A Grammar of Atong

Submitted by
Jonkheer Egbert Joost Seino Clifford Kocq van Breugel, M.A.
a.k.a. Seino van Breugel

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Research Centre for Linguistic Typology

La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria 3086
Australia

16 December 2008
# Table of contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>XVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF MAPS</td>
<td>XIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>XIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>XX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>XXV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAKANGGABA KATHA</td>
<td>XXIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BADRI KHU•CHUKSANG</td>
<td>XXIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIJYW KHU•CHUKSANG</td>
<td>XXIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD IN ENGLISH</td>
<td>XXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS</td>
<td>XXXI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 1  THE ATONG LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS  1  
1.1 LOCATION OF THE LANGUAGE AND NUMBER OF SPEAKERS  1  
1.2 NAMES AND ALLOYNMS  6  
  1.2.1 Language names  6  
  1.2.2 Remarks on some toponyms on Map 3  6  
1.3 THE ATONG PEOPLE  8  
  1.3.1 Ethnic affiliation  8  
  1.3.2 Social organisation  10  
  1.3.3 Living environment: the compound  11  
  1.3.4 Living environment: the jungle  12  
  1.3.5 Ceremonies and festivals  13  
  1.3.6 Contact with others  15  
  1.3.7 Economy  16  
1.4 LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT, LANGUAGE STATUS AND LANGUAGE USE  17  
1.5 THE ATONG SPELLING SYSTEM  21  
1.6 DIALECTAL VARIATION  22  
1.7 LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION  24  
1.8 PREVIOUS WORK ON ATONG  34  
1.9 FIELDWORK  37  
  1.9.1 Data collection  37  
  1.9.2 Recording equipment  41  

## CHAPTER 2  PHONOLOGY  43  
2.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE  43  
2.2 CONSONANTS  44  
  2.2.1 Stops  44  
  2.2.2 Fricatives  45  
  2.2.3 Affricates  46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4</td>
<td>The tap or trill and the oral continuant</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5</td>
<td>Nasal continuants</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6</td>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>The morphophonological process of fusion</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Vowel devoicing and elision</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Vowel assimilation</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Vowel phonotactics</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Morphophonological vowel assimilation</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Consonant length</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>Vowel length</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>Ambisyllabic consonants</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>Glottalisation</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12.1</td>
<td>Alternative analyses against glottal prosody</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i The glottal stop as a phoneme</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Glottalised continuants</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12.2</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>The atong word</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>Accentuation, stress and prosody</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>Phonologically aberrant words</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>The phonology of loan words</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.16.1</td>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.16.2</td>
<td>Consonants</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i Loans from English</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Loans from Indic languages</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii Loans from Garo</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3</td>
<td>WORD CLASSES: AN OVERVIEW</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4</td>
<td>VERBS</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Clausal properties</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Phrasal properties</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Morphological properties</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Semantic properties</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Subclasses of verbs</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.1</td>
<td>Primary-A verbs</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i Intransitive verbs</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Verbs of emotion and interaction</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii Verbs that take arguments which are obligatory unmarked for case</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv The copula and the locative/existential verbs</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v Transitive verbs</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi Extended transitive verbs</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii The interrogative verb <em>atak</em></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii Verbs denoting natural phenomena</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

4.5.2 Primary-B and Secondary verbs .......................................................... 98  
4.5.3 The Secondary speech-verb ................................................................. 99  
4.5.4 Phasal verbs........................................................................................ 100  
4.6 INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE LEXICAL PAIRS........................................ 100

## CHAPTER 5 ADJECTIVES ........................................................................... 103

5.1 TYPE 1 ADJECTIVES ............................................................................. 104  
5.2 TYPE 2 ADJECTIVES ............................................................................. 107  
5.2.1 Clausal properties............................................................................... 108  
5.2.2 Phrasal properties ............................................................................... 108  
5.2.3 Morphological properties .................................................................... 108  
5.2.4 Semantic properties............................................................................ 108  
5.3 REMARKS ON CERTAIN ADJECTIVES ............................................... 110

## CHAPTER 6 NOUNS .................................................................................... 113

6.1 CLAUSAL PROPERTIES ........................................................................... 113  
6.2 PHRASAL PROPERTIES .......................................................................... 113  
6.3 MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES .......................................................... 113  
6.4 SEMANTIC PROPERTIES ......................................................................... 114  
6.5 SUBCLASSES OF NOUNS ......................................................................... 114  
6.5.1 Common nouns .................................................................................. 114  
6.5.2 Nouns denoting persons and proper names........................................ 115  
6.5.3 Inherently locational nouns ................................................................. 116  
6.5.4 Mass nouns......................................................................................... 117  
6.5.5 Gender sensitive nouns ...................................................................... 117  
6.6 JUXTAPOSITION OF NOUNS .................................................................. 118  
6.6.1 Addition interpretation....................................................................... 118  
6.6.2 Modifying interpretation .................................................................... 119  
6.6.3 Different-NP interpretation ................................................................ 120

## CHAPTER 7 KINSHIP TERMS ................................................................... 121

7.1 MORPHOLOGY-BASED DIVISION OF KINSHIP TERMS: THE ENCLITIC 
<=gaba ~ =ga> ................................................................................................. 122  
7.2 SEMANTIC DIVISION OF KINSHIP TERMS ............................................. 125  
7.2.1 Classificatory versus descriptive kinship terms .................................. 125  
7.2.2 Reciprocal versus non-reciprocal kinship terms ................................ 126  
7.2.3 Reference versus address kinship terms ............................................. 127  
7.3 ADDRESS TERMS .................................................................................. 128  
7.4 THE CONSANGUINEAL FAMILY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ay ‘me’ ...... 132  
7.5 THE IN-LAW FAMILY ............................................................................ 136  
7.6 FAMILY LOSS ........................................................................................ 138  
7.7 HOW TO ADDRESS PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT KIN ................................ 139  
7.7.1 Addressee is younger than the speaker .............................................. 140  
7.7.2 Addressee is older than the speaker ................................................... 140
CHAPTER 8  DEMONSTRATIVES ................................................................. 141
  8.1  DEICTIC PROPERTIES ........................................................................ 141
  8.1.1  Purely deictic use ............................................................................. 141
  8.1.2  Anaphora ......................................................................................... 143
  8.2  CLAUSAL PROPERTIES ...................................................................... 144
  8.3  PROPERTIES AS HEAD OF A PREDICATE ........................................ 145
  8.4  PHRASAL PROPERTIES ...................................................................... 146
  8.5  MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES ...................................................... 148
  8.6  OTHER FUNCTIONS OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES ............................ 148
  8.7  THE ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVE atɔkɔy ..................................... 149
  8.8  DEICTIC-ONLY DEMONSTRATIVES .................................................. 151

CHAPTER 9  INTERROGATIVES................................................................. 153
  9.1  PROPERTIES OF INTERROGATIVES ............................................... 154
  9.2  caŋ ‘who’ ......................................................................................... 155
  9.3  atɔŋ ‘what’ ....................................................................................... 156
  9.4  atɔŋɔkɔy ‘why, how come’ ............................................................... 157
  9.5  atɔkɔna ~ atana ‘why’ ......................................................................... 157
  9.6  atɔŋɔmɔŋna ‘why’ ............................................................................... 158
  9.7  atɔkɔy ~ atɔkɔy ‘how’ ......................................................................... 158
  9.8  bie ~ bi ‘which, where’ ...................................................................... 158
  9.9  biskɔn AND bɔysɔk ‘how much/many’ ............................................. 159
  9.10  bɪba ‘when, in whatever place’ ....................................................... 161
  9.11  bítɔkɔy ‘by which way?’ .................................................................... 161
  9.12  bici ‘where’ .................................................................................... 162
  9.13  bisɔŋ ‘to/from where’ AND bisɔŋmi ‘from where’ ......................... 162
  9.14  bimi ~ bimɔŋ ‘(from) where’ ............................................................. 163
  9.15  biga ~ bigɔŋa ‘which’ ........................................................................ 164

CHAPTER 10  INDEFINITE PROFORMS...................................................... 165
  10.1  THE INDEFINITE PROFORM je ‘any, whichever, whatever’ ............. 165
  10.2  DERIVATIONS FROM je ‘any, whichever, whatever’ ..................... 166
  10.3  caŋba, atɔŋba, biciba, bisɔŋba AND bimɔŋa ..................................... 167
  10.4  caŋgaba ‘whoever’ ......................................................................... 169
  10.5  daraŋba ‘anybody’ ......................................................................... 170
  10.6  gumuksay ‘everywhere’ .................................................................. 170

CHAPTER 11  NUMERALS ........................................................................ 173
  11.1  TYPES OF ATONG NUMERALS ..................................................... 174
  11.1.1  Unit numerals ............................................................................... 178
  11.1.2  Round-Number numerals and the use of different paradigms ...... 181
  11.2  BORROWED NUMERALS ............................................................... 185
  11.2.1  English loans .............................................................................. 185
  11.2.2  Hindi loans .................................................................................. 186
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

11.3 **WHAT IS QUANTIFIED WITH WHICH NUMERALS?** ........................................... 187
11.4 **THE POSITION OF THE CLASSIFIER** ............................................................... 189
11.5 **SYNTACTIC AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF NUMERALS** ............... 191
11.6 **ORDINAL NUMBERS** ..................................................................................... 196
11.7 **THE NUMERAL *sa* ‘one’: ITS DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS AND GRAMMATICALISATIONS** ........................................................................................................ 198

**CHAPTER 12  CLASSIFIERS** ............................................................................. 203

12.1 **THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF CLASSIFIERS** ............... 203
12.2 **CATEGORIES AND TYPES OF CLASSIFIERS AND THEIR USE** ....................... 206
  12.2.1 Sortal classifiers ......................................................................................... 207
  12.2.2 Repeater classifiers ................................................................................... 208
  12.2.3 Mensural classifiers .................................................................................... 210
  12.2.4 The relationship between noun and classifier ............................................ 210
12.3 **AUTO-CLASSIFIERS** .................................................................................... 211
12.4 **MEASURE NOUNS** ..................................................................................... 214
12.5 **THE ORIGIN OF CLASSIFIERS IN ATONG** .................................................. 215

**CHAPTER 13  POSTPOSITIONS** ...................................................................... 225

13.1 **THE POSTPOSITION *dakany*** ..................................................................... 225
13.2 **THE POSTPOSITION *konsay*** ..................................................................... 226
13.3 **THE POSTPOSITION *gown*** ...................................................................... 226
13.4 **THE LIMITATIVE POSTPOSITION *dabat*** ................................................... 227
13.5 **THE LIMITATIVE POSTPOSITION *thol*?** .................................................... 230

**CHAPTER 14  TIME WORDS** ........................................................................ 233

14.1 **THE PROPERTIES OF TIME WORDS** ............................................................. 233
  i Clausal properties ............................................................................................. 233
  ii Phrasal properties ............................................................................................ 234
  iii Morphological properties .............................................................................. 234
  iv Semantic properties ......................................................................................... 236
14.2 **THE WORD *dakany*** .................................................................................. 237
  14.2.1 As time word ............................................................................................. 237
  14.2.2 As a genitive-marked Possessor ............................................................... 238
  14.2.3 With the attributive suffix <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> ............................................. 238
  14.2.4 With the adverbialising suffix <-*gaba* ~ -*ga*> ...................................... 238
  14.2.5 As underived adverb ................................................................................ 239

**CHAPTER 15  ADVERBS** .................................................................................. 241

**CHAPTER 16  DISCOURSE CONNECTIVES** .................................................... 245

16.1 **TYPE 1 DISCOURSE CONNECTIVES** ............................................................. 245
  16.1.1 The origin of Type 1 discourse connectives .............................................. 247
  16.1.2 *otakayym* and its allomorphs .................................................................. 248
CHAPTER 17 OTHER WORD CLASSES ........................................... 261
17.1 THE ADDITIVE CONJUNCTION aro ‘and’ .................................. 261
17.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS ....................................................... 262
17.3 THE GENERIC PRONOUN ................................................. 266
17.4 PROCLASSES ................................................................. 267
17.5 ONOMATOPOEIA .............................................................. 272
17.6 INTERJECTIONS ............................................................... 273

CHAPTER 18 WORD-CLASS-CHANGING DERIVATION ............... 275
18.1 TYPES OF DERIVATION ..................................................... 275
18.2 DENOMINAL VERBS OR DEVERBAL NOUNS, ZERO DERIVATION ......................................................... 275
18.3 DE-ADJECTIVAL NOUNS OR DENOMINAL ADJECTIVES: ZERO DERIVATION ................................................................. 280
18.4 DE-ADJECTIVAL VERBS ..................................................... 280
18.5 MAKING A NOUN MORE VERB-LIKE .................................. 281
18.6 DEVERBAL AND DE-ADJECTIVAL ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION .......................... 282
18.7 DEVERBAL ADVERBS BY ZERO DERIVATION ................................................................. 283
18.8 DENOMINAL ADVERBS ..................................................... 285
18.9 NOMINALISATION ............................................................. 286

CHAPTER 19 PHRASAL ENCLITICS .............................................. 291
19.1 THE POSSESSIVE ENCLITIC <=thy> ......................................... 292
19.2 THE RECIPROCAL ENCLITIC <=maran> .................................... 293
19.3 THE PLURAL ENCLITIC <=daran ~ =daran> ................................ 295
19.4 THE QUANTIFIER ENCLITIC <=gumuk> .................................... 299
19.5 THE DISTRIBUTIVE ENCLITIC <=pek> ....................................... 299
19.6 THE “EXCLUSIVE” ENCLITIC <=tara> ....................................... 300
19.7 THE PRIVATIVE ENCLITICS <=nay ~ =ni> and <=ri> ....................... 301
19.8 THE ENCLITIC <=rara> ........................................................ 301
19.9 THE ASSOCIATIVE ENCLITIC <=para> ....................................... 302
19.10 THE “ALTERNATIVE” ENCLITIC <=sega ~ =siga> ......................... 303
19.11 THE ADDITIVE/EMPHATIC ENCLITIC <=ba> ................................ 304
19.11.1 Addition ........................................................................... 305
19.11.2 Emphasis ......................................................................... 306
19.11.3 Marker of speaker ............................................................ 306
19.12 THE FOCUS/IDENTIFIER ENCLITIC <=an> ................................ 306
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.13</td>
<td>THE TOPIC ENCLITIC &lt;=do&gt;</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.14</td>
<td>THE FOCUS ENCLITIC &lt;=e&gt;</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>ZERO MARKING</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>THE MOBILITATIVE/LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER &lt;=sany&gt;</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.1</td>
<td>Mobilitative interpretation</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.2</td>
<td>Locative interpretation</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.3</td>
<td>Instrumental interpretation</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>THE LOCATIVE CASE MARKER &lt;=ci&gt; (LOC)</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>THE GENITIVE/ABLATIVE/NOMINALISER CASE MARKER &lt;=mi ~ =møy&gt;</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4.1</td>
<td>Indication of the relationship between nouns within an NP</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4.2</td>
<td>Marker of a Source</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4.3</td>
<td>Marking of the standard of comparison in equative clauses</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4.4</td>
<td>Nominalisation</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4.5</td>
<td>Repeated genitive case marking</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>THE COMITATIVE CASE MARKER &lt;=mu ~ =muy ~ =møy&gt;</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>THE DATIVE/ALLATIVE CASE MARKER &lt;=na&gt;</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>REPEATED DATIVE CASE MARKING</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>THE ACCUSATIVE CASE &lt;=aw ~ =taw&gt;</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8.1</td>
<td>The marking of O arguments</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8.2</td>
<td>Marking of material of which something is made</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8.3</td>
<td>Purely referential/individuating/definiteness usage of the morpheme</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8.4</td>
<td>The morpheme &lt;=aw ~ =taw&gt; on clause initial topical S arguments</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8.5</td>
<td>Repeated accusative case marking</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8.6</td>
<td>More than one accusative marked NP in a clause</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>THE HOMOPHONOUS MARKERS &lt;=toky&gt; (VIA) FOR THE PERLATIVE AND &lt;=toky&gt; (LIKE) FOR THE SIMILATIVE</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.10</td>
<td>MULTIPLE CASE MARKING</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.10.1</td>
<td>Local/Direction marking + marking of clausal function</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.10.2</td>
<td>Local marking + local marking: Direction and Source</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.10.3</td>
<td>Local marking + local marking + clausal function: Direction, Source</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.10.4</td>
<td>Marking of clausal function first and then of phrasal function</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.10.5</td>
<td>Stem-forming genitive governed by &lt;=gømøn&gt; ‘reason, about’</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.11</td>
<td>REPEATED CASE MARKING SUMMARY</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER 21  TRANSITIVITY

21.1  NO FORMAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN CORE SYNTACTIC ROLES .................. 364  
21.2  OPTIONALITY OF COMPLEMENTS AND S=A AMBITRANSLITIVITY ........... 366  
21.3  S=O AMBITRANSLITIVITY ................................................................. 369  
21.4  PIVOTS .................................................................................................. 371  

## CHAPTER 22  THE PREDICATE

22.1  DEFINING THE PREDICATE AND THE PREDICATE HEAD ....................... 373  
22.2  THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE PREDICATE HEAD ............ 374  
22.3  THE VERBAL PREDICATE ..................................................................... 377  
22.4  THE TYPE 2 ADJECTIVAL PREDICATE .................................................. 378  
22.5  THE NOMINAL PREDICATE ................................................................... 378  
22.5.1  Main clause nominal predicates ...................................................... 379  
22.5.2  Subordinate clause nominal predicates .......................................... 380  
22.5.3  Not only nouns ................................................................................ 381  
22.6  COMPLEX PREDICATES ...................................................................... 381  
22.6.1  Complex predicates with identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives ............ 381  
22.6.2  Type 2-adjective-plus-support-verb compounds ............................. 383  
22.7  COMPLEX PREDICATES WITH INCORPORATED NOUNS ...................... 385  
22.7.1  The predicate with a prototypically associated noun ....................... 386  
22.7.2  The noun-plus-support-verb predicate ........................................... 392  
22.7.2.i  The support verbs kha- ~ kha- ‘to do, make’ and tak- ‘to do’ .......... 392  
22.7.2.ii  The support verb ra ~ ‘to take, get’ .............................................. 394  
22.7.2.iii  The copula as support verb ....................................................... 395  

## CHAPTER 23  PREDICATE HEAD SUFFIXES

23.1  THE CAUSATIVE SUFFIX <-et> .............................................................. 397  
23.2  THE CAUSATIVE ON TRANSITIVE VERBS ......................................... 397  
23.3  THE RECIPROCAL SUFFIX <-ruk> ....................................................... 400  
23.4  THE COMPARATIVE/SUPERLATIVE SUFFIX <-khal> ............................ 402  
23.5  THE EXCESSIVE SUFFIX <-duga> ...................................................... 404  
23.6  THE SIMPLICITIVE ASPECT SUFFIX <-ari> ........................................ 404  
23.7  THE INCOMPLETE ASPECT SUFFIX <-khu> ........................................ 405  
23.8  THE CUSTOMARY ASPECT SUFFIX <-a> ............................................ 406  
23.9  THE DESIDERATIVE SUFFIX <-na> .................................................... 407  
23.10  THE FUTURE MODALITIES ................................................................. 409  
23.10.1  The imperious future suffix <-naka ~ -ka> ...................................... 409  
23.10.2  The future suffix <-ni> ................................................................. 411  
23.11  THE REFERENTIAL SUFFIX <-an> ..................................................... 414  
23.12  THE NEGATIVE SUFFIX <-ca> .......................................................... 416  
23.13  THE CHANGE OF STATE SUFFIX <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> ............................ 419  
23.13.1  On verbal predicates ...................................................................... 419  
23.13.2  On Type 1 adjectival predicates .................................................... 421
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23.13.3</td>
<td>On nominal predicate heads</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.13.4</td>
<td>On other types of predicates</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.13.5</td>
<td>On negated predicates</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.14</td>
<td>THE PROGRESSIVE/DURATIVE ASPECT SUFFIX</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 24</strong></td>
<td><strong>THE FACTITIVE SUFFIX</strong></td>
<td><strong>427</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>FACTITIVE-MARKED MAIN CLAUSE PREDICATES</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>THE FACTITIVE ON TYPE 1 ADJECTIVES</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>FACTITIVE-MARKED COMPLEMENT CLAUSES</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.3.1</td>
<td>Factitive-marked object complement clauses and nominalisation</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.3.2</td>
<td>Factitive-marked subject complement clauses</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.3.3</td>
<td>The syntactic status of factitive-marked complement clauses</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>FACTITIVE-MARKED CLAUSES WITH DATIVE AND LOCATIVE CASE-MARKING</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.4.1</td>
<td>Factitive-marked Standard of comparison and Comparee clauses</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.4.2</td>
<td>Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the dative case</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.4.3</td>
<td>Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the locative case</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.4.4</td>
<td>Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the similative case</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>FACTITIVE-MARKED COMPLEMENT CLAUSE OF POSTPOSITION</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>SUMMARY OF PROPERTIES OF FACTITIVE-MARKED CLAUSES</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>DIACHRONIC NOTE</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 25</strong></td>
<td><strong>EVENT SPECIFIERS</strong></td>
<td><strong>449</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>THE FUNCTION OF EVENT SPECIFIERS</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>ORIGIN AND MEANING DIFFERENTIATION</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>CATEGORIES</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>STRIKING PHONETIC FEATURE</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>OVERVIEW AND SOME COMMENTS</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 26</strong></td>
<td><strong>CLAUSE TYPES</strong></td>
<td><strong>459</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General properties of independent and dependent clauses</td>
<td>461</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.1</td>
<td>Content questions</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.2</td>
<td>Predicateless focus content question clauses</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.3</td>
<td>Clauses with interrogatives as predicate head</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.4</td>
<td>Marked and unmarked polar questions</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.5</td>
<td>Alternative question sentences</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>IMPERATIVE CLAUSES</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.2.1</td>
<td>Politeness</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>The bare imperative</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>The imperative with &lt;bo&gt;</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>The imperative with &lt;khu&gt;</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.2.2</td>
<td>The prohibitive with &lt;bay&gt;</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.2.3</td>
<td>The prohibitive with &lt;ta&gt;</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.2.4</td>
<td>The optative</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.2.5</td>
<td>The hortative strategy</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>DECLARATIVE CLAUSES AND IDENTITY/EQUATION CLAUSES</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>THE PRESENTATIVE CLAUSE</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>COPULA CLAUSES</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>QUOTATIVE CLAUSES</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>REACTIONS TO INDEPENDENT CLAUSES INVOLVING PROCLAUSES</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.7.1</td>
<td>The agree/disagree system</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.7.2</td>
<td>The yes/no system</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.7.3</td>
<td>The echo system</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>THE IRREALIS ENCLITIC $&lt;=c\text{om}&gt;$</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.8.1</td>
<td>Supposition interpretation</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.8.2</td>
<td>Irresultative interpretation</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.8.3</td>
<td>Frustrative interpretation</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.8.4</td>
<td>Implicative interpretation</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>THE SPECULATIVE ENCLITIC $&lt;=k\text{hon}&gt;$</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>DATIVE- AND LOCATIVE-MARKED CLAUSES</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>DATIVE MARKING ON INFLECTED PREDICATES</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.1.1</td>
<td>Reason clauses</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.1.2</td>
<td>The standard of comparison clause</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>DATIVE MARKING ON VERBAL ROOTS OR STEMS</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.2.1</td>
<td>Dative-marked complement clauses</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.2.2</td>
<td>Dative-marked subject complement clauses</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.2.3</td>
<td>Purpose adjunct clauses</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>DATIVE-MARKED CLAUSES AS COMPLEMENT OF POSTPOSITION</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>SUMMARY OF DATIVE-MARKED CLAUSES</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>LOCATIVE-MARKED CLAUSES</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>THE CONCOMITANT ACTION SUFFIX</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.6.1</td>
<td>Temporal Location adjunct clauses</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.6.2</td>
<td>Temporal attributive clauses</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ADVERBIAL AND SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>ADVERBIAL CLAUSES</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>TERMINOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>NO COMMON ARGUMENT</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>NO GAPPING AND NO OBLIGATORY SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>PRE- AND POST-HEAD ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>ARCH NPs WITH POST-HEAD ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>GENITIVE-MARKED A ARGUMENT OR POSSESSOR? / No “INTERNAL HEAD”</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

## 29.7 Variation Constraints in the Position of the Attributive Clause
.................................................................560

## 29.8 Attested Attributivisations ..............................................563

## 29.9 Arch NPs as Predicates of Verbless Clauses .......................565

## 29.10 Headless Arch NPs ...............................................................566

## 29.11 Lexicalisations ..................................................................568

## 29.12 The Morpheme <-ga-ba ~ -ga> as Attributive Suffix ...............569
   i Numerals ..............................................................................570
   ii The bound interrogative formative ........................................570
   iii The time word dakay ..........................................................571

## 29.13 The Nominalisation ~ Relativisation ~ Genitivisation Syncretism .................................571

## 29.14 Conclusion .........................................................................573

## Appendix 1 Texts........................................................................575

**TEXT 1** Saduthaŋ maran mŋ?tham Part 1 ........................................575
**TEXT 2** Saduthaŋ maran mŋ?tham Part 2 ........................................582
**TEXT 3** Way khuruta ..................................................................593
**TEXT 4** Ca?masaŋmi way .............................................................601
**TEXT 5** Alsia Raja ......................................................................604

## Appendix 2 Atong-English Dictionary ........................................623

## References .............................................................................719
## List of tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 1</strong></td>
<td>List of pairs of last names that represent the same blood lineage for Garo and Atong speakers but that have a different pronunciation in both languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 2</strong></td>
<td>The relationship between the phonemes of Atong and the way they are written in the orthography developed for the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 3</strong></td>
<td>Illustration of the variation in lexemes and grammatical morphemes in the dialects of Badri and Siyw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 4</strong></td>
<td>The classification of Boro-Garo languages according to Jacquesson (2006: 294) including Atong, until now correctly suspected to be closest to Boro (see Jacquesson (2006: 293, quoted above)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 5</strong></td>
<td>The reflexes of Proto-Boro-Garo */kr, gr, kl/ in Garo, Rabha, Boro, according to Jacquesson (2006: 285) with the addition of Atong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 6</strong></td>
<td>The reflexes of Proto-Boro-Garo */r/ and */l/ in Boro-Garo languages, according to Jacquesson (2006: 285) with the addition of Atong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 7</strong></td>
<td>List of texts collected during fieldwork.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 8</strong></td>
<td>Atong consonant inventory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 9</strong></td>
<td>Evidence for aspiration and voicing opposition in stops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 10</strong></td>
<td>Evidence for the phonemic contrast of the two fricatives /s/ and /h/.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 11</strong></td>
<td>Evidence of the phonemic contrasts of the nasal continuants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 12</strong></td>
<td>The possible combinations of vowels plus glide in Atong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 13</strong></td>
<td>Syllable final consonants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 14</strong></td>
<td>Vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 15</strong></td>
<td>Evidence for vowel quality contrast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 16</strong></td>
<td>Minimal pairs of syllables with and without glottal stop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 17</strong></td>
<td>Loanvowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 18</strong></td>
<td>Minimal and near-minimal pairs of words with and without loanvowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 19</strong></td>
<td>List of word classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 20</strong></td>
<td>Some salient general tendencies of verbs, Type 1 and Type 2 adjectives and nouns.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21  Types of verbs ................................................................. 87
Table 22  Verbs denoting natural phenomena and their corresponding nouns ......97
Table 23  List of Primary-B and Secondary verbs (not exhaustive) .....................99
Table 24  Phasal verbs ........................................................................ 100
Table 25  Transitive and intransitive verb pairs ........................................ 101
Table 26  List of adjectives sorted by semantic category and class ............... 106
Table 27  Gender sensitive nouns ....................................................... 118
Table 28  Nouns occurring with the morpheme <-gaba ~ -ga> (RELATIONAL).....125
Table 29  Kinship terms Type 1: (a) Consanguineal kinship terms ...............129
Table 30  Type 2 kinship terms, consanguineal and affinal ..........................131
Table 31  My blood relations .............................................................. 134
Table 32  Spouses of aunts, uncles and siblings, their children and grand children and their relation to me .................................................. 135
Table 33  Reference terms uncles and aunts use for me ................................ 136
Table 34  My in-laws, me being masculine ........................................... 137
Table 35  My in-laws, me being feminine ............................................. 137
Table 36  Address terms that my in-laws use for me and my siblings .......... 138
Table 37  Address terms that my brothers- and sisters-in-law use for me ....... 138
Table 38  List of interrogatives .............................................................. 153
Table 39  List of indefinite proforms .................................................... 165
Table 40  Counting in Atong ................................................................. 174
Table 41  Morphemes participating in the formation of Unit numerals .......... 179
Table 42  Round-Number numerals .......................................................... 181
Table 43  English numerals borrowed into Atong .................................... 186
Table 44  Numerals borrowed into Atong from Hindi .................................. 187
Table 45  Examples of loans from English (probably through an Indic language) and Indic languages with their classifiers. This is not an exhaustive list. ............................................................................................................... 189
Table 46  The categorisation of Atong classifiers ....................................... 207
Table 47  List of classifiers ................................................................... 217
Table 48  List of time words .................................................................. 233
Table 49  List of adverbs and intensifiers ................................................. 242
Table 50  List of discourse connectives and their historical make up .......... 246
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 51</th>
<th>Personal pronouns</th>
<th>262</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 52</td>
<td>List of proclauses</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 53</td>
<td>List of interjections</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 54</td>
<td>Nouns that also occur as verbal predicate heads</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 55</td>
<td>The properties of denominal adverbs compared to those of adverbs and nouns</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 56</td>
<td>Overview of NP enclitics</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 57</td>
<td>Marked and unmarked syntactic and semantic argument types</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 58</td>
<td>The Atong case markers and the types of NPs they can mark</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 59</td>
<td>Pragmatic conditions for accusative case-marking of O</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 60</td>
<td>The grammaticalisation path of the case marker &lt;takay&gt; (VIA/LIKE)</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 61</td>
<td>What cases are found repeated and why</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 62</td>
<td>Properties of different types of predicate depending on the head</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 63</td>
<td>Predicate head suffixes in their respective slots</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 64</td>
<td>Prototypically associated nouns with their verbs</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 65</td>
<td>Elements incorporated into predicates with the support verb</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ra? ‘to take’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 66</td>
<td>Suffixes and clausal enclitics indicating a modality</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 67</td>
<td>The functions of the factitive suffix &lt;wa&gt; (FACT)</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 68</td>
<td>Event specifiers</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 69</td>
<td>Clause types in Atong</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 70</td>
<td>Clausal enclitics</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 71</td>
<td>General properties of independent and dependent clauses</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 72</td>
<td>The structure of the fully inflected imperative predicate head</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 73</td>
<td>The structure of the prohibitive with &lt;bay&gt;</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 74</td>
<td>The effects of the dative case enclitic on clauses</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 75</td>
<td>Examples of lexicalised attributivised verbs</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 76</td>
<td>The relationship between the phonemes of Atong and the way they are written in the orthography</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Maps

Map 1  The location of the state of Meghalaya within India.........................4
Map 2  The Atong language area within Meghalaya ....................................4
Map 3  The Atong speaking area in South Garo Hills District ......................4

List of figures

Figure 1  Schematic chart of Sino-Tibetan Groups, from Benedict (1972: 6) ......26
Figure 2  Relationships among the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw languages, from
         Burling (2003 a: 175)..............................................................................27
Figure 3  The classification of Boro-Garo languages according to François
Figure 4  The first few lines of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by the Rev. E.G.
         Philips, taken from Grierson (1901: 86). ................................................35
Summary

This thesis is a grammar of Atong, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the South Garo Hills district of Meghalaya State in Northeast India. The grammar is based primarily on data collected during a total of twelve months of fieldwork, spread out over two trips, between 2005 and 2007, in the villages of Badri Maidugytym and Siju.

I will summarise a few important typological features of the language. Atong is an analytic and mildly polysynthetic language with suffixes and phrasal and clausal enclitics. There are no prefixes or proclitics. Several phrasal enclitics can also function as clausal enclitics. Constituent order in a clause is pragmatically determined. Atong makes extensive use of zero anaphora, i.e. referents that are retrievable from the context (co-textual as well as real-world context) are usually omitted; no NP has to be obligatorily expressed in any clause. Semantic role marking of NPs is determined by different pragmatic and lexical factors. Clauses with multiple unmarked NPs are common and their semantic role has to be inferred from the context. Boundaries between word classes in Atong can be fuzzy, as not only verbs, but also nouns and members of several other word classes can function as predicate head.

As for the phonology, Atong does not have phonological tone, but exhibits glottalisation, a prosodic feature that operates on the level of the syllable. Depending on the syllable type, glottalisation manifests itself in different ways, all of which involve the occurrence of a glottal stop in the phonetic realisation of the syllable. Moreover, Atong does not allow any consonant clusters in word-initial syllables, except in loanwords. In non-initial syllables, only clusters with /r/ as second member are allowed, but a schwa can always be inserted in these cases, as is frequently done by native speakers.

The grammar consists of 29 chapters. The first is a general introduction to the Atong language, its speakers and also discusses its possible historical affiliations. Chapter 2 describes the phonology and discusses the phenomenon of glottalisation. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the word classes. The different word classes are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 to 17. Chapter 18 describes the different types of word-class-changing derivation. Chapters 19 and 20 describe the phrasal morphology.
of the language. Chapter 21 treats the subject of transitivity, which plays only a minor role in the language. Chapters 22 to 25 describe the predicate and predicate morphology. Chapter 26 gives an overview of the different clause types, some of which are treated in more detail in that chapter, while others are treated in chapters 27 to 29.

There are two appendices to this thesis. The first appendix contains five Atong texts of different genres. Four of them are fully glossed and translated, one serves as an example of the seemingly dying practice of spirit incantation and cannot be translated. The second appendix is an Atong-English dictionary. The Atong entries and examples in this dictionary are written in the orthography I designed for the language.
Statement of authorship

Except where referenced in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person’s work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

The author, Jonkheer Egbert Joost Seino Clifford Kocq van Breugel, has published and will publish under the name Seino van Breugel. All references to Seino van Breugel in this thesis refer to the author of this thesis.

Jonkheer Egbert Joost Seino Clifford Kocq van Breugel, M.A.
Acknowledgments

First and foremost I want to thank all the Atong people who helped and supported me during my fieldwork. Thank you for your trust, your good care, your enthusiasm and your patience with me while I was learning your language and culture. Thank you for speaking with me and letting me record your beautiful language. I will only have good memories of all of you.

I am particularly thankful for the hospitality of the people of the villages of Badri Maidugytyum and Siju. The family of Susil S Marak (Nisawa•) and his wife Kelbish M Sangma (Nisajyw•) took me into their house during the entire stay in Badri Maidugytyum. Latith and Janita M Sangma and their family took care of me like one of their own family. Dalcheng M Sangma taught me how to drive my motorbike, which was essential for my work in the field. Plindar R Marak negotiated my stay in Siju. While I stayed in Siju I found good homes with the following very kind and hospitable families: Peslar R Marak, his wife Golaphy R Sangma and their family; Elsina R Sangma (AB Fernandajyw•), her mother Monjila, her brother Dilseng and their family; Kalison R Sangma (Dambewa•), his wife Jontol D Sira (Dambejyw•), their daughter Radia, Bairik D Sira and their family. Thank you all from the bottom of my heart for your hospitality and your good care. I will never forget your kindness.

I want to thank all the people who taught me Atong and helped me with the transcription and translation of their language. There are some people to whom I am particularly grateful: Salseng R Sangma, who was my main and best translator, who I could always rely on and who explained the most difficult aspects of his language to me with great patience. He was always there for me when I needed him. Ranus M Sangma from Badri, who was my first Atong language teacher who helped me to understand the people when I first arrived in Badri and did not speak a word of Atong yet. He also helped me to write down and translate the first stories I recorded. Sandish M Sangma, who transcribed many many many texts for me with great skill, dedication and remarkable perseverance. In addition to his writing, he showed me the beautiful jungle around Badri and taught me how to fish. Samrat N Marak from Siju, who was by my side most of the time while I was in Siju. He was a good friend, a good teacher and a great guide in the jungle. I could not have coped so well without
him. Inden R Sangma of Siju, who learned how to write his language with surprising ease and who never stopped writing until all texts were completely finished. Shyam R Marak and Plindar R Marak, who also helped me a great deal with translation. Nikseng S Marak, who not only helped me translate one of the most lengthy and difficult texts, but also corrected and improved the drafts of the dictionary and the story book.

When I first arrived in Tura in 2004 on a pilot project funded by the Leiden University Fund, it was Father V.A. Cyriac, principal of Don Bosco College, who got me started on my journey of discovery by introducing me to my first guide to the Atong area, Sanggra A Sangma. I thank Fr. Cyriac for his support throughout my fieldwork and for comforting my family back home when they were worried about me. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Caroline R. Marak, former head of the Garo Department of the Tura branch of the North Eastern Hill University (NEHU), who greatly facilitated my first stay in Tura by setting my up in the NEHU guest house. When I came back to Tura for my first fieldwork trip for RCLT in 2005, Dr. Caroline R. Marak introduced me to her brother S.R Marak (Chaki) whose idea it was to let me stay in Badri Maidugytym and who introduced me to my aforementioned host Susil S Marak. During my first journey from Tura to Badri, it was the family of Kroshnil D Sangma (Winchipa) in Williamnagar, who was so kind to give me shelter during the incessant rain that prevented me from travelling for days.

I thank the many people whose company and hospitality I enjoyed during my recurrent trips to Tura during my fieldwork. My special thanks go out to Mobbin J Sangma, my first Garo friend, his sister Barul, cousin Ditu and brother Savior, who took great care of me and made me feel at home in both their student houses. I thank the family of Teroth Ch Momin and the family of Barul and Tengcheng: Shyangtho D Sangma (Nikchengpa) and Medhina Ch Momim (Nikchengma) for their hospitality. Thanks also to the family of Mr. Alphonse A Sangma their hospitality and care during my last stay in Tura when my hand was injured (and Pijas’ foot).

I want to thank Madhumita Barbora, her brother Rohit Barbora (Raja) and their family very much for their help and support, hospitality and friendship, which made my trips to Assam so enjoyable. I am also very grateful to Tondra Barbora (Bunbun) and her late husband Lanu for their help and hospitality.
I am particularly grateful to Sasha Aikhenvald and Bob Dixon for having me as a PhD student at the RCLT, which is a truly inspiring place to learn about writing a grammar. Sasha Aikhenvald, my main supervisor, read through two or three drafts of most chapters of my thesis and gave many insightful comments. Her extraordinary knowledge of linguistic literature, linguistic typology and her ideas on grammatical analysis profoundly influenced my thesis. The many in-depth talks, seminars and workshops organised at the RCLT were a constant source of inspiration throughout my PhD. Participating in these events gave me the opportunity to practice my presentational skills and to disseminate the discoveries I made while writing my thesis to specialised linguistic audiences, whose feedback always broadened my knowledge and understanding and helped me to improve my writings.

I would like to thank Randy LaPolla very much for his support during the final part of my candidature. He commented on several drafts of chapters and read through the entire thesis before I submitted it, despite his ever busy schedule. His comments were constructive and illuminating. I could not have benefitted more from his vast knowledge on Sino-Tibetan/Tibeto-Burman languages and linguistics.

Siew-Peng Condon truly is an organisational and logistic miracle without whose help and support nothing would have been possible. I thank her very much for everything she has done for me, especially for her efforts to provide me with a place to stay on campus throughout my PhD. I would also like to thank May Tan for her help while Siew-Peng was on maternity leave.

All members of RCLT were sources of inspiration and information. Gerd Jendraschek was a great sounding board for my ideas throughout my PhD. He was always ready to discuss theoretical approaches and insights. I benefited immensely from his wide linguistic and knowledge in combination with an open mind and fabulous analytical ability. Sheena Van Der Mark, besides offering lots of moral support, helped me enormously by teaching me how to deal with the technical side of linguistics, i.e. digitalising my recordings, transcribing them, the make up of a Word document etc. I benefitted greatly from the linguistic expertise and swift reading skills of Stephen Morey. Special thanks also to Rosemary Beam de Azcona, Birgit Hellwig, Renée Lambert-Bretière, Simon Overall, Roger Wales, Alec Coupe, Cindy Schneider, Rik de Busser, Jingyi Du and Roberto Zariquiey.
Certain linguists outside of the RCLT also supported me. I would like to thank Robins Burling for his comments on Chapter 2. Thanks also to George van Driem, whose support helped me to start my PhD.

Thanks to my loving mom, who was supportive and very courageous during my trips to India, made many beautiful books for me and sent me Sinterklaas packages every year. Thanks to my darling sister Claartje, who did not forget me while I was far away for a long time. Thanks to Tin Lee for being such a good friend.
Dakanggaba katha

Badri khu•chuksang
Ian dakanggaba Atongku•chukmyng gremyr. Dakangdo Atongku•chuk saina man•chachym, te•do diksyneriba golpholekhaba ganangok. Ie golpholekhaba diksyneriba pang•a morotdyrangna taksakwamyng dong•ni noai ang kha•donga. Ytykyimyngdo ie lekhaaw saina taksakwamyng gymyn ang Atongmorotdyrangaw ang bajudyrangaw dyngthangmancha mythela. Nang•tym angna Atongku•chuk nemai sykiok. Ytykyimyng saigabasangba atongba sangwalwamyngba katha perengchagabadarang ganangchido, angaw khema kha•phabo. Ang ie khu•chukaw biblyrokhon saina rai•athirini. Umyng gesepchian ang nang•tymna kha•pakni. Anga nang•tymaw sung ra•khamni. Ytykyimyng Atongmorotdyrangaw sangwalchawa.

Mythela,

Seino

Sijyw khu•chuksang
Ian dakanggaba Atongku•chukmi gremyr. Dakangdo Atongku•chuk saina man•chachym, te•ewdo diksyneriba golpholekhaba ganangok. Ie golpholekhaba diksyneriba pang•a morotdyrangna taksakwami dong•ni noai ang kha•donga. Ytykyimudo ie lekhaaw saina taksakwami gymyn ang Atongmorotdyrangaw ang bajudyrangaw dyngthangmancha mythela. Nang•tym angna Atongku•chuk nemai sykiok. Ytykyimu saigabasangba atongba awanwamiba katha perengchagabadarang ganangchido, angaw khema kha•phabo. Ang ie khu•chukaw biblyrokhon saina rai•athirini. Umi gesepchian ang nang•tymna kha•pakni. Anga nang•tymaw sung ra•khamni. Ytykyimu Atongmorotdyrangaw awanchawa.

Mythela,

Seino
Foreword in English

This is the first grammar of the Atong language. Before, it was not possible to write Atong, but this has now changed. Now there is a dictionary and a story book. I hope that the dictionary and the story book will be useful for many people. I thank the Atong people and especially my friends for helping me to write these books. You have taught me your language well. Please forgive me for any mistakes and misconceptions in these writings. I will come back one day to study your language again. In the mean time I will miss you. I will keep remembering you. I will not forget the Atong people.

Thank you,

Seino
### List of abbreviations and symbols

#### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&amp;co</td>
<td>associative</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>transitive subject</td>
<td>IMPEMPH</td>
<td>imperative emphasiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>attributive clause</td>
<td>INCEPT</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>INCOM</td>
<td>incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive ‘and, also’</td>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
<td>interj</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALT</td>
<td>alternative</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>LIKE</td>
<td>simulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>Lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>copula complement</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>classifier</td>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>MOB</td>
<td>mobilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONF</td>
<td>confirmative</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>person’s name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunctive</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>change of state</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>copula subject</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>transitive object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUST</td>
<td>customary aspect</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>PARTRED</td>
<td>partial reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCL</td>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESI</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>Pname</td>
<td>place name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLIM</td>
<td>delimitative</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td>emphatic positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DREF</td>
<td>definite &amp; referential</td>
<td>ppp</td>
<td>personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DREL</td>
<td>derelational</td>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>privative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DST</td>
<td>distal demonstrative</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>PRX</td>
<td>proximate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>third argument of an extended transitive verb</td>
<td>PUR</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>interrogative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACT</td>
<td>factitive, reification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>focus marker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC/ID</td>
<td>focus/identifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IE.be</td>
<td>identity/equation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFT</td>
<td>imperious future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Also as superscript to disambiguate English glosses.
### List of abbreviations and symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QF</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>formative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>referential suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REM</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMEMPH</td>
<td>emphatic remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rname</td>
<td>river name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMP</td>
<td>simplicitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sname1</td>
<td>first surname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sname2</td>
<td>second surname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>speculative modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAG</td>
<td>affirmation seeking marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA</td>
<td>perlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHILE</td>
<td>concomitant action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XS</td>
<td>excessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Symbols**

- morpheme boundary
- enclitic boundary
+ compound
/…/ phoneme
<…> morpheme
{…} predicate boundary
[…] In Atong example sentences the square brackets indicate phrases.
  In the translation or gloss square brackets indicate that the words
  inside must be inferred from the context.
\|...\| clause boundary
< comes from
* this form is ungrammatical or reconstructed
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
Chapter 1  The Atong language and its speakers

In the most beautiful part of the jungle-clad South Garo Hills, around the Mountain of the Great Spirit and in the stream area of the scenic Symsang river live the Atong people, who speak a language with the same name. The literature provides us with different ways of spelling this name and there is no formal spelling for most of their villages, as we will see in section 1.2. Section 1.3 will reveal the ethnic affiliation of the Atongs, and relates about their way of life as I observed it during my fieldwork, complemented by citations and references from the relevant literature. Where they live and how many of them there are will be pointed out and commented upon in section 1.1. Atong speakers are not the only inhabitants of the South Garo Hills. The linguistic environment in which the language is spoken is one of the topics of section 1.4, where language status and use will also be discussed. Contrary to prior beliefs of the speakers themselves, the Atong language can be written, and even has an orthography especially designed for the language by the author of this grammar. Section 1.5 introduces and explains the orthography to the reader. There is not one way to speak Atong but several. The phenomenon of dialectal variation is treated in section 1.6. Section 1.7 on linguistic affiliation contains evidence for the idea that Atong is a Central Boro-Garo language, more closely related to Boro than to Rabha and Koch. However, before the reader will be presented with this evidence, (s)he will get an overview of different genetic classifications of Atong in the literature, from the earliest sources to the most recent ones. An overview of the research that has been done on Atong in the past is given in section 1.8. Finally, section 1.9 gives the bare facts about the fieldwork that was conducted to write this grammar.

1.1  Location of the language and number of speakers

Atong is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the stream area of the Symsang river in the south Garo Hills District of Meghalaya in Northeast India, and in adjacent areas in the West Khasi Hills and, according to my Atong friends, the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. Map 1 shows the location of Meghalaya within
India. Map 2 depicts the area where Atong is spoken within Meghalaya and Map 3 is a close-up of the language area in which Nangwalbibra (locally called Nongal [ŋəŋal]) demarcates the northern border of the language area and Baghmara the southern one. In Nongal and Jadi [dzadi], Atong, Garo and Indic speakers live side by side. These places are market towns where different tradespeople from all over North India have settled to set up shop. The main languages spoken in these places are Garo, Atong, Bengali, Punjabi and Nepali; there are also a few settlers from Rajasthan and Bihar. Code switching and mixing is commonplace here. Atong people from the villages along the main road up to Badri frequently come to Jadi and Nongal to shop and work.

Between Jadi, Raiwak, Rongsu and Waimong Mountain lies the heart of the Atong speaking area. Between Raiwak and Baghmara lie many villages where Garo is spoken and a few where Atong is spoken alongside Garo. As one approaches Baghmara the number of Atong speakers dwindles considerably. In Baghmara there are many Atong speakers, but they seldom or never speak their language outside their homes. Many people in Baghmara were Atong speakers in their childhood but have now switched to Garo completely.

There are a few Atong villages in the West Khasi Hills district of Meghalaya which are not on the map due to lack of information about their exact location. According to some of my consultants, there are many Atong people living on the Bangladeshi side of the border, south and southeast of Baghmara. Some say that these Atong still speak Atong, while others claim that they are now speaking Bengali or Garo. I was not able to travel to Bangladesh and verify the existence of an Atong language community there. Exploring the Bangladeshi side of the Meghalaya-Bangladesh border will be a matter for future fieldwork investigations.

Many Atong have migrated to Tura, the capital of the Garo Hills (see Map 2), in search of work or for their education. There are at least several hundred Atong speakers in the city, many of which are still in regular contact with family members in the Atong speaking area in the South Garo Hills. Atong people in Tura do not speak their language in public, but use Garo instead. Atong is spoken in the home, amongst family or friends, when there are no Garo speakers present. There are also many people, sometimes whole families, of Atong background who have completely given
up their language and now speak only Garo. This language shift takes place under pressure of Garo as prestige language in the region.

There is no official account of the number of Atong speakers. Grierson (1902: 85) mentions some fifteen thousand Atong speakers, while Van Driem (2001: 541) speaks about “a few thousand”. Even after twelve months of fieldwork in the area, it was impossible to estimate the number of speakers. New Atong-speaking villages are reportedly still being built, while at the same time Garo, a closely related and regionally important language, encroaches rapidly on a lot of existing Atong-speaking villages.
Map 1  The location of the state of Meghalaya within India

Map 2  The Atong language area within Meghalaya

Map 3  The Atong speaking area in South Garo Hills District
The boundaries on maps 1, 2, and 3 are not necessarily authoritative.
1.2 Names and allonyms

1.2.1 Language names

The Atongs call themselves Atong [atɔŋ] or Atong morɔt [atɔŋ morɔt] ‘Atong person’ and call their language Atong [atɔŋ] or Atong khu’chuk [atɔŋ kʰутус]. The origins of the name of the language are not known. There is an interrogative, or question word, in the Atong language with the same pronunciation, viz. /atɔŋ/ [atɔŋ] ‘what?’. Atong is also known under the following names in the literature: Grierson (1902): Ātong, Kuchu, or Īting. Remark: The word kuchu must be related to the ethnonym Koch. Playfair (1975 :21) remarks: “To nearly all other Garos the Atongs are known as Kochu, though they themselves prefer the former appellation.” Today, where the Atongs are generally known as Atongs. Atong speakers refer to the Garo language and its speakers (see §1.4) as Ha•chyk [haʔcək]. Jacquesson (2006), Shafer (1953 and 1974), Benedict (1972), Burling (1959 and 1963) and Playfair (1909) write Atong. Van Driem (2001) and Burling (2003) and Gordon (2005 a) write A’tong. Burling (2004) writes A•tong, with a glottal stop represented by the raised dot ‘•’. I write the name of the language as ‘Atong’, because this orthography reflects the way the Atong people pronounce the name of their language.3

1.2.2 Remarks on some toponyms on Map 3

The spelling of place names (toponyms) in Map 3 is, for the most part, unconventional. Place names in the Atong language area find their origin in different languages, viz. Atong, Garo, Indic (Hindi, Bengali or Assamese) and English. Baghmara, the headquarters of the South Garo Hills district, Siju and Nangwalibbra are spellings found on maps of the region. Baghmara is also spelled Bāghmāra on some maps but is pronounced [baːk’mara] by the Atongs. The market place of

2 The Atong word morɔt ‘person, man’ is an Indic loan, cf Hindi मर्द /mard/ ‘man’.
3 There is also a Niger-Congo language in the African country of Cameroon which is called Ātong. This language also goes under the alternate name of Etoh (see Gordon (2005 b)).
Nangwalbibra is locally known as Nongal [ɲɔŋal]. According to the Atongs, Siju [sidzu] is the Garo pronunciation of the name of the village; the Atong pronunciation is [sidzɔw]. The Garo pronunciation is widely used among the Atongs nowadays, and Siju is the conventional way to write the name of this village. However, because I think that the Atong pronunciation should not be forgotten, I give both the Garo spelling, Siju, and the Atong spelling, Sijyw, on Map 3.

The places Badri Maidugytym [badri majdugatɔm], also recorded with an aspirated /t/ as Badri Maidugythym [badri majdugɔθɔm], Badri Rongdyng Ha’wai [badri rɔŋdɔŋ haʔwaj], and Badri Rong’sa Ha’wai [badri rɔŋsa haʔwaj] are also found written in Garo as Badri Maidugittim, Badri Rongding Awe and Badri Rongsawe respectively. Raiwak is spelled Rewak in Garo and there is no conventionalised pronunciation or spelling for the place Artika, also recorded pronounced as [areteka ~ arətika ~ arəktika].

Waimong mountain, Waimong ha•byri [wajmɔŋ haʔbəri] in Atong, is the most significant landmark in the region. Its summit is at an altitude of 1026 metres (3367 feet). As one drives from Baghmara to Siju, its flat peak changes its shape from triangular to rectangular. A traditional story tells how a giant took the mountain out of the ground in Balphakram (conventional spelling Balpakram) and carried it on its back to its current location. This explains why there is such a huge, deep gorge in Balphakram, the land of the spirits, now a national park, about ninety kilometres east of Baghmara. In Garo the mountain is known as Chutmang [tɕut maŋ]. The Atong name Waimong is made up of two elements, viz. <way> ‘spirit’ and <moŋ> ‘main’, the second of which we also see in the word soŋ-moŋ (village-main) ‘main village’. The name of the mountain could be freely translated as Mountain of the Great Spirit.

Finally, the main river in the region goes by two names, an Indic one: Someswari, and a “local” one, of which the pronunciation is [səmsaŋ] in both Garo and Atong. Although the Garo spelling, found on maps, is Simsang, I have given the spelling in Atong, which is Symsang.
1.3 The Atong people

“The finest physique is to be met with among the inhabitants of the higher ranges, and among the Atongs of the Someswari valley.” (Playfair, 1975: 2)

1.3.1 Ethnic affiliation

Although Atong and Garo are not mutually intelligible, the Atongs consider themselves and are considered by the surrounding populations to be ethnically Garo (see also Burling, 2004: 11, 2003 a: 176, 2003 b: 387, 1961: 80, 1963: 390-4, 1959: 437, Playfair, 1975: 62). Their cultural traits and customs, as far as I have been able to observe, are mostly the same as those of the Garos, a fact which has also been observed by Burling (1963: 390). Functionally equivalent cultural activities may have different names in both languages. The biggest cultural festival, for instance, during which the people drink, dance, sing and tell epic stories, is called Chywgyn /cəwgən/ [tɕəwgən] in Atong but Wanggala in Garo.

Garos and Atongs intermarry and share the same surnames. A surname is made up of two components that refer to groups of people which Burling (1963: 22-23) refers to as “sib” and “moiety”. I will refer to the components of the surname as first and second surname. In the surname Mongsrang Sangma, for example, the component Mongsrang is the first surname and Sangma the second surname. The second surname represents what Burling (1963: 22) refers to as a matrilineal descent group. There are five of those groups within the Garo ethnic community “which, ideally, should be completely exogamous” (idem). The biggest groups are Sangma [saŋma] and Marak [marak]; Momyn [momən] (written Momin in Garo) is a smaller one, Sira [sira] is very small and there are reportedly no Atong people that belong to the group called Areng [arɛŋ]. Burling writes the following on the groups of people associated with the first surname or “sib”:

“Each moiety is divided into numerous named divisions which can be called sibs. These name groups frequently include many thousands of people and extend over too wide an area for all the members to cooperate or even know of each other’s existence. Since the moieties are exogamous, no evident function is left to the sib, though Garos do feel more strongly about a breach of sib
exogamy than about the necessity for moiety exogamy. The sib amounts to little more than a name group, but by virtue of the name it is one of the few kin groups with completely unambiguous membership.” (1963: 22-23)

Playfair (1975: 155-6) lists 138 “names of some subdivisions of the Garo exogamous septs”, i.e. first surnames for the groups Momin, Marak and Sangma, but not for Sira and Areng. People always inherit the whole surname, i.e. both components together, from their mother, a matter which will be discussed further below. Some of the first surnames are different in Atong and Garo. Table 1 lists pairs of surnames that represent the same blood lineage for Garo and Atong speakers but have different pronunciations in the two languages.

Table 1  List of pairs of last names that represent the same blood lineage for Garo and Atong speakers but that have a different pronunciation in both languages. 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atong</th>
<th>Garo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geneng [genɛŋ] Sangma</td>
<td>Dawa [dawa] Sangma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dicham [ditɕɑm] Sangma</td>
<td>Chisim [tɕisəm ~ tɕisɨm] Sangma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the most important cultural traits shared by speakers of Garo and Atong is the fact that they are matrilineal and matrilocal. Matrilineal means that the blood lineage, indicated by someone’s surname, is inherited through the mother. The matrilocal aspect of the culture refers to the practice that when a man marries, he will move to the house of his wife when she is the heiress of her family. When a man marries a woman who is not the heiress of her family, then the young couple will have to build a new house somewhere else in the village.

---

4 The Atong varieties are written in the Atong spelling as explained above, the Garo varieties are written in their Garo spelling. Pronunciation of first surnames is given in IPA.
Of all the Tibeto-Burman speaking populations in Northeast India, only the Garo (i.e. those belonging to the Garo ethnicity, which includes Atong speakers), Rabha and Koch are matrilineal and matrilocal (see Jacquesson 2006: 281). Interestingly these populations live next to the Khasis, who are also matrilineal. The Khasis, who speak Mon-Khmer languages, are believed to be the remnant of the oldest population in the area which lived there long before the arrival of the speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages. Before the arrival of the Tibeto-Burmans, the Khasis must have occupied a much larger area than today, and almost certainly formed part of one continuous Mon-Khmer language area stretching out from Vietnam, through Southeast Asia, all the way to the state of Orissa in India, where the Munda languages are still spoken today (Jacquesson 2006: 279-80, see also van Driem 2001: 411-17 for a more detailed discussion). Matrilineage of speakers of Atong, Garo, Rabha and Koch, although unique amongst Tibeto-Burman people, might not be so strange when seen in the light of their adjacency to the Khasis. Jacquesson (2006: 281) states that this remarkable fact of matrilineage “s’expliquerait soit par l’influence profonde et ancienne des Khasi sur ces gens qui occupent comme eux le Meghalaya et ses abords, soit même par leur changement de langue, si l’on fait l’hypothèse qu’une partie de ces gens ont été ethniquement des Kasi : ils auraient abandonné leurs parlers mon-khmer d’autrefois pour passer aux parlers tibeto-birmans des nouveaux venus plus influents, mais auraient conservé une part décisive de leur organisation sociale.”

1.3.2 Social organisation

Despite the Atongs being matrilineal, the society is patriarchal. The men with the most power in making decisions concerning family matters are the older brothers of a

5 English translation of quote: Jacquesson (idem) states that this remarkable fact “can be explained either by the profound and ancient influence of the Khasi on the peoples who, like them, occupied the Meghalaya and adjacent areas, or by the fact that they swopped languages, when we hypothesise that part of the population was once ethnically Khasi: they would have given up their Mon-Khmer languages that they used to speak before and started speaking the Tibeto-Burman languages of the more influential newcomers, however, they preserved an important part of their social organisation.”
married woman. These older brothers are collectively known as the chara and the eldest of a married woman’s brothers is called the charamong.

The society is layered according to age, generation and marital status. The younger ones must have more respect for the elder members of society and married couples are higher on the social hierarchy than unmarried boys and girls. The groups of which the society consists are the children (sa•gyrai ‘child’), the unmarried men (banthai ‘bachelor’) and women (nawmyl ‘marriageable girl’), the married men (me•apha ‘married man’) and women (me•ama ‘married woman’), elderly men (achu ‘grandfather’) and women (awyi, abu ‘grandmother’). Although there is a specific word for marriageable girl, viz. nawmyl, there is no specific word for marriageable boy. When talking about marriageable boys and girls, the Atongs use the expression bipha nawmyl, where bipha means ‘male, man, boy’ and nawmyl ‘marriageable girl’. The ways in which different members of society are addressed is treated in Chapter 1.

Like the Garos, the Atongs practice cross cousin marriage. Cross cousins are the children of mother’s brother or father’s sister (see Table 31). As was mentioned above, a marriage between a couple with different first and second surnames is preferred.

1.3.3 Living environment: the compound

Most Atongs live in houses made of wood and bamboo, called nok, with roofs of corrugated iron, as reed, which is used for thatch, has become very scarce and therefore very expensive. Only very rich people can afford to build a cement house, called bilda (from English ‘building’). All houses are built on a piece of land that has been made completely level, called nok+hap (house+place). Every traditional Atong household lives in a compound consisting of at least two, but often more structures. There is a main house in which the married couple, their small children and sometimes the parents of the wife sleep. The main house has one big central room to receive guests and smaller side rooms which are bedrooms. There are separate bedrooms for the married couple, the wife’s parents and the male and female children.

Many main houses are built on a wooden frame that is lifted about 1 to 1½ metre from the ground by big rocks fixed in the ground. Cooking is not done in the main house. There is a separate kitchen house (babyk) opposite the main house on the compound. Meals are prepared and eaten in the kitchen. Toilets (called letrin, toilty,
toilet, di•kyntyk or paikhana) are also separated from the main house and are constructed outside the compound.

When young men become old enough, they build separate rooms either as an attachment to the main house, when it is not elevated, or as separate structure on the compound. These separate structures are called nokbanthai (nok ‘house’ + banthai ‘bachelor’) ‘bachelor’s house’. There the young, unmarried men live until they marry and move to their wife’s house.

A little away from the compound, there may be a place where water comes out continuously from the end of a pipe, lifted two or three feet off the ground with a stick or pole. This is the place where people wash themselves, their clothes and the dishes. Usually more than one household makes use of a single pipe. The pipes get their water from the nearest river, in which they are fixed with stones. Other households wash in a nearby river or stream.

Those rich families that live in cement houses usually have only this one building in their compound, which contains different rooms for the functions that traditional families spread out over different structures.

Many households keep domestic animals like dogs, chicken, pigs and sometimes cows. These either run around freely or are kept in separate enclosures away from the compound. Usually meat is bought at the market from butchers. Usually households slaughter their domestic animals only on special occasions, such as weddings, funerals, Christmas and Easter, although dogs make a tasty meal all year round, but not everyone eats them. Sometimes domestic animals are kept to fatten or get pregnant, after which either the pregnant animals or the offspring are sold.

Around the compound is usually a stretch of land where edible fruit trees grow, like banana, jackfruit, coconut, betel nut, lychee, star fruit, mango and sometimes also pineapple and useful species of bamboo. These fruits and plants are usually eaten by the household themselves, but can also be sold, e.g. betel nut is a big source of income for many households.

1.3.4 Living environment: the jungle

The jungle of the South Garo hills is thick and quasi-impenetrable, with many steep slopes and many streams that flow in beds invariably sewn with rocks. Though much of the jungle has been cut at some time or other to give way to rice fields, there are
probably still many untouched areas. These areas contain wild animals that can be hunted for food, and the Atongs eat every one of them, and some plants that are used as medicine or food, e.g. bamboo shoots. The jungle also provides timber to build houses. Almost all edible fruits, on the other hand, are grown in the village in people’s gardens or on plantations, as are all the useful bamboo species, i.e. those used for the construction of houses and the making of baskets and other artefacts.

The most dangerous animals in the jungle are the elephants, which abound in the South Garo Hills. Rice fields but also villages can be destroyed by these powerful animals that inspire such awe into the hearts of the Atong that they cannot call the animal by its name, *mungma* or *mongma*, while walking in the jungle. Instead they call the animal *achu*, which means grandfather, so as to not attract its wrath. Other animals that we can find in the jungle are squirrels, several species of deer, porcupines, wild pigs, gibbons and macaques, many species of snake and wild cats. Wild birds, as far as I can tell, are not eaten, but young boys love to shoot them with their slingshots.

“The scenery in many parts of the hills is very fine, the finest being that on the Someswari river, which flows through a very narrow valley between high and precipitous hills.” (Playfair, 1975: 6) There is an incredible multitude of streams and rivers in the Garo Hills, which is not surprising since it is one of the areas on earth with the most rainfall per year, all of which falls within several months during the monsoon, which begins in June and ends mid-October. There might be some occasional light rain in March, April and May. During the dry season, from mid-October until the end of February, not a drop of rain falls from the sky. Every village is close to one or several streams or has streams running through it. The rivers and streams are the source for drinking water and provide the Atongs with snails, shrimp, fish, eels, frogs and crabs to eat and a place to wash.

**1.3.5 Ceremonies and festivals**

Unfortunately I did not witness any traditional religious ceremonies during my fieldwork. This is probably due to the fact that most of the Atong in the villages where I conducted my fieldwork are Christians. The Atong probably abandoned their old ceremonial practices after conversion. It might also be that they have been able to hide them from me very successfully, but this I cannot know. On a trip to the village of
Dajong, I once saw a non-Christian religious bamboo object, which indicates that the non-Christian religious practices are still surviving. Unfortunately nobody wanted to explain to me what the altar was for. The conversion of the Atongs began between forty and fifty years ago. Old people can still remember how life was before the conversion, but are reluctant to talk about it.

Before the advent of Christianity, the Atong believed in gods, myte [məte], spirits, wai [waj], and ghosts me•mang [me⁵maŋ] or mi•mang [mi³maŋ]. The word for ‘thunder’, goira [gɔjra], for example, comes from the name of the god of thunder, Goira. The supreme God was Babyra [babəra], and there were the gods of the sun, Saljong [saldʑɔŋ], and the moon, of which I did not record the name, and maybe many others whose names are not mentioned any more or are forgotten, at least in the villages where I conducted my fieldwork. There were priests, kamal in Atong, in each village, who performed incantations to summon spirits and cure the sick. How this is done is told in Text 3, which was told by a man who had been a kamal before he converted to Christianity a few years ago. I recorded from him part of the incantation of the cha•masangmi wai [ca⁷maʃmaŋmi waj] ‘downstream spirit’, which is untranslatable according to my Atong friends. This incantation is presented as Text 4.

I was not able to find any source that relates to the spiritual life of the Atong speaking population in pre-Christian times. To get an idea of what pre-Christian spiritual life in a Garo village must have been, I refer the reader to Burling (1963: 54 ff), who describes it in much detail.

The wedding and funeral ceremonies I witnessed were conducted much like in Western countries, and were presided over by members of the Christian church. Funeral ceremonies retain a very pleasant aspect of the old days: after the death of the person, a wake is held at the house of the family of the deceased which lasts two days and one night, during which people come and go. The visitors eat, drink and smoke and play cards to distract the family of the diseased and make them happy. Marriage and funeral ceremonies are important family gatherings at which the boys and girls get to know their marriageable cousins (see Chapter 1).

I witnessed the new rice festival, called maidan syla toka [majdan səlaj tɔka] (rice+new beautiful beat) in the village of Badri Maidugytym. This festival is celebrated at the end of October or the beginning of November. The richest men in the village slaughtered a cow, some pigs and a lot of chickens to be cooked and eaten, and
invited the neighbouring villagers to come and join in the celebration, which lasted two days. The whole village helped in preparing the food.

The village of Siju has the tradition to organise the yearly *waribula* festival on the Symsang river and its banks at Dabatwari, the place on the Symsang river where the river from the Bat Cave (Tawpakkhāl [tawpakhal]) comes out into the Symsang, and where Siju has its origins as a village. During the festival people try to catch as many big fish as possible while others compete in wrestling. The festival takes place in January or February on a day that the weather is favourable. Unfortunately, due to pollution of the Symsang river, the catch gets smaller and more disappointing every year.

The festival of *chywgyn* [cəwgan], equivalent to the *wanggala* festival of the Garos, is not celebrated any more in the villages where I did my fieldwork, since it is considered a heathen festival. It is, however, still held in other villages, but unfortunately, I was unable to attend the festival. According to my Atong friends, during *chywgyn* people drink, dance, sing and tell epic stories. The festival lasts for more than a week, it is said. *Chywgyn* is celebrated after the harvest, between November and January. Each village has its own festival on a different date. For a description of the *wanggala* festival of the Garos, see Burling (1963: 63 ff).

### 1.3.6 Contact with others

The Atong people are a very mobile lot. People frequently travel for miles on foot or by motorised transport to visit friends, relatives or to go to the market or to school, or to play sport competitions in other villages etc. This means that people from different places are in frequent contact with each other and news travels fast. There are a few bus services that connect Bari and Siju, as well as the other villages along the main road, to Williamnagar, headquarters of the East Garo Hills district, Baghmara, headquarters of the South Garo Hills district, and Tura, the headquarters of the West Garo Hills district. People also travel by private, shared taxis and in the dry season there are many coal and stone trucks on which young people can hitch a ride. Only some rich people have their own car or motorbike.

Some Atongs have a radio, although, apart from an English language station broadcasting from Shillong and a few stations that broadcast in Indic languages, there is little that can interest them, as Russian and Chinese speaking stations fill the rest of
the ether. Some Atong people, even in remote villages, have a TV with a satellite dish and can watch not only the news in Garo and several other Indian languages, but also CNN and BBC World, and much more. They also have the opportunity, for instance, to take notice of modern Western trends on house decoration and holidays, but this is usually not a favoured way to pass their time in front of the TV. Many Atong that have a TV don’t have a satellite dish but do have a VCD player. The most favoured thing everybody likes to watch are Hollywood action movies, Christian movies and Bollywood movies, which can be bought on the market.

1.3.7 Economy

As far as their economic situation is concerned, until today most of the Atongs practice the traditional slash-and-burn agriculture. They cut part of the jungle on the slope of a hill, and use it for one year to cultivate dry rice and a variety of vegetables and tubers. Very few places are suitable for the cultivation of wet rice. Although the clearing of the jungle is an activity organised by almost the whole village, the clearing is divided into several plots, one for each household. The borders between the plots are indicated by partly burned, black tree branches. Each household has its own rice field house where those who work in the field can eat and sleep. In the villages where I stayed during my fieldwork, in the Badri area and Sijyw, this form of cultivation is never enough to support a whole village, or even one household for the course of a year, so that rice grown elsewhere in India and other food supplies have to be bought on the market.

The Atong living in the Badri area, Badri Maidugytym, Badri Rongdyng Hawai, earn most of their money from the exploitation of their coal mines. These, however, are only operable during the dry season. During the rainy season money and work are scarce for most of the male part of the population. On the rice fields, though, work is abundant during the monsoon. While clearing and burning the jungle and the construction of rice field houses is a man’s job, the maintenance of the fields and the harvest is done mostly by the women. Some young Badri men earn money by driving and repairing taxis and coal trucks. Meat is obtained mostly through hunting and fishing in the jungle, which is a man’s job. Meat can also be bought on the market.

The people in Sijyw earn their money doing many diverse jobs, but mainly by the sale of betel nut. The village, when looked at from above, can hardly be discerned
because most of the houses are invisible under the leaves of the betel nut palms. Apart from that, money is made by the cutting of stones, which the road contractors buy, the sale of sand, bamboo, dry and fermented fish and other products on the market and fishing. A few Sijyw people have jobs in one of the schools in the village or in the government administration in Baghmara.

Other Atong villages that I visited on the western side of the Symsang river also sell betel nut and stones. The villages on the eastern side of the Symsang river, especially those at the foot of the Waimong mountain, grow and sell oranges and some sell reed, which is used to thatch roofs.

### 1.4 Linguistic environment, language status and language use

The Atong are surrounded by speakers of different Garo dialects on all sides of their language area. Garo is at the same time the name for a group of dialects spoken in the Garo Hills and adjacent areas in the Khasi Hills, Assam and Bangladesh, the name for the speakers of these dialects and an ethnonym comprising the speakers of the Garo dialects, the Ruga people, who live in the East Garo Hills and who have lost their Ruga language, having all converted to speaking Garo, and Atong speakers (see below and §1.3.1 for more details about ethnic affiliation, and Burling 2004:9 for more information about the term Garo). Burling (2004: 9) reports that there are more than half a million Garos in India and “well over a hundred thousand” in Bangladesh. The Garo language is written and has a standardised form often referred to as A•chik. The standard form is based mainly on the A•we dialect of Garo spoken in the northern part of the Garo hills (see Burling 2004: 11). Together, the Garo dialects have more speakers than all other languages spoken in the Garo Hills.

Only in the western-most part of the Atong language area is there direct contact with speakers of Khasi languages, which belong to the Mon-Khmer language family. There does not seem to be any influence of the Khasi languages on Atong, as far as I am aware; however, the influence of Garo on Atong is rather great. Unfortunately, due to the fact that Atong and Garo are closely related, although not mutually intelligible, it is not always possible to tell whether identical lexical items are borrowed or not and in which direction the borrowing went. There are many cases in which it is possible to identify Garo loans, mainly on phonological criteria, e.g. the retention of initial clusters in the pronunciation of Garo loans. The influence of Garo
on Atong is particularly noticeable in the use of numerals, at least in the villages where I conducted my fieldwork. The Atongs in those villages, especially the younger speakers, count almost exclusively in Garo (see Chapter 1).

Almost all Atong speakers in the places where I did fieldwork, on the western side of the Symsang river, are bilingual in Garo from a very early age. Only in some of the more isolated villages on the eastern side of the river is the situation different in favour of Atong: the proficiency of people in Garo is much less developed there. Garo replaces Atong in several domains in daily life. First of all, the Atong do not speak their language to strangers. If a stranger visits the village, they will first speak Garo until another suitable language of communication is found. The Atong also do not speak their language when they are in the company of Garo speakers. In market places like Jadi and Nangwalibra (see Map 3), when an Atong speaker addresses an unknown sales person, they will always speak Garo, even if the sales person reveals herself or himself to be Atong. The Atongs have a rather negative image of their own language and are not comfortable speaking it in front of strangers and non-Atong speakers, especially Garos and especially in Tura, since Atong speakers there are often ridiculed by some Garo speakers who say that the Atong are backward savages.

Secondly, Garo is the language of the Church. Almost the entire Atong-speaking population on the west side of the Symsang river are Christians. On the other side, in the more isolated villages, the amount of converts is, as far as I was able to make out, much less, although this situation is changing rapidly as Christian proselytisation continues relentlessly. In all churches, Baptist, Catholic and United Church Association alike, services are held entirely in Garo. Even personal prayers to God are in Garo. The same is true for private services held in peoples’ houses. When I asked an Atong friend whether it was possible to pray in Atong, he said no, they have to pray in Garo. When I asked if God did not understand Atong, my friend thought for a while and then said that of course God did understand Atong, since He understands all languages. He was visibly surprised by my question and then remarked that he did not fully understand why they had to pray in Garo. The main reason that Garo is the language of the Church is, I think, because the bible has not been translated into Atong, while there is a bible in Garo. Moreover, all mission work is carried out in Garo. The local Catholic missionaries, for example, who run a nunnery and an English school in Siju, all Indians from the state of Kerala, do not learn to speak the
language of their congregation, but learn to speak Garo instead. Even church
functionaries who are native Atong speak Garo as soon they are in church, and often
even switch to Garo when speaking about church related matters when they are
outside the church.

Thirdly, Garo is the language of education. This is true for all villages where there
is a school. The only exceptions are the English school in Gangga, Siju, behind the
football field, and the Catholic mission school, where the medium of education is a
local variety of English. Many Atong students who are still in school by the age of 15
seem to go to places like Williamnagar and Tura (see Map 2) for their education,
where Garo is the main language.

On top of the use of Garo in certain domains of life, the fact that Atong speakers
hold Garo to be a prestigious language can be seen in the remark that one of my
friends once made about his brothers, i.e. that they like to show off their proficiency
in Garo. A contrary experience also needs to be documented. While we were driving
to Balphakram, land of the spirits and national park, an Atong friend told a Garo
speaker that he knew a beautiful story about a certain subject, but that he would not be
able to tell the story in Garo. Although Atong is under a lot of pressure from Garo, the
language is still learnt by most children in villages where Atong is the dominant
language and shows no signs of obsolescence. It is impossible for me to say
objectively what the situation of Atong is at the moment. Given the enormous
percentage of bilingual speakers and the prestige of Garo, the majority of the Atong
language community could simply decide to abandon their language overnight. I have
no idea how long this situation has already existed and how long it will still continue
to exist. It seems to me that the language will not just disappear within a few
generations. When last I left the Garo Hills, in September 2007, some of the most
popular tunes of the moment in the Garo Hills were pop music songs sung in Atong.
These songs are distributed on cassettes through shops. Even Garo speakers were
trying to sing them without knowing the meaning of words.

Indic languages have been of great influence on Atong allegedly for many
centuries. Atong is heavily infiltrated with Indic loans, some of which look like Hindi,
and others are probably Bengali or Assamese. Because of the similarity of the
languages, no attempt will be made in this thesis to distinguish between loans from
Assamese, Bengali and Hindi. Examples of Indic loans in Atong are duk ‘sorrow,
sadness’, bia ‘wedding’, tas ‘game of cards’, gari ‘vehicle’, bajji ‘hour’ and taŋka ‘money’. Meghalaya is surrounded by speakers of Assamese in the west, north and east, and of Bengali in the west and south. As has been noted above, speakers of Indic languages from all over north India come to market places like Jadi and Nangwalbibra for commerce. Although non-tribal people in Meghalaya cannot possess land, they can rent property, and thus settle among the Tibeto-Burman population. The police force consists mainly of people who speak Indic languages. There are also a lot of Bengali immigrants, mostly economic refugees, who continuously pour into Meghalaya and settle there, often illegally. Road workers and workers in the coal mines of the Badri area are also mostly Bangladeshis. During the dry season there is a great influx of seasonal workers, mainly Northwest Indians working in the transport sector and coal trade. Many Punjabis, for instance, use their huge trucks to transport fruit in summer and coal in winter.

English also has an impact on the Atong language. Many words for modern objects, notions and practices that are newly introduced into the culture are borrowed from English, e.g. skul ‘school’, edres ‘address’, tibi ‘TV’, sendel ‘flip flops, sandals’, gilas ~ gəlas ‘glass’, rens ‘wrench’ and ɪŋgəc ‘engage’ (see also §1.11.2i and van Breugel, 2009 a). For lack of native English speakers in their direct environment, we have to assume that these words are all borrowed indirectly through the various people who sell these new modern objects and through the schools and churches where people learn about new notions and practices associated with a modern way of living. As was said above, there are two schools in the Atong language area that provide education in English, both of them in Siju. No doubt loans find their way into society through education. Another source of English loans is the administration. The official language of government administration in Meghalaya is English. My perception was that English is mainly used as a written language and that the administrative staff speak whatever language is most convenient with the person they are talking to. Village meetings on the other hand are held in Atong or Garo. For a historical overview and references on colonial historical description I refer the reader to van Driem (2001: 528 ff). All I will say here is that, despite the fact that the British colonial administration gained control over the Garo Hills in the 1870s, the Atong speaking area was reportedly still almost inaccessible in the 1950s for lack of a road.
Atong and Garo speakers intermarry, being of the same ethnicity and having the same surnames. As a result, in most villages Atong and Garo people live side by side. In some villages that are said to have been Atong speaking in the past, the presence of Garo speakers has led to the complete disappearance of the Atong language from the village. It is impossible for me to say whether the number of Atong speakers is on the rise or not at the moment.

Until 2006 Atong was an unwritten language. When I arrived in the area, the people even thought that their language could not be written. Luckily, they were wrong. I have developed an orthography for the language based on the Roman alphabet, which will be explained in the next section. Today, the first editions of an Atong-English dictionary and a book with stories collected during my fieldwork are being written (van Breugel, 2009 a and b), while draft editions of the same books have already been distributed in the language community. With some of my Atong friends I now maintain correspondences in writing in Atong via mail and sms messages. Time will tell if literacy in the language catches on and becomes more widespread.

1.5 The Atong spelling system

The way in which the Roman or Latin alphabet is used to write Atong is represented in Table 2 below. An overview of the phonology can be found in Chapter 2. Most of the writing system is self evident. Only a few remarks are in place.

As we see in Table 2, the grapheme <i> is used to represent both the vowel phoneme /i/ as well as the glide /y/. This choice was made because the Roman letter y is used to represent /ə/, like in Welsh. As a consequence, the orthography makes Atong look like it has diphthongs, e.g. kyi /kəyʔ/ ‘dog’, askhui /askhuy/ ‘star’, and mai /may/ ‘rice’, while phonologically, diphthongs do not exist in the language, but are in fact sequences of vowels and the off-glide /y/ or /w/, as is discussed in §2.2.6. Because literate Atong alive today have already learned how to spell in Garo, I preserved the tradition of the Garo writing system by representing the phoneme /c/ with the digraph ch and /ŋ/ with the digraph <ng>. It is not necessary to write /c/ as a digraph, since the letter <c> is not used anywhere else in the language, but this is
Table 2  The relationship between the phonemes of Atong and the way they are written in the orthography developed for the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottalisation</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>• or ’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dialectal areas in Atong, viz. Badri, Rongsu, Siju and Baghmara. From my encounters with people from those places, I know that all these dialects are completely mutually intelligible and that the main differences between them are purely lexical and morphological, morphological differences being very small. In addition to there is a difference in pronunciation: Atong speakers from Siju and Baghmara speak softer and more melodic, while people from Badri and Rongsu speak loud and more monotonous. I have the impression that the Rongsu dialect is closer to that of Badri and the Baghmara dialect closer to that of Siju.

This grammar is based on the dialects of Badri and Siju. The Atong foreword to this grammar is an illustration of how different the two dialects are. Table 3 presents a list of some of the most important lexical and morphological differences between the two dialects. It has to be noted that the sound correspondences shown in the table are not regular.

Table 3  Illustration of the variation in lexemes and grammatical morphemes in the dialects of Badri and Siju

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Badri</th>
<th>Siju</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexeme/morpheme</td>
<td>lexeme/morpheme</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sangwal-</em></td>
<td><em>awan-</em></td>
<td>‘to forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>away</em></td>
<td><em>abu</em></td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khugri</em></td>
<td><em>koksi</em></td>
<td>‘small basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haʔcepcep</em></td>
<td><em>gukcepcep</em></td>
<td>‘cricket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cengkuy</em></td>
<td><em>cawʔkəy</em></td>
<td>‘big knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gukmadəm</em></td>
<td><em>gukmatəm</em></td>
<td>‘grasshopper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kəyrəp</em></td>
<td><em>kəyrəp</em></td>
<td>‘type of edible plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tawʔti</em></td>
<td><em>tawʔti</em></td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>badəl</em></td>
<td><em>patəl</em></td>
<td>‘slingshot, catapult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=<em>məŋ</em></td>
<td>=<em>mi</em></td>
<td>genitive/ablative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=<em>məŋ</em></td>
<td>=<em>mu ~ =muŋ</em></td>
<td>comitative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=<em>məŋ</em></td>
<td>=<em>mu ~ =muŋ ~ =muna~ ~ =muŋna</em></td>
<td>sequential clausal enclitic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is also significant difference in elocution between the two dialects. Badri speakers insert more glottal stops when vowels meet across morpheme boundaries, while Sijyw speakers tend to fuse adjacent vowels into one, within the same word, which makes their language more difficult to understand.

Both Siju and Badri people think of themselves as speaking what they call “pure Atong”. To my amusement they always wanted to demonstrate this by accusing each other of using a certain word for ‘shirt’: “In Siju they say chola, but the real Atong word is jama!”, the Badri people would say, and vice versa. Unfortunately, both chola and jama are not Atong at all, but loanwords from some Indic language. Given the huge number of loan words in the language, there is no such thing as “pure Atong”, there are just different varieties of it.

1.7 Linguistic affiliation

Most authors who have worked on the linguistic history of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam remark that they have many words in common, so that it is easy to see that they are historically related. Nevertheless, because of the scantiness of the data on most languages, often not more than small lists of vocabulary transcribed in disparate ways, there appear to be many different genetic classifications or groupings of the languages of Assam, Meghalaya and the adjacent areas.

The available documentation on languages generally held to belong to the same group as Atong (the Bodo-Garo or Bodo-Koch group) is short. For Garo we have a grammatical description by Burling (1961, 2004). Rabha is described by Joseph in his grammar (2007) and Rabha-English dictionary (2000). The earliest documentation of

---

6 The Atong word chola and jama could be borrowed from Bengali, Assamese or Hindi: Bengali চোলা /cōla/ ‘bodice, corset, modesty vest, skirt’, pronounced as [tɕōlə], related to Assamese চোলা [sōla] ‘jacket, tunic, coat’ and Hindi चोला /cōlā/ ‘gown, cloak, bride’s garment. As for the origin of Atong jama: Bengali or Assamese জামা /jāmā/ ‘coat, shirt, blouse jacket’, related to Hindi जामा /jāmā/ ‘gown, wedding robe’. It hank Stephen Morey for helping me here with his knowledge of Assamese and Bengali.
Boro (or Bodo) is by Reverent Endle (1881), who calls the language Kachari or Bårå. Later descriptions are by Bhattacharya (1977) and Basumatary (2005). Deuri is described by Jacquesson (2005).

As we will see below, it was noted as early as Grierson (1902) that Atong is closely related to Garo, and other languages spoken in and around the Garo Hills. However, opinions about which languages belong to the same group as Atong, the nature of the relationship and the name of the group change with time. I will give an overview of the different affiliations of Atong claimed by different authors in the twentieth and twenty first century.

Grierson, in the famous Linguistic Survey of India (1902: 85), and Benedict, in his equally famous (1972) Sino-Tibetan conspectus, consider Atong to be a dialect of Garo, which, on a higher taxonomic level, belongs to the Bodo-Garo group or “nucleus” within Tibeto-Burman (see Figure 1). Benedict (1972: 6-7) states the following in connection to the affiliation of Atong: “Garo shows an interesting division into two subtypes, which we have named ‘Garo A’ (Rabha, Ruga, Atong) and ‘Garo B’ (Abeng, Achik, Awe), the latter spoken by the dominant political divisions of the tribe.” Robins Burling (2003 a: 176) reacts to Benedict’s classification, saying: “It has long been clear that the languages of the A’tong and Ruga are close to Rabha, which is spoken to the north and northwest of the Garo area, and Benedict duly included Rabha among the ‘Garo A’ languages, even though no one considers the Rabhas to be Garos. To call A’tong and Ruga ‘Garo A’ is to recognise common

7 The existence of Koch is not mentioned in Benedict (1972). This is interesting because the status of Koch as a separate language, or group of dialects, is questioned in Grierson (1902: 95-96), who writes: “The name ‘Kōch’, in fact, everywhere connotes a Hinduized Bodo who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and the ancestral Bodo language for Bengali or Assamese. There is, however, in Dacca, the Garo Hills and Goalpara a small body of people who are known as Kōch or Pāni Koch, and who still speak a language belonging to the Bodo group, and are either animistic or nominal Hindus. Six sections have been recorded in the Garo Hills, viz., Harigayā, Satpariyā, Dasgāyā, or Banai, Chapra, Wanāng, and Tintekiṭyā. […] These six sections used to be considered to be the only pure Köches in existence, but it is now believed to be much more likely that they are not Köches at all, but are Gārōs who have never got beyond an imperfect stage of conversion to Hinduism, involving merely the abstinence from beef. […] Their language, so far as I can judge from the specimens which I have seen, is a mongrel of Gārō, Bengali or Assamese.” For more information and references to literature on Koch, see van Driem 2001: 534 ff.
ethnicity; to group Rabha with A’tong and Ruga is to recognise linguistic similarity. To conclude that Rabha is a kind of Garo is like calling Welsh a form of French because it is so much like Breton, whose speakers are French. The Rabha do not count as Garos either by ethnicity or by language, any more that the Welsh count as French.” Burling attributes the great similarity between Atong and Garo to heavy mutual influence of the two languages on each other.

Figure 1  Schematic chart of Sino-Tibetan Groups, from Benedict (1972: 6)

Burling (1959: 437 and 1961: 80), as did Shafer (1953: 228), classified Atong as belonging to the Koch group of languages. The Koch group, in turn, is part of a larger Bodo group of languages, which consists of Koch, Garo and Bodo. Bodo and Garo are somewhat more closely related to each other than to the languages of the Koch group. In later work, viz. Burling (2003 a: 175-6), his view on the position of Atong within Tibeto-Burman remains unchanged, but the genetic super grouping is different and more refined: the Koch group of languages is now part of a larger group called Bodo-Koch which is, in turn, part of the Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw super group of Tibeto-Burman languages, as is represented in Figure 2.
Van Driem (2001: 501-2, 534) also classifies Atong as belonging to the Koch group of languages. This classification is based on references and not on his own diachronic research. Probably based on his interpretation of Burling (1961), van Driem states that Atong is a “Koch dialect” (2001: 541), which, as we will see below, is not the case. The other languages of the Koch group, according to van Driem, are Ruga, Rabha and Pani Koch. The Koch language group is a subgroup of the Bodo-Koch languages which all belong to the Brahmaputran branch of Tibeto-Burman. On page 501, Brahmaputran consists of Konyak, Bodo-Koch, Dhimaslish and Kachinic, whereas on page 502, Brahmaputran consists of Bodo-Koch, Dhimaslish, Northern Naga and Kachinic. There is no explanation for these different constituencies of Brahmaputran.

Robert Shafer (1974) has a totally different classification of the languages within what he calls the ‘Sino-Tibetan language family’ than the authors mentioned so far. According to Shafer Atong belongs to the South Central Branch of the Barish Section within the Baric Subdivision of Sino-Tibetan. The languages Shafer regards as closest linguistic relatives of Atong are: Rabha, Ruga, Kontś, Tintekiya, Cooch Behar and Kotś. Shafer’s classification is the result of a thorough phonological comparison between the languages of the Baric Subdivision.

In Joseph and Burling (2006: 1), Boro-Garo is presented as “one of the longest recognised and most coherent subgroups of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages”. Boro-Garo, where Boro is just a different way to spell Bodo, consists of four
subgroups, viz. Garo (several dialects), Koch (consisting of Atong, Rabha, Ruga, the Koch languages and maybe Mandai (the existence of this language is not certain)), Boro (Boro, Kokborok and Tiwa, Kachari and Mech) and Deuri (a language that constitutes a branch on its own).

Jacquesson (2006) poses a number of phonological criteria on the basis of which he divides the Boro-Garo languages in three groups: Western, Central and Eastern. The phonological criteria are the occurrence or not of “diphthongs” in the language, of nasal vowels, of consonant clusters /kr-/ /gr-/ in first syllables, and of the existence of a phonological distinction between /l/ and /r/ in the languages. The division of Boro-Garo languages proposed by Jacquesson is represented in Figure 3.

The most striking difference between the Central group and the two other groups of Boro-Garo languages is the occurrence of so called “diphthongs” in the Central group and their absence in the Western and Eastern groups. These “diphthongs” of the Central group, written /ai, au, ŋi, ŋu/, show regular correspondences with monophthongs in the other Boro-Garo languages, e.g. Kokborok təi ‘water’, with the “diphthong” /ai/, corresponds to Garo /či/ ‘water’, with the monophthong /i/ (see Jacquesson 2006: 286). Only Boro and Mech have all four of the “diphthongs”, the other languages present different subsets (idem: 294), e.g. Boro thəi ‘blood’ with the diphthong /ai/, corresponds to Dimasa thəi ‘blood’ (idem: 288) with a monophthong /i/ etc.

Figure 3 The classification of Boro-Garo languages according to François Jacquesson (2006: p. 293)

1. Western group (Groupe occidental)
   Garo
   Rabha, Koch
2. Central group (Groupe central)
   Boro and Mech
   Bru
   Dimasa and Moran
   Kokborok
3. Eastern group (Groupe oriental)
   Deuri

Jacquesson (2006: 292-3) discards Burling’s classification of Atong as a Koch language, indicating at the same time why Burling’s label ‘Koch’ for the group of
languages that are not Bodo is infelicitous. Given that Atong has “diphthongs”, Jacquesson classifies it as a Boro language. It is worth quoting Jacquesson in extenso:

“Malheureusement, outre qu’il est fort imprudent de promouvoir le nom d’une langue (koch) qui n’est plus guère attestée depuis longtemps, il se trouve que ses propres données sur l’atong montrent que cette langue possède plusieurs diphtongues, ce qui la classe selon nous dans le groupe du boro… Tout récemment\(^8\) un jeune chercheur qui étudie ce parler, S. van Breugel, nous a aimablement confirmé qu’il possédait quatre diphtongues analogues à celle du boro.

Il nous semble donc inutile d’utiliser cette étiquette de «bodo-koch», puisque qu’en réalité nos meilleurs renseignements sur le koch montrent qu’il s’agit d’un parler très proche de celui des Rabha […] Quant à l’atong, en attendant les résultats de S. van Breugel, il paraît raisonnable d’y voir un parler de type boro.”\(^9\)

Since historical comparison lies outside the scope of this grammar, I will limit myself to showing that, by Jacquesson’s criteria, Atong is indeed a Central Boro language, but not without first making an important remark. What Burling and Jacquesson analyse as the diphthongs /ai, au, ði, ðu/\(^8\), I analyse phonologically as sequences of vowels and off-glides. The argumentation for this analysis can be found in Chapter 2. Moreover, Atong has seven of these vowel-plus-off-glide sequences, viz. /aw, aw, ew,

\(^8\) “Tout récemment” ‘very recently’: Jacquesson means during the first conference of the Northeast Indian Linguistics Society (NEILS), held at Guwahati on 6 & 7 February 2006, see also van Breugel (2008).

\(^9\) English translation of quote: Unfortunately, except for the fact that it is very unwise to promote the name of a language (Koch) that has not been attested for a long time, it turns out that his own data on Atong show that this language has several diphthongs, which classifies this language, according to our criteria, in the same group as Boro… Very recently, a young researcher who studies this language, S. van Breugel, has confirmed that it has four diphthongs corresponding to those in Boro. Therefore, it seems futile to us to use the label “Bodo-Koch”, because, in reality, our inquiries on Koch show that this language is very close to Rabha […] As for Atong, while we await the results of S. van Breugel, it seems reasonable to consider it as a language of the type to which Boro also belongs.
ay, øy, oy, uyl. I would like to remind the reader that my grammar is a synchronic description of the Atong language, and that I have analysed the sounds in the language on the basis of their current function in the phonemic system and not on the basis of their alleged history, however well documented.

Let us now turn to the classification of Boro-Garo languages according to the criteria as presented in Jacquesson (2006: 294). I will list the criteria, translated into English and slightly adapted to fit the phonology of Atong, and copy the table that Jacquesson presents, in which he indicates how the criteria apply to the different Boro-Garo languages, adding Atong to it (Table 4).

Table 4  The classification of Boro-Garo languages according to Jacquesson (2006: 294) including Atong, until now correctly suspected to be closest to Boro (see Jacquesson (2006: 293, quoted above).

Criteria:

A  typical diphthongs/vowel-plus-off-glide combinations
B which diphthongs/vowel-plus-off-glide combinations
C nasal vowels
D clusters /kr-, /gr- in the first syllable
E distinction between /r/ and /l/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabha, Koch</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro, Mech</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>ai, au, øi, øu</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atong</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>ay, aw, øy, øw, oy, uy, ew</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bru</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>ai, au, øi</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimasa, Moran</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>ai, au</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokborok</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>ai, øi</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuri</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see, according to criterion A, typical diphthongs/vowel-plus-off-glide combinations, Atong is a language very much like Boro, since Atong has the same “diphthongs” as Boro, viz. /ay, aw, ay, aw/ plus three additional ones: /oy, uy, ew/. When we look at criterion D, clusters /kr-/ /gr-/ in the first syllable, the claim that Atong is a Central Boro-Garo language seems to hold. Although he leaves the box under D empty for Boro and Mech in Table 4, Jacquesson tells us that some languages allow clusters only when a syllable is not the first one in a word, and that certain languages tend to simplify the cluster by dropping the /rl/. Jacquesson writes: “Les seules langues où il n’y ait pas de groupes dans ces conditions sont le boro et le deuri. En kokborok, la situation diffère selon les dialectes […]” (2006: 286). A simple extract of the compared data presented by Jacquesson (idem: 285) will serve as evidence for the classification of Atong. This evidence is the comparison of the four lexical items shown in Table 5. We see that the box under ‘to buy’ in the last column has been left empty for Atong since there is no verb ‘to buy’ in the language. In addition to the verb khəp- ‘to cover’, presented in the table, I also recorded the form gərəp- ‘to cover’, in which the /r/ of the proto-form has been preserved, the cluster
has been broken up by a schwa to meet the phonological requirement that there be no consonant clusters in initial syllables.\textsuperscript{14}

Table 5 The reflexes of Proto-Boro-Garo */kr, gr, kl/ in Garo, Rabha, Boro, according to Jacquesson (2006: 285) with the addition of Atong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>to cry</th>
<th>sour</th>
<th>to cover</th>
<th>to buy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proto-Boro-Garo form</td>
<td>*grap</td>
<td>*krai-</td>
<td>*klap-</td>
<td>*brai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo CC</td>
<td>grap-</td>
<td>krip-, kip bre-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabha C(C)</td>
<td>khap- khəi- khəp- pri-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro C</td>
<td>gab- khaı- khab- bai-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atong C</td>
<td>kep- khay- khap-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, we examine criterion D, distinction between /r/ and /l/. As I argue in §2.2.4, the two phonemes are in contrast in syllable-initial position. This might of course be due to unrecognisable integrated loans in the language. Only in animal names containing the initial syllable \textit{ruk} \sim \textit{luk} are /l/ and /r/ interchangeable, e.g. \textit{ruk} \sim \textit{luk} ‘type of frog’, \textit{rupek} \sim \textit{lupek} ‘type of frog’. In syllable-final position Atong only has /l/ in indigenous words (see §2.2.4). It is difficult to find possible Atong cognates for two of the four words used as evidence in this matter in the second table on page 285 of Jacquesson (2006). Thus to find proof, other vocabulary items should be compared for which there are clear Atong cognates. This remains a matter for further investigation. All I can add to the table in question found in Jacquesson (2006) are the words for ‘dry’, \textit{ranʔ}-, and ‘long’, \textit{rawʔ}-, as compared to the other Boro-Garo languages in Table 6, adopted from Jacquesson (2006). As we can see, the distinction but have broken the cluster up with a schwa; in certain cases the schwa might have assimilated to the vowel in the next syllable (see §2.6). Thus in Atong the verbs \textit{khəp}- and \textit{garəp}- are ‘allofams’ within one word family, i.e. “phonosemantically similar but not identical forms that can be traced back to a single etymon” (Matisoff, 2000: 344).

\textsuperscript{14} In non-initial syllables we find speakers alternating freely between clusters CrV and CərV (see Chapter 2).
between /r/ and /l/ that existed in the proto language is no longer there in Atong, where proto */l/ has been replaced by /r/. It has to be remarked that there are many more words starting with /r/ than with /l/ in Atong (see van Breugel, 2009 a).

Table 6  The reflexes of Proto-Boro-Garo */r/ and, */l/ in Boro-Garo languages, according to Jacquesson (2006: 285) with the addition of Atong.\(^{15}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>dry</th>
<th>long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proto form</td>
<td>*ran(^2)</td>
<td>*lau(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo</td>
<td>ranʔ-</td>
<td>roʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabha</td>
<td>ran(^2)-</td>
<td>ro(^2)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atong</td>
<td>ranʔ-</td>
<td>rawʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiwa</td>
<td>ran-</td>
<td>luw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimasa</td>
<td>raij(^2)-</td>
<td>lao(^2)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro</td>
<td>ran(^2)-</td>
<td>lao(^2)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokborok</td>
<td>ran(^2)-</td>
<td>lok(^2)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuri</td>
<td>ran(^2)-</td>
<td>lu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can conclude that, when following Jacquesson’s criteria for the classification of Boro-Garo languages, Atong seems to be more closely related to Boro than to Koch and Rabha, as Jacquesson already assumed. However, despite all the surface similarities between all the languages of the Boro-Garo group, I think that in order to refine our knowledge about the way in which these languages are related, internal reconstruction should precede interlingual historical comparison. This is a task that has yet to be begun for all of the languages concerned. We should heed Matisoff’s words when he writes: ‘The easiest proposals to dismiss as chimerical are those which depend entirely on surface similarity among forms from modern languages, without

\(^{15}\) The superscript …\(^2\) indicates high tone in the languages that have tone, viz. Rabha, Dimasa, Boro and Kokborok. Since the tones of Tiwa are not yet fully understood, tone is not indicated for this language. Garo, Atong and Deuri have no tones. Garo’s glottal stop and Atong’s glottalised syllables correspond to syllables with a high tone in the other languages (see also Joseph and Burling 2006).
bothering to attempt reconstructions of proto-forms in the languages to be compared.”
(2000: 357)

1.8 Previous work on Atong

The linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1902: 85-88) mentions the existence of Atong as a dialect of Garo and briefly presents some aspects of the grammar and a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son with interlinear glosses in English, translated by the Rev. E.G. Philips. Unfortunately there is no analysis of the phonology of the Atong or a guide to the pronunciation of the text. However, the parable, despite the confusing orthography, is clearly written in Atong. The differences with modern Atong as recorded in this grammar are mostly orthographic in nature. There is no separate symbol in the writing system for the phoneme /ə/, and therefore we must assume that the text is written with the assumption that /i/ and /ə/ are allophones, as is analysed for standard Garo, where /i/ has an allophone [i] in open and [ɪ] in closed syllables (see Burling 2004). The verb which I recorded as /θəj/ [θəj] ‘to die’ is written tai in Grierson in the word taiokgit’chim ‘died’ (page 87 and 88). It would be far fetched to assume that Atong did not have the sound [ə] around the turn of the nineteenth century. Modern Atong, as described in this grammar, has three series of stops, viz. plain voiceless, voiceless aspirated and voiced (see Chapter 2). The text in Grierson makes no difference in the orthography between aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless stops.

Salient lexical differences between the Atong recorded in Grierson and that recorded for this grammar are the verb ‘to give’, which is hun ’in Grierson and hon? in my recordings, and the word for ‘but’, which is utakchiba in Grierson and atəkciba in my recordings. In Figure 4 below are the first few lines of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by the Rev. E.G. Philips, taken from Grierson (1901: 86), followed by the first few lines of the same parable as told to me by Kempai A Sangma in the village of Siju in 2006, presented in examples (1)-(5). The indicated “translation” of Philips’ text consists only of the interlinear glosses.

The most salient grammatical difference between the text in Grierson and the text recorded by me is the occurrence of a morpheme git’chim ~ chim ‘was’. The form chim, treated separately in Grierson on page 85 and glossed ‘was’, but in the text in occurs most frequently as git’chim, e.g. ganangit’chim ‘were’ (first line in Figure 4)
and ma’akgit’chim ‘lost-was’ (Grierson, 1902: 87). This morpheme corresponds in form and function to what I call the irrealis clausal enclitic $<\text{IRR}>$, e.g. (1) and (34).

Figure 4  The first few lines of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by the Rev. E.G. Philips, taken from Grierson (1901: 86).

\[
\text{Figure 4: The first few lines of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by the Rev. E.G. Philips, taken from Grierson (1901: 86).}
\]

(1)  
\[\text{soŋ dam sa } =\text{ci morot man’? } \text{sa village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC person CLF:HUMANS one man’? } =\text{ay sa’-bi } =\text{gaba ganaj } =\text{no } =\text{IRR. in.great.amounts=ADV eat-VERY =ATTR exist =QUOT =IRR.} \]

‘In a village supposedly lived a very rich person (lit. ‘a person who ate in very great amounts’), it is said.’
What gives the text in Grierson a particularly artificial trait is the lack of right dislocated NPs, i.e. the fact that all clauses are predicate final, and, in addition, the complete absence of quotative enclitics or the verb no ‘to say’, to indicate that the storyteller got the information from someone else, e.g. (1), (2), (3) and (5). Had the story really been recited by a native speaker, it would certainly have appeared with left dislocated NPs and quotative constructions, as we can see in (2), where the Location NP *manʔ* =ay *saʔ* = *gaba* *məŋʔ* sa *morot* = *ci* (in.great.amounts=ADV eat =ATTR CLF:HUMANS one person =LOC

‘He supposedly had two sons there, it is said, the very rich person.’

‘So then, the father had lots of riches, it is said.’

‘Because of the wealth and riches, because they were jealous of each other: “Dad, I have no happiness left in the world.”’

‘If you especially love me, divide your wealth for me”, he said, the younger brother, and he spoke, it is said.’
Other than the material in Grierson, very little Atong language material has been published. Playfair (1975: 167) presents a short comparative vocabulary of Awé, Atong, Ruga, Rabha and Koch words with English translation. Playfair does not mark glottalised syllables in his transcription. There are no occurrences of the sequence /oy/ in his list where we find them in the data collected for this grammar. Moreover, Playfair does not distinguish between plain and aspirated voiceless bilabial and velar stops in his transcription. Basically, the list is only understandable when one already speaks Atong and can infer what is meant by the transcription by looking at the English gloss.

Burling (1959) collected a list of Atong lexical items which he published in an interesting article where he makes a convincing case for the reconstruction of Proto-Bodo. In his transcription of Atong there are only two series of stops, one glide, /w/, one voiceless affricate, /c/, and one lateral, /l/. As this grammar will illustrate (see Chapter 2), Atong as I recorded it has three series of stops, viz. voiced, plain voiceless and voiceless aspirated, two glides, /w, y/, a voiced and voiceless affricate, /j, c/ and two laterals, /l, r/. The latest publication of Atong language material –before van Breugel 2008– is that used in the historical comparison of the Baric languages by Shafer (1974: 426-448). Shafer’s transcriptions do not always correspond with the data recoded for this grammar, and, like the sources mentioned above, fails to mention that there are dialectal differences within Atong, which affect the lexicon and some grammatical morphemes (see Table 3).

1.9 Fieldwork

1.9.1 Data collection

My fieldwork was carried out in two stages, the first from 27 June 2005 to 2 May 2006 and the second from 13 June to 12 September 2007. During my first fieldtrip I spent half the time in the village of Badri Maidugytym [badri majdugətəm] and half the time in Sijyw [sidʑəw], also called Siju [sidzu] (see Map 3), where I was hosted by very hospitable and generous Atong families. During my second fieldtrip I spent
somewhat less time in Badri and more in Siju. During both fieldtrips I also visited several other Atong speaking villages on excursions. For the translation of the recorded material into English, I had to take regular trips to Tura, since there was nobody in the Atong villages who could speak English sufficiently to help me with this task. During these trips I got acquainted with the urban Atongs.

I practised the fieldwork technique of participant observation to learn how the Atong use the language in their daily life and as a result I learned to speak the language. Language proficiency is of great help during the grammatical analysis. I collected the following types of materials that form the data base for this grammatical description of Atong:

1. Notes on the language as it was used in day to day life with descriptions of the context, objects, animals, materials etc.
2. Audio recordings of stories and three songs. Most of these are written down, glossed and translated with the help of consultants.
3. Video recordings of spontaneous speech of young, unmarried men from Siju (just under six minutes), presented in this grammar as Text 1 and Text 2.
4. Written material produced by native speakers: one story and four short letters.

I recorded approximately four hours of language on tape. I recorded the speech of both male and female speakers and of speakers of all ages. Male speakers are represented most in the recorded materials. Although most people do not know when they were born, and are thus unable to tell me their age, I estimate that the oldest person I recorded was around seventy and the youngest around six years of age. I recorded twenty six different speakers. I recorded many different genres of language use, viz. spontaneous speech of unmarried men; stories for children told by adults and by children themselves; epic stories, where the language is more complicated; historical narratives etc. Most of the collected material consists of fictional narratives (stories) of different kinds, e.g. fables and adventures, but historical narratives are also well represented in the corpus. A smaller part of the material consists of epic stories, narratives about cultural phenomena and activities in and around the village. Songs and spontaneous speech are least represented in the corpus that was recorded on tape. However, my fieldwork notes, written in the notebooks that I carried around with me
continuously while in the field, contain many spontaneous speech utterances, some
with and some without a short description of their context. I recorded one woman
singing a Christian song in Atong, and my corpus holds two transcriptions of pop
music songs that were very popular at the time of my fieldwork.

When I set out on my fieldwork trip, I had not planned to use video recordings for
the collection of language data. The two short videos of spontaneous speech were
recorded by Samrat N Marak of Siju, who had borrowed my camera while I was out
of the village for a day. Although just under six minutes in length, these videos
provide evidence that some grammatical structures that are seldom attested in
narratives, occur frequently in spontaneous everyday speech.

A list of recorded fieldwork materials is given in Table 7. The list is ordered
alphabetically by author, i.e. the speaker or writer of a text, and lists all the text
collected during my fieldwork, their medium of communication and the processing.
The table also indicates whether the author is male or female, their age estimate and the
place where the text was recorded or written. Spoken texts were recorded on tape and
are indicated as “recorded” in Table 7, while written texts that were not recorded on
tape are indicated as “written”. In a few instances was a text first written down by
the author and then recorded; this, too, is indicated in the table.

Almost all texts are used to draw example from for this grammar, except two or
three texts, which were not useful because they had not been transcribed and
translated or because they were written translations from Garo into Atong; in the latter
case, I was not sure whether the words and constructions that were used were natural
language or the result of calquing from Garo.

Almost all examples in this grammar are drawn from natural speech, either from
the tape-recorded texts or from the fieldnotes. As few elicited examples were used as
possible. Unfortunately, when I started this project, because my original supervisor
advised me not to mark the source of each example, I did not indicate which were
elicited. At present it is not feasible to go back and source each example.
Table 7  List of texts collected during fieldwork

Author’s name. Male/Female. Age estimate. Recording place. Genre. Medium (Written/Recorded (on tape)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcribed and translated?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. anonymous. female. 30-40. Badri. Christian song. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aristo J Momin. male. 18-25. place unknown. published pop song. recorded (recording no longer in my possession). yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Derus R Marak. male. 30-40. Siju. epic story. written then recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dorina A Sangma. female. 30-40. Siju. local history. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Genda R Marak. male. 40-50. Siju. historical cultural story. recorded. yes. (See TEXT 4Ca’masangmi way)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Genda R Marak. male. 40-50. Siju. incantation. recorded. yes (See TEXT 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gongran Ch Marak. male. 50-60. Siju. cultural story with some singing. recorded. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Gongran Ch Marak. male. 50-60. Siju. attempt at epic story. recorded. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Johan A Sangma. male. 17-21. Siju. local history. written then recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Kempai A Sangma. male. 40-50. Siju. parable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Kiubirth M Sangma. male. 7-11. Badri. fable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Limbu M Sangma. male. 14-16. Badri. fable. recorded. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Monjila M Sangma. female 40-50. Siju. local history. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Monjila M Sangma. female. 40-50. Siju. local history. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Negverson M Sangma. male. 20-25. Badri. cautionary story. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Rangsewa M Sangma. male.70-80. Badri. love story. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Rangsewa M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. fable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Rangsewa M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. fable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Rangsewa M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. fable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Rangsewa M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. fable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Ranus M Sangma. male. 20-25. Badri. description of game. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Samrat N Marak. male. 18-21. Siju. adventure story. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Samrat N Marak. male. 18-21. Siju. fable. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Samrat N Marak. male. 18-21. Siju. cautionary story. recorded. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Todan M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. local history. recorded. transcribe but not translated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
52. Todan M Sangma. male. 70-80. Badri. local history. recorded. yes
53. Tonton M Sangma, male, 20-25 Badri. adventure story. recorded. yes (See TEXT 5 Alsia Raja)
54. Tontonjyw*. female. 40-50. Badri. counting from 1-100. recorded. yes
55. Tontonwa*. male. 40-50. Badri. counting from 1-100. recorded. yes
56. Wilseng S Marak. 18-25. place unknown. male. published pop song. recorded (recording no longer in my possession). yes

1.9.2 Recording equipment

I used two analogue recorders, as was the policy of RCLT at the time of my PhD. Most of the material was recorded on a Sony TCM-500EV in combination with a Røde NT3 microphone. Some of the material was recorded with a Sony TCM-400DV. All recordings are mono. For all recordings I used TDK SA 90 high position tapes. The video recordings are made on my own Sony digital camera. Once back at the RCLT, I digitalised my analogue recordings with the program Audacity into WAV files and transcribed them in the program Transcriber. Ultimately the recorded material will be archived at the Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC, see http://paradisec.org.au).
Chapter 2  Phonology

2.1  Syllable structure

In Atong the canonical syllable structure is (C)V(C) in roots, suffixes and enclitics. The minimum syllable consists of only a vowel. Except for the bound forms <ue> and <ie> of the demonstratives ue ~ u ‘distal demonstrative’ and ie ~ i ‘proximal demonstrative’ and the interjections o ‘expression of understanding/acknowledgment’ and a ‘strong attention seeking interjection’, there are no roots that consist exclusively of a vowel. There is one suffix that consists of just one vowel and two enclitics, viz. the imperfective aspect suffix <-ə> (CUST), the focus enclitic <-e> (FOC) and the allomorph <-e> of the adverbial clausal enclitic <-ay ~ =e> (ADV). The majority of the predicate head suffixes, other than event specifiers (see Chapter 25), and the majority of enclitics are monosyllabic with a CV structure, fewer suffixes and enclitics have a CVC or VC structure and other syllabic patterns occur even less frequently. Most event specifiers and NP suffixes have a CVC or CVCV syllable structure.

In word initial syllables consonant clusters are not allowed. On the other hand, in non-initial syllables we find speakers alternating freely between clusters of which the second phoneme is /r/ and the same cluster broken up by a schwa, i.e. CrV(C) and CarV(C); for example, the noun /haʔbəri/ ‘hill, mountain’ can be pronounced [haʔbəɾi] with a schwa between the /b/ and the /r/, or as [haʔbri] with a cluster of stop plus /r/, and the noun /sukəruŋ/ ‘river snail’ can be pronounced with the schwa as [ɕukəɾuŋ] or without the schwa as [ɕukruŋ]. Likewise, the event specifier suffix */-ɕəraŋ/ ‘V totally, etc’ (see Chapter 25) can be pronounced with or without the schwa, viz. [ɕəɾaŋ ~ ɕraŋ]. The pronunciation with the schwa breaking up the consonant cluster is the most usual. Consonant sequences of all sorts can occur at morpheme boundaries and schwa is never inserted, e.g. cak-si (hand-finger) [tʃaksi] ‘finger’, tok-thəning (neck-?) [tɔkthiniŋ ~ tɔkthəniŋ] ‘neck’; unless the morpheme boundary becomes obscure and schwa can be inserted, as in məkren ~ məkəren ‘eye’. The morpheme mək ‘eye’ (< Proto-Tibeto-Burman *mik (see Matisoff, 2003: 346)) never occurs on its own, but
is only found in compounds e.g. *mək-səməl* (eye-?) ‘eyebrow’ and *mək-səram* (eye-?) ‘eyelash’ etc.

### 2.2 Consonants

Atong has an inventory of nineteen consonants, presented in Table 8 below. Not all consonants occur in all positions in the syllable. All phonemes occur syllable initially except /ŋ/ and /y/. Table 13 below gives an overview of the syllable final consonants. All phonemes will be treated separately below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of articulation→ Manner of articulation↓</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>c [tc]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>j [dʒ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɕʰ ~ ɕ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap or trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ɾ ~ r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>oral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.2.1 Stops

In syllable-initial position Atong has three series of stops in bilabial, dental and velar position, viz. aspirated /ph/, /th/, /kh/, pronounced [ph], [th], [kh] respectively, plain voiceless /p/, /t/, /k/, pronounced [p], [t], [k] respectively, and voiced /b/ [b], /d/ [d], /g/ [g]. All stops occur word internally. Examples of words with aspirated syllable initial stop are *phaksa* ‘long half’, *bangphak* ‘posts at the entrance of the bachelor’s house between the floor and the horizontal beam above the entrance’, *thay* ‘blood’, *khaʔthoŋ* ‘heart’, *khaw* ‘hair of the head’, *rokhom* ‘type, shape’. Examples of words with syllable initial and word internal plain voiceless stops are *pan* ‘tree’, *hapun* ‘fishing-hook’, *təy* ‘water’, *kaltək* ‘person who never washes’, *kəy* ‘dog’, *akay* ‘mother’s older sister’. Words with voiced syllable initial stops are *baju* ‘friend’, *aboŋ*
‘maize’, đəkəm ‘head’, damdəl ‘woven bamboo matting used as the side of a house’, gawi ‘woman, girl’, khangal ‘poor person’. Table 9 below shows the phonemic contrast between plain voiceless, aspirated and voiced stops.

Table 9  Evidence for aspiration and voicing opposition in stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ph – p – b</th>
<th>th – t – d</th>
<th>kh – k – g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phal- ‘share, shift of work’</td>
<td>thap- ‘to beat (up)’</td>
<td>khal  ‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal  ‘flower’</td>
<td>tap  ‘time, turn’</td>
<td>kal  ‘horn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal- ‘say, tell’</td>
<td>dap- ‘to be on top, to press’</td>
<td>gal  ‘pride’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2  Fricatives

Atong has two fricatives, both voiceless, viz. /s/ and /h/. The phoneme /h/ occurs only syllable initially, whereas /s/ occurs in both syllable initial and syllable-final position. The phoneme /s/ is an aspirated alveo-palatal fricative [ɕʰ] in syllable-initial position. This phoneme has a non-aspirated allophone [c] in syllable-final position. There are very few occurrences of syllable final /s/, e.g. ros [ɾoɕ] ‘juice’ and anaros [anaɾoɕ] ‘pineapple’; this phoneme occurs mostly in syllable-initial position, for example in words like saʔ [ɕʰaʔ] ‘child’ and samal [ɕʰamal] ‘small ant’. The latter word, anaros ‘pineapple’, is very likely to be a loan. I have no evidence of the origin of the word ros ‘juice’ and cannot say with certainty that it is a loan, although one would expect it to be one on the basis of its aberrant phonological structure, i.e. the fact that the word has final /s/. The phoneme /s/ occurs word internally in words like kənsan ‘later’ and hapsan ‘together, the same’. The phoneme /s/ is written phonemically as <s> in this grammar for two reasons, the first one being convenience: it is easy to type, and the second reason being that it is written as <s> in the orthography of the language (see §1.5).

The phoneme /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. It occurs only in syllable-initial position and mostly before the vowel /a/. Only in very few words does the phoneme /h/ occur before another vowel. The phoneme /h/ occurs in words like hoʔoŋ ‘yes’, haʔba ‘dry rice and vegetable field on the slope of a mountain’, hawci ‘yonder’, hoŋkhot- ‘to go out’, hupa ‘to swim’ and huraw ‘gibbon’. The phoneme /h/ occurs word internally in the unanalysable word cokhoy ‘bamboo fishing basket’, and in the word laha ‘resin’. The following table provides some minimal pairs with the phonemes /h/ and /s/.

The phoneme /h/ is written phonemically as <h> in the orthography of the language (see §1.5).
Table 10  Evidence for the phonemic contrast of the two fricatives /s/ and /h/

| /haʔ/  | ‘Take this!’ | /saʔ/  | ‘Eat!’ |
| /hap/  | ‘place’      | /sap-/ | ‘to know’ |
| /hok-/ | ‘to call loudly’ | /sok-/ | ‘to succeed, to hold out’ |

2.2.3  Affricates

The opposition in the affricates is that of voiceless versus voiced. The voiceless alveo-palatal affricate is /c/ [tɕ] and the voiced alveo-palatal affricate is /j/ [dʑ]. Both phonemes occur exclusively in syllable-initial position. The opposition between the two phonemes /ch/ and /j/ can be proved by minimal pairs like /ca/ ‘tea’, /ja/ ‘month’, /cək/ ‘cold’, /jək/ ‘spouse’ and /cəw/ ‘liquor’, /jəw-/ ‘to sleep’. The phonemes /c/ and /j/ occur word internally in words such as /ajot/ ‘a children’s game’, /rajasa/ ‘one hundred’, /ici/ ‘here’, /macət/ ‘to finish, complete’. Although affricates are phonetically built up of a stop element followed by a fricative element, they function as single units in Atong. In Atong complex onsets do not occur. Where complex onsets would occur, an indeterminate vowel breaks them up and syllabifies them. No indeterminate vowel (i.e. schwa) insertion is found between the phonetic elements of the affricates, hence they are phonological units. Moreover, although there are three series of stops, viz. voiced, plain voiceless and voiceless aspirated, we only find a voiced-voiceless opposition in the affricates, which is another argument in favour of treating them as phonological units. Although affricates are phonological units, only the stop element gets lengthened under stress, as we will see in §2.9.

2.2.4  The tap or trill and the oral continuant

The phoneme /ɾ/ is pronounced as an alveolar tap (otherwise known as a flap) [ɾ] and less frequently an alveolar trill [r]. The phoneme /l/ is a voiced lateral continuant [l]. The two phonemes /ɾ/ and /l/ contrast in syllable-initial position in words like /reʔeŋa/ ‘to go away, leave’, /leŋla/ ‘to drag one’s foot’ and /raydi/ ‘turmeric’, /laysak/ ‘type of vegetable’. In words which are truly of Atong origin, only /l/ occurs syllable finally, e.g. /ol-/ ‘to talk’, /wil-/ ‘to go down’, /təykhal/ ‘river’. The phonemes /ɾ/ and /l/ occur word internally in, for example, /dala/ ‘round bamboo mat’, /khokhəlaŋ/ ‘bold person’, /karag/ ‘wings’ and ‘/haʔbəri/ ‘hill, mountain’. There are some words, all containing the bound root /ruk ~ luk/ ‘frog’, in which /l/ and /ɾ/ are in free variation in syllable-initial position, e.g. /rukwak ~ lukwak/ ‘type of frog’, /lukchokchok/ ‘type of frog’ etc. In loan words the phonemes /ɾ/ and /l/ behave differently.
More about these phonemes will be discussed in the section on the phonology of loan words.

### 2.2.5 Nasal continuants

The oral nasal phonemes /m/ [m] and /n/ [n] occur both syllable initially as well as syllable finally and word internally. Examples of words containing these phonemes are *nawαq* ‘retard, idiot’, *san* ‘day’, *manαp* ‘morning’, *rimola* ‘slippery’, *sam* ‘weeds, medicine’. The velar nasal /ŋ/ [ŋ] occurs exclusively in syllable-final position. Word internal /ŋ/ is also recorded. Examples of words with the velar nasal phoneme are: *diŋgəray* ‘fish trap’, *kənsαŋ* ‘later’ and *boŋboŋ* ‘liar’. Minimal and near minimal pairs that demonstrate the phonological opposition between /m, n, ŋ/ are given in Table 11.

#### Table 11 Evidence of the phonemic contrasts of the nasal continuants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable initially:</th>
<th>mat- ‘to be sharp’, nat- ‘to clean by scrubbing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Root internally:</td>
<td><em>ama</em> ‘mother’, <em>anay</em> ‘aunt: father’s sister’, <em>aga</em> ‘first person singular pronoun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllable finally:</td>
<td>*ranʔ- ‘to be dry’, <em>ram</em> ‘road, ray’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.6 Glides

The phoneme /w/ is a labio-velar glide [w]. This phoneme occurs both syllable initially and syllable finally. Examples of words with /w/ include *wa* ‘bamboo’, *wen* ~ *wet* ‘classifier for times/turns’, *rayʔwil* ‘to walk around something’, *wayset* ‘to wipe off’, *khaw* ‘hair of the head’, *teʔew* ‘now’, and *jəwʔ* ‘mother’, *tawʔ* ‘chicken, bird’. The phoneme /w/ occurs root internally in words such as *hawʔnokhol* ‘father-in-law’ and *gawi* ‘girl, female’ and *dawʔgep* (bird-?) ‘duck’. The off-glide /w/ occurs only after /ə/ and /a/, e.g. *jəwʔ* ‘mother’, and *tawʔ* ‘chicken, bird’, except in the words *teʔew* ‘now’ and *cewʔkhəy* ‘big knife (Siju dialect)’, where it occurs after /e/.

The glide /y/ is a palatal oral glide [j] and occurs only syllable finally. Words like *tay* ‘water’, *tayʔ* ‘blood’, *hay* ‘come on!, let’s go!’ , *tayʔhi* ‘today’, and *maynəl* ‘sticky rice’ are examples of words with this phoneme. The glide /y/ occurs after /ə, a, o, u/, e.g. *kayʔ* ‘dog’, *may* ‘rice’, *cok-hoy* ‘bamboo fishing-basket’, *askuy* ~ *askhuy* ‘star’. Combinations of /i/ or /e/ followed by a glide do not occur. An overview of all possible combinations of vowels followed by a glide is given in Table 12.
Table 12  The possible combinations of vowels plus glide in Atong

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>uy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>əw, əy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>aw, ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several reasons led me to the analysis of the glides /y, w/ as consonant phonemes instead of the alternative analysis presenting them as diphthongs /ai, au, əi, οu, oi, ui/. The alternative analysis as part of diphthongs would create several problems, which are solved by the analysis of a consonant inventory with glides. First of all they cannot be followed by a consonant in a root, e.g. *CauC, *CaiC etc. The glides also do not occur before or after another consonant but this is in accordance with the canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure in the language. Analysing sequences as vowel plus glide safeguards the canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure of Atong.

Secondly, if one would analyse these phonemes as diphthongs, the second element of these diphthongs would never receive any pitch or stress. In sentences like (6) and (7) below, intensity and higher pitch stress falls on the bold and underlined vowel, not on the second element of the putative diphthong, despite the fact that the general intonation pattern of a word is from low to high with most prominence on the last vowel. Vowel sequences occur in Atong only at morpheme boundaries, i.e. the sequence /eo/ in the predicate of rak-bebe-ok=no (hard-TRULY-COS-QUOT) ‘ran really hard, it is said’, where the /e/ and the /o/ belong to different morphemes, are therefore not diphthongs, and both have the possibility to be stressed or to receive a higher pitch than the other. However, pitch and stress patterns like (8) and (9) never occur, i.e. the final vowel of the diphthong would never receive pitch and would never be stressed. In example (7), the vowel is very long and very high in falsetto voice to mark the surprise and awe of the speaker.

(6)  nêmáí rëʔeŋbo!
/nemay reʔengo/
عمال gaan =bo
well go.away =IMP
‘Go carefully!’

(7)  âtəʔ u!
/atəəəəw/
‘Wow!’
All in all, it seems more natural to me to analyse /w/ and /y/ as off-glides and to posit seven possible combinations of vowel plus off-glide than to posit diphthongs. If I write combinations of vowels, e.g. /eo, ei, ie/, the two vowels always belong to separate syllables.

Only a subset of the phonemes presented in Table 8 occur syllable finally. These include the voiceless unaspirated stops, and the continuants. The possible syllable final consonants are listed in Table 13 below. It should be noted that many more consonants occur syllable initially than syllable finally.

Table 13  Syllable final consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of articulation</th>
<th>Manner of articulation</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phonemes /ŋ/ and /y/ occur exclusively in syllable-final position, as was mentioned above. Final stops are unreleased, i.e. /-p/ [p], /-t/ [t] and /-k/ [k']. Syllable final /l/ in loans can be pronounced [l ~ r ~ r] (see section 2.16).

2.3 The morphophonological process of fusion

When the declarative enclitic <=-te> (DCL) follows the negative suffix <=-ca> (NEG), the vowel of the negative may partly assimilate to the vowel of the declarative enclitic and rises to /i/. This /i/ becomes voiceless as it is wedged in between a voiceless affricate and a voiceless stop. The resulting form after the fusion of the two morphemes is then <=-cite>
The optional assimilation of /e/ to /u/ under the influence of the following /w/ in the word *gwayne [gu.an] and the raising of /a/ to /i/ in the morpheme <-cjt< (NEG/DCL) are the only instances of regressive assimilation in Atong.

There is only one morpheme that has an allomorph consisting exclusively of a consonant. This morpheme is the perfective suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS). The allomorph <-k> (COS) of this morpheme occurs only after the negative marker <-ca> NEG. The negative perfect <-ca-k> (NEG-COS) will then sound like [tca rak]. Forms like *[tca rak] or *[tcaʔak] which one would equally expect to occur in a combination <-ca-ak> (NEG-COS) do not occur in Atong. For an explanation of these possible ungrammatical forms see section 2.10. In the form <-ca-k> [cak] (NEG-COS) the two morphemes are still clearly distinguishable, but the negative marker <-ca> (NEG) forces the perfective morpheme <-ok ~ -ak> (COS) to discard its vowel and both of them fuse into a single syllable, i.e. /cak/, e.g. (10).

(10) gawigamuba olrukancakno. mama manithangamuba olrukancakno.

wife =COM =ADD speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

[ mama mani] =thaŋ =ga =mu =ba
father-in-law mother-in-law =OWN =DEREL =COM =ADD

'speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

He didn’t speak with his wife any more, it is said. He did not speak with his own father and mother-in-law any more, it is said.'

The factitive morpheme <-wa> (FACT) (see Chapter 1) is pronounced without its initial consonant /w/ when it occurs after a root ending in the labial /m/ or /p/. In these cases the factitive is homophonous with the customary aspect marker <-a> (CUST). In most cases the context will provide a clue as to how to analyse certain forms with a suffix which sounds like [a], e.g. (11) below. In this example we see a suffix <-a> in the verb ram-a (cook-CUST/FACT). The presence of the locative enclitic <-ci> (LOC), marking the clause as a Location adjunct (see §27.5), is the clue to the analysis of the morpheme <-a> as the factitive, since customary aspect cannot occur on predicates of locative-marked clauses.
(11) [...] *gawigaba kumiri romacie, naʔlame gudukoknowa.*

\[gawigaba \ kumiri] \{rem \text{-a}\} =ci =c \ [naʔlam \ =e] \\
wife \ P\text{name \ cook} \ -\text{FACT} =\text{LOC} =\text{FC} \ \text{type.of.fish} =\text{FC} \\
\{guduk-ok\} \ =\text{noa} \\
wiggle \ -\text{COS} =\text{QUOT} \\
‘[…] when the wife Kumiri cooked, the fish wiggled about, it is said.’

2.4 Vowels

Table 14 below shows the vowel inventory of the Atong language, whereas the next table presents minimal and near minimal pairs to demonstrate the vowel contrasts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i [i \sim ı]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e [e \sim ε]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15  Evidence for vowel quality contrast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Contrast</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a – i</td>
<td>git</td>
<td>‘music’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tay-gat</td>
<td>‘place in the river where one washes, gets drinking water and washes clothes and dishes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – æ</td>
<td>kæreŋ</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kæreŋ</td>
<td>‘sound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i – o</td>
<td>riŋ</td>
<td>‘yam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roŋ</td>
<td>‘colour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a – e</td>
<td>cek</td>
<td>‘fishing net’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – i</td>
<td>neʔ</td>
<td>‘bee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niʔ</td>
<td>‘not.exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – o</td>
<td>dep</td>
<td>‘to be on top of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dok</td>
<td>‘to take off, take apart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – u</td>
<td>kæreŋ</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khæruŋ</td>
<td>‘wanting to lay an egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thep</td>
<td>‘classifier for heaps and small packets’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thup</td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i – u</td>
<td>riŋ</td>
<td>‘yam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ruŋ</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a – o</td>
<td>bog-bog</td>
<td>‘liar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baŋ-baŋ</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i – ò</td>
<td>riŋ</td>
<td>‘yam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a – u</td>
<td>cuŋ-</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a – ò</td>
<td>maŋ-</td>
<td>‘classifier for animals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maŋ-</td>
<td>‘classifier for spoken things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – e</td>
<td>neʔ</td>
<td>‘bee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niʔ</td>
<td>‘not.exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – o</td>
<td>dep</td>
<td>‘to be on top of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dok</td>
<td>‘to take off, take apart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e – u</td>
<td>kæreŋ</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khæruŋ</td>
<td>‘wanting to lay an egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thep</td>
<td>‘classifier for heaps and small packets’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thup</td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o – ò</td>
<td>ruŋ</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o – ò</td>
<td>ruŋ</td>
<td>‘colour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u – ò</td>
<td>tuŋ</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tæŋ-</td>
<td>‘to know a fact/someone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Atong language has six vowels. The vowel phoneme /i/ is a close front unrounded vowel [i]. In closed syllables it may be pronounced slightly more lowered and retracted as [ı]. This phoneme occurs in all positions in the word, i.e. word initially, medially and finally, e.g. ici ‘here’, riŋ ‘yam’, tayʔni ‘today’. The only originally Atong words which start with /i/ are the proximal demonstrative pronoun in its free form ie (PRX) and those words formed on the bound form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun i- (PRX), although not all of these are synchronically analysable as such, e.g. ici ‘here’, i-thara-an (PRX-only-PH) ‘only this one’, i-saŋ (PRX-MOB) ‘thither’.

The vowel phoneme /e/ varies freely between a heightened mid-close front unrounded vowel [e] and the mid-open front unrounded vowel [ɛ]. Examples of words containing the phoneme /e/ are: sene [sene ~ sene] ‘seven’, khenʔ [khenʔ ~ khenʔ] ‘river crab’, era [era ~ ɛɾa] ‘type of small river fish’. Word initial /e/ is always pronounced more closed as [e], while word final /e/ is pronounced more open as [ɛ].

The vowel phoneme /a/ varies between the open central unrounded vowel [a] and the back open unrounded vowel [ɑ]. Examples are: hapsan [hapsan ~ hapsan] ‘the same’, rayʔiari [rajʔiari ~ rajʔiari] ‘just go!’, balwa [balwa ~ balwa] ‘wind’, atonj ‘[atɔŋ ~ ɑtɔŋ] ‘what’. The phoneme /a/ may be found articulated lower and more to the back in closed syllables but I have also occasionally heard the lower allophone in open syllables so we can say that the allophones are in free variation.

The vowel phoneme /o/ varies between [o ~ ɔ], i.e. the back close-mid rounded vowel [o], with often a quite high pronunciation, and the back open-mid rounded vowel [ɔ] respectively. The back open mid-rounded variant has a tendency to occur mostly in closed syllables, but due to assimilation to the vowel in the next syllable words containing two /o/ phonemes in adjacent syllables speakers often, but not always, pronounce both phonemes with about the same quality, e.g. hoʔonj [hoʔoŋ ~ hoʔɔŋ] ‘yes’, ortho [ortho ~ ɔrtho] ‘meaning’.

The vowel phoneme /u/ is a high back unrounded or not so very rounded vowel and may be pronounced a bit towards the mid section of the vowel triangle. Examples of words containing the phoneme /u/ are jadu [dʒadu ~ dʒadu] ‘magic’, mudu [mudu ~ mudu] ‘papaya’, ue [ue ~ uɛ] ‘DST’.

The vowel phoneme /ə/, the central unrounded vowel [ə], occurs in words like akrudəgəl ‘pumpkin’, ətəkəy ‘like that’ and thəʔək- ‘to have the hiccups’, nəgəl
'market', *rəgan* 'near', *jək* 'spouse', *kən* 'back', and *dəkəm* 'head'. Let me emphasise here that /a/ is NOT just a reduced vowel, but a full phoneme in Atong.

### 2.5 Vowel devoicing and elision

When a vowel appears between two voiceless stops or voiceless affricates or a combination of the two, the vowel may become devoiced when the following voiceless consonant is intervocalic. This devoicing and elision may occur in rapid and normal, and even in emphatic speech. The two consonants that cause the devoicing may belong to the same syllable or to different syllables within the same word. The vowel phoneme may even disappear altogether after /s/ and /ʃ/. When the vowel is lost the preceding /s/ may be lengthened to fill up the gap left by the absent vowel. The result is a phonetic cluster with long [sː]. Examples of these phenomena are given in the list here below in phonological form accompanied by their most usual pronunciation variants.

| /sək-əl/        | [cəka ~ ɕəka ~ c:ka]       | <sək-a>  | (want-CUST) | ‘want’    |
| /cək-əl/        | [tcəka ~ tɕəka ~ tcka]      | <cək-ə>  | (cold-CUST) | ‘cold’    |
| /macət-ok/       | [matɕətok ~ matctok]        | <macət-ok> | (finish-COS) | ‘finished’ |
| /caksi khol/     | [tcakɕikhol ~ tcakɕikhol]   | <caksi khol>  | (finger-skin) | ‘fingernail’ |
| /disu təy/       | [dicu təy]                  | <disu təy> | (piss-water) | ‘piss’    |
| /sətha/          | [catha ~ ɕatha ~ çətha ~ çətha ~ ç:tha] | ‘umbrella’ |

Even when there is no phonetic vowel in the nucleus of the root in the second example above, i.e. /cək-ə/ [tcka] (cold-CUST), the second phonological consonant may still be lengthened as a means of stress assignment to the first syllable, viz. [tcka]. This is how Dilseng R. Sangma starts his story:

(12) *aŋdo cəkaydonga!*

pronunciation: [aŋdo cəkəydoŋa]

[ap] =do {cək -aydoŋa}  
I1s =TOP cold -DUR  
‘I am cold!’

---

---
The word /gəwəŋ/ ‘spider’ may be pronounced [ɡawəŋ ~ ɡuwaŋ] or [ɡwaŋ]. The choice between [ɡuwaŋ] and [ɡwaŋ] seems to depend on speed, the latter being preferred in fast speech. Whereas /a/ seems to assimilate to the glide in the bi-syllabic pronunciation [ɡuwaŋ], in the monosyllabic pronunciation [ɡwaŋ] the /a/ disappears altogether. This is the only word which I have discovered so far with a stop – /w/ onset sequence in which /a/ may elide.

2.6 Vowel assimilation

In roots consisting of more than one syllable, the vowel /a/ assimilates in rounding, height and position (front-back) to the vowel in the last syllable which I call the main syllable. This harmonisation mechanism typically affects schwas in syllables of the CV type in roots with a CV.CVC or CV.CV.CVC syllable structure. The vowel harmony may be incomplete, i.e. schwa does not have to assimilate completely to the vowel in the last syllable of the root, which means that there is some variation in pronunciation of (Cə).Cə.CVC words. Assimilation is fullest when /a/ stands between two stops that would violate the sonority sequencing principle if they would be pronounced together in the same syllable as a cluster. Another way of putting it would be that the sequence of these consonants in their position relative to the main nucleus violates the sonority sequencing hierarchy (see Lass 1984:264 and Laver 1994: 504).

A good example of this mechanism is the word səkəruŋ ‘river snail’. The word səkəruŋ ‘river snail’ is most often pronounced [sukəruŋ ~ səkəruŋ] although other possible varieties are also heard. The sequence s-k violates the sonority sequencing hierarchy whereas k-r does not, hence the vowel between /k/ and /r/ is normally not as much assimilated to the /u/ of the main syllable as the vowel between /s/ and /k/. All this may not lead us to believe that the schwas in these types of (CV).CV.CVC words are only there to break up phonological clusters in Atong. There are no complex onsets in the language. Moreover the schwas in the kind of words under discussion contrast phonemically with other vowels, viz. vowels which do not assimilate to the last syllable of the root e.g.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paləŋ</td>
<td>‘jungle’</td>
<td>bugərək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
<td>bisəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Badri dialect)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are many bi-syllabic words with identical vowels which never show any variation or reduction of their first syllable. These words represent full vowel harmony in both syllables always. Examples are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siri</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biri</td>
<td>‘cigarette made of <em>dembol</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasam</td>
<td>‘afternoon, evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cini</td>
<td>‘sugar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganaŋ</td>
<td>‘LOC be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purun</td>
<td>‘goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three words in which /ə/ does not assimilate to the following vowel, viz. *joŋsəri* ‘brother-in-law’, *kərəthaŋ* ‘father’s older sister’s child’ *təru-* ‘to take a bath’.

Furthermore, we have to remark that schwa assimilation also occurs in compounds, i.e. word internal CV.CVC syllable structures. Examples are given below with their most usual pronunciation variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kan.tə.ra/</td>
<td>[kantara ~ kantəɾa] ‘empty’, this word cannot be broken up into smaller morphemes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a.sən.thə.lak/</td>
<td>[açaŋthlak ~ acənθlak] ‘type of fish’, this word cannot be broken up into smaller morphemes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a.kə.ru.də.gəl/</td>
<td>[akurudəgəl ~ akəɾudəgəl] ‘type of pumpkin’, <em>&lt;akəɾu-dəgəl&gt;</em> (pumpkin-?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/riʔ.kə.ran/</td>
<td>[riʔkaran ~ riʔkəran] ‘testicles’ <em>&lt;ri-kəran&gt;</em> (penis-wings).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sal.nə.ram/</td>
<td>[calnaram ~ calnəram] ‘the east’, not synchronically analysable(^{16}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gaʔ-səlek-/</td>
<td>[gəsəlek ~ gəsəlek] ‘to sprain one’s foot’, not analysable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tok-thəniŋ/</td>
<td>[tokθəniŋ ~ tokθəniŋ] ‘neck’ <em>&lt;tok&gt;</em> ‘neck’ <em>&lt;-θəniŋ&gt;</em> ?.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa-dəkəloŋ/</td>
<td>[wadəkəloŋ ~ wadəkəloŋ] ‘bamboo water pipe’ <em>&lt;wa&gt;</em> ‘bamboo’, but this word seems to have lost its glottal stop in this obscure compound.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{16}\) The word *salnəram* can be partly analysed with the help of Garo: *sal* ‘sun, day’, *nə* ‘?’ (does not occur as a word in Atong), *ram* ‘place’. The word for ‘east’ in Garo is *salaram*. 
Two words which are compounds, but of which the constituents are bound morphemes whose meaning is not clear synchronically, have allomorphs with /ə/ which does not assimilate to the following vowel. These words are məkren ~ məkəren ‘eye’ and oknəŋ- ~ ogənaŋ- ‘pregnant’.

The bound morpheme mək- ‘eye’ appears in other words having to do with facial body parts and some other words:

- **məkcel-** ‘to shine in the eyes’
- **məpek** ‘temple’
- **məkgul** ‘eyelid’
- **məkhang** ‘face, front’
- **məkjəw-** ‘to almost fall asleep’
- **məksep** ‘corner of the eye’
- **məksəməl** ‘eyebrow’
- **məksəram** ‘eyelash’
- **məku-** ‘to wash your face’
- **məktay** ‘tear’
- **məksolkhare** ‘ring finger’
- **məkthoram** ‘middle finger’

Particular types of monomorphemic (Cə).Cə.CVC roots in which schwa occurs and may assimilate to the vowel in the CVC syllable are certainly discernable. These types are based on particular sequences of consonant phonemes in the onsets of all syllables in the respective roots and are given below.

**Type 1A**  Stop_vd + /ə/ + Stop or Affricate
**Type 1B**  Affricate_vd + /ə/ + Stop

Type 1A includes roots such as the following.

- **bədəy** ‘old man’
- **bətəy** ‘fat of animal, to smell nice’
- **bəthəy** ‘porcupine’
- **dəkəm** ‘head’
- **dəpəw** ‘snake’
- **dətəy** ‘father’s elder brother’
- **dəkən** ‘type of vegetable’
- **dəkham** ‘very small wooden stool’
- **gəthəŋ** ‘unripe, raw, uncooked’
- **gəbeŋ** ‘width, breadth’
- **gəciŋ** ‘to make an angle, be tilted’
- **gəcuŋ** ‘ladder, stairs’
- **gəduk** ‘almost’
- **bəthu-** ‘to boil (intr.) (of water)’
- **bəthow-** ‘to boil (intr.) (of water)’
- **gətum ~ gətəm** ‘village which forms a specific area with certain other villages’
I also include the word *giciŋ* ‘to make an angle’, be tilted’ in this type although its second consonant is not a stop but the voiceless affricate. Affricates, however, do have a stop element in them as we can see if we write the word *giciŋ* ‘to make an angle’ in IPA, viz. [gitɕiŋ].

All word initial onsets in the roots above are voiced stops. It is worth noticing that onset sequences of the type voiceless stop – voiced stop or affricate onset do not occur in Atong except in the word *ətəkəy* ‘like that’ and the periphrastic/simulitative phrasal enclitic *<−təkəy>* (VIA/LIKE). The word *ətəkəy* ‘like that’ consists of one morpheme.

Type 1B includes roots like the following.

- **cəbəm** ‘forehead’
- **cəkhəw** ‘nine’
- **cəgəl** ‘type of snail’
- **cəgəp** ‘to fall face down on the ground’
- **cəduk** ‘to be upside down’

Type 2 of the (Ca).Cə.CVC roots consist of a sequence of two consonantal onsets, of which the first is a continuant. Examples of words of type 2A are given here below.

- **rəmət** ‘yellow’
- **rəgən** ‘near’
- **rədəm** ‘to sprout young leaves’
- **rəphi** ‘to cover the floor with a new layer of clay and cow dung’
- **səki** ‘to learn, teach’
- **nəgəl** ‘market’
- **məte** ‘deity’
- **mənok** ‘to swallow, devour’
- **rəcok** ‘picket’
- **səthi** ‘alcoholic rice from which a beverage is drawn by adding water’
- **səkəp** ‘to fold and close’
- **sətha** ‘umbrella’
- **pəlak** ‘piece of split bamboo to stir with’

Type 2B consists of consonantal onsets, of which the second is a continuant.

- **bərəy** ‘four’
- **gərəw** ‘to shake’
- **gəroŋ** ‘to meet’
- **kəran** ‘wing’
- **kharip** ‘type of vegetable’
- **kərəŋ** ‘horn’
- **jəroŋ** ‘to dissolve’
- **jərəm** ‘quietly’
- **pərəw** ‘to have a hole in it’
- **pərək** ‘like that’
Type 3 consists of roots consisting of three syllables, of which the first two, or all three, contain a schwa. At least one of the syllable onsets in each root is /r/.

Note again that onset sequences of the type VOICELESS STOP—SCHWA—VOICED STOP do not occur, e.g. *təbV, *pəgV. When word initial, the phoneme /s/ only occurs before voiceless stops and /r/, e.g. səraŋ ‘web’ and səki ‘to learn, teach’.

### 2.7 Vowel phonotactics

The phoneme /a/ is the most versatile vowel of all. This phoneme occurs in all positions in the root, stem and word.

As was mentioned above, the vowel /i/ occurs word initially only in the proximal demonstrative <ie ~ i> (PRX). Root or stem final /i/ is rare in Atong. There are two suffixes with final /i/, viz. the future suffix <-ni> (FUT) and the locative <-ci> (LOC).

The vowel /e/ seldom occurs root or stem finally. The vowel /e/ does not occur word initially except in two fish names, viz. eloŋ and era, and in loan words.

The vowel /o/ does not occur root or stem finally except in very few words which are probably loans, viz. salgəro ‘north’ and balgətoʔ ‘orchid’. The only root ending in /o/ is no ‘to say’. There are four enclitics ending in /o/, viz. the hearsay evidential or quotative <=no> (QUOT), the imperative emphasiser <=to> (IMPEMPH), the imperative <=bo> (IMP) and the topic enclitic <=do> (TOP).

The only two words that begin with the vowel /u/ are the distal demonstrative pronoun <ue ~ u> (DST) and uʔciŋ ~ ukciŋ ~ uciŋ ‘leech’. The only two roots which end in /u/ are the kinship terms abu ‘grandmother’ and acu ‘grandfather’. One enclitic ends in /u/, viz. the allomorph <=mu> of the sequential clausal enclitic <=mu ~ =mug>
~ \~məŋ \~muŋna (SEQ) of which the allomorphs are in free variation. Its distribution makes /u/ a predominantly word internal vowel phoneme.

The only recorded words that begin with /a/ are əm ‘yes’, əmbəŋ ‘bamboo flute’, əmpoŋ ‘lopsided’, əmy, an interjection of surprise, əndən ‘in vain, for nothing’, and grammaticalised derivations of the verb ətək ‘do like this/that’. The phoneme /a/ never occurs root or stem or word finally.

The VC sequences /ay/, /aw/, /aŋ/, /aw/, /oy/ and /uy/ do not occur word initially, only root or stem finally, the only exception is the interjections ayaw, aya and ayu, which indicate surprise and grief (see §17.6). As mentioned in section 2.2.6, the sequences /uy/ and /oy/ are rare in Atong whereas the other vowel-plus-glide combinations are frequent.

2.8 Morphophonological vowel assimilation

There are three types of morphophonological assimilation in Atong. The first type is progressive and obligatory, the second type is progressive and optional, and the third type is regressive and optional. The first type of morphophonological assimilation occurs when the vowel of a suffix assimilates to the immediately preceding vowel of the stem. The perfective suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) occurs as its allomorph <-ak> (COS) directly after stems which end in /a/ or /aʔ/ (glottalised syllable with /a/), e.g. (13). If the stem ends in a consonant or another vowel the allomorph <-ok> (COS) will occur, e.g. (14).

(13) sathiriaymuŋna umi caythiriciba, baʔ, matdam saʔakno.

{sa -thiri} =ay =muŋna [u] =mi {cay -thiri} =ci =ba
put.a.trap -again =ADV =SEQ DST=GEN look -AGAIN=LOC=INDEF
[baʔ] [matdam] {saʔ -ak} =no
interj otter eat -COS =QUOT

‘When he had put [the fish trap] in place again, then, when he looked again, the otters had eaten [the fish] again.’
As already mentioned, the allomorph <\text{-}k> of the morpheme <\text{-}ak ~ \text{-}ak ~ \text{-}k> (COS) occurs invariably after the negative <\text{-}ca>. The first syllable of the progressive/durative marker <\text{-}aydoŋ ~ \text{-}ayroŋ ~ \text{-}aydok ~ \text{-}arok ~ \text{-}aron ~ \text{-}ak> (PROG/DUR) is pronounced [e] after a stem ending in the vowel /ɪ/, e.g. sandi-edoŋa-cəm (search-PROG =IRR) ‘[they] are searching in vain’.

The second case of progressive vowel assimilation optionally occurs when the indeterminate noun je ‘whatever, any’ is marked by the focus/identifier enclitic <\text{-}an> (FC/ID). The /a/ of the enclitic is raised to /ɛ/, which gives the resultant form je-en [jeɛn] (whatever=FC/ID) ‘whatever, a certain’. The noun and the focus/identifier enclitic may also fuse to jen [jen] (whatever.FC/ID) ‘whatever, a certain’.

The third type of morphophonological assimilation occurs in compounds when the vowel of the first syllable of the compound assimilates to the vowel in the next syllable which is the second member of the compound, e.g. nok ‘house’ + -khuŋ ‘roof’ \rightarrow nukkuŋ [nukʰuŋ] ‘roof’. This assimilation is optional as the variant nokkuŋ [nokʰuŋ] ‘roof’ also occurs. Allomorphs that exist as a result of this type of assimilation are in free variation.

2.9 Consonant length

There are no phonemic long consonants in Atong. Coda consonants can be lengthened optionally. This lengthening is one of the ways a speaker can assign stress to a syllable. Stops, except the glottal stop, and affricates can only be lengthened when they are in intervocalic position, the other consonants can be lengthened in all positions. The word jamok <\text{jam-ok}> (complete-COS) ‘finished’, was alternatively
written as \textit{jammok} or \textit{jamok} by my Atong friends when it appeared at the end of a story they transcribed for me. This word may be pronounced as [dəmək], [dəmək], [dəmək] or [dəmək], which is sometimes reflected in the writing of my Atong friends. The same mechanism was reflected in other words like \textit{sapa} < sap-\texttt{a}> (to.be.skilled-INF) ‘is skilled’ which was sometimes written \textit{sappa}, as its occasional pronunciation [sap:a] suggests. This form also occurs as [sapa] \textit{sapa} < sap-\texttt{a}> (to.be.skilled-INF) ‘is skilled’. There are of course no verbal roots *\textit{sapp}- and *\textit{jamm}-; what the writing of my Atong friends reflect is optional lengthening of an intervocalic consonant. All consonantal phonemes are subject to this optional process, including the affricates. The word \textit{san-san} (day-day) ‘every day’ may be pronounced [sən:sən] with a long /n/ when the first syllable is stressed. In this word the /n/ is in preconsonantal position and not intervocalic.

If stress is expressed through lengthening of the consonant, it is always the coda consonant of the stressed syllable which gets lengthened. If the syllable does not have a consonant in the coda phonemically, the onset of the next syllable is geminated, so that phonetically the coda slot of the stressed syllable will be filled and thus the condition for consonantal stress is met.

When an affricate is lengthened, it affects only the stop element. The word \textit{acu} ‘grandfather’ may be pronounced both [atɕu] with a single [t], or [atɕu] with a long [t]. An example with the voiced affricate is \textit{raja-sa} ‘(hundred-one) ‘one hundred’, which may be pronounced as [radʒasa ~ ra:dʒasa] or [ra:dʒasa]. Affricate lengthening only occurs when the previous syllable has an empty coda because affricates only occur syllable initially.

When two of the same consonants are juxtaposed across a syllable or morpheme boundary, they merge into one and are not pronounced as a long consonant. Lengthening as a result of stress assignment is optional, e.g. \textit{tan-ni} (put-FUT) [tani] ‘will put’, \textit{tawʔpak-khal} (bat-cave) [tawʔpakʰal] ‘bat cave’.

Good examples of the possibility to lengthen either the vowel or the coda consonant of the syllable are examples (25) and (26) in §2.13 below.
2.10  Vowel length

Vowel length is not phonologically contrastive in Atong. With some speakers, and not at all times, vowels in a clearly closed syllable may be pronounced as shorter and lowered or backed than vowels in a clearly open syllable. This means that sometimes the word *wak* ‘pig’ is pronounced as [wɑk ~ wɑk ~ wa:k] and that the word *wa* ‘tooth’ is always pronounced as [wa]. This means that vowel length and allophonic variation are no indication of the syllable structure in Atong.

When two of the same vowels phonemes are juxtaposed across a morpheme boundary, three different things may happen in the pronunciation, viz.

1. The two vowel phonemes merge into one short vowel, e.g. `<okha-ak>` [okhak] (hungry-cos) ‘very hungry’.
2. The two vowels are both pronounced as one long vowel. `<okha-ak>` [okhaːk] (hungry-cos) ‘very hungry’.
3. A glottal stop may be inserted between the two vowel phonemes. `<okha-ak>` [okhaʔak] (hungry-cos) ‘very hungry’.

All these strategies appear to be pretty much in free variation. There is a tendency for certain speakers to prefer a certain strategy. Another tendency seems to be that the faster a person speaks, the more likely he is to merge the two vowels. Conversely, the slower he speaks, the more likely he is to pronounce the two vowels as a long vowel or to insert a glottal stop.

2.11  Ambisyllabic consonants

We can only know what syllable structures Atong displays when we know its morphological structure. Most morphemes in Atong are monosyllabic. It is on the basis of known, productive morphemes that we can know what phonemes can occur in syllable initial and final position and in which combinations. There are, however, some multisyllabic morphemes. Polysyllabic morphemes with intervocalic consonants, i.e. those consonants that can appear in both syllable initial and syllable-final position, are all ambisyllabic in the sense that the intervocalic consonant cannot be assigned unambiguously to just one of the syllables. Since there are no morphemes which serve as indicators of the syllabic make up of multisyllabic roots, suffixes and
enclitics, we cannot know where their internal syllabic boundaries are. Polysyllabic roots of this type are 
\( gawi \) [\( gaw \sim gawi \)] ‘girl’, 
\( gətəm \) ‘village’, 
\( ətəkəy \) ‘like this’, 
pipuk ‘belly, womb, intestines’ and 
\( sene \) [\( s\sim s\sim s\sim s\sim \)] ‘seven’. Examples of polysyllabic suffixes and enclitics are the event specifier <\( -cəraŋ \)> (TOTALLY, COMPLETELY), the concomitant action predicate head suffix <\( -butuŋ \)> (WHILE), and the phrasal enclitic <\( =məran \)> (TOGETHER).

Since polysyllabic morphemes cannot be divided into smaller meaningful elements, their internal syllabic structure is not only unknowable but also irrelevant for the synchronic description of the language. For example, since the lexeme 
\( gawi \) [\( gaw \sim gawi \)] ‘girl’ cannot be broken up into smaller meaningful elements and the phoneme /w/ can occur both syllable initially and syllable finally, it is impossible to establish whether the root internal syllable boundary is before the /w/, i.e. 
\( ga.wi \) or after the /w/, i.e. 
\( gaw.i \), or in between to possible /w/ phonemes, i.e. 
\( gaw.wi \).

The complete consonantal phoneme inventory of Atong is displayed in Table 8. Morphological analysis shows us that only a limited set of consonants can occur in syllable-final position. These phonemes are given in Table 13. Thus, if a polysyllabic morpheme contains an intervocalic phoneme that cannot occur in syllable-final position, we can say that the syllable boundary of this morpheme lies before this consonant. An example of such a polysyllabic morpheme is 
\( acu \) [\( atɕu \sim at:ɕu \)] ‘grandfather’. The allophone [\( at:ɕu \)] with the long stop element of the affricate /c/ is the result of the rule of optional consonant lengthening explained in §2.9, where it is stated that all intervocalic consonants can be lengthened for reasons of stress and that, when the affricates are lengthened, it affects only the stop element. The phoneme /c/ cannot occur syllable finally, so if we for some reason had to syllabify this root, the phonotactics as they occur on monosyllabic morphemes would be an argument to say that the syllable boundary in the polysyllabic morpheme 
\( acu \) ‘grandfather’ lies before the /c/, i.e. 
\( a.cu \). The same monomorpheme-based phonotactics would prompt us to argue that the syllable boundary in the first person singular morpheme 
\( aŋ.a \) (1s) lies after the /yl/, i.e. 
\( ag.a \), since this morpheme cannot occur syllable initially.

It is phonotactically impossible for Atong syllables to end in a consonant cluster, so in polymorphemic roots with intervocalic consonant clusters, it is possible to assign the consonants to either the coda of the first syllable or the onset of the second syllable. Examples of such morphemes are 
\( makbul \) ‘bear’, 
\( matdam \) ‘otter’ and
məks(ə)raŋ ‘eyebrow’. In these examples, the syllable structure has to be mak.bul ‘bear’, mat.dam ‘otter’ and mək.s(ə)raŋ ‘eyebrow’, where the last word can optionally contain an extra syllable because non-first syllable consonant clusters with /r/ as second element can be broken up by the insertion of a schwa (see §2.1).

As mentioned above, the syllabification of morphemes like this is irrelevant for the synchronic description of Atong, since they are not dividable into smaller meaningful elements. However, monomorpheme-based phonotactics help us to explain why certain consonantal sequences, i.e. *VŋV or *VcnV never occur in polysyllabic morphemes, the reason being that synchronically unanalysable polysyllabic morphemes obey the same phonotactic rules as monosyllabic ones. This phenomenon can be explained diachronically when one argues that polysyllabic morphemes are the product of fossilised combinations of monosyllabic ones. I will not, however, at this time argue in favour or against this explanation, since internal reconstruction and historical comparison of Atong lies outside the scope of this thesis.

### 2.12 Glottalisation

Glottalisation, or glottal prosody, in Atong is a feature that operates on the level of the syllable, and that manifests itself as a glottal stop at the end of the syllable. Glottalisation only affects open syllables and syllables ending in a continuant. A prosodic feature that only effects part of the syllable is called “syllable-part prosody” (Lass 1984: 244). In this grammar, glottalisation is written phonemically as a glottal stop at the end of the affected syllable.\(^{17}\)

An open glottalised syllable ends in a glottal stop which is not released, e.g. caʔ [tɕaʔ] ‘leg/foot’.\(^{18}\) There are two phonetic possibilities for the release of a glottalised continuant, depending on the following phoneme.

\(^{17}\) In the orthography of Atong, glottalised syllables are written with a raised dot or apostrophe after the affected syllable, as explained in §1.5.

\(^{18}\) Lexical morphemes ending in a glottal stop do NOT have an echo vowel after the glottal stop as in the Acik [aʔɛsk] dialect of Garo (see Burling 2004: 34-35). Thus the word caʔ ‘leg/foot’ is pronounced [caʔ] and the bare imperative of the verb raʔ ‘to get’ is raʔ[raʔ] ‘Get [it]’
If the glottalised continuant is followed by a consonant, the glottalised phoneme is not released, i.e. \textit{manʔ-khu-tɕa} [manʔ.khutca] (be.able-INCOM-NEG) ‘is not yet possible’.

If the glottalised continuant is followed by a vowel, it is released and the release repeats the continuant so that it can be said to act like the onset of the following syllable, e.g. \textit{manʔ-ok} [manʔ.nok] (be.able-COS) ‘was able’.

In a glottalised syllable with final /l/ the glottal stop usually precedes the oral closure of the [l] when followed by another vowel, e.g. \textit{melʔ-a} [meʔ.la] (be.fat-CUST) ‘is fat’. This phenomenon also happens, but less frequently, with syllables ending in /m/, e.g. \textit{noʔm-a} [noʔ.ma ~ nomʔ.ma] (be.soft-CUST) ‘is soft’.

As a result of the feature of repetition of an intervocalic glottalised continuant, some suffixes and enclitics are not phonetically differentiated on certain words the root or stem of which ends in a glottalised consonant. This means that a word which sounds like [tanʔna] may, according to the context, be analysed morphologically as <\textit{tanʔ-a}> (cut-INF) ‘cut’ or <\textit{tanʔ-na}> (cut=DAT) ‘in order to cut’. Another example is a word that sounds like [sawʔwa] which may be analysed as either <\textit{sawʔ-a}> (burn-INF) ‘burn’ or as <\textit{sawʔ-wa}> (burn-FACT) ‘burned’.

When a stem-final glottalised continuant is followed by a suffix or enclitic beginning with the same continuant, the phonetic effect is the same as that of a repeated intervocalic glottalised continuant. This can be exemplified thus: /\textit{manʔnɪ} [manʔni] <\textit{manʔ-nɪ}> (be.able-FUT) ‘will be able’.

There are two alternative analyses of the occurrence of the glottal stop, viz. a glottal stop phoneme or a series of glottalised continuants, which will be treated below and which are not favoured over glottalisation as a prosodic feature. An argument in favour of the glottal prosody analysis is that it simplifies the phonological analysis of the language. There is no need for either a glottal stop phoneme with a restricted occurrence or for a series of glottalised continuants. Just like a series of glottalised continuants, glottal prosody solves the problem of non-canonical syllable final consonant clusters. Glottal prosody can also account for the phonetic behaviour of affected continuants as described above.

Another argument in favour of glottal prosody at syllable level comes from languages closely related to Atong, namely Tiwa, Bodo/Boro and Rabha. What has
been observed for Garo (Joseph and Burling 2006: 21) is also valid for Atong. Glottalised syllables in Atong correspond to syllables with a high tone in Tiwa, Bodo/Boro and Rabha in words with similar phonetic/phonological make up and meaning. The distribution of glottalised syllables in Atong differs from Garo. In Atong any syllable within a grammatical or prosodic word can be glottalised.

Glottalisation prosody as occurs in Atong has been described for a number of Australian languages in the central north of the continent (Dixon 2002: 616-8). In two sets of these languages “glottal articulation is found only at the end of a syllable after a vowel or continuant (never after a stop)” (ibid.), similar to Atong.

Glottalisation in Atong happens mostly at morpheme boundaries but there are some instances of glottalisation in medial position in multisyllabic unanalysable words. Maybe there once was a morpheme boundary where the glottal prosody occurs, before the putative compound became non-transparent, e.g. caʔma ‘lower side, downstream’, meʔmaŋ ‘ghost’. Table 16 below shows some minimal pairs of syllables with and without glottal prosody.

Table 16  Minimal pairs of syllables with and without glottal stop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Glottalised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si-</td>
<td>siʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nepal</td>
<td>neʔkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>caʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>naʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susʔt-</td>
<td>suʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rimʔla</td>
<td>riʔ məʔʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal</td>
<td>walʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roy</td>
<td>royʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-</td>
<td>manʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-</td>
<td>ramʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tay</td>
<td>thoʔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taw</td>
<td>tawʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 Although no internal reconstruction of any of the languages cited has been attempted or published yet, the plethora of correspondences between lexical items in terms of phonetic/phonological make up and meaning is striking.

20 What is described as glottalisation in Cherokee (Iroquoian, Oklahoma and North Carolina) by Scancarelli (1992: 139) is “generally realized as either a preconsonantal glottal stop or as falling pitch on a lengthened vowel preceding the consonant. This is a different type of glottalisation than in Atong.
2.12.1 Alternative analyses against glottal prosody.

As was mentioned above, there are two alternative analyses that account for the occurrence of a glottal stop in Atong, viz. the glottal stop as a phoneme, and a series of glottalised continuants. These alternatives are not favoured over the analysis of glottalisation as a prosodic feature, but should not be totally disregarded either. Arguments in favour of the prosodic analysis have been given above.

i The glottal stop as a phoneme

The glottal stop could be analysed as a phoneme that can only occur in syllable-final position after a vowel. The glottal stop would then also occur word internally in syllable-final position as in the words coʔsa [tcoʔsa] ‘a little bit’, coʔmot [coʔmot] ‘really’, teʔew [teʔew] ‘now’, neʔ+kat [neʔkat] (bee+?) ‘type of bee’. There are several features that make the glottal stop different from all the other consonant phonemes. As mentioned before, the glottal stop only occurs syllable finally in postvocalic position. In case a syllable ends in a consonant other than the glottal stop, the preceding vowel may get shortened and or lowered or is articulated more to the back. Thus with most speakers most of the time there is a difference in pronunciation between wa [wa:] ‘bamboo’ and wak [wak] ‘pig’. The effect of the glottal stop on the preceding vowel is not the same as that of all the other syllable final consonants. Before a glottal stop lowering or back articulation and shortening of the preceding vowel never occurs. The distinction between the words wa [wa] ‘tooth’ and waʔ [waʔ] ‘bamboo’ for example, is therefore only the presence or absence of the glottal stop. The word neʔ ‘bee’ is never pronounced as [neʔ] but always as [neʔ] and the word naʔ ‘fish’ always as [naʔ]. The difference between the previous examples and the word wak [wak] ‘pig’ is that in the word wak ‘[wak] ‘pig’ the vowel may be shorter and articulated more to the back. Alternative articulations of vowels in closed syllables are in free variation and differ from speaker to speaker and even from instance to instance with the same speaker. This means that the pronunciation [wak] for wak ‘pig’ has also been recorded.

Another indication that the glottal stop is not like the other stops in the phonological system of Atong is the fact that it does not prevent morphophonological vowel assimilation of the vowel of the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) to the preceding vowel. This preceding vowel is always /a/. The change of state suffix
<\textit{ok} ~ \textit{-ak} ~ \textit{-k}> (COS) occurs as its allomorph <\textit{-ak}> (COS) directly after stems which end in /a/ or /aʔ/, e.g. \textit{tawʔ raʔ-ak} (chicken get-COS) ‘[I] bought a chicken’. If the stem ends in any other consonant the allomorph <\textit{-ok}> (COS) will occur, e.g. \textit{tawʔ tokok} (chicken beat-COS) ‘[I] beat a chicken’. Assimilation is possible across a syllable boundary with an intervening glottal stop, but not across a syllable boundary with any other consonant.

ii Glottalised continuants

If one were to analyse the glottal stop as a separate phoneme, there could be two compelling reasons to postulate a series of glottalised consonants in addition. Glottalised continuants have been described for the North American languages Navaho, Nootka and Kwakiutl (Sapir, 1938/1951). The first argument is the canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure. If one would analyse /lʔ, mʔ, nʔ, ŋʔ, wʔ, yʔ/ as a cluster of consonant plus glottal stop, the odd situation occurs that there are no other syllable final consonant clusters except those of a consonant plus glottal stop. This is of course awkward and may be easily avoided by adding a series of glottalised segments to the phoneme inventory.

The second and equally compelling reason to posit glottalised phonemes is the phonetic behaviour of these glottal segments. When a glottalised consonant occurs in between two vowels, the consonant is, as it were, doubled, continuing after it has been stopped by the glottal stop, e.g. /\textit{tanʔaribo} / [\textit{tanʔnaribo}] <\textit{tanʔ-ari-bo}> (cut-SIMP-IMP) ‘just cut!’, \textit{ramaydok} [\textit{ramʔmajdok}] <\textit{ramʔ-ay-dok}> (search=ADV-PROG) ‘searching’, /\textit{rayʔani} / [\textit{ɾajʔjani}] <\textit{rayʔa-ni}> (come-FUT) ‘will come’. First there is the phenomenon of simultaneous glottal and oral closure after which the consonant is released from the same place of articulation into the following vowel. Thus glottalisation affects the syllable-final consonantal segment such that it stretches over the onset of the next syllable. The glottalised consonant /lʔ/ behaves phonetically different from the other glottalised consonants in that it often happens that the glottal closure precedes the oral one so that the oral closure acts as onset of the next syllable, e.g. \textit{gawi melʔ-a} [\textit{gawi meʔ.la}] (girl fat-CUST) ‘the girl is fat’. Glottalised continuants that are followed by another consonant are unreleased.
2.12.2 Conclusion

If we were to posit a separate glottal stop phoneme, it would have three disadvantages, viz. its atypical phonetic effect on vowels in closed syllables, its restricted occurrence, and the appearance of consonantal clusters in codas with continuants, which violate the canonical CVC syllable structure of the language. In order to avoid this violation, we could postulate a series of glottalised continuants. However, these glottalised continuants would then behave phonetically different from other consonants. Glottal prosody can account for the phonetic behaviour of affected continuants. Glottal prosody, as seen in §2.12, solves the problem of non-canonical syllable final consonant clusters, and it simplifies the phonological analysis of the language. We can conclude that, of the three analyses advanced above for dealing with the occurrence of a glottal stop in Atong, viz. a glottal prosody, a glottal stop phoneme, and a series of glottalised continuants, the glottal prosody analysis is the simplest and most suitable one.

2.13 The Atong word

The phonological word in Atong is usually, but not always, characterised by a low pitch on the first syllable. The grammatical word is that form which can occur on its own as constituent of a clause. Other than these, I have found no clearcut criteria on which to distinguish phonological and grammatical word in Atong. Properties of the phonological word listed in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 13) do not work for Atong or cannot yet be applied because more fieldwork is needed to find out about possible stess patterns in the language. The verb may be in the same phonological word as the preceding phrase, but frequently verbs have a low pitched first syllable and can thus be said to be phonological words on their own. Classifiers followed by numerals will be in the same phonological word as the preceding noun. Maybe sentence intonation patterns are interacting with word intonation patterns, which is a very complicated issue and would require a more thorough understanding of the language and more fieldwork research to figure out than the time which is provided to write this PhD thesis.

As far as I am able to judge, there seems to be no syllable timing mechanism that determines the make-up of a phonological word. In other words, I have not been able
to discover obligatory stress patterns in the language, such as iambic or trochaic. The minimal phonological words can be just one syllable in Atong.

2.14 Accentuation, stress and prosody

The following intonation symbols will be used in this section:

- \( ^\circ \) higher pitch than previous syllable
- \( ^\ast \) lower pitch than previous syllable
- \( ^\circ \) low pitch
- \( ^\ast \) falsetto voice
- \( \tilde{v} \) same pitch as previous syllable
- \( \bar{v} \) rising intonation
- \( v \) higher intensity or amplitude

Length symbols: are phonetic and not of phonological importance.

In Atong the realisation of a syllable may be influenced by one of the following features:
- An increased intensity or amplitude.
- Length.
- A difference in pitch. I will distinguish low and higher pitch.
- Extra high pitch characterised by falsetto voice, indicated by the symbol \( ^\ast \).

None of these features are phonemic and all may occur optionally. Increased intensity, length and extra high pitch are means to stress the syllable. This means that Atong presents phonetic stress. I adopt the definition stated by Van Der Mark that phonetic stress is “a method of marking prominent syllables that may involve several acoustic variables such as pitch, loudness, duration and vowel quality. [...] Crucially, phonetic stress cannot be marked by pitch alone.” (2003:21). In Atong vowel quality does not change in stressed or unstressed syllables. Only in unstressed syllables containing the vowel /ə/ can this vowel assimilate to the vowel in the next syllable, as has been discussed above. Extra high pitch or falsetto voice in Atong is always accompanied by extra lengthening of the vowel and is a phonetic means to mark intensity. In (15) we see an example of sentence with a falsetto syllable.
In (15) above, the extra high pitch characterised by falsetto voice is a means to emphasise the fact that the speaker is really very tired. Hence the excessive suffix \texttt{-duga} (XS) is stressed. If the speaker wants to emphasise the fact that a certain train of events had to be completed in order for another event to take place, he can stress the sequential clausal enclitic \texttt{=mu ~ =məŋ ~ =muŋ ~ =muŋna} (SEQ) as we can see in the next example where the first occurrence of \texttt{=məŋ} (SEQ) is stressed.

(16) \texttt{ətəkəyməŋ kənsəŋ [phaltaŋaw] cənkəgbəəw nəʔəyəməŋ, alsia rəjə :“nəh, ānə \ətəkəy cəliə coləsməcəaydək” noəyməŋ tələwbə, jəkməŋ jələydəknə.}

\texttt{ətəkəyməŋ[kənsəŋ] [[phaltaŋ =aw \{conuk =gaba =aw so.then later self =ACC criticise =ATTR =ACC [na] =ay =məŋ [alsia rəjə [na] [aŋ] [ətəkəy] \{coli =e hear =ADV =SEQ lazy.person king excl 1s like.this succeed =TOP coli -səm -ca -aydək} \{no\} =ay =məŋ [teʔew =ba succeed -CERTAINLY -NEG -PROG say =ADV =SEQ now =EMPH [jək] =məŋ \{jəl -aŋ -ok\} =no spouse =GEN run -AWAY -COS =QUOT}

‘So then, after hearing those who criticise him, the lazy king [said]: “Nah! as far as succeeding is concerned, I have certainly not succeeded”, he said [and] he runs away from his wives.’

Differences in pitch between syllables in Atong may be small and subtle. Most often all word classes receive a low pitch on the first syllable followed by higher pitch on all other syllables. In a sentence, numeral-classifier phrases do not have to start with a low pitched first syllable but may just continue on the same pitch as the last syllable of a preceding word. Interrogatives and numeral-classifier phrases are never stressed on the first syllable. Other word classes may just receive stress on any syllable which the speaker finds most noteworthy. It is possible for two or more consecutive syllables to be stressed. An example of this phenomenon is (17) below where the word \texttt{cuŋ=gaba} (big=ATTR) ‘which is big’ has higher amplitude on the first and second
syllable and the first syllable has a higher pitch than the second syllable the nucleus of
which has been lengthened to great extent.

(17)  uci phələm cǔngəba, phəlgəm cǔngəbə, dīŋtəy tanəŋkonə.
uci [phəlgəm {cuŋ} =gaba] [phəlgəm {cuŋ} =gaba]
then type.of.bird big =ATTR type.of.bird big =ATTR
{dīŋtə} =ay {tan -ap -ok} =no
defecate =ADV put -AWAY -COS =QUOT

‘Then a really big eagle, a big eagle, left his shit behind [on the drying greens].’

When nouns are stressed on the first syllable they will still have a low pitch. When a
word is pronounced in isolation it generally starts with stress and a low pitch on the
first syllable and then the intonation rises all through the word, which will then
generally end with much higher intonation on the last syllable, e.g. jə̀bèk ‘curry’,
thànəməŋ ‘type of edible root’. Any other syllable of the word may also receive stress,
which will then be marked by a high pitch, after which the intonation may go down or
even further up. It most often happens that the first syllable of a word has the low
pitch but no intensity and no length and then the second syllable has high pitch. In
summary, word intonation goes from low to high, with the first and the last syllable
being the most prominent ones, the first syllable because of its low pitch and the last
syllable because of its high pitch, except when the last syllable is the quotative clausal
enclitic <= (QUOT) (see below). If other than the first or the last syllable is
stressed, this stressed syllable can have a higher or lower pitch than the last syllable
but always higher than the first syllable, and moreover the stressed syllable will have
the greatest length, which will be either expressed on the vowel nucleus or on an
intervocalic consonant (see 2.5 and 2.9).

This word-prosodic pattern is also the general pattern of prosody we find in the
sentence. A sentence will start in general with a low pitch on the first syllable and
then the intonation rises all though the first word. All subsequent words, especially
non-verbals, will generally have a low pitched and stressed first syllable again. Most
of the rising intonation of the sentence occurs on the final verb which may start at the
same pitch as the last syllable of the preceding word and no stress on the first syllable
or it may have a low pitch on the first syllable and rising intonation from there. This intonation pattern is the same for subordinate and main clauses. This means that generally after a stress peak on the last stressed syllable of the subordinate clause, the following clause starts on a lower pitch.

Another possible sentence intonation pattern is that there is a rise in the first part of the sentence, and then after the most important word according to the speaker, the intonation goes down again to the end of the sentence. This is particularly frequent in telling events, i.e., non-quotation parts, in story telling. Low pitched stress is an optional property of the first syllable of a word, and the high pitched stresses are conditioned by the speaker. A good example of a stretch of speech with intonation is given here below.

(18) ̀ucie, kynókhólthanggábádo sánsaná dábátwárisáŋ díngáráy sáná réŋgroja noro. òékáymű díngáráy sákno. kònsáfdo, màna p mó si rémámá (día rééhyámgonya, dábátwárisáŋ, díngáráy sákno.

ucie [kynokhol] =hay =gaba =do [san san] =an
then son-in-law =OWN =ATTR =TOP day -day =FC/ID
[dabat warí] =saŋ [díngaray] {sa} =na
Pname deep.section.in.river =MOB fish.trap set.as.trap =DAT
{réŋ -roŋ -a} =no =ro
go.away -USUALLY -CUST =QUOT =EMPH
[òékáymu] [díngaray] {sa -ak} =no
so.then fish.trap set.as.trap -COS =QUOT
[kònsaŋ =do [manap =mi si rémámá]
later =TOP morning =GEN break.of.dawn
{réŋ} =ay =máyña [dabat warí] =saŋ
go.away =ADV =SEQ Pname deep.section.of.river =MOB
[díngaray] {sa -ak} =no
fish.trap set.as.trap -COS =QUOT

'Then, the son-in-law went to Dabatwari every day to put up his fish trap. So, he has put up his fish trap. Later, very early in the morning at the break of dawn, having gone to Dabatwari, he managed his fish trap.'

In the next example we can clearly observe how the pitch of the first syllable of the subordinate verb páy-ca-ay-mág (bear-NEG=ADV=SEQ) ‘not bear’ is higher than
that of the preceding syllable and that the overall intonation of the verb goes from high to low so that the subordinate clause ends on a low pitch. All of this may mean that there are no uniform prosodic criteria to distinguish between different words and different clauses in a sentence.

(19) ̀ucísá mācānā màkbūnā mògmnā páycayməŋ, bàldəpbəldəŋ jālná hāpbācēŋok.

uci =sa [maca] =na [makbul] =na [mogma] =na then =DLIM tiger =DAT bear =DAT elephant =DAT

\{pay -ca\} =ay =məŋ [bəldəpbəldəŋ] [jəl =na] [hāpbaceŋ -ok] bear -NEG =ADV =SEQ all.over.the.place run.away =DAT begin -COS

‘Then the villagers did not bear the tigers, bears and elephants any more and started running away all over the place.’

Interrogatives never receive high pitch or high amplitude on the first syllable, The name of the language under discussion is pronounced [at5ŋ] with higher pitch on the second syllable.

The quotative enclitic <\=no> (QUOT) and any following enclitic are seldom stressed. Normally there is a sharp drop in pitch and intensity on the quotative enclitic <\=no> (QUOT). However, the most powerful stress of the whole word may be shifted to the quotative enclitic <\=no> (QUOT) or any enclitic that comes after <\=no> (QUOT) as in (20) below. In that sentence the first syllables of all the words are pronounced with a low pitch, the rest of the word has a higher pitch that the first syllable and the quotative enclitic is stressed and has the highest pitch.

(20) ̀uwbə sạ̀ćāncānō, gàwígámūnā òlrūkāncāknō. màmà mànîtȟāŋgāmūbā òlrūkāncānō.

[\u] =aw =ba {sạ̀t -an -ca -k} =no DST=ACC=EMPH eat -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

gawiga =mu -na \{ol -ruk -an -ca -k\} =no wife =COM =DAT speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT
[\mama man] =thán =ga =mu =ba father-in-law mother-in-law =OWN =DREL =COM =ADD

\{ol -ruk -an -ca -k\} =no speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

‘He didn’t eat that any more, it is said. He didn’t speak to his wife any more, it is said. He didn’t speak to his mother-in-law any more either, it is said.’
Nouns positioned after the main verb of the sentence can occur in the same prosodic sentence as the main clause or as an afterthought with an overall lower pitch than the main sentence.

The question enclitic \( \langle =ma \rangle \) (Q), when occurring on a predicate head, may receive a separate high pitched stress even though the preceding syllable also has a high pitched stress, e.g. (21) below.

(21)  \( r\text{é}ɛ\tilde{\text{e}}\text{ŋy}d\text{o}\text{ŋ}\text{m}\text{a}\text{.} \)

{\( r\text{é}ɛ\tilde{\text{e}}\text{ŋ} \text{-}\text{aydoŋ} \)} =ma.

go.away -PROG =Q

‘Are you going?’

Question clauses may also lack the question enclitic \( \langle =ma \rangle \) (Q). There are no special interrogative intonations for interrogative sentences or clauses. As for interrogative clauses without interrogative pronouns and without the question enclitic \( \langle =ma \rangle \) (Q), the fact that the clause is a question has to be deduced from the context. If a speaker is really surprised about something, the sentence will have a higher overall pitch and rising intonation. In (22) a son asks his mother why her cooking is so good today and the mother replies. Then in (23) the same son asks or exclaims his surprise about the reason why the food is so tasty, to which the mother gives a strong affirmative answer. In (24) we observe two question sentences with level intonation on every syllable except the last one, which is higher in pitch.

(22)  ‘\( \text{a}t\text{o}g\text{t}\text{ô}t\text{k}\text{ô}t \text{y} \text{t}\text{â}y?\text{m}\text{î}t\text{o}d \text{th}\text{â}w\text{ô}k\text{s}\text{ô}y \text{ja}p\text{b}\text{ê}k? \), \text{n}o\text{ô}k\text{n}\text{o} \text{.} ‘\( \text{a}t\text{o}g \text{d}\text{\ö}w\text{w}\text{â} \text{\d\d m}\text{a} \)?’ \( \text{n}o\text{ô}k\text{n}\text{o} \text{.} \text{h}\text{â} \text{n}i\text{\it w}\text{à} \text{t}\text{é} \text{b}\text{a}b\text{á} \text{[...]} \)’

[\text{atog}] =\text{\it k}\text{y} \{\text{tay?nit}\} =\text{do} \{\text{thaw} \text{-}\text{ok}\} =\text{\it s}\text{y} \{\text{ja}\text{?bek}\}

\text{what} =\text{\d\d LIKE} \text{today} =\text{\d\d top} \text{tasty} \text{-COS} =\text{\d\d MIR} \text{curry}

[\text{atog}] \{\text{daw}-\text{wa}\} \{\text{ama} \} \{\text{ha}\} \{\text{n}i\text{?} \text{-}\text{wa}\} =\text{\it le} \{\text{baba}\}

\text{what} \text{add} \text{-}\text{FACT} \text{mother} \text{interj} \text{not.exist} \text{-FACT} =\text{\d\d DCL} \text{son}

‘‘Why is the curry so tasty today?” he said, it is said. ‘‘What did you add, mother?” he said, it is said. ‘‘Huh? Nothing, [my] boy!’’
Exclamatory sentences are characterised by an overall higher amplitude and optionally extra stress on the last syllable of the sentence. The overall intonation of the sentence may rise as in (25) but may also rise and then fall as in (26).

(25)  càʔmásāŋmiʔaw cāycēg!

[càʔmasaŋ] =mi =aw  {cay -ceŋ}
down.side =GEN=ACC look.at -FIRST
‘Look at [your] lower side first!’

(26)  càʔmásāŋba cayok naʔa?

[càʔmasaŋ] =aw =ba  {cay -ok} [naʔa]
lower.side =ACC=EMPH look.at -COS 2s
‘I looked at the lower side, oh you!’

The above examples (25) and (26) form a nice minimal pair to show that in a stressed syllable it is either the vowel or coda consonant which gets lengthened. Example (26) is also a good example to show that the glottal stop is susceptible to lengthening in stressed syllables and that it can be lengthened in preconsonantal position.
2.15 Phonologically aberrant words

There are a number of words which show phonological anomalies. One of these words is the negative proclause /hmʔm/ [mʔm] ‘no’. This word has no vowels, is spoken with the mouth shut and has a voiceless nasal as first consonant, a sound which is found nowhere else in the language. Exclamations may end in strong post vocalic aspiration, e.g. hah! ‘exclamation of satisfaction’. No other words in Atong end in /h/. Furthermore some exclamations end in /ʔ/ like the mirative exclamation haʔ? ‘Huh?!’. No other words in Atong end in /ʔ/.

Onomatopoeia are sometimes phonologically aberrant. The sound a goat makes is pronounced with a strong and long trilled /r/ in syllable-final position. The sound is durrmeme. The onomatopoeia denoting someone smoking vigorously is krrrrrrrr with a long syllabic trilled /r/.

As said in Table 8 the word for ‘to have the hiccups’, thəʔək-, is phonologically aberrant. It is the only word in which the sequence /əʔ/ occurs. The word hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ is phonologically aberrant in that is the only word in which the sequence /oʔo/ occurs in a root. However, the form hoʔoŋ meaning ‘yes’ is not at all aberrant when one takes a cross linguistic perspective, as in Parker (1996). In this article Parker exhibits a template or canonical pattern with the shape /heʔ(e)/ which he proposes to posit as “the default form for ‘yes’. The nasal /ŋ/ in the Atong word hoʔoŋ is explainable through rhinoglossophilia (Matisoff 1975).

A full analysis of all phonologically aberrant words is a matter for a separate investigation, and will therefore not be pursued in this grammar.

2.16 The phonology of loan words

This section deals with the most salient features of loan words in Atong. Atong has many loans from Garo, English and Indic languages, viz. Bengali, Assamese and Hindi. Since it is not always possible to establish the exact origin of an Indic word, all loans from these languages will be termed Indic loans.

2.16.1 Vowels

Atong has six vowels occurring in indigenous as well as loan words. In addition, there are four vowels which are only found in loanwords from English and Indic languages. These are the so called “loanvowels” (see below), which are usually, but not always
pronounced longer that the indigenous vowels. The loanvowels are represented in Table 17. In the orthography they are simply written double. Note that /ū/ (u with macron) and schwa with macron are not attested.

Loanvowels are usually but not always pronounced long, and when they are not pronounced long, the difference between the loan and the indigenous words is a matter of vowel quality. In closed syllables, where Atong vowels would be pronounced lowered and more retracted, the loanvowels will have the same quality as the Atong vowels in open syllables. Not all loan words that have long vowels in the source language have long vowels in Atong, and not all loans that can be pronounced with a long vowel in Atong have a long vowel in the source language.

Table 17  Loanvowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[iː ~ i]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[eː ~ e]</td>
<td>[oː ~ o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aː ~ a]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of minimal pairs and near minimal pairs are given in Table 18. Although long vowels are only found in loans, not all loans contain long vowels, as we can see in the first minimal pair. The word tin ‘corrugated iron’ is an English loan without long vowel, which contrasts phonologically with the Indic loan tīn ‘three’, which does contain a long vowel.

Table 18  Minimal and near-minimal pairs of words with and without loanvowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without loanvowel</th>
<th>With loanvowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tin</em> [tin ~ tun]</td>
<td>‘corrugated iron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pel-</em> [pel]</td>
<td>‘to copulate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mat</em> [mat]</td>
<td>‘wild animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ret</em> [ret]</td>
<td>‘children’s game’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>riʔgol</em> [riʔgol]</td>
<td>‘penis (as swearword)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mat</em> [mat]</td>
<td>‘wild animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ret</em> [ret]</td>
<td>‘children’s game’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>riʔgol</em> [riʔgol]</td>
<td>‘penis (as swearword)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without loanvowel</th>
<th>With loanvowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tín</em> [tiːn ~ tin]</td>
<td>‘three o’clock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pēl</em> [peːl ~ pel]</td>
<td>‘failed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>āt</em> [aː t ~ at]</td>
<td>‘eight o’clock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see Table 44)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rēl</em> [reːl ~ rel]</td>
<td>‘train’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gōl</em> [goːl ~ gol]</td>
<td>‘got a goal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I am not familiar enough with the Indic languages Hindi, Assamese and Bengali, which are all possible sources for the Indic loans we find in Atong, to give a precise description of the vowel changes that occur when words from these languages are borrowed into Atong. As far as I can judge, Indic vowels undergo very little change in the process of borrowing. Indic differences between /e/ and /ɛ/ and /o/ and /ɔ/ are merged into Atong /e/ and /o/ respectively. Any Indic nasality is discarded in Atong.

Words borrowed from English undergo very intricate, sometimes seemingly random vowel changes so that they cannot all be described in detail in this grammar. Especially English schwa has a wide variety of pronunciations in Atong. I will just give a few examples. Vowel harmony plays a role in the sense that English schwas can be assimilated in Atong to a neighbouring vowel, e.g. English government > Atong: gobormen. Some English schwas can be pronounced with different Atong vowels in free variation, e.g. English November > Atong nobembəl ~ nobembbol. Sometimes the English schwa becomes a totally different vowel in Atong, e.g. English first > Atong: phas. The English word August is borrowed by Atong as agos, while English October is oktobol ~ oktobəl in Atong, reflecting two different results of the English vowel /ɔ/.

2.16.2 Consonants

Atong changes all loan words in such a way that they fit the Atong consonant inventory and sound system. There are very few exceptions. Loans from English, Indic languages and Garo will be treated separately. A list of English loans in Atong can be found in the appendix of van Breugel (2009 a).

Loans from English

The most salient sound changes that occur when English words are borrowed into Atong are the following: (English > Atong) f > ph, v > b, θ > t and ɹ > r ~ l. English /s/ and /ʃ/ collapse together in Atong into /s/. Examples of these changes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Atong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English /f/ to Atong /ph ~ p/ officer</td>
<td>ophisər ~ opisər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English /v/ to Atong /b/ government</td>
<td>gobormen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moreover, word final clusters are simplified, e.g. English: *licence* > Atong: *laysen*, English: *government* > Atong: *gobormen*. Word initial clusters are usually broken up, e.g. English: *clip* > Atong: *kilip ~ kylip*, English: *glass* > Atong: *gilas ~ gylas*. The English word ‘blue’ is borrowed into Atong as *həlu ~ blu* ‘blue’ with two syllables by some speakers and with initial cluster by others. However, *skul* is always *[skul]* ‘school’ and never *[*səkul]*. This phenomenon may reflect different chronological layers of loans. An exceptional, new loan word, that breaks the rules of Atong word formation, because the affricate /c/ appears syllable finally, is the English loan *ingēc*, ‘engage’, which can only be used with the support verb *khaʔ-* ‘to do’ (see §22.7), e.g. *ingēc khaʔ-ak nɨn=do* (engage do-COS 1pe=TOP) ‘We are engaged to be married’.

**ii Loans from Indic languages**

The most salient sound change in words of Indic origin is the collapse of the retroflex trills and taps into one phoneme /l ~ r/ and the loss of the distinction between dental and retroflex consonants. Aspiration is not borrowed consistently but varies freely with non-aspirated consonants in Atong, e.g. Atong: *kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khata* ‘word’, corresponding to Hindi *कथा* (kathā) ‘story, talk’.

In words of Indic origin the phonological distinction between /l/ and /r/ is neutralised. Whenever a syllable final /l ~ r/ occurs it can be pronounced as *[l ~ r]*. Some instances of /r ~ l/ in Atong come from the retroflex series in Assamese and Bengali. I recorded the word *golmal* ‘chaos, quarrel, fight, dispute’ pronounced as *[gɔrmal]*, sometimes *[gɔlmal]*. Of the following word, meaning ‘axe’, three variants have been recorded, viz. *kulal ~ kular ~ kural*. The word *isor ~ isol* ‘God’, is an Indic loan, cf. Sanskrit *asura* ‘god, evil spirit’, Hindi *asur* ‘demon, evil spirit’, though Garo *isol* ‘God’, the meaning ‘God’ being undoubtedly imposed by the missionaries that
converted the Garos to Christianity. In Garo it is invariably pronounced as [isol], but in Atong the final phoneme is in free variation with /rl/. The word *papat* ~ *papor* ‘food made of wheat’ comes from Bengali *pāpod*. Some speakers in the Badri area pronounce this word with a very long and strong [r], i.e. [papor:] maybe to accentuate their awareness that it is a loan. Another example of this phenomenon is the word *banga* ~ *bangar* ‘Bangladeshi, Indic person’ which is often pronounced as [bangar:] in Badri. This strongly vibrating of /rl/ can also appear word internally as in the word *hagersak* ‘everything, the world’.

This phenomenon of syllable final [r ~ l] variation is a good indication that a certain word is not of Atong origin. The word *haʔgəlsak* ‘everything, the world’ looks very much Atong but is in fact a Garo loan which may be detected though the variant *ha·gərsak* with syllable final /rl/. On the contrary, some English loans ending in /rl/ are ostentatiously pronounced with final [l], e.g. *mastel* ‘male teacher’ There are some words in which the two allophones of final /l/ are never mixed up, viz. *skul* ‘school’ and *sendel* ‘sandal’, both English loans. An example of an English loan with /l ~ r/ in free variation is *kabar ~ kabal* ‘cover, lid’. It can be presumed that early English loans conform more to Atong phonology that later ones. Thus *skul* ‘school’, *mastel* ‘male teacher’ and *sendel* ‘sandal’ are early English loans and *kabar ~ kabal* ‘cover, lid’ is a late English loan.

### iii Loans from Garo

Although the Garo and Atong phonological systems are very similar, there are subtle differences that can indicate Garo loans in the Atong lexicon. For a description of Garo phonology I refer the reader to Burling (2004). Garo loans other than those with /l/ do not present any problem to the Atong phonology and are taken into the language without alternation. Even complex syllable onsets which are not split up in Garo may be kept in tact in Atong, e.g. *grok*- [grɔk] and not *[gəɾɔk] ‘classifier of gulps, i.e. amounts of liquid drunk at a time’.

There are other modifications that loans can undergo to make them fit in to the Atong sound system, but there are so many English and Indic loans borrowed at different stages into Atong that describing them all in detail lies beyond the scope of this grammar.
Word classes in Atong share properties. The most salient overlapping properties of the major word classes in Atong have to do with the possibility to function as predicate head. Sometimes the differences between word classes can be very subtle or even fuzzy.

Atong distinguishes the word classes listed in Table 19. This table also indicates whether a member of a word class can function as head of a predicate or not and where the word classes are treated in this grammar. Table 20 gives an overview of some of the salient tendencies of four major word classes, viz. Verbs, Type 1 and 2 adjectives and nouns. Type 1 adjectives are a subclass of intransitive verb.

### Table 19  List of word classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OPEN WORD CLASSES</th>
<th>CAN FUNCTION AS PREDICATE HEAD?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1 adjectives</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2 adjectives</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time words</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postpositions</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deictic-only demonstratives</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogatives</td>
<td>SOME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite proforms</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse connectives</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The additive conjunction</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The generic pronoun</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proclauses</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomatopoeia</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prohibitive word</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20 Some salient general tendencies of verbs, Type 1 and Type 2 adjectives and nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBS</th>
<th>ADJECTIVES TYPE 1</th>
<th>ADJECTIVES TYPE 2</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MORPHOLOGICAL CRITERIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can undergo valency changing derivations</td>
<td></td>
<td>cannot undergo valency changing derivation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can take all event specifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td>difficult to use with event specifiers when head of a predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can take all predicate head suffixes (see Table 63)</td>
<td>not attested with all predicate head suffixes</td>
<td>cannot take all predicate head suffixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can form compounds with nouns and verbs</td>
<td>only a few lexicalised compounds with nouns are attested</td>
<td>can form compounds with nouns and verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLAUSE LEVEL FUNCTIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can occur as predicates of all clause types</td>
<td>not attested as predicate in all clause types</td>
<td>can only occur as predicate in one independent/main clause type: identity/equation clause and in some subordinate clause types</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can take all argument types</td>
<td>as head of a predicate can only take S argument</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can function as argument in a clause only if nominalised</td>
<td>can function as argument in a clause and be case-marked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can participate in comparative and excessive constructions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHRASE LEVEL FUNCTIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usually predicate head, but does not have to be head in complex predicates (see §22.6.1)</td>
<td>can be predicate head</td>
<td>usually a constituent or head of an NP, can be head of a predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can be modifier in an NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can be possessor and possessed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can be morphologically marked for plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can be quantified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can be counted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEMANTIC CRITERIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The change of state has change of state value</td>
<td>The change of state has the effect of reinforcement of the quality denoted by the Type 1 adjective as well as indicating the result of a change of state.</td>
<td>The change of state indicates the result of a change of state: “has become X”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4  Verbs

Verbs form an open class. The properties of verbs functioning as head of a predicate are compared to those of adjectival and nominal predicate heads in Table 62 in Chapter 22. Other properties of verbs compared to adjectives and nouns are summed up in Table 20 above. An overview of the properties of verbs is given in sections 4.1 to 4.4. Subclasses of verbs are treated in section 4.5. The phenomenon of transitive and intransitive verb pairs is discussed in section 4.6.

4.1  Clausal properties

Verbs can be the head of a predicate of all clause types. An important criterion of verb-hood is the possibility to appear as the head of a predicate of an imperative clause. However, stative verbs and most of the type 1 adjectives (a subclass of verbs denoting qualities) seldom appear in imperative clauses. This presumably has to do with the fact that imperative clauses are usually used to command others to do an activity that they can control, and an interlocutor can usually not control the occurrence of a quality. A counter-example is (27).

(27)  tarakboto naʔa!

{tarak} =bo =to [naʔa]
fast =IMP =IMPEMPH 2s
‘Be fast, oh you!’

This means that the imperative clause criterion is not a distinctive criterion by which to define a verb for many members of that class. Interestingly stative verbs and type 1 adjectives can express imperious future (see §23.10.1). Verbs do not obligatorily have to be a predicate in a clause, as a single or reduplicated bare verbal root can modify a verbal predicate, e.g. (28) (see also Chapter 18). In the example below, the reduplicated verbal root awan ‘to forget’ functions as adverbial modifier to the predicate wen-ok (wind-COS) ‘wound’. The adverbial phrase awan awan ‘forgettingly’
is separated from the predicate it modifies by three NPs, viz. deʔteŋ ‘he’, i ‘here’ and dəkəm ‘head’.

(28) atəkəymuna phalthaŋ kangabaaw awan awan deʔteŋba ici dəkəmci wenoknoro.

Atəkəymuna phalthaŋ {[kan] =gaba} =aw [awan awan]
CONJ self wear =ATTR =ACC forget RED
[deʔtheng] =ba [i] =ci [dəkəm] =ci {wen-ok} =no =ro
3S =EMPH PRX =LOC head =LOC wind =COS =QUOT =EMPH

‘So then, he forgetfully wound what he himself was wearing, here, around his head, it is said.’

Verbs can take arguments, which is one of the most salient differences to nouns, which cannot take arguments when functioning as predicate head. However, no argument in any clause has to be expressed when retrievable from the context, which means that it is difficult to determine which types of arguments are obligatorily conceptualised with certain verbs. Moreover, there are a few verbs denoting natural phenomena which have a valency of zero.

4.2 Phrasal properties

A bare root or a reduplicated bare root can modify another verb which functions as head of a predicate, e.g. (28), (see also Chapter 18). A non-finite predicate can modify another verbal predicate head. A verbal predicate head can be modified by an adverb, e.g. (263) in §6.6.

4.3 Morphological properties

Verbs can take all predicate head suffixes (see Table 63 in Chapter 22), provided the construction is semantically felicitous. They can undergo valency changing derivation by means of transitivisation.

4.4 Semantic properties

Verbs denote activities, processes, states and qualities. Verbs denoting qualities are called Type 1 adjectives.
4.5 Subclasses of verbs

The following subclasses of verbs have been identified depending on the semantics of the verb and the types of argument that they can take. Primary-A verbs (see Dixon 2006 b) are verbs of which all arguments must be NPs or pronouns. There are very few Primary-B verbs (see Dixon 2006 b), i.e. verbs which can take an NP or pronoun or a complement clause as second argument apart from the subject (A). The list of verbs that can only take complement clauses as second argument (apart from an A argument), the so called Secondary verbs (see Dixon 2006 b), is very short. Secondary verbs are verbs that cannot take an NP as their argument, but can only take a complement clause as an argument. Speech act verbs are treated separately because they can embed direct speech in a clause.

Table 21 Types of verbs

Primary-A verbs

Intransitive verbs
  Type 1 adjectives
  Other intransitive verbs
Verbs of emotion and interaction
Transitive verbs
Extended transitive verbs
Verbs that take arguments which are obligatory unmarked for case
  The verb *məŋ* ‘to call someone/something a name’
  The interrogative verb *atak* ‘to do what?’

Verbs denoting natural phenomena

Primary-B verbs

Secondary verbs
  The secondary speech verb *no* ‘to say’

Phasal verbs

Atong has a number of intransitive-transitive lexical pairs which are discussed separately in §4.6.
4.5.1  Primary-A verbs

i  Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are verbs that cannot occur in transitive constructions and that cannot take an O argument, unless they take transitivising morphology. Type 1 adjectives, a group of intransitive verbs denoting qualities, are treated in §5.1. The following example illustrates the use of the intransitive verb *jal-* ‘to run away’. The only NP expressed in the clause, i.e. *matsa* ‘tiger’, has to be interpreted as the S.

(29)  *matsae jalaŋokno.*

\[
\text{[matsa]} = \{ \text{jal} -a \text{g} -\text{ok} \} = \text{no} \\
\text{tiger} = \text{FC} \ \text{run.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT} \\
\text{`The tiger ran away, it is said.'}
\]

ii  Verbs of emotion and interaction

Verbs denoting emotions and interactions are *khaʔgal-* ‘to love’, *barat-* ‘to be ashamed of, feel shy’, *canpheŋ-* ‘to defend’, *payʔ-* ‘to bear’, *sak-* ‘to bear’ etc. One can argue that these verbs are intransitive because they cannot take an accusative-marked O argument. When, besides the S argument, a second argument is expressed it is usually a Target which is dative-marked. Examples (30) and (31) here below are illustrative.

As is mentioned in Chapter 21, no NP has to be expressed obligatorily in any clause and it is impossible to test whether the dative-marked NPs of the verbs of emotion and interaction are obligatorily conceptualised when they are not expressed. Hence we cannot determine whether these NPs have core argument status or not.

(30)  *Boro naŋʔna ətəkphinʔay khaʔgalano, ətəkciba naŋʔna baratano.*

\[
\text{[boro]} = \{ \text{naŋʔ} \} = \text{na} \quad \{ \text{ətək} -\text{phinʔ} \} = \text{ay} \quad \{ \text{khaʔgal} -\text{a} \} = \text{no} \\
P:\text{name 2s} = \text{DAT} \ \text{do.like.this-FULLY} = \text{ADV} \ \text{love -CUST =QUOT} \\
\text{ətəkciba} = \{ \text{naŋʔ} \} = \text{na} \quad \{ \text{barat} -\text{a} \} = \text{no} \\
\text{but 2s} = \text{DAT} \ \text{be shy -CUST =QUOT} \\
\text{`Boro loves you so much, [she] says, but she feels shy toward you, [she] says.'}
\]
Verbs denoting negative emotions and interactions are transitive since they can have an accusative-marked O argument. Example (32) below is illustrative.

(32)  \[ aŋ \ \text{phulistaw} \ \text{kaʔpeta} \ \text{bajuau} \ \text{tokwana} \]
\[ [aŋ] \ \{ \text{phulis} =\text{taw} \} \ \{ \text{kaʔpet} -a \} \ \{ \text{baju} =\text{aw} \} \ \{ \text{tok} -\text{wa} \} =\text{na} \]
1s police =ACC be.angry -CUST friend =ACC beat -FACT =DAT
‘I’m angry with the police because [they] beat [my] friend.’

iii  Verbs that take arguments which are obligatory unmarked for case

So far only two verbs have been recorded for which both core arguments are obligatorily unmarked for case. These are the verbs \( pλlʔ- \) ‘to change into’ and the identity/equation copula \( \text{doŋʔ-} \sim \text{doŋ-} \) (IE.\text{be}), treated in the next section. The verb \( \text{phəlʔ-} \) ‘to change into’ is intransitive and therefore the NP that is the undergoer of the change is S, the second argument is a Result, which is a type of NP that is always unmarked. Hence the clause headed by \( \text{pləlʔ-} \) ‘to change into’ contains two obligatorily unmarked arguments, e.g. (33).

(33)  \[ \text{i} \ \text{waʔ} \ \text{juwʔ} \ \text{wak} \ \text{phəlʔwa} \]
\[ [\text{i} =\text{mi} \ \text{waʔ} \ \text{jawʔ}] \ \{ \text{wak} \}_{\text{RESULT}} \ \{ \text{phəlʔ} -\text{wa} \} \]
PRX =GEN father mother pig change.into -FACT
‘This one’s father and mother have changed into pigs.’

iv  The copula and the locative/existential verbs

There is one copula in Atong, viz. the identity/equation copula \( \text{doŋʔ-} \sim \text{doŋ-} \) (IE.\text{be}), of which the allomorphs are in free variation. The copula functions as the head of the predicate of copula clauses (see §26.5) and in support-verb constructions (see §22.7.2iii). The copula is not attested in non-finite clauses.
The identity equation copula *doŋʔ* ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be) supports two arguments, i.e. the Copula Subject and the Copula Complement, e.g. (34). Both CS and CC are unmarked for case.

(34)  
\[
\text{ue hape cigacak teʔew kol india kolani hapan doŋʔwacəmno.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{DST place=} & \text{FC Pname} \\
\text{hap} & \text{now coal India colony} \\
\text{CC -an} & \{\text{doŋʔ} -wa}\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{place} & \text{=FC/ID IE.be -FACT =IRR =QUOT} \\
\text{hapan} & \text{=cəm =no} \\
\text{CS CS}\end{array}
\]

‘That place Chigachak is now supposedly the Coal India Colony place, it is said.’

The identity/equation copula *doŋʔ* ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be) is homophonous with the intransitive verb *doŋʔ* ~ *doŋ*- ‘be enough, be sufficient’, which occurs in the next example.

(35)  
\[
\text{aya taŋka doŋʔtawancakthay aŋdo roŋcəygəksaan raariw a.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{aya } & \text{[taŋka] \{doŋʔ -taw -an -ca -k\} =thay\} [aŋ] =do} \\
\text{interj money enough-UPWARD -REF -NEG -COS =MIR 1s =TOP} \\
\text{[roŋ cəygək] =sa =an \{ra -ari -wa\}}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{CLF: MONEY ten =DLIM =FC/ID bring -SIMP -FACT} \\
\text{raariwa}\end{array}
\]

‘Damn! To my surprise the money is not enough any more (does not reach up to enough), I only brought ten rupees.’

There is also a homophone *doŋʔ* ‘to arrive’, also intransitive, shown in the next example.

(36)  
\[
\text{ətəkəyməŋ rayʔakno rayʔakno , nokthaŋcina doŋʔokno.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ətəkəyməŋ \{rayʔ -ak\} =no \{rayʔ -ak\} =no} \\
\text{CONJ go =COS =QUOT go =COS =QUOT} \\
\text{[nok -thay] =ci =na \{doŋʔ -ok\} =no} \\
\text{house -OWN =LOC =ALL arrive =COS =QUOT} \\
\text{raariwa}\end{array}
\]

‘So then, he went and went, it is said, [and] arrived at his own house, it is said.’
The identity/equation copula *doŋʔ* - ~ *doŋ-* (IE.be) is used to tell the time (37).

(37)  “*atoŋ bajima.*” “*tin bajį doŋok.*”

\[
[ \text{atoŋ bajį} ] = \text{ma} \quad [ \text{tin bajį} ] \{ \text{doŋ -ok} \}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{what hour} & = \text{Q} \quad \text{three hour} \quad \text{IE.be -COS} \\
\text{“What’s the time?”} & \quad \text{“It’s past three.”}
\end{align*}

The locative existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘exist’ and the negative locative existential verb *niʔ*- ‘not.exist’ are intransitive verbs. They support one core argument, i.e. S, as illustrated here below in examples (38) (39) and (40). These verbs can express the same grammatical categories as other verbs (see Table 63 in Chapter 22) as long as the result is semantically possible in the context of the utterance. The locative/existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘exist’ cannot take the customary aspect <-a> (CUST) except when it carries a derivative suffix (38). To express a customary aspectual meaning the locative existential verb *ganaŋ* ‘exist’ occurs without any suffix.

In the Badri dialect, the causative form of the negative existential and locational verb *niʔ*-not.exist occurs most frequently in the sense ‘to switch off’, e.g. *layt niʔ-et=bo* (light not.exist-CAUS=IMP) ‘Switch of the light!’.

(38)  *morot məŋʔsa ganaŋno. uba jəwʔtaraanokno. waʔ niʔokno. ue gawicie saʔ məŋʔkorok ganaŋno aro deʔtheŋ pipukci saʔ məŋʔsa ganaŋkhuano.*

\[
[ \text{morot məŋʔ? -sa}_S ] \{ \text{ganaŋ} \} = \text{no } [ u ]_S = \text{ba} \\
\text{person CLF:HUMAN one exist =QUOT DST =EMPH}
\]

\[
[ \text{jəwʔ -tara =an -ok} ] = \text{no } [ \text{waʔ} ]_S \{ \text{niʔ -ok} \} = \text{no} \\
\text{mother -EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID -COS =QUOT father not.exist -COS =QUOT}
\]

\[
[ \text{ue gawi} ] = \text{ci} = \text{e } [ \text{saʔ məŋʔ korok}_S ] \{ \text{ganaŋ} \} = \text{no} \\
\text{DST woman=LOC =FC child CLF:HUMAN six exist =QUOT}
\]

\[
\text{aro } [ \text{deʔtheŋ pipuk} ] = \text{ci} [ \text{saʔ məŋʔ sa}_S ] \quad \text{and 3d belly =LOC child CLF:HUMAN one}
\]

\[
\{ \text{ganaŋ -khu -a}_S \} = \text{no} \\
\text{exist -INCOM-CUST =QUOT}
\]

‘There is one person, it is said. She has become only a mother [by herself], it is said. There is no father any more, it is said. The woman has six children, it is said and in her belly there is one more, it is said.’
Example (41) below illustrates that the negative locational/existential verbs can take event specifier suffixes. The topic is a comparison between two Swiss army knives. The speaker of the next example keeps pulling the different tools out of each knife and notices that one knife has something the other does not have. So then he says:

(41) \[ \text{ici} \ \text{ətəkəy} \ \text{niʔsiga} \]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i & =ci \\
\text{ətəkəy} & =ci \\
\text{niʔ} & =e \\
\end{array}
\]

PRX =LOC like.this not.exist -ALT

‘On this one [a tool] like this is not there in turn.’

As an answer to all kinds of questions, the reified form \textit{nii}-\textit{wa} (not.exist-FACT) can be used with the meaning ‘nothing’ with a variety of interpretations depending on the context and the intonation of the speaker, as (42) (43) and (44) illustrate.

(42) \textit{“aya atoŋ kəɾəŋwa?”} nowacie. \textit{“ay niʔwa naʔa. aŋ diphusa”} nowano.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{aya} & \{\text{atoŋ} \} \{\text{kəɾəŋ} \ -\text{wa}\} \{\text{no-wa}\} =ci =e \\
\text{interj} & \text{what make.sound -FACT say-FACT =LOC =FC} \\
ay & \{\text{nii} \ -\text{wa}\} \{\text{naʔa} \} \{\text{aŋ diphusu}\} =sa \{\text{no-wa}\} =no \\
\text{interj} & \text{not.exist -FACT you 1s fart =DLIM say-FACT =QUOT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When he said: “Wow! what made that sound?” Oh! nothing [‘don’t worry’], oh you. It’s only my fart.” they/he said, it is said.’
“atakarong bayrik?” “niʔwa."

\[
\text{do.what -PROG Name not.exist -FACT}
\]

“What are you doing Bairik?” “Nothing” (This can be interpreted as really ‘nothing’ or as ‘I don’t want to tell you’/’it’s none of your business’.)

“bisaŋ reʔeŋwa?” “niʔwa.”

\[
\text{QF =MOV go.away -FACT not.exist -FACT}
\]

‘Where did you go?’ “Nothing.”’ (Interpretation: ‘I don’t want to tell you’/’it’s none of your business’.)

Example (45) illustrates the locative/existential verbs as head of a predicate of an attributive clause, and (46) shows the negative locative existential verb as predicate head of a clause nominalised by the genitive/nominaliser clausal enclitic \(=\text{mi}\) (GEN/NR).

\[
garuaw ue diʔ ganangabaaw susetca, dəwetoknoro.
\]

‘[She] did not wash the vegetables with that shit on them [but/and] added them, it is said.’

\[
moŋmawa niʔwamian manʔay saʔcak khangal doŋʔok.
\]

‘[Because of] the non-existence of the elephant tusks, [they] were no longer rich, [they] had become poor.’

Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are those verbs that can occur in transitive constructions and maximally take two core arguments, A and O (47). A is always unmarked for case and
O can either be unmarked or, only when referential and definite, accusative-marked, but this accusative marking is optional (see Chapter 20). The following example illustrates the use of a transitive verb, i.e. dəpəlen- ‘to flatten’.

(47)  
\[
gari \ beŋbəlokaw \ depəlenok
\]
\[
[gari]_A \ [beŋbəlok]_O =aw \ \{dəpəlen -ok\}
\]
vehicle toad =ACC flatten -COS
‘The car has flattened the toad.’

vi Extended transitive verbs

So far, only two extended transitive verbs have been discovered in the language. These are the verbs məŋ- ‘to call something a name’ and no- ‘to call something a name’. The obligatory extended argument, semantically the Name of a named entity, is always unmarked for case. The named entity is the O argument and receives accusative marking (48).

(48)  
\[
ue \ haʔbəriawe \ seŋʔsotay \ matsa \ cawʔkəy \ məŋsigaariok.
\]
\[
[ue \ haʔbəri]_O=aw \ =e \ \{seŋʔsot\} =ay \ [matsa \ cawʔkəy]_{E/NAME}
\]
DST hill =ACC =FC abbreviate =ADV Pname
\[
\{məŋ \ -siga \ -ari \ -ok\}
call.a.name -ALT -SIMP -COS
\]
‘That hill is also just called Matsa Caw•kyi for short.’

vii The interrogative verb atak

Atong has an interrogative verb, viz. atak ‘to do what’. I will demonstrate its different usages with the following examples. In (49) we see how the verb is used to inform about the actions of a specific person.
[49]  
\[ \text{ayaw! aydo cəkaydọa. atakwa? Teʔewmanŋmaŋsa təyruwa naʔa.} \]

\[ \text{[ayaw]\[ay\] =do } \{ \text{cək -aydọa} \} \]
interj 1s =TOP cold -PROG
\[ \{ \text{atak -wa} \} \]
do.what -FACT
\[ \text{[teʔew -manŋ] =sa } \{ \text{təyru -wa} \} \[\text{naʔa}\] \]
now ONLY =DLIM bath -FACT 2s

‘Ow! I’m cold. What have you done? I took a bath just now, oh you!’

Sometimes the verb is used as a devise in discourse to create an expectation about the following stretch of discourse. In these cases the predicate containing the interrogative verb atak- ‘to do what?’ can be translated as ‘what happened?’, as we see in (50).

(50)  
\[ \text{kənsaŋdo atakoknowa? jamjolay gopca amakawe.} \]

\[ \text{[ənsaŋ] =do } \{ \text{tak -ok} \} \text{ nowa} \]
later =TOP do.what -COS =QUOT
\[ \{ \text{jamjol} \} =ay \{ \text{gop -ca} \} \[\text{amak} \] =aw =e \]
complete=ADV burry-NEG monkey =ACC=FC

‘What did [they] do later, it is said?’ alternatively ‘What happened later, it is said?’ They didn’t burry [him.] at all, the monkey.’

The interrogative verb can be used to ask for a reason. In this case the clause in which the verb appears is dative-marked (see Chapter 27) and can be translated with ‘why?’ in English, as we can see in (51). By simplification of the cross-morphemic cluster /kn/ to /n/, the dative-marked form gave rise to a real, opaque interrogative morpheme atana ‘why’, as described in §9.5.

(51)  
\[ \text{“naʔa atakna jumuaydọa ie haʔthaphəraawe?” nowano} \]

\[ \text{[naʔa]} \{ \text{atak} \} =na \{ \text{jumu -aydọa} \}[ie \text{ haʔthaphəra}]=aw =e \]
2s do.what =DAT collect -PROG PROX ashes =ACC=FC
\[ \{ \text{o -wa} \} =no \]
say -FACT QUOT

‘Whay are you collecting those aches?’ [they] said, it is said.’

Literally: ‘‘You are collecting those ashes to do what?’’
The interrogative verb can occur as the predicate of an attributive clause, modifying a noun which is the head of an arch NP (see Chapter 29), as we can see in example (52). In that example the noun *raja* ‘king’ is modified by the attributive clause *atak=gaba* (do.what=ATTR). In these cases, the arch NP can best be translated into English as ‘what kind of X?’, since the question is more about what kind of X it is than about what activities the X actually does

(52) “*atak*gaba *raja* naʔa *anna* gore lapgabaaw watetwa” nookno.

“**What kind of king are you [that] you send me a good-for-nothing horse?**”, [he] said, it is said.’ Literally: ‘You are a king who does what?’

### viii Verbs denoting natural phenomena

Verbs describing natural phenomena are a small closed class of verbs. The five members are listed in Table 22. The verb *balwa*- ‘to blow (of the wind)’ can only take the cognate S *balwa* ‘wind’ as its argument. The verbs *wal*- ‘to (be) night’, *manap*- ‘to (be) morning’ and *gasam*- ‘to (be) evening’ have a valency of zero, i.e. they cannot take any arguments. The only S argument said to be possible with the verb *wal*- ‘to (be) night’ is *san* ‘day’, but I have never heard it in spontaneous speech. The verb *wa*- ‘to rain’ is intransitive and can only have the prototypically associated noun *raŋ* ‘rain’ as its S argument. Verbs denoting natural phenomena can express the same grammatical categories as other verbs except imperative.
Table 22  Verbs denoting natural phenomena and their corresponding nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>VALENCY</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balwa- ‘to blow (as wind)’</td>
<td>cognate S only</td>
<td>(53) balwa ‘wind’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal- ‘to (be) night’</td>
<td>prototypically associated S only, i.e. san ‘day’</td>
<td>(54) wal ‘night’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manap- ‘to (be) morning’</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>(55) manap ‘morning’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasam- ‘to (be) evening’</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>(56) gasam ‘evening’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa- ‘to rain’</td>
<td>prototypically associated S only, i.e. raj ‘rain’</td>
<td>(57) --</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(53)  
\[ \text{tayʔni balwa thaʔrakay balwaŋok.} \]
\[ \text{today wind strong }=\text{ADV wind -AWAY -COS} \]
\[ \text{‘The wind blew strong today.’} \]

(54)  
\[ \text{teʔewdo walnaka.} \]
\[ \text{now }=\text{TOP night -IFT} \]
\[ \text{‘It will soon become night now.’} \]

(55)  
\[ \text{kənsaŋ golphook golphook golphook. golpho khaʔwacie walaŋaydok.} \]
\[ \text{later.on talk.extensively -COS talk.extensively -COS talk.extensively -COS} \]
\[ \text{story do -FACT =LOC =FC night -AWAY -PROG} \]
\[ \text{‘Later on they talked and talked and talked extensively. When they talk/talked, it is/was becoming night.’ Literally: ‘When they did story it is/was nighting away’}. \]

In the next example the prototypical associated noun raj ‘rain’ might be incorporated into the predicate because the noun is unmarked, non-referential and together with the verb it can denote one recognisable unitary concept (see Mithun 1984). It is, however, possible to separate the noun raj ‘rain’ and the verb wa- ‘to rain’ as (57) illustrates. Moreover the verb can be used without the noun as in (58).
(56) *asĩŋkatiməŋ somayci nemen raŋ waakno.*

\[ asĩŋkati \quad =məŋ \quad somay] =ci \quad [nemen] \quad \{ raŋ \quad wa \quad -ak \} =no \]

August, September = GEN time = LOC very rain rain - COS = QUOT

‘In August and September it rained very hard, it is said.’

(57) *rang paŋʔay waaydok*

\[ raŋ \quad [paŋʔ] =ay \quad \{ wa \quad -aydok \} \]

rain much = ADV rain - PROG

‘Rain is falling heavily.’

(58) *raŋsan raŋbərəmaydoŋa, waynikhon*

\[ raŋsan \quad \{ raŋbərə \quad -aydoŋa \} \quad \{ wa \quad -ay \quad -ni \} =khon \]

sun be shrouded in clouds - PROG rain - TOWARDS - FUT = SPEC

‘The sun is blocked by the clouds, it might rain.’

The only attested verb denoting a natural phenomenon functioning as the predicate of an attributive clause is given here below.

(59) *aŋ raŋ wagaaw nemnuka*

\[ aŋ \quad \{ raŋ \quad =ga \} =aw \quad \{ nemnuk-a \} \]

1s rain rain = ATTR = ACC like - CUST

‘I like the rain that falls.’

4.5.2 Primary-B and Secondary verbs

All arguments of Primary-B verbs can be NPs or pronouns but one argument can alternatively be a clause. The complement clause fulfills the function of O argument in the matrix the clause. Most Primary-B verbs take dative clauses as complements; only one verb has been discovered that can take either a dative- or a factitive-marked clause as complement, viz. the verb *gaʔak*- ‘to be compelled to’. Secondary verbs cannot take an O argument but have to take a dative-marked clause as a complement. The Primary-A and Secondary verbs are listed in Table 23 below. Factitive clauses are treated in Chapter 1 and dative-marked clauses are treated in Chapter 27.
Table 23  List of Primary-B and Secondary verbs (not exhaustive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>Can take NP as O argument</th>
<th>Type of clausal complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary B verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋ-</td>
<td>to need, have to</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>dative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manʔ-</td>
<td>to be able; to obtain</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak-</td>
<td>to do</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canci-</td>
<td>to think about</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʔbaceŋ-</td>
<td>to begin</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paʔ-</td>
<td>to dare</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>dative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sək-</td>
<td>to want</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sap-</td>
<td>to know a skill</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nengʔ-</td>
<td>to lack, to fail to</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myksəŋ-</td>
<td>to plan, to intend</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaʔak-</td>
<td>to be compelled to</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>dative or factitive clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.3  The Secondary speech-verb

The verb no- ‘say’ can participate in only two constructions. First, it can take a quote, i.e. a stretch of direct speech as its complement, in order to form a grammatical clause. Thus it can embed a direct speech report into a higher clause. This is the most common usage of the verb, e.g. (60). In this example the direct speech report is underlined and is the complement of the verb no- ‘to say’, which is subordinate to the main verb bal- ‘to speak, say, tell’. The topic marker <=do> (TOP) does not mark the reported speech, but only the phrase tayʔhi ‘today’.

(60) ətəkciba pherue “hmʔm, kakay saʔarini naŋʔaw tayʔnid o” noayməŋ balariano.

‘But the fox having said: “No, I will just bite and eat you today” just spoke, it is said.’

Second, it can take a dative-marked complement clause, of which there is only one recorded example (753), which is presented in §27.2.1. The use of this verb is compulsory in clauses in which direct speech is embedded, to signal the direct speech.
4.5.4 Phasal verbs

Phasal verbs indicate beginning or completion. So far only three phasal verbs have been discovered in Atong. They cannot all take NP’s as O argument but they can all take complement clauses of which the predicate is factitive-marked. These complement clauses never occur accusative-marked. Table 24 below lists the phasal verbs in Atong.

Table 24 Phasal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>Can take noun as O argument</th>
<th>Type of clausal complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jam-</td>
<td>to finish, complete</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>factitive clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macot-</td>
<td>to finish</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daŋʔ-</td>
<td>to enter a state of</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6 Intransitive-transitive lexical pairs

Atong displays a few vestiges of an old, now unproductive, system of verbal transitivisation. These remnants have resulted in lexical pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs. The transitive verbs show reflexes of what is presumably the proto Tibeto-Burman causative prefix *s-. There are two systems.

In one system, to which most pairs adhere, the transitive verbs are derived from the intransitive ones with an unproductive prefix <thə ~ də-> (TRANSITIVE). The schwa of the unproductive causative prefix assimilates completely to the vowel of the root. The distribution of the allomorphs of the unproductive Atong transitive prefix is as follows. The allomorph <-də-> occurs before plain voiceless and aspirated initial stops while the allomorph <-thə-> occurs before voiced initials and /s/. Transitivised verbs with initial affricate /c/ or /ʃ/ have not been recorded. Surprisingly similar to the fossilised Atong prefix in phonetic make up and distribution are the palatalised allomorphs <śə- ~ _pickle> of the causative prefix <s- ~ śə- ~ _pickle> in Jingpho (see Matisoff 2003: 101) or Kachin, as the language is called by Benedict (1972: 105).
The proto Tibeto-Burman causative prefix *s- is reflected as devoicing and aspiration of initial stop on one pair of verbs, viz. bay ‘to break (intransitive)’ and phayʔ ‘to break (transitive), to translate’\(^{21}\), in which the consonant initial varies between a voiced stop for the intransitive verbs and a voiceless aspirated stop for the transitive ones. Limbu, a Kiranti language of Nepal (van Driem 1987: 245 sq.) and Burmese (Okell 1969: 42), have many similar verb pairs that reflect Proto-Tibeto-Burman *s-. The intransitive and transitive verbal pairs are listed here below in Table 25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>intransitive</th>
<th>transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>System 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barat-</td>
<td>‘to be ashamed’</td>
<td>thabarata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bejaw-</td>
<td>‘to tickle’</td>
<td>thebajaw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galʔ-</td>
<td>‘to fall’</td>
<td>thagaliʔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuŋ-</td>
<td>‘to be dammed up a circle of stones’ (of water in the river as a technique to catch fish)</td>
<td>dukuŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat-</td>
<td>‘to extinguish’</td>
<td>thomat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimi-</td>
<td>‘to smile’</td>
<td>thimimi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myn-</td>
<td>‘to be ripe’</td>
<td>thymyn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuk-</td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
<td>thunuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>‘to wake up’</td>
<td>thasa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kərəŋ-</td>
<td>‘to make noise’</td>
<td>dəkərəŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kərəy-</td>
<td>‘to fear’</td>
<td>dəkərəy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thəy-</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
<td>dəthəy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirin</td>
<td>‘torn (of clothes, paper etc.)’</td>
<td>dikirin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phiŋ-</td>
<td>‘to be full’</td>
<td>diphiŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-not recoded-</td>
<td></td>
<td>dəpələŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>System 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bay-</td>
<td>‘to break’</td>
<td>phayʔ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{21}\) Interestingly, whereas in Atong only the transitive verb phayʔ ‘to break’ is glottalised, in Burmese both the transitive and the intransitive member of the pair have a final glottal stop, viz. ချက် ဟု ‘cut, break’ and ချက် ပြ ‘be cut, broken; snap’ (Okell 1969:42).
There are two small closed classes of adjectives in Atong which I will call Type 1 and Type 2. The criteria for distinguishing these two types can be found summarised in Table 20. Type 1 adjectives form a subclass of intransitive verbs, they denote a quality and are used primarily predicatively. For type 1 adjectives to be used attributively to an NP, an attributive form needs to be derived with the attributive clausal enclitic \( =gaba \sim =ga \) (ATTR), the function of which is extensively treated in Chapter 29. Type 2 adjectives can be used either predicatively or attributively without any derivational process.

Approximately forty five members of the Type 1 adjective class have been recorded indicating the semantic types (see Dixon, 2004 a) of dimension, value, colour, physical property, position, quantification. Approximately fifty Type 2 adjectives have been recorded. Type 2 adjectives denote age, colour, physical property, position, speed, quantification, possessiveness and similarity. There are some adjectives that have a semantic extension, viz. Type 1 \( rak- \) means ‘hard’ as physical property and ‘difficult’ and the Type 1 adjective \( ga?- \) ‘good’ as a value can be extended to human propensity meaning ‘good hearted’. It is noteworthy that there are no other adjectives signifying human propensity in Atong. Table 26 below lists the adjectives of both classes recorded to date.

It has to be noted that the property of being able to participate in comparative, superlative and excessive constructions is not a property that is characteristic only of adjectives but also of verbs (see Table 20 above). Both word classes can express the comparative (‘more…than’)/superlative \( <\text{-khal}> \) (CP/SUP) and the excessive \( <\text{-duga}> \) (XS) categories. This is illustrated in the next examples with adjectives of Type 1 (61), (63) and verbs (62), (64).

(61) \( \text{cak rawʔkhalay suletkhubo.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[cak]} \quad \{\text{rawʔ -khal}\} =ay \quad \{\text{sulet -khu}\} =bo \\
\text{arm/hand long -CP} =\text{ADV stretch -INCOM}=\text{IMP}
\end{array}
\]

‘Stretch your arm longer.'
(62) \[ \text{geʔtheng} \text{aŋ} \text{na} \text{dayay} \text{saʔkhala}. \]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
 \text{[geʔtheng]} & \text{[aŋ]} & =na & \text{(day)} =ay \text{(saʔ-khala-a)} \\
3s & 1s & =\text{DAT} & \text{be.bigger=ADV} \text{eat} -\text{CP} -\text{CUST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He eats more than me.’

(63) \[ \text{tibimi} \text{kərənggaba} \text{rakdugabutungci} \text{cangba} \text{ni} \text{etok} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
 \text{[tibi]} & =\text{mi} & \text{kərəng} & =\text{gaba} \text{(rak} -\text{duga} -\text{butung}) &=ci \\
\text{television} & =\text{GEN} & \text{sound} & =\text{ATTR} & \text{strong} -\text{XS} -\text{WHILE} =\text{LOC} \\
\text{[caŋ]} & =\text{ba} & \{\text{ni} & -\text{et} & -\text{ok}\} \\
\text{who} & =\text{INDEF} & \text{not.exist} & -\text{CAUS} & -\text{COS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When the sound of the TV was too loud, someone turned it off.’

(64) \[ \text{geʔthengdo} \text{may} \text{saʔdugaak.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
 \text{[geʔtheng]} & =\text{do} & \{\text{may} & \text{saʔ} -\text{duga} -\text{ak}\} \\
3s & =\text{TOP} & \text{rice} & \text{eat} -\text{XS} -\text{COS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He has eaten too much rice.’

An alternative interpretation, with \textit{may} ‘rice’ incorporated into the predicate (see Chapter 22):

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
 \text{[geʔtheng]} & =\text{do} & \{\text{may} & \text{saʔ} -\text{duga} -\text{ak}\} \\
3s & =\text{TOP} & \text{rice} & \text{eat} -\text{XS} -\text{COS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He has eaten too much.’ Literally: ‘he has rice-eaten too much.’

5.1 Type 1 Adjectives

Type 1 adjectives are a subclass of intransitive verbs, i.e. they are stative verbs denoting a quality. They are distinguished from other intransitive verbs only on the basis of their semantics and the semantic effect that the change of state suffix \(<-\text{ok} \sim -\text{ak}>\) (COS) has on these adjectives. The change of state marker can produce an intensifying effect on Type 1 adjectives, e.g. \textit{saʔ}- ‘beautiful’ \(\rightarrow\) \textit{saʔ-ok} (beautiful-COS) ‘very beautiful’, \textit{thaw}- ‘tasty’ \(\rightarrow\) \textit{thaw-ok} (tasty-COS) ‘very tasty’, \textit{gaʔsu}- ‘splendid, great, cool’ \(\rightarrow\) \textit{gaʔsu-ok} (cool-COS) ‘totally cool, very cool’. However, in the right context a change of state morpheme on a Type 1 adjective can also be interpreted as asserting a change of state (65).
The different properties of Type 1 adjectives as predicate head are compared with those of other verbs, Type 2 adjectives and nouns in Table 62 in Chapter 22.

Type 1 adjectives are intrinsically predicating (66), but as head of a predicate of an attributive clause (see also Chapter 29) they can be used as modifiers of nouns (67).

(65) golpho lekha catok.

\[\text{golpho lekha} \{\text{cat -ok}\}\]
story book thick -COS
‘The story book has become thick.’ or ‘The story book is very thick.’

In the next example we see how a Type 2 adjective, in this case abun ‘other, different’, does not need to be attributivised before it can function attributively to a noun, in this case the noun khuʔcuk ‘language’.
(68)  *kuʔcuk abun saŋ balcid bleŋpayriŋ noay balna manʔni cəm.*

Table 26  List of adjectives sorted by semantic category and class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Type 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuŋ- 'big'</td>
<td>nem- 'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məl- 'small'</td>
<td>gaʔ- 'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thəwʔ- 'deep'</td>
<td>gaʔsu- 'sensational, cool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cəwʔ- 'high'</td>
<td>hansen- 'beautiful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rawʔ- 'long' (time, body, thing)</td>
<td>thaw- 'tasty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suŋ- 'short' (time, body, thing)</td>
<td>rak- 'hard, strong, difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>damrak- 'expensive, costly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sol- 'pretty, beautiful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>səm- 'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>potam- 'nice smelling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manam- 'foul smelling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bylak- 'strong' (of persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>məthel- 'thankful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaʔ- 'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kay- 'sour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rak- 'hard, strong, difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gan- 'erect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taysi- 'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cek- 'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bəlak- 'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuj- 'warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kanjot- 'skinny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manak- 'dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>melʔ- 'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nomʔ- 'soft, tender'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neŋʔ- 'tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cərəm- 'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>demdəŋ- 'weak, soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suʔut- 'damp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cen- 'light, not heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cəŋʔ- 'bright'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 26 continued

**PHYSICAL PROPERTY Type 2**

- `gəthəŋ` ~
- `githing` ~
- `githyng` ‘unripe, uncooked, raw’
- `daŋdan` ‘alone’
- `bakphal` ‘inside out’
- `phangphyl` ‘upside down’
- `dəmdam` ‘naked’
- `rawʔreŋ` ‘long and slender’
- `baŋbaŋ` ‘empty’
- `karam` ‘poisonous’
- `khuruŋ` ‘wanting to lay an egg’
- `kirin` ‘torn’ (paper, clothes)
- `nagok` ‘deaf’
- `təykaran` ‘thirsty’
- `bukalaŋ` ‘to have a hole in it’ (clothes)
- `thəmboloŋ` ‘to have holes in it, damaged’ (road, bridge)
- `parəw` ‘to have a hole in it’ (walls)
- `məŋ` ‘main’
- `brəmbərəm` ‘multicoloured’
- `thokərəm` ‘multicoloured’
- `(təy)karan` ‘thirsty’
- `janʔjot` ‘narrow in the middle’
- `əmpong` ‘lopsided’
- `thəwkhoŋ` ‘bulging’
- `khingceng` ‘aslant, slant’
- `cingʔpheng` ‘aslant, slant’
- `pylang` ‘flat’

**SPEED Type 2**

- `khasin` ‘slow’

**SIMILARITY Type 2**

- `hapsan` ‘the same’
- `gapsan` ‘the same’
- `daŋthaŋ` ‘different’
- `alaga` ‘other’
- `baybay` ‘the same’

**QUANTIFICATION Type 1**

- `paŋʔ-` ‘many’

**QUANTIFICATION Type 2**

- `bayʔdam` ‘some’
- `maŋmaŋ` ‘only, exclusively’

**TEMPORAL Type 1**

- `jaʔraw-` ‘long’
- `khengkhang` ‘eternal’

**POSSESSIVE Type 2**

- `gəŋgaŋ` ‘having, with’

5.2 Type 2 adjectives

An overview of properties is listed here below followed by examples. Type 2 adjectives share some nominal and some verbal properties. The properties of Type 2 adjectives functioning as predicate head are compared to verbs and nouns in Table 63.
in Chapter 22. In Table 20 in this chapter other properties of Type 2 adjectives are compared with those of verbs and nouns.

5.2.1 Clausal properties
Type 2 adjectives can function as head of a predicate of an identity/equation clause, just like Type 1 adjectives.

5.2.2 Phrasal properties
Type 2 adjectives can modify a noun within an NP in post or pre-head position without any difference in meaning; a Type 1 one adjective needs to be attributivised before it can do this.
Type 2 adjectives can modify a verb as head of a predicate of an adverbial clause without being adverbialised with the adverbial clausal enclitic <=ay> (ADV), but also occur with this adverbial enclitic (more fieldwork is needed to determine the factors that determine this choice); Type 1 adjectives need to be adverbialised.

5.2.3 Morphological properties
Type 2 adjectives can be reduplicated or partially reduplicated to express greater intensity, which Type 1 adjectives cannot.

5.2.4 Semantic properties
Type 2 adjectives express age, colour, physical property, position, speed, quantification, value, possessiveness and similarity. Some of these categories overlap with those of Type 1 adjectives (see above).
Type 2 adjectives can modify nouns in unmarked form and usually in post head position, e.g. (68) above, (69) and (73) below. A Type 2 adjective can take case marking and other nominal morphology, e.g. (69), even when it appears without its head noun, e.g. (70), (71) and (72).

(69) $ge\text{ʔtheŋo nob picamthangaw payʔgərumok.}$

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{\textit{geʔtheŋo}} = do \quad \text{\textit{nob}} \quad \text{\textit{picam}} = \text{thaŋ} = \text{aw} \quad \text{\textit{payʔgərumok}} = \text{own} \quad \text{\textit{break - collapse - COS}} \\
3s \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{\textit{own}} \quad \text{\textit{ACC} \quad \text{\textit{break - collapse - COS}}} \\
\text{\textit{‘He has destroyed his own old house.’}}
\end{array}
\]
To use a Type 1 adjective in the same construction as (70), we would have to use an attributive clause in a headless arch NP (see Chapter 29), viz. \{{\text{nem}}=\text{gaba}=\text{aw} \}\{\text{rayʔ-naka}\) \) \) (good=ATTR=ACC go-IFT) ‘I will take the good [one (i.e. road)].’

(71) \text{bayʔdam Roŋdəŋ təykhal haʔwaycina jalaŋok.}
\[
\text{[\{bayʔdam\}} = \text{ci} = \text{na} \}\{\text{jal-ag -ok}\) \) \) some Pname river plain =LOC =ALL run-AWAY -COS ‘Some [people] run away to the Rongdyng river plain.’

(72) \text{dakaŋmi picammi kamdəaraŋdo…}
\[
\text{[\{dakaŋ\}} = \text{mi} \}\{\text{picam -an -ca}\) \) \) in.the.past =GEN old =GEN activities =p =TOP ‘As for how things went in the old days…’

Type 2 Adjectives can function as head of a predicate of identity/equation clauses, where it shares properties with both nominal and verbal predicate heads (73). The properties of Type 2 adjectival predicate heads are discussed in §22.4.

(73) \text{nok rəmət picamanca.}
\[
\text{[\{nok \text{rəmət}\}} \}\{\text{picam -an -ca}\) \) \) house yellow old -REF -NEG ‘The yellow house is not old.’

Type 2 adjectives can take the adverbial clausal enclitic <=\text{ay}> (ADV) to modify a following predicate (74), (75) or be reduplicated (76), (77).

(74) \text{geʔtheŋ pinakay səla.}
\[
\text{[\{geʔtheŋ\}} \}\{\text{pinak -səl -a}\) \) 3s black =ADV beautiful -CUST ‘She is black and beautiful. (lit. blackly beautiful)’
5.3 Remarks on certain adjectives

The word *bədəy* ‘old’ (persons), Type 2, also occurs as a noun meaning ‘old man’.

The adjective *bədəy* also occurs as a bound morpheme suffixed to the word *jəwʔ* ‘mother’, where it yields the meaning *jəwʔbədəy* ‘old/married woman’. The compounding of adjectives with nouns is not a productive process.

The word *alaga* ‘other’, Type 2, also occurs as a noun meaning ‘someone else’.

Compare the following examples where it is used as adjective in (78) and as noun in (79). The adjective *alaga* ‘other’ cannot modify verbs.

(78) *nok alaga*

   nok alaga

   house other

   ‘another house’

(79) *alagami nok*

   alaga =mi nok

   someone else =GEN house

   ‘someone else’s house’
The prefix <pi-> ‘?’ on the Type 2 colour and age adjectives is unproductive. The adjectives *pidan* ‘new’ and *picam* ‘old’ also occur as bound morphemes without the unproductive prefix *pi- ‘?’* in the words *maydan* ‘new rice’, *soncam* ‘former village’ and *waʔcam* ‘post-harvest rice stalk’. As was said above, suffixing adjectives to nouns is an unproductive process.

The Type 2 adjective *khasin* ‘slow’ is the only adjective of its type that has been recorded as a command: *Khasin!* ‘slowly!’; and with the imperative clausal enclitic <bo> (IMP) *khasin=bo!* (slow=IMP) ‘Slowly!’.

The Type 2 adjective *hapsan ~ gapsan* ‘same, together’ (allomorphs in free variation) can be used as pre-head or post head modifier. As post head modifier this adjective can function as head of a predicate, e.g. (81), whereas in pre-head position it cannot, e.g. (80). The adjective *hapsan ~ gapsan* ‘same’ can modify other adjectives of both types as in the equative construction in (82).

(80)  
\[
\text{ie hapsan nok}  
\]  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[ie]} \quad \{\text{hapsan nok}\} \\
\text{PRX} \quad \text{same} \quad \text{house} \\
\text{‘This is the same house’}
\end{array}
\]

(81)  
\[
\text{ie nok hapsan}  
\]  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[ie]} \quad \text{hok} \quad \{\text{hapsan}\} \\
\text{PRX} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{same} \\
\text{‘This house is the same.’}
\end{array}
\]

(82)  
\[
\text{aŋ naŋʔmi hapsan cuga.}  
\]  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[aŋ]} \quad [\text{naŋʔ} -\text{mi}] \quad \{\text{hapsan}\} \quad \{\text{cug} -\text{a}\} \\
\text{1s} \quad 2\text{s} \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{same} \quad \text{big} \quad -\text{DCL} \\
\text{‘I am as big as you’}.
\end{array}
\]

In (82) above we see an example of the equative construction in Atong. The structure of the equative construction is Comparee – Standard – *hapsan* – Parameter. The standard takes the genitive case and hence functions as second object of the predicative adjective. *Hapsan* functions as a modifier of the predicate just like in (77) and (83) here below. It is a property of Type 2 adjectives that they can modify verbs.
(83)  *naʔnaŋ hapsan saʔnine.*

  [naʔnaŋ] [hapsan] \{saʔ -ni\} =ne
  1pi together eat -FUT =TAG

  ‘We will eat together, OK?’
Chapter 6  Nouns

Nouns are an open class. We will start with an overview of the properties of this word class in sections 6.1 to 6.4. Nominal subclasses are treated in section 6.5. In section 6.6 we will examine the different interpretations of juxtaposed nouns.

6.1  Clausal properties

Nouns can function as core or peripheral argument (adjunct/oblique argument). Nouns can also function as predicate head. Nominal predicates are treated in §22.5.

6.2  Phrasal properties

The noun is the head of the NP. The NP can take NP enclitics such as case-marking (see Chapter 20) and other phrasal enclitics (see Chapter 19). Demonstratives always occur in the left-most position in the NP, before the head. Other modifiers within the NP can precede or follow the head without any apparent difference in meaning. whether the variation of the modifiers within the NP results in subtle pragmatic differences will have to be determined by more fieldwork.

Other phrasal properties of nouns are that they
- can be incorporated into the predicate (see §22.7),
- can modify another noun in juxtaposition (see §6.6 below),
- can be modified by Type 2 adjectives (see §5.2) and attributive clauses (see Chapter 29),
- can be possessed

6.3  Morphological properties

Nouns can be pluralised and quantified (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 12). Mass nouns can only be quantified with measure nouns (see §12.4). The noun determines the choice of classifier and reduces the scope of reference of classifiers (see Chapter 12).
6.4 Semantic properties

Nouns denote activities, places, abstract notions, animals, artefacts, body parts, food items, geographic, geological or natural phenomena, kinship terms, locations, measure terms, names of persons and locations, plants, qualities, quantities, shapes, substances and time.

Reduplication of a noun has an adverbialising function (see §18.8). The properties of nouns functioning as head of a predicate compared to verbs and adjectives are given in Table 62 in Chapter 22.

6.5 Subclasses of nouns

On the basis of their syntactic, phrasal and morphological properties, Atong presents the following subclasses of nouns:

1. Common nouns
2. Nouns denoting proper names and persons
3. Kinship terms (treated in Chapter 1)
4. Inherently locational nouns
5. Mass nouns
6. Gender sensitive nouns
7. Auto-classifiers (treated in §12.3)
8. Measure nouns (treated in §12.4)

The first four subclasses will be treated below in this chapter, the three remaining subclasses are treated in other chapters, as indicated above.

6.5.1 Common nouns

The class of common nouns consists of all nouns that do not belong to any of the other subgroups. Common nouns denote concepts in the following semantic domains: abstract nouns, human activities, results of or circumstances related to human activities, animals, artefacts, body parts of humans and animals, diseases, food items,
ingredients used for food, geographical, geological or natural phenomena, plants, parts of plants, qualities, quantities, and shapes.

### 6.5.2 Nouns denoting persons and proper names

Proper names (84) and nouns denoting persons (85), (86) are the only ones that can take the associative plural &co. This agrees with the generalisation pointed out in Moravcsik (2003: 472) that the focal referent of a group referred to by the associative plural must be a definite human individual. Nouns denoting animals are also eligible to take the associative plural, but only in stories, when they talk and act like humans (87). Kinship terms also denote persons and are treated separately in Chapter 1. Examples (85) and (86) contain a kinship term marked by the associative plural.

**Proper name:**

(84) *aŋa letitparaməŋ nokci saʔni.*

```
[ aŋa ] [ letit -- para =məŋ nok ] =ci { saʔ - ni }  
1s  Pname =&co  =GEN  house =LOC  eat =FUT
```

'I will eat at the house of Latith and company.'

**Noun denoting close human relationship (subset of kinship terms):**

(85) *naŋʔ bajupara caʔmasaŋ naʔ punna reʔeŋwa.*

```
[ naŋʔ  baju ] -- para  [ caʔma ] =saŋ { naʔ  pun =na } { reʔeŋ - wa }  
2s  friend =&co  down.side =MOB  fish  catch.fish =PUR  go.away-FACT
```

'Your friend and his company went to the river side to catch fish.'

**Kinship term:**

(86) *ah baba, naŋʔ dadaparado usaŋ sikal ramna reʔeŋok.*

```
ah  baba  [ naŋʔ  dada ] -- para =do  [ u ] =saŋ  
interj  grandson  2s  older.brother =&co =TOPDST=MOB
[ sikal ] { ram =na } { raʔeŋ - ok }  
hunting  search =DAT  go.away-COS
```

'Oh grandson, the group of your elder brothers went that way to try to hunt.'
Animal in story:

(87)  \textit{amakparae bədəy baday reʔeŋaydoknowa.}

\begin{align*}
\text{monkey} \quad \& \quad \text{old couple} \\
\text{go.away} \\
\textit{FC}
\end{align*}

‘The monkeys in each other’s company, the old couple, went away, it is said.’

Of all the subclasses of nouns, the personal names subclass is the most open of all because new lexical items are being added continuously. In the culture of the Atong, just as in that of the Garos (Burling, 2004: 228-9), parents go to considerable lengths to find unique names for their children. Hence it is usually only some weeks after its birth that a child is named. Names usually vary from two to five syllables in length and can consist of entirely invented sequences of sounds as long as they produce a pleasant sound. Alternatively they can be taken from other languages (outside the tribal communities of Meghalaya). Some names consist of a mix of invented syllables as well as existing lexemes and grammatical morphemes to give the name a symbolic value. Every name conforms to the patterns of Atong phonology in speech. The way in which names are written may be quite different from the way they are pronounced, especially when the name is or is supposed to resemble a Western name, e.g. Holybirth [olibat], Fernanda [pananda]. There are certainly whims of fashion in syllables used for naming children. There are a considerable number young males now having a name ending in -\textit{bat} (<English: birth, written as ‘birth’ but pronounced [bat]) and a considerable number of slightly older males having names ending in -\textit{seny}.

Proper names behave like prototypical nouns: they can take the full set of case markers and other phrasal enclitics, can function as head of a predicate and can be modified, can be used as argument of a verb and can even be possessed and quantified.

6.5.3 Inherently locational nouns

Inherently locational nouns denote places and names of places (proper names). Inherently locational nouns do not have to be marked with the mobilitiative enclitic \textit{<=sagp} (MOB) when they function as Direction adjunct, e.g. (88), (89).
6.5.4 Mass nouns

Mass nouns denote substances and distinguish themselves from other nouns in that they can only be quantified with measure nouns (see §12.4). Among the members of this subclass of nouns are *jaʔbek* ‘curry’, *may* ‘rice’, *təy* ‘water’, *thəyʔ* ‘blood’, *səmʔ* ‘salt’, *walʔ* ‘fire’, etc. These nouns can take the plural phrasal enclitic <=\(dəraŋ\) => (p) which will then indicate a large quantity of the substance denoted by the noun, e.g. (90). However, depending on the semantics of the noun, sometimes clitisisation of the plural denotes more than one unit of the substance, e.g. (91).

(90) \textit{ap ie maydəraŋaw saʔcawa.}

\[ap \quad \text{ie may} =dəraŋ =aw \quad \{saʔ -ca -wa\}\]

\(1s\) \ PRX \ rice \ =p \ =ACC \ eat \ -NEG \ -FACT\]

‘I will not eat so much rice.’

(91) \textit{walʔdəraŋaw nukca imi}

\[walʔ =dəraŋ =aw \quad \{nuk -ca\} \quad [i] =mi\]

\(fire\) \ =p \ =ACC \ see \ -NEG \ PRX \ =GEN\]

‘[We] don’t see the fires from here.’

6.5.5 Gender sensitive nouns

There are only a few nouns in Atong which change their phonological shape to agree with the sex of their referent. These nouns are all Indic loans and are borrowed in masculine/feminine pairs. The masculine form ends in /a/ and the feminine form in /i/, All the gender sensitive nouns recorded so far appear in Table 27.
Table 27  Gender sensitive nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASCULINE</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FEMININE</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boba</td>
<td>‘crazy man’</td>
<td>bobi</td>
<td>‘crazy woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raja</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
<td>rani</td>
<td>‘queen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harata</td>
<td>‘lazy man’</td>
<td>harari</td>
<td>‘lazy woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6  Juxtaposition of nouns

The interpretation of two or more unmarked juxtaposed nouns depends on the context. The following interpretations are possible:

1. The nouns belong to the same NP and do not modify each other, the interpretation is one of addition.
2. The nouns belong to the same NP and one modifies the other.
3. The nouns belong to different NPs with different argument statuses.

6.6.1 Addition interpretation

In case both nouns belong to the same NP but do not modify each other, they share the headedness of the construction. Examples are given in (92) and (93). In (92) both nouns, pan ‘wood’ and waʔ ‘bamboo’, form the head of the arch NP (an NP comprising a head and an attributive clause). This head is modified by the attributive clause (AC) of which the verb mat- ‘to cut’ is the predicate (see Chapter 29). The nouns do not modify each other and the relation between them is additional, hence the translation with an added ‘and’ in English.

(92)  --------------arch NP----------------
         -AC-
          [pan waʔ {mat} =gaba] =thɔŋ =na =an
         wood bamboo cut =ATTR =CONTINUOUSLY =DAT=FC/ID
‘because of continuously cutting wood [and] bamboo’ (the person got many wounds on his body).

Another example of an unmarked additional relationship between two nouns within the same NP is (93). The two nouns are both the O argument of the predicate thik khaʔ- (exactly do) ‘to agree upon’. Again, their relationship is one of addition.
(93)  *takruk na san somay thik khaʔwacəm.*

{\textit{takruk}} =na \[\textit{san somay}\]  \(\{\textit{thik} \textit{khaʔ} \textit{wa}\}\) =cəm

‘to fight, [they] had supposedly agreed upon a day [and] time.’

In example (605) in §23.12 we see three unmarked nouns, *simen tota tin* ‘cement, plank, corrugated iron’ in the same NP in an additive relationship. The NP is in O function in the adverbial clause of which the verb *pirin* ‘to mix’ is the predicate.

### 6.6.2 Modifying interpretation

When, as was given as the second option, the nouns belong to the same NP and one modifies the other, one noun will be the head and the other the dependent of a compound noun. The modifier always precedes the head, e.g. *macha nokbanthay* (tiger house+bachelor) ‘the tigers’ bachelors’ house’, where the head is *nokbanthay* ‘bachelors’ house’. Other examples are: *tawʔ nok* (chicken house) ‘chicken coop’, *maʔsu khol* (cow skin) ‘cow skin’, *tawʔ sagəray* (chicken child) ‘chick’, *pan bəthən* (tree shadow) ‘the tree’s shadow’, *rupek bisi* (frog poison) ‘frog’s poison’ *muŋma wa* (elephant tooth) ‘elephant’s tusk’, *dawa mahari* (Dawa family) ‘the Dawa family’ and *sol daray* (iron sword) ‘iron sword’ This construction is also used in toponyms (place names): the name will precede the head which indicates the kind of place it is, e.g. *siju səŋ* (Siju village) ‘the village of Siju’, *dabat wari* (Dabat deep.place.in.the.river) ‘the wari called Dabat’, *rongdəŋ təykhal* (Rongdyng river) ‘Rongdyng river’, *waymoŋ haʔbəri* (Waimong mountain) ‘Waymong mountain’ and *tawʔpak khal* (bat hole) ‘the bat cave’. Compounds of more than one noun, although infrequent, do occur, e.g. (631) in §24.1 where we see the quantified compound *haʔ nəŋʔ tanran* (earth inside layer) ‘layers of the earth’s inside’.

The compounds we have seen above are all very transparent. Some compounds developed meaning extensions that are not obviously predictable from the meanings of the components. The compound *diʔ khal* (shit hole) ‘arse, bottom’, for example, has extended its meaning to bottoms of receptacles. Some combinations have lost their transparency altogether and have to be treated as unanalysable lexical items. The word *taykhal*, for instance, can be dissected into the components *tay* ‘water’ and *khal* ‘hole’ but the meaning is that of ‘river’.
The classifier that will be used to count compounds like the ones we have just seen depends on the referent of the compound as a whole, not only on the meaning of the head. The words saʔgəray means ‘human child’ when it is not modified and is counted with the classifier for humans, məŋʔ. The compound tawʔ sagəray (chicken child) ‘chick’ refers to an animal and is therefore counted with the classifier for animals.

Only one compound has been recorded where the head precedes the modifier, viz. in the word nokbanthay, which can be analysed as nok+banthay (house+bachelor) ‘bachelors’ house’. This word has the allomorphs nokphandai and nokphande, which sound more like Garo word /nokpante/ [nokphanthe] with the same meaning.

6.6.3 Different-NP interpretation

The third interpretation of juxtaposed nouns can be that they belong to different NPs and have different argument statuses. An example of this is given in (821), of which we present the relevant part here in (94), where we see that the compound moŋma waʔ (elephant tooth) ‘elephant’s tusk’ is the head of an arch NP (an NP that comprises a head noun and an attributive clause, see Chapter 29) which functions as O in a matrix clause, hence the accusative enclitic. The quantified noun dora ‘weight measure of about 5 kg) is the only argument, the copula complement, of the identificational/equational copula doŋʔ- (IE.be), which is the predicate of the attributive clause (AC, between vertical lines) that modifies the head of the arch NP.

(94) moŋma waʔ dora bərəy doŋʔgabaaw

---------------------------------arch NP---------------------------------
----------AC----------

[moŋma waʔ | [dora bərəy] {doŋʔ} =gaba =aw
elephant tooth weight four IE.be =ATTR =ACC
‘an elephant tusk that weighs four dora’
Chapter 7  Kinship terms

Key to the symbols used in tables this chapter
♀ 'male’    ♂ ‘female’    x ‘married to’

The Atongs have a classificatory Kinship system.\(^\text{22}\) The system is typical for Tibeto-Burman languages, as it distinguishes cross cousins and parallel cousins. Cross cousins are the children of mother’s brother or father’s sister. Parallel cousins are the children of mother’s sister or father’s brother. Cross cousins are considered real cousins and marriages between such cousins are allowed and encouraged, while parallel cousins are considered brothers and sisters and are not marriageable. Furthermore, like the other Tibeto-Burman languages, the Atongs use the same address terms for mother’s brother and father-in-law (\textit{mama}), and for father’s sister and mother-in-law (\textit{mani}). Atong also has some purely “descriptive” kinship terms, such as some reciprocal kinship terms, terms to distinguish between maternal and paternal aunts and uncles and to refer to in-laws and some specific relations between in-laws. In addition, Atong distinguishes kinship relative age, like most of the languages in Asia.

To elucidate the use of the term ‘descriptive’ used above: an Atong speaker can refer to his/her father-in-law as \textit{mama} and address him as \textit{mama}, which is the same term that is used to refer to and address mother’s brother. However if a speaker wants to be very specific, the term \textit{hawʔnokhol} can be used, which is a referential term that only denotes ‘father-in-law’, and cannot be ambiguous.

In section 1 all kinship terms will be divided into two classes, based on their morphological properties. Kinship terms can also be divided on the basis of their

\(^{22}\) The Atong classificatory kinship system has a lot in common with that of the Australian Aborigine’s as described in Elkin, 1970: 51-58.
semantic oppositions, as is described in section 2. Section 3 describes the address
terms that occur in Atong. Section 4 gives an overview of the terminological
organisation of the consanguineal relations (blood relations). The affinal relations
(relations by marriage, i.e. in-laws) are treated in section 5. Section 6 tells us about the
terminology used when people lose relatives. Finally, in section 7 we will look at how
kinship terms are used to address people who are not kin.

7.1 **Morphology-based division of kinship terms: the enclitic \(<=\text{gaba} ~ =\text{ga}\)**

Kinship terms are a subclass of noun and include some nouns which do not denote
kinship relations, e.g. *baju* ‘friend’ and *bayʔsiga ~ bayʔsega* ‘friend’. Although these
nouns do not denote kinship relations, but close human relationships, they behave
morphologically the same as kin-denoting nouns, and therefore I consider them to be
part of the subclass of kinship terms

On morphological grounds, kinship terms are divided into two subclasses of
which the members are listed below.

1. Type 1, which **cannot** attach the derelational enclitic \(<=\text{gaba} ~ =\text{ga}\) (DREL)
directly to the root. (This type includes the synonymous nouns *baju* ‘friend’ and
*bayʔsiga* ‘friend’.)

2. Type 2, which **can** enclitisise the derelational enclitic \(<=\text{gaba} ~ =\text{ga}\) (DREL)
directly to the root. (This type includes the noun *jək* ‘spouse’.)

All kinship nouns can take the possessive derivational enclitic \(<=\text{thaŋ}\) (OWN). After
attaching the possessive enclitic \(<=\text{thaŋ}\) (OWN) the derelational enclitic \(<=\text{gaba} ~ =\text{ga}\) (DREL) can be attached, i.e. the form *\(dətəy=\text{gaba}\)* (uncle=DREL) of the Type 1
kinship term *\(dətəy\)* ‘uncle: father’s elder brother’ is not possible, but *\(dətəy=\text{thaŋ}=\text{gaba}\)*
(uncle=OWN=DREL) ‘own uncle: father’s elder brother’ is grammatically correct.

The data that have been recorded so far make the use of the derelational enclitic
seem almost completely optional. However, there are some principles:
1. Any kinship term used as an address term cannot take the enclitic when you address your own kin. Thus one cannot address one’s elder brother like this: * o joŋ=gaba! (interj younger.brother=DREL). The grammatically correct way would be like this: o joŋ! (interj younger.brother) ‘Hey younger brother!’.

2. However, the enclitic can be used optionally when you address somebody else’s kin, e.g. (95).

(95) o samratmi hawʔ(gaba)!
    o [samrat=mi hawʔ] (=gaba)
    interj Pname =GENuncle:mother’s.brother =DREL
    ‘Hey Samrat’s uncle!’

Thus, kinship terms can only be used with <=gaba> (DREL) when speaking about someone else’s kin or friend and not when you speak about your own kin or friend.

It seems that the enclitic <=gaba ~ =ga> marks derelationalisation when certain inherently relational nouns denoting kinship and close human relationships are used in less- or non-prototypical situations. (Shin 2004: 67, 68 is insightful on this matter.)

The prototypical situation is one where an inherently relational noun occurs with its prototypical possessor, a speech act participant. In this prototypical situation the inherently relational noun is most likely to be unmarked. Example (96) is illustrative.

In this example we see the kinship term saʔbanthay ‘son’ with a prototypical possessor: aŋ, the first person singular.

(96) “o ie aŋ saʔbanthay congʔmotan bebe” nookno.
    o [ie] {aŋ saʔbanthay} [congʔmot]=an [bebe] {no-ok} =no
    interj this 1s son really =FC/ID truly say =COS =QUOT
    “‘O, this [is] really and truly my son’, he said, it is said.’

Less prototypical situations, in which a third person (i.e. non-speech act participant) occurs with an inherently relational noun are more likely to be marked, e.g. (97), and most likely to be marked are non-prototypical situations in which the inherently relational term is used without any possessor, as in (98). In other words, the
derelational marking allows certain inherently relational nouns to function in non-prototypical situations. This is similar to what Lehmann (2003:73-75) calls absolutivisation in Yucatec (Mayan, Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico).

In example (97) we see how the kinship term saʔbanthay is marked with the derelational enclitic, while it occurs as the Possessum of a third person. The Possessor is implied and is coreferential with the A argument of the clause, morot ‘man’.

(97) morot saʔbanthaigabaaw kənci baaymu dawʔreŋ kawwano.

[\text{morot}]_{A} [\text{saʔbanthay}]_{O} =gaba =aw [kən] =ci \{ba\} =ay =mu
man son =DREL =ACC back =LOC carry.a.child=ADV =SEQ

[dawʔreŋ] \{kaw-wa\} =no
eagle shoot-FACT =QUOT

‘A man carrying [his] son on [his] back shot the eagle, it is said.’

In example (98), the kinship term jongaba ‘younger brother’ occurs without even an implied possessor, and is therefore marked with the derelational enclitic.

(98) ətəkmaʔciba ue jongabae katha raʔcano.

\text{ətəkmaʔciba} [ue jongaba] =gaba =e [katha] \{raʔ -ca\} =no
but that younger.brother =DEREL =FC word get -NEG =QUOT

‘But the younger brother did not obey [his father’s] words, it is said.’

Since derelational marking is not obligatory, we also find counterexamples in Atong of the marking mechanism described above, e.g. (99), where the classificatory kinship term naw ‘younger sister’ is unmarked. In the example below, the kinship term naw ‘younger sister’ does not carry the derelational enclitic despite the fact that it occurs with a third person possessor.
7 Kinship terms

(99) \( geʔheŋmi nəwaw aŋdo khəmthirini. \)

\[
\begin{align*}
[geʔheŋ &= mi \quad nəw] \quad =aw \quad [aŋ] \quad = do \quad \{khəm - thiri \quad - ni\}
3s \quad =GEN \quad younger.sister \quad =ACC \quad 1s \quad =TOP \quad marry - AGAIN - FUT
\end{align*}
\]

‘I will again marry his younger sister.’

Conversely, the same morpheme \(<gaba ~ ga>\) is attested as relational morpheme on a few other nouns, not belonging to the subclass denoting close human relationships and not inherently relational. The morpheme \(<gaba- ~ ga>\) (RELATIONAL) has changed the meaning of these nouns to relational nouns. Examples are given in Table 28 below. Since attachment of the relational morpheme on nouns is not productive we have to consider these formations as fossilised. Synchronically, nouns with the relational morpheme are morphologically non-transparent lexical items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexical item</th>
<th>gloss of parts</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gawi-gaba</td>
<td>female-RELATIONAL</td>
<td>‘wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bipha-gaba</td>
<td>male-RELATIONAL</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nok-gaba</td>
<td>house-RELATIONAL</td>
<td>‘landlord, house owner’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2 Semantic division of kinship terms

There are three different types of semantic opposition between kinship terms in Atong.

1. classificatory versus descriptive
2. reciprocal versus non-reciprocal
3. reference terms versus address terms

These different semantic oppositions will be commented on one by one below.

7.2.1 Classificatory versus descriptive kinship terms

When a descriptive term is used, it can only represent one type of relationship between two people, while a classificatory term represents one of many different types of relationships. Table 29 and Table 30 give an overview of all kinship terms. The different referents of classificatory terms and those of the descriptive ones are
given in Table 29 and Table 30. All classificatory kinship terms can be used as address terms, except for the purely referential terms *saʔməncək* ‘daughter’ and *saʔbanthay* ‘son’.23

**7.2.2 Reciprocal versus non-reciprocal kinship terms**

Reciprocal kinship nouns denote a relation between two or more people, whereas non-reciprocal kinship nouns denote the unidirectional relation of one person to another. The term *gumi* ‘brother-in-law: elder sister’s husband’, for instance, denotes the relation of a person to his elder sister’s husband, but not the inverse relation and is thus a non-reciprocal kinship term. The term used to indicate the relation of someone’s elder sister’s husband to this someone is *joŋsəri* ‘brother-in-law: wife’s younger brother’. The relation of men who married women that are sisters is called *sadu*, which is a reciprocal kinship term. These men will call each other *sadu* and will call each other’s elder brother *sadu cunga(ba) (sadu big=ATTR) ‘big sadu’* and each other’s younger brother *sadu malga(ba) (sadu small=ATTR) small sadu*. Note that the relative enclitic has two allomorphs, viz. <-gaba ~ =ga> (ATTR).

The terms *baju, bayʔsiga ~ bayʔsega, camay ~ came, sadu, bonəŋ, mawsa ~ mosa,* (see Table 29 for glosses) are ‘real’ reciprocal terms, in that they only denote reciprocal relations. The term *jaʔcuŋ* ‘the relation of a man and his wife’s elder sister, or of a woman and her younger sister’s husband’ or ‘sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife’ is confusing because speakers in neither Badri nor Siju agreed on its meaning. Therefore it is represented twice in Table 29 (a) and (c). Some speakers thought that *jaʔcuŋ* and *boci* are synonyms, while others said that *boci* is actually Garo. According some speakers *jaʔcuŋ* is a reciprocal kinship term, and according to others it is not.

---

23 The kinship term *saʔbanthay* can be split up into two existing lexemes, viz. *saʔ*‘offspring, child’ and *banthay* ‘bachelor’. We recognise the same morpheme, *saʔ*‘offspring, child’ in the kinship term *saʔməncək* ‘daughter’. The second element of this term, *məncək* ‘female’ is not a lexeme in Atong at present, but is cognate with the Garo word *meʔcɨk* ‘female’.
7. Kinship terms

There are two reciprocal kinship terms that also denote non-reciprocal relations. The terms *acu* ‘grandfather’ and *baba* ‘father’ are only used to indicate the relationship between grandfather and grandchild and between father and son, when they are used as address terms. This means that the grandchild can call his/her grandfather *acu* and the grandfather can call his grandchild *acu* back. It is reported that the reciprocal use of *baba* ‘father’ is falling into disuse. Hence the following recorded comment.

(100) *waʔgabaawba baba noariate dakaŋmi casoŋdo. aŋmi waʔaw baba nohiba agawba baba noaria.*

father =DREL =ACC=EMPH father say -SIMP-CUST =DCL

[dakaŋ =mi casoŋ] =do

before =GEN generation/era =TOP

[aw] =mi [waʔ] =aw =ba [baba] {no-ari -a} =ci =ba

1s =GEN father =ACC=ADD father say =LOC=INDEF

[aw] =ba [baba] {no-ari -a}

1s =ACC=ADD father say -SIMP-CUST

‘[We] just said *baba* to [our] father, I’m telling you, (in) the past generation/era. Whenever [I] would say *baba* to my father, [he] would just say *baba* to me too.’

The reciprocal kinship terms all belong to Type 1, except for *jok* ‘spouse’, which denotes the relationship of a married couple.

7.2.3 Reference versus address kinship terms

Reference terms are used to talk about someone, whereas address terms are used to get someone’s attention. Whereas all address terms can also be used as reference terms, the inverse is not the case. Address terms are treated in more detail in the next section.

Table 29 gives an overview of Type 1 kinship nouns, i.e. those kinship nouns that cannot attach the derelational enclitic <*=gaba ~ =ga*> (DREL) directly to the root. This table is divided in three sections (a) reciprocal terms, (b) consanguineal terms (terms of blood relations) and (c) affinal terms (relations by marriage, in-laws). Table
30 gives an overview of Type 2 kinship terms, i.e. those that can attach the
derelational enclitic directly after the root. As we can see in these tables, some kinship
terms have extended meanings, and some are used to address persons that are not kin.

### 7.3 Address terms

An address term is used to address someone or call someone to get this person’s
attention. All address terms can also be used referentially, while not all referential
terms can be used as address terms. The noun *jəwʔ* ‘mother’, for instance, cannot be
used as an address term. To address his/her mother, an Atong speaker uses the noun
*ama* ‘mother’. Table 29 and Table 30 indicate whether a kinship term can be used as
address term or not. There are several remarks to be made about the information in
these tables.

All kinship terms that can be used reciprocally can be used as address terms. All
kinship terms beginning with /a/ can be used as address terms. Some of these, all core
family terms, have a corresponding referential form without the initial /a/, viz. *way* –
*away* ‘grandmother’, *waʔ* – *awa* ‘father’ (note the absence of glottal stop in the
address term), *say* – *asəy* ‘aunt: father’s younger sister’, *waŋ* – *awaŋ* ‘uncle: mother’s
younger brother’, *nay* – *anay* ‘aunt: mother’s sister’ and *nəŋ* – *anəŋ* ‘aunt: mother’s
sister’. Both the forms with and without initial /a/ can be used referentially, but only
the forms with the /a/ can be used as address terms. This has led me to believe that the
/a/, in these cases, is a fossilised vocative prefix that has now become part of the stem.

Matisoff (1982: 65) describes a prefix *a-* for Lahu that forms vocatives of kinship
terms, and remarks that “[t]his kin-prefix is extremely widespread in Tibeto-Burman”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning as reference term</th>
<th>Can be used as address term</th>
<th>Extended meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baju</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayʔsiga ~ bayʔsega</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camay ~ came</td>
<td>1. ‘female cross cousin’</td>
<td>2. ‘the relation of female cross cousins’</td>
<td>3. ‘the relation of the parents of a married couple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadu</td>
<td>‘brother-in-law: the relation of men who married women that are sisters’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonəŋ</td>
<td>‘brother-in-law: the relation of a man and his younger sister’s husband or a man and his wife’s elder brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawsa ~ mosa</td>
<td>1. ‘male cross cousin’</td>
<td>2. ‘the relation of male cousins from intermarriageable families’</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaʔcuŋ</td>
<td>1. (Siju and Badri dialects) ‘the relation of a man and his wife’s elder sister, or of a woman and her younger sister’s husband’</td>
<td>2. (Badri dialect) ‘sister-in-law: elder sister of one’s wife or elder brother’s wife’</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acu</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>‘the relation of grandfather and grandson’, only when used as address term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to address an elderly man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>‘the relation of father and son’, only when used as address term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to refer to or address an uncle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Kinship terms Type 1 continued: (b) Consanguineal kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning as reference term</th>
<th>Can be used as address term</th>
<th>Other uses or referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abu</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>to address an unrelated elderly woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away (archaic)</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akay</td>
<td>‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>to address an unrelated married woman older than the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asay ~ asi</td>
<td>‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>‘uncle: mother’s brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>to talk about or address an aunt, used by a mother to address her daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa (archaic)</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abi</td>
<td>‘elder sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>mothers-in-law can call each other abi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono</td>
<td>‘younger sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada</td>
<td>‘elder brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>to speak about or address a related older male of your own generation: cousin, or to address an unrelated man older than you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jojoŋ</td>
<td>‘younger brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anag</td>
<td>‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay</td>
<td>‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>‘sister-in-law: husband’s elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anay</td>
<td>‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>address term for mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mani</td>
<td>‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dətəy</td>
<td>‘uncle: father’s elder brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>address term for father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away</td>
<td>‘uncle: father’s younger brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>children call their stepfather away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ade</td>
<td>‘stepmother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khanaythəŋ</td>
<td>‘nephew’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namcək</td>
<td>‘niece’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namgaba</td>
<td>‘niece’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kinship terms Type 1 continued: (c) Affinal kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning as reference term</th>
<th>Can be used as address term</th>
<th>Address term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gumi</td>
<td>‘brother-in-law: elder sister’s husband or husband’s elder brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biawthay</td>
<td>‘brother-in-law: wife’s elder brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boci – jaʔcun</td>
<td>‘sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife or elder sister of one’s wife’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawsari</td>
<td>‘sister-in-law: younger brother’s wife’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jonsari</td>
<td>‘brother-in-law: spouse’s younger brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayʔnokhol</td>
<td>‘mother-in-law’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>mana/anai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawʔnokhol</td>
<td>‘father-in-law’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔnokhol</td>
<td>‘son-in-law’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namnokhol</td>
<td>‘daughter-in-law’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30 Type 2 kinship terms, consanguineal and affinal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning as reference term</th>
<th>Can be used as address term</th>
<th>address term</th>
<th>Other uses or referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jək</td>
<td>‘spouse’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jəwʔ</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waʔ</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>awa (archaic), baba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səy</td>
<td>‘uncle: mother’s younger brother’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>asəy ~ asi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawʔ</td>
<td>‘uncle: mother’s brother’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayʔ</td>
<td>‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>anəŋ, anay, mani, nəŋ</td>
<td>children can refer to their stepfather with waŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wəq</td>
<td>‘uncle: father’s younger brother’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>awəq</td>
<td>to address a younger male cousin or an unrelated man younger than the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəw</td>
<td>‘younger sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>(alternatively, and more respectfully) nono</td>
<td>to address a younger female cousin or an unrelated woman younger than the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jəŋ</td>
<td>‘younger brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>(alternatively and more respectfully) joŋ</td>
<td>to address a younger male cousin or an unrelated man younger than the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaʔnəw</td>
<td>‘elder sister’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>(alternatively and more respectfully) abi</td>
<td>to address an older female cousin or an unrelated woman older than the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawʔjəŋ</td>
<td>‘elder brother’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>(alternatively and more respectfully) dada</td>
<td>to address an older male cousin or an unrelated man older than the speaker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type 2 kinship terms continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning as reference term</th>
<th>Can be used as address term</th>
<th>address term</th>
<th>Other uses or referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saʔwiʔ</td>
<td>‘grandchild’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>cucu ‘grandchild’, acu</td>
<td>(no information on other reference)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʔbanthay</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>the name of the child, baba ‘the relation of father and son’</td>
<td>to refer to the children of my elder or younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʔməncək</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>the name of the child, ama ‘the relation of mother and daughter’</td>
<td>to refer to the children of my elder or younger brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.4 The consanguineal family from the perspective of aŋ ‘me’

The consanguineal family, or blood relations, are the kin without the in-laws, or those relatives that are related by birth and not by marriage. Table 31 below is a family diagram with reference and address terms from the perspective of aŋ ‘me’, i.e. the table shows how I would call the members of my blood relations. The diagram organises the kinship terms by generation. Within my generation and my parents’ generation there is a subdivision into older and younger siblings. The underlined lexical items can be used as address terms. As we can see, there are specific reference terms for cross cousins, viz. mawsa ~ mosa ‘male cross cousin’ and camay ~ came ‘female cross cousins whereas the parallel cousins are treated as younger siblings in both reference and address terms. The cross cousins, which are marriageable to aŋ ‘me’, are the children of anay ‘father’s sister’ and mama ‘mother’s brother’. The children of akay ‘mother’s elder sister’, datay ‘father’s elder brother’ are unmarriageable cousins, asay ‘mother’s younger sister’ and away ‘father’s younger brother’ are parallel cousins and are not marriageable to aŋ ‘me’. The word camay ~ came has an additional meaning ‘sweetheart, lover, girlfriend’. People usually address their marriageable cousins as an older or younger sister or brother. As was mentioned above, the word for marriageable male cousin, mawsa ~ mosa, is also used to address unrelated men of a marriageable family in a familiar way, like friends.

Small children can be addressed with their name, or, when it is a boy, with babu, and when it is a girl with rāni [rani], which is an Indic loan, related to Hindi रानी (rāṇī) ‘queen’. I have not witnessed a parent addressing their children with saʔgəray
‘child’, except when they are angry. Small boys can be addressed by their parents with *baba* and by other people with *babu*. I have no information about special address terms for small girls. When the children grow up and are not very young any more, their parents will call them exclusively by their name.

The people in the generation above me, i.e. parents, aunts and uncles, refer to me as *saʔbanthay* ‘son’ or *saʔməncək* ‘daughter’, except for mother’s brothers, *mama*, and father’s sisters, *nay ~ nəŋ*, who refer to me as *kharəyθaŋ* ‘nephew’ and *namgaba* ‘niece’. Table 33 gives a detailed overview of this information and of how cousins from marriageable families address each other. A person can speak about his or her aunts and uncles as if they were his or her parents. Thus it can occur that the fieldworker walks around the village with a friend and is amazed at the large number of fathers and mothers this friend has. The children of *akay* ‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’ and *dətəy* ‘uncle: father’s elder brother’ are treated as my siblings, as we expect in a Tibeto-Burman classificatory kinship system.

Table 32 gives an overview of the kinship terms of spouses of aunts, uncles and siblings and how their grandchildren and/or children call me. In that table the address terms are underlined. Remember that all address terms can also be used referentially. The table should be read as follows. My *asəy* is married to a man I call *awaŋ* or *waŋ*. Their children are my *mawsa ~ mosa* and *camay ~ came* and their grandchildren are my *nono* and *jojoŋ*. The grandchildren call me *ama* when I am a female and *baba* when I am a male.
Table 31 My blood relations.
The underlined forms can be used as address terms. All address terms can also be used referentially. The non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms. The colours match the cousins to their parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My parents’ generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my parents’ generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my grandchildren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grandparents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older siblings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Younger siblings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older siblings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Younger siblings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Atong are matrilineal. They inherit their family names, and therefore their clan membership, from their mother. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 1.
Table 32  Spouses of aunts, uncles and siblings, their children and grand children and their relation to me

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The parents are my</th>
<th>my aunt uncle, brother or sister</th>
<th>term for husband or wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q asay, say ‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td>d away, way ‘uncle: father’s younger brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their children and their spouse are my</td>
<td>d mawsa ~ mosa ‘marriageable male cousin’</td>
<td>q camay ~ came ‘marriageable female cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their grandchildren are my</td>
<td>q nay, nəʔnəŋ, anəŋ, mani ‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>d jon, jojon ‘younger brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their grandchildren call me</td>
<td></td>
<td>q ama ‘mother’, d baba ‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The parents are my</td>
<td>d mama ‘uncle: mother’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their children and their spouse are my</td>
<td>d mawsa ~ mosa ‘marriageable male cousin’</td>
<td>q camay ~ came ‘marriageable female cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their grandchildren are my</td>
<td>q nay, nəŋanay, anəŋ, mani ‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>d jon, jojon ‘younger brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their grandchildren call me</td>
<td></td>
<td>q ama ‘mother’, d baba ‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The parents are my</td>
<td>q jahay, abi ‘elder sister’</td>
<td>d guni ‘brother-in-law: elder sister’s husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their children and their spouse are my</td>
<td>q namgaba, namcək ‘niece’</td>
<td>d kharoyhan ‘nephew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These children call me</td>
<td>q amay ‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’, d asay ~ asi ‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The parents are my</td>
<td>d phawʔjoŋ, dada ‘elder brother’</td>
<td>q boci ‘sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their children and their spouse are my</td>
<td>q saʔmənhcək ‘daughter’</td>
<td>d saʔbanthay ‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These children call me</td>
<td>d away, awaŋ ‘uncle: father’s younger brother’</td>
<td>q amay ‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The parents are my</td>
<td>q nay, nəŋameg, anəŋ, mani ‘aunt: father’s sister’</td>
<td>d bonpi ‘brother-in-law: younger sister’s husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their children and their spouse are my</td>
<td>q namgaba namcək ‘niece’</td>
<td>d kharoyhan ‘nephew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These children call me</td>
<td>d ama, ‘uncle: mother’s brother’, q akay ‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The parents are my</td>
<td>d jon, jojon ‘younger brother’</td>
<td>q nawəri ‘sister-in-law: younger brother’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their children and their spouse are my</td>
<td>q saʔmənhcək, ‘daughter’</td>
<td>d saʔbanthay ‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These children call me</td>
<td>d daway ‘uncle: father’s elder brother’</td>
<td>q amay ‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 33  Reference terms uncles and aunts use for me.
The underlined forms can be used as address terms or reference terms, whereas the non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>These people</th>
<th>refer</th>
<th>to ay ‘me’ as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>say, asay</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘aunt: mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waŋ, awaŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uncle: father’s younger brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akay</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dətəy</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uncle: father’s elder brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nay, naŋ, anay, anəŋ, mani</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘aunt: father’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mama</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uncle: mother’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mawsa ~ mosa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ‘marriageable male cousin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ‘the relation of cousins from intermarriageable families’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>camay ~ came</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ‘marriageable female cousin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ‘the relation of female cousins from marriageable families’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5  The in-law family

Table 34 gives an overview of the referential terms for in-laws from the perspective of a male spouse, whereas Table 35 does the same from the perspective of a female spouse. Some terms have to be added here, which I will introduce from the perspective of *ay* ‘me’. My parents and the parents of my spouse address each other as *camay ~ came* ‘the relation of the parents of a married couple’. The referential term of this relation is *nokcama* ‘the relation of parents of a married couple’. The referential term of my *anay* ‘mother-in-law’ and my *ama* ‘mother’ can also call each other *abi* ‘elder sister’. In the dialect of Siju, my wife’s elder sister and me call each other *jaʔcuŋ* ‘the relation of man and his wife’s elder sister or of a woman and her younger sister’s husband’. The word *jaʔcuŋ* in the Badri dialect means either ‘sister-in-law: elder sister of one’s wife’ or ‘sister-in-law: brother’s elder sister’. Elder brother’s wife is referred to and addressed as *boci* in the Siju dialect.
Table 34  My in-laws, me being masculine.
The underlined forms can be used as address terms or reference terms, whereas the non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nayʔnokhol, anay, mani</td>
<td>hawʔnokhol, mama</td>
<td><em>wife’s parents</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaʔcuŋ</td>
<td>biawthap</td>
<td><em>wife’s older siblings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aŋŋ ŋŋ</td>
<td>gumi</td>
<td><em>wife’s younger siblings</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 35  My in-laws, me being feminine.
The underlined forms can be used as address terms or reference terms, whereas the non-underlined forms can only be used as reference terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nayʔnokhol, , nay, anay, mani</td>
<td>hawʔnokhol, mama</td>
<td><em>husband’s parents</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anəŋ – nəŋ</td>
<td>gumi</td>
<td><em>husband’s older siblings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawsəri</td>
<td>joŋsəri</td>
<td><em>husband’s younger siblings</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The referential terms that the parents-in-law use to indicate me and my siblings are given in Table 36. According to some Atong speakers, the terms kanokhol ‘son-in-law’ and namnokhol ‘daughter-in-law’ are used to refer to and address both the son/daughter-in-law and his/her siblings. Other Atong speakers say that the siblings are referred to and addressed by different terms, viz. kharaythap ‘nephew’ and namgaba/namcək ‘niece’.
Table 36  Address terms that my in-laws use for me and my siblings.
The underlined terms can be used as address terms, the non-underlined terms are only referential.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>These persons</th>
<th>use</th>
<th>this referential/address term</th>
<th>for these referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Account 1</td>
<td>kənokhol</td>
<td>‘son-in-law’</td>
<td>aj ♂ ‘me’, dada ‘[my] elder brother’, jojoŋ ‘[my] elder sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account 2</td>
<td>kənokhol</td>
<td>‘son-in-law’</td>
<td>aj ♂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>namnokhol</td>
<td>‘daughter-in-law’</td>
<td>aj ♀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khoŋythaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>dada ‘[my] elder brother’, jojoŋ ‘[my] elder sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>namgaba, namcək</td>
<td></td>
<td>abi ‘[my] elder sister’ nono ‘[my] younger sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The address terms that brothers- and sisters-in-law use for aj ‘me’ are the same as the reference terms and are represented in Table 37.

Table 37  Address terms that my brothers- and sisters-in-law use for me.
(All address terms can also be used referentially).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>These people</th>
<th>call</th>
<th>me (aj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gumi</td>
<td>joysəri ♂</td>
<td>nono ♀ ‘younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘brother-in-law: elder sister’s husband’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boci (Siju dialect), jaʔcuŋ (Badri dialect)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife or elder sister of one’s wife’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonəŋ</td>
<td>bonəŋ ♂</td>
<td>nono ♀ ‘younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘brother-in-law: younger sister’s husband’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawsəri</td>
<td>gumi ♂</td>
<td>boci ♀ ‘sister-in-law: husband’s elder sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sister-in-law: younger brother’s wife’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.6  Family loss
The reference term for ‘widow’ and ‘widower’ is fakəray. When a widower marries again, his children will call his new wife ade ‘stepmother’. When a widow marries
again, her new husband will be addressed as *away* ‘father’s younger brother’ by her children. A stepmother/stepfather refers to her/his stepchildren as *saʔməncək* ‘daughter’ and *saʔbanthay* ‘son’ or just *saʔ* ‘child’ or *saʔgyray* ‘child’. The word for stepchild, used to refer to someone else’s stepchildren, is *saʔthəra*. A child who lost his mother is called *jəwʔ=ri* (mother=LOST). A child who has lost his father is called *waʔ=ri* (father=LOST). When a child lost both his parents, an orphan, it is referred to as *waʔ=ri jəwʔ=ri* (father=LOST mother=LOST).

### 7.7 How to address people who are not kin

As Table 29 and Table 30 show us, some address terms can only be used to address a person the speaker is related to, i.e. kin. The term *bonəŋ* ‘brother-in-law: the relation of a man and his younger sister’s husband’ can only be used to address your *bonəŋ* and the term *namcək* ‘niece’, can only be used to address your *namcək*. Other kinship terms can also be used to address persons to whom the speaker is not related, i.e. non-kin. The choice of kinship term to address an unrelated person depends on the following factors:

1. age of the speaker relative to the addressee, older/younger
2. sex of the addressee, male/female,
3. level of familiarity and respect, not respectful/respectful

Scenarios where the addressee is younger than the speaker are described in §7.7.1, and scenarios where the addressee is older in §7.7.2.

Some address terms are only used between people who are approximately the same age. The terms *mawsa ~ mosa* ‘male cousin of marriageable family’, can be used by men to address other, non-related, men in a friendly and familiar way. Usually it is used to address someone from a family that the family of the speaker can intermarry with. There are two words for ‘friend’, the more intimate *baju*, which I

---

24 The NP *waʔri jəwʔri* consists of two suffixed nouns in coordination.
heard women use as well as men, and the less intimate bayʔsiga ~ bayʔsega, which I only heard men use.

7.7.1 **Addressee is younger than the speaker**

When the addressee is a small child, male or female, it can be addressed as saʔgəray ‘child’. When it is a boy, it can be addressed as babu, and when it is a girl you can call it rānī [rani], which is an Indic loan, similar to Hindi रानी (rānī) ‘queen’. Remember that the address term baba is only used to address the speaker’s own small male children. A group of children can also be addressed as saʔgəray, when some of them are the speaker’s kin and some are not. Small children can also be addressed with their name. When the addressee is female and not a small child any more, she can be addressed as naw ‘younger sister’ or, more respectfully, nono ‘younger sister’. When the addressee is a younger male, the term of address would be joŋ ‘younger brother’ or, more respectfully jojoŋ, ‘younger brother’ People of the same age or younger than the speaker can also be addressed with their name, if it is known to the speaker. Using proper names is an intimate way to address someone.

7.7.2 **Addressee is older than the speaker**

An older female can be addressed as jaʔnaw ‘elder sister’, or more respectfully as abi ‘elder sister’, when she is just a little older than the speaker. When she is lot older than the speaker, but could not yet be the speaker’s grandmother, she can be addressed as akay ‘aunt: mother’s elder sister’. This term is used especially when unmarried boys and girls address an unrelated woman who is most probably married. Old women are addressed as abu ‘grandmother’. An older male can be addressed as phawjoŋ ‘elder brother’ or more respectfully as dada ‘older brother’ or very respectfully as mama ‘uncle: mother’s brother’. Old men are addressed as acu ‘grandfather’. It is offensive to call people older than you by their first name or to talk about them using their first name. If you want to talk about someone older than yourself who is not related to yourself or (one of) the persons you talk to, you either call them by the name of their first child, e.g. dambe waʔ(Dambe father) ‘Dambe’s father’ or dambe jəwʔ(Dambe mother) ‘Dambe’s mother’, or you talk about them in terms of their kinship relation to someone else.
Chapter 8  Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a closed class containing two members, viz.

\[ ie \sim i \text{ proximal demonstrative (PRX) (first deictic degree)}, \]
\[ ue \sim u \text{ distal demonstrative (DST) (second deictic degree)}. \]

The bound forms \(<i>\) (PRX) and \(<u>\) (DST) of the demonstratives are used when enclitics immediately follow the demonstratives. The free forms are used when there are no enclitics immediately following the demonstratives. A demonstrative can take all case markers and can occur as all possible types of argument (see Table 58). Other properties of the demonstratives are treated here below. The deictic-only demonstratives are a separate word class, described in §8.8.

8.1  Deictic properties

No matter what syntactic function it has, a demonstrative can be used anaphorically or purely deictically. Moreover, the demonstratives can be used for both substitution anaphora and textual anaphora (cf. Dixon 2003). I have no clear cut examples of demonstratives used for cataphora in the language. For textual cataphora Atong uses the adverbial demonstrative \(ətəkəy\) treated below in §8.7.

8.1.1  Purely deictic use

Here are some examples of deictically used demonstratives with various case markings.

Locational deixis:

(101)  \( naŋʔ bayk ici tanbo \) [speaker points with his head].

\[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{[naŋʔ} & \text{bayk]} & [i] & =ci \{tan\} =bo \\
2s & \text{motorcycle} & \text{PRX} & =\text{LOC put} =\text{IMP} \\
\end{array} \]

‘Put your bike here [speaker points with his head].’

The demonstrative can always be followed by another locative-marked NP in apposition to the demonstrative phrase, e.g. (102)
(102) naŋ bayk ici bəthənci tanbo.

\[
\begin{align*}
[naŋ? \ bayk] & \quad [[i] =ci \ [bəthən] =ci \ \{tan\} =bo \\
2s \ \text{motorcycle} \ \text{PRX} =\text{LOC} \ \text{shade} & =\text{LOC} \ \text{put} =\text{IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Put your bike here in the shade.’

Goal deixis:
(103) aŋ icina seŋʔkhalay rayʔana naŋacəm.

\[
\begin{align*}
[ay] \quad [[i] =ci =na \ [seŋʔ-khal] =ay \ \{rayʔ\} =na \\
1s \ \text{PRX} =\text{LOC} =\text{ALL} \ \text{early-CP} =\text{ADV} \ \text{go} =\text{DAT}
\end{align*}
\]

\{naŋ -a\} =cəm

need -\text{CUST} =\text{IRR}

‘I should have come here earlier’

Source deixis:
(104) tay umi jokaydok.

\[
\begin{align*}
[tay] \quad [u] =mì \ \{jok -aydok\} \\
\text{water} \ \text{DST} =\text{ABL} \ \text{escape} =\text{PROG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The water comes out from there.’

(105) usangmi rayʔacwa. dolong nosto donʔok.

\[
\begin{align*}
[u =saŋ =mì \ \{rayʔa -ca -wa\} \ [doloŋ]\{nosto \ donʔ -ok\} \\
\text{DST} =\text{MOB} =\text{ABL} \ \text{come} =\text{NEG} =\text{FACT} \ \text{bridge} \ \text{damage} \ \text{IE} =\text{be} =\text{-COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[They] will not come from there. The bridge is damaged.’

Pathway deixis:
(106) utəkəy rayʔna manʔca. moŋma paŋʔa.

\[
\begin{align*}
[u =takəy \ \{rayʔ -na\} \ \{manʔ -ca\} \ [moŋma] \ {paŋ -a}\} \\
\text{DST} =\text{VIA} \ \text{go} =\text{DAT} \ \text{be.able} =\text{-NEG} \ \text{elephant} \ \text{many-CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[We] can’t go like that/via that way. There are many elephants.’

Comitative adjunct deixis:
(107) uməŋ rayʔcawa.

\[
\begin{align*}
[u=məŋ \ \{rayʔ -ca -wa\} \\
\text{DST} =\text{COM} \ \text{go} =\text{-NEG} =\text{-FACT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[I] will not go with him.’
8.1.2 Anaphora

The demonstrative functions as a pronoun. The next example illustrates how the distal demonstrative u (DST) refers back to the location, Badri, mentioned in the previous clause.

(108) [...] gandrungawsa badri məŋceŋwano. uci muʔbutuŋ somayci badri nemen manʔay saʔano.

In the following example we see how the distal demonstrative refers back to the NP teʔewrawrawmi gawi in the previous clause.

(109) Speaker N: ətəkaria, teʔewrawrawmi gawido.
Speaker S: unan symsakna naŋaro.

(110) hay sigyret hynʔetsəraŋ naʔa uaw.
8.2 Clausal properties

Demonstratives

- can be head of a predicate of an identity/equation clause, in which case it has to be marked by the focus/identifier enclitic \(<=an\) (FC/ID), e.g. 
  \([daba] \{i=an\}\) (coconut \(PRX=FC/ID\)) ‘this is a coconut’.
- can be an argument, core or oblique.

In the next example we see the proximal demonstrative as an oblique argument (peripheral argument/oblique), viz. a Facsimile, hence marked by the simulative enclitic \(<=təkəy\) (LIKE). The demonstrative in this example, the last sentence of a story, refers back to the story that has just been told.

(111) \(aŋdo \ təkəy \ balaymu \ tanarinaka.\)

\([aŋ \ =do \ \{təkəy\}] \{bal\} =ay \ =mu \ \{tan \ -ari \ -naka\}\)

\(1s =TOP \ PRX =LIKE \ tell \ =ADV \ =SEQ \ put \ -SIMP-IFT\)

‘Having told like this, I will now just stop.’

In the next example we see the proximal demonstrative \(i=təkəy\) (PRX=LIKE) ‘like this’ used deictically, referring to a trampling movement with the feet that the speaker makes while saying the sentence.

(112) \(utəkəyimu \ uaw \ doʔrenggo \ wadacoŋ\\dachong \ acu \ ambido \ tawnaan \ doʔrenggo \ waʔdacoŋ \ jatram \ saphayram \ noaymu \ samaw \ caʔaw \ itəkəy [gestures] tokano.\)

\(utəkəyimu \ [u =aw \ doʔrenggo \ waʔdacoŋ]=aw =do \ [acu \ ambido] =do \ CONJ \ DST=ACC \ Pname \ =ACC=TOP \ grandpa \ grandma =TOP\)

\({taw} =na =an \ [doʔrenggo \ waʔdacoŋ] \ [jatram \ saphayram] \ {no} =ay \ go.\up \ =DAT=FC/ID \ Pname \ type.of.plant \ type.of.plant \ say=ADV\)

\(=mu \ [sam] =aw \ [caʔ] \ =aw \ [təkəy \ \{tok \ -a\} =no \ =SEQ \ medicine=ACC=foot/leg \ =ACCPRX =LIKE \ beat \ -CUST =QUOT\)

‘As for Do•renggo Wa•dachong, in order to go up on Do•renggo Wa•dachong, our ancestors beat so called jatram and saphayram medicinal plants with their feet like this [gestures], it is said.’
8.3 Properties as head of a predicate

Demonstratives are attested with a limited number of predicate marking categories and clausal enclitics, viz. negative polarity <-ca> (NEG), irrealis <-cəm> (IRR), speculative modality <-khon> (SPEC), examples (113) and (114) below are illustrative. No evidence exists that demonstratives can take aspectual suffixes. Given that a demonstrative predicate head can be negated, I predict that it can also take the change of state suffix <-k> (COS), which is the allomorph that follows the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG).

In the following example we see, in the last clause, how the proximal demonstrative functions as head of the predicate and is marked by the phrasal focus/identifier enclitic <-an> (FC/ID) and the irrealis clausal enclitic <-cəm> (IRR).

(113) naʔnaŋmi garohils ie indiami nəŋʔci nembatgaba haʔkəŋgore, nembatgaba haʔsaldo iancəm.

[naʔnaŋ] =mi garohils [ie india =mi nəŋʔ =ci] {nem-bat} =gaba
1pi =GENPname PRX Pname =GENinside =LOC good -MOST =ATTR
haʔkəŋgore] [{nem -bat} =gaba haʔsal] =do
area that falls under one headman good -MOST =ATTR fertile land =TOP
{|[ə]_ =an] _ =cəm
PRX =FC/ID =IRR

‘Our Garo Hills, this [is] the best area which falls under one headman in India, this was, but is not any more [because the indigenous population did not know how to make good use of it], the most fertile land.’

In the example below, we see that the proximal demonstrative functions as head of the predicate of two main clauses. In the first clause the demonstrative is marked with the phrasal focus/identifier enclitic <-an> (FC/ID) followed by the quotative and speculative clausal enclitics <-no> (QUOT) and <-khon> (SPEC), in their typical order (see §26.9). In the second clause, we see the demonstrative marked by the phrasal focus/identifier enclitic <-an> (FC/ID) and the speculative and declarative clausal enclitics <-khon> (SPEC) and <-te> (DCL) respectively.
Demonstratives

8.4 Phrasal properties

Demonstratives

- can make up a complete NP on their own, and this occurs frequently in Atong. This is the so called “demonstrative pronoun” function (see Dixon 2003:65).
- can modify a noun, e.g. (267), (116), (117), (118), (119).
- cannot co-occur with a personal pronoun, except when the personal pronoun possessively modifies another noun (115).

Other phrasal properties of demonstratives are that they

- cannot modify a verb,
- cannot be modified,
- have a tendency to attract the case and other marking, such as topic marking, on the noun phrase away from the head (116), (117), or to be marked in addition to the head, e.g. (118), (119). This tendency is caused by the inherent topicality and referentiality of demonstratives.

There are two ways in which a demonstrative can modify a noun. The first is anaphoric modification, as illustrated in (116), (117) and (118). In these examples the referent has been mentioned before. The second way is deictic modification as illustrated by (119).
In the following examples we see how the demonstratives attract the topic and the accusative enclitics which are repeated in the string of phrasal enclitics. The heads of the NPs are in order of appearance: jəwʔ ‘mother’, diʔ ‘shit’, paraŋ goyʔ sa (reed CLF:RESIDU one) ‘one culm of reed’.

A demonstrative can also modify a proper name as the next example illustrates.
(120)  *ie radiba atoŋ taksəraŋok ie?*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[ie radi]} \quad =ba \quad \{\text{atoŋ} \quad \text{tak} \quad -səraŋ \quad -ok\} \quad [\text{ie}]
\end{array}
\]

PRX  Pname =EMPH  what do  -TOTALLY -COS  PRX

‘What the heck is that Radi doing, that one?’

8.5  **Morophological properties**

Demonstratives

- have a free form and a bound form,
- can take case marking,
- can be pluralised,
- cannot be counted,
- cannot be possessed.

The demonstratives occur in their free form when they are not followed by phrasal enclitics or predicate suffixes and before the question marker *<ma>* (Q), e.g. *ie ma ie?* (PRX Q PRX) ‘This one or this one?’

8.6  **Other functions of the demonstratives**

The locative-marked distal demonstrative *u=ci* (DST=LOC), but not the proximal one, can be used for temporal deixis meaning ‘then’ or for non-temporal deixis meaning ‘in that case’ and are then analysed as having grammaticalised into discourse connectives, described in Chapter 1. Both demonstratives, but most frequently the distal one, can function as sentence initial adverbials anaphorically referring to a proposition or string of propositions. In this function the demonstratives are locative or genitive marked.

The following example illustrates the use of the distal demonstrative with the reason postposition *gəmən* ‘reason’ which governs the genitive. In that example the demonstrative refers to the whole story that precedes.
A demonstrative can refer to a third person. When a demonstrative refers to a third person it can take the highly selective personal pronoun plural suffix <-<təm> (ppp). When the demonstrative refers to a third person, the choice between the proximal and the distal demonstrative depends on the involvement of this third person in the conversation. If the referent is more involved, the proximal demonstrative will be used, whereas if the referent is less involved the distal demonstrative will be used.

A good example of this parameter can be found in TEXT 1, line 16, represented below as (122). In the video of which that text is a transcription, the speaker directs his attention to the camera, seeking the attention of whoever will be the future viewer, and begins to speak about this person. It is obvious that in that instance the person talked about is greatly involved, hence the use of the proximal demonstrative.

(122) Songken (speaking into the camera)

\[
\text{ie, ie, i =do mamuŋ =an dogi' -khu -ca.}
\]

PRX PRX PRX =TOP nothing =FC/ID IE.be -INCOM-NEG

‘He, he, he is nothing yet.’

### 8.7 The adverbial demonstrative atəkey

The adverbial manner demonstrative atəkey can refer to objects ‘one like this/that, e.g. (41), and can be used adverbially ‘doing like this/that’. This demonstrative can be used anaphorically, e.g. (123), cataphorically, as in (124) and deictically. When used deictically it is usually accompanied by gestures, as in (125).
8 DEMONSTRATIVES


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atak} & = \text{na} \{ \text{jal} - \text{wa} \}, \{ \text{baiʔsiga} \} = \text{dəraŋ} \\
do.\text{what} & = \text{DAT} \text{ run.\text{away}-\text{FACT} fr\text{riend} =p} \\
[\text{ayu}] \{ \text{ātokəy} \} \{ \text{donʔ} - \text{wa} \} = \text{cəm} \\
\text{interj} \text{ like.\text{this} like.\text{this} i\text{Ebe} - \text{FACT} = \text{IRR} \\
[\text{san somay}] \{ \text{thik} khaʔ - \text{wa} \} = \text{cəm} \\
d\text{ay\ time precisely do - \text{FACT} = \text{IRR}}
\end{align*}
\]

“Why are you running away, friends?” “Oh! This [and] this supposedly happened. [They] supposedly fixed a day [and] a time [to fight with each other].”

(124) ātokəymu deʔthenge ātokəy takokno. məŋʔsa morot manʔay saʔgabaci wak rakhina gaʔakoknoaro.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ātokəymu} \{ \text{deʔthen} \} = e \{ \text{ātokəy} \} \{ \text{tak -ok} \} = \text{no} \{ \text{məŋʔsa} \} \{ \text{saʔgabi} \} \\
\text{so.then} \ 3\text{s} \ 	ext{=TOP like.\text{this} do - \text{COS} = \text{QUOT one} - \text{CLF}:\text{HUMANS} \\
\text{morot} \{ \text{manʔ} \} = \text{ay} \{ \text{saʔ} \} = \text{gaba} = \text{ci} \{ \text{wak} \} \{ \text{rakhí} \} \ = \text{na} \\
\text{-person in.great.\text{amounts}= \text{ADV eat = \text{ATTR = \text{LOC pig look.\text{after} = \text{DAT}} \\
\{ \text{gaʔak -ok} \} = \text{no} \\
\text{be.\text{compelled -\text{COS} = \text{QUOT}}} \}
\end{align*}
\]

“So then he did like this, it is said. He was forced to look after the pigs at [the house of] a rich man, it is said.”

(125) geʔthen dəkwəmaw ātokəy [gesture] caŋʔkuisang tanʔthongok..

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{geʔthen}] \{ \text{dəkwəm} \} = \text{aw} \{ \text{ātokəy} \} \{ \text{caŋʔkui} \} = \text{saŋ} \{ \text{tanʔthon -ok} \} \\
3\text{s} \ 	ext{head =ACC like.\text{this big.knife =INSTR decapitate -COS} \}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He cut the head of with a big knife like this (gesture).’

The adverbial demonstrative is not to be confused with the homophonous verb ātok- ‘to do like this/that’. The non-finite sequential form of this verb has developed into a discourse connective, viz. ātokəymu ~ ātokəyməŋ ~ ātokəymuŋ ~ ātokəymuŋna indicating the occurrence of a new event in discourse, e.g. (124). In this connective form the adverbial clausal enclitic <=ay> (ADV) underwent vowel harmony giving /əy/ and while in most allomorphs the sequential enclitic <=mu ~ =məŋ ~ =muŋ> (SEQ) is still recognisable, another allomorph, <=muŋna> has evolved just for this
connective. It is usually translated in this grammar as ‘so then’, though the literal translation would be ‘having done like this/that’.

8.8 Deictic-only demonstratives

Deictic-only demonstratives are a closed word class consisting of two members, viz. *hawe ~ hav* remote and non-visual demonstrative (REM) (third deictic degree), *həyawe ~ haya* emphatic remote demonstrative (REMEMPH) (third deictic degree). The properties of the quasi demonstratives are given here below.

**Semantic properties:** Deictic-only demonstratives cannot be used as third person personal pronouns.

**Discourse properties:** Deictic-only demonstratives can be used deictically but cannot be used anaphorically,

**Clausal properties:** Deictic-only demonstratives cannot be the head of a predicate, but can be an oblique argument (126).

(126) *teʔdo havci ciakol ruguŋci jəwsawaydoŋnote, magacakdo.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[teʔ] & = do & [\textit{haw}] & = ci & [\textit{ciakol} (Garo) \textit{rugun}] & = ci \\
\text{now} & = \text{TOP} & \text{REM} & = \text{LOC} & \text{well edge} & = \text{LOC} \\
\{jəw -saw -aydoŋ\} & = no & = te & [\textit{magacak}] & = do \\
\text{sleep -SURELY -PROG} & = \text{QUOT} & = \text{DCL} & \text{deer} & = \text{TOP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Now [he] was fast asleep way over there next to a well, it is said, the deer.’

**Phrasal properties**

Deictic-only demonstratives

- cannot modify a noun,
- cannot modify a verb,
- cannot be modified,
- in isolation can be used deictically to refer to objects (127).

(127) *uci khambayci nok ganaŋ, həyawe.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[u] & = ci & [\textit{khabay}] & = ci & [\textit{nok}] & \{\textit{ganaŋ}\} & [\textit{həyawe}] \\
\text{DST} & = \text{LOC} & \text{top} & = \text{LOC} & \text{house} & \text{exist} & \text{REMEMPH}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There on top is a house, that one way over there.’
Morphological properties

Deictic-only demonstratives

– can take case marking, except accusative,
– cannot be counted,
– cannot be possessed.
Chapter 9  Interrogatives

The sixteen members of the closed word class of interrogatives are listed below in Table 38.

Table 38  List of interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>section</th>
<th>MORPHEMES</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>opaque</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>opaque</td>
<td>atɔŋ</td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>what=VIA/LIKE</td>
<td>atɔŋ=taŋkɔy</td>
<td>‘why?’ ‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>do.what=DAT ~ opaque</td>
<td>atak=na ~ atana</td>
<td>‘why?’ ‘for what purpose?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>what-?</td>
<td>atɔŋ-mayʔna</td>
<td>‘why?’ ‘for what purpose?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>do.what=ADV ~ opaque</td>
<td>atakɔy ~ atakɔy</td>
<td>‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>QF unbound form</td>
<td>bie ~ bi-</td>
<td>‘which? where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>opaque</td>
<td>biskɔn, bayɔk</td>
<td>‘how much, how many?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>QF=EMPH</td>
<td>bi=ba</td>
<td>‘when?’ / ‘in whatever place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.11</td>
<td>QF=VIA</td>
<td>bi-taŋkɔy</td>
<td>‘by which way?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.12</td>
<td>QF=LOC</td>
<td>bi=ci</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>QF=MOB</td>
<td>bi=say</td>
<td>‘to/from where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QF=MOB=GEN</td>
<td>bi=say=mi ~ bi=say=məŋ</td>
<td>‘from where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.14</td>
<td>QF=GEN</td>
<td>bi-mi ~ bi=məŋ</td>
<td>‘from where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>QF=ATTR</td>
<td>bi=gaba</td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roughly half of the interrogatives are formed with the interrogative formative morpheme <bǐ> (QF), which in its unbound form bie means ‘which’ or ‘where’. The others, except caŋ ‘who’, are formed with what might be a fossilised prefix <a-> (?), possibly a remnant of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix *ʔa- ~ *(ʔ)ə- ~ ʔə - ~ *ʔak- which had quite a number of distinct functions, among which ‘indicator of stativity or intransitivity’ which might be relevant here (see Matisoff 2003: 104-107). The interrogative verb atak- ‘to do what’ seems to be derived from the verb tak- ‘to do’ with this a- prefix.

The interrogative form /biskɔn/ [bis.kɔn] ‘how much/many’ has an affirmative counterpart /isəkɔn ~ iskɔn/ ‘this many/much’. The morpheme <səken> never appears anywhere else in the language except in the indefinite proform jesəkɔn ‘however much/many’. Therefore, although isəkɔn ~ iskɔn ‘this many/much’, biskɔn ‘how
much/many’ and jesəkən ‘however much/.many’ may be historically analysable as containing a suffix \(<-səkən\) (QUANTITY), these forms are now opaque for Atong speakers.

The question word atakay ~ atəkəy ‘why’ has developed from the adverbial form of the verb atak ‘to do what?’: atak=ay (do.what=ADV) ‘doing something’. The form atəkəy is a more grammaticalised, more opaque form with the vowels reduced to schwa. About the origin of the element mayʔna (?) in atoŋ-mayʔna I can only speculate that the element mayʔ might be historically related to the Garo question word may ‘what?’ (without glottal stop). Of course this is all highly speculative.

9.1 Properties of interrogatives

Interrogatives cannot express any grammatical categories expressed by predicate heads (see Chapter 22), except for biskən ‘how much/many’ and bisay ‘to where’, which can take the change of state suffix \(<-ok\) (COS) and thus function as head of a predicate of a verbless content question interrogative clause. Interrogatives cannot be modified. All the interrogatives will be treated one by one.

The position of the interrogative in the clause can vary just like the position of other core and peripheral arguments. However, unlike NPs, interrogatives never appear in right dislocated position after the predicate, except for one example with the interrogative biskən ‘how much/many?’, presented below in (128).

\[(128)\]
maʔ, cuŋa biskənan?

\[
\begin{array}{l}
[maʔ] \{cuŋ -a\} [biskən] =an \\
\text{interj} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{DCL} \quad \text{how.much} =\text{FC/ID}
\end{array}
\]

‘How big [did you say it was]?’

The following interrogatives can occur as constituents of predicateless interrogative clauses. Predicateless interrogative clauses are treated in §26.1.2.

- caŋ  ‘who?’
- atog  ‘what?’
- bie  ‘which?,where?’
- bici  ‘where?’
- atakna ~ atana  ‘why?’
The interrogatives *biskən* ‘how much/many’ and *bisag* ‘to where’ can express
perfectivity by means of the change of state suffix <-*ok* (COS) and can even take
event specifiers. Therefore these interrogatives can always be identified as predicate
head when they appear in verbless interrogative clauses. Examples of interrogatives as
head of a predicate can be found in §26.1.3. More fieldwork is required to find out if
there are restrictions on the types of event specifier that can appear on these
interrogatives.

9.2  *caŋ* ‘who’

The interrogative *caŋ* ‘who’ has human reference and can be used as an argument,
core (129), (130), or oblique (peripheral), e.g. (130), and as a adnominal modifier with
and without the genitive enclitic, e.g. (1), (132). In (129) we see the interrogative in S
function and in (130) in O function and marked with the accusative enclitic. In
example (130) *caŋ* ‘who?’ functions as peripheral argument.

(129)  *caŋ* rayʔawa?

[ *caŋ*]s  {rayʔa -wa}
who  come -FACT
‘Who has come?’

(130)  “*caŋmu reʔegni? anga caŋaw morot baju manʔphanaka?*

[ *caŋ*] =mu  {reʔeg -ni}
who  =COM  go.away -FUT
[ *anga*] [ *caŋ*] =aw  {morot baju}  {manʔ -pha -naka}
1s  who  =ACCHuman  friend  get -IN.ADDITION -IFT

‘With whom shall we go?’ Who will I get as human friend?’’ (Said the lazy
king after the tiger had defied him.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the interrogative *caŋ* ‘who?’ as an
adnominal modifier within an NP. In (1) the interrogative is genitive-marked while in
(132) it is unmarked for case and modifies the noun though juxtaposition.
Example (1) is the reaction to something that somebody had said about a certain song. The example is a fragment (see also §20.8.3), i.e. it is not a clause and it does not mean ‘Whose song is it?’.

9.3 *atoŋ* ‘what’

The interrogative *atoŋ* ‘what’ has non-human reference. It can replace the interrogated NP in a clause, and it can be used as an adnominal modifier within an NP. In the next example the interrogative is E argument and in (134) O.

(133) *ue usaqmi? bimuŋ atoŋ məŋwa?*

\[ue\] [u] =saŋ =mi
\[bimuŋ\]O [atoŋ]E {məŋ -wa}
name what call.a.name -FACT
‘Where is he from? What is [his] name?’

(134) *stokəiməŋ thəməy caybutuŋcie atoŋaw nukokno geʔtheŋe?*

\[stokəiməŋ\] {thəm} =ay {cay -butuŋ} =ci =e
CONJ lay.in.ambush =ADV look -WHILE =LOC=FC
\[atoŋ\]O =aw {nuk -ok} =no [geʔtheŋ] =e
what =ACC see -COS =QUOT 3s =FC

‘So then, while he was looking while laying in ambush, what did he see?, it is said.’

This interrogative can also be used attributively to nouns as shown in (135), where it modifies the noun *kam* ‘work’.

(131) *caŋməŋ git?*

\[caŋ\] =məŋ =git\]
who =GEN song
‘Whose song?’

(132) *naʔa caŋ saʔ??*

\[naʔa\] [caŋ =sai]
2s who child
‘Whose child are you?’
(135) kamba atoŋ kamaw khaʔay muʔnaka ie?

[kam] =ba [atoŋ kam] =aw {khaʔ} =ay {muʔ-naka} [ie]
work =EMPH/ADD what work =ACC do =ADV stay -IFT PRX
‘And then that work, what work will [he] do when [he] will stays here, this
guy?’ Lit. ‘What work doing will he stay?’

9.4 atoŋtəkəy ‘why, how come’

This interrogative questions which event has taken place for a situation to be the way
it is. Therefore atoŋtəkəy is translatable as ‘why’ or ‘how come?’, e.g. (136). The
word is transparently made up of the interrogative atoŋ and the perlative/similative
case enclitic (=təkəy) (VIA/LIKE).


[atoŋtəkəy] [tayʔni] [jaʔbek] {thaw -ok} =say {no-ok} =no
why today curry tasty -COS =MIR say -COS =QUOT
[atoŋ] {dəw-wə} [ama] {no-ok} =no
what add -FACT mother say -COS =QUOT

‘“How come, to my surprise, the curry is so very tasty today?”’ [he] said, it is
said. “What did you add, mother?” [he] said, it is said.’

9.5 atakna ~ atana ‘why’

This interrogative questions a purpose or reason (137), (138). The allomorph atakna is
transparently made up of the root of the interrogative verb atak ‘to do what?’ (see
§4.5.1vii) and the dative enclitic (=na) (DAT). The more opaque allomorph atana
appears most often in quick speech.

(137) naʔa atakna icina ratʔawa?

[naʔa] [atakna] [ɨ] =ci =na {rayʔa -wa}
2s why PRX =LOC=ALL come -FACT
‘Why have you come all the way here?’

(138) atakna kərewa, morotmaʔdərangna?

[atakna] {kəre-wə} [morot] =maʔ =dəragen =na
why fear -FACT human =interj =p =DAT
‘Why do you fear the humans, hey?’

The interjection maʔ in (138) signals surprise (see also (283) in §16.1.5).
9.6 atongmayʔna ‘why’

This interrogative can occur anywhere in the clause before the predicate. It questions a reason.

(139) “madam tokwa.” “atongmayʔna?” “stokʔyan tokariwa.

female.teacher beat FACT why like.that =FC/ID beat -SIMP-FACT

“The teacher beat [me].” “Why?” “[She] beat [me] just like that (i.e. for no reason).”

9.7 atakay ~ atakəy ‘how’

This interrogative can appear anywhere in the clause before the predicate. It questions a method. The allomorph atakay is morphologically transparent and consists of the verbal root atak ‘to do what?’ and the adverbial enclitic <=ay> (ADV). The allomorph atakəy is less transparent since it has reduced most of the vowels into schwa. There is no verb *atak. Examples with both allomorphs are given below.

(140) atakay koreca naʔa, angdo koreal’

why be.afraid -NEG 2s 1s =TOP be.afraid -CUST

‘Why are you not afraid? I am afraid.’

(141) e alsia raja atakəy kegaydok? atakəyan jəkaw haldunna manʔaydok?

PRX lazy.person king how live -PROG how =FC/ID spouse =ACC

‘How does this lazy king live? How is he able to feed his wives?’

9.8 bie ~ bi ‘which, where’

This interrogative questions both a place, as in (142), and one item out of a collection. In the latter function the interrogative can function as modifier of a noun, as in (143), or as a constituent on its own, as we see in (144). This interrogative has a free and a bound allomorph. The free form bie is used without phrasal enclitics. When it takes a phrasal enclitic, the bound form bi is used (145).
(142)  
\[ \text{bie nāŋ? jōŋdɔranę? nāŋ? jōŋe bie?} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[bie]} \quad \text{[nāŋ? jōŋ]} \quad =dɔran \quad =e \\
\text{where} \quad 2s \quad \text{younger.brother} \quad =p \quad =FC \\
\text{[nāŋ? jōŋ]} \quad =e \quad \text{[bie]} \\
2s \quad \text{younger.brother} \quad =FC \quad \text{where}
\end{array}
\]

‘Where [are] your younger brothers? As for your younger brothers, where [are they]’

(143)  
“sam manama.” “bie same?”

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[sam]} \quad \text{[manam -a]} \quad \text{[bie sam]} \quad =e \\
\text{medicine} \quad \text{stink} \quad =CUST \quad \text{which} \quad \text{medicine} \quad =FC \\
\text{“The medicine stinks.” “Which medicine?”}
\end{array}
\]

(144)  
\[ \text{stɔkɔymu biaw məkcanə stɔkgarəŋawə?} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{stɔkɔyμu} \quad \text{[bį]} \quad =aw \quad \text{[məkca] =na} \quad \text{[stɔk] =ga} \quad =raŋ =aw \quad =e \\
\text{CONJ} \quad \text{which} \quad =\text{ACC} \quad \text{fancy} \quad =\text{DAT} \quad \text{do.like.that} \quad =\text{ATTR} \quad =p \quad =\text{ACC} \quad =FC \\
\text{‘So which one(s) am [I] supposed to fancy, those who do like that?’}
\end{array}
\]

The context of the next example is as follows. A man is talking to his daughter about the fish traps he had put up. He says: “When I inspected the one upstream, otters had eaten the fish. When I inspected the one downstream, otters had also eaten the fish.” Then the man utters (145). This example illustrates the bound form of the interrogative bie ~ bi ‘which?, where?’

(145)  
“biaw caykhuna? aŋna nīʔok” nookno.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[bį]} \quad =aw \quad \text{[cay -khu -na] =aŋ =na} \quad \{nīʔ -ok \} \quad \{nō-ok \} \quad =no \\
\text{which} \quad =\text{ACC} \quad \text{look} \quad =\text{INCOM-DESI} \quad \text{IS} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{not.exist} \quad =\text{COS} \quad \text{say} \quad =\text{COS} \quad =\text{QUOT} \\
\text{‘Which other one [is there] to look at? I have no more”, he said, it is said.’} \\
\text{Alternatively: “Which other one can I/am I supposed to look at?”’}
\end{array}
\]

9.9  
\text{biskən and baysək ‘how much/many’}

The interrogative biskən ‘how much/many’ questions a quantity. This can be done as a phrase, e.g. (128), (147) as an adnominal modifier, e.g. (146), or as a predicate (148). This interrogative can modify countable as well as uncountable nouns.
We know this interrogative, when unmarked, can function as a predicate because it can take the change of state predicate head suffix <-ok> (COS), as we see in (149). The headless quantified NP is a right dislocated, antitopical Beneficiary.

This interrogative has another form boysək ‘how much/many’ used after classifiers and auto-classifiers (see Chapter 12). Example (150) is illustrative. In this example we see that the interrogative boysək modifies a headless quantified NP with the residual classifier goyʔ.
9.10  *biba* ‘when, in whatever place’

The interrogative *biba* ‘when, in whatever place’ has both temporal and spatial reference. When it is used with spatial reference it has an indefinite meaning and is used as a pre-nominal modifier, e.g. (151). When it is used to question a temporal constituent, *biba* ‘when’ is used adverbially and its position in the clause is variable (152).

(151)  \[teʔewe biba soŋ damsacie boba məŋʔsa ganaŋcəmnoro.\]

\[teʔew\] =e \[biba\]  \[soŋ\]  \[damsacie\]  \[boba\]  \[məŋʔ\]  \[sa\]  =ci \[boba\]  
now  =FC  wherever  village  CLF:VILLAGES  one=LOC  crazy.person  
\[məŋʔ\]  \[sa\]  \[ganaŋ\]  =cəm=no  =ro  
CLF:HUMANS  one  exist  =IRR  =QUOT  =EMPH  
‘Now, in a certain village wherever, supposedly was a crazy person, it is said.’

(152)  \[ie radi bibaan rayʔanaka?\]

\[ie\]  \[radi\]  \[biba\]  =an \[rayʔ\]  \[naka\]  
PRX  Pname  when  =FC/ID  come  =IFT  
‘When precisely will Radi come?’

9.11  *bitəkəy* ‘by which way?’

This interrogative, consisting of the question formative *bi* (QF) and the perlative/similative case enclitic `<təkəy>` (VIA/LIKE), questions a Pathway. The following example is illustrative. Although the case marker `<təkəy>` (VIA/LIKE) also marks facsimile adjuncts (peripheral arguments/obliques), the interrogative *bitəkəy* ‘by which way?’ is only attested questioning Pathways.
(153)  *bitəkəy reʔeŋima? Ie ramtəkəyma utəkəy?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bitəkəy]} & \{\text{reʔeŋ} -\text{-ni} \} = \text{ma} \ [\text{ie} \ \text{ram} = \text{təkəy} = \text{ma}] \ [\text{u}] = \text{təkəy} \\
\end{align*}
\]

by.which.way go.away -FUT =Q PRX road =VIA =Q DST=VIA

‘By which way shall we go? By this road or by that one?’

9.12  *bici ‘where’*

The interrogative *bi=ci* (QF=LOC) only questions spatial location. Its place in the clause is right before the predicate (154). In a verbless clause the position of the interrogative is variable, e.g. *ue bici?* (DST where) or *bici ue?* (where DST) ‘Where is he?’.

(154)  *ayaw! cabi bicin tanayok?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ayaw} & \ [\text{cabi}] \ [\text{bici}] = n \ \{\text{tan} -\text{aŋ} -\text{ok}\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

interj key where =FC/ID put -AWAY -COS

‘Oooh! Where did I put my key away (so that I cannot find it any more)?’ (In Dutch this could be accurately translated by ‘Waar heb ik mijn sleutel toch weggelegd?’)

9.13  *bisaj ‘to/from where’ and bisaymi ‘from where’*

These interrogatives question a direction. Their position in the clause is right before the predicate, e.g. (155).

(155)  *ha? atoŋ cucu? naʔa bisaj reʔeŋaydoŋa?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha} & \ [\text{atoŋ}] \ [\text{cucu}] \ [\text{naʔa}] \ [\text{bisaj}] \ \{\text{reʔeŋ} -\text{aydoŋa}\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

interj: SURPRISE what grandson 2s to/from.where go -PROG

‘Huh? What is it, Grandson? Where are you going?’

The interrogative *bi=say* (QF=MOB) ‘to/from where’ might well be the most frequently used one in the language since it is used in the common greeting *bisaj reʔeŋwa?* meaning ‘where have you come from?’, often just shortened to *bisaj?* ‘where to /where from?’. What direction is implied depends on the verb. The verb *reʔeŋ* ‘to go.away, leave’ in the factitive implies movement away from somewhere with past time reference and therefore the interpretation of *bisaj* will be ‘from where’, asking for a source. In (155) we see the same verb in the progressive, in which case the *bisaj* is interpreted as questioning a goal. When no verb is used, it depends
entirely on the context or on the choice of the listener how to interpret the question. If
the speaker wants to make it absolutely clear that he is asking for a source, he will use
the interrogative with the ablative/genitive case enclitic \(<\text{=mi ~ =məŋ}> \text{GEN/ABL},
e.g. (156).

(156)  \(\text{nəŋʔ bisəŋməŋ rayʔa -wa}\)
\[\text{[nəŋʔ] [bisəŋ] =məŋ} \{\text{rayʔa -wa}\}\]
2s to/from.where =ABL come -FACT
‘Where have you come from?’

There are two recorded instances, both in the same story, of \(\text{bisəŋ} \ ‘\text{to/from where?’}‘\)
with a dative case added onto it. This will emphasise that the speaker questions a Goal
rather than a Source. These are also the two recorded occasions on which this question
word was used with the delimitative enclitic. Examples are given below.

(157)  \(\text{bisəŋnasa nəŋʔtyme?’}‘\)
\[\text{[bə] =səŋ =nə =sa} \{\text{nəŋʔ-əm} =e}\]
QF =MOB =DAT=DILM 2s -ppp =FC
‘To where exactly [are] you [going]?’

(158)  \(\text{aya! phulis bisəŋnasa rayʔarumənəy tayʔnido?}\)
\[\text{aya} \ [\text{phulis}] \ [bə] =səŋ =nə =sa}\]
interj police QF =MOB =DAT=DILM
\{\text{rayʔa -ram -ə} \ =səy} \{\text{tayʔmə} \ =do}\]
go -SEARCH -CUST =MIR today =TOP
‘Huh?! Where exactly are the police to my surprise trying to go to today?’

9.14  \(\text{bimə ~ biməŋ ‘(from) where’}\)
Another way of questioning a place or a source is by means of the interrogative \(\text{bimə ~ biməŋ} \ ‘\text{from where, where’}, \)
which can be analysed as the bound form of the
interrogative \(\text{bie ~ bi} \ ‘\text{which, where’} \) with the ablative case enclitic \(<\text{=mi ~ =məŋ}> \text{(ABL), homophonous with the genitive). The interpretation of this interrogative}
depends on the form of the verb in the same way as described above for \(\text{bisəŋ}
‘to/from where’. This interrogative appears right before the predicate (159).
The interrogative *bimi ~ miməŋ* ‘from where, where’ can be used as modifier of an NP postponed to the interrogative, of which (160) below is illustrative. This example comes from a story about a man who is selling the ashes of his burnt house. When people see him selling these ashes on the market they ask (160).

(160)  

```
[ia] =aw =e [bi] =məŋ morot {raʔ -naka} =ma
PRX =ACC=FC QF =ABL person get -IFT =Q
'A person from where will buy this?'
```
Chapter 10  Indefinite proforms

There are eleven indefinite proforms in Atong. They have different syntactic and morphological properties and therefore belong to different word classes. All proforms are listed in Table 39 and will be treated separately below.

Table 39  List of indefinite proforms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>section</th>
<th>PROFORM</th>
<th>LABEL OF PARTS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>any=GEN</td>
<td>‘any, whichever, whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>je=mi ~ je=məŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘any’ followed by a time noun in the locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>je=səkən</td>
<td>any=MOB=INDEF</td>
<td>‘to wherever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caŋ=ba</td>
<td>who=INDEF</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aton=ba</td>
<td>what=INDEF</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi=ci=ba</td>
<td>QF=LOC=INDEF</td>
<td>‘somewhere, sometimes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi=saŋ=ba</td>
<td>QF=MOB=INDEF</td>
<td>‘to somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi=mi=ba ~ bi=məŋ=ba</td>
<td>QF=GEN=INDEF</td>
<td>‘from somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>caŋ=gaba</td>
<td>who=ATTR</td>
<td>‘whoever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>daraŋba</td>
<td>opaque</td>
<td>‘anybody’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>gumuk=saŋ</td>
<td>all=MOB</td>
<td>‘everywhere’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.1  The indefinite proform je ‘any, whichever, whatever’

The indefinite proform je ‘any, whichever, whatever’\(^{25}\) modifies any postposed noun in any syntactic function, e.g. (162). It has a genitive-marked derived form je=mi ~ je=məŋ (any=GEN) with a more restricted use. This derived form only appears before locative-marked nouns indicating a unit of time and the word somay ‘time’, e.g. (163).

\(^{25}\) This word may have an Indic origin: cf the Hindi relative and indefinite pronoun जे ~ जी /je ~ jo/ ‘the one who, which; whichever, what ever, whoever’.
As we can see in (164) the other attested form modifying locative time nouns is the focus/identifier-marked form.

(162)  *haʔcək songumukdo məkha baɗri noaria je raŋawba.*

[ *haʔcək* *soŋ* ] =gumuk =do [ *məkha* *Badri* ] { *no-ari -a* }
Garo village =ALL =TOP long.havy.rain say -SIMP-CUST

[ *je raŋ* ] =aw =ba
any rain =ACC=EMPH

‘Really all the Garo villages just say *məkha Badri* to all rain.’

(163)  *jemi sanci dibanŋkhangdanŋaw matsa kakok.*

[ *je =mi san* ] =ci [ *dibangkhangdan* ] =aw [ *matsa* ] { *kak -ok* }
any =GEN=day =LOC=Name =ACC tiger bite -COS

‘On a certain day a tiger bit Dibangkongdang.’

The only other enclitic that *je* has been recorded with is the focus identifier enclitic <=*an* (FC/ID), which frequently assimilates its vowel to the indefinite article. The resultant forms are *jeen* [jeεn] ~ *jen* [jen], but the form *jean* also occurs, e.g. (164).

(164)  *jean sanci jada məŋʔsa nukokno.*

[ *je =an san* ] =ci [ *jada məŋʔ sa* ] { *nuk -ok* } =no
any =FC/ID day =LOC=idiot CLF:HUMANS one see -COS =QUOT

‘On a certain day [he] saw an idiot, it is said.’

There are both other proforms and adverbs derived opaquely and transparently from the morpheme *je* ‘any, whichever, whatever’. The derived adverbs are listed in Table 49 below. The derived proforms are mobilitative, locational and quantificational, and will be discussed separately below.

10.2   Derivations from *je* ‘any, whichever, whatever’

The indefinite proforms *je=say=ba* (any=MOB=INDEF) ‘to wherever’ replaces a Direction adjunct, e.g. example (165), which comes from Text 3, line 26.
INDEFINITE PROFORMS

(165) kamalnado jesəŋba walduk sandukba rəkarini, khurutna.

\[ [\text{kamaľ}] =na =do \quad [\text{je}] =saŋ =ba \quad [\text{wal} \text{-duk} \text{san} \text{-duk}] =ba \]
\[ \text{priest} =\text{DAT} =\text{TOP} \quad \text{any} =\text{MOB} =\text{INDEF} \quad \text{night} -\text{sorrow} \quad \text{day} -\text{sorrow} =\text{ADD} \]
\[ \{rək \text{-ari} \text{-ni} \} \quad \{\text{khurut}\} =na \]
\[ \text{chase} =\text{SIMP} -\text{FUT} \quad \text{perform.an.incantation} =\text{DAT} \]

‘[People] will search anywhere for a priest, whether it is day or night, to perform an incantation.’

The indefinite locational proforms replaces a Location adjunct, e.g. (166).

(166) jeciba naŋʔ muʔciba aŋ naŋʔna khaʔgala.

\[ [\text{je}] =\text{ci} =\text{ba} \quad [\text{naŋʔ}] \quad [\text{muʔ}] =\text{ci} =\text{ba} \quad [\text{aŋ}] \quad [\text{naŋʔ}] =na \quad [\text{khaʔgal}-a] \]
\[ \text{any} =\text{LOC} =\text{INDEF} \quad \text{stay} =\text{LOC} =\text{INDEF} \quad 2\text{s} =\text{DAT} \quad \text{love} -\text{CUST} \]

‘Wherever you are, I love you.’

The indefinite quantificational proform jesəkən ‘however much/many’ replaces a quantity, as in (167). It is not attested with the indefinite enclitic \(<=ba\> \text{ (INDEF)}).

This proform is one of three lexical items that contain the bound morpheme \(<səkən>\) (QUANTITY), the others being \(i\text{-səkən}\) (PRX-QUANTITY) and \(biskən\) (QF-QUANTITY) ‘how much/many’, which is syllabified as [bis.kən].

(167) jesəkən naŋʔci ganaŋ cənaribo, kamalna.

\[ [\text{je} \text{-səkən}] \quad [\text{naŋʔ}] =\text{ci} \quad [\text{ganaŋ}] \quad [\text{cənaribo} \text{-ri}] =\text{bo} \quad [\text{kamaľ}] =na \]
\[ \text{any} =\text{QUANTITY} \quad 2\text{s} =\text{LOC} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{offer} =\text{SIMP} =\text{IMP} \quad \text{priest} =\text{DAT} \]

‘However much you have, just offer it to the priest.’

10.3 caŋba, atoŋba, biciba, bisəŋba and bimiba

These indefinite proforms are all derived from their respective interrogatives (see Chapter 1) by means of the indefinite phrasal enclitic \(<=ba\> \text{ (INDEF)}). This means that Atong has polysemy of indefinites and interrogatives. caŋ=ba (who=INDEF) ‘someone’ has human reference, atoŋba (what=INDEF) ‘something’ has non-human reference, bi=ci=ba (QF=LOC=INDEF) ‘somewhere’ refers to a Location, bi=saŋ=ba (QF=MOB=INDEF) refers to a Direction and bi-mi=ba ~ bi=məŋ=ba (QF=GEN =INDEF) refers to a Source. The proforms caŋba ‘someone’ and atoŋba ‘something’
can fulfill all argument and adjunct functions and can take case marking. Examples of all these respective proforms are given here below.

(168)  
cangba geʔtheŋ songmi bayaw badayok.  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[cang] =ba} & \text{[geʔtheŋ soŋ =mi bay] =aw \{baday -ok\}} \\
\text{who =INDEF 3s village =GEN border =ACC cross.a.border -COS}
\end{array}
\]

‘Somebody crossed the border of his village.’

(169)  
najʔdo tayʔnido atoŋba dəwwa. jaʔbekan thawokte.  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[najʔ] =do} & \text{[tayʔni] =do} \{dəw-wa\} \\
\text{2s =TOP today =TOP what =INDEF add -FACT}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[jaʔbek] =an} & \text{\{thaw -ok\} =te} \\
\text{curry =FC/ID tasty -COS =DCL}
\end{array}
\]

‘You have added something today. This curry is very tasty, really!’

(170)  
umigəmən biciba gisep gisep cəti sayietrukarinaka.  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[u =mi gəmən]} & \text{[bi] =ci =ba \{gisep gisep\} [cəti]} \\
\text{DST =GEN reason QF =LOC =INDEF middle RED letter}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{\{say -et -ruk -ari -naka\}} & \\
\text{write -CAUS -RC -SIMP -IFT}
\end{array}
\]

‘Because of that, we will sometimes write each other letters from time to time/in the mean time.’

(171)  
geʔtheŋ bisaŋba reʔeŋok.  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[geʔtheŋ]} & \text{[bi] =saŋ =ba \{reʔeŋ -ok\}} \\
\text{3s QF =MOB =INDEF go.away -COS}
\end{array}
\]

‘He has gone somewhere.’

\[26\] The morphemeSYGSEP – gisep – gesep means ‘middle’ or ‘space’ and is, apart from reduplicated, only found in the body part nounSYGSEPcaksi-gysep ‘space in between fingers’ and in the expressionSYGSEPU =mi gysep =ci =an (DST =GEN middle =LOC =FC/ID) ‘in the meantime’.
INDEFINITE PROFORMS

(172) phorendəraŋ bimiba indiami nəŋʔdəraŋmi rayaʔaymu […]

[phoren] =dəraŋ [bi] =mi =ba [india =mi nəŋʔ] =dəraŋ =mi
foreigner=p QF =GEN=INDEFPname =GENinside =p =GEN
{rayʔa} =ay =mu
come =ADV =SEQ

‘Foreigners come from the interior [places] of India from somewhere [and …]’

The pro-form bisajba ‘to/from somewhere’ has been recorded as modifier to an NP. Moreover, this indefinite proform is inflected with the genitive case, marking the proform as a Source.

(173) raaria, phorensaŋməŋ, bisaŋbaməŋ morotdaraŋ.

{ra -ari -a} [phoren] =saŋ =məŋ
get -SIMP-CUST foreign.country =MOB =GEN
[bi] =saŋ =ba =məŋ moroi] =daraŋ
QF =MOB =INDEF=ABL person =p

‘[They] will just buy it, from foreign countries, people from somewhere.’

10.4 cangaba ‘whoever’

The relational/derelational/attributive/adverbial morpheme <gaba ~ ga> (REL/DREL/ATTR/ADV) has many functions (see §14.2 and Chapter 29, especially §29.12) some of which are more productive than others. However, none of these seem to fit the lexeme cangaba ‘whoever’ very well. Since the morpheme <gaba ~ ga> is not productive as a suffix on indefinite proforms, I consider the lexeme under discussion to be opaque. However, given the indefinite meaning of this proform, I suggest that if one had to make a guess as to the segmentation of this word, it would be cang-ga=ba (who-?=INDEF) with the indefinite enclitic <=ba> (INDEF) as last element. Examples (174) and (175) below illustrate the use of this indefinite proform. Example (174) comes from Text 3, line 21.
10.5 **daraŋba** ‘anybody’

The proform *daraŋba* ‘anybody’ has human reference. Although the form is opaque for speakers of Atong, we can recognise the indefinite enclitic `<=ba> (INDEF). The first morpheme is homophonous with the nominal plural morpheme `<=daraŋ> (p), and the two might actually be historically related. This proform was found in the example given below.

(176) *aŋ soŋci daraŋba atoŋ khuʔcuk olna manʔca.*

\[
[aŋ \text{ soŋ]} =ci [daraŋba] [atoŋ \text{ khuʔcuk}] \{ol]\ =na \{\text{manʔ -ca}\}
\]

1s village =LOC anybody Atong language speak =DAT get =NEG

‘In my country [I] get nobody to talk Atong with.’

10.6 **gumuksaŋ** ‘everywhere’

The proform *gumuk=saŋ* is composed of the lexeme *gumuk* ‘all, everything, everybody’ and the mobilitative/locative case enclitic `<=saŋ> (MOB/LOC) making this a transparent lexeme meaning ‘everywhere’. This proform can refer to both a Location (177) and a Direction (178) depending on the verb. It can take genitive case-marking to explicitly refer to a Source. It is not attested with dative-marking for
explicit reference to Goals but this is possible. The only other enclitic attested on this proform is the focus/identifier enclitic <=\textit{an} (FC/ID). The reason that this proform refers to both a Direction and a Location is that the second syllable \textit{san} can be interpreted as both the mobilitative case enclitic and as the old bound morpheme meaning ‘place’ or ‘side’ still found in a few other words as well. When this proform refers to a place, it is always marked with the focus/identifier enclitic <=\textit{an} (FC/ID).

(177) \textit{gumuksan\textbar ganan\textbar ukci}. 
\begin{align*}
\text{[gumuk]} & \text{=san} \hspace{1em} \text{=an} \hspace{1em} \{\text{ganan}\} \hspace{1em} \{\text{ukci}\} \\
\text{everywhere} & \text{place/LOC} \hspace{1em} \text{=FC/ID} \hspace{1em} \text{exist} \hspace{1em} \text{leech} \\
\text{‘They are everywhere, leeches.’}
\end{align*}

(178) \textit{ge\textbar the\textbar gumuksan\textbar re\textbar en\textbar pok}. 
\begin{align*}
\text{[ge\textbar the\textbar]} & \text{[gumuk]} \text{=san} \hspace{1em} \text{re\textbar en\textbar -ok} \\
\text{3s} & \text{all} \hspace{1em} \text{=MOB} \hspace{1em} \text{go\textbar away\textbar -COS} \\
\text{‘He went everywhere.’}
\end{align*}
Chapter 11  Numerals

This chapter gives an overview of the numerals and classifiers in Atong and how they function morphologically, syntactically and semantically. An Atong speaker quantifies objects with numerals from four different languages, viz. Atong, Garo, Hindi and English. Within the Atong language itself there are various ways of counting, some more popular than others. Some numerals have allomorphs participating in different paradigms. Moreover, speakers have a choice of using two types of vigesimal systems and a decimal system for numbers higher than 39. It looks like the vigesimal systems are on their way out at least in the areas where research has been conducted so far, i.e. Badri and Siju.

The different types of Atong numerals are discussed in the first section. Borrowed numerals are treated in section 11.2. The use of English and especially of Hindi borrowed numerals is restricted in Atong. Section 11.3 answers the question of what is quantified with which numerals. Classifiers and nouns often occur together. There are situations in which classifiers can be omitted when numerals are used, viz. in enumeration and when ordinal numerals precede the noun they modify. There are also situations in which a classifier needs to be repeated. Section 11.4 treats the position of the classifiers. The syntactic and morphological properties of Atong numerals are treated in section 11.5. We will look at ordinal numerals in section 11.6, and finally, the different functions and grammaticalisations of the number one will be treated in section 11.7.

When a noun is used in combination with a numeral it is said to be quantified, or more specifically, the NP is quantified. The term ‘counting’ is defined as the use of numerals in a sequence without referencing an entity, i.e. without quantifying an entity. The terms ‘enumerating’ and ‘enumeration’ are defined as sequential quantification, i.e. ‘three houses, four houses, five houses’ and ‘three, four, five houses’ are acts of enumeration. Table 40 gives a paradigmatic overview of the different ways of counting in Atong. Loans from English and Hind are listed in Table 43 and Table 44. For an overview of Garo numerals I refer the reader to Burling (2004: 245-6).
“We need something to count!” said Tononjyw\textsuperscript{•} [tontonjəw?\textsuperscript{?}] and Tontonwa\textsuperscript{•} [tontonwa\textsuperscript{?}] two elderly people, the parents of Tonton, who agreed to count for me in Atong so that I could record it. So they looked around and found a basket of garlic cloves. They put them in a heap on the ground and started counting them moving them from one heap to the other. When the source heap neared depletion the counted cloves were quickly recycled by the spouse. The analysis in this chapter is based on the data obtained by this and many other experiences with native speakers counting in Atong.

11.1 Types of Atong numerals

This section discusses the original Atong numerals and the different paradigms in which they appear and the use of numerals borrowed from Garo. An overview of Atong numerals in their respective paradigms is presented in Table 40. Section 11.2 discusses the Hindi and English loans.

Table 40 Counting in Atong.
The analysis and translation of the individual components of the numerals will be presented in Table 41 and Table 42. The morpheme \textit{roŋ} (CLF:ROUND:THINGS) is functioning as default classifier in this table and will be commented upon in §11.1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NUMERALS</th>
<th>Counting in Atong.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 roŋ sa</td>
<td>11 cit sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 roŋ ni</td>
<td>12 ci ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 roŋ tham</td>
<td>13 ci tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bərəy</td>
<td>14 ci bərə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 baŋa</td>
<td>15 ca rəŋa \sim ci baŋa (calque on Garo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 korok</td>
<td>16 ci dok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sene</td>
<td>17 ci səne \sim ci sənɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 catək</td>
<td>18 ci cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 cəkhw</td>
<td>19 ci səkhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 cəygək</td>
<td>20 kholgək \sim kholgrək (Garo loan) \sim khol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradigm 1</td>
<td>paradigm2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>khole roŋ sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>khole roŋ ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>khole roŋ tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>khole bərəy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>khole bəγa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>khole korok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>khole sene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>khole catgək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>khole cəkhəw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Paradigm 5**

| 30 | khole cay | khola ci |
| 31 | khole cit sa | khola ci sa |
| 32 | khole ci ni | khola ci ni |
| 33 | khole ci tham | khola ci tham |
| 34 | khole ci bəri | khola ci byri |
| 35 | khole ca raŋa | khola ci baŋa |
| 36 | khole ci dok | khola ci dok |
| 37 | khole ci sene | khola ci sene |
| 38 | khole ci cat | khola ci cat |
| 39 | khole ci səkhu | khola ci səkəw |

**Multiplied Round-Number Numerals**

**Vigesimal 1**

<p>| 40 | rumʔ ni | sot bəri |
| 41 | rumʔ ni roŋ sa | sot bəri sa |
| 42 | rumʔ ni roŋ ni | sot bəri ni |
| 43 | rumʔ ni roŋ tham | sot bəri tham |
| 44 | rumʔ ni bərəy | sot bəri bərəy |
| 45 | rumʔ ni bəγa | sot bəri bəγa |
| 46 | rumʔ ni korok | sot bəri korok |
| 47 | rumʔ ni sene | sot bəri sene |
| 48 | rumʔ ni catgək | sot bəri catgək |
| 49 | rumʔ ni cəkhəw | sot bəri cəkhəw |
| 50 | rumʔ ni catgək | sot bəra |
| 51 | rumʔ ni cit sa | sot boŋa sa |
| 52 | rumʔ ni ci ni | sot boŋa ni |
| 53 | rumʔ ni ci tham | sot boŋa tham |
| 54 | rumʔ ni ci bəri | sot boŋa bəri |
| 55 | rumʔ ni ca raŋa | sot boŋa baŋa |
| 56 | rumʔ ci dok | sot boŋa korok |
| 57 | rumʔ ci sene | sot boŋa sene |
| 58 | rumʔ ni ci cat | sot boŋa catgək |
| 59 | rumʔ ni ci səkhu | sot boŋa cəkhəw |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Vigesimal 1</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decimal</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>rumʔ tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>rumʔ tham roŋ sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>rumʔ tham roŋ ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>rumʔ tham roŋ tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>rumʔ tham bəray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>rumʔ tham bəŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>rumʔ tham korok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>rumʔ tham sene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>rumʔ tham catgək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>rumʔ tham cəkhəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>rumʔ tham cəygək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>rumʔ tham cit sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci bəri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ca raŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci dok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci sene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>rumʔ tham ci səkhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Vigesimal 1</strong></th>
<th><strong>Vigesimal 2</strong></th>
<th><strong>Decimal</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray roŋ sa</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray roŋ ni</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray roŋ tham</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri roŋ tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray bəray</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri bəray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray bəŋa</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri bəŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray korok</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri korok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray sene</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri sene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray catgək</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri catgək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray cəkhəw</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri cəkhəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray cəygək</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri cəygək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray cit sa</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri cit sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci ni</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci tham</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci dok</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci dok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ca raŋa</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ca raŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci dok</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci dok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci sene</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci sene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci cat</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>rumʔ bəray ci səkhu</td>
<td>kholcaŋ bəri ci səkhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11 NUMERALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm 6</th>
<th>Paradigm 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>rumʔ baŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>rumʔ baŋa roŋ sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>rumʔ baŋa roŋ ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>rumʔ baŋa roŋ tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>rumʔ baŋa bərəy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>rumʔ baŋa baŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>raja sa ca raja ~ raja sa ci boŋa (calque on Garo, see Table 41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>raja ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>raja tham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>hajal ~ hajar sa (&lt; Hindi हज़ार (hazār) ‘thousand’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1101</td>
<td>hajal sa raja sa roŋ sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>hajal ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7895</td>
<td>hajal sene raja catgək kholcaŋ bərəy ca raja (vigesimal) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hajal sene raja catgək sot səkhu baŋa (decimal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For numbers higher than 99,999 the multiplier lak ‘100,000’ has to be used.

| 250675     | lak kolgək baŋa raja korok sot səni baŋa (decimal) ~ |
|            | lak khole baŋa raja korok rumʔ tham baŋa (vigesimal) |

All numerals can be preceded by a classifier (see Chapter 12). We distinguish Round-Number numerals and Unit numerals. These terms are defined on the basis of the morphosyntactic behaviour and semantics of the numerals and not on the basis of their everyday use in English. For the purpose of the following formulae Round-Number numerals are indicated with the symbol R. A multiplied R is written as RX. The Unit numerals are indicated by U. The following formulae define Unit and Round-Number numerals distributionally and semantically.

1. A U can occur as a free form.
2. A U cannot be multiplied.
3. An R cannot occur without a following U or RX.
The semantic relationship between different numerals can be additive or multiplicative. Both relationships are obtained by simple juxtaposition and depend on the three conditions below.

1. If a U is followed by another U they are in an additive relationship, e.g. *ca raga* (10 [plus] 5) ‘15’ and *kholgək sa* (20 [plus] 1) ‘21’.

2. If an R is followed by only a U, R and U are in a multiplicative relationship with each other, e.g. *rumʔ tham* (TWENTY [times] 3) ‘60’, *sot cet* (TEN [times] 8) ‘80’, *raja sene* (hundred [times] 7) ‘700’.

3. If an RX is followed by another RX, they are in an additive relationship, e.g. *hajal tham raja ni sot cet tham* (1000 [times] 3 [plus] 100 [times] 2 [plus] TEN [times] 8 [plus] 3) ‘3283’.

Unit numerals will be treated further in §11.1.1 and Round-Number numerals in §11.1.2. Atong has one multiplier, viz. the Hindi loan *lak* (< लख (lakh). A multiplier adds a numeral value to a number and cannot be preceded by a classifier. Some speakers treat the archaic numeral *rumʔ* ‘TWENTY’ as a multiplier as shall be discussed below.

### 11.1.1 Unit numerals

Unit numerals are all the numerals from 1 to 39. Table 40 gives an overview of the different paradigms in which the morphemes occurring in Unit numerals occur. The internal structure of compound Units is morphologically complex and irregular. The morphemes that can be distinguished are listed in Table 41 with their occurrence restrictions. The semantic relationship of Unit numerals in compounds is additive.

---

27 Note that the different morphemes denoting ‘10’ and ‘20’ in Table 41 are not Round-Number numerals because they do not fit the definition of Round-Number numerals given above, but do fit the definition of Unit numerals.
Table 41  Morphemes participating in the formation of Unit numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 1</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Have to be preceded by a classifier, even when counting for the sake of counting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tham</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bəny</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Can occur as free form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bəya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>korok</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Can occur as free form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sene</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Can occur as free form or in a compound with ci’10’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>çag-sk</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Can occur as free form or in a compound with ci’10’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 2</td>
<td>cək-həw</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Can occur as free form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cəygək</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 3</td>
<td>khol-gək</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Is identified by native speakers as the real Atong form. Paradigm 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kholgrək</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Is identified by native speakers as code switching to Garo. However, this numeral has almost completely replaced the use of khol-gək and can be seen as an allomorph of khol-gək. Paradigm 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bəri</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Can only occur in a compound with ci’10’ and sot ‘TEN’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raŋa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Can only occur in a compound with ca ‘10’ but not with sot ‘TEN’.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 4</td>
<td>bəna</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Can only appear in a compound with sot ‘TEN’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dək</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>səni</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Can only occur in a compound with ci’10’ and sot ‘TEN’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cat</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>səkhu</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 5</td>
<td>khole</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Occurs only in compound Unit numerals. Takes cəy as morpheme for ‘10’ to form numerals from 30-39. Paradigm 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khola</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Occurs only in compound Unit numerals. Takes ci as morpheme for ‘10’ to form numerals from 30 to 39. Paradigm 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cəy</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Occurs only in compound Unit numerals after khole ‘20’. Paradigm 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ci ~ cit ~ ca</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cannot occur on its own but have to be followed by a numeral of Set 1 or Set 3. The allomorph ci only occurs before sa ‘one’, the allomorph cəy occurs only before raŋa ‘5’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 6</td>
<td>khol</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Cannot be multiplied, cannot be compounded but can only occur as free form without classifier. Since khol ‘20’ is not attested as a noun outside the counting system it is considered a numeral used exclusively in enumeration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 Speakers volunteered this information only for this particular number.
29 Atong reflects both prefixes allofams reconstructed by Benedict (1972:31, see also Matisoff, 2003: 129-30) for the numeral five at the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level, *l-ŋa ~ b-ŋa.
When we examine Table 41, we can observe the following: All numerals from Set 2 can occur as free forms. Set 3 numerals can occur as free forms or in additive relationship with numerals from Set 1 and 2 except cəyɡək ‘10’. The numerals from Set 4 only occur in compounds with ci ~ cit ~ ca ‘10’. Numerals from Set 5 cannot occur on their own but have to be compounded to another, lower numeral. Set 6 consists only of the numeral khol ‘20’. Since khol ‘20’ is not attested as a noun outside the counting system it is considered a numeral used exclusively in sequential enumeration to indicate that a unit of 20 has been reached as in example (179). Note that I analyse the word khol+caŋ (TWENTY+multiplied.by) ‘TWENTY’ as one Round-Number numeral morpheme (see the next paragraph).

(179) […] rumʔ tham ci səkhu, khol. kholcaŋ brəray. […] kholcaŋ brəray ci səkhu, khol. raja sa.

Tkholcaŋ brəray ci səkhu rumʔ tham ci səkhu, khol. raja sa.

‘[...] 79, a Unit of twenty: 80. [...] 99, a Unit of twenty: one hundred.’

The numerals sa ‘1’, ni ‘2’ and tham ‘3’ never occur without a classifier unless they are in a compound with ci ~ cit ‘10’ or multiplying a multipliable Round-Number numeral, e.g. khole roŋ tham (TWENTY CLF:ROUND.THINGS 3) ‘23’ but rumʔ tham (TWENTY 3) ‘60’. In counting for the sake of counting, the classifier for round objects and money is used obligatorily with the numerals one to three, but not in 11, 12 and 13. This also applies in numerals above twenty in the vigesimal paradigms, e.g. khole roŋ sa (TWENTY CLF:ROUND.THING one) ‘21’, rumʔ tham roŋ tham (TWENTY CLF:ROUND.THINGS three) ‘63’ etc (see Table 40). This means that the classifier roŋ (CLF:ROUND.THINGS) is the functionally unmarked or default classifier (see also Aikhenvald, 2003-b: 335-6). When quantifying objects, too, the classifier has to be present before the last numeral in every cycle of twenty, e.g. rumʔ ni khung sa (TWENTY 2 CLF:FLAT.THINGS 1) ’41 flat things’, rumʔ ni khung ni- (TWENTY 2 CLF:FLAT.THINGS 2) ’42 flat things’ etc. Usually the classifier is omitted again after ‘3’, e.g. rumʔ ni khuŋ brəray (TWENTY 2
CLF:FLAT.THINGS 4) ‘44’. The numerals sa ‘1’, ni ‘2’ and tham ‘3’ are monosyllabic and the fact that they attract a classifier might just be to give them a bisyllabic form.

11.1.2 Round-Number numerals and the use of different paradigms

The Round-Numerals are listed in Table 42. As was mentioned above, a Round-Number numeral cannot occur unmultiplied.

Table 42 Round-Number numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sot</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Used in the decimal paradigm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kholcaŋ</td>
<td>TWENTY</td>
<td>Used in the Vigesimal 2 paradigm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumʔ</td>
<td>TWENTY</td>
<td>Used in the Vigesimal 1 paradigm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raja</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Preferred to the continuation of the vigesimal paradigm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hajal ~ hajar</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>From Hindi हजार (hazār) ‘thousand’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one Hindi loan that is incorporated into the Atong counting system and combines with Atong classifiers and numerals, viz. hajal ~ hajar ‘1000’ (< Hindi हजार (hazār) ‘thousand’). The word for 100,000 is the Hindi loan lak (< लाख (lakh) ‘hundred thousand’) which is a multiplier since it cannot be used in combination with another classifier when quantifying nouns.

The morpheme sot ‘TEN’ can only be multiplied by Set 1 and by all of the Set 4 Unit numerals except raja ‘5’ (see Table 41). There is a special morpheme for ‘5’ to multiply sot ‘TEN’, viz. boga ‘5’, that appears nowhere else in the counting system. When multiplied with dok ‘6’ the result may be one of three forms, viz. a voiceless

---

30 I use the term Round-Number numerals in analogy to Matisoff’s (1982: 92) “Round-number classifiers”.
31 I did not attest the use of the Hindi word करोड़ (krōrd̥) (borrowed into Indian English as crore) ‘10,000,000’ in Atong, which of course does not exclude its use in the language.
fused form /sotok/ [sotok ~ sot:ok], a coordinated form /sotdok/ [sotdok] and a voiced fused form /sodok/ [sodok ~ sod:ok].

The morpheme caŋ ‘times, multiplied by’ is only attested in combination with khol ‘TWENTY’ and nowhere else in the language. However, the combination kholcaŋ ‘TWENTY’ appears to be transparent to Atong speakers because they translate the two syllables separately. The compound kholcaŋ functions as one multipliable Round-Number numeral in the language. It is in complementary distribution with khol, which cannot be multiplied, whereas kholcaŋ cannot indicate only one unit of twenty.\footnote{The fact that kholcaŋ ‘TWENTY’ is used as a Round-Number numeral and not khol ‘TWENTY’ might have to do with syllabicity. The caŋ provides an unstressed syllable in between two stressed ones. Future investigation into the matter of syllabicity in Atong is required to confirm or reject this hypothesis.} Example (179) is illustrative of both the use of khol ‘20’ and kholcaŋ TWENTY’. In that example the classifier is left out because of the enumeration of the quantified objects.

Some speakers interpret the multipliable Round-Number numeral rumʔ (TWENTY) as a multiplier which cannot be preceded by a classifier. The following example is illustrative of this opinion.

\begin{verbatim}
(180)  niŋ soŋci morot rumʔni məŋʔni ganaŋ

[ niŋ soŋ =ci [ morot rumʔ ni məŋʔ ni ] { ganaŋ } ]
1pe village =LOC person TWENTY 2 CLF:HUMANS 2 exist

‘In our village there are 42 people.’ Literally: ‘In our village exist 42 people.’
\end{verbatim}

However, other Atong speakers consider rumʔ (TWENTY) to be a Round-Number numeral that can be preceded by a classifier, as we see in example (181). In this example rumʔ ‘TWENTY’ is preceded by the auto-classifier for houses nukhuŋ ‘roof’.
uci nukhuŋ raja ni kholgək muʔwano. nukhuŋ raja ni kholgək muʔgabae thometsangrepha rangkhaimadophae nukhuŋ rumʔtham, jekhay haʔcəksaŋ balcido sotok, ronkhay tzy səmsəŋ jalaŋokno

\[ u = ci \quad [nukhuŋ \quad raja \quad ni \quad kholgək] \{μuʔ-wa\} = no \quad DST = LOC \quad roof \quad 100 \quad 2 \quad 20 \quad stay \quad FACT = QUOT \]

\[ [\{nukhuŋ \quad raja \quad ni \quad kholgək\} \{μuʔ = gaba = e\}] \quad [th. \quad r.] = e \quad roof \quad 100 \quad 2 \quad 20 \quad stay = \text{ATTR} = FC \quad \text{Name} \quad \text{Name} = FC \]

\[ nukhuŋ \quad rumʔ \quad tham \quad [jekay] \quad [haʔcik] = saŋ \quad \{bal\} = ci = \text{do} \quad \text{roof} \quad \text{TWENTY} \quad 3 \quad \text{somehow} \quad \text{Garo} = \text{INSTR} \quad \text{speak} = \text{LOC} = \text{TOP} \]

\[ \text{sotok} \quad [\text{ronkhay} \quad \text{taysəm}] = \text{saŋ} \quad \{jal \quad -aŋ \quad -ok\} = no \quad 60 \quad \text{Pname} \quad \text{river.bank} = \text{MOB} \quad \text{run.away} = \text{AWAY} - \text{COS} = \text{QUOT} \]

‘There were 220 roofs (i.e. houses), it is said. As for the 220 roofs which were there, 60 roofs belonging to Thometsyngrepha [and] Rangkhaimadophae, if you say it in Garo sotok (60), run away to the Rongkhai river bank, it is said.’

The vigesimal paradigm with rumʔ ‘TWENTY’ (Vigesimal 1 in Table 40) is archaic and not even known by all younger speakers in Badri and Siju. Speakers of middle age, when questioned about this morpheme, are often not sure if its value is 20 or 40 and often argue about this with each other. It might well be that rumʔ ‘TWENTY’ was used exclusively as a multiplier in the past.

Most speakers in Badri and Siju mix Garo and Atong numerals most of the time, although I have not recorded an Atong speaker using the Garo numeral rɨca ‘100’ for Atong raja ‘100’. As for the numbers between 20 and 40, paradigms 1, 2 and 3 (see Table 40) are still used by middle aged and older Atong speakers in Badri and Siju. Young people usually use paradigms 4 and 5 with the Garo loan kholgrək ‘20’.

When counting numbers higher than 39, the decimal system of counting now prevails in Badri and Siju. Young people tend to count in Garo and if they count in Atong they usually use the decimal system. A lot of younger people do not know the vigesimal systems any more. Older people who do still know the vigesimal system seldom use it. The least frequently used is the vigesimal system with the morpheme caŋ ‘times, multiplied by’, which is called Vigesimal 2 in Table 40. Example (182) is illustrative of the use of kholcaŋ ‘TWENTY’. The Round-Number numeral is preceded by the auto-classifier nukhuŋ ‘roof’. Paradigm 7 with the numeral roŋʔ ‘TWENTY’ for numerals from 100 up is never used in normal speech any more. Paradigm 7 with the numeral raja ‘100’ has replaced it.
In example (181) above and (182) below, the speaker, an old man, implies that the
decimal system is actually Garo. Since Atong and Garo are closely related languages
in close contact, it is difficult to say if the decimal system is actually borrowed from
Garo into Atong or not and I will make no attempt to propose any arguments in favour
or against the old man’s assertions. Note that the speaker uses the vigesimal system
with kholcaŋ (TWENTY) in example (182) and the vigesimal system with rumʔ
(TWENTY) in example (181).

(182) anaktancepa kʰə$məŋbalcepa grətʔoksonpə sanagaʔjəŋpha daraŋ cigasaŋ
jalangabae nukhuŋ sotct ganaŋno. atoŋsaŋ balcido nukhuŋ kholcaŋbərey
donʔanowa.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[a. kh. g. s.]} & \text{=darəŋ [[ciga] =saŋ} \\
\text{Name Name Name Name} =p \text{ Pname =MOB} \\
\{jal ~-aŋ\} & \text{=gaba} =e \text{ [nukhuŋ sot cef]} \text{[ganaj]} =no} \\
\text{run.away -AWAY} =\text{ATTR} =\text{FC roof TEN 8 exist } \text{=QUOT} \\
\text{[atoŋ]} & \text{=saŋ} \text{[bal] =ci =do [nukhuŋ kholcaŋ brərey]} \\
\text{Atong =INSTR speak =LOC =TOP roof -TWENTY 4} \\
\text{[doŋʔ-a]} & \text{=no -wa]} \\
\text{IE.be -CUST =QUOT -FACT}
\end{array}
\]

‘There where 80 roofs (i.e. houses) belonging to Anaktanchepa
Khymangbalchepa Gryt•oksongpa [and] Sanaga•jynpha, those who had run
away to Chiga, it is said. If said in Atong it is kholchangbyri (80) roofs, it is
said.’

The different systems, vigesimal and decimal are presented in Table 40 in
paradigms but in reality, when people enumerate things, they mix up forms from
different paradigms and often also put in some Garo numerals. The mixing seems to
happen at random and unbound by any rules or principles. We can only remark that it
seems that Atong numerals are becoming obsolescent and the Garo numerals are
taking over, at least in Siju and Badri, where the data for this grammar where
collected. At the moment the language uses the Garo and Atong numerals side by
side. Some Garo numerals are so frequent that they can be considered loans and
therefore I have represented them in the table. The numeral kolgrək ‘20’, invariably
pronounced with a word medial, syllable initial cluster /gr/, is a loan from Garo.
Words borrowed from Garo tend to keep their consonant clusters in Atong whereas
Atong phonology avoids consonant clusters. The Atong numeral *ci baŋa* (TEN 5) ‘15’ is a calque on Garo *ci boŋa* (TEN 5) ‘15’. The Atong often corrected themselves when they said *ci baŋa* ‘15’, or the Garo form *ci boŋa* ‘15’, or *kolgrək* ‘20’ and then emphatically said that they meant *caraŋa* ‘15’ or *kolgək* ‘20’. This means that they are aware of the foreign origin of the numerals they are using.

### 11.2 Borrowed numerals

Atong has borrowed English and Hindi numerals. As we will see in the next section, these loans are usually used to count English and Hindi loan words referring to objects associated with modern day life introduced into the Atong society in Hindi or English.

#### 11.2.1 English loans

Numerals borrowed from English are given in Table 43. The sound changes are regular. The most salient sound changes are the following: (English > Atong) *f* > *p*, *v* > *b*, *θ* > *t*, *tʰ* > *t* and *r* > *r*. Voicing distinction in syllable final stops does not occur in Atong so the English word final voiced consonants became voiceless in Atong. Some consonant clusters are preserved, albeit sometimes phonetically modified. Only *siks* ‘six’ can be pronounced with a single final consonant, viz. *sik* ‘six’ and the cluster in ‘sixty’ is simplified to *sikty* ‘sixty’ while ‘sixteen’ can be pronounced both as *sikstin* or *siktin*. The English numerals borrowed into Atong combine as in English to form higher numerals. The use of the English loan *jero* ‘zero’ is the only way to say ‘zero’ since Atong does not have a native term to express this number.

Not only did Atong borrow the morphemes of the English numerals, they borrowed the counting system, i.e. the order in which the morphemes are combined to make compound numerals. Thus ‘two hundred fifty two’ in the Atongs English loan paradigm is *tu handrət pipit tu* ‘2 100 50 2’.

Both English and Hindi loans are used without classifiers and the order of the elements in the noun phrase is NOUN NUMERAL, which is different from the NOUN CLASSIFIER NUMERAL or CLASSIFIER NUMERAL NOUN make up of the noun phrase when Atong or Garo numerals are used.
Table 43  English numerals borrowed into Atong

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>jero</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tri</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>por</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>payp</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>siks ~ sik</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>seben</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nayn</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>twenti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>tərti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>porti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>pipti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>sikti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>sebenti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>eti [e.ti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>naynti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>wan handrət</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>wan tawsən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000000</td>
<td>wan milyon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.2  Hindi loans

Numerals borrowed from Hindi are listed in Table 44. Only the numbers one to twelve are recorded to have been borrowed. This is due to the fact that the use of numerals borrowed from Hindi is very restricted, as we will see below.

Sound changes occurred when the numerals were borrowed into Atong. The original nasalisation of the Hindi source language in the numeral पाँच (pāc) ‘five’ has been lost in Atong but consonant clusters are retained in pane ‘5’ and gyara ‘11’. The retroflex stop in आठ (āt) ‘eight’ has lost its retroflexion. The Hindi aspirated palatal affricate phoneme छ (ch) has been replaced by /c/ in Atong. The difference between the vowels आ (aw) and ओ (o) in दो (do) ‘2’ and नौ (naw) ‘9’ and the length distinctions on other vowels have disappeared in Atong. Finally, the numeral ‘4’ can be pronounced with or without final /r/ and 10 has two allomorphs dəs ~ dəs reflecting Hindi दस (das).
Table 44  Numerals borrowed into Atong from Hindi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atong</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ēk</td>
<td>ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>tīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ca ~ car</td>
<td>चार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>panc</td>
<td>pānc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>छें</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>सात</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>आठ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>नौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>das ~ das</td>
<td>दस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>gyara</td>
<td>ग्यारह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>bāra</td>
<td>बारह</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11.3 What is quantified with which numerals?

When telling the time, the hours are quantified in Hindi, because the word *baji* ‘hour’ is a Hindi loan. For example if one asks atoŋ baji? (what hour) ‘What’s the time?’, the answer at eleven o’clock will be gyara baji (eleven hour) ‘Eleven o’clock’. Minutes and seconds are quantified in English because the words *minit ~ minət* ‘minute’ and *sekən* ‘second’ come from English. When it is twelve minutes past eleven, an Atong speaker says it is gyara baji twelp minit. In the case of time telling, the noun and how to quantify it were borrowed together. This is also the case for the measure loans *kilomitər* ‘kilometre’, *mitər* ‘metre’ and *sentimitər* ‘centimetre’. But this symmetry is not always the case. Gears of a car or other vehicle are also quantified in Hindi, even though the word *ger* ‘gear’ itself is a loan from English. When my friends were teaching me how to drive a motorbike, on different occasions they remarked: teʔew tin ger ‘now [in] third gear’. When they admire a new car or truck they enumerate the number of gears: *ek, do, tin, ca, panc, ce ger* ‘[the car has] one, two, three, four, five, six gears’. However, the number of gears a car has in total is stated in English: *ie siks ger gari* ‘it’s a six gear vehicle’.

The use of Hindi numerals in Atong is restricted to the quantification of hours and gears. Since vehicles do not have twelve gears, and hours are counted according to the 12 hour system, twelve is the highest numeral borrowed from Hindi into Atong.

Telephone numbers and numbers on number plates of vehicles are counted with English loans. This is due to the fact that these items where introduced in English
when they entered India and ultimately entered Atong society. This means that the Atong speakers took over the habit of counting these items in English from speakers of Indic languages rather than directly from English speakers.

As was already mentioned above Hindi and English numerals are used without classifiers and the order of the constituents within the NP is NOUN NUMERAL.

Apart from the items described above, Atong numerals are used to quantify all other things. Some English and Hindi loans or loans from other Indic languages, such as Bengali, either came into Atong through Garo and were thus not perceived as loans, or are assimilated into Atong to such an extent that speakers do not perceive them as loans any more. These loans are quantified with classifiers and Atong numerals. Borrowed and incorporated measure nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a receptacle and its volume (see §12.4), are quantified with Atong numerals but without classifiers, just as indigenous measure nouns are. Examples of these assimilated loans are listed in Table 45. In this table I make a distinction between nouns borrowed from English or Indic languages without specifying which Indic language the noun comes from. More research is needed to trace the exact origin of all Indic loans and sometimes similar lexical forms exist in multiple Indic languages, which makes it impossible to trace the source.

Money and playing cards, despite both the objects and the words being of non-Atong origin, are enumerated and quantified in Atong. Example (183) is a part of a recorded speech act of enumerating cards. The classifier is left out when counting above tham ‘three’, as is usual during enumeration. The word for ‘money’ in Atong is the Indic loan taŋka ‘money, rupee’. I did not record the word for ‘playing card’ but the word for the game is the Indic loan tas ‘card game’ (cf. Hindi ताश (tāś)), which in Hindi refers both to the game and to the individual cards.

(183) \[khung sa, khung ni, khung tham, bəray \ldots\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{CLF:FLAT.THINGS} & \text{CLF:FLAT.THINGS} & \text{CLF:FLAT.THINGS} & \text{CLF:FLAT.THINGS} & \text{CLF:FLAT.THINGS} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\text{khung} & \text{sa} & \text{khung} & \text{ni} & \text{khung} & \text{tham} & \text{bəray} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘One [card], two [cards], three [cards], four [cards] \ldots’
Table 45  Examples of loans from English (probably through an Indic language) and Indic languages with their classifiers. This is not an exhaustive list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASSIMILATED COMMON NOUNS</th>
<th>Borrowed noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sendel</strong></td>
<td>sandal</td>
<td>English 'sandal'</td>
<td>jora</td>
<td>CLF:THINGS.OCCURRING.IN.PAIRS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>longpen</strong></td>
<td>a pair of trousers</td>
<td>English 'long pants'</td>
<td>khung</td>
<td>CLF: FLAT THINGS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>glas</strong> (Can also be used as measure noun.)</td>
<td>glass or its contents</td>
<td>English 'glass'</td>
<td>goyʔ</td>
<td>CLF: RESIDUE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khap</strong> (Can also be used as measure noun.)</td>
<td>cup or its contents</td>
<td>English 'cup'</td>
<td>goyʔ, thayʔ</td>
<td>CLF: RESIDUE, CLF: RECIPIENTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gari</strong></td>
<td>vehicle</td>
<td>Indic</td>
<td>pan</td>
<td>CLF: APPARATUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cola</strong></td>
<td>T-shirt, shirt</td>
<td>Indic</td>
<td>khunγ</td>
<td>CLF: FLAT THINGS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jama</strong></td>
<td>T-shirt, shirt</td>
<td>Indic</td>
<td>khunγ</td>
<td>CLF: FLAT THINGS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khill</strong></td>
<td>iron nail</td>
<td>Indic</td>
<td>conγ</td>
<td>CLF: IRON.NAILS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ASSIMILATED MEASURE NOUNS | | | | | |
|--------------------------| | | | | |
| **inci**                 | ‘inch’ | English ‘inch’ | - | |
| **pit**                  | ‘foot’ | English ‘feet’ | - | |

When objects are quantified but not enumerated, a classifier is obligatory with any numeral. The example below is illustrative.

(184)  *apdo morot maŋ? seneaw wet saci soʔotna manʔgaba.*

\[
\text{[apj] =do } \{[\text{morot maŋ? sene}] =aw \ [\text{wet sa}] =ci \\
1s =\text{TOP man} \ \text{CLF: HUMANS} \ 7 =\text{ACC turn} \ 1 =\text{LOC} \\
\{soʔot\} =\text{na} \ \{\text{man}\?} =\text{gaba}\}\}
\text{kill =DAT be.able =ATTR}
\]

‘I [am] the one who can kill seven men in one go.’

11.4  The position of the classifier

The classifier precedes the numeral. A classifier can be repeated between the last multiplyable Round-Number numeral and Unit numeral. This repetition is obligatory with the Units *sa ‘1’, *ni ‘2’ and *tham ‘3’ but is not obligatory for the higher Units, as we can see in the next two examples. In example (185) the classifier for animals, *maŋ*, is repeated before the numeral *ni ‘2’ but not before *catgək ‘8’. In example (186) the classifier for trees, *phay*, is not repeated before the numeral *sene ‘7*. 
For the wedding of a rich man, [he] got 102 chicken, it is said [and he] got 108 rabbits, it is said.

‘There are 47 trees in this garden.’ Literally: ‘In this garden exist 47 trees.’

‘In our village are 43 houses.’ Literally: ‘In our village exist 43 houses.’

‘A rich man had/has 81 horses.’ Literally: ‘At a man [who] ate/eats in great amounts exist 81 horses.’
The same principle of repetition of the classifier applies in very complex numerals with the incorporated loan numeral *hajal *‘1000’, as we can see in the example below.

(189)  *niŋ soŋci morot məŋʔ hajal sa raja baŋa khole məŋʔ tham ganaj.*

[niŋ soŋ] =ci
1pe  village  =LOC
[morot  məŋʔ  hajal  sa  raja  baŋa  khole  məŋʔ  tham]  
person  CLF:HUMANS  1000  1  100  5  TWENTY  CLF:HUMANS  3
{ganaj}
exist

‘In our village there are 1523 people.’ Literally: ‘In our village exist 1523 people.’

Auto-classifiers, too, have to be repeated between the last multipliable Round-Number numeral and Unit numeral as is illustrated in (187) and with the following example.

(190)  *umikənsaŋ san khole-san sa cəw rəŋkhuanowa. haʔcəksa balcido sal kholgrəksa noay məŋnicəm.*

[u =mi kənsaŋ] [san khole  san  sa] [cəw]
DST  =GEN  after  day  20  day  1  rice.beer
{rəŋ  -khu  -ə} =no  -wa
drink  -INCOM-CUST  =QUOT-FACT

‘[The rain stopped after 14 days]. After that they continued drinking rice beer for 21 more days, it is said.’

11.5  **Syntactic and morphological properties of numerals**

Numerals are nominal modifiers and are dependent on classifiers for their modifying function. Classifiers in turn, cannot modify a noun on their own but are not solely dependent on numerals to exercise their modifying function. The distributive enclitic <=*phek*> (DIS), the interrogative morpheme *bəysək* ‘how much/many?’ and the Type 2 adjective *abun* ‘other’ have been observed in place of a numeral after a classifier. Unlike in Languages such as Thai and Chinese, in Atong demonstratives are not used with classifiers to modify NPs, which we can see when we compare Chinese and
Atong in (191). In this example we see that Chinese uses a classifier, viz. 

\[ \text{ge} \], after the distal demonstrative 那 \( nèi \), whereas in Atong there is no classifier after the distal demonstrative \( ue \).

(191) ‘That girl is pretty’

(a) Chinese:

\[
\text{nèi ge nưhár hén piàoliàng}
\]

\[ \text{DIST CLF girl very pretty} \]

(b) Atong:

\[
\text{ue gawi səl -a}
\]

\[ \text{DST girl pretty -CUST} \]

The order of the constituents within a quantified NP is either NOUN CLASSIFIER NUMERAL or CLASSIFIER NUMERAL NOUN. The latter order occurs less often than the previous but is not uncommon. The meaning of the NP is the same regardless of the position of the classifier phrase. Possible pragmatic overtones or differences require further investigation. Only nouns which are auto-classifiers can be modified directly by a numeral. In the case of auto-classifiers the constituent order is fixed NOUN\text{auto-classifier} NUMERAL (see §12.3). Examples (192) and (193) constitute a minimal pair for the position of the classifier and numeral. In both examples the head of the NP is the first person plural inclusive personal pronoun \( naʔnaŋ \) (1pi). In (192) the classifier and numeral follow the pronominal head and in (193) they precede the pronominal head.

(192) \( atəkokodo naŋnaŋ məŋʔ ni saʔay muʔna manʔnaka \)

\[
\{ atok -ok \} =odo [ naʔnaŋ map? ni ]
\]

\[ \text{do.like.that-COS =TOP 1pi CLF:HUMANS 2} \]

\[
\{ saʔ? =ay } \{ muʔ =na \} \{ manʔ -naka \}
\]

\[ \text{eat =ADV sit =DAT be.able -IFT} \]

‘When [we] will have done like that, us two will certainly be able to sit and eat.’

(193) \( hay məŋʔ ni naʔnaŋ kakay saʔna \)

\[
[ hay ] [ map? ni naʔnaŋ ] \{ kak \} =ay \{ saʔ =na \}
\]

\[ \text{come.on CLF:HUMANS 2 1pi bite =ADV eat -DESI} \]

‘Come on! Us two want/intend to bite and eat [you].’
Case marking is always encliticised to the last constituent of the NP and has scope over the whole NP. Case marking can thus enclitisise to a numeral if it is the last constituent of an NP. Example (194) is illustrative of this phenomenon and contrasts with (195), where the noun is the last constituent of the NP and thus receives the case marking. Example (194) is also an illustration of the use of the residue classifier goyʔ. In this example, parag ‘thatch’ could also have been classified with the classifier for culms, kunʔ.

(194)  deʔ naʔa reʔeparocido iaw parag goyʔ saaw Kawancəy

\[\text{de} \ [\text{naʔa}] \ \{\text{reʔep} -\text{aroŋ}\} =\text{ci} =\text{do}\]
\[\text{well} \ 2s \ \text{go.away-PROG} =\text{LOC}=\text{TOP}\]
\[\text{i} =\text{aw} \ \text{parag goyʔ [sa]} =\text{aw} \ \{\text{kaw-an} -\text{cəy}\}\]
\[\text{PROX}=\text{ACC} \ \text{thatch CLF:RESIDUE one =ACC shoot-REF -TRY}\]

‘Well, if you are going, try to shoot this one [culm of] thatch.’

(195)  aŋna məŋʔ tham naŋʔ saʔaw poraykhalna watetboto.

\[\text{aŋ} =\text{na} \ \{\text{məŋʔ} \ \text{tham naŋʔ [saʔaw]}\} =\text{aw}\]
\[1s \ =\text{DAT} \ \text{CLF:HUMANS 3} \ 2s \ \text{child =ACC}\]
\[\{\text{poray} -\text{khal}\} =\text{na} \ \{\text{watet}\} =\text{bo} =\text{to}\]
\[\text{study -MORE =DAT send} =\text{IMP =IMPEMPH}\]

‘For my benefit, do send three of your children to study more.’

Sometimes, phrasal enclitics occur not attached to the last constituent of the NP but only enclitisicised to the constituent over which they have scope, although this seldom happens in the recorded material. This can be seen in example (196), where the enclitic <=rara> (AMONGST) is encliticised to the head of the NP and not the numeral which forms the last constituent. The enclitic has scope only over the noun boba (< Indic) ‘crazy person’. Everywhere in the language where an enclitic does not enclitisise to the last element in the phrase, it only has scope over constituents that precede it but not over those that follow it.
\[
\begin{align*}
[te?] & \quad =do \quad [ge?theyŋtheyŋ] \quad =do \quad [boba \quad =ra\quad məŋ? \quad ni] \\
now & \quad =\text{TOP} \quad 3\text{p} \quad =\text{TOP crazy.person} =\text{AMONGST CLF: HUMANS} \quad 2 \\
\{golpho\quad kha?-ruk\quad -ok\} & \quad =no \\
\text{story} & \quad \text{do} \quad -\text{RC} \quad -\text{COS} =\text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Now the two crazy persons gossiped amongst each other.’

In example (197) the scope of the focus/identifier enclitic \(<=an>\) stretches only over the noun. Example (197) contrasts with (198) where the noun is omitted and the focus identifier appears on the numeral head.

(197) ucie soŋməŋ morotan məŋʔ tham reʔeŋayməŋ […]
\[
\begin{align*}
ucie & \quad [\text{soŋ} \quad =məŋ \quad \text{morot} \quad =\text{an} \quad \text{məŋ?} \quad \text{tham}] \quad \{\text{reʔeŋ}\} \quad =\text{ay} \quad =\text{məŋ} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{village} \quad =\text{GEN person} \quad =\text{FC/ID CLF: HUMANS} \quad 3 \quad \text{go.away} \quad =\text{ADV} \quad =\text{SEQ} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Then, the three villagers having gone, […].’

In example (198) the NP \textit{məŋʔ korokawan} is headless. The classifier refers to the older brothers of a child who, in the story from which this example is taken, is searching for them.

(198) phəlgəm cunggaba monokrumokno məŋʔ korokawan.
\[
\begin{align*}
phəlgəm & \quad \{\text{cuŋ}\} \quad =\text{gaba} \quad \{\text{monok} \quad -\text{rum} \quad -\text{ok}\} \quad =\text{no} \\
\text{eagle} & \quad \text{big} \quad =\text{ATTR swallow} \quad -\text{ALL} \quad -\text{COS} =\text{QUOT} \\
\{məŋʔ\quad korok\} & \quad =\text{aw} \quad =\text{an} \\
\text{CLF: HUMANS} \quad 6 & \quad =\text{ACC} \quad =\text{FC/ID} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘The big eagle had swallowed all 6 persons, it is said.’

When the quantified noun is understood from the context, it can be elided as we see in example (198). What remains after the elision of the noun is a headless NP. The numeral-plus-classifier combination can stand on its own or be preceded by a demonstrative, as we see in example (199).

Demonstratives invariably occur in NP initial position in Atong. When the NP is headless, the demonstrative will remain in that position and may thus precede a classifier-plus-numeral, as we can see in example (199). In this example, the NP \textit{ue məŋʔ sa} (DST CLF: HUMANS 1) ‘that (one) person’ refers to a lazy king. The clause
is of the equation/identity type with a nominal predicate. The head of the NP that functions as the predicate is ellipsed. What is left in the predicate is an attributive clause (see Chapter 29) indicated between vertical lines.

(199) \textit{teʔawba ue məŋʔ? sa \{kam khaʔna haratgaba.\}}

\begin{verbatim}
now \quad \text{EMPH DST} \quad \text{CLF: HUMANS} \quad 1 \quad \text{work} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{reluctant} \quad \text{ATTR}
\end{verbatim}

‘Now that one is [someone who is] reluctant to do work.’

Auto-classifier noun phrases cannot omit the noun since this would leave the numeral standing on its own without classifier and that would be ungrammatical. The noun \textit{nok} can be used as an auto-classifier, e.g. \textit{nok sa} (house 1) ‘one house’. If \textit{nok} ‘house’ were omitted it would result in ungrammaticality.

Classifier-plus-numeral combinations can function as head of a predicate of an existential clause. This is shown in example (200), where the whole enumeration functions as non-verbal predicate head. Classifier-plus-numeral phrases together with the noun they quantify are not attested together as predicate head. More fieldwork needs to be carried out to find out if such constructions are possible.

(200) \textit{məŋʔ? byryi məŋʔ? banja məŋʔ? korokkhua}

\begin{verbatim}
CLF: HUMANS 4 CLF: HUMANS 5 CLF: HUMANS 6 -INCOM -CUST
\end{verbatim}

‘There are still four, five, six persons left.’

Quantified NPs can take the plural enclitic \texttt{<=daraŋ} (p). This enclitic makes the quantification approximate, e.g. example (201).

(201) \textit{imi kilomitar kolgəkdaraŋtəkəy niʔwa raŋ.}

\begin{verbatim}
PRX \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{kilometre} \quad 20 \quad \text{p} \quad \text{VIA/LIKE} \quad \text{not.exist} \quad \text{FACT} \quad \text{rain}
\end{verbatim}

‘About twenty kilometres from here there is none, rain.’
Approximation can also be expressed by enumeration. The following example, from a story about incantation, is illustrative. In this example we see that the classifier is present before each numeral. The perative/similative enclitic \(<=təkəy>\) (VIA/LIKE) is not compulsory in this construction. The context is as follows. There are many people in the village who claim they know how to perform incantations. In reality they don’t know.

\[(202) \quad məŋʔ\ sə məŋʔ\ · nɨtəkəy\ sapa.\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CLF:HUMANS 1} \\
\text{CLF:HUMANS 2} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{=təkəy} \\
\{\text{sap} \ -a\} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘One or two actually know.’

The plural enclitic can also be used to reinforce the notion of plurality, of which the next example is illustrative. The context and the use of the delimitative enclitic \(<=sa>\) (DLIM) help to interpret the use of the plural enclitic in this case.

\[(203) \quad teʔew\ wenthamdaraŋsa\ miniksuruni\ baysigane.\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
t \quad \text{wen -tham} = \text{ddarda} = \text{sa} \\
\text{miniksuru -ni} \\
\text{bayʔsiga} = \text{ne} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Now three times [and] you will be flat-haired, friend ok.’ (said the deer to the fox who was bathing in the river but whose hair kept standing up instead of getting flat.)

11.6  Ordinal numbers

Atong and Garo numerals both simple and compound, but not borrowed numerals, can be turned into ordinal numerals with the attributive suffix \(<-gaba ~ -ga>\) (ATTR). The result of this process is translated into English with an ordinal numeral. The suffix \(<-gaba ~ -ga>\) (ATTR) is attached to the last element of a numeral.

Ordinal numerals function as modifiers of nouns. The ordinal numeral can precede or follow the noun it modifies with no difference in meaning. However, when the ordinal numeral follows the noun it modifies, it is always accompanied by a classifier preceding the ordinal numeral, whereas the classifier is absent when the ordinal numeral precedes the noun it modifies.

Example (204) is an illustration of an ordinal numeral preceding the noun it modifies. Notice the absence of a classifier. This example contrasts with example
(205), where the ordinal numeral accompanied by the classifier follows the noun it modifies.

(204) *sagaba naw nemkhalbutuŋci thəyok.*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{sa -gaba} \text{ n}w \\
\{\text{nem} -khal -butuŋ\} =c i \\
\text{thəy} -\text{ok}
\end{array}
\]

1 -ATTR younger.sister good -CP -WHILE =LOC die -COS

When [my] first younger sister was getting better [she] died.

(205) *unasa boba məŋʔ sagaba teʔew abun boba nukaysigaakno*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{unasa} \ [\text{boba} \ məŋʔ \ sa -gaba] \ [\text{teʔew}] \ [\text{abun} \ boba]
\end{array}
\]

then crazy.person CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR now other crazy.person

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{\text{nuk-ay} \ -\text{siga-ak}\} =n o \\
\text{see} \ -\text{TOWARDS} -\text{ALT-COS} =\text{QUOT}
\end{array}
\]

‘The first crazy person now saw another crazy person coming towards him, it is said.’

An ordinal numeral can occur in a headless NP just as a numeral, as we have seen in the previous section. In this function the ordinal number is usually accompanied by a preceding classifier, which limits the scope of reference of the headless NP. This is illustrated in the following example.

(206) *una məŋʔ sagababa, saʔbanthay məŋʔsagaba, bəcəmokno.*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{una} \ [\text{məŋʔ} \ sa -gaba] =b a
\end{array}
\]

then CLF:HUMANS 1 -ATTR =EMPH

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[\text{saʔ} \ \text{banthay məŋʔ} \ sa -gaba] \ \{\text{bəcəm} -\text{ok}\} =n o \\
\text{child bachelor CLF:HUMANS} \ 1 -\text{ATTR pull.out} -\text{COS} =\text{QUOT}
\end{array}
\]

‘Then the first [son] pulled out the other son, it is said.’

However, in enumerations the classifier is omitted in headless NPs. Example (207) comes from a text in which the speaker enumerates all the Atong speaking villages. The two clauses presented in this example are of the identity/equation type with a nominal predicate.
(207)  *sagaba Rongdəŋ haʔway. [...] sotbyrisagaba bakmara konagothum.*

\[sa =gaba]_{s} \{roŋdəŋ haʔway\}

\[sot \ -byrira \ -gaba]_{s} \{bakmara konagothum\}

1  -ATTR  Pname

10 4  1  -ATTR  Pname

‘The first [village is] Rongdyng Ha·wai. [...] The forty first [village is] Baghmara Konagythum.’

As we saw in example (206), the construction [CLF *saga(ba)* …[CLF *saga(ba)*] means ‘one… the other’. The following example shows that [CLF *saga(ba)*] on its own in the appropriate context can also mean ‘the other’. The context is as follows:

Someone comes home late and his children ask where he has been. He answers that he was at their uncle’s house, to which the children reply that he is lying since the uncle had visited them that day and has not left yet. Then the late person replies (208).

(208)  *naŋʔ awaŋ maŋʔ sagami nokcisate!*

\[naŋʔ \ awaŋ \ maŋʔ \ sa -ga \ =mi\]

2s  father’s.younger.brother  CLF:HUMANS  1  -ATTR =GEN

\[nok\] \ =ci \ =sa \ =te\]

house =LOC  =DLIM =DCL

‘At your other uncle’s house I say!’

11.7  **The numeral *sa* ‘one’: its different functions and grammaticalisations**

The morpheme *sa* has several functions which can be seen as grammaticalisations of the numeral *sa* ‘one’. We shall now examine the different functions of this morpheme one by one.

A) **Numeral**

The numeral may be used to indicate that there is really one item of something, e.g. example (209).
(209) *ue gawici saʔ maŋʔ korok ganaŋnororo aro deʔthenj pipukci ganaŋkhua maŋʔ sa, mo.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ue gaw]} & =ci \quad \text{[saʔ maŋʔ] korok} \quad \{\text{gaben} \} =no =ro \quad \text{aro} \\
\text{DST woman} & =\text{LOC child CLF:HUMANS} \quad 6 \quad \text{exist} \quad =\text{QUOT =EMPH and} \\
\text{[deʔthenj pipuk]} & =ci \quad \{\text{gaben} -ku -a\} \quad \{\text{maŋʔ} \quad \text{sa}\} \\
\text{3s belly} & =\text{LOC exist -INCOM-CUST CLF:HUMANS 1}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The woman has/had six children, it is said, and in her belly there is/was one more.’

B) Indefinite article

A noun in Atong is not marked for singular or plural and therefore can be interpreted as referring to one or more than one entity. So the clause *matdam saʔ-ak* (otter eat-COS) can mean either ‘the otter had eaten [the fish]’ or ‘the otters had eaten [the fish]’. The numeral *sa‘one’* is often used to make the plural reading of a noun impossible. In such cases the meaning of *sa‘one’* is more like that of the English indefinite article *a/an*, e.g. (210).

(210) *ucie ramci pheru maŋ sa goroŋwano.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ucie [ram]} & =ci \quad \text{[pheru maŋ \quad \text{sa}] \quad \{\text{goroŋ -wa}\} =no} \\
\text{then road} & =\text{LOC FOX CLF:ANIMALS one meet -FACT =QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then, on the road he met a fox, it is said.’

As an indefinite article, the numeral *sa‘one’* is often used to introduce new referents, as is the case in example (210). This function of the numeral one has also been described for Lahu in Matisoff (1982: 87) and it is attested in languages around the world, (see Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2201) and Givón (1981, 1984: 432-35)

C) ‘Other’

The combination CLF one-ATTR means either ‘one…..the other’ if it occurs twice in a row (211), or just ‘the next one, another one’ (212). Any classifier can participate in this construction, as, for example, the auto-classifier (see §12.3) *dol ‘group’* in (211) and the classifier for humans, *maŋ*, in (212).
(211) *dol sagaba rajaməŋ jagəsisaŋ dol sagaba rajaməŋ jagarasəŋtakay muʔni.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[dol & \text{-}gaba] & \text{[raja =məŋ jagosi =saŋ]} & [dol & \text{-}gaba] \\
\text{group I -ATTR} & \begin{aligned} \text{king} = & \text{GEN} \text{ right} = \text{MOB} \text{ group I -ATTR} \\
\end{aligned} \\
[raja & =məŋ jagara] & \text{=saŋ =takay} & \{\text{muʔ -ni}\} \\
\text{king} = \begin{aligned} & \text{GEN left} = \text{LOC} = \text{LIKE} \text{ sit -FUT} \\
\end{aligned}
\end{align*}
\]

‘One group will sit to the king’s left hand side and the other group will sit to the king’s right hand side.’ Literally: ‘the other group will sit king’s-left-sidedly’.

(212) *məŋʔ saba rəŋokno. məŋʔ sa do rəŋmanokno, jamancakno. atəkəymuna məŋʔ sagaba rəŋthiriokno. uba jamancano.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[məŋʔ & \text{ sa} =ba \{rəŋ -ok\} =no] & [\text{məŋʔ} & \text{ sa} =do] \\
\text{CLF: HUMANS I =EMPH drink -COS =QUOT CLF: HUMANS I =TOP} \\
\{rəŋ & =man -ok\} =no & \{jam & \text{-an} \text{-ca} -k\} =no \\
\text{drink -ALREADY -COS =QUOT finish -REF NEG -COS =QUOT} \\
\text{atəkəymuna} & \text{[məŋʔ \text{-sa} -gaba]} & \text{[rəŋ -thiri -ok]} =no \\
\text{so.then} & \text{CLF: HUMANS I -ATTR drink -AGAIN -COS =QUOT} \\
[u] & =ba & \{jam & \text{-an} \text{-ca} -k\} =no \\
\text{DST =EMPH finish -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘One [of the brothers] smoked, it is said. One [of them] has already smoked, [it] is said, [he] did not finish [it], it is said. So then another [brother] smoked, it is said. That one also did not finish it, it is said.’

The next example illustrates the use of the construction CLF one-ATTR meaning ‘one…..the other’, but without the classifier. The noun *soŋ* ‘village’ is not an auto-classifier. The classifier normally used for villages is *dam* (CLF: VILLAGES). The use of this construction without a classifier is only attested for the noun *soŋ* ‘village’.

(213) *soŋ sagabaaw soŋmonŋ məŋwanowa, soŋ sagabaaw soŋgadal məŋwanowa.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[soŋ & \text{ sa -gaba}] =aw \{soŋmonŋ\} \{məŋ -wa\} =no -wa \\
\text{village one-ATTR =ACC Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT -FACT} \\
[soŋ & \text{ sa -gaba}] =aw \{soŋgadal\} \{məŋ -wa\} =no -wa \\
\text{village one-ATTR =ACC Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT -FACT}
\end{align*}
\]

One village was called Songmong, the other village was called Songgadal.

This type of grammaticalisation of the numeral ‘one’ is also attested for the languages Bulu and Yagira, (see Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 223).
The delimitative enclitic \(<=sa\rangle\) (DLIM) is a grammaticalisation of the numeral one into an enclitic. The delimitative enclitic is found on subordinate clauses, NPs, adverbs, personal pronouns, discourse connectives and demonstratives, and limits the reference of the clause or phrase. The meaning of the morpheme can schematically be represented as ‘only/exclusively/precisely X’.

The following examples show occurrences of the delimitative on a noun functioning as predicate head and on a clause with a verbal predicate head respectively.

(214)  
\[
naŋʔmi jorado naŋʔmi madamsate!
\]
\[
[nag\' =mi jora] =do\} \{[naŋ\' -mi madam] =sa\} =te
\]
\[
2s \quad =GEN \: lover \quad =TOP \: 2s \quad =GEN \: female.\: teacher \quad =DLIM \quad =DCL
\]
\[\text{‘Your lover is no one other than your teacher!’}\]

(215)  
\[
songumukan ue mōŋma wana waykhurutaysa boli hənʔaysa manʔay saʔthokwano.
\]
\[
[song =gumuk] =an \quad [ue mōŋma wa] =na \quad \{\text{way khurut} =ay\} =sa
\]
\[
village =whole \quad =FC/ID \quad DST \quad elephant \quad tooth =DAT \quad spirit \quad incantate =ADV \quad =DLIM
\]
\[
\{\text{boli} \quad hənʔ\} =ay =sa
\]
\[
\text{offering \: give} \quad =ADV \quad =DLIM
\]
\[
[\text{manʔay}] \quad \{\text{saʔ} \quad -thok \quad -wa\} =no
\]
\[
in.\text{great.\:amounts} \quad \text{eat} \quad -\text{everyone} \quad -\text{FACT} \quad =\text{QUOT}
\]
\[\text{‘The whole village, precisely [because] [they] prayed to the elephant tusk [and] precisely [because they] gave offerings, [they] all became rich (lit. ‘[they] all ate in great amounts’), it is said.’}\]

Example (216) illustrates the use of the delimitative enclitic on a quantified NP.

(216)  
\[
morot məŋʔsasa bətaŋwano.
\]
\[
[morot məŋʔ \quad sa] =sa \quad \{bət -ay -wa\} =no
\]
\[
person \quad CLF: \text{HUMANS} \quad one =DLIM \quad lead \quad -AWAY \quad -\text{FACT} \quad =\text{QUOT}
\]
\[\text{‘Only one man led him away, it is said.’}\]

In the next example we see the distal demonstrative with the delimitative enclitic. The second occurrence of that enclitic is on a headless NP with an attributive clause.
(217) *rasoŋ manʔay takokno usa, cungcungaraŋsa.*

\[
\begin{align*}
&[\textit{rasoŋ}] \quad \{\textit{manʔ}\} =\textit{ay} \quad \{\textit{tak -ok}\} =\textit{no} \quad [u] =\text{sa} \\
\text{boasting in.great.amounts=} &\text{ADV do -COS =QUOT DST=DLIM} \\
&[\textit{cung cung =ga}] =\textit{raŋ} (\text{Garo}) =\text{sa} \\
\text{big} &\text{RED =ATTR } =\text{P } =\text{DLIM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Those very [ones] boasted a lot [about themselves], it is said, those eldest ones.’

The following example shows an occurrence of the delimitative enclitic on a discourse connective.

(218) *umunŋsa songumuk thomʔaymuŋ haʔba haʔrən haʔrənaw sow alni.*

\[
\begin{align*}
&\textit{umunŋ }=\text{sa} \quad \{\textit{song}\} =\text{gumuk} \quad \{\textit{thomʔ}\} =\textit{ay} =\text{muŋ} \\
\text{then} &\text{=DLIM village =whole gather =ADV } =\text{SEQ} \\
&[\textit{haʔba}] \quad [\textit{haʔrən haʔrən}] =\text{aw} \quad \{\textit{sowal -nə}\} \\
\text{dry.rice.and.vegetable.field plot} &\text{RED =ACC divide -FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[In the beginning [they] begin with a general meeting.] Only then, after the whole village has gathered together, will [they] divide the dry rice and vegetable field plot by plot.’

The development of the number *sa* ‘one’ to the delimitative enclitic <\textit{sa}> (DLIM) might very well have involved a hypothetical intermediate stage in which the morpheme was interpreted in certain contexts as meaning ‘only one, unique’ before it developed further into the delimitative enclitic, which means ‘only, just’.
Chapter 12  Classifiers

In Chapter 1 we have already discussed the following. Classifiers are only used with indigenous Atong numerals and with Garo loan numerals. Classifiers are nominal modifiers in the sense that they limit the number of possible referents of an NP. When the quantified noun is understood from the context, it can be elided, with the result being a headless NP. In a headless NP a classifier cannot take over the syntactic functions of the elided noun in that it cannot take any case or other nominal suffixes. These affixes will go onto the numeral instead, which is always the last element in the headless NP.

In §12.2 of this chapter we look at the different types of classifiers and how they are subcategorised. We will look at the use of classifiers and determine the parameters that determine the choice of a certain classifier with a certain noun. Subsequently, in §12.3 we will look at a subclass of nouns that does not need a classifier to be quantified, the so-called auto-classifiers. In §12.4 we will look at the double function of measure nouns. Section 12.5 treats the origin of the Atong classifiers. All classifiers are given in Table 47 at the end of this chapter, organised according to different semantic and formal categories.

12.1  The syntactic and semantic properties of classifiers

As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, the order of the elements in a quantified NP is either NOUN CLASSIFIER NUMERAL or CLASSIFIER NUMERAL NOUN. The latter order is not frequently attested but by no means uncommon in the language. The meaning of the NP is the same regardless of the position of the classifier phrase. Possible pragmatic overtones or differences require further investigation. Only nouns which are auto-classifiers can be modified directly by a numeral. In the case of auto-classifiers the constituent order is fixed as NOUN_{auto} NUMERAL (see §12.3). Examples (192) and (193) in Chapter 1 constitute a minimal pair for the position of the classifier and numeral.
As is discussed in §11.5, the classifier relies on the following numeral to carry case and other enclitics. As is also mentioned in Chapter 1, numerals are nominal modifiers and are dependent on classifiers for this modifying function. Classifiers, in turn, cannot modify a noun on their own but are not solely dependent on numerals to exercise their modifying function. The distributive phrasal enclitic «pek» (DIS), the interrogative morpheme bəysək ‘how much/many?’ and the Type 2 adjective abun ‘other’ are attested in place of a numeral after a classifier.

Example (219) below illustrates the most common use of a classifier, i.e. in combination with a numeral after the head noun in the NP.

(219) ketketa buraci kəyʔ maŋ sa ganagnno

'Ketketa Bura has a dog, it is said.'

A classifier can be used to narrow down the scope of reference of an NP. If the context is sufficiently clear, a classifier can be used without a noun, in which case we have to do with a headless NP. This phenomenon was described and discussed in §11.5. The following example illustrates the use of a classifier without a noun and without a numeral. Instead of a numeral the classifier is followed by the distributive enclitic «pek» (DIS). This is the only recorded example where the long form of the first person personal pronoun, aŋa (1s) (see §17.2), is not in A or S but seemingly in oblique function.

(220) “aca naŋʔtəme aŋa sanci maŋpek hənʔni “ nowano.

‘Right then, you shall give me one of each animal every day’, [the lion] said, it is said.’

There is one recorded occurrence of a Type 2 adjective directly after a classifier. This is the Type 2 adjective abun ‘other’, as we can see in example (221). Since there is
only one recorded occurrence of this type of construction, chances are that it was a mistake of speaker or that we are dealing here with a new emerging construction. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out whether this construction is really productive in Atong or not.

(221) *boba məŋʔsagabaci məŋʔ abun bobaci teʔewdo bobarara məŋʔni golpho khaʔrukɔko*  

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{boba} & \quad \text{məŋʔ} & \quad \text{sa} & =\text{gaba}] \quad [\text{məŋʔ} & \quad \text{abun} & \quad \text{boba}] & =\text{ci} \\
\text{crazy.person} & \quad \text{CLF: HUMANS} & \quad 1 & =\text{ATTR} \quad \text{CLF: HUMANS} & \quad \text{other} \quad \text{crazy.person} & =\text{LOC} \\
[\text{teʔew}] & =\text{do} \quad [\text{boba} & \quad =\text{rara} & \quad \text{məŋʔ} & \quad \text{ni}] \\
\text{now} & =\text{TOP} \quad \text{crazy.person} & =\text{AMONG} \quad \text{CLF: HUMANS} & \quad 2 \\
\{\text{golpho} & \quad \text{khaʔ-ruk} & \quad \text{-ok}\} & =\text{no} \\
\text{story} & \quad \text{do} & =\text{-RC} & \quad =\text{-COS} & =\text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The first crazy person to the other crazy person, now, among crazy persons, the two of them gossiped to each other, it is said.’

Example (222) illustrates the occurrence of a classifier with the interrogative morpheme *bəysək* ‘how much/many?’. This postposition can only occur after classifiers (see also §9.9).

(222) *naŋʔtəme goyʔbəysək manʔphawa ie bəlsie?*  

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{naŋʔ} & \quad -\text{tem}] & =\text{e} \quad [\text{goyʔ} & \quad \text{bəysək}] \quad \{\text{manʔ} & \quad -\text{pha} & \quad -\text{wa}\} \\
2s & =\text{FC} \quad \text{CLF: RESIDUE how many} & \quad \text{obtain} & =\text{-IN.TOTAL} & =\text{-FACT} \\
[\text{ie} & \quad \text{bəlsie}] & =\text{e} \\
\text{PRX} & \quad \text{year} & =\text{FC} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘How many did you get this year?’ Implied: ‘How many baskets were you able to fill with rice this year?’ (during the rice harvest).

Classifier-plus-numeral combinations can be the head of a predicate of an existential clause, as has been remarked in §11.5 and illustrated by example (200), repeated here as (223). The sentence in this example consists of a coordination of two clauses, each of which contains a headless quantified NP as a predicate. The second clause consists of headless quantified NPs which are in an enumerative relationship to each other, the last one of which is the head of the predicate taking the incompletive and customary aspect suffixes.
12 Classifiers

>> 12.2 Categories and types of classifiers and their use

Classifiers are divided into two major classificatory categories, viz. sortal, mensural. The sortal classifiers are used for animate, inanimate and count nouns. All classifiers can be divided into two major semantic categories, depending on the animacy of the nouns they can occur with, viz. Animate and Inanimate. Mensural classifiers are only attested with inanimate nouns, while Sortal classifiers occur with both animate and inanimate nouns. The category Animate classifiers is divided into two sub-categories, viz. Humans and Animals. The category Inanimate is in turn split up into smaller groups of classifiers, viz. plants, shape and dimension, consistency, function, mensural, residue, repeater and specific. Mensural classifiers are divided into three subcategories, viz. those classifying objects by arrangement, those classifying objects by both arrangement and shape and those classifying objects by quantity, i.e. volume, length or distance, weight and surface. The categorisation of classifiers is represented in Table 46.

As for group classifiers, there are none. There are two words that mean ‘group’, viz. dol and jinma. These words are auto-classifiers, i.e. nouns that can be quantified without classifier (see §12.3). These words have all nominal properties. The words dol is only attested to refer to groups of people, while jinma can be used for both groups of people and of animals.

Mensural classifiers, treated in §12.2.3, below, individuate in terms of quantity (see Lyons 1977:463), while all other categories of classifiers individuate whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is or the way people relate to it (see Lyons 1977:163) and are thus “sortal” classifiers. Sortal classifiers will be treated in §12.2.1. Repeaters, treated in §12.2.2, only occur with compounded NP heads and only very few are attested so far.

Some nouns can take alternative classifiers when they are quantified. The choice of classifier depends on which property of the quantified noun the speaker wants to
focus on or finds most relevant in the context of the utterance, as we shall see in §12.2.4. Not every noun has a fixed classifier. The possibilities of reclassification of the noun referent are discussed in the same section.

Table 46  The categorisation of Atong classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sortal</th>
<th>—Animate</th>
<th>—humans</th>
<th>—animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—Inanimate</td>
<td>—plants</td>
<td>—shape and dimension</td>
<td>—consistency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—function</td>
<td>—repeater</td>
<td>—specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—residue</td>
<td>—mensural by arrangement and shape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensural</td>
<td>—mensural by quantity</td>
<td>—volume</td>
<td>—length/distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>—weight</td>
<td>—surface</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important not to confuse classifiers with auto-classifiers and measure nouns. The former are a subclass of nouns and the latter are a separate word class. Both will be treated separately below in §12.3 and §12.4 respectively.

12.2.1  Sortal classifiers

The choice of sortal classifier is determined by the inherent physical and semantic properties of the quantified object. First of all, objects are categorised according to animacy into humans, animals and inanimate objects. There is one classifier for all nouns denoting a human, viz. *məŋʔ* (CLF: HUMANS) and one for all nouns denoting animals, viz. *maŋ* (CLF: ANIMALS). It is interesting to note that the classifier for animals is also used for knives and other tools, in which case it can be labelled as (CLF: TOOLS).

About one score of sortal classifiers denoting different types of inanimate objects has been recorded so far. The different semantic categories that determine the choice...
of the classifier are plants, shape and dimension, consistency, function, apparatus/appliances.

The classifier goyʔ (CLF:RESIDUE) can be used to classify almost anything in cases where the speaker does not want to use a more specific classifier. This use of goyʔ is illustrated in example (194) in Chapter 1. The classifier goyʔ (CLF:RESIDUE) is also frequently used when the object quantified is a loanword. This is the residue classifier function, e.g. gari goyʔ tham (vehicle CLF:RESIDUE 3) ‘3 vehicles’. The classifier goyʔ (CLF:RESIDUE) is not attested to replace the human or animal classifiers məŋʔ (CLF:HUMANS) and maŋ (CLF:ANIMALS), but can replace Inanimate, and, less frequently, Mensural classifiers. As replacement of a mensural classifier, goyʔ is only attested replacing a volume, e.g. (222).

When counting for the sake of counting the default classifier roŋ (CLF:ROUND.THINGS) is used, as has been said in §11.1.1. To put it more specifically, the core semantics of the default classifier roŋ is round objects, but it can also have an unspecified referent function i.e. when the speaker does not express a referent (e.g. counting for the sake of counting), whereas the residue classifier goyʔ does not have a core semantic meaning and has both a residue function, to classify nouns that fall outside the semantic domain of certain other classifiers, and a default function, in which goyʔ can be substituted for other classifiers when “the speaker wants to abandon the available precision of a semantically specific classifier in favour of a semantically neutral [one]” (Zubin and Shimojo, 1993: 491).

12.2.2 Repeater classifiers

A repeater classifier can only occur in Atong if this classifier morpheme is the same form as the last morpheme of a compound which is the quantified head of the NP. Not just any noun that is the last morpheme of a nominal compound can occur as a repeater classifier. The number of repeaters seems to be very restricted, since not many of them have been recorded in Atong.
Compounds containing the root *khal ‘hole’ all take *khal as a repeater classifier, e.g. *haŋʔ*khal khal sa (cave\(^{33}\) CLF:HOLES 1) ‘one cave’ and *nakhuŋ khal khal ni (nose hole CLF:HOLES 2) ‘two nose holes’, but note that *nakhuŋkhal ni ‘two nose holes’ without classifier is also possible. Note that the compound *na+*khal (to.hear+hole) ‘ear’ is quantified as a limb, viz. *nakhal sam sa (ear CLF:LIMBS 1) ‘one ear’ and the lexical compound *təy+khal (water+hole) ‘river’ is quantified with the classifier for roads and rivers, *col, since it is not seen as a type of hole in the language. There are several other morphemes in the language, both bound and free, that behave similarly to *khal ‘hole’ in compounds, e.g. the bound morpheme *taŋ ‘?\(^{34}\) that only occurs in the noun *koktaŋ ‘type of basket’ in which the morpheme *kok ‘basket’ is a recurrent element in many names for baskets. The basket *koktaŋ is counted by repeating the last morpheme, viz. *koktaŋ *taŋ sa (type of basket CLF:*KOKTA- one) ‘one *koktaŋ’. Another repeater is found for the noun *waʔsuŋ ‘bamboo cylinder used to cook food in\(^{35}\) which is counted *waʔsuŋ *suŋ tham ‘three bamboo cylinders used to cook food in’. Table 47 contains an exhaustive list of repeater classifiers so far attested in Atong.

\(^{33}\) The morpheme *haŋʔ ‘?’, of which the meaning is unknown, has only been attested in the compound noun *haŋʔ*khal ‘cave’.

\(^{34}\) The morpheme *taŋ only occurs in the noun *koktaŋ ‘type of basket’ and might go back to Proto-

Tibeto-Burman *taŋ ‘tense/tight’ (Matisoff 2003: 614) which would mean that it is a tightly woven basket.

\(^{35}\) The word *suŋ as free morpheme has only been recorded in Atong with the meaning ‘remembrance, thought, mind, brain, intelligence’ and as the repeater morpheme of the only compound it apparently occurs in, viz. *waʔsuŋ ‘bamboo cylinder (used as container)’. The Atong lexeme *waʔsuŋ ‘bamboo cylinder (used as container)’ is no doubt cognate with the Garo word /waʔsiŋ/ (phonological representation based on Burling 2004), pronounced [waʔsɪŋ], orthography *wa•*sing, with the same meaning. Atong and Garo are very closely related languages and in both languages *waʔ means ‘bamboo’ and can occur as a free morpheme. In Garo the second element of the compound *waʔ+siŋ does not occur as a free morpheme or in any other compound. In the Garo dictionary by Nengminza (2001: 232) under there entry “Sing-” we read: “A numeral prefix [i.e. classifier] used for bamboo cups as *waʔ*[Sing Sing*sa —one bamboo cup or a bamboo tube.” There is no other entry *sing in the dictionary. It is conceivable, although speculative, that in an older stage of Atong and Garo there was a word meaning ‘tube, cylinder, receptacle’ that only survived in the compounds *waʔsiŋ in Garo and *waʔsuŋ in Atong and as their repeater classifiers.
12.2.3 Mensural classifiers

The mensural classifiers recorded so far have only been used to quantify quantities of inanimate objects. There are three types of mensural classifiers in Atong, viz. 1. mensural by arrangement, 2. mensural by arrangement and shape and 3. mensural by quantity. The choice of the classifier is determined for

- Type 1 only by the arrangement in which a quantity of objects occurs,
- Type 2 by the shape of the objects itself and by the arrangement in which the objects occurs,
- Type 3 only by the quantity in which the objects occur.

Type 3 mensural classifiers can be subdivided into those denoting length or distance, weight, volume and surface.

It is interesting to note that according to Aikhenvald (2003-b: 115) in the majority of the world’s languages the choice of a mensural classifier is determined by only two factors, viz. “the quantity, or measure, of an entity, and its physical properties”. Atong belongs to this majority of languages. The physical properties that Atong uses to determine the use of a mensural classifier are both temporary, i.e. arrangement, and permanent, i.e. shape.

12.2.4 The relationship between noun and classifier

A classifier can help determine the exact denotation of a noun, i.e. can disambiguate potentially polysemous nouns. Some nouns have alternative choices of classifier depending on which property of the noun is in focus. If a speaker talks about oranges as fruits, he will use the classifier for round things, roŋ, e.g. narag roŋ ni (orange CLF:ROUND.TINGS 2) ‘two oranges’. But if a speaker indicates oranges in little heaps on the market, it will be narag comʔ ni (orange CLF:HEAPS.OF.SMALL.ROUND.FRUiTS .AND. VEGETABLES 2) ‘two heaps of oranges’. There is also the possibility to speak about an orange as a tree, in which case the classifier for trees, phay, is used, e.g. narag phay sa (orange CLF:TREES 1) ‘one orange tree’. An umbrella can be classified as an apparatus when it is closed and as a flat thing when it is open, e.g. satha pan ni (umbrella CLF:APPARATUS 2) ‘two umbrellas’, satha khuŋ sa (umbrella CLF:FLAT.TINGS 1) ‘one umbrella’. In stories animals are often reclassified as humans because they act like humans, e.g. (224), where the classifier refers to a toad, a frog
and a bird, who together are on their way to beat-up an elephant for destroying their dwellings.

(224) ətəkəyməŋ məŋʔtham reʔeŋokno.

[ətəkəyməŋ məŋʔ] [tham] [reʔeŋ -ok] =no
so.then  CLF:HUMANS 3 go.away -COS =QUOT
‘So then the three of them went away.’

Nouns with human referents have to be classified as humans and cannot be classified as something else. Animals can be classified as animals or, in stories, as humans. Nouns that can be classified according to their arrangement can also be classified according to their shape and dimension. Nouns that fall into the function category can also be classified according to their shape and dimension. Nouns that have specific classifiers can be classified with the residue classifier goyʔ. Some apparatus can be classified according to their shape and dimension. Nouns which require repeater classifiers cannot be reclassified. More research is needed to find out what the precise dynamics are within the classifier system.

Loan words can be classified by their semantics just like native Atong words. Certain words are more frequently classified by the residue classifier than others and this might be due to the degree with which these loans are integrated into Atong. Moreover, certain semantic classes of borrowed nouns are more frequently classified according to their semantics than others. The borrowed measure nouns dipot ‘teapot’, gylas ‘glass’ and khap ‘cup’ (all English loans), for example, are usually counted with the residue classifier goyʔ. Borrowed nouns denoting clothes, like jama ‘shirt’, cola ‘shirt’, muja ‘sock’ (all Indic loans) and loŋpen ‘long trousers’ (English loan) are classified like other clothes, i.e. with the classifier for flat things kuŋ or the classifier for things that occur in pairs jora.

12.3 Auto-classifiers

Auto-classifiers are a subclass of nouns that can be quantified without intervention of a classifier. Instead the numeral always directly follows the noun. Auto-classifiers consist of: 1. Time Nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a unit of time, and 2. some miscellaneous nouns.
The Time Nouns are bəlsi ‘year’, ja ‘month’, nagəltay ‘week’, san ‘day’, khantha ‘hour’, minit ‘minute’ and sekən ‘second’. Example (225) shows how the Time Noun san ‘day’ is quantified without the intervention of a classifier between it and the compound numeral.

(225) range san cibəri wawano.

\[
[rəŋ] = e \quad [sən \ ci \ bəri] \quad \{wə -wa\} = nə
\]

rain =FC day 10 4 rain -FACT =QUOT

‘the rain rained fourteen days, it is said.’

Examples of other nouns that are auto-classifiers are wenʔ ~ wet ‘time, turn’, nok ‘house’, nukhuŋ ~ nokhuŋ ‘roof’, khal ‘hole’, məmʔ ‘fist’, jinma ‘group’, dol ‘group’ and bəlʔ ‘stroke, blow’. The allomorph wet ‘time, turn’ appears only before the numeral sa ‘one’ and the allomorph wenʔ before all other numerals as well as before sa ‘one’. In example (226) we see the noun bəlʔ ‘stroke, blow’ quantified without the intervention of a classifier between it and the numeral.

(226) atɔkəymuŋ bəlʔ sa toketokno.

\[
[a təkəyməŋ \ [bəlʔ \ sa]] \quad \{tok -et -ok\} = nə
\]

so.then blow 1 beat -CAUS-COS =QUOT

‘So then [he] gave (Lit. ‘hit’) another blow, it is said.’

Auto-classifiers can be interrogated with the interrogative morpheme bəysək ‘how much?, how many?’ just like classifiers. Example (227) illustrates the use of this interrogative morpheme with a Time Noun, while in (228) we see it with a more prototypical noun.

(227) sanbəysək muʔni?

\[
[san \ bəysək] \quad \{muʔ -ni\}
\]

day how many stay -FUT

‘How many days will [you] stay?’

(228) naŋʔ soŋci nokbəysək ganaŋ?

\[
[nəŋʔ \ soŋ] = e i \quad [nok \ bəysək] \quad \{ganaŋ\}
\]

2s village =LOC house how many exist

‘How many houses are there in your village?’
Between the last Round-Number numeral and Unit numeral (see §11.1 for the definitions), auto-classifiers can be repeated just as other classifiers, as we saw above in §11.4. Examples (187) and (229) are illustrative. In example (229) the speaker clarifies the vigesimal number by translating it into Garo, in which counting is different.

(229) umikənsag san khole san sa cəw rəŋkhuənəwa. haʔcəksag bəlciədo sal kholgrəksa noay məŋnicəm

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[u } =\text{mi kənsag]} & \text{[san khole san sa] [cəw]} \{rəŋ -\text{khu } -a\} \\
\text{DST=} & \text{GEN after day TWENTY day I rice.beer drink -INCOM-CUST} \\
\text{=} & \text{no -wa [haʔcək] =san} \{bəl\} =ci =do [sal kholgrək sa] \\
\text{=} & \text{QUOT -FACT Garo =INSTR speak =LOC=TOP day twenty I} \\
\{no\} & =\text{ay} \{məŋ -ni\} =cəm \\
\text{say } & =\text{ADV call.a.name -FUT =IRR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The rain stopped after 14 days. After that they continued drinking rice beer for 21 more days, it is said.’ If [you] say [it] in Garo, [you] would say sal kholgrək sa."

When they are quantified, the auto-classifiers wet ~ wen? ‘time, turn’ and bəlʔ ‘stroke, blow’ can function as verbal action classifiers, i.e. a type of adverbial phrase modifying the following predicate, as is illustrated in example (226) with bəlʔ ‘stroke, blow’ and in (230) with wet ~ wen? ‘time, turn’.

(230) wen? ni rəpwacian miniksuru takokno.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[wen? ni]} & \text{ACTION CLASSIFIER} \{rəp -wa\} =ci =an \\
\text{time } & =2 \text{ stay.under.water -FACT =LOC =FC/ID} \\
\{miniksuru\} & =\text{no} \\
\text{be.flat-haired do } & =\text{COS =QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘When [he] had stayed under water twice, [his fur] was flat-haired, it is said.’

The noun nagəltəy ‘week’ is counted by partial deletion (231), and can be made distributive by partial reduplication: nagəltəy-təy (week-PARTRED) ‘every week’.
Measure nouns are a potentially open grammatical and semantic subclass of nouns that can function as nouns as well as mensural classifiers. Measure nouns denote receptacles and their volumes. The most frequently used measure nouns are listed below.

- **khap** ‘a cup or the volume of whichever glass or cup is used to serve the substance’
- **gəlas** ‘a glass or the volume of whichever glass is used to serve the substance’
- **paway** ‘a bowl to serve curry in or its volume’
- **thali** ‘a plate or its volume’
- **botəl** ‘a bottle or its volume’

The words *khap* ‘cup’, *gəlas* ‘glass’ and *botəl* ‘bottle’ are English loans and the word *thali* is an Indic borrowing (cf. Hindi थाली (thālī)). All nouns denoting pots, pans, plates, jugs and baskets can be used to indicate a volume and are thus measure nouns.

The word *thothak* ‘a drop or its volume’ is the only auto-classifier that can also be used as a mensural classifier. e.g. *thothak* *sa* (eye medicine CLF:DROPS 1) ‘one drop of eye medicine’ *məktəy thothak sa* (tear CLF:DROPS 1) ‘one teardrop’.

When measure nouns are used as mensural classifiers denoting a volume, they are preceded by a semantically compatible noun and followed by a numeral, just like other classifiers. When measure nouns are used as nouns denoting an object, they can be quantified themselves with the right classifier. The following example shows the word *thali* ‘plate’ being used as a mensural classifier to indicate a number of platefuls.
The next examples illustrate the use of the morpheme *khap* ‘cup’ as a classifier in (233) and as a noun in (234).

(233)  
\[ ca \textcolor{blue}{khap} \textcolor{red}{bərəy} \textcolor{green}{hənʔbo} . \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ca} & \textcolor{blue}{khap} & \text{bərəy} & \textcolor{green}{hənʔbo} \\
\text{tea} & \text{CLF:CUPFUL} & 4 & \text{give} = \text{IMP}
\end{array}
\]
‘Give four cups of tea.’

(234)  
\[ \textcolor{blue}{khap} \textcolor{red}{goyʔ} \textcolor{green}{ni} \textcolor{red}{bayʔok} . \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\textcolor{blue}{khap} & \text{goyʔ} & \text{ni} & \textcolor{green}{bayʔ -ok} \\
\text{cup} & \text{CLF:RESIDUE} & 2 & \text{break} = \text{COS}
\end{array}
\]
‘[He] has broken two cups.’

When the measure nouns are quantified in their function as noun, denoting an object and not a volume, they are used with their own classifiers. For most measure nouns, but especially for the borrowed ones, the residue classifier *goyʔ* is normally used. There is also a special classifier for receptacles, viz. *thayʔ*, that can be used for all measure nouns, but some measure nouns use other classifiers. The basket *koktaŋ* ‘type of basket’ uses a repeater classifier, e.g. *koktaŋ taŋ ni* (type of basket CLF:KOKTAŋ-two) ‘two koktaŋ’.

12.5  **The origin of classifiers in Atong**

The origin of the Atong classifiers lies in both nouns and verbs. This makes it a system of classifiers of mixed origin (see Aikhenvald 2003-b: 352-67). Some of these nouns and verbs are still attested in the modern language and some might now have become obsolete. The classifier for cylindrical objects and long sharp or pointy things, *-phoŋ*, comes from the still attested noun *phoŋ* ‘wooden handle for big knives, axes and spears’. Some classifiers correspond to nouns that are only attested with a fossilised prefix. The classifier for animals, knives and tools, *maŋ*, and the one for spoken things, *maŋ*, for example, correspond to the nouns *bimaŋ* ‘body, appearance’ and *biməŋ ~ bimuŋ* ‘name’ respectively, in which *bi*- is a fossilised prefix. It has to be noted that the vowel variation /i ~ u/ that exists for the noun *biməŋ ~ bimuŋ* ‘name’ does not occur in the classifier, which has only one shape, i.e. *maŋ*. Some classifiers
come from nouns that are only attested as bound morphemes in compounds. The classifier for villages, *dam*, for instance, corresponds to the bound morpheme *dam* ‘place’ found in the compounds *jabol-dam* (garbage-place) ‘garbage heap’ and *caʔwek-dam* (chaff-place) ‘place where the chaff is thrown after winnowing the rice’.

Loans have also been attested among the classifiers, especially among the mensural ones. Most loans come from English, e.g. *keji* ‘kilogram’, *sentimiter* ‘centimetre’, *peket* (< English: packet) ‘classifier for packets’ and *layn* (< English: line) ‘classifier for a collection of items lined up inside packets or on shelves’. One Indic loan has been detected so far, viz. the classifier for things that occur in pairs (not body parts), *jora*. This classifier corresponds to the Hindi noun जोड़ा (jōḍā) ‘pair’. In its use as a noun in Atong, *jora* means ‘match in love’.

Some nouns have grammaticalised into both classifiers and event specifiers, e.g. the nouns *thoŋʔ* ‘half (the result of a cut across the width)’ and *phak* ‘side, half (the result of a cut along the length or longitudinal cut)’. The classifiers that are derived from these nouns are *thoŋʔ* ‘classifier for cylindrical objects and for halves of objects cut across the width’ and *phak* ‘classifier for parts of objects that are the result of a cut along the length or longitudinal cut’. Examples of the use of these classifiers are given in Table 47 below. The corresponding event specifiers are ––*thoŋʔ* ‘V in half’, and ––*phak* ‘V by the side of something, V side by side, V for a little while’, where V stands for any semantically compatible verb.

Some classifiers correspond to verbs as well as nouns. The classifier for small round objects etc., *roŋ* (without glottal prosody), probably derived from the noun *roŋʔ* ‘stone’ (with glottal prosody) and corresponds to the verb *roŋroŋ*- ‘to roll’, in which we see the syllable used for the classifier reduplicated. The classifier for things that are like a fist, *məmʔ*, corresponds to the noun *məmʔ* ‘fist’ and to the verb *məmʔ* ‘to be like a fist’. The above-mentioned classifier for spoken things, *məŋ*, has a corresponding verb *məŋ* ‘to call somebody/something a name’ and noun *bimuŋ ~ biməŋ* ‘name’.

For two classifiers no corresponding noun is attested but only a corresponding verb. These are the classifier for small heaps of round fruits and vegetables, *comʔ*, and the mensural classifier for armfuls, *khabak*, which correspond to the verbs *com* ‘to stack, pile up’ (without glottal prosody) and *khabak* ‘to embrace’ respectively.
The attested nouns and verbs corresponding to classifiers are represented in Table 47 below.

Table 47  List of classifiers
Organised according to their functional properties, and examples. Where possible, the corresponding verb, noun or event specifier is given with the example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Humans</th>
<th>classifier for humans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>map!</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animals</td>
<td>classifier for animals, knives and tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>man</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>bol hoy man san</em> ‘one porcupine’, <em>cau?kay ~ cap!kuy man san</em> ‘one big knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NOUN: <strong>bimay</strong> ‘body (of human or animal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>classifier for trees and flowers, culms and stalks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plants</td>
<td><strong>phag</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>samsi phag san</em> ‘one culm of grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nara phag san</em> ‘one orange tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shape and dimension</td>
<td><strong>phek</strong> classifier for branches of trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>dala phek san</em> ‘a smaller but not very small branch of a tree and not directly derived from the trunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>classifier for small round objects, money, small stones, seeds, stones in a game (when they have a value) and fruits, default classifier for counting for the sake of counting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ragn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nara ragn san</em> ‘one orange’, <em>tanka ragn caygak</em> ‘ten rupees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NOUN: <strong>ragn?</strong> ‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VERB: <strong>ragnr</strong> 'to roll’ Notice that the noun has a glottal prosody which is absent on the classifier and the verb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>classifier for parts of objects that are the result of a cut along the length or longitudinal cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>phak</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ag bucot=saw phak tham kan?-ni</em> (1s mango=ACC CLF:LONGITUDINAL,CUTS three cut-FUT) ‘I will cut the mango in three pieces.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NOUN: <strong>phak</strong> ‘side, half/slice/part which is the result of a longitudinal cut’ also found in the compounds: <strong>dakam phak</strong> ‘place where the head is’ and <strong>ca+phak</strong> ‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EVENT SRECIFIER: <strong>-phak</strong> ‘to VERB lengthwise, to VERB by the side of something, to VERB side by side, to VERB for a little while, to VERB partly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 47 continued (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate shape and dimension (continued)</th>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>thog?</strong> classifier for cylindrical objects and for parts of objects cut across the width <strong>batari thog? beray</strong> ‘four batteries’ NOUN: <strong>thog?</strong> ‘half (the result of a cut across the width)’ EVENT SPECIFIER: <strong>-thog?</strong> ‘to VERB in half (crosswise)’</td>
<td><strong>kun?</strong> classifier for culms <strong>parag kun? sa</strong> ‘one culm of thatch’ NOUN: <strong>kun?</strong> ‘stick’</td>
<td><strong>khug</strong> classifier for flat things, clothes, written things and pictures, even when the pictures appear on a computer screen <strong>citi khug ni</strong> ‘two letters’, <strong>logpen khug sa</strong> ‘one pair of trousers’ NOUN: <strong>khug</strong> carapace, the shell of a crab, tortoise etc. <strong>mam?</strong> auto-classifier for fists and classifier for things that are like a fist (cf. Dutch ‘gebald’) <strong>mam? ni</strong> ‘two fists’ NOUN: <strong>mam?</strong> ‘fist’ VERB: <strong>mam?-</strong> ‘to be like a fist’, (in Dutch: ‘gebald zijn’) <strong>dot</strong> classifier for long cylindrical things like logs (of wood), candles and bananas <strong>wawi dot sa</strong> ‘one culm of bamboo’, <strong>kendel dot sa</strong> ‘one candle’, <strong>pan dot sa</strong> ‘one log (of wood)’ <strong>thut ~ thun</strong> classifier for big spherical things, stones, bricks, rocks, heads, hills, mountains and bars of soap <strong>halbari thut sene</strong> seven hills, mountains <strong>sabun thut sa</strong> one bar of soap <strong>dakom thut sa</strong> ‘one head’ <strong>ron?thay thut tham</strong> ‘three stones/rocks’ <strong>phog</strong> classifier for cylindrical objects and for long sharp or pointy things NOUN: <strong>phog</strong> ‘wooden handle for big knives, axes and spears’ <strong>tag</strong> classifier for long thin things like ropes, chains and hair BOUND MORPHEME IN NOUNS: <strong>piʔ-tag</strong> (°-string) ‘thread’ <strong>ray-tag</strong> (reed-string) ‘clothes line’, <strong>puk-tag</strong> (belly-string) ‘small intestine’ <strong>waiʔ-tag</strong> (bamboo-string) ‘bamboo string’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>Shape and dimension (continued)</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khaw?</strong></td>
<td>classifier for teeth, planks, sheets of corrugated iron for roofs and flattened bamboos used to make mats (jow?) when they are in a mat (damdel)</td>
<td>damdel khaw? sa ‘one jow? of a damdel’, wa khaw? ni ‘two teeth, two tusks’, tota khaw? tham ‘tree planks’, tin khaw? braray ‘four sheets of corrugated iron’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khap</strong></td>
<td>classifier for flat materials</td>
<td>tota khap sa ‘one plank’ tin kab psa ‘one sheet of corrugated iron’ damdel khap sa ‘one bamboo mat used for the side of a house’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kep</strong></td>
<td>classifier for small flat things</td>
<td>biskut kep sa ‘one biscuit’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gen</strong></td>
<td>classifier for long vegetables</td>
<td>rasunok gen sa ‘one spring onion’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jora</strong></td>
<td>classifier for things that occur in pairs</td>
<td>sendel jora sa ‘one pair of sandals’ mu?thay jora sa ‘one pair of breasts’ makren jora sa ‘one pair of eyes’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOUN: jora ‘match in love’ (&lt; Indic, cf. Hindi जोड़ा (jōḍā) ‘pair’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phel</strong></td>
<td>classifier for baked things</td>
<td>barata phel sa ‘one flat bread’ biskut phel sa ‘one biscuit’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phat</strong></td>
<td>classifier for cloths</td>
<td>ri?pan phat sa ‘one cloth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>thay?</strong></td>
<td>classifier for receptacles, e.g. jugs, boxes etc.</td>
<td>boyom thay? sa ‘one jug’ dipot thay? sa ‘one teapot’ khap thay? sa ‘one cup’ ge?the boiom thay? ni bay?ok ‘He broke two jugs.’ NOUN: thay? ‘fruit’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pan</strong></td>
<td>classifier for apparatus, appliances, mechanical and electrical things, cars, bikes, bicycles, mortars and umbrellas</td>
<td>radio pan sa ‘one radio’ satha pan sa ‘one umbrella’ gari pan sa ‘one car’ thep pan sa ‘one tape’, tibi pan sa ‘one TV’, asam pan tham ‘three mortars’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate/Mensural**  | **Residue** | **goy?** | residue classifier e.g. (194), (222) and (234) |

**Inanimate**  | **Mensural by arrangement** | **sat** | classifier for bundles | **garu sat tham** ‘three bundles of mustard leaves’ |
Table 47 continued (c)

| Inanimate       | Mensural by arrangement (continued) | **ali** | classifier for small heaps or piles of things  
|                 |                                  |         | **narag ali tham** ‘three piles of oranges’  
|                 |                                  |         |  
| **cok** | classifier for bunches or small heaps  
|           | **jafrat cok sa** ‘one small heap of chillies’  
|           | **rasunok cok sa** ‘one bundle of spring onions’  
| **thay?** | classifier for boxes and other receptacles  
|           | **boyom thay? sa** ‘one jug’  
|           | **dipot thay? sa** ‘one teapot’  
|           | **khap thay? sa** ‘one cup’  
|           | NOUN: **thay?** ‘fruit’  
| **thom** | classifier for things in heaps or piles  
|           | **jaw? thom sa** a pile of flattened bamboo used to make mats  
| **tum** | classifier for packets  
| **peket** | classifier for packets  
|           | **sigaret peket sa** ‘one packet of cigarettes’  
|           | NOUN: **peket** (< English) ‘packet’  
| **thep** | classifier for heaps and small packets  
| **phan** | classifier for food packed in bundles in **ray?cak** ‘big leaf used to pack food’  
| **layn** | classifier for a collection of items lined up inside packets or on shelves  
|           | NOUN: **layn** (< English) ‘line’  
| **khasot** | classifier for bundles of things with stalks  
|           | **rasun khasot sa** ‘one bundle of onions’ (that have stalks)  
| **com?** | classifier for small heaps of round fruits and vegetables the way they are presented at the market  
|           | **narag com? ni han?bone.** (orange  
|           | CLF:PILES-two give=IMP-TAG) ‘Give two little piles of oranges.’  
|           | VERB: **com?** ‘to stack, to pile up, to fuck’ (NB. no glottal stop in the verbal root)  
<p>|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate by quantity</th>
<th>Mensural volume</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Length/distance</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>khabak</strong></td>
<td>an armful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khatom</strong></td>
<td>classifier for bagsful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>raʔsunok khatom sa</strong></td>
<td>‘one bagful of spring onions’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cakwak</strong></td>
<td>classifier for handfuls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ropʔ cakwak citsa</strong></td>
<td>‘eleven handfuls of stones’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>litar</strong></td>
<td>‘litre’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>inci</strong></td>
<td>‘inch’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pib</strong></td>
<td>‘the length of two fists and two thumbs when one joins the thumbs at the tip while making fists’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mak</strong></td>
<td>‘the length from the elbow to the top of the middle finger’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maɪnmaɪn</strong></td>
<td>‘length from the elbow to the top of the fist’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khuru</strong></td>
<td>‘length from the top of the thumb to the top of the middle finger when one puts one’s hand down on the table on these points’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bawaŋ</strong></td>
<td>‘length of the widely stretched arms and hands’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>caʔpha</strong></td>
<td>‘a foot-length’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All NOUN: caʔ ‘leg/foot’, pha ‘sole of the foot’; caʔpha ‘foot-sole’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sentimitar</strong></td>
<td>‘centimetre’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All NOUN: mitar ‘metre’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kilomitcar</strong></td>
<td>‘kilometre’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>grem</strong></td>
<td>‘gram’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>keji</strong></td>
<td>‘kilogram’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mon</strong></td>
<td>‘weight unit of 40 kg’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dora</strong></td>
<td>‘weight unit of 5 kg’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bikha</strong></td>
<td>classifier for surfaces of 80 by 80 pit. (A pit is the length of two fists and two thumbs when one joins the thumbs at the tip while making fists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>SPECIFIC</td>
<td>Classifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tam</em></td>
<td>classifier for fields</td>
<td><em>haʔba tam ni</em> ‘two dry rice and vegetable fields’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mæg</em></td>
<td>classifier for spoken things, games and of the word <em>bostu</em> ‘thing’ (&lt; Indic, cf. Hindi वस्तु (vastu) ‘object, thing’)</td>
<td><em>khata mæg ni</em> ‘two words’, <em>golpho mæg ni</em> ‘two stories’, <em>git mæg ni</em> ‘two songs’ <em>bostu mæg tham</em> ‘three things’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB: <em>mæg-</em> ‘to call somebody/something a name’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOUN: <em>bimæg ~ bimum</em> ‘name’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>col</em></td>
<td>classifier for ways, roads, paths and rivers</td>
<td><em>taykhal col ni</em> ‘two rivers’, <em>ram col tham</em> ‘three roads, paths’, <em>sorok col braray</em> ‘four roads’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khan</em></td>
<td>classifier for log boats</td>
<td><em>ruŋ khan ni</em> ‘two boats’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>con</em></td>
<td>classifier for iron nails</td>
<td><em>khiil con sa</em> ‘one (iron) nail’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dam</em></td>
<td>classifier for villages</td>
<td><em>son dam ni</em> ‘two villages’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOUND NOUN: <em>-dam</em> ‘place’ found in words like <em>jabol-dam</em> (garbage-place) ‘garbage heap’ and <em>caʔwek-dam</em> (chaff-place) ‘place where the chaff is thrown after winnowing the rice’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tum</em></td>
<td>classifier for places</td>
<td><em>hap tum-boysak?</em> (place CLF:PLACES-how.many) ‘How many places?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tug</em></td>
<td>classifier for things like bridges</td>
<td><em>doloŋ tug sa</em> ‘one bridge’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sam</em></td>
<td>classifier for limbs: hands, arms, legs, feet, ears and tires</td>
<td><em>nakhal sam sa</em> ‘one ear’, <em>caʔ sam sa</em> ‘one leg/foot’, <em>tayr sam ni</em> ‘two tires’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khap</em></td>
<td>flat piece of hard material like stone or metal, classifier for flat pieces of hard material</td>
<td><em>soʔrekhap khap ni</em> two pieces of mica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOUN: flat piece of hard material like stone or metal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>theŋ</em></td>
<td>classifier for pieces of meat</td>
<td><em>maʔsu+randay theŋ sa</em> (cow+meat CLF:PIECES.OF.MEAT one) ‘one piece of beef’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 47 continued (f)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate</th>
<th>specific (continued)</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>khaw</strong></td>
<td>classifier for teeth</td>
<td><em>wa khaw sa</em></td>
<td>‘one tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cig</strong></td>
<td>classifier for bamboo shoots</td>
<td><em>maywa ~ maywa? cig sa</em></td>
<td>‘one bamboo shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Repeater</strong></td>
<td><strong>khal</strong></td>
<td>classifier for orifices, holes and caves</td>
<td><em>hag?khal khal ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>sug</strong></td>
<td>classifier for hollow cylinders</td>
<td><em>wa?sug sug tham</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>tag</strong></td>
<td>classifier for <em>koktaŋ</em></td>
<td>‘type of basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>cak</strong></td>
<td>classifier for leaves</td>
<td><em>pan+cak cak sa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOUN:**
- *khalk hal khalkhal* | ‘hole’
- *cakc ak cakcak* | ‘hand’ |
- *pan+cak* | (tree+hand) ‘leaf’
Chapter 13  Postpositions

Postpositions occur after the NP and the case marking enclitic they occur with. Five postpositions are attested in Atong, viz. dakaŋ ‘before’, kənsanŋ ‘after’, gəmən ‘because of, about’, dabat (LIMIT) ‘since, until’ and thəl? ‘up to’, treated separately below in this order. Except for gəmən ‘because of, about’ and dabat ‘(LIMIT), the other postpositions also have other functions in the grammar. Some aspects of dakaŋ and kənsanŋ are treated in Chapter 1. thəl? also exits as a verb meaning ‘go very far’.

13.1  The postposition dakaŋ

As a postposition, dakaŋ is only attested followed by the focus identifier/enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) The complement NP is marked by the dative case enclitic, as we can see in the example below.

(235)  naŋʔtəmmi nangabaaw nangʔtəmmi piʔaydoŋabaaw, naŋʔna dakaŋan phetaŋok, naŋʔna dakaŋan udo reʔeŋsawok

[[naŋʔ -təm] =mi {naŋ} =gaba] =aw
2s -ppp =GEN need =ATTR =ACC
[[naŋʔ-təm] =mi {piʔ -aydoŋ} =gaba] =aw
2s -ppp =GEN ask =PROG =ATTR =ACC
[[naŋʔ =na] dakaŋ] =an {phet -aŋ -ok}
2s =DAT before =FC/ID arrive -AWAY -COS
[[naŋʔ =na] dakaŋ] =an [u] =do {reʔeŋ -saw -ok}
2s =DAT before =FC/ID DST=TOP leave -CERTAINLY -COS

‘[The curse] which you needed, which you were asking for, had arrived before you [and] it has certainly left before you.’

Dative-marked clauses functioning as complement of this postposition are treated in §27.3.
13.2 The postposition *kənsəŋ*

The postposition *kənsəŋ* occurs with the genitive, as is illustrated by example (236) and (237). Example (656) (in §24.5) illustrates a clause functioning as complement of this postposition.

(236)  
\[
\text{teʔewdo paŋʔa bəlsidarəŋmi kənsəŋan [...] ue way alaga sɔŋsaŋ jalaŋokno.}
\]

\[
[\text{teʔew} = \text{do} \quad [[\text{paŋʔ} -a \quad \text{bəlsi}] = \text{daran} = \text{mi kənsaŋ}] \\
\text{now} \quad \text{=TOP} \quad \text{many} \quad \text{-CUST} \quad \text{year} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{p} \quad \text{=GEN} \quad \text{later}
\]

\[
[\text{ue way}] \quad [\text{alaga sɔŋ}] = \text{səŋ} \quad \{\text{jəl} \quad -aŋ \quad -ək\} = \text{no}
\]

\[
\text{DST} \quad \text{spirit} \quad \text{other} \quad \text{village} = \text{MOB} \quad \text{run.away-AWAY-COS} = \text{QUOT}
\]

‘Now, many years later, [because the village of Siju has gotten dirty,] that spirit has run away to another village, it is said.’

(237)  
\[
\text{umi kənsəŋ san khole san sa cəw rəŋkhuwanowa.}
\]

\[
[u = \text{mi kənsaŋ}] \quad [\text{san khole san sa}] \quad [\text{cəw}]
\]

\[
\text{DST=GEN} \quad \text{after} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{twenty} \quad \text{-day one liquor}
\]

\[
\{\text{rəŋ} \quad -khu \quad -wə\} = \text{no} \quad -\text{wa}
\]

\[
\text{drink-INCOM-FACT} = \text{QUOT-FACT}
\]

‘After that [the people of Badri] drank liquor for twenty one more days, it is said.’

13.3 The postposition *gəəmməənn*

Examples (238) and (239) below are illustrative of the use of the postposition *gəəmməənn* ‘reason, about’. Clauses of which the predicate carries the factitive suffix <-*wa*> (FACT) also take the genitive when they function as complement of this postposition, as we can see in example (655) in §24.5. The only phrasal enclitic that is attested to occur after this postposition is the delimitative <-*sa*> (DLIM).

(238)  
\[
\text{ətəkəyməŋ geʔtheŋe alu kobi habijabi ətəkəy samcakraŋməŋgəməŋ bagan takwano.}
\]

\[
\text{ətəkəyməŋ[geʔtheŋ] = e} \quad [\text{alu kobi} \quad \text{habijabi} \quad \text{ətəkəy}
\]

\[
\text{so.then} \quad 3s \quad \text{=} \quad \text{FC} \quad \text{potato} \quad \text{cabbage} \quad \text{all.sorts} \quad \text{like.that}
\]

\[
\text{samcak} = \text{raŋ (Garo) =} \text{məŋ gəəmməənn} \quad [\text{bagan}] \quad \{\text{tak} \quad -\text{wa}\} = \text{no}
\]

\[
\text{vegetable} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{p} \quad \text{=GEN} \quad \text{reason} \quad \text{garden} \quad \text{make-FACT} = \text{QUOT}
\]

‘So then, because of potatoes, cabbage and all kinds of vegetables like that, he made a garden, it is said’
13 POSTPOSITIONS

(239)  *uan joraməm ən coʔsa golpho khaʔetwa.*

\[
\text{[ }u =\text{an} \ jora =\text{mi} \ \text{gəmən} \ \{ \text{coʔsa} \ {\text{golpho} \ khaʔ} \ -et \ -wa} \text{]} \ \text{DST=FC/ID love.match=GEN about \ a.little \ story \ do \ -CAUS \ -FACT}
\]

‘I have a little bit told a story about that love match.’

There are two recorded occurrences of an accusative-marked postposition phrase, both by the same speaker, represented in examples (240) and (241). A possible analysis is that the accusative-marking means that this speaker considers *gəmən* to be a noun and head of the NP. In this case the accusative indicates that the NP is definite and referential. The accusative-marked argument of the verb *bal* ‘to say, tell, speak’ is always the person or thing talked about, e.g. *morotdaraŋ napanʔ=aw bal-aydoŋ* (person 2s=ACC tell-FUT) ‘People are talking about you.’ The lexeme *gəmən* only occurs in genitive constructions after other NPs and never on its own as lexical item.

(240)  *aŋa imigəməna w baletni.*

\[
\text{[ }aŋa \ [i \ -\text{mi} \ \text{gəmən}]=aw \ \{ \text{bal} \ -et \ -ni} \text{]} \ \text{1s PRX=GEN about=ACC tell-CAUS-FUT}
\]

‘I will tell about this.’

(241)  *aŋa ie dakaŋmi acu ambimigəməna w baletni.*

\[
\text{[ }aŋa \ [i \ e \ dakaŋ \ =\text{mi} \ \text{acu} \ \text{ambi} \ =\text{mi} \ \text{gəmən}]=aw \ \text{1s PRX in.the.past=GEN grandfather grandmother=GEN about=ACC}} \ \{ \text{bal} \ -et \ -ni} \text{]} \ \text{tell-CAUS-FUT}
\]

‘I will tell about the ancestors of long ago.’

13.4  **The limitative postposition dabat**

The limitative postposition *dabat* (LIMIT) indicates a temporal limit and marks both the Source, e.g. (242), and the Goal, e.g. (243). To indicate a spatial Source limit, the complements of this postposition, e.g. time words, demonstratives and nouns, have to be genitive-marked.
Predicates of clauses functioning as complement of this postposition take the factitive suffix <-wa>, e.g. (244), (245). Since the factitive-marked verb does not take any case marking, I analyse this as a complementation strategy in which the verb and its arguments, if any, become the complement of the postposition. This is the same complementation strategy as the strategy that is used for the verbs like macot- ‘to finish’ and jam- ‘to finish’, which also take factitive-marked verbal complements, (see §24.3).

Complement clauses for which the predicate head is factitive-marked do not (usually) take any case marking and therefore rely on another mechanism to determine whether the construction should be interpreted as a temporal Source or Goal. This mechanism is polarity. Atong can use the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG) in non-negative contexts to indicate that an event has not been realised yet. Negated verbs do not take the factitive suffix, which can be seen in example (244). In example (244) the negation is put in to signal that the event denoted by the verb has not been realised yet, and not to express negative polarity. In the corpus collected for this grammar there are not many instances of this emphatic use of the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG), but enough to ensure its function in clearly positive clauses.
"However, you keep giving me and my wife to eat as long as you live until I die", [he] said, it is said.’ Alternatively in French: ‘jusqu’à je ne meure’.

The use of the negative morpheme <ca> (NEG) to signal that an event has not yet been realised is the same as the function of the ‘ne explétif’ in French, as we can see in the alternative translation of (244).

The use of the expletive negative to indicate a Goal clause is optional. Example (245) below shows that the verb sok- ‘to succeed, to hold out’, which is the predicate of the clausal complement of the postposition dabat, is not negative-marked and can still only be interpreted as the Goal.

‘So then the fox soaked in the water again, it is said. Until [he] could not hold out any longer, [he] sat under water as long as [he] could bear [it], holding on to a stone and biting [his] teeth firmly together, it is said.’
an epic story told in an unusually complicated register and translated from Garo. The verb *tak* - ‘to do’ is nominalised with the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) and on top of that we see the locative <-ci> (LOC) and allative <-na> (ALL).

(246) *thot thəŋʔthot takwacina dabat səkromayməŋ khanetsigaaydono.*

[\[thot thəŋʔthot\{tak -wa\} =ci =na \_dabat\] drop last.drop do FACT =LOC=ALL LIMIT
\{səkrom\} =ay =məŋ \{khan -et -siga -aydono\} =no
hold.the.whole.body=ADV =SEQ poor -CAUS -ALT -PROG =QUOT

‘Until the last drop (was done) he in turn is poring [the liquor into her mouth] holding her whole body.’

As can be noted from the above examples, the postposition *dabat* (LIMIT) can take the delimitative enclitic <-sa> (DLIM), as in (242), or the topic enclitic <-do> (TOP), as in (245). It is not attested with any other enclitics.

13.5 The limitative postposition *thəlʔ*

The postposition *thəlʔ* ‘up to, until’ governs the genitive and marks a spatial boundary, as is illustrated in example (247).

(247) *ie caʔmasaŋmi way khurucido, ue həysaŋmiaw bangəladesmi thəlʔ koŋosmi jaria haʔgəlsakgumukawan məŋani.*

[\[ie caʔmasaŋ =mi way\} \{khurut\} =ci =do \{ue PROX downstream=GEN spirit summon.a.spirit =LOC=TOP DST
həy\} =saŋ =mi =aw \{bangəlades =mi thəlʔ\} \{koŋos =mi REM =MOB=GEN=ACC Pname =GEN up.to Pname =GEN
jaria \{haʔgəlsak\} =gumuk =aw =an \{məŋa -ni\} influence world/everything =all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT

‘When he summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the influence of Kongos, all of them.’

This postposition is attested as a verb with the event specifier <-ap> attached to it, as we can see in (248).
(248)  \( \text{gai} \text{tho} \text{aymuna tho} \text{i} \text{a} \text{jok}. \)

\{ \text{gai} \text{tho} =ay =muna} \{ \text{tho} =i \text{-ag -ok.} \}

kick  =ADV =SEQ go.very.far -AWAY -COS

‘Because I kicked [it], [it] went very far.’
Chapter 14  Time words

Time words are half way on the cline between nouns and adverbs and share properties with both. The properties of the time words are summed up in section 14.1. Most time words are deictic, but dakaŋ ‘before, in the past, earlier’ and kənsaŋ ‘later, after’ can be deictic or relative depending on the context. The time word dakaŋ is found in many more different syntactic environments than the other time words and is treated separately in section 14.2. The words dakaŋ and kənsaŋ can both function as postpositions. This function is treated in sections 13.1 and 13.2 respectively.

Time words are a closed class, the fifteen members of which are listed here below, illustrated by examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maya ‘the day before yesterday or longer ago’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məja ‘yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayʔsa ‘a moment ago, just now, a little while ago’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayʔni ‘today’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʔew ‘now’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʔen ‘later but still today’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hampəy ‘later today, in the evening’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanep ‘tomorrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceknay ‘the day after tomorrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hambun ‘later but not today, in the far future’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teraka ‘last year’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taray ‘this year’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayja ‘next year’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic/Relative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dakaŋ ‘before, in the past, earlier’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kənsaŋ ‘after, later’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.1  The Properties of time words

i  Clausal properties

Time words cannot be the head of a predicate and occur canonically as adjunct to a clause indicating Temporal Location.
ii Phrasal properties

Time words

− can be the head of a temporal phrase indicating Temporal Location,
− can modify nouns,
− can possess a noun but cannot be possessed.

The following example illustrates the time word *məya* ‘yesterday’ modifying a verb which is the predicate of an attributive clause in a headless arch NP (see Chapter 29), which functions as the nominal head of the predicate of an identity/equation clause.

(249)  *ie məya khaʔgasega*

\[
\text{---arch NP---}
\]
\[
\{[ \{ məya \} \{ khaʔ \} =ga \} =sega\}
\]
\[
\text{PRX yesterday make =ATTR =ALT}
\]

‘These [are] now the ones made yesterday.’ (Said about some pictures that were shown after seeing some other pictures that were made last year)

TEXT 1 line 28, presented here as (250), presents an occurrence of the genitive-marked time word *teʔew* ‘now’, functioning as Possessor and thus modifying the following noun *gawi* ‘girl’.

(250)  Songken says: *ətəkaria, teʔewrawrawmi gawido.*

\[
\{ \{ətək\} \{ -ari \} \{ -a \} \} \{ \{ teʔew\} \{ -rawraw\} =mi \} \{ gawi\} =do
\]
\[
do,\text{like.that-SIMP-IMPF} \text{now -CONTINUOUSLY =GEN girl} =\text{TOP}
\]

‘Yes. They do like that, the girls from now on.’ (i.e. today’s girls’)

iii Morphological properties

Time words

− occur with a limited set of case markers corresponding to the limited types of peripheral argument that time words can be. Note that, as Temporal Location adjunct, a time word cannot take the locative case enclitic <讫ci> (LOC), the reason being that time words are inherently temporal locational. Only when a time word functions as a Goal adjunct can it be locative-plus-dative-marked, e.g. (252).
have been recorded with a limited set of other enclitics and suffixes, viz. \(<=\text{do}\) (TOP) and \(<=\text{OR}\) (FC), \(<=\text{an}\) (FC/ID), \(<=\text{ba}\) (EMPH/ADD), \(<=\text{sa}\) (DLIM), which all function as phrasal enclitics, and \(<=\text{mag}\text{mag}\) ‘just, only’ and \(<=\text{raw}\text{raw}\) (continuously), which also function as event specifiers on verbal predicate heads, e.g. (250).

- can take the plural morpheme \(<=\text{dəraŋ}\) (p) meaning ‘approximately TIME WORD’, e.g. (251).
- cannot be counted.
- cannot occur with classifiers.

The example here below illustrates a pluralised time word. A plural-marked time word expresses an approximate time reference.

(251) \textit{geʔtheŋ tayʔnidadəraŋ rayʔanikhon}

\begin{verbatim}
[geʔtheŋ] [tayʔn] =dəraŋ {rayʔa -ni} =khon
3s today =p come -FUT =SPEC
\end{verbatim}

‘He might come today or so.’

The next example shows the time word \textit{teʔew} ‘now’ used as a Goal and hence marked with the locative and dative enclitics.

(252) \textit{ue haʔbəriawe teʔewcinakhəŋkhəŋ atoŋ khuʔcuksam matsa cawʔkəy asetram maŋwano.}

\begin{verbatim}
[ue haʔbər] =aw =e [teʔew] =ci =na [khəŋkhəŋ]
DST hill =ACC =FC now =LOC =ALL still
[atoŋ khuʔcul] =saŋ
Atong language=INSTR
[matsa cawʔkəy asset ran] {mag -wa} =no
tiger big.knife throw.away place call.a.name -FACT =QUOT
‘[We] call that hill up till now still \textit{matsa cawʔkəy asetram} in the Atong language, it is said.’
\end{verbatim}

In the next example the time word \textit{tayʔsa} ‘a little while ago’ appears as a Facsimile adjunct marked with the similitative enclitic \(<=\text{tək}\)> (LIKE).

14 TIME WORDS 235
(253)  

\[\begin{align*}
\text{uan} & \quad \text{tayʔsatækəy kantaraaw kəɾək-kəɾək reʔeŋayməŋ səŋʔe tthiriokno.} \\
\text{[u]} & \quad =\text{an} \quad \text{[tayʔsa]} \quad =\text{təkəy [kantara]} \quad =\text{aw [kəɾək-kəɾək]}
\end{align*}\]

DST  =FC/ID a.little.while.ago  =LIKE emptiness  =ACC quickly

\{reʔeŋ\}  =ay  =məŋ  \{səŋʔ-et \quad -\text{thiri} \quad -\text{ok}\}  =\text{no}

\{go.away\}  =\text{ADV}  =\text{SEQ}  \text{ASK}  =\text{CAUS}  =\text{AGAIN-COS}  =\text{QUOT}

‘Just like a little while earlier he quickly went to the emptiness and asked again.’

iv  
Semantic properties

Time words express a location in time. The next example illustrates the use of the deictic/relative time word kənsəŋ ‘later, after’.

(254)  

\[\begin{align*}
\text{“aŋ təruceŋna bayʔsiga, naʔa kənsəŋ tərubone” noaydono} & \quad \text{ano magacakan.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[aŋ]} & \quad \{təru \quad -\text{ceŋ} \quad =\text{na} \} \quad \text{[bayʔsiga]} \quad \text{[naʔa]} \quad \text{[kənsəŋ]}
1s & \quad \text{take.a.bath \-FIRST \-OPT friend} \quad 2s & \quad \text{later/after}
\end{align*}\]

\{təru\}  =\text{bo}  =\text{ne}  \{\text{no-aydoŋa}\}  =\text{no}  \{\text{magacak}\}  =\text{an}

take.a.bath  =\text{IMP}  =\text{TAG}  \text{say-PROG}  =\text{QUOT}  \text{deer}  =\text{FC/ID}

‘“I want to take a bath first, friend. You take a bath later, OK?” the deer is saying, it is said.’

When nouns indicating a period of time, i.e. bəlsi ‘year’, ja ‘month’, nəqəltəy ‘week’, san ‘day’, manap ‘morning’ and gasam ‘evening, afternoon’ are preposed to and thus modifying deictic time words in asyndetic coordination, the resulting new NP has the properties of a time word, which is the head, and cannot take the locative case marker any more. Examples of these compounds are tayʔni gasam ‘this evening/afternoon/later part of the day’, məya manap ‘yesterday morning’, hambun nəqylətəy ‘a week in the far future’, (255).

(255)  

\[\begin{align*}
\text{tayʔni gasam} & \quad \text{nįŋ noksəŋ kəy? saʔna reʔeŋbone.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[tayʔni gasam] \quad [nįŋ nok] \quad =\text{saŋ} \quad [kəy?] \quad \{saʔ\} \quad =\text{na} \quad \{reʔeŋ\} \quad =\text{bo} \quad =\text{ne}
\end{align*}\]

today evening 1p house  =MOB dog  eat  =DAT  go.away  =IMP  =TAG

‘Go to our house this evening to eat dog, OK?’
14.2 The word *dakaŋ*

The word *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past, earlier’ is attested in six syntactic environments, viz.
1. as time word in topic function,
2. as a genitive-marked Possessor modifying a following NP,
3. with the attributive suffix `<gaba ~ -ba>` (ATTR) functioning as NP modifier,
4. with the adverbialising suffix `<gaba ~ -ga>` (ADV) functioning as clausal adverb,
5. as underived adverb modifying a predicate,
6. as a postposition governing the dative: see §13.1.

Examples of all of these different occurrences, except as postposition, will be given below.

14.2.1 As time word

Whether = *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past, earlier’ as a time word indicates deictic or relative time depends on the context. Example (256) illustrates the use of *dakaŋ* ‘before, earlier, in the past’, as a deictic time word, functioning as a pre-clausal topic.

(256) *dakaŋdo, mamuŋ khem niʔwacido dəmcəraŋsaŋsa cəwgən rəŋwano.*

\[dakaŋdakaŋdakaŋdakaŋ =do\]
\[mamuŋ khem\] {niʔ -wa} =ci =do
in.the.past =TOP nothing drum not.exist -FACT =LOC =TOP
\[dəmcəraŋ\] =saŋ =sa\[ cəwgən\] {rəŋ -wa} =no
snare.instrument =INSTR =DLIM festival.of.the.dead drink -FACT =QUOT

‘As for the past, when there were no drums, [they] celebrated the festival of the dead only with the *dəmcəraŋ*, it is said.’

A deictic or relative temporal interpretation is possible for the clause in which *dakaŋ* occurs in the next example.

(257) *aŋ ie khata dakaŋdo təŋcacəm, teʔewdo nemay təŋok.*

\[aŋ\] {ie khata} \[dakaŋdakaŋ dakaŋdakaŋ =do\] {təŋ -ca} =cəm
1s PRX word before =TOP know -ca =com
\[teʔew\] =do {nem} =ay {təŋ -ok} now =TOP good =ADV know-COS

‘I did not know this word before/in the past, but this is not the case any more; as for now [I] know [it] well.’ (Literally: ‘I have come to know it well’)

14.2.2 As a genitive-marked Possessor

The next example illustrates the use of *dakaj* as a Possessor, modifying the following NP *cason* ‘generation’. This ability to occur as Possessor is a property that *dakaj* shares with the other time words.

(258) *uan gam məŋa, dakajmi cason*do.

DST=FC/ID wealth call.a.name -CUST past =GEN generation =TOP

‘That was called wealth, as for the generation(s) of the past.’

14.2.3 With the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ga>

The lexeme *dakaj* can take the attributive suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR). The resulting form, *dakaj-gaba* (before -ATTR) means ‘the first’, and can thus function attributively to nouns, as we can see in (259). The meaning of *dakangaba* ‘first’ is distinct from that of *dakaj=mi* (past=GEN) (see §14.2.2 above). The different functions of the attributive morpheme <gaba ~ ga> (ATTR) are discussed extensively in Chapter 29.

(259) *uci thəmaməŋ geʔtheŋe […] dakangaba bobaan diriceŋokno.*

DST=LOC lay.in.ambush =ADV =SEQ 3s =FC

‘[Having lain in ambush,] the first crazy person got hold of [the horse’s tail] first, it is said.’

14.2.4 With the adverbialising suffix <-gaba ~ -ga>

The suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ADV) can turn *dakaj* into the clausal adverb *dakangaba* ‘first of all, the first time’, as we can see in (260) and (261).

(260) *dakangabado jineral mitiŋceŋni.*

DST=ADV =TOP general -hold.a.meeting -FIRST -FUT

‘First of all a general meeting will be held.’
(261) *dakaŋgaba turaci muʔwaci mobinaw gorongwa*

\[ \text{[dakaŋ} \rightarrow \text{gaba]} \{ \text{tura} \} \rightarrow \text{ci} \{ \text{muʔ-wa} \} \rightarrow \text{ci} \{ \text{mobin} \} \rightarrow \text{aw} \{ \text{goroŋ-wa} \} \]

before \ = \text{ADV} \ Pname \ = \text{LOC} \ stay \ = \text{-FACT} \ = \text{LOC} \ Pname \ = \text{ACC} \ meet \ = \text{-FACT} \\
‘The first time [I] stayed in Tura, [I] met Mobbin.’

14.2.5 As underived adverb

There is one recorded instance of *dakaŋ* being used as an underived adverb, meaning ‘previously’, modifying the following predicate *məŋ* ‘to call something/somebody a name’. This instance is shown in (262). The fragment in this example consists of the village name *soŋma soŋni khəcu Badri* which is modified by two attributive clauses (AC) (see Chapter 29), one pre- and one post-head.

(262) […]*dakaŋ məŋgaba soŋma soŋni khəcu badri nogaba* […]

----------------------------------------arch NP--------------------------------------
--------AC-------- --AC--
\[ \text{[ [dakan]} \{ \text{məŋ} \} \rightarrow \text{gaba} \{ \text{soŋma soŋni khəcu badri} \} \rightarrow \{ \text{no} \} \rightarrow \text{gaba]} \]

before \ call.a.name \ = \text{ATTR} \ Pname \ say \ = \text{ATTR} \\
‘the previously so called Songma Songni Khychu Badri’
Chapter 15  Adverbs

The class of adverbs is open since there are productive processes to derive adjectives from nouns, verbs and adjectives as will be discussed in Chapter 18. There are some non-derived or opaquely, unproductively derived adverbs which I will call the primary adverbs, which might form a closed subclass, although it is likely that not all members have been recorded yet.

Adverbs are morphologically quite invariable, incapable of taking any suffixes or phrasal enclitics except for some who have been recorded with the delimitative \(<=\text{<}=\text{<}=\text{<}>)\) (DLIM) and emphatic \(<=\text{<}=\text{<}=\text{<}>)\) (ADD/EMPH). Some adverbs can be reduplicated for intensification (indicated in list below). Although some adverbs seem to be reduplicated forms, those have a different meaning from what appears to be the simplex form, i.e. \(b\text{=k}\) ‘suddenly’ and \(b\text{=k}\text{=k}\) ‘quickly’. Some adverbs look like reduplicated forms with vowel alternation, e.g. \(d\text{=m}\text{=d}\text{=m}\) ‘carelessly, disorderly’. Other adverbs show partial reduplication, e.g. \(k\text{o}\text{j}\text{=k}\text{n}\text{=k}\) ‘zigzag’.

Adverbs behave differently from adjectives in that they only modify adjectives, verbs and clauses, but not nouns. The adverb can be separated by other constituents from the predicate that it modifies. An adverb always modifies something that follows it, not something that precedes it in the clause. Adverbs cannot function as head of a predicate, cannot take case marking and cannot express negation, aspect, modality or any other verbal or nominal category and cannot be nominalised. There are three adverbs that only modify adjectives (of both types) when they are head of a predicate, viz. the intensifiers \(n\text{e}\text{m}\text{e}\)n ‘very’, \(b\text{o}\text{l}\text{o}\text{g}\)en ‘very’ and \(i\text{s}\text{k}\text{e}\text{n}\) ‘so much, to this extent’.

Table 49 below presents a list of the adverbs and intensifiers that is by no means exhaustive. Here are some examples of the use of adverbs.

Example (263) illustrates the use of the adverb \(b\text{=k}\) ‘suddenly’. We cannot be certain whether the adverb has scope only over the immediately following predicate of the adverbial clause, \(h\text{o}\) ‘to jump’, or over both the main and the adverbial predicate.
Table 49  List of adverbs and intensifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thangduk</td>
<td>‘suddenly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phanjan</td>
<td>‘ever, never’ (can be reduplicated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isəkən</td>
<td>‘that much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coŋʔmot ~ coʔmot</td>
<td>‘really’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andan</td>
<td>‘simply, in vain, for free’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakathan</td>
<td>‘carelessly, disorderly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepleplep</td>
<td>‘stretched out flat on your belly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bək</td>
<td>‘suddenly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biciba</td>
<td>‘never’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biciba biciba</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəkbək</td>
<td>‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetwet</td>
<td>‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetancian</td>
<td>‘every time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capcap</td>
<td>‘close together (as in a crowd)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ramram</td>
<td>‘rolling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jərm jərm</td>
<td>‘quietly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səraksərak</td>
<td>‘exactly, precisely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəkdək</td>
<td>‘for a short while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karək karək</td>
<td>‘swiftly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damdam damdam</td>
<td>‘carelessly, disorderly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koŋken naken</td>
<td>‘zigzag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alama</td>
<td>‘somewhat, a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pətawtaw</td>
<td>‘jerkingly over a rough road’ (can be reduplicated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəwtawtaw</td>
<td>‘jerkingly over a rough road’ (can be reduplicated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sirimənən</td>
<td>‘at the crack of dawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibərokhon ~</td>
<td>‘some day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibəkhoron</td>
<td>‘some day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawtay</td>
<td>‘for some time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atəkəy</td>
<td>‘like this/that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biciba</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biciba biciba</td>
<td>‘sometimes, seldom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasam gasam</td>
<td>‘seldom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisep gisep</td>
<td>‘from time to time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisep gisep</td>
<td>‘from time to time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jenethene</td>
<td>‘somehow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jebadon</td>
<td>‘anyway, however it may be’ jekhay ‘for example’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jekhay</td>
<td>‘somehow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khasinsin</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phas</td>
<td>‘first’ (&lt;English: first)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>las</td>
<td>‘last’ (&lt;English: last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manapmi</td>
<td>‘very early in the morning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Intensifiers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nemen</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəloŋen</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isəkən</td>
<td>‘so much, to this extent’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(263) *matsado uci bök hoay jalaŋokno.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[matsa]} & = \text{do} \quad \text{[u]} = \text{ci} \quad \text{bök} \quad \{\text{ho}\} = \text{ay} \quad \{\text{jal} \quad \text{-aŋ} \quad \text{-ok}\} = \text{no} \\
\text{tiger} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{DST} = \text{LOC} \quad \text{suddenly jump} = \text{ADV} \quad \text{run away - away} - \text{away} - \text{cos} = \text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then the tiger suddenly jumped [and] run away, it is said.’

In the next example we see the use of the clausal adverb *jekhay* ‘for example’, modifying the whole following locative- and topic-marked subordinate clause, of which the predicate is *bal* ‘to speak’.

(264) *jekhay atoŋsaŋ balcido song pidan doŋʔacəm.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[jekhay]} & \text{[atoŋ]} = \text{saŋ} \quad \{\text{bal}\} = \text{ci} = \text{do} \quad \{\text{song} \quad \text{-pidan}\} \\
\text{for example Atong} & = \text{INSTR} \quad \text{speak} = \text{LOC} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{new}
\end{align*}
\]

\{
\text{doŋʔ} - \text{-a} = \text{cəm}\}

\text{IE. be} - \text{CUST} = \text{IRR}

‘For example when [you] speak in Atong [you] supposedly say *song pidan*.’

The adverb *phaŋnan* can be translated as ‘always’ when the predicate is not negative, e.g. (265) and as ‘never’ when the predicate is negative, e.g. (266). In (265), the adverb is separated from the predicate or predicates (scope uncertain) it modifies by the NP *moŋma* ‘elephant’.

(265) *tawʔreksərup maŋsa geʔtheŋməŋ thup phaŋnan moŋma phayʔay saʔroŋwana moŋma mathayaw tapna reʔŋaydoŋanowa.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[tawʔreksərup maŋ sa]} & \quad \text{[geʔtheŋ =məŋ thup]}_0 \quad \text{[phaŋnan]} \\
\text{type of bird CLF: ANIMALS one 3s} & = \text{GEN} \quad \text{nest always}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{moŋma}\}_\text{A} & \quad \{\text{phayʔ}\} = \text{ay} \quad \{\text{saʔ} - \text{roŋ} - \text{wa}\} = \text{na} \\
\text{elephant break} & = \text{ADV} \quad \text{eat - usually - FACT} = \text{DAT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{moŋma mathay}\} & \quad = \text{aw} \quad \{\text{tap = na}\} \\
\text{elephant bachelor.elephant} & = \text{ACC} \quad \text{hit} = \text{DAT}
\end{align*}
\]

\{\text{reʔŋ - aydoŋa}\} = \text{no} - \text{wa} \\
\text{go away - PROG} = \text{QUOT - FACT}

‘As for the banana bird, because his nest was always brokenly eaten by an elephant, [it] went to hit the lonely elephant, it is said.’
(266)  \text{pənanə̂n hən’̱roŋcane udo rajado}
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[pənnan]}\{\text{hən’̱ -roŋ }-\text{ca}\} =\text{ne} \quad [\text{u}] =\text{do} \quad [\text{raja}] =\text{do} \\
\text{never} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{-USUALLY} \quad \text{-NEG =TAG} \quad \text{DST=TOP} \quad \text{king =TOP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘[He] usually never gives [the drum], that king.’

The following three examples illustrate the use of the intensifiers. Both are interchangeable in all circumstances. In (267) and (268) we see the intensifiers modifying a Type 2 adjective functioning as predicate head. In (269) the intensifier modifies a predicate of which the head is a stative verb.

(267)  \text{ue waye bəloŋen cuŋano.}
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[ue} \ \text{waye} =\text{e} \quad \text{[bəloŋen]} \{\text{cuŋ }-\text{a}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{DST} \quad \text{spirit}=\text{FC} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{big }-\text{CUST} =\text{QUOT} \\
\text{That spirit was very big, it is said.’}
\end{array}
\]

(268)  \text{teʔew wensa rəpay naŋʔdo nemen səlnaka” noaydoŋano p herue.}
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[teʔew] \ [wen sa] \{\text{rəp}=\text{ay} \ [\text{naŋʔ}] =\text{do} \ [\text{nemen}] \{\text{səl }-\text{naka}\} \\
\text{now} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{soak }=\text{ADV} \quad 2\text{s} =\text{TOP} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{beautiful }-\text{IFT} \\
\text{\{no-}\text{aydoŋa} =\text{no} \ [\text{pheru}=\text{e} \text{say }-\text{PROG} =\text{QUOT} \text{fox }=\text{FC} \\
\text{““Now [you] soak once more [and] you will certainly be very beautiful’, the fox is saying, it is said.’}
\end{array}
\]

(269)  \text{uci muʔbutung somayci badri nemen manʔay saʔano.}
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[u] =ci } \{\text{muʔ-} \text{butuŋ} +\text{somay}\} =\text{ci} \\
\text{DST=LOC} \quad \text{live }-\text{WHILE} +\text{time} =\text{LOC} \\
\text{[badri] } \text{[nemen]} \{\text{manʔ}\} =\text{ay} \quad \{\text{saʔ}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{Pname very } \text{in.great.amounts }=\text{ADV} \quad \text{eat }-\text{CUST} =\text{QUOT} \\
\text{‘During the time [they] lived there, Badri was very rich (Lit. ‘ate in great amounts’), it is said.’}
\end{array}
\]

The adverbs \text{phas} ‘first’ and \text{las} ‘last’, borrowed from English via Indic, are the only adverbs that can be attributivised with the attributive clausal enclitic \text{<=gaba} \sim \text{=ga}> (ATTR), as we can see in example (270) below.

(270)  \text{aŋa pasgaba, geʔthey laşgaba}
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[aŋa]} \{\text{pas}\} =\text{gaba} \quad [\text{geʔthey}] \{\text{laş}\} =\text{gaba} \\
\text{1s be.first }=\text{ATTR} \quad 3\text{s be.last }=\text{ATTR} \\
\text{‘I’m the first [sibling], he’s the last [sibling].’}
\end{array}
\]
Chapter 16  Discourse connectives

Discourse connectives indicate the semantic relationship between stretches of text. Syntactically a discourse connective comes either at the beginning of a clause or at the end of one. A discourse connective can belong to either the preceding clause or the following depending on the prosody, i.e. whether there is a pause before or after the discourse connective. If there is no pause at all, it is impossible to say to which clause the discourse connective belongs. Sometimes, too, there is a pause before as well as after the discourse connective and then it stands alone, syntactically and prosodically.

There are two types of discourse connective depending on their morphological make up, which correlates with their usage. Both types will be treated separately below. Both types of discourse connective are grammaticalisations of forms found elsewhere in the language. The members of the two types of discourse connective are listed in Table 50 below.

16.1  Type 1 discourse connectives

Discourse connectives of Type 1 are the result of grammaticalisations of various forms of the verb ətək-\(^36\) ‘to do like this/that’. There are two groups within Type 1 depending on their morphological make up. Group A consists of the connectives ətəkəysa ‘therefore, that’s why’ and ətəkəyməŋ ~ ətəkəymu ~ ətəkəymuna ~ ətkəymuŋ ~ ətkəymuŋna ‘so then, having done that/this’. These connectives consist of the verbal root ətək- ‘to do like this/that’, followed by an altered form of the adverbial enclitic, viz. <=əy> instead of the normal form <=ay> (ADV), followed by

\(^{36}\) The verb ətək- ‘do like this/that’ itself seems to stand in a vowel alternation relationship with the interrogative verb atak- ‘to do what?’. The etymological connection between these two verbs deserves further study which lies outside the scope of this grammar.
# Table 50  List of discourse connectives and their historical make up

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>FORMS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>CONNECTIVE MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MORPHOLOGICAL MAKE UP</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ətək- 'to.do.like.this/that' + &lt;-əy&gt; + &lt;=ay&gt; (ADV) + &lt;=məŋ ~ =mu ~ =məŋ ~ =muna ~ =muna.&gt; (SEQ)</td>
<td>ətəkəymaŋ ~ ətəkəymu ~ ətəkəymuna ~ ətəkəymuŋ ~ ətəkəymuŋna</td>
<td>‘so then, having done that/this’ sequential, pause filler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ətək- 'to.do.like.this/that' + &lt;-əy&gt; &lt; &lt;=ay&gt; (ADV) + &lt;=məŋ&gt; (SEQ) + &lt;=an&gt; (FC/ID)</td>
<td>ətəkəyuman</td>
<td>‘so then, having done that/this’ sequential, pause filler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ətək- 'to.do.like.this/that' + &lt;-əy&gt; &lt; &lt;=ay&gt; (ADV) + &lt;=sa&gt; (DLIM)</td>
<td>ətəkəysa</td>
<td>‘therefore, that’s why, then’ reason, sequential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ətək- 'to.do.like.this/that' + &lt;-ci&gt; (LOC) + &lt;=do&gt; (TOP)</td>
<td>ətəkcido</td>
<td>‘in that case’ condition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ətək- 'to.do.like.this/that' + &lt;-ci&gt; (LOC) + &lt;=ba&gt; (INDEF)</td>
<td>ətəkciba</td>
<td>‘but’ contrastive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ətək- 'to.do.like.this/that' + maʔ ‘well then, ok’ + &lt;-ci&gt; (LOC) + &lt;=ba&gt; (INDEF)</td>
<td>ətəkmaʔciba</td>
<td>‘but’ contrastive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Type 2</strong></th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MORPHOLOGICAL MAKE UP</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (DST), &lt;=ci&gt; (LOC), &lt;=a&gt; (FC), &lt;=an&gt; (FC/ID)</td>
<td>uci ~ ucie ~ ucian</td>
<td>‘then’ sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (DST) + &lt;=ci&gt; (LOC) + &lt;=ba&gt; (INDEF)</td>
<td>uciba</td>
<td>‘but then, but’ contrastive/sequential, contrastive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (DST) + &lt;=na&gt; (DAT)</td>
<td>una</td>
<td>‘then, therefore, because of that’ sequential, reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (DST) + &lt;=mi ~ =məŋ&gt; (GEN) + gəmən (REASON’) + &lt;=ci&gt; (LOC)</td>
<td>umigəmənci ~ umigəmənci</td>
<td>‘for that reason, therefore, that’s why’ reason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the delimitative enclitic <=*sa* (DLIM) or the sequential enclitic <=*məŋ ~ =mu ~ =muna ~ =muŋna* (SEQ) respectively.

The verb ətək- ‘to do like this/like that’ still exists in Atong and its productive adverbal form is ətək-ay (do.like.this/that=ADV) ‘doing like this/that’. In Atong as it is today, the form ətəkəy cannot function as discourse connective but only as the adverb ‘like this/that’. 37

Group B consists of connectives that have a locative enclitic attached directly to the root of the verb ətək- ‘to do like this/that’. One exception in this group is the form ətəkmaʔciiba ‘but’, which we will discuss below.

Example (271) here below illustrates the use of the verb ətək- ‘to do like this/that’. After this example we will look at all the Type 1 discourse connectives separately.

(271) naŋʔba teʔewsa aŋna ətəkaydoŋ, teʔen bisaŋ jokay jalna?

2s EMPH now DLIM 1s DAT do.like.this-PROG later QF MOB

{jok} =ay {jal -na} escape =ADV run.away-DESI

‘You are doing like this to me now, where are you intending to run to and escape later?’

16.1.1 The origin of Type 1 discourse connectives

All Type 1 discourse connectives were historically most probably verbal tail-head linkage devices. As has been said above, they are all grammaticalised forms of the verb ətək- ‘to do like this/that’ and were once used anaphorically as non-finite verbal forms referring to the event in the preceding clause. The form ətəkəymaŋ comes most likely from ətək-ay=maŋ (do.like.this/that=ADV=SEQ) ‘having done like this/that’. This form will have participated in tail-head linkage of a sequential kind, while the

37 Chapter 20 on case marking treats further grammaticalisation of the verb ətək- ‘to do like this/that’ into the perlicative and simulative suffixes. The lexeme ətəkysa is homophonous with the delimitative-marked form of the adverb ətəkəy ‘like this/that’, e.g. (277).
form \texttt{ətəkəysa} (do.like.this/that =ADV=DLIM) was most probably involved in simultaneous tail-head linkage before it grammaticalised into the modern day reason discourse connective \texttt{ətəkəysa} ‘therefore, that’s why’. The forms in Group B of Table 50 where evidently involved in tail-head linkage of a temporal locative nature.

In the present synchronic state of the language, discourse connectives do not refer to the event in the previous clause but only indicate a certain abstract relationship between sentences and paragraphs.

### 16.1.2 \texttt{ətəkəyməŋ} and its allomorphs

The discourse connective \texttt{ətəkəyməŋ} \texttt{-ətəkəymu} \texttt{-ətəkəymuna} \texttt{-ətəkəymuŋ} \texttt{-ətəkəymuŋna} \texttt{-ətəkəymuan} ‘so then’ has a series of allomorphs which are all in free variation although different forms are more frequently used in certain dialects. In Badri the allomorph \texttt{ətəkəyməŋ} and \texttt{ətəkəymuŋ} are most popular while in Siju the forms \texttt{ətəkəymuŋ}, \texttt{ətəkəymu} and \texttt{ətəkəymuŋna} are most frequently used. Only one instance of the use of the allomorph \texttt{ətəkəymuan} has been recorded, which was in Siju.

The connective \texttt{ətəkəyməŋ} ‘so then’ and its allomorphs is the most frequently used connective in Atong. This connective usually signals that the speaker has not finished talking yet but that more is yet to come in the discourse or narrative. It is also used as pause filler, giving the speaker time to think what he will say next.

Example (272), from a story told in the Badri dialect, illustrates the use of the discourse connective ‘so then’ in the allomorph \texttt{ətəkəyməŋ}. 
As we can see in example (272) above, the first clause is a presentative clause with only a nominal predicate head alsia rajano and a postposed locative adjunct son dam sa ci. The discourse connective following that clause does not refer to any event in that clause but functions as a pause filler. The second occurrence of this connective is also as pause filler. The second occurrence of the connective is between the third clause kam khaʔna nobo haratanoaro ue, alsiae, which is the end of a sentence, and the beginning of the next sentence in which more information about the king is given, i.e. that he is married to two wives. The narrator is not warmed up yet and needs a lot of time to think about what to say next, so he repeats the previous sentence before he throws in the discourse connective again and continues with more information about
the living conditions of the king. This example is typical of the use of the discourse connective ətəkəyməŋ ‘so then’ and its allomorphs.

The discourse connective ətəkəyməŋ ~ ətəkəymu ~ ətəkəymuna ~ ətəkəymuŋ ~ ətkəymuŋna ‘so then’ can be used in tail-head linkage constructions. Tail-head linkage in Atong is done by repeating the whole or part of the last clause with the predicate in a sequential form. Example (273) is illustrative of a tail-head linkage construction. In this example we see two tail-head links, both of which repeat the main verb of the previous clause in sequential form, i.e. thorokaŋayməŋ ‘having jumped in’ and rəpayməŋ ‘having stayed in the water’.

(273) magacakdo biskutaw təysamci tanayməŋ caw thorokaŋokno. thorokaŋayməŋ hawtəy rəpokno magacake. bewal rəpayməŋ phetaakno.

‘The deer, having put the biscuits on the river bank, splash! jumped in, it is said. Having jumped in, he stayed under water for some time, it is said.’

Example (274) illustrates how the discourse connective ətəkəyməŋ (or one of its allomorphs) can occur before the head in a tail-head link.
The discourse connective *ətəkəysa* can be used in contexts where it has a sequential meaning and in other contexts where it has to be interpreted as indicating a reason relationship between sentences or stretches of discourse. The difference in meaning between *ətəkəysa* ‘then’ as sequential connective and the sequential connective *ətəkəyməŋ* ~ *ətəkəymu ~ *ətəkəymuŋ ~ *ətəkəymuŋna ~ *ətəkəymuna* is probably very subtle and they are often used in contexts, which seem completely similar to non-native speakers of Atong. The connective *ətəkəysa* differs from *ətəkəyməŋ* and its allomorphs in that the former does not occur in tail-head linkage constructions and the latter does.

Although the connective *ətəkəysa* could be analysed historically as the verbal root *ətək*- ‘to do like this/that’ and the delimitative enclitic <=*sa* (DLIM), its meaning is context dependent and cannot be construed on the basis of the root and the suffix or enclitics. Therefore I treat this connective as unanalysable in Atong as it is spoken today.

The following example illustrates the use of the sequential meaning of the discourse connective *ətəkəysa* ‘then’. It is the beginning of a description about how to cook food in a bamboo cylinder.
Having cut young *waʔda*, [you] carry it. You have carry it towards [home] from the river bank of the Symsang way over there. Then, when [you] have arrived home, [you] cut it so that [you] can pound [the food inside] to pulp.'

The next example shows the use of the discourse connective *ətəkəysa* in a context in which it indicates a reason link.

Because [the Rongdyng clan] drank from that water place, [they] called the river Rongdyng, it is said. Therefore, because [they] stayed at the Rongdyng river, they sayingly [called the village and the area] Rongdyng Plain.

In the following example we see the use of the homophonous adverb *ətəykəysa* ‘like this/that’. This example forms the end of the description about how to cook food in a bamboo cylinder, of which we have just read the beginning in example (275) above. An adverb always immediately precedes the predicate it modifies, and thus differs in
position from a discourse connective, which is always the first or last element in a sentence.

\[(277)\] \textit{atoŋdo ətəkəy -sa bereŋay saʔa.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Atong} &\Rightarrow \text{TOP} \\
\text{like.that} &\Rightarrow \text{DLIM} \\
\text{cook.food.in.bamboo.cylinder} &\Rightarrow \text{ADV} \\
\text{eat} &\Rightarrow \text{-CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{‘Like this the Atong eat food cooked in a bamboo cylinder.’}

16.1.4 \textit{ətəkcido}

The discourse connective \textit{ətəkcido} ‘in that case’ seems morphologically the most transparent of the Type 1 discourse connectives, viz. \textit{(do.like.that =LOC=TOP)} ‘if do like that’. This discourse connective can be postponed to the predicate of a main clause and still link that clause or sentence to the preceding stretch of discourse. This is illustrated by example (278). Other discourse connectives always occur in between the clauses or sentences they link.

The context of example (278) is as follows. The lazy king wants to convince the barber to come with him to the jungle, not adding that this is to support the lazy king in his fight against the tiger. The barber says he is busy, but the lazy king says that he should come since there will be many wild animals to be seen just like in a zoo. Then the barber says (278).

\[(278)\] \textit{ay! cayna naŋni ətəkcido.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{interj} &\Rightarrow \text{watch} \\
\text{need} &\Rightarrow \text{-FUT} \\
\text{in.that.case} &\Rightarrow \text{in.that.case}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{‘Ay! [I] will have to watch [that], in that case.’}

An alternative analysis of \textit{ətəkcido} in (278) above is as adverb with anaphoric reference.

The following example shows the most frequent occurrence of the connective \textit{ətəkcido} before the sentence which it links to the preceding discourse. The context is as follows. The most powerful god has explained the mission to Bandi. The god has told Bandi about the dangers of the road which he has to take to the person he is supposed to meet. This is a lengthy stretch of discourse. The explanation ends with
the words “If you meet enemies, don’t go slowly. Defend yourself,” he said, it is said.’ Then Bandi answers (279).

(279) *ətəkcido aŋa aŋ reʔeŋcie aŋawe təŋsawnima?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ətəkcido</th>
<th>[aŋa] [aŋ]</th>
<th>{reʔeŋ}</th>
<th>=ci</th>
<th>=e</th>
<th>[aŋ]</th>
<th>=aw</th>
<th>=e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in.that.case</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>go.away</td>
<td>LOC=FC</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ACC=FC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{təŋ -saw -ni}</td>
<td>=ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know-CERTAINLY -FUT</td>
<td>=Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘In that case, as for me, if I go, will [he] certainly recognise me?’

There is a third alternative for the placement of *ətəkcido* ‘in that case’. It can be preceded by a pronoun in address term function and/or an interjection, as is the case in the following example, where *ətəkcido* links sentences 1 and 2 (delimited by big square brackets) but is preceded by an interjection and a pronoun in Vocative function.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>{niŋa} [jetəkəyba]</th>
<th>{tak -an -cəy -ni}</th>
<th>aro</th>
<th>[u] =aw</th>
<th>{kaw}</th>
<th>=na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lpe</td>
<td>somehow</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>REF</td>
<td>-try</td>
<td>-FUT and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{reʔeŋ -ari -ni}</td>
<td>[niŋ]</td>
<td>=do</td>
<td>[acu]</td>
<td>{no-ok}</td>
<td>=no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go.away</td>
<td>-SIMP-FUT</td>
<td>lpe</td>
<td>=TOP</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| {de} [acu] | =dəraŋ | ətəkci | [ {reʔeŋ -an -cəy} | =bo ] | SENTENCE 2 |
| interj | grandson | =p | in.that.case | go.away | -REF | -try | =IMP |

‘We will try to do [it] somehow and we will just try to go in order to shoot that [eagle], grandpa”; [they] said, it is said. “Very well, grandchildren, in that case try to go.”

### 16.1.5 ətəkciba and ətəkmaʔciba

The locative-plus-indefinite combination of enclitics occurs on non-main clause predicates and indicates the notion ‘whenever event X is the case’ (see §27.5). It is therefore not clear where the contrastive sense comes from in the discourse connective *ətəkciba* and *ətəkmaʔciba* ‘but’. Historically they both come from the verb *ətək* ‘to do like this/that’, and can be analysed as *ətək=ci=ba* ‘(do.like.this/that =LOC=INDEF) and *ətək=maʔ=ci=ba* (do.like.this/that =interj =LOC=INDEF) and that
can be translated as ‘whenever do like this/that’. When the verbal form ətəkciba developed into the discourse connective it became opaque since the meaning cannot be deduced any more from the sum of the morphemes still visible in the word.

Example (281) here below illustrates the contrastive meaning of this discourse connective.

(281) “aŋna maməŋawan naŋcawa, ətəkciba naʔa aŋna aro aŋmə ŋ jəkna naŋ? khegwa dabat aŋ thayca dabat aŋaw muʔay saʔna hənʔbo” nookno.

As mentioned above and discussed in Chapter 27, the combination <ci=ba> (LOC=INDEF) on predicate heads indicates an indefinite location in time. Example (282) here below is illustrative.

(282) je takay pataŋciba ruŋ bətroŋreŋariano.

The form ətək=maʔ=ci=ba contains the morphemes (do.like.this/that=interj=LOC =INDEF/ADD) and means ‘but’. This discourse connective is interesting because it contains an interjection in what used to be its string of enclitics. The interjection signals surprising or unexpected contrasts, as we can see in example (283) here below.
The surprising event expressed in the last clause is further signalled by the mirative clausal enclitic \(<=\text{təy}\rangle\) (MIR).

\[(283)\] \textit{gadakciciaymuna thepsetthiriokno. atakmaci\textipa{ciba} uba sa\textipa{gərayba} jumu kha\textipa{thirithirioknotəy}.}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
gadak & \text{cut.up} =\text{ADV} \\
cicic & \text{into.pieces} =\text{SEQ} \\
thep & \text{throw} =\text{DISPOSE.OF} \\
set & \text{AGAIN} \\
thiri & -\text{COS} =\text{QUOT} \\
ok & \text{no} \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atu} & =\text{ba} \text{sa\textipa{gəray}] =\text{ba} \\
\text{DST}=\text{EMPH} & \text{child} =\text{EMPH} \\
\text{umu} & \text{collect} =\text{AGAIN-RED} \\
\text{thiri} & \text{do} =\text{COS} =\text{QUOT} =\text{MIR} \}
\end{align*}
\]
‘They cut him up into pieces and threw him away again, it is said. But that child joined together again and again, it is said to our surprise.’

16.2 **Type 2 Discourse connectives**

Type 2 discourse connectives are all forms of the distal demonstrative \(<u->\) (DST). These discourse connectives indicate a temporally precise relationship between stretches of text and are often used to indicate the climax of a stretch of text but they are also used in the same way as the Type 1 discourse connectives to simply indicate that there is more to follow in a narrative.

These discourse connectives might be formally similar to demonstratives, functionally they are not for the following reasons. Firstly, demonstratives are dependents in an NP and are always the first constituent in an NP, discourse connectives have a fixed position, i.e. in between sentences. Secondly, demonstratives modify nominal heads, whereas discourse connectives link sentences and stretches of discourse. Let us look at the use of the Type 2 discourse connectives one by one.

16.2.1 **uciba**

Although it is clear that \textit{uciba} ‘but then, but’ consists of the distal demonstrative followed by the locative \(<=\text{cə}\rangle\) (LOC) and the indefinite morpheme \(<=\text{ba}\rangle\) (INDEF), the meaning of this lexeme is not predictable from the sum of its morphemes. Therefore, I treat it as morphologically opaque and gloss it in its entirety instead of breaking it up into its alleged morphemes. Further study is required to find out what
the exact difference is between uciba ‘but (then)’ and \textit{stok(ma?)ciba} ‘but’ treated in §16.1.5. The following example illustrates the use of this discourse connective.

(284) \textit{aro jangalan kawokno. uciba khirumancano.}

\begin{verbatim}
aro [jangal] =an \{kaw-ok\} =no and everybody =FC/ID shoot-COS =QUOT
uciba \{khi -rum -an -ca\} =no but hit.the.mark -ALL -REF -NEG =QUOT
\end{verbatim}

‘And everyone shot, it is said. But all of them did not hit [the reed culm], it is said.’

\subsection{16.2.2 \textit{umigəmənci} \textendash{} \textit{uməŋgəmənci}}

In the form \textit{umigəmənci} \textendash{} \textit{uməŋgəmənci} ‘that’s why, therefore, for that reason’ we can clearly discern the distal demonstrative followed by the genitive \(<=mi \sim =məŋ>\) (GEN), the bound reason postposition \textit{gəmən} (REASON) and the locative enclitic \(<=ci>\) (LOC). Only on the discourse connective and nowhere else in the grammar, does the locative appear after the bound reason postposition \textit{gəmən} (REASON). This non-productive occurrence of the locative indicates the non-compositionality of the lexeme. The following example illustrates the use of this discourse connective. It links the last clause of the story about a place in the Symsang river called Dabatwari to the entire story that precedes.

(285) \textit{umigəmənci iawdo dabatwari məŋwano.}

\begin{verbatim}
umigəmənci [i] =aw =do [dabatwari] \{məŋ -wa\} =no that’s why PRX =ACC=TOP Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT
\end{verbatim}

‘That’s why [we] call this place Dabatwari, it is said.’

\subsection{16.2.3 \textit{una}}

The discourse connective \textit{una} ‘then, therefore, because of that’ seems to be morphologically and semantically transparent, consisting of the distal demonstrative and the dative case enclitic \(<=na>\) (DAT). The meaning ‘therefore’ can be deduced from the meaning of the morphemes, as the next example suggests. However, this analysis means that only dative-marked distal demonstrative phrases but no other phrase types can be interpreted as a Reason adjunct. Otherwise only dative marked
clauses can fulfil this semantic role (see Chapter 27). The discourse connective *una* is the result of a grammaticalisation of the dative-marked distal demonstrative.

In the next example we see the discourse connective *una* ‘therefore’ which refers back to the text in the paragraph that precedes the clause in this example. Not that this discourse connective can take the delimitative enclitic <=*sa* (DLIM).

(286) *teʔcinakhəŋkhəŋ unaša badri rongdəŋ haʔway məŋwano.*

[teʔ] =ci =na [khəŋkhəŋ] **una** =sa [badri rongdəŋ haʔway]

now =LOC=DAT still therefore =DLIM Pname

{məŋ -wa} =no
call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘Until now, still, exactly because of that, [we] call [it] Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said.’

A reason to treat *una* ‘then, therefore, because of that’ as one unit rather than as a sequence of the distal demonstrative <=*u* (DST) and the dative case <=*na* (DAT), is that the lexeme *una* also has a temporal sequential interpretation ‘then’ which cannot be deduced at all if we analyse it as a distal demonstrative with a dative case enclitic.

The example below illustrates the temporal interpretation of the discourse connective *una* ‘then, therefore, because of that’.

(287) “*coʔisa rawkhalay* nowano. una jomʔaymu sinthongʔwaci “aya!” noaymu jalaŋokno

[coʔisa] {raw -khal} =ay {no-wa} =no
a.little long -CP =ADV say -FACT =QUOT

**una** {jomʔ} =ay =mu {sinthongʔ -wa} =ci [aya]

then sneak.up.on =ADV =SEQ cut.in.half-FACT =LOC interj

{no} =ay =mu {jal -aŋ -ok} =no
say =ADV =SEQ run.away-AWAY -COS =QUOT

‘“A bit longer”, [he] said, it is said. Then, having sneeked up on [her], when he cut her in half, she said “Ouch!” and ran away, it is said.’

This leaves us with only three morphologically and semantically transparent discourse connectives, viz. *u=ci* (DST=LOC) ‘then’ and its focused forms *u=ci=e* (DST=LOC=FC) ‘then’ and *u=ci-an* (DST=LOC=FC/ID) ‘then’. The locative case
indicates both Spatial and Temporal Location, and the interpretation of the forms under discussion as temporal demonstratives is pragmatically conditioned.

As example (288) shows, the discourse connective uci ~ ucie ~ uciān ‘then’ can function in the same way as the Type 1 discourse connective ətkəyməŋ ~ ətkəymu ~ ətkəymuna ~ ətkəymuŋ ~ ətkəymuŋna ‘so then, having done that/this’, i.e. to signal that more is to follow in the story. The example is taken from the beginning of a story and starts with a presentative clause consisting, as presentative clauses do (see the chapter on clause types) of a nominal predicate head.

(288) nayʔnokholthangaba aro kənokholthangabado sansanansansananasanadabatwarisanadiggaraysanareʔeŋroŋanoro.

As was mentioned above, Type 2 discourse connectives can be used to indicate temporally precise relationships between events. The next example illustrates this. The context is as follows. A small bird, a frog and a toad are punishing an elephant because he always destroys their houses. After they picked at the elephant’s eyes, the elephant becomes blind and because of the toad and the bird pestering him all day, he has gotten thirsty. As part of the plan, the frog lures the elephant to the edge of a ravine by quacking at the bottom of it. The elephant will of course not see the cliff, fall down and die.
So then, now, the banana bird and the toad are speaking, it is said. “Hey, call, friend!” they say and then the frog, way over there, at the bottom of the ravine is calling “pekpek! pekpek!”, it is said.

Note that in the above example the morpheme <="say"> is glossed as locative.

Historically this morpheme comes from the noun say meaning ‘place, side’ and is still found with that meaning in a few compounds, e.g. sanphak ~ samphak ‘side’.
Chapter 17  Other word classes

The word classes treated in this chapter are: the additive conjunction *aro* ‘and’, the personal pronouns, the generic pronoun, the proclauses, the onomatopoeia and the interjections. The Prohibitive word ‹ta› (PROH) is treated in §26.2.3.

17.1   **The additive conjunction *aro* ‘and’**

The additive conjunction *aro* ‘and, more’ is a linking device that links both clauses and NPs. This word also functions as adjective meaning ‘more’. As adjective *aro* ‘more, other’ always precedes the NP it modifies. The word *aro* is an Indic loan, borrowed from Assamese or Bengali.

In example (288) above we see how *aro* ‘and’ links two nouns in an NP which functions as nominal predicate head of a presentative clause. In example (290) here below we see the clause linking function of *aro* ‘and’.

(290)   *aŋna bunduk hənʔetbo. aro aŋna curiba hənʔetbo.*

\[ aŋ = na [bunduk] \{hən -et\} = bo \  aro \ [aŋ] = na \ [curi] = ba \]
\[ 1s = \text{DAT} \text{ gun} \ \text{give} -\text{CAUS} = \text{IMP} \text{ and} \ 1s = \text{DAT} \text{ knife} = \text{ADD} \]
\[ \{hənʔ -et\} = bo \]
\[ \text{give} -\text{CAUS} = \text{IMP} \]

‘Give me a gun and give me also a knife.’

As mentioned above, *aro* can also be used adjectivally meaning ‘more, other’. The following example illustrates the use of this adjective meaning ‘more’. In example (425) in §20.2.2 we see its use with the meaning ‘other’.

(291)   *aŋna jaʔbek hənʔbo*

\[ aro \ jaʔbe \{hənʔ\} = bo \]
\[ \text{more curry} \ \text{give} = \text{IMP} \]

‘Give [me] more curry.’

Example (292) below illustrates that it is not always possible to tell whether *aro* functions as adjective or clause linker. Translation A mirrors the clause linking interpretation whereas translation B mirrors the adjectival interpretation.
(292) \( məŋʔ\)sa they! kawoknotay. khiancano. aro məŋʔsa kawtheriokno. them! kawokno. uba khiancano. aro jangalan kawokno. uciba khirumancano.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\{məŋʔ\} \quad \text{sa} \quad \{\text{them}\} \quad \{\text{kaw}-\text{ok}\} \quad =\text{no} \quad =\text{təy} \\
\text{CLF: HUMANS one bang shoot-COS =QUOT =MIR} \\
\{\text{khi} \quad -\text{an} \quad -\text{ca}\} \quad -\text{no} \\
\text{hit.the.mark -REF -NEG =QUOT} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{aro məŋʔ} \quad \text{sa} \quad \{\text{kaw-theri} \quad -\text{ok}\} \quad =\text{no} \quad \{\text{them}\} \quad \{\text{kaw}-\text{ok}\} \quad =\text{no} \\
\text{and CLF: HUMANS one shoot-AGAIN-COS =QUOT bang shoot-COS =QUOT} \\
\text{Translation A:} \quad \text{One person shot, bang! [he] did not hit [the reed culm], it is said, to [our] surprise. And another person shot again, it is said. Bang! he shot, it is said.'} \\
\text{Translation B:} \quad \text{One person shot, bang! [he] did not hit [the reed culm], it is said, to [our] surprise. One more person shot again, it is said. Bang! he shot, it is said.'}
\]

17.2 **Personal pronouns**

Personal pronouns are a closed class. Table 51 lists the personal pronouns in Atong. Personal pronouns are deictic and the third person pronouns can also be used anaphorically. They constitute the only word class in Atong that expresses number, viz. singular and plural. In addition the first person has an inclusive versus exclusive distinction in the plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 51 Personal pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( aŋ \sim aŋa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( naŋʔ \sim naʔa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( geʔtheŋ \sim deʔtheŋ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( naʔnaŋ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( niŋ \sim niŋa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( naŋʔ-təm (2s-ppp) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( geʔtheŋtheŋ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( itəm )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( utəm \sim ətəm )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( phalthaŋ )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clausal properties**

Personal pronouns can function as core or oblique arguments. Personal pronouns can function as head of a predicate of identity/equation clauses and are attested with the
O

ther word classes

Referential suffix <-an> (REF), the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG) and the change of state suffix under negation <-k> (COS).

Phrasal properties

Personal pronouns

– can function as head of an NP,
– can modify nouns possessively by juxtaposition with or without genitive marking, the order is always Personal Pronoun (Possessor)-Noun (Possessed)
– cannot be modified or possessed.
– two juxtaposed unmarked personal pronouns can be interpreted as being in an additive relationship, e.g. (455) §20.5.

Morphological properties

Personal pronouns can take all the cases and other phrasal enclitics but cannot be pluralised with the plural enclitic <-dəraŋ> (p). The second person plural is formed with the short form nau? (2s) and the personal pronoun plural suffix <-təm> (ppp), which is also used to form the third person plural from the distal demonstrative <-u> (DST), viz. utəm (3p) and can be distinguished in the allomorph with otəm (3p), where the vowel of the distal demonstrative has been reduced to schwa. The third person geʔtheŋ (3s) and the reflexive pronoun phalthaŋ 'self' form their plurals through partial reduplication, viz. geʔtheŋtheŋ (3p) and phalthaŋthaŋ 'selves'.

The two forms of the first and second person singular, ana ~ aŋ (1s) and naʔa ~ nau? (2s), are in free variation in A and S function but there are certain differences. The forms ana (1s) and naʔa (2s) only occur as S or A argument in a clause. Semantically the longer forms ana (1s) and naʔa (2s) are more emphatic and they can serve in situations of contrastive focus and new topic. Morphologically, too, there are differences between the two forms. First of all, the allomorphs ana (1s) and naʔa (2s) cannot take suffixes. Secondly, the allomorphs ana (1s) and naʔa (2s) are unable to enter into a possessive relation with a following NP by juxtaposition. The long form of the first person plural exclusive, niya (1pe) is only attested four times in the recorded material, in stories by two different speakers. In all cases of its appearance, the pronoun is in A function.

Only the second person singular allomorph naʔa is used as an address term at the end of sentences when the speaker wants to express that the contents of the sentence
are of particular importance to the interlocutor. The next examples illustrate the second person personal pronoun *naʔa* (2s) in address term function. In (293) and (294) we see two dialogues, at the end of which the speaker adds the pronoun *naʔa* (2s) to the clause.

(293) Speaker 1: *aŋ* =do *cək* -ay*do*ŋa.

1s =TOP cold -DUR

‘I’m cold!’

Speaker 2: *atak* -wa?

do.what -FACT

‘What did [you] do?’

Speaker 1: *teʔew* -maŋmaŋ =sa *təyru* -wa *naʔa*.

now -EXCLUSIVELY =DLIM take.a.bath -FACT 2s

‘[I] only just took a bath, oh you!’

(294) “*thup*” thokwaci “*wek*” nothiriokno. “*atakwa*?” nookno. “*aŋ diʔphusa naʔa.***”

[thup] {thok -wa} =ci [wek] {no -thiri -ok} =no hitting.sound hit -FACT =LOC pig’s.cry.sound say -AGAIN-COS =QUOT

{atak -wa} {no-ok} =no [ag *diʔphu*] =sa [naʔa]

do.what -FACT say-COS =QUOT 1s fart =DLIM 2s

‘When [he] hit [it] “Thwack!” [the pig] said “Squeel!” again, it is said. “What did you do/What happened?” [he] said, it is said. “[it’s] only my fart, oh you!”’

The Atong form *naŋʔ* ‘2s’ is the only form used in “you-youing”\(^{38}\). An example of “you-youing” is given in (103) below. The pronoun *naʔa* (2s) cannot be used here.

---

\(^{38}\) As in Dutch *jij*bakken ‘you-youing’, which is the childish activity of passing accusations back and forth by saying “You” “You”.
(295) *you-youing*: Person A and Person B are talking to each other.

Person A: *kaltək*! ‘Person who never washes!’
Person B: *naŋʔ!* ‘You!’
Person A: *naŋʔ!* ‘You!’
Person B: *naŋʔ!* ‘You!’
Person A: *naŋʔ!* ‘You!’

The two forms of the third person singular <~> (3s) are in free variation, the allomorph <~> (3s) occurs much more frequent than <~> (3s). The composition of the first person plural inclusive <~> (1pi) is opaque in the current stage of the language. However, it might have originated from a compound of which the elements no longer occur as separate morphemes in the language of today. The demonstratives <~> (DST) and <~> (PRX) can also be used as third person personal pronouns. As such they can take the highly selective personal pronoun plural suffix ~ (ppp). The resultant forms are ~ (3p) and ~ (3p) which are personal pronouns. The other third person plural ~ (3s) shows partial reduplication. Historically the element ~ might have been a suffix. It might have been the phrasal enclitic ~ (own), of which the vowel was harmonised with the front vowel in the first syllable /~/. The only other enclitic that can be reduplicated with the meaning plural is ~ ‘own’ as the next example illustrates. This enclitic probably also forms a fossilised element in the now opaque reflexive pronoun *phalthaŋ* ‘self’ and its plural form *palthaŋthanaw* ‘selves’.

(296) [...] *khasin-khasin gumukawan palæŋci jalgadəraŋaw jəkthaŋthaŋaw jumuphannaakno.*

*slow -RED all =ACC=FC/ID jungle =LOC* 

*run.away=ATTR -p =ACC spouse =OWN =RED =ACC* 

*collect =BACK -TOWARDS -COS =QUOT* 

‘[They] slowly collected all their husbands back who [had] run into the jungle.’
There is another third person plural pronoun, viz. ətəm, which is a phonologically altered form of the distal demonstrative with the personal pronoun plural suffix <-təm> (ppp). As far as I am aware, all the different third person plurals are in free variation.

17.3 The generic pronoun

Atong has one generic pronoun which has a free form hayʔe (GPN) and a bound form hayʔ (GPN). The generic pronoun can be used as filler or as replacement for any NP in a clause when the speaker cannot think of the correct word (‘Let me see; uh, whatchamacallit’) or does not want to say it, e.g. (297), (298).

(297) teʔdo ucian pherudo biskutaw payay jalokno, paŋʔay paŋʔay jalokno magacakməŋ, hayʔe [pause], bangalmaŋ biskutaw.

‘Now then the fox ran away carrying the biscuits, he ran [with] a lot, a lot [of] the deer’s, uh, the Bengali’s biscuits.’

(298) Speaker S: ue, usaŋmiʔ? bimuŋ atoŋ məŋwa?
Speaker J: hayʔe naʔa, jonken.

There are no clauses recorded in which the generic pronoun co-occurs with a demonstrative pronoun or any other modifier. The following example illustrates the use of the determiner. Only the relevant passages of the narrative sample have been glossed. These passages have been bolded and underlined in the translation.
‘[... having packed the whole lunch, having done all this and having done all this and having [put] the leafy greens outside to dry she left to weed in the dry rice and vegetable field. [...] The mother came back to cook rice. So then she collected the dried leafy greens, [...] “Mother, oh! the curry is really tasty! You don’t cook tasty very often, why is it so tasty today, the curry? What did you add, mother?” [the son] said, it is said. [...] “I added only that rice powder with the leafy greens, I’m telling you!”’

There is a homophonous generic pro-verb *hay*?- (PRO-VERB) which can also be used as filler for any verbal predicate head and can be translated as ‘do something, do this, this happens’ (300).

‘After arriving this happened, it is said [...]’
Table 52  List of proclauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥay</td>
<td>‘Come on!; Let’s go!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaʔ</td>
<td>‘take it from me!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥoʔoŋ</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əm</td>
<td>‘affirmative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔmːhmʔ</td>
<td>‘that’s right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔmːhm</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥayda</td>
<td>‘I don’t know.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proclauses differ from interjections (see §17.6) in various ways. Most proclauses express polarity, viz. ḥoʔoŋ ‘yes’, əm ‘affirmative’, ʔmːhm ‘that’s right’ and ʔmːhm ‘no’, while interjections do not do this. The pronclause ḥay ‘Come on! Let’s go!’ is an adhortative expression and therefore expresses mood, something interjections cannot do. Some proclauses can be followed by clausal enclitics, which is another property that interjections do not have. The word ḥay ‘Come on! Let’s go!’ can take the imperative emphasiser clausal enclitic <=to> (IMPEMPH) as example (301) below illustrates. The word ḥoʔoŋ ‘yes’ can occur with the irrealis clausal enclitic <=cəm> (IRR) (see §26.8, example (722)), the speculative clausal enclitic <=khon> (SPEC) (see §26.9, example (738)) and the confirmative clausal enclitic <=mo> (CONF), e.g. TEXT 2, line 23, and example (518) in §21.4.

Proclauses cannot take arguments or any kind of modificatory phrase. Two proclauses, viz. ḥay ‘Come on!; Let’s go!’ and ḥaʔ ‘take it from me’ can, however, have nouns that are associated with them. These nouns are always unmarked for case. The nouns that can be associated with ḥay ‘Come on!; Let’s go!’ is the person to whom the command is directed, i.e. Vocatives, which are not part of the clause, which can be any person, e.g. (301), (302). The noun associated with ḥaʔ ‘take it from me’ can only be the object given, e.g. (303). Between the proclauses and their Vocatives, there will usually be a pause, but not always.

(301) ḥayto mosa, naʔa āŋna hənca-kama.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥay</td>
<td>=to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosa</td>
<td>[mosa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naʔa</td>
<td>[naʔa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āŋ</td>
<td>=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hən</td>
<td>-ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>=ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come.on</td>
<td>=IMPEMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>=DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give-NEG</td>
<td>-IFT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Come on buddy, aren’t you going to give [some bananas] to me?’
(302) “hay aŋba” nookno beybloke

hay  [aŋ]  =ba  {no -ok}  =no  [beyblok]  =e

come.on  I  =ADD  say  -COS  =QUOT  toad  =FC

“Come on! Me also” said the toad, it is said.’

(303) haʔ, cabi.

haʔ  cabi
take.it.from.me  key
‘take it from me, a/the/it’s a key.’

The affirmative and negative proclauses hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ and hmʔm ‘no’ indicate the attitude of the speaker towards an utterance of his interlocutor. If the speaker agrees with the utterance he will use hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ and if he disagrees hmʔm ‘no’ (304), (305), (306). These proclauses can be used in addition to the appropriate form of the predicate (307) or on their own as a complete answer to the question (308). If both a proclause and a predicate are expressed, the answer word usually precedes the predicate.

(304) “mamuŋ dəwancate” nookno. ucie: “hmʔm ama naŋʔdo tayʔnido atongba dəwwa.”

[mamuŋ]  {dəw-an -ca}  =te  {no-ok}  =no  [u]  =ci  =e

nothing  add  -REF  -NEG  =DECL  say  -COS  =QUOT  DST=LOC=FC

hmʔm  [ama]  [naŋʔ]  =do  [tayʔm]  =do  [atong  =ba  {dəw-wa}]

no  mother 2s  =TOP  today  =TOP  what  =INDEF  add  -FACT

“[I] did not add anything, I tell you!” [she] said, it is said. Then: “No, mother, today you added something.”’

(305) “ram riməlnakakhonay” “hoʔoŋ riməlnakakhon”

[ram]  {riməl -naka}  =khon  =ay  hoʔoŋ  {riməl -naka}  =khon
road  slippery  -IFT  =SPEC  =POS  yes  slippery  -IFT  =SPEC

“The road might certainly be slippery, positively!” “Yes, [it] might certainly be.”

(306) “naŋʔ rayʔcawa?” “hoʔoŋ.”

[naŋʔ]  {rayʔ-ca -wa}  hoʔoŋ
2s  go  -NEG  -FACT  yes
‘You will not be going?’ ‘Yes’ (i.e. ‘I will not be going.’)
(307) “cəw rəgnima?” “hmːm, rəgcawa.”

\[
\text{rice.alcohol drink-FUT} = \text{Q no drink-NEG -FACT}
\]

“Shall [we] drink liquor? No, [I] will not drink.”

(308) “phəlgəm deʔetdapay tanaŋwa?” “hoʔoŋ” noʔokno.

\[
\text{eagle shit -CAUS -ON.TOP} = \text{ADV put -AWAY -FACT}
\]

“An eagle dropped shit [on it]?” “Yes” [she] said

In Text 2, line 55 we see the proclause hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ used as answer to the statement in line 54. The same text provides a good example of the use of the proclause ?mːhm? ‘that’s right’ in line 47.

There is another affirmative word, viz. am ‘affirmative’ that is used as the acknowledgment to statements (309), (310) and imperatives (311).

(309) “naŋʔawba manʔseganine” nookno. “am manʔniba naŋʔawba.”

\[
\text{2s =ACC=ADD be.able-ALT -FUT =TAG say -COS =QUOT}
\]

“‘I’ll get you back!’ he said, it is said. “Yes, I’ll get you too/indeed!”


\[
\text{PRX =LOC bird trapped-COS say -COS =QUOT}
\]

“‘There’s a bird trapped here’ he said, it is said. “Ok, catch it, he said it is said.’
The words hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ and hmʔm ‘no’ can also be used as affirmative interjections to react to statements or conceptions, e.g. (312) and (313).

(312) **interruption in a story and continuation**

speaker A: **ucie…**

then

speaker B: phagọŋma =ci

shoulder =LOC

speaker A: **hoʔoŋ** [phagọŋma] =ci [saʔ] {gaʔ}=ay =mu

yes shoulder =LOC child load =ADV=SEQ

**ucie** {daŋ -aŋ -ok} =no =ro

then enter -AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH

speaker A: ‘Then’

speaker B: ‘On [his] shoulder’

speaker A: ‘Yes, on [his] shoulder having loaded the children, then, he went in, it is said.’

In the next example a child roaming through the forest sees a deer, and says:

(313) **hmʔm, iawdo kawcaka.**

**hmʔm** [i] =aw =do {kaw-ca -ka}

no PRX =ACC=TOP shoot-NEG -IFT

‘No, I will not shoot this one.’

In the above example the child is answering an inner conception, i.e. the question of whether to shoot that deer or not.
The proclause *hayda* ‘I don’t know’ expresses ignorance on the part of the speaker and is the answer to a polar question or to a statement, e.g. (314), where a son asks a question and the mother answers that she doesn’t know.

(314) “ido diʔan thawokona, randaydo atongtəkəy thawarıŋnaka, mo ama?!”

nookno. “hayda’’

PRX =TOP shit =FC/ID tasty =-COS =DAT meat =TOP what =LIKE

{thaw -aroŋ -naka} [mo] [ama]
tasty -DUR -IFT CONF mother

[hayda]
I.don’t.know

“Because this, the shit, is so tasty, how tasty must that meat be, aren’t I right, mother?” “I don’t know.”

17.5 Onomatopoeia

There are many onomatopoeia in Atong covering a large variety of sounds occurring in their environment. As (316) shows, onomatopoeia can be unmarked O of the verb *tak* - ‘to do’. Here are some examples.

(315) mmmmm, mmmmm

Both with high falling intonation, mimics the call of an eagle.

(316) atəkəymuna tokəreyaw manʔaymuŋna haʔcina wuuuuuuuk dəm!
takramphinoknotəy phəlgəm galʔwaan.

atəkəymuna [tokərey] =aw {manʔ} =ay =muŋna} [haʔ] =ci =na
so.then neck =ACC get =ADV =SEQ ground =LOC =DAT

[wuuuuuuuk dəm] {tak -ram -phin -ok} =no =təy
shooossh thud do =INEVITABLY -TOTALLY =-COS =QUOT =MIR

[phəlgəm galʔ -wa] =an
giant.eagle fall =FACT =FC/ID

’Sowooosh, thud!’ right to the ground the fall of the (giant) eagle.’
Onomatopoeia can modify verbs. Onomatopoeia cannot be the head of a predicate, cannot be a constituent in a clause, cannot be modified and cannot modify nouns.

17.6 Interjections

There are many interjections in the Atong language expressing a variety of emotions. Interjections are not part of the clause. They cannot be modified or modify nor can they take any suffixes or enclitics. Table 53 presents just a few examples of what might very well be a closed class. Those which can be glossed satisfactorily will be glossed.

Table 53  List of interjections

**Anger**

hot  ‘Hey!’

hot sala  ‘Damn! / You bastard!’

tyi sala  ‘Damn! / You idiot!’

sala  ‘Damn! / ‘Idiot’ This lexeme can function both as interjection meaning something like ‘damn!’ or as a noun meaning ‘idiot’. (Indic loan)

**Surprise and admiration**

atsɔow  pronounced with a long and falsetto /a/ ‘Wooooow!’

baaa  pronounced in low pitch and with a long [a]. ‘Wooooooow!’ (Indic loan)

baaapre  (idem) (Indic loan)

**Surprise**

hari ~ hare  ‘Huh?’ (Indic loan)

amɔy  ‘Huh?’
Table 53 continued

**Surprise, astonishment, amazement and grief**

From strongest to lightest expression:

*ayaw*

*aya*

*ayu*

All can be translated as ‘Jeez!’, ‘Goodness!’ or ‘Huh?!’. The interjections *ayaw* and *aya* can also be used to express grief.

**Mutual understanding**

*baʔ*  ‘OK then’

*maʔ*  ‘Very well then. This interjection is attested in two instances as part of a chain of enclitics: a productive chain in (138) in §9.5 and a fossilised chain in (283) in §16.1.5. In both cases this interjection indicates surprise or unexpectedness.

*de*  ‘OK then.’ (According to some Atong speakers this is a Garo loan.)

**Attention seeking**

*hu hu*  ‘Hello?’

*oy*  ‘Oy!’

This interjection is pronounced on a higher pitch than the following word, usually a proper name. There is no pause between the interjection and the following word. The proper name that follows is pronounced with falling intonation, e.g. *o samrat!*  ‘Hey Samrat!’

**Self location**

*kəw*  pronounced short and in falsetto ‘I’m here!’

**Acknowledgment**

*o*  pronounced long with rising intonation.
Chapter 18  Word-class-changing derivation

18.1  Types of derivation

Atong shows nine types of word-class changing derivation, two of which are not productive. Here below is an overview of the types of derivation. Noun incorporation by means of the support verb constructions is treated in Chapter 22.

NOUN $\leftrightarrow$ zero derivation $\leftrightarrow$ VERB (not productive). §18.2
NOUN $\leftrightarrow$ zero derivation $\leftrightarrow$ Type 2 ADJECTIVE (not productive). §18.3

ADJECTIVE $\rightarrow$ suffixation $\rightarrow$ VERB. §18.4
NOUN $\rightarrow$ suffixation $\rightarrow$ more Verb-like. §18.5
VERB/ADJECTIVE $\rightarrow$ reduplication $\rightarrow$ ADVERB. §18.6
VERB $\rightarrow$ zero derivation $\rightarrow$ ADVERB. §18.7
NOUN $\rightarrow$ reduplication $\rightarrow$ ADVERB. §18.8
VERB $\rightarrow$ nominalisation $\rightarrow$ PERSON NOUN. §18.9

18.2  Denominal verbs or deverbal nouns, zero derivation

The only aspect a nominal predicate with a prototypical noun as its head can express is negative change of state. Very few lexical items are attested, however, that can occur both as constituents in a clause and as verbal predicate heads, and can carry aspect and modality marking which only occurs on verbal/adjecitval predicate heads, such as non-negative change of state (54), (325), (329), progressive aspect (327), future modality (329) and customary aspect and the imperative mood (329). All verbal occurrences of these lexical items are intransitive. Since this phenomenon occurs so rarely, I have the suspicion that we have to deal here with a closed set of lexical items that can function both as verbs and as nouns. I cannot say in which function these words appear most frequently and thus it is impossible to establish whether they are basically nouns or verbs. Table 54 presents some examples. The list is not exhaustive. Examples (322)-(325) illustrate these words as head of an NP and as predicate head.
Table 54  Nouns that also occur as verbal predicate heads.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>valency</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balwa ‘wind’</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>balwa- ‘to blow (as wind)’</td>
<td>S: only the noun balwa ‘wind’</td>
<td>(53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cəwgən ‘festival of the dead’</td>
<td>(324)</td>
<td>cəwgən- ‘to celebrate the festival of the dead, drink for a dead person’</td>
<td>S, A, O</td>
<td>(325), (326)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golpho ‘story’</td>
<td>(456)</td>
<td>golpho ‘to talk extensively’</td>
<td>S, A, O</td>
<td>(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diʔphu ‘fart’</td>
<td>(328)</td>
<td>diʔphu ‘to fart’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>(329)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal ‘night’</td>
<td>(322)</td>
<td>wal ‘to (be) night’</td>
<td>san ‘day’</td>
<td>(320), (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manap ‘morning’</td>
<td></td>
<td>manap- ‘to be morning’</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasam ‘evening’</td>
<td></td>
<td>gasam- ‘to be evening’</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>(320)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məkhaŋ ‘face’</td>
<td></td>
<td>məkhaŋ- ‘to-face’</td>
<td>S and Direction</td>
<td>(318), (319)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayʔ ‘egg’</td>
<td></td>
<td>tayʔ- ‘to lay an egg’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(318)  aŋ geʔtheŋsaŋ məkhaŋni

\[
[\text{aŋ}] \ [\text{geʔtheŋ}] =\text{saŋ} \ \{\text{məkhaŋ} \ -\text{ni}\} \\
1s \ 3s =\text{MOB face} \quad \text{-FUT}
\]
‘I will sit face-to-face with him.’

(319)  məkhaŋrukbo!

\[
\{\text{məkhaŋ} \ -\text{ruk}\} =\text{bo} \\
\text{face} \quad \text{-RC} =\text{IMP}
\]
‘Face each other!’

(320)  teʔewdo gasamok. rayʔna manʔancak. phetaŋna dakaŋ walnaka.

\[
[\text{teʔew}] =\text{do} \ \{\text{gasam} \ -\text{ok}\} \ \{\text{rayʔ} \} =\text{na} \ \{\text{manʔ} \ -\text{an} \ -\text{ca} \ -\text{k}\} \\
\text{now} =\text{TOP evening} \quad \text{-COS go} =\text{DAT be.able} \quad \text{-REF} \quad \text{-NEG} \quad \text{-COS}
\]

\[
\{\text{phet} \ -\text{ap}\} =\text{na} \ \{\text{dakaŋ}\} \ \{\text{wal} \ -\text{naka}\} \\
\text{arrive} \quad \text{-AWAY} =\text{DAT before} \quad \text{night} \quad \text{-IFT}
\]
‘Now it has become evening. We can’t go any more. It will certainly be night before we arrive.’
There is a derivation of the body-part noun $kən$ ‘back’, i.e. $kənjuŋ$ ‘to turn your back to somebody’. Apart from $kən$ ‘back’ and $məkhaŋ$ ‘face’ no other body-part noun can function as a verb.

(321) $tayʔni$ $balwa$ $thaʔrak$ $balwaŋok$.  
$$\begin{align*}
[tayʔni] & \quad \{balwa\} = ay \quad \{balwa-\text{aŋ} \quad \text{-ok}\} \\
\text{today} \quad \text{wind} \quad \text{strong} \quad = \text{ADV} \quad \text{wind} \quad \text{-AWAY} \quad \text{-COS}
\end{align*}$$

‘The wind blew strong today.’

(322) $walci$ $haʔ$ $sawʔnaka$.  
$$\begin{align*}
[wal] & \quad = ci \quad \{haʔ\} \quad \{sawʔ-\text{naka}\} \\
\text{night} \quad = \text{LOC} \quad \text{soil} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{-IFT}
\end{align*}$$

‘At night we will burn the soil.’

(323) $teʔewdo$ $walok$.  
$$\begin{align*}
[teʔew] & \quad = do \quad \{wal \quad \text{-ok}\} \\
\text{now} \quad = \text{TOP} \quad \text{night} \quad \text{-COS}
\end{align*}$$

‘It has become night now.’

Notice that the verbs $wal$- ‘to (be) night’, $manap$- ‘to be morning’ and $gasam$ ‘to be evening’ have a valency of zero, i.e. they cannot take any arguments. This is not unusual for verbs indicating weather events; however, in Atong these are the only verbs of such type that have zero valency. The verb $wa$- ‘to rain’ is always used with the noun $raŋ$- ‘rain’, viz. $raŋ$ $wa$-$\text{aydok}$ (rain rain-PROG) ‘rain is raining’. As far as other weather events are concerned, they are expressed as follows: $səltəy$ $rat$-$\text{a}$ (iron water hit –IMPF) ‘hail hits’, $raŋsan$ $kam$-$\text{a}$ (sun burn-CUST) ‘the sun burns’ (alt. ‘it’s hot’) and $balwa$ $\text{ganaŋ}$ (wind Exist) ‘wind is’ (alt. ‘the wind blows’) Also recorded but uncertain is the lexeme $balwa$ ‘wind’ used as a verb with zero valency, viz. $balwa$-$\text{aydona}$ (wind-PROG) ‘[it] is wind-ing’ in English: ‘the wind is blowing’.
In the next example we see the lexeme *dऋphu* ‘fart’ as a possessed noun. The Possessor is the first person singular *aऋ* ‘my’. The ability to be possessed is an
exclusively nominal characteristic. Example (329) shows three occurrences of the same lexical item \textit{diʔphu} ‘fart’: 1: as the predicate of a nominalised clause, 2: in the imperative, marked for future modality and 3: marked for change of state.

(328) “\textit{maʔ atoŋ kəɾəŋwa?’} nowacie, “\textit{aya naqa! ag diʔphusa’} nowano

[\textit{maʔ}] \{\textit{atoŋ}\} \{\textit{kəɾəŋ\ -wa}\} \{\textit{no\ -wa}\} \text{=ci} \text{=e} \text{aya} \{\textit{naʔa}\}
interj what make.noise -FACT say -FACT =LOC=FC excl 2s

[\textit{ag\ \ diʔ\ -phu}] =sa \{\textit{no\ -wa}\} =no
1s shit.blow =SIMP say -FACT=QUOT

‘When [the turtle] said “What? What was/is making that noise?”’, “Aya, oh you! just my fart” [the monkey] said, it is said.’

(329) “\textit{ag\ diʔphuna səkaydokay.’} “\textit{khaʔsinay diʔphubo’}, nookno. “\textit{həyts! khaʔsinay diʔphuni, khasin khasin’}, nookno. \textit{phon! diʔphuokno. maca thop kʰiʔokno, jalaŋokno}.

[\textit{ag}] \{\textit{diʔ\ -phu}\} _{=na} \{\textit{sək\ -aydok\ -ay}\} \{\textit{khaʔsin}\} \text{=ay}
1s shit -blow =DAT want -PROG =POS soft =ADV

\{\textit{diʔ\ -phu}\} _{=bo} \{\textit{no\ -ok}\} =no \{\textit{həyts}\} \{\textit{khaʔsin}\} \text{=ay}
shit -blow =IMP say -COS =QUOT excl.indignation soft =ADV

\{\textit{diʔ\ -phu\ -ni}\} \{\textit{khaʔsin\ khaʔsin}\} \{\textit{no\ -ok}\} =no
shit -blow =FUT soft RED say -COS =QUOT

[\textit{phon}] \{\textit{diʔ\ -phu\ -ok}\} =no \{\textit{maca\ thop}\} \{\textit{kʰiʔ\ -ok}\} =no
brap! shit -blow =COS =QUOT tiger sound.symbol hit -COS =QUOT

\{\textit{jal\ -ag\ -ok}\} =no
run.away -AWAY -COS=QUOT

‘“[I] want to fart really badly!” “Fart softly!”’, [he] said, it is said. “Huh! [I] will softly fart, softly”, [he] said, it is said. Brap!! [he] farted, it is said. [The fart] hit the tiger \textit{thop}, it is said [and the tiger] run away, it is said.’

The word \textit{diʔphu} ‘fart’ consists of the free morpheme \textit{diʔ} ‘shit’ and the bound morpheme \textit{–phu} which means something like ‘blow’ and also occurs in lexemes like \textit{gaŋ-phu} (be.erect-blow) ‘to swell’, \textit{haphu} (?-blow) ‘to blow’, \textit{tokhəphu} (neck-blow) and \textit{thaphu} (?-blow) ‘a blister’. It is, at least in the current state of research, not clear whether the lexeme \textit{diʔphu} ‘fart’ is basically nominal or verbal.
18.3 De-adjectival nouns or Denominal adjectives: zero derivation

There are two cases in which a noun corresponds to a Type 2 adjective with the same form. One of them is the morpheme *alaga*, which, as noun, has the meaning ‘someone else’ (330), and as Type 2 adjective has the meaning ‘other’ (331). The other correspondence is the morpheme *bedey*, which means ‘old man’ as a noun and ‘old (of persons)’ as a Type 2 adjective.

(330) *alagami nok*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[alaga =mi nok]} \\
\text{someone else = GEN house} \\
\text{‘someone else’s house’}
\end{array}
\]

(331) *nok alaga*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nok alaga]} \\
\text{house other} \\
\text{‘another house’}
\end{array}
\]

I cannot say in which function these words appear most frequently and thus it is impossible to establish whether they are basically nouns or Type 2 adjectives.

18.4 De-adjectival verbs

Type 2 adjectives can function as modifiers to nouns and as predicate heads. The simplicitive suffix <-ari> (SIMP), the event specifier suffix <-aŋ> (AWAY) and maybe other event specifier suffixes make Type 2 adjectives more verb-like. Firstly, by expanding the range of aspecual suffixes they can take. Type 2 adjectives marked with the simplicitive can occur with the customary aspect marker <-a> (CUST), which otherwise never happens (332). Secondly, on a Type 1 adjective with the event specifier <-aŋ> (AWAY), the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) no longer has the possibility of being interpreted as having an intensifying meaning (see §5.1) and can only be interpreted as denoting change of state (333). Thirdly, an adjective marked with an event specifier can only function as a predicate head. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the exact effects of event specifier suffixation on adjectives
are. De-adjectival verbs are not attested in the recorded stories but appear frequently in colloquial speech.

(332) \(\text{gapsanaria}\)

\[
\{\text{gapsan} -\text{ari} -\text{a}\}
\]

same -SIMP -CUST

‘[It’s] just the same.’

(333) \(\text{ətəkəyməŋ teʔdo janʔaŋokno baŋgaldo.}\)

\[
\text{ətəkəyməŋ} \ [\text{teʔ}] =\text{do} \ \{\text{janʔ} -\text{aŋ} -\text{ok}\} =\text{no} \ [\text{baŋgal}] =\text{do}
\]

so.then now =TOP far -AWAY -COS =QUOT Bengali =TOP

‘So now he had gotten far away, it is said, the Bengali.’

18.5 Making a noun more verb-like

The simplicitive suffix \(-\text{ari}\) (SIMP), the event specifier \(-\text{phin}\) (V back), and maybe other semantically compatible event specifiers, make nouns functioning as predicate heads more verb-like by expanding the range of aspectual categories they can express. Nominal predicate heads marked with the simplicitive can take the customary aspect marker \(-\text{a}\) (CUST), which nominal predicate heads otherwise cannot do. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the exact effects of event specifier suffixation on nouns are. Nominal predicate heads with the simplicitive and the customary aspect are not attested in recorded stories but occur frequently in colloquial speech.

(334) \(\text{geʔtheŋmiba bajuaria}\)

\[
\{[\text{geʔtheŋ}] =\text{mi} =\text{ba} \ \text{baju} -\text{ari} -\text{a}\}
\]

3s =GEN=EMPH friend -SIMP-CUST

‘[She] is just his friend.’

The noun \(\text{kăn}^*\ ‘\text{body (of human)}’\) can be used as a verb after suffixation of the event specifier \(-\text{phin}\) (V back), viz. \(\text{kăn}^\text{phin}^-\ ‘\text{to turn to/on the side (of the body)}’\) (335).
(335)  *geʔthen kanʔphinay jəwaroŋ*

\[
[geʔthen] \{kanʔ -phin\} =ay \{jəw -aroŋ\}
\]
3s side.of.body-RETURN =ADV sleep -PROG

‘He is sleeping on his side.’

### 18.6 Deverbal and de-adjectival adverbs by reduplication

Verbal and adjectival (both types) roots, possibly enhanced with event specifier suffixes, can be reduplicated to modify the following predicate head. Example (336) illustrates a reduplicated verbal stem, (337) shows a reduplicated Type 1 adjective with event specifier suffix, and in (480) and (338) we see a reduplicated Type 2 adjective. The deverbal and de-adjectival adverbs cannot take arguments.

(336)  *uci amakməŋ diʔsa cəret cəret hoŋkhotaydoŋano.*

\[
uci \{amak =məŋ diʔ\} =sa \{cəret cəret\}
\]
then monkey =GEN shit =DLIM squirt RED

\{hoŋkhot -aydoŋa\} =no

come.out -PROG =QUOT

‘Then the monkey’s shit came squirting out.’ Literally ‘squirtingly came out’.

(337)  *stəkəymu teʔdo jaraw jaraw roŋʔci pəyʔthatayməŋ rəpaydokno pherudo.*

\[
stəkəymu \{teʔ\} =do \{ja -raw ja-raw\} \{roŋʔ\} =ci
\]
so.then now =TOP long.time -CONTINUOUSLY RED stone =LOC

\{pəyʔ -that\} =ay =məŋ

hold.on.to -EXCESSIVELY =ADV =SEQ

\{rəp -əg -thiri -ok\} =no \{pheru\} =do

stay.in.water -AWAY -AGAIN -COS =QUOT fox =TOP

‘So then, now, [he] held on tightly to a stone and stayed in the water again for a long time it is said, the fox.’
(338) [...] khasin khasin gumukawan palọŋci jalgaligaraŋaw jəkthangthangaw jumuphənnaakno.

\{khasin khasin\}
slow RED
[gumuk] =aw =an [[palọŋ] =ci {jəl} =gaba] =darang =aw
all =ACC =FC/ID jungle =LOC run.away=ATTR =p =ACC
[jək -thang -thang] =aw \{jumu -phən -a -ak\} =no
spouse -own -RED =ACC collect-again -TOWARDS -COS =QUOT
‘[...the women] slowly collected everybody again, their own husbands, [the ones who] had run away to the jungle, it is said.’

(339) naʔnāndəŋdəŋ dəŋdəŋ hapsan gəlgəlni

[nəʔnəŋ] [dəŋdəŋ dəŋdəŋ] [hapsan] \{gəlgəl -ni\}
1pi alone RED together roam -FUT
‘We both will roam alone in different places.’

18.7 Deverbal adverbs by zero derivation

Verbal roots and stems, i.e. the root plus stem-forming suffixes (see Table 63), can function as adverbs modifying an immediately following predicate head. The deverbal adverb cannot take any arguments. Here below are some illustrative examples of this phenomenon.

Another possible analysis of this construction is to say that the bare verbal root or stem is incorporated into the predicate of the verb it modifies. However, it appears to be possible to separate the two verbs with other elements in colloquial speech. More fieldwork is needed to test the grammaticality of the construction when elements intervene between the two verbs.

In (340) the verb ray-thiri-thiri ‘go again’ functions adverbially to the verb muʔ ‘stay’. The verb muʔ ‘stay’ adds the aspectual value of durativity to the clause, which is reflected in the English translation with ‘keep’.
Adverbialised verbs often occur in support verb constructions with the verbs tak- ‘to do’ and khaʔ- ‘to do’ (see Chapter 22), as illustrated in the following examples.

(341) magacakmi manʔdo təysiwa ci -an

[ magacak =mi  manʔ ] =do  { təysi -wa } =ci -an
deer =GEN  body.hair =TOP  wet =FACT =LOC =FC/ID

[ miniksuru ] { tak -jol  ari -a } =no =ro
be.flat-haired  do  -QUICKLY -SIMP -CUST =QUOT =EMPH

‘As for the deer’s body hair, when [it] is wet [it] just quickly gets flat-haired, it is said.’

(342) […] ‘phalthaŋ peŋʔay tanangabaw raʔphin khaʔna, deyet khaʔna” noymu,
bandiaw watetna cayaydokno.

[[phalthaŋ] { peŋʔ } =ay  { tan -aŋ } =gaba ] =aw  [ raʔ -phin ] { khaʔ } =na
self  curse =ADV  put  -AWAY =ATTR =ACC  get-back  do  =DAT

[ deŋ -et ] { khaʔ } =na  { no } =ay =mu
untie  -CAUS  do  =DAT say  =ADV =SEQ

[ bandi ] =aw  { wat -et } =na  { canci -aydok } =no
Name =ACC  send  -CAUS  =DAT  think  -PROG =QUOT

‘[…the supreme god] [I] want to undo [literally: ‘to get back’], to untie the curse which [I] [my]self have put [upon the village], [he] said and, [he] was/is thinking about sending Bandi, it is said.’
18.8 Denominal adverbs

Adverbs can be derived from nouns by reduplication. The results of these processes can be classified in terms of their adverbial versus nominal character as illustrated in Table 55.

Table 55 The properties of denominal adverbs compared to those of adverbs and nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVERBS</th>
<th>ADVERBIALISED NOUNS</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REDUPLICATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TEMPORAL NOUNS</td>
<td>OTHER NOUNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can function as head of a predicate</td>
<td>can function as head of a predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cannot take case marking</td>
<td>not attested with case marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can modify adjectives and verbs</td>
<td>cannot modify verbs and adjectives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see in Table 55 the adverbialised temporal nouns, i.e. nouns denoting a period of time, are most adverbial, while all other adverbialised nouns still display a nominal property, i.e. they can take case-marking. On adverbial temporal nouns, e.g. (344), case marking is never attested, whereas example (345) has case marking on a non-temporal denominal adverb.

(344) *ayaw nawməl san sanba nangʔnaba khaʔgalwa jamcaaydok.*

*ayaw [nawməl] [san san] =ba [nangʔ] =na =ba excl unmarried.girl day RED =EMPH 2s =DAT=EMPH

{khaʔgal -wa} {jam-ca -aydok} love -FACT stop -NEG-PROG

‘The girls are not stopping to love you every day.’

(343) *stəkmaʔciba uba saʔgərayba jumu khaʔthirithirioknotə y.*

*stəkmaʔciba [u =ba saʔgəray] =ba but DST=EMPH child =EMPH [jumu] {khaʔ -thiri -thiri -ok} =no =tyi} reassemble do -AGAIN -RED -COS =QUOT=MIR

‘But that child reassembled once again, it is said to our surprise.’
Then, the whole village having come together, [they] will divide the land plot by plot.’

In example (345) we see an overlap of clausal functions, viz. affected participant and adverbial clause. The reduplication in (345) has case marking because not only does it indicate the way in which the action denoted by the verb takes place, the adverbial function, but the reduplicated noun is also marked by the speaker as the O argument with the accusative enclitic in (ACC), because the plots of land are what is seen as most affected by the verb sowal- ‘to divide’ and as a topical NP. It is impossible to determine whether the NP haʔba ‘dry rice and vegetable field’ is in S or O function in the clause, since we can interpret the verb as being used as an SO ambitransitive or as transitive with an ellipsed A, which would be coreferential with soŋ=gumuk (village=whole) ‘the whole village’. O arguments can be unmarked in Atong and case marking is primarily semantically and pragmatically based.

18.9 Nominalisation

Nominalisation creates a noun denoting a person from a verb by using only a verbal root plus nominal derivational enclitic or a root plus an event specifier. Bare verbal

---

39 It is possible for a clause in Atong to contain two accusative-marked arguments, i.e. in sentences with a causativised transitive verb where Causee and O are both accusative-marked and in clauses as illustrated by the following example. In that example the first NP, sam ‘grass’, is semantic patient and the second, caʔ ‘foot/leg’ an instrument.

samaw caʔaw itəkəy tokano.

[39] samaw caʔaw itəkəy tokano.

gras =ACC foot =ACC PRX =LIKE hit -CUST =QUOT

[They] trample the grass like this with [their] feet.’
roots are not attested as nominalised person noun derivations. Nouns denoting a person are attested in predicate head function, as clausal constituent and as term of address. Both phenomena, the root plus nominal derivational enclitic or a root plus an event specifier, can be called ‘zero-marked nominalisation’ because the derivation is semantic and syntactic but not formal, i.e. there is no specific nominaliser morpheme involved. As for the verbal roots with phrasal enclitics, one can also say that the enclitics act as nominalisers.

Most derived person nouns come from transitive verbs, but, when semantically appropriate in the right context, also from intransitive ones, as we can see in (347). Derived person nouns can take nominal inflectional and derivational morphology.

Example (346) comes from a contemporary Atong rap song by Samrat Nokrek Marak. In this example the two derived person nouns məkca ‘sweetheart’ and khaʔgal ‘love’, i.e. ‘person who someone loves’, both carry the third person A/S co-referential possessive derivational enclitic <=thaŋ> (OWN). Both derived person nouns are interpreted as Patient nominalisations.

(346)  muʔ, muʔ, caʔmethaŋmu muʔ. məkcathaŋ khaʔgalthaŋ je səkgamu muʔ.

| stay stay sweetheart =OWN =COM stay |
| fancy love =OWN whoever want =ATTR =COM stay |

‘Stay, stay, stay with your sweetheart. With the one [you] fancy, with your love, with whoever [you] want, stay.’

A verbal root or stem can possibly be an imperative. However, in Text 2, line 32 we find the clause represented here for convenience as (347). And there we see that the clause contains a topical S argument, which would not be possible if the clause were an imperative since imperatives in Atong are second person only. Thus, the verbal form can be analysed as a partial nominalisation indicating a person. Other examples of this grammatical phenomenon are (348) and (349).

An alternative analysis of the unmarked forms verbal roots or stems in (347) and (348) is the following: these forms are actually verbs functioning as predicate heads of declarative clauses but without any predicate marking and hence with an habitual
overtone. This analysis is problematic for (349), since the bare stem is used as address term, but this could well be explained as a pragmatic interpretation.

(347)  aŋdo  niʔsəraŋ.

\[ aŋ \] =do \{[niʔ -səraŋ]_{NP}\}_{PH}
1s =TOP not.exist -TOTALLY
‘I’m a total not-haver.’ Alternatively: ‘I totally never have [a girlfriend].’

Other examples of zero-marked nominalisation are given here below. The context in which these occur is as follows. The story teller is saying how precious the soil of the Garo Hills is, but that the Atong and Garo do not know how to make use of it. And then the foreigners came and they are so great and rich. They have big salaries, they can read and study and do not bother their mother. How much do they earn in a month? They always have enough money to meet expenses. This is not so with the Garo and Atong, because (348).

(348)  naʔnaŋacido  tiktikca.  saʔbongboŋ  raʔbongboŋ.  manʔgabaa  saʔphet  raʔphet.

\[ naʔnaŋ \] =ci =do \{[tiktik] -ca\}
1pi =LOC=TOP be.sufficient -NEG
\{[saʔ -bongboŋ]\} \{[raŋ -bongboŋ]\}
eat -MORE.THAN.NECESSARY drink -MORE.THAN.NECESSARY
\{[manʔ] \} =gaba =aw \{[saʔ -phet]\} \{[raŋ -phet]\}
have =ATTR =ACC eat -TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT drink -TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT
‘We do not meet our expenses with out money. (Lit. ‘At us [it is] not sufficient’.) [We are] gluttons and drunks.’ Alternatively: ‘[We] always eat too much and drink too much.’ ‘Those who are rich (Literally: ‘those who have’) are self-destructive drunks and gluttons’ Alternatively: ‘Those who are rich always eat and drink to their detriment.’

Zero-marked nominalisations can be used in an address term function, i.e. something to call a person. One of the most frequently used is shown in (349):

(349)  reʔeŋ  butaŋ!

\{reʔeŋ\} \{but \-ap\}
go.away penetrate -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK
‘Go away, fucker!’
Zero-marked nominalisations are not attested with arguments, i.e. as a clause. So it might well be that they have lost this verbal property. More fieldwork is needed to find out exactly what the morphological and syntactic properties these zero-marked nominalisations have. It would be interesting to know if these zero-marked nominalisers can be modified with demonstratives and occur in possessive constructions. I have the strong impression that the process of zero-marked nominalisation is either not fully productive or that only certain, semantically suitable verbs used in the right context can take part in this process, i.e. zero-marked nominalisation could be pragmatically constrained. More fieldwork needs to be carried out to find out what exactly these pragmatic constraints are.
Chapter 19 Phrasal enclitics

Phrasal enclitics are grammatical words that modify a phrase and occur in a fixed position at the end of the phrase, irrespective of whether the last constituent of that phrase is the head or not (see Anderson, 1992). For a phrasal enclitic to occur, its semantics must be compatible with the semantics of the phrase they enclitise to. Table 56 gives an overview of the phrasal enclitics in Atong. Some of the enclitics, indicated in the table, also function as clausal enclitics. All the enclitics will be described one by one below, except for the case markers, which are treated in Chapter 20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>MORPHEME</th>
<th>LABEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>&lt;thaj&gt;</td>
<td>(OWN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>&lt;maran&gt;</td>
<td>(RC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>&lt;dərap&gt;</td>
<td>(p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantifier</td>
<td>&lt;gumuk&gt;</td>
<td>‘all, whole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>&lt;pek&gt;</td>
<td>(DIS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>&lt;tara&gt;</td>
<td>(EXCLUSIVELY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privative</td>
<td>&lt;nay ~ =ni&gt;</td>
<td>(PRIV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privative</td>
<td>&lt;rl&gt;</td>
<td>(LOST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational/quantificational-delimitative</td>
<td>&lt;rara&gt;</td>
<td>(AMONG/ALL, EXCLUSIVELY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associative</td>
<td>&lt;para&gt;</td>
<td>(&amp;co)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alternative</td>
<td>&lt;sega ~ =siga&gt;</td>
<td>(ALT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>additive/emphatic</td>
<td>&lt;ba&gt;</td>
<td>(ADD/EMPH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus/identifier</td>
<td>&lt;an&gt;</td>
<td>(FC/ID)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic</td>
<td>&lt;do&gt;</td>
<td>(TOP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>&lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>(FC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delimitative</td>
<td>&lt;sa&gt;</td>
<td>(DLIM) Also clausal enclitic, treated in §11.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>case marking enclitics (see Table 58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19.1 The possessive enclitic \(<=\text{thaŋ}\>

The NP enclitic \(<=\text{thaŋ}\>\) (OWN) has two functions. One function is as a third person co-referential possessor marker. The enclitic codes intra-clausal co-reference with the S or A of the clause which is the possessor of the constituent marked by \(<=\text{thaŋ}\>\) (OWN), e.g. (766) and (351).

\(\text{(350)}\)

\text{ətəkəyməŋ teʔewdo amakdo nokthangcina doŋŋwacido naʔ niʔoknoa.}

\text{ətəkəyməŋ teʔew =do [amak]s =do [nok] =\text{thaŋ} =ci =na}

\text{so.then now =TOP monkey =TOP house -SF.own =LOC=DAT}

\{doŋ -aŋ -wa\} =ci =do [naʔ] \{niʔ -ok\} =no

\text{enter -AWAY -FACT =LOC=TOP fish NEG.be -COS =QUOT}

‘So then, now, when the monkey reached his own house, there was no more fish left.’

In example (351) the morpheme \(<=\text{thaŋ}\>\) (OWN) is coreferential with the A argument, viz. \text{amak=ba} (monkey-EMPH) ‘monkey’ of the clause and not with the genitive-marked NP constituent \text{rupek-məŋ} (frog=GEN).

\(\text{(351)}\)

\text{[…] noay takaidoŋano, amakba, rupekmaŋ bayʔsigathangaba budiaw təŋsəmay takayməŋ.}

\{no\} =ay \{tak =aydoŋa\} =no \[amak\] =ba

\text{say =ADV do -PROG =QUOT monkey -EMPH}

\[rupek =məŋ bayʔsiga\] =\text{thaŋ} =gaba \[budi\] =aw

\text{frog =GEN friend OWN =DREL -trick=ACC}

\{təŋ -səm\} =ay \{tak\} =ay =məŋ

\text{know-IMITATE=ADV do =ADV =SEQ}

‘[“Just look in my mind later”] [he] said, the monkey, having remembered and imitated the trick of his own friend the frog.’ Literally: ‘[…] sayingly did [he], the monkey, having think-followed the trick of his own friend the frog.’

The possessive is the only enclitic that can be reduplicated; the reduplication indicates plurality of the S/A referent, as we can see in examples (352).
The other function of \(<=\text{thaj}\>\) is that of a marker of kinship terms (Chapter 1) independently of the syntactic function this noun has in the clause.

### 19.2 The reciprocal enclitic \(<=\text{maran}\>\)

The enclitic \(<=\text{maran}\>\) (RC) indicates reciprocity on NPs and indicates plurality. It occurs only on NPs referring to kinship relations and other interpersonal relations and seldom occurs without the possessive enclitic \(<=\text{thaj}\>\) (OWN) preceding it. When the enclitic \(<=\text{maran}\>\) (RC) is added to an NP, the NP refers to a group of two or more people that are at the same time Possessor and Possessee, which makes the possessive relationship reciprocal. Examples (353) and (354) are illustrative of the usual co-occurrence of the reciprocal and the possessive enclitics.

(353) \(\text{ətəkəyməŋ bayʔsigathəṇmaran təy dukuŋokno dukuŋokno dukuŋokno.}\)

\(\text{ətəkəyməŋ}[\text{bayʔsiga}] =\text{thaj} =\text{maran} [\text{təy}] \{\text{dukuŋ-ok}\} =\text{no}\)

so.then friend OWN =RC water dam.up-COS =QUOT

\(\{\text{dukuŋ-ok}\} =\text{no}\) \(\{\text{dukuŋ-ok}\} =\text{no}\)

dam.up-COS =QUOT dam.up-COS =QUOT

‘So then, the mutual friends dammed up the water and dammed [it] up and dammed [it] up.’
The titles of TEXT 1 and 2, viz. sadu=than=maran məŋʔ tham (the.relationship.
between.men.whose.wives.are.sisters=OWN=RC CLS:HUMANS three) ‘The three
brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’, prove that NPs with a reciprocal enclitic can
also refer to a reciprocal possessive relationship between more than two persons.
19.3 The plural enclitic <\textasciitilde{\text{=dara\text{\textasciitilde}~\text{=dara\text{\textasciitilde}}}}>

The morpheme \textasciitilde{\text{=dara\text{\textasciitilde}~\text{=dara\text{\textasciitilde}}}}\ (p), whose allomorphs are in free variation, indicates plurality on NPs with countable nouns and quantification on NPs with uncountable nouns as their head. This enclitic also occurs on demonstratives. The distal demonstrative functioning as personal pronoun has a personal pronoun plural form \textit{utam ~ atam} \ (3p). NPs in Atong do not have to be marked for plural to indicate plurality of the referents. The plural enclitic is thus used on NPs with countable nouns:

\begin{itemize}
  \item to indicate plurality in a context in which the plurality of the nominal referent would not otherwise be evident, e.g. (357), (358).
  \item to emphasise the notion of plurality of the referents, e.g. (359), (364),
  \item to indicate plurality or multiple occurrence when it appears on time words (360).
\end{itemize}

The following example is the opening sentence of a story. Plural marking on the NP is used here to disambiguate the fact that there was more that one animal, since no previous context is available for disambiguation.

(357) \textit{sagaba matbərəŋdəraŋ : “naʔnaŋdo raja niʔkhua”}.

\begin{align*}
\textit{s\text{-\textasciitilde}gaba} & \ [\textit{matbərəŋ} ] =\textit{daraŋ} \ [\textit{naʔnaŋ} =\textit{do} ] \ [\textit{raja} \{\textit{niʔ -khu -a}\} \ \\
\text{one-ATTR} & \text{animal } \ =\text{p} \ \text{1pi } \ =\text{TOP} \ \text{king } \ =\text{INCOM-CUST} \ \\
\text{‘Firstly the animals } & \text{[said]: “We\text{’} don’t have a king yet.”} \\
\end{align*}

The plural marking in (358) is used by the speaker to indicate that he is taking about all the foreign people, i.e. white people, instead of just about the one in the audience, i.e. the author.

(358) \textit{mayawdo paŋʔay saʔca phorenmi morotdəraŋdo}.

\begin{align*}
\textit{m}\text{-\textasciitilde}ay -\text{aw} & \ =\textit{do} \ \{\textit{paŋʔ} \} =\textit{ay} \ \{\textit{saʔ -ca}\} \ \\
\text{rice } & \ =\text{ACC}\text{=TOP} \ \text{much } \ =\text{ADV} \ \text{eat } \ =\text{NEG} \ \\
[\textit{phoren} =\textit{mi} \ \text{morot} ] & =\textit{daraŋ} =\textit{do} \ \\
\text{foreign } & \ =\text{GEN}\text{person } =\text{p} \ \ =\text{TOP} \ \\
\text{‘[They] don’t eat a lot of rice, foreign people.’} \\
\end{align*}
Example (359) illustrates the use of the plural enclitic to emphasise the notion of plurality of the referents.

(359) \(\text{atəkəyməŋ naʔdəraŋdo uaw rukpek bisi rəŋaymu gumukan thəytokoknoa.}\)

\(\text{atəkəyməŋ [naʔ] =daraŋ =do [u =aw rupek bisi] \{rəŋ\} =ay =mu}\)

so.then fish =p =TOP DST=ACC frog poison drink=ADV =SEQ

\([\text{gumuk}] =an \{\text{thəy-}o\k\} =noa\)

all =FC/ID die -COS =QUOT

‘So then, fish, having drunk that frog’s poison, all died, it is said.’

That the plural enclitic <\=daraŋ ~ =dəraŋ> (p) can indicate plurality or multiple occurrence in a very abstract way becomes clear when it appears on abstract nouns like in example (360) here below, where \(\text{somay, an Indic loan, is an abstract noun meaning ‘time’}\. The example describes a recurring event, a custom, which is also indicated by the customary aspect morpheme on the prediacte head. The use of the word \(\text{somay} ‘time’ in the plural is reminiscent of the plural use of the English word ‘time’ in sentences as ‘in those times one went to school at seven’ or ‘during times of crisis...’.

(360) \(\text{umuŋdo marsja somaydaraŋci sawʔa.}\)

\(\text{umuŋ} =do [\text{mars ja} =cι \text{somay}] =daraŋ =cι \{\text{sawʔ} -a}\)

CONJ =TOP March month =LOC time =p =LOC burn -CUST

‘So then, whenever March comes [you] burn [the jungle].’ Literally: ‘So then, in the times of month of March...

Example (361) here below shows that when the event is not recurring there is no plural marking on \(\text{somay} ‘time’ in the same construction as above in (360).
In the past, when I was a small child, as for a so called nokma, only [someone] who was rich (lit. ‘eats in great amounts’) [and] whose wealth was great was called a nokma.

The plural morpheme on NPs referring to uncountable or mass nouns can indicate a great quantity of some substance, e.g. (362). In that example we see the NP with the uncountable noun may ‘rice’ as its head.

The enclitic <daraŋ ~ dəraŋ> (p) can occur on quantified NPs with a numeral higher than one:
- to reinforce the notion of plurality.
- to indicate that the number is approximate (see §11.5).

Context is an important factor for the interpretation of the plural marker on a quantified NP. The plural marker is not attested on NPs containing the numeral one. Atong has no numeral for zero.

Example (363) illustrates that it is not necessary to mark a noun for plural when the context already indicates this. The words saʔ ‘child’ and saʔgəray ‘child’, in bold face, are not marked for plural throughout the text, although it is clear from the start that the referents are plural. This example contrasts with example (364) below where the plural is used to emphasise the plurality of the referents of the same word saʔ ‘child’.
'Now the crocodile had seven children, it is said. “Jee, friend, you have a lot of children! Send me three of your children to teach”, sayingly asked the fox. Then the fox said, it is said: “Your children can read very well. Why would you like to keep your [other] children at home?” [he] said. [and he asked to teach the other four as well]. Now the fox had already devoured (lit. ‘bitingly eaten’) [them], it is said, the children.'
19.4 The quantifier enclitic $<=$gumuk$>=$

As can be seen in example (359), the enclitic gumuk can occur as a noun on its own meaning 'all, everything, everybody’. The same morpheme can be cliticised to other NPs and demonstratives with the meaning 'all, whole’. This is demonstrated in examples (365) and (366). The enclitic can attach to NPs with both countable and uncountable nouns. In the example below the enclitic occurs on countable nouns. An example of $<=$gumuk$>$ on an uncountable noun is [jangi khen-wa]=gumuk (life live-FACT=whole) ‘[your] whole life’.

(365) songumukan ue moŋma wana waykhurataysa boli hənʔaysa maŋay saʔthokwano.

\[
\begin{align*}
[soŋ] & =gumuk & =an & [ue moŋma wa] & =na & \text{village} & =\text{whole} & =\text{FC/ID DST elephant tooth} & =\text{DAT} \\
\{\text{way khurat}\} & =ay & =sa & \{\text{boli hənʔ}\} & =ay & =sa & \text{spirit} & =\text{incantate}=\text{ADV} & =\text{ADV}=\text{DLIM} \\
\{\text{manʔ} & =ay\} & \{\text{saʔ -thok -wa}\} & =no & \text{in.great.amounts}=\text{ADV} & \text{eat} & -\text{ALL} -\text{FACT} =\text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The whole village, [because] [they] prayed to the elephant tusk [and because] [they] gave offerings, [they] all became rich, it is said.’

(366) ətem məŋʔ nie sangumuk gələlarəŋno

\[
\begin{align*}
[ətem məŋʔ & ni] & =e & [san] & =gumuk & \{gələl -aroŋ\} & =no & \text{3p CLF:HUMANS two} & =\text{FC day} & =\text{whole roam} & =\text{PROG} =\text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The two of them are roaming the whole day, it is said.’

19.5 The distributive enclitic $<=$pek$>=$

The distributive enclitic $<=$pek$>$ (DIS) can be reduplicated to reinforce a notion of plurality of the referent to which it is enclitisised. The enclitic occurs on nouns (367) and numeral classifiers (368) and is only attested with reference to countable nouns.
(367) paleŋma buruŋbaŋabaŋa hawʔwaan puŋpek phiŋano.

\[
\text{[paleŋma} \quad \text{buriŋ baga baga} \{\text{hawʔ -wa}\} = \text{an}
\]

\[
\text{type.of.plant} \quad \text{bush} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{RED} \quad \text{clear} \quad \text{-FACT} = \text{FC/ID}
\]

\[
\text{[puŋ]} \quad \text{pek} \{\text{phiŋ -a}\} = \text{no}
\]

\[
\text{rice.stock.house} = \text{DIS} \quad \text{be.full} \quad \text{-CUST} = \text{QUOT}
\]

‘[They] cut five bushes of Barebinia xariegata each [and] one rice stock house each was filled, it is said.’

(368) aca naŋʔtəme aŋa sanci maŋpek hənʔni […]

\[
\text{aca} \quad \{\text{naŋʔ-təm}\} = \text{e} \quad \text{[aŋa]} \quad \{\text{san}\} = \text{ci} \quad \{\text{maŋ}\} \quad \text{pek} \quad \{\text{hənʔ -ni}\}
\]

\[
\text{interj} \quad 2\text{s} \quad \text{-ppp} = \text{FC} \quad 1\text{s} \quad \text{day} = \text{LOC} \quad \text{CLF.ANIMALS} = \text{DIS} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{-FUT}
\]

‘“Right then, you shall give me one of each animal [every] day”, [the lion said, it is said].’

19.6 The “exclusive” enclitic <\text{=tara}> 

The morpheme <\text{=tara}> (EXCLUSIVELY) can be understood as indicating ‘exclusively the referent’. The following examples illustrate this.

(369) morot maŋʔ sa ganaŋno. uba jəwʔtaraanokno. waʔ niʔokno.

\[
\text{[morot} \quad \text{maŋʔ} \quad \{\text{sa}\} \quad \{\text{ganaŋ}\} = \text{no}
\]

\[
\text{person} \quad \text{CLF.HUMANS} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{exist} = \text{QUOT}
\]

\[
\text{[u]} = \text{ba} \quad \{\text{jəwʔ}\} = \text{tara} \quad \{\text{an} \quad \text{-ok}\} = \text{no}
\]

\[
\text{DST=} \text{EMBH} \quad \text{mother} = \text{EXCLUSIVELY} = \text{FC/ID} \quad \text{-COS} = \text{QUOT}
\]

\[
\text{[waʔ]} \quad \{\text{niʔ} \quad \text{-ok}\} = \text{no}
\]

\[
\text{father} \quad \text{not.exist} \quad \text{-COS} = \text{QUOT}
\]

‘There is one person, it is said. She has become a single mother, it is said. There is no more father, it is said.’

(370) umigəmən naʔnaŋie haʔgəlsakci phalthaŋawtara cuŋnu kna naŋarica, 
gumukan hapsan raʔna naŋa.

\[
\text{[u =mi} \quad \text{gəmən} \quad \{\text{naʔnaŋ\}} = \text{e} \quad \{\text{ie} \quad \text{haʔgəlsak}\} = \text{ci}
\]

\[
\text{DST=} \text{GEN} \quad \text{reason} \quad \text{1pi} = \text{FC} \quad \text{PRX} \quad \text{world} = \text{LOC}
\]

\[
\text{[phalthaŋ]} = \text{aw} = \text{tara} \quad \{\text{cuŋ}\} \quad \{\text{nuk}\} = \text{na} \quad \{\text{naŋ -ari -ca}\}
\]

\[
\text{self} = \text{ACC-only} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{see} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{must} - \text{SIMP-NEG}
\]

\[
\text{[gumuk]} = \text{an} \quad \{\text{hapsan}\} \quad \{\text{raʔ\}} = \text{na} \quad \{\text{naŋ -a}\}
\]

\[
\text{everybody} = \text{FC/ID} \quad \text{same} \quad \text{take} = \text{DAT} \quad \text{must} - \text{CUST}
\]

‘Therefore we must not just consider only ourselves as big in this world, [we] have to consider everybody [as being] the same.'
19.7 The privative enclitics \(<=\text{nay} \sim =\text{ni}>\) and \(<=\text{ri}>\)

The enclitic \(<=\text{nay} \sim =\text{ni}>\) (PRIV) is most probably an Indic loan, cf the Hindi negative morpheme नहीं /nahi/. The allomorphs of the privative enclitic \(<=\text{nay} \sim =\text{ni}>\) (PRIV) are in free variation, the allomorph \(<=\text{nay}>\) is predominant in the Badri area whereas \(<=\text{ni}>\) is most often used in Siju. The difference between the two morphemes is that \(<=\text{ri}>\) (LOST) means that something was lost and therefore not present whereas \(<=\text{nay} \sim =\text{ni}>\) (PRIV) simply indicates that something is not present (372). There are only two occurrences of \(<=\text{ri}>\) (LOST) in the recorded corpus; they are represented here below in (371).

(371) haʔgəlsakci aŋa jəkri muʔwaba, uanarinaka, saʔri paragwaba, […].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[haʔgəlsak]} & =\text{ci} & [aŋa] & =\text{ri} & \{\text{muʔ}-\text{wa}\} & =\text{ba} \\
\text{world} & =\text{LOC} & 1\text{s wife} & =\text{LOST} & \text{stay-FACT} & =\text{EMPH} \\
\{[u] & =\text{an} & -\text{ari} & -\text{naka}\} & [səʔ] & =\text{ri} & \{\text{paraŋ} & -\text{wa}\} & =\text{ba} \\
\text{DST} & =\text{FC/ID} & -\text{SIMP} & -\text{IFT} & \text{child} & =\text{LOST} & \text{wander.around-FACT} & =\text{EMPH}
\end{align*}
\]

'I lived in the world having lost a wife indeed, it will just be the same, [I] wandered around having lost [my] children indeed, [it will be the same. What benefit is there in being married to you?].'

(372) cininəy·ca takbo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[cininəy]} & =\text{nay} & [\text{ca}] & =\text{bo} \\
\text{sugar} & =\text{PRIV} & \text{tea} & =\text{mak}=\text{IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

'Make tea without sugar.'

19.8 The enclitic \(<=\text{rara}>\)

The morpheme \(<=\text{rara}>\) ‘among, all/exclusively’ has two meanings, viz. a locational one and an quantificational/delimitative one. The locational sense is illustrated in (373), (374) and (379) below, where seems to indicate category of origin to which something belongs.
HRASAL ENCLITICS

(373) teʔdo geʔtheyŋtheyŋ do bobarara məŋʔni golpho kaʔrukokno.

\[
\text{[teʔdo]} = \text{do} \quad \text{[geʔtheyŋtheyŋ]} = \text{do} \quad \text{[boba]} = \text{rararararararararararara}
\]

\[
\text{[məŋʔ-ni]} = \text{TOP 3p crazy.person =AMONG CLF.HUMANS -two}
\]

\{[gol]pho\ \kaʔ-ruk\ \-ok\} = \text{no}

\[
\text{story do -RC -COS = QUOT}
\]

‘Now then, the crazy men amongst each other, two of them, talked [lit. ‘did story’] to each other, it is said.’

(374) alsia rajado morotaraanno.

\[
\text{[alsia\ \raja]} = \text{do} \quad \text{[morot]} = \text{an}
\]

\[
\text{laz\ y\ king = TOP human -AMONG = FC/ID = QUOT}
\]

‘The lazy king is only a human, it is said.’ Alternatively: ‘the lazy king is from among the humans.’

The quantificational/delimitative function of the enclitic <rararararararararararara> is illustrated in the following example.

(375) utəme morote gawigababa biphagababa bobirara bobararanowa.

\[
\text{[u\ \-təm]} = \text{e} \quad \text{[morot]} = \text{e} \quad \text{[gawigaba]=ba} \quad \text{[biphagaba] =ba}
\]

\[
\text{DST-ppp = FC person = FC wife =ADD husband =ADD}
\]

\{[bob]\} = \text{rararararararararararara}

\[
\text{crazy.woman = ALL/EXCLUSIVELY}
\]

\{[bob] = \text{rararararararararararara}\}

\[
\text{crazy.man = ALL/EXCLUSIVELY = QUOT - FACT}
\]

‘They, these people, the wives and husbands, [are] all crazy women and crazy men, it is said.’

19.9 The associative enclitic <para>.

The associative only occurs on personal names (376), kinship terms (377) and on nouns denoting persons or animals, but only when the animals act like persons in stories (378). The associative indicates that the referent belongs to a group of people associated with a named person (see Moravcsik, 2003). In two instances an associative-marked noun has been lexicalised, viz. ama=para (mother-&co) and jəwʔ=para (mother-&co) both mean ‘mother’s household/mother’s house’. The associative can be enclitisised to an NP in any function in the clause.
19.10 The “alternative” enclitic <$sega ~ =siga$>

The two allomorphs of the alternative enclitic <$sega ~ =siga$> (ALT) are in free variation. However, the allomorph <$siga$> predominates in the Badri area while the allomorph <$sega$> predominates in Siju. Apart from alternative marker on nouns, this morpheme also occurs with the same meaning as event specifier on verbal and adjectival predicate heads (see Table 68). The meaning of <$sega ~ =siga$> (ALT) is ‘X in turn’, the other’, ‘next’.

The noun marked with the alternative often stands in a possessor-possessed relationship with another noun which can be marked with the genitive case as in (379) or be unmarked for case as in (380).
morotmi morotsigaaw joŋni joŋsigaaw bayʔsakrara kakrukok. soŋsami soŋsigacina nawrukok taniʔrukok.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[morot]} &= \text{mi} \quad \text{[morot]} = \text{sigasiga sigasiga} = \text{aw} \\
\text{man} &= \text{GEN} \quad \text{man} = \text{ALT} = \text{ACC} \\
\text{brother} &= \text{GEN} \quad \text{brother} = \text{ALT} = \text{ACC} \\
\text{[bayʔsak]} &= \text{rara} \quad \{\text{kak} - \text{ruk} - \text{ok}\} \\
\text{friend} &= \text{AMONG} \quad \text{bite} = \text{RC} - \text{COS} \\
\text{[soŋ sa]} &= \text{mi} \quad \text{[soŋ]} = \text{sigasiga} = \text{ci} = \text{na} \quad \text{village one} = \text{GEN} \quad \text{village} = \text{ALT} = \text{LOC} = \text{DAT} \\
\{\text{naw} - \text{ruk} - \text{ok}\} \quad \{\text{tan} - \text{ruk} - \text{ok}\} \\
\text{scold} = \text{RC} - \text{COS} \quad \text{slay} = \text{RC} - \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Fellow men and brothers fought with each other among friends. From one village to the next [people] scolded each other and slew each other.’ Literally: ‘man [and] man in turn, brother [and] brother in turn’.

ucie sunibalsansegaci phetokno

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ucie} \quad \text{[sunibal san]} &= \text{segasga segasga} = \text{ci} \quad \{\text{phet} - \text{wa}\} = \text{no} \\
\text{then} \quad \text{Saturday} \quad \text{day} = \text{ALT} \quad \text{arrive} = \text{FACT} = \text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then he arrived the day after Saturday, it is said.’

The following example shows the only recorded occurrence of the alternative enclitic on a postpositional phrase with the postposition kənsay (see §13.2). This example also illustrates the use of the alternative enclitic as an event specifier, i.e. predicate head suffix, in this case on the predicate rayʔa ‘to come’.

uməŋ kənsaŋsiga teʔew cancicəpay dolsaŋməŋ teʔedo rayʔasiganaka.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[u} \quad \text{məŋ} \quad \text{kənsay]} &= \text{sigasiga} \quad \text{teʔew} \quad \{\text{can} \text{cicəp}\} = \text{ay} \quad \text{[dol]} = \text{say} = \text{məŋ} \\
\text{DST} = \text{GEN} \quad \text{after} = \text{ALT} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{suppose} = \text{ADV} \quad \text{group} = \text{MOB} = \text{GEN} \\
\text{[teʔe]} &= \text{do} \quad \{\text{rayʔa} - \text{sigasiga} - \text{naka}\} \quad \text{now} = \text{TOP} \quad \text{come} = \text{ALT} \quad \text{-IFT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘In turn after that, supposing that from the group now will come another [person] in turn.’

19.11 The additive/emphatic enclitic \(<=\text{ba}\)\)

The additive/emphatic enclitic \(<=\text{ba}\)\) (ADD/EMPH) indicates either addition or emphasis, depending on the context. This enclitic functions on both phrases and
clauses. The difference between addition and enumeration is that addition highlights the whole of the added constituents whereas in enumeration the whole is irrelevant. It also marks speakers in speech report constructions. We will address all types of occurrences separately below. The appearance of <ba> (EMPH) in complex predicates is treated in §22.6.1. This enclitic is homophonous with the indefinite clausal enclitic <=ba> (INDEF), which occurs on locative-marked clauses (see Chapter 27) and indefinite proforms (see Chapter 1)

19.11.1 Addition
The additive/emphatic enclitic is frequently found on two or more NPs in any syntactic function in an enumeration. This can be NPs in the same clause as in (378) or in different clauses as in (382). It is not obligatory to mark enumerated NPs with <ba> (EMPH) as we can see in (383). Juxtaposition of NPs or clauses can also signal enumeration. Example (383) follows on from (382) in the original text.

(382) ucie bəthəyba reʔeŋok, macokba reʔeŋok, magacakba reʔeŋok, seʔelba reʔeŋok, moŋma reʔeŋok. saʔak sanci maŋphek.
ucie [bəthəy] =ba {reʔeŋ -ok} [macok] =ba {reʔeŋ -ok}
then porcupine =ADD go.away -COS barking.deer =ADD go.away -COS
[macak] =ba {reʔeŋ -ok} [seʔe] =ba {reʔeŋ -ok}
small.deer =ADD go.away -COS jackal =ADD go.away -COS
[moŋma] =ba {reʔeŋ -ok} [saʔ -ak] [san] =ci maŋ =phek
elephant =ADD go.away -COS eat -COS day =LOC.CLF.ANIMALS =DIS
'Then the porcupine went, the barking deer went, the small deer went, the jackal went, the elephant went. [The lion] ate one animal a day.'

(383) maca reʔeŋok, amak reʔeŋok huʔraw reʔeŋok, daʔraŋ matan reʔeŋok, jamok.
[maca] {reʔeŋ -ok} [amak] {reʔeŋ -ok} [huʔraw] {reʔeŋ -ok}
deer go.away -COS monkey go.away -COS gibbon go.away -COS
daraŋ mat =an {reʔeŋ -ok} {jam -ok}
every animal =FC.ID go.away -COS complete -COS
'The tiger went, the monkey went, the gibbon went, every animal went, completed [i.e. all of them].'}
19.11.2 Emphasis

Examples of the enclitic \(<=ba>\) used as marker of emphasis are (28), where it is used on a personal pronoun; (492), where it appears on a prototypical noun; and (38), where we can see it used on a demonstrative. The following example illustrates the use of the enclitic \(<=ba>\) (ADD/EMPH) in its function as emphasiser on a clause.

(384) “\(agmi joraaw cayna manʔnima?\)” “manʔniba.”

\[
\text{\(a\)}\text{ŋ} =\text{mi} \quad jora =\text{aw} \quad \{\text{cay}\} =\text{na} \quad \{\text{manʔ -ni}\} =\text{ma} \\
\text{1s =GEN} \quad \text{lover =ACC} \quad \text{see =DAT} \quad \text{be.able -FUT =Q} \\
\{\text{manʔ -ni}\} =\text{ba} \\
\text{be.able -FUT =EMPH} \\
\text{“Can I see my lover?” “You can indeed.”}
\]

19.11.3 Marker of speaker

NPs referring to speakers are often marked by the enclitic \(<=ba>\) (EMPH), as is illustrated in the following example, where the toad, \(beŋblok\), is the speaker. Speakers can also be marked with the focus/identifier enclitic \(<=an>\) (FC/ID), the topic enclitic \(<=do>\) (TOP) or the focus enclitic \(<=e>\) (FC). More fieldwork is needed to find out if there are any conditions that determine the appearance of different enclitics on NPs denoting speakers.

(385) “\(bisaŋ rayʔna bayʔsiga?\)” “noay səŋʔaydoŋano beŋblokba.”

\[
\text{\(b\)}\text{t} =\text{saŋ} \quad \{\text{rayʔ}\} =\text{na} \quad \{\text{bayʔsiga}\} \\
\text{QF =MOB} \quad \text{go =DAT} \quad \text{friend} \\
\{\text{no}\} =\text{ay} \quad \{\text{səŋʔ -aydoŋa}\} =\text{no} \quad \{\text{beŋblok}\} =\text{ba} \\
\text{say =ADV} \quad \text{ask -PROG =QUOT toad =EMPH} \\
\text{“Where are you intended to go, friend?” sayingly asked the frog.”}
\]

19.12 The focus/identifier enclitic \(<=an>\)

The focus/identifier enclitic can be used to uniquely identify a phrase or clause. The border between unique identification and focus is difficult to define. It might be better to say that the two functions go hand in hand and that one is more salient according to the context and the type of phrase to which \(<=an>\) (FC/ID) is enclitisised. If, for
example, \(<=an>\) (FC/ID) is enclitised to a question word, it is for its focus function, whereas on NPs headed by animate nouns, the enclitic is likely to be used for its unique identification function. In (386) we see the focus/identifier enclitised to a personal pronoun phrase. The focus/identifier enclitic always marks factitive-marked clauses when they function as Comparee in an event comparison, of which example (651) is illustrative.

In the context out of which the following example has been taken, the wild animals are all running away in fear for the seemingly brave and strong lazy king, when they meet a fox. The fox says that the wild animals do not need to be afraid of the human and then continues saying:

(386) \( \text{hay, aŋ ganaŋ. aŋan raja aŋan balthumni.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{hay} & \text{[aŋ]} & \{\text{ganaŋ}\} & \text{[aŋ]}=\text{an} & \{\text{raja}\} \\
\text{come.on} & \text{1s} & \text{exist} & \text{1s} =\text{FC/ID king} \\
\text{[aŋ]}=\text{an} & \{\text{bal} -\text{thum} -\text{n}\} \\
\text{1s} & =\text{FC/ID speak} & \text{-on.behalf.of-FUT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Come on! I am here. I am the king. I shall speak on your behalf.’

Examples (387) and (388) are illustrative of the focus identifier enclitic on an indefinite pronoun and a question word phrase respectively.

(387) \( \text{thaymanaydoŋnaka. atoŋbaan takaydoŋnaka.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\{\text{thay-man} -\text{aydoŋ-naka}\} & \text{[atoŋ]} & =\text{ba} =\text{an} & \{\text{tak -aydoŋ-naka}\} \\
\text{die} & \text{-already} & \text{-PROG} & \text{-IFT} & \text{what} & =\text{INDEF=FC/ID do} & \text{-PROG} & \text{-IFT} \\
\text{‘He will almost certainly already be dying. [Someone] will almost certainly be doing something [bad to him].’} & \text{(thought the father whose son had run away).}
\end{array}
\]

(388) \( \text{atoŋkəyan jəkaw halduna manʔaydok?} \)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{atoŋkəy}=\text{an} & \{\text{jok}\} & =\text{aw} & \{\text{haldun}\}=\text{na} & \{\text{manʔ} -\text{aydok}\} \\
\text{how} & =\text{FC/ID spouse} & =\text{ACC feed} & =\text{DAT be.able-PROG} \\
\text{‘How can [he] feed his wives?’}
\end{array}
\]

In (389) we see the focus identifier enclitic on a headless quantified NP.
In verbless clauses of the type PRONOUN-NOUN or DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN the focus/identifier enclitic marks a potentially modifying constituent. In a PRONOUN-NOUN construction the pronoun is always understood as the possessor of the following noun, unless the pronoun is marked by the focus/identifier enclitic \(<=\text{an}\) (FC/ID) as in (386). The phrase \(ag\ raja\) (1s king) would always be understood as ‘my king’. Alternatively the focus/identifier morpheme can also mark the predicate head in a verbless clause of the type PRONOUN-NOUN provided that the pronoun phrase is marked by the emphatic enclitic \(<=\text{ba}\) (EMPH) or the topic enclitic \(<=\text{do}\) (TOP).

A demonstrative usually modifies the noun it precedes, e.g. \(ie\ daba\) (PRX coconut) ‘this coconut’. When the demonstrative phrase takes the enclitic \(<=\text{an}\) (FC/ID) it stops being a modifier and becomes a focused/identified NP on its own or a predicate head. In verbless clauses (391) as well as in clauses with a verbal or adjectival predicate like (392) or even when the predicate is nominalised like in (393), when the demonstrative is not a modifier, or when it is a predicate head, marking it with \(<=\text{an}\) (FC/ID) is obligatory. This enclitic is not the marker of Copula Subject per se in a verbless identity clause, as it can also occur on the predicate head.

Keeping in line with the AOV/SV order of the language, the last constituent of the clause is the predicate. The order of the elements in the clause can be permuted according to topicality. It is the first constituent that is talked about and specified by the second. This is according to the ‘topic first’ principle.
(392)  **uawan gam məŋa.**

\[ [u] \text{=} \text{aw} \quad [\text{gam}] \quad [məŋ] \quad -\text{a}] \]

\[ \text{dst=} \text{ACC=} \text{FC/ID} \quad \text{wealth} \quad \text{call.} \text{a.name} \quad -\text{CUST} \]

‘That is called wealth.’

(393)  **ian balgabaawba jametarinaka.**

\[ [i] \text{=} \text{anan anan} \quad [\text{bal}] \quad [\text{gaba}] \quad \text{aw} \quad [\text{ba}] \quad [\text{jam} \quad -\text{et} \quad -\text{ari} \quad -\text{naka}] \]

\[ \text{PRX=} \text{FC/ID} \quad \text{speak} \quad =\text{ATTR} \quad =\text{ACC-EMPH} \quad \text{complete-CAUS} \quad -\text{SIMP}-\text{IFT} \]

‘I will now just make this which is told (story) finish.’

The focus/identifier enclitic also occurs in copula clauses, as we can see in (724), repeated here as (394), and in (395)a), and in clauses which contain a single overt constituent, i.e. a referent which also functions as predicate, e.g. (395)b).

(394)  **ue bihape cigacak teʔew kol india kolani hapan doŋʔwacəmnoa.**

\[ [\text{ue}] \quad [\text{bihap} \quad (<\text{Garo})]_{\text{CS}} \quad =\text{e} \quad [\text{cigacak}]_{\text{CS}} \quad \text{teʔew} \]

\[ \text{DST} \quad \text{place} \quad =\text{FC} \quad \text{Pname} \quad \text{now} \]

\[ [\text{kol} \quad \text{india} \quad \text{kolani} \quad \text{hap}]_{\text{CC}} \quad =\text{an} \quad \{\text{doŋʔ} \quad -\text{wa}\} \quad =\text{cəm}=\text{noa} \]

\[ \text{Pname} \quad \text{place} \quad =\text{FC/ID} \quad \text{IE} \text{be} \quad -\text{FACT} \quad =\text{IRR} \quad =\text{QUOT} \]

‘The place Chigachak is now supposedly the Coal India Colony place.’

(395)  a)  **agnna daygabaan ganaŋ.**

b)  **sinhoan**

a)  \[ [[\text{agn}] \quad =\text{na} \quad \{\text{day}\} \quad =\text{gaba}]_{\text{CS}} \quad =\text{an} \quad \{\text{ganaŋ}\} \]

\[ \text{ls} \quad =\text{DAT} \quad \text{be.bigger=} \text{ATTR} \quad =\text{FC/ID} \quad \text{exist} \]

b)  \[ \{\text{sinho}\} \quad =\text{an} \]

\[ \text{lion} \quad =\text{FC/ID} \]

a)  ‘There is one bigger than me.

b)  [It]’s the lion.’

There is one example where the focus/identifier enclitic \(<=\text{an}\>) (FC/ID) marks the Focus in a sentence which has an ellipsed A argument. It can thus be said that this sentence contains a focused extraposed topic.
NPs can be postposed to the predicate as afterthoughts or anti-topics. In narratives postposed NPs almost always carry a focus, topic or focus/identifier enclitic, e.g. (397). In colloquial speech, however, postposed NPs are almost always unmarked for these categories.


The focus/identifier anclitic <an> (FC/ID) also occurs on relator nouns and demonstratives used as temporal adverbs and conjunctions. In these cases it is attested as co-occurring with the topic enclitic <do> (TOP), e.g. (398). Example (399) shows the focus/identifier morpheme on a question-word phrase.

(398) ətəkəy takaymu kənsaŋdoan khusi donʔaymu rayʔaphinwana […]

‘Having done like that, being very happy because [he] had returned […]’
Climaxes in event sequences are also marked by the use of the focus/identity morpheme <= an (FC/ID). In these cases it occurs on the discourse connective uci ‘then’, as is illustrated in examples (400) and (401). Observing the use of the discourse connectives uci ‘then’ and uci=an (then=FC/ID) ‘then’, it seems that, for many young speakers, there is no difference in meaning between the two forms.

Example (400) comes from a story about the deer and the fox who stole biscuits from a banggal ‘non-tribal Indian or Bangladeshi’. Before eating the biscuits the deer and the fox want to take a bath in a river. First they argue who will take a bath first. It is decided that it will be the deer. The deer quickly finishes his bathing and then it’s the fox’s turn. The fox takes a long time to bathe and while he is in the water the deer quickly eats as many of the biscuits as he can. When the fox comes out of the water, the deer says that he’s not yet clean and makes the fox bathe again and again. Every time the fox goes into the water, the deer eats more of the biscuit loot and then the storyteller says (400).


uci =an [magacak =do] [biskut =an] {man?} =ay
then =FC/ID deer =TOP biscuit =FC/ID in.great.amounts=ADV

{man?} =ay {man?} =ay {saʔ -aydok} =no
in.great.amounts=ADV in.great.amounts=ADV eat =PROG =QUOT

‘Then the deer ate the biscuits in great great great amounts, it is said.’

Example (401) comes from a story about a hanging root (type of vine) which changes into an old lady at night. If you are unlucky enough to fall asleep under one of those roots, the old lady will pester you with scratching her long arm all night. If you don’t do it, she will threaten to devour you. In the story a woman has been harassed by the
old hanging root lady for some nights in a row while her husband was away to the market. In the end the husband comes back, takes the place of his wife under the hanging root, dressed up in women’s clothes, and cuts the arm of the old lady with a sword. Then the storyteller continues with (401), the last sentence of the story.

(401) ucian manapci caywacido karadəlsa thəyʔ cokcokay muʔaydognə.

‘Then, when [they] looked in the morning, the hanging root was hanging (lit. ‘staying’) there dripping blood.’

19.13 The topic enclitic <\text{do}>\text{>}

The topic enclitic \text{<do>} (TOP) occurs on both phrases and clauses. It also occurs in complex predicates with identical verbs (see §22.6.1). When it occurs on clauses immediately after the change of state predicate head suffix \text{<-ok ~ -ak ~ -k>} (COS), the topic enclitic will appear as the allomorph \text{<odo>} (TOP). I analyse this enclitic as a topic-marker for the following reasons:

− it occurs on left-most clausal constituents which are topical, in the sense that the they designate the referent that proposition is about (see Lambrecht 1994: 127-128).

− it occurs on locative-marked clauses and change of state-marked predicates with conditional interpretation (see §27.5 and example (612) in §23.13 respectively, see Haiman, 1978),

− it occurs on right dislocated antitopic constituents, (see below),

In addition to these functions, the topic enclitic is found on time words in pre-clausal position, functioning as discourse connectives, or in tail-head linkage constructions. Time words in this environment are almost always topic-marked, e.g. (402).

(402) kənsaŋdo jəwʔcaŋna nagokno.

‘Later, [he] suddenly needed to sleep, it is said.’
In example (274) we see how the relative time words *kənsaŋ* 'after' participates in a tail-head linkage construction and is topic-marked.

It is not unusual for another a topic-marked constituent to occur immediately after the topic-marked time word (403). Since I consider the time word to be in discourse connective function, and therefore pre-clausal, the topic-marked constituent is still the left-most constituent in the clause.

As was mentioned above, the topic enclitic also marks right dislocated constituents as antitopic (see Lambrecht 1994: 117-205), of which examples (678) and (403) are illustrative as well as Text 2 line 39, presented below as (404).

(403) *kənsaŋdo matsado morot sən manʔaiməŋ rayʔwilokno alsiado.*

\[
\begin{align*}
{kənsaŋ} & =\text{do} \quad [\text{matsa}]_{\text{TOPIC}} \quad =\text{do} \quad [\text{morot} \quad sən] \quad \{\text{manʔ}\} \quad =\text{ay} \quad =\text{məŋ} \\
\text{later} & =\text{TOP} \quad \text{tiger} \\
\{\text{rayʔ-} & \text{wil} \quad -\text{ok}\} \quad =\text{no} \quad [\text{alsia}]_{\text{ANTITOPIC}} \quad =\text{do} \\
\text{go} \quad -\text{AROUND-COS} & =\text{QUOT lazy.person} \quad =\text{TOP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Later, the tiger, having smelled the scent of a human, walked around [him], it is said, [around] the lazy person, that is.’

(404) *dəkəm saa aŋdo*

\[
\begin{align*}
[dəkəm] & =\text{s} \quad \{\text{sa} \quad -\text{a}\} \\
\text{head} & =\text{IMPF} \quad \text{1s} \\
\text{hurt} & =\text{TOP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘[My] head hurts, as far as I’m concerned.’

Topic-marked clausal constituents can be indistinguishable from subjects when they are in clause initial position and no other constituent is present that could be interpreted as the subject, as we can see in examples (530), (583), (601). Non-subject phrases can also be topic-marked, e.g. (575) and (358). Whereas the antitopics in examples (403) and (404) are not coreferential with the subject of the clause, in (405) the antitopic is coreferential with the implied subject of the clause, i.e. the deer.

(405) *ətəkəyməŋ jalaŋthiriokno magacakdo.*

\[
\begin{align*}
ətəkəyməŋ & =\text{jal} \quad -\text{aŋ} \quad -\text{thiri} \quad -\text{ok} \quad =\text{no} \quad [\text{magacak}]_{\text{ANTITOPIC}} \quad =\text{do} \\
\text{so.then} & \quad \text{run.away-AWAY} \quad -\text{AGAIN-COS} \quad =\text{TOP} \quad \text{deer} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘So then [he] ran away again, the deer.’
Most clauses on which the topic enclitic occurs are subordinate. There are very few cases of topic-marked main clauses and their predicates are all marked with the factitive suffix <-wa (FACT) (see Chapter 1) e.g. (664).

19.14 The focus enclitic <-e>

I have to stress that the label ‘focus’ of the enclitic <-e> is preliminary, since it occurs in several different pragmatic environments, which I will describe one by one. Most salient is the use of this enclitic when new referents are introduced in the text or discourse.

The enclitic <-e> marks new discourse topics conveyed by NPs that are not part of the argument structure of the clause they precede, e.g. (406) which is the opening sentence of a narrative about the history of the meaning of the place Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai. The subject of the clause is an implicit third person plural. The NP Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai is the pre clausal focus-marked NP referring to the new discourse topic: the story will be about the meaning of Badri Rongdyng ha•wai.

(406)  *badri roŋdəŋ haʔwaymi oltoe, dakaŋdo cigacakcisama muʔwano.*

\[badri roŋdəŋ haʔway =mi oltho\] =e
Pname =GEN meaning =FC
dakaŋ =do \[cigacak\] =ci =sa \{muʔ-wa\} =no
in.\(\) the.\(\) past =TOP Pname =LOC=DLIM stay -FACT =QUOT
‘As for the meaning of Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, in the past, [they] lived in Chigachak, it is said.’

The focus enclitic marks NPs in topic position, i.e. clause initial, which are also subjects, when these NPs refer to newly introduced referents. These referents do not need to be topical. The following example, taken from Text 1 (line 20) is illustrative. The speaker who produced this example, presented below as (407), was speaking about something totally different, when he suddenly turns to Nongken and starts speaking about the break up of Silat and Manchi, marking Silat with the enclitic <-e> (FC). When we read the following lines in the text, we notice that the topic of the conversation is clearly not Silat but Manchi.
(407)  *silate atakna manchiaw wat-ok?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Silat]} &= \text{e} \quad \text{[atakna]} \quad \text{[Manchi]} = \text{aw} \quad \{ \text{wat} \quad \text{-ok} \} \\
P\text{name} &= \text{FC} \quad \text{why} \quad P\text{name} &= \text{ACC} \quad \text{send.away-COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Why did Silat send Mansi away?’ (i.e. ‘Why did Silat break up with Mansi?’)

The focus enclitic is often encountered marking NPs in situations where antitopical referents alternate, in other words the <=e> (FC) marks contrasting antitopics, e.g. (408). The context of this example is as follows. The deer is pretending to be lame to lure the Bengali away from the place where he has put down his load of biscuits. The Bengali sees the deer walking slowly and chases it. But when the Bengali almost catches up with it, the deer quickly runs away. What kind of deer is this? Now it walks again as if it is lame.

(408)  *una rəktheriokno baŋgale. tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakay jalariano magachake. ətəkəyməŋ bakrawraw bakrawraw janʔajoknoa. teʔdo uchian pherudo biskutaw payay jalokno[...]. ətəkəyməŋ teʔdo janʔajokno baŋgaldo, manʔanchaknoa. “ian jaʔnaka” nowachi teʔdo magachakdo[...]*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{una} & \quad \{ \text{rak} \quad \text{-theri} \quad \text{-ok} \} = \text{no} \quad \text{[bangal]} = \text{e} \\
\text{then} \quad \text{chase-AGAIN-COS} &= \text{QUOT Bengali} = \text{FC} \\
\{ \text{tharap} \} &= \text{na} \quad \{ \text{guduk} \quad \text{tak} \quad \text{-wa} \} = \text{ci} = \text{ba} \\
\text{catch.up} &= \text{DAT almost do -FACT} = \text{LOC=INDEF} \\
\{ \text{tarak} \} &= \text{ay} \quad \{ \text{jal} \quad \text{-ari} \quad \text{-a} \} = \text{no} \quad \text{[magacak]} = \text{e} \\
\text{quick} &= \text{ADV run.away-SIMP-CUST} &= \text{QUOT deer} = \text{FC}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then [he] chased [it] again, it is said, the Bengali. Whenever he almost caught up [with it], [it] ran away quickly, it is said, the deer.

Another example of the focus enclitic indicating a new topic constituent can be found in (409). The elephant, *moqma*, has already been introduced in the first sentence, but not as a topic. Because the topic alternates in the second sentence, the new topic is marked by the enclitic <=e> (FC).
A banana bird's nest is always eaten by an elephant. Now as for the elephant, he always breaks the thing that stays nestingly in the banana tree.

The focus enclitic also occurs on case-marked phrases, as in the following example, where it occurs on an accusative-marked demonstrative phrase. In this example the focus enclitic does not indicate the change of a referent or the introduction of a new one. In this example the enclitic indicates that the phrase is in focus in the clause. The preceding context translates as follows: Now in a village supposedly lives Bil, it is said. Then, there is also a wife, it is said. Now, [Bil] is reluctant to do work and so spends his time sleeping and sitting, it is said.

Because he eats rice continuously, that one [i.e. Bil's mouth], [his] wife has to mouth-close again [all the time], it is said. (Because he is too lazy to do that himself.)

The topic enclitic <=do> (TOP) and the focus enclitic <=e> (FC) cannot occur together on the same NP, but both enclitics can co-occur in the same clause on different NPs.
Chapter 20  Case Marking

Transitivity plays a role in Atong. There are transitive-intransitive verb pairs, (see Table 25 in §4.6). Intransitive verbs appear in constructions where O arguments are not usually conceivable and transitive verbs are those that appear can appear in constructions where O arguments are conceived or implied. There is a transitive derivation of intransitive verbs and adjectives of Type 1 with the causative predicate suffix $<-et>$ (CAUS). A and S are never marked for case and O arguments can optionally be marked with the accusative phrasal enclitic $=<aw~=taw>$ (ACC). This enclitic does not only mark Patients, but has a range of other functions as well (see §20.8), and therefore, not all accusative-marked NPs are O arguments. Whether an unmarked NP can be interpreted as Agent, Actor or Undergoer (i.e. entity most effected by the event denoted by the verb) depends on the context.

In this chapter I will talk about the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors that condition case marking. Case assignment on NPs depends on the following factors:

- the semantics of the verb
- the semantics of the NPs
- the semantics of the case marker
- pragmatic factors

Atong distinguishes the following types of arguments: the core arguments A, S, E (the third argument of an extended transitive verb), CS (copula subject), CC (copula complement), O and adjuncts or peripheral arguments. No NP is obligatorily expressed in Atong when it is retrievable from the context. Only the E argument of the verb $məŋ$ ‘to call something/someone a name’, the name of a named entity, cannot be ellipsed. The order of the NPs in the clause depends on semantic and pragmatic conditions. When NPs are expressed in a clause, their case marking depends on semantics and pragmatics and not on their syntactic role. Transitive subjects (A arguments) and intransitive subjects (S arguments) are never marked for case. Patients, Recipients, Beneficiaries, Directions and Possessors do not need to be case-marked when their semantic role is clear from the context. NPs indicating a Location in space and time, Source, Pathway, Goal or Standard of comparison are
obligatorily case-marked for these semantic functions. Table 57 gives an overview of marked and unmarked arguments.

Table 57  Marked and unmarked syntactic and semantic argument types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALWAYS UNMARKED</th>
<th>MAY BE UNMARKED</th>
<th>OBLIGATORILY MARKED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARGUMENT</td>
<td>ARGUMENT</td>
<td>CASE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>$&lt;$aw $-$ taw$&gt;$ (ACC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>$&lt;$aw $-$ taw$&gt;$ (ACC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>$&lt;$na $-$ ona$&gt;$ (DAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>$&lt;=$mi $-$ məŋ$&gt;$ (GEN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiencer as the argument of an experiencer verb</td>
<td>Causee</td>
<td>$&lt;$aw $-$ taw$&gt;$ (ACC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>$&lt;$na $-$ ona$&gt;$ (DAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The semantic and syntactic role of any expressed unmarked NP is determined by the

- context
- semantics of the verb
- semantics of the NP
- position of the NP in the animacy hierarchy
- co-occurrence with other NPs

The language does not mark the syntactic role but only the semantic role of NPs. What is marked as S, A and O are those NPs that are most likely to be interpreted as such.

More fieldwork needs to be undertaken to find out whether A and S control reflexivisation. Control over reflexivisation is not a universal property of these core arguments. Though most of the time the controller and the reflexive appear in the same clause, and it may therefore appear to always control reflexivity, it takes some special contexts to see whether this is indeed the case. In Chinese, for example, reflexives are pragmatically or semantically controlled (see LaPolla, 1993). The sole property of O is that it can be accusative-marked when referential and definite. A clause can occur with only one or with more case-marked NPs, e.g. (411) and (412). In these examples the case-marked NP or NPs indicate primarily semantic role, syntactic function being less important because all of the NPs are peripheral. A clause can also occur with a mix of marked and unmarked NPs none of which is S or A and the semantic and syntactic function of the unmarked NPs is determined by the factors described above, e.g. (413).

In example (411) we see a clause with only one Location adjunct. This adjunct is locative-marked to show its semantic function.

\[(411)\text{ sanci reʔeŋni}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[san]}_{\text{LOCATION}} & =c\text{i} & \{\text{reʔeŋ -ni}\} \\
\text{day} & =\text{LOC} & \text{go.away -FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[We] will go during the day.’
Inherently locational nouns can be mobilitative-marked, as in (412), but do not have
to be. When used in the right context, their meaning is enough to assign the semantic
role of Direction to them, as we see in (413).

(412)  *sanci nəgəlsan reʔeŋni*

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{[san]}_{\text{LOCATION}} = & \text{ci} \\
\text{[nəgəl]}_{\text{DIRECTION}} = & \text{saŋ} \{\text{reʔeŋ} -\text{ni}\} \\
\text{day} = & \text{LOC} \\
\text{market} = & \text{MOB} \\
\text{go.away} = & \text{FUT}
\end{array} \]
‘[We] will go to the market during the day.’

(413)  *sanci nəgəl reʔeŋni*

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{[san]}_{\text{LOCATION}} = & \text{ci} \\
\text{[nəgəl]}_{\text{DIRECTION}} = \{\text{reʔeŋ} -\text{ni}\} \\
\text{day} = & \text{LOC} \\
\text{market} = & \text{MOB} \\
\text{go.away} = & \text{FUT}
\end{array} \]
‘[We] will go to the market during the day.’

Since we can only determine the syntactic status of an NP after having determined its
semantic role, I argue that case marking in Atong determines primarily semantic roles
and that syntactic role indication is secondary. The accusative case, however,
indicates primarily a syntactic role but also has pragmatic functions treated below.
Case-marking on NPs helps to determine:
- the semantic role of an NP in a clause,
- the relationship between nouns within an NP,
- the syntactic role of an NP in a clause.

The animacy hierarchy and identifier marking can help, too, to determine who does
what to whom. Because no NPs are obligatorily expressed in a clause, it is not always
possible to determine with certainty which NPs are obligatorily conceptualised, i.e.
are core arguments of a verb and which are not.

The identification of CS and CC in copula clauses is easy because of the limited
freedom in constituent order and the limited number of NPs possibly expressed in the
clause. In identity/equation copula clauses the constituent order is either CS-CC-
COPULA or CC-COPULA+ADDITIONAL NP marked for topic, focus,
focus/identification or emphasis. CC and CS are always unmarked.

Case marking in Atong is done with phrasal enclitics. The accusative is frequently
found marking only one constituent, in a NP which consists of more than one
nominal. In these cases the case marker still has scope over the whole NP. All case
markers listed in Table 58 and their functions will be treated one by one in this chapter. We will discuss the conditions for occurrence of a case marker as well as the non-occurrence and repetition of it. In §20.10 we will see how Atong makes use of multiple case marking. Finally, in §20.11 we summarise the motivations for repeated case marking.

Table 58  The Atong case markers and the types of NPs they can mark.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE MARKERS</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>SYNTACTIC FUNCTION</th>
<th>SEMANTIC ROLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>A,S,CS,CC,O, oblique</td>
<td>Agent, Patient, Goal, Source, Possessor, Beneficiary, Recipient, Comparee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;sat&gt;</td>
<td>mobilitative/locative/instrumental</td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>Goal, Source, Location, Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ct&gt;</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;maj ~ mś ~ =məng ~ =məŋ ~ məŋ&gt; &amp;CO</td>
<td>genitive/ablative</td>
<td>A, oblique</td>
<td>Agent, Possession, Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;na&gt;</td>
<td>dative/allative</td>
<td>O, oblique</td>
<td>Recipient, Beneficiary, Goal, Standard of comparison, Emotor, Purpose (only clauses), Reason (only clauses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;aw ~ taw&gt;</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Patient, Material, Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;təkəy&gt;</td>
<td>perlative/similative</td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>Pathway/Facsimile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20.1 Zero marking

A, S, E, CS, CC and Result (415) NPs are never marked for case. O arguments may be left unmarked and of the obliques Recipients, Beneficiaries, Possessors and
Direction adjuncts may be left unmarked. Whether or not these adjuncts receive case marking depends on three factors, viz.

- Type of NP
- Context
- Pragmatic factors, which differ per case

Inherently locational nouns can be Direction adjuncts without being marked for case, as has been mentioned above. The higher a noun is in the animacy hierarchy the more chance it has to be an unmarked Possessor. Animate nouns can be unmarked Recipients or Beneficiaries.

In the next example the verb *hənʔ*—‘to give’ has four NPs, viz. two core arguments A and O, and two adjuncts/peripheral arguments, viz. Recipient and Temporal Location. Three of these NPs are unmarked for case. The context is as follows. The animals have gathered to appoint a king. Nobody wants to be the king because they all say that there is a greater animal than them who is more apt to be the king. When the animals ask the lion, he says that he will only accept when the animals give him what he asks in (414). In that clause all NPs belong to a different level on the animacy hierarchy: *aŋa* (1s) > *naŋʔtəm* (2p) > *maŋ* ‘classifier for animals’. Furthermore there is no ambiguity as to who gives what to whom because everybody is supposed to know that lions eat animals.

(414) “aca naŋʔtəme aŋa sanci maŋpek hənʔni ‘nowano.

```plaintext
interj 2s -ppp =FC 1s day =LOC
[məŋ]O =pek {hənʔ -ni} {no-wa} =no
CLF:ANIMALS =DIS give -FUT say-FACT =QUOT

“‘Right then, you shall give me one of each animal every day’, [the lion] said, it is said.’
```

The next example shows a Result adjunct that is unmarked for case.
20 CASE MARKING

Let us now explore the different case markers, their functions, semantics and the conditions under which these markers are applied to an NP.

20.2 The mobilitative/locative/instrumental case marker $\langle =\text{sag} \rangle$

Depending on the context, the mobilitative/locative/instrumental case enclitic $\langle =\text{sag} \rangle$ (MOB/INSTR) marks adjuncts that are semantically Directions, e.g. (426), Locations and Instruments, e.g. (427). Although they are expressed with the same morpheme, there are functional differences between the mobilitative and the instrumental case. NPs expressing an instrument are obligatorily case-marked whereas mobilitative marking can be omitted on NPs headed by an inherently locational nouns. As instrumental marker $\langle =\text{sag} \rangle$ (INSTR) is not attested in combination with other case markers, whereas case stacking is possible on a Direction adjunct (see section 20.10). The different functions of the enclitic $\langle =\text{sag} \rangle$ (MOB/LOC/INSTR) will be exemplified one by one.

20.2.1 Mobilitative interpretation

When the enclitic $\langle =\text{sag} \rangle$ (MOB) marks a Direction adjunct it indicates movement. The movement can be from a source (416), to a destination (416), (417), or in a certain direction (421). The mobilitative enclitic, however, does not indicate the direction of the movement. The direction of the movement is most often made clear by the context and by the form of the verb of movement. It is possible to stack the genitive/ablative case $\langle =\text{mey} \sim =\text{mi} \rangle$ (GEN/ABL) (with ablative interpretation in these cases) onto the mobilitative to unambiguously express movement away from somewhere as in (418). This method is rarely practised in colloquial speech. Mobilitative marking can be omitted on inherently locational nouns (419) but can be added when needed for emphasis (416) or contrast as in (420).

In example (416) the mobilitative designates the noun tura ‘Tura’ either as Source or as Goal depending on the context.
(416) turasaŋ reʔeŋwa.

\[ \text{[tura]} = \text{saŋ} \{ \text{reʔeŋ} - \text{wa} \} \]

\text{Pname =MOB go.away -FACT}

‘[I] left from Tura ~ [I] come from Tura. ~ [I] went to Tura (but now I’m back). [Somebody] went to Tura (and is still gone). etc.’

In (417) here below, the fact that the noun soŋ ‘village’ marked by the mobilitative is a Goal is disambiguated by the future form of the predicate head.

(417) soŋsaŋ reʔeŋni

\[ \text{[soŋ]} = \text{saŋ} \{ \text{reʔeŋ} -\text{ni} \} \]

\text{village =MOB go.away -FUT}

‘[I] will go to the village.’

Example (418) here below illustrates the morpheme \(<=mi ~ =məŋ>\) (GEN/ABL) as marker of a Source adjunct, i.e. in ablative function, stacked onto a mobilitative case in the underlined NP phoren=saŋ=mi. The nouns in the NP phoren=mi morot (foreign.country=GEN person) can be interpreted as being in a Possessor-Possessed relationship and thus the morpheme \(<=mi>\) is glossed as genitive.

(418) phorenmi morot rayʔadoŋa, phorensoŋmi rayʔaydoŋa.

\[ \text{[phoren} = \text{mi morot} \{ \text{rayʔ} - \text{aydoŋa} \} [\text{phoren}]_\text{SOURCE} = \text{saŋ} = \text{mi} \]

\text{foreign.country =GEN person come -PROG foreign.country =MOB =ABL}

\{ \text{rayʔay} = \text{doŋa} \}

\text{come -PROG}

‘Persons belonging to foreign countries are coming, [they] are coming from foreign countries.’

In example (419) the Direction adjunct is an unmarked inherently locational noun, jadi. This example contrasts with (420), where the mobilitative is used. The inherently locational nouns jadi ‘Jadi’ in (420) is presumably mobilitative-marked because the speaker needs to distinguish between “to” and “from”. The source in (420) is indicated only with the genitive.
(419) \[\textit{sunibal sanci } \textit{jadi reʔeŋwano biphagabae}.\]

\[
\left[\textit{sunibal san}\right] = \textit{ci} \ \left[\textit{jadi}\right] \ \left[\textit{reʔeŋ -wa}\right] = \textit{no} \ \left[\textit{biphagaba}\right] = \textit{e}
\]

Sunday day =LOC Pname go.away -FACT =QUOT husband =TOP

‘On Sunday the husband went to Jadi.’

(420) \[\textit{teʔewba } \textit{rongəŋ həʔwayməŋ morot məŋ? sa} […] \textit{daŋsawayməŋ caʔaw reʔeŋaydonano jadinəgəlsaŋ}.\]

\[
\left[\textit{teʔew}\right] = \textit{ba} \ \left[\left[\textit{rongəŋ həʔway}\right] = \textit{məŋ} \ \left[\textit{morot məŋ? sa}\right]\right]
\]

now =EMPH Pname =GEN person CLF:HUMANS one

\[
\left[\textit{daŋsaway}\right] = \textit{məŋ} \ \left[\textit{caʔaw}\right] = \textit{aw} \ \left[\textit{reʔeŋ -aydoŋa}\right]
\]

Pname =ABL foot =ACC go.away -PROG

\[
\left[\textit{jadi nəgəl}\right] = \textit{saŋ}
\]

Pname market =MOB

‘Now then, a person from/belonging to Rongdyng Ha•wai went from Dangsawai on foot to Jadi market.’

The following example comes from a story in which the context makes clear that the persons mentioned were first living in a place called Songmong. At a certain moment, described in example (461), the people start running away from there. Thus the mobilitative-marked place Durama• can only be interpreted as the direction in which these people go and the place Gandyrun as the limit.

(421) \[\textit{aro ceŋsənmatraŋ renaŋdəlkhanjoŋsikjenbal aseŋgoŋsan duraʔa}\textit{san gandəruŋcina jaltawokno}.\]

\[
\left[\textit{aro}\right] \ \left[\textit{ceŋsənmatraŋ renaŋdəlkhan joŋsikjenbal aseŋgoŋsan}\right] = \textit{e}
\]

and Name Name Name Name Name =FC

\[
\left[\textit{duraʔa}\right] = \textit{saŋ} \ \left[\textit{gandəruŋ}\right] = \textit{ci} = \textit{na}
\]

Pname =MOB Pname =LOC =DAT

\[
\left[\textit{jal}\right] = \textit{taw} \ \textit{-ok}\} = \textit{no}
\]

run.away-UPWARD -COS =QUOT

‘And Chengsynmatrang, Rynangdylkhang, Jongsikjengbal [and] Asenggongsan run away upward in the direction of Durama• up till Gandyrun, it is said.’

The mobilitative can be used to indicate a Direction, both concrete, as in (422), and abstract as we can see in example (423).
20.2.2 Locative interpretation

I think that, historically, this morpheme comes from the noun *saŋ* meaning ‘place, side’ and is still found with that meaning in a few compounds, e.g. *saŋphak* ~ *samphak* ‘side’. Thus it is not surprising that the enclitic *<saŋ>* (MOB/LOC/INSTR) can sometimes still be used as a locative, i.e. marking Location adjuncts, as is illustrated in examples (424) and (425). Line 23 from Text 3 is represented below as (424). In this example no movement of the frog is implied; the animal is just sitting at the bottom of the ravine and is making a noise.

(424) *uci rupeke həyawe roŋʔka otəknəŋʔsaŋ “pekpek pekpek” noay parawaydoknowa.*

uci[rupek]=e[həyawe roŋʔka otak nəʔ]=saŋ
then frog=FCyondercliffbottom.of.ravineinside=LOC
pekpekpekpek[noay]{paraw aydok}=no-wa
frog.soundfrog.soundsaymake.animalsound-PROG=QUOT-FACT

Then the frog way over there at the bottom of the ravine is calling “pekpek! pekpek!” is said.”
(425) ətəkəymudo uan, geʔthey, sagaba: “aŋdo nemkhalanca” nocido aro kamalsən thama caithiria.

so.then DST=FC/ID 3s be.ill =ATTR

[əŋ] =do {nem-khal -an -ca} {no} =ci =do
1s =TOP good -CP -REF -NEG say =LOC=TOP

[aro_kamal] =saŋ {thama cay -thiri -a} other priest =LOC divination look -AGAIN-CUST

‘So then, as for that sick [person], if [he] says: “I am not better”, [they] will practice divination again at the place of another priest.’

20.2.3 Instrumental interpretation

Examples (426) and (427) here below are illustrative of the use of the morpheme <e=san> (INSTR) as instrumental case marker.

(426) aŋ rongʔsaŋ depəwaw ratwa

[əŋ] [roŋʔ] =saŋ [depəw] =aw {rat -wa}
1s stone =INSTR snake =ACC hit -FACT

‘I hit the snake with a stone’

(427) aŋ ie biskutaw tankasəŋ raʔwa

[əŋ] [ie biskut] =aw [tanκa] =saŋ {raʔ -wa}
1s PRX biscuit =ACC money =INSTR get/buy-FACT

‘I bought the biscuits with money.’

The instrumental is also used with verbs of speaking to mark the language that one speaks (428), (429) or that one speaks a certain language using the word khuʔcuk ‘language’ (430).

(428) […] haʔcək khuʔcuskəŋ məkha badri moɣy məŋwano.

[haʔcək khuʔcuk] =saŋ [məkha badri] Garo language =INSTR rain heavy.incessant.rain

{no} =ay {məɣ -wa} =no
say =ADV call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘[Because they held a drinking competition with the rain in that place], [they] sayingly call [it] məkha badri in Garo, it is said.’
20.3 The locative case marker \(<\text{ci}>\) (LOC)

The locative case \(<\text{ci}>\) (LOC) marks oblique arguments (adjuncts/peripheral arguments). Both temporal (431) and spatial (432) locations are marked by the locative case.

(431) sanci reʔeŋni

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{sanc}\} &= \text{ci} \ \{\text{reʔeŋ} \ -n\} \\
\text{day} &= \text{LOC} \ \text{go.away} \ -\text{FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[We] will go during the day.’

(432) deʔtheŋ pipukci ganagkhua məŋʔ sa.

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{deʔtheŋ}\} &= \text{ci} \ \{\text{ganag} -\text{ku} \ -a\} \ [\text{məŋʔ} \ \text{sa}] \\
\text{3s belly} &= \text{LOC} \ \text{exist} \ -\text{INCOM-CUST} \ \text{CLF: HUMANS one}
\end{align*}
\]

‘In her belly she had one [child] more.’

The locative case can be omitted from NPs with generic time reference, whereas NPs with specific time reference need to be locative-marked. The following two examples form a contrastive pair. In (433) the locative \(<\text{ci}>\) (LOC) on somay ‘time’ is omitted, whereas in (434) it is present. The time reference in (433) is generic whereas in (434) it is precise and topical.
(433)  \textit{roŋdəŋmi oltue dakaŋ somay jaksonram maca nok phandaymi macamu roŋdəŋ maharimu takрукwanoa.}

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{roŋdəŋ} & =\text{mi olt}\theta] =c \text{ [dakaŋ somay][jaksonram maca]} \\
\text{Pname} & =\text{GEN meaning} =\text{FC in.the.past time Pname tiger} \\
\text{nok phanday} & =\text{mi maca} =\mu \text{ [roŋdəŋ mahari] =\mu} \\
\text{house bachelor} & =\text{GEN tiger} =\text{COM Pname clan} =\text{COM} \\
[t\text{akruk-wa}] & =\text{noa} \\
\text{fight} & =\text{FACT} =\text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘As for the meaning of Rongdyng, in ancient times, the tigers of the tiger’s bachelor house of Jaksonram fought with the Rongdyng clan, it is said.’

In example (434) here below we see the concomitant action clause \textit{uci muʔbutuŋ} ‘when [they] stay there’. The clause functions as a temporal adjunct in the main clause. The concomitant action suffix is compounded with the noun \textit{somay} ‘time’.

This phenomenon is treated extensively in §27.6.

(434)  \textit{uci muʔbutuŋ somayci badri nemen manʔay saʔano.}

\[
\begin{align*}
[u] & =ci \{\text{muʔ}-\text{butuŋ +somay}\} =\text{ci} \\
\text{DST} & =\text{LOC stay -WHILE+time} =\text{LOC} \\
[\text{badri}] \text{nemen} \{\text{manʔ}\} =\text{ay} \{\text{saʔ} -\text{a}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{Pname very in.great.amounts} & =\text{ADV eat -CUST} =\text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘At the time of [their] stay there, Badri was very rich.’ Literally: ‘Badri ate in great amounts’.

Inherently locational nouns also need to be locative-marked when they function as locative adjuncts in a clause (435). An inherently locational noun can function as S argument and is then unmarked as in example (436). Since the predicate \textit{muʔ} ‘stay’ of the attributive clause is not a verb of movement, interpretation of the place name Siju as a movement oblique without mobilitative marking is impossible.

(435)  \textit{dakaŋdo cigacakcisa muʔwano.}

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{dakaŋ}] & =do \text{ [cigacak]-ci =sa} \{\text{muʔ-wa}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{before} & =\text{TOP Pname} =\text{LOC=DLIM stay -FACT} =\text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘In the past [they] just lived in Chigachak.’
There are some verbs that take their third argument in the locative case, e.g. caduk- ‘to bump’ (intransitive) (437) and thot- ‘to hit’ (intransitive) (438).

(437)  $dəkəm$ $bəlbanci$ $cadukwa$

[ $dəkəm$ ] [ $bəlbanci$ ] = $ci$ { $caduk$ - $wa$ }

head crossbeam =LOC hit -FACT

[I] bumped [my] head against the wooden beam above the door.

(438)  $cak$ $roŋʔci$ $thotwa$

[ $cak$ ] [ $roŋʔci$ ] = $ci$ { $thot$ - $wa$ } 

foot stone =LOC hit -FACT 

[I] hit [my] foot on a stone

20.4 The genitive/ablative/nominaliser case marker $<=mi ~ =məŋ>$

The two allomorphs of the genitive /ablative/nominaliser morpheme $<=mi ~ =məŋ>$ (GEN/ABL/NR) are in free variation although the allomorph $< =məŋ>$ is used mostly in the Badri area and $<=mi>$ more in Siju. The genitive has a number of functions in Atong. 1) It indicates the relationship between nouns within an NP. 2) The genitive enclitic marks adjuncts which indicate a Source. This is the ablative function of the morpheme. 3) The genitive marks the standard of comparison in equative constructions. 4) The genitive appears as a nominalising enclitic on clauses of which the predicate carries the factitive suffix $<-wa>$ (FACT) (see also §24.3.1). 5) The genitive marks nominal obliques which are the complements of the postpositions $<gəməŋ>$ (REASON), $<kənəŋ>$ ‘later, after’ and $<dabat>$ (LIMIT). Example (418) shows types 1 and 3. Examples of 5 can be found in Chapter 1. We will now explore 1, 2, 3 and 4 separately below.
20.4.1  Indication of the relationship between nouns within an NP

Within an NP the genitive marks the possessor in a Possessor-Possessed relationship between nouns, e.g. (439).

(439)  

\[
\text{baydam roŋsa thəykhalmi haʔwaycina jalaŋok.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[baydam]} \\
\text{[roŋsa thəykhal =mi haʔway]} =\text{ci} =\text{na} \\
\text{some.people RIVERname river GENplain LOC=ALL}
\end{array}
\]

\{
\text{jal -aŋ -ok}\}

\text{run.away-AWAY -COS}

‘Some ran away to the plains of the river Rongsa.’

The first and second person pronouns have a long and a short form (see §17.2), viz. \(\text{aga} \sim \text{ag} \) (1s), \(\text{naʔa} \sim \text{naʔ} \) (2s) and, very rarely encountered, \(\text{niŋa} \) (1p) the long form of the usual form \(\text{niŋ} \) (1p). When the short form of personal pronoun is followed by a noun it will almost always be interpreted as a Possessor-Possessed relationship and the personal pronoun need not to be marked, e.g. (432), (440). An example of a context in which this interpretation is unlikely is found in (426), where the stone is non-referential and not possessed. The Possessor-Possessed interpretation is also not likely when the noun following the personal pronoun is compounded to the verb and thus not an argument. The Possessor-Possessed interpretation is not possible with the long forms of the personal pronouns, which are inherently A/S (or, in the case of \(\text{naʔa} \) (2s), used as address term), e.g. (441).

(440)  

\[
\text{phaŋnan niŋ nokaw thokroŋa.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[phaŋnan]} \\
\text{[niŋ nok] =aw \{thok -roŋ -a\}}
\end{array}
\]

\text{always 1p house =ACC destroy-USUALLY -CUST}

‘[The elephant] always destroys our house.’

In the next example (441) the pronoun \(\text{aga} \) (1s) is a separate NP. If it were in the form without final /a/, it would be interpreted to be the possessor of \(\text{sona} \) ‘gold’ in the NP \(\text{ag sona} \) (1s gold) ‘my gold’. Note that it is perfectly normal for the allomorphs \(\text{ag} \) (1s) and \(\text{naŋ} \) (2s) to function as A/S argument as is illustrated in (427).
20.4.2 Marker of a Source

A source can be marked with both the mobilitative and genitive/ablative case, as in (418), or solely with the genitive/ablative case, as in (420) above and (442), (443) and (444) below. Case marking of a Source is obligatory.

(442) nokmi hoŋkotangbo!

[ŋok] =mi [hoŋkot -ap] =bo
house =ABL to.exit -AWAY =IMP
‘Exit away from the house!’ Alternatively: ‘Go outside!’ (Said when both the speaker and hearer where inside.)

(443) imi ang walʔ nuketca.

[i] =mi [walʔ] {nuk -et -ca}
PRX =ABL fire see -CAUS -NEG
‘From here I do not see the fire at all.’

(444) “na, aŋa ətəkəy colie colisemcaaydok” noayməŋ teʔewb a jəkməŋ jalaŋokno.

na [ŋa] [ətəkəy] {coli =e coli -sem -ca -aydok}
interj 1s like.that succeed =FC succeed -CERTAINLY -NEG -PROG

{no} =ay =maŋ [teʔew] =ba [jak] =maŋ {jal -aydok} =no
say =ADV =SEQ now =EMPH spouse =ABL run.away-PROG =QUOT

“Nah! like this, as far as succeeding is concerned, I’m not succeeding”, [the lazy king] said and now he is running away from his wives.
20.4.3 Marking of the standard of comparison in equative clauses

The genitive marks the standard in equative clauses as illustrated here below.

\[ (445) \text{ aŋ naŋʔmi hapsan cuŋa } \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{COMPAREE} & \text{STANDARD} & \text{MARK} & \text{INDEX} & \text{PARAMETER} \\
\text{aŋ} & \text{naŋʔ} & =mi & \text{hapsan} & \text{cuŋ} & \{-a\}
\end{array}
\]

\[
1\text{s} \quad 2\text{s} \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{same} \quad \text{big} \quad -\text{CUST}
\]

‘I am as big as you.’

20.4.4 Nominalisation

I define nominalisation as a derivational process of which the resultant forms can function as head of an NP. The morpheme \(<=\text{mi }\sim=\text{məŋ}>\) occurs as a nominalising enclitic on clauses of which the predicate is marked by the factitive suffix \(<\text{-wa}>\) (FACT). When it occurs as a nominaliser, the morpheme \(<=\text{mi }\sim=\text{məŋ}>\) will be labeled (NR). The result of clausal nominalisation by means of the genitive/nominaliser is an action/state or object nominalisation, depending on the context. It is important to note that factitive-marked predicates are only attested as heads of NPs in very few cases, which I consider to be lexicalisations of factitive-marked predicates (see 24.3.1). Genitive-marked clauses can always function as head of a predicate. Deriving NPs from clauses of which the predicate is factitive-marked is a fully productive process.

Examples (446) and (447) illustrate action/object nominalisations. In (448) the nominalisation can only be interpreted as an object nominalisation.

\[ (446) \text{ aŋmi balwami ician jametwa. } \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{talk-FACT} & \text{NR} & \text{PRX} & \text{LOC}=\text{FC/ID} & \text{end} & \text{-CAUS} \quad \text{-FACT}
\end{array}
\]

‘I will end my talking/talk here.’
20.4.5 Repeated genitive case marking

Genitive case marking is repeated when nouns are in an additive relationship within an NP as illustrated in the next example. In that example *acu ambi* (grandfather grandmother) ‘ancestors’ is a fixed collocation.
(450) […] sansa daŋtangmanca thariysa kamalna rəkaysa way khuruta, niŋ acu ambimi niŋmi piʔsacido.

[ san sa ] [ daŋtangmanca ] \{ thari \} = ay = sa [ kamal ] = na
day one special prepare = ADV = DLIM priest = DAT
\{ rək \} = ay = sa \{ way \} \{ khurut = a \}
search = ADV = DLIM spirit summon. a. spirit - CUST
\[( niŋ acu = amb \} = mi \{ niŋ = \} = mi = piʔs \}= ci = do\]
1 pe grandpa grandma = GEN 1 pe = GEN childhood = LOC = TOP

[…and] one special day [they] prepare [stuff], search a priest and perform the incantation to summon a spirit, in the childhood of our forefathers and of us.’

20.5 The comitative case marker \(=\mu ~ =\muŋ ~ =\muŋ\)

The allomorphs of the comitative morpheme \(=\mu ~ =\muŋ ~ =\muŋ\) (COM) are in free variation, although \(=\muŋ\) is predominantly used in Badri and \(=\mu ~ =\muŋ\) are predominantly used in Siju. The comitative marks a relationship between nouns in different NPs which are in a comitative or additive relationship. When the nouns in a comitative or additive relationship at phrase level and at inter-NP level are marked for comitative case, all of them are always marked, not just one of them. When two nouns are juxtaposed, they need not be marked for case at all to receive an additive interpretation (see §6.6). A noun in a comitative relationship can be ellipsed when retrievable from the context. Comitative marked NPs can be in A, S and oblique function in the clause. Comitative marked nouns in O function are not attested. The comitative functions only at NP level in a clause. In example (451) here below we see comitative-marked nouns which function as A arguments in the clause.

(451) teʔewba magacak mam lukwaknaməte khenʔ raʔaknote.

[ teʔew ] = ba [ magacak ] = = mag [ lukwak ] = = mag = e
now EMPH deer = COM toad = COM = FC
[khenʔ] = no = te
crab get - COS = QUOT = DCL

‘Now the deer and the toad got (river) crabs, it is said, I’m telling you.’

The following example illustrates how the comitative case marks nouns belonging to different oblique NPs in a clause. The example also illustrates double case marking with the dative and the comitative. The dative enclitic \(=na\) (DAT) marks the NPs
jahas ‘ship’ and bagaji ‘fortune-teller’ as Recipients and the nominalised dative-marked clause as a Purpose adjunct. The comitative indicates the relation between the NPs. The dative marking is repeated because the NPs are enumerated.

(452) jahasnamu, ca rəŋnamu, bagajinamu raje taŋka jamok.

- Purpose clause -

[jahas] =na =mu | [ca] {raŋ} =na =mu
ship =DAT=COM tea drink =DAT=COM

[bagaji] =na =mu [raja ni taŋka] {jam -ok}
fortune-teller =DAT=com hundred two money/rupee finish -COS

‘On the ship (for the benefit of the ship), on drinking tea, on the fortune-teller the two hundred rupees were all spent [lit. ‘were finished’].’

The comitative marks A and S arguments. Example (453) shows how the comitative can appear only once in an NP and clause. In this example one of the constituents of the A argument of the reciprocal verb ol-rük- (speak-RC) ‘speak to each other’ is ellipsed as it is clear from the context. The two nouns in additive relation in the stated A NP are not in a comitative relation to each other, but are together in a comitative relation to the ellipsed A argument. Hence only one of the constituents of the NP is comitative-marked with the marker having scope over the whole NP.

(453) mama manithaŋgamuba olrukancakno.

[mama mani]A =thaŋ =ga =mu =ba
elder.brother mother-in-law =own =DREL =COM =EMPH

{o l -rük -an -ca -k} =no
speak -RC -REF -NEG -COS =QUOT

‘[He and] his elder brother [and] his mother-in-law did not speak to each other any more.’

In some cases, where the constituents of a comitative NP are doing something amongst themselves, the alternative is not used on both nouns as in the next example in which the comitative and the alternative mark the constituents of an S argument. The two nouns belong to the same NP, which is focused with the focus marker <=e> (FC) attached to the second noun in the clause.
The above examples all show comitatives used in coordinative constructions. Examples (433), (441) and (746) are good examples of basic comitative-marked participants in non-coordinative constructions.

As was mentioned above, an additive relation between nouns does not have to be marked with the comitative morpheme \(<=\text{mu}>\) (COM), but can be obtained by simple juxtaposition of two or more unmarked nouns. This is also the case with two juxtaposed unmarked personal pronouns. Example (455) here below illustrates an unmarked additive relation between two personal pronouns within the same NP. Note that Atong has a separate pronoun for the first person plural inclusive, viz. \(\text{na}^\text{nag}\). Note also that the combination pronoun-plus-noun is interpreted as a possessive relationship with the pronoun as the Possessor, e.g. \(\text{ag gawi}\) (1s girl) ‘my girl’.

(455) \(\text{re}^\text{e}^\text{e}^\text{n}^\text{i} \text{na}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\text{g}^\text{y} \text{ag}\).

\{\text{go.away} \text{-FUT} 2s 1s\} ‘[We] will go, you [and] I.’

20.6 The dative/allative case marker \(<=\text{na}>\)

The morpheme \(<=\text{na}>\) will be labelled as allative (ALL) when it marks Goal adjuncts, and will be labelled dative (DAT) in all other cases. The dative case marks the following NPs:

(A) Adjuncts,

(B) Clauses in adjunct function to any other verb (see Chapter 27).

(C) Complements of the postposition \(\text{daka}^\text{y}\) ‘before, earlier, in the past’ (see §27.3),
The morpheme <\textit{=na}> (DAT/ALL) marks NPs which are either Beneficiaries (456), Recipients (457), Goals, Experiencer (458) or Standard of comparison in comparative clauses (459), (460). Goal marking involves the locative case and is treated under multiple case marking in section 20.10. Example (414) above illustrates an unmarked Beneficiary/Recipient.

(456) \textit{hanep aŋa naŋʔna golpho balni.}

\begin{verbatim}
tomorrow 1s 2s =DAT story tell -FUT
\end{verbatim}

‘Tomorrow I will tell a story for you.’

(457) \textit{naʔa aŋna hənʔcakma?}

\begin{verbatim}
[naʔa]A [aŋ]RECIPIENT =na \{hənʔ -ca -k\} =ma
2s 1s =DAT give -NEG -COS =Q
\end{verbatim}

‘You will not give [some] to me any more?’

(458) \textit{aŋna atoŋ khuʔcuk nemen raka.}

\begin{verbatim}
[apo]EXPERIENCER =na [atoŋ khuʔcuk] \{nemen rak -a\}
1s =DAT Atong language very difficult -CUST
\end{verbatim}

‘To me the Atong language is very difficult.’ Alternatively: ‘I find the Atong language very difficult.’

(459) \textit{abun soŋna dayay ie soŋ hanseŋkhala.}

\begin{verbatim}
STANDARD ---------MARK--------- COMPAREE PARAMETER INDEX
[abun soŋ] =na \{day\} =ay [ie soŋ] \{hanseŋ -khal -a\}
next village =DAT be.bigger=ADV PRX village beautiful -CP -CUST
\end{verbatim}

‘The next village is much more beautiful than this village.’

(460) \textit{aŋ naŋʔna cuŋkhala.}

\begin{verbatim}
COMPAREE STANDARD MARK PARAMETER INDEX
[aŋ] [naŋʔna] =na \{cuŋ -khal -a\}
1s 2s =DAT big -CP -CUST
\end{verbatim}

‘I am bigger than you.’
20.7 Repeated dative case marking

Dative case marking is found to be repeated on enumerated nouns in a coordinated structure which are all NPs of the same verb, as in (461), where we see a sequence of three nouns marked by the dative. The dative-marked nouns all belong to different NPs which are coordinated.

(461) \textit{ucisa macana makbulna moymana paycaaymuŋ bəldəŋbəldaŋ jalna haʔbaceŋok.}

\textit{ucisa} [maca] =na [makbul] =na [moyma] =na \{pay -ca\} =ay =məŋ then \textit{tiger} =DAT\textit{bear} =DAT\textit{elephant} =DAT \textit{bear-NEG} =ADV =SEQ

[bəldəŋbəldaŋ] \{jal\} =na \{haʔbaceŋ -ok\} all.over.the.place run.away =DAT begin -COS

‘Then, not bearing the tigers, the bears and the elephants any more, [they] stared to run away all over the place.’

20.8 The accusative case \(<=\textit{aw} \sim =\textit{taw}>\)

The allomorph \(<=\textit{taw}>\) (ACC) is used when the NP it attaches to ends in /t/. The allomorph \(<=\textit{aw}>\) (ACC) is used everywhere else. The accusative marks a variety of NPs, viz.

- Patients (syntactic O arguments), treated in §20.8.1,
- Materials of which some artefact is made, treated in §20.8.2,
- the word \textit{ram} ‘road’ as Pathway of the verbs \textit{rayʔ} ‘to go’, \textit{rayʔa} ‘to come’ and \textit{reʔeŋ} ‘to go away’,
- the word \textit{caʔ} ‘foot/leg’ is used as an instrument, e.g. in the expression \textit{caʔ=aw reʔeŋ} (foot=ACC go.away), e.g. (420) and (490),

Moreover, the morpheme \(<=\textit{aw} \sim =\textit{taw}>\) (DREF) can be used purely to mark referentiality, individuation or definiteness on NPs that are fragments, as we will see in §20.8.3. In this case the label (DREF) ‘definite & referential’ is used. Fragment NPs are not predicative, as in presentative clauses (see §26.4) and are not part of a clause as argument, adjunct, nor are they topics. Finally, the morpheme \(<=\textit{aw} \sim =\textit{taw}>\) (DREF) is found on clause initial NPs that cannot be interpreted as Patient or O argument. This use will be treated in §20.8.4.
\(\text{(462)}\)  \(\text{ətəkəy rayʔisotwae rayʔmangabaaw rayʔthirithiri muʔna nажok.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ətəkəy} & \{\text{rayʔ} \quad \text{-sot} \quad \text{-wa}\} \quad =e \quad \{\text{rayʔ} \quad \text{-man}\} \quad =\text{gaba} \quad =\text{aw} \\
\text{like.that} & \quad \text{-go} \quad \text{-DIRECTLY} \quad \text{-FACT} \quad =\text{FC} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{-ALREADY} \quad =\text{ATTR} \quad =\text{ACC} \\
\{\text{rayʔ} \quad \text{-thiri} \quad \text{-thiri}\} & \quad \{\text{muʔ}\} \quad =\text{na} \quad \{\text{naŋ} \quad \text{-ok}\} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{-AGAIN-RED} \quad \text{stay} \quad =\text{DAT} \quad \text{need} \quad \text{-COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Like that [they] went directly [and they] had to keep taking (lit. ‘going’) [the road] which they had already gone again and again.’

### 20.8.1 The marking of O arguments

An O argument does not have to be case-marked. There are certain pragmatic conditions under which an O argument receives accusative marking. These conditions are summed up in Table 59.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 59</th>
<th>Pragmatic conditions for accusative case-marking of O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A)</td>
<td>position of the referent on the animacy hierarchy relative to any other NP or NPs in the clause or in the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B)</td>
<td>ambiguity about the semantic status or affectedness of the argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C)</td>
<td>referentiality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### A) Relative position of the referent in the animacy hierarchy

The higher an O argument is in the animacy hierarchy, the more likely it is to be accusative marked. This pragmatic criterion is connected to the ambiguity criterion treated below under B. The clause in the next example preceded the clause in (414) in the story of the Lion and the Fox. Here below in (463) we find the only argument siŋho ‘lion’ marked with the accusative. If there were no case marking the lion, being high in the animacy hierarchy, could be misinterpreted as the agent, as the one who did the appointing. Apart from that the lion is the new topic of the story. So here two criteria together are responsible for the accusative marking of the O, viz. position of the referent on the animacy hierarchy and topicality.

\(\text{(463)}\)  \(\text{_teʔdo siŋhoaw sopokno.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{teʔ}] & \quad =\text{do} \quad [\text{siŋho}]\text{PATIENT} \quad =\text{aw} \quad \{\text{soŋ} \quad \text{-ok}\} \quad =\text{no} \\
\text{now} & \quad =\text{TOP} \quad \text{lion} \quad =\text{ACC} \quad \text{appoint-COS} \quad =\text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Now [they] appointed the lion.’
B) AMBIGUITY ABOUT THE SEMANTIC STATUS OR AFFECTEDNESS OF THE ARGUMENT. An argument can be accusative marked to disambiguate its semantic status. Ambiguity is likely to occur if arguments of the same clause are on a par to each other in the animacy hierarchy, as in example (464). If the name of the person had not been accusative-marked, there could be confusion about who saw whom.

(464) naŋʔ ranustaw nukama nukanca?

\[naŋ\] \[ranus\] =**taw** \{nuk -a\} =ma \{nuk -an -ca\}
2s Name =ACC see -CUST =Q see -REF -NEG

‘Have you seen Ranus or not?’

In the next example the speaker marks the NP *wiliamnagal* ‘Williamnagar’ (a village name) with the accusative, because the verb *meŋ* ‘to call a name’ is used transitively and its O argument, the named entity, is a semantic Patient. *Wiliamnagal* ‘Williamnagar’ and *Symsanggre* (the former name of the same village) are both low on the animacy hierarchy. Therefore case marking is necessary in his case because there could be confusion about which is the affected participant, the O, if both were left unmarked since the order of the NPs in Atong is free. Since a place name is always uniquely referential and definite, affectedness of the participant is the dominating factor for the case-marking here. In Atong the named entity is seen as the affected argument and thus *wiliamnagal* ‘Williamnagar’ is accusative-marked and the other argument is unmarked for case. It is not possible for both NPs to be accusative-marked in this construction.

(465) *wiliamnagalaw* *səmsanggre* *noay* *məŋa.*

\[*wiliamnagal*]_O_ =aw \[*səmsanggre*]_E_ \{no\} =ay \{*məŋ -a\}
Pname =ACC Pname say =ADV call.a.name -CUST

‘Williamnagar used to be called Symsanggre.’ Alternatively: ‘[People] sayingly used to call Williamnagar Symsanggre.’

In the next example we see two animate NPs of the verb *meŋ* ‘to call someone or something a name’. Again the named entity is accusative-marked and the name, the E argument, is unmarked for case.
The normal way to make people to know what your name is in Atong is the following expression (467), where the verb \textit{məŋ} - 'to call a name' is an extended intransitive and neither of the arguments S or E are marked for clausal case. In this case there is no ambiguity about the syntactic status of the NPs.

If there is no ambiguity, i.e. when the situation of who did what to whom is clear from the context, the affected participant can be left unmarked for case, as in the next example, where the O argument \textit{jək} 'wife' is unmarked despite the high position in the animacy hierarchy. The context is as follows. In a country supposedly lived/lives a lazy king. He has two wives who have to carry him on their hands when he eats and sleeps. He is so lazy that he does not work, has no money and cannot sustain his two wives any more. The people are speaking disdainfully about him and so he feels ashamed and decides to run away. The ellipsed A in (468) is the lazy king.

In the next example we see a mix of animate and non-animate affected participants.

When the context is sufficiently clear, the affected participants are unmarked for case.
When the speaker thinks there is reason to doubt about the affected status of a participant, it is accusatively marked.

(469)  
tawʔreksərup maŋsa geʔthenəg thup phaŋnan moŋma phayʔay saʔroŋwana, moŋma mathayaw tapna reʔeŋyədoŋanoa. teʔedo ue moŋmaay rekeci thupay thupay muʔgabaaw phaŋnan phayʔay phayʔay saʔroŋano. atəkəyməŋ hawtəy reʔeŋwacian beŋblok maŋsaʔaw goronokno [...] sakhapci aŋ thupay muʔwaci phaŋnan aŋ thupawba payʔay payʔay saʔroŋa.

[tawʔreksərup maŋ sa] [geʔthen thup] [phaŋnan] [moŋma] banana.bird CLF:ANIMALS one 3s nest always elephant 

{ phayʔ } =ay { saʔ -roŋ -wa } =na
break =ADV eat -USUALLY -FACT =DAT

[ moŋma mathay ] =aw { tap } =na { reʔeŋ -aydoŋa } =no -wa
elephant bachelor.elephant =ACC hit =DAT go.away -PROG =QUOT -FACT

[ teʔe ] =do [ ue moŋma ] =ay [ rek ] =ci { thup } =ay { thup } =ay
now =TOP DST elephant =FC banana.tree =LOC to.nest =ADV to.nest =ADV

{ muʔ , -gaba } =aw { saʔ -roŋ -a } =no
stay =ATTR =ACC eat -USUALLY -CUST =QUOT

atəkəyməŋ [ hawtəy ] { reʔeŋ -wa } =ci =an
so.then REM go.away -FACT =LOC =FC/ID

[ beŋblok maŋ sa ] =aw { goron -ok } =no
toad CLF:ANIMALS one =ACC meet -COS =QUOT

[sala] [ sakhap ] =ci [ aŋ ] { thup } =ay { muʔ -wa } =ci
idiot type.of.tree =LOC 1s to.nest =ADV stay -FACT =LOC

[ phaŋnan ] [ aŋ thup ] =aw =ba { payʔ } =ay { payʔ } =ay
always 1s nest =ACC =EMPH break =ADV break =ADV

{ saʔ -roŋ -a }
eat -USUALLY -CUST

‘An elephant always breaks and eats (lit. ‘breakingly eats’) a banana bird’s nest (lit. ‘his nest’). Now as for the elephant, [he] always breaks the [thing] that stays nestingly in the banana tree. So when [the banana bird] goes way over there he meets a toad. [“Where are you going, friend?” asks the toad. “I am going to beat-up the elephant today”, he says. “Come on! I will also go.”] The idiot, when [I] nestingly stay in the sakhap tree [the elephant] always breaks and eats my nest.’

The next example shows an O argument without case marking but with focus marking. The situation, who does what to whom, is clear from the context.
C) Referentiality. In the next example the biscuits are referential. They are not just biscuits, they are the biscuits which the fox and the deer are trying to steal from the Bangladeshis as is already clear from what preceded in the story. The biscuits being significantly lower in the animacy hierarchy than the Bangladeshis, do not necessarily need to be accusative-marked to understand who does what to whom in this sentence.

(470) \([…]\) gambirimu gamsilimu jaʔnawmarane senthiokno.

\[\text{[gambiri]} = \text{mu} \quad \text{[gamsili]} = \text{mu} \quad \text{[jaʔnaw]} = \text{maran} = \text{e} \]
\(\text{type.of.tree} = \text{COM} \quad \text{type.of.tree} = \text{COM} \quad \text{sister} = \text{RC} = \text{FC}\)
\{\text{senthí-ok}\} = \text{no}

lament -\text{COS} = \text{QUOT}

‘[“When are you going to dress us in clothes?”] lamented the gambiri and gamsili tree to the “mutual” sisters (those who were sisters to each other).’

(471) atəkəyməŋ baŋgale biskutaw tanayməŋ […]

\(\text{atəkəyməŋ[bangal]} = \text{e} \quad \text{[biskut]} = \text{aw} \quad \{\text{tan}\} = \text{ay} = \text{məŋ}\)

so.then Bangladesh = \text{FC} \quad \text{biscuit} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{put} = \text{ADV} = \text{SEQ}

‘So then, the Bangladeshis having put [down] the biscuits[: “Hey, that deer is lame”, he said and chased it].

In an NP consisting of a demonstrative and a noun it may occur that the demonstrative receives the accusative case marking and not the following noun. The case marker still has scope over the whole NP. Maybe this preferential marking of the demonstrative instead of the noun has to do with the fact that demonstratives are inherently more referential than nouns.

(472) umido uaw kamal sandini. uaw waʔphekgumuk, waʔ pangumuk

\(\text{tharitəloŋaymusa} […]\)

\(\text{umido} \quad [u = \text{aw} \quad \text{kamal}] \quad \{\text{sandi} - \text{ni}\} \]

then \(\text{DST} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{priest search} - \text{FUT}\)

\([u = \text{aw} \quad \text{waʔphek}] \quad = \text{gumuk} \quad [\text{waʔ} \quad \text{pan}] = \text{gumuk}\)

\(\text{DST} = \text{ACC} \quad \text{small.type.of.bamboo} = \text{all} \quad \text{bamboo} = \text{firewood} = \text{all}\)

\{\text{thari} - \text{θəloŋ}\} = \text{ay} = \text{mu} = \text{sa}

\(\text{prepare-NICELY} = \text{ADV} = \text{SEQ} = \text{DLIM}\)

‘Then [they] will look for that priest, all that small bamboo [and] bamboo for the fire (alternatively ‘bamboo and firewood’) are nicely prepared…’
20.8.2 Marking of material of which something is made

The enclitic \(<=\text{aw} \sim =\text{taw}>\) (ACC) is found marking the Material of which some artefact is made. The NP referring to the artefact itself can be unmarked for case when it is a Patient, as in (473). In the first clause of example (473) we see that Material \(\text{haʔbəkuŋ} \) ‘sand’ is marked with the accusative, whereas the Patient NP \(\text{morot} \) ‘person’ is clearly a Patient and unmarked for case. More fieldwork is needed to find out if the accusative-marked Material NP functions syntactically as a modifier in a larger, complex NP with the noun denoting the artefact.

The last clause of example (473) contains one of the few nouns that can also fully function as a verb, i.e. \(\text{cəwgən} \) ‘the festival of the dead’ and \(\text{cəwgən-} \) ‘to celebrate the festival of the dead’.

(473) \(\text{haʔbəkuŋaw morot takaymuba kaŋkelekaw soʔotaymu cigərəŋ dəmcəraŋsaŋ dakaŋmi acu ambitekəy dəthəyciyay takaymu uan meʔmaŋ saʔwetokno, cəwgənokno.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[haʔbəkuŋ]} =\text{aw} \quad [\text{morot}]_0 \quad \{\text{tak}\} =\text{ay} \quad =\text{mu} \quad =\text{ba} \quad [\text{kaŋkelek}] =\text{aw} \\
\text{sand} \quad =\text{ACC} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{make}=\text{ADV} \quad =\text{SEQ} \quad =\text{EMPH} \quad \text{lizard} \quad =\text{ACC} \\
\{\text{soʔrot}\} =\text{ay} \quad =\text{mu} \quad [\text{cigərəŋ}] \quad =\text{saŋ} \quad [\text{dəmcəraŋ}] \quad =\text{saŋ} \\
\text{kill} \quad =\text{ADV} \quad =\text{SEQ} \quad \text{snare.instrument} =\text{INSTR} \quad \text{snare.instrument} =\text{INSTR} \\
\{\text{dakaj} =\text{mi} \quad \text{acu} \quad \text{ambi}\} =\text{tokay} \quad \{\text{dəthəy} =\text{cig} =\text{ay}\} \\
\text{before} \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{grandpa} \quad \text{grandma} =\text{LIKE} \quad \text{kill} \quad \text{-FIRST} =\text{ADV} \\
\{\text{tak}\} =\text{ay} \quad =\text{mu} \quad [\text{u}] =\text{an} \quad [\text{meʔmaŋ}] \quad \{\text{sawʔ} -\text{et} \quad -\text{ok}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{do} \quad =\text{ADV} \quad =\text{SEQ} \quad \text{DST}=\text{FC/ID} \quad \text{ghost} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{-CAUS} \quad \text{-COS} =\text{QUOT} \\
\{\text{cəwgən} \quad -\text{ok}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{celebrate.the.festival.of.the.dead -COS =QUOT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Having made a person out of sand and having killed a lizard, with [their] string instruments, like [their] ancestors from long ago [they] killed and burned the ghost, it is said [and] celebrated the festival of the dead.’

\[40\text{After a person dies the spirit continues to live in the house for a year. Sometimes a small house is built in front of the deceased’s house for its spirit to live in. The burning of the ghost is a ceremony which is performed one year after the death of a person as described above or, when appropriate, by burning the small house of the spirit. The spirit of the dead person then leaves the house and travels to the land of the dead through the way of the forest fire. The land of the dead is Balpakram, now a national park on the border with Bangladesh and the Khasi Hills.} \]
In example (474) we see that both the Material NP, *pan* ‘wood’, and the artefact NP, in this case modified by an Attributive clause (see Chapter 29), are accusative-marked.

(474) [...] *bondək*aw *payay*, *panaw* *jap khaʔgabaaw* *kawtawna* *thəmokno.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bondək]} &= aw & \text{[pay]} &= ay & \text{[pan]} &\rightarrow aw & \text{[jap]} \\
\text{gun} &= \text{ACC} & \text{carry.in.hand} &= \text{ADV} & \text{wood} &= \text{ACC} & \text{defence.wall} \\
\text{[khaʔ]} &= gaba &\rightarrow aw & \text{[kaw-taw]} &= na & \text{[thəm -ok]} &= na & \text{[kaw -taw]} &= na \\
\text{make} &= \text{ATTR} & \text{shoot-UPWARD} &= \text{DAT} & \text{lie.in.ambush-COS} &= \text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘…carrying guns [using] the defence wall made of wood [they] laid in ambush to shoot upward, it is said.’

20.8.3 Purely referential/individuating/definiteness usage of the morpheme 
\(<=aw \sim =taw>\)

The morpheme \(<=aw \sim =taw>\) can be used purely as a marker of referentiality, individuation and definiteness on NPs that are neither predicates, as in presentative clauses (see §26.4), nor part of a clause, i.e. fragments or free constituents (see Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 187). The best label for the morpheme in these cases is (DREF) ‘definite & referential’. Definiteness & referential marking in this case is used for emphasis. Examples (475) and (476) are illustrative. The context from which example (476) is taken is as follows. A cunning man called Theng•ton \([t^hənʔton]\) has been trapped in a big basket by the people of his village, who want to drown him in the river. On the way to the river, Teng•ton’s carriers take a break to eat. While they are not paying attention to the basket, a Nepali arrives and asks:
“atakgaba morot?” nochie “aŋ, aŋjawdo!”

“Hey! Who are you, [the one who] entered into the cage-basket?”, [the Nepali] said, it is said. Then: “It is supposedly me!” [Theng•ton] said, it is said. When [the Nepali] said: “What kind of person?” [literally: ‘a person who does what?’], [Theng•ton said:] “Me, me!”

In the above example we see that the definite- & referential-marked fragment (underlined) in the last line is the emphatic answer to the question asked in the line above. The context illustrates the reason for the emphasis: the Nepali had already asked who Theng•ton was before, and when he asked a second time, Theng•ton answered emphatically to make sure the Nepali got the message. The definite- & referential-marked fragment NP has no other reason to be marked as such other than to emphatically indicate its referentiality or individuation, since it does not comply with any of the other criteria to be accusative-marked, viz. being a Patient or O argument, a Material etc. as listed in §20.8. The fragment is not only definite- & referential-marked but also topic-marked for extra emphasis, although this topic-marking is not obligatory on accusative-marked fragments, as we can see in the next example.

Example (476), below, illustrates another instance of a definite-& referential-marked fragment. The speaker starts telling a story, and breaks off the second

---

41 A koksep is the term for a variety of big, loosely woven bamboo baskets in which animals, usually chicken and pigs, are kept while they are being transported to and sold at the market.
sentence – which ends in a rising intonation indicating that the sentence was not
finished yet – in order to state his name for the recording. He first announces that he
wants to do this by the definite- & referential-marked fragment \(\text{ag}=\text{mi} \ \text{bim}=\text{aw}\)
\(1s=\text{GEN} \ \text{name}=\text{DREF}\) ‘this name of mine’. This fragment has a falling intonation
and is therefore a statement on its own; it does not belong to the next clause. The
fragment is referential, definite and introduces a new topic. Contrary to example (475)
above, the fragment is not topic-marked, despite the fact that a new topic is
introduced. The morpheme \(<=\text{aw} ~ =\text{taw}>=\) (ACC/DREF) marks only referential NPs
which can be topical in addition (see 20.8).

(476) \(\text{aga imi } \text{gəmən=aw baletni. } \text{ie } \text{əəə dakaŋmi acu ambi…. } \text{əəə aŋmi } \text{biməŋ=aw.}\)
\(\text{aŋmi biməŋ genda ar marak.}\)
\(\text{aga } i ~ =\text{mi } \text{gəmən } =\text{aw } \text{balet } =\text{ni} 1s \ PC\ =\text{GEN} \ \text{ABOUT } =\text{ACC} \ \text{tell-CAUS } =\text{-FUT}\)
\(\text{ie } \text{əəə } \text{dakaŋ } =\text{mi } \text{acu } \text{ambi PRX } \text{interj:HESITATION in.the.past } =\text{GEN} \ \text{grandfather } \text{grandmother}\)
\(\text{əəə } \text{ag } =\text{mi } \text{biməŋ } =\text{aw=aw FRAGMENT}\)
\(\text{interj:HESITATION } 1s =\text{GEN} \ \text{name } =\text{ACC}\)
\(\text{ag } =\text{mi } \text{biməŋ genda } =\text{ar marak}\)
\(1s =\text{GEN} \ \text{name } \text{Pname } \text{SURNAME}\)
‘I will tell about this. These, uh, ancestors of the past… Uh, this name of mine.
My name is Genda R Marak.’

The marking of fragments with the morpheme \(<=\text{aw} ~ =\text{taw}>=\) (ACC/DREF) is very
common in Atong and speakers of all ages do it.

20.8.4 The morpheme \(<=\text{aw} ~ =\text{taw}>=\) on clause initial topical S arguments
Two instances have been discovered in the recorded corpus of language material
where a clause initial NP that cannot possibly be interpreted as Patient or O argument
is marked with the accusative enclitic \(<=\text{aw}>=\) (ACC). These instances, represented
below as examples (477) and (478), occur in texts of two different older speakers. The
speaker who produced (478) was very old. Example (477) comes from TEXT 2 (line
24) and the wider context of (478) can be found in (348).
(477) *khurutna sapgaba morotawsa* [pause] *songumukciba sọŋci paŋʔramaria.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[khurut]} \quad \text{=na} \quad \text{=gaba} \quad \text{=sa} \\
\text{perform.an.incantation} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{know.a.skill} \quad \text{ATTR} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{ACC} \\
\text{[sọŋ]} \quad \text{=gumuk} \quad \text{=ba} \quad \text{[sọŋ]} \quad \text{=ci} \\
\text{village} \quad \text{whole} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{emph} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{LOC} \\
\text{paŋʔ -ram -ari -a} \\
\text{be.many} \quad \text{-FORTUITOUSLY} \quad \text{-SIMP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘As for precisely those people [who] know how to perform incantations, in all villages [and] in this village, [there are] many [of them] for no good reason.’

(478) *manʔgabaaw səʔphet rəŋphet.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[manʔ =gaba]} \quad \text{TOPIC/S} \quad \text{=aw} \quad \text{=sa -phet} \quad \text{=pəŋ -phet} \\
\text{have} \quad \text{ATTR} \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{-TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT} \quad \text{drink} \quad \text{-TO.ONE’S.DETRIMENT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The one’s who are rich (lit. ‘who have’) [are] eaters to their [own] detriment [and] are drunkards to their [own] detriment.’

Although not marked by the topic enclitic <do> (TOP) (see §19.13) or the focus enclitic <e> (FC) (see §19.14), the accusative-marked NPs in both examples above introduce new topics. These topics are referential and definite and therefore marked by the accusative enclitic <aw> (ACC); in (477) the accusative-marked NP is also delimitative-marked for a more precise reference. In (477) the new topic is separated from the rest of the clause by a pause, but there is no such pause in (478).

Both accusative marked NPs function as S argument in their respective sentences. In (477) the NP *khurutna sapgaba morotawsa* ‘precisely those people [who] know how to perform incantations’ is the S of the predicate *paŋʔramaria* ‘are many for no good reason’. In (478) the NP *manʔgabaaw* ‘the ones who have’ is a headless attributive clause (see Chapter 29) functioning as the S argument of the predicates *saʔphet* ‘eat to one’s detriment’ and *rəŋphet* ‘drink to one’s detriment’. In §18.9 is argued that these are actually nominal predicates (see also §22.5).

In the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson, 1902: 86-88), reverend E.G. Philips uses the gloss ‘the’ every time the accusative/definite morpheme occurs. He correctly recognised that this morpheme only occurs on referential and definite NPs. Maybe a hundred years ago the sole purpose of the morpheme <aw ~ taw> was one like the definite article in English, marking NPs as referential and definite. In the language of
today this morpheme has developed a second function, i.e. that of accusative marker that helps to distinguish O arguments from other NPs, but only when the O is definite and referential.

Since S and A are always unmarked for case and O can only be marked with the morpheme \(=aw \sim =taw\) (ACC) when it is referential and definite and since the morpheme \(=aw \sim =taw\) (ACC/DREF) does not exclusively mark O arguments, the syntactic and semantic function of unmarked NPs has to be assessed pragmatically.

### 20.8.5 Repeated accusative case marking

Accusative marking is found to be repeated for emphasis as in (479) and (480). The accusative-marked NPs in (480) are in apposition to each other and have the same semantic and syntactic roles. That the accusative-marked NPs are in apposition and not part of one complex NP is apparent by the pauses in between the accusative marked clausal constituents. In example (480) the pauses are marked in seconds.

\[(479)\]  
\[udo jəwʔgabado uaw, diʔawba, asetca.\]

\[
[u] =do [jəwʔ] =gaba =do [u] =aw \ [diʔ] =aw =ba \ [asset \ -ca]
\]

\[DST =TOP \ mother =DREL =TOP \ DST =ACC \ shit =ACC =EMPH \ throw.away \ -NEG\]

‘That mother does not throw that [stuff], the shit, away. [She simply collected the vegetables and cooked them]’

The next example illustrates the co-occurrence of accusative case marking and focus/identification-marking on the noun *gumuk* ‘all, everything’. The reason for the accusative marking here is ambiguity about the semantic status of *gumuk* ‘all, everything’. If unmarked it could be interpreted as referring to the women who collected their husbands and not to the husbands.
When a noun is modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative and the noun often both take the case-marker, e.g. (479) and (494).

### 20.8.6 More than one accusative marked NP in a clause

In (490) we can see accusative marking on two different NPs with different syntactic and semantic functions. In that example *sam* ‘grass’ is the actual O argument, whereas *caʔ* ‘foot’ is an adjunct in the semantic function of instrument. The noun *caʔ* ‘foot’ is always accusative-marked when used as an instrument while other body parts and other instruments are marked with the instrumental case <=saŋ (INSTR), e.g. 

\[cak=saŋ khaʔgaba\] (hand=INSTR make=ATTR) ‘made by hand’.

Another clause type where we can find two accusative-marked NPs is the causative clause. Causative clauses with two accusative-marked NPs have been obtained by elicitation as they did not occur in any of the recorded materials (481). Causativisation is treated in the chapter on valency changing derivation. In the next example the animacy hierarchy makes it clear that the third person singular (*geʔtheŋ*) is the Causee argument acting in turn on the girl (*gawi*) which is lower on the animacy hierarchy. The real O argument (481) is *gawi* ‘girl’ because, as we can see in (482), the Causee can be instrumental-marked if lower on the animacy hierarchy than the O. Common nouns are lower in the animacy hierarchy than pronouns.

\[(481)\] \[aŋ geʔtheŋaw gawiaw soʔotetwa.\]

1s 3s =ACC girl =ACC kill -CAUS -FACT

‘I made him kill the girl.’
When you want to express the reverse, i.e. ‘I made the girl kill him’, the girl has to be instrumental-marked because it is lower in the animacy hierarchy than the third person geʔthey (3s) (482).

(482) ąŋ geʔtheyaw gawisanŋ soʔotetwa.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[ąŋ]} & \text{[geʔthey]} & =\text{aw} & \text{[gawi]} =\text{sanŋ} \{\text{soʔot \ -et \ -wa}\} \\
1\text{s} & 3\text{s} & \text{ACC} & \text{girl} =\text{INSTR} \text{ kill \ -CAUS \ -FACT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I made the girl kill him’

20.9 The homophonous markers <=takəy> (VIA) for the perlative and <=takəy> (LIKE) for the similative

Although the markers are homophonous, they are presumably used in two historically related but synchronically different grammatical processes. We can hypothesise that similative is a derivational morpheme, viz. an adverbialiser. A similative-marked NP indicates how the action denoted by the verb takes place. The perlative is not adverbialising because semantically the NP it occurs on refers to a pathway, and so it does not indicate how the action denoted by the verb is done, but via which place or path an action takes place. The reading of the specific function of the morpheme depends on the word class it enclitisises to, the semantics of the verb and the context.

The analysis seems problematic since we cannot know if the Atong speakers conceptualise the two possible functions of the morpheme <=takəy> (VIA/LIKE) as one cognitive operation or not. If for the Atong speakers marking an NP or adverbial clause with the marker under discussion is one cognitive operation, then I would assume it is an adverbialising one. This would mean that Atong speakers conceptualise ‘doing something in the way their forefathers did’ (473) in the same way as ‘going in a Baghmara-like fashion’ (483).

(483) naʔnaŋ bagmara\text{atakəy } reʔeni.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[naʔnaŋ]} & \text{[bagmara]PATHWAY =takəy} & \{\text{reʔen} \ -ni}\} \\
1\pi & \text{Pname} & =\text{VIA} & \text{go.away \ -FUT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We will go through/via Baghmara.’
A purely adverbialising function is also what one would expect considering the origin and grammaticalisation path of the morpheme \( \leqslant \təkəy \) (VIA/LIKE) as explained below, i.e. coming from a grammaticalised adverbial clause with the predicate ətək- ‘do like this/that’.

Since it is impossible to know the conceptualising processes that go on in the mind of an Atong speaker, one could argue that “splitting” the morpheme into two homophonous enclitics with different grammatical functions is arbitrary or based on the grammar of the language in which this grammar is written, e.g. English.

There is one argument in favour of a cognitive split. There are separate interrogatives in Atong that ask for the pathway, viz. bi=təkəy (QF=via) ‘via which way?’ and for the way some action came about or is done, viz. atəŋ=təkəy (what?=like) ‘doing what?/why?/how?’ (484).

An argument against the split is the fact that the marker \( \leqslant \təkəy \) (VIA/LIKE) appears on the predicate heads of non-verbal clauses like (492). Adverbs cannot be predicate heads of non-verbal clauses.

Thus I describe the perlative/similative enclitic as a case enclitic that marks constituents as Pathway or Facsimile adjuncts (peripheral arguments), depending on contextual interpretation.

(484)  
\[ a\text{təŋtəkəy tayʔnido thawoksəyi jaʔbek? } \]
\[ a\text{təŋ } =\text{təkəy } [\text{tayʔn} ] =\text{do } \{ \text{thaw } -\text{ok} \} =\text{sy } [\text{jaʔbek} ] \]
\[ \text{what } =\text{LIKE today } =\text{TOP tasty } -\text{COS } =\text{MIR curry} \]
\[ \text{’Why is [it] so tasty today, the curry?’} \]

The following examples illustrate the use of the similative enclitic on a prototypical noun (485), and on a classifier-numeral phrase (486).

(485)  
\[ \text{phulistəkəy nukramphinokno bunduk paygana. } \]
\[ [\text{phulis} ] =\text{təkəy } \{ \text{nukram } -\text{phin } -\text{ok} \} =\text{no } \]
\[ \text{police } =\text{LIKE see } -\text{-INADVERTENTLY-OBVIOUSLY-COS } =\text{QUOT} \]
\[ [\text{bunduk} ] \{ \text{pay} \} =\text{ga} ] =\text{na } \]
\[ \text{gun carry.in.hands } =\text{ATTR } =\text{DAT} \]
\[ \text{’[They] inadvertently obviously looked like the police, it is said, because of the carrying of guns.’} \]
(486) Fdo paŋʔaydo sapdamca. məŋʔsa məŋʔnitəkəy sapa.

\[
\begin{align*}
[u] &= \text{do} \{ \text{paŋʔ} \} =\text{ay} =\text{do} \{ \text{sap} \} =\text{-dam} =\text{-ca} \\
\text{DST} &= \text{TOP} \text{many} =\text{ADV} =\text{TOP} \text{know.a.skill-TRUELY} -\text{NEG} \\
[məŋʔ? \quad \text{sa} \quad məŋʔ? \quad u] &= \text{təkəy} \{ \text{sap} \} -\text{a} \\
\text{CLF:HUMANS one} \quad \text{CLF:HUMANS two} &= \text{LIKE} \text{know.a.skill-CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Not many [people] truly know that skill. [They only] one-or-two-ingly know the skill.’ (i.e. ‘only one or two of them know the skill’).

It seems that morpheme <=təkəy> (VIA/LIKE) is a grammaticalised form of the non-finite form of verb atək=ay (do.like this/that=ADV) with reduced vowel quality of the non-finite enclitic <=ay> (ADV) and loss of the non-productive prefix <ə> (?) which makes it phonologically less heavy and more apt to be an enclitic.

Grammaticalised differently, but from the same source is the adverb atəkəy ‘like that’, e.g. (487), which in turn is more grammaticalised than the homophonous discourse connective atəkəy ‘so then’ which still has a verbal property in that it can take the sequential marker <=məŋ ~ =məŋ ~ =mumə> (SEQ).

(487) atəkəy tawʔphinbo.

\[
\begin{align*}
atəkəy \ \{ \text{tawʔ} \ \text{-phin} \} &= \text{bo} \\
\text{like.that ascend =BACK =IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Go back up like that/through that way.’

The perlative is the most grammaticalised form since it is no longer adverbialiser but marks adjuncts indicating a pathway. Tracing this path of grammaticalisation helps us to explain the adverbialising character of the similative function of the case marker <=təkəy> (LIKE). The whole grammaticalisation path of this case marker is summarised in Table 60.

Table 60  The grammaticalisation path of the case marker
<=təkəy> (VIA/LIKE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb ➔</th>
<th>non-finite form ➔</th>
<th>discourse conjunctive ➔</th>
<th>adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atək- ‘to do like this/that’</td>
<td>atək=ay (do.like this/that=ADV)</td>
<td>atəkəy ‘so then’</td>
<td>atəkəy ‘like this/that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘doing thusly’</td>
<td></td>
<td>similative ➔ perlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;=təkəy&gt; (LIKE)</td>
<td>&lt;=təkəy&gt; (VIA)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here below is an example of the perlative on demonstratives.

(488) (Speaker A) *itəkəy reʔeŋnima itəkəy?* (Speaker B) *utəkəy.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[i &=təkəy] & \{\text{reʔeŋ }-n\} &=ma \quad [i &=təkəy] & [u &=təkəy] \\
\text{PRX} &=\text{VIA} & \text{go.away }-\text{FUT} &=Q & \text{PRX} &=\text{VIA} & \text{DST} &=\text{VIA} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(Speaker A) Will we be going through here or through here? (Speaker B) Through there.’

Relativised clauses can also take the perlative enclitic as is illustrated in the following example.

(489) *samna jekay rəkgabatəkəy rəka, kamalnado.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[sam] &=\text{na} \quad [\text{jekay }\{\text{rək}\}] &=\text{gaba} \quad =təkəy \quad \{\text{rəka}\} \quad [\text{kamal}] &=\text{na} \quad =\text{do} \\
\text{medicine=} &=\text{DAT} & \text{some search=} &=\text{ATTR} & \text{=VIA} & \text{search priest} &=\text{DAT} &=\text{TOP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Medicine is sought through some searcher, for the priest.’

The following example shows the similative on a demonstrative. The utterance was accompanied by gestures of the speaker.

(490) *samaw caʔaw itəkəy tokano.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[sam] &=\text{aw} \quad [\text{caʔ} ] &=\text{aw} \quad [i &=təkəy] & \{\text{tok }-a\} &=\text{no} \\
\text{grass } &=\text{ACC} & \text{foot } &=\text{ACC} & \text{PRX } &=\text{LIKE} & \text{hit } &=\text{-CUST} &=\text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘[They] trample the grass like this with [their] feet.’ Alternatively: ‘[They] hit the grass like this on foot.’

In the example here below the similative appears on a time word, i.e. *tayʔsa* ‘just a little while ago’. Time words are noun-like but do not have all the properties of a prototypical noun.

(491) *uan tayʔsatəkəy kantarəaw kərəkərək reʔeŋayməŋ səŋʔe tthiri okno.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[u] &=\text{an} \quad [\text{tayʔsa}] &=\text{təkəy} \quad [\text{kantarə}] &=\text{aw} \quad [\text{kərəkərək}] \\
\text{DST} &=\text{FC/ID} & \text{a.little.while.ago} &=\text{LIKE} & \text{emptiness } &=\text{ACC} & \text{quickly} \\
\{\text{reʔeŋ} \} &=\text{ay} \quad =\text{mag} \quad \{\text{səŋʔ }-\text{et} -\text{thiri }-\text{ok}\} &=\text{no} \\
\text{go.away } &=\text{ADV} & \text{=SEQ} & \text{ask } &=\text{-CAUS} & \text{-AGAIN-COS} &=\text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Like just a little while earlier he quickly went to the emptiness and asked again.’
Example (492) illustrates the simulative on a demonstrative which functions as the predicate head of a verbless clause.

(492)  phalthaŋci waʔcurek saʔna manʔarino. naʔnaŋba utəkəy.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[} & \text{[phalthaŋ =ci waʔcurek]} \text{ {saʔ} =na \text{ {manʔ -ari} =no} \\
\text{self =LOC capacity eat =DAT be.able -SIMP=QUOT} \\
\text{[naʔnap] =ba \text{ {[u] =takəy}}} \\
\text{1pi =ADD DST =LIKE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[Earthworms] can only eat their own capacity. We are also like that.’

20.10 Multiple case marking

This section sums up all the examples with multiple case marking from this chapter and presents some new examples as well. Dixon (2002: 148-9), in his summary of double case in Australian languages, presents three types of double occurrence of case morphemes on an NP:

(a) marking of phrasal function (genitive, comitative, privative) plus marking of clausal function (ergative, accusative, dative, instrumental, etc.);
(b) local marking plus marking of clausal function;
(c) marking of clausal function plus marking of clausal function.

Atong has interesting variations on (a) and (b); there is no construction akin to Dixon’s type (c). We can clearly see that Atong uses case marking to indicate semantic roles which I will indicate where appropriate.

20.10.1 Local/Direction marking + marking of clausal function

This type of double case-marking is akin to Dixon’s type be (b) mentioned above.

i Location and O

In (493) and (494) we see a use of the marker \(<=say\) as a locative.\(^{42}\) Baljon\(=say\) (Pname=MOB) ‘at Baljong’ is a local modifier and functions as afterthought in post-

\(^{42}\) This marker grammaticalised from the noun *\(say\) ‘side, place’ now only found as a bound morpheme in some nouns. Compounding with this bound morpheme is not productive.
verbal position. It is marked with accusative marker \(<aw>\) (ACC) because the NP is referential and definite.

(493) \textit{dakag haʔ sawʔ wacəm, baljoŋsaŋaw.}

\begin{verbatim}
[ dakag] [ haʔ] { sawʔ -wa} =cəm [ baljoŋ] =saŋ =aw
before land burn -FACT =IRR Pname =MOB =ACC

‘In the past [people] supposedly burned the land, [the land] at Baljong.’ (i.e. they practised slash-and-burn agriculture).
\end{verbatim}

(494) \textit{ətəkəymuŋna haʔ hawʔay saʔayroŋno, usaŋaw rangpənramsaŋaw haʔ hawʔay saʔayroŋno.}

\begin{verbatim}
ətəkəymuŋna { haʔ hawʔ} =ay {saʔ ayroŋ} =no =ay
so.then soil clear.the.jungle =ADV eat -PROG =QUOT =MIR
[ u] =saŋ =saŋ =saŋ =saŋ =aw =aw =aw =aw
aŋpənram =aw
-DST =MOB =ACC Pname =ACC soil clear.the.jungle =ADV

{saʔ -ayroŋ} =no
eat -PROG =QUOT

‘So then, [she] is living off a rice field, it is said, [she] is living off that rice field at Rangpynram, it is said.’
\end{verbatim}

ii Marking a Location as a Goal

Besides marking Beneficiary, Recipient and Experiencer (see section 20.6, this chapter) the morpheme \(<na>\) (DAT/ALL) can also mark a Goal, in which case the morpheme is labelled as the allative case marker. NPs referring to Goals have to be obligatorily allative-marked. Only locations can be Goals and thus a Goal also needs to be obligatorily locative-marked. The locative \(<ci>\) (LOC) marks the NP as a location. The allative marker has a clausal function. Thus we find double marking for semantic role on NPs functioning as Goals. The locative case is marked closest to the root or stem, followed by the allative marker, i.e. \(<ci=na>\) (LOC=ALL) as is illustrated here below in (495) and above in (421) and (439).
Locative-allative marking is found repeated on two nouns within the same NP which are in an additive relation to each other in (496). Both nouns are modified by the reduplicated type 2 adjective *dəŋthɑŋ* ‘different’. The reduplication of the adjective indicates plural in this case. In (497) the locative-allative marking is found repeated on two nouns belonging to different NPs in coordination.

(496) *ətəkəysa dəŋthɑŋdəŋthɑŋ* soŋcina *bihapcina jalthokna gaʔakok.*

‘So then [they] were compelled to all run away to different villages [and] to [different] places.’

(497) *mɑy bətwamɑŋdɑo pucicina soncina khayrata.*

‘The rice harvest is carried down on the body to the rice stock house, to the village.’

20.10.2 Local marking + local marking: Direction and Source

In (498) the implication of the mobilitative plus ablative marking is ‘movement away from something’. Therefore, semantically, the combination of mobilitative + ablative marks the NP for movement and source.
(498)  *phorenmi morot rayʔʔadoŋa, phorensaŋmi rayʔaydoŋa.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[phoren} & \quad =\text{mi morot]} \quad \{\text{rayʔ} \quad -\text{aydoŋa}][\text{phoren]} \quad =\text{saŋ} \quad -\text{mi} \\
\text{foreign.country} & =\text{GEN} \quad \text{person come} \quad =\text{PROG} \quad \text{foreign.country} \quad =\text{MOB} \quad =\text{ABL} \\
\{\text{ray} \quad -\text{aydoŋa}\} \\
\text{come-PROG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Persons belonging to foreign countries are coming, [they] are coming from foreign countries.’

### 20.10.3 Local marking + local marking + clausal function: Direction, Source and O

The following example illustrates how an NP, in this case a demonstrative, is marked by three cases. It is marked as Direction by the mobilitative, as a Source by the ablative. The motivation for the accusative marking is referentiality and definiteness, and to mark the constituent as a Patient. The NP under discussion is underlined.

(499)  *ie caʔmasaŋgmi way khurutcido ue həysaŋmiaw baŋgəladesmi thəlʔ=koŋosmi jaria haʔgərsak gumukawan məŋani.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ie caʔma} & \quad =\text{mi way]} \quad \{\text{khurut} =\text{ci} =\text{do}[\text{ue} \\
\text{PRX} \quad \text{downstream} & =\text{MOB} \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{Spirit summon} =\text{LOC} =\text{TOP} =\text{DST} \\
\text{hay] =\text{saŋ} \quad -\text{mi} =\text{aw} \quad [\text{baŋgəlades} =\text{mi} \quad \text{thəlʔ}] \quad [\text{koŋos} =\text{mi} \\
\text{far.away} & =\text{MOB} =\text{ABL} =\text{ACC} \quad \text{Pname} =\text{GEN} \quad \text{up.to} \quad \text{Pname} =\text{GEN} \\
\text{jaria} \quad [\text{haʔgərsak}] & =\text{gumuk} =\text{aw} =\text{an} \quad \{\text{məŋa} \quad -\text{ni}\} \\
\text{influence} & =\text{the.world/everything} =\text{everything} =\text{ACC} =\text{FC/ID} \quad \text{call.upon-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘When he summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the area of Kongos, all of them.’

### 20.10.4 Marking of clausal function first and then of phrasal function

The following example illustrates double case marking with the dative and the comitative. The example is the same as (452) above and also illustrates how the comitative case marks nouns belonging to different peripheral NPs in a clause. The dative marker `<na>` (DAT) has a clausal function, marking the NPs as Recipients and the nominalised clause ca ray (tea drink) as a Purpose adjunct, and the comitative indicates the relation between the NPs, which is a phrasal function. The dative marking is repeated because the NPs are enumerated and therefore coordinated.
20.10.5 Stem-forming genitive governed by \(<gəmən>\) ‘reason, about’

The postposition \(<gəmən>\) ‘reason, about’ occurs with the genitive case. Thus the genitive functions as a stem-forming suffix as treated in section 20.4 B. Examples can be found in §13.3. This postposition only marks adjuncts.

In the following example the proximal demonstrative carries the genitive governed by the postposition \(<gəmən>\) ‘reason, about’. The whole NP receives accusative marking because it is referential.

\[(501)\]  
\[aŋa \text{ imi} =gəmənaw \text{ baletni.}\]

\[
[\text{aŋa}] =\text{ mi} =gəmən =\text{ aw} \{\text{ bal} -\text{ et} -\text{ ni}\};
\]

\[
1s \ PRX =\text{ GEN} \ about =\text{ ACC} \ tell -\text{ CAUS} -\text{ FUT}
\]

‘I will tell about this.’

20.11 Repeated case marking summary

Repeated case marking means that more than one noun in a sequence of nouns is marked with the same case. Double case is always repeated as a whole. The motivations for repeated case marking differ from case to case. The motivations and the cases for which the motivation holds are listed in Table 61.

Table 61  What cases are found repeated and why.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIVATION</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns in additive relationship within an NP</td>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td>(450)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOCATIVE-dative</td>
<td>(496)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumeration/ Coordination</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>(461)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DATIVE=COMITATIVE</td>
<td>(452)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOCATIVE-dative</td>
<td>(497)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis / Referentiality</td>
<td>ACCUSATIVE</td>
<td>(479), (480)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cases for which repetition is not attested: mobilitative/instrumental/locative \(<=\text{\textit{s}an}>\) (MOB/INSTR/LOC), locative \(<=\text{\textit{c}i}>\) (LOC), perative/similative \(<=\text{\textit{t}e\textit{k}e}>\) (VIA/LIKE). All NPs in a comitative relationship are marked with the comitative case. A single comitative-marked NP in a clause can occur when the other comitative argument is ellipsed, e.g. (453), when the action is reciprocal e.g. (454), or when the comitative is used to express a simple comitative relation on an NP rather than comitative coordination., e.g. (433), (441) and (746).
Chapter 21 Transitivity

Transitivity in Atong is a property of a construction that corresponds to a clause and therefore a discourse phenomenon that involves more than the argument frame of a verb, as has been described for Iatmul (Ndu family, East Sepik, Papua New Guinea, see Jendraschek, 2008). A clause is transitive when it either contains an NP that functions as O argument, or when an O argument must be inferred from the context. A clause is intransitive when there is neither an overt NP in the clause that can function as O argument, nor an implicit O argument that is recoverable from the context. As we will see below, it is not always possible to know whether the speaker conceptualises an O when it is not explicitly stated in the clause.

Transitivity is also related to valency, i.e. the property of the verb to take complements (core arguments). I adopt Jendraschek’s definition of transitive verb: “a verb that can be used in transitive constructions”. We will see that transitive verbs in Atong can also appear in intransitive constructions, whereas an intransitive verb cannot appear in a transitive construction. Thus we can define intransitive verbs as ‘verbs that cannot be used in transitive constructions’.

Transitivity plays a role in Atong, given the existence of a small number of transitive and intransitive verbal lexical pairs (see Table 25 in §4.6) and the existence of the causative predicate head suffix <-et> (CAUS). Other than the occurrence in transitivity pairs of some verbs, there are no morphological criteria to distinguish transitivity classes. Since, as was mentioned above, no NP needs to be expressed obligatorily in any clause, we can say that there is no obvious relationship between the transitivity of the clause and the valency of the verb when we look at the morphosyntactic structure of the language. The number of overt dependents that are expressed in a clause and their case marking is a matter of semantics and pragmatics rather than syntax.

The following observations can be made for Atong syntax:
1. There is no formal distinction between core syntactic roles such as case marking or word order.
2. Complements need not be overtly stated when retrievable from the context.
3. S=A ambitransitivity is impossible to diagnose.
4. S=O ambitransitivity is possible when no A can possibly be retrieved from the context.
5. NPs can coalesce with the verb, i.e. be incorporated into the predicate, and thus lose their argument status. As a result the predicate becomes intransitive (see §22.7.1).
6. There are pivots in coreference for a small number of clause combinations.

Point 1 will be discussed in section 21.1. Points 2 and 3 are treated in section 21.2, followed by a discussion on point 4, S=O ambitransitivity, in section 21.3 which also involves observations concerning point 5. Finally, point 6 will be treated in section 21.4.

21.1 No formal distinction between core syntactic roles

The core arguments intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A), (CS) and copula complement (CC) cannot be distinguished on the basis of case marking. S and A, CS and CC are always unmarked, and transitive object (O) can optionally be accusative-marked, but only when the NP is referential and definite. However, the accusative/definite-&-referential morpheme \(<aw ~ =taw>\) (ACC/DREF) does not only mark O arguments, as is discussed in §20.8, but also Materials of which artefacts are made, e.g. the word caʔ ‘foot/leg’ when used as an instrument. A clause with more than one accusative marked NP is not exceptional, e.g. (502). In this example we see that both the Patient, sam ‘medicinal plant’, and the Instrument, caʔ ‘leg/foot’, are marked with the morpheme \(<aw>\) (ACC). Neither the syntactic nor the semantic role of these NPs can be assessed on the basis of the case-marking, although the case marking does narrow down the number of possible interpretations.

(502) […] samaw caʔaw itəkəy [gestures] tokano.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sam} & \text{PATIENT} & =aw \\
\text{caʔ} & \text{INSTRUMENT} & =aw \\
\bar{a} & =təkəy \{\text{tok -}a\} & =no \\
\text{medicinal.plant} & =\text{ACC} & \text{foot/leg} \\
\text{PRX} & =\text{LIKE} & \text{beat} \ -\text{CUST} \ -\text{QUOT}
\end{array}
\]

‘[… our ancestors] beat the medicinal plants with [their] feet like this (gestures), it is said.’
Moreover, NPs with other semantic roles can be unmarked for case as well. Semantic roles that can optionally be left unmarked for case are given in Table 58. Goals, for example, can be left unmarked when the noun is inherently locational. The Name NP in a clause with the verb \( məŋ \) ‘to call someone/something a name’ is always unmarked for case, while the named entity can optionally be accusative-marked. In the next example, we see a clause where both the named entity and the Name are unmarked for case. Thus, context has to make clear what is named what. Examples (465) and (466) in §20.8.1 shows a case where the named entity is accusative-marked.

(503) \( aŋmi \) bimuŋ Samrat \( məŋwa \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[} & aŋ = \text{mi} \quad \text{bimuŋ] NAMED ENTITY } [ \text{Bairik] NAME } \{ məŋ - wa \} \\
1s & = \text{GEN name} \quad \text{Bairik} \quad \text{call a name - FACT} \\
\text{‘[One] calls my name Bairik.’ ‘Alternatively: ‘My name is called Bairik.’}
\end{align*}
\]

As for word order, most often the Topic is the first NP of the clause. The topic most often corresponds to the Actor or Agent of the clause, or, when seen from a syntactic perspective, with the A or S argument. When not the A argument but the O is the topic, the O can be accusative-marked when referential, e.g. (504). Non-referential O arguments cannot be accusative-marked (see §20.8).

The referents of the two core argument NPs expressed in the next example, \( Dilbangkhongdang \), the name of a man, and \( matsa \) ‘tiger’, are both high on the animacy hierarchy and are both referential. The O argument, \( Dilbangkhongdang \), is the Topic and therefore preposed to the A argument, \( matsa \) ‘tiger’. To indicate its O status, the inherently referential NP \( Dilbangkhongdang \) is accusative-marked.

(504) \( jemi sanci dibakkhongdaŋaw matsa kakok \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[} & je = \text{mi san} \quad = \text{ci } [ \text{dibangkhondan] TOPICO } = \text{aw} \quad \text{[matsa] kak - ok} \\
\text{any} & = \text{GEN day } = \text{LOC Pname} \quad = \text{ACC tig er bite - COS} \\
\text{‘On a certain day a tiger bit Dibangkongdang.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the context of example (505), all the animals have gathered to elect a king. They elect several animals, who all decline. Finally they elect the lion, who accepts. We can see that the accusative-marked NP \( siŋho \) ‘lion’ is the only NP in the clause. The
referent is high in the animacy hierarchy and could therefore easily be interpreted as the Agent. However, the fact that *sĩŋho* ‘lion’ is accusative-marked allows the hearer to infer that an A argument is implied, i.e. the animals, retrievable from the context, are the ones who elect.

(505) *teʔdo sŏŋhoaw sŏŋokno.*

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{teʔ }=\text{do }[\text{sĩŋho}\text{]}_{\text{TOPIC/O}}=\text{aw} \quad \{\text{sŏŋ }-\text{ok}\} =\text{no} \\
  &\text{now }=\text{TOP} \quad \text{lion }=\text{ACC} \quad \text{elect }-\text{COS }=\text{QUOT} \\
  &\text{‘Now, [the animals] elected the lion, it is said.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to this, Atong lacks cross reference of arguments on the predicate and the predicate does not agree in any way in person or number with any NP in a clause. The syntactic function of every unmarked NP and every NP marked by the morpheme \(<=\text{aw }-\text{taw}\) (ACC/DREF) must therefore be assessed pragmatically. All NPs that are marked as being S, A or O in this grammar are marked based on the inference of the syntactico-semantic function of the NPs in the context of the example.

### 21.2 Optionality of complements and S=A ambitransitivity

Adverbials are optional in Atong, i.e. they need not be overtly stated when they are clear from the context. It is therefore not possible to diagnose complements with a deletion test. English differs from Atong in this respect, since omission of NPs in English can lead to ungrammatical clauses. In Atong omission of a Location NP with the verb *tan-* ‘to put’, for instance, results in a perfectly grammatical clause, as we can see in (506).

(506) *ətəkəyməŋ bæŋgale biskutaw tanayməŋ* [...]

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{ətəkəyməŋ }=\text{e }\text{bæŋgal }=\text{FC} \quad \text{biskut }=\text{aw} \quad \text{tan }=\text{ay} \quad =\text{məŋ} \\
  &\text{so.then }\quad \text{Bengali }=\text{FC} \quad \text{biscuits }=\text{ACC} \quad \text{put }=\text{ADV} \quad =\text{SEQ} \\
  &\text{‘So then, the Bengali put the biscuits down [and said …]’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the same way, all NPs in Atong can be omitted when retrievable from the context. In line 1 of TEXT 1 the subjects of the two transitive clauses are omitted since it is
clear that the speaker is speaking about himself. This example is represented below as (507).

(507)  *aaah jəw* nə *səkarokte. cəʔə.*

*aah jəw* =nə *sək* -arok =te. cəʔə* -a.*

interj  sleep=DAT  want -PROG  =DCL  tired -IMPF

‘Oh! [I] want to sleep. [I]’m tired.’

Since all verbal complements are optional, it is impossible to distinguish between the S=A ambitransitive use of a verb (i.e. the intransitive use of a transitive verb) and the transitive use with omitted O. So (508) could well be an ellipsed version of (509).

(508)  *ragsan khama.*

*ragsan kham-a*

sun  burn -CUST

‘The sun burns’ (Possible interpretations: ‘It’s very hot’ or ‘the sun burns X’.)

(509)  *ragsan aŋaw khama*

*ragsan  aŋ =aw*  kham-a

sun  1s  =ACC  burn -CUST

‘The sun burns me.’

Jendraschek (2008: 2) states about Iatmul, that “[i]n intransitive use, any inferred patient […] would be non-referential. An omitted O in contrast would have been introduced in the context and therefore correspond to a definite NP […]. In Atong it is possible to walk into a kitchen, see someone eating and say ‘*aŋ=ba saʔ-ni*’ (1s =ADD eat-FUT) ‘I will also eat’, but we cannot be sure that the speaker is not implying an ellipsed O, namely the same food as that of the person who is already eating. Therefore, we cannot be sure if the construction is transitive or not. The uncertainty holds true for the clause with the transitive verb in the next example, where, although it has not been stated anywhere during the conversation, we can assume that the one that is being hit is the student. Since this referent can be retrieved from the extra-
linguistic context, the clause can be interpreted as transitive with an omitted O argument.

(510) teacher: \( bi =saŋ \ reʔeŋ \ -wa \ naʔa? \)
\[ \text{QF} =\text{MOB} \ \text{go.away} \ -\text{FACT} \ 2s \]
‘Where did you go to?’

student: ‘\( u =saŋ \ nalsasaŋ \ reʔeŋ \ -wa. \)’
\[ \text{DST} =\text{MOB} \ \text{the.other.side.of.the.water} \ \text{go.away} \ -\text{FACT} \]
‘I went there, to the other side of the [sea].’

teacher: ‘\( hmiʔm, \ bal =bo \ atak =na \ reʔeŋ \ -wa. \)
\[ \text{no} \ \text{tell} =\text{IMP} \ \text{do.what} =\text{DAT} \ \text{go.away} \ -\text{FACT} \]
\[ \text{bal} -ca =ci =do \ \text{tok -ni} \]
‘No! Tell [me], why did you go? If you don’t tell, I’ll beat [you].’

The point is that there is usually something in the real world context that is understood by the speaker and the hearer as an implied O in those cases where a transitive verb is used without overt O. We cannot look into the speaker’s mind to see whether this possible O is implied or not, i.e. whether we have a case of S=A ambitransitivity or not.

Atong often inserts a prototypical noun in cases where English uses an ambitransitive verb without O. This prototypical noun coalesces with the verb, i.e. it gets incorporated into the predicate and loses its argument status altogether. As a result of the incorporation, the predicate becomes intransitive (see §22.7.1). In Text 2 line 65, represented here as (511), Atong incorporates the prototypical noun \( may \) ‘rice’ into the predicate, whereas the non-literal English translation does not have an O. We can see that the NP \( may \) ‘rice’ is not an O argument, because the quantifying event specifier –\( \text{thok} \) ‘ALL’ functions on an S/O basis (see §25.5), and in this case it quantifies the S of this intransitive clause.

(511) \( may \ saʔhokokma \ naŋʔtəme? \)
\[ \{ \text{may} \ saʔ -\text{thok} -\text{ok}\} =\text{ma} \ [\text{naŋ} \ -\text{tom}] =e \]
rice eat -ALL -CoS =Q 2s -ppp =FC
‘Have you all eaten?’ Literally: ‘Have you all rice-eaten?’
21.3 S=O ambitransitivity

In the same way that it is almost impossible to know whether a speaker implies an O in a seemingly S=A ambitransitive clause, it is in some cases equally impossible to diagnose whether a speaker implies an A or not when no A NP is overtly stated, i.e. in what could be S=O ambitransitive clauses. When there is no A in the linguistic context, we can only assume none is implied, but our assumption might be wrong, as when, for example, someone asks if a certain fruit is eaten or not, and when the interlocutor answers that it is not, and there is no particular A mentioned in the whole conversation, e.g. (512). The interpretation could be one of S=O ambitransitivity or of an implied, non referential A.

(512) Speaker 1: [cicot]_{S-O} {saʔ -a} =ma?"
   dud.jackfruit eat -CUST =Q

Speaker 2: [cicot]_{S-O} {saʔ -ca}
   dud.jackfruit eat -NEG
   ‘You/one/people don’t eat dud jackfruit.’ Alternatively: ‘You/one/people can’t eat dud jackfruit.’ Alternatively: ‘Dud jackfruit is not eaten.’ Alternatively: ‘Dud jackfruit is not edible.’

The NP cicot in (512) is non-referential. In example (514) we see a referential NP that appears in a clause that may be interpreted as being S=O ambitransitive. However, the potential A, i.e. the monkey children, has already been introduced in the preceding part of the clause. The verb nuk- ‘to see’ is transitive, as we can see in (513).

(513) aŋa naŋʔaw nukjərəŋaria.
   [aŋa]_A [naŋʔ]_O =aw {nuk -jərəŋ -ari -a}
   1s 2s =ACC see -DAILY -SIMP-CUST
   ‘I just see you every day.’

21 TRANSITIVITY 369

When they stayed up all night, now, the children: “Father’s ears sure look tasty” (Alternative, more literal translation with implied A argument:) “[We] see father’s ears tastily”, said the monkey children, it is said. [after the mother had killed the father monkey accidentally, and then the mother and the children ate the father monkey.]

In the context of example (515), a mother has just told her newly born prodigious baby, who can already talk, that his brothers are away to hunt a giant eagle. Just after the example, the baby tells his mother that he will go in search of his brothers. The NP gandurian ‘umbilical cord’, in this example, is not very likely to be interpreted as an A argument, since it is very low on the animacy hierarchy. A possible interpretation of this clause is the S=O ambitransitive one, since the mother, although mentioned not long before in the context, does not have to be conceptualised as the implicit A of the clause. But we have no proof that the speaker does conceptualise an A argument, and there we have two choices, the mother, who was said to be all alone in her house at the time of the birth, or the child, since it is expressed as an antitopic and because it is prodigious and could therefore cut its own umbilical cord.

The first clause in the next example has the best chance of being intended as a real S=O ambitransitive, albeit with an omitted S, since there is no particular A available.
anywhere in the context. A group of brothers are walking through the jungle carrying guns. They accidentally meet an old woman who thinks that they are the police.

(516)  \textit{phulistəkəy nukramphinokno bunduk paygana.}

\begin{align*}
\text{[phulis]} &= \text{təkəy} \quad \{\text{nuk} \quad \text{-ram} \quad \text{-phin} \quad \text{-ok}\} = \text{no} \\
\text{police} &= \text{LIKE} \quad \text{look.like} \quad \text{-UNINTENTIONALLY} \quad \text{-TOTALLY} \quad \text{-COS} = \text{QUOT} \\
[\text{bunduk} \quad |\{\text{pay}\}| \quad =\text{ga}] &= \text{na} \\
\text{gun} &= \text{carry.in.hand} = \text{ATTR} = \text{DAT}
\end{align*}

‘[They] unintentionally looked totally like the police because of the guns carried.’

We can conclude that although Atong has no morphosyntactic means to distinguish transitive from ambitransitive clauses, it is possible to interpret certain clauses, in contexts where no A argument can be recovered, as being S=O ambitransitive.

\textbf{21.4 Pivots}

There seem to be some co-reference restrictions on subjects (S/A) in certain clause combinations in Atong, examples of which are presented in a later section of this grammar to which I will only make reference in this section. Because of these restrictions, Atong can be said to have pivots (see Dixon 1994) which constrain clause combinations and possibly the occurrence of more than one S/A for the two combined clauses, but this topic needs further fieldwork research. The subject (S/A) of dative-marked complement clauses (see §27.2.1) of purposive clauses (see §27.2.3) and of adverbial clauses (see §28.1) is always co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. When the subjects are not co-referential, other syntactic constructions must be used.

In all other clause combinations, there are no co-reference restrictions of any kind, e.g. (517). In this example the O argument of the sequential clause (see §28.2), viz. \textit{cep=gaba} (imprison=ATTR) ‘the prisoner’, is coreferential with the S argument of the main clause, viz. \textit{geʔtheŋ} ‘he’. In a language like English, one would expect the referent of \textit{geʔtheŋ} ‘he’ to be the implied A of the sequential clause. In Atong there are no such grammatically determined expectations about the reference of the third person singular, which is pragmatically determined.
Another example of a lack of co-reference restrictions is (518), where we see a reason clause (see §27.1.1), syntactically subordinate, where the implied O of the transitive verb *tanʔ* ‘to cut (up), to slay’ is coreferential with the S of the verb in the matrix clause predicate *thəyʔ* ‘to die’.

(518)  *tanʔ*manokona *thəyʔ*oko *udo*, mo

\[
\{tanʔ\-man\ -ok\} =ona \{thəyʔ\-ok\} \ [u] =do \ mo
\]

cut -already -COS =DAT die -COS DST=TOP CONF

‘Because [they] had cut [him] up, [he] died, that one, isn’t it.’
Chapter 22  The Predicate

22.1  Defining the predicate and the predicate head

The predicate is the part of the clause which contains the predicate head and anything semantically tightly linked or prototypically associated to that head. Words from several different word classes can function as predicate head, viz. verbs, Type 2 adjectives, demonstratives, personal pronouns, numeral-plus-classifier compounds, the interrogatives *bisanj* ‘to/from where?’ and *biskən* ‘how much/many?’ and nouns. Table 62 below summarises the properties of the different types of predicate heads. As we can see, there are no clear boundaries between the different types; their properties overlap. We will refer to predicates with a noun as head as “nominal predicates”, to those with verbs as head as “verbal predicates”, etc. First, in §22.2 we will look at the morphological structure of the predicate head. Verbal predicates are treated in §22.3, Type 2 adjectival ones in §22.4, and verbal ones in §22.5.

There are two types of predicate, viz. simple and complex. Only verbs and Type 2 adjectives can be the head of a complex predicate. In complex predicates, the head is always the right-most constituent. It is only the head that can take predicate suffixes, although in complex predicates the constituent which is not the head can carry enclitics. Complex predicates without incorporated nouns will be treated in §22.6, and those with incorporated nouns §22.7.
Table 62  Properties of different types of predicate depending on the head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of head</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>TYPE 2 ADJECTIVES</th>
<th>NOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syntactic criteria</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can occur as the predicate of a non-finite clause</td>
<td>can only take S arguments that are Attributants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can be the predicate of an imperative clause</td>
<td>occurs only in identity/equation clauses</td>
<td>cannot be a predicate of an imperative clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can be modified by adverbial clauses and adverbs</td>
<td></td>
<td>cannot be modified by adverbial clauses and adverbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morphological criteria</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can be the head of a complex predicate</td>
<td>cannot be the head of a complex predicate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can take all event specifiers</td>
<td>difficult to use with event specifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can take the causative suffix &lt;\textit{et}\textsuperscript{CAUS}&gt;</td>
<td>cannot be causativised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can also be used without any marking, i.e. as bare root</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot occur as bare stem as predicate of a main clause, except in imperative clauses</td>
<td>does not have to express but can take most of the same categories as a verbal predicate head but is not attested with all of them, can occur without predicate suffixes in main clauses</td>
<td>can express fewer categories than verbal and adjectival predicates, can occur without predicate suffixes in main clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22.2  The morphological structure of the predicate head

A predicate head consists of a root, followed optionally by one or more stem-forming suffixes, followed optionally by one or more inflectional suffixes indicating negation, aspect, modality and polarity. An overview of all predicate suffixes is given in Table 63. As we can see in that table, the suffixes are ordered in echelons and columns.

There are four columns in Echelon 1 and three in Echelon 2. The suffixes in Echelon 1 appear on both main and subordinate clause predicates. Some suffixes in Echelon 2 only appear on subordinate clause predicates, some only on main clause predicates and some on both. The suffixes that appear in the same column are not attested to occur simultaneously. The only exceptions are the event specifiers. Although all event specifiers are ranked in column 2, more than one event specifier can occur on a single predicate head. The function and meaning of all the individual predicate head suffixes is treated in Chapter 23. Event specifiers are treated in Chapter 25.

Suffixes from Echelon 1 and 2 are never attested to occur in the reverse order. Within Echelon 2, suffixes from column 5, 6 and 7 do not occur in other orders. The columns in Echelon 1, however, do not represent absolutely fixed positions, but rather a strong tendency for morphemes to appear in a certain order. Variations in the order
are attested. These variations might signify variations in scope of the suffixes, but there is also a chance that some variations are in free variation. More fieldwork is needed to find out more about this positioning variability. A frequently attested

Table 63  Predicate head suffixes in their respective slots.
Morphemes that are attested on nominal predicate heads and on clauses with nominal predicate heads are in bold face.

**Echelon 1 Stem-forming suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>&lt;-et&gt; (CAUS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event specifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are a great number of event specifiers in Atong, possibly hundreds, not all of which have been recorded yet. Those which have been discovered fall into twelve categories, viz. manner, manner/direction, aspect, extent, direction/extent, direction, epistemic, deontic, determinacy, location, conative and quantification. Event specifier suffixes are treated in Chapter 25.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simplicitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive aspect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Echelon 2 Inflectional suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main clause predicate suffixes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customary aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperious future modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main and non-main clause predicate suffix</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main clause predicate suffix</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperious future modality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main and non-main clause predicate suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concomitant action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive/durative aspect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
example of the variable position of two Echelon 1 suffixes is given below. In (519) the progressive suffix precedes the incompletive suffix and in b) the situation is reverse. Both clauses in have the same meaning.

(519) Variation in the position of the progressive and incompletive aspect suffixes:

a) saʔ-aydoŋ-khu-a
eat -PROG -INCOM-CUST

b) saʔ-khu-aydoŋ-a
eat -CUST -PROG -CUST
‘[I] am still eating.’

The two examples below show that Echelon 1 suffixes can be combined to indicate two contrastive views of the same event on one predicate. In the English translations we need to express with two clauses what Atong does with one. In example (520) (from TEXT 2, line 59) we see how the meanings of incompletive and negative suffixes contrast with the meaning of the future suffix.

(520) hayda rayʔa-khucaaroŋnikhon.

hayda rayʔa-khu-ca-arop-ni=khon.
I.don’t.know come-INCOM -NEG -PROG -FUT=SPEC
‘I don’t know. He has not come yet but he might still be coming.’

The next example illustrates how two contrastive directions of the movement expressed by a motion verb are expressed on one predicate. The suffix <-aŋ> indicates movement away from the deictic centre, while the suffix <-theri> indicates the opposite.

(521) londonsaŋ jalagtheriaymuŋ

london =saŋ jaŋ-aŋ-theri=ay=muŋ
London =MOB run.away-AWAY-BACK =ADV =SEQ
‘having run away to London and back again’
The stem-forming suffixes in Echelon 1 can occur in combination with all of the Echelon 2 suffixes. Suffixes from Echelon 1 can occur simultaneously, if they are semantically compatible. Co-occurrences of Echelon 2 suffixes are heavily restricted. Suffixes from column 5 and 7 never co-occur. The imperative, customary aspect and both future modality suffixes in column 5, cannot co-occur with the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG). The only column 5 suffix that is attested to co-occur with the negative suffix is the referential suffix <-an> (REF). The imperious future suffix has two allomorphs, viz. <-naka> (IFT), which occurs in non-negated predicates, and the allomorph <-ka> (IFT), which occurs after the negative suffix <-ca> (NEG). All column 7 suffixes can occur under negation.

22.3 The verbal predicate

The verbal predicate can take all types of arguments and can occur in all clause types depending on the verb’s valency and its subtype (for subtypes of verbs see Table 21). For example Type 1 adjectives (stative verbs denoting a quality) are not usually attested as heads of imperative clauses, unless causativised. This is of course due to the semantics of these verbs, which are not usually combined with the semantics of the imperative category. An Atong speaker does not often want to order someone to have a certain physical property, age, dimension etc. The only Type 1 adjective found as head of an imperative predicate is tharak- ‘fast’ in (27), repeated here as (522).

(522) tarakboto naʔa!

\{tərk\} =bo =to [naʔa]

fast =IMP=IMPEMPH 2s

‘Be fast, oh you!’

43 For a list of different semantic categories expressed by Type 1 and 2 adjectives, see Table 26 in §5.1.
There are two types of verbal predicate, viz. simple and complex. The simple predicate consists only of a head possibly followed by predicate suffixes. Complex predicates consist of the head and a semantically tightly linked or prototypically associated preceding lexical item, i.e. a verbal root with a limited set of possible enclitics or a bare nominal root. Only verbs, Type 1 and Type 2 adjectives can occur in complex predicates. Complex predicates are treated in the next section.

Except in imperative clauses, the verbal predicate of a main clause cannot occur without an Echelon 2 predicate suffix expressing either negation, aspect or modality, or a combination of these. Verbal predicates of non-main clauses can occur without predicate suffixes, but in these cases the clause will have a clausal enclitic attached to it, marking the clause as subordinate (see Chapter 27 and Chapter 28).

22.4 The type 2 adjectival predicate

Type 2 adjectival predicates share properties with both verbs and nouns (see Table 20 in Chapter 3). A Type 2 adjectival predicate cannot occur as the head of an imperative clause, unless causativised with the suffix <-et> (CAUS). A Type 2 adjectival predicate can occur without any suffixal marking (523), as can nominal predicates. Type 2 adjectival predicates are intransitive and can only have an S argument that is semantically an Attributant (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:115).

\[\text{ie ram thəmbəlog} \]
\[\text{[ie ram]} \text{Attributant/S \{thəmbəlog\}} \]
\text{PROX road have.holes.in.it}
\‘This road is damaged.’

22.5 The nominal predicate

Nominal predicates can express negation, and aspect, but not modality. Aspect marking on nominal predicates is reminiscent of what Nordlinger and Sadler (2004) describe as “independent nominal TAM” in that the aspectual and modality suffixes specify “information intrinsic to the nominal itself” (2004:778). The marking in Atong is different from Nordlinger and Sadler’s description in that they mostly discuss TAM on NPs in NP functions, i.e. as arguments or obliques, and not on nouns functioning as predicates. The same clausal enclitics that occur on clauses with verbal
predicates also occur on clauses with nominal predicates. Nouns cannot occur as predicates of imperative clauses. Table 63 shows the suffixes that are attested on nominal predicates in bold.

It is important to note that nominal predicates occur in main as well as in subordinate clauses. Main and subordinate clauses will be discussed separately. Nouns functioning as predicate head can still carry NP enclitics, except case-marking, as we will see in the examples below.

22.5.1 Main clause nominal predicates

Nominal predicates of main clauses occur only in identity/equation clauses (this label includes identity, equation and attributive clauses which are all formally indistinguishable) and can only take S arguments that are semantically Attributants. When a clause consists of just two nouns, which are both devoid of suffixes, it is impossible to determine on formal grounds which one is the predicate, given that in main clauses any constituent can be right dislocated, i.e. occur after the predicate, for backgrounding. The predicate has to be determined on semantic and pragmatic grounds. In pragmatically unmarked clauses, the predicate is the final constituent. Example (524) shows an identity/equation clause with two nouns, neither of which carries any predicate suffixes. Given the situation in which the utterance occurs, viz. in a kitchen where someone is cooking, and the semantics of both nouns, the hearer can deduce that the curry, *jaʔbek*, has to be the thing talked about, and therefore the Attributant, and that pumpkin, *gomənda*, is the predicate. The enclitic «=thara» ‘exclusively’ is an NP enclitic.

(524)  *jabekan goməndathara*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[jabek]} & =\text{an}_{\text{Attributant1S}} \\
\text{curry} & =\text{FC/ID} \quad \text{pumpkin} = \text{EXCLUSIVELY} \\
& \text{‘The curry is only pumpkin.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The focus/identifier enclitic «=an» (FC/ID) does not help in the determination of the Attributant, since it can occur both on NPs and clauses, depending on its scope. In (524) the enclitic has phrasal scope and in (525) clausal scope.
Only when nominal predicates carry predicate suffixes are they formally recognisable as predicates. The example below shows two main clauses in apposition. The NP *san tham* (day three) ‘three days’ is functioning as main clause predicate, and because it carries the change of state suffix `<ok>` (COS) it can only be interpreted as a predicate.

(526)  *santhamok karen niʔwa.*

`\{san tham-ok\} [karen] \{niʔ -wa\}`

`day three -COS electricity not.exist -FACT`

‘It has been three days [and] there is no electricity.’

Main clause clausal enclitics also occur on clauses with nominal predicate heads. Example (527) illustrates the use of the speculative aspect enclitic `<khon>` (SPEC) and the declarative enclitic `<te>` (DCL) on a main clause with a nominal predicate. The use of the irrealis on a main clause with nominal predicate is illustrated by example (528). Clausal enclitics are treated in Chapter 26.

(527)  *naŋʔtəme bobamorotkhonte.*

`[[naŋʔ -təm]s \{boba morot\}] =khon =te`

`2s -ppp crazy.person person =SPEC =DCL`

‘Maybe you all are crazy persons, I’ll say!’

**22.5.2 Subordinate clause nominal predicates**

Nominal predicates are attested in the following clauses: the reason clause (see §27.1.1), e.g. (743), the concomitant action type locative-marked clause (see §27.6), e.g. (781) below and (528) below, and the sequential clause (see §28.2), e.g. (806). In all these cases the predicate is followed by at least one clausal enclitic and is therefore formally identifiable as predicate. In the following example we see the nominal
THE PREDICATE

predicate *bayʔseg-a-thaŋ-maran* (friend=OWN=RC) followed by the irrealis clausal enclitic `<=cəm>` (IRR).

(528) *geʔtheŋtheŋ balrukbutuŋci bayʔsegathaŋmarancəm.*

\[ geʔtheŋtheŋ \{ bal -ruk -butuŋ \} =ci \{ [ bayʔseg-a ] =thaŋ =maran \} =cəm \]

3p speak -RC while =LOC friend =OWN =RC =IRR

‘When they were speaking to each other, they were no longer friends.’

22.5.3 Not only nouns

Nominal predicates do not have to be only nouns. Other non-verbal word classes can fulfil this function as well, viz. demonstratives, personal pronouns, numeral plus classifier compounds and even two interrogatives, viz. *bisaŋ* ‘to/from where?’ and *biskən* ‘how much/many?’. The interrogatives, apart from being able to take event specifiers, can only take the change of state suffix `<-ok>` (COS) (for examples see Chapter 1). Demonstratives are attested to take negation, irrealis and speculative modality suffixes (examples can be found in Chapter 1). Personal pronouns are attested to express only negative, change of state, speculative modality, and irrealis (see §17.2 for examples).

22.6 Complex predicates

Complex predicates can be headed by either a verb or a Type 2 adjective. There are four types of complex predicates in Atong, divided into two categories:

A. Complex predicates without nouns (§22.6).
   1. Complex predicates with two identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives (§22.6.1).
   2. The Type 2 adjective-plus-support-verb predicate (§22.6.2).

B. Complex predicates with incorporated nouns (§22.7)
   3. The predicate with a prototypically associated noun (§22.7.1).
   4. The nouns-plus-support-verb predicate (§22.7.2).

22.6.1 Complex predicates with identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives

The first type of complex predicate consists of two identical verbs or Type 2 adjectives and is emphatic or bestows a greater intensity on the event denoted by the
The first verb or Type 2 adjective is marked as Topic, Focus or emphatic with one of the following enclitics: topic \(<emph>=do\>\) (TOP), focus \(<emph>=e\>\) (FC), focus/identifier \(<emph>=at\>\) (FC/ID) or emphatic \(<emph>=ba\>\) (EMPH). These enclitics are attached to the first verb or Type 2 adjective, which cannot take any other affixes or enclitics and can thus not be negated separately from the predicate head. The second verb, the predicate head, is marked for other categories. Nothing can intervene between the two verbs or Type 2 adjectives. The order of the verbs/Type 2 adjectives is fixed. The two verbs/Type 2 adjectives share transitivity and share all their arguments. All types of verbs and Type 2 adjectives can occur in this type of complex predicate. Complex predicates of this type are only attested in independent clauses. In examples we see complex predicates in which the first constituents are marked with the emphatic enclitics \(<emph>=ba\>\) (EMPH) and the topic enclitic \(<emph>=do\>\) (TOP) respectively.

(529)  \textit{ucian gadakba-gadakjolokno}  
\textit{ucian } \{ \textit{gadak }\textit{=ba }\textit{gadak }\textit{-jol }\textit{-ok }\textit{=no} \textit{cut.in.pieces }\textit{=EMPH cut.in.pieces }\textit{-QUICKLY }\textit{-COS }\textit{=QUOT} \then \textit{cut.in.pieces }\textit{-QUICKLY }\textit{-COS }\textit{=QUOT} \textit{Then, as for cutting, [he] cut [the big eagle] quickly in pieces, it is said.'}

(530)  \textit{an]do sa?do sa?ak.}  
\textit{[ }\textit{a} \textit{n} \textit{=do }\{ \textit{sa}? \textit{=do }\textit{sa}? \textit{-ak}\} \textit{1s }\textit{=TOP eat }\textit{=TOP eat }\textit{-COS} \textit{As for me, as far as eating is concerned, [I have eaten.'}

Further fieldwork needs to be conducted to find out how many nominal properties the first verb of a complex predicate with identical verbs has before we can say that this verb is nominalised or not. Example (531) illustrates a complex Type 2 adjectival predicate in which the first constituent is marked with the focus enclitic \(<emph>=e\>\) (FC).

(531)  \textit{na\/{j}i abu b\/{a}d\/{a}ye b\/{a}d\/{a}yok.}  
\textit{[na\/{j}i abu] }\{ \textit{b\/{a}d\/{a}y =e }\textit{b\/{a}d\/{a}y }\textit{-ok}\} \textit{2s grandmother old }\textit{=FC old }\textit{-COS} \textit{Your grandmother is really old.'}
One example has been recorded of a complex predicate in which the first verb carries the focus/identifier enclitic \(<-an>\) (FC/ID), viz. (532). The reason why in this construction it is the focus/identifier enclitic \(<-an>\) (FC/ID and not the referential suffix \(<-an>\) (REF) is that the referential suffix \(<-an>\) (REF) never occurs without the negative suffix \(<-ca>\) (NEG). This complex predicate construction is clearly a means of emphasising or reinforcing the action denoted by the verbs in the predicate.

(532) \(\textit{lukwake roŋʔaw jamcano. uci magacakdo jaman jamsəraŋ cano.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
[lukwak] & = e & \{roŋ\} & = aw & \{jam -ca\} & = no & \{u\} & = ci \\
toad & = FC & \text{stone} & = ACC & \text{complete} & = \text{NEG} & \text{=QUOT} & \text{DST} = \text{LOC} \\
[\text{magacak}] & = do & \{jam -an \} & \text{jam} & \text{-səraŋ} & \text{-ca\} & = no \\
deer & = \text{TOP} & \text{complete} & = \text{FC/ID} & \text{complete} & = \text{COMPLETELY} & \text{-NEG} & \text{=QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The toad could not complete [move] the stone, it is said. Then, the deer could not complete [move] [the stone] at all, it is said.

As the following example demonstrates, the locative/existential verb \(\textit{ganaŋ} \) ‘to exist’ has a truncated root \(\textit{ga-}\) which is only found in this complex predicate.

(533) \(\textit{gado ganaŋcəm, gawi thogiok.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{ga}\} & = do & \text{ganaj} & = cəm & \{\text{gawi\} \} & \{\text{thogi} -ok\} \\
exist & = OP & \text{exist} & = \text{IRR} & \text{girl} & \text{cheat} & = \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I did have [a girlfriend] but not any more, the girl cheated on me.’

### 22.6.2 Type 2-adjective-plus-support-verb compounds

Bare roots of Type 2 adjectives can be compounded with the support verb \(\textit{tak-} \) ‘to do’. The two elements are tightly knit together, the bare root form of the verb modifying the light verb predicate head. The verb in the bare root form provides the lexical content for the predicate while the head carries the grammatical information concerning negation, modality, aspect etc. The support verb compound can add a sense of liveliness or irony to the clause. In the following examples we see the Type 2 adjectives \(\textit{ceŋɡaŋ} \) ‘upright’, \(\textit{miniksuru} \) ‘flat-haired’ and \(\textit{cuʔret} \) ‘stuck’ with the support verb \(\textit{tak-} \) ‘to do’.
(534) coʔsa rəpayməŋ jarawacian məʔan cengəŋ takariano.

coʔsa {rap} =ay =məŋ {jaraw -wa} =ci =an
a.little.bit be.in.the.water=ADV =SEQ be.a.long.time -FACT =LOC=FC/ID
[məŋ] =an {cengəŋ tak -ari -a} =no
body.hair =FC/ID be.upright do -SIMP-CUST =QUOT

‘Having been under water a bit for some time, [the fox’s] hair was still upright.’

(535) ətəkəyməŋ ha! wenni rəpwacian miniksuru takokno solokno magacakmi nənʔdo.

ətəkəyməŋ [ha] [wenʔ -ni] {rap -wa} =ci =an
so.then interj turn/time-two be.in.the.water-FACT =LOC =FC/ID
{miniksuru tak -ok} =no
be.flat-haired do -COS =QUOT
{sol -ok} =no [magacak -mi məʔan] =do
pretty -COS =QUOT deer =GEN body.hair =TOP

‘So then, ha! when he was in the water the second time, [it] was flat-haired and very pretty, the deer’s fur.’

(536) riʔdo cuʔret takaŋwano caʔmasaŋ naʔpitsaŋ.

[riʔ] =do {cuʔret tak -an -wa} =no [caʔma] =saŋ [naʔpiŋ] =saŋ
penis=TOP stuck do -AWAY-FACT =QUOT down =MOB barber =MOB

‘[The fox’s] penis was stuck in a downward direction towards the barber.’

The verb guduk- means ‘to wobble, to move in an unstable way’ and can be used in a compound with the verb tak- ‘to do’. The result is a lexicalised compound, viz. guduk tak- ‘to almost VERB’. This predicate requires a verbal complement marked with the dative marker < =na > (DAT), e.g. (537) and (538).

(537) teʔdo tharapna guduk takwaci haʔtəkəy jalwano magacake

[teʔe] =do {tharap} =na {guduk tak -wa} =ci [haʔi] =təkəy
now =TOP catch.up =DAT almost do -FACT =LOC ground =VIA
{jal -wa} =no [magacak] =e
run.away-FACT =QUOT deer =FC

‘Now when [he] almost caught up with [the deer], [it] run away, the deer.’
The following example shows a complex predicate with two Type 2 adjectives before the head.

\[(539) \quad \text{caʔe dabakuntəkəy əmoŋ jaŋʔjot takarioknotəy.} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[caʔ]} & = \text{e} & \text{[daba kun]} & = \text{tək} = \text{y} \\
\text{leg} & = \text{FC} & \text{coconut stick} & = \text{LIKE} \\
\{\text{əmoŋ jaŋʔjot tak -ari -ok}\} & = \text{no} & = \text{təy} \\
\text{bulging narrow do-SIMP -COS} & = \text{QUOT} = \text{MIR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘[His} legs were just like a coconut stick bulging and narrow, it is said to [our] surprise.’

22.7 Complex predicates with incorporated nouns

This section describes the phenomenon whereby a noun is incorporated into a predicate with a verbal head. We are not dealing here with noun incorporation that refers to a type of compounding in which a verb and a noun combine to form a new verb (see Aikhenvald 2007: 11), because in this construction, morphemes can intervene between the noun and the verb, as we will see below. What gets incorporated into the predicate is the free form of the noun, sometimes even with an emphatic enclitic as in (544). The noun and the verb are simply juxtaposed and form a tight bond. The relationship between the noun and the verb is somewhere in the middle on the cline between an argument/adjunct-predicate relationship on the one hand, and incorporation through compounding on the other. The noun loses its syntactic status as argument/adjunct of the clause (see Mithun 1984: 849). The incorporated noun and the verb, i.e. the predicate head, can form one phonological word but do not have to. Atong distinguishes two types of predicates with incorporated nouns, i.e. nouns incorporated into support verb predicates and predicates with a prototypically associated noun which is I call prototypically associated noun incorporation. They are treated separately below.
22.7.1 The predicate with a prototypically associated noun

There are transitive and intransitive verbs which can be, but do not have to be, accompanied by a prototypically associated noun which is not referential and does not belong to the argument structure (i.e. is not an argument or adjunct) but is incorporated into the predicate. The arguments for the non-argument status of this type of noun are:

- they are non-referential,
- they have a fixed position before the predicate head, whereas arguments can appear in post predicate position,
- they cannot receive case marking,
- they cannot be modified,
- they are not affected by the action denoted by the predicate head,
- their meaning is closely semantically related to or specifies the event denoted by the verb that is the head of the predicate. Both the noun and the verb denote a unitary activity in which the components lose their individual salience,
- they cannot be referred to by quantifying event specifiers.

Hence I consider the prototypically associated noun to be part of the predicate, e.g. (542), (543) and (544). Most of these arguments are also mentioned in Mithun (1984). The loss of argument/adjunct status is most clearly seen in predicates where the semantic relationship between the noun and the verb is that of Location, e.g. *təy huŋ*- ‘to water-swim’ where *təy* ‘water’ is not an adjunct because it is not locative-marked. Location adjuncts (peripheral arguments) are otherwise obligatorily locative-marked, e.g. *təy=ci huŋ*- (water=LOC swim) to swim in the water’.

As mentioned before, the prototypically associated noun is not obligatory. All verbs with which they occur can also be used without these nouns. The incorporation of the prototypically associated noun is a pragmatic mechanism, making the predicate more explicit. I call this phenomenon prototypically associated noun incorporation.

The relationship between the prototypically associated noun and the predicate is somewhere in between an argument/adjunct-predicate relationship and incorporation through compounding. Although the noun is not case-marked, it does occupy an
argument/adjunct-like position in front of the verb. However, since the noun cannot be case-marked, the relationship between the noun and the verb is semantic rather than syntactic. The semantic relations that are so far attested between the verb and the incorporated noun are Patient, viz. haʔ haw- (land/earth/soil clear) ‘to clear the land’ and may saʔ (rice eat) ‘to eat’, Instrument, viz. nakhal na- (ear hear) ‘to hear’ and məkren nuk- (eye see) ‘to see’, Location, viz. haʔ kən (earth/land/soil collect) ‘to collect the remaining cinders after burning the jungle’ and haʔ kham (earth/land/soil burn) ‘to burn the land (although what is actually burnt is the jungle)’ and Pathway, viz. ram rayʔ- (road go) ‘to go’. Only the compounds nakhal na- (ear hear) ‘to hear’ and məkren nuk- (eye see) ‘to see’ are still transitive, e.g. (546). The other noun-verb constructions cannot take an O argument any more. One could say that the nouns nakhal ‘ear’ and məkren ‘eye’ are more incorporated than the other nouns.

A good example of incorporated Patient can be found in the Text 2 line 65, represented here as (540).

(540) may saʔ hokokma naŋʔtəme?

\[
\{ \text{may saʔ} \} -\text{thok} -\text{ok} = \text{ma} [\text{naŋ} -\text{təm}] = e \\
\text{rice eat} -\text{ALL} -\text{cos} = \text{Q} \quad 2s -\text{ppp} = \text{FC}
\]

‘Have you all eaten?’ Literally: ‘Have you all rice-eaten?’

In this example the word may ‘rice is incorporated in the predicate. The quantifying event specifier -\text{thok} ‘all’ refers on an S/O basis. If may ‘rice’ functioned as O argument, the suffix -\text{thok} ‘all’ would have to refer to it. However, in this clause the suffix -\text{thok} refers to naŋʔtəm ‘you.plural’, which is in S function in this clause, and not to may ‘rice’ because may ‘rice’ is not an O argument but part of the predicate.
Table 64  Prototypically associated nouns with their verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NOUN AND VERB</th>
<th>COMPOUND FORM</th>
<th>GLOSS OF PARTS</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>jangi ken-</td>
<td>life live</td>
<td>to live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>jangi hay-</td>
<td>life die</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>məkren nuk-</td>
<td>eye see</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>nakhal na-</td>
<td>ear hear</td>
<td>to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>təy huŋ-</td>
<td>water swim</td>
<td>to swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>haʔ khən-</td>
<td>earth/soil/land collect</td>
<td>to collect the remaining cinders after burning the jungle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>haʔ kham-</td>
<td>earth/soil/land burn</td>
<td>to burn the land (actually what is burnt is the jungle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathway</td>
<td>ram ray-</td>
<td>road go</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>haʔ haw-</td>
<td>earth/soil/land clear</td>
<td>to clear the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>may saʔ-</td>
<td>rice eat</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example shows an incorporated Pathway, *ram* ‘road’.

(541) utəkəymu ie haʔbəritəkəy ramraʔano.

\[
\text{utəkəymu } [\text{ie haʔbər}] =\text{təkəy } \{\text{ram rayʔ -a}\} =\text{no}
\]

CONJ PRX hill =VIA road go -CUST =QUOT

‘So then, they went via this mountain, it is said’ Lit. ‘they road-went over this mountain’.

Prototypically associated nouns can have a detransitivising effect on transitive verbs when they get incorporated, e.g. (542). In that example the transitive verb *nuk* ‘to see’ is detransitivised by the associated noun *məkren* ‘eye’. The semantic relation of the noun to the verb is that of Instrument.

(542) naŋʔ walci məkrennukama?

\[
\text{[naŋʔ] [wal] =ci } \{\text{məkren nuk -a}\} =\text{ma}
\]

2s night =LOC eye see -CUST =Q

‘Do you see at night?’ Lit. ‘Do you eye-see at night?’
Since *makren* ‘eye’ in the above example is low on the animacy hierarchy, it is not likely to be interpreted as A. This would then mean that *wal* ‘night’ was in a Possessor-Possessed relationship with the personal pronoun *naŋʔ* and then we would get a ridiculous meaning like *(Does person X) see eyes in your night?’ Moreover, the interpretation as unmarked instrument for *makren* ‘eye’ is not possible since instruments cannot be unmarked for case.

The next example illustrates the incorporation of the noun *təy* ‘water’ which is semantically a Location in relation to the verb *huŋ* ‘to swim’.

(543) *naŋʔ təyhuŋna sapama?*

[naŋʔ] {təy huŋ} =na {sap -a} =ma
2s water swim=DAT know.a.skill -PUR =Q
‘Do you know how to swim?’ Lit. ‘Do you know to water-swim?’

Since *təy* ‘water’ in the example above is not an inherently locational noun, it cannot be interpreted as an unmarked location.

In (544) we see the incorporated noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’ which is a Theme in relation to the verb *thəy* ‘to die’.

(544) *aŋa jaŋgiba thəymanok.*

[aŋa] {jaŋgi =ba thəy -man -ok}
1s life =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS
‘I have already died.’ Lit. ‘I life-died.’

Since the verb *thəy* ‘to die’ is intransitive and *aŋa* ‘I’ is the S argument, *jaŋgi* ‘life’ cannot be interpreted as O. Moreover, the emphatic pronoun *aŋa* (1s) cannot be in a Possessor-Possessed relation to a following noun since emphatic pronouns cannot be possessors. Thus the noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’, despite the emphatic enclitic <*=ba* (EMPH), is not an argument/adjunct and therefore has to be incorporated into the predicate.

It is always possible for the prohibitive free morpheme <*ta* (PROH) to come in between the prototypically associated noun and the predicate head, as can also be seen in examples (545) with the verb *huŋ* ‘to swim’ and its prototypically associated noun

Since *təy* ‘water’ in the example above is not an inherently locational noun, it cannot be interpreted as an unmarked location.

In (544) we see the incorporated noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’ which is a Theme in relation to the verb *thəy* ‘to die’.

(544) *aŋa jaŋgiba thəymanok.*

[aŋa] {jaŋgi =ba thəy -man -ok}
1s life =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS
‘I have already died.’ Lit. ‘I life-died.’

Since the verb *thəy* ‘to die’ is intransitive and *aŋa* ‘I’ is the S argument, *jaŋgi* ‘life’ cannot be interpreted as O. Moreover, the emphatic pronoun *aŋa* (1s) cannot be in a Possessor-Possessed relation to a following noun since emphatic pronouns cannot be possessors. Thus the noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’, despite the emphatic enclitic <*=ba* (EMPH), is not an argument/adjunct and therefore has to be incorporated into the predicate.

It is always possible for the prohibitive free morpheme <*ta* (PROH) to come in between the prototypically associated noun and the predicate head, as can also be seen in examples (545) with the verb *huŋ* ‘to swim’ and its prototypically associated noun

Since *makren* ‘eye’ in the above example is low on the animacy hierarchy, it is not likely to be interpreted as A. This would then mean that *wal* ‘night’ was in a Possessor-Possessed relationship with the personal pronoun *naŋʔ* and then we would get a ridiculous meaning like *(Does person X) see eyes in your night?’ Moreover, the interpretation as unmarked instrument for *makren* ‘eye’ is not possible since instruments cannot be unmarked for case.

The next example illustrates the incorporation of the noun *təy* ‘water’ which is semantically a Location in relation to the verb *huŋ* ‘to swim’.

(543) *naŋʔ təyhuŋna sapama?*

[naŋʔ] {təy huŋ} =na {sap -a} =ma
2s water swim=DAT know.a.skill -PUR =Q
‘Do you know how to swim?’ Lit. ‘Do you know to water-swim?’

Since *təy* ‘water’ in the example above is not an inherently locational noun, it cannot be interpreted as an unmarked location.

In (544) we see the incorporated noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’ which is a Theme in relation to the verb *thəy* ‘to die’.

(544) *aŋa jaŋgiba thəymanok.*

[aŋa] {jaŋgi =ba thəy -man -ok}
1s life =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS
‘I have already died.’ Lit. ‘I life-died.’

Since the verb *thəy* ‘to die’ is intransitive and *aŋa* ‘I’ is the S argument, *jaŋgi* ‘life’ cannot be interpreted as O. Moreover, the emphatic pronoun *aŋa* (1s) cannot be in a Possessor-Possessed relation to a following noun since emphatic pronouns cannot be possessors. Thus the noun *jaŋgi* ‘life’, despite the emphatic enclitic <*=ba* (EMPH), is not an argument/adjunct and therefore has to be incorporated into the predicate.

It is always possible for the prohibitive free morpheme <*ta* (PROH) to come in between the prototypically associated noun and the predicate head, as can also be seen in examples (545) with the verb *huŋ* ‘to swim’ and its prototypically associated noun
təy ‘water’ and in (546) with the verb na ‘to hear’ and its prototypically associated noun nakhal ‘ear’, which is still transitive, as we can see by the accusative-marked O argument.

(545)  
\[
\text{təy ta huŋ.}
\]
\[
\text{\{təy } \underline{tə} \text{ huŋ\}}
\]
\[
\text{water PROH swim}
\]

‘Don’t swim.’ Literally: Don’t swim water.’

(546)  
\[
\text{naksepzi malgabaaw nakhal ta na!}
\]
\[
[\text{\{nəkseŋ} =mi } \text{\{bal\} =gaba} =aw \text{\{nakhal } \underline{ta} \text{ na\}}
\]
\[
\text{Name =GEN say =ATTR =ACC ear PROH hear}
\]

‘Don’t you listen to the things that Nikseng says!’

Since prototypically associated nouns are unmarked they could be mistaken for S, A or unmarked, non-referential O.\(^{44}\) Prototypically associated nouns in complex predicates differ from non-referential O arguments in a clause. The referent of a prototypically associated noun is not in any way affected by the action denoted by the predicate head, i.e. it cannot be interpreted as an unmarked O argument. Neither are they likely to be interpretable as A or S argument in the context in which they appear. Rather, the complex predicate as a whole just denotes one event. The prototypically associated noun denotes something that is circumstantially involved in the event denoted by the predicate head like an Instrument in (542), a Location in (543) or something that can be associated semantically with the predicate head, like the Theme in (544), to make the predicate as it were more explicit.

The construction may sa- (rice eat) is used to indicate the action of eating while it does not actually have to be rice that is eaten. The context will determine whether or not the referent of the noun may ‘rice’ is interpreted as affected by the action denoted

\(^{44}\) Which arguments can occur unmarked and under what conditions is treated in Chapter 20.
by the verb *saʔ* ‘to eat’ and whether or not *may* ‘rice’ can be interpreted as O argument. It is impossible to draw the line between prototypically associated nouns, which are not part of the argument structure, and non-referential O arguments, which are. Therefore it might be a better analysis to consider a scale with on the one hand case-marked referential O’s and on the other hand prototypically associated nouns. In (547) for example, *may* ‘rice’ is non referential and might or might not be seen as a prototypically associated noun.

(547)  
*may saʔakma?*

\[
\begin{align*}
[may], \{saʔ -ak\} =ma \\
\text{rice} \quad \text{eat} -\text{COS} =Q
\end{align*}
\]

‘Have you eaten (rice)?’

An argument in favour of *may* ‘rice’ in (547) being an O argument is that it is affected by the event denoted by the verb. Moreover, *may* ‘rice’ can be accusative-marked and be questioned as O argument. If we were to mark the noun *may* ‘rice’ with an accusative, it becomes referential, and the sentence would still be felicitous, viz. *may =aw saʔ-ak=ma?* *(rice=ACC eat-cos=Q)* ‘have you eaten the rice?’ If, on the other hand, we would put a case marker on a prototypically associated noun, and thus make it referential and cast it out of the predicate into the argument structure, the clause would have a very strange meaning, as in the following examples, which are manipulations of (542), (543) and (544) respectively. This test shows that these compounds are lexicalised.

(548)  
? *naŋʔ walci məkrenaw nukama?*

\[
\begin{align*}
[naŋʔ], \{wal\} =ci \quad [məkren] =aw \quad \{nuk -a\} =ma \\
2s \quad \text{night} =\text{LOC} \quad \text{eye} =\text{ACC} \quad \text{see} -\text{CUST} =Q
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do you see (your/the) eyes at night?’

(549)  
* *naŋʔ ty-iaw huŋ=na sap-a-ma?*

\[
\begin{align*}
[naŋʔ], \{ty\} =aw \quad \{huŋ\} =na \quad \{sap \ -a\} =ma \\
2s \quad \text{water}=\text{ACC} \quad \text{swim} =\text{DAT} \quad \text{know.a.skill} -\text{CUST} =Q
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do you know how to swim the water?’
(550)  * aŋa jaŋgiawba thəymanok.

[ aŋa ] [ jaŋgi ] =aw =ba { thəy-man -ok }
1s life =ACC =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS

‘I died my life.’

22.7.2 The noun-plus-support-verb predicate

Nouns can be incorporated into a complex predicate with the support verbs tak- ‘to do’, khaʔ- ~ kha- ‘to do, make’, and raʔ- ‘to take, get’. There are four arguments that support incorporation instead of co-ordination of predicates. 1) The incorporated noun is not referential. 2) The incorporated noun is not part of the argument structure because the referent of the noun is not affected by the event denoted by the verb. 3) In the support verb construction nothing can come between this noun and the inflected form of the support verb. 4) The incorporated noun cannot be modified. The two elements are tightly knit together. The noun provides the lexical content for the predicate while the head carries the grammatical information concerning negation, modality, aspect etc. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the criteria are for the use of either tak- ‘to do’ or khaʔ- ~ kha- ‘to do, make’ as support verb in the complex predicate. More fieldwork is also needed to find out whether the prohibitive word <ta> (PROH) can come between the noun and the support verb.

i The support verbs khaʔ- ~ kha- ‘to do, make’ and tak- ‘to do’

Any noun seems to be incorporable in a support verb predicate. This type of incorporation is used in several cases:

− where the language has no verbal equivalent for the NOUN-VERB compound, as in (551) with the noun and bayʔsiga ‘friend’ and in (552) with the noun den gu ‘extortion’ inside the predicate;
− to create the notion of ‘pretending to do something’, as in (553), where the noun khora ‘lame person’ is part of the predicate;
− to express the notion ‘be like something’ as in (554), where the noun nawaŋ ‘confused person, idiot’ is part of the predicate.

Sometimes loans have to be incorporated in order to use them as we can see in (555).
(551)  
\[\text{teʔewe amakməŋ rupek məŋ bayʔsiga khaʔwano}.\]
\[\text{[teʔew] =e [amak] =məŋ [rupek] =məŋ \{bayʔsiga khaʔ -wa\} =no now =FC monkey =COM FROG =COM friend do -FACT =QUOT} \]

‘Now the monkey and the frog are friends, it is said.’

(552)  
\[\text{“aŋ dengu takni naʔa, naʔa payay jālbone” noaydono magacakan.}\]
\[\text{[aŋ] \{dengu tak -ni\} [naʔa] [naʔa] \{pay\} =ay 1s extortion do -FUT 2s 2s carry.in.hand =ADV} \]

\[\{jāl\} =bo =ne \{no-aydona\} =no \text{[magacak] =an} \text{run.away=IMP =TAG say -PROG =QUOT deer =FC/ID} \]

‘I will do extortion, oh you! you carry [the biscuits and] run away, ok?” [he] is saying, it is said, the deer’

(553)  
\[\text{“aŋ khora taknane, naʔa payay jālbone bayʔsigane” noaydono.}\]
\[\text{[aŋ] \{khora tak -na\} =ne [naʔa] \{pay\} =ay 1s lame.person do -DESI=TAG 2s carry.in.hand =ADV} \]

\[\{jāl\} =bo =ne \{bayʔsiga\} =ne \{no -aydona\} =no \text{run.away=IMP =TAG friend =TAG say -PROG =QUOT} \]

‘I will pretend to be lame, you carry [the biscuits and] run away, ok, friend, right”, he is saying, it is said.’

(554)  
\[\text{jangalan atəkəy nawaŋ takthokaroknor.}\]
\[\text{[jangal] =an \{atəkəy\} \{nawaŋ\ \text{tak -thok -ok}\} =no =ro} \text{everybody =FC/ID like.that confused.person do -ALL -COS =QUOT =EMPH} \]

‘So everybody was like really confused.’

In the next example the Indic loan thik ‘agreement’ is incorporated into the support verb complex predicate. In this example the word əsəkən is a phonologically reduced form of isəkən ‘this much’. The loan thik ‘agreement’ also occurs in complex predicates with the identity/equation copula doŋʔ- ~ doŋ- (IE.be) of which example (560) is illustrative.
There are cases in which the support verbs *tak-* ‘to do’ and *kha?*- ~ *kha-* ‘to do, make’ are juxtaposed to bare verbal roots or verbal stems. It is possible for verbal roots or stems to modify immediately following predicates and therefore it is possible to consider verbal roots or stems followed by the support verbs to be normal (zero-derived) adverb plus verb constructions. It appears that other elements can intervene between the two verbs in colloquial speech, although more fieldwork is needed to test the grammaticality of the construction with intervening elements. Examples can be found in §18.7.

ii  The support verb *ra?-* ‘to take, get’

There is a third support verb that allows incorporation of nouns into the predicate, viz. *ra?-* ‘to take, get’. Contrary to the other two support verbs treated above, *ra?-* ‘to take, get’ only allows incorporation of a small number of specific nouns. The nouns incorporated into predicates with *ra?-* ‘to take, get’ which have been discovered up to now are listed here in Table 65, followed by some examples.

| Table 65  Elements incorporated into predicates with the support verb *ra?-* ‘to take’ |
|----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| GLOSS    | INCORPORATED ELEMENT | WORD CLASS | COMPOUND | TRANSITIVITY | GLOSS         |
| snore    | *hogo?*      | noun        | *hogo?*ra?-| intransitive | ‘to snore’    |
| thought  | *su?*        | noun        | *su?*ra?-  | transitive   | ‘to remember’|
| word     | *kath*a ~ khat*a ~ kath*a ~ kata* | noun | *kath*a *ra?-| transitive   | ‘to obey’     |
| respect  | *man*        | noun        | *man*ra?-  | transitive   | ‘to respect’  |

(556)  *na?* ge?thengaw man ra?*na na?a

[na?] [ge?thay] =aw {man ra?} =na {na? -a}  
2s 3s =ACC respect take =DAT need -CUST
‘You have to respect him.’
(557) \[ \text{jəwceŋ-waci naŋʔ hogol raʔwa} \]
\[ \{\text{jəw -ceŋ -wa}\} \text{=ci} \{\text{naŋʔ}\} \{\text{hogol raʔ -wa}\} \]
sleep -first -FACT =LOC 2s snore take -FACT

‘When you were asleep first, you snored’

(558) \[ \text{nokgumuk khusidoŋay isolaw suŋ raʔay, je kristen dongabado isolaw phiʔay saʔceŋa.} \]
\[ \{\text{nok}\} \text{=gumuk} \{\text{khusi doŋ -ay}\} \{\text{isol}\} \text{=aw} \{\text{suŋ raʔ}\} \text{=ay} \]
house =whole happy IE.be =ADV God =ACC thought get =ADV

\[ \{\text{je kristan}\} \{\text{doŋ}\} \text{=gaba} =do \]
any Christian IE.be =ATTR =TOP

\[ \{\text{isol}\} \text{=aw} \{\text{phiʔ}\} \text{=ay} \{\text{saʔ -ceŋ -a}\} \]
God =ACC beg =ADV eat -FIRST -CUST

‘The whole house is happy [and] remembers God (Alt.: ‘praises God’) [and then] whoever is a Christian, prays to God first [and] starts eating.’

### iii The copula as support verb

There are certain predicative constructions, all of which contain loanwords, which require the presence of the identity/equation copula \( \text{doŋʔ} \sim \text{doŋ} \) (IE.be) as support verb to be able to occur in a clause. The word \( \text{khusi} \) ‘happy’ in (559) is an Indic loan as is \( \text{thik} \) ‘agreement’ in (560) below. The word \( \text{phēl} \sim \text{pēl} [\text{pʰeːl} \sim \text{peːl}] \) ‘fail’ comes from the English word ‘fail’ (561). All these loans are part of the predicate of the clauses in which they occur. There is also an expression \( \text{thik kha}- \) (agreement make) which means ‘to agree upon a place and time for the event’ which is illustrated in example (555) above.

(559) \[ \text{geʔtheŋtheŋ khusi doŋʔthamakayməŋ gore diʔmayci phalthaŋ cak diriga saŋwalayməŋ watokno.} \]
\[ \{\text{geʔtheŋtheŋ}\} \{\text{khusi doŋʔ -thamak}\} \text{=ay} =\text{məŋ} \]
3p happy IE.be -EXCESSIVELY =ADV =SEQ

\[ \{\text{gore diʔmay}\} \text{=ci} \{\text{phalthaŋ cak}\} \{\text{diri}\} \text{=ga} \{\text{saŋwal}\} \text{=ay} =\text{məŋ} \]
horse tail =LOC self hand hold =ATTR forget =ADV =SEQ

\{\text{wat -ok}\} =\text{no} \]
depart -COS =QUOT

‘They were so excessively happy that they forgot their own hands which were holding the horse’s tail and they let go, it is said.’
(560) *isəŋməŋ məŋaytanaŋmangaba bimuŋ aro usəŋmyŋ rayʔagaba morot cancicəpay thik doŋʔokodo [...]*

[[u] =saŋ =məŋ {məŋ} =ay {tan -aŋ -man} =gaba bimuŋ]  
PRX =IRIN =ABL call.a.name =ADV put -AWAY -already =ATTR name  
aro [[u]=saŋ =məŋ {rayʔa} =gaba morot]  
and DST-IRIN =GEN come =ATTR person  
{cancicəp}=ay {thik doŋʔ -ok} =odo  
suppose =ADV agreement IE.be -COS =TOP  
‘Then now suppose that if the name that [someone] gave from this side and the person from that side are in agreement, then [in] this game *ajot* the king will certainly say “*ajot*” to him.’ (In the children’s game called *ajot*).

(561) *geʔthəŋ lekha nemay poreanca, ətəkəymu poreka pel doŋʔok.*

[geʔthəŋ][lekha] {nem} =ay {pore -an -ca}  
3s book good =ADV study/read -REF -NEG  
ətəkəymu [poreka]₀ {pel doŋʔ -ok}  
so.then exam fail IE.be -COS  
‘He did not study the book well, so then he failed the exam.’

Integrating or incorporating loans into the language by combining them with native verbs is not uncommon in other languages as well. Haig (2001: 213) describes how Iranian languages “make extensive use of combinations of often borrowed nominal elements plus a semantically bleached native ‘support verb’ to extend their verb lexicon.” The same has been described for Japanese and Korean (see Sohn 1999: 254-5 for Korean).
Chapter 23   Predicate head suffixes

In this chapter the predicate head suffixes will be treated separately in the order in which they appear in Table 63, except for the event specifiers, which are treated in Chapter 25, the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT), which is treated in Chapter 1, and the concomitant action suffix <-butug> (WHILE) , which is treated in §27.6.1.

23.1   The causative suffix <-et>

The causative is signalled by the morpheme <-et> (CAUS). It occurs on both transitive and intransitive verbs. The causative is not attested on type 2 adjectives or nouns functioning as predicate. On intransitive verbs and adjectives the causative increases the transitivity and the valency, i.e. it makes it possible for the verb or adjective to have an A argument, semantically a Causer. On transitive verbs the causative can have a valency increasing effect, or a different effect, which will be discussed below.

The next example illustrates the occurrence of the causative on the Type 1 adjective tug- 'to be hot'. Type 1 adjectives are a subtype of intransitive verb. In its causative form tug-et (hot-CAUS) the meaning is straightforward ‘to make hot, to heat up’.

(562) may tugetnima?

\[
[may]\_\{\text{tug} \ -\text{et} \ -\text{ni}\} =\text{ma} \\
\text{rice} \quad \text{hot} \ -\text{CAUS} \ -\text{FUT} =\text{Q}
\]

‘Shall [I] make the rice hot?’

23.2   The causative on transitive verbs

On transitive verbs the causative can have a valency increasing effect, i.e. it adds a Causer to the clause. However, the causative does not have to add any participants. The causative on transitive verbs certainly does not always add the meaning of causation. There are many instances of the use of a causative without any apparent difference in the meaning of the verb to which it is attached. More fieldwork needs to
be conducted to find out what subtle meaning the causative adds to transitive verbs in these cases.

The following example was uttered by a boy who wanted me to make a girl write a letter to him. We can assume that the causative in this clause has a valency increasing function. Another example with the verb *say*- ‘to write’ where the morpheme may or may not have a valency increasing function is (564).

(563)  *naĩa citi sayetbo!*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[naĩa]}_A, \ \text{[citi]}_O \ \{\text{say} - \text{et}\} = \text{bo} \\
\text{2s letter write -CAUS =IMP} \\
\text{‘You, make [her] write a letter!’}
\end{array}
\]

In the following example, which was dictated to me by the speaker, the transitive verb *bal* ‘to speak, say, tell’ is used with the causative for an apparent reason, i.e. the speaker can’t write, so he makes someone else write the letter for him. This means that, given this context, one could analyse Miksrang as the Causer and the Causee being ellipsed in the clause. However, it might also be that Miksrang does not want Barbara to know that he can’t write and so he uses the causative to stress his own involvement in the action, or something else. Again, we can only conclude that more fieldwork needs to be conducted to find this out.

(564)  *barbara, naŋʔna miksrang salam baletwa*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[barbara]}_A, \ \text{[naŋʔ]}_O = \text{na} \ \text{[miksrang]}_A \ \text{[salam]}_O \ \{\text{bal} - \text{et} - \text{wa}\} \\
\text{Name 2s =DAT Name greeting say -CAUS -FACT} \\
\text{‘Barbara, Miksrang makes [someone] say greetings to you.’} (\text{Via a letter written by someone else because Miksrang himself is illiterate.})
\end{array}
\]

The next example is the opening sentence of a letter. Here the author of the letter might well have used the causative to express his intense involvement in the event.
23 Predicate head suffixes

(565) \( aŋ naŋʔna paŋʔca khata\dəragaw sayay baletna. \\
\[ aŋ \] [naŋʔ] =na \{paŋʔ -ca\} [khata] =dərag =aw \\
1s 2s =DAT many -NEG word =p =ACC \\
\{say\} =ay \{bal -et -na\} \\
write =ADV say -CAUS -DESI \\
‘I am intending to writingly say some words to you.’

In the next example the causative might well be attached to the transitive verb \( dəw-\) ‘to add’ to express that the event was difficult or involved effort. More fieldwork is needed to find out if the causative suffix can be left out in this example and if there would then be a difference in meaning.

(566) \( pʰɪkʰɛn \ pʰɪkʰɛn \ rəm\! ay \ nəʔa\! mdo \ pɨpɨk \ pʰɛcɪba \ thəycagabakona \ pəwəci \ dəwɛt\! wəci \ bɨpʰa\! gaba \ mənʔa\! gaba\! aaw \ gawigaba \ kumiri \ ram\! aci \ nəʔlame \ gudukokno. \)

\( pʰɪkʰɛn \ pʰɪkʰɛn \ \{rəm\} =ay \ [nəʔla\! m] =do \)
raw RED cook =ADV fish =TOP \\
\[ pɨpɨk \] \{pʰɛ\} =ci =ba \{{\{thəy -ca\} =gaba} -ak\} =ona \\
stomach to.gut =LOC=EMPH die -NEG =ATTR -COS =DAT \\
\[ pəwəci \] =ci \{dəw -et _ -wa\} =ci =e \\
pan =LOC add -CAUS -FACT =LOC=FC \\
\[ bɨpʰa\! gaba \] \{mənʔ -a\} =gaba =aw \\
husband obtain -TOWARDS -REF =ACC \\
\[ gawigaba \] [kumiri] \{rəm -wa\} =ci =e \\
wife Name cook -FACT =LOC=FC \\
\[ nəʔla\! m \] =e \{guduk -ok\} =no \\
type.of.fish =FC wiggle -COS =QUOT’

‘Cooking [it] raw, the fish, really when they [had] gut[ted] the belly [it] was/is not yet dead, when [they] put [it] into the pan [with difficulty], that which the husband obtained, when the wife Kumiri cooked [it] the fish wiggle[d] about.’

The next example the morpheme \(<-et>\) (CAUS) seems to indicate telicity.
ucie səŋsəŋkol thəwʔgaba nukayok, ciakol. ətəkəy cayetwacie phalthaŋaw nukok.

\[
\text{ucie } [səŋsəŋkol] \quad \text{thəwʔ} = \text{gaba} [nuk -ay -ok] \quad [\text{ciakol}]
\]
then deep.hole.in.the.ground deep =ATTR see -POS -COS well

\[
\text{ətəkəy } [\text{c ay -et -wa}] = \text{ci} = \text{e} [\text{phalthap}] = \text{aw} \quad [\text{nuk -ok}]
\]
like.that look -CAUS -FACT =LOC=FC self =ACC=see -COS

‘Then [he] saw a deep hole in the ground. When [he] looked like that [he] saw himself.’

What do other languages tell us about the semantic effects of causative marking on verbs? In Manambu (Ndu family) the causative prefix kay- derives straightforward causatives from intransitive verbs (see Aikhenvald, 2008). However, “when used with transitive verbs, it does not add any participants: instead, it marks manipulative effort, forceful action or multiplicity and extent of the object” (Aikhenvald, forthcoming b).

In Garo (Burling, 2004: 143-144) the causative apparently also has two functions which resemble those of the Atong causative, which is not surprising given that the two languages are closely related. In Garo intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs can be causativised with the meaning ‘make/cause to V’. Burling remarks that in some cases, a causative added to a transitive verb “seems simply to emphasize the transitive nature of the verb” or indicates that the action denoted by the verb was done with more force or that the O argument of the verb was fully affected.\(^{45}\)

23.3 The reciprocal suffix <-ruk>

The reciprocal morpheme <-ruk> (RC) is a stem-forming morpheme which signals that the event denoted by the verb is reciprocal. It occurs only on transitive verbal

\[^{45}\text{David A. Peterson (personal communication) says it is common for morphemes that have a causative effect on intransitive verb to have an applicative effect with transitive verbs. Peterson treats causative/applicative isomorphism this in his book on applicative constructions (2007: 64-66). The causative morpheme could also have a reference-tracking function (LaPolla, personal communication) in discourse. I need to do extensively more research than is possible within the time limits for this PhD to find out what the exact interpretational possibilities are for predicates with what I now call the causative suffix <-et> (CAUS).}\]
PREDICATE HEAD SUFFIXES

It can occur on Type 1 adjectives functioning as predicate head when they are causativised and thus transitivised, e.g. sak-et-ruk- (red-CAUS-RC) ‘to make each other red’ but also when they are not causativised. In that case the adjective expresses a quality that mutually holds for two things as in example (568) here below. Type 2 adjectives are not attested with the reciprocal.

(568)  naʔnaje soŋ janʔrukok.

\[
\text{[naʔnag]} \text{=} e \text{ soŋ } \{\text{janʔ-ruk} \text{ -ok}\}
\]

1pi =FC village far -RC -COS

‘Our villages are very far apart from each other.’

(569)  jalapaŋməŋ kəsandɔ janʔgabami ətəkəy olrukokno.

\[
\text{[jal} \text{ -aŋ]} \text{=} ay \text{ =məŋ } \{\text{kəŋsaŋ} \text{ =do } \{\text{janʔ} \text{=} gaba} \text{=} mi}
\]

run.away-away =ADV =SEQ after =TOP far =ATTR =GEN

ətəkəy \{\text{ol} \text{ -ruk} \text{ -ok}\} =no

like.this speak -RC -COS =QUOT

‘Having run away, later, from far [they] spoke to each other like this, it is said.’ [The tiger and the lazy king after the lazy king had bitten the tiger in the thigh and the tiger had run off].

(570)  soŋsami soŋsigacina nawrukok tanʔrukok. tanrukciba p atok niʔwa.

\[
\text{[soŋ sa]} \text{=} mi \text{ [soŋ] } \text{=} siga } \text{=} ci \text{ =na } \{\text{naw-ruk} \text{ -ok}\}
\]

village one=GEN village=ALT =LOC-ALL scold-RC -COS

\{\text{tanʔ-ruk} \text{ -ok}\} \{\text{tanʔ-ruk}\} =ci \text{ =ba } \{\text{patok}\} \{\text{niʔ} \text{ -wa}\}

slay -RC -COS slain -RC =LOC=EMPH prison NEG.be -FACT

‘From one village to another [they] scold each other, slay each other. When [they] slay each other there is no prison.’

There is one example in the recorded corpus of the reciprocal preceding an event specifier, represented here as (571). As we can see in Table 63, event specifiers usually precede the reciprocal morpheme. This example shows that the order of the suffixes is not fixed and probably depends on their scope.
(571) \(naŋʔ-təme\ own\-bəysək \ manʔphawa \ ie\ bəlsie\ noay\ syŋʔr \ rukthoka.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[naŋʔ-təm]} = & \ [\text{gow} \ bəysək] \ \{\text{man} \ -pha \ -wa\} \\
2s \ -\text{ppp} = & \text{FC \ CLF:RESIDUE \ how.many \ obtain \ -IN.TOTAL \ -FACT} \\
\text{[ie \ bəlsi]} = & \ [\text{no \ } = \ ay \ \{\text{ṣəŋʔ-ruk \ -thok-ā}\} \\
\text{PRX \ year} = & \text{FC \ say} \ = \text{ADV \ ask \ -RC \ -ALL \ -CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

“How many did you get this year?” everybody asks. Lit. ‘sayingly all ask each other’. Implied: ‘How many baskets were you able to fill with rice this year?’ (during the harvest).

23.4 **The comparative/superlative suffix \(-khal\)**

The morpheme \(-khal\) (CP/SUP) occurs on both Type 1 adjectives as well as other verbs to form comparatives, superlatives and predicates with the meaning ‘V more, V-er’, where V stands for any verb. Whether a predicate with the suffix \(-khal\) has to be interpreted as a comparative or a superlative depends on the context. The suffix is labelled (SUP) when the context prompts a superlative interpretation and (CP) in all other contexts. The suffix \(-khal\) (CP) functions as Index in comparisons, whether the Parameter is qualitative, i.e. a Type 1 adjective, as we can see in (651), (652), (748) – (750), or any other verb, as in (572).

(572) \(gəʔ\text{then} \ aŋ\na \ dəy\ a\text{ʔkhal}a.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{STANDARD} & \text{ COMPAREE } \text{ ---------MARK--------- } \text{ PARAMETER} \text{ INDEX} \\
[\text{gəʔ\text{then}}] & \text{ [aŋ]} \ = \text{na} \ \{\text{dəy}\} \ = \text{ay} \ \{\text{sa?} \ -khal \ -a}\} \\
3s \ 1s \ = & \text{DAT \ be.bigger=} \text{ADV \ eat} \ -\text{CP \ -CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He eats more than me.’

It has to be noted that the Comparee and the Mark are not compulsory for the clause to be comparative, e.g. \(aŋ=\text{an cuŋ-khal-a}\) (1s=FC/ID big-CP-CUST) ‘I’m bigger’.

The next two examples, from the story about a lazy king called Bil, illustrate how the interpretation of the suffix \(-khal\) (CP/SUP) as comparative or superlative depends on the context. In (573) \(-khal\) indicates a superlative, whereas the three occurrences of this suffix in (574) all have to be interpreted as comparatives. In the clause leading up to (573), king Bil says to the king of another country: “I don’t need anything”.

---

(571) \(naŋʔ-təme\ goyʔ-bəysək manʔphawa \ ie \ bəlsie\ noay \ syŋʔr \ rukthoka.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[naŋʔ-təm]} = & \ [\text{gow} \ bəysək] \ \{\text{man} \ -pha \ -wa\} \\
2s \ -\text{ppp} = & \text{FC \ CLF:RESIDUE \ how.many \ obtain \ -IN.TOTAL \ -FACT} \\
\text{[ie \ bəlsi]} = & \ [\text{no \ } = \ ay \ \{\text{ṣəŋʔ-ruk \ -thok-ā}\} \\
\text{PRX \ year} = & \text{FC \ say} \ = \text{ADV \ ask \ -RC \ -ALL \ -CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

“How many did you get this year?” everybody asks. Lit. ‘sayingly all ask each other’. Implied: ‘How many baskets were you able to fill with rice this year?’ (during the harvest).

23.4 **The comparative/superlative suffix \(-khal\)**

The morpheme \(-khal\) (CP/SUP) occurs on both Type 1 adjectives as well as other verbs to form comparatives, superlatives and predicates with the meaning ‘V more, V-er’, where V stands for any verb. Whether a predicate with the suffix \(-khal\) has to be interpreted as a comparative or a superlative depends on the context. The suffix is labelled (SUP) when the context prompts a superlative interpretation and (CP) in all other contexts. The suffix \(-khal\) (CP) functions as Index in comparisons, whether the Parameter is qualitative, i.e. a Type 1 adjective, as we can see in (651), (652), (748) – (750), or any other verb, as in (572).

(572) \(gəʔ\text{then} \ aŋ\na \ dəy\ a\text{ʔkhal}a.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{STANDARD} & \text{ COMPAREE } \text{ ---------MARK--------- } \text{ PARAMETER} \text{ INDEX} \\
[\text{gəʔ\text{then}}] & \text{ [aŋ]} \ = \text{na} \ \{\text{dəy}\} \ = \text{ay} \ \{\text{sa?} \ -khal \ -a}\} \\
3s \ 1s \ = & \text{DAT \ be.bigger=} \text{ADV \ eat} \ -\text{CP \ -CUST}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He eats more than me.’

It has to be noted that the Comparee and the Mark are not compulsory for the clause to be comparative, e.g. \(aŋ=\text{an cuŋ-khal-a}\) (1s=FC/ID big-CP-CUST) ‘I’m bigger’.

The next two examples, from the story about a lazy king called Bil, illustrate how the interpretation of the suffix \(-khal\) (CP/SUP) as comparative or superlative depends on the context. In (573) \(-khal\) indicates a superlative, whereas the three occurrences of this suffix in (574) all have to be interpreted as comparatives. In the clause leading up to (573), king Bil says to the king of another country: “I don’t need anything”.
(573) naʔa aŋna naŋʔməŋ gore jalna rakkhalgabaaw hənʔetari bo.
naʔa aŋ =na naŋʔ =məŋ gore jal =na rak -khal =gaba =aw
2s 1s =DAT 2s =GEN horse run =DAT strong -SUP =ATTR =ACC
hənʔ -et -ari =bo
give -CAUS -SIMP =IMP
‘You just give me your fastest running horse.’

(574) gore jalna rakbebeokno. khaʔsinkhalay jalkhalay noayməŋ gaʔdukdukciba rakkhalay rakkhalay jalaroikno
gore jal =na rak -bebe -ok =no
horse run =DAT strong -TRULY-COS =QUOT
khaʔsin -khal =ay jal =na no =ay =məŋ gaʔdukduk =ci =ba
slow -CP =ADV run =DAT say =ADV =SEQ prod.with.leg =LOC =INDEF
rak -khal =ay rak -khal =ay jal -ari -ok =no
strong -CP =ADV stong -CP =ADV run -SIMP -COS =QUOT

The horse ran really quickly, it is said. Having told [it] to run slower, whenever [he] prodded [it] with his legs, [it] just ran faster and faster, it is said.

The comparative suffix does not just function in comparative constructions, as the example below illustrates.

(575) […] nemkhalciba nemkhalcaciba ue morotnado dəkəksa caysakni.
{nem-khal} =ci =ba {nem-khal-ca} =ci =ba
good -CP =LOC =EMPH good -CP =NEG =LOC =EMPH
[ue morot] =na =do [dəkəks] =sa {cay -sak -nî}
DST person =DAT =TOP a.little.while =DLIM look -APPROPRIATELY-FUT

[After having called upon all those who are rich and their family members, after having invoked the spirits and after having eaten and drunk,] whether [the sick person] is better or not better, [one] will maybe wait a little while [to see how the person’s condition will develop].’
23.5 The excessive suffix <-\textit{duga}>

The excessive suffix <-\textit{duga}> (XS) indicates that the event denoted by the predicate is carried out to an excessive extent or, in the case of a predicate indicating a quality, is too much. This suffix is attested on verbal and Type 2 adjectival predicates.

(576) Umynggymnci thogigaba morotaw agrai bebe raʔdugana baino.

\begin{verbatim}
uməŋgəmənci \{thog\i{} =gaba morot =aw \[agray]\}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
therefore lie =ATTR person =ACC EXCESSIVELY
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\{bebe raʔ -duga\} =na =bay =no
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
truly get -XS =DAT=PROH =QUOT
\end{verbatim}

‘Therefore [you] shouldn’t too much believe persons who are lying, it is said.’

(577) tibimi kərəŋgaba rakdugabutunjci caŋba niʔetok.

\begin{verbatim}
tibi =mi kərəŋ =gaba \{rak -duga -butuŋ\} =ci
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
television =GEN make.sound =ATTR strong -XS -when =LOC
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
[caŋ] =ba \{niʔ -et -ok\}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
who =INDEF not.exist -CAUS -COS
\end{verbatim}

‘When the sound of the TV was too strong, someone turned [it] off.’

(578) ie ram thmblongdugaʔa

\begin{verbatim}
[ie ram] \{thəmbəloŋ -duga -a\}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
PRX road have.holes.in.it (of roads/bridges) -XS -CUST
\end{verbatim}

‘This road is too damaged.’

The meaning of a Type 1 adjectives can still be reinforced by the change of state morpheme (see §5.1) when the excessive suffix is attached, e.g. \textit{məl-duga-ak} (small-XS-COS) ‘much too small’, alternatively: ‘has become too small’.

23.6 The simplicitive aspect suffix <-\textit{ari}> 

The simplicitive expresses that the event denoted by the verb is executed with ease, without any trouble or hindrance or without discussion or further ado, and is signalled by the morpheme <-\textit{ari}> (SIMP). The Atong simplicitive differs from the English
lexeme ‘just’ in that <-ari> (SIMP) has no delimitative meaning. Example (579) is illustrative of the use of this morpheme.

(579)  aŋ ətəkəy balayməŋ tanarinaka.

[ aŋ ] [ ətəkəy ] { bal } =ay =məŋ { tan -ari -naka }  
1s like.this speak =ADV =SEQ PUT -SIMP -IFT  
‘I, having spoken like this, will just/simply stop now [without further ado].’

23.7 The incompletive aspect suffix <-ku>-  

The incompletive aspect suffix <-ku>- (INCOM) indicates that the action denoted by the verb has not yet reached the point of completion or is still the case. It can also be used to form the polite imperative (see §26.2).

When used together with the progressive/durative aspect suffix, both the order incompletive-progressive/durative, e.g. (580), and progressive/durative-incompletive, e.g.(581), are attested. The speakers’ judgement is that the former order, which has been recorded more often (see Table 63) is better than the latter. Example (200) illustrates the use of the incompletive on a nominal predicate head.

(580)  saʔkuaydona geʔtheŋdo.

{ saʔ -ku -aydona } [ geʔtheŋ ] =do  
eat -INCOM-PROG  3s =TOP  
‘He’s still eating.’

(581)  aŋ pipuk baŋbaŋaydoŋkuha

[ aŋ  pipuk ] { baŋbaŋ -aydono -ku -a }  
1s  belly/stomach empty -DUR -INCOM-CUST  
‘My stomach is still empty.’

Under negation, the incompletive signals that something is not yet the case, e.g. (582) and (583).

(582)  saʔkhuca.

saʔ -ku -ca  
eat -INCOM -NEG  
‘[I] have not yet eaten.’
23.8 The customary aspect suffix <-a>

The customary aspect suffix <-a> (CUST) is used to express regularly recurring, unchangeable or ongoing events. The customary aspect cannot be expressed under negation. The following example presents prototypical instances of the use of the customary aspect suffix. The example is taken from a story about the slash-and-burn-cultivation as practices by the Atong people.

(584) haʔkhənmanwaməŋsa maysi khita. uməŋ aboŋdəraŋ cala, dacaŋdəraŋ cala. otakəyməŋsa calmanwa macotwaməŋsa may kayʔceŋa.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[haʔ] \{khən -man -wa\} =məŋ =sa \{maysi\} \{khit-\text{g}\}} & \quad \text{soil collect/clear -ALREADY -FACT =SEQ =DLIM millet sow -CUST} \\
\text{uməŋ \[aboŋ\] =dəraŋ \{cal \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{g}\}} & \quad \text{then corn =p sow.by.making.a.hole.in.the.ground -CUST} \\
\text{\[dacaŋ\] =dəraŋ \{cal \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{g}\}} & \quad \text{type.of.shrub =p sow.by.making.a.hole.in.the.ground -CUST} \\
\text{otakəyməŋ =sa \{cal -man -wa\}} & \quad \text{so.then =DLIM sow.by.making.a.hole.in.the.ground -ALREADY -FACT} \\
\text{\{macot-wa\} =məŋ =sa \{may\} \{kayʔ -ceŋ -\text{g}\}} & \quad \text{finish -FACT =SEQ =DLIM rice plant -INCEPT -CUST} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Having already cleared the charred detritus off the ground, millet is sown. thereafter corn is sown, dacəŋ is sown. Only then, having already finished sowing, [you] begin to plant the rice.’

The next example is the conclusion to a story in which the storyteller makes a statement, i.e. he says that something is always like that.
The desiderative suffix \(-na\) (DESI) can occur on the predicate head of independent clauses and indicates a desire or wish, e.g. (586), (587), or an implied impossibility, e.g. in Text 1 line 36 and example (588). The desiderative suffix can occur on verbal predicate heads of content questions as we can see in (586) and declarative clauses as illustrated in (587). Desiderative-marked predicate heads of independent clauses of any type cannot take any modality or polarity suffixes, i.e. inflectional suffixes, but the stem-forming incompletive aspect is attested, e.g. in Text 1 line 36 and example (588). (Types of predicate suffixes are treated in Chapter 23.) Dependent desiderative clauses can express change of state. Although the desiderative suffix \(-na\) (DESI) is a homophone of the allomorph \(-na\) of the dative enclitic \(=na~=ona\) (DAT), the two morphemes are clearly functionally distinct since they occur in different clause types. It cannot be excluded that the two morphemes are etymologically related. Dative-marked clauses are treated in Chapter 27.

(586) \(bisaŋ\ rayʔna bayʔsiga?\)
\[
\begin{align*}
[bis] & =saŋ \quad \{rayʔ -na\} \quad [bayʔsiga] \\
\text{QF} & =\text{MOB} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{DESI} \quad \text{friend} \\
\text{‘Where do you intend to go, friend?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(587) \(hay\ bayʔsiga, biskut saʔkhawna\)
\[
\begin{align*}
[hay] & \quad [bayʔsiga] \quad [biskut] \quad \{saʔ -khaw -na\} \\
\text{come.on} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{biscuit} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{-SNEAKILY-DESI} \\
\text{‘Come on, friend, I intend/want to steal the biscuits.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the context of the next example a man is talking to his daughter about the fish traps he had put up.
(588) “caʔmasaŋba cayok! khambaysaŋawba cayok. caʔmasaŋmi cayciba matdam saʔak, khambaysaŋmi cayciba matdam saʔak. biaw caykhuna? aŋa niʔok” nookno.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[caʔmasaŋ]} & = \text{ba} \{ \text{cay -ok}\} \\
\text{khambaysaŋ} & = \text{aw} = \text{ba} \{ \text{cay -ok}\} \\
\text{downside} & = \text{ADD} \text{ look -COS}
\end{align*}
\]

upstream = \text{ADD}\text{ look -COS}

\[\[\text{[caʔmasaŋ]} = \text{mi} \{ \text{cay}\} = \text{ci} = \text{ba} \{ \text{matdam}\} \{ \text{saʔ -ak}\} \]

\[\[\text{downside} = \text{GEN}\text{ look} = \text{LOC}=\text{ADD} \text{ otter eat -COS}
\]

\[\[\text{upstream} = \text{GEN}\text{ look} = \text{LOC}=\text{ADD} \text{ otter eat -COS}
\]

\[\[\text{[bi]} = \text{aw} \{ \text{cay -khu -na}\} \]

\[\[\text{which} = \text{ACC}\text{ look -INCOM-DESI}
\]

\[\[\text{[aŋ]} = \text{na} \{ \text{niʔ -ok}\} \{ \text{no-ok}\} = \text{no}
\]

\[\text{1s} = \text{DAT} \text{ not.exist -COS say -COS =QUOT}
\]

“‘I looked downstream. I also looked upstream. Whenever I looked at the one downstream, the otters had eaten it. Whenever I looked at the one upstream, the otters had eaten it. Which other one [is there] to look at? I have no more’, he said, it is said.’ Alternatively: ‘‘Which other one can I/am I supposed to look at?’”

The following example comes from the story of the prodigal son told by Kempai A Sangma. Apparently, the son of the wealthy king has returned to his father after years of wandering. The king sits in his palace and hears the rumours. He then thinks (589) to himself:

(589) bici rayʔaphinʔkhuna? aŋa iskən gamaw hanthietok. iskən janʔgaba soŋsaŋ deʔtheŋ jalaŋok. bici ucie aŋcina rayʔakhuna?

\[\[\text{[bi]} = \text{ci} \{ \text{raya -phin -khu -na}\} \]

\[\[\text{[aŋ]} \{ \text{iskən gam}\} = \text{aw}
\]

\[\text{QF =LOC come -RETURN -INCOM-DESI 1s so.much wealth =ACC}
\]

\[\{ \text{hanti -et -ok}\} \]

\[\text{divide -CAUS -COS}
\]

\[\[\{[\text{iskən}\} \{ \text{janʔ}\} = \text{gaba soŋ}\} = \text{say} \{ \text{deʔtheŋ}\} \{ \text{jal -ag -ok}\}
\]

\[\text{so.much far } = \text{ATTR country } = \text{MOB 3s run.away-AWAY -COS}
\]

\[\[\text{[bi]} = \text{ci} \{ \text{ucie}\} \{ \text{aŋ}\} = \text{ci} = \text{na} \{ \text{rayʔa -khu -na}\}
\]

\[\text{QF =LOC then 1s =LOC=ALL come -CP -DESI}
\]

‘What should [he] return for? I bestowed so much wealth on him. He ran away to such a far country. What then should he return to me for?’
23.10 The Future modalities

There are two morphemes indicating that an event takes place in the future, viz the future suffix <-ni> (FUT) and the imperious future suffix <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF). The suffix <-ni> (FUT) indicates the uncertain future, and the suffix <-naka> (IFT) a more certain future. The differences between these two future modalities will be discussed in greater detail below.

The future has characteristics of both tense and modality; it contains the epistemic element of “probability” and the tense-related element “future temporal location of an event”. How are we now going to decide whether the future in Atong is a modality, or a tense? Bhat (1999: 175-177) argues that “the notion of future would be temporal or modal depending upon the prominence that the language attaches to the categories of tense, aspect and mood respectively”. Atong can be said to be an aspect and modality prominent language since both categories play an equally important role in the language.

There are two arguments in favour of calling the future categories modalities in Atong. Firstly, the future <-ni> (FUT) exists alongside the imperious future <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF). Together they form an epistemic modal system in which the former indicates less certainty about the occurrence of the event and the latter indicates more certainty. The second argument in favour of considering the future and the imperious future as modal categories comes from the Atong speakers themselves. One of my Atong friends and consultants pointed out to me that with <-ni> (FUT) you are 50% sure and with <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF) you are 95% sure that the event you are talking about will indeed happen.

The morphemes under discussion do certainly not indicate prospective aspect. It is not possible for these future modality morphemes to be used in situations such as “Yesterday, just as I was about to cook the soup”. The next sections will treat in detail the uses of the two future categories.

23.10.1 The imperious future suffix <-naka ~ -ka>

The imperious future modality is signalled by the morpheme <-naka ~ -ka> (IMF). The allomorph <-ka> (IMF) is used when immediately following the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG), whereas the allomorph <-naka> is used in all other environments. The imperious future in non-negative polarity expresses that an event
will almost certainly take place in the future or that an event is about to take place, depending on the context. In negative polarity it expresses that an event will almost certainly not take place or that an event will not go on any more from now on, depending in the context.

The imperious future forms an epistemic pair with the future category (see next section) and is also used as indicator of what will happen or happens usually in certain circumstances. Example (598) in the next section illustrates the difference in degree of certainty between the two future categories. The fact that the future cannot co-occur with other modal categories, such as the irrealis, confirms its status as a modality. The following examples illustrate some uses of the imperious future.

(590) ama, may saʔnaka niŋdo.

\[
\text{ama} \{\text{may saʔ} -naka\} [\text{niŋ}] =\text{do}
\]

mother rice eat- IMF lse =TOP

‘Mother, we’ll eat rice now.’

(591) raŋ nemcie ataknakasəy?

\[
[\text{raŋ}] \{\text{nem} =\text{ci} =e \} \{\text{atak} -naka\} =\text{say}
\]

rain good =LOC=FC do.that -IFT =MIR

‘Now that the rain has stopped, what the heck shall we do?’

(592) ca rənayməŋ, may saʔayməŋ, ray·naka.

\[
[\text{ca}] \{\text{ray} =\text{ay} =\text{məŋ} \} \{\text{may} \} \{\text{saʔ} =\text{ay} =\text{məŋ} \} \{\text{rayʔ-naka}\}
\]

tea drink=ADV =SEQ rice eat =ADV =SEQ go -IFT

‘After drinking tea and eating rice, we will go.’

One of the most common occurrences of the imperious future is in the following expression whose functional equivalent in English would come close to ‘good bye’. It is impolite to leave somebody without saying (593).

(593) rayʔnaka.

\[
\{\text{rayʔ-naka}\}
\]

go -IFT

‘[I/We]’ll go now.’ (And then the speaker or the speaker and his company usually leave instantly after saying this.)
On adjectives of Type 1 the imperious future imparts the meaning of ‘enough’ to the predicate, i.e. *səm-naka* (sweet-IFT) ‘sweet enough’, *cuŋ-ca-ka* (big-NEG-IFT) ‘not big enough’. The imperious future is not attested on Type 2 adjectives. Nominal predicate heads cannot take modality suffixes.

Under negation the meaning of the imperious future does not change. When, for example, someone asks you: “*pipuk saʔ-ni=ma?*” (intestines eat-FUT=Q) ‘Will you eat intestines?’, and you want to answer in the negative, you can say: “*saʔ-ca-ka.*” (eat-NEG-IFT) ‘I will certainly now not eat [it].’

### 23.10.2 The future suffix <-ni>

Future modality is signalled by the morpheme <-ni> (FUT), which indicates that an event might take place in the future and that there is a rather big chance that it will not. The future is also used to point out what event will occur or occurs usually in a certain circumstance. The future modality forms an epistemic pair with the imperious future treated in the previous section. A noticeable fact about the future modality is that it cannot be negated. This means that the opposition between the two futures is neutralised under negation as the imperious future can be negated.

The use of the future suffix <-ni> (FUT) as indicator of a possible future event is illustrated below.

(594)  
```
o came, aŋmi naŋʔna khaʔgalgabaaw naŋʔmi khathoŋci daŋetna 
manʔphanima?
```

```
[ o came]  [aŋ] =mi  [naŋʔ] =na  {khaʔgal} =gaba =aw 
interj  sweetheart 1s   =GEN 2s   =DAT  love   =ATTR =ACC

[ naŋʔ=mi khaʔthoŋ=ci  {daŋ -et} =na  {manʔ -pha  -ni} =ma
  2s  =GEN heart   =LOC  enter-CAUS =DAT be.able-IN.ADDITION  -FUT =Q

‘O sweetheart! will you be able to insert also into your heart me who loves you?’
```
(595)  *morot soʔotgabaaw gobormen soʔotsigani, sakhwgabaaw jurimana kamna naŋni.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[} [\text{morot} \{ \text{soʔot} \} =\text{gaba}] =\text{aw} \ [\text{gobormen} \{ \text{soʔot} \ -\text{siga} \ -\text{ni}\} \\
\text{person kill } =\text{ATTR } =\text{ACC} \ \text{government kill } -\text{ALT FUT} \\
\{ \text{saʔ} \ -\text{khaw}\} =\text{gaba}] =\text{aw} \ [\text{jurimana} \{ \text{kaŋ} =\text{na} \ \{ \text{naŋ} \ -\text{ni}\} \\
\text{eat} \ -\text{secretively } =\text{ATTR } =\text{ACC} \ \text{penalty remove } =\text{DAT } \text{must } -\text{FUT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Those who kill people, the government will kill in turn, those who steal will have to pay a fine.’

(596)  *roŋdəŋ haʔwayci muʔgaba moŋsəraŋ maharidəraŋba caksan macadu hənʔphani noay khuʔrasakokno.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[} [\text{roŋdəŋ haʔway} =\text{ci} \ \{ \text{muʔ} =\text{gaba} \ \{ \text{moŋsəraŋ mahar} =\text{dəraŋ} =\text{ba}\} \\
\text{Pname } =\text{LOC live } =\text{ATTR Sname1 family } =\text{p } =\text{EMPH} \\
\{ \text{caksan} \} \ \{ \text{macadu} \} \ \{ \text{hənʔ -pha} \ -\text{ni}\} \ \{ \text{no}\} =\text{əy} \\
\text{bracelet tiger/man give } =\text{IN.ADDITION -FUT say } =\text{ADV} \\
\{ \text{kuʔrasak-ok}\} =\text{no} \\
\text{promise } =\text{COS QUOT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Those very Moŋsəraŋ families who lived in Roŋdəŋ Haʔway promised to also give a bracelet to the *macadu* (creatures who are human during the day but tigers at night), it is said.’ Literally: ‘Those very Moŋsəraŋ families who lived in Roŋdəŋ Haʔway, to also give a bracelet to the *macadu*, [they] sayingly promised, it is said.’

The future can be used as indicator of what will happen or happens usually in certain circumstances. It is logical that the epistemic (less certain) future category is used in these cases because the speaker does not know, when creating a condition, if that condition will be met or not as in (597). And in case of a certain circumstance in which something will usually be done, the speaker does not know if this circumstance will actually occur or not. Only in those cases that the speaker is certain that an event must occur, will he use the imperious future, as in (598) c) and g).

(597)  *balcacido tokni.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\{ \text{bal -ca}\} =\text{ci } =\text{do} \ \{ \text{tok} \ -\text{ni}\} \\
\text{tell } -\text{NEG } =\text{LOC } =\text{TOP hit } -\text{FUT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘If [you] don’t tell, I’ll hit [you].’
The next example comes from TEXT 3, lines 8 to 14, about incantation of spirits. The storyteller explains the process.

(598)

a) umido uaw kamal sandini.[…]

b) ətəkəymu kamal khurutni. […]

c) naʔa way cuŋgabaaw nukok noay cancibo, maʔsu raʔnaka, purun raʔnaka, tawʔ raʔna nagni, wak raʔna nagni, unado.

d) umi cəwba səmʔna naŋni, ue kmalna.

e) ətəkəymu kamalna cəw səmʔay hənʔaymu aro unaba may jabez raʔan naŋni, kamalnaba. […]

f) ətəkəymu taŋkaba kharayci cəyni. […]

g) kamal uan kamaldo dəŋdaŋ hoŋkhotaŋnaka.

h) khurutgabami niamaʔ ətəkəy balnine.

a) umido [kamal] {sand -ni}
then priest search -FUT
‘Then [they] will maybe search for a priest.’

b) ətəkəymu [kamal] {khur -ni}
so.then priest perform.incantation -FUT
‘So then the priest will maybe perform an incantation.’

c) [naʔa] [way {cuŋ} =gaba] =aw {nuk -oŋ} {no} =ay
2s spirit big =ATTR =ACC see -PF say =ADV
{canci} =bo [maʔsu] {raʔ -naka} {purun} {raʔ -naka} imagine =IMP cow get -IFT goat -get -IFT
[tawʔ] {raʔ} =na {nan -ni} [wak] {raʔ} =na {nan -ni} chicken -get =DAT need -FUT pig get =DAT need -FUT
[u] =na =do
DST=DAT=TOP
‘[Sayingly] imagine that you see a big spirit, [you] will certainly get a cow, [you] will certainly get a goat, maybe [you] will need to get a chicken, maybe [you] will need to get a pig, for him.’

d) umi [cəw] =ba {səmʔ} =na {nan -ni} [ue kamal] =na
then liquor =ADD prepare=DAT need -FUT DST priest =DAT
‘Then [you] will need to prepare some liquor for that priest.’

e) ətəkəymu [kamal] =na [cəw] {səm} =ay {həŋʔ} =ay =mu aro
so.then priest =DAT liquor prepare=ADV give =ADV =SEQ and
[u] =na =ba [may] [jabez] {raʔ -aŋ} =na {nan -ni}
DST=DAT=EMPH rice curry get =AWAY =DAT need -FUT
23.11 The referential suffix <-an>

The referential marker <-an> (REF) occurs on negated predicate heads and indicates that the S or O argument refers to a specific referent. The absence of this morpheme indicates that the S or O is non-referential, i.e. does not refer to a specific referent. On negated predicate heads before the morpheme <-ca> (NEG) is the only place the referential morpheme can occur. The following examples illustrate the use of the referential marker <-an>-(REF). Proper names, place names and personal pronouns are always referential and therefore <-an> (REF) occurs in (599), (600) and (601). In (600) we see the homophonous focus/identifier NP enclitic <-an> (FC) on the S argument, i.e. the place name cokpot ‘Chokpot’.

(599) ranustaw nukama nukanca?

[ranus]_{O} =taw {nuk -a} =ma {nuk-an-ca}
Name =ACC see -CUST =Q see -REF -NEG
‘Have [you] seen Ranus or not?’

(600) cokpotan gaʔsuanca.

[cokpot]_{S} =an {gaʔsu-an-ca}
Pname =FC/ID splendid -REF -NEG
‘Chokpot is not splendid.’
In the following example the main predicate indicates that the falling rocks, which are in O function, are referential.

(602) **rongʔ·galetgaaw nukrumancak**

```
[ronʔ] {gal -et} =ga]o =aw {nuk -rum -an -ca -k}
rock fall -CAUS =ATTR =ACC see -all -REF -NEG -COS
```

‘[You] cannot see the rocks [I] all caused to fall any more.’ Alternatively:

‘The rocks that were all caused to fall down cannot be seen any more.’ (said Samrat when he threw some stones into a vast and deep ravine.)

Even when the S or O are ellipsed the negative predicate can still take the referential suffix to indicate that the implied S or O refers to a specific referent, e.g. (603). In this example the money, *taŋka* ‘money’, is mentioned in the first sentence, but in the third sentence it is ellipsed. Still the negative predicate in that sentence contains the referential marker. In this case the referential marker has an anaphoric function.

(603) **aya! taŋka doŋʔtawcakthay. aŋdo roŋcəygəksan raariwa. həys! doŋʔtawancak.**

```
aya [tagka] {doŋʔ -taw -an -ca -k]
interj.surprise money be.enough -UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS
```

```
[aŋ] =do [roŋ cəygək] =sa =an {ra -ari -wa} 
1s =TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS ten =DLIM =FC/ID take -SIMP -FACT
```

```
həys {doŋʔ -taw -an -ca -k}
interj.disapproval be.enough -UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS
```

‘Huh?! I don’t have enough money any more. I took only ten rupees. Damn! it is not enough any more.’

Apart from the plain negative, <-*an>* (REF) can only be expressed on the negative change of state <-*ca-k>* (NEG-COS) and does not co-occur with any other predicate head suffixes (see Table 63). The referential marker does not co-occur with the
negated incompletive <-khu-ca> (INCOM-NEG) nor with the negated simpicitive <-ari-ca> (SIMP-NEG) nor in any negative subordinate clause.

I have one elicited example of a negated Type 2 adjective with a referential S but without the referential marker (604). More fieldwork needs to be conducted to find out if it is really impossible to have <-ar> (REF) on a Type 2 adjective with referential S argument.

(604)  ie ram thəmbəloŋca
       [ie     ram]s  {thəmbəlog    -ca}
PRX  road   to.have.holes.in.it -NEG
‘This road is not damaged.’

23.12 The negative suffix <-ca>

The negative suffix <-ca> (NEG) indicates that something is not the case. As an extended function it is also used to indicate that an event has not yet been realised, as we shall see further below. The negative suffix is a predicate head marker and occurs on nominal, both types of adjectival and verbal predicate heads. Demonstratives, interrogatives and other possible non-verbal predicate heads (see Chapter 22) are not attested under negation. Both main and dependent clause predicates can be negated. The verb ni ‘to not exist’ cannot be negated. There are no recorded examples of negated purpose clauses (see §27.2.3). Furthermore, customary aspect and future modality cannot be expressed under negation:

In Atong the grammatical system relating to the predicate is dependent on polarity. The fact that fewer categories relating to the predicate can be expressed under negation than in positive clauses is in accordance with observations made in Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998). It is relevant to quote a short passage from page 63 of that article as it describes exactly what happens in Atong.

“The type of dependency is simple. Since positive is always the unmarked term, another type of grammatical system, if it depends on polarity, will have more choices available in the positive than in the negative.”
The position of the negative morpheme is variable as is mentioned below in this section. However, in the overwhelming majority of the recorded occurrences its position relative to the other morphemes is as represented in Table 63. The scope of the negation is always the predicate.

The following example illustrates the use of the negative suffix on a non-referential nominal predicate. The conversation is not about a particular house but any house built by a Khasi.

(605) Speaker A: noksanci simen, tota, tin pirinay hama.
Speaker B: nokhuŋci?
Speaker A: nokhuŋca! noksanci.

\[\text{nok sam} \text{=ci} \quad \text{[simen tota tin]}\]
\text{house side =LOC cement plank corrugated iron}

\{pirin\} =ay \quad \{ham\} -a
mix =ADV build -CUST

\[\text{nokhuŋ} \text{=ci} \quad \text{[nok sam]} \text{=ci}\]
\text{roof =LOC}

\{nokhuŋ\} -ca \quad \text{[nok sam] =ci}
\text{roof =NEG house side =LOC}

A: ‘For the wall of a house (lit. ‘at the side of a house’) [the Khasis] mix cement, planks and metal plates.’
B: ‘For the roof?’
A: ‘Not the roof! For [lit. ‘at’] the wall of the house.’

The following example illustrates the occurrence of a negated verbal predicate. Example (604) shows a negated Type 2 adjective.

(606) aŋa ketketa bura nogabaawan təŋkuca.

\[\text{aŋa} \quad \text{[ketketba bura \{no\} =gaba] =aw =an \{təŋ -hu -ca\}}\]
\text{1s Name say =ATTR =ACC=FC/ID know=INCOM-NEG}

‘I don’t yet know this so-called Ketketa Bura.’

There are very few recorded instances of stem-forming suffixes that come after the Echelon 1 suffix <-ca> (NEG) viz. (607) and (608). In those examples the stem-forming suffixes are event specifiers. This adds to the evidence that the position of
suffixes is to a great degree variable depending on the scope the speaker wants the suffix to have (see also Chapter 22).

(607) ətəkəymu agalaw ram rayʔaymu thəycaphingadəraŋdo agal ruguŋmi wayphinano.

ətəkəymu [agal] =aw ram {rayʔ} =ay =mu
so.then forest.fire =ACC road go =ADV =SEQ
{thəy-ca -phin} =ga] =dəraŋ =do] [agal ruguŋ] =mi
die -NEG FULLY =ATTR =p =TOP forest.fire edge =GEN
{way -phin -a} =no
return -RETURN -CUST =QUOT

‘So then, having gone the road of the forest fire, those who are not dead altogether return [via] the edge of the forest fire.’

(608) teʔewrawraw morot nemcabatsəraŋgaba.

teʔew -rawraw [morot] {nem -ca -bat -sarəɾəŋ} =gaba
now -CONTINUOUSLY person good -NEG -VERY -COMPLETELY =ATTR
‘Still now people are extremely bad.’

As was said above, another function of the negative morpheme is to indicate that an event has not yet taken place. Examples of the negation of a not yet realised event are given above in (246) in §13.4 and below in (609). The latter example comes from a story in which a cunning man called Theng•thon [θəŋʔtən] has just impoverished his village people by getting them to burn their houses with the promise that they would be able to sell the ashes and cinders at the market and get rich. However, after the villagers have discovered that nobody wants to buy their ashes, they become very angry with Theng•thon and utter (609). The fact that the event is bound to take place is marked by the imperious future suffix <-ka> (IFT).

(609) ramci hampəy naʔnaŋdo watcaka geʔtheŋawdo.

[ram] =ci [hampəy] [naʔnaŋ] =do {wat -ca -ka}
road =LOC this.evening 1pi =TOP get.rid.of -NEG -IFT
[geʔtheŋ] =aw =do
r3s =ACC =TOP

‘This evening we will certainly get rid of him on the road.’
23.13 The change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k>

The change of state aspect is signalled by the morpheme <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS). The allomorph <-ak> (COS) occurs after a root or stem ending in /a/ or /aʔ/. This means that for roots and stems ending in /a/, there are three possible pronunciations, which all occur in the recorded material. First possibility: the two vowels can collapse into one. Second, a glottal stop can occur on the morpheme boundary. Third: the two vowels are both pronounced, the result of which sounds like one long vowel. The allomorph <-k> (COS) occurs always after the negative morpheme <-ca> (NEG). There is not one recorded instance of a form *<-ca-ak> (NEG-COS) with one of the pronunciations [tca:k] or [tcaʔak] which are phonetically possible. For an explanation of what happens when two of the same vowels are juxtaposed across morpheme boundaries, see §2.10.

This suffix is attested on verbs, including stative verbs and Type 1 adjectives (i.e. stative verbs expressing a quality), nouns and interrogatives functioning as predicate head; it is not attested on Type 2 adjectives. An alternative might be to label this suffix as “perfective aspect”, however, the fact that it occurs on Type 1 adjectives and nouns, makes the label change of state more suitable, even though the semantics of this suffix are compatible with activity verbs.

The semantic interpretations of the change of state suffix are different according to the type of predicate head it suffixes to. These interpretations will be treated one by one below. First we will see the effects of this suffix on verbal predicates, excluding Type 1 adjectives, then on Type 1 adjectives, then on nouns and on other types of predicate head. Examples of this suffix on interrogatives can be found in Chapter 1. Negated predicates are treated separately after that.

23.13.1 On verbal predicates

When it occurs on verbal predicate heads the change of state suffix indicates that a change has taken place in the situation that supposedly held for the S or A argument before the event denoted by the predicate took place. In text example (610) we see the change of state contrast with the factitive. The contrastive factitive- and change of state-marked predicates are underlined. In line 2 the speaker indicates that the fish trap has been set up, where before it had not yet been set up, hence the change of state suffix on the predicate sa-ak (put.as.trap-COS). This change of state contrasts with the
already existing situation in line 3, where nothing changes and thus the factitive suffix is used on the predicate *sa-wa* (put.as.trap-FACT). In line 4 the speaker puts forth the fact that there are no fish in the river, and therefore marks the predicate with the factitive suffix, viz. *niʔ-wa* (not.exist-FACT). This statement contrasts with that in line 8 where the speaker indicates a change of state in the existence of fish, presupposing that there had been fish before the otter ate them. Hence the change of state suffix on the predicate *niʔ-ok* (not.exist-COS).

\[
\text{(610) kənsaŋdo manapmi sirimənən reʔeŋayməŋna dabat warisəŋ, dingaray saakno. sangumuk dingaray sawado, niʔwanoro, naʔba. stəkəymuna kambaysəŋmi dingarayaw naʔ cayokno. uciba matdam saʔakno stəkəymuna kambaysəŋmi dingaraymi cayciba, uciba naʔan niʔokno. uciba matdam saʔakno uawba.}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \quad \text{[kənsaŋ] =do [manapmi] [sirimənən] \{reʔeŋ\} =ay =məŋna after =TOP very.early.in.the.morning at.the.crack.of.dawn go.away =ADV =SEQ} \\
b. & \quad \text{[dabat war] =saŋ [dingaray] \{sa -ak\} =no Pname deep.place.in.river=MOB fish.trap put.as.trap -COS =QUOT} \\
c. & \quad \text{[san] =gumuk [dingaray] \{sa -wa\} =do day =whole fish.trap put.as.trap -FACT =TOP} \\
d. & \quad \text{\{niʔ -wa\} =no \ =ro \ [naʔ] =ba not.exist -FACT =QUOT =EMPH fish =EMPH} \\
e. & \quad \text{stəkəymuna [caʔma] =saŋ =mi dingaray] =aw [naʔ] \{cay -ok\} =no so.then downstream =MOB =GEN fish.trap =ACC fish look -COS =QUOT} \\
f. & \quad \text{[u] =ci =ba [matdam] \{saʔ -ak\} =no DST=LOC=EMPH otter eat -COS =QUOT} \\
g. & \quad \text{stəkəymuna [kambay =saŋ =mi dingaray =ma] \{cay\} =ci =ba so.then upstream =MOB =GEN fish.trap =GEN look =LOC=EMPH} \\
h. & \quad \text{[u] =ci =ba [naʔ] =an \{niʔ -ok\} =no DST=LOC=EMPH fish =FC/ID not.exist -COS =QUOT} \\
i. & \quad \text{[u] =ci =ba [matdam] \{saʔ -ak\} =no \ [u] =aw =ba DST=LOC=EMPH otter eat -COS -QUOT DST=ACC=EMPH}
\]

‘Later, in the morning, at the crack of dawn, having gone to Dabatwari, [he] set fish traps, it is said. The whole day he set fish traps, it is said, [but] there was none, fish that is. So then, [he] looked for fish [in] the fish trap(s) from downstream, it is said. There an otter had eaten [them], it is said. So then he indeed looked at [those] from the upstream funnel(s). There (also) there was no more fish, it is said. There (also) an otter had eaten them, it is said, those [fish].
A series of at least two, usually three or four, repeated predicate heads marked by the change of state aspect indicate an event of long duration (611). As an important side effect, the speaker can repeat the predicate head, marked for all categories, as many times as he wants and in the meantime think about what he will say next.

(611)  jalajok ue banthay maŋʔsado. teʔdo sagal təysamci poreok poreok porepok poreok. kənsaŋdo cungaba kam manʔok.

\{'jal \ -aŋ \ -ok\} \{ue \ banthay \ maŋʔ \ sa\} =do \{teʔ\} =do run.away-away \ -COS \ DST \ bachelor \ CLF.HUMANS \ one=TOP \ now =TOP

\{sagal \ təysam\} =ci \{pore \ -ok\} \{pore \ -ok\} \{pore \ -ok\} \{pore \ -ok\}

sea \ water.side =LOC \ study \ -COS \ study \ -COS \ study \ -COS \ study \ -COS

‘[He] run away that young lad. Now, at the seaside he studied [and] studied [and] studied [and] studied. [After that he got a great job.]’

The change of state suffix is also attested on predicates of subordinate clauses, viz. dative-marked reason clauses (see Chapter 27) and on topic-marked clauses, e.g. (612), where it refers to a possible future event.

(612)  hap pidan rama manʔokodo jətnaka?

\{hap \ pidan\} \{ram\} =na \{manʔ \ -ok\} =odo \{jət-naka\}

place \ new \ search =DAT \ obtain \ -COS \ =TOP \ move \ -IFT

‘When/if [you] have found a new place you’ll immediately move? ’

23.13.2 On Type 1 adjectival predicates

On Type 1 adjectival predicate heads the change of state aspect can have two possible interpretations according to the context. The first possible interpretation is a reinforcement of the property denoted by the adjective, as we can see in the translation one of my consultants made of the Atong sentences in (613). The second possible interpretation is change of state, as is illustrated in (65) and (769).
ama! ah! ta-nido ja·bek thawokte. naʔa paŋnando thaway rəmca. atoŋtəkəy
tay·nido thawoksəy jaʔbek?

\[
\begin{align*}
[ama] & \quad ah \quad [taʔni] = do \quad [jaʔbek] \quad \{ thaw \ -ok \} = te \\
\text{mother interj today} & \quad \text{TOP curry tasty -COS} = \text{DCL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[naʔa] & \quad [paŋnan] \quad = do \quad \{ thaw \} = ay \quad \{ rəm -ca \} \\
2s & \quad \text{always} \quad \text{TOP tasty} \quad \text{ADV cook} - \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[atoŋ] & \quad = təkəy \quad [taʔni] \quad = do \quad \{ thaw \ -ok \} = say \quad jaʔbek \\
\text{what} - \text{through today} & \quad \text{TOP tasty} \quad \text{-COS} = \text{MIR curry}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Mother! Oh! today the curry is very tasty! You don’t cook tasty all the time. Why is [it] today to my surprise so very tasty, the curry?’

23.13.3 On nominal predicate heads

Nouns can only function as predicate heads in identity/equation clauses. On nominal predicate heads the change of state effect of the suffix \(< - ok ~ -ak ~ -k >\) (COS) is very clear, as we can see in (681) repeated here as (614).

(614) \text{ido theŋʔthonte. meʔmaŋokma jəwmaŋok?}

\[
\begin{align*}
[ā] & \quad = do \quad \{ theŋʔthon \} = e \quad \{ meʔmaŋ -ok \} = ma \quad \{ jəwmaŋ -ok \} \\
\text{PRX} & \quad \text{TOP Name} \quad = \text{FC ghost} \quad \text{-COS} = \text{Q dream} \quad \text{-COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This is Theng•thon, I’m telling you. Has [he] become a ghost or a dream?’

23.13.4 On other types of predicates

On numeral plus classifier constructions the change of state aspect implies a totality, as is illustrated in the answer of example (615).

(615) \text{naŋʔci roŋbəysək teʔewe? roŋbərəyok.}

\[
\begin{align*}
[nanj]\ = ci \quad [roŋ \ bəisək] \quad [teʔew] = e \quad \{ roŋ \ bərəy -ok \} \\
2s & \quad \text{LOC CLF.MONEY how many now} \quad = \text{FC CLF.MONEY four} \quad \text{-COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘How much money do you have now? Four rupees in total.’

There is one recorded instance of an adverb functioning as predicate head marked by the change of state. This is represented in the following example.
23 Predicate head suffixes

23.13.5 On negated predicates

When occurring on negated predicates, the change of state suffix indicates that something is not the case any more, e.g. (617) with a nominal predicate and with a verbal predicate in (618). Interrogatives functioning as predicate head cannot be negated.

(617) geʔtheymastelancak

[geʔthey]{mastel -an -ca -k}
3s male.teacher -REF -NEG -COS
‘He is not a teacher any more.’

(618) teʔewdomatsacawʔkəyasetramməngancak.uehaʔbəriawesengʔsotaymatsacawʔkəyməngsigaariok

[teʔew]=do [matsacawʔkəyasetram]{məŋ -an -ca -k}
now =TOP tiger big.knife throw.away place call.a.name -REF -NEG -COS
[uehaʔbəri]=aw =e {sengʔsot}=ay
DST hill =ACC=FC abbreviate =ADV
[matsacawʔkəy]{məŋ-siga-ari-ok}
Pname call.a.name -ALT -SIMP -COS
‘Now [we] don’t call [it] Matsa Chaw•kyi Asetram any more. This hill has come to be abbreviatedly called Matsa Chaw•kyi’

---

46 In this name the word matsa is short for matsadu. A matsadu is a creature which is human during the day and changes into a tiger at night. The name of the place in the example is related to an event in the history of the Atong and translates roughly as ‘the place where the matsadu threw away their weapons’.
23.14 The progressive/durative aspect suffix

The interpretation of the progressive/durative suffix depends on the semantics of the predicate. The progressive/durative aspect indicates that an event is ongoing (progressive interpretation) or that a state is continuing (durative interpretation). All its allomorphs, viz. <−aydoŋa ~ -aydɔŋ ~ -aydɔk ~ -aroŋa ~ -aroŋ ~ -arɔk> (PROG/DUR) are in free variation. When a root ends in /-i/ the sequence /ay/ and the vowel /a/ of the progressive/durative morpheme assimilate to /e/ creating the allomorphs <−edoŋa ~ -edoŋ ~ -edɔk ~ -eroŋa ~ -eroŋ ~ -erɔk> (PROG/DUR). The progressive/durative aspect suffix is only attested on verbal (including Type 1 adjectival) predicates. Example (619) illustrates the use of this suffix on a Type 1 adjective, in which case we get a durative interpretation, because Type 1 adjectives are stative verbs that denote a quality (see Chapter 5). The example is taken from a story about the fox and the deer. The fox has just found the deer after a wild chase. The deer says it is guarding the king’s royal fan. The fox says that he is hot and wants to use the fan. The deer says that the king does not give it to anyone, not even to him.

(619) aŋan tuŋaydoŋa, aŋnaan hənʔanca raja.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[aŋ]} & =\text{an } \{\text{tuŋ}\}-\text{aydoŋa} & \text{[aŋ]} & =\text{na} =\text{an} \{\text{hənʔ } -\text{ca}\} \text{ [raja]} \\
1s & =\text{FC/ID hot } -\text{DUR} & 1s & =\text{DAT=FC/ID give } -\text{NEG king}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I’m hot, the king doesn’t even give [it] to me.’

A series of at least two, usually three or four, repeated predicate heads marked by the progressive/durative aspect, and often also the quotative clausal enclitic, indicate an event of long duration, just as the same construction with the change of state suffix described in the previous section. As an important side effect, the speaker can repeat the predicate head, marked for all categories, as many times as he wants and in the meantime think about what he will say next. The following example is illustrative. In this example we encounter the progressive interpretation of the progressive/durative suffix, since the verb reʔeŋ- ‘to go away’ is an activity verb.
(620) “niŋa kawarini” noaymu reʔeŋarokno reʔeŋarokno reʔeŋarokno reʔeŋarokno.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[niŋa]} \{kaw-ari -ni\} \{no\} =ay =mu \\
\text{1pe shoot-SIMP-FUT say =ADV =SEQ}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\{reʔeŋ -arok\} =no \{reʔeŋ -arok\} =no \{reʔeŋ -arok\} =no \\
go.away -PROG =QUOT go.away -PROG =QUOT go.away -PROG =QUOT
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\{reʔeŋ -arok\} =no \\
go.away -PROG =QUOT
\end{array}
\]

Having said: “We will just shoot [it]”, they are going, it is said, [and] going, it is said, [and] going, it is said, [and] going, it is said.

One example has been recorded where the suffix under discussion occurs on a Type 1 adjective (a stative verb denoting a quality, in this case cuŋ ‘to be big’) but has to be interpreted as the progressive and not the durative, viz. TEXT 1, line 22. This example is presented below as (621). Because of the event specifier suffix <-ag> (WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK), the predicate cuŋ-ag (be.big-WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK) ‘get really big’ is dynamic. This dynamic predicate takes the suffix <-arok> (PROG/DUR) which now has to be interpreted as the progressive, i.e. the action of getting big is ongoing. This is why my Atong consultant insisted on translating the predicate in the example as ‘are getting really big’.

(621) muthayba cuŋaŋarok, teʔewe.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[muʔthay]} =ba \{cuŋ -ag \textbf{-arok}\} \{teʔew\} =e. \\
\text{bosom =EMPH big -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -PROG now =FC}
\end{array}
\]

‘[Her] breasts are getting really big, though, now.’

The progressive/durative aspect is also attested on predicates of subordinated locative-marked clauses, of which example (119) is an illustration.
Chapter 24  The factitive suffix

The factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT)\(^{47}\) occurs in five different syntactic environments, viz.

1. on main clause predicates, treated in §24.1,
2. on predicates of subordinate clauses which are governed by a matrix clause predicate, i.e. complement clauses in S or O function, discussed in §24.3,
3. on subordinate clause predicates in adjunct function, modifying a matrix clause, see §24.4,
4. on lexicalised object nominalisations, also treated in §24.4,
5. on complement clauses of the limitative postposition dabat (LIMIT), see §24.5.

The function of the factitive on main clause predicates is reification, i.e. presenting the event denoted by the verb as a fact. It does not appear to have this function in all types of subordinate clauses, but it is very clear that the suffix does have this function on Temporal Location adjuncts. If a noun functions as predicate of a Reason clause, it has to be factitive-marked to appear in this function. As we shall see below, this is not in conflict with the function this suffix has on verbal predicates. A summary of the functions of the factitive suffix is given in §24.6 followed by a note on a possible diachronic development of the suffix in §24.7.

24.1  Factitive-marked main clause predicates

The factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) on main clause predicates is a marker of reification, i.e. it presents the event denoted by the verb as a fact, as something that is the case, which is an epistemic modality function. I adopt Lyons’s definition of epistemic modality, which is:

\(^{47}\) I have taken the term ‘factitive’ from Roland Rutgers (1998: 231).
“Any utterance in which the speaker explicitly qualifies his commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence he utters, whether this qualification is made explicit in the verbal component [...] or in the prosodic or paralinguistic component, is an epistemically modal or modalized, utterance.” (1977: 797)

The factitive modality is one of the possibilities an Atong speaker has to modify the information denoted by the predicate. The other modality suffixes, treated in Chapter 23, are presented in Table 66 together with clausal enclitics indicating modality (see §26.826.9). The factitive can occur in clauses which are marked by the speculative or the irrealis clausal enclitics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF MODALITY</th>
<th>MORPHEME</th>
<th>LABEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>factitive</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>FACT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperious future (more certain)</td>
<td>-naka ~ -ka</td>
<td>IFT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future (less certain)</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>=cəm</td>
<td>IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speculative</td>
<td>=khon</td>
<td>SPEC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The factitive suffix is not attested on Type 2 adjectives and nominal predicates of main clauses, but does occur on nominal predicates of co-subordinate clauses, as we will see below.

Polarity has an influence on the interpretation of the time reference of a factitive-marked predicate, except when the predicate is a Type 1 adjective (see §24.2). When the factitive suffix occurs on a negated predicate the event can be interpreted as having future or present time reference but never as having past time reference. On a non-negated predicate the factitive suffix usually induces past time reference interpretation of the verb, but can also have a present time reference interpretation depending on the verb and the context. Note that the factitive suffix is by no means a tense marker. Let us look at negated verbs first.

The following two examples present a contrasting pair of negated main clause predicates. The main predicate *manʔ-ca* (be.able-NEG) ‘cannot’ in (622) is not factitive-marked and has an habitual interpretation, whereas the main predicate in (623), *manʔ-ca-wa* (be.able-NEG-FACT) ‘will not be able’ is factitive marked and is
interpreted as having future time reference. The context of example (622) is as follows. The fox has chased after the deer and finds it lying next to a well. The deer says it is guarding the king’s well. The fox is thirsty and wants to drink water from the well but the deer says that the king does not allow anyone to drink water from the well and then says (622).

(622) \textit{agan \textit{rəŋ}na \textit{manʔ}ca \textit{iaw}}

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[ag] &= an & \{rəŋ\} &= na & \{manʔ -ca\} & \{[i]\} &= aw \\
1s &= \text{FC/ID} & \text{drink} &= \text{DAT} & \text{be.able} &= \text{NEG} & \text{PRX} &= \text{ACC} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Even I cannot drink this [water].’

Example (623) comes from a story in which a group of brothers go into the jungle to hunt a giant eagle. They meet an old man who says that they are only fit to shoot the eagle if they can smoke his tobacco. But the tobacco is so strong that none of the brothers can smoke it. One of the brothers exclaims (623).

(623) \textit{nĩgdo kawna \textit{manʔ}cawa \textit{udo}}

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
[nĩg]\ &= do & \{kaw\} &= na & \{manʔ -ca\} & \{-wa\} & \{u\} &= do \\
1pe &= \text{TOP} & \text{shoot} &= \text{DAT} & \text{be.able} &= \text{NEG} & \text{FACT} & \text{DST} &= \text{TOP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We will not be able to shoot that [eagle].’

When a non-negated main verb is marked by the factitive it can be interpreted as an event that happened in the past. This is not surprising if one were to state that a reified event is something that must already have occurred in order to be a fact. When people meet on the road, they usually ask where you have come from and do this with a factitive-marked predicate. The reply will also be factitive-marked. Example (624) is illustrative of such a conversation on the road.

(624) “\textit{bisaŋ \textit{reʔeŋwa naʔa?} “turasaŋ \textit{reʔeŋwa.”}”}

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[ba] &= saŋ & \{\textit{reʔeŋ} -wa\} & \{naʔa\} \\
\text{QF} &= \text{MOB} & \text{go.away} &= \text{-FACT} & \text{2s} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[tura] &= saŋ & \{\textit{reʔeŋ} -wa\} \\
\text{Pname} &= \text{MOB} & \text{go.away} &= \text{-FACT} \\
\end{array}
\]

Literally: “From where have [you] left, oh you?!” “[I] have left from Tura.” Alternatively: “Where do you come from?” “I come from Tura.””
Not all occurrences of non-negated factitive-marked main clause predicates have to be interpreted as having past time reference. The usual way to say what you are called in Atong is with the predicate marked by the factitive suffix, as we see in (625). The verb in the predicate, *məŋ-* ‘to call someone/something a name’, is factitive-marked and has no past time interpretation. The predicate just states a fact.

(625) *aŋmi bimŋ Samrat məŋwa.*

\[aŋ = mi \quad bimŋ \quad [Samrat] \quad \{məŋ \quad -wa\}\]

1s =GEN name Samrat call.a.name -FACT

‘[One] calls my name Samrat.’ ‘Alternatively: ‘My name is called Samrat.’

In the next example a factitive-marked predicate is contrasted with a customary aspect-marked predicate. The predicate in (626) refers to an event which may take place in general and its object is non-referential, whereas in (627) we see that the factitive makes the situation more concrete, that the event is interpreted as having past time reference, and that, in this case, the object can be interpreted as referential and can hence take the accusative suffix \(<=aw>\) (ACC).

(626) *may saʔama?*

\[may \quad \{saʔ -a\} \quad =ma\]

rice eat -CUST =Q

‘Do [you] eat rice (in general)?

(627) *may saʔwama?*

\[may \quad =aw \quad \{saʔ -wa\} \quad =ma\]

rice =ACC eat -FACT =Q

‘Did [you] eat the rice (which was provided for you)?’

Example (633) below comes from a story about a fox and a deer. This sentence can be translated into English with a past time interpretation, using the past tense, or with a present time interpretation, using the present tense. In Atong there is no tense, so that nothing makes you have to choose between one or the other temporal interpretation. A story, like the one about the deer and the fox, which does not explicitly refer to a
certain time by using time words or other lexical means, can always be translated in
English using either the past tense or present tense. My consultants use past and
present tense in English indiscriminately when translating their language in cases
when there is no explicit temporal reference. This can indicate that they don’t know,
or are not aware of the difference between the past and present tense in English, or
that they do not care, since the story makes sense no matter how you translate it.

The factitive also occurs in combination with the irrealis clausal enclitic <=cəm>
(IRR) or the speculative modality enclitic <=khon> (SPEC). The irrealis and
speculative enclitics occur exclusively on main clause predicates. The irrealis also co-
occurs with the customary aspect suffix <-a> (CUST). The customary aspect and
factitive suffixes are mutually exclusive. The temporal reference interpretation of
factitive and irrealis- and factitive and speculative-marked predicates depends on
polarity for negated verbs and on the meaning of the verb and the context for non-
negated verbs, as described above. In example (628) the interpretation of the factitive
and irrealis-marked predicate is of past time reference and in (629) of present time
reference, but there is nothing in the verbal forms that indicates this reading.

(628) rawʔna bakwacəm ətəkciba manʔanca

\{rawʔ\} =na\ \{bak\ -wa\} =cəm\ ətəkciba\ \{manʔ\ -an\ -ca\}  
catch\ =DAT\ try\ -FACT\ =IRR\ but\ be.able\ =REF\ -NEG

‘He attempted to catch it in vain, but he could not.’

(629) aŋna daygaba niʔwacəm.

[\{aŋ\} =na\ \{day\} =gaba\ \{niʔ\ -wa\} =cəm  
1s\ =DAT\ be.bigger=ATTR\ not.exist\ =FACT\ =IRR

‘There is supposedly no one greater than me.’ Alternatively: ‘There cannot be
anyone greater than me’ (i.e. it is unimaginable).

The only occurrence of a factitive and speculative-marked predicate is presented in
example (630).

(630) naŋʔtəmdo nukcawakhonay.

[\{naŋʔ\ -təm\} =do\ \{nuk\ -ca\ -wa\} =khon =ay  
2pe\ -ppp =TOP\ see\ -NEG\ -FACT\ =SPEC\ =POS

‘You \(^p\) might not see (the eagle) at all!’
A factitive-marked main clause predicate can take the topic enclitic <=do> (TOP) and the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) as is illustrated with the next examples. In (631) we see the intransitive verb kəɾəŋ ‘to (make a) sound’ with the factitive suffix and the topic enclitic. The context from which this example is taken is as follows. The fox wants to play on the king’s drum but the deer, who is guarding it, says that it is not possible. The king’s drum makes a very special sound, says the deer.

(631) “haʔnəŋʔ taraŋ cinina iməŋ kəɾəŋwado rajami dama” noaydoŋano.

[haʔ nəŋʔ taraŋ ci ni] =na [i] =məŋ {kəɾəŋ -wa} =do
earth inside layer TEN two =DATPRX =ABL sound -FACT =TOP

[raja =m෩ dama] {no-aydọŋa} =no
king =GEN drum say -PROG =QUOT

“The king’s drum sounds from here to the twelve layers of the earth’s inside”, [the deer] is saying, it is said.

In example (632) the first clause indicates the topical event, of which has been spoken in the two preceding clauses as well, and the second clause a comment which is also the conclusion of the paragraph. The two co-ordinated main clauses are in a contrastive relationship, due to the semantics of both clauses.

(632) sangumuk dingarayi sawado, niʔwanoro naʔba

[san] =gumuk [dingaray] {sa -wa} =do
day =whole fish.trap put.as.trap -FACT =TOP

{nʔ -wa} =no =ro [naʔ] =ba
not.exist -FACT =QUOT =EMPH fish =EMPH

‘[He] put up fish traps the whole day, [but] there was no fish.’

The following example comes from the story about the deer and the fox. The fox and the deer are friends. The deer has stolen a pack of biscuits from a Bengali. The two friends went to a beautiful place on the riverside to take a bath and eat the biscuits together. But the deer deceives the fox by eating all the biscuits alone while the fox is bathing. The example contains a complex predicate consisting of a repetition of the
same verb (see §22.6). The factitive-marked main verb is focused by the focus/identifier enclitic \(<=an\) (FC/ID).

(633)  \textit{pheru rəpwa rəpwaci magacak saʔwaan.}

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{[pheru]} & \{rəp -wa} & \{rəp -wa\} & =ci & \{magacak\} & \{saʔ -wa\} & =\text{an} \\
\text{fox} & \text{bathe-FACT} & \text{bathe-FACT} & \text{=LOC} & \text{deer} & \text{eat -FACT} & \text{=FC/ID}
\end{array}
\]

‘When the fox was/is bathing and bathing, the deer ate/eats.’

24.2 The factitive on Type 1 adjectives

Type 1 adjectives are a subclass of verb and indicate qualities. The main characteristic that sets Type 1 adjectives apart from other verbs is the reinforcing interpretation that the change of state suffix \(<-ok ~ -ak\) (COS) can have on the meaning denoted by these adjectives when they are used predicatively.\(^{48}\)

The factitive suffix is not widely attested on Type 1 adjectives. In the instances that this suffix is attested, it always occurs in contexts where one cannot have any other interpretation than that it denotes emphatic reinforcement of the quality denoted by the Type 1 adjective. One such instance is presented in example (634) from a story about a child and a giant eagle. A very small prodigious child, actually a newly born baby, is walking though the jungle in search of his brothers when he meets an old woman. He talks to the old woman to get her attention. So the old woman tries to look for a person but sees nobody. This is because the child is very small, as is stated by the narrator in (634). The factitive suffix is stressed by a pronunciation in falsetto voice and a very long vowel \(/a/\) as can be seen in the IPA transcription of the predicate. This intensified pronunciation of the factitive suffix intensifies its emphatic reinforcement function on the Type 1 adjective.

\(^{48}\) It should be noted that the change of state interpretation of the suffix \(<-ok ~ -ak\) (COS) is also possible on Type 1 adjectives, depending on the context.
In the next example the predicative Type 1 adjective is functioning as a main clause predicate. This example comes from a song about a beautiful girl. The singer, Wilseng S Marak, wants to emphasise how beautiful she is and uses the factitive on the predicative Type 1 adjective and in addition to that he adds the emphatic positive clausal enclitic <=ay> (POS) for extra emphasis.

(635)  

\[naŋʔ\]  \[bimaj\]  \[səlwaʔay.\]  
\[naŋʔ\]  \[bimaj\] \[səl\]  \[wa\] =ay.  
2s appearance/body beautiful -FACT =POS  
‘your appearance/body is very beautiful indeed’

24.3 Factitive-marked complement clauses

This section treats factitive-marked complement clauses. One could argue that the factitive morpheme has the function of clausal nominaliser on subordinate clauses, whereas it is a modality marker on main clauses. However, as we will see in section 24.4.3, these two functions are not very clearly separable. Moreover, factitive-marked clauses have almost no nominal properties, except the possibility to be case-marked, although the number of cases attested on factitive-marked clauses is very limited, as we shall see below.

Factitive-marked complement clauses only occur in S and O function, just like dative-marked complement clauses treated in Chapter 27. Complement clauses in S and O function are treated in separate sections. The first section also treats some of the characteristics of factitive lexicalisations.
24.3.1 Factitive-marked object complement clauses and nominalisation

The phasal verbs *macot-* ‘to complete/finish an activity’, *jam-* ‘to complete, finish’, which are Primary-B verbs, and the Secondary verb *daŋʔ-* ‘to enter (into a state)’ take factitive-marked complement clauses as O argument as we can see in, (636), (637) and (638) respectively.

(636) *may saʔwa jamkuca.*

[[*may*] {*saʔ* -wa}] {*jam* -ku -ca}  
rice eat -FACT finish -INCOM-NEG

‘[I] have not finished eating rice yet.’

(637) *ucian aŋʔaw nukjəŋwaŋćian naŋʔna khaʔgalwa daŋʔok.*

[[*ucian*] {*naŋʔ*}] {*nuk* -jəŋ -wa} =ci =an

then 2s =ACC see -DAILY -FACT =LOC=FC/ID

[[*naŋʔ*] =na {*khaʔgal* -wa}] {*daŋʔ* -ok}  
2s =DAT to.love -FACT enter -COS

‘Then, when [I] saw you every day, [I] started loving you.’ Alternatively: ‘[I] entered into the state of loving you.’

No factitive-marked object complement clause has been recorded which has a different implied subject (S/A) from that of the matrix clause. It has to be investigated through future fieldwork whether or not there is a pivot constraint that prohibits this clause type from having a different subject from the matrix clause, like dative-marked complement clauses (see §27.2.1) and purpose clauses (see §27.2.3).

In example (638) we see a factitive-marked complement clause functioning as O argument of the matrix verb *macot-* ‘to finish’. Even though no overt A arguments are

---

49 The verb *daŋʔ-* ‘to enter’ is intransitive. The thing that one enters into is marked with the locative <=ci> (LOC) or mobilitative <=saj> (MOB) e.g. *təy naŋʔ=saj daŋʔ-ag-ok=no* (water inside=MOB enter=AWAY-COS-QUOT) ‘[he] entered into to water, it is said’ and *u-ci-an saŋ-ci daŋʔ-ok* (DST=LOC=FC/ID village=LOC enter-COS) ‘then [they] entered the village’. This verb takes factitive complement clauses only when the meaning is extended to ‘enter into a state’.
expressed in either the complement or the matrix clause, the implied arguments in both clauses have to be co-referential. In this example the implied argument of the subordinate verb, *cal-* ‘to sow by making a hole in the ground with a stick and putting a seed into it’, and the verb of the matrix clause, *macot-* ‘to finish’, is *aboŋ* ‘corn’. The matrix clause with the predicate *macot-* ‘to finish’ is subordinate to the main clause with the predicate *kay-* ‘to plant’, i.e. not embedded, not governed, but functioning as a modifier to the main clause (see 28.2).

(638)  *calmanwa macotwamuŋsa may kayʔceŋa.*

```
[\[cal-man\]-wa_o \{macot-wa\}] =mug =sa
sow -ALREADY -FACT finish -FACT =SEQ =DLIM

[\[may\]} \{kayʔ -ceŋ -a\]}
rice plant -FIRST -CUST

'Only after sowing is finished is the rice planted first.'
```

Factitive object complement clauses with arguments are not attested with accusative marking on the clause, which is a good indication that the clause is not nominalised, because the accusative is a phrasal and not a clausal enclitic. Accusative marking is attested only when the factitive-marked derivations are lexicalised and therefore have more nominal properties. The following example, in which we find the lexicalised object nominalisation *saʔ-wa* (eat-FACT) ‘food’, is illustrative.

(639)  *atəkəymuna pankambayci pəwaymuna atəkəy saʔkhucano saʔwaawdo.*

```
\[\textit{atəkəymuna \{pan kambay\]} =ci \{pəw =ay =muna \{atəkəy\} \]
so.then tree top =LOC fly =ADV =SEQ like.this

\[\{} \{saʔ -khu -ca\} =no \{saʔ -\textit{wa}\} =aw =do \]
\{eat -INCOM-NEG =QUOT eat -FACT =ACC=TOP \]

t\textit{'So then, having flown up in the treetop like this, [the crow] had not yet eaten [it], it is said, the food.'}"
```

As was mentioned in §24.3, the factitive suffix <-*wa*> (FACT) sometimes competes with the construction in which a clause of which the predicate is carrying the factitive suffix is followed by the genitive/nominaliser enclitic <=*mi ~ =məŋ*> (GEN/NR) to derive lexical nominalisations from verbs, i.e. nouns denoting physical objects. In the
same text from which example (639) is taken, where the word meaning ‘food’ is derived from the verb saʔ- ‘to eat’ by means of the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT), we also find the meaning ‘food’ derived from a clause with the same verb by means of the factitive-plus-nominaliser-enclitic construction <-wa=mi> (FACT=NR). The latter derivation is given in (640).

(640)  pheru nuksegaakno saʔwamiaw.

>This example illustrates a clause with the same verb by means of the factitive-plus-nominaliser-enclitic construction <-wa=mi> (FACT=NR). The latter derivation is given in (640).

Since <=-mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) is also used to derive action/state nominalisations from verbs, the word saʔ-wa=mi (eat-FACT=NR) can also refer to the act of eating, as is illustrated in the next example. In that example the storyteller describes what the main character of the story sees when he looks at his potato garden in the morning after a horse has eaten the plants.

An alternative analysis of this example is to treat saʔ-wa (eat-FACT) as a factitive-marked lexicalisation and the morpheme <=-məŋ> to be the genitive, since the postposition gəmən ‘reason’ requires the preceding NP to take the genitive case marker (see §13.3). Cases where clauses are nominalised by the enclitic <=-mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) are followed by the genitive, so as to have two of the same morphemes in a row, has not been recorded.

(641)  una aludaraŋaw rədəmabutuŋ sokaw saʔwaməŋgəmən teʔew manap caywacido gumukan cokrumokno.

>This example illustrates a clause with the same verb by means of the factitive-plus-nominaliser-enclitic construction <-wa=mi> (FACT=NR). The latter derivation is given in (640).

Since <=-mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) is also used to derive action/state nominalisations from verbs, the word saʔ-wa=mi (eat-FACT=NR) can also refer to the act of eating, as is illustrated in the next example. In that example the storyteller describes what the main character of the story sees when he looks at his potato garden in the morning after a horse has eaten the plants.

An alternative analysis of this example is to treat saʔ-wa (eat-FACT) as a factitive-marked lexicalisation and the morpheme <=-məŋ> to be the genitive, since the postposition gəmən ‘reason’ requires the preceding NP to take the genitive case marker (see §13.3). Cases where clauses are nominalised by the enclitic <=-mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) are followed by the genitive, so as to have two of the same morphemes in a row, has not been recorded.

(641)  una aludaraŋaw rədəmabutuŋ sokaw saʔwaməŋgəmən teʔew manap caywacido gumukan cokrumokno.

>This example illustrates a clause with the same verb by means of the factitive-plus-nominaliser-enclitic construction <-wa=mi> (FACT=NR). The latter derivation is given in (640).

Since <=-mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) is also used to derive action/state nominalisations from verbs, the word saʔ-wa=mi (eat-FACT=NR) can also refer to the act of eating, as is illustrated in the next example. In that example the storyteller describes what the main character of the story sees when he looks at his potato garden in the morning after a horse has eaten the plants.

An alternative analysis of this example is to treat saʔ-wa (eat-FACT) as a factitive-marked lexicalisation and the morpheme <=-məŋ> to be the genitive, since the postposition gəmən ‘reason’ requires the preceding NP to take the genitive case marker (see §13.3). Cases where clauses are nominalised by the enclitic <=-mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) are followed by the genitive, so as to have two of the same morphemes in a row, has not been recorded.
The derivations saʔwami ~ saʔwaməŋ and saʔwa meaning ‘food’ are used to refer to food in a very general way. More fieldwork is needed to find out which nominal properties factitive derivations have. The fact that factitive-marked verbs can still be modified by adverbial clauses, as we can see in example (646), means that they are not fully nominal, since NPs cannot be modified by adverbial clauses. The derivations with the clausal enclitic <=mi ~ =məŋ> (NR) do have all nominal properties. It seems that in the case of examples (639) and (640) both derivations have exactly the same meaning even though they are derived with different morphemes. In every-day speech the different derivations saʔwami ~ saʔwaməŋ and saʔwa are used side by side, in what appears to be the same contexts, to denote ‘food’.

Lexicalised factitive nominalisations occur with one other phrasal enclitic, viz. <=gumuk> ‘all, whole’. Example (642) illustrates this phenomenon. From the material gathered in the corpus, it seems that factitive lexicalisations have a limited ability to take nominal derivational morphology but further fieldwork is required to investigate their precise morphological properties.

(642) botwagumuk khayrataysa macota

\[\begin{align*}
\text{pull} & =\text{whole} \\
\text{finish} & =\text{CUST}
\end{align*}\]

‘[They] finish by carrying the whole harvest down (on their body).’

When a factitive-marked clause functions as the complement clause of a verb of emotion and interaction (see §4.5.1ii), it has to take the dative enclitic <=na> (DAT), as we can see in examples (643) and (644). As can be seen in example (643), which is elicited, speakers find it acceptable to mark the predicate head of the complement clause for modality with an inflectional suffix, in this case the uncertain future modality suffix <=ni> (FUT). Modality marking with inflectional suffixes on factitive complement clauses has not been recorded in narratives or spontaneous conversation.

(643) muŋma aŋaw gaʔphonekiwniwa kəreyə.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{elephant} & =\text{ACC} \\
\text{be.afraid} & =\text{CUST}
\end{align*}\]

‘[I]’m afraid an elephant will stamp me to death.’
Factitive- and dative-marked object complement clauses are formally, but not semantically or syntactically, similar to Reason clauses (described in §27.1.1). The complement clause is functioning as a core argument within the matrix clause and is thus governed by the predicate, while the Reason clause is an adjunct and is thus a modifying clause. Both factitive-marked clause types take the dative case enclitic \(<=\text{na}\>\) (DAT) and both clause types are dependent. The semantic and syntactic difference between the Reason adjunct and the factitive-marked complement clause is caused by the semantics of the matrix clause predicate. The following two examples are illustrations of a factitive-and-dative marked complement clause and a Reason adjunct respectively. The valency of verbs of emotion and interaction, like \(k\text{ore}\) ‘to fear’ in (644), is discussed in §4.5.1ii. The delimitative in (645) is optional and can also occur on adjunct clauses such as (644).

(644)   \textit{morot taywana k\text{ore}.} \\
\[\langle \text{morot}\rangle \{\text{tay -}\text{wa}\} =\text{na} \{\text{k\text{ore}-a}\}\]
\text{person} \text{die \text{FACT} =DAT fear \text{CUST}}
   ‘I fear the person’s death.’ Alternatively: ‘I’m afraid the person will die.’

(645)   \textit{ue taygat r\text{\=a}yanas\=a ue t\text{\=a}kh\text{alaw\=e r\text{o}\text{\=a}d\text{\=a}g m\text{\=a}jaw\=o.} \\
\[\langle \text{ue taygat}\rangle \{\text{r\text{\=a}g -}\text{wa}\}_{\text{REASON} =\text{na} =\text{sa}}\]
\text{DST water.place} \text{drink\text{FACT} =DAT=DLIM}
\[\langle \text{ue t\text{\=a}k\text{ha}\=a}\rangle =\text{aw} =\text{e} [\text{r\text{o}\text{\=a}d\text{\=a}g}]_{\text{Rname}} \{\text{m\text{\=a}g} -\text{wa}\} =\text{no}\]
\text{DST river} =\text{ACC=FC Rname} \text{call.a.name \text{FACT} =QUOT}
   ‘Because [they] drunk from that water place, [they] named that river Rongdyng, it is said.’

Multiple embedding is possible with factitive-marked complement clauses just as with other types of nominalisation. The following example shows a factitive-marked clause embedded in a headless complex NP (i.e. an NP of which the head, which is modified by an attributive clause, is ellipsed) which is in turn embedded in a main clause. This example also illustrates that factitive-marked clauses, like verbs, can be modified by adverbial clauses. The adverbial clause \(\text{ram-ay}\) (cook\text{ADV}) modifies \(sa\text{?-wa}\) (eat-FACT).
Elicitation has shown that factitive-marked complement clauses cannot be pluralised, i.e. cannot take the plural enclitic `<=daraŋ>` (p). This has to do with the fact that this clause type is not a prototypical nominalisation in the sense that it does not have all the nominal properties. More fieldwork is needed to find out if lexicalised factitive nominalisations can be pluralised although they do not occur in the recorded data. It might well be that even lexicalised factitive nominalisations do not have the full array of nominal properties and that the action/state nominaliser enclitic `<=wami ~ =waməŋ>` (NR) is upcoming as a derivational morpheme of object nouns from verbs in addition to its function as action state nominaliser.

### 24.3.2 Factitive-marked subject complement clauses

The factitive is used to mark the predicate of complement clauses in S function in matrix clauses with a Type 1 adjective as predicate, as is illustrated in examples (647) and (648) below. This is in contrast to the small group of verbs, treated in the paragraph above that can take complement clauses in O function.
(648)  jəksaŋ rayʔsəraŋcaka. sala! jaləraŋwaan nemnaka aŋa, sala!

[ jək ] =saŋ  { rayʔ -səraŋ -ca -ka } sala
spouse =MOB go -COMPLETELY -NEG -IFT interj

| { jək -pəraŋ -wa } | =an  { nem -naka } [ aŋa ] [ sala ]
run.away-WITHOUT.DESTINATION -FACT =FC good -IFT 1s interj

‘[I] will not go back to my wives at all, damn! Running away without destination will certainly be good that damn!’

One secondary verb has been recorded with both dative and factitive complement clauses. This is the verb gaʔa- ‘to be compelled’. In Text 2 line 58 we find an example with a factitive complement clause and an example with a dative complement clause is shown in (756).

24.3.3 The syntactic status of factitive-marked complement clauses

Factitive-marked complement clauses, with the exclusion of dative-marked complements of verbs of emotion and interaction, are formally the same as independent or main clause factitive-marked predicates, as we will see in the examples below. Moreover, case marking and argument structure in this type of complement clause are the same as in main clauses. Since factitive-marked complement clauses can occur as independent clauses forming a sentence on their own, they are not dependent on a matrix clause for their occurrence. However, since the complement clause does function as core argument, and is thus governed by the predicate in the matrix clause, it is subordinate. It is worth quoting Christian Lehmann (2007).

If the term ‘asyndesis’ is applied to verbal expressions (verbal sentences and clauses), it presupposes their finiteness. This is because a non-finite verb form signals its syntactic dependence morphologically. As a consequence,

50 The term ‘asyndesis’ means that there is a lack of morphological marking. In the case of the type of clause type under discussion there is no morphological marking that signals its subordination.
subordination can be diagnosed under conditions of asyndesis only for intrinsic interpropositional relations, as in E22.

E22. I thought you were younger.

Here the valency of the verb in the first clause forces the analysis of the second clause as a subordinate one.

In Atong, it is the semantics of the sentence that forces the analysis of the first clause as being its complement and therefore subordinate.

Let us look at a set of examples that demonstrate the independent status of the factitive-marked complement clause. In example (649) we see a factitive-marked complement clause is S function in a matrix clause. In (650) we see that this same clause can stand alone as a sentence.

(649) \textit{niŋba ətəkəy takwa gaʔnima?}

\begin{verbatim}
[\textit{niŋ}]_S =ba [\textit{ətəkəy}] \{tak -wa\}_S \{gaʔ? -ni\} =ma
1pe =ADD like.that do -FACT be.good -FUT =Q
\end{verbatim}

’Will our doing like that be good?’

(650) \textit{niŋba ətəkəy takwa.}

\begin{verbatim}
[\textit{niŋ}]_S =ba [\textit{ətəkəy}] \{tak -wa\}
1pe =ADD like.that DO -FACT
\end{verbatim}

’We also did like that.’

24.4 Factitive-marked clauses with dative and locative case-marking

Factitive-marked clauses with dative and locative case marking cannot occur as a clause on their own and are thus dependent on a matrix clause for their appearance. Factitive-marked adjunct clauses occur with various semantic roles, viz. Standard of Comparison (dative-marked), Temporal Location (locative-marked) and Facsimile (perlative/similative-marked). The various types of adjuncts will be treated one by one in this order.
24.4.1 Factitive-marked Standard of comparison and Comparee clauses

The Standard of comparison and the Comparee in an event comparison are factitive-marked clauses. As is discussed in Chapter 27, Standard of comparison clauses take the dative enclitic <\textit{=na}> (DAT), of which example (749), repeated below for convenience as (651), is illustrative. There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments in the Standard of comparison clause and the main clause. This is illustrated in Chapter 27 by comparing examples (749) and (750). The dative case functions as mark of the Standard of comparison clause just as it does on Standard of comparison NPs.

The Comparee NP is also a factitive-marked clause and is always marked by the focus/identifier enclitic <\textit{=an}> (FC/ID). The syntactic function of the Comparee is S and thus it is a complement clause of the verb \textit{nem}- ‘be good’ which functions as the Parameter. Since factitive-marked main clauses can also occur with the focus/identifier enclitic <\textit{=an}> (FC/ID), of which example (633) is illustrative, this complement clause, like the others treated above, represents a case of asyndetic subordination (see §24.3.3).

(651) \textit{umigəmənci aŋa naŋʔaw khəmana dayaydo asetwaan nemkhəlnaka}.

\begin{tabular}{l l l}
\textbf{STANDARD} & \textbf{-------MARK-------} \\
\textit{umigəmənci} & \textit{[aŋa]} & \textit{naŋʔ} =\textit{aw} \{\textit{khəm} -\textit{a}\} =\textit{na} \{\textit{day}\} =\textit{ay} =\textit{do} \\
therefore & 1s & 2s =\textit{ACC marry-FACT =DAT be.bigger=ADV =TOP} \\
\hline
\textbf{COMPAREE} & \textbf{PARAMETER} & \textbf{INDEX} \\
\{\textit{asset} -\textit{wa}\} & \textit{=an} & \{\textit{nem} -\textit{khal} -\textit{naka}\} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

‘Therefore [it] will certainly be much better to throw [you] away than to be married to you.’

---

51 The form of the factitive suffix in this example is \textit{<\text{-an}>} due to the phonological rule that the /w/ elides when the verbal root or stem ends in /m/ or /p/ (see Chapter 2).
The following example illustrates the use of the dative enclitic on the NP *khasi khuʔcuk* ‘Khasi language’ functioning as Standard of comparison. This example also illustrates that nominal Comparee NPs do not need to take the focus/identifier enclitic <=an> (FC/ID) as do clausal Comparees.

(652)  *khasi khuʔcuk*na dayay atong *khuʔcuk rakkhala*

Khasi language =DAT be.bigger=ADV Atong language hard -CP -CUST
The Atong language is more difficult than the Khasi language.

### 24.4.2 Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the dative case

Factivitive-marked clauses can be dative-marked to fulfil an adjunct function in a clause. The following semantic roles of dative-marked adjunct clauses can be distinguished: Standard of comparison and Reason. Reason clauses are described in §27.1. It is interesting to note that nouns can also function as predicate head of a reason clause. The function of the factitive on nominal predicate heads is to mark them as predicate.

### 24.4.3 Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the locative case

Factivitive-marked clauses can be locative-marked to fulfil the adjunct function of Temporal Location. This adjunct clause type is discussed in §27.5. In that section, factitive-marked temporal adjunct clauses are contrasted with temporal adjuncts without the factitive suffix, but with the locative encliticised directly to the root of the verb. It is shown that the function of the factitive suffix is the same as that on main clause predicates, i.e. reification, presenting the event denoted by the verb as a fact.

### 24.4.4 Factitive-marked adjunct clauses with the similative case

Factivitive-marked clauses can take the perlative/similative enclitic <-təkəyi ~ -takay ~ -takay> (LIKE) (see §20.9), illustrated in (653) here below. In all recorded instances the factitive-marked clauses with this suffix were Facsimile NPs and not Pathways. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out if it is possible for factitive-marked
clauses to occur as Pathway. There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments of the Facsimile clause and those of the main clause.

(653)  
\[ \text{ian maja naŋʔbalwatəkəy deʔtheŋ gam jamok} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{PRX} & =\text{FC/ID} & \text{in.the.past} & 2s & \text{say} & =\text{LIKE}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{[deʔtheŋ gam]} & \{\text{jam -ok}\}
\end{array}
\]

3s wealth finish -COS

‘This [is] like you said in the past, his wealth has finished.’

24.5 Factitive-marked complement clause of postposition

The limitative postpositions dabat (LIMIT), gəmən ‘reason, about’ and kənsəŋ ‘after’ require verbal complements to be marked with the factitive suffix <-wə> (FACT). Example (654) is illustrative of a complement clause of the postposition dabat (LIMIT). The postpositions gəmən ‘reason, about’ and kənsəŋ ‘after’ govern the genitive, hence the occurrence of the enclitic <-məŋ> (GEN) on the complement clauses in (655) and (656).

(654)  
\[ \text{ətəkəyməŋ jaraw jaraw geʔtheŋ sokwa dabatdo sakcikaydoŋano pheruba.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{so.then} & \text{LONG} & \text{RED} & 3s & \text{not.hold.out} & =\text{FACT} & \text{LIMIT} & =\text{TOP}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\{\text{sak -cik -aydəga}\} & =\text{no} & \{\text{pheru}\} & =\text{ba}
\end{array}
\]

hold.out -AS.LONG.AS.YOU.CAN-PROG =QUOT fox =EMPH

‘So then, for a long time, until he did not hold out any longer, [he] was holding out as long as he could, it is said, the fox.’

(655)  
\[ \text{rongdəŋ təykhal haʔwayci muʔwamigəmənsa rongdəŋ haʔway noay məŋwano.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{RIVER.name} & \text{river} & \text{plain} & =\text{LOC} & \text{stay} & =\text{FACT} & \text{GEN} & \text{reason}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\{\text{rongdəŋ haiʔway}\} & =\text{ci} & \{\text{muʔ-wə}\} & =\text{mi} & \text{gəmən}
\end{array}
\]

Pname say =ADV call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘Because they live in the plains of the river Rongdyng, [they] sayingly call [the village] Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said.’
(656) nok raphiwaŋ ƙonsaŋdo teʔew geʔtheyŋ nokawan alaga morotdəraŋdo teŋcəpcəp pay nukariokno.

[[nok] {raphi -wə} =mag ƙonsəŋ] =do
house plaster -FACT =GEN after =TOP
[teʔew][geʔtheyŋ nok] =aw =an
now 3s house =aw =an

[alaga morot] =dəraŋ =do {teŋ -cəpcəp} =ay {nuk -ari -ok} =no
other person =p =TOP shine -ALL.OVER =ADV see -SIMP -COS =QUOT

‘After the plastering of the house, now other people found his house just shiny all over, it is said.’ (Because he had plastered it with a mix of cow dung and gold flakes.)

Postpositions are treated in detail in Chapter 1.

24.6 Summary of properties of factitive-marked clauses

The factitive suffix clearly functions as a modality suffix on main clause predicates and can be seen as a clausal nominaliser on subordinate clauses. However, factitive-marked clauses have no nominal properties, except for the fact that they can be case-marked, and the number of attested cases on subordinate clauses is very limited, viz. dative (Standard of comparison, Reason), locative (Temporal Location) and perlative/similative (Facsimile; Pathway not attested).

The difference between the modality function and the nominalising function of <-wa> (FACT) is clearest when we compare main clauses and complement clauses. Complement clauses refer to actions or states, depending on the semantics of the verb, while main clauses do not. By contrasting factitive-marked with non-factitive-marked Temporal Location adjunct clauses, we see that the role of the factitive is the same as in main clauses, viz. reification, presenting the event denoted by the verb as a fact. This means that, although the factitive was probably once a nominaliser in an earlier stage of the language, it has developed in the direction of a modality marker, although it still preserves a hint of its old nominalising function.

There are some lexicalised object nominalisations with the factitive suffix, but it appears that these do not possess all nominal properties. More fieldwork is needed to find out what the differences are between factitive lexicalisations and object nominalisations with the enclitic <=wami ~ waməŋ> (NR).
Factitive-marked Reason clauses can have a noun as predicate head. If the factitive suffix were not there, they could not be interpreted as Reason adjuncts since nouns cannot fulfil this function, only clauses can. Dative marked nouns can be Patient, Recipient, Beneficiary, Experiencer, Goal, and Standard of comparison. The factitive on nouns thus indicates that the noun functions as a predicate. This is not converse to the function of the factitive on subordinate clauses with verbal predicates, since it is not the factitive but the case marker that indicates that the clause is used as adjunct. Factitive-marked predicates without case can occur as main clause on their own, but a predicate head that is case-marked cannot. Table 67 presents a schematic summary of the different functions of the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) on different types of predicates with and without case marking.

Table 67  The functions of the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) on different types of predicates with and without case marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on verbal predicates</th>
<th>on nominal predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO CASE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLAUSE TYPE</strong></td>
<td>independent/main clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUNCTION</strong></td>
<td>reification modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEMANTIC ROLE AS ADJUNCT</strong></td>
<td>Reason, Standard of comparison, Temporal Location, Facsimile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24.7  Diachronic note

No internal reconstruction of Atong has thus far been attempted let alone historical comparison with other languages of the Bodo-Koch group Therefore, any diachronic statement about the language is highly speculative. However, it is important to note that, although it may be probable that the morpheme <-wa> (FACT) historically derives from the Proto Tibeto-Burman nominaliser *pa, it does not serve as a nominaliser in main clauses in the current stage of Atong but rather as a modality
suffix of reification, i.e. indicating that the event denoted by the verb is a fact. This modality function has spread to locative adjunct clauses as we can see in §27.5. The nominalising function of the factitive suffix is still preserved in other semantic types of subordinate clauses and lexicalised object nominalisations. It is conceivable that a main clause predicate marked with <-wa> (FACT) could once have been considered a stand-alone nominalisation in the sense of Matisoff (1972: 246) and Noonan (1997: 380-1), but this stage has clearly come to an end.
Chapter 25  Event specifiers

Atong has a wide variety of event specifiers. Due to limitations of space, they cannot all be treated in this grammar. Therefore, this chapter simply provides an overview of the event specifiers recorded to date. Some examples of the use of event specifiers will be given as illustration.

25.1   The function of event specifiers

Event specifiers are predicate head suffixes that give information about how the state or event depicted by the predicate comes about. These suffixes may also simply reinforce the meaning of the predicate. A verbal predicate head can take more than one event specifier suffix. Type 2 adjectival and nominal predicate heads with more than one event specifier are not attested. The event specifiers seem to appear in a semantically motivated order, the suffixes that come later having scope over those preceding. Event specifiers are Echelon 1 column 2 suffixes (see Table 63) and can co-occur with all other types of suffixes in the suffixal string of the predicate head, as long as the result of the combination is semantically felicitous. As has been mentioned in Chapter 22, the order of the suffixes within Echelon 1 is not fixed but varies. There is, however, a strong tendency for the suffixes to appear in the order in which they are depicted in Table 63.

The combinatory possibilities of event specifiers with predicate heads depend on the semantics of the head and the suffix. Some event specifiers have a very specific meaning and a semantically felicitous combination can only be made with a select group of verbs. Other event specifiers can be used on almost any verb and even with Type 2 adjectives and nouns, because their meaning is less specific.

As has been illustrated in Chapter 18, certain event specifiers participate in the process of word class changing derivation, bestowing verbal properties on the non-verbal predicate head they attach to. More fieldwork is needed to find out exactly which event specifiers participate in this grammatical process and exactly what verbal properties they can and cannot transfer to a non-verbal predicate head.
25.2  **Origin and meaning differentiation**

Some event specifiers correspond to verbs, nouns and adverbs which are found in the language as separate lexical items. This suggests that event specifiers are the result of grammaticalisation through compounding and reanalysis (see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 32-62). Event specifiers have lost part of the meaning that they had as lexical items and came to have a more abstract meaning. The event specifier –*taw* ‘V upwards’, for instance, is homophonous to the verbal root *taw* ‘to go up, ascend’, and the event specifier –*phak* ‘V in half lengthwise, V lengthwise, V and go through lengthwise, V by the side of something, V side by side’ has a nominal cognate form *phak* ‘half (the result of a longitudinal cut)’. In example (657) we see the morpheme *taw* function as the verb ‘to go up, ascend’, contrasting with its semantic counterpart *wəl*– ‘to descend’. In (658) we see the same form functioning as event specifier.

(657)  *rayʔsotwae tawangaymu ue gripnok*\textsuperscript{52} *hamgabatəkəysa wəlanthiriokno.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[rayʔ -sot -wa]} = e \{\text{taw}-ay\} = ay = mu \\
\text{go -DIRECTLY -FACT = FC ascend -AWAY = ADV = SEQ} \\
\text{[ue grip nok ham = gaba] = takay = sa} \\
\text{DST Name house build = ATTR = VIA = DLIM} \\
\text{\{}wəl -ay -thiri -ok\}\} = no \\
\text{descend AWAY -AGAIN -COS = QUOT}
\end{array}
\]
‘Having gone up the shortcut, [he] descended again via the G.R.E.E.F. house, which is built [there]’

\textsuperscript{52} *Grip* is the Atong pronunciation of the abbreviation G.R.E.E.F. (some Atong speakers say), which was probably the name of a British coal mining company operating in the Garo Hills. Although the company does not exist any more, the remnants of the mining business can still be found between Jadi and Badri.
25.3 Categories

I am convinced that there are many more event specifiers in Atong than those recorded during the fieldwork for this grammar. The ones so far collected can be divided into twelve categories according to their meanings. These categories are manner, manner/direction, aspect, extent, direction/extent, direction, epistemic, deontic, determinacy, location, conative and quantification.

25.4 Striking phonetic feature

One of the striking features of event specifiers is the versatility in the pronunciation of the glottalised consonant coda, if they have one. Different speakers pronounce the same event specifier in different ways, i.e. with or without glottalised consonant coda. The same speaker may use the same morpheme in the same context with a glottalised and plain consonant coda. The pronunciation does not seem to have anything to do with a preceding morpheme containing a glottalised consonant or glottal stop coda as in Garo (see Burling 2004: 35-38).
25.5 Overview and some comments

All the event specifiers recorded to date are given by category and in alphabetical order in Table 68. In the column “Meaning” in this table, the capital V stands for any Atong verb, or to be more precisely, predicate, although nouns and Type 2 adjectives are almost never used with event specifiers.

The suffix <-<tən> ‘lead in V-ing, V as the leader’ can have a transitivising effect on intransitive verbs. In example (660) we see how the transitive intransitive verb jəl- ‘to run away’ becomes transitive and can therefore take the accusative-marked O argument sipay ‘soldiers’.

(660) “tayʔnido doŋʔancak naʔnaŋdo” noayməŋ sipaydəraŋaw jaltənokno.

The quantifying event specifiers (see Table 68 (c)) work on an S/O basis. In example (661) it is the S argument phulis ‘police’ that is quantified on the predicate by the event specifier rum ‘all’, while in (662) it is the O argument məŋʔ korok (CLF:HUMANS four) ‘four people’ that is quantified by the same event specifier.

(661) phulis bisaŋgsa rayʔarumwasəy tayʔnido?

This way of representing the meaning of event specifiers is inspired by Okell and Allott 2001.
(662) *phəlgəm cungaba monokrumokno məŋʔ korokawan.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[phəlgəm cung=gaba]} & \text{ monok-\text{rum} -ok} = \text{no} \\
\text{eagle} & \text{ big = ATTR swallow -ALL -COS = QUOT} \\
\text{[məŋʔ korok]} & \text{ aw = an} \\
\text{CLF: HUMANS four = ACC = FC/ID}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The big eagle had swallowed them all, the four [of them].’

As was said above, sometimes an event specifier can be used to simply reinforce the meaning of the predicate, to add emphasis. Especially the suffix -*səraŋ* ‘V completely, V wholly, V till the end, V very much’ is frequently used in colloquial speech for this purpose. Good examples of this event specifier as emphasiser can be found in Text 2 lines 33, 35, 38 and 57. Line 35 is presented here as example (663).

(663) *hay, walʔbətawba hənʔetsəraŋ*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[hay] [walʔbət=aw =ba] hən- et -səraŋ} \\
\text{come.on match = ACC= EMPH give-CAUS - TOTALLY}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Come on, give the matches too already.’
Table 68  Event specifiers
listed according to category with corresponding lexical items where these
were found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVENT SPECIFIER</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>CORRESPONDING LEXICAL ITEM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MANNER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-caŋ</td>
<td>V suddenly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cap</td>
<td>V along with someone/something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cep</td>
<td>V alone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cap</td>
<td>V wastefully, V unsuccessfully</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cici</td>
<td>V with force, V into pieces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cikcak</td>
<td>V in a swarm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-damdam</td>
<td>V in different places</td>
<td>dam (noun)</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dap</td>
<td>V and add, V on top</td>
<td>dap- (verb)</td>
<td>to cover, to be on top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gak</td>
<td>V accidentally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jokjok</td>
<td>V up and down</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jol</td>
<td>V quickly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-joljol</td>
<td>V very quickly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khaw</td>
<td>V secretly, V and steal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khelek</td>
<td>V for fun</td>
<td>khele- (verb)</td>
<td>to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khep</td>
<td>V firmly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naj</td>
<td>V in a beautiful or nice way</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nap</td>
<td>V with all your heart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paraj ~ -paraj</td>
<td>V without destination, without goal, aimlessly</td>
<td>praraj- ~ paraj- (verb)</td>
<td>to journey, to travel, to wander, go astray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pol</td>
<td>V rapidly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-porak</td>
<td>V and cut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-phak</td>
<td>V in half lengthwise, V lengthwise, V and go through lengthwise, V by the side of something, V side by side</td>
<td>phak (noun, classifier)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-phet</td>
<td>V detrimentally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-phetphet</td>
<td>V repeatedly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-phin? ~ -phon?</td>
<td>V back, over-V, obviously V, V fully</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ramram</td>
<td>V normally, V naturally</td>
<td>ramram (adverb)</td>
<td>usual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sak</td>
<td>V appropriately</td>
<td>sak- (verb)</td>
<td>to fit (into)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-saw</td>
<td>V and wait, V expectantly, V for sure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sega ~ -siga</td>
<td>V in turn, (alternative) (also phrasal enclitic, see Chapter 19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sek</td>
<td>V and steal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sem</td>
<td>V and follow; imitate someone’s V-ing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-seme</td>
<td>V reluctantly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 68 continued (a): manner, manner/direction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Manner continued</strong></th>
<th><strong>Manner/Direction</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-samsam</strong> V continuously</td>
<td><strong>-ropreg</strong> V while spinning around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-set – -sot</strong> to V so as to dispose of something</td>
<td><strong>-thiri – -theri</strong> V again, back, reversely/backward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-sot</strong> V directly</td>
<td><strong>-thi</strong> V as the leader, lead in V-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-susa</strong> V competitively</td>
<td><strong>-tagtag</strong> V all over the place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-ton</strong> V as the leader, lead in V-ing</td>
<td><strong>-thol</strong> V and avoid, V ahead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-thoy</strong> V nicely</td>
<td><strong>-tho~thip</strong> only V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-tho~thir</strong> only V and nothing else, continuously V (more intense than -thoy)</td>
<td><strong>-thirih~thiriri</strong> V again and again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-thirih~thiriri</strong> V again and again</td>
<td><strong>-thi</strong> V in half, V crosswise, V and go through crosswise <strong>thij</strong> (noun, classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-thum</strong> V on behalf of someone else, V for the benefit of someone else/something</td>
<td><strong>-wenwen</strong> V in circles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-wenwen</strong> V in circles</td>
<td><strong>-wengwag</strong> V in a confused way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-wil – -wilwil</strong> V around</td>
<td><strong>-wil~wilwil</strong> V around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-wil~wilwil</strong> V around</td>
<td><strong>[classifier]</strong> for halves of objects cut crosswise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 68 continued (b): aspect, extent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>V first</th>
<th>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</th>
<th>to begin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-keŋ</td>
<td>V first</td>
<td>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</td>
<td>to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dək</td>
<td>about to V</td>
<td>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</td>
<td>to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-caŋ</td>
<td>V upon to, to start V-ing (inceptive)</td>
<td>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</td>
<td>to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-man ~ -manʔ</td>
<td>already V-ed</td>
<td>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</td>
<td>to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-muʔ</td>
<td>keep V-ing</td>
<td>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</td>
<td>to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rawraw</td>
<td>continue to V</td>
<td>( həʔba-ceŋ ) (‘? first’(^{54} ) verb)</td>
<td>to begin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Extent**

| -an | still V-ing | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -baray | V always | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -bat | V even more. V most | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -bəloŋ | V into pulp | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -bi | very | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -boŋboŋ | V more than necessary, V in abundance (pejorative). V scandalous much | \( boŋboŋ \) (noun) | liar |
| -cik ~ -čik | V as long as you can | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -gacak | V until it is red hot | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -jəŋ | V daily, V all the time | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -lan | very | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -məŋməŋ | V simply. as best you can, barely, just | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -pet | over-V | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -pərət | usually, always | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -ru | V more and more. V around. V all over the place | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -səraŋ | V completely. V wholly, V till the end. V very much | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -teŋ | still too V | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -teŋteŋ | still much too V | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -tham | barely V | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -thamak | barely V | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |
| -that | V excessively | \( həʔba-ceŋ \) (‘? first’\(^{54} \) verb) | to begin |

\(^{54}\) I consider the two parts of the verb \( həʔba-ceŋ \)'to begin' to be bound morphemes. While the second part is readily identifiable as the morpheme corresponding to the event specifier -ceŋ ‘V first’ the first part \( həʔba\) does not occur as a separate verb in the language and has not been attested in any other lexical item. There is a noun \( həʔba\) ‘dry rice and vegetable field’ which I do not consider to have anything to do with the bound morpheme in question.
Table 68 continued (c): extent, direction/extent, location, epistemic, deontic, determinacy, conative, quantification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Extent continued</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-they they</td>
<td>still too V (more intense than -teŋ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Direction/Extent</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>V away, V affluenty, V without holding back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Direction</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a ~ -ay</td>
<td>V towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pat</td>
<td>V across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rat</td>
<td>V downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-soso</td>
<td>V to/on the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-taw</td>
<td>V upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wil</td>
<td>V around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wilwil</td>
<td>V around and around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Location</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dap</td>
<td>V on top of something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-teŋŋŋ</td>
<td>V all over the place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Epistemic</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-asol</td>
<td>really V, verily V, actually V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bebe</td>
<td>truly V verily V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cay ~ -cəy</td>
<td>try to V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dam</td>
<td>truly V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Deontic</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tat</td>
<td>compulsory V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Determinacy</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-comot ~ -coŋmot</td>
<td>V determinedly, V certainly, V definitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-thel</td>
<td>surely V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Conative</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cay ~ -cəy</td>
<td>try to V, V and see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ram</td>
<td>V inadvertently, V unintentionally, V fortuitously, V because of the situation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Quantification S/O</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gorop</td>
<td>V together, V with a whole group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kərom</td>
<td>V in a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pha</td>
<td>V also, V in addition, V along with, V together, V in total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rum</td>
<td>V all, all V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-thok</td>
<td>V together, everybody V, all V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 26  Clause Types

This chapter treats the general properties of dependent and independent clauses, and subsequently focuses on independent clauses. Dependent clauses are also called ‘subordinate clauses’ and the independent ones can also be termed ‘main clauses’. The major clause types in Atong are presented in Table 69 below. The predicates of all clause types can be headed by a verb except in presentative clauses and predicateless interrogative clauses. There are fewer clause types in which Type 2 adjectives are attested as predicate head and even less of those in which nominals can head the predicate.

Main clauses can, but do not have to carry a clausal enclitic, while all subordinate clauses are signalled by a clausal enclitic. All main and subordinate clause clausal enclitics are summed up in Table 70. The main clause types will be treated one by one below. Subordinate clauses are treated in separate chapters as can be seen in Table 69. The last two sections treat the functions of the irrealis and the speculative enclitics.

Table 69  Clause types in Atong
Their syntactic status and the type of predicate head that they can occur with are ordered by section. The abbreviations used in this table are as follows. V ‘verb’, ADJ2 ‘Type 2 adjective’, N ‘nominal’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>SYNTACTIC STATUS</th>
<th>CLAUSE TYPE</th>
<th>ATTESTED PREDICATE HEADS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative clauses</td>
<td>V, ADJ2, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>content questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>predicateless interrogative clauses</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>marked polar questions</td>
<td>V, ADJ2, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked polar questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT/MAIN</td>
<td>Imperative clauses</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>different levels of politeness, prohibitives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and optative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative clauses</td>
<td>V, ADJ2, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>marked declarative clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked declarative clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>presentative clauses</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>copula clauses</td>
<td>V (copula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 27</td>
<td>DEPENDENT/</td>
<td>Dative-marked</td>
<td>V, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 28</td>
<td>SUBORDINATE</td>
<td>Locative-marked clauses</td>
<td>V, ADJ2, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 29</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sequential clauses</td>
<td>V, ADJ2, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attributive clauses</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 70  
Clausal enclitics  
The ones in bold are attested on clauses with nominal predicates  

#### Main clause clausal enclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irrealis modality</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{cəm}&gt;) (IRR) Also particle, see §26.8.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speculative modality</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{khoₙ}&gt;) (SPEC) Also particle, see §26.9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative mood</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{bo}&gt;) (IMP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prohibitive mood</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{bay}&gt;) (PROH)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declarative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{te}&gt;) (DCL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mirative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{thay}\sim\text{tay}\sim\text{say}&gt;) (MIR)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emphatic positive</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{ay}&gt;) (POS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Confirmative tag</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{mo}&gt;) (CONF) ‘obviously, naturally’, Also used as \text{particle}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmation seeking tag</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{me}&gt;) (TAG) Also used as \text{particle}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emphatic/Additive</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{be}&gt;) (EMPH/ADD) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrogative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{ma}&gt;) (Q) Also particle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emphatic</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{aro}\sim\text{ro}&gt;) (EMPH)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative emphasiser</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{to}\sim\text{ta}&gt;) (IMPEMPH)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quotative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{no}&gt;) (QUOT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Subordinate clause clausal enclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attributive</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{gaba}\sim\text{ga}&gt;) (ATTR)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{ci}&gt;) (LOC) (see §24.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{na}\sim\text{ona}&gt;) (DAT) (see Chapter 27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adverbial</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{ay}\sim\text{e}&gt;) (ADV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sequential</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{mg}\sim\text{mug}\sim\text{mugna}\sim\text{mut}&gt;) (SEQ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{e}&gt;) (FC) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus/identifier</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{ad}&gt;) (FC/ID) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Delimitative</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{go}&gt;) (DLIM) Also phrasal enclitic (see §11.7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indefinite</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{be}&gt;) (INDEF)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic</strong></td>
<td>(&lt;=\text{do}\sim\text{o}	ext{do}&gt;) (TOP) Also phrasal enclitic (see Chapter 19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**General properties of independent and dependent clauses**

Both independent and dependent clauses can have verbal and non-verbal predicates. Presentative clauses, as can be seen above in Table 69, only contain nominal predicates, and in predicateless interrogative clauses no predicate can be identified.

The majority of clauses in the recorded material are predicate final. However, any constituent, i.e. argument or adjunct, of a main clause can be right dislocated, i.e. appear after the predicate for backgrounding. Right dislocation is impossible in subordinate clauses.

All clause types can be juxtaposed to clauses of the same type and there are no restrictions on the focusability or topic marking of constituents in any clause type. However, constituents of dependent clauses tend to be less frequently marked for topic or focus than those of independent clauses. When we look at topic or focus marking of whole clauses, we find that only dependent clauses can be focused and that both dependent and independent clauses can be topic-marked. However, only independent clauses with a predicate head carrying the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) can be topic-marked, whereas dependent clauses of all types can be topic-marked.

The following example illustrates a topic-marked main clause with right dislocated subject (S) *raja=mi dama* (king=GEN drum) ‘the king’s drum’.

(664) “*haʔnəŋʔ taraŋ cinina iməŋ kərəŋwado rajami dama*” noaydoŋano.

```
[haʔ nəŋʔ taraŋ ci ni] =na [il] =məŋ {kərəŋ -wa} =do
earth inside layer TEN two =DATPRX =ABL sound -FACT =TOP
[raja =mi dama]=
king =GENdrum
```

“‘The king’s drum sounds from here to the twelve layers of the earth’s inside’, [the deer] is saying, it is said.’

Case marking of constituents (described in Chapter 20) is the same in all types of clauses.

Table 71 below summarises the general properties of independent and dependent clauses.
Table 71  General properties of independent and dependent clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT CLAUSES</th>
<th>DEPENDENT CLAUSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of predicate head</td>
<td>verbal and non-verbal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituent order</td>
<td>Relatively free, predicate final in unmarked scenario. Any constituent can be right dislocated, i.e. postposed to the predicate.</td>
<td>Strictly predicate final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking of predicate head</td>
<td>More marked.</td>
<td>Less marked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referentiality</td>
<td>Can be expressed.</td>
<td>Cannot be expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidentiality with quotative suffix</td>
<td>Can be expressed.</td>
<td>Cannot be expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>Can be expressed.</td>
<td>Cannot be expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Can be expressed.</td>
<td>Cannot be expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>Can be expressed.</td>
<td>Cannot be expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juxtaposition with clauses of the same type</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus/Topic marking of constituents</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus/Topic marking of clause</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical relations</td>
<td>Case-marking of NPs is the same for all types</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26.1  Interrogative clauses

There are three types of interrogative clauses, viz. marked polar questions and content questions and predicateless content questions. In this section I will also treat the alternative question strategy, which is a sentence which consists of minimally two clauses. We will see how unmarked polar questions are just a function of declarative clauses. The predicate head of an interrogative clause can be inflected for all independent clause categories (see Table 63 and Table 69) except declarative \(<=te\) (DCL) and mirative \(<=thy\approx=tey\approx=say\approx=si\) (MIR). The constituent order in interrogative clauses is not fixed, just like in other clause types.

26.1.1  Content questions

Content question clauses contain an interrogative or question word. Interrogatives are treated in Chapter 1. There is a tendency for interrogatives to appear in clause initial position, but this is not obligatory. Examples of interrogative clauses can be found at the beginning of Text 2. As we can see in lines 7, 10 and 25 of Text 1, content question clauses can also consist of just a question word, in which case they are
elliptical. Examples (665) and (666) are illustrations of content questions with more than one constituent.

(665) \textit{atoŋ balagnaka?}

\textit{[atoŋ] \{ bal -ag -naka\}}

what tell - WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -IFT

‘What more shall [I] tell?’

(666) \textit{caŋ āna daygaba raja?}

\textit{[caŋ] \{ [ag] =na \{ day\} =gaba raja\}}

‘who 1 =DAT be.bigger=ATTR king

‘Who is a bigger king than me?’

Example (667) is a desiderative content question. Desiderative content questions question a possibility. The context of the next example is as follows. A man explains to his wife that he has inspected both the fish traps upstream and downstream in the river. Then he says (667).

(667) \textit{biaw caykhuna? āna niʔok”}

\textit{[b] =aw \{ cay -khu -na\} [ag] =na \{ niʔ -ok\}}

which =ACC look.at -INCOM DESI 1s =DAT not.exist -COS

‘Which other one can I look at? I have no more.’

An example of a desiderative content question can be found in the text1, line 36.

\textbf{26.1.2 Predicateless focus content question clauses}

In a predicateless focus content question clause the noun which is the focus of the interrogation is always marked by the focus enclitic $\texttt{<\text{-e}\text{->}}$ (FC). In this clause type it is impossible to determine which constituent is the predicate head since none of the constituents can take any predicate suffixes as can nouns when they are the head of a predicate of a non-interrogative clause (see Table 63). It has also been impossible to determine any subject properties for the constituents of these clauses. All interrogatives can occur as constituent of predicateless content question clauses as in (668) (669) and (670) below.
(668) “bie naŋʔ joŋdəraŋe? naŋʔ joŋe bie?” nookno.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{bie} & \quad \text{naŋʔ joŋ} =dəraŋ =e \\
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{bie} & \quad \text{naŋʔ joŋ} =_e \\
\end{align*}
\]

where 2s younger.brother =p =FC

“They are your younger brothers? Where are your younger brothers?” [she] said, it is said.

(669) naŋʔmi jorae caŋ?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{naŋʔ} & \quad \text{mi} =jora =e \\
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{naŋʔ} & \quad \text{cap} =_e \\
\end{align*}
\]

2s =GEN love.match=FC who

“Who’s your love match?”

(670) bisaŋnas naŋʔtəme?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{bi} & \quad \text{saŋ} =na =sa \\
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{naŋʔ-} & \quad _təm =e \\
\end{align*}
\]

QF =MOB =DAT=DLIM 2s -ppp =FC

“To where exactly [are] you [going]?”

One could hypothesise, by analogy with the interrogatives treated below in 26.1.3, that the interrogative is the predicate head.

26.1.3 Clauses with interrogatives as predicate head

The interrogatives *biskən* ‘how much/many’ and *bisag* ‘to where’ can express perfectivity by means of the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS), e.g. (671) (672) and can even take event specifiers as is illustrated in (673). Therefore these interrogatives can always be identified as predicate head when they appear change of state-marked in verbless interrogative clauses. More fieldwork is required to find out if there are restrictions on the types of event specifiers that can appear in these interrogatives.

(671) ama, dadaparae bisaŋok?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{ama} & \quad [\text{dada}] =para =e \\
\text{CLAUSE} & \quad \text{CLAUSE} \\
\text{bi} & \quad \text{saŋ} =-ok \\
\end{align*}
\]

mother older.brother=&co =FC QF =MOB -COS

‘Mother, where did [my] elder brothers go off to?’
Example (149), here repeated as (672), illustrates a change of state-marked interrogative functioning as predicate head with a right-dislocated dative adjunct.

(672) *biskənok, məŋʔthamna?*

{biskən -ok} [məŋʔ tham] =na
how.much -COS CLF:HUMANS three =DAT
‘How much is it in total, for three persons?’

In example (673) we see the interrogative *bisaŋ (QF=MOB) ‘to/from where?’* functioning as predicate head and carrying an event specifier suffix, viz. the quantifier <-rum> ‘ALL’ and the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS).

(673) *bisagrumok naŋʔtəm sendele?*

{bi =sag -rum -ok} [naŋʔ -təm sendel] =e
QF =MOB -ALL -COS 2s ppp sandal =FC
‘Where have all your sandals gone?’

26.1.4 Marked and unmarked polar questions

Marked polar questions have the same structure and intonation as declarative clauses except that the question enclitic <=-ma (Q) appears on the clause, which is an epistemic modal indicating the speaker’s uncertainty about the event. This enclitic receives stress and that means that it is usually pronounced at a higher pitch than the rest of the clause. The use of the question enclitic <=-ma> excludes all other enclitics from the clause.

Examples (674) and (676) below are examples of marked polar questions. In (676) the polar question is an embedded direct speech complement of the verb *no* ‘to say’.

(674) *naŋʔ soŋci may saʔama?*

[nagʔ soŋ] =ci [may] {saʔ -a} =ma
2s village =LOC rice eat -CUST =Q
‘Is rice eaten in your village (alternatively: ‘country’)?’
(675) *o came, aŋmi naŋʔna khaʔgalgabaaw naŋʔmi khathoŋci daŋetna manʔphanima?*

\[
\begin{align*}
&[o \text{ came}] \quad [[aŋ] =mi \{naŋʔ\} =na \{khaʔgal\} =gaba} =aw \{naŋʔ =mi \text{ interj sweetheart 1s =GEN 2s =DAT love =ATTR =ACC 2s =GEN} \\
&khaʔtho] =ci \{daŋ -et\} =na \{manʔ -pha -ni\} =ma \text{ heart =LOC enter -CAUS =DAT be.able -IN.ADDITION -FUT =Q} \\
&'O sweetheart! will you be able to insert also my love for you into your heart?'
\end{align*}
\]

(676) *ucie nepale “ətəkcido aŋ reʔeŋsiganima naŋʔməŋ phal?” nowano.*

\[
\begin{align*}
&ucie \{nepal\} =e \{ətək\} =ci =do \text{ then Nepali =FC do.like.that=LOC=TOP} \\
&aŋ \{reʔeŋ -siga -ni\} =ma \{naŋʔ =məŋ phal\} \{no-wa\} =no \text{ 2s go.away -ALT -FUT =Q 2s =GEN place say -FACT =QUOT} \\
&'Then the Nepali: “In that case, shall I go instead of you?” sayingly said, it is said.'
\end{align*}
\]

Nominals and adjectives can also be the head of a predicate of a marked polar question as examples (677) and (678) respectively illustrate. In (678) the first person personal pronoun, *aŋ*, is right dislocated as antitopic (see Lambrecht 1994: 202).

(677) *cikərakca, aŋa saʔgarayma?*

\[
\begin{align*}
&\{cikərak -ca\} \{aŋa\} \{saʔgaray\} =ma \text{ joke -NEG 1s child =Q} \\
&'[I] don’t joke. Am I a child?’
\end{align*}
\]

(678) *məkhan pisakma aŋdo?*

\[
\begin{align*}
&məkhan \{pisak\} =ma \{aŋ\} =do \text{ face red =Q 1s =TOP} \\
&'Is my face red?’ Literally: ‘Is the face read, as far as I’m concerned?’
\end{align*}
\]

Unmarked polar questions are formally indistinguishable from declarative clauses and can therefore be said to be just one of the pragmatic functions of a declarative clause. Intonation does not help to distinguish declarative clauses indicating a statement from unmarked polar questions. Marked polar questions can have the same falling intonation as declarative clauses, but are formally distinguishable from declarative...
clauses because of the clausal enclitic \(< = ma >\) (Q). Usually unmarked polar questions have a falling intonation, just like declarative clauses indicating a statement. When a speaker is surprised or otherwise emotional, the unmarked clause will have a rising or fairly level intonation with maybe a slight dip at the end and can still be interpreted either as a polar question, as a statement, or even an exclamation, e.g. (716).

26.1.5 Alternative question sentences

The alternative question sentence is a strategy in which two clauses are combined. The predicate head of the first clause is marked with the enclitic \(< = ma >\) (Q) and the second is not. The predicate head of the second clause cannot take any clausal enclitics. The alternative question has falling intonation stretched out over the entire sentence.

The following two examples show alternative questions with verbal predicates. As example (680) illustrates, both predicates do not have to consist of the same verb.

(679) \(\text{ranustaw nukama nukanca?}\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
[\text{ranus}] & =taw & \{\text{nuk} -a\} & =ma & \{\text{nuk} -an -ca\} \\
\text{Name} & =\text{ACC} & \text{see} & =\text{Q} & \text{see} & \text{REF} & \text{NEG}
\end{array}
\]

‘Have you seen Ranus or not?’

(680) \(\text{raŋ nemceŋama naʔnaŋ cəw jamceŋa}\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllll}
[\text{raŋ}] & \{\text{nem-ceŋ} -a\} & =ma & \{\text{naʔnaŋ} \text{ cəw}\} & \{\text{jam} -\text{ceŋ} -a\} \\
\text{rain} & \text{good} & \text{-FIRST} & \text{-CUST} & =\text{Q} & \text{1pi liquor} & \text{finish} & \text{-FIRST} & \text{-CUST}
\end{array}
\]

‘Will the rain get better [i.e. ’stop’] first or will we run out of liquor first?’ [the Badri people said and they started a drinking competition with the rain.]

The following examples show alternative questions with non-verbal predicates. In (681) the predicates are nominal, whereas in (682) they consist of demonstratives. Since the question morpheme \(< = ma >\) (Q) is a clausal enclitic and not a suffix, the demonstratives appear in their unbound form, viz. \(\text{ié} \) (PRX) instead of their bound form \(< \) (PRX).
(681) *ido theŋʔthon. meʔmaŋokma jəwmaŋok?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRX} & = \text{TOP} \\
\text{Name} & = \text{DCL} \\
\text{ghost} & = \text{COS} \\
\text{Q} & = \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This is Theng•thon, I’m telling you. Has [he] become a ghost or a dream?’

(682) *iema ie?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRX} & = \text{Q} \\
\text{PRX} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This one or this one?’

### 26.2 Imperative clauses

The imperative is the only clause type in which a verbal predicate head can appear as a bare root or stem without any predicate head suffixes or clausal enclitics, and it is the only main clause type in which a verbal predicate can occur without predicate head suffixes. The bare stem is the root plus stem-forming suffixes (predicate head suffixes are listed in Table 63). An imperative can optionally be signalled by the imperative clausal enclitic `<=bo>` (IMP), depending on the level of politeness, as we will see below. The structure of the predicate head of an imperative clause is shown in Table 72 and will be explained below. Imperatives are second person only. Atong also has an optative, treated below in §26.2.4, which is only attested with third person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
<th>Column 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>causative <code>&lt;et&gt;</code> (CAUS)</td>
<td>event specifier</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>other clausal enclitics (only after <code>&lt;=bo&gt;</code> (IMP))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>simplicitive <code>&lt;khu&gt;</code> (IMP)</td>
<td></td>
<td><code>&lt;=bo&gt;</code> (IMP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>incompletive <code>&lt;ari&gt;</code> (SIMP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all stem-forming suffixes can occur on imperatives; only the derivational causative `<et>` (CAUS), event specifiers, the simplicitive `<ari>` (SIMP) and incompletive aspect suffix `<khu>` (INCOM) can. Atong imperatives cannot take the negative suffix `<ca>` (NEG). The only aspectual suffix which can possibly occur on an imperative is the incompletive aspect stem-forming suffix `<khu>` (INCOM). Imperative clause predicates cannot take any inflectional suffixes (see Table 63).
26 Clause types

Event specifiers, the simplicitive and the incompletive suffixes are all mutually exclusive on predicates of imperative clauses. When an event specifier is used, the simplicitive or incompletive cannot be added to the stem, which is a restriction not found in other clause types.

The incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) has two meanings in imperative clauses, viz. as marker of incompletive aspect and as politeness marker. Politeness levels will be treated below. In all other clause types the suffix <-khu> is not polysemous and only indicates incompletive aspect. In imperative clauses the suffix <-khu> (INCOM) can be followed by the imperative clausal enclitic <-bo> (IMP). In those cases the context has to provide clues as to whether the incompletive suffix has to be understood as politeness marker or as marker of incompletive aspect. The imperative enclitic <-bo> (IMP) can optionally be followed by one of the following other clausal enclitics, whereas the incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) cannot.

a. affirmation seeking tag <-ne> (TAG)
b. emphatic positive <-ay> (POS)
c. emphatic imperative <-to ~ =ta> (IMPEMPH)

26.2.1 Politeness

Atong imperatives display three levels of politeness. These levels are marked by the following forms from rude to most polite: the bare imperative, the imperative with the imperative clausal enclitic <-bo> (IMP), and with the incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM). They will be treated one by one below.

i The bare imperative

The bare imperative is a clause of which the predicate head consists only of the root or the stem, (i.e. the root plus stem-forming suffixes). The bare imperative is the impolite form of imperative. It can be used to children and close friends or family when addressing younger kin or in emotional situations. Examples (683), (684) and (685) are illustrations of bare imperative clauses. Example (685) comes from Text 2, line 33. Line 35 in the same text is another example of the bare imperative.
(683) *reʔeŋ.*

\{*reʔeŋ*\}
go.away
‘Go away!’

(684) *saʔari.*

*saʔ -ari*
eat -SIMP
‘Just eat.’

(685) *hay sigəret hənetsəraŋ naʔa uaw.*

[\*hay\*] [\*sigəret\*] {\*hənʔ -et -əraŋ\*} [\*naʔa\*] [\*u =aw\*]
come.on cigarette give -CAUS -TOTALLY 2s DST=ACC
‘Come on, give the cigarettes, oh you, those!’

The event specifier -əraŋ (TOTALLY) in (685) is used to give an emphatic effect to the command.

ii The imperative with **<\*=bo\*>**

The imperative signalled by the imperative mood clausal enclitic **<\*=bo\*>** (IMP) is the mid-level politeness form. It can be used to anybody, in any situation and can even be very cordial or compelling depending on the tone of voice of the speaker. Examples of this type of imperative can be found in abundance in Text 2, lines 4, 11, 13, 18, 20, 30 and 45. In order to emphasise the imperative, one of the discourse level suffixes treated above can be added after the imperative enclitic, e.g. in Text 1 line 41 and in Text 2, lines 4, 40, 42 and 43. The next example is a dialogue between a mother and her sons. This example comes from a story in which six sons are leaving their mother’s house to shoot a giant eagle.
(686) ətəkəymuŋna “ama niŋ ue phəlgəmaw kawna reʔeŋnane” nookno. ucie, “əm, nemay reʔeŋboay. bunduk raʔaŋbo” nookno.

[ətəkəymuŋna][ama] [niŋ] [ue pəlgəm] =aw {kaw} =na
so then mother 1pe DST eagle =ACC shoot =DAT

{reʔeŋ -na} =ne} {no-ok} =no ucie
go.away -DESI=TAG say -COS =QUOT then
[əm] {nem} =ay {reʔeŋ} əbo =ay
yes good =ADV go.away =IMP =POS
[bunduk] {raʔ -aŋ} əbo {no-ok} =no
gun take -AWAY =IMP say -COS =QUOT

‘So then: “Mother, we want to go to shoot that eagle”, [they] said, it is said. Then: “Yes. Do go carefully. Take the guns.” [she] said, it is said.’

iii  The imperative with <-khu>

An imperative ending in the incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) signals a request and is the most polite form of imperative in Atong. Examples (687) and (688) are illustrative.

(687) baba, aŋna taŋka ratjani hənʔkhu.

[baba] [aŋ] =na [taŋka ratja ni] {hənʔ -khukhu}
father 1s =DAT money hundred two give -INCOM

‘Father, please give me two hundred rupees.’

The following example comes from the story of the hanging root that changes into an old woman at night. When you happen to sleep under a hanging root, the old woman will ask you to scratch her arm the whole night or else she will rip you open with her long nails and eat you.

(688) “hai? ambi aŋ cakaw khenetkhu” nookno.

[hai?] [ambi] [aŋ cak] =aw {khen -et -khukhu} {no-ok} =no
interj grandchild 1s arm/hand =ACC scratch -CAUS -INCOM say -COS =QUOT

‘Hey grandchild, please scratch my arm’. [she] said, it is said.’

As mentioned above, the incompletive suffix <-khu> (INCOM) can be followed by the imperative mood enclitic <-bo> (IMP). In that case the incompletive can be
understood either as politeness marker or as marker of the incompletive aspect.

Example (689) below was uttered during a meal and is clearly a command to eat more. So there the incompletive suffix functions as marker of the incompletive aspect.

(689) \textit{may saʔkhubo}

\begin{verbatim}
[may] \{saʔ -khu\} =bo
rice eat -INCOM=IMP
‘Eat more rice.’
\end{verbatim}

Example (690) below comes from the story about a cunning man called Theng•thon [thenŋʔthon]. Theng•thon is much hated in his village for being such a bad person. The villagers burn down his house because of his bad behaviour. Theng•thon collects the ashes and cinders and goes to the market to sell them. The village people think he’s mad. “Who will buy ashes and cinders?” they say. On his way back home from the market, Theng•thon steals a large sum of money somewhere. Later he sits in front of his house counting the coins which attracts the attention of the other villagers. When Theng•thon tells them that he sold all his ashes and cinders for this large sum of money, the other people wonder if they cannot become rich too when they burn down their houses and sell the remains on the market. Theng•thon says they certainly can. The result is that the other village people have found out that they have been conned, they capture Theng•thon and want to torture him. Then Theng•thon utters (690), which can be interpreted as a request or a polite request.

If we consider that it is the first time in the story that Theng•thon asks for forgiveness, it is a request and the incompletive signals politeness. But because Theng•thon has been bad in the past, which was why his house was burned down in the first place, it might have occurred in the past that he has asked the other villagers for forgiveness and so (690) can be interpreted as a request to forgive him again, in which case the incompletive suffix signals incompletive aspect.

(690) \textit{naŋʔtəm angaw wetsado khema khaʔkhubo.}

\begin{verbatim}
[naŋʔ-] [aŋ] =aw [wet sa] =do \{khema khaiʔ -khu\} =bo
2s -PPP 1s =ACC time one =TOP forgiveness do -INCOM=IMP
‘Please forgive me one more time.’ or ‘Please forgive me this once.’
\end{verbatim}
26.2.2 The prohibitive with \(<=\text{bay}\)

The construction most frequently used to form prohibitives in Atong is formed with the prohibitive clausal enclitic \(<=\text{bay}\) (PROH) attached to a dative-marked clause. The prohibitive clausal enclitic \(<=\text{bay}\) (PROH) is homophonous with the intransitive verb bay- ‘to break’. It is very likely that the prohibitive under discussion grammaticalised from a secondary verb construction (see Chapter 27) with the verb bay- ‘to break’ as main clause predicate and the action that is prohibited in the form of a dative complement clause.\(^{55}\) I analyse \(<=\text{bay}\) (PROH) as prohibitive enclitic for the following reasons:

- No other constituent can intervene between the dative-marked verb and the prohibitive morpheme and the position of the dative-marked verb is fixed before this morpheme. If bay was considered a main clause predicate and the dative-marked verb its complement, it would have been possible for constituents to intervene between dative complement clause and the predicate of the matrix clause (see Chapter 27).
- The grammatical unity between the dative-marked verb and the prohibitive morpheme is reinforced by the linking element /m/.
- A prohibitive clause cannot take the imperative mood enclitic \(<=\text{bo}\) (IMP).

The structure of a prohibitive is given in Table 73 below. We can see that the inflectional possibilities of the prohibitive are more limited than those of the imperative shown in Table 72 above. The change of state suffix \(<=\text{ok}\) (COS) can be attached to a prohibitive for emphasis. The result is a stronger prohibition. The change

---

\(^{55}\) The same construction has been described for A•chik (Garo) by Burling (2004:127), except that there seems to be no linking phoneme /m/ in A•chik. The element na, which immediately precedes be in A•chik, is homophonous with the dative case marker, like in Atong, and be in the A•chik prohibitive (“negative imperative”) is also homophonous with the verb be- ‘to break’. Although the grammaticalisation of the verb ‘to stop’ into a marker of the prohibitive is well attested in languages around the world (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 283-284), there are no other cases known to me of this happening to the verb ‘to break’ except for Atong and A•chik.
of state suffix can have the same emphatic function on Type 1 adjectival predicate heads, as is discussed in §5.1. This means that the meaning of the change of state suffix <-ok> (COS) varies depending on the clause type and the word class.

Table 73 The structure of the prohibitive with <=bay>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>stem-forming suffixes</th>
<th>clausal enclitic</th>
<th>linking element</th>
<th>clausal enclitic</th>
<th>inflectional suffix</th>
<th>clausal suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-et&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;=na&gt;</td>
<td>/ml</td>
<td>&lt;=bay&gt; (PROH)</td>
<td>&lt;=ok&gt; (COS)</td>
<td>&lt;=ne&gt; (TAG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CAUS)</td>
<td>(DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optional</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here below are some illustrative examples of the prohibitive with <=bay> (PROH)

We clearly see that the linking element /ml/ is optional. Examples (691) and (692) below come from the same paragraph in the same story. The prohibitive verbs in (691) have the linking /ml/, whereas the verb in (692) does not.

(691) ətəknambay baba. ətəkəy takkhunambay.

{ətək} =na -m- =bay [baba]
do.like.this=DAT-LINK- =PROH son

[ətəkəy] {tak -khu} =na -m- =bay}
like.this do -INCOM=DAT-LINK- =PROH

‘Don’t do like this, son. Don’t do like this any more.’

(692) “naŋʔba məkhaŋsaŋba ətəkəy taknabay” nooknoaro.

[nəŋʔ] =ba [məkhaŋ] =say =ba [ətəkəy] {tak} =na =bay
2s =EMPH face =MOB =EMPH like.this do =DAT=PROH

{no -ari -ok} =no
say =SIMP-COS =QUOT

“Don’t you do like this [any more] in the future,” they just said, it is said.’

The following example exhibits change of state-marked prohibitive forms indicating a stronger prohibition. This constrution is comparable to the English ‘V already’ imperative, e.g. Stop already!, and to the Dutch and German imperative with the past participle, e.g. Dutch: Afgelopen nu! [‘afəlopə(n) ny] ‘Stop now!’ (where afgelopen is the past participle of the verb aflopen [‘aflopə(n)] ‘to finish’).
In the above example, the combination \textit{saʔ-khaw} (eat-SECRETIVELY) means ‘to steal’ in this case, and not ‘to eat secretively.

Predicates of prohibitives can be modified by adverbial clauses and adverbs, as is illustrated in examples (694) and (695) here below.

(694) ramci doloŋ khagaba ganaŋ. khaʔsinay reʔeŋnabayne.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ram]} & =ci \ [\text{doloŋ} \ \{khaʔ\} =gaba] \ \{ganaŋ\} \\
\text{road} & =\text{LOC} \text{bridge make} =\text{ATTR} \text{exist} \\
\{khaʔsin\} & =ay \ \{reʔeŋ\} =na =bay =ne \\
\text{slow} & =\text{ADV} \text{go.away} =\text{DAT} =\text{PROH} =\text{TAG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There is a bridge on the road. Don’t go slowly, ok.’

(695) alaga morotna dəməm damdam hənʔna bay

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[alaga moro\textit{t}]} & =na \ [\text{dəməmdamdam}] \ \{hənʔ\} =na =bay \\
\text{other person} & =\text{DAT} \text{just.like.that give} =\text{DAT} =\text{PROH}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Don’t give it to someone else just like that.’

26.2.3 The prohibitive with \textit{ta}

The use of the prohibitive construction with \textit{ta} (PROH) is much rarer than the construction with the clausal enclitic \textit{=bay} (PROH) (see above). Predicates in prohibitive constructions cannot express aspect or modality. The word \textit{ta} (PROH) is a free morpheme with only one restriction: it has to precede the predicate. Thus the next sentence has three variants with the same meaning; the only difference between them is the position of the morpheme \textit{ta} (PROH).
(696) a:  \( \text{ta ie nok } \text{dæydaŋ } \text{ham}. \)

b:  \( \text{ie nok ta } \text{dæydaŋ } \text{ham}. \)

c:  \( \text{ie nok } \text{dæydaŋ ta } \text{ham}. \)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[ta]} & \text{[ie nok]} & \text{[dæydaŋ]} \{\text{ham}\} \\
\text{PROH} & \text{PRX} & \text{house alone build} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Don’t build this house alone’

To emphasise the imperative force of the utterance the imperative emphasiser clausal enclitic \(<\text{to} \sim \text{to}=\text{ta}>=\text{IMPEMPH}\) (allomorphs in free variation) can be cliticised to the clause, e.g. (697). The result is a stronger prohibition. This enclitic is usually used when the speaker is annoyed or impatient.

(697)  \( \text{naʔa } \text{ta } \text{dækəɾəŋto}! \)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[naʔa]} & \text{[ta]} & \{\text{dækəɾəŋ}\} \\text{=to} \\
\text{2s} & \text{PROH} & \text{make.noise}=\text{IMPEMPH} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You, don’t make noise!’

The prohibitive morpheme \( \text{ta} \) (PROH) can even be combined with the imperative enclitic \(<\text{bo}>=\text{IMP}\) as the next example illustrates. In this example the prohibitive morpheme has scope over both predicate heads.

(698)  \( \text{ta } \text{rophiɾrambo } \text{cikarakbo}! \)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ta} & \{\text{rophiɾ-ram}\} \text{=bo} & \{\text{cikarak}\} \text{=bo} \\
\text{PROH} & \text{joke} -\text{try} =\text{IMP} & \text{joke} =\text{IMP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Don’t try to joke [or] be funny!’

The predicate head of a prohibitive clause cannot take any inflectional suffixes, i.e. cannot express modality, aspect and polarity by means of the suffix \(<\text{ca}>\) (NEG). (For the types of predicate suffixes see Table 63.) The predicate head can, however, take stem-forming suffixes and the prohibitive clauses can take clausal enclitics as is illustrated by the next example.
26.2.4 The optative

A root plus the comparative suffix \(<\text{-khal}\>\) (CP) signals the optative in Atong. In other constructions the comparative suffix has a comparative function comparable to the suffix \(-er\) in English, e.g. *nem-khal-a* (good-CP-CUST) ‘[it is/was] better’. The optative is only attested with a third person, both singular and plural, e.g. (700), and is not attested in negated form.

(700) *geʔtheŋ reʔeŋkhal!*

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{[geʔtheŋ]} & \{\text{reʔeŋ} & \text{-khal}\} \\
3s & \text{go.away} & \text{-CP}
\end{array}
\]

‘May he go away!’ or in French: ‘Qu’il s’en aille!’

26.2.5 The hortative strategy

Atong has the proclause *hay* ‘Come on!, Let’s go!’ which can be used to imply a hortative for first or second person singular or plural just by putting another clause after it. This second clause will usually be a desiderative clause, as in (701), or declarative clause with future-marked predicate, e.g. (702) or an imperative clause, of which example (703) is illustrative. A simple fragment may suffice too, as in (704).
26 Clause types

(701) “dada, dada! hay naʔnaŋdo, ama garu ramgabaci phəlgəm deʔetay tanangabaaw, phəlgəmaw kawna rayʔna” nookno.

```
[dada] [dada] [hay] [naʔnaŋ] =do
elder.brother elder.brother come.on 1pi =TOP
[ama garu {ram} =gaba] =ci
mother mustard dry =ATTR =LOC
[phəlgəm {deʔet} =ay {tan -aq} =gaba] =aw [phəlgəm] =aw
eagle shit =ADV put -AWAY =ATTR =ACC eagle =ACC
{kaw{ =na {rayʔ-na} {no-ok} =no
shoot =DAT go -DESI say -COS =QUOT
```

“‘Older brother, older brother! Come on, us, [we] want to go to shoot the eagle, the eagle which shat in mother’s dry mustard [leaves]’, [he] said, it is said.’

The context for the next example is as follows. An animal says: “The animals don’t have a king yet. In the whole world, in foreign countries, in India, in the Garo Hills, there is no king”, after which comes (702).

(702) “hay raja soŋnaka” nowanowa.

```
[hay] [raja] {soŋ -naka} {no-wa} =no -wa
come.on king elect -IFT say -FACT =QUOT -FACT
```

“‘Come on, [we] will elect a king now”, they said it is said.’

In the following example a frog gets pinched by a river crab. His friend the deer urges the frog to hit the river crab by uttering (703).

(703) hay, hay iaw tokboto tokboto tokboto!

```
[hay] [hay] [i] =aw {tok} =bo =to {tok} =bo =to
come.on come.on PRX =ACC beat =IMP =IMPEMPH beat =IMP =IMPEMPH
{tok} =bo =to
beat =IMP =IMPEMPH
```

‘Come on, come on, beat it, beat it, beat it!’

The following example comes from a story in which a banana bird is on his way to beat up an elephant for always destroying his nest and eating it. The bird meets a toad
and explains where he is going to. Then the toad says that the elephant also always destroys his nest and joins the bird saying (704). This construction cannot be negated.

(704)  
\begin{align*}
\text{hay aŋba} \\
\text{[hay] [aŋ] =ba} \\
\text{come.on 1s =ADD} \\
\text{‘Come on, me too.’ Alternatively: ‘Let me go too.’}
\end{align*}

26.3  **Declarative clauses and identity/equation clauses**

The declarative clause is a type of independent clause that is used to express statements and facts. The predicate head of a declarative clause can be marked for all independent clause categories (see Table 63). Declarative clauses can take the declarative clausal enclitic <=te> (DCL) or the mirative <=thay ~ =tay ~ =say ~ =sî> (MIR) whereas interrogatives cannot.

Lines 19 the second clause, 28, 30 and 31 in Text 1 are illustrative of declarative clauses. The first clause in line 19 of this text is a presentative clause which will be treated in the next paragraph. The following example contains three declarative clauses, two with a nominal predicate head and one with a verbal predicate head. A declarative clause with a noun as predicate head is interpreted either as a (verbless) identity/equation/attributive clause. There is no formal distinction in Atong between these three clause types; the term identity/equation clause is used in this grammar to cover the three different interpretations. Example (705) comes from the story about the giant eagle in which six sons are on their way to shoot it when they come to a clearing in the jungle with a huge tree in it. In the tree the giant eagle is perching and one of the brothers says (705).

(705)  
\begin{align*}
\text{iannokhon, amami garu ramgabaci deʔetgaba iankhonte ie. hay naʔnando kawnaka.} \\
\{i \ =an\} \ =khon \ [\{ama \ =mi \ garu \ \{ram\} \ =gaba\} \ \{deʔet\} \ =gaba\} \\
\text{PRX =FC/ID =SPEC mother =GEN mustard dry =ATTR shit =ATTR} \\
\{i \ =an\} \ =khon \ =te \ [\{ie\} \ [\{hay\] \ [naʔnaj] \ =do \ \{kaw-naka\} \\
\text{PRX =FC/ID =SPEC =DCL.PRX come.on 1pi =TOP shoot-IFT} \\
\text{‘That might [be it], that might [be] the one which shat in mother’s dry mustard [leaves]. Come on, we will certainly shoot it.’}
\end{align*}
Members of other non-verbal word classes, like demonstratives (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 22), can also be predicate head of an identity/equation clause, e.g. (706).

(706)  daba ian

[\text{daba}] \{i =an\}
coconut PRX =FC[ID]
‘This [is] a coconut.’

26.4 The presentative clause

A presentative clause is a declarative clause that contains only a nominal predicate head. The properties of nominal predicate heads are treated in Chapter 22. Its function is to present background information for what follows, as the first clause of line 19 in Text 1 and the first two clauses of example (707) below, which is the beginning of a story.  

(707)  morot maŋ?sanoromo. jəwʔtaraannokmo, waʔ niʔok. ue gawicie sa?
maŋ?korok ganaŋnororo aro deʔtheŋ pipukci ganaŋkhua maŋ?sa, mo.

{\text{morot maŋ?} \text{ sa}} =no =ro =mo
person CLF:HUMANS one =QUOT =EMPH =CONF

{\text{[jəwʔ -tara]} =an -ok} =mo \{\text{waʔ} \{\text{niʔ -ok}\}
mother -EXCLUSIVELY =FC[ID] -COS =CONF father not.exist -COS

\{ue gawi\} =ci =e \{sa? maŋ? \text{ korok}\} \{\text{ganaŋ}\} =no =ro
DST woman=LOC=FC child CLF:HUMANS six exist =QUOT =EMPH

aro \{deʔtheŋ pipuk\} =ci \{\text{ganaŋ-khu -a}\} \{\text{maŋ? sa}\} =mo
and 3s belly =LOCexist INCOM -CUST CLF:HUMANS one =CONF

‘One person, OK. Only a mother [is left], OK. There is no father any more. The woman has six children, it is said, and in her belly there is one more, OK.’

---

56 It was interesting to note that some Atong speakers did not approve of presentative clauses in the written language. When one of my friends read the book of compiled stories, he wanted to add a verb to the first clause in example (707) so that it would read \text{morot maŋ? sa ganaŋ=no=ro=mo} (person CLF:HUMANS one exist=QUOT=EMPH=CONF) ‘[There] is one person, OK.’
26.5 Copula clauses

The identity/equation copula in Atong is *doŋ*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be). The allomorphs are in free variation. A copula clause can be identified as such if it contains the identity/equation copula *doŋ*- ~ *doŋ*- (IE.be) and at least one core argument, viz. the copula complement. Both copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC) are obligatorily unmarked for case. This obligatory unmarkedness of the two core arguments is one feature which distinguishes copula clauses from transitive clauses in which O can be accusative-marked under certain pragmatic conditions, (see §20.8).

The equation/identity copula is mostly used in emphatic (708) or contrastive (709) circumstances or to express the sense of ‘become’ (710). In non-emphatic and non-contrastive circumstances the copula can be dropped in most cases, and then we have a (verbless) identity/equation clause, treated above as declarative clause subtype. Cases in which the copula cannot be dropped are constructions in which loanwords are involved, as we will see below.

(708) sala, naʔa məlteŋteŋ. ang iskən madam kam khaʔphìnʔok. nawməl doŋphìn·ok.

```
(sala) [naʔa] {məl-teŋ -teŋ} [əŋ] CS {iskən madam}
bastard 2s small-still.too -RED 1s so.much female.teacher
kam khaʔ -phìnʔ -ok\} [nawməl] CC \{doŋ -phìnʔ -ok\}
work make-FULLY -COS marriageable.girl IE.be -FULLY -COS
```

‘Bastard! you are still too small. I am already working as a teacher. I am already a marriageable girl.’

(709) ue soŋma soŋgni khəcu badrido aton khuʔcuk doŋʔca, haʔcək khuʔcuk doŋʔsigaak.

```
[ue soŋma soŋgni khəcu badrid\} CS =do [aton khuʔcuk|CC \{doŋʔ -ca\}]
DST Pname =TOP Atong language IE.be -NEG
[haʔcək khuʔcuk|CC \{doŋʔ -siga -ak\}
Garo language IE.be -ALT -COS
```

‘That *soŋma soŋgni khəcu badri* is not Atong, it is Garo.’
In example (711) Ketketa Bura, who used to be a very skinny man, returns from the house of his parents where he ate so much that he got fat. On his way he meets a fox who recognises him and says that he is going to devour Ketketa Bura. But Ketketa Bura simply lies and says “I am not Ketketa Bura. Ketketa Bura is thin and I am fat as you can well see”.

As mentioned above, the identity/equation copula is mostly used in emphatic or contrastive situations and does not need to be expressed under normal conditions because nominal predicate heads can also express negation, aspect and modality and can also take dependent clause marking. The copula is, however, obligatory when it is used as support verb in complex predicates with certain loan words as treated in §22.7.2iii.

26.6 Quotative clauses

Quotative clauses are marked by the quotative enclitic <\=#> (QUOT). This enclitic is a marker of evidentiality that indicates that the speaker has the information from hearsay. The quotative enclitic is historically derived from the verb "no" ‘to say’. Older speakers often pronounce the enclitic with two syllables, [\=noa ~ \=noə], or an off-glide [a] or [ə], [\=noa ~ =\=noə], but younger speakers do not. Older speakers indicated that this second syllable or off glide is in fact the factitive suffix <\=-wa> (FACT), which is a predicate head suffix (see Chapter 23). This means that in the language of older
speakers the grammaticalisation process from verb to clausal enclitic has not yet been fully completed, since they can still attach a factitive-like element to the quotative. Younger speakers who helped me to transcribe texts never wanted to write anything else but /no/ for the quotative, even when I insisted that I heard something else in the recording. For the younger speakers the process of grammaticalisation of the verb into an enclitic is complete, and all traces of verbness have vanished. Examples of quotative clauses can be found throughout this grammar.  

26.7 Reactions to independent clauses involving proclauses

Atong has all three systems treated in Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 189-91) that involve proclauses hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ and hmʔm ‘no’ and əm ‘affirmative’ which are reactions to independent clauses, viz.

- the agree/disagree system,
- the yes/no system,
- the echo system.

Systems 1 to 3 can be used to react to all types of independent clauses except that the echo system does not apply to imperatives. For imperative clauses the proclause əm ‘affirmative’ must be used as positive reaction or agreement proclause. The echo system is freely interchangeable with either the agree/disagree or the yes/no system. The proclauses and echo answers can be combined, the most frequently used one is PRO-CLAUSE followed by PREDICATE. All reactions will be treated separately below.

I use the term quotative to label this hearsay evidential morpheme so as to keep in line with the terminology used in other grammars of the group of languages that Atong belongs to, viz. the grammar of Garo by Burling (2004) and the grammar of Rabha by Joseph (2007).
26.7.1 The agree/disagree system

Negative questions and statements are answered according to the agree/disagree system in which the affirmative proclause hoʔoŋ ‘yes’ means that the presupposition of his interlocutor was correct, e.g. line 26 and 27 in Text 1. The negative proclause hmʔm ‘no’ means that the speaker disagrees with the interlocutor’s presupposition, e.g. (712) and (713).

(712) “may saʔkhuca?” “hmʔm.”

\{may saʔ -khu -ca\} \[hmʔm\]
\text{rice eat -INCOM-NEG no}
\text{“Haven’t [you] eaten yet? Yes [I have].”}

(713) “atoŋ dəwa ama?” nookno. “həʔ niʔwate baba, aŋa mamuŋawan dəwancate. uan phawramu hayʔe garutara dəwariwate. mamuŋ dəwancate” nookno. ucie:

\{atoŋ\} \{dəw-wa\} \{ama\} \{no-ok\} =no \{həʔ\} \{niʔ -wa\} =te
\text{what add -FACT mother say -COS =QUOT interj not.exist -FACT =DCL}

\{baba\} \{aga\} \{mamuŋ\} =aw =an \{dəw-an -ca\} =te \{u\} =an
\text{son 1s nothing =ACC=FC/ID add -REF -NEG -DCL DST=FC/ID}

\{phəwra\} =mu \{hayʔe garu\} =tara \{dəw-ari -wa\} =te
\text{rice.powder =COM GPN mustard =EXCLUSIVELY add -SIMP-FACT =DCL}

\{mamuŋ\} \{dəw-an -ca\} =te \{no-ok\} =no \{ucie\} \[hmʔm\] \{ama\}
\text{nothing add -REF -NEG -DCL say -COS -QUOT then no mother}

\{najʔ\} =do \{tayʔni\} =do \{atoŋ\} =ba \{dəw-wa\} \{jaʔbek\} =an
\text{2s =TOP today =TOP what =INDEF add -FACT curry =FC/ID}

\{thaw -ok\} =te
\text{tasty -COS =DCL}

\text{“What did you add, mother?”, [he] said, it is said. “Huh?! Nothing, son, I did not add anything, I’m telling you. I only added that rice powder and these, um, mustard [leaves], I’m telling you. I added nothing, really”, [she] said, it is said. Then: “No, mother, you did add something today. The curry is very tasty, really.”}

Prohibitives require əm ‘affirmative’ as agreement reaction and hmʔm ‘no’ as disagreement reaction proclause, e.g. (714). Other examples of the use of the proclause əm ‘affirmative’ can be found in §17.4.
(714) “reʔeŋnabay!” “hmʔm / əm”

{reʔeŋ} =na =bay

Answer A: [hmʔm]

Answer B: [əm]

“Don’t go!” Answer A: “Yes, [I will go]”. Answer B: “No, [I won’t go].”

26.7.2 The yes/no system

Positive questions and statements can be answered with the yes/no system. In this case the positive proclauses hoʔoŋ and ʔmːhmʔ ‘that’s right’ mean affirmation of the interlocutor’s presupposition, e.g. (715) below. The negative hmʔm ‘no’ contradicts the interlocutor’s presupposition, of which example (716) and (717) below are illustrative and as can be seen line 68 of Text 2, which is the negative answer to the positive question in line 65.58


[tot] {diʔphu -ram -a} =ma {no-ok} =no

interj fart -INADVERTENTLY -FACT =Q say -COS =QUOT

[hoʔoŋ] {manam -aydoŋ} =mo

yes stink -PROG =CONF

{nə-wa} {tak -ok} =no [phalthag] =ba [amak] =ba

say -FACT do -COS =QUOT self =EMPH monkey =EMPH

“Hey! Did you just accidently fart?”, he said, it is said. “Yes, it stinks, doesn’t it”, [he] said, it is said, [he] himself, the monkey.’

58 Note that in this question {may saʔ-thok-ok} =ma [nagʔ-təm] =eʔ?(rice eat-ALL-COS=Q 2s-ppp=FC)

‘Have all of you eaten rice?’ the word may ‘rice’ is incorporated in the predicate since the quantifying S/O event specifier suffix -thok ‘all’ refers to nagʔtəm ‘you.plural’, in S function, and not to may ‘rice’. For more detail see Chapter 22.
Text 2 provides ample examples of yes/no-system answers. In lines 9 and 10 we find an example of a marked polar question followed by a proclause answer. Line 22 spoken by Jongken in the same text is interpreted as a polar question by Songken, who answers with a proclause. Note that the intonation does not mark line 22 as a polar question. The same holds for the polar question in line 30. In line 46 and 47 we find a presupposition in the form of a declarative clause answered by the affirmative proclause ʔmhmʔ ‘that’s right’. Line 51 presents a proclausal answer to the rhetorical content question in line 50.


[phəlgəm] {deʔet -dap -et} {tan -aŋ -wa} {no-ok} =no
eagle shit -ON.TOP -CAUS put -AWAY -FACT say-COS =QUOT

[hoʔoŋ] {no-ok} =no
yes say-COS =QUOT

“An eagle shat on [it]?!?” ‘he said, it is said.’ “Yes” [she] said, it is said.’

(717) “hay coʔsa saʔna naʔa bayʔsiga.” “hmʔm manʔca” noariano.

[bay] [coʔsa] {saʔ -na} [bayʔsiga]
come.on a.little eat -DESI friend

[hmʔm] {manʔ -ca} {no-ari -a} =no
no be.able-NEG say-SIMP-CUST =QUOT

“Come on, [I] want to eat a bit, friend.” “No, [you] can’t”, [he] just said, it is said.’

Imperative clauses require the proclause əm ‘affirmative’ as positive answer and hmʔm ‘no’ as negative answer, e.g. (718) here below. Other examples of the use of the proclause əm ‘affirmative’ can be found in §17.4.
26.7.3 The echo system

The echo system functions in answers to polar questions where the predicate of the interrogative clause is repeated in the desired positive or negative form, e.g. (719) and (720).

(719) “may saʔakma?” “saʔak. / saʔkhuca”

{may saʔ -ak} =ma

rice eat -COS =Q

Answer A: {saʔ -ak}

eat -COS

Answer B: {saʔ -khu -ca}

EAT -INCOM-NEG

“Have you eaten?” Literally: “have you rice-eaten?” Answer A: “Yes”

Answer B: “Not yet.”

(720) “khaʔrekma ie?” “khaʔrekanka, saman.”

{khaʔrek} =ma [ie] {khaʔrek -an -ca} {sam} =an

yardlong.bean =Q PRX yardlong.bean -REF -NEG weed =FC/ID

“Is this a string bean [plant]?” “[They are] not beans, [They are] weeds.”

If the predicate of the polar question was marked with <=ma> (Q), the predicate of the answer will frequently be marked by the emphatic marker <=ba> (EMPH), as in the greeting and answer expressed in (721). This emphatic marking is not obligatory. The
enclitic \(<=ba\rangle\) (EMPH) can also occur on predicates when the polar question was not marked by \(<=ma\rangle\) (Q).

(721) “nemaydoŋama?” “nemaydoŋaba.”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{good -DUR} & =Q \\
\text{good -DUR} & =\text{EMPH}
\end{align*}
\]

“Are you well?” “Well indeed.”

The echo clause can be an emphatic complex predicate as is the case in line 67 of, Text 1, which is the reaction to the marked polar question in line 65.

We will now turn our attention to two clausal enclitics in Atong, viz. the irrealis and the speculative. These enclitics do not indicate different clause types, but only occur on independent declarative clauses.

26.8 The irrealis enclitic \(<=cən\rangle\)

The irrealis only occurs on independent declarative clauses and is signalled by the morpheme \(<=cən\rangle\) (IRR) and indicates that something is supposedly the case (epistemic modality connotation) or that a certain event was going on but was stopped, which is the ‘irresultative’ interpretation. Depending on the context the use of the morpheme \(<=cən\rangle\) (IRR) can also have a ‘frustrative’ implication, or it can mean that an event could have been otherwise, i.e. the ‘implicative’ interpretation. All these interpretations will be treated one by one.

The use of the irrealis is independent of that of the predicate head suffixes indicating aspect and modality. The irrealis also appears as a particle after the proclause hoʔon ‘yes’ (see §17.4), as we can see in line 55 of TEXT 1, which is represented here with its context as (722). The comma indicates the pause that usually precedes the irrealis in this construction. The speculative clausal enclitic \(<=khon\rangle\) (SPEC) (see §26.9) and the confirmative tag enclitic \(<=mo\rangle\) (CONF), e.g. TEXT 2, line 23 and (518), are also attested on this proclause.
(722) Joŋken says:
\[
\{ \text{banthay} \} =ci =ba \ [ \text{taŋka poysa} ] \ [ \text{naŋʔ} ] \ \{ \text{naŋ -arok} \} =ona…
\]
bachelor =LOC=INDEF=money money 2s need -PROG =DAT
‘when you are a bachelor, because you need money…’

Nongken says:
hoʔoŋ, cəm.
yes IRR
‘Yes, supposedly’

26.8.1 Supposition interpretation

In examples (723), (724) and (725) the irrealis functions as a modality marker, indicating that something is supposedly the case. The first two examples are the opening sentences of stories, creating a fictional character of whom an adventure will be told, the third example is a simple supposition. When a clause is both irrealis- and quotative-marked, the irrealis usually comes after the quotative enclitic, as we see in (712). Less usual is the position of the irrealis before the quotative, as we see in (713). When the clause is marked for emphasis with the emphatic enclitic \(<=aro ~ =ro>\) (EMPH) in addition to the irrealis and quotative enclitics, the order of the enclitics is always =IRREALIS=QUOTATIVE=EMPHATIC, e.g. (714). The different positions of the quotative have no effect on scope of the enclitic, or on the meaning of the clause.

Irrealis after quotative:
(723) soŋ damsaci morot məŋʔsa manʔay saʔgaba ganaŋnocəm.
\[
[ \text{soŋ dam} \ \text{sa} ] =ci \ [ \text{morot məŋʔ sa} ] =cι =bimbim
\]
village CLF:VILLAGES one=LOC person CLF:HUMANS one
manʔ =ay saʔ =gaba \{ ganaŋ \} =no =com
in.great.amounts=ADV eat =ATTR exist =QUOT =IRR
‘In a village is/was supposedly a man who ate in great amounts (a rich man), it is said.’
Irrealis before quotative:

(724) \textit{ue bihape cigacak teʔew kol india kolani hapan doŋʔwacəəmnoa.}

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{DST} \quad \text{place} \quad =\text{FC} \quad \text{Pname} \quad \text{now} \\
\text{kol india kolani hap} \quad \text{an} \quad \{\text{doŋʔw} \quad \text{-wa}\} \quad \text{cam} \quad \text{noa} \\
\text{Pname} \quad \text{place} = \text{FC/ID} \quad \text{IE.be} \quad \text{-FACT} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{QUOT}
\end{array}
\]

‘The place Chigachak is now supposed to be the Coal India Colony place.’

Irrealis precedes quotative followed by emphatic:

(725) \textit{Teʔewe biba soŋ damsacie boba məŋsa ganaŋcəəmno.}

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{teʔew} \quad \text{biba soŋ damsacie boba məŋsa ganaŋ} \quad \text{cəəmno} \\
\text{now} \quad =\text{FC} \quad \text{in.whatever.place village} \quad \text{CLF:VILLAGES} \quad \text{one=LOC=FC} \\
\text{boba məŋʔ sa} \quad \{\text{ganaŋ} \} \quad \text{cam} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{ro} \\
\text{crazy.man} \quad \text{CLF:HUMANS} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{QUOT} \quad \text{EMPH}
\end{array}
\]

‘Now, in a village wherever supposedly is/was a lazy king, it is said.’

26.8.2 Irresultative interpretation

In example (726) we see the irrealis on a clause of which the predicate carries the change of state suffix. A certain event had come about during a game of cards, but the event did not continue. The discontinuity of the event is signalled by the irrealis.

(726) \textit{aŋ tayʔsa rajasa lapokcəam. thayok.}

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{aŋ} \quad \text{tayʔsa} \quad \text{raja} \quad \text{sa} \quad \{\text{lap} \quad \text{-ok}\} \quad \text{cam} \quad \{\text{thay-ok}\} \\
\text{1s} \quad \text{just.now} \quad \text{hundred one make.profit} \quad \text{-COS} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{-COS}
\end{array}
\]

‘I just made one hundred [rupees] profit. I died (i.e. lost the game).’

Alternatively: ‘I just won a hundred rupees but I lost at the end.’

The sentence in (727) was uttered when a young woman came into the room to get a small stool which had been there earlier, which she had seen. At the moment of utterance the small stool had been removed. Just like in the example above, the irrealis is used to signal the discontinuation of an event, in this case the existence of the small stool.
Discontinuation of a negated event can also occur. This means that something was once not the case, but is the case now. The next example is illustrative.

(728) *aŋ ie khata dakaŋdo təŋgcəcm. teʔewdo nemayan təŋok*

[ *aŋ* ] [ *ie khata* ] dakaŋ =do { *təŋ -ca* } =cam  
1s PRX word before =TOP know-NEG -IRR  
]teʔew] =do { *nem* } =ay =an { *təŋ -ok* }  
now =TOP good =ADV =FC/ID know-COS  
‘I did not know this word before. Now I know it well.’

### 26.8.3 Frustrative interpretation

I adopt the definition of frustrative as used in Aikhenvald (2003: 280) for the frustrative enclitic -*tha* in Tariana. This definition states that the frustrative is used when an action “has failed already or is bound to fail; or that the success of an attempted action is not yet certain.” The frustrative interpretation of the irrealis morpheme <cam> (IRR) is illustrated in the next examples. In the context of (729), a small child is walking through the forest in search of his brothers, but he cannot find them anywhere. When he meets an old woman, the child says:

(729) *abu, aŋdo dadaparaaw sandiedoŋacəcm.*

[ *abu* ] =do [ *dada* ] =para =aw { *sandı -edoŋa* } =cam  
grandma 1s =TOP older.brother=&co =ACC search -PROG =IRR  
‘Grandma, I am searching in vain for my elder brothers.’

While in the above example the event is ongoing but ‘frustrated’, because it is in vain, the event in the following example has failed already.

(730) *naŋʔawdo boro tayʔsa sandiwacəcm.*

[ *naŋʔa* ] =aw =do [ *boro* ] [ *tayʔsa* ] { *sandı -wa* } =cam  
2s =ACC=TOP Name just.now search -FACT =IRR  
‘Boro just searched you in vain.’
26.8.4 Implicative interpretation

The morpheme \(<=\text{can}\rangle\) (IRR) also signals another kind of irrealis, viz. that something could be or could have been otherwise. This is the implicative interpretation, illustrated by examples (731) - (733).

(731) \textit{biskut dəŋthay ramacəm}
\begin{center}
[biscuit \ dəŋthay] \{ram -wa\} =\text{cam} \\
biscuit different search -FACT =IRR
\end{center}
`You could have searched for other biscuits.’ (said the mother to her daughter who came in with some biscuits which were apparently not the ones the mother wanted.)

In the next example both occurrences of the irrealis can be interpreted as signaling an implication.

(732) \textit{aŋ naŋʔaw bəlogen nukna səkaydoŋacəm. aŋ phalthaŋ reʔeŋa}
\textit{səkaydockəm, ətəkciba aŋa sawamigəmən reʔeŋa manʔcaaydoŋa.}
\begin{center}
[\textit{aŋ}] [naŋʔ] \=aw \[\textit{bəlogen}]\{nuk\} \=a \{sək -aydəga\} =\text{cam} \\
1s 2s =ACC very see =DAT want -PROG =IRR
\end{center}
\begin{center}
[\textit{aŋ phalthaŋ}] \{reʔəŋ\} \=na \=do \{sək -aydək\} =\text{cam} \\
1s self go.away =DAT=TOP want -PROG =IRR
\end{center}
\begin{center}
ətəkciba [\textit{aga}] \[\textit{sa} -wa =mi =gəmən] \{reʔəŋ\} =na \\
but 1s be.ill -fact =GEN=REASON go.away =DAT
\end{center}
\\{\textit{manʔ} -ca -aydəga\}
\begin{center}
be.able -NEG -PROG
\end{center}
`I am really wanting to see you, (but something prevents me from attaining this). I would have liked to come myself but because of me being ill I am not able to go.’

(733) \textit{haʔcəksəŋ balcido sal kolgrəksa noay məŋnicəm.}
\begin{center}
[haʔcək] \=saŋ \{baլ =ci =do \{sal kolgrək sa\} \\
Garo =INSTR say =LOC=TOP day twenty one
\end{center}
\begin{center}
\{no\} \=ay \{məŋ \ -nĩ\} =\text{cam} \\
say =ADV call.a.name -FUT =IRR
\end{center}
`When you say it in Garo, it would be called sal kolgrəksa (‘twenty one days’).’
The next example is a comment from a speaker whom I had just told that if Atong people would go to “my country” (Holland) they would not become white like me. My interlocutor did not agree and said:

(734) \textit{boknicwendo}.

\textit{\{bok-n}\text{-}\text{-}\text{c}=\text{w}=\text{do}}

\text{white-FUT =IRR =TOP}

‘[We] might become white anyway.’

I am not sure whether to interpret this use of the irrealis as an implicative or a supposition.

26.9 \textbf{The speculative enclitic} \textit{<\text{-khon}>}

The speculative enclitic \textit{<\text{-khon}>} (SPEC) can only be encliticised to independent declarative clauses, and expresses speculative modality, which indicates that the speaker is uncertain and speculating about the coming about of an event which he did not witness. The occurrence of the speculative modality clausal enclitic is independent of the occurrence of any other aspect or modality predicate head suffixes. When used in combination with the quotative enclitic, the speculative enclitic always follows the quotative, e.g. (735). Clauses where the speculative enclitic precedes the quotative are not attested. In colloquial speech the speculative marker is most often followed by the declarative enclitic\textit{<\text{-te}>} (DCL) whereas this combination is rare in narrative texts. The position of the speculative enclitic in relation to the quotative is purely morphosyntactically conditioned and does not change the scope of the enclitics nor the meaning of the clause.

The following example illustrates the use of the speculative enclitic in a narrative about the past. The speaker tells us that a family with some children wanted to swim across a dangerous river. Why they wanted to swim across is speculated upon in (735).

(735) \textit{ucie te?ewdo ruŋ ni?wanokhon}.

\textit{ucie [te?ew]=do [ruŋ] \{ni? -wa\}=no \text{-}\text{-}\text{khon}}

\text{then now =TOP boat not.exist -FACT =QUOT =SPEC}

‘Then, well, there might not have been any boats, it is said.’
Example (58), repeated here as (736), is a speculation about a future event, as can be seen by the appearance of the future modality predicate head suffix <-ni> (FUT) in the second, underlined clause.

(736)  \begin{align*}
\text{raŋsan raŋbərəmanydoŋa, waynikhon.} \\
[\text{raŋsan}] \{\text{raŋbərəm} \ -\text{-aydoŋa}\} \{\text{wa} \ -\text{ay} \ -\text{-ni}\} = \text{khon} \\
\text{sun} \ \text{be.shrouded.in.clouds} \ -\text{DUR} \ \text{rain} \ -\text{TOWARDS} \ -\text{FUT} = \text{SPEC} \\
\text{‘The sun is blocked by the clouds, it might rain.’}
\end{align*}

Examples of the speculative on clauses with predicates marked by other aspect and modality suffixes can be found in line 22 of TEXT 2, with the change of state suffix, line 46 of TEXT 2, with the incompletive and the negative, and in example (305) in §17.4, with the imperious future. Example (114) in §8.3 illustrates the occurrence of the speculative enclitic on a clause with a demonstrative as predicate head. The following example shows the speculative enclitic on a clause with a nominal predicate head. While walking through the jungle, one of my friends heard a sound and said:

(737) \begin{align*}
\text{muŋmakponge} \\
\{\text{muŋma}\} = \text{khon} = \text{te} \\
\text{elephant} = \text{SPEC} = \text{DCL} \\
\text{‘It might be an elephant.’}
\end{align*}

Like the irrealis <=cəm> (IRR), see §26.8, and the confirmative tag enclitic <=mo> (CONF), e.g. TEXT 2, line 23 and (518), the speculative enclitic occurs as a particle after the proclause hoʔog (see 17.4), as the next example illustrates. The comma indicates the pause which usually precedes the occurrence of the particles in this construction.

(738) Speaker 1: \text{naŋ ama nəgəlsag reʔenwama?} \\
Speaker 2: hoʔog, khon.

\begin{align*}
[\text{naŋ ama}] \ [\text{nəgəl}] = \text{saŋ} \ \{\text{reʔen} \ -\text{wa}\} = \text{ma} \\
\text{2s mother market} = \text{MOB} \ \text{go.away} = \text{FACT} = \text{Q} \\
\text{hoʔog, khon} \\
\text{yes} \ \text{SPEC} \\
\text{‘‘Has your mother gone to the market?’ ‘Yes, possibly.’}
\end{align*}
Chapter 27  Dative- and locative-marked clauses

The dependent status of dative- and locative-marked clauses is signalled by case marker morphemes. These clauses can fulfil a number of semantic roles in a matrix clause. Dative marked clauses range in syntactic status from adjuncts to complements whereas locative-marked clauses only occur as adjuncts, modifying a matrix clause.

There are two kinds of predicates, according to formal criteria, on which the dative and locative cases occur, viz. inflected and non-inflected. The variety of different predicate inflections is bigger for dative clauses than for locative clauses and all of these are main clause inflections, i.e. without the case marker, the predicate could stand as a sentence on its own. The dative enclitic can occur after the change of state suffix, the progressive/durative aspect or the factitive suffix, as we will see in §27.1, while the locative enclitic can only occur after the factitive suffix, as will be discussed in §27.5. The factitive suffix on locative-marked clauses has the same effect as the factitive on main clauses, i.e. as marker of factitive modality, as is discussed in Chapter 1.

Dative marking on non-inflected clauses is discussed in §27.2. The dative case enclitic also marks complement clauses of the temporal postposition dakaŋ ’before’, as we will see in §27.3. Section 27.4 summarises the most important properties of dative-marked clauses. Everything about locative-marked clauses will be discussed in §27.5. Finally, §27.6 is a description of the different functions of the concomitant action suffix <-bututu> (WHILE).

59 Atong is not the only language that uses case marking as a clause linkage device. A list of languages from around the world that also exhibit this phenomenon is given in Aikhenvald (forthcoming 2009).
27.1 Dative marking on inflected predicates

Predicate heads inflected with either the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT), the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) or the progressive/durative suffix <-aydoga ~ -aydok ~ -aroŋa ~ -aroŋ ~ -arok> (PROG) can take the dative enclitic <-na> (DAT) to fulfil an adjunct role in a matrix clause. The factitive, change of state and progressive/durative are all main clause suffixes, i.e. without the dative case enclitic, predicates with these suffixes can stand as sentences on their own; the dative enclitic is the marker of subordination.

Change of state-plus-dative- and progressive/durative-plus-dative-marked predicate heads can only be interpreted as Reason adjuncts. Factitive-plus-dative-marked predicates can be either Reason adjunct, Standard of comparison or O argument, depending on the main clause predicate and the context. Factitive-plus-dative marked complement clauses in O function are treated in Chapter 1.

There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments of an inflected dative clause and a main clause. Case marking of NPs in dative-marked subordinate clauses is the same as in main clauses, i.e. A and S unmarked for case and O can be optionally accusative-marked when the NP is referential and definite (see §20.8). Argument structure in dative-marked and main clauses is also the same. Reason clauses and standard of comparison clauses are treated separately below.

27.1.1 Reason clauses

A Reason clause is a dative-marked subordinate clause that is syntactically an adjunct to a matrix clause. The allomorph <-ona> occurs after the change of state suffix <-ok ~ -ak ~ -k> (COS) and after the allomorphs <-aydok ~ -aroŋ> (PROG) of the progressive/durative aspect suffix. The allomorph <-na> occurs elsewhere.

The appearance of the homophonous desiderative suffix <-nda> (DESI) on independent clauses indicating an implied possibility, a wish or intention is treated in §23.9. See also example (760) in this chapter.
Examples (739) and (740) illustrate Reason clauses whose verbal predicate head is inflected with the factitive suffix <-\textit{wa}\> (FACT) and the change of state suffix <-\textit{ok}\> (COS) respectively. In example (739) we see that the subordinate clause headed by the transitive predicate \textit{saʔroywana} has a fully fledged argument structure. The NPs inside the subordinate clause are marked in the same way as in a main clause, viz. the O argument \textit{geʔtheŋməŋ thup} ‘his nest’ is marked as accusative by the enclitic <-\textit{aw}\> (ACC) and the A argument \textit{moŋma} ‘elephant’ is unmarked for case.

(739) \textit{tawʔreksərup maŋsa geʔtheŋməŋ thupaw phaŋnan moŋma phayʔay saʔroywana, moŋma mathayaw thapna reʔeŋdoʔanowa.}  
\begin{verbatim}
[tawʔreksərup maŋ sa] | [geʔtheŋ =məŋ thup] ⟨O⟩ =aw [phaŋnan] babana.bird CLF:ANIMALS one 3s =GEN nest =ACC always


mathay =aw {thap} =na {reʔeŋ -aydoŋa} =no -wa bachelor.elephant =ACC beat.up =DAT go.away -PROG =QUOT -FACT
\end{verbatim}

‘A banana bird, because an elephant always breaks/broke and eats/ate his nest [lit. ‘breaking eats’], is/was going to beat up the bachelor elephant, it is said.’

In example (740) the S argument of the intransitive subordinate predicate \textit{thawokona} is unmarked for case just like in a main clause.

(740) \textit{ido diʔan thawokona, randaydo atongtəkəy thawarongnaka, mo ama?!}  
\begin{verbatim}
[⟨i⟩ =do [dɪ]=an {thaw -ok} =ona [randay] =do [aton] =təkəy PRX =TOP shit =FC/ID tasty -COS =DAT meat =TOP how =LIKE

{thaw -aroŋ -naka} ⟨mo⟩ [ama] tasty -DUR -IFT CONF mother
\end{verbatim}

‘Because this, the shit, is so tasty, how tasty will the meat certainly be, won’t it, mother?!’
Nominal predicate heads of Reason clauses can also either be change of state-marked, e.g. (741), (742) or factitive-marked, e.g. (743). Factitive-marked nominal predicate heads are rare in Atong. To express the factitive category instead of the nominal, the copula can be used as predicate, as we can see in example (744).

The context of the next example is as follows. The lazy king, having become a tramp, is at the market and wants to buy a bullock cart because he is too lazy to walk. He tries to find the cheapest cart so he asks several salesmen. Then he returns to the first salesman and asks again how much the cart costs and the salesman replies (741). The dative-marked nominal predicate which is the focus in this example consists of the round number numeral *hajar* ‘1000’ and the unit numeral *sa* ‘one’ followed by the suffix <-ak> (COS) and the dative morpheme. The head noun and classifier are elided since they are understood from the context, i.e. the predicate is a headless NP.

(741)  
\[\text{ceŋwaməŋ damdo hajarsaakona, hajarsa.}\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{begin-FACT} = & \text{GEN price} = \text{TOP thousand one-COS} = \text{DAT thousand one} \\
\end{array}
\]
'Because the first price was one thousand, (it is still) one thousand.'

Whereas the change of state-marked nominal predicate head of the Reason clause in (741) consists of a numeral, the following example shows a prototypical noun as change of state-marked head of a Reason clause.

(742)  
\[\text{balphakram haʔbərigumukokona, rayʔsotna manʔca.}\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Pname} & \text{hill} = \text{all -COS} = \text{DAT} \\
\text{go} & \text{-DIRECTLY} = \text{DAT be.able -NEG} \\
\end{array}
\]
'Because Balphakram is all hills, you cannot go [there] directly.'

---

61 Other examples of change of state-marked Reason clauses are (764) and line 32 and 33 of the Text 1 and line 50 of the text Text 2.
The following example illustrates the use of the factitive and dative enclitics on a nominal predicate head.

(743)  saʔgəraywana kəmcawa.

\[ \{ \text{saʔgəray} -\text{wa}\} = \text{na} \{ \text{kəm} -\text{ca} -\text{wa}\} \]

\text{child} -\text{FACT} = \text{DAT} \text{ marry} -\text{NEG} -\text{FACT}

‘Because she’s a child, I will not marry her.’

The factitive marks the noun saʔgəray ‘child’ as predicate head. Without the factitive on saʔgəray ‘child’ this noun cannot be interpreted as Reason adjunct since only clauses can fulfil this semantic role. The sentence saʔgəray=na kəm-ca-wa (child=DAT marry-NEG-FACT) would mean ‘I will not marry for (the benefit of) the child). The dative is interpreted as the marker of a Beneficiary. For a more detailed discussion, see §24.6.

More fieldwork is needed to find out what the difference in meaning is between a factitive-marked and a change of state-marked nominal predicate head of a Reason clause.

Example (744) below illustrates the use of the copula verb doŋʔ- taking the factitive suffix <-wa (FACT) instead of the noun in copula complement function. The copula is used for emphasis in this example, instead of suffixing the factitive directly to the nominal predicate head as in (743).

(744)  aŋ piʔsaci amapara babapara khaŋgal doŋʔwana […]

\[ [aŋ \text{ piʔsa}] =ci [\text{ama}]_{\text{CS}} =\text{para} [\text{baba}]_{\text{CS}} =\text{para} \]

1s childhood =\text{LOC} mother =&co father =&co

\[ [\text{khaŋgal}]_{\text{CC}} \{ \text{doŋʔ} -\text{wa}\} = \text{na} \]

poor.person EXIST -\text{FACT} = \text{DAT}

‘In my childhood, because my mother [and] father and those associated with them were poor people […]’

The only clausal enclitic that is attested on a factitive-marked Reason clause is the delimitative enclitic <=sa> (DLIM). The example below is illustrative.
DATIVE- AND LOCATIVE-MARKED CLAUSES

(745)  saʔkhawca naʔa. niʔwa naʔa, goŋʔwanasa balwa sakay muʔaroŋ.

{saʔ -khaw -ca} [naʔa] {niʔ -wa} [naʔa]

eat -SECRETLY -NEG 2s not.exist -FACT 2s

{goŋʔ -wa} [balwa] {sak -ay} {muʔ -aroŋ}

be.willing -FACT =DAT=DLIM wind enjoy=ADV sit -PROG

‘[I] did not steal, oh you! [There’s] nothing, oh you! Only because [I] want to [I]’m sitting [here] enjoying the wind.’

A Reason clause can be negated, as the next example illustrates.

(746)  raŋ sokcawanasa teʔewcinakhəŋkhəŋ raŋmu cəw rəŋsusawanasa məkha badri bimuŋ meŋwanowa.

[[raŋ] {sok -ca -wa} =na =sa [teʔew]=ci =na [khəŋkhəŋ]

rain succeed -NEG -FACT =DAT=DLIM now =LOC=ALL still

[[raŋ] =mu {cəw rəŋ -susa -wa} =na =sa

rain =COM liquor drink =COMPETITIVELY -FACT =DAT=DLIM

[məkha badri] [bimuŋ] {məŋ -wa} =no -wa

Pname name call.a.name -FACT =QUOT -FACT

‘Because the rain did not succeed, still up till now, precisely because [they] competitively drank with the rain, the name is called Mykha Badri, it is said.’

In Text 2, line 3, presented as example (747) below, we see a Reason clause as an afterthought postposed to the predicate of the main clause and separated from the main clause by a pause.

(747)  o, gəlgəlaroŋ ətəken, haratwanasa.

[o] {gəlgəl-aron} [ətəken], {harat -wa} =na =sa

interj roam -PROG just.like.this lazy -FACT -PUR =DLIM

‘Oh, [I]’m just roaming like this, just because [I]’m lazy.’

27.1.2 The standard of comparison clause

Events, expressed by verbs, can be compared in Atong just as objects, expressed by nouns, can be compared. To compare events, the dative case is attached to the factitive-marked predicate of the clause which functions as Standard of comparison (see Dixon 2006-c). There are no co-reference restrictions between the arguments of the standard of comparison clause and the main clause.
The dative case functions as mark of the Standard of comparison clause just as it does on Standard of comparison NPs. The next example shows the dative enclitic marking the NP *abun soŋ* ‘other village’ as Standard of comparison (see also §20.6 (A)), whereas in (749) and (750) the dative marks a whole clause as such.

(748) *abun sonna dayay ie son hansenkhala.*

In (651), here repeated as (749), the arguments of the Standard of comparison clause are co-referential with those in the Comparee clause. In (750) the arguments in both clauses are different.

(749) *umigəmənci aŋa naŋʔaw khəmana dayaydo asetwaan nemkh* alnaka.

It is not possible to determine whether the A argument, *aŋa* (1s), in (749) belongs to the dative-marked clause or to the main clause. Therefore alternative bracketing for the dative clause in (749) would be: [[aŋa]A [naŋʔ=aw] {khəm-<α}=na} {asset -wa}=an {nem -khal-naka}.}

---

62 The form of the factitive suffix in this example is <-α> due to the phonological rule that the /w/ elides when the verbal root or stem ends in /m/ or /p/ (see Chapter 2).
Dative marking on verbal roots or stems

As we saw in the previous sections, predicate heads inflected with the factitive or the change of state marker can be dative-marked to mark Reason adjuncts or Standard of comparison adjuncts. The dative-marked constructions treated in this paragraph are those in which the dative case encliticises directly to the verbal root or stem.

The semantic and syntactic function that the dative clause fulfils in the matrix clause depends on the type of verb in the predicate of the matrix clause.

- Dative complement clauses of Primary-B and Secondary verbs (see §4.5 for an explanation of these terms) are always in O function. These are thus non-canonically-marked O arguments just like the O arguments of the verbs of emotion and interaction. Syntactic status: embedded (subordinate).
- Dative complement clauses of any intransitive verb can function as S argument. Syntactic status: embedded (subordinate).
- Dative clauses in a subordinate linkage relationship with other verbs, both transitive and intransitive, can function as adjuncts indicating a Purpose.

The subject (S/A) of the dative-marked clause has to be co-referential with the subject in the main clause. It is not always possible to tell if this NP belongs to the matrix or to the dative-marked clause.

27.2.1 Dative-marked complement clauses

All arguments of Primary-B verbs (see §4.5) can be personal pronouns or NPs; however, alternatively the O argument can also be a dative clause. Secondary verbs can only take dative clauses as O argument. A list of Primary-B and Secondary verbs can be found in Table 23 in §4.5.2.
Dixon (2006-b: 1) defines a complement clause as a clause that functions as a core argument in a matrix clause. When a dative-marked clause appears embedded in a matrix clause headed by a Primary-B or Secondary verb predicate, it is always in O function and hence a complement clause. Complement clauses can be questioned with the question *atóŋ* ‘what?’ followed by a form of the main clause verb, e.g. “what do you want?” or “what are you thinking?”. Dative complement clauses are the only non-canonically-marked O arguments.

Example (751) illustrates a dative complement clause of the Primary-B verb *hənʔ*- ‘to give’ and (752) of the Secondary verb *sək*- ‘to want’.

(751) “ətəkciba naʔa angna aro aŋməŋ jəkna naŋʔ kheŋwa dabat aŋ thəyca dabat aŋjw muʔay saʔna hənʔbo” nookno.

The subject (S/A) of the dative-marked O complement clause is always coreferential with that of the matrix clause and, if overt, it is only stated once, usually before the complement clause. This might be a syntactic restriction or just be cause it is the only logical inference that can be made in the contexts in which these clauses

---

63 The accusative marking might be a mistake of the speaker. I have no idea why else it would appear in this example, because the phrase is clearly a Beneficiary and one would expect a dative case marker.

64 Example (751) contains an instance of the expletive negative in the predicate *thəy-ca* (die-NEG). The expletive negative reinforces the notion that the event denoted by the verb is unrealised. This phenomenon is treated in more detail in §13.4. A more accurate translation of the clause in question can be obtained in French, viz. ‘jusqu’à ce que je ne meure’, which involves the subjunctive.
usually occur, but more fieldwork is needed to find this out. There are no recorded examples of the subject being stated twice, once in the subordinate clause and once in the main clause. The next example, containing a Secondary main verb, illustrates that it is not always possible to determine to which clause an NP belongs. The NP *phalthay* ‘self’ in example (752) is in S function in the dative-marked clause and in A function in the matrix clause and it is impossible to determine to which clause it belongs. The alternative analysis of the first line of the example is presented below the translation.

(752)  *aŋ phalthaŋan reʔeŋnadə səkaydokcəm.*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>aŋ phalthay</em> =an^65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{reʔeŋ} =na =do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sək-aydok} =cəm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1s self =FC/ID go.away =DAT=TOP want =PROG =IRR  
‘I would like to go myself, [but because of my illness I cannot go.]’  
Alternatively: ‘I myself would like to go[, but…]’

Alternative bracketing including the NP *phalthay* ‘self’ in the dative-marked clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>aŋ phalthay</em> =an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{reʔeŋ} =na =do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sək-aydok} =cəm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1s self =FC/ID go.away =DAT=TOP want =PROG =IRR  
There are no arguments in favour or against either analysis.

Dative complement clauses can be used as an indirect speech report strategy. The speech report is cast as a dative complement of the verb indicating speech, e.g. (753) or thought, e.g. *canci*– ‘to think’ in (754). Direct speech report constructions can stand alone or can be embedded in a higher clause when they are cast as a complement of the direct speech report verb *no*– ‘to say’, e.g. (60) above. Example (753) is a continuation of the same story that example (765) below comes from. “The horse was really quick, it is said.” then (753) happened.

^65 There are two possible ways to bracket this part of the example, viz. *[aŋ] [phalthay-an]* (1s self=FC/ID), corresponding to the first translation, or. *[aŋ phalthay-an]*, corresponding to the second translation. Both ways of bracketing are equally felicitous considering the context from which this example is taken.
(753) *khaʔsinkhalay jalkhalna noayməŋ gaʔdukdukciwa, rakkhalay rakkhalay jalariokno.*

\[
\{khaʔsin\,-khal\} = ay \{jai\,-khal\} = na \{no\} = ay = məŋ
\]
slow -CP = ADV run.away -CP = DAT say = ADV = SEQ

\{gaʔdukduk\} = ci = ba
prod.with.legs = LOC = INDEF

\{rak -khal\} = ay {rak -khal} = ay \{jai\,-ari -ok\} = no
strong -CP = ADV strong -CP = ADV run.away - SIMP - COS = QUOT

Having told [the horse] to run slower, whenever he prods [it] with his legs, [it] just runs faster and faster, it is said.

(754) *bandiaw watetna canciaydokno.*

\[
[\text{bandi}] = aw \{\text{watet}\} = na \{\text{canci -aydok}\} = no
\]
Name = ACC send = DAT think - PROG = QUOT

‘He is/was thinking to send Bandi.’ Or: ‘He was thinking about sending Bandi.’

When Primary-B verbs are used with a noun as O argument, as in (755), the noun cannot be marked by the dative case as in the next example.

(755) *taŋka naŋcawa*

\[
[\text{taŋka}]_{O} \{\text{naŋ -ca -wa}\}
\]
money need - NEG - FACT

‘[I] don’t need money.’

One secondary verb has been recorded with both dative and factitive complement clauses. This is the verb *gaʔa*- ‘to be compelled’. In Text 2 line 58 we find an example with a factitive complement clause and here below is an example with a dative complement clause.

(756) *ətəkəysa dəŋthadəŋthag soŋcina hapcina jalthokna gaʔakok.*

\[
[\text{ətəkəysa}] \{\text{dəŋthaŋ dəŋthaŋ soŋ}\} = ci = na \{\text{hap}\} = ci = na
\]
that’s.why different RED village = LOC = ALL place = LOC = ALL

\{jal -thok\} = na \{gaʔak -ok\}
run.away - ALL = DAT compel - COS

‘Precisely like that/That’s why/So [they] were all forced to run away to different villages [and] places.’
Contrary to other Primary-B and Secondary verbs, phasal verbs cannot take dative
adjuncts but only factitive-marked complement clauses (see §24.3.1). In the following
example we see the verb *jam* - ‘to complete, finish’ with a dative-marked adjunct. In
this example the subject (S/A) of the main and the dative-marked subordinate clause
are co-referential, as is always the case in Purpose constructions.

(757) əтокымəŋ raja soŋnae matkaketdo jəmok.

so.then king appoint=DAT=FC animal -ALL =TOP complete-COS

‘So then, all the animals were gathered in order to appoint a king.’ Literally:
‘all the animals were complete in order to appoint a king.’

27.2.2 Dative-marked subject complement clauses

Dative-marked clauses can also occur in S function with intransitive main verbs as
long as the verb of the main predicate and the verb of the dative-marked predicate are
semantically compatible. Examples (758) and (759) are illustrative.

(758) mamunŋ taŋka niʔwa aro saʔna rəŋnaba niʔwa

nothing money not.exist -FACT and eat =DAT=drink =DAT=ADD/EMPH

‘[I] don’t have any money and nothing to eat [and/or] to drink.’ Literally:
‘Money does not exist and eat [and/or] drink does not exist.’

(759) sigəret rəŋnaan thawa

cigarettes smoke =DAT=FC/ID tasty -CUST

‘Smoking cigarettes is tasty.’

Dative-marked clauses cannot occur in transitive subject (A) function since they will
always be the O argument of Primary B and Secondary verbs and Purpose adjunct of
other transitive verbs.
27.2.3 Purpose adjunct clauses

Purpose adjunct clauses function as adjuncts to a matrix clause and give additional information about the event depicted by the main clause predicate. The specific properties of this clause type are given here below. There are no recorded occurrences of negated purpose adjuncts.

- Purpose adjuncts cannot appear in a clause with a Primary-B or Secondary verb as predicate head for the reason that a dative-marked clause will be a complement clause in O function. Apart from this caveat, any verb can have a Purpose adjunct.
- Purpose adjuncts provide information to the question as to why the event expressed by the main verb is taking place.

Example (760) shows a Purpose clause with an O argument. The verb in the main clause is intransitive. The S of the main clause is co-referential with the implied A of the dative adjunct clause.

\[(760)\] ama niŋ ue phəlgəmaw kawna reʔenane.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ama} & \text{niŋ} & \text{ue} & \text{phəlgəm} & \text{w} & \text{na} & \text{reʔen} \{-\text{na}\} = \text{ne}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{mother} & \text{1pe} & \text{DST} & \text{eagle} & \text{=ACC} & \text{shoot} & \text{=DAT} & \text{go.away} & \text{-DESI} & \text{=TAG}
\end{array}
\]

‘Mother, we want/intend to go to shoot that eagle, OK.’

As said above, the subject (S/A) of the uninflected dative-marked clause is always co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. Just like with the dative-marked O complement clauses treated above, the subject which is common to both clauses, if overt, is only stated once, i.e. before the purpose clause. More fieldwork needs to be conducted to find out whether this is a syntactic restriction or not. When the subjects are not coreferential, other constructions must be used, for instance an imperative or an attributive clause, e.g. (761). In this example there is just one subject, i.e. Cheroŋgi, who is the A argument of the verbs nuk ‘see’ and cay ‘look, watch’ and bandi rayʔagaba ‘Bandi who comes’ is the O argument. Bandi is modified by the Attributive clause and is therefore not a clausal constituent on its own (see Chapter 29).
In addition to this co-reference restriction, other arguments can also be shared by the main and the co-subordinate clause. In the following example the noun *wak* ‘pig’ is both the O argument of the verb *rawʔ-‘to catch’ and of the verb *khat* ‘to slaughter’. In this example the implied A argument, i.e. first person plural, of the Purpose adjunct clause is the same as the A of the main clause. This example is the answer to the question “What are you doing?”.

\[
\begin{align*}
(762) & \quad biana \text{ wak khatna rawʔaydoŋa} \\
[bia] & =na \ [wak]_O \ \{khat\} =na \ \{rawʔ-\text{aydoŋa}\} \\
\text{wedding} & =\text{DAT pig} \quad \text{slaughter} =\text{DAT catch} \quad \text{PROG} \\
\text{‘[We] are catching a pig to slaughter for the wedding.’}
\end{align*}
\]

It is not possible to prove whether or not the NP *wak* ‘pig’ is a constituent of the Purpose adjunct clause or not. Because of this, the boundaries of the Purpose clause in (762) are not indicated by vertical lines.

In example (763) here below the accusative-marked personal pronoun (underlined) can be considered either as constituent of the Purpose adjunct clause or of the main clause. Both the underlined NP and the purposive adjunct clause can be omitted from the clause without making the clause ungrammatical or changing the meaning. In fact, all NPs can always be omitted if they are recoverable from the context.
The alternative boundaries of the Purpose clause indicated by columns would be

\[ [\text{geʔthey}] =aw =do \{ \text{wat} -\text{khu} \} =na \{ \text{soʔot} -\text{thel} -\text{ari} -\text{naka} \} \]

```
3e =ACC=TOP banish -INCOM=DAT kill -SURELY -SIMP-IFT
\{no\} =ay \{ \text{khuʔmoŋ} -\text{ay} -\text{ok} \} =no
say =ADV conspire -WITHOUT.HOLDING.BACK -COS =QUOTE
```

‘In order to get rid of him once more [we] will surely kill him’, [they] freely conspired, it is said.’

The following example comes from a story about a weak and cowardly king called Bil, who has to fight the enemy of his ally-king. Bil asks his ally for the fastest horse. But not knowing how to fight, Bil thinks (765) to himself.

\[ [\text{geʔthey}] =aw =do \{ \text{wat} -\text{khu} \} =na. \]

Type 1 adjectives, which are a subtype of intransitive verb, also take Purpose adjuncts, as we can see in examples (764) and (765). In (764) it is the Type 1 adjective jaŋ- ‘be quick’ that takes a dative adjunct. As is mentioned in the chapter on word classes, the change of state suffix on Type 1 adjectives can intensify the meaning of the adjective, which is what happens in this example.

\[ [\text{soŋmi nokgumukan waʔraraakona walʔ khamna jaŋok}. \]

```
[\{ \text{soŋ} =\text{mi nok} \} =\text{gumuk} =\text{an} \{ \{ \text{waʔ} \} =\text{rara} -\text{ak} \} =\text{ona} \]
village =GEN=house =all =FC[ID] bamboo =EXCLUSIVELY -COS =DAT
\}
\{ \{ \text{walʔ kham} \} =\text{jaŋ} -\text{ok} \}
fire =burn =DAT be.quick -COS
```

‘Because all the houses of the village are made only of bamboo, [they] are very quick to catch fire.’ Literally: ‘[they] are very quick to fire-burn.’

The following example comes from a story about a weak and cowardly king called Bil, who has to fight the enemy of his ally-king. Bil asks his ally for the fastest horse. But not knowing how to fight, Bil thinks (765) to himself.

\[ [\text{gore jalna rakcido joljol jalagarinaka noay canciokno}. \]

```
[\{ \text{gore} \} \{ \{ \text{jaŋ} \} =\text{na} \{ \text{rak} \} =\text{ci} =\text{do} \{ \text{joljol} \} \]
horse run.away =DAT strong =LOC=TOP quickly
\{ \{ \text{jal} -\text{aŋ} -\text{ari} -\text{naka} \} =\text{ay} \{ \text{canci} -\text{ok} \} =\text{no} \]
run.away-AWAY -SIMP-IFT say =ADV think -COS =QUOTE
```

‘If the horse is strong to run, [I/it] will just quickly run away’, [he] sayingly thought.’ Alternatively: ‘If the horse can really run fast…’
27.3 Dative-marked clauses as complement of postposition

The postposition *dakaŋ* 'before, in the past, earlier' occurs with the dative case (see 13.1). If the complement of the postposition is a noun, it will be dative-marked, e.g. *an=na dakaŋ* (1s=DAT before) ‘before me (in time)’. Similarly, if the complement of the postposition is a verbal clause, the predicate head will also receive dative marking, as we can see in examples (766) and (767) here below. There are no co-reference restrictions between the subject (S/A) of the complement of the postposition clause and that of the matrix clause or the main clause.

(766) *ca hənʔna dakaŋ balokno.*

\[
\begin{align*}
  &[[\text{ca}}\{\text{hənʔ=na dakaŋ}\} \{\text{bal -ok} =\text{no}}\) \\
  &\text{tea give =DAT before say -COS =QUOT} \\
  &\text{‘Before [she] gave the tea [she] spoke, it is said.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(767) *unasa ruŋ cawna dakaŋan ətəkəy ruŋ dəkəmaw gaʔtəŋaymuna “kha dawa!, kha dawa!” noaymusa ruŋ cawaymu patroŋanoro.*

\[
\begin{align*}
  &[[\text{unasa}}\{\text{ruŋ caw=na dakaŋ}\} \{\text{ətəkəy}\} \{\text{ruŋ dəkəm}=\text{aw}}\) \\
  &\text{then boat stream =DAT before like.this boat head =ACC} \\
  &\{\text{gaʔtən}=\text{ay =muna [kha dawa kha dawa]}\) \\
  &\text{stamp =ADV =SEQ interj Sname1 interj Sname1} \\
  &\{\text{no}=\text{ay =mu =sa}\) \\
  &\text{say =ADV =SEQ =DLIM} \\
  &\{\text{ruŋ}\} \{\text{caw=ay =mu {\text{pat -ag -a} =\text{no} =\text{ro}}\) \\
  &\text{boat stream =ADV =SEQ cross -AWAY -CUST =QUOT =EMPH} \\
  &\text{‘That’s exactly why, before going by boat, after having stamped on the head of the boat like this [and] only after saying “Kha Dawa! Kha Dawa!” [one] goes by boat and usually crosses, it is said.’}
\end{align*}
\]

27.4 Summary of dative-marked clauses

The dative enclitic appears on predicates inflected with the change of state suffix, the progressive/durative aspect suffix or the factitive modality suffix as well as on uninflected verbal roots. In all cases the dative case enclitic indicates the dependency of the clause and limits the interpretations of the semantic role of the clause. Only Reason clauses can have a noun functioning as predicate. In those cases, the factitive
suffix indicates the predicative role of the noun. Table 74 summarises the effect of the dative case enclitic on-inflected and non inflected clauses.

Table 74  The effects of the dative case enclitic on clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on inflected predicates</th>
<th>on verbal root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHANGE OF STATE- OR</td>
<td>subordinate: as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESSIVE/DURATIVE-</td>
<td>adjunct modifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARKED PREDICATE PLUS</td>
<td>a matrix clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE ENCLITIC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subordinate: governed as S, O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or complement of postposition or as adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACTITITIVE-</td>
<td>Reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARKED PREDICATE PLUS</td>
<td>Reason, Standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE ENCLITIC</td>
<td>of comparison</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27.5  Locative-marked clauses

Locative clauses are marked by the locative case enclitic < ci > (LOC) and fulfil the adjunct function of Temporal Location in a matrix clause. This clause type indicates punctual temporal location, except when the predicate carries the concomitant action suffix <-butuŋ> (WHILE), treated in §27.6. The predicate of a Location clause can either be a bare root or stem or an already inflected verb with a factitive suffix, <-wa> (FACT) as in (768), or after the concomitant action suffix <-butuŋ> (WHILE), which will be treated in the next section. The function of the factitive suffix on predicates of locative-marked clauses will be discussed below. When the predicate does not carry the factitive suffix, the locative enclitic has to be accompanied by either the topic enclitic <-do> (TOP) as in (770), or the indefinite enclitic <-ba> (INDEF), illustrated in (774), the delimitative enclitic <-sa> shown in (776), the focus/identifier enclitic <-an> (FC/ID) (769) or the focus enclitic <-e> (FC) illustrated in (777). This means that the temporal locative meaning of the independent predicate head, which is characterising the clause type, has to be further specified as being factual, topical, both, or indefinite, delimited, or focused. Factitive-plus-LOCative-marked predicates can also be topic-marked, e.g. (773). The arguments of a locative-marked clause do not have to be co-referential with those of the matrix clause.
Examples (768) and (769) below illustrate the occurrence of the locative enclitic on a verbal predicate head marked by the factitive. In this example the event denoted by the locative-marked predicate has already occurred, i.e. Ketketa Bura, the main character of the story from which this example has been taken, is already fat when the other events described in the sentence occur. In (769) the event described by the locative-marked predicate is pragmatically interpreted as a condition for a general truth expressed by the locative clause and the main clauses combined.

(768) una jəwʔparae may hənʔayməŋ melʔwaci juta loŋpen muja tupi dəkəpaməŋ
    bondək pansa hənʔayməŋ watetokno.

    una [jəwʔ] =para =e [may] {hənʔ} =ay =məŋ
    then mother =&co =FC rice give =ADV =SEQ
    |{melʔ -wa}| =ci
    fat -FACT =LOC
    [juta] |[loŋpen] |[muja] [tupi] |dəkəp| =ay =məŋ
    shoe trousers sock hat dress.someone=ADV =SEQ
    [bondək pan sa] |{hənʔ} =ay =məŋ |{watet -ok}| =no
    gun CLF:APPARATUS one give =ADV =SEQ send.away -COS =QUOT

    ‘Then, [Ketketa Bura’s] mother, having given [him] rice, when [he] was fat, after [she] had dressed [him] in shoes, long trousers, socks [and] a hat, having given [him] a gun, [she] sent him away, it is said.’

A more literal translation of the locative clause melʔ-wa=ci (fat-FACT=LOC) in the above example would be ‘when it was the case that he was fat’. Although the factitive can be seen as a nominaliser in dependent clauses, the abstract noun ‘fatness’ would be derived by means of the construction in which a factitive-marked verb takes the genitive/nominaliser enclitic <= mi ~ =məŋ > (GEN/NR), viz. melʔwami ~ melʔwaməŋ (fat-FACT=NR) ‘fatness’, which could then take cases and function as a real noun (see Chapter 24.1 §24.6).

(769) magacakmi mənʔdo tysiwacian miniksuru takjolarianoro.

    [magacak -mi mənʔ] =do [tysiy -wa] =ci =an
    deer GEN:body.hair =TOP wet -FACT =LOC=FC/ID

    [miniksuru] |{tak -jol -ari -a}| =no =ro
    flat-haired do -QUICKLY -SIMPLE =QUOT =EMPH

    ‘As far as the deer’s body hair goes, when it is the case that it is wet, it quickly becomes flat-haired.’
The question now arises what exactly the function of the factitive is in examples (768) and (769). As is discussed in §24.1, the factitive is an epistemic modality suffix that is used by speakers to present the event denoted by the verb as a fact. Since factitive-marked predicates in dependent clauses can take case marking, the factitive can be considered to be a nominaliser, or, the fact that the factitive licences case marking on predicates can be seen as a remnant of its role as a nominaliser in an earlier stage of the language. Nominalising the event, or “reifying” it, makes the occurrence or non-occurrence of the event expressed by a factitive-marked verb factual. Example (768), with nominalised predicate, contrasts with (770), where the event denoted by the predicate of the locative-marked clause is not nominalised or “reified” by the factitive and therefore interpreted as hypothetical in that it did not occur. But independently from the presence or absence of the factitive, a locative-marked clause functions as a Temporal location adjunct indicating temporal simultaneity.

(770)  
aro aŋ maʔsu paŋʔ-khu=ci=do tanʔ-ay=mg kereŋ=aw phal-khu-ni=com.
  aro [ago maitu] {paŋʔ-khu} =ci=do {tanʔ} =ay=mg
  and 1s cow many -INCOM=LOC=TOP slaughter=ADV =SEQ
  [kereŋ]=aw {phal-khu-ni} =com
  bone =ACC sell -INCOM-FUT =IRR

‘And if I [had had] more cows, having slaughtered [them] I could have sold more bones.’ Literally: ‘And at my cows’ greater quantity...’.

In the above example there are three clauses, represented here below as 1, 2 and 3.
1.  aro aŋ maʔsu paŋʔ-khu=ci=do ‘at my cow’s greater quantity’
2.  tanʔ-ay=mg ‘having slaughtered’
3.  kereŋ=aw phal-khu-ni=com ‘would have sold more bones’

The conditional relationship between clauses 1 and 3 is pragmatically inferred. As we see below in example (773), locative-marked clauses can also be topic-marked and the semantic relationship between the two clauses in that example is temporal and not conditional. The only difference between nominalised and non-nominalised locative clauses is the degree of certainty of the taking place of the event denoted by the predicate head of the locative clause. Events of nominalised locative predicate heads are more certain to occur or to have occurred than those of non-nominalised ones.
Because non-nominalised locative-marked events are unlikely to occur or to have occurred, they are interpreted as conditional, as in (770) above, but what is marked on the predicate head of the locative clause is just Temporal Location and topicality. Of course topics are easily interpreted as conditionals as is discussed at length in Haiman (1978). Below, in example (775) we shall see that locative clauses without topic marker can also be interpreted as conditionals.

The two following examples are a minimal pair. In example (771) the subordinate predicate is factitive-marked and in example (772) it is not. In example (771) the subordinate predicate is not topic-marked whereas in (772) it is. However, factitive-marked clauses like the one in (771) can be topic-marked, and when they are, they will not be interpreted as conditionals, as we can see in example (773).

(771) turasaŋ reʔeŋwaci aŋna topi raʔbone.

Pname =MOB go.away -FACT =LOC 1s =DAT hat get =IMP =TAG
‘When you go to Tura, buy me a hat.’ or ‘When your going to Tura is a fact, buy me a hat.’

(772) turasaŋ reʔeŋcido aŋna topi raʔbone.

Pname =MOB go.away =LOC =TOP 1s =DAT hat get =IMP =TAG
‘If you go to Tura, buy me a hat.’

In both examples the event of going is expressed by the verb reʔeŋ- ‘to go away’. In (771) the verb is marked by the factitive and in (772) the factitive is absent. Although the events in both examples have not yet taken place, and are thus hypothetical, the event of going in (771) is reified, i.e. presented as a fact, and, in the speaker’s opinion, is much more likely to occur than the event in (772). This is another way of saying that the event in (771), marked by the factitive, is presented by the speaker as much more factual or realistic than the event in (772) where the factitive is absent. In (771), according to the speaker, the person will certainly go to Tura sooner or later, we only do not yet know when. In (772) the speaker does not expect the person to go to Tura at all.
Example (773) below illustrates how a nominalised locative predicate head can also be topicalised. As we can see in example (770) above, when the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) is left out and only the locative and topic suffixes are used on the predicate head, the event is interpreted as hypothetical because the event was not realised, and the semantic relation between the two clauses is then interpreted as conditional.

Example (773) comes from a recipe for beriŋ ‘food cooked in a bamboo cylinder’.

The topic enclitic on the subordinate predicate indicates a new topical event.

Example (774) here below illustrates the effect of the indefinite enclitic <-ba> (INDEF) on a clause with locative-marked predicate heads. The effect of the indefinite enclitic is that the Temporal Location is indefinite. When the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) is not present on the locative predicate, the event is more hypothetical, whereas the presence of the factitive makes the event actual, more real or factual, as we can see in (775) below.

Example (774) here below illustrates the effect of the indefinite enclitic <-ba> (INDEF) on a clause with locative-marked predicate heads. The effect of the indefinite enclitic is that the Temporal Location is indefinite. When the factitive suffix <-wa> (FACT) is not present on the locative predicate, the event is more hypothetical, whereas the presence of the factitive makes the event actual, more real or factual, as we can see in (775) below.
In the next example the storyteller is giving an account of something that is actually happening and therefore uses the factitive on the predicate of the locative clause. The indefinite enclitic \(<=\text{ba}\) (INDEF) supplies the meaning of indefinite time.\(^{66}\)

(775) \text{tarapna guduk takwaciba tarakay jalariano magacake.}

\begin{verbatim}
|\{\text{tarap}\}| =na \{\text{guduk}\}\(^{67}\) \{\text{tak} -\text{wa}\} =ci =ba
\end{verbatim}
catch.up =DAT wobble \ DO \ -FACT =LOC =INDEF
\begin{verbatim}
\{\text{jal} -\text{ari} -\text{a}\} =no \{\text{magacak}\} =e
\end{verbatim}
run.away - SIMP - CUST =QUOT deer =FC

‘Whenever [the Bengali] almost caught up, [he] just run away, it is said, the deer.’

As we can see in the following example, the delimitative-marked locative clause can be interpreted as either temporal or conditional. The absence of a topic enclitic on the locative clause proves that the topic enclitic \(<=\text{do}\) (TOP) is not the only morpheme responsible for the interpretation of non factitive-marked locative clauses as conditionals.

The delimitative defines the boundaries of the temporal interpretation of the locative clause.

(776) \text{nemsakca takcisa, məŋʔisa kamal takthirini.}

\begin{verbatim}
[\text{nem} -\text{sak} -\text{ca}] \{\text{tak}\} =ci =\text{sa} [\text{məŋʔ} \text{sa kamal}] \\
good - APPROPRIATELY - NEG \ DO =LOC =DLIM CLF : HUMANS one priest
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
\{\text{tak} -\text{thiri} -\text{ni}\}
\DO \ AGAIN - FUT
\end{verbatim}

‘Only at those times when/if it is not done appropriately well, another priest will do it again.’

\(^{66}\) The indefinite enclitic \(<=\text{ba}\) (INDEF) also occurs on indefinite proforms. This suffix is homophonous with the emphatic/additive enclitic \(<=\text{ba}\) (EMPH/ADD) that occurs on arguments and adjuncts, both phrasal and clausal (see Chapter).

\(^{67}\) As was mentioned in §22.6.2, this is the root of the verb \text{guduk} - ‘to wobble, to move unstably’ which functions adverbially in a light verb construction with the verb \text{tak} - ‘to do’. The construction \text{guduk tak-} means ‘to almost V’.
The next two examples illustrate that even when the factitive suffix <-\text{wa}> (FACT) is not present on the predicate of the locative clause, the clause does not have to be interpreted as conditional and is in fact still temporal. Example (777) comes from a story about the history of the Badri area. Example (778) was a spontaneous utterance of wonder by one of my friends.

\begin{equation}
\text{(777)} \quad \text{raŋmu cəw rəŋsusaay cəycie, raŋe san ci bri wawano.}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
\text{[raŋ]} = & \text{mu} \quad \{ \text{cəw rəŋ -susa} \} = \text{ay} \quad \{ \text{cəy} \} = \text{ci} = \text{e} \\
\text{rain} = & \text{COM} \quad \text{liquor drink} - \text{COMPETITIVELY=} \text{ADV} \quad \text{try} = \text{LOC=} \text{FC} \\
\text{[san ci bri]} = & \text{wa -wa} = \text{no} \\
\text{day TEN} = & \text{four rain} - \text{FACT} = \text{QUOT}
\end{align*}

‘When [the people of Badri] tried to drink competitively with the rain, the rain fell for fourteen days, it is said.’

\begin{equation}
\text{(778)} \quad \text{raŋ nemcie ataknakasəy?}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
\text{[raŋ]} = & \text{mi} \quad \{ \text{ci =e} \quad \{ \text{atak -naka} \} = \text{sy} \\
\text{rain good} = & \text{LOC=} \text{FC} \quad \text{do.what} - \text{IFT} = \text{MIR}
\end{align*}

‘Now that the rain has stopped (Lit. ‘is good’), what the hell shall [we] do?’

Locative clauses can be negated. The following example is illustrative. Remarkably, no negated factitive-marked locative clauses are attested in Atong. More fieldwork is necessary to find out if it is possible to negate such clauses or not.

\begin{equation}
\text{(779)} \quad \text{balcacido tokni.}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
\{ \text{bal -ca} \} = & \text{ci} = \text{do} \quad \{ \text{tok -ni} \} \\
\text{tell} - & \text{NEG} = \text{LOC=} \text{TOP} \quad \text{hit} - \text{FUT}
\end{align*}

‘If [you] don’t tell it, [I]’ll hit [you].’

27.6 The concomitant action suffix

The aspectual suffix <-\text{butu}> (WHILE) is found on the predicates of subordinate clauses that function as Temporal Location adjunct in the matrix clause. This morpheme indicates concomitant action, i.e. that the event in the subordinate clause takes place simultaneously with the event in the matrix clause, or that the event in the subordinate clause is already ongoing when the event in the main clause occurs.
Predicates carrying the concomitant action suffix occur in two different syntactic constructions, which will be treated one by one below. The constructions are:

1. on predicates of Temporal Location adjunct clauses,
2. on the predicates of Temporal attributive clauses

These constructions will be treated separately below. Predicates carrying the concomitant action suffix can be negated but are not attested with any other aspect or modality suffixes.

### 27.6.1 Temporal Location adjunct clauses

The subordinate clause carries the locative case enclitic 〈ci〉 (LOC). There are no coreference restrictions between the arguments of the Temporal Location clause and the matrix clause. Verbs, nouns and Type 2 adjectives have all been recorded as predicates of concomitant action type Temporal Location clauses.

The following example presents a Type 2 adjective, viz. *thəmbəloŋ* ‘have holes’ as the head of the predicate of the subordinate clause. Type 2 adjectives can function as modifiers as well as predicates and are treated in §5.2.

(780) *ie ram thəmbəloŋbutuŋci gari galatok.*

| [ie ram] PRX road | [thəmbəloŋ butuŋ] have.holes -WHILE =LOC | [gari] car | [galat -ok] fall -COS |

‘While this road was damaged, cars fell’.

Example (781) illustrates the concomitant action suffix on a subordinate nominal predicate. The locative-marked clause functions as Temporal Location.

---

68 Out of a total of 23 predicates with the concomitant action suffix, 18 occurred in Temporal Location adjunct clauses, i.e. 78%, and 5 occurred in temporal attributive clauses, i.e. 22%
(781) geʔtheŋ saʔgəraybutuŋciiba sansan paləŋsan naʔ punna reʔeŋwa

[[geʔtheŋ] {saʔgəray -butuŋ} =ci =ba
3s child -WHILE =LOC=INDEF
[san san] [paləŋ] =say {naʔ pun} =na {reʔeŋ -wa}
day RED jungle =MOB fish catch.fish =DAT go.away -FACT
‘When he was a child, he went to the jungle every day to catch fish.’

The next examples show verbal predicates carrying the concomitant action suffix. In
(782) there is no coreference between the implied subject of the subordinate clause
and the stated subject of the main clause. The implied S of the first clause (the
Temporal Location adjunct) is the lazy king, who is sad because he does not have any
friends, while the S of the main clause is naʔpit ‘barber’.

(782) phepci səntibutuŋci teʔewe naʔpit məŋʔ sa rayʔphaknoro.

[[phep] =ci {sənthi -butuŋ} =ci
banyan.tree =LOC suffer -WHILE =LOC
[teʔew]=e [naʔpit məŋʔ sa]3s {rayʔ -pha -k} =no =ro
now =FC barber CLF:HUMANS one come -IN.ADDITION -COS =QUOT =EMPH
‘While he was suffering in the banyan tree, a barber came by, it is said, really.’

(783) atəkəyməŋ thəmay caybutuŋcie atoŋaw nukokno geʔtheŋe?

atəkəyməŋ |{thəm} =ay {cay -butuŋ} =ci =e
so.then lay.in.ambush =ADV watch -WHILE =LOC=FC
[atoŋ] =aw {nuk -ok} =no [geʔtheŋ]=e
what =ACC see -COS =QUOT 3s =FC
‘So then, while he was lying in ambush and watching, what did he see?’

The subordinate predicate in (784) is the Type 1 adjective (a subclass of intransitive
verb), nem ‘to be good’ with the event specifier suffix <-khal> (CP).

(784) sagaba naw nemkhalbutuŋci thəyok

{sa} =gaba [naw]3s {nem-khal -butuŋ} =ci {thəy-ok}
be.ill-ATTR younger.sister good -CP -WHILE =LOC die -COS
‘When my younger sister was getting better, she died.’
The absence of locative enclitic on the predicate saʔ-butŋ (eat-WHILE) in (785) can be explained when we consider the two predicates saʔ-butuŋ (eat-WHILE) and rəŋ-butuŋ (drink-WHILE) to be part of a complex predicate with the locative enclitic attached to it.

(785)  aŋ babaci amaci maha maha saʔbutuŋ rəŋbutuŋcian, randay saʔna jamca.

1s father =LOC mother =LOC great RED 

{saʔ -butuŋ rəŋ -butuŋ} =ci =an
eat -WHILE drink -WHILE =LOC =FC/ID

[randay] {saʔ} =na {jam -ca}
meat eat =DAT finish -NEG

‘While I ate and drank in great amounts at my father and mother [’s place], [we] didn’t finish eating meat.’

The next example contains an illustration of a negated Temporal Location clause.

(786)  geʔtheng jəwcabutuŋcii kərəŋgaba nawa

3s sleep -NEG -WHILE =LOC make.sound =ATTR hear-FACT

‘While he was not [yet] sleeping, he heard a sound’

There are two recordings of a Temporal Location clause of which the noun somay ‘time’ occurs compounded on the predicate after the concomitant action suffix <-butuŋ> (WHILE). The noun somay ‘time’ does not add any semantic content to the predicate, but simply emphasises the ongoing or temporally stretched-out character of the event expressed by the predicate. The concomitant action suffix together with the noun somay ‘time’ form a double marker of subordination. It is conceivable that this noun is in the process of grammaticalising as a linker. The two recorded examples with this construction are almost identical and therefore just one of them is represented here. The noun somay ‘time’ is an Indic loan related to Hindi समय (samay) ‘time’.
(787)  *uci muʔbutuŋ somayci badri nemen manʔay saʔano*

\[
\begin{align*}
& [u =ci \{muʔ\-butuŋ +somay\} =ci] \\
& \text{DST =LOC stay -WHILE +time =LOC} \\
& [badri] [nemen] \{manʔ\} =ay \{saiʔ -a =no\} \\
& \text{Pname very in.great.amounts =ADV eat -CUST =QUOT} \\
& \end{align*}
\]

‘During the time [they] lived there, Badri was very rich (ate in great amounts), it is said.’

A very similar phenomenon is described for Tamil (see Lehmann, 1989: 341 cited in Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 299), where the noun *pootu* ‘time’ can function as a temporal clause marker. Heine and Kuteva write: “This is an instance of a process whereby a noun, on account of some salient semantic property, gives rise to a grammatical marker highlighting that property […]”. The same can be said about the use of *somay* ‘time’ in Atong.

27.6.2 Temporal attributive clauses

Attributive clauses are treated in Chapter 29, which the reader is advised to consult first for theoretical details. In summary, the attributive clause functions as modifier to a noun which is the head of a complex NP called the arch NP\(^69\). The arch NP functions as a constituent in a matrix clause and can be case-marked with enclitics. The attributive clause can occur on either side of the head of the arch NP without difference in meaning. There can be a semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause, which has to be inferred semantically and/or pragmatically. There are no grammatical constraints that force any semantic interpretation of an arch NP.

In (788) we see that the temporal attributive clause modifies the head *sok* ‘sprout’ and that the whole arch NP is accusative-marked for its O function in the matrix

---

\(^{69}\) The term ‘arch NP’ refers specifically to an NP of which the head is modified by a clause. I invented this term to make it easy to refer to such NPs without using a lot of words, like ‘NP of which the head is modified by a clause’.
clause of which the predicate is *saʔ-wa* (eat-FACT). The inferred semantic relationship of the head of the arch NP, the noun *sok* ‘sprout’, to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Actor.

(788) *una aludaranəw rədəmabutuŋ sokaw saʔwaməŋ gəmən teʔew manap caywacido gumukan cokarumokno*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>una</th>
<th>[alu] =dəraŋ =aw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>therefore</td>
<td>potato =p =ACC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-------------------matrix clause-------------------

--------------arch NP---------------

---------AC---------

\[\text{[rədəma -butuŋ]} \text{sok}_{\text{ACTOR}} =\text{aw \{saʔ-wa\} =məŋ \text{[gəmən]}}\]

\[\text{sprout -WHILE sprout =ACC eat -FACT =GEN reason}\]

\[\text{[teʔew] [manap } \text{\{cay -wa\}} =\text{ci =do}\]

\[\text{now morning look -FACT =LOC =TOP}\]

\[\text{[gumuk =an \{coka -rum -ok -no\} all =FC/ID tear -ALL -COS -QUOT}\]

‘Therefore, when he looked in the morning, the potatoes were all torn, because all the sprouts were eaten while they were sprouting, it is said.’

In the following example we see a headless arch NP that carries prototypical nominal morphology, i.e. the plural enclitic <-dəraŋ> (p). The accusative case enclitic <-aw> (ACC) marks the arch NP for its semantic role as O argument in the matrix clause.

(789) *sala burbok saʔgəray naʔa niŋ jəwsukbutuŋdəraŋ atakna halakaiʔwa?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sala</th>
<th>[burbok saʔgəray] [naʔa]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interj</td>
<td>idiot child 2s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-------------------arch NP-------------------

---------AC---------

\[\text{[niŋ \{jəw-suk -butuŋ\}}]_0 =\text{dəraŋ =aw}\]

\[\text{1pe sleep -COMFORTABLY -WHILE =p =ACC}\]

\[\text{[atakna \{hala kaʔ-wa\} why disturb do -FACT}\]

‘Damn you idiot child! Why did you disturb us, [the ones who] were comfortably asleep?’
In (790), from the same story as (788), is certainly a headless arch NP in which the implied head is *gore* ‘horse’. The predicate of the temporal attributive clause is *sa?-butuŋ* (eat-WHILE) and the predicate of the matrix clause in which the arch NP functions as O argument is *nuk-ok-no* (see-COS-QUOT).

(790) \[ teʔewe \text{ beanbebe raŋrasaŋmi gore maŋsa rayʔaayməŋ geʔtheŋ alubagan habijabi samcakaw sa?butuŋaw nukokno. } \]

\[ \text{[ teʔew]}=e \text{ beanbebe } [\text{[raŋra]}=saŋ =mi ] \text{[gore maŋ sa]} \]
\[ \text{now } =\text{TOP truly sky } =\text{MOB ABL horse CLF:ANIMALS one} \]
\[ \{\text{rayʔa } -\text{ay } -\text{məŋ}\} \]
\[ \text{come } =\text{-ADV SEQ} \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{arch NP } \rightarrow \text{arch N } \rightarrow \text{AC } \]
\[ \text{[geʔtheŋ alu bagan bari habijabi samcak]} =\text{aw } \{\text{sa? } -\text{butuŋ}\} ]_o =\text{aw } \]
\[ \text{3s potato garden garden all.sorts vegetable } =\text{ACC eat } =\text{WHILE } =\text{ACC} \]
\[ \{\text{nuk } -\text{ok}\} =\text{no } \]
\[ \text{see } =\text{COS } =\text{QUOT} \]

‘Now [he] truly saw a horse having come from the sky while [the horse was] eating all kinds of vegetables of his garden.’ Alternatively: ‘He truly saw a horse having come from the sky, [which horse] at that time was eating all kinds of vegetables of his garden.’

Hale (1976) uses the label “adjoined relative clause” to refer to a clause type that can have both adverbial and relative functions, similar to the clause with a predicate head marked by *<-butuŋ>* (WHILE) in Atong. The classic illustration of the adjoined relative clause comes from Warlpiri. (Hale, 1976: 78, example 1), here represented as (791).

(791) \[ Ngajulu-rlu rna yankirri pantu-ru, [kuja-lpa ngapa nga-ru]. \]

\[ \text{I-ERG AUX emu spear-PAST COMP-AUX water drink-PAST} \]

‘I speared the emu which was/while it was drinking water’
Chapter 28  Adverbial and sequential clauses

Adverbial and sequential clauses are subordinate clauses marked with special clausal enclitics that have no function elsewhere in the grammar, viz. the adverbial enclitic $<\text{ay} \sim \text{e}>$ (ADV) and the sequential enclitic $<\text{məŋ} \sim \text{muŋ} \sim \text{mu} \sim \text{muna}>$ (SEQ). Adverbial clauses function as manner adverbs modifying the following clause and are treated in §28.1. Sequential clauses, treated in §28.2, give background information and can be used to imply a cause and effect relationship between two clauses.

28.1  Adverbial clauses

Clauses with the clausal enclitic $<\text{ay} \sim \text{e}>$ (ADV) function as adverbial adjunct clauses in a matrix clause. The allophone $<\text{e}>$ of the adverbial enclitic appears after a stem ending in /i/, and the allomorph $<\text{ay}>$ occurs elsewhere. Verbs and Type 2 adjectives, and nouns (see example (806)), are attested to function as predicate of this clause type. Adverbial predicates cannot take aspect or modality suffixes but can take the negative suffix $<-\text{ca}>$ (NEG). The subject (S/A) of the adverbial predicate is always co-referential with the subject of the predicate it modifies. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out if this is a syntactic restriction or not. Argument structure in adverbial clauses is the same as in main clauses and so is NP marking, i.e. S and A unmarked for case and O can be accusative-marked (see Chapter 20).

Since adverbial clauses cannot occur as sentences on their own, they are dependent on the matrix clause for their appearance. Adverbial clauses function as manner adverbs, indicating how the event denoted by the modified predicate comes about, examples (792), (793) and (794) are illustrative.

(792)  \( \text{pheru panci cagakay thəyokno} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pheru} & [\text{pan}] \rightarrow \text{ci} & \{\text{cagak}\} \rightarrow \text{ay} & \{\text{thəy-\text{o}k}\} \rightarrow \text{no} \\
\text{fox} & \quad \text{tree} & \rightarrow \text{LOC hit} & \rightarrow \text{ADV die} & \rightarrow \text{-COS QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The fox hit a tree and died, it is said.’
(793) lekha kirinay sayok.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[lekha]} & \{\text{kirin}\} = \text{ay} \quad \{\text{say} - \text{ok}\} \\
\text{paper} & \text{ to.tear} = \text{ADV} \quad \text{write} - \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘[I] wrote [on] the paper and tore it.’ Literally: ‘[I] tearingly wrote [on] the paper.’

(794) wak rəmay saʔa niŋdo
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[wak]} & \{\text{rəm}\} = \text{ay} \quad \{\text{saʔ} - \text{a}\} \quad \{\text{niŋ}\} = \text{do} \\
\text{pig} & \text{ cook} = \text{ADV} \quad \text{eat} - \text{CUST} \quad \text{1p} = \text{TOP}
\end{align*}
\]
‘We eat pig cooked.’

An adverbial predicate modifies the following predicate even when this following predicate is itself subordinate. In (792)-(794), the following predicates are all main clause predicates. Looking back at example (777) we can see how an adverbial clause modifies a Locative-marked clause, which is subordinate. In example (646) in §24.3.1 we see the adverbial clause rəm-ay (cook = ADV) modifying the subordinate predicate saʔ-wa (eat-FACT). In (795) below we see a subordinate clause functioning as Facsimile adjunct modified by the adverbial clause takruk-ay (fight = ADV).

(795) […] takrukay rayʔasemgabatakəy nuksawphinokno.
\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{takruk} \_ \text{ay}\} & \quad \{\text{rayʔa} - \text{sem}\} = \text{gaba} = \text{tokay} \\
\text{fight} & = \text{ADV} \quad \text{come} - \text{CERTAINLY} = \text{ATTR} = \text{LIKE} \\
\{\text{nuk} - \text{saw} - \text{phin} - \text{ok}\} & = \text{no}
\end{align*}
\]
‘[… he] certainly looks like someone who certainly came fightingly [or ‘in fighting manner’ or ‘as if he had been fighting’\textsuperscript{70}], it is said.’

Example (796) shows how an adverbial clause is used in a context in which a cause and effect relationship between the adverbial and main clause can be inferred

\textsuperscript{70} The adverbial clause can be translated into English in different ways. In Atong this adverbial clause simply functions as a manner adverb, indicating in which way the event denoted by the following predicate comes about.
pragmatically. The adverbial clauses indicate the cause and the main clause the effect. What is important in this example is that the adverbial construction is used to convey the message that the praying and the offering to the elephant tusks happened simultaneously to becoming very rich. In this respect the adverbial clause differs from the sequential clause that is also used in contexts in which cause and effect can be inferred pragmatically. The sequential clause indicates that the events expressed in the sequential and main clause happened in succession.

(796) *songgumukan ue mōŋmawana way khurutaysa boli hənʔaysa manʔay saʔthokwano.*

\[
\text{[soŋ]} =\text{gumuk =an [ue mōŋma wa =na} \\
\text{village =whole =FC/ID DST elephant tooth =DAT} \\
\{\text{way khurut}\}_\text{cause} =\text{ay =sa} \\
\text{spirit perform.an.incantation =ADV =DLIM} \\
\{\text{boli hənʔ}\}_\text{cause} =\text{ay =sa} \\
\text{offering give} =\text{ADV =DLIM} \\
\{\text{manʔ}\} =\text{ay} \{\text{saʔ -thok -wa}\}_\text{effect} =\text{no} \\
\text{in.great.amounts=}\text{ADV eat -ALL -FACT =QUOT} \\
\]

‘Precisely because the whole village prayed and offered to the elephant tusks, they all became very rich, it is said. Alternatively: ‘They became very rich, it is said, the whole village [by/whilst] offering and praying to the elephant tusk’.

Adverbial predicates can be negated, which is illustrated in example (797) here below.

(797) *phəwra səwʔaymuŋna garu susetcaay dəwetoknoay.*

\[
\text{[phəwra] \{səwʔ\} =\text{ay =məŋna [garu]} \{suset -ca\} =\text{ay} \\
\text{rice.powder pound =ADV =SEQ mustard.leaves wash -NEG =ADV} \\
\{dəw-ct -ok\} =\text{no =ay} \\
\text{add -CAUS -COS =QUOT =POS} \\
\]

‘Having pounded rice powder, [she] added the mustard leaves without washing [them], really!’

Type 2 adjectives can also function as predicate of a non-finite clause. The following example illustrates a Type 2 adjective as predicate head of a simultaneous clause. The
example comments on a girl with dark skin whose beauty was renowned among unmarried boys throughout the region.

(798)  

\[ \text{pinakay } səla \]
{\text{pinak}} =a\text{y} \{səl} -a\}
black =ADV beautiful -CUST

'[She’s] black and beautiful.'

28.2  Sequential clauses

A sequential clause cannot occur as a sentence on its own and is therefore dependent on a main clause for its occurrence. As a sequential clause is not governed by the main clause predicate, i.e. it does not function as core argument, but is dependent on the main clause for its occurrence and is hence grammatically a modifier and thus subordinate.

A sequential clause is marked with both the adverbial enclitic \(<=\text{ay} \sim =e>\) (ADV)\(^{71}\) and the sequential enclitic \(<=\text{məŋ} \sim =\text{mʊŋ} \sim =\text{mʊ} \sim =\text{mʊŋə} \sim =\text{mʊna}>\) (SEQ). The allomorphs of the sequential morpheme are in free variation. In the Badri dialect there is a strong preference for the allomorph \(<=\text{məŋ}\>\) whereas in the dialect of Siju the other allophones are preferred.

There is only one story in the recorded corpus in which the sequential enclitic is not preceded by the adverbial enclitic \(<=\text{ay} \sim =e>\) (ADV) but by the factitive suffix \(<-\text{wa}>\) (FACT). Example (638) is illustrative. Why the speaker uses the factitive in sequential clauses has to be investigated in future fieldwork.

Sequential clauses usually provide background information and therefore usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. However the position of a sequential clause is quite variable. Example (799) shows a sequential clause before the main clause predicate and in example (800) the sequential clause comes after the main clause predicate.

---

\(^{71}\) As was mentioned in the previous section, the allophone \(<-e>\) of the adverbial enclitic appears after a stem ending in /i/, the allomorph \(<-\text{ay}>\) occurs elsewhere
predicate. When a sequential clause follows a finite predicate it is considered to be an afterthought. Example (801) illustrates that sequential clauses can also come in between a subordinate clause and a main clause.

(799) ca rəŋayməŋ, may saʔayməŋ, rayʔ? naka.

\[
\begin{align*}
[ca] & \{ray\} =ay =məŋ \quad [may] & \{saʔ\} =ay =məŋ \quad \{rayʔ - naka\} \\
\text{tea} & \text{drink} = \text{ADV} & \text{SEQ} & \text{rice} & \text{eat} = \text{ADV} & \text{SEQ} & \text{go} & \text{IFT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Having drunk tea, having eaten rice, we’ll go.’

(800) ətəkəymuŋna phalthaŋ diŋgaray sagaawdo caythirina noaymu reʔeŋokno, awanaymu.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ətəkəymuŋn} & \quad \{[phalthaŋ \text{ diŋgaray}] \{sa\} =ga\} =aw =do \\
\text{so.then} & \quad \text{self} & \quad \text{fish.trap} & \quad \text{put.as.trap} = \text{ATTR} & \quad = \text{ACC} & \quad = \text{TOP} \\
\{cay -thiri\} & \quad = na & \{no = ay\} & \quad = mu & \{reʔęŋ - ok\} & \quad = no \\
\text{look} & \quad = \text{-AGAIN} = \text{DAT} & \text{say} = \text{ADV} & \text{SEQ} & \text{go.away} = \text{-COS} & \text{= QUOT} \\
\{\{awan\}\} & \quad = ay & \quad = mu \\
\text{forget} & \quad = \text{ADV} & \text{SEQ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘So then, having looked again at the fish trap that he had put up himself, as said before, he went away, it is said, having forgotten [it].’ (i.e. having forgotten that he was not wearing any underwear under the gamusa ‘cloth tied around the waist with a knot’ he was wearing and which he had wound around his head against the sun.)

The arguments of a co-subordinate sequential clause, even when implied, do not have to be co-referential with those of the main clause, as we can see in example (805) below and (801) below. In example (801), the implied A argument in clause 2, i.e. the person who shot Arong Nokma in the face, is not the same as the person who dies. In fact, it is Arong Nokma who dies, who is the S argument of the first clause and of the third clause.

(801) arong nokma caykhawwaci arong nokmami mukhaŋaw khiemu thəyokno.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{clause 1} & \quad \{arong nokma\}_5 \quad \{cay -khwaw = wa\} = ci = e \\
\text{Name} & \quad \text{headman} & \quad \text{look} = \text{-SURREPTITIOUSLY-FACT} & \quad = \text{LOC} = \text{FC} \\
\text{clause 2} & \quad \{arong nokma = mi məkhaŋ\}_0 = aw \quad \{khį\} = e = mu \\
\text{Name} & \quad \text{headman} = \text{GEN} & \text{face} & \quad = \text{ACC} & \text{hit.the.mark} = \text{ADV} & \text{SEQ} \\
\text{clause 3} & \quad \{thay- ok\} = no \\
\text{die} & \quad = \text{-COS} = \text{QUOT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘When headman Arong, looked surreptitiously, having hit Arong’s face, [he,] died.’
Sequential clauses are a clause chaining device. Speakers easily produce clause chains involving four or more sequential clauses of which example (802) is illustrative. As we can see in this example, the adverbial phrase manapmi=an (very.early.in.the.morning=FC/ID) ‘very early in the morning’ has scope over the whole sentence and each of the following sequential clauses has scope over all subsequent clausal constituents of the sentence. The order of the sequential clauses is iconic.

(802) manapmi=an may jaʔbek ramaymuŋna, may jaʔbek manmanaymuŋna ramay saʔaymuŋna, maysangumuk pənʔaymuŋna, hayʔaw garu balagaci ramay tanayokno.

The sequential nature of the relationship between a sequential and main clause can be reinforced by the relative time postposition kənsay ‘later, after’ as we see in example (803).

(803) ətəkəyμuŋna kamayμuŋna kənsaydo jəwʔgaba noksayrayʔaakno.

‘So then, after working in the rice field, the mother came home, it is said.’
Note that the postposition $kən\text{sɑŋ}$ ‘later, after’ governs the genitive case and that sequential clauses do not take the genitive enclitic because sequential clauses are not nominalisations.

Sequential clauses can be negated, which is illustrated in the following example.
The fox has jumped into a deep well because he wanted to drink water. But… (804):

(804) $gaʔ\text{khatna manʔcaayməŋ thəyokno}.$

\[
\text{climb =DAT be.able =NEG =SEQ die =COS =QUOT 'Not having been able to climb out, [he] died, it is said.'}
\]

Sometimes a cause and effect relationship between the sequential and the main clause can be pragmatically inferred. Examples (805) and (806) are illustrative and contrast with examples (799) and (800) above in which the non-finite sequential clauses simply indicate that the events in the stretch of narrative happened in sequence. When a cause-effect relationship can be inferred, as in the examples below, the sequential clause will indicate the Cause and the main clause the effect. This semantic role of the sequential clause is inferred pragmatically from the context since the clause is not marked for its role as Reason, but rather only as sequential.

(805) $balwa rakayməŋ waʔ bayʔok.$

\[
\text{wind strong =ADV =SEQ bamboo break =COS 'The wind having been hard, the bamboo has broken.' Alternatively: 'Because of the hard wind the bamboo has broken.'}
\]

Example (806) illustrates the use of a sequential nominal predicate head. The word $c\text{a}lak$ ‘cunning’ is a Type 2 adjective modifying the head noun $m\text{orot}$ ‘person’.

Example (806) illustrates the use of a sequential nominal predicate head. The word $c\text{a}lak$ ‘cunning’ is a Type 2 adjective modifying the head noun $m\text{orot}$ ‘person’.
In everyday speech the Atong seem to use the sequential clause construction much more frequently than the factitive-plus-dative-marked reason clause construction to express cause and effect. This might have to do with the truth value of the Reason clause. Since it is factitive-marked (see Chapter 1), the reason clause has a strong truth value. A speaker will only use it if he is certain or wants to imply that he is certain that what he says is factual, i.e. that the causal event was factual. To avoid taking responsibility for letting people think that a causal event was factual, a speaker uses the sequential clause construction. He can then express a temporal connection between two events and the hearer can decide whether or not to take it as an implied cause and effect relationship.

We find Reason clauses particularly often when speakers are talking about themselves and in stories about history in which reason clauses are used to present historical facts. These are all situations in which the speaker can easily express causal events with certainty. In the case of first person, because you usually know what you yourself did, and in the case of historical fact, there is really no discussion possible. So a correlation between person and the construction used to express causality is certainly expected. More examples need to be found through future fieldwork.

It might be that the use of the sequential clause construction when talking about events other than in the first person has attained the status of politeness. It would be interesting to find out, through more fieldwork, if people find it rude to speak about things that happened to others with reason clauses and therefore prefer to use sequential clauses.

In the next example the speaker uses a sequential clause to talk about something that happened to a third person.
(807)  

\[
\text{ie morot təy huŋna sapcaaymu təy cawʔwa.}
\]

\[
[ \text{ie} \quad \text{morot} \] \{ \text{təy} \quad \text{huŋ} \} =\text{na} \{ \text{sap} \quad -\text{ca} \} =\text{ay} =\text{mu}
\]

PRX person water swim=DAT know.a.skill -NEG =ADV =SEQ

\[
\{ \text{təy} \quad \text{cawʔ} \quad -\text{wa} \}
\]

water stream=FACT

‘This person, not having known how to swim, drowned.’ Alternatively:

‘Because this person did not know how to swim, he drowned.’

An example with a Reason clause used in a first person situation can be found in Text 2 line 3, which is also represented in example (747).

Example (808) illustrates the use of a Reason clause to tell an undisputable historical fact in the story about the history of the Badri area.

(808)  

\[
\text{ue təygat rəŋwanasa ue təykhalawe roŋdəŋ məŋwano.}
\]

\[
[ \text{ue} \quad \text{təygat} \] \{ \text{rəŋ} \quad -\text{wa} \} =\text{na} =\text{sa} \[ \text{ue} \quad \text{təykhal} \] =\text{aw} =\text{e}
\]

DST water.place drink=FACT =DAT=DLIM DST river =ACC=FC

\[
[ \text{roŋdəŋ} \] \{ \text{məŋ} \quad -\text{wa} \} =\text{no}
\]

Pname call.a.name -FACT =QUOT

‘Because [the Rongdyng clan] had drunk at that water place, that river was called Rongdyng, it is said.’

It is quite probable that the sequential enclitic \(<=\text{məŋ} \sim =\text{muŋ} \sim =\text{mu} \sim =\text{muŋna} \sim =\text{muna}>\) (SEQ) derives historically from the allomorph \(<=\text{məŋ}>\) of the genitive/ablative phrasal enclitic \(<=\text{məŋ} \sim =\text{m}>\) (GEN/ABL). Some allomorphs seem to have fused with the dative case enclitic \(<=\text{na}>\) (DAT). Today, as has been mentioned above, these allomorphs are in free variation, although there is a strong preference for certain allomorphs in certain dialects.
Chapter 29  Attributive clauses

29.1  Terminological preliminaries

When I set out to describe attributive clauses in Atong, I found the traditional theoretical literature on relative clauses (Keenan and Comrie 1977, Comrie 1981, Keenan 1985) not very helpful to describe the phenomenon in the language. Keenan (1985), for example, tells the reader that a restrictive relative clause (RC) is an NP (see page 141) and that such an NP consists of an optional determiner, an omitable “common noun” also called the “domain noun” and a restrictive clause \( S_{rel} \) that modifies the domain noun (see page 142). The domain noun is said to be the “head” of the RC (see page 145). Keenan gives no arguments why the noun should be called “common noun”. Furthermore, Keenan indicates that he will only treat RCs of which the domain noun or head occurs outside the \( S_{rel} \) and then calls these constructions “external RCS” (external relative clauses). \(^{72}\)

This terminology is confusing, because the so called “head” is not external to the RC but to the \( S_{rel} \). The “head” is internal to the RC, because that is how Keenan defines an RC (see page 142). For me the head of a clause is the predicate. A determiner cannot be seen as a separate constituent in a clause since it is part of an NP. And it is confusing to have the same name or abbreviation ((restrictive) relative clause (RC), restrictive clause \( S_{rel} \)) for the NP in which the modified noun occurs and the clause that modifies it. Regretfully, Keenan’s terminology has had many reverberations in later literature and so the confusion has been perpetuated.

The solution to this confusion, when describing Atong at least, is to have separate, clear, typologically transparent terms for the separate elements that we find in relative or attributive clause constructions. For Atong we can define these elements as follows. An attributive clause construction involves two clauses, a matrix clause and

\(^{72}\) In section 5 of his article, Keenan (1985: 168 ff.) treats non-restrictive relative clauses as “other relative-like constructions”. In Atong there is no grammatical distinction between non-restrictive and restrictive attributive clauses.
an attributive clause. The attributive clause predicate is marked with the clausal
enclitic \( \leq gaba \sim =g\rangle \) (ATTR), of which the allomorphs are in free variation. An
attributive clause modifies a noun. Together, the attributive clause and the modified
noun form the so called ‘arch NP’ of which the modified noun is the head. The arch
NP as a whole functions as a constituent in the matrix clause. Aside from the
attributive clause an arch NP can also contain other modifiers, as we will see below.
As will be argued in section 29.2, the head of the arch NP is not a constituent of the
attributive clause. The evidence for this is the inability of the noun to be marked for
case. A semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the
attributive clause can be inferred, but is not compulsory in any way. As we will see in
section 29.3, there are also arch NPs where no semantic relationship can be inferred
between the head and the predicate of the attributive clause, e.g. (829). This example
is also evidence for the lack of a gap in Atong attributive clauses.

We can see in example (809) how this terminology explains the syntactic situation
in Atong. The predicate of the attributive clause is \( cun \) ‘to be big’. The head of the
arch NP is \( phelg\,om \) ‘eagle’. The head is modified by the attributive clause. Atong
marks case with phrasal enclitics. In this example we see that the accusative enclitic
indicates the O function of the arch NP in the matrix clause. The semantic relation of
the head of the arch NP to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Attributant.
The semantic role of Attributant indicates the relationship between a Type 1 adjective
(a stative verb denoting a quality, see Chapter 5), and its S argument.

\[ \text{Older speakers prefer to use the allomorph } \leq gaba \text{ while younger speakers prefer } \leq g\rangle. \]
\[ \text{Andrews (2007: 206) calls an NP whose reference is being restricted by a relative clause the “NP_{mat}”,}
\text{because this NP occurs in the matrix clause. NP_{mat} and arch NP are thus synonyms, since an arch NP}
\text{also occurs in the matrix clause. I prefer to use the term arch NP to avoid any misreading of NP_{mat} as “matrix noun phrase”. An NP containing a noun-modifying clause can occur embedded as a modifier in a}
\text{higher NP (as we will see below, e.g. (811)), which could in that case be the matrix NP, and we}
\text{would still have terminological confusion.} \]
(809)  ucie phəlgəm cunggabaaw nukokno

-------------------------------matrix clause-----------------------------
--------------arch NP-------------
---AC---
ucie   [phəlgəm]_{Abint} |{cung}| =gaba$_O$ =aw |{nukok} =no
then   eagle big       =ATTR =ACC see =QUOT
‘Then [he] saw the big eagle, it is said.’

It is important to note that, except in more complicated cases, which will be treated in sections 29.6 and 29.7 below, the attributive clause can precede or follow the head of the arch NP without any conceivable difference in meaning. In (810) we see how the head of the arch NP, kam ‘work’ is modified by a preceding attributive clause with the predicate cuŋ ‘to be big’. The arch NP is not accusative-marked for its O function in the matrix clause because it is not referential.

(810)  kənsæŋdo cungaba kam manʔok, sagaltəysamci.

-------------------------------matrix clause-------------------------------
--------------arch NP-------------
--AC--
kənsæŋ =do [ {cung}] =gaba kam$_{Attributant}$$_O$ {manʔ -ok} [sagal təysam] =ci
later =TOP big       =ATTR work get -COS sea waterside =LOC
‘Later [he] got a big job at the seaside.’

The arch NP as a whole can be embedded as a modifier within another NP, as we can see in (811), where the noun dada ‘elder brother’ is the head.

--------arch NP--------
-AC-

75 There might be subtle pragmatic differences depending on whether the attributive clause follows or precedes the head, although thorough investigations in the field and of the recorded data have revealed no differences at all.
The clausal enclitic $\langle=gaba ~ =ga\rangle$ (ATTR) is not a nominaliser. I define nominalisation as a derivational process of which the outcome, whether it be a clause or a single morpheme, can function as the head of an NP, which is the most salient property of nouns. The attributive enclitic in Atong turns clauses (with or without NPs) into nominal modifiers. Modifying a noun is not an exclusively nominal property, but is also a property of demonstratives (see Chapter 1), some interrogatives (see Chapter 1), personal pronouns (see §17.2), Type 2 adjectives (see Chapter 5) and some indefinite proforms (see Chapter 1). Therefore I think that it is infelicitous to call clauses with the attributive enclitic $\langle=gaba ~ =ga\rangle$ (ATTR) nominalisations.

Only members of the word class of verbs are attested as head of the predicate of an attributive clause. Attributive clause predicates seem to behave exactly like main clause predicates in the possibilities of inflection that they can express and the arguments they can take. Being able to take arguments, core or oblique, is one of the most important verbal properties. Although not all aspectual and modality suffixes are attested on predicates of attributive clauses, when elicited, speakers find attributivised verbs marked for any type of aspect and modality acceptable and even natural. Example (816) is an illustration of a progressive-marked attributivised predicate. Example (812) below exhibits a factitive-marked attributive clause predicate. The biggest difference between main and attributive clause predicates is the fact that nouns and Type 2 adjectives cannot function as predicates of attributive clauses, while they can function as main clause predicates.\(^{76}\)

\(^{76}\) Type 2 adjectives can modify an NP in post head position, can function as predicate of identity/equation clauses, like nouns, but cannot take the customary aspect suffix.
In the example below we see a headless, genitive-marked arch NP which functions as a Possessor in a larger NP of which the noun *bimuŋ* ‘name’ is the head. The predicate of the attributive clause is factitive-marked.

(812) \( \text{badrido cigacakci muʔwagabami bimuŋ doŋʔacəm.} \)

\[ \text{-------------------arch NP------------------} \]
\[ \text{----------------AC-------------} \]
\[ \text{\[ \text{badri] =do } [ \text{[ cigacak] =ci } \{ \text{muʔ-wa]} =gaba \} =mi bimuŋ]} \]
\[ \text{Pname =TOP Pname =LOC stay-FACT =ATTR =GEN name} \]
\[ \{ \text{doŋʔ -a} \} =cəm \]
\[ \text{IE.be -CUST =IRR} \]

‘As for Badri, [it] is supposedly the name from [the people] that were living in Chigachak.’ i.e. Badri was supposedly the name that the people who lived in Chigachak gave to the village.

In some languages the predicate of a noun-modifying clause is non finite, e.g. the subject relative clause in Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Bodic Branch, Nepal, see Watters 2002: 201), Hayu (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal, see Michailovsky, 1988: 185 ff) and Turkish (see Comrie 2006: 147 and 150), in the sense that these predicates include no marking for person or number agreement, while cross reference does occur on main clause predicates. Atong predicates never show cross-reference with any of their NPs in any clause type, so the distinction finite versus non-finite is not relevant for the language if one defines finiteness in terms of showing cross-reference. If, however, one defines a finite verb as “any verb whose form is such that it can stand in a simple declarative sentence” (Matthews, 1977: 129), predicates of attributive clauses in Atong are finite. Although most attested forms lack inflectional predicate head suffixes (see Table 63), and verbal forms without inflectional predicate head suffixes usually occur in imperative clauses, they also arguably appear in declarative clauses of which the predicate has an habitual overtone (see §18.9).

In section 29.3 it will be argued that there is no need to posit a “gap” in attributive clauses in Atong. The terms pre- and post-head attributive clause will be explained in section 29.4. Arch NPs with post-head attributive clauses are the focus of section 29.5. Because the head of the arch NP is not a clausal constituent, and can thus not function as argument or adjunct (peripheral argument) in the attributive clause, there
is no such thing as an “internally headed” attributive clause. Besides this, section 29.6
treats the way in which genitive-marked NPs should be analysed. Section 29.7 treats
constraints in the variation of the position of the attributive clause within the arch NP.
We will see that these constraints are determined by the transitivity of the attributive
clause predicate, the number of nouns expressed in the arch NP and the animacy of
the nouns. Which semantic relationships can obtain between the head of the arch NP
and the predicate of the attributive clause will be treated in section 29.8. That arch
NPs can function as head of a predicate of a verbless equation/identity clause, like any
other noun or NP, is illustrated in section 29.9. Headless arch NPs, in which the noun
modified by the attributive clause is ellipsed, are treated in section 29.10. Headless
arch NPs can become lexicalised as we will see in section 29.11. Lexicalisations are
nominalisations of the participant and abstract type. Abstract nominalisations provide
more evidence against the presence of a gap in Atong attributive clauses.

In his 1998 (a) article, Comrie proposes the term “attributive clause construction”
for Asian languages that present a single grammatical construction that covers
European relative clauses, fact-S constructions (or noun-complement construction, see
for example Matsumoto (1997)), e.g. (813) from Korean (Comrie 1998 a: 52 example
(4), my bracketing and labelling) and “other possibilities/interpretations”, such as the
sound of knocking at the door (Comrie 1998 a: 54-55). Matsumoto (1997) has already
discussed such “noun-modifying constructions” in Japanese.

(813) Korean:

--------------------------attributive clause--------------------------

\[
[[\text{ku namca -ka ku yeca -eyke cayk -ul cwu -n}]]_{NP} sasili\\NP
\]

the man -NOM the woman -to book -ACC give -PRS.PRT fact
'the fact that the man gave a book to the woman'

Although attributive clauses in Atong do not cover the interpretations mentioned
above, other than relative clauses and “other possibilities/interpretations” (Comrie
1998 a: 54-55), as we can see in example (829), it would still be appropriate, in my
view, to term attributive clauses in Atong as such, because of the evidence that the
morpheme \(<gaba \sim ga>\) (ATTR) has an attributivising function on other word classes
apart from verbs, i.e. numerals, the attributive time postposition \(dakay\) 'before, in the
past’ and the bound interrogative formative morpheme \(<bi>\) (QF) as we shall discuss in section 29.12. Finally, section 29.13 explicitly points out the fact that attributive clauses in Atong are not part of a nominalisation ~ relativisation ~ genitivisation syncretism.

29.2 No common argument

The term common argument refers to the syntactic relationship which holds simultaneously between the head of the arch NP on the one hand and the predicates of the matrix clause and the relative clause on the other hand. For Atong it would be a mistake to call the head of the arch NP the “common argument”, suggesting that it simultaneously partakes in the argument structure of the attributive as well as the matrix clause. This assumption is mistaken, because it is not the head of the arch NP that functions as argument in the matrix clause, but the arch NP as a whole. In the English clause *I eat a big apple*, the noun ‘apple’ is not the O argument of the clause but the NP [*a big apple*] is. The head of an NP can not be seen as a separate clausal constituent from the modifier of that head. Semantically the head of an NP denotes, whereas an NP as a whole refers (see Lyons1977: 174 ff. for a discussion on denotation and reference). The referent is structurally represented by the whole NP constituent (if represented at all). Hence the head of the modified NP cannot be a constituent of the matrix clause.

If one says that the head of the arch NP is a “common argument” (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2008: 469 ff and Dixon, 2004 b: 525), this would entail that this noun is simultaneously governed by the predicate of the attributive clause and controlling the same predicate as a modifier within the NP. In reality the attributive clause modifies the head noun of the arch NP. When we make a diagram of the arch NP in (809), according to the theory that prescribes the common argument, we would get (814), constituent analysis, or (815), dependency analysis. One has to bear in mind that cuŋ ‘to be big’ is a verb in Atong. These diagrams tell us that Atong people are actually thinking “the big eagle is big”, which is then later “transformed” into “the big eagle” after the deletion of one of the two occurrences of eagle. The head of the arch NP is governed by the relative clause predicate and at the same modified by it. This would be a very strange representation of the facts attested in the language, a representation to which I do not adhere.
In Atong, the fact that the head of the arch NP is not a constituent of any clause can be seen by the fact that it cannot be case-marked. Case marking in Atong functions roughly as follows. S and A are always unmarked, O can be accusative-marked when the NP is referential, adjuncts (or peripheral arguments) have to be case-marked according to their semantic function. Case-marking of NPs in attributive clauses is the same as in main clauses.

However, although the head of the arch NP is not a clausal constituent, in Atong, and other languages with attributive (or relative) clauses, a semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause can be inferred, but no semantic relationship is grammatically required, as we shall see in the
next section. In Atong the factors that limit the interpretation of the possible semantic relationship are the semantics and argument restrictions of the attributive clause predicate, the position, semantics and case marking of other NPs within the arch NP, the semantics of the head itself and the context. We shall discuss these factors in detail below. Now consider the following example.

(816)   aŋ muʔaydoŋgaba mura gaʔanca.

Example (816) consists of two clauses, viz. the attributive clause, between vertical lines, of which the intransitive verb muʔ ‘to sit’ is the predicate, and the matrix clause, of which gaʔ ‘to be good’ is the predicate. The noun mura ‘stool’ is the head of the arch NP which functions as S argument in the matrix clause. Since S arguments are always unmarked for case, the arch NP has no case enclitic following it. The semantic relationship that obtains between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause has to be pragmatically inferred. The semantics of the predicate and of the head prompt the hearer to understand mura ‘stool’ as the thing sat on, not the thing doing the sitting. In this example we also see that the argument of the attributive clause, the first person singular personal pronoun aŋ, appears in the normal argument position before the predicate. Personal pronouns cannot function as the head of an arch NP in Atong. Hence identification of the head of the arch NP is easy: it is the right-most constituent of the arch NP.

As was said above, adjuncts have to be marked for case according to their semantic role. Thus when mura ‘stool’ would be a constituent of a clause, for instance a main clause, it would have to be locative-marked. The main clause version of the attributive clause involving the word mura ‘stool’, could be either (817) or (818), depending on the speaker’s desire to make sure that the S argument is not confused with the possessor of the stool. In Atong an unmarked personal pronoun followed by a
noun can always be interpreted as Possessor-Possessed. In (817) only one interpretation is possible, viz. \( \text{aŋ} \) ‘I’ is the S argument. In (818) it is not possible to distinguish S argument from Possessor.

\[(817) \, \text{muraci aŋ muʔaydoŋa.} \quad (818) \, \text{aŋ muraci muʔaydoŋa}\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[mura] =ci [aŋ]s \{muʔ-aydoŋa\}} \\
\text{stool =LOC 1s sit -PROG} \\
\text{‘I am sitting on a stool.’}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{l}
\text{aŋ mura =ci \{muʔ-aydoŋa\}} \\
\text{1s stool =LOC sit -PROG} \\
\text{‘I am sitting on a stool.’ or ‘[X] am/is/are sitting on my stool.’}
\end{array}
\]

In (819) we again see an arch NP with a head that has the semantic role of Location, but, whereas in (816) above, the clause precedes the head, below, the attributive clause follows the head. We see that the noun \( \text{nok} \) ‘house’ is the head of an arch NP with an intransitive attributive clause of which the predicate is \( \text{muʔ} \) ‘to stay, to sit’. The head is not marked for case because it is neither a constituent of the attributive clause nor of the matrix clause. The arch NP as a whole functions as S argument in the matrix clause, which is an adverbial-marked subordinate clause. The head should be interpreted as a Location given its semantics in combination with the semantics of the predicate of the attributive clause. The arch NP is unmarked for case. The first person personal pronoun \( \text{aŋ} \), which is the S argument of the attributive clause, is in the same position as in the example above, i.e. in argument position, immediately preceding the predicate. Identification of the head of the arch NP is again easy, since it is now the left-most phrasal constituent of the arch NP, immediately preceding the modifying clause.

\[(819) \, \text{nok ang muʔgaba gurumok.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{-------------------matrix clause-------------------} \\
\text{----------------arch NP----------------} \\
\text{-------AC-----} \\
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nok}_{\text{Location}} [\text{aŋ}]_{\text{s}} \{\text{muʔ}\}_{\text{s}} =\text{gaba}}_{\text{s}} \{\text{gurum -ok}\} \\
\text{house 1s stay =ATTR collapse -cos} \\
\text{‘The house in which I lived has collapsed.’}
\end{array}
\]
In (820) the most likely interpretation of the semantic role of the noun *bostu* ‘thing’ with respect to the transitive predicate of the attributive clause, is that of Patient, i.e. the thing eaten and not the thing doing the eating.

(820)  *phaŋnan saʔroncagaba jilami bostudəraŋaw raay hənayməŋ* [...]  

Note that, in the above example, the head of the arch NP is not only modified by the attributive clause, but also by a genitive-marked Possessor. Identification of the head of the arch NP is easy: it is the right-most phrasal constituent in the arch NP.

Nouns can be modified by more than one attributive clause. In example (821) the head of the arch noun, *wa* ‘tooth’, is modified by an attributive clause on either side. In addition the head noun is modified by another noun in apposition, viz. *muŋma* ‘elephant’ (see §6.6 for possible interpretations of nouns in juxtaposition). The semantic relationship of the head of the arch NP to the predicate of AC1 is Patient, and to that of AC2 Attributant. The whole arch NP functions as O argument in the matrix clause.
In example (822), of which we have seen a shortened version in (820), all attributive clauses are grouped to the left of the noun they modify. The head of the arch NP has a certain semantic relationship to the predicates of the attributive clauses AC1 and AC2 and another to the predicate of AC3. To AC1 and AC2 the head is Attributant. The relationship between the head of the arch NP and AC3 is Patient.

(822) thawgaba səmgaba phaŋnan saʔroŋcagaba jilami bostudəraŋaw raay hənʔaymuŋ [...]
goes to Dajong’ as a whole. The semantic relation of the head of the arch NP to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Actor.

(823)  
\[\text{dajoŋ} \rightarrow \text{saŋ \{rayʔ\}} \rightarrow \text{gaba \{\text{ram \_Actor}\}} \rightarrow \text{do \{\text{tuk \_a}\}}\]

\[\text{Pname = MOB \_go = ATTR \_road = TOP \_overgrown \_CUST}\]

‘The road which goes to Dajong is overgrown.’

To recapitulate, the arch NP contains an attributive clause and a modified noun, which is the head of the arch NP. This analysis is also discussed by Lehmann (1984). Although he did not invent the term “arch NP”, Lehmann describes the relative/attributive clause construction as being a complex NP consisting of a modifying relative clause, the “Relativsatz”, and the head, i.e. the noun modified by the relative clause, which Lehmann calls the “Bezugs nominal”. Given the great relevance of his work to the analysis proposed in this article, Lehmann is worth quoting extensively:


---

\(^77\) English Translation: “[…] we call the NP that consists of the head and the relative clause, a higher NP. This, i.e. every NP that has a relative clause as constituent, is called a relative construction. The
The head of the arch NP does not function as constituent of either the attributive cause or the matrix clause;⁷⁸ therefore, it cannot be case-marked. The arch NP as a whole functions as a constituent of the matrix clause, and can be case-marked for its syntactic function in the matrix clause when appropriate (see above). Any semantic relationship between the predicate of the attributive clause and the head of the arch NP needs to be inferred pragmatically. There are no grammatical constraints that force any semantic interpretation, nor indeed the presence of a semantic relationship. The arch NP functions in all respects as a prototypical noun and there are no restrictions on inflection or syntactic functions that it can have in the matrix clause.

In the next example, the head of the arch NP, *soŋ* ‘country’, is in an Attributant (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:115) function relation to the predicate of the attributive clause. The arch NP functions as a directional adjunct in the matrix clause and is therefore marked with the Mobilitative case enclitic *<-saŋ>* (MOB).

(824)  

\[
\text{iskən janʔgaba soŋsaŋ jalŋok.}
\]

\[
\text{-----------------------------matrix clause-----------------------------}
\]

\[
\text{----------------arch NP----------------}
\]

\[
\text{--------AC--------}
\]

\[
[[\text{iskən}] \{\text{janʔ}\}] = \text{gaba} \quad \text{soŋ}\{\text{sə}h\}\text{adjunct} = \text{saŋ} \quad \{\text{jal} \quad \text{aŋ} \quad \text{ok}\}
\]

so.much far =ATTR country =MOB run.away-AWAY-CO

‘[He] has run away to such a far country.’

The next examples confirm the nominal character of arch NPs. In (825) we see the phrasal enclitic *<-rara>* ‘EXCLUSIVELY’, whereas in (826) the arch NP is inflected

---

⁷⁸ Here my analysis also concurs with Lehman (1984: 45) who says: “Eine Subkonstituente eines [Nominalsyntaxtextes] – hier der Nukleus des [Relativeadtextes in Gestalt des Bezugsnomens – kann keine eigene syntaktische Funktion im Matrixsatz haben.” English translation: “A subconstituent of an NP – in this case the nucleus of the relative clause in the form of the modified head – cannot have a syntactic function of its own in the matrix clause.”
with the phrasal enclitic \(<-daraŋ>\) (p). Both enclitics occur exclusively on NPs. The arch NPs in both examples are headless. Headless arch NPs are treated in more detail in section 29.10. The headless arch NP in (825) functions as the predicate of an identity/equation clause. This is another nominal property: all nouns can function as the predicate of an identity/equation clause. In the example below the S argument is ellipsed.

(825) \(kara\ khərəŋgabararasano\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{arch NP} \\
\text{AC} \\
\{[kara] \{khərəŋ\}=gaba}=rara =sa\}=no
\end{array}
\]

\(\text{vein narrow =ATTR =exclusively=DLIM =QUOT'}[They are]\) exclusively narrow veined [men], it is said.'

(826) \(paləŋci jalgabadəraŋaw\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{arch NP} \\
\text{AC} \\
[[paləŋ]=ci \{jal -aŋ\}=gaba]=dəraŋ =aw
\end{array}
\]

\(jungle =\text{LOC run.away-away =ATTR =p =ACC}'\text{the ones that run away to the jungle}'\)

29.3 No gapping and no obligatory semantic relationship

About the examples of arch NPs in (823) and (824) above one could of course say that the modified nouns, \(\text{ram} \text{‘road’ and soŋ ‘country’},\) have been “extracted” from the attributive clause and that there is a gap in the attributive clause that corresponds to the modified nouns, which has been “put” after the predicate. A gap represents a syntactically obligatory omission. In other words, a gap assures a syntactic representation, a zero, of the head of the arch NP inside a relative clause of languages in which main clauses need all core arguments to be present in order to be grammatically correct. However, this would make the analysis unnecessarily complicated for Atong. I adopt Matsumoto (1997) and Comrie’s (1998 a and b) point of view that certain languages do not need a gap in the attributive clause to account for any missing NP. Like Korean and Japanese, Atong makes extensive use of zero anaphora, i.e. NPs can be left out of any clause if they are retrievable from the
context. This means that main clauses without NPs are perfectly grammatical in Atong and no gap needs to occur in the attributive clause. Moreover, it is difficult to determine which arguments should be conceptualised as core arguments of any potentially multivalent verb, since all arguments can be omitted and then transitive or intransitive interpretation depends on the context in which a clause occurs. When there is no case marking on an NP, its semantic relationship with the predicate can only be inferred. Even with possibly omitted A or O arguments there is no constraint, syntactic or semantic, that forces us to posit a gap in the attributive clause in Atong. Semantically we could imagine numerous participants, but none of these are grammaticalised in Atong, to the point where there are syntactic constraints on their occurrence in a clause. In English, for example, the S (intransitive subject) argument has to be expressed in intransitive and A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) in transitive clauses and the A, O and Location all must be expressed in a clause with the verb to put. In Atong we could multiply the gaps ad infinitum for lack of syntactic proof of what should be conceived of as a “core argument” or obligatorily conceived NP, which therefore should be present in a clause. In reality, the appearance of NPs in a clause is pragmatically conditioned. Any construction has to be interpreted in a context, which is when the relationship between the head of the arch NP and the attributive clause becomes clear. The utterance in (827) (person kill=ATTR) can be interpreted in three ways:

(827) morot soʔot =gaba
    person kill =ATTR

a) The verb soʔot ‘to kill’ can be interpreted as intransitive: ‘a person who kills’, where the stated NP is the Agent, or the S argument of the intransitive verb.

b) The verb can be interpreted as transitive: ‘a person who kills persons’, in which, according to my consultants, the stated NP is most likely to be interpreted as the Patient and the Agent is implied.

c) The stated noun can be interpreted as Patient and no Agent is implied: ‘a killed person’.
The construction in (827) can only be interpreted, i.e. gets a meaning, in a context. In the context of (828), the different interpretations are listed in order from more to less felicitous; interpretation c) is not felicitous in this context, whereas if we would change the verb to, for example, ‘hit’, it could be felicitous.

(828) \[ \text{morot soʔot =gaba =aw gobormen soʔot -siga -ni} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{person} & \quad \text{kill} \quad \text{=ATTR} \quad \text{government} \quad \text{kill} \quad -\text{ALT} \quad -\text{FUT} \\
\text{a)} & \quad \text{‘A person who kills, the government will kill in turn.’} \\
\text{b)} & \quad \text{‘[A person] who kills persons, the government will kill in turn.’} \\
\text{c)} & \quad \ast \text{‘A killed person, the government will kill in turn’}
\end{align*}
\]

It was already mentioned above that a semantic relationship between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause is a matter of inference. Sometimes it is impossible to say what the “main clause equivalent” of an arch NP could be. What could have been gapped? In (829) we see an arch NP where different semantic relationships between the predicate of the attributive clause and the head can be inferred.

(829) \[ \text{kam paŋʔ=gaba morot} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-------------------arch NP-------------------} \\
\text{-------AC------} \\
\text{[|kam]|} & \quad \text{=}gaba \quad \text{morot} \\
\text{work much/many} & \quad \text{=ATTR} \quad \text{person} \\
\text{‘a person whose work is much’, alternatively: ‘a person who has a lot of work’}
\end{align*}
\]

The predicate of the attributive clause, \text{paŋʔ} ‘to be much/many’ is intransitive and it is difficult to imagine any other participants than those already stated. However, two different main clause “equivalents” (they are of course totally different clauses with different meanings from the attributive clause) of the attributive clause in (829) can be conceived. One where \text{morot} ‘person’ is the Possessor of the \text{kam} ‘work’, as we can see in (830), and one where the person is a Location, as in (831).

(830) \[ \text{morotməŋ kam paŋʔa} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{morot} & \quad \text{POSSESSOR} \quad=\text{məŋ kam paŋ} \quad -\text{a} \\
\text{person} & \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{be} \cdot \text{much} \quad -\text{CUST} \\
\text{‘The person’s work is much.’}
\end{align*}
\]
It would be unnecessary to analyse a gap in any attributive clause in Atong because there is no syntactic or semantic ground for it. There is nothing inside the attributive clause that is co-referential with the head of the arch NP.

The fact that Atong attributive clauses cover the “other interpretations” or “possibilities” type, although they do not cover the “fact-S” or noun complementation type in Comrie’s (1998 a) typology of attributive clauses, is a strong argument in favour of calling them attributive clauses and not relative clauses.

### 29.4 Pre- and post-head attributive clauses

Attributive clauses that precede the head of the arch NP, as in (816), will be called pre-head attributive clauses, whereas those that follow the head of the arch NP, as in (819), will be termed post-head attributive clauses. In arch NPs with pre-head attributive clauses the head is the right-most phrasal constituent in the NP, always immediately following the predicate of the attributive clause. In arch NPs containing post-head attributive clauses, the head is the phrasal constituent immediately preceding the attributive clause. Personal pronouns that are Possessors (816) and demonstratives (832) are always the first constituents in any arch NP, regardless of whether the attributive clause precedes or follows the head. In the following example we see how the distal demonstrative precedes the attributive clause while the head of the arch NP comes after the attributive clause.

(832) \[ \textit{ue gorongaba acu} \]

\[
--------\text{arch NP}--------
\]

\[ [\textit{ue } [\textit{goroŋ} ] =\textit{gaba } \textit{acu} ] \]

\[ \text{DST meet } =\text{ATTR grandfather} \]

‘the old man (lit. ‘grandfather’) [whom they] met’
Thus, identification of the head is easy given its position before or after the modifier. The syntactic principles are the same in arch NPs containing pre- and post-head attributive clauses, only the order of the constituents is different, hence it is possible for a head to be modified by attributive clauses on either side of it, as we have seen in (821) above. Let us now look closer at arch NPs containing post-head attributive clauses.

### 29.5 Arch NPs with post-head attributive clauses

The interpretation of arch NPs containing pre-head attributive clauses is very straightforward, since the NP immediately following the attributive clause can only be interpreted as the head, e.g. (809). Arch NPs containing post-head attributive clauses with a transitive predicate can be ambiguous, because they can sometimes be interpreted as headless, as we will see below. In between those two extremes lies the arch NP with a post-head intransitive attributive clause, such as (819), repeated here as (833).

(833) *nok ang muʔgaba gurumok.*

```
---matrix clause---
---arch NP---
------AC------

[nok]<location> [ang]<sg> {muʔ}<ATTR> {gaba}<SG> {gurum -ok}<COS>

house 1s stay =ATTR collapse -COS

'The house in which I lived has collapsed.'
```

In the example above, the verb *muʔ* ‘to stay’ is intransitive and its only argument, the first person personal pronoun *ang*, cannot be the head of the arch NP because personal pronouns cannot be the head of an arch NP.

Arch NPs containing transitive post-head attributive clauses, then, can be analysed in the same way. It is important to remember that the head of the arch NP cannot be case-marked because it is not a constituent of the attributive clause or of the matrix clause. When we look at example (834) we see that the head of the arch NP, *bandi* stands in a (semantic) Agent relationship to the predicate of the transitive attributive clause.
(834) bandi payanggabaaw məkren waʔthok soŋphinʔay grəŋgraŋ caysamaydoŋano.

The alternative analysis of (834) is to see Bandi as Possessor of an arch NP with an ellipsed head, i.e. a headless arch NP (treated below). The translation would be: ‘Grynggrang is watching [the thing which] Bandi is carrying…’, but this interpretation is not intended in this context. It is identification of the head of the arch NP that will play an important role to determine the superiority of the analysis described above, to other possible analyses.

Identification of the head in an arch NP with a post-head attributive clause is easy since it is always the noun that immediately precedes the attributive clause, as was mentioned above. When there are no other non-clausal modifiers, the head is the left-most constituent in the arch NP. When the head is modified by non-clausal modifiers such as demonstrative, a personal pronoun or another noun, this modifier will always come before the head. When two nouns stand in apposition they can, but do not have to, be interpreted as the first modifying the second (see also §6.6). When this occurs in an arch NP, pragmatics will have to make clear whether it has to do with a head modified by the preceding noun or whether the first noun is the head and the second

---

79 The name grəŋgraŋ comes from Garo and is used in Atong without breaking the clusters up with the phoneme /ə/.

80 The attributive clause in example (834) is non-restrictive, as there aren’t lots of Bandis around in the context to be distinguished. This example, then, shows that non-restrictive and restrictive attributive clauses have the same structure.
noun a constituent of the attributive clause. In (835) we see how two nouns occur in apposition. The most likely interpretation is the one where morot ‘person, human’ is the head of the arch NP and not a modifier of the following noun waʔ ‘bamboo’.

(835) morot waʔ saʔgaba

person/human bamboo eat =ATTR ‘a person who eats bamboo’, i.e. a tough person.

Unlikely interpretation: *the human bamboo which is eaten’, bracketing:

[morot waʔ saʔ | =gaba]

person/human bamboo eat =ATTR

In the next example it is clear from the context in the story from which the example is taken that the first noun, ama ‘mother’, is a modifier, viz. a Possessor, of the second noun, garu ‘mustard’ and not the head of the arch NP, which is garu ‘mustard’.

(836) ama garu ramgabaci deʔetgaba iankhonte ie.

mother mustard cook =ATTR =LOC shit =ATTR PRX =FC/ID =SPEC =DCL PRX

‘This might be [the eagle that] shat in mother’s cooked mustard.’

Wrong interpretation in context of the story: ‘This might be [the eagle that] shat on the mother who cooked the mustard.’

29.6 Genitive-marked A argument or Possessor? / No “internal head”

Consider the following example of an arch NP with a post head attributive clause. It is important to note that the predicate of the attributive clause, hənʔ- ‘to give’, is transitive. The noun mola ‘tobacco’ is the head of the arch NP.
29 ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

The constituent order in the example above is Possessor – Head – Attributive clause. It is important to note that the constituent order Head – Possessor – Attributive clause does not occur in corpus of recorded material. The head of the arch NP is *mola* ‘tobacco’ This constituent is modified to the left by a personal pronoun, which is a genitive-marked possessor, *aŋ=mi* (1s=GEN) ‘my’. The nucleus is modified to the right by the attributive clause. As we argued above, the head of the arch NP cannot be case-marked, since it is not syntactically a constituent, hence the lack of accusative marking although the semantic relationship with the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Patient.

Since the predicate of the attributive clause is transitive, an A argument is implied, which is the same as the genitive-marked constituent, i.e. first person singular. When the attributive clause is pre-head, the Possessor always preceeds the attributive clause, as we can see in (838).

(837) *ie, aŋmi mola dolay hən?gabaaw nang?tyhm iaw ryngna man?cido [*…]*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ie]} & \quad \text{[aŋ =mi \ mola \ {dol} =ay \ {hən?} =gaba]o =aw} \\
\text{PRX 1s =GEN tobacco roll.up =ADV give =ATTR =ACC} \\
\text{[nang?-tyhm]} & \quad \text{[i] =aw \ {rəŋ} =na \ {manʔ} =ci =do} \\
\text{2s -ppp PRX =ACC drink =DAT be.able =LOC =TOP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If you can smoke this, my tobacco that [I] give [you] rolled up, [*…]*’

(838) *babami hantigaba gam jəm*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{----------------arch NP----------------} \\
\text{---AC---} \\
\text{[[baba =mi \ {hanti} =gaba gam jəm] =aw} \\
\text{father =GEN divide =ATTR wealth riches =ACC} \\
\text{‘father’s divided wealth [and] riches’}
\end{align*}
\]

I have no recorded examples of transitive attributive clauses in which the A argument is different from the genitive-marked constituent in the arch NP. This leads us to suspect that the genitive-marked constituent is the A argument of the attributive clause. This is unlikely for three reasons:

Firstly, we have already established that the impossibility to receive case marking means that the head is not a clausal constituent. If the genitive-marked noun were a
clausal constituent, this would lead to the syntactically strange situation in which the head of the attributive clause as non-clausal constituent appears in the middle of a clause.

The second reason is that genitive-marked nouns also occur in arch NPs with intransitive attributive clauses, in which case it is very easy to see that they are possessors and not S arguments. The following example is illustrative. In this example, the horse, gore, is the one that runs and not the genitive-marked second person singular naŋʔ=maŋ.

(839) naʔa aŋna naŋʔmaŋ gore jalna rakkhalgabaaw hənʔetar ibo.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{naʔa} & \text{DAT} \\
\text{aŋna} & \text{DAT} \\
\text{naŋʔ} & \text{GEN} \\
\text{gore} & \text{DAT} \\
\text{jal} & \text{strong (SUP)} \\
\text{rak} & \text{ATTR (ACC)} \\
\text{khal} & \text{DAT (SIMP)} \\
\text{gaba} & \text{IMP} \\
\text{aw} & \text{} \\
\text{hənʔ} & \text{give (CAUS)} \\
\text{etar} & \text{-SIMP=IMP} \\
\text{ibo} & \text{} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You just give me your horse that is strongest in running.’ Alternatively: ‘You just give me your horse that runs fastest.’

Thirdly, as we can see in (842), an actor in an arch NP that is not the head, in this case the Agent phulis ‘police’, will not necessarily have genitive marking. Therefore, those constituents that do have genitive marking should be true genitives, and not actors.

Having taken these arguments into account, we can conclude that the genitive-marked noun in (837) is a Possessor and not an A argument. The implied A

\[81\] This use of genitive case marking is different from Shigatse (Haller 2000: 114) where all modified nouns preceding the predicate of the relative clause are usually genitive-marked. Unfortunately Haller does not explain what conditions cause the genitive-marking of nouns that precede relative clauses predicates.
argument of the attributive clause is co-referential with the possessor. More fieldwork needs to be done to find out if it is possible to have attributive clauses in which the A argument is not co-referential with the Possessor of the head of the arch NP.

Recalling the observation that heads of arch NPs cannot be case-marked, when we look again at (834) we can understand why *bandi* can only be interpreted as the head of the arch NP, the phrasal constituent modified by the attributive clause: because it is not genitive-marked. If *bandi* were genitive-marked, it could not be the head of the arch NP and we would have a situation equal to that in (840) below, where the genitive case prevents *dəkhi* from being interpreted as the A of the predicate of the arch NP and thus must be an A argument in the attributive clause of a headless arch NP, since there is no other constituent within the arch NP to be interpreted as the head. As was said above, genitive-marked nouns modifying the head of an arch NP can only precede the attributive clause. In (840) we see how the genitive-marked noun *dəkhi* modifies the ellipsed head of the arch NP.

(840) *dəkhimi balgabatakəy khaʔsin-kadəmay reʔeŋca.*

-------------arch NP-------------

---AC---

[dəkhi =mi \{bal\} =gaba =təkəy
Name =GEN speak =ATTB =LIKE
\{khaʔsin kadəm\} =ay \{reʔeŋ -ca}\nslow slow =ADV go.away =NEG

‘Like [the words] Dykhi had spoken, [Bandi] does not go slowly.’

When there would be another animate candidate for head in the arch NP, i.e. if both potential arguments of a transitive attributive clause predicate are expressed and both are animate nouns, we get a situation as in (841). This example shows us an arch NP where the Agent (semantic relation to the predicate of the attributive clause) *phulis* ‘police’ is the head. The Patient, *mobbin*, who is the O argument of the attributive clause, is thus accusative-marked. In other words, genitive case-marking disambiguates, because a case-marked noun cannot be the head of an arch NP.
(841)  *phulis mobbin tokgaaw  ay  kaʔpetaydoŋ.*

In the example above it would be difficult to perceive the police as modifier of Mobbin, and the most felicitous interpretation is thus for the police to be the head and Mobbin to be the argument of the predicate of the attributive clause.

In (841) both nouns in the arch NP are animate and the Agent is the head of the arch NP. If the Patient is the head, as in (842), it cannot be accusative-marked, because of the impossibility of heads to be case-marked, but the Agent can also not be genitive-marked, or it would be a Possessor modifying the head. In example (842), *mobbin*, the Patient of the predicate of the attributive clause, is the head of the arch NP and is therefore not marked for case. The head is the left-most phrasal constituent. The Agent and transitive subject (A) of the attributive clause, *phulis* ‘police’, is unmarked for case, just as A arguments in all other clauses, and is positioned after the head, directly in front of the predicate. These are the expected case-markings and positions for the head of the arch NP and the NP constituents of any clause.

(842)  *mobbin phulis tokgaba haʔci muʔaroŋ.*

The above evidence shows again that genitive-marked constituents of an arch NP are Possessors and not arguments of the attributive clause. This means that an attributive clause modifies the head of an arch NP in exactly the same way whether the attributive clause is preposed or postposed to the head. In other words, there are no
so called “internally headed” attributive clauses in Atong in which a genitive-marked Agent as argument of the predicate of the attributive clause precedes the head of the arch NP, thus creating the odd situation in which this head would be inside the attributive clause.

29.7 Variation constraints in the position of the attributive clause

In cases like (842) above with two animate nouns within the arch NP with a transitive attributive clause, where the Patient is the head and the Agent is expressed in the attributive clause, the attributive clause will always be post-head. When there is only one noun expressed in the arch NP and this is the head, the attributive clause can precede or follow the head. The same is true for arch NPs in which there is also a pronoun apart from the head, because pronouns cannot be the head of an arch NP and will thus always be a constituent of the attributive clause. When a pronoun precedes the head, it will always be interpreted as a Possessor. In Atong a personal pronoun or other noun need not be genitive-marked to function as possessor; simple juxtaposition is enough. Example (843) is illustrative (see also (849) and (851) below).

(843) anŋ garu ramay tanangaci

\[
\text{[anŋ\(^{\text{possessor}}\) garu\(^{\text{patient}}\)} \{ram \ -ay\} \{tan \ -an\} =ga] =ci
\]

1s mustard dry.in.the.sun -ADV put -AWAY =ATTR =LOC

‘in my mustard (leaves) which [I] left (literally: ‘put away’) in the sun to dry’

The constituent order in the arch NP of (816) can be changed to (844).

\[
\text{[\(^{\text{possessor}}\) anŋ} \{ram \ -ay\} \{tan \ -an\} =ga] =ci
\]

82 In these cases, the left noun is always the possessor and the right noun the Possessed. Juxtapositions can also form compounds (see §6.6).
(844) *mura aŋ muʔaydongaba gaʔanca.*

------------------------------matrix clause-------------------------------
------------------------arch NP------------------------
------------------------AC------------------------

[\text{mura}_{\text{location}} \text{aŋ} \{\text{muʔ-aydoy}\}_{\text{S}} =\text{gaba}\}_{\text{S}} \{\text{gaʔ-an -ca}\}

stool 1s sit -PROG =ATTR good -REF -NEG

‘The stool on which I sit is not good.’

Example (809) can have (845) as variant.

(845) *ucie cunggabaaw phəlgəm nukokno*

------------------------arch NP------------------------
---------------AC---------------

ucie \{\text{cung}\}_{\text{O}} =\text{gaba} \text{phəlgəm}_{\text{Attributan}} =\text{aw} \{\text{nuk -ok}\}_{\text{O}} =\text{no}

then big =ATTR eagle =ACC see =COS =QUOT

‘Then [he] saw the big eagle, it is said.’

Finally, example (834) can be transformed into (846).

(846) *payanggaba bandiaw [...].*

------------------------arch NP------------------------
---------------AC---------------

[\text{pay}_{\text{Pname}} -aŋ\}_{\text{Pname}} =\text{gaba} \text{bandi}_{\text{Agent}} =\text{aw}

carry.by.hand -AWAY =ATTR Pname =ACC

‘[Grynggrang] is watching] the carrying Bandi [with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.]’

Thorough investigations in the field have made me conclude that there is no difference in meaning between arch NPs of which the head is modified by a preceding or following attributive clause.

\[\text{93}\] The name *grəŋgəŋ* comes from Garo and is used in Atong without breaking the clusters up with the phoneme /ʃ/.
It appears that there is a strong tendency for both transitive and intransitive attributive clauses that contain adjuncts (peripheral arguments) to be pre-head, e.g. (847). In this example the attributive clause contains a Location adjunct. The head is the noun *sotmay* ‘fly’.

(847) *phalthaŋ khuʔcukci dumgaba sotmay*

---arch NP---

-----------------------AC-------------------------

[|*[phalthaŋ khuʔcuk] Location =ci {dum} | =gaba sotmay*|

self mouth =LOC swarm =ATTR fly

‘the flies that swarmed in his own mouth’

The following example shows one of only two examples in the corpus of an arch NP with post-head attributive clause that contains an adjunct.

(848) *bəlsi sene abek akankhambayci tangaba*

---arch NP---

-----------------------AC-------------------------

*[bəlsi sene abek]*

year seven drinking.spoon rack.above.fire top =LOC put =ATTR

‘a seven year [old] drinking spoon which had been put on top of the rack above the fire’

---

It has to be mentioned that (848) is only one of two recorded appearances of a modifying construction like this, viz. *bolsi sene abek* (year seven drinking.spoon) ‘a seven year old drinking spoon’. The noun *bolsi* ‘year’ is an autoclassifier (see §12.3) quantified by the numeral *sene* ‘seven’. The quantified noun functions as a modifier to the following noun. The text from which this example is taken is an epic story told in a register that is far from colloquial and very difficult to understand, even for native speakers. This particular speech register could well be the reason that this type of modification of a noun shows up here. The other recorded example of this construction comes from the same story, viz. *bolsi sene=mi cəw* (year seven=GEN liquor) ‘seven year old liquor’, but with a small difference: the modifier is genitive-marked. The colloquial way of saying that something is seven years old requires an attributive clause with the identity/equation copula *dogi?* ~ *dog*- (IE.be): *cəw bolsi sene dogi?gaba* (liquor year seven IE.be=ATTR) ‘liquor which is seven years old’.
29.8 Attested attributivisations

An “attributivisation” is the semantic relationship that obtains between a noun modified by an attributive clause and the predicate of the attributive clause. So far we have seen Location (816), (819), Patient (820), (821), (822), (837), (838), (842), (843) (848), Actor,(823), Agent (834), (839), (841), (847), and Attributant (809), (810), (822), (824) attributivisations. Together with Attribute (821), Target (849), Instrument (850) and Beneficiary (851) attributivisations, these are the ones attested in Atong. Example (829) shows a type of arch NP where there is no semantic relationship between the head and the predicate of the attributive clause.

Target attributivisation:
(849) ɑŋ jɑŋgi mi kʰaʔgal gaba baju

--------arch NP----------
-----AC-----
[ɑŋ ] jɑŋgi
possessor =mi
{kʰaʔgal}
=gaba baju, target
1s life =GEN love =ATTR friend ‘the friend whom I love my [whole] life’ Literally: ‘my life’s beloved friend’.

Instrument attributivisation:
(850) roŋdəŋ mahaɾimu takruk nagaba bostuaw tansetay jalphi

-----------------------------------arch NP---------- ----------------------
--------------------AC
85
---------------------
[|roŋdəŋ mahari
=mu {takruk}=na
=gaba bostu,instrument]O =aw
Name family =COM fight =DAT=ATTR thing =ACC
{tan -set
put -DISPOSE.OF -ADV run.away-back-AWAY -COS =QUOT -FACT
=awa
4
‘[They] ran away back, leaving behind the things for fighting with the Rongdyng family, it is said.’

85 The dative enclitic <=n= (DAT) marks the clause as purposive (see Chapter 27). Thus the purposive clause roŋdəŋ mahari takruk=na ‘in order to fight with the Rongdyng family’ is attributivised as a whole.
Beneficiary attributivisation:

(851) \[\text{an} \, \text{tanka} \, \text{hon?gba} \, \text{morot} \, \text{uci} \, \text{ganaj}.\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{------------------------arch NP-------------------------} \\
\text{---AC---} \\
\{[\text{an} \, \text{tanka}] \, \{\text{hon?}\} \, \text{=gaba} \, \text{morot}_{\text{Beneficiary}}, \{\text{uci}\} \, \text{=ci} \, \{\text{ganaj}\} \}
\end{array}\]

\[\text{1s money give =ATTR person DST=LOC exist}\]

‘The person to whom [I] gave my money is there.’

The meaning of the above example has to be determined by the context. Without context three interpretations are possible, including the one given above. The other two interpretations are: ‘The person who gave me money is there’ and ‘The person who gave my money (to someone else) is there’.

Given the miscellaneous collection of possible relationship that are attested in Atong between the head of the arch NP and the predicate of the attributive clause, it is my impression, that, like in the Japanese and Korean attributive clauses, any relationship is possible, i.e. that there are no grammatical restrictions on what can be attributivised upon, if the context is specific enough to interpret it correctly. More fieldwork is needed to find out if this impression is right.

The verb no- ‘to say’ signals direct speech reports. The verbatim repeated words are the Quote of a speech report construction. Although Quotes are not attested as heads of arch NPs, they can be a constituent of an attributive clause with no ‘say’ as predicate, as in (852). In this example the arch NP is headless and the implied head is the speaker who says the quote. The whole arch NP functions as Beneficiary in the matrix clause.

(852) \[\text{"aya! awandong na? man?wate" nogabana man} \, \text{than} \, \text{tana} \, \text{aydo} \, \text{no} \, \text{wa} \, \text{awononawa.}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{------------------------arch NP-------------------------} \\
\text{---AC---} \\
\text{-----------Quote-------------} \\
\{[\text{aya} \, \{\text{awandong =do} \, \text{na? man?wate}\} \, \text{=te} \, \{\text{no}\} \, \text{=gaba}\}_{\text{Beneficiary}=\text{na}} \}
\end{array}\]

\[\text{interj uncle =TOP face get -FACT =DCL say =ATTR =DAT}\]

\[\{\text{man} \, \text{than}\} \, \{\text{tan} \, \text{-aydo} \, \text{no} \, \text{-wa}\} \, \text{=CLF:ANIMALS three put =AWAY -PROG =QUOT -FACT}\]

‘For [the one who] said “Hey! Uncle got fish!” [he] left three [fishes] behind, it is said.’
29.9 Arch NPs as predicates of verbless clauses

Verbless clauses are of the identity/equation type. Arch NPs, i.e. head noun plus modifying attributive clause, can function as predicates of verbless clauses, just like any NP or prototypical noun. In (853) we see a prototypical noun, raja ‘king’, as head of a predicate. Other examples of nominal predicates are given in §22.5.

(853) aŋan raja

\[
[\text{aŋ}] = \text{an} \quad \{\text{raja}\}
\]

1s = FC/ID king

‘I am the king.’

Just like other NPs, an arch NP does not need to be marked for aspect, modality, mood or polarity, as we see in (854) and (855). In those examples the arch NPs are headless, as are the majority of arch NPs that were recorded as predicates. The S or Topic of the clause, of which the arch NP is the predicate, is always coreferential with the implied head of the arch NP. An arch NP can also function as S or Topic of a verbless clause, as is shown in (859).

(854) aŋdo usaŋmi parangaba.

\[
[\text{aŋ}] = \text{do} \quad \{[\text{u} = \text{saŋ} \quad = \text{mi} \quad \{\text{parang}\} \quad = \text{gaba}]\}
\]

1s = TOP DST = MOB = ABL travel = ATTR

‘I am [someone who] has travelled from there.’ Alternatively: ‘As for me, [I am someone who] has travelled from here.’

(855) naŋʔtəm tholʔramay balgabae.

\[
[\text{naŋʔtəm}] \quad \{[\text{tholʔam -ay}] \quad \{\text{baŋ}\} \quad = \text{gaba}\} \quad = \text{e}
\]

2s - ppp lie - ADV speak = ATTR = FC

‘You⁹ are liars.’ Literally: ‘You [are persons] who speak lyingly.’

The following example shows a nominal predicate that is change-of-state-marked.

The arch NP is headless. The context is as follows. The wild animals meet the fox on
the road while they are running away in fear of the lazy king. The fox asks the animals why they are afraid of the lazy king. The animals say that the lazy king is very brave, since he sat all alone in the banyan tree and jumped out to fight with them.

(856) **thoroksəraŋok una, nindo jalgabak.**

--------predicate--------
-----arch NP------
--AC--
{thorok -səraŋ -ok} una [niriŋ] =do \{ [jal] =gaba] -k\}
jump.out -TOTALLY -COS then 1pe =TOP run.away =ATTR -COS
‘[He] jumped out, then we became [the ones] that ran away.’

Example (857) is an illustration of a headed arch NP functioning as predicate. The head of the arch NP is *raja* ‘king’. The S argument of the verbless identity/equation clause is the interrogative *caŋ* ‘who’.

(857) **caŋ aŋna daygaba raja?**

-------------------------predicate-------------------------
------------------arch NP------------------
-----------AC----------
[caŋ] \{ [aŋ] =na \{day\} =gaba raja\}_{\text{Attributant}}\}
who 1s =DAT be.bigger=ATTR king?
‘Who is a greater king than me?’

29.10 **Headless arch NPs**

When the head of the arch NP is not expressed, the arch NP is headless. The NP that the attributive clause modifies is only implied. The ellipsed NP and its intended relation to the predicate of the attributive clause must be deduced from the context and the restrictional properties on semantic roles of the predicate of the attributive clause. In most of the recorded cases, the ellipsed NP, head of the arch NP, is in an Agent role relationship to the predicate of the attributive clause. Other semantic roles can of course also be implied, of which some are shown in the examples below, where the attributive clauses are underlined.
Implying a Location NP
(858) *phagnan rupek muʔgabaacidō təy ganaŋ.*

--------arch NP--------

\[\text{[phagnan] } [\{rupek\} {muʔ}]=gaba]=ci=do\{təy\}{ganaŋ}\]
always  frog stay =ATTR=LOC=TOP water exist
‘At [the place where] a frog stays, is always water.’
Incorrect interpretation: *‘At the sitting frog is always water.’*

Implying an Agent NP with transitive attributive clause predicate
(859) *iaw balgabae derus ar marak.*

--------arch NP--------

\[\text{[\{i\}=aw}\{bal\}=gaba]=e\{derus ar marak\}\]
PRX=ACC tell =ATTR=FC Name Sname1 Sname2
‘The one who tells this [is] Derus R Marak.’

Implying an Object NP
(860) *ian balgabaaw jametarinaka.*

-----arch NP-----

\[\text{[i]=an}\{bal\}=gaba]=aw\{jam -et -ari -naka\}\]
PRX=FC/ID speak =ATTR=ACC finish=CAUS=SIMP=IFT
‘This, [the story] which [I] told, [I] will now just make it come to an end.’

Implying an Attributant NP
(861) *jalaŋayməŋ kənsaŋdo janʔgabaməŋ ətəkəy olrukokno:*

-----arch NP-----

\[\text{[jal}-aŋ\}=ay=maŋ\}{kənsaŋ}=do\{\{janʔ\}=gaba}=maŋ\]
run.away=AWAY=ADV=SEQ after =TOP=GEN=ATTR=GEN
\[\text{[ətəkəy\} } ol -ruk -ok\}=no\]
like.this speak=RC=QUOT=QUOTE
‘After having run away, from [a place which is] far, [they] spoke to each other
like this.’
Headless arch NPs are the most frequently attested form in the collected fieldwork data, followed closely by post-head attributive clauses, while both of these types greatly outnumber pre-head attributive clauses in the language.\(^{86}\)

### 29.11 Lexicalisations

There are constructions that look like headless arch NPs, but it is impossible to find any implied ellipsed NP. Moreover, these headless arch NPs have a fixed, unpredictable meaning and the verb does not function as a predicate any more, i.e. it cannot take any arguments or verbal modifiers. These constructions are nominalisations. Lexicalised nominalisations with the attributive enclitic \(<=gaba ~ =ga\rangle\) (ATTR) can be participant or abstract nominalisations, body parts, objects, artefacts, places and persons. Most of the recorded lexicalisations are participant nominalisations. The meaning of \(khaʔgal=gaba\) (love=ATTR), in example (862), is the abstract notion ‘love’ and is therefore an abstract nominalisation. One could say that the attributivised verb is the head of the NP.

(862)  *o came, aŋmi naŋʔna khaʔgalgabaau naŋʔmi khatonci dayʔetna manʔphanima?*

> Interj sweetheart 1s =GEN 2s =DAT love =ATTR =ACC
> 
> 2s =GEN heart =LOC enter -CAUS =DAT
> 
> be.able -IN.ADDITION -FUT =Q

‘O sweetheart, will you be able to insert also my love for you into your heart?’

---

\(^{86}\) Out of the 317 arch NPs counted for this thesis 146 are headless (46%), 120 are post-head (38%), and 51 are pre-head (16%). I did not count elicited and incomprehensible examples, but only the ones that come from spontaneous speech.
Lexicalised headless attributive clause predicates never take any aspect or modality suffixes. Examples of lexicalised verbs with the attributive enclitic \(<=gaba \sim =ga\) (ATTR) are listed in Table 75.

Table 75  Examples of lexicalised attributivised verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexical item</th>
<th>gloss of parts</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>məkca=gaba</td>
<td>fancy=ATTR</td>
<td>‘sweetheart, someone you fancy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khəm=gaba</td>
<td>marry=ATTR</td>
<td>‘spouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cicu=gaba</td>
<td>blister=ATTR</td>
<td>‘a blister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangthay=gaba</td>
<td>swell=ATTR</td>
<td>‘abscess’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bas neŋ=tak=gaba</td>
<td>bus rest=do=ATTR</td>
<td>‘bus stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cal=gaba</td>
<td>support=ATTR</td>
<td>‘a support’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rin=gaba</td>
<td>keep.as.domestic.animal=ATTR</td>
<td>‘fishery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kərəŋ=gaba</td>
<td>make.noise=ATTR</td>
<td>‘sound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okgənaŋ=gaba</td>
<td>pregnant=ATTR</td>
<td>‘pregnancy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haiʔbaceŋ=gaba</td>
<td>begin=ATTR</td>
<td>‘beginning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak-sak=gaba</td>
<td>do-appropriately=ATTR</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abstract nominalisations provide more evidence for the lack of gap in attributive clauses in Atong. As we have seen in (829), if there is a head of the arch NP there need not be a semantic relation between it and the predicate of the attributive clause. In the case of abstract nominalisations, we see that a head does not even have to be implied and that the nominalised verb has no arguments.

29.12  The morpheme \(<=gaba \sim =ga\) as attributive suffix

As was already said in the introduction, attributive clauses in Atong do not cover fact-S clauses like in Japanese and Korean, and “other possibilities/interpretations” type clauses, such as *the smell of meat cooking* (Comrie 1998 a: 57). The reason to call noun modifying clauses in Atong “attributive clauses” and not “relative clauses” is that the same morpheme \(<=gaba \sim =ga\) is used as attributiviser on other word classes. The morpheme \(<=gaba \sim =ga\) as attributive suffix occurs on i) numerals, ii)
interrogatives and iii) the time word *dakany* ‘before, in the past’. The reason that the morpheme <-gaba ~ -ga> is analysed as a suffix in this section and not as enclitic, is that the scope of the morpheme is not the NP but the lexical item itself.

i  **Numerals**

Suffixed to numerals, the morpheme <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR) derives ordinal numbers e.g. *bərəy* ‘four’ ⇒ *bərəy-ga* (four-ATTR) ‘fourth’ (see also §11.6). Ordinal numbers are nominal modifiers. This means that the suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR) has an attributivising function, transforming a numeral into an entity that can modify nouns. The following example is illustrative.

(863)  *gənigaba sog badri maydugətəm.*

   \[\text{[gəni -gaba sog]} \{\text{badri maydugətəm}\}\]

  two -ATTR village Pname

  ‘The second village is Badri Maidugytym’

ii  **The bound interrogative formative**

The suffix <-gaba ~ -ga> (ATTR) can be combined with the bound interrogative formative morpheme <bi-> (QF) to form the interrogative *bigaba ~ biga* ‘which?’ (see also §9.15), e.g. (864). The suffix has an attributivising function in this case, just as with the numerals.

87 The same morpheme also occurs as adverbialiser suffix on the relative time postposition *dakany* ‘before, in the past’ (see §14.2.4), as derelationaliser suffix on kinship terms (see §7.1) and unproductively on certain other nouns as relational suffix (see §7.1), e.g. the word *nokgaba* ‘landlord’ can be analysed diachronically as *nok-gaba* (house-RELATIONAL).
The accusative case enclitic in Atong is the only case marker that does not need to occur on the last element of the NP. It also often happens that more than one NP constituent is accusative-marked. The prosody of example (864) is that of a normal clause without any pause or hesitation.

---

88 The accusative case enclitic in Atong is the only case marker that does not need to occur on the last element of the NP. It also often happens that more than one NP constituent is accusative-marked. The prosody of example (864) is that of a normal clause without any pause or hesitation.
Tibetan Type Nominalisation (SSTN) inspired by the work of Matisoff, (1972), Genetti (1992) and others. Bickel comments on their work by saying that: “It is well-known that in many if not most Sino-Tibetan languages relative clause and attribute/genitive markers are identical with nominalisation devices and that sentences bearing such markers can also function as independent utterances […]” (1999: 271).

In most Bodic languages, however, relative clauses are nominalised clauses marked by the genitive (Noonan 1997, DeLancey 1999). DeLancey (1999: 233) proposes a “basic pattern of TB relativisation: the use of a nominalised clause to modify a noun. Since the clause is syntactically a nominal, it is typically marked by the genitive when it is subordinate to another nominal.”

As was said above, nominalisation, genitive and relativisation, here called ‘attributivisation’, are marked differently in Atong. Attributive clauses in Atong are marked with the clausal enclitic $<-$gaba $=$ g$>$ (ATTR), which is different from the genitive/ablative/nominaliser enclitic $<-$mi $=$ m$>$ (GEN/ABL/NR) (see §20.4) and example (866) below. The genitive can also function as action/state/object nominaliser, labelled (NR), on clauses of which the predicate head is marked by the factitive suffix $<-$wa$>$ (FACT) (see §20.4 and §24.3.1), e.g. (866) and (867) below. In these examples the verbal roots bal ‘speak, say, tell’ and saʔ ‘eat’, marked by the factitive suffix $<-$wa$>$ (FACT) and the genitive enclitic $<-$mi$>$ (GEN); these nominalised clauses function as heads of NPs. In (866) we see that this head can be modified, in this case by a Possessor $aŋ=mi$ (1s=GEN) ‘my’, and in (867) we see a nominalised clause with accusative case-marking $<-$aw$>$ (ACC).

(866)  $aŋmi bəlwam$ $ici$ $jametwa.$  

1s =GEN talk-FACT =NR PRX =LOC=FC/ID end -CAUS -FACT

‘I will end my talking here.’

(867)  $pheru$ $nuksega$ akno $saʔwamiaw.$  

fox see -ALT -COS =QUOT eat -FACT =NR =ACC

‘This time the fox saw [it], it is said, the food.’
An attributive clause in Atong is not a nominalisation since it cannot function as the head of an NP, except when it is lexicalised (as was treated in §29.11). Attributive clauses are modifiers within an NP. This chapter provided ample examples in which this fact was demonstrated.

29.14 Conclusion

As I found the terminology used in the canonical literature about relative clauses confusing and unsatisfactory to describe attributive clauses in Atong, I set out to find a more appropriate and transparent way in which this grammatical phenomenon can be analysed. This led me to coin the term “arch NP” to designate the grammatical unit which comprises the attributive clause and the noun it modifies, i.e. the head. The arch NP as a whole functions as constituent in the matrix clause.

There is no such thing as a “common argument”. The head of the arch NP is always unmarked for case, just because it is neither a constituent of the attributive clause nor of the matrix clause. For the same reason, there is also no such thing as an “internally headed” attributive clause in Atong, where the head of the arch NP occurs within the attributive clause surrounded by its constituents.

It is not necessary to posit a “gap” in the attributive clause, because Atong allows zero anaphora or ellipsis of NPs, when they are retrievable from the context. I see a gap as a zero representation of a syntactically required NP in the attributive clause. It is not possible for the head of the arch NP to be at the same time governed or controlled by the predicate of the attributive clause and to be modified by it. There are no grammatical constraints that force the inference of NPs when these are not expressed in the clause.

A semantic relation between the predicate of the attributive clause and the head of the arch NP can, but does not have to be inferred.

Attributive clauses in Atong do not cover interpretations of what Matsumoto (1997) calls “noun-complement constructions”, and Comrie (1998 a and b) terms “fact-S constructions”, e.g. (813). Despite these two shortcomings, it would still be appropriate, in my view, to consider attributive clauses in Atong as such. Firstly, because Atong attributive clauses are used to cover constructions with “other possibilities/ interpretations” (Comrie 1998 a: 54-55). Secondly, because of the evidence that the attributive morpheme <\textit{gaba} ~ \textit{ga}> (ATTR) has an attributivising
function on other word classes apart from verbs, i.e. numerals, the attributive time postposition *dakaŋ* ‘before, in the past’ and the bound interrogative formative morpheme \(<bi>\) (QF).
Appendix 1  Texts

This section presents five texts of different genres. The first two texts represent the spontaneous speech of two and three unmarried men respectively. The third text is an informative text, telling us about the summoning of spirits. The text that follows is an incantation. The last text is a fictional story about a lazy king. All texts are represented almost exactly as they were recorded. The only alternations that are made are the removal of hesitations, false entries and unnecessary repetitions. These alternations are, however, very few in number. Apart from the incantation, all texts are glossed and translated. The incantation, being untranslatable according to my friends, is not recognisable as either Atong or Garo and might be some language that is only used by priests in incantations.

TEXT 1  \textit{Saduthaymaran məŋʔtham}  
\textit{‘The three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’}

\textit{part 1}

\textit{Saduthaymaran part 1} and \textit{part 2} are the transcriptions of two short films taken by one of my friends, Samrat N Marak, in Siju in the summer of 2007 with my Sony digital photo camera. The films are improvised plays but treat serious every day matters in the lives of the main characters Songken, Jongken and Nongken two of which feature in Part one, i.e. Songken and Nongken. The speakers age lies somewhere between 16 and 23 years old. Because the plays are improvised, the language is spontaneous and colloquial and therefore the films give an excellent impression of the every day conversational speech of unmarried men from Siju.

The word \textit{sadu} is a reciprocal kinship term indicating the relation of men whose wives are sisters (see Chapter 1). The title \textit{saduthaymaran məŋʔtham} is morphologically analysed as follows: \textit{sadu-OWN-RC CLF:HUMAN three ‘three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’}.  

1. **Songken**
   
   aaah jow =na sək =-arok =te. cai -a.
   interj sleep =DAT want =PROG =DCL tired =IMPF
   ‘Oh! [I] want to sleep. [I]’m tired.’

2. **Nongken**
   
   ayaw!
   interj
   ‘Jeez!’

3. **Songken**
   
   ie radi jadi tak -a. biba =an rayʔa =nakə?
   PRXC Name crazy woman do =IMPF when =FC/ID come =IFT
   ‘This Radi is acting like a fool. When will [she] be coming?’

4. **johan deʔet =na reʔeŋ -wa?**
   Name shit =DAT go away =FACT
   ‘Johan went away to shit?’

5. **Nongken**
   
   mʔm. cabi =ba. hoʔoŋ.
   yes key =ADD yes.
   ‘Yes. And the key (Implies ‘And he went about the key’). Yes.’

6. **Songken**
   
   ayaw! cabi =ci =n tan -aŋ =-ok? naʔnaŋ =e, ie mm…
   interj key QF =LOC =FC/ID put =AWAY =COS lpi =FC PRX interj
   ‘Oh! Where did [X] put the key? We, this um…’

7. **Songken**
   
   aŋ =do ie naʔnaŋ atoŋ =aw, hayʔ =aw, golpho thari =ga =aw
   1s =TOP PRX lpi what =ACC GPN =ACC story prepare =ATTR =ACC

8. **lapstori, aŋ =mi gəmən tari =na sək =-aroŋa =cəm. asol =an!**
   love story 1s =GEN about prepare =DAT want =PROG =IRR really =FC/ID
   ‘As for me, this our, what… what’s it?... prepared story, the love story, I want to
   prepare [it] about me. Really!’

9. **gaʔsu =ay =sa tari =ni =cəm. thari =ok =odo…**
   splendid =ADV =DLIM prepare FUT =IRR prepare COS =TOP
   ‘I should prepare it really splendidly. When I’ll have prepared it…’
10. **Nongken**
   *hoɾon*
   yes
   ‘Yes’

11. **Songken**
    *caŋ?*
    who
    ‘Who?’

12. **Nongken**
    *hayda.*
    I don’t know
    ‘I don’t know.’

13. **Nongken** and **Songken**
    *hu!*
    interj
    ‘Hey!’

14. **Songken**
    *hu! caŋ?*
    interj who
    ‘Hey! Who?’

15. **Nongken**
    *hayda.*
    I don’t know
    ‘I don’t know.’

16. **Songken**
    *aya!*
    interj
    ‘What a pity!’

-Hindi singing-
17. Songken (speaking into the camera)

ie, ie, i =do mamuŋ =an doŋʔ -khu -ca.

PRX PRX PRX =TOP nothing =FC ID IE:be -INCOM-NEG

‘He, he, he is nothing yet.’

18. ie burbok=taka =do i =do.

PRX idiot =LIKE =TOP PRX =TOP

‘He’s like an idiot, [yes] he.

19. i =səi, nawaŋ =taka =səi.

PRX =MIR fool =LIKE =MIR

‘[It is] him to my amusement, [he] to my amusement is like a fool!’

(Speaking to Nongken)

20. silat =e atakna manchi=aw wat -ok?

Pname =FC why Pname =ACC send.away =COS

‘Why did Silat send Manchi away?’ (i.e. ‘Why did Silat break up with Manchi?’)

21. kam =ni duk =ni. nem -pha =cəm ue.

wealth -WITHOUT grief -WITHOUT good -IN-ADDITION =IRR DST

‘Good for nothing, no grief. [She] was supposedly no good either, she.’

22. muʔthay =ba cuŋ-an =aro, teʔew =e.

bosom =EMPH big -WITHOUT HOLDING BACK PROG now =FC

‘[Her] breasts are getting really big, though, now.’

23. teʔ =do wat =na naŋ -ca =cəm!

now =TOP send.away =DAT need -NEG =IRR

You should not have sent her away!

_________________________

89 Silat and Manchi are not the real names of the persons involved. Their names have been altered for reasons of privacy.
24. atakna  wat  =na naʔa? [pause]  ma?
   why  send.away  =DAT2s  Q
Why send her away, oh, you? Well?

25. Nongken
   gawi =an  thik  -an  -ca.
girl  =FC/ID  right  -REF  -NEG
   ‘That girl was not decent.’

26. Songken
   o  thik  -an  -ca?
interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT  right  -REF  -NEG
   ‘Oh, she was not decent?’

27. Nongken
   hoʔoŋ.
yes
   ‘Yes’

28. Songken
   atak  -ari  -a,  teʔew  -rawraw  =mi  gawi  =do.
do.like.that-SIMP-IMPF  now  -CONTINUOUSLY=GENgirl  =TOP
   ‘Yes. They do like that, the girls from now on.’ (i.e. today’s girls’)

29. Nongken
   hmʔm.
interj
   ‘Yeah.’

30. Songken
   u  =na  -n  som  -sak  =na  naj  -a  -ro.
DST=DAT=FC/ID  follow  -APPROPRIATELY=DATneed  -IMPF=EMPH
   ‘You have to be careful with them, really.’ Literally: ‘You have to follow them appropriately.’

31. Nongken
   najʔ  =mi  =ba  thik  -an  -ca  -khon  =te.
2s  =GEN=ADD  right  -REF  -NEG  -SPEC  =DCL
   ‘Yours might not be decent either, I tell you.’
32. Songken

\textit{mèm} kam niʔ -wa naʔa, nuk -a =no =na

\begin{align*}
\text{yes} & \quad \text{wealth} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{FACT} \\
2s & \quad \text{see} \\
\text{IMPF} & \quad \text{QUOT} \\
\text{DAT} & \\
\end{align*}

\textit{mokca} -arok -ona.

\begin{align*}
\text{fancy} & \quad \text{PROG} \\
\text{DESI} & \\
\end{align*}

‘Yes. They are worth nothing, because [whoever] they see, it is said, they’ll want to fancy.’

33. nuk -wa =no -wa =na

\begin{align*}
\text{see} & \quad \text{FACT} \\
\text{QUOT} & \quad \text{FACT} \\
\text{DAT} & \\
\end{align*}

\textit{mokca} -damdam -ari -a =te,

\begin{align*}
\text{fancy} & \quad \text{ONE} \\
\text{AFTER} & \quad \text{THE} \\
\text{OTHER} & \quad \text{SIMP} \\
\text{IMPF} & \quad \text{DCL} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{teʔew} -rawraw gawi =e.

\begin{align*}
\text{now} & \quad \text{CONTINUOUSLY} \\
\text{girl} & \quad \text{FC} \\
\end{align*}

‘It is said that because [whoever] they see, they’ll fancy one after the other, I’m telling you, the girls of nowadays.’

34. cancip -ay, teʔew naŋʔ =aw mokca -ni.

\begin{align*}
\text{suppose} & \quad \text{ADV} \\
\text{now} & \quad \text{2s} \\
\text{ACC} & \quad \text{fancy} \\
\text{FUT} & \\
\end{align*}

\textit{u} =mi =do alaga =aw mokca -naka.

\begin{align*}
\text{DST} & \quad \text{GEN} \\
\text{TOP} & \quad \text{other} \\
\text{ACC} & \quad \text{fancy} \\
\text{IFT} & \\
\end{align*}

‘Suppose, now [a girl] will fancy you, after that she’ll certainly fancy someone else.’

35. ațək -ramʔ -ari -a.

\begin{align*}
\text{do} & \quad \text{like} \quad \text{that} \\
\text{INADVERTENTLY} & \quad \text{SIMP} \quad \text{IMPF} \\
\end{align*}

‘It just inadvertently happens like that.’ Alternatively: ‘It just happens like that and there is nothing we/they can do about it.’

36. ațəkəymu bi =aw mokca =na ațək =ga =ray (Garo) =aw =e?

\begin{align*}
\text{CONJ} & \quad \text{which} \\
\text{ACC} & \quad \text{fancy} \\
\text{DAT} & \quad \text{do} \quad \text{like} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{ATTR} \\
\text{p} & \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{FC} \\
\end{align*}

‘So which ones am [I] supposed to fancy, those who do like that?’
36.a  
\[\text{ga\text{"i}su} -\text{ca ma? ca. kam } =\text{ni}?\]
cool -NEG interj NEG wealth =PRIV
\[\text{‘It’s really not cool. Worthless’}\]

37. **Nongken**
\[\text{ri\text{"i}gol!}\]
penis (this is the form of the word when it is used as swearword)
\[\text{‘Dick!’}\]

38. **Songken**
\[\text{ca\text{\"a} ri\text{"i}? na\text{"a} ri\text{"i}gol ma a\text{"a} ri\text{"i}gol? aaah! t\text{\"a}i sala!}\]
who penis 2s penis q 1s penis interj interj idiot
\[\text{‘Who’s a dick? Are you a dick or am I a dick? Argh! Jeez, idiot!’}\]

39. **Nongken**
\[\text{jo\text{"a}han!}\]
Name
\[\text{‘Johan!’}\]

40. **Songken**
\[\text{ca\text{\"a}?}\]
who
\[\text{‘Who?’}\]

41. **Nongken**
\[\text{tarak} =\text{bo} =\text{to na\text{"a}!}\]
fast =IMP =EMPH 2s
\[\text{‘Hurry up, oh you!’}\]

42. **Songken**
\[\text{di\text{"i}su =na =ba sas\text{"a}k sas\text{"a}k tak -arok.}\]
piss =DAT=EMPH feel.an.urge RED do -PROG
\[\text{‘[He]’s feeling an urge to piss.’}\]
TEXT 2  *Saduthanjmaran məŋʔtham*

‘The three brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters’

**part 2**

1. **Jongken**
   
   o  morot =dəraŋ! atoŋ tak -aroŋ?  
   
   interj person=p what do -PROG  
   ‘Hey people! What are [you] doing?’

2. **Nongken**
   
   atakna rayʔa -wa?  
   
   why come -FACT  
   ‘Why have you come?’

3. **Jongken**
   
   o,  gəlgəl -aroŋ ətəken, harat -wa =na =sa.  
   
   interj roam -PROG just.like.this lazy -FACT =DAT=DLIM  
   ‘Oh, [I]’m just roaming like this, just because I’m lazy.’

4. **Nongken**
   
   muʔ =bo. ca cini =ba coʔoya ra =bo =to.  
   
   sit =IMP tea sugar=EMPH a.little give =IMP =MPEMPH  
   ‘Sit. Give some tea and sugar, come on.’

5. **Songken**
   
   caŋ rayʔa -wa?  
   
   who come -FACT  
   ‘Who has come?’

6. **Nongken**
   
   ue, u =saŋ =mi. bimug atoŋ məŋ -wa?  
   
   DST DST=MOB =GEN name what call.a.name -FACT  
   ‘He, from over there. What’s [your] name?’

7. **Jongken**
   
   hayʔe naʔa, jøŋken.  
   
   whatchamatsallit 2s Name  
   ‘Um, oh, you! Jongken.’
8. **Nongken**
   *jongken.*
   Pname
   ‘Jongken.’

9. **Songken**
   *ooo. ca =ma?*
   interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT tea =Q
   ‘Oooh. Tea?’

10. **Nongken**
    *hoʔong.*
    yes
    ‘Yes’

11. **Songken**
    *oo. haʔ, rəŋ =bo.*
    interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT take.this drink =IMP
    ‘Ok. Take this, drink.’

12. **Jongken**
    *ayaw naŋ -ca -wa =cəm =te.*
    interj need -NEG -FACT =IRR =DCL
    ‘Jeez, that should not have been necessary, really.’

13. **Nongken**
    *rəŋ =bo!*
    drink =IMP
    ‘Drink!’

14. **Songken**
    *biskut =an i =tara =an -ok =ay bayʔ.*
    biscuit =FC/ID PRX =EXCLUSIVELY =FC/ID -COS =POS friend
    ‘There are only these biscuits [left], friend.’ Lit. ‘The biscuits have become only these really, friend.’

15. **Jongken**
    *əm.*
    AFFIRMATIVE
    ‘Ok.’
16. **Songken**  
_atakna naʔa rayʔa -wa =cəm?_  
why 2s come -FACT =IRR  
‘Why might you have come?’

17. **Jongken**  
_nil? -wa atəkəy =an gəlgəl -ari -wa, aŋ =do teʔew -maŋmaŋ_  
NEG.be -FACT like.that =FC/ID roam -SIMP-FACT 1s =TOP now -ONLY  

    _may saʔ -wa =do saʔ -wa =cəm ca =ba._  
rice eat -FACT =TOP eat -FACT =IRR  tea =EMPH  
‘Nothing, [I] just roamed around like that, I have just now eaten rice and tea.’

18. **Nongken & Songken**  
_o, saʔ =bo!_  
inter:jACKNOWLEDGEMENT eat =IMP  
‘Oh, eat!’

19. **Jongken**  
_harat -wa._  
lazy -FACT  
‘[I’m] lazy.’

20. **Songken**  
_khaʔsin saʔ =bo. _ci… naʔnaŋ hayʔ =ci doreŋgo =e bewal_  
slowly eat =IMP PRX 1pi GPN =LOC Pname =FC maybe  

    _janʔ -a =ma?_  
far -IMPF =Q  
‘Eat slowly. This… Our, this, eh, Dorenggo, is it far, by chance?’

21. **Jongken**  
_hayda =e aŋ =ba taw =do taw -aŋ -khu -ca._  
I.don’t.know=FC 1s =EMPH go.up =TOP go.up -AWAY -INCOM-NEG  
‘I don’t know, even I have not yet gone up [there].’

22. **atəkciba morot =dəraŋ bal -wa jənʔ -ok =khon =te._  
but people =p say -FACT far -COS =SPEC =DCL  
‘But people say that it might be very far for sure.’
23. Songken
   hoʔon mo. ayaw.
   yes CONF interj
   ‘Yes, of course. Jeez!’

24. Nongken
   aŋ =ba nuk =na sək -aroŋ =cəm
   1s =EMPH see =DAT want -PROG =IRR
   ‘Even I would like to see it.’

25. Songken
   naʔa məkca khaʔgal -wa ni? -wa =ma ganəŋ?
   2s fancy love -FACT NEG.be -FACT =Q exist
   ‘Do you have [someone] you fancy [and] love or not?’

26. Jongken
   ayaw teʔew -dabat =do ni? -way.
   interj now -until =TOP NEG.be -FACT.POS
   ‘Jeez, untill now [I] haven’t.’

27. Songken
   ni? -wa.
   NEG.be -FACT
   ‘[I] haven’t.’

28. Jongken
   naʔa.
   2s
   ‘[What about] you?’

29. Songken
   ga =do ganəŋ =cəm, gawi thogi -ok.
   exist =TOP exist =IRR girl betray -COS
   ‘There certainly was, but not any more, the girl betrayed [me].’

30. Jongken
   gawi thogi -ok?
   girl betray -COS
   ‘The girl betrayed [you]?’
31. **Songken**

   *hoʔoŋ*

   yes

   ‘Yes.’

32. **Nongken**

   *aŋ =do niʔ -səraŋ.*

   1s =TOP NEG be -TOTALLY

   ‘As for me, [I] totally don’t have [one].’ Literally: ‘As for me, [I’m] a total non-haver.’

33. **Songken**

   *hay sigaret hənʔ -et -səraŋ naʔa u =aw.*

   come on cigarette give -CAUS -TOTALLY 2s DST=ACC

   ‘Come on, give cigarettes!, oh you, those.’

34. **Nongken**

   *ooo! əh! awan -arok aŋ =do.*

   interj interj forget -PROG 1s =TOP

   ‘Oh! Ah! I forgot. Lit. ‘I’m forgetting.’

35. **Songken**

   *ha walʔ +bət hənʔ -et -səraŋ =bo =to.*

   hey fire +drive give -CAUS -TOTALLY =IMP =IMPEMPH

   ‘Hey, give matches too!’

36. **Nongken**

   *ha! rəŋ =bo. ayaw!*

   take this drink =IMP interj

   ‘Take this! Smoke. Jeez!*

37. **Jongken**

   *aŋ -ba dakaŋ canci-a tak -wa =cəm*

   1s =EMPH in.the.past think =ADV do -FACT =IRR

   *gawি aטק֑י tak -wa =nan aŋa.*

   girl like that do -FACT =DAT.FC/ID 1s

   ‘I also used to think like that because girls do like that, me.'
38. **Songken**

*ie radi =ba atoj tak -səraj -ok ie?*

PRX Pname =EMPH what do -TOTALLY -COS PRX

‘What the hell did this Radi do?’

39. **Nongken**

*dəkəm sa -a aŋ =do.*

head hurt -IMPF 1s =TOP

‘My head hurts.’

40. **Songken**

*ie jək =ba saʔ =ba atək -rum -ari -a naʔa.*

PRX spouse =EMPH child =EMPH do.like.this-ALL -SIMP-IMPF 2s

‘The women and children are all doing like this, oh you!’

*atakna ie? ha! rəŋ -səraŋ =bo =to.*

why PRX take.this drink -TOTALLY =IMP =IMPEM PH

‘Why this? Take this! Smoke it all, go on.’

41. **Jongken**

*aŋ =do ca rəŋ -aroŋ.*

1s =TOP tea drink-PROG

‘I’m drinking tea.’

42. **Songken**

(to Nongken) *rəŋbo.* (to Jongken) *ca rəŋ -cej =bo =to.*

drink tea drink-FIRST =IMP =IMPEM PH

(to Nongken) ‘Smoke.’ (to Jongken) ‘Drink tea first, go on.’

43. **Nongken**

(to Jongken) *rəŋ =bo =to.*

drink =IMP =IMPEM PH

‘Drink!’

44. **Songken**

*naʔa, sadu =e.*

2s man.who.married.my.wife’s.sister =FC

‘Oh you, sadu!’
45. **Nongken** (about Songken’s sigaret)

\[ \text{thɔŋʔ} \text{ sə hɔnʔ -ari =bo sadu.} \]

longitudinal half one give -SIMP-IMP man.who.married.my.wife’s.sister

‘Just give me half.’

46. **Songken**

\[ o \text{ doŋʔ -ari -ni =ba. aŋ =do naʔnaga jək…} \]

interj: ACKNOWLEDGMENT IE be -SIMP-FUT =EMPH 1s =TOP 1pi spouse

‘Sure, that’ll be all right. As for me, our wives…’

\[ naŋʔ jək =ba raʔa -khu -ca =khon =te. \]

2s spouse =EMPH come -INCOM-NEG =SPEC =DCL

‘Your wife has maybe not come yet?’

47. **Nongken**

\[ ?m:hm? \]

that’s.right

‘Nope.’

48. **Songken**

\[ ?mmm. \]

interj: PENSIVE

‘Mmm.’

49. **Jongken**

\[ aŋ =do gəlgəl -roŋ -ca -wa =na =sa teʔew nok =ci \]

1s =TOP roam -USUALLY -NEG -FACT =DAT=DLIM now house =LOC

\[ raŋ wa =ay =mu kam khaʔ =na harat -ok, \]

rain rain =ADV =SEQ work do =DAT reluctant -COS

\[ manʔdək -ok kam khaʔ =na. \]

difficult -COS work do =DAT

‘As for me, precisely because [I] usually roam [around] now [that] it is raining, I’ve become reluctant to work at home, it’s very difficult to work.’ Alternatively

‘It has become difficult to work.’

50. **Songken**

\[ hoʔoŋ u =do naŋʔ =do banthay morot -ok =ona \]

yes DST=TOP 2s =TOP bachelor person -COS =DAT
Saduthaŋmaran məŋʔ tham

Part 2

51. Nongken

hoʔoŋ

yes

‘That’s right.’

52. Jongken

niʔ -wa. harat -ay =sa.

NEG.be -FACT lazy =ADV =DLIM

‘Nothing, just lazy.’

53. Songken

ʔhmnm. uɸː! dəkəm sa -phin -a ay =do.

interj PUFFING.SOUND head hurt -FULLY -IMPF 1s =TOP

‘Sigh. Oofff! My head totally hurts.’

nokdaŋ =mi gəmən ətəkəy cancie =ci =do...

people.that.live.in.one.house =GEN reason like.that think =LOC=TOP

‘Because of the people that live in your house, it you think like that…’

54. Jongken

ʔhm! kam =ba atoŋ kam =aw khaʔ =ay muʔ -naka ie?,

interj work =EMPH what work =ACC do =ADV stay -IFT PRX

‘GRUNT! ‘And then that work, what work will he be doing while he stays here?’

54a banthay =ci =ba taŋka poysa naŋʔ naŋ -arok =ona...

bachelor =LOC=INDEF money money 2s need -PROG =DAT

‘when you are a bachelor, because you need money…’

55. Nongken

hoʔoŋ, com.

yes IRR

‘Yes, supposedly’
56. **Songken**

\[ te? ew ni? me? apba \quad tak -gaba =ra? (Garo) =ba \quad alamala \]

now 1p married.man do =ATTR =p =EMPH a.little.bit

\[ \text{PRX} = \text{ADD} \quad \text{PRX} = \text{GEN} \quad \text{for.no reason marry =DAT must} - \text{FACT} \quad 1p i = \text{EMPH} \]

‘Now that we are like married man, this… because of this we had to marry for no reason, you and me.’

57. **Nongken**

\[ sa? \quad m?\text{a}q? \quad sa \quad ba? \quad =\text{ay} =\text{muq}, \quad man\?\text{dak}-\text{arok.} \]

child CLFHUMAN one be.born =ADV =SEQ difficult -DUR

‘After one child has been born, it is difficult.’

**Songken**

\[ man\?\text{dak}-\text{asol} -a \quad ho?\text{roq.} \quad ie \quad jenkon =\text{para} =ba \]

difficult -truly -IMPF yes PRX Name =&co =EMPH

\[ \text{ray}\?\text{a} -\text{sa}\?\text{raq} -\text{ca} -\text{k.} \]

come -TOTALLY -NEG -COS

‘Difficult indeed, yes. This Jenkon and those associated with him never come any more.’

58. **Nongken**

\[ wel\?\text{a}q \quad wel\?\text{a}q \quad cu\text{ngalgal} -\text{wa} =\text{sa} \quad ga? \quad -\text{naka}=\text{com.} \]

quickly RED grow.up -FACT =DLIM be.compelled -IFT =IRR

‘[He] will almost certainly be compelled to grow up quickly.’

\[ jenkon =\text{para} =ba \quad \text{ray}\?\text{a}-\text{khu} -\text{ca} =\text{khon}? \]

Name =&co =EMPH come-INCOM -NEG =SPEC

‘Jenkon and company might not have come yet.’

59. **Jongken**

\[ hayda \quad \text{ray}\?\text{a}-\text{khu} -\text{ca} -\text{aroq} -\text{ni} =\text{khon.} \]

I.don’t.know come-INCOM-NEG -PROG -FUT =SPEC

‘I don’t know. He has not come yet but he might still be coming.’
60. **Songken**

sayno =mi naw =aw aŋ =do khəm -thiri -ni.

Name =GENyounger.sister =ACC 1s =TOP marry -AGAIN-FUT

‘I will again marry Seino’s younger sister,’

aŋ jək khəm =ami khambay=ci =an.

1s spouse marry =NOM top =LOC=FC/ID

‘?’

khəm =ay =mu aŋ =do i =saŋ bət -ai -ni -khon.

marry =ADV =SEQ 1s =TOP PRX =MOB lead -TOWARDS -FUT SPEC

‘After marrying [her], I will maybe bring [her] here.’

61. **Jongken**

ʔhm

interj

‘Ok.’

62. **Songken** (giving Nongken his cigarette)

haʔ sadu.

‘Take this, sadu.’

63. **Nongken** (taking the cigarette)

o.

interj:ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

‘Ok.’

64. **Songken**

ayaw!

interj (maybe of boredom, maybe because the speaker is worried, reason not sure)

‘Oh’

65. **Jongken**

may saʔ -thok-ok =ma nəŋ-təm =e?

rice eat -ALL -COS =Q 2s -ppp =FC

‘Have you all eaten?’
66. Songken
    o saʔ-ak =ba. saʔ-ak =cam=ay, naʔa saʔ-ak?
    interj eat -COS =EMPH eat -COS =IRR =pos 2s eat -COS
    ‘Yea, [I] have indeed. [I] supposedly have indeed, have you eaten?’

67. Jongken
    ag =do saʔ=do saʔ-ak.
    1s =TOP eat =TOP eat -COS
    ‘I sure have eaten.’

68. Songken
    hmʔm.
    no
    ‘No.’

69. Jongken
    may saʔ=nan jaʔbek waiʔbek thaw-ca -wa =nan.
    rice eat =DAT.FC/ID curry burnt.curry tasty -NEG -FACT =DAT.FC/ID
    ‘As for eating rice, the curry was burnt, it was not tasty.’

70. Songken
    ue pipuk =an okha khamʔ=ay muʔ-arona ag =do.
    DST belly =FC/ID full burn =ADV stay -PROG 1s =TOP
    ‘That stomach is full [and/but] keeps burning, as far as I’m concerned.’

71. Nongken
    ue gumuk =an. okhi -an -ca.
    DST all =FC/ID hungry -REF -NEG
    ‘All of that.’ [I]’m not hungry.’

72. Jongken
    atonj =aw saʔ-wa no na??
    what =ACC eat -FACT say 2s
    ‘Tell, oh you! what did you eat?’

73. Songken
    jaʔbek =an gaʔsu -an -ca naʔa niŋ =ba.
    curry =FC/ID splendid -REF -NEG 2s 1p =ADD
    ‘Our curry wasn’t nice either, oh you.’
Having been a priest himself, before he turned to the Christian religion a few years before I did my first fieldwork on Atong, Mr. Genda R Marak tells us about the art of spirit incantation. Spirits are summoned by priests to cure the sick. As we will read, it is by no means a cheap practice.

1. niŋ sɔŋsɔrek =do, niŋ atɔŋ =do dakaŋ =do
   1pe heathen =TOP 1pe Atong =TOP in.the.past =TOP

   maməŋ thorom =aw niʔ wa =mi somay =ci =do
   nothing religion =ACC not.exist -FACT =GEN time =LOC =TOP

   way =aw mani -a.
   spirit =ACC worship -CUST

   ‘We heathens, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, [we] worshipped spirits.’

2. way =aw mani -wa =mi oltho =do thama cay -a,
   spirit =ACC worship -FACT =GEN meaning =TOP devination look -CUST

   kamal =ci thama cay -a.
   priest =LOC devination look -CUST

   ‘The meaning of spirit worship is divination, devination is practised at the priest’s.’

3. thama cay =ay =mu atɔŋ way dɔŋ? -ok.
   devination look =ADV =SEQ what spirit IE.be =COS

   ‘Having practised devination, [we can see] which spirit has appeared.’
4. cancicəp =ay way cuŋ=gaba doŋʔ =-ok.
suppose =ADV spirit big =ATTR IE.be -COS
‘Suppose a big spirit has appeared.’ Literally: ‘Supposingly a big spirit has appeared.’

5. way cuŋ=gaba doŋʔ =ci =do purun raʔ =-a.
spirit big =ATTR IE.be =LOC=TOP goat get -CUST
‘If it is a big spirit, we buy [lit. ‘get’] a goat.’

6. purun raʔ =ʔay =mu məsə su raʔ =-a.
goose get =ADV =SEQ cow get -CUST
‘Having bought [lit. ‘gotten’] a goat, we buy a cow.

7. məsə naŋ =-a, wak naŋ =-a, tawʔ naŋ =-a, cow naŋ =-a
cow need -CUST pig need -CUST chicken need -CUST liquor need -CUST

    way khurut =na.
spirit perform.an.incantation =DAT
‘[You] need a cow, [you] need a pig, [you] need a chicken, [you] need liquor in order to perform an incantation.’

8. umido u =aw kamal sandi =-ni.
then DST=ACC priest search -FUT
‘Then [you] will search for the priest.’

    u =aw waʔphek =gumuk, waʔ pan =gumuk
DST =ACC type.of.small.bamboo =all bamboo wood=all

    thari -thəloŋ =ay =mu =sa,
prepare-NICELY =ADV =SEQ =DLIM

    san sa daythagmanca thari =ay =sa,
day one especially prepare=ADV =SEQ

    kamal =na rok =ay =sa, way khurut =-a,
priest =DAT chase=ADV =DLIM spirit perform.an.incantation -CUST
‘Only after having prepared all that small bamboo, only after having nicely prepared the bamboo and the fire wood, only on an especially prepared day, [you] call for [lit. ‘chase’] a priest [and] perform the spirit cantation, in the [time] of our ancestors [lit. ‘grandfather and grandmother’] in our childhood.’

9. ətəkəymu kamal khurut -ni.
so.then priest perform.an.incantation -FUT
‘So then, the priest performs the incantation.’

10. naʔa way cuŋ =gaba =aw nuk -ok no =ay canci =bo,
2s spirit big =ATTR =ACC see -COS say =ADV suppose =IMP
maʔsu raʔ -naka, purun raʔ -naka, tawʔ raʔ =na naŋ -ni,
cow get -IFT goat get -IFT chicken get =DAT need -FUT
wak raʔ =na naŋ -ni, u =na =do.
pig get =DAT need -FUT DST=DAT=TOP
‘Suppose you have seen a big spirit, [you] will get a cow, [you] will get a goat, [you] will need to get a chicken, [you] will need to get a pig, for him [that is].’

11. umi cəw =ba səmʔ =na naŋ -ni, ue kamal =na.
then liquor =ADD soak90 =DAT need -FUT DST=priest =DAT
‘Then [you] will also need to take out some liquor for the priest.’

ətəkəymu kamal =na cəw səmʔ =ay hənʔ =ay =mu aro
so.then priest =DAT liquor soak =ADV give =ADV =SEQ and

u =na =ba may jabek raʔ -aŋ =na naŋ -ni,
DST=ADD rice curry get -AWAY=DAT need -FUT

90The verb səmʔ here refers to the way in which liquor is gotten out of the pot it is prepared in, called gorə. You slowly dip a hollow spoon, called abek’ with repeated small up-down movements deeper and deeper into the filter, janti, which stands in the middle of the gorə. When the spoon is full, you take it out carefully and drink out of it or empty it in a glass.
kamal =na =ba. priest =DAT=EMPH
‘So then, having taken out and given the liquor of the priest, [you] will also have
to give him rice and curry, to the priest.’

12. ətəkəymu taŋka =ba kharay =ci cəy =ni.
so.then money =add big.pan=LOC offer -FUT
‘So then [you] will also offer money in a big pan.’

13. kolgək =ej cəygək =ej je səkən ganəŋ
twenty =monetary.unit ten =monetary.unit whatever many exist

pal =ci =do sot boa =ba can =ari =a, kamal =na =do.
sell=LOC=TOP hundred five =ADD offer -SIMP-CUST priest =DAT=EMPH
‘[They] will just offer twenty [or] thirty [rupees?] whatever [you] have, if [you]
sell [it], they just offer fifty, to the priest.’

14. kamal =do u =an kamal =do dəŋdaŋ hoŋkhot =aŋ =naka.
priest =TOP DST=FC/ID priest =TOP alone come.out-AWAY-IFT
‘The priest, that priest, will come out alone.’

khurut =gaba =mi niam =aw ətəkəy bal =ni =ne.
perfom.an.incantation=ATTR =GEN rules =ACC like.this tell -FUT =TAG

khurut =gab =mi niam =do:
persom.an.incantation=ATTR =GEN rules =TOP
‘[I] will tell the rules for the incantation like this, ok, as for the rules for the
incantation:’

15. caʔmasəŋ =mi way doŋʔ =ci =do,
downstream =GEN spirit IE.be =LOC=TOP

kambaysəŋ =mi way =aw =do manʔ -pat -ca -wa.
upstream =GEN spirit =ACC=TOP be.able -CROSS-NEG -FACT
‘When the spirit of downstream [along the Symsang river] appears, [he] will not
have any influence on the spirit of upstream.’

16. u -tam =do sima ganəŋ, way =ba. naŋʔ =mi eria thokthok =təkəy.
DST-ppp =TOP limit exist spirit =ADD lpe =GEN area exactly =LIKE
‘As for them, spirits too have limits, exactly like our areas.’
17. *kambaysan=mi way nuk =ci =do*

upstream =GEN spirit see =LOC=TOP

*dəŋthañh khurut* -a.
different perform.an.incantation -CUST

*caʔmasañ =mi way nuk =ci -do*
downstream =GEN spirit see =LOC=TOP

*dəŋthañh khurut* -a.
different perform.an.incantation -CUST

‘If [you] see the upstream spirit, a different incantation if performed, if [you] see
the downstream spirit, a different incantation is performed.’

18. *mani məŋ -wa =an, hap =aw =an*

worship call.a.name -FACT =FC/ID place=ACC=FC/ID

*dəŋthañh dəŋthañh məŋa -a, thokthok məŋa -a.*
different RED call.upon-CUST according.to.the.division call.upon-CUST

‘As for what [we] call the worshipping, different places are called upon, [they] are
called upon according to the division.’

19. *ie caʔmasañ =mi way khurut =ci =do*

PRX downstream =GEN spirit perform an incantation =LOC=TOP

*ue həy =saŋ =mi =aw banglades =mi thəlʔ*

DST REM =MOB =ACC=GEN Bangladesh =GEN up.to

*kopos =mi jaria haʔgərsak =gumuk =aw =an məŋa -ni.*

Kongos =GEN influence the.lot =all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT

‘When [he] summons the downstream spirit, that [priest] will call upon
the influence of all those far away [places] up till Bangladesh [and] the influence of
Kongos, of them all.’

20. *baghmara takmara gumuk =aw =an məŋa -ni u =sāŋ [long fraseeto voice]*

Baghmara RED all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT DST=MOB

*roŋara toŋara gumuk =aw =an məŋa -ni.*

Rongara RED all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT
Jaksonram taksongram haʔgərsak =aw =an məŋa -ni.
Jaksonram RED all =ACC=FC/ID call.upon-FUT
‘[He] will call upon Baghmara Takmara all of them way over there Rongara Tongara [he] will call upon [them]all, Jaksongram Taksongram [he] will call upon all of them.’

21. caŋgaba manʔ =ay saʔ -a caŋgaba nokdaq tak -a,
whoever in.great.amounts=ADV eat -CUST whoever family do -CUST

u =mi biməŋ =gumuk =aw =an thal =ay
dst=GEN name =all =ACC=FC/ID clearly/explicitely =ADV

məŋa =ay =mu =sa,
call.upon=ADV =SEQ=DLIM

way khurut =ay =mu, saʔ =ay rəŋ =ay =mu,
spirit perform.an.incantation =ADV =SEQ eat =ADV drink =ADV =SEQ

nem -khal =ci =ba nem -khal -ca =ci =ba
good -CP =LOC=INDEF good -CP -NEG =LOC=INDEF

ue morot =na =do dokdək =sa cay -sak -ni.
dst person =DAT=TOP for.a.short.while =DLIM look -APPROPRIATELY-FUT
‘Whoever is rich [lit. ‘eats in great amounts’] whoever has a family only after having called clearly/explicitely upon all their names, having performed the incantation, having eaten and drunk, whether or not [the patient] has improved, [they] will wait for a short while for that person.’ Alternatively: ‘[they] will wait for a little while to see if the patient has improved or not.’

22. ue nem -sak -ca, nem -sak -ca tak =ci =sa,
dst good -APPROPRIATELY good -APPROPRIATELY-NEG do =LOC=DLIM

məŋʔ? sa kamal tak -thiri -ni.
clf:HUMANS one priest do AGAIN -FUT
‘He is not appropriately well, only when [the patient] is not appropriately well, another priest will do [it] again.’

23. atskəyəmudo u =an geʔtheyə sa =gaba:
so.then dst=FC/ID 3s be.ill =ATTR
"aŋ =do nem -khal -an -ca" no =ci =do
1s =TOP good -CP -REF -NEG say =LOC =TOP

aro kamal =saŋ thama cay -thiri -a.
and priest =LOC devination look -again -cust
‘So then, as for that sick [person], if [he] says: “I am not better”, [they] will practice diviantion again at the place of another priest.’

24. khurut =na sap =gaba morot =aw =sa
perform.an.incantation =DAT know.a.skill =ATTR person =ACC =DLIM

village =whole =LOC =EMPH village =LOC be.many -FORTUITOUSLY -SIMP-CUST
‘As for precisely those people [who] know how to perform incantations, in all villages [and] in this village, [there are] many [of them] for no good reason.’

25. u =ba paŋʔ =ay =do sap -dam -ca.
DST =EMPH many =ADV =TOP know.a.skill -TRULY -NEG
‘Many of them don’t truly know [how to do it].’

məŋʔ sa məŋʔ ni təkəy sap -a.
CLF :HUMANS one CLF :HUMANS two =LIKE know.a.skill -CUST
‘[They only] one-or-two-ingly know the skill.’ i.e. ‘only one or two of them know the skill.’

26. kamal =na =do jesəŋba wal duk san duk =ba
priest =DAT =TOP wherever night sorrow day sorrow =ADD

rək -ari -ni, khurut =na;
chase-SIMP-FUT perform.an.incantation =DAT
‘[People] will search anywhere for a priest, whether it is day or night, to perform an incantation;’
27. **sam** =na je **tak** =ay **rək** =gaba =təkəy **rək** -a, medicine=DAT whatever do =ADV chase=ATTR =like chase -CUST

**kamal** =na =do. 

priest =DAT=TOP

‘just like a medicine searches searches for medicine in whatever way, [they search] for a priest.’ 91

28. **ətəkəymu** **khurut** =ay =mu **cancıcəp** =ay **nem** =ok.  

so.then perform.an.incantation =ADV =SEQ suppose =ADV GOOD -COS  

So then, having performed the incantation, [the patient] has supposedly improved.’

29. “**ayaw** **naj?** **khurut** =ay =sa’ no =ay =mu

interj:SURPRISE 2s perform.an.incantation =ADV =DLIM say=ADV =SEQ

**kamal** =aw =ba **məthel** -a

priest =ACC=ADD thank -CUST

**aro** thama cay -thum =gaba =aw =ba

and devination look -ON.BEHALF.OF.SOMEONE.ELSE =ATTR =ACC=ADD

**məthel** -a.

thank -CUST

‘Having said: “Wow! Because of your incantation [I am better]”, [he] thanks the priest and [he] thanks [the person who] has practiced the devination on his behalf.’

30. **i** =an **aj** =mi **bal** =gaba =aw =ba **jam** -et -ari -naka.

PRX =FC/ID 1s =GEN speak =ATTR =ACC=EMPH finish -TRANS-SIMP-IFT

‘As for this, [I] will now just end my story.’

91 This passage can be interpreted as follows: ‘A skilled priest is searched with great zeal just like someone searches for medicine if a person is sick and will die.’
An incantation by Genda R Marak
in the village of Siju in 2006

This text presents part of the incantation used to summon the downstream spirit, i.e.
the spirit who dwells in the area downstream of the Symsang river. My friends did not
want to translate this text, saying that it contained too many difficult words, that it was
not real language, or that the language was too complicated and ultimately, that it was
Ha•chyk (Garo). To me the incantation appears mostly incomprehensible I recognise
some words that exist in Atong and many words that look like Atong words but are
just a bit different. The language is not recognisable as Garo either. It might be some
language that is only used by priests in incantations. The text is presented here below
to preserve some of the pre-Christian culture for future generations.

The stressed vowels in each line are underlined. Stress is obtained by means of
intensity and a lower pitch. The phenomenon of prolonged consonants to mark stress
(as described in §2.9) does not occur in this incantation. Most lines consist of two
times an equal amount of syllables, although some lines have additional syllables
before or after the first rhyme. Most lines are around twelve syllables long, but there
is a lot of variation. The rhymes occurs with the last syllable or syllables of each half
of a line, e.g. line 1 kusumaj ginɡanphaj aʔsamal congdaŋpha, where the
bigger, bold syllables rhyme. The incantation presents a variety of different meters
usually consisting of two or four of the same type of foot, but there are meters that
consist of different types of foot. We find the dactylic meter, e.g. ku su maŋ
ɡinɡanpha, the trochaic meter, e.g. line 8 i an nang?na (i=an naŋ?=na PRX=FC/ID
2S=DAT ‘this [is] for you’), the iambic meter, e.g. line 14 ka ma ʔ kha li go ra ʔ khan di.

Apart from these we find meters that consist of prolonged iambic feet and of
prolonged trochaic feet. A prolonged iambic foot consists of four syllables, with the
accent falling on the second syllable. Line 13 is an example of such a meter: goko bara
bansangetok. A prolonged trochaic foot consists of four syllables, with the accent
falling on the first syllable. Line 12 is an example of a meter with prolonged trochaic
feet: caʔdɔnaymu caʔgataymu. The same words, or words that are almost the same,
can be stressed in different ways to create different meters, compare line 17 to 42.
Both lines contain predicates with the stem *honʔcu* and *honʔbot* of which I have no translation, and it is not in the Garo school dictionary (Nengminza 2001). Although the predicates have different suffixal morphology, the stems have the same number of syllables in each line. However both stems are stressed differently in the two lines, viz. on the second syllable in 42 and on the first in 67.

For a better understanding of the origin, context and meaning of incantations such as the one presented here, I will need to learn more about the culture that preceded the advent of Christianity. I hope that future fieldwork will provide me with this opportunity.

1. oooy! aaah!
2. kusumanɡ gingəŋpha jaʔsənmal congdaŋpha
3. haʔjoŋ baʔgabaw udi meŋɡaba,
4. seek haʔsọŋna pukil eigan,
5. naŋ?na,
6. khajanakanaka naŋ?na miluwanaka,
7. aaah!
8. jan naŋ?na,
9. naŋ?na ian,
10. aaah!
11. agaranjau matgacamaw,
12. cawdənaymu cawgataymu,
13. gokabarabansəŋgetok,
14. kamal khaligora khandi,
15. naŋ?na raqatwataymu raʔtawaymu,
16. cankophangynəŋ beprarugunanŋ,
17. naŋ?na honʔcuaydok honʔbotaydok,
18. aaah!
19. naŋ? ruraaysa koŋkhalaŋsa,
20. jakramaysa jakdanjaysa,
21. aaah!
22. kuʔkarekwakuiʔkabolwa,
23. caʔaw napjawa, raŋaw thojawa,
24. aaah!
25. dawqde khaʔsiŋdaŋbo bəlnindəkbo,
26. aaah!
27. dawqde jajumənciba jakhariciba,
28. naŋ?ba jakəmkuʔnam jakdaŋkuʔnam,
29. ruraku?nam kondaŋku?nam,
30. jaksepku?nam jaknolku?nam,
31. naŋ?na jan a?na matcu salna do?bok,
32. hon?cuaydoŋ hon?botaydoŋa,
33. naŋ? karaw rakwana naywa samana,
34. naŋ?na hon?cuaydokay, hon?botaydokay,
35. jumagsaŋba karisangba,
36. naŋ?ba ja?khu rakkhunambay bidęŋ sęŋkunambay,
37. naŋ?na kaja niŋok meluwaʔak,
38. caʔpan gənaŋ bęŋra rə gənaŋ,
39. çęksi balbęŋ waʔma thapdaŋ,
40. sọŋthon raŋʔay sęŋbakjakaymu,
41. naŋ?na ian,
42. hon?cuaydok hon?botaydok,
43. aaah!
44. kaʔsindəkbo bəlnindəkbo,
45. caʔaw naphakal?na raŋo thophaʔkaliŋna,
46. bugi koksətheʔwacina, waʔma sęŋʔkisawacina,
47. jama rakphakhaliŋna jangi thapphakhalna,
48. haʔwatphaboo dęŋdatphabo,
49. aaah!
50. ian naŋ?na teʔewdoo,
51. naŋ?na,
52. groʔwaʔthariaw khiʔmi sawariaw,
53. raʔsuaymu raʔbotaymu,
54. naŋ?na ian khaʔjam niʔaydok beru dęŋaydok,
55. hon?cuaydok hon?botaydok,
56. teʔewdoo naŋ?ba kaʔsindəkphaboay bəlnindəkphaboay,
57. aaah!
58. jajumangciba jakhariciba,
59. rurakhunam konʔdaŋkuʔdam,
60. jaksepkuʔnam jaknolkuʔnam,
61. daŋ?na khaʔjam niŋok naŋ?na miłuwaʔak,
62. naŋ?na goronjawʔ thariaw khiʔmi sawariaw,
63. raʔsuaymu raʔgataymu,
64. goκa bęya bęŋsəŋgətokaw,
65. aaah!
66. sawʔdanaymu sawʔgataymu,
67. hon?cuokay hon?botokay,
68. je naŋ?na!
A typical fictional narrative about a lazy king, who is also somewhat stupid. The king runs away from home, and gets into all sorts of unfortunate situations. Ultimately he ends up in the jungle where he has an appointment to fight with a tiger. Due to a series of incredible coincidences, the king escapes unharmed and victorious.
7. \( \text{jəw =na =ba jək pay =na naŋ -a =no.} \)
sleep =DAT=ADD spouse carry.by.hand =DAT need -CUST =QUOT
‘and to sleep, [his] wives have to carry [him] on [their] hands, it is said.’

8. \( \text{kənsaŋ morot =dəraŋ conək -phin -aydok =no =e.} \)
later person =p look.down.upon -COMPLETELY -PROG =QUOT =FC
‘Later, the people are looking very much down on him, it is said.’

9. \( \text{“ie alsia raja atəkəy kheŋ -aydok?”} \)
PRX lazy.person king how live -PROG
‘“How does this lazy king live?”’

10. \( \text{“atəkəy =an jək =aw haldun =na manʔ -aydok?”;} \)
how =FC/ID spouse =ACC feed =DAT be.able -PROG
\( \text{no =ay =mu morot cancip -aydok =no =ro, morot =dəraŋ.} \)
say =ADV =SEQ person think -PROG =QUOT =EMPH person -p

‘“How can [he] feed his wives?”’ they said and thought, it is said, the people.’

11. \( \text{ətəkəyməŋ kənsaŋ conuk =te cunok =te...} \)
so.then later look.down.upon =DCL look.down.upon =DCL
‘So then, [they] are looking down, looking down [upon the lazy king]...’

12. \( \text{cunuk =gaba =aw na =ay =məŋ alsia raja =e:} \)
look.down.upon =ATTR =ACC hear =ADV =SEQ lazy.person king =FC
‘Having heard [those that] look down [upon him], the lazy king [says]:’

13. \( \text{“na aŋa atəkəy coli =e coli -sem -ca -aydok,”} \)
interj 1s like.this succeed =FC succeed -CERTAINLY -NEG -PROG

14. \( \text{no =ay =məŋ teʔew =ba jək =məŋ jal -aydok =no.} \)
say =ADV =SEQ now =EMPH spouse =abl run.away -PROG =QUOT
‘“Well, like this I am certainly not succeeding.” (Literally, ‘as far as succeeding is concerned, I am certainly not succeeding.’) [he] said and now he has ran away from his wives, it is said.’

15. \( \text{coli =e coli -ca -aydok =no} \)
succeed =FC succeed -NEG -PROG =QUOT
‘As far as succeeding is concerned, [he] is certainly not succeeding, it is said.’
16. jək -məŋ jal -əŋ -ok =no.
   spouse -ABL run.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT
   '[He] has ran away from his wives, it is said.'

17. teʔew =e jal -əŋ -wa =ci =e...
   now =FC run.away -AWAY -FACT =LOC=FC
   ‘Now when [he] runs away…”

18. jək =aw aset =ay jal -əŋ -wa =ci =e de
   spouse =ACC dispose.of =ADV run.away -AWAY -FACT =LOC=FC interj
   sogre -əŋ -ok =no =ro.
   travel -AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH
   ‘He disposed of his wives (i.e. divorced) and when he ran away, well, he travelled away, it is said.’

19. taŋka =nəy mamuŋ taŋka niʔ -wa aro
   money =PRIV nothing money not.exis -FACT and
   saʔ =na rəŋ =na =ba =nəy.
   eat =DAT drink =DAT =ADD =PRIV
   ‘Without money, no money at all (lit. ‘no money exists’) and without food and drink.’

20. teʔew roŋ ni saʔkhaw -əŋ -wa =no =khon,
   now CLF:ROUND:THINGS two steal -AWAY -FACT =QUOT =SPEC
   gawigaba =məŋ =aw.
   wife =GEN =ACC
   ‘Now, he might have stolen two rupees, it is said, from his wife.’

21. stokəyməŋ nəgəl =ci =na phet -ok =no.
   so.then market =LOC=DAT arrive -COS =QUOT
   ‘So then he arrived at a market, it is said’

22. maʔsu gari dam =aw səŋʔ -ok =no ue.
   cow vehicle price =ACC ask -COS =QUOT DST
   ‘He asks about bullock carts, it is said.’
23. “ie maʔsu gari dam =e biskən?”
   PRX cow vehicle price =FC how.much
   “How much is this bullock cart?”

24. “həy sala, ie alsia raja =e taŋka =e
   interj interj PRX lazy.person king =FC money =FC
   niʔ =e niʔ -wa.”
   not.exist =FC not.exist -FACT
   “Oh Damn! that lazy king has absolutely no money!”

25. “mamuy =təkəy =an donʔ -an -ca.”
   nothing =LIKE =FC/ID IE.be =REF -NEG
   “He as absolutely nothing!”

   2s =DAT =ONLY =TOP CLF:ROUND:THINGS five sell -SIMP-FUT
   “Just for you I will sell [it] for five rupees.”

27. “aya dam noʔm-a =te maʔ.”
   interj price soft -CUST =DCL interj
   “Jeez! the price is cheep, goodie!”

28. “sala aŋa ama =para =mi saʔkhaw =ay =məŋ
   interj 1s mother=&co =GEN steal =ADV =SEQ
   rayʔ -naka san abun = ci”, canci -aydok =no.
   go -IFT day other =LOC think -PROG =QUOT
   “Damn! having stolen money from my mother and her company, I can will go
   away the next day”, he is thinking, it is said.’

29. atəkəyməŋ canci =ay =məŋ teʔe =do gari nuk -ok =no =aro.
   so.then think =ADV =SEQ now =TOP vehicle see -COS =QUOT =EMPH
   ‘So then, having thought like this, he saw a vehicle, it is said.’

30. “ie gari biskən?”
   PRX vehicle how.much
   “How much is this vehicle?”
31. “नेहि (Indic) नाई ताँका निि =ए निि -वा।”
no 2s money not.exist =FC not.exist-FACT

‘No! You have absolutely no money!’ Literally: ‘your money, as far as not existig is concerned, does not exist’.

32. “नाष् =ना=दो रोि कौंगकोक फ़ाल =अरि -नि;”
2s =DAT=TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS ten sell -SIMP -FUT

canci-ok =no.

‘I will just sell [it] to you for ten rupees”, he thought, it is said.’

33. तेैकैमेख: “साला अपा अमा =परा =मौंग ताँका साँखह =आय =मौंग
go,then interj 1s mother=&&co =GEN money steal =ADV =SEQ

ra? =ना नाष -नि गाँरी अरो मासु गाँरी =आव।”
get =DAT need -FUT vehicle and cow vehicle =ACC
‘So then: “Damn! Having stolen money from my mother and her company (i.e. his mother’s house ot household), I will need to get/buy a vehicle and a bullock cart.”’

34. तो? =दो रोि बांगा साँखह =आय
own =TOP CLF:ROUND.THINGS five steal =ADV

rayʔa-k जौ? =परा =मौंग =आव.
come-COS spouse =&&co =ABL =ACC
‘Now, he went and stole five rupees from his mother’s house.’

35. साँखह =आय रयʔ -वा =ए तैएि ए =ए
steal =ADV go -FACT =LOC=FC now =FC

सैंग्रि -थिरी -क =ए।
ask -AGAIN-COS =QUOT
‘Having gone and stolen, now, he asked again, it is said.’

36. इे गाँरी बिस्कौन?
PRX vehicle how.much
‘“How much is this vehicle?”’
37. *how naʔa raʔ =na =e səŋʔ =e seŋʔ -ca =gaba tak =na =e*
interj 2s get =DAT=FC ask =FC ask -NEG =ATTR do =DAT=FC
səŋ =e seŋʔ -ca =gaba.
ask =FC ask -NEG =ATTR
“Hey! you are only pretending to be someone to asks to buy it, someone who
pretends to ask.”’

38. *ah hazar sa.*
interj thousand one
“Ah, one thousand.”

39. “*cheŋ -wa =məŋ dam =do hazar sa -ak =ona, hazar sa.*”
begin -FACT =GEN price =TOP thousand one -COS =DAT thousand one
“Because the price was one thousand to begin with: one thousand.”’

40. “*aya doŋʔ -taw -an -ca -k =te aŋ taŋka =do.*”
interj be.enough UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS =DCL 1s money =TOP
“‘Jeez! It is not enough any more, my money!’”

41. “*sala maʔsu gari =do aŋa manʔ -ni*
interj cow vehicle =TOP 1s get -FUT
dam komi -khal= gaba =aw =do”, canci -aydoŋa =no.
price cheap -CP =ATTR =ACC=TOP think -PROG =QUOT
“‘Damn! As for a bullock cart, I will get [one which is] cheaper”, he is
thinking, is is said.’

42. *səŋʔ -ok =no: “ie maʔsu gari biskən?”*
ask -COS =QUOT PRX cow vehicle how.much
‘He asked again: “How much is this bullock cart?”’

43. *raʔ =na =e tak =e tak -ca =gaba*
get =DAT=FC do =FC do -NEG =ATTR
maja =an səŋʔ =e seŋʔ -manʔ -ok naʔa dəmdam
yesterday =FC/ID ask =FC ask -ALREADY -COS 2s fortuitously
bal -ari =gaba =e, raja sa”, no -ok =no.
speak -SIMP=ATTR =FC hundred one say -COS =QUOT
“[You] are only pretending to buy it, yesterday you already asked, you are someone who just talks foruitously, one hundred”, he said, it is said.’

44. “aya tanja donj? -taw -an -ca -k =te.”
   interj money be.enough -UPWARDS -REF -NEG -COS =DCL
   “Jeez! my money is not enough!”

45. “aŋ =do roŋ cygək =sa =an raʔ -ari -wa.”
   1s =TOP CLF:ROUND THINGS ten =DLIM =FC/ID get -SIMP-FACT
   “I only brought ten rupees.”

46. “bɔys donj? -taw -an -cha -k.”
   interj be.enough -UPWARD -REF -NEG -COS
   “Damn! [it] is not enough any more.”

47. “jək =saŋ =ba rayʔ -ca -ka aŋa.”
   spouse =MOB =EMPH go -NEG -IFT 1s
   “I will certainly not go to my wives.”

48. “aŋ=aw =e ama =para =e naw =ba naw -naka
   1s =acc =FC mother=&co =FC scold=EMPH scold-IFT
   tok =ba tok -naka.”
   beat =EMPH beat -IFT
   “My mother and her company will scold me [and] beat me hard.”

49. “jək =saŋ =ba rayʔ -səraŋ -ca -ka.”
   spouse =MOB =EMPH go -totally-NEG -IFT
   “[I] will certainly also not go to my wives.”

50. “sala jal -pəraŋ -wa =an nem -naka aŋa, sala.”
   interj run.away -AIMLESSLY -FACT =FC/ID good -IFT 1s interj
   “Damn, it is better to run away without destination, as far as I’m concerned, damn!”

51. cənthay roŋ ni raʔ -aŋ -ok =no,
   meolon clf:round.things two get -AWAY-COS =QUOT
   hayʔ =məŋ roŋ baŋa… roŋ baŋa =məŋ.
   GPN =GEN clf:round.things five clf:round.things five =GEN
‘He brought two melons [with him], it is said. from those, eh, five… from those five rupees.’

52. cinthay roŋ ni raʔ =ay =məŋ
   melon  CLF:ROUND.THINGS two get =ADV =SEQ

   sogre -aŋ =te sogre -aŋ.
   travel -AWAY =DCL travel -AWAY
   ‘Having gotten two melons, he travelled away, travelled away.’

53. kənsaŋ=do jəwʔ -caŋ =na naŋ -ok =no.
   later =TOP sleep-SUDDENLY =DAT need -COS =QUOT
   ‘Later he suddenly had to sleep, it is said.’

54. ucie jəw -caŋ =na naŋ -wa =ci =e
   then sleep-SUDDENLY =DAT need -FACT =LOC=FC

   matsa goronŋ -tat -ok =no =te,
   tiger meet -COMPULSARY -COS =QUOT =DCL

   maykap =ci jəw -wa =ci.
   hay =LOC sleep-FACT =LOC
   ‘Then, when [he] suddenly needed to sleep, [he] could not help but meet a tiger, it is said, I’m telling you, when he was sleeping in the hay.’

55. kənsaŋ=do matsa =do morot sən manʔ =ay =məŋ
   later =TOP tiger =TOP person smell obtain =NF =SEQ

   rayʔ -wil -ok =no alsia =do.
   go -AROUND-COS =QUOT lazy.person =TOP
   ‘Later, having caught the smell of a human, [the tiger] walked around the lazy king.’

56. rayʔ -wilwil -ok =no.
   go -AROUND-COS =QUOT
   ‘[He] went round and round, it is said.’

57. “matsaʔ =e atak =naʔ?” canci -aydoga =no ue,
   tiger =FC do.waht =DESI think -PROG =QUOT DST
Alsia raja

58. atəkəy teʔew jəw =ci =e kənsaŋ =e:
so.then now sleep =LOC=FC after =FC

“aga thay =e thay -man -ok.”
1s die =FC die -ALREADY -COS
’So then, now, later, when he is asleep: “I am certainly dead.’’

59. ician: “aga jaŋgi =ba thay -man -ok.”
then 1s life =EMPH die -ALREADY -COS
‘Then: “I already life-died.’’

60. nok =saŋ rayʔ =na =ba phaʔ -phin -ca -aydok.
house =MOB go =DAT=EMPH dare -TOTALLY -NEG -PROG
‘‘I totally don’t dare to go home.’’

61. jebadon aŋa takruk -səraŋ -ari -naka.
somehow 1s fight -TILL.THE.END -SIMP-IFT
‘‘Somehow I will just fight to the end.’’

62. mat[sa]… caʔphuŋ =aw. matsa =mi caʔphuŋ =aw
tiger thigh =ACC tiger =GEN thigh =ACC

waŋʔ -jol -ok =no =aro, khabak =ay =məŋ.
bite -QUICKLY -COS =QUOT =EMPH hold.tightly =ADV =SEQ
‘[On the] ti[ger’s]… On the thigh; he quickly bites the tiger on the thigh, it is said, having grasped him tightly.’

63. waŋʔ -wa =ci =e kənsaŋ =e: ‘ay i =do alsia =e
bite -FACT =LOC=FC after =FC interj PRX =TOP lazy.person =FC

kak-a =te.”
bite-CUST =DCL
‘Having bitten, later on: “Auch! that lazy person bites!”’
64. “sok -ca -ka =te =ma aŋ =do” no =ay =myng matsa =do, succeed -NEG -IFT =DCL =Q 1s =TOP say =ADV =SEQ tiger =TOP

jenethene jok =ay =məŋ jal -aŋ -ok =no =ro.
barely escape =ADV =SEQ run.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH

‘Having said: “I will not succeed, what?!” the tiger, [he] barely escaped and run away, it is said.’

65. jal -aŋ =ay =məŋ kənsaŋ =do janʔ =gaba =məŋ
run.away -AWAY =ADV =SEQ after =TOP far =ATTR =GEN / ABL

ətəkəy ol -ruk -ok =no =aro:
like.this speak -RC -COS =QUOT =EMPH

‘After having ran away, [they] spoke to each other like this, it is said:’

66. “aŋa =e sok =e ok -ca -k.”
1s =FC succeed =FC succeed -NEG -COS

“I lost.” Litterally: ‘As far as succeeding is concerned, I don’t succeed any more.’

67. jal -aŋ -an -ca =noə.
run.away -AWAY -REF -NEG =QUOT

‘He did not ran away, it is said.’

68. “aŋa =e sok =e sok -ca -k
1s =FC succeed =FC succeed -NEG -COS

ʔmhm, sok =e sok -ca -k.”
no succeed =FC succeed -NEG -COS

“I lost, yes, I lost.”
Litterally: “As far as succeeding is concerned, I don’t succeed any more, no, as far as succeeding is concerned, I don’t succeed any more.”

69. aŋ =ba baju phi -e -naka,
1s =ADD friend invite -TOWARDS -IFT

naŋʔ =ba baju phi -e =bo,
2s =ADD friend invite -TOWARDS =IMP
 Alsia raja

The word *matburaŋ* ~ *matbəraŋ* ‘wild animal’ is a close cognate to or a loan from Garo and is a compound of *mat* ‘animal’ and *buraŋ* ‘jungle’ and means thus literally ‘jungle animal’. In Garo the word *mat* means both ‘animal’ and ‘squirrel’. There is another cognate, which speakers identify as ‘real Atong’, which is *matpaləŋ* ‘wild animal’, which is also a compound, with the same literal translation of ‘jungle animal’. The word *mat* means only ‘animal’ in Atong and not ‘squirrel’, as in Garo (the Atong word for squirrel being *karat*). The second element of the compound, *paləŋ*, means ‘jungle’. The morpheme *buraŋ* ~ *bəraŋ* is not used outside this compound. When talking about the jungle, Atong speakers use the cognate lexeme *paləŋ* ‘jungle’.

---

70. *kənsəŋ* = *do* bean bebe *iskən* san *iskən* somay
later =TOP truly this.much day this.much time

*thik* *kхаʔ* -ak =no =aro.
exactly do -COS =QUOT =EMPH
‘Later, truly, they fixed a time and a day, it is said.’

71. *phep* *japaŋ* = *ci* muʔ -saw -*khal* =na
banyan.tree foot.of.tree=LOC sit -EXPECTANTLY -CP =DAT

*bal* -ok =no.
speak -COS =QUOT
‘[They] said to wait at the foot of a banyan tree, it is said.’

72. *kənsəŋ* = *do* matsa = *ba* baju *phi* = *aydok* =no:
ater =TOP tiger =EMPH friend invite =PROG =QUOT
‘Later the tiger indeed is inviting [his] friends, it is said:’
73. \( \text{jat matbərəŋ } \text{no } = \text{ga } = \text{do neʔkhat } = \text{badəŋ?} \)
species wild.animals say = Attr = Top bee = add ?

\( \text{je } \text{haʔgəlsak } = \text{ba } \text{muŋma } = \text{ba } \text{matsa } = \text{ba} \)
any all = Add alaphant = Add tiger = Add

\( \text{jekhay } \text{amak } \text{tak } = \text{ga } = \text{aw } \text{gumuk } = \text{an.} \)
for.example monkey do = Attr = Acc all = FC/ID
‘as far as the species of so called wild animals is concerned, bees and all kinds
[of animals] and elephants and tigers [and] for example different types of
monkeys, all [of them].’

74. \( \text{i } = \text{say } = \text{do } \text{morot } = \text{do } \text{naʔpit } \text{sh } \text{mayba } = \text{do} \)
PRX = MOB = TOP human = TOP barber uh interj = TOP
alsia raja = do moro = tara = an = no.
lazy.person king = TOP human = EXCLUSIVE = FC/ID = QUOT
‘Here [however], as far as the species of humans is concerned, the barber – uh, what’s it? – the lazy king [is] the only human, it is said.’

75. \( \text{“aŋa caŋ } = \text{aw } \text{morot } \text{baju } \text{manʔ -pha } - \text{naka?} \)
1s who = ACC human friend obtain - IN. ADDITION - IFT
‘Who else will I get as a human friend?’

76. \( \text{aŋ } = \text{do } \text{aŋ } \text{dəŋdaŋ } = \text{an”}, \text{canci - aydoŋa } = \text{no } = \text{ro.} \)
1s = TOP 1s alone = FC/ID think - PROG = QUOT = EMPH
‘‘As for me, I am alone”, [he] is thinking, it is said.’

77. \( \text{phep } = \text{ci } \text{sənti } = \text{butuŋ } = \text{ci, teʔew } = \text{e} \)
banyan.tree = loc lament = WHILE = LOC now = FC
barber CLF: HUMANS one come - IN. ADDITION - COS = QUOT = EMPH
‘While [he] is lamenting in the bunyan tree, a barber came along, it is said.’

78. \( \text{alsia } \text{raja } = \text{do } \text{tholʔ } = \text{ok } = \text{no.} \)
lazy.person king = TOP lie - COS = QUOT
‘The lazy king lied, it is said.'
79. “napit, naʔa bi =saŋ?”
barber 2s QF =MOB
“Barber, where [are you going]?”

80. “khaʔ khanʔ = na rayʔ -aydoŋa aŋ =do.”
hair cut =dat go -prog 1s =top
“I’m going to cut hair.”

81. “aya khaʔ -wa = na day =ay =do naʔnaŋ =e
interj hair cut -FACT =DAT be.bigger=ADV =top 1pi =FC
i = ci cay =ay muʔ -wa =an gaʔsu -khal -naka.”
PRX =LOC watch =ADV sit -FACT =FC/ID splendid -CP -IFT
“Hey! It is better that we sit here and watch than that you cut hair.” Literally: Than cutting hair, us watchingly sit here will certainly be more splendid.’

82. “matbaruŋ no = ga khaʔ khet rayʔ -a -ni = no tayʔni = do.”
wild.animals say =ATTR all come-TOWARDS -FUT =QUOT today =TOP
“All so called wild animals will come today, it is said.”

83. “u = aw naʔnaŋ = e cay = ay muʔ - naka”, no - ok = no = ro.
DST =ACC 1pi =FC watch =ADV sit -IFT say - COS = QUOT = EMPH
“We will sit and watch them”, [he] said, it is said.’

84. “cirokhana = takay cay = ay muʔ - naka.”
zoo =like watch =adv sit -ift
“[We] will sit and watch them like a zoo.”

85. “rayʔ -a = bo”, tholiʔ - ok = no.
come-TOWARDS = IMP lie - COS = QUOT
“Come!”, [he] lied, it is said.’

86. “ay cay = na naŋ - ni aʔekoʔido.”
interj watch =DAT need -FUT in.that.case
“Oh! In that case, [we] will have to watch.

87. teʔew = do phep kambay = ci duŋ = ay
now =TOP banyan.tree top =LOC climb =ADV
text 5 alsia raja

"Now climbing in the top of the banyan tree, the Lazy king and his company [and] the barber and his company are expectanly looking out for the animals, it is said."

88. kənsanq=do u =saŋ matbəruŋ =dəraŋ =ba rayʔ =no -adok =no
later =TOP DST=MOB wild.animals=p =ADD come-PROG =QUOT

jamjol =ay =an.
complete=ADV =FC/ID

‘Later, the wild animals are also coming, all of them.’

89. thep! gaw! no -arok =no =an.
[SOUND] [SOUND] say-PROG =QUOT =FC/ID

‘[They] go thep! gaw! [the noise the animals produce while they are moving en masse], it is said.’

90. haʔgəlsak =an rayʔ =no -arok =no =aro.
all =FC/ID come-PROG =QUOT =EMPH

‘All [of them] are coming, it is said.’

91. pheru, pheru =ba rayʔ =no -adok =no =ro.
fox fox =ADD come-PROG =QUOT =EMPH

‘The fox, the fox is also coming, it is said.’

92. pheru =an raja =no.
fox =FC/ID king =QUOT

‘The fox [is] the king, it is said.’

93. kənsanq=do rayʔ =wa =ci =e naʔpit =do muʔma matsa =na
later =TOP come-FACT =LOC=fc barber =TOP elephant tiger =DAT

neka -rawraw =wa =na kəre -teŋ =ay =məŋ
close -CONTINUOUSLY -FACT =DAT fear -SO.MUCH =ADV =SEQ
Later, the barber was so afraid of the tigers and elephants because they were coming continuously closer, that he fell down all the way out of the banyan tree, it is said, the barber.’

‘Then all the elephants and tigers…’

‘Oh, maybe I forgot something just then.’

‘Maybe the fox was not there yet.’

‘The elephants, the tigers, all the wild animals, the lazy king jumped down.’

‘Run away!’ [someone] said, and they run away again, it is said.”

93 Here it is not clear, even to my consultants, who says “Run away!” At first it was believed to be the lazy king, telling the barber to run away. Later however, the context seems to suggest that it is one of the animals that says it. This is a good case of contextual ambiguity due to lack of referents expressed in the clause.
98. *kənsəŋ =do thik ue naʔpit =e phep*
   later =TOP exactly DST barber =FC banyan.tree

   *caʔ kok nəŋʔ =saŋ galat -wa =e,*
   foot basket inside =MOB fall.down -FACT =FC

   *daŋʔ -jol -aŋ -wa =no =ro.*
   enter -QUICKLY -AWAY -FACT =QUOT -EMPH
   ‘Later, precisely, that barber fell into a hollow between the roots of the tree
   and quickly disappeared in it, it is said.’

99. *ətəkəyməŋ məthəruŋ jal =gaba kakət=aw*
   so.then wild.animals run.away=ATTR all =ACC

   *pheru goron -ok =no =aro.*
   fox meet -COS =QUOT =EMPH
   ‘So then the fox met all the animals [that] are running away, it is said.’

100. *pheru goron -wa =ci =e:*
    fox meet -FACT =LOC=FC
    ‘When the fox meets [them]:’

101. “*atakna jal -wa bayʔsiga =dəraŋ?’*
    why run.away-FACT friend =p
    “‘Why do you run away, friends?’”

102. “*ayu, ətəkəy ətəkəy doŋʔ -wa =cəm takruk =na san somay*
    interj like.that like.that IE.be -FACT =IRR fight =DAT day time

    *thik khaʔ -wa =cəm;*
    exactly do -FACT =IRR
    “‘Oh! This and this supposedly happened, [they] supposedly fixed a day and
time to fight;’”

103. “*teʔew =e niŋ =an kəre -phinʔ -a.’*
    now =FC 1pe=FC/ID fear -BACK -CUST
    “Now it is us who are afraid [of him].” Alternatively: “now we we are afraid
    back.””
104. “alsia raja =do khaʔdoŋ -ari -a.”
   lazy.person king =TOP be.courageous -SIMP -CUST
   “The lazy king is just courageous.”

105. “thorok =səran -ok u =na, niŋ =do jal =gaba -ak.”
   jump.down -totally -COS DST=DAT lpe =top run.away=ATTR -COS
   “He totally jumped out [of the banyan tree] and so we became the ones who ran away.”

106. “atakna kxe =wa, morot =maʔ =dəran =na?”
   why fear -FACT human =interj =P =DAT
   “Why are you afraid of the humans?”

107. “hay aŋ ganaŋ. aŋ =an raja.”
   come.on 1s exist 1s =FC/ID king
   “Come on! I am here, I am the king,”

108. aŋ an bal -thum -ni,
   1s =FC/ID speak -ON.BEHALF.OF.SOMEONE.ELSSE-FUT
   no -ok =no =ro pheru =c.
   say -COS =QUOT =EMPH fox =FC
   “I will talk on your behalf’, [he] said, it is said, the fox.’

109. rayʔ =no.
   go =COS =QUOT
   ‘[The fox] went.

110. phep =ci ətəkəy muʔ -aydoŋ =no =aro.
   banyan.tree =LOC like.this sit -PROG =QUOT =EMPH
   ‘[He] is sitting down in the bunyan tree like this, it is said.’

111. muʔ -wa =ci =e riʔ =do cuʔret tak -aŋ -wa =no
   sit -FACT =LOC=FC penis=TOP stuck do -AWAY -FACT =QUOT
   caʔma =sag naʔpit =sag.
   lower.side =MOB barber =MOB
   ‘When [he] sits, his penis got totally stuck, it is said, downward, in the direction of the barber.’
112. “aŋ kak=bo no -wa =ci =e kak=bo.”
1s bite=IMP say-FACT =LOC=FC bite=IMP
“When I say “Bite!”, bite!”

113. “aŋ kak=bo no -wa =ci =e kak =bo”, no =ay,
1s bite=IMP say-FACT =LOC=FC bite =IMP say=ADV

cin tak -ayroŋ =no =ro.
sign do -PROG =QUOT =EMPH
‘Saying: “When I say “Bite!”, bite!”’, [he] is making a sign, it is said.’

114. riʔ =do cuʔret gal -aŋ -aydok =no caʔma =saŋ.
penis=TOP stuck fall.down -AWAY -RPOG =QUOT lower.side =MOB
‘His penis is falling down and is stuck, it is said, downwards.’

115. aŋ “tambo” no -wa =ci =e tambo.
1s wait.IMP say-FACT =LOC=FC wait.IMP
“When I say “Wait!”, wait!”

116. ucie jamjol =ay jal94 -aŋ -ok =no =ro.
then complete=ADV ran.away -AWAY -COS =QUOT =EMPH
‘Then [they] all ran away, it is said.’

117. hay, no -wa =ci =an, riʔ =do riʔ =an
come.on say-FACT =LOC=FC/ID penis=TOP penis=FC/ID

naʔpit =do riʔ cuʔret tak =gaba =aw, hayʔ =maj
barber =TOP penis stuck do =ATTR =ACC whatchamacallit=GEN

pheru =mi riʔ =aw kanʔ cot -et -ok =no =aro.
fox =GEN penis=ACC cut tear -CAUS -COS =QUOT =EMPH

94 The speaker used the verb gal- ‘to fall down’ here, but this was replaced by the verb jal- ‘to ran away’ by my friend who transcribed this text for me, because otherwise the sentence would not make sense in the context.
‘When [he] said “Come on!” the penis, this penis…, as for the barber, the stuck penis…, the what’s it…, the fox’s penis, [he] cuts and tears it, it is said.’

118. “aya! ay riʔ =do kanʔ cot -səraŋ -ok naʔpit.”
interj ls penis=top cut tear -totally -cos barber
‘“Ouch! the barber has cut and torn my penis!”’

119. “jal =bo!”, no =ay =məŋ paraw -ok =no.
run.away=imp say=adv =seq yell -cos =quot
‘“Run away!” [he] said and shouted, it is said.’

120. matbəruŋ =raŋ (Garo plural) =do jal -ok =no.
wild.animals=p =top run.away-cos =quot
‘The wild animals ran away, it is said.’

121. stɔkəyuməŋ alsia raja =an jam -gop -ari -ok =no =aro.
so.then lazy.person king =fc/id win -? -simp-cos =quot =emp
‘So then the lazy king had just won, it is said.’

122. i =an golpho jam -ok =ay ay =do.
prx =fc/id story finish -cos =pos ls =top
‘This story is finished, as far as i’m concerned.’

123. Other speaker in background:
jam-ok i =ci =an.
end-cos prx =loc=fc/id
‘[It] ends here.’

124. Tonton:
hoʔoŋ.
yes
‘Yes’

125. tholi? -ok =ma bebe -ok =ma?
lie -cos =q true -cos =q
‘Did [I] lie ot tell the truth?’ Alternatively: ‘Did [I] lie or was [I] true?’

126. aŋa na -wa =thəŋ =təkəy =sa bal -ay -wa.
ls hear -fact =own =like =dlim tell -towards -fact
‘I told it [to you] like I myself heard it.'
Appendix 2  Atong-English Dictionary

This dictionary contains well over 3000 entries and contains all the lexical items that I collected during my fieldwork (see §1.9) as well as grammatical morphemes. Since it is my intention to publish the dictionary in India, to make it accessible to the Atong speaking community, it is written in the orthography I developed for the language, which is explained in §1.5. Table 2 from that section, showing the relationship between the phonemes and the orthography, is repeated here as Table 76 for convenience.

Table 76  The relationship between the phonemes of Atong and the way they are written in the orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Graphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from an indication of the word class or the type of grammatical morpheme (according to the list of abbreviations given below), the semantic field of each noun, too, is indicated in the dictionary. The semantic fields and their abbreviations are listed below. Most of the verbs, and some of the other morphemes, are accompanied by stretches of text that illustrate their use. Examples of the use of the grammatical morphemes can be found in the grammar.
The order of the symbols in the Atong alphabet is given below. Every symbol has a name and an example in which the letter occurs, which makes it easier for speakers to remember the alphabet. The examples are, for the convenience of the readers of this thesis, accompanied by a phonemic transcription and an English gloss.

**The Atong Alphabet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>symbols</th>
<th>name</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>phonemically</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>`• '</td>
<td>raka</td>
<td>mym• sa</td>
<td>/məmʔ sa/</td>
<td>‘one fist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Atong</td>
<td>/atoŋ/</td>
<td>‘Atong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B b</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>baju</td>
<td>/baju/</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C c</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>chak</td>
<td>/cak/</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D d</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>/dəm/</td>
<td>‘price’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E e</td>
<td>era</td>
<td></td>
<td>/era/</td>
<td>‘type of fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G g</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td>/gaw/</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H h</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ha•ba</td>
<td>/haʔba/</td>
<td>‘dry rice and vegetable field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ichi</td>
<td>/ici/</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J j</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>ja•bek</td>
<td>/jaʔbek/</td>
<td>‘curry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K k</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ku•chuk</td>
<td>/kuʔcuk/</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L l</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>laha</td>
<td>/lah/</td>
<td>‘resin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M m</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>/məi/</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N n</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>/net/</td>
<td>‘type of basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ong•ang</td>
<td>/onŋʔaŋ/</td>
<td>‘type of frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P p</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>panchung</td>
<td>/pancuŋ/</td>
<td>‘jackfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R r</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>/raʔi/</td>
<td>‘reed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S s</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>symgong</td>
<td>/səmgoŋ/</td>
<td>‘type of plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T t</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tyi</td>
<td>/təi/</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u•ching ~ ukching</td>
<td>/uʔciŋ ~ ukciŋ/</td>
<td>‘leech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W w</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wak</td>
<td>/wak/</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ymbyng</td>
<td>/əmbəŋ/</td>
<td>‘bamboo fluite’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations for word classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj1</td>
<td>adjective class 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj2</td>
<td>adjective class 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bound</td>
<td>bound morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clf</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cop</td>
<td>copula verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disccon</td>
<td>discourse connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encl.cl</td>
<td>clausal enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encl.phr</td>
<td>phrasal enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encl.phr.cl</td>
<td>phrasal and clausal enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evsp</td>
<td>event specifier suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interj</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interr</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khjyks</td>
<td>coordinate compound that consists of two synonyms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onom</td>
<td>onomatopoeia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postp</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pppron</td>
<td>personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procl</td>
<td>proclause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prof</td>
<td>proform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prtl</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sfx</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw</td>
<td>time word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>transitive, intransitive or ambitransitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| V            | verb, used in the definition of event specifiers, e.g. –ang ‘V away etc’. Instead of the V a semantically appropriate verb can be inserted, e.g. byt- ‘to drive etc.’ The result will then be bytang- ‘to drive away’.
| VB           | Primary-B verb (transitive verb that can take a dative-marked O complement clause) |
| vdat         | verb which takes its Theme, Patient or Target NP in the dative case |
| vØ           | verb that cannot take any argument, i.e. with zero valency |
| vphase       | phasal verb |
| vS1          | intransitive verb which can only take one specific S (intransitive subject) argument |
| vsec         | Secondary verb (can take dative-marked verbal complements in O function) |

The tilde ‘~’ indicates a variant spelling and/or pronunciation of a word

Abbreviations for semantic domains of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTR</td>
<td>abstract noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>human activities, results of or circumstances related to such activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANIM</td>
<td>animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>artefacts including materials used in their production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BODY</td>
<td>body parts of humans and animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORP</td>
<td>diseases or substances produced by the body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOD</td>
<td>food items, ingredients used for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO</td>
<td>geographic, geological or natural phenomena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIN</td>
<td>kinship terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSRE</td>
<td>measure terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERS</td>
<td>persons, designations for people or groups of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE</td>
<td>places, landmarks and points used for orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANT</td>
<td>plants and parts of plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL</td>
<td>qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHAPE</td>
<td>geometrical and other forms and shapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBST</td>
<td>substances (not those used for food or for the production of artefacts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>time expressions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
•mhm• procl That’s right.
-a sfx customary/imperfective aspect suffix
-a ~ -ai evsp V towards the speaker
Nang•do hambun isang rai•aphinwachi, jykthangaw bytaibone. Later, when you come back here, bring your wife, OK.
“Angdo hanep nang•sang re•engni.” “Rai•abo.” “I will go/come to your place tomorrow.”
“Come.”
abek n ART long hollow drinking spoon made of a dried fruit with a hole at the top and a hole in the side of the bulge at the bottom used to scoop rice beer (chyw) out of the filter (janti) which stands in the middle of a large earthen pot (gora) filled with fermented rice (sithi). The spoon is held by its long slim part and slowly lowered into the liquor in the filter. The liquor seeps into the spoon though the hole in the bulge. Then the spoon is carefully pulled out again, and the liquor is drunk by emptying the spoon in the mouth through the opening in the top of the slim end without touching it with the lips.
abi n KIN elder sister. Mothers-in-law can call each other abi.
abong n PLANT corn
abu n KIN grandmother. Is also used to address an unrelated elderly woman.
abun adj2 next, following, neighbouring, other, someone else’s Bil nogabamynggymyn abundyrangmyngaw naakno. He heard about this so called Bil from other people.
achepchep n ANIM type of cricket
achi- v to be born Ang Dajongchi achiwa. I was born in Dajong.
achu n KIN grandfather. Can also be used by a grandson when addressing his grandfather. Is also used to address an unrelated elderly man. achu ambi grandparents, ancestors. This word is also used to talk about or address an elephant when you are in the jungle.
ade n KIN stepmother
aganggi n ANIM type of grasshopper
agos n TIME August
agre ~ agrai adv too much
aguk n ANIM grasshopper
-ai encl.cl adverbial clausal enclitic
-ai sfx emphatic positive suffix Nang• re•enganchate. Angdo re•engokai.
You will not go. I will go!
-ai ~ -a evsp V towards the speaker
-ai ~ -e encl.phr.cl focus enclitic, occurs on NPs and on predicate heads of locative clauses.
ai•ai•ai interj interjection to call a pig
aiai interj interjection of surprise
aiaw interj interjection of excitement
aiding n ACT hopscotch (a children’s game)
-aidonga ~ -aidong ~ -aidok ~ -aronga ~ -arong ~ -arok sfx progressive/durative aspect suffix
ain n ACT custom, law, tradition ainf niam laws, customs, traditions
aina n ART mirror Ainachi chaithwachi phalthangau nuka. When I look in the mirror I see myself.
aiy interj interjection of inquiry and surprise: what are you doing?!
aja n KIN elder sister
ajip n ART fan
ajot n ART children’s game played with two groups of unlimited size. Between the two groups sits a person called the ‘king’. Children from both groups have to whisper the name of a child from the other group into the king’s ear, first a child from one group, then a child from the other group. If two children whisper the same name, the king will call “Ajot!” and the person whose name has been whispered is out. The group that is depleted first loses.
ak- v to pluck (leaves, fruit etc. not feathers), to pick (flowers)
ak- ~ ok- ~ k sfx change of state suffix
akai n KIN aunt: mothers elder sister. I also used to address an unrelated married woman older than the speaker.
akai n ART wooden rack above the cooking fire
akyrudygyl n PLANT pumpkin
alabok n ANIM white crane bird
alaga n PERS/ABSTR other (person/thing), somebody else, different Alaga morotna dyndym damdam hynna bai. Don’t just give it to someone else.
ali clf classifier for small heaps or piles of things
alu n PLANT potato
alukotar n ART helicopter
alupren n ART aeroplane
ama n KIN mother. Can also be used to talk about or address an aunt. Can also be used by a mother to address her daughter.
aman n ART pestle, heavy wooden pole used for flattening rice in an assam by pounding aman goi ni two pestles
ambisuthyk n ANIM type of gold-coloured metallic beetle that flips itself back on its feet when it lies on its back
ambret bambret n ACT children’s game
ambyrai n PLANT type of tree
-andualphr.cl focus/identifier enclitic, occurs on NPs and clauses
-ang evsp still V-ing
-an sfx referential suffix
anai n KIN aunt: fathers sister
anaros n PLANT pineapple
ang pppron I, me, first person singular
-ang evsp V away, V without holding back, V affluently
anai n KIN aunt: mothers older sister. I also used to address a married woman older than the speaker.
anyng n KIN 1. aunt: fathers sister, 2. sister-in-law: husband’s wife
aphap n PLANT yeast used to make sithi ‘fermented rice’
apun n ART fishing hook
apunkara n ART fishing line
apunphong n ART fishing rod
aragong n PERS a person who is too big for his age
-ari sfx simplicitive suffix, just, simply
aro conj/discon and, furthermore, moreover
-aro ~ -ro enclphr.cl 1. emphatic enclitic 2. enclitic signalling that the speaker will say more
asalchong n ANIM type of black hairy caterpillar that lives on jackfruit trees
asam n ART mortar, big heavy hollowed log in which rice is flattened by pounding it with an aman asam pan byryi four mortars
asem ~ aset- v to throw away, to dispose of, jyk aset- to divorce Alsia raja jyk asetai jalangwachie songreangokno. The lazy king divorced his wives and travelled away, it is said.
aski ~ askhui ~ askui n GEO star
asok n ART type of woven bamboo basket to keep live pigs in to sell at the market, type of fish trap
asol adv really
-asol evsp really
asu n PLANT thorn
asyi ~ asi n KIN aunt: mothers younger sister
asynthalak n ANIM type of fish
asyt- ~ aset- v to throw away, to dispose of, jyk aset- to divorce Alsia raja jyk asetai jalangwachie songreangokno. The lazy king divorced his wives and travelled away, it is said.
asa n FOOD flour
atka n PLANT type of tree
ata n FOOD flour
atak n PLANT type of tree
ateka v to do what (interrogative verb) “Aiaw! Angdo chykaiong.” “Atakwa?” “Te•ewmangmangsa
“Oh! I’m cold!” “What have you done?” “I just took a bath, man!”

What happened later? / What did they do later? They didn’t bury him at all, the monkey. “Na•ru atakna jumuidonga ie ha•thaphyraawe?” nowano. “Why are you collecting these ashes?” they said, it is said. “Atakgaba raja na•a angna gore lapchagabaaw watetwa” nookno. What kind of king are you that you send me a good-for-nothing horse?!

- ba encl.cl clausal enclitic: additive/empathetic suffix on main clauses: also, too; indeed

“Nang•tym ang nokaw saw•waba nemariok. Anga nang•tymaw mythelbiok aro ang nok chungkhuchido, ina daiai man•nichym anga tangka” nookno. Ytykchido ningba phalthang nokaw saw•aimyng ha•thapyra phalchie man•nima?” “Man•niba, nang•tymba” nowano. ‘You burnt my house indeed and that’s just fine.’ I’m very grateful to you all and when my house was even bigger, I could have gotten more money for it’, he said, it is said. “In that case, when we burn our own houses and sell the ashes, can we also get money?” Yes, you, too, will indeed get money”, he said, it is said.

- ba encl.cl indefinite enclitic on dependent locative clauses: whenever

Whenever Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake. Whenever he almost caught up with it, it quickly ran away, the deer.

- ba encl.phr additative/empathetic enclitic: and, also, too; indeed

“Ytykchido nang•na randai angna kerengne” nowachie. “Hy! Angba randai sa•ni” nowano. “In that case you will get the meat and I will get the bones”, he said and then: “Hey! I also want to eat meat”, he said, it is said. “Na•ru bimyangaw poknaka bydyi?” noatakaidonga amak gawian. “Te•en ang sungaw chaiariibo” noai takaidongano amakba rukpekmyng ba•sigathanggaba budiaw tyngsymai takaimyng. “Where will we uproot the na•ru, old man?” the wife of the monkey is asking. “Just look into my mind later”, the monkey is saying who wants to imitate the idea of his friend the frog.
carrying her younger sister on the front of her body.

*baba* n KIN father, daddy, dad. Can also be used by father or mother when they address their son. Can also be used to talk about or address an uncle.

*babaji* n PERS fortune teller

*babelsi* ~ *babylsi* n PLACE kitchen

*babu* n PERS child or baby (used to call a small child or baby)

*Babyra* n PERS supreme god

*bada* n MSRE a bunch

*badai*-v to cross beyond the limit, to pass a certain point

*Changba ge•theng songmi baiaw badaiok.* Somebody crossed the border of his village. *Dolong khagabaaw badaiwachi, ramchi agal saw•gaba ganang.* When you will have passed the hanging bridge, there will be a forest fire along the road.

*badal*-v to unfold

*badym* n PLACE paddy field, wet rice field

*badyng*-v to trade, to deal in, to do business in

*Dakangmi chasongdo rangdarangaw, rykdarangawsa barudarangawsabadynga.* As for the past era/generation, they traded brass gongs and all kinds of ornaments.

*bagan* n PLACE garden

*bagu* n ART cloth for man worn around the waist

*bagukhawa* n ART turban with a knot on the front side of the head

*baguriwa* n GEO rainbow

*bai* n PLACE border

*bai• n PERS friend, kin

*bai•-v to break* *Balwa rakaimyng wa• baïok.* Because of the hard wind the bamboo has broken.

*bai•khop* n PLANT type of big broad green and purple bean

*bai•siga* ~ *bai•sega* n KIN friend

*baibai* adj2 the same *Ang hanep baibai kha•di khanphimi.* Tomorrow I will wear the same clothes again.

*baidam* n PERS some (people)

*Ytykyisa dynghangdyngthang songchina hapchina jaltokna ga•akoknowa. Baidam wa•thaigryrmchi mu•ok, uawdo wa•thaigythym myngok. Bai•dam Rongsa thyikhalmi ha•waichina jalangok, uawdo Rongsa Ha•wai myngok.* That’s why they were forced to run away to different villages and different places, it is said. Some stayed in Wa•thaigryym; that village is now called Wa•thaigythym. Some stayed in the plains of the river Rongsa; that village is not called Rongsa Ha•wai.

*bai•khop* n PLANT type of big broad green and purple bean

*baisykyl* n ART bicycle

*baji* n TIME hour “*Atong baji te•ewe?” “Tin baji dong•ok.*” “What time is it now?” “It’s past three o’clock.” Note that hours are counted with numerals borrowed from Hindi.

*baju* n KIN friend

*bak*-v to run after someone or something

*Kyi• ma•suaw kakna bakaidong.* The dog is running after the cow to bite it. *Banggaldo tharapna guduk takwachiba, tarakai jalariano magachake.* *Ytykyimyng bakrawraw bakrawraw jan•angoknowa.* When the Bengal almost reached it, the deer just ran fast, it is said. So then, chasing it more and more, they got far away, it is said.

*bak*-v to attempt, to try

*Raw•na bakwachym ytykchiba man•anca.* He attempted to catch it but he could not.

*bak*-v to catch up with, to overtake

*bak*-v to scrape with a spade

*bakaidonga.* She is scraping away the weeds with a spade.

*bak*-v to make barren, to weed out all the plants

*Khudalsang ha• bakwa.* We weeded the land with a chopper.
bakbak adv. easily
baket n ART bucket
baki n ACT credit Baki hyn•chawa. I don’t give credit.
bal- v. to speak, to tell, to say Na•a atong khu•chukaw balaidonga? What language do you speak? “Nang-mi jorae chang?” “Balchawa angdo.” “Who is your lover?” “I will not tell.” Te•ewe ie myngsa khelegabamynggymyn anga choi•sa balna sykaidonga. Now I want to tell a little about this game. Bydyi myng•sa balai hyn•aimyng, baju takphinokno. After an old man gave advice, they became friends again, it is said. Angmi balwami ichian jametwa. Walnam. I will finish my story telling now. Good night.
Ang nang•aw balni. I will tell about you.
balaga n PLACE outside
balgyto• n PLANT orchid
balphak- v. to blow away
Balphakram n PLACE land of the spirits of the dead, national park in the South Garo Hills District
balpisa n PLACE place to piss
balsem- v. to talk very long
balsyruk- v. to whisper
balwa n SUBST wind, air
balwa- vS1 to blow (of the wind)
bam- v. to brood, to sit on an egg Taw• kurungchi bamaidong. The chicken is brooding in her nest.
bam- vdat to obey, to surrender le sa•gyrai angnado bancha. This child does not obey me. Arong nokmae Duraaw Dorenggo Wadachongaw panchi jap khaaimu Englinmi Britis gobormen sason ka•gabana banchano. Having tied a trap in a tree, Arong headman did not surrender to the reign of the British government.
bam- v to trap, to catch in a trap Jaga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno. They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.
ban- v. to flow (of rivers) Symsang tyi Nongal dolongtakai bamaidong. The water of the Symsang river flows under Nongal bridge.
bando n ART tree house
banga num five
bangbang adv. empty
bangbol n ANIM type of fish
Banggal n PERS Bengali, non-Garo/Atong person
bangganai n ANIM type of fish
bangka n ART fan
Banglades n PLACE Bangladesh
bangphak n ART posts at the entrance of the bachelors’ house
bangsi n ART flute
banthai n PERS bachelor, unmarried man
bapai- v. to drop
bara- v. to put in a hole, pan, wa•sung, bag etc.
-barai evsp V always
baram- adj1 rough
barat n ART string that pulls the skin of a drum tight
barat- vdat to be ashamed, to be shy le gawi nang•na barataidong. This girl is feeling shy towards you. Nawang na•a! Ang nang•na barataidong. You idiot! I am ashamed of you.
barata n FOOD paratha, flatbread barata phelsa one paratha
baratwami n ACT shame
bari n garden
bas n ART bus
basak- v. to burn and cause a rash Thamat ~ thamotba na•jekwa•ba khicido basaka. If you touch the thamat/thamot plant and the na•jek bamboo they cause irritation.
basak- v. to cause irritation or itching Thamat basaka. Ta pyi•! The thamat plant causes irritation. Don’t touch it!
basnegtakgaba n PLACE bus stop
basu n ANIM crown feathers of a bird
-bat evsp most
bat- v. to stick in Kun ha•bykungchi batbo. Stick the stick in the sand.
batdyl n ART slingshot
bathan adj2 lying on his back
  Bathanai juwbo. Lie down on your back.
batkynyn- v to smash
baton n ART button
batphi- v to throw hard
batpyret- v to smash by throwing something to the ground
baw- v to dry: to make jerky, to dry vegetables
bawang clf length of the widely stretched arms and hands
bawbyl n PERS enemy
bawbyl chambyl n khjyks PERS enemy
bawen n SHAPE circle bawen sene seven circles
bawen- v to move in a circle, to make a circle around something
bawra n ACT arrogance bawra tak- to be arrogant
bebe adv truly bebe ra•- to believe
  Ang nang•aw bebe ra•cha. I don’t believe you.
bebe- v to believe Me•mangaw bebea. I believe in ghosts.
bejaw- v to experience the sensation of being tickled
  Nang• angau thebajawok, ang bejawok. You tickled me and I feel tickled.
hek n ART bag
bel•- ~ bil•- v to retract the foreskin from the glans penis
  Nang• ri•aw bel•bo. Retract your foreskin!
belcha n ART spade
bengblok n ANIM toad, type of frog
bera n ART a fence
bering n FOOD food cooked in a wa•sung
bering-~ bereng- v to cook in a bamboo cylinder (wa•sung) which is sealed with banana leaves and placed in the fire
beringwa ~ berengwa n FOOD food cooked in a wa•sung
betyri n ART battery betyri thong• byryi four batteries
bewal n ACT tradition, habit
  -bi evsp very
bimung ~ bimyng n ABSTR name
  Angmi bimung Samrat myngwa.
  My name is Samrat.

bins n PLANT type of green bean

bipha n PERS lad, man, male Gawi
  khaketsaan songchi mu•ariok,
  bipha kakhetdo palingsang
  jalangok. Only the women stayed
  in the village, all the men ran away
to the jungle. ma•su bipha bull
  mongna bipha male elephant

biphagaba n PERS husband

biri n ART cigarette

bisang ~ bisangmyng interr from
  where?

bisi n SUBST poison

biskut n FOOD biscuit biskut kep sa
  one biscuit (focus on small size and
  flatness) biskut phel sa one biscuit
  (focus on the fact that it is a baked
  thing)

biskyn interr how much? how many?

bistibal n TIME Thursday

bisyl n ART coin

bitykyi interr by which way? Bitykyi
  re•engnima? Ie ramtykyima utykyi?
  By which way shall we go? By this
  road or by that one?

-bo encl.cl imperative mood clausal
  enclitic

borang n ART tree house

bobya n PERS crazy man, idiot

bobylawthok n PERS fool

bochi (Siju dialecht), ja•chung (Siju
dialecht) n KIN sister-in-law: elder
brothers wife

bodol- v to change

boiom n ART a jug boiom thai• sa one
  jug Ge•theng boiom thai• than
  bai•ok. He broke three jugs.

bobbok n PERS liar

bol- v to cause irritation or itching
  Thamat bola. Ta puy•! The thamat
  plant causes irritation. Don’t touch
  it!

boli n ACT offer to a spirit
  Songgumukan ue mongmawana
  wai khurutaisa boli hyn•aisa
  man•ai sa•thokwano. Because the
  whole village prayed and offered to
  the elephant tusks, they all became
  very rich, it is said.

bonduk ~ bondyk ~ byndyk n ART
gun, shotgun

-bongbong evsp V more than
  necessary, V in abundance, V
  scandalously much

bongbong ~ bong n PERS liar Ta
  bong! You liar!

bonyng n KIN brother-in-law: the
  relation of a man and his younger
  sisters husband or a man and his
  wife’s elder bother

borong n PLANT cob, part of the fruit
  where the seeds are set in
  abongborong cob of corn. Jackfruit
  also has a cob which is called
  panchungborong jackfruit cob

bosok- v to itch, to be irritated, to
  experience the sensation of
  irritation or itching Na•jekwa•
  khiaimu cha• bosokaidonga.
  Having touched the na•jek bamboo
  my leg is itching.

bostu n ABSTR thing bostu myng
  tham three things

bot- v to court, to woo, to flatter
  Nang• Turachi nawmyl botwama?
  Did you court the girls in Tura?

botol n ART bottle or its volume,
bottleful

breket ~ brekyt n bracket
  Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba
  katha pang•ai gamchatcha. The
  words in brackets are not very
  important.

Britis n PERS British

bu- adj1 to be sharp (of pointed
  things)

bu•chok- v to be sharp (of pointy
  objects)

bu•chot n PLANT mango

buchotpan n PLANT mango tree
budbal n TIME Wednesday
bugryk n PLANT type of vegetable
bui- adj1 murky, turbid Tyi buia. The water is murky/turbid.
bukalang adj2 to have holes in it (of clothes)
bul- v to stir
bul- v to dig up, to unearth Noksanngamsang khudal paiaimyng, tangkaaw bulai Theng•honna hyn•etokno. Having carried a chopper to the side of the house, he dug up the money and gave it to Theng•thon, it is said.
buna n ANIM big black and yellow flying insect
burbok ~ bulbok n PERS idiot
but- v to squeeze in, to penetrate, to go inside a hole Saphawba hang•khalnyng•sang butai jalangokno. The rabbit runs away and squeezes into a hole. Bandi palyng butangwachi matsa chunggaba gorongkno. When Bandi penetrated the jungle, he met a big tiger, it is said. Ne•kat wa•hang•khalnyng•sang butangaidonga. The bees are going into the bamboo hole.
butang n PERS fucker (swearword)
buthal n TIME Wednesday
buthu- v to seal, to close a receptacle by putting something in the opening Wa•sung rekchaksang buthuok. The bamboo cylinder is sealed with banana leaves.
buthu- ~ bythwy- ~ bythwy- v to boil (of water)
butsa n ANIM type of big red ant
-butung sfx concomitant action suffix
bychym- v to pull up/out Una myng•sagaba sa•banthai myng•sagaba bychymokno, uchiba patangphaariok, dang•angphaariokno. Then one son pulled the other out [from the water], it is said, but then they just crossed and they all just drowned, it is said.
bydyi adj2 old (for persons)
bydyi n PERS old man
bydyi badai n PERS old couple
byira n ANIM cat byira amanthong jungle cat (the pattern on the skin of this cat is in the shape of an aman) byirakhem type of bee
byirakhem n ANIM type of bee
byisa- ~ bysa- v to dance
byisyk interr how much? how many? San byisyk mu•ni? How many days will you stay? Nang•chi rong byisyk ganang? How much money have you got?
bykbyk adv quickly
bykot- v to unsheathe, to take out Gal•aimuna kynsangdo phylgymaw uan rykjalaimuna kukuri bykotaimuna tokyrengaw tan•thongokno. After the eagle had fallen to the ground, he ran and unsheathed his knife and cut of its head, it is said.
bykphyl adj2 inside out Nang•jama/chola bykphyl. Your shirt is inside out.
byl n ABSTR/BODY strength, muscle Ido sa•gyraido hambundo chungwachido alamyla byldo.
bylnikhon. In the future that child might really become a bit stronger.
byl- v to make a drum and cover it with skin
byl- v to cut and kill a big animal or person, to slay
byl- n ACT strike Ma•su tan•na byl•sa nangni ge•thengo. To slaughter the cow he needs one strike.
bylak- adj1 strong Uchi mu•tyngabae bylakbatgabae Arong nokma dong•anoa. The strongest one who lives there is headman Arong, it is said.
bylbang n ART tie beam
bylent n ART razor blade
-bylok evsp V into pulp
bylong- v to be too much Na•a bylongdugaai thel•nabyi. ‘Don’t tie it too hard. Bylongok! It’s too much!
bylongen adv very
bylongok interj So stupid! Bylongokte nang•do angaw taksakechagado.
You are so stupid if you don’t help me.
bylsī n TIME year bylsī thinian every year Bylsī chykhywydyrang dong•phinokno. Nine years have passed, it is said.
bylu n QUAL blue
byryi num four
byrymbrym adj2 multicoloured
byryp adj2 lying on his belly Byrypai juwbo. Lie down on your belly.
byt- v to pull, to drag, to drive, to ride, to transport, to lead, to haul, to draw, to shock (electricity) Na•a gari bytna sapama? Do you know how to drive (a vehicle)?
bytai- v to lead here, to bring here (by driving)
bytchirit- v to draw a line
bytganggang- v to drive a vehicle over a bumpy road
bythyi n ANIM porcupine
bythyn n GEO shade Ichi mu•bo. Ichi bythyn gal•ok. Sit here. The shade is here. (lit. The shade has fallen here.)
bythw- v to boil (of water)
bytw- v to pull out
bytwa ~ bytwami ~ bytwamyng n ACT harvest
bytwami n ACT tug-of-war
bytym n ACT good smell
bytyms bytym- v to smell nice Palengma bytyma. The flower of the palengma smells nice.
byww- v to boil (of water)
bywsa- v to dance
cha n FOOD tea
cha n FOOD tea
cha•ang- v to set (of the sun) Rangsan cha•anga. The sun sets.
cha•bykung n BODY instep
cha•chak n PLANT tea leaf
cha•chok n BODY sole of the foot
cha•dok ~ cha•tok n BODY heel
cha•dyln n BODY/PLANT root, vein
cha•dylmorong n PLANT main root of a tree
cha•dylsaphek n PLANT small root
cha•gyl n ACT footstep Nokhapalchi cha•gyl kryngaidonga. Footsteps are making noise outside.
cha•dywgyw- v to kneel
cha•gywgyw- v to kneel down
cha•kereng n BODY shinbone, shin
cha•khawak ~ cha•khok n BODY hollow side of the knee
cha•khok ~ cha•khawak n BODY hollow side of the knee
cha•khop ~ ja•hop n ART shoe
cha•kok n PLACE hollow between the roots of a tree Kynsangdo thik ue na•pite phep cha•koknyng .sang galatwa. Later the barber fell exactly into a hollow between the roots of the banyan tree.
cha•kyw ~ cha•ku n BODY knee, length from the knee to the foot Uchie Theng•thon khudalsang ha•aw saw•aidongano. Saw•aidongano, thyw•angaidokno, cha•kyw chyigykdarangdo. Then
Theng•thon is digging in the ground with a chopper, it is said. He is digging and he is getting deep, it is said, about four metres deep.

cha•ma n PLACE lower side, downstream, bottom, below
cha•man n ACT footprint
cha•muk n BODY medial malleolus
cha•myн n BODY leg hair
cha•pa n BODY sole of the foot
cha•pakityk n BODY heel
cha•pathai n BODY calf
cha•pha clf a foot cha•pha tham three feet
cha•phak n BODY groin
cha•phong ~ caphung n BODY thigh
cha•phung n BODY upper leg
cha•pun•dym n BODY hip
cha•ri n PLANT seed for planting
cha•si n BODY toe
cha•si•jyw•bydyi n BODY big toe
cha•syrong- v to stretch your leg
cha•tok ~ cha•dok n BODY heel
cha•wek n PLANT chaff
cha•wekdam n PLACE place where the chaff is thrown after winnowing the rice
cha•akh•v to fall (of water in a waterfall)
cha•bi n ART key
cha•chek n ART tea strainer
cha•chura n BODY hair on top of the head
cha•dak- v to bump
cha•gak n BODY palate
cha•gak- v to hit, to crash Uchi, pherudo panchi chagakai thyiokno. Then the fox hit a tree and died, it is said.
cha•godot- v to stumble Gandichi chagodotwa. I stumbled over a log.
cha•- v to look (at), to watch Te•do
biphagaba Naweng aina
chaiaimyng tangabasang
biphagaba ka•myн rokaimyng aina
tanman•gabaaw kynaimyng
biphagaba ni•wachi chaiai
chyi•chic aphaalthangaw nukwanoaro. Now when she picked up the mirror which her husband had put down after looking into it to shave his beard, she saw herself, it is said. Angba piktjyr chaina. I also want to see the photos. Ang nang•aw chaikhuni. I will take revenge on you.

-chai ~ -chyi evsp try to V, V and see
chaisi- v to hate
chaikhaw- v to spy
chaira n ACT a traditional song
chairuru- v to look around
chaishi- v to be annoyed by the looks of something
chaithum- v to guard, to watch over
chaitung•gana n PERS watchman
chak clf classifier for leaves panchak chaksa one tree leaf
chak n BODY arm, hand
-chak n PLANT leaf
chak- v to ignite wal chak- to make fire Wal•thum• chakbo. Light the wal•thum!
chak chok n khjyksai BODY hand
Tykywto krengh chak chok
dangchagabachi mai
rymetaidongano. She is cooking rice in a water pot of which the neck is so narrow that you cannot stick your hand in it.
chaka n ART wheel
chakchuk n BODY elbow
chakgydok n BODY wrist
chakgyol n BODY underarm
chakkhawak n BODY hollow part of the elbow, elbow pit
chakkhop n ART glove
chakol n PERS servant
chakpha n BODY palm of the hand
chakphakhung n BODY back of the hand
chakphong ~ cakphung n BODY arm, upper arm
chaksi n BODY finger chaksi goi• banga five fingers
chaksigysep n BODY space in between the fingers
chaksijotram n BODY index finger
chaksijywydyi n BODY thumb
chaksikhol n BODY fingernail
chaksikhum n BODY back of the hand
chaksirengma n BODY little finger
chaksweng n BODY knuckles
chaksyrong-v to stretch your arm
chakwak clf classifier for handfuls rong• chakwak chit sa eleven handfuls of stones
chal-v to support
chal-v to sow or plant by making a hole in the ground with a stick and putting the seed into the hole. Ha• khymmanwamungsa maiši khita. Umung abongdarang chala, dachangdarang chala. Only after collecting the unburnt remains of the jungle from the land, we sow millet. Then we plant maize and we plant danchag.
chalak adj2 cunning, clever Song damsachi Theng•thon mynggaba morot myngsa ganangno. Ue bylongen chalakno. In a village lived a man called Theng•thon, it is said. He was very cunning, it is said. Chalak morotaimyng udo te•echinaan khengaidongano. Because he is a cunning man, he is now still alive, it is said.
chalgaba n ART a support
chamai ~ chame n KIN 1. marriageable female cousin, 2 the relation of female cousins from intermarriageable families, 3. the relation of the parents of a married couple, 4. girlfriend, lover, sweetheart
chame ~ chamai n PERS/KIN sweetheart, female cousin, daughter of mother’s brother (mama)
chanchi-vB to think (about/of) “Ie alsia raja atkyi khengaidok? Atykyian jykaw haldunna man•aidok?” noat morotdyrang chanchiphinaidokoro. “How does this lazy king live? How does he feed his wives?” thought the people, it is said. Bandiaw watetna chanchiaidokno. He thought about sending Bandi, it is said. Jesang ang re•engchiba, man•cha nang•aw awana. Chanchia ang nang•awrarasa. (Aristo J Momin) Wherever I go, I cannot forget you, I think only of you.
chanchichyp-v to suppose Morot chanchichypai thik dongokodo, uchian rajaan uaw ajot nosawnaka. Suppose someone gets it right, then the king will tell him ajot.
chanchok-v to lean on
chanchora ~ chanchura n ANIM sparrow
chanet-v to put on the fire
chang interr who?
-chang bound multiplied by, times. This morpheme is only used in compound numerals with khol ‘twenty’. It can be seen as a bound morpheme and written together with khol in numerals, viz. khokchang byryi rong sa eighty one.
-chang evsp V suddenly
changai n GEO the moon
changba prof somebody, someone
changchon n BODY waist
changgaba prof whoever Changgaba man•ai sa•a changgaba nokdang takga, umi bimyng gumukawan thalai myngaimusa, wai khurutaimu, sa•ai ryngaimu, nemkhalchiba nemkhalchachiba ue morotnado dydkyksa chaisaksi. Whoever is rich, whoever is wealthy, having called all their names clearly, having performed the incantation of the spirit, having eaten and drunk, the person has to wait for a short while to see whether or not he has got better.
chap-v to stand (be in standing position)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>chapchap</th>
<th>adv</th>
<th>close together (as in a crowd)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chara</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>PERS mother’s brothers, the chara come together when important decisions concerning the family have to be made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chara</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>PLANT sapling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charamong</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>PERS mother’s eldest brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charanga</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chasong</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ABSTR generation, era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chek</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ART net, fishing net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chek</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheknaï</td>
<td>adv</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chel</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>BODY bosom of a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chelbak</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>BODY chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chelku</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>BODY rib cage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chem-</td>
<td>adj1</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>to promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw</td>
<td>onom</td>
<td>splash! the sound of something plunging into the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw</td>
<td>onom</td>
<td>to go by boat, to stream (of a river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>to stream (of water in a river), to drown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw-</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>to melt away, to burn up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw</td>
<td>onom</td>
<td>to winnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>to go by boat, to stream (of water in a river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaw-</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>to winnow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Because this person did not know how to swim, he drowned. / This person, not having known how to swim, drowned.**

**chaw-ki ~ chaw-kyi ~ chengkui**

**ART big knife with a curled blade**

used in the kitchen to prepare food as well as in the field to cut plants and weeds

**chaw-ki ~ chaw-kyi ~ chengkui**

**ART big knife with a curled blade**

used in the kitchen to prepare food as well as in the field to cut plants and weeds

**Because this person did not know how to swim, he drowned. / This person, not having known how to swim, drowned.**
chongkui - chaw•ki - chaw•kyi n
ART big knife with a curled blade
used in the kitchen to prepare food
as well as in the field to cut plants
and weeds
-chep evsp V alone
chep- v to milk Ma•sudut cheparong.
She’s milking cow’s milk.
chep- v to release contained air or
water, to leak Robol balwa chapok.
The football has deflated./The
football has leaked air. Maityk tyi
chepaidok. The rice-cooking pot is
leaking water.
chep- ~ chip- ~ chyp- v to be
imprisoned, to be caught
(Theng•thone):”Nang•tym angaw
wetsado khema kha•khubo.” “Yhy!
Khema man•chak” noaimyng
koksep wataimyng koksephi
chypangokno. “Please forgive me
one more time”, (said Theng•thon).
“No! You cannot get any more
forgiveness”, they said and they
made a big bamboo basket and
imprisoned him in it, it is said.
Uchie Nepale: “Ytykchido ang
re•engsigama nang•myng phal?”
nowano. “Ma• ytykchido
dong•arini, ang chakdyrangaw
dengbo” nooknor. Kha•akno,
Theng•thonawdo. Ytykimyng
chepgaba dengaimyng ge•theng
hongkotokno. Then the Nepali said:
“So them I will go instead of
you?”, it is said. “Very well, in that
case, it’s all right. Untie my
hands”, he said, it is said. He untied
Theng•thon. So then, having untied
the prisoner, the prisoner came out,
it is said. Brekesmyng nyng•chi
chipgaba katha pang•ai
gamchatcha. The words in brackets
are not very important.
chep- ~ chyp- v to close Ue Ha•dura
waie songchi morot thynaakodo
rong•khalmi nokapaw
chepchangano. Ue nokap
chepachian songyumukmi
morotdyrangan naano. As for that

spirit of Ha•dura, when a person
had died, the door of the cave
would suddenly close, it is said.
When that door is closes, the
people in the village hear it, it is
said. Kha•sinai chyangsang davang
takaidonga. She is slowly closing
and opening her eyes. (Gostar R
Sangma)

chepchap chepchap onom the sound
of a mouse Abeknyng•chi muchot
sa•gyrai mang byryi chepchap
chepchap parawthokaidonga.
Inside the abek are four baby mice
squeaking eek eek.

chepchap chepchap onom squeak
squeak (sound of a mouse) Muchot
chepchap chepchap parawa. A
mouse says squeak squeak.

cherym- ~ chyrym- adj1 heavy
chet- v to tear clothes
chetpyrak- v to tear apart
chew•khyi n ART big knife
chi num ten. This word is only used in
compound numerals ci byri
fourteen.

-chi encl.phr.cl locative enclitic
chi bri num fourteen
chi chat num eighteen
chi dok num sixteen
chi ni num twelve
chi sykuh num nineteen
chi syni num seventeen
chi tham num thirteen
-chichi evsp V with force
-chichi evsp to V into pieces
chichot n PLANT small inedible
jackfruit

chichu- v to blister
chichugaba n BODY a blister
chichugaba n BODY a blister
chigi n PLANT type of plant
-chik ~ -chyk evsp V as long as you
can
chikarak- v to joke
-chikchak evsp swarming
chikchak wekwak adv swarming
around something like fish around
bait

chin n ACT a sign
chin•thai n PLANT melon
cínhara n PLANT lemon
cính classifier for bamboo shoots
mái•wa ~ máiwa• chingsa one bamboo shoot
cính•pheng adj/aslant, slant Nok bydyiaimu chín•pengok. The house, having become old, is aslant.
chinhongphyrot ~
chinhongphyrot n PLANT type of white edible mushroom
chini n FOOD sugar
cínhik n BODY dirt on your body
cínhkak n PLANT type of plant
chip- ~ chep- ~ chyp- v to be imprisoned, to be caught
(Theng•thone): “Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema ḷa•khubu.” “Yhy! Khema man•chak” noaimyng koksep wataimyng koksephi chypangokno. “Please forgive me one more time”, (said Theng•thon). “No! You cannot get any more forgiveness”, they said and they made a big bamboo basket and imprisoned him in it, it is said. Uchie Nepale: “Ytykchido ang re•-engrawrawwachian dobachi amakba gasorotaimu bunduk bai•thongsyrangokno. Bonduk bai•thongaimu kokchengba cho•chepkno nemanchakno. Once when they went a little further, the monkey slipped and fell in the mud and broke the gun in pieces, it is said. The gun was broken and the kokcheng was crumpled and not good any more, it is said.
chótisa ~ chótisa adv a little bit
chómot ~ chóng•mot adv/evsp actually, really “Anga Ketketa Bura dong•cha. Ketketa Bura kanjota, anga mel•a chaibataw” noaimyng, pheruna Ketketa Bura balwano. Ytykhiba pherue: “Nang•an cho•mot ketketa Bura” nookno. “I’m not Ketketa Bura. Ketketa Bura is thin, I look much fatter”, said Ketketa Bura to the fox, it is said. But the fox said: “You are really Ketketa Bura”, it is said.
chótisa ~ chótisa adv a little bit
chógop- v fully bent but not touching the ground (used only with plants) Rek chógopok. The banana tree is bent.
chógyp- v to break off and fall down (for branches and big leaves) Balwana narykhelchak chógypok. Because of the wind the branch of the coconut tree has broken off and fallen down.
chok clf classifier for bunches or small heaps ja•ryt choksa one small heap of chillies rasunok choksa one bundle of spring onions
chok v to scoop, serve up, dish up, dish out khaw chok- to comb one’s hair
choka- v to be taken apart, to be disassembled, to be torn Pen chokaak. The pen is disassembled.
A horse had eaten all his potatoes. Therefore, when he looked in the morning, the potatoes were all torn, because all the sprouts were eaten while they were sprouting, it is said.

**chokake** - v to cut off

**chokchok** - v to sharpen (a pointy object)

**chokdeng** n BODY throat

**chokdeng** n PLACE the end of a pointy object

**choket** - v to scoop (for solid substances)

**chokhoin** n ART fishing basket made of bamboo

**choki** ~ **chuki** n ART chair

**chokida** n PERS warden

**choklet** n FOOD a sweet, chocolate

**chokset** - v to scoop away

**chol** clf classifier for ways, roads, paths and rivers 'thalh chol ni' two rivers 'ram chol tham' three roads, paths 'sorok chol byryi' four roads

**chol** n ACT idea 'Nang nangdo mynga chola wdo taknaka.' We will execute one idea.

**chola** n ART shirt

**cholwat** n ABSTR a space

**chom** - v to stack, to pile up, to fuck

**chom** - clf classifier for little piles of fruit 'Narang chom ni' 'hyn bone.' Give me two little piles of oranges.

**chong** clf classifier for iron nails 'hil chong ni' two iron nails

**chong** - n ANIM insect, bug, lice

**chongsu** n ANIM caterpillar

**chongchang** n ART bird cage made of bamboo

**chongchyro** - v to squat

-**chommot** ~ -**chomot** evsp V
determinedly, V certainly, V definitely 'San nidy rang dong phinaid dok, nang noksang rai anado'

**pa chong motchaaidok khon**

nookno. It has been two days and maybe he really does not dare to come to your house.

**chonnyke** - v to look down on

**chonnykgabaaw** naa imyng alsia raja: ‘Na anga ytyk yi cholie cholisemchaidok’ noaimyng te ewba yky myng jalaidokno. So then, later, having heard the ones that looked down on him, the lazy king said: ‘Well, I certainly have not succeeded at all’ and then he ran away from his wives, it is said.

**chot** - v to tear (off) 'Sendel chotok. My sandal is broken. Aia thetnabai! Ang chak chotni! Ouch! Don’t pull! My arm will tear off!'

**chus** - v to wrap into something

**churret** adv stuck 'Phepchi pheru ytykyi mu aido naaoro. Mu wachie ri do churret takangok no cha masang na pitsang.' The fox was sitting in the banyan tree like this, it is said. While he was sitting there, his penis was stuck, it is said, downward, toward the barber.

**chusok** - v to succeed 'Nang tyme iawan phalthangthanga hyn gaawan kamtykyi chu soketchaidido nang tyme atongtykyi phylgym kawna man a?' If you cannot succeed in the job that I gave to yourselves, how can you shoot the eagle?

**chuduk** ~ **chydok** - v to turn upside down, to turn over

**chugup** v on its side 'Rung chugup paitanbo. Turn the boat on its side. Chugupai tanwa. I put it on its side. Rung chugupok. The boat is lying on its side.'

**chugup** - v to cover with a lid

**chui** interj interjection to chase away a pig

**chui** interj interjection to chase away a domestic animal

**chuki** ~ **choki** n ART chair
chuli\- v to be useful Tangka poisaba, kamba janggina chulia. Money and wealth are useful in life.

chultet\- v to shake off

chun n BODY trump

chun n FOOD limestone (in ground form)

chung- adj1 big

chunggalgal\- v to grow up, to become an adult “Sa\- myng\-sa ba\-aimung, man\-dykarok.” “Man\-dykasola ho\-ong. ie jenkonparaba rai\-asyrangchak.” “Wel\-ang wel\-ang chunggalgalwasa ga\-nakachym. jengkonparaba rai\-akhuchakhon?” “After one child has been born, it is difficult.” “Difficult indeed, yes. This Jenkon and those associated with him never come any more.” “He will almost certainly be compelled to grow up quickly.”

chungtaw\- v to grow

chungthai n BODY big bosom Samsa mylthai samsa chungthai. One big bosom, one small bosom.

chup ~ chyp adv fully dressed, with all your clothes on, wearing whatever it is you are wearing Ang chyp tyruok. I took a bath with all my clothes on. Ang chup re\-engariok. I just went wearing the clothes I was wearing at that time.

churi n ART knife (Hindi छूट)

churu n FOOD very little food

chuwil chuwal adv spinning Thot thyang\-thot takwachina dabat sykromaimyng khanetsigaaidongno. Bandi chakwatwamian chuwil chuwal takjolangokno. He (Bandi) grasped her (Sore) and poured the liquor into her mouth to the last drop. When Bandi let go of her (Sore), her head was spinning.

chuwyang chuwang adv with a spinning head, dizzyly

chybym n BODY forehead

chyduk- ~ chuduk- v to turn upside down, to turn over

chygyl n ANIM type of eel that comes out of the river when it rains a lot

chygyp- v to fall face down on the ground

chyhyl n ANIM type of snail

chyi- adj1 vexing, irritatingly boring, irritatingly tiring

chyi- v to try Chaiai chyini gorongnima gorongcha. Let’s try to meet him. (literally: We will try by seeing if we will meet him or not meet him.)

-chyi ~ -chay evsp try to V, V and see

chyi- adj1 tired

chyyigk num ten

chyk- ~ chek- adj1 cold

-chyk ~ -chik evsp V as long as you can

chyykw num nine

chym encl.cl/prtl irrealis enclitic or particle Mura tai\-sa ganangchym, te\-ew ni\-wa. There was supposed to be a small stool here, now it’s gone. Jongkene: “hm! kamba atong kamaw kha\-aimunaka ie? banthaichiba tangka poisana nang\-nangarocona.”

Nongkene: “Ho\-ong, chym.” Jonken says: “Hm! And then that work, what work will he be doing while he stays here?When you are a bachelor, because you need money…” Nongken says: “Yes, supposedly.”

chym\- v to chew Goiaw nemai chym\-aimu dakbo. Chew the betel nut well, then spit it out.

chymbuk n ART magnet

chympyret- v to hit with your fist, to crash head-on

chyn- v to offer to the dead le taw\- mama thyigabana chynkhuni. We will offer this chicken to our dead uncle.

chyyndyk n ANIM domestic water buffalo

chyng\- adj1 bright
chyng•- **v** to burn *Ie pan nemai***

This wood will burn well.

chyng•chet- **v** to glitter

chyngaba **n** ACT offer to a dead person

chyngmat **n** BODY comb of a rooster

-chyp **v** to close *Te•ewchinaan ue waimi bimungsang songawba Siju Duramong noai te•ewchinaan myngairongkhua. Ytykimung ue rong•khal te•ewdo chypok. Now still, the village is called Siju Duramong after the spirit’s name, still today. But the cave is closed now.

chyyp **v** to imprison, to lock up *Uchie Theng•thon balokno: “Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo.” “Yhy! Khema man•chak” noaimyng koksep wataimyng koksepchi chypangokno. Then Theng•thon said: “Please forgive me one more time.” “No! We cannot forgive you any more”, they said and having woven a big bamboo cage, they locked him up in the bamboo cage, it is said.

chyyp- ~ chep- **v** to close *Ue Ha•dura waie songchi morot thyinaakodo rong•khalmi nokapaw chepchangano. Ue nokap chepachian songyumukmi morotdyranganaai naano. As for that spirit of Ha•dura, when a person had died, the door of the cave would suddenly close, it is said. When that door is closes, the people in the village hear it, it is said. *Kha•sinai chypangaas daawng takaidonga. She is slowly closing and opening her eyes. (Gostar R Sangma)*

chyyp- ~ chip- ~ chep- **v** to be imprisoned, to be caught *(Theng•thon): “Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema kha•khubo.” “Yhy! Khema man•chak” noaimyng koksep wataimyng koksepchi chypangokno. “Please forgive me one more time”, (said Theng•thon). “No! You cannot get any more forgiveness”, they said and they made a big bamboo basket and imprisoned him in it, it is said.

*Uchie Nepale: “Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•myng phal?” nowano. “Ma• ytykchido dong•arini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo” nooknoro. Kha•akno, Theng•thonawdo. Ytykymyng chepgaba dengaimyng get•theng hongkotokno. Then the Nepali said: “So them I will go instead of you?”, it is said. “Very well, in that case, it’s all right. Untie my hands”, he said, it is said. He untied Theng•thon. So then, having untied the prisoner, the prisoner came out, it is said. Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha. The words in brackets are not very important.

chyyp ~ chup adv fully dressed, with all your clothes on, wearing whatever it is you are wearing *Ang chyp tyruok. I took a bath with all my clothes on. Ang chup re•engariok. I just went wearing the clothes I was wearing at that time.*

chyrym- ~ cherym- **adj1** heavy

chys **interj** interjection of disapproval

chyw **n** FOOD rice beer, alcohol, wine, liquor *chyw chek- to scoop the chyw out of the gora with an abek*

chyw• **n** PLANT the new young leaves of a tree

chyw•- **adj1** high, steep *ha•kha chyw•a the mountain slope is steep*

chywgyn **n** ACT the festival of the dead at which the soul of a dead person is sent out of the house to rest in peace. The festival is held around the end of February or the beginning of March. During chywgyn people indulge in different activities such as *chyw*
rynga ‘to drink liquor’, khata
juw•kyna ‘to tell stories’, chaïra
rynga ‘to sing songs’ and Wal•jan
byta ‘to tell the love story about
Wal•jan’.

chywgyn- v to celebrate the festival of
the dead
dar•rat- v to fall down (for person)
daba n PLANT coconut
dabat postp since, from, until
(indicating a limit in time)
“Ytykchiba na•a angna aro
angmyng jykna nang• khengwa
dabat ang thyicha dabat angaw
muraï sa•na hyn•bo” nookno.
“However, you have to keep giving
me and my wife food as long as
you live until I die”, he said, it is
said. umyng ~ umi dabat
since that
time, from that time onward
uchina
dabat until then, until that time
Tai•nimyng dabat nang•myngan
baju takehaka. As from today I will
not be your friend any more.

dabogos n ART skewer
dachang n PLANT type of shrub of
which both the leaves and the
flowers are eaten
dachang ~ datchang n PLANT type
of shrub of which the leaves and
flowers are cooked and eaten
dada n KIN elder brother. Is also used
to speak about or address a related
older male relative of your own
generation: cousin, or to address an
unrelated man older than you.
dagi n BODY scar
dai- v to be bigger, greater daiaiok
over, finished
daï- v to wash away (as in a
landslide) Rrang wawana, ha•
nom•aimu ha•byri dai•ok. Because
of the rain the ground had become
soft and therefore the mountain
washed away.
daijol- v to overstay
dainingrum n PLACE dining room
dairamphin•- v to work overtime
dairukruk- v become more and more
dak n BODY freckle

dak- v to spit
dakal ~ takal n PERS witch
dakan- v to dress someone else
dakang adv previously “Ie hapaw
atong myngnaka” noai, Gandrung
songchamchi ram•ai chyichie
dakang mynggaba Songma
Songgni Khychu Badri nogaba,
bimung sang, khata jyksaisang,
Badri myngnaka noai,
Gandrungawsa Badri
myngchengwano. “What shall we
call this place?” they said and when
trying to search in the old village of
Gandrung, which was the
previously so called Songma
Songgni Khychu Badri, that was its
name, with two words with the
same meaning, and they called it
Badri, and so Gandyung was first
called Badri, it is said.
dakang postp ago, before Bylsi sana
dakang jyk khymok ge•thengdo. He
got married one year ago.
Nang•tymmi nanggabaaw
nang•tymmi pi•aidongabaaw,
nang•na dakangan phetangok,
nang•na dakangan udo
re•engsawok. That which you
needed, that which you were asking
for, had arrived before you and it
has certainly left before you. Sa•na
dakang chaksua. Before eating I
wash my hands.

dakang tw past, in the past, before,
earlier Dakangdo, mamung khem
ni•wachido dymchyrangsangsa
chywgyn ryngwano. In the past,
when there were no drums, they
celebrated the festival of the dead
only with the dymchyrang, it is
said. Gam man•ni udo uan, tangka
poisa. Uan gam mynga, dakangmi
chasongdo. Te•ewsas kepasyti noai
myngaidonga. Chasongna kri gam
myngariaoro, tangka poisa. He will
obtain wealth, money. Earlier
generations called that “wealth”.
Now they call it “capacity”.

ATONG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY 643
According to my generation this money is called “wealth”.

dakanggaba adj1 first Uchi

According to my generation this money is called “wealth”.

dakanggaba adv first, the first time
dakham n ART very small wooden stool consisting of one rectangular wooden board to sit on and two small rectangular wood blocks attached underneath as supports

dakmanda n ART long women’s dress tied around the waist, skirt

dala n ART round bamboo mat made of wa•tyng for drying papol or chillies in the sun, also called damplak

dala n PLANT branch of a tree not directly attached to the trunk, young plant dalasa one branch dala pheksa one branch

daldi n PERS beloved person, love, darling

dalibibi n ART doll dalibibi goi•sa one doll

dalim n PLANT pomegranate

dam clf classifier for villages Song
damsachi asia raja myng•sa ganangchym. In a certain village there was supposedly a lazy king.
dam n ABSTR price Je ma•sugari
dame biskyn? What is the price of this bullock cart?
dam n ART bamboo mat

-dam bound PLACE place jabol
damplak

- dam evsp V truly
dam – dym onom “bam!” “Thud!”

sound of something heavy hitting the ground Ytykyimuna tokyang
man•aimunga ha•china wu•wuu—

dym! takramphimoty phylgym
gal•waan. So then, having got him in the neck, the giant eagle fell to the ground wooooosh bam!
dama n art drum “Raja! Nang•
damaw cho•sa i•e ang
baisigathang pheru tam•nano”

noai takaidongano. Ytykyimyng
kan•taraaw “Tam•bono
tam•bono” noai tanangarioknoe
magachakdo. Ytykyimyng tam•ai
chaichie te•do byirakhem

hongkotruruaimu
kaksyragokno pheruawdo.

No•mangaidokno udo.

Ytykyimyng jalangthiriokno
magachako. “O King, can my friend the fox play a bit on your drum?”, he pretended to say, it is said. “Go ahead and play, go ahead and play!” , the deer pretended that the king said, it is said. So then, when he tried to play it, the bees all came out and bit the fox all over, it is said. The fox became weak, it is said. So then the deer ran away again, it is said.

-dam dam evsp V in different places,

V one after the other, V continuously

damdy n ART bamboo mat that is used as the side of a house damdy
khapsa one damdy

damplak n ART round bamboo mat, also called dala, made of wa•tyng for drying papol or chillies in the sun

damthol n ART a rolled up mat
dan- v to spread out, to lay out (mats etc.) Na•aw kh•ar•tongai danwa.

She laid the fish down and cut it in pieces. Palongchi kombol danbo.
Spread a blanket over the bed. (when preparing it to go to sleep)

dan- v to spread Kombol palongchi danbo. Spread the blanket out over the bed.

Dandan v to be pressed with your back against something, to lean against something Dandanai mu•bo. Sit with your back against the wall (or anyu other supporting object). Panchi dandanaidonga. He’s leaning against a tree.

dang• v to enter, to go/come in

Ytykyisa ue Arong nokma thyiwamisa saepe bondyk paiaimu sipaiyryang dang•na man•okno. Sipaiyryang dang•wachie kan•tyra gulinyi kawphethpetai rai•aaknkhon. Uchian songchi dang•ok. That’s why, after headman Arong’s death, the gun carrying sahibs were able to come in, it is said. When the sahibs entered, they might only have fired without bullets. Then they entered the village, it is said. Sansado ue harataimyng hajambutungchi umyng khu•chukang sotmai dumna dang•thokkokno. One day, while he was yawning, a swarm of flies entered his mouth. Noksang byk dang•jolai jalangoknoai. He quickly ran into the house. Uchie pagongmachi sa• gataimu uchie dang•gangknoro ge•thengdo. Ytykyimu tyinyn•sang dang•angkokno. Then, having put the children on his shoulders, he went in, it is said. So then he entered the water, it is said. “Ma baba, atykyimu wala’wa?” nookno amakaw, amakni sa•dyrange. “Ni•wa. Ue nang• awangpara nokchi dang•phakawa na•a” noatakokno. “But daddy, why are you so late? It is already night”, the monkey’s children said. “Don’t worry. I visited your uncle” he said, it is said. Re•enwachian rangsan dang•aimu walokno.

When he left, after the sun had set, it was night, it is said.

dang• vphase to enter into a mental state, to start Anga nang•aw nukjyryngaria uchian anga nang•aw nukjyryngwachian nang-na khu•galwa dang•ok. I just saw you every day, then, when I saw you every day, I started loving you.

dangkhym- v to collapse

dangthym- v to collapse (of a road or bridge), to go into a hole

danyl n ART shield

-dap evsp V on top, V more, V and add

dap- ~ dep- v to be on top, to press, keep together by force, pinch together, to pinch, to crush, to stack

dapet adv insipid, not tasty Jabek dapet dapet takaidong. The curry is not tasty.

darai n ART sword

-darang ~ -dyrang encl.phr plural enclitic

darangba prof anybody, anyone, nobody, no one Ang songchi darangba Atong khu•chuk olna man•cha. In my country there is nobody to talk Atong with.

dareng n PLACE edge

dari- v to commit adultery, to have sex, to be a bad person, to behave badly

dau•sik n ANIM parrot

daw- v to open, to peel Kelkhi dawai tanaimu, daw•kha nokmi ruti sa•khawokno. Because somebody had left the window open, a crow had stolen bread from the house, it is said. Nokhap dawbo! Open the door! Khophylak dawarok. She’s peeling the skin of a fruit. Narykel dawaidong. He’s peeling an orange. Taw•ti dawbo. Peel the egg. Kha•sinai chypangsa dawang takaidonga. She is slowly closing and opening her eyes. (Gostar R Sangma)
ATONG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

**daw•-** *n* ANIM bird. This is the bound form of the word *taw•* 'chicken, bird' that appears before the name of the bird.

**daw•blok** *n* ANIM bulbul bird

**daw•gamdot** *n* ANIM eagle

**daw•gep** *n* ANIM duck

**daw•kha** *n* ANIM black crow

**daw•harasun** *n* PLANT crow onion, type of onion

**daw•kha•sym** *n* ANIM green pigeon

**daw•kyru** *n* ANIM pigeon

**daw•phaw** *n* ANIM owl

**daw•phylgym** *n* ANIM type of big eagle

**daw•reng** *n* ANIM eagle

**daw•sik** *n* ANIM parrot

**dawel•** to be circular

**de** *inter* O.K. then, well

**de•et- ~ di•it- ~ di•et-** v to shit, to do number two *Udo de•etna re•etpa*. ‘He went for a shit’ *Nakhung di•etsetaronga*. He is picking his nose.

**de•theng ~ ge•theng** *ppron* he/she, third person singular pronoun referring to animates

**de•thengtheng ~ ge•thengtheng** *ppron* they, third person plural pronoun referring to animates

**dekdek•** v to shiver, to tremble *Dekdekai thiyok*. He died shivering.

**dekoresyn** *n* ART decoration

**del- ~ dyl-** v to sting (of a bee etc.)

**delang ~ dylang** *n* ART little house for the spirit of a dead person built close to the house where the dead person is burnt to keep his remains and ashes. The spirit of the diseased will live in this little house until it is burnt in the ceremony called *me•mang sa•gata* about one year after his death and the spirit will go to *Balphakram*.

**dem•** v to fold

**demdong•** adj1 weak, soft

**dempharai** *n* ART lengthwise cut long bamboo strip used in the construction of a house

**deng•** v to untie *Ang chakaw dengbo*. Untie my hands.

**dengga** *n* PLANT type of small leafy green

**denggu** *n* ACT extortion, naughtiness

**dep• ~ -dap•** v to be on top, to press, keep together by force, pinch together, to pinch, to crush, to stack

**dephyleng• ~ deppyl•eng ~ deppyleng•** v to flatten, to make flat *Gari bengbylokaw depylengok*, *ntykyimu bengbyoke ptylengok*. The car flattened the toad, so the toad was flat.

**di•** *n* BODY shit

**di•but** *n* ANIM dung beetle

**di•chongkhanthyi** *n* BODY pygostyle.

The pygostyle is the main component of the structure colloquially known as Pope’s nose, parson’s nose or sultan’s nose. This is the fleshy protuberance visible at the posterior end of a bird (most commonly a chicken or turkey) that has been dressed for cooking.

**di•chyra•k•** v to have diarrhoea

**di•congkhamai** *n* ANIM cloaca

**di•it• ~ de•et• ~ di•et** v to shit, to do number two *Nakhung di•etsetaronga*. He is picking his nose.

**di•mil** *n* BODY arse, anus, bottom

**di•kyntyk** *n* PLACE toilet

**di•mai** *n* BODY tail

**di•phathai** *n* BODY buttock

**di•pyru•** v to have diarrhoea

**di•pyryw•** v to shit your pants

**di•sep** *n* BODY arse crack

**di•sepra** *n* BODY arse crack

**di•thap** *n* MSRE/ART half (of a volume), diper *Gylas di•thapan phingancha*. The glass is not half full *Gylas di•thapharaaw*. only half a glass. *Jyw•gaba sa•garaiaw di•thap pha•etaidonga*. The mother is putting a diper on the child.

**di•thom** *n* BODY gizzard. The gizzard, also referred to as the ventriculus, gastric mill, and
gigerium, is an organ in the digestive tract found in birds, reptiles, earthworms, some fish, and other creatures. This specialized stomach constructed of thick, muscular walls often contains swallowed sand or grit, which helps in the mechanical breakdown of food.

digi $n$ well, ditch
dikirin- $v$ to tear (clothes, paper etc.)
diksyna $n$ ART dictionary
dil $n$ BODY body smell Mongmadil manama. The body smell of an elephant stinks.
dile $n$ ACT delay
din $n$ PLACE bedroom
dinggarai $n$ ART fish trap
diphing- $v$ to fill Gylaschi tyi diphingbo. Fill the glass with water. Gylas phingok, diphingna man•chaka. The glass is full; you cannot fill it any more.
diphu $n$ BODY a fart
diphu- $v$ to fart
dipot $n$ ART teapot dipot thai• ni two teapots
diprin $n$ PLANT type of vegetable
diri- ~ dyri $v$ to hold
dirikhap- $v$ to catch
diritat- $v$ to hold firmly
disembyl $n$ TIME December
disko $n$ PLACE disco
distrik $n$ PLACE district
disu- $v$ to piss, to pass urine, to do number one, to urinate
disutiyi $n$ BODY piss
disutiyitup $n$ BODY urine bladder
-do ~ -odo $encl.phr.cl$ topic enclitic
dode $n$ ANIM peacock
dokkhhu $n$ ART carved, ornamented and colourfully painted king post of the bachelors’ house above the entrance in between the tie beam (bylbang) and the peak of the roof
dopho $n$ ANIM owl
doba $n$ SUBST mud
do- $v$ to catch
do- $v$ to hold, to grasp
do- $v$ to scoop into a receptacle
dok- $v$ to take off (clothes), to take apart, to disassemble, to unblock
dok- $v$ to weave
dokhan $n$ PLACE shop
dokra $n$ ART bag
doksylok- $v$ to be detached
dol $n$ MSRE group dol ni two groups
dolromrom- $v$ to roll up
dolong $n$ ART bridge
dong- $v$ to arrive Ytykchido rai•akno rai•akno, nokthangchina dong•okno. So then, he went and went, it is said, and arrived at his own house, it is said.
dong- ~ dong- $cop$ to be, identity/equation copula Ue hape Chigachak te•ew Kol India kolani hapan dong•wachymno. That place Chigachak is now supposedly the Coal India Colony place, it is said.
dong- ~ dong-$v$ to be enough, to be sufficient, to be OK, to be convenient, to have passed, to be past (Nepale) “Ytykchido ang re•engsigama nang•mi phal?” (Thengthone) “Ma• ytykchido dongarini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo” nooknoro. “But shall I go instead of you?” “Very well then, in that case, it will be most convenient, untie my hands”, he said, it is said. Aia! tangka dong•tawanchakthai angdo rong chiygyskaan raariwa. Damn! To my surprise the money is not enough any more, I only brought ten rupees. Bylsi chykhywdyrang dong•phinokno. Nine years have passed, it is said. No baji dong•ok. It’s past nine o’clock.
dongwa $n$ ACT event
dongang- $v$ to arrive
dora $clf$ weight of 5 kg.
dorai $n$ PLANT type of vegetable
dorma ~ dolma $n$ ART salary
dosi $n$ ACT blame “Aca, na•a angmyng goreaw dosi hyn•ok” nowano rangramyng rajado. “So, you blame my horse”, said the king of the sky, it is said.
dot \textit{clf} classifier for cylindrical objects like candles and bananas and logs (but not for batteries) \textit{wa dt} one culm of bamboo \textit{kendel dots} one candle \textit{pan dots} one log

drakha \textit{n PLANT} grape
dram \textit{n ART drum, barrel}
-duga \textit{sfx} excessive suffix, \textit{V} too much, too \textit{V}
duk \textit{n ACT sorrow, sadness}
dukhup- \textit{~ dukhup-} \textit{v} to put clothes on someone else
dukung- \textit{v} to dam, to make circular a wall of stones in the water in the river to trap fish.
\textit{Bai}s\textit{sigathangmaran tyi dukungkno. Na\textit{do ramramanchakno. The friends dammed the water. There was plenty of fish.}}
dum- \textit{v} to gather, to swarm
\textit{Hajambutungchi umyng khor\textit{chuxsang sotamai dumna dang\textit{thokokno. When he was yawning a swarm of flies entered his mouth, it is said.}}
duma \textit{n PERS} crowd
duma- \textit{v} to gather (of people)
dumut- \textit{adj1} moulded
dumuta \textit{n PLANT} type of edible mushroom
dung- \textit{v} to put something in something
dung- \textit{v} to climb \textit{Amakdo wel\textit{ang wel\textit{ang pankambaisang dung\textit{khatai jalangokno. Pherudo pan dung\textit{na man\textit{cha. The monkey quickly ran away, climbing to the top of a tree. The fox cannot climb trees. Bildo te\textit{awba gore dung\textit{na sapchano}tyi. Bil does not know how to ride a horse, it is said, to our surprise.}}
dupil\textit{et ART} a fake
durrr\textit{meme onom} sound of a bleating goat: eeeeee! Pronunciation of this English word in Atong orthography would be \textit{e\textbullet e\textbullet e\textbullet e\textbullet e\textbullet e}}
dykdky \textit{adv} for a short while, quickly

\textit{-dykd}yk \textit{evsp} about to \textit{V} \textit{Ransan \textit{songdykd}y\textit{kangaidok. The sun is about to set.}}
dyk\textit{hyp- \~ dukhup-} \textit{v} to put clothes on someone else
dyk\textit{yl n PERS Khasi person (pejorative)}
dyk\textit{yl n PERS} cannibal
dyk\textit{ym n BODY/PLACE} head, upside, top
dyk\textit{ymphak n PLACE} side where the head is, space above the head \textit{Dokra dykymphakchi syihaiwa. The bag hangs above your head.}
dyk\textit{yret-} \textit{v} to threaten
dyk\textit{ryng-} \textit{v} to make noise on purpose
d\textit{yl n PLANT} root, vine
d\textit{yl-} \textit{v} to lead \textit{Songmongaw dy\textit{gabae Dilbangkongdang}}
\textit{Umangchalmang mu\textit{tynwano. The leaders of Songmong were Dilbangkongdang and Umangchalmang, it is said.}}
d\textit{yl- \~ del-} \textit{v} to sting (of a bee etc.)
dy\textit{lang \~ delang n ART little house for the spirit of a dead person built close to the house where the dead person is burnt to keep his remains and ashes. The spirit of the deceased will live in this little house until it is burnt in the ceremony called \textit{me\textbullet mang saw\textbullet eta} about one year after his death and the spirit will go to \textit{Balphakram.}}
dy\textit{gabae n PERS leader Songmong\textit{gaw gyl\textit{gabae Dibangkongdang}}
\textit{Umangchalmang mu\textit{tynwano. Songgadalaw dy\textit{gabae Thometsangrepha}}
\textit{Rangkhaimadopha mu\textit{tynwano. The leaders of Songmong village were Dibangkongdang and Umangchalmang, it is said. The leader of Songgadal village were Thometsangrepha and Rangkhaimadoph, it is said.}}
dym- \textit{v} to grow (of plants), to sprout
dym \textit{~ dam onom} “\textit{bam}!” “Thud!” sound of something heavy hitting
the ground Ytykyimuna tokyrengaw man•aimunga ha•china wuuuuuuk dy•m! takramphinoknotyi phylygym ga•waan. So then, having got him in the neck, the giant eagle fell to the ground wooooosh bam!

dymbyi n PLANT leaf of a tree which can be dried and smoked like tobacco
dymbyra dymbyra adv scattered about
dymchyrang n ART type of snare instrument played by plucking
dymdam adj2 naked
dymdam adv gratuitously, simply
dymdyndam damdam adv carelessly, just, any way Alaga morotna dymdyndam hym•na bai. Don’t just give it to someone else.
dyngdai- v to dangle
dyngdang adj1 alone Biphagaba thyiokno. Kynsango gawigabado dyngdanganokno. The husband died, it is said. Then the wife was alone, it is said.
dynggyi n ANIM type of fish
dyngthang adj2 different
dyngthangmancha adv especially

dumpy w n ANIM snake
dyra- v to rape
-dyrrang – -darang encl.phr plural enclitic
dyri- ~ diri- v to hold
dytyi n KIN uncle: fathers elder brother
dyw- v to add
-e ~ -ai encl.phr.cl focus enclitic, occurs on NPs and on locative clauses.

echaluk n ANIM snail
edres n PLACE address
ek- v to separate Pheruna hyn•cha sa•wana amak, pherudo jalokno. Baju ekokno. Ytykyimuna kynsango amakdo dyngdanganok. Because the monkey gave nothing to the fox, the fox ran away, it is said. The friends separated. So then, later the monkey was alone, it is said.

eelong n ANIM type of fish
Endia n PLACE India
engkal ~ ingkal n ART handkerchief
epril n TIME April
epyl n PLANT apple

-era n ANIM type of fish

-pl sfx causative suffix, on transitive verbs this suffix indicates that the action is manipulated, more intense or emphasises that the O argument is affected
ga- adj1 good
ga- v to trample, to trod mai ga- to thresh rice
ga•ak- vsec to be compelled to, to be forced to Mongma wa ni•wamian man•ai sa•chak, khanggal dong•ok. Ytykyimu hapsan nukhung raja sa nu•chido man•ai sa•na neng•ok. Ytykyisa dyngthangdyngthang songchina hapchina jalthokna ga•akok. Because the elephant tusks were gone, they [the people of Badri] were not rich any more, they became poor. So then, if they would stay together in the hundred houses, they would run out of wealth/food. Therefore they were all compelled to run away to different villages and places.

ga•dak- v to step on

gadukduk- v to prod with your legs or feet Gore jalna rakbebeokno. Kha•sinkhalai jalkhalna noaimyng ga•dakdukhiba rakhkhalai rakhalai jalariokno. The horse ran really quick, it is said. Having told it to run slower, whenever he prodded it with his legs, it just ran faster and faster, it is said.

ga•jonong- v to trample on, to crush, destroy Uchi rupekba: “Hai angba. Ang ha•bilchi nok takai mu•gabaaw phangnan mongmae ga•jononga.” Then the frog said: “Come on, me too. The elephant always crushes my earthen shelter like a house in which I live.”

ga•jyret- v to crush with your foot
ga•khat- v to climb Amakdo pan

ga•khatna man•a. Monkeys can climb trees.

gaklynung- v to trample on, to crush, to destroy Uchi rupekba: “Hai angba. Ang ha•bilchi nok takai mu•gabaaw phangnan mongmae ga•klynunga.” Then the frog said: “Come on, me too. The elephant always crushes my earthen shelter like a house in which I live.”

gaphak- v to hit with your foot while walking

gaphynenk- v to stamp to death

gapyret- v to stamp to death, to crush with your foot

gapyryw- v to stamp through something, to pierce by stamping

Thikthak saphaw butangga rong•khalawan hai•ba mongmaba ga•pyrywman•oknote. The elephant stamped exactly through the hole where the rabbit had squeezed in, it is said.

gareret- v to tread on, to step on something

gasu- adj splendid, cool, terrific

gasyrot- v to slip and fall Wetsa re•engrawrawwachian dobachi amakba ga•yorotaimu bunduk bai•thongsyrangokno. Once when they went a little further, the monkey slipped and fell in the mud and broke the gun in pieces, it is said.

gasylek- v to sprain one’s foot

gathyng v to kick

-gaba ~ -ga ~ -gyba sfx 1. Derelationaliser of nouns of close human relationship, making certain inherently relational nouns as derelational. Morot sa•banthaigabaaw kynchi baaimu daw•reng kawwano. A man carrying his son on his back, shot the eagle, it is said. 2. Attributiviser of numerals, interrogatives and the time noun dakang, making the word function as a modifier to an NP. Gynigaba song Badri Maidugytym. The second village is Badri Maidugytym. Bigaaw biskut ranima? Which biscuits shall I buy? Dakanggaba morot jalangaimyng, gumukan jalangthokwa. After the first person ran away, everybody ran away. 3. Adverbialiser of the time noun dakang. Dakanggaba Turachi mu•wachi Mobbinaw gorongwa. The first time I stayed in Tura, I met Mobbin.

gada n ANIM donkey

gadak- v to cut in pieces, to cut up, Phylgym chungga•awdo gatakaimu ra•akno, kokchenganumuk. Having cut up the places where frogs live, there’s always water. Rongdyngmaharimu takrukagaba bostuaw tanseitai jalphinangoknowa. They ran away leaving behind the things with which to fight with the Rongdyng clan, it is said. 2. Lexical nominalisation: creating deverbal nouns that can function as argument in a clause. Tibimi krynggaba rakdugabutajchi changba ni•etok. When the sound of the television was too loud, someone turned it off.

Phalthangaw chonygabaaw naaaimyng alsia rajae jalangokno. Having heard those who despaired himself, the lazy king ran away, it is said.
big eagle, they took it with them, a whole kokcheng full.
gadang n ART shelf
gajol n PLANT type of red carrot
-gak evsp V accidentally
gakat- v to climb
gaki n PLANT lemon
gal n ACT pride, arrogance Phalthang khu•chuk dumgaba sotmaiaw hongkotna man•chaaimyng thygabaaw gal takokno. He was proud of the flies which had gathered in his own mouth and had died not being able to come out.
gal• v to fall down Kynsangdo rai•wachie na•pitdo mongma matsana nekarawrawna kyrethynaimyng phepmyng gal•syrangokno na•pitdo. Later, when (the animals) were coming, he feared the tigers, the elephants, the ones that were continuously coming closer, so much, he fell out of the banyan tree, it is said, the barber.
gal•uru- v scatter all over the place
galat- v to fall Tyikhal patwachi rong• rimylaimu ga•sokhokaimuna, kokcheng galatokno, saphawba galatokno. When they were crossing the river, because the stones were slippery, the kokcheng fell and the rabbit fell too, it is said.
galcha- v to boast
galdai n PLANT star fruit, carambola, averrhoa carambola
galjak ~ kaljak n ANIM catfish
galon n ART/MSRE jerry can
gambiri n PLANT type of tree of which traditional drums called khem were made
gamchat- v to be valuable, to be important Breketmyng nyng•chi chipgaba katha pang•ai gamchatcha. The words in brackets are not very important.
gamchatgaba(ba) n ABSTR value
gamsa n ART a cloth
gamsili n PLANT type of tree of which traditional drums called khem were made
gan•thong n ART stick, handle (of knife etc.), stump (of a tree)
gan•thong thong• ni two sticks
ganang v locative/existential verb, to exist, to be, to have money or not, I like you. le songchi nok kola chit sa ganang. There are thirty one houses in this village. Song dam sachi alsia raja mnyg• sa ganangchym. In a village supposedly lived a lazy king.
gandalak n ANIM type of frog which says gagagagaga
gandi n PLANT a log
gandurian n BODY umbilical cord
gandyru n BODY bellybutton, navel
gandyru goi• korok six bellybuttons
gang- v to be erect, to have an erection, to have a hard on, Nang• ri• gangama? Do you have an erection?/Do you have a hard on?
ganggawa n ANIM mosquito
gangma n BODY pimple
gangphu- v to swell, to blow up (like a chapatti on the fire)
gangthai n BODY fin (of fish)
gantai n ANIM type of beetle
ganthai n ANIM small brown insect that makes a loud whistling sound
gantheng n PLANT stalk
gantirengreng n ANIM type of beetle that makes a very loud and high pitched sound
gapsan ~ hapsan adj2 the same, together
garamak n ART storage rack
garan n FOOD jerky
gari n ART vehicle, car
garo n PERS/ACT Garo (person and language)
garu n PLANT mustard
gasam n TIME afternoon, evening, later part of the day Gasam tin
**ATONG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY**

*bajichi re•engni.* We will leave this afternoon at three o’clock. *myia gasam* yesterday evening/afternoon, *ta•ni gasam* today in the evening/afternoon, *this* evening/afternoon *Tai•ni gasam re•engphinni.* I will go back in this evening/afternoon.

**gasam- vØ to be evening Gasamok.** It has become evening. *Gasamnaka.* It will soon be night.

**gasam gasam adv** sometimes, seldom

**gasamphang n** TIME afternoon, evening, later part of the day

**-gat evsp V up onto, to start V-ing**

**-gat v** to dig

**-gat- v** to put in/on, to load into/onto

- *Phagongmachi sa• gataimyng tyinyng•sang dang•angokno.* Having put the child on his shoulders he entered into the water, it is said.

**gatdap- v** to stack, to put on top

**gatha n** PERS fool, crazy person (masculine)

**gathi n** PERS fool, crazy person (feminine)

**gawak n** BODY disease

**gawang ~ guwang n** ANIM spider

**gawangsyryng n** ANIM spider web

**gawasu n** BODY rib *gawasu tyn tham* three ribs

**gawi n** PERS female, girl (unmarried)

**gawigaba n** PERS wife

**gawsu n** BODY rib

**getheng ~ de•theng ppron he/she, third person singular pronoun referring to animates**

**gethengtheng ~ de•thengtheng pppron they, third person plural pronoun referring to animates**

**gebeng n** ABSTR width, breadth

**geng clf** classifier for long vegetables *rasunok gengsa* one spring onion

**genji n** ART tank top *genji khung/jora ni* two tank tops

**ger n** ART gear

**gesep ~ gysep ~ gesep n** PLACE space, interval *Bandi nochie atongaw balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie kanwani chungwani kalai kharutchungaban theng•chidokno.* *Dykymchi khyrkyrara, di•khal gesepchi di•rrara, pi•puke moina chongchang takariokno.* When I talk about Bandi, what can I say? He had no clothes; he wore a loincloth tied together with sixteen knots. On his head swarmed the lice, his ass crack was full of shit, his belly looked like a bird cage, it is said. *Pang•a bylsidarang re•engok umi gesepchian thyikhal goi•sachian rong•khal khalsa ganangchym. Ue rong•khalaw Durakhal myngwachym.* Many years ago, in a river, there was a cave, but not any more, it is said. That cave was supposedly called Durakhal.

**giching ~ gyching adj2** aslant, slant, diagonal

**ginggang adj2** having, with

**gisep ~ gysep ~ gesep n** PLACE space, interval *Bandi nochie atongaw balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie kanwani chungwani kalai kharutchungaban theng•chidokno.* *Dykymchi khyrkyrara, di•khal gesepchi di•rrara, pi•puke moina chongchang takariokno.* When I talk about Bandi, what can I say? He had no clothes; he wore a loincloth tied together with sixteen knots. On his head swarmed the lice, his ass crack was full of shit, his belly looked like a bird cage, it is said. *Pang•a bylsidarang re•engok umi gesepchian thyikhal goi•sachian rong•khal khalsa ganangchym. Ue rong•khalaw Durakhal myngwachym.* Many years ago, in a river, there was a cave, but not any more, it is said. That cave was supposedly called Durakhal.
gisep gisep ~ gysep gysep adv from time to time Na•nage song jan•rakok. Umi gymyn bichiba gisep gisep chiti saietrukarinaka. Our countries are very far from each other. Therefore we will sometimes write each other letters from time to time.
git n ART music, music with lyrics, a song
githing adj2 unripe
githyng ~ gythyng ~ githing adj2 unripe, uncooked, raw
gobornen n ACT government
godot- v to bump Cha• rong•chi godotwa. I bumped my food on a stone
gogak n ANIM beetle
gogat- v to carry on the shoulders
gogylek n ANIM cock, rooster, cockerel
goi n PLANT betel nut, areca nut (Areca catechu)
goi• clf non-specific classifier
goichara n PLANT a young betel nut tree
goichara n PLANT betel nut sapling
goilapan n FOOD betel nut and paan/pan
Goira n GEO the god of thunder goira kawa the god of thunder shoots / the thunder roars goira byl• tan•ok the god of thunder has struck / lightening has struck
gol ~ gool n ACT goal Ge•theng gol sa•ak. He got a goal (in football).
golap n PLANT rose
golmal ~ gormal n ACT a fight, a quarrel, chaos
golmen n ACT government
golpho n ART story
golpho- v to talk extensively
gom n PLANT wheat
gom- v to bend gomga(ba) leech
gomagundai n PLANT thick type of banana
gompyra n ANIM poisonous black ant
gomynda n PLANT pumpkin
gomynthri n PLANT type of vegetable
gondu n ANIM rhinoceros, rhino
gong• v to be willing, to agree, “Atakaronga?” nookno mongmado. “Ni•wa. Mu•ariaronga ytykyan” nookno amake. “Atongba sa•khawarongkhonne nang•do” nookno. “Sa•khawcha nara. Ni•wa na•a, gong•wanasa balwa sakai mu•aron” noatakokno amakba. “What are you doing?”, said the elephant? “Nothing. I’m just sitting here like this”, said the monkey. “Maybe you are stealing something!” said [the elephant] “I’m not stealing! There’s nothing going on. I’m just sitting here enjoying the wind because I want to”, said the monkey. “Ha• ambi ang chakav khenetkhu” nowano. “Gong•chak angdo sa• jywtynnaka te•do. Nang•na myia khenetkote” nowano. “Hey grandchild, please scratch my arm!” she said. “I don’t want to any more, I am going to put my child to bed now. I scratched you yesterday”, she said, it is said.
gongchit n ANIM type of black beetle
gongdang adj2 bent Ytykyimyng te•do magachakdo, ytykyi pan gongdang takgbachi ne• nangwanote. Ne• nanggaba okkumachi jywsawtheriaidokno. So then, now, as for the deer, so there was a bees’ nest hanging from a bent tree branch, it is said. He was fast asleep under the bees, it is said.
gonggong- v to bend over
gop- v to bury, to hide Nang• baba noksamchi tangka gopgaba ganango. Under your father’s house lies buried money, it is said. Morot thyigabaaw hanep gopnaka. Tomorrow they will bury the dead person. Theng•thon morot tangka bisyl pang•ai khaigabaaw nukokno. Ytykyimyng hap damsachi syruk syruk gopaidongano. Uaw nukaimyng ge•thengdo thymai
chiefoknoro. Theng•thon sees a man who was carrying a lot of coin money, it is said. So then, he is hiding secretly, it is said. Having seen him, he lay in ambush and watched him, it is said.

gopram n PLACE grave
gora n ART large earthen pot in which rice liquor (chyw) is made.
gorai ~ gore n ANIM horse gore
dung•- to ride a horse
gorial n ANIM crocodile
gorong•- v to meet
-gorop evsp V with a whole group, V together
gorothers n PLANT type of small leafy green
grem clf gram, gr.
gremyr n ART/ABSTR grammar
guchung n ART ladder
guduk•- v to wiggle, to be unstable, to wobble, to move (unstably) guduk tak•- almost [verb] Na•lam gudukwachie te•ewdo tyi thangpyptyataimyng jyksaiaiawan Nawengawmu Kumiribaawma• khamoknowa. When the na•lam (type of fish) wiggled, water splashed on the married couple Naweng and Kumiri and burned them, it is said. Rong• gudukaimu galatok. Because the stone moved, I fell. “Aia! Udo magachake khorate” noaimyng rykoknowa.

gumuk n MSRE all, whole, everybody, everyone, everything
-gumuk encl.phr all, whole
gumuksangan adv everywhere
gumuksangan ~ gumuksang prof everywhere Gumuksangan ganang ukching. There are leeches everywhere. Ge•theng gumuksang re•engok. He went everywhere.
gun montyro man•ga(ba) n PERS person who can control the spirits
gunda n PERS brawler, fighter
guri n GEO mist, fog Guri thupa. The fog is thick.
guruchup•- v to be shrouded in clouds Waimong nu•cca, guruchupok. Waimong mountain is not visible, it is shrouded in clouds.
gurum•- v to collapse, to break off and fall down Banggyriaimu nok gurumok. Because of the earthquake the house has collapsed. Narykhelchak gurumok. The leaf of the coconut tree has broken off and fallen down.
gusu•- v to cough
gusum•- v spoiled (only used with meals) Mai ja•bek gusumok. The rice and curry are spoiled
guthini n ART spear
guthini n ART bamboo spear which is part of an elephant trap
guthyni n ART walking stick
gutum ~ gytym ~ gyturn n ART village
guwang ~ gawang n ANIM spider
gycheng n PLACE side, near Jyksaian phong•gychenschian mu•aidonga. The married couple are sitting near the cooking place.
gyching n LOC/ABSTR vicinity, angle, inclination gychingching mu•- to be tilted, to make an angle
gyching ~ gching adj 2 aslant, slant, diagonal
gyl- adj1 strong Usang, songga Manggagremi banthaidarangba rai•aithokaidongano, Rakarelwakmadare, Gyrunggyrang, Saljapang,
Aragundi, Motbanda, Asyngduraparaba gumukan rai•athokaidongano. Chakphong gylgabasano, kara khryunggabararasano, alamyalachabasano. They are all coming to there, the young man from the strange village of Manggare: Rakarelwakmadare, Gyrynggyrang, Saljapang, Aragundi, Motbanda, Asyngduraparaba, they are all coming, it is said. They are men with strong arms and tight veins all over, it is said, they are not ordinary men, it is said.

gyl- v to collect, to gather

gylas ~ gilas n ART glass or its volume, glassful cha gylas ni two glasses of tea. Gylas goi• tham bai•ok ge•thene. He has broken three glasses.

gylgyl- v to roam
gylja n PLACE church

gyljanok n PLACE church
gymyn postp cause, reason, because of, about Ue gam pang•wami gymyn kam pang•wami gymyn ge•thengtheng mykbyrukokno. Because of this wealth and these riches they had became jealous of one another, it is said. Unmi gymynsa ie hapawe Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai noyi te•chinakhyngkhyng myngwano. That’s precisely why this place is still called Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai up till now. Uan jorami gymyn cho•sa golpho ka•etwa. I have told a bit about that love match.

gynching ~ giching adj2 aslant, slant, diagonal

gyp onom hitting sound: thunk!, tap!, bam! Ue uawdo kunsang gyp satetok. He hit him bam! with a stick.

gyryp- v to cover

gyryw- v to shake (an object that you can pick up, a non-fixed object)
ha•ba n PLACE dry rice and vegetable field on the slope of a hill made by cutting away and burning the jungle ha•ba tym ni two dry rice and vegetable fields on the slope of a mountain

ha•bacheng vB to start, to begin

ha•bachenggaba n ABSTR beginning

ha•banok n PLACE rice field house

ha•bykung n SUBST sand

ha•byreng n PLACE old ha•ba

ha•byri n GEO hill, mountain hurt tham three hills, mountains

ha•chak n ACT wages

ha•chepchep n ANIM grasshopper

Ha•chyk n PERS/ACT Garo (person and language)

ha•dawak n PLACE lower side of a hill, low ground

ha•gun n PLACE old plot of land in a ha•ba

haw•angman•gaba ha•gun

sa•angman•gaba

ha•ryn thangthangaw kanga. Some people occupy their old already cut plot, their own parcel which is already used completely.

ha•gyrsak ~ ha•gylsak interj interjection of astonishment “Na•a sa•gyrai mylthengeng bisangreo•engaidong na•a bunduk pairama takaimu?” nookno, “Myla ha•gylsakno sa•gyraid. Na•a bisang re•engaidong na•a sagyrai mylthengeng? “You child which is still very much too small, where are you going carrying that gun in your hand?” he said. “Good Lord, that child is small! Where are you going, you child who is still much too small?”

ha•gyrsak ~ ha•gylsak n ABSTR everything, all, world Mekalaia

ha•gelsakgumukchi

wabatsyranggaba. Meghalaya is the rainiest place on earth.

ha•jagyra n ACT the first weeding of the ha•ba Mai kai•manwamungsa ha•jagara kama. Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kynsang jakun kama. Jakun kamaimungsa nobembyl, oktobysomaichi saigyn khan•a. Umungdo mai mynokodo maidan syla toka. Having planted the rice, we weed the land for the first time. Having cleared the weeds for the first time, we will clear them for a second time. Having weeded the land for a second time, in October or November we do a third weeding. Then, when the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

ha•ka n PLACE upper side of a hill, high ground Ha•kasang tawangbo. Climb to a higher part of the hill.

ha•kha n PLACE a mountain slope, a steep slope

ha•kha• v very tight Ian ha•khaai kha•bo. Tie this very tightly.

ha•khong n PLACE valley

ha•khung n GEO river bank

ha•khyng n PLACE area

ha•mai n ANIM type of white earthworm

ha•mang n SUBST soil, earth, clay

ha•mangkyrang n ANIM scorpion

ha•mangkyrang n ANIM scorpion

ha•mangrong adj2 brown

ha•mat adv troublesome

ha•pal n PLACE outside

ha•phal n PLACE field

ha•rongrong n PLACE lower side of a hill, low ground Ha•rongrongsang wylangbo. Go down to a lower part of the hill.

ha•ryn n parcel (of land), plot (of land) Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni. The whole village gathers and will divide the ha•ba parcel by parcel.

ha•ryn n PLACE plot of land, parcel Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni. The
whole village gathers and will divide the \textit{ha•ba} parcel by parcel.

\textbf{ha•saw} \textit{n ANIM type} of black snake with red neck and head

\textbf{ha•sel} \textit{adv} for no reason, uselessly, troublesome

\textbf{ha•song} \textit{n PLACE} country, village and surrounding lands

\textbf{ha•thywkong} \textit{n GEO} a puddle

\textbf{ha•wai} \textit{n PLACE} plain area

\textbf{ha•thi} ~ \textbf{hai} \textit{procl} Let's go! Come on!

\textbf{hai•} \textit{determiner} the, this, that (thing or person just mentioned)

\textbf{hai•-} \textit{v} general verb, to do whatever, to happen, to do this/that, such and such happens, it is like… \textit{Uchie karydyl chunggaba hai•wano.} “\textit{ha•ambi ang chakaw khenetkhu}” nowano. Then the hanging root did this, it is said. “Hey grandchild, scratch my arm!” she said, it is said. “\textit{Phylgymsa hai•wa na•a ue.} Garu rangabachi na•nang garu ramtananggachi di•etdapi tanangwa” nookno. “The giant eagle did this, oh you! In the dried mustard, in our dried mustard, he left a big shit”, she said, it is said.

\textbf{ha•iwa} \textit{procl} I don’t know.

\textbf{hajal} ~ \textbf{hajar} \textit{num} thousand \textbf{hajal sa} one thousand.

\textbf{hajam} \textit{v} to yawn

\textbf{hal} \textit{v} to feed \textit{mu•thai hal-} to breastfeed

\textbf{hala kha•} \textit{v} to wake someone up, to disturb someone

\textbf{haldun} \textit{v} to feed, to maintain “\textit{Ie alsa raja atykyi khengaidok?} Atykyian jykaw haldunna man•aidok?” noai morotdyrang chanchiphinaidoknoro. “How does this lazy king live? How does he feed his wives?” thought the people, it is said.

\textbf{halsia} ~ \textbf{alsia} \textit{n PERS} lazy person

\textbf{ham} \textit{v} to build, to construct

\textbf{hama} \textit{n PLACE} underneath, below, space between the floor or the base of something and the ground

\textbf{tau•sa•grai nok hama} \textit{v} to feed, to maintain “\textit{Ie alsa raja atykyi khengaidok?} Atykyian jykaw haldunna man•aidok?” noai morotdyrang chanchiphinaidoknoro. “How does this lazy king live? How does he feed his wives?” thought the people, it is said.

\textbf{hambun} \textit{tw} later (but not today), in the future

whatever, it is said. The turtle cannot climb trees, it is said.
hampyi tw in the late afternoon, in the evening
han•cheng n SUBST sand
han•tung- adj1 to be a dangerous place Mungma pang•wachi palyng han•tunga. When there are a lot of elephants the jungle is a dangerous place.
han•tung- v to feel secure, to feel safe Morot pang•ai rai•bo, hathungkhala. Go with lots of people, you will feel safer.
hanep n tomorrow Hanep sansaanok. Tomorrow there will be one day left.
hang- v to warm your hands by the fire
hang•khal n GEO cave, hole
hangkhyn n ANIM small insect that lives inside wood and eats it
hangkyn n ANIM type of ant
hanseng- adj1 happy, joyful Ytykyimyng na•do amak di sa•aimu hansengtokaidoknoa. So then, after the fish had eaten the monkey's shit, they were all very happy, it is said.

hansenga ~ hansinga adj2 beautiful
hanthi- v to divide Angdo dyngthangmancha nang• kharalchido nang•mi gamaw angna hathiphabo. If you love me especially, divide your wealth for me.
hanthi- v to divide, to share Umi gesepchian gamaw hinthiokno wa•gabae. In the meantime the father had divided his fortune, it is said. Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw hanthini. The whole village gathers and will divide the ha•ba parcel by parcel. Je ha•ryn ni•gababado uan hanthirukai haw•a. As for those whoever does not have a plot, those mutually share and clear the land.

hap n GEO place Umigymynsa ie hapawe Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai
haphu- v to blow
hapjyt- v to move house
happen n ART short pants, shorts
hapsan ~ gapsan adj2 the same, together Ang nang•mi/nang•myng hapsan chunga. I am as big as you.
hat- v to fuck Teraka krismassomaichi ue gawiaw babylsichi nokwengchi hatok angdo. Last year at Christmas I fucked that girl on the floor in the kitchen.
haw• n KIN uncle: mothers brother
haw•- v to clear/cut the jungle to make a rice field
haw•nokhol n KIN father-in-law, addressed as mama
hawchi dem over there, yonder
hawe ~ haw- dem that over there, very far, non-visual demonstrative
hawtyi adv for some time Thorokaimyng hawtyi rypkno magachake. Having jumped down, he stayed in the water for sometime, it is said, the deer.
heng- v widely spaced, sparse
henraiting n ACT handwriting
het- v to clean an orifice or hole Nakhal hetbo. Clean your ears!
hijra n PERS gay person, homosexual
hil n ART heel (of a shoe) Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen kanai juta hilaw… The girl who just went by wearing trousers and shoes with high heels…
hir n ART diamond
hit- v to command
hm•m ~ m•m procl no
ho- v to jump
hoo•ong procl yes
hogol n snoring Juwchenwachi nang• hogol ra•wa. For the first part that you were asleep you snored
hojokjok- v to jump up and down
hok- v to call loudly
A TONG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Holen n PERS/PLACE Holland, Dutch
Holenmorot Dutchman / Dutchwoman

hongkhot- v to come out Ytykyimyng
amak gawigaba biphagabaaw kynaw thup, thup tokaidonganoa. Uchian amakmu di•sa chat chat hongkhotaidongano. So then, the monkey’s wife beats her husband’s back tok, tok. Then the monkey’s shit comes out squirt! squirt! it is said.

hongkot- v to come out, to ejaculate, to cum

hot- v to extract

hurraw n ANIM gibbon

huk- v to sweep together

huksetgaba ~ huksetga n ART dustpan

hung- v to swim

hup- v to suck

huraw n ANIM gibbon, Hylobates hoolock

husrying n ANIM rabbit

hy• interj no

hyiawchi dem over there, yonder

hyiawe ~ hyiaw- dem that over there, very far, emphatic non-visual demonstrative

hyn- v to give Angna tangka ratja banga hyn•etbo. Give me five hundred rupees. Nang•ba happy new year hyn•etaidong. We wish you a happy new year too.

hyt interj interjection to chase a person or animal away, interjection of anger

ie ~ i- dem this, proximal demonstrative

ilektrisiti n ART electricity

inchi clf the width of the upper joint of the thumb, i.e. the joint under the nail

India n GEO India

inggeech n ACT engagement Inggeech kha•ak. I am engaged to be married.

Inggylan n PLACE England

Inggylis n PERS English

ingkal ~ engkal n ART handkerchief

insuren n ACT insurance

isor ~ isol n ABSTR God

isykyn adv this much, this many

itha ~ ita n ART brick itha thut sa one brick

itihas n ACT history

ja interj interjection to chase a cow away

ja n TIME month, moon ja sa• to wake up ja phetok the moon has risen

ja•bek n FOOD curry

ja•chung n KIN 1. (Siju and Badri dialects) the relation of a man and his wives elder sister, or of a woman and her younger sisters husband, 2. (Badri dialect) sister-in-law: elder sister’s of one’s wife

ja•ga n ART a trap Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno. They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said. ja•ga sa•gaba someone who sets traps, an enemy

ja•garu n PLANT type of vegetable

ja•jol ~ ja•gol n PERS person with long legs

ja•khop n ART shoe

ja•naw n KIN elder sister. Is also used to address an older female cousin or a woman older than the speaker.

ja•phang n PLACE foot of a tree

Uchie panja•phangchi thymsawaimu, khu•sum amakmyng ri•karan kakhotokno. Then, having lain in ambush at the foot of the tree, the turtle bit and tore off the monkey’s balls, it is said.

ja•raw- adj1 for a long time

ja•ryt n PLANT chilli pepper

jaboldam n ART garbage heap

jabyra n PERS fool, crazy person

jada n PERS stupid person, idiot

jadu n ACT magic

jagydk n BODY biceps, strength Ido sa•gyraido hambundo chungwachido alamyla byldo bylnikhon, jagydko
dagydknikhon. In the future that child might really become a bit
stronger, it might really get strength.
jagya

PLACE right, right hand, right hand side

jagyryung

ACT shadow cast by a person

jagysi

PLACE left, left hand, left hand side

jahas

ART ship

jai-

v to scold someone

jai•-

v to oppose, to refuse Unasa Ketketa Burae pheruna jai•sakna choł man•cha chomotaimyng: “Acha, ytykchido anga ang nokkhuthaisa anga dydyksa chaigamaimyng kepai mu•khuna” noaimyng thol•thiriokno, pheruna Ketketa Burae. Because Ketketa Bura could really not come up with an idea to oppose the fox, he said: “Ok, in that case I will quickly look out from the top of my house and sit and cry”, he lied again to the fox, it is said, Ketketa Bura.

jajong

GEO moon

jajyreng

ACT confusion

jajyreng-

dat to worry Ang nang•na jajyrenga. I am worried about you.

jakhal-

v to use

jakhalthaw- adj1 to be very useful

jakhep clf as much as is contained in the palm of the hand when clenched, the quantity contained in the closed palm

jaksithem

ART ring

jakun

ACT the second weeding of the ha•ba Mai kai•manwanungsa ha•jagara kama. Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kynsange jakun kama. Jakun kamaimungsa nobembyl, oktobyolsaiichai saigyn khan•a. Umungdo mai mynkoko maidan syla toka. Having planted the rice, we weed the land for the first time. Having cleared the weeds for the first time, we will clear them for a second time. Having weeded the land for a second time, in October or November we do a third weeding. Then, when the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

jal-

v to run away Iskyn jan•gaba songsang de•theng jalangok. He ran away to such a far country. Uchisa matsana makbulna mongmana paichaaimung byldyng byldang jala ha•bachengok. Not bearing the tigers and bears any more, they started to run away all over the place. Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake. When [the Bengal] almost catches, [it] just runs away, it is said, the deer.

jaljeng

ART cupboard

jalphakang-

v to run from one side to the other

jam- vphase to complete, to finish Sa•wa jamkhucha. I have not finished eating yet. “Rang nemchengama na•nang chyw jamchenga” noai rangmu chyw ryngsusai chyichie, range san chi byri wawano. “Will our liquor finish first or will the rain stop first?” they said and while they were trying to compete with the rain in drinking, the rain fell for fourteen days, it is said. Gasamchi rymai sa•wa jamchaabaaw Nawengpara Kumiriparae sawaimyng garan baw•ai tanoknokhon. The food that they didn’t finish in the evening, having fried it, they might have dried it above the fire, it is said. Ang amaparami nokchi randai sa•na jamcha. At my mother’s house, there is always meat to eat. ja jamangwasang at the end of the month

jama

ART shirt

jamang-

v to set (of the sun) Rangsan jamanga. The sun sets.

jamkhamwa

ABSTR the last one

jamura

PLANT pomelo

jan- adj1 far Ha•ba jan•rukwaan nukruketchawa. The rice fields are
very far apart from each other, you
will not see each other.

jang- adj1 quick
jangot adj2 biconcave, curved on
both sides like the inner surface of
a sphere, narrow in the middle
Bandi nochie atongaw
balkhunano? Sa•mung sa•gyraichie
kanwani chungwani kalai
kharutchungaban theng•chidokno.
Dykymchi khrykrara, di•khal
gesepchi di•rara, pi•puke moina
chongchang takariokno. Cha•e
dabakun tykyi ympong jang•jot
takarioknotyi. What more can we
tell about this so called Bandi?
When he was a child he was half
naked, wearing only a loin cloth
tied together with sixteen knots, it
is said. His head was all lice, his
arse crack was full of shit, his belly
was big like a bird’s cage, it is said.
As for his legs, they looked like
cocoons on sticks: bulgy in some
parts and very thin in other, it is
said to our surprise.

janggai n QUANT everybody,
everything, all, all of them, all of it
Sa•gyrai mylgabami
dadadarangawdo janggalawan
monokokno. Phylgym chunggaba
monokrumokno myng• korokawan.
As for the brothers of the small
child, they were devoured, it is
said. The big eagle had devoured
them all, the six of them.

janggi n ACT life Kysangdgo matsado
morotsyn man•aimyng rai•wilokno
alsiado. Rai•wilwilokno. “Matsae
atakna?” chanchiaidongano ue.
Kyreaidokno kyrewaba. “Anga
thie thiyimanok”. Ichian: “Anga
janggiba thiyimanok. Later, the
tiger caught the scent of the human
and walked in circles around the
lazy person, it is said. “What does
the tiger want?”, he thought. He
was very afraid, it is said. “I’m as
good as dead!” Then: “My life is
already gone.”

janggi khenwa n khjys ACT life Ang
janggi khengwa gamuk Atong
ku•chuk balwa. I have spoken
Atong all my life.

janira n ART mirror
jantg- v to be quick
janti n ART filter for rice beer (chyw).
Woven cylindrical filter made of
reed that stands in the jug (gora) to
form a permeable membrane
between the fermented rice on the
outside of the filter and the
alcoholic water inside the filter.
Water is poured onto the fermented
rice and the alcoholic liquid is
collected inside the filter and
scooped out with an abek.

januari n TIME January
jap n ART trap to drive away enemies.
A pile of rocks is stacked on a hill
behind a plank. The plank is tied to
a tree. When the enemy comes, the
rocks are released, roll down and
 crush the enemy.

jap- v to pile up
japang n PLANT tree trunk
japrukruck adv one on top of the
other, in a pile

jarambong n GEO full moon
jari- v to be startled
jasa- v to wake up, to get up, to get
out of bed

jaseng- v to shine
jat n PERS tribe, race
jah a n ART a spear

jatram n PLANT type of medicinal
plant
jaw- v to fry

je prof any, whichever, whatever Jeen
sanchi morot thyiok. One day
somebody died. Jemi sanchi
Dibangkongdangaw matsa kakok.
On a certain day a tiger bit
Dibangkongdang.

jebhia prof anywhere
jekhai adv for example, for instance,
as Rongkhaisang jalanggaba
Thometsangredepha
Rangkhaimadophae nukhhung sot
dokmyng, jekhai Atongsang
balchido nokkhung rum• thammang ganangno. Thometsangrepha Rangkhamadopha, who ran away to Rongkhai, had about sixty houses, as you would say in Atong, about sixty houses.

jel- v to increase, to multiply, to be numerous Mahari jela. The family is big.

jenetene adv somehow

jenetne adv somehow

jelv to increase, to multiply, to be numerous Mahari jela. The family is big.

jenetene adv somehow

jenetne adv somehow

Ytyktyimyng jenetne rajamyng noksang phetangokno. So then, somehow they reached the king’s house.

jeng n PLANT plant of which brooms are made

jero num zero

jesangba prof wherever, somewhere Ge•theng jesangba re•engok. He has gone somewhere.

jesykyyn prof Jesykyn nang•chi ganang chynaribo, kamalna. However much you have, just offer it to the priest.

jineral general Dakanggabado jineral mitingchengni. Umungsa song gumuk thom•aimung ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni. First they will start with a general meeting. Then the whole village comes together and they will divide the ha•ba plot by plot.

jingjong- adj1 wiggly, unstable

jingonget- v to shake

jinka n PLANT type of vegetable

jinma n QUANT group, herd Bajudyranggumukan jinmam pe•yang sang sikhal kha•na re•engga. All the friends went to the jungle in a group to hunt.

jom•- ~ jyt- v to move Rong•awan jitna jamchano. He could not move the rock, it is said.

joba n PLANT Chinese rose

joi- v to drag, to catch (by dragging a net through the water)

jojong n KIN younger brother. Is also used to talk about or address a related younger male of your own generation: cousin, to address a young male unrelated person younger than the speaker.

jok- v to escape, to be freed, to come out, to leak out, to jump because something startled you “Atakna re•engwa. Balchachido tokni””, madame. “Jora chaiwa.” “Sala! mylteng te•euan jora chaina, roalan jokkhucha!” “Why did you go? If you don’t tell me I will hit you”, said the teacher. “I saw my lover.” “Damn! you are still too small now to see your lover; you have not even finished primary school yet!” U•ching kakaimu thyi jokok. Because he got bitten by a leech, blood came out. Na•a ie sastiaw rakna man•chido jokangni. If you can endure this punishment, you will be freed. Khabakaimyng wang•wachie kynsange: “Ai! ido alsiae kakate! Sokchakate angdo” noaimyng, matsado jenethene jokaimyng jalangoknoro. After having grabbed him firmly and bitten him, the tiger said: “Ouch! This lazy person bites, I’m telling you!” and having somehow escaped, he ran away, it is said. Robolmi balwa jokok. Air has leaked out of the football.

jokal n PERS/ART comic strip, cartoon, anime; a character from one of these categories

-jokjok evsp V up and down

jokset- v to drain

-jol evsp V quickly

jol- v to roll up

-joljol evsp V quickly

jolpi n ART bamboo fish trap

joni- v to sneak, to sneak up on somebody

jomphol n ART hoist, crow bar, pry bar

jong n KIN younger brother. Is also used to address a younger male cousin or an unrelated man younger than the speaker.
**jongsyri** **n** KIN brother-in-law: spouses younger brother

**jonja** **n** PERS twin

**jonong- ~ jorong-** **v** to dissolve Chini tyichi jorongok. The sugar has dissolved in the water.

**jora** **clf** classifier for things that occur in pairs

- **sendel jora sa** one pair of sandals
- **mykren jora sa** one pair of breasts
- **mykren jora sa** one pair of eyes

**jonong- ~ jorong-** **v** to dissolve Chini tyichi jorongok. The sugar has dissolved in the water.

**jot-** **v** to prod, to point, to fidget

- **Jong, na•a re•engaribo, chaksi jotetgaba thongthong re•engaribo.** Brother, you just go. Just go straight in the direction of the finger with which I point.

**jotpyryw-** **v** to pierce

**juk-** **v** to wink

**jul-** **v** to walk through the jungle with difficulty

- **jul- gul-** **v** to walk through the jungle with difficulty.

**jumang ~ jywmang** **n** ACT dream

- **Atong jumang nukwa?** What did you dream? / What dream did you see? 

**jykrat-** **v** to accuse of adultery

**jykyryi** **n** PERS widow, widower

**jyjuk-** **v** to encourage Ge•theng angaw sa•khawkhalna jutwa. I encouraged him to steal.

**juta** **n** ART shoe

- **Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen kanai juta hilaw…** The girl who just went by wearing trousers and shoes with high heels…

**jyk**, **jykjak-** **v** to be noisy, to make noise

**jykmong ~ jykmongma** **n** PERS first wife of a man who has two wives

**jykrat-** **v** to accuse of adultery

**jyksai** **n** PERS husband and wife, married couple

**jykyryi** **n** PERS widow, widower

**jykyryi** **n** PERS second wife of a man who is already married

**jykyryi** **n** PERS widow, widower

**jyngjang** **adj2** dense

**jyryp** **adv** quietly

**jyryp mu•bo** sit quietly

**jyryp**, **jyryet-** **v** to shut somebody up, to make someone be quiet

**jyt- ~ jit-** **v** to move Rong•awan jinta jamchano. He could not move the rock, it is said.

**jyw-** **v** to lie down (both the movement and the position), to sleep
**Jyw• n ART** a flattened bamboo used to make mats jyw• sa one flattened bamboo damdyl khaw• sa one jyw• of a damdyl

**Jyw• n KIN** mother

**Jyw• wa n PERS** parents

**Jyw• bydyi n PERS** old woman, woman with children

**Jyw• para n PERS** mother’s house, mother’s household

**Jyw• ri ~ jyw• ryi n PERS** child who lost his mother

**Jyw• daph v** to lie on

**Jyw• mang ~ jumang n ACT** dream

Atong jyw• mang nukwa? What did you dream? / What dream did you see? Taija walchi jyw• wachi jyw• mang• sangu banggir•gaba nukwa. Last night at night when I was sleeping, I saw an earthquake in my dream.

**Jyw• n PERS** parents

**Jyw• bydyi n PERS** old woman, woman with children

**Jyw• para n PERS** mother’s house, mother’s household

**Jyw• ri ~ jyw• ryi n PERS** child who lost his mother

**Jyw• daph v** to lie on

**Jyw• mang ~ jumang n ACT** dream

Atong jyw• mang nukwa? What did you dream? / What dream did you see? Taija walchi jyw• wachi jyw• mang• sangu banggir•gaba nukwa. Last night at night when I was sleeping, I saw an earthquake in my dream.

**ka•- adj1** bitter

**ka• dymbai n BODY** chin

**ka• myn• n BODY** beard

**ka• ran - kha• ran- v** to be thirsty for Tyiba ka• ranok ba• siga angdo. Ang tyi cho• sa ryngna. I am thirsty for water, my friend. I want to drink a little water.

**Ka• bal ~ kaba• n ART** cover

**Kabin n ANIM** type of big black ant

**Kai•- v** to plant Ha• khy• num• wam• nsa• mai• khita. Umung abong• darang chal• cha• dach• chal• cha•. Yty• kiu• munga• chal• man• wa mach• taw• munga• mai• kai• chenga. Only after collecting the unburnt remains of the jungle from the land, we sow millet. Then we plant maize and we plant dach•. Then, only after we finish planting these do we plant/sow rice.

**Kak n ART** lid potol• kak lid of a bottle

**Kak n ART** lid

**Kak onom** the sound of something hitting or slapping

**Kak• v** to bite Jemi sanchi Dibangkong• dang• gaw matsa kakok. On a certain day, a tiger bit Dibangkong• dang•. "Ang nang• av kakai sa• ni" nowano pherue. I will bite and eat you, he said, it is said, the fox.

**Kak• v** to close with a lid

**Kak dep• v** to bite on something

**Kakhet adv** all, very much, really

**Kakhirok n ANIM** head lice, pubic lice, crabs

**Kakmy n BODY** antenna (of insect), feeler

**Kakpyret• v** to crush by biting

**Kal n ART** horn (traditional instrument)

**Kal• teh• n ANIM** type of big red ant

**Kal• teh• n ANIM** big red ant

**Kala n PERS** deaf person

**Kalai n ART** loin cloth

**Kaljak ~ galjak n ANIM** catfish

**Kal thek n ANIM** type of big red ant

**Kaltyk n PERS** person who never washes

**Kam n ACT** work, wealth Kam kha• na harata• diong angdo. I’m reluctant to work. Kam ni• wa. Worthless.

**Kam• v** to clear the field, to cut the jungle to make a field, to tear out weeds

**Kam• v** to suffer a penalty Sa• khaw• gaba• aw jurim• na kam• na nang• ni. Thiefs have to suffer a penalty.

**Kamal n PERS** priest

**Kambai ~ khambai n PLACE** top, upstream

**Kan• n BODY** body (of human)

**Kan•- v** to last Bigaba nygylm• ra• wa ie? Tyen• gan• okte ido. Angba yty• gaba• botol• law ra• nchym• te. From which market did you buy this? It lasts very long. I should buy one such a bottle too.
kan-jot- adj1 slim, skinny, thin (of person)
kan-peng n BODY side of the body
kana n PERS blind person
kanggal n PERS poor person, pauper
kangguru n ANIM Kangaroo
kangkang n ANIM type of edible frog, green with black spots, which lives in caves and the hollows of stones at the side of a river
kangkylek n ANIM type of lizard with red neck, said to drink human blood
kantara n PLACE emptinness
kanting- v to tear spontaneously
kap- v to catch, to close
kapangsi n ANIM a clamp
kapkap- v to lie flat on your belly
kapkung n ANIM snail
kar- v to peel off Abong karai sa•a angdo I eat the corn while peeling off the seeds with my hand.
kara n ART rope, vein
karan n PLANT seed, kernel, fruit stone
karang n BODY wing ri•karang testicle, balls, scrotum
karat ~ ka•rat n ANIM squirrel
karaw n ACT debt, obligation, trouble
Nang•do uaw takchido karaw man•nine. If you do that, you’ll be in trouble. Nang•aw ang karaw balni nang• angmi bostu sa•khawchido. I’ll tell you what your debt will be if you steal my things.
karen n ART electricity San thamok karen ni•wa. It has been three days [and/that] there is no electricity.
kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khatta n ACT word kata ~ khata ~ katha ~ khatta jyw•khynwa to tell long epic stories during the festival of chywgin, one story usually takes one night or longer to tell. kata ~
khata ~ katha ~ khatta jyksai coordinate compound that consists of two synonyms
katha n ART shallow bamboo basket
katua ~ khatua n ANIM turtle, tortoise
kaw n PLANT type of fruit
kaw- v to shoot
kaw•warai n BODY gill
kawrawraw adv easily, without effort “Ama, angdo mai sa•naka.” “Ym, kawrawraw ga•wa, te•en sa•bo.” “Mom, I will eat rice.” “Yes, that will be easy, eat later.”
ke•ret n BODY gall
kebyl n ART cable
keji clf kilogram, kg
kek n FOOD cake
kek- adj1 blunt (of pointed things)
kek- v to grow
kek- v to chop wood
keko n ANIM type of large brown tokyay gecko with narrow white stripes on its back and white-and-brown ringed tail and brown eyes
kel- v to hide Mykhang baketchi kelaidong. She’s hiding her face in a bucket.
kelki ~ khelki n ART window
kemyra n ART camera
kendyl n ART candle kendyl dot sa one candle
kensi ~ kesi n ART scissors
kep clf classifier for small flat things biskut kep sa one biscuit
kep n PLACE cave
kep- v to cry
keplelep ~ keppreprep adv stretched out on your belly Ytykyimyng te•edo amak ge•thendo rong• pelang sylgabachi keplelep bama• hyn•takkonoa. So then, now the monkey, as for him, he willingly lay down stretched out on his belly on a flat stone, it is said.
kereng n BODY bone
keset ~ kheset n ART cassette, tape
kesi ~ kensi n ART scissors
ket- v to be tight Jama keta. The shirt is tight.
kewal n ART a peddle
kha interj interjection to threaten somebody and to warn that you might fight, war cry, Beware! Beware for X! This interjection precedes a clan name and in some cases the proper name of a mythical person in a story. Kha Marak! Beware Marak! This interjection can also be used before the clan name of the person who says it as a way of self support, i.e. ‘Beware of me!’ “Kha Bandi Goira!” noangthiriaidonga Bandiba. “Beware of Bandi and the god of thunder!” Bandi is saying again, it is said.

kha- v to tie Nokbanthai do•khakhuchi khachapai tangaba mongmawa dora byryi don•gabaaw rai•ai jalangokno. They took the elephant tusks weighing twenty kilos which were kept tied to the do•khakhu of the bachelors’ house and ran away, it is said. “Angawdo gorechi cha•aw nemen khabone” nookno. “As for me, tie my legs well to the horse”, he said it is said.

kha• n ABSTR fighting spirit Ge•thengdo kha•rara taka, angba kha• ganang, ge•thengnado kyrecha, takrakarini. He has fighting spirit, but I also have fighting spirit, I am not afraid of him and will just fight with him.

kha• v to be bitter
kha• v to do, to work Kam kha•ni. I will work. Angna phone kha•etboto! Call me (on the phone)!

kha• v to pour liquid into a jug
kha•at- v to work with, to handle Ge•theng koila kha•ata. He works with/handles coal.

kha•dang- vdat to care for with great love Ama thyiaimu akai sa•gyraina kha•danga. After the mother died, her elder sister took care of the child with great love.

kha•di n ART clothes

kha•dong v to hope
kha•dong- v to be courageous, to be hopeful Te•ewe ningan
kryiphin•a. Alsia rajado kha•dongaria. Thoroksyrangok una, ningdo jalgabaak. Now it is us who are afraid [of him]. The lazy king is just courageous. He jumped out [of the banyan tree] and so we became the ones who ran away.

khagal- vdat to love Ang nang•na kha•gala. I love you.

kha•pak- vdat to miss Ang songna kha•paka. I miss my village.

kha•pet- v to be angry with Ang bajuaaw kha•petaidong. I am angry with my friend.

kha•phak n BODY chest
kha•ran- ~ ka•ran- v to be thirsty for Tyiba ka•ranok bai•siga angdo. Ang tiy cho•sa ryngna. I am thirsty for water, my friend. I want to drink a little water.

kha•rek n PLANT yard long bean, yardlong bean, also known as the long-podded cowpea, asparagus bean, snake bean, or Chinese long bean. The subspecies name is sesquipedalis.

kha•rekrek- v to vomit, to barf

kha•rongthai n BODY chicken heart

kha•si- v to not like and ignore Ge•thengthengrara gorongrukokno gorongaimyngdo te•do, kha•rirukarokno. They met each other and having met, they did not like each other and ignored each other, it is said.

kha•sin adj2 slowly

kha•sin-kadym adj2 khjys slow Uaw badaiangwachian bean bebe darairaragabasang dolong khagabachina phetangoknowa, Badido. Dykhimi balgabatykyi kha•sin kadymai re•engcha. Jaljoljolangaigandongo. When he crosses beyond that point, truly Bandi arrives at a bridge made entirely out of swords, it is said. As Dykh he had said, he does not go
slow. He is running quickly, it is said.

**kha•sop** n BODY lung

**kha•thol** n ANIM wattle (of a chicken)

**kha•thong** n BODY heart *O chame, angmi nang•na kha•galabaau nang•mi kha•thongchi dang•etna man•phanima?* (Sandish M Sangma) O sweetheart, will you be able to insert also my love for you into your heart?

**kha•wa** n PERS lover

**kha•wak khu•wak** adv with open mouth “Me•mangma morotma ie sa•gyraido?” noaimu kha•wak khu•wak chaisawthokaidongano. “Is that child a ghost or a man?” they said and all were surely watching him with open mouth, it is said.

**khabak** clf as much as the arms can encompass, an armful

**khabak-** v to embrace, to grab firmly as in an embrace *Alsia rajado matsami cha•phungaw wang•joloknoaro.*

*Khabakaimyng wang•wachie kynsange: “Ai! ido alsiae kakate! Sokchakate angdo” noaimyng, matsado jenethene jokaimyng jalangoknoro.* The lazy king bit the tiger on the leg, it is said. After having grabbed him firmly and bitten him, the tiger said: “Ouch! This lazy person bites, I’m telling you!” and having somehow escaped, he ran away, it is said.

**khabai - kambai** n PLACE top, upstream

**kham-** v to burn *Rangsan khama.* The sun burns/it is hot *Wal• nokaw khamok.* The fire burnt the house.

**khal** n PLACE hole *khal ni* two nostrils

**-khal** sfx intensifier suffix used in comparative and superlative constructions, more than, -er as in bigger, larger and greener, most, -est as in biggest, largest, greenest *Mamyangawan nangchawa raja na•a angna nang•myng gore jalna rakhabgabaaw hyn•etaribo” nookno. “I don’t need anything, o king, you just give your fastest running horse”, he said, it is said. *Gore jalna rakbebeokno.*

*Kha•sinkhalai jalkhalna noaimyng ger•dukdukchiba rakkhalai rakkhalai jalarikno.* The horse ran really quickly, it is said. Having told it to run slower, whenever he prodded it with his legs, it just ran faster and faster, it is said.

**khalbong** n PERS person who eats scandalously much

**kahi adv** only, exclusively

**khaljong** n ANIM type of fish

**khalpak** n ART belt that goes around the head to carry a basket

**khalput** n PERS dirty person

**khaltyi** n SUBST soda

**khambai ~ kambai** n PLACE top, upstream

**kham-** v to burn *Rangsan khama.* The sun burns/it is hot *Wal• nokaw khamok.* The fire burnt the house.

**khambykthai** n PLANT type of edible tuber

**khamphung** n PLANT type of edible tuber

**khampyryw-** v to have a hole in a cloth or paper as the result of burning
khamthymbylong- v to have a hole in a road or bridge as the result of burning Dolong wal\sang khamthymbylongok. The fire burned a hole in the bridge. / The bridge was damaged by the fire.

khamynkhap n ANIM type of fish

khan clf classifier for objects like log boats rung khan ni two boats

khan n PLANT cassava

khan- v to suckle

khan\chot- v to cut Nang ang khaw khan\chotbo. Cut my hair.

khan\peret- v to split, to cut open

khana n PLACE port, harbour, station

khanchot- v to cut (hair)

khap n ART cup, teacup or its volume, cupful khap goi\ sa one teacup

khap thai\ sa one teacup Cha khap tham hyn\bo. Give three cups of tea.

khap n SUBST flat piece of hard material

khap- v to be cooked without mai\tyi ~ mai\ti jabe khapsaba curry without mai\ti ~ mai\ti

khapeng- v to hinder

kharok n ANIM type of very small fish

kharongthai n BODY kidney

Khasi n PERS Khasi

khasi- v to castrate, to remove the testicles

khasin adj2 slow

khasot clf classifier for bundles rasun khasot sa a bundle of onions

khat interj interjection to chase a dog away

khat- v to slaughter Biana wak khatna raw\aidonga. We are catching a pig to slaughter for the wedding.

khata \~ khatha \~ kata \~ katha n ACT word kata \~ khata \~ katha \~ khatha jyw\kynewa to tell long epic stories during the festival of chywgye, one story usually takes one night or longer to tell. kata \~ khata \~ katha \~ khatha jyksai coordinate compound that consists of two synonyms

khatdep- v to wrap, to wrap up, to fold

khatom clf classifier for bagsful rasunok khatom sa one bagful of spring onions

khatua \~ katua n ANIM turtle, tortoise

khaw clf classifier for teeth wa khaw sa one tooth

khat ni BODY hair (of the head)

-khaw evsp V secretly, V surreptitiously

khaw• clf classifier for teeth, planks, sheets of corrugated iron for roofs and flattened bamboos used to make mats (jyw•) when they are in a mat damdyl khaw• sa one jyw• of a damdyl wa khaw• ni two teeth,
two tusks (of elephant) *tota kʰaw•tham* tree planks, *tin kʰaw•byryi*
four sheets of corrugated iron

kʰaw•v to catch water in the palms of your hands *Paipmi tiy ti heng kʰaw•aimu rynɡok*. He caught the water from the pipe in his hands and drank it.

kʰawakwak•v to vomit, to barf

kʰawcha•ryng n BODY sideburn

kʰawchi n BODY grey hair

kʰawchyryng n BODY scalpel hair

kʰawdam•v to put down

kʰawkhai ~ kʰawkhi n BODY grey hair

kʰawkham n ART pillow

kʰawkhirok n BODY dandruff

kʰawkhuthuk n ART cloth for men worn around the head

kʰawphyng n ART turban

kʰawsuk n PLACE source of a river

kʰe•v to be proper, suitable

Nang•mykchagaba biphae kʰecha. The boy you fancy is not suitable (to marry).

kʰel n ACT care

kʰele•v to play

kʰeleɡaba n ACT game kʰeleɡaba

myng sa one game

-kʰelek evsp V for fun

kʰelhli ~ kᵉkli n ART window

kʰem n ART drum (traditional instrument)

kʰema n ACT forgiveness *Nang•tym angaw wetsado khema khᵃ•khubo*. Please forgive me one more time.

kʰen•v to scratch Machok kan•panchi kʰenaronga. A deer is scratching his body against a tree.

kʰen•n ANIM river crab

kʰen•kʰorong n BODY claws of a crab

kʰeng•v to be alive

kʰengchek adj2 green, blue

kʰengkhang adj2 eternal

kʰengsryrk adj2 dark green

kʰengwa n ART life

-kʰep evsp V firmly *Raw•kʰepbo!* Hold it firmly!

kʰep•v to cry

kʰep•v to pinch, to cut with scissors

Rong•kʰalchi khono kaimu kʰen•chak kʰepok. When I felt under the stone, a river crab pinched my hand.

kʰep ~ kʰup ~ kʰyp•v to close, to cover, to spread out, to put on clothes

kʰereng•v to struggle, to make a great effort

kʰereng•v to resist

kʰewal n ART oar kʰewal phong sa one oar

kʰi•v to count

kʰi•v to hit (a target), to touch

Myng•sa them! Khawoknotyi. Khianchano. One person shot, pow! He did not hit it, it is said.

kʰiiil n ART nail (iron) kʰiiil chong sa one iron nail.

khingcheng adj2 aslant, slant

kʰirip ~ kʰyriyp n PLANT type of edible plant of which the leaves are mashed and dried and then cooked to pulp

kʰit•v to sprinkle, to sow seeds

Ha•kʰynmanwmawinga maisi kʰita. Only after collecting the unburnt jungle material from the land, we sow millet.

kʰok•v to remove (skin, bark, peel, dress etc.)

khokalang n PERS bold person

kʰol n BODY skin (of human, animal or plant), hide (of animal), scale (of fish) ma•sukhol cow-hide, cow-skin

kʰol num twenty

kʰolchang num twenty, used only in compound numerals kʰolchang byryi rong ni eighty two.

kʰole num twenty. This word is only used in compound numerals kʰole rong sa twenty one.

kʰole chyi ~ kᵒla chʰi num thirty

kʰolgryk ~ kʰolgryk num twenty. The variant kʰolgryk is a loan from Garo but is used overwhelmingly more frequently than kʰolgryk.
kholjisop n BODY infection of the inner ear, labyrinthitis
kholthyrai- v to shed skin, to come off (of skin) Rangsang khamaimu ang nakhung kholthyraiok. After the sun burnt it, the skin on my nose came off.
khom• v to sit with your head in your lap and your legs pulled up
khon encl.cl/prtcl speculative modality enclitic or particle Rangsang rangbyrymaidonga, wainikhon. The sun is blocked by clouds, it might rain. “Naŋ• ama nygylsang re•engwama?” “Ho•ong, khon.” “Did your mother go to the market?” Yes, maybe.”
kholok- v to bark
khonok- v to search by feeling Ichì rong•khalchi khen• ganangthel mang sa mangnido, ganangthelna ba ganang. Hai, naŋ• usang khonokbo ang isang khonoknaka. Here in these holes under the stones there are crabs for sure. Let’s go, you feel and search over there and I will feel and search over here.
khupalak n PLANT skin of onion, garlic, corn etc.
khophylak n PLANT/ANIM skin of fruit, eggshell
khophynga n ART cloth for women worn on the head with a knot at the back of the head
khorat n ART a saw
khor n ART watch
khorong n BODY horn (of animal)
khoryndachong n ANIM silkworm
-khu sfx incompletive aspect suffix
ku•hamgaba n ART grammar
ku•bisi- v to hate, to dislike
ku•chul n BODY lip
ku•ma n PERS dumb person, someone who cannot speak
ku•mong- v to conspire “Ramchi hampyi na•nangdo watchaka ge•thengawdo, sala! Ge•thengaw watkhuna so•otthelinaka” noai ku•mongangokno. “This evening we will seize him on the road, the bastard! We will kill him after all to banish him once more”, they conspired freely, it is said.
ku•rang n BODY voice
ku•rasak- v to promise. Rongdyng maharimu Jaksongram matsanokphandaimi matsu• takrukaisa Rongdyng maharidyrange dokra Ha•beng kungsai ri•pan patsai sympak kungsai hyn•naka noyi ku•rasakokno. Because the Rongdyng family fought with the tigers from the bachelors’ house of Jaksongram, the Rongdyng families promised to give one Ha•beng bag, one woman’s dress and one sleeping mat, it is said.
ku•sak- v to answer, to reply, to respond
ku•sum ~ ku•sum n ANIM tortoise
ku•symang n BODY facial hair
ku•thi ku•thyratiga(ba) n mumbling
ku•ti ku•thyratiga(ba) n ACT mumbling
ku•tip- v to close your mouth Hongkhotphinna man•chaaiyng ku•thipwachie sotmai mang sene man•symokno. Not being able to come out again, when he closed his mouth, he swallowed the seven flies, it is said.
khu•tyisot- v to spit
khuchia n ANIM type of fish
khuchina n ANIM eel
khudal n ART hoe, chopper
khugyri n ART small basket made of bamboo and reed
khul n ART pillow stuffing
khuli n FOOD opium
khuli-v to open
khung clf classifier for flat things (and photos even when displayed on a computer screen) tangka khung sa one banknote pikiyr khung sa one photograph, picture
khung n BODY shell of a crab, tortoise etc., carapace
khup- ~ khep- ~ khy- v to close, to cover, to put on clothes
khurung adj2 wanting to lay an egg
khurut- v to perform an incantation, to summon a spirit
khusep n BODY corner of the mouth
khusi dong•- ~ dong- v to be happy
Ge•thengtheng khusi
dong•thamakaimyng gore
di•maichi phalthang cak diriga
sangwalaimyng watokno. They were so excessively happy that they forgot their own hands which were holding the horse’s tail and they let go, it is said.
khu•tyi ~ khuti n BODY spittle, saliva, spit
khutyi ~ khutum v to kiss
khutai n top (of a house)
khuthym- ~ ku•tum v to kiss
khup- ~ khep- ~ khy- v to close, to cover, to put on clothes
khym- v to marry Ue alsia raja• jykba myng• ni khymanoro. That lazy king married two wives, it is said.
khyryk n ANIM louse (plural: lice)
khyw- v to drain, to shake out fluid
kilip ~ kilip n ART clip
kilomytyr clf kilometre
kingreng kirin adv like a chicken without a head, like crazy
Thot thyng•thot takwachina dabat sykromaimyng
khanetsigaaidongno. Bandi
chakwatwamian chuwil chuwal
takjolangokno. Taw• tokai
watetwatykyi usang kingreng usang
kingreng takjoletarioknoti. He (Bandi) grasped her (Sore) and poured the liquor into her mouth to the last drop. When Bandi let go of her, her head was spinning. Like letting go of a beheaded chicken she ran around like a chicken without a head.
kirin adj2 to be torn (of cloth and paper)
kirin- v to tear Longpen kirinok. The trousers are torn.
kitap n ART book
klas n PLACE class Ando klas wan
mangmangsaan
dong•phaarikhuwa. I have only
gotten as far as class one.
korot n PLANT sugarcane
kobi n PLANT cabbage
kolla n SUBST coal
kollagari n ART coal truck
kok n ART basket
kokalang n PERS a bold person
kokbal n ART biggest basket used to
store food in
kokbal n ART enormous basket made
of bamboo and used to store rice
and vegetables in the kitchen.
kocheng n ART type of basket made
of bamboo carried on the back with
a strap around the head, smaller
than a koktang.
kok n ANIM type of large gecko that
lives in trees
koppylak n PLANT chaff
kopja n ART a saw
kri postp in accordance with.
according to Gam man•ni udo uan,
tangka poisa. Uan gam mynga,
dakangmi chasongdo. Te•ewsa
kepasyti noai myngaidonga.
Chasongna kri gam myngariaro,
tangka poisa. He will obtain
wealth, money. Earlier generations
called that “wealth”. Now they call
it “capacity”. According to my
generation this money is called
“wealth”.
krismas n TIME Christmas
kristan ~ kristen n PERS Christian
krymkraw adv together, in unison, in
coopération
ku•sum ~ khusum n ANIM tortoise
kukuri n ART type of knife with a
blade with an obtuse angle used to
survive in the jungle
kulal ~ kular ~ kural n ART axe
kuli- v to open
kun- adj1 curly
kun• elf classifier for stick-like things
nokwek kun banga five brooms
kun• n ART a stick
kural ~ kular ~ kulal ~ kurar n ART
axe
kurasak- v to promise
kusymang n BODY facial hair, beard,
moustache
kutuuukutukutuk interj interjection
to call a dog
ki• n ANIM dog
kyi•wa n BODY canine teeth
kyimang n ANIM fruit fly
kyiryp ~ khirip n PLANT type of edible plant of which the leaves are mashed and dried and then cooked to pulp
kykgul n BODY eyelid
kyl- v to hide, to avoid
kylchap n PLANT cotton
kylip n ART a clip
kylip ~ kilip n ART clip
kyltuk n PLANT type of tree which, in the dry season, brings forth bunches of bright red and yellow beans with black seeds. The seeds, when eaten, make you sleepy.
kymkha n PLANT type of berry
kyn n BODY back
kyn symni. I will follow you closely.
kynphak- v to sleep in. Rang wawamigymyn manaphci kynphakwa. Because of the rain I slept in this morning.
kynsang n PLACE behind nokapmyng kynsang behind the door
kynsang postp Yttyimyng walchi rai•aphyinokno. Rai•aphin•aisa beanbebe phalthangmyng nokaw ge•thengdo ma•su di•myng phirinaimyng ue sonya bi•chamchymaw nok rhyphiokno. Nok rhyphiwamyng kynsangdo te•ew ge•theng nokawan alaga morotsyn man•aimyng rai•wilokno alsia rajado. Later he had to stay the night somewhere, it is said. Then, when he needed to stay the night, he met a tiger when he was sleeping on the hay, it is said. Later, after the tiger had smelled the sent of a human, it walked in circles, it is said, around the lazy king.
kyp- v to fit tightly, to fit and close off
kyrewami ~ kyiwi n ABSTR danger
kyrong ~ korong n BODY horn (of an animal)
kyrydi n PLANT type of liana that looks like a long arm with elbow joints as it hangs between trees
kyryi n ACT fear
kyryi- vdat to be afraid of Ang mongmana kyrnio. I am afraid of elephants.
kyryiwa n ACT fear “Bil! Bil! Ningdo nang•aw phina rai•wachym!”

nookno. Uchie Bile: “ Atakna?”

nookno. Ytykyimyng phina re•enggabadyrangba kyryiwa ganang. “Bil! Bil! We have come to invite you!” they said, it is said. Then Bil said: “Why?”, it is said. So then in turn, the ones that came to ask were afraid.

kyryk- v to be clear, transparent

-kyrym evsp to V in a group Taw• dang•kyrymangok, taw•nokchi. The chickens have all entered their coop.

kyrymkryraw adv united, together, in cooperation

kyryng- adj tight Usang, songga Manggagremi banthaidarangba rai•aaithokaidongano, Rakarelwakmadare, Gyrnynggyrang, Saljapang, Aragundi, Motbanda, Asyngduraparaba gumukan rai•aathokaidongano. They are all coming to there, the young man from the strange village of Manggare: Rakarelwakmadare, Gyrnynggyrang, Saljapang, Aragundi, Motbanda, Asyngduraparaba, they are all coming, it is said. They are men with strong arms and tight veins all over, it is said, they are not ordinary men, it is said.

kyryng- v to make noise, to make a sound

kyrynggaba n ABSTR sound, noised

kyryngwa n ACT sound, noise

kyryw n ART thin strip of bamboo used to make rope, bamboo rope

kyw interj I am here! (answer to a search call)

laha n SUBST resin

lain clf classifier for a collection of objects lined up on shelves

laisak n PLANT cabbage

laisen n ART licence

lait n GEO/ART light

laklak- v to prod in an orifice or hole for pleasure, to nag

-langlang evsp very

lap n ACT profit, interest, gain, value Ha•gylsakaw chol takai chyichiba nang•aw khymaido angdo mamyng lap ni•okte. When you try all sorts of small jobs, it will not benefit me to be married to you.

lap- v to gain, tomake profit, to be profitable Ang tai•sa rajasa lapokchym, thyio. I just made a hundred rupees profit but I lost the game. “Atakgaba raja na•a angna gore lapchagabaaw watetwa” nookno. “What kind of king are you to send me a worthless horse?”, he said, it is said.

lapan n PLANT pan/pan leaf

lapchagaba n PERS a good-for-nothing

lapchagaba adj good-for-nothing, unprofitable, worthless

las n ABSTR the last one

lathia n ANIM type of fish

law n PLANT cucumber-like vegetable

lechu n PLANT lychee

lekadaw•reng n ART kite

lekat- v to waste time Na•a mai syw•khalna balwachymte. Na•a te•ewchinaba lekataidongkhua. You said that you would pound some more rice. Until now you have been waiting time and you are still wasting time.

lekhin n ART book, paper

leklek- v to prod in an orifice or hole

lengla adv crippled

lepstik n ART lipstick

letrin n PLACE toilet

lityr clf litre

lolal n ART roller

longpen n ART a pair of pants, trousers, long pants, long trousers

Te•ew re•enggaba gawi, longpen kanai juta hitaw... The girl who just went by wearing trousers and shoes with high heels... longpen
khung sa a pair of pants, trousers, long pants, long trousers

loskor n PERS highest rank in the system of customary law of Garos, judge

lukchok ~ rukchok n ANIM type of frog

lukchokchok n ANIM type of small gecko that creeps up the walls of houses at night

lukpekpek ~ rukpek n ANIM type of frog

lukwak ~ rukwak n ANIM toad

m•m ~ hm•m procl no

ma encl.cl/prtcl question enclitic or particle

ma- v to lose Sunglas palyngchi maak angdo. I lost my sunglasses in the jungle.

ma• inter o.k., o.k. then, (very) well then (Nepale) “Ytykyido ang re•engsigama nang•mi phal?” (Thengthone) “Ma• ytykyido dongarini, ang chakdyrangaw dengbo” nooknoro. (The Nepali) “But shall I go instead of you?” (Theng•thon) “Very well then, in that case, it will be most convenient, untie my hands”, he said, it is said. The crow became proud because of the monkey, it is said. Then the crow said: “Yes, yes! Caw! Caw!”, it is said. Then the bread fell down, it is said. The fox then grabbed it with its mouth and ate it, it is said. And so the crow had lost its bread and could not eat it any more, it is said.

magyna adv in vain

mahari n PERS relatives, family

mai n FOOD rice (cooked)

mai ~ mei n TIME May

mai•cheng n PLANT edible shrub with scented (nice smelling) leaves and soft thorns, (maybe related to Zanthoxylum oxyphyllum)

mai•tyi ~ mai•ti n FOOD juice from ja•bek

mai•wek n ANIM type of bird that is believed to call every time somebody comes to visit the village

maichek~ maichyk n FOOD cold rice

maidan n PLANT new rice (just harvested) Mai mynokodo maidan syla toka. When the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

maigasam n FOOD meal eaten in the later part of the day or evening, dinner

mai•yk ~ mai•yjk n ANIM dragonfly

mai•yreng n FOOD dried rice for the pigs
maijyreng n FOOD leftovers of cooked rice dried in the sun used to feed the pigs

maikap n PLANT hay

maikholnang n PLANT unpeeled rice

maikhyt n FOOD burned rice

maikung n ACT second rice harvest (in November)

mainamanap n FOOD meal eaten in the morning, breakfast

maimijyk ~ maijyk n ANIM dragonfly

mainym lcf length from the elbow to the top of the fist

maip ~ mep n ART map

mairong n PLANT husked rice, uncooked rice

mairugu ~ meringgu ~ meringgaw ~ merenggaw n PLANT mushroom (edible)

maisan n FOOD meal eaten in the middle of the day, lunch

maisen n FOOD sticky rice in a banana leaf

maisi n PLANT millet

maityk n ART pot for cooking rice

maiwaa ~ maiwa n PLANT bamboo shoot maiwa ~ maiwa ching sa one bamboo shoot

maira ~ miringu ~ meringgaw ~ merenggaw n PLANT mushroom (edible)

maja tw the day before yesterday, some time ago, in the recent past

makhbul n ANIM bear

mal - v to be familiar, easy to deal with

mama n KIN mother’s brother. Is also used to address an unrelated man older than the speaker in a respectful way, and to address my father-in-law.

mamylet n FOOD omelette

man n ACT respect Ge*thengaw man ra*na nanga. You have to respect him.

man - v to crawl, to creep Khryyk khawchi manaidonga. Lice are crawling in my hair. Atongbatkyi ga*sokok aksokok hunthamakaimuna saphawba ha*khungchina mangatokno. Somehow the rabbit, stumbling and barely swimming, crawled onto the river bank, it is said.

-man - man evsp already V-ed

man - vb to be able, to get, to obtain, to succeed man*ai sa*- to eat in great amounts, to be rich Sar*gyrai rai*na man*a. The child can walk man*ai in great amounts Morot biding chunggabaci mu*gaba man*ai sa*ak. The man who lives in that big house is rich. Uchian magachakdo biskutaw man*a man*a man*a man*a sa*aidokno. Then the deer ate the biscuits in great amounts, it is said. Ang baju kam man*ok My friend got work/a job. Kawbutungchi thik thokyrengaw man*okno. When he shot [the giant eagle] he got it exactly in the neck.

man*ai adv in great amounts, see man*

man*dapwami n ACT profit, interest, gain

man*dyk- adj1 difficult, complicated, troublesome Angdo gylgyrlrongchawanasa te*ew nokchi rang waaimu kam kha*na haratok, man*dykok kam kha*na. As for me, precisely because I usually roam around now that it is raining, I’ve become reluctant to work, it’s very difficult to work. Alternatively: It has become difficult to work.

man*symrukruk- v to inherit

manak- adj1 dark

manam n ACT bad smell, stench

manam- adj1 to stink Di* manama. Shit stinks.

manap n TIME morning

manap- vØ to be morning Manapok. It has become morning. Manapnaka. It will soon be morning.

manapmi adv very early in the morning Kynsangdo manapmi sirimynmyn re*engaimungna Dabatwarisang dinggarai saiakno. Then, having gone to Dabatwari very early in the morning at the
break of dawn, [he] put up his fish traps, it is said.

**mandai** n PLANT erithrina superosastricta, type of tree with thorns and very red flowers which blossom in the late part of the dry season

**mang**-clf classifier for animals, knives and tools bythyi mang sa one porcupine chaw•kyi ~ chang•kui mang sa one big knife

**mangga** n ANIM type of fish

**mangkung** n ANIM type of cricket

**mangkyrang ~ mankyrang** n ANIM scorpion

**mangmang** adv only, just, exclusively

**mangneng** v to whine Ytykyimu

isangdo jykdo sa•do, sa•do jongdo mai okhiaimu mangnengaidokno mangnengaidokno. Babado biba rai•maka?” noaidokno. So then at home, because they got hungry, his wife and children are whining and whining, it is said. “When is dad coming back?” they are saying, it is said.

**mangsong** v to plan

**mani** n KIN aunt: father’s sister. Is also used to address your mother-in-law.

**mani**-v to worship Ning songsyrekdo ning atongdo dakangdo manyng thoromaw ni•wami somaichido waiaw mania. We heathens, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, we worshipped spirits.

**manjuri ~ manjyri** n ART post, supporting post

**mankyrang ~ mangkyrang** n ANIM scorpion

**mansylang** n BODY spleen

**mantaw** n PLANT type of gourd

**mantawbylati** n PLANT tomato

**mantawthai** n PLANT type of vegetable

**mars** n TIME March

**mastel** n PERS male teacher

**mat** n ANIM wild animal

**mat** n BODY a wound

**mat**-v to be sharp, to be wounded, to (be able to) wound, to (be able to) cut

**matdi** n ANIM wild water buffalo

**mathai ~ matthai** n ANIM bachelor elephant

**matji ~ maji** n PLACE middle Ang Sandishmyng Bittermyng matjichi muraidonga. I’m sitting in between Sandish and Bitter.

Ang gumukmyng matjichi muraidonga. I’m sitting in the middle of everybody.

**matpalyng** n ANIM wild animal

**matrong** n ANIM jungle goat

**matsa** n ANIM tiger

**matsadu** n PERS/ANIM creature which is human during the day and becomes a tiger at night

**mausa** n PERS friendly name to call a person

**mawkhol** n PLANT bark (of a tree)

**mawsa ~ mosa** n KIN 1. marriageable male cousin: the child of mama ‘mothers brother’ and anay ‘father’s sister’ or of away ‘father’s younger brother’ and asøy ‘mothers younger sister’, 2. the relation of male cousins from intermarriageable families, 3. a male friend belonging to an intermarriageable family

**me•ama** n PERS married woman

**me•apha** n PERS married man

**me•ma**

**me•mang ~ mi•mang** n PERS ghost, spirit of a dead person me•mang saw•et- ceremony performed a year after someone’s death. The spirit of the dead person then leaves the house and goes to Balphakram.

**me•mangguchung** n PLANT type of liana, woody vine that grows in the jungle as winding branch with an undulating pattern twirling itself around other trees for support. The
name of this plant translates as ‘ghost ladder’

**memangkereng** *n* ANIM stick insect, walking stick, phasmadotea

**memangkoki - mi•mangkoki** *n* PLANT pitcher plant

**me•mesi** *n* ANIM flying insect

**me•mangkoksi ~ mi•mangkoksi** *n* PLANT pitcher plant

**mejakbal** *n* ANIM alligator

**Mekalaia** *n* PLACE Meghalaya

**mel•adj1** fat (of person)

**melanggaw** *n* ANIM poisonous red or black ant

**memaboro** *n* PLANT type of nice smelling rice

**memaboro** *n* PLANT nicely smelling type of rice

**menpart** *n* PERS most important or most salient person

**mep ~ maip** *n* ART map

**meringgu ~ meringgaw ~ merenggaw ~ mairugu** *n* PLANT mushroom (edible)

**mes** *n* ANIM sheep

**-mi ~ -myng** *encl.phr* genitive enclitic

**mi•mang ~ me•mang** *n* PERS ghost, spirit of a dead person *me•mang saw•et-* ceremony performed a year after someone’s death. The spirit of the dead person then leaves the house and goes to *Balphakram*.

**mi•mangkoki ~ me•mangkoki** *n* PLANT pitcher plant

**mi•mangkyi ~ me•manjkyi** *n* ANIM type of small frog that says *pekpekepek*

**mili•v** to assemble, to meet, to come together, to be appropriate

**milimityr** *clf* metre

**mimi•v** to laugh at someone *le biphae gawigumukaw mimia* This guy is laughing at all the girls.

**miniksuru•v** to be flat-haired (of animals) *Magachakmi myn•do tyiswachian miniksuru takjolarianoro* When the deer’s fur is wet, it just quickly gets flat-haired, it is said.

**mirang** *n* ANIM neck feathers of chicken

**mistyri** *n* PERS mason, house builder and painter

**miting** *v* to hold a meeting

*Bai•sigathangmaran myn•tham mitingaidoknowa. The friends are holding a meeting, it is said.

*Dakanggabado jineral mitingchengu. Umungsa song gumuk thom•aimung ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni. First they will start with a general meeting. Then the whole village comes together and they will divide the ha•ba plot by plot.

**mityr** *clf* metre

**mmmm mmmm onom** the sound of an eagle

**mo** *encl.cl/prtl* confirmative tag enclitic or particle. “Tyt! di•phuram•ama?” *nookno. “ho•ong manamaidongmo” “Hey! did you just accidentally fart?” he, said, it is said. “Yes, it stinks, doesn’t it.” *Tan•manokona thiok udo, mo. Because they had cut him up, he died, that one, isn’t.

**mobail** *n* ART mobile phone

**mobil** *n* SUBST motor oil, engine oil

**mochok** *n* PLANT sapling

**moila** *n* SUBST dirt, filth

**moina** *n* ANIM type of bird

**mojekjek•v** to shake (a fixed object)

**mojet- ~ mojot•v** to suck

**mon** *clf* unit of 40kg *mon sa* one unit of 40kg

**monggolbal** *n* TIME Tuesday

**mongma** *n* ANIM elephant

**mongmachong•*n* ANIM caterpillar

**mongmachong•su** *n* ANIM giant caterpillar

**mongnal** *n* PLANT lotus

**mongyreng** *n* ART knife

**monok•v** to swallow, to devour

*Goilapan chym•aimu monoko. After chewing the betel nut and paan, swallow it. Sa•gyrai mylgabami dadadaranawdo janggalawan monokkono. Phylgym chunggaba monokrumokno myn•korokawan. As for the brothers of
the small child, they were
devoured, it is said. The big eagle
had devoured them all, the six of
them.

**montyri** n PERS minister

**morot** n PERS person, human, human
being, man

**morot-** v to grate

**mosa ~ mawsa** n KIN 1. marriageable
male cousin: the child of *mama*
mother’s brother’ and
*anai* ‘father’s sister’ or of *away* ‘father’s
younger brother’ and *asyi* ‘mothers
younger sister’, 2. the relation of
male cousins from

intermarriageable families, 3. a
male friend belonging to an

intermarriageable family

**mot-** v to shake a fixed object

-mu* evsp* durative: to keep V-ing,

**mu** v to stay, to sit (be in sitting
position), to sit down, to be at, to

live somewhere *Phylgymdo
nukanchano. Atongba sa•ai
mu•arongno.* The giant eagle did
not see [him]. He was sitting and
eating something.

**muchot** n ANIM mouse, rat

*Abeknyng•chi muchot sa•gyrai
mang byrii chepcha chepcha
parawthokaidonga.* Inside the abek
are four baby mice squeaking eek

**muchot** n ANIM mouse, rat

*Abeknyng•chi muchot sa•gyrai
mang byrii chepcha chepcha
parawthokaidonga.* Inside the abek
are four baby mice squeaking eek.

**mudu** n PLANT papaya

**muja** n ART sock

**muk** v to smoke

**mukthai** n ABSTR asperity,
protrusion

**mula** n PLANT white radish

**muluwa** n ART type of bamboo

**mungmawa** n BODY elephant tusk

**muni** n ACT magic spell *Ma•
pynwasama muni ma• ang
mykrenaw, ma• nang•chi ganang
atongba jadu.* (Wylseng S Marak)
Whether my eyes are covered by a
magic spell, you have something
magical.

**mura** n ART stool (to sit on)

**muri** n FOOD popped rice

**musuri** n ART mosquito net

**mychym-** v to smile at someone *Gawi
angaw mychymaidok.* A girl is
smiling at me.

**myia** tw yesterday

**myk** clf the length from the elbow to

the top of the middle finger

**mykbu-** v to be jealous

**mykbyryw-** v to have itchy eyes

**mykcha-** v to like somebody

**mykchagaba** n PERS sweetheart, girl

or boy that you fancy

**mykchel-** v to shine in the eyes

**mykchep-** v to look down upon, to

despise, to scorn *Atakna nang•do
angaw mykchepa? Why do you
despise me?*

**mykep** n BODY temple

**mykgythal** n ABSTR reality

*Mykgythaldo dong•cha jywangsas.*
It’s not reality, it’s just a dream.

**mykha badri** n GEO long period of

incessant heavy rainfall *Ue hapchi
mu•wachi rangmu chyw
ryngsusawana Ha•chyk
kh•chüksang mykha badri noyi
myngwano.
Te•echinakhyngkhyngba Ha•chyk songgumukdo mykha badri noaria je rangawba. Ytykchiba ie Badri joldo asingkatiba septembyr oktolbolmi rangawsa mikha badriwa asing badri kati marsatwa noyi mynga. Ramram rangawdo mykha badri myngcha. Umigymynsa ie hapawe Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai noanowa, aro rangawba mykha badri myngwanowa. When they stayed in that place to hold the drinking competition with the rain, they called it mykha badri in Garo. Until now all Garo villages call any rain mykha badri. But the Badri area calls only the rains in September and October mykha badri marsat. Ordinary rain is not called mykha badri. That’s why this place is called Badri Rongdyng Ha•wai, it is said, and the rain is also called mykha badri, it is said.

mykhal- v to be older than someone Ge•theng ang mykhalgaba. He is my elder.

mykhang n BODY/PLACE face, front Kyi• nok mykhangchi muraidonga. The dog is sitting in front of the house. Arong nokma chaikhawwachi, Arong nokmamying mykhangaw khiaimyng thyiokno. When headman Arong peeked, headman Arong’s face was hit and he died, it is said.

mykhang- v to face Isang mykhangbo. Face this way. Mykhangrukbo. Face each other. Ang ge•thengsang mykhangaidong. I’m facing him.

mykhi ~ mykkhi n BODY slime from the eyes

mykjywm- v to doze off

mykphylyp- v to blink with your eyes

mykrak- v to hold a wake (often used with the incorporated noun wal ‘night’) Wa•gaba thyigabana sa•dyrangba jyw•gabamyang wal mykrakaidong. The children and the mother are holding a wake for the dead father.

mykraket- v to warn Ang nang•aw mykraketarong. I’m warning you.

mykren ~ mykyren n BODY eye mykren wai•thok songruk- to look attentively

myksep n BODY corner of the eye

myksolkhare n BODY ring finger

myksong- v to plan, to intend Ang kymna myksongarongchym ytykchiba man•ni ma man•chabai kymna. I intend to get married but maybe I will not be able to.

myksu- v to wash your face Angdo phangnan ja sa•aimyng myksua. I always wash my face after getting up.

myksymyl n BODY eyebrow

myksyram n BODY eyelash

mykthoram n BODY middle finger

myktoki n PLANT plant with beautiful white flowers with a yellow heart that look like big jasmine flowers

mykyren ~ mykren n BODY eye

myl- adj1 small

mylthai n BODY small bosom Rong sa mylthai, rong sa chungthai. One big bosom, one small bosom. Phak sa mylthai, phak sa chungthai. On one side a big bosom on the other a small bosom.

mym• clf classifier for fists and things that are like a fist

mym• n BODY a fist (counted without classifier)

mym•- v to be like a fist

myn- v to be ripe, to be cooked, to be ready Mai mynkoko maidan syla toka. When the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival. Ie panchung mynkhucha. This jackfruit is not yet ripe. Ja•bek mynik. The curry is ready.
myn• n BODY body hair (of human), fur (of animal)
myn•sym• v to be hairy with small hairs
myn•tyi n BODY/PLANT pus; rosin; latex of jackfruit, thick fluid of various fruits Myn•tyi gumukan takapa. All thick fluids of plants are sticky./All pus is sticky.

myng- clf classifier for spoken things, games and for the word bostu
golpho myng sa one story khata
myng ni two words bostu myng than three things

myng- v to call someone/somebody a name
Williamnagalaw symsanggre noai mynga. Williamnagar used to be called Symsanggre.
Angmi bimung Braiton myngwa. My name is Braiton. My mother is called Goje M Sangma.

myngkhelek- v to call somebody by a nickname Ang nang•aw Matsumoto myngkheleka. I call you by the nickname Matsumoto.

myngkheleka n ACT nickname
myrumyrut adv not clearly

myryng myryng adv barely
myryng nuketaria. There is also a rice field house, it is barely visible.

myt- v to extinguish Wall• mytok. The fire is out.

myte n ABSTR deity, god

mythel- v to thank, to appreciate Anga nang•tymaw mythelbiok. I thank you very much.

na- v to hear
-na ~ -ona encl.phr dative enclitic

na• n ANIM fish
na•chan n ANIM firefly
na•chung n ANIM river shrimp

na•garang n ANIM type of electric fish
na•gunphel n ANIM type of fish
na•jek n ANIM type of fish
na•kha n ANIM type of fish
na•lam n ANIM type of blue, purple river fish that tastes particularly good when prepared in a bamboo cylinder (see bering-)
na•luk n ANIM tadpole

na•matza n ANIM type of fish

na•nang pprom we, first person plural inclusive

na•nyl n ANIM electric eel
na•pat n ANIM type of fish
na•phok n ANIM type of fish
na•rong n ANIM type of fish
na•ru n ANIM type of fish
na•rym n ANIM type of fish
na•rymkhu n ANIM type of fish
na•sak n ANIM type of red fish
na•saw n FOOD fermented fish
nawachak n ANIM type of fish
nawak n ANIM type of fish
nakab n ART knot
nadanggorot n BODY oesophagus
nadekaram n BODY earlobe
nagok adj2 deaf
nai• n KIN aunt: father’s sister
nai•nokhol n KIN mother-in-law, addressed as mani
naija tw next year, at some time in the far future
nak- adj1 black
-naka ~ -ka sfx imperious future or certain future suffix
nakamai n ART small basket to sow rice from
nakhal n BODY ear nakhal sam sa one ear
nakhal cha•dan n BODY part of the head behind the ear
nakhong n BODY backside of the ear
nakhung n BODY nose nakhung goi• sa one nose
nakhungkhal n BODY nostril
nakhungmyn• n BODY nose hair
nakung di• n BODY hard piece of snot
nal- v to gorge, to stuff your face
nalangtaupal n ANIM type of fish
nalbas adv nervous
nalsasang n LOC the other side
namakai ~ nakamai n ART small basket used to sow rice out of
nambal ~ nombol n ABSTR number
namchyk n KIN niece
namgab n KIN niece
nammokhol n KIN daughter-in-law
nang- v to bear fruit
nang- v to need, to have to, must
nang• pprom you (singular), second person singular
nang•tym pprom you, second person plural
nangchomot- adj1 important
nanggandai adv naked
nanggandai n PERS naked person
nanggodolong n PERS naked person
nangthaigaba n BODY swelling
nangthaigaba n BODY abscess
-nap ev sp V with all your heart
napit n PERS hairdresser
narang n PLANT orange
narot n PLANT type of edible tuber
narykel n PLANT coconut
narykelyi n PLANT coconut milk
narykhel n PLANT coconut
nasi- v to suffer from a loud noise or sound Kyi• para chido ang nasia. When the dog barks I suffer from the loud sound.
nat- v to scrub, to scour, to clean by scrubbing, to remove by scrubbing Wa natbo. Brush your teeth. Nang• nonoe tyigatchi nataidok. Your younger sister is washing the dishes at the water place.
natheng n BODY side of the head
nathym- v to listen to
naw n KIN younger sister. Is also used to address a younger female cousin or an unrelated woman younger than the speaker
naw- v to scold Angawe amaparae nawba nawnak tokba toknaka. The people in my mother’s house will certainly scold me and beat me. Angdo Tura re•engni, dongchachido angaw baba nawni. I will go to Tura, otherwise father will scold me.
nawang n PERS retard, half-brain, fool, stupid, confused person
nawchak n ANIM type of fish
nawmyl n PERS marriageable girl
nawsyri n KIN sister-in-law: younger brother’s wife
ne encl.cl/prtcl affirmation seeking tag enclitic or particle Uchi Nepaldo: “Na•a ang ma•su mang rajasaaw tynangsegabone” nookno. “Ym” noaimyng Theng•thonba tynangokno. Then the Nepali said: “You lead my hundred cows away, ok?” “Yes”, he said and Theng•thon led them away, it is said. Nemai re•engbo bai•siga, ne. Go carefully, my friend, ok?
n• n ANIM bee
ne•kat n ANIM type of bee
ne•kattuhp ~ nekhathup n ART hive, bee’s nest
new•wal n ANIM type of bee
Nedyran n PLACE The Netherlands, Dutch
nek- adj close, near Rame tyi
nekokno. The road is very close to the water. Literally: As for the road, the water is very near.
neksem- adj1 to be very near
nem- adj1 good
nemen adv very “Te•ew wen sa rypa nang•do nemen sylnak”
noaidongano pherue. “If you go into the water once more you will certainly be very beautiful” said the fox, it is said.
emgyni n ABSTR advantage, good fortune, good luck
emnuk- v to like
neng• adj1 tired
neng• vsec to lack, to fail to Ha• chamai Bandi, byl neng•chiba chak neng•chiba iaw ryngetphabo! Take this sweetheart Bandi, when you lack strength, when your hands are tired, drink this! Wak rakhimi gesepchian de•thenge mainynawan man•ai sa•na neng•okno. When he was herding pigs, he could not eat a lot of rice.
em•tak- v to rest
emtak- ~ ningtak- v to take a rest, stop for a while
Nepal n PERS/ACT/PLACE Nepali (person and language), Nepal (country)
nesynyl haiwe n PLACE national highway
net n ART medium size basket worn on the waist to put in the harvested rice
ni num two
-ni sfx non-certain future modality suffix
-ni ~ -nyi encl.phr without Chininyi-cha takbo. Make tea without shugar.

ni•- ~ nyi•- v negative locative/existential verb, to not exist, to not be na•a mykcha kha•galwa ni•wama ganang? Do you have someone you fancy, someone you love or not? Ning songsyreko ning atongdo dakando mamyng thoromaw ni•wami somaichido waiaw mania. We pagans, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no religion, we worshipped spirits. Somaido nyi•ok There’s no time left.

ni•et- v to switch off, to turn off Lait ni•etbo. Switch off the light!

ni•wa interj nothing
niam n ACT custom, law, tradition
ning pprom we, first person plural exclusive
ning pprom we, us, first person plural
nisi- v to poison Sanarai sa•chido ang nang•aw nisina man•chaka. If you eat a centipede, I will certainly not be able to poison you.

-no encl.cl’ quotative clausal enclitic Song damsachi morot myng• sa man•ai sa•bigyba ganangnochym. In a village was supposedly a very rich man, it is said.

no- v to say
nobembyl ~ nobembol n TIME November
noga n ART tree-house
nok n PLACE house nok tham three houses
nokap n ART door
nokbanthai n PLACE bachelors’ house. Before Christianity each village had a Bachelors’ house for every clan that lived in the village. In this house lived young, unmarried men. They would practice fighting, hunting, singing, story telling and all kinds of things that young men would have to learn before getting married. Women and members of other clans were not allowed to enter the bachelors’ house.
nokchama n KIN the relationship of the parents of a married couple
nokchoi n ART door, entrance
nokdang n ABSTR the family that live together in one house
nokgaba n PERS landlord, house owner, God
nokhap n PLACE level piece of land on which a house is built
nokhap n ART door
nokhol ~ nokhor n PERS slave
nokhung ~ nukhung ~ nokkhung n ART roof
nokma n PERS village headman, rich man Dakangmi somaido ning sa•gyrai mylbutungchido nokma nogado man•ai sa•gasa, gam pang•gasa nokma mynga. As for the past, when we were small children, a so called nokma was a wealthy person, only someone with a lot of wealth was called nokma.
nokphandai n PLACE bachelors’ house
nokphin- v to return home
Nokphinniba utymdo. They will return home.
noksam n ART wall of a house, the piece of ground where a house is built on Noksamchi simen, tota, tin pirinai hama. They build the walls of their houses with a mix of cement, planks and corrugated iron. Nang• baba noksamchi tangka gopgaba ganangno. Under your father’s house lies buried money, it is said.
noktapa n ANIM type of small gecko that creeps up the walls of houses at night
nokthai n ART small house next to the main house
nokwek n ART broom (for sweeping) nokwek kun thanm three brooms
nokweng n ART floor
nol n ART fenced enclosure
nom- adj1 soft, weak, easy Dam nom•a. It’s cheap. “Raja! Nang• damaw cha•sa ie ang baisigathang pheru tam•nano”
nombo- v to be unconscious, to be tired after eating a lot Tai•sa nombokok. A little while ago he was unconscious. nombok thyibok almost dead
nombol ~ nambal n ABSTR number
nong- v to apply, to put (on the skin or body, like a cream or medicine), to smear, to spread, to crush and smear out Khuchul pisak nongwa lepstik She has put lipstick on her red lips. Ja•ryt chamussang nongaidong. I’m crushing and smearing out the chillies with a spoon.
nono n KIN younger sister. Is also used to talk about or address a related younger female of your generation: cousin, to address a young unrelated female person younger than the speaker.
norok n LOC hell
nosto dong- v to be damaged
nuk- v to see, to look like, to find Uchie phylgym chunggabaaw nukokno. Then he saw a very big eagle, it is said. Je kuy• matsatykiy nuka. This dog looks like a tiger. Sar•banthaigaba noaian tynganchakno. Kan•jotokno.
Morottyki nukanchakno. He did not recognise his so called son, it is said. He was very skinny, it is said. He did not look human any more.  

Nang* Atonggawiaw sylai nukama?  
Do you find Atong girls pretty?

nukham- v to see into the future
nukhu n PLACE courtyard
nukhung ~ nokhung ~ nokkhung n  
ART roof
nygyi n PLACE market
nygylyti n TIME week nygylyti sa tyi ni one week or two Nygylyti rai*agadyrangchi rai*ani. He will come sometime next week.

-nyi ~ -ni encl.phr without Chininchi-cha takbo. Make tea without shugar.

nyi* ~ ni* v to not exist Mamung tangka ni*wa aro sa*na rynqaba ni*wa I don’t have any money and nothing to eat or drink. Ang so*grai ni*wa. I don’t have children.

nyng n KIN aunt: fathers sister
nyng* n PLACE inside
nyng*tyw- v deep

o interj Oh! This interjection can be pronounced long to indicate acknowledgement.

obosta n ACT event
odek n PERS baby
-odo ~ -do encl.phr.cl topic enclitic
ogynang- ~ oknak- ~ oknang- v to be pregnant
ogynanggaba ~ okgynanggaba n  
BODY pregnancy
oi interj interjection to draw someone’s attention
ok n ACT hunger
-ok ~ -ak ~ -k sfx perfective aspect suffix
ogkynanggaba ~ ogynanggaba n  
BODY pregnancy
okha- v to be full after eating
okhi- v to be hungry Mai okhiedok angdo. I’m hungry. Alternative spelling: Mai okhiaidok angdo.

okhynyng- v to break a round hollow object in half (not lengthwise, i.e.

the result is a cross section, see thong*)

okma n BODY the front of the body Nawgabaaw ja*nawgaba okmachi ba*aidok. The elder sister is carrying her younger sister on the front of her body.

okmyng- v to starve
oknak- ~ ogynang- ~ oknang- v to be pregnant

oktobyl n TIME October
ol- v to speak, talk
oltho ~ ortho n ABSTR meaning
-ona ~ -na encl.phr.cl dative enclitic
ong n ANIM wasp
ong*ang n ANIM big edible frog
ongang n ANIM type of frog
opis ~ ophis n PLACE office
opiser ~ ophiser n PERS officer
ortho ~ oltho n ABSTR meaning
Ostyralia n PLACE Australia
oto n ART auto rickshaw
otorewain n ACT auto rewind
otyk n PLACE bottom of ravine or cliff

pa*- adj1 low, plain, flat, thin (of things)

pa* v to perch Sympak cunggabachi phylgym pa*ai nur*sa*wa*a*wa. The eagle is perching in a sympak tree.

pa* vsec to dare San nidyrang dong*phinaidok, nang* noksang rai*anado pa*chong*motchaaidokkhon” nookno. It has been two days and maybe he really does not dare to come to your house.

pai- v to carry by hand Banggal myng* sa biskut chrymbiai paiaidonganote. A Bengal is carrying a heavy load of biscuits. Ue alsia rajae jykba myng* ni kymanoro. Ytykiymyng jykba myng* nian sa*naba jyk paithumna nangano, jywnaba jyk paina nangano. That lazy king was married to two wives, it is said. So then, as for these wives, the two of them, when he eats his wives have
to carry him on their hands, and when he sleeps his wives have to carry him on their hands, it is said.

**pai-** *vdat* to support, to tolerate *Angkhola rangsanna paicha*. My skin does not tolerate the sun. *Uchisamatana makbulna mongmana paichaaimung byldyng byldang jalna hambachengok*. Then, not bearing the bears and elephants any more, they started to run away all over the place.

**paiba** ~ **pakyra** *n* PLANT stalk of a fruit, cord for *kukuri*

**pal** *n* ART flower

**palak** *n* ART bamboo spoon: piece of bamboo split in half and used to stir

**palengma** *n* PLANT *Barebina-xariegata*, tree with beautiful white flowers that smell very nice like magnolia and are edible

**palong** *n* ART bed

**pan** *clf* classifier for apparatus, appliances, mechanical and electrical things, cars, bikes, bicycles, mortars and umbrellas

**garipan** one car

**redipan** one radio

**pan** one *satha pan* one TV, *asampan tham* three mortars

**panylag** *n* PLANT tree, firewood

**pantik** *n* ART slingshot

**panyrayak** *v* to cut breadth wise

**panachol** *n* PLANT mushroom (not edible)

**panbai** *n* PLANT firewood

**panchak** *n* PLANT leaf

**panchoka** *n* PLANT small log

**panchong** *n* PLANT tree trunk

**panchung** *n* PLANT jackfruit

**panchungchongsu** *n* ANIM type of black hairy caterpillar that lives on jackfruit trees

**panyksi** *n* PLANT twig

**panyrak** *n* KIN elder brother. Is also used to address an older male
cousin or a man older than the speaker.

**pawai n** ART bowl or its volume, bowlful classifier for curries

“Atong ja•bek sa•ak?” “Alu na•saw pawai sa, taw• khirip pawai sa.” “What curry did you eat?” “Potatoes with fermented fish and chicken with khirip.”

**pawdyr n** SUBST powder, baby powder

**peel ~ pheel dong~ ~ dong** v to fail

*Ge•theng lekha nemai poreancha, ytykyimu poreka peel dong•ok.* He did not study the book well, so then he failed his exam.

-pek encl.phr distributive enclitic

**pek- v** to be drunk **pekok drunk**

**peket clf** classifier for packets

*Sigyret peket sa ganangkhuama?* Do you still have a packet of cigarettes?

**peking ~ pheking n** ACT luggage, packing

**pel- v** to fuck

**pelang- ~ peleng- v** to deflate

**pen n** ART pen

**peng- v** to prevent, to block, to hinder

**peng•- v** to curse **Takgaba Rywgabasang Phatigaba**

**Rarongabasang phalthang peng•ai tananggabaaw ra•phinkha•na dengetkha•na.** The supreme god wanted to lift the curse that he himself had put [on the village].

**pereng- adj1** straight

-**peret avsp** to V open, to V so that it splits (open)

**peret- v** to split, to cut in half, to crack, to explode

**pering- v** to be straight

**pering tongtong adv** straight

-**pha evsp** V also, V in addition, V along with, V together (S/O quantifier)

**pha• v** to dare “Noksang rai•naba pha•phinchaaaidok. Jebadong anga takruksyanganarina.” Matsami cha•phungaw wang•joloknoaro, alsia rajae. “I don’t dare to go home. Anyway, I will just fight to the end” He bit the tiger on the thigh, it is said, the lazy king.

**pha•at- ~ pha•et- v** to apply, to put on, to put on a wound, to apply to a wound Sambanggyri aikaio kno, tokkedepaimu pha•atokno. He plucked sambanggyr, crushed it and put it on the wound, it is said. *Jyw•gaba sa•garaiaw di•thap pha•etaidonga.* The mother is putting a diper on the child.

**phagongma ~ phagungma n** BODY shoulder

**phai• v** to break, to translate

**pha•thong- v** to break a solid object in half (not lengthwise, i.e. the result is a cross section, see thong•)

**phaikanana ~ paikhana n** PLACE toilet

**phaithawa n** BODY cheek

**phak clf** classifier for halves of objects cut lengthwise

**phak n** SHAPE side, half which is the result of a longitudinal section or a cut along the length

-**phak evsp** V lengthwise, V for a little while, V by the side of something

**phak- v** to throw out, to empty

**phakphaklak- v** to spill

**phakset- v** to throw away (for solid substances and things)

**phakwal n** BODY armpit

**phal n** PLACE share, shift of work, instead of

*Ang re•engsigama nang•mi phal? Shall I go instead of you?*

**phal- v** to sell Ang ie narykhel te•en ny glysang raangaimyng phalni. I will bring these coconuts to the market and sell them later.

**phal•ak n** ART piece of old cloth used to clean things

**phal•ap n** PERS whore, prostitute

**phalthang ppron** self

**phalthangthang ppron** selves

**phan clf** classifier for trees; classifier for food packed in bundles in **rai•chak pan phan sa** one tree

**phang clf** classifier for grass, trees and flowers **narang phang sa** one
orange tree  *narang rong sa* one orange

**phangnan**  *adv* always, never

*Phangnan rupek murgabachido tyi ganang.* There is always water where there are frogs. *Thawgaba symgaba phangnan sa•rongchagaba jilami bistudyrangaw raai hym•aimung khasin khasin gumukawan palyngchi jalbagadyrangaw jykthangthangaw jumuphynaakno.*

Having brought and given tasty and sweet things from the district which are usually never eaten, they slowly recollected all their husbands who had run away into the jungle, it is said.

**phangphyll**  *adj2* upside down

*phangphyllok* to be turned over, to be upside down

**phanthai**  *n* PLANT type of sour fruit

**phas**  *n* ABSTR the first one

**phasa**  *adv* first *Phasaga ha•haw•chenga. Umungsa ha• haw•aimungsa wa•cham tan•a.*

First we clear the jungle. Then, having cleared the jungle, we cut the old rice stalks.

**phat**  *clf* classifier for clothes

**phat•v** to chuck away, to throw out

**phathi**  *v* to bless, to bestow upon

**phatsai**  *n* ART woman’s dress

**phe•ep ~ phe•ep**  *n* PLANT banyan tree

**phebaw**  *n* PERS person with a swollen cheek

**phebuar**  *n* TIME February

**pheel ~ peel dong**  *v* to fail

*Ge•theng lekha nemai poreancha, ytykyimu poreka peel dong•ok.* He did not study the book well, so then he failed his exam.

**phek**  *clf* classifier for smaller branches of trees *dala phek sa* one branch

**pheking ~ peking**  *n* ACT luggage, packing

**phel**  *clf* classifier for flat baked things and coins *barata phel sa* one

**phel**  *v* to swell up

**phet**  *v* to arrive (at), to reach, to come out of the water, to emerge

*Ytykyimyng ue raja nygylchina phetokno.* So then the king arrived at/reached the market, it is said.

*Ytykyimyng jenete rajamyng noksang phetangokno.* So then he somehow reached the house of the king, it is said.

**-phetphet**  *evsp* V repeatedly

**phi**  *v* to invite *Beanbebe montyridyrnga Bilaw phina takyi hongkotangthokokno.* The ministers truly all went out to invite Bil, it is said.

**philm**  *n* ART film, movie

**phing**  *v* to be full *Gylaschi tyi phingok.* The glass is full of water. *Gylas phingok, diphingna man•chaka. The glass is full; you cannot fill it any more.*

*Nang•mi kha•thong bangbang dong•chido ang phingetni.* (Samrat N Marak) If your heart is empty, I will fill it.

**phing**  *v* to fill

**phingpyryt**  *v* to be overfull

**pho•ot ~ phot**  *n* ANIM mythical black amphibian like a salamander

**phok**  *v* to swell, to lift up

**phok**  *v* to uproot, to pluck

**phone ~ phoon**  *n* ART/ACT telephone, telephone call *Angna phone kha•etboto!* Call me (on the phone)!

**phong**  *clf* classifier for cylindrical objects and for long sharp or pointy objects

**phong**  *n* ART wooden handle of big knives, axes and spears

**phong**  *n* ART fire place for cooking
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>ATONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>phong•thu</strong> n</td>
<td>ART fire place for cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phoren</strong> n</td>
<td>PERS/PLACE white person, foreigner, foreign country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phot ~ po•ot</strong> n</td>
<td>ANIM mythical black amphibian like a salamander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phuchul</strong> n</td>
<td>ANIM big water reptile that can eat humans Kha Dawa nochachido phuchul ra•arianoro. If you don’t say “Kha Dawa” the phuchul will get you, it is said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phuruk-</strong> v</td>
<td>to become uprooted Bildo kyryiaimyng pandyrangchi psy•chiba panba baariokno, wa•chi psy•chiba wa•ba phurukariokno. As for Bil, because he was afraid, when he held on to the trees, the trees would break, when he held on to bamboo, the bamboo would just become uprooted, it is said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phuthi</strong> n</td>
<td>ANIM type of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phyl-</strong> v</td>
<td>to transform, to change into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phyt-</strong> v</td>
<td>to slice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phywra</strong> n</td>
<td>FOOD rice powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pi•-</strong> v</td>
<td>to ask, to beg, to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pisak</strong> adj2</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pipuk</strong> n</td>
<td>BODY belly, intestines, bowels, stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pirin-</strong> v</td>
<td>to mix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>piryt</strong> n</td>
<td>BODY gall bladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>poop</strong> n</td>
<td>FOOD triangular pastry eaten with tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>porai- ~ pore-</strong> v</td>
<td>to read; to study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>poram-</strong> v</td>
<td>to fly over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>porika</strong> n</td>
<td>ACT exam, examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puksuk</strong> n</td>
<td>BODY waist, side of the body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puktyng</strong> n</td>
<td>BODY small intestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pung</strong> n</td>
<td>ART granary, rice stock house Mai bytwamyngdo pungchina songchina khairata. We carry the rice harvest down to the rice stock house, to the village.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
purun n ANIM goat
pusipusi interj interjection to call a cat
puspus interj interjection to call a cat
pyuikhyrep v to crush with your hand
pyi•- ~ pyi- v to touch, to grasp Uchie songmyng morotmyng jyrym thymaimyng Theng•thonaw raw•okno pyigoropokno. Then the people of the village, having quietly lain in ambush, caught Theng•thon, they grasped him all together, it is said.
pyi•khap- v to catch
pyi•ram- v to feel for, to search by feeling
pyikhep- v to hold firmly
pyiru- v to collapse
pyi•yw- v to sow seeds by scattering them
-pyl evsp V rapidly
pylang adj2 flat Ytykyimyng te•edo amak get•thengdo rong• pelang sylgabachi kepleplep bamai hyn•takkonoa. So then, now the monkey, as for him, he willingly lay down stretched out on his belly on a flat stone, it is said.
pyleng- ~ pyleng ~ pyl•eng v to be fat Gari bengbylokaw depylengok, ytykyimu bengbyloke pylengok. The car flattened the toad so the toad was flat.
pyn•- adj1 dense, thick
pyn•- v to pack, to wrap up, to pack in a banana leaf, to cook in a banana leaf
pyndap- v to cover
-pyrak evsp V and cut
pyrap- v to be too salty
pyru- ~ pyryw- v to pierce, to make a hole in something
pyryi- v to be mature
-pyryt evsp over-V
pyryw adj2 to have a hole in it (of walls)
py•- v to wrap neatly as a present
pyw- v to fly
pywgak- v to crash (in flight)

pywtaw- v to jump over something Muraaw ang pywtawa. I jump over the small stool.
ra procl Give!
ra- v to bring, give
ra•- v to get, buy, take “Nang• ie tupi bimi ra•ak?” “Turami ra•ak.” “Where have you bought that cap?” “I bought it in Tura.” Ang nang•aw bebe ra•cha. ‘I don’t believe you.’ Wa•mi jyw•mi balgabaaw katha ra•chagabae anga ytykgachina dong•ok. Because I did not listen to the words of my parents, I have become like this.
ra•ang- v to take away
ra•sak- v to welcome Nang•tym angaw tyichi typratwaba nemariok aro koksep chungkhuna nang•achym. Wa•tyng tyngphekna ma•su manghep hyn•wa, gumak-gamak angna ma•su mang raja sa hyn•etwa angnado aro tyinyng•sangba navmyl sylsylgabasa ra•saksawa. You threw me into the water and that was good, and I should have had a bigger koksep. For every bamboo strip they gave me a cow and in all they gave me one hundred cows and inside the water only beautiful girls welcomed me.
ra•sek- v to snatch
ra•sek- v to accept, to receive Angdo myng•sa agrai ra•sakchawa. I will not accept/receive more than one person.
raani ~ rani n PERS queen, also used to call your daughter when she is a little child, like in English ‘little princess’
Rabuga n PERS god who created the world according to ancient religion
rai n PLANT reed
rai•- v to go; to come Hai, rai•naka Come on, let’s go. Kynsangdo matsado morotsyn man•aimyng rai•wilokno alisia rajado. Later, after the tiger had smelled the scent of a human, it walked in circles, it
is said, around the lazy king.
Maisanaw sa•na re•engbutungchi
sa•butungchi Nepal myng• sa boba
takgaba rai•awanoro. While they
were leaving to eat lunch, a crazy
Nepali came, it is said.

rai•a- v to come Phorenmi morot
rai•adonga, phorensangmi
rai•aidonga. Foreign people are
coming, they come from foreign
countries. “Angdo hanep
nang•sang re•engni.” “Rai•abo.”
“I will go/come to your place
tomorrow.” “Come.”

rai•byt- v to carry around
rai•chak n ART big leaf used to pack
food
rai•ganggang- v to go/drive/ride over
things on a bumpy road Rong•aw
rai•ganggangwa. I bumped over a
stone while going.

rai•phak- v to hit with your elbow
while walking
rai•sotwa n ACT shortcut
rai•tyng n ART washing line, clothes
line rai•tyng tyng tham three
washing lines
rai•wil- v to walk around something
raidi n PLANT turmeric
raithai n PLANT tree with thorns on
its stem
raityng n ART line (to dry clothes on)
raityng n PLANT cane
raja n PERS king
raja num hundred raja sa one hundred
rak- adj1 hard, difficult, loud, glottal
stop
raka n ACT glottal stop
rakhi- v to guard, to keep
rakhigaba n PERS caretaker
raki- vdat to protect, to guard against
Ning har•bachi mongmana amakna
mai sa•niwana rakiarong. We are
protecting our dry rice and
vegetable field against elephants
and monkeys so that we will eat
rice.

ram n PLACE road, way, path ram
chol tham three roads, paths, ways

-ram evsp V inadvertently, V
unintentionally, V fortuitously, V
because of the situation
ram- v to dry in the sun, to put in the
sun to dry Garu balagachi ramai
tanaimuna, ha•basang ha•kamma
re•engokno. After she had put
the mustard leaves outside to dry in the
sun, she went to work in the rice
field, it is said.

ram- v to search, to want
ramram adj2 ordinary, normal Ie
ramram dong•cha. This is not
normal. Bai•sigathangmaran tyi
dukungokno. Na•do
ramramanchakno. The friends
dammed the water. There was
plenty of fish.

-ramram evsp V normally, V
naturally, V commonly
ramrantyi n BODY sweat
ran- adj1 to be dry
randai n FOOD meat, flesh, body
rang n ART type of drum (instrument)
rang n GEO rain Rang waaidong. It’s
raining. Rang nemok. The rain has
stopped. “Rang nemchengama
na•nang chyw jamchenga” noai
rangmu chyw ryngsusai range san
chi byri wawano. “Will the rain
stop first or will we finish our
liquor first?” they said and while
competing in drinking with the
rain, the rain fell for fourteen days,
it is said.

rang•set- v to breathe
rangbrym n GEO cloud
rangbryrm- v to be shrouded
in/blacked by clouds Rangbrym
rangbrymaidong, rang
wanikhon. The sun is blocked by
the clouds, it might rain.

rangchinek n GEO cloud
rangdylekpa n GEO lightning
ranggorai n ANIM macaque. Monkey
with a long tail, brown body and a
red face.

rangra n GEO sky
rangsan n GEO/TIME sun, day
rani ~ raani n PERS queen, also used to call your daughter when she is a little child, like in English ‘little princess’

rap- v to thatch, to roof

-rara encl.phr exclusively, only, among, amongst

rasong n ACT boasting, praise Rasong manai takokno usa, chungchunggarangsa, udo phyelgymawdokoonggaba kawwano. The eldest ones boasted a lot (about themselves) although it had been the younger brother who had shot the eagle, it is said.

rasun n PLANT onion rasun pibok garlic rasun pisak red onion rasun tyisuk type of onion

-rat evsp V downward

rat- v to throw Matsa rong ratwa. A tiger threw a stone.

ratat- v to take out

ratsok- v to miss the mark

raw• adj1 tall, long

raw• v to catch Changba bydyi myng• sa khen• rawarong Somebody, an old man, is catching crabs. Uchie songmyng morotmyng jyrum thymaimyng Theng•thonaw raw•okno pyigoropokno. Then the people of the village, having quietly lain in ambush, caught Theng•thon, they grasped him all together, it is said.

raw•reng- adj1 slender and long

raw•soksok- v to fail to catch

-rawraw evsp continue to V

rawsykot- v to slip out of the hand

re• v to go, to go away, to leave

Having put the mustard leaves outside to dry, she went to the ha•ba to weed. Hanep na•nang myng• ni Turasang re•engine. Tomorrow the two of us will go to Tura, OK? “Angdo hanep nang•sang re•engni.” “Rai•abo.” “I will gocome to your place tomorrow.” “Come.”

redio n ART radio

reel n ART train, rail

rek n PLANT banana tree

rekhep n PLANT type of huge beans

rekhep- v to be dry (of plants), to be wrinkled (of person)

rekkun n PLANT banana flower

rekphang n PLANT banana tree

rekphul n PLANT non-edible banana flower

rekthai n PLANT banana

relgari ~ reelgari n ART train

rens n ART wrench

repa chepa adv in various places

ret n ACT children’s game played in a grid. There are hunters who may only move along the lines of the grid. The other children have to try to cross the grid without being touched by a hunter.

rewet n PLACE riverside, riverbank

-ri ~ -ryi encl.phr without, privative enclitic

ri• n BODY penis ri• goi• ni two penises

ri•ambanthai n BODY gland of the penis

ri•baw n PERS person with one testicle bigger than the other

ri•gan•thong n BODY erect penis, erection, hard-on Nangchi ri•gan•thong ganang. You have an erection/ a hard-on.

ri•gol n BODY penis (used as swearword for men), dick

ri•karan ~ ri•keren n BODY testicle, balls, scrotum ri•karan rong ni two balls, testicles

ri•khu•chul n BODY foreskin

ri•kun n BODY glans penis, dickhead
ri•myn n BODY male pubic hair
ri•pan n ART a short dress that women wear around the waist
ri•ros n BODY sperm, semen
ri•sokop n BODY scrotum
ri•tyi ~ ri•ti n BODY sperm, semen
rijap n PLACE forest reserve
rimirimi adv used in the expression Mykren rimirimi takaidong. My eyes are closing because I’m so tired.
rimyl- adj1 slippery
rin- v to keep as domestic animal
ring n PLANT taro, type of edible tuber
ringaba n ART place where you keep a domestic animal
ringaba n ART fishery
riphi- ~ ryphi- v to plaster (with a mix of clay and cow dung)
riprip- v to rub
roal n PLACE (lower) primary school
robol n ART/ACT football, soccer
robolphil ~ robolpil n PLACE football field, football field, playground
rochok n ART picket, pole
rochong n PLANT tree stump
-rogoi encl.phr alternative enclitic
rok- v to shave Ka•myn• rokai matok. I cut myself while shaving my beard.
rokhom n ABSTR shape, type
rokset- v to wipe off
romthom- v to be spherical Robol romthoma. A football is round.
rong clf classifier for small round objects, money, small stones, seeds, stones in a game (when they have a value) and fruits, default classifier for counting buchuot rong sa one mango tangka rong chek ten rupees
rong n GEO colour
-rong evsp usually V
rong• n GEO stone rong• that sa one stone rong• rong sa one small round stone in a game
rong•cheret n GEO pebble size stone
rong•chun n SUBST lime stone (in rock form)
rong•chung n GEO big rock
rong•chung that sa one rock, one big stone
rong•chynret n GEO very small stone
rong•dep- v to crush with a stone
rong•gyrym ~ rong•rymrym adj2 GEO being full of big rocks, stony land le ram ronggyrymrama, angdo rai•chawa. This road is full of big stones, I will not go.
rong•ka n PLACE cliff
rong•khali n PLACE space under a stone lichi rong•khalchi khen• ganangthelnaba ganang. Here in the spaces under the stones there are river crabs for sure.
rong•khol n GEO cave
rong•misi n GEO very small stone, to be covered by a stone
rong•patal n GEO big rock
rong•phek n GEO a grain of sand or very small stone
rong•rymrym ~ rong•gyrym adj2 GEO being full of big rocks, stony land le ram ronggyrymrama, angdo rai•chawa. This road is full of big stones, I will not go.
rong•sa n ART whetstone, flat stone for sharpening knives or edged tools
rong•syrek n GEO small stone
rong•thai n GEO a rock
rong•thyk n GEO a big rock
rong•thyk n GEO a big rock
rongmyng- v to shuffle cards
-rongreng evsp V while spinning around
rongthala- adj1 clean
rongthala- adj1 clean
rongtyk n ART large clay pot to keep rice in, rice pot
ronok- adj1 smooth
rophil- ~ rophyl- v to joke
ros n BODY/PLANT/ FOOD sperm, semen, juice (of meat and fruit)
rot- v to boil (something in water)
rubibal n TIME Sunday
ruchut- v to join, to connect “Sala burbok sa•gyrai na•a ningaw
halakha•gabaai” noaimungna bunduk ra•asetetaimungna uaw sa•gyraiw gadakchichiokno. Gadakchichiainuna singsingkholsang typsetyi tanangokno, typsetyi tanangokno. [...] Ytykyimuna uba ruchutethiriaimungna ra•aronganoro. “Damn you stupid child who disturbed us!” they said and they took out their guns and smashed the child into pieces, it is said. Having smashed him up, they threw him into a deep hole in the ground and left him there, it is said. [...] But then it came (home) back after it had joined together again, it is said.

ryk- v to chase, to herd Sa•gyrai ma•su rykarok. The children are herding the cows. “Tai•ni kakai sa•chongmotnaka” noaimyng rykaidokno magachakaw banggale. “Today I will really devour it”, the Bengal said and chased the deer, it is said.

rym- v to cook
rymkhap- v to cook without mai•tyi ~ mai•ti Ango ja•bek runkhapni. I will cook curry without mai•tyi ~ mai•ti.

rymreng rymreng adv dazed
rymyt adj2 yellow, orange
ryng- v to drink Tyi ryngbo. Drink water. Sigyret ryngbo. Smoke a cigarette.
rynghe- v to sing
ryngkhaw- v to drink sneakily
ryngkhele- v to drink for fun
ryp- v to dive, to be/stay under water, to immerse, to submerge Ytykyimyng magachakdo biskutaw tyisamchi tanaimyng chaw! thorokangokno. Thorokangaimyng hawtyi rypokno magachake. Bewal rypaimyng phetaakno. So then, the deer, having put the biscuits on the river bank, splash! jumped in, it is said. Having jumped in, he stayed under water for some time, it is said, the deer. Having stayed under water for some time, he emerged, it is said.

ryphi- ~ riphi- v to plaster (with a mix of clay and cow dung) Nok riphiaidong. I’m plastering the (floor of) the house.

sa interj interjection to chase away a chicken
**sa num** one, a/an

Combined with the attributive suffix, the form *sagaba* ~ *saga* can mean 'first', or 'one…the other'. *Ue gawichi sa•myng•korok ganangnororo aro de•theng pipukchi ganangkhua myng•sa.* That woman had six children, it is said, and in her belly she had one more. *Uchie Ramirez pheru mang sa gorongwano.* Then the first fool saw another fool, it is said.

---

**sa•banthai** n KIN son. Is also used to talk about the male children of my elder or younger brother.

**sa•dap-** v to spill, to take more and more

**sa•gyrai** n PERS child, *sa•gyrai odek* baby *Sa•gryaiwana khynchawa.* Because she's a child I will not marry her.

**sa•khaw-** v to steal "*Hai bai•siga biskut sa•khawna*” noaidongano. “Come on, my friend, let’s steal the biscuits”, he said, it is said.

**sa•khele-** v to eat for fun

**sa•lak-** v to lick

**sa•mynchyk** n KIN daughter. Is also used to talk about the male children of my elder or younger brother.

**sa•nala ~ sa•nyl-** vdat to be jealous of

*Ge•theng angna sa•nala.* He’s jealous of me. *Ge•theng angna jama sa•nyla,* He’s jealous of my shirt.

**sa•rong** adj2 to be of the same age

**sa•thup** n BODY uterus, womb

**sa•tyra** n PERS child without father

**sabun** n ART soap *sabun thut ni* two bars of soap

**sadu** n KIN brother-in-law; the relation of men who married women that are sisters, *sadu chunggaba* the elder brother of a *sadu sadu mylgaba* the younger brother of a *sadu*

**sagal** n GEO sea

**sai** n PERS husband

**sai-** v to write

**sai-** v to choose, to select, to elect

**sai- ~ sa•** v to set as a trap, to set in place, to do *Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno.* They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.

**saido** n ART fishing line

**saigon** n PLANT teak tree

**saigyn** n ACT the third weeding of the *ha•ba Mai ka•manwumungsa ha•jagara kama. Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kynsange jakun kama.* Jakun kamaimungsa

---

**-sa** encl.phr.cl delimitative enclitic

**sa-** v to be ill, sick *dykym sa- to have malaria*

**sa-** v to set in place as a trap

**sa- ~ sai-** v to set as a trap, to set in place, to do *Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno.* They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.

**sa•** n PERS child

**sa•** v to eat *Maijyreng sa•cha, wakna.* You don’t eat dried rice, it’s for the pigs. *Darai warem sa•ak.* The sword has rusted. *Ge•theng gol sa•ak.* He has got/kicked a goal (in football). *Mamathanggaba sa•mynchygana khyrethangaw ra•ai sa•naka.* Mother’s brother will marry his daughter to her cousin. *Song damsachi morot man•ai sa•gaba ganangnochym.* In a village lived a rich man. (Literally ‘a man who eats in great amounts’). *Ge•thengdo morot wa•sa•agaba.* He is a tough person. (Literally ‘He is a person who eats bamboo). *Nang•e bichi krismas sa•nima?* Where will you celebrate Christmas?

---

**sa•banthai** n KIN son. Is also used to talk about the male children of my elder or younger brother.

**sa•dap-** v to spill, to take more and more

**sa•gyrai** n PERS child, *sa•gyrai odek* baby *Sa•gryaiwana khynchawa.* Because she’s a child I will not marry her.

**sa•khaw-** v to steal "*Hai bai•siga biskut sa•khawna*” noaidongano. “Come on, my friend, let’s steal the biscuits”, he said, it is said.

**sa•khele-** v to eat for fun

**sa•lak-** v to lick

**sa•mynchyk** n KIN daughter. Is also used to talk about the male children of my elder or younger brother.

**sa•nala ~ sa•nyl-** vdat to be jealous of

*Ge•theng angna sa•nala.* He’s jealous of me. *Ge•theng angna jama sa•nyla,* He’s jealous of my shirt.

**sa•rong** adj2 to be of the same age

**sa•thup** n BODY uterus, womb

**sa•tyra** n PERS child without father

**sabun** n ART soap *sabun thut ni* two bars of soap

**sadu** n KIN brother-in-law; the relation of men who married women that are sisters, *sadu chunggaba* the elder brother of a *sadu sadu mylgaba* the younger brother of a *sadu*

**sagal** n GEO sea

**sai** n PERS husband

**sai-** v to write

**sai-** v to choose, to select, to elect

**sai- ~ sa•** v to set as a trap, to set in place, to do *Ja•ga saakno uchie, taw• pang•ai banokno.* They set traps and then caught many birds, it is said.

**saido** n ART fishing line

**saigon** n PLANT teak tree

**saigyn** n ACT the third weeding of the *ha•ba Mai ka•manwumungsa ha•jagara kama. Ha•jagara kamaisa kamaimung kynsange jakun kama.* Jakun kamaimungsa
Having planted the rice, we weed the land for the first time. Having cleared the weeds for the first time, we will clear them for a second time. Having weeded the land for a second time, in October or November we do a third weeding. Then, when the rice is ripe, we celebrate the new rice festival.

sainokga(ba) n PERS author
saip ~ saep n PERS European, white person, British military commander
sajin n BODY illness that makes everything taste bitter
-sak evsp V appropriately
sak- adj1 red
sak- v to fit
sak- v to make a rope by rubbing thread between your hands
sak- v to bear, to persevere, to endure, to enjoy, to hold out, to be patient, to suffer Rangsan sakna man•chaaimyng nokchi dang•ok. Not being able to bear the sun any more, he went into the house.

“Gong•wanasa balwa sakai mu•arong” noatakokno amakba. “I’m just sitting here enjoying the wind Na•a ie sastiaw rakna man•chido jokangni. If you can endure this punishment, you will be freed. Because a leech bit him on the foot, he crushed sambanggyri and put it on the wound.

sam- v to wait Mosa na•a sambota. Hyn•niba nang•na te•en. Hey friend, wait! I will give it to you, ok, later.

samalmaisirong n ANIM very small type of ant
samanggyri n PLANT type of small plant
sambanggyri n PLANT medicinal plant that stops bleeding. U•ching cha•aw kakaimu, sambanggyri tokdepdeipimu pha•wa. Because a leech bit him on the foot, he crushed sambanggyri and put it on the wound.

samchak n FOOD vegetable
samkong n PLANT high grass
samsai n PLANT low grass
samsi n PLANT grass
samsin n BODY abscess, boil
san n TIME day Range san chi bri wawano. The rain fell for fourteen days, it is said.

san- v to put in a bag
sanarai n ANIM centipede
**sandis** - v to inquire, to search for “Abu, angdo dadaparaaw sandiedongachym” nookno. “Ha? Dadaparaaw? Nag• dadaparado usang phylgym chunggaaw kawna re•engwanote. “Grandma, I am searching in vain for my elder brothers” he said. “Huh? Your elder brothers? Your elder brothers went that way to shoot the big eagle!”

**sang** bound side, place (see also sangphak) cha•masang downstream, bottom of a hill kambaisang ~ khambaisang upstream, top of a hill

-sang encl.phr mobilitative/instrumental enclitic

**sang** - v to burn je pan nemai sangni. This wood will burn well.

**sangori** n GEO fog

**sangphak ~ samphak** bound side isangphak this side ha•byrisangphak that side Ytykyimuna kambaisangmi dinggaraii chaichiba, uchiba na•an ni•okno. Uchiba matdam sa•akno uawba. Ytykyimuna san thongsachinado sathiriokno. Sathiriaimungna umi chaithirichiba, ba•, matdam sa•akno, aro kynsang ga•samsangphak chaithirichi uawba matdam sa•akno. So then, whenever he went to inspect the fish trap, then there were no fish, it is said. An otter had eaten it. So then, he set his traps out in the river again for half the day, it is said. Having set out the traps, when he later inspected them again, well, the fish had all been eaten, it is said, and later, when he looked again in the evening, an otter had eaten them again. it is said.

**sangwal** - v to forget

**sannaj** n TIME noon, midday

**sanyra** n ANIM centipede

**sap** - v to swoop down (of birds of prey)

**sap** - vsec to know a skill Bildo te•ewba gore dungna sapchanotyi. Bil does not know how to ride a horse, it is said to my surprise.

**saphairam** n PLANT type of medicinal plant

**saphang** n ACT first rice harvest (in August)

**saphaw** n ANIM rabbit

**sapset** - v to drain piseri sapsetbo drain the fish-tank

**saram** n ACT new rice offering festival in which the first rice is offered to the gods or spirits.

**saram** n FOOD dry rice grains Saram syw•ai sa•a. Dry rice grains are flattened (by pounding them with an asam in an aman, and eaten.

**saraw** - v to borrow Bengmi tangka sarawni angdo. I will borrow money from the bank. Ang nang•na tangka sarawai hy•ni. I will lend you the money.

**sasti** n ACT punishment Sa•khawchido na•a sasti man•ni. If you steal, you will be punished.

**sat** clf classifier for bundles garu sat tham three bundles of mustard

**sat** - v to spill

**sat** - v to hit with a stick or bat, to cut with a sword

**sat** - v to flush out

**satha ~ sytha** n ART umbrella satha khung byryi four umbrellas

**sathup** n PERS sick person

**satkap** - v to curse at (use bad words)

**satpyret** - v to hit with the open hand

-saw evsp V expectantly, V and wait, keep V-ing, V and stay, V patiently, V certainly

**saw** - v to be rotten

**saw** - v to curse at (use bad words)

**saw** - v to dig Nokdanggumuk gopram saw•wa habryi nalsasang. The whole family dug graves at the other side of the hill. Uchie Theng•thon khudalsang hu•aw saw•aidongano. Saw•aidongano, thyw•angaidokno, cha•kyw chyigkydarangdo. Then
Theng•thon is digging in the ground with a chopper, it is said. He is digging and he is getting deep, it is said, about ten knees deep.

saw*\textsuperscript{-} v to burn, to roast on the hot ashes of the fire

Nokphandaidayrangaw saw*\textsuperscript{-}aimung nok phandai do*khakhuchi khachapai tangaba mongma wa dora byryi dong*gabaaw ra*ai jalangokno. Having burnt the bachelors’ houses, they took the 20 KG weighing elephant tusks which were tied to the do*khakhu and ran away, it is said. Ramchi agal saw*\textsuperscript{-}gaba ganang. On the road is a burning forest fire. Ja*ryt saw*\textsuperscript{-}ai, mantaw saw*\textsuperscript{-}ai, mai*chengmung na*alamming thiksa berengai sa*\textsuperscript{a}. We roast the chilli pepper, we roast the brinjal and cook it until it is well done with mai*cheng (a type of leafy green) and na*lam (a type of fish) in a bamboo cylinder and eat it.

saw\textsuperscript{myk}-v to smell rotten, to smell foul

saw\textsuperscript{saw}-v be able to cause a burning sensation

sawel n PLANT type of vegetable

sawkun n ANIM vulture

sawn n ACT sound

sawthal n PERS dirty person, person who never washes

sawyl n PLANT type of vegetable

-sega ~ -siga evsp V in turn, (alternative suffix)

-sek evsp to V and steal

sekari n ART pin lock

sel- v to leak Tenkimi mobil selarong. Oil is leaking from the tank.

sel*- v to pour

selsoksok v to masturbate, to wank, to jack off, to jerk off, to whack off Ri* selsoksokni angdo. I will wank.

selu n ANIM cockroach

-seme evsp V reluctantly

sendel ~ sendyl n ART sandal, sendel jora ni two sandals

sene num seven

seng- adj1 clever, intelligent

seng- v to shine, to dawn, to become light Wal sengwachi Sijunyglysang re*engni. At dawn we will go to Siju market.

seng*- v to shine

seng*- v to bother by misbehaving

seng*sot- v to abbreviate Ue ha*byriawe seng*sotai Matsa Chang*kui myngsigaariok. That mountain is just called Matsa Chang*kui for short.

sengki n PLANT type of fruit

sengsyp n ANIM type of small fish

sentimityr clf centimetre

sep- v to be stuck Wang\textsuperscript{ai} sa\textsuperscript{chido abongrandai wa*chi sephi. If I eat the cob windingly the corn will get stuck between my teeth.

sep- v to wring, to squeeze out

sepjyrot- v to wring

sepsep- v to masturbate, to wank, to jack off, to jerk off, to whack off Ri* sepsepni angdo. I will wank.

septembyl n TIME September

serabera n SUBST dirt serabera tak-to be dirty Ang longpen rai*tyngmi gal*aimu serabera takthiriok. Because my trousers have fallen off the clothes line they have become dirty again.

serek n ABSTR surface,

serek n PLACE balcony of a rice field house

serekmyk n MSRE the length of one forearm

serem- ~ salam- ~ selem- ~ saram v to break/tear easily, to be easily damaged Ie mudupan serema. This papaya tree breaks easily.

serembut n ANIM type of fish

-set evsp V and do away with, V and dispose of, V away

si- v to starve Ang pi*sachi amapara babapara kanggal dong*wana sa*a siwa. When I was a child, because my mother and father and their families were poor, we starved for food. kha*thong si- to feel pity
Angdo ue sa•gyraina kha•thong sia. I feel pity for that child.

si- v to peel
si•v to sharpen (a pointy object)
si•wil- v to carve, to sharpen a pointy object
sidikeset n ART CD, compact disc
-siga ~ -sega evsp V in turn,
(alternative suffix)
sigyret n FOOD cigarette
Sijyw n PLACE Siju
sik- v to scratch, to pinch
sikol n ART a chain
siksik- v to scrape, to rub
silongket n PLANT Shillong tree
simen n SUBST cement
singho n ANIM lion
sipyling ~ spyling n ACT spelling
Atong khu•chukmyng sipyling/spyling rakancha. The spelling of the Atong language is not difficult.
siri ~ suri n SUBST snow
sirong n BODY scrotum
sit interj interjection to chase a cat away
sirong n BODY scrotum
sit interj interjection to chase a cat away
so•re n SUBST mica
so•sorot- v to slip Ramchi so•sorotok. I slipped on the road.
soal- ~ sual- v to divide, to share
Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•rynaw sowalni. The whole village gathers and will divide the ha•ba parcel by parcel. Je ha•ryn ni•gababado uan soalrukai haw•a. As for those who do not have a plot, those mutually share and clear the land.
sojana n PLANT type of long thin vegetable
sok n PLANT the new young leaves of a plant (but not a tree) or vegetable, a shoot, sprout
sok- v to succeed, to hold out “Aia! ido alsiado kakatyi! Sokchakatyi angdo” noaimyng matsado jenetene jokaimyng jalangokno. “Jeez! That lazy person bites to my surprise. I will not be able [to fight]/ I will not succeed [to fight with him]”, the tiger said and having escaped somehow, he ran away, it is said. Ytykyimyng pherudo rypangthiriokno. Phalthang sokwa dabatdo tyinyng•chi rong•chi pyi•aimyng wa khu•chengphin•ai sakchikaidokno. So then the fox soaked in the water again, it is said. Until he could not hold out any longer, he sat under water as long as he could bear it, holding on to a stone and biting his teeth firmly together, it is said.
sokhop n ART cover, sheath
soksek- v to shake something without picking it up
soksok- v to masturbate, to wank, to jerk off, to whack off
soldi n BODY a cold Soldi man•ok. I have caught a cold.
sombal n TIME Monday
somphi n ACT a joke, a riddle
song n PLACE village
song- v to set up post, to dig a hole and stick something in it so that it keeps standing up, to raise Wa•sung ha•bykangchi songbo. Dig a hole in the sand and put the bamboo stick in it. Myng•sene bytwa motchagabaaw man•chagabaaw gudukchagabaaw chaiaimu, Bandiba kawraw bytjasaaaimyng phalthang phagongmathangchi phaatai rai•aaidonganote, Bandiba. Bandi paianggabaaw mykren wa•thok song•phinai Gyrynggyrang chaisymaidongano. Having watched the seven unable men and the pillar that does not move, Bandi easily pulled the pillar out and is carrying it on his shoulder, it is said, I’m telling you! Gyrynggyrang is watching the carrying Bandi with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.
song- v to elect Songchi nokchi raja songna angawtara nukariokno. Angaw bytangaidonga, song damsachi angaw raja songnino. In the village the people wanted to elect a king and they just saw only me. They are carrying me away; they will elect me king in a certain village.
songkhot- v to come out of a narrow space
Songdu n PLACE the Brahmaputra river Symangado Gohaticigaba Songduna kylkhala. The Symang is smaller than the Brahmaputra in Guwahati.
songga n PLACE another village songgamyng morot a person from another village
songkhot- v to come out of a small opening, to squeeze out of
songmong n GEO main village
songrai- ~ songre- v to travel
songrat- adj1 to be bent
songre- ~ songrai- v to travel
songsal n ACT society
songsyrek ~ songsarek n PERS pagan, heathen Dakangmi pichhami kamdyrangdo ie Garohils Ha•beng Ha•rot Chisak Rangtak Badrijol Kychujol gumukan songsyrek dong•butungchido bylongen hansenga. In ancient times, when the Ha•beng-Ha•rot Chisak Rangtak, Badri areas and the Koch areas were all pagan, we were very happy.
sorok n PLACE road, path, way sork chol ni two ways, roads, paths
sorok- v to re-pound the rice
sorong adj2 straight
sorong- adj1 straight khaw soronga straight hair
sorot- v celebration in commemoration of a dead person one year after this person died Ning ahuw sorotaidong. We are celebrating in commemoration of our dead grandfather.
sosila n PLANT plant of the Arum family with a pink inflorescence consisting of an elongate or ovate spathe (a sheathing bract) which envelops the pink spadix (a flower spike with a fleshy axis). This plant looks remarkably like the Amorphophallus bulbifer.
-soso evsp V to/on the ground Neng•dugaaimyng mu•sosoangokno. Having gotten tired, he sat down on the ground.
sot n ANIM very small type of fly that comes out in the evening and at night and cause itchiness
-sot evsp V directly sot- v to spit Ainachi sa•gyrai khw•ti sotjaak. The child has spat on the mirror again.
sotmai n ANIM housefly
sotok ~ sot dok num sixty
spit n ABSTR speed
spun n ART spoon
spyling ~ sipyling n ACT spelling
Atong khu•chukmung
spyling/sipyling rakancha. The spelling of the Atong language is not difficult.
s ss interj interjection to chase away a chicken
stel n ABSTR haughtiness
Ge•thengchi stel pang•a. He/she is very haughty. This word probably comes from English ‘style’.
stulkhabar n ART tablecloth
su- v to scold
su• n BODY vagina, cunt, pussy, slit, snatch, twat
su-- ~ syw• v to pound, to punch, to prod, to inject, to crush Ang khawchi mu•gaba khyrkaw syw•bone. Crush the lice in my hair, will you?
subylok- v to mash Beringwa mynwachido susbylok. When the food cooked in the wa•sung is ready, we mash it.
sugol n PERS vagina (used as a swearword for women), cunt, bitch
su•kherek- v to crash down Jariaimu su•kherekaimu wa khaw• sa bai•okno. Wa khaw• sa baiokno mongmaba. Because he was startled, he crashed down and broke one tusk, it is said. He broke one tusk, it is said, the elephant.
su•myn n BODY pubic hair (female)
su•nadylep n BODY clitoris
su•that- v to prod, to poke
su•ut- adj1 damp
sua n ACT profanation
su•al- ~ soal- v to divide, to share
Songgumuk thom•aimyng ha•ba ha•ryn ha•ryna•aw sovalahi. The whole village gathers and will divide the ha•ba parcel by parcel. Je ha•ryn ni•gababado uan soalrukai haw•a. As for those who do not have a plot, those mutually share and clear the land.
Suis n ART switch
suk n comfort Juwna suk dong•ancha. We did not sleep enough.
suk- v to be well, to be comfortable, to enjoy sexually Na•a gawi hatchido sukama? Do you enjoy it when you fuck a girl?
suk- v to insert, to stitch
suksai n PLANT type of plant of which traditional umbrellas are made
sukulbal ~ sukulbal ~ sukulbal n TIME Friday
sukyrung ~ sykuryung n ANIM type of river snail
sul adj 2 next, neighbouring song sul the next/neighbouring village
sun- v to move, to shift
sun ~ sundul n BODY trunk
sung clf classifier for hollow cylinders wa•sung sung tham three bamboo cylinders
sung n ACT/BODY remembrance, thought, mind, brain, intelligence, spirit, life sung ra• to remember, to think (of, about), to keep in mind Isolaw sung ra•ai je Kristen donggabado Isol phi•aat sa•chenga. Thinking of God, anyone who is a Christian will pray to God and start eating. Ge•thengchi sung ganang. He is intelligent.
sung•- adj1 short (of time, person, thing)
sungman- ~ suman - vdat/v to remember. Some speakers mark the second argument (the Theme) with the dative and others with the accusative. Nokchi ang dyngdang mu•chiba, sungmaneta anga nang•na. (Aristo J Momin) When I’m sitting at home alone, I think of you. Alternatively: Nokchi ang dyngdang mu•chiba, sungmaneta anga nang•aw. When I’m sitting at home alone, I think of you.
sunibal n TIME Saturday
suri ~ siri n SUBST snow
-susa evsp V competitively, compete in V-ing
suset- ~ susut- ~ susyt- v to wash
susu n BODY penis
suthul n BODY comb of a rooster
suting n TIME taking pictures, photo shooting
sutuk- v to put over, to cover, to hide
  Mykhang baketchi sutuka. She’s hiding her face in the bucket.
swich n ART switch
syi n KIN uncle: mothers younger brother
-syi ~ -si ~ -thai ~ -tyi sfx mirative suffix, to (my) surprise
syithai- ~ syithyi- ~ syithi- v to hang
  Syithai tanarong raityangchi. It’s hanging on the washing line.
syk- v to insert, to be inserted, to press, to push
syk- vsec to want Jywna sykaidongkhua. I still want to sleep.
sykdep- v to press with a finger
 syk- v to fold
sykurung n ANIM river snail
sykurung ~ sukyrung n ANIM type of river snail
syl n SUBST iron
syl- adj1 beautiful, pretty
  Atongnawmyl sylate. Atong girls are pretty!
sylet- v to pour in
sylasyng n ART necklace
syldangkhep n ART big pliers to take pans off the fire
sylet- v to make beautiful
sylkeng n ART hoop, ring
sylkengkun n ART stick to drive a hoop
sytyi n SUBST hail, ice
sym adj1 sweet
  -sym evsp V and follow, imitate in V-ing
sym- v to follow Ang nang•aw kyn kyn symni. I will follow you closely.
sym• n SUBST salt, medicine
sym•- v to build a fence
sym•- v to soak, to make wet
sym•thap- v to taste
symgong n PLANT type of plant of which the red flowers are edible and produce a lot of honey which you can shake out
symphak n PLANT type of tree
symphak n ART type of blanket
symsak- vdat to care for/about, to be careful about Phalthangthangna symsakaribo, jalthikaribo! Just care for yourselves, just run away!
symsang n PLACE the Simsang river, also called Someswari
  -symsym evsp V continuously
syn n ACT a smell Syn man•aidong. He smells something.
syn•- v to ask
syng•gaba n ACT question
synggera n BODY moustache that sticks out
synggi n ANIM type of fish
syngsyngkholong n PLACE deep hole in the ground
synthi- v to suffer, to regret, to repent, to lament, to moan, to whine
  Phepchi synthibutungchi te•ewe nar•pit myng• sa rai•phaknoro. While he was suffering in the banyan tree, a barber came by.
sypsak- v to be scratched Ha• khamaimu chak sypsakarok. After working in the field my arm is scratched.
  -syrang evsp V very much, V strongly, V completely, wholly V, V till the end
syrong- v to stretch
syrup-  v to suck
syrung  adv not clearly Angdo
g•thengmi balgaba syrynh syryng
nawa. I did not hear clearly what
he said.
syrung  n ANIM web (of spider)
syrung  v to stretch out (rope etc.), to
build a bamboo bridge
syt  interj interjection to chase away a
cat
syt  ~ sit-  v to take out the shit from
an animal’s intestines Angdo ma•su
pipuk sytaidong. I’m taking out the
shit from the cow’s intestines.
Nang•do na• pipuk sitbo. Take the
shit out of the fish’s intestines.
sytha  ~ satha  n ART umbrella
syw•  n KIN grandchild
syw•  ~ su•  v to pound, to crush, to
punch, to prod, to inject Ang
khawchi mu•gaba khryrykaw
syw•bone. Crush the lice in my
hair, will you?
ta  interj interjection used in
accusations Ta bongbong! You
liar!
ta  prcl prohibitive particle Na•a ta
dykrynyto! Don’t make noise! Ta
ie nok dyngdang ham. Don’t build
this house alone.
-ta  ~ -to  sfx emphatic imperative
suffix
tai•nep  tw  this morning
tai•ni  tw  today G•theng tai•nidarang
rai•anikhon. He might come
sometime today.
tai•sa  tw  a little while ago (today), at a
certain time in the past today
tai-  v to pull
taija  tw  last night Taija walchi
jywwachi jywmangsang
banggirigaba nukwa. Last night at
night when I was sleeping, I saw an
earthquake in my dream.
tairakrak  adv not too big and not too
small Amakdo g•theng
bai•siga thanggabamyang kynaw
rongpatal syltengbigabachi
kepreprep bama• hyn•butungchi
pantong myk sa donggabasang
tairakrak takgabasang tep tep tep
tep tokaidoknoa. The monkey hit
his friend who was lying flat on his
belly on the very beautiful flat
stone with a stick of one myk,
which was made not too long not
too short, tap, tap, tap, tap on the
back.
taiyr  n ART tire taiyr sam/rong/goi•
than three tires
tak  -vB  to do, to make, to pretend, to
act like Ie khamaw krymkraw takna
nangni. We will have to do this
work together. Magachake: “Hai
bai•siga biskut sa•khawna”
noaidongano. “Hyt man•cha
nang•ba atong budi” nowano
phuer. “Ang denggu takni na•a.
Na•a paiai jalbone” noaidongano
magachakan. The deer said:
“Come on, friend, I want to steel
those biscuits!” “What⁈ You
can’t! What are you thinking⁈!”
said the fox, it is said. “I will do
some extortion. You carry the
biscuits and run away, ok?” said
the deer, it is said. Te•do
magachakan khora takaidongano.
Now the deer is pretending to be
lame, it is said. Alsia rajae:
“Ie gari bisky?” “Hyw na•a ra•nae
syng•e syng•chagaba taknae syng•e
syng•chagaba.” The lazy king
asked: “How much for this bullock
cart?” “Hey! As far as your buying
is concerned, you are just acting
like someone who asks but who is
not really interested.”
Chigachakchi Dibangkongdang
U망chalmangsa, mongmaaw
so•otai matsaaw so•otai
mu•tynwano. Uchi song damni
takwano. In Chigachak,
Dibangkongdang and
U망chalmang, having killed the
elephants and tigers, lived as the
leaders, it is said. There they built
two villages, it is said. Ytykyimyng,
ha! wen•ni rypwachian miniksuru
takokno syloko magachakmi
nyn•do. So then, ha! when he had bathed twice, his fur was flat, it is said, it was beautiful, it is said, the deer’s’ fur. “Angdo ma•suba pang•phachhaaimyng ni•wa, jamaiawan tan•awachym” noai golphoa takaidongano. Uchi myng•sagaba: “Angdo jamaiawan tan•asyrangok mangthamawan” noai bala takaidongano. “As for me, I already had only a few cows, and now there is not one left; I slaughtered them all”, he is telling, it is said. Then another man says: “I slaughtered all three of them” it is said. “Aia! Udo magachakdo khorate” noaimyng rykoknowa. Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake. “Hey, this deer is lame!” he said and chased after it, it is said. When he almost caught up with the deer, it run away fast, it is said, the deer.

takal ~ dakal n PERS witch
takap- v to stick
takbewal n ACT tradition
takruk- v to have an orgasm (of a woman)
takruk- v to fight “Noksang rai•naba pha•phinchaaidok. Jебadong anga takruksyrangarinaka.” Matsami cha•phungaw wang•joloknoaro, alsia rajaе. “I don’t dare to go home. Anyway, I will just fight to the end.” He bit the tiger on the thigh, it is said, the lazy king. Rongdyngmi oltoe, dakang somai Jaksongram matsu nok phandaimi matsamu Rongdyng maharimu takrukwanowa. As for the meaning of Rongdyng, in times long ago, the tigers of Jaksonram’s tiger’s bachelors’ house fought with the Rongdyng clan, it is said.
taksak- v to help
taksagamba n ACT help	tala n ART a lock Tala thekbo. Lock the lock.
tam- v to wait, to stop
tam- v to trim, to prune
tam•- v to play an instrument tam•a toka to play an instrument
tam•o ~ tam•aw interj Wait!
tan- v to put, to stop Theng•thon tangkaaw ra•aimyng, uaw kerengaw palyngchi gopai tansigaakno. Theng•thon took the money and left those bones buried in the jungle. Balai tanangok. I have already said it. Angdo ytykyi balaimyng tanarina. As for me, having spoken like this, I will just stop now.
tan- v to cut, to cut up, to slay, to slaughter Gal•aimuna kynsangdo phylygmaw uan rykjolaimuna kukuri bykotaimuna tokyrengaw tan•thongokno. Tokyreng tan•thongaimungna kynsangdo dykymawdo jytsetetokno, ytykyimungna pi•pukaw tan•pyrakokno. Uchie phalthangmi dadadyrangaw nukokno, phaw•jonggarangaw. After falling down, having run quickly towards the eagle, having drawn his knife, he cut the neck off, it is said. After decapitating the bird by cutting its neck, he pushed the head away, it is said. So then he cut the belly open, it is said. Then he saw his own brothers, his elder brothers, it is said. Una phalthangmyng ma•suthangthangaw tan•aimyng khaiangokno. Ramchi golphoanga takaidongano: “Angdo ma•suba pang•phachhaaimyng ni•wa, jamaiawan tan•awachym” noai golphoa takaidongano. Then, having slaughtered their own cows, they carried them to the market, it is said. On the way, they are taking, it is said. “I don’t have many cows, but I would have slaughtered all of them anyway”, he said while chatting, it is said.
tan•chekchek- v to cut into small pieces
tan•choleng- v to cut a piece out of something
tan•pyrak- v to cut open Tokyrend dykymawdo jysetetokno, After having decapitated (the eagle), he pushed the head out of the way, it is said. Then he saw his own elder brothers, it is said. Anga noksang tarakai rai•na nangaidong. I need to go home quickly. Tarakbo na•a! Hurry up!  

tan•thong- v to decapitate, cut off the head; to cut off Gal•aimuna tokyrengaw tan•thongokno. After the eagle had fallen to the ground, he ran and unsheathed his knife and cut off its head, it is said.  

After having decapitated (the eagle), he pushed the head out of the way, it is said. So then he cut its belly open, it is said. Then he saw his own elder brothers, it is said.  

tarang n PLACE layer Angdo ie rajami khenna jywthumaidonga, damana. Ramramchagaba kyryngwa ido. Ha•nyng• tarang chinina imyng kyryngwado rajami dama”. I am lying here guarding the royal drum. It has an unusual sound, this thing. The sound of it reaches wolve layers inside the earth.  

tarik n TIME date  

tas n ACT cards (the game) Tas keleni ningdo. We are going to play cards.  

-tat evsp V compulsorily  
tat- v to drive in (as with a nail in wood)  
-taw evsp V upward  
taw- v to go up, to ascend  
-taw ~ -aw encl.phr accusative enclitic  

taw• n ANIM bird, chicken  
taw• sa•gyrai n ANIM chick  
taw•di•mai n BODY tail feathers  
taw•gurung n PLACE the nest of a chicken  
taw•karang n BODY bird’s wing  
taw•khasi n ANIM capon, castrated rooster/cock  
taw•kurung n PLACE the nest of a chicken  
taw•myn• n BODY fluff, body feathers  
taw•nok n ART chicken cove, coop  
taw•pachi n ANIM swallow (Family of Hirundinidae)  
taw•pak n ANIM bat, butterfly, moth  
taw•pakhal n GEO cave in Siju  
taw•paksa n ANIM moth  
taw•paktyi n ANIM caterpillar  
taw•palyng n ANIM jungle fowl  
taw•punchyrep n ANIM type of small bird with green wings and tail feathers, a white chest and brownish red head and beak,
approximately seven centimetres from head to tail
taw•reksyrup n ANIM banana bird, if translated literally its name is ‘banana tree sucking bird’
taw•sa•gyrai n ANIM chick
taw•ti ~ taw•tyi n ANIM egg
tawa n ART frying pan
tawel n ART towel
-te sfx declarative suffix
tew• tw later today
tew• mangmang just now
-tebyl n ART table
tek- v to tie
telephon n ART telephone
teng onom sound of falling money
-teng evsp still too V
tengchypchyp- v to shine, to glitter
Ytykimyng wallchi rai•aphyinokno. Rai•aphin•aisa beanbebe phalthangmyng nokaw ge•thengdo ma•su di•myng phirinaimyng ue sona bi•chamchymaw nok ryphiokno. Nok ryphiwamyng kynsangdo te•ew ge•theng nokawan alaga morotdyrangdo tengchypchypai nukariokno. So then he came back at night, it is said. Having come back, having mixed it with cow dung, he plastered his house with the golden flakes, it is said. After plastering his house now, other people saw how his house was shiny, it is said.
-teng teng evsp still much too V
tenki n BODY tank
teraka tw last year
tet- v to pour out
tha•gythyng n PLANT type of vegetable
tha•let- vdat to explain Ang nang•na Atong khu•chuk saina tha•letni. I will explain to you how to write the Atong language.
tha•makhu n PLANT tobacco
thabisi n ART amulet, antidote
thagal- v to lose an object Ang chabiaw bichiba thagal•ok. I have lost my keys somewhere.
-thai ~ -tyi ~ -syi ~ -si sfx mirative suffix, to (my) surprise
thai• elf classifier for receptacles
do•im thai• sa one jug dipot thai• sa one teapot khab thai• sa one cup
go•theng boiom thai• ni bai•ok. He broke two jugs
thai• n PLANT/FOOD fruit
thai•ma•thaigundai n PLANT type of bright orange fruit that grows in creepers high in the jungle trees in the rainy season. The round fruits are about seven centimetres in diameter. The outside consists of a thick, uneven leathery rind while inside there are about eight sweet orange carpels each containing a smooth stone.
thai•ymphak n PLANT type of plant
thajyri- v to make trouble
thai- adj1 clear, explicit
thali n ART plate (for eating) or its volume, plateful
tham num three
-tham evsp barely V
thama n ACT divination, thama chai- to see the future, to practice divination Kamalchi thama chaia. At a priest’s house, divination is practiced.
-thamak evsp V barely, V excessively
thamat n PLANT green plant that grows in the jungle and of which the side leaves, the young leaves, and the fruits cause irritation when touched
thamylang n PLANT type of vegetable
than•khoana- v to gut lengthwise, longitudinally
thang v to fall down on
-thang encl.p own ang nokthang my own house
thang- v to throw away with great force Matsa kherengwachido wa•chungbyryidarangdo thang•aaidonga Bandiba. Bandi
When the tiger makes a great effort, he throws Bandi one bamboo length away. When Bandi makes a great effort, he throws the tiger whoooosh! four bamboo lengths away, it is said, I’m telling you!

**thang•chichat** - *v* to drain

**thangguduk** - *adv* suddenly

**thangphytphyt** - *v* to splash

**Navengawmu Kumiribaawma• khamoknowa.** When the *nav•lam* (type of fish) wiggled, water splashed on the married couple Naweng and Kumiri and burned them, it is said.

**thang•taw** - *v* to squirt out

**thanthong** - *adj* blunt (of pointed things)

**thanyng** - *n* BODY brain

**thap** - *onom* the sound of something hitting *thok, thap!* hit, slap!

**thap** - *v* to beat, to beat up, to destroy

“Phangnan ning nokaw thaparonga” noai balokno. Ytykimyng myng•tham re•engokno mongma mathaiaw thapna. “He always destroys our houses” he said, it is said. So then the three of them went on their way, it is said, to beat up the elephant.

**thaphu** - *v* to blister

**thapthap** - *adv* quickly

**thapyra** - *n* SUBST ashes

**tharai** - *v* to change, to exchange, to swap Ge•theng chola ga•chawana ngyylmyngaw tharaiwa. He changed the bad shirt for a new one from the market.

**tharap** - *v* to catch up with, to be on time “Aia! Udo magachakdo horate” noaimyng rykoknowa. Tharapna guduk takwachiba tarakai jalariano magachake. “Hey, this deer is lame!” he said and chased after it, it is said. When he almost caught up with the deer, it ran away fast, it is said, the deer.

**thari** - *v* to prepare, to arrange, to repair

**thasa** - *v* to wake somebody up

**Thasabo uaw.** Wake him up!

**-that evsp** - *V* excessively

**thathonthong** - *v* to tear to pieces

**thaw onom** - *bang!* (sound of a gun firing)

**thaw** - *adj* tasty

**thaw•jyw** - *n* PLANT type of fruit

**thawal** - *n* BODY scab

**them** - *v* to fold

**the•myt** - *n* PLANT cucumber

**thebajaw** - *v* to tickle Nang• angau thebajauwa, ang bejawok. You tickled me and I feel tickled.

**thek** - *v* to block off, to lock *Tala thekbo.* Lock the lock.

**thek** - *v* to insert *Waiyr karenchi thekbo.* Put the wire into the electric socket.

**-thel evsp** - *surely* V *Ich• rong• khalchi khen• ganangthelnaba ganang.* Here in the spaces under the stones there are river crabs for sure.

**thel** - *v* to tie

**them** - *onom* sound of a gunshot, pow *Myng• sagado them! kawokno.* The first one shot, pow! it is said.

**themtaw** - *v* to roll up

**theng** - *clf* classifier for pieces of meat

**thep** - *clf* classifier for heaps and small packets

**thet** - *v* to pull out, to pull *Ang phakwalmyng• theta.* I pull out the hair in my armpit.

**thetchot** - *v* to break by pulling Ning kara thechotok. ‘We broke our rope.’

**thik** - *adv* exactly, well cooked, well done *Kawbutungchi thik thokyrengaw man•okno.* When he shot [the giant eagle] he got it exactly in the neck. Ja•ryt saw•ai, mantaw saw•ai, mai•chungmung na•lammung thiksa berengai sa•a.

We roast the chilli pepper, we roast
the brinjal and cook it until it is
well done with mai•chêng (a type
of leafy green) and na•lam (a type
of fish) in a bamboo cylinder and
eat it.

thik dong• v to be correct
Morot chanchichypai thik
dongokodo, uchian rajaan uaw ajot
nosawnaka. Suppose someone gets
it right, then the king will tell him
ajot.

thik kha• v to fix a date and time
Takrukna san somai thik
kha•wachym. They supposedly
tried to fix a date and time
to fight.

thikthak adv exactly, precisely,
precisely
Kynsange nygyltyi ni
re•engwachi thikthak jahas
kanachina dong•angok. Later,
when she had been going for two
weeks, she arrived exactly at the
ship and the harbour.

thikthak phangnado chykhyw bajichi
sa•aidonga. He always eats exactly
at nine o’clock.

thimini v to make someone smile
thimini v to make someone smile
thingthingthing onom “klang klang!”
sound of something falling made of
metal
thintaw• v to climb up
thiri n ART bow (of bow and arrow)
-thiri evsp V again
thirikun• n ART arrow (of bow and
arrow)

thiriphong n ART part of an elephant
trap

-thirithiri evsp V again and again
tho n FOOD mustard oil
-tho v to compare
tho•ma n ACT group
thogi• v to betray, to cheat (on), to
deceive Gawi angaw thogiok. The
girl has betrayed me/cheated on
me.

thojekjek• v to shake a fixed object
lepanaw thojejkjekhido thai•
gai•khalni. If you shake this tree,
fruit will fall down.

-thok evsp V together, everybody
(S/O quantifier)

thokbyrang adj2 multicoloured,
many coloured
thokbyrym adj2 multicoloured, many
coloured

thokthok adv precisely

thol•am n PERS liar

thom clf classifier for things in heaps
or piles jyw• thom sa a pile of
flattened bamboo used to make
mats

-thom evsp V to make a heap
Rong•
thomaidonga. He’s making a heap
of stones.

thong• clf classifier for cylindrical
objects byryi thong• byryi four
batteries

-thong evsp V in half

thongthong adv straight

thop onom hitting sound: thok! thunk!

-thop• v to gang up on “Watnabai iaw
alagaaw!” noaimyng
rykathokaidongano, Bandiaw
thopna. “Don’t let this stranger
go!” they said and they were
chasing him, they wanted to gang
up on Bandi.
thorok - v  to jump (down from / out of) Alsia raja pher•pmyng
thorokokno. The lazy king jumped out of the banyan tree, it is said.

thorom n ACT religion Ning songsyreoko ning atongdo
dakangdo mamyang thoromaw ni•wami somaichido waiaw mania.
We pagans, we the Atong, in the past, in times when there was no
religion, we worshipped spirits.

thot - v  to hit, to bump into something
or against something

tholy - thot adv  to the last drop

thothak n QUANT/MSRE a drop,
classifier for drops myktyi thothak
ni two tears/two teardrops
mykrensam thothak ni two drops of
eye medicine.

thup n PLACE nest Taw•reksyrup
mang sa ge•thengmyng thup
phangnan mongma phai•ai
sa•rongwana, mongma mathaiauw
thokna re•engaidongano. Because
the nest of a banana bird always
gets broken and eaten by an
elephant, it is on its way to beat the
bachelor elephant up, it is said.

thup onom  beating sound: thunk!,
slap!

thup- v  to nest, to be thick (of fog or
mist) Te•edo ue mongmaai rekchi
thupai thupai mu•gabaaw
phangnan phai•ai pha•ai sa•ronga.
Now this elephant always breaks
eats the place in which I nest in
the banana tree. Guri thupa. The
fog is thick.

thut - thun clf  classifier for big
spherical things, stones, bricks,
rocks, heads, hills, mountains and
bars of soap rong thut tham three
rocks ha•byri thut sene seven hills,
mountains sabun thut sa one bar of
soap, dykym thut sa one head

thuyk- v  to have the hiccups

thyi- v  to die

thyi• n BODY blood

thyiokhop n ART dried fruit in which
water is stored for consumption

thiyi• n ACT death

thyk n ART pan for cooking rice

thyk- v  to be fixed sideways

-thyl evsp  V on behalf, instead of
someone else

thunuk- v  to show

thup n PLACE nest Taw•reksyrup
mang sa ge•thengmyng thup
phangnan mongma phai•ai
sa•rongwana, mongma mathaiauw
thokna re•engaidongano. Because
the nest of a banana bird always
gets broken and eaten by an
thymyn  v  to ripen Panchung
thymytetbo. Keep the jackfruit so
that it can ripen.
thymyn-  v  to ripen
thymyt-  v  to put out (fire), to switch
off, to extinguish
-thyng  evsp  V  so much
thyng-  v  to kick
thyngel-  v  to tilt
-thyngthyng  evsp  V  so much, V
continuously
thyp-  v  to throw (sidearm) Wakaw
pataimungna amake wel•an
wel•ang pankambaichi
dung•angaimungna sa•sigaakno
dyngdang. Dyngdang sa•sigaakno.
“Sala! Na•a angna kholo
hynatemo.” nookno khu•sume.
Amake: “Tambone hyn•ni
nang•naba” noaimuna “Ha•
kerengaw sa•bo!” noai
thypratetokno. Having carried the
pig, the monkey quickly climbed to
the top of a tree and ate alone.
“Damn you! You can at least give
me the skin!” said the turtle. “Wait,
OK! I’ll give you something too”,
the monkey said and then: “Take
this, eat the bones!” he said and
threw them down. Uchie get•theng
nokhappiness tangkaaw thypai
thypai khiaidongano, “Rong sa,
rong ni, rong tham” noaimyng.
Then he goes home and is counting
the money throwing it on the
ground saying: “One rupee, two
rupees, three rupees”. “Dada, anga
nang•jongsaba” nookono. “Sala
burbok sa•gyrai na•a ningaw hala
khagabaa” noaimungna bunduk
ra•asetetaimungna uaw sa•gyraiaw
gadakchichiokno.
Gadakchichiokuna
singsingkholongsang thypsetyi
tanangokno. “Brothers, brothers, I
am your younger brother!” he said,
it is said. “Damn you stupid child!
You have woken us up!” they said
and, having thrown away their
guns, they cut the child up in
pieces, it is said. Having cut him
into pieces, they threw him in a
deep hole in the ground, it is said.
thyrgryw  v  to shake something large
and unmovable
thyw•  adj1  deep
thywkong  adj2  globular, protruding,
bulging
Tibet  n  PLACE Tibet
tibi  n  ART television
titiiti  interj  interjection to call a
chicken
tin  n  ART corrugated iron sheet used
to make roofs tin kap sa one sheet
corrugated iron
tintyrin  n  PLANT tamarind
tiu  n  ART tube
-to  ~ -ta  sfx  emphatic imperative
suffix
to•theng  n  PERS the little forest spirit
of wealth
toilet  ~  toilty  n  PLACE toilet
tok-  v  to beat, to beat up, to play an
instrument Taw•reksyrup mang sa
g•thengmyng thup phangnan
mongma phrai•sa•rongwana,
mongma mathaiaiaw tokna
re•engaidongano. Because the nest
of a banana bird always gets
broken and eaten by an elephant, it
is on its way to beat the bachelor
elephant up, it is said.
Ang phulistau kha•peta bajuaw
tokwana I am angry with the police
because they beat up my friend.
Uaw Do•renggo Wadachongawdo
achu ambido tawnaan Do•renggo
Wa•dachong jatram saphairam
noaimu samaw cha•aw ityki
Tokano. As for Do•renggo
Wa•dachong, in order to go up on
Do•renggo Wa•dachong, our
ancestors beat so called jatram and
saphairam medicinal plants with
their feet like this, it is said. “Ue
atakwa jong?” “Madam tokwa.”
“Atongmai•na?” “Ytykyian
tokariwa.” What happened there,
son?” “My (female) teacher has hit
“Why?” “Like that she just hit me.”
tokdepdep- v to crush, to grind
*Sambanggyri akatokno,
tokdepdepaimu pha•atokno.* He plucked *sambanggyri*, crushed it and put it on the wound, it is said.
tokgepgep- v to beat to pulp
tokhynyng- v to smash into pieces
tokkhyphu ~ tokybu n BODY throat, area just under the chin
tokorot n BODY throat, glottal area
tokphyrong- v to take a powdered substance in the palm of one hand and softly tap on it with the other hand
tokpyret- v to crush by hitting
tokset- v to cough, to have a cold
tokset- v to pull loose
tokta n SUBST type of wood
toktaî- v to hang oneself
tokthining ~ tokthynyng n BODY neck
tokthong- v to smash in half
tokthynyng ~ tokthining n BODY neck
toktokylek n PLANT type of flower
tokkyphu n BODY gullet, throat
tong- v to fuck
tota n ART plank *tota kap sa* one plank *tota khaw• sa* one plank
totakhaw• n ART a plank *tota khaw• sa* one plank
totyp adj2 bent Bandi mu•etwachian
dakhamba ha•china chaksi ni
dong•na guduk totyp totyp
takaidonganote. When Bandi sits on the *dakham* it bent almost completely to but two fingers from the ground, it is said.
tu•- ~ tu•- v to feed (by putting food or drink into the mouth Sa•gyraina
tumuywa. I fed the child rice.
Bylsi senemi chywaw pityi jyngjang
phinggabaw botol
chakskiwy•sykyngabaaw
kanetaidongano. “Dada cho•isa
ka•wakbone” noaimyng
hyn•etaidongano. “Atong churu
ryngnaka?” noaimu “Botolgumuk
ty•etsyrangbo.” They are pouring
seven year old wine from a fully filled bottle as small as a thumb, it is said. “Elder brother, open your mouth a little” they said and then “What little will I drink?” he said “Feed me the whole bottle.”
tuk- v overgrown, dense (of vegetation) *Ram tuka.* The road is overgrown. *Palyng tuka.* The jungle is dense.
tum elf classifier for places and packets *Hap tumbyisyk? ‘How many places?’
*tu•- ~ tu•- v to lead, to guide to lead,
to guide Na•a ang ma•su mang
raja saaw tyangsegabone. You lead my hundred cows away, OK?
tung elf classifier for objects like bridges *dolong tung ni* two bridges
tung• adj1 hot, warm
tupi n ART cap, heat
ty•- ~ tu•- v see tu•-
tyi n SUBST water; fruit juice
tyi• n ANIM egg
tyi•- v to lay an egg
tyibal n GEO wave
tyibasal n GEO whirlpool
tyibek n ART traditional bottle used to drink water out of and made of a dried vegetable also called tyibek
tyichabakram n GEO waterfall, cascade
tyichang n PLACE island
tyigat n place place in a river or at the end of a water pipe where the people get drinking water, take a bath and wash their clothes and dishes.
tyigum n ART water container made of metal and shaped like a big vase used to store water in the kitchen. Its place in the house is in the *tyinok*
tyikaran ~ tyikha•ran ~ tyika•ran adj2 thirsty
*tyikhal n GEO river* *thyikhal chol ni* two rivers
*tyimong n GEO main river*
tyimuk  n GEO spring, source

tyimyk  n GEO source

tyinala  n PLANT algae

tyinok  n ART place in the kitchen where the water pots (tyigum) and other utensils like plates, cups and glasses are stored.

tyiphek  n GEO tributary river, the smaller one of two rivers that flow together

tyisam  n PLACE river bank, edge of the water Tyi ga•gaba wari thyw•gaba tyisamchi hap sylgbachi myng• ni bai•sigathangmaran “chang tirywchengnaka?” noaidongano. By the side of a deep wari with good water on a beautiful spot the two friends were arguing about who would take a bath first, it is said.

tyisiv  v to be wet Magachakmi myndo tyisivwachian minisuru takjolarianoro. When the deer’s fur is wet, it just quickly gets flat-haired, it is said.

tyisurung  n GEO rainwater that streams over the ground

tyithai  n ART water scoop made of a hollow, dried gourd.

tyksyl  n ART pan for cooking rice

-tykyi  encl.phr perlative/similfactive enclitic

tykyw  n ART water pot

tym  clf classifier for fields ha•ba tym ni two dry rice and vegetable fields on the slope of a mountain

-tym  sfx personal pronoun plural suffix used to form the second person plural exclusive personal pronoun from the second person singular and the third person plural from the distal demonstrative: nang•tym you (plural exclusive) utym they

-tyn  evsp lead/bring to V, be the leader of the action, Keletynbo! Play with the others as the leader.

tyn- ~ tun-  v to lead, to guide Na•a ang ma•su mang raja saaw

tynangsegabone. You lead my hundred cows away, OK?

tyng  clf classifier for long thin objects like ropes, chains, hairs etc. kara tyn sa one rope

tyng-  v to know, to recognise

“Ketketa Bura? Anga Ketketa Bura nogaawan tyngkhucha” noaimyng Ketketa Burae phalhangawan pheruna thol•okno. “Ketketa Bura? I don’t know this so called Ketketa Bura yet”, lied Ketketa Bura about himself to the fox, it is said. Ang ie khata dakangdo tyngchachym, te•ewdo nemen tyngok. I did not know this word before but now I know it well. Nang• balegaba morote atongtukiyti angawe tyngsawnaka? How will the person you talk about certainly recognise me?

tyngcheng-  v to know first, to discover

tyngen  adv very Ue raja kam kha•naba tyngen haratuchym. That king was supposedly very reluctant to do work.

tyngkarang  adv in one go

-tyngtang  evsp V all over the place

tyngtet-  v to hang someone Tyng•tet kha•ai tan•! Hang him up!/Kill him by hanging him!

tyngwami  n ART knowledge, understanding

typ-  v to throw down “Sala burbok sa•gyrai na•a ningaw halakha•gabaai” noaimungna bunduk ra•asetetaimungna uaw sa•gyraiaw gadakchichiokno. Gadakchichiaimuna singsingkholongsang typsetyi tanangokno, typsetyi tanangokno. “Damn you stupid child who disturbed us!” they said and they took out their guns and cut the child into pieces, it is said. Having cut him up, they threw him into a
deep hole in the ground and left him there, it is said.

**tyret** - v to bathe someone else

**tyru-** **tyiru-** ~ **tyiryw-** v to bathe, to take a bath, to wash oneself

**tyt-** v to pour *Ue tyigummi tiy tytbo depotchi.* Pour water from that *tytum* into the teapot.

**uchi** **discon** then

**uchiba** **discon** then *Una myng•sagaba sa•banthai sa•banthai myng•sagaba bychymokno, uchiba patangphaariok, dang•angphaariokno.* Then one son pulled the other out [from the water], it is said, but then they just crossed and they all just drowned, it is said.

**uching** ~ **u•ching** ~ **ukching** n ANIM leech

**ue** ~ **u•dem** that, there, distal demonstrative

**umi** ~ **umido** ~ **umisa** ~ **umyng** ~ **umung** ~ **umyngdo** ~ **umyngsa** **discon** then *Na•a wai chunggabaaw nukoknoai chanchibo, ma•su ra•naka, purun ra•naka, tav• ra•na nangni, wak ra•na nangni, unado. Umi chywba sym•na nangni, ue kamalna.* Suppose you see a big spirit. You’ll get a cow you’ll get a goat, you’ll need to get a chicken, you’ll need to get a pig, for him. Then you’ll also need to brew some liquor for that priest. *Ma•su nanga, wak nanga, tav• nanga, chyw nanga waikhurutna. Umido uaw kamal sandini.* You need a cow, you need a pig, you need a chicken, you need liquor to perform an incantation. Then you will search for that priest.

**una** **discon** therefore, then *Jetakai patangchiba rung bytongrengangariano, sangkyningan. Unasa rung chawna dakangan tytkiye rung dykymaw ga•tyngaimuna “kha Dawa!, kha Dawa!” noaimusa rung chawaimu patronganoro. Whatever you do whenever you cross, the boat will spin. That is the water dragon. Therefore, before you cross by boat, because you stamp on the head of the boat saying “Kha Dawa! Kha Dawa!” it is said. Only then does the water dragon not get you, it is said.

**utym** **ppron** they, third person plural personal pronoun

**wa** n BODY tooth, tusk (of elephant) *wa khaw• ni two teeth, two tusks -wa** sfx factitive suffix
wa-ι to rain Rang waaidok. It’s raining. Literally: Rain is raining. This verb can only take the noun ray as its subject.

watana n ART part of an elephant trap

wa* n PLANT bamboo wa* dot sa one culm of bamboo wa*khaw* sa one long half of a bamboo morot wa* sa*gaba a strong and tough person

wa* n KIN father

wacham n PLANT old rice stalk which is left over after harvesting the rice

wachu n MSRE one bamboolength

wachun n MSRE the length of one bamboo stick

wachurek n ABSTR capacity

wachyrik-vdat to be startled Gari horn kha•wanasa wa•chyrikok, ge•thenge. Because the car blew its horn he was startled.

wada n PLANT type of bamboo of which each culm comes out of the ground individually instead of in a bush

wadokolong n ART water pipe made of bamboo

wagat n ART bamboo shoulder yoke

wagatram n BODY shoulder, literally: ‘the place where you put the bamboo shoulder yoke’

wagydok n ART water pipe made of bamboo

wajong n PLANT type of bamboo

wakai n PLANT type of big bamboo

wakhal n ANIM grasshopper-like insect

wakhaw* n PLANT one long half of a bamboo split lengthwise wa•khaw sa one long half of a bamboo

wakhyatha n PLANT type of bamboo

waphuk n ART white half of a strip of bamboo used to make rope

warri ~ waryi n PERS child who lost his father

warrung n PLANT young bamboo

warsung n ART bamboo cylinder used as container and used to cook bering in wa•sung sung ni two bamboo cylinders

wasyl n ART green half of a strip of bamboo used to make rope

watthok n PLANT hollow bamboo stick Myng•sene bytwa motchagabaaw man•chagabaaw gudukchagabaaw chaiaimu, Bandiba kawraw bytjasaaaimyng phalthang phagongmathanxiety phaiai rai•aaidonganote, Bandiba. Bandi paianggabaaw mykren wa•thok song•phina Gyrングgыrang chaisymaonado. Having watched the seven unable men and the pillar that does not move, Bandi easily pulled the pillar out and is carrying it on his shoulder, it is said. I’m telling you! Gyrングgыrang is watching the carrying Bandi with eyes raised on bamboo sticks (i.e. attentively), it is said.

watthyray n PLANT type of bamboo

watyng n ART bamboo strip used to make baskets, and other woven utensils as well as rope. Nang•tyh angaw tyichi typratwaba nemariok aro koksep chungkhuna nang•achym. Watyang tynphexna ma•su manghek hyn•wa, gumuk-gamak angna ma•su mang raja sa hyn•etwa angnado. You threw me into the water and that was good, and I should have had a bigger koksep. For every bamboo strip they gave me a cow and in all they gave me one hundred cows.

wach n ART watch

wachyw n BODY incisors (the four front teeth used for biting)

wadi ~ wakhi n BODY plaque

wagydok n ART bamboo water pipe

wagyleng n PERS person who is missing one or more teeth

wai n PERS spirit wai khurut- to perform an incantation, so summon a spirit

wai-ι to return, to go/come back

Rangsando saniarokno, sikharba
The sun was setting. The hunting had failed and having done all this, having wasted time, he went back to his family, it is said.

An old man is working in the field, it is said. He is ploughing the field with a cow, it is said.

Scoop some liquor into the glass for me.

He scooped out some water from the river and drank it.

To go and come back you need one hundred thousand rupees.

To go back, to return

To draw out a little bit of water, to scoop out water

To arrive at night, to be late so that it is already night

To kindle the fire with your breath by blowing

- encl.cl action/state nominaliser clausal enclitic

KIN 1. uncle: fathers younger brother 2. stepfather

To bite a bit out of something

To turn, to wind

To defend, to shield, to protect

GEO fire, torch

Match (to make fire)

GEO bamboo torch

Ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

SUBST ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

GEO fire, torch

SUBST ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

SUBST ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

SUBST ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

SUBST ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood

KIN 1. uncle: fathers younger brother 2. stepfather

To defend, to shield, to protect

SUBST rust
waribul- v to fish at the festival of waribula

waribula n ACT the Siju fishing festival in the Symsang river at Dabatwari

waribul- v to weave things from reed or bamboo, to make a mat or basket from bamboo or reed Ge\*theng koksep watna man•a. He can weave a bamboo cage.

waribul- v to send away, to banish, to get rid of, to switch on an electrical apparatus like a radio, TV, computer etc., to let go Ge\*thengmi nokaw ge\*theng watok, ytykyimu dynthang nokchi mura•ok. His family sent him away, so now he is staying in another house. Git watbo. Play some music. (on the radio/tape/CD/etc.) Ram watbo. Go out of the way. S\*nyng\•chi ri\*tyi watchawa. I will not cum inside her vagina/cunt. In the negative this verb can mean ‘to seize, to capture’. “Ramchi hampyi na\*nangdo watchaka ge\*thengawdo, sala! Ge\*thengaw watkhuna so\*othelarinaka” noai khu\*mongangokno. “This evening we will certainly get rid of him on the road, the bastard! We will kill him after all to get rid of him once more”, they conspired freely, it is said. Ytykyi pwWyntangaimyng kynsango dong•na guduk takwachian ge\*thengtheng khusi dongthamakaimyng gore di\*maichi phalitthang chak diriga sangwalaimyng khusi dong\*aimyng wato•no. Ytykyimyng galai thyiokno. So then, having flown away, later, when they almost arrived, because they were so very happy, they forgot to hold on to the horse’s tail with their own hands, and because they were so happy, they let go, it is said. So then they fell down and died, it is said.

watet- v to send (away), to post Ang songthangchina dong•angwachi nang\*tymna chiti watetni. When I have arrived in my own country I will send you letters. Stem rong chi dok tanaimu chiti wateta. You put sixteen rupees worth of stamps and post the letter.

watwa watwa adv scattered all over the place

watyi n TIME rainy season

wawa onom throwing sound Bandi kherengwchido wa\*chu byryi wawa wawa thangsasiaidoknote. When Bandi makes a great effort, he throws the tiger whoooosh! four bamboo lengths away, it is said, I’m telling you!

wek onom the sound of a pig: squeal! oink!

wek- v to sweep

wekwak- adj1 to be very soft (like mud), sloppy Ram wekwakok. The road is very soft like mud.

welet- v to flash

wen• ~ wen• v to wind around, to wrap around, make as a coil

wen• ~ wet n MSRE time, turn wet sa ~ wen• sa once, wen• ni twice wen• tham three times

wen• ~ wyn• ~ wyt• ~ wot v to sharpen, to whet

weng• n PLANT node (of bamboo), joint

wenphak- v to wind around something Dypyw ang chakaw wenphakwa. The snake wound itself around my hand.

wet ~ wen• n MSRE time, turn wet sa ~ wen• sa once, wen• ni twice wen• tham three times
wetanchian adv  every time
wetantian adv every time, time and
time again
-wil ~ -wilwil evsp  V around
winwin- v  to wind (something around
something)

wongong- v  to stir
wongwet- v  to dangle
wot- ~ wyt- ~ wen- ~ wyn- v  to
sharpen, to whet
wungwung- v  to stir
wyiset- v  to wipe off
wyl- v  to go down, to descend
wylang- v  to go down, descend

wot- ~ wyt- ~ wen- ~ wyn- v  to
sharpen, to whet
wyngwang- v  to wag

ym procl  I agree, affirmative, OK,
that’s right, yes
ymbyng n  ART bamboo flute
ympong adj2  lopsided, convex,
having a surface or boundary that
curves or bulges outward, as the
exterior of a sphere Tyibekan
ympong. A traditional water bottle
is lopsided.

ytyk- v  to do like this/that Ytykaria,
te•ewrawrawmi gawido. They do
just like that, the girls of nowadays.

ytykchiba discon  but, however
“Acha babaji, angni joraaw
chaina man•nima?” “man•niba.
ytykchiba raja sa nangnine. “Ok,
fortuneteller, can you see my love
match?” “I can, but I will of course
need one hundred [rupees].” Angna
mamyangawan nangchawa,
ytykchiba n•a angna aro angmyng
yjuna nang• khengwa dabat ang

thyicha dabat angaw mu•ai sa•na
hyn•bo” nookno. “I don’t need
anything. However, you keep
giving me and my wife something
to eat as long as you live until I
die”, he said, it is said.

ytykchido discon  so, in that case
“Nang•ym ang nokaw saw•waba
nemariok. Anga nang•ymaw
mythelbiok aro ang nok
chungkhuchido, ina datai
man•nichym anga tangka” nookno.
“Ytykchido ningba phalthang
nokaw aiymyng ha•thapyra
phalchue man•nima?” “It is really
good that you burnt down my
house. I thank you very much and
if my house had been bigger, I
would have gotten more money
than this”, Theng•thon said, it is
said. “In that case, after we will
have burnt down our own houses
and sold the ashes, will we get
money too?”

ytyken adv  like this/that “Atakna
rai•awa?” “O, glyglyarong ytyken,
haratwanasa.” “Why have you
come?” “Oh, I am just roaming like
this, just because I’m lazy.”

ytykgaba adj2  this kind of, like this,
such Angba ytykgaba kha•di
ra•nichymte. I would also buy
clothes like these.

ytykma•chiba discon  but, however
Gadakchichaimuna
thypsetthiokno. Ytykma•chiba uba
sa•gyraiba jumu
kha•thirithioknotyi. He cut it into
pieces again and disposed of it
again, it is said. But that child
reassembled once again, it is said
to our surprise.

ytykyi adv  like this/that “Ma•, man•ni
dongchido ie parang kun•sa•aw
kawanchhy” noai hyn•okno. Ytykyi
songtawai hyn•okno. “Well, you
will (be able to shoot the eagle), try
to shoot this culm of reed”, she said
and gave one. She chose one and
put it upright like this, it is said.
noksang rai•aakno. The six of them worked weeding the ha•ba, it is said. So then, after weeding the ha•ba their mother went home, it is said.

**atykyisa**  
discecon/adv  
therefore, like that/this, then, that’s why, so

“Saepdyrang jalangokkhon” noai Arong nokma chaikhawwachi Arong nokmami mukhangaw khiemu thyiokno.  
**atykyisa**  
disccon/adv  
therefore, like that/this, then, that’s why, so

He said: “Maybe the white soldiers have run away” and when headman Arong surreptitiously looked, having hit headman Arong in the face, he died, it is said. That’s why, because of headman Arong’s death, the gun-carrying white soldiers were able to enter the village, it is said.

**atykyisa Bandie balaidongano […]**  
Bandi spoke like this, it is said […]
References


Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. Forthcoming b: ‘Causatives which do not ‘cause’: on non-valency-increasing effects of valency-increasing derivations’.


Bhattacharya, Pramod Chandra. 1977. *A descriptive analysis of the Boro language*. Gauhati University, Department of Publication.


van Breugel, Seino. 2006. *The factitive category*. An informal presentation held for the Sino-Tibetan Special Interest Group at the Linguistics Department of La Trobe University, on 4 July.


van Breugel, Seino. 2009 b. *Atong morot balgaba golpho*.


Dixon, R.M.W. 2006 c ‘Comparative constructions in English’, pp. 5-27 in Studia Anglica Posnaniensia Nr. 41. Michal Jankowski, Ewa Kowalkowska and Anna Hebda (editors), Poznan: The University of Adam Mickiewicz.
Endle, S. 1881. *Outline grammar of the Kachári (Bārā) language as spoken in the district Darrang, Assam; with illustrative sentences, notes, reading lessons, and a short vocabulary*. Shillong: Assam Secretariat Press.


Jendraschek, Gerd. 2008. ‘Questions on transitivity: Iatmul and beyond’, a paper presented in the *Workshop on Transitivity* of the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology of La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia, 4 September 2008.


LaPolla, Randy J. 1993 ‘Arguments Against ‘Subject’ and ‘Direct Object’ as Viable Concepts in Chinese’, pp. 759-813 in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 63.4


