The following is a preprint of a grammatical sketch that appears as Chapter 32 "Hayu" in: Thurgood, Graham and Randy LaPolla. 2003. *The Sino-Tibetan Languages.* Routledge. London and New York, pp. 518-532.

There is an unintended inconsistency in transcription. The Hayu palatal approximant is transcribed both as **j** (as in my thesis) and as **y** (a transcription I had intended to adopt to avoid confusion with the Nepali translitteration, in which *j* represents the voiced alveo-palatal affricate). Note that the two native Hayu voiced affricates are transcribed as **dz** and **ɟ**. Thus the letter **j** in the transcription of native Hayu words represents only the palatal approximant, as in the IPA. A few typos in the printed version are corrected in red.

HAYU

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Abbreviations:

1s, etc.	1, 2, 3 represent persons, s singular, d dual, p plural, i inclusive, e exclusive
3s→1d, etc.	3rd person singular A, 1st dual exclusive O.
APP	applicative
APT	active/present participle
ASS	assertive
CJP	conjunctive participle
COMP	complementizer
EMPH	emphatic particle ('the very')
ERG	ergative
FOC	focus (counter-expectancy)
GEN	genitive
HS	hearsay, reported speech
HUM	human classifier
IMP	imperative
INST	instrumental
NEG	negative
NNEG	nominal negative
NPA	non-past
OBL	oblique/possessive
PA	past
PL	plural
PPT	past/passive participle
RF	reflexive
SUB	subordinator
TOP	topic
vd	deponent verb
vi	intransitive verb
VN	verbal noun
vr	reflexive verb
vs	stative verb
vt	transitive verb using k-suffixes
vtt	transitive verb using t-suffixes

Italicized words in the transcriptions are Nepali loan words; they appear in transliterated Nepali orthography.

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HAYU

INTRODUCTION

The Hayu (Nepali *hāyu*, Hayu **waːju**) inhabit an area between 50 and 100 km. south east of Kathmandu in the valley of the Sun Kosi and across the Mahabharat range to the south. There are a dozen or so Hayu villages in this area, but the language is currently spoken in only two, Murajor in Ramechhap District, where the data presented here was gathered, and Manedihi in the Marin valley, Sindhuli District. There are probably about 200 speakers, all bilingual in Nepali, the Indo-Aryan national language.

Hayu was first studied by B. H. Hodgson (1857) during his retirement in Darjeeling, and rediscovered and studied by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1973, Michailovsky 1988) in the village of Murajor. Since 1973 it has stopped being spoken by most children in Murajor, but it is still being learned in Manedihi, 30km to the west. There is no contact between the two villages. Dialect differences are slight; Hodgson's material is closer to the dialect of Manedihi in a few respects.

Hayu is closely related to Shafer's (1955) East Himalayish Section (Bodic Division), which includes the languages known as Rai and Limbu in Nepal and extends from the Hayu area eastward to Nepal's eastern border and into Sikkim (India). For the phonological correspondences between these languages (including Hayu), see Michailovsky 1994. Shafer classified Hayu slightly apart with Chepang and Magar (spoken in central Nepal west of Kathmandu) in his West-Central Himalayish Section.

PHONOLOGY

Syllable structure

The syllable canon is $(C_I)V(C_f)$, where C_I represents either an initial consonant C_i or a cluster.

Vowels

There are 7 vowel timbres, **i, ɪ, e** (front); **a** (central); **o, ʊ, u** (back).

Vowel quantity is distinctive in open first syllables of polysyllabic words — in particular on the stem syllable of verb forms (see below). Closed syllable vowels are realized as short.

Nasality occurs only on open, non-final syllables. Almost all nasal vowels are long and precede a stop C_i (of the following syllable). A very few words, mainly of a phonaesthetic nature, have short nasal vowels.

A slight glottal stop (not transcribed) separates sequences of two identical vowels as in **mii** 'that one', **maaŋ** 'NOMINAL NEGATIVE'.

Consonants

There are three series of initial stops, plain (unvoiced), aspirated, and voiced. The syllable initial consonants (C_i) are as follows:

dorso-velar: **k, kh, g, ŋ**.

lamino-palatal: **c** ([tɕ]), **ɟ** ([dʑ]) (affricates); **x** ([x], [xw]) (fricative)

apico-alveolar: **ts**, **tsh**, **dz** (affricates), **s** (fricative)

dental: **t, th, d**; **n**

bilabial: **p, ph, b, m**

apico-alveolar tap: **r**

apico-dental (bi)laterals: **l** (voiced), **hl** (voiceless).

approximants: **y** (palatal), **w** (labiovelar).

aspirate: **h**.

The opposition between the apico-alveolar and lamino-palatal series is neutralized before front vowels, the realization being apico-alveolar. There is no aspirated lamino-palatal affricate. The fricative **x** is phonetically velar, with the labialized allophone [**x^w**] before **a** and **o**.

The approximant **y** appears before all vowels; thus **yi** 'blood' is distinct from **i** 'this'. The approximant **w** appears only before the vowels **a** and **o**.

Initial groups are relatively rare, except in phonaesthetic adverbs, where they appear to be somewhat favored. The following initial groups occur: **kl**, **khl**, **gl**; **kr**, **khr**, **gr**; **pl**, **phl**, **bl**. All words with initial bilabial + **l** clusters have doublets with simple bilabial initials.

The inventory of syllable finals (C_f) is: **p**, **t**, **k**, **m**, **n**, **ŋ**, **r**, **l**, **x**, **ʔ**. The finals **x**, **ʔ** do not occur in word-final position. **x** occurs only before voiceless stops and **ʔ** only before sonorants; it will be seen that they function as allophones of the final stops **p**, **t**, **k**.

There is only one series of final stops. Each final stop has two allophones, voiced and voiceless. The voiced allophone occurs before a voiced initial stop either within the same word or in very close juncture (final of a verb root before a following modal). It is realized with glottalization or laryngealization [**ḇ**, **ḏ**, **g̰**], as in [**beḇdzere**] 'bedbug', [**iḏ biːto**] 'allow him to say'. In all other contexts syllable final stops are realized unreleased with simultaneous glottal closure. The final **x** is realized as [**ç**] after front vowels and [**x**] after back vowels or **a**.

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Alternations are frequent in verbal forms, involving root finals and suffix initials. Those which are strictly phonologically conditioned are treated here; those which concern only particular roots or suffixes are treated with the morphology below.

Verb forms consist of a lexical root of the form $(C_i)V(C_f)$, where C_f represents one of the finals **p**, **t**, **k**, **m**, **n**, **ŋ**, **r**, **l**, to which markers of tense, agreement, etc., are suffixed. There is no lexical opposition between roots with long and short or nasal and oral vowels. In considering the combinations at the boundary between root and suffix, three classes of *homorganic* consonants are identified, bilabial, velar, and 'coronal', a class comprised of the lamino-palatal, apico-alveolar, and dental orders.

Among the regular alternations listed below, the first applies to suffix-initials, and is conditioned by the root final in verbal forms, while the others apply to root finals and are conditioned by the suffix initial.

(1) After bilabial C_f, there is no opposition between velar and bilabial initials, the archiphoneme being realized as bilabial. (The resulting homorganic combinations are subject to the rules below).

(2) Stop C_f are realized as **x** before homorganic stop C_i.

(3) Stop C_f are realized as **ʔ** before homorganic nasal or liquid C_i.

(4) Nasal C_f are realized as vowel length and nasality before homorganic stop C_i. (This also applies to the realization of **n** before the fricative **s**).

(5) Before the homorganic nasal C_i, a nasal C_f is deleted, leaving an open root syllable with a distinctively short vowel. In contrast, the root syllable of forms of lexically open roots is always realized long.

(6) Before C_i **s** or **tsh**, C_f **t** is deleted, leaving an open root syllable with a distinctively short vowel.

These rules apply whenever their conditions are met. The first can be stated as a neutralization, and the others as allophony, if one allows more than one phoneme to share an allophone. Thus, for example, syllable final **x** or **ʔ** are the allophones of the C_f stop homorganic with the following initial, etc.

Other junctures between morphemes are looser than that between verb and suffix. Before postpositions, (1) and (4) above do not apply: **top-khen** 'after striking', **puxtaŋ-khata** 'mat-PL'; (2) applies optionally **khok-khen~khox-khen** 'after walking'; (3) and (5) apply generally: |**lat + noŋ**| **laʔnoŋ** 'after going', |**lʊn + noŋ**| **lʊnoŋ** 'after running'.

The rules above have been presented as morphophonemic, as they operate at morpheme boundaries. However, there is reason to believe that they may have operated generally in the native vocabulary.

VERB MORPHOLOGY

The suffixes of the verbal morphology are presented in Table 1. Roots are classified as *intransitive* (*vi*), *transitive* (*vt* or *vtt* or both, see below) *deponent* (*vd*) or *stative* (*vs*). Finite intransitive verbs show agreement with one argument, here referred to as *S*; transitive verbs show agreement with two arguments, *A* (loosely 'agent') and *O* ('object'). Deponent verbs may be regarded as transitives with impersonal A; they only use the forms in the row corresponding to 3s A in the transitive paradigm. Stative verbs, essentially adjectives, have no finite forms. The *tense* distinction corresponds roughly to past vs non-past semantically.

Morphological alternations occur in certain verb roots: between the vowels **a** and **o** in open roots (e.g. **dza~dzo** *vt* 'to eat'), and between open and t-final roots (e.g. **bi~bit** *vtt* 'to permit').

There are a few morphophonological alternations that affect particular suffixes. In Table 1 these are noted as follows:

The suffix transcribed **N** in some past forms nasalizes the preceding root final if it is a stop.

ŋ~N~sʊŋ is realized as **ŋ** after an open root, **N** after a stop, and **sʊŋ** after a nasal.

n (in the reflexive suffix element ***n*ts**) has the effect of adding a final **n** (realized as nasality before **ts**) to most open roots.

mi~m: the assertive suffix **mi** optionally has the form **m** after a vowel.

Structure of the paradigm

Transitive forms with 1s O are identical to intransitive 1s forms, and different from transitive forms with 1s A. 1s→2 forms have a special mark **no**.

Otherwise, most verbal suffixes mark tense, person, and number, without regard to transitivity or function. This is true of 1st and 2nd person non-singular markers (e.g; 1de PA **tshoŋ**), and of non-past 2s and 3rd person markers.

1s,2s,3→3 past transitive forms have an added mark **k(o)** (in the suffixes **ko** and **kʊŋ**) which does not occur in the intransitive paradigm. The **ki** in 1p A past transitive forms no doubt reflects the same element, although it has intruded into the intransitive 1p forms as an optional variant. These suffixes, which indicate a 3rd person object, will be referred to as *transitive k-suffixes*.

Applicative forms

Applicative t-suffixes in **to**, **tʊŋ**, **ti** are listed in Table 1 in the same positions as the transitive k-suffixes. They are normally unmarked for tense. Transitive verbs which use the k-suffixes are identified as *vt*; those which use the t-suffixes as *vtt*. Many transitive verbs use both. For these verbs (identified by *vt, vtt*), the t-suffixes are used in ditransitive clauses (see below).

Transitive verbs with alternations between open and t-final roots use the latter (as well as t-suffixes) in applicative forms, giving them a full applicative conjugation (e.g. **bu~but** *vt, vtt* 'to carry').

Negative indicative

The negative of a finite, indicative verb is indicated by **ma** or **makhɪ** placed before the positive form (cf. 9, 26, 31). The negative **makhɪ** 'not yet' is used with non-past forms only, but the sense (or at least the translation) is past (cf. 19).

Imperatives, exhortatives, optative

Almost all positive imperatives are identical to the corresponding PAST indicative forms: **dzaːko**! 'eat it!' (= 'you ate it'), **sɪxtome** 'kill them!' **tesʊŋ** (|**tet** + **sʊŋ**|) 'let me go!' **bʊŋne** 'get up (pl.)!'. Exception: the 2s intransitive imperative is the same as the 2s NON-PAST indicative: **bʊk**! 'get up!' (= 'you get up').

Negative imperatives are identical to the NON-PAST indicative preceded by the negative imperative marker **tha** 'don't!': **tha bʊk**! 'don't (sg.) get up!', **tha bʊkne**! 'don't (pl.) get up', **tha dzo**! 'don't eat it', **tha sɪtme** 'don't kill them!' **tha tetŋo** 'don't let me go!'

Exhortatives are simply non-past 1ps forms (cf. 18). Optatives add the suffix **ju**: **dzo-ju** 'let him eat', **goːtshik-ju** '[long] may we (1di) live!'

Non-finite forms and verbal nouns

Non-finite forms: gerundive: the verbal root; infinitive: root+**mʊ** 'GENITIVE'; past/passive participle: root+**ta**; non-past/active participle root+**ji**; progressive gerundive: root+**ni**+root; conjunctive participle: reduplicated root+**ha** 'INSTRUMENTAL/ADVERBIAL'. In the conjunctive participle, CV roots are reduplicated as CVːCV; C$_i$VC$_f$ roots are reduplicated variously, most often as C$_i$VC$_i$VC$_f$.

Verbal nouns are formed by adding suffixes to the root: agent nominal **ji**; theme nominal **ta**; patient nominal **taŋ**; instrument nominal **caŋ**; locative nominal **luŋ**; time nominal **siŋ**; manner nominal **si**, **sina**; descriptive nominal (of a person) **tso**. Examples: **topji** 'blacksmith' (**top** 'to strike'); **mexta** 'carrion' (**met** 'to die'); **piptaŋ** cigarette (**pip** 'to suck') (cf. 7); **topcaŋ** 'hammer' (cf. 7); **ʊmluŋ** 'bed' (**ʊm** 'to sleep'); **ʊsiŋ** 'moment of meeting' (**ʊt** 'to meet'); **ʊmsʊŋ** 'bedtime'; **hʊsina** 'voice, manner of speaking' (**hʊt** 'to speak'); **ʊmtso** 'sleepy-head' (cf. 6). All can also nominalize clauses. The negative (as with other nominals) is **maaŋ**, e.g. **maaŋ noxta daːbʊ** (NNEG be:PPT thing) 'nonsense ['non-existent things']' (cf. 6).

Non-productive derivational morphology

Hayu preserves traces of the well known Tibeto-Burman causative morphology in the form of word-families, some 35 pairs of related verb roots. This morphology is not productive. In most pairs, the (roughly) non-causative member has a voiced stop initial and the causative member a plain or aspirated unvoiced one. Examples: **gik** *vtt* 'to tie' vs **kik** *vt*, *vtt* 'to put on a belt'; **dzol** *vi* 'to live' vs **tsol** *vt* 'to save the life of'; **dʊk** *vi* 'to fall' vs **tʊk** *vt*, *vtt* 'to drop, to cause to fall'; **bʊk** *vi* 'to rise, to get up' vs **pʊk** *vt*, *vtt* 'to rouse, to raise'; **dat** *vi* 'to run out' vs **that** *vtt* 'to use up'; **bek** *vi* 'to enter' vs **phek** *vtt* 'to bring/take in'. A few examples do not involve stops: **ʊm** *vi* 'to sleep' vs **hʊm** *vt*, *vtt* 'to put to sleep'; **ʊt** *vtt* 'to meet, to find, to reach' vs **hʊ~hʊt**, *vt*, *vtt* 'to look for'; **re** *vs* 'to be broken in pieces' vs **se** *vtt* 'to break' [dial. **xe**]; **ram** *vi* 'to be afraid' vs **xwam** *vtt* 'to startle'.

NON-VERBAL MORPHOLOGY AND WORD CLASSES

Noun morphology and derivation

Nominal case is marked by postpositions. There is one nominal suffix, **khata** 'PLURAL/COLLECTIVE' (cf. 21).

There are a number of derivational suffixes: **tso** 'human, collective human, male human', **mi** 'female human', **wo** 'male human', **sɪ** 'fruit'. Exx. **thaːtso** 'grandson', **kaːtso** 'friend', **juxkɪtso** 'married couple', **taːwo** 'son', **thaːmi** 'granddaughter', **taːmi** 'daughter', **koksɪ** '*Ficus semicordata*'. (See also deverbal nominals, below.)

Pronouns

The independent absolutive pronouns are: 1st person: **gu~guu**; 2nd person: **gon** (2s), **gontshe** (2d), **gone** (2p); 3rd person (human) **komi**. The 1st and 3rd person pronouns, like nouns, can optionally be followed by **nakpu** 'two' or **khata** 'PL' to show number. The demonstrative **mi** may also be used as a 3rd person pronoun; it is not limited to human referents.

The ergative postposition **ha** is added to the absolutive form; the 1st person ergative form is **ga**, and the 2s form **gona** occurs as a variant of **gon-ha**.

The possessive pronouns are: 1s **aŋ**; 1de **aŋtshe**; 1di **uŋtshe**; 1pe **ãːki**; 1pi **ũːki**; 2s **uŋ**: 2d **uŋtshe**; 2p **uni**; 3s **a**, 3d **atshe**, 3p **ami**. These forms are used before nouns to indicate possession (cf. 1, 12, 21, 25, 30), and before postpositions other than **ha** (cf. 9, 10, 15).

Demonstratives

The demonstratives are **i~ii** 'this', **mi~mii** 'that'. Only the shorter variants are used before suffixes or postpositions: **mi-ha** 'he-ERG', 'that-INST'; **mi-khen** 'then', 'from there', **i-**

noŋ 'here', **mi-noŋ** 'there'. Also: **itha** 'this much' '(toward) here', **mitha** 'that much'; **ithara** 'to this extent [with an adjective]', **ine** 'here', **ibe** 'here'; **ima** 'in this manner', etc.

Interrogative-indefinite words

The indefinite-interrogative words are **su** 'who, someone', **mɪtsɪ** 'what, something', and a series of words based on the indefinite-interrogative morpheme **ha** (only interrogative glosses are cited): **hanɔŋ** 'which?', **hatha** 'how much?', **hani** 'where?', **hakhi** 'when?', **haŋa** 'how?', etc. In indefinite uses these words may carry the indefinite suffix **dum** (cf. **dum** *vi* 'to become'): **hatha-dum** 'however much'. In negative contexts they are often reinforced by the particle **le** 'also, even' (cf. 9).

Numbers

Nepali numbers are used for numbers over four, and often for lesser numbers as well. The numbers from 1 to 4 show a rudimentary classifier system: **pu** 'human' vs **uŋ** 'non-human' ([**ʔuŋ**] after a vowel). The numbers are: **koŋpu** '1:HUM', **kolu** '1' (human and non-human); **nakpu**, **nauŋ** '2'; **tshukpu**, **tshuuŋ** '3'; **bliuŋ** '4' (rarely used).

Adjectives, adverbs

There are at most a few lexical adjectives apart from stative verbs.

Color terms generally carry the suffix **mi** (?< genitive **mʊ**) or are marked by the postposition **ba~baha~baŋa** 'like': **dawaŋmi** 'white', **jitshiŋ-baha-mʊ** *khursānī* 'red chili-pepper'.

There is a very large class of phonesthetic words which may function as manner adverbs (often marked by the postposition **ha**) or as adjectives (often marked by the postposition **mʊ**), e.g. **kulkul** 'round': **kulkul-mʊ mʊːli** 'round belly'; **kulkul-ha xwãːtse?** 'are you fully ['roundly'] sated?' Some phonesthetic manner adverbs are marked by a derivational element **sɪt**, e.g. **krɪmsɪt** 'in/to the right spot': **krɪmsɪt toːta** 'safely put away'.

The basic locative adverbs are **wani~ani** 'up', **huti~uti** 'down', **wati~ati** 'across'; the corresponding directionals are **jõːkha** 'down', **lõːkha** 'up', **dokha** 'across'.

Postpositions, particles

Postpositions serve to mark the function of an element, which may be an NP or a subordinate clause, in a larger unit, NP or clause. Among the most common: **ha** 'ERGATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, ADVERBIAL'; **khen** 'from, after'; **mʊ** 'GENITIVE'; **thik** 'like'; **noŋ** 'at, with, after'; **noŋno** 'from'; **leːsi** 'for' (**mʊ-leːsi** after nouns and, optionally, after oblique pronouns); **he** 'in, while'; **boŋ** 'as far as', as much as'; **tiliŋ** 'because'; *bhandā* 'than' (cf. 5); **sa** 'SUBORDINATOR' (cf. 26).

Conjunctions: **nom** 'if' (cf. 27); **phen** (marks both protasis and apodosis in contrary-to-fact conditionals).

Discourse particles: **ko** 'TOPIC', **le** 'also, even', **na** 'precisely, indeed, the very', **dzi** 'only', **pai**, **pi** 'COUNTER-EXPECTANCY FOCUS'.

Sentence particles: **ro** 'RHETORICAL QUESTION', *re*, *are* 'HEARSAY', **te** 'INSISTENCE'.

SYNTAX

A *sentence* consists essentially of a finite clause, that is, a clause with a conjugated indicative or imperative verb, and, optionally, core and non-core arguments consisting of noun phrases, adverbs, or subordinate clauses. The verb is last in its clause, except when a topical argument is right-dislocated after the verb (cf. 11, 21, 31). There is no requirement that core arguments be present in the clause in lexical or pronominal form. Case marking is ergative: that is, A appears in the ergative case, marked by the postposition **ha**, while S and O appear in the absolutive case (unmarked). Functors — postpositions, discourse particles, complementizers, etc. — follow what is in their scope.

Assertion, interrogation, negation

The main verb of a declarative sentence, positive or negative, may carry the assertive suffix **m~mi** (cf. 2, 3, etc.). This mark is not used in interrogative, imperative, or irrealis clauses. Questions are marked by intonation, or by tags like ***ki* ma** 'or not' (cf. 19, 31).

The intransitive clause

The verb in an intransitive clause shows agreement with an S, in the absolutive case.

[1] *aba* **aŋ   xwaptso   met**
now 1s:OBL spouse   die:3s:NPA
Now my wife will die.

[2] **nukun   le gu itha   *belā* na   phi:ŋomi**
tomorrow too 1   this.much time EMPH come:1s:NPA:ASS
Tomorrow I will come again at this same time.

Arguments marked by the postposition **ha** in intransitive clauses are instrumental, not ergative in case. The verb in the following is morphologically unambiguously intransitive:

[3] **mi-khata buti-ha   benmem**
that-PL   meal-INST satisfy:3p:PA:ASS
They had enough food. [lit. 'they were satisfied by the food']

Meteorological verbs are intransitive, with 3s morphology: **lo:gaŋ kak** (sun shine:3s:NPA) 'the sun is shining'; **naʔnum tʊŋmi** (rain rain:3s:PA:ASS) 'it rained' *or* 'it is raining' (the past used with inchoative sense).

Copular sentences

Nominal or attributive predicates require the copula, the stative copula being **no~not** *vi (irregular)* 'to be'. Two types of copular sentence are distinguished below, attributive/identificational, and situative/possessive/existential. The order in the second type depends on information structure; in addition, a topical argument may be omitted or right-dislocated. Inchoative and causative senses are expressed by using verbs like **dum** 'to become', **pa~po** *vt, vtt* 'to make', **pon** *vr* 'to make oneself, to pretend to be', etc., in place of the copula (cf. 5, 6, 10). Non-verbal predicates are negated by **maaŋ** (cf. 6).

Attributive: Subject — attribute (NP, modifier, quantifier) — copula:

[4] **e   gon su   nono? —gu no:ŋom**.
hey you who   be:2s   I   be:1s:NPA:ASS
[In the dark.] Who are you? — It's me!

[5] **pʊkhʊli-*bhandā*   mi   xõ:ta   dum**
king-than   that   big:PPT become:3s
He became richer than the king.

[6] **sɪsɪt-ha gon maaŋ sɪxtso   põ:tse**
know:CJP you NNEG know:VN   make:2s:RF
Although you know, you play dumb.

Situative/possessive/existential: Subject — situative or possessive complement — copula:

[7] **mi noktshuŋ-he siktaŋ   mi ho:caŋ-he   no:mi**
that ear-in   wear:NV:PATIENT that open:NV:INST-in be:3s:ASS
The earring is in the box.

[8] **tsa:pimi   nom   *are***
mother-in-law   be:3s:ASS HS
Once there was a mother-in-law, they say. [Beginning of a story]

[9] **ã:ki-thik-mʊ   wa:ju hani le ma   no:me**
1pe:OBL-like-GEN Hayu where also NEG be:3p
There are no Hayu like us anywhere.

[10] **a-mʋ ko lom-noŋ ko nakpu xwaptso dum —**
3s-GEN TOP road-on TOP two:HUM spouse become:3s

kem-he kolu xwaptso no [...] *jamma* ko tshukpu dume
house-in one spouse be:3s all TOP three:HUM become:3p

Now he had two wives on the road — he had one at home ... altogether they were three.

Stative verbs

Stative verbs, e.g. **xʋn** *vs* 'to be big', **wol** *vs* 'to be withered', have no finite forms, but appear in intransitive clauses, either in the form of a past/passive participle used as a predicate attribute (cf. 5), or the gerundive used with the modal **la~lat** 'to go' (see below): **xʋn laxtse** 'it's too big', **wol lasʋŋ** 'I have become withered up'.

The transitive clause

The verb in a transitive clause shows agreement with two core arguments, A, roughly speaking the agent, marked by the ergative postposition, and O, absolutive (unmarked):

[11] **ga thuŋnomi gon**
1s:ERG convey:1s→2s:ASS 2s

I will take you there.

[12] **kolu *buḍhā mānche*-ha a *bārī*-noŋ lalat-ha rã:pi lʋxtom *are***
one old man-ERG 3s:OBL field-in go:CJP taro plant:3s:PA:ASS HS

An old man went to his field and planted taro, they say. [Beginning of a story.]

Deponent verbs

Transitive verbs may have inanimate A:

[13] **tɪrɪ nuʔma-*kheri* naʔnum-ha thopsʋŋ,**
today day-time rain-ERG throw.down:3s→1s:PA

gu dzũ:sa-ha ʋsʋŋ
1 fever-ERG meet:3s→1s:PA

Today, during the day, I was soaked by the rain [lit. 'rain threw me to the ground'] and I caught a fever [lit. 'fever caught me'].

Although the suffix in the forms above is homophonous with the 1s intransitive past, the verbs **thop** and **ʋt** are transitive, as can be seen in other contexts, where they take personal A, and in **dzũ:sa-ha ʋxto** (fever.ERG meet.3s→3s) 'he caught a fever', where the form is unambiguously transitive. The verb in 14 is somewhat different, since it can never take a personal A, but the form used with a 3rd person O is unambiguously transitive:

[14] **komi ti-ha thimtome**
3 water-ERG splash:3s→3p

They got sprinkled with water. [**thim** 'to be struck from above (by a falling object)']

Verbs of this type, of which there are about a dozen, are called 'deponent' (*vd*); other examples are **kot** 'to be pricked', **dzɪ** 'to be affected by a bad odor'. They can be regarded simply as transitives with impersonal A and personal O. However, the impersonal A, unlike other ergatives, can be omitted without implying anaphora: **thimto** means 'he was splashed' and not necessarily 'he was splashed by it'; this is perhaps not properly a syntactic property. (See also relative clauses below.) In addition to using transitive 3→3 forms, all such verbs use the applicative t-suffixes rather than k-suffixes.

The ditransitive clause

Many transitive verbs can appear in a ditransitive clause, with an A and two absolutive arguments, O and O2 (the *second object*). The verb shows agreement with A and O. Semantically, O2 generally corresponds to a theme or patient, and O to a beneficiary, goal, or (rarely) causee. In a ditransitive main clause, the applicative form of the main verb must be used if such a form is available for the particular verb and for the appropriate persons and numbers of A and O. The lack of such a form, however, is no obstacle to the use of the ditransitive construction.

The verbs **ha** *vtt* 'to give', **mum** *vtt* 'to give [food to eat]', **thun** *vtt* 'to give [to drink]' are inherently ditransitive, always agreeing with the recipient as O.

Among verbs that appear in both transitive and ditransitive clauses, transitive verbs which take an inanimate O use the ditransitive construction freely whenever a beneficiary is to be indicated. Examples are **rʊk** *vt*, *vtt* 'to plow' and **ke~ket** *vt*, *vtt* 'to peel': **ga rʊxkʊŋmi** (–APP) 'I plowed it', vs **ga rʊktʊŋmem** (+APP) 'I plowed it for them'; **keːko** (–APP) 'I peeled it' vs **kexto** (+APP) 'I peeled it for him'. The verb **rʊk** in a ditransitive clause can also mean 'to use [a bullock — O] to plow [a field — O2]'.

With other verbs, the ditransitive construction may be used depending on the verb and on referential and semantic properties of the arguments. It is rare to find a ditransitive construction in which the O2 is human, or otherwise particularly salient (like the animate, moving goal of **tot** *vtt* 'to chase', which always functions as O), and 1st or 2nd person O2s are never encountered. Where the ditransitive construction cannot be used, a beneficiary can be introduced marked by the postposition **leːsi** 'for'. As an example, with the verb 'to kill' only the most insignificant victim can be displaced from the function O to O2 to make room for a beneficiary. Thus the ditransitive construction is used in 15 but not in 16:

[15] **gu   sek   sɪsʊŋ —   sɪʔno**
1   louse   kill:2s→1s:IMP:±APP   kill:1s→2s:NPA:±APP
Kill my lice for me! — I'll kill them for you.

[16] **komi-ha   aŋ-leːsi   kolu   xoːco   sɪxtom**
3-ERG   1s:OBL-for one   chicken kill:3s→3s:±APP
He killed a chicken for me [i.e. in my honor as a dinner guest].

In 15, not only are the lice beneath notice, but their host, a salient speech-act participant, is directly implicated (more so than the honored guest of 16) because the action takes place on his body. The fact that the verb **sɪt** *vtt* 'to kill' has no distinctively applicative forms, and that **sɪsʊŋ** usually means 'kill me!', and **sɪʔno** 'I will kill you', is no obstacle to the use of the construction.

In some ditransitive clauses, O and O2 may have the same referent. Thus, related to **pʊxkʊŋ** (–APP) 'I raised it', 'I roused him', etc., we find **pʊktʊŋ** (+APP) 'I raised it for him', 'I roused him$_i$ for him$_j$' but also 'I helped him up' (i=j). That the latter is ditransitive is clear from the use of a distinctively applicative form.

Reflexive clauses

Reflexive forms agree with a single core argument, which appears in the absolutive case. Most or all transitive verbs may have reflexive forms, indicating that A and O have the same referent. Non-singular reflexive forms have either reflexive or reciprocal sense (but cf. the specialized compound reciprocal form below).

[17] **mi wolta   *cāhĩ u*   wathe   muxtsem   ɪxtse**
that wither:PPT   TOP   there   over.there sit:3s:RF:ASS say:3s:RF
That withered one sat way over there, they say.

[18] **kaːtso   cʊʔnatshik**
friend   look:2di:RF:NPA
Friend, let us look at ourselves [reflected in the water]!

Reflexive clauses with object NPs are clearly related to ditransitive clauses. For example, in **buti dzãːtse!** 'eat your meal!' (verb **dza~dzo** *vt* 'to eat') the reflexive indicates identity of reference between the eater and the beneficiary; **buti** 'cooked grain' can only have the function O2. On the other hand, when the disappearance of a particular food item is in question we find transitive forms:

[19] **e,   gona   dzaːko   *ki*   haŋa? —makhɪ   dzaŋmi**
hey 2s:ERG eat:2s:PA or   how?   not   eat:1s:NPA:ASS
Hey, did you eat it or what? — I didn't eat it.

Similarly, in threats — **ga gon dzoːnom** 'I'll eat you' (cf. 27) — or when a child eats something other than food or medicine — **ko dzoːmi** 'he eats earth!' — the reflexive is not used.

Compound predicates

A number of operators such as modals, aspectuals, directionals, etc., appear as coverbs following the bare-root gerundive of either the main clausal verb or another coverb. In such VV… concatenations, only the (last) coverb can have a finite form. This coverb often agrees in transitivity with the governed verb and, if the latter is transitive, may agree with its logical object. Thus, in the examples below, **cut** 'finish' appears as a reflexive with the intransitive 'come', but it appears as a transitive with 'eat', showing agreement with its object.

[20] **kem-he phi cuxtse**
house-in come finish:3s:RF
He already came home.

[21] **ã:ki** *gāũ*-**mʋ tso-khata** *jamma* **dza cuxtomem bumi pixpi-ha**
1pe:OBL village-of child-PL all eat finish:3→3p:ASS bumi g'mother-ERG
Grandma Bumi had already eaten up all the children of our village.

The verb **la~lat** *vi, vr* 'to go' has a number of uses as a coverb: centrifugal directional: **lʋn laʔnatshe** (run go:3d:RF) 'they (dual) ran away'; change of state with stative verbs (which themselves have no finite forms): **ima wol lasʋŋ** (thus withered go:1s:PA) 'I have become withered up like this'; agentless '*go*-passive': **ma jeŋ la** (not see go:3s:NPA) 'it will not be seen'. The latter construction is also used with intransitive verbs: **a thum dzik laxtse** (3s:OBL heart break go:3s:RF) 'her heart broke'.

Other coverbs taking the root gerundive are **dak** 'to be obliged/necessary to', **phat** *vi* and **on** *vtt* 'to be able', **kɩn** *vtt* 'to try', **wat** *vtt* 'to stop', **hok** *invariable, impersonal* 'is suitable', **piŋ** *vt* causative (= 'to send so.'), **bi** *vtt* 'to permit', **dzʋk** *vi* 'to know how to', **daŋ** *invariable* 'to be about to' (used with the copula when a main verb). The verbs **ha** *vtt* 'to allow', **bi** *vt* 'to request permission to', **lʋŋ** *vt* 'to get to' take infinitive complements. In the causative construction, the causee appears in the absolutive case:

[22] **ga gon** *pheri* **xwan-xwan dza piŋnom**
1:ERG 2s again satisfy-satisfy eat cause:1s→2s:ASS
I will let you eat your fill again.

Purpose clauses appear with the verb in the gerundive form: **siŋ pa laʔnatshem** (wood make go:3d:RF:ASS) 'they (dual) went to cut wood'.

The reciprocal is formed with the fully reduplicated gerundive followed by the coverb **pa~po** *vi* 'to do': **āsik ha-ha po:tshe** (blessing give-give do:3d:PA) 'they exchanged blessings'.

Subordinate clauses, sentential complements

The function of a subordinate clause adjunct in a higher clause is marked by a postposition, exactly as an NP adjunct. Almost all the postpositions used are the same as those used with NPs. The subordinate clause has verb-last order, with the verb in the gerundive form, except with the postposition **ha**, where the verb appears in reduplicated form (conjunctive participle).

The subordinate clause with the conjunctive participle usually shares its S or A argument with the S or A of the higher clause, which determines the case of this argument.The sense is loosely adverbial, either of temporal priority ('after x, y'), or of simultaneity, or of manner. Thus, in 12 above, the S of the subordinate has the same referent as the A of the main clause, and appears in the ergative case. The S-or-A-sharing rule, which might be invoked to justify the identification of a 'subject' pivot, is not without exceptions:

[23] *syāl* **hũ:pukumi-ha tsitsik-ha men**
jackal wasp-ERG bite:CJP die:3s:PA
The jackal was stung by the wasps and died.

The same construction with the copula is occasionally used as a kind of passive:

[24] **gu ko xõ:ta pʋkhʋli-ha ima ɩt-ha no:ŋom**
I TOP big chief-ERG thus say:CJP be:1s:NPA:ASS
I have been commanded thus by the great chief.

Subordinates marked by other postpositions have no particular tendency to share S-or-A with the higher clause, often sharing no argument at all:

[25] **a   umu   khok-khen daŋdaŋ le   dum**
3s:OBL mother walk-after bright   also   become:3s
After her mother left, it became light.

The subordinator **sa** always governs a gerundive negated (oddly, for a non-finite form) by **ma**, as in **kokori ma ok-sa** (cock NEG cry-SUB) 'before cock-crow'.

[26] **gon kem-he lalat-ha ma   dza-sa   ma   teʔno**
2s   house-in take:CJP NEG eat-SUB NEG release:1s→2s:NPA
I'll take you home and I won't let you go without eating you!

Conditions are marked by **nom** 'if' (<**nom** 'be:3s'):

[27] **ʊt   nom   dzoːmi   ɪxtsime**
catch:3s→3s:NPA if   eat:3s→3s:NPA say:3p:RF
If he catches her he'll eat her, they say.

Complements of verbs implying citation are usually marked by the postposed complementizer **paha~pa**, the verb **pa~po** *vt, vtt* 'to do' with the manner-adverbial postposition **ha**. The complementizer may be omitted.

[28] **suːŋom   paha ɪxtom   ɪxtse**
scratch:3s→1s:NPA:ASS COMP say:3s→3s:PA:ASS say:3s:RF
'It's clawing me,' she said.

[29] *jamma* **suːko   ine ine nom   paha**
all   know:3s→3s:PA here here be:3s:ASS COMP
He knew where everything was. [lit. 'he knew everything, that it was here and here']

INFORMATION STRUCTURE, DISCOURSE PARTICLES

Information structure is marked by word order (including the omission of NP arguments, on which there is no syntactic restriction), intonation, and discourse particles, which follow the element in their scope.

An active topic carried over from immediately preceding context may be omitted, or it may be placed in antitopic position after the verb. The topic marker **ko** (cf. 10, 17, 31) is not required.

Focal arguments tend to be placed immediately before the verb. The contradiction of a focal element with what is presupposed may be emphasized by the particle **pi~pai**: **jexpi pi** *khuwāī* **poːsʊŋmi** (shit FOC feed do:3s→1s:PA:ASS) 'he fed me SHIT!'

THE NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase may be followed by a postposition to mark its function, and by discourse particles. Modifiers precede the head; these include possessive pronouns, demonstratives, NPs marked by the genitive postposition **mʊ** (cf. 21), participles, relative clauses, lexical adjectives, etc. Thus: **rāːpi-mʊ lo** (taro-GEN leaf) 'taro leaf'; **haŋa-mʊ siŋtoŋ** (how-GEN man) 'what manner of man?'; **xõːta pʊkhʊli** (big:PPT chief) 'big chief'; **ʊlawo phum** 'huge tree'. Quantifiers may precede or follow; in the latter case any postposition is repeated, e.g. **nonotso-ha nakpu-ha** (sisters-ERG two:HUM-ERG). Adverbial modifiers precede adjectives: **ithara xõːta le gotji** (thus big:PPT foot have:APT) 'having feet big like this'.

Any potential nominal modifier may serve as head. That is, 'big' may mean 'big one' (cf. **wolta** in 17).

Coordination is usually realized by simple juxtaposition: **ga got le tsɪkno** (1s:ERG hand foot break:1s→2s:NPA) 'I'll break your arms and legs!' (ditransitive). The postposition **noŋ** 'after,with' may also be used: *bhālu-***noŋ** *syāl* **toxtotshem** (bear-with jackal chase:3s→3d:PA) 'he chased the bear and the jackal' (note the dual object agreement).

Relative clause; deverbal and participial modifiers

Relative clauses (i.e. clauses which modify a noun) have their verb in a participial or deverbal nominal form; the element corresponding to the antecedent is omitted from the relative. When the antecedent corresponds to the intransitive S in the relative, the form used depends on temporal considerations, the past/passive participle in **ta** being used for states (stative verbs have only this form) or for completed events, and the agentive/active participle in **ji** for non-past time:

[30] **ãki**   *laṅkā*-**khen** **dzokta**   *deutā*
      1pe:OBL Ceylon-from come.up:PPT god
      our goddess who came up from Ceylon

[31] **inoŋ jõːkha   latji   siŋtoŋ nakpu gona jẽːko   ki ma?**
      here below   go:APT man   two   2s:ERG see:2s:PA or not

      — ma jẽːkuŋ,   thaːtso,   ga   ko
      — not see:1s→3s:PA grandson   1s:ERG TOP
      Did you see two people going down here? — I didn't see them, grandson.

With transitive verbs, the active participle (in **ji**) is used when the antecedent corresponds to the A of the relative: *yeso tyeso* **paːpa-ha dzoːji siŋtoŋ** (this.way that.way do:CJP eat:APT man) 'a man who lives by chicanery' [lit. 'eats by doing thus and so']; the passive participle (in **ta**) is used if it corresponds to the O (or other non-A): **tami-ha cupta cuʔwa-khata** (daughter-ERG wear:PPT clothing-PL) 'the clothes and ornaments which the daughter had been wearing'. When the antecedent is the impersonal A of a deponent verb, the active participle is used: **mi kotji tsu** 'the thorn which is pricking me'.

When a pronoun S or A is expressed in the relative, it appears in the oblique/possessive form: **gon-ha aŋ ɪxta** *ṭhāũ*-**he thuŋo** *ta* (2s-ERG 1:OBL say:PPT place-in escort:2s→1s:IMP TOP) 'you just take me to the place I say [and…]'.

When the antecedent corresponds to an adjunct in the relative, the past/passive participle in **ta** can generally be used: **ima-mʋ lʋxta** *ṭhāũ*-**noŋno** (thus-GEN plant:PPT place-from) 'from the place where it had been planted like this'. More often, however, the appropriate nominal is used: **bumi ɪmluŋ kem-noŋ** (bumi sleep:NV:LOCATIVE house-at) 'in the house where Bumi slept'. The absolutive (not genitive) case of 'Bumi' shows that it is the whole clause 'Bumi sleeps' that is nominalized.

Transitive

A\O	1s	1de	1di	1pe	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s						no Nno	notshe Nnotshe	none Nnone	ŋ~N~sʊŋ /tʊŋ kʊŋ	ŋ~N~sʊŋ + tshe /tʊŋtshe kʊŋtshe	ŋ~N~sʊŋ + me /tʊŋme kʊŋme
1de						tshok tshoŋ					
1di						tshik tshiŋ					
1pe						kok /tikok kikoŋ /tikoŋ					
1pi						ke /tike kikeŋ /tikeŋ					
2s	ŋo sʊŋ	tshok tshoŋ	tshik tshiŋ	kok (ki)koŋ	ke (ki)keŋ				Ø /to ko		me /tome kome
2d	ŋotshe sʊŋtshe								tshik tshe		
2p	ŋone sʊŋne								ne Nne		
3s	ŋo sʊŋ					Ø N	tshik tshe	ne Nne	Ø /to ko		
3d	ŋotshe sʊŋtshe								tshik kotshe /totshe		
3p	ŋome sʊŋme					me Nme			me /tome kome		

Intransitive

1s	1de	1di	1pe	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
ŋo sʊŋ	tshok tshoŋ	tshik tshiŋ	kok (ki)koŋ	ke (ki)keŋ	Ø N	tshik tshe	ne Nne	Ø N	tshik tshe	me Nme

Reflexive

1s	1de	1di	1pe	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
ntsʊŋ	natshok natshuŋ	natshik natshiŋ	ntsikok ntsikoŋ	ntsike ntsikeŋ	ntse	natshik natshe	ntsine	ntse	natshik natshe	ntsime

TABLE 1: Verb morphology

06/12/04