

A PROVISIONAL SKETCH OF SIZANG (SIYIN) CHIN

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Introduction

The texts upon which the following sketch is based were gathered during a six-week tour of the Northern Chin Hills of Burma, 1954, in a party sponsored by the University of Rangoon, and including among its members Professor G. H. Luce of the University, Miss E. J. A. Henderson, of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Mr. Khin Maung Saw, of the University, and myself. My capacity at the University was that of research fellow in linguistics, under the Fulbright program.

The developing character of my own research on that tour took the form of a brief grammatical survey. In Rangoon, Mr. E. Van Kyi, a Zanniat informant, had outlined impressionistically the linguistic affinities of the peoples in the Falam Subdivision, of which the Lente were said to be most divergent. Having some acquaintance with a language of central tendency

(Laizo), I set as my objective securing material in Lente. Later, when our group moved on to Tiddim, I determined to do the same thing there, working at one extreme with Sizang (close to Kamhau, which Miss Henderson had under study) and later, at the other, with Zo. Whenever possible I worked in the village, but for Sizang it proved most feasible to work in Tiddim.

Material thus secured must admittedly be incomplete, and suffers furthermore from defects imposed by the conditions under which it was carried out. I was fortunate in being able to work some ten days with my Sizang informant, as against a week apiece for Lente and Zo. For flexibility, at Tiddim I worked in part through an English-speaking interpreter, Mr. Hebrew Tuan Khaw Kham, A.P.R.O. at Tiddim, himself a Kamhau Chin, checking materials directly with the informant in Burmese. This procedure imposed limitations, but the conscientiousness of both the interpreter and the informant, Mr. Lian Kham, of Buan Man Village, did much for accuracy. As official interpreter at Tiddim, Mr. Lian Kham is sensitive to dialect differences, and he took pains to correct occasional lapses into Kamhau, a defect from which previous works also suffer.

In judging what we were able to accomplish in so short a period, the reader must bear in mind that I had had several months prior acquaintance with Ashö (Plains Chin), several intensive sessions in Laizo, had worked over vocabulary lists, in the company of Professor Luce, in several of the Falam dialects, and had spent a week with Lente, at the time I began to work in Sizang. Furthermore, I had the advantage of *déjà vu*—thanks to the grammar of E. B. Naylor.

Method

After two preliminary days, one devoted to recording vocabulary and the next to working with morphological and syntactic frames, we proceeded to texts. In all, six texts were recorded, varied in subject matter at my request. One was a description of a ceremony, three were folk-tales, one an informal letter, and one a youthful conversation. That Mr. Lian Kham was the only Sizang available precluded my recording spontaneous speech, although I had ample opportunity to hear spoken Kamhau. On all but the first text, I had Mr. Lian Kham write out beforehand, in the current romanization of Sizang, the material he was to dictate. Originally this was designed to speed up dictation, but the papers, which I have retained, have since proved useful in affirming that certain divergent forms, to be described below, are not the result of a recording error.

Texts were first dictated at a speed as rapid as I could maintain, then were read back so that I could enter corrections, at which time I also marked junctures. When it came to translation and analysis, I found the pause groups to comprise syntactic units prominently marked by characteristic particles immediately preceding juncture. It thus became natural to

use those particles as major discrimina in analysis. With the translation of the text came the collection of paradigmatic forms, alternative expressions, and other cognate data, tied in as notes to the text and entered into facing pages. A final dictation permitted me to record the text on magnetic tape, while checking for sandhi-effects. That final dictation becomes my standard, the closest approximation to normal speech I could attain. Unfortunately, I did not tape the paradigms.

Each evening, the morphemes recorded during the day were transcribed upon separate cards, in context, with reference to line and page appended. This procedure brought at once to my attention discrepancies between renditions of the same item and made it possible to check them directly with Mr. Lian Kham. The total sample collected during that course of the study numbers approximately 560 morphemes, a fair number of them in sufficiently varied context to permit provisional statements.

The major shortcomings of a study so conducted may be expected to lie in the semantic field, particularly as concerns individual morphemes. Grammatical findings, on the other hand, resting as they do upon repetitive phenomena, may be more trustworthy. I have not hesitated to qualify the degree of trust which certain statements warrant; but I have also advanced others which, resting upon slight data, may later prove illusory, in the hope that some at least will provide leads for other workers.

I take this opportunity to register my appreciation of the stimulating company of my colleagues in the field; to Dr. Htin Aung, Rector of the University of Rangoon, for making possible an expedition which, under other circumstances, he would himself have led; to U Cho, Executive Director of the USEFE and to U Htun Myaing, his Executive Assistant; to the Hon. Za Hre Lian, Minister for Chin Affairs, and to his subordinates in the Chin Ministry, at Falam and at Tiddim, for many kindnesses. I cannot refrain from adding my special appreciation to Lian Cin Thang, P.R.O. at Tiddim, Mr. Sia Lwe, Inspector of Schools, Chin Hills, to Khua Hat, M.E.O. at Falam, and to Messrs. Lian Kham and Tuan Khaw Kham, who gave unstintingly of their time in the furtherance of our research.

A grant from the Faculty Research Fund, University of Oregon, which I gratefully acknowledge, made possible the collection of magnetic tapes as part of this study.

The present study was completed in 1955 and revised in 1957.

The People

The Sizang (Siyin is the Burmese rendition) are a people speaking a Northern Chin dialect, whose villages are scattered along the slopes of the southern portion of the Tiddim Subdivision, Northern Chin Hills, in the vicinity of Fort White. Their principal neighbours are the Kamhau (a Sokte offshoot) to the North, the Hualngo (closely linked with the

Lushei) to the West, and, to the South, the Ngawn, who in some ways form a transitional link with the Central Chin languages. Together with the Nwite and Sokte, the Sizang derive their origin from an ancestral pair, who came into being at the historic Sokte village of Chimnue, an event, according to the Sizang of the 1890's, removed in time some thirteen generations. An alternative legend, recorded by Naylor (pp. 41-45), brings the progenitor band of the Sizang from the Shan city of Kale, with only subsequent contact with Chimnue.

In the initial moves to pacify the Hills just after the annexation of Upper Burma, the Sizang found themselves in an exposed position and made their name conspicuous by their resistance. They have gained thereby a martial reputation that has resulted often in their being preferred for higher positions in the colonial and national armies. They have a name today as shrewd traders, widely travelled, and are undergoing a selective acculturation toward their Burman neighbours and, through them and A.B.M. missionaries, toward Westernization. Thus, a recent note on progress in the Kalembo district records the successful introduction of mechanized farming to the Lushei village of Khampat and the move by the Sizang of Thingunan village to have the scheme extended to their area. (*The Nation* [Rangoon], 22 Jan., 1955, p. 1). It is noteworthy that these villages lie at the base of the Chin Hills and mark a movement down upon the plains.

Within the Northern Chin Hills, Sizang plays a role secondary to Kamhau (Tiddimkam) as a general vehicle of communication. The Sizang of Tuklai village publish a mimeographed news-sheet, *Zo* (i.e., Chin), in a romanized script developed by missionaries and by administrators.

Previous Work

Two major works on Sizang have been produced. The first, by Captain F. M. Rundall (*Manual of the Siyin dialect spoken in the Northern Chin Hills*, Rangoon, Supt. of Govt. Printing, 1891), is the source upon which are based the remarks on Sizang in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. III, Pt. III (1904), pp. 73-74). Rundall, whom I have been able to consult only after my own analysis was virtually complete, makes a number of keen observations upon the language, but presents his material in an orthography which Konow (LSI, *op. cit.*) rightly qualifies as difficult to assess phonetically. The fact that he presents a number of particles found neither in my own brief texts nor in Naylor's more extensive ones may arise, as Naylor claims, from the circumstance that Rundall failed to keep separate distinct dialects.

Although L. B. Naylor (*A practical handbook of the Chin language (Siyin dialect)*, Rangoon, Supt. of Govt. Printing, 1925), like Rundall, fails to indicate tones and casts his grammar into a traditional form, Latin-inspired, his material is eminently useful, in particular the texts, which

provide checks for my own syntactic observations. A comparison of the sample sentences for administrators provides the interested reader with an amusing reflection of the life of the British civil servant in his native contacts, in the early days of annexation (Rundall) and in their late maturity (Naylor).

It will be found that, while Rundall offers several stylistic modes, Naylor rather closely restricts himself to polite discourse.

(Sources for historical sketch: Scott, J. G., and Hardiman, J. P., *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Rangoon, Supt. of Govt. Printing, 1900-01, 5 vols. Vol. i, pp. 441-457; Naylor, *op. cit.*).

I. Phonology

1. Sizang phonemes comprise 16 consonants, 6 vowels, length and four tones.

1. I Consonantal Series:

1. II Stops:

/b/ voiced bilabial stop. [bʔ] appears as a non-phonemic fluctuant. **/b/** occurs in initial position only.

/p/ unvoiced bilabial stop. Its allophones are two: as [p] it appears initially, while as [pʰ] (unreleased) it is final.

/ph/ aspirate unvoiced bilabial stop. It occurs only initially.

/d/ voiced dental stop. [dʔ] appears rarely, and then with but light glottalization, as a non-phonemic fluctuant. **/d/** occurs in initial position only.

/t/ unvoiced dental stop. Its three allophones are [j] before /i/, [tʰ] in final position, and [t] in initial position in all other contexts.

/th/ aspirate unvoiced dental stop. Its two allophones are always initial. [tʰ] occurs before /i/, while [th] is found in all other contexts.

/k/ unvoiced velar stop. It is [kʰ] in final position, [k] in initial position.

/kh/ aspirate unvoiced velar stop. It occurs in initial position only.

Note particularly the non-appearance of ***/g/**, by which pattern symmetry is broken.

Initial vowels open from glottal closure, a feature which can best be considered an invariant quality of juncture. However, the contrastingly strong onset which marks a few words, such as [ʔui] "dog", suggests the existence of a phoneme, /ʔ/.

1. 12 Spirants:

/v/ voiced labio-dental spirant, articulated to the inner surface of the lower lip, with medium aperture and accompanying labialization of moderate degree. It occurs in initial position only.

/z/ voiced alveolar spirant, with articulation that seems sometimes to approach apical position, and with medium aperture. Its two allophones

occur in initial position only. [z] appears before /i/ and /u/, while [z] is found in all other contexts.

/s/ unvoiced alveolar spirant. Its allophones are [s̺] before /i/ and /u/ and [s] in other contexts. It appears in initial position only.

For both **/z/** and **/s/**, Naylor has recorded both the basic and palatalized allophones—the latter rendered as [ʒ] and [ʃ]—before /i/ and /u/. It may well be that the palatalized phone is not an allophone but a fluctuant, but it is perhaps significant that for both phonemes it is restricted to this context, save for such loan-words as [an te] "Shans". Naylor, indeed, also records an aspirate, [sh], in the word, [shen] "sand", but I neither recorded it thus nor can I hear aspiration in the same word on tape.

/h/ glottal spirant, unvoiced. It occurs in initial position only.

1. 13 Nasals:

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal. It occurs in both initial and final position.

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal. It is found initially and finally. When, in final position it is long, it is preceded by a lightly audible, homorganic stop [d], a consequence, it would seem, of firm onset.

/ŋ/ voiced mediovelar nasal. It appears in both initial and final positions.

1. 14 Lateral:

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral. It occurs both initially and finally. Like **/n/**, it is preceded in lengthened final form by a homorganic stop, [d].

Discussion: There are no consonant clusters, either initially or finally, and, save where affixation occurs, consonants do not occur medially. Save for the aspiration of initial stops and the environmentally restricted palatalization of **/th/**, **/z/**, and **/s/**, there is no co-articulation of consonants. The fluctuant glottalized forms of **/b/** and **/d/** are perhaps also to be counted here. To one who knows Central Chin dialects, the absence of ***/r/** is striking.

1. 2 Vocalic series:

/i/ has three allophones. [i] occurs before consonants; [i̯] appears as unstressed onglide or offglide in vowel clusters; while [i] is found in all other contexts: initially, finally, after a consonant, and in lengthened form before a consonant.

/e/ appears in two allophones. It is [e] in lengthened form and before /i/, and [e̯] in all other contexts: initial and final positions, and before and after a consonant.

/a/ has two allophones. Before a consonant it is [a̯], with [Δ] as fluctuant, while elsewhere it is [a]: initially, finally, following a consonant, in lengthened form before a consonant, before a vowel, and in final position following a vowel.

/u/ has two allophones. As the unstressed first member of vowel clusters, it is [y]; while elsewhere it is [u]: in initial or final position, and before or after a consonant.

/o/ has a single phone. It occurs initially, before or after a consonant, and before the vowels /i/ and /a/.

/ɔ/ also has a single phone. It is found initially, finally, before and after consonants, and before the vowels /i/ and /a/.

Discussion: Vowel clusters may be composed of two or three vowels. Divocalic clusters may begin with any vowel but may have as second member only /i/, /e/, /a/, or /u/. The combinations are as follows:

/ie/C; /ia/ # or C; /ui/ #; /ua/ # or C;
 /ei/ #; /eu/ #; /oi/ #;
 /ai/ # or C; /au/ # or C; /ɔi/ #.

where “#” denotes word juncture and “C” a consonant.

Trivocalic clusters begin on a back vowel and end on offglide /i/. Numerically infrequent, they include:

/uei/ #; /oai/ #; and /ɔai/ #.

Since the presence of diphthongs among vowel clusters is intimately bound up with quantity, it will be discussed with that feature below.

1. 3 Prosodic features of combination:

Syllables in Sizang take the following form: V, VV, VVC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC. Those with vowel clusters overlap with forms of the same structure which are disyllabic, while the unit, CVVV, may be either monosyllabic or disyllabic, depending upon the component vowels. Compounding of syllabic units, to be described in detail in the following sections, seems always to have the general formula, CV-CX, where X stands for all but the initial phoneme of a syllable.

1. 4 Quantity:

Like Kamhau (Vui Za Thang and J. Gin Za Twang, *How to spell, pronounce and learn Tiddim-Chin words*. Baptist Board of Publications, Rangoon, 1953), Sizang distinguishes within sequences ending in -VV, -VC, and -VVC between a syllabic peaking that falls upon the first vowel and one which strikes instead the remaining unit. (A terminal sequence of the form -VVV acts like a member of the class, -VV.) Since peaking is attended by relative length, it is here conveniently expressed by the mora, [·], with the convention that when, in a sequence -VVC, the peak falls upon the second unit, -VC, the mora written after it applies, not merely to the final consonant, but to the entire unit. Thus: /tiaŋ·/ “when”.

Regarded structurally, the opposition that is implicit in this characteristic feature might be indicated merely by indicating length only in one unit. In Sizang, a more redundant system operates, so that, as it were, the

opposition is twice marked. The following instances will serve to illustrate the contrast:

-VV:	pa·i	“To lose”	pai·	“To go”
-VC:	be·l	“To take shelter under”	bel·	“(Superlative particle)”
	ta·m	“Jungle”	tam·	“To number, be many”
-VVC:	su·ak	“To emerge”	khuan·	“To crow”

Stop-final sequences form an exception within the -VC class, since they are marked but once, in the vowel that is the first unit. Since all final stops in Sizang are both unvoiced and unreleased, it is evident that one can no longer speak of a contrast either in syllabic peaking or in quantity. The opposition is nonetheless implicit in such contrasts as

ta·k	“To be afraid of something”	tak	“Definitely”
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and in the linking of cognate forms like /en·/ “to look at” and /et/ “gaze, glance”.

While contrasts in quantity are always clearly audible in glides (see 1.5), in the register tones, which are absolutely shorter, they are far more difficult to hear. Under the latter circumstances, I am persuaded, several forms which are repeated on the tapes exhibit a certain measure of fluctuation in contrast. This area merits further study in the field.

The effect of syllabic peaking upon vowel clusters should now be evident. An unstressed /i/ or /u/ in initial position within a divocalic cluster becomes an onglide, while similarly unstressed in final position it takes on the properties of an offglide. In either instance, the cluster in turn becomes a diphthong. A trivocalic cluster becomes either disyllabic, /oa·i/, /ɔa·i/, or monosyllabic, /ue·i/.

1. 5 Tones:

The Sizang tonic system is of mixed register-contour character, comprising four tones: (1) low, level, /- /; (3) high, level, a musical tone and a half above the lower register, /- /; (2) rising, from low tone to perhaps a quarter above high register, ///; (4) falling, from approximately high register to approximately low register /\/. Tones (2) and (4), which are appreciably longer in duration than the others, are most often subject to sandhi modification.

It is possible, but doubtful, that there exists a fifth tone, a low falling tone. From the comparative viewpoint, the presence of such a tone would be of interest in bringing the Sizang system closer to such Central Chin dialects as Laizo. A vocabulary list recorded in Rangoon from Max Vai Pum, a Sizang student from the village of Khua Sak, provides a number of instances, consistently pronounced in repetition, characterized by the moot

tonal behaviour. In the speech of Mr. Lian Kham, however, a low falling tone is at best a fluctuant of the register tone (1).

Certain of the tonic phonemes are modified in conversational discourse under conditions of tone sandhi and by the influence of a supra-segmental intonational system.

1. 6 Juncture:

Open juncture, listed in order of increasing duration, takes the form of space [], phrase final [/], clause final [,], and sentence final [.] juncture. Close juncture [~] bears upon certain sandhi-effects.

1. 7 Sandhi:

The effects of sandhi being closely related in Sizang to the speed of discourse, it is desirable to define the rate standard in the texts upon which analysis is based. The magnetic tapes for two texts, an informal letter and a conversation, when timed, yield rates crudely expressed as 174 and 169 syllables per minute, respectively. To judge impressionistically from the Kamhau conversation of Messrs Lian Kham and Tuan Khaw Kham, these rates fall well within the limits for spontaneous discourse. It was at this rate that final check and notation of sandhi-effects were made.

1. 71 Tone sandhi takes place even at slow dictation speeds between elements standing in close juncture.

The sequence (22) becomes (23):

-ka /na·p hi·	"I am fearless"
ki /ma·i -na·p a·	"[They], being fearless toward each other in their minds"
-ka /zo· hi·	"I am finished"
-ka /zo·~zo· hi·	"I complete being finished"

In normal speech (that is, at the dictation rate specified), the lessening of absolute junctural duration brings about further changes. Tone (2) then tends to pass over largely into other forms: (121) becomes (111), (323) becomes (333), while immediately before [,] it becomes a mid-level register tone (actually half a musical tone below tone (3)), here denoted by (β) and represented in transcription by /-/.

Tone (3) also undergoes modification. A sequence of (434), with at least two elements in close juncture, at slow dictation speeds becomes (444).

-ka -pa·u na·	"My speech"
ki~ pa·u~ pui· na·	"Conversation"
-ka -zaŋ· hi·	"I use [it]"
a ki~ zaŋ· zi· a·	"Of what use is it?"

In normal speech, across spans of space juncture, tone (4) is sometimes altered, (141) becoming (111).

A purely phonetic adaptation occurs in the sequence, (44), which takes

on the character of two complementary segments, a tone falling from high to mid-register, followed by a tone falling from just above mid-register to low. There is thus some perceptible overlap. A sequence of (444) becomes basically two high, falling segments and a third, low, falling segment. It may be further modified if it stands immediately before sentence-final juncture.

1. 72 Phonic sandhi occurs between certain particles, standing immediately before clause- and sentence-final juncture, which begin in /i/ and /u/, and the particle immediately preceding.

a. ... ju· ~ ti· ki~ ta· -zoŋ·	"I fear (ki~ta·) a centipede more" (/zo· plus -iŋ·)
cf. ... /zo· -hiŋ· (/zo· -hi· -uŋ·)	"We ... more"
b. -na·nu· -ten·	"Your family (lit. women)"
(/te· plus /in·)	
sien·	"The very one"
(/si·a plus /in·)	

It is possibly the same process that is responsible for certain intensive forms of personal nouns.

-a~ -man· "He", (a~ -ma· plus /in· ?)
-a~ -ma· -ten· "They", (-a~ -ma· /te· plus /in· ?)

Other instances involving /in/ are recorded by Naylor (p. 30: Sentence 8, p. 37:12, p. 38:1).

c. ka· tan· "Go (s.) and cry!" (-ta· plus in·)
cf. ka· -ta· vun· "Go (pl.) and cry!"

1. 72 I Tonal complementation: A special sandhi-effect takes place between certain classes of morphemes which stand together in syntactic relationship and close juncture. For such sequences, primary stress falls upon the second of the two morphemes, while in the first (a) the final vowel is shortened and (b) the tone becomes a register tone that contrasts with that of the stressed morpheme, thus:

(3) before (1) or (2)	-ka pu· -ka pa· -te·	"My forefathers". (-pu· "paternal grandfather", /pa· "father")
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(1) before (3) or (4)	-mi -ha·u /pa· -le· -mi zo·ŋ /pa·	"Rich man and poor man"
	(/ha·u "be rich", zo·ŋ "be poor")	
	a ti· hi·	"He said"

The same tonal behaviour characterizes a smaller group of morphemes in syntactic relationship but standing in open juncture.

These instances will be enumerated below.

1. 8 Intonation: Sandhi-effects upon certain tones, which arise from proximity to phrase-end, clause or sentence junctures, constitute the main evidence for the existence of an intonational system in Sizang.

1. 81 A syllable already shortened, as described in 1. 72 1, when standing in clause- or sentence-initial position, if in tone (3) becomes a high, falling tone, ending just above the register of tone (3).

, \ka /mei·/sa·u ˊzɔ· \hi· "My tail is longer"

1. 82 1 A phrase-final particle in tone (2) goes to tone (β). When immediately preceded by tone (4) in this context, a monosyllabic segment in tone (2) itself becomes tone (4).

-a ˊzɔ·ŋ ˊpa· -in· "The poor man (subject)"

-na·si· a ˊhoŋ· /ne·k \sa·k -si·a
"The very one who ate your tax"

but

-tɔ·~pi· ˊma·ŋ \khat \in· "A Lion Chief"

1. 82 2 Clause-final intonation is invariable in tone (1), and when the preceding tone is likewise (1), the clause-final member is further depressed to effect an audible contrast. Note particularly the following pairs:

a. ˊa ˊhi ˊzɔŋ·~in·, "However"
ˊa /om· ˊzɔŋ·, "Whether there is"

b. ˊa ˊthi· ˊtiaŋ·~in·, "When he dies"
ˊa·k \khuən· ˊtiaŋ·, "When the cock crows"

1. 82 3 Since phrase-final elements in tone (2) occur only at the end of noun phrases (2. 2)—though other tones may likewise be found in that position—while tone (1) is the only one to be found in clause-final position, the impression becomes strong that the intonation features just described serve at least in part as markers to discriminate the corresponding syntactic units. An intonational contrast would, indeed, have point in distinguishing the common noun-phrase endings, /in·/ and /a·/, from the equally common and largely homophonous clause-final particles, /in·/ and /a·/.

An association of the sort posited here would seem to underlie two usages noted as infrequent occurrences:

(a) A relational particle (2. 0. b), which ordinarily occurs in tone (1) when it terminates a noun phrase, in some five instances out of over fifty becomes instead tone (β):

/naŋ· ˊsa· ˊsi·a ˊna· ˊsuŋ· -a· "In your animal-trapping place"

(b) In one instance, the noun particle, /in·/, though not standing in phrase-final position, nevertheless is in tone (β).

-mi· ˊhiŋ· ˊli· -in· ˊzɔ·ŋ ˊa· "Four persons carrying [it]"

1. 83 Certain particles commonly found in sentence-final position in tone (4), may occur elsewhere in tone (3). A preceding tone (2) is then modified to tone (1).

-ka /he· \hi· . "I know" (final)
-ka he· -hi· , "I know" (suspensive)

1. 84 1 In formal discourse (4. 0), a tone (4) in sentence-final position is prolonged downward for an estimated half-note below low register (1). When it occurs in a sequence (44), the final tone becomes a low segment, extending from just above low register to the termination just described. The preceding tone then takes on the normal length and contour for tone (4). In a sequence (444), the first tone takes on the character of the high, falling tone described in 1. 81.

-koŋ· ˊson· \siet· \tu· \hi· . "I shall tell you fully"

1. 84 2 In colloquial discourse (4.0), a tone (4) in sentence-final position is shortened, extending downward only to about mid-register tone (β).

/baŋ· ˊvɔ·t \zi·a . "What is it doing?"

II. Noun Expressions

2. Nouns are those morphemes which can be followed immediately by the morphemes listed below. Noun expressions are those phrases which can replace them in that context. The morphemes enumerated will be termed noun particles.

a. /in·/ "(agentive)."

b. (Relationals): /a·/ "to, at" (it may follow other members of this class); /mun·/ "to (of persons)"; /doŋ·/ "up to"; /pan·/ /pa·/ "from"; /suŋ·/ "within, in"; /po·/ "without, outside"; /tuŋ·/ "atop, on above"; /nue·i·/ "below"; /saŋ·/ "toward"; /pui·/ "with (indicating mutuality)"; /tɔ·/ "together with, by means of".

c. (Comparative): /sa·ŋ/ "than".

d. (Distributive): /ve·i·/ /ve·~ /ve·i· "times": /ve·u·/ "each".

e. (Numericals): /ŋe·l·/ "both": /te·/ "(plural of persons)": /khoŋ·/ "plural (said to be the equivalent of Burmese —myôu)": /hiŋ·/ "(collective)".

f. (Intensives): /ma·/ "(negative)": /si·a·/ "the very". (Naylor's view (p. 3) that the latter element indicates the recipient of action is not borne out in my texts. Of some 12 occurrences, the head to which it is attributive is the object in only five instances, the subject in three. In three other instances, it occurs in equational sentences, and is there attributive in both noun phrases. In the final instance, the noun phrase in which it occurs is a verb attribute.)

/_siel·ki/ "mithan horn"; /_ɲua·tui/ "rain water"; //in·ɲan/ "domestic animals"; /_vom·lu·ɲam/ "Bear's (vom.) Head (lu.) region"; _mi·_thi·_khua "village of the dead (mi· 'person', thi· 'die')"; /_va~tim·_bu·\khat/ "one bird's (va~tim·) nest".

Infrequently, an attributive noun aside from the numerical nouns may follow the head, perhaps, in the example given here, for emphasis:

_mɔŋ·ku·ŋ·hi·si·a "This very pipal tree (mɔŋ·ku·ŋ)".

Alternatively, the same phrase can take on conventional order:

hi·_mɔŋ·ku·ŋ·si·a

2. 21 1 The personal nouns, when they are attributive, undergo vowel shortening and tonal complementation to the head.

-ke·i, -ke·i~_ma·

"I, me",

and -ko·, -ko·/te·, and -ei·/te·, -i·

"We, us" (-ei·/te·, -i·

probably inclusive forms.)
become kə "My, our".

/nan·, nan·~_ma·

"you (s.)",

and -no·, -no·/te·

"You (pl.)"

become nə "Your (s., pl.)".

_a~_ma·

"He, she, it",

and -a~_ma·/te·

"They"

become ə "His, etc., their".

(These forms will henceforth be rendered with the general allophone [a], thus: ka .)

Occasionally, the longer noun form is found:

_ke·i·_si·a·_ne·_si·a

"The very one who eats (ne·)
my taxes (si·a)".

2. 21 2 Corresponding to this behaviour is a vocalic shortening of some nouns in attributive relationship. The following nouns thus exhibit a fluctuation between /ua/ and /ɔ/ when in attributive position.

a. _khua· "Village". _khɔ·_mual· "Village memorial"

b. _khua·_vak ~ _khɔ·_vak· "Light"

c. _ɲua· "Bamboo". _ŋɔ·_phun· "Bamboo clump"

Vowel shortening here is evidently not attended by tonal complementation. As indicated, attribute and head stand in open juncture.

Compare as well the following forms all with the meaning, "this one, that one".

a. _tu·a·\zɔ·k

"After that"

_tu·a·_a·hi·_man·_in·

"Therefore"

_tu·a·_a·\a·i·_na·_a·

"At that place [where] he
celebrates (a·i)"

_tu·a·_diel·

"That streamer"

b. _ta·\baŋ·_in·

"In that way (baŋ· 'resemble')"

_ta·_tiaŋ·~_in·

"After that". (/tu·a/ may
replace /ta·/ here)

c. _tu·_ni·

"Today"

_tu·_don·

"Up to this [day]"

When /tu·/ is attributive, there is some evidence that it may stand in tonal complementation to the head.

In the following instance, shortening the final continuant in the attributive noun may be a consequence of tonal change.

/an·

"Food"

_an·_si·a

"Spirit food"

_zi·ŋ·/an·

"Breakfast"

2. 22 In a noun phrase with verb attribute, the latter, if it comprises a single morpheme, commonly follows the noun head in open juncture. Thus: /_tiŋ·_bɔ·ŋ·\khat/ "one stoop-back (i.e., aged person)"; //lam·_kim·_a·/ "mid-way, on the way"; /_tui·_lum·/ "warm water". My sample contains only one instance of such an attribute standing before the noun head: /_thi·_tha·/ "ghost (/_thi·/ 'die')". Note the tonal complementation it shows.

2. 22 1 Two nouns make tonal complementation to following verbal attributes:

a. _zi·a·_mi·

"That person"

_mi·_thi·

"Dead person"

_siel·_in·/mi·

_mi·_zɔ·ŋ·/pa·

"Poor man"

_si·\lum·

"The mithan
(siel·) goes

_mi·_ha·u·/pa·

"Rich man"

a person"

_mi·_hiŋ·

"Humans"

Note that in the right-hand examples, stress falls upon the second, verbal morpheme.

b. _tui·

"Water"

_tui·_thiaŋ·

"Clean water"

\ɲua·_tui·

"Rain water"

_tui·_sa·

"Hot water"

\zun·_tui·

"Urine"

_tui·_lum·

"Warm water"

_tui·_vot·

"Cold water"

Analogous behaviour is evinced for this word and the following verbal root in two instances. The majority of nouns do not exhibit similar tonal complementation.

_tui·_tim·_a·, -a·_tui·_tim·

_na·_tuŋ·_a·

"[He], damming (tim·) water, in the
place [where] he dams water . . ."

_tui·_luan·\hi·

"Water flows"

_tui·_luan·_na·

"The flowing of water, the place
where water flows"

Aside from the nouns already described, none in my sample manifests

This is perhaps the same element as occurs in the non-numerical phrase, /_da·k _tal· \tɔ·/ "with small gongs".

/lim· Used for balls of thread. Compare //lim·/ "roll up".

_kɔ·n Used for hanks of thread. Compare /_kɔ·n/ "wind vertically".

/lam· Used for plants springing from a single root. Compare //lam·/ "root".

/ku·ŋ Used for standing trees.

_mɔ·ŋ· /ku·ŋ \khat_nue·i -a· "Under a standing pipal tree".

However, compare the following: /_thiŋ· -ku·ŋ -tuŋ·~_a·/ "upon a standing tree"; /_thiŋ· -tuŋ·~_a·/ "upon a tree"; /_thiŋ· _luan·/ "log"; /_luan·/ "corpse".

_phuŋ· Used for copses.

_ŋua· -phuŋ· \khat "One clump of bamboo".

Compare the non-numerical phrase, /_ŋua· -phuŋ· _suŋ·~_a·/ "in the bamboo groves".

Naylor (p. 22:4) offers another example:

la·k : ban·~la· la·k khat hoŋ· la· tan· "Bring me a bunch of plantains".

It is not fatal to the constitution of a class of numerical classifiers that the members appear elsewhere as noun constituents of non-numerical expressions. However, for many of the nouns already enumerated, appearance in numerical expressions is optional, depending, it would seem, upon semantic requirements, rather than being invariantly demanded.

There is in one text the clause, /_ni· _thum· _ni· -tiaŋ·~_in·/ "on the third day", which bears superficial resemblance to Burmese numerical expressions involving classifiers of Cornyn's type 2. However, Sizang word-order leads to the following analysis of the numerical phrase:

ni· thum· ni·
 ↑ ↑

This parallels the phrase in Naylor (p. 38:8):

sa~ha·ŋ khat a~hɔk "The roar of one tiger". (My tsl.)

It would appear that one factor in the failure of Sizang to develop a clear-cut series of numerical classifiers involves word order. Save when personal nouns and numerical nouns are included, it is rare in Sizang to find a cluster of more than two nouns. Of these the last, save for a numerical noun, is the phrase head. It is in just that position, immediately before the cardinal noun, that these mooted words appear, and thus are constituted the head of the resultant phrase.

It may be remarked parenthetically, that Lian Kham, well aware of the numerical classifiers of Burmese, was reluctant to consider those enumerated for Sizang as comparable.

Finally, there are listed below instances in which it is specified that a noun of this type does not intervene in enumeration:

/_be·\khat/ "one piece of paper"; /_sa·~_bwe·\khat/ "one table (< Bu. zabwe)"; /_to·/ku·m \khat/ "one chair (to· 'sit)"; /_siel· \khat/ "one mithan"; /_bu· \khat/ "one box"; /_bo·~_lu·ŋ\khat/ "one ball (< Bu. boloun)"; /_ni· _thum· _suŋ·~_in·/ "within three days"; /_ma·ŋ \khat/ "an official"; /_ŋam· \khat/ "one tribe".

III. Verb Expressions

3. Roots which may form the head of phrases ending with the particles listed below are verb roots. Relative to two groups into which particles may be classified, verb roots fall into corresponding inflectional classes, here termed Stems I and II, characterized by tonal and phonic alternance.

Stem I occurs before particle-classes, to be enumerated below (IV. Sentence), here represented each by a principal member:

1. (Narrative-Equational: present, future, and present perfect tenses) /_hi·/ .
2. (Interrogative) /_zi·am·/ .
3. (Imperative) /_in·/ .
4. (Polite conditional) /_le·/ .

It also occurs when followed by the juxtaposed particle:

5. (Causative) /_sa·k·/ .

Stem II occurs before particle-classes similarly represented:

1. (Narrative-Equational: perfective tense) /_zɔ·k·/ .
2. (Verb-subordinating) /_in·/ .
3. (Noun-formative) /_na·/ .
4. (Colloquial conditional) /_le·k·/ .

The stem is likewise conditioned by the followed juxtaposed particles:

5. (Alterocentric: benefactive, malefactive) /_sa·k·/ .
6. (Transitive) /_san·/ .
7. (Associative) /_pui·/ .

3. 1 The tonal behaviour exhibited in the two stems differs for a number of verb classes. Of a total of some 235 verbs, approximately ninety occur in sufficient detail to permit assignment to the classes. Some of the verbs entered below are repeated, when a clitic particle alters tonal behaviour in the root.

Class a. (Stem I: Tone (2), II: (4)). Members (Stem I form cited): i·t "love", li·k "fall down", ki·~dem· "compare, contest", sa·t "beat", su·t "unwrap", zɔ· "finish (action) (?)", su·ak "emerge", za·n "be evening".

Class b. (I: (1), II: (4)). Members: *sim* "read", *na* "be ill", *khuaŋ* "crow", *khəa* "rear, raise", *ki~ha-u* "quarrel", *to* "sit", *vət* "make, do".

Class c. (I: (2), II: (2)). Members: *e* "defecate", *he* "know", *ne* "eat", *ki~ta* "be afraid", *va-i* "hunt", *om* "exist, be", *teŋ* "marry", *za* "hear", *pha* "number (intrans.)".

Class d. (I: (2), II: (3)). Members: *en* "look at", *na-p* "be fearless", *ka-p* "shoot", *tha-k* "send", *pal* "trip upon", *va-i* "work in fields", *kuan* "to go to work, work", *zo* "be able, win, end", *huan* "cook".

Class e. (I: (1), II: (3)). Members: *tim* "dam", *thiam* "be expert", *vil* "watch", *le-ŋ* "fly", *the-m* "deceive", *therj* "arrive", *keŋ* "have, bring", *ta* "roam", *sa-ŋ* "be tall", *pai* "go", *ta-i* "run", *pa-u* "talk", *huŋ* "help against another", *kui* "bend (intrans.)", *nui* "laugh", *pual* "hide (trans.)", *kual* "coil (intrans.)", *hual* "roll (intrans.)", *luaŋ* "flow", *po* "grow (intrans.)", *təp* "finish", *thi* "die", *bəŋ* "stoop".

Class f. (I: (3), II: (3)). Members: *hil* "teach", *si-a* "trap", *del* "chase", *lei* "lose, be small (?)", *khe* "peel", *sa* "think", *kap* "cry", *kam* "leave in calm", *kue-i* "bend (trans.)", *bu* "hide (intrans.)", *nui san* "mock", *thuk* "reply", *lum* "sleep, lie down", *doŋ* "ask question", *tal* "break (intrans.)", *ŋu-ak* "be alone", *mu* "see", *tə-i* "be tired", *ti-a* "return, go back", *keu* "hatch, be born", *that* "kill".

Class g. (I: (3), II: (4)). Members: *si* "meet", *he* "sorrow", *da* "sorrow", *zaŋ* "use", *a-i* "celebrate", *nop* "choose, be willing".

Class h. (I: (4), II: (4)). Members: *ki~si* "meet (recipr.)", *ki~ta* "fear (trans.)", *ki~zaŋ* "be used", *ki~za-k~ta* "respect (recipr.)", *ka-i* "collect (taxes)", pull, hang (intrans.), *ŋa-i sun* "think, intend", *ha-u* "be wealthy", *mə* "cannot, may not; lack (?)", *nei* "possess".

Class i. (I: (1), II: (1)). Members: *thiaŋ* "clean", *la-m* "dance".

It will be noted that verbs of classes c., f., h., and i. (over forty verbs) are subject to a zero-modification. Should analytical convenience dictate at some future time, they might easily be grouped together in contrast to the remaining classes.

Certain combinations to be expected are not represented among the classes. While they may be missing from sheer chance, their absence is at least suggestive. The following combinations fail to appear: I: (1), II: (2), I: (2), II: (1), I: (3), II: (2), I: (4), II: (2), I: (3), II: (1), I: (4), II: (3). By contrast with the absent combinations, those represented have a common quality: Stem II is tonally as high as, or higher than, Stem I.

3. 2 Correlative with tonal alternance there frequently goes an internal change, a phonic alternance in the stem. One hesitates to term it allomorphic behaviour, since it is not adaptation to the phonetic qualities of context. For convenience, the term "stem alternance", will be used to cover both the processes which distinguish stems.

As can be seen from the listing below, phonic alternance occurs in a number of verbs which, with respect to tone, exhibit zero-modification. For convenience, the class of such verbs is italicized. Each list is defined in terms of the final phoneme of the two stems.

I. <i>Vowel-Stop</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Stem I</i>	<i>Stem II</i>
"number"	<i>c</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>pha-t</i>
"be ill"	<i>b</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nat</i>
"roam"	<i>e</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tat</i>
"fear (intrans.)"	<i>c</i>	<i>ki~ta</i>	<i>ki~ta-t</i>
"meet (recipr.)"	<i>h</i>	<i>ki~si</i>	<i>ki~sik</i>
"defecate"	<i>c</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e-k</i>
"know"	<i>c</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>he-k</i>
"eat"	<i>c</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne-k</i>
"collect taxes; pull, hang"	<i>h</i>	<i>ka-i</i>	<i>ka-ik</i>
"think"	<i>i</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sak</i>
"be alive"	—	<i>nu-ŋ~ta</i> (Naylor p. 50)	<i>nun~ta-k</i>
"fear (trans.)"	<i>h</i>	<i>ki~ta</i>	<i>ki~ta-k</i>
"hear"	<i>c</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>za-k</i>
"finish (action)"	<i>a</i>	<i>zə</i>	<i>zə-k</i>
"hide (intrans.)"	<i>f</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>buk</i>
2. <i>Stop-Vowel</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Stem I</i>	<i>Stem II</i>
"kill"	<i>f</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>tha</i>
"respect" (cf. "fear, (trans.)")	<i>h</i>	<i>za-k~ta</i>	<i>za~ta-k</i>
"shoot"	<i>d</i>	<i>ka-p</i>	<i>ka</i>
"cry" (but see below)	<i>f</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>ka</i>
"emerge"	<i>a</i>	<i>su-ak</i>	<i>su-a</i>
3. <i>Nasal-Stop</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Stem I</i>	<i>Stem II</i>
"look at"	<i>d</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>et</i>
"leave in calm"	<i>f</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kap</i>
"use"	<i>g</i>	<i>zaŋ</i>	<i>zat</i>
"ask question"	<i>f</i>	<i>doŋ</i>	<i>dok</i>
"sleep, lie down"	<i>f</i>	<i>lum</i>	<i>lup</i>
"think, intend"	<i>h</i>	<i>ŋa-i sun</i>	<i>ŋa-i sut</i>

Note that in many instances nasal and stop are homorganic.

4. Nasal "ŋ"—Nasal "n"		Class	Stem I	Stem II
"stoop"	e		bɔŋ	bɔn
"fly"	e		leŋ	len
"have, bring"	e		keŋ	ken
"be tall"	e		saŋ	san
"generate"	e		khaŋ	khan
"help against another"	e		huŋ	hun
"crow"	b		khuaŋ	khuan
"flow"	e		luaŋ	luan

5. Ablaut		Class	Stem I	Stem II
"bend (intrans.)"	e		kue-i	kɔ-i
"be able, win, end" (cf. "finish")	d		zo	zɔ

From the standpoint of phonemic pattern, the major roots which exhibit no phonic alternance are those ending in /-I/.

3. 21 The place of the imperatives: Unlike other verbal forms, the majority of imperatives appear in my records only in brief paradigmatic frames. They are somewhat inconsistent, both among themselves and with the stem behaviour just described. For example, in point of phonic alternance they belong uniformly with Stem I, while tonally they sometimes differ from the expected state. Since, unfortunately, the paradigms were not taped, they cannot now be checked.

Two patterns offer convergent pressure for arguing regularity in the imperative forms: (a) One, already touched upon, suggests that the root, which phonically belongs to Stem I, should also exhibit the appropriate tonal behaviour: (b) The second urges that, like other major sentence types in polite discourse (see IV. Sentence, below), the imperative utterance should end in a tone (4). A single explanation, together with its sandhi consequences, brings all but a few instances into congruence with these major patterns.

In giving narrative-sentence frames for verbal paradigms, Mr. Lian Kham sometimes offered forms in suspensive, non-final intonation (see Para. 1. 83, above), readily supplying a final form when requested. As already pointed out, the non-final expression, /-ka.he·hi/ "I know", becomes /-ka/he·hi/ with final intonation. It seems, then, probable that some of the imperative statements were likewise given with non-final intonation. This explanation best covers the discrepancies from expected tone, though it leaves a few residua which must be assigned to fluctuation and to hearer's error.

Below are listed in columns the actual and expected tonal formulae,

together with the formula after adjustment according to the explanation just offered. When more than one formula is given for a single class, it is simply that the verbs within it differed. Thus, some may have been given in final, others in non-final, intonation.

Class	Actual	Expected	Adjusted
a	(13)	(24)	(24)
b	(13)	(14)	(14)
c	(23)	(24)	Not satisfied; this is one instance, already complicated by other sandhi-effects
d	(24)	(24)	None required
e	and (13)	(24)	(24)
f	(13)	(14)	(14)
g	(34)	(34)	None required
h	and (44)	(34)	See below
	(44)	(34)	See below
	(44)	(44)	None required

For the (44) formula actually present in some imperative expressions of Class *f* and those of Class *g* one may perhaps invoke the sandhi-effects sometimes observable in a tone (3) in sentence-initial position (Para. 1. 81, above). On rehearing, a falling tone of this nature should be distinguishable from an ordinary tone (4).

The apparent deviations from expected stem behaviour are thus for the most part amenable to explanation. They should be checked in the field, for it may well be that there is an actual deviation from the expected pattern. Meanwhile, the data on hand justify the provisional allocation of the verb root in imperative statements to Stem I.

3. 22 Naylor (p. 2, note) has, indeed, dismissed phonic alternance—he did not record tone—as the mechanical product of sandhi. A systematic analysis of the phonemes which immediately follow the verb root, in both his texts and mine, shows this statement to be improbable. Moreover, it can be shown (Para. 3. 2) that roots phonetically similar in Stem I may differ markedly from one another in Stem II—and that before the same morpheme!

Inspection reveals in Naylor a number of instances which conform to statements already made (Para. 3) as to the contexts in which stem alternance occurs. They are given below in what I deem to be the pertinent context, together with Naylor's translation. A number of them, as will be seen, already appear in my own material. Attention is drawn to exceptional instances.

- Stem I*
- a. **hoŋ·doŋ·hi** "To ask"
(p. 2, note)
- b. **nuam·hi** "To desire"
(p.2, note)
- c. **man·hi** "To catch"
(p. 2, note)
- d. **a~baŋ·na~sem·zi·am**
"What are you doing?"
(p. 21:5)
but
na~sem·mi~hiŋ~te
"Workers". (p. 42:4)
- e. **koi~lai na suak zi·am**
"Where were you born?"
(p. 30:1)
but
ni·suak lai hi
"The sun is rising".
(p. 32:13)
- f. **ŋai sun·hi** "Think" (p. 115)
- g. **kuaŋ·hi** "Crow" (p. 66)
- h. **tui a ne·sak hi** "Gave [her]
water to drink" [Or:
"made her drink water"]
(p. 46:1)
but
an~ti·a ne·siet zo·ha·ŋ~
in·~a "Because they had
eaten all the seed grain"
(p. 41:2, my tsl.)
- i. **en·hi** "Look at" (p. 90)
- j. **hu·hi** "Protect" (p. 103)
- k. **thi~na·hi** "Be ill" (p. 83)
- Stem II*
- hoŋ·dot ti·aŋ~in~a** "When
asked" (p.2, note)
- nuap na·** "A desire" (p. 2, note)
na vɔt nuap teŋ·hoŋ·hil·tan·
"Tell me what you want to do!"
(p. 26:1)
- a mat pa·** "One who catches"
(p. 2, note)
- hi~si·a a~na~sep** "This work"
(p. 17)
- na sua~na·koi~lai zi·am**
"Where were you born?"
(p. 30:1)
- ni·sua~ti·aŋ; ni·sua·lai·**
"At sunrise". (p. 31:25)
- ŋai sut** "Thought" (p. 115)
- a·k kuan·hun~ti·aŋ** "[At] cock-
crow". (p. 31-last)
- ziŋ~ti·aŋ a ne·k tu ta·ŋ** "Paddy
for [*i.e.*, in order to eat] the
following day".
(p. 33:1)
but
tu~ma·ziŋ·an·ke ne·k tu hi·
"I will have breakfast now"
(p. 36:9)
- ke et ma~in~a** "Before we
inspect" (p. 37:1)
- a bi·a huk~na·ŋap** "Platform . . .
to protect the thatch" (p. 33:12)
- thi~nat ha·ŋ~in~a** "Because
[he] was ill" (p. 21:21)

- Stem I*
- l. **ta·ŋ hum·a su·hi** "They
pound the paddy"
(p. 33:1)
- m. **lei a pha·ma~ma·hi** "The
bridge is very good"
(p. 35:9)
- n. **vai~mi·m a la·hi** "The
Indian corn is . . . reaped"
(p. 40:8)
- o. **doi a bea hi** "He sacrificed
to the spirits" (p. 46:3)
- p. **ki~pan·hi** "Begin" (p. 56)
- q. **pi·a hi** "Give" (p. 79)
- r. **pu·hi** "Borrow (money)"
(p. 58)
- s. **sa·hi** "Build (house)"
(p. 60)
- Stem II*
- a suk ma~in~a** "Before being
pounded" (p. 40:7)
- a te·ŋ na~tu ŋam·phat~na·a**
zoŋ·hi "They searched for a
good place to settle" (p. 42:9)
- tua·ba·l a la·k ti·aŋ** "[When they
gathered those yams]"
(p. 44:4, my tsl.)
- a doi beak~na ki~pat~na·** "The
origin of spirit sacrifice"
(p. 46:5)
- ki~pat~na·** "Origin" (p. 46:5)
- daŋ~ka·na pi·ak nu~mei si·a**
"The woman to whom you gave
the money" (p. 25:7)
- daŋ~ka·ke pu·k na·pa~in~a**
"The man from whom I borrowed
money" (p. 25:8)
- ke~ma in·sak tu thiŋ~pi·ak**
"The wood with which I built the
house" (p. 25:13)

With the exceptions noted, these instances are consistent with those in my own texts.

3. 23 While the statement of stem alternance fits the great majority of instances, there are a small number of exceptions which merit consideration. The following passages seem to me crucial, because of the close environmental similarity, and because they are evinced in three forms, Lian Kham's writing, my transcription, and the magnetic tape. Hence, if they are erroneous, they are forms which the informant did not alter in consecutive repetitions.

- a. **_a·hi·_hun~_lam·_he·** "He, not knowing himself"
_ŋol·_in· (Stem I)
- _mi·_zɔ·ŋ /pa·_he·k·_ŋol·**
_in· "The poor man not being aware"
(Stem II)
- b. **_ke·i·_si·a·_ne·/si·a** "The very one who eats my tax"
(Stem I)
- _na·_si·a·_hoŋ·/ne·k·|sa·k**
/si·a (Stem II) "The very one who has eaten your tax"

The distinction in person suggested by these pairs seems not to be borne out as a major axis of classification into stems. Yet it may well be that there are additional contexts which affect stem alternance. There is, for example, mode of discourse (see IV. Sentence), as yet insufficiently examined, which seems to be associated with alternance in conditional clauses.

Indeed, Naylor at several places lends some support to this view. See, for example, the following items, given in transcription but with Naylor's parenthetical remarks:

ni· suak~na· lam· (colloq.) *ni·~sua na· lam·* "east" (p. 71); *ŋo· hi·* (often colloq. *ŋo hi·*) "kill (sacrifice)" (p. 87); *loi· tho·~na· lo·* (colloq.) *loi· tho~na· lo·* "field (wet cultivation)" (p. 75); *lei~ba· pa·*, *lei~ba· na· pa·*; *le~bat~na·~pa·* (colloq.) "debtor" (p. 67); *pua sak hi·* (colloq. *puak sak hi·*) "deliver (by sending)" (p. 68); *ne hi·* (colloq. often *ne·k*) "eat" (p. 71); *za·ŋ~na·* (colloq.) *za·n~na·* "expense", (p. 73); *za· hi·* (often colloq. *za·k*) "hear" (p. 81).

These alternative explanations should form the starting point for further study in the field.

Again, one paradigm offered by Lian Kham, unfortunately the only pertinent one he could produce at the time, suggests that phonic alternance may sometimes overlap with other behaviour in the root.

<i>-ka -kap hi·</i>	"I cry" (Stem I)
<i>-ka -ka·_na·</i>	"My crying" (Stem II)

and

<i> ka· in·</i>	"Cry (s.)!"
<i> kap in·</i>	"Cry here (s.)!"
<i> ka· tan·</i>	"Go and cry (s.)!"

3. 24 A small series of nouns hints at, but is far from proving, a derivational relationship with corresponding verbs in Stem II, perhaps through elision of the nominalizing particle, /_na·/ (Cf. 2. 22. 3). The first class is unaffected in tone:

Translation (verb)	Stem I	Stem II	Noun	Translation (noun)
a. "Coil (intrans.)"	<i>-kual·</i>	<i>-kual·</i>	<i>-kual·</i>	"A loop, coil"
"Bend (intrans.)"	<i>-kui·</i>	<i>-kui·</i>	<i>-kui·</i>	"A bend"
"Be baby"	—	<i>-mom·</i>	<i>-mom·</i>	"Baby (from three months on)"
"Sit"	<i>-to·</i>	<i> to·</i>	<i> to·</i>	"Sitting height, sitting"

b. The second class involves as well a change in tone.

"Kill"	<i>-that</i>	<i>-tha·</i>	<i>-thi·</i>	"Ghost (thi· "die")"
			<i>_tha·</i>	
"Be night"	—	<i>/za·n</i>	<i>\za·n</i>	"Night"
"Be year"	—	<i>-kum·</i>	<i>\kum·</i>	"Year"
"Be child"	—	<i>-no·</i>	<i>/no·</i>	"Child"

c. The final instances imply further a change in the terminal phoneme.

"Flow"	<i>_luan·</i>	<i>-luan·</i>	<i>/luam·</i>	"Brook"
"Dance"	<i>_la·m</i>	<i>_la·m</i>	<i>-lap</i>	"Dancing"

See also 4. 33. 2-3.

3. 3 Processes in the verb: While by far the most common process in the Sizang verb is that of affixation, there are a number of verb-sets which suggest the existence of other processes. They are too few to demonstrate that such processes do indeed exist in Sizang, but are presented here merely as leads for future research.

3. 31 Aspiration of an initial consonant, whereby an intransitive verb becomes transitive, is stated by Naylor (p. 15) to occur "often", although it is probably no more frequent a process than in current Burmese. My texts contain one example, /_kha·i/ "hang up", *vs.* /-ka·i/ "pull, be suspended". For /\khi·a/ "throw down" a corresponding form, /*ki·a/ "fall", is denied, though informant stated that it exists in Kamhau. Naylor cites two examples, and an inspection of his texts suggests that a few more might be forthcoming: *khi·em* "decrease, make less" *vs.* *ki·em* "decrease, grow less"; and *khom* "collect, bring together" *vs.* *kom* "collect, come together". Suggestive is the following: *kha·ŋ* "burn" (p. 39:9) *vs.* *ka·ŋ* "burn" (p. 33:12). Stuart N. Wolfenden (*Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, London, 1929, p. 186), probably drawing upon Rundall, gives an additional instance: *khen* "separate, disperse" *vs.* *ken* "go away, leave, abandon".

3. 32 A difference in root-final consonant is evinced by several pairs:

Translation	Stem I	Stem II
a. "Assist against another"	<i>_huŋ·</i>	<i>-hun·</i>
"Help a person"	<i>-hu·</i>	(not given)
b. "Bring for someone"	<i>-ket</i>	<i>-ket</i>
"Have, bring"	<i>_keŋ·</i>	<i>-ken·</i>
c. "Arrive on behalf of someone"	<i>-thet</i>	<i>-thet</i>
"Arrive"	<i>_theŋ·</i>	(not given)
d. "Fear (trans.)"	<i>-ki·~ ta·</i>	<i>-ki·~ ta·k</i>
"Fear (intrans.)"	<i>_ki·~_ta·</i>	<i>_ki·~ ta· t</i>

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Stem I</i>	<i>Stem II</i>
e. "Send word to someone"	/tha·k	(not given)
"Send word"	/tha·	/tha·k
3. 33 Ablaut is infrequent as a process:		
a. "Bend (trans.)"	-kue·i	-kɔ·i
"Bend (intrans.)"	kui·	-kui·
b. "Finish (action)"	/zɔ·	\zɔ·k
"End (stative), win, be able"	/zɔ·	-zɔ·

Note the tone differences associated with root distinctions.

3. 34 Reduplication in the verb root imparts a temporally distributive and continuative sense. The remarks made here and immediately below are valid as well for the adverbial particles of this formation enumerated in a later paragraph (3. 46. 2).

1. In some instances, the entire root is reduplicated:

ka ne~ne· hi·	"I eat (/ne·) repeatedly, continue to eat"
-ka mu~mu· hi·	"I sleep repeatedly, continue to sleep (-mu·)"
ka mu~mu· hi·	"I see repeatedly, continue to see (-mu·)"
2. In others, only the first part of the root is repeated.

ka tha·~tha·k hi·	"I send to him repeatedly (/tha·k)"
ka ho~huan· hi·, ka ha~huan· hi·	"I cook repeatedly (/huan·)"
-ka pa~pai· hi·	"I keep going, go repeatedly (-pai·)"

Rundall (p. 12) terms this formation "the present participle". Naylor does not mention it.

3. 4 It is affixation, however, that is the most frequent and productive process in Sizang verb morphology. The particles, which will be enumerated below, with few exceptions stand in open juncture to the head and to each other. A few of them occur in close juncture with the root.

The classification of a number of morphemes as particles must be regarded as tentative. Some units which, because they seem always to stand in a set relationship to a verb head, are seen as particles may upon wider search themselves be found to be verb roots. Several such verbs have been left in the particle list in order to illustrate this aspect of classification.

Again, there are certain units which differ from other immediate constituents of the verb root chiefly in their greater length. Prosodically, they look suspiciously like two-morpheme compounds. Some of them are reduplicated forms of units which might easily pass as simple particles.

Others are composed of two different elements in close juncture. These forms are termed "adverbs" and are discussed separately below.

In the enumeration that follows, particles are tentatively classified into orders. The fact that it is rare for a single verb root to be preceded at one time by more than two particles or followed by more than three has made it difficult to relate orders one to another. Such information as is available upon relative position is given in the examples for the several particles.

3. 41 Particles standing before the verb root:

3. 41 1 In initial position are two series of personal particles, phonemically related to the series of personal nouns, and standing in open juncture to the head or intervening elements. Over much of their distribution, the two series behave like a single order, for with a single exception they are mutually exclusive. Within each series, of course, each member is mutually exclusive of any other member, in that one member only can occupy a given position at any one time. The first series and all but a single member of the second series are likewise mutually exclusive with an order of personal particles postposed to the head. This is only to say that the sense imparted by the personal particles is conveyed only once, either by the preposed order or by that which follows the head.

Of the preposed order, it may be added that the first series sometimes possesses directional values, the second always does so. Both series stand in tonal complementation to the head.

Members of either preposed or postposed personal particle orders may occur together with members of the corresponding noun series. (See Rundall, p. 6. Naylor, p. 10, gives an example without comment.)

3. 41 11 /ka/ series:

ka	"I, we"
na	"You (s., pl.)"
a	"He, she, it, they"

In rapid dictation, they sometimes enter into close juncture with the verb head, and the vowel becomes [ə]. Open juncture status will be the orthographic standard adopted here.

-ke·i -ka pai· |hi· "I go, went". (henceforth only one tense will be given)

Occasionally, and perhaps as an optional matter, the /ka/ series may be omitted. The personal noun then often exhibits tonal complementation to the verb head.

-a~ma· /i·t hi·	"He loves"
-a~ma· /li·k ve·	"He, like a fool, fell down" (colloquial)
-a~ma· siei· -that hi·	"He kills a mithan"

Infrequently, plurality is specified by the particle /*u*/ postposed to the head:

-ka /te·ŋ u· hi·	"We marry"
ka -tat u· la·i	"At the time of our wandering"
sa·n le· ni·am na -pa·u	"The very one you pretend (pa·u lap) is tall and small"
lap u· /si·a	

Compare with this the noun phrase, /ka -vek~ -pi· -uŋ/ "We all". See also other illustrations of the verb phrases in Naylor (p. 35:9, p. 35:10).

The mutually exclusive relationship which members of this series bear to the postposed personal order is exemplified below:

-ke·i -ka -pai· -le·	"If I go"
-ke·i -pai· -leŋ·	

As illustrated by the first example in the present section ("I go, went"), members of this series may sometimes impart a directional sense "away from me, us, you", in contrast to that connoted by the second series.

3. 41 12 /koŋ-/ series:

koŋ·	"I, we toward you (s., pl.)"
noŋ·	"You (s., pl.) toward me, us"
hoŋ·	"He, etc., they toward me, us, you (s., pl.)"

Even in rapid speech members of the /koŋ-/ series do not enter into close juncture with the verb head.

With regard to the directional sense of the series, compare with the first example of 3. 41 11 the following:

-koŋ· -pai· hi·	"I come"
/naŋ· -noŋ· -ti·a /ki·k -ti·aŋ ~ in·	"When you again return (ti·a) in this direction, when you come again"
-hoŋ· -pe· tu· hi·	"He will give (pi·a, pe·) it to me"
-ka la·i -hoŋ· -ba·n . . .	"It brushed (ba·n) against my navel (la·i)"

The directional connotation may be non-spatial:

-naŋ·~ -ma· -koŋ· -sa· hi·	"I thought (sa·) [him] you"
-hoŋ· -nui· san· a·	"He, laughing at me"
-hoŋ· -huan· a·	"He, cooking for me"
-hoŋ· -lum· sa·k a·	"He, letting me sleep (lum·) [at his house]"
-ka -khua· -hoŋ· -lum· hi·	"I felt warm." (khua· lum· "be warm")

Under certain circumstances, /koŋ-/ and /noŋ-/ are replaced by /hoŋ-/:

a. When, as in the last example above, members of both the /ka/ and the /koŋ-/ series are present. Thus compare:

-noŋ· -la·i /tha·k	"The letter (la·i) you sent (tha·k) me"
and -na -la·i -hoŋ· /tha·k	

It is infrequent to find members of both series in the same verb phrase.

b. When the postposed personal order follows the verb head. Thus:

-koŋ· -pai· -le·	"If I come"
and -hoŋ· -pai· -leŋ·	

c. When the expressed subject of a preceding clause is the directional goal of the main verb head.

-ti·a -pal· -leŋ·, -hoŋ·	"If I return (ti·a) early, they will scold (te·i) me"
-te·i tu·	

d. In an imperative utterance:

-hoŋ· -pai· /he·k in·	"Do not (s.) come!"
-ke·i -hoŋ· -pai· sa·k	"Let me come!"
tan·	

In point of order, members of the two personal-particle series usually precede immediately the verb head or a preposed particle. However, a noun may sometimes intervene, as in the example already given, /na -la·i -hoŋ· /tha·k/ "the letter you sent me", in which what is in effect an attributive verb phrase envelops the noun head. See also the following:

-a -sa·i a·i /pa·	"The man who celebrates (a·i) the elephant (sa·i)"
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For that phrase, however, there is an alternative translation, "the man who celebrates his elephant", for the preposed verb particle of the /ka/ series is formally indistinguishable from the corresponding member of the attributive personal nouns. (Indeed, in the third person, both are formally identical as well with the nominal proclitic particle.) Should both the verbal and nominal personal attributives appear in the same clause, they are easily sorted by position, since each then precedes immediately its head.

-a -sa·i a· -a·i hi·	"He celebrates his elephant"
------------------------	------------------------------

When, however, only one attributive of the two precedes the noun object followed immediately by the verb head, as in the ambiguous example, /-a -sa·i |a·i /pa·/, already given, it becomes unclear whether the proposed personal attributive is verbal or nominal. There is some evidence that the verb particle retains tonal complementation to the verb head, whatever the tone of the intervening noun, but examples are not free from contradiction.

3. 41 2 One of the most productive of particles is /ki·/, which precedes the verb head in close juncture. It denotes (a) reciprocity ("mutuality"—Wolfenden, p. 186); (b) stative voice.

- a. |ki~ha·u |hi· "They fight each other"
 |ki~huŋ·tek |tu· |hi· "We shall help (huŋ·) one another"
 |ki~|pa·u~|pui· na· "Conversation" (pa·u "speak")
 |ki~|mu· |tu· |in· "Come and see (mu·) me!"
- b. |ki~|ŋo·m son· le·ŋ "If we say (son·) that they total (ŋo·m 'gather (trans.))"
 a |ki~|zaŋ·|zi·a "Of what use is it?" (zaŋ· "to use")
 |ki~|ti· |mɔ· |hi· "Cannot (mɔ·) be said" (ti· "say")
 ka -ki~/khe· |hi· "I remain" (khe· 'leave (trans.))"

In a compound head, comprising noun and verb roots, the particle stands in close juncture to the resultant stem:

- |ki~/ma·i nop·a· "They, being fearless (nop) toward each other in their mind (ma·i 'face')"

3. 41 3 /-va·/ denotes removed action.

Inasmuch as Wolfenden (p. 186) has called attention to what seems a related morpheme in Paite, the classification of /-va·/ is of particular interest. It appears in imperative statements, standing in open juncture before the verb root:

- bil~|pi· |ma·ŋ va· /sam· "Go (pl.) and call (sam·) the Rabbit Official!"
 ta· |vun·
 |va· |pa·u |he·k |in· "Do not (s.) go and talk (pa·u)!"

It is not at all clear, however, that /-va·/ is to be regarded as a particle, rather than as a subordinate verb, for it can appear as the head of a verb clause:

- ka va· |tiŋ· "When I go elsewhere"

3. 42 Particles standing after the verb root: All elements intervening between the verb root and the final particle will be included here, save that adverbs will be discussed separately. The final particles, so important as markers for sentence- and clause-types, will be treated with those syntactic units.

3. 42 1 /|pui·/ "with", involves mutual activity. (Cf. Wolfenden, p. 187, where it is made a causative.) It stands in close juncture to the head in Stem II.

- a |in· -kuan·~|pui· |te· "The members of his household."
 -in· (in· "house", kuan· "go to work")
 |pai~|pui· a· "He went with him, he went along."

In the following phrase, taken from Naylor (p. 25:10), the same essential meaning is perhaps present:

- na thu· sun· pui· mi·~hiŋ· "The man about whom you spoke
 sia [i.e., with me?]"

The same particle sometimes follows a noun head:

- lap~|pui· "With dancing"
 ka ton·~|pui· |tu· "[There was no one] for my companion (ton· 'travel')"

See also such forms in Naylor as (p. 36:2) khua·~pui·~te "villagers (khua· 'village')"

3. 42 2 The following four particles may perhaps constitute an order.

3. 42 21 /|sa·k/ denotes causation, transitive state. It stands in open juncture with the head in Stem I.

- a |pe·ŋ tal· |sa·k |hi· "I break (tal·, intrans.) his leg"
 a~ma· vɔ·t |sa·k |hi· "He makes him do (vɔ·t) it"
 sa·i lu· |tuŋ· a· to· "They had him sit (to·) on the elephant's head (lu·)"
 |sa·k |hi·
 -koŋ· |pai· |sa·k |hi· "I had them come"

3. 42 22 /|sa·k/ denotes action (intentionally?) touching the interest of another. It stands in open juncture with the head in Stem II.

- hoŋ· |ne·k |sa·k -si·a "The one who has eaten (ne·k) your tax"
 koŋ· |pai· |sa·k |hi· "I come on [their] behalf"
 hoŋ· lum· |sa·k a· "He let me sleep (lum·) [at his house]"
 |son· |sa·k a· "He, trying their case"
 |zo· |sa·k a· "He, winning against another"
 ŋu·al in· ka siel· hoŋ· "The man has killed (tha·) my mithan (siel·)"
 -tha· |sa·k |hi·

3. 42 23 /|san·/ appears to denote transitive state. Since there is but a single example at hand, it is well to entertain appropriate reservations, not only as to meaning, but as to classification as well. In the instance given, it follows the head in Stem II.

- hoŋ· -nui· |san· a· "He, laughing (nui·, intrans.) at me"

3. 42 24 /|su·k/ "downward". (See Wolfenden, p. 186.) It follows the head in Stem I. In the second instance given here, it seems also to involve a transitive sense.

- a |be·ŋ |su·k -tiŋ·~|in· "When he sprang (be·ŋ) down"
 hual· |su·k |le· |te· "Why don't you (s.) roll (hual·, intrans.) it down?"

See also Naylor (p. 43:1):

- a tuak suk a "They descended"

and elsewhere (p. 43:8, p. 47:1).

/\su·k/ may, it seems, also function as verb head, to judge from the following instances from Naylor:

- lam· suk a hi·~ha·ŋ~ "Because the road is all downhill"
 in·~a (p. 34:8)
 lam· suk lei hi· "The gradient is very steep"
 (p. 35:1)
 lam· a suk tun· lei ba~le "If the roads are not too steep"
 (p. 35:7)

3. 42 3 Three morphemes which appear to function as secondary verbal particles specify number, especially in the subject. Since one, and perhaps two, of them also occur as verb head, the other members may also turn out to be roots.

3. 42 31 /\thap/ "individually".
 |i· |ki·~|khen· |thap "it will be necessary (kul·) for us to
 kul· tu· separate (ki~khen·) as individuals"
 3. 42 32 /\khɔ·m/ "two together".
 /sa· |si·a |khɔ·m |hi· "Together the two trap (si·a)
 animals"

That /khɔ·m/ may appear as verb head is apparent from Naylor, pp. 15 and 64. His remarks on aspiration have already been noted (Para. 3. 31).

3. 42 33 /\te·k/ denotes plurality.
 -koŋ· -pai· -te·k |tu· |hi· "We will come (koŋ· pai·) in a
 group"

In the following example, the verb phrase becomes a noun, the object of the following verb:

- |i· |khan· /te·k |son· -to·ŋ "Let us tell (son·) our several life
 stories (khan· 'generation, bio-
 graphy)'"

3. 42 4 /\ki·k/ "again".
 |ti·a |ki·k |hi· "He returned (ti·a) again"
 3. 42 5 /\ku·/ "secretly". (See Naylor, p. 16).
 -vil· |ku· |hi· "He watched [him] secretly"

3. 42 6 The adverbs, to be discussed in a later section, may perhaps be placed here in tentative fashion, since one of them occurs in an example preceded by /\ki·k/, while another is followed by a particle that may be identical with /\tak·/. In all other instances they follow the root immediately and are followed in turn by a final particle.

3. 42 7 /\tak/ "definitely, completely".
 -pai· |tak |tu· -ni· "Are you definitely going?"
 /mei· -a -taŋ· |tak |in· "Light (s.) the fire (mei·) fully!"
 It may also be the particle occurring in the following sentence:
 |baŋ· |dek |tak |hi· "[They] are very nearly alike." (baŋ·
 "be like, resemble", dek "nearly")
3. 42 81 /-tei·/ denotes surprise, a reversal of previous belief.
 -tam· -ma· -pha· -tei· "Strange to say, we humble ones
 |i· |ve· |uŋ· number (pha·) very many (tam·
 'be numerous')"
 -tam· -ma· |ŋit |tei· "Contrary to what I thought, it is
 just heavy enough (lit. 'weighs very
 much')"
3. 42 82 /-thoŋ·/ denotes aimlessness, surprise. The overlap in meaning probably makes it mutually exclusive with /-tei·/.
 |i· |om· -thoŋ· -le· "If we are (om·) thus, without pur-
 pose"
 -pai· -tha· -thoŋ· "I come, having nothing to do"
 /ta· -nei· |thoŋ· |hi· "Without design, they have (nei·) a
 child"
3. 42 91 /\pai·/ "early".
 -ka -pai· |pai· |hi· "I go (pai·) early"
3. 42 92 /-pal·/ "early".
 |ti·a -pal· -a· "[He], returning early"
3. 43 0 /\ve·/ "sometimes".
 -ŋu·l -kual· -the·i |ve· "Sometimes a snake can (the·i) coil
 (kual·)"
- (Compare the distributive noun particles, /\ve·i/, /\ve·~|\ve·i/, as in /\khat |ve·~|\ve·i/ "sometimes", and /\ve·u/ "each").
3. 43 1 /\phit/, /\phot/ "first".
 -a -pai· |phit |hi· "He goes first"
 (Cf. -a~|\phit |bel· -in· "The first one")
 -a -la·m |phot |hi· "He dances first." (Subject here is
 chief celebrant, bearing upon the
 remarks immediately below)

The example just given is suggestive of the ablaut paradigms of verb attributives in Lushei (J. Shakespear, *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*. Macmillan, London, 1912, p. 122 f.); but Lian Kham was unable to give additional examples, and, indeed, denied it as a feature in Sizang.

3. 43 2 /*nɔ-n*/ imparts an emphatic sense. It occurs, perhaps exclusively, in negative statements.

kha-i /*the-i* /*nɔ-n* /*ŋɔl* /*hi* "He can (*the-i*) not hang up (*kha-i*)"

See also Naylor, p. 20:18.

3. 43 3 /*ŋei*/ is a verb found most frequently with another verb immediately preceding it. In these contexts, it may best be translated "habitually, ever, before".

ka-ŋ /*ŋei* /*ŋɔl* /*hi* "It never burns (*ka-ŋ*)"
mu /*ŋei* /*khi* "I have seen (*mu*) [one] before"
mul /*su-ak* /*ŋei* "[My] body hair habitually stands on end (*su-ak* 'emerge')"

In the last sentence, the verbal status of /*ŋei*/ is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it can be replaced by the verb, /*the-i*/ "can, be able". Further support is lent by the following instance, transcribed from Naylor (p. 24:5):

hi /*lai na te-ŋ zok a-baŋ* "How long have you been living
tan vei a ŋei zo zi-am (*te-ŋ*) here?"

3. 43 4 /*siet*/ denotes completion, fulfilment. My examples do not indicate its order relative to negative particles.

koŋ son /*siet* /*tu* /*hi* "I shall tell you (*son*) fully"
i pai /*siet* /*tu* /*hi* "We shall all go (*pai*)"
a ne-k /*siet* /*zok-tiaŋ* /*in* "After he had finished eating (*ne-k*) them all up"

3. 43 5 /*ta*/ denotes removed action. It occurs only in imperative statements.

pa-u ta /*vun* "Go (pl.) and talk!"

Compare the following, given by Naylor (p. 24:10):

tu /*ma pai ta* /*hen* "Let him go now"

Optionally, /*va*/, with similar denotation (3. 41 3), may precede the verb head that /*ta*/ follows, in affirmative statements,

va pa-u ta /*vun* "Go (pl.) and talk!"

while /*ta*/ does not occur in negative commands:

va pa-u /*he-k* /*vun* "Do not (pl.) go and talk!"

3. 43 6 /*to*/, which seems to carry a hortative sense in some statements, takes the enclitic personal particles, at least for the first person.

ke-i pai toŋ "I will go"

pai to-ŋ "Let us go!"

3. 43 7 Negative particles may be said to form an order which in narrative statements precedes the temporal particles.

3. 43 71 /*ŋɔl*/ "not".

a /*ma* /*vo-t* /*ŋam* /*ŋɔl* /*hi* "He dares (*ŋam*) not do (*vo-t*) it"

The following instances, taken from Naylor (p. 14), offer the chief evidence at hand as to relative position with the temporal particles. In my texts, the two orders of particles do not appear together in the same phrase.

ke /*ma* /*ke vo-t* /*ŋɔl zo* /*hi* "I have not worked"

ko /*ma* /*ke vo-t* /*ŋɔl tu* /*hi* "We shall not work"

3. 43 72 A series of related negative particles may occur in responses, and often has an emphatic character. The particles may perhaps be more typical of colloquial than of polite discourse. They may take the enclitic personal particles.

a. /*bo*/

baŋ /*ma* /*ɔ-k* /*bo* "[He] snared *nothing*"

a om /*bo* "There isn't"

Compare also: *bo zo* "the end", and *a-bo na* /*hi* "this is the end".

b. /*bua*/

a om /*bua* /*hi* "[It] isn't there"

c. /*buan*/ denotes believed negation. A particle, /*ti*/, may intervene between /*buan*/ and the enclitic personal particle.

pai buan /*te* "I think he is not going (*pai*)"

d. /*ba* /*la-i*/ "not yet", (See also /*la-i*/ (IV. Sentence 4. 33. 3)).

a mul /*po* /*ba* /*la-i* /*po* "Their feathers had not yet grown (*po*)"

Lian Kham states that /*bo*/ and /*bua*/ may replace /*ba*/ in this expression. Indeed, *ba* may be considered a contracted form of /*bua*/, as the initial morpheme of a pair in close juncture. Compare the instance of *tu-a tu* /*ta* (2. 21 2).

See also the following:

lam a suk tun lei ba /*le* "If the roads are not too steep."

(Naylor, p. 35:7)

a hi /*ba* /*le* "If it is not"

3. 43 73 /*he-k*/ occurs only in negative imperative statements, and is the only negative particle to appear there.

hoŋ pai /*he-k* /*in* "Do not (s.) come!"

3. 43 8 Certain morphemes impart a temporal sense to the verb phrases in which they follow a verb root. As will be seen, some of them are themselves verbs. Along with them, for convenience, I discuss other, related verbs.

3. 44 3 /ve/ denotes deprecation, usually of oneself or one's fellows. It is often found with members of the postposed personal particle order.

-pai· |i· |ve· |uŋ· "We humble ones have gone"
/pal· -a |li·k -khi· |ve· "I foolishly tripping, fell"

No corresponding honorific was recorded.

3. 45 The final particles, as already noted, will be treated together with the sentence- and clause-types of which they are the markers.

3. 46 Adverbs: These formations have already been described (3. 4), and will simply be enumerated here.

3. 46 1 Standing before the verb head:

3. 46 11 /vi·~ve·/ imparts an intensive sense.

-a /tol· -bɔ·k -vi·~ve· "Their throat goitres (tol· bɔ·k)
/tam· -a are very many (tam·)"

3. 46 12 /pul· -tha·/ "accidentally, inadvertently".

-pul· -tha· -a /li·k |ve· "By accident, he foolishly fell
down"

The second element may be related to that in the utterance, already given, /_pai· -tha· -thoŋ·/ "I come, having nothing to do".

While the position of this adverb, before the preposed personal particle, is not common (longer attributive expressions can stand thus), the following adverb shows similar order.

3. 46 13 tɔm, tɔm vei, ta~tɔm "a little" (Naylor).

ta~lai khua· tɔm~vei a "There they briefly settled (te·ŋ) a
te·ŋ hi village (khua·)" (Naylor,
p. 43:8; my tsl.)

ta~tɔm ke sim· thei hi "I can read (sim·) a little"
(Naylor, p. 21:30)

mual· ta~tɔm ka· le·ŋ "If we climb up the mountain a
little" (Naylor, p. 28:18; my tsl.)

(Other adverbs given by Naylor are not cited unless they also appear in my own material. This one is entered because of the contribution it makes to the subject of order.)

3. 46 14 /_va·~sip/ "slightly".

-ka |la·i |hoŋ· -ba·n / "It was merely small enough
_va·~sip |phe·ŋ |hi· (phe·ŋ) to brush against (ba·n)
my navel (la·i)"

Only a juncture (here marked [/] of slightly greater length than usual, yet not a clause-marker, indicates the root of which /_va·~sip/ is the immediate constituent.

3. 46 2 Standing after the verb head: The evidence for order of occurrence has already been stated (3. 42 6). It might be added that only overt similarity in length or in reduplicated form lead to the classification of adverbs as a single order, insofar as they follow the verb head.

3. 46 21 /|la·~|le·u/ "again".

~kon· -thuk -ki·k |la·~|le·u "I reply (thuk) to you again"
|hi· (Either //ki·k/ or /|la·~|le·u/
may be omitted without change
of meaning)

(Compare /|la·/ "also" in the following: /-tui· -tɔa·i |la·/ "he carries
water also")

3. 46 22 /-ma·/, /-ma·~|ma·/ "very".

-ke·i -ŋu·ak -ma· "I was completely alone"
|tha·u /tam· -ma·~|ma· "very many (tam· 'be numerous')
guns (tha·u)"

3. 46 23 /|dek/, /|dek~|tak/, /|de·~|dek/ "approximately".

|sim·~|bu· -mit |baŋ· "They are nearly like (baŋ·
|dek~|tak |hi· 'resemble') an owl's eyes (mit)"

3. 46 24 /-vil·~vel·/ "nearly".

|be·m -vil·~vel· "They are almost round (be·m 'be
round")"

3. 46 25 /|ŋi·~|ŋe·i/ denotes harmony, pleasant blending (of colour).

-ka |ti· -zoŋ· |hiŋ· "My colours (ti·) are harmoniously
|ŋi·~|ŋe·i -a green (hiŋ· 'be green')"

3. 46 26 /|pa·~|po·/ "as soon as".

-a~ma· |hoŋ· -ti·a "as soon as he returns (ti·a)"
|pa·~|po· |tiaŋ·
ŋu·a |hoŋ· zuk pa~po· |ti·aŋ "as soon as the rains come (zu· 'to
~in·~a rain")" (Naylor, p. 27:2)

Note also its apparent occurrence as a noun attribute:

khat~pa~po· in· suŋ·~a "Was there anybody (khat~pa~
om· zi·am po·) in the house (in·)?"
(Naylor, p. 26:12; see also p.
24:8)

3. 47 Two other secondary verb particles merit consideration here. They are:

3. 47 1 /_nuŋ·/ "more (comparative)".

-a /in· -dɔl· -tuŋ· -nuŋ· -a "On the upper (tuŋ· 'atop, above')
storey (dɔl·) of his house"
-a~/nue·i -nuŋ· "The lower (nue·i 'below') one"

3. 47 2 /\bel/ "most (superlative)".

- a~/nue-i |bel· "The lowest one"
 -hi· /in· a~-lien· |bel· "This house is the biggest (lien·
 'be large') one"

It has already been remarked (2. 41) that numerical nouns, the only nominal category to follow the head, are in some phrases treated akin to verb roots. The same thing can again be said of the class of noun relational particles (2. b.), which here seem to be handled like verb roots, following the noun head to which they are attributive.

3. 5 Verb clusters and complex roots:

The following morphemes, treated above with the secondary verb particles, give indication of themselves being verb roots: /-va-/ , /su·k/, /\kho·m/, /\ŋei/, /\zo/, and /\zɔ/. It is not unlikely that further data would serve to rank other morphemes, presently considered particles, with them. Even as verb roots, however, what seems distinctive about such morphemes is the frequency with which they enter into phrases with other roots and the special meanings they appear to take on in such contexts. The same restricted distribution characterizes several other verbs, of which two merit special mention here: /\the-i/ "can, be able" and /\mo·/ "cannot, may not".

Aside from these verbs, there are other instances of phrases comprising two or more verb roots. Some of them comprise special instances of parataxis (4. 5), as in

- |\ki~/ŋɔ·m _son· -le·ŋ "If we say (son·) that they total
 (ki~ŋɔ·m)"

In other constructions, the verb roots comprise a head preceded by a subordinate verb or verb expression:

- _sa· -si·a _thiam· |ŋɔl· _a· "[I,] not being expert (thiam·) at
 trapping (si·a) animals"
 /nan·~ma· _ŋu·ak _kuan· "If you go to work (kuan·) being
 |le· |te· alone (ŋu·ak)"
 _a~ma· _vɔ·t _ŋam· |ŋɔl· |hi· "He dares (ŋam·) not do (vɔ·t) it"
 |\ha·n _bɔ·m |tɔ·, -tui· -tɔa·i "It never (ŋei· |ŋɔl·) occurs (om·
 |la· /om· -ŋei· |ŋɔl· |hi· 'exist') that one also carries
 (tɔa·i) water with a man's basket"

The same immediate-constituent relationship holds true within a verb phrase which itself is attributive to a noun head or acts as a noun:

- _no· -pai· |\the·i |ŋɔl· _na· "Places to which you cannot go
 (pai·)"
 _ka _pai· |\nop _na· "My willingness (nop 'be willing')
 to go"

There are two constructions which cannot so easily be described:

- a. |\i· _sa· -si·a -vil· -ka _to·ŋ "Let us watch (vil·) our animal
 trap together"

The translation, essentially that of the informant, implies that the phrase, /_sa· -si·a/, is a contraction of the noun phrase, /_sa· -si·a _na·/. Such an interpretation fits well the action sequence in which it appears. See also 3. 24 a.

- b. _ka -pet |lum· |tu· |hi· "I will bite (pet) him dead (lum·
 'lie down')!"

If the meaning assigned to /\lum·/ is correct for this context, it suggests that it is a subordinate verb, the implied subject of which is the object of the preceding verb. The data available permit me to do no more than pose the problem for future study.

There are several disyllabic verb roots which seem to be of different character from the phrases thus far discussed. There are some grounds for regarding them as compound roots, inasmuch as one member or more can be identified—always tentatively—as a root freely occurring elsewhere.

- a. |te· |ŋat "compare"; cf. /\te·/ "measure"; /|ma·i |ŋat/ "face (ma·i)
 to face"

- b. -pa·u |lap (in Stem II) "pretend"; cf. /_pa·u/ "talk".

Others cannot be analysed with the information now at hand. They include such verbs as:

- a. _ki·~|ta· "be afraid" and /-ki·~|ta·/ "fear (trans.)"

Of these it might be pointed out that the first element is not the verb particle, /\ki·/, which can indeed be prefixed at least to the latter verb. Thus, _a |ki·|\ki·~ta· "They fear each other"

- b. -ŋa·i |sun· "think, intend".

- c. |\za·k~|ta· "respect"; the second element merits comparison with that of a. above.

Finally, the following instance is noteworthy for the incorporation of what appears to be a noun between the prefixed particle and the verb root:

- |\ki~/ma·i -na·p "Be fearless (na·p) toward each
 other in mind (ma·i 'face')"

These statements sum up the instances of juxtaposed verb roots and compound roots in Lian Kham's texts.

IV. Sentence and Clause

4. Two major styles of discourse in Sizang stand in contrast. Polite discourse, used towards superiors, in public address, and in writing, presents systematic differences from the colloquial, used in conversation with children and familiars.

4. 1 In polite speech, the sentence, with a single possible exception, is characterized by an intonational pattern ending in a tone (4), with the sandhi-effect described above in Para. 1. 84.

4. 11 Imperative sentences are perhaps exceptional in this regard although for reasons discussed in Para. 3. 21, they are here deemed to be intonationally consistent with other statements of their discourse-class.

4. 2 In colloquial speech, sentences tend to close in a tone (3), a mid-register tone (β) (1. 84. 2), or in short, falling tone (4) which ends approximately at mid-register. As compared with the formal sentence, accordingly, the colloquial possesses intonationally a suspensive character. Absolute vowel length seems impressionistically to be shorter than in formal discourse. Some passages in the colloquial medium likewise exhibit the loss of clause- and sentence-final nasals, as when /pan/ "from" is rendered /pa/ and the interrogative particle, /zi-am/, becomes /zi-a/.

4. 3 From the standpoint of components, sentences in both forms of address must always end in a verb particle, and only the equational sentence (in colloquial speech?) may optionally omit the verb root itself. The verb root of a major sentence is always in Stem I.

4. 31 Sizang sentences comprise the following types: narrative-equational, forming a single class with two members and with interrogative forms, and imperative.

4. 31 1 Narrative sentences end with one of the following particles:

4. 31 11 /hi/. When not preceded by temporal particles, it denotes present or indefinite past time. As contrasted with the two particles which follow, it characterizes polite discourse.

/a~ma siel that hi "He slays, slew, a mithan"

4. 31 12 /-ŋa/ occurs in one instance of colloquial speech, where it is said to be the equivalent of /hi/.

/ki si-a en-ŋa "He is looking at (en) that very sparrow (ki)"

4. 31 12 0 A zero-particle is found in colloquial speech

a. When a postposed personal particle ends the sentence.

va~tim bu khat mu "I saw (mu) one bird's nest"
khi

b. When a temporal particle ends the sentence.

ka bu tu "I shall hide"

c. When an adverb ends the sentence.

be-m vil~vel "They are almost round (be-m 'be round')"

d. When a negative particle ends the sentence.

ki~za ba~la-i "Nothing has yet been heard (za~ 'hear')"

It seems evident from this that a verb root itself cannot occur in final position.

4. 31 2 Equational sentences, characterized by the presence of two noun heads followed by the equational verb, /hi/, share terminal particles with the narrative sentence.

4. 31 21 /hi/ With denotation as in narrative sentences.

a~ma khua~pui~te a hi hi "He is a villager"
(Transcribed from Naylor, p. 21:4)

When a postposed personal particle appears in an equational sentence, the verb root is omitted, while the terminal particle is retained.

ma~sa phit ke-i khi hi "I am the one who is first"

The circumstance that the equational verb is formally identical with the verb particle makes difficult the separation of some equational and narrative statements. Thus the utterance,

hi in a lien bel (hi) "This house is biggest"

is ambiguous in that respect, since the phrase, /a lien bel/, may with equal validity be translated "the biggest one" or "it biggest". On the other hand, in the sentence,

ke-i khaŋ tak bel khi hi "I am the oldest"

it is evident that a narrative sentence is involved, and that /khaŋ tak bel/ must be a verbal phrase, since the head, /khaŋ/, is in Stem I.

Save for the optional omission of the verb root, the equational sentence is formally very similar to the narrative type, with which it is subsumed as a sub-form.

4. 31 3 The interrogative mode of narrative-equational sentence types is indicated by the terminal particles.

4. 31 31 /zi-am/ in polite discourse; occasionally also in colloquial speech.

baŋ tɔ hoŋ pai zi-am "How (i.e., by what means) does he come?"

zi-a in baŋ in zi-am "What house is that (zi-a) house?"

4. 31 32 /zi-a/ in colloquial address.

baŋ vɔt zi-a "What is he doing?"

a mit zɔl zi-am mɔ "Do its eyes squint (zɔl) or are they round (be-m)?"
be-m zi-a

4. 31 33 /le/ in colloquial speech.

/va-i -hun· tiag·, -na -ti·a	"Will you return (ti·a) at working time?"
tu· le·	
-na -de-i le·	"Did you want (de-i) [them]?"
/luam· sun·~a· hual·	"Why don't you (s.) roll it down (hual· su·k) into the brook?"
su·k le· te·	

4. 31 34 /θ/ in colloquial utterance, when a postposed personal particle is the final element.

-koi· sun· kuan· tu· ni·	"Where are you going to work (kuan·), where will you go to work?"
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Should no interrogative noun occur in such a sentence, it becomes indistinguishable from the corresponding narrative form:

-ki·~ta· -ŋol· -tu· -ni·	"You won't be afraid (ki·~ta·)?"
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It is possible that intonation here acts as a marker of sentence-mode.

4. 31 4 Imperative sentences are distinguished, not alone by terminal particles proper only to them, but as well by pre-final particles not shared with other types of statement. Thus, /-ta/ and perhaps /-va/ appear only in imperative forms, while /he·k/ is the negative particle exclusively identified with commands. Terminal particles in imperative statements include:

4. 31 41 /in/ and /vun/, respectively the singular and plural finals in polite discourse, may also occur in colloquial speech.

zaj· in·	"Use it!"
ka· tan·	"Go and cry (ka·)!"
/sam· -ta· vun·	"Go and summon (sam·) [him]!"
-hoŋ· -pai· /he·k in·	"Do not come!"
ki·~mu· tu· in·	"Come and see (mu·) [me]!"

Naylor (p. 13), gives the following instances, involving a particle that does not appear in my sample:

a~ma~te a vət ta~hen (or ta~vo·)	"Let them work (vət)!" (Or, more precisely, "Let them go and work!")
a~ma· vət he·k hen·	"Do not let him work!"

See also the following:

-hoŋ· -pai· sa·k tan·	"Let him come!"
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4. 31 42 /ɔ/ and /vɔ/ are the corresponding particles found in colloquial speech. (See also the first sentence from Naylor, given just above.)

ki·~/dem· vɔ·	"Engage in rivalry!"
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4. 32 Verbs co-ordinate with the final verb, and forming the verb head of co-ordinate clauses, appear, like the final verb, in Stem I, followed in clause-final position by the particle.

4. 32 1 /a/

-mi· zɔ·ŋ /pa· -pai· a·,	"The poor man, going (pai·),
-bil·~pi· ma·ŋ /pa·	called (sam·) the Rabbit Official"
-sam· hi·	

Occasionally, when co-ordinate verbs occur in close sequence, the non-final verb, followed by the particle, is thus distinguished from phrases in which attributive root precedes the verb head.

ti· a· /va·i -tha· hi·	"He, saying, invited"
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4. 32 2 /θ/ was given me in one instance as the colloquial particle corresponding to /a/. To judge, however, by the two colloquial texts Lian Kham dictated, this usage must be infrequent, for it occurs in neither, while /a/ appears often.

4. 33 Subordinate clauses, with a single exception, contain a verb head in Stem II. They end in the following verbal particles:

4. 33. 1 /in/, appears not only alone but in particle-phrases to be considered below.

Often it has temporal or locative significance.

-sief· ki· tɔ· da·k tal·	"While they make music (thu·a
tɔ·, thu·a in·	(?) both with mithan horn and with small gongs"
-a sa·i a·i ni· in·	"On the day (ni·) he celebrates (a·i) the elephant (sa·i)"
-a khua· mual· pan·~in·	"From their village memorial"
-tu·a -a sa·i a·i na· in·	"There where he celebrates the elephant"
-a pai· ŋol· ni· thum·	"During the three days he did not go"
-sun·~in·	

It sometimes appears in contexts which would seem to require the particle /a/:

-a hi· -hun· -lam· he·	"He, not knowing himself"
-ŋol· in·	
... ti· in·, -tu·a mɔŋ·	"They, saying (ti·), [and] taking
/ku·ŋ be·l in·, -a /te·ŋ	shelter under (be·l) that pipal
hi·	tree, lived [there]"

It very often terminates such verbal attributive phrases as:

-a zom· in·	"Secondly, next"
-a khak bel· in·	"Lastly"

_a -hi- ha-ŋ~in·	"Therefore";
-ha-ŋ~in·	"Because";
cf. //baŋ- ha-ŋ/	"Why, for what reason?"
-tu·a _a -hi- man~in·	"For this reason";
cf. _a~ma- hoŋ- pai· _a	
-hi- man·	"Although he came"
-tu·a dom· ŋɔl· in·	"Besides"
kom~in~a	"Because"

(Naylor, p. 41:6, p. 44:1)

One would not have expected it in the sentence,

-no- te- ŋe-l sa-ŋ in·-ka	"My tail (mei-) is longer (sa·u
mei- sa·u -zɔ· hi·	'be long') than both of you"

It may serve emphatically to punctuate such an utterance.

Naylor's informants seem invariably to use *ina* (transcribed /in~a), both for the agentive particle, //in/ and for the verb particle here considered. Lian Kham never did so. We differ also in the way we record juncture in the same phrases.

4. 33. 2 /_tiaŋ-/ /_tiaŋ~in-/ (note tonal complementation), /_tiaŋ~a-/ "when, while".

_ka va· tiaŋ·	"When I went in another place"
_a~ma· ti·a zɔ·k tiaŋ·	"After he leaves;" lit. "when he
~in·	has finished returning"
_ta baŋ· _a· -vil· tiaŋ~a·	"While he watched (vil·) like (baŋ·
	'resemble') that"
_a -baŋ· -hun· tiaŋ· /_na	"When will you (na) want (de-i)
-de-i tu· zi·am	it?"

Note that the last instance appears to have a noun head (*hun·* "time"). For an alternative explanation, but one which can only tentatively be proposed at present, see 3. 24. Similar formations appear in

_a -hi- tiaŋ~in·, -tu·a _a -hi- tiaŋ~in·	"Therefore"
4. 33. 3 /_la-i/, /_la-i~in·/, /_la-i~a·/	"during, while"
_ni· -daŋ· la-i~in·	"Long ago", (ni· "day", daŋ·
-taŋ· la-i~in·	"differ", taŋ· "ancient")
khat ve·i la-i~in·	"Once upon a time"
_ka -sen· ka -mom· la-i	"During my infancy [and] my
~a·	babyhood"
hi~lai, hi~lai~a	"Here"

(Naylor, p. 18, p. 38:5)

Like the examples noted at the close of the preceding paragraph, the clauses just cited seem each to have a noun head.

_ka -tat u· _la-i	"When we roamed within our area
	(ta·)"
_sum· bu·k _a· -ka om·	"While I was (om·) at the store"
_la-i~in·	

Compare also the occurrence of /_la-i/ with durational sense in the negative phrase, /_ba~la-i/ "not yet".

-a mul· -po· -ba~la-i	"Their feathers had not yet grown
	(po·)"

/_la-i/ may also appear with the particle, /tak/, in phrase, to judge from the instance from Naylor (p. 44:6):

tua· khua· sa·t lai~tak~	"While founding (sa·) that village"
in~a·	

4. 33. 4 _ma~in· "before"

_na -pai· _ma~in·	"Before you go"
	See also Naylor, p. 27:4:
ŋu·a tui· kan· ma·	"Before the rains are over"

4. 33. 5 /_ma~teŋ-/ "until"

_koŋ· -thet _ma~teŋ·	"Until I arrive (thet)"
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Compare: _ma~sa· |phit "the first of all", -a~ma~sa· "firstly".

4. 33. 6 /_na~in·/ "Because of".

_ka -pel· _na~in·, -koŋ·	"Because of my stopping (pel·), I
_ha-i hi·	was delayed (ha-i)"

4. 33. 7 /_na~pi-/ "Although".

/_hun· -tuŋ· -hi· _na~pi·	"Although the time was at hand"
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4. 33. 8 /_na~|tu·, /|tu·/, /_na~|tu·~in·/, /|tu·~in·/ "in order".

_ka -pai· _na~ tu·, _ka	"I shall make (vɔ·t) an effort (kin·)
-kin· vɔ·t hi·	to go"
_a~ma· vɔ·t _na~ tu·,	"He knows (he·) how to do [it]!"
he· hi·	
-bil·~pi· _ma-ŋ sam· tu·	"The poor man went to call the
_in·, -mi· -zɔ·ŋ pa· -pai·	Rabbit Official"
_a· -i· ki·~ za·~ ta·k _na~	"In order for us to respect (za·~
-tu·~in·	ta·k) each other"

While a clause with this terminal particle or phrase generally appears as attribute to a following verb, it may occasionally occur with a noun head:

_a ne·k -tu· /_hun·	"The time (hun·) for eating (ne·k)"
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In at least one instance, it occurs as immediate constituent in a noun phrase:

ka-ton·pui·tu·a/om· "There was no one as my companion (ton·'travel')
bu·a·

4. 33 9 /**si·~to·**/ "moreover, in addition".

a·tui·ne·k·pha·\nol· "In addition to the fact that their
si·~to· water is not good (pha·) to drink (ne·k)"

4. 34 0 /**zong·~in·**/, /**zong·**/ "even if, whether".

da·na·\nop·na·a/om· "Whether there is (om·) sorrow
zong· [or] joy"

4. 34 1 /**lek·**/, the colloquial conditional particle.

non·pai·lek "If you come"

4. 34 2 /**le·**/ "if", the clause-final particle for polite conditional statements. It differs from the particles (of 4. 33 and 4. 34 1) already considered in two respects, for it may take the personal enclitic particles, and its verb head is in Stem I.

ke·i·ka·pai·le· "If I go"
ke·i·pai·leq·

Compare its presence in such crystallized expressions as:

a·hi·ba·~le· "If it is not"
hi·ka·le· "Either"

4. 35 Conjunctive markers link nouns, noun phrases, verb roots, phrases, or clauses. Their presence in verb expressions does not mark or dictate the presence of a stem-form.

4. 35 1 /**to·**/ "and". In the sense of "with, together with, by means of" /**to·**/ has already been listed among the noun relational particles. It is perhaps restricted to noun phrases.

nu·to·pa·to· "Both women and men"
ta·ng a poi·, hi·to vai~mi·m "They sow millet; this, maize, and
to be to a tu·hi· beans they plant ("(?)")
(Naylor, p. 39:10, my translation)

(Compare /**si·to·**/ "Moreover, in addition", above)

4. 35 2 /**hi·ka·le·**/ "either".

a~ma hi·~ka·le·, a u·~pa "Neither he nor his [elder] brother
hi·~ka·le·, mo~na·nei is to blame (mo~na·nei)"
ngol hi· (Naylor, p. 24:18)

4. 35 3 /**mo·**/ "or".

zo·l zi·am mo·/be·m~zi·a "Do they squint? or are they
round?"

4. 35 4 /**a·hi·zong·**/ "but, or".

a·~ma·a·hi·zong·, tu·a "Either he [is to blame] or, if this
a·hi·ba·~le·, a·u·pa· is not so, his elder brother is at
a·hi·zong·, mo·na· fault (mo·na·nei)"
nei·hi·

Compare the following, from Naylor (p. 29:14):

ke zi·a thi·~na·hi·, a~hi· "My wife has been ill (thi·~na·),
~zong·tu·~ma·a dam·zo· but (a~hi·~zong·) now she has
recovered" (My translation)

4. 35 5 /**le·**/ "and".

bil·~pi·le·to·~pi· "The story (thu·) of the Rabbit and
thu· the Lion"

It may occur as clause conjunction, as in the following sentence, taken from Naylor (p. 41:1):

kai~thum·a to·hi·, bi·~li· "Sweet potatoes are dug up, black
a a·t hi·, le be a~nam· beans are cut, and other sorts of
da·ng a lo·hi· beans are reaped"
(My translation, in the latter portion)

4. 35 6 /**la·**/ "also".

ha·n bo·m to·, tui·to·a·i "Also it never happens (om· 'exist')
la·/om·nei·ngol·hi· that one carries (to·a·i) water
with a man's basket"

4. 4 Sentence Order:

Sizang sentences have a customary order that is infrequently altered. The narrative form, in both interrogative and affirmative mode, may be taken as a model:

1. Dependent clause (verb attributive)	2. Substantive subject	3. Substantive object (or equated substantive)	4. Verb
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This scheme can be expanded. The subject may have attributive phrases or clauses, so also the object and the verb, and there may be coordinate verbs and clauses. The limits seem only to be set by style. On the other hand, it may minimally contract to a verb phrase. Naylor (p. 19) lists interjections which, if they do occur as whole utterances, form still simpler sentences.

The equational sentence differs from the formula just expressed only in the optional omission of the verb root. While the second noun is now equational, rather than objective, the difference is not formal but semantic, a property inherent in the equational verb. The minimal narrative form will not, of course, serve an equational expression.

Imperative sentences, while usually briefer than narrative and equational forms, have potentially the same structure. As illustration of the occurrence of a verb attributive clause, see the following, from Naylor (p. 22: bottom):

a~ma~sa· a~hɔ vel· in· "Peel (vel·) the rind (hɔ) off
first (a~ma~sa·)!"

4. 41 There are a few sentences in Naylor, given immediately below, which depart from the order just outlined.

a. tu·~ni· taŋ·~saŋ·~a ke pai "To-day I am going downstream as
tu hi·, sak~saŋ· tui· li· a the pools upstream are small"
no· ha·ŋ hi· (p. 37:9)

In that sentence, the dependent clause follows, rather than precedes, the main clause.

b. ta~sia~ha·ŋ~in·~a kɔl~ "Therefore the people of Kalemyo,
pi· mi·~hiŋ·~te a ŋim· lei because they suffered too heavily,
ti·aŋ~in·~a tai maŋ· hi· migrated" (p. 42:5)

Perhaps because there are two dependent clauses, one occurs between the subject and the main verb.

4. 5 Parataxis:

-no· te· ŋe·l /sa·ŋ in·ka "My tail is longer than both of
/mei· sa·u -zɔ· -hi·, -hi· you[.] If we say that we will
_mɔŋ· /ku·ŋ -tɔ· \te· \ŋat compare [ourselves] with this
\tu· \ti· \le·ŋ pipal tree . . ."

There are two instances of parataxis here, the first lying at the juncture, /-hi·, -hi·/, the second at /tu· \ti·/. The particle /-hi·/, standing before the reduced juncture, in the first instance, has taken on a non-final intonation (see Para. 1. 83), here tone (3). It is one of two such instances noted in my texts. However, it is evidently a variable matter, since Lian Kham recorded it with normal juncture, and the tone in (4), when he recorded the texts on tape.

The same thing can be said as to the variable character of the second example of juncture in the passage above. Where, as here, quotations involve parataxis, the normal sentence-final intonation is usually preserved immediately before the reduced juncture, while the tone which follows, if (4), is reduced to the lower segment of the tone (Para. 1. 84. 1). Again, this effect may disappear on repetition.