

*A DESCRIPTIVE
GRAMMAR
OF DAAI CHIN*

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF DAAI CHIN

by

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Series Editor's Introduction

Helga So-Hartmann's *A Descriptive Grammar of Daai Chin* must now be ranked as the most detailed and sophisticated grammar of a Chin language to have appeared since Eugénie J.A. Henderson's classic (1965) study of Tiddim (Northern Chin group).¹ The Daai language, formerly known by rather pejorative Burmese exonyms,² is an important member of the Southern Chin group, with about 45,000 speakers.

So-Hartmann's grammar is based on long personal experience with the Daai language, gained especially from her late husband Keng Sho, his brother Ling Sho, and a long-standing research assistant named Nääng Küüi. Her theoretical approach is eminently sensible and eclectic, incorporating insights and terminology from such typologists and theoreticians as J. Bybee, B. Comrie, S. DeLancey, T. Givón, P. Hopper, D. Peterson, S. Thompson, and R. Van Valin. Yet So-Hartmann has little interest in formalism for its own sake. She observes, e.g., that "Having two anaphors bound by the same clause mate antecedent would have serious implications for some syntactic theories", but goes on to say that "changes to principles of binding theory are beyond the scope of this paper" (209). For this one can only be grateful!

This grammar is full of clearly presented information, with the prose supplemented by a wealth of charts, diagrams, tables, and figures.³ A few of the most interesting points may be catalogued according to the particular area of structure to which they refer:

(Phonology)

Daai sesquisyllabicity (41-43); medial -ɣ- from *-r-, as in some Karen dialects (45); systematic length contrasts for all seven vowels (47); the implosive articulation of the voiced stops /b d/, in line with a Southeast Asian areal feature (49); the inclusion in the phonemic inventory of aspirated /s^h/, a sound that occurs in Modern Burmese and Shan, but which is extremely rare in the world's languages (49).

(Morphology)

The discussion of derivational morphology involving the **k-** and **m-** prefixes (58-61) includes the striking fact that **m-** usually functions in Daai as a causativizer, transitivizer, or intensifier,⁴ whereas in other TB languages it often has the opposite role of signalling stativity, intransitivity, durativity, reflexivity, inner-directedness (Wolfenden 1929:139). This

¹ The best available grammar of a Central Chin language remains Chhangte 1986.

² These include *Yindu* (supposedly from Burmese **yin** (Written Burmese **raŋ**) 'breast' + **dû** 'knee', since some of their women were traditionally wrapped in blankets that covered them from their breasts to their knees), *Chinme* ("black Chin"), and *Chinbok* ("stinking Chin").

³ See the complete lists of them (pp. 16-18). Among the most useful are: *Classification of Southern Chin languages* (30); *Verb stem selection patterns: Stem I vs. II* (77, 112); *Tests for the identification of verb classes* (117); *NP constituents* (138); *Noun classifiers* (156); *Case marking* (166); *Parameters of transitivity* (231); *Overview of arguments, relationships, and constituents* (236); *Markers of imperfect aspect* (262); *Matrix verbs and complement types* (339).

⁴ This "outer-directedness" is typically signalled rather by the ***s-** prefix elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman (Wolfenden 1929:46-53; Benedict 1972:105-108; Matisoff 2003:100-104).

latter function seems to have been taken over largely by the innovative Daai **ŋ-** prefix, which makes transitive verbs intransitive or reflexive/reciprocal (61-64).⁵

Many of the compounds presented in section 3.3.3 (72 ff.) are of interest from a comparative point of view:

·The semantic structure of the compound **khooi-tui** ‘honey’ is “BEE + WATER” (< PTB ***khway-twəy**), which is identical to that of, e.g. Lahu **pê-γ̃i** < PTB ***bya-rəy**, although the etyma for “BEE” and “WATER” are completely different.

·Similarly, the Daai compound **kphyu-kkha** ‘small animals’ means literally RAT(S) + BIRD(S), exactly like Lahu **fâʔ-ŋâʔ**, although different roots for RAT and BIRD are used.

·The compound **kho-mik** ‘sun’ (lit. “NATURE + EYE”) is reminiscent of Indonesian **mata hari** ‘sun’ (lit. “EYE + DAY”).

·The Daai formation **kut-nu** ‘thumb’ (lit. “HAND + MOTHER”) is paralleled in many other East and Southeast Asian languages, e.g. Indonesian **ibu tangan**, Thai **hǔa-mêe-myy**, Vietnamese **ngón tay cái**, Chinese **mǔzhǐ** 拇指, Japanese **boshi** 拇指, Lahu **làʔ-ma-pə̄**, etc.⁶

·The Daai expression **puk-sheet** ‘be sad’ is composed of **puk** ‘stomach’ + **sheet** ‘bad’, constituting what I have called a “psycho-collocation” involving a body part as the locus of an emotion.⁷ This sort of expression is extremely widespread in Chin languages,⁸ and one suspects that So-Hartmann could easily find many other such examples.

(Syntax)

Daai has a system of demonstratives that mark four degrees of distance from the speaker:⁹ remote, distal (in view but not in reach), distal (in view and in reach), and proximal (162).

As in all other Sino-Tibetan languages (and in Southeast Asian languages in general), negatability is the prime criterion for establishing verbhood (98). Approximately 20 percent of Daai verbs show the typical Chin characteristic of two alternate forms, called in the literature Stem I vs. Stem II, or Form I vs. Form II; So-Hartmann calls them Stem A and Stem B. Morphophonemically they may be divided into four classes (76-81). Which stem is required in particular sentences depends on a complex set of syntactic and semantic factors (102-117).

The interrelated phenomena of nominalization and relativization are discussed in Chapter VI (176-191), with special emphasis on the hard-working morpheme **naa:k** which functions, *inter alia*, as a purposive/instrumental nominalizer¹⁰ and as a marker of relative clauses (181-185).¹¹

Unlike most East and Southeast Asian languages, Daai has a true passive voice which is not limited to adversative contexts, marked by the “valence-decreasing” **ŋ-** prefix, which also has

⁵ Using data from (So-)Hartmann 2002a, I cited several verb-pairs illustrating the derivational functions of the **m-** and **ŋ-** prefixes in Matisoff 2003:119.

⁶ See Matisoff 1991.

⁷ See Matisoff 1986.

⁸ See VanBik 1998.

⁹ This surpasses languages like Japanese, which only mark three degrees.

¹⁰ In this respect it greatly resembles the Lahu nominalizing verb-particle **tù**.

¹¹ So-Hartmann has devoted a previous article (2002b) to this functor.

reflexive or reciprocal functions (212-215).

Many (but by no means all) Tibeto-Burman languages¹² display some type of verbal agreement, either suffixal and post-nuclear (as, e.g. in Kiranti languages), or prefixal (pre-nuclear), as in Chin languages. Daai requires subject and object agreement for all persons (238), with preference actually given to object/patient agreement (249), as shown by the fact that in negatives and interrogatives, which cannot be marked for subject agreement, direct or indirect object agreement is obligatory.

Particularly interesting are the discussions in Chapters X and XI of such topics as epistemic and deontic modality (273-280), agent-orientation, mirativity, and evidentiality (295-301).

The 2nd syllable **-phi** of the concessive marker **lūphi** means 'also' (349). So-Hartmann observes that in Kham (W. Nepal) the suffix for marking concession is also followed obligatorily by a particle meaning 'also'. Actually Lahu is the same, only more so: the particles **kàʔ** and **thô** both mean 'also' after nouns, and 'although' post-verbally in non-final clauses.¹³

(Contributions to comparative etymologies)

Many of the Daai forms that appear in the example phrases and sentences have excellent TB etymologies. To cite a few:

·Daai **pu** 'father-in-law' (50) is < PTB ***pəw** 'grandfather; older brother'.

·Daai **lam** 'measure' (53) is < PTB ***lɑm** 'fathom'.

·The Daai simplex/causative verb-pair **läh/lät** 'be free' / **hläh/hlät** 'release' (197) descends from PTB ***lwat/*s-lwat**.

·The Daai copular verb **ve**, characterized as an "existential verb with a wide range of meanings – 'is', 'exist', 'live', 'have' " (218), that has "undergone the strongest semantic bleaching of all Daai copular verbs", clearly descends from the PTB/PST copula ***way** ≠ ***ray**, which underlies the homophonous Lahu particle **ve**.¹⁴

·Among the Daai pre-verbal directional auxiliaries is **juk-ju-** 'downwards' (288), which is a perfect cognate of the full Jingpho verb **?yúʔ** 'descend' (cf. also Mizo **zuk**).

·The polite imperative marker **bä** (307) looks like it might be a borrowing from the polite Burmese particle **pa**.

So-Hartmann modestly recognizes that additional research on Daai is necessary: "However there are clear hierarchical relationships [among verb particles] that require further research" (138); "The author's deepest regret is that it was not possible to include a section on discourse analysis...as had been originally planned (362)." One may hope that her future plans include the production of a copious Daai dictionary! Nevertheless, *A Descriptive Grammar of Daai Chin* is an impressive work of scholarship as it stands. It is a pleasure and a privilege to add this important grammar to our STEDT Monograph Series.

¹² Whether all current TB verbal agreement systems can be traced back to a single system in Proto-Tibeto-Burman is still a hotly debated topic.

¹³ See the references in Matisoff 1973/1982, pp. 651, 656.

¹⁴ See Matisoff 1985.

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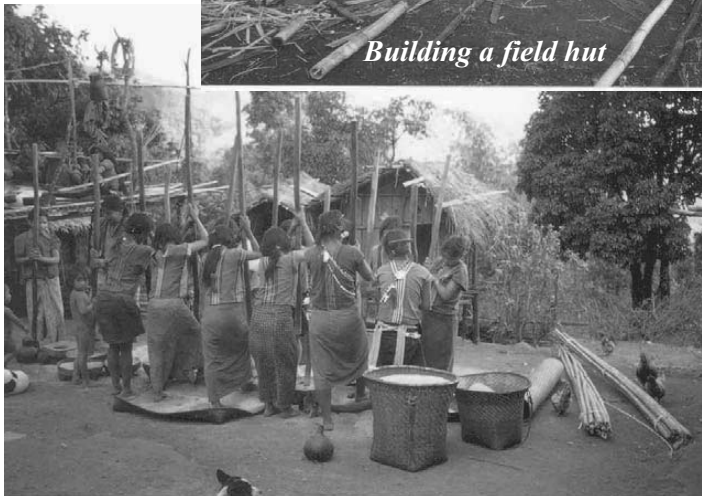
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Mkuui Im Nu village

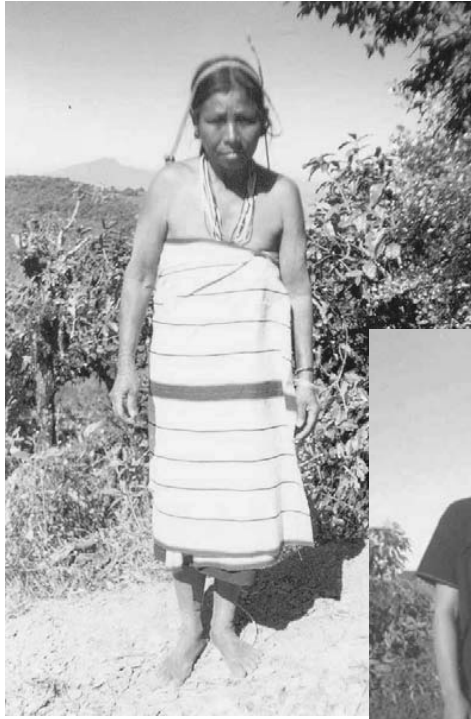


Building a field hut



Preparations for a feast

Dedicated to the memory of my late husband Kheng Sho
and to the Daai Chin people



A Yang Woman



Mkuui girls



*A Woman from the Kduk-
Msang group*

Abstract

Daai Chin belongs to the Southern branch of the Kuki-Naga section of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by approximately 45,000 people in the townships of Mindat, Kanpetlet, Paletwa and Matupi in the Southern Chin Hills of western Myanmar. The Daai Chin people live in a cluster of about 160 villages in the rather isolated interior of the Southern Chin Hills. This study is based on a dialect of Daai called ‘Yang’, spoken in Kanpetlet Township.

This thesis is the first comprehensive grammatical description of Daai Chin. All analysis is presented by ample language examples. The study is divided into thirteen chapters and addresses all major aspects of the language.

A short introduction into Daai phonology is included which mainly gives an account of segmental phonology. The discussion of morphology deals mainly with derivational morphology and compounding. At the phrase level, the order and function of constituents within the noun phrase is described. Complex noun phrases including nominalization and relativization are also discussed.

Extensive coverage is given to the study and description of the verb complex and the many various particles and markers that can follow the main verb. This includes the description of valence changing categories, the tense-aspect-modality system, applicatives, evidentiality, directionals and other markers. Special features of the Daai Chin language like verb stem alternation and the agreement system are also described in detail.

At the clause level, various clause types are described: grammatical relations are discussed and degrees of transitivity are shown. Sentence moods and non-declarative speech acts are described. This study of the Daai Chin language concludes with the treatment of complex sentence structures, addresses complementation, adverbial clauses and clause chaining.

The appendix contains a fully interlinearized folktale with a free translation.



Map 1: Myanmar and Surrounding South East Asian countries

Acknowledgements

First of all I want to thank Dr. Katy Barnwell, Dr. Susan Malone and Dr. Austin Hale for their decisive encouragement to embark on this voyage that led to a Daai Chin Grammar.

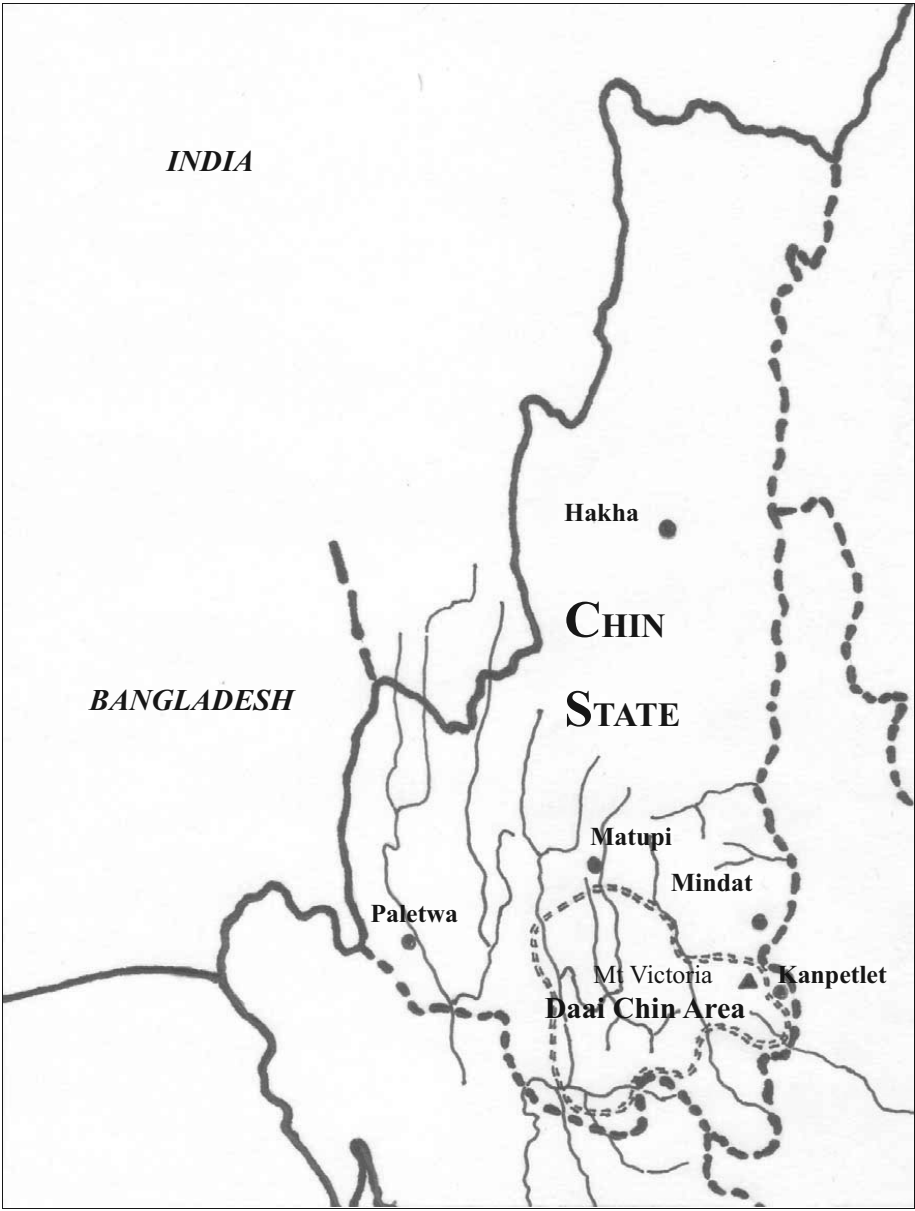
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Finally I would like to state that the Daai Chin Grammar would have never become a reality without the active involvement of the Daai Chin people. Most of the recordings for the text corpus on which this study is based have been carried out by my late husband Kheng Sho, his brother Ling Sho and by Nääng Küüi. I am extremely grateful to Nääng Küüi who has been my patient and enthusiastic research assistant over many years.

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Map 2: The Chin Hills of Myanmar

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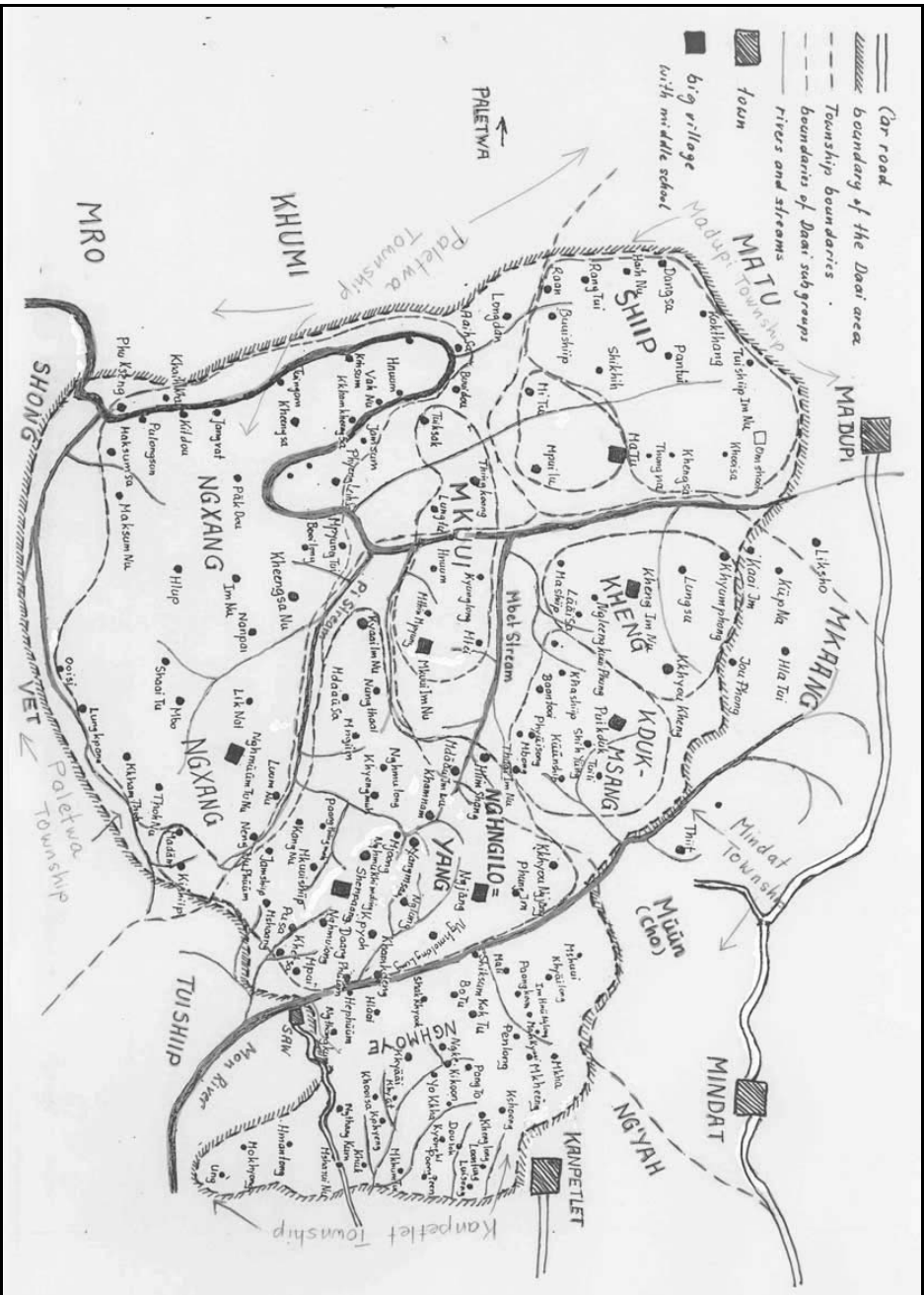
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List of Abbreviations

1S	1 st person singular	DEM	demonstrative	NOM	nominalization
1DU	1 st person dual	DET	determiner	NON.FUT	non-future
1PL	1 st person plural	DIR	directional	NUM	numeral
1P.M	1 st person marker	DU	dual	O.AGR	object agreement
2S	2 nd person singular	EMPH	emphasis	OBL	oblique
2DU	2 nd person dual	ERG	ergative	ONO	onomatopoeic
2PL	2 nd person singular	EVID	evidential	PASS	passive
3S	3 rd person singular	EXCL	exclusive	PERF	perfect
3DU	3 rd person dual	EXIG	exigent	PL	plural
3PL	3 rd person plural	FOC	focus	P.QUANT	polyquantifier
ABS	absolutive	FUT	future	POSS	possessive pronoun
ADJ	adjective	GEN	genitive	PPOS	postposition
ADV	adverb	GEND	gender	PRON	pronoun
APPL	applicative	HORT	hortative	QP	question particle
ASP	aspect	IMP	imperative	QW	question word
AO	agent orientating	INCL	inclusive	QUANTF	quantifier
AUX	auxiliary	INSTR	instrumental	REFL	reflexive
BEN	benefactive	INTENSF	intensifier	REL-CL	relative clause
CAUS	causative	JUS	jussive	REC	reciprocal
CLASSF	classifier	LOC	locative	S.AGR	subject agreement
CF	constituent final	MAL	malefactive	SG	singular
COM	comitative	MIR	mirative	SR	switch reference
CONC	concessive	MOD	modal	SUBJ	subjunctive
CONJ	conjunction	MODF	modifier	SUBO	subordinator
COP	copula	NEG	negative	TAG	tag
DAT	dative	NF	non-final	VOC	vocative



Map 3: Daai Chin Area

1 Introduction

1.1 The language

1.1.1 Name of the language

The Daai Chin people started to call themselves ‘Daai’ about 30 years ago. Before that most Daai subgroups referred to themselves either by the name of their clan or as **Kkhyou:**, which is the Daai version of **Zo**, **Cho** or **Sho** and just means ‘Chin’. It is said that the name **Daai** is derived from a kind of bamboo that grows especially abundantly in the region where the Daai people live.

However, there is an interesting story behind the name **Daai**. During the time when Burma was a British colony, a village called *Daai Sum*, located near the northern knee of the Lemyo river, which is called *Phung* stream by the Daai people, was destroyed by enemies. A small boy named *Daai Tui: Ngthang Si:ng*, belonging to the clan of the *Daai Tui:*, escaped and managed to run away into Burmese territory. A Burmese family brought him up and he learned Burmese and also English. When the British wanted to take control of the Lemyo area they became aware of *Daai Tui: Ngthang Si:ng* and sent him back into his home area. They equipped him with weapons and a horse (or a mule) and paid him a salary. He appointed a man from the *Mpui Lu* village and one from the *Kheng Sa:* village as his assistants. He went from village to village, gave feasts and was well received. His responsibilities were to stop blood feuds and slavery and to act as judge in quarrels. His rule extended in the east as far as to the Mon stream; in the north up to the villages *Tui: Shiip* and *Om Shooi* and to the territory of the Mkaang people. The western boundary was the Phung (Lemyo) river. According to this tradition, all the people who were once ruled by *Daai Tui: Ngthang Si:ng* called themselves **Daai**. It is also said that the people who live on the east side of the Mon river and are referred to as **Nghmo Ye** ‘other side of the Mon river’ have already been calling the other Daai living on the western side **Daai Ktu** for several generations.

The Burmese used to call the Daai **Yindu** and this is the name that was previously found in older literature (Grierson 1904, Burma Socialist Programme Party 1968). *Yindu* is a Burmese name, *yin* meaning ‘breast’ and *du* meaning ‘knee’. The Daai people explain that

they were called *Yindu* because some of their women, especially in the Nghngilo or Yang area, were wrapped in blankets that covered them from their breasts to their knees.

In the past the Daai were sometimes also called *Chinme*. This is also a Burmese exonym, meaning ‘black Chin’. The faces of the Daai women used to be more heavily tattooed than those of neighbouring Chin groups like the Ngmüün (also referred to as Ng’Men), and so the faces of the Daai women appeared to be black

In older literature the Daai and other Southern Chin groups are referred to as *Chinbok*. This is a Burmese derogatory term and means ‘stinking Chin’ and is now only used for cursing. In Grierson’s classification of Chin languages we find all three expressions: Chinme, Chinbok and Yindu.

1.1.2 Linguistic classifications of Chin

Linguists have classified the Tibeto-Burman language family variously, at higher levels as well as at lower levels. Shafer (1974) divides Tibeto-Burman into four main groups: Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. According to his classification the Kukish Section is included in the Burmic Division. Benedict (1972: 5) lists ‘seven primary divisions or nuclei of Tibeto-Burman’. These are: Tibetan-Kanauri (Bodish-Himalayish), Bahing-Vayu (Kiranti), Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish), Kachin (Luish), Burmese-Lolo (Burmish), Bodo-Garo (Barish) and Kuki-Naga (Kukish). According to his classification Chin languages fall into the last subgroup.

The classification that Matisoff has developed for the STEDT project differs from Benedict’s classification in several respects (see Matisoff 2003: 5-6). Relevant for the classification of Chin is the fact that Matisoff has ‘provisionally’ lumped together Benedict’s Kuki-Naga group with Bodo-Garo (Barish) and Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish) into one supergroup which he named *Kamarupan*. Matisoff points out that *Kamarupan* is a purely geographical name, from the old Sanskrit name for Assam. Matisoff’s invention of *Kamarupan* as a subgroup of Sino-Tibetan has led to controversies with other Sino-Tibetanists, especially with Robbins Burling (1999).

Figure 1.1 below is adapted from Benedict (1972).

Figure 1.1: Schematic Chart of Sino-Tibetan Languages (Benedict 1972)

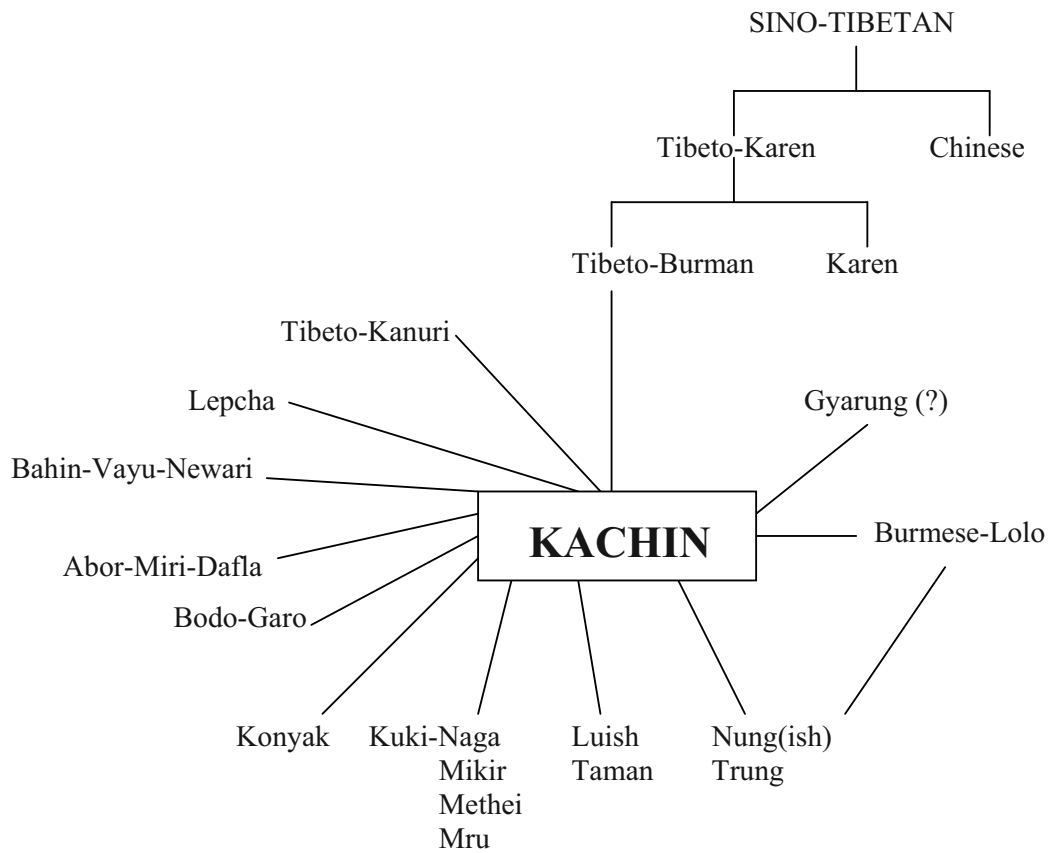
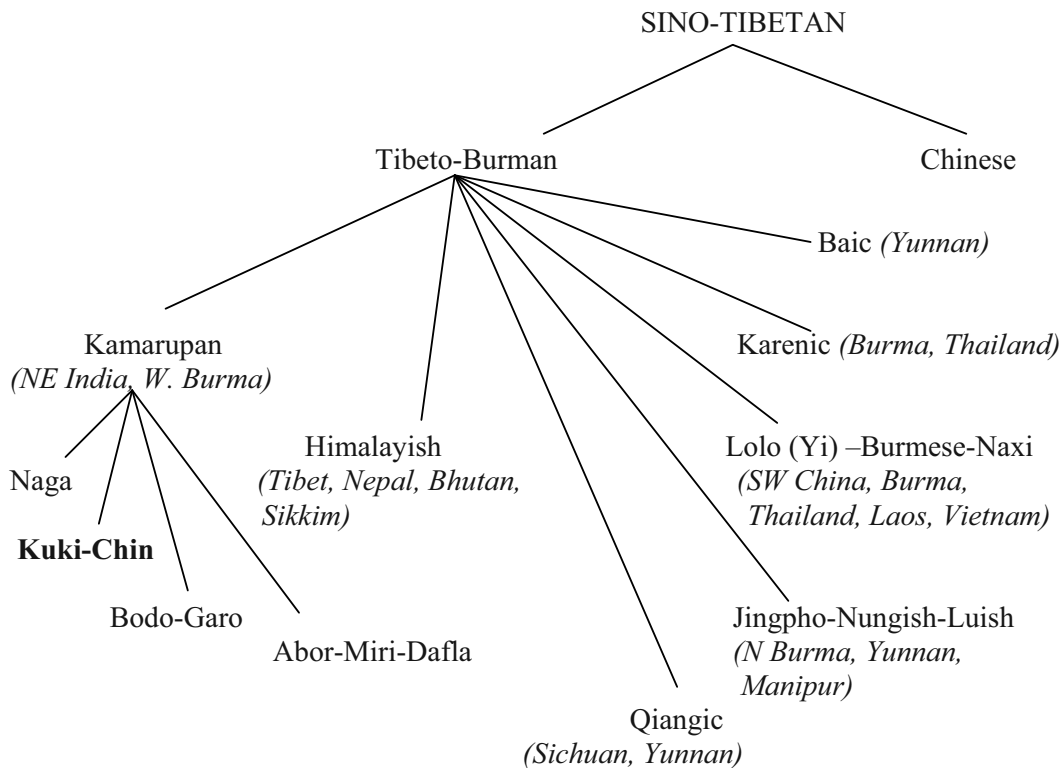


Figure 1.2 below is adapted from Matisoff (2003).

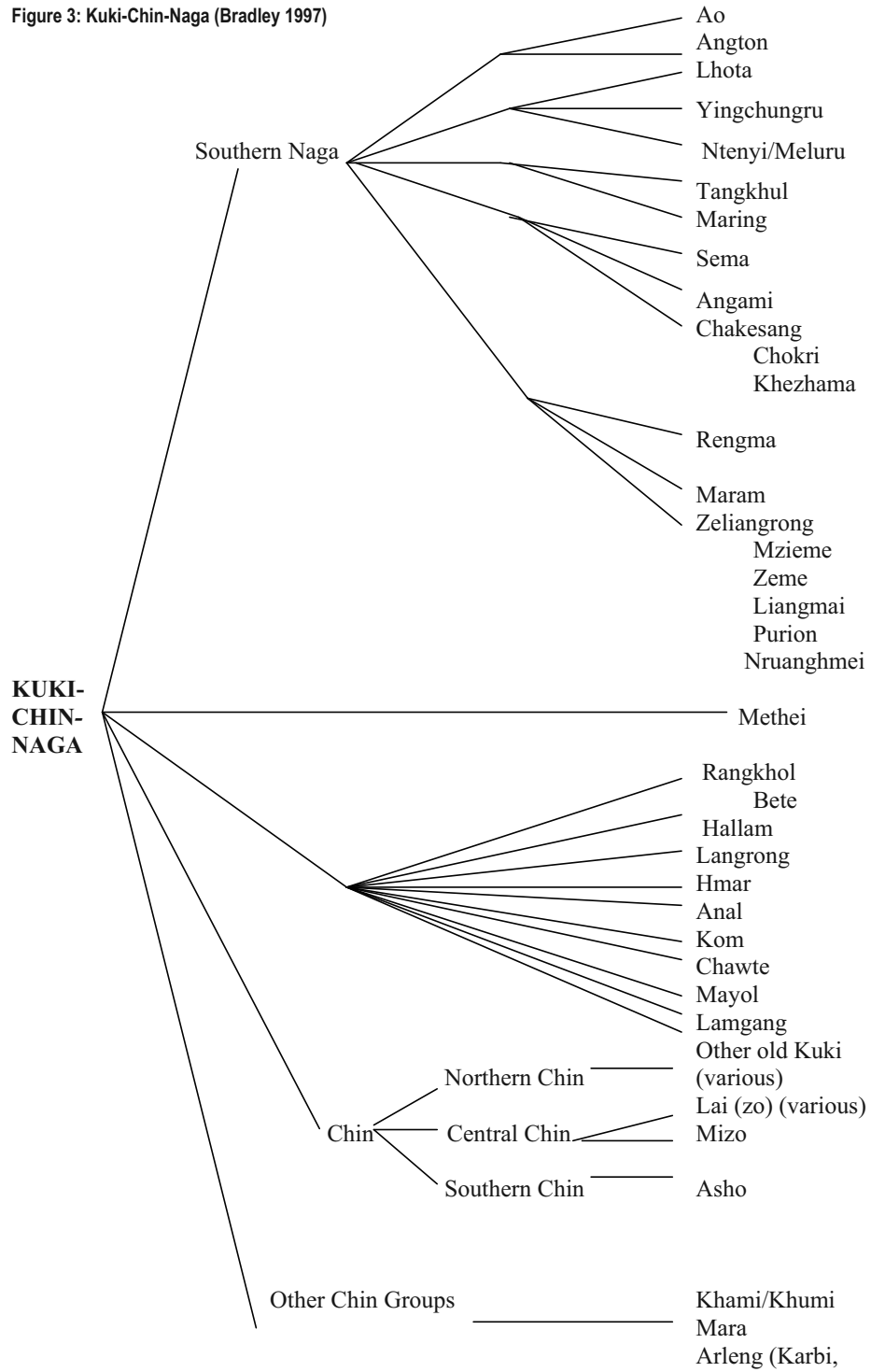
Figure 1.2: Matisoff's Provisional STEDT Family Tree

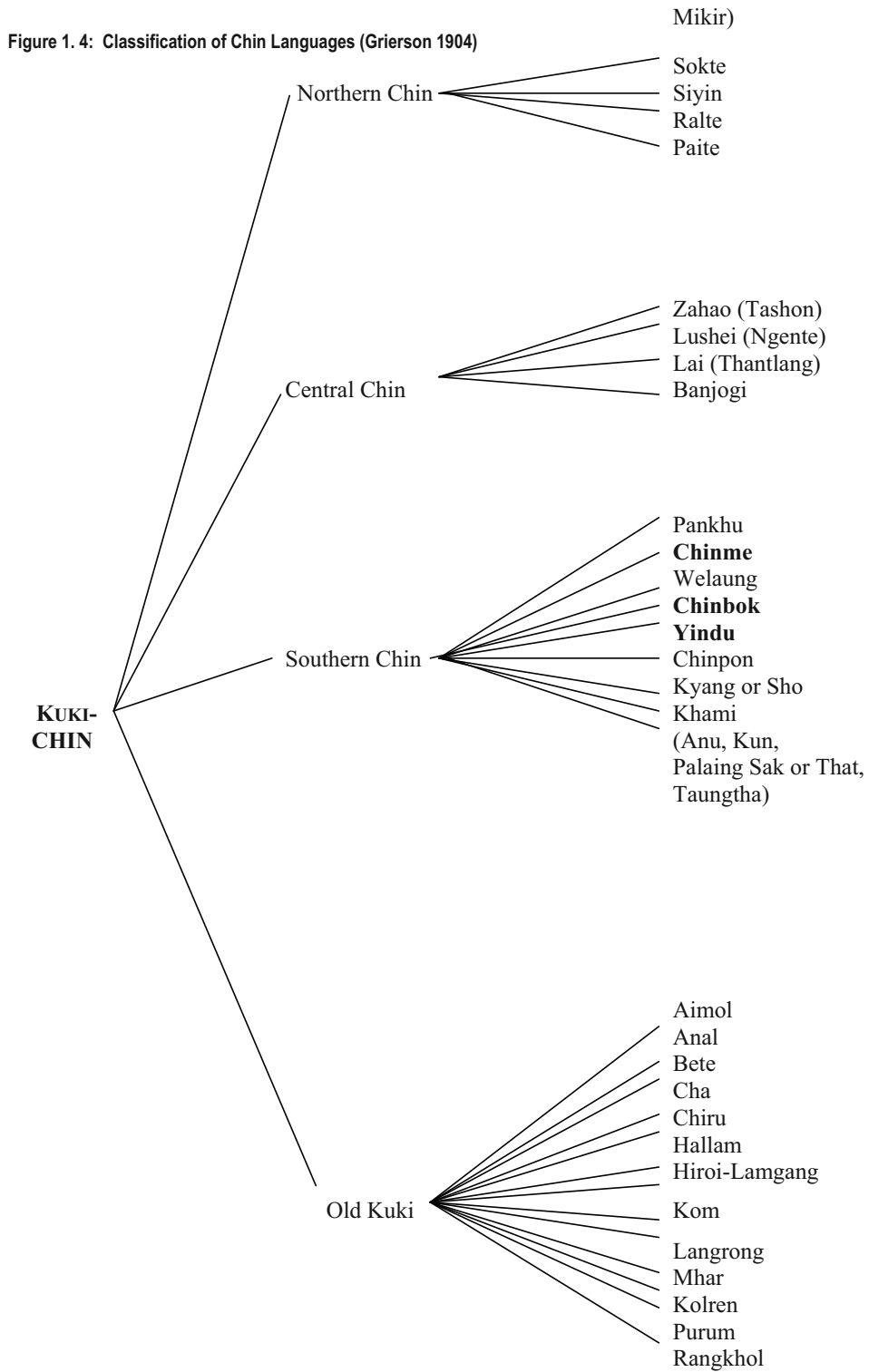


Bradley (1997) gives an overall summary as follows: North-eastern India, Western, South-eastern and North-eastern. He classifies ‘Kuki-Chin-Naga’ as part of the ‘North-eastern India’ group and divides Chin into Northern Chin, Central Chin and Southern Chin and Other Chin Groups. According to Bradley’s classification **Northern Chin** comprises: Thado, Chiru, Gangte, Pawi, Simte, Siyin, Paite, Vuite, Sokte, Kamhau and some others. Under **Central Chin** he lists: Mizo (Lushai), Bawm, Paangkhuah, Zahao (Laizo), Tashon, Ngawn, Zanniat, Zophei, Lawtu, Lailen, Sentshang, Tawr ‘and many other groups’. Under **Southern Chin** he lists: Zolamnai, Welaung, Matu (Ngala), M’kang, Ng’men, Nitu (Daai), Ngizung, Utpu (Chinpon), Chinbok (Sagaingbaung) and Asho. Under **Other Chin Groups** he lists: Khami/Khumi and Mara (Lakher).

Figure 3 shows Bradley’s Kuki-Chin-Naga classification. Figure 4 illustrates Grierson’s (1904) classification of Chin languages.

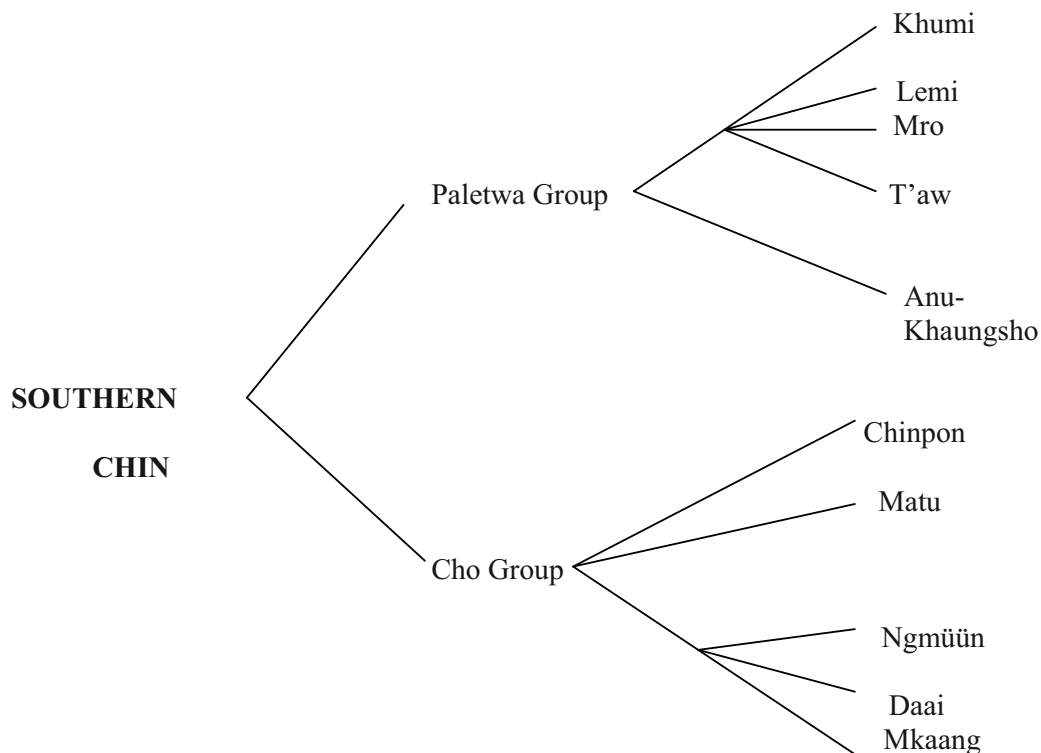
Figure 3: Kuki-Chin-Naga (Bradley 1997)





My own classification of Southern Chin (1988) into two main groups I still regard as valid. However, further research, collections of wordlists and personal communication with many guests from the Paletwa area, have produced a more detailed picture of the branch I formerly called ‘Khumi’. My old classification shows Khumi and Wakung as subgroups of Khumi. This proposition is not sustainable. Comparisons of wordlists have shown that Khumi, Lemi and Mro are in a triangular relationship with ca. 65% lexical similarity. Wakung is not the name of a separate language but the name of a major subgroup of Mro. The Mro have decided to call themselves *Mro-Khimi*. Similarly in the Cho group it became evident that *Nghmoye* is not a separate language but a subgroup of Daai. Therefore I propose here a modified classification for Southern Chin. The subgrouping of the ‘Paletwa Group’ is rather tentative and needs further survey and evaluation of already collected data.

Figure 1.5: Classification of Southern Chin (So-Hartmann 2005)



The cognate counts (see Hartmann 1988) show that Ngmüün and Mkaang are the languages most closely related to Daai. Both, Ngmüün and Daai, consist of several dialectal subgroups or

speech varieties. In border areas Ngmüün and Daai people can communicate with one another easily.

1.1.3 Subgroups and speech varieties

According to dialectal differences the Daai Chin people can be categorized roughly into seven subgroups. Map 3 shows the location of these subgroups.

Nghmoye

The *Nghmoye* live in 42 small villages on the eastern side of the Mon river. Their population is about 8000.

Nghnilo

Nghnilo is the name by which neighbouring subgroups call the people in the centre of the Daai Chin area. This group comprises several subgroups who call themselves by the name of their clans. They live in 30 villages and have a population of about 10 000. My analysis of Daai Chin is based on a subgroup of the *Nghnilo* people who call themselves *Yang*.

Mkuui

Although the *Mkuui* people have a population of only about 3000, they are a rather influential group. They live in about ten villages around the big and prestigious village *Mkuui Im Nu*.

Ngxang

The *Ngxang* have live in 45 smaller villages in the Paletwa township and have a population of about 7-8000. They are spread out over a larger area than most of the other subgroups.

Kduk-Msang

The *Kduk* and *Msang* speak slightly different dialects. They live in about ten larger villages in the northeast of *Mkuui Im Nu* and have a population of about 6-7000 people. Their dialect is regarded as rather prestigious and some of their vocabulary is slightly different from that used by the *Yang* and *Nghmyo* because they are strongly influenced by the Ngmüün Chin, who are their neighbours.

Kheng

This subgroup lives in seven villages towards the northwest of the *Kduk-Msang* group. Their population is about 4000. The language is only slightly different from the *Kduk* and *Msang*.

Matupi Daai

This is the subgroup least known to the author. There seem to exist at least two main subgroups, one of them called *Shiip*, and the other *Ma:-Tu Daai*. Though the *Shiip* people call themselves Daai, their language is not readily understandable for the rest of the Daai Chin people. They live in 18 villages in the northwestern corner of the Daai Chin area and their population is about 7000.

1.2 The people

1.2.1 Geography and demography

The Chin State lies in western Myanmar, between 21.45 and 24 degrees Northern latitude and between 92 and 94.5 degrees Eastern longitude. The Chin Hills are mountain ranges that are generally north south orientated. Their altitude varies from 1500 m to 3000 m. The highest mountain peak, Mount Victoria is 3109 m above sea level and is situated in the Daai Chin area. Like in the rest of Myanmar there are three seasons: the hot season, the rainy season and the cold season. However because of the high altitude the climate is rough and much colder than in the plains.

The Daai Chin people live in the interior of the Southern Chin Hills in about 160 villages spread out over the four townships Mindat, Kanpetlet, Paletwa and Matupi. The

Southern part of the Daai territory is about 90 miles across from west to east. It narrows to about 40 miles across, west to east, in the northern part. The distance from northern to southern border is about 70 miles.

The Daai population is estimated to be about 45 000. Though the Daai live in all four townships of the Southern Chin Hills, all of these towns lie outside the Daai area. From Kanpetlet the distance to the nearest Daai village is 18 miles, from Mindat 40 miles, from Matupi 30 miles and from Paletwa 60 miles.

Lehman (1963: 86) remarks:

“Dai designates various peoples displaced and looked down upon by the Ng'men...The category Dai is very heterogeneous, culturally and linguistically”

Forty years later, close contact with the Daai people has shown that they are neither displaced nor can they be regarded as culturally and linguistically heterogeneous. But the Daai are still looked down upon by their neighbours as a backward and under-developed people. They live in an isolated and remote part of the Southern Chin Hills that even today is only accessible by foot, and by walking many miles through the jungle, up and down steep mountains. Isolation and inaccessibility have created severe and permanent disadvantages for the Daai Chin people. Just to name a few of many problems: it is difficult for young people to get higher education, medical services are nearly non-existent, there is no incentive for the people to plant cash crops, as access to an appropriate market is too tiresome and expensive. Many villages still have little contact with the outside world: there are still villages in which even today not one single radio can be found. The closest distance between villages is about 2-3 miles. Travelling between villages and from villages to town has to be done by foot, on jungle paths or a dirt road at best. In the rainy season any travel is extremely difficult.

Traditionally, the villages used to be built on hills or elevated plateaus so that approaching enemies could easily be spotted. It was also assumed that the distance from the valley and streams would protect from malaria and other diseases. In the last 10-15 years the Daai's attitude to hygienic issues has undergone some change and village sites that are closer to water resources are preferred.

1.2.2 *Material culture*

The Daai people are predominantly mountain rice farmers. Swidden cultivation is still practised in most areas of the Daai territory. They also plant maize, millet, various kinds of beans, sugar cane, sesame, squash, pumpkin, chilly and cotton. In the past little trade was necessary and the Daai people used to be nearly self-sufficient. They raise cattle, pigs, goats, dogs and chickens and go trapping, hunting and fishing. Until the 1980s, villagers hardly wore Burmese clothes. Men, especially the older ones, mostly wore the traditional 'loincloth'. Today old men still prefer to wear the loincloth at home and while working. Most women are still skilled in weaving and locally woven materials supplement Burmese clothing. The men are skilled in bamboo and rattan weaving and produce most items needed in a household, like mats, low stools, different kinds of baskets, storage containers for paddy and blankets and the walls of their own houses. They also produce earthen pots and vessels and wooden plates. In the past ornaments were traded from India, cowries from Arakanese state. Gunpowder, metal cooking pots and other metal instruments came from other parts of Burma. Nowadays many more 'luxury items' find their way into the Daai villages.

1.2.3 *Cosmology*

Though Catholic missionaries worked among the neighbouring Ngmüün people (Cho), foreign missionaries never penetrated the Daai Chin area. The first Christian missionaries came from the Northern Chin Hills around 1970. They mainly came from the Zomi Baptist Convention and from the Lushai Methodist Church. In 1980 and the following years a mass movement towards Christianity started and today about 98% of the Daai Chin people are Christian. There are a few remaining villages with an animist majority. Buddhism has little impact upon the Daai who remain in their own area.

Before the Daai became Christian they were animist. They believed in a father-mother god *Pa: mhnām nu: kkhyü*, whom they regard as their creator and to a certain degree as their protector. But their mythology does not include any tradition about the 'creation' of the human beings and the animals. The mythology only describes how the earth came into existence and was prepared for habitation by the humans, and how the people were sent down by the creator god to live on the earth. The daily life of the people was not really influenced by their belief in a creator god. They did not fear him, they did not actually worship him nor offer him any

sacrifices, though there was a certain awareness that the creator god could help in times of trouble. Until very recently the life of the Daai people was controlled by their relationship with and fear of the spirits. The spirits, called *khoyai*, were believed to own the land, the mountains, the fields and streams – everything the Daai Chin people need to use in order to live. No one can really tell how the spirits came to own everything that was prepared by the creator god for the use of the human beings. Most of the spirits were not regarded as actually bad or malicious. But because of a rather rigorous system of taboos the Daai people could never be sure not to have inadvertently offended some spirits and provoked their wrath which resulted in sickness of family members and livestock, accidents and failing crops.

The cycle of the agricultural year was tightly interwoven with a ceremonial cycle and its spirit feasts and sacrifices. The ultimate destiny was to go to *mopi*, the shadow land or land of the dead. *Mopi* was not visualized as a very happy place: wild animals are supposed to be there, the seasons are mixed up, people work on their fields and go hunting, but life is supposed to be like moving in a dream. It is not very easy for the spirit of a dead person to get to *mopi*; certain hindrances have to be overcome and the family of the dead person has to bring sacrifices to smooth the journey of his spirit to *mopi*. One of the few attractions of *mopi* is that people expect to be reunited there with their ancestors and family members.

1.3 Previous and ongoing research on Chin languages

1.3.1 Previous works

Various missionaries produced early grammatical descriptions and dictionaries for Chin languages. Lorrain, James Herbert (1940) compiled a “Dictionary of the Lushai Language”. Lorrain, Reginald Arthur (1951) wrote a “Grammar and Dictionary of the Lakher or Mara Language”. Shafer’s (1944) “Kхими Grammar and Vocabulary”, seems to be based only on the translation of St. Matthew into Khumi by E.W. Francis and is rather sketchy. He mentions in his Bibliography as previous sources on Khami grammatical sketches done by Latter, Rev. Stilson and Rev. Lyman (1846). Theodore Stern (1954) wrote “A Provisional Sketch of Sizang (Siyin) Chin”. Eugénie Henderson (1965a) wrote “Tiddim Chin: a descriptive analysis of two texts” and gives a very interesting and clear account of the phonology and grammar of Tiddim Chin. Jordan (1969) wrote a “Grammar of the Chin Language” as an appendix to his

dictionary. He describes Cho, (also called Ngmüün or Ng'Men). This is the language most closely related to Daai Chin. Jordan's grammar is traditional and in a classical Latin style and though he sometimes attempts comparisons with English, his work shows a deep insight and thorough knowledge of the language.

1.3.2 Ongoing research in Chin languages

Kris Lehman has and is still working on Lai (Hakha) Chin and is engaged in a long term project on the syntax of Lai. Some of his research papers are published in 'Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area'. Lorenz Löffler has been working for many years on Bawm, a Chin language spoken in Bangladesh and is still producing research papers on Chin languages. George Bedell has also been working on Lai and more recently on Cho and Mara and has written several research papers which were presented at conferences and most of them are to appear in the 'Proceedings of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society'. Also Stephen Nolan has done some research on Cho and presented conference papers.

Lai seems to be the Chin language on which most research work has been done in recent years. A lot of papers have been forthcoming from the graduate students class of the University of California, Berkeley. The Volumes 20.2 and 21.1, Fall 1997 and Spring 1998, of the 'Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area', issues dedicated to Paul K. Benedict, have been entirely (with one exception of a paper on Tiddim Chin) devoted to papers on Lai. David A. Peterson has done recent field research on Hyow and Bangladesh Khumi, two Chin languages that are spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of southeastern Bangladesh.

Justin Watkins is working with a Yangon based Khumi Literacy Committee on the compilation of a Khumi-Burmese-English dictionary.

Lalnunthangi Chhangte has been working on Mizo and wrote 'A preliminary grammar of the Mizo language' (1986) for her MA thesis and 'Mizo Syntax' (1993) for her Ph.D. thesis, which is to my knowledge the latest grammar done in any Chin language.

Khoi Lam Thang (2001) wrote 'A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto Chin' as his MA thesis for the PYU in Chiangmai, Thailand. Kee Shein Mang (2006) wrote a 'Syntactic and Pragmatic Description of the Verb Stem Alternation in K'Cho' as his MA thesis for the PYU in Chiangmai. Kenneth VanBik (2006) wrote 'Proto-Kuki-Chin' as his Ph.D. thesis for the University of California, Berkeley. Jonathan Wright is working on a Grammar Sketch of Anu-Khaungsho for his MA dissertation.

1.4 The sociolinguistic situation

1.4.1 Multilingualism and language attitude

About 60% of the Daai Chin population cannot speak Burmese though they may understand a few words. Less than 5% are fluent in any other Chin language. Generally it can be observed that the Daai people are proud of their own language and older people see very little need to learn other languages. The missionaries who came into the Daai area from the Northern Chin Hills in the late seventies and early eighties tried to undermine the confidence of their early converts in their own language. They claimed that it was essential for Christians to learn Lushai or Hakha because their own language (Daai) was regarded as too ‘uncivilized’ or too ‘primitive’ to be reduced to an orthographic system and to express Christian concepts. Therefore with the arrival of Christianity young people started to learn Lushai, Hakha or Falam. However, this movement did not last very long.

1.4.2 Viability

Daai children who grow up within the village community learn Daai as their first language and stay mostly monolingual till they start school around the age of six or seven. In the schools all subjects are taught in Burmese but as soon as the children arrive home, they switch back to Daai. Therefore on the surface it seems that Daai is a language not endangered at all. If young people stay within their village community they are not under any pressure to speak Burmese, unless they become teachers or government officials. However, since more and more young people are traveling in and out of the Daai Chin area they have started to borrow more vocabulary and expressions from Burmese and are losing the richness of expression and vocabulary of their own language. Although for Daai there is no imminent danger of language extinction, there is a real danger that within the next two generations the language will have become severely impoverished as it is now the case with other Southern Chin languages, for example Mro and Khumi.

1.5 The research for this study

The research upon which this study is based has been carried out over a period of many years, starting from 1976. This grammatical description is based on a text corpus of written texts of various lengths and natures. Most of these texts are transcribed from tape recordings of oral narration. The tape recordings were done by my Daai co-workers (see acknowledgements) in various villages of the Daai Chin area and were transcribed in my home in Yangon. The texts are of various genres – narratives, hortatory and descriptive texts – and include also some spontaneous conversations between two speakers. The recorded texts have been supplemented with some recent writings by Nääng Küüi about the agricultural and ceremonial cycle, descriptions of the most important feasts and a collection of genealogies. Targeted elicitations have been used to fill in the gaps in the text corpus.

Due to travel restrictions for foreigners in Myanmar, the author was never able to live in a Daai-speaking village community. However, the author's home in Yangon was for many years also home to Daai family members and visitors from different parts of the Daai territory and often Daai was the language spoken around the table.

1.6 Summary statements about Daai

1.6.1 *General typological information*

Daai is an isolating language. It has a few prefixes that are productive in various derivations and it has even fewer suffixes. Inflectional information is marked by phrasal clitics. Most constituents of the noun phrase, like modifiers, classifiers, gender-marking and demonstratives are realized by phonologically free forms that can be called 'particles'. The same is also happening in the verb phrase, where categories like aspect, modality, directionals and evidentials are also realized by particles.

The preferred order of clausal constituents is SOV. However we find OSV order in clauses with special focus. The question word of content-questions is always located at the beginning of the clause. In polar questions the question particle is always found at the end of the clause.

The general word order within the nominal phrase shows the head noun followed by adjective, gender, classifier, number or quantifier, demonstrative and case-marker. The adjective may be modified by an intensifier; number may be substituted by a classifier plus a numeral. The head noun may be preceded by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, a relative clause and a possessive construction.

1.6.2 Special features

The language is ergative-absolutive. The single argument (or subject) of an intransitive clause and the patient (or object) of a transitive clause are marked in the same way – by zero. The agent (or subject) of a transitive clause is marked by the ergative.

Like most Chin languages Daai exhibits verb stem alternation. For 20% of all verbs two alternating stems are employed. Some clause types require the selection of stem A and others the selection of stem B. But these general patterns of selection can be alternated by certain conditions like the employment of causatives and applicatives, focus shift and others.

Another fascinating feature of the language is its intricate agreement system. Daai has obligatory subject and object agreement. In clauses with three arguments the object agreement refers to recipient or indirect object.

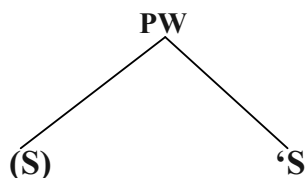
Daai is a nominalizing and embedding language. Nominalizations by zero-derivation are especially frequent.

Most verbs are part of a verb complex. The main verb can be preceded by directionals and followed by aspects, applicatives, causatives, directionals, modals and various other markers. For intransitive clauses the final boundary of the verb complex are tense and number markers. Transitive clauses are usually not marked for tense and have a different set of number markers. The verb complex can be followed by clause final particles like emphasis, particles marking illocutionary force and mood.

2 Phonology

2.1 The phonological word

The Phonological Word (PW) is the domain of metrical patterning in Daai. It may be represented as follows:



That is, the PW is always constituted of a stressed syllable ‘S, which may optionally be preceded by an unstressed syllabic constituent (S). I will refer to the proposed unstressed element as a PRESYLLABLE and the stressed one as the MAIN SYLLABLE.

2.1.1 Presyllables

While Daai phonological words are heavily *monosyllabic*, there is, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, a clear body of *disyllabic* forms as well. That is, any treatment of Daai synchronic phonology must account for examples of the following type: m.na ‘water buffalo’, ŋ.baan ‘branch’, ?.thum ‘three’, ə.pam ‘top’.

These two-syllabic phonological words involve a weakly stressed syllable (WS) closely-knit with a following strongly stressed dominant or main syllable (SS). Thus above, weakly stressed syllabic nasals m-, ŋ-, glottal ?-, vocalic ə- constitute such WS elements that initiate metrically iambic contours. I have termed these WS constituents “presyllables” since the term is well-known in other (especially Mon-Khmer) languages of the area.

It may be noted that the unitary nature of the disyllabic phonological word is also reflected in the fact that no other phonological material may be inserted between the Presyllable¹ and the Mainsyllable, that is, the sequence constitutes a cohesive stress contour.

The literature on Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages is much preoccupied with word studies (and speculations) concerning certain preposed segmental elements and what their grammatical function is or was historically (see Benedict, 1972).

The focus of this section, however, is not on grammatical functions, but on the phonological nature of these presyllables in Daai. As Benedict notes, these preposed elements as a class reflect a general characteristic of phonological reduction, that is:

- 1.) “reduced stress” (1972:97); “unstressed units” (1972:103)
- 2.) “neutral schwa type vocalization” (1972:97)
- 3.) “subject to replacement or loss” (1972:103)

Typologically, Daai presyllables behave in principle very much like presyllables of Mon-Khmer languages, which have phonological words that have been labeled as (Matisoff 1973) “sesquisyllabic” (syllable and a half), having a weak syllable followed by a strong syllable. This weak and strong pattern is known in metrical term as an IAMBIC stress contour. Kenneth Gregerson (personal communication) summarises a number of parameters of Mon-Khmer Iambic patterning in terms of Reduction Effects.²

1 Other labels such as ‘pretonic/atonic’ (vs. tonic), subordinate (vs. main), non-dominant (vs. dominant), Syllable₁ (vs. Syllable₂), Weak Syllable (vs. Strong Syllable), Minor Syllable (vs. Major) could equally be used as terminological equivalents.

2 Kenneth Gregerson: Iambic sesquisyllabic words reflect the following... manifestation of reduction:

<u>MK WORD</u>	<u>REDUCED SYLLABLE (S1)</u>	+	<u>FULL SYLLABLE (S2)</u>
1. Occurrence reduction	Optional/zero		Obligatory full syllable
2. Metric Reduction	Weak stress		Strong stress
3. Vocalic Reduction	Reduced vowel inventory often schwa or syllabic consonant Assimilative		Full inventory of vowels Independent Fuller sequences/diphthongs
4. Consonant Reduction:	Reduced sequences/non-diphthongs C's limited to initial position and less often/zero finally Limited inventory of C's Limited/zero clusters		C's occur more freely initially and finally Fuller inventory of C's Fuller clustering for C's
5. Prosodic Reduction:	Dependent on Full syllable, e.g. tonal 'register' assimilation		Independent tones
6. Autonomy Reduction:	Potential assimilation to Full Syllable Potential conflation with the Full S		Independent phonation settings Never conflates to a Reduced position
	Benedict's 'canonical collapse on the left'		

Similarly, presyllables in Daai constitute a radically reduced case as regards consonants and vocalics, as listed below:

- Initial consonant inventory is very reduced: m-, n-, ŋ- and ʔ-
- The syllabicity of the presyllable is likewise reduced:
- m-, n-, ŋ-, which occur only as syllabic nasals (N-)
- ʔ- occurs as the only stop segment
- The vowel inventory is reduced to ə-

Other Tibeto-Burman languages also possess this WEAK STRESS and STRONG STRESS contour pattern in words. For example, in a discussion of three dialects of Pwo Karen (Katō 1995) distinguishes “atonic” syllables from other (tonic) syllables, in which the atonic vowel is a reduced one and always restricted to a shwa-like centralized vowel [ɨ] as in the forms *pʌlouʔ* ‘shirt’, *kʌsheiʔ* ‘a little’ *thʌjaʔ* ‘to estimate’.

Terminology aside, the issue for Daai is to account phonologically for closely-knit syllable sequences of a type I have called here PRESYLLABLE and MAIN SYLLABLE forms.

2.1.1.1 Presyllable forms

Presyllable + Main Syllable

Nasal

Glottal

Vowel

Below are examples of different presyllabic forms.

(1)	<u>Nasal Forms</u>	<u>Glottal Forms</u>	<u>Vowel Forms</u>
	m.na ‘water buffalo’	ʔ.be ‘dish’	ə.bəŋ ‘all’
	m.thin ‘liver’	ʔ.p ^h γú ‘mouse’	ə.pám ‘top’
	m.som ‘create’	ʔ.t ^h um ‘three’	ə.lóm ‘a little’
	ŋ.ba:n ‘branch’	ʔ.u ‘frog’	ə.p ^h u ‘price’
	ŋ.vat ‘to lend’		
	ŋ.xuu ‘to rest’		

A comparison with some Lemi and Mro cognates is of interest. It shows that in Southern Chin languages the reduction of the presyllable takes different degrees, with Daai being the most reduced in having syllabic consonants and Mro and Lemi having a bit more syllabicity in the form of a reduced schwa vowel.

(2)	Daai	Mro	Lemi	Gloss
	m.jɔn	mə.ju	bə.jɔ	‘suck’
	m.lɔʔ	mə.lœ	bə.la	‘vomit’
	m.s ^h ɔp	mə.s ^h u	mə.s ^h u	‘laundry’

The presyllable ?- is the only non-nasal consonant initial in presyllables. This presyllable can precede main syllables with all consonant phonemes and vowel phonemes in the onset. If it precedes a main syllable with a vowel in the onset it occurs as a double or co-articulated stop, something like [kʔ].

2.1.2 The main syllable

The syllable canon for the main syllable is given in Figure 2.1

Figure 2.1 : Daai Syllable Canon

[(C₁) (C₂) V (:) (C₃) (C₄)] T

The minimal main syllable type is a single vowel. C₁ is an optional onset; all consonants shown in Table 2.3 can occur in this position. The second optional consonant C₂ is a glide and only two consonant phonemes can occur in this position. V is the obligatory nucleus of the Daai syllable, (:) is optional vowel length. C₃ is an optional coda and restricted to voiced nasals, voiceless stops and semivowels. C₄ is a final glottal stop..

The final glottal stop occurs as a single final segment, that can be interpreted straightforwardly as a final consonant as for example in m.lɔʔ ‘vomit’. However, final glottal stops can also pose an “inconvenient” case of producing complex consonant final segments as in the following examples:

(3)	ʔsajʔ/	‘to clean’	/hjawʔ/	‘stop working’
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These cases suggest a final –CC that constitutes a statistically infrequent pattern that contrasts with most closed syllables with a final –C.

However, the final glottal stop could also be analyzed as an autosegment, occurring on the tone tier and not just as another kind of consonant. Laryngeals/glottals are well known in Asian languages, as in some instances, having an association with tone, either occurring with certain tones or being a feature of a tone (see Burling 1992 and Duanmu, 1994 on Garo). Therefore it is necessary to consider whether in Daai the final glottal stop is in fact a tone-related autosegment. One solution to the unusual final –CC (-j?, -w?) would be to remove the final glottal stop from the consonant tier and represent it at the tonal tier. An advantage of such an analysis would be a universal –C syllable structure.

However, as attractive as a tonal interpretation of the final glottal stop would appear to be, it removes irregularity from the consonantal tier, but it faces its own complications as a tonal effect, namely it violates the following principles: in Daai Tone can only occur in open syllables, closed syllables with short or long vowels and a nasal coda or in syllables with long vowels and a stop coda. However, in Daai final glottal stops occur following short vocalics – V-. Like other CVC syllables with a stop as coda, these syllables do not take either high or low tone (see 2.3 on tone)

In addition to these arguments, recordings with the Speech Analyzer program have shown that phonetically the glottal triggers only a slight non-contrastive and predictable (and therefore not phonemic) raising in tone. Thurgood (1976:6, footnote 1) argues about this issue in Burmese and came to the conclusion “The treatment of final glottal stop as a fourth tone has been rejected for several reasons. In the Southeast Asian tonal systems I have examined, checked syllables are different synchronically and diachronically from non-checked syllables. Burmese is no exception: the phonetic pitch occurring with the glottal stop is phonetically distinct from the other pitch patterns and the set of phonetic vowels found with glottal stops is also distinct. Historically, the three open tones correspond roughly to the three open tones in PLB (Proto-Lolo-Burmese), and the glottal finals correspond to the non-tonal stopped finals.” For these reasons the decision to analyze Daai final glottals as consonants rather than as tones both makes sense in its own right, but is also shared with the analysis of other Tibeto-Burman languages.

T is tone

Not all C₁'s can be followed by C₂'s. Alveolar plosives and fricatives, velar fricatives and laterals do not occur in initial clusters. The selection of the glide depends partly on the preceding consonant and partly on the following vowel. Bilabial stops and nasals are followed by palatal approximates if the glide is followed by a front vowel. However, with central and back vowels, the glide following the bilabial stops is a voiced velar fricative. For the other initial consonants that can occur with a glide, the choice of either the palatal approximate or the voiced velar fricative is not influenced by the following consonant. The distribution of C₁ and C₂ is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Distribution of Initial and Medial Consonants

C ₁	C ₂
/p/ /ph/ /b/	/j/ /ɣ/
/m̥/ /m/	/ɣ/
/k/ /kh/	/ɣ/
/ŋ/ /ŋ/	/ɣ/
/h/	/j/
/w/	/j/ /ɣ/

Below is a schematic rule for the selection of C₂.

$y \rightarrow j / C _ V$

[obst] [front]
[labial]

2.1.2.2 Main syllable types

Daai has seven types of main syllables: V, VC, VCC, CV, CCV, CVCC and CCVCC. All short vowels are in phonemic contrast with long vowels. The long vowel is restricted to the closed syllable.

Table 2.2 illustrates the possible main syllable types with examples.

Table 2.2: Daai Syllable Types

V	/ɔ/	‘drink’
VC	/ip/	‘sleep’
V:C	/á:t/	‘harvest’
CV	/sə/	‘basket’
CCV	/mya/	‘healthy’
CVC	/dəm/	‘big’
CCVC	/kɣet/	‘firmly’
CV:C	/mu:p/	‘beat (gong)’
CCV:C	/hja:m/	‘fall’
VCC	/ujʔ/	‘burn’
CVCC	/ʔsajʔ/	‘clean’
CCVCC	/hjawʔ/	‘stop to work’

2.1.3 The interpretation of ambiguous segments

In Table 2.3 and 2.4 the phonemic charts of Daai consonants and Daai vowels are presented to provide a basis for the discussion about the interpretation of ambiguous segments. A description of the consonant and vowel phonemes will follow in the next section.

Table 2.3 Phonemic Consonant Chart

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	vl.	p	t		k	ʔ
	vl.asp.	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
	vd.	b	d			
Nasal	vl.	m̚	n̚		ŋ	
	vd.	m	n		ŋ	
Fricative	vl.		s		x	h
	vl.asp.		s ^h			
	vd.				ɣ	
Lateral Fricative	vl.		ɬ			
Approximant	vd.	w	l	j		

There are seven vowel phonemes in Daai, all of which show phonemic contrast in length. In Table 2.4 the forms for all Daai vowels are given.

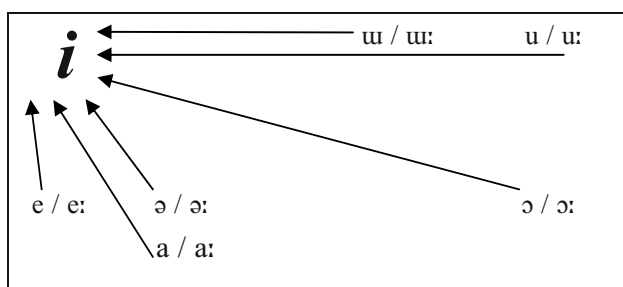
Table 2.4 : Phonemic Vowel Chart

	Front	Central	Back	
			Unrounded	Round
High	i / i:		ɯ / ɯ:	u / u:
Mid	ɛ / ɛ:	ə / ə:		ɔ / ɔ:
Low		a / a:		

2.1.3.1 The interpretation of off-glides

All of the Daai vowels can precede a high-front off-glide. Figure 2.2 shows the possible front vowel off-glide combinations.

Figure 2.2: Front Vowel Off-glide Combinations

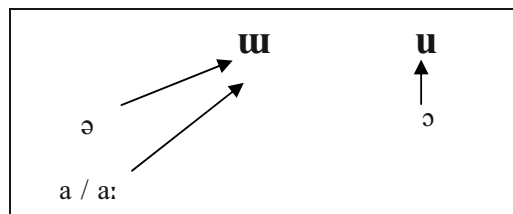


The following are examples of vowel-glides towards /i/.

	Short vowels + i	Long vowels + i
(4)	/ɛi/ 'eat'	/bɛ:i/ 'pound'
	/dai/ 'come into being'	/a:i/ 'chicken'
	/túi/ 'water'	/bú:i/ 'pour out'

Only a few vowels can precede back off-glides. Figure 2.3 shows the possible back off-glide combinations.

Figure 2.3: Back Vowel Off-glide Combinations



Following are examples of vowel glides towards *u* and *u*. With central (unrounded) vowels there is a glide towards the unrounded back vowel while with the rounded back vowel there is a glide towards the rounded high back vowel. Note that /a:/ is the only long vowel that occurs in back off-glide combinations.

	Vowels + u	Vowel + u
(5)	/bəu/ ‘be wrong’	/lɔu/ ‘mountain field’
	/kpyáu/ ‘proclaim’	/thɔu/ ‘get up’
	/tha:u/ ‘fat’	/ngtəu/ ‘be pretty’

The question of interpretation here relates to whether the high-front off-glide and the back off-glides should be interpreted as the second member of a diphthong (VV) or as a consonant-glide coda (VC). This interpretation here is in keeping with the principle that the unambiguous CV patterns determine the interpretation of ambiguous patterns. Interpreting the off-glide as the second member of a diphthong would add a three vowel (C) V: V syllable type as shown in affecting long vowel examples like /be:i/ ‘pound’. Interpreting the off-glide as final consonant however, would pattern with existing codas in (C) V: syllables and simplify the syllable structure inventory. Therefore V-i, V-u and V-u combinations are interpreted as VC combinations with /j/ and /w/ as codas. The V-u and V-u offglides are phonemically one semivowel /w/ which assimilates phonetically with the lip-rounding of the preceding vowel.

2.2 Consonants

There are 24 consonant phonemes found in Daai Chin and they are listed again in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: The Daai Consonant Phonemes

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	vl.	p	t		k	ʔ
	vl.asp.	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
	vd.	b	d			
Nasal	vl.	m̚	n̚		ŋ̚	
	vd.	m	n		ŋ	
Fricative	vl.		s		x	h
	vl.asp.		s ^h			
	vd.				ɣ	
Lateral Fricative	vl.		ɬ			
Approximant	vd.	w	l	j		

All consonants can occur in the onset of a syllable, but only voiceless plosives and voiced nasals can occur in the coda.

Plosives in the coda are unreleased. The voiced plosives /b/ and /d/ are phonetically implosives: [b̚] and [d̚].

The labial approximant /w/ is sometimes pronounced as [b̚] if preceded by a word or syllable with an /m/ as coda like in: /am we/ [am.βe] ‘is not’.

The voiceless unaspirated and aspirated palatal fricatives [ç] and [ç^h] are allophones of the velar stops. The palatal fricatives occur preceding the high front vowel and occasionally also the mid front vowel. In some areas however, the allophones [k] ~ [ç] and [k^h] ~ [ç^h] are in free variation and differ from speaker to speaker. Below are some examples.

/k/ → [ç] [çit̚] ‘corner’ [çɛjʔ] ‘dried’
 /kh/ → [ç^h] [ç^hit̚] ‘tie’ [ʔ.ç^hiin] ‘marrow’

2.2.1 Consonantal contrastive pairs in the onset

Labial contrasts

Labial consonants /p p^h b m w/ are shown to be in contrast by the following examples.

	p	p^h	b	m	w
u	[pu] 'father-in-law'	[p ^h u] 'boil.over'	[bu] 'cover'	[mu] 'fur'	[wu] 'shout'

Nasal contrasts

The nasal consonants /m ṃ n ṅ ŋ/ are shown to be in contrast by the following examples.

	m	ṃ	n	ṅ	ŋ	ṇ̇
a	[ma] 'do first'	[ṃa] 'in front of'	[na] 'younger sibling'	[ṅa] 'nose'	[ŋá] 'fish'	[ṇ̇á] 'separately'

Alveolar contrasts

Alveolar plosives and fricatives / t t^h d s^h s / are shown to be in contrast by the following examples.

	t	t^h	d	s	s^h
ɔ	[tɔ] 'agree'	[t ^h ɔ?] 'to pack'	[dɔ] 'good'	[sɔ] 'mix'	[s ^h ɔ] 'to plant'

Velar and glottal contrasts

Velar, labial-velar and glottal consonants are shown to be in contrast by the following examples.

	k	k^h	ŋ
a	[ka] 'from'	[k ^h a] 'time'	[ŋá] 'fish'

Alveolar, velar and glottal contrasts

Alveolar, velar and glottal fricative consonants /s s^h x ɣ h/ are shown to be in contrast by the following examples.

	s	s^h	x	ɣ	h
ɔ	[sɔ] 'mix'	[s ^h ɔ] 'to plant'	[xɔt] 'throw'	[ɣɔ] 'bamboo'	[hɔ] 'snatch'

2.2.2 Consonantal contrastive pairs in the coda

Plosive contrasts

The labial, alveolar, velar and glottal plosives /-p -t -k -ʔ/ are shown to be in contrast in the coda by the following examples.

-p	-t	-k	-ʔ
[k ^h apʔ] 'measurement'	[k ^h atʔ] 'to strike fire'	[k ^h akʔ] 'difficult'	[k ^h ah] 'worship'

Nasal contrasts

The labial, alveolar and velar nasals /-m -n -ŋ / are shown to be in contrast in the coda by the following examples.

-m	-n	-ŋ
[kɔm] 'may'	[kɔn] 'after'	[kɔŋ] 'plot'

2.3 Vowels

Daai has seven vowel phonemes as shown in Table 2.6

Table 2.6: Daai Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back	
			Unrounded	Round
High	i / i:		ɯ / ɯ:	u / u:
Mid	ɛ / ɛ:	ə / ə:		ɔ / ɔ:
Low		a / a:		

All vowels are contrastive for length. However, long vowels occur only in closed syllables. Vowels in open syllables are phonetically half-long.

The vowels [i] ~ [i:], [u] ~ [u:] and [ɔ] ~ [ɔ:] are parallel in their distribution as free variants.

Short vowels

The vowels / i u u ε ə ə ə a / are shown to be in contrast with each other by the following examples.

i	u	u	ε	ə	ə	a
[li] 'bow'	[lu] 'and'	[lu] 'head'	[lε] 'black'	[lə] 'continuously'	[lə] 'come'	[la] 'fetch'

Long vowels

The long vowels / i: u: u: ε: ə: ə: a: / are shown to be in contrast with each other by the following examples.

i:	u:	u:	ε:	ə:	ə:	a:
[li:m] 'beat'	[lu:m] 'transgress'	[lu:m] 'all'	[lε:m] 'wounded'	[lə:ŋ] 'wild'	[lə:n] 'flow'	[ŋ.la:m] 'dance'

2.3.1 Contrast between short and long vowel phonemes

Short vowels are shown to be in contrast with long vowels by the following examples.

[pit]	'broken'	[pi:t]	'prepare'
[pyən]	'speak'	[pye:n]	'scatter'
[lək]	'follow'	[lə:k]	'unrestrained'
[hjam]	'look for'	[hja:m]	'hut'
[ɬum]	'put on'	[ɬu:m]	'aim at'
[lum]	'full (moon)'	[lu:m]	'all'
[kən]	'after'	[kə:n]	'descendent'

2.4 Tone

Daai has two contrastive lexical tones. These are:

- 1.) Mid-Level Tone: this tone will be called low tone since there is no contrast between low, mid and high tone. It is unmarked.

2.) High-Falling Tone: this tone will be called high tone and is marked as / ˈ / in this chapter only.¹

There is no tone contrast in closed syllables with short vowels and stop codas. In all other syllable configurations high and low tone are contrastive as exemplified below:

2.4.1 Tone contrast in the open syllable

The following examples show tone contrast in the open syllable.

	Low		High	
(6)	/hi/	‘this’	/hí/	‘quiet’
	/bɛ/	‘word’	/bé/	‘full’

2.4.2 Tone contrast with short vowels, nasals and semivowels

The following two sets of examples shows tone contrast with nasal codas and with the semivowels /j/ and /w/.

(7)	/lam/	‘measure’	/lám/	‘road’
	/dan/	‘be shorter’	/dán/	‘build a funeral pyre’
	/t ^h uŋ/	‘bad smell’	/t ^h úŋ/	‘pay back’
(8)	/lɛj/	‘debt’	/léj/	‘classifier’
	/kɔw/	‘to call’	/ków/	‘rice husk’

2.4.3 Tone contrast with long vowels, nasals, semivowels and plosives

Tone contrast with nasal codas

(9)	/xɑ:m/	‘ripe’	/xá:m/	‘rough’
	/mi:n/	‘to provide’	/mí:n/	‘cat’
	/pyɛ:ŋ/	‘strong’	/pyé:ŋ/	‘scatter’

Tone contrast with the semivowel /j/ as coda

(10)	/mɫɛ:j/	‘to hurt’	/mɫé:j/	‘be left over’
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¹ From chapter 3 onwards all examples are given in the Daai orthography and the colon is used to indicate high tone. Note that in this chapter colon is used to show vowel length.

Tone contrasts with stop codas

(11)	/s ^h ɛ:p/	‘to pound’	/s ^h ɛ:p/	‘later’
	/s ^h ɛ:t/	‘pain’	/s ^h ɛ:t/	‘bad’
	/vɔ:k/	‘to fight’	/vɔ:k/	‘cut down the wood’

Summary

In this chapter the phonological word, which consists of an optional presyllable and an obligatory main syllable, were described. The syllable canon for the main syllable was discussed and examples for each main syllable type were provided. Ambiguous segments were shown and an interpretation provided. The consonant and vowel phonemes were described and contrastive pairs were given. Lexical tone has been discussed and minimal pairs were provided.

2.5 Morphophonemic processes

Several morphophonemic processes are found in Daai: vowel shortening, loss of high falling tone, consonant resyllabification and assimilation and the loss of the glottal presyllable. All these topics have been examined in a detailed study of Hartmann (1989) and are not discussed here again.

2.6 Key to Orthography

From the next chapter onwards the examples are given in Daai orthography. The Daai orthography is based on the Roman alphabet and is an adaption of a script that was first designed for Cho (also known as Ng'müün or Ng'men). It differs from most other Chin orthographies in that the alveolar fricative /s/ is not presented as /c/. After an initial attempt to mark high falling tone, tone marking was abandoned, because it varies in the different subgroups of Daai. For the purpose of analysis the marking of the high falling tone has been re-established and is marked with a colon (:)

Daai orthography

ph, th, kh, sh
 syllable final h
 hm, hn, hng
 hl
 x
 y
 v, j
 k+C, k'V
 m+C, m'V
 ng+C, ng'V
 Cy, Cj
 ä
 ü

aspirates
 glottal stop
 voiceless nasals
 voiceless lateral fricative
 voiceless velar fricative
 voiced velar fricative
 voiced approximates
 glottal presyllable
 bilabial nasal presyllable
 velar nasal presyllable
 velar and palatal glides
 mid central vowel
 high spread back vowel

IPA symbols

/p^h, t^h, k^h, s^h/
 /ʔ/
 /m̥, n̥, ŋ̥/
 /ɬ/
 /x/
 /ɣ/
 /w, j/
 /ʔ-/
 /m-/
 /ŋ-/
 /Cɣ, Cj/
 /ə/
 /u/

3 *Morphology*

3.1 Morphological typology

Languages are traditionally divided into isolating, agglutinative, fusional and polysynthetic types. Bybee (1997) mentions five parameters for the identification of morphological types.

These are:

- Affixation
- Number of morphemes per word
- Degree of fusion
- Incorporation of two or more items of a more lexical nature in a single word
- Obligatory categories

These parameters are understood to be scalar and help to position a language closer to or farther from a prototype.

Based on these criteria Daai is an isolating or analytic language; about 70% of all words consist just of one root morpheme. Analytic languages are distinguishable by the fact that they lack affixes - this is largely true of Daai.

Another property of analytic languages is their limited use of grammatical agreement. In this respect Daai is only somewhat analytic because it has pronominal agreement forms. At the noun phrase level case-marking is obligatory, as is number for most human nouns. For non-human nouns number marking depends on the focus of the noun phrase. At the clause level number-marking is obligatory; tense-marking is only obligatory for finite intransitive clauses. All of these categories are expressed by enclitics.

Applying the parameters listed above to Daai, we find, that although Daai is an analytic language, it cannot be called a 'prototypical' analytic language.

3.2 Inflectional morphology

Daai does not really have inflectional morphology at word level. Inflectional information is handled syntactically. Case, number and tense are marked by clitics. Evidence that inflection in Daai is marked by clitics and not by affixes can be seen in the examples (1) to (3). These examples show that various constituents can be inserted between the noun phrase head and case-marking as well as number-marking. The following example shows ergative case-marking. Note that plural-marking and a demonstrative precede case-marking.

- (1) *Ngna:m=e sun=noh kou: sun=üing läk=u lüta ...*
 village=PL DEM=ERG rice.husk DEM=INSTR follow=PL SR
 'The villagers followed by means of the rice husks and...'

The following example shows number-marking in the noun phrase and in the non-finite clause. In the noun phrase plural-marking is preceded by an adjective and in the verb complex by an applicative.

- (2) *Aai kthi=e sun jah ng'yet-ei püi=u lü ...*
 chicken dead=PL DEM IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL share APPL:COM=PL NF
 'They shared the dead chicken among each other and ...'

The next example shows that tense-markers are also clitics and in this case the tense-marker is preceded by an adverb.

- (3) *Nukpüi sun kyap-ei to:ng=kti.*
 old.woman DEM weep-AO very.much=NON.FUT
 'The old woman cried very much'

Case, number and tense will be dealt with in detail in later chapters.

3.3 Lexical morphology

In this section derivational morphology, conversion or zero-derivation, compounding and verb stem alternation will be discussed.

3.3.1 Derivational morphology

In Daai, derivations are formed by a ‘simple’ lexeme and the addition of a derivational morpheme. Daai has four derivational morphemes, that are prefixes: *k-*, *m-*, *ng-* and *a-*. The first three prefixes are primarily, but not exclusively, used in derivations that preserve the part of speech; the prefix *a-* occurs mostly in derivations that change the part of speech. In addition to these prefixes there are two suffixes, *-in* and *-ei*, that produce semantic changes in verbs. Daai has also a periphrastic morpheme *naa:k/na-* that effects nominalization of verbs and verbalisations of nouns.

3.3.1.1 The morpheme *k-*

k- effects significant semantic changes in verbs, functions in derivations of adjectives from verbs and in derivations of nouns from verbs. But *k-* is not always productive in the formation of new lexemes. The prefix occurs frequently frozen and lexicalized with noun-roots as well as with verb-roots

k- in derivation of verbs from verbs

The prefix *k-* functions quite productively as causativizer and transitivizer. Note that many of the verbs that form derivations with *k-* are achievement verbs or dynamic accomplishment verbs.¹

	Simplex - Intransitive			Causative - Transitive	
(4) a	<i>ak</i>	‘break’	→	<i>k’ak</i>	‘cause to be broken’
b	<i>pyak</i>	‘collapse’	→	<i>kpyak</i>	‘destroy’
c	<i>bät</i>	‘break off’	→	<i>kbät</i>	‘cause to break off’
d	<i>pha</i>	‘arrive’	→	<i>kpha</i>	‘cause to arrive’
e	<i>seet</i>	‘be.firm’	→	<i>kseet</i>	‘tighten’ (trans)

The following two sentences exemplify the semantic change of the verb *pha* ‘arrive’ to *kpha* ‘cause to arrive’.

(5)	<i>Ye Shak</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>i:m=a</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>be=kti.</i>
	Ye Shak	DEM	house=LOC	arrive	DIR:come	back=NON.FUT
	‘Ye Shak arrived back home.’					

¹ Some verbs that can be causativized by *k-* do not occur in an underived form but only with the reflexive prefix *ng-* as shown below.

<i>ngphüüm</i>	‘drown’	→	<i>kphüüm</i>	‘drown’
<i>ngthün/ngthü:ng</i>	‘shake’	→	<i>kthün/kthü:ng</i>	‘shake’

- (6) *Ye Shak=noh sha-kkhi ah kpha lo.*
 Ye Shak=ERG deer S.AGR:3S cause.to.arrive DIR:come
 ‘Ye Shak brought a deer along.’

k- in derivations of adjectives from verbs

Most adjectives that are used as nominal modifiers are derived from predicative form through prefixation with *k-* (see also 4.3.1). Since the process is completely regular only a few examples are provided.

- | Verb | | Noun + adjective |
|------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| (7) <i>hmin</i> ‘ripe’ | → | <i>aktheih k’hmin</i> ‘ripe fruit’ |
| <i>shaaii</i> ‘long’ | → | <i>ksi:m kshaaii</i> ‘long knife’ |
| <i>xaa:t</i> ‘sharp’ | → | <i>ha k’xaa:t</i> ‘sharp teeth’ |

The following two examples show *hmin* ‘ripe’ as predicate and the derived adjective *k’hmin*.

- (8) [*Nghngaai-ktheih*]_{NP} *hmin lo=kti.*
 mango fruit ripe AUX:become=NON.FUT
 ‘The mango fruits became ripe.’
- (9) [*Nghngaai-ktheih k’hmin sun*]_{NP} *tui=kti.*
 mango fruit ripe DEM sweet=NON.FUT
 ‘The ripe mango fruits are sweet.’

k- in derivations of nouns from verbs

This process is not as productive as other forms of nominalizations. For details on this process or on other forms of nominalizations see section 6.1.2.2.

- | (10) Verb | | Noun-Noun |
|------------------------|---|--|
| <i>ngam</i> ‘rest’ | → | <i>thi.ng-k’ngam</i> ‘one who rests on a tree’ |
| <i>uui:/uih</i> ‘burn’ | → | <i>mei:-k’uui:</i> ‘one who is burned by fire’ |

k- lexicalized and frozen with noun-roots

Nouns with a lexicalized *k-* prefix can be categorized into different semantic fields like animal names, items for daily usage, nouns related to ‘house’ and the process of house-building and others.

- (11) a *kkhom* ‘bear’
 b *k’am* ‘pot’
 c *ktih* ‘roof’

k- lexicalized and frozen with verb-roots

Verbs with an inseparable *k-* prefix are nearly always transitive.

- (12) a *ktäm* 'follow'
 b *kkoh* 'carry'

3.3.1.2 *The morpheme m-*

The morpheme *m-* occurs mainly in verb derivations and produces significant semantic changes. It functions very similarly to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix **s-* (Benedict 1972: 105 – 108 and Wolfenden 1929: 46) as causativizer, transitivizer and intensifier (see 7.1.1.2).

m- as causativizer and transitivizer

- (13) *shot* 'leave' → *mshot* 'drive out'
som 'come into being' → *msom* 'create'

m- as causativizer and intensifier

- (14) *shüüm* 'remember' → *mshüüm* 'show the way'
hlo 'persuade' → *mhlo* 'stir up'

m- as transitivizer and intensifier

- (15) *küüi* 'be precious' → *mküüi* 'praise'
säüi 'be worried' → *msäüi* 'warn'

There are a few rare examples of simplex verb forms with a vowel onset that as causatives have [b] inserted between the prefix *m-* and the vowel onset. This seems to be a phonological matter. There are no examples in my data where *m-* as causativizer or transitivizer can directly prefix a vowel.

- | | Simplex | | Causative |
|--------|---|---|--|
| (16) a | <i>ei</i> 'eat' | → | <i>mbei</i> 'feed' |
| b | <i>oo:k/o-</i> 'drink' | → | <i>mbook</i> 'give to drink' ¹ |
| c | <i>ooi</i> 'hang around the neck' [like necklace] | → | <i>mbooi</i> 'put over the neck of another person' [can be a necklace or a rope] |

¹ The meaning 'give to drink' is reconstructed. In modern Daai *mbook* occurs only in combination with *mbei* and the compound verb *mbei-mbook* has the meaning 'feed'.

Sometimes the prefix *m-* functions in combination with devoicing and aspiration (see 7.1.1.2 for more examples).

	Simplex		Causativized	
(17)	a	<i>leem</i> ‘be wounded’	→	<i>mhleem-ei</i> ‘to hurt’
	b	<i>mang</i> ‘turn around’ (intr)	→	<i>mhmang</i> ‘turn around’ (trans)
	c	<i>nee:m</i> ‘low’	→	<i>mhnee:m-ei</i> ‘to humble’

m- lexicalized and frozen with noun roots

Like *k-*, *m-* has also become frozen and inseparable with many noun-roots. They can be categorized into different semantic fields like natural phenomena, names and parts of plants, animal names and body parts.

(18)	a	<i>mthan</i>	‘night’
	b	<i>mpai</i>	‘grass’
	c	<i>mpyüüh</i>	‘tiger’
	d	<i>mpyong</i>	‘mouth’

m- lexicalized and frozen with verb-roots

There are not many verb-roots that occur with a frozen and inseparable *m-* prefix. The examples below are exceptional.

(19)	a	<i>mtäh/mtät</i>	‘wait’
	b	<i>mdeh</i>	‘to taste’

3.3.1.3 *The morpheme ng-*

The prefix *ng-* causes semantic changes in verbs and nouns and functions in derivations of verbs from nouns. It also occurs lexicalized with noun- and verb-roots.

ng- as detransitivizer

The prefix *ng-* acts as detransitivizer and functions in derivations that form intransitive verbs from transitive verbs (see 7.2.1.1), reflexive verbs from non-reflexive ones and reciprocal verbs from non-reciprocal ones. The following examples show mainly activities that are transformed into states.

	Transitive - Activity		Intransitive - State	
(20)	a	<i>boom</i> ‘to crowd around’	→	<i>ngboom</i> ‘be surrounded’
	b	<i>tou</i> ‘look at’	→	<i>ngtou</i> ‘be pretty’
	c	<i>pheh</i> ‘to arrest’	→	<i>ngpheh</i> ‘be imprisoned’

The next set of examples shows *ng-* deriving reflexive verbs from non-reflexive ones. Note that some of these verbs occur only as either transitive (with prefix *m-*) or as reflexive ones (with prefix *ng-*), but not as underived verbs.

	Non-reflexive		Reflexive	
(21) a	<i>mük</i>	‘put upside down’	→	<i>ngmük</i> ‘cover oneself’
b	<i>thuh/thup</i>	‘hide (something)’	→	<i>ngthuh/ngthup</i> ‘hide oneself’
c	<i>mhloh/mhlok</i>	‘bathe somebody’	→	<i>nghloh/nghlok</i> ‘bathe oneself’

The following example shows reciprocal verbs derived from non-reciprocal ones.

	Non-reciprocal		Reciprocal	
(22) a	<i>shoong</i>	‘meet’	→	<i>ngshoong</i> ‘meet each other’
b	<i>shun</i>	‘stab’	→	<i>ngshun</i> ‘fight’
c	<i>yet</i>	‘give freely’	→	<i>ng’yet-ei</i> ‘share among each other’
d	<i>saam</i>	‘test’	→	<i>ngsaam-ei</i> ‘compete with each other’

Reciprocals may have a common plural subject or two coordinate subjects, as the two following examples show.

(23)	<i>Kho-yaai=e=noh</i>	<i>meh</i>	<i>ng’yet-ei</i>	<i>ve=u.</i>
	spirit=PL=ERG	meat	share.among.each.other	ASP=PL
	‘The spirits are sharing the meat among each other.’			

(24)	<i>Ahlaan=a</i>	<i>shukku</i>	<i>jah</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>don</i>
	long.ago=LOC	turtle	and	hare	running
	<i>ngsaam-ei</i>	<i>mjoh=kti=xooi.</i>			
	compete.with.each.other	EVID=NON.FUT=DUAL			
	‘Long ago the turtle and the hare were competing with each other in running.’				

Occasionally the prefix *ng-* functions in verb-derivations causing semantic shifts without changing the transitivity status of the verb, as shown in the examples below. These processes are not productive.

(25) a	<i>vaai</i>	‘shine’, ‘be light’	→	<i>ngvaai</i>	‘be wise’, ‘be educated’
b	<i>hi:</i>	‘be quiet’	→	<i>nghi:</i>	‘be deserted’

ng- in noun-derivations

The prefix *ng-* appears with a limited set of nouns to indicate reciprocity and to show that the two entities form one pair.

	Noun	+	Noun		Compound noun
(26)	a <i>be</i>	+	<i>na</i>	→	<i>ngbe-ngna</i>
	‘older.brother’		‘younger.brother’		‘pair of brothers’
	b <i>nu:</i>	+	<i>sa:</i>	→	<i>ngnu-ngsa:</i>
	‘mother’		‘child’		‘mother and child’

ng- in derivations of verbs from nouns

The morpheme *ng-* functions in two different verbalization processes. Neither of these verbalization processes are productive.

Some state verbs are derived from nouns by prefixation with *ng-*.

	Noun		State verb
(27)	a <i>teh</i>	‘value’	→ <i>ngteh</i> ‘to be equal’
	b <i>thang</i>	‘news’	→ <i>ngthang</i> ‘to be known’

With a few nouns, indicating semantic reciprocity, the prefixation with *ng-* leads to the formation of reciprocal verbs.

	Noun		Reciprocal verb
(28)	a <i>hlüh-püi</i>	‘lovers’	→ <i>nghlüh-ngpüi</i> ‘to be lovers’
	b <i>püi-po</i>	‘friends’	→ <i>ngpüi-ngpo</i> ‘to be friends’

ng- lexicalized and frozen with noun-roots

Like the prefixes *k-* and *m-*, *ng-* has become lexicalized with many noun-roots, belonging to semantic fields of natural phenomena, plant names and parts of plants, animal names and their body parts and human body parts. The example (29)c is likely a derived from the human body part *baan* ‘arm’.

(29)	a <i>ngmei</i>	‘cloud’
	b <i>ngngaai</i>	‘mango’
	c <i>ngbaan</i>	‘branch’
	d <i>ngphya</i>	‘wing’
	e <i>ngbeeng</i>	‘cheek’

Comparing the bigger groups of prefixed nouns, an overlapping of semantic categories can be found. Nouns with the lexicalized prefix *m-* and *ng-* have membership in the same semantic categories. This is strange since the prefixes *m-* and *ng-* have very different functions with verbs. Nouns with the prefix *k-* have only the field of animal names in common with *m-* and

ng-. The other two big semantic fields associated with *k-* are ‘man-made items’ like items for daily use and nouns related with ‘house’.

ng- lexicalized and frozen with verb-roots

Most verb-roots with a lexicalized *ng-* prefix are intransitive and express body posture, change of body posture, movements and sounds (see 7.2).

- (30) a *ngshut* ‘sit’
 b *nglaa:m* ‘dance’
 c *ngpyaan/ngpyaang* ‘shout’

3.3.1.4 *The morpheme a-*

The prefix *a-* nearly always changes the part of speech and functions as nominalizer of adjectives and other parts of speech and in derivations of adverbs from verbs.

a- as nominalizer of adjectives

The prefix *a-* nominalizes adjectives that are derived from verbs by prefixation with *k-* (see 3.3.1.1). Since *a-* does not substitute for other derivational prefixes but rather prefixes them, *a-* has to be regarded as a second-position prefix.

- | | Verb | | Adjective | | Noun |
|------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (31) | <i>däm</i> | ‘to be big’ | → | <i>kdäm</i> | ‘big’ → <i>akdäm</i> ‘an elder’ |

- | | Adjective | | Noun |
|--------|------------------|---------------|--|
| (32) a | <i>kdäm</i> | ‘big’ | → <i>akdäm</i> ‘an elder’ |
| b | <i>kdo</i> | ‘good’ | → <i>akdo</i> ‘a good person’, something good’ |
| c | <i>kphyüm</i> | ‘old’, ‘used’ | → <i>akphyüm</i> ‘former times’ |
| d | <i>kvaai</i> | ‘shining’ | → <i>akvaai</i> ‘light’ |

a- as nominalizer of verbs

Note that the examples (33)a and (32)d show the derivations of semantically quite different nouns from basically the same verb root *vaai* ‘shine’.

- | | Verb | | Noun |
|--------|---------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| (33) a | <i>ngvaai</i> | ‘be wise’ | → <i>angvaai</i> ‘a respected man’ |
| b | <i>ng’yün</i> | ‘to sound’ | → <i>ang’yün</i> ‘a sound’ |
| c | <i>msot</i> | ‘leave over’ | → <i>amsot</i> ‘a left-over part’ |

a- as nominalizer of demonstrative adjectives

Prefixation with *a-* can also be used to derive demonstrative pronouns from what David Watters (1998) calls demonstratives adjectives (see 5.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns). Demonstrative pronouns are anaphoric and either precede or substitute for the noun or noun phrase, whereas demonstrative adjectives follow the noun or noun phrase.

	Demonstrative adjective		Demonstrative pronoun
(34)	a	[+NP] <i>sun</i> 'that'	→ <i>asun</i> 'that [±NP]'
	b	[+NP] <i>hin</i> 'this'	→ <i>ahin</i> 'this [±NP]'
	c	[+NP] <i>su</i> 'there'	→ <i>asu</i> 'that [±loc/temp NP]'
	d	[+NP] <i>hi</i> 'here'	→ <i>ahi</i> 'this [±loc/temp NP]'

If a demonstrative pronoun substitutes for the noun head, it is followed by case- and number-marking and the demonstrative adjective following the same noun. (see 5.3.2). A demonstrative pronoun that precedes the noun usually occurs with the suffix *-a*. Examples (35)a and (35)b show the demonstrative pronoun preceding the noun and substituting for the noun.

(35)	a	<i>Asun=a</i>	<i>thi:ng-dung</i>	<i>nu:</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>kyu</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>lï</i> ...
		DEM.PRO:that=CF	tree-stem	big	DEM	fall.over	ASP	NF ...
		'Those big tree stems fell over and ...'						
	b	<i>Asun</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>kyu</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>lï</i> ...		
		DEM.PRO:that	DEM	fall.over	ASP	NF ...		
		'Those fell over...'						

a- in derivations of adverbs from verbs

The prefix *a-*, in combination with the enclitic =*a*, derives adverbials from verbs (see 4.4.3.1). Some verbs have to take first the prefix *k-* like an adjective before they can be changed to an adverb by *a-*. Adverbials can be modified or intensified by either a modifier or by reduplication. At a first glance this derivation process looks rather similar to the nominalization of demonstratives shown in examples (34), because it has a prefix *a-* and a following =*a*. But the examples (37) gives evidence that here =*a* is a clitic.

		Verb		Adverbial
(36)	a	<i>jaang</i>	'be quick'	→ <i>akjaang=a</i> 'quickly'
	d	<i>mpyuu:k/mpyu-</i>	'steal'	→ <i>ampyu=a</i> 'secretly'

- (37) *Ah kkh̄yu: sun noh ampyu sa=a*
 POSS:3S wife DEM ERG secretly small=CF
ah hnu=a läk=kti.
 POSS:3S behind=LOC follow=NON.FUT
 'His wife followed him very secretly.'

3.3.1.5 The suffix *-ei*

The suffix *-ei* occurs as an auxiliary with verbs that have undergone semantic changes through prefixation with *m-*, and *ng-* and *k-* and with other verbs that cannot function by themselves. It also signals agent orientation.

-ei with derived verbs

Some reflexive and most reciprocal constructions require the combination with *-ei* although the verbs are already marked with prefixes as derivations. The verb *mshou:-ei* 'hurt', 'pain' in the example below is derived from the intransitive verb *shou:* 'angry', 'bad'.

- (38) *Kah ha:=noh nah mshou:-ei kkhüt=kti.*
 POSS:1S tooth=ERG O.AGR:1S hurt very.much=NON.FUT
 'My tooth hurts [me] very much.'

The reciprocal *ngleh-ei* 'visit each other' is derived from the verb *leh* 'step on' as shown in (22).

- (39) *Mat jah mat=a i:m=a am ngleh-ei ni.*
 one and one=GEN house=LOC NEG visit EMPH
 'They did not visit each other's houses.'

-ei as an auxiliary verb

A certain group of verbs can only function as verbs if they combine with *-ei*. As will be shown in the next section, another group needs to combine with *naa:k/na* in order to be able to function as verbs (see also 4.2.2.3). These verbs are often physical states, personal attitudes or internal experiences.

- (40) *ngam-ei* 'rest', 'be idle'
mtun-ei 'try hard', 'strive'
äap-ei 'hope'
mpyeen-ei 'feel pity'

The suffix *-ei* cannot be substituted for by *naa:k/na* and *mpyeen-* cannot function without an auxiliary, therefore the examples (41)b and c are ungrammatical.

- (41) a *Je sun=noh nukpüi sun mpyeen-ei=kti.*
 hare DEM=ERG old.woman DEM pity=NON.FUT
 'The hare had pity for the old woman.'
- b **Je sun=noh nukpüi sun mpyeen-na=kti.*
 hare DEM=ERG old.woman DEM pity=NON.FUT
 'The hare had pity for the old woman.'
- c **Je sun=noh nukpüi sun mpyeen=kti.*
 hare DEM=ERG old.woman DEM pity=NON.FUT
 'The hare had pity for the old woman.'

-ei as marker for agent orientation

Agent orientation is discussed in Section 11.2.

3.3.1.6 *The morpheme naa:k (na)*

This morpheme is a semi-grammaticalized verb and will be provisionally viewed as a suffix on verbs or nouns although its behaviour is much more complex. The morpheme has two alternating stems, *naa:k* and *na*. The conditions that govern which stem is used are not discussed here. Here the focus is on the behaviour of the morpheme in forming new words. It functions in derivations of nouns from verbs and derives verbs from a limited set of nouns. It also occurs as an auxiliary with verbs that cannot function by themselves.

naa:k as nominalizer

The morpheme *naa:k* functions in various kinds of nominalizations (see 6.1.2.4). Since *naa:k* is the stem used for nominalizing we do not find the stem *na-* with nominalizations. Below are some examples of different nominalizations.

Locative nominalization

- (42) *Mnaka=a kyo-naa:k su sit be=kti.*
 dragon=GEN rotting-place DEM go back=NON.FUT
 '[He] went back to the place where the dragon was rotting.'

Purpose nominalization

- (43) *Kho-ksing ti sun kkhyaang=a nglaam-naa:k am ni.*
 spirit-drum calling DEM man=GEN dancing-purpose NEG COP
 'What they call a spirit drum is not used for people to dance to.'

Result nominalization

- (44) *Tui: kah oo:k-naa:k kah kkhon tet=kti.*
 water POSS:1S drinking-result POSS:1S stomach full=NON.FUT
 'My stomach is full as a result of me drinking water.'

Naa:k is also productive in nominalizations of new concepts and in derivations of abstract nouns, frequently in Christian contexts.

	Verb		Noun			
(45)	a	<i>ngthei</i>	‘study’	→	<i>ngthei-naa:k</i>	‘lesson’
	b	<i>küm-seei</i>	‘to be full’	→	<i>küm-seei-naa:k</i>	‘fulness’
	c	<i>kuum-kyan</i>	‘save’	→	<i>kuum-kyan-naa:k</i>	‘salvation’

Although *naa:k* occurs like *-ei* as an auxiliary with verbs that cannot function by themselves, it also nominalizes verbs that have to combine with *-ei*.

	Verb		Noun			
(46)	a	<i>nglooi-ei</i>	‘to be friends’	→	<i>nglooi-ei-naa:k</i>	‘fellowship’
	b	<i>mpyeen-ei</i>	‘to have pity’	→	<i>mpyeen-ei-naa:k</i>	‘mercy’
	a	<i>äap-ei</i>	‘to hope’	→	<i>äap-ei-naa:k</i>	‘hope’

naa:k/na- as verbalizer

With a limited set of nouns *naa:k/na-* functions as verbalizer in a kind of inchoative process. *Naa:k/na-* combines with certain nouns to form verbs with the meaning ‘to take as N’, ‘to use as N’ or ‘to have N’. Below is a list of some nouns that can combine with *naa:k/na-* to form verbs.

(47)	a	<i>hlüh-püi</i>	+	<i>naa:k</i>	→	<i>hlüh-püi-naa:k</i>
		‘lover’				‘take as lover’
	b	<i>kkhyu:</i>	+	<i>naa:k</i>	→	<i>kkhyu:-naa:k</i>
		‘wife’				‘take as wife’
	c	<i>sa:</i>	+	<i>naa:k</i>	→	<i>sa:-naa:k</i>
		‘child’				‘have a child’, ‘give birth’
	d	<i>i:m</i>	+	<i>naa:k</i>	→	<i>i:m-naa:k</i>
		‘house’				‘take as house’, ‘inhabit’

The following examples show some of the verbalizations in context.

(48)	<i>Msäai=e</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>kshe:ng-khuui=a</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ah-nih</i>	<i>im:-naa:k.</i>
	Msäai=PL	DEM	rock-cave=LOC	just	S.AGR:3DU/PL	inhabit
	‘The Msäai people just <u>live</u> in rock caves.’					

(49)	<i>Msäai</i>	<i>pa:</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>hlüh-püi-na=kti</i>	<i>ni.</i>
	Msäai	GEND	FOC	S.AGR:2S	take.as.lover=NON.FUT	EMPH
	‘You <u>took</u> a Msäai man <u>as lover!</u> ’					

naa:k/na- as auxiliary verb

Like the other derivational morphemes that have already been discussed, so also *naa:k/na-* does not always function directly in derivational processes. A certain group of verbs can only function as verbs with the suffix *naa:k/na*.

- (50) a *xe-naa:k* 'to be happy'
 b *thi:-naa:k* 'to hate'

Some of these verbs are derived from intransitive verbs and although they are already marked with the transitivizing prefix *k-* they still need *naa:k/na* to be able to function as verbs.

- (51) a *sa:ng* 'to be true' → *ksa:ng-naa:k* 'to believe', 'to obey'
 b *phya* 'to be pleasant' → *kphya-naa:k* 'to love'

- (52) *Nang Ling nah sa:ng=kti.*
 2S Ling S.AGR:2S true=NON.FUT
 'You Ling, you are telling the truth.'

- (53) *Kkhom=noh ta je=a pyen sun ksa:ng-na=kti.*
 bear=ERG FOC hare=GEN word DEM believe=NON.FUT
 'As for the bear, he believed the word of the hare.'

The auxiliaries *-ei* and *naa:k/na* cannot be exchanged; therefore example (54)b is ungrammatical.

- (54) a *Ah kkhyu: sun kphya-na-kkhüt=kti*
 POSS:3S wife DEM love-much=NON.FUT
 'He loved his wife very much.'
- *b *Ah kkhyu: sun kphya-ei-kkhüt=kti*
 POSS:3S wife DEM love-much=NON.FUT
 'He loved his wife very much.'

3.3.2 Conversion

If derivation is taken in its broadest sense to refer to any process which results in the creation of a new lexeme, (Beard 1998: 55) then conversion can be seen as a type of derivation. Conversion is frequently called 'zero-derivation' because it can be defined as changing a lexeme from one grammatical category into another without affixational morphology.

In Daai conversion is found in nominalizations, verbalizations and in deriving modifiers from a small set of nouns.

3.3.2.1 Conversion in nominalizations

Conversion is observed in various nominalizations and described in the sections: 6.1.1.3 *Conversion*, 6.1.2.1 *Activity and state nominalization*, and 6.1.2.3 *Objective nominalization*. Only a few examples will be given here. I argue that in the list of examples given below the verb form is the basic one. For the first two examples this argument is supported by the presence of the prefix *ng-* which is often found with body movements and sounds (see 7.2). The other two examples show verb stem alternation, a phenomenon which does not occur with verbs that are derived from nouns.

	Verb		Noun		
(55)	a	<i>nglaam</i>	‘to dance’	→ <i>nglaam</i>	‘dancing’, ‘dance’
	b	<i>ng’äi</i>	‘to sing’	→ <i>ng’äi</i>	‘singing’, ‘song’
	c	<i>thih/thi-</i>	‘die’	→ <i>thih</i>	‘death’
	d	<i>phüih/phüüi</i>	‘carry’	→ <i>phüih</i>	‘load’

The examples (56)a and (56)b show *nglaam* ‘dance’ as verb and as a nominal.

- (56) a *Ka, am nglaam xa=ngü*
 no NEG dance definitely=1PM
 ‘No! I am definitely not going to dance!’
- b *Pu=a nglaam va nih hmuh hlii.*
 father.in.law-GEN dancing just S.AGR:1DU/PL see AUX:want
 ‘We just want to see the father-in-law’s dancing!’

The following two examples show *phüih/phüüi* as verb and *phüih* as nominal.

- (57) a *Ääi, ning phüüi betü=kkhai.*
 yes O.AGR:2S carry back=NON.FUT
 ‘Yes, I will carry you back.’
- b *Kah phüih=a kkhaan=a ning mdüün kong.*
 POSS:1S load=GEN top=LOC O.AGR:2S put.on.top MOD:certainly
 ‘I will certainly put you on top of my load.’

3.3.2.2 Conversion in verbalizations

Conversions from nouns to verbs we find mostly in the semantic domain of house building. There is no clear proof that the noun is really the basic form and the verb the derived

form. However, the fact that the noun-forms are used with much greater frequency the verb-forms are only used in talks about the process of house-building support this proposition.

	Noun		Verb	
(58)	a	<i>kdi</i> h ‘roof’	→	<i>kdi</i> h ‘put on the roof’
	b	<i>kpang</i> ‘house wall’ (of woven bamboo)	→	<i>kpang</i> ‘fix the bamboo mats to the house frame’
	c	<i>ksi</i> ‘house floor’	→	<i>ksi</i> ‘make the house floor’
	d	<i>jih</i> ‘blanket’	→	<i>jih</i> ‘to wear’

The examples below show the usage of *ksi* ‘floor’ as verb and as noun.

- (59) a *Kpyee:k ta am ksi kpang ha:m=u.*
 granary FOC NEG make.floor make.wall ASP=PL
 ‘They do not yet make the floor and the wall of the granary.’
- b *Kah pilim i:m-ksi-kpäk=üing ju-kya=kti.*
 POSS:1S flute house-floor-hole=LOC down-fall=NON.FUT
 ‘My flute fell down through a hole in the floor.’

3.3.2.3 Conversion in the change of nouns to modifiers

The nouns *nu*: ‘mother’, *pa*: ‘father’ and *sa*: ‘child’ are changed into modifiers by conversion. Their different functions and meanings as modifiers are described in 4.3.2.1 *Function as noun modifier*, 4.3.2.2 *Function as modifier of adjectivals*, 4.3.2.3 *Function as modifier in the adverbial phrase* and 4.3.2.4 *Function as modifiers of non-numeral quantifiers*.

3.3.3 Compounding

Compounding is a process by which a compound lexeme is derived from two or more simpler lexemes. Compounds have a syntax-like internal structure and can be divided into endocentric, exocentric and co-ordinate compounds (Fabb 1998: 66).

3.3.3.1 Noun – Noun compounding

Endocentric compounds

Endocentric compounds consist of a head noun and another noun used as a modifier. In Daai endocentric compounds, the modifier precedes the head, though this is not typical elsewhere in the grammar.

	Modifying Noun		Head Noun			
(60)	a	<i>ngna:m</i> 'village'	+	<i>khong</i> 'leader'	→	<i>ngna:m-khong</i> 'village leader'
	b	<i>khooi</i> bee	+	<i>tui:</i> 'water', 'liquid'	→	<i>khooi-tui:</i> 'honey'
	c	<i>lo</i> 'throat'	+	<i>yuh</i> 'bone'	→	<i>lo-yuh</i> 'Adam's apple'

Compounds that are in part compositional and in part derivational

In these compounds a noun and a nominal derived from a verb combine. It is the noun that has the modifying function. (see also 6.1.1.1 and 6.1.2.2).

	Modifying Noun		Head Noun			
(61)	a	<i>nga:</i> 'fish'	+	<i>kshui</i> 'one who searches'	→	<i>nga:-kshui</i> 'fisher'
	b	<i>kho</i> 'land'	+	<i>k'yet</i> 'one who distributes'	→	<i>kho-k'yet</i> 'land-distributor'

Exocentric compounds

In exocentric compounds two nouns combine to form a lexeme with an entirely different meaning. In examples below *mik* is not any kind of 'eye' – except if we want to see this as a poetic expression –, *tu* does not denote a son-in-law, nor does *nu:* refer to a mother. However, the compounds do express certain semantic components of their parts. The compound noun 'sun' has some connotation with 'nature', the noun *tu* indicates a close relationship or kinship, and the compound noun 'thumb' is part of *kut* 'hand'.

(62)	a	<i>kho</i> 'nature'	+	<i>mik</i> 'eye'	→	<i>kho-mik</i> 'sun'
	b	<i>kho</i> 'nature'	+	<i>tu</i> 'son-in-law'	→	<i>kho-tu</i> 'spirit priest'
	c	<i>kut</i> 'hand'	+	<i>nu:</i> 'mother'	→	<i>kut-nu</i> 'thumb'

Co-ordinate compounds that result in super generic nouns

Both words share equally head-like characteristics and their combinations lead to the formation of super generic nouns. Each of the two members of the compound is a

representative of a different subset of the generic class. The occurrence of these compound nouns is rather limited.

- (63) a *kphyu:* + *kkha:* → *kphyu-kkha:*
 ‘rat’ bird’ ‘small animals’
- b *sa:* + *na* → *sa:-na*
 ‘child’ ‘younger sibling’ ‘children’

Noun compounding as a stylistic device

The majority of noun-noun compounds do not lead to the formation of a new lexeme but is a stylistic device that is used to create the effect of ‘wordiness’. This device is especially used in story-telling. A good story-teller uses as many synonyms and parallel expressions as possible.

- (64) a *khong* + *mang* → *khong-mang*
 ‘leader’ ‘leader’ ‘leader’
- b *ng’äi* + *ng’om* → *ng’äi-ng’om*
 ‘song’ ‘song’ ‘song’

3.3.3.2 *Noun-Verb compounding resulting in a noun*

Noun-verb compounding often results in a noun with the same internal structure as a noun-noun endocentric compound. But here it is the verb that functions as head and the noun as modifier. Again the modifier precedes the head. These compounds are different from the ones described in (64). The verbs are not yet derived nouns. Evidence for this comes from the observation that if the verbs used in compounding exhibit verb stem alternation, verb form B, the more ‘verbal’ form, is used.

- | | Noun | | Verb | | Noun |
|--------|------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (65) a | <i>buh</i>
‘rice’ | + | <i>suu:n</i>
‘pack.B’ | → | <i>buh-suu:n</i>
‘lunch package’ |
| b | <i>mdi</i>
‘thatch’ | + | <i>phüüi</i>
‘carry.B’ | → | <i>mdi-phüüi</i>
‘thatch load’ |

3.3.3.3 *Noun-Verb compounding resulting in a verb*

This compounding process is exocentric and forms lexemes different from either element of the compound.

- (66) a **Noun** + **Verb** → **Verb**
hmaai: + *shee:t* → *hmaai-shee:t*
 ‘face’ ‘bad’ ‘be ashamed’, ‘be angry’
- b *puk* + *shee:t* → *puk-shee:t*
 ‘stomach’ ‘bad’ ‘be sad’

3.3.3.4 Verb-Noun compounding

Sometimes adjectives or nominals combine with nouns to form new and more specified lexemes. Again the modifying element of the compound precedes the head. Note that this is not the typical order for nouns and their modifying adjectives (see 5.3.1)

- (67) a **Adjective** + **Noun** → **Noun**
kdo + *pooi* → *kdo-pooi*
 ‘good’ ‘feast’ ‘feast of honour’
- b *kshe* + *pooi* → *kshe-pooi*
 ‘bad’ ‘feast’ ‘funeral feast’

The example (68) shows the meaning of the compound *kdo-pooi* ‘feast of honour’.

- (68) *Thang Xung noh she mhma you: lü kdo-pooi poh=kti.*
 Thang Xung ERG cow five kill NF feast.of.honour do=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang Xung killed five cows and gave a feast of honour.’

The following example shows *pooi kdo* ‘a good feast’ not as compound but in the more customary word order and in a predicative function.

- (69) *Loon=a i:m-kaai-pooi ta pooi kdo ni.*
 Loon=GEN house-climb-feast FOC feast good EMPH
 ‘As for Loon’s house-warming feast, it was a good feast.’

The following example shows a nominalization preceding and modifying the head of the compound¹.

- (70) **Modifier** + **Head Noun** →
ju-oo:k + *pooi* → *ju-oo:k-pooi*
 ‘rice wine-drinking’ ‘feast’ ‘rice wine-feast’

¹ Note that although a lot of rice wine is consumed during all Daai feasts, this feast (72) is a special type of feast where no cows are killed but the people just drink rice wine and tell stories.

3.3.3.5 Verb-Verb compounding

Compounding of two verbs that results in a new lexeme

The compounding of two verbs that leads to a new lexeme is rare. There are a few examples of verbs with rather specific meaning that create a new verb of more generic meaning.

- (71) a *shaa:t* + *pat* → *shaa:t-pat*
 ‘cut down’ ‘break’ ‘destroy’
- b *tuk* + *shaa:t* → *tuk-shaa:t*
 ‘fight’ ‘cut down’ ‘destroy’

Compounding of verbs with the same or similiar meaning that does not result in a new lexeme

This kind of compounding, like one type of noun compounding already mentioned above, is a stylistic device. Frequently both verbs can also occur individually. The majority of compound verbs ‘chime’ alliteratively with each other, having the same onset but different vowels and coda.

- (72) a *khüüi* + *khoom* → *khüüi-khoom*
 ‘work’ ‘work’ ‘work’
- b *diim* + *deih* → *diim-deih*
 ‘quiet’ ‘peaceful’ ‘quiet’
- c *hnip* + *hnooi* → *hnip-hnooi*
 ‘soft’ ‘soft’ ‘soft’

There are of course also many compound verbs that do not have these forms of alliteration.

- (73) a *kpet* + *mjak* → *kpet-mjak*
 ‘oppose’ ‘oppose’ ‘oppose’
- b *khu:n* + *yai* → *khun-yai*
 ‘tie’ ‘tie’ ‘tie’
- c *mküüi* + *mtou* → *mküüi-mtou*
 ‘praise’ ‘praise’ ‘praise’

3.3.4 Verb stem alternation

Verb stem alternation is a morpho-phonemic process that does not result in semantic changes in the verb. About 20% of all Daai verbs have two verb stems which show morphological alternations that are not linked to a single parameter such as tense or transitivity (see also Hartmann 2002). In this study the two stems are called Stem A and Stem B. Other linguists use different terms such as Stem I and Stem II or Form I and Form II.

The Table below gives an overview of the syntactic conditions for verb stem selection which will be discussed in section 4.2.3

Table 3.1: Verb Stem Selection Patterns

<i>General pattern</i>	<i>Stem</i>		<i>Alternate Condition</i>	<i>Stem</i>	
	A	B		A	B
indicative (intransitive)		X	causatives or applicatives	X	
indicative (transitive)	X		focus shift		X
			negative		X
interrogative		X	narrow focus (applicatives)		X
imperative		X	(applicatives)		X
subjunctive		X			
non-final clause chain		X	(applicatives)		X
non-final adverbial	X		adverbials with <i>kkhai</i> or <i>lüphi</i>		X
nominalization	X		noun-verb compounding		X

In the following section the phonological patterns of verb stem alternation will be discussed.

3.3.4.1 Modification of phonological features in verb stem alternation

What happens in verb stem alternation can be described partly as mutation and partly as subtractive morphology. Mutation is understood as the change of one or more phonemes in the base form (Kroeger 2005 :289). Subtractive morphology refers to “a morphological process which, instead of adding material, actually deletes one or more phonemes from the base.

3.3.4.2 *Patterns of verb stem alternation*Group 1

It is assumed that stem A is the base form of verbs in group 1 and stem B the derived form. Stem B forms are predictable and always have a short vowel, no coda and low tone. Stem A forms have normally a long vowel, high tone and an alveolar or velar plosive as coda. This is shown in examples (78)a to f. However, there is also the odd example (74)g where stem A has low tone. Sometimes, although this is rare, stem A can have a short vowel followed by a velar plosive as coda, as in examples (74)h and i.

	Stem A		Stem B	Gloss	Transitivity
(74)	a	<i>pee:t</i>	→	<i>pe</i>	‘give’ trans
	c	<i>shee:t</i>	→	<i>she</i>	‘be bad’ intrans
	d	<i>ngjaa:k</i>	→	<i>ngja</i>	‘hear’ trans
	e	<i>kyaa:k</i>	→	<i>kya</i>	‘fall’ intrans
	f	<i>oo:k</i>	→	<i>o</i>	‘drink’ trans
	g	<i>kyoot</i>	→	<i>kyo</i>	‘rot’ intrans
	h	<i>tuk</i>	→	<i>tu</i>	‘stab’ trans
	i	<i>kyuk</i>	→	<i>kyu</i>	‘fall over’ intrans

To consider stem A as the derived form would leave us with an unpredictable process of derivation and three different derivational suffixes:

$$\text{Stem B} + \begin{matrix} (\text{V} [\text{H}] \text{k}) \\ (\text{V} [\text{L}/\text{H}] \text{-t}) \\ \text{-k} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \text{Stem A}$$

Therefore I argue that Stem B is the reduced form from which some phonemes have been deleted. The morphological process that is active in the stem alternation of this group of verbs can be called subtractive morphology.

With verbs that can only function in combination with the suffix *naa:k/na* it is not the verb stem itself which shows stem alternation but the suffix *naa:k/na* (see 3.3.1.6).

	Stem A	Stem B	Gloss
(75)	a	<i>ksa:ng-naa:k</i>	<i>ksa:ng-na</i> ‘believe’
	b	<i>kphya-naa:k</i>	<i>kphya-na</i> ‘love’
	c	<i>i:m-naa:k</i>	<i>i:m-na</i> ‘use as house’, inhabit’

Group 2

The examples discussed below lead to the assumption that for this group of verbs stem B is the base form and stem A is the predictable, derived form. The process of derivation is mainly mutation and it can be observed that phonemes are changed. In this group stem A verbs always have a glottal stop as coda and either a short vowel or an *i* off-glide.

Stem B verbs can occur with an open syllable and usually with high tone. But there is also the odd example with low tone, as shown in example (76)b.

	Stem A		Stem B	Gloss	Transitivity
(76) a	<i>hneh</i>	←	<i>hne:</i>	‘touch’	trans
b	<i>thih</i>	←	<i>thi</i>	‘die’	intrans
c	<i>hmuh</i>	←	<i>hmu:</i>	‘see’	trans
d	<i>ngkoh</i>	←	<i>ngko:</i>	‘lie down’	intrans

Stem B occurs frequently with a long vowel, high tone and bilabial, alveolar or velar plosives as coda as shown in the examples (77)a to c.

(77) a	<i>kboh</i>	←	<i>kboo:p</i>	‘clap hands’	trans
b	<i>shuh</i>	←	<i>shuu:t</i>	‘untie’	trans
c	<i>buh</i>	←	<i>buu:k</i>	‘push’	trans

Stem B can also occur with a short vowel as shown in the examples (78)a to c.

(78) a	<i>kyah</i>	←	<i>kyap</i>	‘cry’	intrans
b	<i>büh</i>	←	<i>bük</i>	‘look	trans
c	<i>kkoh</i>	←	<i>kkot</i>	‘carry’	trans

Stem B can occur with long vowels and an *i* off-glide. In this case the stem B form has mostly a high tone but there are also occasional examples with low tone, as in (79)a and d.

(79) a	<i>ngngaih</i>	←	<i>ngngaai</i>	‘think’	intrans
b	<i>kbeih</i>	←	<i>kbeei:</i>	‘slap’	trans
c	<i>ngdüih</i>	←	<i>ngdüüi:</i>	‘stand’	intrans
d	<i>buih</i>	←	<i>buui</i>	‘pour out’	trans
e	<i>boih</i>	←	<i>booi:</i>	‘cook’	trans

Stem B can also occur with an *u* off-glide but only in combination with the vowel *o*. In contrast to the vowels that precede the *i* off-glide, *o* is always a short vowel. It has nearly always high tone except for the odd example in (80) d.

(80)	a	<i>phyoh</i>	←	<i>phyou:</i>	‘weed field’	trans
	b	<i>thoh</i>	←	<i>thou:</i>	‘get up’	intrans
	c	<i>ngkhyoh</i>	←	<i>ngkhyou:</i>	‘wrestle’	intrans
	d	<i>yoh</i>	←	<i>you</i>	‘kill as sacrifice’	trans

Group 3

It is assumed that for this verb group stem B is the base form and stem A is the predictable, derived form. The process of derivation is mutation.

In this group of verbs the stem A form always has an alveolar nasal as coda. It always has low tone and may have a short or a long vowel. Stem B has always a velar nasal as coda, it may have high tone and the vowel length does not change.

		Stem A	←	Stem B	Gloss	Transitivity
(81)	a	<i>kphyan</i>	←	<i>kphya:ng</i>	‘spread out’	trans
	b	<i>ten</i>	←	<i>teng</i>	‘look’	intrans
	c	<i>nglin</i>	←	<i>ngli:ng</i>	‘plant’	trans
	d	<i>don</i>	←	<i>do:ng</i>	‘run’	intrans
	e	<i>xün</i>	←	<i>xü:ng</i>	‘live’	intrans
	f	<i>bün</i>	←	<i>büng</i>	‘put on (head)’	trans
	g	<i>mtaan</i>	←	<i>mtaa:ng</i>	‘put unto’	trans
	h	<i>vaan</i>	←	<i>vaang</i>	‘enter’	intrans
	i	<i>kpyeen</i>	←	<i>kpyee:ng</i>	‘to scatter’	trans
	j	<i>joon</i>	←	<i>joong</i>	‘fly’	intrans
	k	<i>suun</i>	←	<i>suung</i>	‘trap’	trans

Group 4

Since apart from tone there are no other changes for this group it is not easy to come to a conclusion about the base and the derived form. However, if we look at the stem A and stem B forms of Group 2 and Group 3, we see that there is no high tone to be found in stem A forms and for stem B forms high tone is rather frequent. Therefore, in analogy with Group 2 and Group 3, it is assumed that also for Group 4 the stem B form is the base and the stem A form the derived form.

The stem A forms for this verb group always have low tone. They can have a bilabial, alveolar or velar nasal as coda, vowels can be short or long. This is shown in the examples below.

		Stem A		Stem B	Gloss	Transitivity
(82)	a	<i>hnim</i>	←	<i>hni:m</i>	‘kill’	trans
	b	<i>süm</i>	←	<i>sü:m</i>	‘keep safe’	trans
	c	<i>pyen</i>	←	<i>pye:n</i>	‘speak’	trans
	d	<i>xon</i>	←	<i>xo:n</i>	‘put into’	trans
	e	<i>kyeem</i>	←	<i>kyee:m</i>	‘be reduced’	intrans
	f	<i>hjuum</i>	←	<i>hjuu:m</i>	‘hold firm’	trans
	g	<i>kkaan</i>	←	<i>kkaa:n</i>	‘transgress’	intrans
	h	<i>khoon</i>	←	<i>khoo:n</i>	‘tie together’	trans
	i	<i>kkuung</i>	←	<i>kkuu:ng</i>	‘heap up’	trans

Stem A forms can also have an *i* off-glide and is in this case mostly preceded by a long vowel. However, there are also the odd examples with a short vowel in (83)e and with a short vowel and an *u* off-glide in (83)f. The stem B form of this verb group always has a high tone, as can be seen in the examples (82) and (83).

		Stem A		Stem B	Gloss	Transitivity
(83)	a	<i>käüi</i>	←	<i>käüi:</i>	‘dried up’	intrans
	b	<i>kheei</i>	←	<i>kheei:</i>	‘hatch’	intrans
	c	<i>phyooi</i>	←	<i>phyooi:</i>	‘to waste’	trans
	d	<i>khüüi</i>	←	<i>khüüi:</i>	‘work’	intrans
	e	<i>khyüi</i>	←	<i>khyüi:</i>	‘stitch’	trans
	f	<i>pou</i>	←	<i>pou:</i>	‘appear’	intrans

Summary

The following Table provides an overview of the different patterns of verb stem alternation found in Daai Chin. In this Table the syllable onset and prefixes are not taken into consideration. V stands for a short vowel, VV for a long vowel, H for high tone, L for low tone and *-h* for a glottal stop.

Table 3.2: Patterns of Verb Stem Alternation

	Stem A		Stem B
Group 1	[VV (L/H) - <i>t/k</i>]	→	[V (L)]
	[V (L) - <i>k</i>]	→	[V (L)]
Group 2	[V (L) - <i>h</i>]	←	[V (L/H)]
	[V (L) - <i>h</i>]	←	[VV (H) - <i>p/t/k</i>]
	[V (L) - <i>h</i>]	←	[V (L) - <i>p/t/k</i>]
	[V (L) - <i>ih</i>]	←	[VV (L/H)]
	[<i>o</i> (L) - <i>h</i>]	←	[<i>ou</i> (L/H)]
Group 3	[V/VV (L) - <i>n</i>]	←	[V/VV (H/L) - <i>ng</i>]
Group 4	[V/VV (L) - <i>m/n/ng</i>]	←	[V/VV (H) - <i>m/n/ng</i>]
	[V/VV (L) - <i>i</i>]	←	[V/VV (H) - <i>i</i>]
	[<i>o</i> (L) - <i>u</i>]	←	[<i>o</i> (H) - <i>u</i>]

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that Daai has few affixes and these are mostly prefixes. The four derivational prefixes *k-*, *m-*, *ng-* and *a-* function in various derivational processes. Daai has no inflectional morphology; inflectional categories like case- and tense-markers are realized in the form of clitics.

Conversion, especially conversions from verbs to nominals, is frequent and a robust process.

We find a lot of compounding, noun-noun compounds, verb-verb compounds and mixed types. Noun-noun compounds can be endocentric, exocentric, resulting in super generic nouns or stylistic devices. Noun-verb compounding can result in nouns or exocentric verb forms. There are also a few occurrences of adjective-noun compounds and they result in specified nouns. Verb-verb compounding is rather frequent but does hardly ever lead to the formation of new lexemes.

Finally we have looked at verb stem alternation, which shows modification of phonological features, such as mutation and subtractive morphology, but does not result in semantic changes of the verb.

4 *Parts of speech*

Parts of speech are also called ‘grammatical categories’ or ‘word classes’. They are commonly divided into major categories – nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs – and minor categories such as pronouns, demonstratives, question words, conjunctions and others.

In this chapter the major and some minor parts of speech, their semantic and grammatical characteristics and their subtypes are described. Some minor word classes, for example question words and subordinators, are only listed here because they are discussed in other chapters.

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 *List of properties that distinguish nouns*

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur prenominally and are used to link a noun with a previous proposition.

NP [DEM.PRON N] [asun=**a** thi:ng]
 DEM=CF tree
 ‘that tree’

Possession

Possession is shown through the genitive marker =*a* on a possessor nominal and always precedes a possessed noun.

NP [N=GEN N] [nukpüi=*a* lou:]
 old.woman=GEN field
 ‘the field of the old woman’

Relative clause

Only nouns can be modified by relative clauses.

Gender

Occasionally nouns appear with gender marking. Gender marking never appears with any other part of speech.

NP [N GEND] [ui: ngxü]
 dog GEND:male
 'male dog'

Classifier

Although classifiers are rare, they do occasionally appear but only with nouns. They tend to occur together with numerals greater than two.

NP [N CLASSF NUM] [jih nglep kthum]
 blanket CLASSF three
 'three blankets'

Adjectives and modifiers

Some nouns can be modified by adjectives and other modifiers.

NP [NADJ] [kkhom kshe]
 bear bad
 'bad bear'

Quantifier

Some nouns can be modified by quantifiers.

NP [N ... QUANT] [kpa:mi ... akhäk]
 man some
 'some men'

Number

All nouns that refer to humans are obligatorily marked by plural *-e* or dual *-xooi*.

NP [N ... NUM] [hnashen ... =xooi]
 child DU
 'two children'

Postnominal demonstratives

Postnominal demonstratives are almost obligatory and occur only with nominals.

NP [N ... DEM] [pakshe ... sun]
 old.man DEM
 'the old man'

Case

Some cases are zero, case-markers that are not zero must occur with nominals.

NP [N ... CASE] [*pakshe ... =iing*]
 old.man CASE:DAT
 'to the old man'

Negation

Nominals cannot be negated in the noun phrase.

NP [NEG N] * [*am nghngi-siim*]
 not human.being

The Table 4.1 below provides an overview of the properties of nominals.

Table 4.1: Properties of Nominals

	Common Noun	Proper Noun	Inherently Possessed Noun	Nature Noun	Location/Direction/ Associative Nouns
Dem. Pronoun	X			X	
Possession	X	X	X		X
Relative clause	X	X	X		
Gender	X				
Classifier	X				
Adj. /Modifier	X	X		X	
Number	X		X		
Quantifier	X				
Postnom.Dem	X		X	(X) ¹	X
Negation					
Case	X	X	X	X	X

4.1.2 Some properties that give evidence for noun-hood

Only some of the properties of nouns are discussed here: possession, REL-clause, case and negation.

Possession

In (1)a is an example of a noun *phüih* possessed by the noun *pakshe*.

(1) a [*pakshe*]_N=a [*phüih*]_N sun
 old.man=GEN load DEM
 'the load of the old man'

¹ Only certain subgroups of nature nouns can occur with postnominal demonstratives.

In (1)b the morpheme *phüüi* is a verb and cannot be possessed. *Phüüi* is identified as a verb because this stem form (B) cannot be nominalized by zero-derivation.

- b **[pakshe]_N=a [phüüi]_V sun*
 old.man=GEN carry DEM

Relative clause

In (2)a the REL-clause modifies the nominal *kpa:-mi*.

- (2) a *[Thi:ng-ngbaan=üing ngkhäi=kti]_{REL-CL} [kpa:-mi]_N sun*
 tree-branch=INSTR rock=NON.FUT man DEM
 'the man who is rocking on the tree branch'

In (2)b *sit* is a verb and cannot be relativized.

- b **[Thi:ng-ngbaan=üing ngkhäi=kti]_{REL-CL} [sit]_V sun*
 tree-branch=INSTR rock=NON.FUT go DEM

Case

In (3)a the nominal *be-be* occurs with the dative case marker =*üing*.

- (3) a *Be-be=üing kshoh nghmon=a.*
 older.brother=DAT door open=IMP
 'Open the door for the older brother!'

Example (3)b is ungrammatical because only nominals - and no agreement forms - can take case.

- b *Kshoh nah(*=üing) nghmon=a.*
 door O.AGR:1S=DAT open=IMP

Negation

Nouns cannot be preceded by negation markers. The following set of examples shows an equational clause. In (4)a the copula *ni* is optional.

- (4) a *Ah kkhyu: hin Sheen Nääng (ni).*
 POSS:3S wife DEM Sheen Nääng (COP)
 'His wife is Sheen Nääng.'

Example (4)b shows, that the negation marker *am* cannot precede a noun, with or without the copula *ni*. Therefore the copula *ni* becomes obligatory in the negative equational clause.

- b **Ah kkhyu: hin am Sheen Nääng (ni)*
 POSS:3S wife DEM NEG Sheen Nääng (cop)
 'His wife is not Sheen Nääng.'

(4)c shows that negation is possible but only on the copula.

- c *Ah kkhyu: hin Sheen Nääng am ni.*
 POSS:3S wife DEM Sheen Nääng NEG COP
 'His wife is not Sheen Nääng.'

4.1.3 Subtypes of nouns

In this section the five subtypes of nouns and their grammatical characteristics will be discussed. These subtypes are: common nouns, proper nouns, inherently possessed nouns, 'nature' nouns and location/direction/associative nouns.

4.1.3.1 The common noun

Common nouns often express concrete and physical entities. Most common nouns can occur with all the constituents of the noun phrase. In (5) the noun *ksi:m* 'knife' is possessed, modified by an adjective, occurs with a demonstrative and the instrumental case-marker =*üng*.

- (5) *Kah ksi:m kshaai hin=üng kah*
 POSS:1S knife ADJ:long DEM=INSTR S.AGR:1S

ni:ng pat-shüm vai ni.
 O.AGR:2S cut.through SUBJ EMPH
 'I would cut you down with my long knife.'

The following example shows *ksi:m* 'knife' as possessed, with modified adjective, classifier, numeral, polyquantifier and demonstrative.

- (6) *Ah ksi:m kxaa:t nu: nghjang mhma*
 POSS:3S knife ADJ:sharp MOD:very CLASS NUM:five

abäng sun khyük=kti ni.
 PQUANT:all DEM disappear=NON.FUT EMPH
 'All of his five very sharp knives have disappeared.'

In (7) the noun *ye* 'enemy' has a demonstrative pronoun, gender-marking, adjective, quantifier, demonstrative and ergative case marking.

- (7) *Asun=a ye pa: kshe akhäk sun=noh*
 DEM=CF enemy GEND:male bad QUANT:some DEM=ERG

kah-nih ngna:m thü:=kti=e.
 POSS:1DU/PL.EXCL village destroy=NON.FUT=PL
 'Some of these bad enemies destroyed our village'

4.1.3.2 Proper nouns

Personal names

Daai names that are used to address and identify particular persons may consist of one to four monosyllabic morphemes. A complete personal name consists of at least two elements. In a name consisting of two parts, as shown in the examples (8) and (9) the second part of the person's name is the first part of the father's name. Therefore *Sho Khe:ng* (9) can be the father of *Ngling Sho* (8).

- (8) *Ngling Sho*

- (9) *Sho Khe:ng*

The names in (10)a to (10)e all refer to the same person. One may talk about oneself using the short form *Ngling* as in (10)b or can be called so by close friends or family members. Examples (10)c – e are frequently used extensions of personal names. They are mostly used when the person referred to, is outside of his/her own village. The use of the postposition =*üing* in example (10)d is optional.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| (10) | a | <i>Ngling Sho</i> | | |
| | b | <i>Ngling</i> | | |
| | c | <i>Yang Msaai Ngling Sho</i> | } 'Ngling Sho from the Yang Msaai village' | |
| | d | <i>Yang Msaai=üing Ngling Sho</i> | | |
| | e | <i>Ngshing Sa: Ngling Sho</i> | | 'Ngling Sho from the Ngshing Sa clan' |

Personal names can be possessed as in example (11) and prenominally modified by relative clauses as shown in (12) but do not occur with a demonstrative pronouns (13).

- (11) *Kah Yok Ui Yok ta pha lo be=kkhai ni.*
 POSS:3S Yok Ui Yok FOC arrive DIR:come back=FUT EMPH
 'As for my Yok Ui Yok, he will come back.'

- (12) *Thi:ng-ngbaan=üing ngkhäi=kti*
 tree-branch=INSTR swing=NON.FUT
- Yok Ui Yok sun ah hmuh.*
 Yok Ui Yok DEM S.AGR:3S see
 'She saw Yok Ui Yok, who was swaying on a tree branch.'
- (13) **Asun=a Yok Ui Yok ta ...*
 DEM.PRON:that=CF Yok Ui Yok FOC
 'As for that Yok Ui Yok ...'

Personal names can occur with demonstratives and case-markers (14).

- (14) *Ling Sho sun=noh ngshe kkhyäi=kti.*
 Ling Sho DEM=ERG horse buy=NON.FUT
 'Ling Sho bought a horse.'

4.1.3.3 *Inherently possessed nouns*

Daai distinguishes between inherently possessed and optionally possessed nouns and nouns that cannot be possessed. The class of inherently possessed nouns includes kinship terms, relationship nouns and body parts. They require reference to a possessor. The possessor can be either another noun or noun phrase marked by genitive case or any of the subject agreement forms. The possessive expression always precedes the noun head. In the next section I review each group of inherently possessed nouns.

Kinship terms

Kinship terms are a closed and relatively small class of nouns. Below are examples of some kinship terms. Supporting charts are found in the appendix. In these examples possession is shown by the *kah* 'my'. *Kah* is the subject agreement form for first person singular. Note that the alternative expressions like *paai* 'father in (15)a do not show a possessor. The usage of the alternate expressions implies that the speaker talks about his own kin and possession marking is optional.

	Possessed kinship term	Alternative expression	Gloss
(15)	a <i>kah pa:</i>	<i>paai</i>	'my father'
	b <i>kah nu:</i>	<i>näïi</i>	'my mother'
	c <i>kah be</i>	<i>be-be</i>	'my older brother'

Relationship nouns

Relationship nouns form a smaller group than kinship terms. There is a semantic difference between kinship terms and relationship nouns. Whereas with kinship terms the possessor and the 'possessed' individual belong to the same kinship group or to the same clan, this is not necessarily the case with relationship nouns. The following examples show some relationship nouns.

	Possessed relationship noun	Gloss
(16)	a <i>kah khong-pa:</i>	'my husband'
	b <i>kah ngteh-püi</i>	'my friend of same age'
	c <i>kah mah-pa:</i>	'my master'

Example (17) shows the relationship noun *mah-pa:* with possessor, demonstrative and case-marking.

- (17) *Ui=a mah-pa: sun=noh ah kshe-naa:k, ah te.*
 dog=GEN master DEM=ERG S.AGR:3S scold S.AGR:3S beat.
 'The dog's master scolded him and beat him.'

Kinship nouns and relationship nouns cannot occur with demonstrative pronouns therefore the following example is ungrammatical.

- (18) **Asun=a ah mah-pa: sun=noh ...*
 DEM.PRON=CF POSS:3S master DEM=ERG

As (19) shows, kinship nouns can also be modified by relative clauses.

- (19) *Jah mkhuh-mhlih khei=kti nih nu:*
 O.AGR:1/3DU/PL give.trouble ASP:habit=NON.FUT POSS:1PL.INC mother
sän=noh jah bük lo she.
 DEM=ERG O.AGR:1/3DU/PL look DIR:come let
 'Let our mother, who used to give us trouble, come and look at us!'

The examples above show that these noun classes occur with demonstratives and case-marking. Most kinship terms and relationship nouns can also be marked for number and some can occur with quantifiers.

Body parts

Body parts of humans and animals are also inherently possessed. Below are some examples.

(20)	Possessed body part	Gloss
	<i>kah lu</i>	‘my head’
	<i>kah ha</i>	‘my eye’
	<i>kah mik</i>	‘my eye’

Body parts can occur with case-marking (see 5.6.1). The following example shows *mik* ‘eye’ as a possessed noun and also marked as possessor.

(21)	<i>Kah</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>nu:=a</i>	<i>mik=a</i>	<i>le-naa:k</i>	<i>ni.</i>
	POSS:1S	cow	GEND=GEN	eye=GEN	blackness-reason	EMPH
	‘This is the reason that my cow is sad.’ (lit: ‘has black eyes’)					

In (22) *ha* ‘tooth’ is unpossessed and therefore the sentence is ungrammatical.

(22)	<i>*Ha=noh</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>mshou:-ei</i>	<i>kkhüt=kti.</i>
	tooth=ERG	O.AGR:1S	hurt	very.much=NON.FUT
	‘Tooth hurts me very much.’			

This section has described kinship terms, relationship nouns and body parts and shown that these subtypes need a possessor to function grammatically.

4.1.3.4 ‘Nature’ nouns

All ‘nature’ nouns are in a compound relationship with the morpheme *kho*. For some of these nouns *kho* is an obligatory part, for others compounding with *kho* is optional. *Kho* is a morpheme that cannot really be translated into another language. It is not just a lexeme, it is a concept deeply rooted in the world view of the Daai people. *Kho* is ‘nature’ and refers to natural phenomena and matters which are not made by man. Some of these matters are for man to use, like the nouns connected with land and rice planting. But many of these matters have come under the ownership of the *kho-yaai* the spirits. Some of these ‘nature’ nouns belong to the rare group of unpossessable nouns: *kho-mdek* ‘earth in a global sense’ and *kho-liva* ‘space between heaven and earth’. All of the time related nouns (except for *kho-mhnüü:p*

‘day’ and *kho-mthan* ‘night’) and all of the weather nouns are non-possessible. Of the nouns related to spirit worship, only *kho-kkheih* ‘sacrifice for the spirits’, is possessible. ‘Nature’ nouns are characterized by common semantic and morphological features. However they do not all share the same grammatical properties. The following lists show the most frequently occurring ‘nature’ nouns.

Nouns connected with land, earth, rice planting

Most of these nouns can occur with demonstrative pronouns, relative clauses, modifiers, genitive case marking and demonstratives.

	Gloss	Status of <i>kho</i>
(23) <i>kho-mdek</i>	‘earth’ - global	obligatory
<i>kho-mdek</i>	‘soil, land’	optional
<i>kho-yam</i>	‘land for planting rice’	obligatory
<i>kho-hmün</i>	‘plot of land’	optional
<i>kho-msuu:ng</i>	‘mountain’	optional
<i>kho-ngju:ng</i>	‘mountain range’	obligatory
<i>kho-liva</i>	‘empty space between heaven and earth’	obligatory

Nouns that are time related

The time-related nouns marked by *z* are convertible to verbs by zero-derivation. Some of these nouns can occur with demonstrative pronouns.

	Gloss	Status of <i>kho</i>
(24) <i>kho-kum</i>	‘year’	optional
<i>kho-mhniüi:p_z</i>	‘day’	optional
<i>kho-mthan_z</i>	‘night’	optional
<i>kho-kyaa:k_z</i>	‘sun set’	obligatory
<i>kho-thaai_z</i>	‘day break’	obligatory

Weather nouns

The weather nouns marked by *z* are convertible to verbs by zero-derivation. Some of the weather nouns can be modified or intensified, all of them can be marked by case and demonstratives.

	Gloss	Status of <i>kho</i>
(25) <i>kho-mik</i>	‘sun’	obligatory
<i>kho-ngmei_z</i>	‘cloud’	obligatory
<i>kho-khi_z</i>	‘wind’	obligatory
<i>kho-k’a_z</i>	‘rain’	obligatory
<i>kho-nghmüüm_z</i>	‘thunder’	obligatory
<i>kho-shik</i>	‘winter’	obligatory
<i>kho-yoh</i>	‘weather’	obligatory

Nouns related to spirit worship

Except for *kho-yaai* ‘spirit’ these nouns mostly behave like common nouns. They can be possessed, modified, occur with demonstratives and take case-marking.

	Gloss	Status of <i>kho</i>
(26) <i>kho-yaai</i>	‘spirit’	optional
<i>kho-tu</i>	‘spirit priest’	obligatory
<i>kho-kkheih</i>	‘sacrifice for the spirits’	obligatory
<i>kho-ni:ng</i>	‘customs of spirit worship’	obligatory

4.1.3.5 *Location/direction/associative nouns*

These nouns look and behave rather like postpositions, because they are a closed class and take nouns as arguments. However, they are frequently possessed, are often followed by a demonstrative and can be marked by locative cause. Therefore they are analyzed as nouns. They occur frequently as bound morphemes and as the second part of a compound noun. As second part of a compound noun they are in a genitive relationship with the first part, though the possessive marking is often omitted.

Location nouns

Location nouns are also sometimes called ‘relator nouns’¹. Relator nouns that do not occur together with another noun are either possessed by a morpheme that is drawn from the subject agreement forms or prefixed by *a-* (see 3.3.1.4). Below is a list of some location nouns.

¹ See Watters (1998:158 and 274)

Location Nouns	Gloss
<i>hlong</i>	‘near’
<i>pei</i>	‘beside’
<i>k’um</i>	‘inside’
<i>kkeh</i>	‘between’
<i>kke:</i>	‘underneath’
<i>kkhaan</i>	‘above’
<i>pa:m</i>	‘on top of’
<i>hnu</i>	‘behind’
<i>nglung</i>	‘middle’
<i>veei:</i>	‘place’
<i>mong</i>	‘about’

Example (27) and (29) show the location nouns *pei* ‘beside’ and *hnu* ‘behind’ as second members of a compound nouns. (28) shows that possessive marking is optional. All three examples show that the compound nouns are followed by demonstratives.

- (27) *Msääi nu: sun khuui-pei su ngshut=kti.*
 Msääi GEND DEM cave-beside DEM sit=NON.FUT
 ‘The Msääi woman sat beside the cave.’
- (28) *Msääi nu: sun khuui(=a) pei: su ngshut=kti.*
 Msääi GEND DEM cave(=GEN) beside DEM sit=NON.FUT
 ‘The Msääi woman sat beside the cave.’
- (29) *Ksoong-hnu su shangpho nglin=kti=e.*
 hut-behind DEM chilly plant=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘They plant chilly behind the hut.’

In the following set of examples *pei* and *hnu* are possessed and are marked by locative case.

- (30) *Kah pei=a ta-lo=a*
 POSS:1S beside=LOC put-DIR:come=IMP
 ‘Put [it] beside me.’
- (31) *Kah hnu=a nah ve=kti ta.*
 POSS:1S behind=LOC S.AGR:2S stay-NON.FUT FOC
 ‘You were behind me [how about that]!’

In the last set of examples *pei* and *hnu* appear as independent nouns prefixed with *a-* (see 3.3.1.1).

- (32) *Apei sa=a nghlok-ei bä.*
 side little=LOC bathe TAG
 ‘Just bathe at the side, will you.’

Note that in (33) the independent location noun *ahnü* ‘back’ occurs in a compound relationship with the direction noun *da* ‘direction’ which will be discussed below.

- (33) *Kpa:-mi-sa: sun ah pu=a nglaam sun kyüh*
 young.man DEM POSS:3S father.in.law=GEN dancing DEM fear

lï ahnu-da ngnoon=kti.
 NF back-direction move=NON.FUT
 ‘The young man was afraid of his father-in-law’s dancing and moved to the back.’

For other location nouns, like *kkeh* ‘between’ in the example (34) and *kke:* ‘underneath in (35), the possessive marking by =*a* is obligatory.

- (34) *Ahin=a kkhom pa: kshe=xooi=*(a) kkeh=a*
 DEM.PRO=CF bear gend:male bad=DU=GEN between=LOC
 ‘I slept between these two bad bears.’

kah ip=kti ni.
 S.AGR:1S sleep=TNS EMPH

 (35) *Mnaka=a i:m sun tui=*(a) kke:=a ve=kti*
 water.snake=GEN house DEM water=GEN underneath=LOC is=NON.FUT
 ‘The house of the water snake is under the water.’

The location noun *veei:* ‘place’ is unique in the sense that it occurs only with human nouns or in fables with animals having human properties.

- (36) *Ling sun ah nu:-pa:=a veei: su*
 Ling DEM POSS:3S mother-father=GEN place DEM

kyap vaai=kti.
 cry DIR:go=NON.FUT
 ‘Ling went and cried [in front of his parents].’

 (37) *Ksho Kbiit ta Dou: Pai Tüüt=a veei: su sit be=kti.*
 weaver.bird FOC quail=GEN place DEM go return=NON.FUT
 ‘The weaver bird went in return to the quail.’

Example (38) shows *veei:* as possessed by an agreement form.

- (38) *Kah veei:=a lo=u=a*
 POSS:1S place=LOC come=PL=IMP
 'Come to me!'

Direction nouns

Direction nouns have less nominal features than location nouns. They cannot become independent nouns through prefixation with *a-* and they cannot occur with possessors drawn from the subject agreement forms. They are in a genitive relationship with the compound noun which they modify, and they can occur with demonstratives. For some direction nouns possessive marking by *=a* is obligatory. Below is a list a direction nouns.

Direction Nouns Gloss

<i>da</i>	'direction', 'side'
<i>säp</i>	'end', 'as far as'
<i>kkhyüh</i>	'from', 'outwards', 'onwards'
<i>vei</i>	'until'

Examples (39) and (40) show *da* and *säp* in compound relationships and followed by demonstratives.

- (39) *Nghnu-mi-sa: sun i:m-da su*
 young.girl DEM house-direction DEM

do:ng be=kti.
 run back=NON.FUT
 'The young girl ran back home.'

- (40) *Kho-msuu.ng-säp su nah-nih ngvoon vai*
 mountain-as.far.as DEM S.AGR:2PL fence.in SUBJ
 'You should fence in [the land] up to the mountain.'

Movement away from a locality is marked by the *kkhyüh* 'outwards', 'from'. With this direction noun the genitive clitic *=a* is obligatory.

- (41) *Tui:-li (*=a) kkhyüh lut lo be=kti.*
 water-pond=GEN from come.out DIR:come back=NON.FUT
 'He came out again from the water pond.'

Kkhyüh occurs also with temporal expressions as shown in (42).

- (42) *Tuh-ngooi:=a kkhyüh lou:-phyoh sut-ei=kti=e.*
 today=GEN onwards field-weeding start=NON.FUT=PL
 'From today onwards they start the field-weeding.'

The direction nouns **kkhyüh** 'onwards' and **söp** 'as far as' can occur as a complementary pair with the meaning 'from – to'.

- (43) *Apa:m=a kkhyüh aphung-söp*
 top=GEN onwards base-as.far.as

ahok sun hlaai:-in=kti.
 bark DEM strip-MIR=NON.FUT
 'He stripped the bark from the top to the base [of the tree].'

Vei occurs only with temporal expressions.

- (44) *Ahin kho-mhniüp-vei su nah poh vai.*
 DEM.PRO noon-until DEM S.AGR:2S work SUBJ
 'You should work until noon time (today).'

Associative nouns

Associative nouns are used to indicate special relationships between the participant that is specified by them and other arguments in the sentence.

Associative Nouns Gloss

dä 'together'
phäh 'sake', 'on behalf'

The associative noun **dä**¹ marks animate entities for their participation in an action.

- (45) *Be-be=a dä su mo:=a kah-nih sit=kti=e.*
 brother=GEN together DEM jungle=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL go=NON.FUT=PL
 'We went to the jungle with my older brother.'

¹ The associative noun **dä** can be substituted, without change of meaning, by the morpheme *mah-mah* 'together'. Since *mah-mah* can be neither possessed nor followed by a demonstrative it does not belong into this group of nouns. It may be one of the very rare postpositions in Daai.

The associative noun *phäh* ‘for the sake of’ marks the beneficiary of an action.

- (46) *Thang Ling=noh mah-pai=a phäh*
 Thang Ling=ERG aunt=GEN sake

ui: sa: ah kkhyäih lo pee:t.
 dog small S.AGR:3S buy DIR:come APPL:BEN
 ‘Thang Ling bought (and brought along) a puppy for his aunt.’

Conclusion

Table 4.1 is repeated to provide an overview of the noun types that have been described in this section and the properties they can occur with.

Table 4.2: Noun Types

	Common Noun	Proper Noun	Inherently Possessed Noun	Nature Noun	Location/ Direction/ Associative Nouns
Dem. pronoun	X			X	
Possession	X	X	X		X
Relative clause	X	X	X		
Gender	X				
Classifier	X				
Adj. /Modifier	X	X		X	
Number	X		X		
Quantifier	X				
Postnom.Dem	X		X	(X)	X
Negation					
Case	X	X	X	X	X

Pre-verbal directionals

Pre-verbal directionals are used to modify the direction of an action and directly precede the main verb. They do not occur with any other parts of speech.

V-cplx [DIR-V] [jäñ- xot]
 dir:upwards-throw
 'throw upwards'

Agent orientation

Most verbs can be modified for agent-orientation by the suffix *-ei* that occurs immediately after the verb

V-cplx [V-AO] [poh-ei]
 work-AO
 'work on his/her own'

Mirative

Most verbs can be marked by the mirative suffix *-in* that occurs immediately after the verb.

V-cplx [V-MIR] [hnim-in]
 kill-MIR
 'kill unintentionally'

Aspectuals

Most verbs can be modified by various aspectuals.

V-cplx [V...ASP] [ng'äi ...lä]
 sing ASP:HAB
 '(he) always sings'

Post-verbal directionals

Verbs are frequently modified by post-verbal directionals that do not occur with any other parts of speech.

V-cplx [V...DIR] [tha ...vaai]
 send DIR:go
 'go and send'

Applicatives

Most verbs can take applicatives.

V-cplx	[V...APPL]	[<i>voo:k ... püi</i>] cut.down APPL:COM '(he) cleared (the field) together with (them)'
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Modals

Most verbs can occur with epistemic or deontic modals.

V-cplx	[V... MOD]	[<i>sit ... shayü</i>] go MOD:definitely '(he will) definitely go'
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V-cplx	[V...MOD]	[<i>sit ... yah</i>] GO MOD:must '(he) must go'
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Onomatopoeic expressives

Some verbs can be modified by expressives that are sound-symbolic expressions.

Onomatopoeic expressives do not occur with any other parts of speech.

V-cplx	[V ONO]	[<i>ei xop-xop</i>] eat ONO:slurping '(he) eats with a slurping sound'
--------	---------	--

The first person marker

Verbs are marked for first person by the enclitic =*ngü*. The first person marker occurs only with verbs and is obligatory with negations.

V-cplx	[V...1PM]	[<i>am lo ...=ngü</i>] NEG come .1PM 'I am not coming'
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The Table 4.3 gives an overview over the properties of verbs. Some of these properties are restricted: for example pre-verbal directionals can only occur with certain subtypes of state verbs, reduplicated onomatopoeic expressives do hardly ever occur with state verbs and achievements, although achievements occur frequently with other onomatopoeic forms. These

restrictions and others that are not mentioned in this place will be discussed in Chapter 10 and 11.

Table 4.3: Properties of the Verb

Verb Properties	V e r b t y p e s			
	State	Activity	Accomplishment	Achievement
Negation	X	X	X	X
Agreement	X	X	X	X
Pre-verbal directional		X	X	
Intrinsic-Extrinsic	X	X	X	X
Aspectuals	X	X	X	X
Post-verbal directional		X	X	X
Applicatives		X	X	X
Adverbials	X	X	X	X
Modals	X	X	X	X
Onomatopoeic expressives		X	X	
First person marker	X	X	X	X

4.2.2 Some properties that give evidence for verb-hood

In this section we will only discuss negation, aspectuals and onomatopoeic expressives.

Negation

In example (47)a the verb *do* ‘good’ is directly preceded by the negation marker *am*.

- (47) a *Ahin ta am do.*
 DEM.PRON TOP NEG good
 ‘This is not good!’

The noun *akdo* ‘a good one’ cannot be preceded by *am*.

- b *Ahin=a (*am) akdo.*
 DEM.PRON=CF NEG good.one
 ‘This is not a good person.’

Aspectuals

In (48)a the aspectual *ha:m* modifies the verb *dii:k*.

- (48) a *Kah sa: sun dii:k ha:m=kti.*
 POSS:1S son DEM small ASP:yet=NON.FUT
 ‘My son is still young.’

In (48)b the aspectual *ha:m* cannot follow the derived adjective *kdi:k*.

b	<i>kah</i>	<i>sa:</i>	(* <i>kdi:k</i>)	<i>ha:m</i>
	POSS:1S	son	small	ASP:yet

Onomatopoeic expressives

In (49)a the verb *shuk* is modified by the onomatopoeic expressive *pyut-pyut*.

(49)	a	<i>Kshum</i>	<i>ah-nih</i>	<i>shuk</i>	<i>pyut-pyut</i>
		paddy	S.AGR:3DU/PL	pound	ONO
		'They pound the paddy [sounding 'pyut-pyut].'			

In (49)b *kshum-kshu* is a noun and cannot occur with an onomatopoeic expressive.

b	<i>kshum-kshu</i>	(* <i>pyut-pyut</i>)
	paddy-pounder	ONO

4.2.3 Verb stem alternation

About 20% of all Daai verbs have two forms in the lexicon. There is a clear phonological relationship between these two forms. I have called these two forms stem A and stem B. The two stems occur in different syntactical environments. For example: the non-future/realis marker =*kti* and the future marker =*kkhai* are always preceded by stem B; applicatives are always preceded by stem A.

According to the different patterns of stem alternation Daai verbs can be categorized into four groups. The phonological defined classes of stem alternation are described in detail in Chapter 3. The following examples just give an idea of the patterns phonological relationship between stem A and stem B.

	Stem A	Stem B	Gloss
(50) a	<i>pee:t</i>	<i>pe</i>	'give'
b	<i>phüih</i>	<i>phüüi</i>	'carry'
c	<i>don</i>	<i>do:ng</i>	'run'
d	<i>pyen</i>	<i>pye:n</i>	'speak'
e	<i>thoh</i>	<i>thou:</i>	'get up'

4.2.3.1 Conditions for stem selection

Alternating verb stems are found in most Chin languages. Many linguists have investigated verb stem alternation in Hakha Lai (Lehman 1996, Melnit 1997, Peterson 1998,

Hyman & VanBik 2002, Kathol & VanBik 2002, VanBik 2002). This phenomenon has received much less attention in other Chin languages. However Kee Shein Mang (2006) has recently written a ‘syntactic and pragmatic description’ of verb stem alternation in K’cho (also called Cho).

Although Lehman argues that the selection of stem I or stem II (equivalent to my stem A and stem B) depends on the transitivity of the verb, most other linguists who have recently investigated verb stem alternation in Hakha Lai have come to the conclusion that this distinction cannot be linked to one single parameter of variation but seems to be conditioned by an interplay of various constructional distinctions. The same has also been observed concerning the conditions for verb stem selection in Daai. Kathol & VanBik (2002) suggest that a natural approach to stem determination is in terms of **defaults** and **overrides**. These concepts are also useful for the description of stem selection in Daai.

4.2.3.2 *Verb stem selection in the indicative clause*

The default pattern for verb stem selection is more easy to recognize in the simple indicative clause.

Default pattern

In the indicative clause we find as a basic pattern **stem B** with **intransitive verbs** and **stem A** with **transitive verbs**. The following are examples of intransitive clauses.

- (51) *Kah do:ng=kti.*
 S.AGR:1S **run.B**-NON.FUT
 ‘I run/ran.’
- (52) *Nukpüi sun kyap=kti.*
 old.woman DEM **weep.B**-NON.FUT
 ‘The old woman wept.’

Example (53) shows a transitive clause with stem A verb form.

- (53) *Thi:ng-thu: phi kei:=noh kah kkoh lo.*
 tree-branch also 1S=ERG S.AGR:1S **carry.A** DIR:come
 ‘Also the tree branch only I [and nobody else] carried [home].’

Verb stem selection influenced by focus

Focus I understand primarily in terms of Role and Reference Grammar as intuitively new information in the discourse. In Daai focus is syntactically marked by the focus marker *ta* that is attached to new information. Compare example (54) with (53) above. In the example below the agent wants to inform the listener that it was him and nobody else who carried home the tree branch. Therefore the agent is in focus and stem B is selected in a transitive clause. This shows that focus overrides the default pattern for a transitive verb.

- (54) *Kei:=noh ta thi:ng-thu: kah kkot lo=kti.*
 1S=ERG FOC tree-branch S.AGR:1S **carry.B** DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'It was I who carried the tree branch home.'

In example (55) below the agents are not marked by *ta*. However, this sentence would serve as an answer for the question about who had shoot the deer and so the agents are again in focus and stem form B is selected.

- (55) *Ling jah Thang=noh sha:-kki kaa:p=kti=xooi.*
 Ling and Thang=ERG deer **shoot.B-NON.FUT=DU**
 'Ling and Thang shot a deer.'

4.2.3.3 *Verb stem selection and event-status markers*

The event-status markers combine the function of tense and realis marking. A sentence can only have have one of these three markers that are shown in the Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Event-Status Markers

Marker	Meaning
=kti	REALIS or NON-FUTURE: used for events that have occurred in past or present relative to the time of speech.
=kkhai	FUTURE: events that will occur in the future in the normal course of events.
vai	IRREALIS: used for events past, present or future which have not occurred; e.g. subjunctive and deontic.

The markers *=kti* and *=kkhai* can only be preceded by stem B. For examples with *=kti* see (52) and (54, 55) above. For examples with *=kkhai* see (56) and (57). This is true in transitive

clauses as well as in intransitive clauses. This leads to the conclusion that (non)-future marking overrides the default pattern for transitive clauses.

- (56) *Kah ni:ng kaa:p to:ng=kkhai ni.*
 S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S **shoot.B** to.death=FUT EMPH
 'I will kill you by shooting.'

Example (57) is ungrammatical because =*kkhai* cannot occur with stem A.

- (57) **Nah külak kah phüih(*=kkhai)*
 POSS:2S property S.AGR:1S **carry.A=FUT**

The subjunctive *vai* occurs always with stem A.

- (58) *Na:ng nah seh vai shü.*
 2S S.AGR:2S **go.A** SUBJ EMPH
 'You should definitely go.'

4.2.3.4 Verb stem selection and negations

Negative assertions require verb stem B regardless of the transitivity status of the verb.¹

The following are examples of intransitive negative clauses.

- (59) *Kkhom sun am do:ng khoh.*
 bear DEM NEG **run.B** MOD:can
 'The bear cannot run.'

- (60) **Nukpüi sun am kyah.*
 old.woman DEM NEG **weep.A**
 'The old woman did not weep.'

The next examples show transitive negative clauses.

- (61) *Am ni:ng ngja=u=ngü.*
 NEG O.AGR:2S/PL **hear.B-PL=1P**
 'We did not hear you.'

- (62) **Ui:=noh lou: sun am phyoh.*
 dog=ERG field DEM NEG **weed.A**
 'The dog did not weed the field.'

¹ Vai and negation do not co-occur.

4.2.3.5 Verb stem selection in the interrogative clause

Interrogatives require stem B for both transitive and intransitive verbs. (63) is an example of an unbiased polar interrogative.

- (63) *Nah hmu=kti mä.*
 S.AGR:2S **see.B**=NON.FUT QP
 'Did you see him?'

The next example shows positive polarity (see 13.4.2 Polar interrogative).

- (64) *Kah ju-lut be=kkhai ni bä*
 S.AGR:1S DIR:down-**enter.B** again=FUT EMPH TAG
 'I will go back down [into the water], shan't I?'

Constituent interrogatives with narrow focus

Constituent interrogatives that have the whole clause as scope of the focus require verb stem B as shown in the example (65). In these kinds of interrogative clauses the question particle *ja:* occurs clause-final. In constituent interrogatives with narrow focus the question particle follows the question word. Constituent interrogatives with narrow focus require stem A as shown in example (66). Note that it is again focus that overrides the default pattern for the interrogative clause.

- (65) *Ho=a nah ip=kti ja:*
 where=LOC S.AGR:2S **sleep.B**=NON.FUT QP
 'Where did you sleep?'

- (66) *Ho=a ja: nah ih*
 where=LOC QP S.AGR:2P **sleep.A**
 'Where did you sleep?'

4.2.3.6 Verb stem selection in the imperative clause

Imperatives and negative imperatives require stem B. The following two examples show regular imperative and indirect imperative (see 13.3 Imperatives).

- (67) *Kah aai boo:k nah pe be=a*
 POSS:1S chicken white IO.AGR:1S **give.B** back=IMP
 'Give me back my white chicken!'

- (68) *Kah aai boo:k nah pe be she.*
 POSS:1S chicken white IO.AGR:1S **give.B** back JUS
 'May he give back my white chicken to me!'

- (69) *Tui: *laa:k=a*
 water **fetch.A=IMP**

4.2.3.7 Causative and applicative constructions

Morphological causatives (see Section 7.1.1.2) that have changed the transitivity status of the verb by prefixation with *m-*, frequently lose stem B in the process of derivation as shown by the examples (70) and (71). This could be analysed as a lexical process that derives causatives from stem A.

- (70) *Thang Mnaai sun do:ng=kti.*
 Thang Mnaai DEM **run.B=NON.FUT**
 'Thang Mnaai runs/ran.'
- (71) *Thang Mnaai sun ah-nih mdon.*
 Thang Mnaai DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL **cause.to.run.A**
 'They caused Thang Mnaai to run away.'

The periphrastic causative constructions with *shak* (see 7.1.1.3) and applicative constructions (see 7.1.2) always require stem A. The following examples show that the causative *shak* and the applicatives override focus. Since these examples occur with the non-future marker =*kti*, we know that the agent and not the action is in focus. Here stem B would normally be required, but we find stem A instead.

- (72) *Ling=iing lou: kah phyoh shak=kti.*
 Ling=DAT field S.AGR:1S weed.A CAUS=NON.FUT
 'I caused Ling to weed the field.'
- (73) *Ling=noh lou: nah phyoh pee:t=kti.*
 Ling=ERG field IO.AGR:1S weed.A APPL:BEN-NON.FUT
 'Ling weeded the field for me.'
- (74) *Ling=noh lou: nah phyoh püi=kti.*
 Ling=ERG field IO.AGR:1S weed.A APPL:COM=NON.FUT
 'Ling weeded the field with me.'

The applicatives' requirement for stem A also overrides the requirement for stem B in negations, imperatives and interrogatives. This is shown in the following examples.

Negation with applicative

- (75) *I:m k'um=a am luh püi dat=u.*
 house inside=LOC NEG enter.A APPL:COM dare=PL
 'They do not dare to enter into the house with it.'

Imperative with applicative

- (76) *Nah-nih ei-k'hleei nah taa:k pee:t=a*
 POSS:2DU/PL eating-left.over O.AGR:1S keep.A APPL.BEN=IMP
 'Keep for me what is left over from your meal!'

Interrogative with applicative

- (77) *A-i nah hnim pee:t=kti ni.*
 what-for IO.AGR:1S kill.A APPL:MAL-NON.FUT EMPH
 'Why did he kill [it] on me?'

4.2.3.8 *Nominalizations*

Nolan (2003) who has done some research on Cho, the Southern Chin language most closely related to Daai, claims that stem II (my stem A) is “grammatically treated as a nominalized verb”. Having given much thought to this proposition I do not find sufficient evidence for it. However, stem A is frequently used for nominalizations (see 6.1.1.3). In the following two examples stem A of the verbs *phüih/phüüi* ‘to carry’ and *phyoh/phyou*: ‘to weed’ become nouns by conversion.

- (78) *Kah phüih=a kkhaan=a ni:ng mdiün kong.*
 POSS:1S **carrying.A**=GEN top=LOC O.AGR:2S put.on.top MOD:certainly
 'I will certainly put you on top of my load.'
- (79) *Nah phyoh kah bük lo=kkhai ni.*
 POSS:2S **weeding.A** S.AGR:1S look DIR:come=FUT EMPH
 'I will come and look at your weeding (i.e. what you have weeded).'

Also nominalizations with *naa:k* require stem A as shown in example (80).

- (80) *Ah ngkoh-naa:k su tuui:-phung=e ve=kti=e.*
 POSS:3S **lying.down.A-place** DEM medical-plant=PL is=NON.FUT=PL
 'At his sleeping place there were medical plants.'

However, nominalizations that are a result of noun-verb compounding require verb stem B. Compare example (78) above with example (81) below. In (81) *mdi-phüüi* is a compound noun that denotes a load of thatch.

Kah mdi-phüüi kkhaan=a ning mdüün khong
 POSS:1S **thatch-carry.B** top=LOC O.AGR:2S put.on.top certainly
 'I will certainly put you on top of my thatch load.'

4.2.3.9 Verb stem selection in complex sentences

Subordinate adverbial clauses

The predicates in subordinate adverbial clauses usually select stem A (see 14.2.1 The structure of adverbial clauses). The verbs preceding these subordinators that are listed in the section mentioned above occur as stem A. The following is an example of a temporal subordinate clause. Note that the requirement for the selection of stem A in subordinate clauses overrides the requirement for stem B in intransitive clauses.

(81) *Ah kkhyu:=a ih-om kon su*
 POSS:3S wife=GEN **sleeping.A-stay** SUBO:after DEM

mo:-da sit=kti.
 jungle-direction go=NON.FUT
 'After his wife was asleep he went into the jungle.'

The following example shows a negative conditional clause. This example also shows that the requirement of the subordinate clause overrides the requirement for stem B in negations.

(82) *Tuh-ngooi: kshu:m am nah shuk ta*
 today paddy NEG S.AGR:2S pound.A SUBO:if

nih ei vai hlü=kkhai.
 POSS:2DU/PL eating SUBJ need=FUT
 'If you don't pound paddy today, we will be short of food.'

However, there are two types of subordinate clauses where the predicate is realized as stem B. One of these is the **same-subject purpose clause** (see also 14.2.2.4). Note that this subordinate clause type is encoded by =*kkhai*, the marker for future, which always requires stem B.

- (83) *Sha-ui: ta hnampo*
fox FOC banana

mpyu-vaai=kkhai=a sit betü=kti.
steal.B-DIR:go=SUBO:to=CF go ASP=NON.FUT
'As for the fox, he went again to steal bananas.'

The second type of subordinate clauses that require stem B is the **concessive clause** (see 14.2.2.7). Concessive clauses are marked by *lüphi* 'even though', 'even if' which contains the non-final particle *lü*. *Lü* is used in clause-chaining and always requires stem B.

- (84) *Shangphuhlang=noh am nah tu-na-hlü lüphi*
king=ERG NEG O.AGR:1S son.in.law-take.as.B -want CONC

pye:n vaai=a.
tell DIR:go=IMP
'Even though the king does not want to take me as his son-in-law, go and tell [him]!'

Clause-chaining

In clause-chaining structures (see 14.3.1) stem B occurs in all non-final clauses regardless of the transitivity status of the verb. The structural requirement for stem B overrides the requirement of the transitive clause for stem A. The chain-final clauses show normal behaviour.

- (85) {*Je sun=noh nukpüi sun hmu lü*
hare DEM=ERG old.woman DEM **see.B** NF

{*ah mpyeen-ei lo pyei:*}
S.AGR:3S pity ASP much
'The hare saw the old woman and pitied [her] very much.'

Also in clause chains applicative constructions override the requirement for stem B in non-final clauses, as shown in the example below.

- (86) {*Nghnu-mi-sa: thoon lo=ni lü*}
young.woman become ASP=DU NF

{*tui: laa:k pee:t=ni lü*}
water **fetch.A** **APPL:BEN=DU** NF
'[They] became young women, fetched the water for him and...'

Relativizations

Relativizations do not present uniform stem requirements like adverbial clauses and clause chain constructions. Section 6.2.3 describes the three types of REL-clauses which we find in Daai. REL-clauses that contain verbs nominalized by conversion and REL-clauses encoded by *naa:k* require stem A. As expected REL-clauses that comprise =*kti* and =*kkhai* or are encoded by the prefix *k-* require stem B.

Complementations

Complement clauses also do not show uniform stem selection. As expected stem B is realized if the complement is a finite clause that occurs with =*kti* or =*kkhai*. However, if the complement is marked by the subjunctive *vai*, stem A is selected.

Summary

Table 4.5 belows presents a summary and an overview of the verb stem selection patterns that have been discussed in this chapter. The column on the left shows which stem of the verb occurs by default in a range of clause types. The column on the right shows the conditions for each clause type in which the default verb stem selection is overridden, causing the other verb stem to be selected.

Table 4.5: Verb Stem Selection Patterns

<i>General pattern</i>	Stem		<i>Alternate</i>	Stem	
Clause Type	A	B	Condition	A	B
indicative (intransitive)		X	causatives or applicatives	X	
indicative (transitive)	X		focus shift		X
			negative		X
interrogative		X	narrow focus (applicatives)	X	
imperative		X	(applicatives)	X	
subjunctive	X				
non-final clause chain		X	(applicatives)	X	
non-final adverbial	X		adverbials with <i>kkhai</i> or <i>lüphi</i>		X
nominalizations	X		noun-verb compounding		X

This chart shows that focus is a strong issue in the selection of verb stems and overrides transitivity. However it appears that applicatives have the strongest influence and are able to alternate the general pattern in most clause types.

4.2.4 Verb classes based on ‘Aktionsarten’

Verbs can be categorized into a basic four-way distinction : **a. Situations, b. Events, c. Processes** and **d. Actions**. This tradition that can be traced back to Aristotle. Vendler (1967) was the first one to identify four classes of verbs according to ‘*Aktionsart*’ (German for ‘form of action’) : **Activities, States, Achievements** and **Accomplishments**. He identified these verb classes on the basis of the restriction on their co-occurrence with adverbials and aspects. Dowty (1979) refined Vendler’s grammatical tests and later they were further refined by VanValin and his co-workers in the context of RRG. It was then that **Causatives** and **Semelfactives** were included.

The four-way distinction is marked by the three features [+/-static], [+/-punctual] and [+/-telic]. These notions are primitives for defining the concepts of *Aktionsart*.

a.	State	[+static],[−telic],[−punctual]
b.	Activity	[−static],[−telic],[−punctual]
c.	Accomplishment	[−static],[+telic],[−punctual]
d.	Achievement	[−static],[+telic],[+punctual]

The feature [+/-static] marks the distinction between something ‘happening’ and the state of ‘non-happening’. It makes a differentiation between predicates that can be used to answer the question ‘what happened?’ and those that cannot be used in this way. The feature [+/-telic] has to do with whether an event proceeds to a terminal point or not. The final feature [+/-punctual] distinguishes between events that happen instantaneously and those that take place over a certain period of time.

In order to indentify the *Aktionsart* class of a verb, various grammatical test have been suggested and these tests necessarily have to be different for different languages. I will only explain the tests which are useful and useable in Daai.

The following examples show clauses which are typical for the specific *Aktionsart* classes in Daai.

Activity

- (87) *Thang sun khüüi:-khoo:m=kti.*
 Thang DEM work=NON.FUT
 'Thang works/worked.'

State - unchangeable

- (88) *Ui:=a hleei: sun ngshing-ngte=kti.*
 dog=GEN lie DEM be.evident=NON.FUT
 'The lie of the dog is evident.'

State - changeable

- (89) *Ling sun dam=kti*
 Ling DEM lazy=NON.FUT
 'Ling is lazy.'

Accomplishment

- (90) *Tui:-long kääi:=kti.*
 water-stream dry.up=NON.FUT
 'The stream dried up.'

Active Accomplishment

- (91) *Yok sun thi:ng-pa:m=a kaai=kti.*
 Yok DEM tree-top=LOC climb=NON.FUT
 'Yok climbed to the top of the tree.'

Causative Accomplishment

- (92) *Be-be=noh meh ah mkeih.*
 older.brother=ERG meat S.AR:3S CAUS.dry
 'The older brother dried the meat.'

Achievement

- (93) *She-yüi bät=kti.*
 cow-rope break=NON.FUT
 'The cow rope (i.e or tying the cow) broke.'

Causative Achievement

- (94) *Ling=noh she-yüi ah kbät.*
 Ling=ERG cow-rope S.AGR:3S CAUS.break
 'Ling broke the cow rope.'

Semelfactive

- (95) *Näi=noh kshoh kkhok=kti.*
 mother=ERG door knock=NON.FUT
 'Mother knocked at the door.'

4.2.4.1 Tests to identify verb classes according to Aktionsart

Manner adverbs

Verbs have been tested for co-occurrence with different manner adverbs and the manner adverb ‘quickly’ has been found most useful as it can occur with a wide range of verbs. The example below shows *akjaa:ng* with the activity verb *ei* ‘eat’.

- (96) *Paai=noh akjaa:ng=a buh ei=kti.*
 father=ERG quickly=CF rice eat=NON.FUT
 ‘Father ate quickly.’

akjaa:ng cannot occur with states as shown in (98).

- (97) *Mnaai (*akjaa:ng=a) nghmoong=kti.*
 Mnaai quickly=CF foolish=NON.FUT
 ‘Mnaai was (quickly) foolish.’

Activities and subtypes of accomplishments co-occur with *akjaa:ng*, whereas subtypes of states and achievements cannot co-occur with manner adverbs.

Temporal duration

Not all expressions for temporal duration are useable in Daai. The expression *naji mat* ‘one hour’ is generally usable, although *naji* ‘hour’ is a loanword from Burmese. The example (99) shows *naji mat* with a changeable state verb.

- (98) *Thang ah lu=noh naji mat mshou:-ei=kti*
 Thang POSS:3S head=ERG hour one hurt=NON.FUT
 ‘His head hurt Thang for an hour.’ (i.e Thang had headache for an hour)

Temporal durations like *naji mat* do not co-occur with achievements as shown in (100).

- (99) *Yo-puum (*naji mat) ngbou=kti*
 bamboo-pole hour one split=kti.
 ‘The bamboo pole split (for an hour).’

The temporal duration *naji mat* can co-occur with activities, changeable states and all subtypes of accomplishments. It cannot occur with unchangeable states. It can also not occur with achievements that express one single event. However, it can occur with achievements if the achievement is viewed as an iterative event. The example (100) above can be interpreted with the meaning that many different bamboo poles kept on splitting for an hour.

Progressive aspect

The final progressive aspect *ha:m* ‘still’ occurs with a wide variety of verbs and has been found useful for the identification of *Aktionsart* types. In (101) is an example with an active accomplishment *mei: shi* ‘burn the swidden’.

- (100) *Mei: ah-nih shi ha:m=kti=e.*
 fire S.AGR:3DU/PL burn ASP:prog=NON.FUT
 ‘The are still burning the swidden.’

The aspectual *ha:m* cannot occur with unchangeable state verbs as in (102).

- (101) *Phyat-thi:ng sun hlüing (*ha:m)=kti.*
 phyat tree DEM high ASP:prog=NON.FUT
 ‘The Phyat tree is (still) high’

The progressive aspect co-occurs with activities, changeable states and all types of accomplishments. It cannot occur with unchangeable states and any types of achievements.

The inceptive aspectual *lo*

The tests with *lo* are the most interesting ones since they are language specific for Daai. Apart from its function as an inceptive aspectual with the meaning ‘to start V-ing’ *lo* has still other functions and all verb types can occur with a specific function of *lo*. Example (103) shows *lo* with an activity.

- (102) *Je sun do:ng lo=kti.*
 hare DEM run ASP:inc=NON.FUT
 ‘The hare started to run.’

In (104) we see *lo* with a state verb. In this context *lo* is not an inceptive aspectual but an auxiliary with the meaning ‘become’ and indicates a change of state. It has also changed the state verb into an accomplishment.

- (103) *Saang-phung sun däm lo=kti.*
 paddy-plant DEM big AUX:become=NON.FUT
 ‘The paddy plant had become big.’

When *lo* combines with achievements, it indicates that an event is finished, just now, in the very recent past.

- (104) *Kah tui:=oo:k ak lo=kti.*
 POSS:1S water-container break AUX:**completed**=NON.FUT
 'My water bottle broke just now! (i.e while I was looking on).'

Summary

The Figure 4.1 below gives an overview of the result of the tests that have been described in this section.

Figure 4.1: Tests for the Identification of Verb Classes

	activity	state-unchangeable	state-changeable	accomplishment	achievement	semelfactive
akjaa:ng-a ("quickly")	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
naji mat ("one hour")	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
naji mat ("one hour")-iterative	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
ha:m ("still", PROG)	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
lo ("start")	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
lo ("become")	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
lo ("completed")	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
	khüüi:-khoo:m ("work")	ngshing-ngte ("be.evident")	dam ("azy")	käai: ("dry.up")]	bät ("break")	kkhok ("knock")]

4.3 Adjectives

Daai can be classified as a ‘strongly verbal’ language according to Dixon (1977). Adjectives are interpreted as a special group of verbs.

The example (106) shows *kdäm* ‘big’ as attributive adjective and (107) shows *däm* as a predicative adjective.

- (105) *Kkhyaang kdäm hi=a ve=kti*
 man big DEM=LOC is=NON.FUT
 ‘The big man is here.’

- (106) *Kkhyaang hin däm=kti.*
 man DEM big=NON.FUT
 ‘The man is big.’

4.3.1 Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives are derived from verbs by a glottal prefix that is realized as *k-* in the Daai orthography¹. They follow the noun immediately and gender markers are the only constituents of the noun phrase that can occur between the noun head and the attributive adjective (109).

- (107) *Kei:=noh phyat-thi:ng k’hlüing sun kah hmuh.*
 1PS=ERG Phyat tree high DEM S.AGR:1S see
 ‘I saw the high Phyat tree.’
- (108) *Ui: ngxü kshe hin kshät=a.*
 dog GEND:male bad DEM drive.away=IMP
 ‘Drive away this bad male dog!’

Attributive adjectives are followed by other constituents of the noun phrase, like demonstratives, number and case, as shown in (110).

- (109) *Ui: ngxü kshe=xooi hin=noh nah suui: hlü=kti=xooi.*
 dog male bad=DU DEM=ERG O.AGR:1S bite want=NON.FUT=DU
 ‘These two bad male dogs wanted to bite me.’

¹ Besides the colour adjectives that show no morphological change, there are a few rare exceptions of attributive adjectives that are not prefixed by *-k*, like *xaa:m* ‘rough’ and *ngtou* ‘pretty’.

4.3.1.1 Colours

Colours are unique only in that they show no morphological change when they occur as attributive adjectives.

- (110) *Be-be=a* *veei: aai* *nghlüt* *boo:k ve=kti.*
 older.brother=LOC PPOS chicken GEND:male white is=NON.FUT
 'My older brother has a white rooster.'

- (111) *Be-be=a* *aai* *nghlüt* *sun boo:k=kti.*
 older.brother=GEN chicken GEND:male DEM white=NON.FUT
 'The rooster of my older brother is white.'

4.3.1.2 Intensifiers

The modifiers *nu:* 'big' and *sa:* 'small' are used to intensify attributive adjectives. They are derived from the nouns *nu:* 'mother' and *sa:* 'child'.

- (112) a *sä* *kshe* *nu:* 'a very bad (old) basket'
 basket ADJ:bad INTENSF
- b *thi:ng* *k'hlüng* *nu:* 'a very high tree'
 tree ADJ:high INTENSF
- (113) a *buh-anbooi:* *kdo* *sa:* 'a very nice meal'
 rice-curry ADJ:good INTENSF
- b *aang-ki* *boo:k* *sa:* 'a very white shirt'
 shirt ADJ:white INTENSF

The modifiers *nu:* and *sa:* can also take the place of attributive adjectives and directly follow the noun. As noun modifiers these lexemes occur with their primary derived meaning *nu:* 'big' and *sa:* 'small'.

- (114) a *i:m* 'house' *i:m nu:* 'a big house'
 b *lu:ng* 'stone' *lu:ng sa:* 'a small stone'

4.3.2 The predicative use of adjectives

When adjectives have a predicative function then they are treated as verbs because they possess several of the distinguishing properties of verbs that are listed in 4.2.1:

- They can be negated by the general negation marker *am*
- They can be followed by certain aspectuals
- Some adjectives can be preceded by agreement forms
- Some adjectives can be followed by the first person marker =*ngü*
- Some adjectives can be modified by adverbs that follow the main verb

In example (116) the predicative adjective *do* ‘good’ is preceded by negation and followed by an aspectual.

- (115) *Ksi:m=a tang am do ti:.*
 knife=GEN handle NEG good ASP:still
 ‘The handle of the knife is no longer good.’

The following example shows *dam* ‘lazy’ with subject agreement.

- (116) *Kei: ta kah dam pyei:=kti ni.*
 1PS FOC S.AGR:1S lazy very=NON.FUT EMPH
 ‘As for me, I am indeed very lazy.’

In (118) *däm* ‘big’ occurs with negation, the auxiliary *lo*, an aspectual and the first person marker.

- (117) *Am däm lo ha:m=ngü.*
 NEG big AUX:become ASP:yet=1PM
 ‘I have not yet become big.’ (i.e I am not yet grown up.)

All the above examples show that adjectives have “verb properties” when used predicatively.

4.3.3 Comparative constructions

Comparatives are used only very rarely in Daai. They have the following construction:

COMP → NP NP {*the/kthak*} **PRED**: adj or state verb (*bok*)

The two particles *the/kthak* that mark comparative constructions where the predicate is an adjective or a state verb, are interchangeable. The state verb can be followed by *bok* which also occurs as superlative particle in other constructions. The following are examples of comparative constructions.

- (118) *Ling=a ksoong sun ah i:m=a kthak=a ngtou=kti.*
 Ling=GEN field.hut DEM POSS:3S house=CF COMP=CF pretty=NON.FUT
 'Ling's field hut is prettier than his house.'

- (119) *Kei:=a she mse hin*
 1SG=GEN cattle GEND:male DEM

na:ng=a she mse=a the=a däm bok=kti.
 2SG=GEN cattle GEND:male=CF COMP=CF big more=NON.FUT
 'My ox is bigger than yours.'

Constructions like (121) that omit a second noun phrase and an explicit comparison are more frequently used.

- (120) *Kei:=a anbooi: va hooi bok=kti.*
 1PS=GEN curry EMPH tasty more=NON.FUT
 'My curry is indeed more tasty.'

4.4 Adverbs

Adverbs are usually referred to as a heterogeneous word class (Givón: 2001 Vol. I: 87), which covers a wide range of semantic concepts and is typically the most unrestricted word class in terms of syntactic distribution. The common characteristic of adverbs consists in the fact that they modify events or states.

The Figure 4.2 below shows a schematic representation of the environments in which adverbs may occur.

Figure 4.2: Environments of Adverbs

[E 1][Arguments][E 2][Neg][Agr][V-cplx][E 3][TNS/S][Emph/Evid]

4.4.1 Adverbs in environment 1- Time adverbials

Adverbs that occur in environment 1, at the beginning of a clause or sentence, are typically time adverbials and provide the setting for an entire event or state. They can be categorized into two groups: adverbials expressing a specific time and adverbials expressing relative time. The adverbials expressing specific time are mostly derived from nouns.

Specific time

The following time adverbials relate to the concept of ‘day’.

Adverbials referring to ‘day’		
(121)	a	<i>tuh-ngooi:</i> ‘today’
	b	<i>shee:p mthan</i> ‘tonight’
	c	<i>tuh-mthan</i> ‘last night’
	d	<i>mü-ta</i> ‘yesterday’
	e	<i>maam</i> ‘the day before yesterday’
	f	<i>kho-ngooi:</i> ‘tomorrow’
	g	<i>tik-tuh</i> ‘the day after tomorrow’
	h	<i>keen</i> ‘in three days’ time’
	i	<i>kum</i> ‘in four days’ time’
	j	<i>ma-shang</i> ‘in five days’ time’
	k	<i>ko-kek</i> ‘in six days’ time’

Example (123) shows the time adverbial occurring in environment 1, at the beginning of the clause.

(122)	<i>Kho-ngooi:=a mdi nih aa:t=kkhai.</i>
	Tomorrow=LOC thatch S.AGR:1PL.INCL cut=FUT
	‘Tomorrow we will cut thatch.’

The following list of adverbials refer to certain times of the day (see also Hartmann: 1987).

Adverbials referring to times of the day		
(123)	a	<i>ngooi:-la:m</i> ‘in the morning’
	b	<i>kho-thaai</i> ‘at dawn’
	c	<i>kho-mhnüü:p</i> ‘at noon time’
	d	<i>kho-mü</i> ‘in the evening’
	e	<i>kho-hmüp</i> ‘at the beginning of dusk’
	f	<i>kho-mthan</i> ‘in the night’
	g	<i>mthan-nlung</i> ‘at midnight’

These adverbials also have to precede the arguments of the clause.

- (124) *Kho-mhnüü:p=a je=noh*
 noon=LOC hare=ERG
- buh-suu:n ah mhjat-ei lo=kti*
 rice-package S.AGR:3S open-AO ASP:inc=NON.FUT
 'At noon the hare started to open its lunch package.'

Example (126) is ungrammatical because the temporal adverb does not occur in this environment.

- (125) **Ah sa: sun ngooi:-la:m=a am thou: khoh*
 POSS:3S child DEM morning=LOC NEG get.up MOD:able
 'In the morning his child was not able to get up.'

The following list shows adverbial expressions referring to the concept of 'year'. Note that all of these expressions include the noun *kum* 'year'. This group of adverbials behaves like the previous two groups and can only occur in environment 1.

- Adverbials referring to 'year'**
- (126) a *tuh-a kum* 'this year'
 b *sheeng kum* 'next year'
 c *mthelo kum* 'the year after next'
 d *tuh-kum* 'last year'
 e *ma-ku* 'the year before last'
 f *pi-kum* 'three years ago'

Relative time

Some of the relative time expressions relate to the time of speaking - 'now' - and not to concepts of days or years. The following is a list of temporal adverbials and adverbial phrases related to 'now'.

- (127) a *tuh* 'now'
 b *tuh kuu:ng* 'right now'
 c *sük ta* 'a moment ago'
 d *shee:p* 'in a while'

Some adverbial phrases that refer to a specific time are combinations of the noun *mhnüü:p* 'day' and the numeral *mat* 'one'.

- (128) a *amhnüü:p-mat=a* 'the whole day long'
 b *mhnüü:-mat=üing ta* 'one day' [in the past]
 c *mhnüü:p-mat-mat=üing ta* 'some day' [in the future]

The adverbial shown in the next two examples behaves differently from the other temporal adverbs we have looked at so far. It can occur in environment 1 (130) and within the arguments (131).

- (129) *Amhnüü:p-mat=a vok sun lou: phyou:=kti.*
 the.whole.day.long=LOC pig DEM field weed=NON.FUT
 'The pig weeded the field the whole day long.'

- (130) *Ui: amhnüü:p-mat=a ksoong=a ngam-ei=kti.*
 dog the.whole.day.long=LOC hut=LOC idle-AO=NON.FUT
 'The dog was the whole day long idle in the hut.'

Temporal adverbs functioning as conjunctions

The following conjunctions are found in environment 1 only and are used for anaphoric reference. Most of these temporal phrases function mainly at discourse level and mark the beginning of a new episode or paragraph. As can be seen from the list below, these temporal phrases are combinations of the demonstrative pronoun *asun* (see also 5.2.2) and various temporal subordinators and other morphemes.

- | | Conjunctive Adverb | Gloss |
|-------|---|---|
| (131) | a <i>asunüing</i> | 'then', 'after that' |
| | b <i>asunüingta</i> | 'then', 'therefore' |
| | c <i>asukba</i> | 'like that' |
| | d <i>asunkon=a</i> | 'after that' |
| | e <i>asut-um=üing</i> | 'during that time', 'during that event' |
| (132) | <i>Asukba ngbe-nga=xooi sun</i> | |
| | like.that pair.of.brothers=DU DEM | |
| | <i>i:m=a lai lo be=kti=xooi.</i> | |
| | house=LOC arrive DIR:come back=NON.FUT=DU | |
| | 'In this way the pair of brothers arrived back home.' | |

Example (134) is ungrammatical because conjunctive adverbs cannot be preceded by arguments.

- (133) **Ah mah-pa:=noh asun-kona*
 POSS:3S master=ERG after.this
- ah ui: sun ah te mjoh.*
 POSS:3S dog DEM S.AGR:3S beat EVID
 'After this the master beat his dog.'

4.4.2 Adverbs in environment 2

4.4.2.1 Time adverbials

The following temporal adverbials occur typically in environment 2, between the arguments and the agreement forms. However, some of these adverbials may also occur between arguments or preceding the arguments. These adverbial phrases are marked by a prefix *a-* attached to its first element and the obligatory clitic *=a* attached to its last element, which is typical also for other adverbial phrases that occur in environment 2.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------------|--|--|--------------------|
| (134) | a | <i>anghläi=a</i> | | | ‘always’ |
| | b | <i>ayü-yü=a</i> | | | ‘sometimes’ |
| | c | <i>aksük=a</i> | | | ‘in the beginning’ |
| | d | <i>aksük-ksük=a</i> | | | ‘at very first’ |
| | e | <i>akpäih naa:k=a</i> | | | ‘at last’ |
| | f | <i>ahuna=a</i> | | | ‘at once’ |

The following example shows the adverbial phrase following the subject argument.

- (135) *Mnaka sun ahunat=a lai lo=kti.*
 dragon DEM at.once=CF arrive DIR:come=NON.FUT
 ‘The dragon arrived immediately.’

4.4.2.2 Manner adverbials

Most manner adverbials are derived from verbs as the following list of examples shows. They also have the *a[...]=a* construction mentioned above.

- | | Adverbial | | Verb | | |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------------|------------|
| (136) | a | <i>akjaa:ng=a</i> | ‘quickly’ | <i>jaa:ng</i> | ‘quick’ |
| | b | <i>akdo=a</i> | ‘well’ | <i>do</i> | ‘be.good’ |
| | c | <i>aksa:ng=a</i> | ‘truly’ | <i>sa:ng</i> | ‘be.true’ |
| | d | <i>angte=a</i> | ‘equally’ | <i>ngteh</i> | ‘be.equal’ |
| | e | <i>ampyu=a</i> | ‘secretly’ | <i>mpyuu:k/mpyu-</i> | ‘steal’ |

Manner adverbs can occur together with temporal adverbs functioning as conjunctions as shown in example (138)

- (137) *Asunkon=a Pan sun angse:ng=a do:ng be=kti.*
 afterwards=LOC Pan DEM quickly=CF run back=NON.FUT
 ‘Afterwards Pan run back quickly.’

These adverbial phrases may appear to occur in environment 1, but only when there is no explicit argument present in the clause like in (139). In this case environment 1 and 2 are identical.

- (138) *Aksa:ng=a nah pyen vai.*
 truly=CF S.AGR:2S speak IRR
 'You should speak the truth.'

Example (140) shows that the adverbial follows the argument which is present in this clause.

- (139) *Na:ng Ling, aksa:ng=a nah pyen vai.*
 2s Ling truly=CF S.AGR:2S speak IRR
 'You Ling, you should speak the truth.'

Example (141) is ungrammatical, because these kinds of adverbials do not occur preceding an argument.

- (140) **Aksa:ng=a na:ng Ling, nah pyen vai.*
 truly=CF 2S Ling S.AGR:2S speak SUBJ

Manner adverbs can be intensified by *nu:*, *sa:*. and occasionally by *pa:* as shown in the following examples.

- (141) *Khe:ng=noh akyäp nu:=a i:m ah shak.*
 Khe:ng=ERG nicely MODF:very=CF house S.AGR:3S build
 'Kheng built his house very nicely.'

- (142) *Ah kkhyu: sun ampyu sa:=a*
 POSS:3S wife DEM secretly MODF:very=CF

ah hnu=a läk=kti.
 POSS:3S behind=LOC follow-NON.FUT
 'His wife followed him very secretly.'

- (143) *Ngshé sun akpyan-bit pa:=a*
 horse DEM well.fed MODF:very=CF

pha lo be=kti.
 arrive DIR:COME back=NON.FUT
 'The horse arrived back very well-fed'

4.4.2.3 Expressives

Expressives (in which words are reduplicated) are an interesting phenomenon found in Southeast Asian languages. A variety of terms have been used for this feature. Schulze (1987) calls them ‘intense action adverbials’. Migliazza (2003) gives a whole list of expressions, including: echo-word reduplication, sound symbolism, size-sound symbolism, and intensification. Migliazza also suggests that ‘expressives’ could be described as a special class of the lexicon. I will describe expressives as a sub-category of adverbs.

According to Migliazza’s definition it is the idea of expressives that the speaker wishes to convey extra sensations, like emotional feelings, visual impressions and sounds that usually cannot be captured with the normal vocabulary range of a language. They describe the appearance, sound and feel of something happening.

In Daai some expressives occur in environment 2, others in environment 3. Some expressives have either an onomatopoeic source or are still onomatopoeic forms. Onomatopoeic forms are usually – but not exclusively – found in environment 3, following the verb. All expressives occur in reduplicative structures. Most expressives are limited to a single semantic domain and many even to a single verb.

Colour expressives

It has already been mentioned in 4.3.1 that colours are treated as verbs. Some colours occur as adverbs in environment 2 and are intensified by ‘colour-specific’ expressives as shown in the examples (145) and (146)

- (144) *Nghnaai-ktheih ta ang'aai jak-jak=a hmin=kti.*
 Mango-fruit FOC yellowishly INTENSF:very=CF ripe=NON.FUT
 ‘As for the mango fruits they are very yellowishly ripe.’

- (145) *Kho-ngmei aboo:k lik-lik=a ngtoon lo=kti.*
 cloud whitishly INTENSF:very=CF rise.up ASP:start=NON.FUT
 ‘The clouds start to rise very whitishly.’

Other expressives

The following are some examples of expressives that occur in environment 2 and precede the main verb. The expressive *lon-lon* ‘loudly’ (147) occurs only with verbs belonging to the semantic domain of ‘shouting’.

- (146) *Hnashen sun lon-lon=a ngpyaang=kti.*
 child DEM loudly=CF shout=NON.FUT
 'The child shouted loudly.'

The expressive *meih-meih* is associated with activities like work or eating.

- (147) *Meih-meih=a khüüi: ni-bä*
 diligently=LOC work DU-IMP
 'Work diligently!'

Below are examples of sound expressives that occur in environment 2.

- (148) *Thi:ng-kthei byak-byak=a kya lo=kti.*
 tree-fruit ONO=CF fall DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'The fruits are falling down with a continuously dropping sound.'
- (149) *Yo phäk-phäk=a ngbou=kti.*
 bamboo ONO=CF split=NON.FUT
 'The bamboo splits sounding 'phäk-phäk'.'

4.4.3 Adverbs in environment 3

While environment 1 is restricted to adverbs and locative phrases and environment 2 to adverbs only and are therefore clearly definable, this is not the case with environment 3. It is a large slot between the main verb and the event-status markers. In this slot we also find aspectuals, directionals, applicatives, modals and auxiliary verbs that cannot be put together under a common label. Adverbs are interspersed between these other constituents of the verbal complex. There are three groups of adverbs in this slot: intensifiers, temporal adverbs and expressives.

4.4.3.1 Intensifying adverbs

The following is a list of the most frequently occurring intensifying adverbs.

- (150) a *pyei:* 'very much'
 b *kkhüt* 'very much'
 c *kye:t* 'firmly'
 d *to:ng* 'too much'
 e *kolaih* 'too much'

There is a certain overlapping of collocation for *pyei:* and *kkhüt*. A number of verbs can be modified by either of these two adverbs. But generally *pyei:* occurs with state verbs like in (152) and *kkhüt* occurs with activity verbs, as shown in (153).

- (151) *Ling=noh nukpüi sun ah mpyeen-ei pyei:*
 Ling=ERG old.woman DEM S.AGR:3S pity very.much.
 'Ling pitied the old woman very much.'

- (152) *Thang=noh buh ei kkhüt=kti.*
 Thang=ERG rice eat very.much=NON.FUT
 'Thang ate very much rice.'

The adverb *to:ng* has a semantic range of various stages of intensity. With some state verbs like *je-kyai* 'happy' and *puk-she* 'sad' the meaning of *to:ng* is just 'very' and is hardly different from *pyei:*.

- (153) *Puk-she lo to:ng=kti.*
 sad AUX:become very=NON.FUT
 'He became very sad.'

However, in combination with *kphya-naa:k* 'love' the meaning is much more intense: 'to love so much that one is close to death'. When occurring with some activity verbs like *mtheh* 'instruct' and *phyoh* 'weed the field', the meaning of *to:ng* is 'too much' – so that the activity has a negative result or effect.

- (154) *Lou: kah phyoh to:ng ni.*
 field S.AGR:1S weed too.much EMPH
 'I weeded too much [and now I am very exhausted].'

Finally there is a group of verbs that collocate with *to:ng* and the resulting construction expresses the meaning 'verb-to-death'. Some of these verbs are *kaa:p* 'shoot', *kya* 'fall', *leh* 'step on' and *khoong* 'throw'.

- (155) *Kah ni:ng kaa:p to:ng=kkhai.*
 S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S shoot to.death=FUT
 'I will kill you by shooting you.'

- (156) *Ui: sa: ksha: kkhyüh kya to:ng=kti.*
 dog little veranda from fall to.death=NON.FUT
 'The little dog died falling from the veranda.'

4.4.3.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs within the verbal complex often contain aspectual components. The following is a list of the most frequently occurring temporal adverbs:

- (157) a *kshet* ‘immediately’
 b *la:n* ‘soon’
 c *ma* ‘first’
 d *hnüh* ‘finally’
 e *shoxat* ‘instantly’

These adverbs can occur in different places within environment 3 as shown by the examples below.

- (158) *Saang, mpa:püm sun kkhom=noh*
 paddy corn DEM bear=ERG

ah ei pee:t päih hnüh.
 S.AGR:3S eat APPL:mal ASP:completely finally
 ‘The bear ate finally all the paddy and corn (on behalf of the old woman).’
- (159) *Tuh-ta kah kshi:ng hnüh vee:ng*
 now S.AGR:1S know finally MOD:definitely
 ‘Now I finally know it for sure.’

4.4.3.3 Expressive adverbs Sound expressives

The following are examples of expressives with the meaning of the description of sounds.

- (160) *Kshum ah-nih shuk pyut-pyut.*
 paddy S.AGR:3DU/PL pound ONO
 ‘They pound paddy sounding ‘pyut-pyut.’
- (161) *Thang=noh yo sun tu hok-hok=kti.*
 Thang=ERG bamboo DEM cut.down ONO=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang cuts down bamboo with a knocking sound.’
- (162) *Buh ei xop-xop=kti.*
 rice eat ONO=NON.FUT
 ‘He eats with a slurping sound.’

Intensifying expressives

Some expressives have an intensifying function. They are similar to intensifying adverbs but have the morphological form of expressives.

- (163) *Kah pyen thip-thip.*
 S.AGR:1S speak completely
 'I told [it] all.' (lit. I said [it] completely.)

The expressive *bing-bing* 'definitely' occurs only in negative imperative clauses and collocates only with verbs from the semantic domain of 'speaking'.

- (164) *U=üing phi käh mtheh bing-bing bä.*
 Nobody=DAT also NEG tell definitely TAG
 'Don't tell anybody at all, will you!'

Summary

[E 1][Arguments][E 2][Neg][Agr][Verb][E 3][TNS/S][Emph/Evid]

Generally speaking the schema shown at the beginning of this section and repeated here, promises to describe where adverbs occur and it seems that most adverbs occur in only one of these locations. There are some exceptions and these were noted in the discussion.

4.5 Minor grammatical categories

Minor grammatical categories have in common that they are all closed sets with small memberships. In this section I will deal with question words and indefinite pronouns, numerals, and interjections.

4.5.1 Question words and indefinite pronouns

4.5.1.1 Constituent interrogatives

The Table 4.6 gives an overview over the constituent interrogatives in Daai.

Table 4.6: Constituent Interrogatives

Constituent interrogatives	Gloss
<i>u</i>	‘who?’
<i>i</i>	‘what?’ (speech act)
<i>a-i</i>	‘what?’ (event)
<i>ilü</i>	‘why?’
<i>ihokba</i>	‘how?’
<i>ikän</i>	‘how much?’
<i>isäp</i>	‘how far?’
<i>itüh=a</i>	‘when? (future)’
<i>itüh=üng</i>	‘when? (past)’
<i>ho=a</i>	‘where?’

Constituents interrogatives are discussed in Section 12.4.1. Below is an example of a constituent interrogative that asks for the subject of the clause.

- (165) *U thi:ng-pa:m=a kaai=kti ja:*
 who tree-top=LOC climb=NON.FUT QP
 ‘Who climbed to the tree top?’

4.5.1.2 Indefinite pronouns

The negative series

The Table 4.7 gives an overview of the negative series of indefinite pronouns.

Table 4.7: Negative Indefinite Pronouns

Negative Indefinite Pronoun	Gloss
<i>u-phi</i>	‘nobody’
<i>i-phi</i>	‘nothing’ (speak)
<i>i-a-phi</i>	‘nothing’ (happen)
<i>ikän-phi</i>	‘nothing’ (give)
<i>ho-a-phi</i>	‘nowhere’
<i>itüh-a-phi</i>	‘never’ (future)
<i>itüh-üng-phi</i>	‘never’ (past)

Watters (1998: 341) has found similar entities in Kham and called them the ‘no’-series. These forms that would be called ‘Negative Indefinite Pronouns’ in English are morphological complex forms in Daai and also in other Tibeto-Burman languages. They are derived from the constituent interrogative and have to combine with the inclusive particle *phi* ‘also’ and are followed by a negative verb. The usage of *itüh-a-phi* ‘never’ is shown in example (167).

- (166) *Itüh-a-phi käh nah kpha lo=kkhai.*
 never NEG O.AGR:1S catch.up DIR:come=FUT
 ‘You will never come and catch up with me.’

The Whoever/Whatever series¹

These forms are even more complex. They are also derived from the constituent interrogatives, are prefixed by *a-* and also have to combine with the inclusive particle *phi* ‘also’. Table 4.8 provides a list of this group.

Table 4.8: Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite Pronoun	Gloss
<i>a-u-phi</i>	‘whoever’
<i>a-i-phi</i>	‘whatsoever’
<i>a-i-a-phi</i>	‘however’, ‘in whatever way’

¹ This terminology is also taken from Watters.

a-ikän-phi ‘however much’
a-ho-a-phi ‘wherever’, ‘to whatever place’

4.5.2 Numerals

Daai employs the decimal system for counting, which is typical for Tibeto-Burman languages. Benedict (1972:93) remarks about the Tibeto-Burman numeral system “it seems to have included a vigesimal unit along with the distinctive root **(m-)kul* ‘20’...”. This root is also preserved in Daai with *mku* ‘twenty’. Benedict further states that no general Tibeto-Burman root for ‘one’ can be established and that the root **gip* for ‘ten’ is poorly represented. The Daai word for ‘one’ is *mat*. We will see later that the onset *m-* is frequently dropped. Though the expression for ‘ten’ is *xa*, from thirty onwards we find *kip* in the decimal slot. The other cardinal numbers are recognizable as derivations from Proto-Tibeto-Burman. The Table below shows the cardinal numbers from 1-10 in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and in Daai.

Table 4.9: Cardinal Numbers

PTB	Daai	Gloss
*t(y)ik	<i>mat</i>	‘one’
*g-nis	<i>nghngih</i>	‘two’
*g-sum	<i>kthum</i>	‘three’
*b-liy	<i>kphyü</i>	‘four’
*l-ŋa	<i>mhma</i>	‘five’
*d-ruk	<i>kkhyuk</i>	‘six’
?	<i>kkhyüh</i>	‘seven’
*b-r-gyat	<i>kkhyet</i>	‘eight’
*d-kuw	<i>kko:</i>	‘nine’
*gip	<i>xa</i>	‘ten’

Note that the Daai numerals 2-9 are all prefixed with either the glottal prefix or one of the nasal prefixes. This is also a feature typical for Proto-Tibeto-Burman numbers. The larger cardinal numbers all have two forms. In example (168)a and b the first form is a more explicit and the second one a short-form. Note the drop of the onset *m-* in (168)a.

(167) *a xalei-at* *lei-at* ‘eleven’
 b xalei nghngih *lei nghngih* ‘twelve’

The following examples show an older system of counting, which is only known and used by old people and a newer system used by everybody. Note that the prefix *k-* is dropped in

example (169)a and b. The meaning given for *kih* is ‘not yet full, incomplete’, whereas *kip* is glossed as ‘full’.

(168)	Old system	New system	Gloss
	a <i>athum kih mat</i>	<i>mku mat</i>	‘twenty-one’
	b <i>athum kih kko:</i>	<i>mku kko:</i>	‘twenty-nine’
	b <i>akphyü kih mat</i>	<i>kthum kip mat</i>	‘thirty-one’
	b <i>amhma kih mat</i>	<i>kphyü kip mat</i>	‘forty-one’
	etc.		

There is only one form for full decimal numbers, as shown below.

(169)	a <i>kthum kip</i>	‘thirty’
	b <i>kphyü kip</i>	‘fourty’
	b <i>mhma kip</i>	‘fifty’
	d <i>kkhyuk kip</i>	‘sixty’
	etc.	

For ‘hundred’ and the numbers above there are again two different forms.

(170)	Old system	New system	Gloss
	a <i>aphya</i>	<i>phya-at</i>	‘one hundred’
	b <i>phya-at kona mat</i>	<i>phya-at mat</i>	‘one hundred and one’
	c <i>phya-at kona nghngih</i>	<i>phya-at nghngih</i>	‘one hundred and two’
	d <i>phya-at kona xa</i>	<i>phya-at xa</i>	‘one hundred and ten’
	e <i>phya-at kona mku</i>	<i>phya-at mku</i>	‘one hundred and twenty’
	f <i>phya-at kona kthum kip</i>	<i>phya-at kthum kip</i>	‘one hundred and thirty’
	etc.		

In these numerals we find the expression *kon=a* ‘after, afterwards’ which functions as conjunction and also as subordinator in the temporal adverbial clause. In the system of counting *kon=a* can alternate with *kän=üing*. The exact meaning of *kän=üing* has not yet been established, but *kän* occurs as a part of question words and of indefinite pronouns.

Daai Chin speakers can count up to nine hundred and ninety-nine without resorting to loanwords from Burmese. Though *thoong* ‘thousand’ is a loanword from Burmese it has been integrated into the two systems of counting as the following examples show.

(171)	Old system	New system	Gloss
	a <i>athoong</i>	<i>thoong-at</i>	‘one thousand’
	b <i>athoong kona aphyä</i>	<i>thoong-at phya-at</i>	‘one thousand and one hundred’

4.5.3 Interjections

Interjections are emotional outbursts and consist mainly of monosyllabic morphemes. They occur sentence-initially and some of them can stand alone as complete utterance.

Indicating agreement

ä 'yes!'

ääi 'yes!' (agreement to do something)

The examples below show agreement interjections in clause context.

(172) *Ä, ä, asän ni.*
yes, yes DEM.PRO COP
'Yes, yes, this is it!'

(173) *Ääi, ni:ng phüüi be tu kong.*
yes O.AGR:2S carry back certainly MOD
'Yes, of course I certainly carry you back'

Indicating disagreement

ka: 'no!'

a: 'no!' – disagreement mixed with surprise

eh 'no!' – disagreement with oneself, said to oneself

The following are examples:

(174) *Ka:, asukba am pye:n=ngü.*
No, like.that NEG speak=1P.M
'No, I did not say it like that!'

(175) *A:, nah khyah=a.*
No! O.AGR:1S release-IMP
'No! Let me go!'

(176) *Eh, kah mkhye lo ni.*
No, S.AGR:1S do.wrong ASP EMPH
'No, I made a mistake!'

Indicating surprise

ee: 'oh!'

(177) *Ee:, kho-khi-in lo ve.*
oh, wind.blow-MIR ASP ASP
'Oh, the wind is starting to blow!'

Attracting attention

häh ‘there!’

- (178) *Häh, thi:ng-thu: kah shui.*
 There, tree-big.branch S.AGR:1S search
 ‘There, I have looked for firewood!’

Expressing an apology

mai, mai ‘Sorry!’

Conclusion

In this section only question words and indefinite pronouns, numerals and interjections were looked at. Further minor categories are discussed in detail in other sections of this study. For example, pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, classifiers and gender are all described in Chapter 5 since they are constituents of the noun phrase. Discourse conjunctions are discussed under temporal adverbs in Section 4.4. Subordinators are discussed in Section 13.2 since they are part of the adverbial clause.

Daai has an innumerable amount of particles and many of them are described within the verb complex.

5 *Noun and noun phrase operations*

5.1 Overview of the noun phrase

The noun phrase consists minimally of a single noun head and may optionally include one or more other constituents. The noun phrase head can be a lexical noun, a personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun. Only demonstrative pronouns, possessors and relative clauses that modify a noun head occur pre-nominally. All other noun-phrase constituents follow the head.

The diagram below gives an overview of the ordering of the constituents in the noun phrase. Optionality is not presented.

There are certain co-occurrence restrictions: In the PRE-HEAD position demonstrative pronouns and relative clauses do not occur together. Demonstrative pronouns cannot be possessed.

In the POST-HEAD position classifier phrases and quantifier phrases cannot occur together. Determiners/demonstratives do not occur with vocative case marking.

The adjective phrase (AP) is a constituent for semantic reasons. When the adjective phrase occurs with an intensifier, the adjective is intensified and not the noun.

In the classifier phrase we find only number occurring with classifiers. As a unit a classifier phrase cannot co-occur with a quantifier phrase, which indicates that both classifier phrases and quantifier phrases are constituents.

The quantifier phrase is a constituent because of semantic and syntactic reasons. It can be modified by intensifiers and as stated it completely alternates with the classifier phrase.

Figure 5.1: Noun Phrase Constituents

NP										
PRE-HEAD			POST-HEAD							
RELATIVE CLAUSE	NP[POSS]	NOUN	GENDER	PLURAL	AP		CLASSIFIER PHRASE	PLURAL	DEMONS	CASE
DEMONS.PRO					ADJECTIVE	MODIFIER	CLASSIFIER	NUM		
							QUANTIFIER PHRASE			
							QTY	INTS		

5.2 Pre-nominal constituents of the noun phrase

5.2.1 Relative clauses

The prenominal REL-clause modifies the head of the noun phrase as shown in the two examples below. The REL-clause is in { }, the noun phrase head is underlined.

NP → REL-CL NP

- (1) {*Angyan=üing kah-nih yah-ei*} *meh* *sun*
 effort=INSTR S.AGR:1DU/PL get-AO meat DEM

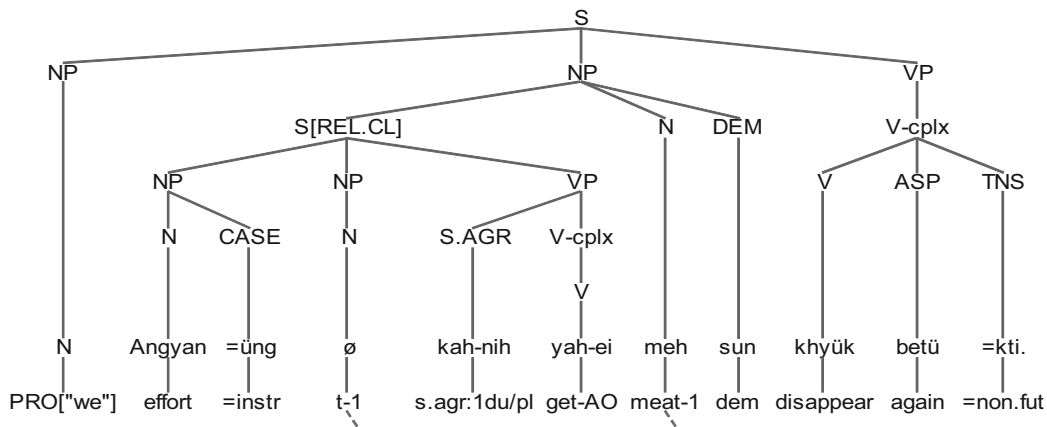
khyiik betü=kti.
 disappear again=NON.FUT
 'The meat that we got with great effort has disappeared again.'

Justification for the tree structures used in this study

- 1.) Because clauses can have adjuncts and adverbials between the full noun phrase object and the verb, this strongly suggests that noun phrase objects are not verb phrase internal. For this reason both subject and object noun phrases are attached to the sentence. Justification for the entire structure of the noun phrase can be found in 5.1.
- 2.) The agreement forms attach to the verb phrase without phrasal projection because no structural relationship between them is yet known.
- 3.) Verb particles are combined into a V-complex without any attempt to define hierarchical relationships among them. However there are clear hierarchical relationships that need further research.
- 4.) The use of PRO and trees: PRO is used to mark the canonical position of any missing noun phrase. In some cases only the head noun is missing and PRO is used there also. Traces are used to mark the position of noun phrases which exist but have an alternate role in the sentence, e.g. relative clauses. Importantly, both PRO and traces are for “bookkeeping purposes” and no explicit theoretical implication should be drawn from their use.

The structure of (1) is shown in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Example (1)



In example (2) the REL-clause co-occurs with the possessive. The possessor of a NP must always follow the REL-clause and cannot precede it.

NP → REL-CL POSS NP

- (2) {*Khuui k'um=a ve=kti*} *ah* *püi=e* *sun=noh*
 cave inside=LOC is=NON.FUT POSS:3S friend=PL DEM=ERG

ah-nih hei-pyen lo mjoh=u.
 S.AGR:3DU/PL DIR:forward-speak ASP EVID=PL
 'Her friends {who were inside the cave} scolded [her], it is told.'

Pronouns cannot be modified by REL-clauses.

*NP → REL-CL PRON

- (3) *{*Khuui k'um=a ve=kti*} *ah-nih-nih=e* *sun=noh ...*
 cave inside=LOC is=NON.FUT 3PL DEM=ERG
 'They who are inside the cave...'

5.2.2 Prenominal demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are nominalized demonstratives (see 3.3.1.4). They are used for anaphoric reference and link the noun with a previous proposition or discourse referent. Usually only *asun* ‘that’ and *ahin* ‘this’ precede the head noun with a specifying function. When they appear prenominally they occur with the clitic =*a*. The following examples include the proposition to which the demonstrative pronoun refers. The context proposition is on the first line.

NP → DEM.PRON=*a* NP

- (4) *Mhnam-pa:=noh aksük-ksük=a thi:ng_j nu: ah msom ma.*
 creator.god=ERG first.of.all-CF tree big S.AGR:3S create do.first

Asun=a_j thi:ng-dung nu: sun kyu lo lü ...
 DEM.PRO:that-CF tree-stem big DEM fall.over ASP NF ...
 ‘The creator god created first of all big tree. Those big tree stems fell over and ...’

- (5) *Kah kho-paang hi lung-taä_j kdo um=kti.*
 POSS:1S hoof DEM precious.stone good is.inside=NON.FUT

Ahin=a_j lung-taä_i hin nih loh ta ..
 DEM.PRO:this-CF precious.stone DEM S.AGR:1DU/PL take SUBO:if
 ‘There is a precious stone in my hoof. If we take this precious stone out ...’

5.2.3 Possessors

In Daai, inherent possession and inalienable possession are identical. They are the kind of possessions that cannot be terminated. Though Daai has a semantically distinct category of inherently possessed nouns, the distinction between inherent, inalienable and alienable possession is not marked morphologically.

There are basically two different forms of possessive constructions:

- The possessor can be a noun phrase that is marked by the genitive case clitic =*a*
- The possessor can be a possessive pronoun that is homophonous with the subject agreement forms normally found with the verb.

NP → (NP [POSS]) N

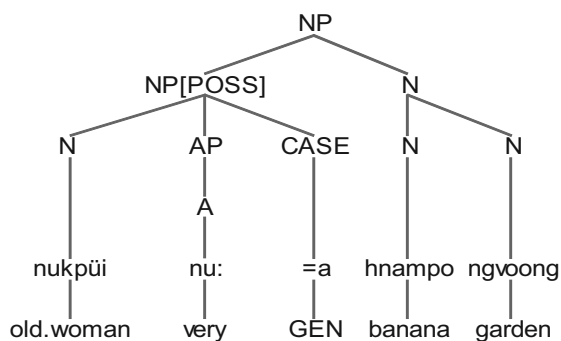
NP [POSS] → N =*a*

NP [POSS] → POSS¹

The examples below show possession by a noun phrase, a proper noun, a pronoun and by an agreement form. Internal to the noun phrase the distribution of the first three forms is identical. They all occur as possessor noun phrases in a pre-head position. In (6)d the possessor is not a separate noun phrase.

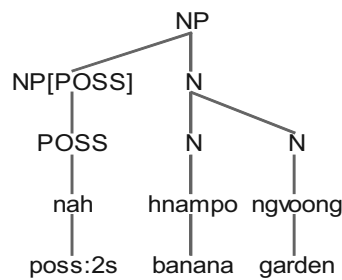
- (6) a *nukpüi nu:=a hnampo-ngvoong*
 old.woman INTENS=GEN banana-garden
 'the very old woman's banana garden'
- b *Leen=a hnampo-ngvoong*
 Leen=GEN banana-garden
 'Leen's banana garden'
- c *na:ng=a hnampo-ngvoong*
 2S=GEN banana-garden
 'your banana garden'
- d *nah hnampo-ngvoong*
 POSS:2S banana-garden
 'your banana garden'

Figure 5.3: Example (6)a



¹ The possessive pronouns are homophonous with the subject agreement markers.

Figure 5.4: Example (6)d



Pronouns cannot be possessed as example (7)a shows. (7)b exemplifies that a common noun in the same position can be possessed.

- (7) a **Kah ah-nih=noh lou: poh=kti.*
 POSS:1S 3S=ERG field work=NON.FUT
- b *Kah pa:=noh lou: poh=kti.*
 POSS:1S father=ERG field work=NON.FUT
 'My father works on the field.'

Examples (2) above shows that a noun, modified by a REL-clause, can be possessed, but possession has to follow the REL-clause and cannot precede it as in (8).

NP → (*NP[POSS]) REL-CL NP

- (8) (**Ah*) {*khuui k'um=a ve=kti*} *püi=e sun=noh*
 POSS:3S cave inside=LOC is=NON.FUT friend=PL DEM=ERG
 'Her friends {who were inside the cave} ...'

5.2.3.1 Possessive constructions and focus marking

The examples (9)a and b show that the possessor can be drawn from the set of free pronouns and also from the possessive pronouns (see Footnote on the previous page).. The choice of the possessor is a tool for marking focus. If the possessor is a free pronoun with the genitive clitic =*a* (9)a, then the possessor is in focus. But the focus shifts to the possessed item if the possessor is drawn from the set of possessive pronouns as in example (9)b.

- (9) a *Kei:=a i:m pyoih=kti.*
 1S=GEN house collapse=NON.FUT
 'My house collapsed.'

- b *Kah i:m pyoih=kti.*
 POSS:1S house collapse=NON.FUT
 'My **house** collapsed.'

5.2.3.2 Multiple possessive constructions

Double possessive constructions can be found frequently and below are some examples.

SCHEMA: POSS NP =*a* NP

- (10) *nih mah-pa:=a sa:*
 POSS:1DU/PL.INCL master=GEN child
 'our master's child'

SCHEMA: NP =*a* NP =*a* NP

- (11) *kei:=a pu=a i:m*
 PRON:1S=GEN father.in.law=GEN house
 'my father-in-law's house'

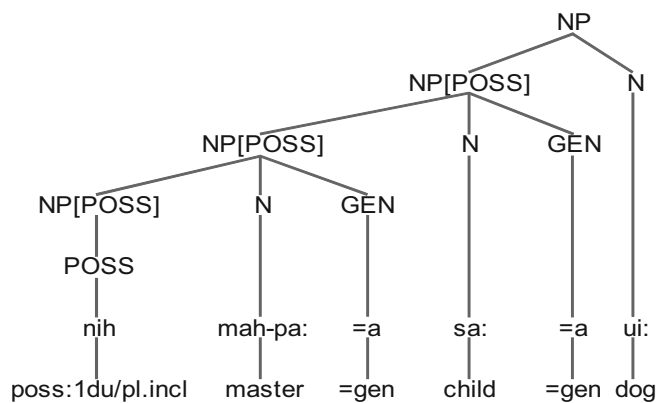
Below is an example of a recursive construction.

SCHEMA: POSS NP =*a* NP =*a* NP

- (12) *nih mah-pa:=a sa:=a ui:*
 POSS:1DU/PL.INCL master-GEN child=GEN dog
 'the dog of our master's child'

This construction is shown in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: Example (12)



This section has shown that the noun phrase has three pre-nominal constituents: REL-clauses, demonstrative pronouns and possessors. REL-clauses do not co-occur with demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns do not co-occur with possessors. REL-clauses can be followed by the possessor of the noun head as in example (2).

NP → REL-CL NP [POSS] NP

NP → DEM.PRO NP

NP → NP [POSS] NP

5.3 The head of the noun phrase

All subtypes of nouns that have been discussed in 4.1 can function as heads of noun phrases.

5.3.1 Common nouns

Most noun phrases have common nouns as heads and examples are exemplified in many places in this section. Therefore we are going to focus on other head types.

5.3.2 Pronouns

5.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The Table below shows the paradigm of personal pronouns in Daai.

Table 5.1: Personal Pronouns

		1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Singular		<i>kei:</i> ‘I’	<i>na:ng</i> ‘you’	<i>ah-nih</i> ‘he/she/it’
Dual	excl	<i>kei:-nih</i> ‘we two’	<i>na:ng-nih</i> ‘you two’	<i>ah-nih-nih</i> ‘they two’
	incl	<i>nih-nih</i> ‘we two’		
Plural	excl	<i>kei:-nih-e</i> ‘we’	<i>na:ng-nih-e</i> ‘you’	<i>ah-nih-nih-e</i> ‘they’
	incl	<i>nih-nih-e</i> ‘we’		

The place of the pronoun within the noun phrase is interpreted in different ways by various linguists. Traditional grammars state that a pronoun ‘takes the place of a noun’.

VanValin and LaPolla (1997) talk about noun phrases headed by pronouns¹ however, other linguists regard nouns and pronouns as belonging to different levels. Kroeger (2005:44-46) points out that pronouns (and also proper nouns) can be replaced by an entire noun phrase as shown in the examples (13) and (14). This explains the co-occurrence restrictions concerning pronouns: pronouns and demonstrative pronouns cannot be possessed, they do not occur with gender-marking, classifiers, quantifiers or adjectives. Personal pronouns are only specified by demonstratives and case.

- (13) **Kei:=noh** *thi:ng-thu:* *kah* *kkot* *lo=kti* *ni.*
 1s=ERG tree-branch S.AGR:1s carry come=NON.FUT EMPH
 'I came carrying the tree branch.'

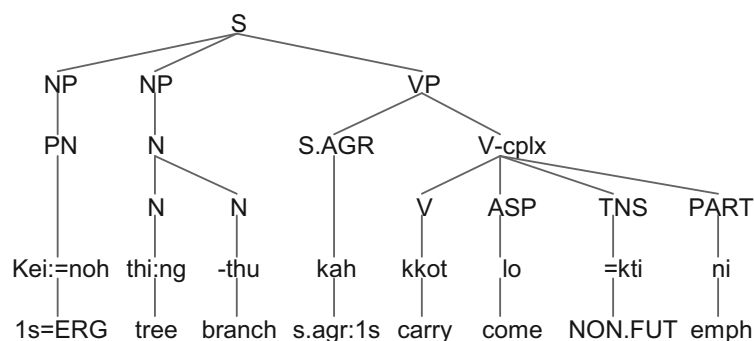
- (14) **Pakshe pa:** **sun=noh** *thi:ng-thu* *kkot* *lo=kti* *ni.*
 old.man INTENS DEM=ERG tree-branch carry come=NON.FUT EMPH
 'The very old man came carrying the tree branch.'

Therefore pronouns are not regarded as constituents of the noun phrase but of the clause or sentence. The following are the PS rules for example (13)

$S \rightarrow NP_1 NP_2 VP$

$NP_1 \rightarrow PRO =noh$

Figure 5.6: Example (13)



¹ "NPs headed by pronouns and proper nouns do not have a layered structure like those headed by common nouns" (pg. 56)

5.3.2.1 *Demonstrative pronouns*

In the same way demonstrative pronouns are to be interpreted as noun phrases. In example (15) *asun* occurs with number, demonstrative and case. Demonstrative pronouns often occur together with the non-nominalized demonstrative from which they are derived as we see in (16) and (17). These examples show that the two demonstrative forms have different distributions and functions. Below are the PS rules for the first NP in example (15).

S → NP₁ NP₂ V-cplx

NP₁ → DEM.PRO NUM DEM CASE

- (15) *Asun=xooi sun=noh ah-nih püi hmu thei=ni lü ...*
 DEM.PRO:that=DU DEM=ERG POSS:3DU/PL friend meet MOD=DU NF
 'Those two were able to meet each other and ...'

The demonstrative pronoun *ahin* occurs frequently in equative clauses as shown in the following examples.

- (16) *Ahin hin sho-buh ei pooi poh-a kyak=kti.*
 DEM.PRO:this DEM Sho.rice eating feast do-CF is=NON.FUT
 'This the Sho (name of feast) rice-eating feast.'
- (17) *Ahin ta vok-ee:k-tui: ni.*
 DEM.PRO:this FOC pig-shit-water COP
 'This is water [polluted by] pig shit.'

Asu 'there' and *ahi* 'here' are nominalizations of the demonstratives *su* and *hi* which occur in temporal and locative noun phrases. They are also anaphoric and refer to places and to temporal expressions that have already been mentioned before.

- (18) *Asu su mei: sa: ah-nih mshu:m=ei.*
 DEM.PRO:there DEM fire small S.AGR:3DU/PL use=INTR
 'There they made a small fire.' (i.e at that place)
- (19) *Ahi-vei su nah poh vai.*
 DEM.PRO:this-until DEM S.AGR:2S work SUBJ
 'You should work until this (time).'

5.4 Post-nominal constituents of the noun phrase

5.4.1 Gender

The Daai gender-marking system distinguishes female versus male in human beings and animals. Gender-marking directly follows the head noun of the noun phrase and with human nouns it has become integrated into head noun, the gender markers are bound morphemes. However, gender is not a frequently occurring constituent of the noun phrase.

5.4.1.1 Gender-marking with human nouns

With human beings overt gender marking occurs only rarely. There are two bound morphemes for marking gender, *nghnu* ‘female’ and *kpa:* ‘male’. These gender markers are quite likely derived from *nu:* ‘mother’ and *pa:* ‘father’. The morpheme *ngla* also marks female gender, but indicates that the female human being is young.

Table 5.2 shows the gender-markers for human beings.

Table 5.2: Human Gender Markers

Gender	Gloss
<i>nghnu</i>	‘female’
<i>kpa:</i>	‘male’
<i>ngla</i>	‘young female’

NP → N-GEND

The following are examples.

- (20) a *sa:-nghnu* ‘daughter’
 child-GEND:fem
- b *sa:-kpa:* ‘son’
 child-GEND:fem
- c *na-ngla* ‘younger sister’
 younger.sibling-GEND:fem

Nouns that are marked for gender can occur with adjectives, but the adjective has to follow the gender-marking and cannot be inserted between noun and gender-marking. This is shown in the examples (21) a and b.

NP → N-GEND AP

- (21) a *ah* *sa:-nghnu* *kdäm*
 POSS:3S child-GEND:fem big
 ‘his older daughter’
- b *ah* *sa:* *(*kdäm)-nghnu*
 POSS:3S child big-GEND:fem

One exceptional use of the gender markers is when they occur as part of a compound noun with the bound morpheme *mi* ‘man’ or ‘human being’. Although in most Chin languages *mi* is frequently used with the meaning ‘person’, in Daai *mi* occurs only in combination with the gender-marking morphemes. In these compound nouns the gender-marking morpheme occurs as first part and specifies the second part. This is the only case when gender marking precedes the head noun.

- (22) a *ngnhnu-mi* ‘woman’
 b *ngla-mi* ‘young woman’
 c *kpa:-mi* ‘man’

5.4.1.2 Gender-marking with animal nouns

Table 5.2 shows gender markers for animals. With all animal nouns female gender is optionally marked by *nu:*, derived from ‘mother’ and with most animal nouns male gender is marked by *pa:*, derived from ‘father’. However, some animal nouns have more specific markers for male gender, as seen in the rightmost column in Table 5.3.

The gender marking shows a certain grouping of animals, though it is strange to find dangerous animals like the bear and the tiger grouped together with the rat. This table is not complete though: some animals that do not share male gender markers specific to their species with other species are not included. Such markers are rarely used and not well known by younger people. Nothing is known about the origin of male forms.

Table 5.3: Animal Gender Markers

Animal	Gloss	Female	Male
<i>kkhom</i>	‘bear’	<i>kkhom-nu:</i>	<i>kkhom-pa:</i>
<i>mpyäüh</i>	‘tiger’	<i>mpyäüh-nu:</i>	<i>mpyäüh-pa:</i>
<i>kphyu:</i>	‘rat’	<i>kphyu:-nu:</i>	<i>kphyu:-pa:</i>
<i>she</i>	‘cow’	<i>she-nu:</i>	<i>she-mse</i>
<i>me:</i>	‘goat’	<i>me-nu:</i>	<i>me:-mse</i>
<i>vok</i>	‘pig’	<i>vok-nu:</i>	<i>vok-ngxü</i>
<i>ui:</i>	‘dog’	<i>ui:-nu:</i>	<i>ui:-ngxü</i>
<i>kkhyu</i>	‘boar’	<i>kkhyu-nu:</i>	<i>kkhyu-ngxü</i>
<i>joong</i>	‘monkey’	<i>joong-nu:</i>	<i>joong-ngtang</i>
<i>mhnge</i>	‘wolf’	<i>mhnge-nu:</i>	<i>mhnge-ngtang</i>
<i>aai</i>	‘chicken’	<i>aa-nu:</i>	<i>aai-nghlui</i>
<i>vakkhyüt</i>	‘jungle fowl’	<i>vakkhyüt-nu:</i>	<i>vakkhyüt-nghlui</i>
<i>vang-aak</i>	‘crow’	<i>vang-aak-nu:</i>	<i>vang-aak-nghlui</i>

Also gender markers of animal nouns can be followed by adjectives, number-marking, demonstratives and case, but cannot be preceded by any of these constituents of the noun phrase. In (23)a the colour adjective *boo:k* ‘white’ follows the gender marker, but it cannot occur before the gender marker (23)b.

(23) a *Paai=noh aai-nghlui boo:k ah yoh.*
 father=ERG chicken-GEND:male white S.AGR:3S kill
 ‘Father killed (ceremonially) a white rooster.’

b *Paai=noh aai (*boo:k) nghlui ah yoh.*
 father=ERG chicken white GEND:male S.AGR:3S kill

NP → N-GEND AP PL DEM CASE

*NP → N AP GEND

(24) *Ui:-ngxü kshe=e sun=noh*
 dog-GEND:male bad=PL DEM=ERG

nah suui: hli=kti=e.
 O.AGR:1S bite want=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘These bad male dogs wanted to bite me.’

5.4.2 Adjectives and modifiers

If a noun is not marked for gender, adjectives immediately follow the noun phrase head. Adjectives can only modify full nouns and cannot occur with other constituents that function as head of the noun phrase, like pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and REL-clauses. Most adjectives that are used as nominal modifiers are derived from the predicative use of verbs through prefixation with *k-*. This has been discussed in 3.3.1.1 (see also 4.3.1 on adjectives).

NP → N AP DU/PL DEM CASE

Example (25) shows that adjectives can be followed by dual-marking, demonstratives and case.

- (25) *Ui: kshe=xooi hin=noh nah suui: hlü=kti=xooi.*
 dog bad=DU DEM=ERG O.AGR:1S bite want=NON.FUT=DU
 'These two bad male dogs wanted to bite me.'

There are also adjective intensifiers that are derived from nouns by conversion: *nu:* from 'mother', *pa:* from 'father' and *sa:* from 'child' (see 4.3.2 for more details on these modifiers). Some nouns can be directly modified by these morphemes as shown in (26). Adjectives formed from these nouns may not be semantically transparent as the example *nu:* shows. In (26) *nu:* means 'big'.

NP → N (AP)

AP → A (INTENS)

- (26) *Thi:ng nu: sun kyu lo=kti=e.*
 tree ADJ:big DEM fall.over ASP=NON.FUT=PL
 'The big trees started to fall over.'

In example (27) *nu:* has the meaning 'very'. Both meanings are not transparently related to the noun, meaning 'mother'.

- (27) *Pan Poh sun thi:ng k'hlüing nu:=a kaai=kti.*
 Pan Poh DEM tree ADJ:high INTENS:very=LOC climb=NON.FUT
 'Pan Poh climbed on a very high tree.'

Since adjectives are discussed in detail in 4.3.1 and modifiers in 4.3.2, they are just mentioned briefly at this place.

5.4.3 Grammatical number

Daai has different ways of marking number on nouns. The singular is the default or ‘unmarked’ category. Non-singular nouns are most commonly marked for number by the plural marker =*e* or the dual marker =*xooi*. The plural and dual markers precede demonstratives and case-marking.

Occasionally nouns are followed by the plural marker =*u* that does not indicate plurality of the noun phrase head but of its possessor.

Nouns can also be marked for number by a classifier and a cardinal number. In this case the use of the plural marker =*e* is optional.

5.4.3.1 The plural marker =*e*

Plural marking is obligatory for most nouns that refer to human beings. In the example below plural-marking is followed by a demonstrative and case.

NP → POSS N PL DEM CAS

- (28) *Ah na=e sun=noh sha: ktäm vaai=kti=e.*
 POSS:3S younger.brother=PL DEM=ERG game follow DIR:go=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘His younger brothers went hunting.’

Plural-marking cannot follow case

- (29) *Ah na sun=noh(*=e) sha: ktäm vaai=kti=e.*
 POSS:3S younger.brother DEM=ERG=PL game follow DIR:go=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘His younger brothers went hunting.’

In example (30) plural-marking is preceded by gender and an adjective and followed by case.

NP → NP[POSS] N-GEND AP DU/PL CAS

- (30) *Ahin=a ui: nu: kshe=e=noh*
 DEM.PRO:this=CF dog GEND:fem bad=PL=ERG

nah suui: hliü=kti=e.
 O.AGR:1S bite want=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘These bad female dogs wanted to bite me.’

Plural-marking cannot precede gender or adjectives.

- (31) *Ahin=a* *ui: (*=e)* *nu:* *kshe=noh...*
 DEM.PRO:this=CF dog GEND:fem bad=PL=ERG

The plural-marking clitic =*e* can also be attached to names of clans and villages as shown in the examples below.

- (32) a *Kho Püi=e* ‘the people of the Kho Püi clan’
 b *Mdaaü=e* ‘the people of the Mdaaü village’

With certain human nouns like *nghngi-siim* ‘human being’, *pu-pa:* ‘ancestor’, *ye* ‘enemy’, *kkhin* ‘guest’ plural marking is optional. In the following example the noun *nghni-siim* is not marked for plurality but the object agreement *jah* refers to a plural object.

- (33) *Msi Msäai=e=noh* *ta* *nghngi-siim* *sun* *jah*
 Msi Msäai=PL=ERG FOC human.being DEM O.AGR:1/3DU/PL
- pin-man=u* *lü* *ah-nih* *jah* *ei-oo:k* *mjoh=u.*
 catch=PL NF S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL eat-drink EVID=PL
 ‘The Msi Msäai people caught the humans and ate them.’

Plural-marking is optional for animal nouns and tends to occur only when a noun is in focus. Examples (34) and (35) are taken from the same story. In (34) the noun *she* ‘cow’ is not in focus and not marked for plurality. In (35) the same noun *she* ‘cow’ has come into focus. The sentence gives new information about the cows and is thus marked for plurality.

- (34) *Asunüngta* *she* *sun* *hlai=lü*
 Then cow DEM in.turn=NF
- ah-nih* *jah* *shääm* *shak.*
 S.AGR: 3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL take.care CAUS
 ‘Then they caused them to take turns in looking after the cows.’
- (35) *Asunüngta* *she=e* *sun=noh* *ah-nih* *ngshui-ei* *vai*
 Then cow=PL DEM=ERG POSS:3DU/PL grazing PURP
- sun* *mhnih-in=kti=e.*
 DEM forget-MIR=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘Then the cows forgot their looking for food.’

Inanimate nouns are usually not marked for plurality. In (36) the noun *thi:ng* ‘tree’ is not marked for plurality. But the plural-marking =*e* following =*kti* ‘non-future’ indicates that it is not just one tree which falls down.

- (36) *Thi:ng nu: sun kyu lo=kti=e.*
 tree ADJ:big DEM fall.over ASP=NON.FUT=PL
 'The big trees started to fall over.'

5.4.3.2 The dual marker =*xooi*

For human nouns dual-marking is obligatory. If the noun phrase refers to two human persons of the same gender and about the same age, we find just one noun marked by =*xooi* as shown in (37).

NP → N DU

- (37) *Nghnu-mi-sa:=xooi long-pyo:-ei=kti=xooi.*
 young.woman=DU stream-fish-INTR=NON.FUT=DU
 'Two young women were fishing.'

If the two human persons are of different gender the dual marker occurs with noun phrases that have two noun heads (38), and may or may not be joined by the conjunction *jah* 'and' (39).

NP₂ → N DU CASE

The second NP in example (38) illustrates the PS rule above.

- (38) [*Shuui=a*]_{NP1} [*nu:- pa:=xooi=noh*]_{NP2} *ta ...*
 Shuui=GEN mother-father=DU=ERG FOC
 'As for Shuui's parents ...'

NP → N *jah* N DU DEM

- (39) *Nghnu-mi-sa: jah kpa:-mi-sa:=xooi hin*
 young.woman and young.man=DU DEM

nghlüh-ngpüi-ei mjoh=kti=xooi.
 be.lovers EVID=NON.FUT=DU
 'The young woman and the young man were lovers, it is told.'

The dual marker occurs also with compound nouns that are already marked by another device as being members of one pair (40).

- (40) *Ahlaanüng ngbe-ngna=xooi ve mjoh=kti=xooi.*
 Long.ago pair.of.brothers=DU live EVID=NON.FUT=DU
 'Long ago there lived two brothers, it is told.'

Nouns that refer to animals can only be marked by the dual if they are of the same kind as shown in (41).

- (41) *Ahin=a ui: nu: kshe=xooi hin noh*
 DEM.PRO=CF dog GEND bad=DU DEM ERG
- nah suui hlü=kti=xooi.*
 O.AGR:1S bite want=NON.FUT=DU
 'These two bad female dogs wanted to bite me.'

Nouns that refer to different kinds of animals cannot be marked by the dual, as shown in (42).

- (42) *Kkhyang mat=a veei: ui: jah vok(*=xooi) ve=kti=xooi.*
 man one=GEN place dog and pig=DU live=NON.FUT=DU
 'A dog and a pig lived with a man.'

For pairs of body parts like arms and eyes dual marking is optional. These body parts are marked for duality only when in focus as shown in example (43).

- (43) *Poh Pan=noh ah kho-mtan=xooi*
 Poh Pan=ERG POSS:3S calf=DU
- jah kbän-in=kti.*
 O.AGR:1/3.DU/PL cut.off-MIR=NON.FUT
 'Poh Pan cut off his two legs.'

5.4.3.3 The plural marker =u

Although the plural marker =u may follow the noun, it does not mark the plurality of the head noun but refers to the plurality of its possessor. This plural marker only occurs if the possessor is drawn from the set of pronominal agreement forms. Plurality of the agreement form itself is already inherent in these morphemes. The plural marker =u follows the possessed noun and not the agreement forms.

- (44) *Ah-nih pa:=u sun=noh ah kkhyu: laa:k be.*
 POSS:3DU/PL father=PL DEM=ERG S.AGR:3S wife take again.
 'Their father took again a wife.'
- (45) *Ah-nih meh kkeih=u sun khük-ei=kti.*
 POSS:3DU/PL meat dried=PL DEM disappear-AO=NON.FUT
 'Their dried meat has disappeared.'

Note that if the possessor is expressed by a free pronoun, plurality of the possessor is marked by =*e* and the genitive marker has to be used. In this case the plural marker =*u* cannot follow the noun as in (45)b.

b *Ah-nih-nih-e=a* *meh* *kkeih(*=u)* *sun* *khük-ei=kti*.
 3PL=GEN meat dried DEM disappear-AO=NON.FUT
 ‘Their dried meat has disappeared.’

Although example (45)a and (45)b seem to have the same meaning, in (45)a the possessed item is in focus and in (45)b the focus is on the possessor.

5.4.3.4 Noun classifiers and numbers

Classifiers occur only in combination with numerals and generally only if the speaker wishes to mention the exact number of items. Classifiers are free morphemes that follow the noun phrase head and its modifier and precede the numeral. The table below does not represent all Daai noun classes. The classifiers for most noun classes are not obligatory. The classification system for Daai nouns is mainly based on dimensions of size and shapes. For bigger animals and a few other items the classifier *puum* ‘body’ is used. The classifier for humans is *lu* ‘head’.

Table 5.4: Noun Classifiers

Dimension	Classifier	Used with:	Gloss
1 small, roundish	<i>nglung</i>	<i>saang hum</i> <i>ksang ui</i> <i>msi: ui</i> <i>aai ktui</i>	'paddy kernel'(with husk) 'rice kernel' (uncooked) 'seed' 'egg'
2 thin, longish	<i>thek</i>	<i>nglei-soon</i> <i>süh</i> <i>the:</i> <i>ngxääi</i> <i>thi:ng</i> <i>lu-sham</i> <i>nga:</i>	'spoon' 'split bamboo' 'short arrow' 'small bamboo branch' 'small firewood' 'hair' 'fish' (thin and longish)
3 thin, longish, longer than 2	<i>nghjang</i>	<i>yo-puum</i> <i>li:</i> <i>ksei:</i> <i>ksi:m</i> <i>nga:-hnuui</i> <i>yüi</i>	'bamboo pole' 'long arrow' 'spear' 'knife' 'name of fish' (long, thin) 'rope'
4 flat, spread out	<i>nglep</i>	<i>hnah</i> <i>jih</i> <i>phak</i> <i>nga:-mpaang</i> <i>sa-joot</i>	'leaf' 'blanket' 'mat' 'name of fish' (flat) 'sheet of paper'
5 big animate and inanimate	<i>puum</i>	<i>i:m</i> <i>she</i> <i>vok</i> <i>me:</i> <i>ui:</i>	'house' 'cattle' 'pig' 'goat' 'dog'
6 human	<i>lu</i>	<i>kkhyaang</i>	'man'

Noun classifiers can be preceded by a modifying adjective. If the number is larger than two it is optionally followed by the plural marker =*e*.

NP → N AP CLASSFP (=e)

CLASSFP → CLASS NUM

- (46) *Jih-nu: le nglep nghngih khyüh=kti*
 big.blanket black CLASS two disappear=NON.FUT
 'Two black blankets have disappeared!'

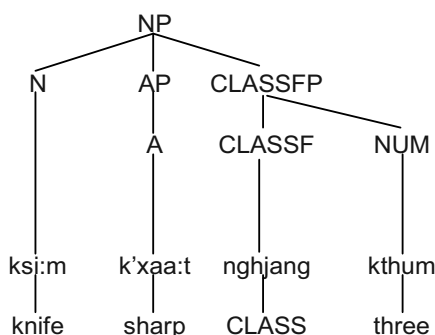
- (47) *Ahin nglei-soon thek mhma=e hin jah seh =a.*
 DEM.PRO spoon CLASS five=PL DEM O.AGR:3DU/PL take=IMP
 'Take these five spoons!'

Noun modifiers cannot be inserted between the classifier and the numeral and can also not follow the numeral as in example (48)b and c.

- (48) a *Ksi:m k'xaa:t nghjang kthum hliü=kti ni.*
 knife sharp CLASS NUM:three need=NON.FUT EMPH
 'I need three sharp knives.'
- b *Ksi:m nghjang (*k'xaa:t) kthum hliü=kti ni.*
 knife CLASS sharp NUM:three need=NON.FUT EMPH
 'I need three sharp knives.'
- c *Ksi:m nghjang kthum (*k'xaa:t) hliü=kti ni.*
 knife CLASS NUM:three sharp need=NON.FUT EMPH
 'I need three sharp knives.'

Figure 5.7 shows the structure of the noun phrase in (48).

Figure 5.7: Example (48)a



Noun phrases with noun classifiers can occur with case as shown in (49) and (50)

NP → N AP CLASSFP CASE

- (49) *Vok sa: puum nghngih=a mik shen=kti.*
 pig small CLASS two=GEN eye red=NON.FUT
 'The eyes of the two little pigs are red.'
- (50) *Pakshe=noh ksei: kshaau nghjang mat=üng kkhom ah tuk.*
 old.man=ERG spear long CLASS one=INSTR bear S.AGR:3S stab
 'The old man stabbed the bear with one long spear.'

Classifiers without numerals are used in content questions that ask for the number of items (51).

- (51) *Ksi:m nghjang ikän ja: nah-nih jah bi=u*
 knife CLASS QUANT QP S.AGR:2DU/PL O.AGR:3DU/PL hold=PL
 'How many knives do you have?'

The classifier *lu* 'head', which is used for human beings, behaves differently from other classifiers and appears without a noun (52).

- (52) *Lu thum-kip nih loh ni.*
 CLASS NUM:thirty S.AGR:1PL/INCL take EMPH
 'We have taken thirty (people).'

The classifier *lu* can only occur together with the noun *kkhyaang* 'man' and has to reduplicated if it appears with the noun and a numeral (53) and (54).

- (53) *Kkhyang lu täh=u=a*
 man CLASS count=PL=IMP
 'Count the people!'
- (54) *Kkhyang lu *(lu) kko: khyük-ei=kti.*
 man CLASS CLASS NUM:nine disappear-AO=NON.FUT
 'Nine people have disappeared.'

5.4.4. Non-numeral quantifiers

Daai has several non-numeral quantifiers as shown in the Table (5:5) below.

Table 5.5: Non-numeral Quantifiers

Non-numeral Quantifiers	Gloss
<i>alääm</i>	'a little', 'a few'
<i>api</i>	'a little', 'a few'
<i>akhäk</i>	'some'
<i>khohah</i>	'a lot'
<i>abäng</i>	'all'
<i>naküt</i>	'all'

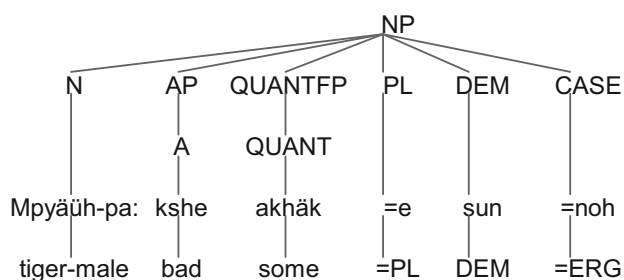
The quantifiers can be preceded by gender, adjectives and optional plural-marking and can be followed by demonstratives and case. They cannot be possessed and cannot be modified by common adjectives. However, some quantifiers can be modified by the intensifiers *sa*: 'little' and *pa*: 'big'.

NP → N-GEND AP (PL) QUANTFP (PL) DEM CASE

- (55) *Mpyäüh-pa: kshe akhäk=e sun=noh*
 tiger-GEND:male bad QUANT:some=PL DEM=ERG
- kah-nih she ah-nih jah man-ei=u.*
 POSS:1DU/PL cow S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL catch-AO =PL
 'Some bad male tigers caught and ate our cows.'

Figure 5.8 shows the structure of the noun phrase in (55).

Figure 5.8: Example (55)



Quantifiers cannot precede gender-marking (56) or adjectives (57).

- (56) *Mpyäüh (*akhäk) pa: kshe=e=noh*
 tiger QUANT:some GEND:male bad=PL=ERG

- (57) *Mpyäüh-pa: (*akhäk) kshe=e=noh*
 tiger-GEND:male QUANT:some bad =PL=ERG

With non-numeral quantifiers plural-marking is optional and the plural marker =e can occur with different constituents of the noun phrase as shown in the following examples.

NP → N (PL) QUANTFP (PL) DEM CASE

- (58) *Kho-hmün=e khohah sun mei:=noh ah uih.*
 field.plot=PL QUANT:many DEM fire=ERG S.AGR:3S burn
 'The fire burned down many field plots.'
- (59) *Kkhyang naküt=e ngsun päih=kti=e.*
 man QUANT:all=PL come.together completely=NON.FUT=PL
 'All the people came together.'

The following examples show quantifiers modified by *pa:* and *sa:*.

NP → N (PL) QUANTFP (PL) CASE

QUANTFP → QUANTF INTENSF

- (60) *Hnashen alääm sa:=e=iing ni*
 child QUANT:few INTENS:very=PL=INSTR only

kah jah yet.
 S.AGR:1S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL share
 'I shared out only to a very few children.'

- (61) *Ngna:m=e khohah pa:=noh saang aa:t=kti=e.*
 village=PL QUANT:many INTENS:very=ERG paddy harvest=NON.FUT=PL
 'Many villagers harvested paddy.'

The quantifier *abäng* 'all' can be called 'polyquantifier'. It can function like other non-numeral quantifiers with the same meaning as *naküt* 'all' as is shown in example (62)a. It can also co-occur with *naküt* and must in this case precede *naküt* (62)b. It cannot be preceded by *naküt*.

- (62) a *Kkhyaang abäng ngsun päih=kti=e.*
 man P.QUANT:all come.together completely=NON.FUT=PL
 'All the people came together.'

SCHEMA: N P.QUANT QUANT

- b *Kkhyaang abäng naküt*
 man P.QUANT QUANT
- ngsun päih=kti=e.*
 come.together completely=NON.FUT=PL
 'All the people came together.'

The polyquantifier *abäng* differs from all other quantifiers in that it can modify nouns that are already specified by a classifier and a numeral as shown in examples (63).

SCHEMA: N CLASS NUM P.QUANT

(63) *Ah ksi:m nghjang mhma abäng sun*
 POSS:3S knife CLASS five PQUANT DEM

ah jah joih ni.
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL sell EMPH
 'He sold all of his five knives.'

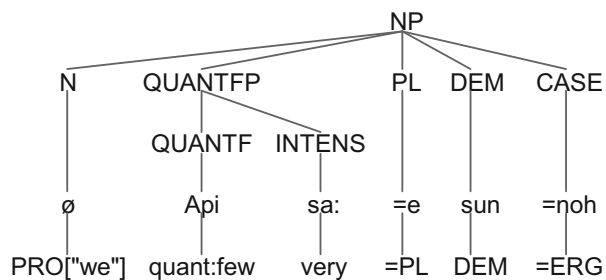
Noun phrases that are modified by non-numeral quantifiers can drop the noun head.

NP → QUANTFP (PL) DEM CASE

(64) *Api sa:=e sun=noh i nih*
 QUANT:few INTENS=PL DEM=ERG what S.AGR:2PL/DU.INCL

kpüi-ksik-ei kkhai=e ni.
 achieve FUT=PL EMPH
 'What (work) will the very few of us achieve?'

Figure 5.9: Example (64)



(65) *Akhäk=e sun=noh*
 QUANT:some DEM=ERG

ju o to:ng=lü ng'yo=kti=e.
 rice.wine drink too.much=NF become.mad=NON.FUT=PL
 'Some drink too much rice wine and become mad.'

5.4.5 Demonstratives

Daai has four demonstratives that show four degrees of distance. They are free morphemes that can be preceded by all other constituents of the noun phrase and are only followed by case-markers. They all have ‘allomorph’ forms that refer to locations or temporal nouns.

There are four degrees of distance in the system of demonstratives which are shown below in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Demonstratives

Degree of distance	Non-Locative/Temporal		Locative/Temporal	
Remote	<i>sun</i>	‘that’	<i>su</i>	‘there’
Distal (in view, not in reach)	<i>san</i>	‘that’	<i>sa</i>	‘over there’
Distal (in view and in reach)	<i>sän</i>	‘this’	<i>sä</i>	‘there’
Nearest	<i>hin</i>	‘this’	<i>hi</i>	‘here’

The demonstratives *sun*, *hin* and *su* are used anaphorically and refer to entities which have already been identified in the preceding discourse context. At the same time they may function deictically to indicate the spatial relation of speaker and hearer. The other demonstrative pronouns do not function anaphorically but only deictically.

Nouns that are invisible to speaker and hearer and are also most remote in time are referred to with *sun*. Below is a classical example with *sun*.

SCHEMA: NP =*a* N-GEND AP NUM (PL) DEM CASE

(66) *Asun=a ui: nu: kshe kthum=e sun=noh*
 DEM.PRO:this=CF dog GEND:fem bad three=PL DEM=ERG

nah suui: hliü=kti=e.
 O.AGR:1S bite want=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘These bad female dogs wanted to bite me.’

Demonstratives cannot occur before number-marking and can also not follow case as shown in examples (67)a and b.

(67) a *ui: nu: kshe (*sun)=e=noh*
 dog GEND:fem bad DEM=PL=ERG

b *ui: nu: kshe=e=noh (*sun)*
 dog GEND:fem bad=PL=ERG DEM

In example (68) *su* specifies a location.

- (68) *Kkhyang naküt sun msuu:ng su*
 man QUANT:all DEM mountain DEM
ngkhääm vaai mjoh=kti=e.
 come.together DIR:go EVID NON.FUT-PL
 'All the people came together on that mountain.'

In the example (69) *su* specifies a temporal noun.

- (69) *Mü su Song sun=noh nghngai ah man lo.*
 evening DEM Song DEM=ERG wildcat S.AGR:3S catch DIR:come
 'That evening Song caught a wildcat.'

An entity marked by demonstrative *san* is out of physical reach of hearer and speaker but visible to both. It is more remote than *sän*.

- (70) *Kkhyäi-paai san jäng-khyan ma=a.*
 orchid-flower DEM DIR:upwards-pluck do.first=IMP
 'Pluck first this orchid flower (up there).'
- (71) *Tuh sa Mnaai Phääi=a i:m sa ve=kti=a*
 Now DEM Mnaai Phääi=GEN house DEM is-NON.FUT=COMPL
ah-nih pyen ha:m ni.
 S.AGR:3DU/PL say ASP EMPH
 'They still say that until now [it] is in Mnaai Phääi's house over there.'

The demonstrative *sän* identify entities that are visible to both speaker and hearer, but located closer to the hearer.

- (72) *Mäk-määng sän=üng nah khoong bä.*
 wooden.club DEM=INSTR IO.AGR:1S throw.at TAG
 'Throw these wooden clubs at me, will you!'

Entities that are nearest to the speaker at the time of utterance are identified with *hin* or *hi* as shown in the following three examples.

- (73) *Kah ksi:m hin=üing kah ni:ng*
 POSS:1S knife DEM=INSTR S.AGR:1S IO.AGR:2S

pat-shüüm=kkhai ni.
 cut.through=FUT EMPH
 'I will cut you through with this knife of mine.'

- (74) *Kah kho-paang hi lung-taai kdo um=kti.*
 POSS:1S hoof DEM precious.stone good is.inside=NON.FUT
 'There is a precious stone in my hoof.'

- (75) *Tuh mthan hi kho-khi lo=kkhai.*
 now night DEM storm ASP=FUT
 'Tonight there will be a storm.' (lit. this night)

5.4.6 Case

In Daai case is marked by apparent enclitics that can be attached to almost any constituent of the noun phrase so long as it is the last constituent of this noun phrase.

There are only two restrictions: case-markers cannot follow a possessor or a classifier, because a possessor has to be followed by a possessee and a classifier by a numeral. Daai is an ergative/absolutive language and single arguments and patients are zero-marked¹. The first three cases are sometimes called 'grammatical cases' as they are governed by the grammatical requirements of the verb. The Table below shows the seven cases of Daai. The inventory of 'Semantic Roles'² should help to understand the relationship between semantic roles and grammatic relations.

Inventory of semantic roles

AGENT: causer or initiator of events

EXPERIENCER: animate entity which perceives a stimulus or registers a mental or emotional process or state

RECIPIENT: animate entity which receives or requires something

BENEFICIARY: entity (usually animate) for whose benefit an action is performed

¹ The expression 'zero-marked' is used to indicate an empty reflex of an obligatory grammatical category and is not the same as an unmarked category.

² From Kroeger: 2005 with slight modifications

INSTRUMENT: inanimate entity used by an agent to perform some action

THEME: entity which undergoes a change of location or possession

PATIENT: entity which is acted upon, is affected or created

STIMULUS: object of perception, cognition or emotion

LOCATION: spatial reference point of an event

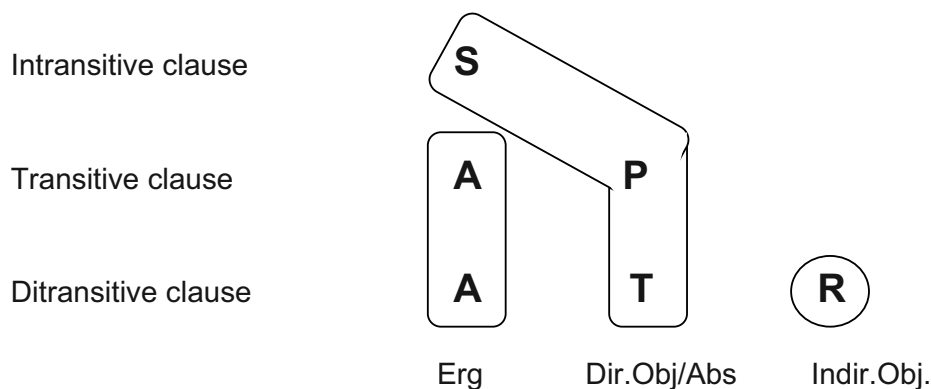
PATH: the trajectory or pathway of a motion

COMITATIVE: entity which accompanies or is associated with the performance of an action

Table 5.7: Case-marking

Semantic Role	Grammatical Relations	Case Name	Daai Case Clitics
AGENT	SUBJECT of a transitive verb	ergative	= <i>noh</i>
	SUBJECT of an intransitive verb	absolutive	Ø (zero-marked)
EXPERIENCER	SUBJECT of a transitive verb	ergative	= <i>noh</i>
PATIENT	OBJECT of a transitive verb	absolutive	Ø (zero-marked)
THEME	OBJECT of a transitive verb	absolutive	Ø (zero-marked)
STIMULUS	OBJECT of a transitive verb	absolutive	Ø (zero-marked)
RECIPIENT	INDIRECT OBJECT	dative	= <i>üng</i>
BENEFICIARY	INDIRECT OBJECT	dative	= <i>üng</i>
COMITATIVE	INDIRECT OBJECT	dative	= <i>üng</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	ADJUNCT or OBL _{INST}	instrumental	= <i>üng</i>
LOCATION	ADJUNCT or OBL _{LOC}	locative	= <i>a</i> / <i>üng</i>
PATH	ADJUNCT or OBL _{LOC}	locative	= <i>üng</i>
POSSESSOR		genitive	= <i>a</i>
ADDRESSEE		vocative	= <i>o</i>

Figure 5.10: Grammatical Relations



In the Figure 5.9 above is taken from Dryer (to appear) and illustrates the type of ergative/absolutive language which Daai represents. **A** stand for agent and is marked by ergative case. **S** stands for the single argument (subject of an intransitive clause). It is grouped together with **P** (patient) and **T** (theme) which are direct objects. Therefore this type is also called direct object absolutive. In Daai the semantic role of a stimulus is also to be included in this group. **R** stand for recipient, the indirect object of a ditransitive clause. In Daai the semantic roles of the beneficiary and the comitative have to be grouped together with the recipient.

5.4.6.1 Ergative case

The subject, or semantic role of an agent is marked by **=noh** in a transitive clause. A prototypical agent is understood to be conscious, acts on purpose and performs an action that results in a visible change. The following are examples of typical agents marked by ergative case.

- (76) *Thang sun=noh pasong ah hnim.*
 Thang DEM=ERG important.man S.AGR:3S killed=NON.FUT
 'Thang killed an important man.'

The subject of an intransitive verb cannot be marked by **noh** as shown in (77).

- (77) *Nukpii: sun(*=noh) kyap=kti.*
 old.woman DEM cry=NON.FUT
 'The old woman cried.' [intransitive]

Sometimes also nouns or nominal constructions that do not fit into the category of a prototypical agent occur with ergative marking. In Daai natural forces like fire, wind etc. require ergative marking. So do inanimate objects or body parts when they are in a relationship with verbs that express physical sensation or internal feelings. The following two examples show inanimate objects marked by the ergative.

- (78) *Kho-phyah=xooi:=a kkeh=a ve=kti*
 field.cluster=DU=GEN between=LOC stay=NON.FUT

khi-sha: mei:=noh ah uih to:ng.
 wild.animal fire=ERG S.AGR:3S burn to.death
 'The fire burned the wild animals to death who stayed between two clusters of fields.'

- (79) *Buh=noh nah kkhyoo:t-ei=kti.*
 rice=ERG O.AGR:1S make.hungry=NON.FUT
 'The rice makes me hungry.' (i.e I am hungry)

In example (80), a body part is are marked by the ergative. These constructions with the verb *mshou-ei* can be used for nearly any kind of physical pain¹.

- (80) *Kah lu=noh nah mshou-ei=kti.*
 POSS:1S head=ERG O.AGR:1S hurt=NON.FUT
 'My head hurts me.' or 'I have a headache.'

- (81) *Mei:=a uih-nghma=noh ta mhleei=kti*
 fire=GEN burn.wound=ERG FOC hurt=NON.FUT
 'As for the fire wound, it hurts (him).'

Nominalized verbs when they are functioning as subjects of transitive clauses can also be marked as agents. In the following example the intransitive verb *puk-shee:t* 'sad' becomes transitive through the combination with the causative *shak*.

- (82) *Kheng=a thüi-shei=noh nah puk-shee:t shak=kti.*
 Kheng=GEN anger=ERG O.AGR:1S sad CAUS=NON.FUT
 'Kheng's anger caused me to be sad.'

¹ German has identical constructions for physical pain like *Mein Kopf schmerzt mich* 'my head hurts me' where the verb for hurt also requires the accusative.

5.4.6.2 *Absolutive*

The subjects or single arguments of intransitive clauses and the patients or direct objects of transitive clauses are zero-marked as shown in example (83) and (84).

- (83) *Shukku sun ahleem-hleem=a sit=kti*
 turtle DEM slowly=CF go=NON.FUT
 'The turtle walked slowly.'

- (84) *Ah mah-pa=noh ui: sun ah te.*
 POSS:3S master=ERG dog DEM S.AGR:3S beat
 'The master beat his dog.'

5.4.6.3 *Dative*

The dative is marked by =*üng* which is the case to indirect objects, recipients, benefactives and comitatives. The entity marked for dative can be the recipient of a speech action or a material item, as illustrated by the following two examples.

- (85) *Ah mah-pa=noh vok=üng buh-kkhyung ah mbei.*
 POSS:3S master=ERG pig=DAT rice.crust S.AGR:3S feed
 'The master fed rice crust to his pig.'

The verb *mbei* 'feed' can be transitive or ditransitive. In the example below, that shows *mbei* as transitive verb, the pig is not the recipient but the direct object and cannot be marked by =*üng*.

- (86) *Ah mah-pa=noh vok(*=üng) ah mbei.*
 POSS:3S master=ERG pig(*=DAT) S.AGR:3S feed
 'The master fed the pig.'

Example (87) shows verbal object agreement for the recipient of an speech act.

- (87) *Ah-nih mah-pa=noh ui: jah vok=üng "..."*
 POSS:3DU/PL master=ERG dog and pig=DAT "..."
- tilü ah jah mtheh.*
 saying S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:3DU/PL tell
 'Their master told the dog and the pig "...'.'

Transitive verbs that have become ditransitive through causativization or through combination with applicatives also require dative marking for the indirect object. This is shown in the examples (88) to (90)

- (88) *Ah pa:=noh Ling=üng mdih ah phüih lo shak.*
 POSS:3S father=ERG Ling=DAT thatch S.AGR:3S carry DIR:come CAUS
 'His father made Ling carry the thatch [to this place].'

In the following example we see agreement between the benefactive 'children' and its verb 'cook for'.

- (89) *Hnashen=e sun=üng saa:ng-kthaai-buh*
 child=PL DEM=DAT sticky.rice

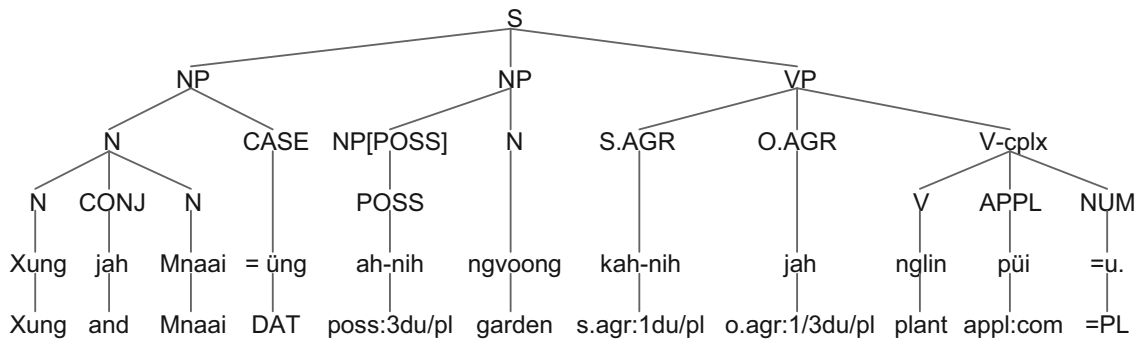
jah khüün pee:t=kti=e.
 O.AGR:1/3DU/PL cook APPL:BEN=NON.FUT=PL
 'They cook sticky rice for the children.'

In example (90) the comitative marked by =*üng* also shows object agreement with the verb.

- (90) *Xung jah Mnaai= üng ah-nih ngvoong*
 Xung and Mnaai=DAT POSS:3DU/PL garden

kah-nih jah nglin püi=u.
 S.AGR:1DU/PL IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL plant APPL:COM=PL
 'We plant the garden of Xung and Mnaai together with them.'

Figure 5.11: Example (90)



The following examples show inanimate nouns are marked as recipients by =*üng*.

- (91) *Msi:-mna naküt sun uum=üng nih thaan.*
 seed-grain all DEM container=DAT S.AGR:1DU/PL.INCL put.in
 'We put all grains into containers.'

- (92) *Ah kkhyu: sun=noh mei:=üng ah shei-yoot*
 POSS:3S wife DEM=ERG fire=DAT POSS:3S water.pipe
ah ju-kphuum-in mjoh.
 S.AGR:3S DIR:down-throw-MIR EVID
 'His wife suddenly threw her water-pipe down into the fire, it is told.'

Example (93) is of interest because it is the direct object which triggers agreement (as opposed to the indirect object in previous examples). Note that in this example the direct object is human.

- (93) *Ah-nih nu:-kshui sun=noh ah sa:=e sun*
 POSS:3DU/PL step.mother DEM=ERG POSS:3S child=PL DEM
tui:=üng ah jah ju-kphuum-in.
 water=DAT S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL DIR:down-throw-MIR
 'The stepmother threw her children down into the water.'

The pathway of a motion can be marked by =**ü**ng as shown in the two examples below. In both examples the pathway is obligatory and therefore an oblique argument.

- (94) *La:m kdo nu:=üng ah seh püi.*
 road good very=LOC S.AGR:3S take.along APP:COM
 'He took him along a very good road.'
- (95) *Pilim sun i:m-ksi-kpäk=üng ju-kya-in=kti.*
 flute DEM house-floor-hole=LOC dir:down-fall-EXTR=NON.FUT
 'The flute fell down through a hole in the floor.'

5.4.6.4 Instrumental

The instrumental is also marked by =**ü**ng and encodes tools by which an agent accomplishes an action. The tool can be inanimate, animate or a force as is shown in the following examples. The instrumental is either an oblique case or an adjunct, there is no verbal agreement for the constituents marked by =**ü**ng. In the examples (96) and (97) the instrumental is an oblique argument and the sentences are not grammatically well formed without it.

- (96) *Pyang=noh *(ksei: nu: sun=üng) kkhom*
 Pyang=ERG spear big DEM=INSTR bear

ah shun-kkyak mjoh.
 S.AGR:3S stab.directly EVID
 'Pyang stabbed the bear immediately with a big spear, it is told.'

- (97) *Ngsh=noh Mnaka sun *(ah lu puum=üng)*
 horse=ERG dragon DEM POSS:3S head CLASSF=INSTR

ah khat to:ng.
 S.AGR:3S kick to.death
 'The horse struck the dragon [to death] with his head.'

In example (98) the inclusion of the instrumental is optional and therefore an adjunct.

- (98) *Pyang sun=noh ah kkhyu:*
 Pyang DEM=ERG POSS:3S wife

(joong-kshou:-nghli:ng= üng) ah kpaai mjoh.
 bush-branch-thorn=INSTR S.AGR:3S beat EVID
 'Pyang beat his wife with the branch of a thorn bush, it is told.'

The instrumental is also used in passive constructions to mark the demoted agent. The inclusion of the demoted agent is optional and therefore an adjunct.

- (99) *(Si-si=üng) na-na ngmäh=kti.*
 older.sister=INSTR younger.brother is.carried=NON.FUT
 'The younger brother is carried by the older sister.'

The demoted agent cannot occur with ergative marking.

- (100) *Si-si(*=noh) na-na ngmäh=kti.*
 older.sister=ERG younger.brother is.carried=NON.FUT

5.4.6.5 Genitive

Genitive case is marked by the clitic =*a* and codes a noun phrase as possessor and as dependent of the head noun. The examples below show free pronouns and noun phrases marked as possessors (see also 5.2.3).

- (101) *Ahin kei:=a i:m ni.*
 DEM.PRON 1S=GEN house COP
 'This is my house.'

- (102) *Nukpüi nu:=a lou: sun kkhom mat=noh ah ei pee:t.*
 old.woman very=GEN field DEM bear one=ERG S.AGR:3S eat APPL:MAL
 'A bear ate the crops of the field of the old woman.'

5.4.6.6 Locative

The locative codes location in place and time. Locative case is marked by the clitic =a. Certain state verbs and also certain activity verbs require a location as an oblique argument. The following are examples with the state verbs *i:m-na* 'inhabit' and *ngshut* 'sit'. In these examples the oblique locative argument is obligatory.

- (103) *Msi Msäai=e sun Ngbuung-khuui=a i:m-na mjoh=kti=e.*
 Msi Msäai=PL DEM Ngbuung.tree-cave=LOC inhabit EVID=NON.FUT=PL
 'The Msi Msäai people lived in a cave under the Ngbuung tree, it is told.'

- (104) *Long shiip=a ngshut vaai mjoh=kti.*
 stream spring=LOC sit DIR:go EVID=NON.FUT
 'He went and sat at the spring of the stream.'

(105) and (106) are examples of activity verbs that require a location as oblique argument.

- (105) *Joong sun thi:ng=a pa:m=a kaai=kti.*
 POSS:3S DEM tree=GEN top=LOC climb=NON.FUT
 'The monkey climbed to the top of the tree.'

- (106) *La:m=a nah nah kshuk-kkhya=kkhai.*
 road=LOC S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1S stumble-drop=FUT
 'You will certainly drop me onto the road.'

Adjunct locative

Adjunct locatives are those that are not required by the verb. They belong to the setting and can be optionally deleted. Adjunct locatives show the same distinction for inanimate and animate locatives as described above.

- (107) *Kkhom sun (long=a) thi-in mjoh=kti.*
 bear DEM stream=LOC die-MIR EVID=NON.FUT
 'The bear died [at the stream].'

Temporal locative

The locative marker =*a* also codes the time of events. Temporal locatives are adjuncts.

- (108) *Mü-la:m=a mdi phiüüi lü ...*
 early.evening=LOC thatch carry NF
 'In the evening [he] carried the thatch ...'
- (109) *Mhnüü:p=a buh ei lo=u lüta ...*
 noon=LOC rice eat DIR:come= PL SR ...
 'At noon they come to eat rice and ...'

The only exception is found in the first sentence of the setting of folktales. Here a formulaic temporal locative is required, especially in co-occurrence with the existential verb *ve* 'live', 'exist'. It can be marked by either =*a* or =*üng*.

- (110) *Ahlaan=a ngya-kyah-sa: ve mjoh=kti.*
 Long.ago=LOC young.orphan live EVID=NON.FUT
 'Long ago there lived an orphan.'

Temporal expression that refer to past time are often marked by =*üng* as shown in the examples (111) and (112).

- (111) *Asun=a kum= üng Shih Sha ngju:ng*
 DEM.PRO=CF year=LOC Shih Sha mountain.range
- kah-nih jah lou:-na=kti=e.*
 S.AGR:1DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL field-use=NON.FUT=PL
 'In that year we planted our fields on the Shih Sha mountain ranges.'
- (112) *Ngooi: mat= üng ta amshüüm-a kho-khi lo=kti.*
 morning one=LOC FOC specially-CF storm-blow ASP=NON.FUT
 'As for one morning, a strong storm started to blow.'

5.4.6.7 Vocative

In direct speech the vocative is marked by =*o* and codes addressees.

- (113) *Mah-püi=o käh kyap=a.*
 grandmother=VOC NEG cry=IMP
 'Grandmother, don't cry!'
- (114) *Looi-püi=o, pa-song mat kah hnim-in ni.*
 friend=VOC important.man one S.AGR:1S kill-MIR EMPH
 'Friend, I have killed an important man!'

The clitic =*o* can be substituted with =*äüi*, expressing special endearment towards the addressee person.

- (115) *Pan Poh=äüi, lo tu=a.*
 Pan Poh=VOC come certainly=IMP
 'Pan Poh, do come!'

Note that the coding of an addressee by the vocative is the normal way of speaking in Daai. But the usage of the vocative is not as obligatory as other case marking, for example, the ergative.

Summary

Daai has seven cases: ergative, absolutive, dative, instrumental, locative/temporal, genitive and vocative. The ergative, the absolutive and the dative are grammatical cases because the case roles of agent, patient, recipient, benefactive and comitative (see chart above) show agreement with the verb of their grammatical relationship. Some case marking is considered as oblique because it marks arguments that are sometimes obligatory arguments, such as locative, temporal or instrumental, but there is no verbal agreement with these arguments. Sometimes semantic cases are used for either oblique arguments or adjuncts. The demoted agent of passive constructions can also be marked by case but there is no verbal agreement for it. There is also case-marking for non-grammatical relations, the possessive and the vocative.

5.4.7 The constituent final marker

Daai and also other Southern Chin languages, like for example Cho and Lemi, have a clitic =*a* that occurs in various environments and with various constituents of the sentence. Its interpretation and glossing has therefore been complicated. Dan Everett (personal communication) suggested to investigate the role of =*a* as a marker of constituent boundaries. This led to the finding that =*a* generally marks the end of a constituent-x that usually is a modifier or complement of the following constituent-y. The clitic =*a* also occurs as marker for genitive and locative case and as marker for the imperative. If =*a* occurs with these functions it is glossed accordingly as GEN, LOC and IMP. In all occurrences =*a* is glossed as CF (constituent final).

There are some known constraints to the occurrence of =*a* :

- It is blocked by other case markers since other case markers also end constituents and mark a relationship to a following constituent.
- The clitic =*a* does not appear inside the verb complex.

Summary

In this chapter the constituents of the noun phrase have been examined and described. Co-occurrence restriction between the demonstrative pronoun and the REL-clause and also between the quantifier phrase and the classifier phrase has been mentioned. The structure of the noun phrase has been presented by schematic diagrams and also phrase structure rules. In the section about case an inventory of Semantic Roles has been given. The relationship between Semantic Roles, Grammatical Relations, Case Names and Daai Case Clitics has been shown.

6 *Complex noun phrases: nominalizations and relativizations*

6.1 Nominalizations

Nominalizations are operations that turn either other grammatical categories (like verbs, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives etc.) or grammatical units (like words, phrases and clauses) into nouns or noun phrases. Like in many Tibeto-Burman languages (Noonan 1997) in Daai nominalizations have a variety of uses. Besides lexical nominalizations that result in the naming of activities or arguments, nominalizations function also as relative clauses and as complementations. The relative clause is treated in the second part of this chapter; for complementations see section 13.1.

Givón (Givón 2001 Vol.II: 26) mentions a cross-linguistic typological distinction between extreme nominalizing and extreme finite languages. Daai is a nominalizing and embedding language as will become obvious in this chapter (see also Chapter 13 on subordinate clauses). However, a special feature of Daai nominalization has to be mentioned here: nominalized and embedded finite verbal clauses are frequent and have case and/or a determiner but they do not necessarily lose their tense-aspect-modal morphology as would be expected.

6.1.1 *Processes of nominalization*

Daai has several devices for creating nouns and nominalized clauses:

- morphologically by prefix *a-*
- morphologically by prefix *k-*
- by *naa:k*
- by conversion

In (1) are examples of nominalizations with prefix *a-*.

	Adjective/Verb		Noun	
(1)	a <i>kdo</i>	‘good’	→	<i>akdo</i> ‘a good one’
	b <i>kthi</i>	‘dead’	→	<i>akthi</i> ‘a dead person’
	c <i>msot</i>	‘be reduced’	→	<i>amsot</i> ‘left-over part’

In (2) are examples with prefix *k-*. These examples are traditionally termed ‘agentive nominalization’ (Comrie and Thompson 1985: 351).

	Verb		Noun	
(2)	a <i>shuk/shu</i>	‘pound’	→	<i>kshum</i> ‘paddy-pounder’, <i>kshu</i> ‘one who pounds paddy’
	b <i>laa:k/la</i>	‘fetch’	→	<i>tui: kla</i> ‘water-fetcher’, ‘one who fetches water’
	c <i>yet</i>	‘distribute’	→	<i>kho k’yet</i> ‘land-distributor’

In (3) are examples with *naa:k*.

	Verb		Noun	
(3)	a <i>ve</i>	‘stay’, ‘live’	→	<i>ve-naa:k</i> ‘living place’
	b <i>oo:k</i>	‘drink’	→	<i>oo:k-naa:k</i> ‘for the purpose of drinking’
	c <i>ngthei</i>	‘study’	→	<i>ngthei-naa:k</i> ‘lesson’

In (4) are examples of conversion or zero-derivation. The nominalized forms are shown with a possessor.

	Verb		Poss+Noun	
(4)	a <i>nglaam</i>	‘to dance’	<i>ah nglaam</i>	‘his dancing’
	b <i>ngsi-ngjaang</i>	‘to discuss’	<i>ah-nih ngsi-ngjaang</i>	‘their discussing’
	c <i>thih</i>	‘to die’	<i>ah thih</i>	‘his death’

6.1.2 Different kinds of nominalizations

Nominalization in Daai can also be grouped semantically. Comrie and Thompson (1985: 349-398) differentiate between action/state nominalization and nominalizations that create “the name of one of the arguments of the verb” and provide a list of nominalizations. I will make use of their list to examine the kinds of nominalizations that are found in Daai.

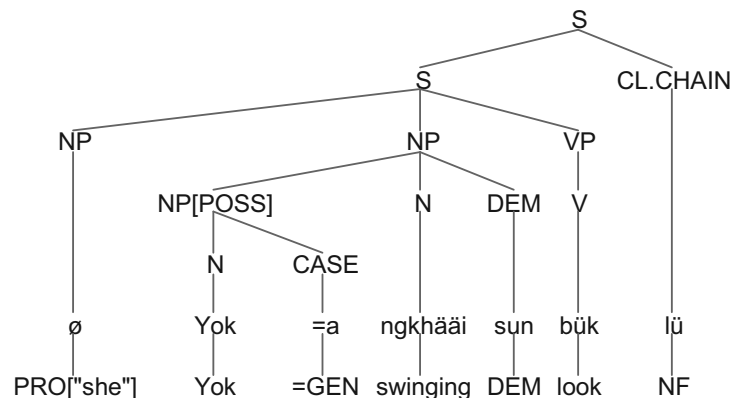
- Activity and state nominalization
- Agentive nominalization
- Object nominalization
- Result nominalization
- Nominalization of non-core arguments

6.1.2.1 Activity and state nominalization

Nominalized activities and states are predicate-focussed nominals and are usually not associated with any argument. However, as we will see in 6.1.2.2, there are certain overlaps. Activity and state nominalizations are always accomplished by conversion. The nominalized verb is always possessed by what would normally be the subject argument. In most cases it is marked by a demonstrative that functions as a determiner. Activity nominalizations can also be formed from a clause that consists of a transitive verb and its object. This does not result in any change on the marking of the object. If the nominalized verb belongs to a verb class that shows stem alternation, then the stem A form of the verb is chosen for the nominalization. The following are examples of activity nominalizations

- (5) *Yok=a ngkhäai sun bük lü*
 Yok=GEN swinging DEM look NF
 '[She] looked at Yok's swinging and ...'

Figure 6.1: Example (5)

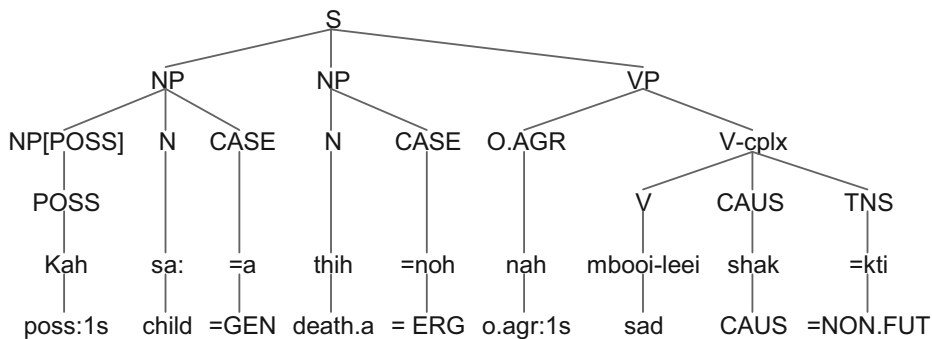


- (6) *Kshum ah-nih shuk sun ta=ni lü*
 paddy poss:3DU/PL pounding.A DEM leave=DU NF
 'They stopped their paddy-pounding and ...'
- (7) *Ah-nih=a shuui-kho sheh hin ihokba kah kpyak kkhe.*
 3S=GEN earth flattening.A DEM how S.AGR:1S destroy QP
 'How can I destroy his flattening of the earth?'

The following are examples of state nominalizations. State nominalizations do not occur as frequently as activity nominalizations (see also state nominalizations with *naa:k* in the section 6.1.2.4).

- (8) *Kah sa:=a thih=noh nah mbooi-leei shak=kti.*
 POSS:1S child=GEN death.A=ERG O.AGR:1S sad CAUS=NON.FUT
 'My child's death made me sad.'

Figure 6.2: Example (8)



- (9) *Kheng Ngling=a thüi-shei=noh nah puk-shee:t shak=kti.*
 Kheng Ngling=GEN anger=ERG O.AGR:1S sad caus=non.fut
 'Kheng Ngling's anger made me sad.'

6.1.2.2 Agentive nominalizations

Agentive nominalizations are focussed on the agent argument. They are formed from activity verbs and mostly also include its object argument. This process in Daai is described above under 'nominalization by prefix *k-*'. Agentive nominalizations always select verb stem B, while activity and state nominalizations select verb stem A.

- (10) *Kshum-kshu-ei=xooi nah bük=ni.*
 paddy-NOM.pounder.B-INTR=DU O.AGR:1S look=DU
 'You two who are pounding the paddy, look at me!'

- (11) *Mhnam-pa: sun=noh*
 creator.god DEM=ERG

shuui-kho-khep sun ah mkhyum.
 earth-NOM.flattener.B DEM S.AGR:3S send.down
 'The creator-god caused the preparer of the earth to come down.'

This process also works occasionally with intransitive verbs that take a location as oblique argument, as shown in example (12).

- (12) *Apüi-ksit=xooi=noh*
 mountain.top-NOM.goer.B=DU=ERG

buh-suu:n ngpa:-ei=kti=xooi.
 rice-pack share=NON.FUT=DU
 'Two who go over the mountains share one lunch pack [with each other].'

6.1.2.3 Object nominalization

Object nominalization is defined by Comrie and Thompson (1985:355) as a noun designating the result or object of an action. Noonan (1997: 379) gives an example from Chantyal where some forms can be interpreted either as 'simple nominalization' (activity nominalization) or as an agent nominal ('eating' or 'eater'). Formally object nominalizations are zero-derived and possessed. In Daai certain nominalizations can be interpreted as either activity nominalization or as object nominalization. The outcome of the verb 'to speak' is the noun 'word', and of the verb 'to lie' the noun 'a lie'.

- (13) *Asukba ui:=a hleei-hlak sun ngshing-ngte lo=kti.*
 Like.this dog=GEN lying/lie DEM apparent AUX:become=NON.FUT
 'In this way the dog's lie became apparent.'

- (14) *Nah pyen sun u=üing phi*
 POSS:2S saying/word DEM nobody=DAT also

am jah mtheh=ngü.
 NEG O.AGR:1/3DU/PL tell=1PM
 'I will not tell your saying to anybody.'

6.1.2.4 *Result nominalization*

Daai has also nominalizations which are the result of the activity associated with the cognate verb.

	Verb		Noun		
(15)	a	<i>phyoh/phyou:</i>	'to weed'	<i>phyoh</i>	'weeding', 'weeded plot'
	b	<i>tah/tak</i>	'to weave'	<i>tah</i>	'weaving', 'woven piece of cloth'
	c	<i>phüih/phüüii</i>	'to carry'	<i>phüih</i>	'carrying', 'load'

In the example below the speaker is not interested in 'weeding' as an activity but in the result, i.e. the weeded plot of land.

- (16) *Sheep=a nah phyoh kah bük lo=kkhai ni.*
 Later=LOC POSS:2S weeding S.AGR:1S look DIR:come=FUT EMPH
 'In a while I will come to look at what you have weeded.'

6.1.2.5 *Nominalizations of non-core arguments*

The nominalizations described in this section have in common that they are all formed by a combination of the verb stem A forms and *naa:k*. (see also Hartmann, H.: 2002a). *Naa:k* is used to nominalize a wide range of semantic arguments.

Locative nominalization

Locative nominalization is a productive process in Daai that changes activities, states and accomplishments into locations where the verbal event takes place. The following are further examples.

- (17) *Ah ngkoh-naa:k su tuui phung=e ve=kti=e.*
 POSS:3S lying.down-**place** DEM medicine plant=PL is=NON.FUT=PL
 'At his sleeping place there were medicinal plants.'
- (18) *Kkhyaang-sa:=a tui:-kyum-naa:k vai hliü=kti.*
 human.being=GEN descending-**place** SUBJ need=NON.FUT
 'A place to descend is needed for the human beings.'

Reason/Result nominalization

Reason-nominalizations and result-nominalizations look very much alike. However, in a reason-nominalization the verb, which is nominalized by *naa:k*, is the reason for the following event or state. In a result-nominalization it is the result of a previous, often nominalized, event. Examples (19) and (20) show examples of reason-nominalization.

- (19) *Vok ta ah khüüi-khoom-naa:k*
pig FOC POSS:3S working-**reason**

buh noh kkhyoo:t-ei to:ng=kti.
rice ERG make.hungry very=NON.FUT
'The pig was very hungry because of his working.'

- (20) *Pan Poh=a ngmüi-buh kah ei-naa:k m'o-khah.*
Pan Poh=GEN funeral-rice S.AGR:1S eating-**reason** feel.too.full
'I feel unwell because of my eating at Pan Poh's funeral feast.'

(21) and (22) are examples of result nominalization.

- (21) *Mo:=a ah seh ah thih-naa:k=a thoon=kti.*
jungle=LOC POSS:3S going POSS:3S die-**result**=CF happen=NON.FUT
'His going to the jungle resulted in his death.'

- (22) *Kah khüüi-khoom ah je-naa:k ni.*
POSS:1S working POSS:3S glad-**result** COP
'My working resulted in his gladness.'

Purpose/Instrument nominalization

The function of *naa:k* as a purpose/instrumental nominalizer is very similar to its role as an applicative. It may be even possible to unify these functions as a result of further research. What I have called 'purpose nominalization' is a construction where the nominalized verb is used for a purpose or as an instrument as shown in example (23) and (24).

- (23) *Tui: kah oo:k-naa:k ni.*
water POSS:1S drinking-**purpose** COP
'It is what I use to drink water.'

- (24) *Kah ih-naa:k hlü ni.*
 POSS:1S sleeping-**purpose** need EMPH
 'I need (it) for sleeping.'

However, there are examples when the nominal instrumental, that has become an object argument, can be included or omitted. In these cases we have an instrumental applicative (see section 7.1.2.5). Example (25)a looks like a purpose/instrumental nominalization.

- (25) a *Nah shuui-sheh-naa:k ta-hiit lü ...*
 POSS:2S earth-flattening-**instrument** leave.behind NF ...
 'Leave your earth-flattening instruments behind and ...'

Example (25)b is an instrumental applicative construction as described in 7.1.2.5 .

- b *Nah shuui-sheh-naa:k mküüm-lu:ng ta-hiit lü*
 POSS:2S earth-flattening-**instrument** big.round.stone leave.behind NF
 'Leave behind the big round stone that you used to flatten the earth and ...'

We find that certain morpheme combinations have various meanings that are dependent on the context. The following examples show *oo:k-naa:k* 'drinking-NOM' in locative nominalization, reason nominalization and purpose/instrument nominalization.

- (26) *Ju oo:k-naa:k=a phi ayüm=a am ve=ni*
 rice.wine **drinking-place**=LOC also together=CF NEG stay=DU
 'Also at a rice wine feast they did not stay together.'

- (27) *Tui: kah oo:k-naa:k kah kkhon tet=kti.*
 water POSS:1S **drinking-reason** POSS:1S stomach full=NON.FUT
 'My stomach is full as the result of my drinking water.'

- (28) *Tui: kah oo:k-naa:k hlü ni.*
 water POSS:1S **drinking-purpose** need EMPH
 'I need it for drinking water.'

6.1.2.6 State nominalizations and new concepts

As already mentioned above, state nominalizations in Daai are rare. However, state verbs have become recently nominalized by combination with *naa:k*. This form of nominalization contrasts with the older state nominalization which is formed by conversion. These newer inventions are mainly used in Christian contexts.

	Verb		Noun	
(29) a	<i>diim-deih</i>	‘quiet’	→	<i>diim-deih-naa:k</i> ‘peace’
b	<i>je-kyai</i>	‘glad’	→	<i>je-kyai-naa:k</i> ‘joy’
c	<i>thih/thi</i>	‘die’	→	<i>thih-naa:k</i> ‘death’

Naa:k is also employed in the nominalization of other new concepts as shown below.

	Verb		Noun	
(30) a	<i>ngthei</i>	‘study’	→	<i>ngthei-naa:k</i> ‘lesson’
b	<i>ngthäh-ngkhyah</i>	‘discuss’	→	<i>ngthäh-ngkhyah-naa:k</i> ‘discussion’
c	<i>hjok-khah</i>	‘to worship’	→	<i>hjok-khah-naa:k</i> ‘worship’

Note that *hjok-khah-naa:k* can occur as purpose nominalization and as locative nominalization. The construction *hjok-khah-naa:k* is only rarely used with the meaning ‘worship’. It mainly occurs in discussions about *kho-yaai hjok-khah-naa:k* ‘spirit worship’ in opposition to *Pa:ngsiim hjok-khah-naa:k* ‘worship of God’.

6.2 Relative clauses (REL-clauses)

A REL-clause is one that functions as modifier of a noun or a noun phrase. Therefore one would expect REL-clauses to occur in the same position as other noun modifiers, like adjectives, numerals etc. As we have seen in section 4.3 and section 5.9, Daai noun modifiers are all post-nominal. Although Daai also has post-nominal REL-clauses, they are far less common than pre-nominal REL-clauses. However, it has been observed (Kroeger 2005: 232) that with SOV languages pre-nominal REL-clauses are generally more frequent.

In Daai relativizations we find what is called “gapping” (Keenan 1985: 153-5) or “gap strategy” (Payne 1997:330). This means that the head noun is not overtly expressed in the relative clause and the position where the head noun would be is left empty.

6.2.1 Types of REL-clauses according to relativizers

Daai has three types of REL-clauses that are encoded differently. The gap strategy is used with all of them.

- REL-clauses without specific relativizer
- REL-clauses encoded by the prefix k-
- REL-clauses encoded by naa:k

6.2.2 Structures of REL-clauses

6.2.2.1 Pre-nominal relative clauses

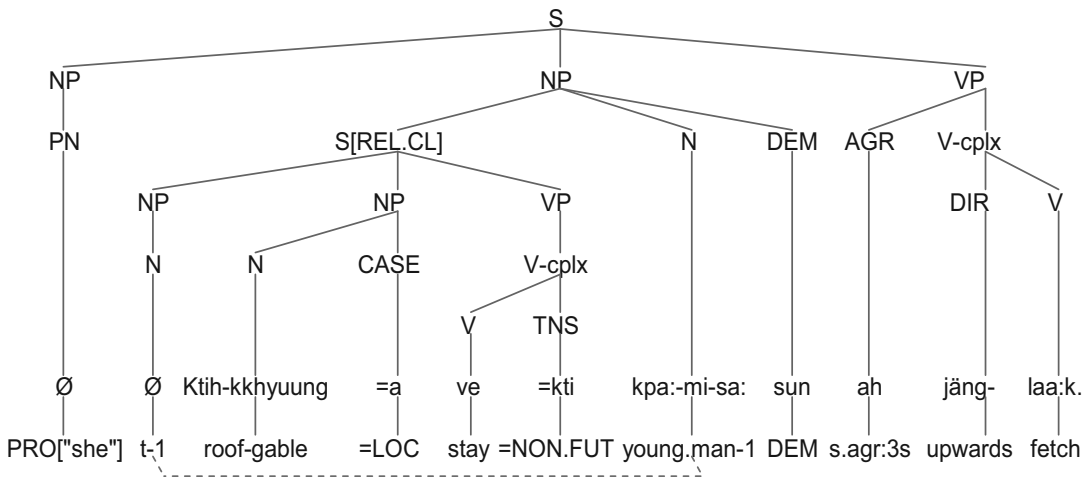
NP → REL-clause + HEAD

In the examples that follow, the REL-clause is in { } brackets, in the text as well as in the free translation, and the head is underlined in the text.

(31) \emptyset {*Ktih-kkhyuung=a ve=kti*} *kpa:-mi-sa:* *sun*
 roof-gable=LOC stay=NON.FUT young.man DEM

ah jäng-laa:k.
 S.AGR:3S DIR:upwards-fetch
 '[She] fetched the young man {who was on the gable of the roof} from above.'

Figure 6.3: Example (31)



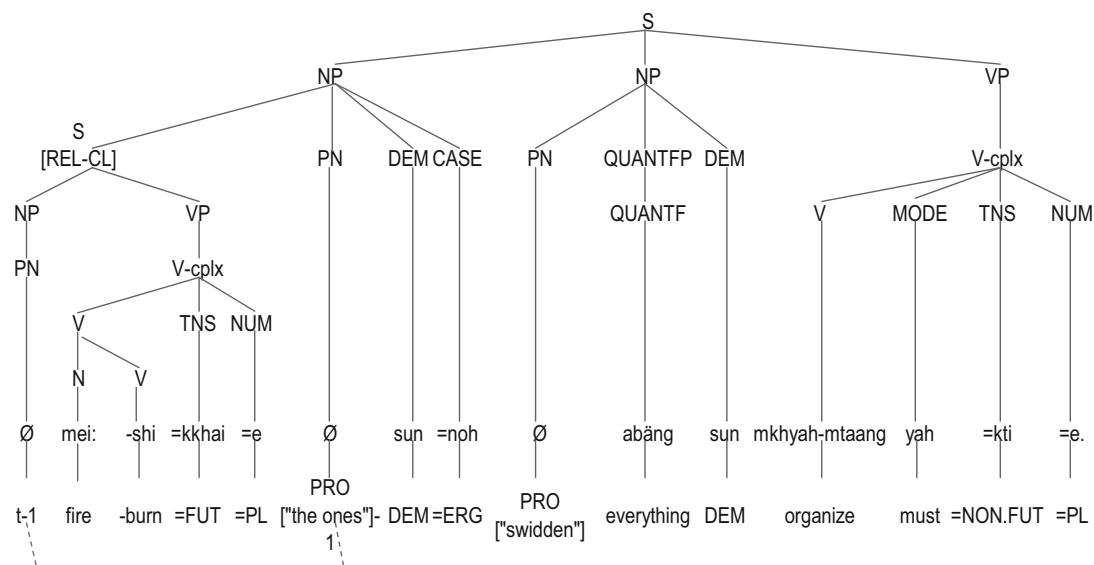
A subtype of the pre-nominal REL-clause is the REL-clause with an ‘invisible’ head.

NP → REL-clause

The REL-clause in example (32) appears to have no head noun but takes the normal markers of a noun phrase like plural, demonstrative and case. Although overt head nouns are sometimes missing, Daai REL-clauses with ‘invisible heads’ are not really headless ones. The heads have just been dropped which is not unusual for a pro-drop language.

- (32) { \emptyset *mei:-shi=kkhai=e* } *sun=noh*
 fire-burn=FUT=PL DEM=ERG
- abäng sun mkhyah-mtaang yah=kti=e.*
 QUANT:everything DEM organize MOD:must=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘[The ones] {who will burn the swidden} must organize everything.’

Figure 6.4: Example (32)



The invisible head can also be modified by non-numeral quantifiers as shown in the examples (33).

- (33) { \emptyset *sit khoh=kti* } *alääm sa:=e=noh*
 go MOD:able=NON.FUT QUANT:few INTENS:very=PL=ERG
- ah-nih nah dou lo=u.*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1S welcome DIR:come=PL
 ‘A very few {who were able to go} came to welcome me.’

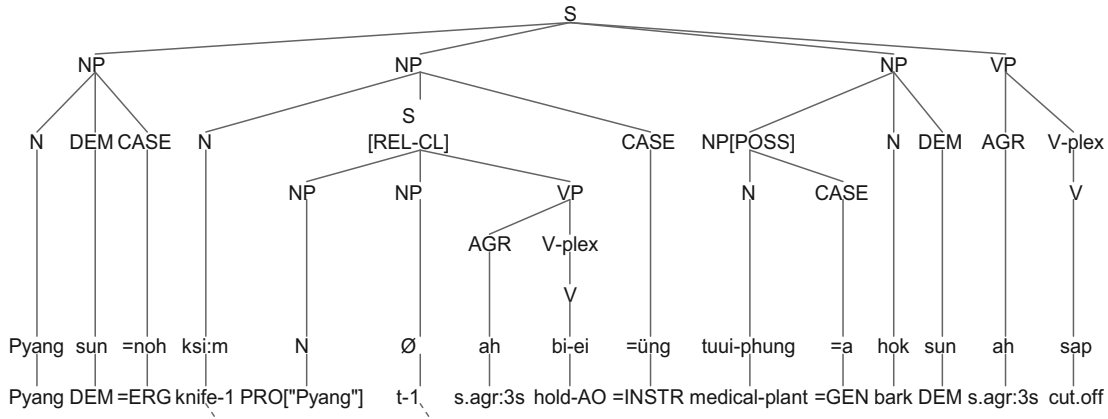
6.2.2.2 Post-nominal REL-clauses

NP → HEAD + REL-clause

Post-nominal relative clauses are rare. It seems that they occur mainly when the relativized argument is an oblique argument in the main clause as in (34), (35) and (41).

- (34) *Pyang sun=noh ksi:m {∅ ah bi-ei}=üng*
 Pyang DEM=ERG knife S.AGR:3S hold-INTR=INSTR
- tuui-phung=a hok sun ah sap*
 medical-plant=GEN bark DEM S.AGR:3S cut.off
 'Pyang cut off the bark of the medicinal plant with the knife {that he was holding}.'

Figure 6.5: Example (34)



- (35) *Sa: {∅ ah sa:-naa:k lo} sun thi-in be=kti.*
 child S.AGR:3S give.birth ASP DEM die-MIR again=NON.FUT
 'The child {that she gave birth to} died again.'
- (36) *Mnge pa: {∅ thi-in=kti} sun ah-nih hmuh vaai mjoh.*
 boar GEND die-MIR=NON.FUT DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL see DIR:go EVID
 'They went and saw a boar {which had died}, it is told.'

6.2.2.3 Free relative constructions

Example (37) shows a free relative construction. These constructions are rather rare in Daai.

- (37) *{Nah-nih ei k'hleei} nah taa:k kom=kti*
 POSS:S.AGR:2DU/PL eating left.over O.AGR:1S keep MOD:may=NON.FUT
 'You may keep for me {what is left over from your eating}.'

6.2.3 Relativized arguments

In the following examples \emptyset is used to mark the gap.

Subject relativization

Example (38) shows a relativized intransitive subject.

- (38) $\{\emptyset$ *sit* *khoh=kti* *kpa:-mi* *abäng=noh*
 go MOD:able=NON.FUT man QUANT:all=ERG

sha:-ktäm *vaai=kti=e.*
 game-follow DIR:go=NON.FUT=PL
 'All the men {who are able to go} go to hunt for game.'

(39) is an example of intransitive subject relativization encoded by *k-*.

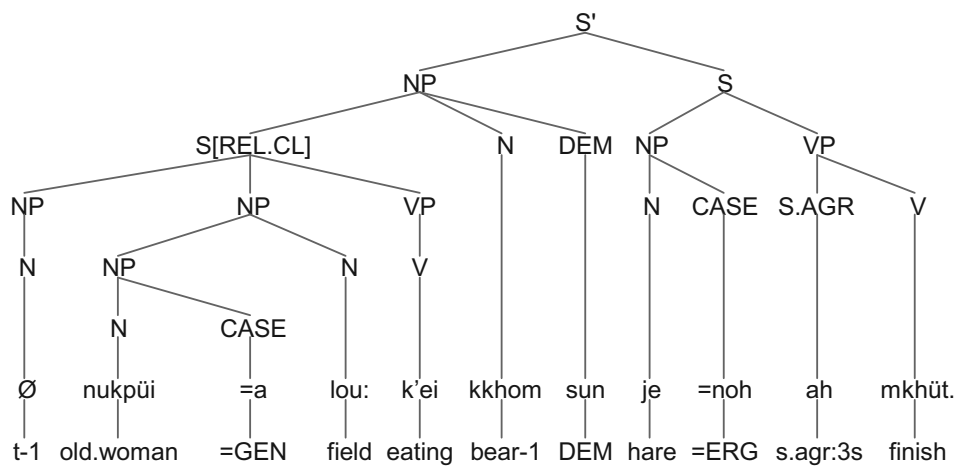
- (39) $\{\emptyset$ *ana-k've* *ma* *Msi Msääi ta* ...
 DIR:in.advance-existing do.before Msi Msääi FOC...
 'As for the Msi Msääi {who existed first} ...'

The following two examples show relativized transitive subjects. In (40) the REL-clause is also encoded by *k-*.

- (40) $\{\emptyset$ *nukpüi=a* *lou: k'ei* *kkhom* *sun*
 old.woman=GEN field eating} bear DEM

je=noh *ah* *mkhüt.*
 hare=ERG S.AGR:3S finish
 'The hare brought the bear {who ate the products of the old woman's field} to an end.' (i.e killed him)

Figure 6.6: Example (40)



- (41) { \emptyset vah vo=*kti=e*} sun=*üing* ju bäng
 new.field cut=NON.FUT=PL DEM=DAT rice.wine measure
 mat-siim ah-nih jah vaam-ei shak=*u*.
 one-each S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL drink.down-AO CAUS=PL
 'They make [the ones] {who cut the new field} to drink down one measure of rice wine each.'

Direct object relativization

The following are examples of relativized objects.

- (42) {*Mhnam-pa*: noh \emptyset ah pee:t} *mthi-kshon-kkhe* sun
 creator.god ERG S.AGR:3S giving iron-walking.stick DEM

Lün=noh mhnih lüta ...
 Lün=ERG forget SR
 'Lün forgot the iron walking stick which the creator god had given ...'

- (43) { \emptyset ah mkhyum lo} sun=*üing* muti
 S.AGR:3S send.down DIR:come DEM=DAT bead.string

ah shoom-ei lo shak ni.
 S.AGR:3S wrap.around.head-AO ASP CAUS EMPH
 'He caused [the one] {whom he sent down} to wrap bead strings around his head.'

- (44) *Ahin yo* { \emptyset kah püüp}=a
 DEM.PRO bamboo S.AGR:1S heap=CF

k'um hi lut=a.
 inside DEM enter=IMP
 'Enter into this bamboo {which I have heaped together}.'

Indirect object relativization

The following examples show a relativized indirect object

- (45) { \emptyset muti ah shoom-ei lo shak}
 bead.string S.AGR:3S wrap.around.head-AO ASP CAUS

kkhyaang-sa: sun ngthiim-kho=a pha lo hnüh=kti.
 human.being DEM world=LOC arrive DIR:come finally=NON.FUT
 'The human being {whom he had caused to wrap bead strings around his head} arrived finally on this world.'

- (46) { \emptyset ksi:m ah kbah-ei shak}
 knife S.AGR:3S hang.over.shoulder CAUS

kkhyaang-sa: sun ah mkhyum lo betü.
 human.being DEM S.AGR:3S send.down ASP ASP
 'He again sent the human being down {whom he had caused to hang a knife over his shoulder}.'

(47) { \emptyset *buh ah mbei*} *ah ngma sun=üing*
 rice S.AGR:3S feed POSS:3S nephew DEM=DAT

vah ah voo:k püi.
 new.field S.AGR:3S clear APPL:COM
 'He cleared the new field together with his nephew {whom he fed rice}.'

Summary

In this section we have looked at the three types of REL-clauses that are encoded by different means. We have seen that REL-clauses can occur pre-nominally, post-nominally without a visible noun head and as a free relative construction. The arguments used in the relative clause have been shown. The Table 6.1 shows the roles that arguments of the relativized clause can take in the main clause and is supported by examples that are drawn from the descriptive section above.

Table 6.1 : Arguments of the REL-clause and the main clause

		Main Clause			
		Subj	Obj	I.Obj	Instr
Rel-Clause	Subj	yes (32)	yes (31)	yes (41)	no
	Obj	yes (35)	yes (42)	yes (37)	yes (34)
	I.Obj	yes (45)	yes (46)	yes (43)	no

7 *Valence*

Valence refers to the number of arguments controlled by a verbal predicate. The concept of valence is closely related to - but not identical with – verb-transitivity which counts only object arguments. Intransitive verbs such as ‘run’ describe an event involving only one participant or single argument and are called ‘univalent’. Transitive verbs like ‘kill’ describe a relation between two participants, an agent and an undergoer, and are called ‘divalent’. Ditransitive verbs like ‘show’ in ‘he showed me the tree’ have three core participants and are called ‘trivalent’.

The term “semantic valence” refers to the number of participants that are involved in an event expressed by the verb. “Syntactic” or “grammatical valence” concerns the number of arguments present in a given clause. It is important to note that the valence of a verb tells us only the number of the direct arguments but says nothing about the presence or absence of oblique arguments (Kroeger 2005: 70).

The ‘near universality’ of valence-changing morphology was pointed out by Bybee (1985). In 90% of the languages investigated by her the change of valence is reflected in verb morphology. Causative markers tend to be the most frequent. Bybee (1985) calls attention to the iconic principle that the more relevant to the verb a verb phrase operation expressed by morphological means is, the closer its marker will occur to the verb stem. As we will see in the sections below, in Daai valence-changing operations are expressed mostly by verbal prefixes.

7.1 **Valence-increasing categories**

The only valence-increasing categories found in Daai are causatives and applicatives.

7.1.1 The causative

The causative is an “agent-adding” category (Haspelmath, to appear). The causative adds a new agent argument, the **causer**, to the argument structure. The old subject, now the **causee**, is the agent of the caused event, but occupies a different grammatical relation in the derived argument structure.

Compare the examples (1) and (2). In example (1) *Mnaai* is the unmarked subject (agent) of an intransitive clause. In (2) a causer has been added, the clause has become causative and

transitive and the causer takes the position of the subject in a transitive clause and is marked by *=noh*. The old subject has become the causee and takes the object or patient position.

The V-cplx constituents and the agreement constituents in these rules are actually dominated by VP's which are not marked.

S → **NP**_[Sub] **V-cplx**

- (1) *Mnaai sun do:ng=kti.*
 Mnaai DEM run.B=NON.FUT
 'Mnaai ran.'

S → **NP**_[Sub] **=noh** **NP**_[Obj] **S.AGR** **V-cplx**_[CAUS]

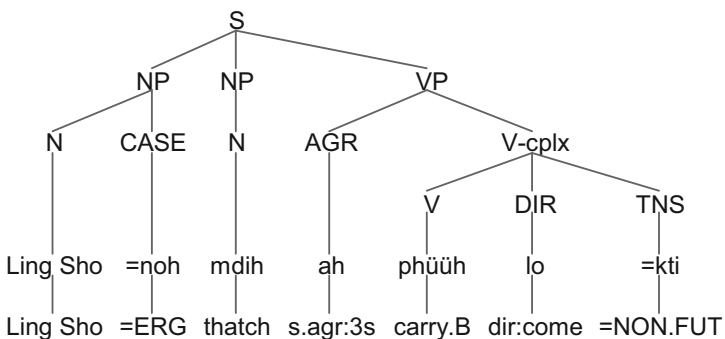
- (2) *Ngna:m=e=noh Mnaai sun ah-nih don shak*
 village=PL=ERG Mnaai DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL run CAUS
 'The villagers caused Mnaai to run away.'

In examples (3) *Ling Sho* is the subject of a transitive clause and therefore marked by the ergative *-noh*.

S → **NP**_[Sub] **=noh** **NP**_[Obj] **V-cplx**

- (3) *Ling Sho=noh mdih phüüi lo=kti.*
 Ling Sho=ERG thatch carry.B DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'Ling Sho carried the thatch [to this place].'

Figure 7.1: Example (3)

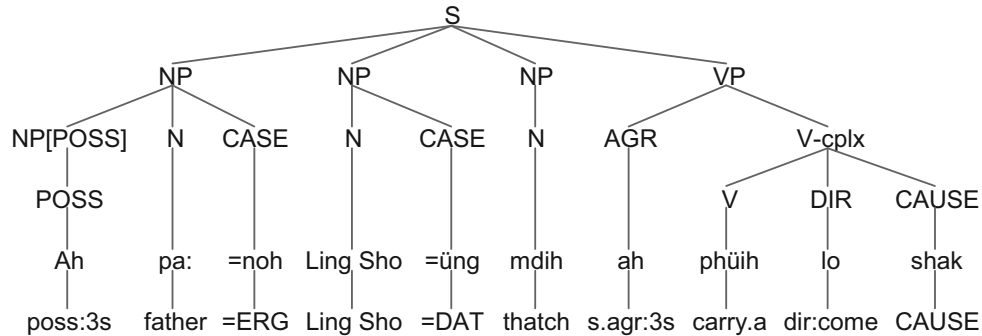


In example (4) a new agent argument, the causer, has been added. The new causer argument occupies now the place of the subject of the transitive clause and is marked by *noh*. The old subject takes up the position of an indirect object and is marked by the dative *=üng*. The direct object or theme remains unmarked.

S → **NP**_[Sub] **=noh** **NP**_[I.Obj] **=üng** **NP**_[Obj] **V-cplx**_[CAUS]

- (4) *Ah* *pa:=noh* *Ling Sho=üing*
 POSS:3S father=ERG Ling Sho=DAT
- mdih ah phüih lo shak.*
 thatch S.AGR:3S carry.A DIR:come CAUS
 'His father made Ling Sho carry the thatch [to this place].'

Figure 7.2: Example (4)



Daai has two types of causatives: morphological and analytic. After the different morphological subtypes of causatives have been reviewed, the semantic notions of direct and indirect causation will be discussed.

7.1.1.1 Morphological causatives

Daai has three ways of forming morphological causatives:

- Prefixation with *m-*
- Prefixation with *k-*
- Devoicing or aspiration of the stem-initial consonant

Causatives with prefix *m-*

Prefixation with *m-* derives causative verbs from free verb roots. For verbs that have alternating stems (see Chapter 4) both forms are given. The causative derivation is primarily formed using the A stem of verbs; it does preserve some stem B forms¹, but only quite rarely. The examples (5)a and b show transitive causative verbs that are derived from intransitive state verbs. Derivations from intransitive activity verbs are shown in (6)a & b.

- (5) a *do* 'y is good' → *mdo* 'x makes y well'
 b *hlün/hlü:ng* 'y is high' → *mhlün* 'x exalts y'

¹ For example *mthoh* (stem A) and *mthou:* (stem B) 'raise up.'

- (6) a *don/do:ng* ‘y runs’ → *mdon* ‘x causes y to run away’
 b *kaai* ‘y climbs’ → *mkaai* ‘x causes y to climb’

The following examples show the derivation of transitive accomplishment verbs from intransitive accomplishment verbs.

- (7) a *som* ‘y comes into being’ → *msom* ‘x creates y’
 b *khyüh* ‘y disappears’ → *mkhyüh* ‘x kills/buries y’

Derivations from transitive verbs remain in the causative domain but they do not change the valence in the same way the other causatives do. They introduce a new argument, but it is not a new causer argument. With these verbs there is a valence change as the divalent transitive verbs become trivalent. However, the new argument is oblique.

- (8) a *shüüm* ‘x remembers y’ → *mshüüm* ‘x shows y the z [way]’
 b *süm* ‘x stores y’ → *msüm* ‘x puts y [the burned bones of a dead person] into z [a special place]’

Causatives with prefix *k-*

The second type of morphological causatives is formed by the prefix *k-*¹. The two causative prefixes *m-* and *k-* cannot co-occur. Matisoff (1976: 418) mentions a Proto-Loloish glottal causativizing prefix *ʔ- which has descended from the old Tibeto-Burman prefix *s-. It is likely that this prefix has been preserved in Daai.

Causative derivations with *k-* seem to occur often with verbs associated with volatile or violent events. Note that many of the verbs that form causatives with *k-* are achievement verbs or dynamic accomplishment verbs.

- | | Simplex - Intransitive | | Causative - Transitive |
|-------|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| (9) a | <i>ak</i> ‘y breaks’ | → | <i>k’ak</i> ‘x breaks y’ |
| b | <i>pyak</i> ‘y collapses’ | → | <i>kpyak</i> ‘x destroys y’ |
| c | <i>ngphüüm</i> ‘y drowns’ | → | <i>kphüüm</i> ‘x drowns y’ |

The prefix *k-* also functions in causativizations and transitivity of state and activity verbs.

- (10) a *seet* ‘y is firm’ → *kseet* ‘x tightens y’
 b *bäü* ‘y is wrong’ → *kbäü-ei* ‘x blames y’
 c *tee:k* ‘y is torn’ → *ktee:k* ‘x tears y apart’
 d *toom* ‘y rolls’ → *ktoom* ‘x rolls y together’

¹ See chapter 2 on the discussion about the phonetic/phonological interpretation of *k-*.

Causativization by devoicing and aspiration

The third kind of morphological causation is devoicing and aspiration. Matisoff (1976: 415-418), referring to Wolfenden (1929), mentions that there is convincing evidence for a Proto-Tibeto-Burman sibilant prefix * *s-* that functioned in the causative domain as intensifier, transitivizer and causativizer. In some modern Tibeto-Burman languages like Jinghpaw (a Katchin language) and Kham (a language spoken in west-central Nepal) this old sibilant prefix has survived. Other modern Tibeto-Burman languages like, for example, Burmese, Hayu, a Himalayan language (Michailovsky: 1973), Haka Lai (Vanbik 2002), Lahu (Matisoff 1976), and Daai have preserved causative constructions that reflect the older sibilant prefix by either aspiration or devoicing of the initial consonant and/or by tone changes. In most languages these constructions are rare but Burmese (Okell 1969 Vol I: 205-208) has preserved about 50 such verb pairs. In Daai these causative constructions are extremely rare. In (11) are examples of derivation through devoicing or aspiration. The examples below are the only ones that could be found with the help of my language assistant.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (11) | a | <i>läh/lät</i> | ‘y is free’ | → | <i>hläh/hlät</i> | ‘x releases y’ |
| | b | <i>luh/lut</i> | ‘y enters’ | → | <i>hlut</i> | ‘x makes y [hole]’ |
| | c | <i>nep</i> | ‘y takes control’ | → | <i>hnep</i> | ‘x suppresses y’ |
| | d | <i>kyum</i> | ‘y is inside
[prison]’ | → | <i>khyum</i> | ‘x puts y inside’ |

Combinations of aspiration and the prefix *m-* are also possible as shown in the following examples.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------|
| (12) | a | <i>leh/let</i> | ‘y wakes up’ | → | <i>mhlet</i> | ‘x wakes y up’ |
| | b | <i>mang</i> | ‘y turns around’ | → | <i>mh mang</i> | ‘x turns y around’ |
| | c | <i>neem/nee:m</i> | ‘y is low’ | → | <i>mhnee:m-ei</i> | ‘x humbles y’ |
| | d | <i>kyu:m</i> | ‘y descends’ | → | <i>mkhyu:m</i> | ‘x sends y down’ |

There is only one example of a causative construction that combines aspiration of the stem initial consonant and the prefix *k-*.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (13) | <i>kyaa:k/kyaa-</i> | ‘y falls/drops’ | → | <i>kkhya:k/kkhyaa-</i> | ‘x causes y to fall/drop’ |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|

7.1.1.2 *The periphrastic causative shak*

Daai has one periphrastic causative, the free morpheme *shak*¹ ‘cause’ or ‘make’ that follows the main verb. In Daai the periphrastic causative *shak* shows approximately equal productivity with the morphological *m-* and *k-* causatives. *Shak* cannot combine with just any verb. To be more precise, it hardly ever occurs with verbs of the stative/descriptive type. The examples (2) and (4) at the beginning of the chapter illustrate the function of *shak*.

Note that in (14)b the argument of the **causer** is only represented by the subject agreement *ah* ‘3sing’. The object agreement form *jah* does not refer to the original direct object, but to the **causee**, the indirect object.

Simple

- (14) a *Ah na xooi=noh she*
 POSS:3S younger.brother DU=ERG cow

ah-nih jah shääm.
 S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL care.for
 ‘His two younger brothers looked after the cows.’

Causative

- b *Ah na xooi=üing she*
 POSS:3S younger.brother DU=DAT cow

ah jah shääm shak.
 S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL care.for CAUS
 ‘He made his two younger brothers look after the cows.’

The following set of examples show a ditransitive clause that is modified by the causative *shak*. The transitive verb *voih* ‘throw out’ has become ditransitive through combination with the comitative applicative *püi*. When the causative argument is added it becomes tri-transitive (15)b.

(15) a **Simple**

Xung=noh ah na=e=üing
 Xung=ERG POSS:3S younger.brother=PL=DAT

ngvaai ah jah voih vaai püi.
 net S.AGR:1S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL throw.out DIR:go APPL:COM
 ‘Xung threw out the net together with his younger brothers.’

¹ As a full verb *shak/sha-* occurs with different meanings: ‘build’ [a house or a dam] ‘weave’ [using split bamboo or rattan] and ‘wear [clothes]’. Peterson (2003a) mentions that there is an older causative system in Hakha Lai that marks a few items with *sak*. In Mro and Lemi *sha* occurs with the meaning ‘make’, ‘use’. This suggests that *shak/sha* is a Chin cognate.

Example (15)b shows also the issue of semantic scope. Although the grandfather is the causer, he is causing Xung to help his younger brothers and not himself.

b Causative

Mah-poo:k=noh Xung= üng ah na=e
 grandfather=ERG Xung=DAT POSS:3S younger.brother=PL

ngvaai ah jah voih vaai püi shak
 net S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3D/PL throw.out DIR:go APPL:COM CAUS
 'Grandfather made Xung to throw out the net together with his younger brothers.'

7.1.1.3 Direct and indirect causation

Direct and indirect causation are semantic subtypes of causatives. With direct causation, the causer actively participates in the action, which Haspelmath (to appear) calls “acting on the causee”. Indirect causation implies that the causer is only the instigator and not physically involved in the caused event. Comrie (1983: 164) and Givón (1990a) both remark that cross-linguistically there is a relationship between structural integration and conceptual integration. Conceptual integration refers to the closeness of cause and effect and indicates direct causation. Structural integration refers to the concept of syntactic distance. A causative that shows greater structural integration has a smaller number of syllables or segments involved in the causative operation. This kind of structural integrity correlates highly with conceptual integration; i.e it shows closeness between cause and effect.

Naturally, the lexical causative specifies the strongest degree of structural integration and indicates direct causation. In the example below *Thang* has physically killed a man. However, the instrument of the killing is unspecified. He could have killed the man with his bare hands, a weapon or with a trap.

- (16) *Thang=noh pasong mat ah hnim mjoh*
 Thang=ERG important.man one S.AGR:3S kill EVID
 'Thang killed an important man, it is told.'

In (17) we find periphrastic causation in addition to lexical causation. That must mean that Ling was not physically involved in the killing of the Hloong Mdaau family but caused somebody else to kill them.

- (17) *Ling=noh Hloo:ng Mdaau=a kkyoong*
 Ling=ERG Hloo:ng Mdaau=GEN family

ah jah hnim shak
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL kill CAUS
 'Ling had the Hloong Mdaau family killed.'

The morphological causative is structurally closer to the causativized verb than the periphrastic causative. Morphological causatives with the prefix *m-* indicate direct causation, sometimes through verbal and sometimes through physical involvement. The following examples can be interpreted as involving verbal causation as well as physical causation.

- (18) *Xung=iing kkhyou: kkhyü ah-nih mshak u.*
 Xung=DAT Chin loin.cloth S.AGR:3DU/PL cause.to.wear PL
 'They caused Xung to wear a Chin loin-cloth.'

- (19) *Sa:-ngla-mah=e=noh ah kkhyu: sun*
 girl-owner=PL=ERG POSS:3S wife DEM

ah-nih mkaai be=u.
 S.AGR:3DU/PL cause.climb.up again=PL
 'The parents of the girl forced his wife to climb back up [into the house].'

For some verbs, like *do:ng/don* 'run', *kaai* 'climb' and others, two different kinds of causativisation are possible as shown in the examples (20) and (21). The form *mdon* in (21) indicates more force on behalf of the causer and less control on behalf of the causee.

- (20) *Ngna:m=e=noh Mnaai sun ah-nih don shak*
 village=PL=ERG Mnaai DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL run CAUS
 'The villagers caused Mnaai to run away.'

- (21) *Ngna:m=e=noh Mnaai sun ah-nih mdon*
 village=PL=ERG Mnaai DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL caus.run
 'The villagers caused Mnaai to run away.'

In causative constructions with *k-* that are derived from achievement verbs and dynamic accomplishments and are shown in (9) and (10) above, the causer is always directly and physically responsible for the result.

7.1.2 Applicatives

Applicatives are “object-adding” categories (Haspelmath to appear). Applicatives allow otherwise intransitive verbs to take a direct object or transitive verbs, that have already one direct object, to become ditransitive verbs and the result is a three-argument construction. The example (22) is an intransitive clause with an unmarked subject, an PP that is an adjunct and a simple verb complex.

S → **NP**_[Sub] **PP**_[Adjunct] **V-cplx**

(22) *Ah-nih nu:-kshui sun*
 POSS:3P step.mother DEM

mo: nu:=a kkhyüh se:n lo=kti
 jungle INTENS:deep=GEN away.from run dir:come=non.fut
 ‘Their stepmother ran back [home] from the deep jungle.’

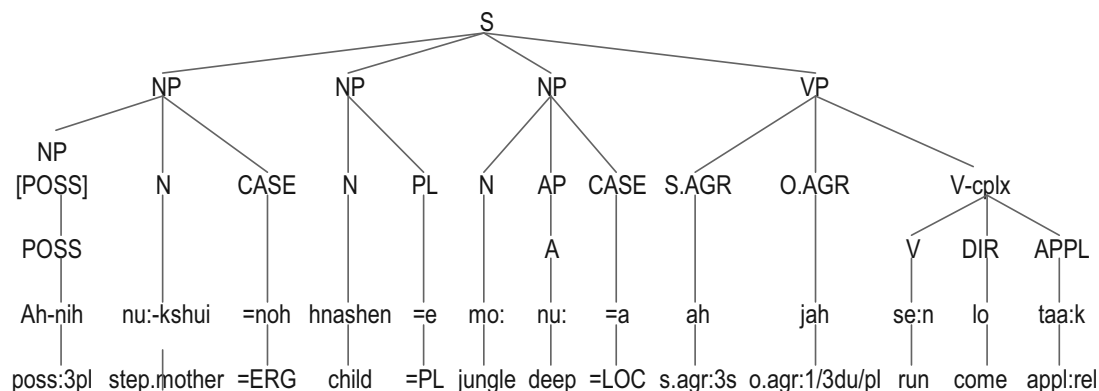
In example (23) the relinquitive applicative *taa:k* has changed the intransitive subject to a transitive subject marked by *=noh*. The verb has become transitive and takes a direct object argument. In addition it requires now a locative. The transitive subject and the direct object are also both represented by the agreement forms.

S → **NP**_[Sub] **=noh** **NP**_[Obj] **NP**_[Obj] **S.AGR** **O.AGR** **V-cplx**_[+APPL]

(23) *Ah-nih nu:-kshui=noh hnashen=e mo: nu:=a*
 POSS:3P step.mother=ERG child=PL jungle INTENS:deep=LOC

ah jah se:n lo taa:k
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL run DIR:come APPL:REL
 ‘Their stepmother run back [home] and left the children behind in the deep jungle.’

Figure 7.3: Example 23



Daai has five applicatives as shown in Table 7.1. Some applicatives function also as main verbs. As main verbs *pee:t/pe* ‘give’, *taa:k/ta* ‘put’ and *naa:k/na* ‘use/take as’ have two alternating stems. Some of the applicatives continue to have alternating stems even when functioning as applicative markers. Though the applicatives require that the preceding main verb occurs in the form of stem A, some applicatives can also occur with the stem B form as the example (28).

Table 7.1: Applicatives

Applicative		Gloss	Source	
Benefactive/ Malefactive	<i>v + pee:t/pe</i>	‘v on-behalf’	main verb	‘give’
Relinquitive	<i>v + taa:k/ta</i>	‘v leaving-behind’	main verb	‘put’
Comitative	<i>v + püi</i>	‘v together with’	noun	‘friend’
Advertive- Inclusive	<i>v + shih</i>	‘be included in V- ing’	not established	
Instrumental	<i>v + naa:k/na</i>	‘used to V’	main verb	‘use as’, ‘take as’

7.1.2.1 The benefactive/malefactive applicative *pee:t/pe*

Pee:t/pe is the applicative that is most frequently used but it does not occur with intransitive verbs¹. It allows an argument to be added which is either the beneficiary of a good act or the unwilling recipient of a bad act.

Peter Austin (personal communication) points out that is cross-linguistically rather rare since a benefactive applicative usually introduces a new object and not a new indirect object as it does in Daai.

Example (24) shows a transitive clause. In (25) the benefactive applicative *pee:t* has changed this clause into a ditransitive one and a new indirect object, semantically the benefactor, has been added.

S → **NP_{Sub} =noh NP_{Obj} S.AGR V-cplx**

- (24) *Nukpüi=noh kkhai-kpeh ah kpeh.*
 old.woman=ERG rice.cake S.AGR:3S bake
 ‘The old woman made rice cakes.’

S → **NP_{Sub} =noh NP_{I.Obj} =üing NP_{Obj} V-cplx_{[+APPL]}}¹**

¹ For intransitive verbs benefactives are formed with *phäh* ‘on behalf of’ as shown in the example below.

Xung sun mah-pai=a phäh long=a sit=kti.
 Xung DEM aunt=GEN on.behalf stream=LOC go=NON.FUT
 ‘Xung went to the stream for his aunt.’

- (25) *Nukpüi=noh* *kei:=üing* *kkhaai-kpeh*
 old.woman=ERG 1S=DAT rice.cake

ah *nah* *kpeh* *pee:t*
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1S bake APPL:BEN
 'The old woman made rice-cakes for me!'

- (26) *Mlung=noh* *ngbe-ngna=üing* *ah-nih* *meh* *kkeih* *sun*
 Mlung=ERG pair.of.brothers=DAT POSS:3DU/PL meat dried DEM

ah *jah* *mpyuu:k* *pee:t*.
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL steal.A APPL:MAL
 'Mlung stole their dried meat from the brothers.'

Example (27) has semantically an indirect object but syntactically it is not present because all object agreements for third person singular are zero-marked.

- (27) *Ah* *lou:* *kkhom* *mat* *noh*
 POSS:3S field bear one ERG

ah \emptyset *ei* *pee:t* *päih*.
 S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:3S eat APPL:MAL completely
 'A bear ate [the fruits of] her field completely [to the detriment of the old woman].'

7.1.2.2 The relinquitive applicative *taa:k/ta*

The relinquitive applicative occurs frequently with intransitive verbs and enables them to take a direct object argument. In an relinquitive construction the agent or subject argument is performing an activity and either leaving the patient or object literally behind or performs the activity without the patient. This is also shown in the examples (22) and (23). Example (28) shows the relinquitive applicative in the form of a stem B verb.

- (28) *Ling=noh* *lou:* *nah* *phyoh* *ta=kti*.
 Ling=ERG field IO.AGR:1S weed.A APPL:REL.B=NON.FUT
 'Ling weeded the field without waiting for me.'

¹ The schema **V-cplx_[+APPL]** is used for applicatives and not just benefactive/malefactive ones and indicates that the verb complex contains an applicative particle.

7.1.2.3 *The comitative applicative püi*

Comitative applicatives occur with intransitive and transitive verbs. The set of examples (29)a and (29)b illustrate the comitative applicative.

- (29) a *Ah-nih pa: sun long=a sit=kti.*
 POSS:3PL father DEM stream=LOC go.B=NON.FUT
 'Their father went to the stream.'
- b *Ah-nih pa: sun=noh ah sa:=e*
 POSS:3PL father DEM=ERG POSS:3S son=PL
- long=a ah jah seh püi.*
 stream=LOC S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL go.A APPL:COM
 'Their father went to the stream with his sons.'

If a transitive clause is extended by the applicative *püi* the new indirect object argument is marked by the dative =*üng* as shown in the examples (30)a and (30)b.

- (30) a *Mnaai=noh vah vo=kti.*
 Mnaai=ERG new.field cut.B=NON.FUT
 'Mnaai clears the new field.'
- b *Mnaai=noh ah ngma=xooi=üng*
 Mnaai=ERG POSS:3S brother.in.law=DU=DAT
- vah jah voo:k püi=kti.*
 new.field O.AGR:1/2DU/PL cut.A APPL:COM=NON.FUT
 'Mnaai clears the new field together with his two brothers-in-law.'

7.1.2.4 *The adversative- inclusive applicative shih*

The adversative inclusive applicative *shih* occurs with intransitive verbs. The example (31)a shows the an intransitive clause with 'tree branch' as unmarked subject. In example (31)b the clause has become transitive through the applicative, the tree branch is now the subject of a transitive clause marked by ergative case and an object is included in the event.

- (31) a *Thi:ng-ngbaan sun bät-in lo hlü ve.*
 tree-branch DEM break-MIR ASP:incept PROS ASP:DUR
 'The tree branch is about to start to break!'
- b *Thi:ng-ngbaan=noh ah jah*
 tree-branch=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL
- bät-in lo hlü shih ve*
 break-MIR ASP:INC PROS APPL:ADV.INCL ASP:DUR
 'The tree branch is about to start to break with us/them on it.'

Example (32)a shows an intransitive clause with an unmarked subject. In example (32)b the event of ‘fall down’ has become transitive through the applicative *shih*, the subject is marked by ergative case, the included object is expressed through a REL-clause and also shown as verbal object agreement.

- (32) a *I:m sun kyu-in=kti.*
 house DEM fall.over-MIR=NON.FUT
 ‘The house fell down.’
- b *{I:m-k’um=a ju o=kti=e}*_{REL-CL}
 house-inside=LOC rice.wine drink.B=NON.FUT=PL
- i:m=noh ah jah kyuk-in shih.*
 house=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL fall.over.A-MIR APPL:INCL
 ‘The house fell down together with the ones drinking rice wine in it.’

In the examples (23), (25), (26), (29)b, (30)b and (32)b the object agreement forms have been bolded. It can be noted that in applicative constructions with a formerly intransitive verb, that has become transitive through the applicative, the object agreement refers to the direct object. In examples where the verb was already transitive without applicative and became ditransitive, the object agreement refers to the indirect object. Note, in example (31)b the object is not syntactically present, however, it is referred to by the object agreement form.

7.1.2.5 The instrumental applicative *naa:k*

The instrumental applicative differs from other applicatives as it changes the instrumental, which may be an adjunct or an oblique argument, into an object argument. In example (33)a *lipok* ‘gun’ is optional and marked by =*üng*. In example (33)b *lipok* has become an unmarked object argument.

- (33) a *Ahin=a (lipok=üng) mpyäüh kah kaah.*
 DEM.PRO=CF gun=DAT tiger S.AGR:1S shoot.A
 ‘I shoot the tiger with this gun.’
- b *Ahin=a lipok hin mpyäüh kah kaah naa:k*
 DEM.PRO=CF gun DEM tiger POSS:1S shoot.A APPL:INSTR
 ‘This is the gun I used to shoot the tiger with.’

Example (34)a shows again the clause without applicative and example (34)b the construction with the instrumental applicative.

- (34) a *Ahin=a tui:-oo:k= üng kah mah-poo:k=noh*
 DEM.PRO=CF water.container=INSTR POSS:1S grandfather=ERG
tui: la-ei khoi=kti.
 water fetch-AO ASP:before=NON.FUT
 'My grandfather fetched water with this water container.'
- b *Ahin=a tui:-oo:k hin kah mah-poo:k=noh*
 DEM.PRO=CF water.container DEM POSS:1S grandfather=ERG
tui: ah laa:k-ei naa:k khoi.
 water S.AGR:3S fetch-AO APPL:INSTR ASP:before
 'This is the water container my grandfather used to fetch water with.'

The instrument may also be optionally repeated after the applicative *naa:k* as shown in the example(35). Repeating the object post-verbally is unique to instruments and a systematic semantic correlate for this construction has not yet been identified.

- (35) *Ahin=a k'a:m hin buh khüü:n naa:k=a k'a:m ni.*
 DEM.PRO=CF pot DEM rice cook APPL:INSTR=CF pot EMPH
 'This pot is a pot which is used to cook rice.'

7.2 Valence-decreasing categories

Valence-decreasing categories are argument removing. They remove arguments from syntactic expressions although they often remain as semantically understood. The most common morphological valence-decreasing categories are reflexives, reciprocals and passives. In Daai, we find in addition the process of detransitivization, which derives intransitive verbs from transitive ones. Most valence-decreasing operations make use of the detransitivizing prefix *ng-*.

7.2.1 Valence-decreasing derivations

For some intransitive verbs, mainly states or accomplishments, derivation from a transitive verb or from a noun form can be established (see also 3.3.1.3). The prefix *ng-* functions as a 'detransitivizer'.

7.2.1.1 Derivations from transitive verbs

The following are examples of intransitive verbs that are derived from transitive ones.

	Intransitive Verbs		Transitive Verbs
(36)	a <i>ngtüüü</i> 'come into being'	←	<i>tüüü</i> 'create'
	b <i>ngshääm</i> 'be ready'	←	<i>shääm</i> 'look after'
	c <i>ngtou</i> 'be pretty'	←	<i>tou</i> 'look at'
	d <i>ngpheh</i> 'be imprisoned'	←	<i>pheh</i> 'arrest'
	e <i>ngbou</i> 'split'	←	<i>bou</i> 'split'

For a number of intransitive verbs the prefix *ng-* has become lexicalized and their transitive counterpart cannot be established any longer. This concerns mainly verbs that express body posture or change in body posture and spontaneous events like sounds.

	Body postures/movements	
(37)	a <i>ngdüih/ngdüüü</i> 'stand'	
	b <i>ngshut</i> 'sit'	
	c <i>ngdääng</i> 'kneel'	
	d <i>ngko:</i> 'lie down'	
	e <i>ngbok</i> 'bow down'	
	g <i>nglaam</i> 'dance'	

	Sounds	
(38)	a <i>ng'äi</i> 'sing'	
	b <i>ng'äh</i> 'groan in desperation'	
	c <i>ng'üüü</i> 'groan in pain'	
	d <i>ng'eih</i> 'growl softly'	

7.2.2 Reflexives

In a typical reflexive construction the subject and the object are the same entity. Since this one entity fulfils two semantic roles, reflexive operations reduce the syntactic valence of a transitive clause (Payne 1997: 198). In Daai reflexives are most commonly expressed by intransitive verbs that are derived from transitive verbs by prefixation with *ng-* as shown in example (39)a-d.

	Reflexive Verbs		Transitive Verbs
(39)	a <i>ngmük</i> 'x covers oneself'	←	<i>mük</i> 'x turns y upside down'
	b <i>ngthuh/ngthup</i> 'x hides oneself'	←	<i>thuh/thup</i> 'x hides y'
	c <i>ngtoo:m</i> 'x rolls up' [by itself]	←	<i>ktoom</i> 'x rolls y'
	d <i>nghloop</i> 'x wraps around oneself'	←	<i>hloop</i> 'x wraps [smth] around y'

The examples (40) and (41) show the transitive verb *mük* ‘turn upside down’ and its intransitive derivation *ngmük* ‘cover oneself’.

Canonical Activity Schema:

S → **NP**_[Sub] =*noh* **NP**_[Obj] **S.AGR** **V-cplx**

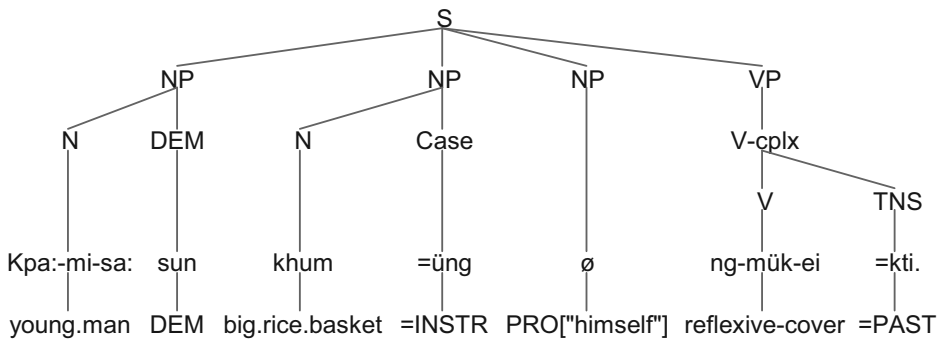
- (40) *Na-na=noh kbe ah mük.*
 younger.brother dish S.AGR:3S turn.upside.down
 ‘The little brother turned the dish upside down.’

Reflexive Activity Schema:

S → **NP**_[Sub] (**NP**_[Adjunct] =*üng*) **V-cplx**_[VAL-DE]

- (41) *Kpa:-mi-sa: sun (*noh) khum=üng ngmük-ei=kti.*
 young.man DEM big.rice.basket=INSTR cover.himself
 ‘The young man covered himself with a big rice basket.’

Figure 7.4: Example (41)



7.2.2.1 Alternative reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Daai has a reflexive morpheme *pät* that is presumably a noun and can be glossed ‘self’. ‘*kah pät*’ is subject (agent) and also object (patient) in the example below. This is very unusual since the subject NP and the object NP are both bound by the same antecedent. In the first and second persons the antecedent is not expressed, but in the third person it is (44). Having two anaphors bound by the same clause mate antecedent would have serious implications for some syntactic theories. The changes to principles of binding theory are beyond the scope of this paper.

- (42) [*Kah pät=noh*]_{SUBJ} [*kah pät*]_{OBJ} *kah sap-ei.*
 POSS:1S self=ERG POSS:1S REFL S.AGR:1S cut-AO
 ‘I cut myself.’

This construction can also be used with second and third person as is shown below.

- (43) [Nah **pät=noh**]_{SUBJ} [nah **pät**]_{OBJ} nah pun-ei.
 POSS:2S self=ERG POSS:2S self S.AGR:2S struck-AO
 'You struck yourself.'

With the third person the antecedent can be expressed in the clause with a proper case marker.

- (44) (Ling Pääng=noh) [ah **pät=noh**]_{SUBJ}
 (Ling Pääng=ERG) POSS:3S self=ERG

 [ah **pät**]_{OBJ} ah te-ei
 POSS:3S self S.AGR:1S beat-AO
 'Ling Pääng beat himself.'

These constructions are used in a rather restricted semantic context of accidents, particularly when a person hurts himself/herself inadvertently. The occurrences and the utterances themselves are not that rare because such accidents occur frequently while cutting down jungle land and preparing swiddens for the planting of mountain rice.

There is only one other observed use of such constructions and that is in the context of hurting oneself with suicidal intentions as shown in the example below.

- (45) Nghnim-ei hliü lü [ah **pät=noh**]_{SUB}
 REFL.kill want NF POSS:3S self=ERG

 [ah **pät**]_{OBJ} ah sap-ei.
 POSS:3S self S.AGR:3S cut-AO
 'Wanting to kill himself, he cut himself.'

In example (46) *pät* is used in a reciprocal construction. The structure of this clause is nearly the same as the one we find in example (42) except that in the reciprocal construction the verb is marked by the valence decreasing prefix *ng-*.

- (46) [Nih **pät=noh**]_{SUB} [nih **pät**]_{OBJ} nih ngsap-ei ve.
 POSS:1DU self=ERG POSS:1DU REFL S.AGR:1DU REFL.cut ASP
 'We are cutting each other!'

7.2.3 Reciprocals

Reciprocal constructions are very similar to reflexive ones. In a typical reciprocal clause two participants equally act upon each other, they are both equally agent and patient. Reciprocal verbs are also encoded by the prefix *ng-*. On the surface the argument structure of (47) looks like shown below.

S → NP_[Sub] V-cplx_[VAL-DE]

- (47) *Ngbe-nga=xooi sun nglooi-ei be=kti=xooi.*
 pair.of.brothers=DU DEM friendly again=NON.FUT=DU
 'From then on they were friendly with each other again.'

The list below shows reciprocal verbs that are derived from non-reciprocal ones and also inherent reciprocals like *ngtuun-ngvoo:k* 'fight' that do not have non-reciprocal counterparts. Some reciprocal forms have to combine compulsorily with *-ei*.

	Reciprocal		Non-reciprocal
(48) a	<i>ngshoong</i>	'x and y meet'	← <i>shoong</i> 'x meets y'
b	<i>ngshun</i>	'x and y fight'	← <i>shun</i> 'x stab y'
c	<i>ngleh-ei</i>	'x and y visit'	← <i>leh</i> 'x steps on y'
d	<i>ngsaam-ei</i>	'x and y compete'	← <i>saam</i> 'x tests y'
e	<i>ngtuun-ngvoo:k</i>	'x and y fight'	∅
f	<i>ngshuh-ngkaih</i>	'x and y quarrel'	∅
g	<i>nglooi-ei</i>	'x and y are friendly'	∅

One point of interest is the use of the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *ng-* in the derived expression for 'marry'. The noun *kkhyu*: 'wife' and the verb *la* 'take' combine and are prefixed with *ng-* to form the reciprocal verb 'marry' as shown in example (49).

- (49) *Ngkkhyu:-ngla=kti=xooi.* 'They marry each other.'

Note that there are also more 'one-sided' expressions for 'marry':

- a *kkhyu:-naa:k* 'wife-taking'
 b *khong-pa:-naa:k* 'husband-taking'

7.2.3.1 Reflexive/reciprocal morphosyntax in the noun phrase

The prefix *ng-* also appears with a limited set of nouns to indicate reciprocity and to show that the two entities form one pair.

- (50) a *be* + *na* → *ngbe-ngna*
 'older brother' 'younger sibling' 'the pair of brothers'
- b *si* + *na* → *ngsi-ngna*
 'older sister' 'younger sibling' 'the pair of sisters'
- c *nu:* + *sa:* → *ngnu:-ngsa:*
 'mother' 'child' 'mother and child'
- d *pu* + *tu* → *ngpu-ngtu*
 'father-in-law' 'son-in-law' 'close kin'

7.2.4 Passives

In comparing active and passive clauses two changes in the assignment of grammatical relations can be observed:

- The patient or direct object is ‘promoted’ to the role of a subject
- The agent of an active clause is ‘demoted’ to the role of an oblique argument or adjunct

If both of these changes take place, we can speak about a personal passive. If the patient is not ‘promoted’, then the resulting passive clause has no grammatical subject and can be called impersonal passive.

7.2.4.1 Normal passive

Daai has a normal passive where the object gets promoted to the role of a subject and the agent is still around and can or cannot be integrated in the passive sentence.

The examples (52) shows a transitive clause with *nga:-peem* ‘fish basket’ as object.

- (51) *Thang=noh nga:-peem thup=kti.*
 Thang=ERG fish-basket hide=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang hid the fish baskets.’

Example (53) is a passive clause and the former direct object is promoted to the role of a subject which can be proved by the plural number on the verb complex. There is no number agreement for objects after the verb, but there is number agreement with the subject.

- (52) *Nga:-peem ngthup=kti=e*
 fish-basket PASS.hide=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘The fish baskets are hidden.’

In the following set of examples we see a transitive clause with the subject marked by ergative case in (54)a. In (54)b we see a passive clause with the patient promoted to the role of a subject. The former agent is not syntactically present in the sentence. Example (51)c shows a passive clause where the former agent is present as oblique argument marked by =*üng*.

- Transitive**
 (53) a *Si-si=noh na-na mäh=kti.*
 older.sister=ERG younger.brother carry=NON.FUT
 ‘The older sister carried the younger brother.’

Passive

- b *Na-na ngmäh=kti.*
 younger.brother carry=NON.FUT
 'The younger brother is carried.'

S → (**NP** _[Adjunct] =*üng*) **NP** _[Subj] **V-cplx** _[VAL-DE]

Passive

- c *Si-si=üng na-na ngmäh=kti.*
 older.sister=INSTR younger.brother PASS.carried=NON.FUT
 'The younger brother is carried by the older sister.'

7.2.4.2 *Agentless passives*

In the following examples, that could also be called 'abilitative' and 'non-abilitative' passive, there is still a subject that had been promoted from a direct object, but there is no evidence for an agent. This kind of passive construction does not refer to any particular event but rather the possibility of an event occurring.

- (54) *Sho-sha: ang'yah=a kyaa:k=üng*
 sho-meat NOM.PASS.get=CF happen=SUBO:if

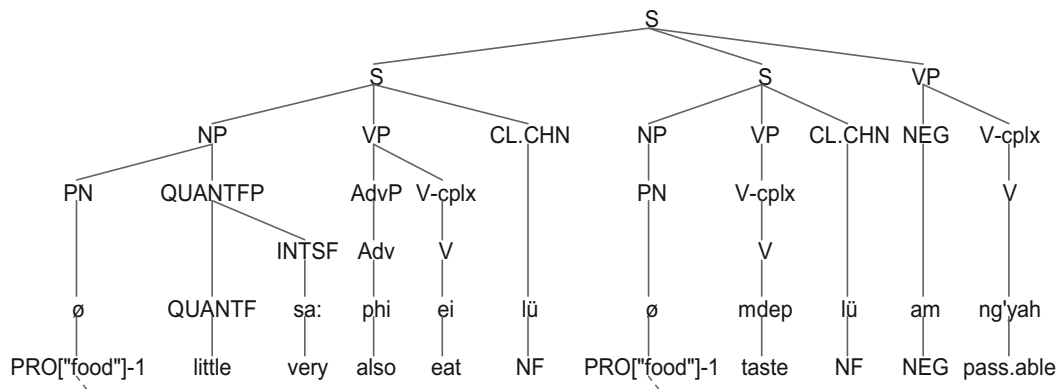
kho-lou: phi do=kkhai.
 land-field also good=FUT
 'If it happens that meat can be got [by hunting] during the Sho feast, the field will prosper.'

Example (56) shows a negative abilitative passive.

- (55) *Api sa: phi ei lü mdep lü am ng'yah*
 little.bit very also eat NF taste NF NEG PASS.get
 'It is not possible to eat and taste even a little bit.'

The full structure represented by this tree (Figure 7.5) has not yet been explored, but this representation draws attention to the fact that the first clauses are sharing the passive marking with the final full verb phrase.

Figure 7.5: Example (53)



Summary

The Table below provides an overview of the valence-changing categories that have been discussed in this chapter.

Table 7.2: Valence Changing Operations

Valence Change	Morpheme	Meaning and Condition
Valence Increase	<i>m-</i>	causative prefix added to verb
	<i>k-</i>	causative prefix added to verb
	<i>shak</i>	periphrastic causative, follows verb
	<i>pee:t/pe</i>	benefactive/malefactive applicative, follows verb
	<i>taa:k/ta</i>	relinquitive applicative, follows verb
	<i>püi</i>	comitative applicative, follows verb
	<i>shih</i>	advertive-inclusive applicative, follows verb
Valence Decrease	<i>naa:k/na</i>	instrumental applicative, follows verb
	<i>ng-</i>	detransitivizing prefix, added to verb
	<i>ng-</i>	reflexive prefix, added to verb
	<i>ng-±(-ei)</i>	reciprocal prefix and suffix <i>-ei</i> added to verb
	<i>ng-</i>	passive prefix, added to verb

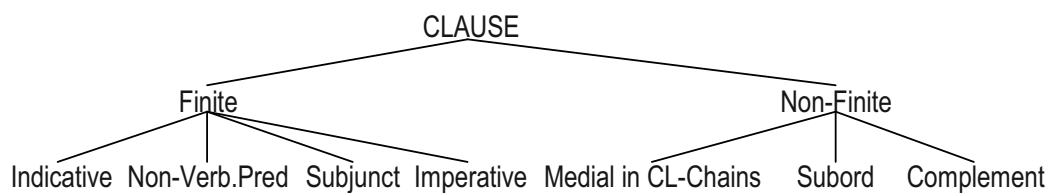
In this chapter valence decrease and valence increase was discussed and it can be observed from the Table above that in Daai there are a variety of valence-increasing categories. We find two causative prefixes, one periphrastic causative and five different applicatives. However, we find just one valence decreasing prefix that serves four related but different functions: detransitivization, reflexives, reciprocals and passive constructions.

8 Basic Clause Types

8.1 Overview of Daai clause types

The following figure gives an overview of the Daai clause. Daai clauses are divided principally into finite and non-finite constructions.

Figure 8.1: Clause Types



A finite clause is a form that can occur as an independent sentence or as a main clause as part of a multi-clause sentence (Crystal 2003). Finite clauses are marked by a combination of subject agreement, tense, aspect, modality and number or by the markers for subjunctive or imperative mood (see Chapter 12). The exact combination of markers can vary depending on the type of the clause. Non-finite clauses lack many of the markers found on finite clauses. They are dependent clauses and occur in Daai as medial clauses in clause-chains, as subordinate clauses and as complement clauses (see Chapter 13).

In this chapter different subtypes of finite indicative clauses will be discussed involving different types of predicates. The internal structure of some clauses will also be examined.

There are however certain exceptional finite clauses, such as some clauses with non-verbal predicates that will also be discussed by way of introduction.

8.2 Non-verbal predicates

8.2.1 Copulas and copular verbs

Copular verbs are sometimes called “semantically empty” verbs or also “grammatical verbs” (Payne 1997: 112). The copular verb does not carry the lexical-semantic load of predication by itself, but it is rather carried by non-verbal predicate that occurs with the copula (Givón 2001 vol I: 119).

Daai has one copula and three copular verbs, the Table (8.1) below shows the distribution of the copular verbs with regards to the different types of non-verbal predicates.

Table 8.1: Copular verbs

		Non-verbal Predicate Clauses						
		Nom	Equat	Inchoative	Existential	Possessive	Loc	Pred.Adj
Copula and copular Verbs	ni	X	X					
	ve				X	X	X	
	thoon	X	X	X				
	kyaa:k/ kya	X	X					

8.2.1.1 The copula *ni*

Daai has one true copula, *ni*, formerly an existential verb, but now nearly completely grammaticalized. The other copular verbs still occur as main verbs in other uses. *Ni* has various other non-predicative functions (see 4.5.9.2) and occurs most frequently as an emphatic particle. As copula, *ni* occurs in clauses with nominal predicates and in equational clauses. Example (1) shows *ni* in a true nominal predicate clause. Equational uses of *ni* can be seen below in (2).

- (1) *Kei: kpa:-mi ni*
 1S man COP
 'I am a man!'
- (2) *Ah kkhyu: ksük ta Msuui Tui: Sa: ni.*
 POSS:3S wife first FOC Msuui Tui: Sa: COP
 'As for his first wife, she was Msuui Tui Sa.'

8.2.1.2 *The copular verb **ve***

The existential verb **ve** with a wide range of meanings – ‘is’, ‘exist’, ‘live’, ‘have’ – has undergone the strongest semantic bleaching of all Daai copular verbs. It occurs in existential clauses, clauses expressing predicate possession and in locative predicates. The following examples shows **ve** in an existential clause.

- (3) *Ahlaaniing msü am ve ha:m.*
 Long.ago rice.wine.pot NEG is ASP:yet
 ‘Long ago rice wine pots did not yet exist.’

8.2.1.3 *The copular verb **thoon***

As copular verb, **thoon** occurs in equational clauses and clauses with a nominal predicate. The original meaning of **thoon** is ‘happen’, or the inchoative ‘become’. Its arguments are mostly marked by the clitic =*a*. The example below shows **thoon** as copular verb with inchoative meaning.

- (4) *Ngshe-yuh ta ngshe=a thoon lo be=kti.*
 horse-bone FOC horse=CF become AUX:become back=NON.FUT
 ‘As for the horse bone, it became a horse again.’

8.2.1.4 *The copular verb **kyaa:k/ky-***

As a copular verb **kyaa:k/ky-** occurs in equational clauses, in clauses with nominal predicates and in existential clauses. As a full main verb it is intransitive and has the meaning ‘fall’ or ‘drop’. Example (5) shows **kyaa:k/ky-** as copular verb with a true nominal predicate.

- (5) *Tui:-mei: am ah-nih pyang-ma-naa:k=a kyaa:k=üing ...*
 fire NEG POSS:3DU/PL worrying-reason=CF is=SUBO:if
 ‘If the fire is no reason for them to worry ...’

8.2.2 *Predicative adjectives*

Predicative adjectives are also called attributive clauses (Payne 1997: 120) and are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. It has already been mentioned in 4.3.1 that in Daai the natural word class of attributive adjectives is non-existent

and that descriptive modifiers or adjectivals are derived from descriptive verbs. Therefore predicative adjectives are formed in two different ways. The predicative function usually associated with an adjectives can be achieved either by an “adjective” as head of a verb phrase without a copula or a nominalized adjective, derived from a descriptive verb with a copula. If the predicative adjective is expressed by a nominalized adjectival, the clause has the same structure as nominal predicates and equational clauses. If the predicative adjective is formed by a verb, then of course we do not have a non-verbal predicate, but simply an intransitive verbal predicate. Example (6) shows a predicate nominal and (7) shows an “adjective” (really a verb) heading an intransitive clause.

(6) *Thang Küüi hin akdo ni.*
 Thang Küüi DEM NOM.good COP
 ‘Thang Küüi is a good one (a good person).’

(7) *Thang Küüi hin do=kti*
 Thang Küüi DEM good=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang Küüi is good.’

8.2.3 *Nominal predicates and equational clauses*

Daai makes a formal distinction between what is called **proper inclusion** by Payne (1997: 114) and equational clauses. Dryer (to appear 2005/2006) terms **proper inclusion** as **true nominal predicates**, which is the term I will use here. True nominal predicates are non-referential and can be viewed as a specific entity that belongs to a larger generic group, or as a member of a class of items.

Equational clauses “assert that a particular entity is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal” (Payne 1997: 114).

In Daai, both subtypes, true nominal predicates and equational clauses, may be accomplished by juxtaposing two noun phrases, the second noun phrase usually being predicative. With equational clauses the two noun phrases are followed optionally by one of the copular elements described above. With true nominal predicates a copular element is obligatory. The default word order for these two clause types is as follows:

EQUATIONAL: NP₁ NP₂ (COPULA)

TRUE NOMINAL: NP₁ NP₂ COPULA

8.2.3.1 True nominal predicates

Below are examples of true nominal predicates, or proper inclusion, with the copula *ni* and the copular verbs.

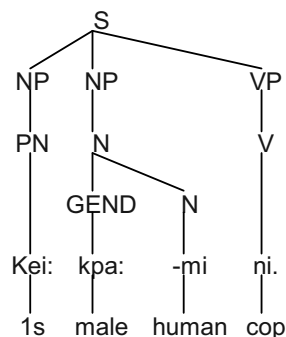
With the copula *ni*

In (8) two people are asserted to be members of the class of *pasong* ‘elderly respected man’. In example (9) a person claims to belong to the male gender, an assertion frequently made by Daai men, especially when they feel challenged about their courage.

- (8) *Xung Küüi jah Sheen Phääi hin pasong=xooi ni.*
 Xung Küüi CONJ Sheen Phääi DEM respected.man=DU COP
 ‘Xung Küüi and Sheen Phääi are two respected men.’

- (9) *Kei: kpa:-mi ni.*
 1S man COP
 ‘I am a man!’

Figure 8.2: Exampe (9)



With copular verb *thoon*

In example (10) the verb *lim-ma* ‘crooked’ is nominalized by conversion. *thoon* requires the clitic =*a* on the second noun-phrase.

- (10) *Shuui lim-ma=a am thoon.*
 Shuui crook=CF NEG is
 ‘Shuui is not a crooked one.’

Copular verb *thoon* with inchoative meaning

Daai has clauses that are true nominal predicates with inchoative meaning. The following examples show existential changes of a specific entity into an entity belonging to a larger

generic group. In (11) and (12) we see specific inanimate objects becoming members of the set of human beings.

- (11) *Khyok-ui hnah sa: sun kpa:-mi-sa:=a*
lime leaf little DEM young.man=CF

thoon lo=kti.
become AUX:become=NON.FUT
'The little leaf of the lime tree became a young man.'

- (12) *Msiing-pilim sun nghnu-mi-sa:=a thoon lo=kti.*
flute DEM young.woman=CF become AUX:become=NON.FUT
'The flute became a young woman.'

In the following example one member of the nominal predicate is not expressed as a syntactic noun phrase but only represented by agreement form.

- (13) *Kkhyang=a kah thoon be pääng=kti*
man=CF S.AGR:1S become back PERF=NON.FUT
'I have become human again!'

In certain discourse contexts one member of the inchoative clause can be omitted as it is predictable from the context.

- (14) *Msiing-Pilim=a thoon-ei be mjoh=kti.*
flute=CF become-AO back EVID=NON.FUT
'[She] changed back into a flute.'

With copular verb *kyaa:k/kyaa-*

Like the copular verb *thoon*, *kyaa:k/kyaa-* also requires the clitic =a on the second noun-phrase.

- (15) *Tui:-mei: am ah-nih pyang-ma-naa:k=a kyaa:k=üing ...*
fire NEG POSS:3DU/PL worrying-reason=CF is=SUBO:if
'If the fire is no reason for them to worry ...'

In the following example the first noun phrase is a REL-clause and the second noun phrase is nominalization and the resulting clause is a true nominal predication.

- (16) [*Kho-ksing Ø ti Ø sun*]_{NP1} [*kho-yaai=a phäh*
spirit-drum saying DEM spirit=GEN on.behalf

ah-nih te=a ksing]_{NP2} =a *kyaa=kti.*
POSS:3DU/PL beating=CF drum=CF is=NON.FUT
'What they call a spirit drum is a drum that they beat on behalf of the spirits.'

8.2.3.2 Equational clauses

Daai equational clauses can occur without copula or with any of the copular elements true nominal predicates have to occur with.

With the copula *ni*

- (17) *Ah kkyu: ksük ta Msuui Tui: Sa: (ni)*
 POSS:3S wife first FOC Msuui Tui: Sa: COP
 'As for his first wife, she was Msuui Tui Sa.'
- (18) *Phaa Long ngna:m-kpyah hin Loon Pät=a lei (ni)*
 Phaa Long village-destruction DEM Loon Pät clan=GEN fault COP
 'The destruction of the Phaa Long village was the fault of the Loon Pät clan.'

With the copular verb *thoon*

- (19) *Na:ng kah tui:-sik-sa: ksang(=a nah thoon) ta ...*
 2S POSS:1S water.maid true=CF S.AGR:2S is if ...
 'If you are my true water maid ...'

With the copular verb *kya:k/kya-*

- (20) *Ahin hin sho buh-ei-pooi poh(=a kya=kti)*
 DEM.PRO DEM Sho rice-eating-feast making=CF is=NON.FUT
 'This is the celebration of the Sho feast.'

8.2.4 Existential clauses

In Daai, existential constructions require a temporal but not necessarily a locative expression. The occurrence of the above mentioned copular verb *ve* is obligatory for existential clauses. At discourse level this existential verb typically functions to introduce participants. The clause in example (21) is an introductory sentence typically used in Daai folktales. The word order for existential clauses is:

CLAUSE: (TEMP.ADV) NP [...*ve*...]V-cplex

- (21) *Ahlaaniing Mlik Nu: Nglung ana-ve=kti.*
 Long.ago Mlik Nu: Nglung DIR:before-exist=NON.FUT
 'Long ago Mlik Nu Nglung lived (previously).'

In negative existential clauses *ve* occurs frequently with the aspectuals *ti:* 'still' or *ha:m* 'yet', as shown in the following examples.

- (22) *Nah pu ta am ve ti:*
 POSS:2S father.in.law FOC NEG is ASP:any.longer
 'As for your father-in-law, he is no longer living.'
- (23) *Ahlaanüing msü am ve ha:m.*
 Long.ago rice.wine.pot NEG is ASP:yet
 'Long ago rice wine pots did not yet exist.'

8.2.5 Locative predicates

Locative constructions use the copular verb *ve*, as do existential clauses. The only structural difference between an existential clause and a clause with a locative predicate is that in the latter a locational expression has to be present. The word order for locative predicates is:

CLAUSE: NP₁ NP₂=*a* [...*ve*...]V-cplex
 NP₁ NP₂=*a* *veei:* [...*ve*...]V-cplex

However, this word order is not really obligatory. The unmarked NP₁ can also change places with the marked NP₂. The following are examples of locative predicates and they show also the freedom of word order.

- (24) *Ah püi=e sun khuui-k'um=a ve=kti=e.*
 POSS:3S friend=PL DEM cave-inside=LOC is=NON.FUT=PL
 'His friends are in the cave.'
- (25) *Kkhyayang ma=a veei: ui: jah vok ve=kti=xooi.*
 man one=GEN place dog CONJ pig is=NON.FUT=DU
 'With a man there lived a dog and a pig.' (lit: at a man there lived ...)

8.2.6 Predicate possession

The structure of the possessive clause is similar to the structure of the existential clause and the clause with a locative predicate. The same copular verb *ve* is employed, but a possessive relationship is made explicit. The default word order for this clause type is:

CLAUSE: NP₁=*a* [...*ve*...]V-cplex

- (26) *Sheen Phäh=a *(veei:) me: kphyü-kip ve=kti.*
 Sheen Phäh=GEN place goat forty is=NON.FUT
 'Sheen Phäh has forty goats'

The following example can be interpreted as either an existential clause or as a clause with predicate possession. Since there is no aspect marker - see examples (22) and (23) - the interpretation as predicate possession is more likely. However, the clause is in obvious contrast with the locative predicate in example (25), because with animate nouns the location noun *veei*: ‘place’, ‘near’ is required.

- (27) *Thang Küüi=a nu: pa: ve=kti.*
 Thang Küüi=GEN mother.father is=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang Küüi’s parents are alive.’ or: ‘Thang Küüi has [still] parents.’
- (28) *Thang Küüi=a veei: ah nu: pa: ve=kti.*
 Thang Küüi=GEN PLACE POSS:3S mother.father is=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang Küüi’s parents are with him.’ (lit: at him)

8.3 Verbal predicates

This section deals with the structure of simple clauses with verbal predicates. The basic distinction among verbal predicates is between intransitive verbs which take a single argument and transitive verbs which take two or more arguments. Givón (2001 vol I: 109) defines the semantic prototype of a transitive event as having a deliberate active agent, a concrete and affected patient and involving a terminated event in real time. The syntactic definition of the prototype of a transitive clause is simpler. Clauses that have a direct object are syntactically transitive; all others are syntactically intransitive.

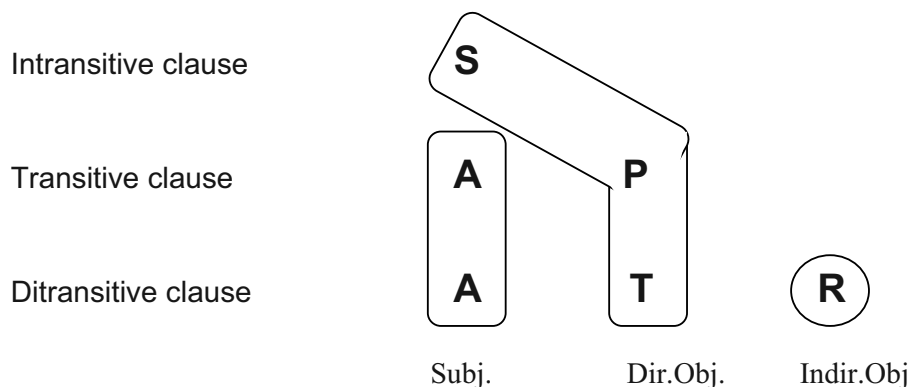
In Daai objects of transitive clauses can be easily distinguished from oblique arguments and adjuncts, since objects are unmarked but obliques and adjuncts are marked by some kind of postposition. Example (29) illustrates an intransitive clause with a locative adjunct, and example (30) a transitive clause with an object that is unmarked.

- (29) *Je sun mpai-hmu=a ip=kti*
 hare DEM grass-plot=LOC sleep= NON.FUT
 ‘The hare slept in the meadow.’
- (30) *Je sun=noh kkhaai-kpeh ei=kti.*
 hare DEM=ERG rice-cake eat=NON.FUT
 ‘The hare ate the rice-cake.’

8.3.1 Grammatical relations

We have seen the Figure 8.3 already in chapter 5. But at the beginning of this section it may be helpful to be reminded again of the type of ergative/absolutive language which Daai represents.

Figure 8.3 : Grammatical Relations



A stands for agent and is marked by ergative case. **S** stands for the single argument (subject of an intransitive clause). It is grouped together with **P** (patient) and **T** (theme) which are direct objects. Therefore this type is also called direct object absolutive. In Daai the semantic role of a stimulus is also to be included in this group. **R** stand for recipient, the indirect object of a ditransitive clause. In Daai the semantic roles of the beneficiary and the comitative have to be grouped together with the recipient.

8.3.3 Intransitive clauses

Below are examples of intransitive clauses with different verb types. For each verb type the case marking pattern in Figure 8.3 is respected, regardless of the semantic verb type.

State verbs: permanent states

The default word pattern for clauses with this verb type is:

CLAUSE: NP V-cplx¹

Permanent states are expressed by descriptive verbs. Since Daai has no natural class of adjectives the modifying function of adjectives is mostly expressed by descriptive verbs, as shown in the examples below. There is no case-marking on the subject.

¹ This stands for Verb Complex and includes all particles modifying the verb phrase including tense, aspect and modality markers.

(31) *Ah sa:-ngla-mi ngtou=kti ni.*
 POSS:3S daughter pretty=NON.FUT EMPH
 'His daughter is pretty.'

(32) *Mlik-tui: sun thuu:k=kti.*
 river DEM deep=NON.FUT
 'The river is deep.'

State verbs: temporary states

The default word pattern for clauses with this verb type is:

CLAUSE: NP V-cplx

Temporary states can be inward experiences as illustrated in the examples (33) and (34). In clauses that express inward experiences, the syntactic subject has semantically patient-like features. It is an affected argument but has still no case-marking features.

(33) *Ahikba kah khui-kha=kti.*
 Like.this S.AGR:1S have.trouble=NON.FUT
 'I suffer trouble like this.'

(34) *Ah pa: sun (noh*) mün hnüh=kti.*
 POSS:3S father DEM be.amazed finally=NON.FUT
 'Her father was finally amazed.'

Temporary states can also be physical states as shown in the examples below. Some physical states require two arguments, an agent and a location. In this case we find a different word pattern for the clause:

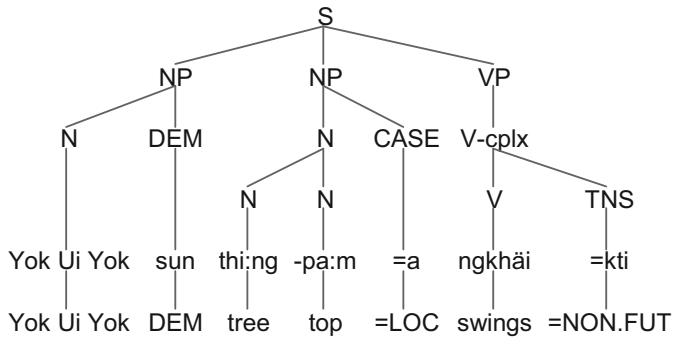
CLAUSE: NP NP=*a* V-cplx

Examples of these clauses are shown in (35) and (36). Locatives are usually included in clauses by the case marker =*a*. As stated in Chapter 5, since locatives have no agreement form with the verb they are treated as adjuncts or obliques. In example (35) the locative is optional and assumed to be an adjunct, but in the other examples it is obligatory and treated as an oblique.

(35) *Je sun mpai-hmu=*a* ip=kti.*
 hare DEM grass-plot=LOC sleep-NON.FUT
 'The hare slept in the meadow.'

- (36) *Yok Ui Yok sun thi:ng-pa:m=a ngkhäi=kti.*
 Yok Ui Yok DEM tree-top=LOC swings=NON.FUT
 'Yok Ui Yok was swinging on the tree top.'

FIGURE 8.4: EXAMPLE (36)



- (37) *Poh Pan sun long-shiip=a ngshut=kti.*
 Poh Pan DEM stream-well=LOC sit=NON.FUT
 'Poh Pan sat at the well of the stream.'

Activity verbs

The default word order for clauses with activity verbs is:

CLAUSE: NP V-cplx

As has already been discussed in 4.2.1, activity verbs are temporally unbound (atelic) like state verbs, but in contrast to state verbs they are dynamic. The subjects are not marked for case.

- (38) *Kpa:-mi-sa:=xooi sun do:ng=kti=xooi.*
 young.man=DU dem run=NON.FUT=DU
 'They two young men ran.'
- (39) *Ahin=a kkhyaang ta khüüi:-khood to:ng=kti.*
 DEM.PRO=CF man FOC work very.much=NON.FUT
 'As for this man, he works very much.'

However, there are also activity verbs that require an agent argument and an oblique argument (location) and have a different word order pattern:

CLAUSE: NP NP=a V-cplx

- (40) *Thang sun thi:ng-pa:m k'hlüng nu:=a kaai=kti.*

Thang DEM tree-top high MODF:very=LOC climb=NON.FUT
 'Thang climbed to the very high tree top.'

Accomplishment verbs

Daai does not have many inherent accomplishment verbs that are intransitive. *Thih/thi* 'die' might be a rare example of an intransitive accomplishment verb. The subjects are not marked for case. The default word order for clauses with intransitive accomplishments is:

CLAUSE: NP V-cplx

- (41) *Kkhom sun thi-in=kti.*
 bear DEM die-MIR=NON.FUT
 'The bear died near the stream.'

Intransitive accomplishment clauses are frequently comprised of state verbs combined with the auxiliary *lo* 'become' (see also 4.2.1), as shown in the example below.

- (42) *Kah sa: ta däm lo=kti ni.*
 POSS:1S child FOC big AUX:become=NON.FUT EMPH
 'My son has become big!'

Active accomplishments

Active accomplishments can be derived from the telic use of activity verbs (VanValin: 1997). The word order for clauses with this verb type is again:

CLAUSE: NP NP=*a* V-cplx

The subjects of these clauses have no case marking.

- (43) *Pyang sun Ragun mlük=*a* pha lo=kti*
 Pyang DEM Yangon town=LOC arrive DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'Pyang arrived in Yangon.'

Achievement verbs

The default word pattern for clauses with this verb type is:

CLAUSE: NP V-cplx

Achievement verbs are frequently intransitive (see 4.2.1). Again the subject has no case marking.

- (44) *She-yüi sun bät-in=kti.*

cow-rope DEM break-MIR=NON.FUT
 'The cow rope broke.'

Summary

All intransitive verb types, that is states, activities and achievements, have subjects without case markers. This shows that case-marking in intransitive sentences is a syntactic phenomenon. All intransitive sentences have the same SV word order with some sentences having S OBL V. With obliques the word order can be changed but it is non-canonical and changes the focus structure of the sentence.

8.3.3 Transitive clauses

8.3.3.1 Default word order

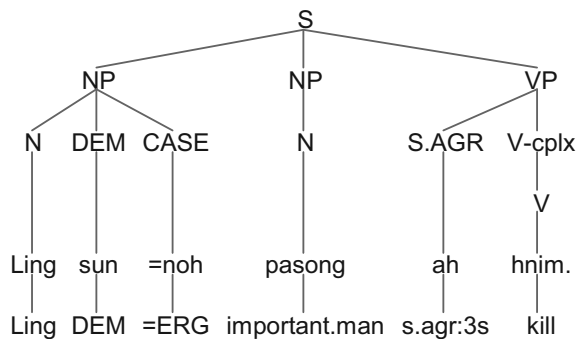
The default word order for transitive clauses is shown below.

CLAUSE: NP=*noh* NP V-cplx

The subject of a transitive clause is always marked by =*noh* and the object is always unmarked (zero-marked). The two examples below show that ergative case-marking does not depend on 'agent-likeness' of a subject and the 'patient-likeness' of an object. Although in (45)b the subject is not really an agent nor is the object a patient the case-marking is the same as in (45) a.

- (45) a *Ling sun=noh pasong ah hnim.*
 Ling DEM=ERG important.man S.AGR:3S kill
 'Ling killed an important man'
- b *Ling sun=noh pasong ah hmuh.*
 Ling DEM=ERG important.man S.AGR:3S see
 'Ling saw an important man'

Figure 8.5: Example (45)a



CLAUSE: NP=*noh* NP NP=*a* V-cplx

- (46) *Pyang sun=noh ah peem tui:-long-pei:=a ah taa:k.*
 Pyang DEM=ERG POSS:3S basket stream-beside=LOC S.AGR:3S put
 'Pyang put his basket beside the stream.'

8.3.3.2 *Degrees of transitivity*

Hopper and Thompson (1980) have expanded the definition of transitivity and introduced the idea of relative transitivity. They have identified ten **Parameters of Transitivity** that suggest a scale according to which clauses can be ranked. These Parameters of Transitivity (1980: 252) are shown below in the Table 8.3. Hopper and Thompson's scale can be viewed as a ranking of semantic transitivity. Many factors used to define transitivity also define various *aktionsart* categories, so the following discussion about the relevance of "degrees of transitivity" also reflects on the relevance of *aktionsart* categories to syntactic transitivity marking in Daai.

Table 8.2: Parameters of Transitivity

	High	Low
A. PARTICIPANTS	Two or more participants, A and O	One participant
B. KINESIS	Action	Non-Action
C. ASPECT	Telic	Atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	Punctual	Non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	Volitional	Non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	Affirmative	Negative
G. MODE	Realis	Irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

The following Table illustrates the difference between highly individuated nouns and their counterparts.

Table 8.3: Individuation

Individuated	Non-individuated
Proper noun	Common
Human, animate	Inanimate
Concrete	Abstract
Singular	Plural
Countable	Mass
Referential, definite	Non-referential

The goal of the following section is to show that regardless of how ‘**semantically transitive**’ a clause is,

- a. the agent arguments are marked with =*noh*
- b. the objects are marked with Ø

This shows that case-marking in Daai Chin is highly syntactic and highly regular. Case-marking on all examples is bolded. The following two examples are prototypical transitive clauses with the highest transitivity rating. They have two participants and they contain action verbs that are both punctual and telic. The actions are carried out volitionally; the clauses are affirmative and in the realis mode; the action performed by the agent is high in potency; the objects or patients are totally affected and also highly individuated.

(47) *Ah pa:=*(noh) Msäai pa: sun ah tuh.*
 POSS:3S father=ERG Msäai GEND DEM S.AGR:3S stab.
 ‘Her father stabbed the Msäai man [to death].’

(48) *Ngshe=noh Mnaka sun ah khat to:ng.*
 horse=ERG dragon DEM S.AGR:3S kick to.death
 ‘The horse kicked the dragon so that he died.’

The following example ranks slightly lower. Although all other parameters are the same as in the previous examples, the action is not punctual: it is not an achievement but an accomplishment.

(49) *Msi Msäai nu:=noh ah sa: nghnu-mi sun*
 Msi Msäai GEND=ERG POSS:3S child GEND DEM

ah phyüt shok-shek-in
 S.AGR:3S tear into.pieces-MIR
 ‘The Msi Msäai mother suddenly tore her daughter into pieces.’

The next example is another rank lower on the transitivity scale. The object, though totally affected, is inanimate and therefore less individuated. The action, though telic, is not punctual.

(50) *Xung=noh kkhaai-kpeh ah ei päih*
 Xung=ERG rice-cake S.AGR:3S eat completely
 ‘Xung ate up the rice cake.’

In the following example the object is also inanimate and therefore less individuated, the action is punctual and telic, but the object is not really totally affected. Here the tree is cut down but otherwise remains whole.

- (51) *Thang=noh nghngaai-thi:ng ah sap-in pääng ni.*
 Thang=ERG mango-tree S.AGR:3S cut.one.stroke-MIR PERF EMPH
 'Thang has already cut down the mango tree.'

The following two examples have definite human objects. In example (52) the object is not totally affected, but the effect is probably more than a change in surface condition which we see in example (53). In example (52) the action is atelic and non-punctual, whereas the action in (53) is telic.

- (52) *Ling=noh ah kkhyu: sun ah kpaai-ei xong-xong*
 Ling=ERG POSS:3S wife DEM S.AGR:3S beat-AO without.stopping
 'Ling was beating his wife without stopping.'

- (53) *Pai Thing=noh ah sa: tui: mhloh=kti.*
 Pai Thing=ERG POSS:3S child water bathe=NON.FUT
 'Pai Thing bathed her child.'

The following two examples are two versions of the same clause. They rank even lower on the transitivity scale. The object is inanimate and also a kind of mass noun and therefore non-individuated. Though the action does denote a considerable change in the object's condition, the object is no way totally affected. The actions are not punctual. In example (54) we find the perfect aspect which marks the action as telic and therefore example (54) is higher ranking than example (55).

- (54) *Ling=noh lou: sun phyou: pääng=kti.*
 Ling=ERG field DEM weed PERF=NON.FUT
 'Ling has already weed the field.' (i.e. finished weeding)

- (55) *Ling=noh lou: sun phyou:=kti.*
 Ling=ERG field DEM weed=NON.FUT
 'Ling weeded the field.'

The following three transitive clauses denote a change in the object's physical location. In example (56) the object is animate and therefore more individuated. Also, it is indicated that the object was first killed before the change in location took place, therefore it is affected.

- (56) *Sü Ye=***noh** *sha:-kkhyuk ah kpha lo.*
 Sü Ye=ERG deer S.AGR:3S cause.to.arrive DIR:come
 'Sü Ye brought a deer [home].'

In the following two examples we find inanimate objects that are not affected and the actions are not punctual, but they are volitional and telic.

- (57) *Nghnu-mi-sa:=***noh** *tui: la lo=kti*
 young.woman=DEM water fetch DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'The young woman came fetching water.'

- (58) *Vok=***noh** *thi:ng-thu: kkot lo=kti.*
 pig=ERG tree-branch carry DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'The pig came carrying a tree branch.'

In the following examples the events are volitional, but the verbs are states rather than activities, and are neither punctual nor telic. The objects are individuated but not affected at all. Nothing happens to them. Therefore these examples have a still lower transitivity rating.

- (59) *Long=***a** *je=***noh** *kkhom sun ana-mtät=kti.*
 stream=LOC hare=ERG bear DEM DIR:in.advance-wait=NON.FUT
 'At the stream the hare already waited for the bear.'

- (60) *Sha-ui:=***noh** *ta tui:-sik-sa: sun hlü-ei=kti.*
 fox=ERG FOC water.maid DEM like=NON.FUT
 'As for the fox, he liked the water maid.'

Conclusion

Despite carefully examining for many of the parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson, we can see that case marking in Daai is very syntactic and barely influenced by semantic factors except for number of participants. Transitive clauses all respect ergative case-marking, 'very' transitive clauses as well as barely transitive clauses. This includes also ditransitive clauses, inherently ditransitives as well as created ones.

8.3.4 Ditransitive clauses

In the ditransitive clause the indirect object is marked with =**üng**, the object is zero-marked and occurs next to the verb complex. The default word pattern for clauses with this verb type is:

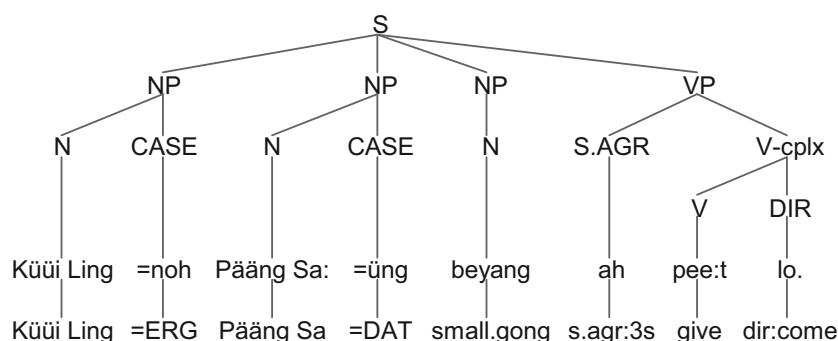
CLAUSE: NP=*noh* NP=*üng* NP V-cplx

8.3.4.1 Inherently ditransitive verbs

Daai has only a few verbs that are inherently ditransitive and have to occur with two object arguments. The verbs *pee:t/pe* ‘give’ and *mhnüh* ‘show’ are classic examples and are shown in (61) and (62).

- (61) *Küüi Ling=noh Pääng Sa:=üng beyang ah pee:t lo.*
 Küüi Ling=ERG Pääng Sa=DAT small.gong S.AGR:3S give DIR:come
 ‘Küüi Ling gave a small gong to Pääng Sa.’

Figure 8.6: Example (61)



- (62) *Ling=noh ah pa:=üng nghngaai-thi:ng ah mhnüh.*
 Ling=ERG POSS:3S father=DAT mango-tree S.AGR:3S show
 ‘Ling showed his father a mango tree.’

Also most verbs that express speech actions, like *ti* ‘say’, ‘tell’, *mtheh* ‘instruct’, *xüh* ‘order’ and *kthäh* ‘ask’ are inherently ditransitive. In this case the direct speech is the direct object or theme, the addressed person is the indirect object or recipient and the agent of the speech act is always marked as ergative case by *=noh*. This is shown in (63) and (64).

- (63) *Ui:=noh vok=üng “....” ah ti.*
 dog=ERG pig=DAT “....” S.AGR:3S say.
 ‘The dog said to the pig “....”.’

- (64) *Ah-nih mah-pa:=noh vok=üng “....” tilü ah kthäh.*
 POSS:3DU/PL master=ERG pig=DAT “....” saying S.AGR:3S ask
 ‘Their master asked the pig saying “....”.’

8.3.4.2 *Causative and applicative constructions*

Causative and applicative constructions have been discussed in the Sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2 and ample examples have been supplied. Therefore only the default word order for this clause type is repeated.

CLAUSE: NP=*noh* NP=*üing* NP V-cplx _[CAUS/APPL]

Summary

All simple clauses respect ergative/absolutive case marking. The subjects of all intransitive clauses are zero-marked. The subjects of all transitive clauses are marked by =*noh*. The objects of all transitive verbal predicates are zero-marked. The objects of some non-verbal predicates are zero-marked or marked by =*a*. The indirect objects of all ditransitive verbs are marked by =*üing*. The Table below gives an overview of the entities, relationships and constituents that are discussed in this chapter. Note that the argument structure of created ditransitive clauses could be discussed in more specified ways.

Table 8.4: Overview of Arguments, Relationships and Constituents

Verb	Arguments	Case-marking	Gram. Function	Default Word Order
intran _A	<thm>	∅	S	NP V-cplx
intran _B	<thm,loc>	∅, = <i>a</i>	S, OBL	NP NP= <i>a</i> V-cplx
intran _C	<agt,loc>	∅, = <i>a</i>	S, OBL	NP NP= <i>a</i> V-cplx
tran _A	<agt,pat>	= <i>noh</i> , ∅	S, O	NP= <i>noh</i> NP V-cplx
tran _B	<agt,thm>	= <i>noh</i> , ∅	S, O	NP= <i>noh</i> NP V-cplx
tran _C	<agt,thm,loc>	= <i>noh</i> , ∅, = <i>a</i>	S, O, OBL	NP= <i>noh</i> NP NP= <i>a</i> V-cplx
ditran _A	<agt,rec,thm>	= <i>noh</i> , = <i>üing</i> , ∅	S, IO, O	NP= <i>noh</i> NP= <i>üing</i> NP V-cplx
ditran _B	<agt,ben,thm>	= <i>noh</i> , = <i>üing</i> , ∅	S, IO, O	NP= <i>noh</i> NP= <i>üing</i> NP V-cplx

9 Verbal agreement

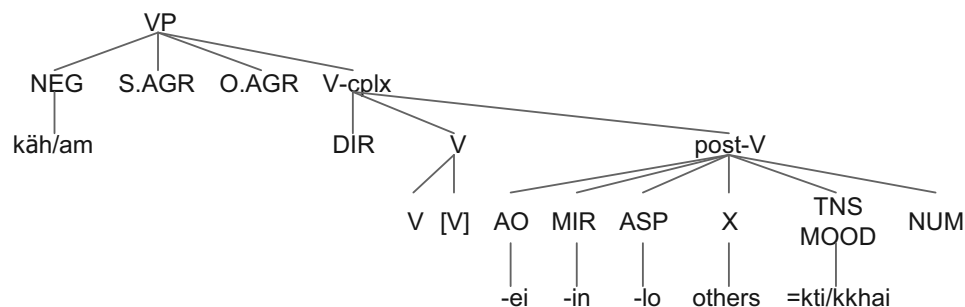
9.1 Overview of the verb complex

The verb complex is preceded by negation and subject and object agreement. Pre-verbal directionals are part of the verb complex.

The nucleus of the verb complex can be a single underived verb, a verb derived by one of the prefixes *k-*, *m-*, *ng-* (see 3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2, 3.3.1.3), a derived verb that has to combine with *-ei* or *naa:k*, a noun that has been made inchoative and verbalized by combining with *naa:k* (see 3.3.1.5), a verb that is derived from a noun by conversion (see 3.3.2.2) or a compound verb (see 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.5).

Post-nuclear constituents of the verb complex are: agent orientation, mirrative, aspects, directionals, applicatives, modals, tense or mood, number and evidentials. Many of the post-nuclear constituents are optional and they never occur all together in one verb complex. Figure 9.1 gives an rough overview of the constituents of the verb phrase and the verb complex. Only the suffixes *-ei* (agent-orientation), *-in* (mirrative) and *lo* (ASP/DIR/AUX) immediately follow the main verb. If they occur together, then they occur in the order shown below. Most of the other post-nuclear constituents of the verb complex can change their position in accordance with their scope in the clause. Therefore no attempt is made to show an order of position.

Figure 9.1: Constituents of the Verb Phrase and the Verb Complex



9.2 Verbal agreement

Much has been written about verbal agreement systems in Tibeto-Burman languages and the question of whether a verb-agreement system can be reconstructed for Proto-Tibeto-Burman has been a controversial topic (see DeLancey 1989, LaPolla 1992 and Van Driem 1993). Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement systems are traditionally known as ‘pronominalization’, based on the assumption that the putative verbal affixes or clitics are derived from independent pronouns (Van Driem 1993).

In Tibeto-Burman languages two separate but supposedly related systems of verbal agreement have been found. One system is suffixal and post-nuclear. It seems to be more frequent. The other verbal agreement system is pre-nuclear. It is called ‘prefixal’ or also ‘the clitic series’ (DeLancey 1989). The suffixal system is characterized by “the personal suffixes 1 p. **-ya* and 2 p. **-na* and a split ergative agreement pattern in which the agreement is always with a 1 or 2 p. argument in preference to 3 p., regardless of which is subject or object” (DeLancey 1989: 317). DeLancey points out that “all of the Kuki-Chin languages have a prefixal subject or subject/object (as opposed to ergative) agreement pattern, which is quite different from anything found elsewhere in the family...this innovation was derived from a structure which does trace to PTB, but the extant paradigms clearly represent a Kuki-Chin innovation. However, several of the languages of this group retain the older paradigm as well, either as an alternative to or (apparently) in combination with the newer” (DeLancey 1989: 323).

The Daai agreement system is pre-nuclear and exhibits subject agreement and object agreement for all persons. I argue here that the Daai agreement system is rather a periphrastic model than a cliticized one, which is not really surprising since Daai is a highly analytic language. Only the singular agreement forms tend to cliticize and to lose the glottal stop endings. But this process is also dependent on phonological environment and subject to speaker variation. Looking at Jordan’s (1969) description, the Daai agreement forms appear to be rather similar to the Cho¹ agreement forms. However a recent paper by George Bedell (2000) shows a considerable difference between the Cho and the Daai agreement systems.

¹ Cho is the Chin language most closely related to Daai Chin.

Apart from the pre-verbal periphrastic agreement forms that are shown in the tables below, Daai has also retained one remnant of the older Tibeto-Burman “suffix paradigm”, the first person marker =*ngü* [-ŋu] which takes the form of an enclitic and will be discussed later.

The Table 9.1 shows the subject agreement paradigm. Note that the dual/plural distinction has become neutralized but the exclusive/inclusive distinction for first person is preserved.

Table 9.1: Subject Agreement Paradigm

		1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular		<i>kah</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>ah</i>
Dual/Plural	exclusive	<i>kah-nih</i>	<i>nah-nih</i>	<i>ah-nih</i>
	inclusive	<i>nih</i>		

Table 9.2 shows the object agreement paradigm. The same agreement forms are also used for reference to the indirect object or recipient. Note that there is no agreement form for third person singular objects. Not all speakers of Daai use the second person plural form *ni:ng-jah*. Some speakers use *ni:ng* for second person singular and also for dual/plural. Note also that the second person object agreement is identical to the first person subject agreement. The plural object agreement form *jah* is rather unusual, especially since it does not occur in Cho. In the paradigms of different Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement systems presented by Delancey (1989) and Van Driem (1993), a third person plural patient prefix **ya-** was found only in Kham (see Watters 1998).

Table 9.2: Object Agreement Paradigm

		1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular		<i>nah</i>	<i>ni:ng</i>	--
Dual/Plural		<i>jah</i>	<i>ni:ng-jah</i>	<i>jah</i>

In the remainder of this chapter all bold elements are obligatory, unless marked otherwise. Sometimes obligatoriness is redundantly marked with *().

9.2.1 Subject agreement in the intransitive clause

9.2.1.1 The simple clause

In **simple indicative clauses** agreement is obligatory for first and second person subjects but is omitted for third person subjects.

- (1) a **Kah** *do:ng=kti.*
 S.AGR:1S run=NON.FUT
 ‘I run/ran.’
- b **Nah** *do:ng=kti.*
 S.AGR:2S run=NON.FUT
 ‘You run/ran.’
- c (**Ah*) *do:ng=kti.*
 S.AGR:3S run=NON.FUT
 ‘He/she/it runs/ran.’

In the indicative clause subject agreement is obligatory even if a pronominal or lexical noun phrase is present. The following examples show subject agreement for first and second person subjects. Free pronouns are underlined.

- (2) Kei: Xung **kah** pha lo *be=kti.*
 1S Xung S.AGR:1S arrive DIR:COME back=NON.FUT
 ‘I, Xung, have arrived back [home].’
- (3) Kei:-nih-e phi **kah-nih** lo=kkhai=e ni.
 1PL also S.AGR:1DU/PL.EX come=FUT=PL EMPH
 ‘We will also come.’

Indicative clauses with second person pronouns, as shown in the following two examples, are somewhat rude and are uttered in a mood of accusation.

- (4) Na:ng ui: ***(nah)** hleei=kti ni.
 2S dog S.AGR:2S lie=NON.FUT EMPH
 ‘You dog, you lied!’
- (5) Na:ng-nih-e anghläi=a ta **nah-nih** nglüng=kti=e ni.
 2PL always=LOC FOC S.AGR:2DU/PL play=NON.FUT=PL EMPH
 ‘You are always playing!’

In the examples above we have mainly looked at the simple indicative clause. In other clause types the rules for subject agreement are different.

9.2.1.2 The interrogative clause

The **interrogative clause** requires subject agreement, as shown in the example below.

- (6) *Mah-püi=o ilü nah kyap=kti ni.*
 grandmother=VOC why S.AGR:2S cry=NON.FUT EMPH
 'Grandmother, why are you crying?'

9.2.1.3 Imperative and negative imperative clauses

Most types of **imperative clauses** and **negative imperative clauses** do not allow subject agreement. This is illustrated in the examples (7) and (8).

- (7) *(*Nah) thou: lo hnüh=a.*
 S.AGR:2S get.up ASP finally=IMP
 'Get up finally!'
- (8) *Kah be=e=o käh (*nah-nih) kyap=u=a.*
 POSS:1S older.brother=PL=VOC NEG S.AGR:2DU/PL cry=PL=IMP
 'My brothers, don't cry!'

One subtype of the imperative is the **hortative clause**. Daai has a first person hortative, which is always plural inclusive. The speaker includes himself and the listener(s). In these constructions subject agreement is obligatory.

- (9) *Nih sit be vai.*
 S.AGR:1DU/PL go back HORT
 'Let us go back!'

9.2.1.4 The negative clause

In the **negative clause** we do not find subject agreement expressed with the periphrastic agreement paradigm. Negative clauses with a first person subject are marked obligatory by the enclitic =*ngü* (see also section 9.2.7). Negative clauses with second and third person subjects are unmarked by agreement.

9.2.2 Subject agreement in the transitive clause

In simple indicative clauses subject agreement is obligatory for first and second person subjects.

9.2.2.1 First person subject agreement

In transitive clauses with first person subjects the verb complex may have two different structures that depend on focus and discourse pragmatics. The default pattern is shown in the examples below. Subject agreement is followed by the stem A form of the verb and the non-future marker =*kti* is omitted.

- (10) *Thi:ng-thu: phi kei:=noh *(kah) kkoh lo.*
 tree-branch also 1S=ERG S.AGR:1S carry.A DIR:come
 'Also the tree branch only I [and nobody else] carried [home].'
- (11) *Lou: phi kei:=noh kah phyoh.*
 field also 1S=ERG S.AGR:1S weed.A
 'Also the field only I [and nobody else] weeded.'

If the agent is in focus the subject agreement form is followed by stem B of the verbs and the clause is marked by the tense marker =*kti*. This is illustrated in example (12).

- (12) *Kei:=noh ta thi:ng-thu:*
 1S=ERG FOC tree-branch
- (kah) kkot lo=kti ni.*
 S.AGR:1S carry.B DIR:come=NON.FUT EMPH.
 'It was I who carried the tree branch [home].'

9.2.2.2 Second person subject agreement

In the simple indicative clauses there is no option of two different constructions with second person subject agreement. Second person subject agreement is always followed by stem B verb forms and the clauses are marked by =*kti* or =*kkhai*. In the following example the subject is in focus.

- (13) *Na:ng mshe=noh ta kah hnampo *(nah) mpyu=kti.*
 2S bad.one=ERG FOC POSS:1S banana S.AGR:2S steal.B=NON.FUT
 'You bad one, you stole my bananas!'

In the example below the object is marked for focus, however the structure of the verb complex is the same.

- (14) *Msäai pa: ta nah hlüh-püi-na=kti ni.*
 Msäai GEND FOC S.AGR:2S take.as.lover.B=NON.FUT EMPH
 'You took a Msäai man as lover!'

9.2.2.3 Third person subject agreement

In transitive clauses with third person subjects the verb complex may again have two different structures that depend on focus and discourse pragmatics. The default pattern is shown in the examples below. Subject agreement is followed by the stem A form of the verb and the non-future marker =*kti* is omitted. The examples below show the default pattern.

- (15) *Ling=noh thi:ng-thu: sun ah kkoh lo.*
 Ling=ERG field DEM S.AGR:3S carry.A DIR:come
 'Ling carried the tree branch [home].
- (16) *Thang Mnaai sun ah-nih mdon mjoh.*
 Ngthang Mnaai DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL cause.to.run.away.A EVID
 'They caused Thang Mnaai to run away, it is told.'

However, if the agent is in focus, the stem B form of the verbs is used, the clause is marked by the tense marker =*kti* and third person subject agreement is not permitted. This is illustrated in the following example.

- (17) *Ling=noh thi:ng-thu: sun (*ah) kkot lo=kti.*
 Ling=ERG field DEM S.AGR:3S carry.B DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'Ling carried the tree branch [home].

9.2.3 Subject agreement in complex clauses

In complex clauses the rules for subject agreement are different from the rules for simple clauses.

9.2.3.1 *Clause chains*

In **clause chains** subject agreement must be omitted in initial and medial clauses and is obligatory in transitive chain-final clauses. For intransitive chain-final clauses subject agreement is optional.

- (18) *Na:ng-nih ngbe-ngna sun anghläi=a (*nah-nih)*
 2DU pair.of.brothers DEM always-LOC S.AGR:2DU/PL
ngtuun-ngvo-in lü nah-nih ve=kti ni.
 quarrel-fight-MIR NF S.AGR:2DU/PL live=NON.FUT EMPH
 'You two brothers, you are always fighting with each other.'

9.2.3.2 *Subordinated adverbial clauses*

In **subordinated adverbial clauses** we occasionally find subject agreement for third person subjects with intransitive verbs. The following example shows a subordinated purpose clause with the intransitive verb *mya* 'be well' marked for third person subject agreement.

- (19) *Kkhom=noh ta {ahunata ah mya be vai=a}*
 bear=ERG FOC immediately S.AGR:3S be.well again SUBJ=CF
lut-phum-in=kti.
 enter-jump-MIR=NON.FUT
 'The bear jumped in, so that he would be immediately well again.'

The example below illustrates third person subject agreement in an intransitive subordinated temporal clause.

- (20) *Mü=a ah-nih pha lo be=üing ...*
 evening=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive DIR back=SUBO:when
 'When they arrived back [home] in the evening ...'

9.2.4 Object agreement

The Table below shows again the object agreement paradigm.

Table 9.3: Object Agreement Paradigm

	1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Singular	<i>nah</i>	<i>ni:ng</i>	
Dual/Plural	<i>jah</i>	<i>ni:ng-jah</i>	<i>jah</i>

9.2.4.1 First person singular object agreement

The agreement form for first person singular object is identical with the subject agreement for second person singular. However, the forms are distinguishable because subject agreement always precedes object agreement. In simple indicative clauses both, subject and object agreement forms are obligatory for animate entities.

- (21) *Na:ng je=noh va mei:=üng*
 2S hare=ERG EMPH fire=INSTR

nah nah shi=kti.
 S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1S burn=NON.FUT
 'You, the hare, you burned me with fire.'

- (22) *Tui:-la:m=a nah nah kshuk-kkhyak=kkhai.*
 road=LOC S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1S stumble-drop=FUT
 'You will stumble and drop me unto the road!'

The object agreement forms for first and third person dual/plural are identical.

In example (23) *jah* functions as first person plural subject agreement.

- (23) *Nih nu:kshui sun=noh ah jah hmuh lo*
 POSS:1PL/INCL stepmother DEM=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:3DU/PL see DIR:come
 'Our stepmother came to see us.'

9.2.4.2 Second person object agreement

There are two different forms for second person singular and second person plural object agreement: *ni:ng* and *ni:ng-jah*. But sometimes the singular form is also used to mark plural object agreement. In (24) *ni:ng* functions as second person singular object agreement.

- (24) *Na:ng sha-ui: mshe, kah ni:ng poh=kkhai ni.*
 2S fox accursed S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S do=FUT EMPH.
 'You accursed fox, I will destroy you.'

In the following example the second person object agreement *ni:ng* is used to refer to a plural object.

- (25) *Na:ng-nih Kham ngnam=e kah ni:ng up ni.*
 2DU/PL Kham village=PL S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S/PL rule EMPH
 'You people from the Kham village, I rule over you.'

The next example shows *ni:ng-jah* as second person dual object agreement.

- (26) *Ngma=xooi=o, kah ni:ng-jah pye:n=kkhai.*
 younger.brother.in.law=DU=VOC S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2DU tell=FUT
 'Brothers-in-law, I will tell you (something).'

9.2.4.3 Third person object agreement

Third person singular objects are not marked by agreement.

- (27) *Mo:=a ah-nih Ø² taa:k mjoh.*
 jungle=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:3S keep.A EVID
 'They kept [him] in the jungle, it is told.'

In example (28) *jah* functions as third person dual object agreement.

- (28) *Ling=noh ah ui: jah ah vok sun*
 Ling=ERG POSS:3S dog CONJ:and POSS:3S pig DEM

akdo=a ah jah mbei.
 well=CF S.AGR:3S O.AGR:3DU feed.
 'Ling fed his dog and his pig well.'

In (29) *jah* functions as third person plural object agreement.

- (29) *Ah-nih pa: sun=noh ah sa:=e sun*
 POSS:3PL father DEM=ERG POSS:3S child=PL DEM

mo: nu:=a ah jah seh püi.
 jungle deep=LOC S.AGR:3S O.AGR:3PL go APPL:COM
 'The father took his children deep into the jungle.'

² Ø only indicates where a form might be and not that zero-morpheme exists.

9.2.5 Agreement for indirect objects

As has already been mentioned, the object agreement paradigm is the same for direct and indirect objects.

The Daai object agreement system mostly refers to one object only. Although this is not an absolute rule and we find examples with agreement for direct and for indirect objects in the same clause. Indirect objects are mainly recipient of an inanimate object or beneficiaries for whom an action has been done. Van Driem has made the same observation in relation to the Tangut verbal agreement system and points out that it is a general tendency in Tibeto-Burman to show “preferential patient agreement with the benefacted or malefacted actant” (Van Driem 1991).

We find agreement for indirect objects with ditransitive verbs or with transitive verbs that occur with causatives and benefactive applicatives. Examples (30) shows the second person singular object agreement form functioning as reference to an indirect object.

- (30) *Na:ng Mnaka=o, nah lu kah ni:ng mhlät ni.*
 2s dragon=voc POSS:2S head S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S release EMPH
 ‘You dragon, I released your head for you.’

In example (31) we see the third person plural object agreements referring to indirect objects.

- (31) *Asang=e=noh [vah vo=kti=e sun]_{REL-CL=üng}*
 elder=PL=ERG new.field clear=NON.FUT=PL DEM=DAT

ju bäng mat-siim ah-nih jah tu=u.
 rice.wine measure one-each S.AGR:3PL O.AGR:3PL give.to.drink=PL
 ‘The elders give each of the ones who clear the new field a measure of rice wine to drink.’

In (32) *jah* refers to third person plural objects that are malefacted participants.

- (32) *Mlung=noh ngbe-ngna=üng ah-nih meh kkeih sun*
 Mlung=ERG pair.of.brothers=DAT POSS:3DU/PL meat dried DEM

ah jah mpyuu:k pee:t.
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL steal.A APPL:MAL
 ‘Mlung stole their dried meat from the brothers.’

In (33) object agreement refers to causees.

- (33) *Ah* *na* *xooi=üing* *she*
 POSS:3S younger.brother DU=DAT cow
- ah* *jah* *shääm* *shak.*
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL care.for CAUS
 'He made his two younger brothers look after the cows.'

In (34) we see object agreement referring to comitatives.

- (34) *Mah-poo:k=noh* *Xung= üng* *ah* *na=e*
 grandfather=ERG Xung=DAT POSS:3S younger.brother=PL
- ngvaai ah* *jah* *voiñ* *vaai* *püi* *shak*
 net S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3D/PL throw.out DIR:go APPL:COM CAUS
 'Grandfather made Xung to throw out the net together with his younger brothers.'

In the examples above the direct objects have either been inanimate or non-human. The following two sentences show examples where both, direct object and indirect objects are human and also not third person singular (which would exclude object agreement. In example (35) the agreement for the direct object (the patient) is optional. In example (36) however, subject agreement and agreement for both objects are obligatory (see 10.1.3 about agent focus in the transitive clause).

- (35) *Bebe=noh* *kah* *sa:=e* *nah*
 older.brother=ERG POSS:1S child=PL O.AGR:1S
- (jah)* *msäi* *pee:t=kti*
 O.AGR₂:1/3DU/PL admonish APPL:BEN=NON.FUT
 'My older brother admonishes my children for me (i.e on my behalf)'
- (36) *Bebe=noh* *kah* *sa:=e* *ah*
 older.brother=ERG POSS:1S child=PL S.AGR:3S
- nah* *jah* *msäi* *pee:t.*
 O.AGR₁:1S O.AGR₂:1/3DU/PL admonish APPL:BEN
 'My older brother admonishes my children for me (i.e on my behalf)'

9.2.6 Hierarchy of Agreement

It is thus possible to establish a hierarchy of agreement. Beneficiaries are higher ranking than patients and subjects are on the lowest level of the agreement hierarchy. This means that if there are two objects (direct or indirect) that the first to be agreed with is the indirect beneficiary. The next most likely argument to be agreed with is the patient, usually a direct object. Finally the least most likely argument to be agreed with is the subject. However the lower ranking of the subject is often not apparent because other aspects of the grammar (e.g. verb stem selection or the absence of tense marking) will often force subject agreement to appear. More work on the interaction between agreement ranking and verb stem alternation is needed.

9.2.7 Evidence of preferential object/patient agreement marking

In the Daai verbal agreement system preference is given to object/patient agreement. For example in some grammatical constructions, like negatives and imperatives, which cannot be marked for subject agreement, object or indirect object agreement is obligatory.

9.2.7.1 The negative clause

Examples (37) and (38) show direct object agreement for a first person singular object and indirect object agreement for a second person singular object.

- (37) *Am nah man lo=kkhai.*
 NEG O.AGR:1S catch DIR:come-FUT
 '[He] will not catch me.'

In the example below we see object agreement for a second person singular indirect object.

- (38) *Kshoh am ni:ng nghmon=ngü.*
 door NEG O.AGR:2S open=1P.M
 'I am not opening the door for you.'

9.2.7.2 The negative imperative clause

The example below shows first person singular object agreement. Agreement with second person objects and third person plural objects is also possible.

- (39) *Kah püi=o käh nah te=a.*
 POSS:1S friend-VOC NEG **O.AGR:1S** beat=IMP
 'My friend, do not beat me!'

9.2.7.3 The imperative clause

The example below shows third person plural object agreement. Agreement for first and second person objects are also possible.

- (40) *Nah sa:=e hin jah tha hü=a*
 POSS:2S child-PL DEM **O.AGR:3DU/PL** send DIR:around-IMP
 'Send your sons away!'

9.2.7.4 Clause-chaining

While subject agreement does not occur in medial clauses of clause chains, object agreement is obligatory. In the example below we see in the clause medial chains object agreement for the direct object and for the indirect object but subject agreement is forbidden.

- (41) *I:m hlong=a ui:=noh (*ah) nah suui lü (*ah)*
 house near=LOC dog=ERG **O.AGR:1S** bite NF

nah hut lü ah-nih=noh ah kkoh lo ni.
IO.AGR:1S snatch NF 3S=ERG S.AGR:3S carry DIR:come EMPH
 'Near the house the dog bit me and snatched [it] from me and he carried [it] home.'

9.2.8 The first person marker =ngü

The Daai first person marker =**ngü** is a post-nuclear element. As already stated in the introduction to this section, this first person marker =**ngü** is a remnant of the older Tibeto-Burman “suffix paradigm”. Although in folktales we find =**ngü** also in indicative clauses, this usage is archaic and does not occur any longer in today’s speech.

However, in the negative clause the usage of the clitic =**ngü** as a first person agreement marker is obligatory for transitive as well as for intransitive verbs. The following examples show =**ngü** in the indicative clause. Note that in Daai =**ngü** is not a suffix any longer and does not always immediately follow the verb. The Daai version of the PTB suffix =**ngü** has become separated from the main verb by aspects, modals, directionals and sometimes even by adverbs.

In the following examples the first person marker is obligatory. It is preceded by number marking. Singularity (42) is unmarked, duality (43) and plurality (44) are marked by *=ni* and *=u*

(42) *Am pye:n vaai xa =ngü*
 NEG speak DIR:go MOD:definitely=1P.M
 'I definitely will not go and speak.'

(43) *Am hmuh=ni=ngü*
 NEG see=DU=1P.M
 'We [two] did not see [him].'

(44) *Am ni:ng-jah ngja=u=ngü*
 NEG O.AGR:2DU/PL hear=PL=1P.M
 'We did not hear about you.'

In (45) and (46) the usage of *=ngü* is not obligatory. These examples are taken from old oral traditions. In today's speech *=ngü* would not be used in these clauses.

(45) *Kei: Yok Ui Yok lo veeng(=ngü)*
 1S Yok Ui Yok come MOD:certainly=1P.M
 'I Yok Ui Yok, I am certainly coming.'

(46) *Tuh-ngooi: ta ni:ng hmu lo veeng(=ngü)*
 today FOC O.AGR:2S see ASP MOD:certainly=1P.M
 'Today I will certainly see you.'

Summary

The following Table 9.4 shows the paradigm of free pronouns. Table 9.5 shows again the subject agreement paradigm. Despite the similarities in the two paradigms no actual derivational process is proposed here.

Table 9.4: Free Pronoun Paradigm

		1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Singular		<i>kei:</i>	<i>na:ng</i>	<i>ah-nih</i>
Dual	exclusive	<i>kei:-nih</i>	<i>na:ng-nih</i>	<i>ah-nih-nih</i>
	inclusive	<i>nih-nih</i>		
Plural	exclusive	<i>kei:-nih-e</i>	<i>na:ng-nih-e</i>	<i>ah-nih-nih-e</i>
	inclusive	<i>nih-nih-e</i>		

Table 9.5: Subject Agreement Paradigm

		1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Singular		<i>kah</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>ah</i>
Dual/Plural	exclusive	<i>kah-nih</i>	<i>nah-nih</i>	<i>ah-nih</i>
	inclusive	<i>nih</i>		

Note that the dual/plural distinction has become neutralized but the exclusive/inclusive distinction for first person is preserved. Most of the agreement forms are phonologically reduced but that does not mean that this has become a clitic paradigm. It is interesting to note that Jordan (1969) calls the free pronouns in Cho ‘expanded forms’ and the agreement paradigm ‘contracted forms’.

10 Tense, aspect, modality and number

10.1 Tense

The term ‘tense’ is generally only used for time reference marked by grammatical elements like particles, affixes and auxiliaries. Tense specifies the **location** of an event in time. Comrie (1985) defines tense as ‘grammaticalized expression of location in time’. The term **absolute tense** is normally used to relate all events in a clause to the time of speaking. The expressions **relative tense** refers to tense systems which have some other event as reference point (see Bhat 1999). Traditionally one may distinguish three major tense divisions:

- Past: Tense referring to an event which precedes the reference time
- Future: Tense referring to an event which follows the reference time
- Present: Tense referring to an event which coincides with the time of speaking

Daai Chin seems to have an absolute tense system, but because tense is not exhaustively marked, this cannot be completely verified. The Daai tense system is a so-called binary tense system that has a basic two-way split, with an opposition between future and non-future. Comrie (1985: 49-51) points out the importance of distinguishing a tense split and a split that is caused by mood. He gives examples of languages where what seems to be a split between future and non-future can be rather interpreted as a distinction between realis and irrealis. Burmese, a language related to Daai and known by the author, is categorized as such a language and classified by Comrie as ‘tense-less’ language. However, Daai is perceived by native speakers as a language with a basic tense opposition between future and non-future. I have glossed the tense markers in Daai Chin accordingly.

10.1.1 The tense markers

Daai has two tense markers, =*kti* ‘non-future’ and =*kkhai* ‘future’, that are verb phrase clitics. Table 10.1 summarizes how tense is marked in indicative clauses.

Table 10.1: Tense Marking in the Indicative Clause

Mood	Transitivity	Negation	Person	Subject Focus	Stem	Tense-Marking	Example
Indicative	Intransitive	∅	all	no	B	Yes	(3)
Indicative	Transitive	∅	all	no	A	No	(15)
Indicative	Transitive	∅	all	yes	B	Yes	(19)
Indicative	Intransitive	NEG	1,3	no	B	No	(21), (25)
Indicative	Intransitive	NEG	2	no	B	Yes	(23)
Indicative	Transitive	NEG	1,3	no	B	No	(29), (31)
Indicative	Transitive	NEG	2	no	B	Yes	(30)

In the next section I provide the evidence for this chart.

10.1.1.1 The non-future marker =*kti*

The interpretation of =*kti* as non-future

When an accomplishment verb is marked by =*kti* there is no indication of whether the event described by the clause is taking place at the time of speaking or has already taken place at some prior time, as in the following examples.

- (1) *Thang sun thi:ng-pa:m=a kaai=kti.*
 Thang DEM tree-top=LOC climb=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang climbs/climbed to the top of the tree.’

For a clear specification of tense either a temporal adverb or an aspect marker is required. The following example shows the use of a temporal adverb to specify past tense.

- (2) *Tuh-mthan=a Thang sun thi:ng-pa:m=a kaai=kti.*
last-night=LOC Thang DEM tree-top=LOC climb=NON.FUT
 ‘Last night Thang climbed to the top of the Pyat tree.’

The interpretation of =*kti* as past tense marker

When an achievement verb is marked by =*kti* the event described in the clause has already taken place at the time of speech. The events in the following examples may have happened

just seconds prior to the time of speaking or could have happened a long time before. There is no means of expressing temporal remoteness in the Daai tense system.

- (3) *Pilim sun i:m-ksi-kpäk=üing kya-in=kti.*
 flute DEM house-floor-hole=LOC fall.B-MIR=NON.FUT
 'The flute fell through a hole in the floor.'
- (4) *Yo-kban ngbou=kti.*
 bamboo-post split=NON.FUT
 'The bamboo post split.'

The interpretation of =*kti* as marker of present tense

In Daai, if not indicated otherwise through a temporal adverb or an aspect marker, it is assumed by the hearer that the event or state expressed by clauses comprising **state verbs** and **activity verbs** and marked by =*kti* is taking place at the time of speech. The following are examples of clauses with state and activity verbs. However, it is possible to use (5) to (7) in a past sense.

- (5) *Ah sa: ngla-mi ngtou=kti ni.*
 POSS:3S child GEND pretty=NON.FUT EMPH
 'His daughter is pretty.'
- (6) *Kkhyang=e, ee:k thu=kti ni.*
 people=PL excrement stink.B=NON.FUT EMPH
 'People, it smells of shit!'
- (7) *Ayüm=a do:ng=kti=xooi.*
 together=CF run.B=NON.FUT=DU
 'The two are running together'

10.1.1.2 The future marker =*kkhai*

The future marker =*kkhai* typically marks events that will take place subsequent to the time of speaking. At the same time =*kkhai* also indicates an affirmation of the speaker that a certain event is already decided on and will be carried out (as far as it is humanly possible, of course). The following two examples show intransitive clauses with activity verbs marked for future tense. All event types occur with the same future sense when =*kkhai* is used.

- (8) *Mlih=a kah sit=kkhai.*
 town=LOC S.AGR:1S go.B=FUT
 'I will go to town.'

- (9) *Kah-nih ngkon lo=kkhai=e.*
 S.AGR:1DU/PL.EXCL move DIR:come=FUT=PL
 'We will move [to your place].'

The following is an example of a transitive clause marked by =*kkhai*.

- (10) *Thang=noh nghngaai thi:ng sap=kkhai.*
 Thang=ERG mango tree cut.one.stroke=FUT
 'Thang will cut down the mango tree.'

10.1.2 Tense and the intransitive clause

Intransitive clauses typically occur with the tense marker =*kti* unless explicitly marked for future by =*kkhai*. The examples (1) – (7) above show intransitive clauses with the tense marker =*kti*. If the verbs occur with alternating verb stems, the stem B form is required with the tense marker =*kti*. This can be seen in the examples (3) and (6) to (8). Also the future marker =*kkhai* requires stem B as shown in example (11).

- (11) *Nah be hmaai-she=kkhai ni.*
 POSS:2S older.brother face-bad.B=FUT EMPH
 'Your older brother will be ashamed.'

Only in negative intransitive clauses =*kti* does not occur with first and second person subject arguments. This will be discussed in 10.1.4.

10.1.3 Tense-marking in the transitive clause

Transitive clauses typically do not occur with the tense marker =*kti* and they require the stem A form of verbs with stem alternation. The events in the examples (12) and (13) may have happened prior to or simultaneous with the time of speaking. This shows that unmarked information is not always predictable as with =*kti*.

- (12) *Ling=noh ah kkhyu: sun*
 Ling=ERG POSS:3S wife DEM

ah kpaai=ei xong-xong.
 S.AGR:3S beats/beat=AO without.stopping
 'Ling beats/beat his wife without stopping.'

- (13) *Ui:=noh thi:ng-thu: ah kkoh lo.*
 Thang=ERG tree- branch S.AGR:3S carry/carried.A DIR:come
 'The dog carries/carried the tree branch home.'

The following two examples show transitive clauses with achievement verbs. In both clauses the events have necessarily happened prior to the time of speech.

- (14) *Mnaai Xung=noh kah she-yüi: ah kbät-in.*
 Mnaai Xung=ERG POSS:1S cow-rope S.AGR:3S break-MIR
 'Mnaai Xung broke my cow-rope.'

- (15) *Ling jah Thang=noh sha:-kki ah-nih kaah.*
 Ling and Thang ERG deer S.AGR:3DU/PL shoot.A
 'Ling and Thang shot a deer.'

The examples above are clauses with unmarked focus. However, if the agent is in focus as in answering a question like in (16), the transitive clause is marked by =*kti*. and the stem B form is required. My Daai research assistant first made me aware by personal communication of this feature of transitive clauses. Later I found support for this hypothesis through the study of various Daai texts.

- (16) *U=noh ja: sha:-kki hin ah kaah.*
 who=ERG QP deer DEM S.AGR:3S shoot.A
 'Who shot this deer?'
- (17) *Ling jah Thang=noh sha:-kki hin kaa:p=kti=xooi.*
 Ling and Thang=ERG deer DEM shoot.B=NON.FUT=DU
 'Ling and Thang shot this deer.'

In example (18) the focus marker *ta* shows that the agent is in focus.

- (18) *Bü Lün=noh ta thi:ng-thu: kkot lo=kti.*
 Bü Lün=ERG FOC tree-branch carry.B DIR:come=NON.FUT
 'As for Bü Lün, he carried the tree branch [home].'

10.2 Tense-marking and negativity

The tense markers =*kti* and =*kkhai* do not generally occur in negative clauses. However, there are some exceptions. We will first look at the intransitive negative clause.

10.2.1 The intransitive negative clause

Negative clauses (intransitive and transitive) with first person subjects are obligatorily marked with the first person marker =*ngü* (see 8.2.6). Looking at the following examples we do not find any formal indication that clarifies whether or not the events have taken place prior to the time of speaking.

- (19) *Am sit be khoh=ngü.*
 NEG go/went back MOD:able=1P.M
 'I am/was not able to go back.'

- (20) *Am lo khang=ngü.*
 NEG come have.time=1P.M
 'I have/had no time to come.'

The following examples show negative clauses with covert second person subjects and verbs marked by =*kti*.

- (21) *Am lo thei *(=kti)*
 NEG come MOD:able=NON.FUT
 '[You] are not able to come along.'

The next example is a multiple expression of negation that results in a semantically affirmative clause. Again the clause has a covert second person subject and the verb is marked with =*kti*, the event of coming has taken place before the time of speaking.

- (22) *Amdang=a ta am lo=kti.*
 purposeless=CF FOC NEG come=NON.FUT
 'You did not come for no reason.' (i.e. you came with a purpose)

Negative clauses with third person subjects are not marked with =*kti* as shown in the example (23) and (24).

- (23) *Thi=kti=e sun mopi-kho=a am sit ha:m=u.*
 dead=NON.FUT=PL DEM mopi-realm=LOC NEG go.B ASP:yet=PL
 'The dead do not yet go to Mopi [land of the dead].'

- (24) *Kkhi:n am lo yah ti:.*
 guest NEG come MOD:can ASP:still
 'Guests must not come anylonger.'

However, negative clauses with third person subjects may – very rarely – occur with the future marker =*kkhai*. In the following example =*kkhai* encodes a situation subsequent to the time of speaking.

- (25) *I am do lo=kkhai ni.*
 what NEG good AUX:become=FUT EMPH
 'This situation will turn out bad.' (lit. [this] will not be good at all)

The third person subject of the next example is already a slave at the time of speech. However, the speaker is determined that he will not remain in this state.

- (26) *Kah sa: am mpya=kkhai shü.*
 POSS:1S child NEG be.a.slave=FUT EMPH
 'My son shall not be a slave!'

10.2.2 The transitive negative clause

Clauses with first person subjects are marked with the first person marker =*ngü* like in the intransitive negative clause. In the examples below there is again no grammatically marked indication about the location of the event in time. Only through knowledge of the discourse context is it possible to show in the free translation that non-happenings are located subsequent to the time of speaking; they are potential future events. The tense markers =*kti* and =*kkhai* cannot occur in a negative clause with a first person subject as shown in examples (27)b and (27)c

- (27) a *Am ni:ng nghmon=ngü.*
 NEG O.AGR:2S open=1P.M
 'I am not opening [the door] for you.'
- b *Am ni:ng nghmon=(*kti)=ngü.*
 NEG O.AGR:2S open=NON.FUT=1P.M
- a *Am ni:ng nghmon=(*kkhai)=ngü.*
 NEG O.AGR:2S open=FUT=1P.M

Transitive negative clauses with second person subjects are also marked with *=kti*.

- (28) *Na:ng Song Solih am nah pye:n thei=kti ni.*
 2S song solih bird NEG S.AGR:2S speak.B MOD:able EMPH
 'You song solih (name) bird, you are not able to speak.'

As can be expected, clauses with third person subjects also do not occur with tense marking.

- (29) *Ah kkhyu:=noh ta am dang-yah(*=kti) mjoh.*
 POSS:3S wife=ERG FOC NEG suspect=NON.FUT EVID
 'His wife did not suspect [anything], it is told.'
- (30) *Saang ta am sho ha:m(*=kti)=u.*
 paddy FOC NEG plant ASP:yet=NON.FUT=PL
 'They do not yet plant paddy.'

10.2.3 The negative interrogative clause

Daai has several different polar interrogatives (see 13.4.2). All of them can occur as negative interrogatives with a second person addressee who is questioned about his/her action. In most types of these negative interrogative clauses *=kti* precedes the question particle. This shows that there is apparently an association between second person subjects and the marker *=kti*.

Unbiased polar interrogatives

- (31) *Hnashen=xooi am nah jah mkyüh=kti mä*
 child=DU NEG S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL threaten=NON.FUT QP
 'Did you not threaten the children?'

Positive polarity

- (32) *Mnaka kah ktäm lo. Am hmu=kti bä.*
 dragon S.AGR:1S follow DIR:come. NEG see.B=NON.FUT QP
 'I am following the dragon. You did not see [him], did you?'

Negative polarity

- (33) *Am nah-nih ngke-ei=kti-o*
 NEG S.AGR:2DU/PL be.ashamed=NON.FUT-QP
 'Are you not ashamed?' (i.e you should be ashamed)

10.2.4 Default pattern of tense-marking

The investigation in the sections above has shown that tense-marking is typical for the **indicative intransitive** clause. It is not typical for the indicative transitive clause, but is permitted in certain discourse pragmatic circumstances. Tense-marking is not permitted in the negative clause. However, it occurs in association with second person subjects. Tense-marking occurs also in negative clauses that are polar interrogatives. The Table 10.2 below summarizes the findings of this section.

Table 10.2: Default Tense-marking Paradigm

Mood	Transitivity	Negation	Person	Subject Focus	Stem	Tense-Marking	Example
Indicative	Intransitive	∅	all	no	B	Yes	(2)
Indicative	Transitive	∅	all	no	A	No	(15)
Indicative	Transitive	∅	all	yes	B	Yes	(19)
Indicative	Intransitive	NEG	1,3	no	B	No	(21), (25)
Indicative	Intransitive	NEG	2	no	B	Yes	(23)
Indicative	Transitive	NEG	1,3	no	B	No	(29), (31)
Indicative	Transitive	NEG	2	no	B	Yes	(30)

10.3 Aspect

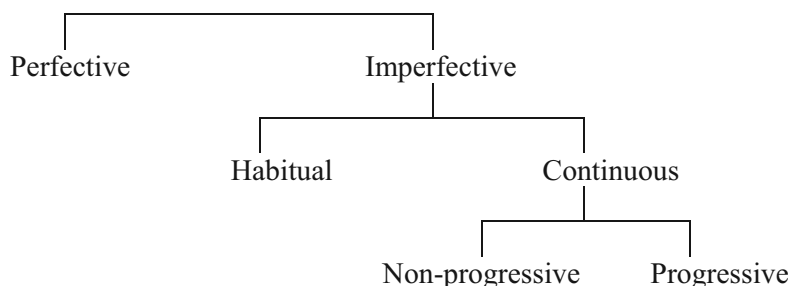
Tense, aspect and modality are semantic operations on the information provided by the verb. They alter that information by specifying sequential, temporal and epistemic orientations. Since in many languages there is considerable overlap and interrelatedness between these categories, they are often grouped together and called TAM for short.

In Daai, as in most of the world's languages, aspect occurs with greater frequency than tense-marking and mood (Bybee 1985). Aspect is not marked by bound morphemes, but rather with adverb-like free morphemes. With many aspect markers the verbal source is still recognizable. Some still even function as main verbs. Although aspect markers are not phonologically linked to the verb stem, they occur very close to the verb stem.

Aspect is concerned with the internal temporal organization of an event and with its duration and repetitiveness.

The Figure below shows Comrie's classification (1976: 25) of aspectual oppositions.

Figure 10.1: Aspectual Oppositions (Comrie 1976)



Givón (2001 vol II: 330) remarks that in most systems of markers of which some may mark binary contrasts like the tense–aspect–modality system, one member of the pair usually acts as the unmarked case, which may well be the general norm. The other member acts as the marked case, the counter-norm. In Daai there is neither one single category to express perfectivity nor one for expressing imperfective aspect. As will be shown below in Daai perfectivity is the unmarked category.

10.3.1 Perfectivity

Perfectivity views a situation or an event as a ‘single whole’, without distinguishing separate phases that make up that event (Comrie: 1976). The internal structure is not referred to. In Daai, perfectivity is not marked, a fact that I originally found rather puzzling, since in many Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Kham, the marker for non-future tense acts also as marker for perfectivity. But in Daai the tense marker =*kti* ‘non-future’ can combine with various verb-phrase particles that distinctly mark imperfectivity.

10.3.1.1 Inherent perfectivity of verbs

Perfectivity can be seen as an inherent gradient property of all lexical verbs (Givón 2001 vol I: 287). Like VanValin (1997), Givón groups verbs into four major verb types according to *aktionsart* for establishing a perfectivity scale.¹ The two features that serve to locate a verb on the perfectivity scale are temporal boundaries (sharp vs. diffuse) and duration (short vs. long). Verbs that exhibit sharp temporal boundaries and extremely short duration are located at one

¹ Givón's grouping does not completely overlap with VanValin & LaPolla's categorizations that I have chosen to adopt (see 4.2.1). But this difference does not affect the order of verb types on the perfectivity scale.

extreme of the perfectivity scale. Achievement verbs fulfil these conditions, as do certain activity verbs like ‘kick’ or ‘jump’. Givón groups them together as ‘compact short-duration verbs’. Accomplishment verbs rank second on the perfectivity scale; most activity verbs, which Givón calls ‘activity-process verbs’, and state verbs are found at the other end of the perfectivity scale.

The following two examples illustrate the two extreme locations on the perfectivity scale. The achievement verb *ak* ‘break’ in (34) is inherently perfective. The event happened instantaneously and has an inherent terminal point. The activity verb *joong* ‘fly’ has no temporal boundary, the event may go on over an uncertain period of time and has no terminal point.

- (34) *Kah k'a:m ak-in=kti.*
 POSS:1S cooking.pot break-MIR=NON.FUT
 ‘My [earthen] pot broke!’

- (35) *Angshe:ng=a kah ni:ng joong püi=kkhai ni.*
 quickly=CF S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S fly APPL:com=FUT EMPH
 ‘I will quickly fly with you.’

10.3.2 Imperfectivity

Imperfectivity is defined as the “internal structure” of an ongoing event. Imperfectivity usually appears in indicative finite clauses. Daai marks imperfectivity by adverb-like verbphrase particles. Table 10.3 below gives an overview of the different markers of imperfect aspect.

Table 10.3: Markers of Imperfect Aspect

HABITUAL	Habitual Past	<i>khoi</i>	‘v before and not again’
	Habitual	<i>lä</i>	‘v always’
	Iterative	<i>betü</i>	‘v again’
	Fortuitous Iterative	<i>bebe</i>	‘v again and again’
CONTINUOUS	Inceptive Progressive	<i>lo</i>	‘began v-ing’
	Progressive	<i>k'um</i>	‘in the midst of v-ing’
	Final Progressive	<i>ha:m</i>	‘still v-ing’
	Continuous(non-progr)	<i>ti:</i>	‘still v-ing’
	Durative (non-progr)	<i>ve</i>	‘ongoing v-ing’

10.3.2.1 Habitual aspects

The feature common to all habituals is that a certain event or situation occurs repeatedly over a prolonged period of time. Since almost any situation can be sufficiently protracted or can be iterated a sufficient number of times over a long period, it means that almost any event can be expressed as habitual. Therefore habitual aspectuals combine with various other aspectuals. Habitual aspect does not usually occur with unchangeable states.

Habitual

The regular and predictable repetition of an event is expressed by the particle *lä* ‘always’. The examples below show that the habitual *lä* can occur with all verb types. However, its occurrence with state verbs is restricted. It occurs only with changeable state verbs.

State - changeable

- (36) *Na-na sun=noh Paai=a ng'ai nngaaai lä=kti.*
 younger.brother DEM=ERG father=GEN singing listen ASP:hab=NON.FUT
 ‘My younger brother always listens to father’s singing.’

State - unchangeable

- (37) *Kah i:m hin pyak (*lä)=kti.*
 POSS:1S house DEM is.destroyed ASP:hab=NON.FUT
 ‘My house is (always) destroyed.’

Activity

- (38) *Ah pu=a i:m su do:ng lä=kti.*
 POSS:3S father.in.law=GEN house DEM run ASP:hab=NON.FUT
 ‘He always runs to the house of this father-in-law.’

Accomplishment

- (39) *Amü-mü kkhuui pye:n lä=kti.*
 every.evening story tell ASP:hab=NON.FUT
 ‘He always tells stories in the evening.’

Achievement

- (40) *Kho-kshik=a ta yo-kban ngbou lä=kti.*
 nature-winter=LOC FOC bamboo-post split ASP:hab=NON.FUT
 ‘In the winter season the bamboo posts always split.’

Habitual past

Khoi ‘do before’ is mainly used for habitual past and indicates that an event used to occur habitually in the past but does not take place any longer in the present. The celebration of the Sho feast (41) is an event that belongs to the past. Since the Daai people became Christian

they no longer celebrate this specific feast. However, as we see in (42), *khoi* is also used occasionally to mark an event as regular habitual or with the meaning ‘do before (until this point in time)’.

- (41) *Asukba pu-pa=e=noh sho*
Like.this ancestor=PL=ERG sho.feast

ana-jeih-ei khoi=kti=e.
DIR:in.advance-keep-AO ASP:hab.past=NON.FUT=PL
‘Previously our ancestors used to celebrate [keep] the Sho feast like this.’

- (42) *Uum kooi kee:k=üing ni tui: kah oo:k khoi.*
gourd-vessel bent part=INSTR EMPH water S.AGR:1S drink ASP:hab
‘I am accustomed to drinking water just from a broken part of a dried gourd.’

Iterativity

In Daai iterativity is non-systematic repetition. Repeated events are marked by *betü* ‘again’. But the occurrence of *betü* alone does not indicate if an event is repeated once, a few times, frequently or regularly. Discourse context usually indicates the frequency of repetitions. Iterativity does not occur with state verbs. Only after state verbs have become accomplishments through combination with the auxiliary *lo* ‘become’ (see section 4.2) can they combine with *betü*.

Activity

- (43) *Ah do:ng betü=kti.*
S.AGR:3S run ASP:iter=NON.FUT
‘He runs/ran again.’

Accomplishment

- (44) *Phung long tui: däm lo betü=kti.*
Phung stream water big AUX:become ASP:iter=NON.FUT
‘The water of the Phung stream has become big again.’
(i.e. The water level has risen.)

Achievement

- (45) *Kah tui:-oo:k ak betü=kti.*
POSS:1S water-container break ASP:iter=NON.FUT
‘My water container broke again.’

Inherent recurrence

Daai has a kind of iterativity where events that normally don't have agents are able to recur on their own. This aspect occurs mainly with **activities** and sometimes with **accomplishments** which are caused by a force beyond human control. It is expressed by *bebe* 'again and again'.

(105) *Kah veei:=a kkha: joong lo bebe=kti.*
 POSS:1S place=LOC bird fly DIR:come ASP:recur=NON.FUT
 'The birds keep flying to me again and again.'

(46) *Kho-khi lo bebe=kti.*
 wind.blow ASP:inc ASP:recur=NON.FUT
 'The storm keeps blowing again and again.'

(47) *Mei: däai lo bebe=kti.*
 fire flare.up ASP:inc ASP:recur=NON.FUT
 'The fire keeps flaring up again and again.'

10.3.2.2 *Continuous aspect*

Continuous aspect can be progressive or non-progressive and refers to the "middle" of an event. Daai has several verb-phrase particles that mark continuous aspect and express distinct shades of meaning.

The inceptive *lo*

The auxiliary *lo* is derived from the main verb *lo* 'come'. As auxiliary *lo* has various functions. Mainly it acts either as a directional or as an indicator of change of state. In 4.2.1 we have seen that state verbs can become accomplishments through combination with *lo*. With **activity** verbs and **accomplishment** verbs the auxiliary *lo* has developed inceptive progressive function. In example (48) *lo* occurs with an activity and indicates that an event has started and is now in progress.

(48) *Sheen=noh buh khüü:n lo hnüh=kti.*
 Sheen=ERG rice cook ASP:inc finally=NON.FUT
 'Sheen has finally started to cook rice.'

Example (49) shows *lo* with an accomplishment verb.

- (49) *Tui:-long sun kääi: lo=kti.*
 water.stream DEM dry.up ASP:inc=NON.FUT
 'The stream has started to dry up.'

The auxiliary *lo* helps to differentiate between accomplishment verbs and state verbs as we have already seen in section 4.2. The example below shows the state verb *keih* 'dry' (used with meat, herbs etc.) with *lo*. In this context *lo* does not indicate that a process has started but that it is already finished and that a change of state has taken place.

- (50) *Meh sun keih lo=kti.*
 meat DEM dry AUX:become=NON.FUT
 'The meat has become dry.'

Also with **achievements** *lo* does not encode inceptive/progressive aspect. Since achievements express instantaneous changes, there is not enough time for a progressive interpretation. Although achievements do occur with *lo*, the auxiliary does not indicate a process that has just started, but rather an instantaneous event that has already taken place. With achievements, *lo* marks an event as having taken place in the immediate past, as the following examples show.

- (51) *She-yüi bät-in lo=kti.*
 cow-rope break-MIR AUX:become=NON.FUT
 'The rope for tying the cow broke just now [while in use]'

- (52) *Tui:-oo:k ak lo=kti.*
 water-container split AUX:become=NON.FUT
 'The water container split just now [while in use].'

The progressive *k'um*

We have encountered *k'um* already as a relator postposition with the meaning 'inside'. As progressive aspect marker *k'um* can be translated as 'being in the middle of performing an activity or accomplishment'. *K'um* is derived from the main verb *um* 'be inside' or 'inhabit'. The aspectuals *lo* and *k'um* express the different internal stages or phases of an event. The inceptive progressive *lo* marks an event as having just started, while *k'um* marks it as having progressed to a medium stage.

The progressive aspectual *k'um* occurs with most **activity** and **accomplishment** verbs. It does not occur with **achievement** verbs and its occurrence with **state** verbs is rather restricted to

changeable states. But even some changeable states, like some of the verbs that express internal feelings, cannot combine with *k'um*.

Changeable State

- (53) *Pyang sun=noh ah nghmaa:k=a*
 Pyang DEM=ERG POSS:3S brother.in.law=GEN

ng'ai ngngai k'um=kti.
 singing listen ASP:prog=NON.FUT
 'Pyang listened to his brother-in-law's singing.'

Changeable State

- (54) *Thang Ling sun puk-she (*k'um)=kti.*
 Thang Ling DEM sad =NON.FUT

Activity

- (55) *Je ta do:ng k'um=kti.*
 hare FOC run ASP:prog=NON.FUT
 'As for the hare, he is [in the middle of] running'

Accomplishment

- (56) *Hnampo hmin k'um=kti.*
 banana ripen ASP:prog=NON.FUT
 'The bananas are in the process of ripening'

The progressive *k'um* combines frequently with the iterative *betü* 'again'.

- (57) *Ling=noh buh ei betü k'um=kti.*
 Ling=ERG rice eat ASP:iter ASP:prog=NON.FUT
 'Ling is again [in the middle of] eating rice'

The final progressive *ha:m*

The aspectual *ha:m* is in a way a mirror image of the inceptive *lo*. Recall that *lo* construes an event as having reached a point at which it can be said that it has just started to progress. In contrast, the progressive aspectual *ha:m* construes an event as 'still ongoing' with the indication that it will soon be finished. It is a progressive event in its final stage. *Ha:m* has a wide distribution; it collocates with almost any verb and occurs more frequently in everyday speech than any other aspectual. *Ha:m* also occurs with many state verbs.

State

- (58) *Ling ta puk-she ha:m=kti.*
 Ling FOC sad ASP:fin.prog=NON.FUT
 'As for Ling, he is still sad.'

Activity

- (59) *Mdek kah sou ha:m=kti*
 earth S.AGR:1S dig ASP:fin.prog=NON.FUT
 'I am still digging the ground.'

Accomplishment

- (60) *Ling sun thi:ng-pa:m=a kaai ha:m=kti.*
 Shui DEM tree-top=LOC climb ASP:fin.prog=NON.FUT
 'Ling is still climbing to the top of the tree.'

Ha:m in negative constructions

The aspectual *ha:m* occurs frequently in negative constructions, especially with state verbs. It indicates that no change of state has yet taken place or that the undergoer has not yet entered a certain state.

State

- (61) *Kho am mü ha:m.*
 nature NEG evening/dark ASP:fin.prog
 'It is not yet dark.'

In a positive declarative clause *ha:m* does not collocate with *mü*, because *mü* refers to the darkness in the evening and not to the darkness before dawn.

- (62) **Kho mü ha:m=kti.*
 nature evening/dark ASP:fin.prog=NON.FUT
 'It is still evening.'

Negative constructions with *ha:m* occur frequently with **accomplishments** that have formerly been state verbs

Accomplishment

- (63) *Kah sa: ta am däm lo ha:m.*
 POSS:1S son FOC NEG big AUX:become ASP:fin.prog
 'My son has not yet become big.' (i.e. not yet grown up)

With **achievements** *ha:m* can only occur in negative constructions and in combination with *lo* in the function as auxiliary verb that indicates change of state.

- (64) *Tui:-oo:k am ak lo ha:m*
 water container NEG break AUX:become ASP:fin.prog
 'The water container is not yet broken.'

The continuous *ti*:

The aspectual *ti*: occurs mainly with state verbs and indicates continuous aspect without the progressive component.

- (65) *Kkhaai-kpeh ve ti:=kti.*
 rice-cake is ASP:cont=NON.FUT
 'There are still rice-cakes.'

Ti: in negative constructions

In negative clauses the aspectual *ti*: is in contrast to the aspectual *ha:m*. While *ha:m* indicates that no change of state has yet taken place, *ti*: indicates that a certain state is no longer relevant or that an event is not going to take place anymore. The following two examples show the contrast between *ha:m* and *ti*:

- (66) *Am ei hliü ha:m=ngü.*
 NEG eat AUX:want ASP:fin.prog=1P.M
 'I do not want to eat yet.'

- (67) *Am ei hliü ti:-ngü.*
 NEG eat AUX:want ASP:cont=1P.M
 'I no longer want to eat.'

State

- (68) *Hnashen=e sun seh be vai la:m am kshi:ng ti:.*
 child=PL DEM go back SUBJ road NEG know ASP:cont
 'The children no longer knew the way back.'

Accomplishment

- (69) *Käh nah kpha lo ti:=kkhai.*
 NEG O.AGR:1S catch DIR:come ASP:cont=FUT
 'You will not catch me any more.'

The durative aspect *ve*

The existential verb *ve* 'live', 'exist' or 'stay' has also developed continuous and durative meanings. As a durative aspectual *ve* occurs in the same position as the tense markers =*kti* and =*kkhai*. Though the durative *ve*, like the tense markers, requires the use of verb stem B, it occurs with the plural marker =*u*, which usually marks the stem A form of verbs. Furthermore *ve* has an evidential component. It is only used by a speaker who witnesses the event or state

while it is ongoing. The durative aspectual *ve* occurs with activities, states and accomplishments.

Activity

- (70) *Nukpüi sun=noh "Hnashen sun kyap ve" ah ti.*
 old.woman DEM=ERG child DEM cry ASP:dur s.agr:3s say
 'The old woman said "The child is crying."'

State

- (71) *Ahin=a lung=xooi täng ve ni, kah hmuh.*
 DEM.PRO=CF stone=DU same ASP:dur EMPH S.AGR:1S see
 'I see that these two stones are the same.'

Although *ve* does occur with accomplishments, the durative aspectual *ve* construes events as not yet completed: the processes are still ongoing towards an endpoint. In example (72) the son is not yet grown up.

Accomplishment

- (72) *Kah sa: ta däm lo ve.*
 POSS:1S son FOC big AUX:become ASP:dur
 'As for my son, he is getting big.'

The durative *ve* occurs with verbs that in isolation would be achievements. In example (73) and (74) *ve* is giving duration to the achievement verbs *bät* 'break off' and *kya* 'fall' which makes them accomplishments. But through juxtaposition with prospective future *hliü* and durative *ve* these events have not yet reached an endpoint.

Achievement

- (73) *Thi:ng-ngbaan sun bät lo hliü ve.*
 tree-branch DEM break.off ASP:inc PROSP ASP:dur
 'The tree branch is about to start to break off!'

10.3.3 The perfect

Comrie (1981: 52) describes the perfect as indicating the continuing present relevance of a past situation. Givón (2001 vol I: 293) characterizes perfect as involving the following four features: anteriority, perfectivity, counter-sequentiality and lingering relevance. In Daai discourse the overt marking of the perfect is rather rare. My Daai research assistant gave the following clarification: in Daai perfect is marked overtly only:

- To indicate that one event is finished and another event is thereby made possible or has become necessary
- To indicate that an event already finished is unwelcome and not appreciated.

10.3.3.1 The perfect *pääng*

Daai has only one kind of perfect and does not differentiate between present perfect, past perfect and future perfect.

Examples (74) and (75) fulfill the first criterion of the Daai requirements for perfect marking. The sentence in (74) is uttered to somebody who is about to go on a journey. The speaker speaks at the present time (now), the event (the packing of the belongings) has already taken place and is finished and the owner of the belongings can start his trip. This example also shows continuing present relevance of a past event, anteriority and perfectivity. In example (75) one event is finished and a second event has therefore become possible.

(74) *I:m k'um=a nah külak=e ve pääng=kti=e.*
 house inside=LOC POSS:2S possession=PL is PERF=NON.FUT=PL
 'Your belongings are already [packed] in the house.'

(75) *Buh ei pääng lü kkhom=a veei: sit=kti.*
 rice eat PERF NF bear=GEN place go=NON.FUT
 'He had already finished eating and went to the bear.'

The examples (76) and (77) illustrate the second Daai criterion for marking the perfect: completed events that are not welcome. In (76) somebody had wanted a small puppy and the puppy is already too big for his liking. (77) is an example of the perfect occurring with an achievement verb and indicating that the event is unwelcome.

(76) *Ui:-sa: ta däm pääng=kti.*
 Puppy FOC big PERF=NON.FUT
 'As for the puppy, it is already big!' (i.e. no longer fit for the purpose)

(77) *Xung=noh nghngaai-thi:ng ah sap-in pääng ni.*
 Xung=ERG mango.tree S.AGR:3S cut.one.stroke-MIR PERF EMPH
 'Xung has already cut down the mango tree!'

The next example shows counter-sequentiality. This feature involves the contrast between an event recorded in natural chronological sequence and an event presented out of sequence. In

(78) the water maid had already given birth to a son before she fetched her husband from the world above.

(78) *Ah khong-pa: sun ah jäng-laa:k mjoh.*
 POSS:3S husband DEM S.AGR:3S DIR:upwards-fetch EVID

Tui:-sik-sa: sun phi
 water.maid DEM also

ana-sa:-mah pääng mjoh=kti.
 DIR:in.advance-give.birth PERF EVID=NON.FUT
 'She fetched her husband from above. The water maid had already given birth to a child, it is told.'

Sometimes the perfect locates an irrealis event which may not actually occur.

(79) *Xung sun joong pääng=kkhai.*
 Xung DEM leave PERF=FUT
 'Xung will have already left.'

Summary

Pääng always locates an event in the past. It usually has current relevance. Sometimes the perfect is used as a referent for another event. It can also locate an irrealis event.

Conclusion

As already mentioned, aspect markers typically occur close to the main verb. Sometimes we find more than one aspect marker in the same verb phrase. The inceptive **lo** can co-occur with nearly all other aspectuals, with the exception of other progressives. If **lo** occurs with other aspectuals it always takes the position closest to the main verb. The iterative **betü** also combines with various other aspectuals.

Most examples in this section are elicited data and we have seen a number of transitive clauses marked by aspectuals. However, the study of aspect marking in discourse context shows that aspect marking in the transitive clause is rather rare. The aspectuals that occur most frequently in the transitive clause are the inceptive **lo** and the iterative **betü** and the progressive **ha:m**.

10.4 Modality

Traditionally there is a division between **epistemic** and **deontic** modality. Modality marks the speaker's attitude towards a situation and includes two types of judgments made by the speaker (Givón 2001 vol I: 300):

- Epistemic modality is understood by most linguists as expressing the degree of a speaker's commitment to the truth of a certain proposition (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 4).
- Deontic modality codes the speaker's judgement about the desirability, ability, obligation and permission of an event.

This traditional division of modality into epistemic and deontic leads to cases of 'polysemy' in which the same form can be used for both types of modality (Bybee and Fleischman 1995). In Daai too, we find that these categories tend to overlap and some morphemes that mark epistemic modality may also be used to mark deontic modality. Epistemic modals that express the speaker's certainty about an event are often based on the speaker's source of information and are thus frequently include an evidential and deontic component.

Bybee (1985) proposed a change of terminology from deontic modality to **agent-oriented modality** that comprises "all modal meanings that predicate conditions on an agent with regard to the completion of an action referred to by the main predicate" (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 6). De Haan (2004) proposes a further division to encode ability that is referred to as **dynamic** modality.

In Daai modality is expressed by lexical means, by adverb-like forms that follow the main verb and can be preceded by other constituents of the verb phrase.

10.4.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality can be divided into realis assertion, irrealis assertion and negative assertion. Table 10.4 gives an overview of the modals marking epistemic sub-modes. Note that not all epistemic modals are represented in this table but only the ones most frequently used.

Table 10.4: Epistemic Modals

Sub-mode	Modal	Gloss
REALIS ASSERTION	<i>shayü</i>	‘truly’
	<i>beh-beh</i>	‘really’
	<i>pi:</i>	‘definitely’
IRREALIS ASSERTION	<i>khüing</i>	‘probably’
NEGATIVE ASSERTION	<i>am ... laang</i>	‘not at all’
	<i>am ... shoo:m</i>	‘not at all’

10.4.1.1 Realis assertion

Realis assertion is when a proposition is strongly asserted to be true (Givón 2001 vol I: 301). Modals that fall into the category of **realis assertion** are used when the speaker has some kind of evidence for asserting his strong belief. These modals are followed by the tense markers =*kti* and =*kkhai* that also encode realis.

The modal *shayü* is used when the speaker has been challenged about the truth or possibility of his proposition, but has strong evidence for the truth value of an event.¹ Although the event in (81) is still in the future, the speaker himself has seen that the preparations for the trip are finished and strongly affirms that the event of ‘going’ will take place.

- (81) *Nih* *sit shayü=kkhai.*
 S.AGR:2DU/PL.IN go MOD:truly=FUT
 ‘We will truly go.’

In (82) the speaker’s assertion about the ripeness of the bananas is either based on his personal experience of having tasted the fruit, or inferred from the colour of the fruit.

- (82) *Hnampo hmin shayü=kti ni.*
 banana ripe MOD:truly=NON.FUT EMPH
 ‘The bananas are truly ripe.’

The modal *beh-beh* ‘really’ is equally strong in asserting a proposition to be true. The speaker asserts an event to be true that he has either witnessed or performed himself.

¹It has to be mentioned here that the finer shades of meaning I owe to detailed explanations from my research assistant.

- (83) *Ah nghmaa:k ng'äi beh-beh=kti.*
 POSS:3S brother.in.law sing MOD:really=NON.FUT
 'His brother-in-law really sang.'

The function of *pi:* 'certainly' is very similar to that of *shayü* and *beh-beh*. However, *pi:* occurs only with =*kti*, even in cases when the asserted event is expected to take place posterior to the time of speaking.

- (84) *Tuh-ngooi: ta sha: nih yah pi:=kti.*
 Today FOC meat S.AGR:1DU/PL.IN get MOD:definitely=NON.FUT
 'Today we definitely get meat.'

10.4.1.2 Irrealis assertion

In irrealis assertion a proposition is asserted weakly to be likely, possible or uncertain. The speaker does not have much evidence to assert his proposition.

The modal *khüing* is followed by the subjunctive *vai* and is used to express probability that a certain event has already happened. The speaker has some kind of evidence but his knowledge of the situation is incomplete.

- (85) *Nah-nih ksa=üing nah-nih kkhoo:k khüing vai.*
 POSS:2DU/PL trap=INSTR S.AGR:2DU/PL crush MOD:likely SUBJ
 'It is likely that you have crushed [him] with your trap.'
- (86) *Kah Ngbuu:t I:m pyak khüing vai.*
 POSS:1S Ngbuut Im be.destroyed MOD:likely SUBJ
 'It is likely that my Ngbuut Im village has been destroyed.'

10.4.1.3 Negative assertion

In negative assertion it is strongly emphasized that a certain proposition is wrong. In clauses that express negative assertion the main verb is preceded by the negative *am*. The modals *laang* and *shoo:m* are used when the speaker wants to assert strongly that a proposition is false or that an event, state or action has not taken place, or is not taking place at the time of speech. The speaker is answering a challenge from one or more hearers and has some evidence to back up his conviction. The modals *laang* and *shoo:m* seem to have the same meaning and can be used interchangeably. They occur only in negative clauses.

- (87) *Thang=noh buh am ei shoo:m.*
 Thang=ERG rice NEG eat MOD:definitely
 ‘Thang has definitely not eaten.’
- (88) *Kei:=noh ta hnampo am ngling laang=ngü.*
 1S=ERG FOC banana NEG plant MOD:definitely=1PM
 ‘As for me, I definitely did not plant bananas.’

10.4.2 Deontic modality

Deontic modality has to do with the necessity or possibility of actions and is “associated with the **social functions** of permission and obligation” (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 4). In Daai, the morphemes marking deontic modality have a more verb-like character than the epistemic modals. For most of them the derivation from verbs can be established and some still function as main verbs. Note that most of the deontic modals can be followed by =*kti* and =*kkhai*. The Table 10.5 gives an overview of the most frequently used subtypes of deontic modality.

Table 10.5: Deontic Modals

Sub-mode	Modal	Gloss
OBLIGATIVE/PERMISSIVE	<i>kom</i>	‘may’, ‘can’
PROMISE	<i>kong</i>	‘will’
OBLIGATIVE	<i>kiin</i>	‘proper’, ‘should’
NECESSITY/ABILITY	<i>yah</i>	‘must’, ‘can’
POTENTIAL (SKILL)	<i>thei</i>	‘know’
ABILITY (PHYSICAL/MATERIAL)	<i>khoh</i>	‘able’

The modal *kom* is an example of mixed modality. With first person subjects it can be either an epistemic claim or a deontic promise, depending on the intention of the speech act.

- (89) *Kei:=a buh-suu:n nih ei yüm kom.*
 1S=GEN rice-package S.AGR:1DU/PL.IN eat together MOD:definitely
 ‘We will definitely eat my lunch package together.’
- (90) *Ääi, nih ngsaam-ei kom.*
 yes S.AGR:1DU/PL.IN compete MOD:definitely
 ‘Yes, we will definitely have a [running] competition.’

With second person subjects it functions to politely state an obligation which resembles the granting of permission.

- (91) *Buh jah tha lo kom=kti.*
 rice O.AGR:1/3DU/PL send DIR:come MOD:can=NON.FUT
 'You can bring us the rice.'
- (92) *Nah-nih ei k'hleei nah taa:k kom=ni=kti*
 POSS:2DU/PL eating left.over O.AGR:1S keep MOD:can=DU=NON.FUT
 'You may keep for me what is left over from your meal.'

The modal *kong* is used when a speaker wants to make a promise to the hearer that he will really perform a certain action in the near future.

- (93) *Ning phüüi be kong.*
 O.AGR:2S carry back MOD:surely
 'I will surely carry you back.'

Khiin does not occur as main verb. However, it is obviously related to the derived transitive verb *mkhiin* 'intend', 'wish'. The meaning of the modal *khiin* is, said in the words of my language assistant, the 'proper and appropriate action or reaction'.

- (94) *Pye:n be khiin=kti=a kah ngngaih.*
 speak again MOD:proper=NON.FUT=CF S.AGR:1S think
 'It would be proper to speak [about it] again, I think.'

The following example shows *khiin* being used to judge the inappropriateness of someone's behaviour. This sentence would be used if somebody were not sad although it would be appropriate for him to show sadness.

- (95) *Puk-she khiin=kti.*
 sad MOD:proper=NON.FUT
 'He should be sad [but doesn't appear to be so].'

The following example shows *khiin* in a similar but negative context. Somebody is angry who should not have become angry, as there is not enough justification for being angry.

- (96) *Ka:, ah mlung ta am shou: khiin.*
 no POSS:3S heart FOC NEG angry MOD:proper
 'No, he should not be angry.'

The modal **yah**, marking obligation and necessity as well as ability, occurs as main verb with the meaning ‘get’, ‘obtain’. In example (97) **yah** marks obligation and in (98) necessity.

- (97) *Asun=a thoon lü kah pye:n yah=kkhai.*
 DEM.PRO=CF happen NF S.AGR:1S speak MOD:must=FUT
 ‘In this case I have to speak.’

- (98) *Nghngi-siim-sa: mopi-kho da*
 human.being Mopi-land PPOS

nih sit yah=kti=e.
 S.AGR:1DU/PL.INC go MOD:must=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘We humans have to go to Mopi (land of death).’

In the following two negative clauses **yah** marks inability and prohibition.

- (99) *Tui: am nghlok-ei yah=ngü.*
 water NEG bathe MOD:able=1PM
 ‘He was not able to take a bath.’

- (100) *Kkhi:n am lo yah ti:.*
 guest NEG come MOD:must ASP
 ‘Guests must not come anylonger.’

It is likely that the modal **thei** was once a state verb with the meaning ‘know’. Now it occurs as main verb only in the derived forms **mthei** ‘teach’ and **ngthei** ‘learn’. With human agents the modal **thei** marks ability in the sense of accomplishment or skill.

- (101) *Thang=noh i:m sha thei=kti.*
 Thang=ERG house build MOD:know=NON.FUT
 ‘Thang knows how to build a house.’

With state verbs **thei** mostly expresses a different shade of meaning. In the following negative clause **thei** does not indicate that a certain person is not able to be angry, but that he does not know how to control himself when he is angry.

- (102) *Ah mlung am shou: thei.*
 POSS:3S heart NEG angry MOD:know
 ‘He does not know how to be angry.’

With some non-human subjects that have potential for action (like plants) the idea of ‘know’ becomes used for ability.

- (103) *Tuh=a kum kah yo tooi thei=kkhai.*
 now=CF year POSS:1S bamboo prosper MOD:know=FUT
 'This year my bamboo will be able to prosper.'
- (104) *Saang hmin thei=kti.*
 paddy ripen MOD:know=NON.FUT
 'The paddy is able to develop well.'

The modal *khoh* does not occur as a main verb by itself, but it occurs as a compound verb *khayih-khoh* 'be able'. The modal *khoh* expresses physical, emotional and material ability, which stands in contrast to ability as a skill expressed by *thei*. The following two examples illustrate the contrast of these two modals. In (105) Bū Lün is able to shoot a boar (any boar) because of his skill as a hunter. In (106) Bū Lün managed to shoot a certain boar (even though it was a ferocious beast).

- (105) *Bū Lün=noh mnge kaa:p thei=kti.*
 Bū Lün=ERG boar shoot MOD:know=NON.FUT
 'Bū Lün is skilled in shooting boars.'
- (106) *Bū Lün=noh mnge sun kaa:p vaai khoh=kti.*
 Bū Lün=ERG boar dem shoot DIR:go MOD:able=NON.FUT
 'Bū Lün was able to go and shoot the boar.'

The modal *khoh* often expresses physical strength and ability as shown in the following example.

- (107) *Ahin=a thi:ng kah kkot khoh=kkhai.*
 DEM.PRO=CF tree S.AGR:1S carry MOD:able=FUT
 'I will be able to carry this tree.'

In clauses with non-human subjects the modal *khoh* expresses material ability.

- (108) *Ahin=a thi:ng-ngbaan bät khoh=kti.*
 DEM.PRO=CF tree-branch break.off MOD:able=NON.FUT
 'This tree branch may break off.'

Khoh can also suggest emotional ability – or disability – as shown in the next example.

- (109) *Hlüh-püi=xooi sun am ngkya khoh ti: ni.*
 lover=DU DEM NEG separate MOD:able ASP EMPH
 'The two lovers were no longer able to part from each other.'

10.5 Number

The Daai verb complex is marked for dual and plural number. Like in the noun phrase, so also here, singular is the default or ‘unmarked’ category. In the finite indicative clause the number-marking elements are the final constituents of the verbal complex and are followed only by emphatic particles. Number-marking complements the verbal agreement forms. Whereas the verbal agreement forms show only a singular-plural distinction, number-marking supplies the finer distinctions of dual and plural.

10.5.1 Number-marking in the indicative clause

10.5.1.1 The intransitive clause

In intransitive indicative clauses that are marked for tense with =*kti* or =*kkhai*, number is encoded by the same morphemes that we have seen in the number-marking system of the noun phrase: duality is marked by =*xooi* and plurality is marked by =*e*. In the verbal complex =*xooi* and =*e* occur only when preceded by =*kti* or =*kkhai*. The following examples show clauses with singular, dual and plural agents.

- (110) *Msi Msäai pa: sun lai mjoh=kti Ø*
 Msi Msäai GEND DEM arrive EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘The Msi Msäai man arrived, it is told.’
- (111) *Shukku jah je don ngsaam-ei=kti=xooi.*
 turtle and hare running compete=NON.FUT=DU
 ‘The turtle and hare had a running competition.’
- (112) *Nghngi-siim=e=noh pooi poh mjoh=kti=e.*
 human=PL=ERG feast make EVID=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘The humans made a feast, it is told.’

Note that the examples above have all third person agents. Plural marking is obligatory also for first and second person agents, as shown in the examples (113) and (114).

- (113) *Kei:-nih-e phi kah-nih lo=kkhai=e.*
 1PL.EXCL also S.AGR:2DU/PL.EXCL come-FUT=PL
 ‘We also will come.’
- (114) *Na:ng-nih-e anghläi=a nah-nih nglüing=kti=e ni.*
 2PL always=CF S.AGR:2DU/PL play=NON.FUT=PL EMPH
 ‘You are always playing.’

However, dual is only marked with third person agents and is omitted with first and second persons. The following example has an embedded quotation of direct speech that show the agents referring to themselves as first person and the narrator referring to the same entities as third person.

- (115) *'Angshe:ng=a nih khüüi=kkhai=Ø ni'*
 quickly=CF S.AGR:1DU/PL.INCL work=FUT EMPH
- ti=ni-lü khüüi:=kti=xooi.*
 say-DU-NF work.B=NON.FUT=DU
 'Saying "We will work quickly", they worked.'

In the following example we see second person agents but the duality is not marked in the verb complex.

- (116) *Na:ng-nih ngbe-ngna sun anghläi su ngtuun-ngvo-in lü*
 2DU pair.of.brothers DEM always DEM quarrel-MIR NF
- nah-nih ve=kti=Ø ni.*
 S.AGR:2DU/PL stay=NON.FUT EMPH
 'You two brothers, you are always quarreling.'

10.5.1.2 The transitive clause

Most transitive clauses are not marked for tense (see 9.1) and are therefore also not marked for number by =*xooi* or =*e*. Daai has a second set of markers for duality and plurality: =*ni* and =*u*. In the indicative transitive clause the plural marker =*u* is used, and duality is unmarked.

For first and third person plural agents, plural marking with =*u* is obligatory as shown in the examples below.

- (117) *She kah-nih msah-ei=u ni.*
 cow S.AGR:1DU/PL breed-AO-PL EMPH
 'We breed cattle.'
- (118) *Anshe:ng=a i:m=a ah-nih*
 quickly=CF house=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL
- don lo püi=u.*
 run DIR:come APPL:com=PL
 'They quickly came running to the house [with it].'

Second person agents are not marked for number. The second person agent in the following example could be dual or plural as the subject agreement shows.

- (119) *'Mnaka=noh am jah suui' nah-nih ti Ø ni.*
 dragon=ERG NEG O.AGR:1/3DU/PL bite S.AGR:2DU/PL say EMPH
 'You say "The dragon will not bite us."'

10.5.2 Number marking in the negative clause

The following example shows marking of duality with a first person subject.

- (120) *Am hmu=ni=ngü*
 NEG see=DU=1P.M
 'We [two] did not see [him].'

There are no examples of duality marking with second person subjects. The evidence does not show unambiguously whether or not duality is marked with third person subjects in the negative declarative clause. In most cases *ni* could be interpreted as emphatic particle or as dual marker. However, since duality is marked in negative clause chains and also in negative imperative clauses it is likely that in ambiguous cases *ni* refers to duality. Although number marking in clause chains and in the imperative clause will be dealt with below, example (121) shows duality in a negative clause chain and (122) in a negative imperative clause. This supports the suggestion that there is dual marking in finite negative clauses.

- (121) *Asukba käh kyum be dat=ni=lü*
 Like.this NEG descend again dare=DU=NF

kyäng=a pa:m su ve-in=kti=xooi.
 platform=GEN top DEM stay-MIR=NON.FUT=DU
 'Like this they did not dare to come down but stayed up on the platform.'
- (122) *Ngma=xooi=o, käh ti=ni=a.*
 brother.in.law=DU=VOC NEG speak=DU=IMP
 'Brothers-in-law, don't speak!'

Because of the evidence of duality in the clauses above I argue that in the following clause =*ni* indicates duality.

- (123) *Ah ngma=xooi sun*
 POSS:3S brother.in.law=DU DEM
am kyum lo be dat=ni.
 NEG descend DIR:come back dare=DU
 'His two brothers-in-law did not dare to come back down again.'

Negative transitive and intransitive clauses with first person and third person agents are marked for plural by =*u*. There are no examples with second person agents.

- (124) *Am ni:ng-jah ngja=u=ngü.*
 NEG O.AGR:2PL hear-PL-1P.M
 'We did not hear you.'
- (125) *Thi=kti=e sun mopi-kho=a am sit ha:m mjoh=u.*
 die=NON.FUT=PL DEM mopi-land=LOC NEG go ASP EVID=PL
 'The dead [people] do not yet go to Mopi [land of the dead], it is told.'

10.5.3 Number-marking in the imperative clause

For details about imperative clauses see 13.3. Most types of imperative clauses have a second person subjects. In the regular imperative clause, which is marked by the clitic =*a*, we find dual and plural markers =*ni* and =*u* as shown in the examples (126) and (127).

- (126) *Kah ngma=xooi=o, nah ngngai ma=ni=a.*
 POSS:1S brother.in.law=DU=VOC O.AGR:1S listen do.first=DU=IMP
 'My two brothers-in-law, listen to me!'
- (127) *Kkhyange=e, buh hin bük=u=a.*
 man=PL rice DEM look=PL=IMP
 'People, look at the rice!'

Negative imperative clauses are also marked for duality (128) and plurality (129).

- (128) *Ngma=xooi=o, käh ti=ni=a.*
 brother.in.law=DU=VOC NEG speak=DU=IMP
 'Brother's-in-law, don't speak!'
- (129) *Käh yaih-ei=u=a.*
 NEG mock=PL=IMP
 'Don't mock [him]!'

Polite imperatives and negative polite imperatives that are encoded by the tag *bä* behave in the same way.

The jussive or indirect imperative and its negative counterpart can be marked for plurality but not for duality. The hortative behaves in the same way. Example (130) shows a jussive.

- (130) *Lou: phyou:=u she*
 field weed=PL JUS
 'Let them weed the field!'

Example (131) shows a hortative with a dual subject and no dual marking.

- (131) *Pu kkhom=o mhnüü:p-buh nih ei hnüh vai*
 uncle bear=VOC noon-rice S.AGR:1DU/PL/INCL eat finally HORT
 'Uncle bear, let us finally eat lunch!'

Example (132) shows a hortative construction with a plural subject and plural marking..

- (132) *Kah püi=e=o sha: nih ktäm vai=u.*
 POSS:1S friend=PL=VOC game S.AGR:1DU/PL/INCL follow HORT=PL
 'We should go hunting.'

10.5.4 Number-marking in the subjunctive clause

There is no number-marking in subjunctive clauses.

- (133) *Nah-nih ksa=üing nah-nih kkhook khüing vai (*=u)*
 POSS:2DU/PL trap=INSTR S.AGR:2DU/PL crush MOD:likely SUBJ(*=PL)
 'You have probably crushed [him] with your trap.'

10.5.5 Number-marking in non-final clauses

10.5.5.1 Clause-chaining

In clause chains duality and plurality are marked by =*ni* and =*u*, as shown in the examples (134) and (135).

- (134) *Shukku jah je ayüm=a joong=ni=lüta ...*
 turtle and hare together=CF leave=DU=SR
 'The turtle and the hare left together ...'

- (135) *Kkhyang=e=noh mün-sam to:ng=u lü ...*
 man=PL=ERG be.amazed very=PL NF
 'The people were very much amazed and ...'

10.5.5.2 Subordinate adverbial clauses

In the subordinate adverbial clause number is not marked.

- (136) *Lou:=a ah-nih pha(*=u) jata ...*
 field=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive SUBO:as.soon.as
 'As soon as they arrived on the field ...'

10.5.5.3 Complement clauses

In complement clauses there is no dual or plural marking for second person subjects (137) but third person subjects (138) and (139) are marked by dual and plural.

- (137) *Meh nah-nih ei hlü=kti(*=e)=a*
 meat S.AGR:2DU/PL eat want=NON.FUT>(*PL)-CF

nah-nih pyen ni.
 S.AGR:2DU/PL say EMPH
 'You said that you want to eat meat.'

- (138) *Ah-nih hleei pyen=kti=xooi=a*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL lie speak=NON.FUT=DU=CF

kah ngngaih ni.
 S.AGR:1S think EMPH
 'I think that the two of them were lying.'

- (139) *Mdaaü=e am pha lo ha:m=kti=e=a*
 Mdaaü=PL NEG arrive DIR:come ASP:yet=NON.FUT=PL=CF

ah-nih pyen=u.
 S.AGR:3DU/PL speak=PL
 'They say that the Mdaaü have not yet arrived.'

Summary

Table 10.6 gives a summary of number-marking in various clause types. The shaded boxes indicate that in the text corpus on which this study is based certain clause types cannot

be found with subjects in all three persons. That is not necessarily due to a lack of data but rather suggests pragmatic or sociolinguistic constraints.

Table 10.6: Number-marking Sets

Clause Type	Subject Person	DU	PL
Indicative intransitive	1	∅	= <i>e</i>
	2	∅	= <i>e</i>
	3	= <i>xooi</i>	= <i>e</i>
Indicative transitive	1	∅	= <i>u</i>
	2	∅	∅
	3	∅	= <i>u</i>
Negative (intrans. & trans.)	1	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>u</i>
	2		
	3	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>u</i>
Imperative	1	∅	= <i>u</i>
	2	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>u</i>
	3		= <i>u</i>
Negative imperative	1		
	2	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>u</i>
	3		= <i>u</i>
Subjunctive	1	∅	∅
	2	∅	∅
	3	∅	∅
Non-final clause chain	1		
	2		
	3	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>u</i>
Non-final adverbial	1		
	2	∅	∅
	3	∅	∅
Non-final complement	1		
	2	∅	∅
	3	= <i>xooi</i>	= <i>e</i>

The Table above shows that the number markers =*xooi* and =*e*, typically used in the noun phrase (see section 5.3.2), occur only rarely in the verb phrase. The plural marker =*u*, which is most common in the verb phrase, is also found in the noun phrase, however there it does not mark the plurality of the noun but of the possessor (see section 5.3.2.3). This could lead to the conclusion that =*xooi* and =*e* are closely associated with nouns and nominal constructions. However, this notion is contradicted by the fact that in the verbal complex =*xooi* and =*e* occur only with verbs that are marked for tense by =*k_{ti}* or =*k_{khai}*; =*ni* and =*u* are found everywhere

else, including in the transitive clause where =*ni* and =*u* co-occur with the verb stem form A, considered by some linguists (see 11.2) to be the ‘more nominal form’ of the verb.

11 Direction, agent-orientation, mirativity and evidentiality

11.1 Direction and location

DeLancey (1985: 367) remarks on directionals in Tibeto-Burman languages “We find that the directive category is regularly reinvented in the TB languages and almost as regularly lost again”. He describes three distinct construction types: **lexicalized deixis** (in Newari), **syntactized deixis** (in Lahu) and **morphologized deixis** (in Lahu and Jinghpaw) and explains that these constructions are associated with a three-stage cycle. However, he mentions that mixed and transitional patterns are frequent. Concerning Chin languages he remarks (1985: 372) that “all of the Kuki languages have rather elaborate prefixed directive systems”.

Daai Chin has a mixed system of directionals and we find all three construction types that DeLancey has mentioned. Some of the prefixed directionals are action-modifying. Payne (1997: 248) points out that the system of verbal location marking may reflect the environment of the people who speak the language. The Daai people, who live in an area with steep mountains, have directionals that indicate actions done ‘upwards’, ‘downwards’ or ‘at the same altitude’.

11.1.1 Pre-verbal directionals

There are seven pre-verbal directionals in Daai Chin as shown in Table 11.1. They appear immediately in front of the main verb and are either prefixes or partially grammaticalized morphemes that combine with the verb to form a kind of compound verb. These directionals are examples for DeLancey’s ‘morphologized deixis’. Some of them modify the direction of the action itself. The others indicate if the position of the agent changes.

Table 11.1: Pre-verbal Directionals

Directional	Gloss	Direction of Action	Position of Agent
<i>jän-</i>	‘upwards’	towards higher level	-change of position
<i>jäng-</i>	‘upwards’	towards higher level	+change of position
<i>juk-</i>	‘downwards’	towards lower level	-change of position
<i>ju-</i>	‘downwards’	towards lower level	+change of position
<i>va-</i>	‘forward’	towards destination on same level	+change of position
<i>hei-</i>	‘forward’	across a hindrance on same level	+/- change of position
<i>ana-</i>	‘in advance’	— — —	— — —

11.1.1.1 Directionals that indicate a change of altitude

These directionals are understood to apply to the subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses. There are four directionals that constitute a set of two contrasting pairs. Because *juk/ju-* and *jän/jäng* appear very much like verb stem alternation, it is likely that *juk/ju-* and *jän/jäng* are verbs that have become grammaticalized only relatively recently. Assuming that only full verbs have stem alternation, then the residual stem alternation shown by these forms shows their transition to grammaticalized partial verbs is incomplete. *Juk/ju-* fits into the verb-stem alternation pattern for verb class I and *jän/jäng* into the alternation pattern for verb class IVa. Even though these particles look like verbs with stem alternation phonologically, they do diverge in meaning – unlike true verbs with stem alternation.

Jän- ‘upwards’ – *jäng-* ‘upwards’

Both members of the first pair convey a motion upwards but differ in that the first member *jän-* does not indicate a change of position. In the following examples the agent does not change his position but the undergoer or patient is transported to a different level of altitude.

- (1) *Kkhom=noh je sa: sun*
 bear=ERG hare little DEM
- ah jän-xot-in mjoh.*
 S.AGR:3S DIR:upwards-throw-MIR EVID
 ‘The bear suddenly threw the little rabbit upwards.’

- (2) *Mnaai=noh yuh kee:k sa: sun*
 Mnaai=ERG bone part small DEM
ah jän-pee:t be.
 S.AGR:3S **DIR:upwards-give** back
 'Mnaai handed back upwards a small part of the bone.'

In the following set of examples the agent changes his position and altitude. Note that in (3) and (4) and also the examples for a 'downwards' change of position, (7) and (8), the verbs are intransitive.

- (3) *Asuum=a mhnüü:p=üng Pääng jäng-kaai=kti.*
 same=CF day=LOC Pääng **DIR:upwards-climb**=NON.FUT
 'On the same day Pääng climbed upwards.'
- (4) *Nghngi-siim-sa: sun jäng-nglat bebe=kti.*
 human.being DEM **DIR:upwards-turn.back** ASP=NON.FUT
 'The human being kept turning back upwards again and again.'

Juk- 'downwards' – **ju-** 'downwards'

Both members of the second pair implicate a motion downwards but differ in that the first member does not indicate a change of position of the agent. Examples (5) and (6) show the agent in unchanged position.

- (5) *Küüi=noh beyang sun Pääng=üng*
 Küüi=ERG small.gong DEM Pääng=DAT
ah juk-pee:t lo.
 S.AGR:3S **DIR:downwards-give** ASP:inc
 'Küüi sent down the small gong to Pääng.'
- (6) *Pa: Mhnam=noh ah juk-mtheh=a kba*
 creator.god=ERG S.AGR:3S **DIR:downwards-instruct**=CF SUBO:like
poh lo mjoh=kti.
 do ASP:inc EVID=NON.FUT
 'He did like the creator-god instructed him from above.'

In the following set of examples the agent changes position and altitude.

- (7) *Khe:ng jah Phäai=xooi*
 Khe:ng and Phäai=DU

ju-khyük-ei=kti=xooi.

DIR:downwards-disappear-AO=NON.FUT=DU
 'Kheng and Phäai disappeared down there.'

- (8) *Kthang-Lengla sun i:m-ksi kpäk=üing*
 flute DEM house-floor hole=LOC

ju-kkya-in=kti.

DIR:downwards-drop-MIR=NON.FUT
 'Suddenly the flute dropped down through a hole in the floor.'

Jän- 'upwards' – ju- 'downwards'

This pair expresses contrasting motions that modify the direction of an action without the agent changing location.

Jäng- 'upwards' – ju- 'downwards'

The last pair expresses contrasting motions in a rather similar way, with the difference that the agent changes his position or location.

11.1.1.2 Directionals that do not indicate change of altitude

The following directionals do not co-occur with the altitude directionals. The directionals *va-* 'forward' or 'over there' and *hei-* 'forward', 'across' have different shades of meaning, but are not in contrast. Both express a forward movement by either the agent or the theme but there is no explicit suggestion of either a change of altitude or the degree of distance. Both directionals are used to imply long distances as well as very short ones. *Va-* has cognates in many Chin languages and also in other Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1985: 372; Chhangte 1989). *Va-* always conveys a change of location of the agent, while the occurrence of *hei-* does not necessarily imply such a change. Example (9) communicates the meaning that a person has gone on a rather long journey.

- (9) *Thang sun nghngi-lo-da va-sit=kti.*
 Thang DEM east-side **DIR:forward**-go=NON.FUT
 'Thang went over there towards the east.'

In the following example, the distance in question is much shorter. The hare has just turned off from the path he was walking on and entered a meadow close by.

- (10) *Je sun mpai-hmu=a va-lut lii ngam-ei=kti.*
 hare DEM meadow=LOC **DIR:forward-enter** NF idle=NON.FUT
 'The hare entered the meadow over there and was idle.'

Though the directional *hei-* also indicates a forward movement, the agent reaches out or across, physically or mentally, and has to overcome some kind of barrier in order to attain his goal. In the following example the agent changes location.

- (11) *Je=noh ta shukku sun hei-khe-in=kti.*
 hare=ERG FOC turtle DEM **DIR:forward-overtake-MIR=NON.FUT**
 'As for the hare, he moves forward and overtakes the turtle.'

In (12) the agent does not change location but 'reaches out' verbally.

- (12) *Khuui k'um=a kkhyüh ah püi=noh*
 cave inside=GEN from POSS:3S frieng=ERG

hei-phüih lo.
DIR:forward-scold ASP:inc
 'Her friend started to scold her from inside the cave.'

Also in the next example the agents have not changed location though they are trying with great effort.

- (13) *Nghngi-siim-da lo=kkhai=a*
 human-side come=FUT=CF

mthi-kkhyäi: hei-shui lo=kti=e.
 iron-bridge **DIR:forward-build** ASP:inc=NON.FUT=PL
 'They started to build an iron bridge across so that they could come over to the side of the humans.'

The directional *ana-* does not really denote direction in a spatial framework. It behaves more like an aspectual, though it may once have functioned as a directional. Since besides action-modifying directionals, there are no other verb-phrase operations that occur directly preceding the main verb, *ana-* is dealt with in this section. An event is marked by *ana-* if it is performed in advance, before another participant has had the opportunity or possibility to be present, as illustrated in example (14).

- (14) *Ah nu: jah pa: sun lu:ng ana-kkot she*
 POSS:3S mother and father DEM stone **DIR:advance-lift** cow

ana-you:=ni=lü ah jah hmuh vaai.
DIR:advance-kill=DU=NF S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL see DIR:go
 'He went and saw that his mother and father had already lifted the stone [from the river] and killed the cows.'

If *ana-* is combined with inherent motion verbs like in example (15) it takes on directional characteristics.

- (15) *Nah hnu=a lo kong, ana-sit=a.*
 POSS:2S behind=LOC come MOD:definitely **DIR:advance-go**=IMP
 'I will definitely come behind you, go ahead!' (i.e. go before me)

Sometimes *ana-* communicates a meaning similar to perfect aspect. This is shown in example (16).

- (16) *Nghngi-siim=e tui:-kyum hlaan=a*
 human=PL descend before=CF

Msi Msääi=e ana-ve=kti=e.
 Msi Msääi=PL **DIR:advance-is**=NON.FUT=PL
 'Before the humans descended [to the earth] Msi Msääi [people] were already there in advance [on earth].'

The examples (14) to (16) show that *ana-* occurs with three slightly different meanings that all share a core sense of an event “already” having occurred.

11.1.2 Post-verbal directionals

Daai has four directionals that follow the main verb. Table 11.2 shows the four post-verbal directionals. Only *lo*¹ ‘come’ can still occur as a main verb and has several other function like ‘change of state’ and ‘inceptive progressive aspect’.

¹ *Lo* is an example for **lexicalized deixis** and has cognates in various Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1985).

Table 11.2: Post-verbal Directionals

Directional	Gloss	Motion	Goal
<i>lo</i>	‘come and V’ ‘come V-ing’	towards a Goal	the Discourse Center
<i>vaai</i>	‘go and V’ ‘go V-ing’	towards a Goal	not the Discourse Center
<i>hü</i>	‘V from place to place’ ‘V around’	motion along a Path	the Path is not the Discourse Centre
<i>hüt</i>	‘V back there’	no motion	an activity at a Discourse Centre that is about to change

The directional *lo*

As directional *lo* has the meaning ‘come and V’ or ‘come V-ing’. The movement is directed towards the Discourse Centre. The Discourse Centre is understood here as the centre of activity. In example (17) the Discourse Centre is the place of weeding.

- (17) *Nah phyoh kah bük lo=kkhai ni.*
 POSS:2S weeding S.AGR:1S look DIR:come=FUT EMPH
 ‘I will come and look at your weeding.’

In the following example the Discourse Centre is home, or the house, where the conversation is taking place.

- (18) *Kei:=noh ta thi:ng-thu: kah kkot lo=kti ni.*
 1PS=ERG FOC tree-branch S.AGR:1S carry DIR:come=NON.FUT EMPH
 ‘It was me who came carrying the fire wood [home].’

The directional *vaai*

The directional *vaai*¹ means ‘go and V’, ‘go V-ing’ and indicates a motion towards a goal. However, this goal is not the discourse centre.

- (19) *Ah na sun mo:=a*
 POSS:3S younger.brother DEM jungle=LOC

kyak-ei vaai mjoh=kti.
 hunt-AO DIR:go EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘His younger brother went into the jungle to hunt by himself.’

¹ *Vaai* may be a cognate of the directionals *va-wa* that are found in other Tibeto-Burman languages (see DeLancey 1985). It is possibly related to the derived Daai motion word *ngvaa:k/ngva-* ‘walk around’.

The directional *hü*

The directional *hü* marks an actions as done ‘around’ or ‘from place to place’. It also actually encodes an action as ‘direction-less’ and has developed a secondary meaning: ‘V-ing aimlessly’, ‘V-ing without purpose’. In the following example the action(s) are not done purposelessly but in different places; in other words not in motions towards a Goal but on the Path.

- (20) *Ngooi:-la:m su joong=lü mo:-kpyong=a*
 morning DEM leave=NF jungle-forest=LOC

long kko:ng=a khüüi: hü=kti.
 stream dry.land=LOC work DIR:around=NON.FUT
 ‘He left in the morning and worked in different places in the jungle and at the stream.’
 (ie. he looked around for food).

In the following example the agent is accused of acting without purpose.

- (21) *Tuh vei ta nah ngvaa:k hü=kti ni.*
 now PPOS FOC S.AGR:2S roam.around DIR:around=NON.FUT EMPH
 ‘Until now you roamed around without any purpose!’

The directional *hüt*

The directional *hüt* has the meaning ‘V back there’. It does not really encode a motion . When an event is marked by *hüt* it is indicated that the event is taking place at a Discourse Centre that is about to change since a main participant is going to move to another location after the action marked by *hüt* was performed. Sometimes its meaning overlaps with that of the relinquitive applicative (see 7.1.2.2).

- (22) *Akdo sa:=a khüün lü buh jah tha lo*
 well very=CF cook NF rice O.AGR:1/3DU/PL send DIR:come

kom=kti’ tilü
 MOD:may=NON.FUT saying

ah kkhyu:=üing ah mtheh hüt.
 POSS:3S wife=DAT S.AGR:3S instruct DIR:back.there
 ‘ “Cook very well and come to bring us the [lunch] rice”, he instructed his wife [back home before he left].’

- (23) *Ah* *kkhyu:* *sun=noh* *ah-nih* *sa:* *sun* *nukpü=üing*
 POSS:3S wife DEM=ERG POSS:3DU/PL child DEM old.woman=DAT
- ah* *om* *hüt* *hlü* *shak* *kyo.*
 S.AGR:3S take.care **DIR:back.there** AUX:want CAUS futile
 'His wife wanted [in vain] the old woman to take care of their child back there [to go to another place].'

11.1.3 *Function and distribution in discourse context*

The pre-verbal directionals are mainly used to express the contrastive positions of two participants or of two groups of participants. This can be a contrast in altitude marked by *jän-/jäng-* and *juk-/ju-*. This also applies to intransitive clauses with apparently only one participant like in (3) and (4). Even though only one participant is mentioned in these examples, there are other participants in the wider discourse context and their altitude is in contrast with altitude of the participant mentioned in the examples.

These directionals can also mark the contrast between one participant who reaches out or attempts to reach out and the other participant who is affected by the reaching-out. In other words, the pre-verbal directionals mainly show the positions of participants and their relationship to each other. This is even true for *ana-* which is not a real directional. The directional *va-* is the only exception. It only marks the position of one participant without any contrastive implications involving another participant.

The post-verbal directionals show the direction or motion of participants in relationship to a Goal, i.e the Discourse Centre, and not to each other.

11.2 Agent-orientation

Although serious inquiries have been made to find in other Tibeto-Burman languages the same or a similar phenomenon of marking agent-orientation, no such similarity has yet been discovered. However, in Lushootseed, an American Indian language, Hess (1993a) and Beck (1996) have found a set of verbal endings that they term as *patient-orienting* and *agent-orienting* suffixes.¹

Daai has a suffix *-ei* that follows immediately the main verb and is similar to what Beck describes as agent-orienting in Lushootseed: ‘a subject acts on herself/himself (reflexive) or for herself/himself’. This suffix *-ei* is glossed as **AO (agent orientation)**.

Compare the following two examples :

- (24) *Xung=noh kah ksei: ah she.*
 Xung=ERG POSS:1S spear S.AGR:3S take.along
 ‘Xung took my spear.’

- (25) *Xung=noh kah ksei: ah she-ei.*
 Xung=ERG POSS:1S spear S.AGR:3S take.along-AO
 ‘Xung took my spear.’

In (24) Xung has taken somebody’s spear to either use it himself and give it back afterwards or to bring to a third participant. The action has been carried out with the consent of the owner of the spear.

In (25) Xung has taken the spear for his own use and purpose, without the consent of the owner and without the intention of giving it back again.

In example (25) it is assumed that the master plants a mountain field together with and for the use of his family. The suffix *-ei* in example (26) indicates that the old woman plants the mountain field by herself and for her own use.

- (25) *Ah-nih mah-pa: sun=noh lou: poh mjoh=kti.*
 POSS:3DU/PL master DEM=ERG field work EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘Their master planted a mountain field.’

¹ The patient-orienting and agent-orienting suffixes in Lushootseed increase the valency of the verb stems. This is not the case with agent-orientation in Daai.

- (26) *Nukpüi=noh lou: poh-ei mjoh=kti.*
 old.woman=ERG field work-AO EVID=NON.FUT
 'An old woman planted a mountain field [by herself].'

It has already been discussed in 7 that reflexive and reciprocal constructions also require the suffix *-ei* which indicates the reflexive component that Beck has mentioned in his '*patient-orienting*'.

11.3 Mirativity

DeLancey (2001: 369) refers to mirativity as the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new, or surprising to the speaker or is somehow unassimilated into his knowledge structure. DeLancey (2001) gives evidence through examples from Tibeto-Burman languages that mirativity can be a grammatical category distinct from evidentiality. In Daai mirativity is marked by the suffix *-in* which immediately follows the main verb, unless the main verb is already marked by the suffix *-ei*, in which case *-in* takes the second position.

Example (27) is a neutral statement about a dog biting a pig. The suffix *-in* in (28) marks the event as unexpected and surprising for the dog and for the listener.

- (27) *Ui:=noh vok ah suih-msaai.*
 dog=ERG pig S.AGR:3S bite
 'The dog bit the pig.'
- (28) *Ui:=noh vok ah suih-msaai-in.*
 dog=ERG pig S.AGR:3S bite-MIR
 'The dog bit the pig unexpectedly.'

In the following set of examples (29) is again a neutral statement. The knife could have been already damaged and useless to the owner. Examples (30) gives the idea of an unpleasant discovery on behalf of the owner of the knife. The knife was still useful for him and he had expected to use it.

- (29) *Thang=noh kah ksi:m ah kpyak.*
 Thang=ERG POSS:1S knife S.AGR:3S destroy
 'Thang broke my knife.'
- (30) *Thang=noh kah ksi:m ah kpyak-in.*
 Thang=ERG POSS:1S knife S.AGR:3S destroy-MIR
 'Thang broke my knife.'

In Daai, mirativity is always connected with a negative and unpleasant component. The unexpected and new information is always negative, often bothersome and sometimes painful.

The mirative *-in* can occur together with agent-orientation marking *-ei*, which often increases the unpleasantness of the discovery like in examples (32).

V-cplx → V *-ei -in*

- (31) *Ui:=noh meh ah she-ei-in.*
 dog=ERG meat S.AGR:3S take.away-AO-MIR
 'The dog took unexpectedly the meat away! (to eat it by himself).'

11.4 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is called 'the linguistic coding of epistemology' (Chafe and Nichols 1986). It refers to the grammatical marking of the source of evidence for a proposition (see DeLancey 2001: 369). Evidentiality overlaps to a certain extent with epistemic modality. But whereas epistemic modality is concerned with subjective certainty, a grammaticalized evidential system refers to the source of the evidence available to back up an assertion. Givón (2001 vol I: 326) suggests that the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality can be seen as 'mediated causal chain':

evidential source > evidential strength > epistemic certainty

Based on the universal semantic distinctions of evidentiality adapted from Givón, Daai can be described as dividing the source of information into the following categories: direct experience vs. inference vs. hearsay.

Table 11.3: Evidentials

Evidential Category	Marker	Rough Gloss
DIRECT EXPERIENCE	<i>vanikba/kba</i>	‘obviously’
INFERENCE	<i>lek</i>	‘apparently’
HEARSAY	<i>mjoh</i>	‘it is told’

Direct experience is mostly based on vision but may occasionally be based on other sensory experiences.

11.4.1 Direct experience

Direct experience is generally marked by a word that seems to be a combination of three particles: *vanikba*. *Va* ‘just’ marks emphasis, *ni* has different functions and *kba* occurs in other contexts as a clitic that functions as an equative marker with the meaning ‘like’, ‘according to’.

- (32) *Kah kho-dok hin nghlai=kti vanikba.*
 POSS:1S slipper DEM be.changed=NON.FUT EVID
 ‘My slippers have been changed!’
 (i.e. somebody has exchanged my slippers for his own)

- (33) *Hin=a ngmaai kee:k ta Thang=üng*
 DEM.PRO=CF pumpkin slice FOC Thang=DAT

kah pee:t vanikba.
 S.AGR:1S give EVID
 ‘As for this slice of pumpkin, I gave it to Thang!’ (i.e. this is the pumpkin slice which I gave to Thang)

In the following two negative clauses the clitic =*kba* alone marks evidentiality.

- (34) *Buh am ve ti:=kba*
 rice NEG is ASP=EVID
 ‘There is no more rice!’

- (35) *Tuh-vei hnüh ta am jän-khi-kho lo=kba.*
 until-now finally FOC NEG DIR:upwards-give.sign ASP=EVID
 ‘Until now he has not yet given a signal upwards!’ (i.e. towards where I am)

Example (36) shows another direct sensory experience indicated by =*kba*, this time without negation.

- (36) *Buh=noh nah kkhyoo:t-ei to:ng hnüh=kba*
 rice=ERG O.AGR:1S make.hungry very finally=EVID
 'I am finally very hungry!'

11.4.2 Inference

The inferential or indirect evidence marked by *lek* is used when the speaker does not have a first-hand experience of the event but other strong circumstantial evidence, which may also be sensory, as in the following two examples. The particle *lek* follows =*kti* or =*kkhai*.

- (37) *Kah ih k'um kho-aak lo=kti lek.*
 S.AGR:1S sleep SUBO:while sky-rain ASP:inc=NON.FUT EVID

Jih kah jah phou
 blanket S.AGR:1S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL spread.out

sooi-siing päih=kti=e
 wet completely NON.FUT-PL
 'It must have rained while I slept. The blankets which I had spread out are completely wet.'

- (38) *Ui: nu: hin tuh-mthan=üing thi=kti lek ni.*
 dog GEND DEM last-night=LOC die=NON.FUT EVID EMPH

Saai-in hnüh=kti.
 stiff-MIR finally=NON.FUT
 'The (female) dog must have died last night, it is already stiff.'

In the following example an inference is drawn from general knowledge of one's own culture and community. The speaker knows that because he can't pay the fine for killing someone he will have to become a slave.

- (39) *Pasong mat mo:=a kah hnim-in ni.*
 important.man NUM jungle=LOC S.AGR:1S kill-MIR EMPH

Kei: ta kah mshih-mpya-ei hnüh=kkhai lek ni.
 1S FOC S.AGR:1S be.enlaved finally=FUT EVID EMPH
 'I have killed a man in the jungle. As for me, I will become a slave.'

In (40) the inference is drawn from common belief or superstition that this is a bird of ill omen.

- (40) *Asunüingta ksha: laktaan=üing kkha: ta ngshut lo lü*
 then veranda fence=INSTR bird FOC sit DIR NF
- ma lo mä-mä mjoh=kti. Kpa:-mi-sa: ta*
 cry.as.sign ASP:inc really EVID=NON.FUT young.man FOC

“*Kah hlüh-püi thi ksang=kti lek*” *ah ti.*
 POSS:1S lover die really-NON.FUT EVID S.AGR:3S say.
 ‘Then a bird came and sat on the fence of the veranda and really started to cry as an omen [of death]. As for the young man he said “My beloved has really died.”’

11.4.3 Hearsay

The third evidential category of hearsay, marked by *mjoh*, suggests that the evidence is only weakly reliable. Although *mjoh* does not occupy the same position slot as the two other evidential markers, but precedes =*kti*, it cannot co-occur with any of the other evidentiality markers. Though *mjoh* is used frequently in folktales, it is not a marker for a special narrative genre. It is also used in true stories and in every-day conversations. Example (41) is from a true story.

- (41) *Kpaam Xung ta mpa shui-shak shui-sha lü läät*
 Kpaam Xung FOC Burmese clothes wear NF re-appear
- lo be mjoh=kti.*
 DIR:come back EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘As for Kpaam Xung, he re-appeared, wearing Burmese clothes, it is told.’

The next example shows *mjoh* in a every-day conversation.

- (42) *Tuh-ngooi: kah pu lo hlü mjoh=kti.*
 now-today POSS:1S father.in.law come PROSP EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘Today my father-in-law is about to come, they say.’

11.4.4 Distributional restrictions and frequency

Although in many languages a clause with a first person subject or object is exempted from evidential marking, in Daai clauses with first person subjects or experiencers are marked frequently for direct experience with *vanikba* or =*kba* and also for inference by *lek*, as

illustrated by the examples above. Only the evidential *mjoh* cannot mark clauses with first person subjects and is used very rarely in clauses with second person subjects.

While *mjoh* is used fairly frequently in different types of narrative discourse, grammatical markings of direct experience and inference are much rarer.

12 *Sentence moods and non-declarative speech acts*

12.1 Sentence moods

Many linguists and many grammars do not make a distinction between mood and modality. However, Daai Chin has both mood distinctions and modality expressions, so such a distinction is necessary here.

The category of mood is typically divided into indicative, subjunctive, imperative and interrogative. Mood has to do with the way the speaker wants to communicate. Indicative mood is used when the speaker wants to indicate that he is making a statement, reporting real events or making assertions that a certain event is taking place or is not taking place (negative assertion). Subjunctive mood is used for hypothetical events, where the speaker wants to express that a certain proposition is possible, desirable, doubtful and only potentially true (Andvik 1999: 286). Imperative mood is used by the speaker if he wants to manipulate the hearer to respond physically to his request. The category of imperative mood could be expanded to include interrogations as they are also a kind of manipulation used by the speaker to elicit information.

While some linguists (Chung and Timberlake 1985: 241) interpret indicative mood as basically equivalent to *realis*, and subjunctive mood as equivalent to *irrealis*, other linguists e.g. De Haan (to appear 2005) object to such an equivalence on the grounds that there are languages which distinguish other moods beside indicative and subjunctive. For Daai it is possible to interpret *vai* as marker for *irrealis* and *=kti/=kkhai* as markers for *realis*. However, this is not a rigid system. There are *irrealis* constructions that are not marked by *vai*, and also *realis* expressions unmarked by *=kti* or *=kkhai*.

In this chapter only the Subjunctive, the Imperative and the Interrogative are discussed.

12.2 The subjunctive

In Daai subjunctive clauses are marked by *vai* and require verb stem A of verbs with stem alternation.

12.2.1 The subjunctive in finite clauses

12.2.1.1 The regular subjunctive

Subjunctive mood is used to express desire, potentiality, obligation, uncertainty and other related meanings. The following example expresses desire and potentiality.

- (1) *Nah nah phüih vai ni.*
 S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1S carry.A SUBJ EMPH
 'You should carry me!'

Example (2), taken from a hortatory text, expresses obligation.

- (2) *Nah-nih püi lei-shong khye-khye lü*
 POSS:2DU/PL companion respect mutually NF
- nah-nih ve hnüh vai.*
 S.AGR:2DU/PL live finally SUBJ
 'You should finally live respecting each other.'

12.2.1.2 Epistemic uncertainty

If the subjunctive combines with the epistemic modal *khüing*, the resulting structure can be identified as the subtype called epistemic uncertainty. This kind of subjunctive expresses the assumption that a certain event has happened, where the speaker does not have enough proof for a realis assertion.

- (3) *Nah-nih ksa=iing nah-nih kkhoo:k khüing vai.*
 POSS:2DU/PL trap=INSTR S.AGR:2DU/PL crush MOD:likely SUBJ
 'It is likely that you have crushed [him] with your trap.'
- (4) *Kah Ngbuu:t I:m pyak khüing vai.*
 POSS:1S Ngbuut Im be.destroyed MOD:likely SUBJ
 'It is likely that my Ngbuut Im village has been destroyed.'

If interrogative clauses occur with *vai*, we have another subtype of the subjunctive that can be called ‘interrogative subjunctive’. It is used to express uncertainty about a course of action as shown in example (5).

- (5) *I-a kah poh vai ni.*
 what S.AGR:1S do SUBJ EMPH
 ‘What should I do?’

12.2.1.3 Counterfactivity

In combination with the emphatic particle *shü* we get another subtype of the subjunctive, called ‘counterfactivity’.

- (6) *Ling Sho=noh lou: ah phyoh vai shü*
 Ling Sho=ERG field S.AGR:3S weed.A SUBJ EMPH
 ‘Ling Sho should have weeded the field [but did not do it].’
- (7) *Am ah-nih nah joih pee:t vai shü.*
 NEG S.AGR:3DU/PL IO.AGR:1S sell.A APPL:MAL SUBJ EMPH
 ‘They should not have sold [my son] on me.’ [but they did it]

12.2.2 The subjunctive in dependent clauses

12.2.2.1 Adverbial clauses

The subjunctive occurs in **intended result clauses** in which the subordinate clause and the main clause do not share the same subject.

- (8) *She=e kah jah khü be khoh vai=a*
 cow=PL S.AGR:1S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL call back MOD:able SUBJ=CF
- kkhyüng-shei=a läk nah mtheh=a.*
 animal=GEN language O.AGR:1S teach=IMP
 ‘Teach me the language of the animals so that I would be able to call the cows back.’

In **hypothetical clauses** the subjunctive marks the **if-clause** as the following example shows.

- (9) *Na:ng=a sa: hin kah tu-naa:k vai ani=a*
 2S=GEN son DEM S.AGR:1S son.in.law-take.as **SUBJ** case-CF

kyaa:k=üing kah tu kdäm=a dä
 happen=SUBO:if POSS:1S son.in.law big=CF PPOS

ngshe-ngsun ngsaam-ei=kkhai=xooi.

horse-riding compete=FUT=DU

'If it were to happen that I took your son as my son-in-law, he would have to compete at horse-riding with my elder son-in-law.'

12.2.2.2 Complementation

In complementation the subjunctive occurs with the complements of **desiderative verbs**, **manipulation verbs** and **modality verbs**. The following example shows complementation with the desiderative verb *tääng* 'wish'.

- (10) *Kho-ngooi=a i:m-shak sut-ei vai kah tääng ni.*
 tomorrow=LOC house-building start **SUBJ** S.AGR:1S wish EMPH
 'I wish to start the house-building tomorrow.'

In example (11) the subjunctive occurs with the manipulation verb *mhloh-msah* 'persuade'.

- (11) *Mliih=a kah seh vai=a ah nah mhloh-msah.*
 town-LOC S.AGR:1S go **SUBJ**=CF S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:1S persuade
 'He persuaded me to go to town.'

12.3 Imperatives

Imperatives are clause construction types that directly command the addressee to perform some action. Usually they are understood to refer to second person subjects. Imperative constructions are not marked for tense but may occasionally be marked for aspect.

12.3.1 Regular imperative

The regular imperative is usually marked by the clitic =*a*. Example (12) shows an imperative clause with a singular subject and is not marked for number. Example (13) shows dual number-marking.

- (12) *Buh ei lo=a*
 rice eat DIR=IMP
 'Come and eat!'
- (13) *Lou: phyou:=ni=a*
 field weed=DU=IMP
 'Weed the field!'

However, sometimes the imperative marker may be omitted as shown in the examples below.

- (14) *Ngla-mi sa:=xooi, nah bük=ni*
 girl young=DU O.AGR:1S look=DU
 'You two girls, look at me!'
- (15) *Kkhyäi-paai jä:ng-khyan ma*
 orchid-flower DIR:upwards-pluck go.ahead
 'Go ahead and pluck the flower!'

It is considered rather unusual for imperatives to be marked for aspect. But in the next two examples we see that in Daai imperative constructions can be marked for certain types of aspect.

- (16) *Thou: lo hnüh=a*
 get.up ASP:inc finally=IMP
 'Get up finally!'
- (17) *Käh ei ha:m=a*
 NEG eat ASP:fin.prog=IMP
 'Do not eat [it] yet!'

12.3.1.1 Exigent imperative¹

The exigent imperative is marked by the clitic =*a* like the regular imperative. The particle *tu* precedes the imperative marker and expresses increased urgency or impatience.

¹ This expression is taken from Watters (1998: 632).

- (18) *Kshoh nah nghmon tu=a*
 door IO.AGR:1S open EXIG=IMP
 'Do open the door for me!'
- (19) *Lo tu=a*
 come EXIG=IMP
 'Come immediately!'

12.3.2 Polite imperative

The polite imperative is marked by the tag *bä* that we will also encounter with interrogatives expressing positive polarity. The polite imperative is not necessarily used towards a speaker of higher status, but is used to demonstrate a kind and positive attitude towards the addressee. This is a softer, less direct form of command than the regular imperative. This device is used frequently in hortatory discourse.

- (20) *Tui: la vaai ma bä*
 water fetch DIR:go do.first TAG
 'Go ahead and fetch water, will you!'
- (21) *Nah pu=a veei: tuh-ngooi: sit bä*
 POSS:2S father.in.law=LOC A.LOC today go TAG
 'Go today to your father in law, will you!'

12.3.3 Hortative

Daai has a hortative construction that always occurs in the first person. The speaker includes himself in the suggested action. This construction is also sometimes called 'first person hortative' (Watters 1998). The hortative is marked by the particle *vai* that also has other functions. Note that this hortative *vai* and the subjunctive *vai* are homonyms with rather different meanings. They also require the usage of different verb stems. Though hortative constructions are either dual or plural, number marking is not obligatory, as it is in the regular imperative. Dual is unmarked and plural marking is optional. Since the discourse context is known to the author, it can be stated that the first example involves two people but number is not explicitly marked.

- (22) *Ampyu=a nih k'ut vaai vai*
 secretly=CF S.AGR:1DU/PL bury DIR:go HORT
 'Let us go and bury [him] secretly!'

In the following example the addressee could be dual or plural.

- (23) *Buh nih ei vai*
 rice S.AGR:1DU/PL eat HORT
 'Let us eat!'

The next example shows explicit plural marking. That marking would be ungrammatical if the subjunctive mood was intended.

- (24) *Sha: nih ktäm vai=u*
 deer S.AGR:1DU/PL follow HORT=PL
 'Let us go hunting!'

12.3.4 Jussive

Jussive constructions are mainly indirect imperatives and are always directed towards a third person. In Daai jussive constructions can have three different functions. However, they are formally the same and only distinguishable from context.

12.3.4.1 Indirect imperative

The indirect imperative is a command that is not addressed directly to the participant whom the speaker wants to perform a certain action.

- (25) *Lou: phyu:=u she*
 field weed=PL JUS
 'Let them weed the field!'

- (26) *She kaa:p she*
 cow shoot JUS
 'Let him shoot the cow!'

12.3.4.2 Permissive imperative

The speaker gives permission that a certain action may be performed or he states that he does not care if a certain event will take place or not.

- (27) *Buh ei=u she*
 rice eat=PL JUS
 'Let them eat! (i.e. I allow them to eat)'

- (28) *Thi-ei she*
 die-AO JUS
 'Let him/her die!' (i.e I don't really care)

12.3.4.3 *The jussive as wish*

Jussive constructions are also sometimes used to express a wish as shown in example (29).

- (29) *Kah püi ngthiim-kho da sit she*
 POSS:1S friend living.being-land PPOS go JUS
 'May my friend go to the land of the living!'

The wish may also be a kind of magic formula like we find in western fairy tales and occasionally in Daai folktales.

- (30) *Saang ve lo she*
 paddy is ASP:inc.prog JUS
 'Let there be paddy!'

12.3.5 *Negative imperatives*

All imperatives, except for the hortative, can become negative imperatives by the insertion of the negative particle *käh*.

- (31) *Lou: käh phyou:=a*
 field NEG weed=IMP
 'Do not weed the field!'
- (32) *Käh nah te tu=a*
 NEG O.AGR:1S beat EXIG=IMP
 'Do not beat me!'

12.4 Interrogatives

Interrogative constructions are typically divided into two subtypes: constituent interrogatives and polar interrogatives.

12.4.1 *Constituent interrogatives*

This type of interrogative is also called a wh-question, question-word question or content question. According to Givón (2001 vol II: 300) the speaker who asks a constituent question presupposes that the hearer shares with him some knowledge of a state or an event, but the speaker still misses one element of the state or event. He expects information that allows him to complete the interpretation of a proposition. That missing element is then the focus of the constituent interrogative. This may be information central to the situation like subject, object, indirect object, or more circumstantial information relating to time, location, manner etc.

In Daai constituent interrogatives we find broad and narrow focus. The interrogative words occur frequently, but not necessarily as the first element of the clause. Generally Daai can be classified as an ‘in-situ’ language (Haspelmath 2001) in which the interrogative words occupy the same position as the constituent questioned. For a complete list of interrogative words see 4.5.3.1.

Daai constituent interrogative constructions occur with the interrogative particle *ja:*. This interrogative particle is different from the one used in polar interrogatives and can be substituted by the particle *ni*. In most elicited data, I was presented with the interrogative particle *ja:* while in my corpus of oral narratives the usage of *ni* is much more frequent. Although my research assistant claims that *ja:* and *ni* are interchangeable without any alternation of meaning, discourse context shows that *ja:* is only used when a person of higher standing or greater authority questions a person in a lower position. The position of *ja:* or *ni* in the clause is used to mark the scope of focus in the interrogative clause.

12.4.1.1 *Constituent interrogatives with broad focus*

In the following examples we find either the interrogative particle *ja:* or the particle *ni* as last element of the clause. The scope of the focus is the whole clause.

Note that the interrogative words can be marked for case and can be followed by postpositions.

INTER. CL → QUESTW ... { QUESTP
ni }

Subject

(33) *U thi:ng-pa:m=a kaai=kti ja:*
who tree-top=LOC climb=NON.FUT QP
'Who climbed to the tree top?'

(34) *Ahin u=noh ah poh ja:*
DEM.PRO who=ERG S.AGR:3S do QP
'Who did this?'

Object

(35) *I kah ei=kkhai ja:*
what S.AGR:1S eat=FUT QP
'What will I eat?'

Indirect-object

(36) *Ah pheï ta u=üing nah pee:t hliü ni.*
POSS:3S thigh FOC who=DAT S.ARG:2S give AUX:want EMPH
'As for its thigh, to whom do you want to give it?'

Manner

(37) *Ihokba nih poh vai ni.*
how S.AGR:1DU/PL.INC do SUBJ EMPH
'How should we do [it]?'

Temporal

(38) a **Future**
Itüh=a nah sit=kkhai ja:
when=LOC S.AGR:2S go=FUT QP
'When will you go?'

b Past

Itüh=üing nah pha lo=kti ja:
when=LOC S.AGR:2S arrive DIR:come=NON.FUT QP
'When did you arrive?'

Location

(39) *Ho=a nah sit=kti ja:*
where=LOC S.AGR:2S go=NON.FUT QP
'Where did you go?'

12.4.2 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are also called yes/no questions, as the answer the speaker expects is either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Polar interrogatives ask about the truth value or the degree of truth of the proposition expressed (Sadock and Zwicky 1985, Haspelmath 2001).

12.4.2.1 Unbiased polar interrogatives

In the case of unbiased polar interrogatives, the speaker has no expectation of either a positive or a negative answer. In Daai unbiased polar interrogatives are marked by the interrogative particle *mä* that has cognates in many Sino-Tibetan languages. The following are examples of unbiased polar interrogatives.

- (47) *Hnampo hmin=kti mä*
 banana ripe=NON.FUT QP
 ‘Are the bananas ripe?’
- (48) *Ling=noh lou: phyou: pääng=kti mä*
 Ling=ERG field weed.B PERF=NON.FUT QP
 ‘Has Ling finished weeding the field?’
- (49) *Kho-ngooi: Lok Nu:=a nah sit=kkhai mä*
 tomorrow Lok Nu=LOC S.AGR:2S go=FUT QP
 ‘Will you go to Lok Nu tomorrow?’

12.4.2.2 Alternative polarity

In alternative polarity constructions the speaker typically provides two options from which the right answer might be drawn. In Daai alternative questions are rare and occur in the form of two interrogative clauses.

- (50) *Nih täng=kti mä, am nih täng=kti mä*
 S.AGR:1DU/PL same=NON.FUT QP NEG S.AGR:1DU/PL same=NON.FUT QP
 ‘Are we equal or not?’

12.4.2.3 Positive polarity

If the speaker expects a positive answer, the clause is marked by the interrogative tag *bä*. The same tag functions also as the marker for polite imperatives (see 12.3.2). However, since

imperative clauses are not marked for tense there is no difficulty in distinguishing between the different functions of *bä*.

- (51) *Hnampo hmin=kti bä*
 banana ripe=NON.FUT TAG
 'The bananas are ripe, aren't they?'
- (52) *Ling noh lou: phyou: pääng=kti bä.*
 Ling ERG field weed PERF=NON.FUT TAG
 'Ling finished weeding the field, didn't he?'

12.4.2.4 Negative polarity

Negative polarity is marked by the clitic =*o*. The speaker doubts the truth-value of the proposition that he expresses. In example (53) the speaker does not believe that the bananas are really ripe.

- (53) *Hnampo hmin=kti=o*
 banana ripe-NON.FUT-QP
 'Are the bananas ripe? (i.e. it is rather unlikely)'
- (54) *Ling=noh lou: phyou: pääng=kti-o*
 Ling=ERG field weed PERF=NON.FUT=QP
 'Has Ling finished weeding the field? (i.e. probably not)'

12.4.2.5 Rhetorical interrogatives

Rhetorical questions have the same form as real polar questions and are marked by the tag *bäi:*. The speaker does not ask for new information; he knows the answer already. Propositions with the tag *bäi:* are uttered either as a reminder to the hearer or in order to get reconfirmation that a certain proposition is still true.

- (55) *Hnampo hmin=kti bäi:*
 banana ripe=NON.FUT TAG
 'The bananas are ripe, aren't they?' (i.e. it is time to cut them off!)
- (56) *Kho-ngooi: Lok Nu:=a nah sit=kkhai bäi:*
 tomorrow Lok Nu-LOC S.AGR:2S go-FUT TAG
 'You will go to Lok Nu tomorrow, won't you?' (i.e. you have not changed your mind?)

Conclusion

In this chapter three major moods, the Subjunctive, the Imperative and the Interrogative are discussed. Within each category several subtypes are identified. Some of these subtypes are formally different from each other while some are only distinguishable by context.

13 Interclausal relations and complex sentences

13.0 Introduction

This chapter describes three types of interclausal relations that we find in Daai¹:

- Complementation
- Adverbial clauses
- Clause chaining

Complementations and adverbial clauses are subordinate structures while clause-chaining is a clause combination strategy that is neither subordination nor co-ordination but can be called ‘co-subordination’ (VanValin 1997).

Complement clauses are clauses that occur as complements of a predicate. They typically function as subject or object arguments of other clauses, which are called **matrix** clauses.

Adverbial clauses are modifiers of verb phrases or whole clauses and provide additional information (Kroeger 2005: 227). They are a kind of adjunct.

13.1 Complementations

In this section I am dealing with sentential complementations. These are structures in which a sentence or a clause is an argument of a predicate, either functioning as subject or as object of that predicate (Noonan 1985: 42).

13.1.1 Complementizer

Daai complement-taking verbs can be divided into **complement-verbs** that require a sentential complement, and verbs with **multiple membership** (Givón 2001 vol I: 161). The

¹ The fourth type, the REL-clause, was already described in Chapter 6.

latter allow a sentential complement but can also be simple transitive or intransitive verbs. The complement clauses of verbs that take only complements are usually marked by a **complementizer**, the clitic =*a*, while complements of verbs with multiple membership are unmarked. Although there are a few exceptions, this rule is applicable most of the time. Example (1) illustrates a complement-verb with its complement marked by =*a*. Complement clauses are underlined.

- (1) *Kah* *thi-in* *kkhai=a* *kah* *ngngaih* *ni*.
 S.AGR:1S die-MIR FUT=CF S.AGR:1S think EMPH
 'I think that I will die.'

Example (2) shows *hmuh* 'see' as transitive verb and example (3) as complement-taking verb. Note that the complement clause is not marked by the complementizer.

- (2) *Ah mala:m su shukku ah hmuh vaai mjoh*.
 POSS:3S front DEM turtle S.AGR:3S see DIR:go EVID
 'He saw the turtle in front of him, it is told.'
- (3) *Sung-kyüing-mei:* *kshoon* *lo=kti* *ah* *hmuh*
 soot.cloud rise.up ASP:inc=NON.FUT S.AGR:3S see
 'He saw that clouds of soot started to rise.'

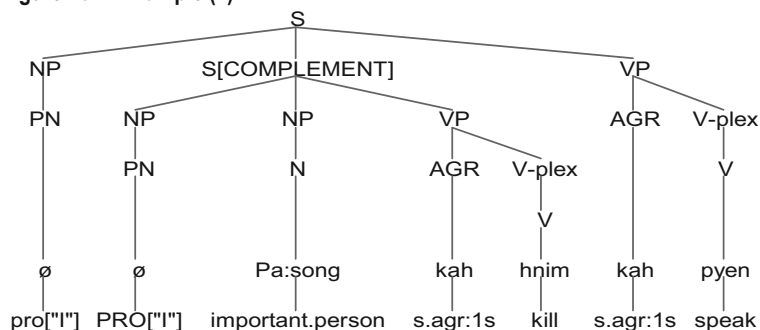
13.1.2 Complement types

13.1.2.1 The complement is an indicative clause

Intransitive clauses occur with either the tense marker =*kti* 'non-future' or =*kkhai* 'future'. We have seen examples of this complement type in (1) and (3) above. Transitive clauses occur without tense-marking as shown in example (4).

- (4) *Pa:song kah hnim kah pyen*
 important.person S.AGR:1S kill S.AGR:1S speak
 'I said that I killed an important person.'

Figure 13.1: Example (4)



13.1.2.2 *The complement is a clause in subjunctive mood*

The clause occurs with *vai* the marker for subjunctive mood. If the verb shows stem alternation, verb stem A is used. The following is an example of this clause type.

- (5) *Kah pu=a veei: kah seh vai hliü=kti.*
 POSS:1S father.in.law=GEN place S.AGR:1S go SUBJ need=NON.FUT
 'I need to go to my father-in-law.'

13.1.2.3 *The complement is a nominalized structure*

Nominalization of the complement is frequently conveyed by a possessor and/or a demonstrative; sometimes through the nominalizer *naa:k* and in some rare cases – see example (7) – just by the absence of a tense marker. Notice that possessive marking of the subject of the nominalized complement is fairly common. We find this also in English like in “*John’s reading of the story delighted the crowd.*”

Locative nominalization

- (6) *Kkhyang-sa:=a tui:-kyum-naa:k vai hliü=kti ni.*
 human.being=GEN descending-place SUBJ need=NON.FUT EMPH
 'A place for the humans to descend to is needed.'

Activity nominalization

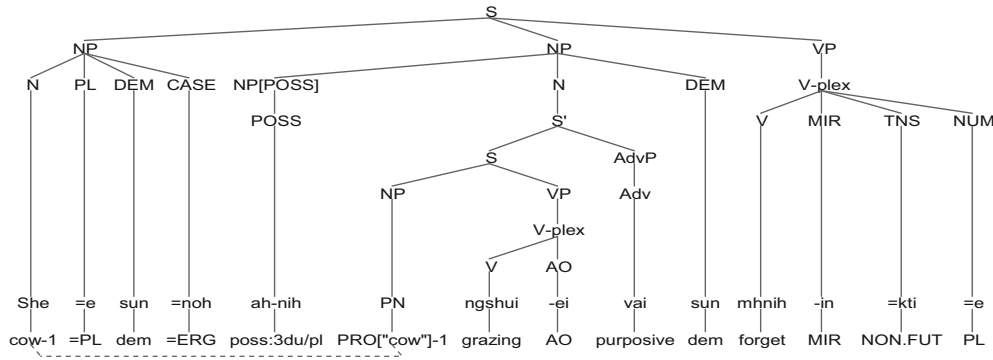
The examples below show activity nominalization (see also 6.1.2.1). The kind of verb like in example (7) *sut-ei* ‘start’ is special and can be called ‘control verb’ because it shares an argument between the matrix and the embedded clause.

- (7) *Kho-ngooi=a i:m-shak sut-ei=kkhai=e.*
 Tomorrow=LOC house-building start=FUT=PL
 'Tomorrow they will start the house building (i.e. 'Tomorrow they will start to build the house.')

- (8) *She=e sun=noh ah-nih ngshui-ei*
 cow=PL DEM=ERG POSS:3DU/PL grazing

vai sun mhnih-in=kti=e.
 PURP DEM forget-MIR=NON.FUT=PL
 'The cows forgot their grazing.' (i.e. 'The cows forgot to graze.')

Figure 13.2: Example 8



13.1.2.4 Complements of nouns

A few nouns that are derived from verbs, can take sentences as arguments. These nominalized verbs are semantically highly bleached and occur also in constructions other than complementations. They are shown in Table 13.1 below.

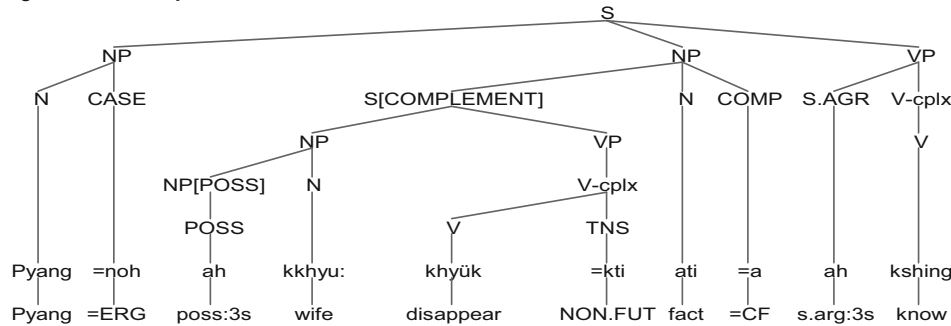
Table 13.1: Grammatized Nominalizations

Verb	Gloss		Noun	Gloss
<i>ti</i>	'say'	→	<i>ati, ti</i>	'saying', 'fact'
<i>ve</i>	'live', 'exist', 'is'	→	<i>ave</i>	'existing'
<i>ni</i>	copula, formerly an existential verb	→	<i>ani</i>	'in case'

The following are examples that illustrate the occurrence of these nominalizations in complementation.

- (9) *Pyang=noh ah kkhyu: khyük=kti*
 Pyang=ERG POSS:3S wife disappear-NON.FUT
- ati=a ah kshing*
 fact=CF S.ARG:3S know
 'Pyang knew the fact that his wife had disappeared.'

Figure 13.3: Example 9



The remaining two nominalizations occur only when the whole complement construction, including the complement-taking verb, is a subordinate clause.

- (10) Na:ng=a sa: hin kah tu-naa:k vai
 2S=GEN son DEM S.AGR:1S son.in.law-take.as SUBJ

ani=a kyaa:k=iing ...
 case=CF happen=SUBO:if
 'if it happens to be the case that I take your son as my son in law ...'

- (11) Ah-nih kkheih-hnge:n-naa:k vai
 POSS:3DU/PL sacrificing-PURP SUBJ

am ave=a kyaa:k=iing ...
 NEG existing=CF happen-SUBO:if
 'if it should happen that they have nothing to sacrifice...' (i.e. no animals)

13.1.2.5 Raising complement

This complement type has matrix verbs without any noun phrase arguments. Only the two copular verbs **kyaa:k/kyaa** 'happen' and **thoon** 'happen' (see 12.2.1.3 and 12.2.1.4) can occur as matrix verbs in these constructions.

- (12) Msi kuu:k=a hlü ah-nih msüh-mdeh=a kyaa:k=iing
 salt ash=GEN need S.AGR:3DU/PL taste=CF happen=SUBO:if

ah-nih mshoh lo be yah ni.
 S.AGR:3DU/PL spit.out ASP again MOD:must EMPH
 'If it happens that they taste [it] for the need of salt [or] ash, they must spit [it] out again.'

13.1.2.6 The complement is a direct quotation

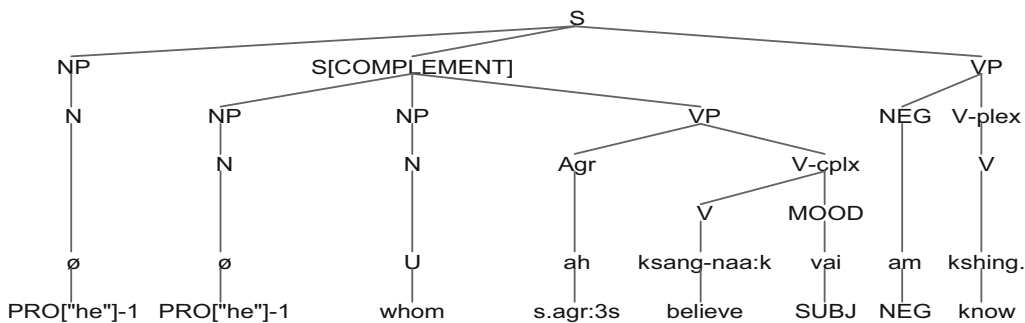
This complement type occurs with utterance words and must with most utterance words be preceded by **tilü**, that acts as a kind of 'quotation mark'. Many examples are provided in (27) to (42).

13.1.2.7 The complement is an embedded constituent interrogative

This is a special case of interrogative use. In the following examples we have 'question word nominals' but no question particles. These constructions are indirect interrogatives

- (13) I ni nah hli-ei pye:n=a.
what COP S.AGR:2S like speak=IMP
 'Tell (me) what is it that you like?'
- (14) U ah ksang-naa:k vai am kshing.
whom S.AGR:3S believe SUBJ NEG know
 'He did not know whom he should believe.'

Figure 13.4: Example 14



- (15) Ho=a ah yoo:k mkhyüh vai ati sun
where=LOC POSS:3S corpse bury SUBJ saying DEM

ngthäh-ngkhyah lo=kti=e.
 discuss ASP=NON.FUT=PL
 'They were discussing where to bury his dead body.'

13.1.3 Classification of complement-taking verbs

Givón (2001 vol I: 149 – 162 and vol II: 40 – 90) suggests a division into three major semantic and syntactic sub-types: **modality verbs**, **manipulation verbs** and **perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs**. He discusses the semantic dimension of event-integration that underlies complementation and points out that modality verbs and manipulation verbs show the strongest semantic bond between the two events, while PCU verbs show the the weakest bond. Givón gives the following principle for **event integration** and **clause union** “The stronger is the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of two clauses into a single though complex clause.” (2001 vol II: 40)

In Daai this principle is realized in the fact that we find only very few free modality verbs or manipulation verbs that can function as complement-taking verbs. On the other hand we find quite a good number of grammaticalized epistemic and deontic modals and an analytic causative. Note that most examples for these sections above have to be translated into English

as complementations. Givón further remarks (2001 vol II: 79), that the grammaticalization of one verb of the two clauses to be merged is common in all clause-union types. In embedding languages – since in Daai nominalized constructions are rather frequent, it classifies as an embedding language – it is most commonly the **main-clause** verb that grammaticalizes and – in the case of Daai – becomes an auxiliary to the other verb. This development results in a syntactic re-organization of the whole complex construction and affects its grammatical relations.

The following three examples show that the modality verb *hlü* ‘want’¹ does not embed a clausal argument but has become a modifying auxiliary to another verb. Example (16) shows a simple clause. Example (17) shows the same clause modified by *hlü*.

Note that the main verb *om* ‘take care’ and the modifier *hlü* are not separated by complementizer or tense-marker etc. Since in example (18) the subject that does the ‘wanting’ is not same as the one which should or would carry out the action, the perisphrastic causative *shak* has to be employed.

- (16) *Nukpüi sun=noh hnashen ah om.*
 old.woman DEM=ERG child S.AGR:3S take.care
 ‘The old woman takes care of the child.’
- (17) *Nukpüi sun=noh hnashen ah om hlü.*
 old.woman DEM=ERG child S.AGR:3S take.care want
 ‘The old woman wants to take care of the child.’
- (18) *Nukpüi=iing hnashen kah om hlü shak.*
 old.woman=DAT child S.AGR:1S take.care want CAUS
 ‘I want the old woman to take care of the child.’

When *hlü* occurs with meaning ‘need’ it can take complements and is preceded by *vai* as shown in example (19). It cannot occur with independent agreement markers like for example the manipulation verb *mtheh* ‘tell’ in (20).

- (19) *Kah pu=a veei: kah seh vai hlü=kti.*
 POSS:1S father.in.law=GEN place S.AGR:1S go SUBJ need=NON.FUT
 ‘I need to go to my father-in-law.’
- (20) *Kah pu=a veei: kah seh*
 POSS:1S father.in.law=GEN place S.AGR:1S go

¹ In fact as a main verb *hlü* occurs with the meaning ‘need’.

vai=a näi=noh *ah* *nah* *mtheh.*
 SUBJ=CF mother=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:2S tell
 'Mother told me that I should go to my father-in-law.'

PCU verbs are placed low down on the complementation scale and utterance verbs at the very bottom. It is of interest that at first glance Daai seems to have very few utterance verbs that can take complements. Most utterance verbs are found in what appears to be a separate clause and are preceded by a direct-quote complementation. We shall see more on this later in the next section.

13.1.3.1 Utterance verbs

Utterance verbs are used to describe a simple transfer of information or communication initiated by an agentive subject (Noonan 1985: 110). The complement represents the transferred communication. The complement-taking verb describes the manner of transfer and the illocutionary force and may also give an epistemic evaluation of the speaker. The subject/agent of the complement-taking verb is the entity that makes the original statement. The information that is transferred in the complement can be a direct quotation that presents the actual words of the speaker or an indirect quotation. In Daai indirect quotes are not used very often.

The utterance verb *pyen/pye:n* 'tell', 'say'

This is the only utterance verb in Daai that is frequently used with indirect quotations. In example (21) and in example (4) above, the complement and the complement-verb have the same subject-agent.

- (21) Meh nah-nih ei hlii=kti=a *nah-nih* *pyen.*
 meat S.AGR:2DU/PL eat AUX:want=NON.FUT=CF S.AGR:2DU/PL tell
 'You said that you want to eat meat.'

In the following example the agent of the complement and of the complement-verb are not the same.

- (22) Mdaai=e am pha lo ha:m=kti=e=a
 Mdaai=PL NEG arrive DIR:come ASP=NON.FUT=PL=CF

ah-nih *pyen=u.*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL tell=PL
 'They say that the people from the Mdaai clan have not yet arrived.'

The utterance verb *ti* ‘say’ and its development to a direct-quote marker

The investigation of the utterance verb *ti* shows the verb in three different functions or stages of grammaticalization.

- **As complement-taking verb with indirect quotations**

The verb *ti* occurs only rarely in constructions like (23).

- (23) *Ah-nih* *pät=e* *phi* *asukba* *ngdäh-ngkaih=kti=e*
 S.AGR:2DU/PL self=PL also like.that argue=NON.FUT=PL

ati *sun* *ti=u* *bä.*
 saying DEM say=PL TAG
 ‘They say that they themselves argued like that, don’t they?’

- **As verb that takes a direct quotation as its complement**

In these constructions *ti* occurs with agreement and number and occasionally with aspect and epistemic modality as shown in the following examples. Therefore it is not yet grammaticalized. *Ti* is the only utterance verb that occurs frequently with direct quotations.

- (24) “*Sho* *buh-ei* *ni*” *ah-nih* *ti=u.*
 Sho-feast rice-eating COP S.AGR:3DU/PL say=PL
 ‘They say, “This is the rice-eating of the Sho feast”.’

- (25) *Ah* *sa:=xooi* *sun=noh*
 POSS:3S son=DU DEM=ERG
- “*Meh* *kah-nih* *ei* *hlü=kti* *ni*”
 meat S.AGR:1DU/PL eat AUX:want=NON.FUT EMPH

ah-nih *ti* *betü.*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL say ASP:again
 ‘His two sons said again, “We want to eat meat”.’

- **The verb *ti* grammaticalized as quotation-marker**

The verb *ti* combined with *lü*, the non-finite marker (NF) that we find in clause-chaining (see 14.2), has become grammaticalized. Although the surface syntactic structures of the clauses following direct quotations look like two events coded in two separate clauses, I will argue here that in Daai clauses marked by *lü* may frequently merge with the matrix clause and become something that is not a complete clause. Andvik (1999:517-518) describes a similar phenomenon in Tshangla, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in eastern Bhutan and North-East

India. This argument will be continued in the next section; here we will only look at clauses that comprise utterance verbs. Although generally clauses that are combined by *lü* may represent completely distinct events, we find also sequences of verbs which encode semantic components of a single event. Daai has whole series of utterance verbs that describe manners of transfer of information. Most of these verbs can neither take indirect quotations as complements nor occur immediately following a direct quotation. They take direct quotations as complements but have to be preceded by *tilü*.

It has to be mentioned here that *tilü* is not completely grammaticalized and is marked for number: *ti=ni=lü* ‘saying (dual)’ or *ti=u=lü* ‘saying (plural)’. However, number-marking can occur only if *tilü* is not followed by an utterance verb but behaves similar to other verbs in a clause chain. Example (26) shows *tilü* with dual-marking and in example (27) *tilü* is followed by an utterance verb and dual-marking is omitted.

- (26) *Ah nu: jah ah pa: sun=noh “Kah sa:,*
 POSS:3S mother and POSS:3S father DEM=ERG POSS:1S child
buh ei lo=a” ti=ni=lü
 rice eat DIR:come=IMP saying”
buh ah-nih ei hlü püi.
 rice S.AGR:3DU/PL eat want APPL:COM
 ‘His mother and his father saying “My child, come and eat”, wanted him to eat together with them.
- (27) *Oom jah Pyang=noh “Ngmaai kee:k sa:*
 Oom and Pyang=ERG pumkin part small
jah pe=a” tilü ah-nih tong.
 O.AGR:1/3DU/PL give=IMP saying S.AGR:3DU/PL ask
 “Oom and Pyang asked saying “Give us a small part of a pumkin!” ‘

Example (28) shows *tilü* with and plural-marking and (29) without plural marking under the same conditions mentioned above.

- (28) *“Meh ta i-pi-pi=a thoon=kkhai ni”*
 meat FOC what-ever=LOC happen=FUT EMPH”
ti=u=lü mün-sam mjoh=kti=e.
 saying=PL amazed EVID=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘They were amazed, saying “What-ever may have happened to the meat?” ‘

- (29) *Kkhyaange=e sun=noh “Tuh vei ta nah*
 people=PL DEM=ERG now PPOS FOC S.AGR:2S
ngvaa:k hū=kti ni” tilü ah-nih pyen mjoh=u.
 roam DIR:around=NON.FUT EMPH saying S.AGR:3DU/PL tell EVID=PL
 ‘The people told [him] saying “Until now you have roamed around!” ‘

The utterance verb *pyen/pye:n* ‘tell’ with *tilü*

Although we have seen *pyen/pye:n* as a verb that can take an indirect quotation as complement, the same verb has to be preceded by the quotation-marker *tilü* if used with a direct quotation.

- (30) “*Jah tha-hü=a” tilü*
 O.AGR:1/3DU/PL send-DIR:around =IMP saying
pye:n-ei lä=kti.
 tell-INTR ASP:always=NON.FUT
 ‘She always told [him], “Send them away!” ‘

The utterance verb *mtheh* ‘tell’, ‘instruct’ with *tilü*

This verb has two different meanings. It can be used either simply to transfer information or as manipulation verb. In section 13.1.3.6 *mtheh* will be discussed as a manipulation verb. In the following example *mtheh* is used to transfer information.

- (31) “*Kei: ta kah mpya-ei=kkhai lek ni”*
 1S FOC S.AGR:1S be.a.slave=FUT EVID:inference EMPH
tilü ah mtheh vaai.
 saying S.AGR:3S tell DIR:go
 ‘He went and told [him], “I will apparently become a slave.” ‘

The utterance verb *khü* ‘call’ with *tilü*

Khü is also used as a simple transitive verb. But its occurrence as an utterance verb is more common.

- (32) “*Buh ei lo=a” tilü ah khü.*
 rice eat DIR:come=IMP saying S.AGR:3S call
 ‘He called [him], saying “Come and eat rice!” ‘

The utterance verb *ngpyaang* ‘shout’ with *tilü*

- (33) “*Nah kkhyah=a” tilü ngpyaang mjoh=kti.*
 O.AGR:1S release=IMP saying shout EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘[She] shouted, saying “Release me!” ‘

The utterance verb *kthäh* ‘ask’ with and without *tilü*

This is one of the few utterance verbs that may occasionally take a direct quotation as complement without being preceded by *tilü*.

- (34) “*I-lü nah kyap=kti ni*” *ah kthäh.*
 why S.AGR:2S cry=NON.FUT EMPH S.AGR:3S ask
 ‘He asked, “Why do you cry?” ‘
- (35) “*I ja: nah hmuh*” *tilü ah kthäh.*
 what QP S.AGR:2S see saying S.AGR:3S ask
 ‘He asked, “What did you see?” ‘

The utterance verb *tong* ‘ask for’ with *tilü*

See example (27) above.

The utterance verb *nghui-naa:k/nghui-na* ‘plead’ with *tilü*

- (36) “*Nah seh püi kom=kti bä*”
 S.AGR:2S go APPL:COM MOD:can=NON.FUT TAG
- tilü ah nghui-naa:k mjoh.*
 saying S.AGR:3S plead EVID
 ‘He pleaded, saying “I can come along with you, can’t I”, it is told.’

The utterance verb *ksäk* ‘inquire’ with *tilü*

- (37) “*Ahin kho hmuun-na=kti u ni*”
 DEM.PRO land origin-use.as=NON.FUT who COP
- tilü ah-nih ksäk lo.*
 saying S.AGR:3DU/PL inquire DIR:come
 ‘They came and inquired, saying “Who owns this land?” ‘

The utterance verb *sük* ‘give the order’ with *tilü*

- (38) “*Kshu:m shu=u=a*” *tilü*
 paddy pound=PL=IMP saying
- ah jah sük hüt.*
 S.AGR:1S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL give.order DIR:back.there
 ‘He gave them the order saying “Pound the paddy!” [and left]’

The utterance word *hleei/hleei*: ‘lie’ with *tilü*

- (39) “*Am yah lo khoh=ngü*” *tilü hleei: vaai=kti.*
 NEG get DIR:come MOD:able=1P.M saying lie DIR:go=NON.FUT
 ‘He went and lied, saying “I could not get [it]” ‘

The utterance verb *dam* ‘refuse’ with *tilü*

- (40) “*Am o-hlü=ngü*” *tilü dam mjoh=kti.*
 NEG drink-AUX:want=1P.M saying refuse EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘He refused, saying “I don’t want to drink”, it is told.’

The utterance verb *ng’üi* ‘sing’ with *tilü*

- (41) “*Kah püi, jah non-nooi-ei*”
 POSS:1S friend O.AGR:1/3DU/PL endure-AO

tilü ng’üi mjoh=kti.
 saying sing EVID=NON.FUT
 ‘He sang “My beloved, endure them (i.e. endure their mocking)”, it is told.’

Onomatopoeic utterance verbs with *tilü*

Daai has several onomatopoeic utterance verbs, but here I give just one example: *kaa:k* ‘croak’

- (42) *Lung nu:=a kke su k’u ta “Kaa:k, kaa:k, kaa:k”*
 stone big=GEN between DEM toad FOC kaak, kaak, kaak

tilü kaa:k betü=kti.
 saying croak ASP:again=NON.FUT
 ‘As for the toad between the rocks, it croaked again, saying “Kaak, kaak, kaak”.’

These examples above (30) – (42) support the claim that *tilü* and a succeeding verb complex are not two separate clauses but one clause encoding a single speech event.

13.1.3.2 Cognition and perception verbs

The subject of verbs in this group either perceives or knows a state or event (Givón 2001 vol I: 153). The complement-taking verb expresses either a mental state or an event of perception.

The cognition verb *kshi:ng* ‘know’

The verb *kshi:ng* does not necessarily require sentential complementation but also occurs as a simple transitive verb, as shown in example (43).

- (43) *Ahin la:m kah kshi:ng=kti ni.*
 DEM.PRO road S.AGR:1S know=NON.FUT EMPH.
 'I know this road.'

The complements of *kshi:ng* are frequently indicative clauses or embedded constituent questions.

- (44) *Nah-nih hmu-she=kti ta*
 S.AGR:2DU/PL behave.bad=NON.FUT FOC

am nah-nih kshi:ng-ei=o.
 NEG S.AGR:2DU/PL know-AO=QP
 'As for your behaving shamfull, don't you really know that?'

The perception verb *hmuh/hmu-* 'see'

Hmuh/hmu- may also occur as a simple transitive verb as shown in example (2) at the beginning of this section. The complements of this perception verb are either indicative clauses (45) or nominalizations (46).

Sung-kyüing-mei: kshoon lo=kti ah hmuh.
 soot.cloud rise.up ASP:inc=NON.FUT S.AGR:3S see
 'He saw that clouds of soot started to rise.'

- (45) *Thang=a ngnoon sun*
 Thang=GEN moving.backward DEM

ah nu: noh ah hmuh.
 POSS:3S mother ERG S.AGR:3S see
 'Thang's mother saw him moving backwards.'

The perception verb *ngjaa:k/ngja* 'hear'

The verb *ngjaa:k/ngja* is a complement-verb. The complements are indicative clauses, as in (47) or nominalizations, as in (48). It is interesting to observe that this verb may show object agreement. That means the agent of the complement becomes the object of the complement-verb.

- (46) *Mei: nah khat=kti=a ni:ng ngja ve=ngü.*
 fire S.AGR:2S strike=NON.FUT=CF O.AGR:2S hear ASP:dur=1P.M
 'I hear you that you are striking fire.'
- (47) *Tuui phung=e=a ah-nih ngsi-ngjaang*
 medicine plant=PL=GEN POSS:3DU/PL talking

ah jah ngjaa:k.
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:3DU/PL hear
 'He heard the medicinal plants' talking.'

This perception verb can also have the meaning 'feel in one-self' as shown in the following example.

(48) *Kah ve hnga lo=kti=a kah ngjaa:k ni.*
 S.AGR:1S is different ASP:inc=NON.FUT=CF S.AGR:1S feel EMPH
 'I feel that I am starting to change.'

13.1.3.3 Propositional attitude verbs

These verbs are used to express an attitude concerning the truth of the statement made in their complements. Givón (2001 vol I: 155) calls them "epistemic non-factive" verbs.

The propositional attitude verb *ngngaih/ngngaai* 'think'

Ngngaih/ngngaai is a complement-verb. Usually the complements are indicative clauses as shown in the example below.

(49) *Ah-nih hleei pye:n=kti=xooi=a kah ngngaih ni.*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL lie speak=NON.FUT=DU=CF S.AGR:1S think EMPH
 'I think that they have told a lie.'

The complement can also be a nominal predicate as the following example illustrates.

(50) *Nah hlih-püi sun kkhyaang=a nah ngngaih mä.*
 POSS:2S lover DEM man=CF S.AGR:2S think QP
 'Do you think that your lover is a human?'

Occasionally the complement is a nominalized structure as in example (52).

(51) *Ui:=noh ta mü=a ah ei-oo:k vai sun*
 dog=ERG FOC evening=LOC POSS:3S eat-drink SUBJ DEM

ngngaai=kti.
 think=NON.FUT
 'As for the dog, he thought of what he would eat in the evening.'

The propositional attitude verb *shui* 'assume'

Shui is a complement-verb and its complement is either an indicative clause (53) or a nominal predicate without a copula, as in example (51).

- (52) *K'u kaa:k=kti=a ah shui.*
 toad croak=NON.FUT=CF S.AGR:3S assume
 'He assumed that a toad was croaking.'

The propositional attitude verb *mün* 'be amazed'

The verb *mün* is not a complement-verb and can also occur as simple intransitive verb as we can see in the following example.

- (53) *Asunüng kpa:-mi-sa: mün lo hnüh=kti.*
 CONJ:then young.man be.amazed AUX:become finally=NON.FUT
 'Then the young man finally became amazed.'

The complements of *mün* are indicative clauses.

- (54) *Käh ve ti:=kti mün hnüh=kti=e.*
 NEG is APS=NON.FUT be.amazed finally=NON.FUT=PL
 'They were amazed that they (i.e other people) were not there any longer.'

The propositional attitude verb *ngkäih* 'be suitable'

This verb is used only rarely. Its complements are indicative clauses.

- (55) *Nah püi sun ngthiim-kho-da*
 POSS:2S friend DEM world.of.the.living-direction

sit=kkhai=a am ngkäih
 go=FUT=CF NEG suitable
 'Your friend is not suitable to go to the world of the living.'

The propositional attitude verb *ngtääng* 'agree with each other'

Ngtääng occurs only as a reciprocal. Its complements are indicative clauses.

- (56) *Ah nu:pa:=xooi lu:ng-kkot=kkhai=a ngtääng=kti=xooi.*
 POSS:3S mother-father=DU stone-lift=FUT=CF agree=NON.FUT=DU
 'His parents agreed with each other to have a stone-lifting feast.'

13.1.3.4 *The pretence verb hana-som 'pretend'*

This verb is only used for pretending to assume another physical state or for pretending to be another being entirely. The part *som* is likely related by derivation to the main verb *som* 'create' and its intransitive counterpart *ngsom* 'come into being'. Its complements are indicative clauses and nominal predicates.

- (57) *Je sun mhnat-ei lo=kti=a*
 hare DEM have.a.fever ASP:inc=NON.FUT=CF

hana-som hñüh=kti.
 pretend finally=NON.FUT
 'The hare finally pretended to get a fever.'

- (58) *Msäai pa: sun kkhyaang=a hana-som=kti.*
 Msäai GEND DEM man=CF pretend=NON.FUT
 'The Msäai man pretended to be a human.'

For other forms of deception, the auxiliary *tuhan* is used, following the main verb. This illustrates what was discussed earlier in this section about event-integration and clause union.

- (59) *Thi:ng-thu: ah kkoh lo tuhan mjoh.*
 tree-branch S.AGR:3S carry DIR:come AUX:pretend EVID
 'He pretended to have been carrying the tree branch all along.'

13.1.3.5 Desiderative verbs

Desiderative verbs are characterized by having subjects expressing the desire that the complement proposition be realized (Noonan 1985: 121). Daai has only one desiderative verb that can take sentential complements and even this is not used with great frequency. The original desiderative verb *hlü* has become an auxiliary verb (see discussion above). As complement-taking verb it has undergone a semantic shift and became a modality verb with the meaning 'need', 'be necessary'. As main verb it occurs also in the derived form *hlü-ei* 'to like' and does not take complements. Example (61) shows *hlü* as an auxiliary verb. *hlü* cannot be preceded by verbal agreement, which proves that it is not a full verb. Example (62) shows *hlü-ei* with subject agreement.

- (60) *Kphyu:=noh ta aphung sun*
 rat=ERG FOC plant DEM
- ah ei *(ah) hlü thak-thak ni.*
 S.AGR:3S eat S.AGR:3S AUX:want all.the.time EMPH
 'As for the rat, it always wanted to eat the plant.'
- (61) *Sha-ui:=noh ta tui:-sik-sa: sun ah hlü-ei.*
 fox=ERG FOC water.maid DEM S.AGR:3S like.
 'As for the fox, he liked the water maid.'

The desiderative verb *tääng* ‘wish’

Although this verb now occurs as a complement-taking verb only, its complements are not marked by the complementizer. The verb *tääng* may have undergone a semantic change. The propositional attitude verb *ngtääng* ‘agree with each other’ is most likely a derivation. The complements of the desiderative verb *tääng* are indicative clauses and nominalizations.

- (62) *Mhnüü:p-buh ei vai sun ah tääng.*
 noon-rice eat SUBJ DEM S.AGR:3S wish
 ‘He wished to eat lunch.’

(63) The following example is a double complementation.

- (64) *Kho-ngooi:=a i:m-shak sut-ei vai kah tääng ni.*
 tomorrow=LOC house-building start SUBJ S.AGR:1S wish EMPH
 ‘I wish to start the house-building tomorrow.’

13.1.3.6 *Manipulation verbs*

Manipulation verbs express a causative relationship between a human agent, who is the subject of the main clause, and a manipulee who should perform the target event in the complement clause (Givón 2001 vol I: 151). The complements of manipulation verbs are mainly subjunctive clauses.

The manipulation verb *mtheh* ‘tell’, ‘instruct’

We have already encountered *mtheh* as an utterance verb transferring information. Note that *mtheh* shows object agreement. But it is the indirect object that is marked, which we used as evidence for grammatical case-marking in Chapter 5 on the Noun Phrase. The instruction contained in the complement is syntactically the direct object.

- (65) *Kah be=a veei: kah seh vai=a*
 POSS:1S older.brother=GEN nearness S.AGR:1S go SUBJ=CF

näai=noh ah nah mtheh.
 mother=ERG S.AGR: IO.AGR:1S tell
 ‘Mother told me to go to my older brother.’

- (66) *Thi:ng-thu: ah-nih kkoh lo vai=a*
 tree-branch S.AGR:3DU/PL carry DIR:come SUBJ=CF

ah-nih mah-pa:=noh ah jah mtheh.
 POSS:3DU/PL master=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL instruct
 ‘Their master told them to carry a tree branch [back with them].’

The manipulation verb *mhloh-msah* ‘persuade’

Like mtheh the verb *mhloh-msah* requires indirect object agreement.

- (67) *Mlüh=a kah seh vai=a ah nah mhloh-msah.*
 town=LOC S.AGR:1S go SUBJ=CF S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1S persuade
 ‘He persuaded me to go to town.’

13.1.3.7 *Modality verbs*

This group includes verbs that express either epistemic or deontic modality. The complements of modality verbs are mainly subjunctive clauses but they can also consist of nominalizations or indicative clauses.

The modality verb *hlü* ‘need’, ‘be necessary’

Although as a desiderative verb *hlü* cannot take sentential complements, it has undergone a slight semantic shift and as a modality verb retains the ability to take complements. The complements of *hlü* are subjunctive clauses and subjunctive nominalizations.

- (68) *Lou: kah phyoh vai hlü=kti.*
 field S.AGR:1S weed SUBJ need=NON.FUT
 ‘I need to weed the field.’

The complements may also be different types of nominalizations combined with *vai*. The example below seems similar to the last one but shows agent nominalization.

- (69) *Lou: k’phyou: vai hlü=kti.*
 field weeding-person SUBJ need=NON.FUT
 ‘Someone to weed the field is needed.’

- (70) *Kah ye-naa:k vai hlü=kti.*
 POSS:1S living-place SUBJ need=NON.FUT
 ‘A place for me to live is needed.’

The aspectual modality verb *sut-ei* ‘start’

This is the only aspectual modality verb that I have found in Daai. All other similar entities have become aspectuals that operate within the verb-phrase and cannot occur with verbal agreement.

- (71) *Thang=noh vah-voo:k ah sut-ei*
 Thang=ERG new.field-cutting.down S.AGR:3S start
 ‘Thang has started to cut down the new field.’

13.1.3.8 Achievement verbs¹

Achievement verbs can be divided into positive and negative achievement classes. The complements of positive achievement verbs are indicative clauses, while the complements of achievement verbs with negative or uncertain results are nominalized subjunctives.

The positive achievement verb *poh* ‘do’, ‘make’, ‘manage’

Poh functions also as a transitive verb with a wide variety of meanings. Also as complement-taking verb *poh* has many different meanings. Its complements are usually indicative clauses. In the following example *poh* requires indirect object agreement.

- (72) *Kah* *xü:ng* *lo* *be* *kkhai=a*
 S.AGR:1S live AUX:become again FUT=CF
- ah nah poh ni.*
 S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:1S make EMPH
 ‘He made it possible for me to become alive again.’

In example (74) the achievement is successfully accomplished, but the outcome is harmful for some of the participants.

- (73) *Ling jah Thang sun lim-ma=kti=xooi=a*
 Ling and Thang SUN false=NON.FUT=DU=CF
- ah-nih poh lo=u.*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL make ASP=PL
 ‘They made Ling and Thang into liars.’ (i.e. they made it so that Ling and Thang were regarded as liars)

The negative achievement verb *shui-hjam* ‘look for’

- (74) *Je=noh ah ei-oo:k vai*
 hare ERG POSS:3S eating-drinking SUBJ
- shui-hjam-ei hü=kti.*
 look.for-AO DIR:around=NON.FUT
 ‘The hare searched around for food.’

The negative achievement verb *mhnih* ‘forget’

- (75) *She=e sun=noh ah-nih ngshui-ei vai sun*
 cow=PL DEM=ERG POSS:3DU/PL grazing SUBJ DEM

¹ Note that here the term ‘achievement verb’ has nothing to do with its usage as ‘aktionsarten’ term.

mhnih-in=kti=e.
 forget-MIR=NON.FUT=PL
 'The cows forgot their grazing.'

13.1.3.9 Copular verbs

Daai copular verbs can also take complements.

The copla *ni* as negative predicate

As a copula in a negative construction *ni* can take complements. This device is used to underline and highlight the negation.

(76) *Kei:-nih=a* *tüüi-ksük* *am* *ni.*
 1DU/PL.EXCL=GEN inventing NEG COP
 'It is not our invention!'

(77) *Asukba kah pyen* *am* *ni.*
 like.that POSS:1S speaking NEG COP
 'I did not speak like that!'

(78) *Kei: däk je kah ve=kti* *am* *ni.*
 1S only hare S.AGR:1S exist=NON.FUT NEG COP
 'I am not the only hare that exists!'

The copular verb *ve*

As complement-taking verb the function of *ve* is close to that in existential clauses (see 8.2.4) and in predicate possession (see 8.2.6). The complements of *ve* are subjunctives.

Ju ah-nih oo:k vai ve ha:m=kti.
 rice.wine S.AGR:3DU/PL drink SUBJ is ASP:still=NON.FUT
 'There is still rice wine for them to drink.'

The copular verb *thoon*

As complement-taking verb *thoon* occurs with the meaning 'happen'. Its complements are usually indicative clauses as shown in the following example.

(79) *Pyat-thi:ng sun phyai kti=a* *thoon=kti.*
 Pyat tree DEM slippery NON.FUT=CF happen=NON.FUT
 '[t] happened that the Pyat tree was slippery.'

As already mentioned above *thoon* can also be found with complementations that are embedded in subordinate adverbial clauses. In these constructions *thoon* occurs with the prefix *a-*.

- (80) Nah jah mtheh hü=a **athoon=üing**
 S.AGR:2S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL tell DIR:around=CF happen=SUBO:if
- kah* *ni:ng* *man-ei* *vai* *ni.*
 S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S catch-AO SUBJ EMPH
 'If it happens that you tell them, I would catch you.'

The following example is a complex structure with one complementation embedded within another.

- (81) Ah yuh kee:k sa: ah ye ha:m=a **athoon=üing**
 POSS:3S bone part small S.AGR:3S exist ASP=CF happen-SUBO:if
- xüing* *lo* *be=kti=a*
 live AUX:become again=NON.FUT=CF
- kah* *khyaih-khoh=kti* *ni.*
 S.AGR:1S able=NON.FUT EMPH
 'If it happens that there still exists a little part of his bone, I can make him alive again.'

The copular verb ***kyaa:k/ky-*** 'happen'

Kyaa:k/ky- (see 8.2.1.4) is very similar in meaning to *thoon*, but it rarely takes indicative clauses as complements, though one example is shown below.

- (82) Pooi poh lü je-kyai-ei=kti=e=a **kyaa=kti.**
 feast make NF glad-AO=NON.FUT=PL=CF happen=NON.FUT
 'It happened that they made a feast and were merry.'

This copular verb mainly occurs with complementations that are embedded in subordinate clauses as illustrated in the example below.

- (83) Hnashen=noh ah ei yot=a **kyaa:k-üing**
 child=ERG S.AGR:3S eat inadvertently=CF happen-SUBO:if
- kkhyüing-kshei* *hni:m* *be* *yah=kti=e.*
 animal kill again MOD:must=NON.FUT=PL
 'If it happens that a child eats [from it] inadvertently, [the child's parents] must kill another animal.'

Summary

The following chart gives an overview of the semantic classes of matrix verbs found in Daai Chin and shows which type of complements they select.

Table 13.2: Matrix Verbs and Complement Types

Semantic Class of Matrix Verb	Complement Type
Utterance Verbs	Indicative Clause, Direct Quotations
Cognition and Perception Verbs	Indicative Clause, Nominalization
Propositional Attitude Verbs	Indicative Clause, Nominal Predicate, Nominalization
Pretence Verbs	Indicative Clause, Nominal Predicate
Desiderative Verbs	Indicative Clause, Nominalization
Manipulation Verbs	Subjunctive Clause
Modality Verbs	Subjunctive Clause, Nominalized Subjunctives
Achievement Verbs (positive)	Indicative Clause
Achievement Verb (negative)	Nominalized Subjunctives
Copular Verbs	Indicative Clause, Nominalization, Nominal Predicate, Subjunctive Clause

13.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that function as modifiers of verb phrases or whole clauses (Longacre and Thompson 1985: 171-172). Adverbial clauses are distinct from the other two types of subordinate clauses: complements, which frequently occupy the same position as noun phrases objects (Kroeger 2005: 220) and are arguments, and relative clauses (see 6.2), which function as modifiers of nouns. Sometimes adverbial clauses are also called **adjuncts** (Payne 1997: 317) since they are not arguments but add information to a proposition.

13.2.1 Structure of adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses can be divided basically into two structural types.

Structural Type I: Subordinator + =*a*

Structural Type II: Tense marker + =*a* or *lüphi*

Most adverbial clauses are of the first structural type. If the verb has alternating stems, the stem A form is used and a subordinator links the adverbial clause to the main clause. Some subordinators require the clitic =*a*. Schematically this structure can be represented as:

TYPE I → [[...V-stem A ±=*a* SUBORDINATOR ±=*a*] SUBORDINATE CL] MAIN CL

A few adverbial clause types are of the second structural type. They occur with stem B form of the verb and with either a tense marker and the clitic =*a* or with the special marker *lüphi*. Schematically this can be represented as:

TYPE II → [[...V-stem B tense =*a*] SUBORDINATE CL] MAIN CL

[[...V-stem B *lüphi*] SUBORDINATE CL] MAIN CL

13.2.2 Adverbial clauses of type I

13.2.2.1 Temporal clauses

Daai has several subordinators that temporally relate an adverbial clause to its main clause. I use the list of **temporal links of adverbial clauses** given by Givón (2001 vol II: 330) to examine the links possible in Daai. Table 13.4 shows the inventory of specific temporal subordinators. However, some of them are used only rarely while a more general temporal subordinator =*üngta* or =*üing*, similar to ‘when’ in English, is preferred.

Table 13.3: Temporal Subordinators

Specific subordinators expressing temporal links			
	Morpheme	Gloss	Productivity
TEMPORAL SEQUENCE	<i>hlaan</i>	‘before’	not productive
SUBSEQUENCE	<i>kon</i>	‘after’	not productive
SIMULTANEITY	<i>k’umüng</i>	‘while’	productive
INITIAL BOUNDARY	<i>jata</i>	‘as soon as’	productive

Temporal sequence

(84) *Kkhi:n ah pha lo hlaan=a*
 guest S.AGR:3S arrive DIR:come SUBO:before=CF

buh kah-nih ei=kti=e.
 rice S.AGR:1DU/PL.EX eat=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘Before the guests arrived we ate rice.’

The subordinator *hlaan* is used only rarely. As a marker for temporal precedence it is frequently substituted by *üingta* ‘when’. Daai speakers understand that the main clause event occurred before the subordinate clause event even if only marked with the general temporal subordinator *üingta*, since the aspectuals and the semantics of the discourse context make the temporal sequence clear.

- (85) *I:m=a ah-nih pha lo hnüh=üingta*
 house=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive DIR:come finally=SUBO:when
ui:=noh vok sun ah suui-msaai-in.
 dog=ERG pig DEM S.AGR:3S bite-MIR
 ‘When they were about to arrive at home, the dog suddenly bite the pig.’

Subsequence

Subsequence of the main clause is marked by the subordinator *kon* ‘after’.

- (86) *Ye pä=a ngloo:k be kon=a*
 enemy crowd=GEN retreating again SUBO:after=CF
ngna:m-mah=e=noh ah-nih büh hü=u.
 village-owner=PL=ERG S.AGR:3DU/PL look DIR:around=PL
 ‘After the crowd of enemies had retreated again, the villagers looked around.’

Subsequence can also be marked by the subordinator =*üingta* as shown in example (89).

- (87) *Akhäk sa: ah-nih seh hnüh=üingta*
 QUANT:some little S.AGR:3DU/PL go.A finally=SUBO:when
je=noh mei:-khat sun ah khat lo.
 hare=ERG fire-striking DEM S.AGR:3S strike ASP:inc
 ‘When they had finally gone a little [distance] the hare started to strike fire.’

Simultaneity

Simultaneity is encoded by a combination of *k’um* and =*üing*. *K’um* functions also as a location noun with the meaning ‘inside’ and an as aspectual, expressing continuous aspect (see 9.3.2.2).

- (88) *Ngna:m=a kah seh k’umüing*
 village=LOC S.AGR:1S go.A SUBO:while
kah na-na kyong=a sit=kti.
 POSS:1S younger brother stream=LOC go=NON.FUT
 ‘While I went to the village my younger brother went to the stream.’

Simultaneity may also be expressed by =*üngta*.

- (89) *Kah nghnu-mi ah ve=üngta*
 POSS:1S wife S.AGR:3S exist=SUBO:when

kbe boo:k=üing buh ei=ngü.
 plate white=INSTR rice eat=1P.M
 'When my wife was [still] there, I ate from a white plate.'

Initial boundary

The subordinator *jata* marks the initial boundary of a temporal phase and is productive.

- (90) *Lou:=a ah-nih pha jata*
 field=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive SUBJ:as.soon.as

vok=noh lou: sun phyou:=kti.
 pig=ERG field DEM weed=NON.FUT
 'As soon as they arrived at the field, the pig weeded it.'

This section showed that all temporal adverbial clauses are of the Structural Type I. The subordinators *hlaan* 'before' and *kon* 'after' are followed by the clitic =*a*. The subordinators *k'umüing* 'while' and *jata* 'as soon as' occur without the clitic =*a*. All four of these temporal subordinators are frequently substituted by the general temporal subordinator *üngta* that can be compared with 'when' in English.

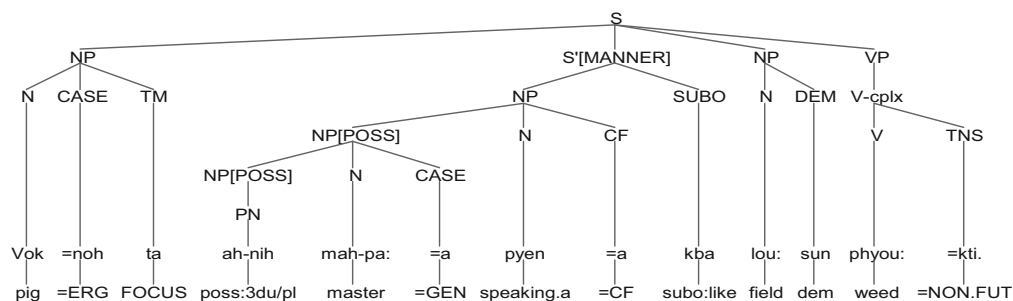
13.2.2.2 Manner clauses

Manner clauses are marked by the subordinator =*kba* 'like', 'according' (see 10.1.1). As a clause subordinator =*kba* is usually preceded by =*a*.

- (91) *Vok=noh ta ah-nih mah-pa:=a pyen=a=kba*
 pig=ERG FOC POSS:3DU/PL master=GEN speaking.A=CF=SUBO:like

lou: sun phyou:=kti.
 field DEM weed=NON.FUT
 'As for the pig, he weeded the field like their master had told [them].'

Figure 13.5: Example (92)



In the following example the manner clause is embedded in a complement clause.

- (92) [[*Mo:=a ah ve-soh sun-kba*]_{ADVERB. CL} *i:m=a phi*
 jungle-LOC POSS:3S behaving DEM-SUBO:like house=LOC also

ah ve-soh vai sun]_{COMPL. CL} *tääng=kti.*
 POSS:3S behaving SUBJ DEM wish=NON.FUT
 '[She] wished that he would also behave in the house like he behaved in the jungle.'

13.2.2.4 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses with shared subjects

Purpose clauses with the same subject are of the structural type II. They are marked by =*kkhai* 'future tense' and the clitic =*a*. If the verb in the subordinate clause has alternating stems, stem B is used. Note that in the following two examples the subjects of the transitive adverbial clauses are not marked by ergative case.

- (93) *Sha-ui: ta hnampo mpyu vaai kkhai=a sit betü=kti.*
 fox FOC banana steal.B DIR:go FUT=CF go ASP=NON.FUT
 'The fox went to steal again bananas.'
- (94) *Pyang ta ngshe kkhyäi: kkhai=a ngdung=a sit=kti.*
 Pyang FOC horse buy.B FUT=CF journey=LOC go=NON.FUT
 'Pyang went on a journey to buy a horse.'

Purpose clauses without shared subjects

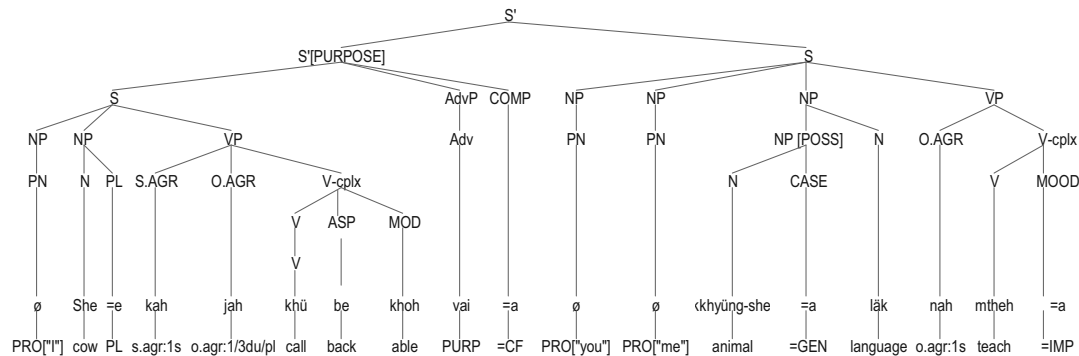
This kind of purpose clause is of the structural type I. The subordinate clause occurs with the adverbial use of *vai* and with the clitic =*a*. In the case of alternating verb stems we find stem A in the subordinate clause, as expected.

- (95) *Käh nih ngjaa:k-kkya vai=a*
 NEG S.AGR:1DU/PL understand.A PURP=CF

aai=noh ah jah khoon shih=kti.
 chicken=ERG S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL crow APPL:incl=NON.FUT
 'The cock crowed together with us (ie. while we were speaking), so that we should not understand.'
- (96) *She=e kah jah khü be khoh vai=a*
 cow=PL S.AGR:1S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL call back MOD:able PURP=CF

kkhyüing-shei=a läk nah mtheh=a.
 animal=GEN language O.AGR:1S teach=IMP
 'Teach me the language of the animals so that I would be able to call the cows back.'

Figure 13.6: Example (97)



13.2.2.5 Reason-result clauses

The subordinate clause states the reason and the main clause the already accomplished result. This adverbial type is marked by the subordinator *phäh* ‘because’ which is preceded by the clitic =*a*.

- (97) *Lou: ah phyoh=a phäh*
 field S.AGR:3S weed.A=CF SUBO:because

ah pa:=noh ah mküüi-ei.
 POSS:3S father=ERG S.AGR:3S praise
 ‘His father praised him because he weeded the field.’

The subordinator *phäh* occurs also in negative clauses.

- (98) *Ngna:m=a am ah she=a phäh*
 village=LOC NEG S.AGR:3S go.A=CF SUBO:because

ah nu:=noh ah te.
 POSS:3S mother=ERG S.AGR:3S beat
 ‘His mother beat him because he did not go to the village.’

13.2.2.6 Conditional clauses

Thompson (1985: 190-1960) makes a basic semantic distinction between “**reality conditionals**” and “**unreality conditionals**”. She further distinguishes between reality conditionals that refer to ‘**real present**, ‘**habitual**’ or ‘**past situations**’. Thompson uses the term “unreality conditionals” for **imaginative** unreal situations, which are either **hypothetical** or **counterfactual** or for situations in which someone **predicts** what will be.

However, these semantic distinctions are not all coded in Daai. Predictives, negative conditionals and counterfactive clauses are marked by the subordinator *ta* ‘if’¹ Hypothetical clauses occur with the copular verb *thoon* ‘happen’ and the subordinator =*üng*.

Predictive clauses

In most Daai conditional clauses somebody predicts in the main clause, which may be called the **then-clause**, what will happen if the conditions of the **if-clause** are fulfilled. With this kind of subordinate clauses the verb in the main clause is marked for future tense. (101) and (102) are examples of this type of adverbial clauses.

- (99) *Nah mah-pai=a veei: nah seh ta*
 POSS:2S aunt=LOC PPOS S.AGR:2S go SUBO:if

phyang lep mat nah yah=kkhai.
 shirt CLASSF one S.AGR:2S get=FUT
 ‘If you go to your aunt, you will get a shirt.’

- (100) *Ngvoong nah poh ta*
 garden S.AGR:2S make SUBO:if

thi:ng-ktheih mjü-kküm nah ei yah=kkhai.
 tree-fruit various S.AGR:2S eat MOD:able=FUT
 ‘If you plant a garden, you will be able to eat all kinds of fruits.’

Predictive clauses may also be marked by the general temporal subordinators =*üngta* and without change in meaning as shown in (103).

- (101) *Meh kah yah lo=üngta*
 meat S.AGR:1S get DIR:come=SUBO:if/when

kah ni:ng tha lo=kkhai.
 S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S send DIR:come=FUT
 ‘If I bring home meat, I will send [some] to you.’

Negative conditionals

Negative conditional clauses are also marked by the subordinator *ta*. These conditionals are typically similar to ordinary predictive conditionals.

¹ The particle *ta* has various different functions and occurs most frequently as focus marker. Earlier in this chapter we have encountered *ta* combined with *ja* – *jata* and with =*üng* – =*üngta*.

- (102) *Tuh-ngooi: kshu:m am nah shuk ta*
 today paddy NEG S.AGR:2S pound SUBO:if
nih ei vai hliü=kkhai.
 POSS:1DU/PL eating SUBJ need=FUT
 'If you don't pound paddy today, we will be short of food.'

Counterfactive clauses

Counterfatives are rare in Daai. The following example encodes an event which did not happen. Counterfactivity is not encoded morphologically. The clause has the same structure as predictive clauses. Without discourse context the temporal adverb *la:n* 'before' is not enough to indicate that the event in the *if*-clause did not happen and is never going to happen.

- (103) *Muti-küüüi phu hin nah nah pee:t la:n=a ta*
 bead.string price DEM S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1S give before=CF SUBO:if
kah sa: kah kuum-ei=kkhai shü.
 POSS:1S son S.AGR:1S save=FUT EMPH
 'If you had paid me for the beads before, I would surely have saved my son.'

Hypothetical clauses

Hypotheticals express what might happen. In Daai hypothetical clauses can have two different syntactic structures. They may occur just with the subordinator =*üngta* (106) or they may have an embedded complement clause that is marked by =*üng* (107). With both types the main clause is marked by the subjunctive *vai*.

- (104) *Kho ah khi lo=üngta*
 sky S.AGR:3S blow ASP:inc=SUBO:if/when
jih nah jah loh be vai.
 blanket S.AGR:2S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL bring back SUBJ
 'If a storm comes, you should bring in the blankets.'
- (105) *Nah jah mtheh hü=a thoon=üng*
 S.AGR:2S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL tell DIR:around=CF happen-SUBO:if
kah ni:ng man-ei vai ni.
 S.AGR:1S O.AGR:2S catch-AO SUBJ EMPH
 'If you were to happen to tell them, I would catch you.'

13.2.3 Adverbial clauses of type II

The adverbial clauses we have looked at so far, with the exception of the *Purpose clause with shared subjects* (in section 13.2.2.4) have all been of the structural type I. The remaining two types of adverbials are of structural type II.

13.2.3.1 Circumstantial clauses

Subordinate clauses that express the circumstances of the main event occur with the non-future tense marker =*kti* and the clitic =*a*. In the following example the subordinate clause is embedded in the main clause.

- (106) *Je=noh mei:-khat sun “Khet, khet”*
 hare=ERG fire-stone DEM khet, khet
- ti=kti=a ah khat lo.*
 say=NON.FUT=CF S.AGR:3S strike ASP:inc
 ‘The hare started to strike the firestone, sounding “Khet, khet”.’

In example (109) the subordinate clause is marked by negation.

- (107) *Ah kkhyu: vai phi am ve kti=a*
 POSS:3S wife SUBJ also NEG exist NON.FUT=CF
- ah päť sa: ve-ei=kti.*
 S.AGR:3S self small live-AO=NON.FUT
 ‘Having nobody to take as a wife, he lived all by himself.’

13.2.3.2 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses have *lüphi* ‘even though’¹ as subordinator and use the stem B form of verbs with stem alternation.

Examples (110) and (111) illustrate ‘definite’ concessive clauses (Thompson 1985: 198).

- Shangphuhlang=noh am nah tu-na hli*
 king=ERG NEG O.AGR:1S son.in.law-take.as.B AUX:want
- lüphi pye:n vaai=a.*
 CONC tell DIR:go=IMP
 ‘Even though the king does not want to take me as son-in-law, go and tell [him]!’

In concessions the subordinator is often preceded by *kyo* ‘although’, coding futile effort.

¹ *Lüphi* is a combination of the non-final particle *lü* used in clause chaining and the inclusive particle *phi* ‘also’. It is of interest that in Kham, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in western Nepal, the suffix for marking concession is also followed obligatorily by a particle that has the meaning ‘also’ (Watters 1998: 649)

- (108) *Amhnüü:p=a sha: sun ktäm hü kyo lüphi*
 whole.day=LOC game DEM follow DIR:around futile CONC

i-phi am yah=u
 nothing NEG get=PL

'Even though they hunted for game the whole day long, they did not get anything.'

'Indefinite' concessive clauses are those that can be translated with 'whatever' or 'no matter what' and they typically include indefinite pronouns. Daai has indefinite pronouns (see 4.5.3.2) like *a-i-a phi* 'in whatever way'. In 'indefinite' concessive clauses we find in addition to *lüphi* the expression *i-a mäi* which can be translated as 'no matter how'. *Mäi* is a comparative particle with the meaning 'like'.

- (109) *Ah pa: sun=noh i-a-mäi mthou: kyo lüphi*
 POSS:3S father DEM=ERG no.matter.how raise.up futile CONC

käh thou: lo=kti.
 NEG get.up ASP:inc=NON.FUT

'No matter how her father tried to make her get up, she did not get up.'

- (110) *I-a-mäi khü-kou=u lüphi*
 no-matter-how call=PL CONC

ah mah-püi=noh ah khyoh kyet mjoh.
 POSS:3S grandmother=ERG S.AGR:3S keep.back firmly EVID

'No matter how much they called him, his grandmother firmly kept him back.'

13.3 Clause-chaining

Clause-chaining is a clause combining strategy distinct from co-ordination that combines co-ranking structures (structures that are not subordinate to each other). These clause-chaining structures lack some of the features of true subordinate constructions, and the verbs of non-final clauses depend on the final verb for certain specifications, such as tense/aspect or person/number. These clause combinations are therefore also called **co-subordination** (VanValin 1997). The distinctive features (Longacre 1985: 264) of clause-chaining are:

- The chain-final clause contains a verb with a distinctive structure that occurs only once in the entire chain and is typically the most finite

- Each non-final clause is marked by some kind of switch-reference device to indicate whether the subject of the following clause is the same or different.

13.3.1 The structure of clause-chains

In Daai, sentences usually have two to five clauses chained together, though occasionally chains with six clauses have been observed. Clause chains can have the same subject or different subjects. Same-subject clauses, if they are non-final, are typically linked by the non-final marker *lü* (NF) that follows the last constituent of the verb complex. Verbs in clause chains can be marked for direction, aspect, modality and number. If the verb in the non-final clause has alternating stems, the use of stem B is obligatory; stem A does not occur in non-final clauses marked by *lü* or *lüta*.

The following are examples of clause chains with same subject clauses. In the examples of this section the clauses are separated by curly brackets and the main verb of each clause is underlined in the text as well as in the free translation.

- (111) {*Asuniingta kthang-lengla=a thoon lo be lü*}
 CONJ:then flute=CF become AUX:become again NF
- {*khok-xet hüt lü*} {*i:m-ksi-kpäk=üng*}
 make.cracking.noise DIR:back NF house-floor-hole=LOC
- ju-kya-in lü*} {*Mopi-da do:ng-in mjoh=kti.*}
 DIR:down-fall.B-MIR NF Mopi-direction run.B-MIR EVID=NON.FUT
 'Then (she) became a flute again, made a cracking noise, dropped through a hole in the house floor and ran toward Mopi (the land of the dead).
- (112) {*Ngooi:-la:m su joong lü*} {*mo:=a khüüi: hü lü*}
 morning DEM leave NF jungle=LOC work.B DIR:around NF
- {*mü su pha lo be=kti*}
 evening DEM arrive.B DIR:come back=NON.FUT
 '[He] left in the morning, worked in the jungle in different places and arrived back home in the evening.'

Non-final clauses that are followed by a clause with a different subject are typically marked by the cataphoric switch-reference marker *lüta* (SR). *Lüta* is a combination of the non-final marker *lü* and the particle *ta*, which has various functions¹, some of them we have already seen. As we will see later in detail, occasionally clauses marked by *lü* or *lüta* are syntactically

¹ One of this functions of *ta* is to mark focus, including contrastive focus. Again a comparison with Kham is of interest. In Kham (Watters 1998: 672) the suffix indicating a change of subject is almost always followed by the contrastive focus particle *te*.

part of a clause-chain but are semantically adverbial clauses, or complements in the case of direct speech acts.

The example (115) shows a clause chain where the subject of the first clause is different from the subject of the second and third clause. Therefore the first clause is marked by *lüta*, the switch-reference marker. Since the second and the third clause have the same subject, the second clause is marked by *lü*.

- (113) {*Ah pa: mnaka sun=noh kho-kkheih lüta*}
 POSS:3S father dragon DEM=ERG make.spirit.feast SR
- {*kshing te lü*} {*ngtuui-nglaam lo mjoh=kti=e*}
 drum beat NF dance ASP:inc EVID=NON.FUT=PL
 'Her father, the dragon, made a spirit-feast and [they] (i.e other people) beat the drum and started to dance.'

In example (116) the first and second clause have the same subject, therefore the first clause is marked by *lü*. Since the third clause has a different subject, the second clause is marked by the switch-reference *lüta*.

- (114) {*Asukba käh sit lü*} {*shap beh-beh lüta*}
 CONJ:like.that NEG go.B NF pound.B definitely SR
- {*Kshuung=noh ah hlo lo betü*}
 Kshuung=ERG S.AGR:3S persuade DIR:come ASP:iter
 'Like that [he_a] did not go, [he_a] pounded forcefully and Kshuung_b came to persuade [him_a] again.'

13.3.2 Clause-types within the chain

Most commonly, chaining clauses are divided into chain-medial and chain-final clauses. Givón (2001 vol II: 356) makes a distinction between chain-grounding, chain-initial, chain-medial and chain-final clauses. For Daai it is useful to differentiate between chain-initial, chain-medial and chain-final clauses.

13.3.2.1 Chain-initial clauses and chain-medial clauses

Chain-initial clauses link the new chain to the preceding discourse and frequently contain morphemes that function as discourse conjunctives such as we have seen in example (116) above. Example (117) shows the chain-initial clause with the discourse conjunctive *asunüngta* 'then', which is used to introduce new paragraphs.

- (115) {*Asunüngta shukku ta ahleem sa:=a sit lüta*}
 CONJ:then turtle FOC slowly very=CF go.B SR

{*je ta do:ng kom-kom lü*} ...
 hare FOC run.B definitely NF

'Then the turtle walked very slowly, the hare ran very fast, and ...'

However, chain-initial clauses that occur in the middle or towards the end of a paragraph and do not need to show a setting for an event or a string of events, are hardly different from chain-medial clauses. The sentence in example (119) is taken from the middle of a paragraph and the chain-initial clause does not contain a temporal or locative setting nor are the subject and indirect object made explicit.

- (116) {*Kshoh sun käh nghmon-ei hlü lüta*}
 door DEM NEG open-AO AUX:want SR

{*puk-she lü*} {*tui:-long=a sit lü*}
 sad NF stream=LOC go.B NF

{*ngshut vaai mjoh=kti*}

sit DIR:go EVID=NON.FUT

'[She] did not want to open the door, [he] was sad, went to the stream and sat down.'

If the initial clause and the medial clause do not have the same subject, the new subject may be introduced in the medial clause as shown in example (118) above and (120). However, the introduction of the new subject is sometimes omitted as in example (119).

- (117) {*Ayüm=a joong=ni lüta*} {*je=noh*}
 together=CF leave=DU SR hare=ERG

hei-khe-in *lü* {*do:ng=kti*}

DIR:forwards-overtake-MIR NF run.B=NON.FIN

'They left together and the hare overtook him and ran.'

Chain-initial, chain-medial and chain-final clauses can all be marked for direction, aspect, modality and number but initial and medial clauses cannot be marked for tense.

- (118) {*Yok sun thou: (lo) (kshet)=(*kti) lü*}
 Yok DEM get.up.B ASP:inc immediately=NON.FUT NF

{*mo:=a do:ng (betü)=(*kti) lü*}
 jungle=LOC run.B ASP:again=NON.FUT NF

{*ksheng nu:=a ngshut vaai=kti.*}
 rock big=LOC sit DIR:go=NON.FUT
 'Yok got up immediately, run back into the jungle and sat down on a big rock.'

Initial, medial and final clauses of clause chains are all obligatorily marked for object agreement, unless the object is a third person singular. However, non-final clauses cannot be marked for subject agreement. The following example shows object agreement in the non-final clauses.

- (119) {*I:m hlong=a ui:=noh (*ah) nah suui lü*} {*(*ah) nah hut lü*} {*ah-nih=noh ah kkoh lo ni*}
 house near=LOC dog=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1S bite.B NF s.agr:3s O.AGR:1S
 rob.B NF 3S=ERG S.AGR:3S carry.A DIR:come EMPH
 'Near the house the dog bite me, robbed me; he came [home] carrying [it].'

13.3.2.2 The chain-final clause

Intransitive chain-final clauses are typically marked by tense, occur with verb stem B and do not have subject agreement as shown in (120). If the chain-final is transitive, we find typically subject agreement, verb stem type A, and no tense marking (121) and (122). However, chain-final transitive clauses can also be marked for tense and occur with stem B like simple transitive clauses.

- (120) {*Nghngi-siim sun som-dai lo lüta*}
 human.being DEM come.into.being ASP:inc SR
 {*Msi Msäai=noh jah man-ei=u lü*}
 Msi Msäai=ERG O.AGR:1/3DU/PL catch-AO=PL NF
 {*ah-nih jah ei-oo:k mjoh=u.*}
 S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL eat-drink.A EVID=PL
 'The humans came into being and the Msi Msäai people caught them and ate them, it is told.'

The following chart summarizes the basic default rules of clause-chaining.

Table 13.4: Basic Rules of Clause-Chaining

Clause Type	Verb Stem	Subj. Agr	Obj. Agr	Aspects, Directionals Modals etc.	Tense-marking
non-final	B	no	yes	optional	no
final-trans	A/B	yes	yes	optional	no (with A)
final-intrans	B	no	no	optional	yes

13.3.3 Sequential and simultaneous events

Many clause-chaining languages require special devices for distinguishing sequential events from simultaneous events. This is not the case in Daai. Example (123) shows a clause chain with two simultaneous events, example (124) a clause chain with sequential events. These two clause chains do not show any structural difference.

- (121) {*Asunüngta shukku ta ahleem sa:=a sit lüta*}
 CONJ:then turtle FOC slowly very=CF go.B SR

{*je ta do:ng kom-kom lü*} ...
 hare FOC run.B definitely NF
 'Then the turtle walked very slowly, the hare ran very fast, and ...'

- (122) {*Nghngi-siim sun som-dai lo lüta*}
 human.being DEM come.into.being ASP:inc SR

{*Msi Msäai=noh jah man-ei-u lü*}
 Msi Msäai=ERG O.AGR:1/3DU/PL catch-AO=PL NF
 'The humans came into being and the Msi Msäai people caught them and ...'

The following example (126) shows another clause with simultaneous events. The 'working hard' of the first clause occurs at the same time as the 'weeding' in the second clause. Although this clause chain syntactically comprises two co-subordinate clauses, 'working hard' and 'weeding' are parts of the same event.

- (123) {*Vok=noh ta lou: sun mtu:n-ei lü*} {*phyou:=kti*}
 pig=ERG FOC field DEM work.hard NF weed.B=NON.FUT
 'As for the pig, working hard he weeded the field.'

In (127) and (128) are more examples of clause chains with simultaneous events. Note that in these examples the first clause contains a state verb. A careful look at these examples leads to the conclusions that, although syntactically these clause chains comprise two co-subordinate clauses, semantically the non-final clauses that contain a state verb, assume an 'adverbial' role, such as manner.

- (124) {*Vok ta ah-nih mah-pa: kyüh lü*}
 pig FOC POSS:3DU/PL master fear NF

{*mek-mek=a khüüi:=kti*}
 quickly=CF work NON.FUT
 'As for the pig, being afraid of their master, he worked quickly.'

- (125) {*Ui: ta dam pyei: lü*} {*lou: sun am phyou: mjoh*}
 dog FOC lazy very NF field DEM NEG weed.B EVID
 'As for the dog, being very lazy, he did not weed the field.'

13.3.4 Negativity in non-final and final clauses

The scope of negativity is restricted to the clause marked as negative. The following examples show same-subject clauses with negativity marked by *käh* in the non-final clause.

- (126) {*Käh shi-hlo lü*} {*nah seh-soon ta=a*}
 NEG speak NF O.AGR:1S go APPL:RELIN=IMP
 'Don't speak but go and leave me behind!'

- (127) {*Mnaka sun=noh käh man-ei ti: lü*}
 dragon DEM=ERG NEG catch-AO ASP NF

 {*ah seh taa:k*}
 S.AGR:3S go APPL:RELIN
 'The dragon did not chase him any more, but went and left him behind.'

The following example shows a chain of non-final negative clauses followed by a positive final clause. Note that although there is semantic correlation between the first two verbs, each clause is individually marked by the negative *käh*.

- (128) {*Käh ve-ei lü*} {*käh ngam-ei lü*}
 NEG hang.around NF NEG rest NF

 {*käh nglü:ng-yaih lü*} {*khüüi:=ni=bä*}
 NEG play.B NF work=DU=TAG
 'Don't hang around, don't rest, don't play, work: will you!'

In the following example the medial clause in a chain of three clauses is marked as negative. The scope of the negative extends neither back over the first clause nor forward to the final clause.

- (129) {*Mkot pei: su ngshut-in vaai lü*}
 door PPOS:beside DEM sit-MIR DIR:go NF

 {*i käh ti lü*} {*lo be=kti*}
 what NEG say NF come back=NON.FUT
 '[She] went and sat beside the door, said nothing and came back.'

Negativity in the final clause is marked by *am* and also restricted to the final clause. Example (128) above shows a negative final clause. Another example is given below.

- (130) {*Ah-nih* *nghmaa:k* *sun* *kyüh-ei* *to:ng=ni* *lïi*}
 POSS:3DU/PL brother.in.law DEM fear-AO very=DU NF
- {*am* *kyum* *lo* *be* *dat=ni*}
 NEG descend DIR:come back AUX:dare=DU
 '[They] were very afraid of their brother-in-law and did not dare to come back down.'

14.3.5 Ergativity in same-subject chains

In same-subject chains of mixed transitivity the same-subject noun phrase which usually occurs in the first clause, can be marked either as ergative by the ergative case marker =*noh* or as absolutive (zero-marking). The case-marking of the subject argument is not determined by the final clause or the final verb. It is determined by the prominence of the subject in the discourse context.

Watters (1998: 667) observes that for Kham the subject case-marking is controlled by the verb immediately following the subject argument. However this is not the case for Daai. Genetti (1988a) shows a similar problematic situation for Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. She states that these case-marking alternations cannot be accounted for syntactically or semantically, but are controlled by discourse pragmatics. Genetti (1988a: 33) makes the hypothesis that a clause which contains a noun phrase that is highly topical for the surrounding discourse will be more likely to control case-marking than a clause with a less topical noun phrase. After conducting statistical tests on a sample of fifty clauses she comes to the conclusion that her hypothesis is correct. Since I have not done statistical tests on Daai I cannot be as assertive. However, investigating the discourse context for some clause chains where the case-marking of the subject is not controlled by the verb of the same clause shows that Daai has a similar tendency.

I will briefly explain of the context of the clause-chain in the following example, which is taken from a folk tale. The paragraph which includes this clause-chain deals with the feeding of cows and the difference of care for the cows the two participants are showing. In the following sentence the monkey shows great care for the cows and even plucks leaves from the trees to feed them. The second and third clause seem to be highly topical and control the

case-marking of the subject in the first clause. We see that the subject is marked for ergativity although the verb immediately following is intransitive.

- (131) {*Joo:ng=noh* *ta* *thi:ng-pa:m=a* *kaai* *lü*} {*thi:ng-hnah* *phi*
 monkey=ERG FOC tree-top=LOC climb NF tree-leaf also
- kkyäng* *lü*} {*ah* *jah* *mbei* *mjoh*}
 pluck NF S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL feed EVID
 'As for the monkey, he climbed to the tree-top, plucked leaves and fed [the cows].

13.3.6 Switch-reference and switch-function

As already mentioned above, different-subject clauses are typically marked by the cataphoric switch-reference marker *lüta* (SR). However, the Daai reference-tracking system is a mixture of switch-reference and switch-function (see VanValin & LaPolla 1997: 287). We have seen in several examples above that the morpheme *lüta* indicates whether the following clause has the same subject or a different subject. However, *lüta* also functions in same-subject chains to indicate the change from the subject of an intransitive clause to the subject of a transitive clause or vice versa. In the following example the initial clause and medial clauses of the same-subject clause chain are two intransitive clauses and they followed by a transitive final clause. The second clause, which preceded the transitive clause, is marked by *lüta*.

- (132) {*Asuniingta* *Pan Poh* *sun* *puk-she* *lo* *lü*}
 CONJ:then Pan Poh DEM sad AUX:become NF
- {*thi:ng-pa:m=a* *kaai* *ma* *lüta*} {*ah* *kho-mtan=xooi*
 tree-top=LOC climb first SR POSS:3S leg= DU
- san* *ah* *jah* *kbän-in* *mjoh*}
 DEM S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL cut.off-MIR EVID
 'Then Pan Poh became sad, climbed to the top of a tree and cut off his two legs.'

In the next example we see a same-subject clause-chain comprising three clauses: the first clause is transitive; the medial and final clauses are intransitive. This example also gives weight to the argumentation about ergative marking in the previous section. Note that the subject is marked for ergativity; the object of the transitive verb, although not mentioned in this clause chain, is the topic of several preceding sentences.

- (133) {*Kpa:-mi-sa:=noh* *man* *lo* *vo-vat* *lüta*} {*puk-she* *lü*}
 young.man=ERG catch ASP miss SR sad NF

{*ah i:m=a sit be=kti*}
 POSS:3S house=LOC go.B back=NON.FUT
 'The young man failed to catch [the watermaid] and, saddened, went back to his house.'

The investigation up to this point has led to the conclusion that, when in the following clause the referent as well as the case remain the same, the clause is marked by *lü*. If the following clause brings either a change of referent or of case, the preceding clause is marked by *lüta*.

Lüta has at least one more function in clause-chaining: it also marks preposed or embedded temporal clauses comprising temporal adverbials (see also 4.4.3.4). The following two examples show embedded temporal clauses that have the structure of chain-medial clauses. Note that now the temporal clauses are marked by *lüta* and that the change of participant is not marked on the initial clause. In the following examples the whole temporal clause is underlined.

(134) {*Kho hei-bük lü*} {*kho-jä:ng mü-ei hnüh lüta*}
 sky DIR-look.B NF sky dark finally SR

 {*thou lo kshet lü*} {*do:ng mjoh=kti*}
 get.up ASP:inc quickly NF run.B EVID=NON.FUT
 '[He] looked at the sky: it was nearly dark; he got up immediately and ran.'

(135) {*Kho-msuu:ng mat pha lü*} {*kho-mthan lüta*}
 mountain one arrive NF be.night SR

 {*asun=a kho-msuu:ng su ip=kti*}
 DEM.PRO=CF mountain DEM sleep.B=NON.FUT
 'He arrived on a mountain: it was night and he slept on that mountain.'

The next two examples show the temporal clause in chain-initial position.

(136) {*Kho-mhnüü:p lo lüta*}
 be.noon AUX:become SR

 {*buh-suu:n sun ah-nih mhjat-ei lo*}
 rice-package DEM S.AGR:3DU/PL open-AO ASP:inc
It became noon and they started to open [their] lunch packages.'

(137) {*Kho-thaai lo lüta*}
 be.morning AUX:become SR

 {*ngshe=a kyo-naa:k su sit be=kti*}
 horse=GEN rotting-place DEM go.B back=NON.FUT
 '[When] it was morning he went back to the place where the horse was rotting.'

Although clauses comprising temporal adverbials are commonly marked by *lüta* they may also occur without change of meaning with the temporal adverbial subordinator *üingta* ‘when’ like in example (141).

- (138) *Angooi-mü betü=üingta*
 next.evening ASP=SUBO:when
- {mshaa:k-paai sun la-vaai lü}...*
 rhododendron-flower DEM fetch-DIR:go NF
 ‘When it was evening again, [he] went to fetch rhododendron flowers and...’

13.4 Mixed structures

In this chapter we have investigated three types of sentence constructions or clause combining strategies: complementation, adverbial clauses and clause-chaining. When we look at Daai complex sentences, we find that these structures do not only occur side by side but also interlink with each other. Frequently the clause chain represents a frame which may be preposed by adverbial clauses and have embeddings that are complements.

Clause chains with preposed adverbial clauses

In the following examples the subordinate adverbial clause is underlined and co-subordinate chained clauses are in curly brackets.

- (139) *Joong=noh ah jah shääm=üingta*
 monkey=ERG S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL take.care=SUBO:when
- {ah-nih ei phü lü}*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL eat full NF
- {akpyan nu:=a lo be=kti=e}*
 well.fed very=CF come back=NON.FUT=PL
 ‘When the monkey took care of them they came back full and well-fed.’

- (140) *Ah-nih jah pok-ei jata*
 S.AGR:3DU/PL O.AGR:1/3DU/PL attack-AO SUBO:as.soon.as
- {Msäai nu:=noh ah sa: sun phyüt shoh-shek lü}*
 Msäai GEND=ERG POSS:3 child DEM tear into.peaces NF
- {baai-ei-in lü}...*
 put.into.mouth-AO-MIR NF
 ‘As soon as they attacked [them], the Msäai woman tore her child into pieces and put [it] into her mouth and ...’

The default constituent order for sentences that comprise adverbial clauses and clause chains is as follows:

S → [ADVERBIAL] [CH. CLAUSE 1] [CH. CLAUSE 2] [CH CL 3]

Embedded complements

Direct quotations are frequently embedded in a clause chain. The grammaticalized quotation-marker *tilü* looks very much like a verb followed by the non-final marker *lü*, and may have been historically just that. At first glance the speech act in the following example seems to consist of two clauses. But we have already established in 13.1.3.1 that the utterance verb *mtheh* ‘instruct’ takes a direct quotation as complement.

The underlined part of the sentence is semantically a simultaneous event and syntactically a complementation.

- (141) *Ngshe* *sun=noh* “...” *tilü* *mtheh* *hüt* *lü*
 horse DEM=ERG “...” saying instruct DIR:back.there NF
- joong lü* *kho-ngmei ei vaai=kti*
 leave NF cloud eat DIR:go=NON.FUT
 ‘The horse instructed [him] saying “...” and left and went to eat a cloud.’

Embedding of one clause chain within another

The following example shows a clause chain with a chain-initial and chain-final clause. In the chain-final clause we find an embedded clause chain with two clauses that have become relativized.

CLAUSE CHAIN → { }_{CLAUSE 1} { [{ }_{CLAUSE X 1} { }_{CLAUSE X 2}] REL-CL }_{CLAUSE 2}

- (142) { *Asukba su bük vaai lüta* }_{CLAUSE 1}
 like.this DEM look.B DIR:go SR
- { [*thi:ng-ngbaan=iing* *ngkhäi* *lü*]_{CLAUSE X 1} *ng'ai=kti*]_{REL-CL}]_{CLAUSE X 2}
 tree-branch=INSTR swing NF sing=NON.FUT
- sun ah hmuh vaai mjoh* }_{CLAUSE 2}
 DEM S.AGR:3S see.A DIR:go EVID
 ‘Like this she went to look and saw him [who was] swinging on the tree branch and singing.’

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been a dual one: to document the Daai Chin language and to produce a grammar that is accessible to a wide readership, including scholars from within Burma.

I hope that this study contributes to the understanding and research of Tibeto-Burman languages in general as well as of Chin languages in particular. Daai Chin shows ergative/absolutive case marking combined with a complex verbal agreement system. The language also has verb stem alternation more typical for Northern Chin languages and prefixes that have retained a wide range and variety of grammatical functions, which is more typical for Southern Chin languages found in the Paletwa area. These are topics which may be of particular interest to a wider readership.

Although the author has aimed to produce a grammatical description which is as comprehensive as possible, the thesis format has necessarily imposed certain limitations of time and scope. For example, extensive space is given to the description of constituents of the verbal complex. However no attempt is made to describe the internal structure of the verbal complex. Not describing this structure is not the same as claiming it has no structure. In all likelihood it is highly structured and can be fruitfully investigated in the future. Also further research is needed to arrive at a fuller analysis of the semi-grammaticalized adverbs within the verb phrase becoming function words or grammatical particles. Although most auxiliaries found in the verb phrase have been categorized and described, there are still some that have slipped through the net and would require further discussion with native speakers. These examples demonstrate that this study is not as inclusive as the author would have wished it to be.

The author's deepest regret is the fact that it was not possible to include a section on discourse analysis in this study, as had been originally planned. Discourse analysis would have helped to highlight verb stem selection, the complexities of the verbal agreement system, foregrounding and backgrounding, the usage of conjunctives and anaphoric demonstrative pronouns and other means of cohesion. However, since discourse analysis falls beyond the scope of this thesis it remains a challenge for further research. Limitations aside, I hope that this grammar of Daai Chin will encourage extensive linguistic research in the future on

Tibeto-Burman languages and especially on Chin languages, by scholars from within Burma (and also internationally of course).

Appendix: A Daai Narrative Text

‘The Dog wants credit for the Pig’s work’

1. *Vok=a khüüi=üing ui:=a vaan-ei.*
 pig=GEN work=INSTR dog=GEN enter-AO
 ‘The dog wants credit for the pig’s work.’

2. *Ahlaanüing kkhyüing-shei nakiüt khüüi:-koom shi-hlo mjoh=kti=e.*
 long.ago animal all work speak EVID=NON.FUT=PL
 Long ago all the animals worked and spoke, it is told.

3. *Kkhyang mat=a veei: ui: jah vok ve mjoh=kti=xooi.*
 man one=GEN nearness dog and pig is EVID=NON.FUT=DU
 A man had a dog and a pig.

4. *Ah-nih mah-pa: sun=noh lou: poh mjoh=kti.*
 POSS:3S master DEM=ERG field work EVID=NON.FUT
 Their master cultivated mountain rice.

5. *Kkhyang sun=noh ah ui: jah ah vok sun akdo=a*
 man DEM ERG POSS:3S dog and POSS:3S pig DEM well=CF

jah mbei-mbook lü ah jah
 O.AGR:1/3DU/PL feed NF S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL

ve püi mjoh.
 live APPL:COM EVID
 The man fed them well and lived together with them.

6. *Mhnüi:p mat=üing ta kkhyang sun=noh ah ui: jah*
 day one=LOC FOC man DEM=ERG POSS:3S dog and

ah vok sun akdo=a jah msuu:k-mtheh lü
 POSS:3S pig DEM well=CF IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL instruct NF

lou: ah jah phyoh vaai shak.
 field S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL weed DIR:go CAUS
 One day the man instructed his dog and his pig well and made them go to weed the field.

7. *“Käh ngduun-ngpeen lü meih-meih=a khüüi=ni: bä. Käh ve-ei*
 NEG lazy NF quickly=CF work=DU IMP NEG hang.around

lü käh ngam-ei lü käh nglü:ng-yaih lü khüüi: ni=bä” tilü
 NF NEG idle NF NEG play NF work DU-IMP saying

jah mtheh käm-käm lü ah jah tüih.
 O.AGR:1/3DU/PL instruct carefully NF S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL send.
 Instructing them carefully he said "Don't be lazy, work diligently. Don't hang around, don't be idle, don't play but work, will you!" and sent them (to the field).

8. *Lou:=a ah-nih pha jata vok=noh ta*
 field=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive SUBO:as.soon.as pig=ERG FOC

mah-pa:=a pyen=a=kba meih-meih=a lou: sun mtu:n-ei
 master=GEN word=CF=SUBO:like diligently=CF field dem try.hard

lü phyou:=kti.

NF weed=NON.FUT

As soon as they arrived at the field, the pig, according to the word of their master, tried hard and diligently weeded the field.

9. *Ui: ta da:m pyei: lü lou: sun am phyou: mjoh.*
 dog FOC lazy very NF field DEM NEG weed EVID
 As for the dog, he was very lazy and did not weed the field, it is told.

10. *Vok=noh lou: ah phyoh k'umüing ui: ta*
 pig=ERG field S.AGR:3S weed SUBO:during dog FOC

ip-ei=kti.

sleep-AO=NON.FUT

While the pig weeded the field the dog slept.

11. *Ah leh lo=üing kkhaan-kho=a*
 S.AGR:3S wake.up ASP:INC=SUBO:when sky=LOC

mdei-mang-ei mjoh=kti.

turn-AO EVID=NON.FUT

When he woke up he turned to the sky.

12. *Ui: ta "Itüh=a kho-mü lo=kkhai mä" tilü*
 dog FOC when=LOC evening AUX:become=FUT QP saying

mphaam mphaam lü ngam-ei=kti.

yawn yawn NF idle=NON.FUT

He said "When will it be evening?" and yawned repeatedly and was idle.

13. *Ah-nih mah-pa:=noh ah-nih mhnüü:p ei vai*
 POSS:3DU/PL master=ERG POSS:3DU/PL noon eating SUBJ

ah jah she-ei shak phi ui:=noh
 S.AGR:3S O.AGR:1/3DU/PL take.along-AO CAUS also dog=ERG

ah phaih-ei.

S.AGR:3S devour-AO

The food that their master had caused to take along for lunch, the dog devoured by himself.

14. *Kho-mhnüü:p lo lü mhnüü:p-buh ei kkhai=a ksoong=a*
 noon AUX:become NF noon-rice eat FUT=CF hut=LOC

vok sit mjoh=kti.

pig go EVID=NON.FUT

When it was noon the pig went to the hut to eat lunch, it is told.

15. *Buh ah büh, am ve ti: mjoh.*

rice S.AGR:3S look NEG is ASP:still EVID

He looked at the rice, there was no more [rice], it is told.

16. *Vok ta ah khüüi-khoom-naa:k buh=noh kkhyoo:t-ei*
 pig FOC POSS:3S working-result rice=ERG make.hungry

to:ng hnüh=kti.

very finally=NON.FUT

The pig, as a result of having worked, was very hungry.

17. *Vok=noh “Kah püi=o buh ta i-a thoon*
 pig=ERG POSS:1S friend=VOC rice FOC what happen

päih=kti ni. Buh am ve ti:=kba.

completely=NON.FUT EMPH rice NEG is ASP:still=EVID

Nah kkhyoo:t-ei to:ng hnüh=kba. I kah
 O.AGR:1S make.hungry very finally=EVID what S.AGR:1S

ei hlü=kti ni” tilü ui: ah kthäh mjoh.

eat AUX:want=NON.FUT EMPH saying dog S.AGR:3S ask EVID

The pig asked the dog saying “My friend, as for the rice, what happened to all of it? There is obviously no more rice. I am obviously very hungry. What am I going to eat?”

18. *Ui:=noh ta “Kei: phi kah ei hlü=kti ni.*
 dog=ERG FOC 1S also S.AGR:1S eat AUX:want=NON.FUT EMPH

Alo=a ta nah lo seh tü kyo mä
 NOM.coming=LOC FOC S.AGR:2S come take.along definitely CONTR QP

Sük ta sa:=üng kah seh hü k’umüng
 early FOC little=SUBO:when S.AGR:1S go DIR:around SUBO:when

mat=a mpyu-ei khom khüing vaci=u.
 one=CF steal-AO MOD:perhaps MOD:likely DIR:go=PL

I nih ei hlü=kti ja:” ti tuhan lü
 what S.AGR:1DU/PL eat AUX:want=NON.FUT QP say pretend NF

lim-ma mjoh=kti.

crooked EVID NON.FUT

The dog said “I also want to eat. Did you really bring [it] along when we came? Perhaps someone [they] somehow stole it while I was walking around a little earlier. What are we going to eat?” he said, pretending and being dishonest, it is told.

20. *Ui:=noh vok=üing “Lou: hin phyoh: vaci=a. Mtu:n-ei lü*
 dog=ERG pig=DAT field DEM weed DIR:go=IMP try.hard NF

phyoh: bä. Shee:p=a nah phyoh kah bük
 weed TAG later=LOC POSS:2S weeding S.AGR:1S look

lo=kkhai ni. Kho-teh angbeh=a am nah phyoh
 DIR:come=FUT EMPH plot-size properly=CF NEG POSS:2S weed

sun ta kah kut nah ei=kkhai ni” tilü
 DEM SUBO:if POSS:1S hand O.AGR:2S eat=FUT EMPH saying

ah mkyüh mjoh.

S.AGR:3S threaten EVID

The dog threatened the pig and said to him “Go and weed the field. Try hard and weed, will you! In a while I will come and look at your weeding. If you have not weeded properly a good part of the field you will feel my hand!”

21. *Ui:=noh vok sun ah hnep-ei, ah nghnge-naa:k.*
 dog=ERG pig DEM S.AGR:3S to.overpower S.AGR:3S control
 ‘The dog overpowerd the pig and controlled him.

22. *Vok ta i käh pye:n-ei be khoh lü ui:=a ti*
 pig FOC what NEG speak-AO back MOD:able NF dog=GEN word

ti=a ve=kti.

according=CF stay=NON.FUT

As for the pig, he was not able to speak up for himself and stayed, obeying what the dog said.

23. *Vok ta ah-nih mah-pa: kyüh lü kho-mü vei=a mtu:n-ei*
 pig FOC POSS:3DU/PL master fear NF evening till=LOC try.hard
lü phyou:=kti.
 NF weed=NON.FUT
 As for the pig, he was afraid of their master and tried hard weeding the field till evening.
24. *Ui:=noh ta mü=a i:m=a ah pha be=üing*
 dog=ERG FOC evening=LOC house=LOC S.AGR:3S arrive back=SUBO:when
ah ei-oo:k vai sun ah msi va kya näät-näät=üing
 POSS:3S eating SUBJ DEM POSS:3S saliva EMPH drop continuously=INSTR
ngngaai-ngngaai lü ngam-ei=kti.
 think think NF idel=NON.FUT
 As for the dog, he thought all the time about the food he would eat when he arrived back home in the evening, so that his saliva was dropping down, and was idle.
25. *Mü=a ah-nih lo be=üing thi:ng-thu:*
 evening=LOC S.AGR:3DU/PL come back=SUBO:when tree-branch
ah-nih kkoh lo vai ah-nih mah-pa:=noh
 S.AGR:2DU/PL carry DIR:come SUBJ POSS:3S master=ERG
ah jah mtheh.
 S.AGR:3S IO.AGR:1/3DU/PL instruct
 Their master had instructed them to bring back firewood when returning in the evening.
26. *Vok=noh ta thi:ng-thu: phi kkot lü lo be=kti.*
 pig=ERG FOC tree-branch also carry NF come back=NON.FUT
 As for the pig, he came back also carrying the firewood.
27. *Ui: ta ah kut phi kkhäi-kkhäi lü ayü:ng=a*
 dog FOC POSS:3S hand also swing swing NF freely=CF
lo be=kti.
 come back=NON.FUT
 As for the dog, he came back without carrying anything, swinging his hands.
28. *I:m ah-nih pha lo hnüh=üingta ui:=noh*
 house S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive DIR:come finally=SUBO:when dog=ERG
vok sun suui-msaai-in ma lü thi:ng-thu: sun hut lü ah
 pig DEM bite-MIR first NF tree-branch DEM snatch NF S.AGR:3

kkoh lo tuhan mjoh.

carry DIR:come pretend EVID

When they had nearly arrived home the dog suddenly bit the pig, snatched the firewood and pretended to have come carrying it, it is told.

29. *I:m=a ah-nih mah-pa:=a veei: ah-nih pha be*
house=LOC POSS:3DU/PL master=LOC PPOS S.AGR:3DU/PL arrive back

jata ui:=noh “Kei:=noh ta thi:ng-thu: phi kah
SUBO:as.soon.as dog=ERG 1S=ERG FOC tree-branch also S.AGR:3S

kkot lo=kti ni. Vok ta ayü:ng=a lo be=kti.
carry DIR:come=NON.FUT EMPH pig FOC free=CF come back=NON.FUT

Lou: phi kah päät=noh ni kah phyoh.
field also POSS:1S self=ERG EMPH S.AGR:1S weed

Amhnüü:p-mat=a vok ngam-ei=kti ni” tilü
day-one=LOC pig idle=NON.FUT EMPH saying

hleei: vaai=kti.

lie DIR:go=NON.FUT

As soon as they arrived back home in front of their master, the dog went and lied saying “It was just me who came carrying the firewood. The pig came back empty-handed. It was also only just me who weeded the field. The pig was idle the whole day long.”

30. *Vok=noh phi “Amdang=a ui: hleei: tü=kti ni.*
pig=ERG also without.purpose=CF dog lie again=NON.FUT EMPH

Kei:=noh ni lou: phi amhnüü:p-mat=a kah phyoh.
1S=ERG EMPH field also day-one=LOC S.AGR:1S weed.

Ui: amhnüü:p-mat=a ksoong=a ngam-ei=kti. Mhnüü:p-buh phi
dog day-one=LOC hut=LOC idle=NON.FUT noon-rice also

am nah mbei. Thi:ng-thu: phi kei:=noh ni kah
NEG O.AGR:1S feed tree-branch also 1S=ERG EMPH S.AGR:1S

kkoh lo kyo. I:m-hlong=a ui:=noh nah suui
carry DIR:come futile house-near=LOC dog=ERG O.AGR:1S bite

lü nah hut lü ah-nih=noh ah kkoh lo ni”
NF IO.AGR:1S snatch NF 3S=ERG S.AGR:3S carry DIR:come EMPH

tilü ah-nih mah-pa:=a veei: ngkhyah-ei
saying POSS:3DU/PL master=GEN nearness accuse.each.other

vaai mjoh=kti=xooi.

DIR:go EVID=NON.FUT=DU

The pig said in return: “The dog is again lying for no reason. It was only me who weeded the field the whole day long. The dog stayed idle in the hut the whole day long. Nor did he feed me any lunch. It was also me who came carrying the firewood. Near the house the dog bit me and snatched [it] from me and he came carrying [it]”. They spoke accusing each other thus in front of their master.

31. *Ah-nih mah-pa:=noh phi u ah ksa:ng-naa:k vai*
 POSS:3DU/PL master=ERG also who S.AGR:3S trust SUBJ

phi am kshi:ng.

also NEG know

Their master did not know whom he should trust.

32. *U ah jum-ei vai phi am hmat ti: mjoh.*
 who S.AGR:3S believe SUBJ also NEG know ASP EVID
 Nor did he know anymore whom he could believe.

33. *U hleei:=kti, u sa:ng=kti ah hmat vai=a*
 who lie=NON.FUT who be.true=NON.FUT S.AGR:3S know SUBJ=CF

phäh vok=üing “Na:ng vok lou: nah
 SUBO:PURP pig=DAT 2S pig field S.AGR:2S

phyoh=üing i ja: nah hmuh” tilü ah kthäh.
 weed=SUBO:when what QP S.AGR:2S see saying S.AGR:3S ask.

So that he would know who was lying and who was speaking the truth, he asked the pig, “You pig, what did you see while you weeded the field?”

34. *Vok=noh “Mlii:ng ni kah hmuh” ah ti mjoh.*
 pig=ERG ant EMPH S.AGR:1S see S.AGR:3S say EVID
 The pig said “I saw just ants”, it is told.

35. *Ui:=üing “Na:ng ui: lou: nah phyoh=üing i ja:*
 dog=DAT 2S dog field S.AGR:2S weed=SUBO:when what QP

nah hmuh” ah ti be.
 s.agr:2s see s.agr:3s say again.

He said again to the dog, “You dog, what did you see when you weeded the field?”

36. *Ui:=noh “Nghmu ni kah hmuh” ah ti.*
 dog=ERG eagle EMPH S.AGR:1S see S.AGR:3S say
 The dog said “I saw just eagles.”

37. *Asunüingta ah-nih mah-pa:=noh “Na:ng ui: nah hleei:=kti*
 CONJ:then POSS:3DU/PL master=ERG 2S dog S.AGR:2S lie=NON.FUT

ni” tilü ah kshe-naa:k, ah te mjoh.
 EMPH saying S.AGR:3S scold S.AGR:3S beat EVID
 Then their master said “You dog, you lied” and scolded him and beat him, it is told.

38. *Asun=a kya lü ui:=üng buh-kkhyung däk ah mbei.*
 that=CF happen NF dog-DAT rice-crust only S.AGR:3S feed
 So he fed the dog only rice crust.

39. *Vok=üng ta “Na:ng vok nah sa:ng=kti” tilü*
 pig=DAT FOC 2S pig S.AGR:2S be.true=NON.FUT saying

buh anbooi: kdo=üng ah mbei mjoh.
 rice curry good=INSTR S.AGR:3S feed EVID
 To the pig he said “You pig, you told the truth” and fed him with good rice and
 curry, it is told.

40. *“Tui:-li khuui=a vu phi pou, kkhaan mhnam nu:=a*
 water-pond hole=LOC shouting also appear above god mother=GEN

be phi ngthang=kti” ah-nih ti=a kba ui:=a
 word also be.known=NON.FUT S.AGR:3DU/PL say=CF SUBO:like dog=GEN

hleei:-hlaak sun asukba ngshing-ngte lo mjoh=kti.
 lying DEM like.that evident AUX:become EVID NON.FUT
 Like they [the elders] say, “The shouting in the hole of a water pond is heard and the
 word of the mother-god above is also known”, so likewise the lying of the dog also
 became apparent, it is told.

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