰʰʰ ʰʰʰʰ ʰʰʰʰ
I that do successful completion particle near past
‘I have succeeded in doing it.’ (Fu 1997:118-119)

Tense and illocutionary particles follow in that order and are discussed in section 9.6 and section 9.7.

9.5 Pre- and posthead verb coordination of auxiliaries/versatiles

Some prehead auxiliaries combine with posthead auxiliaries in predictable ways. Information on these phenomena has not yet been located for languages besides Lahu. No prehead auxiliaries had been found in Lalo when Bjørverud wrote in 1998 (Bjørverud 1998:87).

9.5.1 Lahu pre- and posthead verb coordination of auxiliaries in Lahu

There are five possible combinations for predictable coordinate relations between prehead and posthead versatile verbs in Lahu:

- primacy of the prehead versatile verb, as in ‘help-take-away’, meaning ‘help—to take away’ and not ‘help to take—away’ (Matisoff 1973:252)
- primacy of the prehead versatile verb, as in ‘help-take-tired of’, meaning ‘tired of helping to take’ and not ‘help to be tired of taking’ (Matisoff 1973:254)
- unspecified primacy, where native speakers see no recognizable difference, as in ‘again-do-causative’, meaning either ‘make him—do it again’ (single coercion) or ‘again—make him do it’ (multiple coercion) (Matisoff 1973:256)
- ambiguity due to equal primacy, such as ‘begin-talk-causative’, meaning either ‘begin to make him talk’ or ‘make him begin to talk’ (Matisoff 1973:257)
- mutual exclusion due to clashing semantic features, such as prehead ‘get to’ and posthead ‘able to’, or prehead ‘incessantly’ and posthead ‘have time to’ (Matisoff 1973:258)
9.6 Verb particles

Verb particles cannot form an utterance alone and are found exclusively following verbs or other verb particles (Matisoff 1973:315).

9.6.1 Bisu verb particles

Xu lists six aspectual particles with the following meanings (Xu 2001:117):

- ‘about to begin’
- ‘already in existence’
- ‘in progress’
- ‘already begun/realised’
- ‘continuing’
- ‘occurred’

The following is an example of the first category, ‘about to begin’:

(187) [ga\textsuperscript{33} la\textsuperscript{55} ni\textsuperscript{55} a\textsuperscript{31}]
  I come ASP-about to begin
  ‘I am coming soon.’ (Xu 2001:124)

The second aspect indicates factual visible states or situations that will remain the same for a certain time (Xu 2001:125).

(188) zanj\textsuperscript{33} zum\textsuperscript{55} tum\textsuperscript{31} xan\textsuperscript{55} fu\textsuperscript{33} ts\textsuperscript{33} ne\textsuperscript{55}
  he house four CLF have ASP
  ‘There are four people in his household.’

Actions ‘in progress’ are similar to progressive verb forms in English:

(189) [gu\textsuperscript{33} ts\textsuperscript{33} pyn\textsuperscript{33} ne\textsuperscript{33}]
  we eat ASP-in PROG
  ‘We are eating.’ (Xu 2001:125)

The aspect meaning an action ‘has begun’ or a condition has ‘become actual’ emphasizes that event has become a reality (Xu 2001:126).

(190) [zaj\textsuperscript{33} fu\textsuperscript{33} zau\textsuperscript{33} an\textsuperscript{33} be\textsuperscript{33} an\textsuperscript{55}]
  he look and understand ASP
  ‘He understood after just one look.’ (Xu 2001:126)

The aspect of ‘continuation’ differentiates in form and meaning between affirmative (‘still’) and negative (‘not yet’) usage (Xu 2001:126).

(191) [zo\textsuperscript{33} ba\textsuperscript{31} ts\textsuperscript{31} s\textsuperscript{15}]
  they not eat ASP-continuative
  ‘They have not eaten yet.’ (Xu 2001:126)

(192) [zaj\textsuperscript{33} zo\textsuperscript{31} ne\textsuperscript{55} s\textsuperscript{33}]
  he walk ASP-continuative
  ‘He is still walking.’ (Xu 2001:127)
The ‘final’ aspect indicates that an action has happened (Xu 2001:127).

(193) ga³³ ni⁵⁵ tan³¹ tsy³¹ tan³¹ na⁵⁵ an³¹
I this CLF music hear ASP-occurred
‘I have heard this piece of music before.’ (Xu 2001:127)

Aspectual particles may be combined in two given instances (Xu 2001:127):
- ‘in progress’ and ‘continuing’ to show ‘the continuous progression of an action’
- ‘about to begin’ and ‘already begun’ to show the reality of an action that is about to start

9.6.2 **Lahu verb particles**

There are four groups of verb particles, grouped according to distribution and meaning:
1. reciprocity and directionality
2. subjective attitude
3. aspectuals
4. imperatives.

Group one is always first, and may be followed by any of the other three. Any member of group four excludes all members of groups two and three. Groups two and three may both follow the first group. Schematically, the four groups related this way (Matisoff 1973:315):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group one (reciprocity and directionality)</th>
<th>Group two (subjective attitude)</th>
<th>Group three (aspectuals)</th>
<th>Group four (imperatives)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The first group comprises six particles:
- reciprocity dâʔ
- literal motion to or from və
- continued becoming (or motion away) e
- past-to-present becoming (or motion toward) la
- perfective permanence tâ
- benefactive lâ

The meanings of the particles in group one depend on their context: if literal motion precedes them, they give the direction of motion. They may follow one another to mean motion to a place and back (Matisoff 1973:321). After verbs of process or adjectival verbs, these particles mean ‘to become’. Possible co-occurrences are shown in table 16 (Matisoff 1973:317):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reciprocity</th>
<th>Perfective permanence</th>
<th>Benefactive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>literal motion to or from (after transitive verbs only) (Matisoff 1973:318)</td>
<td>Either motion away OR motion toward After adjectival verbs: ‘continued becoming’ (‘away’) OR ‘close to becoming’ (‘toward’) (Matisoff 1973:320)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(194) yù e
‘take away’
(Matisoff 1973:319)

(195) chu e
fat away
‘continue to get fatter’ (Matisoff 1973:320)

(196) pə la
send hither
‘send (it) here’ (Matisoff 1973:319)

(197) chu la
fat hither
‘be on the verge of obesity’ (Matisoff 1973:320)

The second group comprises four particles:
• ‘iterative (recurring) excess’ qhɛ
• ‘wish/desire’ gâ
• ‘experiential’ jɔ
• ‘vigorous assertion’ à

“Reoccurring excess” co-occurs infrequently with “wish/desire,” or “experiential,” but when it does, it is sequenced either before “experiential” or after “wish/desire” (Matisoff 1973:331-333). Possible co-occurrences are shown in table 17 (Matisoff 1973:331):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘iterative (recurring) excess’</th>
<th>‘wish/desire’ (may be followed by ‘experiential’) OR ‘experiential’ (may be followed by ‘wish/desire’)</th>
<th>‘vigorous assertion’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(198) cā qhɛ
eat to excess
‘eat constantly’ (Matisoff 1973:331)

(199) lāhū 5-chī cā jɔ ē lā
Lahu curry eat experience completed Q
‘Have you eaten Lahu curry?’ (Matisoff 1973:332)

(200) qay jɔ ā
go experience assertive
‘Of course I’ve gone!’ (Matisoff 1973:334)
The third group comprises five particles, which are “among the most important in the language” (Matisoff 1973:334):

- ‘futurity (or hypothetical)’ ‘tù’
- ‘anticipated futurity’ šē
- ‘continuing state of affairs’ ‘still’ ‘šɔ̄’
- ‘completed action (change of state)’ ‘ò’
- ‘negation of probability’ ‘tà’

The two futurity particles may not co-occur (Matisoff 1973:345). The probability particle must follow a verb that has been negated (Matisoff 1973:348). Table 18 shows the mutual exclusivity of the two future particles, and of the probability and continuity particles. It also shows that the completed action particle may co-occur with either the future/hypothetical or the (not) probable particle.

Table 18. Aspectual particles (co-occurrence restrictions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future or hypothetical</th>
<th>Continuing state of affairs (‘still’)</th>
<th>Completed action (change of state)</th>
<th>(not) probable</th>
<th>Completed action (change of state)</th>
<th>Anticipated futurity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(201) dàʔ tù šɔ̄
good FUT still
‘It’ll still be good.’ (Matisoff 1973:346)

These particles freely follow those of group one within a single VP (Matisoff 1973:347). They also freely follow all but one (‘vigorous assertion’) in group two. If ‘vigorous assertion’ is used, the only aspectual particle that may follow it is ‘continuing state of affairs’ (‘still’) (Matisoff 1973:346).

The fourth group of verb particles (imperatives) comprises ten particles:

1. ‘mild suggestion/announcement of intent’ (h)a
2. ‘commanded prerequisite activity’ šē,
3. ‘first person intention’ (a)šā
4. ‘brusque imperative’ (a)yà
5. ‘we-hortatory’ (‘~let’s...’) (a)vì
6. ‘imperativizing glottal stop’ -ʔ
7. ‘urging optative’ (‘~may you....’) pî-ðał
8. ‘verb emphazizer/enlivener’ (qh)a and pâ?
9. ‘verb emphazizer/enlivener’ qha- pâ?
10. ‘a violent-climax proverb’ qha-pî.

These are divided into two groups on distributional grounds:

- The first seven occur in sequence ONLY with those in group one (reciprocal and directional particles) (Matisoff 1973:355).
- In contrast, the final three may sometimes follow a verb and precede any following particle (Matisoff 1973:356).

Their co-occurrence restrictions are shown in tabular form below:
### Table 19. Imperative Particles (co-occurrence restrictions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mild suggestion/announcement of intent</th>
<th>command of a prerequisite ('first…')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brusque command</td>
<td>imperativizing glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘let’s’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insistent urging</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urging or optative imperative ‘may you…’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb enlivener qha</td>
<td>verb enlivener pâʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violent-climax proverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(202) noun + hêʔ a
noun + get suggest/noun
‘I’ll get a (noun) or “Give me a (noun)”’ (Matisoff 1973:351)

(203) câ a sê
eat suggest/noun prerequisite
‘Why don’t you eat first (before, for example, leaving)?’ (Matisoff 1973:352)

(204) nà nâʔ yù le qha-pî ve
I gun take and violent-climax NOM
‘I picked up the gun and…bang!’ (or) ‘I picked up the gun and…let him have it.’
(Matisoff 1973:357)

These particles freely follow group one above, but are mutually exclusive with groups two and three (Matisoff 1973:350).

#### 9.6.3 Lalo verb particles

##### 9.6.3.1 Predicative particles

Lalo has eight predicative particles (Björverud 1998:74–75, 80–85) that “add semantic arguments to the verb’s subcategorization” or give information on degree or repetition (Björverud 1998:80). Their meanings are these:

- ‘causative’
- ‘concessive’
- ‘beneficiary’
- ‘object exhausted’
- ‘reciprocal’, (‘each other’)
- ‘permanence’
- ‘comparative’, (‘more’)
- ‘again’

These may follow the main verb or any of the auxiliaries in the first four slots of a verb concatenation (Björverud 1998:78) (described in section 9.3.3 Lalo).
9.6.3.1.1 Causative

The causative particle adds a causee to the predicate, which may be marked by the object marker in addition to an object marker on the patient (Björverud 1998:80). The causee is normally animate, but there are exceptions (Björverud 1998:81).

(205) u dì à phàmú dì tjàq jí tuq
   3P OBJ TOP brother OBJ feed go CAUS
   ‘[The parents] made her (cause) go and feed the younger brother (patient).’

(206) jỹ dzí thà i tuq
   iron tree don’t rock CAUS
   ‘Don’t make the iron tree rock!’ (Björverud 1998:81)

9.6.3.1.2 Concessive

Reduplication of the causative particle produces the concessive particle, which is sometimes considered a politer version of the causative (Björverud 1998:81).

(207) tỹ lá tuqtuq
   return come concessive
   ‘let [someone] come back’

9.6.3.1.3 Beneficiary

A beneficial particle introduces a beneficiary into the predicate, who is usually human and always animate. The beneficiary is marked with the object marker, and the patient is not so marked. The beneficial particle also produces ‘tell’ from ‘say’, and ‘give’ from ‘bring’.

(208) u dì sëtjhá tjhā sè vé ka wù
   3P OBJ pear one CLF buy bring BEN
   ‘Buy a pear for him and give it to him.’

(209) biq wù
   SAY BEN
   ‘tell’ (Björverud 1998:81)

   The beneficiary is not always marked, but this leads to ambiguity (Björverud 1998:82).

(210) tshú ñdý ðì jí i wù
   person head on louse look BEN
   1. ‘The person looks for lice on the head (of beneficiary)’
   2. ‘look for lice on the head (of someone) for the person (beneficiary)’
   3. ‘look for lice on the person’s head for someone (beneficiary).’

9.6.3.1.4 Object exhausted

Exactitude in describing the “exhaustive” particle “eludes the author,” but it “seems to indicate that the action has already taken place” and “affects the entire object or subject” (Björverud 1998:82). All known examples follow a directional verb, usually ‘away’ (Björverud 1998:82–83):
9.6.3.1.5 Reciprocal

The reciprocal particle sometimes marks the reciprocating agent with the word “with”; otherwise it is presumed that the subject is plural (Björverud 1998:83).

(214) tʃhatʃse ŋỳ dihi
car resemble RECIP
‘The cars resemble each other.’

(215) mú pỳ à pàq kʰà dɛ̀ dihi
corpse carry IMPF NOM with hit RECIP
‘fight with the pall-bearers’ (Björverud 1998:83).

9.6.3.1.6 Permanence, or result

The permanence particle is used with verbs or adjectives. With verbs, it indicates a tangible or visible consequence of an action. With adjectives, it indicates some change has occurred (Björverud 1998:83).

(216) kà tàq
live PERM
‘be born’

9.6.3.1.7 Comparative

The comparative particle is used with verbs or adjectives. With verbs, it indicates that something is done better than something else. With adjectives it produces the comparative degree, and is part of the superlative construction (Björverud 1998:84).

(217) sè djí
like COMP
‘prefer’

(218) sàq djí
know COMP
‘know better’
9.6.3.2 Aspectual particles

The twelve aspectual particles in Lalo have the following meanings:

- ‘imperfect’
- ‘perfect’
- ‘durative’
- ‘planning to’
- ‘about to’
- ‘after’
- ‘a while’
- ‘preparing immediately to’
- ‘preparing to’
- ‘hypothetical’
- ‘completed’
- ‘declarative’

These may not be combined with each other (in contrast to Bisu, section 9.6.1 Bisu). These modify the VP or AP, rather than a single v or A (Björverud 1998:115). Björverud warns that her analysis “should be regarded with caution” since “the aspectual system of Lalo holds many mysteries” for her (1998:115).

For the two particles associated with perfective and imperfective aspect, tone is the distinguishing feature: high tone represents perfective and low tone imperfective.

(221) lá á
  come PERF
  ‘has come’

(222) biq à
  speak IMPF
  ‘says; is saying’ (Björverud 1998:115)

The durative particle shows continuation regardless of the time indication (Björverud 1998:115).

(223) tji djè
  pull in DUR
  ‘keep pulling in’

(224) mà gò djè
  not run DUR
  ‘not be running’ (Björverud 1998:115)

For the several “preparing to” particles, it is not (yet) clear what the difference in usage is. The “planning to” particle shows the agent’s intention (Björverud 1998:116).
The declarative particle affirms the validity of the clause (Björverud 1998:116). In this respect, it seems to play the role of an illocutionary particle, but its syntactic order is the same as other aspectual particles. In the following example, the “looking” clause is affirmed. (Note: 3PLR = ‘they’ remote)

\[(225) \text{ùq \, yò \, sì \, làphiq \, í \, là \, hí \, á \, sì \, tàqha \, dú \, jí \, dú} \]
\[\text{we \, POSS \, 3PR \, tea \, look \, DECL \, ugly \, PERF \, 3PLR \, only-be \, drink \, go \, drink}\]

\[\text{phàq \, mà \, dá \, mà.á}\]
\[\text{good \, not \, OK \, not \, be}\]

‘As for our [tea], it’s only when people look at the tea that it is the ugliest; if they drink it, it’s not the case, that it’s bad to drink.’ (Björverud 1998:144)

9.6.4 **Nuosu verb particles**

Tense particles follow main verbs and auxiliaries (Fu 1997:118) and can be the last element of a sentence (Fu 1997:125-6):
- remote past (2ndzo)
- near past [2o] or [2vo] with tone sandi to [1o] or [1vo] following first tone (level high)
- near future [1lo]
- intention in future [1mi]
- future certainty [2mo or 2mo 2di]

When “near future” [1lo] combines with “future certainty” [2mo] the order is [1lo 2mo].

\[(226) \text{[iŋa \, 1ni \, 3do\,ma\,ŋa \, 1lo \, 2mo.]}\]
\[\text{I \, you \, obey \, FUT \, certain}\]

‘I will obey you.’ (Fu 1997:126; Fu 1997 provides no glosses)

9.7 **Clause-final particles and sentence-final particles**

9.7.1 **An Akeu sentence-final particle**

A sentence-final continuing conjunction can follow the final element of the VP in Akeu.

\[(227) \text{tu\,?i \, ga\,1 \, na\,1 \, mo\,1 \, jə\,1 \, ðe} \]
\[\text{one \, person \, be \, marry \, IMPER \, and \, continue}\]

‘One of you must marry.’ (Kosonen 2007:44)

9.7.2 **Akha sentence-final particles**

9.7.2.1 **According to Heh**

According to Heh, there are eighty-seven sentence-final particles in Akha. They belong to three main groups:
1. Declarative (statement, weak assertion, probability, possibility, appreciation, contra- expectation, and negative prediction)
2. Jussive (command, negative, mitigative, exhortative, hortative, proposal, advisory, precautionary)
3. Interrogative (information questions and yes-no questions)
A fourth miscellaneous group contains two quotative particles and one reiterative particle. Co-occurrence restrictions and ordering conventions are mentioned by Heh as “research still to be done” (2002:182). According to Heh, “In non-interrogative particle concatenation, evidential particles are successively followed by attitudinal particles (jussives) and emotional particles (jussives)” (2002:184).

The following is an example of a sentence-final particle concatenation:

(228) ʔí mē dʒé bō ʔélō là
go statement 3SG quote confront/deny persuade/console initiate/console
lé là
yes-no Q yes-no Q
‘[Are you] insisting that [you heard person A say that] person B is going [but person C says] person B is not going, [but you say that person A says] person B is going so he is, [and you are trying to get] person D to agree with you?’ (Heh 2002:184)

9.7.2.2 According to Egerod

According to Egerod, there are sixteen sentence particles in Akha. These are divided into four symmetrical groups:

1. Informational particles (nonsensorial knowledge)
2. Sensorial particles
3. Assumption/contrastive particles
4. Prediction/modal particles

Each group has four particles which compose a 2X2 matrix indicating (un)expected content and (un)expected prime mover, as shown in table 20. The “expected prime mover” is defined as 1st person for declarative statements, 2nd person for questions, and 3rd person in indirect reference. (Egerod 1985:101)

Table 20. General matrix: typical semantics for each tonal pair of Akha information particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content\Prime mover</th>
<th>Unexpected</th>
<th>Expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unexpected</td>
<td>unexpected content /</td>
<td>unexpected content /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unexpected prime mover [a]</td>
<td>expected prime mover [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected</td>
<td>expected content /</td>
<td>expected content /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unexpected prime mover [m]</td>
<td>expected prime mover [ma]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Egerod says that for each of the four groups, there are additional details:

For group 1, information particles, the categories are as described in table 20, with the particle phonetically described in [square brackets], and the informational particles are all inflected: a high tone for nonpast tense [á, é, mɛ́, má], and a low tone [à, è, mɛ̀, mà] for past time (1985:101).

For group 2, sensorial particles, the (non)/prime mover category represents (non)/visual perception, the (un)/expected content becomes surprise/no surprise or ill/good fortunate, and the high-low tonal distinction means direct perception/indirect (or inference from) perception.

For group 3, contrastive particles, the (non)/prime mover characteristic means the action is (not)/about the speaker, the (un)/expected content category is applied to inclusion/exclusion of a specific assumption, and the high/low tones represent (non)/past, as for the informational particles.

For group 4, modal particles, (non)/prime mover category represents (no)/involvement of the speaker, the (un)/expected content category is applied to a fear/threat or a doubt/certainty distinction, and the particles are all invariably high tone (= nonpast) (1985:101–102). The specifics of the fourth group are represented by the following table:
Table 21. Specific matrix for Akha modal sentence particles (Egerod 1985:102)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemic \ Speaker’s mood \ involvement</th>
<th>Involved</th>
<th>Not involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear or doubt</td>
<td>Speaker personally fears or doubts the outcome [á]</td>
<td>General, ceremonial or ritual fear or doubt [ní]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat or certainty</td>
<td>Speaker expresses a threat or a certainty [njá]</td>
<td>Generally accepted certainty (for example, duty) [má]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Egerod, these particles follow the predicate. If the predicate is nominal, only groups 1–3 in their nonlow (nonpast) tonality are acceptable (1985:102).

(229) ḣəq mə ją mỳ ná
He do nonpast field good nonexpected direct, visual perception
‘The field he is doing looks good.’ (Egerod 1985:99)

(230) ná mə nja ṣ má
I see can nonpast expected, nonpast, first person prime mover information
‘I can see it.’ (Egerod 1985:99)

9.7.3 Bisu sentence-final particles

9.7.3.1 In Chinese Lanmeng dialect

According to Xu, the final particles in a Bisu sentence are illocutionary particles, and one of the following may be sentence-final, for example: ‘objective-declarative’ tɕi55 a31, ‘subjective-declarative’ tɕi55, ‘probable’ ga33, ‘yes-no question’ la31, or ‘wh-question’ ni55 ỵ31 (Xu 2001:117, 129–131). Where there is no illocutionary particle, the final particle can be aspectual (Xu 2001:117, 129–131). The relevant discussion and examples for aspectual particles are in section 9.4.3.

9.7.3.1 In northern Thai dialect

The northern Thai dialect of Bisu, which is spoken by less than 1,000 people in two villages (Person 2000:2), contrasts considerably with Xu’s description of the Chinese Lanmeng dialect of Bisu. Person notes that “many of the ‘markers’ discussed by (Xu 2001) are not present in Bisu as spoken in Thailand, one indication of the seemingly significant differences between the Chinese and Thai dialects” (2000:69). In the Thai dialect, there can be up to six sentence-final particles, as exemplified below (Person 2000:106).

(231) jàakee mən jèet mi bàa jùuu kaa lùù
child CLF both well NEG go_together permanent state/ability return
lèe tɔɔ kaa jèe
downward/southerly motion unable permanent state/ability reported event
‘The two children were unable to return together.’ (Person 2000:107, 288)
The Thailand dialect of Bisu gives evidence of “seventy-five distinct sentence-final particles” even though, in the thirteen folk tales and two biographical texts examined, nine of the particles account for just over seventy-three percent of the particle occurrences (Person 2000:108). Of the seventy-five sentence-final particles, two are especially salient in the Thai Bisu folk tale corpus:

- the particle for completion
- the particle for reported events not personally participated in (Person 2000:126–127)

These appear in more than one-third of all the sentences of the corpus, and they appear juxtaposed in almost one-quarter of all the sentences in the corpus (Person 2000:127). These high frequencies contrast sharply with conversational use, where the “completion” particle drops to about ten percent and the “reported” particle even lower (Person 2000:127). This is a second dimension in which Person’s description of Bisu differs significantly from Xu’s.

### 9.7.4 Lahu clause-final particles and sentence-final particles

In Lahu there are two sorts of sentence-final particles (that is, particles which follow sentence-final clauses):

- Those which can also be nonfinal particles are called “universal particles.”
- Those which can only be final particles are called “final unrestricted particles.” (Matisoff 1973:360)

#### 9.7.4.1 Universal sentence-final particles

The first type of sentence-final particle can be called a “universal particle” since its distribution in larger. There are six such universal particles, five of which are usually followed by final unrestricted particles:

- a nominalizing particle (\(ve\))
- two minimizing particles (\(\sim ‘just’\))(\(cɛ\) and \(tî\))
- a causal particle (\(\sim ‘because’\))(\(lɛ\))
- a temporal particle (\(\sim ‘when’\))(\(thâ\)), and
- an emphatic particle (\(\sim ‘really’\))(\(tɛ̀\))

The nominalizing particle \(ve\) is exceptional in this group, in that it frequently stands in “absolutely final position” (Matisoff 1973:364).

#### 9.7.4.2 Final unrestricted particles

Lahu “final unrestricted particles” apply to the whole sentence, and not only to the VP, in a way similar to punctuation marks in English. Up to four of these sentence-final particles may follow one another, in an order that is not completely fixed (Matisoff 1973:365–366). Lahu “final unrestricted particles” fit into six categories:

- three declarative particles
- two dubitative particles
- five interrogative particles
- one persuasive particle
- one quotative particle
- at least six monosyllabic interjectory particles and eight compound interjectory sentence-final particles

Matisoff states that there are “at least six” monosyllabic interjectory particles, because new interjections “are coming into the language all the time.” (1973:381).
9.7.4.2.1 Declarative particles

Among the three declarative particles, Matisoff (1973:367–369) makes the following distinctions:

- ‘general affirmation as a matter of fact’ ɣò,
- ‘affirmation of a process as a matter of fact’ ɔ,
- ‘emphatic declaration of factuality’ ɬb.

These co-occurrence restrictions are shown in this table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General affirmation</th>
<th>Process affirmation</th>
<th>Emphatic (surprised) declaration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9.7.4.2.2 Dubitative particles

The two dubitative particles are distinguished into categories of

- neutral doubt (‘maybe so, maybe not’) ɦɛ́, and
- opinionated doubt (‘I daresay…’) ɲɛ̀-ɔ̄.

They may co-occur in the order neutral-opinionated (Matisoff 1973:371).

9.7.4.2.3 Interrogative particles

There are five interrogative particles:

- yes/no question
- wh-question
- rhetorical question (~ ‘I wonder…’)
- confirmation request (~ a tag question)
- topic-question (~ ‘What about…’)

These five may not co-occur with one another (Matisoff 1973:374–376).

9.7.4.2.4 Persuasive particle

The persuasive particle indicates polite but firm insistence (~ ‘I assure you’) (Matisoff 1973:377).

9.7.4.2.5 Quotative particle

The quotative particle conveys information “reported at second-hand” (Matisoff 1973:377), and can also be used to quote one’s own previous imperative (Matisoff 1973:380).

9.7.4.2.6 Interjectory particles

The simple interjectories make statements more vivid. They are similar to an exclamation point in English. They vary in usage from speaker to speaker in one village and from village to village (Matisoff 1973:380). They have syntactic co-occurrence restrictions among themselves and in sequence after the dubative particles (Matisoff 1973:381). Inferentially, these are unrelated to any semantic feature of the interjectories. The compound interjectories are sometimes used after very short utterances (Matisoff 1973:385).
9.7.4.2.7 Summary

Co-occurrence restrictions of these sentence-final particles, without details on semantically indistinguishable interjectory particles, are shown in tabular form (Matisoff 1973:390):

Table 23. Declarative, dubative, question, and persuasive particles (co-occurrence restrictions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjectory</th>
<th>Declaratives: general affirmation</th>
<th>Opinionated dubative</th>
<th>Persuasive particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>process affirmation</td>
<td>Yes/no question</td>
<td>Requesting confirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General affirmation</td>
<td>wh-question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surprised declarative particle</td>
<td>Rhetorical question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though a string of six such particles seems possible from the chart, “strings of more than three are excessively rare” (Matisoff 1973:391).

The following examples demonstrate the application of co-occurrence restrictions for sentence-final unrestricted particles:

(232) ŋà kà? phè? c và
I also able AFFIRM interjection
ADV V P P
‘I can do that, too!’ (Matisoff 1973:383)

(233) phè? bò já yâ-o nē lê
be group 2(bored) group 3(excess) interjection interjection confirmation
v-head two posthead verbs three verb particles
‘Oh, I’m so bored, I could die—you know?’ (Matisoff 1973:231, 226, 235, 380, 383)

9.7.5 Lalo clause-final and sentence-final particles

9.7.5.1 Clause particles

Clause particles may be used for both final and nonfinal clauses, in contrast to sentence-final particles (Björverud 1998:134, 145). Lalo’s use of sentence-final particles needs a great deal more analysis, for which data was not available in 1998 (Björverud 1998:134). Clause particles divide into two groups by their approximate syntactic order: evidential and miscellaneous, and illocutionary.

9.7.5.1.1 Evidential and miscellaneous

The first group has five particles with the following meanings Björverud 1998:136–139):

- ‘end of sentence’,
- ‘past or nonconcluded event’ (usually not personally witnessed),
- ‘event witnessed by the speaker regarding second-person and third-person (but not first-person) subjects’,
`contrast with a following clause’ (similar to ‘although’),
`past events of an unexpected nature’ (declarative for 1P subjects, but usually interrogative for 3P subjects).

The ‘end of sentence’ particle must be the final word in the sentence. It often follows the aspectual particle meaning ‘declarative affirmative’, for example, *ŋa là mà = ‘copula-aspectual-final’ = ‘that’s how it is!’ (Björverud 1998:135).

In the evidential and miscellaneous group of particles, for ‘past or nonconcluded event’ (usually not personally witnessed/seen), three tonal allomorphs exist (*há, ha, and hà*) and the mid tone allomorph is the most common, but is never used with 2P statements (Björverud 1998:136).

(234) *tshú mì xá à v̀w biq ha là m̀*
  person conscious away IMP past/unexpected say past DECL AFFIRM final/angry
  ‘I say that the person was really unconscious (no matter how you deny it)!’ (Björverud 1998:136).

Also, in the evidential and miscellaneous group, tonal allomorphs of “event witnessed by the speaker” (*mù* or *mú*) sometimes distinguish between stronger (*mù*) and weaker (*mú*) assertions. Often, however, only one allomorph is acceptable, but no guiding principle had yet been discovered (Björverud 1998:137).

In series with other clausal particles this particle follows “past” and it can precede the aspectual particle “declarative affirmation.”

(235) *ná bè átsá p̀i ha mú*
  that TOP what do past witnessed
  ‘[What do you mean] by doing that?’ (Björverud 1998:137)

9.7.5.1.2 Ilocutionary

The illocutionary particles may be used with the particle of the first group and always follow them (Björverud 1998:139). There are eight of these (Björverud 1998:139–145), which include the following meanings:
1. ‘Imperative’ (often with an expressed subject)
2. ‘First person plural inclusive imperative’
3. ‘Polite request’ (‘first person singular benefactive imperative;’ ‘do X for me’)
4. ‘Emphatic imperative’ (often following an imperative particle of the 1) or 3) types, but never 2))
5. ‘Request for confirmation’
6. ‘Mild pondering’ (‘rhetorical question or polite request’)
7. ‘Nonfinal clause in coordinate or subordinate relation’
8. ‘Oddness of a proposition’ (‘It would be odd if…,’ or ‘It is odd that…’)

The following is an example of the “emphatic imperative”:

(236) *né p̀i li xà*
  like that do IMPER IMPER/EMPH
  ‘Do like that!!’ (Björverud 1998:141)

9.7.5.1.3 Evidential and epistemic

Four final particles comprise a third group. The ‘weak affirmative’ and ‘maybe’ particles are sometimes not sentence-final when they are clause-final in the first clause of a compound or complex sentence. They give evidential and epistemic information. They may fuse with adjacent particles, “giving rise to a wide
variety of pronunciations, not always easily separated into their constituent parts” (Björverud 1998:145). The meanings of the four final particles include

- weak affirmation or slight contrast (either with another proposition in the same sentence or with an expected idea/attitude),
- attitude of doubt about the proposition (‘maybe’),
- attitude of doubt about the content of the sentence (speaker’s mind not made up), and
- attitude of anger or displeasure (two forms, with the longer one being more emphatic).

9.7.6 **Nuosu clause-final and sentence-final particles**

9.7.6.1 **Clause-final particles**

Clause-final particles in Nuosu include the substantivizing (or nominalizing) particles ʔsu and ʔdu (Fu 1997:123) discussed earlier in section 2.1.4, “Types of nouns, compounding, and derivation.” They are used to create noun clauses in both subject and object positions (Fu 1997:174). (Note: '?' = not glossed)

(237) ʔts’ɔ ʔts’ɿ ʔma ʔmo ʔdu ʔa ʔnjo
    person this CLF see NOM much
    ‘What this man has seen is a lot.’ (Fu 1997:123)

(238) ʔŋa ʔts’ɿ ʔhe ʔsu ʔhe ʔa ʔγ
    I he speak NOM speak? not like
    ‘I don’t like what he said.’ (Fu 1997:175)

9.7.6.2 **Sentence-final particles**

The subject particle can also be used to create a sentential subject (Fu 1997:170):

(239) ʔts’ɔ ʔts’ɿ ʔnu ʔa ʔmbo
    person scold SUBJ not good
    ‘To scold other other people is not good.’ (Fu 1997:170).

Illocutionary particles follow main verbs and may be the final element of a sentence. Although there are three moods (assertive, imperative, and interrogative), no particle is required for assertive or imperative. Most often, however, the verb particle that marks the end of temporal clauses is inserted before the verb to mark it as imperative (Fu 1997:185). In addition, the exhortatives ‘let’ ʔha or ‘wish’ ʔtç’ie, however, may be used as imperative markers for special or prolonged effort (Fu 1997:124). The subject of imperatives may be expressed, and where it’s not, second person is implied (Fu 1997:124). Exhortatives may be directed at third person participants.

(240) ʔko ʔhe!
    Imperative particle speak
    ‘Speak!’ (Fu 1997:185)

(241) ʔnu ʔŋo ʔha!
    you think exhortative
    ‘Think it over!’ (Fu 1997:124)
Interrogative particles are the final element in question sentences. They signal (Fu 1997:183–184):

- rhetorical yes/no questions, and
- anticipated answers for yes/no questions.

No particle is used specifically for wh-questions, even though wh-words are also used to form free relatives and indefinites (Fu 1997:103–107).

(243) ³nu ³a ³bo ³sɿ ³da?
    you not go yet or
    ‘You haven’t gone yet, have you?’

(244) ³tsɿ ³mi ³pa?
    he hungry Q (following “He hasn’t eaten.”)
    ‘He is hungry, isn’t he?’ (Fu 1997:184)

10 Unrestricted particles

Unrestricted particles are defined as those that may follow a noun, a verb, another particle, or certain adverbials (Matisoff 1973:46, 168–169). Unrestricted particles are introduced in section 2.4.2, “Lahu postnominal clausal particles.”

11 Sentential structure

11.1 Simple sentences

All Ngwi languages have a predictable SOV order of constituents for simple sentences: 1) subject, 2) object, 3) verb.

11.1.1 Bisu simple sentences

Simple sentences can be divided into subject-predicate (SP) sentences or non-SP sentences.

11.1.1.1 Subject-predicate sentences

SP sentences can have either simple or complex predicates; if simple, then either verbal, adjectival, or nominal. Simple predicates may have compound (concatenated) verbs (Xu 2001:138). If the predicate is complex, it is either progressive, continuous, subject-predicate, comparative, or reduplicative (Xu 2001:71).

11.1.1.2 Non-subject predicate sentences

These include subjectless sentences and single word (or “minor”) sentences (Xu 2001:138).
11.1.3 *Bisu existential clauses*

In existential clauses, the copula may only be used with negation; affirmatives are expressed using nominal predicates (Xu 2001: 138).

11.1.2 *Lahu simple sentences*

According to Matisoff, sentences can be “major” (ending in a VP) or “minor” (not ending in a VP) (1973:360).

11.1.2.1 *Major sentence phrase structure*

Matisoff (1973:40) provides a formula for the simple sentence (major):

\[ S_{\text{simple}} \rightarrow (\text{NP } n) + \text{VPfinal} + \text{unrestricted particle}; \text{ where } n \geq 1. \]

There is also a more detailed version of this formula:

\[ S_{\text{simple}} \rightarrow (\text{NP } n^3) + [(\text{ADV}) + \text{VP (chain)} + (\text{V.P})], + \text{universal } p + \text{unrestricted final particle}; \text{ where } n \geq 1 \]

11.1.3 *Lalo simple sentences*

Fragments of sentences used as complete utterances are minor sentences, and have no predicate. A simple sentence contains only a single clause, meaning that it has at least a predicate. In addition to the predicate, a clause may contain noun phrases, clause particles and a final particle (Björverud 1998:124).

11.1.4 *Nuosu simple sentences*

11.1.4.1 *Minor sentences*

The simplest of sentences are minor sentences, having less structure than a simple sentence because they lack a complete subject-predicate structure. They consist of a single word or a couple of words (as interjections, vocatives, commands/wishes, or one-word answers/responses), and formulaic expressions (Fu 1997:168–169).

11.1.4.2 *Simple sentences*

Fu (1997:169) identifies six configurations of the simple sentence:
- subject – complement (NP or AP)
- subject – complement (NP or AP) – copula
- subject – verb (intransitive)
- subject – verb of motion – locative object
- subject – object – verb (transitive)
- subject – direct object – indirect object – verb (ditransitive).

Clausal subjects and predicates are also considered within this framework (Fu 1997:170–171). They will be discussed below under section 11.3. Complex sentences.
11.2 Compound and complex sentences

Matisoff gives the following formula for a compound sentence (1973:40–41):

\[ S_{\text{compound}}/S_{\text{major}} \rightarrow [(\text{NPn}) + \text{VPnonfinal})] + [(\text{NPn}) + \text{VPfinal})] \], where n \geq 1, and verb phrases can be either final or nonfinal.

“There is no theoretical limit to the number” of clauses which can be compounded. (Matisoff 1973:402)

Complex sentences contain an embedded clause and, like other sentences, are major or minor, simple, or compound (Matisoff 1973:41). There are four kinds of embedded clauses (Matisoff 1973:402):

- relative clauses
- nominalized clauses
- quotative clauses
- purpose clauses

Certain clausal relationships that would be considered complex in European languages are considered compound in Lahu (and other Ngwi languages) (Matisoff 1973:402):

- causality (‘because’)
- concession (‘although’)
- temporality (‘when’)
- conditionality (‘if’)

Similar to European languages, the lexeme that defines these coordinate clausal relationships stands at the boundary between the two clauses (Matisoff 1973:402).

11.2.1 Bisu compound and complex sentences

Multiclause sentences in Bisu can be divided according to the semantic relations of the clauses; some require conjunctions and some do not. No distinction need necessarily be made between compound and complex sentences (Xu 2001:148–153).

(245) \text{gu}^{33} \text{xaŋ}^{31} \text{tsa}^{31} \text{pyn}^{55} \text{zau}^{33} \text{le}^{33}
\text{we} \text{rice eat finish CONJ go}

‘We will go when we have finished eating.’ (Xu 2001:144).

11.2.1.1 Coordinated compound sentences

The so-called “coordinated compound” sentences require no conjunction. Semantically, these can be divided into three types (Xu 2001:149):

- consecutive clauses
- contrastive clauses
- nonconsecutive, noncontrastive clauses

Examples of these relationships in English would be

- ‘There are two trees ahead, with a person under the tree. Beside the person is a large rock.’ (consecutive clauses; Xu 2001:149)
- ‘Sparrows can fly; ducks cannot fly.’ (contrastive clauses; Xu 2001:150)
- ‘There are clouds in the sky; there is grass on the ground.’ (neither; Xu 2001:149)
11.2.1.2 Temporal sequence sentences

Temporal sequences can be expressed by particle pairs that correspond to ‘as (soon) as’, and ‘no sooner… than’, or with the conjunction ‘after’ (Xu 2001:150).

(246) ʒoŋ31 an31 kyŋ31 pi31 lanŋ33 ga33 noŋ31 y31 la31 pu31 tshu31 zau31 na31
they objects give each other after p hand grasp and ask
lanŋ33 ga33
each other
‘After they had exchanged presents, they shook hands and asked after each other.’

11.2.1.3 Sentences with alternative clauses

Alternative clauses are expressed in parallel yes/no questions, sometimes prefaced by the Chinese loan word for ‘or’ (Xu 2001:150).

(247) (xai31 sɿ55) ga33 e55 lai55 la31 ? ʒaŋ33 e55 lai55 la31 ?
(or) I go p QP he go p QP
‘Either I will go, or he will.’

11.2.1.4 Hypothetical if-then sentences

Hypothetical ‘if…then…’ sentences show a variety of constructions that vary in whether they start the hypothetical clause, end that clause, or both start and end it (Xu 2001:151). Examples (result clauses simplified from Xu 2001:151):

(248) the55 ne43va31 ʒoŋ33 bə31 ko55 ga33 bə31 le33
if they not enough I not go
‘If they do not have enough, I won’t go.’

(249) muŋ31 xo31 lu32 va31 ga33 bə31 le33
rain down if/then I not go
‘If it rains, I won’t go.’

(250) a55 a31 ʒaŋ33 bə31 lu33 va31 ga33 bə31 le33
if he not come if/then I not go
‘If he doesn’t come, I won’t go.’

11.2.1.5 Condition-result sentences

Condition-result sentences use the expression ‘only if’ or ‘even if’ at the boundary of the two clauses, or the Chinese loan word for ‘no matter’ at the beginning of the first (condition) clause (Xu 2001:152). In addition, the use of a wh-ever item in each of the clauses also produces a condition-result sentence (Xu 2001:152).
‘Whenever it’s not hot, I will go.’

11.2.1.6 Contrasting-clause sentences

Contrasting clauses meaning ‘but’, ‘even though’, or ‘although’ can use either of two lexical items meaning ‘but’ at the boundary between the clauses.

11.2.1.7 Cause-effect sentences

Cause-effect sentences sometimes use no conjunction between the adjacent clauses, which have the cause clause before the effect clause (Xu 2001:153). The conjunctions meaning ‘because’, or either of two meaning ‘therefore’, can also be placed at the boundary of the two clauses (Xu 2001:153).

11.2.2 Lahu compound and complex sentences

11.2.2.1 Lahu compound sentences

11.2.2.1.1 Particles at boundaries between the two clauses

Compound sentences can be classified according to the types of particles at the boundary between the two clauses, where the initial clause ends as follows:

- in a naked verb or a verb with a single verb particle,
- in a verb followed by any of the six universal unrestricted (P_univ) particles: the indicative nominalizer (similar to gerund clauses), temporal nominalizer ‘the time that…’, extensive ‘to the extent that…’, minimizer ‘only’, causal ‘because’, and emphatic ‘really’ particles,
- in a verb followed by both a verb particle and any of the six universal unrestricted particles,
- in a verb followed by any of the eight nonfinal unrestricted (P_unf) particles: conditional ‘if’, suspensive ‘while/after…’, two topicalizers ‘as for…’, and four concessive-conjunctives ‘also’ or ‘even’,
- in a verb followed by both a verb particle and any of the universal unrestricted particles and/or any of the nonfinal unrestricted particles (Matisoff 1973:403–432).

11.2.2.1.2 Co-occurrence restrictions on the six universal unrestricted particles


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gerund-like nominal</th>
<th>‘Really’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘really’</td>
<td>gerund-like nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerund-like nominal</td>
<td>‘to the extent that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘when/the time that’</td>
<td>‘really’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to the extent that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.2.2.1.3 Co-occurrence restrictions on the eight nonfinal unrestricted particles

Table 25. Eight nonfinal unrestricted particles: Co-occurrence restrictions (Matisoff 1973:412, 433)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘if’</td>
<td>‘even if’ (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘even if’ (colloquial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘after v-ing…’ (suspensive)</td>
<td>‘and then’ (emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘comment coming’ (topical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘if’</td>
<td>‘comment coming strongly’ (topical)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.2.1.4 Further restrictions on particles in clauses

Universal unrestricted particles are regularly followed by nonfinal unrestricted particles in ordinary speech (Matisoff 1973:433). They are also regularly followed by final unrestricted particles in ordinary speech (Matisoff 1973:433). These final particles are charted in table 23 in section 9.7.4.2.7.

When the initial clause ends in a naked verb or verb with a single verb particle, the verbs of the two clauses are always the same. In the following example, the initial verb ‘give’ is not followed by any particles (i.e., it is “naked”).

(252) chi qhe Khè-mèw à? pî Lâhû a? pî ve this way Meo some give Lahu some give P_{univ} NOM lè yà? då? ve tí yò P_{univ} TOP fight each other P_{univ} only P_{rel} DECL

‘This way, giving some to the Meo and giving some to the Lahu, there’ll just be fighting with each other.’ (Matisoff 1973:404)

The universal unrestricted particles have a variety of effects on initial clauses. The indicative nominalizer makes the initial clause nominal and the topic of the following clause. Extensive and causal particles make the initial clause adverbial and subordinate to the following clause. The temporal nominalizer sometimes creates a nominal topic and sometimes creates a subordinate clause. The minimizing (‘only’) and emphatic (‘really’) particles depend on another adjacent unrestricted particle to determine the relationship of the clauses (Matisoff 1973:406).

A particular use of the final unrestricted particles is that they follow reduplicated verbs to express repetition of an action to the extent that it affects that which is described in the final clause.

(253) šiʔ tà chɔ-chɔ lɛ ԅ pa ge qɔʔ yù qay ve cɛ stick chop-chop suspensive father with do take back go NOM P_{univ} P_{univ}

‘One after the other they chopped of sticks and brought them back to their father’ (Matisoff 1973:420).

(254) Phu mà cɔ̀ cɔ̀ kàʔ teʔ chí må hèʔ money not have have if...

‘Even if you continue not to have any money, it’ll be all right’ (Matisoff 1973:420).
3) yò hi qò? e tù ve thọ ṇà mà qò? e śē
ty they go motion if NOM even I not go motion yet
\[ \text{V} \quad \text{PV} \quad \text{PV} \quad \text{P}_{\text{univ}} \quad \text{P}_{\text{unf}} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{PV} \quad \text{PV} \]

‘Even if they will go back, I’m not going back yet’ (Matisoff 1973:432).

Example (253) containing a nonfinal ve, creates an embedded nominalized clause that is “strictly speaking, ...not compound since the ve-clause is functioning quite analogously to a natural NP” (Matisoff 1973:441), which would make it complex.

11.2.2.2 Lahu complex sentences

In Lahu, complex sentences involve four main types of embedding (Matisoff 1973:435):

- nominalized clauses
- purpose clauses and “to the extent that” clauses, each of which is subordinate to the sentence’s main verb
- quotative clauses, which complement the main clause’s ‘saying’ verb
- relative clauses, which modify some noun

11.2.2.2.1 Nominalized clauses

Matisoff does not consider nominalized final clauses to be embedded, since they are not inside any larger clause (Matisoff 1973:435). Nominalized clauses are frequently used as the topic of the matrix clause in Lahu conversation (Matisoff 1973:440).

(256) nɔ̀ i kâ l̩ pî ve ṇà mà ši
you swim able NOM I not know

‘I didn’t know that you could swim.’ (Matisoff 1973:440).

11.2.2.2.2 Causative clauses

Causative clauses are one form of purpose clause where multiple embedding is possible.


‘The mother had her daughter feed her son rice.’ (Matisoff 1973:438).

11.2.3 Lalo compound and complex sentences

11.2.3.1 Lalo compound sentences

Lalo allows juxtaposing two of the following types of clauses (Björverud 1998:147):

- those without overt conjunctions
- those which contrast; where one is affirmative and the other negative, for example,

(258) biq wú ǹ khá mà biq wu ǹ khá
say BEN as for good not say BEN as for good

‘It doesn’t matter if [you] tell [him] or not.’ (Björverud 1998:148)
those repeating a numeral-classifier combination in each clause, for example,

(259) ählə .hh ählə .hh ählə .hh ählə .hh mà ählə .hh mà ählə .hh mà ählə .hh mà ählə .hh mà
  one time one time talkative one time one time not talkative final

‘Sometimes he has a lot to say and sometimes he doesn’t.’ (Björverud 1998:148)

11.2.3.2  Lalo complex sentences

It is possible to juxtapose a main and subordinate clause without overt conjunctions, but the result can be ambiguous (Björverud 1998:149).

(260) xaffwf mà biq wù u mà sàq
detailed not say BEN 3P not know
‘If [you] don’t give detailed instructions, he doesn’t understand.’

In another context, the same sentence could mean: ‘You didn’t give detailed instructions [to him]. He didn’t understand.’ (Björverud 1998:149)

11.2.3.2.1  Subordinated adverbial clauses

A subordinate adverbial clause with a meaning of ‘critique’ (positive for 1P subjects and negative for non-1P subjects) is introduced by a phrasal (“compound”) subordinating conjunction, a s (Björverud 1998:149).

(261) ṇà dè a sè tjè dè li
  1P hit CONJ like this hit IMPER
‘Knit the way I do (it’s the best way).’ (Björverud 1998:149)

11.2.3.2.2  Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses may be marked by the particle translated ‘although’ (Björverud 1998:149).

(262) é ki là lawu tjèzà mù kuq̀ jí
  able into DECL although now old cross go
‘[She] used to know a lot, but now [she] has become old.’ (Björverud 1998:150)

11.2.3.2.3  Consecutive event clauses

Consecutive events may be marked by any of six particles and allomorphs meaning ‘after’ (Björverud 1998:150).

(263) dzátjhì dzà pé si à
  breakfast eat after
‘after eating breakfast’

11.2.3.2.4  Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses may be marked by the particle translated ‘if’ (264), and temporal clauses may be marked with the noun ‘time’ (265) (Björverud 1998:150).
If it were me, I wouldn’t do it like that.

When I started to study, …

In addition to the word ‘time’, nonfinal temporal clauses (similar to example [265]) can be marked with the locative particle ‘on’ (also grammaticalized to mean ‘object’) in combination with the aspectual particle of ‘imperfective’ or the verb ‘arrive’ (Björverud 1998:151–152). Similarly, the locative particle ‘in/at’ followed by a seeming allophone of the aspectual particle of ‘imperfective’ may also mark a nonfinal ‘when’ clause (Björverud 1998:152).

### 11.2.3.2.5 Relative clauses

The phrase-nominalizing agentive particle may be used to mark the equivalent of a relative clause (Björverud 1998:152–153).

They are the ones who guard the beans for me, he said.’ (Björverud 1998:153)

### 11.2.3.2.6 Nominalization

A theme/patient phrase may be nominalized with a particle, as shown here (Björverud 1998:154):

‘[He] didn’t have any grass to feed the horse.’ (Björverud 1998:154)

### 11.2.3.2.7 Simultaneous events

(Nearly) simultaneous events may be marked with a complex particle (Björverud 1998:156)

‘While [I] was getting a shot, [I] got sleepy.’ (Björverud 1998:156)

### 11.2.3.2.8 Reported speech and thought

Reported speech and reported thought are not specially marked at all (Björverud 1998:156-157).

‘[He] didn’t dare to say that [it] was not permissible.’ (Björverud 1998:157)
11.2.4 *Nuosu compound and complex sentences*

11.2.4.1 *Nuosu compound sentences*

Cumulative coordinate clauses may be marked by inserting the adverb ‘too’ in each clause of the compound sentence (Fu 1997:178).

(270) ²ts’ɿ ³la ³o, ²ts’ɿ ³ts’io̕po ³ni ³la ³o
he too come past he friend too come past
‘He has come and his friend has come, too.’ (Fu 1997:178)

Alternative coordinate clauses are marked by the particle ‘or’, and are always questions for this reason (Fu 1997:178).

(271) ²nu ³la ³da ²ts’ɿ ³la?
you come or he come
‘Will you come or will he come?’ (Fu 1997:178).

Coordinate clauses may be embedded in complex sentences, which also allows for alternative coordinate clauses that are not interrogative.

(272) ³ŋa ³a’dzɿ ³ko ³bo ³da ³ts’ɿ ³ts’e ³ko ³la ³m̥m ³a ³pi.
I there ADV go or he here ADV come cert – not – tain
‘It is not certain whether I will go there or he will come here.’ (Fu 1997:179)

11.2.4.2 *Nuosu complex sentences*

11.2.4.2.1 *Nominalized clauses*

Nominalized clauses may serve as subjects or objects, often marked by a subject particle or one of the nominalizing particles (Fu 1997:170–174).

(273) [²ts’ɿ ³ts ³nu ³a ³mbo]
people scold SUBJ not good
‘To scold others is not good.’ (Fu 1997:170)

(274) [²ts’ɿ ³ts ³su ³a ³mbo]
people scold AG not good
‘Those who scold others aren’t good.’ (Fu 1997:170)

(275) [²ts’ɿ ³ts’ɿ ³ma ³mo ³du ³a ³ji̕o]
person this CLF see THEME much
‘What this man has seen is a lot.’ (Fu 1997:123)

The neatness of the agent-theme distinction mentioned at the beginning of 11.3.4.1 is lost when it is noticed that ²su can replace ²du in example (273), but ²du cannot replace ²su as an agent (Fu 1997:123 fn.1). Here is such an example [? = not glossed]:

(276) ³ŋa ³ts’ɿ ³he ³su ³he ³a ³v
I he speak NOM speak? not like
‘I don’t like what he said.’ (Fu 1997:175)
When a clause with the same nominalizing particle \( ^2su \) immediately follows an NP, it functions as the equivalent of a relative clause (Fu 1997:175).

277) \( ^2ts'c \ ^2nu \ ^2ts' \ ^2gnu \ ^2su \ ^2bo \ ^2o \)
man you him love NOM go recent past
'The man whom you love has gone.'

Note: Without the pronoun 'him', the sentence would read, 'The man who loves you…'. (Fu 1997:175)

Predicate-not-predicate questions may be used as subjects (see 276) or fronted objects (277) (Fu 1997:174):

(278) \( ^2ts' \ ^3la \ ^3da \ ^3a \ ^2la \ ^1\bar{m}m \ ^3a \ ^1\pi \)
he come or not come cer- not –tain'
'Whether he will come is not certain.' [\(^1\)interposed negative morpheme] (Fu 1997:174, 198)

Nominal object clauses may precede or follow the subject. The example in point 4 contrasts with this example in that respect. When the object clause is fronted this way, its original position is usually marked by an optional resumptive pronoun (Fu 1997:175):

(279) \( ^2ts' \ ^3la \ ^3da \ ^3a \ ^3la \ ^3\bar{a} \ ^2\bar{a} \ ^2m^2ta \ ^2o \)
he come or not come I (that/it) not know
'I don't know whether he'll come or not.' (Fu 1997:175)

Nuosu sometimes introduces object noun clauses with a specific particle. This is homophonous with the adverbializing particle discussed in section 8.5.4.

(280) \( ^2\bar{a} \ ^2\bar{a} \ ^2ko \ ^2ts' \ ^2e\bar{\eta}i \ ^3a \ ^2la \)
I think (that) he today not come
'I think that he will not come today.' (Fu 1997:175)

11.2.4.2.2 **Manner and purpose/result clauses**

Clauses of manner and purpose/result may be marked by the adverbializing particle \( ^2m^2ta \) or sometimes \( ^2\bar{m} \) that can be appended to adjectives, verbs, nouns, pronouns, phrases, and clauses to form adverbial expressions (Fu 1997:134)) discussed in section 8.5.3.

(281) \( ^2\bar{\eta}o \ ^2su \ ^2a \ ^1\bar{d}z\ ^2ma \ ^2ts' \ ^3l \ ^2\bar{d}u \ ^2a \ ^1\bar{\eta}s'a \ ^2m^2ta \ ^2bo \ ^2o \)
Nuosu that CLF he reason not care ADV go recent past
'That Nuosu went away in an unreasonable manner.' (Fu 1997:177)

(282) \( ^2\bar{\eta}o \ ^3ni \ ^3bu \ ^2d\bar{\eta}i \ ^2fu \ ^2\bar{\eta}o \ ^2dji \ ^2\bar{\eta}i \ ^1ku \ ^2m^2ta \ ^1se \)
we two clans CLF marry our enemy together ADV fight
'We two clans are united in marriage so that we fight our enemy together.' (Fu 1997:178)
### 11.2.4.2.3 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses may be marked by the subject particle (Fu 1997:177).

(283) 

\[ \text{you way not make SUBJ I you hit} \]

‘If you don’t make way, I’ll hit you.’ (Fu 1997:177)

### 11.2.4.2.4 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses may be marked by the adverbializing particle/imperative particle \( ^{2}ko \) discussed in section 8.5.4 (Fu 1997:177–178).

(284) 

\[ \text{oointment this CLF apply ADV IMPF lie down must} \]

‘After you have applied the ointment, you must lie down.’ (Fu 1997:178)

### 11.2.4.2.5 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses may be marked by the adverb ‘too’. (Fu 1997:178)

(285) 

\[ \text{he go too go recent past he chief see not indefinite past} \]

‘Although he went, he did not see the chief.’
References


