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with major in
Applied Linguistics
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Hkongso Grammar Sketch

By

Jonathan Michael Wright

Presented to the Faculty of
the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
with major in
Applied Linguistics

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
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ABSTRACT

Hkongso Grammar Sketch

Jonathan Michael Wright
Master of Arts
with major in
Applied Linguistics
The Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics, June 2009

Supervising Professor: Paul R. Kroeger

This thesis presents a descriptive, typological sketch of Hkongso phonology and grammar. Hkongso is a Tibeto-Burman language in Southern Chin State, Myanmar, and is spoken northeast of Paletwa along the Paletchaung and Michaung rivers. The Hkongso population is under 10,000. Hkongso has five contrastive tones, no inflectional morphology, and very little derivational morphology.

Hkongso is linguistically related to the Anu of Myanmar and the Mru of Bangladesh but differs grammatically from the Chin languages around it. Hkongso has no classifier system, no verb stem alternation, and is SVO. Other word order characteristics include NAdj, RelN, DemN, NNum, AdjDeg, and NegV, which are most similar to the Karen languages of Myanmar.

Pre-verbal operators include negation and ability. Clause-final operators include TAM and subject agreement markers. In addition to coordinate and subordinate clauses, Hkongso also has clause-chaining and serial verb constructions.
Dedicated to the Hkongso people, who have longed for the written word for so many years.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Glory and thanks goes first to the creator of all languages.

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Paul Kroeger for his constant guidance throughout the process of writing. He mentored me in many ways. He taught me to be persistent in finding answers and to question everything. His guidance brought about the confidence in me needed to complete this work.

I count it a privilege to have the guidance of Dr. Michael Boutin. He took the time to teach me the technical details of writing and his editorial remarks were tremendously helpful.

I am honored to have Dr. Fraser Bennett direct me in the process. His remarks on Tibeto-Burman phonology and grammar were essential to helping me grasp what occurs in Hkongso. I am grateful to have had his input in this paper.

I am indebted to Saya KK. His brilliance as a language associate was indispensable. Without him I would not have been able to complete this paper. I count it a great honor to know him and be considered his friend.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for being there for me throughout this process. My wife, Erin, was a continual source of encouragement. She believed in me at times when I did not believe in myself. Thank you.

[February 4, 2009]
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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<p>| 1  | first person    | LOC | locative                        |
| 2  | second person   | MAN | manner                          |
| 3  | third person    | MIR | mirative                        |
| A  | agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb | MOD | modality                        |
| ADJ | adjective       | N   | nasal                           |
| ADV | adverb(ial)     | N   | noun                            |
| AGR | agreement       | NEG | negation, negative              |
| APPR | approximant    | NP  | noun phrase                     |
| ASP | aspect          | NUMB| number                          |
| AUX | auxiliary       | NUM | numeral                         |
| BEN | benefactive     | O   | object                          |
| C   | consonant       | OBJ | object                          |
| CAUS | causative      | OBL | oblique                         |
| CLS | classifier      | OPT | optative                        |
| COM | comitative      | P   | patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb |
| COMP | complementizer | P   | phrase                          |
| COMPL | compleetive    | PASS | passive                         |
| COND | conditional   | PERF | perfect                         |
| CONT | continual      | PFV | perfective                      |
| CONTR | contradict/refuse | PL | plural                          |
| COP | copula          | POL | politeness particle             |
| DECL | declarative    | POSS | possessive                     |
| DEF | definite        | PP  | postpositional phrase           |
| DET | determiner      | PROG | progressive                    |
| DU  | dual            | PROH | prohibitive                     |
| DUB | dubitative      | PRT | particle                        |
| DUR | durative        | PURP | purposive                       |
| FEM | female          | Q   | question particle/marker        |
| HAB | habitual        | QUAN | quantifier                      |
| HORT | hortative      | REA | realis                          |
| IMP | imperative      | REL | relativizer                     |
| IMPneg | negative imperative | REQ | request                         |
| INCH | inchoative      | RPM | reflexive, passive, middle     |
| INS | instrumental    | RSP | reported speech particle        |
| INTENS | intensifier   | S   | single argument of canonical intransitive verb |
| INTER | interjection  | SPACT | speech act                      |
| IRR | irrealis       |      |                                 |
| LNK | linker          |      |                                 |</p>
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<td>tone</td>
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<td>voiced</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tag question</td>
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<td>tense/aspect/modality</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>yes/no question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a grammatical description of Hkongso [kʰɔŋ˥˩sʰo˦˨] a previously undescribed language of Southern Chin State in Myanmar. This thesis focuses on grammatical analysis, especially word order as Hkongso is a SVO Tibeto-Burman language.¹ The grammatical analysis is accompanied by a brief introduction to Hkongso history and geography, as well as an overview of the phonology.

1.1 Limitations of the study

The collection of data is limited due to restrictions placed upon foreigners. I was unable to travel to Southern Chin State, so I had to rely on Hkongso individuals who traveled to Yangon. I elicited information from these individuals and also had them collect language data via tape recorder from elders in the villages. My information is limited to word lists, elicited conversations, elicited example sentences, cultural speeches (i.e. funeral), and stories (historical, whimsical, mythical, and ethical).²

1.2 Procedure of the study

I gained insight into the phonological and grammatical systems of related languages by researching material written on these languages. I also worked with a Hkongso man named KK in the collection and write-up of local level background questionnaires for the

¹ SVO word order is unusual among Tibeto-Burman languages.
² Word list: 1200 words, elicited conversation: 8 minutes, elicited example sentences: 45 minutes, cultural speeches: 5 minutes, stories: 82 minutes.
Anu and Hkongso, which are tools used in survey to gain an understanding of the linguistic, geographical, historical, and sociolinguistic makeup of the target area. This tool contains interview questions which allow a sociolinguistic survey team to decide which questions need to be answered when doing a survey of the area. The interviews were taken from people that could be accessed easily. In our case, KK and I interviewed Anu and Hkongso speakers studying at schools in Yangon. The interviews provide valuable insight into the historical, geographical, and sociolinguistic make-up of the Anu and Hkongso groups. A survey taken in the spring of 2008 provides further insight into the sociolinguistic make-up of the groups. I also used a paper written by a Hkongso man (PM 2000) to gain an understanding of Hkongso culture and history.

Phonological information was elicited using a 436-word Swadesh (1955:121-37) word list that has been modified by Mann (2004). I also worked with one man coming from the eastern part of the Hkongso area to gather a corpus of textual data including words, stories, speeches, and conversations. Information obtained was then tested against other speakers of the language that traveled to Yangon. I used all of the data collected to analyze the phonology.

Stories used for grammatical analysis came from texts collected from elders in Anu and Hkongso villages and then transferred to me via tape recorder or retelling by individual Hkongso. I elicited, interlinearized, and discussed meanings of sentences in both English and Burmese.

I transcribed all data using the International Phonetic Alphabet and analyzed the data using Toolbox (SIL 2007).
1.3 Literature review

Hkongso is mutually intelligible with Anu, which is an unclassified Tibeto-Burman language with a population of 700 according to Gordon (2005). While their linguistic backgrounds are linked, cultural differences have resulted in separate sociolinguistic groupings, as discussed in §1.4.1.

The Anu and Hkongso groups do not appear in studies by other linguists. However, by noting the similarities with Mru as described by Ebersole (1996), we may be able to gain a clearer picture of what is happening linguistically as well as historically in Hkongso.

The Mru language of Bangladesh and the Hkongso of Myanmar appear to be similar in many ways. One similarity is that of legend. The Joshua Project (2008) says, “The Mru of Bangladesh believe that Torai ("the great spirit") gave all peoples, except the Mru, a written language and rules to guide their social lives. They believe that by some accident, they themselves were excluded.” In my elicitation of stories from the Hkongso, there is a great spirit, Turvai, who made the world.

The Joshua Project also writes that an alternate name for the Mru is Khammi. This is a name that I have found in use among the Anu and Hkongso people, but it has been unclear to me which group it is referring to. It does not refer to the Khumi, who live north of the Hkongso. To this point I have speculated that it is an older name referring to a historical people group.

Ebersole (1996) writes, “According to their legends [the Mru] migrated to the Chittagong hills from Arakan State several hundred years ago.” Arakan State lies in

---

3 Burma Socialist Party (1968) says that the Hkongso and Anu live together in the Paletwa area and have the same culture and language.
Myanmar, directly southeast of the Mru’s current location in Bangladesh. In between Arakan State and Bangladesh is the area where the Hkongso live. History reported by the Hkongso is a little different. KK (2007b) states, “Most of the subjects reported that before the Hkongso lived in that area, they came from Northern Chin State.” PM (2000) states, “A group of people moved up to the Chintwin River area, and as they were living there they began to fight among themselves. So, they decided to move to other places where they could find water and pasture.”

In the last few years, research on the Mru of Bangladesh has been furthered by David Peterson. At this point we have not had the opportunity to do cognate testing, but we have discussed Hkongso and Mru and see many similarities between the two languages, including SVO as basic word order. Peterson (2006:1) writes that Mru is a “language with several dozen thousand speakers (latest published census cites only about 22,000 as of 1991) in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh (southeast of Bandarban towards the borders of India and Burma).” Peterson says that there are “several dialects [and] many second language speakers.” He also says that “Mru varieties [are] spoken in adjacent areas of Burma (Arakan state), [and are] largely mutually comprehensible with Bangladesh varieties.”

Other studies on related languages such as Khoi Lam Thang’s work on Proto Chin (Khoi 2001) are helpful in gaining insight into possible phonological features of Hkongso. So-Hartmann (1988) and Peterson (2000, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008) are helpful in identifying and discussing linguistic features of Tibeto-Burman languages in this part of Chin State.
1.4 The Hkongso people

This section describes the socio-linguistic setting, geography and demographics, and economic factors of the Hkongso people. Unless specifically noted, information in this section comes from the survey proposal I compiled based on KK (2007a, b).

1.4.1 Socio-linguistic setting: Identity

I have recently used the local level background questionnaires to write a survey proposal, and a survey of the Anu and Hkongso groups was conducted in 2008. The findings of this survey provide important sociolinguistic information about the relationships between the Anu, Hkongso, and a neighboring group called the Kasang, which are shown in Map 1.

---

4 This group is included in the survey because they claim to be Hkongso.
Mang (2008: p.c.) says, “It is a difficult identity issue across this area to decide who is who for outsiders.” However, he does come to a conclusion about the identity of these groups, which are briefly summarized here. It is important to note that the relationships between these groups are very complex.

Mang (2008: p.c.) says, “Anu people claim that Hkongso is not a separate group, [but] is one of the four sub-groups of Anu: Hkum, Hkong, Som, and Kla.” Mang also says, “Hkongso people admit that they are related to Anu both tribally and linguistically, but they maintain that their group is related to Anu as an equal, not as a sub-group.”

---

5 This map is used by permission of Eva Ujlakyova.
Kasang group (also known under the names Khenlak, Ta-aw, Hkongsa-Asang, Hkongso-Asang, Asang, and Sangta) claims that “They are pure Hkongso and they deny that Kasang/Asang is their tribal name.” However, Mang (2008: p.c.) concludes, “[T]hat ‘Kasang’ is mutually intelligible with Khumi, but not Anu, is a reason to abandon the likelihood of ‘Kasang’ being ‘Hkongso’.” Therefore, Mang distinguishes three groups: Anu, Hkongso, and Kasang. Of these, Anu and Hkongso are mutually intelligible and Kasang is not linguistically related to Anu or Hkongso.6

1.4.2 Geography and demographics

According to KK (2007b), the Hkongso live in Paletwa Township, Chin State, Myanmar and their villages are listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahungtong</td>
<td>Phongphai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halawa</td>
<td>Ringrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanan</td>
<td>Sami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanlawa</td>
<td>Singkangkung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likkung (1)</td>
<td>Tengwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakinwa</td>
<td>Tuikinwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahang</td>
<td>Vadengkung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paletwa</td>
<td>Youngwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KK (2007b) provides two maps of the area, included here as Map 2 and Map 3. These maps show the locations of most Hkongso villages in Paletwa Township, Chin

6 The final report, completed at the beginning of 2009, supports these initial findings.
State, Myanmar. Paletwa and Sami are larger towns with only a few Hkongso living there. The Leimi, Asang, and Likkheng are other language groups in the area.
KK (2007b) reports that there are 392 houses among the Hkongso villages. With an average of 6.25 people per house, the population is approximately 2,450. However, when I talked to Hkongso people in person, they reported that the Hkongso people numbered around 10,000.

1.4.3 Economy

The Hkongso are primarily farmers who grow rice, sesame seeds, chili, ginger, bananas, mangoes, and oranges. During the months of April and May the villagers are busy with planting. Harvest season is from September to November.

The Hkongso can only earn cash by selling animals and crops from their farms. To buy and sell things, the Hkongso people go to Pawa, Kyawkthaw, Sami or Paletwa. At times traders may come to their villages to buy and sell. Among the people of the village, there is little buying and selling practiced. Mostly the people share the things they have with each other.

Building houses, making furniture, and cutting or clearing fields are done by men. Spinning, weaving, and pounding rice are only done by women.
CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

This chapter presents an overview of the syllable structure, phonemes, tone, and morphology. Hkongso is an isolating language with little derivational morphology and no inflectional morphology. Most words are monosyllabic, but disyllabic and polysyllabic words do occur.

I use a phonetic and phonemic transcription through §2.3.2 and a technical orthography starting with §2.4. I do not use a practical orthography since the Hkongso people have not had an alphabet. One was recently created and they are in the process of establishing the alphabet. Tone is marked by (˧, ˦˨, ˥, ˥˩, ˧˥˧) rather than numbers.

2.1 Syllables

2.1.1 Syllable Types and Word Patterns

Hkongso has two kinds of syllables: full “major” syllables and reduced “minor” syllables (sometimes called presyllables).

In major syllables, all consonant phonemes can occur in the initial position of the onset (C₁), but only /j/, /w/, /ɿ/, /ɿ/ can occur in the second position of complex onsets (C₂). In the coda, only unaspirated, voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, and the voiced alveolar trill /ɿ/ may occur. All five tones (T) can occur in major syllables. In textual analysis CV and CVC are by far the most common major syllable types. The major syllable is diagrammed in Figure 1.
(C₁)(C₂)V(Cᵢə)

Figure 1: Major syllable

Besides CV and CVC, major syllables may be V, VC, CCV, and CCVC. Examples of major syllable shapes are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Major syllable structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V [ə˥˩]</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC [ap˧]</td>
<td>‘to shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V [nu˥˩]</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C [bɔn˦˨]</td>
<td>‘soil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C V [klə˥]</td>
<td>‘language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C V C [klaŋ˦˨]</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minor syllables are bound syllables with a single consonant (C₁) and /ə/ as the vowel. All minor syllables have a level mid tone and never occur word-finally. The minor syllable is diagrammed in Figure 2.

Cᵢə

Figure 2: Minor syllable

I analyze prenasalization as another type of minor syllable. This analysis creates another possible minor syllable shape as illustrated in Figure 3.

N

Figure 3: Prenasal minor syllable

---

7 This analysis is discussed in §2.2.1.1.
Hkongso exhibits a rhythmic pattern consisting of combinations of minor and major syllables in an iambic pattern (unstressed-stressed) which is typical of languages of mainland Southeast Asia, including Mon-Khmer languages, Thai, and Burmese (Donegan and Stampe 1983; Wheatley 1987). In Hkongso, this iambic rhythmic pattern is manifested in words and phrases. Table 2 illustrates words that include minor syllables. The most common consonants in minor syllables are /k/, /l/, and /m/. Consonants /r/, /s/, /t/, and /v/ also appear in minor syllables with less frequency. The minor syllables in the following words, for the most part, have no apparent synchronic meaning.

Table 2: Minor syllables in polysyllabic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ka/</th>
<th>/la/</th>
<th>/ma/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kəˈlakɻ] ‘mouth’</td>
<td>[ləˈkarɻ] ‘needle’</td>
<td>[məˈlaiɻ] ‘rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kəˈmaɻ] ‘safe’</td>
<td>[ləˈlaɻ] ‘moon’</td>
<td>[məˈløŋɻ] ‘ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kəˈmaiɻ] ‘today’</td>
<td>[ləˈlaɻ]</td>
<td>[məˈlukɻ] ‘roof’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In clauses, initial elements tend to be shortened due to clausal rhythmic patterns. Donegan and Stampe (1983:345) suggest that most Southeast Asian languages have stress-timed rhythm, “…an unmistakable symptom of which is the polarization of their accented and unaccented syllables into…‘major’ and ‘minor’ types, the latter having a vowel we would call ‘reduced’ in English.”

2.1.2 Onset

The initial C is the least limited element of the syllable. Any phonemic consonant including a glottal stop may occur in this position.

Consonant clusters are only found in the onset. Unambiguous consonant clusters are restricted to the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops /kʰ/, /pʰ/, /k/, and /p/ followed...
by a liquid: /kl/, /kr/, /kʰl/, /kʰr/, /pl/, /pr/, /pʰl/, and /pʰr/. Example (1) illustrates these consonant clusters.

(1)  
[kləŋ˦˨]  ‘leg’
[krum˦˨]  ‘village’
[kʰlək̚˧]  ‘to open and remove meat from a shell’
[kʰrek̚˦˨]  ‘to love’
[plai˥˩]  ‘to dance’
[praŋ˧]  ‘outside’
[pʰlek̚˥]  ‘to splatter’
[pʰre˧˥˧]  ‘to answer’

There are ambiguities involving palatal and labial approximants. The semivowels [w] and [j] may follow the initial consonant as illustrated in (2) and listed in Table 3 and Table 4. The vocoid sequences [iu], [ua], and [ui] are also mentioned in §2.2.2 and are illustrated in (3). Analyzing the semivowels and the initial vocoids as the consonants /w/ and /j/, as illustrated in (4) and (5) provides the simplest description of the syllable.¹

(2)  
[pʰjau˧]  ‘to.wash’
[pʲuŋ˥]  ‘to.run’
[kʷai˦˨]  ‘bee’
[kʷan˧]  ‘to.scratch.an.itch’

(3)  
[riu˥]  ‘to.teach’
[pua˥]  ‘to.visit’
[kui˥]  ‘dog’

(4)  
/pʰjaw˧/  ‘to.wash’
/pjʊŋ˧/  ‘to.run’
/kwaj˧/  ‘bee’
/kwan˧/  ‘to.scratch.an.itch’

(5)  
/rju˥˧/  ‘to.teach’
/pwa˥˧/  ‘to.visit’
/kwi˥˧/  ‘dog’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pw</th>
<th>tw</th>
<th>kw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See Pike (1947:130) for a discussion on analyzing ambiguous syllable sequences.
Table 4: The semivowel /j/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pj</th>
<th>tj</th>
<th>kj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰj</td>
<td>tʰj</td>
<td>kʰj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bj</td>
<td>lj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3 Nucleus

The nucleus may only be a single vowel. There are vocoid sequences in syllables, but these are analyzed in §2.1.2 and §2.1.4 as semivowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel instead of vowel-vowel.

2.1.4 Coda

In the coda, all stops /p/, /t/, /k/, and /ʔ/ are unreleased. Nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and voiced alveolar trills /ɾ/ may also occur in the coda as illustrated in (6).

(6) [lapʰ˦˨] ‘to.shout’
    [ŋetʰ˥˩] ‘to.tear.or.break’
    [nikʰ˦˨] ‘day’
    [təmuʔ˧] ‘brother’
    [kar˧] ‘chicken’
    [lam˦˨] ‘fish’
    [bɔn˦˨] ‘soil’
    [bɨŋ˧] ‘to.shut’

I have found a few exceptions to this in polysyllabic words. In (7), /l/ appears in the coda of the second syllable. This is the only example I have of /l/ appearing in the coda.

In (8) the syllable final [s] appears because it is a loan word.

(7) [lə˧.kʰəl˧.ˈklom˥] ‘to.be.happy’
(8) [pas˧.tor˧]  
‘pastor’

The vocoid sequences [eu], [au], [ai], and [oi] occur in syllables, as illustrated in (9). Consonants may not occur after any vocoid sequence.\(^9\) Analyzing the second vocoid in these sequences as the consonants [w] and [j], as illustrated in (10), better fits the unambiguous syllable types and provides a simpler description.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(9)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[rʰeu˨˦]</td>
<td>‘hook’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bau˨˦]</td>
<td>‘to.swell’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bai˦˨]</td>
<td>‘to.spread.out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[moi˥]</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) /rʰew˥˩/ ‘hook’  
/baw˦˨/ ‘to.swell’  
/baj˦˨/ ‘to.spread.out’  
/moj˥/ ‘meat’

2.2 Phonemes

2.2.1 Consonants

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Hkongso as shown in Table 5.

\(^9\) Some loan words such as tʃau˦˦ ‘school’ and cauk˧ ‘book’ have consonants following a vocoid sequence.
Table 5: Consonant phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial /Labio Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspirated</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ̊</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>ŋ̊ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>sʰ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral Fricative</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unaspirated</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive Vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive Vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ̊</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral Approx</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following list contains contrasts which establish the phonemic status of consonants. Prenasalized consonants are included in this list but do not occur in Table 5. Prenasals are analyzed as minor syllables and are discussed in §2.2.1.1.

/b/ and /p/

[baɿ] ‘bee hive’
[paɿ] ‘to be thin’
[beɿ] ‘to lick’
[peɿ] ‘second hand information marker’

---

10 All voiceless alveolar plosives are fronted to the dental point of articulation.
11 The pronunciation of this palatal differs based on the speaker’s idiolect. I have also heard it pronounced as [tʃ], [s], and [z]. The affricate [tʃ] and [z] occur unambiguously in loan words.
/p/ and /pʰ/

[pʰa˥˩]  ‘soft shell turtle’
[pʰa˥˩]  ‘father’
[pre˧˥˧]  ‘to puncture’
[pʰre˧˥˧] ‘to answer a written question’

/p/ and /m̥ /

[pai˧˥˧]  ‘to pass gas’
[m̥ ai˥˩]  ‘fire’
[pu˥˩]  ‘cooking pot’
[m̥ ur˧] ‘to wipe face in morning’

/p/ and /ᵐp/

[pai˧˥˧]  ‘to pass gas’
[m⁰ai˧˥˧]  ‘to carry a basket’
[pu˥˩]  ‘cooking pot’
[m⁰pu˧] ‘smoking pipe’

/m̥/ and /ᵐp/

[m̥ ai˥˩]  ‘fire’
[m⁰ai˧˥˧]  ‘to carry a basket’
[m⁰ur˧] ‘to wipe face in morning’
[m⁰pu˧] ‘smoking pipe’

/p/ and /ʔ/

[pɔr˧˥˧]  ‘to be bloated’
[ʔɔr˥]  ‘to shiver’

/b/ and /m/

[be˧]  ‘to lick and to sharpen’
[me˧]  ‘branch’
[bap̚˦˨] ‘ashes’
[map̚˦˨] ‘to bite’

/m/ and /ɱ/ 

[maɪ˥˧]  ‘a widow living with her son’
[ɲai˥˩]  ‘fire’
[mu˧]  ‘to be dark’
[ɲur˧] ‘to wipe face in morning’
/m̥/ and /m̥m̥/
[ŋma˧] ‘to forget’
[m̥ma˧] ‘road’

/m/ and /n/
[mui˥˩] ‘to sleep’
[nui˥˩] ‘above/on’
[maŋ˧] ‘dream’
[naŋ˥˩] ‘to be poor’

/ŋ/ and /m̥/
[ŋai˥˩] ‘to be good’
[ŋai˥˩] ‘fire’
[ŋur˥˩] ‘a snakelike fish’
[ŋur˧] ‘to wipe face in morning’

/f/ and /pʰ/
[fa˥] ‘to be empty’
[pʰa˥˩] ‘soft shell turtle’
[feŋ˥˩] ‘to go off the wrong way’
[pʰeŋ˧] ‘to cut in one try’

/f/ and /v/
[feŋ˥˩] ‘to go off the wrong way’
[veŋ˥] ‘to harvest’
[fa˥] ‘to be empty’
[va˥] ‘bird’

/f/ and /m̥/
[fan˥˩] ‘to separate’
[ŋaŋ˥˩] ‘to walk’
[fa˧] ‘to open’
[ŋaŋ˧] ‘to be impossible’

/t/ and /tʰ/
[tuŋ˥] ‘sesame seed’
[tʰuŋ˥] ‘lime used in betel nut’
[tək˦˨˦˨] ‘north’
[tʰak˧] ‘to die’
/t/ and /c/

[tm^] ‘area’
[cm^] ‘to sit’
[tuk^] ‘to know’
[cuk^] ‘to pray’

/tʰ/ and /sʰ/

[tʰam^] ‘cool’
[sʰam^] ‘hair’
[tʰu^] ‘to be crazy’
[sʰu^] ‘to pound rice’

/d/ and /t/

[dap^] ‘to be useless’
[ta^] ‘to be thick’
[duŋ^] ‘nowadays’
[taŋ^] ‘sesame seed’

/t/ and /ŋ/

[tai^] ‘older sibling’
[ŋai^] ‘to be good’
[tem^] ‘snail’
[ŋem^] ‘to be short’

/d/ and /n/

[di^] ‘to be few’
[ni^] ‘the date’
[dan^] ‘to reforge a knife’
[naŋ^] ‘to bring and give’

/tʰ/ and /ɾʰ/

[tʰu^] ‘to be crazy’
[ɾʰu^] ‘to be rotten’
[tʰaŋ^] ‘to die’
[ɾʰaŋ^] ‘strength’

/n^c/ and /c/

[n^cu^] ‘thorn’
[coi^] ‘spoon’
[n^caŋ^] ‘demon’
[caŋ^] ‘rice’
/sʰ/ and /c/

[sʰɔp̚˧] ‘to do laundry’
[cɔp̚˧] ‘to be hard’
[sʰan˥˩] ‘rattan’
[can˥˩] ‘meat’

/d/ and /r/

[kədai˦˨] ‘large water jar’
[kərai˦˨] ‘thunder’
[diŋ˧] ‘accidentally’
[rin˧] ‘to laugh’

/d/ and /l/

[dap̚˧] ‘to be useless’
[lap̚˧] ‘to shout’
[duŋ˥˩] ‘nowadays’
[luŋ˥˩] ‘maggot’

/ŋ/ and /ʂʰ/

[ŋau˦˨] ‘younger sibling’
[ʂʰau˦˨] ‘fat’
[ŋet̚˦˨] ‘to tighten the weave’
[ʂʰet̚˧] ‘to do something fast’

/ŋ/ and /ɲ̊/

[ŋat̚˦˨] ‘loom’
[ɲ̊at̚˦˨] ‘to prepare food’
[ŋet̚˦˨] ‘to tighten the weave’
[ɲ̊et̚˥˩] ‘to tear’

/n/ and /ŋ̊/

[mĩn˧˥˧] ‘to be ripe’
[mĩŋ˧˥˧] ‘to wait’
[na˨˩] ‘that’s right’
[ŋa˨˩] ‘to be bad’

/n/ and /r/

[nui˦˨] ‘above’
[ruŋ˦˨] ‘to be correct’
[nam˦˨] ‘village’
[rən˧] ‘to buy’
/ᵅʰ/ and /ᵅ/

[ᵅʰuᵅ˧˥] ‘night’
[rutᵅ˧˥] ‘hand’
[ᵅʰauᵅ˧] ‘to be tall’
[ᵅauᵅ˧˧] ‘to hurt’

/l/ and /ᵅ/

[leᵅ˧˥] ‘rope bridge’
[reᵅ˧˥] ‘spear’
[lᵃᵅ˦˨] ‘male animal’
[rᵃᵅ˧˧] ‘to come’

/ᵅ/ and /ᵅʰ/

[lᵃᵅ˧˧] ‘to be far’
[ᵅʰᵃᵅ˧] ‘strength’
[lᵅumᵅ˧] ‘to roll clay’
[ᵅʰᵅmᵅ˧] ‘three’

/ᵅ/ and /ᵅᵅ/

[lakᵅ˧˥] ‘to split’
[rakᵅ˧˥] ‘to itch’
[kᵅleᵅ˧˧] ‘to play’
[kᵅreᵅ˧] ‘bullet hole’

/ᵅ/ and /ᵅʰ\̃/

[ᵅʰᵅᵅί] ‘butterfly’
[ᵅʰᵅᵅɪ] ‘half’
[lakᵅ˧˥] ‘to split’
[harᵅ˧˧] ‘to be new’

/ᵅ/ and /ᵅ\̃/

[ᵅᵅᵅɪ] ‘to be far’
[lᵅᵅᵅɪ] ‘to be rotten’
[ᵅumᵅɪ] ‘to roll clay’
[lᵅᵅᵅɪ] ‘salt’

/ⁿl/ and /ᵅ\̃/

[ⁿᵅleᵅ] ‘path’
[leᵅ] ‘rope bridge’
[ⁿᵅlᵅ̃ᵅɪ] ‘east’
[lᵅᵅᵅɪ] ‘the sun comes up’
/l/ and /j/

[lam˧] ‘fish’
[jan˧] ‘urine’
[liŋ˧] ‘horn’
[jiŋ˧] ‘tooth’

/j/ and /ŋ/

[ja˦˨] ‘to win a game’
[ŋa˥˩] ‘to be bad’
[jir˧] ‘to be sharp’
[ŋir˧] ‘morning’

/sʰ/ and /sʰ/

[ⁿsʰan˦˨] ‘spider’
[sʰan˥˩] ‘rattan’

/sʰ/ and /h/

[sʰir˧] ‘to disgust’
[hir˧] ‘lice’
[sʰan˧] ‘rattan’
[har˧] ‘to be new’

/k/ and /kʰ/

[kə˧koi˧] ‘to snap or break apart’
[kə˧kʰoi˧] ‘it’s gone’
[kan˧] ‘forced labor’
[kʰak̚˧] ‘to be bitter’

/h/ and /k/

[hu˥˩] ‘to be many’
[ku˧] ‘to steal’
[kar˧] ‘chicken’
[har˧] ‘to be new’

/ŋ̊/ and /k/

[ŋ̊at̚˦˨] ‘to prepare food’
[kan˧] ‘balloon’
[ŋ̊ɔr˦˨] ‘to snore’
[kɔk̚˥˩] ‘white’
/ŋ̊/ and /kʰ/

[ŋ̊ɔr˦˨]  ‘to snore’
[kʰɔk̚˦˨]  ‘foot’
[ŋ̊ɛt̚˥˩]  ‘to tear’
[kʰɛt̚˧] ‘to be near’

/ŋ/ and /ŋ̊/

[ŋat̚˦˨] ‘the fifth time’
[ŋ̊at̚˦˨] ‘to prepare food’
[ŋɛt̚˦˨] ‘to be eaten by termites’
[ŋ̊ɛt̚˥˩] ‘to tear’

2.2.1.1 Prenasalization

In addition to the consonants in Table 5 there is a class of contoids that are phonetically prenasalized, as shown in Table 6. I analyze prenasals as minor syllables in §2.1.1.

Table 6: Prenasalization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m̩p</th>
<th>n̩t</th>
<th>n̩c</th>
<th>n̩kʰ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m̩m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n̩sʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n̩l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prenasals are homorganic with the following consonant as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Homorganic prenasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[m̩plɔt˥] ‘door’</td>
<td>[ⁿle˥] ‘path’</td>
<td>[ⁿkʰat˥] ‘rail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[m̩ma˥] ‘road’</td>
<td>[ⁿsʰan˥] ‘spider’</td>
<td>[ⁿkʰat˦˨] ‘roof support beam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[m̩pu˧] ‘smoking pipe’</td>
<td>[ⁿcak˥˩] ‘demon’</td>
<td>[ⁿkom˧] ‘30’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I do not have enough examples to test this hypothesis, but (11) suggests that a prefix has been reduced to a nasal resulting in a prenasalized consonant. Further evidence of a
morphological process is that prenasalization only occurs on nouns in the data. The possibility of prenasalization as a morphological process is further discussed in §2.4.

(11) \[ⁿlɔt̚˥˩\] ‘east’
\[lɔt̚˦˨\] ‘the.sun.comes.up’

2.2.1.2 Consonant Distribution

Consonant distribution is shown in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduced syllables</th>
<th>Major syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ /l/ /m/ /t/</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ /t̚/ /v/</td>
<td>/n/ /ŋ/ /r/ /j/ /w/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voiceless stops have the following distribution: (1) they occur in both the onset and the coda, (2) they occur as onsets in minor syllables with /k/ being the most frequent consonant in the minor syllable. They are unreleased in the coda.

Aspirated stops, voiced stops, voiceless nasals, fricatives, the palatal /c/, and the lateral fricative only occur in the onset.

Voiced nasals occur in the onset, coda, and minor syllable, with /m/ being the second most frequent consonant in the minor syllable.

Voiced trills occur in the onset, coda and in minor syllables, but voiceless trills only occur in the onset.

Approximants occur in onsets and codas but not in minor syllables.

The lateral voiced approximant /l/ occurs in onsets and minor syllables.

---

12 This analysis accounts for the presence of /ⁿm̥/ and /ⁿl/ in the language, which are quite rare.
2.2.1.3 Free Variation Between Phones

Some phones are in free variation as shown in Figure 4.

\[
/c/ \rightarrow [c] \sim [s] \sim [\text{t}s] \sim [z] / ____ (in all environments)
\]

\[
/r/ \rightarrow [r] \sim [\text{r}] \sim [\text{x}] / ____ (in all environments)
\]

Figure 4: Free variation.

2.2.2 Vowels

There are ten vowel phonemes as shown in Table 9.13

Table 9: Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open mid</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>a 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vocoid sequences in Table 10 occur phonetically in the text.15 These are discussed phonemically in §2.1.2 and §2.1.4.

Table 10: Vocoid sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>iu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td></td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>ai au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

13 Nine vowel phoneme systems are much more common in SE Asia. The phonemes /ɘ/ and /ə/ are suspicious, but the data shows that they contrast.

14 Throughout the paper I use /a/ for the open central vowel /ɑ/. However, in italics the font renders ‘a’ as ‘à’.

15 The vocoid sequences [eʰ], [aʰ], and [eʰ] also occur. However, these occur so rarely that I am regarding them as a product of the individuals’ idiolect until further evidence is found.
The following list contains contrasts which establish the phonemic status of vowels.

/o/ and /u/

[pɔ˧]  ‘to take’
[pu˦]  ‘grandfather’

/i/ and /e/

[liŋ˧]  ‘to be hot’
[leŋ˧]  ‘to gather firewood’

/u/ and /i/

[lu˧]  ‘head’
[li˧]  ‘to look for’

/i/ and /i/

[liŋ˧]  ‘to be hot’
[liŋ˦]  ‘horn’

/ɘ/ and /ɨ/

[kɘ˧]  ‘big’
[kɪ˧]  ‘to clean a wound’

/a/ and /i/

[bap˦˨]  ‘ashes’
[bip˧]  ‘to be deep’

/a/ and /ɘ/

[ma˦˨]  ‘let’s’
[mɘ˧]  ‘to carry a child on back’

/ə/ and /i/

[jəŋ˦˨]  ‘to pull’
[jɪŋ˦]  ‘tooth’

/i/ and /j/

[iu˦˨]  ‘sun goes down’
[ju˧]  ‘pus’

/ə/ and /e/

[teŋ˧]  ‘to lift’
[teŋ˦]  ‘cliff’
/ə/ and /ɘ/

[təŋ˧˥˧]  ‘to lift’
[tɘr˧]  ‘to frighten’

/ə/ and /ɘ/

[veŋ˧]  ‘continue on’
[vəŋ˥]  ‘cost’

2.3  Prosodic features

2.3.1  Tone

Five contrastive tones are illustrated in Table 11.\(^{16}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone 1</td>
<td>Mid leŋ˧</td>
<td>‘gather firewood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2</td>
<td>Mid falling leŋ˦˨</td>
<td>‘lasso’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 3</td>
<td>High leŋ˥</td>
<td>‘to tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 4</td>
<td>High falling leŋ˥˩</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 5</td>
<td>Mid High Mid leŋ˥˧</td>
<td>‘to ask’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tones are not restricted in major syllables. Each tone may occur on open or closed syllables as illustrated in (12) and in Table 11. However, in some instances, word-initial and word-medial syllables in polysyllabic words lose their tonal contrasts, and are realized with a level mid tone as illustrated in (13). Tones are restricted to a level mid tone in minor syllables as illustrated in (14).\(^{17}\)

---

\(^{16}\) Tone 5 is quite rare.

\(^{17}\) Phonemically I do not mark tone in minor syllables.
(12) [mu˧] ‘dark’
[no˦˨] ‘soft’
[mi˥] ‘3SG’
[nu˥˩] ‘mother’
[be˧˥˧] ‘again’

(13) [lə˧.kʰəl˧.ˈklom˥] ‘to be happy’

(14) [kə˧vəŋ˧˥˧] ‘to fall’
[mə˧luk̚˧˥˧] ‘roof’

2.3.2 Stress

Stress occurs on the ultimate syllable in disyllabic and polysyllabic words as illustrated in (15).

(15) [pəŋ˧ˈlɘk̚˧˥˧] ‘shallow’
[pʰo˧ˈlar˧˥˧] ‘papaya’
[kə˧ˈtɨr˧˥˧] ‘to talk’

2.4 Morphology

Hkongso is a highly isolating language with very few morphological processes. In a strictly isolating language every word consists of only one morpheme (Payne 1997:27).

Hkongso has no inflectional morphology. Plurality and tense are marked via particles and auxiliaries.

The only productive derivational morphology is when the minor syllable kə- occurs as a prefix on the verb. When the prefix kə- is added to the verb, it changes the

---

18 At this point in my transcriptions, I switch to using a technical orthography, created for the sole purpose of presenting the data. Consonants [s], [t͡s], and [z] are transcribed as /c/, and [ɾ] and [ɹ] as /r/. Unreleased and dental marks are removed, prenasals are superscripted, and vocoid sequences are transcribed using two vowels. If a syllable does not have a tone mark, it is a mid level tone.
transitivity of the verb, assigning different grammatical relations. Example (16) is a simple transitive sentence in which there is an agent and a patient. In (17) the cup is still the patient, but it appears before the verb as the subject and there is no agent in the sentence. Therefore, in (17) the reduced syllable \( k\alpha \) is acting as a valence-decreasing affix.

(16) \( aŋ˧ pro˧ pai˧ kʰap˧ \)
1SG break PRT cup
‘I broke the cup.’

(17) \( kʰap˧ k\alpha-pro˧ ve˥ \)
cup RPM-break COP
‘The cup is broken.’

The prefix \( k\alpha \) ‘RPM’ is also used in reflexivization and reciprocals, which provides further evidence that it is a valence-decreasing affix (Kroeger 2005:275). In (18) the verb \( bom˥ \) ‘hit’ appears without the prefix \( k\alpha \) ‘RPM’. As expected, there is an agent and a patient. In the reflexive example (19), the prefix \( k\alpha \) ‘RPM’ is present, and the valence is decreased. This also happens in (20) and (21). The prefix \( k\alpha \) ‘RPM’ occurs in the reciprocal example (21), where the valence is decreased. In examples (19) and (21), the subject is both agent and patient at the same time.

(18) \( aŋ˧ bom˥ mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ ham˥ \)
1SG hit Maung.Maung IRR
‘I will hit Maung Maung.’

(19) \( aŋ˧ m ̥ a t ˧ m aʔ ˥ aŋ˧ k\alpha-bom˥ \)
1SG self SUBJ 1SG RPM-hit
‘I hit myself.’

(20) \( dai˥ aŋ˧ ciŋ˥ bom˥ rua˦˨ \)
Dai 1SG together hit snake
‘Dai and I killed a snake together.’

\(^{19}\) The minor syllables \( ta, ra, ma, \) and \( la \), as discussed in §2.1.1, occur as the initial syllable in polysyllabic words, such as \( təma˦˨ \) ‘daughter’, \( rəsa˦˨ \) ‘sun’, \( mənam˥˩ \) ‘village’, and \( ləmuʔ˥˩ \) ‘sky’. However, these minor syllables have no productive morphological function. They may have had morphological meaning at some point in the history of the language.
This form also appears when a verb is used as a gerund. The verb takes the valence decreasing prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ and is then followed by the relative/complement clause marker *miʔ˥ ‘LNK’. This is illustrated in (22), which contrasts with examples (16) and (17).

(22) *kʰap˥ kə-pro˧ miʔ˥ aŋ˧ kram˥ ɬɘ˥*  
* cups RPM-break LNK 1SG be.afraid with*  
‘I was scared by the cup’s breaking.’

The gerund clause may be marked by the topic marker *cə˦˨ ‘TOP’ as illustrated in (23).

(23) *kə-bom˥ miʔ˥ cə˦˨ no˧ n ̥ai˥˩*  
*RPM-hit LNK TOP NEG good*  
‘Hitting is not good.’

This use of the prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ is further illustrated in examples (24) and (25). In (24) *ŋa˥ ‘forget’* appears as a verb and in (25) *kə-* ‘RPM’ is added and the verb is changed to the gerund *kə-ŋa˥ ‘forgetting’ or ‘losing’.*

(24) *boŋ˧ m ̥ a˥ aŋ˧ bə˦˨*  
*don’t forget 1SG POL*  
‘Don’t forget me.’

(25) *kə-ŋa˥ mi˥ cə˦˨ hau˧ ham˥ rai˥ prai˥˩*  
*RPM-forget LNK TOP look.for IRR difficult very*  
‘Losing (something), it would be hard to look for it.’

The prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ also appears lexicalized at times, where there is no apparent semantic meaning or grammatical function, as illustrated in examples (26) and (27). This most often occurs when a verb and a following noun form one semantic unit.

(26) *aŋ˧ kə-jau˥ t ̪ui˦˨*  
*1SG RPM-swim water*  
‘I swam./I am swimming.’

(27) *aŋ˧ kə-tʰui˥ bɔluŋ˧*  
*1SG RPM-kick ball*  
‘I play soccer./I am playing soccer.’
Hkongso also has reduplication, which derives adverbs from verbs. Example (28) illustrates the verb r̥ɛt˥ ‘fast’, and example (29) illustrates this verb reduplicated as the adverb r̥ɛt˥r̥ɛt˥ ‘quickly’.

(28) r̥ɛt˥ de˦˨
    fast IMP
    ‘Be quick.’

(29) pɘ˧ r̥ɛt˥-r̥ɛt˥ de˦˨
    do fast-fast IMP
    ‘Do it quickly.’

At times the meaning of the verb is no longer reconstructable and only the adverbial meaning remains, as illustrated in examples (30) and (31).

(30) kai˥ ŋa˦˨ tʰaŋ˥ vəŋ˧veŋ˧ de˦˨ ba˦˨
    go front side keep.on IMP POL
    ‘Please keep going straight ahead.’

(31) mi˥ kəcai˥˩ cə˦˨ mɔr˧ rɘ˥rɘ˥ n ̥ak˦˨
    this woman TOP grumble constantly INTENS
    ‘She grumbles all the time!’

Another process, involving prenasalization, appears to have a limited derivational function. In examples (32) and (33), it appears that prenasalization is used as a nominalizer, taking an adjective or verb and changing it into a noun.

(32) ⁿle˥ ‘path’
    le˧ ‘to be narrow’

(33) ⁿlɔt˥˩ ‘east’
    lɔt˦˨ ‘the sun comes up’

These examples are all the evidence I have found of this process. The other examples of prenasalization are inconclusive. At one time in the history of the language, prenasalization may have been a productive morphological process but it is no longer so.
CHAPTER 3: NOUN PHRASES

This chapter discusses the structure and order of constituents in noun phrases. It also describes appositive and coordinated NPs, as well as possession.

3.1 Structure and order of constituents

This section illustrates the number markers, adjectives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, and case markers that follow the noun which they modify. Determiners and phrasal modifiers precede the noun. NP modifiers are summarized in Table 12.

Table 12: Noun phrase structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-3</th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>+1</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>+3</th>
<th>+4</th>
<th>+5</th>
<th>+6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>POSS Phrase</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>NUMB</td>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>CLS</td>
<td>QUAN</td>
<td>CASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The markers va˥ ‘PL’ and ja˦˨ ‘DU’ occur in the NP and also after the verb as clause-final operators.\(^{20}\) The marker va˥ ‘PL’, coordinates three or more NPs by following the list, as illustrated in example (34).\(^{21}\)

(34) (pktarua˥ mɑkley luŋkuim˩ sʰan˧ paumaj˩ va˨˨ cə˨ʔʔ˧˥˧ badger firefly caterpillar spider cockroach PL TOP oh

KlungriющемIVING pre˨ hain˧ bon˧ kai˧ ku˧ va˨ʔ peʔʔ˧˥˧ Klungri country LOC soil go steal PL DECL

‘At that time a badger, caterpillar, spider, cockroach, and firefly all went to steal dirt from a distant country, Klungri.’\(^{22}\)

---

\(^{20}\) Clause-final operators are discussed in §5.3.

\(^{21}\) In my data va˨ ‘PL’ does not appear in object NPs. See (67) for an example of a plural object.

\(^{22}\) Italics are used in interlinear examples to highlight portions of the text described in the preceding prose.

34
The participants in (35) are replaced by the pronoun\(^{23}\) \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-va\)}, ‘3PL’, which may occur in subject or object position.

(35) \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-va\)} \textit{ruk\(^\text{˦˨} \ jua\) ve\(\text{˥} \ va\)\(\text{˥}\)}
\textit{3-PL six CLS COP PL}
‘There are six of them.’

In (36) the pronoun \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-va\)} ‘3PL’ follows the list of participants. The participants in (36) are a case of left dislocation and the pronoun \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-va\)} ‘3PL’ is functioning as the subject.

(36) \textit{mɔŋ\(\text{˧}mɔŋ\(\text{˧}\) tʃɔ\(\text{˧}tʃɔ\(\text{˧}\) koko\(\text{˧}\) \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-va\)}\(\text{˦˨}\) kai\(\text{˥}\) \textit{tʃaun\(\text{˦˨}\)}}
‘Those guys, Maung Maung, KK, and Ko Ko go to school.’

The pronoun \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-ja\)}, ‘3-DU’ occurs in between two NPs, coordinating them, as illustrated in examples (37) and (38).

(37) \textit{vace\(\text{˦˨}\) \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-ja\) \(\text{˦˨}\) luŋte\(\text{˥}\) ve\(\text{˥} \ ja\) \(\text{˧}\) mə\(\text{˥}\)-nam\(\text{˦˨}\) təm\(\text{˦˨}\) pɛʔ\(\text{˦˨}\)}
\textit{bird 3-DU earthworm live DU this-village area DECL}
‘A bird and a worm lived together in a village.’

(38) \textit{mɔŋ\(\text{˧}mɔŋ\(\text{˧}\) \textit{mi\(^\text{˥}-ja\) \(\text{˦˨}\) tʃɔ\(\text{˧}tʃɔ\(\text{˧}\) pə\(\text{˦˨}\) kai\(\text{˥}\) \textit{tʃaun\(\text{˦˨}\)}}
\textit{Maung.Maung \textit{3-DU Kyaw.Kyaw Ko.Ko 3-DU go school}}
‘Maung Maung and KK also go to school.’

Singular subjects are unmarked, as illustrated in (39).

(39) \textit{mi\(\text{˥} \ ca\(\text{˥}\) jəmjək\(\text{˥}\) ɬɘ\(\text{˥}\)}
\textit{3SG eat slow with}
‘He eats slowly.’

The markers \textit{va\(\text{˥}\)} ‘PL’ and \textit{ja\(\text{˥}\)} ‘DU’ optionally appear as clause-final operators that agree with the subject in number. The marker \textit{va\(\text{˥}\)} ‘PL’ is illustrated in (34) and (35) and

\(^{23}\) Pronouns are shown in Table 24.

\(^{24}\) The affricate [ʧ] only occurs in loan words.

\(^{25}\) The word \textit{mi\(\text{˥}\)} ‘this’ is often reduced to \textit{mə} ‘this’ or \textit{mi} ‘this’ in compound words.

\(^{26}\) The affricate [ʧ] occurs in Burmese loan words such as this name.
ja˦˨ ‘DU’ in (37). In (39) the subject is singular; therefore, va˥ ‘PL’ and ja˦˨ ‘DU’ do not appear in the corresponding subject agreement clause-final position.

There is another word that marks NPs for number. The word sʰi˥ ‘PL’ optionally follows mass nouns as in (40). Plural count nouns must be marked by va˥ ‘PL’ or sʰi˥ ‘PL’, which is illustrated in (41) and (42).27

(40) vai˥ cə˧ u˥˨ bɔn˦˨ sʰi˥ kəkʰoi˧ kiŋ˥-m˥ kə˥˨ ‘Vai said, “Oh no, the dirt is about to be all gone.”’

(41) mi˥-va˦˨ hai˥ rəca˥ sʰi˥ ca˥ cak˦˨ va˦˨ ‘Their children are eating.’

(42) vace˥˩ cə˧ kʰɨŋ˥˩ va˥ sʰi˦˨ həm˥ ‘The little bird gathered up the birds.’

Example (44) illustrates the order: noun, adjective, numeral. Example (45) illustrates that multiple adjectives may follow the noun.

(43) kim˥ ‘house’

(44) kim˧ kə˥ r̥um˥ ‘three big houses’

(45) kim˩ ko˧ kə˥ lju˧˥˧ ‘four big white houses’

As mentioned in the abstract, Hkongso has no classifier system. The only possible classifier is jua˧ ‘CLS’, which is used for counting people and is obligatory after the numeral. Example (46) illustrates the order: noun, numeral, jua˧ ‘CLS’. This is also used

27 At this point I have not found a rule governing the use of va˥ ‘PL’ and sʰi˥ ‘PL’.

28 In these examples the tone on the word meaning ‘house’ differs due to an unknown reason. This happens at times throughout the data. However, I have not found evidence of tone sandhi.
when animals are personified, as illustrated in (47). The word *jua˧* ‘person’ also appears as the head noun of an NP, as illustrated in (48).

(46) əpʰoi˦˨ loŋ˥˩ hai˥ kəku˦˨ r ̥um˥˩ jua˧

‘three men of the group’

(47) təhi˥˩ rʰum˥ jua˧ ve˥ mi-kʰa˥

‘When (the ducks) had three children...’

(48) an˧ hai˥ jua˧ sʰi˥ maʔ˥ kui˥ aŋ˧ kʰəʔ˦˨

‘When my human owners tie me up...’

Example (49) illustrates the order: noun, *sʰi˥* ‘PL’, quantifier; (50) illustrates the order: noun, quantifier; and (51) illustrates the order: noun, numeral, quantifier.²⁹

(49) rəca˥ sʰi˥ bərbər˥ ra˦˨ va˦˨

‘All you children, come!’

(50) cak˦˨ kʰətpui˥ nak˦˨ miʔ˥ pa˥˩ ca˥ paikʰreŋ˧

‘So much rice...Father ate it all up.’

(51) pa˥˩ ca˥ pai˦˨ liŋmo-ui˥ ha˥˩ kək˥

‘Dad ate up all ten oranges.’

Case markers and the topic marker follow the noun. Example (52), illustrates the order: noun, *cə˦˨* ‘TOP’, and (53) illustrates the orders: noun, *maʔ˥* ‘SUBJ’ and (54) illustrates the order: noun, *ham˥* ‘OBJ’.

(52) an˧ tsə˧ an˧ luk˧ loi˧ hin˧

‘You are still younger than me.’

(53) vaʔtse˧ maʔ˧ tu˧ jok˦˨ luŋte˥ hai˥ lu˥

‘The bird pecked the worm’s head.’

²⁹ Quantifiers are discussed in §3.4.
(54)  dai˥ həm˥ an˧  no˨ kəkrum˥ vai˥
   Dai OBJ 1SG NEG meet never
   ‘I have never met Dai.’

Determiners, possessive phrases, and relative clauses precede the noun which they modify. Examples (55), (56), and (57) illustrate possessive phrases.

(55)  dɑi˥ hai˥ kəpa˥˩ kai˥ vit˦˨
   Dai from father go field
   ‘Dai’s father went to the field.’

(56)  iŋ˥ hai˥ kim˦˨ cə˥ŋrai˥˩
   1PL from house TOP good very
   ‘Our houses are very beautiful.’

(57)  aŋ˧ hai˥ taʔi˥ kə rʰum˥˩ jua˧
   1SG from son big three CLS
   ‘my three big children’

Relative clauses precede the noun, as illustrated in examples (58) and (59). In (59) the two relative clauses are marked by brackets.

(58)  n̥ai˥˩ dɛk˦˨ miʔ˥ kəm˥˩ kəŋ rʰum˥˩
   good view LNK house big three
   ‘three big beautiful houses (three big houses that are good to look at)’

(59)  [min˥˩ dai˥ pe˧ ] miʔ˥ [mənam˥˩ lu˥ kʰan˦˨ ve˥ ] miʔ˥ kim˦˨
   name Dai called LNK village head at COP LNK house
   ‘the house that belongs to the village chief who is named Dai’

Example (60) illustrates the order: determiner, noun.

(60)  ɘ˥-mi˧ cəmraʔ˧ kə rʰum˥˩
   there-DEF chair white three
   ‘those three white chairs’

Example (61) illustrates the order: determiner, possessive phrase, noun. Example (62) illustrates the order: relative clause, possessive phrase, noun.

(61)  ɘ˥-mi˧-va˥ aŋ˧ hai˥ kim˦˨ kəŋ rʰum˥˩
   those three big houses of mine’

30 Relative clauses are further discussed in §9.2.2.
(62) nə˥ miʔ˥ lua˦˨ miʔ˥ ən˧ hai˥ rut˦˨ ɬɘ˥ boŋ˧ ca˥ cak˦˨ having LNK dirty LNK 2SG from hand with don’t eat rice ‘Don’t eat with your dirty hand.’

3.2 Noun phrase coordination

Two nouns may be coordinated using the marker *hak˧* ‘and’ or the pronoun *mi˥-ja˧* ‘3-DU’.

In (63) *hak˧* combines *vəce˥˩* ‘bird’ and *luŋte˥˩* ‘earthworm’ as the subject NP. The dual subject agreement marker *ja˧* ‘DU’ appears after the verb, agreeing with the subject. The coordinator *hak˧* ‘and’ is further illustrated in examples (64), (65), and (66).

(63) kəni˥ lak˦˨ kʰa˥˩ vəce˥˩ hak˧ luŋte˥˩ kəkrumu˩ ja˧ in front one time bird and earthworm meet DU pe-kʰa(381,572),(439,604) kəroi˩ hau˧ ləmsak˦˨ ja˧ peʔ˥ this-time together look for food DU DECL ‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’

(64) an˧ hak˧ aŋ˧ hai˥ ŋa˥˩ 2SG and 1SG from be.bad ‘You and I (have) sin.’

(65) pri˧ hak˧ rua˥-n˧1 hai˥ kəroi˥ tiger and goat-NEG able be.friend ‘The tiger and goat cannot live together.’

(66) mi˥ caʔ˨ kim˥ ɬək˥ mi˥luk˦˨ mə˨luk˧ hak˧ rɑtuŋ˥ sʰi˥ ve˥ this SUBJ house one so roof and wall PL COP ‘This is a house, that is, it has a roof and walls.’

The coordinator *hak˧* ‘and’ is also used for objects, as illustrated in (67). This use of *hak˧* ‘and’ in coordinating plural objects is further discussed in §3.1.


31 Here the negative has contracted with the preceding word. This happens in fast speech when the preceding syllable is open.
In the story of the bird and worm, which began in (63), we see that once the characters are introduced, the connector changes to the pronoun \( mi˥-ja˧ \) ‘3-DU’, as in (68). This form is only used for animate subjects and objects.

\[
(68) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{ŋa˩} & \text{kacoe˩} & \text{kacui˥˩} & \text{va˥ pe˧ nə˥ lunte˥}
\end{array}
\]

over after fight PL this finish earthworm

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mi˥-ja˧} & \text{vace˧} & \text{pə˧ kacui˥˩} & \text{ja˥ ra˧ peʔ˥} \\
3-DU & bird & also fight DU & come DECL
\end{array}
\]

‘And then they fought and the worm and the bird also fought.’

The connector \( mi˥-ja˧ \) ‘3-DU’ is further illustrated in examples (69) and (70).

\[
(69) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{dai˥ mi˥-ja˧ məreŋ˧ kai˥ tʃaun˦˨}
\end{array}
\]

Dai 3-DU Mareng go trip DU

‘Dai and Mareng went on a trip.’

\[
(70) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{tuineŋ˥ mi˥-ja˧ mwa˥˧ la˥ tui˦˨ ja˥}
\end{array}
\]

Tuineng 3-DU Mwa scoop water DU

‘Tuineng and Mwa scoop water (out of the river).’

Examples (71) and (72) illustrate \( hak˧ \) ‘and’ and \( mi˥-ja˧ \) ‘3-DU’ in a similar context.

They both coordinate two nouns, but there is a semantic distinction, which is illustrated in the translations.

\[
(71) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ hak˧ tʃɔ˧tʃɔ˧ kai˥ tʃaun˦˨}
\end{array}
\]

Maung.Maung and Kyaw.K go school

‘Maung Maung and KK go to school.’

\[
(72) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ mi˥-ja˧ tʃɔ˧tʃɔ˧ pə˧ kai˥ tʃaun˦˨}
\end{array}
\]

Maung.Maung 3-DU Kyaw.Kyaw also go school

‘Those two, Maung Maung and KK, also go to school.’

In (73) \( mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ \) ‘Maung.Maung’ and \( tʃɔ˧tʃɔ˧ \) ‘Kyaw.Kyaw’ are coordinated with \( mi˥-ja˧ \) ‘3-DU’ and \( kɔ˥kɔ˧ \) ‘Ko.Ko’ is then added using \( hak˧ \) ‘with’. In (73) the subject agreement marker is optional, but if it is added, then it must be the dual subject agreement marker \( ja˥ \) ‘DU’. The plural subject agreement marker \( va˥ \) ‘PL’ would be ungrammatical in (73). Therefore, (73) illustrates the marker \( hak˧ \) ‘with’ being used as a comitative marker, meaning ‘together with’. In (36), repeated here as (74), the pronoun
mi˧˥-va˦˨ ‘3PL’ follows the plural subject. The subject agreement marker is optional, but if it is added, it must be va˦˨ ‘PL’.

(73) مون.مون mi˧˥ ja˦˨ tʃə tʃə cə˥ ko˧ ko˧ hak˧

kai˥ tʃaun˦˨ (ja˦˨)
go school DU
‘Those two, Maung Maung and KK, go to school with Ko Ko.’

(74) مون.مون tʃə tʃə ko˧ ko˧ mi˧˥-va˦˨ kai˥ tʃaun˦˨ (*ja˦˨)
‘They, Maung Maung, KK, and Ko Ko, go to school.

As (74) illustrates, when there are more than two coordinated nouns they are listed and mi˧˥-va˦˨ ‘3PL’ follows. This form is used when the coordinated nouns are people, and it is also used pronominally as illustrated in the object NP in (75).

(75) داei˧ ki˥ mi˧˥-va˦˨ həm˧
Dai see 3-PL OBJ
‘Dai sees them.’

Plural non-human participants are coordinated with va˦˨ ‘PL’ rather than mi˧˥-va˦˨ ‘3PL’, as illustrated in (34), repeated here as (76). Example (76) also illustrates that va˦˨ ‘PL’ may be followed by cə˦˨ ‘TOP’ when the participants are the topic.

(76) პოკტარუა˥ მაქლი˧ ლუŋ კუĩ˧ sʰaŋ˧ პაუმა˥ va˥ cəŋ˧ ?oʔ˧Destructor
badger firefly caterpillar spider cockroach PL TOP oh
klungri˧ pre˧ hai˥ bon˧ kai˥ ku˧ va˧ peʔ˧
Klungri country from soil go steal PL DECL
‘At that time a badger, caterpillar, spider, cockroach, and firefly all went to steal dirt from a distant country, Klungri.’

Multiple appositive noun phrases are juxtaposed without any connecting particles, as illustrated in examples (77) and (78). In appositive NP constructions possessive phrases occur initially, and proper names occur finally.

---

32 I hypothesize that the reason for this is because the pronominal mi˧ ‘3SG’ is only used for people, but I do not have enough data to be conclusive.
42

(77) [aŋ˧ kəpu˦˨] [klə˧ cəra˥˩] [loŋtʰaŋ˧˨] prai˧ ca˥˩ ve˥˩
1SG grandfather language teacher Longhtang read literature COP
‘My grandfather, Longhtang, the master storyteller, is reading.’

(78) [aŋ˧ cu˥˩] [meŋ˦˨ cəra˥˩ ma˧] [kətuŋ˦˨ sɛn˥] pə˧ menŋ˩˥
1SG granddaughter song teacher FEM Miss Sen do song
‘My granddaughter, Miss Sen, the song teacher, is singing.’

3.3 Possession

As illustrated in examples (79)-(82), the postposition `hai˥ ‘from’ follows the
possessor and the possessive phrase precedes the noun it modifies.

(79) ənni˥ hai˥ kʰroŋ˧ m ̥ai˥ sʰi˥ n ̥ai˥ prai˥˩
2SG from gun fire PL good very
‘Your guns are very nice.’

(80) mi˥ hai˥ vənki˧ n ̥ai˥ prai˥˩
3SG from shirt good very
‘His shirt is very nice.’

(81) iŋ˥ hai˥ rəca˥ sʰi˥ kəɬe˥ va˦˨ 1PL from child PL play PL
‘Our children are playing.’

(82) n ̥a˥ kəcə˥˩ luŋte˥ maʔ˥ kui˥ jok˦˨ vəce˦˨
over when earthworm SUBJ roll up give little bird
haï˥ ŋoŋ˥˩ kəcə˦˨ va˥ce˦˨ cə˧ e˥ mi-kʰa˥˩
from neck when little bird TOP cry LNK-time
rua˦˨ sʰi˥ cə˥ ren˥  peʔ˦˨ snake PL TOP laugh DECL
‘And then the worm wrapped around the neck of the bird and when the
bird started crying, all the snakes laughed.’

The word `mat˦˨ ‘own’ may appear in the possessive phrase as an emphatic pronoun,
as illustrated in examples (83) and (84).³³

(83) kai˥ ən˦˨ `mat˦˨ vit˦˨ de˧
go 2SG own field please
‘Please go to your own field.’

³³ Other uses of the emphatic pronoun are discussed in §7.2.2.
3.4 Quantification

This section presents various quantifiers that occur throughout the clause. Some quantifiers appear in the NP and some appear clause-finally, but most quantification is formed via relative clauses. Quantifiers are also used as anaphoric/pronominal elements and as resumptive pronouns.

3.4.1 All/whole

Examples (85) and (86) illustrate the quantifier kək˥ ‘all’ following the object NP, but in (87) the NP precedes the verb and kək˥ ‘all’ follows the verb. These examples illustrate ‘quantifier float’, where kək˥ ‘all’ may occur in the NP or separated from it. The quantifier kək˥ ‘all’ acts differently than most quantifiers in this way. This is common for the quantifier ‘all’ throughout Mainland South-East Asia (Manson 2006).

(84) aŋ˧ toŋ˥ aŋ˧ m ̥at˧ hai˥ rəkʰu˦˨ 1SG use 1SG own from knife ‘I use my own knife.’

(85) loŋtʰaŋ˧ ca˥ pai˦˨ leŋ˦˨-ui˥ kərui˧ ᵑkɔm˦˨ miʔ˥ ɬək˧ kək˥ Longhtang eat PRT banana-fruit twenty thirty LNK one all ‘Longhtang ate up all twenty-one bananas.’

(86) aŋ˧ hai˥ təhi˦˨ ca˥ cak˦˨ kək˥ n ̥ak˧ 1SG from son eat rice all DECL ‘My son ate all the rice.’

(87) aŋ˧ hai˥ təhi˧ pʰum-ui˧ sʰĩ˥ ca˥ kək˥ ᵑak˧ 1SG from son mango-fruit PL eat all DECL ‘My son ate all the mangoes.’

34 Many quantifiers occur outside of the NP. However, they are presented in this chapter to discuss quantification as a whole.
The quantifier *kək˥* ‘all’ is used for measuring an amount as illustrated in (85)-(87), but it is also used for time or duration, as illustrated in (88).

(88) pe˧ mi˥ luk˦˨˦ kəak˥\(^{35}\) cəʔ˦˨ miʔ˥ ni˦˨ ve˥
this LNK more.than crow TOP LNK day stay
təo˧ ni˧  kək˥ p ɛ ʔ ˦ ˨
stream day all DECL
‘And then the crow went and stayed on the river the whole day.’

3.4.2 Many/most

The quantifier *hu˦˨* ‘many’ follows the noun in the non-verbal clauses in examples (89), (90), and (91). However, since *hu˦˨* ‘many’ is followed by the intensifiers *prai˥˩* ‘very’ and *pʰi˧* ‘very’, it occurs as an adjective predicate.

(89) “u˥˩ n ̥ai˥ kɘ˥˩ ənni˥ [hu˥ prai˥ kəŋ˥]” pa-jok˦˨ penə˥
oh.no good PFV 2PL many very PFV tell.give like.this
‘Whoa! That’s enough! There are so many of you!’ He said.’

(90) jua˧ mi˥ cə˦˨ təhi˧ kən ̥au˦˨ [hu˥ pʰi˧ ən̥ak˧] pɛʔ˦˨
person 3SG TOP son daughter many very INTENS DECL
‘One of them had so many children.’

(91) “ənni˥ sʰi˥ cə˦˨ loŋ˥˩ [ram˥ hu˥ prai˥] ləŋhu˥˥
2PL PL TOP point.on.leaf leaf many very Longhu
na˦˨ nakʰə˧” pa-jok˦˨ penə˥
be SPACT say.give like.this
‘You have many offspring, you will be Longhu,” saying this…’

The quantifier *hu˦˨* ‘many’ is also used to mean ‘majority’ when accompanied by the locative marker *tʰaŋ˥* ‘side’, as illustrated in examples (92) and (93). In (92) and (93) the

---

\(^{35}\) This word does not fit the syllable structure presented in §2.1 in that there is a vocoid sequence followed by a consonant. The only words that exhibit this syllabic property are onomatopoetic words and loan words. Also, the vocoid sequence does not occur in the presentation of vowels and vocoid sequences presented in §2.2.2.
construction $hu˧ tʰaŋ˥'majority' occurs as a resumptive pronoun and the preceding phrase is an external topic. Natural pauses made by the speaker are marked by commas.

(92) $kʰonŋ˧-mi˧ rəca˥ loŋ˥, $hu˧ tʰaŋ˥ cə˥,
Hkongso-people child among majority TOP

bəma˧ ca˧ tuk˧ va˥
Burmese literacy know PL
‘Out of the Hkongso children, most know Burmese.’

(93) $kʰonŋ˧-mi˧ sʰi˥, $hu˧ tʰaŋ˥ cə˥, kətəm˩ pələŋkrum˧
Hkongso-people PL majority TOP arrive Paletwa
‘Most Hkongso have been to Paletwa.’

3.4.3 Every

In (94), the quantifier $bərbər˥‘every’ follows the noun it modifies. In (95) $bərbər˥‘every’ occurs as a pronominal element, preceded by a relative clause.

(94) rəca˥ sʰi˥ bərbər˥ ra˧ va˧
child PL every come PL
‘All you children, come!’

(95) ve˧ miʔ˥ bərbər˥ sʰɨn˧ naŋ˥
COP LNK every bring with.you
‘Bring along all that there is.’

3.4.4 A few

The quantifier $kʰət˥dik˥‘few’ follows the noun in (96). In (97) $kʰət˥dik˥‘few’ follows the verb as an anaphoric/pronominal element.

(96) an˧ ca˧ cak˧ $kʰət˧dik˥
1SG eat rice few
‘I eat a little bit of rice.’
In (98) \(kʰətʰ\/di킴\) ‘few’ appears as \(kʰətʰdidi킴\) ‘few’, which follows the noun. This is a verbless possessive clause which contains a copula.

\[
(98) \text{mi˥ kəku˦˨ ro˧˨ kʰətʰdidi킴 ve˧}
\]

‘He has few friends. (Lit. His friends are few.)’

The word \(di˥ ‘few’, a short form of \(kʰətʰdik˥ ‘few’, occurs in (99) as an adjective predicate followed by the aspectual auxiliary \(hai˥ ‘CONT’.

\[
(99) \text{pe˧ mi˥luk˥ kʰɔŋ˧-mi˧ sʰi˥ cə˦˨ imi˥ di˥ hai˥ peʔ˩ this so Hkongso-people PL TOP person few CONT DECL}
\]

‘Because of that there are few Hkongso people.’

The quantifier \(di˥ ‘few’ functions as the predicate of the relative clause in examples (100) and (101).

\[
(100) \text{di˥ miʔ˥ kəm˧-kə˨ few LNK house-in}
\]

‘There are) a few families.’

\[
(101) \text{kəmai˥ hai˥ acivoi˥ mətun˥ di˥ miʔ˥ tʰaŋ˧ no˧ ra˧ va˦˨ today from meeting at few LNK side NEG come PL}
\]

‘At the meeting today a few people did not come.’

3.4.5 A lot

The quantifier \(kʰətmpui˥ ‘a.lot’ is very similar to \(kʰətʰdik˥ ‘few’. In (102) \(kʰətmpui˥ ‘a.lot’ follows the object. However, it is possible to move \(luŋ˧ ‘salt’ to the front of the sentence or even remove it, and \(kʰətmpui˥ ‘a.lot’ would remain where it is as an anaphoric/pronominal element. This is similar to examples (96) and (97), where \(kʰətʰdik˥ ‘few’ appears after the noun or after the verb.

\[
\text{36 It is possible that this word is replacing the NP.}
\]
Like kʰət dik˥ ‘few’, kʰətpui˥ ‘a.lot’ may also be a predicate, followed by n̥ak˦˨ ‘INTENS’, as illustrated in (103).

(103) cak˦˨ kʰətpui˥ n̥ak˦˨ rice a.lot INTENS
‘There’s so much rice!’

3.4.6 Some

The quantifier kɔt˥ ‘some’ functions as the predicate of relative clauses in (104), (105), and (106).

(104) kɔt˥ miʔ˥ kui˥˩ cə˦˨ tɔm˦˨ na˧ some LNK dog TOP black right.be
kɔt˥ miʔ˥ k u i ˥ ˩  c ə ˦ ˨  r i k˥ some LNK dog TOP red.brown
‘Some dogs are black and some are brown.’

(105) kɔt˥ miʔ˥ imi˥ sʰi˥ cə˦˨ kui˥˩ ve˥ person PL TOP dog COP
kɔt˥ miʔ˥ i m i ˥  s h i ˥  cə˦˨ k u i ˥ ˩  v e ˥ some LNK person PL TOP dog COP
‘Some men have dogs.’

(106) kɔt˥ miʔ˥ pʰum˥˩-ui˥ cə˦˨ min˦˨ kɘ˦˨ mango-fruit TOP ripe PERF
kɔt˥ miʔ˥ p h u m ˥ ˩ - u i ˥ cə˦˨ m i n ˦ ˨ k ɘ ˦ ˨ some LNK mango-fruit TOP ripe PERF
‘Some mangoes are ripe.’

Example (107) is a verbless equative clause. The natural pauses, marked by commas, show that the first phrase is a fronted external topic. The second phrase is either a headless NP or sʰi˥ ‘PL’ is functioning as a resumptive pronoun. The quantifier kɔt˥ ‘some’ occurs as the predicate of the relative clause modifying the null head or resumptive pronoun.
(107) mi˥-va˥  ra˥  miʔ˥  loŋ˥  hai˥,  kɔt˥  miʔ˥  sʰi˥  cə˥,  
3-PL come LNK among from some LNK PL TOP  
təɾat˥  sʰi˥˩  
orphan  PL  
‘Of those that have come, some are orphans.’

3.4.7 Indefinite

The indefinite ɬək˦˨ ‘one’ follows the count noun in examples (108) and (109).
Contrast is provided in (110), where the determiner mi˥ ‘DEF’ precedes the definite noun cauk˦˨ ‘book’.

(108) mi˥  kəku˧  jok˧  aŋ˧  cauk˦˨  ɬək˦˨  
this man give 1SG book one  
‘He gave me a book.’

(109) dai˥  kai˥  kəle˧  pənit˧  cə˧  ap˧  tokkʰi˥  ɬək˦˨  
Dai go forest happen TOP shoot deer one IRR  
‘If Dai goes to the forest he will shoot a deer.’

(110) kəroi˥  klat˧  vɘŋ˥  mi˥  cauk˦˨  
20 Kyat cost this book  
‘The book costs 20 Kyat.’

The indefinite ɬək˦˨ ‘one’ remains after the verb if the NP is fronted. In examples (108) and (109) it follows the object, but in (111) it follows the verb.

(111) tui˧  ko˧  hai˥  lam˧  aŋ˧  kʰam˧  ve˥  ɬək˥  
water in from fish 1SG at COP one  
‘I have a fish from the water.’
CHAPTER 4: CLAUSE STRUCTURE

This chapter describes word order in basic clauses. Word order may be SVO, SOV, or OSV. However, I argue that the basic word order is SVO. The main word order characteristics of Hkongso are VO, NAdj, RelN, DemN, NNum, AdjDeg, and NegV. Section 4.6 presents the word order characteristics of Hkongso and other Tibeto-Burman languages. Clause alignment, in the form of a nominative/accusative case marking system is described in §4.2. Section 4.3 presents postpositional phrases including possession, instrumental, locative, temporal, and benefactive phrases, and §4.4 describes topic marking.

4.1 Basic order of clause constituents

The word order in transitive sentences can be SVO, SOV, or OSV, as illustrated in examples (112), (113), and (114).

(112) kəak˥ ki˦˨ rəmpai˥ kok˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨
    crow see duck white DECL
    ‘The crow saw the white duck.’

(113) kəak˥ cə˦˨ rəmpai˥ həm˥ ki˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨
    crow TOP duck OBJ see DECL
    ‘The crow saw the duck.’

(114) rəmpai˥ kok˦˨ həm˥ kəak˥ ki˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨
    duck white OBJ crow see DECL
    ‘The crow saw the white duck.’

Variations in word order show prominence (Kroeger 2005:197). In (113) the subject is topicalized and the object comes in a marked position in front of the verb. In (114) the object is fronted to the topicalized position.
In examples (112), (113), and (114), the only sentence that does not require marking on the subject or object is (112), which has SVO order. The SOV sentence in (113) and the OSV sentence in (114) require marking to indicate which noun is the subject and which noun is the object. Since SVO order is the least marked, it provides proof that SVO is the basic word order.

To determine which order is basic, Bickford (1998:214-16) presents the following rules: use clauses with neutral semantics, avoid pronouns, use subordinate clauses, and consider distribution. To this list, Kroeger (2005:198-99) adds frequency of occurrence.

In my data, of the transitive indicative sentences with an overt subject and object, 80% are SVO, 11% are SOV, and 9% are OSV. SVO is clearly the most frequently used transitive sentence structure.

In main clauses, word order is flexible, depending on the pragmatics of the sentence. As the ditransitive examples (115)-(118) illustrate, any argument in the clause may be fronted to the topic position. Example (115), a ditransitive sentence with SVO$_1$O$_2$ order, has no marking on the NPs. This is the only example in (115)-(118) that has neutral semantics and pragmatics, which provides evidence that basic word order is SVO. In (116), the word order is SO$_1$VO$_2$. The subject is marked by $\textit{maʔ˥}^{7}$ ‘SUBJ’ and the object is marked by $\textit{ham˥}^{7}$ ‘OBJ’. In (117), the secondary object is fronted and marked by $\textit{ca˦˨}$ ‘TOP’, giving an O$_2$SO$_1$V word order. In (118), the word order is O$_1$SVO$_2$ and the direct object is marked by $\textit{ham˥}^{7}$ ‘OBJ’, the subject is marked by $\textit{maʔ˥}^{7}$ ‘SUBJ’, and the secondary object occurs unmarked after the verb.

(115) kəto˦˨ jok˦˨ kətuŋ˧ cauk˦˨ ɬək˦˨ 男孩 give 女孩 书 a
‘The boy gave the girl a book.’
Like ditransitive sentences, the transitive sentences with instrumental phrases in examples (119)-(122) also illustrate flexible word order as long as the arguments are marked. Example (119) is SOV and both the subject and object are marked, but only the oblique is marked in examples (120) and (121). These are the only sentences here that have neutral semantics and pragmatics, which provides further evidence that SVO is the basic word order.

In (122), the instrumental phrase precedes the subject aŋ˧‘1SG’. Normally the instrumental phrase follows the subject, but as I have mentioned before, pronouns have different word order properties. Phrasal constituents may not occur between the subject pronoun and the verb.

37 The verb jok˦˨ ‘give’ often appears after the main verb as a valency-increasing auxiliary. Here, since the main verb is jok˦˨ ‘give’, it may appear that this is reduplication, but it is not, as is explained in §9.4.

38 The instrumental phrases are in brackets.
Examples (123) and (124) illustrate subordinate clauses. In (123), word order is SVO in the relative clause \[aŋ˧ roi˥ jok˦˨ aŋ˧\] ‘my friend gave me’, and in (124), word order is SV in the relative clause \[kuimeŋ˧ maʔ˥ map˦˨ jok˦˨\] ‘the cat bit’. In (125) word order is SVO in the complement clause \[loŋtʰaŋ˧ ap˧ tokkʰi˥ ɬək˦˨ ham˥\] ‘Longhtang will shoot a deer’. I have not found SOV or OSV word order in subordinate clauses. This provides further evidence that basic word order is SVO.

SVO is the basic word order because: 1) it occurs most frequently; 2) SVO clauses have neutral semantics and pragmatics; 3) subject and objects are unmarked in SVO clauses; and 4) subordinate clauses are SVO.

The Mru and Hkongso languages have similar word order properties, yet these properties are strikingly different from other Tibeto-Burman languages. Ebersole (1996:1) says, “Unlike most of the Kuki-Naga languages [Mru] has an SVO word order and is not inflected. Most of the roots are monosyllabic, they are often compounded to form new words.”

Mru has not yet been classified and is still controversial as it is an SVO language in the Tibeto-Burman family. Ebersole writes, “Mru is a relatively isolated Tibeto-Burman
language. Schafer classifies it as the single member of the Mruish branch of the Burmish family. Löffler states that it probably developed from Proto-Kukish-Burmish.” Thought to be an isolate among Tibeto-Burman languages, Mru has been placed in its own branch. In the same way, Hkongso appears out of place in the Tibeto-Burman family.

4.2 Grammatical Case

In defining grammatical relations many linguists use the roles S, the only nominal argument of a single-argument clause, A, the most agent-like argument of a multi-argument clause, and P, the most patient-like argument of a multi-argument clause (Payne 1997:133). Example (126) illustrates an intransitive clause whose single argument is pupɛt˥˩ ‘turtle’.

(126) pe˧ kəcə˧ pupɛt˥˩ maʔ˥ pa-jok˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨  
this when turtle SUBJ tell-give DECL  
‘At that time, the turtle spoke.’

Example (127) illustrates a transitive clause whose agent-like argument is kənu˥˩ ‘mother’ and whose patient-like argument is təhi˦˨ ‘son’.

(127) kənu˥˩ maʔ˥ təhi˦˨ sʰi˥ həm˥ bɔm˥  
mother SUBJ son PL OBJ hit  
‘Mother hit the children.’

Hkongso treats S and A the same and P differently. This is illustrated in (126) and (127), where S in the intransitive example (126) and A in the transitive example (127) take the case marker maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’, but P in (127) is marked with həm˥ ‘OBJ’. This marking is summarized in Figure 5.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Intrasitive} & \qquad S - maʔ˥ \\
\text{Transitive} & \qquad A - maʔ˥ \quad P - həm˥ \\
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 5: Grammatical case marking
This system is a nominative/accusative system (Payne 1997:134), where maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’ is the nominative case marker and həm˥ ‘OBJ’ is the accusative case marker.

### 4.2.1 Subject marking

Subject marking via maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’ is obligatory only when the word order makes the arguments of the verb ambiguous. Example (128) has SVO word order, so case marking is optional. The subject pa˥˩ ‘father’ precedes the verb and the object pak˥˩ ‘pig’ follows it. Therefore subject and object are unambiguous, even though there is no marking. However, in (129), the subject marker maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’ is obligatory because the object pak˥˩ ‘pig’ is fronted. If the subject marker were left off, we would not know who did the killing and who was killed.

(128) pa˥˩ bom˥ pak˥˩
father hit pig
‘Father killed a pig.’

(129) pak˥˩ cə˦˨ pa˥˩ maʔ˥ bom˥
pig TOP father SUBJ hit
‘The pig, father killed.’

In (130) the subject təhi˦˨ ‘son’ is marked with maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’, and subject agreement marked by va˦˨ ‘PL’ follows the verb. If the subject and object are switched, as illustrated in (119), repeated here as (131), then kənu˥˩ ‘mother’ is marked by maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’, and the clause-final plural subject agreement auxiliary va˦˨ ‘PL’ is omitted, since singular subject agreement is unmarked.

(130) təhi˦˨ sʰi˥ maʔ˥ kənu˥˩ həm˥ məpʰe˥ ɬɘ˥ bɔm˥ va˦˨
son PL SUBJ mother OBJ stick with hit PL
‘The children hit mother with a stick.’

(131) kənu˥˩ maʔ˥ təhi˦˨ sʰi˥ həm˥ məpʰe˥ ɬɘ˥ bɔm˥
mother SUBJ son PL OBJ stick with hit
‘Mother hit the children with a stick.’
Singular subjects such as *luŋte˥* ‘worm’ in (132) are unmarked. Dual subjects such as *vəce˥˩ hak˧ luŋte˥˩* ‘bird and worm’ in (63), repeated here as (133), and plural subjects such as *rəca˥ sʰi˥* ‘child PL’ in (134) have corresponding clause-final subject agreement markers. These markers are often used in discourse as a way of allowing the audience to follow the story without unnecessary repetition of the subject and without pronouns.

(132) luŋte˥ cə˦˨ no˧ hja˥˩ penə˥ no˧ kai˥ mʁa˥ tuk˦˨ peʔ˦˨ worm TOP NEG want since NEG go path clear DECL

‘However, the worm did not want to do it, so he did not go to clear the path.’

(133) kəni˥ lak˦˨ kʰa˥˩ vəce˥˩ hak˧ luŋte˥˩ kəkrum˥˩ ja˦˨ in.front one time bird and earthworm RPM-meet DU

pe˧ kʰa˥ kəroi˥ hau˧ ləmsak˧ ja˥ peʔ˥ this time together look.for food DU DECL

‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’

(134) mi˧ va˦˨ hai˥ rəca˥ sʰi˥ cal cak˦˨ va˦˨ 3 PL from child PL eat rice PL

‘Their (plural) children are eating.’

The singular, dual, and plural subject agreement markers occur as clause-final operators⁴⁰, as shown in Table 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ AGR Marker</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>ja˥</td>
<td>va˨˧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2 Object marking

The object marker *həm˥* ‘OBJ’ follows the noun. Most often the object is marked when it precedes the verb and needs to be differentiated from the subject. When the

---

⁴⁰ Clause-final operators are discussed in §5.3.
object follows the verb, such as မိုင်းမိုင်း ‘Maung.Maung’ in (135), it usually appears unmarked. However, since object marking in SVO sentences is optional, it is possible to use ဆို ‘OBJ’ with an object after the verb, as illustrated in (136).

(135) အား လေး မိုင်းမိုင်း
1SG hit Maung.Maung
‘I hit Maung Maung.’

(136) လေးသီ စိုက် လေး ဆို
earthworm TOP gather snake PL OBJ DECL
‘The worm gathered up the snakes.’

When the object precedes the verb, the subject and object are distinguished via case marking. As discussed in §4.4, any argument may be fronted for topicalization. In such cases, it usually takes the topic marker. If the object takes the topic marker, the subject must take the subject marker to differentiate between the two arguments. This is illustrated in (137).

(137) ကျွေး ကြာ မိုး စိုက် မိုး
cow TOP Dai SUBJ stab
‘The cow, Dai stabbed.’

The object may also retain the object marker when it is fronted to the topic position. It is my hypothesis that any argument occurring before the subject is topicalized. Therefore, a topic does not always have to take a topic marker. In (138) the object မိုး ‘mother’ is moved to the front and yet it still has the object marker.

(138) မိုး ဗိုလ် သို့ စိုက် မိုး မိုး ဗိုလ် ဘီလ် အောင်
mother OBJ son PL SUBJ stick with hit PL
‘The children hit mother with a stick.’

4.2.3 Secondary objects

As discussed in §4.2, subjects are marked by မိုး ‘SUBJ’ and objects are marked by ဆို ‘OBJ’. Secondary objects are never marked by a case marker.
Hkongso word order is rather free and ditransitive sentences are no exception. In (139), the direct object *kətuŋ˧* ‘girl’ is topicalized and the secondary object *kui˧ le˥* ‘dog small’ occurs after the verb. In (140), *kətuŋ˧* ‘girl’ precedes the verb and *kui˧ le˥* ‘dog small’ follows it. In (141), all three arguments precede the verb. The secondary object *kui˧ le˥* ‘dog small’ is topicalized, followed by the subject *kəto˦˨* ‘boy’, and the direct object *kətuŋ˧* ‘girl’ directly precedes the verb, taking the object marker. In (139)-(141), the recipient is marked with *həm˥ OBJ* so the recipient is the direct object and the theme is the secondary object. The secondary object never takes a case marker, even when it precedes the verb, as in (143).

(139) *kətuŋ˧ həm˥ kəto˦˨ maʔ˥ jok˦˨ jok˦˨ kui˧ le˥*
    *girl OBJ boy SUBJ give give dog small*
    ‘To the girl, the boy gave a puppy.’

(140) *kəto˦˨ maʔ˥ kətuŋ˧ həm˥ jok˦˨ jok˦˨ kui˧ le˥*
    *boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give dog small*
    ‘The boy gave the girl a puppy.’

(141) *kui˧ le˥ cə˦˨ kəto˦˨ maʔ˥ kətuŋ˧ həm˥ jok˦˨ jok˦˨*
    *dog small TOP boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give*
    ‘The puppy, the boy gave to the girl.’

When neither object is marked, as in (142), the ambiguity is resolved based on position (Kroeger 2005:62). In (142) *aŋ˧* ‘1SG’ is closer to the verb and is therefore the direct object, and *kui˧ le˥* ‘dog small’ is the secondary object.

(142) *mi˥ kəku˦˨ jok˦˨ aŋ˧ kui˧ le˥*
    *this man give 1SG dog small*
    ‘He gave me a puppy.’

Example (143) contains a benefactive phrase which illustrates the ditransitive sentence structure: OBJ₁-BenP-OBJ₂-SUBJ-V. In this example, the secondary object *cauk˦˨* ‘book’ and the subject *aŋ˧* ‘1SG’ are unmarked. This is accounted for because subject pronouns always occur closest to the verb. Therefore, even though the subject and
secondary object are unmarked, it is clear which is the subject and which is the secondary object.

(143) dai˥ həm˥ kəpa˥ kəhəm˦˨ cauk˦˨ ɬək˦˨ aŋ˧ jok˦˨ jok˦˨  
Dai OBJ father BEN book one 1SG give give  
‘I gave Dai a book for his father.’

In ditransitive sentences, it is clear which argument is the secondary object. When one object is marked like a transitive object and the other is not, the unmarked object is the secondary object. Word order also makes it clear when both objects appear after the verb and are unmarked.

4.3 Postpositional Phrases

4.3.1 Possession

The postposition *hai˥* ‘from’ is used to mark the locative source, as illustrated in example (144). Therefore, it is glossed ‘from’, even though it is used for ownership in the following examples.

(144) pələŋkrum˦˨ tʰaŋ˦˨ hai˥ aŋ˧ loi˧ ɬ o i˧ ɬ a ˦˨  
Paletwa at from 1SG return come  
‘I’ve returned from Paletwa.’

The postposition *hai˥* ‘from’ is used for nominal possession as illustrated in examples (145)-(149). The postposition *hai˥* ‘from’ follows the possessor and the possessive phrase precedes the noun it modifies.

(145) aŋ˧ hai˥ təhi˦˨ kai˥ vit˦˨  
1SG from son go field  
‘My son went to the field.’

(146) dai˥ hai˥ kəpa˥ kai˥ vit˦˨  
Dai from father go field  
‘Dai’s father went to the field.’
(147) ɨn˧ ɨai˥ ƙim˦ IPAddress ɲai˥ praɪ˨˩ 1PL from house TOP good very ‘Our house is very beautiful.’

(148) ŋaɪn工商局 ɨai˥ ɔɛ˨˦ ɨai˥ ʧəuэк˨˦ ri˧ doi˧ borrow 2SG from book some.more REQ ‘Please let me borrow your book some more.’

(149) mi˧-va˦˨ ɨai˥ ɾəca˥ ʃi˥ ca˥ cak˦˨ va˦˨ 3-PL from child PL eat rice PL ‘Their (plural) children are eating.’

In some cases of possession, such as in (150), ɨai˥ ‘from’ may be left off.

(150) cok˦˨ ɨəp˦˨ aŋ˧ nam˦˨ ɨai˥ cak˦˨ ri˥ ɫok˦˨ come.on go 1SG village rice some.more friend ‘Hey friend, come over to my house for dinner.’

4.3.2 Instrumental

The postposition ŋə˥ ‘with’ is used to mark instruments, comitative phrases, and manner phrases. Examples (151), (152), and (153), illustrate the instrumental use of ŋə˥ ‘with’.

(151) pa˧ re˧ ŋə˥ sʰɔt˦˨ kja˦˨ father spear with stab cow ‘Father stabbed the cow with a spear.’

(152) tai˧ kideŋ˧ ŋə˥ ki˧ ca˦˨ ‘Brother writes a letter with a pencil.’

(153) dai˧ hwaluŋ˥ ŋə˥ var˥ an˧ ‘Dai pelted me with a stone.’

Instrumental phrases immediately precede the verb in (151), (152), and (153). This is further illustrated in example (154), where the subject and object precede the instrumental phrase.

(154) dai˧ maʔ˧ tai˧ ɦəm˧ ɨmpbɘ˥ ŋə˥ ɓəm˧ Dai SUBJ brother OBJ stick with hit ‘Dai hit brother with a stick.’
Instrumental phrases immediately precede the verb, unless a pronominal subject is present, as in (155).41

(155) \(\text{tai˥˩ hai˥ kideŋ˧ ɬɘ} \text{ aŋ˧ ki˧ ca˦˨}\) brother from pencil with 1SG write letter
‘With my brother’s pencil I wrote a letter.’

The postposition \(ɬɘ˥\) ‘with’ is also used as a comitative, as in (156).

(156) \(\text{kar˧ma˦˨ tsə˦˨ rəmpai˥˩ təhi˦˨ sʰi˥ kə-roi˥˩}\) chicken-FEM SUBJ duck son PL with RPM-friend
‘The hen was together/amiable/close with the duck’s children.’

The postposition \(ɬɘ˥\) ‘with’ is also used as a postposition in manner adverbial (adjunct) phrases, as in (157), and as a postposition in gerund constructions as in (158).42

(157) \(\text{jəmjək˥ ɬɘ˥ a ŋ ˧  m̥ aŋ˥˩ ve˥ pʰut˥˩}\) slow with 1SG walk stay PROG
‘I am walking slowly.’

(158) \(\text{bom˥ ɬɘ˥ a ŋ ˧  ma˧ miʔ˥ ca˥ ca阳 n̥ai˥}\) hit with 2SG self from wife LNK TOP NEG good
‘Hitting your own wife is not good.’

Manner adverbial phrases are further illustrated in examples (159) and (160).

Example (157) illustrates a manner adverbial phrase formed with the postposition \(ɬɘ˥\) ‘with’, but (159) uses the construction \(\text{miʔ˥ ɬɘ˥}\) ‘LNK with’. Example (160) adds the manner marker \(\text{ma˧} \text{ ‘MAN’}\) to the end of this construction.43

(159) \(\text{r̥ʰɛt˧ prai˥˩ miʔ˥ ɬɘ˥ a ŋ ˧  m̥ aŋ˥˩ ve˥ pʰut˥˩}\) fast very LNK with 1SG walk stay PROG
‘I am walking very quickly.’

(160) \(\text{r̥ʰɛt˧ miʔ˥ ɬɘ˥ ma˧ mi˥ ca˥}\) fast LNK with MAN 3SG eat
‘He ate quickly.’

---

41 Pronouns often have different word order properties than other nouns.

42 Gerunds are often formed via the valence decreasing prefix \(kə-\), as described in §2.4.

43 This word appears regularly in constructions involving manner, but more research is necessary to determine in what situations it is necessary.
Manner adverbial phrases may also follow the verb, as illustrated in (161).

(161) mi˥ tîr˥ jəmjək˥ ɬɘ˥ 3SG speaks slow with
‘He speaks slowly.’

Examples (162), (163), and (164) are imperative sentences which show that manner adverbs may be followed by the manner postposition ɬɘ˥ ‘with’, the sentence marker de˧ ‘IMP’, or both.

(162) ca˥ jəmjək˥ ɬɘ˥ eat slow with
‘Eat slowly.’

(163) ca˥ jəmjək˥ de˧ eat slow IMP
‘Please eat slowly.’

(164) ca˥ jəmjək˥ ɬɘ˥ de˧ eat slow with IMP
‘Please eat slowly.’

4.3.3 Locative

Locative postpositional phrases (in italics) are illustrated in (165)-(169). Examples (165)-(169) contain a copula and a topic, which is the subject.

(165) va˥ cə˦˨ ᵑkʰat˥ nui˦˨ v e ☆ bird TOP rail on COP
‘There’s a bird up on the rail.’

(166) va˥ cə˦˨ ᵐplɔt˥ kɛn˦˨ v e ☆ bird TOP door near COP
‘There’s a bird near the door.’

(167) va˥ cə˦˨ kim˧ ko˧ v e ☆ bird TOP house in COP
‘There’s a bird inside the house.’

(168) va˥ cə˦˨ məluk˧ jɨ˥ v e ☆ bird TOP roof on.top.of COP
‘There’s a bird perched on top of the house.’
(169) 

\[
\text{va˥ cə˦˨ maŋsaŋ˥ tʰaŋ˦˨ v e ˥}
\]

‘The bird is at the porch.’

\[
\text{aŋ˧ kai˥ pələŋkrum˦˨ tʰaŋ˦˨}
\]

‘I go to Paletwa.’

\[
\text{va˥ cə˦˨ kim˧ ŋa˥ tʰaŋ˦˨ v e ˥}
\]

‘The bird is at the front of the house.’

The postposition \( kʰam˦˨ \) ‘at’ is the most general of the locative postpositions. It can be used to mark goals as illustrated in (173) and (174), physical possession as illustrated in (175), and thought processes as illustrated in (176).

\[
\text{aŋ˧ kʰam˦˨ kar˧ lui˦˨ ᵑkom˧ ve˥}
\]

‘I have thirty eggs.’

\[
\text{aŋ˧ kʰam˦˨ cəʔ˦˨ mi˥ kəku˦˨ cəʔ˦˨ r ̥ʰau˧}
\]

‘To me, he is tall.’

The postposition \( hai˥ \) ‘from’, denoting the source, differs in that it may follow the other locative postpositions as illustrated in (177)-(180).

\[
\text{pa˥ kʰam˦˨ hai˥ anŋ kai˥ pu˥ nam˦˨}
\]

‘From Dad, I go to Grandad’s home.’
(178) pələŋkrum˧ tʰaŋ˧ hai˥ aŋ˧ təi˧ ra˥
Paletwa at from 1SG return come
‘I come back from Paletwa.’

(179) tui˧ ko˧ hai˥ lam˧ tʰaŋ˧ lam˧
water in from fish
‘The fish from the water…’

(180) pəktərua˥ cə˧ təram˧ ko˧ hai˥ tʰeŋ˥ mʔ˥
badger TOP ear in from put.in LNK
bəŋ˧ sʰi˥ həm˧ hək˧ mi-kla˧ peʔ˥
soil PL OBJ drop this-occur DECL
‘It happened that the badger took the dirt from inside his ear and put it down.’

Locative phrases usually precede the verb, but they may follow it as illustrated in
examples (181), (182), and (183). In (181) the locative phrase is marked by tʰaŋ˧ ‘at’ and
in (182) it is marked by ko˧ ‘in’. Example (183) illustrates four locative phrases
following the verb. Each phrase is marked by a separate postposition depending on the
subject’s location in relation to the given space or object. Multiple locative phrases are
arranged with the more general location on the left and the more specific on the right.

(181) va˥ kəjɨ˧ ləmuk˧ nam˧ tʰaŋ˧
bird fly sky village at
‘The bird is flying in the sky.’

(182) pʰum˥ ui˥ kəjun˦˨ tui˦˨ ko˧
mango fruit drop water in
‘The mango fell into the water.’

(183) kuimeŋ˧ mui˥˩ ve˥ tek˥ ko˦˨ rəʔun˥ tʰaŋ˦˨
cat sleep stay room in corner at
‘The cat is sleeping in the room, in the corner, under the table, on his
blanket.’

Multiple locative phrases may precede and follow the verb as in (184), where one
locative phrase precedes the verb and two follow it.

(184) kəm˥˩ ko˧ aŋ˧ ke˦ ca˧ mplət˧ kən˧ cəboi˧ kʰuŋ˥˩ nui˥˩
house in 1SG write letter door near table desk on
‘In the house, I write a letter, behind the door, on the table.’
Multiple locative phrases may precede the verb if they are contained within a subordinate clause. In (185) four locative clauses appear in the relative clause, modifying the subject.

(185) \(r̥ʰik˦˨\) o˦˨ \(vidan˥˧\) vi˥˩ \(ⁿlɔt˦˨\) tʰaŋ˧ hai˥
\(Hrik\) \(river\) \(Vidan\) \(lake\) \(east\) \(side\) \(from\)
\(pʰuk˦˨\) ko˧ ve˥ miʔ˥ lam˦˨ cə˦˨ kɘ˥ prai˥˩
\(outcropping\) \(in\) \(live\) LNK fish \(TOP\) \(big\) \(very\)
‘The fish that lives under an outcropping on the east side of the Vidan lake in the Hrik river is very big.’

4.3.4 Temporal

Locative postpositions are also used temporally as illustrated in (186) where tʰaŋ˧ ‘at’ follows jak˧˥˧ ‘night’.

(186) jak˧˥˧ tʰaŋ˧ he˧ sʰi˥˩ no˧ ki˧ mi˥par˥miʔ˥
\(night\) \(at\) \(enemy\) PL \(NEG\) see \(so\).that
\(m̥\) ai˦˨ tɔr˥ ɬɘ˥ kai˥ mə-kʰa˥
fire \(take\) \(with\) \(go\) \(this\).time
‘At night, so that their enemies couldn’t see them, by taking fire with them, they went.’

Other postpositions such as kʰa˥ ‘time’ are strictly used for marking points in time.

In (187) kʰa˥ ‘time’ marks the time of day and in (188) it refers to a point in time earlier in the speaker’s life.

(187) tʃaun˥˩ cə˦˨ ku˥˩ nəri˧ kʰa˥ pʰoŋ˧ ham˥
\(school\) \(TOP\) 9 \(hour\) \(time\) \(open\) IRR
‘The school will open at nine o’clock.’

(188) kənĩ˥ la˥ kʰa˥ aŋ˥ kai˥ india˧
in.front year \(time\) 1SG \(go\) \(India\)
‘Long ago I went to India.’

---

\(^{44}\) This is glossed as ‘with’, as ‘with’ encompasses the multiple functions of this subordinator: manner, instrumental, and comitative.
The temporal postposition ʰmɔ˦˨ ‘at’, as illustrated in (189), (190), and (191) is used for temporal points that have not yet occurred.

(189) ʰtəŋɨr˧˩ ʰmɔ˦˨ ʰaŋ˧ kəkrum˧ mi˧ ʰkəku˦˨ ʰhəm˥
’tomorrow at 1SG meet this man OBJ
‘I will meet him tomorrow.’

(190) ʰtəfɘ˧˩ ʰmɔ˦˨ ʰaŋ˧ kəi˥ tʃeŋmai˧ ʰham˥
‘next.year at 1SG go Chiangmai IRR
‘Next year I will go to Chiangmai.’

(191) ʰtam˧ ʰmɔ˦˨ ʰaŋ˧ kəi˥ ʰtaʔo˧ ʰham˥
‘soon at 1SG go river IRR
‘Before long I will go to the river.’

The postposition ʰluk˦˨ ‘side’, as illustrated in (192) and (193) may appear with past and future events. However, it is used for events that are temporally close to the speaker.

The temporal use of ʰluk˦˨ ‘side’ is metaphorical. Literally it refers to the side of an object as illustrated in (194).

(192) ʰnjak˧ ʰmiʔ˥ ʰtəbai˦˨ ʰluk˦˨ ʰaŋ˧ kəi˥ ʰpəlaŋkrum˦˨
‘previous LNK week side 1SG go Paletwa
‘Last week I went to Paletwa.’

(193) ʰɬum˧ ʰla˧ ʰluk˧ ʰpə˧ ʰsʰaŋ˧ ʰdəŋ˧ ʰve˧ ʰpət˧ ʰbə˧
‘three.month side also training class COP DECL RSP
‘There is a training class in three months.’

(194) ʰva˥ ʰcə˦˨ ʰrətuŋ˧ ʰluk˧ ʰve˧
‘bird TOP wall side COP
‘The bird is on the side of the house.’

4.3.5 Benefactive

The benefactive phrase, as illustrated in (195), (196), and (197), is marked by the postposition ʰkəhəm˦˨ ‘BEN’.45

45 Benefactives are further discussed in §9.4.
(195) koko˧ həm˥ tai˩ kəhəm˦˨ cauk˦˨ ɬək˦˨ aŋ˧ jok˦˨ jok˦˨ jo˥ Ko.Ko OBJ brother BEN book one 1SG give give REA ‘I gave Ko Ko a book for his brother.’

(196) kar˧ ma˦˨ cə˦˨ kar˧ le˥ sʰi˥ kəhəm˦˨ hau˧ lamcak˦˨ chicken FEM TOP chicken small PL BEN look.for food ‘The hen searched for food for the chicks.’

(197) aŋ˧ kəhəm˦˨ sʰɨn˥ naŋ˧ tui˦˨ kʰap˧ de˧ 1SG BEN bring along water cup IMP ‘Please bring a cup of water for me.’

4.3.6 Postposition

The postpositions are listed in Table 14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>‘Meaning’/(Use)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai˥</td>
<td>possession/locative</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰanŋ˧</td>
<td>temporal/locative</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nui˦˨</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɛn˦˨</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko˧</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji˧</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘on top of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo˧</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klə˧</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰam˦˨</td>
<td>locative/possession</td>
<td>(general use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬə˥</td>
<td>instrument/manner/comitative</td>
<td>(general use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa˧</td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>(general use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔ˦˨</td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>(future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luk˦˨</td>
<td>temporal/locative</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəhəm˦˨</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Topic

Unusual orders of nominals indicate pragmatic topic or focus (Payne 1997:272 and Kroeger 2004:141). In Hkongso, the basic word order is SVO, as illustrated in (198). Example (199), illustrates OSV word order. This unusual order of nominals requires special marking on the nominals. The object tsak˦˨ ‘rice’ is fronted, taking the marker ca˦˨ ‘TOP’, and the subject pa˥˩ ‘father’ requires a case marker. When the topic marker appears, the nominal refers to what the sentence is about and the information it conveys is “old information” (Kroeger 2004:136).

The marker ca˦˨ ‘TOP’ may follow any argument that is fronted regardless of the transitivity of the sentence. When an argument of the verb, such as the object tsak˦˨ ‘rice’ in (199), is topicalized, ca˦˨ ‘TOP’ replaces the grammatical case marker. However, when an adjunct phrase, such as location, is topicalized, the ca˦˨ ‘TOP’ follows the postposition, as illustrated in (205).

(198) pa˥˩ tsa˥ tsak˦˨
father eat rice
‘Father ate rice.’

(199) tsak˦˨ ca˦˨ pa˥˩ maʔ˥ tsa˥
rice TOP father SUBJ ate
‘The rice, father ate.’

Subjects, such as kəak˥ ‘crow’ in (200), may also take the topic marker.

(200)  na˧ kʰa˥ kəak˥ ca˧ rampai˥ kək˨ ham˨ kɪ˨ peʔ˨
over time crow TOP duck white OBJ see DECL
‘At that time the crow saw a white duck.’

Example (116), repeated here as (201), illustrates a ditransitive sentence without special marking or movement for topic. In (118), repeated here as (202), the object is fronted as the topic but is not marked with ca˦˨ ‘TOP’. Payne (1997:273) states, “The leftward nominal in left-dislocation occupies a constituent structure position that stands
outside the clause but is still adjoined to the clause at a higher level. In the generative
tradition, that position is often referred to as the topic position.” Hkongso utilizes a
similar fronted position for topicalization.

(201) kəto˦˨ maʔ˥ kətuŋ˧ həm˥ jok˦˨ jok˦˨ cəuk˧
boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give book
‘The boy gave the girl a book.’

(202) kətuŋ˧ həm˥ kəto˦˨ maʔ˥ jok˦˨ jok˦˨ cəuk˧
girl OBJ boy SUBJ give give book
‘To the girl, the boy gave a book.’

The marker cə˦˨ ‘TOP’ may appear on any argument. This is illustrated in (117),
repeated here as (203), where the secondary object is fronted and takes the topic marker.

(203) cəuk˧ cə˦˨ kəto˦˨ maʔ˥ kətuŋ˧ həm˥ jok˦˨ jok˦˨
book TOP boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give
‘The book, the boy gave to the girl.’

The marker cə˦˨ ‘TOP’ may also appear in an intransitive sentence, as illustrated in
(204). Example (205) illustrates that a postpositional phrase may also take the topic
marker.

(204) rua˦˨ sʰi˥ cə˦˨ ren˥ pɛʔ˦˨
snake PL TOP laugh DECL
‘All the snakes laughed.’

(205) tui˦˨ ko˧ cə˦˨ lam˦˨ ve˥
water in TOP fish there.is
‘There is a fish in the water.’

When the topic marker appears on a subject or object, it almost always takes the
place of the subject and object markers.46 However, when other phrases, such as those
expressing location, are topicalized, the topic marker follows the postposition as in (205)
and (206).

46 I have only found the subject marker followed by the topic marker in only one example, as follows:

r̥ʰɨŋ˥-ma˦˨ maʔ˥ tsə˦˨ aŋ˧ nə˦˨ pɛ˧ kə˥ kək̚˦˨ pɛʔ˥˩
mountain-FEM SUBJ TOP 1SG what can.be big SUP DECL
‘The mountain replied, “Who is greater than me?”’
Example (206) illustrates that cə˧ ‘TOP’ may appear twice in the same sentence. The first phrase aŋ˧ kʰam˦˨ ‘1SG to’ is a topicalized adjunct. It occurs a second time in (206) because cə˧ ‘TOP’ is obligatory in verbless attributive and equative clauses. Verbless equative clauses are illustrated in (207), (208), and (209).

(207) dai˥ cə˧ aŋ˧ hai˥ kəpu˦˨
   ‘Dai is my grandfather.’

(208) pa˥˩ cə˧ mə-nam˦˨ lu˥
   ‘Father is the chief.’

(209) dai˥ cə˧ meŋ˧ sʰəra˥
   ‘Dai is the music teacher.’

4.5 Clause constituent marking

The topic marker, grammatical case markers, and pospositions follow the nouns they mark. This marking is summarized in Table 15.
Table 15: NP markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Case/gloss</th>
<th>Primary usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>cə˥</td>
<td>Topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical Cases</td>
<td>maʔ˥</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həm˥</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postpositions</td>
<td>hai˥</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬɘ˥</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td>instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰam˥</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰəm˥</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəhəm˥</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.6 Word order characteristics of Hkongso

Dryer (in press), in discussing word order features in Tibeto-Burman languages, looks at the following word order relationships: adjective and noun, relative clause and noun, demonstrative and noun, numeral and noun, degree word and adjective, and negative and verb. This section examines these word order relationships in Hkongso and shows how Hkongso relates typologically to the Tibeto-Burman language family and SVO languages in general.

There are a few other SVO languages among the Tibeto-Burman family. Dryer (in press:13) states, “The distribution of OV and VO order among Tibeto-Burman languages is fairly clear cut and easy to describe. VO order is found in only two groups, namely Karen and Bai, and the remaining languages are all not only OV but generally fairly rigidly verb-final.” Dryer (in press:14) also states,

The distribution of OV and VO order within Tibeto-Burman conforms loosely to an east west dimension that we will see is useful for understanding the distribution of a number of word order characteristics. Both of the groups exhibiting VO order, Karen and Bai, are towards the east. When we look at the
distribution of word order outside Tibeto-Burman, we see that the languages to
the east are VO, namely languages within Chinese, Tai-Kadai, Mon-Khmer, and
Hmong-Mien, while those to the west and southwest are OV, namely Indic
languages within Indo-European.

Hkongso is VO but geographically is to the west of the Tibeto-Burman area. Dryer
explains the existence of Bai and Karen through contact with other language families.
Since Hkongso is in the west, we cannot use the same hypothesis for its properties.

In Hkongso the adjective follows the noun. Dryer (in press:32) writes, “The pattern
of distribution of the two orders of adjective and noun within Tibeto-Burman is complex.
Not only is it common to find languages within the same higher-level group with
different orders, but it is also common within the same lower-level groups.” Dryer
provides a map showing the distribution of NAdj and AdjN languages. On his map, all
the languages in and around Myanmar are NAdj. However, Dryer claims that many Naga,
Chin, and Burmish languages have both NAdj and AdjN orders with neither dominant.
Dryer (in press:35) says, “Languages towards the east are closer to Tai-Kadai and Mon-
Khmer languages, which are NAdj, while languages towards the west are closer to the
large area stretching from northern Asia down into India, including Indic languages
within Indo-European, which are almost entirely AdjN.” Furthermore, Dryer claims that
the order of noun and adjective does not correlate with the order of verb and object, but
does correlate to geographic location when we look at the larger picture. Dryer (in
press:35) provides a map of Asia showing NAdj heavily dominant throughout Southeast
Asia while AdjN is dominant throughout India and Northeast Asia.

Examples (210), (211), (212), and (213) illustrate that the order of adjective and
noun in Hkongso is NAdj.

(210) \textit{vənkt\textasciitilde} i ə˧  cə˧ nɔ˧ n̥ai˥˩
\textit{shirt} \textit{old} \textit{TOP} \textit{NEG} \textit{good}
‘The old shirt is no good.’
RelN is the only word order I have encountered in Hkongso relative clauses. However, RelN is extremely rare in VO languages throughout the world. Payne (1997:326) states that this possibility does not even exist: “Languages which are dominantly VO in main-clause constituent order always have postnominal relative clauses.” Dryer claims that unlike the order of adjective and noun, relative clause and noun does correlate with the order of object and verb. About VO and RelN languages, Dryer (in press:25) states, “This RelN order is extremely unusual among VO languages. In fact, the only VO languages in my database in which RelN is attested as the dominant order are Bai, the Chinese languages, and Amis, an Austronesian language of Taiwan.” Karen, one of the few VO Tibeto-Burman languages, has NRel structure.

Examples (123), repeated here as (214), (124), repeated here as (215), (216), and (217) illustrate the order of relative clause and noun in Hkongso as RelN.

(214) [aŋ˧ roi˥ jok˦˨ aŋ˧] miʔ˥ kui˥˩ tʰək˦˨
    1SG friend give 1SG LNK dog die
    ‘The dog that my friend gave me died.’

(215) [kuimeŋ˧ maʔ˥ map˦˨ jok˦˨] miʔ˥ ut˥ tʰək˦˨
    1SG cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die
    ‘The mouse that the cat bit died.’

---

47 See §9.2.2 for a discussion of relative clauses.
The big house that is good to look at belongs to the village chief Dai.'

'The place that they agreed on, (the turtle) arrived there first.'

Dryer states that the cause for change in Bai word order from OV to VO is unclear. However, the rarity of a VO and RelN language leads him to claim that if a language with Proto Tibeto-Burman roots (OV and RelN) changes to VO, that language will also change to NRel. His explanation for Bai changing to VO and retaining RelN is language contact with Chinese (VO and RelN). The existence of Hkongso as a VO and RelN language is yet to be explained.

Examples (218), (219), and (220), show the order of demonstrative and noun, which, according to Dryer (in press:43), “does not correlate crosslinguistically with the order of object and verb.”

These examples show that the demonstrative precedes the noun (DemN). Among Tibeto-Burman languages DemN is the most common order, but NDem is also found, even within the same subgroup. However, among Burmese-Lolo languages there is a clear split. Burmish languages are dominantly DemN and Loloish languages are
dominantly NDem. Several Chin languages have the demonstrative simultaneously before and after the noun.

Dryer (in press:50) makes the following crosslinguistic typological generalizations. There is no correlation between demonstrative and noun order and object and verb order, but there is a correlation between demonstrative and noun order and adjective and noun order. Generally, if the adjective appears before or after the noun, then the demonstrative will appear there also, but if they occur on different sides of the noun, then “it is generally the case that it is the demonstrative that precedes the noun and the adjective that follows.” This is what is found in Hkongso. The demonstrative precedes the noun and the adjective follows it.

In Hkongso the numeral follows the noun (NNum), as illustrated in (221)-(224). According to Dryer, crosslinguistically, the order NumN is only slightly more common in VO languages and NNum is slightly more common in OV languages. However, in Tibeto-Burman languages the order NNum is much more common and only Bodic languages have the order NumN.

(221)  
\[aŋ˧ rəca˥˩ rʰum˥˩ jua˧ ve˥\]  
\[1SG \text{ child} \text{ three} \text{ person} \text{ COP}\]  
‘I have three children.’

(222)  
\[aŋ˧ kui˥˩ pre˥˩ ve˥\]  
\[1SG \text{ dog} \text{ two} \text{ COP}\]  
‘I have two dogs.’

(223)  
\[aŋ˧ kʰam˦˨ \text{kar˧ lui˦˨ ᵑkom˧ ve˥}\]  
\[1SG \text{ at} \text{ chicken} \text{ egg} \text{ thirty} \text{ COP}\]  
‘I have thirty eggs.’

(224)  
\[pa˥˩ ca˥ pai˦˨ \text{liŋmo˧ ui˥ ha˥˩ kək˥}\]  
\[\text{father} \text{ eat} \text{ PRT} \text{ orange} \text{ fruit} \text{ ten} \text{ all}\]  
‘Dad ate up all of the ten oranges.’
The degree word follows the adjective (AdjDeg), as illustrated in examples (225), (226), and (227). Reduplicated degree words, as in (228), precede the adjective.48

(225) kəfar˧˩ cə˧˥ hap˥˧ pʰi˧˥ mi˧˥ ha˧˥ mui˧˥ nak˧˥
last.night TOP hot very LNK NEG able sleep INTENS
‘Last night it was so hot that I couldn’t sleep at all.’

(226) tim˧˥ priŋ˧˥ pʰi˧˥ nak˧˥ rɘ˧˥ ve˧˥ ɘ˧˥
wind strong very INTENS CONT PRT really
‘Yeah, the wind was really strong.’

(227) “ənni˥ sʰi˥ cə˧˥ loŋ˧˥ ram˧˥ hu˥˧ prai˥˧ loŋhu˧˥
DU PL TOP point.on.leaf leaf many very Longhu
na˧ nakʰə˧ ” pa-jok˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨
be SPACT say-give DECL
‘They said, “You have many offspring, you will be Longhu.”’

(228) mi˧˥ kəku˧˥ cə˧˥ kʰri˧˥ kʰri˧˥ na˧˥ nak˧˥
this man TOP very-very bad INTENS
‘He is so bad.’

The dominant order in Tibeto-Burman languages is DegAdj, but AdjDeg is the dominant pattern among the Kuki-Chin and Karen subgroups. When comparing the order of noun and adjective with degree word and adjective, the Hkongso order of NAdj and AdjDeg is the dominant pattern among Kuki-Chin languages and Karen languages.

The negative marker no˧ ‘NEG’ appears before the verb (NegV), as illustrated in (229)-(232). Dryer (in press:77) states, “VNeg order is dominant in an area corresponding roughly to the section of India east and northeast of Bangladesh, including most Bodo-Garo, Tani, and Kuki-Chin languages, while NegV order is dominant in two areas, one to the west, in Bodic, and one to the east, including Nungish, Jinghpo, Northeast Tibeto-Burman, and Burmese-Lolo languages.” Therefore, Hkongso finds itself as an orphan amongst the VNeg languages that geographically surround it. Peterson (2005b:7) shows that Mru order is VNeg. This is one area that Hkongso differs from Mru. Perhaps this

48 This is the only reduplicated degree word I have found that modifies adjectives.
difference is due to language contact. Examples (229)-(232) illustrate the order of
negative and verb in Hkongso.

(229) dai˥ cə˦˨ cə˥ ca˦˨ no˧ ve˥
Dai TOP here at NEG COP
‘Dai is not here.’

(230) ʔəʔ˥ aŋ˧ no˧ kai˥ kəŋ˥
reject 1SG NEG go CONTR
‘No, I won’t go.’

(231) “aŋ˧ no˧ hja˥˩ ləŋ˦˨ kə˥˩ ” pa-jok˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨
1SG NEG want CONTR PERF tell-give DECL
‘I don’t want/love (him) anymore,’ she said.’

(232) aŋ˧ no˧ ca˥ jok˦˨ pram˦˨
1SG NEG eat give medicine
‘I’m not taking medicine.’

The word order characteristics of Hkongso can be summed up as VO, NAdj, RelN,
DemN, NNum, AdjDeg, and NegV. Characteristically, Hkongso is very similar to Mru. I
assume that the two languages are historically related. However, the word order
characteristics have little in common with the surrounding languages. Among Tibeto-
Burman languages Hkongso is most similar to the Karen languages of Southeast Burma.49

49 These languages differ in that Karen languages are NRel, and Hkongso is RelN.
CHAPTER 5: PRE-VERBAL AND CLAUSE-FINAL OPERATORS

This chapter describes operators that precede the verb and operators that occur clause-finally. Pre-verbal operators form a constituent with the verb, but clause-final operators do not, since objects may occur between them and the verb. This separation of the verb and clause-final operators by the object is also evident in the related Mru language of Bangladesh, as discussed by Peterson (2005:3): “Pronominal objects, if present always occur sandwiched between the verb stem and following particles.”

5.1 Structure

As illustrated in §4.1, word order in Hkongso is SVO. Verbal negation and ability auxiliaries precede the verb as shown in Table 16.51

Table16: Pre-verbal operators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The object often follows the verb, separating the verb from subject agreement markers, adverbs, TAM auxiliaries, and mood auxiliaries, which are clause-final operators. Kroeger (2005:342) defines auxiliary as “a ‘helping verb’ or particle which expresses verbal inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, modality, and/or agreement,

50 The terms ‘pre-verbal operators’ and ‘clause-final operators’ refer to the position. I use terms such as ‘auxiliary’ and ‘particle’ to refer to the individual words.

51 Directionals and valence increasing constructions occur as serial verb constructions, which are discussed in §9.4. Valence decreasing constructions occur as a prefix on the verb and are discussed in §2.4.
but does not have lexical semantic content like a normal verb.” Clause-final operators in Hkongso are summarized in Table 17.

Table 17: Clause-final operators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+1</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>+3</th>
<th>+4</th>
<th>+5</th>
<th>+6</th>
<th>+7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>AGR</td>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>TENSE</td>
<td>MOOD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2  **Pre-verbal operators**

5.2.1  **Negation**

Negative statements are formed when no˧ ‘NEG’ precedes the verb, but its use is often pragmatically determined. Negative commands are formed when boŋ˧ ‘don’t’ precedes the verb. Particles for absoluteness, contradiction, refusal, and politeness may follow the verb.\(^{52}\) Negation is summarized in Table 18.

Table 18: Negation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-verbal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Post-verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no˧ ‘NEG’</td>
<td>vai˦˨ ‘Never’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boŋ˧ ‘NEG Imperative’</td>
<td>loŋ˧ ‘Contradict/Refuse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The negation marker no˧ ‘NEG’ is illustrated in the existential clause in (233) and it precedes kok˨˩ ‘white’ in the statement in (234).

(233) kə˧ni˧ lak-kʰa˧ boŋliar˧ no˧ ve˥ mi-kʰa˧ miʔ˥ in.front one-time world NEG COP this-time LNK ‘A long time ago, when there was no world...’

(234) rəsʰa˦˨ iu˥ kəpə˦˨ no˧ k o k˥˩ r a˧ pɛʔ˧ sun enter even.until NEG white INCH DECL ‘Even by sunset, the crow had not become white.’

---

\(^{52}\) This section deals primarily with pre-verbal operators, but I include clause-final negation particles here in order to present negation as a whole.
The particle vai˦˨ ‘never’, which always co-occurs with no˧ ‘NEG’, follows the verb in (235).

(235) mi˥ kəku˦˨ həm˥ aŋ˧ no˧ kəkrum˥ vai˦˨
this man OBJ 1SG NEG meet never
‘I haven’t ever met him.’

The particle ləŋ˥ ‘CONTR’, which also always co-occurs with no˧ ‘NEG’, follows the verb na˦˨ ‘right’ to contradict a statement in (236). The verb na˦˨ ‘right’ appears without no˧ ‘NEG’ in (237). In (238) ləŋ˥ ‘CONTR’ occurs clause-finally to refuse a command.53

(236) no˧ na˦˨ ləŋ˥
NEG right CONTR
‘That’s not it.’

(237) i˥ sʰi˥ zə˨˦ təmuk˧ hai˥ təhi˦˨ na˥˩
1PL PL TOP God from son right/true/is
‘We are the children of God.’

(238) oʔ˧˥˧ no˧ po˧ i˥ m ̥ at˦˨ ut˥ təma˦˨ ləŋ˥
huh NEG take 1PL own mouse daughter CONTR
‘What? I won’t take one of our mouse daughters as a wife.’

Non-verbal predicates such as məlai˧ ‘wealthy’ in the attributive clause in (239) and meŋ˧ sʰəra˥ ‘song teacher’ in the equative clause in (240) are negated by the construction no˧ na˦˨ ‘not right’.

(239) aː˥ aŋ˧ məlai˦˨ no˧ na˦˨ ləŋ˥
well 1SG wealthy NEG right CONTR
‘No, I’m not rich.’

(240) dai˥ cə˧ meŋ˧ sʰəra˥ no˧ na˦˨ ləŋ˥
Dai TOP song teacher NEG right CONTR
‘No, Dai is not the music teacher.’

Politeness often prohibits the use of the negative. To refuse an offer with the negative marker is rather blunt, so to be polite speakers use a different construction. In

53 The particles vai˦˨ ‘never’ and ləŋ˥ ‘CONTR’ may be described as negative polarity items. However, I have no examples of them occurring in interrogatives.
(241) the speaker wants to refuse an offer to eat with a friend, but does not want to be rude, so he uses the interjection aː˥ ‘well’.

(241) aː˥ ca˥ va˦˨ n̥ak˧ ɛ˥ lɔk˦˨

‘Well, you all go ahead and eat.’

The negative command marker boŋ˧ ‘don’t’ is illustrated in examples (242) and (243).

(242) nə˥ mi˥ lua˦˨ mi˥ rut˦˨ ɬɘ˥ boŋ˧ ca˥ cak˦˨

‘Don't eat with a dirty hand.’

(243) boŋ˧ ra˧ ba˧ lɔk˦˨

‘Please don't come.’

5.2.2 Ability

This section describes the auxiliaries hai˧ ‘able’, kʰəm˥ ‘able’, and tuk˦˨, ‘know’, which are agent-oriented modalities. Agent-oriented modalities “include ability, permission, obligation, desire (desiderative), intention, etc.” (Kroeger 2005:166).

Permission is formed via complement clauses, as discussed in §9.2.3. Obligation, desire, intention, etc. are discussed in §5.3.

The auxiliary hai˧ ‘able’ follows no˧ ‘NEG’ and precedes the verb, as illustrated in examples (244) and (245). In natural text hai˧ ‘able’ is only used in negative constructions. In elicited examples such as (246) it is possible to use hai˧ ‘able’ for positive abilities. However, as illustrated in examples (247) and (248) normally kʰəm˥ ‘able’ is used for positive abilities.

(244) cuŋ˦˨ rau˥ pʰi˦˨ mi˥ no˧ hai˧ mui˥ n̥ak˦˨

‘It was so cold that I couldn’t sleep at all.’
(245) mu˥ma˦˥ maʔ˥ nin˧吸入 anŋ˥ kəcəʔ˧吸入 anŋ˥ no˧云 SUBJ cover 1SG if 1SG NEG able shine
‘If the clouds cover me I can not shine.’

(246) anŋ˥ hai˧吸入 au˥ 1SG able shine
‘I am able to shine.’

(247) anŋ˥ kʰəm˥吸入 au˨˩ 1SG able shine
‘I can shine.’

(248) anŋ˧ kʰəm˥吸入 kə-tʰui˥吸入 bɔluŋ˧ 1SG able RPM-kick ball
‘I can play soccer.’

In (249) the verb tuk˦˨ ‘know’ also appears in the positive ability auxiliary position, even though it contains separate lexical meaning when it occurs as the main verb.

Positive ability may also be formed via complement clauses, which are discussed in §9.2.3.54

(249) anŋ˧ tuk˦˨吸入 kə-tʰui˥吸入 bɔluŋ˧ 1SG know RPM-kick ball
‘I know how to play soccer.’

5.3 Clause-final operators

This section describes clause-final operators, including subject agreement, adverbs, TAM, mood, and formality or politeness particles. Table 17 is repeated here as Table 19 for easier reference. This section describes each position as it occurs in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>AGR</th>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>MOD</th>
<th>TENSE</th>
<th>MOOD</th>
<th>POL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54 It is possible that this example contains a serial verb construction.
5.3.1 Subject agreement

The subject agreement auxiliary is the first element in the cluster of clause-final operators. In (250) the subject agreement auxiliary ja˦˨ ‘DU’ follows the verb, but in (251), the object kau˦˨ ‘bamboo’ comes between the verb and the auxiliary.

(250) vəce˥˩ hak˧ luŋte˥˩  kə-krum˥˩ ja˦˨  peʔ˦˨
bird and earthworm  
RPM-meet  
DU  
DECL
‘A little bird and a worm met.’

(251) dai˥ mi˥-ja˦˨ məreŋ˧ tu˧  kau˦˨ ja˦˨  
Dai 3-DU Mareng cut bamboo DU
‘Dai and Mareng cut bamboo.’

This is further illustrated in (252), where the subject agreement auxiliary va˦˨ ‘PL’ follows the object bɔn˦˨ ‘soil’. If the object and auxiliary were reversed, as in (253), the result would be ungrammatical.

(252) no˧ hai˧ kai˥ ku˦˨ bɔn˦˨ va˦˨  peʔ˥˩
NEG able go steal soil PL DECL
‘They weren’t able to go steal dirt.’

(253) *no˧ hai˧ kai˥ ku˥ va˦˨ bɔn˦˨ peʔ˥˩
NEG able go steal PL soil DECL
*‘They weren’t able to go steal dirt.’

The subject agreement auxiliary marks the subject as dual ja˦˨ ‘DU’ or plural va˦˨ ‘PL’ (singular is unmarked). Often, this auxiliary is all that is needed for maintaining character reference throughout a story. In (63), repeated here as (254), the subject is omitted in the second clause, but ja˦˨ ‘DU’ is retained. Therefore, no pronoun is needed in the second clause.

(254) kəni˥  lak˦˨ kʰa˥˩  vəce˥˩ hak˧ luŋte˥˩  kə-krum˥˩ ja˦˨  peʔ˦˨
in.front one time bird and earthworm RPM-meet DU
this time together look.for food  
DU  
DECL
‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’
5.3.2 Clause-final adverbs

Adverbs occur clause-finally after subject agreement auxiliaries. Often adverbs are created by reduplicating verbs, such as \( təŋ˦˨-təŋ˦˨ \) ‘return-return’ and \( r̥ɛt˥-r̥ɛt˥ \) ‘fast-fast’ in examples (255) and (256).

(255) mi˥ ja˦˨ ju˥ hwa˦˨ cə˧ kəŋak˧ ja˦˨ təŋ˦˨-təŋ˦˨ n ̥ak˦˨
this DU wife husband TOP quarrel DU return-return INTENS
‘That couple quarrels all the time.’

(256) ca˥ r̥ɛt˥-r̥ɛt˥ de˦˨ ba˦˨
eat fast-fast IMP POL
‘Please eat quickly.’

At times the meaning of the verb is no longer reconstructable and only the adverbial meaning remains, as illustrated in (30), repeated here as (257).

(257) kai˥ ŋa˦˨ tʰaŋ˥ vəŋ˧veŋ˧ de˦˨ ba˦˨
go front side keep.on IMP POL
‘Please keep going straight ahead.’

Example (258) illustrates the adverb \( pʰi˦˨ \) ‘really’ and the particle \( ɲak˦˨ \) ‘INTENS’ following the object. Example (259) illustrates the order: verb, object, adverb, aspect. Example (260) illustrates the adverb \( r̥ɨt˧r̥ɨt˧ \) ‘gradually’ as it follows \( kɘ˥ \) ‘big’ and precedes TAM.

(258) aweː˥ aŋ˧ tʰɨm˥˩ ən˦˨ pʰi˦˨ ɲak˦˨ aweː˥
PRT 1SG miss 2SG really INTENS PRT
‘I’ve really missed you a lot.’

(259) pupɛt˥˩ cə˦˨ miŋ˧˥˧ mət˦˨ həm˥ jar˥˩ vit˦˨
turtle TOP wait 3SG OBJ casually PFV
‘The turtle was casually waiting on him.’

(260) aŋ˧ hai˥ kui˥˩ le˥˩ po˥ kə˥ r̥ɨt˧r̥ɨt˧ ra˥ kə˥
1SG from dog small as.for big gradually INCH PERF
‘My puppy has been getting bigger and bigger.’

The particle \( ɲak˦˨ \) ‘INTENS’ appears in sentences containing stative verbs and verbs describing attributes but not in sentences with active verbs or motion verbs. As illustrated
in examples (255) and (31), repeated here as (261), ṇak˦˨ ‘INTENS’ gives the speaker the ability to add more emotion to the sentence.

(261) mĩ˥ kəcai˥˩ cə˦˨ mɔr˧ rɘ˥rɘ˥ n̥ak˦˨  
this woman TOP grumble constantly INTENS
‘She grumbles all the time!’

However, ṇak˦˨ ‘INTENS’ also occurs with adjective predicates, where it follows the adjective, as illustrated in (262).

(262) koko˧ cə˧ kʰri˥-kʰri˥ŋa˥˩ n̥ak˦˨  
Ko.Ko TOP very-very bad INTENS
‘Ko Ko is so bad.’

The particle ṇak˦˨ ‘INTENS’ also occurs after verbs that take kə- ‘RPM’, the reflexive/passive/middle prefix. This is illustrated in the passive construction in (263).

(263) hɨk˧ kʰɑ˦˨ kʰəŋ˧ kə-ta˥ n̥ak˧  
mì-kla˥ pɛʔ˦˨  
drop time mat RPM-complete INTENS this-occur DECL
“When (they) put it down, it happened that the mat was so filled up!”

5.3.3 **Aspect**

Aspectual auxiliaries show whether the situation is perfective, being completed, or imperfective, being open-ended. They also show if the situation is changing or static, instantaneous or extended, singular or repetitive.

The auxiliary vit˥ ‘PFV’ is a perfective marker which “refers to an entire event as a whole” (Kroeger 2005:158). In (264) vit˥ ‘PFV’ follows the verb and precedes the mood auxiliary. In (265) vit˥ ‘PFV’ is followed by the tense auxiliary kə˧ ‘PERF’.

(264) tahĩ˥  rʰum˩ jua˧ ve˥ mi-kʰaถน rampai˥  
son three person COP this-time duck

(265) kɔnũ˥ cə˥ tʰɔk˧ vit˥ pɛʔ˧  
mother TOP die PFV DECL
‘When they had had three children, the mother passed away.’
The imperfective auxiliary *hai* ‘HAB’, as illustrated in (266), refers to a habitual action, which “describes a recurring event or ongoing state which is a characteristic property of a certain period or time” (Comrie 1976:27-28). However, *hai* ‘PROG’, as illustrated in (267) and (268), is ambiguous as it can also be used to refer to a progressive action, which is an action that is ongoing but not completed.

(266) kəak˥ hai˥ rəui˥ ko˦˨ cəʔ˦˨ rəmpai˥

“ən˦˨ pe˧ tan˥ kok˧ ŋak˦˨ miʔ˦˨

2SG this much white INTENS LNK

tui˦˨ nui˧ ve˧ hai˥ lat˨˧ col˨ “

water on top COP HAB just that's why

‘Inside, the crow felt, “Oh, you must be so white because you stay on top of the water.”’

(267) na˧ pe˥ hai˥ miʔ˥ mi˥ kəku˦˨ kaⁱ˥ ma˥˩

‘What was happening that he went to his field? (Why did he go to his field?)’

(268) na˦˨ pɛ˦˨ rau˥ hai˥ va˥ tim˥˩ rau˥˩ ma˥˩

‘Why are you hurting? Is it gas?’

The imperfective auxiliary *ri* ‘DUR’ indicates that the event extends over time. In (269) *ri* ‘DUR’ follows the verb and in (148), repeated here as (270), *ri* ‘DUR’ follows the object.

(269) aː˥˩ ɬoi˧ rəp˧ ham˥ kə˥ ve˧ ri˥ pəde˥

‘What? You have to go already? Stay some more, won’t you?’

(270) ɬainaŋ˥ an˧ hai˥ cauk˧ ri˥ de˥

‘Please let me borrow your book some more.’

The inchoative “refers to a change of state or entering a state” (Kroeger 2005:157). In Hkongso it is created by grammaticalizing the verbs *ra* ‘come’ and *kai* ‘go’. The
grammaticalized verb ra˧ ‘come’ is illustrated in examples (272),\(^{55}\) which contrasts with (271), and (234), repeated here as (273).

(271) mi˥ ləpʰa˥ cə˦˨ liŋ˦˨ prai˥
    this tea TOP hot very
    ‘The tea is very hot.’

(272) mi˥ ləpʰa˥ cə˦˨ liŋ˦˨ ra˧ kɘ˧
    this tea TOP hot come PERF
    ‘The tea has become hot (and is ready to drink).’

(273) rəsʰa˦˨ iu˥ kəpə˦˨ no˧ kok˥˩ ra˧ pɛʔ˦˨
    sun.enter even until NEG white come DECL
    ‘Even by sunset, (the crow) had not become white.’

The grammaticalized verb kai˥ ‘go’ is illustrated in examples (274) and (275).

Example (274) contrasts with examples (272) and (271). At times kai˥ ‘go’ is used and at times ra˧ ‘come’ is used to mark the change of state.\(^{56}\)

(274) mi˥ ləpʰa˥ cə˦˨ sʰuŋ˥˩ kai˥ vit˥ kɘ˧
    this tea TOP cold go PFV PERF
    ‘The tea has become cold.’

(275) kar˥-ma˦˨ cə˦˨ riu˥˩ jok˦˨ kəjau˥ tui˦˨ mi˥-kʰa˦˨
    chicken-FEM TOP teach give swim water LNK-time
    kəbut˥ tui˦˨ na˧ tʰək˥ kai˧ vit˥ pɛʔ˦˨
    go.under water after die go PFV DECL
    ‘So, to teach them to swim, the hen went down into the water and drowned.’

The verb ve˥ ‘stay’, which is most often used as a copula, has many meanings such as ‘live’, ‘stay’, ‘have’, and ‘there is’. In (276) ve˥ ‘stay’ functions as a stative aspectual auxiliary. It co-occurs in (276) with hin˦˨ ‘still’, carrying the sense of remaining in the same state.

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\(^{55}\) Also see (234) and (260) where the inchoative ra˧ is glossed ‘INCH’ rather than ‘come’.

\(^{56}\) My data is insufficient to determine when kai˥ ‘go’ is used and when ra˧ ‘come’ is used. Burmese has a semantic difference between grammaticalized forms of words meaning ‘go’ and ‘come’ which function as inchoatives. Burmese speakers literally say, ‘Sun hot go’ or ‘Sun hot come’. If ‘go’ is used, then the weather has already become hot, but if ‘come’ is used, then the weather is still getting hot.
(276) mi˥ ləpʰa˥ cə˦˨ liŋ˦˨ ve˥ hin˦˨ ‘The tea is still hot.’

The verb ve˥ ‘stay’ also co-occurs with pʰut˨˦ ‘PROG’ to indicate the progressive aspect, as illustrated in (277) and (278).\(^\text{57}\)

(277) faŋ˥ ra˦˨ ve˥ pʰut˨˦ rain come stay PROG ‘It is raining.’

(278) an˧ jau˧ va˥ ve˥ pʰut˧ 1SG watch bird stay PROG ‘I am watching a bird.’

Aspectual auxiliaries are summarized in Table 20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>vit˥</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>hai˥</td>
<td>Progressive Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ri˧</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ra˧</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kai˥</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ve˥</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ve˥ pʰut˧</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.4 Modality

There are two general modality categories: speaker-oriented and agent-oriented.

Speaker-oriented modalities include epistemic modalities, “relating to the speaker’s state of knowledge or belief (possibility, probability, certainty, etc.)” (Kroeger 2005:166).

Agent-oriented modalities include deontic modalities, “relating to obligation or permission on the part of the agent.”

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\(^{57}\) I do not have enough data to say how this differs from the progressive marker hai˥ ‘PROG’.
Hkongso speaker-oriented modalities include the dubitative, expressing doubt, possibility, showing the speaker’s uncertainty, and mirative, expressing the speaker’s surprise at what he is saying. These modalities are formed by adding clause-final auxiliaries, and different shades of certainty may be communicated through the speaker’s choice of auxiliary.

Examples (279) through (282) illustrate the contrast between different speaker-oriented modalities. Example (279) illustrates possibility with a high level of certainty through the construction \textit{mi\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}} a\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}} ‘might PRT’. In (280) \textit{mi\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}} ‘might’ appears in a subordinate clause, illustrating a lower degree of certainty. Example (281) illustrates a low degree of certainty through the use of the dubitative construction \textit{pi\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}-b\textsuperscript{\textdialect{9}}-t\textsuperscript{\textdialect{9}}} ‘DUB’. Example (282) illustrates certainty based on inference by providing supporting evidence following the main clause. I have not discovered at this time an evidential grammatical marker that means the speaker is an eye-witness to the reported event. Rather, as illustrated in (282), speakers show this level of certainty by juxtaposing proposition and evidence clauses with the inference auxiliary \textit{taŋak\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}} ‘must’ occurring in the proposition clause.

(279) kəjak\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} faŋ\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} ra\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} \textit{mi\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}} a\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}} yesterday rain come \textit{might PRT} ‘I’m pretty sure it rained yesterday.’

(280) [kəjak\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} faŋ\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} ra\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} \textit{mi\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}} ] [aŋ\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} pe\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} ] yesterday rain come \textit{might} 1SG think ‘I think it may have rained yesterday.’

(281) kəjak\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} faŋ\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} ra\textsuperscript{\textdialect{1}} \textit{pi\textsuperscript{\textdialect{y}}-b\textsuperscript{\textdialect{9}}-t\textsuperscript{\textdialect{9}}} yesterday rain come \textit{DUB} ‘I’m not sure if it rained yesterday.’

\footnote{This particle is used for a high degree of certainty, meaning “I’m pretty sure that…”}
(282) [faŋ˧ ra˥ ŭaŋak˧] [tui˧ kə˥ vit˧]  
rain come must water big PFV  
‘It must have rained, the water is high.’

Inference is further illustrated in (283).

(283) [mi˥ rau˥ ŭaŋak˧] [pik˧ liŋ˦˨ prai˧ vit˧]  
3SG hurt must skin hot very PFV  
‘He must be sick, his body has gotten really hot.’

Example (281) uses pi˥˩-bɘ˦˨-tə˧˨ ‘DUB’ for the dubitative, but (284) uses the construction bɘ˦˨-pe˦˨-tə˥˩ ‘DUB’ for the dubitative.\(^59\) Examples (281) and (284) both speak of an action that may have happened in the past. Dubitative situations in the future are formed using the auxiliaries lɨm˧ ham˥ ‘might IRR’, as illustrated in examples (285) and (286).

(284) pa˥˩ ɬoi˧ ra˧ kɘ˥ bɘ˦˨-pe˦˨-tə˥˩\(^60\)  
father return come PERF DUB  
‘I think father might have come back.’

(285) an˧ kai˥ vit˦˨ lɨm˧ ham˥  
1SG go field might IRR  
‘I might go to the field.’

(286) an˧ pɨr˥˩ tʃaun˥˩ lɨm˧ ham˥  
1SG attend school might IRR  
‘I might attend school.’

Examples (287) and (288), which simply have the irrealis auxiliary ham˥ ‘IRR’, express greater certainty about the future events than (285) and (286).\(^61\)

(287) an˧ kai˧ vit˥ ham˥  
1SG go field IRR  
‘I’ll go to the field.’

\(^59\) I am uncertain of how these differ.

\(^60\) In this example, tense appears before modality. This violates the statement that tense comes after modality. The dubitative construction would need to be broken down into separate meanings to determine the reason.

\(^61\) There is still some degree of uncertainty when the irrealis marker is used, as it is an event that has not happened.
The irrealis auxiliary *ham* ‘IRR’ also shows speculation, as illustrated in (289).

(289) pa˩ kur˧ mi˩ miʔ˩ ve˥ mon˦˥ ham˥
father carry rice LNK COP 30kg IRR
‘Father carries rice, there must be a mong.’

The mirative, where the speaker is surprised at what he is saying, is formed via the construction *lat*-*be*-*to* ‘MIR’, which is illustrated in (290).

(290) aː˦˨ ən˦˨ ra˦˨ *lat*-*be*-*to*’
Hey 2SG come MIR
‘Hey, you’re here.’

Hkongso agent-oriented modalities include permission, obligation, and the desiderative, showing desire or want.

Obligation is shown via various auxiliaries, based on the agent’s perceived ability to carry out the action. The auxiliary *sʰaŋ* ‘should’, as illustrated in examples (291) and (292) show obligation, yet the agent is unsure if he will be able to do the action.

(291) aŋ˧ kai˥ vit˦˨ *sʰaŋ*˧
1SG go field should
‘I should go to the field.’

(292) aŋ˧ prai˧ ca˦˨ *sʰaŋ*˧
1SG read literature should
‘I should read.’

Examples (293)-(296) provide evidence that *sʰaŋ* ‘should’ is an agent-oriented modality. Example (293) is grammatical and (294) is ungrammatical. I hypothesize that this is because the verb *ki* ‘see’ in (294) is a non-agentive verb and the agent-oriented modality marker *sʰaŋ* ‘should’ cannot occur with a non-agentive verb. Likewise, (293) is grammatical because *sʰaŋ* ‘should’ appears with the agentive verb *jau* ‘watch’. This hypothesis would be proven if evidence could be provided that proves *ki* ‘see’ is non-agentive and *jau* ‘watch’ is agentive. Examples (295) and (296) provide this evidence. Example (295) is grammatical and (296) is ungrammatical. Since non-agentive verbs
cannot occur in commands, it is clear that \textit{ki˧} ‘see’ in (296) is a non-agentive verb and \textit{jau˥˩} ‘watch’ in (295) is an agentive verb.

\begin{verbatim}
(293) aŋ˧ no˧ jau˥˩ sʰaŋ˧ va˥ 1SG NEG watch should bird ‘I should not watch the bird.’

(294) *aŋ˧ no˧ ki˧ sʰaŋ˧ va˥ 1SG NEG see should bird *‘I should not see the bird.’

(295) jau˥˩ va˥ de˦˨ watch bird IMP ‘Watch the bird.’

(296) *ki˧ va˥ de˦˨ see bird IMP *‘See the bird.’
\end{verbatim}

Modalities are summarized in Table 21.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker-oriented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certainty</td>
<td>a˥˩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>mɨ˦˨</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubitative (past)</td>
<td>pi˥˩ bɘ˦˨ tə˧˨</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubitative (past)</td>
<td>bɘ˦˨ pe˦˨ tə˥˩</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubitative (future)</td>
<td>lim˧ həm˥</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irreals</td>
<td>həm˥</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speculation</td>
<td>tanjاك˧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inference</td>
<td>lat˦-be˧-to˦˨</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent-oriented</td>
<td>sʰaŋ˧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligation</td>
<td>‘should’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\[62\] Stronger obligation, the desiderative, and absolute certainty of carrying out an obligated action is formed through a biclausal structure which is discussed in \S 9.2.3.
5.3.5 Tense

Tense, which Comrie (1985:9) describes as “the grammaticalized expression of location in time,” is marked by a realis vs. irrealis system in Hkongso. Realis tense is used for actual events in the present and past while irrealis tense is used for future, unrealized, possible, or potential situations (Kroeger 2005:149). The perfect tense is also used to express a past event that is relevant to the current situation. Tense auxiliaries are summarized in Table 22.

Table 22: Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jo˦˥/unmarked</td>
<td>Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham˨˧</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə˧</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham˨˧ kə˧</td>
<td>Immediate future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense auxiliaries occur after subject agreement and adverbs. Example (297) illustrates *ham˨˧ ‘IRR’ following *va˦˨ ‘PL’. If this position is reversed, as in (298), the result would be ungrammatical.

(297) kai˥ ku˦˨ bɔn˦˨ va˦˨ ham˥ pɛʔ˥˩
go steal soil PL IRR DECL
‘They will go steal dirt.’

(298) *kai˥ ku˦˨ bɔn˦˨ ham˥ va˦˨ pɛʔ˥˩
*go steal soil IRR PL DECL
*‘They will go steal dirt.’

Example (260), repeated here as (299), illustrates tense following an adverb and an aspectual auxiliary.

(299) an˧ hai˥ kui˥˩ le˨˧ pɔ˨˩ kə˧ ɾit̥ɾit̥˧ ra˨ kə˧
1SG from dog small as.for big gradually INCH PERF
‘My puppy has been getting bigger and bigger.’
Realis may be shown by the auxiliary jo˥ ‘REA’, as illustrated in (300) and (301).
However, this auxiliary only appeared in elicited examples and was never a part of a
longer text. Most of the time, even in elicited text, realis is unmarked, which is illustrated
in examples (302) and (303).

(300) dɑi˧ cəʔ˧ r ̥ak˥bɨt˧ hai˥ mi˥luk˦˨ kai˥ tokkʰi˥ ap˧ ɬək˦˨ jo˥
Dai TOP hungry PROG so go deer shoot one REA
‘Dai was hungry so he went to shoot a deer.’

(301) mi˥ kəku˦˨ jəŋ˧˥˧ ve˥˩ jo˥
this man stand stay REA
‘He stood up.’

(302) aŋ˧ ca˥
1SG eat
‘I ate./I am eating.’

(303) kənĩ˥ lak˦˨ kʰa˥ jũŋ˧ hₐk˧ püpɛtɬ kəkrumɬ jaɬ pɛʔ˦˨
in.front one time rabbit and turtle meet DU DECL
‘Long ago a rabbit and a turtle met.’

Examples (304) and (305) are marked by ham˥ ‘IRR’ and refer to situations that
have not happened yet. Examples (306) and (307) illustrate the use of ham˥ ‘IRR’ in
complement clauses referring to potential situations.63

(304) aŋ˧ ca˥ ham˥
1SG eat IRR
‘I will eat.’

(305) prɛŋməri˥ cauk˦˨ plun˦˨ mikʰaɬ kariuɬ ham˥ pcʔɬ
primer book do finish when teach IRR DECL
‘When we finish the primer, we will teach it.’

(306) aŋ˧ [plaiɬ hamɬ] hjaɬ
1SG dance IRR want
‘I want to dance.’

(307) [aŋ˧ jaɬ hamɬ] aŋ˧ imɬ
1SG win IRR 1SG hope
‘I hope I will win.’

63 §9.2.3 provides examples that support the subordinate clause boundaries that I mark in these examples.
In informal speech *ham˥ ‘IRR’* can often be shortened to -*m˥ ‘IRR’*, as illustrated in examples (308) and (309). Sometimes all that is left from the irrealis marker is nasalization or a high tone. This is one of the only morphological changes in Hkongso that a verb can undergo.

(308)  lɔk˧ ɘ˥˩ i˦˨ sʰi˥˩ hai˥˩ ca˦˨ ve˥ ra˧-m˥  kɘ ˦ ˨  peco˦˨ 
friend  hey 1PL PL from literacy COP come-IRR PERF TAG
‘Hey man. We are about to have our own literacy, did you know?’

(309)  ra˧-m˥  la˦˨ luk˦˨ pə˧ sʰaŋ˥ dɛŋ˧ ve˥ pɛt˦˨ bɛ˦˨ 
come-IRR month more also training class COP DECL RSP
‘Next month there’s a training class, I’ve heard.’

However, if *ham˥ ‘IRR’* follows a stop as in (310), it cannot be shortened.

(310)  dɑi˥ ap˧ pak˦˨ ɬək˦˨ ham˥ 
Dai shoot pig one IRR
‘Dai will shoot a pig.’

The auxiliary *kɘ˦˨ ‘PERF’*, as illustrated in examples (311), (312), and (313) marks the perfect, which is “used to express a past event which is relevant to the present situation” (Kroeger 2005:158).

(311)  aŋ˧ hai˥ təhi˦˨ tʰɘŋ˧ ra˦˨ aŋ˧ hai˥ kʰja˦˨ rək˧ 
1SG from son grow come 1SG from waist up.to PERF
‘My son has grown to about waist high.’

(312)  kəlum˥˩ prai˥ mu˦˨ lu˧ kɘ˦˨ 
thanks very belly full PERF
‘Thank you very much. I’m full. (I’ve gotten full)’

(313)  tui˦˨ le˥ kɘ˦˨ 
water small PERF
‘The water has gone down.’

The auxiliaries *ham˥ ‘IRR’* and *kɘ˦˨ ‘PERF’*, as illustrated in examples (314) and (315), combine to create the immediate future tense. The combined literal meaning of these two auxiliaries is ‘will have’, but it is used to refer to the immediate future, meaning ‘about to’.
(314) an˧ ca˥ ham˥ kɘ˦˨  
1SG eat IRR PERF
‘I’m about to eat. (Lit. I will have eaten.)’

(315) an˧ ɬoi˧ ham˥ kɘ˦˨ lɔk˦˨ ɘ˥ pɘ˧  
1SG return IRR PERF friend really do
i˥ ci˦˨bai˥˩  ri˥  
1PL shake.hands DUR let's
‘Well, I really am about to go. Let’s shake hands (say goodbye).’

5.3.6 Mood

Mood indicates “what the speaker wants to do with the proposition” (Bybee 1985:22). In Hkongso mood auxiliaries indicate whether the proposition is a statement (declarative), command (imperative), or question (interrogative). They may also mark an exhortation (hortative) or hope (optative).

In narratives the declarative mood is often marked by pet˦˨ ‘DECL’. Sentences in narratives may extend for 5-10 clauses, so pet˦˨ ‘DECL’ is quite useful for marking the end of the thought. The auxiliary pet˦˨ ‘DECL’ is illustrated in examples (316) and (317), and unmarked declarative sentences are illustrated in examples (318) and (319).

(316) pjuŋ˥˩ ja˦˨ ʰan˥˩ kəcə˦˨ kətəm˥ ᵐm ̥ a˥˩ klɘk˦˨ kəcə˦˨  
rabbit TOP the LOC when arrive path half when
juŋ˦˨ cə˦˨ “pupɛt˥˩ no˧  um˥˩ aŋ˧ həm˥ ləŋ˥ “ pe-kʰə˦˨  
rabbit TOP NEG 1SG OBJ CONTR this-time
‘When they were racing and got half way, the rabbit, saying, “The turtle won’t catch me,” went to sleep in the shade.’

---

64 This is glossed durative, which is the primary use of this word, but the secondary use, illustrated here, is the habitual.
65 This auxiliary rarely occurs outside of narratives.
(317) \(kənɨ \, lək\, k^ʰa? \, uɨ \, cə\, təhi \, ve\, pet\) in.front one time mouse TOP son COP\(\text{DECL} \)
‘Once upon a time there was a mouse who had a son.’

(318) \(mɨ \, tui\, cə\, liŋ\, praɨ\) this water TOP hot very
‘The water is very hot.’

(319) \(hwaluŋ \, tə\, aŋ\, var\, məŋməŋ \, həm\) stone with 1SG throw Maung.Maung OBJ
‘I threw a rock at Maung Maung.’

Imperative mood is indicated by \(de\) ‘IMP’, as illustrated in examples (320) and (321).

(320) \(kai\, ca\, va\, de\) go eat PL IMP
‘You all go eat.’

(321) \(jamjək\, de\) slow IMP
‘Be slow.’

It is evident that \(de\) ‘IMP’ is an imperative marker because it is ungrammatical to use it with the inanimate addressee in (322) and with the involuntary action in (323).

(322) \(*mɨ\, ləpʰa\, cə\, liŋ\, jamjək\, de\) this tea TOP hot slow IMP
‘*Tea, heat slowly please.’

(323) \(*kɨ\, de\) see IMP
‘*See!’

Interrogative mood is indicated by \(ma\) ‘Y/N’ for yes/no question, as illustrated in examples (324) and (325), and \(va\) ‘Q’ for open questions, as illustrated in examples (326) and (327).

(324) \(ca\, cak\, kə\, ma\) eat rice PERF Y/N
‘Have you eaten?’

(325) \(ən\, hai\, pʰonpiŋkəl \, cə\, har\, ma\) 2SG from pants TOP new Y/N
‘Are your pants new?’
Hortative mood is indicated by \textit{mɔ˥˩} ‘HORT’, as illustrated in examples (328) and (329).

(329) \textit{i˥ ci˦˨bai˥˩ ri˥ mɔ˥˩} 1PL shake.hand some.more HORT ‘Let’s shake hands.’

Optative mood is indicated by \textit{nəkʰə˥˩} ‘OPT’ in (330).

(330) “\textit{luŋte˥ ən˦˨ kəviŋ˦˨ aŋ˧ tu˧ mi˥ ᵐm ̥ a˦˨ kəcə˦˨}” tuŋte˥ ən˦˨ kəviŋ˦˨ aŋ˧ tu˧ mi˥ ᵐm ̥ a˦˨ kəcə˦˨ worm 2SG use 1SG chop LNK path if tʰok˥˩ bak˦˨ jok˦˨ kʰek˥ pɛʔ˦˨ curse give adamantly DECL “Worm, if you go on the path that I have cleared, may you surely die,” he cursed the worm in anger.

The clause-final auxiliaries used to mark mood, including the declarative, imperative, interrogative, hortative, and optative moods are summarized in Table 23.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pɛt˦˨</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de˦˨</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma˥˩ (Y/N)</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va˥ (open)</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔ˥˩</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəkʰə˥˩</td>
<td>Optative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.7 Politeness

The auxiliary ba˦˨ ‘POL’, which marks politeness, appears clause-finally in (331)-(333). Example (331), illustrates ba˦˨ ‘POL’ following a mood auxiliary, example (24), repeated here as (332), illustrates ba˦˨ ‘POL’ following the object, and (333) illustrates ba˦˨ ‘POL’ following an adverb.66

(331) sʰin˥ naŋ˥ tui˧ de˦˨ ba˦˨
  ‘Please bring some water with you?’

(332) boŋ˧ pabɔk̚˥ tsak̚˦˨ ba˦˨
  ‘Please don’t take (any) rice.’

(333) no˧ n ̥ai˥ mi˥ akraun˥˩ boŋ˦˨ tɨr˥ pot˥pot˥ ba˦˨
  ‘Don’t talk about bad things anymore.’

66 I have not found evidence of politeness markers indicating various levels of politeness and formality.
Payne (1997:111-12) identifies various types of clauses containing non-verbal predicates including equative, attributive, existential, locational, and possessive clauses. He says, “These construction types tend to be similar to one another grammatically in that they all tend to lack a semantically rich lexical verb.”

Non-verbal predicates in Hkongso occur with the copula ve˥ ‘COP’, as illustrated in the existential clause in (334), or with no copula, as illustrated in the attributive clause in (335). When there is no copula, the subject is always followed by cə˦˨ ‘TOP’.

(334) Existential
kʰap˧ ve˥ cup COP
‘There is a cup.’

(335) Attributive
kʰap˧ cə˦˨ le˥ cup TOP small
‘The cup is small.’

This chapter discusses various types of clauses that contain non-verbal predicates: existential, possessive, locational, quantificational, equative, and attributive.

In the existential clause in (336), the copula ve˥ ‘COP’ occurs clause-finally. In (309), repeated here as (337), it is followed by mood particles. Example (338), is a yes/no question and ve˥ ‘COP’ is followed by the question marker ma˥ ‘Y/N’.

(336) rəca˥˩ sʰi˥˩ ha˥ jua˧ ve˥ child PL ten CLS COP
‘There are ten children.’

(337) ra˦˨-m˥ la˦˨ luk˦˨ pə˧ sʰaŋ˥ dɛŋ˧ ve˥ pɛt˦˨ bɛ˦˨ come-IRR month more also training class COP DECL RSP
‘Next month there’s a training class, I’ve heard.’
Existential predicates may be directly negated by no˧ ‘NEG’, as illustrated in examples (339) and (340). Example (339) contains an indefinite subject imi˥ ‘person’ and (340) contains a definite subject pa˥˩ ‘father’. This difference is reflected in the structure, as the indefinite imi˥ ‘person’ in (339) occurs just before the negated copula and pa˥˩ ‘father’ in (340) occurs at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the location and then the negated copula.

(339) cə˥ ca˦˨ imi˥ no˧ ve˥ here at person NEG COP ‘There are no people here.’

(340) pa˥˩ cə˥ ca˥ ca˦˨ no˧ ve˥ father TOP here at NEG COP ‘Father is not here.’

Possessive predicates are also formed by using the copula ve˥ ‘COP’. Examples (341) and (342) illustrate how existential and possessive predicates in Hkongso have the same structure.

(341) Existential
rəca˥˩ sʰi˥˩ ha˥ jua˧ ve˥˩ child PL ten person COP ‘There are ten children.’

(342) Possessive
aŋ˧ təhi˥ ha˥ jua˧ ve˥ 1SG son ten person COP ‘I have ten children.’

Possessive predicates are further illustrated in examples (343)-(345).

---

67 I think it would be possible to think of existential predicates and possessive predicates as the same and give the possessive predicates a translation such as ‘At me, there are ten children.’ However, for the sake of easier illustration I have discussed them as different constructions.
(343) dai˥ cow kim˥ ko˥ ve˥ ‘Dai TOP house in COP’
‘Dai has a house.’

(344) aŋ˧ kui˥˩ pre˥˩ ve˥ ‘1SG dog two COP’
‘I have two dogs.’

(345) tui˧ ko˧ hai˥ lam˦˨ aŋ˧ kʰam˧ ve˥ ɬək˦˨ ‘water in from fish 1SG at COP one’
‘I have a fish from the water.’

Locational predicates differ slightly from existential and possessive predicates.
Examples (346) and (347) illustrate the contrast between locational and possessive predicates. Example (346), comparable to (343), is a possessive sentence and the copula ve˥ ‘COP’ occurs clause-finally. Example (347) differs only in the position of the nominal kim˥ ko˥ ‘house in’, but the meaning changes to be locational rather than possessive.

(346) Possessive
    va˥ cow kim˥ ko˥ ve˥ ‘bird TOP house in COP’
    ‘The bird has a house.’

(347) Locational
    va˥ cow ve˥ kim˥ ko˥ ‘bird TOP COP house in’
    ‘The bird is in the house.’

Locational predicates are further illustrated in examples (348)-(350). As illustrated in (205), repeated here as (350), it is possible to topicalize the locational predicate.

(348) kar˧ ma˥ cow ve˥ tʰiŋ˥ ji˧ ‘chicken FEM SUBJ COP tree branch’
‘The hen is on the tree branch.’

68 This sentence appears to mean ‘Dai is in the house.’ However, my informants were certain it meant ownership. I suspect that when the words kim˥ ko˥ ‘house in’ come together they have a semantic meaning other than the locative. I have seen this used for ‘family.’ So, perhaps it is referring to something like ‘home’.

69 This locational PP is used with animate participants to show physical possession. The postpositional possessive hai˥ ‘from’ shows ownership.
Quantificational clauses, like locational clauses, are formed when the copula ve˥ ‘COP’ precedes the predicate. In (351) ve˥ ‘COP’ precedes the numeral. This is different from the existential sentence in (336), repeated here as (352), where the copula follows the numeral.

(351) Quantificational
kui˧ le˥ təhi˥ ve˥ ŋau˥
dog small son COP five
‘The puppies are five.’

(352) Existential
rəca˥˩ sʰi˥˩ ha˥ jua˧ ve˥˩
child PL ten CLS COP
‘There are ten children.’

The quantificational predicate may also be formed without ve˥ ‘COP’. In (353) there is no copula and the subject is marked by ca˧ ‘TOP’. This predication differs from the possessive predicate in (342), repeated here as (354), where there is a clause-final copula. This difference in form creates a different meaning, which is illustrated in the translations of the examples.

(353) Quantificational
aŋ˧ təhi˥ sʰi˥ ca˧ ha˥ jua˧
1SG son PL TOP ten CLS
‘My children are ten.’

(354) Possessive
aŋ˧ təhi˥ ha˥ jua˧ ve˥
1SG son ten CLS COP
‘I have ten children.’

Equative and attributive clauses are generally formed in the same way as the quantificational clause in (353). They are formed when the subject is marked ca˧ ‘TOP’
and ve˥ ‘COP’ does not appear. Equative clauses are illustrated in examples (355)-(357), and attributive clauses are illustrated in examples (358) and (359).

(355) Equative
dai˥ cə˦˨ aŋ˧ hai˥ kəpu˦˨ 
Dai TOP 1SG from grandfather
‘Dai is my grandfather.’

(356) Equative
dai˥ cə˦˨ meŋ˧ sʰəra˥ 
Dai TOP song teacher
‘Dai is the music teacher.’

(357) Equative
mi˥ kəku˧ cə˦˨ dai˥ 
this man TOP Dai
‘He is Dai.’

(358) Attributive
mi˥ kəku˧ cə˦˨ r ̥ʰau˥˩ 
this man TOP tall
‘He is tall.’

(359) Attributive
ma˥ni˧ cə˦˨ klaŋ˦˨ n ̥ai˥ prai˥˩ 
Mani TOP body good very
‘Mani is very pretty.’

Some attributive clauses contain intensifiers such as kʰri˥-kʰri˥ ‘very-very’ in the predicate adjective phrase. Examples (228), repeated here as (360), and (361) illustrate kʰri˥-kʰri˥ ‘very-very’ as it precedes the head adjective. It is significant that this modifier does not modify verbs and it never occurs after the adjective in the predicate adjective phrase.

(360) mi˥ kəku˧ cə˦˨ kʰri˥-kʰri˥ ŋa˥˩ n ̥ak˦˨ 
this man TOP very-very bad INTENS
‘He is so bad.’

(361) kar˥-ma˦˨ cə˧ ki˥ kʰri˧-kʰri˧ van˥ŋa˨ pɛʔ˦˨ 
chicken-FEM TOP see LNK-time very-very pity INTENS DECL
‘When the hen saw (him), she took great pity on him.’
CHAPTER 7: WORD CLASSES

7.1 Noun

Structurally, there are no morphological processes that modify nouns in Hkongso. Distributionally, nouns appear as heads of noun phrases, are modified by determiners, relative clauses, possessive phrases, adjectives, and numerals, and may be marked for plurality. Also, nouns cannot be directly negated.

In many of the world’s languages, nouns have other distinctive properties such as classifiers and gender. These properties were not mentioned above. As illustrated in Corbett (2005:136), Chin State exists in an area that is dominated by languages with no gender system. Likewise, Hkongso has no gender system that might allow us to further identify nouns. Also, Hkongso has no numeral classifier system. The classifier jua˧ ‘CLS’, which is used for people, is the only classifier that exists in the language, as illustrated in (362).

(362) təhi˧ rʰum˧ jua˧ ve˧
son three CLS COP
‘There are three sons.’

The absence of a classifier system is rather striking for a Tibeto-Burman language. Gil (2005:226) states, “The main concentration of numeral classifiers is in a single zone centered in East and South-East Asia, but reaching out both westwards and eastwards.” Gil (2005:228) demonstrates that not only are these classifier systems present throughout South-East Asia, but their use is obligatory. Numeral classifiers are often used to identify nouns in Tibeto-Burman languages, but since Hkongso has no classifier system, classifiers cannot be used to establish nouns as a word class.
Nouns appear as the heads of NPs. In (363) \textit{lam} ‘fish’ is the head of the topIALIZED subject NP. In (364) \textit{tim} ‘wind’ is the head of the subject NP, and in (365) \textit{tokk\textacuten} ‘deer’ is the head of the object NP.

\begin{itemize}
\item (363) \textit{p\textsuperscript{h}uk\textacuten} \textit{ko\textacuten} \textit{ve\textacuten} \textit{mi\textsuperscript{u}} \textit{lam\textacuten} \textit{co\textacuten} \textit{k\textacuten} \textit{pra}\textit{i\textacuten} \textit{outcropping in live LNK fish TOP big very} ‘The fish that lives in the outcropping is very big.’
\item (364) \textit{tim\textacuten} \textit{ma\textacuten} \textit{hut\textacuten} \textit{an\textacuten} \textit{koc\textacuten} \textit{wind SUBJ blow 1SG COND} ‘If the wind blows me...’
\item (365) \textit{lon\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{ap\textacuten} \textit{mi\textsuperscript{u}} \textit{tokk\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{h\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{hau\textacuten} \textit{de\textacuten} \textit{Longhtang shoot LNK deer OBJ look.for IMP} ‘Look for the deer that Longhtang shot.’
\end{itemize}

Distributionally, determiners and possessive phrases only precede and modify nouns, as illustrated in (61), repeated here as (366), where the determiner\textsuperscript{70} \textit{9.l.mi\textacuten\textacuten} ‘there-DEF PL’ and the possessive phrase \textit{aŋ\textacuten\textacuten hai\textacuten} ‘1SG from’ precedes the noun \textit{kim\textacuten} ‘house’.

Likewise, numerals, except for the indefinite \textit{tak\textacuten\textacuten} ‘one’, occur in NPs, following the noun, as illustrated in (366), where \textit{r\textsuperscript{h}um\textacuten\textacuten} ‘three’ follows the noun \textit{kim\textacuten} ‘house’.\textsuperscript{71}

Numerals also appear as predicates, as illustrated in (367).

\begin{itemize}
\item (366) \textit{9.l.mi\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{va\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{aŋ\textacuten\textacuten hai\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{kim\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{k\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{r\textsuperscript{h}um\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{there-DEF PL 1SG from house big three} ‘those three big houses of mine’
\item (367) \textit{aŋ\textacuten\textacuten hai\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{kim\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{ve\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{pau\textacuten\textacuten} \textit{1SG from house COP five} ‘My houses are five.’
\end{itemize}

Examples (368), and (369), further illustrate determiners preceding the noun and numerals following the noun.

\textsuperscript{70} I have not determined if the ‘determiner’ construction is actually a relative clause. I suspect that it may be since \textit{mi\textacuten} ‘DEF’ is so similar to the relative clause marker and determiners appear in the same position as relative clauses.

\textsuperscript{71} Adjectives, as discussed in §7.4, appear in NPs, in relative clauses, and as predicate adjectives.
Example (370) illustrates the head noun taŋi ‘son’ preceded by the possessive phrase an\+
 hai\+
 ‘2SG from’.

(370) an\+
 hai\+
 taŋi\+
 ve\+
 ham\+
 va\+
 2SG from son COP where Q ‘Where is you son?’

Example (371) illustrates the noun kar\+ lu\+ ‘chicken egg’ followed by the numeral kar\+ \*kom\+ mi\+\+
 nau\+\+
 ve\+
 chicken egg twenty thirty LNK five COP ‘There are twenty-five eggs.’

Relative clauses only precede nouns, as illustrated in (372), where the relative clause nai\+
 dek\+
 ‘good to look at’ precedes the head noun kim\+ ‘house’.

(372) nai\+
 dek\+
 mi\+\+
 kim\+
 ko\+
 rum\+
 ve\+
 good to.look.at LNK house big three COP ‘There are three big houses that are good to look at.’

The plural sʰi\+
 ‘PL’ only follows nouns, as illustrated in (373), where sʰi\+
 ‘PL’ follows the noun taŋi\+
 o\+
 ‘mountain valley’.

(373) taŋi\+
 o\+
 sʰi\+
 no\+
 ve\+
 laŋh\+
 mountain valley PL NEG COP let ‘Let there be no mountains or valleys.’

Another test for words that appear in the noun position is to say what may not be done to them. For example, the predicate of the clause in (374) is rampai\+ ‘duck’. Since the clause does not contain a verb, how may it be negated? When the negative marker is added, as in (375), the verb na\+ ‘right’, which may be negated, must be added. If rampai\+ ‘duck’ is directly negated, as illustrated in (376), the result is ungrammatical.
Count nouns can be modified by numerals and marked for indefiniteness and plurality.

Example (377) shows that the noun liŋmo˧ ‘orange’ is a count noun, as it is modified by the numeral ha˥˩ ‘ten’.

(377) liŋmo˧-ui˥ ha˥˩ ve˥
       orange-fruit ten COP
       ‘There are ten oranges.’

Examples (378) and (379) show the noun kui˥˩ ‘dog’ is a count noun as it is modified by numerals.

(378) kui˥˩ na˥˩ r̥um˥˩
       dog bad three
       ‘three bad dogs’

(379) tɔm˦˨ miʔ˥ kui˥˩ na˥˩ lju˧˥˧
       black LNK dog bad four
       ‘four bad dogs that are black’

In (380) the count noun pʰum˧-ui˧ ‘mango-fruit’ is modified by the plural marker sʰi˥ ‘PL’.

(380) pʰum˧-ui˧ sʰi˥ cal kək˥ de.volley
       mango-fruit PL eat all IMP
       ‘Eat all the mangoes.’
Example (381) illustrates the count noun *tokkʰi˥* ‘deer’ marked with *tək˧* ‘one’ for indefiniteness.

(381) dai˥ cə˦˨ loŋtʰaŋ˧ ap˧ *tokkʰi˥* ɬək˦˨ ham˥ miʔ˥ ɨm˥˩ im˥˩ Dai TOP Longhtang shoot deer one IRR LNK hope ‘Dai hopes that Longhtang will shoot a deer.’

7.1.2 Mass noun

Mass nouns may not be modified by numerals.72 This is illustrated in examples (382)-(384). Example (382) illustrates the count noun *liŋmo˧-ui˥* ‘orange-fruit’ modified by the numeral *ŋau˥* ‘five’. When this is attempted with mass nouns, such as *mi˦˨* ‘uncooked rice’ in (383), the result is ungrammatical. For (383) to be grammatical, a measure word, such as *tɔŋ˧* ‘basket’ in (384), must be added.

(382) Count noun

pa˥˩ sʰum˥˩ *liŋmo˧-ui˧* *ŋau˥* father sell orange-fruit five ‘Father sold five oranges.’

(383) Mass noun

*pa˥˩ sʰum˧ mi˦˨ *ŋau˥* father sell uncooked.rice five *‘Father sold five rice.’

(384) Mass noun

pa˥˩ sʰum˧ mi˦˨ *ŋau˥* *tɔŋ˧* father sell uncooked.rice five basket ‘Father sold five baskets of rice.’

Examples (385) and (386), illustrate the mass nouns *cak˦˨* ‘rice’ and *tui˦˨* ‘water’ followed by quantifiers.

(385) anŋ˧ ca˥ *cak˦˨* kʰɔpʰuin˥˩ 1SG eat rice a.lot ‘I eat a lot of rice.’

72 In some situations they may take the plural marker.
(386)  anŋ˧ kʰam˥˩ tui˦˨ kʰətdictions
1SG drink water few
‘I drink a little bit of water.’

As mentioned, mass nouns are quantified via a following measure word (which is a count noun) such as tɔŋ˧ ‘basket’, cur˥ ‘package’, or bigliŋ˥ ‘cup’. Then the count noun is counted. Example (387) is ungrammatical, because the numeral ɬək˦˨ ‘one’ directly modifies the mass noun cak˦˨ ‘rice’, but examples (388) and (384) are grammatical because the numeral modifies the measure word rather than the mass noun. 73

(387) *anŋ˧ ca˥ cak˦˨ ɬək˦˨
1SG eat rice one
*I eat one rice.’

(388) anŋ˧ ca˥ cak˦˨ cur˥ ɬək˦˨
1SG eat rice package one
‘I eat a package of rice.’

Examples (389) and (390) illustrate possible ways to measure the mass noun tui˦˨ ‘water’.

(389) anŋ˧ kʰam˥˩ tui˦˨ klai˥ ɬək˦˨
1SG drink water gourd one
‘I drink a gourd of water.’

(390) jok˦˨ naŋ˥ tui˦˨ bɨŋlɨŋ˥ ɬək˦˨
de˧˨
give with.you water cup one IMP
‘Please give me a cup of your water.’

Examples (391) and (392) illustrate the mass noun təʔi˥˩ ‘sand’ followed by the measure words m大家可以分享的basket’ and rutzpʰa˥ ‘palm’, which are measured for quantity by bɘk˥˩ ‘full’.

(391) pu˥˩ kur˥ kəʔi˥ mpaŋ bək˥˩
grandfather carry sand basket full
‘Grandfather carried a basket full of sand.’

73 The numeral one appears to differ from other numerals. It occurs after the measure word, but other numerals occur before the measure word. However, I feel that I need more data to provide a conclusive statement about this difference.
Rather than being quantified, mass nouns are modified with adjectives, such as
kəma˥ ‘great’ or le˥ ‘small’, as illustrated in examples (393) and (313), repeated here as (394).

(393) tui˦˨ kəma˥ ara˥ n ̥ak˥ ba˦˨
water great full INTENS POL
‘The water (river) is so full!’

(394) tui˦˨ le˥ kɘ˦˨
water small PERF
‘The water has gone down.’

Mass nouns are, at times, marked with the plural marker sʰi˥ ‘PL’. In (395) cak˦ ‘rice’ and təi˥ ‘sand’ are followed by sʰi˥ ‘PL’. I hypothesize that this occurs because the speaker is conceptually referring to the individual grains.

(395) sʰəmtɑŋ˥ nui˧ hai˥ cak˦˨ sʰi˥ luk˦˨ cə˦˨
plate on from rice PL much TOP

    təi˥ sʰi˥ cekcek˧ n̥ak˧
sand PL mixed.in INTENS
‘Sand is mixed in with the rice on the plate.’

7.2 Noun Phrases

This section describes words such as proper names and pronouns that take the place of entire noun phrases.

7.2.1 Proper names

Proper names replace the entire NP and rarely appear with modifiers, adjectives, possessors, relative clauses, etc. However, it may be possible to modify proper names if the referent is not automatically identifiable from the context. For example, in (396) there
are several men named ʧɔ˧tʃɔ˧ ‘KK’ and the speaker wants to identify one specific man, so he uses the relative clause ṭʰau˧ miʔ˥ ‘tall LNK’ to identify which one he is talking about.

(396) ṭʰau˧ miʔ˥ ʧɔ˧tʃɔ˧ cə˦˨ əŋ˦˨na˧ mi˥ va˦˨
Which one is the tall KK?

Proper names do not differ from other NPs in their distribution regarding semantic and grammatical markers. In (73), repeated here as (397), the proper nouns mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ ‘Maung Maung’ and ʧɔ˧tʃɔ˧ ‘KK’ take the topic marker cə˦˨ ‘TOP’. In (398) dai˥ ‘Dai’ takes the subject marker maʔ˥ ‘SUBJ’, and in (399) dai˥ ‘Dai’ takes the object marker həm˥ ‘OBJ’.

(397) mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ mi˥-ja˦˨ ʧɔ˧tʃɔ˧ cə˦˨ koko˧ hak˧ kai˥ tʃaun˧
Those two, Maung Maung and KK, go to school with Ko Ko.’

(398) dai˥ maʔ˥ jok˦˨ aŋ˧ raŋpruk˧
‘Dai made me lose face.’

(399) pa˥ maʔ˥ dai˥ həm˥ loŋtʰaŋ˧ ap˧ miʔ˥ tokkʰi˥
‘Father wants Dai to find the deer that Longhtang shot.’

7.2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns also replace an entire NP and have all the distributional properties of NPs (Payne 1997:43). In the languages of the world pronouns are marked for person, number, gender, class, grammatical relations, and honorifics. However, pronouns in Hkongso are only marked for person and number and are used for referring to people or personified participants.
The pronoun \textit{mi˥-va˦˨} ‘3-PL’ in (401) replaces the noun phrase \textit{mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ koko˧ hak˧ longtʰaŋ˧} ‘Maung Maung Ko Ko and Longhtang’ in (67), repeated here as (400).

\begin{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

(401) dai˥ bom˥ \textit{mi˥-va˦˨} Dai hit 3-PL ‘Dai hit them.’

Grammatical case rarely appears on pronouns, because pronominal subjects have a default position directly before the verb, and pronominal objects almost always follow the verb. Therefore, no case marking is necessary. However, example (402) illustrates that grammatical case marking such as \textit{həm˥} ‘OBJ’ is optional on pronouns.

\begin{verbatim}
(402) ut̚˥ maʔ˥ m ̥ un˧ aŋ˧ (həm˥) v i t ̚ ˧ ˥ ˧ mouse SUBJ tear.up 1SG (OBJ) PFV ‘Mouse will have torn me up!’
\end{verbatim}

Table 24 shows the inventory of pronouns in Hkongso. They distinguish three persons (first, second, and third) and number (singular, dual, and plural).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>aŋ˦˨</td>
<td>aŋ˦˨ sʰiŋ˥</td>
<td>i˥, iŋ˥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
<td>əŋ˦˨</td>
<td>əŋ˦˨ sʰiŋ˥</td>
<td>ənni˥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd}</td>
<td>Ø, mi˧</td>
<td>mi˥-ja˦˨</td>
<td>mi˥-va˦˨</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronouns may also precede the emphatic pronoun \textit{mat˦˨} ‘self’, as illustrated in examples (403) and (404).

\begin{verbatim}
(403) kai˥ ən˦˨ mat˦˨ kim˥ de˧ go 2SG self house IMP ‘Please go to your house.’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(404) aŋ˦˨ toŋ˥ aŋ˦˨ mat˦˨ hai˥ kʰroŋ˧ maĩ˥ 1SG use 1SG self from gun fire ‘I use my own knife.’
\end{verbatim}
This emphatic pronoun $\text{mat}\downarrow$ ‘self’ can also be modified by the word $\text{məɬək}\downarrow$ ‘only’, as illustrated in examples (405) and (406).

(405) $\text{ən}\downarrow \text{mat}\downarrow \text{məɬək}\downarrow \text{ma}\downarrow$
2SG self only Y/N
‘Are you here by yourself?’

(406) $\text{vace}\downarrow \text{cə}\downarrow \text{mat}\downarrow \text{məɬək}\downarrow \text{tu}\downarrow \text{penə}\downarrow$
bird TOP self only chop having
‘The bird cleared (the path) by himself.’

The word $\text{mat}\downarrow$ ‘self’ is also used as a reflexive pronoun as illustrated in example (19), repeated here as (407).

(407) $\text{an}\downarrow \text{kə-bom}\downarrow \text{an}\downarrow \text{mat}\downarrow$
1SG RPM-hit 1SG self
‘I hit myself.’

7.3 Verb

Verbs appear as the predicates of clauses and include “lexemes which express the least time-stable concepts, e.g., events such as ‘die’, ‘run’, ‘break’, etc.” (Payne 1997:47).

Structurally, only verbs may take the valence-decreasing prefix $\text{kə}$-‘RPM’.

Distributionally, verbs, as well as predicate adjectives, can be preceded by negation markers and ability auxiliaries, which are shown in Table 17, repeated here as Table 25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (408)-(410) illustrate the verb $\text{ca}\downarrow$ ‘eat’. In (409) $\text{ca}\downarrow$ ‘eat’ is preceded by the negation marker $\text{no}\downarrow$ ‘NEG’ and in (410) $\text{ca}\downarrow$ ‘eat’ is preceded by $\text{no}\downarrow$ ‘NEG’ and the ability auxiliary $\text{hai}\downarrow$ ‘able’.
(408) an˧ ca˥
    1SG   eat
    ‘I eat.’

(409) an˧ no˧ ca˥
    1SG   NEG eat
    ‘I did not eat.’

(410) an˧ no˧ hai˧ ca˥
    1SG   NEG able eat
    ‘I was not able to eat.’

As illustrated in (409), verbs are negated directly, which provides a useful test for the word class ‘verb’. Other word classes, such as nominals and postpositional phrases, must be negated by adding the verb na˧ ‘right’, as illustrated in (375) and (376).

Structurally, only verbs can take the valence-decreasing prefix kə- ‘RPM’. In example (16), repeated here as (411), the verb pro˧ ‘break’ takes an agent and a patient, but when the valence decreases, as in (412), the prefix appears.

(411) an˧ pro˧ p ai˧ kʰap˧
    1SG   break   PRT cup
    ‘I broke the cup.’

(412) kʰap˥ kə-pro˧ miʔ˥ pək˧ an˧ kram˥
    cup  RPM-break  LNK made 1SG   be.afraid
    ‘The cup breaking made me scared.’

7.4 Adjective

Like verbs, adjectives may occur as predicates and in relative clauses. They may also be negated, and some adjectives may also be marked for ability. However, unlike verbs, they may occur as a modifier directly after the noun, be modified by the intensifier prai˥ ‘very’, be marked with the inchoatives kai˥ ‘go’ and ra˧ ‘come’, and be modified by the

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74 This particle is similar to the English ‘up’ in ‘Eat it up’.
superlative *prek˧* ‘SUP’. Furthermore, adjectives may not occur in the imperative form, as illustrated in (413).

(413) *mi˥ ləpʰa˥ cə˦˨ liŋ˦˨ jəm jək˥ de˧*  
this tea TOP hot slow IMP  
‘*Tea, hot slowly.’

Distributional properties of adjectives are illustrated in examples (414), (415), and (416). In (414) the adjective *le˥* ‘small’ appears as a predicate and is modified by *prai˥* ‘very’. In (415) *le˥* ‘small’ appears in the relative clause *le˥ miʔ˥* ‘small LNK’, which modifies the noun *kui˥˩* ‘dog’. In (416) *le˥* ‘small’ follows the noun.

(414) mi˥ kui˥˩ cə˦˨ le˥ prai˥  
this dog TOP small very  
‘This dog is very small.’

(415) le˥ miʔ˥ kui˥˩ map˦˨ jok˦˨ dai˥  
small LNK dog bite give Dai  
‘The dog that's small bit Dai.’

(416) kui˥˩ le˥ map˦˨ jok˦˨ dai˥  
dog small bite give Dai  
‘The small dog bit Dai.’

Some words that appear in the adjective position occur naturally after the noun as a modifier. These are listed in (420). However, there are other words in this class that are not used after the noun.

In examples (417), (418), and (419) the word *ləkʰəklom˥* ‘happy’ appears as a predicate in (417) and in a relative clause in (418), but as illustrated in the ungrammatical (419), it does not occur as a modifier after the noun.

(417) mi˥ kaku˨ cə˥ ləkʰəklom˥  
this man SUBJ happy  
‘He is happy.’

(418) ləkʰəklom˥ miʔ˥ kui˥˩ map˦˨ jok˥ dai˥  
happy LNK dog bite give Dai  
‘The dog that's happy bit Dai.’
Furthermore, it would be understandable to use the words in (421) as nominal modifiers, but the Hkongso do not use them in this way. In order to use them as nominal modifiers, they would have to occur before the noun in a relative clause.

Some adjectives may be modified by negation, intensifiers, ability, aspect, or superlatives. Others may not be modified in this way. This section does not provide an exhaustive list of adjectives and how they may be modified. However, some adjectives are discussed in depth for contrast.

Some adjectives, such as liŋ˦˨ ‘hot’, describe states that may change. Examples (422), (423), and (424) illustrate that liŋ˦˨ ‘hot’ is an adjective, as it may occur after a noun, in a relative clause, and as a predicate.

Predicate adjectives such as liŋ˦˨ ‘hot’ can be modified by intensifiers like prai˥ ‘very’ in (271), repeated here as (424). They can also be negated as in (425). However, if the predicate adjective is negated and the intensifier is present, as in (426), the result is
ungrammatical. As illustrated in (427), the speaker must add the word $ləŋ˦˨$ ‘CONTR’, which means here ‘anymore’, to make the sentence grammatical.\(^{75}\)

\[(424)\]  
\[\text{mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ liŋɿ praiɿ}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP hot very}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea is very hot.’}\]

\[(425)\]  
\[\text{mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ noɿ liŋɿ}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP NEG hot}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea is not hot.’}\]

\[(426)\]  
\[\text{*mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ noɿ liŋɿ praiɿ}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP NEG hot very}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea is not very hot.’}\]

\[(427)\]  
\[\text{mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ noɿ liŋɿ praiɿ ləŋ˦˨}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP NEG hot very CONTR}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea is not very hot anymore.’}\]

Predicate adjectives are frequently marked with the inchoatives $kaiɿ$ ‘go’ and $raɿ$ ‘come’. These grammaticalized verbs, illustrated in examples (274), repeated here as (428), and (272), repeated here as (429), show a change of state has occurred. Also, in (428) the sentence is modified by the perfective marker $vitɿ$ ‘PFV’ to show that the motion into the state has been completed. The grammaticalized verb $veɿ$ ‘stay’, illustrated in (276), repeated here as (430), is used for stative adjectives to show that they are remaining in the state for an extended period of time.

\[(428)\]  
\[\text{mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ sʰuŋɿ kaiɿ vitɿ kəɿ}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP cold go PFV PERF}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea has become cold.’}\]

\[(429)\]  
\[\text{mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ liŋɿ raɿ kəɿ}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP hot come PERF}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea has become hot (and is ready to drink).’}\]

\[(430)\]  
\[\text{mɪ ləpʰaɿ cəɿ liŋɿ veɿ hinɿ}\]  
\[\text{this tea TOP hot stay still}\]  
\[\text{‘The tea is still hot.’}\]

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\(^{75}\) I do not know how this affects categorical placement. This may be a semantic property of the word rather than grammatical.
In (431) it is ungrammatical to mark the predicate adjective for ability, as there is no agent. However, as (432) and (433) illustrate, predicate adjectives may be marked for ability if there is an agent. Example (432) may also be used without the negative marker.

(431) *mi˥ ləpʰa˥ cə˦˨ hai˥ liŋ˦˨
    *‘The tea is able to be hot.’

(432) dai˥ cə˦˨ no˧ hai˥ r̥ʰau˧
    ‘Dai is not able to be tall (to grow tall).’

(433) dai˥ cə˦˨ no˧ hai˥ n̥ai˥
    ‘Dai is not able to be good.’

Some adjectives can be marked with the superlative prek˧ ‘SUP’, as in examples (434) and (435).

(434) mənam˥˩ ko˥ dɑi˥ cə˦˨ r̥ʰau˧ prek˧
    ‘Dai is the tallest in the village.’

(435) ma˥ni˧ cə˦˨ klaŋ˦˨ n̥ai˥ prek˧
    ‘Mani is the prettiest.’

As illustrated in (436) the adjective kɘ˥ ‘great’ occurs with the superlative kək˦˨ ‘SUP’. In (437) two individuals are compared and the adjective/superlative construction kɘ˥ kək˦˨ ‘great SUP’ remains the same. However, the word luk˦˨ ‘compared to’ appears after the participant that is not greater. Example (438), which contrasts with (434), further illustrates the comparative luk˦˨ ‘compared to’.

(436) iŋ˥ nam˦˨ hai˥ meŋ˦˨ sʰəra˧ kɘ˥ kək˦˨ miʔ˥ cə˦˨ dai˥˩
    ‘Our village’s greatest song teacher is Dai.’

76 This sentence is used when someone younger is taller than someone older. Culturally the older man should be taller, but since he is not, this is the reason that is given.
(437) mu˧mai˦˨ cə˧ aŋ˥ luk˦˨ məteŋ˥ kɘ˥ kək˦˨ m i ˧ - n a ˥ cloud TOP 1SG compared.to unfortunately great SUP LNK-be ‘So, unfortunately the clouds are greater than me.’

(438) dɑi˥ cəʔ˦˨ koko˧ luk˦˨ r̥ʰau˧ Dai TOP Ko.Ko compared.to tall ‘Dai is taller than Ko Ko.’

7.5 Adverb

Adverbs, which are words that describe the manner in which the action is done, only occur in the clause-final operator position and cannot appear in a sentence without a verb. Their ability to be separated from the verb by the object and by the subject agreement marker provides evidence of their position. Adverbs are frequently derived by reduplicating verb roots as in examples (439) and (31), repeated here as (440). Adverbs may also be simple roots, as in examples (441) and (442).

(439) mi˥ tsa˥ r̥ɛt˥-r̥ɛt˥ ɬ ɘ ˥ 3SG eat fast-fast with ‘He eats quickly.’

(440) mi˥ kəcai˥˩ cə˦˨ mɔr˧ rɘ˥rɘ˥ n ̥ak˦˨ this woman TOP grumble constantly INTENS ‘She grumbles all the time!’

(441) tʰək˦˨ kɨŋlɨk˥ nə kʰə˥˩ ʃ 979 die surely OPT ‘May (you) surely die.’

(442) tʰok˥˩bak˦˨ jok˦˨ kʰɛk˥ decl curse give adamantly ‘(He) cursed (the worm) adamantly.’

Example (443), illustrates the adverb pʰɪ˦˨ ‘really’ as it is separated from the verb tʰɪm˥ ‘miss’ by the object an˥ ‘2SG’. Example (259), repeated here as (444), illustrates

77 This is a conjunction that occurs between the clause in this example and the following clause in the story.

78 Reduplicated verbs are discussed further in §2.4.

79 In some reduplicated adverbs, the meaning of the individual verb roots has been lost.
the adverb $\text{jar}˧˧˦˦$ ‘casually’ as it is separated from the verb $\text{miŋ}˧˧˥˧$ ‘wait’ by the object $\text{mət}˧˨$ ‘3SG’. Example (255), repeated here as (445), illustrates adverb $\text{təŋ}˦˨təŋ˦˨$ ‘return-return’ as it is separated from the verb $\text{kəŋak}˧$ ‘quarrel’ by the subject agreement marker $\text{ja}˧$ ‘DU’.

(443) $\text{in˥˧}$ $\text{tʰim˥˧}$ $\text{ən˧}$ $\text{pʰi˧}$ $\text{ŋak˥˧}$
1PL miss 2SG really INTENS
‘We’ve really missed you a lot.’

(444) $\text{pupɛt˥˩}$ $\text{cə˧}$ $\text{miŋavanaugh}$ $\text{mət}˧˨$ $\text{həm˥}$ $\text{jar˥˩}$ $\text{vit˦˨}$
turtle TOP wait 3SG OBJ casually PFV
‘The turtle was casually waiting on him.’

(445) $\text{mi˧} \text{-ja˧}$ $\text{ju˥˩}$ $\text{hwa˧}$ $\text{cə˧}$ $\text{kəŋak˧}$ $\text{ja˧}$ $\text{təŋ}təŋ˧˧$ $\text{ŋak˥˧}$
3-DU wife husband TOP quarrel DU return-return INTENS
‘That couple quarrels all the time.’

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80 This differs from the normal third person pronoun $\text{mi˥˧}$ ‘3SG’. I have not had the opportunity to further investigate this difference.
CHAPTER 8: SENTENCE TYPES

This chapter describes statements, questions, commands, illocutionary force, and quote structures. Sentence types are usually marked via clause-final mood auxiliaries.

8.1 Statements (declarative)

Statements in narratives are marked by peʔ˦˨ ‘DECL’, as in example (446), but in other discourse types they are unmarked, as illustrated in example (447).81

(446) rəmpai˥˩ kənu˥˩ cə˦˨ tʰək˧ vit˥ peʔ˦˨
    duck    mother  TOP  die  PFV  DECL
    ‘The mother duck died.’

(447) aŋ˧ ca˥ vit˧ kɘ˦˨
    1SG  eat  PFV  PERF
    ‘I have already eaten.’

Narrative sentences are often made up of multiple clauses joined together with various conjunctions, as illustrated in (448). The declarative peʔ˦˨ ‘DECL’ ends the sentence and provides a pause in the discourse.

81 See §4.1 for further examples of statements.
8.2  Questions (interrogative)

Content questions contain a question word and yes-no questions do not. This is the main difference between the grammatical structures of the two interrogative forms (Kroeger 2005:203). Example (268), repeated here as (449), illustrates a content question followed by a yes-no question. The content question contains the question phrase  

(449) (na\˦˨ pɛ˦˨ rau˥ hai˥ va˦˨] [tim˥˩ rau˥˩ ma˥˩]  

‘Why are you hurting? Is it gas?’

8.2.1  Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are usually formed via the clause-final auxiliary ma˦˨ ‘Y/N’, but they are also formed via tag questions. Example (450) illustrates a declarative sentence, and (451) illustrates the corresponding yes-no question.

———

82 The word pe˧ ‘this’ is often reduced to pə ‘this’ in compound words.
Examples (452) and (453) further illustrate the use of the clause-final `ma˦˨ ‘Y/N’.

Examples (452) and (453) further illustrate the use of the clause-final `ma˦˨ ‘Y/N’.

Interrogatives formed via tag questions are illustrated in examples (454) and (456). In (454) the speaker makes a statement and then adds the tag question `ɘː˦˨ ‘TAG’ to see if the listener is in agreement or not. The speaker is expecting a reply, whether positive or negative, and in (455) the listener replies affirmatively.

Example (456) illustrates an interrogative formed via a word of uncertainty; `mahə˥ ‘maybe’. In (457) the listener affirms the speaker’s doubt.
8.2.2 Content

Question words in content questions appear as shown in Table 26.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question word</th>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi˥˩</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>in situ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na˦˨</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>in situ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham˨˦</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>in situ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na˧ pe˥ hai˥ mi˥</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>clause-initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakkʰa˧</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>clause-final operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⁿkʰət˦˨</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td>prenominal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The question word *mi˥˩* ‘who’ appears in situ. That is, it appears in the natural position of the word that is being replaced. So, if the subject is being questioned, then *mi˥˩* ‘who’ will appear where the subject would normally be in a declarative sentence. In (458) the question word *mi˥˩* ‘who’ follows the topicalized adjunct phrase *mi˥˩ kəku˥ hai˥ vit˦˨ tʰaŋ˥˩* ‘his field’ and prededes the verb *kai˥* ‘go’. The question word *mi˥˩* ‘who’ in (458) occupies the same position as *aŋ˧* ‘1SG’ in (459).

(458) mi˥ kəku˥ hai˥ vit˦˨ tʰaŋ˥˩ mi˥ k a i ˧ v a˦˨ Q
‘Who went to his field?’

(459) mi˥ kəku˥ hai˥ vit˦˨ tʰaŋ˥˩ aŋ˩ k a i˥ 1SG go Q
‘I went to his field.’

In (326), repeated here as (460), the object is replaced by the question word *mi˥˩* ‘who’, which follows the verb and is marked by *həm˥* ‘OBJ’. This is the default position for objects.³³

³³ In my data, *mi˥˩* ‘who’ only appears directly before the verb and directly after it, as illustrated in (458) and (460).
When the question word replaces an oblique or adjunct, it follows the verb, as illustrated in examples (461) and (462). This helps to identify the oblique default position in declarative sentences, since the oblique may occur in various positions, as illustrated in (463) and (464).

(461) mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ həm˥ ən˦˨ var˧˥˧ na˦˨ ɬɘ˥ və a˦˨ Maung.Maung OBJ 2SG pelt what with Q

‘With what did you pelt Maung Maung?’

(462) mi˥ kəku˦˨ kai˥ m̥ at˦˨ vit˦˨ hakkʰa˧ hai˥ vaŋ˦˨ this man go self field when from Q

‘When did he go to his field?’

(463) hwaluŋ˥ ɬɘ˥ aŋ˧ var˧˥˧ mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ həm˥ stone with 1SG pelt Maung.Maung OBJ

‘I pelted Maung Maung with a rock.’

(464) mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ həm˥ hwaluŋ˥ ɬɘ˥ aŋ˧ var˧˥˧ Maung.Maung OBJ stone with 1SG pelt

‘Maung Maung, I pelted with a rock.’

The question word na˦˨ ‘what’ takes the place of the NP that is under inquiry. Therefore, it may occur at any NP position in the sentence. Example (465) illustrates an object replaced by na˦˨ ‘what’, and (461) illustrates an instrument replaced with na˦˨ ‘what’.

(465) kəjak˧ mi˥ ca˥ na˦˨ və a˦˨ yesterday 3SG eat what Q

‘What did he eat yesterday?’

Examples (450) and (451), repeated here as (466) and (467), along with (468) illustrate the contrast between a declarative sentence, a yes-no question and a content question. As noted above, the yes-no question in (467) is marked with the clause-final

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84 Only rarely does the object take the object marker when it appears after the verb.

85 These are possible answers to (461).
ma˦˨ ‘Y/N’. In the same way, the content question in (468) is marked with the clause-final va˦˨ ‘Q’. However, in the content question, the NP ʂmat˦˨ hai˥ vit˦˨ ‘his own field’ is replaced with the question word ham˧ ‘where’.

(466) Declarative
dai˥ kai˥ ʂmat˦˨ hai˥ vit˦˨ Dai go self from field ‘Dai went to his own field.’

(467) Yes-no question
dai˥ kai˥ ʂmat˦˨ hai˥ vit˦˨ ma˦˨ Dai go self from field Y/N ‘Did Dai go to his own field?’

(468) Content question
dai˥ kai˥ ham˧ va˦˨ Dai go where Q ‘Where did Dai go?’

When inquiring about the reason why someone did something, the phrase na˧ pe˥ hai˥ mi˥ ‘what was happening that’ occurs clause-initially, as illustrated in examples (469) and (470).

(469) na˧ pe˥ hai˥ mi˥ʔ˥ mi˥ kəku˦˨ kai˥ təʔo˧ hai˥ va˦˨ what happen PROG LNK this man go river PROG Q ‘What was happening that he went to the river? (Why did he go to the river?)’

(470) na˧ pe˥ hai˥ mi˥ʔ˥ ca˥ cak˦˨ kəjak˧ hai˥ va˦˨ what happen PROG LNK eat rice yesterday PROG Q ‘Why did he eat rice yesterday?’

The adjunct question word hakkʰa˧ ‘when’ occurs in the adverbial clause-final operator position, preceding TAM and mood auxiliaries. In (471) hakkʰa˧ ‘when’ precedes the content question auxiliary va˦˨ ‘Q’, in (472) it precedes the irrealis ham˥ ‘IRR’, and in (473) it precedes the progressive auxiliary hai˥ ‘PROG’.

(471) kəjak˧ ca˥ cak˦˨ hakkʰa˧ va˦˨ yesterday eat rice when Q ‘When (at what time) did he eat rice yesterday?’
When inquiring about the amount of something the question word "kʰət˦˨ ‘how many’ is used prenominally, as illustrated in (474).

(474) ve˥ kʰət˦˨ ni˧ ham˧ va˦˨ stay how many day IRR Q ‘How many days will you stay?’

8.3 Commands (imperative)

Imperatives are marked clause-finally by the imperative auxiliary de˦˨ ‘IMP’.

Negative imperatives are marked clause-initially by the negative imperative auxiliary boŋ˧ ‘IMPneg’. Both forms may be altered for politeness through the use of particles.

The actor in imperatives is always second person and usually is the grammatical subject of the clause (Kroeger 2005:199). Therefore, any reference to the subject is usually redundant. Examples (475) and (320), repeated here as (476), illustrate imperatives with no overt subject. In (476) the subject agreement auxiliary va˦˨ ‘PL’ follows the verb, making the subject number explicit.

(475) kai˥ kim˧ de˦˨ go house IMP ‘Go to the house!’

(476) kai˥ ca˥ va˦˨ de˦˨ go eat PL IMP ‘You all go eat!’

In (477) the politeness particle ba˧ ‘POL’ follows de˦˨ ‘IMP’, making the sentence more polite.
The negative imperative marker boŋ˧ ‘IMPneg’ occurs clause-initially, as illustrated in (478).

(478) bɔŋ˧ kai˥ ən˦˨ m ̥ at˧ hai˥ vit˦˨
IMPneg go 2SG self from field
‘Don’t go to your field.’

The politeness particle ba˧ ‘POL’ can also occur in negative imperatives as illustrated in (479).

(479) boŋ˧ bom˥ aŋ˧ ba˧
IMPneg hit 1SG POL
‘Please don’t hit me.’

If the speaker really feels bad about what they are asking the other person to do, the word lɔk˦˨ ‘friend’ is tagged on the end, as illustrated in (480). In (480), the subject agreement auxiliary va˦˨ ‘PL’ occurs as it is in agreement with the omitted subject.

(480) aː˥˩ bɔŋ˦˨ ca˥ va˦˨ ba˧ lɔk˦˨
hey IMPneg eat PL POL friend
‘Oh, don’t eat, alright.’

8.4 Illocutionary force

Illocutionary force is “like gravity in physics.” It “is not something which can be ‘seen’ directly. It shows itself only through its effects” (Goddard 1998:139). Therefore, a sentence may look grammatically like a declarative, but the speaker is actually using it as a question. Or a question may be used as a declarative sentence. For example, in (481) the speaker finds that the clay that he is sculpting with is almost gone. He voices his surprise and frustration with a sentence using the question construction na˧ pe˧ miʔ˥ ‘why (Lit. what happen that)’. However, he does not expect a response. He is making a
declarative statement. This is evident by the missing content question particle that should come on the end if it were actually intended to be a question.

(481) na˧ pe˧ miʔ˥ mi˥ bɔn˦˨ cə˦˨ kəkʰoi˧ kiŋ˥ ham˥ kə˧ what happen LNK this soil TOP run.out all IRR PERF ‘How can it be that the dirt is almost all gone!’

Often, yes-no questions are used to make declarative statements, as illustrated in examples (482) and (483), where the speaker is surprised at what he finds.

(482) ən˧ ca˥ cak˦˨ hai˥ ma˥˩ 2SG eat rice PROG Y/N ‘You are eating!’

(483) ən˧ ve˥ kim˥˩ lat˧ ma˥˩ 2SG live house just Y/N ‘You are living at home!’

8.5 Quote structure

Direct quotes, as illustrated in examples (484), (485), and (328), repeated here as (486), are formed when the quote precedes pa˥-jɔk˦˨ ‘say-give’. The verb jɔk˦˨ ‘give’ often appears after other verbs to create a serial verb construction, as discussed in §9.4. When jɔk˦˨ ‘give’ occurs with pa˥ ‘say’ they form an intonationally inseparable entity.

(484) “po˥ mu˥mai˦ ˨ təma˦˨ de˥” pa˥-jɔk˦˨ take cloud daughter IMP say-give “Please take the cloud’s daughter as your wife,” (the sun) said (to the mouse). 86

(485) “kja˦˨ maʔ˥ tʰja˥˩ aŋ˧ kəcə˧˥˧ min˧ kai˧ vit˧˥˧” pa˥-jɔk˦˨ be˥ pet˦˨ collapse go PFV say-give PRT DECL “If a cow steps on me I will crumble down,” (the mountain) said (to the mouse).

86 Usually the referents of the story do not need to be expressed as they are understood from context.
Example (487) illustrates that *pa˥-jɔk˦˨ ‘say-give’ can both precede and follow the quote.

Example (487) illustrates that *pa˥-jɔk˦˨ ‘say-give’ can both precede and follow the quote.

In (488) a direct quote is marked simply by *pa˥ ‘say’ rather than by *pa˥-jɔk˦˨.

Direct quotes are also formed with the verb *tɪr˥ ‘tell’, as illustrated in (489).

Indirect quotes are formed when *pe˧-nə˧ ‘this-be’ in (490) or *pe˧-miʔ˥ ‘this-LNK’ in (491) precedes the verb *tɪr˥ ‘tell’.

87 In my data, the two word quote formula is the most frequent form. I need more data to say in what situations each form may occur. Also, I do not have enough data to say why the tone on *pa˥ ‘say’ differs in this example.

88 This word most often appears when there is a subject and object, which is why it is glossed here as ‘tell.’ However, in the translation, ‘tell’ does not appear to be appropriate, as the audience is unknown.
Example (492) illustrates reported speech containing an imperative. The form in (492) differs from the reported speech in (491), which contains a declarative. In (492) 'this' is not present.
CHAPTER 9: CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

This chapter describes clause combinations which involve coordination, subordination, clause-chaining, and serial verb constructions.

Both clauses in a coordinate clause have “the internal structure of an independent sentence, and neither is embedded in the other” (Kroeger 2005:219). This differs from a subordinate clause “which functions as a dependent, rather than a co-head.” This chapter describes three types of subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses in §9.2.1, relative clauses in §9.2.2, and complement clauses in §9.2.3.

The terms ‘coordinate’ and ‘subordinate’ are sufficient for describing co-ranking languages but not chaining languages.

Longacre (1985:238) states, “Sentence structures around the world may be conveniently divided into two main types called ‘co-ranking’ structures and ‘chaining’ structures.” Co-ranking structures can have several (independent) verbs of the same rank, but chaining structures do not. In chaining structures the “sentence typically ends in a dominating verb of fuller structure than any of the preceding verbs. These preceding verbs are commonly referred to as medial verbs while the dominating verb at the end is known as the final verb” (Longacre 1985:238).

This chapter presents evidence of chaining and co-ranking sentence structures in Hkongso. Co-ranking structures involve coordination and subordination, but in chaining structures “the subordinate/coordinate distinction is irrelevant and both are absorbed into the medial/final distinction” (Longacre 1985:239).

Kroeger (2004:249) also distinguishes coordinate from medial clauses: “A coordinate clause takes independent tense and agreement marking, can be independently
marked for interrogative mood or negation, etc., whereas medial clauses have none of these properties.” Furthermore, “medial clauses are not subordinate to (i.e. embedded within) the final clause. Rather, medial and final clauses must be sisters” (Kroeger 2004:249). In this chapter it is my goal to present examples of subordination and coordination as well as examples of medial and final clauses.

Givón (1990:891) compares OV and VO clause-chaining languages, concluding, “OV clause-chaining languages give finite marking to the chain-final clause, while VO clause-chaining languages give finite marking to the chain-initial clause.”

Hkongso does not fit this cross-linguistic generalization. It is a VO language, yet finite (TAM) marking occurs on the final clause, with the medial clauses strung to the left. Givón (1990:890) provides, with a disclaimer, a cross-linguistic schematic rendition of how the connector attaches, illustrated in Figure 6.

\[
\text{VO language: } \quad \text{[first clause], conj-[second clause]}
\]

\[
\text{OV language: } \quad \text{[first clause]-conj, [second clause]}
\]

Figure 6: Cross-linguistic connector placement

Again, Hkongso does not fit this schema. Hkongso is VO, but the connector attaches intonationally to the clause it follows.

Another important consideration in the discussion of coordinate and subordinate clause combinations is Haiman and Thompson’s (1984:511) work on features of subordination, which are discussed in §9.2.

\[\text{89 Givón is aware that this is not a perfect correlation throughout the world’s languages.}\]
9.1 Coordination

Coordination involves two conjoined clauses that both have the internal structure of an independent sentence. In example (493) both clauses have independent internal structures which contain TAM auxiliaries and the interrogative mood auxiliary ma˧ ‘Y/N’. 

(493) [ən˦˨ kai˥ vit˦˨ ham˥ ma˧ ]
2SG go field IRR Y/N
no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ [ən˦˨ kai˥ təʔo˧ ham˥ ma˧ ]
NEG-right-if 2SG go river IRR Y/N
‘Will you go to the field or the river?’

The ability of both clauses to take TAM auxiliaries and be marked for mood is a distinguishing feature of clausal coordination in Hkongso. The coordinated imperative clauses in (494) both take the imperative mood auxiliary de˥˩ ‘IMP’.

(494) [kai˥ vit˦˨ de˥˩ ]
go field IMP
no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ [kai˥ təʔo˧ de˥˩ ]
go river IMP
‘Go to the field or the river.’

Examples (493) and (494) involve alternations using the coordinator no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ ‘NEG-right-if’. This coordinator can also occur between two phrases, as illustrated in (495). Examples (496) and (497) illustrate reduction of the second clause, where the subject and verb are both omitted. This is not nominal coordination as the mood auxiliary ma˧ ‘Y/N’ occurs on both clauses.

(495) [kok˥˩ ma˧ ]
white Y/N
no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ [təm˥ ma˧ ]
NEG-right-if black Y/N
‘White or black?’

(496) [ən˦˨ hja˥˩ liŋmo˧ ui˥ ma˧ ]
2SG want orange fruit Y/N
no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ [leŋ˦˨ ui˥ ma˧ ]
NEG-right-if banana fruit Y/N
‘Do you want an orange or a banana?’

90 Simple yes/no questions are illustrated in §8.2.1.
Clausal reduction also occurs in imperative sentences, as illustrated in (498), where the verb \( sʰɔt˦˨ \) ‘stab’ is omitted from the second clause.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
(498) & sʰɔt˦˨ & kja˦˨ & de˥˩ & no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ & pak˦˨ & de˥˩ \\
& stab & cow & IMP & NEG-right-if & pig & IMP \\
& ‘Stab a cow or a pig.’
\end{array}
\]

Declarative alternations can also be reduced, as illustrated in (499), where \( mi˥ \) ‘3SG’ is omitted from the second clause and in (500) where \( sʰɔt˦˨ \) ‘stab’ is omitted from the second clause. Declarative alternations are used to express uncertainty and therefore take the particle \( bɘ˦˨ \) ‘PRT’, which also occurs in dubitative constructions, as illustrated in (281), repeated here as (501).

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
(499) & [mi˥ kai˥ vit˦˨ bɘ˦˨ ] & no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ & [kai˥ təʔo˧ b ɘ ˦ ˨ ] \\
& 3SG go & field & PRT & NEG-right-if & go & river & PRT \\
& ‘He went to the field or the river.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
(500) & [sʰɔt˦˨ kja˦˨ bɘ˦˨ ] & no˧-na˥-kəcə˧ & [pak˦˨ bɘ˦˨ ] \\
& stab & cow & PRT & NEG-right-if & pig & PRT \\
& ‘(He) stabbed a cow or a pig.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
(501) & kəjak˧ faŋ˧ ra˧ & pi˥˩-bɘ˦˨-tə˧˨ \\
& yesterday & rain & come & DUB \\
& ‘I’m not sure if it rained yesterday.’
\end{array}
\]

Coordination involving contrast, the notional ‘but/however’, is formed by combining two clauses with the coordinator \( pe'ikəpa˧˧ \) ‘however’, as illustrated in (502). The mood auxiliary \( peʔ˦˨ \) ‘DECL’ only occurs at the end of the second clause in (502). In (503) \( peʔ˦˨ \) ‘DECL’ occurs at the end of both clauses and \( pe'ikəpa˧˧ \) ‘however’ appears between the two clauses.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
(502) & [prɛŋ˥ ham˥ vɛ˦˨ ] & pe'ikəpa˧˧ & [kəkra˧ ham˧ hin˥ peʔ˦˨ ] \\
& translate & IRR & PRT & however & take.time & IRR & still & DECL \\
& ‘(Yes.) We will translate, but it will take time.’
\end{array}
\]

---

91 Uncertainty is further discussed in §5.3.4.
The coordinator *peŋkapaŋ* ‘however’ also appears as *petɔkŋkapə* ‘however’, as illustrated in examples (504) and (505). In (504) neither clause is marked for TAM or mood. As mentioned in §5.3.5, realis may be unmarked. In (505) the two statements made by the cloud contrast and are separated by *petɔkŋkapə* ‘however’.

(504) [dɑi˥ con˥ praŋ˥ tʰaŋ˦˨ ] *petɔkŋkapə* [dɛŋ˧ cəʔ˦˨ ve˥ kim˦˨ ]
Dai leave outside LOC however Daeng TOP COP house
‘Dai went out but Daeng stayed at home.’

(505) mu˥mai˦˨ cəʔ˦˨ “eː˥ aŋ˧ na˦˨  kɘ˧ ”  pa˥˩ pɛʔ˦˨
The cloud said, “I am great.” “However, there is still one who’s even greater than me.”

The coordinator *miŋkapaŋ* ‘however’ is also used to show contrast, as illustrated in (506).

(506) “eː˥ aŋ˧ kə˥ kək˦˨ miʔ˥ ”
Yes 1SG big SUP LNK

‘Yes, I am the one that’s the greatest, but there is one who’s even greater than I am.’

Coordinators are summarized in Table 27.
Subordination

Traditionally, there is a division, or dichotomy, between subordinate and coordinate clauses. However, “The difference is not a simple dichotomy” (Martin 1992:16). Givón (1990:848) claims that “[many] languages do not make a clear morphosyntactic distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses. Rather they make finer disconnections as to the type of connectivity.” To determine these distinctions, Haiman and Thompson (1984:511) identified seven features that are found in subordinate clauses:

1. identity between the two clauses of subject, tense, or mood
2. reduction of one of the clauses
3. grammatically signaled incorporation of one of the clauses
4. intonational linking between the two clauses
5. one clause is within the scope of the other
6. absence of tense iconicity between the two clauses
7. identity of speech act perspective between the two clauses

As illustrated in §9.1, coordinate clauses are conjoined by coordinators and each coordinate clause can be marked for TAM and mood. The features of subordinate

---

92 This is a typical feature of coordination. Not every clause in coordinate structures is marked for TAM and mood.

Table 27: Coordinators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordinator</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Notion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no˦˨na˥kəcə˧</td>
<td>alternation</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe˦˨kəpə˧</td>
<td>contrast</td>
<td>however/but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petək˥kəpə˧</td>
<td>contrast</td>
<td>however/but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi˦˨tək˥kəpə˧</td>
<td>contrast</td>
<td>however/but</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
clauses differ in that they are marked by a subordinating conjunction, typically miʔ˥ ‘LNK’, which corresponds to Haiman and Thompson’s feature number three. Furthermore, subordinate clauses are not marked for mood, which corresponds to Haiman and Thompson’s feature number two.

In §9.2.1 through §9.2.3, I do not abandon the notion ‘subordination’, as Haiman and Thompson (1984:520) suggest. Rather, I maintain the traditional terms, distinguishing three types of subordinate clauses: “those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses)” (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172).

9.2.1 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are “not complements because they do not constitute logical arguments of the main verb; rather, they simply add ‘adverbial’ information” (Payne 1997:317). Adverbial information includes time, location, manner, purpose, reason, condition, etc. In the adverbial clauses presented in this section, the information is unnecessary for what Kroeger (2005:76) calls the well-formedness of the matrix clause. Rather, the information modifies the matrix clause.

Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) identify three ways of marking adverbial clauses in subordinate constructions:

(a) subordinating morphemes
(b) special verb forms
(c) word order
Hkongso uses the subordinating morphemes \textit{mi˥par˥miʔ˥} ‘so that’, \textit{ɬɘ˥} ‘with’, \textit{ham˥miʔ˥} ‘PURP’, \textit{mi˥luk˦˨} ‘since’, \textit{kəcəʔ˦˨} ‘if’, and \textit{kəpə˧} ‘if’ for marking adverbial clauses.

Multiple adverbial clauses may appear before the main clause. Example (186), repeated here as (507), illustrates two adverbial clauses and an adverbial phrase preceding the main clause. Adverbial information about time comes in the clause-initial adverbial phrase and is marked by the temporal/locative postposition \textit{tʰaŋ˧} ‘side’. Reason occurs in the first clause which is marked by the subordinator \textit{mi˥par˥miʔ˥} ‘so that’. In this construction \textit{miʔ˥} ‘LNK’ is the main subordinator used in Hkongso and the other syllables are not reconstructable. Manner occurs in the second adverbial clause and is marked by the instrumental/manner postposition \textit{ɬɘ˥} ‘with’. Neither adverbial clause is marked for TAM or mood.

\begin{verbatim}
(507) [jak˧˥˧ tʰaŋ˧] [he˧ sʰi˥˩ no˧ ki˧ mi˥par˥miʔ˥] 
   night side enemy PL NEG see so.that

   [m̥ ai˦˨ tɔr˥ ɬɘ˥] 93 kai˥ mə-kʰa˥ 
   fire take with go this-time

   ‘At night, so that their enemies couldn’t see them, they went, by taking fire with them.’
\end{verbatim}

The postpositional \textit{ham˥} ‘PURP’, combined with the subordinator \textit{miʔ˥} ‘LNK’, is used to mark purpose adverbial clauses. Thompson and Longacre (1985:185) distinguish purpose from reason by saying, “They differ in that purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realized at the time of the main clause

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{93 This is glossed ‘with’, which encompasses the multiple functions of this subordinator: manner, instrumental, and comitative.}
\footnote{94 As illustrated in §9.2, relative clauses may also contain this marker.}
\end{footnotes}
event.” Following this argument, examples (508)-(510) contain purpose rather than reason clauses.

(508) [pə˥ mənam˥˩ lu˥˥] ham˧ miʔ˧ in˧ rui˥˥ mi˥ kəku˦˨ həm˥˥ 95
do village head PURP LNK 1PL choose this man OBJ
‘We chose him to be the village chief.’

(509) dɑi˥ ap˧ naŋ˧ tokkʰi˥ ɬək˦˨
Dai shoot be.so deer one
[[əŋ˧ lamcak˦˨ nə˧]  ca˥˥] ham˧ miʔ˧ 96
cook food having eat PURP LNK
‘Dai shot a deer in order to have food to eat.’

(510) [raʰa˥˥ rau˥˥] miʔ˧ nik˦˨ kʰa˥˨ [rʰak˥˧ ip˦˨ pʰi˦˨]
sun hurt LNK day time mind thirst very
miʔ˧ kəak˥˧  cəʔ˦˨  [kʰam˥˧ tui˦˨]
LNK crow SUBJ drink water PURP LNK go.down stream
‘On a day when the sun was painful, a crow, who’s mind thirsted greatly, went down to the river to drink water.’

Reason adverbial clauses are marked by the subordinating conjunction mi˥luk˦˨ ‘since’, as illustrated in (511a) and (511d).

(511)

a) [kəle˥˩ kəlu˦˨ ui˥ cə˥ rik˦˨ no˧ ve˥] mi˥luk˥˥
wild gooseberry fruit TOP red NEG COP since
‘Since there was no red wild gooseberry’,

b) kiŋku˥˩ cə˥ no˧ hai˥ man˥˥ pe˧-nə˥
owl TOP NEG able get this-having
‘the owl was not able to obtain any and so’

c) kəkwa˦˨ təma˦˨ həm˥ cum˧ miʔ˧ ni˧
scissortail daughter OBJ take LNK day
‘when the day came to take the scissortail’s daughter’,

d) [no˧ hai˥ shʰun˥ kəle˦˨ kəlu˥˧ ui˥] mi˥luk˥˥
NEG able bring wild gooseberry fruit since
‘since he was not able to bring a wild gooseberry’,
e) no˧ hai˧ po˦˨ kəkwa˦˨ təma˦˨ peʔ˦˨  
NEG able take scissortail daughter DECL  
‘he was not able to take the scissortail's daughter.’

The subordinating conjunction mi˥ luk˧ ‘since’ is further illustrated in examples (512) and (513).

(512) [tim˥˩ prɨŋ˥˩] miluk˥˩ kim˥˩ kə-pur˥  
wind strong since house RPM-knocked.down  
‘The house is knocked down because the wind was so strong.’

(513) [no˧ tɨn˥] miluk˥˩ imi˥ sʰi˥ cən˧ rəsʰiak˦˨ peʔ˦˨  
NEG sound since person PL come.out many DECL  
‘Because there was no sound (heard) many people came out.’

Conditional adverbial clauses, illustrated in examples (514) and (515) are marked by the subordinating conjunction kəcə˧ ‘if’. ⁹⁷

(514) i˥ sʰi˥ pə˥ pu˥ kətaŋ˦˨ ɬɘ˥ kəkrum˥ ham˥ hʲa˥˩ kəcəʔ˧  
1PL PL also grandpa old.man with meet IRR want if  
təmuk˧ hai˥ raksʰiak˦˨ ɬɘ˥ ve˥ va˥  
God from will with COP PL  
‘If we want to be with grandpa again, let’s live according to God’s will.”

(515) [rəsʰa˥˩ rau˥] kəcə˧ kai˥ vit˧ ham˥  
sun hurt if go field IRR  
[faŋ˦˨ rə˦˨] kəcə˧ kai˥ reu˧ var˧ ham˧  
rain come if go hook throw IRR  
‘If the sun’s out, I’ll go to the field. If it rains, I’ll go fishing.’

When multiple conditional clauses are listed, each clause takes the subordinating conjunction kəpə˧ ‘if’, as illustrated in examples (516) and (517).

(516) [pə˥ tok˦˨ miʔ˧] kəpə˧] [pə˥ nam˦˨ miʔ˧] kəpə˧]  
do work LNK if do village LNK if  
[ca˥ cak˦˨ miʔ˧] kəpə˧ ve˥ kuŋ˦˨ tʰaŋ˧  
eat rice LNK if COP after side  
‘When working, building a house or eating, (he) would fall behind.’

⁹⁷ This subordinating conjunction also appears in clause-chaining structures, as illustrated in §9.3. In chaining structures, it is used to mark circumstance, where the preceding clause is the circumstance for the following one.
‘If Dai sings or not, Deng will still dance.’

To summarize, most adverbial clauses occur before the main clause, are marked by a subordinating conjunction, and do not have TAM or mood auxiliaries. Adverbial subordinating conjunctions are summarized in Table 28.

Table 28: Adverbial subordinating conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinator</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi˥par˥miʔ˥</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬɘ˥</td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham˥ miʔ˥</td>
<td>purpose/reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi˥luk˦˨</td>
<td>reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəcəʔ˦˨</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəpə˧</td>
<td>adverbial clause chain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses always precede the nouns they modify and always occur with the relativizer miʔ˥ ‘LNK’. They are not marked for TAM or mood, may be restrictive or non-restrictive, use only the gap strategy, and the relativized functions may be the subject, object, secondary object, and adjunct.

Relative clauses, “which function as modifiers of nouns,” differ from adverbial clauses, “which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions” (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172). The relative clause in (518) modifies the noun rəsʰα˥ ‘sun’.

(517) [dai˥ pɘ˥ meŋ˧ kəpə˧] Dai do song if

(518) [no˧ pɘ˥ kəpə˧] dəŋ˧ cəʔ˦˨ plai˧ ham˥ NEG do if Deng TOP smooth IRR

‘I will marry the sun’s [who is the greatest] daughter.’

(518) [kə˥ miʔ˥ rəsʰa˥ təma˥ həm˥ po˧ ham˧˥˧] big SUP LNK sun daughter OBJ take IRR

‘I will marry the sun’s [who is the greatest] daughter.’

To summarize, most adverbial clauses occur before the main clause, are marked by a subordinating conjunction, and do not have TAM or mood auxiliaries. Adverbial subordinating conjunctions are summarized in Table 28.

Table 28: Adverbial subordinating conjunctions

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<th>Subordinator</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬɘ˥</td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
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<td>purpose/reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi˥luk˦˨</td>
<td>reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>adverbial clause chain</td>
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9.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses always precede the nouns they modify and always occur with the relativizer miʔ˥ ‘LNK’. They are not marked for TAM or mood, may be restrictive or non-restrictive, use only the gap strategy, and the relativized functions may be the subject, object, secondary object, and adjunct.

Relative clauses, “which function as modifiers of nouns,” differ from adverbial clauses, “which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions” (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172). The relative clause in (518) modifies the noun rəsʰα˥ ‘sun’.

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Hkongso relative clauses are externally headed, as the head noun occurs outside the modifying clause (Kroeger 2005:232). In (518) the head noun \(ras\text{ʰa}l\) ‘sun’ follows the relative clause.

A restrictive relative clause “restricts (or narrows) the identity of the referent to a specific member of that class,” and a non-restrictive relative clause “simply presents additional information about that referent” (Kroeger 2005:231). A non-restrictive relative clause is illustrated in (518), where the referent is already known and the relative clause serves to present additional information.

Restrictive relative clauses are illustrated in examples (123), repeated here as (519), (520), (522), and (124), repeated here as (521), where the speaker is providing information that helps the hearer to narrow the identity of the referent.

(519) \[aŋʾ roi˥ jok˦˨ aŋʾ miʔ˥ kui˥˩ tʰək˦˨ \]
1SG friend give 1SG LNK dog die
‘The dog that my friend gave me died.’

(520) \[car˧ le˧ miʔ˥ laŋki˧ pə˦˨ no˧ n̥ai˥˩ \]
size small LNK longyi as.for NEG good
‘The longyi\textsuperscript{98} that is small is no good.’

(521) \[kuimeŋ˧ maʔ˥ map˦˨ jok˦˨ miʔ˥ ut˥ tʰək˦˨ \]
cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die
‘The mouse that the cat bit died.’

(522) \[mi˥ ca˥ luŋ˦˨ mərɨn˦˨ ca˥ miʔ˥ imi˥ \]
3SG TOP salt chili eat LNK person
‘He is someone who eats salt and chili. (He is wise and capable.)’

In examples (519)-(521) the relative clause modifies the subject, and in (522) it modifies the predicate nominal. Example (523) illustrates a relative clause modifying the object \(m̥a˥\) ‘path’.

\textsuperscript{98}This is a type of sarong or skirt that is worn in Myanmar by men and women. It is a loop of cloth that extends from the waist to the feet and is tied in front by men and folded and tucked in at the hip by women.
In (523) ‘ma˥˧ ‘path’ is the object of the modifying clause. Therefore, in (523) the relativized function, which is “the Grammatical Relation that is assigned to the head noun within the modifying clause” (Kroeger 2005:236), is object.

In Hkongso the relativized functions are object, as illustrated in (521) and (523), subject, as illustrated in (520) and (522), secondary object, as illustrated in (519), and adjunct, as illustrated in (511), repeated here as (524).99

(524) [kəkwa˨˦ ŭama˨˦ həm˧ cum˧ miʔ˥] ni˦˨  
’scissortail daughter OBJ take LNK day  
‘(On) the day that (he was) to take the scissortail's daughter’,

There are “three basic strategies which languages commonly use to indicate the relativized function within a relative clause; (i) gaps; (ii) relative pronouns; and (iii) pronoun retention” (Kroeger 2005:236-38). Hkongso uses the gap strategy, which contains a missing argument in the modifying clause and “the head noun is interpreted as filling this gap” (Kroeger 2005:237). For example, in (519) the noun kui˥˩ ‘dog’ is modified by a relative clause, but kui˥˩ ‘dog’ does not actually appear in the clause.

As mentioned, there are no relative pronouns. Relative clauses are formed through the subordinating conjunction miʔ˥ ‘LNK’, which functions as a relativizer and a complementizer. In (525) miʔ˥ ‘LNK’ is used in both ways. The first clause is a relative clause that modifies the noun tokkʰi˥˧ ‘deer’. This is a part of the larger complement clause, which is also marked by miʔ˥ ‘LNK’.

---

99 I do not have the data to say if the relativized function may be possessor.
(525) [[loŋʰtaŋ˧ ap˧ miʔ˥ tokkʰi˥ həm˥ hau˥ ham˥ miʔ˥] Longhtang shoot LNK deer OBJ look.for IRR LNK]  |
| pa˥ maʔ˥ dai˥  həm˥ hja˥˩ ɬɘ˥ | father SUBJ Dai OBJ want with |
| ‘Father wants Dai to find the deer that Longhtang shot.’ |

9.2.3 Complement clauses

A complement clause “functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause” (Noonan 1985:42). In Hkongso, complement clauses differ from adverbial and relative clauses in that complements can be marked for TAM. Complement clauses, like other subordinate clauses, are marked by miʔ˥ ‘LNK’.

Examples (412), repeated here as (526), and (527) illustrate subject complements and examples (528) and (529) illustrate object complements.

(526) [kʰap˥ kə-pro˧ miʔ˥] pək˧ aŋ˧ kram˥ | cup RPM-break COMP cause 1SG be.afraid |
‘The cup breaking made me scared.’ |

(527) [dai˥ bom˥ m ̥ at˦˨ hai˥ ju˥ miʔ˥] pək˧ aŋ˧ kram˥ | Dai hit self from wife COMP cause 1SG be.afraid |
‘Dai hitting his wife made me surprised (Lit. scared).’ |

(528) [aŋ˧ kai˥ ham˥] aŋ˧ tuk˦˨ | 1SG go IRR 1SG know |
‘I know (how) I will go.’ |

(529) [iŋ˧ ja˦˨ ham˥ pe˧ miʔ˥] aŋ˧ juŋ˧ | 1PL win IRR this COMP 1SG believe |
‘I believe that we will win.’ |

---

100 This is typical, not all complement clauses are marked by this subordinating conjunction. Some have no marking of subordination.

101 The complement clause in this example contains a gerund, which is also illustrated in (22) and (23).

102 I normally gloss this word as LNK (linker) because it is used in different kinds of clause combinations, but in this chapter I label it as COMP (complementizer) to aid in understanding.
Payne (1997:314) states, “In VO languages object complements tend to follow the matrix verb,” and “In OV languages, object complements tend to precede the matrix verb.” In §4.6, it is shown that Hkongso is a VO language that has many OV characteristics. That object complements tend to come before the verb, as illustrated in examples (528) and (529), is another characteristic of Hkongso that is more typical of OV languages.

Languages employ different methods of forming complement clauses. Noonan (1985:44) states, “A complement type is identified basically by (1) the morphology of the predicate; (2) the sorts of syntactic relations it has with its arguments; and (3) the external syntactic relations of the complement construction as a whole.” Kroeger (2005:222-23) states that some of the structural features that need to be considered in analyzing and comparing different types of subordinate clause include: verb form, subject, word order, matrix verb, and complementizer. Since the matrix verb often determines the form of the complement clause, it is helpful to categorize these verbs by their general semantic class.

Saying and knowing predicates are illustrated in examples (530)-(533). Complements in examples (530), (531), and (532) are all formed with the complement clause preceding the matrix clause, and no complementizer is present. In examples (529) and (533) the complement clause precedes the matrix clause, but the complementizer ʔi‘COMP’ is present.

(530) [ʔi' ra ham] an im
3SG come IRR 1SG hope
‘I hope he will come.’

(531) [kəjak faŋ ra mi] an pe
yesterday rain come DUB 1SG think
‘I think it might have rained yesterday.’

(532) [an kai ham] an tʰan
1SG go IRR 1SG think
‘I think I will go.’
'I believe that we will be fine.'

Examples (125), repeated here as (534), and (381), repeated here as (535), illustrate how the subject of the matrix clause may be topicalized, thereby preceding the complement clause.

(534) [loŋtʰaŋ˧ ap˧ tokkʰi˥ ɬək˦˨ ham˥ miʔ˥ ] dai˥ ɨm˥˩
Longhtang shoot deer one IRR COMP Dai hope
'Dai hopes that Longhtang will shoot a deer.'

(535) dai˥ cə˦˨ [loŋtʰaŋ˧ ap˧ tokkʰi˥ ɬək˦˨ ham˥ miʔ˥ ] ɨm˥˩
Dai TOP Longhtang shoot deer one IRR COMP hope
'Dai hopes that Longhtang will shoot a deer.'

When pək˧ ‘cause’ occurs in a single clause, as in (536), it means ‘to scare or surprise’. In the biclausal constructions in examples (537) and (538) pək˧ ‘cause’ is used as a causative. The complement clauses are marked by brackets. There is no overt subject in the complement clauses. Rather, the object of the matrix clause is also functioning as the subject of the complement clause. So, in (537), the object of the matrix clause dai˥ ‘Dai’ is also the subject of the complement clause, and in (538), the object of the matrix clause loŋtʰaŋ˧ ‘Longhtang’, is the subject of the complement clause.

(536) dai˥ pək˧ jok˦˨ loŋtʰaŋ˧
Dai cause give Longhtang
‘Dai scared Longhtang.’

(537) dai˥ həm˧ aŋ˧ pək˧ jok˦˨ [loŋtʰaŋ˧ bom˦˨ ]
Dai OBJ 1SG cause give Longhtang hit
‘I caused Dai to hit Longhtang.’

(538) dai˥ pək˧ jok˦˨ loŋtʰaŋ˧ [dai˥ ɱat˧ hai˥ ju˥ bom˦˨ ]
Dai cause give Longhtang Dai self from wife hit
‘Dai caused Longhtang to hit his (Dai) wife.’

103 This clause contains a serial verb construction.

104 Example (537) provides evidence for marking the clausal boundaries in (538).
Modality predicates are illustrated in examples (539)-(544). The complement clauses that modality predicates take come before the matrix clause. In examples (539)-(541) the subject of the matrix clause is also the subject of the complement clause. In (539) the subject aŋ˧ ‘1SG’ only appears in the complement clause between the object, mi˥ kəku˦˨ ‘this man’, and verb, kəkrum˥ ‘meet’.

Similarly, in (306), repeated here as (540), and (541), the subject only appears in the complement clause. This is a case of backward control. Polinsky and Potsdam (2003:1) describe backward control as a pattern “in which the controllee is structurally superior to the controller.” Control is defined by Polinsky and Potsdam (2006:1) as “a dependency between two argument positions in which the referential properties of the overt controller determine the referential properties of the silent (zero) controllee.” The English translation in (539) ‘I want to meet him’, illustrates English forward control. The ‘I’ is the controller in the superior matrix clause which controls the ‘silent’ controllee in the complement clause. If this English sentence contained backward control, it would look like this: “__ want to I meet him.” This type of control is what is illustrated in the Hkongso sentences in (539)-(541).

(539) [mi˥ kəku˨˩ həm˧ aŋ˧ kəkrum˥ ham˥ ] hja˥˩
    this man OBJ 1SG meet IRR want
    ‘I want to meet him.’

(540) [aŋ˧ plai˧ ham˥ ] hja˥˩
    1SG dance IRR want
    ‘I want to dance.’

(541) [aŋ˧ mui˧ ham˥ ] hja˥˩
    1SG sleep IRR want
    ‘I want to sleep.’

105 Backward control is rare. I feel that more evidence is needed to prove that this is indeed what is happening and determine when it happens.
Example (542) shows that *hja˥˩* ‘want’ is not a clause-final operator as it occurs as the main verb. Therefore, examples (540) and (541) are not single clauses but are biclausal.

(542) “aŋ˧ no˧ hja˥˩ ləŋ˦˨ kɘ˥˩ “ pa-jok˦˨ pɛʔ˦˨
1SG NEG want CONTR PERF tell-give DECL
“I don't love (him) anymore,” she said.’

In other modality predicates, such as those in examples (543) and (544), the subject appears in both clauses.

(543) [aŋ˧ pɘ˧ ham˥ ] aŋ˧ tuk˦˨
1SG do IRR 1SG know
‘I know (how) to do it.’

(544) [aŋ˧ kai˥ ham˥ ] aŋ˧ tuk˦˨
1SG go IRR 1SG know
‘I know (how) to go.’

Permissive modality is formed in the same way as (539)-(541). The permissive is formed by using a complement clause, as illustrated in (545). In this example the final word *man˥˩* ‘get’ is functioning as a permissive verb. The verb *man˥˩* ‘get’ is not a clause-final operator as it also occurs as a verb in the main clause, as illustrated in (546).

Because of this and because the irrealis auxiliary *ham˥* ‘IRR’ in (545) precedes *man˥˩* ‘get’, there must be two separate clauses.

(545) aŋ˧ ka-tʰui˥ bɔluŋ˧ ham˥ man˥˩
1SG RPM-kick ball IRR get
‘I am allowed to play soccer.’

(546) kĩŋku˥˩ cə˦˨ no˧ hai˥ man˥˩
owl TOP NEG able get
‘The owl was not able to get (any wild gooseberries).’

The agent-oriented modality of obligation is discussed in §5.3.4. However, some forms of obligation appear as a biclausal form. Strong obligation, illustrated in (547) and (548), is shown through the use of the verb *kla˥* ‘occur’, preceded by a complement clause.
Absolute certainty of carrying out an obligated action is illustrated in examples (549) and (550), where the agent feels that he/she really has no choice whether or not he/she will do the action. In these examples certainty is shown through the matrix verb kla˥ ‘occur’, preceded by the complement clause, which contains the inference word taŋak˦˨ ‘must’.  

(549) [aŋ˧ kai˥ vit˦˨ taŋak˦˨ ham˥ ] kla˥  
1SG go field must IRR occur  
‘It happens that I must go to the field.’

(550) [aŋ˧ kai˥ tʃaun˥˩ taŋak˦˨ ham˥ ] kla˥  
1SG go school must IRR occur  
‘It happens that I must go to school.’

As examples (551) and (552) illustrate, other verbs may take the place of kla˥ ‘occur’ in this construction.

(551) [aŋ˧ pɘ˧ tɔk˧ taŋak˦˨ ham˥ ] ve˥  
1SG do work must IRR COP  
‘There is work I must do.’

(552) [aŋ˧ prai˧ ca˦˨ taŋak˦˨ ham˥ ] ve˥  
1SG read literacy must IRR COP  
‘There is reading I must do.’

---

106 The word taŋak˦˨ ‘must’ is also illustrated in examples (282) and (283).
9.3 Medial Clauses

As previously mentioned in this chapter, medial clauses are strung to the left and the finite clause comes at the end of the sentence, on the right. Example (63), repeated here as (553), shows that medial clauses are not marked for mood but final clauses are.

In the final clause in (553) the subject is omitted, but the subject agreement auxiliary \( ja˦˨ \) ‘DU’ occurs. This is a pattern that often happens in Hkongso narratives. The subject in the final, finite clause is often reduced to agreement, and TAM and mood marking is usually omitted in the preceding clauses. I propose that succession sentences such as (553) are forms of clause-chaining with a finite clause on the right and medial clauses to the left. There is no limit to the number of clauses that can be juxtaposed in this way.

When the sentence ends, the final declarative auxiliary \( peʔ˦˨ \) ‘DECL’ appears.

\[
(553) \begin{array}{l}
\text{[kəni˥  lak˦˨ kʰa˥˩ vəce˥˩ hak˧ luŋte˥˩ kəkrum˥˩ ja˦˨]} \\
\text{in.front one time bird and earthworm RPM-meet DU} \\
\text{pe-kʰa˦˨ [kəroi˥˩ hau˥  ləmsak˦˨ ja˦˨ peʔ˦˨]} \\
\text{this-time together look.for food DU DECL} \\
\text{‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’}
\end{array}
\]

In (553) two clauses are combined by the succession conjunction \( pe-kʰa˦˨ \) ‘this-time’.

The marker \( mi-kʰa˥˩ \) ‘this time’ also serves as a succession conjunction between two clauses. In (554) it occurs in between the second and third clauses.

\[
(554) \begin{array}{l}
\text{[kəci˧  kəca˧ [luŋte˥  maʔ˥  kui˥ jok˦˨ vəce˦˨ hai˥ ŋoŋ˥˩] kəca˧]} \\
\text{when over earthworm SUBJ roll.up give bird from neck when} \\
\text{[va˥ce˧  cə˧ e]} \\
\text{mi-kʰa˥˩ [rua˧ sʰi˥ cə˧ ren˥ peʔ˦˨]} \\
\text{bird TOP cry this-time snake PL TOP laugh DECL} \\
\text{‘And then, when the worm wrapped around the bird’s neck, the bird cried, and then all the snakes laughed.’}
\end{array}
\]
In (554) the conjunction kəcə˧ ‘when’\(^{107}\) appears in between the first clause and second clause. When it occurs in a clause-chaining structure the preceding clause is the circumstance for the following clause. Since chaining structures most frequently occur in narratives, the relationship between the two clauses is usually temporal. For example, in (554) the clause preceding kəcə˧ ‘when’ is the circumstance for the following clause. The bird cried because/when the worm wrapped around his neck. Since this is a story, there is an obvious temporal relationship.

In my data, clauses marked by pe-kʰa˦˨ ‘this-time’, mi-kʰa˥˩ ‘this-time’, and kəcə˧ ‘when’ always contain “material which supplies the main points of the discourse” (Hopper and Thompson 1980:280).\(^{108}\)

The conjunctions kʰəʔ˦˨ ‘having’, pe˧-kʰə˦˨ ‘this-having’, nə˥ ‘having’, and pe˧-nə˥ ‘this-having’ also frequently occur in clause-chaining structures. These conjunctions follow clauses that are not final clauses, i.e. do not take mood marking. Furthermore, these clauses do not take TAM marking. In my data, none of the information found in clauses marked by these conjunctions include “material which supplies the main points of the discourse.” Rather, these clauses contain information “which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on” the speaker’s goal.

In (555), the clauses marked by mi-kʰa˥ (mi-kʰa˥˩) contain information that “supplies the main points of the discourse.” This is evident as the main characters, at this point in the story, are animals that are trying to make their way to Tur and Vai. Therefore, the actions that they perform are mainline events.

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\(^{107}\) This conjunction also appears in adverbial clauses, marking condition, as discussed in §9.2.1.

\(^{108}\) A common topic in the discussion of narrative discourse is foreground and background. Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) describes foreground as “the material which supplies the main points of the discourse,” and background is the “part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it.”
In (555) there is one clause that is marked by \( k^{h\theta} \)‘having’. This clause provides supporting information.

\[
(555) \quad \text{[pʰun]} \quad \text{mi-}k^{h\theta} \text{a} \quad \text{miʔ} \quad [\text{tur}^{\gamma} \quad \text{uai}^\prime] \quad \text{mi]-ja}^\prime \quad \text{k}^{h\text{am}} \quad \text{run} \quad \text{this-time} \quad \text{LNK} \quad \text{Tur} \quad \text{Vai} \quad \text{3-DU} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{kə-təm} \quad \text{mi}^\prime \quad \text{KPM-arrive} \quad \text{this-time} \\
\quad \text{[tur}^{\gamma} \quad \text{mi]-ja}^\prime \quad \text{uai}^\prime \quad \text{cə}^\prime \quad \text{k}^{h\text{ern}} \quad \text{hai}^\prime \quad \text{ba}^\prime \quad \text{Tur} \quad \text{3-DU} \quad \text{Vai} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{mat} \quad \text{spread.out} \quad \text{having}^{109} \\
\quad \text{[pəktərua}^\prime \quad \text{cə}^\prime \quad \text{[təram}^\prime \quad \text{ko}^\prime \quad \text{hai}^\prime \quad \text{t}^{h\text{en}}} \quad \text{miʔ} \quad \text{badger} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{ear} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{put.in} \quad \text{LNK} \\
\quad \text{bən}^\prime \quad \text{sə}^\prime \quad \text{həm}^\prime \quad \text{hik}^\prime \quad \text{[mi-kla]} \quad \text{peʔ}^\prime \quad \text{soil} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{OBJ} \quad \text{drop} \quad \text{this-occur} \quad \text{DECL} \\
\quad \text{‘(They) ran, and (they) came to Tur and Vai, and with Tur and Vai having spread out a mat, the badger took the dirt that was inside his ear and put it down, so it happened.’} \\
\]

Example (316), repeated here as (556), further illustrates the marker \( k^{h\theta} \)‘having’, which is preceded by the word \( \text{pe}^\prime \)‘this’. In the clause marked by \( \text{pe}^\prime\text{-}k^{h\theta} \)‘this-having’, the information is not a mainline event, as it contains the subject’s thought, which comments on the action.

\[
(556) \quad \text{juŋ} \quad \text{cə} \quad \text{[“pupɛt}^\prime \quad \text{no}^\prime \quad \text{um}^\prime \quad \text{an}^\prime \quad \text{həm}^\prime \quad \text{la}^\prime \quad \text{”}] \quad \text{pe}^\prime\text{-}k^{h\theta} \quad \text{rabbit} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{turtle} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{catch} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{OBJ} \quad \text{CONTR} \quad \text{this-having} \\
\quad \text{tuklim} \quad \text{mə-tum} \quad \text{mui} \quad \text{kai} \quad \text{vit} \quad \text{pet} \quad \text{shade} \quad \text{this-place} \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{PFV} \quad \text{DECL} \\
\quad \text{‘The rabbit, thinking, “The turtle won’t catch me,” went to sleep in the shade.’} \\
\]

The marker \( nə \) ‘having’, as illustrated in (557), is also used for clauses that contains supporting information.

\[109\] The word ‘having’ in English seems to be the best way to gloss this conjunction. An example in English would be, “Having bought groceries, she went home.”
‘The hen went to teach (them) to swim, and having gone under the water, died.’

In examples (558) and (559) the marker na˥ ‘having’ occurs with pe˧ ‘this’. Example (558) comes from a story in which a bird and worm are the main characters. In (558) the clause marked by pe˧-na˥ ‘this-having’ contains an action that is performed by peripheral characters, which is supporting information for the mainline event.

In (559) pe˧-na˥ ‘this-having’ marks the second clause, which is modified by the adverbial reason clause that precedes it. The first and second clause in (559) sets up the scene for the following clauses.
At this point I present a larger section of text. In (560) clauses are marked with brackets, adverbial phrases are marked with parentheses, and mainline verbs are underlined. The first mainline verb is kai˥ ku˦˨ ‘go steal’, which is an SVC. The second is kai˥ ‘go’, the third is pjuŋ˥ ‘run’, and the fourth is also pjuŋ˥ ‘run’. Each of these verbs in this chain of clauses are related in the action that the main characters are involved in. The first three of the four clauses these verbs appear in are followed by the conjunction mə-

kʰa˥ (mi-kʰa˥˩) ‘this-time’, which I have presented as marking mainline events. The fourth mainline verb occurs in the final clause.

Two clauses, one in (d) and one in (h), are marked with kʰəʔ˦˨ ‘having’. In (d) kʰəʔ˦˨ ‘having’ is preceded by pe˧ ‘this’. This is the only clause where the subject differs from the subject found in clauses expressing mainline events. In (560) the two clauses marked by kʰəʔ˦˨ ‘having’ in (d) and (h) do not appear to be in a temporal succession relationship with the clauses that follow them. The temporal relationship between the clause marked by kʰəʔ˦˨ ‘having’ in (d) and the following clause seem to be simultaneous. They were running as their enemies could see them. Likewise, the clause marked by kʰəʔ˦˨ ‘having’ in (h) and the following clause seem to be temporally simultaneous. They ran as the firefly was lighting the way.

In (560) clauses (e)-(g) contain medial clauses, but they are not marked by any conjunction. This does not seem typical of medial clauses in Hkongso. Usually medial clauses are marked by a temporal conjunction.

Another thing to note in (e)-(g) is that the subjects of the three medial clauses are different from the subject of the final clause. The final clause contains the plural subject agreement marker va˦˨ ‘PL’, but the medial clauses contain singular subjects. I hypothesize that this possibility occurs when the individual subjects of the medial clauses are subsets of the subject of the final clause.
(a) ṁa˧ mə-kʰa˥ [(kluŋri˧ pre˥ hai˥ ) bɔn˦˨ over this-time Klungri country from soil kai˥ ku˧ va˦˨] mə-kʰa˥ miʔ˥ go steal PL this-time LNK

(b) [(jak˧ tʰaŋ˧ ) [he˧ sʰi˥˩ no˧ ki˧ ] mi˥par˥mi˦˨ night side enemy PL NEG to see so that

(c) [mai˦˨ tɔr˥ ɬɘ˥] kai˥ mə-kʰa˥ fire take with go this-time

(d) ṃa˧ mə-kʰa˥ [[he˧ sʰi˧ maʔ˥ ki˧ ] pe˨kʰəʔ˦˨ over this-time enemy PL SUBJ to see this-having piun˥] mə-kʰa˥ run this-time

(e) [luŋkui˥˩ cə˧ kuŋ˥ tʰaŋ˧ sʰik˥ sʰao˧˥˧ ] caterpillar TOP after side stick out spikes

(f) [pao˥ma˦˨ cə˥ pəktərua˥ həm˥ kʰukkəŋ˦˨ ] cockroach TOP badger OBJ cover

(g) [[nʰan˧ cə˧ [oː˥nɑŋ˦˨ sʰi˧ ve˧ mi-kʰa˥ ] sʰan˧ nlei˧ ] spider TOP river valley PL COP this-time spin bridge

(h) mi˥ plun˦˨ mi-kʰa˥ miʔ˥ [məkle˥ cəʔ˦˨ ŋa˦˨ tʰaŋ˥ this finish this-time LNK firefly TOP front side tir˧ mai˥ kʰəʔ˥ [piun˥ va˧ miʔ˥ kla˥ peʔ˦˨ ] light up fire having run PL LNK occur DECL

‘(a) And so they went to steal the dirt from Klungri (country) and (b) at night, so their enemies couldn’t see, (c) by taking fire, they went, and then, (d) their enemies having seen, they ran, and (e) (with) the caterpillar sticking out his spikes behind them, (f) the cockroach covering the badger, (g) the spider, when there were river valleys, spinning a bridge and (h) they, with the firefly having lit the way, ran on, so it happened.’

Medial clause conjunctions are summarized in Table 29. The ‘structural type’

describes the temporal relationship between the preceding and following clause and the

‘information type’ describes the information that appears in the preceding clause.

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110 This refers to a type of bridge made out of rope.
9.4 Serial verb constructions

9.4.1 Introduction

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are found in many languages, and “are characteristic of certain linguistic areas and families, including the languages of Western Africa, mainland Southeast Asia, and many pidgin and creole languages” (Kroeger 2004:226).

Dixon (2006:344) describes SVCs as “a most useful grammatical device, coding all sorts of grammatical processes that may be realized through affixation in other languages—aspect, modality, valency-changing, definiteness, and very many others.” Hkongso, like many Tibeto-Burman languages, uses SVCs for many of these processes as illustrated in examples (561) and (537), repeated here as (562).

(561) Benefactive  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
kai & s'om & hau & jok & tok & de \\
\end{array}
\]
\quad 'Go help (him) find a job.'

(562) Causation  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
dai & həm & an & pa & jok & loŋ & bom \\
\end{array}
\]
\quad Dai OBJ 1SG surprise give Longhtang hit
\quad 'I caused Dai to hit Longhtang.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Structural type</th>
<th>Information type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe-kʰa˦˨</td>
<td>succession</td>
<td>mainline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-kʰa˧˥</td>
<td>succession</td>
<td>mainline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəcə˧</td>
<td>circumstance</td>
<td>mainline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰəʔ˦˨, pe˧-kʰə˦˨, nə˧, pe˧-nə˧</td>
<td>succession/simultaneous</td>
<td>supporting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are restricted positions in Hkongso SVCs. For example, directionals, such as \textit{kai˥} ‘go’ are restricted to the beginning of the SVC and \textit{jok˦˨} ‘give’ is restricted to the end of the SVC, as illustrated in (561). The two verbs in the middle are unrestricted in that any verb may appear in this position.

Hkongso also uses the verb \textit{jok˦˨} ‘give’ in speech acts as illustrated in (563).

(563) Speech Act
\begin{verbatim}
“po˥ kja˦˨ təma˦˨ de˥ ” pa˥ jɔk˦˨
take cow daughter IMP say give
“Please take the cow's daughter as your wife,” (the mountain) said (to the mouse).
\end{verbatim}

“The term ‘serial verb’ has been used by different authors in slightly different ways, and linguists sometimes disagree about whether a particular construction in a given language is ‘really’ a serial verb or not” (Kroeger 2004:222). Kroeger (2004:229-30) and Dixon (2006:339-44) present characteristic properties of SVCs for the analysis of multiverbal constructions. The following section identifies the verb \textit{jok˦˨} ‘give’ in multiverbal constructions as SVCs by using features from both lists.

\subsection*{9.4.2 Serial Verb Constructions with ‘give’}

“In valency-increasing SVCs, ‘give’ typically forms causative constructions. Benefactive SVCs add the role of recipient or beneficiary; they may also involve the verb ‘give’” (Aikhenvald 2006:26).

The verb ‘give’ appears in many Tibeto-Burman SVCs. In Lisu, “The verb ‘give’ is also used post-head in a benefactive meaning, sometimes with a causative result. As a pre-head it is a permissive causative” (Bradley 2003:231). Wheatley (2003:203) provides a Burmese example with ‘give’ functioning as a benefactive, and Soe (2003:185) labels Burmese ‘give’ as a causative and benefactive. In Lahu, ‘give’ is used in benefactive and causative constructions (Matisoff 2003:219).
This section shows that the verb *jok˦˨* ‘give’ exhibits the prototypical properties of SVCs. In examples (564) and (565), *jok˦˨* ‘give’ occurs as the sole verb in a clause, showing that it can occur as a morphologically independent main verb. Therefore it is not an auxiliary and thus fulfills Dixon’s property #3 and Kroeger’s property #1.

(564) anŋ˧ jok˦˨ cauk˧
1SG give book
‘I gave a book.’

(565) mɔŋ˧mɔŋ˧ jok˦˨ aŋ˧ pak˥˩ ɬək˦˨
Maung.Maung give 1SG pig a
‘Maung Maung gave me a pig.’

SVC property #10 by Dixon (2006:343) states, “Asymmetrical SVCs tend to become grammaticalized, and symmetrical SVCs (where both members come from an unrestricted class) tend to become lexicalized.” The SVC in (561) is asymmetrical, “with a major member (wide range of possibilities) and a minor member (limited set of possibilities).” In (561), *sʰom˥˩* ‘help’ and *hau˥* ‘search’ retain their individual lexical meaning, but the verbs *kai˥* ‘go’ and *jok˦˨* ‘give’ become grammaticalized, providing functions rather than lexical meanings.

Examples (566), (567), and (143), repeated here as (568), differ from (565). In (565) word order is subject, verb, direct object, secondary object, and there are no case markers. In examples (566), (567), and (568), the direct object precedes the verb and an additional *jok˦˨* ‘give’ is added, creating an SVC. Why do examples (566)-(568) contain SVCs and (565) does not? Aikhenvald (2006:25) writes, “Serial verb constructions are often used as valency-increasing mechanisms, to mark causatives, benefactives, instrumentals, and comitatives or sociatives. They are also employed for specifying arguments, that is, to introduce direct objects and various other arguments and obliques.”
Hkongso topicalizes arguments by fronting. It is possible that \textit{jok\textsuperscript{\textdegree}} ‘give’ is used along with fronting in these constructions to “specify” or “introduce” the argument.\textsuperscript{111}

\begin{align*}
\text{(566)} & \begin{array}{c}
\text{Maung.Maung OBJ} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{book} \\
\text{I gave a book to Maung Maung.}
\end{array} \\
\text{(567)} & \begin{array}{c}
\text{this man} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{this man OBJ} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{book} \quad \text{one} \\
\text{He gave a book to that man.}
\end{array} \\
\text{(568)} & \begin{array}{c}
\text{Dai OBJ} \quad \text{father for} \quad \text{book} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{REA} \\
\text{I gave Dai a book for his father.}
\end{array}
\end{align*}

Examples (566), (567), and (568) appear to be reduplication, but this is not the case. Hkongso does have reduplication as illustrated in examples (569) and (570), but a reduplicated verb can only occur as an adverb and never in the place of the matrix verb. Furthermore, as illustrated in (569) and (570) and many other examples in this paper, \textit{jok\textsuperscript{\textdegree}} ‘give’ directly follows a variety of verbs and not just \textit{jok\textsuperscript{\textdegree}} ‘give’, as would be expected of a reduplicated matrix verb.

\begin{align*}
\text{(569)} & \begin{array}{c}
\text{teach} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{story again-again IMP} \\
\text{Please tell the story again and again for me.}
\end{array} \\
\text{(570)} & \begin{array}{c}
\text{go to} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{often DECL} \\
\text{(He) goes often (to see her).}\textsuperscript{112}
\end{array}
\end{align*}

The verb \textit{jok\textsuperscript{\textdegree}} ‘give’ appears in benefactive SVCs, as illustrated in (561) and (571). The verb \textit{pə\textdegree} ‘do’ is illustrated in (551), repeated here as (572), as the matrix verb to provide contrast with the SVC in (571).

\begin{align*}
\text{(571)} & \begin{array}{c}
\text{1SG} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{work} \\
\text{I go do work for (him).}
\end{array}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{111} At this point I only have enough data to present a hypothesis.

\textsuperscript{112} This is a euphemism for having sexual relations.
(572) an˧ pɘ˧ tɔ k˧ tɑŋak˦˨ hɑm˥ ve˥
1SG do work must IRR COP
‘There is work I must do.’

Examples (561) and (571) contain more than one verb, but the clause remains a single event. This fulfills Dixon’s SVC property #1 and Kroeger’s SVC property #4. Furthermore, there is no linkage of coordination or subordination.

The verb jok˦˨ ‘give’ also appears in speech act SVCs, as illustrated in examples (573) and (442), repeated here as (574). In these examples, as in all SVCs in Hkongso, the verbs are not marked independently for tense, aspect, and modality.

(573) loŋhu˥˩ pe-nə˥ pʰau˦˨ jok˦˨
Longhu this-having call give DECL
‘(They) called him Longhu.’

(574) tʰok˥˩bak˦˨ jok˦˨ kʰɛk˥ peʔ˨
to.curse give adamantly DECL
‘(He) cursed (the worm) adamantly.’

The audio waveform for (574) is shown in Figure 7.

113 The evidence for this is based on the speaker’s intuition.
Figure 7: Audio waveform

Figure 7 shows the verb jok˦˨ ‘give’ following another verb with no pause separating them. The SVC belongs to a single intonation contour, thus exhibiting Kroeger’s SVC property #3. If the verb tʰok˥˩bak˦˨ ‘to.curse’ occurs as a single verb, there is a final velar stop /k/, but when jok˦˨ ‘give’ follows it, the stop is omitted.

The verb jok˦˨ ‘give’ also appears in causative SVCs, which is typical of the verb ‘give’ (Aikhenvald 2006:25). Hkongso causative formations, as illustrated in (537) and (538), repeated here as (575) and (576) are biclausal and the SVC occurs in the initial clause.

(575) [dai˥ həm˥ aŋ˧ pək˧ jok˦˨ ] loŋthän˧ bom˦˨  
Dai OBJ 1SG cause give Longhtang hit  
‘I caused Dai to hit Longhtang.’

(576) [dai˥ pək˧ jok˦˨ loŋthän˧ ] dai˥ matː˧ hai˥ ju˥ bom˦˨  
Dai cause give Longhtang Dai self from wife hit  
‘Dai made Longhtang hit his (Dai) wife.’
Example (578) is the answer to (577). In (578) the SVC *ca˥ jok˦˨ ‘eat give’* is negated by *no˧ ‘NEG’*. When negated, the SVC is not separated by the negation, but rather functions like a single predicate as in Dixon’s property #4 and Kroeger’s property #5.

(577) ən˦˨ ca˥ jok˦˨ na˦˨ pram˦˨ va˦˨ 2SG eat give what medicine Q
‘What medicine are you taking? (Lit. What medicine are you made to take?)’

(578) na˥ pram˦˨ pə˧ aŋ˧ no˧ ca˥ jok˦˨ pram˦˨ what medicine as.for 1SG NEG eat give medicine
pə˧ aŋ˧ no˧ hai˥ ran˦˨ ne˦˨ pram˦˨ ґʌŋ˥ rau˥ also 1SG NEG able buy PRT medicine price hurt
miʔ˥ hak˦˨ pasan˥˩ pə˧ no˧ ve˧˥˧ LNK and money as.for NEG COP
‘Medicine? I'm not taking any. I can't afford any medicine. Medicine is very expensive and I don't have any money.’

9.4.3 Direction

Direction verbs occur as matrix verbs and in SVCs, where they indicate motion of the action. The verb *kai˥ ‘go’* occurs as the main verb in (579) and in an SVC in (252), repeated here as (580), where motion is added to the action ‘steal’. Example (580) also illustrates how SVCs may occur with pre-verbal auxiliaries, which are discussed in §5.2.

(579) dai˥ kai˥ pəŋŋuŋ˦˨ Dai go Paletwa
‘Dai went to Paletwa.’

(580) bon˥ no˧ hai˧ kai˥ ku˥ va˥ peʔ˥ soil NEG able go steal PL DECL
‘They weren’t able to go steal dirt.’
9.4.4 Residue

As illustrated below, there are some examples of the verb $jok˧˨$ ‘give’ in an SVC that does not appear in a benefactive, causative, or speech act function.

(581) $lontʰəŋ˦˨$ $pjun˥$ $kai˥$ $tʰa˥$ $məʔ˦˨$ $mi˥luŋ˦˨$
Longhtang run go strength by so
$pʰo˥$ $jok˧˨$ $hu˥$ $matʰəŋ˥$ $rəp˦˨$
tired give most become already
‘The harder Longhtang ran the more tired he got.’

(582) $bɨŋ˧$ $jok˧˨$ $kim˧$ $vit˥$ $peʔ˥$
shut give house PFV DECL
‘(He) shut the door.’

(583) $va˥$ $hai˥$ $tom˥$ $matun˥$
PL from area at
$kətʰeŋ˥˩$ $kətəp˧$ $kʰɔŋ˥$ $ve˥$
replace take.ownership occupy live
$jok˧˨$ $mi˥luŋ˧$ $ən˧$ $cə˧$ $kʰon˥˩$ $nəʔʰə˥˩$
give so 2SG SUBJ Hkong right SP.ACT
‘On other people's land, (you) take over and live, so you will be Hkong.’

(584) $təo˧$ $mi-tum˥˩$ $dai˥$ $məʔ˥$ $kai˥$ $jok˧˨$
stream this-place Dai SUBJ go give
‘To the river Dai went.’

(585) $ə˧$ $mi˥$ $vit˥$ $mi-tum˥˩$ $dai˥$ $məʔ˥$ $kai˥$ $jok˧˨$ $va˥$
there this field this-place Dai SUBJ go give Q
‘What field did Dai go to?’

(586) $ə˧$ $mi˥$ $vit˥$ $cə˧$ $dai˥$ $məʔ˥$ $kai˥$ $jok˧˨$ $pet˥$
there this field SUBJ Dai SUBJ go to give DECL
‘That field Dai went to.’

(587) $kuiməŋ˧$ $məʔ˥$ $map˦˨$ $jok˧˨$ $miʔ˥$ $ut˥$ $tʰək˦˨$
cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die
‘The mouse that the cat bit died.’
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114 This paper is now published as follows, yet I have not been able to see it prior to finishing the thesis: Dryer, Matthew S. 2008. Word order in Tibeto-Burman languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 31:1-88.


Peterson, David A. 2005b. Initial observations on Bangladesh Mru morphosyntax. Paper presented to 11th Himalayan Languages Symposium (HLS), Chulalongkorn University.


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