

Faculty of Arts  
University of Helsinki

**A Grammar of Amri Karbi**

PhD Thesis

Department of Languages

**Nailya Philippova**

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General Linguistics

Cover image: A weaving woman in Pisamsuru village, Meghalaya, India (Tiina and Jorma Jumppanen)

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## Abstract

This dissertation describes Amri Karbi, a language that has not received much attention in the past among linguists. This grammar is the first comprehensive and holistic description of the Amri Karbi language, which is a crucial step for the language community and their self-identity. Amri Karbi, also known as a variety of Karbi or Mikir is a Trans-Himalayan/Tibeto-Burman language spoken in scattered villages in the states of Assam and Meghalaya of North Eastern India. The Amri Karbis are agriculturalists, but at the same time some community members also practice hunter-gathering. Some Amri Karbi villages, especially those that are near or inside Guwahati, the capital of Assam, have shifted to Assamese, the state language of Assam. The vitality of Amri Karbi becomes gradually stronger as one moves away from Guwahati and further into the hills. The majority of the population in those areas are bilingual or multilingual; but other languages, like Assamese, English and Hindi are usually acquired through education. This grammar description is based mainly on data collected by the author during the fieldwork. There were three field trips in total, one was a two-year long stay in the area from 2013-2015, followed by two short trips in 2016 and 2017. Besides that, the main language consultant for the grammar visited Helsinki twice to work on the grammar. The theoretical approach for writing this grammar has been framework free but it has been guided and inspired by typological literature. The Amri Karbi phoneme inventory includes 23 consonants and 5 full vowels and two marginal vowels. Amri Karbi is a tonal language, with three tones, low, medium and high, which exhibit low functional load. Amri Karbi is a verb final and agglutinative language with more suffixes than prefixes. Verbs especially may be stacked with numerous suffixes, but a verb stem with a negative suffix may alone function as a predicate. The most frequently occurring morphemes are the general possessive prefix *a-* and the nominalizer *ki-*. These prefixes have a wide range of functions that include nominal modification and clause subordination. What is peculiar to Amri Karbi is that the personal names carry gender suffixes *-po/-pe*. Amri Karbi also has definiteness markers that intersect with gender, evaluative and plural meanings. Most of the adjectival functions are covered by adjectival verbs that convey property or state. As modifiers these verbs are nominalized and then often marked with the possessive prefix *a-*. Amri Karbi uses numeral classifiers in order to count nouns. The counting system is based on both ten and twenty. Like many related languages, Amri Karbi makes a clusivity distinction in first person plural pronouns.

## Tiivistelmä

Tämä väitöskirja kuvaa amri karbia, kieltä, jota kielitieteilijät eivät ole aiemmin juurikaan huomioineet. Tämä kielioppi on ensimmäinen kattava ja kokonaisvaltainen kuvaus amri karbi-kielestä, mikä on tärkeä askel kieliyhteisölle ja heidän identiteetilleen. Amri Karbi, joka tunnetaan myös nimellä karbi tai mikir, on transhimalajalainen/tiibetiläis-burmalainen kieli, jota puhutaan hajallaan kylissä Assamin ja Meghalayan osavaltioissa Koillis-Intiassa. Amri karbit ovat maanviljelijöitä, mutta samalla jotkut yhteisön jäsenet harjoittavat myös metsästystä ja keräilyä. Jotkut amri karbin kylät, varsinkin Assamin osavaltion pääkaupungin Guwahatin lähellä tai sisällä, ovat siirtyneet käyttämään assamia, Assamin osavaltion kieltä. Amri karbin elinvoima vahvistuu vähitellen, kun siirrytään kauemmaksi Guwahatista ja edelleen kukkuloille. Suurin osa näiden alueiden väestöstä on kaksikielisiä tai monikielisiä, mutta muut kielet, kuten assami, englanti ja hindi, opitaan yleensä koulutuksen kautta. Tämä kieliopin kuvaus perustuu lähinnä tekijän keräämiin tietoihin kenttätöiden aikana. Kenttämatoja oli yhteensä kolme: kahden vuoden pituinen oleskelu alueella vuosina 2013-2015, jota seurasi kaksi lyhyttä matkaa vuosina 2016 ja 2017. Tämän lisäksi kieliopin pääkonsultti vieraili kahdesti Helsingissä työstämässä kielioppia. Teoreettinen lähestymistapa tämän kieliopin kirjoittamiseen on ollut vapaa viittekehys, mutta sitä on ohjannut ja inspiroinut typologinen kirjallisuus. Amri karbin foneemiluettelossa on 23 konsonanttia ja 5 täysvokaalia ja kaksi marginaalivokaalia. Amri karbi on tonaalinen kieli, jossa on kolme toonia, matala, keskitaso ja korkea, joilla on alhainen toiminnallinen kuormitus. Amri karbi on verbipäätteinen ja agglutinatiivinen kieli, jossa on enemmän suffikseja kuin prefiksejä. Erityisesti verbiin voidaan liittää lukuisia suffikseja, mutta verbivarsi negatiivisen loppuliitteen kanssa voi yksinkin toimia predikaattina. Yleisimmin esiintyvät morfeemit ovat yleinen omistava prefiksi a- ja nominalisoija ki-. Näillä prefikseillä on laaja valikoima toimintoja, joihin kuuluvat substantiivien muokkaus ja lauseiden alistaminen. Amri Karbille on ominaista, että henkilön nimissä on sukupuolta ilmaisevat suffiksit *-po/ -pe*. Amri karbin kielessä on myös tarkkuusmerkkejä, jotka yhdistävät sukupuolen, arvioinnin ja monikon merkityksiä. Adjektiivifunktiosta suurimman osan hoitavat adjektiiviverbit, jotka välittävät ominaisuutta tai tilaa. Attribuutteina nämä verbit nominalisoidaan ja merkitään usein omistavalla prefiksillä a-. Amri karbi käyttää numeerisia luokittelijoita substantiivien laskemiseen. Laskentajärjestelmä perustuu sekä kymmeneen että kahteenkymmeneen. Kuten monet sukukielet, amri karbi erottaa

monikon ensimmäisen persoonan pronominit puhujan mukaankuulumisen tai -  
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*Amri Karbi arlenghel aphan*

*(For the Amri Karbi people)*

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## Symbols and Abbreviations

1	first person	HORT	hortative
2	second	IMP	imperative
3	third person	INCL	inclusive
ADD	additive	INDEF	indefinite
ASSUM	assumption	INTENS	intensifier
AUG	augmentative	INTER	interactive
AUTO	autobenefactive	IRR	irrealis
BEN	benefactive	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	M	masculine
CIS	cislocative	MAL	malefactive
CLF	classifier	NEG	negation
CONF.Q	confirmation question	NF	non-final
COP	copula	NMLZ	nominalizer
DCL	declarative	NSUBJ	non-subject
DEF	definite	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	POL	polite
DIM	diminutive	PROH	prohibitive
DIR	directive	PST	past
DIST	distal demonstrative	Q	question
EE	elaborate expression	QUOT	quotative
EMPH	emphatic	RDPL	reduplication
EQ	equative	REP	reportative
EX	existential	REPL	reply
EXCL	exclusive	RL	realis
F	feminine	RR	reflexive-reciprocal
FOC	focus	SG	singular
FUT	future	SUPP	supposition
GNR	generic	TAG	tag question
HAB	habitual	TOP	topic
HON	honorific	UNCERT	uncertainty

# 1. Introduction

Amri Karbi language that is described in this thesis is spoken in Kamrup Metropolitan district of Assam and Ri-Bhoi district of Meghalaya in North East India (see Map 1, Map 2 below). The Amri Karbi along with the Karbi who live in Karbi Anglong are indigenous people of North East India. Both Amri Karbis and Karbis are mentioned as Mikir in the Constitution Order of the Government of India. The Amri Karbi live in scattered villages located either in the plains or the hills, among the Assamese speaking population and other tribes, that speak either related languages like Tiwa or genetically unrelated languages like Khasi (Austro-Asiatic). People that are called Amri Karbi are also found in the South Western part of Karbi Anglong district, but this grammar does not provide description of that variety.

The Amri Karbi variety has the ISO 639-3 code ‘ajz’, whereas Karbi variety has the ISO code ‘mjw’.

Since both groups, Amri Karbi and Karbi, are officially called by one name, Mikir, the question of the number of Amri Karbi speakers does not have a straight answer. The Census of India from 2011 (<http://censusindia.gov.in>) states that there are 511 732 Karbi/Mikir native speakers in Assam and 14 380 Karbi/Mikir speakers in Meghalaya, a total number of Karbi/Mikir speakers is 528 503 in all India. The number of speakers for Assam includes both Amri Karbi speakers and Karbi speakers of Karbi Anglong. Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons, and Fenning 2019) mentions 125 000 native speakers of Amri Karbi. The Amri Karbi themselves estimate their population to be half a million. Similarly, the Karbi in Karbi Anglong also estimate themselves to be over half a million (Konnerth 2014:2). So, if the Amri Karbis’ and the Karbis’ estimations are combined, Amri Karbi and Karbi or Mikir speakers’ number is over a million which is almost twice as many as in the Census of India from 2011. However, it might be that both the Amri Karbi and the Karbi include both groups when considering the entire Mikir population, which would then put their estimates closer to the official data. So, determining the actual number of Amri Karbi speakers is currently problematic.

Map 1 Map of India (Google maps) and Amri Karbi speaking area (marked by the author with a circle)



Map 2 Kamrup and Ri-Bhoi districts (Google maps)



## 1.1 Genetic classification, language contact and dialects

On a higher level, Amri Karbi belongs to Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan language family. Sino-Tibetan has been divided into two main branches: Chinese and Tibeto-Karen (Benedict 1972) and Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2003). Some linguists deny division between Chinese and the non-Sinitic languages, following von Klapworth's (1823) tradition to use term 'Tibeto-Burman' for the entire family, and also on the grounds that both Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman languages share a common ancestor (Shafer 1955, van Driem 1997, DeLancey 2015:61 and others). The term Trans-Himalayan was proposed by van Driem in 2004 and since then the term has been adopted by many contemporary linguists as a neutral and geographical term; likewise, this grammar has adopted the term Trans-Himalayan. However, because this term is still relatively new, especially to the general audience and linguists working outside of this geographical family, the term Trans-Himalayan is used alongside Sino-Tibetan.

There are several proposals as to where to place Amri Karbi and Karbi on the lower level. In *Glottolog* (Hammarström et al.), Amri Karbi and Karbi are placed under the Kuki-Chin-Naga branch within the Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan family as the only two members of Karbic

group. The Kuki-Chin branch consists of 85 languages; the largest group within the branch is the Kuki-Chin group that consists of 53 languages. According to Matisoff's (1991) internal structure of Tibeto-Burman, Mikir/Karbi is positioned under the geographically defined group Kamarupan (from the old Sanskrit name for Assam). In the latest subgrouping of the Tibeto-Burman languages in Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus (STEDT), the cover-term "Kamarupan" was abandoned for sociolinguistic reasons and was replaced with "North East Indian Areal group" (Bruhn et al 2015). Burling (2003) and later Post and Burling (2015) do not associate Karbi varieties and Meithei with any lower-level branches and consider them to be independent branches within the Tibeto-Burman family.

Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan are divided into Western and Eastern Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan languages and recently DeLancey (2015) proposed Central Trans-Himalayan branch, that includes some languages of North East India: Jingpho, Northerth Naga and Kuki-Chin languages. Amri Karbi and Karbi do not have enough morphological evidence available, specifically 'agreement words', to be included to the branch. However, as Post and Burling (2017) suggest: 'DeLancey's argument implies a large language group in our (North East India/Eastern Border) area whose conservative agreement features have been differentially eroded across its branches most likely through the effects of language contact'. So Amri Karbi and Karbi could be equally assumed to be part of the Central Branch that lost the 'agreement word' due to language contact.

Despite the fact that Amri Karbi and Karbi lack conservative agreement features, Konnerth (2014:9) noted that Karbi has some links to the Kuki-Chin/South-Central<sup>1</sup> languages which Amri Karbi also shares. The connections include the negative equational copula *kalek*, the cislocative *nang=* and the speech act participant non-subject marking *nang=*, the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *chi-* and the focus marker *=si*, among other constructions.

Amri Karbi has had several language contacts through its development. Historically Amri Karbi along with Karbi seem to have had contact with Meithei, a state language of Manipur. Amri Karbi shows more links to Meithei than Karbi. Some of the similarities of Amri Karbi to Meithei, that were also noted for Karbi (Konnerth 2014:192-193) include the numerals 'eight' and 'nine' that are subtractions: 'ten minus two' and 'ten minus one'; Meithei female *-pi* suffix that corresponds to Amri Karbi female *-pe/-pi* suffix. In addition to that Amri Karbi has

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<sup>1</sup> Kuki-Chin was proposed by Konnerth (2018) to be renamed for South-Central, due to the term being insensitive towards the speakers of these languages.

vigesimal system in the numerals ‘forty’, ‘sixty’ and ‘eighty’ as Meithei does; however, similarly to the numerals ‘eight’ and ‘nine’, only the pattern was borrowed, and the individual morphemes were not borrowed. The construction of adjectives is also similar to Meithei in a way that most of the nominalized adjectival verbs in Amri Karbi require the possessive prefix *a-* in order to modify a noun as an adjective; in Meithei, there is an attributive prefix *a-*. These evidences suggest that Amri Karbi had closer or longer contact with Meithei, than Karbi had. How this contact happened is unknown. Currently these two groups live a relatively long distance from each other, Meithei living mainly in Manipur and Amri Karbi in Assam and Meghalaya.

It has been mentioned in the Linguistic Survey of India and by other researchers of Karbi that Karbi has been in close contact with the Austroasiatic Khasi languages to the west in Meghalaya (Grierson 1903; Grüßner 1978; Joseph 2009). Amri Karbis who live in Meghalaya, though living in Amri Karbi speaking villages, are still in contact with Khasi languages through intermarriages, education, trade, etc. Similarities between Amri Karbi and the Khasi languages include the pronoun *i* ‘1PL’, corresponding to the *i-* ‘1PL.EXCL’ in Amri Karbi; such lexical items as *por* ‘time’ corresponding to Amri Karbi *-por* ‘time’; the word for ‘clan’ is *kur* which is also a word for ‘clan’ in Khasi. The singular human classifier *-hut* is also a borrowing from Khasi.

Nowadays many Amri Karbis are multilinguals. There is a three-language formula in India, where three languages are required to be studied in schools. According to the formula, the first language that a child learns is the mother tongue or the regional language, the second language is Hindi for the non-Hindi speaking children (which is the case for most children in Assam and Meghalaya) and the third language is English. Due to three language formula in India, many Amri Karbis are proficient in Assamese (in Assam state) or Khasi (in Meghalaya state) as a regional language, Hindi and English<sup>2</sup>. Since Assamese is a lingua franca in the area, even in Meghalaya in addition to the regional language Khasi, the Amri Karbis speak Assamese. There is a lot of borrowing of Assamese lexicon nowadays into modern Amri Karbi as well as code switching between Assamese and Amri Karbi among Amri Karbi speakers. There are some Assamese grammatical constructions that are either used alongside with the Amri Karbi constructions or, in the speech of some speakers, replace the native grammatical constructions.

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<sup>2</sup> In my experience among Amri Karbis, I have not met an Amri Karbi person who was monolingual.

Despite the close proximity of Assamese people to Amri Karbi, this contact is rather recent, probably a little more than 50 years.

Borrowings from English and Hindi are also present in Amri Karbi, however due to similarities between Hindi and Assamese it is not always clear whether a borrowed word came from Hindi or Assamese.

Internally the Amri Karbi divide themselves according to geographical areas, namely *Upper Amri* and *Lower Amri*, the former found up in the hills and the latter down in the plains. There is an idea among Amri Karbis that Lower Amri is heavily influenced by Assamese, while Upper Amri has retained most of its own vocabulary and grammar. The data taken from both areas corresponds with this idea, as more loan words and grammatical constructions from Assamese appear in Lower Amri speech. As a result of the intense language contact of Amri Karbis living in the plains with Assamese it is sometimes not clear whether the Assamese elements appearing in the data should be considered as part of the language (i.e. borrowings), code switching or language attrition. In addition, there are some internal variations in vocabulary, prosody, phonology and grammar between these two varieties and sometimes even among villages. The community-internal variation is usually accepted among the community and perceived as richness, beauty and broader possibilities of a language. The modern influence of Assamese is not seen as positive by the majority of the community. It is seen as a threat to the future of the language, but at the same time as an inevitable phenomenon under the current circumstances, especially for those who have closer contact with Assamese. Other reasons for the Assamese influence are said to be the lack of language description and the inferior status of Amri Karbi. This study will fill the gap of the adequate language description for Amri Karbi.

In Karbi (Konnerth 2014:12) there is some evidence for a Christian sociolect, which was also the variety of Grüßner's work. In Amri Karbi, Christians also seem to be linguistically special in a way that the Lower Amri Christians are more resistant to Assamese influence, due to interaction with Upper Amri Christians. Through this regular interaction they are able to retain some of the native forms that have been misplaced by non-Christian Lower Amri variety speakers. In addition, regular use of Amri Karbi literature (New Testament and Scripture based literature) and singing Amri Karbi hymns in church also has an effect. It is not impossible that the influence turns the other way around and then in time, we might also find a Christian sociolect in Amri Karbi. Perhaps Christianity have not been long enough in Amri Karbi (since

1980) for the sociolect to emerge as it has in Karbi where Christianity has been present for a longer time, possibly since before 1931, the year when Karbi New Testament was published.

Karbi is a closely related language spoken primarily in Karbi Anglong autonomous district. Due to the territorial distance (though not large with Ri-Bhoi district) between two language communities there is little daily interaction between Amri Karbi and Karbi speakers. The most common interaction type between Amri Karbi and Karbi that I have observed is through intermarriages or when some Karbi delegates attend Amri Karbi social events and vice versa. The language of interaction between Amri Karbis and Karbis to my knowledge is usually Assamese, except for the intermarriage situation where the language in the family will be the language of a village the family lives in. The fact that the choice of the language of interaction is Assamese proves that there is not enough mutual understanding between the Amri Karbi and Karbi varieties. However, some of my language consultants said that through prolonged exposure to Karbi, they could learn the language rather quickly and can switch to the Karbi variety whenever a situation requires.

There seems to be some movement to unite Amri Karbi people with the Karbi people, which might imply for Amri Karbis the need to abandon their variety and adopt the Karbi variety instead. This speculation is based on information given by some of my language consultants and also found in some online sources: “The Karbis living in different districts and states of the country should come out to build greater Karbi nationality with one language and one dress”<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.drongoexpress.com/2017/12/29/karbis-of-meghalaya-meeting-with-kfs-team-appeal-to-hold-immediate-discussion-with-meghalaya-counterpart/>

Figure 1.1 Men wearing traditional clothes, Amguri village (Alexandr Philippov)



## 1.2 Amri Karbi administrative bodies and collaborators

There are at least three administrative bodies functioning in Amri Karbi: the Amri Karbi Literature Committee, Amri Karbi National Council and Amri Karbi Developmental Council. In what follows I give a brief description of each administrative body that exists in modern day Amri Karbi with the reference to my collaborators for this grammar.

The Amri Karbi Literature Committee was established in 1980 with the help of the Amri Karbi Development Council. The main purpose of the committee is to preserve Amri Karbi by development of the written form of the language and collecting folk stories and historical narratives of the Amri Karbi people. For the purpose of writing the language they adopted the Roman script, that is addressed in 1.12 and 2.3. The Devanagari based Assamese script has been used as well and it is still being used by some of the speakers to write Amri Karbi, but it was considered to be not well suited for the long term language development purposes of Amri Karbi. Besides, the Karbi language in Karbi Anglong had been already written in Roman script, so the Amri Karbi decided to follow their example and even adopted some of their writing

conventions at the time. After some years of work the Literature Committee stopped functioning for a period of time and then resumed its work again around the year 2005. During their work the Amri Karbi Literature Committee published Alphabet book, spelling guide book, story books and some school curriculum books.

Amri Karbis do not have their own autonomy and since 1982 they are claiming their autonomous council to the government. The Amri Karbi National Council consists of its members, a president and a secretary. It is a voluntary organization, with the goal of forming an Amri Karbi district.

There is also the Amri Karbi Development Council, which is sponsored by the government. Its function is to serve the Amri Karbi community through development – that is, helping the poor community members, providing scholarship and building roads; its moto is “Uplifting the Amri Karbi nation”. The fact that Amri Karbis do not have their own autonomy might be contributing to the language vitality and language attitude.

Since there is no designated land for the group, there is also no place that Amri Karbi would call the centre or ‘capital’. The village Marme is considered to be a cultural centre and traditional religious events usually happen near Marme.

My collaborators for this descriptive grammar included members of the Amri Karbi Literature Committee, especially Ms. Babani Marme. Ms. Marme translated the New Testament into Amri Karbi and has been a long-term language activist. Other language consultants from the committee were Mr. Puron Marme and Mr. Kahang Tumung. My largest partner organization is the Amri Karbi Baptist Church Association (*Amri Karbi Baptist Kachikruk Ason – AKBKA*). Within AKBKA there is a Christian Literature Committee that oversees literature production in Amri Karbi.

### **1.3 Education**

Western education arrived in Amri Karbi in the second half of the last century, so probably about 50 or 60 years ago. Classroom education does not train much for the traditional Amri Karbi lifestyle, but in the midst of rapid exposure to the world outside, Amri Karbi reality and its modern way of life, school education is a must. Nowadays, most Amri Karbi children go to school, which follows the general Indian curriculum. There are public and private schools; public schools are usually Assamese or Khasi medium depending on the state. Private schools

are prevailingly English medium. Many Amri Karbies prefer sending their children to private schools, for the reason that the teaching quality is considered to be better and that the children can learn English, the language of higher prestige and the medium of instruction in higher level education. While public schools are free, private schools are subject to tuition fees, which can be quite a large portion of a family's income, especially if there are more than one child in the family. There are no Amri Karbi medium schools and Amri Karbi is not taught as a subject. It used to be so that there were Amri Karbi classes in nine schools, but today this practice has stopped due to the lack of funding. There seems to be no language transitioning system in place for children to learn the language medium of the school, which causes children to struggle in school because of the language barrier. Having said that, since some teachers in local schools are Amri Karbi speakers themselves, they naturally feel that it will make more sense if they explain school material in Amri Karbi to the younger children. It was not so in the past, when education entered into Amri Karbi lives and all the teachers were non-Amri Karbi speakers. Some of my language consultants who are now in their fifties or even thirties shared their experience of school: they remembered having difficulty in following the school curriculum, which forced them to adopt a strategy of memorizing the material without comprehension in order to pass the exams.

Figure 1.2 Amri Karbi teacher explaining school material to children (Nancy Geertsma)



#### 1.4 Environment, lifestyle and belief

Amri Karbis live in scattered villages located in plain and hill areas. The villages are typically spacious with each house having a yard and a garden. Houses are generally built with clay and bamboo. Every house has two rooms, the family room where they eat and sleep and the kitchen.

The staple food for Amri Karbis is rice that they cultivate either in wet-cultivation (paddy fields) or a cultivation that is known in India as *jhum*, which uses a slash-and-burn technique to convert forests into crop fields. The other main plant is the betel nut that people grow for personal use and commerce. Betel nuts are an important ceremonial element in many traditional religious rituals and weddings. Another important plant would be bamboo that is vastly used as a building material and for making of many household items, like cooking and eating utensils as well as for fishing and hunting tools. Bamboo is also grown for commerce and nowadays, new plants like rubber and orange trees have become popular for commercial growing. Amri Karbis are known for growing and selling oranges, which is one of the main commercial crops in the region. Lately there has been increase in cultivating broomstick and rubber trees as a business.

Along with the agricultural practices, some Amri Karbis are also hunters and gatherers. They hunt for wild animals like deer and tiger, and gather fruit, vegetables, edible leaves and firewood in the jungle.

The traditional Amri Karbi meal is cooked on an open fire in the kitchen or sometimes outside. Nowadays, gas (in gas cylinders) is used in some households, but cooking on an open fire is still the preferred method. They make *hor* ‘rice beer’ and drink it during farming and at festive occasions. Vegetables are frequently cooked as a side dish called *han* and served with rice *an*. Sometimes rice can also be eaten with fish or meat. Meat, which is usually pork, is eaten occasionally.

The majority of people who live in villages are entrepreneurs, practicing farming or gathering for commerce or running some small business, like keeping a shop. Some Amri Karbis pursue other careers and get a job in a city or in local schools as teachers.

Amri Karbi women weave their own clothing with cotton threads on a weaving loom at home. The pieces of clothing include *paning* ‘skirt’, *jalso* ‘shawl’, *pongcho* ‘man’s scarf’ and *wangkok* ‘woman’s belt’. Amri Karbi men might wear trousers and shirts on a daily basis and wear traditional clothing occasionally, while women wear Amri Karbi clothing every day. Wearing

their own clothing designs is a part of Amri Karbi identity. Amri Karbi clothes are weaved in different patterns and colours. The main and distinct Amri Karbi dress and scarf colour is bright blue.

Amri Kabri's traditional religious belief is animism, which means that they believe in ancestors and spirits that are active and present in daily life. They believe in a god named *Arnam* who is the supreme god and the creator of the universe. They have religious healers and priests who practice healing and fortunetelling. These days, people also turn to western medicine for help and go to hospitals and buy medicine from pharmacies.

Nowadays, some people have converted to Christianity (mainly Baptist) and some converted to Hinduism. According to Christian Amri Karbis, about thirty percent of Amri Karbis are Christians and the number is growing. Many villages that have a large proportion of Christians have a church building. Christianity did not come to the Amri Karbis from western missionaries directly, but rather from other groups in the area: Khasi, Naga and others. As far as I know, Christianity has come to the Amri Karbis quite recently, only in the beginning of 1980s, around the same time as education and the writing system appeared in Amri Karbi.

Music is an integral part of Amri Karbi culture; they often sing songs and play instruments, *cheng* 'drum' and *muri* 'trumpet'. They have many traditional songs to sing while working in the field and play music during religious festivals. Some of the Amri Karbi songs were documented during this project, but the majority of them still need to be transcribed as the song language is not understood by most of my language consultants.

Figure 1.3 Amri Karbi musical instrument *muri* 'trumpet' (Alexandr Philippov)



Figure 1.4 Amri Karbi church with drying brooms in the front in Plasha village (Alexandr Philippov)



Figure 1.5 Amri Karbi young women at the Cultural festival 2013 (Alexandr Philippov)



Figure 1.6 Woman is carrying wood and man is carrying broomstick, Pisamsuru village (Tiina and Jorma Jumppanen)



## 1.5 Clan system and migration

Amri Karbi have a legend of migration that is remembered and told by community elders. According to the legend there were three clans of Karbi people: Chinthang, Ronghang and Amri. All Karbis used to live together in what is nowadays the Karbi Anglong district territory. Once they had a fight with the Kacharis and as a result, the Karbis had to flee. Amri Karbis went to the Guwahati side and Khasi Hills; Karbis, Chinthang and Ronghang clans went to live in Jantia hills. The area where Amri Karbis have been living begins from Marigaon village to Guwahati. After some time, Karbis went back to live in the today's Karbi Anglong.

Nowadays, Amri Karbi still have a functioning clan system; according to my language consultants there are ten clans overall. Each Amri Karbi clan consists of blood relations of one side only, who congregate into a group with the same title, where the people with the same clan title or a surname are considered to be as one clan. In the Amri Karbi clan system, all clans are distinguished not only by their names but also by their roles and functions. Therefore, clan division plays an important role in the community in the areas such as: decisions on disputes,

admitting outsiders, overseeing the marriage laws, function of local court and so on. Clan division surfaces during the purification ceremony that is performed by priestly clan and other clans are involved in celebrations according to the function of each clan; for example, one clan is cooking festive food, another cleans afterwards and so on (see a full list of clans and their functions in Appendix 1).

When it comes to marriage regulations, the clan system plays one of the key roles in the community. For example, marriage within a clan is seen as the greatest offence and thus is punished with excommunication from the community. The most desirable match for a man is to marry his mother's brother's daughter. The most desirable match for a woman is to marry her father's sister's son. According to the clan regulations, women do not change their clan titles after marriage and the children take their father's clan title and therefore are counted to the father's clan.

All members of the community follow the rules and regulations of the society. If a rule is broken, the offenders pay a fine in the form that can be shared and benefited by the entire village; for example a pig, that is prepared as a meal. The most often broken rule is a marriage regulation, when a couple that is not allowed to be married decides to "run away". After "running away" the couple is considered to be husband and wife and their families need to pay a fine, the amount of which is decided by the Amri Karbi court.

Amri Karbi and Karbi have similar clan names and a lot of the same festivals. Amri Karbi have a purification ceremony that Karbis do not have. The purification ceremony is performed once a year for cleansing of sins of all the clans that have been committed during that year.

## **1.6 Amri Karbi exonyms and endonym**

As with many languages in North East India, Amri Karbi has an exonym, Mikir, given to them by the Colonial administrators during the British raj. After the independence of India in 1947, many groups abandoned their exonyms and made endonyms for themselves. Consequently, several decades ago the endonym Karbi was created, but the origin of the name Karbi is unknown. Later, to identify themselves as a separate group from the Karbis in Karbi Anglong district, the Amri Karbi added the name Amri to the Karbi endonym.

The origin of the term *amri* is not known. There is a river called *Umpri* which divides the Upper Amri area between Assam and Meghalaya. It is supposed that the term *amri* might be derived

from that. According to the legend of the Amri Karbi migration, that I heard from my language consultants, Amri is the name of one of the clans. However, after some studies of Amri Karbi clans, it was discovered that no one in the community had a title or a surname Amri. So, this fact would suggest that the name Amri is either not really a clan name, or perhaps not as old as other clan names. Nowadays I notice some young people adopting Amri name as a surname for themselves, so it is not unlikely that the Amri name could be used in the future as a title/surname.

All people who speak this language call themselves *Arleng*; however, the endonym *Arleng* can also mean ‘man’ or ‘person’, which creates ambiguity when people want to talk about their people as a group. Both endonyms Amri Karbi and Karbi are found to be more convenient than *Arleng* and are used alongside each other. They hardly ever would use the exonym Mikir, except when it is required, for example, for official documents (especially in Meghalaya), where the name Amri Karbi or even Karbi is not in use. The Amri Karbi call their language *Ili alam* which means ‘our language’.

The Amri Karbi are known as Mikir by other groups who live nearby them in Assam and Meghalaya. Other names that are sometimes used for the Amri Karbi include *Bhoi Mynri*, *Plains Karbi* and *Dumrali*. *Bhoi* comes from the area name of the Ri-Bhoi district in Meghalaya. *Bhoi Mynri* is also used to refer to the Karbi of the West Karbi Anglong district, who are also called Amri Karbi<sup>4</sup>. So, this might create confusion as to which group is being talked about. *Plains Karbi* is a name used as opposed to *Hills Karbi* that is spoken in Karbi Anglong (lit. ‘Karbi Hills’). *Dumrali* or *Dumura* comes from the area name where the Amri Karbi live, which was apparently once called Dumura and there was a Dumura kingdom and a Dumura king.

Not all people who speak the language of this study would identify themselves as Amri Karbi, and generally all these people would agree that their language is similar to Karbi as spoken in Karbi Anglong and therefore agree on the name *Karbi*. According to some of my language consultants, the name *Amri* is considered by some members of the community to be used for those Amri Karbis who are Christians (there are about thirty percent of Amri Karbis who identify themselves as Christians). So, some of those who are not Christians do not want to use this name for this reason. The reason for associating the name *Amri* with Christianity might be

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<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, none of my language consultants ever mentioned that there is another group called Amri Karbi.

the fact that the majority of the language activists, Amri Karbi National Council and Amri Karbi Development Council consist of Christian members. Overall, there seems to be disunity about the name Amri Karbi in the community for either political, economic or ideological reasons.

The name *Plains Karbi* seems to be a neutral name that could serve as a solution for the internal disagreement about the name and that also does not create confusion with the Karbi speakers in Karbi Anglong, who are also called Amri Karbi. It is not uncommon to use terms like Plains and Hills to differentiate two related varieties. It appears that the *Plains* part of the name *Plains Karbi* was not the Amri Karbi's invention and whoever invented it did not receive consent from the key Amri Karbi leaders to use it and therefore, the name is bound for rejection. The name *Plains* appeared only after the Amri Karbi started using name *Amri Karbi* for themselves. Besides that, there is already an internal geographical and linguistic division of Amri Karbi community into *Lower Amri*, as those who live in the plains, and *Upper Amri*, as those who live in the hills. The exonym *Dumrali* could also be a neutral and a geographical name and its seemingly positive characteristics actually drive the Amri Karbi away from it. The reason is that in the Amri Karbis's understanding, the term does not refer to any particular group but rather to the inhabitants of the location *Dumura* and for that reason, it is rejected by the Amri Karbi, despite the fact that the term somehow became associated with the Amri Karbi rather than other people living in the same area. So, because my language consultants reject both the names *Plains Karbi* and *Dumrali*, they are not applied in describing their language in this grammar. Instead, *Amri Karbi* the name my language consultants prefer, is adopted here.

## **1.7 Language vitality and revitalization**

This section provides a sociolinguistic analysis of language endangerment based on a study by our research team (Philippova et al. in preparation) using the Participatory research methods (PMEC) approach. Participatory research methods are geared towards planning and conducting the research process with those people whose life-world and meaningful actions are under study (Bergold&Thomas 2012). The basic idea of the sociolinguistic analysis based on this approach is to involve the local community in the research of their own language use as a means to raise awareness among them regarding the endangerment of their mother tongue and how to plan actions designed to reverse language-shift.

According to the *Ethnologue* “Many ethnic group members no longer use Amri Karbi. Much borrowing has taken place from Assamese (in Assam) and Khasi (in Meghalaya). Some Amri Karbi villages have shifted completely to Assamese due to intermarriages and to the perception that Assamese is the preferred language for children to do well in school. In the remote and isolated border area with Meghalaya, the language is still strong.” In UNESCO’s Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger, Amri Karbi is not listed and Karbi has the status of ‘vulnerable’ (Moseley 2010).

During the study it was found that Amri Karbi language vitality varies from area to area. One of the tools to assess language vitality was to discuss the topic on language domains. People identified languages used in their daily life and the frequency of their use. Figure 1.5 shows the process of identifying language use domains, where an Amri Karbi woman puts a piece of paper with the name of a language use domain written on it under the name of a language.

Figure 1.7 Sociolinguistic research in an Amri Karbi village (Picture was taken by the author)



The results of this discussion varied from area to area. In some areas, other languages besides Amri Karbi played a greater role in everyday life, by the larger amounts of domains being used and the higher frequency of use. As an example, Table 1.1 shows a result of a language use domains study from Amri Karbi community in Guwahati region. The lifestyle in a city is different to that in a village. Many people have jobs in the city and young Amri Karbis have

friends and classmates from outside their community, and the language domain Table 1.1 reflects that. The Table 1.1 shows the languages and under them the list of domains they are used with no specific order. During the study it was discussed how often the language is used in the particular domain, so the domains were split into ‘daily’ and ‘less than daily’. For example Amri Karbi is used in the domain ‘home’ on a daily basis.

Table 1.1 Language use domains in Guwahati

Languages			
Assamese	Amri Karbi	Hindi	English
Daily			
home	home	movies	school
between ourselves	elderly Amri Karbi people	school	newspaper
market		at home with children	Bible
TV		music	with the teacher
with Assamese people			music
newspaper			movies
Bible			
friends			
school			
Less than daily			
office	children	market	office
music	Bible	hospital	college
	market	college friends	
	church		
	hymnal book		

Table 1.2 shows the results from a village in a plain area (Lower Amri) where Amri Karbis might live in a mixed village, but majority of the population would be still Amri Karbi. Other

languages do play a role, but Amri Karbi is spoken in more domains. One important factor though is that Assamese has entered 'home' domain in both areas.

Table 1.2 Language use domains in Lower Amri

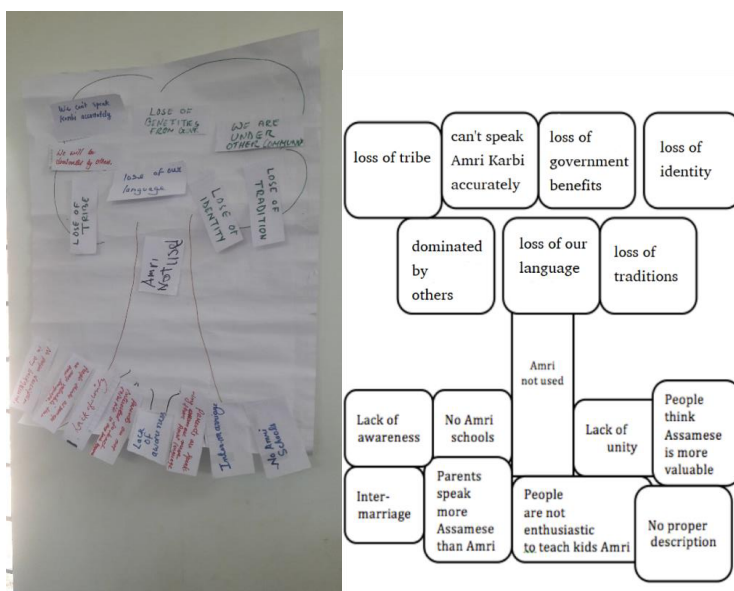
Languages			
Assamese	Amri Karbi	Hindi	English
Daily use			
home	home	TV	books
school	family	school	songs
work	Amri Karbi friends	with friends	TV
market	village	books	newspaper
friends	school friends		Facebook
book	Bible		
village	hymnal book		
Bible	prayer		
TV	song		
	market		
Less than daily			
newspaper	church	market	office
church	Whatsapp	hospital	college
songs	community meeting	college friends	
prayer	Facebook		
public meeting			

Discrepancy in reports on language domains shows that language vitality varies depending on the linguistic environment of the people. The language is likely to be lost in the area reported by Table 1.1, as Amri Karbi is not spoken to children daily and children are exposed to other languages more frequently. According to Table 1.2, Amri Karbi is used in several domains on a daily basis and is not likely to be lost in the near future.

During discussion sessions, people examined what the roots and results of the loss of their language using a picture of a tree (shown in Figure 1.6, followed with the explanation of the

picture of a tree). One of the results among others was the loss of identity and one of the roots (the bottom of the picture) is the lack of awareness of the results of language loss. People are acting on intuition that speaking a majority language will benefit their children in the future, without thinking what the repercussions will be. The lack of this awareness was noted by the people as something they could influence and divert today, which would be a step towards language resilience and revitalization. As can be seen in the Figure 1.6, one of the roots of the language loss is the lack of the proper description of the language, the gap that this dissertation is attempting to address.

Figure 1.8 Roots and results of language loss (Picture was taken by the author)



## 1.8 Prior documentation

Some of the first documentations of Mikir/Karbi languages are listed in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1903). These documentations, which include some text samples, do not represent the variety that is described in this grammar. Besides the text samples of Mikir/Karbi the documentation also includes a text sample of the Bhoi Mikir/Karbi variety (Grierson 1903:409), which is also different from the variety of this study. The name *Bhoi* is part of an exonym Bhoi Minry (see 1.6) that is used for Amri Karbis living in Ri-Bhoi district, but it also refers to Karbis living in the western Karbi Anglong. It is likely that Amri Karbis continued to

be overlooked because they do not live in Karbi Anglong district and the names of places where they do live do not provide clues as to what kind of people live there<sup>5</sup>. There is also an ethnographic description of Mikirs/Karbhis (Stack and Lyall 1908) with some references to the Amri clan. The book also contains some texts in Mikir/Karbi language, which is again different from Amri Karbi. More recent descriptions of Karbi include grammars written by Grüßner (1978), Jeyapaul (1981) and Konnerth (2014).

The first documentations of the Amri Karbi language should be credited to Amri Karbis themselves. There are several members of the community who have been working on describing of their mother tongue. Those that I know personally include Ms. Babani Marme and Mr. Puron Marme. Ms. Marme has compiled an Amri Karbi-Assamese-English dictionary with about 10 000 entries. She has also been working on a grammatical description of Amri Karbi that could be used for pedagogical purposes. Mr. Marme showed me a short handwritten grammatical description of Amri Karbi. I have heard that there are other language activists who have been working on documenting and describing their mother tongue.

A research team of Binny Abraham and Pronay Daimary conducted a sociolinguistic research of Amri Karbi (Abraham et al. 2004); one of the goals was to assess the difference between Amri Karbi and Karbi. Their methodology included collecting a 307-item word list in order to calculate lexical similarity percentage between the Amri Karbi and Karbi varieties. According to this research, the lexical similarity between the Amri Karbi and Karbi varieties range from 57% to 68%.

There is a preliminary description of Amri Karbi phonology by Amalesh Gope and Priyankoo Sarmah (Gope and Sarmah 2012). The description is based on a Swadesh wordlist of 200+ words, collected in Sonapur. Even though some of my language consultants also live in Sonapur, the analysis of Amri Karbi phonology in that description is different from the analysis written in this grammar, which will be addressed in §2. Thus, all in all Amri Karbi is a heavily underdocumented language.

## **1.9 Methods and data**

This grammatical analysis is based on a database of texts of different types, such as narratives, procedural texts, that has a sequence of actions or steps to do something as well as interviews

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<sup>5</sup> Most Amri Karbi villages have either Assamese or Khasi names, with the exception of the village Marme.

and conversations. To complement the data that comes from natural discourse, elicited data were also gathered. Elicited data were used in the beginning of the project and then for the analysis of phonology. Later elicitation was used based on the existing natural data in order to clarify and understand phenomena found in the natural data and as a way to build the word paradigms. I have used a questionnaire to explore negation (Miestamo 2019), and some questions that were given at the end of grammatical topic chapters in *Describing morphosyntax* (Payne 1997) and *Basic linguistic theory* (Dixon 2009, 2010). The questioner and questions were used as tools to explore specific grammatical topics and were not only translations of sentences from one language to another. To enrich the data, I have recorded a Pear film (Chafe 1980), a technique that is widely used by field linguists. A Pear film is a six-minute film, that a language consultant watches and describes what happens in it.

In addition to the intentionally documented data, I have used data coming from my observation and interaction with people, which in turn includes heard and overheard data of what people say.

As for the information provided in this chapter, the data was either recorded or documented in notes or found in the literature or online resources. The sources are given whenever applicable.

Most of the recorded data have been collected from native speakers during my fieldtrips. I stayed for a two and a half year period in North East India from 2013-2015 and visited Amri Karbi villages either from Shillong (where I was based most of the time) or Guwahati (where I stayed occasionally). I would also invite language consultants either to Guwahati or Shillong to work with me on transcription of the recorded data. Then after moving to Finland, to do my PhD I made two fieldtrips to India: one two-week visit in January-February 2016 and a second three-month stay in January-March 2017. Besides fieldtrips I kept long distance communication with the community members via emails, Facebook messenger, Skype and WhatsApp. During my time in Helsinki, one of my language consultants, Ms. Babani Marme, came to Finland twice as a visiting researcher at the University of Helsinki for one month each time: September-October 2016 and April-May 2018.

The language data was transcribed and analyzed using the software Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx) and some parts of data were also transcribed in ELAN. For phonetic analysis, Praat software (Boersma&Weenink 2013) was used. The data was either audio recorded or both audio and video recorded. There are two hours and thirty-four minutes of transcribed natural data; there are also several hours of recorded audio and video data that were not

transcribed but were used for this thesis to supplement the transcribed data. The transcribed data consists of data recorded from thirty speakers (see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3) from different Amri Karbi villages, both in Lower and Upper Amri areas. The choice of consultants was usually deliberate, so that the grammar could represent the language of the entire community. Besides dialectal variation, the balance among language consultants was sought in relation to gender, age, religion, education and occupation.

Besides data recorded for this project, the New Testament translation that was published in 2013 and the Amri Karbi-Assamese-English dictionary (Ms. Babani Marme, in preparation) were used as resources.

The research was conducted according to the ethical principles for research with human participants issued by the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK, specifically:

- a) The researcher respects the dignity and autonomy of human research participants. The rights laid down in the Finnish Constitution (1999/731, Sections 6–23) are held by everybody. These include the right to life, personal liberty and integrity, freedom of movement, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of expression, protection of property and the right to privacy.
- b) The researcher respects material and immaterial cultural heritage and biodiversity.
- c) The researcher conducts their research so that the research does not cause significant risks, damage or harm to research participants, communities or other subjects of research.

In accordance with these principles, prior to the recording sessions, the language consultants were asked to give consent by signing two copies of the consent form, one of which was given to a language consultant. The form reserves the right for a language consultant to withdraw their consent at any time. Before signing the consent forms, the content of the form was always explained orally by me or by one of my accompanying language consultants. There are two language consultants who were recorded by giving the oral consent only, as the written form was not available at the time. That is why, these two consultants are not identified by their name. Children were not recorded for the research, but I made notes of my observation of adults' speaking to children.

Most of the Amri Karbi language material will be archived, possibly in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR).

## **1.10 Theoretical framework**

This research is descriptive and documentary in nature, providing a synchronic account of Amri Karbi with some reference to historical data whenever it is viewed as enhancing the explanation. The intended approach taken in this grammar is framework-free, which I believe is the best approach to describe a language. This approach is widely practiced (Haspelmath 2010) and is preferred over a framework-bound approach because:

“Frameworks set up expectations about what phenomena languages should, can and cannot have, and once a framework has been adopted, it is hard to free oneself from the perspective and the constraints imposed by it.” Haspelmath (2010)

Framework-free approach does not mean that the author remains isolated from the body of knowledge about grammars of languages of the world, which is also known as typology. Typological knowledge and literature inspired and pushed me to dig deeper into the data and allowed the right questions to be asked during my fieldwork and description process that might have been otherwise overlooked.

Ultimately, comprehension and clarity are the first two pillars of a good grammar, according to Rice (2007). Therefore, for better comprehension and to support the point being made, I have given many examples from the database. Whenever linguistic terms that were used to describe Amri Karbi are not widely known, I have provided their definitions. All the literature that was consulted for this study is referenced in the grammar and the entire list of sources is provided in the References.

## **1.11 Linguistics examples**

Most of the linguistic examples given in the grammar come from the natural data. The source for the example is given in the end of the free translation in brackets. When the linguistic example in a grammatical description was elicited, it is so stated in the given source.

The examples are usually given in four lines, the first line is the text, the second line has morpheme boundaries, and the third line is morpheme glosses (1.1).

(1.1)

*aihelke hole wang'ingo*

ai-hel=ke          hole          wang-i-lo

mother-PL=TOP   may.be   come-HON-RL

‘mother in law probably has come’ (elicited)

The reason for the second line to show morpheme boundaries is that there are many allomorphic variations in affixes, so the underlined form is constantly in the morpheme boundary line. Whenever the example has only the underlined form, to save space, the first line does not appear in the example, as it will be identical to the morpheme boundary line (1.2).

(1.2)

*la=bang   a-lam-the-so                  anang a-yok                  ai=yok                  arju-lò*

DEM=GNR   POSS-word-word-DIM   3                  POSS-NSUBJ   mother=NSUBJ   ask-RL

‘she asked her mother, those exact words’ (PM, Bilangthe)

The numbering of the examples is given in brackets, for example (1.10), the first number indicates the chapter number and the second number after the full stop shows the number example within that chapter.

Code switching is marked in the morpheme gloss line in brackets. There are three sources for code switching in Amri Karbi, Assamese (Assm), English (Eng) and Indic languages (Ind) that include Hindi and Bengali (1.3).

(1.3)

*jitia asopoyok chithektheyongo*

jitia(Assm)   a-so-po=yok                  chi-thék-Ce-ingyong-lò

when                  POSS-child-M=NSUBJ   RR-see-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘when she did not see her son’ (KP, Honghora)

As was mentioned earlier, the distinction between code switching and borrowing is not always clear, especially with the items from Assamese and Indic languages. To identify code switching, I identified the following criteria: if the form is not used consistently within an internal variety or a sociolect, it is code switching. However, even with that criteria in mind, it is not always clear if the item belongs to borrowing or code switching.

The source of the example is given in brackets, where the initials of the speaker come first and after comma, the name of the recording. In case the source is an elicitation, it is stated so in the brackets.

There are some question marks put in the glossing which means that the gloss is not yet known.

## **1.12 Orthography**

The origin of the Amri Karbi writing system has been mentioned in §1.2. In this section I will present the writing convention for linguistic examples and texts for this grammar, and the difference from other currently used Amri Karbi writing conventions. Currently, mostly Roman script is used to write Amri Karbi; Assamese script is also used alongside Roman script. In this grammar, I use Roman script to represent text examples. The writing conventions of the text examples are similar to the ones used in the Amri Karbi New Testament translation but modified. Similar writing conventions can also be seen in literature and reading material produced by the Amri Karbi Baptist Church Association. There are two issues that should be noted regarding linguistic example presentations. One issue concerns the syllable boundaries. Vowel initial syllables that are preglottalized are represented either with a dash or an apostrophe by the speakers. In this grammar, the preglottalized syllables are marked with the apostrophe, for example *un'e* [unʔε]. The second issue concerns the word boundary. Sometimes morphemes and clitics can be written separately in Amri Karbi literature. In this grammar all the morphemes, including suffixes and clitics are written as one word in relation to the word that they either morphologically or phonologically are bound to.

The tone is not marked in Amri Karbi literature (including the New Testament); in the text examples of this grammar, tone is marked on the items where the tone was identified.

## **1.13 Typological overview**

Amri Karbi phoneme inventory includes 23 consonants and 5 full vowels and two marginal vowels. Amri Karbi has an elaborate syllable structure (moderately complex syllable structure) (Maddieson 2013) (C) (C)V (V) (C) with only the vowel nucleus to be obligatory. The second of two consonants in a cluster is limited to liquids /r/ and /l/. Amri Karbi is a tonal language, with three tones, low, medium and high, which exhibit low functional load. Stress in Amri Karbi is usually on the ultimate syllable.

Amri Karbi can be characterized as a synthetic language, because words are typically made of several morphemes. There is at least some degree of variation in the form of morphemes and then there is also fusion at morpheme boundaries.

Amri Karbi is a verb final language with the tense, aspect and mood (TAM) system that is reflected by the verb. Clause combination involves nominalized and non-final verbs.

First and second person pronominal objects are marked on the verb, other objects (Patient) can be either marked or unmarked with non-subject marker *-yok* and Recipient is usually marked with *-yok*. Consequently, alignment in monotransitive clauses shows to be sometimes nominative and sometimes neutral and the ditransitive alignment is secundative, where recipients are treated the same way as patients. In possessive noun phrases the possessed or head noun is marked for possession. The possessed noun agrees in person with the possessor noun (1.4).

(1.4)

<i>recho-po a-hem</i>	<i>ne-hem</i>
king-DEF POSS-house	1-house
‘king’s house’	‘my house’ (elicited)

Amri Karbi has definite markers *-po/-pe/-so* that appear on the final word in a noun phrase. Some of the definite markers also function as gender markers. Personal names usually carry gender markers. There are relator nouns that function as postpositions and the most frequently used ones are often cliticized. Nouns are counted with numeral classifiers that are fused with the numeral ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’, but not with other numerals. When they modify a noun, they usually follow the noun, except for the numeral one with the single human classifier. There is the human plural classifier *bang* that exceptionally does not fuse with the numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’; *bang* also functions as a generic noun and in general is a very frequently occurring word (300 tokens in the transcribed database). The function of adjectives is fulfilled with a special class of adjectival verbs that are nominalized and take the possessive prefix *a-*. Adjectival verbs can either precede or follow a head noun, while relative clauses that are also nominalized always precede the noun they modify. Amri Karbi noun phrases may consist of only a head noun. A modified noun is usually marked with the possessive prefix *a-*.

## **1.14 Organization of this grammar**

The grammar is organized with formal *vs.* functional orientation in mind. Therefore, the first few chapters focus on forms and then the later chapters discuss how different functions are expressed using these forms. Nonetheless, due to the specificity of the language the formal *vs.* functional orientation is interspersed in some parts of the grammar.

Chapter 2 deals with segmental and suprasegmental phonology. Chapter 3 describes word classes. Chapter 4 then focuses on the nominal morphology and noun phrase structure. Chapter 5 deals with the verbal complex that focuses predominantly on the rich verbal morphology. Chapter 6 provides treatment of basic clause types and grammatical relations. Chapter 7 expands on the functions of some of the nominal morphemes that were mentioned in Chapter 4 which include definiteness, specificity and plurality. Likewise, Chapter 8 goes back to the verbal morphology with the detailed overview of some of them in relation to the tense, aspect and mood functions. Clauses are readdressed in Chapter 9 for the account of the complex clauses' structures. Questions and commands are dealt with in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 gives an in-depth analysis of negative structures. The last chapter of the grammar, Chapter 12 is dedicated to various topics related to discourse and context conditioned markers and expressions.

The appendices include Amri Karbi clan names and their roles (Appendix 1), metadata of recorded data (Appendix 2), language consultant metadata (Appendix 3) and three narrative texts (Appendix 4).

## 2 Phonology

This chapter describes Amri Karbi segmental phonology, phonotactics, prosodic structure and morphophonology.

### 2.1 Phonemic inventory

Amri Karbi has 23 consonant and 5 full and 2 marginal vowel phonemes. Vowels do not contrast in length and nasalization. Besides 23 consonants, there is a glottal stop in the language; however, it is not phonemic though it is overwhelmingly present in the speech. It surfaces as an unreleased voiceless velar stop coda and as a phrase-final glottalization. Possibly due to closer contact with Assamese than Karbi, Amri Karbi has adopted new consonant phonemes /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ and /g<sup>h</sup>/ through borrowed words. Consonants appear in two constituent clusters and only syllable-initially. There are two diphthongs that have limited occurrence., predominantly in loan words. Amri Karbi has three tones high, mid and low, that have low functional load and generally do not bear distinctive function in the language. Since Amri Karbi phonology has been preliminary described by Gope and Sarma (2012), I will be comparing my analysis with findings of their study.

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

There are 23 consonant phonemes in Amri Karbi that contrast with each other in a minimal pair. With the exception of velar [ŋ], all other consonants can occur in the onset position, but the coda position is restricted to some of the consonants. All the consonant phonemes are listed in Table 2.1. Whenever orthographic representation is different from the IPA symbols, they are given in angle brackets.

Table 2.1 Consonant chart

Types	Bilabial				Alveolar				Palatal			Velar				Glottal
Stops	b	b <sup>h</sup> <bh>	p	p <sup>h</sup> <ph>	d	d <sup>h</sup> <dh>	t	t <sup>h</sup> <th>	ɟ	ɟ <sup>h</sup> <ɟ>	c <ch>	g	g <sup>h</sup> <gh>	k	k <sup>h</sup> <kh>	
Fricatives	β <w>				s											h
Nasals	m				n							ŋ <ng>				
Lateral					l											
Rhotic					r											
Approximant									(ɟ~j <y>)							

The most recurrent manner of articulation of Amri Karbi consonants are stops. More than a half of the consonants, 14 to be exact, are stops. Stops are produced in all places of articulation. There is a voiced and voiceless distinction in all stops. Aspiration distinction is in all stops but not in all places of articulation. There are three fricatives /s/, /h/ and /β/, three nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, a lateral and rhotic. The approximant /j/ is an allophone for the phoneme /ɟ/ and therefore it is in brackets.

### 2.1.1.1 Bilabial stops

Bilabial stops are produced by stopping the airflow using the lips. Bilabial stops have voiced and voiceless distinction. There is also an aspiration distinction in bilabial stops.

/p/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop. It is always realised as [p] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /pi/ ‘give’. /p/ is unreleased syllable-finally, e.g. /rap/ [rap̚] ‘help’.

/p<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. /p<sup>h</sup>/ is usually realized as [p<sup>h</sup>], e.g. /phi/ [phi] ‘burn’, but some young speakers realize it as [ϕ]. /p<sup>h</sup>/ does not occur syllable-finally.

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. It is always realised as [b] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /bi/ [bi] ‘keep’. /b/ is unreleased syllable-finally, e.g. /bob/ [bob̚] ‘vegetables’.

/b<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop. It is always realised as [b<sup>h</sup>] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /bhem/ [bhem] ‘be late’. /b<sup>h</sup>/ does not occur syllable-finally. The aspirated voiced bilabial is likely to be an innovation as it is chiefly present in loan words of Indic and Assamese origin.

/b<sup>h</sup>/ was not attested in preliminary description of Amri Karbi phonology (Gope&Sarma 2012) and in Karbi (Konnerth 2014), which supports the innovative status of /b<sup>h</sup>/.

Table 2.2 shows minimal pairs for bilabial stop onsets, due to the voiced bilabial aspirated stop being a marginal phoneme, exact minimal pair for it was not found.

Table 2.2 Minimal pair and near minimal pair for bilabial stops

/bi/	‘keep’
/pi/	‘give’
/p <sup>h</sup> i/	‘burn’
/b <sup>h</sup> em/	‘be late’

### 2.1.1.2 Alveolar stops

Alveolar stops have voiced and voiceless distinction. There is aspiration distinction in alveolar stops.

/t/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop. It is always realised as [t] and usually occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /ti/ [ti] ‘throw away’. /t/ occurs syllable-finally as unreleased and in variation with the voiced unaspirated alveolar stop /d/, e.g. [pɔt] ~ [pɔd] ‘what’. /t/ is usually released in exaggeratedly articulated speech.

/t<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolar stop. It is always realised as [t<sup>h</sup>] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /t<sup>h</sup>i/ [t<sup>h</sup>i] ‘die’. /t<sup>h</sup>/ does not occur syllable-finally.

/d/ is a voiced alveolar stop. It is always realised as [d] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /di/ [di] ‘away’. /d/ occurs syllable-finally as unreleased and in variation with the voiced unaspirated alveolar stop /d/, e.g. [pɔt] ~ [pɔd] ‘what’. /d/ is usually released in exaggeratedly articulated speech.

/d<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiced aspirated alveolar stop. It is always realised as [d<sup>h</sup>] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /d<sup>h</sup>i/ [d<sup>h</sup>i] ‘rent’. /d<sup>h</sup>/ does not occur syllable-finally. Aspirated voiced alveolar /d<sup>h</sup>/ is likely to be an innovation as it is also mainly found in loan words of Indic and Assamese origin. Neither in the preliminary description of Amri Karbi phonology (Gope&Sarma 2012) nor in Karbi (Konnerth 2014) was /d<sup>h</sup>/ attested.

Table 2.3 shows minimal pairs for alveolar stop onsets.

Table 2.3 Minimal pairs for alveolar stop onsets

/ti/	‘throw down’
/di/	‘away’
/t <sup>h</sup> i/	‘die’
/d <sup>h</sup> i/	‘rent’

### 2.1.1.3 Palatal stops

There is voiced and voiceless distinction in palatal stops. There is aspiration distinction in voiced palatal stops.

/j/ is a palatal voiced stop. It is realised as [j] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /jéŋ/ [jéŋ] ‘CLF:thread’. /j/ does not occur syllable-finally. Most words with /j/ are usually produced as /j/, e.g. /jɔr/ ‘buy’, /jun/ ‘drink’. Most suffixes, clitics and the negative existential *ingyong* that contain /j/ are produced with free variation between the palatal voiced stop [j] and the palatal glide [j̥]. In text examples in forms where only a palatal voiced stop could be produced it is written as <j>, e.g. *jor* ‘buy’; in words where there is variation among speakers it is represented as <y>, e.g. *ingyong* ‘NEG.EX.COP’. Some speakers might produce /j/ as a fricative [z] or [ʒ] in words with free variation, e.g. [méjɛ] ~ [méze] ~ [méʒɛ] ‘will be good’. The variation between /j/ and /z/ could be an influence of a common variation in the area /j/ as [z]; variation is also found in Indic words [bəʃar]~[bəzar] ‘market’ and in English words [ju]~[zu] ‘zoo’. Fricative /z/ instead of a voiced palatal stop /j/ was attested in the description of Amri Karbi phonology (Gope&Sarma 2012). In Karbi (Konnerth 2014:56) the palatal voiced stop [j] is in free variation with the palatal glide [j̥]. Konnerth (2014:57) notes that according to the research by Matisoff (2003) the Karbi /j~j̥/ reconstructs to Proto-Tibeto-Burman as the glide \*/j/ and synchronically the glide [j̥] appears more frequently in conservative varieties of Karbi.

/j<sup>h</sup>/ is a palatal aspirated voiced stop. It is realised as [j<sup>h</sup>] and occurs syllable-initially and does not appear syllable-finally, e.g. /j<sup>h</sup>ar/ [j<sup>h</sup>ar] ‘CLF:bunch’. The phoneme /j<sup>h</sup>/ is found to occur only in sixteen words, some of them appear to be native words.

/c/ is a voiceless palatal stop. /c/ is produced as a sound that is between /c/ and affricate /ts/. Some speakers produce /c/ as [s] especially before the close-front unrounded vowel /i/. /c/ appears syllable-initially, /céŋ/ ‘start’ and does not appear syllable-finally.

Table 2.4 shows a minimal pair and a near minimal pair for palatal stop onsets.

Table 2.4 Minimal pair and near minimal pair for palatal stop onsets

/jɛŋ/	‘CLF:thread’
/cɛŋ/	‘begin’
/j <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘CLF:bunch’

#### 2.1.1.4 Velar stops

Velar stops have voiced and voiceless distinction. There is aspiration distinction in velar stops.

/k/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop. It is always realised as [k] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /kat/ [kat] ‘to run’. /k/ is unreleased syllable-finally.

/k<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop. It is always realised as [k<sup>h</sup>] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /k<sup>h</sup>at/ [k<sup>h</sup>at] ‘bed’. /k<sup>h</sup>/ does not occur syllable-finally.

/g/ is a voiced unaspirated velar stop. It is always realised as [g] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /gɔr/ [gɔr] ‘fort’. /g/ does not occur syllable-finally. /g/ appears in about thirty-five words. Voiced velar /g/ was attested in the preliminary description of Amri Karbi phonology (Gope&Sarma 2012). Voiced velar /g/ does not exist in Karbi (Konnerth 2014).

/g<sup>h</sup>/ is a voiced aspirated velar stop. It is always realised as [g<sup>h</sup>] and occurs syllable-initially, e.g. /g<sup>h</sup>us/~ [g<sup>h</sup>us] ‘bribe’. /g<sup>h</sup>/ does not occur syllable-finally. /g<sup>h</sup>/ is a rare phoneme that appears in about eleven words. Voiced aspirated velar /g<sup>h</sup>/ was not attested in the preliminary description of Amri Karbi phonology (Gope&Sarma 2012). /g<sup>h</sup>/ does not exist in Karbi (Konnerth 2014).

Table 2.5 shows minimal pair for velar stop onsets; however, due to the marginal status /g/ and /g<sup>h</sup>/, an ‘ideal’ minimal pair was not found for these phonemes.

Table 2.5 Minimal pair and near minimal pair for velar stop onsets

/kat/	‘run’
/k <sup>h</sup> at/	‘bed’
/gɔr/	‘fort’
/g <sup>h</sup> us/	‘bribe’

### 2.1.1.5 Nasals

Out of the three nasals /m n ŋ /, only /m/ and /n/ occur word-initially and medially.

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal. It is always realised as [m] and occurs in syllable-initial position, e.g. /mē/ [mē] ‘fire’. /m/ occurs syllable-finally, e.g. /dam/ [dam] ‘go’.

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal. It occurs in syllable-initial position and is always realised as [n] e.g. /nɛ/ [nɛ] ‘1sg’. /n/ occurs syllable finally, e.g. /pen/ [pen] ‘with’

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal. It is always realised as [ŋ] and occurs in syllable-final position, e.g. /laŋ/ [laŋ] ‘to see’. As a result of resyllabification it can sometimes occur in syllable-initial position word-medially, e.g. /laŋ.ɛ / [laŋ.ɛ]~[la.ŋɛ] ‘will see’.

Table 2.6 shows a minimal pair for nasal onsets and Table 2.7 shows a minimal triplet for nasal codas.

Table 2.6 Minimal pair for nasal onsets

/mē/	‘fire’
/nɛ/	‘1Sg’

Table 2.7 Minimal triplet for nasal codas

_m	/dam/ ‘go’
_n	/dan/ ‘beat’
_ŋ	/daŋ/ ‘filter’

### 2.1.1.6 Fricatives

There are three fricatives in Amri Karbi, /s/, /h/ and /β/.

/s/ is a voiced post-alveolar fricative. It occurs in syllable-initial position and is realised as alveolar [s], e.g. /sɔ/ [sɔ] ‘child’. Some speakers produce /s/ as voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]. For new or foreign words with [ʃ], some speakers would produce [s]; for example, Shillong (name of a city) /ʃilo:ŋ/ is usually produced as [silo:ŋ]. In the description of Amri Karbi phonology (Gope&Sarma 2012) there is also a fricative /z/.

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. It is always realised as [h]; it occurs in syllable-initial position and does not occur syllable-finally, e.g. /hɔ/ [hɔ] ‘small basket’.

/β/ is a sound that is between the bilabial semi-vowel /w/ and the bilabial voiced fricative /β/. It occurs in syllable-initial position and does not occur syllable-finally. /β/ is produced more voiced than a typical semivowel, but not as voiced as a bilabial voiced fricative, e.g. /βɔ/ ‘bird’.

Table 2.8 shows minimal pair for these two phonemes.

Table 2.8 Minimal pair for fricative onsets

/sɔ/	‘child’
/hɔ/	‘small basket’
/βɔ/	‘bird’

### 2.1.1.7 Liquids

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant. It occurs in syllable-initial position and is usually realised as [l] e.g. /lɔŋ/ [lɔŋ] ‘LOC’. It is sometimes realised as a palatalised [lʲ] before the front vowels /i/ and /e/, e.g. /hlɛŋ/ [hlɛŋ] ~ [hlʲɛŋ] ‘to reach’ and in syllable-final position.

/r/ is a voiced alveolar trill. It occurs in syllable-initial position and is usually realized as a trill, e.g. /rɔŋ/ [rɔŋ]. It is produced as a flap or approximant syllable-finally, e.g. /apɔr/ [apɔɹ] ~ [apɔɾ].

Table 2.9 gives minimal pair for the liquids /l/ and /r/ onsets and Table 2.10 gives minimal pair for the liquids /l/ and /r/ codas.

Table 2.9 Minimal sets for liquids (trill and lateral) onsets

/lɔŋ/	‘LOC’
/rɔŋ/	‘village’

Table 2.10 Minimal pair for liquids (trill and lateral) codas

/sal/	‘work’
/sar/	‘be old’

### 2.1.2 Vowels

The language has five contrastive vowels /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, and /u/, see Table 2.11. Vowels /e/ and /o/ (shown in brackets) are marginal vowels that have a very low frequency of occurrence. Vowels do not contrast in length, but are usually lengthened if they appear in the end of an intonation unit. There is no nasalization contrast in Amri Karbi. In syllable-initial position, vowels are always preceded by a glottal stop. As a result of preglottalization, when morphemes attach to a word the word is not resyllabified. For example, when suffix *chi-* ‘RR’ attaches to a verb *en* ‘take’ it is produced as [chiʔɛn]. The sixth vowel /ɪ/ that was found in the Hills Amri Karbi variety (Konnerth 2014:64) was not found in the variety that this grammar describes. Goal and Sarma identified five basic vowels in Amri Karbi: the front high vowel /i/, high back vowel /u/, front mid vowel /e/, low back vowel /ɔ/ and the central vowel /a/. Four of these vowels /i/, /ɔ/, /a/ and /u/ are similar to those discovered in this study. Although minimal pairs for /ɔ/ given by Goal and Sarma include a word /dɔk/ ‘sweet’ which in the variety of this grammar is /dɔk/ ‘be sweet’. Phoneme /ɛ/ was not found and the vowel /e/ found in Goal and Sarma’s account is a marginal vowel in this grammar.

Karbi also has a five-vowel monophthong system (Konnerth 2014) with /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. Though the open central vowel is analysed as /a/ in both Karbi and in Amri Karbi, these vowels are in fact different. Karbi /a/ sounds more fronted than Amri Karbi /a/.

Table 2.11 Amri Karbi vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close mid	[e]		[o]
Open mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

The vowel phoneme /i/ is articulated as a close-front unrounded vowel [i] (2.1). It contrasts with [ɛ] and [e]. Word initially it usually appears in words with frozen prefix *ing-*.

(2.1) [i] ‘sleep’

[hiʔ] ‘dog’

The vowel phoneme /ɛ/ is an open-mid unrounded vowel [ɛ] (2.2). It contrasts with [i] and [e]. There is a handful of words that start with [ɛ].

(2.2) [ɛn] ‘take’

[tʰɛʔ] ‘see’

The vowel phoneme /a/ is an open central unrounded vowel [a] (2.3). It occurs with the most frequency, as it is in the possessive prefix *a-*, which can attach to all nouns and is part of the modification constructions.

(2.3) [an] ‘rice’

[dam] ‘go’

The vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is an open-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ] (2.4). It is the most rounded of all the back vowels and it contrasts with [o] and [u].

(2.4) [ɔʔ] ‘meat’

[tol] ‘send’

The vowel phoneme /u/ is a close-back vowel [u], it is produced with the lips slightly rounded (2.5). The vowel contrasts with [ɔ] and [o].

(2.5) [un] ‘be able’

[hut] ‘CLF:hum.sg’

Table 2.12 offers minimal pairs for vowel monophthongs in open syllable roots with a bilabial voiced /b/ initial.

Table 2.12 Minimal pairs for vowel monophthongs in open syllable roots with a bilabial voiced /b/ initial

/bi/	‘keep’
/bɛ/	‘clan name’
/bo/	‘GNR’ (generic noun) from <i>bang</i>
/ba/	‘GNR’ (generic noun) from <i>bang</i>
/bù/	‘grandmother’

The two marginal vowel phonemes have very restrictive occurrence. The vowel phoneme /e/ is produced as close-mid front vowel [e], it contrasts with [ɛ] and [i]. The vowel phoneme /o/ is a close-mid back vowel, it is produced with slightly round lips, not as round as [ɔ], but rounder than [u]. These vowels frequently appear in stopped syllables, that is syllables ending with /k p t/. They are regularly produced longer than other vowels and often would have mid tone. For this reason, I think further research is needed to study correlation of the marginal vowels and the mid tone. My hypothesis is that these vowels might be in fact allophones of the same phonemic vowel due to the interaction with tone. However, another explanation might arise as a result of a thorough comparative study of the Amri Karbi full /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and marginal vowels /e/, /o/ and Karbi full /e/, /o/ and marginal vowels /ɛ/, /ɔ/.

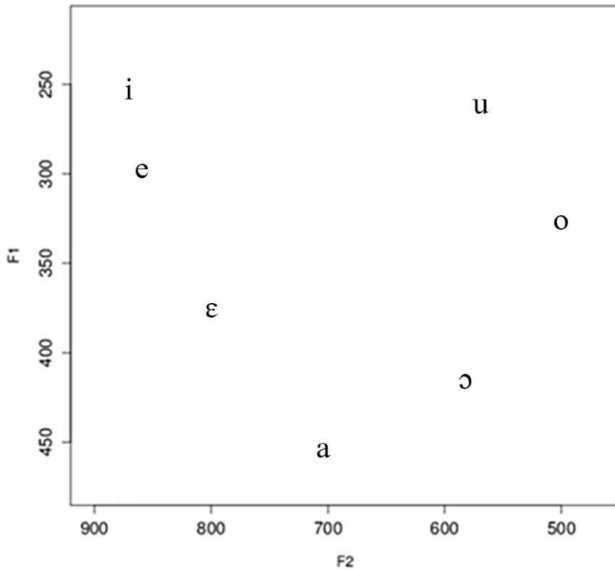
Due to the restrictive occurrence of these vowels, there were no minimal pairs found so far. To illustrate how these vowel phonemes contrast with other vowel phonemes however, there are some examples of near minimal sets. For example, /dok̄/ ‘be sweet’ contrasts with /dɔ/ ‘COP’, vowel in /mɛ́/ ‘be good’ contrasts with the vowel in prohibitive suffix /ek/, so when these morphemes attach to a verb /pām/ ‘beat’ for example, we receive a near minimal set [pāmɛ́] ‘it is good to beat’ and [pāmek] ‘do not beat’. Table 2.13 shows words with the marginal vowels.

Table 2.13 Words with the marginal vowels

/bek̄/	‘be small’
/ek̄/	‘PROH’
/dok̄/	‘be sweet’
/nokpa/	‘machete’
/noŋ/	‘plough’

Figure 2.1 shows average F1 and F2 formants of vowel formant values analysis. The results of the vowel formant analysis are based on 70 lexical tokens produced by eight speakers, four female and four male speakers. Speakers were requested to produce lexical tokens three times in a carrier phrase *hane \_\_\_\_ pusi pudo* ‘I am saying \_\_\_\_’. The measurements were extracted at the midpoint of each vowel in a closed syllable.

Figure 2.1 Amri Karbi average F1 and F2 formants based on eight speakers



### Diphthongs

Amri Karbi has a handful of diphthongs in native words. On the other hand, Amri Karbi has adopted some loan words with diphthongs, predominantly from Assamese. The inventory of Amri Karbi diphthongs include two diphthongs /ai/ and /ɔi/. /ui/ is found only in one word *thui* ‘sound of spitting/sound against enemy’, which is likely to be a native word. /ɛi/ is found in the interjection *ei* /ɛi/ and in a clan name *Bey* [bɛi]. The combinations of two vowels are pronounced as a diphthong rather than two distinct syllables. The question is whether to treat the last vowel in the combination as a vowel or a glide consonant. There is some language internal evidence to show that the last vowel is treated as a vowel rather than a consonant. Even though most of the words containing diphthongs are nouns (which is not surprising, considering most of them are borrowings) and nouns, unlike verbs, do not have suffix allomorphs based on

the final phoneme of the stem<sup>6</sup>. There is at least one word with a diphthong and a coda: *oik* ‘yes’. If we analyse /i/ as a glide /j/ then we have to deal with a new consonant and a new consonant cluster /jk/ which do not exist in Amri Karbi. Then we also have to deal with the consonant cluster occurring in the coda position, but there are no consonant clusters in the coda position in the language. So, since the consonant analysis of the final /i/ as /j/ is not constructive for Amri Karbi, I am going to treat them as diphthongs.

Table 2.14 and 2.15 show all the words containing diphthongs that have been attested.

Table 2.14 Words contain diphthong /ai/

Form	Gloss	Possible origin
/borai/	‘be proud’	Assamese
/adai/	‘blame’	Assamese
/aghai/	‘main’	Assamese
/aina/	‘mirror’	Assamese
/bai/	‘older sister’	Assamese
/hephai/	‘fast breathing’	Assamese
/hilai/	‘gun’	Assamese
/hodai/	‘always’	Assamese
/hohai/	‘rabbit’	Assamese
/kai/	‘anyone’	Assamese
/lokai/	‘let’s’	Assamese
/saikel/	‘bicycle’	English, Assamese

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<sup>66</sup> (*a*)*borai* can take nominalizer *ki-*, but not other verbal morphology.

Table 2.15 Words containing diphthong /ɔi/

Form	Gloss	Possible origin
/hɔmɔi/	‘time’	Assamese
/k <sup>h</sup> ɔi/	‘friend’	Assamese
/lɔi/	‘some’	Assamese
/pɔisa/	‘money’	Indic
/ɔik/	‘yes’	Assamese

There is an off-glide /o<sup>w</sup>/ that occurs only in interjections, the interactive =*hōw* and hortative *dōw* ‘let’s go!’. These interjections occur either independently or phrase-finally.

## 2.2 Phonotactics

This section gives an overview of permissible syllable structure, consonant clusters and consonant codas.

### 2.2.1 Syllable structure

Amri Karbi has a moderately common syllable structure (Maddieson 2013), as only liquids appear as a second consonant in a cluster (see §2.2.2) Most of the words in Amri Karbi are monosyllabic roots, yet most of the words always appear with prefixes and/or suffixes and/or in compounds. All types of permissible syllables in Amri Karbi are listed in Table 2.16.

Table 2.16 Syllable types

V	/ɛ/	‘plant’
VV	/ai/	‘mother’
CV	/pi/	‘give’
CVV	/k <sup>h</sup> ɔi/	‘friend’
CCV	/klɔ/	‘fall’
VC	/an/	‘rice’
VVC	/ɔik/	‘yes’
CVC	/hɛm/	‘house’
CCVC	/krɛŋ/	‘dry’

Nucleus diphthongs with cluster onset in open syllable CCVV and closed syllables CCVVC and CVVC do not occur. Syllable type VVC occurs only in one word /ɔik/ ‘yes’.

### 2.2.2 Consonant clusters

Table 2.17 provides the list of possible consonant clusters. Most of the voiceless stops, apart from the palatal and unaspirated /t/, occur as the first consonant in a cluster. Apart from stops, glottal /h/ occurs in a cluster as the first consonant. All consonant clusters have a rhotic or lateral as a second consonant, which corresponds to the sonority hierarchy rule where a more sonorous consonant is placed internally or closer to the syllable nucleus. All consonant clusters occur syllable-initially only.

Table 2.17 Consonant clusters

/pr/	/prək/ ‘be different’
/pl/	/pləŋ/ ‘become’
/kr/	/krəŋ/ ‘dry’
/kl/	/klɔ/ ‘fall’
/p <sup>h</sup> r/	/p <sup>h</sup> rəŋ/ ‘cremate’
/p <sup>h</sup> l/	/p <sup>h</sup> lək/ ‘cut in the middle’
/k <sup>h</sup> r/	/k <sup>h</sup> rəm/ ‘by chance’ (predicate derivation)
/hr/	/hrəŋ/ ‘survive’
/hl/	/hləŋ/ ‘reach’

Some speakers of Amri Karbi do not produce cluster /hl/ in a way that the speakers drop the first consonant of a cluster and some speakers drop the second consonant. As a result, /hləŋ/ ‘reach’<sup>7</sup> is produced either as [həŋ] or [ləŋ]. In addition, some speakers produce these clusters /hr/ and /hl/metathesized, e.g. /hrəŋ/ [rhəŋ] ‘survive’ and /hləŋ/ [lhəŋ]. Due to these different pronunciations, these clusters are difficult to analyse. /hl/ and /hr/ could also be analysed as a voiceless lateral and a voiceless rhotic respectively, as these consonants are found in related neighbouring languages, e.g. voiceless apico-alveolar lateral in Tshangla (Andvik 2010); voiceless lateral approximant in Mongsen Ao (Cope 2007). Karbi appears not having similar clusters with the first consonant glottal /h/. As a comparative illustration with Amri Karbi

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<sup>7</sup> In Proto-Kuki-Chin ‘reach/arrive/’ is reconstructed as \*khleŋ.

examples, the Karbi word for ‘survive’ or ‘be alive’ is *rèng* ‘be alive’ and for ‘reach’ is *lè* ‘reach’ (Konnerth, 2014).

### 2.2.3 Consonant codas

Not all consonants can appear word-finally. Stops /k p t/, all nasals /m n ŋ / and all liquids /l r/ can appear word-finally.

Table 2.18 shows stop coda minimal triplet and table 2.19 shows sonorant and lateral minimal set

Table 2.18 Stop coda minimal triplet

_p̄	/rap/ ‘help’
_t̄	/rat/ ‘crowd’
_k̄	/rak/ ‘tie’

Table 2.19 Sonorant coda and lateral minimal set

_m	/dam/ ‘go’
_n	/dan/ ‘beat’
_ŋ	/daŋ/ ‘filter’
_r	/dar/ ‘root’
_l	/dal/ ‘support’

## 2.3 Orthography in the grammar and the community

Orthography and writing conventions existing for Amri Karbi and the one used in this grammar were discussed in §1.12. Here is offered an explanation of the representation of phonemes in the grammar and the representation of phonemes by the community. The way in which the phonemes are represented in the text examples of this study do not serve as a recommendation for the development of Amri Karbi orthography.

There are two variations among Amri Karbis in representing voiceless palatal stops in writing, the older version is <ch> and the newer version, though not commonly used, is <ts>. In this grammar the sound is written as <ch>. The voiced palatal stop and approximant are written

either as <j> or <y>. In this grammar, as was already mentioned in §2.1.1.3 in forms where only the voiced palatal stop could be realised it is written as <j>, e.g. *ajor* ‘buying’ is pronounced with the voiced palatal stop by all speakers /ajɔr/; where there is variation among speakers it is represented as <y>, e.g. *ingyong* ‘NEG.EX.COP’ is pronounced as either /iŋjɔŋ/ or /iŋjɔŋ/ by some speakers. Some speakers represent the unreleased voiceless velar stop /k/ as <q>; in this grammar it is written as <k>. In addition, some speakers mark the phrase-final glottal stop also with <q>; in the grammar it is not marked at all. The bilabial fricative /β/ is written as <w> as it is also written in Amri Karbi literature. Consonant clusters with the glottal fricative representation vary in the community, where they are written either as <hl> and <hr> or reversed <lh> and <rh>; in this grammar they are written as <hl> and <hr>. As for the marginal vowels, in the text examples, these vowels are not marked distinctly and are represented as <e> and <o>, like the vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ respectively. The literature committee members decided to distinguish marginal vowels /e/ and /o/ in writing and put a diacritic over the vowels <ê> and <ô>, but there is no clear understanding of where these vowels appear. This is probably due to the correlation of these vowels with tones, which is fluctuating in the language. Members of the Amri Karbi Baptist mission agree that these vowels exist but find it too subtle a feature to mark in their writing. The tone is not marked in any of the writing systems used in the community.

## 2.4 Prosodic structure

This section describes the prosodic structure of Amri Karbi, focusing mainly on stress and tone and the interaction of stress and tone.

### 2.4.1 Stress

Stress in Amri Karbi is predictable. Therefore, we assume that there is no stress in the underlining form of a word. However, the surface form has stress. So, the following stress pattern for Amri Karbi can be proposed: Amri Karbi stress parse into binary-syllabic feet, i.e. each foot has two syllables, starting at the right-most edge of the word. Amri Karbi has both primary and secondary stress. Feet in Amri Karbi are right-headed, i.e. iambic. The primary stress resigns on the first foot at the foot head position and the secondary stress falls on the head of the second foot.

Stress in Amri Karbi is not contrastive; however, it interacts with the surface realization of tone (see more in §2.4.3). Clitics in Amri Karbi are unstressed, e.g. /'hēm=kɛ/ (house=TOP); also,

nominal suffixes *-po/-pe/-so* are usually pronounced unstressed e.g. /'hēm=po/ (house=DEF). However when more than one clitic or a nominal suffix *-po/-pe/-so* and a clitic attach to a word then, the last clitic out of two (clitics or suffix and a clitic) is stressed.

The stress pattern is illustrated in examples (2.6), (2.7) and (2.8).

(2.6)

four syllable, two feet word

\*

\* \*

/ci.kl̩̄ .l̩̄ŋ.só'/

(σ<sub>μ</sub>,σ<sub>μ</sub>)(σ<sub>μ</sub>,σ'μ)

'star'

(2.7)

three syllable, one foot word

\*

\*

/co.ròŋ-hel'/

σ<sub>μ</sub>(σ<sub>μ</sub>,σ'μ)

cow-PL

'the cows'

(2.8)

two syllable, one foot word

\*

\*

/iŋtʰí'/

(σ<sub>μ</sub>,σ'μ)

'brush'

#### 2.4.2 Tone

This section provides a description of the tone system in Amri Karbi. Amri Karbi has three tones high, mid and low, that have low functional load and do not bear distinctive function in the language.

Similar to majority Tibeto-Burman languages of North East India (Post 2015), Amri Karbi has a lexical tone system. However, the system in Amri Karbi shows to bear a light function of lexical distinction; that is, tone (with the exception of a handful of morphemes) in Amri Karbi does not usually produce meaning contrasts as phonemes do. This fact again is a common property of the tonal systems in the Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan languages of North East India (Post 2015) and Amri Karbi is not an exception. Comparably, low functional load of tone was reported in Karbi (Konnerth 2014). Amri Karbis state that they depend on context to disambiguate the meaning, rather than tones. When morphemes are produced in isolation they are disambiguated by affixes (if applicable); for example, /cɛŋ/ can be a verb if used with the nominalizer *ki-*, /kicɛŋ/ ‘start’ or a noun when used with the possessive prefix *a-*, /acɛŋ/ ‘drum’. Given all this evidence one should probably question the existence of tones in Amri Karbi; however, there is some evidence that tones exist in the language. One is that some of my language consultants were able to produce some morphemes with consistent tonal distinction. The fact that only some morphemes are produced with tonal distinction will not place Amri Karbi into the category of tone languages according to Pike (1948:3) ‘a tone language may be defined as a language having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable’. However, Amri Karbi will fit into the definition of a tone language according to Welmers (1959) ‘a tone language is a language in which both pitch phonemes and segmental phonemes enter into the composition of at least some morphemes’. Another evidence is that some of my language consultants informed me about the tones in their language first, i.e. before I raised the question of tones in Amri Karbi, by giving me some tonal minimal pairs off the top of their heads. The preliminary phonological description by Goal and Sarma has no mention of tone in Amri Karbi and consequently does not mark it in the data. The data for that study was recorded in the Kamrup district, which is the Lower Amri Karbi variety, and I have noticed that my language consultants from that area had more difficulty in producing tones in their language. This might be due to closer contact of the Lower Amri Karbi variety with Assamese, a toneless language. Tone alternation as a result of language contact is a known fact, besides, tone alternation in a related language due to contact with Assamese was reported in Turung (Morey 2014:640).

The methods of studying the tone system included eliciting minimal tonal pairs, then putting the elements in a frame. This was difficult because, as mentioned above, the language consultants did not always produce tones on elicited words. Another problem was eliciting word roots without affixes. Sometimes my consultants would find it difficult to pronounce words without affixes or their hosts (in the case of predicate derivational affixes) and often would not even recognize roots without affixes. Putting elements in the frame did not work for everybody either; some consultants said that they cannot produce the tones without the natural context. There were about fifteen language consultants who participated in the research of tone for this grammar.

Amri Karbi has three tones, which will be referred to as high, mid and low; this is consistent with Grüßner (1978) and Konnerth (2014) and their descriptive analysis of the Karbi Anglong variety of the Karbi language. Similar to Karbi, in Amri Karbi high and low tones have distinctive contrast, but the mid tone is ambiguous and is realized as either low or high tone. This has been noticed when comparing minimal triplets, where two members of the triplet would have similar tone, either low or high. I was not able to identify minimal tonal pairs with other than high and low tone contrast; i.e., minimal pairs with low and mid or high and mid were not found. There were about 23 minimal tonal sets found, six of them with dissyllabic words, nine with closed and eight with open monosyllabic words. I distinguished the tonal minimal sets based on the language data, basically by searching for segmentally identical words. In addition, Karbi tonal minimal sets from *A Grammar of Karbi* (Konnerth 2014) were also verified to exist in Amri Karbi. Some of the tonal categories were recognized by the language consultants, but the majority were identified by me using Praat software, by detecting pitch distinctions (high, mid and low) for each individual speaker using measurement of fundamental frequency  $F_0$  in Hertz scale. The 23 minimal sets include six minimal triplets, one of which is with dissyllabic words. Parallel to Karbi, it was noted that in Amri Karbi, stopped or checked syllables, i.e. syllables with the unreleased stops /k p t/, usually have mid tone. One must remember that open syllables are often glottalized in phrase-final position and sometimes are produced similar to unreleased /k/. Due to the nature of the elicitation process, some open syllable words sometimes were glottalized and as a result, high tone syllables were produced at mid tone pitch level. Even though glottalized mid tone is the most stable and easily recognizable tone, my language consultants would not usually notice that a different tone was produced, which supports speakers' judgment of tones as not being reliable to disambiguate meaning. Only one stopped syllable tonal minimal set was found in Amri Karbi. There is a

morphophonological tone change induced by affixes (see §2.5.6, §2.5.7). Table 2.20 shows tonal minimal pairs for monosyllabic words and Table 2.21 shows tonal minimal pairs for dissyllabic words. In dissyllabic words the first syllable is usually tone neutral, so only the second syllable is a tone bearing unit or TBU. In Amri Karbi the TBU is a syllable, as it is in Chinese and other Asian languages where lexical morphemes and words tend to be monosyllabic. However, unlike Chinese and other Asian languages, Amri Karbi has a register tone system. Figure 2.2 shows isolated pronunciations of /sàŋ/ ‘spread’, /sáj/ ‘uncooked rice’ and /sāŋ/ ‘rest’. As can be seen in Figure 2.2, the realisation of tone (marked with the blue line) stretches over the rhyme /aŋ/ of the syllable.

Table 2.20 Minimal pair and triplets for monosyllabic words

Tone	open syllable				closed syllable	
H	/bú/	‘knit’	/mé/	‘be good’	/róŋ /	‘village’
M	/bū/	‘carry’	/mē/	‘fire’	/rōŋ/	‘by mistake’
L	/bù/	‘grand mother’	/mè/	‘brother-in-low’	/ròŋ/	‘plant’

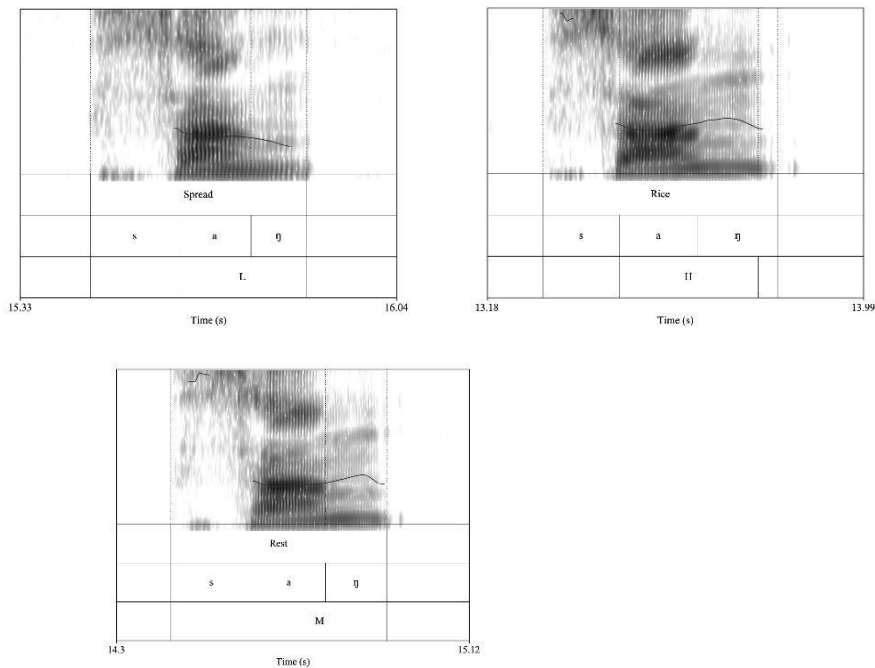
Tone						
H	/sáj/	‘uncooked rice’	/t <sup>h</sup> éŋ/	‘firewood’	/có/	‘eat’
M	/sāŋ/	‘rest’	/t <sup>h</sup> ēŋ/	‘beat, grind’	/cōk/	‘complete’
L	/sàŋ/	‘spread’	/t <sup>h</sup> èŋ/	‘bunch’	/cò/	‘small ax’

Tone		
H	/t <sup>h</sup> ék/	‘see’
M	/t <sup>h</sup> ēk /	‘move wood in the fire’

Table 2.21 Tone minimal pair and triplet of disyllabic words

Tone				
H	/iŋt <sup>h</sup> i/	‘washing hair’	/p <sup>h</sup> ɔlɔ/	‘cotton’
M	/iŋt <sup>h</sup> ɪ/	‘comb’		
L	/iŋt <sup>h</sup> ɪ/	‘weaving tool’	/p <sup>h</sup> ɔlɔ/	‘alkaline’

Figure 2.2 Contrast between /sàŋ/ ‘spread’, /sáŋ/ ‘uncooked rice’ and /sāŋ/ ‘rest’



In the text examples tone is marked only on those items where the tone category was identified. Since there is a high variability and fluctuation of tone, only underlining tone is marked in the text examples. Tone in the text examples is marked with above diacritics, e.g. á ‘High’, à ‘Low’, ā ‘Mid’.

### 2.4.3 Interaction of stress and tone

The tone in Amri Karbi interacts with stress placement; this agrees with Konnerth, (2014) and Grüßner, (1978). If a word is disyllabic, though monomorphemic e.g. /phurùl/ 'snake' then the unstressed syllable will not carry any tone, which is also noted by Grüßner in Karbi (1978). However, in the case of disyllabic or polysyllabic words that have several monosyllabic morphemes, all the morphemes will receive a tone e.g. /phàkòk/ 'pork meat'. Yip (2002) remarks that in many languages, all underlying tones are lost on unstressed syllables. De Lacy (1999) has proposed a restrictive theory of the interaction between tone and prominence (stress), one of which regulates the appearance of tones in syllable heads, and their appearance in non-heads. The theory would predict that in Amri Karbi, the disyllabic or polysyllabic words will have tones that surface at a different pitch level depending on the syllable position in the word. This explains the tone change that is described above, namely the underlying tones in unstressed syllable surfacing at a lower pitch level e.g. SF-*thùrbò*', UF-*thūr*'. Similarly, the underlying tone in stressed syllables will surface at a higher pitch UF-*thūr*', SF-*chithūr*'. As can be seen, the same root of the word *thūr* undergoes two tone change processes depending on its position in the word. Firstly, the root of the word is unstressed and is not head of the foot and not prominent, therefore the tone is lowered, e.g. SF-*thùr-bò*', UF-*thūr*'. Secondly, the root of the word is positioned as the last syllable of the foot, it is stressed, also head of the syllable and prominent, therefore the tone category has raised from Mid to High, e.g. UF-*thūr*', SF-*chithūr*'.

## 2.5 Morphophonemics

This section deals with morphophonological alternations induced by affixation. The alternations involve consonant or vowel deletion. Other alternations include suffixes allomorphs, vowel dissimilation and tone change by affixes.

### 2.5.1 Consonant deletion

In Amri Karbi when due to the morphological process two identical consonants are connected, one of the consonants may be omitted, e.g. (2.9).

(2.9)

/pām/ 'beat', /mé/ 'be good' > /pāmmé/ [pāmé] 'it is good to beat'

/kər/ 'bite', /rōŋ/ 'by mistake' > /kərrōŋ/ [kərōŋ] 'to bite by mistake'

There are some exceptions to this rule as some double consonants appearing due to the morphological process are pronounced as two consonants, for example clitics attaching to each other (2.10).

(2.10)

/jək/ ‘NSUBJ’, /kɛ/ ‘TOP’ > /jəkke/ [jəkke]

### 2.5.2 Prefix vowel deletion

Vowel deletion occurs in the roots with the prefix *ing-* and *ar-*, where the initial vowel is deleted when another prefix is attached to the root, for example the word *arting* ‘turn’ when a prefix *chi-* ‘RR’ attaches to it, the initial vowel *a-* is deleted resulting in *chirting* ‘turn (intransitive)’. The same process happens with the prefixes *pa-* ‘CAUS’ and *ka-* ‘NMLZ’ (because they are usually more than one syllable words) as the vowel is also deleted resulting in *parting* ‘turn (transitive)’ and *karting* ‘NMLZ -turn’ respectively. Vowel deletion is also caused by the possessive prefix *a-*, for example *ingthin* ‘mind’ – *angthin* ‘POSS-mind’.

In nominal compounds the entire prefix *ing-* can be dropped, for example a compound word *ansam* ‘cold rice’ is a combination of *an* ‘rice’ and *ingsam* ‘cold’, where *ing-* is dropped.

Nominal stems starting with *ar-* do not change when the possessive prefix *a-* attaches to it, as one of the vowels is deleted; for example, when possessive prefix *a-* attaches to the noun *arleng* ‘man’, the noun does not change, so the form *aarleng* does not exist. In fact most of the nouns starting with the vowel /a/ do not change when the possessive prefix *a-* attaches to them, some exceptions include: *a’arkeng* ‘betel nut’, *a’an* ‘rice’.

Vowel deletion also occurs on some nouns starting with the vowel /a/. When such nouns are modified by a demonstrative *la-* that may attach to nouns like a clitic and the initial vowel is then deleted, for example demonstrative *la* can modify a noun *apor* ‘time’ without attaching to it, but sometimes it attaches to a noun, causing deletion of a front vowel /a/ *la-apor~lapor* (DEM-time) ‘that time’.

### 2.5.3 Allomorphy of suffixes: *-lò* ‘RL’, *-ye* ‘FUT’, *-yek* ‘PROH’, *-not* ‘IMP’

Verbal suffixes *-lò* ‘RL’, *-ye* ‘FUT’, *-yek* ‘PROH’ and *-not* ‘IMP’ have allomorphs based on common morphophonological conditions. The rule for the allomorphic variation is governed by the final phoneme of a verbal stem.

Suffixes *-lò* ‘RL’ (and focus clitic =*lò*), *-ye* ‘FUT’, *-yek* ‘PROH’ have four allomorphs, suffix *-not* ‘IMP’ has three allomorphs. Tables 2.22, 2.23, 2.24 and 2.25 show allomorphs for each suffix.

Table 2.22 Forms with realis *-lò*

Final Phoneme	Word	Form with realis <i>-lò</i>
Vowel	<i>chó</i> ‘eat’	<i>chó-lò</i> ‘eat-RL’
Bilabial stop	<i>arjap</i> ‘stand’	<i>arjap-mò</i> ‘stand-RL’
	<i>bob</i> ‘sprout’	<i>bob-mò</i> ‘sprout-RL’
Alveolar stop	<i>kat</i> ‘run’	<i>kat-nò</i> ‘run-RL’
Velar stop	<i>thak</i> ‘weave’	<i>thak-ngò</i> ‘weave-RL’
Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/ and	<i>dam</i> ‘go’	<i>dam-ò</i> ‘go-RL’
Lateral	<i>than</i> ‘talk’	<i>than-ò</i> ‘talk-RL’
Rhotic	<i>hlong</i> ‘get’	<i>hlong-ò</i> ‘get-RL’
	<i>tol</i> ‘send’	<i>tol-ò</i> ‘send-RL’
	<i>thūr</i> ‘rise’	<i>thūr-ò</i> ‘rise-RL’

Table 2.23 Forms with future *-ye*

Final Phoneme	Word	Form with future <i>-ye</i>
Vowel	<i>chó</i> ‘eat’	<i>chó-ye</i> ‘eat-FUT’
Bilabial stop	<i>arjap</i> ‘stand’	<i>arjap-me</i> ‘stand-FUT’
	<i>bob</i> ‘sprout’	<i>bob-me</i> ‘sprout-FUT’
Alveolar stop	<i>kat</i> ‘run’	<i>kat-ne</i> ‘run-FUT’
Velar stop	<i>thak</i> ‘weave’	<i>thak-nge</i> ‘weave-FUT’
Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/ and Lateral Rhotic	<i>dam</i> ‘go’	<i>dam-e</i> ‘go-FUT’
	<i>than</i> ‘talk’	<i>than-e</i> ‘talk-FUT’
	<i>hlong</i> ‘get’	<i>hlong-e</i> ‘get-FUT’
	<i>tol</i> ‘send’	<i>tol-e</i> ‘send-FUT’
	<i>thūr</i> ‘rise’	<i>thūr-e</i> ‘rise-FUT’

Table 2.24 Forms with prohibitive *-yek*

Final Phoneme	Word	Form with prohibitive <i>-yek</i>
Vowel	<i>chó</i> ‘eat’	<i>chó-yek</i> ‘eat-PROH’
Bilabial stop	<i>arjap</i> ‘stand’	<i>arjap-mek</i> ‘stand-PROH’
	<i>bob</i> ‘sprout’	<i>bob-mek</i> ‘sprout-PROH’
Alveolar stop	<i>kat</i> ‘run’	<i>kat-nek</i> ‘run-PROH’
Velar stop	<i>thak</i> ‘weave’	<i>thak-ngek</i> ‘weave-PROH’
Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/ and Lateral Rhotic	<i>dam</i> ‘go’	<i>dam-ek</i> ‘go-PROH’
	<i>than</i> ‘talk’	<i>than-ek</i> ‘talk-PROH’
	<i>hlong</i> ‘get’	<i>hlong-ek</i> ‘get-PROH’
	<i>tol</i> ‘send’	<i>tol-ek</i> ‘send-PROH’
	<i>thūr</i> ‘rise’	<i>thūr-ek</i> ‘rise-PROH’

Table 2.25 Forms with imperative *-not*

Final Phoneme	Word	Form with imperative <i>-not</i>
Vowel	<i>chó</i> ‘eat’	<i>chó-not</i> ‘eat-IMP’
Bilabial stop	<i>arjap</i> ‘stand’	<i>arjap-mot</i> ‘stand-IMP’
	<i>bob</i> ‘sprout’	<i>bob-mot</i> ‘sprout-IMP’
Alveolar stop	<i>kat</i> ‘run’	<i>kat-not</i> ‘run-IMP’
Velar stop	<i>thak</i> ‘weave’	<i>thak-ngot</i> ‘weave-IMP’
Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/ and	<i>dam</i> ‘go’	<i>dam-mot</i> ‘go-IMP’
Lateral	<i>than</i> ‘talk’	<i>than-not</i> ‘talk-IMP’
Rhotic	<i>hlong</i> ‘get’	<i>hlong-ot</i> ‘get-IMP’
	<i>tol</i> ‘send’	<i>tol-not</i> ‘send-IMP’
	<i>thūr</i> ‘rise’	<i>thūr-not</i> ‘rise-IMP’

#### 2.5.4 Vowel dissimilation

There are some cases of a peculiar vowel dissimilation attested in Amri Karbi. There have been three examples identified so far where the vowel /ε/ is realized as [i] before some clitics. Examples include the suffix /pε/ ‘feminine’, pronoun /nε/ ‘1SG’ and the modal /lagε/ ‘should’. This vowel dissimilation is not produced by all the speakers; it is indicated in the cases where it is produced and the phonemic form is indicated in the line where the morphemic form is shown.

The suffix /pε/ ‘feminine’ is pronounced as [pi] before clitics =*pen* ‘with’, =*yok* ‘NSUBJ’, =*ke* ‘TOP’, (2.11).

(2.11)

/arlɔsɔ/ ‘woman’, /pε/ ‘F’, /pɛn/ ‘with’ > /arlɔsɔpɛpɛn/ [arlɔsɔpɪpɛn] ‘with the woman’

/arlɔsɔ/ ‘woman’, /pε/ ‘F’, /jɔk/ ‘NSUBJ’ > /arlɔsɔpɛjɔk/ [arlɔsɔpɪjɔk] ‘to the woman’

/arlɔsɔ/ ‘woman’, /pε/ ‘F’, /kε/ ‘TOP’ > /arlɔsɔpɛkε/ [arlɔsɔpɪkɛ] ‘the woman’

The pronoun /nε/ ‘1PL.SG’ is pronounced as [ni] before the clitic =*yok* ‘NSUBJ’ and when it appears as a non-subject verbal proclitic, (2.12).

(2.12)

/nε/ ‘1sg’, /jɔk/ ‘NSUBJ’ > /nejɔk/ [nijɔk] ‘to me’

/nɛ/ ‘1SG’, /pu/ ‘say’ /lò/ ‘RL’ > /nɛpulò/ [nɪpulò] ‘said to me’

The modal predicate derivation when marked with future *-ye*, /lagɛ/<sup>8</sup> is pronounced as [lagi] before the topic clitic =*ke*, (2.13).

(2.13)

/lagɛ/ ‘should’ /kɛ/ ‘TOP’ > /lagekɛ/ [lagikɛ]

The instances of vowel alteration cannot be attributed to the general vowel dissimilation for the reason that there are other words that have the vowel /ɛ/ as a final phoneme that do not change before clitics =*pen* and =*yok*, e.g. (2.14).

(2.14)

/akɛnɛ/ ‘something’, /pɛn/ ‘COM’ > /akɛnɛpɛn/ [akɛnɛpɛn] ‘with something’

/hanɛ/<sup>9</sup> ‘1SG’, /jɔk/ ‘NSUBJ’ > /hanɛjɔk/ [hanɛjɔk] ‘me/to me’

### 2.5.5 Vowel assimilation

There are some cases of vowel assimilation or vowel harmony in Amri Karbi. The vowels assimilate to the adjacent sounds. There are two cases of rounding harmony observed so far: the prefix *ki-* becomes *ku-* before the bilabial /β/, /kiβaŋ/ > [kiβaŋ]; the vowel in the first syllable in the word /minən/ ‘today’ becomes rounded [mənən].

The vowel harmony is not produced by all the speakers; it is indicated in the cases where it is produced and the phonemic form is indicated in the line where the morphemic form is shown.

### 2.5.6 Negative reduplication duplifix

Amri Karbi has an onset reduplication suffix or duplifix (the term *duplifix* was proposed in Haspelmath&Sims 2010:39) to mark negation. Duplifix is a mixture of affix and reduplication where an element attached to the base consists of both copied segments and fixed segments (Haspelmath&Sims 2010:39). In Amri Karbi the copied segment is the onset of the last syllable of the verb stem. The fixed segment is that the vowel of the suffix is always /ɛ/. For example, the verb /cɔ́/ ‘eat’ has an onset /c/, so the negative suffix for /cɔ́/ is /cɛ̄/ and the negative form of the verb is /cɔ́cɛ̄/ ‘not eat’. If the last syllable of the verb stem does not have an onset, then

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<sup>8</sup> /lagɛ/ is a form of *lag* ‘should’ marked with future *-ye*, *lag* ‘should’ usually occurs with the future *-ye*.

<sup>9</sup> *hane* is a variant for the singular first-person pronoun *ne*.

the negative suffix starts with the glottal stop /ʔ/; for example, *ùn* ‘be able’ does not have an onset consonant, so the negative suffix for *ùn* is /ʔē/ and the negative form of the verb is produced as [ʔnʔē] ‘not able’. In the text examples, the negative suffix is written as *-Ce* in the morpheme line, where C stands for the onset consonant and *e* is the fixed vowel of the negative suffix. In the first line the negative suffixes starting with the glottal stop are written with the apostrophe, i.e. *un'e* ‘not able’.

### 2.5.7 Tone change by prefixes

There is a tone change induced by prefixes. This tone change appears on the tone of monosyllabic stems that are prefixed with the prefixes *chi-* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ or *ki-* ‘nominalizer’. Grüßner (1978:37) noted that in Karbi, the prefix *che-* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ changes the category of the tone of the stem in monosyllabic words. The same has been noted in Amri Karbi with the prefix *chi-*. In addition to the prefix *chi-*, it has appeared that the prefix *ki-* has the same tone change as *chi-* on monosyllabic stems that immediately follow the prefix. These prefixes involve the alternation of the tone category, specifically raising the tone category from low to mid and mid to high; consequently, the high tone does not change. The discussed pattern of tone change in Amri Karbi is summarized in examples (2.15) – (2.20).

(2.15) H is not changed by *kī-*

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem with <i>ki-</i>	
H	→	H	/hló/	/kihló/

(2.16) M to H tone change by *kī-*

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem with <i>ki-</i>	
M	→	H	/t <sup>h</sup> ūr/	/kit <sup>h</sup> úr/

(2.17) L to M tone change by *ki-*

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem with <i>ki-</i>	
L	→	M	/ròŋ/	/kiròŋ/

(2.18) H to H tone does not change by *chi-*

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	With <i>chi-</i>
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H → H /hló/ /cihló/

(2.19) M to H tone change by *chi-*

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem with <i>ki-</i>
M	→ H	/t <sup>h</sup> ūr/	/cit <sup>h</sup> ūr/

(2.20) L to M tone change by *chi-*

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem with <i>chi-</i>
L	→ M	/rōn/	/cirōn/

The occurrence of tone change on verbs caused by prefixes in Amri Karbi is similar as to what Teo (2009:138) describes in the Sumi language of Nagaland, where tone change occurs in the derivation of deverbal nominals in monosyllabic verbs.

### 2.5.8 Tone change by suffixes

Another morphophonological process in Amri Karbi involves tone change in monosyllabic verbs that attach suffixes *-bò* 'IRR2', *-yè* 'FUT', *-lò* 'RL'. All three suffixes belong to the low tone category. These suffixes trigger a tone change of the phonemic tone category of the stem of the word. The underlying tone category of the stem, either mid or high, surfaces as low tone with any of those suffixes. Sometimes tone on the lexical item appears to be neutralized as is the case with dissyllabic stems, where the first syllable is toneless. Subsequently, the low tone category does not change. Tone change by suffixes is illustrated in examples (2.21)-(2.23)

(2.21) H to L change caused by suffixes *-bò* 'IRR2', *-yè* 'FUT', *-lò* 'RL'

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem <i>-bò</i>	Stem <i>-yè</i>	Stem <i>-lò</i>
H	→ L	/lí/	/libò/	/lijè/	/lilò/

(2.22) M to L change caused by suffixes *-bò* 'IRR2', *-yè* 'FUT', *-lò* 'RL'

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem <i>-bò</i>	Stem <i>-yè</i>	Stem <i>-lò</i>
M	→ L	/thūr/	/thùrbò/	/thùrè/	/thùrnò/

(2.23) low tone is not changed by suffixes *-bò* 'IRR2', *-yè* 'FUT', *-lò* 'RL'

Underlying tone	Surfacing tone	Bare stem	Stem <i>-bò</i>	Stem <i>-yè</i>	Stem <i>-lò</i>
L	→ L	/bi/	/bibò/	/bijè/	/bilò/

### 3 Word classes

This chapter gives an overview of Amri Karbi word classes. The chapter starts with the definition of a word §3.1 and identification of a phonological word, a grammatical word and affixes and clitics. The chapter continues with Amri Karbi's two main word classes, nouns §3.2 and verbs §3.3; it also discusses how certain constructions involving relator nouns function as adpositions and adjectival verbs function in the category of adjectives. Then the chapter follows with subsections on small distinct classes of adjectives §3.4 and adverbs §3.5. In §3.6, the pro-forms are examined, including personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative pronouns and pro-forms and pro-adverbs of universal quantification. Several minor word classes are listed, comprising coordinators and subordinators §3.7, numerals §3.8 and clitics: postpositional clitics §3.9, noun phrase and information structure clitics §3.10 and discourse clitics §3.11.

Some word classes are open in Amri Karbi; i.e., they accept new members. Currently Amri Karbi takes new members into the class of nouns, adjectives and adverbs, predominantly from Indic and English languages. The postpositions class also appears to be open with the new postposition =*logot* 'with' emerging. As I will show in the description, some of the borrowings are adopted to express new concepts like *sip-po-mar* 'crisps-DEF-PL' for the English 'crisps'. There are some words, however, that do not express something that cannot be expressed already in Amri Karbi; they rather expand the choice of linguistic material available to the speakers by synonymous items in a different form. For example, a new adverb *bahar* 'outside' from Indic languages is synonymous to the derivational suffix *ole* 'out/outside'; this among many others that will be pointed out across the chapter.

#### 3.1 Word and other structural units

Amri Karbi word for 'word' is *alamthe* which is a compound of two nouns *lam* 'language' and *the* 'fruit'; the compound literally means 'fruit of a language'. In §1.12, where I discussed orthography and writing conventions adopted for presenting text examples in this grammar, it was noted that the orthographic word boundary used in this study is different from the one used by the many community members in their writings. This includes the New Testament, which currently is the largest piece of Amri Karbi literature. Some elements that are defined as suffixes or clitics in this study are written as separate words by the language community. The basis for orthographically presenting some elements as belonging to one word is either its phonological or its grammatical boundedness. Clearly, there is a discrepancy in what native

speakers intuitively perceive as a word with the definition of an Amri Karbi word adopted in this grammar. In what follows I describe Amri Karbi phonological and grammatical words. As will be seen below, the two definitions serve the basis for different views of what is an Amri Karbi word by those who write the Amri Karbi language.

A phonological word may consist of just one syllable or comprise more than one syllables. Out of three phonological features (segmental, prosodic and phonological rules) that are recommended by Dixon (2009), Amri Karbi provides two phonological features that serve as criteria to identify its phonological word.

- segmental features – there is no pause (or hesitation) between syllables of a phonological word; for example, *ingthī* ‘comb’, not *ing thī*;
- prosodic features – there is fixed final syllable stress pattern applied to a phonological word.

As with the phonological word in Amri Karbi, the grammatical word may consist of one syllable or comprise more than one syllables. Amri Karbi grammatical word may consist of more than one phonological words. Dixon (2009) proposed four main criteria to identify a grammatical word, namely (1) one or more lexical root at its base, (2) coherence and meaning and (3) grammatical elements that appear together and (4) in a fixed order. The following criteria were distinguished to identify a grammatical word for Amri Karbi:

- has one or more lexical roots at its base, to which morphological processes (compounding, reduplication and affixation) can be applied;
- has a conventionalized meaning;
- has grammatical elements of a word occurring together in fixed order<sup>10</sup>.

The criteria to identify a phonological and a grammatical word are different. Native speakers of Amri Karbi use phonological criteria to identify words, mainly segmental and prosodic features. Phonological words have no pause between their syllables and the final syllable is usually stressed. Accordingly not all phonological words are grammatical words; for example, the grammatical word *nokpapsi* is composed of three elements *nokpa* ‘machete’, *pen* ‘with’ and the focus clitic =*si*, that consists of two phonological words *nokpa* and *pensi*. A pause is

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<sup>10</sup> There is one exception to the fixed criteria, see §5.1.5

allowed between them, but no pause is allowed within them and the stress is on the final syllable of each phonological word.

Amri Karbi has affixes and clitics. Affixes are bound morphemes, that form a new word or word form. The affixes are predominantly suffixes in the language with some prefixes. Amri Karbi has both proclitics and enclitics.

The difference between Amri Karbi affixes and clitics can be described as follows. Amri Karbi clitics can attach to a word that already contains affixes, so it is attached to an edge of a word. Affixes do not attach to words that contain clitics, so a clitic prevents a word from further affixation, but clitics can attach to a word that already contain clitics. Affixes are stressed if they appear as the ultimate syllable of a word, e.g. /'βaŋ-lò/ (come-RL) [βaŋ'ò] '(she) came'. Clitics do not move the stress from the last syllable of the word that contains suffixes, e.g. /'βaŋ-lò-dik/ (come-RL=TAG) [βaŋ'òdik] '(she) came, didn't (she)?'. They are usually unstressed; however, when there are more than one clitic attached to the stem, or if a clitic is of two syllables, the final clitic or syllable will bear the stress, while the previous clitic remains unstressed, e.g. /mi'ni=pa'ra=kɛ/ (today=from=TOP) [mi'nipara'kɛ] 'from today'.

Most affixes and clitics have either the CV or V syllable structure, e.g. /pa/ 'CAUS', /a/ 'POSS'. The exceptions are the predicate derivational suffixes that usually have CVC or CCVC syllable structure, e.g. /pɔ̃n/ 'ITER', /krɛŋ/ 'all' and some other clitics, that have CVC or CVCV structure, e.g. /taŋ/ and /taŋho/.

### 3.2 Nouns

Nouns in Amri Karbi is a large class of lexical items that refer to a concrete or an abstract entity and function as an argument of a predicate. Most of these terms are common nouns, the grammatical criteria to identify such nouns is the ability to take a possessive prefix *a-*, for example *a-róng* 'POSS-village'. There are also noun subclasses: proper nouns, kinship terms, body part terms, classifiers and relator nouns. Some of these nouns cannot be identified with the possessive prefix *a-* test; these nouns include proper nouns and numeral classifiers. These nouns can be identified following prototypical criteria for nouns in terms of their function; i.e., they appear in a noun phrase and function as an argument of a predicate.

Nouns can be derived from verbs with derivational affixes (see §5.1.2). The entire noun word class in Amri Karbi is the most open class that accepts new members; currently, new members are arriving from Indic languages and English.

Amri Karbi nouns have derivational suffixes *-pe* ‘augmentative’ and *-so* ‘diminutive’ that have limited productivity.

Common nouns can function as predicates in nominal predicate clauses, except for past and future time references, when the copular verb is obligatory. Some nouns can modify another noun in a possessive construction, denoting material (3.1) or content (3.2).

(3.1)

*arlong a-hēm*

stone POSS-house

‘stone house’ (elicited)

(3.2)

*choròng-khokhre-po a-tomo*

cow-shepherd-M POSS-story

‘story about the shepherd’ (elicited)

Grammatical categories that operate on a noun phrase and clause level and are marked by affixes, clitics and relator nouns, are discussed in §3.2.7, §3.10 and §6.

### 3.2.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns can be subdivided into personal names and place names. All proper nouns can function as arguments in a clause. Proper nouns cannot carry the possessive prefix *a-* that is used to distinguish common nouns. Personal and clan names in Amri Karbi are usually used with gender suffixes *-pe* ‘feminine’, for example *Rijulape* and *-po* ‘masculine’, for example *Mohanpo*. Place names do not occur with gender suffixes. When personal names are used in address, they do not carry gender suffixes. The setting where Amri Karbi would use proper names is usually informal, among friends for example; in other settings the proper names in address would be accompanied with a gender specific vocative that follows the personal name, for example *Mohan sir* ‘sir Mohan’. Gender suffixes are also not used when people introduce themselves.

Among all Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan languages the characteristic of personal names carrying gender suffixes is peculiar to Amri Karbi<sup>11</sup>. The phenomenon of gender suffixes marking personal names might be an effect of language contact with Pnar an Austroasiatic language spoken in Meghalaya, which also has personal names marked with gender suffixes (Ring 2015:102). The pattern is similar when names are used in address, they are not marked with gender clitics, in address vocative precedes the personal name rather than follows it, like it does in Amri Karbi.

Proper nouns are an open class, both personal names and place names. Not many place names would be of Amri Karbi origin. Many contemporary personal names, except for clan names/surnames, have non-Amri Karbi origin.

### 3.2.2 Kinship terms

Amri Karbi kinship terms can, like common nouns, carry the possessive prefix *a-* and function as arguments in a clause. Formally kinship terms are similar to other nouns but are different from other nouns semantically. Kinship terms are often used as vocatives and to reference people, especially with in-law relations. Kinship terms may be marked with gender suffixes if the form is used for both male and female (3.3). Kinship terms appears to be a closed class, but it does have some borrowings, the most prominent one is *ai* ‘mother’, which is a borrowing from Assamese.

(3.3)

<i>muso-po</i>	<i>muso-pe</i>
sibling-M	sibling-F
‘brother’	‘sister’

### 3.2.3 Body part terms

Body part terms refer to human body parts, like hand or head, or animal body parts, like tail or scales. All body part names are inalienably possessed; that is, they are always marked with the possessive prefix. They are different from nouns and kinship terms in that the possessive prefix is obligatory, they usually appear with the general possessive prefix *a-* unless the possessor is either first or second person, e.g. *ari* (a-ri, POSS-hand) ‘hand’, *neri* (ne-ri, 1-hand), ‘my hand’,

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<sup>11</sup> I thank Bernhard Wälchli for bringing this into my attention (e-mail exchange, 27.11.2019).

*nangri* (nang-ri, 2-hand) ‘your hand’. Besides body part terms, other inalienable possessed terms are *amen* ‘name’, *aharchi* ‘shadow’ and *asithe* ‘breath’.

### 3.2.4 Nouns with frozen historical prefixes

There is a set of nouns that start with the prefix *ing-* (3.4) or the prefix *ar-* (3.5). These prefixes were probably productive in the past, but synchronically these prefixes have no function in the language and have lexicalized into words. These prefixes have no clear origin and their meaning is not obvious. The prefix *ing-* is also found in verbs see §3.3.3.

(3.4)

*ingnam* ‘jungle’

*inglong* ‘hill’

*inghin* ‘small.bamboo’

*ingho* ‘who’

*inghol* ‘stool, throne’

*ingkol* ‘twenty’

*ingthī* ‘comb’

(3.5)

*arleng* ‘man’

*arlong* ‘stone’

*arkeng* ‘betel nut’

*arnam* ‘god’

*arni* ‘sun’, ‘day’

*arson* ‘garlic’

*arwe* ‘rain’

*arweng* ‘feather’

### 3.2.5 Classifiers

Amri Karbi has sortal and mensural classifiers, that are formally similar to nouns. Nominal sortal classifiers in Amri Karbi are independent words that refer to inherent properties of nouns and therefore, the choice of a classifier is semantic. Formally sortal classifiers are similar to nouns. Sortal classifiers also function as numeral classifiers. They are fused with the numeral ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’, but not with other numerals. Numeral classifiers do not take the possessive prefix *a-* and do not function as an argument of a clause on their own. Amri Karbi mensural classifiers provide units of measure to count countable and mass nouns. There are

also self-referential classifiers that are classifiers that count themselves. Noun phrases involving classifiers are discussed in §4.2.4.2 and the full list of all classifiers is provided there.

### 3.2.6 Generic noun *bang*

Amri Karbi has a generic noun *bang* that etymologically is related to the noun *bang* ‘body’, which must also be the origin of the plural human classifier *bang*. The generic noun *bang* may mean ‘other people’, with the clitic =*ne* it means ‘somebody’, besides that, it occurs very frequently with the demonstrative that may modify nouns denoting both human and non-human referents, see §3.6.3 and §4.2.3.1 and also in an interrogative pronoun ‘which’, see §3.6.4.

### 3.2.7 Relator nouns

There is a set of nouns that appear in spatio-temporal constructions that are called relator nouns; the term ‘relator noun’ was adopted following Starosta (1985). Table 3.1 provides the list of all relator nouns found in Amri Karbi with references where the functions of the relator nouns will be discussed further. Relator nouns usually carry the possessive prefix *a-*. Some of the most frequently used relator nouns like *-yok* ‘non-subject’/‘directive’/‘purpose’ and *along* ‘locative’ can drop the possessive prefix and attach directly to a noun phrase or a pronoun as a clitic; these relator nouns are written without prefix *a-* in the Table 3.1. Morphosyntactically most relator nouns behave in ways similar to ordinary nouns in their ability to take possessive prefixes, and definite and plural markers (3.6).

#### (3.6) relator noun *-thak* ‘top’

*a-thak-po-mar*

POSS-top-DEF-PL

‘tops’

*hēm a-thak*

house POSS-top

‘top of the house’

*ne-thak-po=long*

1-top-DEF=LOC

‘on top of me’ (elicited)

Some of the relator nouns, when they occur in spatial-temporal constructions, undergo ‘semantic bleaching’ (Givon 1979). For example, *angsong* ‘top’ usually occurs with trees or plants and therefore mostly means ‘top of a tree/plant’, but it can also occur in extended contexts like *bus angsong* ‘on a bus’. A similar process happens with the noun *-ga* ‘side’; it can occur in a noun phrase with its literal meaning ‘side’ like *hēm a-ga* (house POSS-side) ‘side

of a house' *ne-ga* (1-side) 'my side', but it can also show the direction of an action and mean 'towards' (3.7).

(3.7)

*tehebaksi sur aga dame chikom tehebaksi*

tehe=bak=si                      sur a-ga              dam-ye      chi-kom              tehe=bak=si  
and.then=INDEF=FOC:RL    net POSS-side    go-FUT      RR-surround    and.then=INDEF=FOC:RL  
'if we surround (the deer) then only (it will go inside the net)'

The relator noun *-yok* occurs twice in the Table 3.1 as it is a multifunctional morpheme that has a high frequency (418 tokens) of occurrence. It serves as a postposition and as a subordinator. It has probably grammaticalized according to the following path, locative (directive/allative) > dative > patient > purposive, temporal. This path is similar to the one of the common paths for grammaticalization of adoption in the family locative > dative > patient > purposive, temporal, or conditional clausal subordinator (LaPolla 1995). Functions of *-yok* are described in various parts of the grammar: as a non-subject marker §6.2, as a directive/allative §6.3.2, as a temporal subordinator §9.1.2.1, as a subordinator of 'cause' or 'reason' §9.1.2.2.

Table 3.1 List of relator nouns

Category	Form	Gloss	References
Spatial	<i>-thak</i>	top	§6.3.2
	<i>arlo~arlu</i>	inside	
	<i>-sitem</i>	in the middle	
	<i>amol</i>	up	
	<i>aling</i>	bottom	
	<i>-kung</i>	near	
	<i>-dung</i>	near	
	<i>arhum</i>	under	
	<i>angsong</i>	up (plants)	
	<i>akangri</i>	underneath (a tree or a plant)	
	<i>ajon</i>	through	
	<i>-ga</i>	towards	
<i>apar</i>	beyond, beside		
Spatial/temporal	<i>-long</i>	locative (in/at/during)	§6.3.2
	<i>aphel</i>	after	§6.3.2
	<i>-yok</i>	directive	§6.3.2, §9.1.2.1, §9.1.2.2,
	<i>ango</i>	before, in front	§6.3.2
	<i>-dak</i>	between, among, at the time	§6.3.2
	<i>amahan</i>	opposite	§6.3.2
	Temporal	<i>-por</i>	during, time
<i>apun</i>		during	
<i>amun</i>		while	
<i>-deng</i>		up to	
Causal	<i>-pot</i>	because	§6.3.4, §9.1.2.2
	<i>-yok</i>	purpose	
	<i>anat</i>	because	
Other	<i>-holan</i>	in return	§9.1.2.3
	<i>-phan</i>	for	§6.3.3
	<i>-yok</i>	non-subject	§6.2

### 3.3 Verbs

Verbs in Amri Karbi occur as heads of a predicate. They usually occur clause-finally following its arguments. Verbs denote events, processes and beings. Amri Karbi verbs also describe properties or qualities ('be big') by a subset of adjectival verbs §3.3.1. States ('love', 'want') are expressed with light verb constructions §6.5. Verbs can be negated, take TAM morphology and expand their semantics by predicate derivational suffixes §5.1.7. The nominalizer *ki-* serves as a morphosyntactic test to distinguish verbs from nouns. Only verbs can be nominalized, i.e. carry the nominalizing prefix *ki-*. For example a verb root *chéng* 'start' can be distinguished from a segmentally identical (but semantically different) noun root *cheng* 'drum' with the nominalizer *ki-*: *ki-chéng* 'NMLZ-start', \**ki-cheng* 'NMLZ-drum'. Other verbal morphology can also be used to identify verbs, like negative and TAM suffixes, but the nominalizer *ki-* being a prefix is the easiest way to identify a verb without a context. Some verbal morphemes may be homophonous to affixes which can create confusion, for example the word *tikike* can be analysed as a word with the topic marker =*ke*, i.e. *tiki=ke* which will suggest that we are dealing with a noun. It could also be analysed as a verb with the negative duplex -*Ce*, in the case of *tiki* negative suffix is -*ke*, which will suggest that we are dealing with a verb. So, by the applying diagnostic tool of the nominalizer *ki-*, we can avoid confusion and incorrect analysis, as there is usually no resemblance to the prefix *ki-*, either in nominal prefixes or in nominal stems. The nominalizer *ki-* is a multipurpose morpheme that is used to derive nouns from verbs §5.1.2, nominal modifiers from adjectival verbs §4.2.4.1; it is also used as a past tense marker §5.1.3 and in nominalized subordinate clauses §.9.1

Verbs may be morphologically complex with a large system of affixes – predominantly, suffixes. In terms of morphology, Amri Karbi verbs are not distinguished between intransitive and transitive, and the distinction appears on a syntactic level in the number of arguments a verb can take. Besides suffixes, verbal morphology includes whole stem reduplication and predicate derivational suffixes that resemble verb stem structure.

A class of verbs is usually considered to be an open class that acquires new members constantly; by contrast, Amri Karbi keeps its verbs class rather conservative when compared to nouns and other word classes. The only two borrowed verbal items attested so far are the verb *kuri* 'do' and the modal *lag*, which replaced the native modal *nang*, though *lag* still surfaces in the negated form. New verbal meanings enter the language in light verb

constructions. The light verb in these constructions is usually *kuri* ‘do’; e.g. *phone kuri* (phone do) ‘call on the phone’, *dijen kuri* (design do) ‘to design’.

### 3.3.1 Adjectival verbs

There is a set of verbs in Amri Karbi that denote state or quality. They carry out most of the adjectival functions in the language, namely adjectives’ functions according to Dixon (2009 :70): state a property; further specify the referent of a noun; serve as the parameter in a comparative construction; sometimes function like an adverb. The adjectival verbs express the most basic property concepts that are mentioned in Dixon (1977, 2004), that is ‘age’, ‘dimension’, ‘value’ and ‘colour’. They also describe ‘physical property’, ‘taste and smell’ and others. The adjectival verbs do not describe property concepts of ‘human propensity’ and ‘speed’. Concepts of ‘human propensity’ are conveyed by expressions with light verbs described in §6.5. There is a small class of adjectives that includes some lexical items expressing the concepts of ‘speed’ and also others, see §3.4.

To function as modifiers, the adjectival verbs need to be nominalized with the nominalizer *ki-* and in addition most of them also need to carry the possessive prefix *a-* that is attached to the nominalized adjectival verb. The possessive prefix *a-* on the nominalized adjectival verbs is the formal distinction from other verbs which do not usually take the possessive prefix *a-*. In this way adjectival verbs in Amri Karbi are different from Karbi adjectival verbs, which are called ‘property concept terms’ in Konnerth’s grammar (2014); they usually do not take the prefix *a-*. However, in employing the possessive prefix *a-* to form adjectives Amri Karbi adjectival verbs are like Meithei adjectives that are derived from verbal nouns by affixation with the ‘attributive’ derivational prefix *a-* (Chelliah 1997). There are some exceptions among Amri Karbi adjectival verbs that do not take the possessive prefix *a-* and some have variation between *a-ki-V* and *ki-V* constructions for derivation of adjectives.

Example (3.9) shows the adjectival verb *the* ‘be big’ which is nominalized by *ki-* and has the possessive prefix *a-*.

(3.9)

*akithe ahem*

a-ki-the                    a-hēm  
POSS-NMLZ-be.big    POSS-house  
'big house' (elicited)

Another distinction of adjectival verbs from other verbs is that adjectival verbs can appear both before and after a noun, whereas nominalized regular verbs always appear before a noun. Example (3.10) shows adjectival verbs *akimé* 'good' and *akisar* 'old' appearing before the noun *choròng* 'cow'. Example (3.11) shows the adjectival verb *akithe* 'big' appearing after the noun *lang* 'water'. Example (3.12) shows the nominalized verb *kie* 'planting' appearing before the noun *alam* 'story'.

(3.10)

*lasi kanghupo chorong bisarpono akime achorong.*

lasi ki-inghu-po      choròng bisar-pon-lò      **a-ki-mé**                    a-choròng  
so    NMLZ-steal-DEF    cow            search-take-RL    POSS-NMLZ-be.good    POSS-cow

*akisar achorongta chipachakman*

**a-ki-sar**                    a-choròng=ta      chi-pa-chak-man  
POSS-NMLZ-be.old    POSS-cow=ADD    RR-CAUS-meet-HAB  
'so the thief was looking for a good cow, but he found an old cow' (BK Widow)

(3.11)

*la    aphel=ke aro la=bang lang    a-ki-the-pe=long=ke*

DEM after=TOP    and    DEM=GNR    water    POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG=LOC=TOP

ghurial      i-jon                    ki-do  
crocodile    one-CLF:ANIM    NMLZ-COP

'after that there was one crocodile in this big water' (RB Fox and crocodile)

(3.12)

*arkeng kie alam arkeng kie-po ladi kido*

arkeng **ki-e** a-lam arkeng ki-e-po labadi ki-do

betel.nut NMLZ-plant POSS-word betel.nut NMLZ-plant-DEF like.this NMLZ-COP

‘story about planting beetlenut, planting beetlenut is like this’ (PI Betelnut)

Both verbs and adjectival verbs can take the verbal predicate derivation suffixes that are used in comparative constructions, *-ong* and *-chot*; e.g. *akimé* ‘good’: *akiméong* ‘better/best’, *akiméchot* ‘best/better’; *wang* ‘come’: *wangong* ‘come more/most’ *wangchot* ‘come more/most’ (see more in §6.6).

Table 3.2 provides the list of adjectival verbs, both base form and adjectival form are shown along with a variation between adjectival verb construction of *a-ki-V* and *ki-V* when applicable.

Table 3.2 List of adjectival verbs

Form/Adjectival form	Gloss
Age	
<i>sar/akisar</i>	‘be.old’
<i>re/akire</i>	‘be.mature’ ‘be.clever’
Dimension	
<i>bek/akibek</i>	‘be.small’
<i>ding/akiding</i>	‘be.long’
<i>thik/akithik</i>	‘be.short’
<i>the/akithe</i>	‘be.big’
<i>ong/akiong</i>	‘be.many’
Value	
<i>mé/akimé/kimé</i>	‘be.good’
<i>ingho/akango/kangho</i>	‘be.bad’
<i>mik/akimik</i>	‘be.new’
Colour	
<i>lok/akilok</i>	‘be.white’
<i>ed/akied</i>	‘be.yellow’
<i>er/akier</i>	‘be.red’

<i>ik/aki'ik</i>	'be.black'
<i>kri/akikri</i>	'be.mixed.colours'
Physical property	
<i>jol/akijol</i>	'be.empty'
<i>men/akimen</i>	'be.ripe'
<i>hreng/akihreng</i>	'be.alive'
<i>thi/akithi/kithi</i>	'be.dead'
<i>ingsam/kangsam</i>	'be.cold'
<i>so/akiso</i>	'be.hot'
<i>cham/akicham</i>	'be.wet'
<i>ingthin/akangthin</i>	'be.pure'
<i>arjang/karjang</i>	'be.light'
<i>ardip/kardip</i>	'be.heavy'
Taste and smell	
<i>ho/akiho</i>	'be.bitter'
<i>thor/akithor</i>	'be.sour'
<i>dok/akidok/kidok</i>	'be.sweet'
<i>ingnim/kangnim/angnim</i>	'be.smelling'
Others	
<i>arsit/akarsit</i>	'be.mysterious'
<i>chip/ari akichip</i>	'be.stingy'
<i>prek/kamprek</i>	'be.different'
<i>holo/akaholo</i>	'be.far'
<i>ingthak/kangthak</i>	'be.itch/itchy'

Most Amri Karbi adjectival verbs have the semantics of stative quality, but some of them can also have the meaning of 'quality in progress'. This meaning usually appears when these adjectival verbs act predicates and without the possessive prefix *a-*. Example (3.13) shows *the* 'be big' and *ding* 'be long' functioning as predicates and having the meaning of 'quality in progress', i.e. 'grow' and 'become long/mature' respectively. Also they are attached with the causative *pa-* that transitivizes them.

(3.13)

*ne bithangdet apoisasi atanga arkeng bithi hendru*

ne bithang=det    a-poisasi                    a-tanga            arkeng            bithi    hendru  
1    self=INTENS    POSS-money=FOC:RL    POSS-money    betel.nut    leaf    plant:hendru

*anchini dungkek umden hat jordamsi pathe padingo*

anchini            dungkek            umden            hat            jor-dam-si    **pa-the**            **pa-ding-lò**  
plant:anchini plant:dungkek    PN:Umden    market sell-go-NF:RL    CAUS-grow CAUS-grow.up-RL  
'I, all by myself money (earned) by selling in Umden market the bettelenut and leaf (pan)  
hendru, anchini, dungkek, and brought up (my children)' (TuI Education)

Some adjectival constructions have combinations involving two verbs, one is an ordinary verb and one is an adjectival verb. So far, there have been found two such adjectives of opposite pairs 'beautiful'/'ugly' and 'good smelling'/'bad smelling'. Adjectives 'beautiful'/'ugly' are constructed with the verb *làng* 'look' and one of the two opposite quality verbs *mé* 'be good' and the reduced form of *ingho* – *ho* 'be bad', resulting in *kilàngmé* 'beautiful' and *kilàngho* 'ugly'. The second pair involves the verb *ingnim* 'smell'; however, instead of the nominalizer *ki-*, it attaches the possessive prefix *a-* to form an adjective. Then, for the meaning 'good smelling' it also adds the adjectival verb *mé* 'be good' but for the meaning 'bad smelling' it adds *hak* instead of *-ho*, whose origin and meaning are unclear, resulting in *angnimmé* 'fragrant/good smelling' and *angnimhak* 'bad smelling'. In these adjectival constructions the verbs *làng* 'look' and *ingnim* 'smell' are ditransitivized in the way that O becomes S. The adjectival constructions can also be intensified with the verbal suffix *-ad* 'very'; but only positives are intensified, i.e. *kilàngméad*<sup>12</sup> 'very beautiful', *angnimméad* 'very fragrant'.

### 3.3.2 Copulas and auxiliary

This section describes Amri Karbi copular verbs. A copular verb is defined following Pustet (2003:5) as "a linguistic element which co-occurs with certain lexemes when they function as predicate nucleus" and "a copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in".

Amri Karbi has a positive copula *do*. The copula *do* is used in existential clauses (§6.4.2) and future and past tense equational clauses (§6.4.1) where it links a subject and a complement and

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<sup>12</sup> The form 'very beautiful' often appears without the nominalizer *ki-*, i.e. *langmead* 'very beautiful'.

inflects for TAM. The copula *do* can be nominalized, e.g., *ki-do* (NMLZ-COP); it has fully grammaticalized from the verb *do* ‘stay’ and now as a copula it does not have any concrete meaning. The verb *do* ‘stay’ is still used as the verb ‘stay’ in the language. The copula *do* is also used as an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions (see §8.4). As an auxiliary, *do* has not yet fully grammaticalized, as in the negation of one of the periphrastic constructions, the auxiliary *do* surfaces as the verb *do* ‘stay’, attaching the verbal negative suffix instead of being negated by the negative existential copula (see details in §8.4.2).

Karbi also has a copula *do* (Konnerth 2014:184) that apparently has cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as *doŋ* in Boro (Konnerth 2014:184), or probably Proto-Tani \**ŋ* ‘lie down; exist’ (Sun 1993; Post 2007). Denjongke also has a cognate existential copular verb *dug* which has a Classical Tibetan etymon *dug* (Yliniemi 2019:99).

There are four negative copulas: one negative equational copula *kalēk* NEG.EQ.COP and three negative existential copulas *ingyong* ‘NEG.EX.COP’, *we* ‘NEG.EX.COP2’ and *kangwe* ‘not exist’. The negative copular verbs link a subject and a predicate in stative predications. Negative copulas do not take the nominalizer *ki-/ka-* and other verbal morphology. However, the copula *kangwe* is already a nominalized form that has lexicalized possibly from the two nominalized negative copular verbs *ingyong* and *we* combined together, where the first vowel of the copula *ingyong* is dropped, as usually happens with the prefix *ing-* (see more in §3.3.3): *ka-ing(yong)-we* (NMLZ-NEG.EX.COP-NEG.EX.COP2).

The origin of *ingyong* is not clear. The prefix *ing-* was reported by Grüßner (1961) is an intransitivizer, but he also noticed that the prefix *ing-* in the Karbi song language in several cases has *ma-* instead of *ing-* (Grüßner 1978: 43). Unfortunately, Amri Karbi traditional songs have not yet been described to show if the same happens in the Amri Karbi song language. But this is still a clue that in Amri Karbi and Karbi *ma-* could had been replaced with *ing-* and the prefix *ma-* is a common negative marker in Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan. The origin of the second part of the copula *ingyong* is unknown, but *-yong* with the prefix *ing-* dropped occurs in negative realis and past tense constructions attaching to verbs as a suffix (§11.1), e.g. (3.14).

(3.14)

*thek-the-yong*

thék-Ce-ingyong

know-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘(I) did not know’ (elicited)

The negative existential copula *we*, usually used only in the Upper Amri area, is a dialectal variation that is used for the same functions as *ingyong*. Negative existential copula *we* is. Some speakers use only *we* in contexts where speakers in the Lower Amri area would use *ingyong*. Some speakers in the Upper Amri area use both *we* and *ingyong* in free variation for all negative existential copula functions. This is probably due to contact with the Lower Amri speakers. The copula *we* is a cognate of the Karbi negative existential copula *ave* (Konnerth 2014:184) and Proto-Tibeto-Burman *\*way*.

The negative copula *kangwe* ‘not exist’ is used to express the meaning that something does not exist, either in possessive or locative clauses; e.g., *ne-nohok kangwe* (1-money not.exist) ‘I do not have money’ (literally: ‘my money do not exist’).

### 3.3.3 Verbs with prefix *ing-* and *ar-*

There are several verbs in the corpus that start with the prefixes *ing-* and *ar-*; these prefixes usually cannot be dropped. The verbs that start with *ing-* and *ar-* are regular verbs, that take all verbal morphology including the nominalizer *ki-*.

The function of the prefix *ar-* is still unclear, as there seems to be no apparent connection between the verbs starting with the prefix *ar-*, see Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Verbs with *ar-*

Form	Gloss
<i>ardep</i>	‘slap’
<i>ardom</i>	‘worship’
<i>arche</i>	‘filter’
<i>archep</i>	‘prune’
<i>arjap</i>	‘stand’
<i>arji</i>	‘earn’
<i>armil</i>	‘mop’
<i>arlu</i>	‘climb’

The possible origin of the prefix *ing-* as a negative suffix has been described in the previous section, but it was also reported by Grüßner (1961) that the prefix *ing-* might be an intransitivizer. In Amri Karbi, as in Karbi, the prefix *ing-* is fossilized but it appears on both transitive and intransitive verbs. One verb that was found so far where the prefix *ing-* is not fossilized is the verb *thūr* ‘wake up/rise’, but it seems to function on this verb as a transitivity marker rather than as an intransitivizer. Example (3.8) shows that the verb *thūr* ‘wake up/rise’ occurs twice, with the prefix *ing-* and transitive, and without the prefix *ing-* and intransitive. As has been mentioned before, the negative existential copula *ingyong* also has the prefix *ing-* which is dropped in some of the negative constructions (see §11).

(3.8)

*apinghanpoyok ingthuro minonke thurnod pulo*

a-pinghan-po-yok      ingthūr-lo [minon=ke thūr-not]      pu-lo  
 POSS-husband-M-NSUBJ    wake.up-RL    now=TOP    wake.up-IMP    say-RL

‘(she) woke up her husband, now wake up, (she) said’ (BT Monkey)

The set of verbs with the fossilized prefix *ing-* is shown in Table 3.4, they are both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Table 3.4 Verbs with *-ing*

Form	Gloss
<i>ingnek</i>	‘laugh’
<i>inghong</i>	‘wait’ (transitive)
<i>ingjongsor</i>	‘float’ (intransitive)
<i>ingreng</i>	‘make sound’ (intransitive)
<i>ing’omrak</i>	‘catch with mouth’ (transitive)
<i>ingpu</i>	‘open’ (transitive)
<i>ingdak</i>	‘burn with hot water’/‘be born’/‘have goosebumps’
<i>ingting</i>	‘be dark’
<i>ingkrin</i>	‘smell ( ‘animals sniff/smell’ )’
<i>ingjar</i>	‘fly’
<i>inghór</i>	‘carry’
<i>ingthan</i>	‘cut in peace’
<i>ingnim</i>	‘smell’ (intransitive)

### 3.4 Adjectives

There is a small list of adjectives found in the data that function as noun modifiers. These adjectives do not express the basic property concepts that Dixon (1977, 2004) gives as the most likely to exist as a separate adjectival class.

Morphosyntactically, the adjectives are not similar to verbs as they do not usually take the nominalizer *ki-*. Most of them carry the prefix *a-* that is lexicalized in some of their roots and they cannot be analysed without it. The adjectives are not similar to nouns either, as they cannot be modified and those adjectives that do not have the lexicalized possessive prefix *a-* cannot be marked with the prefix *a-*<sup>13</sup>. However, one adjective *akreng* ‘dry’ seem to be derived from the verb *kreng* ‘dry’ by the possessive prefix *a-*, which is an exception.

The class of adjectives is an open class that is still growing, as will be shown by the borrowed adjectives.

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<sup>13</sup> *khanang* ‘real’ is an exception. It can take the prefix *a-* and with the prefix *a-* it functions as a noun *akhanang* ‘truth’.

Table 3.5 shows the list of the adjectives. As seen in the table 3.5, the class of adjectives is not large and does not cover all adjectival functions. There is a subclass of verbs (see §3.3.1), i.e. adjectival verbs that fulfil the majority of the adjectival functions in the language. The adjectives usually precede the head noun, e.g. *anchó ari* ‘right hand’. The adjectives can also modify verbs, like adverbs, either with or without the clitic =*si*.

Table 3.5 List of adjectives

Form	Gloss	Source
<i>ado</i>	‘guilty’	
<i>amokha</i>	‘many’	
<i>ahuna</i>	‘empty’	
<i>debera</i>	‘left’	
<i>anchó</i>	‘right’	<i>an</i> ‘rice’, <i>chó</i> ‘eat’ <sup>14</sup>
<i>athok</i> <sup>15</sup>	‘beautiful’	
<i>akleng</i>	‘elder’	
<i>akreng</i>	‘dry’	<i>kreng</i> ‘dry’ (verb)
<i>hel</i>	‘slow’	
<i>phod</i>	‘fast’	
<i>(a)khanang</i>	‘real’	
<i>prang</i>	‘early’	also functions as an adverb

Some adjectives semantically overlap with adjectival verbs but have a different distribution of functions. For example, there is an adjective *amokha* ‘many’ and an adjectival verb *ong* ‘be much/many’. The difference between them is that *amokha* ‘many’ is only found to be modifying nouns with human referents, *ong* ‘be many’ being used for everything else. Example (3.15) shows *amokha* to refer to the people and *ong* in (3.16) to refer to cows. (3.15) *amokha* ‘many’

<sup>14</sup> The cultural norm of using only right hand for eating is likely to be the reason for the word *anchó* ‘rice eat’ to develop meaning ‘right’.

<sup>15</sup> For ‘beautiful’ the Amri Karbi usually use *(ki)langmead* ((ki)-lang-me-ad. (NMLZ)-look-be.good-very). *athok* is found to describe a weaved fabric design in the data.

*arleng amokha dojap do*

**arleng amokha** do-jap do  
man many stay-plenty COP  
'many people are there'

(3.16) *akiong* 'many'

*manta anangke chorònggothali isi kido akiong*

manta anang=ke choròng-gothali isi ki-do **a-ki-ong**  
but 3=TOP cow-house one NMLZ-COP POSS-NMLZ-be.many

*achoròng kido*

**a-choròng** ki-do

POSS-cow NMLZ-COP

'but she had many cows, the cowhouse was full' (BK Widow)

There are some adjectives found in the data that have been probably borrowed from Indic languages; they are listed in Table 3.6. When they modify a noun, they can either follow a noun or precede it. These adjectives are quite diverse in their morphosyntactic properties. To illustrate how diverse they are, I will describe the morphosyntactic behaviour of some of them. For example, the adjective *-borai* 'proud/pride' can take both possessive prefix *a-* as a noun and nominalizer *ki-* as a verb. On the other hand, others like *dhemali* 'funny' do not take any morphology. The adjective *abhem* can be verbalized with the verbalizer *pa-* (which is unproductive to derive verbs from most of the nouns); *pabhem* 'make late' can then take the nominalizer *ki-*, a negative suffix and other verbal morphology. Adjectives *abudhi* 'wise' and *agun* 'wise' may also function as nouns *abudhi* 'wisdom' and *agun* 'wisdom'. Note that Amri Karbi has already an adjectival verb for the basic property 'big', *the* 'be big', and then also the borrowed adjective *aghai* 'big'. Adjectives 'sick' and 'tasty' also have Amri Karbi variants.

Table 3.6 Borrowed adjectives

Form	Gloss	Amri Karbi variant
<i>dhemali/phasuri(a)</i>	‘funny’, ‘joking’	
<i>bemar</i>	‘sick’	<i>a-ki-so</i> POSS-NMLZ-be.sick ‘sick’
<i>ahuwak</i>	‘tasty’	<i>ki-chó-mé</i> NMLZ-eat-be.good ‘tasty/good to eat’
<i>aborai</i>	‘proud’	
<i>abudhi</i> <i>agun</i>	‘wise’	
<i>aghai</i>	‘big’	<i>a-ki-the</i> POSS-NMLZ-be.big ‘big’
<i>abhem</i>	‘late’	

### 3.5 Adverbs

The Amri Karbi class of adverbs includes temporal adverbs; there are only two locative adverbs and some borrowed adverbs in the language. The reason for the Amri Karbi class of adverbs not being more extensive than it is, is almost certainly the existence of other means to express adverbial meanings, especially its large set of predicate derivational suffixes described §5.1.7. Besides predicate derivations, adverbial functions may be filled by adjectives and nouns marked with focus clitics, see §5.3.1.

There is a set of temporal adverbs in Amri Karbi that refer to the time when the action was carried out. Temporal adverbs include day ordinals, year ordinals, week ordinals and other temporal adverbs.

Day ordinals are listed in Table 3.7. Day ordinals referring to ‘today’, ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ are expressed by dedicated lexemes. Other day ordinals are compositional, involving the day ordinals ‘today’, ‘yesterday’, ‘tomorrow’ and the word ‘day’ *ni*, e.g. *nithom (ago)* ‘three days (ago)’. The day ordinals expressing one day earlier or later than ‘yesterday’

and ‘tomorrow’ have *-di* morpheme adding to the day ordinals ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’. Two days earlier or later than ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ have the morpheme *-di* and the numeral ‘one’ adding to the day ordinals ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’. Day ordinals referring to midnight have tone rising of the word for ‘night’, e.g. *anuwē* ‘night’, *anuwé* ‘midnight’.

Table 3.7 Day ordinals

	Whole day	Morning	Evening	Night	Midnight
2 days ago	<i>timidi isi</i>	<i>timidi isi adap</i>	<i>timidi isi anethu/anithu</i>	<i>timidi isi anuwē</i>	<i>timid isi anuwé</i>
day before yesterday	<i>timidi</i>	<i>timidi adap</i>	<i>timidi anethu/anithu</i>	<i>timidi anuwē</i>	<i>timidi anuwé</i>
Yesterday	<i>timi</i>	<i>timi adap</i>	<i>timi anethu/anithu</i>	<i>timi anuwē/tuwe</i>	<i>timi anuwé</i>
Today	<i>mini</i>	<i>tudap/miniadap</i>	<i>anethu/anithu</i>	<i>anuwē/ajo</i>	<i>ajo jarlo/ jarlo sitem/ anuwé</i>
Tomorrow	<i>minak</i>	<i>minak adap</i>	<i>minak anethu/anithu</i>	<i>minak anuwē</i>	<i>minak anuwé</i>
day after tomorrow	<i>minakdi</i>	<i>minakdi adap</i>	<i>minakdi anethu/anithu</i>	<i>minakdi anuwē</i>	<i>minakdi anuwé</i>
2 days after	<i>minakdi isi</i>	<i>minakdi isi adap</i>	<i>minakdi isi anethu/anithu</i>	<i>minakdi isi anuwē</i>	<i>minakdi isi anuwé</i>

Year ordinals comprise the first syllable of the word *nengkan* ‘year’ and the morpheme *mo-* for the present and future years and the morpheme *cho-* for the past years. ‘The last year’ may also be expressed by the noun phrase *ki-dam a-nengkan* (NMLZ-go POSS-year) ‘last year/passed year’. ‘2 years before’ is a combination of *choneng* ‘1 year before’ and the numeral ‘one’. ‘One year after’ has an indefinite clitic =*bak* attaching to *moneng* ‘this year’. ‘2 years after’ consists of a reduplication of *moneng* ‘this year’ and the indefinite clitic =*bak* attaching to the second *moneng*. ‘3 years ago’ is *nengkan kithom ango* (year three before) and ‘3 years after’ is *nengkan kithom aphel* (year three after).

Table 3.8 provides the list Amri Karbi year ordinals

Table 3.8 List of year ordinals

2 years before	<i>choneng isi</i>
1 year before	<i>choneng/kidam anengkan</i>
this year	<i>moneng</i>
1 year after	<i>monengbak</i>
2 years after	<i>moneng monengbak</i>

Table 3.9 shows the list of week ordinals. Week ordinals contain the compound word *-hat -rul* ‘week’. ‘This week’ is identified with *minon* ‘now’. Week ordinals ‘last week’ and ‘next week’ are compositional noun phrases involving the deictic motion verbs *dam* ‘go’ and *wang* ‘come’, *ki-dam a-hat a-rul* (NMLZ-go POSS-week POSS-week) ‘last/passed week’; *ki-wang a-hat a-rul* (NMLZ-come POSS-week POSS-week) ‘next/coming week’.

Table 3.9 Week ordinals

last week	<i>kidam ahat arul</i>
this week	<i>minon ahat arul</i>
next week	<i>kiwang ahat arul</i>

There are three non-deictic temporal adverbs in the language attested so far. Table 3.10 lists these temporal adverbs.

Table 3.10 Temporal adverbs

<i>minon/non</i>	now
<i>inisi/inersi</i>	one day, once upon a time
<i>aporong</i>	long time ago
<i>prang/preng</i>	early

There are only two locative adverbs attested so far, *holek* ‘here’ and *halek* ‘there’. They can either precede the predicate or follow it.

There are two borrowed adverbs from Indic languages that are persistently found in the data. A locative adverb *bahere* ‘outside’ and an adverb *bohut* ‘very’. It is not clear at the moment whether these adverbs should be treated as part of the language or as elements of code switching. While the adverb *bahere* ‘outside’ was included in the unpublished dictionary

compiled by Ms. Marme, the adverb *bohut* ‘very’ was not. The adverb *bahere* occurs only two times in the database and *bohut* occurs eight times.

Amri Karbi has native means to express the meaning ‘outside’. For example, there is a verb *ole* ‘be outside’, and there are also some other verbs that have meaning ‘outside’ inherent in their semantics, like *hek* ‘take outside’. For the meaning ‘very’ Amri Karbi usually utilises the intensifying predicate derivational suffix *-det* (3.17) and the adjectival verb *ong* ‘be much/many’ (3.18).

(3.17)

*bek-so=det*

be.small-DIM=INTS

‘very small’ (elicited)

(3.18)

*so-ong*

be.hot-be.much

‘very hot’ (elicited)

### 3.6 Pro-forms

This section describes pro-forms. It starts with the personal and possessive pronouns, then continues with a base for a reflexive and a reciprocal pronoun. Afterwards the demonstratives are described, followed by the interrogative pronouns and pronouns and pro-adverbs of universal quantification.

#### 3.6.1 Personal pronouns and personal possessive prefixes

Table 3.11 provides a chart of all personal pronouns in Amri Karbi, including possessive prefixes. Amri Karbi distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural pronoun. The exclusive pronoun *hali* covers ‘me and others, but not you’ and the inclusive pronoun *ili* covers ‘me and others and you’. As seen in the pronoun chart, there are variations in the first and third person pronouns, which are regional variations. *alang* would be more often used in the Upper Amri area and *anang* in the Lower Amri, *hane* and *ne* for the first-person singular is used by speakers from both the Lower and Upper areas. The variation in pronouns is also found within some individual speakers, most of them come from the Upper Amri area. To create plural second and third person pronouns the honorific suffix *-li* is added to a pronoun.

For the third person plural, a construction of the demonstrative *la* plus the plural *-hel* resulting in *lahel* can be used interchangeably with *anali/anangli*; but in contrast with *anangli*, *la(hel)* can refer both to animate and inanimate referents. The plural second person form is used both for plural referents and as an honorific pronoun.

Table 3.11 Personal pronouns chart

	Singular	Plural	Possessive Prefixes, Possessive Singular	Possessive Prefixes, Possessive Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person inclusive	<i>ne/ hane</i>	<i>ili, i-</i>	<i>ne-/ hane- ne a-/ hane a-</i>	<i>ili-,i- ili a-</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> person exclusive		<i>hali</i>		<i>hali-/ha- hali a-</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>nang</i>	<i>nangli</i>	<i>nang-, na- nang a-</i>	<i>nangli- nangli a-</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>anang/alang</i>	<i>anangli/anali/ alangli, la(hel)</i>	<i>anang-/a- anang a-</i>	<i>anangli-/alangli-/anali- anangli/alangli/anali a-</i>

Possessiveness is marked by a possessive prefix or a possessive pronoun. Possessive prefixes attach directly to the stem and then no other prefix can appear on the stem. Inalienable nouns are marked with the respective possessive pronouns; i.e, the obligatory possessive prefix *a-* is replaced with an agreeing possessive prefix. Possessiveness can also be marked by possessive pronouns. In the case of the possessive pronouns, the stem is always marked with the possessive prefix *a-* regardless of the possessor's person. This marking with the possessive prefix *a-* is likely to be marking for modification; the noun is then preceded with the appropriate possessive pronoun. Example (3.19) shows two variations for one possessive construction with a kinship

term ‘my brother’: one with the possessive pronoun, the noun being marked with the possessive prefix *a-*, and another one is when a possessive prefix attaches directly to the noun.

(3.19)

<i>ne a-ka</i>	<i>ne-ka</i>
1 POSS-older.brother	1-older.brother
‘my brother’	‘my brother’ (elicited)

Since possessive pronouns are not bound forms, other elements can appear between the possessive pronoun and the possessed noun. Example (3.20) shows the adjective *anchó ari* ‘right’ appearing between possessive pronoun *nang* ‘your’ and the possessed noun *mēk* ‘eye’.

(3.20)

*nangancho ari amek*  
*nang anchó a-ri a-mēk*  
 2 right POSS-hand POSS-eye  
 ‘your right eye’ (NT)

Another example where the possessiveness is marked with the pronoun is shown in (3.21), where third person possession is marked with the pronoun *anang* and the possessive prefix *a-*; note that the noun *asithe* ‘breath’ is an inalienable possessed noun.

(3.21) *anang* ‘3S’ as a possessive pronoun

<i>anang a-sithe</i>	<i>hephai-hephai=si</i>	<i>ki-dam</i>
3 POSS-breath	fast.breathing-fast.breathing=FOC:RL	PST-go
‘his breathing got rapid’ (Lit.: ‘his breathing went rapidly’)		

Example (3.22) shows third person possession marked with only the possessive prefix *a-*.

(3.22)

*alang meatsi apiso asopen chirjapsi*

alang mé-ad-si                      a-piso      a-so=pen                      chi-arjap-si  
3      be.good-very-NF:RL    POSS-wife    POSS-child=with    RR-stand-NF:RL

*ahupo kipi adunglephalangpen hrengsi kido*

a-hu-po                      ki-pi                      a-dunglephalang=pen    hreng-si                      ki-do  
POSS-father.in.law-M    NMLZ-give    POSS-land=with                      survive-NF:RL    PST-stay  
'he was surviving with the land given by his father-in-law and living a good life with his wife and children' (MI One man)

Example (3.23) shows third person possession marked with the possessive prefix *anang-*, and there is no possessive prefix *a-* on the possessed noun *choròng* 'cow'.

(3.23)

*labadisi arniten anangchorong widamman*

labadi=si                      arni=ten                      **anang**-choròng    wi-dam-man  
like.this=FOC:RL    day=every    3-cow                      pasture-go-HAB  
'like this, he fed his cows' (BR Lying cowboy)

Example (3.24) shows the first person singular possessive prefix *ne-* attaching to the possessed noun.

(3.24) possessive prefix *ne-* '1'

*minike piyokma la nekhoipo jangpasise*

mini=ke    piyok=ma    la                      **ne**-khai-po    nang=pasi-Ce  
now=TOP    why=Q                      DEM    1-friend-M                      CIS=respond-NEG  
'now, why is that, my friend does not respond now' (RB Fox and crocodile)

### 3.6.2 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are identical in form; they are formed with personal pronouns attached to *bithang* 'self', shown in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 Personal reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>nebithang</i>	<i>ibithang</i> (INCL)/ <i>halibithang</i> (EXCL)
2	<i>nangbithang</i>	<i>nangbithang</i>
3	<i>abithang</i>	<i>abithang</i>

Reflexive-reciprocal pronouns may also co-occur with the reflexive prefix *chi-* that is discussed in §5.1.4.

The reflexive-pronoun *bithang* has the meaning ‘own’ or the meaning of an emphatic possessor. Example (3.25) shows *bithang* with the meaning ‘own’.

(3.25) *bithang* ‘self’ with the meaning ‘own’

*jike nipupe nebithang ahem manta neke*

ji(Asm)=ke    ni=pu-Ce    **ne-bithang**    a-hēm    manta    ne=ke  
 whatever=TOP    I=say-NEG    I-self    POSS-family    but    I=TOP

*ambak-hel-si                  wang-bò neng                  hō*  
 sometimes-PL=FOC:RL    come-IRR2    sister-in-law    INTER

‘whatever you say you are my own family, yet after sometime I will come, ok?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The reflexive pronoun is often used as a reflexive-emphatic pronoun (3.26).

(3.26)

*aro nethu-lò    la-badi-si                  oso-po=ta                  choròng-hel    a-yok*  
 and    eveing-RL    DEM-as-FOC:RL    child-M=ADD    cow-PL                  POSS-NSUBJ

*abithang choronghem ayok chiwano*

**a-bithang**    choròng-hēm    a-yok                  chi-wan-lò  
 POSS-self    cow-house                  POSS-DIR    RR-bring-RL

‘in the evening the cowboy himself brought the cows to the cow-shed’ (BR Lying cowboy)

With the intensifier – *det* the reflexive-emphatic pronoun is emphasised, as in example (3.27) ‘all by myself’. In this example, the reflexive *bithang* ‘self’ is not attached to any pronoun; only the context tells us that the speaker is talking about herself.

(3.27)

*ne-bithang=det a-poisa=si a-tanga arkeng bithi hendru*  
1-self=INTS POSS-money=FOC:RL POSS-money betel.nut leaf plant:hendru

*anchini dungkek Umden hat jordamsi pathe padingo*

*anchini dungkek Umden hat jor-dam-si pa-the pa-ding-lò*  
plant:anchini plant:dungkek Umden market sell-go-NF:RL CAUS-grow CAUS-grow.up-RL  
'I, all by myself money (earned) by selling in Umden market the bettelenut and leaf (pan)  
hendru, antsini, dungkek, and brought up (my children)' (TUI Education)

### 3.6.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Amri Karbi has a proximal demonstrative *la* and a distal demonstrative *ha*. There is also a demonstrative word *mēhel* that means 'these'. The word *mēhel* includes the plural suffix *-hel* and the word *mē* which might come from the word *mē* 'fire'. *mēhel* is usually used for inanimate referents and might appear with the demonstrative *la*, *lamēhel*.

Table 3.13 lists all the forms containing the demonstrative *la* and the table 3.14 lists all the forms containing the demonstrative *ha*. The distal demonstrative *ha* is usually accompanied by eye-gazing and pointing. There is some evidence that proximal and distal distinction is not very strict in Amri Karbi; for example, some forms have synonymous meaning, like *ladak* and *hadak* both mean 'those days', although there could be a pragmatic difference between them. From my observation of demonstratives, I noticed that proximal and distal meanings depend on the context, rather than on the form of a demonstrative being used. There is also evidence that the distal demonstrative *ha* might not be a proper demonstrative. Even though *ha* is used as a deictic noun phrase on its own and in combination with other elements as is shown in the Table 3.14, it has not been attested to be used as a modifier. By contrast, the proximal demonstrative *la* is used systematically both as a modifier and as a noun phrase. In addition, as can be noted by comparison of both tables (3.13 and 3.14), not all the forms have corresponding elements in both tables; for example, the demonstratives of quantity (e.g. *\*haan* 'that much') and plural demonstratives (*\*hahel* 'they, distal', *hamēhel* 'those') are not possible combinations with the distal *ha*. Also, the distal demonstrative *ha* is often used in situations where joint attention was established by means of eye-gazing and pointing. So, the proximal and distal distinction of two demonstratives is questionable and the status of *ha* needs further clarification. For comparison, Konnerth (2014) identified only one demonstrative *la* in Karbi.

Table 3.13 Forms containing the demonstrative *la*

Proximal	Gloss
<i>la</i>	‘this’
<i>laba, labangpo</i>	‘this one’
<i>lalong</i>	‘there’
<i>layok</i>	‘then’
<i>ladak/laadak</i>	‘those days’
<i>laga</i>	‘this side’
<i>laan(bak)</i>	‘this much (approximate)’
<i>laanso(bak)</i>	‘this little/small (approximate)’
<i>laanothak</i>	‘that’s it’
<i>labang apor</i>	‘this time’
<i>labadi/ladi</i>	‘this way, like this’
<i>lahel</i>	‘they’ only for people
<i>lamēhel</i>	‘these’ for inanimate referents
<i>lapara</i>	‘then’

Table 3.14 Forms containing the demonstrative *ha*

Distal	Gloss
<i>ha</i>	‘that’
<i>habangpo/halabang/halaba/hala</i>	‘that one’
<i>halong</i>	‘there, visible’
<i>hayok</i>	‘there’ (Lative)
<i>hadak</i>	‘those days’
<i>haga</i>	‘that side’
<i>habang apor</i>	‘that time’
<i>habadi</i>	‘that way, like that’
<i>hapara</i>	‘from there’

### 3.6.4 Interrogative pronouns

Table 3.15 lists all Amri Karbi interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronoun for quantity consists of the question morpheme *kom/kan* and the indefinite clitic =*bak* (plausibly originally from the Assamese indefinite *-ba*) for mass nouns or attach to the right edge of a noun or a

classifier for countable nouns. Most of the interrogative pronouns contain the interrogative morpheme *kV* (from Proto-Sino-Tibetan interrogative *\*ka* (Benedicts, 1984)). Some of the pronouns have regional variants; for example, for ‘which’ in the Upper Amri they would use *dakbang*, where *dak* is the interrogative morpheme and *bang* is the generic noun, but the Lower Amri variant for the same interrogative pronoun is an Assamese borrowing *kintu*. A different type of variation is in the interrogative word ‘where’, which is constructed in a way that is similar in both variants; but the interrogative morpheme in the Lower Amri variant is *kV* and in the Upper Amri is *dak*, the locative *long* being present in both variants. There are two variants for the pronoun ‘who’, *ingho* and *kai*; *kai* is likely a borrowing from Assamese. According to my language consultants, both pronouns can be used interchangeably in all areas of Amri Karbi in content questions, but *ingho* is predominantly used in the Upper Amri and *kai* in the Lower Amri.

Table 3.15 Interrogative pronouns

Semantic field	Form	Gloss	Morphemes
Person	<i>ingho</i>	‘who’	
	<i>kai</i>	‘who’	
Thing	<i>pot</i>	‘what’	
	<i>kintu</i> (Lower Amri)/ <i>dakbang</i> (Upper Amri)	‘which’	
Amount	<i>kombak/konbak</i>	‘how much’	= <i>bak</i> ‘INDEF’
	<i>kombakbak/konbakbak</i>	‘approximately how much’	mass nouns
	<i>-kan</i> <i>rongan</i> <i>pakkan</i> <i>nengkankan</i>	‘how many’ ‘how many trees’ ‘how many clothes’ ‘how many years’	countable nouns <i>ròng</i> ‘CLF:plant’ <i>pak</i> ‘CLF:flat’ <i>nengkan</i> ‘year’
Time	<i>konam</i>	‘when’	
	<i>kombak</i> <i>ahomoi/konbak</i> <i>ahomoi</i>	‘what time’	= <i>bak</i> ‘INDEF’ <i>homoi</i> ‘time’
Place	<i>kalong</i> (Lower Amri)/ <i>daklong</i> (Upper Amri) <i>dongpara</i> <i>dongte</i>	‘where to/where at’ ‘where to/where at’ ‘from where’ ‘from where’	<i>long</i> ‘LOC’
		‘where’	<i>long</i> ‘LOC’ Lower Amri
Manner	<i>potdi(si)</i>	‘how’	<i>badi-si</i> ‘as-adv’ synonims
	<i>potbadi</i>	‘how’	<i>badi</i> ‘as’
	<i>pipotbadi</i>	‘how’	<i>pi</i> ‘what’?

### 3.6.5 Pronouns and pro-adverbs of universal quantification and indefinite pronouns

Like other Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan languages, Amri Karbi uses an additive clitic =*ta* to form universal (or non-specific) indefinites. Table 3.16 lists pronouns and pro-adverbs of universal quantification.

Amri Karbi has three pronouns of universal quantification. Out of the three, only *kaita* ‘anybody/nobody’ occurs both in positive and negative clauses; the others, *iku* ‘nothing’ and *jat* ‘never’, occur only in negative clauses. The pronoun *kaita* ‘nobody’ is the only one that is constructed with the interrogative pronoun *kai* ‘who’. It uses an additive suffix =*ta* to form a universal (or non-specific) pronoun ‘anybody’. Interestingly the second variant of the pronoun ‘who’, *ingho*, does not function as a universal pronoun, but as a pronoun in correlative constructions (see §10.1.8). The other universal pronouns *iku* ‘nothing’ and *jat* ‘never’ have Assamese origin. The pronoun *jat* ‘never’ also occurs with the additive =*ta* sometimes. The pronoun *iku* can cooccur with the negative copula *ingyong* and there is also a reduplicated/elaborate expression form of the pronoun *iku*, i.e. *iku ika*. Note that there is a copula *kangwe* that is usually used to express that something does not exist. The pronoun *iku* is not attested to be used in existential clauses; rather, it occurs in other contexts, (e.g. *ne iku thek-the* (nothing know-NEG) ‘I know nothing/I do not know anything’).

Table 3.16 Pronouns and pro-adverbs of universal quantification

Semantic Field	Form	Gloss
Person	<i>kaita</i>	‘anybody’/‘nobody’
Thing	<i>iku/eku/eko</i>	‘nothing’
	<i>iku ika</i>	‘nothing’
Time	<i>jat/jatsi/jatta</i>	‘never’

Table 3.17 lists other words that express universal quantification; some of them function as modifiers or adverbs.

Table 3.17 Words expressing universal quantification

Semantic Field	Form	Gloss	Function
Person/Thing	<i>ahuwit/ahuwitta</i>	‘all’ ‘everyone’ ‘everything’	modifier
Place	<i>ahuwit athēm</i>	‘everywhere’	noun phrase <i>ahuwit a-thēm</i> all POSS-place ‘all place’
Time	<i>arniten/arnintenta</i> <i>arnijon</i>	‘always’ ‘every day’	adverb <i>arni</i> ‘day’, = <i>ten</i> ‘every’
	<i>hodai</i> (Assm)	‘always’	adverb

There is another pronoun of universal quantification that is found twice in the data: *gutei* ‘all’ which is either a case of code switching or a borrowing from Assamese. Amri Karbi has a number of predicate derivational suffixes that denote the meaning ‘all’ on the verb without the need of the pronoun ‘all’ (see § 6.2.5, §8.5.2) and sometimes *gutei* ‘all’ cooccurs with them. Example (3.28) shows *gutei* ‘all’ used alongside with the predicate derivational suffix *kreng* ‘all’.

(3.28)

*aro tikepomar gutei angjangkrengo*

aro tike-po-mar **gutei**(Assm) nang=jang-**kreng**-lò

and tiger-DEF-PL all CIS=fall-ALL-RL

‘and the tigers all fell down’ (BK Widow)

Indefinite pronouns are constructed with an irrealis focus clitic =*ne* or an indefinite clitic =*bak* or both attaching to an interrogative pronoun (the order of clitics is =*nebak*, not =*bakne*). A similar strategy to create indefinite pronouns is also used in Assamese with a possible cognate indefinite suffix *-ba* attaching to the interrogative pronoun (Kakati, 1941:300). As indefinite pronouns are based on the interrogative pronouns, which are diverse, there is a dialectal variation in indefinite pronouns as well. Beside two dialectal variations of pronouns for the semantic field ‘time’, there are two more indefinite pronouns for ‘time’: *am(o)bak* and *angkhan apor*. The pronoun *am(o)bak* means ‘after sometime’. The indefinite pronoun *angkhan apor* is

compositional of the indefinite modifier *angkhan* ‘some’ and the noun *apor* ‘time’. Table 3.18 provides the list with the indefinite pronouns.

Table 3.18 List with the indefinite pronouns

Semantic Field	Form	Gloss	Other morphemes
Person	<i>kaibak</i>	‘somebody’	<i>kai</i> ‘who’ Lower Amri
	<i>inghonebak</i>	‘somebody’	<i>ingho</i> ‘who’, = <i>ne</i> , = <i>bak</i> Upper Amri
Thing	<i>penebak</i>	‘something’	
Time	<i>daknebak</i>	‘sometime’ ‘somewhere’	Upper Amri
	<i>kanebak</i>	‘sometime’ ‘somewhere’	Lower Amri
	<i>am(o)bak</i>	‘after sometime’	
	<i>angkhan apor</i>	‘sometime’	
Place	<i>daknebak</i>	‘sometime’ ‘somewhere’	Upper Amri
	<i>kanebak</i>	‘sometime’ ‘somewhere’	Lower Amri

There are modifiers with the meaning ‘some’, shown in Table 3.19. *adhok* is used both for animate and inanimate referents. *angkhan* is usually used as a modifier, but can occur without a head noun; it is found to be used mostly with animate referents and ‘time’. *loi* is used with contrastive topics, marking the second contrastive topic. *pene* is used predominately with inanimate referents.

Table 3.19 Modifiers ‘some’

Form	Gloss	Functions
<i>adhok</i>	‘some’	modifier
<i>angkhan</i>	‘some’	modifier
<i>loi</i> (Assm)	‘some’	indefinite suffix for contrastive topic
<i>pene</i>	‘some’	modifier Note: it is used with = <i>bak</i> to mean ‘something’

### 3.7 Coordinators and subordinators

Coordinators serve to connect clauses and discourse together. Table 3.20 lists Amri Karbi coordinators and cross-references the sections in which they are discussed further.

Table 3.20 Coordinators

Coordinator	Gloss	See further
<i>aro</i>	‘and’	§9.3.1.1, §12.5
<i>manta</i>	‘but’	§9.3.1.3, §12.5
<i>parake</i>	‘then’	§12.5
<i>lasi</i>	‘so’	§9.3.1.4, §12.5
<i>labadi(si)/ladi(si)</i>	‘like this’	§12.5
<i>la aphel(ke)/laphel(ke)/aphel</i>	‘after that’/ ‘after’	§12.5

Most of the subordinators have grammaticalized from relator nouns and function in subordinate clauses (see §9.1). The subordinator *lengke* ‘until’ has likely grammaticalized from a composition of the verb (*h*)*leng* ‘reach’ and the topic =*ke*. Table 3.21 lists all the subordinators.

Table 3.21 Subordinators

Semantic Field	Form	Gloss
Temporal	<i>aphel</i>	‘after’
	<i>ango</i>	‘before’
	<i>amun</i>	‘while’
	<i>apor</i>	‘during’
	<i>lengke</i>	‘until’, ‘as long as’
Causal	<i>(a)pot</i>	‘because’
	<i>(a)yok</i>	‘because’
	<i>anat</i>	‘because’
Manner	<i>badi</i>	‘as, like’

### 3.8 Numerals

Table 3.22 provides numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’. Numerals do not take the general possessive prefix *a-* and do not function as arguments on their own; i.e., they always appear in a noun phrase. Numerals ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ have bound forms when they occur with classifiers. Amri Karbi has a decimal numeral system with traces of a vigesimal system. The majority of Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan languages have decimal numeral systems; vigesimal systems are also found in the family but are less common (Mazaudon 2009).

Amri Karbi numbers are constructed by addition, subtraction and multiplication. Numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are similar to numerals in the Karbi language (Konnerth 2014:192); for example, the numeral ‘seven’ is an addition *th(o)rok-(i)si* ‘six-one’, but numbers ‘eight’ and ‘nine’ are subtractions from ‘ten’, i.e. *narkep* (*na* (from *ni* ‘two’)-*r-kep*) ‘two-*r*-ten’, *sirkep* (*si-r-kep*) ‘one-*r*-ten’. In addition to Amri Karbi and Karbi languages a subtraction is also found in Meithei (Chelliah 1997:85) and in the same numerals ‘eight’ and ‘nine’.

Table 3.22 Numerals from one to ten

Form	Gloss	Bound form
<i>isi</i>	‘one’	<i>-i</i>
<i>hini</i>	‘two’	<i>-ni</i>
<i>kithom</i>	‘three’	<i>-thom</i>
<i>phili</i>	‘four’	
<i>phongo</i>	‘five’	
<i>th(o)rok</i>	‘six’	
<i>th(o)rok(i)si</i>	‘seven’	
<i>narkep</i>	‘eight’	
<i>sirkep</i>	‘nine’	
<i>kep</i>	‘ten’	

Teen numerals (Table 3.22) are formed with the base *kere-* ‘teen’ which is a prefix that attaches to a numeral. Numerals after ‘twenty’ are formed with the base *kep* ‘ten’ attaching to the left of the numeral except for the numeral ‘thirty’, where *kep* is attached to the right of the numeral. The numerals ‘forty’, ‘sixty’, ‘eighty’ and ‘hundred and twenty’ are multiplications of juxtaposed numbers and follow the vigesimal system, so they use *angkol* ‘twenty’ (with the

different initial vowel *ingkoll/angkol*<sup>16</sup>) as a base; e.g., *angkol-hini* ‘forty’= ‘two times twenty’ (Table 3.23). In Karbi (Konnerth 2004:193), numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are similar to Amri Karbi, with slight difference of numerals ‘five’ which is *pho* in Karbi and ‘four’ *phli*. After numeral ‘twenty’ Karbi does not have any vigesimal based numbers, but the Meithei (Chelliah 1997:86) numbers ‘forty’, ‘sixty’ and ‘eighty’ are constructed in a way similar to Amri Karbi. Numeral ‘thirty’ is similar to Karbi, but the numeral ‘fifty’ in Karbi is *phokep*, so *kep* ‘ten’ is attached in the right of the numeral. Karbi numerals ‘eighty’ and ‘ninety’ are different from Amri Karbi: *throknerkep* ‘eighty’ and *throksirkep* ‘ninety’ (Konnerth 2004:193). The numeral for ‘thousand’ *hajar* is a borrowing from Indic languages. When the numeral consists of two digits they are connected with the clitic =*ne*, e.g. *thomkepne isi* ‘thirty one’, *thomkepne narkep* ‘thirty-nine’.

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<sup>16</sup> There is likely a prefix *a-* in *angkol*, where the first vowel *i-* is deleted, i.e. *a-ingkol*.

Table 3.23 Teen and multiples of ten numerals

Form	Gloss
<i>kere-</i>	‘teen-’
<i>kereisi</i>	‘eleven’
<i>kerehini</i>	‘twelve’
<i>kerekithom</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>kerephili</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>kerephongo</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>kerethorok</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>kerethorokisi</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>kerenarkep</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>keresirkep</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>ingkol</i>	‘twenty’
<i>thomkep</i>	‘thirty’
<i>angkolhini</i>	‘forty’
<i>kepphongo</i>	‘fifty’
<i>angkolkithom</i>	‘sixty’
<i>kepthorokisi</i>	‘seventy’
<i>angkolphili</i>	‘eighty’
<i>kepsirkep</i>	‘ninety’
<i>phoro</i>	‘hundred’
<i>angkol thorok</i>	‘hundred and twenty’
<i>hajar</i>	‘thousand’

### 3.9 Postpositional clitics

There is a set of clitics that appear in spatio-temporal relations. The reason they are not analysed as relator nouns is that they have a different morpho-syntactic behaviour. One difference is that postpositions do not take the possessive prefix *a-* (except =*logot*); another is that they cannot inflect for other morphology. Postpositions are bound roots that cliticize to a host. The list of postpositions is given in Table 3.23. Some of the postpositions are borrowings from Assamese. For example, *para* in Assamese had a primary meaning of ‘beyond’, ‘further’, ‘subsequent’, but then it received an extension of its meaning in its use as an ablative particle (Kikanti 1941).

In Amri Karbi *parake*, *para=ke* ‘from=TOP’ has the meaning ‘then’ which is related to ‘further’ and ‘subsequent’ and it functions as a coordinator (see §12.5). So, synchronically it looks like Amri Karbi has borrowed both meanings of the Assamese *para*. Karbi does not have *para*, but uses *=pen* as an ablative, which is also a comitative/instrumental like it is in Amri Karbi. Amri Karbi acquired from Assamese another comitative/instrumental *=logot*, which is not used much (mostly as a comitative and with only eight tokens in the transcribed database); but in contrast with other postpositions some speakers use it with the possessive prefix *a-*, e.g. *alogot*.

Table 3.24 Postpositional clitics

Form	Gloss
<i>=para</i>	‘from’
<i>=hok</i>	‘till’
<i>=pen</i>	‘with’
<i>=logot</i>	‘with’

### 3.10 Noun phrase and Information structure clitics

Table 3.24 lists noun phrase and information structure clitics that are discussed in subsequent sections of the grammar.

The clitic *=ten* ‘every’ marks noun phrases and is described in §4.2.5.1. The clitic *=det* ‘INTENS’ marks noun phrases (§4.2.5.2) and it is related to the predicate derivation suffix *-det* that has the meaning ‘all’, (see §5.1.7.3.3, §6.2.5 and §8.5.2). The clitic *=bak* marks noun phrases (see §4.2.5.3) and predicates (see §12.1.6) to express meaning ‘almost’, ‘nearly’; in addition it takes part in interrogative (§3.6.4) and indefinite (§3.6.5) pronouns constructions and it also relates to a predicate derivation suffix *-bak* that has the meaning of uncertainty (see §5.1.7.3.1). The topic clitic *=ke* marks noun phrases (§4.2.5.5), adverbial clauses (§9.1.2.1) and may form subordinate clause on its own (§9.1.5). It is a very frequent morpheme with 697 occurrences in the transcribed recorded data. The additive clitic *=ta* in addition to simple inclusion (§4.2.5.4) also occurs as a coordinator (§9.3.1.12), a scalar additive; it is involved in universal quantification, may function as a subordinator and signals a topic switch §12.3.1. Focus clitics *=si* and *=ne* mark noun phrases (§4.2.5.5, §12.3.3) and are involved in adverbs construction (§5.3.1). Focus clitics *=si* and *=ne* are related to the verbal non-final markers *=si* and *=ne* (§5.1.12). Clitics *=si* and *=ne* as well as non-final suffixes *-si* and *-ne* are in complementary distribution; the clitic *=si* and the non-final suffix *-si* are used in declarative

clauses and realis contexts and the focus clitic *=ne* and the non-final suffix *-ne* occur in non-declarative clauses or irrealis contexts, as well as to mark uncertainty (§12.3.3). The focus clitic *=lò* marks nominal predicates (§4.2.5.6, §6.4.1) and it is probably related to the verbal realis suffix *-lò* (§5.1.11, §8.3.3).

Table 3.25 Noun phrase and information structure clitics

Clitic	Gloss
<i>=ten</i>	‘every’
<i>=det</i>	‘INTENS’
<i>=bak</i>	‘INDEF’
<i>=ke</i>	‘TOP’
<i>=ta</i>	‘ADD’
<i>=si</i>	‘FOC:RL’
<i>=ne</i>	‘FOC:IRR’
<i>=lò</i>	‘FOC’

### 3.11 Discourse and other clitics

Table 3.25 provides the list of discourse and other clitics that are discussed in subsequent sections of the grammar. The most important and frequent clitics are the question clitics *=ma* and *=te*, the tag question clitic *=dik* and the reportative clitics *=tang/tangho*.

Table 3.26 Discourse clitics

Clitic	Gloss	See further
= <i>to</i>	‘REPL’	§12.1.1
= <i>he</i>	‘EMPH’	§12.1.2
= <i>hō</i>	‘INTER’	§12.1.3
= <i>bō</i>	‘CONF.Q’	§10.1.7
= <i>hole</i> /= <i>hele</i>	‘ASSUM’	§12.1.4
= <i>mine</i>	‘may be’	§12.1.4
= <i>ro</i>	‘DCL’	§12.1.5
= <i>tàng</i> /= <i>tànghò</i>	‘REP’	§12.2.2
= <i>dik</i>	‘TAG’	§10.1.6
= <i>ba</i>	‘or’	§9.3.3
= <i>ma</i>	‘Q’	§10
= <i>te</i>	‘Q2’	§10
= <i>tema</i>	‘SUPP’	§12.1.4

## 4 Nominal morphology and the Noun phrase

This chapter discusses Amri Karbi nominal morphology and the noun phrase structure. The chapter is divided into two sections; the first section addresses the nominal morphology and word formation and the second section is devoted to describing the noun phrase syntax.

### 4.1 Nominal morphology

This section describes nominal morphology and word formation. It starts with compounding which includes co-compounds and elaborate expressions. Then it proceeds with description of the nominal prefixes and suffixes.

#### 4.1.1 Compounding

There are two types of nominal compounding in Amri Karbi: co-compounds and elaborate expressions.

##### 4.1.1.1 Co-compounds

Most nominal compounds in Amri Karbi are root-root compounds. Table 4.1 shows the list of compounds found in the data. The compounds are of different types. The most common type is the compound of nouns from similar semantic domains. For example, two nouns from similar semantic domains are *an* ‘rice’ and *han* ‘vegetable’ that together create the general meaning ‘food’. These types of compounds are called co-compounds that express natural coordination (Wälchli 2005:1). They can also be categorized as Part-Part compounds (Wälchli 2005:6), where the two elements are parts of the whole and the parts are very closely related in meaning. Some co-compounds are very culture specific; for example, *lang me* (water fire) ‘stuff for cooking’ might not look like a closely related compounds to the people who do not come from the tradition of cooking food on open fire and bringing water on everyday basis.

There is another type of a Noun-Verb compound which has two members; one of these is *choròng* ‘cow’ which is a noun and verb compound, *chó* ‘eat’ and *ròng* ‘plant’. The word order in the compound is unusual, as normally an object would precede a verb. Another example of this type of compound is *ansam* ‘cold rice’, with a noun *an* ‘rice’ and an adjectival verb *ingsam* ‘be cold’, where the prefix *ing-* is dropped. The word order in *ansam* is different from the word order in *choròng*, as the adjectival verb *ingsam* ‘be cold’ is placed after the noun *an* ‘rice’.

Generally, adjectival verbs do not have a fixed position and can appear both before and after a noun, so the word order in *ansam* is not unusual.

Table 4.1 List of compounds/co-compounds

Type of compound	Compound word	Gloss	Origin
Part-Part	<i>anhan</i>	‘food’	<i>an</i> ‘rice’, <i>han</i> ‘vegetables’
	<i>soksáng</i>	‘paddy’ (in harvesting time)	<i>sok</i> ‘rice paddy’ <i>sáng</i> ‘uncooked rice’
	<i>langmē</i>	‘stuff for cooking’ (on open fire)	<i>lang</i> ‘water’ <i>mē</i> ‘fire’
	<i>pisoso</i>	‘family’	<i>pisoso</i> ‘wife’, <i>so</i> ‘child’
	<i>chengmuri</i>	‘music’	<i>cheng</i> ‘trumpet’, <i>muri</i> ‘drum’
	<i>hanbab</i>	‘crop’ (vegetables)	<i>han</i> ‘vegetable’ <i>bab</i> ‘grass’
	<i>hēmphu</i>	master, lord	<i>hēm</i> ‘house’ <i>phu</i> ‘grandfather’
	<i>sarpesarpepo</i>	old couple	<i>sarpe</i> ‘old woman’, <i>sarpepo</i> ‘old woman’s husband’
Noun-Verb	<i>choròng</i>	cow	<i>chó</i> ‘eat’, <i>ròng</i> ‘plant’
	<i>ansam</i>	cold rice	<i>an</i> ‘rice’ <i>ingsam</i> ‘be cold’

Each part of a co-compound has a stress; inflections usually apply to the entire unit and appear on it as if the co-compound is one word, i.e. each part of a co-compound does not inflect separately. In the example (4.1) of the co-compound *chengmuri* ‘music’ the entire unit is marked with prefix *a-* for modification.

(4.1)

*aro wo thatbo lata kamprek achengmuri do*

aro wo that-bo la=ta kamprek **a-cheng-muri** do  
and bird slaughter-IRR DEM=ADD be.different POSS-drum-trumpet COP

‘and we will slaughter a chicken, for that also there is a different (tune of playing) drum and trumpet’

Example (4.2) shows another example of a co-compound of two elements *sarpe* ‘old woman’ and *sarpepo* ‘old woman’s husband’. The evidence that the two nouns form one noun phrase is that there is no possessive prefix *a-* on the second noun, *sarpepo* ‘husband’.

(4.2)

*isi a-sar-pe-sar-pe-po=he mane hen ki-e-dam=tanghò*  
one POSS-be.old-F-old-F-M=EMPH means yam NMLZ-plant-go=REP

‘one old woman and woman’s husband, I mean, (they) went to plant yam’ (BT Monkey)

There are some co-compounds that consist of two morphologically separate words that create synonymic and part-part co-compounds. For example, Table 4.2 shows a co-compound of two synonymic words *sal kam* that means ‘work’, where both *sal* and *kam* on their own already mean ‘work’ and *kam* is a borrowed word from Indic languages. These words usually appear together whenever a speaker wants to say the word ‘work’. The word *sal* ‘work’ on its own usually appears in a construction, e.g. *hēm a-sal* (house POSS-work) ‘house-work’. So, neither *sal* nor *kam* are used on their own when a speaker wants to say ‘work’ and the co-compound *sal kam* serves that purpose. Another co-compound of the same type is *poisa tanga* ‘money’, where each word on its own means money and in this case both words are Indic borrowings. This co-compound may change its order, i.e. *tanga poisa* is also possible. The word *poisa* is sometimes used on its own as a word for ‘money’, but *tanga* usually is not. The compound *kiso kilak* ‘sickness’ consists of two nominalized adjectival verbs. Table 4.2 also shows the word for ‘week’ *ahat arul* where both nouns obligatorily carry the possessive prefix *a-*. On its own *arul* can also mean ‘week’ and appear as a word for ‘week’ in a construction. The word *ahat* is from an Assamese word *hat* ‘seven’, so *ahat arul* might be not an ideal case of a synonymic co-compound, but then many languages have the same word for ‘week’ and ‘seven’ and the fact that Amri Karbi in the co-compound for ‘week’, use the borrowed word instead of the native word for ‘seven’ might suggest that they perceive *hat* ‘seven’ as a word for ‘week’.

These types of co-compounds also have their own stress, but each part of the co-compound inflects separately for the possessive prefix *a-* or they appear in a compound already inflected with the possessive prefix *a-*.

Table 4.2 Co-compounds of two morphologically separate words

Compound word	Gloss	Origin
Synonymic co-compounds		
<i>sal kam</i> <i>asal akam</i>	work	<i>sal</i> ‘work’ <i>kam</i> ‘work’
<i>hat arul</i>	week	<i>hat</i> ‘seven’ (Assm) <i>rul</i> ‘week’
<i>poisa tanga</i>	money	<i>poisa</i> ‘money’ (Ind) <i>tanga</i> ‘Ind’
<i>kiso kilak</i>	sickness	<i>-so</i> ‘be.hot’ <i>-lak</i> ‘be.tired’
Part-Part co-compounds		
<i>piso so</i>	family	<i>piso</i> ‘wife’, <i>so</i> ‘child’
<i>ku nokpak/</i> <i>tokan nokpak</i>	tools	<i>ku</i> ‘spade’, <i>tokan</i> ‘spade’, <i>nokpak</i> ‘machete’

In example (4.3) each part of a co-compound *piso so* (wife child) ‘family’ is marked with the possessive prefix *a-* for possession.

(4.3)

*alang meatsi apiso asopen chirjapsi*

alang mé-ad-si                      **a-piso**              **a-so=pen**              chi-arjap-si  
3      be.good-very-NF:RL    POSS-wife    POSS-child=with    RR-stand-NF:RL

*ahupo kipi adunglephalangpen hrengsi kido*

a-hu-po                      ki-pi              a-dunglephalang=pen    hreng-si              ki-do  
POSS-father.in.law-M    NMLZ-give    POSS-land=with              survive-NF:RL    PST-stay

‘he was surviving with the land given by his father-in-law and living a good life with his wife and children’ (MI One man)

#### 4.1.1.2 Elaborate expression

Amri Karbi uses elaborate expressions, also called echo-words, to create idiomatic and colourful meanings. In Amri Karbi, elaborate expressions involve compounding and partial reduplication strategies; they consist of two words, that are usually of two syllables each. Elaborate expressions of two words of three syllables, which would be six-syllable elaborate expression are also found in Amri Karbi. The first part of the elaborate expression is a meaningful word that can be either a noun or a verb; the last syllable of the second part usually does not have a meaning of its own. The second part of an elaborate expression reduplicates the first two or three syllables of the word that may contain affixes of the first part. So, it looks like the second part of the elaborate expression is a reduplication and only one syllable is different from the previous part. In other words, the structure of elaborate expressions looks like AB AC if elaborate expression is of four syllables or ABC ABD if it is of six syllables. C in four-syllable and D in six-syllable elaborate expressions are meaningless syllables.

The clitics attach only to the last part of the compound. Example (4.4) contains two elaborate expressions, a verbal expression *chie chisom* and a nominal expression *jengtak jenghu*. The last syllable of the second parts of the elaborate expressions *som* in *chie chisom* and *hu* in *jengtak jenghu* have no meaning.

(4.4)

*baribathan chek inghin chie chisomsi baribathan*

baribathan	chek	inghin	chie	chisom	si	baribathan
farm	small.bamboo	big.bamboo	RR-plant	RR-EE-NF:RL		farm

*chikoman jengtak jenghupen*

chi-kom-man	jengtak	jeng-hu=pen
RR-make.boundary-HAB	bamboo.rope	rope-EE=with

‘we plant small bamboo and big bamboo and make fence, plant them surrounding the field, bind with bamboo robes’ (DT Culture)

Elaborate expressions might be flexible, but they might be also fixed expressions, as there is some evidence from the database where two different speakers used the same elaborate expression in a different way. Examples (4.5) and (4.6) show the elaborate expression *kachi-i kachipot* used by two different speakers.

(4.5)

*minonsi tantihalpo enman aro kachi'i kachipotke lalo*

minon=si tantihal-po en-man aro ki-chi-i ki-chi-pot=ke la=lo  
now=FOC:RL loom-DEF take-HAB and NMLZ-RR-wear NMLZ-RR-EE=TOP DEM=FOC  
'but now they take the loom and this is for (our clothes) to wear' (BT Weaving)

(4.6)

*lasi hali jibonpolongke hrengman aro kachi'i*

lasi hali jibon(Ind)-po=long=ke hreng-man aro ki-chi-i  
so 1PL.EXCL life-DEF=LOC=TOP survive-HAB and NMLZ-RR-wear

*kachipotpolongta amo kipu badilo*

ki-chi-pot-po=long=ta amo ki-pu badi=lo  
NMLZ-RR-EE-DEF=LOC=ADD before NMLZ-say as=FOC  
'so in our life we survive and in wearing before (I) said like this' (DT Culture)

#### 4.1.2 Nominal prefixes

This section describes nominal prefixes. Nominal prefixes include the general possessive prefix *a-*, which is also a third person possessive prefix. Then there are personal possessive prefixes and pronouns that have been already addressed in §3.6.1. There is a verbalizer *pa-* that is not productive in synchronic Amri Karbi.

##### 4.1.2.1 Possessive prefix *a-*

The prefix *a-* marks nouns to indicate third person possession. Nouns are frequently marked with the possessive prefix *a-* to indicate that a noun is modified or that the noun is a part of a construction<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, head nouns and modified possessor nouns are usually marked with the possessive prefix *a-*. Nouns are typically marked with the prefix *a-* when modified by pre-posed modifiers: interrogative pronouns, possessor nouns, adjectival verbs, adjectives, some pre-head numeral classifiers and relative clauses. Nouns are inconsistently marked with the prefix *a-* when modified by the demonstrative *la* and also by the determiner/demonstrative *la=bang* DEM=GNR. After the reflexive pronoun *bithang* 'own' the possessed noun is marked by *a-* in all three persons. The prefix *a-* usually does not appear on nouns marked with post-

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<sup>17</sup> The prefix *a-* is also an important morpheme in subordination, see §9.1.

head modifiers. In the example (4.7), the noun *kampi* is modified by a pre-head modifier and is marked with the prefix *a-*.

(4.7)

*parake isi ijon akampisoke alangke phule chiparkupklakngo*

parake **isi** **i-jon**                    **a-kampi-so=ke**                    alang=ke phule chi-parkup-klak-lò  
 then one one-CLF:ANIM POSS-monkey-DIM=TOP 3=TOP pot RR-cover-PRF-RL  
 ‘then one little monkey covered itself with the cooking pot’ (BT Monkey)

The prefix *a-* is obligatory on inalienable nouns; some other nouns carry the obligatory *a-* for no apparent reason (e.g. *adak* ‘period of time’, *adin* ‘day’). The obligatory possessive prefix *a-* is replaced by personal possessive prefixes when necessary, see description of possessive prefixes in §3.6.1. The inalienable nouns always carry a possessive prefix, regardless of whether they are modified or not.

Usually the prefix *a-* does not attach to nouns beginning with *a-* phoneme (exceptions include: *a’arkeng* ‘betel nut’, *a’an* ‘rice’). The prefix *a-* usually does not attach to numerals, e.g. *\*aphili* ‘four’, and numeral classifiers *a-ki-men pum-ni* (POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe CLF:round.fruit-two) ‘two ripe fruits’.

Examples (4.8) - (4.10) illustrate the prefix *a-* marking modified nouns.

(4.8) interrogative pronoun

*lapara arlenghel pot adoropte namchotman*

lapara arleng-hel **pot** **a-dorop=te**                    nam-chot-man  
 then man-PL what POSS-product=Q2 buy-most-HAB  
 ‘then which products people buy most’ (BT&LT Interview)

(4.9) possessor noun

*neke rechopo ahambrikhel honpido, kaibak wange tine chinghu*

ne=ke **recho-po a-hambrik-hel** hon-pi-do kai=bak wang-ye tine chinghu  
1=TOP king-M POSS-chilli-PL guard-BEN-COP who=INDEF come-FUT then thief

*ponpidedne mene pusi*

pon-pi-ded-ne mene pusi  
take-BEN-all-NF:IRR may.be QUOT

‘I am guarding king’s chillies that if somebody comes, may steal away’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(4.10) reflexive pronoun *bithang*

*jike nipupe nibithang ahem manta neke ambakhelsi*

ji=ke ni-pu-Ce **ni-bithang a-hēm** manta ne=ke ambak-hel=si  
whatever=TOP 1-say-NEG 1-self POSS-house but 1=TOP some.time-PL=FOC:RL

*wangbo neng ho*

wang-bò neng ho  
come-IRR2 sister.in.law INTER

‘whatever you say you are my own family, yet after sometime I will come, sister in-law, ok?’  
(Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The prefix *a-* usually does not mark a noun modified by post-posed modifiers. Example (4.11) shows the noun *hambrik* ‘chilli’ modified by the post-posed modifier *akimenhel* ‘ripe’ and not marked with the prefix *a-*.

(4.11)

*lasi anangke mingsurungpo kidam aphel hambrik akimenhel*

lasi anang=ke mingsurung-po ki-dam aphel **hambrik a-ki-men-hel**  
so 3=TOP fox-M NMLZ-go after chilli POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe-PL

*ihipara heksi cholo*

ihi=para hek-si chó-lò  
side=from pluck-NF:RL eat-RL

‘so the fox left, he (the monkey) plucked ripen chills from one side and ate’ (BM Monkey and fox)

Example (4.12) shows another instance where the noun *kampi* ‘monkey’ is modified by a post-head modifier *ijon* and it is not marked with the prefix *a-*.

(4.12)

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholo para kampi*

anang hon-ne ki-do amun=si a-ki-holo para **kampi**  
3 guard-NF:IRR PST-COP time=FOC:RL POSS-NMLZ-be.far from monkey

*ijon theksi anang dungwango*

**i-jon** thék-si anang dung-wang-lò  
one-CLF:ANIM see-NF:RL 3 near-come-RL

‘while he was guarding at that time from far away a monkey saw and came near to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

The prefix *a-* seems not to occur when a noun is followed by a post-head modifier, even when a pre-post modifier is present too. Example (4.13) shows the noun *lang* ‘water’ modified both by the pre-posed modifier *labang* ‘that’ and the post-posed modifier *akithepe* (POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG) ‘big’. The head noun in (4.13) is not marked with the prefix *a-*.

(4.13)

*la aphe=ke aro la=bang lang a-ki-the-pe=long=ke ghurial*  
DEM after=TOP and DEM=GNR water POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG=LOC=TOP crocodile

*i-jon ki-do*

one-CLF:ANIM NMLZ-COP

‘after that there was one crocodile in this big water’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

#### 4.1.2.2 Personal possessive prefixes and pronouns

Personal possessive prefixes and pronouns were described in §3.6.1.

#### 4.1.2.3 *pa-* verbalizer

There is a verbalizer *pa-* that derives verbs from other word classes, but it has very limited productivity in Amri Karbi. So far, *-pa* was found to function as a verbalizer only on three words; all of them semantically refer to time. The prefix *pa-* can derive verbs from a noun *anuwe*<sup>18</sup> ‘night’, *paanuwe/panuwe*<sup>19</sup> ‘spend night’, from an adjective *abhem* ‘late’, *pabhem* ‘make late’ and a relator noun *ango* ‘before’, *pango* ‘(move) forward’.

#### 4.1.3 Nominal suffixes

This section describes nominal suffixes. Nominal suffixes include the lexical gender suffixes, masculine *-po* and feminine *-pe*. Many Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan languages use the male suffix grammaticalized from ‘father’ for forming nominalizations and modifiers. In Amri Karbi one of the words for father is *pa* (the other word is *ta*). The suffix *-po* is not found to form modifiers; however, the nominalization function of *-po* still exists in the language, though not in a productive way, this function of *-po* is described in §5.1.13. The feminine *-pe* also has an augmentative function in Amri Karbi which is discussed in this chapter along with the diminutive that is marked with the suffix *-so*. The three suffixes *-po/-pe/-so* also function as definiteness/specificity suffixes (see more in §7). There are also plural suffixes *-hel*, *-(po)mar*, that have definiteness as a part of their meaning and for that reason they are described in §7.

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<sup>18</sup> It is not certain though that *anuwe* functions only as a noun, as it behaves as a semi-verb by taking some of the TAM morphology, but not the nominalizer/past tense marker *ki-*.

<sup>19</sup> The noun *anuwe* might have historically originated from the negative copula *we* and the noun *arni* ‘sun’ construction, i.e. *arni we* (sun NEG.EXIST.COP2) ‘no sun’ > \*arniwe.

#### 4.1.3.1 Lexical gender suffixes

Most Amri Karbi nouns are gender neutral, apart from proper names and certain other nouns, e.g. *apenso* ‘man’ *arloso* ‘woman’ and some kinship terms *pa/ta* ‘father’, *ai* ‘mother’.

Amri Karbi has two lexical gender suffixes *-pe* ‘female’ and *-po* ‘male’. Lexical gender suffixes usually attach to kinship terms and animal and plant names. Proper names are generally used with the gender suffixes, as previously discussed in §3.2.1. Gender suffixes may attach to kinship terms that are already gender specific like *pa* ‘father’, *pa-po* (father-M) ‘father’ or *ai* ‘mother’, *ai-pe* (mother-F) ‘mother’. Gender suffixes may attach to gender neutral kinship terms like *muso* ‘sibling’ to specify a gender, e.g. *a-muso-po* (POSS-sibling-M) ‘brother’, *a-muso-pe* (POSS-sibling-F) ‘sister’. Gender suffixes may attach to some nouns to create new words; for example, if gender suffixes attach to the noun *hime* ‘widowhood’, the noun then can refer to a person, e.g. *hime-pe* (widowhood-F) ‘widow’, *hime-po* (widowhood-M) ‘widower’. The female *-pe* occurs with animal referents, e.g. *bik-pe* (goat-F) ‘female goat’, *wo-pe* (chicken-F) ‘hen’. In addition, with animal referents suffix *-pe* may be used as a noun *bik ape* (goat POSS-F) ‘female goat’, *wo ape* (chicken POSS-F) ‘hen’. The male counterpart of an animal referent is marked with *-lo*, which is used as a noun *bik a-lo* (goat POSS-male) ‘male goat’, *wo a-lo* (chicken POSS-male) ‘rooster’.

#### 4.1.3.2 Augmentative and diminutive

The augmentative *-pe* and the diminutive *-so* are derivational suffixes that are not very productive – there is only a handful of nouns from which *-pe/-so* can derive augmentatives/diminutives, they are listed in the Table 4.3. Note that nouns *róng* ‘village’ and *hēm* ‘house’ in the Table 4.3 have an augmentative form, but not a diminutive form, and the augmentative on those nouns does not mean ‘big in size’, but ‘main’. The augmentative *-pe* seems to be more productive than the diminutive *-so*. In fact, there is just one example in the database where *-so* functions as a diminutive (4.14). The diminutive *-so*, however, appears in the database in the function of definiteness with diminutive semantics, as it also does in (4.14), so in the right context the forms *rongso* ‘little’ and *hēmso* ‘small house’ that are missing in the Table 4.3 may appear in a discourse where the function of *-so* is definite for something ‘small’, see more in §7. The definite *-so* is etymologically related to the word *oso* or *-so* ‘child’.

Table 4.3 Nouns with augmentative and diminutive suffixes

Noun	Augmentative form	Diminutive form
<i>róng</i> ‘village’	<i>róngpe</i> ‘main village’, ‘capital’	NA <sup>20</sup>
<i>arlong</i> ‘stone’	<i>arlongpe</i> ‘big stone’	<i>arlongso</i> ‘pebble’
<i>théngpe</i> <sup>21</sup> ‘tree’	<i>théngpepe</i> ‘big tree’	<i>théngpeso</i> ‘small tree’
<i>hēm</i> ‘house’	<i>hēmpe</i> ‘main house’	NA
<i>anuwe</i> ‘night’	<i>anuwepe</i> ‘whole night’	<i>anuweso</i> ?
<i>prithibi</i> ‘world’	<i>prithibipe</i> ‘entire world’	<i>prithibiso</i> ?
<i>ari</i> <sup>22</sup> <i>munso</i> ‘finger’	<i>ari munpe</i> ‘thumb’	<i>ari munso</i> ‘little finger’

(4.14)

*bikso ghalting homloksi do aro biksoyok ponphakngo*

bik-**so** ghalting hom-lok-si do aro bik-so=yok pon-phak-lò  
 goat-DIM bell tie-loosely-NF:RL stay and goat-DIM=NSUBJ take-back-RL  
 ‘the small goat has a bell tied and the small goat was taken back’ (MI Pear film)

Some other nouns containing the augmentative *-pe*: *lang-pe* (water-AUG) ‘sea’, *rul-pe* (snake<sup>23</sup>-AUG) ‘python’, *tike-pe* (tiger-AUG) ‘jaguar’, *ingrung-pe* (siever-AUG) ‘big siever’.

Since there is little natural data on derivational suffixes, especially with the diminutive *-so*, it is difficult to understand how they operate. However, there is some evidence shown in (4.15) with the suffix *-pe*, that derivational suffixes appear to function on a noun-phrase level.

<sup>20</sup> *rongsso* is often used in the Amri Karbi New Testament translation along with the names of small towns, e.g. *Najaret rongsso* ‘Nazareth’.

<sup>21</sup> Suffix *-pe* is lexicalized on the word *théng* ‘firewood’. *théngpe* means ‘wood’, but when it occurs with some other noun or a classifier that is associated with the wood as a plant then it means ‘tree’, for example *théngpe a-ròng* (wood POSS-CLF:plant) ‘tree’, *théngpe akangri* (wood underneath (of a tree)) ‘underneath of a tree’.

<sup>22</sup> *a-ri* (POSS-hand) ‘hand’.

<sup>23</sup> The part *rul-* in *rulpe* likely comes from the word *phurul* ‘snake’.

Example (4.15) shows that augmentative *-pe* marks the last element of a noun phrase which in this case is the adjectival verb *the* ‘be big’.

(4.15)

*la aphel=ke aro la=bang lang a-ki-the-pe=long=ke*  
 DEM after=TOP and DEM=GNR water POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG=LOC=TOP

*ghurial i-jon ki-do*  
 crocodile one-CLF:ANIM PST-COP

‘after that there was one crocodile in this big water’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Karbi has the augmentative/female *-pi* and diminutive *-so*. According to the examples shown by Konnerth (2014:208), these suffixes appear as the last elements in a noun phrase before the noun phrase clitics. In Karbi, Konnerth (2014:208-209) says that the augmentative *-pi* derives modifiers with augmentative semantics and the diminutive *-so* derives diminutive stems of nominal elements. This, in my opinion, suggests that these suffixes in Karbi also operate on the noun phrase level and attach to whatever is the last element of the noun phrase, be it an adjectival verb or a classifier.

Meithei also has a ‘female’ *-pi* suffix that may be also related to augmentation and it has also grammaticalized into a productive female nominalizer (Chelliah 2004).

## 4.2 Noun phrase

This section deals with noun phrase syntax; it starts with noun phrase structure §4.2.1, then it addresses how the noun phrase can be coordinated §4.2.2, then it describes the modifiers that occur pre-posed §4.2.3 and then those that occur both pre-posed and postposed §4.2.4. The section ends with an overview of noun phrase clitics §4.2.5. The pre-posed modifiers include relative clauses that are described in the chapter on complex clauses, see §9.1.1.

### 4.2.1 Noun phrase structure

Amri Karbi noun phrases may consist of only a head noun. The head noun can have both pre- or post-head modifiers. The structure of Amri Karbi noun phrase is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Noun phrase structure

DEM	‘one’	relative clause	possessor	<b>HN</b>	adjectival verb	NUM/NUM+CLF
		adjectival verb				(including ‘one’)
		adjective				
		question word				

The position of most of the elements of a noun phrase is relatively fixed. The exceptional positional variation as seen from the table is presented by an adjectival verb. The adjectival verb may appear before and after the head noun (4.16).

(4.16)

<i>hēm</i>	<i>a-ki-the</i> <sup>24</sup>	<i>a-ki-the</i>	<i>a-hēm</i>
house	POSS-NMLZ-be.big	POSS-NMLZ-be.big	POSS-house
‘big house’		‘big house’	(elicited)

The characteristics of appearing before and after a head noun is a feature that distinguishes adjectival verbs functioning as modifiers from other verbs functioning as modifiers/relative clauses.

Another variational element in noun phrase structure is the numeral ‘one’. As seen from the template, numerals and numeral classifiers occur post-head. The numeral ‘one’ with or without a classifier does not have a fixed position, but the pre-head position is noted to be more common than post-head position (4.17).

(4.17)

<i>i-hut</i>	<i>arleng</i>	<i>arleng</i>	<i>i-hut</i>
one-CLF:HUM.SG	man	man	one-CLF:HUM.SG
‘one man’		‘one man’	(elicited)

The appearance of all the elements of noun phrase structure shown in the template at the same time is not attested in the database (the transcribed data and other sources, including the New

<sup>24</sup> *hēm a-ki-the* may also mean ‘house is big’.

Testament). Examples (4.18) - (4.22) discussed below show some of the longest noun phrase chains found in the data.

Example (4.18) shows a noun phrase comprised of HN ADJ.VERB NUM CLF, where all modifiers are post-head, the head noun *tharwe* ‘mango’ is followed by an adjectival verb *men* ‘be.ripe’, then by a classifier *pum* ‘CLF:fruit’ with a numeral *ni* ‘two’.

(4.18)

HN ADJ.VERB NUM CLF

*rechopo tharwe aloncheredlong tharwe akimen pumni*

recho-po tharwe alonchered=long **tharwe (a-ki-men pum-ni)**  
king-M mango top.of.tree=LOC mango POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe CLF:fruit-two

*theksi pulo inghosi tharwe akimen pumnipo*

thék-si pu-lò ingho-si tharwe a-ki-men pum-ni-po  
see-NF say-RL whoever-FOC mango POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe CLF:fruit-two-DEF

*paripiunema ne anangyok banta piye*

pari-pi-un-Ce=ma ne anang=yok banta pi-ye  
pluck-give-be.able-FUT=Q 1 3=NSUBJ prize give-FUT

‘the king saw two ripe mangoes on the top of the tree and said: “To whoever can pluck those two mangoes I will give a reward”’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Example (4.19) shows two numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ with numeral classifiers and a nominalized verb/relative clause modifying a head noun, *arleng* ‘person’. Note that the numeral ‘two’ with its classifier occurs pre-head, which is unusual and could be explained by the occurrence of the numeral ‘one’ that triggered the numeral ‘two’ to appear alongside.

(4.19)

NUM CLF RC HN

wangwe ladi, doman aro ihut banghini hor kijun

wang-Ce la-badi do-man aro (i-hut bang-hini hor ki-jùn)  
come-NEG DEM-as COP-HAB and one-CLF:HUM.SG CLF:HUM:PL beer NMLZ-drink

arleng wangman manta we ladi dhemali arleng wangman

**arleng** wang-man manta we labadi dhemali arleng wang-man  
person come-HAB but NEG.EX.COP like.this jocking person come-HAB  
'(angry people) do not come like this, but one or two drunkards come, but not like that, funny people come' (BT&LT Interview)

Several possessor nouns may appear before the head noun and, both on semantic and morphological grounds the relationship between the modifiers is usually clear. In example (4.20), *pene akithe ajad* 'some high type' form a noun phrase, where *pene* 'some' and *akithe* 'high, big' modify *a-jad* 'POSS-type', which is marked with the possessive prefix *a-*, then this noun phrase modifies the noun *hēm* 'house', which is also marked with the possessive prefix *a-* and together they form another noun phrase which then modifies the head noun *arleng* 'man'.

(4.20)

*la-hel pene a-ki-the a-jad a-hēm arleng*  
DEM-PL some POSS-NMLZ-be.big POSS-type POSS-house person  
'they are people of some high class family' (BM Koli and Mokali)

Amri Karbi noun phrase structure is not always clear when a demonstrative and another noun appear before a head noun. For example, the noun phrase in (4.21) *la mengersurung-po ki-than a-lam* can be analysed as [DEM [[fox-M NMLZ-say] POSS-word]] or [[[DEM fox-M] NMLZ-say] POSS-word]. Both analyses are possible as structurally there is no grammatical signal suggesting one interpretation or another. Often, nouns are marked with the possessive prefix *a-* when modified by the demonstrative *la-*. The prefix *a-* on *mengersurungpo* 'fox' is absent because *mengersurungpo* 'fox' is in this case a name of a protagonist and the prefix *a-* does not mark personal names, so the possessive prefix test is not reliable in this case.

(4.21) DEM-REL.CLAUSE-HN

*kikorpoyok akengsi kikor hlong manta aro potbadisi*

ki-kōr-po=yok            a-keng=si            ki-kōr hlong-lo    manta    aro    pot-badi=si  
NMLZ-bite-DEF=NSUBJ    POSS-foot=FOC:RL    NMLZ-bite get-RL    but        and what-like=FOC:RL

*la mengsurungpo kithan alam krollone*

**(la    mengsurung-po    ki-than)    a-lam            krol-lò=ne**

DEM    fox-M                            NMLZ-say    POSS-word            believe-RL=UNCERT

‘the crocodile bit the foot, but again how he believed to what the fox had said (Lit.: the words that this fox said)’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Another case of ambiguity is shown in example (4.22) where the demonstrative *labang* clearly does not modify the head noun *amen* ‘name’ but modifies one of the possessor nouns, either *himepe* ‘widow’ or *asope* ‘daughter’. Again, as in example (4.21), the possessive prefix *a-* is absent on the noun *himepe* ‘widow’ in (4.22) and the possessive prefix *a-* on *a-so-pe* ‘POSS-child-F’ marks the third person possessor *himepe* ‘widow’ in this case. So the possessive prefix *a-* does not show the direction of relation of the demonstrative *labang*. In the previous context both referents are present, so on the discourse level, the demonstrative *labang* can equally refer to either *himepe* ‘widow’ or *asope* ‘daughter’.

(4.22)

**(*la=bang    hime-pe    a-so-pe*)    a-men=ke            Bilangthe**

DEM=GNR    widow-F    POSS-child-F    POSS-name=TOP    Bilangthe

‘this widow’s daughter’s name was Bilangthe’ (PM Bilangthe)

## 4.2.2 Coordination

Noun phrases can be coordinated with the postpositional clitic =*pen* ‘with’, by juxtaposition and with the coordinator *aro* ‘and’.

### 4.2.2.1 Coordination with =*pen* ‘with’

Nouns can be coordinated with the clitic =*pen* ‘with’. When two nouns are coordinated with the clitic =*pen*, it attaches to the first of the two coordinands. In this coordination both coordinands are equal and there is no head. Noun phrases referring to the inanimate referents have not been attested to be coordinated with =*pen*. Examples (4.23) and (4.24) show =*pen*

being used as a coordinator attaching to the first coordinands *ghurial* ‘crocodile’ in (4.23) and *Koli* ‘PN:Koli’ in (4.24).

(4.23)

*lake ghurialpopen mengsurungpo banghini khoi alangli*

la=ke ghurial-po=**pen** mengsurung-po bang-hini khoi alangli  
 DEM=TOP crocodile-M=with fox-M CLF:HUM.PL-two friend 3PL

*chipachakngo*

chi-pa-chak-lò

RR-CAUS-meet-RL

‘those, the crocodile and the fox both met each other and became friends’

(4.24)

*Kolipipen Mokalipe jangre aso kido*

PN:Koli-pe=**pen** PN:Mokali-pe jangre a-so ki-do  
 Koli-F=with Mokali-F orphan POSS-child PST-COP

‘Koli and Mokali were orphans’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

The coordinator =*pen* also functions as a comitative and an instrumental, to be discussed in §6.3.1. Amri Karbi can be defined as a with-language (Stassen 2000), because in the noun phrase coordination illustrated in (4.23) and (4.24), =*pen* can be translated as either ‘and’ or ‘with’. However, in the comitative relation, the marking with =*pen* is carried out differently to when =*pen* coordinates two noun phrases; namely, as a coordinator, =*pen* marks the first noun phrase of two equal coordinants and as a comitative marker, it marks the dependant or accompanying noun phrase.

#### 4.2.2.2 Coordination by juxtaposition

Noun phrases may be coordinated by juxtaposition when no coordinator is used to connect the noun phrases. Example (4.25) shows noun phrases referring to plant names coordinated without a coordinator.

(4.25)

*ne bithangdet apoisasi atanga arkeng bithi hendru*

ne bithang=det a-poisa=si a-tanga [arkeng bithi] [hendru]  
1 self=INTNS POSS-money=FOC:RL POSS-money betelnut leaf plant:hendru

*anchini dungkek Umden hat jordamsi pathe padingo*

[anchini] [dungkek] Umden hat jor-dam-si pa-the pa-ding-lò  
plant:anchini plant:dungkek Umden market sell-go-NF:RL CAUS-grow CAUS-grow.up-RL  
'I, all by myself (earned) money by selling in Umden market the bettelnut and leaf (pan)  
hendru, anchini, dungkek, and brought up (my children)' (Tui Education)

#### 4.2.2.3 Coordination with *aro* 'and'

The coordinator *aro* 'and' is a coordinator that has a wide spectrum of meaning and functions. The coordinator *aro* conjoins noun phrases that are described in this section and clauses described in §9.3.1.1. It is also frequently used as a discourse coordinator, as discussed in §12.5. Verb phrases are not connected with *aro*, they are connected in clause chains marked with non-final suffixes, see §9. 2.

Example (4.26) shows coordination of two noun phrases *meri biskut* 'Meri biscuit' and *jangthu* 'oil' with *aro* 'and' that is put between two noun phrases. Similarly, in (4.27) *aro* coordinates *mehel* 'these' and *ingnam ahan* 'jungle vegetables'.

(4.26)

*a-jor ki-dam-chot=ke meri biskut aro jangthu*

POSS-sell NMLZ-dam-most=TOP PN:meri biscuit and oil

'most selling is Meri biscuit and oil' (BT&LT Interview)

(4.27)

*halihul halihalok mehelsi aro ingnam ahan*

hali-hul hali-halok mehel=si aro ingnam a-han

1PL.EXCL-local.fish 1PL.EXCL-local.fish these=FOC:RL and jungle POSS-vegetable

*abab mehek sowat lamehelsi hali hanbabmo*

a-bab      mehek      sowat      la-mehel=si      hali      han-bab=lo  
POSS-grass   plant.name   plant.name   DEM-these=FOC:RL   1PL.EXCL   vegetable-grass=FOC  
'our *hul* (local fish), our *halok* (local fish), these and jungle vegetable *mehek* (plant name)  
and *sowat* (plant name), these are our vegetables' (DT Culture)

#### 4.2.3 Pre-posed Modifiers

This section describes pre-posed modifiers. Modifiers that are generally pre-posed are demonstratives, adjectives, interrogative pronouns, possessor nouns and relative clauses.

##### 4.2.3.1 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives in Amri Karbi, the proximal *la* and the distal *ha*. The distal demonstrative *ha* functions mostly as a noun phrase. The proximal demonstrative *la* functions as a modifier (4.28) and is placed at the left edge of a noun phrase. When a noun is modified by a demonstrative, the latter always precedes the head noun and the noun is usually marked with the possessive prefix *a-*, for example *la ahēm* 'that house'. However, there are cases in the data when the demonstrative just attaches to a noun and cliticizes to a noun and is phonologically bound to the head noun; for example, there is variation between *la ahēm* 'that house' and *lahēm* 'that house'.

The demonstrative *la* has frequent occurrences with the generic noun *bang*. In combination with the generic noun *bang*, the demonstrative *la* functions as a deictic more often in the data than on its own. Tokens with *labang* in the data are more than 181, including 128 tokens as a modifier; in comparison, tokens with *la* is 60 including 22 tokens as a modifier. Out of the 22, 14 tokens modify a time reference, e.g. *la arni* (DEM day) 'that day', *la apor*<sup>25</sup> (DEM time) 'that time'. So, the demonstrative *la* with the generic noun *bang* is a more prominent form for the demonstrative function in Amri Karbi.

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<sup>25</sup> *labang* also appears in the database modifying time references, for example it appears to modify nouns *arni* 'day' and *por* 'time'.

(4.28)

*lasi la arnike ladisi damo*

lasi la arni=ke ladisi dam-lò

so DEM day=TOP like.this go-RL

‘so that day has passed just like that’ (BM Monkey and fox)

The most frequent occurrence of *bang* in the database is in combination with the demonstrative *la*. *bang* in combination with the demonstrative *la*, i.e. *labang* functions as a demonstrative modifier, and with the definite suffixes, can function as an independent pronoun ‘that’, ‘that one’ or ‘it’. In this function *bang* is not restricted to the human referents only (remember that *bang* is also a human plural classifier §4.2.4.2.). Example (4.29) shows *labang* functioning as a demonstrative modifier for the noun *tomo* ‘story’.

(4.29) *labang* functioning as a demonstrative modifier

*la=bang a-tomo-po=ke labadi=lo Bilangthe-pe pu-man*

DEM=GNR POSS-story-DEF=TOP like.this=FOC Bilangthe-F say-HAB

‘the story is like this, called Balangthe’ (PM Bilangthe)

Example (4.30) shows *labangpo* functioning as the pronoun ‘it’

(4.30) *labangpo* functioning as the pronoun ‘it’/that one’

*da tene nang damot ne juljulsì labangpo choye pusi*

da tene nang dam-not ne jul~jul=si **la=bang-po** chó-ye pusi

go then 2 go-IMP 1 hide~hide=NF:RL DEM=GNR-DEF eat-FUT QUOT

‘then you go, I will secretly eat it/that one (chillis), he said’ (BM Mokey and fox)

Example (4.31) shows *labang* with the definite suffix *-pomar* functioning as the demonstrative pronoun ‘these’ or ‘these ones’.

(4.31)

*la=bang-po-mar=si hali hreng-man do-man chó-man*

DEM=GNR-DEF-PL=FOC:RL 1PL.EXCL survive-HAB COP-HAB eat-HAB

‘by these (ones) we survive and eat’ (i.e. ‘by eating these vegetables we survive’) (PI

Betelnut)

*labangpo* may be marked with grammatical relations clitics. Example (4.32) shows *labangpo* marked with the locative *-long*.

(4.32)

*la=bang-po=long hane-khoi i-hut do-man*  
DEM=GNR-DEF=LOC 1-friend one-CLF:HUM.SG stay-HAB  
'a friend of mine lives there' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

*bang* can appear without the demonstrative *la-* and function as a demonstrative pronoun, but only when marked with a definite suffix, just like when it is pre-posed with the demonstrative *la*. Some examples of *bang* functioning as a demonstrative pronoun include (4.33) and (4.34).

(4.33)

*lasi halike paikman, ... bangpolong Karbi abipun*  
lasi hali=ke pa-ik-man, ... **bang-po=long** Karbi a-bipun  
so IPL.EXCL=TOP CAUS-wear-HAB GNR-DEF=LOC Karbi POSS-culture  
'so we give (traditional clothes) to wear, ...in this (our traditional clothes) is Karbi culture'  
(DT Culture)

(4.34)

*bepari wangsi bangpomar wangenman tangata hlongman*  
bepari wang-si **bang-po-mar** wang-en-man tanga=ta hlong-man  
businessmen come-NF:RL GNR-DEF-PL come-take-HAB money=ADD get-HAB

*poisata hlongman*

poisa=ta hlong-man  
money=ADD get-HAB  
'businessmen come, they come and take (betelnut) and (then we) get money, (we) get money' (PI Betelnut)

The generic noun *bang*, when functioning as a demonstrative, may be reduced to one syllable *ba*, both when used with the demonstrative *la-* and when used on its own. Example (4.35) illustrates *ba* functioning as a demonstrative modifier and example (4.36) illustrates *laba* functioning as a demonstrative modifier.

(4.35) *ba* functioning as demonstrative modifier

*parake ba kampipo adung ayok anang damo*

para=ke    **bang**    kampi-po    a-dung    a-yok    anang    dam-lò  
then=TOP    GNR    monkey-DEF    POSS-near    POSS-NSUBJ    3    go-RL

‘then he (crocodile) went to that monkey’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(4.36) *laba* functioning as a demonstrative modifier

*aro anangyok alaibilaisi labadi laba osopoyok maribokmo*

aro    anang=yok    alaibilai=si    la-badi    **la=bang**    oso-po=yok    mari-bok-lò  
and    3=NSUBJ    very.bad=FOC:RL    DEM-as    DEM=GNR    child-M=NSUBJ    kill-badly-RL

‘and like this the boy was killed very badly’ (BR Lying cowboy)

The reduced demonstrative forms *laba* and *ba* can also take the definite suffix *-po* and function as the pronoun ‘this’/‘it’, as in examples (4.37) and (4.38).

(4.37)

*labapo haliyok thansi aro*

**la=bang-po**    hali=yok    than-si    aro  
DEM=GNR-DEF    1PL.EXCL=NSUBJ    say-NF:RL    and

‘they told us this and...’ (TB Song writing workshop)

(4.38)

*inglong alongsi pholo nongsi kheti kurisi*

inglong    a-long=si    pholó    nong-si    kheti    kuri-si  
mountain    POSS-LOC=FOC:RL    cotton    jhum-NF:RL    cultivation    do-NF:RL

*baposi phersi mipen phersi chithakman*

**bang-po=si**    pher-si    mi=pen    pher-si    chi-thak-man  
GNR-DEF=FOC:RL    spin-NF:RL    spindle=with    spin-NF:RL    RR-weave-HAB

‘in the mountain we jhum cultivated cotton, with this we spun the thread with the machine and we weaved for ourselves’ (DT Culture)

#### 4.2.3.2 Adjectives

Nouns may be modified by adjectives that usually precede a head noun. In example (4.39), the adjective (*a*)*khanang* ‘real’ modifies the noun *lam* ‘word’. In example (4.40), the adjective *dhemali* ‘funny’ modifies the noun *arleng* ‘people’.

(4.39)

*lasi ili ahuwitta akhanang alamposi thanponlage*

lasi ili            ahuwit=ta            **a-khanang**    a-lam-po=si            than-pon-lag-ye  
so 1PL.EXCL all=ADD            POSS-real    POSS-word-DEF=FOC:RL    say-ITER-should-FUT  
‘so we all should tell the truth’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(4.40)

*ladi        dhemali    arleng    wang-man*

like.this    funny        people    come-HAB  
‘like this, funny/joking people come’ (BT&LT Interview)

#### 4.2.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns may function as pre-posed modifiers with the head noun often marked by the prefix *a-*, see more details in §10. Example (4.41) shows the question word *kombak* ‘how much’ modifying the noun *homoi* ‘time’.

(4.41)

**kombak**    **a-homoi=te**        *chi-than do*

what        POSS-time=Q2    RR-say    COP  
‘what time (they are having) discussion?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

#### 4.2.3.4 Possessor noun

Nouns may be modified by possessor nouns in possessive constructions. In these constructions the possessor noun is unmarked, it precedes the possessed noun which is marked with the possessive prefix *a-*. In example (4.42); the possessor noun *rechopo* ‘the king’ is modifying the possessed noun *hambrik* ‘chilli’.

(4.42)

*ne=ke=he recho-po a-hambrik-hel hon-pi do*  
1=TOP=EMPH king-DEF POSS-chilli-PL guard-BEN COP

‘hey, I am guarding king’s chillis’ (BM Monkey and fox)

#### 4.2.4 Nominal modifiers occurring pre-posed and post-posed

This section describes modifiers that occur either pre-posed or post-posed. These modifiers include adjectival verbs, classifiers and numerals.

##### 4.2.4.1 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs can either precede or follow the head noun. Example (4.43) shows the noun *choròng* ‘cow’ modified by the pre-post adjectival verb *a-ki-mé* (POSS-NMLZ-be.good) ‘good’ and *a-ki-sar* (POSS-NMLZ-be.old) ‘old’ and marked with the possessive prefix *a-*.

(4.43)

*lasi kanghupo chorong bisarpono akime achorong*

lasi ki-inghu-po choròng bisar-pon-lò **a-ki-mé** a-choròng,  
so NMLZ-steal-DEF cow want-take-RL POSS-NMLZ-be.good POSS-cow

*akisar achorongta chipachakman*

**a-ki-sar** a-choròng=ta chi-pa-chak-man  
POSS-NMLZ-be.old POSS-cow=ADD RR-CAUS-meet-HAB

‘so the thief was looking for a good cow, but he found an old cow’ (BK Widow)

##### 4.2.4.2 Classifiers

The following section addresses Amri Karbi sortal and mensural classifiers.

###### *Sortal classifiers*

There is a set of nominal sortal classifiers in Amri Karbi. Sortal classifiers also function as numeral classifiers. The list of classifiers is given in Table 4.5. Nominal sortal classifiers co-occur with a noun in a noun phrase and are used to categorize a noun. There is a generic-specific relationship between these words and a noun, their properties correspond to those listed as noun classifier properties in Aikhenvald (2000:81), namely:

- (i) The choice of a noun classifier is based on semantics. Every noun in a language does not necessarily take a noun classifier.
- (ii) One noun can be used with different classifiers, with a change in meaning.

The structure of a construction comprising a noun and a nominal classifier is N *a*-CLF, where the classifier always follows the noun and takes the possessive prefix *a*-. In Amri Karbi, not every noun needs to take a classifier; they appear only when the meaning of a noun needs to be determined. The cooccurrence of several noun classifiers within one noun phrase has not been attested in the data.

Noun classifiers can be used with the same noun to specify its meaning, for example: *théngpe* ‘wood’, with different classifiers can have a different meaning: *théngpe a-the* (wood POSS-CLF:fruit) ‘fruit of a tree’, *théngpe a-ròng* (wood POSS-CLF:plant) ‘tree’.

Noun classifiers are used to create new words. For example, the classifier *hong* ‘CLF:long’ appears in words like ‘dining table’ and ‘bed’. The classifier *hong* is modified by nominalized verbs or verbal nouns to create new meanings, e.g.: *ki-cho a-hong* (NMLZ-eat POSS-CLF:long) ‘dining table’ and *ki-í a-hong* (NMLZ-sleep POSS-CLF:ong) ‘bed’.

Noun classifiers can take the plural marker *-hel*, but not *-(po)mar*. They can also take the definite suffix *-po* and the diminutive suffix *-so*. A noun classifier can be the head of a relative clause. Table 4.5 lists sortal nominal classifiers.

Table 4.5 List of sortal nominal classifiers

Form	Gloss
<i>pum</i>	round, round fruit
<i>ròng</i>	plant
<i>pak</i>	vessel, flat things, paper
<i>jon</i>	animal, month
<i>hut</i>	human, singular
<i>hum</i>	house
<i>don</i>	family
<i>hong</i>	long shape
<i>bang</i>	human, personified plural
<i>long</i>	place
<i>bar</i>	time, one time (Ind)
<i>jeng</i>	thread or robe
<i>top</i>	drop
<i>mung</i>	matter, thing, etc.
<i>the</i>	word
<i>bong</i>	beer vessel

### *Numeral constructions*

Noun classifiers in Amri Karbi appear in constructions with numerals. When classifiers occur with numerals, they are fused with the numeral ‘one’, ‘two’ or ‘three’; the numeral ‘one’ attaches to the left of the word, whereas the numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ attach to the right of the word, e.g. *i-hum* (*isi* ‘one’, *hum* ‘CLF:house’) ‘one house’, *hum-ni* (*hini* ‘two’, *hum* ‘CLF:house’) ‘two houses’, *hum-thom* (*kithom* ‘three’, *hum* ‘CLF:house’) ‘three houses’. Classifiers are not fused with other numerals, e.g. *hum phili* (*phili* ‘four’, *hum* ‘CLF:house’) ‘four houses’. In numeral constructions, classifiers usually follow the noun rather than precede it, with the exception of the singular human classifier *hut* ‘CLF:HUM.SG’ which sometimes precedes instead. In example (4.45), the classifier *jon* ‘CLF:animal’ follows the noun *kampi* ‘monkey’ and in (4.46) it precedes the noun *kampi* ‘monkey’ and then the possessive prefix *a-* attaches to the noun *kampi* ‘monkey’.

(4.45)

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholopara*

anang hon-ne ki-do amun=si a-ki-holo=para  
3 guard-NF:IRR NMLZ-COP while=FOC:RL POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from

*kampi ijon theksi anang dungwango*

**kampi i-jon** théksi anang dung-wang-lò  
monkey one-CLF:ANIM see-NF:RL 3 near-come-RL

‘while he was guarding at that time from far away a monkey saw and came to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(4.46)

*parake isi ijon akampisoke alangke phule chiparkupklakngo*

parake isi i-jon a-kampi-so=ke alang=ke phule chi-parkup-klak-lò  
then one one-CLF:ANIM POSS-monkey-DIM=TOP 3=TOP pot RR-cover-PRF-RL

‘then one little monkey covered itself with the cooking pot’ (BT Monkey)

A numeral classifier can be omitted if the referent has been established. Numeral classifiers do not take possessive prefixes and they are not marked with the general possessive prefix *a-*. This is different to noun classifiers that do take the possessive prefix *a-* and other possessive prefixes.

### *Self-referential classifiers*

Self-referential classifiers are classifiers that count themselves. The term ‘self-referential classifier’ used in this grammar is adopted from the Karbi grammar by Konnerth (2014). The reason why these classifiers need to be distinguished from other classifiers and are called self-referential classifiers is that bound numerals attach directly to them. Example (4.47) shows a self-referential classifier *bar* ‘time’ with the numeral *i-* attached directly to *bar*.

(4.47)

*ibar pijo kiendam haneke thekdamdeyong*

**i-bar** pijo ki-en-dam hane=ke thék-dam-Ce-ingyong  
one-time honeybee NMLZ-take-go I=TOP see-go-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘one time (I) went to get honeybee I did not see (the honeybee)’ (PI Honeybee)

The classifier *ni~nir* ‘CLF:day’ can exceptionally function both as a self-referential classifier or as a numeral classifier for the head noun *adin* ‘day’ (Ind). The *nir* ‘CLF:day’ variant occurs only with the numeral ‘one’, the *ni* ‘CLF:day’ variant occurs with all the other numerals. When the bound numeral ‘one’ attaches to a classifier *ni~nir* ‘CLF:day’ it produces an irregular construction *i-ni(r)-si* ‘one day’, instead of *i-ni~i-nir*. It is not clear what *-si* means in *ini(r)si*, but it could be the focus clitic =*si* that has lexicalized in *ini(r)si*. Example (4.48) shows how *ni* ‘CLF:day’ functions as a classifier for *adin* ‘day’ and example (4.49) shows how *ni~nir* ‘CLF:day’ functions as a self-referential classifier.

(4.48) *ni* as a classifier for *adin* ‘day’

**inirsi** a-din situm-po pen hohai-po khei ki-do  
one.day POSS-day turtle-DEF with rabbit-DEF friend NMLZ-COP  
‘once upon a time, rabbit and turtle were friends’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

(4.49) *ni* as a self-referential classifier

*aro labang Bilangthepe=ke pot inirsi chiplango*  
aro la=bang Bilangthe-pe=ke pot **inirsi** chi-plang-lò  
and DEM=GNR PN:Bilangthe-FEM=TOP what one.day RR-happen-RL  
‘and this Bilangthepe, what happened one day?’ (PM Bilangthe)

Table 4.6 provides the list of self-referential classifiers attested so far. Most self-referential classifiers also occur as nouns. The classifier for ‘week’ is a co-compound of *hat* ‘market’ and *rul* ‘CLF:paddy.field.ridge’.

*Plural human classifier bang*

*bang* is a noun classifier for plural human or personified referents. It might have grammaticalized from the noun *bang* ‘body’, which also extended its function towards the generic noun that is described in §3.2.6.

As a noun classifier *bang* always carries the possessive prefix *a-* and follows the noun. Example (4.50) shows *bang* functioning as a noun classifier for the noun *hēm* ‘house’ creating the meaning ‘family/house members’.

(4.50) *bang* as a noun classifier

*hēm a-bang wang-ded-do*  
house POSS-CLF:HUM.PL come-all-COP  
‘all family members came’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The classifier *bang* appears in quantifying constructions, except for the numeral ‘one’. The classifier *bang* is different from other classifiers in that it does not attach the bound numerals ‘two’ (4.51), (4.52) and ‘three’ (4.53). It is used with the full numeral starting from two to refer to human or personified referents. Similarly, to the singular human classifier *hut* it can either precede (4.51) or follow the head noun (4.52). However, when it is used with the pronoun it usually follows the pronoun.

(4.51) *bang* with the numeral preceding the head noun.

*wangwe ladi doman aro ihut bang hini hor kijun*  
wang-Ce la-badi do-man aro i-hut **bang hini** hor ki-jùn  
come-NEG DEM-as COP-HAB and one-CLF:HUM.SG CLF:HUM:PL two beer NMLZ-drink

*arleng wangman manta we ladi dhemali arleng wangman*

arleng wang-man manta we la-badi dhemali arleng wang-man  
person come-HAB but NEG.EX.COP DEM-as joking person come-HAB  
‘(angry people) do not come like this, but one or two drunkards come, but not like that,  
funny/joking people come’ (BT&LT Interview)

(4.52) *bang* used after a pronoun

*lasi anangli banghini chithano kapangbob ayok*  
lasi anangli **bang-hini** chi-than-lò ki-pa-ingbob a-yok  
so 3PL CLF:HUM.PL-two RR-say-RL NMLZ-CAUS-sprout POSS-PURP  
‘so two of them talked to each other to make popcorn’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(4.53) bang with the numeral ‘three’

*aro bang kithomke angoyok damjongsi dolo*

aro **bang**            **kithom=ke**    ango=yok        dam-jong-si        do-lò

and CLF:HUM.PL    three=TOP        forward=DIR      go-CONT-NF:RL    stay-RL

‘and three people keep on going forward’ (MI Pear film)

*Mensural classifiers*

Mensural classifiers, listed in Table 4.7, are used to measure countable and mass nouns. Mensural classifiers provide units of measure with which certain nouns can be counted. Most of the Amri Karbi mensural classifiers attach with bound numerals like numeral classifiers, with the exception of the mensural classifier *pare*. Example (4.54) shows a mensural classifier *beng* ‘half’ with the numeral ‘one’.

(4.54)

*ma duwar ibeng jangklungo*

ma duwar i-beng            jang-klung-lò

Q    road    one-CLF:half    fall-fall.down-RL

‘did he fall on the halfway’ (BK Widow)

Table 4.6 Mensural classifiers

Form	Gloss
<i>pare</i>	80 betel nuts, oranges
<i>beng</i>	half, piece (roads, ways, traditional cake, cloth)
<i>bor</i>	bundle (boiled rice, leaves)
<i>mēk</i>	one yam, ‘eye’
<i>bong</i>	vessel (bottle made of gourd) to count beer
<i>cher</i>	small piece (cloth, betel nut leave, banana leave, fruit)
<i>pong</i>	dry fermented fish, bamboo pipe
<i>jor</i>	pair
<i>jhar</i>	bunch of growing bamboo and broomstick and for other plants that grow in clusters
<i>lam</i>	width, to measure, road, house, field
<i>peng</i>	bundle of sticks

#### 4.2.4.3 Numerals

In Amri Karbi, not every noun requires a numeral classifier to construct a quantifying noun phrase. Some nouns can be modified by numerals without classifiers. The list of numerals is given in §3.8.

Table 4.8 provides a list of nouns that are used with a separate numeral in the data, i.e. without a classifier, including some of the borrowed nouns. These nouns are usually followed by the numeral, with the exception of the numeral ‘one’ which may precede a noun. This pattern is identical to the one for nouns that are used with classifiers. Example (4.55) shows the numeral *isi* ‘one’ modifying the noun *tomo* ‘story’. Nouns may be marked with the prefix *a-* when modified by the pre-posed numeral *isi*, but they may not be marked, as in the example (4.55), where the noun *tomo* is not marked with the prefix *a-*.

(4.55)

*akal adin isi tomo kido*

a-kal      a-din      **isi tomo** ki-do

POSS-long POSS-day one story PST-COP

‘long ago there was one story’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Table 4.7 Nouns that are counted without a classifier

Form	Gloss
<i>arlong</i>	‘stone’
<i>chul</i>	‘bag’
<i>rongbong</i>	‘society’
<i>tomo</i>	‘story’
<i>ason</i>	‘organization’
<i>anijom</i>	‘custom, tradition’
<i>phon</i>	‘phone’ (Eng)
<i>workshop</i>	‘workshop’ (Eng)
<i>kagos</i>	‘paper’ (Ind)
<i>bachik</i>	‘basket’ (Eng)
<i>jaga</i>	‘place’ (Ind)
<i>baje</i>	‘hour’ (Ind)

#### 4.2.5 Noun Phrase Clitics

Noun phrase clitics attach to the last element of the noun phrase and consist of three types. One type, the grammatical relations clitics that are placed closer to the stem (described in §6). Another type of clitics comprise the determiner clitic =*ten*, the intensifier clitic =*det* and the indefinite clitic =*bak*. The third clitic type includes the additive =*ta*, the topic =*ke*, the realis focus clitic =*si*, the irrealis focus clitic =*ne* and the focus clitic =*lo*.

Noun Phrase	=grammatical relations	= <i>ten</i> ‘determiner’	= <i>ta</i> ‘additive’
		= <i>det</i> ‘intensifier’	= <i>ke</i> ‘topic’
		= <i>bak</i> ‘indefinite’	= <i>si</i> ‘focus, realis’
			= <i>ne</i> ‘focus, irrealis’
			= <i>lo</i> ‘focus’

##### 4.2.5.1 Determiner clitic =*ten* ‘every’

The determiner clitic =*ten* marks noun phrases expressing the meaning ‘every’. If a noun requires a classifier for quantifying construction, then the determiner =*ten* ‘every’ requires the use of a classifier to which it then attaches, and that classifier usually follows the noun it modifies and may carry the possessive prefix *a-*. The head noun remains unmarked, for example, *choròng a-jon=ten* (cow POSS-CLF:ANIM=every) ‘every cow’. Example (4.56) shows a construction with =*ten* from the data, where the clitic =*ten* attaches to the classifier *bar* ‘time’. Self-referential classifiers like *arni* ‘day’ shown in (4.57) do not need a classifier for the construction with =*ten*.

(4.56)

*la=ke a-huni bar=ten aro...*  
 DEM=TOP POSS-Saturday CLF:time=every and  
 ‘thus on every Saturday...’ (JK Pastor’s work)

(4.57)

*jangmu-pe                      angsong a-long=si                      anang=ke arni=ten do-man*  
blackberry.tree-AUG top                      POSS-LOC=FOC:RL                      3=TOP                      day=every stay-HAB  
'he always stayed on the blackberry tree' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

#### 4.2.5.2 Intensifier clitic =*det*

The intensifier clitic =*det* highlights the meaning of the noun phrase that it attaches to. When =*det* attaches to a noun it can be translated as 'all' or 'completely'. All examples with =*det* marking noun phrases found in the data convey the meaning 'all alone'. Intensifier clitic =*det* is related to the predicate derivation suffix -*det* that has the meaning 'all', see §5.1.7.3.3, §6.2.5 and §8.5.

Example (4.58) shows =*det* marking the noun phrase *a-hut* (POSS-CLF.HUM.SG) 'alone' to express the meaning 'all alone' or 'completely alone'.

(4.58)

*ne-pa a-hut-det                      ne-ka=ta.                      ingyong*  
1-father POSS-CLF.HUM.SG=INTS 1-brother=ADD NEG.EX.COP

*ne-bai=ta                      ingyong                      ne-muso=ta                      ingyong                      potsi*  
1-elder.sister=ADD NEG.EX.COP 1-younger.brother=ADD NEG.EX.COP because  
'my father was all alone, I had no brother, no elder sister, no my younger brother also, that's why' (TuI Education)

Another example where the intensifier =*det* highlights a noun phrase is shown in (4.59). The noun phrase *nebithang* (1-self) 'myself' is highlighted with the clitic =*det* resulting in 'all by myself'.

(4.59)

*nebithangdet apoisasi atanga arkeng bithi hendru*

ne-bithang=**det** a-poisasi a-tanga arkeng bithi hendru  
1-self=INTS POSS-money=FOC:RL POSS-money betel.nut leaf plant:hendru

*anchini dungkek Umden hat jordamsi*

anchini dungkek Umden hat jor-dam-si  
plant:anchini plant:dungkek PN:Umden market sell-go-NF:RL

*pathe padingo*

pa-the pa-ding-lò

CAUS-grow CAUS-grow.up-RL

‘I, all by myself (earned) money by selling in Umden market the bettelenut and leaf (pan) hendru, anchini, dungkek, and brought up (my children)’ (TuI Education)

The intensifier clitic =*det* can be reduplicated to emphasis the semantics of the intensifier. Example (4.60) shows =*det* intensifying the numeral *i-* ‘1-’, which is even more intensified by the reduplication of =*det*.

(4.60)

*nali ihut**detdet** arlengke*

nali i-hut=**det~det** arleng=ke

2 one-CLF:HUM:SG=INTS~INTS man=TOP

‘(you come after lunch for work) as you are all, all alone’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

#### 4.2.5.3 Indefinite clitic =*bak*

The indefinite clitic =*bak* marks noun phrases to express the meaning ‘almost’, ‘nearly’, e.g. (4.61). The clitic =*bak* is also involved in interrogative and indefinite pronouns constructions (see §3.6.4, §3.6.5); it also marks predicates (see §12.1.6), in addition to being homophonous to a predicate derivation suffix -*bak* (see §5.1.7.3.1).

(4.61)

*aro athakbak athakbaksi tikehel arlu pono*

aro a-thak=bak ~ a-thak=**bak**=si tike-hel arlu-pon-lò

and POSS-TOP=nearly ~ POSS-top=nearly=FOC:RL tiger-PL climb-ITER-RL

‘so they joined each other almost on the top and all the tigers climbed’ (BK Widow)

#### 4.2.5.4 Additive clitic =*ta*

Crosslinguistically, additives, in addition to simple inclusion, serve a wide range of functions (see, for example, Forker 2015, Levinsohn 2002). The Amri Karbi additive =*ta* occurs in different contexts with functions of additive, bisyndetic coordination, scalar additive and in universal quantification. The additive =*ta* also coordinates clauses §9.3.1.2, is involved in negation and subordination §11.7 and has discourse level functions that are described in §12.3.1.

The most frequent function in which the clitic =*ta* occurs is the additive function, i.e. the clitic =*ta* marks noun phrases for the meaning ‘also/too’. Example (4.62) shows clitic =*ta* marking the noun phrase *arunachal arlenghel* ‘people from Arunachal’ for the meaning ‘also/too’.

(4.62)

*aro lalong arunanachal arleng-hel=**ta** ki-do*

and there PN:Arunachal person-PL=ADD PST-COP

‘and there were Arunachal people also’ (TB Song writing workshop)

In negative clauses, the clitic =*ta* encodes mutual exclusion ‘either, neither’ (4.63).

(4.63)

*retne e’e tene bonghom jongonadta chohlonghe*

ret=ne e-Ce tene bonghom jongonad=**ta** chó-hlong-Ce

jhum.field=FOC:IRR plant-NEG then white.gourd pumpkin=ADD eat-get-NEG

‘if (we) do not do jhum cultivation then we do not get to eat neither white gourd nor pumpkin’ (TuI Field)

The clitic =*ta* coordinates two or more coordinands, where one coordinator =*ta* is used per coordinand. Example (4.64) shows a coordination where each of three coordinands are coordinated and marked by =*ta*. Coordinands in this coordination appear with their predicates

and therefore the bisyndetic coordination shown in (4.64) is structurally a coordination of clauses.

(4.64) =*ta* as a coordinator

*ne-pa a-hut=det ne-ka=ta ingyong*  
 1-father POSS-CLF:HUM.SG=INTS 1-brother=ADD NEG.EX.COP

*ne-bai=ta ingyong ne-muso=ta ingyong potsi*  
 1-elder.sister=ADD NEG.EX.COP 1-younger.brother=ADD NEG.EX.COP because  
 ‘my father was alone, I had no brother, no elder sister, no younger brother also, that’s why’  
 (TuI Education)

The clitic =*ta* has a scalar additive function, that marks an element as contradicting or unexpected. In example (4.65), the speaker is telling a story of a robbery, where he states that his money has been stolen and then even his bank card was stolen, and the noun *ATM card* is marked with the suffix =*ta* for the meaning ‘even’.

(4.65)

*ATM cardpota bangne chonghupidetno*  
 PN:ATM card-po=ta bang=ne chonghu-pi-det-lò  
 ATM card-DEF=ADD GNR=INDEF steal-BEN-all-RL  
 ‘even ATM card was stolen by somebody’ (JB Bus)

Another example of the scalar additive function of =*ta* is shown in (4.66).

(4.66)

*anuwe=yok=ke egharota-hel=yok=ta do-hlong-man jangthu ki-en arleng*  
 night=DIR=TOP eleven-PL=DIR=ADD stay-get-HAB oil NMLZ-take person

*do-man kema*  
 COP-HAB that’s.why  
 ‘because some people come to get oil and have to stay even till eleven at night’ (BT&LT Interview)

The clitic =*ta* appears on a pronoun and a pro-adverb of universal quantification, as listed in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Pronoun and pro-adverb containing =*ta*.

Semantic Field	Form	Gloss
Person	<i>kaita</i>	‘anybody’/‘nobody’
Person/Thing	<i>ahuwitta</i>	‘all’ ‘everyone’ ‘everything’

Examples (4.67) and (4.68) illustrate *kaita* and *ahuwitta*, respectively.

(4.67)

*ki-wang      aphel    arnam-pe   ki-pu      hane-so-po=yok    kai=ta      ot-nek*  
 NMLZ-come   after   god-F      NMLZ-say   1-child-M=NSUBJ   who=ADD      touch-PROH  
 ‘after (she) came out the goddess said do not touch my son’ (KP Honghora)

(4.68)

*lasi ili            ahuwit=ta    a-khanang    a-lam-po=si            than-pon-lag-ye*  
 so 1PL.INCL   all=ADD      POSS-real      POSS-word-DEF=FOC:RL    say-ITER-should-FUT  
 ‘so we all must tell the truth’ (BR Lying cowboy)

#### 4.2.5.5 Topic and focus clitics

Amri Karbi has information structure clitics: =*ke*, =*si* and =*ne*. The additive clitic =*ta* may also express some roles of information parts, like topic-switch. The clitic =*ke* is glossed as ‘TOP’ and is called ‘topic clitic’ in the grammar. The notion of topic is understood according to the Lambrecht’s (1994:118) definition of ‘topic’, which is a thing that the proposition expressed by the sentence is about. The marking of a thing that the proposition is about in Amri Karbi clearly surfaces in stative predications. In other types of clauses the topic clitic =*ke* is not obligatory and is speaker determined. Besides that, the topic clitic =*ke* marks contrastive topics and it is also found to be marking adverbs and peripheral arguments for emphasis. All these functions of the topic clitic =*ke* are described in §12.3.2.

There is no single definition of what ‘focus’ is, the phenomenon has been approached from various angles and in different research traditions. An exhaustive overview of various theoretical backgrounds for ‘focus’ and ‘topic’ has been given for example in Ozerov (2014).

It is not surprising that for the notion of ‘focus’ I will rely on more than one definition. Moreover, adopting only one definition of ‘focus’ will not cover all the functions of the Amri Karbi focus clitics =*si*, =*ne* and =*lò*. The first definition of focus is as in Lambrecht’s (1994:213) “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition”. This definition is somewhat similar to the general understanding that the focus determines which part of the sentence contributes new information. The definition by Stevens (2017) is along the same lines: “focus refers to the portion of an utterance which is especially informative or important within the context”. Another definition that I also find useful to describe Amri Karbi focus clitics is according to the Alternative semantics (Rooth 1992) where focus indicates the presence of alternatives and the element that is in focus is the relevant alternative. The focus clitics =*si* and =*ne* are described in §12.3.3. The focus clitics =*si* and =*ne* are multipurpose morphemes that reappear in other parts of the grammar: interrogative pronouns §3.6.4; contrastive negation §11.7; correlative constructions §10.1.8; adverbs §5.3.1, adverbial clauses §9.1.2. The focus clitics =*si* and =*ne* are might be etymologically related to the verbal non-final suffixes -*si* and -*ne* §5.1.12. The focus clitic =*lò* is described in the next section §4.2.5.6 and in the section on stative predications in §6.4.1. The focus clitic =*lò* might have an origin similar to the verbal realis suffix -*lò*. Both the focus clitic =*lò* and the realis suffix -*lò* have analogous allomorphs, see §2.6.4.

#### 4.2.5.6 Focus clitic =*lò*

The focus clitic =*lò* marks nominal predicates; it appears very rarely in the database (less than ten tokens in the transcribed database). Marking nominal predicates with =*lò* has likely a pragmatic motivation, as nominal predicates, (with the exception of pronominal predicates) do not usually need to be marked with the clitic =*lò* in order to function as nominal predicates (see §6.4.1). For example, the nominal predicate *neaipse* ‘my mother’ is not marked with =*lò* in (4.82). Example (4.83) shows the nominal predicate *hanbab* ‘vegetables’ marked with the focus =*lò* that gives emphasis to the predicate; the subject *lamehel* ‘these’ is marked with the focus =*si* for prominence too.

(4.82)

*anang=ke ne=ai-pe*

3=TOP 1=mother-F

‘she is my mother’ (elicited)

(4.83)

*hali hul hali halok mehelsi aro ingnam ahan*

hali hul hali halok mehelsi aro ingnam a-han

1PL.EXCL local.fish 1PL.EXCL local.fish these=FOC:RL and jungle POSS-vegetable

*abab mehek sowat lamehelsi halihanbabmo*

a-bab mehek sowat la-mehel-si hali-han-bab=**lò**

POSS-grass plant.name plant.name DEM-these=FOC:RL 1PL.EXCL-vegetable-grass=FOC

‘our *hul* (local fish), our *halok* (local fish), these and jungle vegetable *mehek* (plant name)

and *sowat* (plant name), these are our vegetables’ (DT Culture)

While nominal predicates do not need to be marked with the focus clitic =*lò*, pronominal predicates do not appear without =*lò*. Example (4.84) shows the demonstrative *la* and (4.85) shows the pronoun *ne* ‘1SG’ marked with the focus clitic =*lò*.

(4.84)

*aro karbi adijen khanangke lalo tantihalpo thakbo*

aro karbi a-dijen khanang=ke la=**lò** tantihal-po thak-bo

and PN:Karbi POSS-disign real=TOP DEM=FOC loom-DEF weave-IRR2

‘and Karbi design is really this, we weave on the loom’ (BT Weaving)

(4.85)

*hemphu labangke neloma*

hemphu la=bang=ke ne=**lò**=ma

lord DEM=GNR=TOP 1=FOC=Q

‘is it me, Lord?’ (NT)

## 5 Verbal morphology and verbal phrase

This chapter gives an overview of Amri Karbi verbal morphology and verbal phrases. Verbs in Amri Karbi usually occur at the end of the clause. Amri Karbi is an agglutinating language with different types of morphemes attaching to the verb, the majority of which are suffixes. This chapter is organized as follows: The bulk of this chapter is devoted to discussing the affixes in the template of verb structure that is presented in §5.1. Then there is a description of verbal compounding §5.2 and adverbial modification §5.3.

### 5.1 Verb structure

Table 5.1 shows the structure of Amri Karbi verbs. In Amri Karbi the structure of the strings of formatives is flat, that is, not hierarchal. As can be seen from the template, a verb can have only one head or root.

Table 5.1 Template of Amri Karbi verb structure

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
CIS <i>nang=</i> 1 <i>ne=</i> 1PL.INCL <i>i=</i> 1PL.EXCL <i>hali=</i> 2 <i>nang=</i> 2PL <i>nali=</i>	NMLZ <i>ki-</i> PST <i>ki-</i>	RR <i>chi-</i> CAUS <i>pa-</i>	<b>ROOT</b>	PRED.DERIV (RDPL) (NEG)	RDPL	NEG <i>-Ce</i> IMP <i>-not</i> IMP.POL <i>-tha</i> PROH <i>-nek</i> HORT <i>-nang</i>	RL <i>-lò</i> HAB <i>-man</i> IRR2 <i>-bò</i> FUT <i>-ye</i> IRR1 <i>-bang</i> NF.RL <i>-si</i> NF.IRR <i>-ne</i> yet <i>-lang</i> DEF <i>-po</i>	TAG = <i>dik</i> ASSUM =hole/=hele CONF.Q= <i>bõ</i> or = <i>ba</i> REP = <i>tàng/=tànghò</i> Q = <i>ma</i> Q2 = <i>te</i> ADD = <i>ta</i> UNCERT = <i>ne</i> may.be = <i>mine</i> REPL = <i>to</i> INTER = <i>hõ</i> EMPH = <i>he</i> SUPP = <i>tema</i> DCL = <i>ro</i> INDEF = <i>bak</i>

In the first slot of the template there are proclitics: cislocative *nang=* and object marking clitics (first person singular *ne=*, second person *nang=* and first person plural inclusive *i=* and first

person exclusive *hali*=). Cislocative and second person object markers are identical morphemes. The second slot contains the derivational morpheme *ki*-, which is a nominalizer, and the inflectional morpheme *ki*-, which is a past tense prefix. Both morphemes originate from the same morpheme, the nominalizer *ki*-. The third slot has valency-alternating prefixes, the reflexive-reciprocal *chi*- and the causative *pa*-. The root is in the fourth slot. The fifth slot is for the predicate derivational suffixes, which is a large class with more than thirty members found in the database. The sixth slot is for reduplication. The seventh slot has the negative and imperative suffixes. The eighth slot is for tense, aspect and mood suffixes. The ninth slot has discourse particles. There are some exceptions to the template attested in the data that will be noted in the following sections. Exceptions concern the fifth slot, with reduplication (RDPL) and negation (NEG), and therefore they are put in brackets.

More than one formative of the template can attach to the root. However, there is co-occurrence restriction within the template, as the past tense prefix *ki*- cannot co-occur with other TAM suffixes. An imperative cannot appear with the nominalizer *ki*- and TAM suffixes. However, appearance restriction governs almost every slot (except slot 3 and predicate derivations in slot 5) of the template, as formatives of the same slot cannot appear simultaneously, which is in line with templatic morphology (Sympson and Withgott (1986) and others). This co-occurrence restriction provides criteria for assigning members to the templatic position.

In Amri Karbi a verb stem is a root and a predicate derivation suffix. A verb stem usually cannot form a sentence on its own, unless it is an informal imperative which has zero marking; for example, one can use a verbal stem *chó* ‘eat’ to form an imperative *chó!* ‘eat!’. Otherwise, a verb can form a sentence with at least one of the suffixes from slots 7, 8 or 2, e.g. *chó-lò* (eat-RL) ‘(he) ate’. Maximally the morphemes from five slots can attach to a verb, e.g. *nang=pa-dun-tol-ò=hole* (CIS=CAUS-join-send-RL=ASSUM) ‘(he) sent to come probably’ (elicited).

### 5.1.1 Proclitics Slot 1

This section deals with the verbal proclitics. Amri Karbi has four pronominal verbal proclitics *nang*= ‘2’, *ne*= ‘1’, *i*= ‘1PL.INCL’ and *hali*= ‘1PL.EXCL’ that also have non-proclitic pronominal alternates. Proclitic *nang*= is also a cislocative that will be discussed later in §5.1.1.2.

#### 5.1.1.1 Cross-referencing speech act participant

Proclitics *nang*= ‘2’, *ne*= ‘1’, *i*= ‘1PL.INCL’ and *hali*= ‘1PL.EXCL’ cross-reference non-subject arguments of a verb (see more on non-subject/object marking in §6). Example (5.1) shows *ne*=

‘1’ cross-referencing first person non-subject argument, example (5.2) shows *nang*= ‘2’ cross-referencing second person non-subject argument, example (5.3) shows *i*= ‘1PL.INCL’ cross-referencing first person plural inclusive non-subject argument and (5.4) shows *hali*= ‘1PL.EXCL’ cross-referencing first person plural exclusive non-subject marking.

(5.1) *ne*= ‘1’ cross-references first person non-subject argument

*alangke akengpo hlodamphlutsi tokokpoyoksi*

alang=ke a-keng-po hlo-dam-phlut-si tokok-po=yok=si  
 3=TOP POSS-foot-DEF release-go-FOC:RL tokok-DEF=NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*pakorongo nang nechoye ba nechoyepoke nangbudi*

pa-kōr-rōng-lò nang ne=chó-ye-ba ne=chó-ye-po=ke nang-budi  
 CAUS-bite-by.mistake-RL 2 1=eat-FUT-or 1=eat-FUT-DEF=TOP 2-wisdom

*dochotdik khoi*

do-chot=dik khoi  
 COP-finish=TAG friend

‘he released the foot and bit the stick by mistake, if you really want to eat me, you have a lot of wisdom, ok, friend?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(5.2) *nang*= ‘2’ cross-references second person non-subject argument

*hane nangalpiye nangalpiye pusi mengsurungpo thano*

hane nang=lang-pi-ye nang=al-pi-ye pusi mengsurung-po than-lò  
 1 2=watch-BEN-FUT 2=care-BEN-FUT QUOT fox-DEF say-RL

*ghurialpo ayok*

ghurial-po a-yok  
 crocodile-DEF POSS-NSUBJ

‘I will watch for you, I will care for you, the fox said to the crocodile’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(5.3) *i*= ‘1PL.INCL’ cross-references first person plural inclusive non-subject argument

*potte itaram do ibupe*

pot=te    **i**=taram        do    i-bù-pe

what=Q1    1PL.INCL=call    COP    1PL.INCL-grandmother-F

‘why are you calling us, grandma?’ (BT Monkey)

(5.4) *hali*= ‘1PL.EXCL’ cross-references first person plural exclusive non-subject argument

sa    **hali**=pi-lò        him    **hali**=pi-lò

tea    1PL.EXCL=give-RL    biscuit    1PL.EXCL=give-RL

‘(they) gave us tea, (they) gave us biscuits’ (MsR Meeting)

#### 5.1.1.2 Cislocative

The cislocative *nang*= (dialectal variants: *ang*=, *jang*=) marks movement towards the speaker or the deictic centre. The cislocative *nang*= is similar in form to the second person object marker *nang*=, and the meaning is differentiated through context. Konnerth (2014) gives an extensive discussion on the Karbi cislocative *nang*= originating from the second person object marker *nang*=. Amri Karbi cislocative *nang*= has likely developed through a similar path along with Karbi, but in addition Amri Karbi has developed two dialectal variants of the cislocative *nang*=: *ang*= and *jang*=. Some speakers even use the verb *wang* ‘come’ as a proclitic instead of *nang*= which has similar semantics of movement directed towards the speaker. The cislocative can be added to most of the motion and some non-motion verbs and may interact with predicate derivation suffixes of direction, associated motion and path (see more in §5.1.7) and with the reflexive-reciprocal suffix *chi*- that is described in §5.1.4. In the example (5.5), the cislocative *nang*= marks the movement of the verb *kat* ‘run’ to the deictic point which is the addressee.

(5.5) the deictic point is the addressee

*neke angkatdununetema khoi katun’e potsi*

ne=ke    **nang**=kat-dun-un-Ce=tema        khoi    kat-un-Ce        potsi

I=TOP    CIS=run-join-be.able-NEG=SUPP    friend    run-be.able-NEG    because

‘I cannot run behind you, do I, my friend, because I cannot run’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The cislocative *nang*= marks the verb *sum* ‘beat’ in (5.6) to specify that the action is directed towards the deictic point. The action of *sum* ‘beat’ in (5.6) is directed towards *lang* ‘water’.

(5.6)

*lang jangsum jangsumsi kidam tokokpopen*

lang **nang**=sum **nang**=sum-si ki-dam tokok-po=pen

see CIS=beat CIS=beat-NF:RL NMLZ-go stick-DEF=with

‘he goes and beats on the water with the stick’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The cislocative *nang*= in (5.7) marks the verb *do* ‘stay’ to cross-reference the deictic point *lang* ‘water’ and the cislocative *nang*= in this case functions as the deictic pronoun ‘there’.

(5.7)

*lang jundamo layokke lang jangkijun adung ghorialpo*

lang jùn-dam-lò la=yok=ke lang nang=ki-jùn a-dung ghorial-po

water drink-go-RL DEM=DIR=TOP water CIS=NMLZ-drink POSS-near crocodile-DEF

*jangdoweno*

**nang**=do-wen-lò

CIS=stay-already-RL

‘(fox) went to drink, at the time, near the waterfall with drinking water, the crocodile was already there’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The cislocative *nang*= can attach to non-final verbs marked with a non-final suffix. Both the main verb *kat* ‘run’ and the non-final verb *arting* ‘turn’ are marked with the cislocative *nang*= in (5.8) and the deictic point is implicit and it is the place where the rabbit started running.

(5.8)

*hohaipoke lalongparasi hohaipoke angchirtingphaksi*

hohai-po=ke la=long=para=si hohai-po=ke **nang**=chi-arting-phak-si

rabbit-DEF=TOP DEM=LOC=from=FOC:RL rabbit-DEF=TOP CIS=RR-turn-back-NF:RL

*angkathrolo*

**nang**=kat-hrol-lò

CIS=run-away-RL

‘the rabbit from that place turned back (made a U turn) and ran away’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The cislocative may appear with non-motion verbs to mark a direction towards a deictic point. As example (5.9) shows *nang*= marking the non-motion verb *rung* ‘collect’, that creates the meaning ‘come to V’, the deictic point in (5.9) is the speaker.

(5.9)

*bus hendumanpo poisa nangrungngo*

bus henduman-po poisa **nang**=rung-lò

bus conductor-DEF money CIS=collect-RL

‘bus conductor came to collect money’ (JB Bus)

Another example where cislocative marks a non-motion verb is shown in (5.10) where the cislocative *nang*= marks the verbs *kan* ‘dance’ and *lún* ‘sing’ creating the meaning ‘go and V’ and cross-referencing the deictic point *penpo hem* ‘the house of the area boundary keeper’.

(5.10)

*penpo hem along alangli angkanbo anglunbo*

pen-po hēm a-long alangli **nang**-kan-bò **nang**-lún-bò

area.boundary.keeper house POSS-LOC 3PL CIS=dance-IRR2 CIS=sing-IRR2

‘they will come and dance and sing in the house of the area boundary keeper’ (TI Puja)

Example (5.11) shows *wang* ‘come’ used as a cislocative. The context in (5.11) is similar to the context in (5.5) above, i.e the deictic point is the addressee. Both examples come from narratives of two different speakers.

(5.11) *wang* ‘to come’ as a cislocative

*thūr-bò monon=ke ne=ta ne=khoi-po wang=hleng-dun-bò=mine*

stand.up-IRR2 now=TOP 1=ADD 1=friend-DEF come=reach-join-IRR2=may.be

‘I need to stand up and now my friend is running behind me, maybe’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

### 5.1.2 Nominalizer *ki-*, Slot 2

The nominalizer *ki-* is a productive morpheme that can be attached to all the verbs. The nominalizer *ki-* is used to derive nouns that denote events, for example *ki-lang* (NMLZ-see), and *ki-jor* (NMLZ-sell) in (5.12). The subordinate clauses, including relative, adverbial and complement clauses (§9.1) are all constructed with the nominalizer *ki-*. The nominalizer *ki-* is not productive in deriving participant nominalizations however, which is different to some of the Tibeto-Burman languages (see Matisoff (1972), DeLancey (1999, 2002), Genetti et al. (2008), and many others). In order to construct participant nominalizations, a nominalized verb needs to attach one of definiteness markers, *-po* or *-hel*, see details in §5.1.13. This type of construction is linked to the headless relative clauses described in §10.1.3. The nominalizer *ki-* has been reanalysed as a past tense marker on finite verbs, see the next section as well as §8.1.2 and §12.9 for the full account.

(5.12)

*nangli laba kijor akime hlongmanma*

nangli	la=bang	ki-jor	a-ki-me	hlong-man=ma
2PL	DEM-GNR	NMLZ-buy	POSS-NMLZ-be.good	get-HAB=Q

The nominalizer *ki-* has an allomorph *ka-* and a marginal allomorph *ku-*. The allomorphy of the nominalizer *ki-/ka-* is mostly regulated by the number of syllables in a verb before nominalization. If the verb stem is no more than one syllable, the nominalizer will have the *ki-* form; if the verb is more than one syllable the nominalizer will have the *ka-* form. The prefixes *pa-* ‘CAUS’ and reflexive *chi-* ‘RR’ may also be counted to the number of syllables of the verb.

Monosyllabic verb root

*ki-wang*

‘NMLZ-come’

‘coming’

Dissyllabic verb root

*ka-phere*

‘NMLZ-be.afraid’

‘being scared’

Dissyllabic stem because of a prefix

*ka-chi-lang*

‘NMLZ-RR-see’

‘seeing’

*ka-pa-hleng*

‘NMLZ-CAUS-reach’

‘making reach’

The rule of syllable quantity is quite pervasive in Amri Karbi. There is a handful exceptions to this rule, as some two-syllable verbs, in addition to the prefix *ki-*, can also carry *ka-* form. As a result, these exhibit free variation between *ki-* and *ka-* in a limited amount of words. One of the most frequent examples is the word *tiki* ‘work’ which, being a two-syllable word, qualifies for the prefix *ka-*, *katiki*, but the speakers may also use the prefix *ki-* with this word *kitiki*.

There is a peripheral allomorph *ku-* of the nominalizer *ki-*. This allomorphy is not guided by the number of syllables in a verb. *ku-* occurs only on words with the initial /w/, which suggests that the allomorphy is triggered by the assimilation of the vowel /i/ of the prefix *ki-* to the rounded vowel /u/, e.g. *wang* ‘come’ – *kuwang*, *wan* ‘bring’ – *kuwan*. This variation is not shared by all Amri Karbi speakers as only some of the speakers in the database produced it, particularly from Lower Amri.

Nominalized verbs can take nominal morphology including the plural *-hel* and the definite *-po*, but they do not take the possessive prefix *a-* (except adjectival verbs that usually take it). Event nominalizations can be created from the verbal complex that includes morphemes from slots 1 to 6 and the negative suffix from slot 7.

### 5.1.3 Past tense *ki-*, Slot 2

The prefix *ki-* occurs on finite verbs and in those cases it functions as a past tense marker; in other words, the nominalizer *ki-* has been reanalysed as a past tense marker on finite verbs. The past tense *ki-* is the only prefix among Amri Karbi TAM affixes. In Karbi Konnerth (2014) reports that the nominalizer *ke-* also occurs on main verbs and functions as an imperfective. The Amri Karbi prefix *ki-* consistently occurs on main verbs as a past tense marker that has utterance time as the reference point and the event that it marks happened before that point. Past tense functions of the prefix *ki-* are described in §8.1.2.

#### 5.1.4 Reflexive and reciprocal *chi-*, Slot 3

The functions of the prefix *chi-* resemble those of the reflexive in other languages, but besides that, it also has some sub-functions in Amri Karbi, namely benefactive, collective plurality of the subject, possessive, emphasising the subject and extending the meaning of the verbs *wan* ‘bring’ and *lang* ‘see’. The prefix *chi-* also functions as a reciprocal. The various meanings of *chi-* are distinguished through the context. The prefix *chi-* co-occurs with the reflexive pronoun *bithang*; it also marks reciprocity, therefore it is glossed as a reflexive-reciprocal in the data. The reflexive-reciprocal prefix *chi-* is an old morpheme and it has lexicalized in some verbs.

##### *Reflexive*

The prefix *chi-* marks a verb to indicate that a subject acts upon itself; in other words, it functions as a reflexive. Example (5.13) shows the transitive verb *thulwol* ‘fold’ carrying *chi-*, which makes the subject and object argument of the verb identical.

(5.13)

*aro anang sango tene batluamu badisi chithulwolman*  
aro anang sāng-lò tene batluamu badi=si **chi-thulwol-man**  
and 3 rest-RL then ball as=FOC:RL RR-fold-HAB  
‘when he rests, he folds himself round like a ball’ (PI Pangolin)

The reflexive pronoun *bithang* often co-occurs with the reflexive prefix on the verb. Example (5.14) shows how *bithang* ‘self’ is used when the subject is co-referential with the non-subject. The co-occurrence of the pronoun *bithang* with the prefix *chi-* is not obligatory as we saw in (5.13) above for reflexive meaning. In (5.14) *bithang* brings metaphorical meaning ‘lose ourselves’<sup>26</sup>, so it is not necessary for literal reflexive meaning ‘get lost’ that is shown in (5.15).

(5.14)

*aro ilibithangsi chipangbohlongman*  
aro ili-bithang=si **chi-pa-ingbo-hlong-man**  
and 1PL.INCL-SELF=FOC:RL RR-CAUS-lose-get-HAB  
‘and we get to lose ourselves’ (BR Lying cowboy)

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<sup>26</sup> This metaphor appears in the context where the speaker tells that telling lies can hurt ourselves.

(5.15)

*labang homoisi arnampe aso chingbojango*

la=bang homoi=si arnam-pe a-so **chi-ingbo-jang-lò**

DEM=GNR time=FOC:RL god-F POSS-child RR-lose-off-RL

‘that time the goddess’ child got lost’ (KP Honghora)

*Reciprocal*

The reflexive prefix *chi-* also functions as a reciprocal, which is when each participant functions both as a subject and an object (5.16).

(5.16)

*manta halabang athepo ili hekpensonang pusi*

manta ha=la=bang a-the-po ili hek-pen-sonang pusi

but DIST.DEM=DEM=GNR POSS-fruit-DEF 1PL.EXCL pluck-really- HORT:EMPH QUOT

*anali chithano*

anali **chi**-than-lò

3PL RR-say-RL

‘but before going let us pluck this fruit, they said to each other’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

*Autobenefactive*

There are reflexive constructions in Amri Karbi that involve the reflexive *chi-* that creates extended meanings of identical subject and object argument of the verb. In example (5.17), *chi-* marks the verb *bi* ‘keep’ for autobenefactive meaning where the benefactor and the benefactee are the same.

(5.17)

*angkhanke kicho ayok chibiman aro angkhanke jorman*

angkhan=ke ki-chó a-yok **chi**-bi-man aro angkhan=ke jor-man

some=TOP NMLZ-eat POSS-PURP RR-keep-HAB and some=TOP sell-HAB

‘some we keep for ourselves for eating and some we sell’ (TI Vegetables)

*Sub-functions of the prefix chi-*

One of the functions of the prefix *chi-* is to indicate the collective plurality of the subject. Example (5.18) shows that the prefix *chi-* on the verb indicates plurality of the subject and that the subject acts as a big group or together and not upon themselves.

(5.18)

*hemsar nitu nihang domanta analike*

hēmsar	nitu	nihang	do-man=ta	anali=ke
elders.of.clan	north	south	exist-HAB=ADD	3PL=TOP

*chipangrumdetsi minonhok minonpara alangli dolo*

<b>chi</b> -pangrum-det-si	minon=hok	minon=para	alangli	do-lò
RR-gather-all-NF:RL	now=till	now=from	3PL	stay-RL

‘they all came together, those who are on the north or the south, from today onwards they (clans) stay (in Penpo)’ (TI Bihu)

Sometimes *chi-* can also mark verbs for dual subjects (5.19), indicating the meaning ‘together’ or that the subject acted in agreement.

(5.19)

*katnang pusi kachithang aporparake alangli ilong*

kat-nang	pu-si	ka- <b>chi-thang</b>	a-por=para=ke	alangli	i-long
run-HORT	say-NF:RL	NMLZ-RR-say	POSS-time=from=TOP	3PL	one-CLF:LOC

*ajaga kikat asin chipilo*

a-jaga	ki-kat	a-sin	chi- pi-lò
POSS-place	NMLZ-run	POSS-line	RR-give-RL

‘when they decided to run, both of them, they put a (finish) line at one place’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The reflexive *chi-* also marks that the subject is the possessor of the object. Example (5.20) shows that *chi-* marks the verb *en* ‘take’ that creates the meaning of taking something that belongs to the subject.

(5.20)

*ango ahupopara kipi adunglepo*

ango a-hu-po=para ki-pi a-dungle-po  
before POSS-father-in-law-M=from NMLZ-give POSS near-DEF

*ahupohel kachienphak ayoksi*

a-hu-po-hel ki-**chi**-en-phak a-yok-si  
POSS-father-in-law-M-PL NMLZ-RR-take-back POSS-PURP-NF:RL

‘his father-in-law wanted to take back his land that he has given’ (MI One man)

*chi-* may also co-occur with the reflexive pronoun *bithang*, as in example (5.21), where the possession is intensified with the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun *abithang* ‘their own’.

(5.21)

*anali laan abithang asal chitikang anali wang do*

anali laan **a-bithang** a-sal **chi**-tikang anali wang do  
they this.much POSS-self POSS-work RR-leave 3pl come COP

‘they left their own work and came’ (BR Lying cowboy)

The prefix *chi-* can also function as an emphatic. Example (5.22) shows that *chi-* marks the verb *padem* ‘repair’ as an emphatic for the subject *ne* ‘1’, resulting in ‘myself’.

(5.22) *chi-* as an emphatic

*neke hem chipademde tene konamte padembo pulo*

**ne**=ke hēm **chi**-padem-Ce tene konam=te padem-bò pu-lò  
1=TOP house RR-repair-NEG then when=Q2 repair-IRR2 say-RL

‘if I do not repair myself, then when will I repair’ (BT Monkey)

The prefix *chi-* extends the meaning of verbs *wan* ‘bring’, *pon* ‘take’ and *làng* ‘look’. The prefix *chi-* can yield the meaning ‘along’ on the ditransitive verbs *wan* ‘bring’ and *pon* ‘take’. Example (5.23) shows *chi-* occurring on the verb *wan* ‘bring’ for the meaning ‘bring along’. Example (5.24) shows *chi-* on *pon* ‘to take’ to create the meaning ‘along with’.

(5.23)

*aro hat phuri-dam-si ji(Assm) ki-hong la-hel la=bang-so-mar*  
and market roam-go-NF:RL whatever NMLZ-get DEM-PL DEM=GNR-DIM-PL

*chi-wan-si tun-dang-si chó-man*

RR-bring-NF:RL cook-clear-NF:RL eat-HAB

‘and whatever she got in the market she brought it and cooked and ate (with her daughter)’

(PM Bilangthe)

(5.24) *chi-* on *pon* ‘take’

*aro labang osopeyok Balingthepiyok chipondetno*

aro la=bang oso-pe=yok PN:Bilangthe-pe=yok **chi-pon-det-lò**

and DEM=GNR child-F=NSUBJ Bilingthe-F=NSUBJ RR-take-all-RL

‘and he (the snake) took that girl, Bilangthe (along with him)’ (PM Bilangthe)

The prefix *chi-* occurs on the verb *làng* ‘look’ to extend its meaning into ‘check’. Example (5.25) shows *chi-* occurring on the verb *lang* where it says that the sick person was taken to Guwahati hospital for checking.

(5.25)

*manta konam Guwahati ayok kachilang ayok kipon*

manta konam Guwahati a-yok ki-**chi-làng** a-yok ki-pon

but when Guwahati POSS-DIR NMLZ-RR-look POSS-PURP NMLZ-take

‘but when (they) took (her) to Guwahati (hospital) for checking’ (PR Witchcraft)

*Lexicalized roots with chi-*

The prefix *chi-* has lexicalized in some expressions: *viso kachien* ‘marry/get wife’ *pihan kachien* ‘marry/get husband’. *chi-* has lexicalized on some forms that do not exist anymore without *chi-* for example: *chibuchom* ‘be born’, *chiplang* ‘happen, become’, *chiron* ‘think’, *chiklang* ‘appear’, *chiru(l)* ‘return/come back’, *chiphar* ‘happen’, *chirli* ‘learn’, *chingda* ‘be born’, *chirap* ‘help’, *chini* ‘know’, etc.

### 5.1.5 Causative *pa-*, Slot 3

Causative constructions in Amri Karbi are formed with the prefix *pa-* as demonstrated in example (5.26), where the causer *apensohelke* ‘the men’ initiates an action that makes the causee *théngpe* ‘tree’ to undergo change of state *krep* ‘fall down’.

(5.26)

*apensohelke théngpe aghai aghai thusi pakrepman*

a-penso-hel=ke théngpe aghai aghai thu-si **pa-krep-man**  
 POSS-man-PL=TOP tree big ~ big cut-NF:RL CAUS-fall.down-HAB  
 ‘the men cut big trees and make them fall down’ (Tul Field2)

The causative *pa-* attached to a verb also creates the meaning ‘make someone carry out the action’ (5.27).

(5.27)

alangi ladi abudi nepahlophlutno  
 alang=si ladi a-budi **ne=pa-hlophlut-lò**  
 3=FOC:RL so POSS-wisdom 1=CAUS-release-RL  
 ‘oh, he made me release him with his wisdom’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

When a verb marked with the causative *pa-* occurs with the verb *tol* ‘send’, the meaning is ‘let/allow someone do something’ (5.28).

(5.28)

*nipachotolthakto bekso*  
**ne=pa-chó-tol-tha=to** bek-so  
 1=CAUS-eat-send-IMP.POL=RPL be.little-DIM  
 ‘please, allow me to eat a little then’ (BM Monkey and fox)

According to my language consultants, it is possible to use the double causative suffix *pa-pa-* in a request of someone to do something through somebody. In an elicited example (5.29) a third person asks Babani to ask Nailya to feed the third person’s children.

(5.29)

*Babani, Nailya niso papacho!*

PN:Babani PN:Nailya ni-so **pa-pa-chó**

Babani Nailya 1-child CAUS-CAUS-eat

‘Babani, ask Nailya to feed my children!’ (elicited)

The double causative has not been found in the database of the natural speech; it is, however, found to be used in the New Testament translation. Example (5.30) shows the double causative *pa-pa-* marking the verb *arju* ‘to ask’ when the communication happened through messengers.

(5.30)

*aro hemphu adung analiyok tolsi anang paparjutolo*

aro hēmp̄hu a-dung anali=yok tol-si anang **pa-pa-arju-tol**<sup>27</sup>-lò

and lord POSS-near 3PL=NSUBJ send-NF:RL 3 CAUS-CAUS-ask-send-RL

‘and he (John the Baptist) sent them to the Lord to ask him’ (NT)

#### 5.1.5.1.1 Lexicalized roots with *pa-*

Similarly to the prefix *chi-*, the prefix *pa-* has lexicalized in some words: *paklang* ‘to show’<sup>28</sup>, *padem* ‘to repair’, *paning* ‘skirt’<sup>29</sup>, *parklam* ‘to praise’<sup>30</sup>, etc.

#### 5.1.5.1.2 Interaction of reflexive *chi-* and causative *pa-*

The reflexive-reciprocal *chi-* and the causative *pa-* can occur on the same verb. The order of these morphemes may vary from *chi-pa-* to *pa-chi-*, with *chi-pa-* occurring more often in the data. The meaning may vary as the order of the morphemes varies. However, determining the exact meaning of each combination depends on the context, as the prefix *chi-* may function in different ways. Example (5.31) shows a transitive verb *pule* ‘read’ that is marked with the prefix *chi-* to reduce its valency and then marked with the causative *pa-* to indicate that the

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<sup>27</sup> The verb *tol* ‘send’ is used here in its original sense ‘send’ and not ‘allow’ as it is sometimes, if marked with the causative *pa-*.

<sup>28</sup> There is no verb *klang* in Amri Karbi, but there is a transitive verb *làng* ‘look’ which is obviously etymologically related to *klang*.

<sup>29</sup> There is a verb *ining* ‘sit’ that might be related to the word *paning* ‘skirt’.

<sup>30</sup> There is a noun *lam* ‘word’ which is likely to be in the etymology of *parklam*.

causer (the speaker) makes the causee (those who will go to school) fulfil the action of *pule* ‘read’.

(5.31)

*haneuskul hane pachipuleye meadsi pachirliye*

hane-uskul hane **pa-chi**-pule-ye mé-ad=si pa-chirli-ye

1-school 1 CAUS-RR-read-FUT be.good-very=FOC:RL CAUS-learn-FUT

‘in my school I will let them read and let them learn very well’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The analysis of the *chi-pa-* combination is not straightforward. In both examples (5.32) and (5.33) where *chi-pa-* is used, *chi-pa-* marks the transitive verb *ingho* ‘lose something’ in a way that *pa-* increases the valency of the verb, i.e. ‘cause someone/something to lose someone/something’; then the prefix *chi-* either decreases the valency or has one of the functions discussed above in §5.1.4. In example (5.32), the subject of the verb *ingbo* is *anang* ‘he’ (the boy) who causes *anangjibonpo* ‘his life’ to the action of ‘lose itself’. In (5.33) with the combination of *chi-pa-*, the literal translation of the verb is ‘we are caused to get to lose ourselves’.

(5.32)

*labang osopo asisit alam kithanpo para anangjibonpo anang*

la=bang oso-po a-sisit a-lam ki-than-po=para anang-jibon-po anang  
DEM=GNR child-M POSS-lie POSS-word NMLZ-say-DEF=from 3-life-DEF 3

*chipangbolo*

**chi-pa**-ingbo-lò

RR-CAUS-lose-RL

‘the boy lost his life because of telling lie’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(5.33)

*aro ilibithangsi chipangbohlongman*

aro ili-bithang=si                    **chi-pa**-ingbo-hlong-man

and 1PL.INCL-SELF=FOC:RL RR-CAUS-lose-get-HAB

‘and we get to lose ourselves’ (BR Lying cowboy)

There might be more complex combinations of *chi-* and *pa-* in the language. In example (5.34), *pa-* occurs twice with *chi-* in-between. The meaning of *pa-chi-pa-* marking the verb along with the hortative *-nang* is ‘let somebody him/herself do something’. According to my language consultants, the ordering of *pa-chi-pa-* can also be *pa-pa-chi-* without the change of meaning in (5.34), however the combination *chi-pa-pa-* is not acceptable.

(5.34)

*parake nekhoipo akethima pusi*

para-ke ne-khoi-po a-ke-thí=ma            pusi

then 1-friend-DEF POSS-NMLZ-die=Q QUOT

*pachipapunang pu do manta akethi kalek*

**pa-chi-pa**-pu-nang                    pu do manta a-ke-thí                    kalēk

CAUS-RR-CAUS-say-HORT say COP but POSS-NMLZ-die NEG.EQ.COP

‘so, let my friend, himself say/think, ‘is my friend dead’ (crocodile) says, but (I am) not dead’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

### 5.1.6 *cho-* ‘autobenefactive/malefactive’

The autobenefactive prefix *cho-* that is attested in Karbi (Konnerth 2014) is not attested in modern Amri Karbi. According to my language consultants, nowadays prefix *cho-* is used only in traditional religious practices. However, in the data it appears that some people use *cho-pon* AUTOBEN-take ‘steal’ or *chonghu* ‘steal’ instead of the usual *chinghu* for the verb ‘steal’. Some other words with the prefix *cho-* include *chobel* ‘deceive’, where *cho-* has lexicalized and there is no longer a word *bel* in the language. *cho-* also shows to be functioning as a malefactive on the verb *ingnek* ‘laugh’, i.e. *choingnek* with the meaning ‘mock’.

### 5.1.7 Predicate derivation suffixes, Slot 5

Amri Karbi has a large class of semantically rich predicate derivation suffixes that follow the verbal root in slot 5 of the verbal template. This type of suffix is found in other Tibeto-

Burman/Trans-Himalayan languages and has been referred to in a variety of ways (see Post 2014:5). I follow Post (2014) in choosing the term *predicate derivation suffixes* to describe the formatives in question. Justly, some members of the Amri Karbi predicate derivation suffixes, especially the ones that synchronically have homophonous verb roots, could be referred to as compounding roots; however, due to similarities in structural properties as well as convenience in presenting the entire verb structure, I include them all in one category called predicate derivations.

A predicate derivation suffix is not a final suffix unless the predicate is in the imperative or negated. About fifty-four predicate derivation suffixes have been found so far; the function of predicate derivations is to structurally expand and semantically modify the predicate. Even though they are called suffixes, phonologically they resemble verb stems in a way that many of them have CVC syllable structure, which is unusual to most affixes in Amri Karbi that have either CV or V syllable structure. Morphologically, however, they should be treated as dependant parts of the verbal structure as affixes are attached to the entire verbal complex that may contain a predicate derivation suffix. Sometimes a negative suffix or reduplication may appear right after the verb root before the predicate derivation suffix. This fact suggests that predicate derivations used to be separate verbs. Some modal predicate suffixes present more evidence for morphological independence of the predicate derivation suffixes; this will be discussed further in the section.

#### 5.1.7.1 Structural properties

Amri Karbi predicate derivation suffixes are morphologically bound and mostly optional. They are semantically rich and complex. Some of the suffixes have homophonous verb roots, but some of them have no such corresponding form in modern Amri Karbi. As expected, those that do not have a corresponding form do not occur outside the predicate. Some of them are productive and some of them attach to only a few or just one verb host root. There might be more than one predicate derivation suffix stacked to the verb root. Some suffixes have different meaning depending on their host; for example, the predicate derivation suffix *-klak* has the meaning ‘sound of hitting by a stick’ with the verb *pām* ‘hit’, and ‘eating the same thing every day’ with the verb *chó* ‘eat’. The list of suffixes provided in this grammar, contains about thirty items, is not exhaustive.

### 5.1.7.2 Negation of predicate derivation suffixes

When a verb with the predicate derivation is negated, negation has scope over either the whole predicate or to the predicate derivation. One plausible explanation for this variation is that the scope of negation to the whole predicate occurs when a predicate derivation is semantically merged with the verb, while the scope of negation to the predicate derivation only occurs when a predicate derivation is semantically still separate from the verb. Further research and more data are required to identify whether there is a group of predicate derivations that would employ a particular negation strategy.

Example (5.35) illustrates the negation on two verbs with the predicate derivation suffixes; both verbs have negative suffixes appearing after the predicate derivation suffix and the predicate derivation suffix is negated. Both these examples were elicited for illustration of negation scope.

(5.35)

<i>tungtangtelang</i>	<i>borketke</i>
tung-tàng-Ce-lang	bor-ket-Ce
cook-finish-NEG-yet	wrap-tight-NEG
‘not yet finished cooking’	‘wrap but not tightly’ (elicited)

Example (5.36) comes from natural data that shows the scope of negation on entire verb *thék-dun-de* (know-follow-NEG) ‘did not know’

(5.36) scope of negation on entire verb

*mirthike unkrengo manta thek potpotbadi chiporhelone*  
 mirthi=ke          un-kreng-lò          manta thek          pot~potbadi          chiporhe-lò=ne  
 matric.exam=TOP    be.able-all-RL          but          know how~how          learn-RL=UNCERT

*ingyongne neke thekdunde potsi chininelo*  
 ingyong=ne          ne=ke **thék-dun-Ce**          potsi          chini-Ce-lò  
 NEG.EX.COP=INDEF    1=TOP know-follow-NEG    because    know-NEG-RL  
 ‘(though) they all could pass the metric exam, I did not know whether they studied or not, because I do not know anything (uneducated)’ (TuI Education)

Example (5.37) shows negation of a verb that also has predicate derivation suffix *-dun* as in (5.36), but this time the verb root, which is *làng* ‘look’ is not negated and the predicate derivation suffix *-dun* is negated.

(5.37)

*chiklo jonni dorde lengke anang*

chiklo jon-ni                    dor-Ce                    lengke                    anang  
 month CLF:month-two    complete-NEG    until                    3

*jangchilangdundeyongo mengsurungpo ahem ayok*

nang=chi-làng-dun-Ce-yong-lò                    mengsurung-po    a-hēm                    a-yok  
 CIS=RR-look-follow-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL    fox-DEF                    POSS-house    POSS-DIR

‘he (the crocodile) did not come to see the fox’s house until two months have not passed’  
 (RB Fox and crocodile)

### 5.1.7.3 Functional property of predicate derivations

For convenience, the Amri Karbi predicate derivations have been divided in this chapter according to their subsequent functions. The following sections present predicate derivations according to their common functions: manner, direction, argument emphasis structure, aspect/aktionsart and others. Since these functions relate to a wide range of grammatical categories, the description of the functions of some of the predicate derivation suffixes will be described or enhanced in other parts of grammar as well.

#### 5.1.7.3.1 Manner

Predicate derivation suffixes of manner semantically enrich verbs with the meaning that describe how something happens or how something is done. Table 5.2 provides the list of predicate derivations of manner, with their meaning, possible verb hosts and origin, when known.

Table 5.2 Predicate derivations of manner

Form	Gloss	Verb hosts	Origin
<i>-chot/-chet</i>	‘closer, a little bit’ ‘just’	<i>jùn</i> ‘drink’	
<i>-chot</i>	‘most’	productive	
<i>-ket</i>	‘tightly’	<i>bor</i> ‘wrap’, <i>ingnak</i> ‘tie’	
<i>-lok</i>	‘loosely’	<i>bor</i> ‘wrap’, <i>ingnak</i> ‘tie’	
<i>-dung</i>	‘hold, whole’	<i>en</i> ‘take’, <i>kōr</i> ‘bite’	<i>dun</i> ‘join’
<i>-er</i>	‘left out’	<i>do</i> ‘stay’	
<i>-job</i>	‘just’	<i>chó</i> ‘eat’	
<i>-hol/-hrol</i>	‘without informing’	<i>dam</i> ‘go’	
<i>-thip</i>	‘tight’	<i>kōr</i> ‘bite’, <i>ingnak</i> ‘tie’, <i>inghap</i> ‘close, shut’	<i>thip</i> ‘tie cloth tightly’
<i>-rōng</i>	‘again’, ‘by mistake’	<i>kōr</i> ‘bite’, <i>dam</i> ‘go’	
<i>-dong</i>	‘(win) over somebody’, ‘hold’	<i>hal</i> ‘win’, <i>kengdong</i> ‘be straight’ <i>kordong</i> ‘bite and hold’	
<i>-ong</i>	‘be much’	productive	<i>ong</i> ‘be much/many’
<i>-phlak</i>	‘very’	<i>klem</i> ‘shake’	
<i>-kel</i>	‘NEG.DRV’	productive	
<i>-jol</i>	‘secretly’	<i>en</i> ‘take’	
<i>-jang</i>	‘off’	<i>ingbong</i> ‘lose’	
<i>-bok</i>	‘badly’	<i>mari</i> ‘kill’	
<i>-bak</i>	‘INDEF’	productive	
<i>-sit</i>	‘asleep’	<i>jang</i> ‘fall’	
<i>-jap</i>	‘be plenty, available’	<i>do</i> ‘COP’	

Two predicate derivation suffixes of manner *-ong* ‘be much’ and *-chot* ‘most’ create comparative constructions described in §6.6. The suffix *-ong* has a corresponding adjectival verb *ong* ‘be much’. Some examples of predicate derivations of manner are offered in (5.38) - (5.40). Example (5.39) has two predicate derivation suffixes on the same verb *-kel* ‘negative’

and *-bak* ‘INDEF’. Example (5.40) shows predicate derivation suffix *-rong* ‘again’ on the verb *dam* ‘go’.

(5.38) predicate derivation suffix *-bok* ‘badly’

*aro anangyok alaibilaisi labadi laba osopoyok maribokmo*

aro anang=yok alaibilai=si labadi la=bang oso-po=yok mari-**bok**-lò  
 and 3=NSUBJ very.bad=FOC:RL like.this DEM=GNR child-M kill-badly-RL  
 ‘and like this the boy was killed very badly’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(5.39)

*anangaipeke arjukelbakngo sal katiki along*

anang-ai-pe=ke arju-**kel-bak**-lò sal ki-tiki a-long  
 3-mother-F=TOP hear-negative-INDEF-RL work NMLZ-work POSS-LOC  
 ‘its (baby’s) mother did not probably hear because of hard work’ (PaI Pangolin)

(5.40)

*kenehe skul kidameke arilo parake neke skul*

kene=he skul ki-dam-ye=ke a-ri-lò parake ne=ke skul  
 something=EMPH school NMLZ-go-FUT=TOP POSS-desire-RL then I=TOP school

*damrong te hem asal katiki abang we potsi*

dam-**rong** tene hēm a-sal ki-tiki a-bang we potsi  
 go-again then house POSS-work NMLZ-work POSS-GNR NEG.EX.COP2 because  
 ‘I wanted to go to school, but then if I went to school again there would not be anyone to  
 work at home, that’s why’ (TuI Education)

The predicate derivation suffix *-bak* marks predicates for uncertainty. Example (5.41) shows *-bak* marking the copula *do* to express speaker’s uncertainty that the event is taking place or speaker’s assumption about the event, which is translated in English ‘I assume’.

(5.41)

*basi-jeng do-bak=hole*

clean-CONT COP-INDEF=ASSUM

‘(the people) are cleaning, I assume’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 5.1.7.3.2 Ideophonic manner

Ideophonic manner predicate derivations imitate sounds of action or movements. Table 5.3 offers the list of some of the ideophonic manner suffixes. They usually are of low productivity and occur with limited verbs hosts. Example (5.42) illustrates ideophonic suffix *-phlut* ‘sound.of.running’.

Table 5.3 Predicate derivations of ideophonic manner

Ideophonic suffix	Gloss	Verb host
<i>-klok</i>	‘sound of woodcutting’	<i>pu</i> ‘split’
<i>-bup</i>	‘sound of beating with force till the person dies’, ‘falling badly with injuries’, ‘jackfruit falling sound’	<i>pām</i> ‘beat’, <i>jang</i> ‘fall’
<i>-dham</i>	‘sound of falling and splitting in pieces’	<i>jang</i> ‘fall’
<i>-klak</i>	‘sound of hitting by a stick’ ‘eating same thing every day’	<i>pām</i> ‘hit’ <i>chó</i> ‘eat’
<i>-phlut</i>	‘sound of running’	<i>hlo/ho</i> ‘release’
<i>-plok</i>	‘sound of water splash, when something has fallen in water’	<i>war</i> ‘throw far’

(5.42)

*alangi ladi abudine pahlophlutno*

alang=si ladi a-budi=ne pa-hlo-**phlut**-lò

3=FOC:RL like.this POSS-wisdom=FOC:IRR CAUS-release-sound.of.running-RL

'he only, with such wisdom, made me immediately release (him)' (RB Fox and crocodile)

### 5.1.7.3.3 Argument-emphasising

Argument-emphasising predicate derivations, listed in Table 5.4, emphasise rather than determine the argument structure of the verb. Some of these predicate derivations may be either patient-oriented or subject-oriented depending on transitivity and some are always either patient-oriented or subject-oriented regardless of the verb's transitivity. The predicate derivation suffix *-det* shows to be a special suffix, due to its productivity, high frequency and function not only on verbs but also as an intensifier on nouns (see §4.2.5.2). It might be so that, in the case of the suffix *-det*, we might be dealing with some type of a category that belongs to neither the regular predicate derivation category of suffixes nor the regular Amri Karbi TAM category, because it can appear with and even require another TAM marker on a verb. At the same time, the suffix *-det* is different from other argument structure predicate derivation suffixes in that it frequently appears as a second predicate derivation suffix that tends to move further from the root, discussed later in §5.1.7.5. Karbi also has *-det*, which is called a post-stem aspect (Konnerth 2014:275) and has three semantic components: perfectivity, exhaustiveness, and a stance of negative evaluation. Karbi *-det* is different from Amri Karbi *-det* in that it is not an argument-oriented predicate derivation that alternates between subject and patient orientation depending on the verb's transitivity. Amri Karbi *-det* could also be analysed as a post-stem aspect rather than a predicate derivation suffix, but there are some reasons in favour of the derivation suffix analysis. The first reason is that functionally it seems like some other argument-emphasising predicate derivation suffixes in switching between subject and patient orientation. The second reason is that it requires other TAM markers for a verb to function as a predicate. And the third evidence is that the suffix *-det* can be negated and grammatical TAM morphemes cannot.

Since argument-structure-emphasising predicate derivation suffixes interact with the argument structure of a verb, they are discussed in the chapter on Grammatical relations (§6.2.5). Also, since these predicate derivations influence the internal constituency of the situation in that they express the material 'wholeness' of the argument involved which is related to the function of

aspect, the productive argument-emphasising suffixes are discussed again in the chapter that deals with the TAM system (§8.5.2).

Table 5.4 Argument-emphasising predicate derivations

Form	Meaning	Host verb
<i>-phrong</i>	‘each subject’	<i>en</i> ‘take’ <i>làng</i> ‘look’, <i>kōr</i> ‘bite’
<i>-det</i>	‘all object’ with transitive ‘all subject’ with intransitive	productive
<i>-jo</i>	‘plural subject’	<i>ingreng</i> ‘animals/insects make.sound’; <i>chingphar</i> ‘bloom’, <i>suru</i> ‘cry’ (humans and non-humans) <i>hang</i> ‘shout’ <i>chiprong</i> ‘quarrel’ <i>chipām</i> ‘beat’ <i>chithan</i> ‘talk with each other’ <i>chitaram</i> ‘call each other’
<i>-plak/-pung</i>	‘mass action’	<i>dam</i> ‘go’, <i>lún</i> ‘sing’, <i>dung</i> ‘follow’
<i>-kreng</i>	‘all, everybody/everything subject’ for both transitive and intransitive	productive
<i>-phrod</i>	‘object all, everybody, nobody left’	productive
<i>-jal</i>	‘everywhere’, ‘each other’	<i>thak</i> ‘divide’ <i>h(l)ong</i> ‘get’ <i>jal</i> ‘roam’, ‘play’
<i>-rul</i>	‘plural subject’ for intransitive, ‘plural object’ for transitive	<i>ingning</i> ‘sit’, <i>dam</i> ‘go’, <i>chó</i> ‘eat’, <i>thék</i> ‘see’,
<i>-ren</i>	‘plural subject’	<i>rok</i> ‘cut’

#### 5.1.7.3.4 Direction and Associated motion/action

Predicate derivation suffixes of direction extend motion verbs with the meaning of direction ‘away’, ‘back’, ‘out’; the derivation suffix *dam* ‘go’ may attach to any verb and add the meaning of associated motion. The predicate derivation suffix *-dun* occurs in the situation when the

action is happening in the background of another action, as in example (5.43), where the narrator is talking about her children’s education and how she could not follow the progress of their education.

Table 5.5 provides the list of suffixes of direction and associated motion.

Table 5.5 Predicate derivation of direction and associated motion

Form	Gloss	Verb host	Origin
<i>-dun</i>	‘join, follow’	productive	<i>dun</i> ‘follow’
<i>-dam</i>	‘go’	productive	<i>dam</i> ‘go’
<i>-phak</i>	‘again, back’	productive	
<i>-pok</i>	‘out’	<i>be</i> ‘keep’	
<i>-rhol</i>	‘away’	<i>kat</i> ‘run’, <i>tol</i> ‘send’	

(5.43)

*mirthike unkrengo manta thek potpotbadi chiporhelone*

mirthi=ke un-kreng-lò manta thék pot~potbadi chiporhe-lò=ne  
 matric.exam=TOP be.able-all-RL but know how~how learn-RL=UNCERT

*ingyongne neke thekdunde potsi chininelo*

ingyong=ne ne=ke **thék-dun-Ce** potsi chini-ne-lò  
 NEG.EX.COP=UNCERT 1=TOP know-follow-NEG because know-NEG-RL

‘(though) they all could pass the metric exam, I did not know whether they studied or not, because I do not know anything (uneducated)’ (TuI Education)

*-dam* ‘go’ occurs very frequently in the data as a suffix as well as a verb; it marks associated motion with an action. Example (5.44) shows *dam* marking the verb *làng* ‘look’.

(5.44) predicate derivation suffix *-dam* ‘go’

*ahemphuhel daqlong damkrengo pune anang kachironne hem*

a-hēmphu-hel where dam-kreng-lò pu-ne anang ki-chiron=ne hēm  
 POSS-owner-PL where go-all-RL say-NF:IRR 3 NMLZ-think=FOC:IRR house

*arlo kilangdam ayokke*

arlo ki-làng-**dam** a-yok=ke

inside NMLZ-look-go POSS-PURP=TOP

‘where did the owners go, he thought when came to see inside the house’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

While the predicate derivation suffix *phak* has the meaning ‘back’ with motion verbs (5.45), it means *again* with other verbs, like with the verb *than* ‘say’ (5.46).

(5.45) *phak* with meaning ‘back’

*ladisi anali nengkan hini aphelke ahem wangphakngo*

ladisi anali nengkan hini aphel=ke a-hēm wang-**phak**-lò

like.this 3 year two after=TOP POSS-home come-back-RL

‘after two years they went back home’ (BM Trip 1)

(5.46) *phak* with meaning ‘again’

*angopo thanphakbo=hō*

ango-po than-**phak**-bò=hō

before-DEF tell-back-IRR2=INTER

‘(I) will tell the previous (story) again, ok?’ (MsR Meeting)

Predicate derivation suffixes of direction, associated motion and action interact with the cislocative *nang=*. Examples (5.47) and (5.48) show that both the cislocative *nang=* and the predicate derivation suffix *dun* ‘join’ are marking verbs *tiki* ‘work’ and *tol* ‘send’ respectively, to indicate that the action happens against the other action and directed towards the speaker.

(5.47)

*anerlo anchatangne angtikidunta melo*

anerlo an-chó-tàng-ne **nang=tiki-dun=ta** mé-lò

evening rice-eat-finish-NF:IRR CIS=work-join=ADD be.good-RL

‘at noon eat, then come to work with us, (that) is also good’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(5.48)

*lasi nangta nangsomar done uskul jangtoldun*

lasi nang=ta nang-so-mar do-ne uskul nang=tol-dun

so 2=ADD 2-child-PL COP-NF:IRR school CIS=send-join

‘so, you also, if you have children, send them to school’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The cislocative *nang=* when occurring with *-phak* ‘back’ marks action directed back to the speaker (5.49).

(5.49) *nang=* with *-phak*

*hohaipoke lalongparasi hohaipoke angchirtingphaksi*

hohai-po=ke la=long=para=si hohai-po=ke nang=chi-arting-phak-si

rabbit-DEF=TOP DEM=LOC=from=FOC:RL rabbit-DEF=TOP CIS=RR-turn-back-NF:RL

*angkathrolo*

nang-kat-hrol-lò

CIS=run-away-RL

‘the rabbit from that place turned back and ran away’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

#### 5.1.7.3.5 Aspect, aktionsart

Aspect and aktionsart predicate derivation suffixes extend the meaning of a verb in relation to time. The list of these predicate derivations is provided, with their functions described and illustrated, in §8.5.

#### 5.1.7.3.6 Modal derivations

There are four predicate derivations expressing modality *-un* ‘be able’, *-h(l)ong* ‘get’, *-thék* ‘know how’ and *-lag* ‘should’. Modal predicate derivations have corresponding verbs that can appear on their own.

Modal predicate derivations are productive suffixes. These predicate derivation suffixes appear in constructions where there are more than one predicate derivation and in those constructions they take the second position, e.g. *hon-pi-lag* (guard-BEN-need) ‘have to guard’. Suffixes *-un* ‘be able’, *-h(l)ong* ‘get’, *-thék* ‘know how’ have corresponding verb forms in the language, i.e. *un* ‘be able’, *h(l)ong* ‘get’, *thék* ‘know, see’. The suffix *-lag* does not have a corresponding verb form in the language, in that it does not take nominalizer *ki-*, which is the main criteria for

verbhood in Amri Karbi. There is some evidence, however, that *lag* can behave as an independent form, as will be discussed later in the section.

Predicate derivation suffix *un* ‘be able’ expresses physical ability (5.50).

(5.50)

*neke katunman nekhoi situmpoke katune pusi*

ne=ke kat-un-man ne-khoi situm-po=ke **kat-un-Ce** pu-si  
 1=TOP run-be.able-HAB 1-friend turtle-M=TOP run-be.able-NEG say-NF:RL

‘I can run, but my friend turtle cannot run, (the rabbit) said’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The predicate derivation suffix *-h(l)ong* ‘get’ expresses meanings of necessity (5.51) ‘have to do something’ or possibility with the indication that there is a circumstance that allows to do something (5.52).

(5.51)

*anuweyokke egharotahelyokta dohlongman jangthu kien arleng daman kema*

anuwe=yok=ke egharota(Assm)-hel=yok=ta do-**hlong**-man jangthu ki-en arleng  
 night=DIR=TOP eleven-PL=till=ADD stay-get-HAB oil NMLZ-take person

*daman kema*

dam-man kema

go-HAB because

‘because people come to get oil and (I) have to stay till eleven at night’ (BT&LT Interview)

(5.52)

*bap phutangsi nengkan hini aphelsi ehlongman kiehlong*

bap phu-tàng-si nengkan hini aphel=si **e-hlong**-man ki-e-hlong  
 grass pull-finish-NF:RL year two after=FOC:RL plant-GET-HAB NMLZ-plant-get

*achiklopoke ahar achiklosi ehlongman*

a-chiklo-po=ke ahar a-chiklo=si **e-hlong**-man  
 POSS-month-DEF=TOP May POSS-month=FOC:RL plant-get-HAB

‘after pulling out the grass after two years we get to plant in the month of planting, in the month of May we get to pant’ (PI Betelnut)

The predicate derivation suffix *-thék* ‘know how’ refers to skilful ability (5.53).

(5.53)

*hangthekngo tene melo*

hang-**thék**-lò            tene    mé-lò  
shout-know.how-RL    then    be.good-RL

‘if they know how to shout, it is good’ (PI&LT Interview)

The predicate derivation suffix *lag* ‘need’ expresses recommendation (5.54) and obligation (5.55), (5.56).

(5.54)

*tene potdite elage pulo*

tene    potdi=te e-**lag**-ye            pu-lò  
then    how=Q2 plant-should-FUT    say-RL

‘then this is how (you) should plant, (they) said’ (BT Monkey)

(5.55)

*rechopo achengpo honpilagetangho*

recho-po    a-cheng-po            hon-pi-**lag**-ye=tànghò  
king-M    POSS-drum-DEF    guard-BEN-need-FUT=REP

‘the king’s drum needs to be guarded, they say’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(5.56)

*meye minion cholaglo*

mé-ye            minion    chó-**lag**-lò  
be.good-FUT    now    eat-should-RL

‘ok, now we have to eat’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The predicate derivation suffixes *lag* and *h(l)ong* often appear with the future tense *-ye*, i.e. *lage* (5.57) and *h(l)ong* (5.58).

(5.57)

*lasi ili ahuwitta akhanang alamposi thanponlage*

lasi ili            ahuwit=ta a-khanang a-lam-po=si            than-pon-lag-ye  
so 1PL.EXCL all=ADD POSS-real POSS-word-DEF=FOC:RL say-ITER-should-FUT  
'so we all should tell the truth' (BR Lying cowboy)

(5.58)

*jordamsi lasi hrenghonggehe*

jor-dam-si lasi hreng-hong-ye=**he**  
sell-go-NF:RL so survive-get-FUT=EMPH  
'I go to sell, so I get to survive/make a living' (PI&LT Interview)

Analysing modal predicate derivation suffixes as suffixes appeared to be problematic, as there is some evidence that they need to be treated as suffixes; but at the same time, there is some evidence that they might be used as complement-taking verbs.

Evidence that [verb+modal] should be analysed as [verb+predicate derivation] and not as [complement+modal] is shown by example (5.59), where the TAM marker *-lò* 'RL' marks the entire verb *than-ùn* (say-be.able, lit. 'be able to say') 'know' rather than *-lò* marking both *than* 'say' and *ùn* 'be able' separately. Another evidence to support this analysis is that Amri Karbi complement verbs are usually marked with the nominalizer *ki-*, as discussed in §9.1.3. Example (5.60) illustrates this, where the complement verb *kat* 'run' is marked with the nominalizer *ki-* and in addition, there is another element present between the complement verb and the main verb *ron* 'decide', which is usually a relator noun (see §9.1.4). Generally, insertion of another word between a verb and a modal is not possible and the modal elements, when they occur as suffixes, cannot be marked with the nominalizer *ki-*<sup>31</sup>.

(5.59)

*arlengpo thanuno tike apal akiong pusi*

arleng-po than-**ùn**-lo tike a-pal a-ki-ong pusi  
man-DEF say-be.able-RL tiger POSS-group POSS-NMLZ-be.many QUOT  
'the man knew that the tigers were in a big group, it says'

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<sup>31</sup> Modal suffixes have corresponding modal verbs which certainly can be marked with the nominalizer *ki-*.

(5.60)

*tikepo arme kiod loge loge tikepo kikat*

tike-po	arme	ki-od	loge	loge	tike-po	<b>ki-kat</b>
tiger	tail	NMLZ-touch	right.moment	~loge	tiger-DEF	NMLZ-run

*badi rono*

<b>badi</b>	<b>ron-lò</b>
as	decide-RL

‘when he touched the tiger’s tail, the tiger decided to run’ (BR Widow)

Another example with the modal predicate derivation being used as a suffix is shown in (5.61), where the predicate derivation *h(l)ong* ‘get’ is a part of a nominalized verb that is marked with the negative marker that has a scope over the entire verb.

(5.61)

*aro mophel labadi kapakurihongheyok anangyoq kithan*

aro	mophel	labadi	<b>ki-pa-kuri-hong-Ce=yok</b>	anang=yok	ki-than
and future	like.this	NMLZ-CAUS-do-get-NEG=NSUBJ	3=NSUBJ	NMLZ-say	

*labadisi rong abang*

labadi=si	róng	a-bang
like.this=FOC:RL	village	POSS-GNR

‘so in the future do not do this again, the villagers said to him’ (BR Lying cowboy)

On the other hand, there is evidence in favour of modal complement-taking verb analysis. Example (5.62) shows a verb *kōr* ‘bite’ that is nominalized and is followed by *hlong* ‘get’ which is marked by realis *-lo*. The appearance of both past/nominalizer prefix *ki-* and the realis suffix *-lo* on the same verb is usually impossible due to the occurrence restriction. So the case of *kikōrhlongo* should be treated as a complement *kikōr* and a verb *hlong* construction, as transcribed in the text example *kikōr hlongo*. However, this needs to be researched further, as this case might have some pragmatic functional use of both *ki-* and *-lo* on the same verb. There is a use of both *ki-* and non-final suffix *-si* on the same verb, which is also unusual, and it functions to mark the pragmatic meaning of surprise or mirative (DeLancey 1997b). Besides that, there are some nominalized verbs occurring with other TAM affixes; these are discussed in §9.1.5.

(5.62)

*kikorpoyok akengsi kikor hlongo manta aro*

ki-kōr-po=yok            a-keng=si            ki-kōr hlong-lo    manta    aro  
NMLZ-bite-DEF=NSUBJ    POSS-foot=FOC:RL    NMLZ-bite get-RL    but        and

*potbadisi lamengsurungpo kithan alam krollone*

pot-badi=si            la=mengsurung-po    ki-than            a-lam krol-lò=ne  
what-like=FOC:RL    DEM=fox-M            NMLZ-say    POSS-word believe-RL=UNCERT

‘the crocodile bit the foot, but again how he believed the fox said’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

There is another piece of evidence along the same lines shown in (5.63), where the past tense/nominalizer prefix *ki-* and the future suffix *-ye* are on the same verb, *ki-te-dam-lag-ye* (NMLZ-dry-go-should-FUT) ‘have to go to dry’. This could also be treated as a complement *kitedam* and a modal verb *lag*. This example also illustrates that the modal suffix *-lag* may behave as an independent form.

(5.63)

*to tine ne sokta kitedam lage neng*

to    tine    ne    sok=ta            **ki-te-dam**    **lag-ye**            neng  
RPL   then   1    rice=ADD        NMLZ-dry-go    should-FUT        sister.in.law  
‘then, I have to go to dry paddy (rice), sister-in-law’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

Even though there is some evidence to treat modal predicate derivation suffixes as complement-taking verbs, the majority of cases when modals occur on a verb are usually treated as part of a verb. Evidence in support of the modal predicate derivation suffixes analysis is quite strong; the inability of modal predicate derivation being marked with the nominalizer *ki-* is an especially important factor for treating the modal suffixes as not fully independent elements. However, since there seems to be some suggestion that the modal derivations might in fact function as complement-taking verbs, even though likely not fully grammaticalized, they will be discussed further along with other complement clauses in §9.1.3.

#### 5.1.7.4 Other predicate derivations

This section deals with other predicate derivation suffixes, namely *-pen* ‘away’, ‘really’, the benefactive *-pi* and the honorific *-ik*.

5.1.7.4.1 *-pen* ‘away’, ‘really’

The predicate derivation suffix *-pen* can extend the meaning of a verb as either ‘away’ (5.64) or the emphatic meaning of ‘really (do something)’ (5.65). The meaning ‘away’ naturally comes up with motion verbs and ‘really’ with other verbs; it is glossed according to its meaning in each case.

(5.64) *-pen* ‘away’

*aro labang kunda kundi ong apodsi labadi marjongpo*

aro la=bang kunda kundi ong apod=si labadi marjong-po  
and DEM=GNR immediately EE:kunda be.many because=FOC:RL like.this bucket-DEF

*aro markukklaksi hem ayok wanpeno*

aro markuk-klak-si hēm a-yok wan-**pen**-lò  
and cover-PFV-NF:RL home POSS-DIR bring-away-RL

‘and she immediately covered the bucket and took away home’ (PM Bilangthe)

(5.65) *-pen* ‘really’

*to minike nangchopene pusi alang kachirontangho mensurungpoyok*

to mini=ke nang=**chó-pen**-ye pu-si alang ki-chiron=tanghò mensurung-po=yok  
so today=TOP CIS=eat-really-FUT say-NF:RL 3 NMLZ-think=REP fox-DEF=NSUBJ

‘so, today I will really eat the fox, he thought’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

5.1.7.4.2 *-pi* ‘BEN’

The benefactive predicate derivation suffix *-pi* indicates that there is a benefactee of the action. The benefactive *-pi* has a corresponding verb *pi* ‘give’. In example (5.66) *-pi* occurs in the situation when the crocodile’s children were eaten by the benefactee, i.e. fox’s children.

(5.66)

*asopoke mane chopidetno mensurungpo asomar ayok*

a-so-po=ke mane **chó-pi**-det-lò mensurung-po a-so-mar a-yok  
POSS-child-DEF=TOP I.mean eat-BEN-all-RL fox-DEF POSS-child-PL POSS-NSUBJ

pachodetno pusi

pa-chó-det-lò pusi

CAUS-eat-all-RL QUOT

‘means, his children were eaten (by fox’s children), the fox fed his children with all (crocodile’s children), it says’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The benefactive suffix *-pi* not only indicates that there is a benefactee of the action, it also shows to affect the argument structure, which is described in §6.2.4.

#### 5.1.7.4.3 *-ik*

The honorific suffix *-ik* is used when talking to one’s own in-laws. The honorific suffix is usually attached after a verb root (5.67).

(5.67) honorific *-ik*

*aihel hole wangiknot*

ai-hel hole wang-**ik**-not

mother-in-law here come-HON-IMP

‘come here mother-in-law’ (elicited)

#### 5.1.7.5 Order of predicate derivations

There might be more than one predicate derivations on a verb and there seems to be some hierarchy in the order of multiple predicate derivations.

Modal predicate derivations and predicate derivation *-det* frequently appear on predicates with more than one derivation suffix. Modal predicate derivations and the suffix *-det* tend to be placed second or further from the verb root if another predicate derivation suffix is present. In the case of the suffix *-det*, its occurrence further from the root is not surprising; as was mentioned earlier in the chapter, the suffix *-det* might be analysed as a post-stem aspect. The predicate derivation suffixes *-pi* ‘BEN’ and *-dam* ‘go’ tend to appear closer to the root if another predicate derivation suffix is present. Examples (5.68) - (5.70) illustrate the predicate derivation hierarchy.

Example (5.68) shows two predicate derivations, *-pi* ‘BEN’ and *-un* ‘be able’ attached to the same verb, where *-pi* is placed right after the verb root and the modal predicate derivation *-un* is placed after *-pi*.

(5.68)

*inghosi tharwe akimen pumnipo paripiunema,*

ingho=si      tharwe a-ki-men                  pum-ni-po                  pari-**pi-un**-ye=ma  
 who=FOC:RL mango POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe CLF:round-two-DEF pluck-BEN-be.able-FUT=Q

*ne anangyok banta piye*

ne anang=yok banta pi-ye  
 I 3=NSUBJ reward give-FUT

‘whoever can pluck those two mangoes I will give a reward’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Example (5.69) shows predicate derivation suffixes *-pi* ‘BEN’ and *-det* ‘all’ marking the verbs *chó* ‘eat’, where *-pi* appears closer to the root and *-det* further from the root.

(5.69)

*lasi labadisi mengsurungpo chobel chobelsi ghurialpo*

lasi labadi=si                  mengsurung-po chobel ~ chobel-si                  ghurial-po  
 so like.this=FOC:RL fox-DEF                  deceive deceive-NF:RL crocodile-DEF

*asopoyok chopidetno*

a-so-po=yok                  chó-**pi-det**-lò  
 POSS-child-DEF=NSUBJ eat-BEN-all-RL

‘so in this way, the fox deceived the crocodile and has eaten his children’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Example (5.70) shows predicate derivation suffixes *-dam* ‘go’ and *-det* ‘all’ marking the verb *thék* ‘see’, where *-dam* appears closer to the root and *-det* further from the root.

(5.70)

*mane asomar ghurialpo asomar arupedetsi tikongkangsi*

mane a-so-mar                  ghurial-po                  a-so-mar                  a-rupe-det=si                  tikongkang-si  
 I.mean POSS-child-PL crocodile-DEF POSS-child-PL POSS-bone-all=FOC:RL scatter-NF:RL

*thekdamdetno*

thék-**dam-det**-lò

see-go-all-RL

‘(he) saw that, I mean, his children, crocodile's children's bones were all scattered’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Sometimes predicate derivations from the same functional domain appear on one verb. The order of derivation suffixes in such cases is hard to explain; however, further research based on larger data and also working with the derivation suffixes' order might show whether there is paradigmatic hierarchy. Example (5.71) shows two predicate derivation suffixes of motion and direction, *-dam* ‘go’ and *-phak* ‘back’, marking the verb *jùn* ‘drink’, where *-dam* appears closer to the root and *-phak* further from the root.

(5.71)

*te nike horsi jundamphakbo neng*

te ne=ke hor=si jùn-**dam-phak**-bò neng

then 1=TOP rice.beer=FOC:RL drink-go-back-IRR2 sister.in.law

‘then, I'm going back to drink rice beer, sister-in-law’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 5.1.8 Reduplication, Slot 6

Both verb stems and predicate derivation suffixes may be reduplicated. The reduplication is not obligatory, and it enriches the verbal complex with one of these meanings: iterative, progressive, gradualness of action or plurality.

#### 5.1.8.1 Iterative

Reduplication may indicate iterative action. Example (5.72) shows a reduplication of the idiohone derivation suffix *klok* ‘sound of splitting wood’ that expresses the iterative sound and action of splitting wood.

(5.72)

*da da oik oik arleng do da, thengpo*

da ~ da oik ~oik arleng do da theng-po  
go.IMP go.IMP yes~yes person COP go wood-DEF

*angpuklokklokbang ne hō*

nang=pu-**klok~klok**-bang ne hō  
CIS=split-sound.of.splitting.wood~ITER-IRR 1 1 INTER

‘go, go, yes, yes, people are there, I’m going to split firewood repeatedly’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 5.1.8.2 Plurality

Reduplication is used to indicate plurality. Example (5.73) has both the verbal stem *rok* ‘cut’ and the predicate derivation suffix *-ren* ‘PL.SUBJ’ reduplicated to create the meaning that many people are working together.

(5.73)

*arleng amokhasi rokkrenrensi patangodik*

arleng a-mokha=si rok~rok-**ren~ren**-si pa-tàng-lò=dik  
man POSS-many=FOC:RL cut~cut-PL.SUBJ~PL.SUBJ-NF:RL CAUS-finish-RL=TAG

‘(because) many people are help cut, (so it) is finished, isn’t it?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 5.1.8.3 Habitual

Reduplication is used to express habitual events. Example (5.74) shows reduplication of the predicate derivation suffix *-lot* ‘cultivate’ for habitual meaning of the entire verb *ki-chó-lot-lot* (NMLZ-eat-cultivate-cultivate) ‘cultivate to grow food’.

(5.74)

*lasi labang arlengpo inirsi adin chirono ne kicholotlot*

lasi la=bang arleng-po inirsi a-din chiron-lò ne ki-chó-**lot~lot**  
so DEM=GNR man-DEF one.day POSS-day think-RL 1 NMLZ-eat-cultivate~cultivate

*adunglepo kiphaktdet aholan ne anangyok inirsi adin*

a-dungle-po ki-phak-det a-holan ne anang=yok inirsi a-din  
POSS-land-DEF NMLZ-back-all POSS-return 1 3=NSUBJ one POSS-day

*manta ajar hule*

manta a-jar hul-ye  
but POSS-revenge take-FUT

‘then, he thought (my father-in-law) took back the land that I cultivated to grow food, one day I will take revenge’ (MI One man)

#### 5.1.8.4 Gradual process

Reduplication is used to express gradual process. Example (5.75) shows the predicate derivation suffix *chot* ‘little’ is reduplicated so that the verb *the-pon* (be big-ITER) has the meaning of gradual process ‘grew little by little/day by day’.

(5.75)

*aro labang Bilangthepike pot inirsi chiplango mini bekso*

aro la=bang PN:Bilangthe-pe=ke pot inirsi chiplang-lò mini bek-so  
and DEM=GNR Bilangthe-FEM=TOP what one.day happen-RL today be.little-DIM

*minak bekso theponchotchotsi wango*

minak bek-so the-pon-**chot~chot**-si wang-lò  
tomorrow be.little-DIM be.big-ITER-little~little-NF:RL come-RL

‘and this Bilangthepe, what happened one day, today a little, tomorrow a little (‘day by day’) she grew up more and more’ (PM Bilangthe)

#### 5.1.9 Negation, Slot 7

The onset reduplicative suffix *-Ce* is used to express clausal negation. The suffix attaches to a stem or to a verbal complex in the slot and then a TAM suffix may follow it (5.76). Negation is discussed in detail in §11.

(5.76) verbal negative suffix *-Ce*

*ne dame ne damdeye*

ne dam-ye ne dam-Ce-ye

1 go-FUT 1 go-NEG-FUT

‘I will go’ ‘I will not go’ (elicited)

The negative suffix has been attested in the limited amount of cases to appear in Slot 5, right after the verb root before a predicate derivation suffix. One example of this is shown in (5.77) where the negative suffix for the verb *do* ‘stay’ appears right after the stem and before the predicate derivation suffix *-chot*.

(5.77)

*arlenghel dakbang adoropte aneng dodechotman bu*

arlenghel dakbang a-dorop=te aneng **do-CE-chot-man** bù

man-PL which POSS-product=Q2 heart stay-NEG-most-HAB grandmother

‘which products do people dislike most?’ (BT&LT Interview)

#### 5.1.10 Non-declarative speech act suffixes, Slot 7

Non-declarative speech act suffixes appear in Slot 7. Table 5.7 provides the list of non-declarative speech act suffixes that are described in §10. Non-declarative suffixes generally do not appear with negation and TAM affixes.

Table 5.6 Non-declarative speech act suffixes

Form	Function, Gloss
<i>-not</i>	imperative, ‘IMP’
<i>-tha</i>	polite imperative, ‘IMP.POL’
<i>-yek</i>	prohibitive, ‘PROH’
<i>-nang</i>	hortative, ‘HORT’
<i>-sonang/-sinang</i>	hortative emphatic, ‘HORT:EMPH’
<i>-minang</i>	hortative immediate, ‘HORT:IMMD’

### 5.1.11 Tense Aspect and Mood Slot 8

Tense, aspect and mood suffixes appear in slot 8. These suffixes are productive and the suffixes of this slot cannot appear simultaneously. Note that Amri Karbi has one TAM prefix, the past tense marker *ki-*, that cannot appear simultaneously with the TAM suffixes on the same verb. The list of the TAM suffixes is given in Table 5.8; they are discussed in §8 in regard to their function and in §11 in regard to negation. Out of six TAM suffixes, two (*-ye* and *-lo*) have allomorphs (see §2.6.4). TAM suffixes generally do not appear with non-declarative suffixes, subordinate suffixes and nominalizing affixes<sup>32</sup>.

Table 5.7 List of TAM suffixes

Form	Function, Gloss
Tense	
<i>-ye</i>	future ‘FUT’
Aspect	
<i>-man</i>	habitual ‘HAB’
<i>-lang</i>	‘yet’
Mood	
<i>-bang</i>	irrealis 1 ‘IRR1’
<i>-bò</i>	irrealis2 ‘IRR2’
<i>-lò</i>	realis ‘RL’

### 5.1.12 Subordinating verbal suffixes, Slot 8

Amri Karbi subordinate suffixes include the realis non-final suffix *-si* and the irrealis non-final suffix *-ne*. They participate in clause-chaining constructions, which are discussed in §9.5.

### 5.1.13 Definite/Nominalizer *-po*, Slot 8

The suffix *-po*, which is a ‘male’ lexical suffix and a definite suffix when it marks noun phrases, has two functions when attached to verbs; it derives participant nominalizations out of event

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<sup>32</sup> There some exceptional instances where the habitual *-man* appears on a nominalized verb.

nominalizations and derives nouns out of a limited number of verbs. The suffix *-po* is glossed as ‘DEF’ even when it functions as a nominalizer.

It can create participant nominalizations out of event nominalizations, i.e. the verbs that are already nominalized with the prefix *ki-*, for example *ki-wang* (NMLZ-come) ‘coming’ - *kiwangpo* (NMLZ-come-DEF) ‘comer’. This function of creating participant nominalizations out of event nominalizations can also be fulfilled by the plural marker *-hel* which will create plural participant nominalization, i.e. *kiwanghel* ‘comers’. Participant nominalizations with *-po/-hel* can be derived only for inanimate referents and this function of *-po* is generally productive. Participant nominalization in Amri Karbi is linked with headless relative clauses, which is discussed in §9.1.1.2.

The suffix *-po* can nominalize a limited number of verbs. One of these verbs is shown in example (5.78), where the verb *kōr-rōng* (bite-by.mistake) ‘bite by mistake’ is nominalized by the suffix *-po*, creating a noun *kōr-rōng-po* (bite-by.mistake-DEF) ‘the one who bites by mistake’. As example (5.78) shows, nominalizations solely by *-po* are not limited to nouns referring to inanimate referents only, as the noun that is derived out of the verb *kōrrōng* ‘bite by mistake’ refers to an animate referent.

(5.78) *-po* functions as a nominalizer

*tokopoyok korrongpoke pusi, mengsurungpo than phakngo*

tokok-po=yok      **kōr-rōng-po=ke**      pusi      mengsurung-po      than-phak-lò  
 stick-DEF=NSUBJ    bite-by.mistake-DEF=TOP    QUOT    fox-DEF      say-again-RL  
 ‘(you) are biter of a stick by mistake, the fox said again’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The suffix *-po* can attach to other word classes to derive referential nouns; for example, the definite *-po*, if attached to the relator noun/subordinator *ango* ‘before,’ derives a noun *ango-po* (before-DEF) ‘the previous one’. It may mark adjectival verbs that have a modifier form *a-ki-V* (POSS-NMLZ-V), for example *a-ki-mé-po* (POSS-NMLZ-be.good-DEF) ‘the good one’. The diminutive *-so* (see also § 4.1.3), which also functions as a definite with the semantics ‘small’, also creates a noun from the adjectival verb *bek* ‘be little’ (5.79).

(5.79)

*ne chobang, ne bekso chosi langbang*

ne chó-bang ne **bek-so** chó-si lǎng-bang

1 eat-IRR1 1 be.little-DIM eat-NF:RL look-IRR1

‘I want to eat, I want to try a little’ (BM Monkey and fox)

The Amri Karbi suffix *-po* might be linked to similar forms in related languages: Ao non-agentive, non-locative nominalizer *-pàʔ* (Coupe 2005, 2006), also used in *tʃǎ-páʔ* ‘what’, *sá-páʔ* ‘who’ (Coupe 2007: 98-99); Limbu nominalizer *-pa*, which is also used with interrogative pronouns (van Driem 1987); Tibetan perfective non-actor nominalizer *-pa* (DeLancey 1999); common Tamangic nominalizer *\*pa* (Noonan 2007). In most of these languages as well as in Amri Karbi this form is the same as that of the male gender marker. Another example where the definite derives nouns is found in a contact language Bengali, where the article *ʃe* “can be added to most parts of speech to make them into nouns; it can also be added to nominalized verbs to make them definite” (Thompson, 2010).

## 5.2 Verbal compound

Two synonymous verbs may appear in verbal compounds. They can either occur juxtaposed, where the first verb does not have any linking element to the next verb, or linked with the non-final suffix *-si*. The second and the last verb usually carries TAM marking. This type of compounding is found only on synonymous verbs when both verbs express one event. See example (5.80), where verbs *the* ‘grow big’ and *ding* ‘grow long’ express one event of ‘growing’, and example (5.81), where verbs *inghór* ‘carry’ and *pon* ‘carry away’ express one event of ‘carrying’. This verbal compounding strategy of compounding synonymous verbs resembles synonymous nominal co-compounds (see §4.1.1). These verbal compounds are different from the predicate derivations is that both verbs of the compound may be marked with a prefix and also with a non-final suffix, whereas predicate derivations always appear after the verb root and cannot carry a prefix or a non-final suffix on their own. It is not certain how many verbs may enter into verbal compounds.

(5.80)

*nebithangdet apoisasi atanga arkeng bithi hendru*

ne-bithang=det a-poisasi a-tanga arkeng bithi hendru  
1-self=INTS POSS-money=FOC:RL POSS-money betel.nut leaf plant:hendru

*anchini dungkek Umden hat jordamsi*

anchini dungkek Umden hat jor-dam-si  
plant:anchini plant:dungkek PN:Umden market sell-go-NF:RL

*pathe padingo*

pa-**the** pa-**ding**-lò  
CAUS-grow CAUS-grow.up-RL

‘I, all by myself (earned) money by selling in Umden market the bettelenut and leaf (pan) hendru, anchini, dungkek, and brought up (my children)’ (TuI Education)

(5.81)

*lasi kitol ango la anangaipeyokke, la hak pisi mane*

lasi ki-tol ango la anang-ai-pe=yok=ke la=hak pi-si mane  
so NMLZ-send before DEM 3-mother-F=NSUBJ=TOP DEM=bucket give-NF:RL I.mean

*panghorsì paponò*

pa-**inghór**-si pa-**pon**-lò  
CAUS-carry-NF:RL CAUS-carry.away-RL

‘before she sent, she gave to her mother to carry a long bucket (to her house)’ (PM Bilangthe)

### 5.3 Adverbial modification

The aim of this section is to describe Amri Karbi adverbial modification. Verbs can be modified by adverbs of manner, temporal adverbs, adverbs of place and other adverbs. Adverbs may be reduplicated for plural meaning and to accentuate an adverb.

### 5.3.1 Manner adverbs

Verbs may be modified with manner adverbs that are constructed with nominals and adjectives marked with the focus clitics =*si* and =*ne* (see also §12.3.3). The clitics =*si* and =*ne*<sup>33</sup> are in complementary distribution, the clitic =*si* is used to form adverbs in declarative clauses and realis contexts and =*ne* in non-declarative clauses or irrealis contexts.

Example (5.82) shows a manner adverb marked with =*si* attaching to the adjective *phod* ‘quick’ to form an adverb ‘quickly’ and in (5.83) =*ne* attaches to the word *khanang* ‘real’ to form the adverb ‘really’

(5.82)

*aro lasi anangta kanghupota, phodsi tikepo athaksi*

aro lasi anang=ta ki-inghu-po=ta **phod=si** tike-po a-thak=si  
 and so 3=ADD NMLZ-steal-DEF=ADD quick=FOC:RL tiger-DEF POSS-top=FOC

*arlulo*

arlu-lò

climb-RL

‘so the thief quickly climbed on tiger's back’ (BK Widow)

(5.83)

*ne-khoi-po=ke ne-ki-chó-ye=ba ne-ki-chó-ye khanang=ne*  
 1-friend-M=TOP 1-NMLZ-eat-FUT= CND.INTNS 1-NMLZ-eat-FUT really=FOC:IRR

*ne-keng=ne ne=kōr=ba khoi*  
 1-foot=FOC.IRR 1=bite= CND.INTNS friend

‘my friend, if you really want to eat me, bite my foot’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Example (5.84) shows a noun *a-budi* (POSS-wisdom) ‘his wisdom’ marked with the suffix =*ne*. Though the clause in (5.84) is declarative and the main verb is marked with the realis *-lò*, the context is that the speaker’s emotional state is wonder and surprise, and that is the reason why the speaker uses suffix =*ne*.

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<sup>33</sup> The complementary distribution of suffixes *-si/-ne* in declarative/non-declarative clauses applies throughout all three functions of these suffixes, namely focus, adverbial and non-final suffixes.

(5.84)

*alangsi ladi abudine pahlophlutno*

alang=si ladi **a-budi=ne** pa-hlo-phlut-lò

3=FOC:RL like.this POSS-wisdom=FOC:IRR CAUS-release-sound.of.running-RL

‘he only, with such wisdom, made me immediately release (him)’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Verbs may be modified by adverbs constructed from classifiers. Examples (5.85) and (5.86) show adverbs from the classifier *pum* ‘CLF:round’. Even though the classifiers are the same in both examples, the meanings of adverbs are different. In example (5.85), *a-pum=si* (POSS-CLF:round=FOC:RL) has the meaning ‘by round’, i.e. the betelnuts are planted with the whole or uncut nuts. In example (5.84) the classifier *pum* is attached with the numeral *i-* ‘one’; it is reduplicated and the second *ipum* is marked with =*si*, for the meaning ‘one by one’.

(5.85)

*apumsi joweman*

**a-pum=si** jowe-man

POSS-CLF:round=FOC:RL nurse.plant-HAB

‘we nurse (betelnut plants) by round (not cutting the nut)’ (PI Betelnut)

(5.86)

*chul arlopara ipum ipumsi olesi bachik arlo*

chul arlo=para **i-pum** **i-pum=si** ole=si bachik arlo

bag inside=from one-CLF:round one-CLF:round=FOC:RL out=NF:RL basket inside

*thaljongsi do*

thal-jong-si do

put.in-DUR-NF:RL COP

‘(the man) takes the fruit one by one out of a bag and puts into the basket’ (MI Pear film)

### 5.3.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs may be either unmarked or marked with one of the information structure clitics: the topic =*ke*, additive =*ta*, realis focus =*si* or irrealis focus =*ne*.

Example (5.87) shows the temporal adverb *mini* ‘today’ unmarked, which is a neutral way to mark a temporal adverb.

(5.87)

*mini ili anang pochak-man*  
today 1PL.INCL 3 meet-HAB  
'today we see him' (PaI pangolin)

Example (5.88) shows the temporal adverb *ahomoi* 'time' being the topic, marked with the topic =*ke*.

(5.88)

*ladi oskul a-homoi=ke oso-hel wang-man*  
like.this school POSS-time=TOP child-PL come-HAB  
'in school time children are coming most' (BT&LT Interview)

Temporal adverbs are marked with the additive =*ta* for the same function as it marks noun phrases: additive (5.89); bisyndetic coordination (5.90) and scalar additive (5.91).

(5.89) additive

*mini=ta la=bang oso-po=ke ili=yok i-chobel do tene=ma*  
today=ADD DEM=GNR child-M=TOP 1PL.INCL=NSUBJ 1PL.INCL-deceive COP then=Q  
'today also that boy is deceiving us, then?' (BR Lying cowboy)

(5.90) bisyndetic coordination

*labadi=si mini=ta aro chó-dam-man minak=ta chó-dam-man*  
like.this=FOC:RL today=ADD and eat-go-HAB tomorrow=ADD eat-go-HAB  
'like this today (crocodile) comes and eats and tomorrow comes and eats (fruit)' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(5.91) scalar additive

*aro nali lang karpu pune kipu apepo anayok ot*  
aro nali lang karpu pu-ne ki-pu a-pe-po anang=yok ot  
and 2PL see pangolin say-NF:IRR NMLZ-say POSS-animal-DEF 3=NSUBJ touch

*tene thekngē mononta chulang angnimhul*

tene thék-ye **minon=ta** chulang a-ingnim-hul

then know-FUT today=ADD milk POSS-smell-around

‘and (when) you see the animal called pangolin (when you) touch it then (you) find (it) smells like milk even today’ (PaI Pangolin)

Temporal adverbs may be marked with focus clitics =*si*/=*ne*. Just as with noun phrases, focus markers =*si*/=*ne* when they mark temporal adverbs are in complementary distribution. The focus clitic =*si* occurs in declarative clauses and the focus clitic =*ne* occurs in non-declarative clauses or irrealis contexts. Examples (5.92) and (5.94) show temporal adverbs marked with focus clitics; both are also marked with the plural *-hel*. The plural *-hel* marks some, but not all temporal adverbs, the function of the plural *-hel* on temporal adverbs is not clear. Besides the temporal adverbs in examples (5.92), (5.93) other temporal adverbs marked with the plural *-hel* found in the transcribed data include *anithu/anethu* ‘evening’, *akhap* ‘date’, *egharo* (Assm), ‘eleven o’clock’.

(5.92)

*sok-hel=ne*                      *chi-te=ta*                      *mé-lò=he*                      *ambak*  
uncooked.rice-PL=FOC:IRR    RR-dry=ADD                      be.good-RL=EMPH    some

*anerlo-hel=ne*                      *wang=ta*                      *mé-lò*  
afternoon-PL=FOC:IRR    come=ADD                      be.good-RL

‘drying rice is also good, coming sometime in the afternoon is also good’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(5.93)

*jike nipupe nibithang ahem manta neke ambakhelsi*

*ji=ke*                      *ni-pu-Ce*                      *ni-bithang*                      *a-hēm*                      *manta*                      *ne=ke*                      ***ambak-hel=si***  
whatever=TOP    1-say-NEG    1-self                      POSS-house                      but                      1=TOP                      sometime-PL=FOC:RL

wangbo neng hō?

wang-bò neng hō

come-IRR2 sister.in.law INTER

‘whatever you say you are my own family, yet after some time I will come, sister in-law, ok?’

(Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 5.3.3 Adverbs of place

Adverbs of place provide information about where the event denoted by the verb takes place. There are two adverbs of place in Amri Karbi, *holek* ‘here’ and *halek* ‘there’. There is also one adverb of place, *bahere* ‘outside’, that is borrowed from Indic languages. Examples (5.94) and (5.95) show the adverb *holek* ‘here’ modifying the verb *jùn* ‘drink’ in (5.94) and the verb *ote* ‘do’ in (5.95). Example (5.96) shows the adverb *halek* ‘there’ modifying the verb *wang* ‘come’. Example (5.95) shows the adverb of place *bahere* ‘outside’ modifying the verb *dam* ‘go’.

(5.94)

ne=ke {hor asiik} a-pod **holek** hor jùn-pen-si dam-bò

1=TOP drinker POSS-because here rice.beer drink-really-NF:RL go-IRR2

‘since I am a drinker, I will drink rice beer here and go’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(5.95)

mini=ke pot=te ote do **holek**=te

now=TOP what=Q2 do COP here=Q2

‘now, what are you doing here?’ (BM Money and fox)

(5.96)

aro halek ne Helsinkilong jitu adate akhaph kido

aro **halek** ne Helsinki=long jitu(Assm) a-date(Eng) a-khaph ki-do

and there 1 Helsinki=LOC what POSS-date POSS-date NMLZ-COP

*labangpota wangun 'eyongo*

la=bang-po=ta      wang-ùn-ce-ingyong-lò  
DEM=GNR-DEF=ADD    come-be.able-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘and there (to Helsinki), the date that I wanted to come to Helsinki, I could not come’ (BM Trip2)

(5.97)

*kimthu aphilipoyok pochak damdeyongo bahere*

kimthu(Assm)    a-phili-po=yok                      pochak-dam-Ce-ingyong-lò    **bahere**  
but                      POSS-son.in.law-M=NSUBJ    meet-go-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL    outside

*dam dotang*

dam    do=tàng  
go    COP=REP

‘but she did not meet her son-in-law, because he went out’ (PN Bilangthe)

#### 5.3.4 Other adverbs

The adverb *bohut* ‘very’ might be borrowed from Indic languages or be a case of code-switch. There are eight tokens of *bohut* in the transcribed database; and it was used by six language consultants. The adverb *bohut* indicates degree or intensity of the event denoted by a verb. Example (5.98) shows *bohut* modifying the nominal predicate *aduk* ‘trouble’.

(5.98)

*lapor anali rongbang manta anangli bohut adukngo*

la=por      anali    róngbang    manta    anangli    **bohut**    aduk=lò  
DEM=time    3PL    villagers    but      3PL      very    trouble=FOC

‘but the villagers became very sad’ (BR Lying cowboy)

#### 5.3.5 Reduplication of adverbs

In reduplication, adverbs are juxtaposed to each other and full adverbs are reduplicated. Reduplication creates either plural meaning or intensified meaning, depending on semantics of an adverb. Example (5.99) shows reduplication of the adverb *nengkan* ‘year’ for the plural meaning ‘years’.

(5.99)

*ne-dukan-po=ke nengkan nengkan kithom do-lò=to*

1-shop-DEF=TOP year ~year three COP-RL=REPL

‘I have been having my shop for three years’ (Lit.: ‘my shop has existed for three years’)

(BT&LT Interview)

Reduplication of a temporal noun *apor apor* in (5.100) produces the meaning ‘from time to time’; which also suggests the plural meaning, but not in the same way as in (5.99).

(5.100)

*nehel adung ne apor apor damsi kido*

nehel a-dung ne a-por ~a-por dam-si ki-do

3PL POSS-near 1 POSS-time~POSS-time go-NF:RL PST-COP

‘from time to time I was visiting them’ (BM Trip1)

When adverbs that are usually constructed with the clitic =*si* are reduplicated, the clitic =*si* marks only the second word of reduplication. Reduplication of the adverb in (5.101) is used to intensify the semantics of an the adverb, similar to the function of ‘very’ in English.

(5.101)

*anang asithe hephai hephaisi kidam*

anang a-sithe **hephai hephai=si** ki-dam

3 POSS-breath fast ~ fast=FOC:RL PST-go

‘his breathing went very fast’ (BK Widow)

## 6 Clause structure and grammatical relations

This chapter offers a description of clause structure and grammatical relations. It starts with the description of basic clause structure §6.1, then proceeds with discussion of core grammatical relations §6.2 and peripheral grammatical relations §6.3. The second part of the chapter focuses on stative predications §6.4 and ends with description of expressions of emotion and state of being §6.5 and comparative constructions §6.6.

### 6.1 Clause structure

Amri Karbi clauses may consist of only a predicate. The predicate arguments need not be explicitly expressed. If a predicate is the verb, the verb root needs to carry at least either a negative suffix *-Ce* or TAM marker or to be an imperative, in order to create a basic clause as in (6.1).

(6.1)

*chono*

cho-lò

eat-RL

‘(I) have eaten’ (elicited)

There are intransitive clauses with one core argument, transitive clauses with two core arguments and ditransitive clauses with three core arguments.

The subject argument can be a noun phrase or a pronoun that precedes the verb (6.2).

(6.2)

*ne damman*

ne dam-man

1 go-HAB

‘I go’ (elicited)

In a transitive clause, the object argument follows the subject argument and precedes the verb (6.3).

(6.3)

*ne an choman*

ne an chó-man

1 rice eat-HAB

'I eat rice' (elicited)

## 6.2 Core grammatical relations

This section offers description of Amri Karbi grammatical relations (using the term following Perlmutter 1980) which deals with argument roles with respect to the predicate.

In order to describe Amri Karbi grammatical relations following Payne (2007) and others (Comri 1981, Dixon 1972, 1979, 1994, and others), I identify three basic semantico-syntactic roles: S, A and P. S is the only argument of an intransitive clause. A is the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause. P is the most patient-like argument of a transitive clause. Also, in ditransitive clauses there is R, which is a recipient of T (theme).

Grammatical relations marking in Amri Karbi is done by relator nouns, verbal person marking of speech act participants (SAP) and by constituents' order. S and A are always unmarked, they take the initial position in a clause or, often, are dropped. First-person or second person SAP P or R are marked with proclitics *ne=*/*ni=* '1', *i=* '1PL.INCL', *hali=* '1PL.EXCL', *nang=* '2' and *na(ng)li=* '2PL' on the verbs. P arguments usually appear right before the verb. R is usually marked with the relator noun *-yok* 'NSUBJ'. P of a transitive clause can be marked with *-yok* or unmarked. According to my language consultants, always marking the P argument of a transitive clause with *-yok* 'NSUBJ' does not appear ungrammatical to them in any case, but such marking is unnecessary in some if not most transitive clauses.

The relator noun *-yok* is a multifunctional morpheme. As it was mentioned in §3.2.7 the relator noun *-yok* has probably grammaticalized according to the path: locative (directive/allative) > dative > patient > purposive, temporal. Functions of *-yok* are described in various parts of the grammar: as a directive/allative in this chapter §6.3.2, as a temporal subordinator §9.1.2.1 and as a subordinator of purpose §9.1.2.2.

As for the alignment, in Amri Karbi, S aligns with A in transitive and ditransitive clauses, since both are always unmarked. There is a two-way marking of P in transitive clauses: one is when P is marked, which is different from A and S, and the other one is when P is unmarked, like A

and S. In ditransitive clauses, T is either marked as P is marked or unmarked like A, S and sometimes P. R is marked similarly as P is marked sometimes.

Defining alignment for relator noun marking in Amri Karbi is problematic as it appears to fluctuate. Monotransitive alignment shows to be sometimes nominative and sometimes neutral. The ditransitive alignment is either indirective or secundative (Haspelmath 2005), i.e. when the recipient is treated as patient. The reason for the fluctuation is likely that there are two different motivations for marking P arguments in a clause. The marking of P in transitive clauses is mainly pragmatically motivated, with the exception of pronominal P argument marking, which is syntactic. The marking of R in ditransitive clauses is syntactically based. By comparing with Karbi, where both S and A are unmarked and there is a split in O marking between marking the O argument or not marking (Konnerth 2014:444), the monotransitive alignment system in Karbi is therefore similar to Amri Karbi, i.e. either nominative or neutral. According to WALS (Comrie 2013), other Trans-Himalayan/Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in North East India exhibit nominative alignment.

As for the verbal person marking alignment, Amri Karbi exhibits nominative alignment as only non-subject SAP arguments are marked on a verb and S and A SAP arguments are not marked on a verb. Since only one SAP argument may be marked on a verb, in ditransitive clauses with two non-subject SAP arguments the choice between the two arguments is inevitable and there is some preference observed which could be attributed to the hierarchical alignment of verbal person marking (see further in §6.2.3.3). In Trans-Himalayan/Tibeto-Burman languages the predominant and ancestral pattern for verbal person marking is hierarchical (DeLancey 2017). There is also accusative alignment in the family as well as variations within both hierarchical and accusative systems (DeLancey 2017).

In what follows I will present the data of how grammatical relations are organized in intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses.

### 6.2.1 Intransitive clause

Intransitive clauses are predicated with an intransitive verb that requires only one argument S. The S argument usually appears before the verb and is always unmarked for its syntactic role; however, it is often marked with one of the information structure particles. Example (6.4) shows an intransitive clause with the S argument *lahel* ‘they’ and the intransitive verb *kat* ‘run’.

(6.4)

*labadisi lahelke katkrengo*

labadisi    lahel=ke    kat-kreng-lò

like.this    3PL=TOP    run-away-RL

‘like this they (tigers) ran (away)’ (BK Widow)

### 6.2.2 Transitive clause

#### 6.2.2.1 Transitive clause with an animate P argument referent

In transitive clauses, A is always unmarked for its syntactic role, but it is often marked by one of the information structure particles, depending on the context. The P argument appears before the verb and animate P arguments can be either unmarked or marked in one of two ways. Animate nouns in Amri Karbi include humans and animals. Animate P arguments may be cross-referenced on the verb, i.e. the verb is marked with a pronominal clitic. This type of marking includes first person singular *ne=*, example (6.5); second person *nang=*, example (6.6); second person plural *na(ng)li=* ‘2PL’, example (6.7); first person plural inclusive *i=*, example (6.8); first person plural exclusive *hali=*, example (6.9). Third person pronouns *anang* ‘he/she’ and *anangli* ‘they’ are not cross-referenced on the verb. The second way of marking the P argument involves the relator noun *-yok*, that either carries the possessive prefix *a-* and follows the P argument noun, for example *arleng a-yok* ‘man POSS-NSUBJ’, or attaches as a clitic directly to a noun: *arleng=yok* ‘man=NSUBJ’. Note that *-yok* also marks directions of motion verbs, discussed later in §6.3.2, and also functions as a relator noun used for temporal adverbial clauses and adverbial clauses of purpose, discussed in §9.1.2.2.

(6.5) *ne=* ‘1’ cross-references first person P

*nechoye ba nechoyepoke nangbudi dochotdik khoi*

**ne=**chó-ye=ba      **ne=**chó-ye-po=ke      nang-budi      do-chot=dik      khoi

1=eat-FUT=PROB    1=eat-FUT-DEF=TOP    2-wisdom    COP-be.much=TAG    friend

‘if you really want to eat me, you (should) have a lot of wisdom, ok, friend?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(6.6) *nang*= ‘2’ cross-references second person P

*hane nangalpiye nangalpiye pusi mengsurungpo thano*

hane **nang**=lang-pi-ye **nang**=al-pi-ye pu-si mengsurung-po than-lò  
1 2=watch-BEN-FUT 2=care- BEN-FUT say-NF:RL fox-DEF say-RL

*ghurialpo ayok*

ghurial-po a-yok

crocodile-DEF POSS-NSUBJ

‘I will watch for you, I will care for you, the fox said to the crocodile’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(6.7) *na(ng)li*=‘2PL’ cross-references second person plural P

*hane naliyok labopoke nali kachobelsi labadi*

hane nali=yok la=bang-po=ke **nali**=ki-chobel-si labadi  
1 2PL=NSUBJ DEM=GNR-DEF=TOP 2PL=NMLZ-deceive-NF:RL like.this

*rongbangyok pulo*

rongbang=yok pu-lò

villagers=NSUBJ say-RL

‘this is how I deceived you, he said to the villagers’

(6.8) *i*= ‘1PL.INCL’ cross-references first person plural inclusive P

*potte itaram do ibupe*

pot=te **i**-taram do i-bù-pe

what=Q1 1PL.INCL-call COP 1PL.INCL-grandmother-FEM

‘why are you calling us, grandma?’ (BT Monkey)

(6.9) *hali*= ‘1PL.EXCL’ cross-references first person plural exclusive P

*manta okhi-so=ke hali=thék-wen-si...*

but deer-DIM=TOP 1PL.EXCL-see-remove-NF:RL

‘but the deer saw us...’

While the verbal person marking of P arguments on verbs is stable and always present in an appropriate context, both in elicited and natural data, the situation with non-pronominal P argument marking is not so clear. P arguments marking with *-yok* has a two-way distinction,

between marked with *-yok* ‘NSUBJ’ vs. unmarked. P arguments usually appear right before the verb, but if the P argument is marked with *-yok*, it is possible to left-dislocate or right-dislocate the P argument for emphasis. The two-way distinction between markings of the P argument is known as ‘differential object marking’. Differential object marking (DOM) has been traditionally explained by the universal tendency for prominent objects to get special marking, due to animacy or definiteness (see Comrie 1989, Croft 1988, Blossong 1991). DOM is known to be widely spread in the area across language families and was also attested in Karbi (Konnerth 2014). In the case of Amri Karbi, P arguments with animate referents also tend to be marked with *-yok* more often than P arguments with inanimate referents. Besides animacy, there seems to be other reasons for Amri Karbi differential object marking. In recent studies of differential argument marking, there has been more attention given to the role of information structure (e.g. Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011; Lemmolo & Klumpp 2014). There are many cases in the database where the animate P argument in a transitive clause is unmarked, example (6.10) is one of them. Example (6.10) contains a question and answer discourse chunk. In the question part the P argument with the animate referent *arleng* ‘man’ is not marked with *-yok* ‘NSUBJ’, but in the answer part it is marked with *-yok* ‘NSUBJ’ along with the second animate P argument *tike* ‘tiger’. What is seen here is that the P argument in the question part, *arleng* ‘man’, is unmarked with *-yok* without creating ambiguity in its relation to the predicate, even though the subject ‘you’ is unexpressed. Though there is a reflexive *chi-* on the verb *ap* ‘shoot’, which should mean that subject and the object are the same, here it does not do so in the strict sense, but perhaps in a sense as ‘shooting one’s own kind’. So, in this example, the trigger for P marking is obviously not ambiguity of syntactic roles, but rather a discourse pragmatic reason. In this case the reason might be that the answer part conveys a negative statement ‘(we) do not shoot people’, followed by the correct statement ‘(we) shoot tigers only’ and consequently emphasising the P role rather than determining it.

(6.10)

S1.:

*te arleng chi-ap-bub-bo=hole=bō hilai=pen=ke*  
 so man RR-shoot-kill-IRR=probably=CONF.Q gun=with=TOP  
 ‘then may be (you) will shoot people with gun (by mistake)?’

S2.:

*we arleng ayokke chiap’e tike ayoksi*  
 we arleng a-yok=ke chi-ap-Ce tike a-yok=si  
 NEG.EX.COP person POSS-NSUBJ=TOP RR-shoot-NEG tiger POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*apmeta*

*ap-ye=ta*  
 shoot-FUT=ADD

‘(we) do not shoot people, (we) will shoot tiger only’ (PI&LT Interview)

There are some examples in the database when variation in P marking is even less apparent. Example (6.11) shows two cases where P of the transitive verb *thék* ‘see’ is marked in *a* and unmarked in *b*. Both examples are pragmatically similar, both have animate P arguments. So, the explanation for variation here could be that P marking sometimes might be a speaker’s random choice to emphasise the P argument.

(6.11)

*a* P marked

*laba aphelsi ana ai lang arlopara wangolesi*  
 la=bang aphel=si anang ai lang arlo=para wang-ole=si  
 DEM=GNR after=FOC:RL 3 mother water inside=from come-be.outside=NF:RL

*jitia asopoyok chithektheyongo*

*jitia(Assm) a-so-po=yok chi-thék-Ce-ingyong-lò*  
 when POSS-child-M=NSUBJ RR-see-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘after that his mother came out from the water and she did not see her son’ (KP Honghora)

*b* P unmarked

*neta katbang pune aro aphel angchilang ayokke akhoipo*

ne=ta      kat-bang pu-ne      aro aphel nang=chi-làng a-yok=ke      **a-khoi-po**  
1=ADD      run-IRR1 say-NF:IRR      and after 2=RR-look      POSS-DIR=TOP      POSS-friend-M

*thektheyong*

thék-Ce-ingyong

see-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘me also I need to run, said and after he looked behind, but he never saw his friend’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

While the definite *-po* may mark any participant in a clause, there is some evidence that in some contexts, there is a higher chance of A reading of a noun marked with *-po*. Example (6.12) is a transitive clause where A is *anang* ‘3’ and P is *arleng* ‘man’. Example (6.13) is a similar example, where only P *arleng* ‘man’ is marked with the definite *-po* and that makes a different reading in a way that A *anang* ‘3’ is interpreted as a possessive pronoun<sup>34</sup>, and the two nouns form one noun phrase. For the second noun *arleng* to function as P again, overt marking with *-yok* is necessary (6.14).

(6.12)

*anang arleng pamo*

anang arleng pām-lò

3      man      beat-RL

‘he beat the man’ (elicited)

(6.13)

*anang arlengpo pamo*

anang arleng-po pām-lò

3      man-DEF      beat-RL

‘his man beat’ (elicited)

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<sup>34</sup> *anang* ‘3’ could be interpreted as a possessive prefix also, but because noun *arleng* ‘man’ does not take a possessive prefix *a-* there are two interpretations are possible.

(6.14)

*anang arlengpoyok pamo*

anang arleng-po=yok pām-lò

3 man-DEF=NSUBJ beat-RL

‘he beat the man’ (elicited)

### 6.2.2.2 Pronominal P arguments

Pronominal P arguments are usually exceptions to the DOM. First and second person P arguments are usually marked on the verb as was shown above in the previous section. Third person singular *anang/alang*, third person plural *anangli//alangli/anali* and are always marked with the non-subject marker *-yok*. Example (6.15) shows an elicited example with the third person P and example (6.16) from natural data. Example (6.17) shows third person plural P argument.

(6.15) third person pronominal argument

*arleng anangyok pamo*

arleng **anang=yok** pām-lò

man 3=NSUBJ hit-RL

‘man beat him’

*\*arleng anang pamo*<sup>35</sup>

arleng anang pām-lò

man 3 hit-RL

‘man beat him’ (elicited)

(6.16)

*aro anang asereng atikeposi minike anangyok*

aro anang asereng a-tike-po=si mini=ke **anang=yok**

and 3 real POSS-tiger-DEF=FOC:RL today=TOP 3=NSUBJ

*wangujharduno*

wang-ujhar-dun-lò

come-attack-follow-RL

‘and today the real tiger attacked him’ (BR Lying cowboy)

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<sup>35</sup> Again, in comparison with nouns, where there is DOM, *-yok* may be omitted in a clause *anang arleng pamo/anang arlengyok pamo* ‘he beat a man’.

(6.17)

*lahel analiyok theksi ingneksolo*

la-hel **anali=yok** thék-si ingnek-sol-lò

DEM-PL 3PL=NSUBJ see-NF:RL laugh-all-RL

‘they laughed all looking at them’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Even though first- and second-person pronominal P arguments are marked on the verb, there are some instances where they are also marked with the non-subject marker *-yok*; as a result, these P arguments are marked twice for their role. The reason for this double marking might be to put emphasis on the P/R argument. Example (6.18) illustrates such a case, where the R argument of the verb *pu* ‘say’, the first person *ne* ‘I’ is marked on the verb *n=-pu-pe-yong* (1=say-NEG-NEG.EX.COP) ‘did not say to me’ and also separately *ne=yok* (1=NSUBJ) ‘to me’.

(6.18) double P/R marking

*manta alang neyok sunnot puke nepupeyong*

manta alang **ne=yok** sun-not pu=ke **ne=pu-Ce-yong**

but 3 1=NSUBJ get.down-IMP say=TOP 1=say-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘but he didn’t say to me get down (from the bus)’ (JB Bus)

Pronominal P arguments may also be marked solely with the non-subject marker *-yok* and not cross-referenced on a verb. The explanation for this can vary; the situation might be an unusual use of the verb or the context might be new. Example (6.19) shows a situation that is happening at the gate of an airport during a security check. The pronominal P argument *ne* ‘I’ is marked with the non-subject marker *-yok* rather than indexing on the verb. The airport context is certainly not yet a usual situation for the language speakers, so maybe that is the reason for the *-yok* marker to appear on the pronominal P argument. In example (6.20) the use of the expression *Arnam kajinso pen* ‘by/with God’s grace’ is used in a Christian sociolect mostly, which is also a relatively new notion, so the pronominal P argument marking might be motivated by it.

(6.19)

*niyok gatelong lango nibihinihel langphrodno*

**ne=yok** gate=long làng-lò ne-bihini-hel làng-phrod-lò

1=NSUBJ gate(Eng)=LOC look-RL 1-thing-PL look-all-RL

‘at the gate I was checked, all my stuff was checked’ (BM Trip2)

(6.20)

*manta haneyok arnam kajinso pen iko aduk hlonghleyong*

manta **hane=yok** arnam ki-jinso pen iko a-duk hlong-Ce-ingyong

but 1=NSUBJ god NMLZ-mercy with nothing POSS-trouble get-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘but with God’s grace to me I did not get any trouble’ (JB Bus)

So pronominal P arguments are exempt from the DOM and are always marked either on the verb or by the non-subject marker *-yok* or both.

### 6.2.2.3 Transitive clause with an inanimate P referent

P arguments for inanimate referents appears before the verb and tend to be unmarked with *-yok* ‘NSUBJ’. Sometimes, however, differential argument marking can also be observed in relation to the inanimate P arguments. Example (6.21) shows that the P inanimate argument *tharwe* ‘mango’ of the verb *pari* ‘pluck’ is unmarked with *-yok*.

(6.21)

*ahuwidta tharwepo kapari ayok chidhorelo*

ahuwid=ta **tharwe-po** ki-pari a-yok chi-dhore-lò

all=ADD mango-DEF NMLZ-pluck POSS-PURP RR-try-RL

‘all of them tried to pluck the mangoes’

An example with the inanimate P argument differential marking is given in (6.22). The P argument *akeng* ‘foot’ of the verb *kōr* ‘bite’ in (6.22) is unmarked with *-yok*, but the P argument *tokok* ‘stick’ of the same verb *kōr* ‘bite’ is marked with *-yok*. The marking of the argument *tokok* ‘stick’ with *-yok* could be probably caused by the prominence of the argument. The context in (6.22) is that the crocodile bit the stick by mistake when he wanted to bite the foot of the fox.

(6.22)

*akengsi kikor hlongo ...alangke akengpo hlodamphlutsi*

**a-keng=si**            ki-kor hlong-lò    alang=ke    a-keng-po            hlo-dam-phlut-si  
POSS-foot=FOC:RL   NMLZ-bite get-RL   3=TOP        POSS-foot-DEF        release-go-free-NF:RL

*tokokpoyoksi pakorrongo*

**tokok-po=yok=si**            pa-kōr-rōng-lò  
stick-DEF=NSUBJ=FOC:RL   CAUS-bite-by.mistake-RL  
'(the crocodile) bit the foot (of the fox), he released the foot and bit the stick by mistake' (RB  
Fox and crocodile)

### 6.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

In ditransitive clauses, R is usually marked with *-yok* 'NSUBJ' and pronominal arguments are cross-referenced on the verb. T arguments with inanimate referents usually appear right before the verb and remain unmarked. T arguments with animate referents are usually marked with *-yok* and pronominal arguments are cross-referenced on the verb. One or two of the arguments in ditransitive clauses are often dropped. Verbs that appear in ditransitive clauses are *pi* 'give', *pon* 'take', *wan* 'bring' and *than* 'say'. In the following sections ditransitive clauses with animate and inanimate T referents will be described.

#### 6.2.3.1 Ditransitive clauses with animate T referents

Verbs that appear in ditransitive clauses with animate T arguments are *pon* 'take', *wan* 'bring' and *pi* 'give'.

Example (6.23) shows a verb *pon* 'take', that has three arguments: the A argument is *ghurialpo* 'crocodile', the T argument *kampi* 'monkey' is animate and dropped, the R argument *apisope* 'wife' is also animate and marked with *-yok* 'NSUBJ'.

(6.23) animate T unexpressed, animate R marked with *-yok*

*para ghurialpota apisope adung ayok ponhongheyongo*  
para ghurial-po=ta            a-piso-pe    **a-dung**    **a-yok**            pon-hong-Ce-ingyong-lò  
then crocodile-DEF=ADD    POSS-wife-F    POSS-near    POSS-NSUBJ    take-get-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL  
'then the crocodile did not take (monkey) to his wife' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

Example (6.24) shows a ditransitive verb *wan* ‘bring’, A is *rechopo* ‘the king’, T is animate *anali* ‘they’ marked with *-yok* and R is *hēm* ‘house’, also marked with *-yok*.

(6.24)

*rechopo la theksi lahelyok banta kipi badi hem ayok*

recho-po la thék-si la-hel=yok banta ki-pi badi hēm a-yok  
king-M DEM see-NF:RL DEM-PL=NSUBJ reward NMLZ-give as house POSS-all

*wano aro analiyok pangrhengo*

wan-lò aro **anali=yok** pa-inghrens-lò  
bring-RL and 3PL=NSUBJ CAUS-take.care-RL

‘the king saw this and as a reward to them (he) brought them to his house and took care of them’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Another example with the ditransitive verb *wan* ‘bring’ is shown in (6.25) where all the arguments are expressed, A *osopo* ‘the boy’, T *chorònghel* ‘cow’ which is animate and R *chorònghēm* ‘cow shed’ are marked with *-yok*.

(6.25) animate T marked with *-yok*, inanimate R marked with *-yok*

*aro nethulo labadisi osopota choronghel ayok abithang*

aro nethu-lò labadisi oso-po=ta **choròng-hel a-yok** a-bithang  
and evening-RL like.this child-M=ADD cow-PL POSS-NSUBJ POSS-self

*chorong hem ayok chiwano*

choròng **hēm a-yok** chi-wan-lò  
cow house POSS-DIR RR-bring-RL

‘in the evening, the cowboy himself brought the cows to the cow-shed’ (BR Lying cowboy)

Example (6.26) shows the verb *wan* ‘bring’ with the pronominal T argument *nang=* ‘2’, the inanimate R *nehēm* ‘my house’ marked with *-yok*.

(6.26) pronominal T, inanimate R marked with *-yok*

*hane nangkiwanpoke, nehem ayok nangkiwannepoke*

hane nang=ki-wan-po=ke **ne-hēm a-yok nang=ki-wan-ye-po=ke**  
1 2=NMLZ-bring-DEF=TOP 1-house POSS-ALL 2=NMLZ-bring-FUT-DEF=TOP

*nangkhoipe nangwan kihodun athepomar chosi anang*

nang-khoi-pe    **nang=wan**    ki-ho-dun                    a-the-po-mar                    chó-si                    anang  
2-friend-F            2=bring            NMLZ-send-follow    POSS-fruit-DEF-PL    eat-NF.RL    3

*bohut aneng arong*

bohut(Assm) (aneng arong)

very                    happy

‘to bring you, to bring you to my house, your friend’s wife (wants me to) bring you because she was very happy to eat fruit that you have sent her’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

Example (6.27) shows the verb *pi* ‘give’, the A argument is *ne* ‘I’, the T argument is animate *nesope* ‘my daughter’ marked with *-yok* and R is a pronominal argument *nali* ‘2PL’ cross-referenced on the verb.

(6.27)

*inghosima nesopiyok nali ta kataram abangte, olene*

ingho=si=ma    ne-so-pe=yok    nali=ta    ki-taram    a-bang=te    ole=ne  
who=FOC.RL=Q    1-child-F=NSUBJ    2PL=ADD    NMLZ-call    POSS-GNR=Q2    out=NF:IRR

*wangot ne nesopiyok nalipibo*

wang-not    ne    **ne-so-pe=yok**    nali=pi-bò  
come-IMP    1    1-child-F=NSUBJ    2PL=give-IRR2

‘who is the person that is calling my daughter, come out I will give you my daughter’ (PM Bilangthe)

### 6.2.3.2 Ditransitive clauses with inanimate T referents

Verbs that appear in ditransitive clauses with animate T arguments are *pon* ‘take’, *wan* ‘bring’, *pi* ‘give’ and *than* ‘say’.

Example (6.28) shows the verb *pon* ‘take’ with two arguments: the A argument is unexpressed, the T argument is *hor* ‘beer’ and the R argument is *dehal* ‘worship place’ marked with the relator noun *-long*.

(6.28)

*aro rongbong ahorta lalong dehal along pone*

aro rongbong **a-hor=ta** la=long dehal a-long pon-ye  
and congregation POSS-beer=ADD DEM=LOC worship.place POSS-LOC take-FUT  
'and (tax collectors) will take the congregation beer to the worship place' (TI Puja)

Example (6.29) shows a ditransitive clause with a predicate *wan* 'bring' that has three arguments; only the R argument referring to animate *pisope* 'wife' is present and marked with *-yok*, the A argument and the T argument 'fruit' are unexpressed.

(6.29) arguments of the verb *wan* 'bring' R animate *-yok*

*chó-dam-si aro labadi **piso-pe=yok=ta** wan-pi-man*  
eat-go-NF:RL and like.this wife-F=NSUBJ=ADD bring-BEN-HAB

'(he) eats and, like this, (he) brings (fruit) to his wife also' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

Example (6.30) shows a ditransitive clause with the predicate *pi* 'give' that has three arguments: the A argument in (6.30) is dropped, the R animate argument *banghini* 'two (boys)' is marked with *-yok* 'NSUBJ' and appears before the T argument *pumni* 'two fruit' which, in its turn, appears right before the verb.

(6.30)

*aro banghinyok pumnita pidetno*

aro **bang-hini=yok** pum-ni=ta pi-det-lò  
and CLF:HUM.PL=NSUBJ CLF:round-two=ADD give-all-RL  
'(he) gave away two fruit to those two (boys)' (MI Pear film)

Example (6.31) shows the verb *than* 'say' with three arguments: A is unexpressed, T is *nepispo alam* 'my wife's words' and R is *nekhopo* 'my friend' marked with *=yok*.

(6.31) R argument of *than* 'say' marked with *=yok*

*potbadi=te ne-piso-pe a-lam potdi=te ne-khoi-po=yok than-bò*  
how=Q2 1-wife-F POSS-word how=Q2 1-friend-M=NSUBJ say-IRR2

'how will I tell my wife's words to my friend?' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

### 6.2.3.3 Verbal person marking in ditransitive clauses

In ditransitive clauses pronominal SAP P arguments are also exempt to the DOM as they are in transitive clauses. They are always marked on the verb. As described in §6.1, the pronouns can only mark SAP, i.e. the first and second person pronominal arguments and the third person pronominal argument is not marked on a verb, it is marked by the non-subject marker *-yok*, *anang=yok/ anang a-yok* (3=NSUBJ/3 POSS-NSUBJ).

In ditransitive clauses, pronominal arguments marked on the verb may be either T or R arguments. In the example (6.32), the pronominal argument *nang='2'* marked on the verb *wan* 'bring' is a T argument. Examples (6.33) and (6.34) have R arguments marked with the pronominal *nali='2PL'* and *nang='2'*.

(6.32)

*khoi hane nangkiwanpoke, nehem ayok nangkiwannepoke,*

khoi hane nang=ki-wan-po=ke ne-hēm a-yok nang=ki-wan-ye-po=ke  
 friend 1 2=NMLZ-bring-DEF=TOP 1-house POSS-ALL 2=NMLZ-bring-FUT-DEF=TOP

*nangkhoipe nangwan kihodun athepomar chosi anang*

nang-khoi-pe nang=wan ki-ho-dun a-the-po-mar chó-si  
 2-friend-F 2=bring NMLZ-send-follow POSS-fruit-DEF-PL eat-NF.RL

*bohut aneng arong*

anang bohut(Assm) (aneng arong)

3 very happy

'friend, to bring you, to bring you to my house, your friend's wife (wants me to) bring you because she was very happy to eat fruit that you have sent her' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(6.33)

*inghosima nesopiyok nalita kataram abangte, olene*

ingho=si=ma ne-so-pe=yok nali=ta ki-taram a-bang=te ole=ne  
 who=FOC.RL=Q 1-child-F=NSUBJ 2PL=ADD NMLZ-call POSS-GNR=Q2 OUT=NF:IRR

*wangot ne nesopiyok nalipibo*

wang-not ne ne-so-pe=yok **nali**=pi-bò

come-IMP 1 1-child-F=NSUBJ 2PL=give-IRR2

‘who is the person that is calling my daughter, come out I will give you my daughter’ (PM Bilangthe)

(6.34)

*ne pisi lasi labangpo nayok nangwanpiman pusi thano*

ne pi-si lasi labang-po nang=yok **nang**=wan-pi-man pu-si than-lò

1 give-NF:RL so DEM-DEF 2=NSUBJ 2=bring-BEN-HAB say-NF:RL say-RL

‘so I give and bring them to you, he said’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

As have been seen in the examples (6.32), (6.33) and (6.34), the verbal person marking pronominal of the ditransitive verbs may cross-reference either T or R arguments. The choice of the pronominal cross-referencing of either T or R argument on a ditransitive verb is based on the condition, if the second argument of a verb, be it T or R, is not able to do that. In other words, the other argument of a ditransitive verb (T or R) should be expressed by means other than a pronoun. The question is whether there is some hierarchy or preference when two arguments (T and R) of a ditransitive verb are pronouns (first and second person) that can be marked on a verb. In this case there seems to be no general rule that can be followed. As can be seen in the elicited sentences in (6.35) the pronominal T argument is mostly marked on the verb and the R pronominal argument is marked by a relator noun. So there seems to be a preference to mark pronominal T arguments rather than R arguments on a verb.

Unfortunately, there is no natural data to bring a better clarity to the question as the data on which the analysis is based contains only elicited examples, some of which are clumsy and unnatural. Based on that it is too early to say with certainty whether there is a preference of one of the SAP arguments over the other and if there is, how consistent this preference is.

Therefore, further research and more data of verbal person marking in ditransitive clauses will be beneficial.

(6.35)

*anang ne=wan do nang=dung=yok*

3 1=bring COP 2=near=DIR

‘he has brought me to you (Lit.: he has brought me to your nearness)’

*anang nang=wan do ne=dung=yok*

3 2=bring COP 1=near=DIR

‘he has brought you to me (Lit.: he has brought you to my nearness)’

*anang ne=ki-pon nang=dung a-yok*

3 1=PST-take 2=near POSS-DIR

‘he took me to you (Lit.: he took me to your nearness)’

*anang nang=yok cho-pon-si ne=dung ki-wang*

3 2=NSUBJ AUTOBEN-take-NF:RL 1=near PST-come

‘he took you to me (Lit.: he took you to my nearness)’

*anang ne=pi-lò nang=yok*

3 1=give-RL 2=NSUBJ

‘he gave me to you’

*anang nang=yok ne=pi-lò*

3 2=NSUBJ 1= give-RL

‘he gave you to me’ (elicited)

#### 6.2.4 Valency increasing

This section addresses valency increasing, which is achieved by the causative that is marked with the prefix *pa-* and the benefactive that is marked with the predicate derivation suffix *-pi*.

The causative *pa-* affects the argument structure. Intransitive verbs are transitivized when marked with the causative *pa-*. The causee or the P argument of these types of verbs have not been found to have DOM; P is usually unmarked with *-yok*, whether the referents are animate

or inanimate. Example (6.36) shows a causative marked verb in the imperative, *pa-wang-wenang* (CAUS-come-NEG-HORT) ‘do not let come’, with the P argument *kanghu sumu* ‘thief’ unmarked with *-yok*. In example (6.37), the P argument *théngpe aghai aghai* ‘big trees’ of the causative marked verb *pa-krep-man* (CAUS-fall-HAB) ‘make fall’ is also unmarked with *-yok*.

(6.36) animate P *kanghu sumu* ‘thief’

*arnam, minike kanghu sumu pawangwenang*  
 arnam mini=ke **kanghu sumu** pa-wang-Ce-nang  
 god now=TOP (thief) CAUS-come-NEG-HORT  
 ‘God, now do not let the thieves to my home’ (BK Widow)

(6.37) inanimate P *théngpe* ‘tree’

*apenso-hel=ke théngpe aghai~aghai thu-si pa-krep-man*  
 man-PL=TOP tree big ~big cut-NF.RL CAUS-fall-HAB  
 ‘the men cut big trees and make them fall’ (TuI Field)

Transitive verbs can be marked with the causative *pa-* to increase their valency, making them ditransitive. The causee or the R argument of these types of verbs is marked with *-yok*. Example (6.38) shows the verb *ik* ‘wear’ marked with *pa-* making it ditransitive ‘put on someone something to wear’, where the R argument *haliso halisu* ‘our children and grandchildren’ is marked with *-yok*.

(6.38)

*lasi chi-pher chi-thak-si hali-so hali-su=yok*  
 so RR-spin RR-weave-NF:RL 1PL.EXCL-child 1PL.EXCL-grandchild=NSUBJ

*pa-ik-man*  
 CAUS-wear-HAB  
 ‘so we spin (the cotton) and weave and give our children and grandchildren to wear’ (DT Culture)

Example (6.39) shows a transitive verb *hlophlut* ‘release’ ditransitized with the causative *pa-*. The former A is now P that is cross-referenced on the verb with *ne=* ‘1’. The new A also functions as P: as A it is expressed as *alangsî* but as P it is unexpressed. Note that there is also an instrument *budi* ‘wisdom’ which is possessed by the new A.

(6.39)

*alangsi ladi abudi nepahlophlutno*

alang=si ladi a-budi ne=pa-hlophlut-lò  
3=FOC:RL like.this POSS-wisdom 1=CAUS-release-RL

‘he made me release (him) (with) his wisdom’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The predicate derivation suffix *-pi* can affect argument structure and functions as an indicator that there is a benefactee of the action. In example (6.40), *-pi* marks the transitive verb *chó* ‘eat’ making it ditransitive, i.e., the meaning of *chópidetnò* is ditransitive ‘were given to eat by someone to someone’. The benefactee of the verb *chó-pi-det-nò* ‘eat-BEN-all-RL’ is *mengsurungpo asomar* ‘the fox’s children’ and it is unexpressed in this clause. Argument A of the verb is *mengsurung* ‘fox’ and it is also unexpressed. Only T *aso* ‘(crocodile’s) children’ is expressed and in the next clause of (a) it is clarified that the benefactee are the fox’s children and the fox is the A argument of both clauses. The T argument of the verb with *-pi asopoke* ‘crocodile’s children’ is either unmarked with *-yok* in (a) or marked with *-yok* in (b). The benefactee can be also marked with the relator noun *-phan* ‘for’, discussed later in §6.3.3.

(6.40) predicate derivational suffix *-pi*

(a) P argument unmarked

*asopoke mane chopidetno mengsurungpo asomar*

[a-so-po=ke mane chó-**pi**-det-lò] mengsurung-po a-so-mar  
POSS-child-DEF=TOP means eat-BEN-all-RL fox-DEF POSS-child-PL

*ayok pachodedno pusi*

a-yok pa-chó-ded-lò pusi  
POSS-NSUBJ CAUS-eat-all-RL QUOT

‘means, his (crocodile’s) children were eaten (for fox’s children benefit), the fox fed his children with all (crocodile’s children), they say’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(b) P argument marked with *-yok*

*lasi labadisi mengsurungpo chobel chobelsi ghurialpo*

lasi labadisi mengsurung-po chobel~ chobel-si ghurial-po  
so like.this fox-DEF deceive deceive-NF:RL crocodile-DEF

*asopoyok chopidetno*

**a-so-po=yok**                      **chó-pi-det-lò**

POSS-child-DEF=NSUBJ eat-BEN-all-RL

‘so in this way the fox by deceiving, has given crocodile’s children to be eaten (to his/fox’s children)’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The benefactive *-pi* marks ditransitive verbs increasing their valency. Example (6.41) shows the ditransitive verb *wan* ‘bring’ marked with *-pi*. Out of all arguments of the verb: A, T, R and benefactee, only T *perik* ‘clothes’ is overtly expressed.

(6.41)

*perik wan-pi-man*

clothe bring-BEN-HAB

‘(she) brought clothes (home) (for her daughter)’ (PM Bilangthe)

There is some evidence however that *-pi* may not always have argument structure changing force. Example (6.42) has a verb *pon* ‘to take’ marked with *-pi* and the argument structure of the verb does not change and for comparison, its argument structure is the same as of the verb *pon* shown in example (6.43).

(6.42)

*parake pisi ba ghurialpoke apisopeyok ponpiman pusi*

parake pi-si            bang ghurial-po=ke    **a-piso-pe=yok**            pon-**pi**-man            pusi

then give-NF:RL GNR crocodile-M=TOP POSS-wife-F=NSUBJ take-give-HAB QUOT

‘after giving, that crocodile would take the fruit to his wife’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(6.43)

*parake ghurialpota apisope adung ayok*

parake ghurial-po=ta            **a-piso-pe**    **a-dung**<sup>36</sup>    **a-yok**

then crocodile-DEF=ADD POSS-wife-F POSS-near POSS-NSUBJ

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<sup>36</sup> *-dung* ‘near’ is needed here because both R and T arguments in (6.43) are animate.

*ponhongheyongo*

pon-hong-Ce-ingyong-lò

take-get-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘then the crocodile did not take (monkey) to his wife’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

#### 6.2.5 Argument-emphasising predicate derivations

The list of argument-emphasising predicate derivations was given in §5.1.7.3.3, this section describes their functions. Argument structure predicate derivations extend a verb’s semantics in relation to its argument; they emphasise rather than determine the argument structure of the verb. Some argument structure predicate derivations extend a verb’s meaning only in relation to the S or A argument of the verb; some predicate derivations can extend the verb’s meaning in relation to S or P, depending on its transitivity.

The predicate derivation suffix *-phrong* has distributive plural interpretation, it relates only to the S argument of a verb. Example (6.44) shows *-phrong* marking the verb *en* ‘take’ for the meaning ‘they each take’.

(6.44) *-phrong* ‘each’

*thūr-si          minon=ke    kalbong    en-phrong-si    kampi-po-mar=yok*

weak.up-NF:RL    now=TOP    stick    take-each-NF:RL    monkey-DEF-PL=NSUBJ

*mari-lò=tànghò*

kill-RL=REP

‘when (husband) woke up (they both) took stick each and (they) killed all monkeys’ (BT Monkey)

The predicate derivation suffix *-jo* occurs with a limited number of verbs. It relates only to the S argument of a verb and has plural meaning. Example (6.45) shows *-jo* appearing with the verb *ingreng* ‘animals make sound’.

(6.45) *-jo* ‘PL’

*lasi    mengsurung-po    a-so-mar          ingreng-jo-si          aheri    ki-hlong*

so    fox-DEF                  POSS-child-PL    make.sound-PL-NF:RL    wake.up    PST-get

*ghurial-po=ke*

crocodile-DEF=TOP

‘so the fox’s children made sound and woke up the crocodile’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The predicate derivation suffix *-kreng* is productive and extends a verb’s meaning to plural when the subject is plural; it relates to only S or A. The suffix *-kreng* concerns not only that S or A is plural, but that the S or A argument acts as ‘whole’ or ‘all’ as is the case in example (6.46), where ‘all the owners of the house have left’.

(6.46) *-kreng* ‘all’

*ahemphuhel daklong damkrengo*

a-hēmphu-hel daklong dam-**kreng**-lò

POSS-owner-PL where go-all-RL

‘where did the owners go?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The predicate derivation suffix *-phrod* is a productive suffix that extends a verb’s meaning in relation to the plural P argument. Example (6.47) shows *-phrod* marking the verb *mari* to express the meaning that ‘all the monkeys were killed, not one was left alive’.

(6.47) *-phrod* ‘all’

*kampipomaryok mariphrodno*

kampi-po-mar=yok mari-**phrod**-lò

monkey-DEF-PL=NSUBJ kill-all-RL

‘(they) killed all the monkeys’ (BT Monkey)

The predicate derivation suffix *-rul* occurs on a limited number of verbs; it expresses the meaning that the argument is plural. It relates to the S argument with intransitive verbs and to the P argument with transitive verbs. Example (6.48) shows *-rul* appearing on the copular verb *do*, which surfaces in translation as a quantitative ‘many’ for the S argument noun *arleng* ‘person’.

(6.48) *-rul* ‘PL’

*arleng*<sup>37</sup> *do-rul* *do da*  
man COP-PL COP go

‘many people are there, go’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The predicate derivation suffix *-jal* appears with a limited number of verbs. With locations, its meaning emerges as ‘everywhere’ (6.49). With a verb marked with the reflexive-reciprocal *chi-*, the meaning of the reciprocity is enhanced by the suffix *-jal* (6.50).

(6.50) *-jal* ‘everywhere’

*lasi anang ki-do a-long=ke angkok hong-jal-si do-ye*  
so 3 NMLZ-stay POSS-LOC=TOP hole get-everywhere-NF:RL COP-FUT

‘so, wherever he (pangolin) stays he makes holes’ (PaI Pangolin)

(6.51) *-jal* ‘each other’

*arleng-bang=ten an ki-chó badi chi-thak-jal-man=ma?*  
man-CLF:HUM.PL=every rice NMLZ-eat as RR-divide-each.other-HAB=Q

‘do you share (betel nuts) with each other as you would share rice?’ (PI&LT Interview)

The predicate derivation suffix *-ren* has been found only on the verb *rok* ‘cut’ where it emphasises the plural A argument (6.52).

(6.52) *-ren* ‘PL.SUBJ’

*arleng amokhasi rokkrokrenrensi patango dik*

*arleng a-mokha=si rok~rok-ren~ren-si pa-tàng-lo=dik*  
man POSS-many=FOC:RL cut~cut-PL.SUBJ~PL.SUBJ-NF:RL CAUS-finish-RL=TAG

‘(because) many people are helping cut, (it) is finished, isn’t it?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The predicate derivation suffix *-det* is productive and has occurs very frequently. The suffix *-det* changes its argument orientation depending on the verb’s transitivity. With an intransitive verb, the orientation of the suffix *-det* is towards the S argument of the verb; with a transitive verb, the orientation is towards the P argument. Example (6.52) shows *-det* marking an intransitive verb *wang* ‘come’ with the meaning that ‘all family members came’. Example (6.53) shows *-det* marking the transitive verb *chó* ‘eat’ with the meaning that ‘all crocodile’s children have been eaten’. The meaning of the suffix *-det* overlaps with the suffix *-kreng*, by

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<sup>37</sup> Note that Amri Karbi does not usually mark indefinite nouns with plural; therefore the noun *arleng* ‘man’ in (6.48) which is indefinite, does not have a plural marker.

emphasising the ‘wholeness’ of an S argument, and with the suffix *-phrod* by emphasising the P argument. According to my language consultants, the suffix *-det* is in free variation with suffixes *-krenng* and *-phrod*.

(6.52) *-det* with an intransitive verb

*hēm a-bang wang-det do*

house POSS-GNR come-all COP

‘all family members came’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(6.53) *-det* with a transitive verb

*lasi labadisi mengsurungpo chobel chobelsi ghurialpo*

lasi labadi=si mengsurung-po chobel chobel-si ghurial-po

so like.this=FOC:RL fox-DEF deceive deceive-NF:RL crocodile-DEF

*asopoyok chopidetno*

a-so-po=yok chó-pi-det-lò

POSS-child-DEF=NSUBJ eat-give-all-RL

‘so in this way the fox deceived the crocodile and have eaten his children’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The suffix *-det* functions as an intensifier with verbs denoting states<sup>38</sup>. Example (6.54) shows *-det* marking the verb *phere* ‘be afraid’ to bring the meaning of intensity to the state that can be translated ‘very, so, much’. Example (6.55) shows *-det* marking the verb *bek* ‘be small’ that creates the meaning ‘very’.

(6.54) *-det* as an intensifier

*pheredetsi angkatno chorongta wanun’eyongo*

phere-det=si nang=kat-lò choròng=ta wan-ùn-Ce-ingyong-lò

be.afraid-all=NF:RL CIS=run-RL cow=ADD bring-be.able-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘so I was so afraid and I ran, even I did not get any cow’ (BK Widow)

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<sup>38</sup> Suffix *-det* also functions as an intensifier in a noun phrase, see § Noun Phrase.

(6.55) *-det* as an intensifier

*Koli-pe=pen Mokali-pe bek-so-det kalēk*  
PN:Koli-F=with PN:Mokali-F be.small-DIM-all NEG.EQ.COP  
'Koli and Mokali are not very small' (BM Koli and Mokali)

### 6.3 Peripheral grammatical relations

Thematic relations in Amri Karbi are usually marked with relator nouns or marked by information structure clitics or not marked at all. Amri Karbi also employs its numerous predicate derivation suffixes to express some of the thematic relations.

#### 6.3.1 Instrument and comitative

The clitic *=pen* marks both instrument and comitative relations. Arguments of the thematic role of instrument refer to something that is used to carry out the action. In Amri Karbi, instruments are usually marked with *=pen* 'with', which attaches to the noun phrase that refers to the instrument (6.56). Also, instruments can be unmarked with *=pen* (6.57) or marked only with an information structure clitic (6.58), where the thematic relation is inferred through the context.

(6.56)

*lasi tokok endungsi mengsurungpo lang jangsum jangsumsi*  
lasi tokok en-dung=si mengsurung-po lang nang-sum nang=sum-si  
so stick take-carry.with=NF:RL fox-DEF water CIS=beat CIS=beat-NF:RL

*kidam tokokpopen*

ki-dam tokok-po=**pen**  
NMLZ-go stick-DEF=with  
'so carrying the stick he beats on the water with the stick' (RB Fox and crocodile)

(6.57) instrument *phule* 'cooking pot' is unmarked

*parake isi ijon akampisoke alangke phule*

parake isi i-jon a-kampi-so=ke alang=ke **phule**  
then one one-CLF:ANIM POSS-monkey-DIM=TOP 3=TOP cooking.pot

*chiparkupklakngo*

chi-parkup-klak-lò

RR-keep.down-all-RL

‘then one little monkey covered itself with the cooking pot’ (BR Monkey)

(6.58) instrument *budi* ‘wisdom’ is unmarked

*alangi ladi abudine pahlophlutno*

alang=si ladi **a-budi=ne** pa-hlo-phlut-lò

3=FOC:RL like.this POSS-wisdom=FOC.IRR CAUS-release-immediately-RL

‘he only, with such wisdom, made me immediately release (him)’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Comitative refers to the entity that accompanies A or S in performing an action. In Amri Karbi, the comitative is marked the same way as an instrument, i.e with =*pen* ‘with’ that follows a noun phrase referring to an accompaniment (6.59). Amri Karbi requires agent and accompaniment to be of the same category, either both human or both animate.

(6.59) accompaniment marked with *-pen* ‘with’

*situmpo hohaipopen damo*

situm-po hohai-po=**pen** dam-lò

turtle-DEF rabbit-DEF=with go-RL

‘turtle went with rabbit’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The clitic =*pen* attaches directly to the noun denoting an accompaniment (6.60) and (6.61) or an instrument (6.61).

(6.60)

*aro alang aso asupen thedingne kido apor*

aro alang a-so a-su=**pen** the-ding-ne ki-do a-por

and 3 POSS-child POSS-grandchild=with grow-be.long-NF:IRR NMLZ-stay POSS-time

‘and when he was staying with his grown up children’ (MI One man)

(6.61)

*lasi ne=ke ret dam-bò ai=pen*  
 so 1=TOP field go-IRR2 mother=with  
 ‘so I will go to the field with mother’ (KT Jhum cultivation)

(6.62)

*nokpakpen kutharpen thubongsi pakrepklungo*  
 nokpak=**pen** kuthar=**pen** thu-bong-si pa-krep-klung-lò  
 machete=with axe=with cut-finish.cutting-NF:RL CAUS-fall-fall.dow-RL  
 ‘with machete and axe I finish cutting (the tree) and (the tree) falls down’ (PI Honeybee)

The clitic =*pen* ‘with’ also marks nouns denoting a means of transportation *rod-po=pen* (chariot-DEF=with) ‘on the chariot’ and a language as a medium of communication \**English=pen* (English=with) ‘in English’.

Instead of the postpositional clitic =*pen* ‘with’, some speakers use as a comitative an Assamese borrowed comitative =*logot* ‘with2’. The comitative =*logot* follows a noun that refers to an accompaniment (6.63). This structure looks identical to the one used with the comitative function of =*pen* discussed in the previous section. It also attaches to the accompaniment.

(6.63)

*laparake kampipo ghurialpologot duno ahem ayok*  
 la=para=ke kampi-po ghurial-po=**logot** dun-lò a-hēm a-yok  
 DEM=from=TOP monkey-DEF crocodile-DEF=with2 follow-RL POSS-house POSS-NSUBJ  
 ‘then the monkey went with the crocodile to his house’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

Even though it behaves structurally similarly to =*pen*, =*logot* does not occur in the function of coordination nor in the function of an instrument, as the clitic =*pen* does.

### 6.3.2 Spatial and spatio-temporal

Spatial and spatio-temporal thematic relations refer to the location of the action or state in relation to space or time. To express these relations, Amri Karbi uses both relator nouns and predicate derivations of direction or associative motion. Amri Karbi spatial and spatio-temporal relator nouns are listed in Table 6.1. These relator nouns specify the location, or location and time, of which the relator noun *-long* ‘LOC’ is the most general one. Goals of motion verbs *dam* ‘go’, *wang* ‘come’, *dun* ‘follow’, *hleng* ‘reach’ can either be marked with the directive *-yok* or unmarked (6.64, 6.65) or sometimes marked with the locative *-long*. General locations

like ‘in’ or ‘at’ can either be marked or unmarked with *-long* (6.66, 6.67). So there is differential marking of the arguments that can be marked with *-yok* or *-long*, i.e. these arguments may be marked or unmarked.

Those locations that are not ‘usual’ places or are unexpected, or when the locations are abstract locations, they tend to be marked with the directive *-yok* and the locative *-long*. ‘Usual’/ ‘expected’ places can be also marked with *-yok* and *-long* to highlight or bring emphasis to the location. ‘Usual’/ ‘expected’ locations include known places that have names (cities, villages, schools, etc.): name of a country ‘Thailand’ in (6.65), name of a city ‘Guwahati’ in (6.67) and frequent goals of motions or locations like home and market or a goal/location semantically associated with a verb. The status of the locations and goals, (i.e.: ‘usual’/ ‘expected’ and therefore unmarked with relator nouns *-yok*, *-long*; ‘unusual’/ ‘unexpected’ and therefore marked with relator nouns *-yok*, *-long*; ‘usual’/ ‘expected’ but highlighted/emphasised and therefore marked with relator noun *-yok*, *-long*) is speaker-determined, who may or may not take into account the hearer’s conception of a location.

(6.64)

*anang choròng ki-wi-dam a-yok ingnam a-yok ki-dam*  
 3 cow NMLZ-herd-go POSS-PURP jungle POSS-DIR PST-go  
 ‘he went to feed cows in the jungle’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(6.65)

*la a-por=ke ne kene Thailand ki-dam a-lam ki-do*  
 DEM POSS-time=TOP 1 something PN:Thailand NMLZ-go POSS-plan PST-COP  
 ‘that time there was a plan for me to go to Thailand’

(6.66)

*aro labang arlengpo anerloke office along sal tikiman*  
 aro la=bang arleng-po anerlo=ke office(Eng) a-long sal tiki-man  
 and DEM=GNR man-DEF evening=TOP office POSS-LOC work work-HAB  
 ‘and this man works in the office till evening’ (SR Hunter)

(6.67)

*parake ne anayok kapochakke holek Gohatisi kapochak 2013 ako*

parake ne anang=yok ki-pochak=ke holek **Gohati=si** ki-pochak 2013 ako  
then 1 3=NSUBJ NMLZ-meet=TOP here Guwahati=FOC:RL PST-meet 2013 again  
'after that I met to her here in Guwahati in 2013 again'

When one goes to his/own home, the usual way is not to mark the goal argument *hēm* 'home', e.g.: *nehēm dambang* 'I am going home' and also in (6.68) but when the owner of the house is different from the A argument then the goal may be marked with the relator noun *-yok* (6.69). Again this could be again explained by the idea that when an object/goal is unexpected, unusual or new in association with the situation or predicate, it is marked with *-yok*. However, this does not mean that when the A argument is the owner of the house it cannot be marked by *-yok*, as there might be a situation when this can be estimated to be unusual or unexpected in the appropriate context.

(6.68)

*hem damphakbang to neng chokreng do tene*

**hēm** dam-phak-bang=to neng chok-kreng do tene  
house go-back-IRR1=RPL sister.in.law finish-PRF COP then  
'I will go back home then, since the work is finished' (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(6.69)

*alang wangsī mensurungpo ahem ayok wangngo*

alang wang=si mensurung-po **a-hēm** **a-yok** wang-lò  
3 come=FOC:IRR fox-DEF POSS-house POSS-NSUBJ come-RL  
'he came to the fox's house' (RB Fox and crocodile)

Specific locations are usually marked by relevant relator nouns listed in Table 6.1 and usually do not appear unmarked.

Table 6.1 List of Spatial and Spatio-Temporal relator nouns and postpositional clitics

Category	Form	Gloss
Spatial	<i>-thak</i>	top
	<i>arlo~arlu</i>	inside
	<i>-sitem</i>	in the middle
	<i>amol</i>	up
	<i>aling</i>	bottom
	<i>-kung</i>	near
	<i>-dung</i>	near
	<i>arhum</i>	under
	<i>angsong</i>	up (plants)
	<i>akangri</i>	underneath (a tree or a plant)
	<i>ajon</i>	through
	<i>-ga</i>	towards
	<i>apar</i>	beyond, beside
Spatial/temporal	<i>-long</i>	locative (in/at/during)
	<i>aphel</i>	after
	<i>-yok</i>	directive
	<i>ango</i>	before, in front
	<i>-dak</i>	between, among, at the time
	<i>amahan</i>	opposite

Examples of some of the specific spatial and spatio-temporal relator nouns are shown in (6.70) – (6.74).

(6.70) *dung* ‘near’

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholopara kampi*

anang hon-ne ki-do amun=si a-ki-holo=para kampi  
 3 guard-NF:IRR PST-COP time=FOC:RL POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from monkey

*ijon theksi anangdung wango*

i-jon thék-si anang-**dung** wang-lò  
 one-CLF:ANIM see-NF:RL 3-near come-RL

‘while he was guarding (the chilis) a monkey saw him from far away and came to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(6.71) *-thak* ‘top’

*saikel athak batpiphakngo*

saikel **a-thak** bat-pi-phak-lò

bicycle POSS-top keep-BEN-back-RL

‘put it back on the bicycle’ (MI Pear film)

(6.72) *arlo* ‘inside’

*pune anang kachironne hem arlo kilangdam ayokke*

pu=ne anang ki-chiron=ne hēm **arlo** ki-làng-dam a-yok=ke

say-NF:IRR 3 NMLZ-think=FOC.IRR house inside NMLZ-look-go POSS-PURP=TOP

‘he said, thought and when he went inside the house’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(6.73) *sitem* ‘middle’

*lasi nang kidam apor labang dwar asitem alongke nang*

lasi nang ki-dam a-por la=bang dwar **a-sitem** a-long=ke nang

so 2 NMLZ-go POSS-time DEM=GNR road POSS-middle POSS-LOC=TOP 2

*phokngek*

phok-yek

open-PROH

‘so when you go, this (bucket), in the middle of the road, do not open’ (PM Bilangthe)

(6.74) *aphel* ‘after’

*alentangsi nengkan kep aphelsi chohlongman athepo*

al-en-tàng-si nengkan kep **aphel**=si chó-hlong-man a-the-po

take.care-take-complete-NF:RL year ten after=FOC:RL eat-get-HAB POSS-fruit-DEF

‘(once) completed taking care, after ten years we get to eat the fruit’ (PI Betel nut)

Source or origin and temporal or locative starting points are expressed with =*para* ‘from’; e.g. source (6.75), origin (6.76), temporal starting point (6.77), locative starting point (6.78).

(6.75)

*chul arlopara ipum ipumsi olesi bachik arlo*

chul arlo=**para** i-pum i-pum=si ole=si bachik arlo  
bag inside=from one-CLF:round one-CLF:round=FOC:RL out=NF:RL basket inside

*thaljongsi do*

thal-jong-si do

put.in-DUR-NF:RL COP

‘(the man) takes the fruit one by one out of a bag and puts into the basket’ (MI Pear film)

(6.76)

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholopara*

anang hon-ne ki-do amun=si a-ka-holo=**para**  
3 guird-NF.IRR NMLZ-COP while=FOC:RL POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from

*kampi ijon theksi anang dungwango*

kampi i-jon thék-si anang dung-wang-lò  
monkey one-CLF:ANIM see-NF:RL 3 follow-come-RL

‘while he was guarding (the chilis) a monkey saw him from far away and came to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(6.77)

*aro arlengpo chirono minipara himepe ahemke neta*

aro arleng-po chiron-lo mini=**para** hime-pe a-hēm=ke ne=ta  
and man-DEF think-RL today=from widow-F POSS-house=TOP I=ADD

*chunghudamdelo*

cho-inghu-dam-Ce-lò

AUTOBEN-steal-go-NEG-RL

‘and the man decided from today I will never go to steal from widow's house’ (BK Widow)

(6.78)

*rongpara hali Basorong ayok damo*

rong=**para** hali Basorong a-yok dam-lò  
village=from 1PL.EXCL PN:Basorong POSS-DIR go-RL

‘from village we went to Basorong’

The thematic role of location can also be sometimes expressed with the focus clitic =*si*, in cases where the action or state has potential to occur in different places. In example (6.79), the speaker is saying that her son lives in Nongpoh (place name), but he could live in some other place; therefore, the focus marker =*si* is used. Marking a place with the focus =*si* occurs in situations where the action or state occurs regularly, like a place where one lives, a school or a church one attends, etc.

(6.79)

*mononta ajutsopen kidoke ha kene Nongpoksi*

monon=ta ajut-so=pen ki-do=ke ha kene Nongpok=**si**  
 now=ADD youngest-DIM=with NMLZ-stay=TOP DIST something Nongpok=FOC:RL

*do dokan alongsi do*

do dokan a-long=**si** do  
 stay shop POSS-LOC=FOC:RL COP

‘now someone stays with the youngest child, there in Nongpoh he (my son) stays, in the shop’ (TuI Education)

Direction of motion can also be expressed with one of the predicate derivational suffixes that express direction of motion listed in Table 6.2. They sometimes can co-occur with the cislocative *nang=*, as in (6.80).

Table 6.2 Predicate derivational suffixes of motion’s direction

Form	Gloss	Example
<i>-dun</i>	‘join, follow’	(6.80)
<i>-phak</i>	‘again, back’	(6.81)
<i>-pok</i>	‘out’	(6.82)
<i>-rhol/-hrol</i>	‘away’	(6.83)

(6.80) *-dun* ‘follow, join’

*lasi nangta nangsomar done uskul jangtoldun*

lasi nang=ta nang-so-mar do-ne uskul nang=tol-dun

so 2=ADD 2-child-PL COP=NF:IRR school CIS=send-join

‘so, you also, if you have children, send them to school’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(6.81) *-phak* ‘back’

*hēm dam-phak-bang=to neng chok-kreng-do tene*

house go-back-IRR1=RPL sister-in-law finish-all-COP then

‘I will go back home, sister-in-law, if the work is finished’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(6.82) *-pok* ‘out’

*prekta nebipokngo potsi parake ajutsopensi do*

prek=ta ne=bi-pok-lò potsi parake ajutso=pen=si do

different=ADD 1=keep-out-RL because then youngest.child=with=FOC:RL COP

‘because they separated me out, now I am staying with the youngest son’ (TuI Education)

(6.83) *-rhol/-hrol* ‘away’

*hohaipoke lalong parasi angchirtingphaqsi angkathrolo*

hohai-po=ke la=long=para=si nang=chi-arting-phak=si nang=kat-hrol-lò

rabbit-DEF=TOP DEM=LOC=from=FOC:RL 2=RR-turn-back=FOC:RL 2=run-away-RL

‘the rabbit from that place turned back and run away’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

### 6.3.3 Benefactive

Benefactive, which is marked with the relator noun *-phan* ‘for’, indicates for whose benefit the action occurs.

The relator noun *-phan* ‘for’ cooccurs with the predicate derivation suffix *-pi* ‘BEN’ whenever the context requires. Example (6.84) shows that the verb *pinkit* ‘pray’ is marked with *-pi* and therefore transitivized. The P argument/benefactee is marked with *-phan*. According to my language consultants *-phan* in (6.84) is obligatory, but the relator noun *-yok* ‘NSUBJ’ may be also used instead of *-phan* in (6.84) with the similar meaning.

(6.84) the predicate derivation suffix *-pi* with *-phan* ‘for’

*arnam a-kung kiwang aphel arlenghel arlosope aphan kapinkitpi*

arnam a-kung ki-wang aphel arleng-hel arloso-pe **a-phan** ki-pinkit-pi  
 god POSS-near NMLZ-come after man-PL woman-F POSS-for PST-pray-BEN  
 ‘after coming to God all believers prayed for the girl’ (PR Witchcraft)

Autobenefactive, where the benefactor and the benefactee are the same, is usually marked with the reflexive-reciprocal *chi-* (6.85), without the relator noun *-phan* ‘for’.

(6.85) autobenefactive is marked with *chi-* ‘RR’

*angkhan=ke ki-chó a-yok chi-bi-man aro angkhan=ke jor-man*  
 some=TOP NMLZ-eat POSS-purpose RR-keep-HAB and some=TOP buy-HAB  
 ‘some we keep for ourselves for eating and some we sell’ (PI Betelnut)

#### 6.3.4 Causal

Causal refers to the reason or cause for the action to occur. Causal relations are marked by one of the causal relator nouns listed in Table 6.3. Causal relations in the data occur only as nominalized adverbial clauses, discussed in §9.1.2.2.

Table 6.3 Causal relator nouns

Form	Meaning
<i>-pot(si)</i>	‘purpose/reason’
<i>-yok</i>	‘purpose/reason’
<i>-nat</i>	‘purpose/reason’

## 6.4 Stative predications

Stative predications are classified according to Payne (1997:111) with the following types of stative predication clauses: equation and proper inclusion, attribution, locative predication, existential predication and possessive predication.

### 6.4.1 Equative and proper inclusion clauses

Equative clauses are those which assert that a particular entity is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal; proper inclusion clauses specify entity to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate (Payne 1997). In Amri Karbi there is no grammatical distinction between equative clauses and proper inclusion. In both equative and proper inclusion clauses, nouns function as predicates without any other elements in the present tense.

The subject is usually marked with the topic clitic =*ke* (6.86) and the predicate is either unmarked or marked with the focus =*lo* or the definite -*po*. These markings are important to identify a subject and a complement and the predicate is always preceded by the subject. Nominal predicate clauses require a combination of a noun and a copula *do* when a nominal clause is in the past or future; in that case the noun predicate is either unmarked or marked with the focus =*si* (but not with =*lò*). A copula *do* then inflects for tense and follows the nominal predicate.

(6.86)

*anangke neai*

anang=*ke* ne-ai

3=TOP 1-mother

‘she is my mother’

Example (6.87) shows an elicited example of a proper inclusion clause, where the subject is marked with topic =*ke* and the noun predicate is marked with the definite -*po*.

(6.87)

*Mohan-po=ke sikari-po ki- do*

PN:Mohan-DEF=TOP hunter-DEF PST-COP

‘Mohan was a hunter’ (elicited)

Example (6.88) shows a proper inclusion clause in present tense, where the predicate is a nominal word *hanbab* ‘vegetables’ which is marked with the nominal focus marker =*lò*, the subject *lamehel* is marked with the focus clitic =*si* for emphasis.

(6.88)

*hali hul hali halok mehelsi aro ingnam ahan*

hali hul hali halok mehel=*si* aro ingnam a-han

1PL.EXCL local.fish 1 PL.EXCL local.fish these=FOC:RL and jungle POSS-vegetable

*abab mehek sowat lamehelsi hali hanbabmo*

a-bab mehek sowat la-mehel=**si** hali han-bab=**lò**  
POSS-grass plant.name plant.name DEM-these=FOC:RL 1 PL.EXCL vegetable-grass=FOC  
'our *hul* (local fish), our *halok* (local fish), these and jungle vegetable *mehek* (plant name)  
and *sowat* (plant name), these are our vegetables' (DT Culture)

Example (6.89) shows a proper inclusion clause in the past tense where the copula *do* is involved and marked with the past tense *ki-*. The subject *anang* '3' is topicalized and the noun predicate is marked with the focus =*si*.

(6.89)

*lalong jainiki documents enman anangke penso arlengsi kidok*

la=long jainiki(Assm) documents(Eng) en-man anang=**ke** penso  
DEM=LOC whoever documents take-HAB 3=TOP male

arleng-**si** **ki-do**

person=FOC:RL NMLZ-COP

'there (in the office) whoever takes the documents, the person was male' (BM Trip2)

Proper inclusion clauses may also involve relator nouns like *-phan* 'for', *anat* 'reason' and others. Example (6.90) shows a nominal predicate clause involving the relator noun *-phan* 'for'. The subject *la* 'DEM' is marked with the topic =*ke*.

(6.90) relator noun clause with *-phan* 'for'

aro *pongho-hel* *paning-hel=ke* *la=ke* *pongho=ke* *apenso a-phan*  
and man's.scarf-PL skirt-PL=TOP DEM=TOP man's.scarf=TOP man POSS-for

*paning=ke la=ke arloso a-phan*

skirt=TOP DEM=TOP woman POSS-for

'and man's scarf and the skirt, that scarf is for men, and the skirt is for women' (BT Weaving)

#### 6.4.2 Existential clauses

Existential clauses that usually perform a presentative function are expressed by a combination of a noun and a copula *do*, regardless of tense. The copula *do* inflects for tense and appears

clause finally. Example (6.91) is an existential clause in the past tense that contains the introduction of a participant into the story.

(6.91)

*ladisi ihum ahem ihut arleng kido*

ladisi        i-hum            a-hēm        i-hut                    arleng    ki-**do**  
 like.this    one-CLF:house    POSS-house    one-CLF:HUM.SG    man    NMLZ-COP  
 ‘there was one man of a family’ (MI One man)

#### 6.4.3 Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses involve adjectival verbs as predicates. Adjectives do not appear as predicates in the database. When adjectival verbs function as predicates, they appear after the subject, which is either unmarked or marked with the focus =*si*. In the present tense similarly to nominal predicates they appear unmarked (6.92). In the future tense, they behave like verbs and take the future *-ye* (6.93). In the past tense, adjectival verbs again behave like nominal predicates in that they require the copula *do* to take the past tense *ki-* (6.94). The reason is that the nominalizer *ki-* is reanalysed as the past tense marker *ki-* and adjectival verbs already carry the nominalizer *ki-* in order to function as modifiers and another prefix *ki-* on a verb is not possible.

(6.92) adjectival verb functioning as a predicate in the present tense

*arlengpo thanuno tike apal akiong pusi*

arleng-po than-ùn-lò        tike a-pal        **a-ki-ong**            pusi  
 man-DEF    say-be.able-RL    tiger    POSS-group    POSS-NMLZ-be.big    QOUT  
 ‘the man knew that the group of tigers was big, they say’ (BK Widow)

(6.93) adjectival verb functioning as a predicate and carrying future tense marker *-ye*

*lasi anang chirono arme kahowengne kikat achorongmarsi*

lasi    anang    chi-ron-lò    arme    ki-howeng-ne        ki-kat        a-choròng-mar=**si**  
 so    3        RR-think-RL    tail    NMLZ-bend-NF:IRR    NMZL-run    POSS-cow-PL=FOC:RL  
*akimeye*

**a-ki-mé-ye**

POSS-NMLZ-be.good-FUT

‘so he thought, if I bend (the cow’s) tail and it runs (that one) will be good (cow)’ (BK Widow)

(6.94) adjectival verb as a predicate in past tense

*Bilangthesi ihut arje kime kido*

\*Bilangthe-pe=si i-hut arje ki-mé ki-do  
PN-FEM=FOC:RL one-CLF:HUM.SG beautiful NMLZ-be.good PST-COP  
'Bilangthe was beautiful' (PM Bilangthe)

#### 6.4.4 Predicate locatives

Locative predicate clauses are constructed with the copular verb *do* and one of the locative relator nouns listed in §3.2.7. The copula *do* inflects for TAM and appears clause-finally. Example (6.95) shows a locative predicate clause with the relator noun *-long*.

(6.95) locational clause in past tense

*la aphelke aro labang lang akithepelongke*

la aphel=ke aro la=bang lang a-ki-the-pe=**long**=ke  
DEM after=TOP and DEM=GNR water POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG=LOC=TOP

*ghurial ijon kido*

ghurial i-jon ki-do  
crocodile one-CLF:ANIM NMLZ-COP  
'after that there was one crocodile in this big water' (RB Fox and crocodile)

#### 6.4.5 Possessive clauses

Amri Karbi possessive clauses employ either an existential or a locative structure. Existential structure is used when the possession is permanent or long-term, and the locative structure is used when the possession is short term. In existential possessive clauses, the possessed noun is marked by a possessive prefix and functions as S of the clause, e.g. (6.96). In locative possessive clauses the possessed noun is not marked with a possessive prefix. The possessed noun functions as S and the possessor is marked with the locative *-long*, e.g. (6.97). Similarly to existential and locative clauses, the copula *do* in possessive clauses inflects for tense, aspect and mood and appears clause-finally. Due to its existential structure, a possessive clause literally means that a possessed noun exists.

(6.96)

*ne-dukan-po=ke nengkan nengkan kithom do-lò=to*

1-shop-DEF=TOP year year three COP-RL=REPL

‘I have been having my shop for three years’ (Lit.: ‘my shop has existed for three years’)

(BT&LT Interview)

(6.97)

*holek hali=long himplang phongo aro ok jon-ni=det=si do*

here 1PL.EXCL=LOC loaves five and fish CLF.ANIM-two=INTENS=FOC:RL COP

‘we have nothing here but five loaves and two fish’ (NT)

## 6.5 Expressions of emotion, state of being, and others

Amri Karbi uses light verb constructions or nominal expressions to express an emotion or a state of being. Nouns in the light verb constructions usually cannot be modified, cannot be marked with the personal possessive prefixes and they must carry the prefix *a-* (with the exception of *an* ‘rice’).

Table 6.4 shows light verb constructions that have been attested so far. There are two constructions involving the noun *an* ‘rice’ in expressions ‘eat’<sup>39</sup> and ‘be hungry’. Then there is the verb *hlong* ‘get’ that is used to express emotional states, e.g. ‘get amazed’, ‘get hurt’. There is an expression ‘fall asleep’ that involves the verb *jang* ‘fall’. The expression ‘be thirsty’ involves the noun *lang* ‘water’ and the verb *ik* ‘desire’; in this expression the noun *lang* ‘water’ is incorporated to the verb *ik* ‘desire’ as the nominalizer may attach to the word *lang*, e.g. *kalangik* ‘was thirsty/thirst’. The expressions ‘be hot’ is constructed with the verb *tang* ‘complete, finish’ and the noun *tap* ‘heat’.

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<sup>39</sup> The reason why the expression for ‘eat’ is included here, even though it is not an expression of state of being, is that Amri Karbis usually use the noun *an* ‘rice’ when they use the verb *cho* ‘eat’ without a specific object.

Table 6.4 Expressions with noun incorporations

Expressions	Gloss	Noun involved
<i>an chó</i>	‘eat’	<i>an</i> ‘rice’, e.g. (6.98)
<i>an ingchir</i>	‘hungry’	<i>an</i> ‘rice’, e.g. (6.99)
<i>asurit hlong</i>	‘get excited’	<i>surit</i> ‘excitement’, e.g. (6.100)
<i>adukh hlong</i>	‘get hurt’	<i>dukh</i> ‘trouble, poor’, e.g. (6.101)
<i>a-mēk jang</i>	‘fall asleep’	<i>mēk</i> ‘eye’, e.g. (6.102)
<i>langik</i>	‘be thirsty’	<i>lang</i> ‘water’, e.g. (6.103)
<i>atap tang</i>	‘be hot’	<i>tap</i> ‘heat’, e.g. (6.104) <sup>40</sup>

(6.98)

*anali banghini bang ahem ahem sang*

anali bang-hini bang a-hēm a-hēm sǎng

3 CLF:HUM.PL-two GNR POSS-house POSS-house uncooked.rice

*hangworsi an kicho*

hang-wor-si **an ki-chó**

beg-here.and.there=NF:RL rice PST-eat

‘they both ate by begging from house to house’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

(6.99)

*parake asoso bakke an kangchir baksi*

parake a-so-so=bak=ke **an ki-ingchir=bak=si**

then POSS-child-DIM=INDEF=TOP rice PST-be.hungry=INDEF=FOC:RL

*surulobakhole*

suru-lò=bak=hole

cry-RL=INDEF=ASSUM

‘then the baby became hungry and started crying’ (PaI Pangolin)

(6.100)

*labadi anang ajursi hango lapara rong abang asurit*

labadi anang ajur=si hang-lò la=para róng a-bang **a-surit**

like.that 3 loud=FOC:RL shout-RL DEM=from village POSS-GNR POSS-amazement

*hlongngo*

**hlong-lò**

get-RL

‘like that he shouted loudly, the village people got/became amazed’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(6.101)

*ili khanangsi ili bithangsi adukh hlongman*

ili           khanang=si   ili           bithang=si   **a-dukh**       **hlong-man**

1PL.INCL real=FOC.RL 1PL.INCL self=FOC:RL POSS-trouble get-HAB

‘we really hurt ourselves’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(6.102)

*arnam adung pengkitsi amek jango*

arnam a-dung   pengkit-si   **a-mĕk**   **jang-lò**

god   POSS-near pray-NF.RL POSS-eye fall-RL

‘she prayed to God and she fell asleep’ (BK Widow)

(6.103)

*hane langikngo*

hane lang-ik-lò

1   water-desire-RL’

‘I became thirsty’ (elicited)

(6.104)

*hane atap tangongo*

hane a-tap       tang-ong-lò

1   POSS-heat complete-be.much-RL

‘I am hot’ (elicited)

There are several expressions involving the noun *neng* ‘heart’. They all express emotions; one of the expressions *aneng arong* ‘be happy’ is a peculiar construction as there is no verb *aróng* in Amri Karbi. There is a noun and noun classifier *róng* ‘village’, which is likely the same word that is in the expression *aneng aróng*. This expression may take some verbal TAM suffixes, but not the nominalizer/past tense prefix *ki-*. For using the expression *aneng aróng* with the past tense *ki-*, the copula *do* is required as with nominal predicates. Most other expressions

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<sup>40</sup> The state of being cold is expressed with the adjectival verb *ingsam* ‘be.cold’, e.g. *ne ingsamongo* (ne ingsam-ong-lò, 1 be.cold-be.much-RL) ‘I am cold’.

with *neng* involve verbs as will be shown in Table 6.5, which offers the list of expressions with *neng* ‘heart’ found in the database and also complimented with the expressions found in the dictionary by Ms. Marme (BM).

Table 6.5 Expressions with *neng* ‘heart’

Expressions	Gloss
<i>a-neng thí</i>	(POSS-heart die) ‘be angry’
<i>a-neng do/a-neng do-de/ a-neng chi-do</i>	(POSS-heart COP/POSS-heart COP-NEG/ POSS-heart RR-COP) ‘like’/‘do not like’/‘like each other’
<i>a-neng a-rong</i>	(POSS-heart POSS-plant?) ‘be happy’
<i>a-neng chó-do-de</i>	(POSS-heart MAL-COP-NEG) ‘refuse’
<i>a-neng il</i>	(POSS-heart ?) ‘be fed up’
<i>a-neng kang</i>	(POSS-heart-?) ‘be angry’ (BM)
<i>a-neng so-dung</i>	(POSS-heart be.hot-near) ‘be jealous’ (BM)
<i>a-neng do-ho-dak/a-neng pa-do-ho-dak</i>	(POSS-heart COP-be.bad-?/POSS-heart CAUS-COP-be.bad-?) ‘be discouraged’/‘discourage’ (BM)
<i>a-neng wakdak</i>	(POSS-heart ?) ‘be generous’ (BM)
<i>a-neng wang</i>	(POSS-heart come) ‘throw up’ (BM)

Examples (6.105)- (6.107) illustrate some of the expressions with the noun *neng* ‘heart’.

(6.105)

*arlenghel dakbang adoropte aneng dodechotman bu*

arleng-hel dakbang a-dorop=te      **a-neng**      **do-CE-hot-man**      bù  
 man-PL      which      POSS-product=Q2      POSS-heart      stay-NEG-most-HAB      grandmother  
 ‘which products do people dislike most?’ (BT&LT Interview)

(6.106)

*lasi lalongke ghurijalpo aneng thilo*

lasi la=long=ke      ghurijal-po      **a-neng**      **thí-lò**  
 so      DEM=LOC=TOP      crocodile-DEF      POSS-heart      die-RL  
 ‘so the crocodile got angry there’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(6.107)

*arlengpo sikari kidamke eksom aneng arong*

arleng-po sikari ki-dam=ke eksom **a-neng** **a-ròng**  
man-DEF hunter NMLZ-go=TOP force POSS-heart POSS-plant  
'the hunter man was very interested/happy in hunting' (SR Hunter)

Verbs *lún* 'sing' and *tiki* 'work' usually occur with a cognate noun, *lún* 'song' (6.108) and *sal* 'work' (6.109) respectively.

(6.108)

*aro baje kithompara chengsi aro baje philiyokke hali*

aro baje kithom=para chéng-si aro baje philiyok=ke hali  
and hour three=from start-NF:RL and hour four=DIR=top 1PL.EXCL

*ihuthut haliyok lun palunsi...*

i-hut~hut hali=yok **lún pa-lún-si**  
one-CLF.HUM.SG~ CLF.HUM.SG 1PL.EXCL=NSUBJ song CAUS-sing-FOC:RL

'and starting from three o'clock to four o'clock they asked us to sing one by one' (TB Song writing workshop)

(6.109)

*aro labang arlengpo anerloke office along sal tikiman*

aro la=bang arleng-po anerlo=ke office(Eng) a-long **sal** **tiki-man**  
and DEM=GNR person-DEF/M evening=TOP office POSS-LOC work work-HAB  
'and this man works in the office till evening' (SR Hunter)

## 6.6 Comparative constructions

In comparative constructions, the predicate is marked by a predicate derivation suffix, either *-ong* 'be much/many' or *-chot* 'be more', and the standard noun phrase is marked with *-yok* 'NSUBJ' + *=ke* 'TOP', e.g. (6.110), (6.111). The comparee noun phrase is the subject of the comparative predicate. The order of noun phrases can be either 'standard NP – comparee NP' or 'comparee NP – standard NP'. Both *-ong* and *-chot* may appear in comparative constructions. As for the superlative construction, the suffix *-chot* usually would appear with superlative meaning, e.g. (6.112). According to the typology of comparative constructions (Stassen 1985), Amri Karbi belongs to the fixed-case comparatives where the standard noun

phrase is always in the same case. Amri Karbi comparative constructions can be further subcategorized, as exceed comparatives, where the standard noun is constructed as the direct object of a transitive verb. The exceed comparatives typically include two predicates, one which is the comparative predicate, and another which is the ‘exceed’-verb; in Amri Karbi, instead of ‘exceed’ verbs, there are ‘exceed’ predicate derivation suffixes *-ong* ‘be much/many’ and *-chot* ‘be more’.

(6.110) comparative construction with *sarong* ‘older’

*la=bang alreng-po ni=yok=ke sar-ong*  
 DEM=GNR man-DEF 1=NSUBJ=TOP be.old-be.much  
 ‘this man is older than me’ (elicited)

(6.111) comparative constructions with *-chot*

*men=yok=ke pujuk bek-chot*  
 cat=NSUBJ=TOP mouse be.little-be.more  
 ‘a mouse is smaller than a cat’ (elicited)

*nemusoke hane dingchot*  
 ne-muso=**ke** hane ding-**chot**  
 1-brother=TOP 1 be.long-be.more  
 ‘I am taller than my brother’

*kidam anengkan ayokke moneng nejon dingchotngo*  
 ki-dam a-nengkan a-yok=**ke** moneng ne-jon ding-**chot**-lò  
 NMLZ-go POSS-year POSS-DIR=TOP this.year 1-height be.long-be.much-RL  
 ‘I am taller than I was last year’

(6.112) *-chot* with superlative meaning

*a-jor ki-dam-chot=ke meri biskut aro jangthu*  
 POSS-sell NMLZ-dam-be.more=TOP PN:meri biscuit and oil  
 ‘most selling is Meri biscuit and oil’ (BT&LT Interview)

## 7 Definiteness, specificity and plurality

This chapter addresses questions of how definiteness and plurality are expressed in Amri Karbi. The reason why plurality is described in the same chapter as the definiteness is that Amri Karbi plurality has definiteness as a part of its meaning. Plurality may be marked by either suffixation or reduplication of some elements of a noun phrase.

### 7.1 Definiteness, indefiniteness and specificity

This section describes how definiteness and indefiniteness are expressed in Amri Karbi. Definiteness is understood as identifiability and familiarity for both the hearer and the speaker (Lyons 1999: 2-3). Indefiniteness is understood as the entity denoted by the noun phrase not identifiable and unfamiliar to the hearer or the speaker does not want to signal such familiarity (Lyons 1999: 2-3). Definite and indefinite referents may be either specific or non-specific, but in Amri Karbi indefinite referents tend to be non-specific. I identify specificity following Frawley (1992) as signalling the uniqueness of the entity in a given context.

In Amri Karbi the suffix *-po* is a general definiteness marker and it is also a marker for masculine. Similarly, the feminine marker *-pe* is also a definiteness marker and also an augmentative. There is also the diminutive *-so* which in the natural database almost never occurs as a diminutive, but it does occur as a definite for noun phrases with diminutive connotation. The question, therefore, is how to determine what function these suffixes are fulfilling when they occur in speech. As will be pointed out in the discussion below, these functions are sometimes difficult to be fully taken apart.

#### 7.1.1 Definiteness and specificity

This section provides a description of the functions of definiteness markers. They all occur noun-phrase-finally just before case/grammatical relations and information structure markers.

##### *Definite and specific -po*

The suffix *-po* marks nouns for both definiteness and specificity. It is a general definiteness marker; for this reason it is the only definiteness marker that is glossed as 'DEF'. As a marker of definiteness, it carries pragmatic and semantic information about a noun, which expresses the identifiability and referentiality of a noun phrase. As a marker of specificity, it marks

indefinite nouns, but uniquely in a given context. In Amri Karbi, specific and indefinite nouns often appear with the pronominal possessive markers.

Noun phrases marked by *-po* may be definite and specific, definite and non-specific or indefinite and specific. The suffix *-po* marks nouns in any syntactic role. It can be used for both singular (7.1) and plural nouns (7.2), but singular nouns are more often marked with *-po* than plural nouns and there are dedicated plural suffixes in the language. Note that the definite marker *-po*, masculine *-po* and nominalizer *-po* etymologically are the same morpheme, see more in §5.1.13.

(7.1) *-po* marking the singular identifiable noun *tike* ‘tiger’

*tikepo arme kiodlogeloge tikepo kikat badi rono*

**tike-po**    arme    ki-od-loge~loge    **tike-po**    ki-kat    badi    ron-lò  
 tiger-DEF tail    NMLZ-touch-?~?    tiger-DEF    NMLZ-run    as    think-RL  
 ‘when he touched the tiger’s tail, the tiger decided to run’ (BK Widow)

(7.2) suffix *-po* marks identifiable plural noun *tharwe* ‘mango’ that is not marked for plurality

*ahuwidta tharwepo kapari ayok chidhorelo*

ahuwid=ta    **tharwe-po**    ki-pari    a-yok    chi-dhore-lò  
 all=ADD    mango-DEF    NMLZ-pluck    POSS-PURP    RR-try-RL  
 ‘all of them tried to pluck the mangoes’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Definite *-po* has a function of specificity in example (7.3), where the speaker is talking about a specific animal *pe* ‘animal’ called *karpu* ‘pangolin’ that has not discussed earlier in the text, so it is indefinite.

(7.3)

*Amri Karbi a-dak karpu pu-ne ki-pu a-pe-po*  
 PN:Amri PN:Karbi POSS-among pangolin say-NF:IRR NMLZ-say POSS-animal-DEF

*ili thék-man*

1PL.INCL see-HAB

‘in Amri Karbi (land) we see an animal called *karpu* (pangolin)’ (PaI Pangolin)

The suffix *-po* can co-occur with the possessive prefix on the same noun, example (7.4) shows the noun *dukan* ‘shop’ marked both for possessiveness *ne-* ‘1-’ and definiteness *-po*; the function of the suffix *-po* in this case is again specificity.

(7.4) noun marked both for possessiveness and definiteness

*ne-dukan-po=ke nengkan ~ nengkan kithom do-lò=to*

1-shop-DEF=TOP year ~ year three COP-RL=REPL

‘I have been having my shop for three years’ (BT&LT Interview)

Another example of the function of specificity of *-po* surfacing from possessiveness is shown in (7.5), where *róng* ‘village’ and *men* ‘name’ are marked with *-po*, which entails the idea of uniqueness of the referents.

(7.5)

*nangrongpolong amen longpara arong ma*

nang=róng-**po**=long a-men long=para a-róng ma

2=village-DEF=LOC POSS-name LOC=from POSS-village Q

*aro nangmenpo laba hini*

aro nang=men-**po** la=bang hini

and 2=name-DEF DEM=GNR two

‘(tell) your village name, from which village (you are) and your name, to these two’

(PaI&KT Conversation)

The suffix *-po* appears to mark nouns modified by the demonstrative+generic *labang*. In example (7.6), the noun *hak* ‘bucket’ is modified by the demonstrative+generic *labang* and is also marked with the definiteness marker *-po*. The entity denoted by the noun *hak* ‘bucket’ has already been introduced and discussed in the previous context.

(7.6)

*nanghem kihlenghlelengke nang labang hakpo phoun’e*

nang-hēm ki-hleng-Ce lengke nang **la=bang hak-po** pho-ùn-Ce

2-house NMLZ-reach-NEG until 2 DEM=GNR bucket-DEF open-be.able-NEG

‘before you reach home, do not open this bucket’ (PM Bilangthe)

The suffix *-po* rarely appears after post-head modifiers, i.e. adjectival verbs, adjectives and classifiers. So, in most cases where *-po* occurs, it marks a head noun. Example (7.7) shows one of the two examples found in the data where *-po* marks the post-head modifier *pum-ni* ‘CLF:two’.

(7.7)

*inghosi tharwe akimen pumnipo paripiune ma*

ingho=si    tharwe    a-ki-men                    **pum-ni-po**                    pari-pi-ùn-ye=ma  
who=FOC:RL    mango    POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe    CLF:round-two-DEF    pluck-BEN-be.able-FUT=Q

*ne anangyok banta piye*

ne    anang=yok    banta    pi-ye  
1    3=NSUBJ    reward    give-FUT

‘to whoever can pluck those two mangoes I will give a reward’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

The suffix *-po* appears before the noun phrase clitics of grammatical relations and information structure. Example (7.9) shows the noun *tokok* ‘stick’ marked with the suffix *-po* and then followed by the non-subject marker *-yok* and the focus clitic *=si*.

(7.9)

*tokokpoyoksi pakorrongo*

**tokok-po=yok=si**                    pa-kōr-rōng-lò  
stick-DEF=NSUBJ=FOC:RL    CAUS-bite-by.mistake-RL  
‘(the crocodile) bit the stick by mistake’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

*Definite and specific -pe*

While most nouns are marked with *-po* for definiteness, *-pe* marks some nouns for definiteness and specificity that are either inherently feminine like *arloso* ‘woman’ or need to be specified for feminine gender (e.g. *oso* ‘child’) or inherently ‘large’/ ‘big’ (e.g. *thengpe* ‘tree’). Example (7.10) shows the noun *arleng* ‘person’ marked with *-pe* for definiteness because it needed to be specified for feminine gender in that context.

(7.10)

*tene nayok kataram arlengpe konam nang kapochak*

tene nang=yok ki-taram **arleng-pe** konam nang ki-pochak  
then 2=NSUBJ NMLZ-call person-F when 2 NMLZ-meet  
'then the woman who is inviting you, when did you meet' (BM Trip2)

Nouns that are inherently 'large'/'big' include, e.g. *arni* 'sun', *pirthe/prithibi*<sup>41</sup> 'world', *chiklo* 'moon'; besides being large, these nouns are also inherently unique. Unlike similar nouns in English, e.g. 'the sun', 'the world' and 'the moon', in Amri Karbi these nouns are not always marked with definite markers. They are usually marked with the feminine/augmentative =*pe* when these nouns need to be given prominence. Example (7.11) shows the noun *pirthe/prithibi* 'world' is unmarked with the general meaning of 'world'. In example (7.12) the noun *pirthe/prithibi* 'world' is marked with *-pe* where it is given prominence with the meaning 'whole', 'entire' including all the people living in it.

(7.11)

*laparasi minon pirthe adaklong kaingjar apemarke*

la=para=si minon **pirthe** a-dak=long ki-ingjar a-pe-mar=ke  
DEM=from=FOC.RL now world POSS-among=LOC NMLZ-fly POSS-animal-PL=TOP

*wo chiplangsi dolo*

wo chiplang-si do-lò  
bird became-NF:RL stay-RL

'from that time, now in the world flying animals became birds' (PM Bilangthe)

(7.12)

*ol prithibi-pe=long=ke ku nokpak=pen=si hreng-man*  
whole(Assm) world-AUG=LOC=TOP spade machete=with=FOC.RL survive-HAB  
'in the whole world (people) survive/live by spade and machete' (PI Culture)

*Definite and specific -so*

The diminutive *-so* functions as a definite and specific marker. For example, in the augmentative and diminutive counterpart pair with *róngpe* 'main village' and *róngso* 'village',

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<sup>41</sup> The word *pirthe/prothibi* 'world' is a borrowing from the Assamese *prithire* 'world'.

-*so* on *róng* does not produce a diminutive meaning, but rather marks the referentiality of the noun *róng* ‘village’. The difference between the definites *-po* and *-so* is that *-so* is associated with the limited or small size of the referent. For example, in the elicited example where *róngso* is used, the village is said to have few inhabitants, therefore *-so* is used as a definite marker instead of *-po*.

(7.13) *-so* as a definite marker

*arleng beksidet dota rongsoke langmead*

arleng bek=si=det do=ta **róng-so**=ke lǎng-mé-ad  
 person be.little=FOC:RL=INTENS COP=ADD village-DIM=TOP look-be.good-very  
 ‘even though there are not many people, the village is beautiful’(elicited)

Example (7.14) comes from natural data that shows *-so* marking the noun *alamthe* ‘word’ as a way to mark scopal specificity (Farkas 1994) that has a restrictive function.

(7.14)

*la=bang a-lam-the-so anang a-yok ai=yok arju-lò*  
 DEM=GNR POSS-word-word-DIM 3 POSS-NSUBJ mother=NSUBJ ask-RL  
 ‘she asked her mother, those exact words’

One of the most frequent occurrences of *-so* in the data is on the noun (*o*)*so* ‘child’. Example (7.15) shows the noun (*o*)*so* ‘child’ marked for definiteness after it was introduced with *oso ihut* ‘one child’.

(7.15)

*ananghem kido, oso ihut do*  
 anang-hēm ki-do oso **i-hut** do  
 3-house PST-COP child one-CLF:HUM:SG COP  
 ‘in his house there was one child’

*aro labang ososopen daman*

aro la=bang **oso-so**=pen dam-man  
and DEM=GNR child-DIM=with go-HAB  
'he went with that child'(SR Hunter)

### 7.1.2 Zero anaphora and definiteness

Noun phrases may be omitted or non-overtly expressed, the phenomenon that is also called zero anaphora. Zero anaphora is used when the entities that these noun phrases denote are identifiable. Zero anaphora is not used for all identifiable entities though; see more discussion on the topic in §12.9.2. Example (7.16) shows the noun phrase introduced in S1:1 and then is unexpressed in S2:1 and S1:2, because it is identifiable.

(7.16)

*S1:1 rengkang arwo kabisar damtilo*

**rengkang arwo** ki-bisar dam-ti-lò  
climbing.plant leave NMLZ-search go-?-RL  
'I went to search for the climbing plant's leaves'

*S2:1 potte kuriye?*

pot=te kuri-ye  
what=Q2 do-FUT  
'what will you do (with the leaves)?'

*S1:2 hat ponehe*

hat pon-ye-he  
market take-FUT=EMPH  
'to take (the leaves) to the market' (PI&LT Interview)

### 7.1.3 Ambiguity between gender, diminutive and definiteness reading

Since gender suffixes are identical to the definiteness suffixes, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the suffix in question marks gender or definiteness. As will be seen from the discussion and examples below, the gender and definiteness suffixes may exhibit both functions at the same time.

Consider example (7.17) where the suffix *-po* marks the noun *bus henduman* ‘bus conductor’. It is given that the suffix *-po* may mark either definiteness or the male gender. The referent in (7.17) *bus henduman* ‘bus conductor’ is both definite and male. Example (7.18) contains a clause that precedes the example (7.17) in the discourse, here the entity ‘bus conductor’ was first introduced into the discourse by the noun phrase *bus henduman* ‘bus conductor’; there the noun phrase is also marked with *-po*. The noun phrase *bus henduman* ‘bus conductor’ at the point of (7.17) is indefinite, but it is specific, which indicates uniqueness, as there is usually only one bus conductor on a bus. Then the referent in (7.17) *bus henduman* ‘bus conductor’ is male as it is in (7.18). While female bus conductors are extremely rare if not non-existent in North East India, the noun itself *bus henduman* is gender neutral. So, the suffix *-po* in (7.18) indicates male gender and definiteness at the same time.

(7.17)

*hane ki-do a-thēm=yok ne=ki-pon a-pot=si bus henduman-po*  
 1 NMLZ-stay POSS-place=DIR 1=NMLZ-take POSS-PURP=FOC:RL bus conductor-DEF/M

*a-yok hane kardom=ho pusi pu-lò*  
 POSS-NSUBJ 1 thank.you=INTER QUOT say-RL

‘(he) took me till the place I was staying so I said thank you to the bus conductor (JB Bus)

(7.18)

*bus hendumanpo poisa nangrungngo*  
 bus **henduman-po** poisa nang=rung-lò  
 bus conductor-DEF/M money CIS=collect-RL  
 ‘bus conductor came to collect money’ (JB Bus)

Some nouns, like *rechopo* ‘king’ and *rechope* ‘queen’, always carry definiteness/gender suffixes, except when used in address<sup>42</sup>. On the one hand, suffixes *-po* and *-pe* on nouns *rechopo* and *rechope* function as definiteness suffixes marking the inherent uniqueness of ‘king’ and ‘queen’; on the other hand, the suffixes *-po* and *-pe* may specify the gender of the entity. Word *recho* is usually not used without suffixes *-po* or *-pe*. Example (7.19) shows the noun phrase *recho ihutpo* that is used to introduce the referent ‘king’. It is introduced with the

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<sup>42</sup> Not using suffixes *-po/-pe* on the noun *recho* in address is similar to how proper names usually drop gender suffixes *-po/-pe* in address.

numeral ‘one’ and a classifier and is also marked with the suffix *-po*. The numeral ‘one’ indicates that the referent is unidentifiable from the previous context, and *-po* indicates that the referent is male gender and unique.

(7.19)

*inisi anali théngpe a-ròng a-ben=long sāng-si ki-do*  
 one.day 3PL tree POSS-plant POSS-shadow=LOC rest-NF:RL PST-stay

*anali recho ihutpopen amuntirihel yok tharwe arong*

anali **recho i-hut-po=pen** amuntiri-hel=yok tharwe a-ròng  
 3PL king one-CLF:HUM.SG-DEF=with servant-PL=NSUBJ mango POSS-plant

*abenlong kisang thekngo*

a-ben=long ki-sāng thék-lò  
 POSS-shadow=LOC NMLZ-rest see-RL

‘one day they were resting in the shadow of a tree, they saw the king and his workers resting in the shadow of a mango tree’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Speakers may use either a gender suffix or the diminutive *-so* as a definiteness marker depending on what is important for the speaker to convey about the referent, either the gender of the referent or that the referent is small. In (7.20), *-po* marks the noun (*o*)*so* ‘boy’ that is identifiable from the previous context, so the suffix *-po* here is a definiteness marker, but at the same it also specifies the masculine gender of the referent, as the noun (*o*)*so* ‘child’ is gender neutral by itself. In (7.21), the same noun (*o*)*so* ‘child’ is marked with the diminutive *-so* for definiteness and also to convey the meaning that the referent is small.

(7.20)

*aro nethulo labadisi osopota choronghel ayok*

aro nethu-lò labadi=si oso-**po**=ta choròng-hel a-yok  
 and evening-RL like.this=FOC:IRR child-DEF=ADD cow-PL POSS-NSUBJ

*abithang choronghem ayok chiwano*

a-bithang chorònghēm a-yok chi-wan-lò  
POSS-self cowshed POSS-DIR RR-bring-RL

‘in the evening the boy himself brought the cows to the cow-shed’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(7.21)

*aro labang ososopen daman*

aro la=bang oso-so=pen dam-man  
and DEM=GNR child-DIM=with go-HAB

‘he went with that child’ (SR Hunter)

#### 7.1.4 Indefiniteness

Indefinite referents are not referential and new to the hearer. Most of the indefinite nouns in Amri Karbi tend to be non-specific. Indefiniteness in Amri Karbi can be marked in several ways, but the most general pattern is to leave a noun phrase unmarked. Other ways of marking indefiniteness include using an indefinite modifier or a pronoun and the numeral ‘one’.

Example (7.22) shows the noun phrase *mok ki-chulonglong oso* (breast NMLZ-feed child) ‘breast-feeding baby’ is indefinite and non-specific.

(7.22)

*inisi mok ki-chulonglong oso ret a-yok ki-dam=tàng*  
one.day breast NMLZ-feed child field POSS-DIR PST-go=REP

‘one day a breast-feeding baby went to a jhumfield (with its mother)’ (PaI Pangolin)

Example (7.23) shows the noun *mengsurung-po a-keng* (fox-M POSS-foot) which is indefinite and non-specific.

(7.23)

*layokke ghurialpoke lang arlo jangdowneno potsi mengsurungpo*

layokke ghurial-po=ke lang arlo jang-do-wen-lò potsi **mengsurung-po**  
then crocodile-M=TOP water inside fall-stay-already-RL because fox-M

*akengsi jangingomraksi parake jangkorthipmo*

**a-keng=si** nang=ingomrak-si para=ke nang=kōr-thip-lò  
POSS-foot=FOC:RL CIS=catch.with.mouth-NF:RL from=TOP CIS=bite-tight-RL

‘since the crocodile was already there he caught with teeth and bit the fox’s foot tightly’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The numeral ‘one’ may function as an indefinite marker; it is used this way mainly in the introduction of a participant into the discourse. Example (7.24) shows the numeral ‘one’ used with the classifier *jon* ‘CLF:animal’ to introduce into the discourse a new participant, *kampi* ‘monkey’.

(7.24)

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholo para kampi*

anang hon-ne ki-do amun=si a-ki-holo para **kampi**  
3 guard-NF:IRR PST-COP time=FOC:RL POSS-NMLZ-be.far from monkey

*ijon theksi anang dungwango*

**i-jon** thék-si anang dung-wang-lò  
one-CLF:ANIM see-NF:RL 3 near-come-RL

‘while he was guarding (the chilis) a monkey saw him from far away and came to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

Examples (7.25) and (7.26) show a noun that is introduced in the discourse. The first time, *oso ihut* ‘one child’ is indefinite; then, when this noun *oso* ‘child’ is identifiable, it is marked with the definiteness marker *-so*.

(7.25)

*ananghem kido, oso ihut do*

anang-hēm ki-do oso **i-hut** do  
3-house PST-COP child one-CLF:HUM.SG COP  
'in his house there was a child' (SR Hunter)

(7.26)

*aro labang ososopen daman*

aro la=bang oso-**so**=pen dam-man  
and DEM-GNR child-DIM=with go-HAB  
'he went with that child' (SR Hunter)

Indefiniteness may be marked by an indefinite modifier or an indefinite pronoun. Example (7.27) shows the indefinite *angkhan* used as an indefinite for the referent 'people', which is unexpressed.

(7.27)

*angkhan achippomar aneng dode*

**angkhan** a-chip-po-mar aneng do-Ce  
some POSS-crisps-DEF-PL heart stay-NEG  
'some (people) do not like crisps' (BT&LT Interview)

## 7.2 Plurality

This section describes plurality. Plurality on nouns may be marked by suffixation §7.2.1 or reduplication §7.2.2. Nouns denoting plural definite entities are marked with suffixes, while nouns denoting plural indefinite entities are either unmarked or some parts of the noun phrase is reduplicated to emphasise the plurality.

### 7.2.1 Plural suffixes *-hel* and *-(po)mar*

Plural suffixes *-hel* and *-(po)mar* function as definite plural markers; the plural marker *-hel* also marks distributional plurals. Nouns that are not marked with plurality may have a non-singular meaning. Singular nouns that have a non-singular meaning denote indefinite plural referents. Consider example (7.28), where the noun *arleng* 'man' occurs first with the plural suffix *-hel* to indicate definite plural (in this case Assamese people), and then the noun *arleng* occurs without a plural suffix, denoting the indefinite plural referent 'different people'.

(7.28)

*aro akhomia arleng-hel wang-man a-jat~jat arleng wang-man*  
and PN:Assamese person-PL come-HAB POSS-type~type man come-HAB  
'and Assamese people come, different people come' (BT&LT Interview)

Example (7.29) shows another instance from the discourse when the noun *choròng* 'cow' refers to plural referents but has no plural marker and the entity is indefinite; and later in the discourse the noun *chorōng* carries the plural *-hel* because the noun *choròng* is now identifiable, 'the cows'.

(7.29)

*anang choròng ki-wi-dam a-yok ingnam a-yok ki-dam*  
3 cow NMLZ-feed-go POSS-PURP jungle POSS-NSUBJ PST-go  
'he (the sheperd) went to feed cows in the jungle'

*...konam choròng-hel chó-pan-si ki-do*  
when cow-PL eat-feed-NF:RL PST-COP  
'when the cows were eating the grass' (BR Lying cowboy)

The plural *-hel* is also found to mark both definite and collective plurals, e.g. (7.30).

(7.30) *-hel* marking definite and collective plural

*sok-hel=ne chi-te=ta mé-lo=he ambak anerlo-hel=ne*  
uncooked.rice-PL= FOC:IRR RR-dry=ADD be.good-RL=INTER some afternoon-PL=  
FOC:IRR

*wang=ta mé-lò*  
come=ADD be.good-RL  
'drying rice is also good, coming sometime in the afternoon is also good...' (Mrs&Mrs Converstiaon)

The plural *-hel* appears to also function as a distributional plural. In example (7.31), the plural *-hel* marks *oso* 'child' and *akire* 'grown.up' for distributional function.

(7.31) *-hel* ‘PL’ on *so* ‘child’

aro *oso-hel wang-chot-man=ma a-ki-re-hel*  
and child-PL come-be.much-HAB=Q POSS-NMLZ-be.old-PL

*wang-chot-man bù*  
come-be.much-HAB grandmother

‘so mostly children come or grownups come, grandma?’ (BI&LT Interview)

The suffix *-(po)mar* seems not to share the distributional plural function with *-hel*. Example (7.32) has the noun *tike* ‘tiger’ marked with *-hel* with a distributional plural function and example (7.33) has the noun *tike* marked with *-(po)mar* with a definite but without a distributional plural function.

(7.32)

aro *athakbaksi tikehel arlupono*  
aro a-thak-bak=si tike-hel arlu-pon-lò  
and POSS-TOP-INDEF=FOC:RL tiger-PL climb-ITER-RL  
‘so they joined each other on the top and all the tigers climbed’ (BK Widow)

(7.33)

aro *tikepomar gutei angjangkrengo*  
aro tike-po-mar gutei(Assm) nang=jang-kreng-lò  
and tiger-DEF-PL all CIS=fall-ALL-RL  
‘and the tigers all fell down’ (BK Widow)

The plural suffix *-(po)mar* usually occurs with the definite suffix *-po* and rarely with the definite *-so*. What is peculiar about the plural suffix *-(po)mar* is the fact that some nouns cannot be marked with *-mar* alone without first being marked with definite *-po* and rarely *-so*. This has resulted in a polycompositional plural morpheme *-pomar/-somar*. The plural *-hel* almost never appears after the definite/gender suffixes *-po/-pe/-so*. The variation for plural forms seems to be lexically motivated, but there could be some other condition that has to do with higher or lower status of the noun. For example, the noun *kampi* ‘monkey’ can take both *-hel* and *-pomar* plural suffixes. The plural *-hel* can attach directly to the stem *kampihel*, but not when it is marked with the definite *-po*, *\*kampipohel*. The plural *-mar* can mark *kampi* only after the definite *-po* marks the stem, *kampipomar*, *\*kampimar*. Other nouns with similar

pattern include: *tike* ‘tiger’, *lam* ‘word’, *sal* ‘work’, *inglong* ‘hill’, *sok* ‘uncooked rice’, *the* ‘fruit’, *arloso* – *arlosohel*, *arslosopemar*. There are some nouns that attach *-mar* directly to the stem and also can be marked with *-hel*, but not with *-pomar*; they include *(o)so* ‘child’ and *choròng* ‘cow’. The noun *pe* ‘animal’ can be marked with *-mar*, but not with *-hel*, the noun *pe* ‘cloth’ can be marked with *-hel*, but not with *-mar*. However, both nouns can be marked with *-pomar*. The noun *(o)so* ‘child’ is a special noun that can be marked both with *-hel* and *-mar*. When it is marked with *-mar* it does not take definite *-po* as most other nouns do. In fact, a noun *(o)so* marked with both *-po* and *-mar* does not occur in the data, i.e. *(o)sopomar*, but according to my language consultants *(o)sopomar* exists in the language and means ‘sons’. The plural *-hel* does not appear on the noun *(o)so* marked for second person possession *nangsomar*<sup>43</sup> ‘your children’, *\*nangsohel*. When the noun *(o)so* is marked with *-po* the meaning might be masculine and/or definite, singular or plural. Another special noun is *arloso* ‘woman’, which usually does not occur with *-mar* and only with *-hel*. So, it appears that nouns that have inherent gender like *arloso* ‘woman’ have a different system for definiteness both, singular and plural.

#### 7.2.1.1 Plural *-hel* as honorific

The plural *-hel* is used with in-laws kinship terms for an honorific function, either when talking of or addressing one’s own in-laws (7.34). It can also be a way to address to other people; for example, *ai-hel* (mother-PL) might be used in addressing an older woman, *pa-hel* (father-PL) might be used in addressing an older man, etc.

(7.34) honorific *-hel* on kinship terms, *aihel* ‘mother-in’law’, together with *-i* ‘HON’ marking the verb

***aihelke hole wangingo***

ai-hel=ke          hole      wang-i-lò

mother-PL=TOP    may.be    come-HON-RL

‘mother in law probably has come’ (elicited)

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<sup>43</sup> When the noun *(o)so* is marked with a possessive prefix, the first vowel *o* is dropped.

### 7.2.1.2 Plural with numeral classifiers and numerals

When nouns occur with numeral classifiers (7.35) or numerals (7.36), they are not required to carry plural markers, to indicate plurality.

(7.35) noun and numeral classifier without plural *-hel/- (po)mar*

*oso bang-phili*

child CLF:HUM.PL-four

‘four children’ (elicited)

(7.36) noun and numeral without plural *-hel/- (po)mar*

*pare phili pare phongo arkeng=ke aro ki-jor-si*

80.betelnuts four 80.betelnuts five betelnut=TOP and NMLZ-sell-NF:RL

*hal-chot-man=ro*

win-be.much-HAB=DCL

‘four or five pare of betelnut we sell mostly’ (PI Betel nut)

### 7.2.1.3 Plural *-hel* on time reference

The plural suffix *-hel* appears on time references (hour, time of day, etc.). Example (7.37) shows *-hel* appearing on the time reference *egharota* ‘eleven’. Example (7.30) above also has *-hel* marking the time reference *anerlo* ‘evening’.

(7.37)

*anuweyokke egharotahelyokta dohlongman jangthu kien arleng daman kema*

anuwe=yok=ke **egharota**(Assm)-**hel=yok=ta** do-hlong-man jangthu ki-en arleng  
night=till=TOP eleven-PL=till=ADD stay-get-HAB oil NMLZ-take man

*daman kema*

dam-man kema

go-HAB therefore

‘because people come to get oil and (I) have to stay till eleven at night’ (BT&LT Interview)

## 7.2.2 Reduplication

Plurality may be expressed by reduplication of some elements of the noun phrase. Reduplication is used for indefinite plural referents that are arbitrary or hypothetical or non-specific referents.

In reduplication, the whole stem of a noun phrase element is reduplicated. When reduplicated elements are marked with the possessive prefix *a-*, only the first element is marked; full nouns can be reduplicated to convey plurality. Example (7.38) shows reduplication of the noun *jat* ‘type’, where it is reduplicated, and the first part of a word is marked with *a-*. The meaning of the reduplication is plural ‘types’. A similar modifier was reduplicated in example (7.39) above where it modified the indefinite plural *arlung* ‘man’.

(7.38)

*aro webing(Eng) a-long=ke la=ke a-jat~jat a-pe thak-man*  
and weaving POSS-LOC=TOP DEM=TOP POSS-type~type POSS-clothe weave-HAB  
‘and in weaving they weave (different) types of cloth’ (BT Weaving)

Interrogative words can also be reduplicated for plural meanings. Example (7.39) shows reduplication of the interrogative word *pot* ‘what’.

(7.39)

*aro pot pot badi arlengte wangman, bu, kinam ayok*  
aro **pot** ~**pot** badi arleng=te wang-man bù ki-nam a-yok  
and what what like man=Q2 come-HAB grandmother NMLZ-buy POSS-PURP  
‘and what kinds of people come to purchase, grandma?’ (BT&LT Interview)

The pronoun *bithang* can be reduplicated for the first person plural meaning shown in (7.40), even though there is a plural pronoun *i-bithang* (1PL.INCL-self) ‘ourselves’ in the language. The referent in (7.40), ‘ourselves’, is denoted by a pronoun, but it is non-specific.

(7.40)

*abithang abithang ahonsi kiche bongal*

**a-bithang~a-bithang** a-hon=si ki-che PN:bongal  
POSS-self POSS-self POSS-thread=FOC:RL NMLZ-know Benagli

*ahonke chinine*

a-hon=ke chini-Ce  
POSS-thread=TOP know-NEG

‘we ourselves did not know the Assamese and Bengali threads’ (DT Culture)

Adjectival verbs may be reduplicated to express plurality of the noun they modify. When an adjective is reduplicated, the whole stem is reduplicated. Example (7.41) shows reduplication of *kamprek* ‘different’ to indicate plurality of the head noun *din* ‘day’, which itself does not carry a plural morpheme.

(7.41)

*kamprek kamprek a-din (a-hat a-rul) a-long=ke ne*

**ki-amprek ki-amprek** a-din (a-hat a-rul) a-long=ke ne  
NMLZ-be.different~NMLZ-be.different POSS-day week POSS-LOC=TOP I

*a-hēm dam-si kapengkit a-yok chi-en-pon-man*

POSS-house go-NF:RL prayer POSS-PURP RR-take-ITER-HAB

‘other days of the week I visit (believers’ ) houses and take time for prayer’ (JK Pastor’s work)

## 8 Tense, Aspect and Mood

This chapter gives an account of how tense, aspect and mood are expressed in Amri Karbi. In the tense category §8.1, there are past and future; past tense is marked with the prefix *ki-*, future tense is marked with suffix *-ye*. The language does not have a dedicated form for the present tense. Among aspects §8.2, there is the habitual marked with the suffix *-man*; also, there is the suffix *-lang* that occurs with negated verbs with the aspectual meaning ‘yet’. In the mood category §8.3 there is the irrealis (marked with *-bang* and *-bo*) and the realis marked with *-lò*. In addition to morphologically marked TAM constructions there are two periphrastic constructions involving *do* ‘COP’, ‘stay’ with progressive meanings §8.4. Besides the grammatical aspect there is the lexical aspect marked by predicate derivation suffixes §8.5.

### 8.1 Tense

Unlike many Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan languages Amri Karbi distinguishes between past and future tenses. The traditional definition of tense as “a grammaticalized expression of location in time” (Comrie 1985:9) was used as a guidance to determine whether a suffix in question is indeed a tense marker. Therefore, the motivation for the past tense *ki-* and the future *-ye* to be distinguished from other TAM markers as tense markers is that there seems to be enough evidence that these operators have indication of temporal distance as the only function or the main function. Other TAM affixes were excluded from the tense category on this basis, that even though they have an implied temporal meaning, they show to be more concerned with conveying of other meanings.

#### 8.1.1 Present tense

Amri Karbi does not have a dedicated form for present tense. Unmarked verb forms without TAM affixes are used only for the imperative. Some TAM expressions may appear in present tense contexts, including the habitual *-man* and periphrastic constructions involving the verb *do* ‘COP’, ‘stay’ that are described in this chapter.

#### 8.1.2 Past tense

Past tense in Amri Karbi is marked with the prefix *ki-*, which has an allomorph *ka-* and a marginal allomorph *ku-*. The Amri Karbi prefix *ki-* occurs on main verbs as a past tense marker that has an utterance time as the reference point, and it marks the event that happened before that point. It occurs with past temporal adverbials and in narratives it marks background

information. Example (8.1) shows the prefix *ki-* marking the copular verb *do* that appears as a background information in a narrative, with the temporal adverbial *ingkolene phongo nengkan ango* ‘twenty-five years ago’.

(8.1) background information marked with *ki-*

*ingkolne phongo nengkan ango isi pariwal kido*

ingkol=ne            phongo nengkan ango    isi pariwal(Ind) **ki-do**  
 twenty=FOC:IRR    five            year            before one family            PST-COP  
 ‘twenty five years ago there was one family’ (PR Witchcraft)

Example (8.2) also shows background information marked with the past tense *ki-*, but without a temporal adverb.

(8.2)

*anang a-sithe                    hephai~hephai=si    ki-dam*  
 3            POSS-breathing    fast~fast=FOC:RL    PST-go  
 ‘his breathing went fast’ (BK Widow)

Example (8.3) shows an event with the verb *wang* ‘come’ that is marked with the past tense *ki-*; this event occurred in the past, as indicated by the temporal adverb *2013*.

(8.3)

*2013 a-nengkan a-por            anali Assam            a-yok            ki-wang*  
 2013 POSS-year    POSS-time    3PL    PN:Assam    POSS-all    PST-come  
 ‘in 2013 they came to Assam’ (BM Trip1)

Example (8.4) shows an event with the verb *bisar* ‘search’ marked with past tense *ki-*, that happened before the utterance time.

(8.4)

*alokhel lasi arjutangsi aro anangke pulo, ne minike*  
 a-lok-hel            lasi arju-tàng-si            aro anang=ke pu-lò    ne mini=ke  
 POSS-friend-PL so    ask-complete-NF:RL and 3=TOP    say-RL 1    today=TOP

*chorong kachibisardam*

choròng **ki-chi-bisar-dam**

cow PST-RR-search-go

‘after his friends asking, he replied, today I went to search for a cow’ (BK Widow)

### 8.1.3 Future tense

The future tense *-ye* is used to mark events that have not happened and that are going to happen either in the near or distant future or at an unidentified time. The events marked with *-ye* are expected to happen and there is a certain degree of speaker’s confidence that the event will happen in the future. By using the suffix *-ye*, the speaker takes a stance of knowing the probability of the future. The degree of the speaker’s certainty that the event will occur in the future is the good reason for the suffix *-ye* to be excluded from the irrealis mood analysis. That said, the future *-ye* has an overlap in function with the irrealis2 *-bò* that is described in §8.3.2. The Karbi cognate suffix *-ji* has been analysed as irrealis in Karbi grammar and it occurs in “general, intentional, or indefinite future/irrealis contexts” (Konnerth 2014:287). The Amri Karbi suffix *-ye* has four allomorphs *-me*, *-ne*, *-nge*, and *-e* (see the rules for allomorphy in §2.5.3).

Examples (8.5) and (8.6) show events marked with *-ye* that the speaker has determined will happen in the near future; there is a near future time reference *mini* ‘today’ in (8.5) and *la aphel* ‘after that (after you charge the battery)’ in (8.6). Examples (8.7) and (8.8) show *-ye* marking the unidentified future without a time reference. The situation in (8.7) is that the speaker makes a promise that the event will happen and in (8.8) that the speaker will identify ‘the good cow’. Finally, the event in example (8.9) is marked with *-ye*, has the uncertain time reference ‘one day’ and to some extent, has a distant future meaning.

(8.5) *-ye* marks near future

*to minike nangchopene pusi alang kachirontangho mensurungpoyok*

to **mini=ke** nang=chó-pen-**ye** pusi alang ki-chiron=tanghò mensurung-po=yok  
so today=TOP CIS=eat-really-FUT QUOT 3 NMLZ-think=REP fox-DEF=NSUBJ

‘so, today I will really eat the fox, he thought’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(8.6) *-ye* marks near future

*lasi pulo, te nangbattery po charging pithak la aphel nilok*

lasi pu-lò tene nang-battery(Eng)-po charging(Eng) pi-tha la aphel ne-lok  
so say-RL then 2-battery-DEF charging give-IMP.POL DEM after 1-friend

*nayok arjuye pusi*

nang=yok arju-ye pusi

2=NSUBJ ask-FUT QUOT

‘so (he) said, then charge your battery after that my friend will ask to you’ (BM Trip2)

(8.7) *-ye* marks an unidentified future

*hane nangalpiye nangalpiye pusi mengsurungpo thano*

hane nang-lang-pi-ye nang-al-pi-ye pusi mengsurung-po than-lò

1 2-watch-BEN-FUT 2-care-BEN-FUT QUOT fox-DEF say-RL

*ghurialpo ayok*

ghurial-po a-yok

crocodile-DEF POSS-NSUBJ

‘I will watch for you, I will care for you, the fox said to the crocodile’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(8.8) *-ye* marks unidentified future

*lasi anang chirono arme kahowengne kikat achorongmars*

lasi anang chi-ron-lò arme ki-howeng-ne ki-kat a-choròng-mar=si

so 3 RR-think-RL tail NMLZ-bend-NF:IRR NMLZ-run POSS-cow-PL=FOC:RL

*akimeye*

a-ki-mé-ye

POSS-NMLZ-be.good-FUT

‘so he thought, if I bend (the cow’s) tail and it runs (that one) will be good (cow)’ (BK Widow)

(8.9) *-ye* marks distant future event

*inirsi adin manta ajar hule*

inirsi a-din manta a-jar hul-ye

one.day POSS-day but POSS-revenge revenge-FUT

‘one day I will take revenge’ (MI One man)

The future *-ye* often occurs in conditional clauses and main clauses of consequence, shown in (8.10) and described in detail in §9.4.

(8.10) conditional clause with future *-ye*

*aro labang hakpo phoknge putang putene nang eku hlonghleye*

[aro la=bang hak-po phok-ye] {putang putene} nang eku hlong-Ce-ye

and DEM=GNR bucket-DEF open-FUT then 2 nothing get-NEG-FUT

‘and this bucket, if you open then you will not get anything’ (PM Bilangthe)

## 8.2 Aspect

Aspect depicts “the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976:3). Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan languages are known to be rich in the category of aspect. In the current analysis of the Amri Karbi TAM system only two suffixes, *-man* and *-lang*, have made it into the category of aspect, but as will be revealed later in the chapter, aspect as a temporal constituency of a situation exhibits in realis *-lò* §8.3.3 and in periphrastic constructions §8.4. Besides grammatical aspect, Amri Karbi has lexical aspect marked by predicate derivation suffixes §8.5.

### 8.2.1 Habitual

The habitual *-man* marks verbs that denote iterative or habitual activities. The activities that *-man* marks can appear in past, present or future contexts. Since more than one TAM morpheme usually does not appear on a verb the tense of the iterative or habitual activities are determined through the context. Example (8.11) shows *-man* marking the verb *ik* ‘wear’ with a habitual meaning and no reference to tense; .i.e. ‘people wear white clothes to worship God’ is an iterative event that happened in the past, nowadays and will continue to happen in the future.

(8.11) habitual *-man*

*arnam ahem kachirdomyok dame putene angkhan arlengke*

arnam a-hēm ki-chirdom=yok dam-ye putene angkhan arleng=ke

god POSS-house NMLZ-worship=PURP go-FUT then some people=TOP

*akilok ape chi'ikman*

a-ki-lok                      a-pe                      chi-ik-**man**  
POSS-NMLZ-be.white    POSS-clothe    RR-wear-HAB

‘when we go to worship God, some people wear clothes of white colour’ (PK&AM Weaving)

The habitual *-man* might appear in a narrative of past tense events when there is a communicative need to express habitual events; the past tense, of the habitual event is acquired through the context. Example (8.12) and (8.13) are from a narrative, where (8.12) tells of a past time event when a cowboy brought cows to the cow’s shed after herding and then the example (8.13) tells that this event happened every evening.

(8.12)

*aro nethulo labadisi osopota choronghel ayok abithang*

aro nethu-lò              labadi=si              oso-po=ta              choròng-hel    a-yok              a-bithang  
and evening-FOC    like.this=FOC:RL    child-DEF=ADD    cow-PL              POSS-NSUBJ    POSS-self

*choronghem ayok chiwano*

choròng-hēm    a-yok              chi-wan-lò  
cow-house              POSS-DIR    RR-bring-RL

‘in the evening, the cowboy himself brought the cows to the cow’s shed (after herding)’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(8.13)

*labadisi arniten anang chorong widamman*

labadi=si              arni=ten              anang choròng    **wi-dam-man**  
like.this=FOC:RL    day=every 3              cow              herd-go-HAB

‘like this he would go to herd his cows’ (BR Lying cowboy)

### 8.2.2 ‘yet’

The suffix *-lang* ‘yet’ marks verbs to indicate that something has not yet happened. This aspect occurs mainly in negatives (8.14); it also occurs with the modal predicate derivation suffix *-lag* for the meaning ‘have yet to’ (8.15)

(8.14) *-lang* ‘yet’

*lasi bekso niyok panghongtolo apor chokchelang apodsi*

lasi bek-so ne-yok pa-inghong-tol-lò apor chok-Ce-**lang** apodsi  
so be.little-DIM 1-NSUBJ CAUS-wait-send-RL time finish-NEG-yet because  
‘so I was asked to wait sometime because time is not yet finished’ (BM Trip2)

(8.15) *-lang* ‘yet’ with *-lag*

*aro kollagelang pherlagelang*

aro kol-lag-ye-lang pher-**lag-ye-lang**  
and scratch-need-FUT-yet spin-need-FUT-yet  
‘and (we) have yet to scratch and spin (the cotton)’ (BT Weaving)

### 8.3 Mood

There are both irrealis and realis moods in Amri Karbi. The irrealis is marked with the suffixes *-bang* (irrealis1) and *-bò* (irrealis2); they mark what is not asserted, while the realis suffix *-lò* marks what is asserted. Deontic modality in Amri Karbi is expressed through predicate derivation suffixes, see §5.1.7.3.6; epistemic modality is expressed by the discourse markers described in §12.1, though the irrealis2 *-bò* by itself also conveys some degree of epistemic modality.

Assertion and non-assertion are broad notions that can be applied to any past and future tense events respectively. Therefore in the following sections I will describe the functions of the suffixes *-bang* and *-bò*, which have been given the grammatical label ‘irrealis’ in §8.3.1 and §8.3.2, and functions of the suffix *-lò*, which has been given the grammatical label of ‘realis’ in §8.3.3.

#### 8.3.1 Irrealis1

The irrealis1 *-bang* marks events that have not happened but are going to happen. There is a nature of intention, desire and necessity in actions marked with *-bang*. These different meanings come about through context. The irrealis1 *-bang* is usually used with first-person subjects; that said, it is possible to use *-bang* with other person subjects on the condition that the verb is then marked with the reportative *-tàng* (8.20) or the quotative *pusi*.

The examples below illustrate how *-bang* has future (8.16) and (8.17), necessity (8.18) and desiderative functions (8.19).

(8.16) *-bang* with the future meaning

*hēm dam-phak-bang=to neng chok-kreng do tene*  
home go-back-IRR1=REPL sister-in-law finish-all COP then

‘I will go back home then, sister-in-law, (if) the work is finished’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(8.17) *-bang* with future meaning

*Gonesguri supermarketlong sunsi anayok pulo nimusohel*

PN:Gonesguri supermarket=long sun-si anang=yok pu-lò ne-muso-hel  
Goneshguri supermarket=LOC get.down-NF:RL 3=NSUBJ say-RL 1-sister-PL

*ahem dambang pusi karon ne Delhiyokta kiwange*

a-hēm dam-bang pusi ki-ron ne PN:Delhi=yok=ta ki-wang-ye  
POSS-house go-IRR1 QUOT NMLZ-think 1 Delhi=DIR=ADD NMLZ-come-FUT

*alam do apotsi*

a-lam do apotsi  
POSS-word COP because

‘I got down at Ganesguri supermarket and told her that I am going to my sister’s house because next day I am going to New Delhi’ (BM Trip2)

(8.18) *-bang* expressing necessity

*neta katbang pune aro aphel angchilang ayokke*

ne=ta kat-bang pu-ne aro aphel nang=chi-làng a-yok=ke  
I=ADD run-IRR1 say-NF:IRR and after CIS=RR-look POSS-PURP=TOP

*akhoipo thekthejong*

a-khoi-po thék-ce-ingyong  
POSS-friend-DEF see-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘I also I need to run, said and after he looked behind he never saw his friend’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

(8.19) *-bang* expressing desiderative meaning

*ne chobang, ne bekso chosi langbang*

ne chó-bang ne bek-so chó-si làng-**bang**

1 eat-IRR1 1 be.little-DIM eat-NF look-IRR1

‘I want to eat, I want to try a little’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(8.20) *-bang* with the third person subject

*anali hat dam-bang=tàng*

3 market go-IRR1=REP

‘(he said) he is going to the market’ (elicited)

### 8.3.2 Irrealis2

The irrealis2 *-bò* marks events that are non-asserted or that the speaker considers to not be the case. It is used to mark imminent situations and events that have not happened yet. A good illustration of the irrealis2 *-bò* is the most frequent use of this form in the everyday interaction with the verb *dam* ‘go’ before parting and saying ‘goodbye’, which is similar to asking permission to go, to make leaving a party less abrupt and rude (8.21). In example (8.21), the speaker is well aware of his leaving before saying ‘goodbye’, which in a way contradicts the irrealis’ definition of non-assertion; however, in this case the speaker chooses to communicate non-assertion due to social obligations by using the irrealis2 *-bò*.

(8.21)

*ne dam-bò*

1 go-IRR2

‘I will go, ok?’ (observed)

Example (8.22) shows *-bo* marking the verb *than* ‘tell’. The situation here is that the speaker is about to tell the same story again; the verb *than* is marked with the irrealis2 *-bo* and then further marked with the interactive *=ho*, which that usually marks propositions as requests.

(8.22)

*angopo thanphakbohō*

ango-po than-phak-**bō**=hō

before-DEF tell-back-IRR2=INTER

‘(I) will tell the previous (story) again, ok?’ (MsR Meeting)

Example (8.23) shows *-bò* marking the verb *pu* ‘say’ and even though the event of ‘say’ takes place immediately in what follows, at the moment of uttering *potte pubo* ‘what will I say’ that event was non-asserted.

(8.23)

*aneng kidodepoke ladilo laba potte pubo*

aneng ki-do-Ce-po=ke                      ladi=lò                      la=bang      pot=te      pu-**bò**  
heart NMLZ-stay-NEG-DEF=TOP   like.this=FOC   DEM=GNR   what=Q2   say-IRR2

*sippomar angkhan asippomar aneng dode*

sip-po-mar      angkhan   a-sip-po-mar                      aneng do-Ce  
crisps-DEF-PL   some      POSS-crisps-DEF-PL   heart   stay-NEG

‘what people do not like, what will I say, some people do not like chips’ (BT&LT Interview)

The above examples show how *-bò* marks non-assertion; the use of other ‘irrealis’ suffixes that the language has, namely the future *-ye* and the intentional future *-bang* is not possible, lest they change the proposition’s meaning. There is however some overlap in the function of *-bò* with the future *-ye* and *-bò* with the irrealis1 *-bang*. For example, if a person is sitting at the table with a cup of tea in front of her, she can use either the irrealis2 *-bò* or the irrealis1 *-bang* and say *ne sa jun-bò* (1 tea drink-IRR2) ‘I will drink tea now’ or *ne sa jun-bang* (1 tea drink-IRR1) ‘I will drink tea now’ without much change of a meaning. At the same time, if the speaker uses future *-ye* and says *ne sa jun-ye* (1 tea drink-FUT) it will evoke a distant future interpretation and will mean ‘I will drink tea after some time’. So, in this situation, *-bò* is closer in function to *-bang*. Similar to *-bang* ‘IRR1’, *-bò* ‘IRR2’ generally occurs only with first-person subjects. Yet again, similar to *-bang*, *-bò* is possible to use with other persons with the quotative or reportative as shown in (8.24). The irrealis2 *-bò* with the third person also occurs with some epistemic suffixes, like with *mine* ‘may be’ in (8.25) or *=hole* ‘probably’ and the confirmation question clitic *=bō* in (8.26).

(8.24) *-bò* with the third person subject

*anang hat      dam-bò=tàng*

3                      market      go-IRR2=REP

‘he is going to the market, he says’ (elicited)

(8.25) *-bò* with the third person subject

*thūr-bò monon=ke ne=ta ne=khoi-po wang-hleng-dun-bò=mine*  
stand.up-IRR2 now=TOP 1=ADD 1=friend-DEF come-reach-join-IRR2=may.be  
'I will stand up and now my friend will reach me, may be' (HI Turtle and rabbit)

(8.26) *-bò* with the third person subject

*te arleng chi-ap-bub-bò=hole=bō hilai=pen=ke*  
so person RR-shoot-kill-IRR2==ASSUM=CONF.Q gun=with=TOP  
'then may be (you) will shoot people with gun (by mistake)?' (PI&LT Interview)

There are situations where the use of either *-ye* or *-bò* is possible, but not *-bang*. Similar to *-ye*, *-bò* can be used with specific future time references like a date, for example: *ne 24 arni India dam-ye* (1 24 day India go-FUT) 'I will go to India on 24<sup>th</sup>' or *ne 24 arni India dam-bò* (1 24 day India go-IRR2) 'I will go to India on 24<sup>th</sup>'. At the same time, it is not possible to use *-bang* in this context \**ne 24 arni India dam-bang* (1 24 India go-IRR1). So, similar to the future *-ye*, the irrealis2 *-bo* may be used with the time references, one example from the database is shown (8.27) with the time reference *ambak-hel-si* (some.time-PL-NF:RL) 'after some time'. There is an example from natural data where according to my language consultants, it is possible to use either *-bò* or *-ye*. In example (8.28), *-bò* marks the verb *mari-thék* (kill-know.how) 'know how to kill' which is an irrealis event that a speaker is planning to do. According to my language consultants, *mari-thék-bò* (kill-know.how-IRR2) could be replaced with the verb marked with future *-ye* – *mari-thék-ye* (kill-know.how-FUT) without a change of meaning.

(8.27) irrealis *-bò* with time reference

*jike nipupe nibithang ahem manta neke ambakhelsi*  
ji=ke ni-pu-Ce ni-bithang a-hēm manta ne=ke ambak-hel-si  
whatever=TOP 1-say-NEG 1-self POSS-house but 1=TOP sometime-PL-NF:RL

*wangbo neng ho*

*wang-bò neng ho*  
come-IRR2 sister.in.law INTER

'whatever you say you are my own family, yet after sometime I will come, sister in-law, ok?'  
(Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(8.28) overlap between *-bò* and *-ye*

*alang kachiron minonke alangyok ne potbadi marithekbo pusi*

alang ki-chi-ron minon=*ke* alang=*yok* ne potbadi mari-thék-**bò** pusi  
 3 NMLZ-RR-think now=TOP 3=NSUBJ 1 how kill-know.how-IRR2 QUOT

*alang chi-ron-si*

3 RR-think-NF:RL

‘he thought now, how I will know how to kill him’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Usually, the habitual *-man* is used in procedural texts, but it was found that the progressive *-bò* is systematically used in a procedural discourse explaining a traditional weaving procedure with habitual function, illustrated in (8.29) from the weaving procedural discourse and in (8.30) from the jhumfield ‘dry cultivation’ procedural discourse. This particular procedural discourse recording is one of two pieces of data that has *-bò* with habitual function. Interestingly, it is used alongside with the habitual *-man* by the same speakers, and the difference between *-man* and *-bò* is not evident. It might be a regional or individual variation, as there are altogether seven natural procedural discourses recorded in the database and only two of them have *-bo* functioning as habitual. These two discourses come from two different speakers of the same age group and the same language speaking area. There is an irrealis *-po* in Karbi (Konnerth 2014:289) that consistently marks habitual in procedural texts. The Karbi irrealis *-po* is clearly a cognate of the Amri Karbi *-bò*, but there is no equivalent of the Amri Karbi habitual *-man* in Karbi. It might be so that *-bò* used to consistently mark habitual in procedural in Amri Karbi and then the suffix *-man* was introduced into the language, and that spread into procedural discourse, replacing *-bò*.

(8.29) irrealis2 *-bò* used in procedural discourse as a habitual alongside habitual *-man*

*tàng-si thak-hlong-man aro a-dijen kuri-ye tene a-ki-lok*

finish-NF:RL weave-get-HAB and POSS-design do-FUT then POSS-NMLZ-be.white

*a-ki-i*

*a-ki-er-si*

*dijen kuri-bò*

POSS-NMLZ-be.black POSS-NMLZ-be.red-NF:RL design make-IRR2

‘when finished, we get to weave, if you make design you can design white, black and red’

(BT Weaving)

(8.30) irrealis2 *-bò* used in procedural discourse

*aro parake ret nongtango tene sok arludambo jar*

aro parake ret nong-tàng-lò tene sok arlu-dam-bò jar  
and then jhumfield cultivate-finish-RL then paddy clean-go-IRR2 people.group

*padobo bab phudambo*

pa-do-bo bab phu-dam-bò  
CAUS-COP-IRR2 grass pull-go-IRR2

‘and then if we finish ploughing then we will go to pull out grass on paddy together’ (Tul Field2)

### 8.3.3 Realis

The suffix *-lò* has a high frequency of occurrence in the database and has functions that fluctuate between the categories of mood and aspect. As a mood marker it has to do with the actuality of a state and in this category, it usually appears with a copular verb or an adjectival verb. As an aspect, it relates to the temporal structure of an event, so when it marks an action verb its function is aspectual. The suffix *-lò* contrasts with irrealis suffixes *-bang* and *-bò* and the future *-ye*. It has an evidentiality component integrated when the source of information is reliable. The suffix *-lò* usually marks all event verbs in the narratives, with the exception of background events (see more in §12.9.3). In an online narrative of Pear Film, all verbs are marked with the suffix *-lò* except for verbs with progressive aspect.

The following sections will focus on different functions of the suffix *-lò*. Note that in Amri Karbi, unlike in Karbi, the suffix *-lò* has four allomorphs: *-mò*, *-ngò*, *-ò* and *-nò* (see the rules for the allomorphic alternation in §2.5.3). There is a homophonous nominal focus clitic *=lò* described in §3.10 and §6.4.1.

#### 8.3.3.1 Realis function of *-lò*

The suffix *-lò* has a realis mood function and marks states that are known to be the case in reality. The knowledge of the actuality of a state can be based on the speaker’s judgement or on an evidence. Example (8.31) shows *-lò* marking the copula *do* in the context of the speaker having finished telling a story, indicating that the story that has been just told is the whole story that has come to an end. Without the suffix *-lò*, the proposition could have had existential

meaning that the story exists and it is this much, but with *-lò* the speaker is indicating that the story is this much now.

(8.31)

*la-an=si*                      *tomo-po=ke*      ***do-lò***  
 DEM-much=FOC:RL    story-DEF=TOP    COP-RL

‘this is the whole story’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Example (8.32) shows *-lò* marking the copula *dò* in a possessive construction in a question, as well as in a reply. The present tense actuality of the state is implied in (8.32) and a reason for *-lò* appearing in (8.32) is that this particular state may change, i.e. the quantity of years or time duration of owning the shop can change. So *-lò* is used in the question part indicating that the speaker is inquiring the present state and in the answer part *-lò* is used to indicate the present state. As a comparison, consider example (8.33) of an existential construction with the copula *do* marked with the habitual *-man*, because the state of the quantity of the measure *pare* is constant and will not change, similar to ‘how many minutes are in an hour?’.

(8.32)

*nang=dukan-po*    *kombak*      *a-nengkan=te*      ***do-lò***  
 2-shop-DEF            how.many    POSS-year=Q2    COP-RL

‘how many years have you been having your shop?’

*ne-dukan-po=ke*    *nengkan* ~ *nengkan*    *kithom*      ***do-lò=to***

1-shop-DEF=TOP    year ~      year            three      COP-RL=REPL

‘I have been having my shop for three years’ (Lit.: ‘my shop has existed for three years’)

(BT&LT Interview)

(8.33)

*aro pare=si*            *isi*    *kombak=te*            *pum-kan=te*                      ***do-man***  
 and pare=FOC:IRR    one    how.many=Q2    CLF:round-how.many=Q2    COP-HAB

‘in one *pare* how many pieces (of betel nut)?’ (PI&LT Interview)

Examples (8.34) and (8.35) come from a conversational discourse; in (8.34) the adjectival verb *mé* ‘be good’ is marked with the realis *-lò* with the meaning ‘is good’ and in (8.35) with the future *-ye* with the meaning ‘will be good’. In other words, *mélò* ‘it is good’ means that the

situation is already acceptable to the speaker and *méye* means the situation will be acceptable - ‘it will be good’ - in the future. With the realis function of *-lò* there is again implied present tense actuality of a state that is prone to change.

(8.34)

*anerlo an chotangne angtikidunta melo*

anerlo an chó-tàng-ne nang=tiki-dun=ta mé-lò  
 evening rice eat-finish-NF:IRR CIS=work-join=ADD be.good-RL

‘at noon (you) eat, then come to work with us, (that) is also good’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(8.35)

*mé-lò=to minon=ta mé-ye*

be.good-RL=REPL now=ADD be.good-FUT

‘it’s ok, (if you stay to work) now will be also good’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 8.3.3.2 Perfect and perfective

On action verbs, the suffix *-lò* indicates completed events that involve change, which is similar to the functions usually associated with the perfect aspect. It also marks actions viewed as a single whole, which usually pertains to the perfective aspect. The suffix *-lò* as an aspect occurs mostly in past tense contexts, with the exception of when it attaches to a negated stem.

Example (8.36) shows the inherently telic verb *hlophlut* ‘release’ marked with *-lò* to indicate a completed event.

(8.36)

*alangsi ladi abudi nepahlophlutno*

alang=si ladi a-budi ne=pa-hlophlut-lò  
 3=FOC:RL like.this POSS-wisdom 1=CAUS-release-RL

‘he made me release (him) with his wisdom’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The suffix *-lò* may also mark inherently atelic verbs to indicate a completed event. In example (8.37) the atelic verb, which denotes the process *kreng* ‘dry’, is marked with *-lò* and with that alone, indicates a completed and momentary event of the process of ‘drying’ with the resulting change ‘the seed has dried’.

(8.37)

*aro amu krengo tene amupo achili ayok*

aro amu kreng-**lò** tene amu-po a-chili a-yok  
and seed dry-RL then see-DEF POSS-next.cultivation POSS-PURP

*ensi biphakman*

en-si bi-phak-man  
take-NF:RL keep-back-HAB

‘and the seed has dried then we take the seed and keep it for (using) again’ (TI Vegetables)

The perfective aspect function of *-lò* is shown in example (8.38), which contains a question and response chunk of the conversation. In the question part of (8.38), the 1<sup>st</sup> speaker asks ‘where did you go’ using the past tense *ki-*, as the 1<sup>st</sup> speaker is inquiring about activities of the 2<sup>nd</sup> speaker prior the conversation. The 2<sup>nd</sup> speaker in response uses the realis *-lò* for the meaning that the action of ‘going’ has occurred as a whole. There is also an evidentiality component implied here as the speaker who did the action of *dam* ‘go’ speaks from his own experience and the person who asked the question does not have this first-hand knowledge and therefore is using the past tense *ki-*.

(8.38)

*Q. don-te ki-dam nu*  
where-Q2 PST-go uncle

‘where did you go, uncle?’

*A. rengkang arwo kabisar damtilo*

rengkang arwo ki-bisar dam-ti-**lò**  
climbing.plant leave NMLZ-search go-down-RL

‘I went to search for the leaves of the climbing plant’ (PI&LT Interview)

Another example where *-lò* marks a telic verb (in this case, *ingbo* ‘lose’) and the event is complete is shown in (8.39).

(8.39)

*labang osopo asisit alam kithanpopara anangjibonpo anang*

labang oso-po a-sisit a-lam ki-than-po=para anang-jibon-po anang  
DEM child-M POSS-lie POSS-word NMLZ-say-DEF=from 3-life-DEF 3

*chipangbolo*

*chi-pa-ingbo-lò*

RR-CAUS-lose-RL

‘the boy lost his life because of telling lie’ (BR Lying cowboy)

The realis *-lò* and the past tense *-ki* may refer to the same events. Example (8.40) shows how *-lò* and *ki-* are used to mark semantically similar events of the verb *dam* ‘go’. This example suggests that division of events marked with the realis *-lò* as opposed to events marked with the past tense *ki-* is not firmly maintained.

(8.40)

*nekorposomarta ihutdetsi skul damo parake an*

ne-korpo-so-mar=ta i-hut-det=si skul dam-lò parake an  
1-husband’s.brother-DIM-PL=ADD one-CLF:HUM.SG=FOC.:RL school go-RL then much

*skul damdeklipmo ajudsosi skul kidam*

skul dam-Ce-klip-lò ajud-so=si skul ki-dam  
school go-NEG-quite-RL youngest-DIM=FOC:RL school PST-go

‘out of my husband's brothers only one went to school, others did not go to school, the youngest one only went to school’ (Tul Education)

When the realis *-lò* occurs on a negated verb, the meaning is future (8.41).

(8.41)

*te inghognema inghonghe pusi anangke pulo neke inghohelo*

te inghong-ye=ma inghong-Ce pu-si anang=ke pu-lò ne=ke inghon-Ce-lò  
then wait-FUT=Q wait-NEG say-NF:RL 3-TOP say-RL 1=TOP wait-NEG-RL

*tene anangyok thanot nekuwang pune, aro neta dambo*

tene anang=yok than-not ne=ki-wang pu-ne aro ne=ta dam-bò

then 3=NSUBJ say-IMP 1=NMLZ-come say-NF:IRR and 1=ADD go-IRR2

‘will you wait or not (for your son-in-law) she said, I will not wait, then say to him, I came, and I will go’ (PM Bilangthe)

### 8.3.3.3 *-lò* marking events in narratives

In narratives, past tense verbs with *ki-* would usually be used for background information and *-lò* verb forms would be used for events. There is a study based on three narratives (Philippova in preparation) that shows the interplay between *ki-* ‘PST’ and *-lò* ‘RL’ in narratives and is outlined in §12.9.3.

## 8.4 Periphrastic constructions

Besides morphological strategies of marking TAM distinctions, Amri Karbi uses periphrastic constructions. One construction is a copula-based construction, which consists of a bare verb root and a copula. A second construction is a verb marked with the non-final *-si* or the non-final *-ne* and followed by the auxiliary verb *do* ‘stay’.

### 8.4.1 V+COP

The construction V+COP, which is a bare verb root and a copula, refers to actions that happen at the moment of speaking or are going to happen. It expresses either the result of the action or that the fact that action is taking place. There is a non-eye-witness component to giving the account of the action using this construction and in narratives, it can be used for simple present events. The copula *do* in V+COP constructions does not inflect for TAM, therefore, it is not possible to mark copula with other TAM affixes, in contrast to stative predicate constructions that also involve copula. The following examples show how V+COP construction is used. Example (8.42) has a conversation chunk about a community event, where the 1<sup>st</sup> speaker asks whether the vegetables for the event dinner have been cleaned by the people, using the realis *-lò*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> speaker replies that the vegetables are in fact being cleaned as they speak using V+COP construction. The 2<sup>nd</sup> speaker knows about the vegetables being cleaned, but she is not witnessing the event herself, therefore the proposition is also marked with the assumption marker *=hole* and the confirmation question marker *=bò*. Then further examples (8.43) and



(8.45) present simple events

*nang-so-mar do=hele=bō pusi than do*  
2-child-PL COP=ASSUM= CONF.Q QUOT say COP  
'do you have children? (he) says' (RB Fox and crocodile)

#### 8.4.2 V-*si/ne+do* 'stay'

The verb *do* 'stay' is used in the construction V-*si/ne+do* to express progressive. The construction V-*si/ne+do* can further inflect for tense (future and past), habitual aspect *-man* and mood (realis *-lò*, but not irrealis1 *-bang* and irrealis2 *-bò*), where *do* is marked with TAM affixes. Example (8.46) shows V-*si/ne+do* having a progressive meaning and also an iterative meaning because of the reduplication of *cho* 'eat'. Example (8.47) shows V-*si/ne+do* marked with the realis *-lò*.

(8.46)

*ladi-si chó ~ chó-si do*  
like.this=FOC:RL eat ~ eat-NF:RL stay  
'like this (he) keeps on eating' (BM Monkey and fox)

(8.47)

*aro bang kithom=ke ango=yok dam-jong-si do-lò*  
aro bang kithom=ke ango=yok **dam-jong-si do-lò**  
and CLF:HUM.PL three=TOP forward=DIR go-CONT-NF:RL stay-RL  
'and three people keep on going forward' (MI Pear film)

Many examples of the progressive function of the construction V-*si/ne+do* comes from a Pear film recording where a speaker watches the film and tells what happens in it. Examples (8.48) and (8.49) come from the Pear film recording.

(8.48)

*wo ku-si do i-hud arleng théngpe a-the hlek-si do*  
bird crow-NF:RL stay one-CLF:HUM.SG man tree POSS-fruit pluck-NF:RL stay  
'a rooster is crowing, one man is plucking fruit'

(8.49)

*chul arlopara ipum ipumsi olesi bachik arlo*

chul arlo=para i-pum i-pum=si ole=si bachik arlo  
bag inside=from one-CLF:round one-CLF:round=FOC:RL out=NF:RL basket inside

*thaljongsi do*

**thal-jong-si do**

put.in-DUR-NF:RL COP

‘(the man) takes the fruit one by one out of a bag and puts into the basket’ (MI Pear film)

In Karbi there is also a construction involving non-final verbs marked with *-si* and *do*. Konnerth (2014:371) treats this construction as a copula-based construction, analysing *do* as a copula. The copula *do* and the verb *do* ‘stay’ are identical in form both in Amri Karbi and Karbi; as was discussed in §3.3.3, the copula *do* has likely grammaticalized from the verb *do* ‘stay’. Synchronically, they perform differently in negation. The negative form of the copula *do* is the negative existential copula *ingyong* and the negative form of the verb *do* ‘stay’ is marked by the verbal negative suffix *-ce*, *do-de* ‘stay-NEG’. The elicited affirmative and negative pairs of the construction *V-si/-ne+do* are shown in (8.50) where the negative counterpart appears to have the verbal negative suffix *-ce*. Therefore, *do* of the construction *V-si do* is analysed as the verb ‘stay’ rather than the copula, even though it is obvious that the two words have the same origin.

(8.50)

*ne thungsi do*

ne thungsi do

1 cook-NF:RL stay

‘I am cooking’

*ne thunke dode*

ne thung=ke do-ce

1 cook=TOP stay-NEG

‘I am not cooking’ (elicited)

## 8.5 Predicate derivations

Some of the aspectual meanings can be expressed by the lexical aspect, which is marked by predicate derivation suffixes; these suffixes structurally expand and semantically modify the predicate. Despite the fact that the suffixes have aspectual functions and some of them are productive, they are not final predicate suffixes, unless the predicate is in the imperative mood or negated. The language has aspect, aktionsart and argument-emphasising predicate

derivations. The formal characteristics of argument-emphasising predicate derivations were discussed in §5.1.7.3.3 and their functions were described in §6.2.5 and the section §8.5.2 below deals with the interactions of these suffixes with TAM.

### 8.5.1 Aspect and aktionsart

Amri Karbi has lexical aspect or aktionsart marked with a set of predicate derivation suffixes that modify a predicate with aspectual meaning, i.e. internal temporal constituency of a situation. Table 8.1 provides the list of aspect predicate derivations. As shown in Table 8.1, there are six predicate derivations of aktionsart attested so far. Three of these predicate derivation suffixes are productive and three appear only with a limited number of verb hosts or only one verb host.

Table 8.1 Aktionsart predicate derivations

Form	Gloss	Verb host	origin
<i>-pon</i>	ITER	productive	<i>pon</i> ‘take’
<i>-ed</i>	keep.on.doing	<i>làng</i> ‘look’	
<i>-tàng</i>	finish	productive	<i>tàng</i> ‘finish’ intransitive
<i>-jeng</i>	CONT	productive	<i>jeng</i> – Verb ‘line a thread’
<i>-klak</i>	PFV	<i>kuk</i> ‘cover, <i>thí</i> ‘die’, etc.	
<i>-lakdak</i>	REPT	<i>hum</i> ‘hunt’	

The predicate derivation suffix *-pon* is a productive suffix, which expresses iterative meaning and indicates that the action is done not once but for some time; it may cooccur with the habitual *-man*. In example (8.51) *-pon* is attached to the verb *than* ‘tell’ for the meaning that specifies that the event ‘tell’ should happen more than once.

(8.51) predicate derivation *-pon*

*lasi ili ahuwitta akhanang alamposi thanponlage*

lasi ili            ahuwit=ta            a-khanang    a-lam-po=si            than-**pon**-lag-ye  
 so 1PL.EXCL all=ADD            POSS-real    POSS-word-DEF=FOC:RL    say-ITER-should-FUT  
 ‘so we all should tell the truth’ (BR Lying cowboy)

The predicate derivation suffix *-tàng* ‘finish’ is a productive suffix that gives the meaning that the action is terminated. Verbs marked with *-tàng* can be translated into English with the verb

‘finish’. Note that the suffix *-tàng* has a corresponding verb *tàng* ‘finish’. The suffix *-tàng* often appears in consecutive events. Example (8.52) shows *-tàng* marking the verb *tiki* ‘work’ and example (8.52) shows verb *chó* ‘eat’ marked with the suffix *-tàng*.

It might appear that *-tàng* determines the completeness of an event it marks, rather than emphasises it. Without the suffix *-tàng* in (8.53) *tiki* marked only with the realis suffix *-lò* also would give a completed event meaning ‘has done’. Therefore, the suffix *-tàng* only gives emphasis and enriches the meaning of a completed event of *tiki* in (8.52). In (8.53) the verb *chótàng* ‘finish eating’ is a non-final verb marking an event that precedes the main verb event, which should be completed before the main verb event.

(8.52)

*sal tikitangngo tene arnam borebo*

sal tiki-**tàng**-lò tene arnam bore-bò  
 work work-finish-RL then god offer-IRR2

‘once (we) finish working we bring offering to god’ (TI Bihu)

(8.53)

*anerlo anchotangne angtikidunta melo*

anerlo an-chó-**tàng**-ne nang=tiki-dun=ta mé-lò  
 evening rice-eat-finish-NF:IRR CIS=work-join=ADD be.good-RL

‘at noon, after finishing eating, then come to work with us, (that) is also good’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The predicate derivation suffix *-jeng* brings progressive meaning to a verb, i.e to indicate that the action is incomplete and that the action is currently happening. The suffix *-jeng* has not been found to appear to denote progressive states in the data. Example (8.54) shows the suffix *-jeng* marking the verb *en-dam* (take-go) ‘bring’ to indicate that the action is currently going on. The suffix *-jeng* in (8.54) appears as part of the periphrastic copula-based construction which is often the case with *-jeng*.

(8.54)

*lang mē=ta en-dam-jeng do arleng amokha do-jap do*  
 water fire=ADD take-go-PROG COP man many COP-be.plenty COP  
 ‘water (they) are bringing, many people are there’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The suffix *-klak* expresses two meanings; it indicates an action as a whole or complete with some verbs and as an unexpected action with other verbs. It occurs with a limited number of verbs, including *parkup* ‘cover’ and *thí* ‘die’. Example (8.55) shows the verb *parkup* ‘cover’ marked with *-klak* for the complete/whole event meaning. Example (8.56) shows an event as unexpected with the verb *thí* ‘die’, marked with the suffix *-klak*; in other words *-klak* indicates that the event *thí* ‘die’ was unexpected or premature.

(8.55)

*parake isi ijon akampisoke alangke phule chiparkupklakngo*  
 parake isi i-jon a-kampi-so=ke alang=ke phule chi-parkup-**klak**-lò  
 then one one-CLF:ANIM POSS-monkey-DIM=TOP 3=TOP pot RR-cover-PRF-RL  
 ‘then one little monkey covered itself with the cooking pot’ (BT Monkey)

(8.56)

*te piyok ma bu netapo thiklakngo nang laan bak*  
 te piyok ma bù ne-ta-po **thí-klak-lò** nang la-an=bak  
 then why Q grandmother 1-father-M die-PRF-RL 2 DEM-much=INDEF

*hem kapadem do*

*hēm ki-padem do*  
 house NMLZ-repair COP  
 ‘my father has died then why grandmother are you repairing your house this much?’ (BT Monkey)

The suffix *-lakdak* indicates repetitive action. It occurs only on the verb *hum* ‘hunt’ in the data, but there might be more verb hosts for this suffix. Example (8.57) shows the suffix *-lakdak* marking the verb *hum* ‘to hunt’ for the repetitive meaning ‘again and again’.

(8.57)

*humdunlakdakngo*

hum-dun-**lakdak**-lò

hunt-join-REPT-RL

‘I went hunting again and again’ (DT Culture)

### 8.5.2 Argument-emphasising predicate derivations

Argument-emphasising predicate derivations *-det*<sup>44</sup>, *-krenɡ* and *-phrod* have been identified as having lexical aspectual functions. These suffixes are productive, and they express the material ‘wholeness’ of the argument involved. There are other argument-emphasising predicate derivation suffixes in the language (see §5.1.7.3.3), but this section deals with the interaction of the productive suffixes and the TAM suffixes.

Argument-emphasising predicate derivation suffixes are either subject-oriented or patient-oriented. Subject-oriented suffixes express achievement of state or a process. Patient-oriented suffixes indicate that whatever has been done to the patient was accomplished or achieved. As will be seen from the examples illustrating suffixes *-det*, *-phrod* and *-krenɡ*, these suffixes tend to appear with the realis *-lò*.

Example (8.58) shows the predicate derivation suffix *-det* to express that the event of ‘eating’ the patient has been accomplished.

(8.58) *-det*

*lasi labadisi mengsurungpo chobel chobelsi ghurialpo*

lasi labadi=si            mengsurung-po    chobel ~ chobel-si            ghurial-po

so    like.this=FOC:RL    fox-DEF            deceive    deceive-NF:RL    crocodile-DEF

*asopoyok chopidetno*

a-so-po=yok            chó-pi-**det**-lò

POSS-child-DEF=NSUBJ    eat-BEN-all-RL

‘so in this way the fox deceived the crocodile and has eaten his children’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Example (8.59) shows the suffix *-det* on the verb *pon* ‘take’ to express an achievement of an action done on the patient. A similar function of *-det* is shown in (8.60) with the verb

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<sup>44</sup> Note that *-det* is patient-oriented only on transitive verbs; it is subject-oriented when the verb is intransitive.

*chonghu* ‘steal’. Note that there is an A argument *bangne* ‘somebody’ of the verb *chonghu* ‘steal’, but the suffix *-det* is still oriented towards the patient.

(8.59) *-det*

*aro labang osopeyok Balingthepiyok chiponetno*

aro la=bang oso-pe=yok Bilangthe-pe-yok chi-pon-**det**-lò

and DEM=GNR child-F=NSUBJ PN:Bilangthe-F=NSUBJ RR-take-all-RL

‘and he (the snake) took that girl, Bilangthe (along with him)’ (PM Bilangthe)

(8.60) *-det*

*kachilang ayokke nepoisa achulke bangne chonghupidetno*

ki-chi-làng a-yok=ke ne-poisa a-chul=ke bang=ne chonghu-pi-**det**-lò

NMLZ-RR-see POSS-PURP=TOP 1-money POSS-bag=TOP GNR=FOC:IRR steal-BEN-all-RL

‘while looking (for my purse), (it turned out) somebody has stolen my purse’ (JB Bus)

Example (8.61) shows the adjectival verb *mé* ‘be good’ marked with the suffix *-det* for the meaning that the subject’s *arlosope* ‘the girl’ state of *mé* ‘be good’ has been achieved ‘got well/got healed’.

(8.61)

*arlenghel kapinkitpara arlosope labang sohapne*

arleng-hel ki-pinkit=para arloso-pe la=bang so-hap=ne

man-PL NMLZ-pray=from woman-F DEM=GNR sickness-worry=FOC:IRR

*kidopo medetno*

ki-do-po mé-**det**-lò

NMLZ-COP-DEF be.good-all-RL

‘people prayed and the girl got well/healed’ (PR Witchcraft)

Example (8.62) shows *-phrod* on the verb *làng* ‘look’ to express the meaning that *nibinihel* ‘my stuff’ was all looked/checked. Example (8.63) shows *-phrod* marking the verb *chirli* ‘learn’ to indicate accomplishment that the object of study was all learned.

(8.62) *-phrod*

*niyok gatelong lango nibihinihel langphrodno*

ne=yok gate=long làng-lò ne-bihini-hel làng-**phrod**-lò

1=NSUBJ gate(Eng)-LOC look-RL 1-thing-PL look-all-RL

‘at the gate I was checked, all my stuff was checked’ (BM Trip2)

(8.63) *-phrod*

*Mayong rechopo ahem analiyok kapadopon amunsi*

PN:Mayong recho-po a-hēm anali=yok ki-pa-do-pon amun=si

Mayong king-M POSS-house 3PL=NSUBJ NMLZ-CAUS-stay-take while=FOC:RL

*anang anali para jadumontorohel chirli-phrodno*

anang anali para jadumontoro-hel chirli-**phrod**-lò

3 3PL from witchcraft-PL learn-all-RL

‘when they were taken to stay at the king Mayong’s house he learned all the witchcraft from them’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Example (8.64) shows the verb *lap* ‘lose’ marked with the suffix *-krenɡ* ‘all’ that is patient-oriented, to indicate that the event of ‘losing’ has been achieved.

(8.64)

*inglong ayok lutdamsi tikepota abol lapkrenɡo*

inglong a-yok lut-dam-si tike-po=ta a-bol lap-**krenɡ**-lò

hill POSS-NSUBJ enter-go-NF:RL tiger-DEF=ADD POSS-strength lose-all-RL

*arlengpota jangklungo*

arleng-po=ta jang-klung-lò

man-DEF=ADD fall-down-RL

‘and when (they) entered the hill, the tiger lost all the strength and both the man and the tiger fell down’ (BK Widow)

## 9 Complex clauses

This chapter deals with complex clauses in Amri Karbi. It starts with three nominalized subordinate clauses §9.1. Then it proceeds with clause chaining §9.2, independent clause coordination §9.3 and conditional clauses §9.4.

### 9.1 Nominalized subordinate clauses

Nominalized subordinate clauses are constructed with the nominalizer *ki-*. The prefix *ki-* attaches to the verb stem forming a non-finite verb that is involved in different types of subordinate clauses: relative, adverbial and complement clauses.

Amri Karbi relative clauses are based on possessive construction with a nominalized verb modifying a noun marked with the possessive prefix *a-*. Similar construction is used for genitives and nominalized adjectival verbs, i.e. a modifier precedes the noun and the noun carries the possessive prefix *a-*. The difference between nominalized adjectival verbs and nominalized regular verbs is that adjectival verbs can both precede and follow the noun when they modify them and nominalized regular always precede the noun they modify. Consequently, Amri Karbi grammatical encoding does not differentiate between different semantic types of attribution. This lack of differentiation in Amri Karbi spreads to other types of subordinate clauses, namely adverbial and complement clauses. Thus, all three types of subordinate clauses in Amri Karbi are constructed morphosyntactically in a similar way. The difference is that in a relative clause, a modified noun can be any noun, while in adverbial and complement clauses, a modified noun is a relator noun, that is marked with the possessive prefix *a-* and functions as a subordinator.

#### 9.1.1 Relative clauses

In Amri Karbi relative clauses are formed with the same nominalizer *ki-*, as is used in derivational nominalization. Relative clauses with nominalizations have been termed as “nominalization-relativization syncretism” by DeLancey (2002). Bickel (1999: 272) gives the label “Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization” to “the morphological convergence of [these] syntactic functions”.

In Amri Karbi relative clauses the head noun is usually marked by the possessive morpheme *a-* as shown in (9.1) and always follows the nominalized verb (9.1) and (9.2). The common argument can be in any syntactic role in a relative clause. The word order in the relative clause

is SV (9.1), if the modified noun is O, and OV (9.2) if the modified argument is S, which corresponds to the word order of a matrix clause that is usually verb-final, i.e. SOV. The head noun in the relative clause is mostly a common noun in the corpus, but there is one instance where a negative pronoun is modified with a relative clause (9.3).

(9.1) relative clause

*aro anethu wango tine anang wohar worek kii ajaga*

aro anethu wang-lò tene anang [wohar~worek ki-í] a-jaga  
 and evening come-RL then 3 wild.cock~EE NMLZ-sleep POSS-place

*bisardamsi kiapyok damman*

bisar-dam-si ki-ap=yok dam-man  
 search-go-NF:RL NMLZ-shoot=PURP go-HAB

‘when he came back in the evening he went to find a place where a wild cock slept and shoot (it)’ (SR Hunter)

(9.2) relative clause

*anang=ke i-hut [choròng ki-wi] arleng ki-do*

3=TOP one-CLF:HUM.SG cow NMLZ-herd person PST-COP

‘he was a cowherd/cowboy’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(9.3) relative clause with the negative pronoun *kaita* ‘nobody’; note that the negative pronoun does not carry *a-* ‘POSS’

*atomo asarpe himepe ahem kangwe aret kangwe*

a-tomo a-sar-pe hime-pe a-hēm kangwe a-ret kangwe  
 POSS-story POSS-be.old-F widow-F POSS-house not.exist POSS-field not.exist

*salkam katiki kaita kangwe*

[sal-kam ki-tiki] kai=ta kangwe  
 work-work NMLZ-work who=ADD not.exist

‘long time ago there was a widow, she had no home, no field, nobody to work (with her)’ (BR Widow)

Restrictive relative clauses that specify a noun, and non-restrictive relative clauses are constructed in a similar way, except that restrictive relative clauses tend to be marked with the focus marker =*si* 'FOC:RL'. Example (9.4) shows a non-restrictive relative clause and example (9.5) shows restrictive relative clause.

(9.4) non-restrictive relative clause

*aro prek arlenghel wango aro miji aro haliyok kithan*

aro prek      arleng-hel   wang-lò      aro   miji      aro   [hali=yok                      ki-than]  
and different   person-PL   come-RL   and   PN:Miji   and   1PL.EXLC=NSUBJ   NMLZ-tell

*arlengke dolo*

arleng=ke      do-lò  
person=TOP   COP-RL

'and different people came and Miji (people) there was a person who was teaching us' (TB Songs writing workshop)

(9.5) restrictive relative clause

*lasi anang chirono arme kahowengne kikat achorongmarsi*

lasi   anang   chi-ron-lò      arme   ki-howeng=ne      [ki-kat]      a-choròng-mar=si  
so   3      RR-think-RL   tail   NMLZ-bend=FOC:IRR   NMLZ-run   POSS-cow-PL=FOC:RL

*akimeye*

a-ki-mé-ye  
POSS-NMLZ-be.good-FUT

'if I bend (the cow's) tail and the cows that runs away is a good (cow)' (BK Widow)

As for the orientation of the relative clause which denotes relation between a nominalized verb and the noun it modifies (Haspelmath 1993:153, Shagal 2017:39), in Amri Karbi, relative clauses may modify both agent-like participants (S and A) and non-agent-like referents (P and R). Relative clauses may also modify possessor nouns (9.6).

(9.6) A relativization

*inisi [mok ki-chulong~long] oso ret a-yok ki-dam=tàng*  
one.day breast NMLZ-feed~feed child field POSS-DIR PST-go=REP

‘one day a breast-feeding baby went to the jhumfield (with its mother)’ (PaI Pangolin)

(9.7) P relativization

*amri karbi a-dak [karpu pu-ne ki-pu] a-pe-po*  
PN:Amri PN:Karbi POSS-among pangolin say-NF:IRR NMLZ-say POSS-animal-DEF

*ili thék-man*

1PL.INCL see-HAB

‘in Amri Karbi (land) we see animal called karpu (pangolin)’ (PaI Pangolin)

(9.8) possessor noun modification

*di ahisa kido arlengsi choman*

*ladi [ahisa ki-do] arleng=si chó-man*  
like.this desire NMLZ-COP man=FOC:RL eat-HAB

‘those who have desire to eat (betelnut) eat’ (PI&LT Interview)

9.1.1.1 Relativization with the relative pronoun

There is no original relative pronoun in Amri Karbi. However, it is worth mentioning that there are some examples (seven to be exact) in the database where the Assamese relative pronoun *jitu* ‘that’ is used. With the use of the relative pronoun, the head noun is preceded by the relative pronoun and is placed before the relative clause, not after it as in the original relative clause constructions. So, the new relative clause with the relative pronoun appears to be calqued on the source language construction.

Example (9.10) shows how the relative pronoun *jitu* is used in a restrictive relative clause, i.e. it specifies which tiger is being referred to and the head noun is placed outside and before the relative clause. The relative pronoun *jitu* is not found to be used in non-restrictive clauses in Amri Karbi.

(9.10) relative pronoun *jitu*

*jitu atikepo nepsi kiwang athaq kiwang anangke*

**jitu a-tike-po**      nep-si      ki-wang      a-thak      ki-wang      anang=ke  
that POSS-tiger-DEF catch-NF:RL NMLZ-come POSS-top NMLZ-come 3=TOP

*kapheresi abersi anangke dolo*

ki-phere-si      aber=si      anang=ke do-lò  
NMLZ-be.afraid-FOC:RL below=FOC:RL 3=TOP COP-RL

‘the tiger that the man went on top of, he was afraid (of the man) so he was below (in the beginning of the tiger ladder)’ (BK Widow)

### 9.1.1.2 Participant nominalization and headless relative clauses

In the description of the nominalizer *ki-* in §5.1.2, it was stated that *ki-* can construct event nominalizations but cannot construct participant nominalizations on its own and that it needs to attach one of the definiteness markers in order to construct a participant nominalization. In other words, the nominalizer *ki-* is productive in deriving nominalizations that refer to events, but not productive in deriving participant nominalizations that refer to the entities involved, unless these nominalizations are attached with one of the definite markers.

These types of constructions, namely a nominalized verb with one of the definiteness markers (*-po* ‘DEF’ or *-hel* ‘PL’) attached to it, resemble relative clauses without their head nouns. Example (9.11) shows a nominalized verb *ki-wang-lage-po* (NMLZ-come-should-DEF) ‘the coming’ that misses its head noun *homoi* ‘time’. The nominalized verb *ki-wang-lage-po* (NMLZ-come-should-DEF) has the definite *-po* in its structure that enables it to refer to the noun *homoi* ‘time’. Without the definite *-po*, the nominalized verb *ki-wang-lage* would refer to an event. Though the nominalized construction *ki-wang-lage-po* (NMLZ-come-should-DEF) ‘the coming’ misses its head noun *homoi* ‘time’, but it is still able to refer to the head noun with the aid of the definite *-po*. It is therefore considered that Amri Karbi participant nominalization emerges from headless relative clauses.

(9.11)

S1

*kombak a-homoi=te chi-than do*  
 what POSS-time=Q2 RR-say COP  
 ‘what time (they are having) discussion?’

S2

*kombak a-homoi mane ki-wang-lage-po bek-so nuwe-ye*  
 what POSS-time I.mean NMLZ-come-should-DEF be.little-DIM be.dark-FUT

*pu-si pu do*  
 say-NF:RL say COP

‘the time means, (the time) that they should come will be a little dark they are saying’  
 (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

Since event nominalization can also take the definite *-po/-hel*, a nominalized verb marked with definite markers presents two interpretations: event nominalizations or participant nominalizations. Example (9.12) has a relative clause *arkeng ki-e a-lam* (betel nut NMLZ-plant POSS-word) ‘story about planting betel nut’; the nominalized verb marked with the definite *-po* could be interpreted as either an event nominalization ‘planting betel nut’ or a participant nominalization ‘the story of planting betel nut’ with the head noun *lam* ‘story’ missing. In this case, according my language consultant’s translation the construction refers to an event.

(9.12)

*arkeng kie alam arkeng kie-po ladi kido*  
 arkeng ki-e a-lam arkeng ki-e-po la-badi ki-do  
 betelnut NMLZ-plant POSS-word betelnut NMLZ-plant-DEF DEM-as NMLZ-COP  
 ‘story about planting beetlenut, planting beetlenut is like this’ (PI Betelnut)

### 9.1.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Amri Karbi are formed with the nominalized verb followed by a relator noun. As was mentioned above, adverbial clauses formally resemble relative clauses, as in a typical adverbial clause a relator noun follows a nominalized verb and is attached with the possessive prefix *a-*. The subordinators often appear to be marked with the focus clitic *=si*. The types of adverbial clauses can be defined in one word expressing time, manner or cause

relationships (Thompson, Longacre, Shin 2007) and the description of adverbial clauses is organized according to these relationships. So, in Amri Karbi there are adverbial clauses of time, also called temporal adverbial clause §9.1.2.1, adverbial clauses of cause and reason §9.1.2.2. Then there are other adverbial clauses including adverbial clauses of manner §9.1.2.3.

#### 9.1.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Semantically, an adverbial clause modifies a verb phrase or a whole clause. Temporal adverbial clauses indicate that there is a temporal linkage between the main and subordinate clause; there can be simultaneous and subsequent temporal relations between the two clauses.

##### 9.1.2.1.1 Simultaneous

Simultaneous adverbial clauses indicate that the events of an adverbial clause happen at the same time as the events of the main clause. Amri Karbi has several subordinators to mark simultaneous events. In the instances of simultaneous adverbial clauses, such clauses are marked with subordinators: *-yokke/ayokke* (9.13) and (9.14), *amun* (9.15) and (9.16), *-long* (9.17) and (9.18), *apor* (9.19) and (9.20). The subordinators *amun*, *-long* and *apor* often appear to be marked with the focus clitic =*si*. The subordinator *-yok* is glossed in temporal adverbial clauses the same way as the allative/directive ‘DIR’<sup>45</sup>. The topic marker =*ke* is necessary for *-yok* to function as a temporal adverbial subordinator, while the prefix *a-* can be omitted. The subordinator *amun* means ‘while, at the time’. The subordinator *-long* is also a general locative marker, which as a temporal subordinator means ‘at (doing something)’. The subordinator *apor* means ‘time’ and has its origin in the Khasi language.

The semantics of subordinators is very similar to simultaneity overlap or duration, but it has been noticed that *-yokke/ayokke* tend to appear with motion verbs of a subordinate clause, while the subordinators *amun* and *apor* appear with process verbs and *-long* appears mostly with iterative actions. The subordinator *-yokke/ayokke* contains a multifunctional morpheme *-yok* that is described in various parts of the grammar as a non-subject marker §6.2, as a directive/allative §6.3.2 and as a subordinator of purpose that is described later in this chapter §9.1.2.2.

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<sup>45</sup> *-yok* is glossed as ‘PURP’ in adverbial clauses of reason and purpose §9.1.2.2.

(9.13) simultaneous adverbial clause with *-yokke*

*kidamyokke tere aju pirsek aju pod aju monon badi gog*

ki-dam=**yok=ke** tere aju pirsek aju pod aju minon badi gog  
NMLZ-go=DIR=TOP pond through grass through mud through now like ?

*alongsi kaita arleng kidam un'e ajaga along*

a-long=si kai=ta arleng ki-dam ùn-Ce a-jaga a-long  
POSS-LOC=FOC:RL anybody=ADD man NMLZ-go be.able-NEG POSS-place POSS-LOC

*lalongsi kido*

la=long=si ki-do  
DEM=LOC=FOC:RL PST-stay

‘while she was going, she went through pond, torn grass, mud, where people could not go, that is where they lived’ (PM Bilangthe)

(9.14) simultaneous adverbial clause with *-yokke*

*aro anali lapirka arni kilangdamyokke henhel chodamdetno*

aro anali la=pirka arni ki-làng-dam=**yok=ke** hen-hel chó-dam-det-lò  
and 3PL DEM=next day NMLZ-look-go=ALL=TOP yam-PL eat-go-all-RL

‘and the next day when they went and saw that all the yam was eaten up’ (BT Monkey)

(9.15) simultaneous adverbial clause with *amunsi*

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholo para kampi*

anang hon-ne ki-do **amun=si** a-ki-holo=para kampi  
3 guard-NF:IRR NMLZ-stay while=FOC:RL POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from monkey

*ijon theksi anang dungwango*

i-jon thék-si anang dung-wang-lò  
one-CLF:ANIM see-NF:RL 3 join-come-RL

‘while he was guarding (the chilis) a monkey saw him from far away and came to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(9.16) simultaneous adverbial clause with *amunsi*

*Mayong recho-po ahem analiyok kapadapon amunsi anang*

PN:Mayong recho-po a-hēm anali=yok ki-pa-do-pon **amun=si** anang  
Mayong king-M POSS-house 3=NSUBJ NMLZ-CAUS-stay-take while=FOC:RL 3

*analipara jadumontorohel chirli-phrodno*

anali=para jadumontoro-hel chirli-phrod-lo

3PL=from witchcraft-PL learn-all-RL

‘when they were taken to stay at king Mayong’s house, he learned all the witchcraft from them’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

(9.17) simultaneous adverbial clause with *alongsi*

*aro alangli kijaldam alongsi thokwam chipachakngo*

aro alangli ki-jal-dam **a-long=si** thokwam chi-pachak-lò

and 3PL NMLZ-roam-go POSS-long=FOC:RL bear RR-meet-RL

‘and while roaming they encountered a bear’ (JK Bear)

(9.18) simultaneous adverbial clause with *alongsi*

*inersi mengsurungpo lang kijundaman aduwar alongsi*

inersi mengsurung-po lang ki-jùn-dam-man a-duwar<sup>46</sup> **a-long=si**

one.day fox-DEF water NMLZ-drink-go-HAB POSS-way POSS-LOC=FOC:RL

*alang inghongdamo*

alang inghong-dam-lò

3 wait-go-RL

‘one day he will wait for the fox, while he goes to drink water’ (RB Bey)

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<sup>46</sup> This example contains both a relator noun *alongsi* and a noun *a-duwar* (POSS-way) ‘way’ that is relativized/modified by the nominalized verb *ki-jùn-dam-man* (NMLZ-drink-go-HAB) which structurally appears that within an adverbial clause there is a relative clause.

(9.19) simultaneous adverbial clause with *apor* ‘time’

*Bilangthepe jalne kido apor anayok tarammo...*

Bilangthe-pe jal-ne ki-do **a-por** anang-yok taram-lò

PN:Bilangthe-F play-NF:IRR NMLZ-COP POSS-time 3-NSUBJ call-RL

‘while Bilangthe was playing (someone) called her’ (PM Bilangthe)

(9.20) simultaneous adverbial clause with *apor* ‘time’

*sok namdamsi wangsì don karpát apor donpo*

sok nam-dam-si wang-sì don ki-arpat **apor** don-po

rice buy-go-NF:RL come-NF:RL bridge NMLZ-cross time bridge-DEF

*chengbengbongsi lang along jangrullo*

chéng-beng-bong-si lang a-long jang-rul-lò

start-piece-finish-NF:RL water POSS-LOC fall-by.chance-RL

‘they came back after buying rice, while crossing the bridge, bridge fell down’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

#### 9.1.2.1.2 Anteriority and Posteriority

Events in subordinate clauses that happened before the main clause (anteriority) event are marked with the relator noun *aphel* ‘after’ (9.21). Amri Karbi posteriority clauses are marked with *ango* ‘before’ (9.22). The Amri Karbi relator noun *ango* is likely to be a cognate of the Karbi *ako* ‘before’. In Karbi, *ako* ‘before’ requires the adverbial clause verb to be negated (Konnerth 2014:405), but in Amri Karbi there is no obligatory negation of posteriority clauses. There is also a subordinator *lengke* (9.23) which occurs with the negated main clause that marks the punctual ‘until’ for the event in the main clause to happen. The verb in the subordinate clause marked with *lengke* is also negated. This phenomenon is called ‘expanded negation’ in Wälhli (2019), where “negation in temporal clauses in translation equivalents in many other languages lack negation irrespective of whether or not negation is expletive (does not have the function of expressing negative polarity)”. The temporal clause identifies the time when the event in the main clause may happen, happened or will happen. The negated adverbial clauses demonstrate “extremely close relation between linguistic form and function” (Hetterle 2015:145-146); in the case of Ari Karbi if the event in the adverbial clause marked with *lenke* does not happen, the event in the main clause also does not happen (9.24). ‘Until’ clause

marked with *lengke* may also occur with the affirmative main clause (9.25), where the adverbial clause identifies a point of time until the event of the main clause may last. What is peculiar to the subordinator *lengke* is that it has likely developed from the verb (*h*)*leng* ‘reach’ rather than a relator noun, as it does not attach the possessive prefix *a-*. Then there is the topic =*ke* in *lengke*

(9.21) anteriority clause with *aphel* ‘after’

*arnam a-kung kiwang aphel arlenghel arlosope aphan kapinkitpi*

arnam a-kung **ki-wang** **aphel** arleng-hel arloso-pe a-phan ki-pinkit-pi  
 god POSS-near NMLZ-come after man-PL woman-F POSS-for PST-pray-BEN  
 ‘after coming to God all believers prayed for the girl’ (PR Witchcraft)

(9.22) posteriority clause with *ango* ‘before’

*lasi kitol ango la anangaipeyokke, la hak pisi*

lasi **ki-tol** **ango** la anang-ai-pe=yok=ke la=hak pi-si  
 so NMLZ-send before DEM 3-mother-F=NSUBJ=TOP DEM=bucket give-NF:RL

*mane panghorsipapono*

mane pa-inghór-si pa-pon-lò

I.mean CAUS-carry-NF:RL CAUS-take-RL

‘before she sent, she gave to her mother to carry a long bucket (to her house)’ (PM Bilangthe)

(9.23) adverbial clause marked with *lengke* ‘until’

*nanghem kihlenghlelengke nang labang hakpo phoun’e*

nang-hēm ki-hleng-Ce=**lengke** nang la=bang hak-po pho-ùn-ce  
 2-house NMLZ-reach-NEG=until 2 DEM=GNR bucket-DEF open-be.able-NEG

‘before you reach home, do not open the bucket’ (PB Bilangthe)

(9.24) adverbial clause marked with *lengke* ‘until’

*chiklo jonni dordelengke anang*

chiklo jon-ni dor-Ce=**lengke** anang  
month CLF:month-two complete-NEG=until 3

*jangchilangdundeyongo mengsurungpo ahem ayok*

nang=chi-làng-dun-Ce-yong-lò mengsurung-po a-hēm a-yok  
CIS=RR-look-follow-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL fox-DEF POSS-house POSS-DIR

‘he (the crocodile) did not come to check (his children) at the fox’s house until two months have passed’

(9.25) adverbial clause marked with *lengke* ‘until’

*aro Herodpo thithelengke lalongsi dolo*

aro PN:Herod-po thi-Ce=**lengke** lalong=si do-lo  
and Herod-M die-NEG=until there=FOC:RL stay-RL

‘and was there until the death of Herod’ (NT)

#### 9.1.2.2 Adverbial clause of ‘cause’ or ‘reason’

Adverbial clauses of cause or reason express events that explain the cause or reason for the events happening in the main clause. These clauses are marked with the relator nouns *-yok* (‘PURP’) ‘purpose/in order to’ or *(a)pot(si)* ‘reason’. The subordinators *-yok* and *(a)pot(si)* produce different meanings: *-yok* is often used to mark adverbial clauses of reason that are going to happen after the event in the main clause, while the subordinator *(a)pot(si)* marks events that happened prior to the events of the main clause. Example (9.26) shows an adverbial clause of reason marked with the subordinator *-yok* for the meaning that the purpose of the man’s climbing the tree is that he is going to pluck the fruit.

(9.26)

*aro i-hut-po=ke*                      *théngpe a-the*              *ki-hlek*              *dam-phak a-yok*  
and one-CLF:HUM.SG=TOP tree              POSS-fruit NMLZ-pluck go-again POSS-PURP

*angsong arlu-si*              *dam do*  
up climb-NF:RL go COP

‘and one man is climbing up the tree to pluck again the fruit’ (MI Pear film)

Example (9.27) shows an adverbial clause marked with the subordinator (*a*)*pot(si)* to mark that the reason the people think the boy is lying, is because he has deceived them before.

(9.27)

*piyok putang tene angota anangliyok kachobel apotsi*  
{piyok putang tene}      *ango=ta*              *anangli=yok*      *ki-chobel*              ***a-pot=si***  
{why, because}              before=ADD      3PL=NSUBJ              NMLZ-deceive              POSS-reason=FOC:RL

*anangli asisik than do*  
*anangli asisik than do*  
3PL lie say COP

‘why because, the boy deceived them before, they say, (he) is telling lie’ (BR Lying cowboy)

### 9.1.2.3 Other types of adverbial clauses

Amri Karbi has adverbial clauses that modify main clauses with the meaning ‘as, like’ (manner) and ‘in return’. These meanings are somewhat similar to the adverbial clauses of cause and reason, because they also provide explanation to a state or an action of the main clause. Example (9.28) illustrates an adverbial clause marked with *badi* ‘as, like’, where the king took two orphan girls to his house as a reward for plucking mangoes for him. So, the adverbial clause in (9.28) ‘as a reward’ provides the reason of why the king took the orphan girls to his house.

(9.28)

*rechopo la theksi lahelyok banta kipi badi hem ayok*

recho-po la thék-si la-hel=yok banta ki-pi badi hēm a-yok  
king-DEF DEM see-NF.RL DEM-PL=NSUBJ reward NMLZ-give as house POSS-DIR

*wano aro analiyok panghrengo*

wan-lò aro anali=yok pa-inghrens-lò  
bring-RL and 3PL=NSUBJ CAUS-survive-RL

‘the king saw this (seeing this) and as a reward to them (orphan girls) brought them to his house and took care of them’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Example (9.29) shows an adverbial clause marked with the subordinator *holan* ‘in return’. The adverbial clause *phurkup-po ki-pi a-holan* (hat-DEF NMLZ-give POSS-return) ‘in return for giving the hat’ provides explanation that the action in the main clause ‘give two fruit’ was caused by the previous action ‘give the hat’.

(9.29)

*phurkup-po ki-pi a-holan théngpe a-the pum-ni pi-lò*  
hat-DEF NMLZ-give POSS-return tree POSS-fruit CLF:round-two give-RL

‘in return for giving a hat, he gave him two fruit’ (MI Pear film)

#### 9.1.2.4 Summary of nominalized adverbial clauses

Table 9.1 lists all the adverbial subordinate clause types and the relator nouns functioning as subordinators that are used to mark them.

Table 9.1 Sematic types of adverbial clauses

Semantic type		Subordinator	
Time	Anteriority	<i>aphel</i>	‘after’
	Posteriority	<i>ango</i>	‘before’
		<i>lengke</i>	‘until’
	Simultaneity (motion verbs)	<i>-yokke/ayokke</i>	‘when’
	Simultaneity (process verbs)	<i>amun(si), -por</i>	‘while’
Simultaneity (iterative actions)	<i>alongsi</i>	‘while’	
Cause and Reason		<i>(a)yok</i>	‘purpose’
		<i>(a)pot(si)</i>	‘reason’
Others		<i>badi</i>	‘as, like’
		<i>aholan</i>	‘in return’

#### 9.1.2.5 Adverbial clauses with a pronoun

Similar to relative pronouns entering Amri Karbi from Indic languages, there have been attested temporal adverbial clauses constructed with a pronoun. Example (9.30) shows the pronoun *jitia* heading a temporal adverbial clause. The clause starts with the pronoun *jitia* and then proceeds as a finite clause; the resulting complex clause construction consists of two finite clauses juxtaposed to each other.

(9.30)

*lapara jitia lang asiten along hengngo layok*

[la=para     jitia(Assm) lang     a-siten     a-long     heng-lò] [la=yok  
DEM=from     when     water     POSS-middle     POSS-LOC     reach-RL     DEM=NSUBJ

*ghurialpo kampiloyok thano*

ghurial-po     kampi-po=yok     than-lò]  
crocodile-DEF     monkey-DEF=NSUBJ     say-RL

‘then, when they reached the middle of water the crocodile told to the monkey’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

#### 9.1.2.6 Right dislocated adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses can be right dislocated for the emphasis. Example (9.31) shows a right-dislocated adverbial clause of purpose *kapangbob ayok* ‘to make pop-corn’ that appear right after the finite verb.

(9.31)

*lasi anangli banghini chithano kapangbob ayok*

lasi     anang-li     bang-hini     chi-than-lò     ki-pa-ingbob     a-yok  
so     3-HON     CLF:HUM.PL-two     RR-say-RL     NMLZ-CAUS-sprout     POSS-PURP

‘so two of them talked to each other to make popcorn’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

#### 9.1.3 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause (Dixon 2010). Complement clauses in Amri Karbi all fill object argument slots of the main clause. The constituent order in the complement clause is that of the main clause, i.e. SOV. The range of complement-taking predicates which select nominalized complements is mostly concentrated on verbs: ‘decide/to think’; ‘try to’, ‘see/know’, ‘start’ and ‘help’. In most of the cases, the subject of the complement clause is identical to the subject of the main clause and it is more likely to be expressed. Complement clauses are usually constructed with nominalized verbs; they may or may not be followed by a subordinator. If there is a subordinator, it is usually marked with the possessive prefix *a-*. Some of these subordinators are used in both adverbial and complement clauses and the meaning changes according to the

context. So, complement clauses with the subordinators and adverbial clauses structurally look identical, i.e. *ki-V (a-)* SUBORDINATOR.

Example (9.32) shows a complement clause of the verb *ron* ‘decide’. The complement clause uses the subordinator *badi* ‘as’, which is also used in adverbial clauses (see §9.1.2). The complement of the verb *ron* ‘decide’ is *kikat* ‘running’, the complement clause literally means ‘he thought/decided like running’.

(9.32) complement clause of the verb *ron* ‘to think/to decide’

*tikepo arme kiodlogeloge tikepo kikat badi rono*

tike-po arme ki-od-loge~loge tike-po [ki-kat badi] **ron-lò**  
 tiger-DEF tail NMLZ-touch-?~? tiger-DEF NMLZ-run as think-RL  
 ‘when he touched the tiger's tail, the tiger decided to run’ (BK Widow)

Example (9.33) shows a complement clause of *dhore* ‘try to’ with the subordinator *-yok* ‘PURP’. The subordinator *-yok* is also used in adverbial clauses of purpose.

(9.33) complement clause of the verb *dhore* ‘try’

*ahuwidta tharwepo kapari ayok chidhorelo*

ahuwid=ta tharwe-po [ki-pari a-yok] **chi-dhore-lò**  
 all=ADD mango-DEF NMLZ-pluck POSS-PURP RR-try-RL  
 ‘all of them tried to pluck the mangoes’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

The complement clause of the verb *thék* ‘know/see’ in example (9.34) illustrates an example of a complement clause that does not involve a subordinator in its construction. The subordinate clause is nominalised, has SOV word order and appears before the main verb. Example (9.34) shows the complement clause of the verb *thék* ‘see’ in square brackets, it is embedded within the main clause and placed between the subject *anali* ‘they’ and the main verb *thékngo* ‘saw’.

(9.34) complement clause of the verb *thek* ‘see’

*anali recho ihudpo pen amuntirihel yok tharwe arong*

anali [recho i-hud-po=pen amuntiri-hel=yok tharwe a-ròng  
3PL king one-CLF:HUM.SG-DEF=with king.servant-PL=NSUBJ mango POSS-plant

*abenlong kisang thekngo*

a-ben=long ki-sāng] **thék-lò**

POSS-shadow=LOC NMLZ-rest see-RL

‘they saw the king and his servants resting in the shadow of a mango tree’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Example (9.35) shows another complement clause of the verb *thék* ‘see’ which consists of only a nominalized verb *kangthin* ‘it is dark’.

(9.35) complement clause of the verb *thék* ‘see’

*kanghupota kangthin theksi...*

kinghu-po=ta [ki-ingthin] **thék-si**

thief-DEF=ADD NMLZ-be.dark see-NF.RL

‘the thief saw that it is dark’ (BK Widow)

Example (9.36) shows the ditransitive verb *pon* ‘take’ and the R argument slot is filled with the complement clause *tikihel kihum* ‘tiger hunting’. Example (9.37) shows a complement clause of the verb *cheng* ‘start’.

(9.36) complement clause of the verb *pon* ‘take’

[*tike-hel ki-hum=ta*] *oso-hel pon-man*

tiger-PL NMLZ-hunt=ADD child-PL take-HAB

‘do you take children for tiger hunting’ (PI&LT Interview)

(9.37) complement clause of the verb *chéng* ‘start’

*aro labadi jorme kachirhap aporhelke angkhan arlengke monon*

aro labadi jorme ki-chi-arhap apor-hel=ke angkhan arleng=ke minon  
and like.this wedding NMLZ-RR-join time-PL=TOP some man=TOP now

*badi pator mogahelta kachiikpon chengpondo*

badi [PN:pator moga-hel=ta ki-chi-ik-pon] **chéng-pon do**  
like pator.silk silk-PL=ADD NMLZ-RR-wear-ITER start-ITER COP

‘and like this for wedding festivals, some people are starting now to wear pator silk and silk dress’ (PK&AM Weaving)

### 9.1.3.1 Quotative complementizer

The quotative *pu(si)(ke)* ‘QUOT’ functions as a complementizer for direct speech. It usually occurs at the end of direct speech. The quotative *pu(si)(ke)* is composed of the verb *pu* ‘say’ and the nonfinal suffix *-si* or rarely with the topic marker *=ke* (mainly with negated main verbs). Example (9.38) shows *pusi* functioning as a complementizer for the verb *ron* ‘think/intend’ marking inner speech. Example (9.39) has *puke* functioning as a complementizer for the verb *pu* ‘say’ marking reported speech.

(9.38) *pusi* functioning as a complementizer

*to minike nangchopene pusi alang kachirontangho mengsurungpo*

to mini=ke nang=chó-pen-ye **pusi** alang ki-chiron-tànghò mengsurung-po  
ok today=TOP 2=eat-really-FUT say-NF:RL 3 NMLZ-think-REP fox-DEF

‘ok, today I will eat the fox, he thought’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(9.39) *puke* functioning as a complementizer

*manta alang neyok sunnot puke nepupeyong*

manta alang ne=yok sun-not **pu=ke** ne=pu-Ce-ingyong

but 3 I=NSUBJ get.out-IMP say=TOP I=say-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘but he didn’t say to me get out’ (JB Bus)

### 9.1.3.2 Complement clauses *ki-V-ye a-N do*

Desiderative, or ‘I want to V’, constructions employ the existential construction with a noun modified by a nominalized verb, i.e. *ki-V-ye a-N do*. V is a nominalized complement verb, which is also often marked with the future *-ye*, and N is a noun, which is usually *aisa/ahisa* ‘desire’ that is always marked with the possessive prefix *a-*. This construction resembles a relative clause construction, with the modified noun being *aisa/ahisa* ‘desire’, e.g. (9.41) and (9.42).

(9.41)

*aro anang bohut ki-chó aisa do-man*

and 3 very(Ind) NMLZ-eat desire COP-HAB

‘and she wants very much to eat (fruit)’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(9.42)

*ne dameto neta kidam aisa do pusi*

ne dam-ye=to ne=ta **ki-dam aisa do** pusi

1 go-FUT=REPL I=ADD NMLZ-go desire COP QUOT

‘I will go, I also want to go, I said’ (BM Trip)

There is another desiderative complement clause illustrated in (9.43) which occurs once in the data. There is no copula *do* in the construction and the nominalized clause, similarly to the construction with *aisa*, is also marked with the future *-ye*. Also, instead of the noun *aisa* there is a noun *ari* which is translated as ‘desire’, but the word usually means ‘hand’. The noun *ari* is marked with the focus *-lò*, which usually appears on nominal predicates (see §6).

(9.43)

*kenehe skul kidameke arilo parake neke skul*

kene=he                **skul**    **ki-dam-ye=ke**    **a-ri=lò**                parake ne=ke skul  
something=EMPH school NMLZ-go-FUT=TOP POSS-desire=FOC then I=TOP school

*damrong te hem asal katiki abang we potsi*

dam-rong tene hēm a-sal ki-tiki a-bang we potsi  
go-again then house POSS-work NMLZ-work POSS-GNR NEG.EX.COP2 because  
'I wanted to go to school, but then if I went to school again there would not be anyone to  
work at home, that's why' (TuI Education)

A similar construction, *ki-V-ye a-N do* is used in (9.44) with the noun *lam* 'word' and the meaning is 'there is a plan to V'.

(9.44)

*Gonesguri supermarketlong sunsi anayok pulo nimusohel*

PN:Gonesguri supermarket=long sun-si anang=yok pu-lò ne-muso-hel  
Goneshguri supermarket=LOC get.down-NF:RL 3=NSUBJ say-RL 1-sister-PL

*ahem dambang pusi karon ne Delhiyokta*

a-hēm dam-bang pusi ki-ron ne PN:Delhi=yok=ta  
POSS-house go-IRR1 QUOT NMLZ-think 1 New Delhi=DIR=ADD

*kiwange alam do apotsi*

**ki-wang-ye**        **a-lam**        **do** apotsi  
NMLZ-come-FUT POSS-word COP because

'I got down at Ganeshguri supermarket and told her that I am going to my sister house  
because next day I am going to ( lit.: 'there is a plan to go') New Delhi' (BM Trip2)

### 9.1.3.3 Modal predicate derivation suffixes vs. complement taking verbs

In many languages, modal verbs are usually complement-taking verbs. In Amri Karbi, these type of verbs are analysed as predicate derivations; they include *-ùn* 'be able', *-h(l)ong* 'get to', *-thék* 'know how' and *-lag* 'need', see §5.1.7.3.6. However, some predicate derivation suffixes, specifically *-h(l)ong* 'get to' and *-lag* 'need, should', sometimes behave like modal

complement-taking verbs, in that that they seem to take TAM suffixes and therefore look like finite verbs,<sup>47 48</sup>. Example (9.45) shows *kikōr hlongo* ‘got to bite’, which can be analysed as a nominalized verb *ki-kōr* (NMLZ-bite), and a finite verb *hlong-lò* (get-RL) ‘(he) got’, because it is marked with the realis *-lo*. In this analysis the nominalized verb *kikōr* is a complement of the verb *hlongo*. Note that the TAM marker on the second verb *krol* ‘believe’ is also the realis *-lò*.

(9.45)

*kikorpoyok akengsi kikor hlongo manta aro potbadisi*

ki-kōr-po=yok            a-keng=si            **ki-kōr**    **hlong-lo**    manta    aro    potbadi=si  
 NMLZ-bite-DEF=NSUBJ    POSS-foot=FOC:RL    NMLZ-bite    get-RL    but    and    how=FOC:RL

*la mengsurungpo kithan alam krollone*

la    mengsurung-po    ki-than    a-lam    krol-lò=ne  
 DEM   fox-M                    NMLZ-say    POSS-word    believe-RL=UNCERT

‘the crocodile got to bite the foot, but again how he believed the fox said’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Another example is given in (9.46), where *hlong* is marked with the future *-ye*, which is strange because the translation is in the past tense and the next verb is marked with realis *-lò*.

However, we need to remember that verbs and the predicate derivation suffixes *lag* and *h(l)ong* often appear with future marker *-ye*. Example (9.47) shows *lag* appearing alongside a nominalized verb *te* ‘dry’ and marked with the future *-ye*, but in this context it is appropriate. Another interesting point is that this verb is the only verb in the clause, which certainly strengthens the complement-taking verb analysis of the modal *lag* in (9.47).

(9.46)

*mine anuwe kangsam hlonge kipusi minonke asopike*

minon    anuwe    **ki-ingsam**    **hlong-ye**    ki-pu-si                    minon=ke    a-so-pi=ke  
 today    evening    NMLZ-be.cold    get-FUT    NMLZ-say-NF.RL    now=TOP    POSS-child-F=TOP

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<sup>47</sup> TAM affixes or TAM construction sometimes appear on nominalized verbs, but the examples of those found in the data appear to be different to the ones with predicate derivation suffixes.

<sup>48</sup> Note that modal predicate derivation suffixes have corresponding verbs and usually take TAM suffixes on their own, with the exception of *lag* which has a limited set of verbal suffixes it can attach, likely due to the plausible reason that it is a recent borrowing in the language.

*pot kurilo*

pot kuri-lò

what do-RL

‘this night (her mother) was (felt) cold, now what her daughter did’ (PM Bilangthe)

(9.47)

*to tine ne sokta kitedam lage neng*

to tine ne sok=ta                    **ki-te-dam**    **lag-ye**                    neng

ok then I    rice.paddy=ADD            NMLZ-dry-go    should-FUT            sister.in.law

‘ok then, I have to go to dry paddy (rice), sister-in-law’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

Example (9.48) does not show a modal predicate derivation but has a similar structure, where *dam* ‘go’ could be analysed as the predicate derivation suffix *-dam* ‘go’. In (9.48), *dam* is marked with the habitual *-man* and appears after the nominalized verb *jùn* ‘drink’. This structure is complex; it appears in an adverbial clause that contains both a relator noun *alongsi* and a noun *a-duwar* (POSS-way) ‘way’. The noun *a-duwar* (POSS-way) ‘way’ is relativized/modified by the construction *ki-jùn dam-man* (NMLZ-drink go-HAB), which structurally looks as though there is a relative clause within an adverbial clause. Then there is the subordinator *-long* ‘LOC’ which suggests that the construction before it is subordinate to the main clause. Therefore, the analysis of the construction *ki-jùn dam-man* (NMLZ-drink go-HAB) should be as one nominalized verb marked with the habitual, rather than a verb *dam* ‘go’ taking a nominalized complement *kijùn* (NMLZ-drink), i.e. *ki-jùn-dam-man* (NMLZ-drink go-HAB).

(9.48)

*inersi mengsurungpo lang kijundaman aduwar alongsi*

inersi    mengsurung-po    lang    **ki-jùn-dam-man**    a-duwar    a-long=si

one.day    fox-DEF                    water    NMLZ-drink-go-HAB    POSS-way    POSS-LOC=FOC:RL

*alang inghongdamo*

alang    inghong-dam-lò

3.        wait-go-RL

‘one day he will wait for the fox, while he goes to drink water’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

#### 9.1.4 TAM marking in nominalized subordinate clauses

Nominalized clauses usually do not have TAM marking and appear only with a stem marked with the nominalizer *ki-*. Nonetheless some TAM affixes do sometimes appear on nominalized verbs.

Examples (9.49), (9.50) and (9.51) show the periphrastic construction *V-si/ne+stay* which has progressive aspectual meaning in a nominalized adverbial clause. In example (9.49), both the verb and the auxiliary verb *do* ‘stay’ are marked with the nominalizer *ki-*. In example (9.50), the nominalizer *ki-* attaches only to the verb *do* ‘stay’ and not to the verb, which is marked with *-ne*.

(9.49) *V-si/-ne+do* in a subordinate clause

*ladi kachironjongne kido apor alang inirsi adin*

ladi        **ki-chiron-jong-ne**        **ki-do**        a-por        alang    inirsi        a-din  
like.this    NMLZ-think-PROG-NF.IRR    NMLZ-COP    POSS-time    3        one.day    POSS-day

*girja kidam*

girja(Assm)    ki-dam

church        PST-go

‘while he was thinking like that he went to church’ (MI One man)

(9.50) *V-si/-ne+do* in a subordinate clause

*Bilangthepe jalne kido apor anayok tarammo*

PN:Bilangthe-pe    **jal-ne**        **ki-do**        a-por        anang=yok    taram-lò  
Bilangthe-F        play-NF:IRR    NMLZ-stay    POSS-time    3=NSUBJ    call-RL

‘while Bilangthe was playing (someone) called her’ (PM Bilangthe)

(9.51) *V-si/-ne+do* in a subordinate clause

*anang honne kido amunsi akaholo para kampi*

anang    **hon-ne**        **ki-do**        amun=si        a-ki-holo=para        kampi  
3        guard-NF:IRR    NMLZ-stay    while=FOC:RL    POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from    monkey

*ijon theksi anang dungwango*

i-jon                    thék-si      anang    dung-wang-lò

one-CLF:ANIM    see-NF:RL    3            join-come-RL

‘while he was guarding (the chilis) a monkey saw him from far away and came to him’ (BM Monkey and fox)

Example (9.52) shows the realis *-bò* marking a nominalized verb with the realis yielding the meaning ‘about to’.

(9.52)

*bus hendumanpo poisa nangrungngo neta poisa*

bus    henduman-po    poisa      nang=rung-lò    ne=ta      poisa

bus    conductor-M    money    CIS=collect-RL    I=ADD    money

*kipiboyoksi chilangngo*

**ki-pi-bò=yok=si**                    chi-làng-lò

NMLZ-give-IRR2=PURP=FOC:RL    RR-look-RL

‘bus conductor came to collect money, I looked (for the purse) as I was about to give money’

(JB Bus)

#### 9.1.5 Subordinate clauses marked with the topic =*ke*

The topic =*ke* rarely occurs as a subordinator with a verb that is usually not nominalized. It occurs with the modal *lag* ‘want, should’ and in the subordinator *lengke* and the quotative *pu* that cooccur with negation.

In example (9.53) =*ke* occurs on the adverbial clause of reason without nominalization *labang-po-yok-si lag-ye=ke* (DEM-DEF-NSUBJ-FOC want-FUT=TOP) ‘since she wanted this (heart)’.

(9.53)

*tene dow labangpoyoksi lagike tene endamphakminang pusi*

tene dow      la=bang-po=yok=si                    **lag-ye=ke**      tene    en-dam-phak-minang    pusi

then    go.IMP    DEM=GNR-DEF=NSUBJ=FOC:RL    want-FUT=TOP    then    take-go-back-HORT      QUOT

*kampipopen ghurial aro jangmupe akangriyok wangphaqngo*

kampi-po=pen ghurial aro jangmu-pe a-kangri=yok wang-phak-lò  
monkey-DEF=with crocodile and blackberry-AUG POSS-underneath=DIR come-back-RL  
'let's go, if she wanted this (heart), then let us go back (they) said, the monkey and the  
crocodile went back underneath the blackberry tree' (RI Monkey and crocodile)

There is also the subordinator *lengke* 'until' that was discussed in §9.1.2.1 that has the topic =*ke* and often marks subordinate clauses that are not marked with the nominalizer *ki-*.

The topic =*ke* marks the quotative *pu* instead of the usual non-final suffix *-si* when the quotative *pu* cooccurs with negation (9.54).

(9.54)

*minonparake ne naliyok aturu puke pupelo*

minon=para=ke ne nali=yok a-turu pu=ke pu-Ce-lo  
now=from=TOP 1 2=NSUBJ POSS-servant QUOT=TOP say-NEG-RL  
'no longer do I call you servants' (NT)

## 9.2 Clause chaining

Besides the nominalized clauses discussed above, subordination in Amri Karbi can be produced by non-final suffixes. There are two non-final suffixes: the realis non-final suffix *-si* and the irrealis *-ne*. This type of subordination is used to link two clauses together. The non-final suffix *-si* is used to mark non-final clauses in declarative clauses and in the realis mood, whereas the non-final suffix *-ne* is used in non-final clauses of non-declarative clauses and declarative clauses in the irrealis mood<sup>49</sup>. In other words, Amri Karbi non-final verbs show specification for mood, realis and irrealis. Realis contexts in Amri Karbi includes past tense and realis mood and irrealis includes future and irrealis.

Even though the suffixes *-si* and *-ne* are in complementary distribution, they sometimes appear in free variation. The non-final suffix *-si* appears more often in the database than *-ne*, and as the examples in this section will show the distinction between realis *-si* and *-ne* is sometimes a

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<sup>49</sup> The complementary distribution of suffixes *-si/-ne* in declarative/non-declarative clauses applies throughout all three functions of these suffixes, namely focus, adverbial and non-final suffixes.

speaker's choice, with the exception of non-declarative clauses that usually do not have *-si*. The functions of non-final clauses include temporal sequence, manner and causal relation. This range of functions of non-final clauses intersects with the functions of adverbial clauses discussed above in §9.1.2. Since Amri-Karbi non-final verbs function as verbal adverbs, they also fit into the definition of converbs (given, for example, in Haspelmath 1995:3).

The subject in non-final clauses can be either the same as in the main clause or different. There is generally only one non-final verb preceding the main verb; more than one non-final verb may appear, and sometimes they appear when the same argument has different roles for each verb.

Example (9.55) shows sequential events; the non-final clause is marked with *-si* and the event of the clause 'they believed what was said' happened before the event of the main clause 'brought back the yam home'.

(9.55) subsequent events marked with *-si*

*anali kithan alampo krolsi hen phurulhel hemyok wanphakngo*

anali ki-than a-lam-po **krol-si** hen phurul-hel hēm=yok wan-phak-lò  
 3 NMLZ-say POSS-word-DEF believe-NF:RL yam potato-PL house=DIR bring-back-RL  
 'they believed what was said and brought back the yam home' (BM Yam)

Another example of *-si* marking a non-final clause denoting sequential events is shown in (9.56).

(9.56)

*inglong ayok lutdamsi tikepota abol lapkrenko*

inglong a-yok **lut-dam-si** tike-po=ta a-bol lap-kreng-lò  
 hill POSS-NSUBJ enter-go-NF:RL tiger-DEF=ADD POSS-strength lose-all-RL

*arlengpota jangklungo*

arleng-po=ta jang-klung-lò  
 man-DEF=ADD fall-down-RL

'and when (they) entered the hill, the tiger lost all the strength and both the man and the tiger fell down' (BK Widow)

Example (9.57) shows how *-si* marks a non-final clause 'weaving one by one' that modifies the main clause 'finish weaving' with the function of a manner.

(9.57) manner of action marked with *-si*

*labadi=si i-pak=para i-pak thak-si pa-tàng-man*  
like.this=FOC:RL one-CLF:thread=from one-thread **weave-NF:RL** CAUS-finish-HAB  
'like this, weaving thread one by one we finish weaving' (BT Weaving)

Example (9.58) shows causal relations marked by *-si*, the subjects of the two verbs are different, the subject of the main verb is the object of the non-final verb. There is no grammatical indication though that the subject of the main verb is the object of the non-final verb and therefore this meaning emerges only through the context.

(9.58) causal relations, different subjects

*nepa netamsi hem dokukngo*  
ne-pa **ne=tam-si** hēm do-kuk-lò  
1-father 1=scold-NF:RL house stay-stay.in.position-RL  
'because my father scolded me, I stayed at home' (Tul Education)

Example (9.59) shows a non-final clause in an imperative clause with the irrealis non-final *-ne* that marks the sequential event *anchótàng* 'finish eating rice' that occurs before the main clause event *angtikidun* 'come to work with us'.

(9.59)

*anerlo anchotangne angtikidunta melo*  
anerlo **an-chó-tàng-ne** nang=tiki-dun=ta mé-lò  
evening rice-eat-finish-NF:IRR CIS=work-join=ADD be.good-RL  
'at noon, after finishing eating, then come to work with us, (that) is also good' (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 9.2.1 Clause chaining within a subordinate clause

While clause chaining occurs mainly within the main clause, clause chaining is also found within nominalized subordinate clauses (9.60). The non-final verb within the nominalized clause is found to be also marked with the nominalizer *ki-*.

(9.60)

*katkatsi kidam apor arlengpota tikanke*

**kat-kat-si**      **ki-dam**      **a-por**      arleng-po=ta      tikan=ke  
run-run-NF:RL   NMLZ-go   POSS-time   man-DEF=ADD   tightly=TOP

*athaksi otsi damo*

a-thak=si              ot-si              dam-lò  
POSS-top=FOC:RL   touch-NF:RL   go-RL

‘at the time of running the man was holding tightly going on the top (of the tiger)’ (BK Widow)

### 9.2.2 Nominalized verbs in clause chaining

Generally, non-final suffixes do not appear on a nominalized verb or in other words non-final verbs are not usually nominalized with the nominalizer *ki-*, as there is a cooccurrence restriction. That being said there are a few cases where both the nominalizer *ki-* and the non-final *-si* mark the same verb. One of these cases is illustrated in (9.61) where there are two clauses and it appears that the speaker repeated the last main verb of the previous clause and then used it in a tail-head linkage as a non-final verb. Example (9.62) illustrates how this type of tail-head linkage is usually done, where the verb in the head of the new clause *pachak* is not nominalized. The language consultants explain this usage of both the nominalizer *ki-* and the non-final suffix *-si* on the same verb in (9.61) as a means to show that something unexpected is going to happen. So, this seems to be a pragmatic function and the verb *wangsi* in (9.61) without the nominalizer *ki-*; according to my language consultants, this could be grammatical as well. The occurrence of both *ki-* and *-si* on the same verb is rare and a larger data set is needed to establish whether this is in fact an indicator of a coming unexpected event.

(9.61)

*la-long*      *ne=ta*      ***ki-wang***  
DEM-LOC   1=ADD   PST-come

‘I also came there’

*kiwangsi ne analipen chipochakngo*

ki-wang-si            ne anali=pen    chi-pochak-lò

NMLZ-come-NF:RL 1 3PL=with    RR-meet-RL

‘when I came, I met with them’ (BM Trip)

(9.62)

*damsi isi ajaga along piji ijon pachakngo*

dam-si    isi a-jaga            a-long    piji            i-jon            pachak-lò

go-NF:RL one POSS-place    POSS-LOC musk.cat    one-CLF:ANIM    encounter-RL

‘when he went to one place, he encountered one musk cat’

*piji ijon pachaksi apmo manta phopheyongo*

piji            i-jon            pachak-si            ap-lo            manta    pho-Ce-ingyong-lò

musk.cat    one-CLF:ANIM    encounter-NF:RL    shoot-RL    but            miss-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

la arnike

la arni=ke

DEM day=TOP

‘when he encountered one musk cat he shoot, but not miss-shoot that day’(SR Hunter)

### 9.3 Coordination

The following sections will discuss coordination of finite clauses. It is divided into coordination of finite clauses with coordinators and juxtaposition.

#### 9.3.1 Coordination with coordinators

Independent clauses can be linked by means of the coordinators *aro* ‘and’, *manta* ‘but’, *lasi* ‘so’, *(a)pot(si)* ‘because’ and the additive suffix =*ta*. Independent clauses with contrastive negation are coordinated by juxtaposition.

##### 9.3.1.1 Coordinator *aro* ‘and’

The coordinator *aro* ‘and’ is used to coordinate independent clauses. It is also used to coordinate noun phrases (see §4.2.2.3) and as a coordinator or a linker on the discourse level

(§12.5). The coordinator *aro* ‘and’ marks coordination and coordinates clauses with contrastive topics or coordinands. The coordinator *aro* has its origin in the Assamese language.

In coordination, independent clauses with the same predicate are coordinated with *aro* ‘and’. The coordinator *aro* appears after each clause, as in example (9.63), where the speaker basically lists the ethnic groups that came to a workshop – in English, the Khasi, Karbi and Assamese. The last generalizing clause *a-jat~jat arleng wang-man* ‘different people came’ is not coordinated with *aro*.

(9.63)

*khasia wang-man aro karbi wang-man aro akhomia arleng-hel*  
 PN:Khasi come-HAB and PN:Karbi come-HAB and PN:Assamese person-PL

*wang-man a-jat~jat arleng wang-man*  
 come-HAB POSS-type~type man come-HAB

‘Khasi come and Karbi come and Assamese people come, different people come’ (TB Songs writing workshop)

The function of *aro* in coordination overlaps with the same function of the additive *=ta* addressed later in this chapter. These two coordinators are interchangeable in this function.

The coordinator *aro* ‘and’ coordinates clauses with contrastive topics, where items are compared with each other in regard to a common domain. When the coordinator *aro* appears between contrastive topics it functions as what could be translated in English as ‘but’ rather than ‘and’. Example (9.64) shows coordination of two clauses by using the coordinating conjunction *aro* ‘and’ which occurs in between the conjoined clauses. This coordination is of two clauses where two items are compared with each other, i.e. *angkhan* ‘some’ (betel nut) is in comparison with another *angkhan* ‘some’ (betel nut) in respect to what people do with them ‘keep’ and ‘sell’. Both items are marked with the topic *=ke*.

(9.64)

*[angkhan=ke ki-chó a-yok chi-bi-man] aro [angkhan=ke jor-man]*  
 some=TOP NMLZ-eat POSS-PURP RR-keep-HAB and some=TOP sell-HAB

‘some (betelnut) we keep for ourselves for eating and some we sell’ (TI Vegetables)

The coordinator *aro* in (9.65) coordinates two clauses, where the second clause contains contrastive topics that are compared in regards with what they do, i.e. ‘you say’ vs. ‘I will go’. The contrastive topic *ne* ‘I’ is marked with the additive =*ta* and *aro* has the meaning ‘but’ rather than ‘and’.

(9.65)

*neke inghonhelo, tene anangyok thano ne kuwang pune aro*

ne=ke inghon-Ce-lò [tene anang=yok than-not ne ki-wang pu-ne] **aro**  
 1=TOP wait-neg-RL then 3=NSUBJ say-IMP I NMLZ-come say-NF:IRR and

*neta dambo*

[ne=ta dam-bò]

1=ADD go-IRR2

‘I will not wait, then you say to him that I came, but I will go’ (PM Bilangthe)

Example (9.66) shows another example with the coordinator *aro* conjoining two clauses with contrastive topics, where two items *osohel* ‘children’ and *akirehel* ‘grown ups’ are compared regarding the time they come to shop. In the first clause, the time reference is marked with the topic =*ke* and in the second clause, the contrastive topic *akirehel* is marked with the focus =*si*.

(9.66)

*aro oso-hel wang-chot-man=ma a-ki-re-hel wang-chot-man bù*  
 and child-PL come-most-HAB=Q POSS-NMLZ-be.mature-PL come-most-HAB grandmother  
 ‘so mostly children come or grownups come (to the shop) most?’

[*ladi oskul a-homoi=ke oso-hel wang-man*] **aro** [*anethu a-homoi*  
 so school POSS-time=TOP child-PL come-HAB and evening POSS-time

*a-kire=si wang-man]*

POSS-be.mature=FOC:RL come-HAB

‘in school time children come, in the evening the grown ups come’ (BT&LT Interview)

In example (9.67) both contrastive topics are marked with the topic =*ke* and the clauses are conjoined with the coordinator *aro*.

(9.67)

*neke nimuso bangphili kido banghinike duno aro*

[ne=ke ni-muso bang-phili ki-do] [bang-hini=ke dun-lò] aro  
1=TOP 1-sister CLF:HUM.PL-four PST-COP CLF:HUM.PL-two=TOP join-RL and

*banghinipenke nehomansi do pusi pulo*

[bang-hini=pen=ke ne=homan=si do] pu-si pu-lò  
CLF:HUM.PL=with=TOP 1=together=FOC:RL COP say-NF:RL say-RL

‘there are four of us sisters, two got married, and two are with me, (I) said’ (BM Trip2)

### 9.3.1.2 Coordination with the additive =ta

Clauses can be coordinated with the additive =ta that marks noun phrases of coordinated clauses. For example, in (9.68) the first clause [*kanghu sumu wangman*] and the second clause [*tiketa wangman*] are coordinated with the additive =ta, marking the argument of the second clause. The events of two clauses are the same, i.e. *wang* ‘come’, but they do not occur at the same time and the speaker wants to make that clear by using the two clauses instead of one. The last clause [*anang choronghel choponman*] is juxtaposed to the previous clause and the A argument of the clause combines the arguments from the previous clause, ‘thief’ and ‘tiger’.

(9.68) coordination with the additive =ta

*anuwelo tene kanghu sumu wangman tiketa wingman anang choronhe*

anuwe-lò tene [kanghu sumu wang-man] [tike=**ta** wang-man] [anang choròng-hel  
night-FOC then thief thief come-HAB tiger=ADD come-HAB 3 cow-PL

*choponman*

cho-pon-man]

AUTOBEN-take-HAB

‘at night (when it is dark) a thief comes and a tiger also comes to steal and (they) steal her cows’ (BK Widow)

Example (9.69) shows another complex clause consisting of three clauses. One clause is non-finite, coordinated with the non-final -si. In this clause the two arguments act together ‘(they) entered’; then two finite clauses follow when the arguments ‘tiger’ and ‘man’ are engaged in

separate events (‘tiger lost strength’ and ‘man fell’), so they are somewhat contrasted with each other. The arguments of the two finite coordinated clauses are marked with the additive =*ta*.

(9.69)

[*inglong ayok lutdamsi*] [*tikepota abol lapkrengo*]

*inglong a-yok lut-dam-si tike-po=ta a-bol lap-kreng-lò*  
 hill POSS-NSUBJ enter-go-NF:RL tiger-DEF=ADD POSS-strength lose-all-RL

[*arlengpota jangklungo*]

*arleng-po=ta jang-klung-lò*  
 man-DEF=ADD fall-down-RL

‘and when (they) entered the hill, the tiger lost all the strength and the man fell down’ (BK Widow)

Example (9.70) shows the additive =*ta* coordinating each of three coordinands and they appear in a clause with the same verb *ingyong*.

(9.70) =*ta* as a coordinator

*ne-pa a-hut=det ne=ka=ta ingyong*  
 1-father POSS-CLF:HUM.SG=INTENS 1=brother=ADD NEG.EX.COP

*ne=bai=ta ingyong ne=muso=ta ingyong potsi*  
 1=elder.sister=ADD NEG.EX.COP 1=younger.brother=ADD NEG.EX.COP because

‘my father was alone, I had no brother, no elder sister, no younger brother also, that’s why’ (TuI Education)

### 9.3.1.3 Coordinator *manta* ‘but’

Adversative coordination may be marked with the coordinator *manta* ‘but’<sup>50</sup>. The coordinator *manta* ‘but’ frequently occurs in ‘even if/though’ constructions §9.4 and as a discourse coordinator §12.5.

Example (9.71) shows *manta* appearing in a contrast with the meaning of an exception. The situation here is that a relative was excused from participating in a community work, but this

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<sup>50</sup> Adversative coordination may also be marked with the coordinator *aro*, see §12.5.

relative refuses to accept that and says that she will come to work after some time anyway, because they are related.

(9.71) coordinator *manta* ‘but’

*jike nipupe nibithang ahem manta neke ambakhelsi*

ji=ke            ni-pu-Ce    ni-bithang    a-hēm            **manta**    ne=ke    ambak-hel=si  
 whatever=TOP    1-say-NEG    1-self            POSS-house    but            1=TOP    some.time-PL=FOC:RL

*wangbo neng ho?*

wang-bò    neng            hō  
 come-IRR2    sister.in.law    INTER

‘whatever you say you are my own family, but/yet after sometime I will come, sister in-law, ok?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

#### 9.3.1.4 Reason coordination with *lasi* ‘so’ and (*a*)*pod(si)* ‘because’

The coordinator *lasi* ‘so’ is used for reason logical relations where the first clause contains the reason for the second clause; *lasi* appears between two independent clauses. The coordinator *lasi* is more frequently used as a discourse coordinator, see §12.5. Examples (9.72) and (9.73) show clauses coordinated with *lasi*.

(9.72) coordination with *lasi* ‘so’

*ret a-kheti            kuri-man lasi hali            hreng-man*  
 field    POSS-cultivation    do-HAB    so    1PL.EXCL    survive-HAB

‘we do jhumcultivation (dry cultivation), so that we survive’ (DT Culture)

(9.73) coordination with *lasi* ‘so’

*anangta serekjokngo lasi labang okhiso serekjokne kangrengpara*  
 anang=ta    serekjok-lò    **lasi**    la=bang    okhi-so    serekjok=ne    kangreng=para  
 3=ADD    shock-RL    so    DEM=GNR    deer-DIM    shock=NF:IRR    shouting=from

*sikaripota chonjokngo*

sikari-po=ta chon-jok-lò

hunter=DEF=ADD scare-shaking-RL

‘it (the deer) got shocked, so that the deer got shocked and shouted, from (that shout) the hunter also got scared’ (SR Hunter)

Reason relations of independent clauses can be coordinated by *(a)pot(si)* ‘because’, which is a relator noun that functions as a subordinator in nominalized clauses §9.1.2.2. Since there is no subordination in the coordination of independent clauses, the subordinator *(a)pot(si)* in these type of clauses functions as a coordinator rather than a subordinator, providing the reason logical relation between two finite clauses. Example (9.74) shows two clauses coordinated by *(a)pot(si)* ‘because’.

(9.74)

*[lamehel alam thanponman] apotsi [mini minak alongke*

lamehel a-lam than-pon-man apotsi (mini minak) a-long=ke

these POSS-word say-ITER-HAB because nowadays POSS-LOC=TOP

*labang lamehelta mead mane alangli kachirjapponpo thekponman]*

la=bang lamehel=ta mé-ad mane alangli ki-chirjap-pon-po thék-pon-man

DEM=GNR these=ADD be.good-very I.mean 3PL NMLZ-stand-ITER-DEF see-ITER-HAB

‘because of telling these words nowadays they know very well these things, means they know how to lead (the house)’ (JK Pastor’s work)

### 9.3.2 Juxtaposition coordination

Juxtaposition coordination is when no coordinator is used to connect two coordinated clauses. This type of coordination is found in the coordination of stative predicate clauses with contrastive topics and the predicates marked by the modal predicate derivation *lag* ‘should’. In (9.75) where stative clauses with contrastive topics are coordinated, the items *pongho* ‘scarf’ and *paning* ‘skirt’ are topicalized with =*ke* in the first clause; they are then contrasted with each other in the second and third clauses in respect to who will wear them. In (9.76), two finite verbs are coordinated by juxtaposition; they share the same A and P arguments and they are marked with the predicate derivation suffix *lag* ‘should’.

(9.75)

[*aro pongho-hel paning-hel=ke la=ke*] [*pongho=ke apenso a-phan*]  
and scarf-PL skirt-PL=TOP DEM=TOP man's.scarf=TOP POSS-man POSS-for

[*paning=ke la=ke arloso a-phan*]  
skirt=TOP DEM=TOP woman POSS-for

‘and man's scarf and the skirt, that scarf is for men, and the skirt is for women’ (BT Weaving)

(9.76)

*aro kollagelang pherlagelang*  
[*aro kol-lag-ye-lang*] [*pher-lag-ye-lang*]  
and scratch-need-FUT-yet spin-need-FUT-yet

‘and (we) have yet to scratch and spin (the cotton)’ (BT Weaving)

### 9.3.3 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination is marked with the question clitic =*ma*, which is discussed in §10.1.5.

## 9.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses express conditions and their consequences. Amri Karbi has several structures found in the database for conditional clauses. The main conditional element that usually marks conditional clauses is *tene* ‘if’. It can appear either on its own or along with the verb *pu* ‘say’, i.e. *pu tene* or even further in a conditional expression *putang pu tene* (*pu-tang pu tene* ‘say-finish say then’) (also described as a filler in §12.4.2). The conditional *tene* can be shortened to *te*. Amri Karbi conditional clauses, structurally, are independent clause with finite predicates. They appear before the main consequence clause and are linked with one of the conditional elements. The consequence part of the conditional clause may be marked with *tehe*<sup>51</sup> ‘and then’ that is marked with the indefinite =*bak* and the focus =*si* which has an emphatic effect. The conditional *tene* can be translated as ‘then’, so semantically it expresses the consequence of the condition and there is no ‘if’ equivalent in Amri Karbi. The verb form used in conditional clauses depends on the level of probability of the conditional circumstance. If the condition is factual or expresses implication, then the verb is usually marked with realis *-lò*. If a condition is counterfactual then the verb in the conditional clause can be marked with

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<sup>51</sup> *tehe* ‘and then’ occurs only three times in the database.

any other TAM marker, for example the future *-ye* or the past tense *ki-*. Examples (9.77) – (9.83) below show conditional clauses with all the conditional elements found so far in the database.

(9.77) conditional clause

*aro parake ret nongtango tene sok arludambo*

[aro parake ret nong-tàng-lò] **tene** sok arlu-dam-bò

and then field plough-finish-RL then paddy clean-go-IRR2

‘and if we finish ploughing then we will go to clean paddy’ (Tui Field)

(9.78) conditional clause with *tene* ‘then’

*aro amu krengo tene amupo achili ayok ensi*

[aro amu kreng-lò] **tene** amu-po a-chili a-yok en-si

and seed dry-RL then seed-DEF POSS-next.cultivation POSS-PURP take-NF:RL

*biphakman*

bi-phak-man

keep-back-HAB

‘and if the seed dries then we take the seed and keep it for (using) again’ (TI Vegetables)

(9.79) conditional clause with *putene*

*arnam ahem kachirdomyok dam pu tene angkhan arlengke*

[arnam a-hēm ki-chirdom=yok dam-ye] {**pu tene**} angkhan arleng=ke

god POSS-house NMLZ-worship=PURP go-FUT then some people=TOP

*akilok ape chi 'ikman*

a-ki-lok a-pe chi-ik-man

POSS-NMLZ-be.white POSS-clothe RR-wear-HAB

‘when we go to worship God, some people wear white colour of clothes’ (PK&AM Weaving)

(9.80) conditional clause with *putang pu tene*

*aro labang hakpo kiphok phoknge putang pu tene nang eku*

[aro la=bang hak-po ki-phok phok-ye] {**putang pu tene**} nang eku  
and DEM=GNR bucket-DEF NMLZ-open open-FUT then 2 nothing

*hlonghleye*

hlong-Ce-ye

get-NEG-FUT

‘and this bucket, if you open (it) then you will not get anything’ (PM Bilangthe)

(9.81)

*[neke skol damrong] te hem asal katiki abang we*

[ne=ke skol dam-rong] **te** hēm a-sal ki-tiki a-bang we  
1=TOP school go-again then house POSS-work NMLZ-work POSS-GNR NEG.EX.COP2  
‘but if I went to school there will not be anyone to work at home’ (Tui Education)

(9.82)

*anang kiwang tene hali hat ayok damuno*

[anang ki-wang] **tene** hali hat a-yok dam-ùn-lò  
3 NMLZ-come then 1PL.EXCL market POSS-DIR go-be.able-RL

‘if he came, we would’ve gone to the market’ (elicited)

(9.83)

*aro nali lang karpu pune kipu apepo anayok ote*

[aro nali lang karpu pu-ne ki-pu a-pe-po anang=yok ot-ye]  
and 2PL see pangolin say-NF:IRR NMLZ-say POSS-animal-DEF 3=NSUBJ touch-FUT

*tene thekngge mononta chulang angnimhul*

**tene** thék-ye monon=ta chulang angnim-hul  
then know-FUT today=ADD milk be.smelly-around

‘and (when) you see the animal called *karpu* (pangolin) (when you) touch it then (you) find (it) smells like milk even today’ (PaI Pangolin)

(9.84)

*tehebaksi sur aga dame chikom tehe baksi...*

**tehe=bak=si**                    sur a-ga            dam-ye    chi-kom            **tehe=bak=si**  
 and.then=INDEF=FOC:RL net POSS-side go-FUT    RR-surround and.then=INDEF=FOC:RL  
 ‘then only (it will go to the net) if we surround (it) then only (it will go inside the net)’  
 (PI&LT Interview)

Conditional clauses with emphasis that can be translated as ‘even if’ or ‘even though’ in Amri Karbi involve constructions with the conjunction *manta* ‘but’ or the additive clitic =*ta* ‘ADD’. These constructions often encompass negation either in the dependent clause or in the main clause. Similar to other conditional clauses, the consequence part follows the conditional part. The coordinator *manta* ‘but’ appears between the two clauses and the additive =*ta* marks verbs. This is the only structure where =*ta* marks bare verb stems like the non-final suffixes *-si* and *-ne*. Example (9.85) shows a clause marked with *manta* ‘but’ following the emphatic conditional clause. Examples (9.86) and (9.87) show an ‘even though’ clause where the verbs are marked with the additive =*ta*.

(9.85) conditional clause ‘even if’ with *manta* ‘but’

*kiso kilak manta hane langnge*  
 ki-so                    kilak manta hane lang-ye  
 NMLZ-sickness EE    but    1    look-FUT  
 ‘even if I get sick I will take care’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(9.86) conditional clause ‘even though’ with =*ta* ‘ADD’

*aro khoi puta pasiselo*  
 aro khoi pu=**ta**    pasi-se-lò  
 and friend say=ADD reply-NEG-RL  
 ‘even though, he called him ‘friend!’ he did not reply’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(9.87)

*arme howengta thurthe bisarbisarne kidam apor tikepo*  
 arme howeng=**ta**    thūr-Ce    bisar~bisar-ne            ki-dam    a-por            tike-po  
 tail    bend=ADD    stand-NEG    search~search-NF:IRR    NMLZ-go    POSS-time    tiger-DEF

*armesi anangke otdamo*

arme=si    anang=ke    ot-dam-lò

tail=FOC:RL    3=TOP    touch-go-RL

‘even though (he) bents the tail (the tail) would not stand up, searching and searching he bents the tiger's tail’ (BR Widow)

There are some peculiar conditional clauses like the one shown in (9.88). The clause in (9.88) occurs in a situation where the intent of the speaker is to mock its enemy. Structurally this conditional clause consists of reduplicated nominalized verbs, marked with the future *-ye*, *ne=ki-chó-ye* (1=NMLZ-eat-FUT) and then the first verb of the reduplicated verb sequence is marked with the indefinite *=bak*. The future *-ye* on a nominalized verb is usually used to express the desiderative, as in (9.88). This construction occurs only four times in the database, and according to my language consultants, it is used only in situations when a speaker’s intent is to mock someone.

(9.88)

*ne-khoi-po=ke*    [*ne=ki-chó-ye=bak*    *ne=ki-chó-ye*]    *khanang=ne*    *ne-keng=ne*

1-friend-M=TOP    1=NMLZ-eat-FUT=INDEF    1=NMLZ-eat-FUT    real=FOC:IRR    1-foot=FOC:IRR

*ne=kōr=bak*    *khoi*

1=bite=INDEF    friend

‘my friend, if you really want to eat me, bite my foot’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

## 10 Questions and commands

This chapter describes how questions and commands are constructed and expressed in Amri Karbi. The first section describes Amri Karbi questions §10.1: content questions, polar questions, disjunctive constructions, tag questions, confirmation questions and correlative constructions as they involve interrogative elements. The second section focuses on commands §10.2; it comprises four types of imperatives, then it proceeds with the hortative and prohibitive. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of non-final clauses in commands.

### 10.1 Questions

Amri Karbi interrogatives comprise content questions, polar questions, disjunctive interrogatives, tag questions, confirmation questions and correlative constructions with question particles. Amri Karbi has two question clitics, =*ma* and =*te*. The question clitic =*ma* is used in polar §10.1.4 and disjunctive constructions §10.1.5. The question clitic =*te* is used in content questions along with content question words §10.1.2 and negative polar questions with stative predication. The question clitics =*ma* and =*te* are also used in correlative constructions §10.1.8.

#### 10.1.1 Content Questions

Content questions are constructed with interrogative pronouns like *ingho* ‘who’ and *konam* ‘when’. The Amri Karbi interrogative pronouns inventory contains variations in all semantic fields, see the full list of interrogative pronouns and discussion of variations in §3.6.4. Some content questions may be marked with the question clitic =*te* that attaches to the right edge of the interrogative pronoun or a noun phrase modified by the interrogative pronoun; some of them do not require a reply (see more in §10.1.2). Interrogative pronouns generally remain in their usual constituent (*in-situ*) position.

Examples (10.1)-(10.4) show questions regarding a locative constituent, (10.5) shows a question regarding the S argument constituent, (10.6) shows a question regarding comitative constituent that is marked with =*pen* ‘with’ and example (10.7) shows a question regarding the T argument.

(10.1) content question ‘where’

*ahemphuhel daklong damkrenko*

a-hēmphu-hel **daklong.to** dam-kreng-lò

POSS-owner-PL where go-ALL-RL

‘where did the owners go?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(10.2) content question ‘where’

*kalong kapochak pusi*

**kalong.at** ki-pochak pusi

where PST-meet QUOT

‘where did you meet?’ (BM Trip1)

(10.3) content question ‘where’

*nang la=bang jangmu a-the-po **dong=para=te** wan-man pu-si*

2 DEM=GNR blackberry POSS-fruit-DEF where.from=from=Q2 bring-HAB say-NF:RL

‘from where do you bring that fruit? she said’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(10.4) content question ‘where’

**dong=te** ki-dam nu

where.from=Q2 NMLZ-go uncle

‘where are you coming from, uncle’ (PI&LT Interview)

(10.5) content question ‘who’

*inghote nango inghote nekataramo*

**ingho=te** nang=lò **ingho=te** ne=ki-taram=lò

who=Q2 2=FOC who=Q2 1=NMLZ-call=FOC

‘who are you, who is calling me?’ (PM Bilangthe)

(10.6) content question ‘who’

*nang **kai=pen** do-man*

2 who=with stay-HAB

‘with whom do you live?’ (BM Trip2)

(10.7) content question ‘what’

*aro alokpoyok arjulo.thokwampo potte nangthano pusi*

aro a-lok-po=yok arju-lò thokwam-po **pot=te** nang=than-lò pusi  
and POSS-friend-DEF=NSUBJ ask-RL bear-DEF what=Q2 2=say-RL QOUT  
‘and he asked his friend ‘what did the bear say to you?’’ (JK Bear)

When a content question involves another word that is modified by an interrogative pronoun like in the questions with ‘which’ *dakbang* ‘which’ or *pot* ‘what’ then that word follows the interrogative pronoun, carrying the possessive prefix *a-* and the question particle =*te*, (10.8).

(10.8)

*arlenghel dakbang adoropte aneng doqde-chot-man bu?*

arleng-hel **dakbang** a-dorop=te aneng do-CE-chot-man bù  
man-PL which POSS-product=Q2 heart stay-NEG-most-HAB grandmother  
‘which products do people dislike most?’ (BT&LT Interview)

Classifiers are required in interrogatives and are assigned according to the target of a question. Numeral classifiers occur in questions of quantity ‘how many’, where a classifier is attached to the question word *-kan*. Example (10.9) shows the classifier *pum* ‘CLF:round’ used in a question of quantity adjacent to *-kan* and the question clitic =*te*.

(10.9)

*aro pare=si isi kombak=te pum-kan=te do-man*  
and pare=FOC:RL one how.many=Q2 CLF:round-how.many=Q2 COP-HAB  
‘in one pare how many pieces of betelnut?’ (PI&LT Interview)

Example (10.10) shows the human plural classifier *bang* in a question of quantity that is attached to the question word *-kan*, the indefinite clitic =*bak* and the question suffix =*te*.

(10.10)

*adai abang bangkanbakte damdo neng*

adai a-bang bang-kan-bak=te dam-do neng  
blame POSS-CLF:HUM.PL CLF:HUM.PL-how.many-INDEF-Q2 go-COP sister.in.law  
‘how many people from the guilty side are going, sister-in-law?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

Self-referential classifiers attach the question word *-kan* directly, as shown in (10.11) with the self-referential classifier *ni* ‘day’.

(10.11)

*aro ki-dam a-khap-hel aro ni-kan*  
and NMLZ-go POSS-date-PL and CLF:day-how.many  
'and the date (you are going) and for how many days?' (BM Trip2)

Example (10.12) shows the self-referential classifier *bar* 'time' marked only with the indefinite clitic =*bak* to construct a question with the meaning 'ever'.

(10.12)

*ibarbak tike humdunhong*  
i-bar=**bak** tike hum-dun-hong-lò  
one-CLF:time=INDEF tiger hunt-join-get-RL  
'have you ever gone to hunt a tiger?' (PI&LT Interview)

The self-referential classifier *nengkan* 'CLF:year' is an exception, it can either attach the question word *kan* 'how many' (10.13) or construct a question with the interrogative pronoun *kombak* 'how many' (10.14) like a regular noun without =*kan*, illustrated for a comparison in (10.15) with the noun *homoi* 'time'.

(10.13)

*nengkan=kan anang do-lò*  
year=how.many 3 stay-RL  
'how many years she has stayed?' (BM Trip2)

(10.14)

*nang=dukan-po kombak a-nengkan=te do-lò*  
2-shop-DEF how.many POSS-year=Q2 COP-RL  
'how many years have you been having your shop? (BT&LT Interview)

(10.15)

*kombak a-homoi-te chi-than do*  
how.many POSS-time=Q2 RR-talk COP  
'what time (they) will have discussion (with the other family)?' (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

#### 10.1.2 Content questions marked with =*te*

Sometimes content questions marked with the question particle =*te* function as questions that do not inquire for the information and therefore behave like rhetorical questions, see the elicited

minimal pair with the interrogative pronoun *piyok* ‘why’ in (10.16). In the filler rhetorical question in example (10.17), the content word *pot* ‘what’ is marked with the question particle =*te*, that is used not to inquire the information. However, this distribution is not observed rigorously and question words without =*te* may also function as rhetorical questions sometimes (10.18), while the content questions marked with =*te* sometimes expect a reply (10.19).

(10.16) content question word with =*te* and without

<i>nang piyokte dame</i>	<i>nang piyok dame</i>
nang <b>piyok=te</b> dam-ye	nang <b>piyok</b> dam-ye
2 why=Q2 go-FUT 2	2 why go-FUT
‘why will you go	‘why will you go’
(you have other things to do)’	(elicited)

(10.17) rhetorical question

*aneng kidodepoke ladilo laba potte pubo*  
 aneng ki-do-Ce-po=ke ladi=lò la=bang **pot=te** pu-bò  
 heart NMLZ-stay-NEG-DEF=TOP like.this=FOC DEM=GNR what=Q2 say-IRR2

*sippomar angkhan asippomar aneng doqde*

sip-po-mar angkhan a-sip-po-mar aneng do-Ce  
 crisps-DEF-PL some POSS-crisps-DEF-PL heart stay-NEG  
 ‘what people do not like, what will I say, some people do not like crisps’ (BT&LT Interview)

(10.18) interrogative word *piyok* not marked with =*te* and not followed by a reply

*la-an kosto(Assm) kuri-si aro la=bang nang=ke hali=yok labadi*  
 DEM-much trouble do-NF.RL and DEM=GNR 2=TOP 1PL.INCL=NSUBJ like.this

*piyok thoke-lò*

why deceive-RL  
 ‘why did you deceive us, it was very hard/trouble for us’

*labadi rongbang anangyok tammo*

labadi róng-bang anang=yok tam-lò  
like.this village-GNR 3=NSUBJ scold-RL

‘like this the villagers scolded him’ (BR Lying cowboy)

(10.19) interrogative pronoun *piyok* ‘why’ marked with =*te* and followed by a reply

S1

*aro apisope karju piyokte nang dihakposi*

aro a-piso-pe ki-arju **piyok=te** nang dihak-po=si  
and POSS-wife-F NMLZ-ask why=Q2 2 bad?-DEF=FOC:RL

‘and his wife, said, why are you looking bad’

S2

*labadi=si ne sikar ki-dam-jong a-por halita thektheyong*

labadi=si ne sikar ki-dam-jong a-por hali=ta thek-Ce-ingyong  
like.this=FOC:RL 1 hunting NMLZ-go-PROG POSS-time 1EXCL=ADD see-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

*manta okhisoke hali thekwensi haliyokta hali chonjokngo anangsi*

manta okhi-so=ke hali=thek-wen-si hali chon-jok-lo  
but deer-DIM=TOP 1EXCL=see-remove-NF:RL 1EXCL scare-tremble-RL

‘so when I was hunting we did not see (the deer), but the deer saw us, so we got scared’ (SR Hunter)

### 10.1.3 Content questions marked with =*ma*

Verbs in content questions or content question words may be marked with the question particle =*ma* to express that people ponder or speculate. These questions do not inquire information, but rather express possibility, e.g. (10.20), (10.21).

(10.20)

*ne-so-pe a-hēm dam-bang jal-dam-bang poddi=si do=ma*  
1-child-F POSS-house go-IRR1 play-go-IRR1 **how=FOC:RL stay=Q**

‘I will go, go for a walk to my daughter's house, how they are possibly doing...’ (PM Bilangthe)

(10.21)

*minike piyokma la nekhoipo jangpasise*

mini=ke **piyok=ma** la ne=khoi-po nang=pasi-Ce  
now=TOP why=Q DEM 1=friend-DEF CIS=respond-NEG

‘why is that, my friend does not respond now’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

#### 10.1.4 Polar questions

Polar questions are aimed to produce a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer. They are constructed with the question particle =*ma* that marks the predicates. The intonation in polar questions is generally raised. The question particle =*te* marks negative polar questions (see §11.2.3). The Amri Karbi use the polar question *mé do=ma* (be.good COP=Q) ‘are you well?’ as a second part of a greeting (after the first part *kardom* ‘greetings!’) and the response is usually an affirmative statement *mé do* (be.good COP) ‘(I am) good’. Examples (10.22)-(10.24) illustrate polar questions.

(10.22)

*la=long arleng-hel ki-nam a-yok wang-man=ma?*  
DEM=LOC man-PL NMLZ-buy POSS-PURP come-HAB=Q

‘do people come to buy there?’ (BT&LT Interview)

(10.23)

*tene nipachotolema*

tene ne=pa-cho-tol-ye=ma  
then 1=CAUS-eat-send-FUT=Q

‘then, will you allow me to eat?’ (BM Monkey and fox)

(10.24)

*ne nangpen lam chithanunema*

ne nang=pen lam **chi-than-ùn-ye=ma**

1 2=with word RR-talk-be.able-FUT=Q

‘can I talk with you’ (BM Trip2)

Polar questions can be formed without the question particle =*ma*. In this case, the intonation is lowers towards the end of the question, just like in a declarative clause. Example (10.25) shows a question from a conversation about hunting, where the speaker wants to learn about hunting.

(10.25) polar question with rising intonation

*i-hut-det=ta hum-thék-man?*

one-CLF:HUM.SG=ADD hunt-know.how-HAB

‘can (someone/you) hunt alone?’ (PI&LT Interview)

#### 10.1.5 Disjunctive constructions

Disjunctive constructions denote choice and consist of a proposition and an alternative proposition. Disjunctive constructions appear as questions and serve to express either disjunctive questions or alternative propositions. In Amri Karbi there are two types of disjunctive constructions: one type is when the alternative proposition is the negative counterpart of the first ‘A or A-NEG’, the other type is when the alternative proposition is a second and different proposition ‘A or B’. Each type has more than one available construction, but they all employ the question clitic =*ma* as a disjunctive conjunction. In disjunctive questions, the question clitic =*ma* usually marks only predicates, so when the alternative is between two noun phrases, the predicate is repeated and marked with the clitic =*ma*.

‘A or A-NEG’ is constructed as A=*ma* A-NEG=*ma*, e.g. (10.26), and A=*ma* A-NEG (10.27).

(10.26) A=*ma* A-NEG=*ma*

*aro nang nelogot jorme chirap doyema dodema neke lasi lage*

aro nang ne=logot jorme chi-rap **do-ye=ma do-Ce=ma** ne=ke lasi lag-ye

and 2 1=with wedding RR-help stay-FUT=Q stay-NEG=Q 1=TOP so need-FUT

‘and whether you will marry me or not, I need this (answer)’ (PM Bilangthe)

(10.27) A=*ma* A-NEG

*te inghongnema inghonghe pusi anangke pulo neke inghohelo*

te **inghong-ye=ma** **inghong-Ce** pu-si anang=ke pu-lò ne=ke inghon-ce-lò  
then wait-FUT=Q wait-NEG say-NF:RL 3-TOP say-RL 1=TOP wait-NEG-RL

*tene anangyok thanot nekuwang pune, aro neta dambo*

tene anang=yok than-not ne-ki-wang pu-ne aro ne=ta dam-bò  
then 3=NSUBJ say-IMP 1-NMLZ-come say-NF.IRR and 1=ADD go-IRR2  
'will you wait or not (for your son-in-law) she said, I will not wait, then say to him, I came,  
and I will go' (PM Bilangthe)

'A or B' is constructed as A=*ma ma* B, e.g. (10.28) or A=*ma* B, e.g. (10.29).

(10.28) A=*ma ma* B

*arleng-bang=ten an ki-chó badi chi-thak-jal-man=ma ma ahisa*  
man-CLF:HUM.PL=every rice NMLZ-eat as RR-devide-among-HAB=Q Q desire

*ki-do arleng=si*  
NMLZ-stay person=FOC:RL

'do you share with each other as you eat rice (or 'as you would share rice') or only to those  
who want to eat (betel nut)?' (PI&LT Interview)

(10.29) A=*ma* B

*lalong aro nang ihutdetsi domanma kamprek arleng*

la=long aro nang i-hut-det=si do-man=**ma** ki-amprek arleng  
DEM=LOC and 2 one-CLF:HUM.SG=FOC:RL stay-HAB=Q NMLZ-be.different man

*angdodungman*  
nang=do-dung-man  
CIS=stay-follow-HAB

'there you stay alone or a different person stays with you?' (BT&LT Interview)

There is also A=*ma* B=*ma* construction that is used in alternative propositions that are not necessarily questions when there is an alternative 'A or B', e.g. (10.30). More alternatives can be added and connected with the question clitic =*ma*, resulting in A=*ma*, B=*ma*, C=*ma*, etc.

(10.30)

*pekok tong thakngema paning tong thakngema orladi dijen*

pekok tong    thak-ye=**ma**    paning tong    thak-ye=**ma**    orladi dijen  
blouse may.be    weave-FUT=Q    skirt    may.be    weave-FUT=Q    so    design

*kurisi thakbo*

kuri-si    thak-bò  
make-NF:RL    weave-IRR2

‘either you want to weave a blouse or a skirt so you make a design (accordingly)’ (BT Weaving)

#### 10.1.6 Tag questions

Tag questions that turn declarative statements into questions are marked with the clitic =*dik* that attaches to the finite verb of the clause. They can be indicators of consensus seeking (10.31), confirming information that the speaker already has (10.32) or irony (10.33).

(10.31) seeking consensus

*hali=ke    parake    minon    ki-wang=ke    ene    ki-chó badi=si*  
1PL.EXCL=TOP    then    now    NMLZ-come=TOP    just(Asm)    NMLZ-eat like=FOC:RL

*wang-hong-bò=dik*

come-get-IRR2=TAG

‘then we just come to eat, ok?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(10.32) confirming information

S1

*la=long    arleng-hel    ki-nam    a-yok    wang-man=ma?*  
DEM=LOC    man-PL    NMLZ-buy    POSS-PURP    come-HAB=Q

‘do people come to buy there?’

S2

wang-man

come-HAB

‘(people)come’

S1

wang-man=**dik**

come-HAB=TAG

‘(they) come, really?’ (BT&LT Interview)

(10.33) tag question with the function of irony

nang ne-chó-ye=ba ne-chó-ye-po=ke nang-budi do-chot=**dik** khoi

2 1-eat-FUT=or 1-eat-fut-DEF=TOP 2-wisdom COP-much=TAG friend

‘if you really want to eat me, you have a lot of wisdom, ok, friend?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

10.1.7 Confirmation question =*bō*

The clitic =*bō* turns statements into confirmation questions, where the speaker asks for a confirmation of an assumption. The clitic =*bō* often appears after the assumption clitic =*hole*/=*hele*, e.g. (10.34) – (10.36).

(10.34)

han anekhelke basidednohole**bō**?

han anek-hel=ke basi-ded-lò=hole=*bō*

vegetable other -PL=TOP clean-all-RL=ASSUM=CONF.Q

‘have all the vegetables and others been cleaned?’ (Mrs&Mrs gathering)

(10.35)

nang=so-mar do=hele=**bō**

2=child-PL COP=ASSUM= CONF.Q

‘do you have children?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(10.36)

*te arleng chi-ap-bub-bo=hole=bō hilai=pen=ke*  
so man RR-shoot-kill-IRR=ASSUM= CONF.Q gun=with=TOP

‘then maybe (you) will shoot people with gun (by mistake)?’ (PI&LT Interview)

#### 10.1.8 Correlative constructions with interrogatives

Correlative constructions in Amri Karbi involve two independent clauses sharing a common argument that are either juxtaposed to each other or coordinated with the question clitics =*ma* or =*te*. The common noun in correlative constructions is expressed by the question word *ingho* ‘who’ marked with the focus clitic =*si*. Correlative constructions are found to be used only for human referents.

In example (10.37), each clause makes up a complete sentence on its own. The common noun in the first sentence is expressed by the question word *ingho* ‘who’ marked with the focus clitic =*si* and by the corresponding pronoun *anang* ‘3’ in the second sentence. The verb in the first clause is marked with the question clitic =*ma*.

(10.37)

*inghosi tharwe akimen pumnipo paripiunema,*

[**ingho=si** tharwe a-ki-men pum-ni-po pari-pi-ùn-ye=**ma**]  
who=FOC:RL mango POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe CLF:round-two-DEF pluck-BEN-be.able-FUT=Q

*ne anangyok banta piye*

[ne anang=yok banta pi-ye]  
1 3=NSUBJ reward give-FUT

‘who can pluck those two mangoes, to him/her I will give a reward’ (BM Koli and Mokali)

Another example of a correlative construction is illustrated in (10.38), where each clause also makes up a complete sentence on its own. The common noun in the first clause is expressed by the question word *ingho* ‘who’ marked with the focus clitic =*si* and also with the question clitic =*ma*. The corresponding pronoun *nali* ‘2PL’ is also in the first clause, marked with the additive =*ta*, but it is unexpressed in the second clause. There is a relative clause embedded in the first clause that specifies the corresponding pronoun and it is marked with the question clitic =*te*. There is an imperative clause embedded between the two clauses of the correlative construction.

(10.38)

*inghosima nesopiyok nalita kataram abangte, olene*

[**ingho=si=ma** ne-so-pe=yok **nali=ta** ki-taram a-bang=**te**] ole=ne  
who=FOC:RL=Q 1-child-F=NSUBJ 2PL=ADD NMLZ-call POSS-GNR=Q2 out=NF:IRR

*wangot ne nesopiyok nalipibo*

wang-not [ne **ne-so-pe=yok** nali=pi-bò]  
come-IMP 1-child-F=NSUBJ 2PL=give-IRR2

‘who is the person that is calling my daughter, come out I will give you my daughter’ (PM Bilangthe)

Example (10.39) shows a correlative construction with two clauses juxtaposed to each other.

(10.39)

*inghosi nanghatur done nanghutararlengpoyok ronlage*

[**ingho=si** nang=hatur do-ne] [nang-hatur-arleng-po=yok ron-lag-ye]  
who=FOC:RL 2=enemy COP-NF:IRR 2-enemy-man-DEF=NSUBJ forgive-should-FUT

‘to whoever has an enemy must forgive your enemy’ (MI One man)

## 10.2 Commands

This section provides a description of how commands are expressed in Amri Karbi. Commands in Amri Karbi may be expressed without any special marking or expressed by the rhetorical question which may be interpreted by a speaker as a prohibitive. However, using an imperative suffix is the most common way to express a command in Amri Karbi as is the case in many languages of the world (see Aikhenvald 2010).

Second person commands are expressed by a bare stem or by one of the imperative suffixes *-not* or *-tha*. Commands do not take any tense markers and therefore do not express any tense. Personal pronouns are optional in the imperative. However, non-subject pronominal marking and predicate derivational suffixes generally appear in the imperative.

### 10.2.1 Bare verb stem imperative

A bare stem may function as an imperative for a singular addressee in a casual setting in address to a friend, child, etc. However, according to my language consultant, this form is the least preferred way of forming a command, which explains why it rarely occurs in the data. Example

(10.40) shows an imperative for a single addressee expressed by the bare stem *jangtoldun* ‘send’.

(10.40)

*lasi nangta nangsomar done uskul jangtoldun*

lasi nang=ta nang-so-mar do-ne uskul **nang=tol-dun**

so 2=ADD 2-child-PL COP-NF:IRR school CIS=send-join

‘so, you also, if you have children, send them to school’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The bare stem imperative is used in (10.41) in a formal setting, where an official is talking to a common person.

(10.41)

*nang counter number sixteen=long=ne dam*

2 counter(Eng) number(Eng) sixteen(Eng)=LOC=FOC:IRR go

‘you go to the counter number sixteen’ (BM Trip2)

The verb *dam* ‘to go’ has a special form for the bare stem imperative, which is basically a verb stem with its final stem consonant deleted. Example (10.42) has *da* being used by the speaker2 (S2) as a command to the speaker1 (S1).

(10.42)

S 1 *nike jundambo how*

ne=ke jùn-dam-bò how

1=TOP drink-go-IRR2 INTER

‘so, I will go to drink, ok!’

S2 [*da*] [*da*] [*oik*] [*oik*] [*arleng do*] [*da*]

go.IMP go.IMP yes yes man COP go.IMP

‘go, go, yes, yes, (many) people are there, go!’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 10.2.2 Imperative suffix *-not*

The imperative construction with the suffix *-not* is the most frequent and general imperative. Imperative suffix *-not* is used both for singular and plural addressees and has three allomorphs *-mot*, *-ngot*, and *-ot* (see more in §2.5.3). Example (10.43) comes from the same discourse as

in example (10.40) above, where the speaker talks to the same addressee using the suffix *-not* on the verb.

(10.43)

*ladine nangsomar jangtoldunot hane langdune*

ladi=ne                    nang-so-mar    **nang=tol-dun-not**    hane    làng-dun-ye  
like.this=FOC:IRR    2-child-PL    CIS=send-join-IMP    1    look-join-FUT  
'like this you send your children, I will watch then' (RB Fox and crocodile)

The imperative *-not* may be used among relatives, as is the setting in (10.44), where one sister-in-law is addressing another sister-in-law.

(10.44)

*junchedne damot hake*

jùn-ched-ne            **dam-not**    ha=ke  
drink-little-NF:IRR    go-IMP            DIST=TOP  
'drink a little and go, see there' (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The imperative *-not* is used in a setting where the speaker does not know the person, for example a bus conductor talking to a passenger (10.45), which means the setting is somewhat formal<sup>52</sup>.

(10.45)

*manta alang neyok sunnot puke nepupeyong*

manta    alang    ne=yok    **sun-not**    pu=ke    ne=pu-Ce-ingyong  
but    3    I=NSUBJ    get.out-IMP    say=TOP    I=say-NEG-NEG.EX.COP  
'but he didn't say to me get out' (JB Bus)

According to my language consultants the difference between the bare stem imperative and the imperative marked with the suffix *-not* in singular is that the bare stem form is less polite than the form with *-not*.

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<sup>52</sup> Though this is the first-person account of the conversation.

### 10.2.3 Imperative suffix *-tha*

The imperative suffix *-tha* is used for both singular and plural addresses and it is considered more polite, according to my language consultants, than the *-not* form.

Example (10.46) shows *-tha* being used in address to plural addresses.

(10.46)

*hane=yok tike wang-lare-dun do woi lokai(Assm) hane=yok*  
1=NSUBJ tiger come-attach-follow COP INTRJ people 1=NSUBJ

*wang-ral-dun-tha*

come-save-follow-IMP.POL

‘tiger is attacking me, hey people, come and save me!’ (BR Lying cowboy)

Example (10.47) shows this form being used in a request for permission to eat and the translation contains the word ‘please’. The conversation in (10.47) is between two friends, so the use of *-tha* here is emphatic.

(10.47)

*parake anang pulo [to nipachotoltha]*

para=ke anang pu-lò=to ni=pa-chó-tol-**tha**

then=TOP 3 say-RL=REPL 1=CAUS-eat-send-IMP.POL

‘then he said, please allow me to eat’ (BM Monkey and fox)

### 10.2.4 Soft imperative *-te*

The soft imperative *-te* is used to soften a command in order not to offend an addressee and to show humility. It is used in commands whenever a speaker wants to express the stance of not making a command, but rather a suggestion. According to my language consultants, *-tha* is the form that should be used to address commands to one’s in-law relatives, especially to a mother-in-law and a father-in-law, which is culturally the situation where one would express a humble stance.

Example (10.48) shows the only example found in the database with the polite imperative *-te*.

(10.48)

*tene ili dam-ne en-dam-phak-sonang-te*

then 1PL.INCL go-NF:IRR take-go-back- HORT:EMPH-IMP.FORM

‘then, let’s go back to take (my heart) shall we?’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

### 10.2.5 Hortative

The hortative, which is the first person imperative or directive, is expressed by the suffix *-nang*. In Amri Karbi, the hortative has inclusive meaning, where the speaker and addressee are included in the command. There are two more hortative suffixes based on the suffix *-nang* that have subtle overtones in meaning; they include *-minang* ‘immediate command’ and *-sinang/-sonang* ‘suggesting command’ or ‘soft command’. Hortative suffixes attach to the verb stem.

#### 10.2.5.1 General hortative *-nang*

The suffix *-nang* is used to construct the general hortative ‘let us’, (10.49) and (10.50).

(10.49)

*tiki-nang*

work-HORT

‘let’s work’ (elicited)

(10.50)

*laparake situmpopen hohaipo khoi podsi inirsi adin kikat*

la=parake situm-po=pen hohai-po khoi podsi inirsi a-din ki-kat

DEM=then turtle-M=with rabbit-M friend because one.day POSS-day NMLZ-run

*chibatnangto khoi pusi kachithan*

**chibat-nang=to** khoi pusi ki-chi-than

compete-HORT=REPL friend QUOT NMLZ-RR-say

‘then the turtle and the rabbit, because they were friends said to each other, let us run for competition’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The verb *dam* ‘go’ has a special hortative form, *dōw* ‘let’s go’.

### 10.2.5.2 Immediate command *-minang*

The suffix *-minang* (10.51) has an immediate meaning, in contrast to the general *-nang*, which has a future meaning. So *-minang* indicates that the command should be fulfilled immediately. It is likely that the first syllable *mi-* in *-minang* comes from the word *minon* ‘now’.

(10.51)

*tiki-minang*

work-HORT:IMMID

‘let’s work now’ (elicited)

### 10.2.5.3 Suggesting or soft command *-sinang/-sonang*

The suffix *-sinang* tends to be used as a suggesting command and *-sonang* as a more polite or softer command, but this distinction is not precise, as will be discussed later. The origin of *-si* or *-so* on *-sinang/-sonang* is unknown. There is the focus clitic =*si* and the diminutive suffix *-so*, and the reason for them to be a part of *-sinang/-sonang* is not clear. In example (10.52), *-sinang* is used as a suggestion or to mark the uncertainty in ability to fulfil the command ‘let’s V and see’. The hortative *-sonang* in (10.53) is used as an emphatic hortative to soften the command or ask for permission.

(10.52)

*tiki-sinang*

work-HORT:UNCERT

‘let’s work and see’/‘let’s try to work’ (elicited)

(10.53)

*tiki-sonang*

work-HORT:EMPH

‘let’s work, shall we?’ (elicited)

According to some of my language consultants, *-sinang* and *-sonang* are actually two variants of the same form. It seems that these are not used very much nowadays as some language consultants reported that they are not familiar with either form. That also explains why there are just two occurrences of *-sonang* in the database; one of them is shown in (10.54). The hortative *-sinang* does not appear in the current database and only emerged as its variant (with

possibly a slight overtone in meaning) during the discussion of *-sonang* with the language consultants.

(10.54)

*tene ili dam-ne en-dam-phak-sonang-te*

then 1PL.INCL go-NF:IRR take-go-back-HORT-IMP.FORM

‘then, let’s go back to take (my heart) shall we?’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

#### 10.2.5.4 Jussive

Jussives are commands directed towards the third person and can be translated as ‘let her/him do something’; they are constructed with the causative prefix *pa-* and one of the hortative suffixes. Example (10.55) shows the verb *pu* ‘say’ marked with the causative *pa-* that is close to the root for the causative meaning ‘make him say’, then it is marked with the reflexive *chi-* ‘make him say to himself’. Finally, the causative *pa-* that is further from the root and the hortative *-nang* are used for the jussive hortative ‘let him say to himself’.

(10.55) jussive

*parake nekhoipo akethima pusi pachipapunang pu do*

para=ke ne-khoi-po a-ke-thí=ma pu-si **pa-chi-pa-pu-nang** pu do

then=TOP 1-friend-DEF POSS-NMLZ-die=Q say-NF:RL CAUS-RR-CAUS-say-HORT say COP

*manta akethi kalek*

manta a-ke-thí kalēk

but POSS-NMLZ-die NEG.EQ.COP

‘then, let (him) think (lit. ‘say to himself’) ‘is my friend dead?’, but (I am) not dead’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

#### 10.2.6 Prohibitive

The negative form of an imperative has a dedicated construction, which is the prohibitive suffix *-yek*. This suffix is used serves as a negative counterpart for all types of imperatives found in Amri Karbi, i.e. the bare root imperative, the imperative *-not*, the polite imperative *-tha* and the formal imperative *-te*. As a result, the negative of the imperative does not distinguish between polite and less polite forms, see also in §11.2.1. While formally there is no distinction between polite and less polite forms, the distinction can be made through other means. In order to soften

the prohibitive, the speakers can use vocatives that contain relationship terms like, *khoi* ‘friend’ used in (10.56) or kinship terms like *bù* ‘grandmother’, *neng* ‘sister-in-law’, etc. General or neutral prohibitive do not use vocatives and only the prohibitive suffix *-yek* (10.57), (10.58). *-yek* has four allomorphs: *-mek*, *-nek*, *-ngek*, and *-ek*, see more in §2.5.3.

(10.56)

*nang eku chiron-ye k k hoi*

**nang** eku            **chiron-ye k** **hoi**

2        nothing        think-PROH    friend

‘do not worry about anything, friend’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(10.57)

*lasi nang kidam apor labang dwar asitem alongke*

lasi nang ki-dam    a-por        la=bang    dwar    a-sitem        a-long=ke

so    2        NMLZ-go    POSS-time    DEM=GNR    road    POSS-middle    POSS-LOC=TOP

*nang phokngek*

**nang**    **phok-ye k**

2        open-PROH

‘so when you go, this (bucket), in the middle of the road, do not open’ (PM Bilangthe)

(10.58)

*kiwang aphel arnampe kipu hanesopoyok kaita otnek*

ki-wang    aphel    arnam-pe    ki-pu        hane-so-po=yok    kaita    **ot-ye k**

NMLZ-come    after    god-F        NMLZ-say    1-child-M=NSUBJ    nobody    touch-PROH

‘after she came out she said do not touch my son’ (KP Honghora)

#### 10.2.7 Nonfinal irrealis *-ne* in commands

Commands may contain clause-chaining where non-finite clauses are marked with the irrealis nonfinal suffix *-ne* and the main verb is marked with one of the imperative suffixes, unless it is a bare root imperative, e.g. (10.59), (10.60). See more discussion on clause chaining in §9.2 where the suffix *-ne* is also discussed.

(10.59) clause-chaining in a command by nonfinal *-ne*

*junchetne damot*

jùn-chet-**ne**            dam-not

drinkl-little-NF:IRR    go-IMP

‘drink a little and go!’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(10.60)

*inghosima nesopiyok nalita kataram abangte, olene*

[ingho=si=ma    ne-so-pe=yok    nali=ta    ki-taram    a-bang=te    ole-**ne**

who=FOC.RL=Q    1-child-F=NSUBJ 2PL=ADD    NMLZ-call    POSS-GNR=Q2    out-NF:IRR

*wangot ne nesopiyok nalipibo*

wang-not]    ne    ne-so-pe=yok    nali=pi-bò

come-IMP    1    1-child-F=NSUBJ    2PL=give-IRR2

‘who is the person that is calling my daughter, come out I will give you my daughter’ (PM Bilangthe)

## 11 Negation

This chapter provides a description of the negation system in Amri Karbi; the chapter is organized according to the questionnaire for describing the negation systems of a language, prepared by Miestamo (2019). The chapter starts with a description of standard negation §11.1, then proceeds with a discussion of negation in non-declaratives §11.2, in stative predications §11.3 and in non-main clauses §11.4. The second part of the chapter addresses non-clausal negation §11.5, other aspects of negation §11.6, negation in complex clauses §11.7 and lexical negation §11.8.

### 11.1 Standard negation

This section describes standard negation in Amri Karbi. Standard negation refers to the (basic) way(s) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses (Payne 1985, Miestamo 2005). This section includes negation in declarative clauses and non-declaratives, in stative predications and in non-main clauses.

Standard negation in Amri Karbi is expressed by a negative marker on a verb which is the onset reduplication suffix *-Ce*. The suffix reduplicates the onset of the last syllable of the verb stem. The vowel of the suffix is always /e/, for example *chó* ‘eat’ has an onset /ch/ so the negative suffix for *chó* is *che*, and the negative form of the verb is *chóche*, see more in §2.5.5. The negative suffix attaches to a stem or to a verbal complex (11.1), thus appearing between the stem and the TAM suffix. Since the difference between the two structures is the presence of the negative marker, the construction is symmetric (Miestamo 2005). Asymmetric negation means that the structure of the negative differs from the structure of the affirmative in various ways besides the presence of the negative marker (Miestamo 2003, 2005).

(11.1) verbal negative suffix (elicit)

<i>ne dame</i>	<i>ne damdeye</i>
ne dam-ye	ne dam-Ce-ye
1 go-FUT	1 go-NEG-FUT
‘I will go’	‘I will not go’ (elicited)

There is paradigmatic asymmetry, however, between Amri Karbi’s affirmative and negative structures with some TAM categories. The aspect in the affirmative is either lost or changes its form in the negative. For example, there is an asymmetry in the habitual, as the habitual *-man*

disappears in the negative (11.2). Example (11.3) shows the negative verb *chi-ap-e* (RR-shoot-NEG) ‘(we) do not shoot’ that has habitual meaning and but no habitual marking; the habitual meaning comes through the context. Similarly, in the example (11.4), the habitual meaning in the negative comes through the context.

(11.2) negative forms of habitual *-man*

*ne an chó-man ne an chó-che*  
 1 rice eat-HAB 1 rice eat-Ce  
 ‘I eat rice’ ‘I do not eat rice’ (elicited)

(11.3)

*we arleng ayokke chiap’e tike ayoksi*  
 we arleng a-yok=ke chi-ap-Ce tike a-yok=si  
 NEG.EX.COP2 man POSS-NSUBJ=TOP RR-shoot-NEG tiger POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*apmeta*

ap-ye=ta

shoot-FUT=ADD

‘(we) do not shoot people, (we) will shoot tiger only’ (PI&LT Interview)

(11.4)

*apdamunman aro angkhan apor alongke aphlonghle*

ap-dam-ùn-**man** aro angkhan apor a-long=ke ap-hlong-Ce  
 shoot-go-be.able-HAB and some time POSS-LOC=TOP shoot-get-NEG  
 ‘sometimes he could shoot (the birds) sometimes he could not’ (SR Hunter)

There is variation in negative of the future *-ye* (11.5) with either keeping the future *-ye* or without it. As a result, negative forms of the habitual *-man* and the future *-ye* are sometimes identical, thus dropping the distinction between future and habitual in the negative.

(11.5) negative forms of future *-ye*

*ne an chó-ye ne an chó-che-ye ne an chó-che*  
1 rice eat-FUT 1 rice eat-NEG-FUT 1 rice eat-NEG  
'I will eat rice' 'I will not eat rice' (elicited)

The negative *-Ce* and the future *-ye* co-occur on the verbs in elicitation; however, in the database most of the verbs marked with both the negative *-Ce* and the future *-ye* co-occur with conditional clauses (11.6) in the consequence part. Example (11.6) shows the verb *hlong* 'get' marked with the negative *-Ce* and the future *-ye* in the consequence part of the conditional clause.

(11.6) future *-ye* and negative *-Ce* co-occurring with conditional clause

*aro labang hakpo kiphok phoknge putang putene nang eku*  
aro la=bang hak-po ki-phok phok-ye {putang putene} [nang eku  
and DEM=GNR bucket-DEF NMLZ-open open-FUT then 2 nothing

*hlonghleye*

hlong-Ce-ye]

get-NEG-FUT

'and this bucket, if you open then you will not get anything' (PM Bilangthe)

Example (11.7) shows the verb *thék-the* (know-NEG) 'will not know' marked only with the negative, but not with the future *-ye*. However, the meaning of the verb is future, which is determined by the context.

(11.7)

*lasi anangke pulo rechopo thekne tine nipamthenge teneke*

lasi anang=ke pu-lò recho-po thék-ye tine ni-pām-thēng-ye tene=ke  
so 3=TOP say-RL king-M know-FUT then 1-hit-injure-FUT then=TOP  
'so he said, if the king will know then he will hurt me'

*kaita thektheto kaita ingyong holek*

kaita    **thék-Ce=to**            kaita    ingyong    holek  
nobody know-NEG=REPL nobody NEG.EX.COP here  
'nobody will know, nobody is here' (BM Monkey and fox)

Another example of a negated verb with future meaning is shown in (11.8). In the disjunctive question in (11.8), *chirap do* 'marry' is in the future and then the negative form of the verb *dode*<sup>53</sup> in the future does not have future marker.

(11.8)

*aro nang ne logot jorme chirapdoyema dodema, neke lasi lage*  
aro nang ne logot jorme    **chirap do-ye=ma do-Ce=ma** ne=ke lasi lag-ye  
and 2    1    with wedding marry stay-FUT=Q stay-NEG=Q I=TOP so need-FUT  
'and whether you will marry me or not, I need this (answer)' (PM Bilangthe)

There is a different form of paradigmatic asymmetry between negative and affirmative in the case of the irrealis2 *-bò*, which is used for immediate future and to indicate intentions. In elicitation, the negative form of the irrealis2 *-bò* comes as the realis *-lò* or as a basic form with the stem and negative marker (11.9), as is the case with habitual and future that we saw above. However, since the realis *-lò* with the negative suffix yields an exaggerated meaning, it might not be the perfect negative counterpart for the irrealis2 *-bò*.

(11.9) negative forms with the irrealis2 *-bò* and the realis *-lò*

<i>ne an chobo</i>	<i>ne an chochelo</i>	<i>ne an choche</i>
ne an    chó-bò	ne an    chó-Ce-lò	ne an    chó-Ce
1    rice eat-IRR2	1    rice eat-NEG-RL	1    rice eat-NEG
'I am going/will eat rice'	'I will no more eat rice'	'I will not eat rice' (elicited)

Example (11.10) shows that the verb *padem* 'repair' when negated is not marked with the irrealis2 *-bò* and in the affirmative it is marked with the irrealis2 *-bò*.

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<sup>53</sup> In the negative of *chirapdo*, *chirap* is omitted, so only the copula *do* is used in the negative.

(11.10)

*neke hem chipademde tene konamte padembo*

ne=ke hēm **chi-padem-ce** tene konam=te padem-bò

1=TOP house RR-repair-NEG then when=Q2 repair-IRR2

‘if I do not repair (myself, since her husband is dead) when I will repair?’ (BT Monkey)

Since the realis *-lo* produces irrealis and future meaning in the negative, one would expect that the negative realis would have a different form. The negative form of the realis *-lo* becomes the reduced form of the negative existential copula *ingyong* ‘NEG.EX.COP’, i.e. *-yong*. The fact that the prefix of the negative copula *ingyong* is dropped shows that *-yong* needs to be analysed indeed as an affix and a bound form<sup>54</sup>, rather than as a verb stem and a copula construction<sup>55</sup>. However, the realis *-lò* can occur in the negative in its own function of realis once *-yong* attaches to a verb, e.g. (11.11), although the semantics in this case requires a speaker to provide a reason for an unhappened event.

(11.11) negative forms of realis *-lo*

*ne an cholo*                      *ne an chocheyong/chocheyongo*

ne an chó-lò                  ne an chó-Ce-yong/chó-Ce-yong-lò

1 rice eat-RL                1 rice eat-NEG-NEG.EX.COP/eat-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘I have eaten rice’            ‘I have not eaten’/‘I have not eaten (because I was sick)’ (elicited)

Example (11.12) shows *-yong* marking the negated verb *pu-pe* (say-NEG).

(11.12)

*manta alang neyok sunnot puke nepupeyong*

manta alang ne=yok sun-not pu=ke            ne=pu-Ce-ingyong

but 3 1=NSUBJ get.out-IMP say=TOP 1=say-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘but he didn’t say to me get out’ (JB Bus)

Example (11.13) shows the realis *-lò* appearing on the negated verb *chithékthe* after *-yong* attaches to the verb, though here the speaker does not overtly state the reason ‘because her son was killed’, but it is implied.

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<sup>54</sup> Amri Karbi verbs starting with the prefix *ing-* usually have the first vowel of the prefix changed due to morphological processes.

<sup>55</sup> There is a verb stem and copula *do* construction in Amri Karbi (see §8.4.1), which does not have a negative form as will be shown later in the section.



*làng-dun-Ce-yong-lò* (2=RR-look-follow-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL) ‘(he) did not come to look’ with the past tense reference, which could be either marked with the past tense *ki-* or the realis *-lò* in the affirmative. In addition, some negated past time references occur with the basic negative form of a verb and negative suffix (11.17).

(11.15) negative form of the past tense *ki-*

*ki-wang ki-wang-we*

*ki-wang ki-wang-Ce*

PST-come PST-come-NEG

‘(I) came’ ‘(I) did not come’ (elicited)

(11.16) negation of past tense events with the negative existential copula *-(ing)yong*

*chiklo jonni dordelengke anang*

*chiklo jon-ni dor-Ce-leng=ke anang*

month CLF:month-two complete-NEG-reach=TOP 3

*jangchilangdundeyongo mengsurungpo ahem ayok*

**nang=chi-làng-dun-Ce-yong-lò** mengsurung-po a-hēm a-yok

2=RR-look-follow-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL fox-DEF POSS-house POSS-DIR

‘he (the crocodile) did not come to the fox’s house until two months have not passed’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(11.17) negative form of past tense events with just the negative suffix *-ce*

*hane poisa pi-thék-ce manta hane kido athemyok*

*hane poisa pi-thék-ce manta hane ki-do a-thēm=yok*

1 money give-know-NEG but 1 NMLZ-stay POSS-place=DIR

*ne ki-pon a-pot-si bus henduman-po a-yok*

1 NMLZ-take POSS-reason-FOC bus conductor-M POSS-N.SUBJ

*hane kardom=ho pusi pulò*  
 1 thank.you=EMPH QUOT say-RL

‘even though I did not know how to pay he took me to the place I was staying so I said ‘thank you’ to the bus conductor’ (JB Bus)

## 11.2 Negation in non-declaratives

This section describes negation in imperative, the negation of the modal suffix *-lag* ‘should’ and negative questions.

### 11.2.1 Prohibitive

There are several imperative forms in Amri Karbi: the bare stem form and imperative suffixes: *-not/-tha/-te* that differ either in a degree of formality or addressee’s number (plural vs. singular), see discussion of commands in §10.2. The negative form of an imperative or a prohibitive has a dedicated construction, which is the prohibitive suffix *-yek* which is used for all types of imperatives. As a result, there is paradigmatic asymmetry in the negative imperative, as the prohibitive forms do not distinguish between degrees of politeness or addressee’s number.

(11.18) the imperative bare stem/*-not/-tha/-te* and the prohibitive *-yek*

<i>chó/chó-not/chó-tha</i>	<i>chó-yek</i>
eat/eat-IMP/eat-IMP.PL	eat-PROH
‘eat!/eat!/eat, please!’	‘do not eat!’ (elicited)

Examples (11.19) – (11.21) show the prohibitive *-yek* marking verbs for negative command. Which forms it reflects in terms of politeness it is hard to say with confidence, but at least it is seen that the prohibitive does not distinguish between singular and plural addressees; *-yek* is used for a singular addressee in (11.19) and for plural addressees in (11.20) and (11.21).

(11.19)

*nang eku chironnek khoi*  
 nang eku chi-ron-**yek** khoi  
 2 nothing RR-think-PROH friend  
 ‘do not worry about anything, friend’ (RB Fox and crocodile)



(11.23)

*lasi ili ahuwitta akhanang alamposi thanponlage*

lasi ili ahuwit=**ta** a-khanang a-lam-po=**si** than-pon-**lag-ye**  
so 1PL.EXCL all=ADD POSS-real POSS-word-DEF=FOC:RL say-ITER-should-FUT  
'so we all should tell the truth'

*bangyok chobelnangne*

bang=**yok** chobel-**nang-Ce**  
GNR=NSUBJ deceive-should-NEG  
'and should not deceive others'(BR Lying cowboy)

Example (11.24) shows *nang* used in the affirmative in the Amri Karbi New Testament translation.

(11.24)

*labang aporpara Jisu anang adunhelyok kapaklang*

la=**bang** a-por=**para** Jisu anang a-dunhel=**yok** ki-paklang  
DEM=GNR POSS-time=from PN:Jesus 3 POSS-disciples=NSUBJ NMLZ-show

*chengpono te anang Jerusalemyok damnange*

chéng-pon-lò te anang PN:Jerusalem=**yok** dam-**nang-ye**  
start-ITER-RL that 3 Jerusalem=NSUBJ go-should-FUT  
'from that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples, that he must go unto Jerusalem' (NT)

### 11.2.3 Negative questions

Polar questions that are aimed to produce a 'yes' or 'no' answer are constructed with the question particle =*ma* that marks the predicate. In negative polar questions, the verb has the negative suffix -*Ce* and the question particle is also the same =*ma* as in the standard negation questions (11.25). However, in the negative questions with the existential copula, the question particle is =*te* instead of =*ma*, e.g. (11.26). The question particle =*te* is also used sometimes in rhetorical questions and reprimands (see §10.1.2).

(11.25) negative question with =*ma*

<i>Mohanpo hat kidamma</i>	<i>Mohanpo hat damdema</i>
Mohan-po hat ki-dam= <i>ma</i>	Mohan-po hat dam-Ce= <i>ma</i>
Mohan-M market PST-go= <i>Q</i>	Mohan-M market go-NEG= <i>Q</i>
‘did Mohan go to market?’	‘didn’t Mohan go to market?’ (elicited)

(11.26) negative question with =*te*

<i>Mohan-po hēm do=<i>ma</i>?</i>	<i>Mohan-po hēm ingyong=<i>te</i>?</i>
Mohan-M home COP= <i>Q</i>	Mohan-M home NEG.EX.COP= <i>Q</i>
‘is Mohan at home?’	‘isn’t Mohan at home?’ (elicited)

### 11.3 Negation in stative predications

This section gives an overview of negation in stative predications.

#### 11.3.1 Equative Clauses

In equative and proper inclusion clauses predicate nominals are juxtaposed in the present tense and employ the copula in the past or future. In the past and future, a copula inflects for tense and follows the nominal predicate. The affirmative copula is *do* and the negative equative copula is *kalēk*. *kalēk* is used instead of a positive copula *do* in past and future, but it does not take TAM markers. The negative *kalēk* is also used in negative present tense equative clauses, even though there is no affirmative copula in the equative clauses of present tense, e.g. equative (11.27), proper inclusion (11.28). Thus, there is asymmetry in equative and proper inclusion clauses, as there is no distinction of TAM in the negative. That said, the negative counterparts of affirmative equative and proper inclusion clauses could be constructed with verbs like *do* ‘stay’ or *chiplang* ‘become’, depending on the desired meaning, where the standard negation can be used and TAM distinction could be specified.

(11.27) affirmative and negative equative clauses present, past and future

<i>anang=<i>ke</i> ne=<i>ai-pe</i></i>	<i>anang=<i>ke</i> ne=<i>ai-pe</i></i>	<i>kalēk</i>
3=TOP 1-mother-F	3=TOP 1-mother-F	NEG.EQ.COP
‘she is my mother’	‘she is not/was not/will not be my mother’	

*anang=ke ne=ai-pe ki-do*  
 3=TOP 1=mother-F NMLZ-COP  
 ‘she was my mother’

*anang=ke ne=ai-pe do-ye*  
 3=TOP 1=mother-F COP-FUT  
 ‘she will be my mother’ (elicited)

(11.28) affirmative and negative proper inclusion clauses present, past and future

a) present tense

<i>Mohan-po=ke sikari-po</i>	<i>Mohan-po=ke sikari-po kalēk</i>
Mohan-DEF=TOP hunter-DEF	Mohan-DEF=TOP hunter-DEF NEG.EQ.COP
‘Mohan is a hunter’	‘Mohan is not/was not/will not be a hunter’

b) past tense

*Mohan-po=ke sikari-po ki-do*  
 Mohan-DEF=TOP hunter-DEF PST-COP  
 ‘Mohan was a hunter’

c) future tense

*Mohan-po=ke sikari-po do-ye*  
 Mohan-DEF=TOP hunter-DEF COP-FUT  
 ‘Mohan will be a hunter’ (elicited)

### 11.3.2 Attributive Clauses

In Amri Karbi the attributive function is usually fulfilled by adjectival verbs (§3.3.1). Since adjectival verbs are verbs, the verbal negative suffix *-Ce* is used when attributive clauses are negated, e.g. (11.29). However, since adjectival verbs are nominalized, a nominal predicate negation strategy can also be used to negate adjectival verbs. So, to negate an attributive clause with an adjectival verb, the negative equational copula *kalēk* can be used or the negative existential copula *ingyong*. Example (11.30) shows an adjectival verb *mé* ‘be good’ being negated either with the negative verbal suffix or negative copulas. There is a symmetry between affirmative and negative attributive clauses in example (11.29) and (11.30).

(11.29) negation of an adjectival verb with verbal suffix *-Ce*

<i>an a-ki-me</i>	<i>an a-ki-me-me</i>
an a-ki-mé	an a-ki-mé-Ce
rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good	rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good-NEG
‘rice is good’	‘rice is not good’ (elicited)

(11.30) negation of adjectival verbs with negative copular verbs

<i>an a-ki-mé</i>	<i>an a-ki-mé kalēk/ingyong</i>
rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good	rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good NEG.EQ.COP/NEG.EX.COP
‘rice is good’	‘rice is not good’ (elicited)

When attributive clauses appear with different tenses, the constructions are partially symmetric. In the past tense, the affirmative attributive clause involves the copula *do* that inflects for past tense, and in the negative, a negative suffix attaches to the copula *do*, thus being symmetric. In the future tense, the adjectival verb itself functions as a verb and inflects for future tense, and in the negative, a negative verbal suffix attaches to the adjectival verb, but the future marker is lost, thus being asymmetric (11.31).

(11.31) attributive clause in past and future

<i>an akime kido</i>	<i>an akime kidode</i>
rice a-ki-mé                      ki-do	an a-ki-mé                      ki-do-Ce
rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good PST-COP	rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good NMLZ-COP-NEG
‘rice was good’	‘rice was not good’

<i>an akimeye/meye</i>	<i>an akimeme/meme</i>
an a-ki-mé-ye/mé-ye	an a-ki-mé-ce/mé-ce
rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good-FUT/be.good-FUT	rice POSS-NMLZ-be.good-CE/be.good-NEG
‘rice will be good’	‘rice will be good’ (elicited)

### 11.3.3 Existential clauses

Existential clauses that usually perform a presentative function are expressed by a combination of a noun and the copula *do*, regardless of tense. The copula *do* inflects for tense and appears clause-finally. Existential clauses are not negated by the standard negation strategy, but by the negative existential copulas *ingyong* or *we*, e.g. (11.32). The way Amri Karbi existential clauses are negated can be attributed to the special strategy as they use a different negation

strategy than a standard negation that is cross-linguistically extremely common (Veselinova 2013). There is an asymmetry between affirmative and negative existential clauses, as negative existential copulas *ingyong* and *we* do not take tense markers, so tense distinction is lost in negative existential clauses.

Another difference between positive and negative existential is the fact that the negative existential in Amri Karbi would usually have a definite subject. Example (11.32) shows an indefinite subject in a positive existential marked with the numeral *isi* ‘one’.

Meaning of an indefinite and/or non-specific subject is hard to preserve in the negative, so it is not possible to negate the existential clause with the indefinite and/or non-specific subject. One reason is that if the positive copula *do* is replaced with the negative *ingyong* in the existential clause, the meaning will turn out to be *isi anijom ingyong* ‘one custom is missing’. So, the subject in the negative is identifiable and the numeral *isi* ‘one’ no longer functions as an indefinite marker but as the numeral ‘one’ (see more on the numeral ‘one’ functioning as an indefinite marker in §7.1.4). Therefore, the use of the numeral ‘one’ as an indefinite marker is not possible in the negative. On the other hand, since there is an obligatory possessive prefix on *a-* in the word *anijom* and the existential and possessive constructions are similar, it can also have third person possessive reading of the existential clause ‘they do not have a custom/ he or she does not have a custom’. If we look at a noun without the obligatory possessive prefix *a-*, for example *tike* ‘tiger’ in (11.33), in the negative, the numeral *i-jon* ‘one-CLF.ANIM’ will again have a numeral meaning rather than indefinite and without the numeral, negation will induce the definite marker *-po* or an information structure topic =*ke*, focus =*si* or additive =*ta* to appear on the subject, depending on the context.

(11.32) negation of existential clauses

a) present tense

*isi a-nijom do a-nijom ingyong/anijom we*  
 one POSS-custom COP POSS-custom NEG.EX.COP

‘there is one custom’ ‘there is no/was no/will not be custom’/‘they do not have custom’

b) past tense

*isi a-nijom ki-do*  
 one POSS-custom PST-COP

‘there was one custom’

c) future tense

*isi a-nijom do-ye*  
one POSS-custom COP-FUT  
'there will be one custom'

(11.33)

<i>tike i-jon do</i>	<i>tike i-jon ingyong</i>
tiger one-CLF:ANIM COP	tiger one-CLF:ANIM NEG.EX.COP
'there is one tiger'	'one tiger is missing'

*tike-po ingyong*  
tiger-DEF NEG.EX.COP  
'there is no tiger' (elicited)

#### 11.3.4 Possessive clauses

Amri Karbi possessive clauses employ the existential structure which is a combination of a noun and a copula regardless of tense and mood. Similarly to existential clauses, a copula in a possessive clause inflects for tense and mood and appears clause-finally. A possessive clause is negated by the negative existential copulas *ingyong* or *kangwe*, (11.34). Similarly to existential clauses, there is an asymmetry between affirmative and negative possessive clauses. The negative existential copulas *ingyong* and *kangwe* do not take tense markers, so tense distinction is lost in negative existential clauses.

(11.34) negation of possessive clauses

<i>ni-hēm do</i>	<i>ni-hēm ingyong/kangwe</i>
1-house COP	1-house NEG.EX.COP/not.exist
‘I have a house’	‘I do/did/will not have a house’

*ni-hēm ki-do*  
 1-house PST-COP  
 ‘I had a house’

*ni-hēm do-ye*  
 1-house COP-FUT  
 ‘I will have a house’ (elicited)

11.3.5 Locative predicate

Locative predicate clauses are constructed with the copular verb *do* and a locative relator nouns, e.g. *-long* ‘LOC’. The copula *do* inflects for past and future tense and appears clause-finally. A locative predicate is negated by the negative existential copula *ingyong* (11.35). There is a paradigmatic asymmetry between affirmative and negative locative clauses, as the negative existential copula *ingyong* does not take tense markers, so tense distinction is lost in negative locative predicate clauses.

(11.35) negation of locative clause

present tense

<i>hik-po hēm a-long do</i>	<i>hik-po hēm a-long ingyong</i>
dog-DEF house POSS-LOC COP	dog-DEF house POSS-LOC NEG.EX.COP
‘the dog is in the house’	‘the dog is/was/will be in the house’

past tense

<i>hik-po hēm a-long ki-do</i>
dog-DEF house POSS-LOC PST-COP
‘the dog was in the house’

future tense

*hik-po hēm a-long do-ye*

dog-DEF house POSS-LOC COP-FUT

‘the dog will be in the house’ (elicited)

There are three constructions for stative predications. One is the equative construction that also includes proper inclusion. They are constructed with a nominal predicate in the present tense and involve a copula in the past and future. These clauses are negated with the equative copula *kalēk* that does not inflect for tense, thus making the affirmative and negative asymmetric. Other stative predicates, the existential, possessive and locative employ one existential construction that involves the copula *do*, which inflects for tense. Negative existential clauses are constructed with the negative existential copulas *ingyong* and *we* for existential clauses, *ingyong* and *kangwe* for possessive clauses and *ingyong* for locative clauses. Negative copulas do not inflect for tense, thus losing TAM distinction in the negative and resulting in the asymmetry between affirmative and negative existential constructions.

#### 11.4 Negation in non-main clauses

Subordinate clauses which are nominalized are negated by the verbal negative suffix *-Ce* (11.37), (11.38), as are non-final subordinate clauses/clause chains that are marked with the non-final *-si/-ne* are also negated by verbal negative suffix *-Ce* (11.39). So subordinate clauses use standard negation in a regular way without the asymmetry that was observed in the main clauses, as there is usually no TAM morphology in subordinate constructions. The affirmative counterparts of the examples (11.37), (11.38) and (11.39) could be constructed by leaving out the negative suffix *-Ce*.

(11.37) negation in a nominalized subordinate clause

*parake anang bupeke kampihel kikatune ayok*

parake anang bù-pe=ke kampi-hel **ki-kat-ùn-Ce** a-yok

then 3 grandmother-FEM=TOP monkey-PL NMLZ-run-be.able-NEG POSS-PURP

*hem pademo*

hēm padem-lò

house repair-RL

‘and their grandma repaired the house so that monkeys could not run away’ (BT Monkey)

(11.38) negation in a nominalized subordinate clause

*lasi labadisi anang damman kihlonghle apor manta*

lasi labadi=si anang dam-man **ki-hlong-Ce** **apor** manta

so like.this=FOC:RL 3 go-HAB NMLZ-get-NEG time but

*aneng arong doman*

{aneng arong} do-man

happy COP-HAB

‘so he goes hunting like this, even when he did not get (birds) he was happy’ (SR Hunter)

(11.39) negation in a non-final clause

*manta phurulpoke chiklangklesi arlengposi*

manta phurul-po=ke **chi-klang-Ce-si** arleng-po=si

but snake-DEF=TOP RR-show-NEG-NF.RL man-DEF=FOC

*kimead arlengposi chiklangdungsi wango*

ki-mé-ad arleng-po=si chi-klang-dung-si wang-lò

NMLZ-be.good-very man-M=FOC:RL RR-show-near-NF.RL come-RL

‘but the snake did not show himself (as a snake) he came out as a handsome man’ (PM

Bilangthe)

## 11.5 Non-clausal negation

This section deals with expressions of negation in Amri Karbi other than standard negation. It describes negative and positive replies, negative indefinites and quantifiers and caritives.

### 11.5.1 Negative and positive replies

The positive reply to a nominal predicate question is *oik* ‘yes’. The positive reply to a verbal predicate question can either be *oik* ‘yes’ or the verb itself (11.40). The negative reply to a

question always corresponds to the type of predication being used in the question. When a predicate in the question is a verb, the existential copulas *ingyong* or *we* are used; with stative questions the negative equational copula *kalēk* is used. The predicate in the question can also be negated with the standard negation verbal suffix *-Ce* (11.41). Positive and negative replies to questions are asymmetrical in a way that there are two negative copulas used in the answers depending on the type of predicate, and there is only one positive *oik* ‘yes’ for all predicate types. Besides, in replies with the verb itself, the TAM distinction is preserved in the positive replies and is not preserved in the negative replies.

(11.40) positive answers to question

<i>anang=ke nang-ai=ma?</i> – <i>oik</i>	<i>hik ingu-manma?</i> – <i>oik/ingu-man</i>
3=TOP 2-mother=Q? – yes	dog bark-HAB=Q? – yes/bark-HAB
‘is she your mother? – yes’	‘is the dog barking? – yes, barking’

(elicited)

(11.41) negative answers to question

<i>anang=ke nang-ai=ma?</i> – <i>kalēk</i>	<i>hik ingu-man=ma?</i> – <i>ingyong/we/ingu-ge</i>
3=TOP 2-mother=Q? – NEG.EQ.COP	dog bark-HAB=Q? – NEG.EXIST.COP/bark-Ce
‘is she your mother? – no’	‘is the dog barking? – no, not barking’

(elicited)

Negative and positive replies to negative questions are similar to replies to positive questions and the negated predicate is usually repeated (11.42) and (11.43).

(11.42) positive reply to a negative question

<i>anang=ke nang-ai kalēk=ma?</i> – <i>oik</i>	<i>hik ingu-ge=ma?</i> – <i>oik/ingu-man</i>
3=TOP 2-mother NEG.EQ.COP=Q? – yes	dog bark-HAB=Q? – yes/bark-HAB
‘isn’t she your mother? – yes’	‘is the dog barking? – yes, barking’

(elicited)

(11.43) negative reply to a negative question

*anang=ke nang-ai kalēk=ma? – kalēk hik inguge ma? –ingyong/we/inguge*  
3=TOP 2-mother NEG.EQ.COP=Q – NEG.EQ.COP hik ingu-Ce=ma – ingyong/we/ingu-Ce  
'isn't she your mother? – no' dog bark-NEG=Q – NEG.EX.COP/bark-NEG  
'is the dog barking? – no, not barking'  
(elicited)

Example (11.44) shows a negative reply to a question expressed with the negative existential copula *ingyong*.

(11.44)

S1:

*sal chokkrengholebo neng*  
sal chok-kreng-lò=hole=bō neng  
work finish-all-RL=ASSUM=CONF.Q sister.in.law  
'the work is finished maybe, sister-in-law?'

S2:

*ingyong-lang*  
NEG.EX.COP-yet  
'not yet' (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

### 11.5.2 Negative indefinites and quantifiers

Amri Karbi has three pronouns of universal quantification: *kaita* 'anybody/nobody', *iku/eku/eko ingyong* 'nothing' and *jat/jatsi/jatta* 'never'. Out of the three, only *kaita* 'anybody/nobody' occurs both in positive and negative clauses; the others, *iku* 'nothing' and *jat* 'never', occur only in negative clauses. Negative pronouns are used together with clausal negation in (11.45) and (11.46).

(11.45) negative pronoun *kaita* 'nobody' is used together with the clausal negation

*kaita thektheto kaita ingyong holek*  
**kaita** thék-Ce=to kaita ingyong holek  
nobody know-NEG=REPL nobody NEG.EX.COP here  
'nobody will know, nobody is here' (BM Monkey and fox)

(11.46) negative pronoun *iku* ‘nothing’ is used together with the clausal negation

*ikusi tikikelangta*

**iku=si** tiki-Ce-lang=ta

nothing=FOC:RL work-NEG-yet=ADD

‘nothing has been done yet’ (Mrs&Mrs gathering)

The pronoun *jatsi* ‘never’ does not occur in the transcribed data; whenever the meaning ‘never’ is implied, a negative verb form with the realis suffix *-lò* is used, as illustrated in (11.47). However, *jatsi* ‘never’ is used consistently in the New Testament translation exemplified in (11.48).

(11.47)

*aro arlengpo chirono minipara himepe ahemke neta*

aro arleng-po chiron-lò mini=para hime-pe a-hēm=ke ne=ta

and man-DEF think-RL today=from widow-F POSS-house=TOP I=ADD

*chunghudamdelo*

**cho-inghu-dam-Ce-lò**

AUTOBEN-steal-go-NEG-RL

‘and the man decided from today I will never go to steal from widow's house’ (BK Widow)

(11.48)

*israyel adak labadi jatsi thek hlonghleyong*

israyel a-dak labadi **jatsi** thék-hlong-Ce-ingyong

PN:Israel POSS-among like.this never see-get-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘it was never so seen in Israel’ (NT)

### 11.5.3 Caritives

There is no dedicated strategy to express caritive meaning in Amri Karbi. The meaning of ‘without’/‘-less’/‘un-’ on nouns is expressed with the negative existential copulas *we* or *kangwe* after a noun, e.g. *lang kangwe* ‘waterless’ or literally ‘water not exist’. These nouns can then modify other nouns, e.g. (11.49).

On nominalized verbs, meanings of ‘without’/ ‘-less’/‘un-’ are expressed with the negative suffix *-Ce* on a verb, e.g. *ki-krol-kre* (NMLZ-believe-NEG) ‘faithless’, literally ‘not believing’.

These negated nominalized verbs may also modify nouns, e.g. (11.50). There is no other way of constructing the caritive from verbs, so a meaning like ‘unfaithful’ will have a form similar to ‘faithless’, i.e. *kikrolkre*. However, since adjectival verbs are inherently verbs, they can extend their meaning with the help of predicate derivational suffixes and depending on the context can express different meanings of the caritive by the same negative verbal suffix *-Ce* attaching to a predicate derivation suffix. For example, if a negated nominalized verb contains a modal predicate derivation suffix it may mean ‘the lack of ability’, e.g. *ki-krol-ùn-e* (NMLZ-believe-be.able-NEG) ‘unfaithful’/‘faithless’, literally ‘not being able to believe’.

(11.49) nominal caritive

*lang kangwe a-thēm*  
 water nothing POSS-place  
 ‘waterless region/place’ (NT)

(11.50) verbal caritive

*kikrolkre arleng*  
 ki-krol-Ce arleng  
 NMLZ-believe-NEG man  
 ‘unfaithful/faithless man’ (NT)

## 11.6 Other aspects of negation

This section addresses other aspects of negation, namely the scope of negation of a verb marked with a predicate derivation suffix, three negative polarity items, the marking of noun phrases in the scope of negation and reinforcing negation.

### 11.6.1 The scope of negation

Amri Karbi has a large class of semantically rich predicate derivation suffixes that attach to the right of the verbal root in slot 5 of the verbal template, see §5.1.7. The function of predicate derivations is to structurally expand and semantically modify the predicate. When a verb with a predicate derivation is negated, the negation has scope over either the predicate derivation (11.51) or to the entire verb (11.52). Each predicate derivation allows only one option for scope of negation, i.e. either only on the predicate derivation or over the entire verb.

(11.51) scope of negation only on predicate derivation

*borketke*

bor-ket-Ce

wrap-tight-NEG

‘wrap, but not tightly’ (elicited)

(11.52) scope of negation on entire verb *thekdunde* ‘did not know’

*potpotbadi chiporhelone ingyongne neke thekdunde*

pot~pot-badi chi-porhe-lò=ne ingyong=ne ne=ke **thék-dun-Ce**

what~what-as RR-learn-RL=UNCERT NEG.EX.COP=INDEF I=TOP know-follow-NEG

*potsi chininelo*

potsi chini-Ce-lò

because know-NEG-RL

‘I did not know whether they studied or not, because I do not know (I am uneducated)’ (TuI Education)

### 11.6.2 Marking of noun phrases in the scope of negation

As for the marking of noun phrases in the scope of negation, it was mentioned in §11.3.3 that negative existential clauses usually do not have unidentifiable subjects. The forms of negative possessive and existential clauses appear to be identical with inalienable subjects, see §11.3.4.

### 11.6.3 Reinforcing negation

The means used for reinforcing negation in Amri Karbi include the conjunction *tene* ‘then’, which is usually used with conditional clauses, in the consequence part. As shown in (11.57) *tene* can also be used to reinforce negation and it occurs after the negative part.

(11.57) reinforcing negation

*kasuru kalek tene khoi*

ki-suru kalēk **tene** khoi

NMLZ-cry NEG.EQ.COP then friend

‘this is not crying, friend’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

## 11.7 Negation, coordination and complex clauses

Subordination is usually marked by the nominalizer *ki-* or a non-final suffix *-si/-ne*. Some complex clauses that have a positive subordinate clause and a negative main clause may be constructed with the additive clitic *=ta* or the topic *=ke*, depending on the intended meaning. Subordinate clauses with the quotative *pu* ‘say’, that can be translated as ‘even though’ are constructed with the additive *=ta* which, marks a positive subordinate clause that is followed by a negative clause (11.58).

(11.58) ‘even though’ with *=ta* ‘ADD’

*aro khoi puta pasiselo*

aro khoi pu=**ta** pasi-Ce-lò  
and friend say=ADD reply-NEG-RL

‘even though, he called him ‘friend!’ he did not reply’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Positive clauses of the main negative clause can be subordinated by the topic *=ke*; the subordinate clause in this case begins with the conjunction *manta* ‘but’ (11.59).

(11.59) subordination by *=ke*

*manta alang neyok sunnot puke nepupeyong*

manta alang ne=yok sun-not pu=**ke** ne=pu-Ce-ingyong  
but 3 1=NSUBJ get.out-IMP say=TOP 1=say-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘but he didn’t say to me get out’ (JB Bus)

Two or more negative independent clauses are coordinated by juxtaposition. Example (11.60) shows three independent clauses appearing next to each other without any conjunction.

(11.60)

*atomo asarpe himepe [ahem kangwe] [aret kangwe]*

a-tomo a-sar-pe hime-pe a-hēm kangwe a-ret kangwe  
POSS-story POSS-be.old-F widow-F POSS-house not.exist POSS-field not.exist

[*salkam katiki kaita kangwe*]

sal-kam ki-tiki kaita kangwe

work-work NMLZ-work nobody not.exist

‘long time ago there was a widow, she had no home, no field, nobody to work (with her)’

(BK Widow)

Independent clauses with contrastive negation are coordinated by juxtaposition or the coordinator *manta* ‘but’. Example (11.61) shows contrastive negation where the first clause that contrasts the previous utterance is negated and the second clause that conveys the true information follows right after it. The contrasting element of the proposition is the O argument of the verb *ap* ‘shoot’, which is marked with the topic =*ke* in the contrasting part and the focus =*si* in the true part of the proposition.

(11.61) contrastive negation

*we arleng ayokke chiap’e tike ayoksi apmeta*

we arleng a-yok=ke chi-ap-Ce tike a-yok=si

not.exist person POSS-NSUBJ=TOP RR-shoot-NEG tiger POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*apmeta*

*ap-ye=ta*

shoot-FUT=ADD

‘(we) do not shoot people, (we) will shoot tiger only’ (PI&LT interview)

Example (11.62) shows contrastive negation coordinated by the coordinator *manta* ‘but’ and the topic =*ke* marks the contrastive topic *phurul* ‘snake’.

*manta phurulpoke chiklanglesi arlengposi*

manta phurul-po=ke chi-klang-Ce-si arleng-po=si

but snake-DEF=TOP RR-show-NEG-NF:RL man-DEF=FOC:RL

*kimead arlengposi chiklangdungsi wango*

ki-mé-ad                      arleng-po=si    chi-klang-dung-si    wang-lò

NMLZ-be.good-very    man-M=FOC:RL    RR-show-near-NF:RL    come-RL

‘but the snake did not show himself (as a snake) he came out as a handsome man’ (PM Bilangthe)

Example (11.63) shows coordination of two independent clauses by juxtaposition.

(11.63) ‘neither... nor’

*piyoksi tarammanmene inghosi tarammanmene neke thanun’e*

[piyok=si    taram-man=mene] [ingho=si    taram-man=mene] ne=ke than-ùn-ce

why=FOC:RL    call-HAB=may.be    who=FOC:RL    call-HAB=may.be    1=TOP    say-be.able-NEG

‘I know neither why (he) calls me nor (who is he) who calls me’ (PM Bilangthe)

## 11.8 Lexical negation: negation with predicate derivations

Negation in Amri Karbi can be expressed on the verb by lexical means. There is a predicate derivation *-kel* that yields negative meaning without the verbal negative suffix. However, the suffix *-kel* has been attested to appear only with perception verbs. Example (11.64) shows the verb *arju* ‘hear’ marked with the predicate derivation *-kel* that gives the meaning that the action denoted by the verb did not take place because of forgetting to fulfil that action. Example (11.65) shows *-kel* marking the verb *hlong* ‘get’ that expresses negation without the negative suffix.

(11.64)

*anangaipeke arjukelbakngo sal katiki along*

anang-ai-pe=ke    arju-**kel-bak**-lò                      sal    ki-tiki                      a-long

3-mother-F=TOP    hear-NEG.DRV-INDEF-RL    work    NMLZ-work    POSS-LOC

‘its (baby’s) mother did not hear because of hard work’ (PaI Pangolin)

(11.65)

*arlengpo angsong para wangkisun ayokke bachik isi*

arleng-po angsong para wang-ki-sun a-yok=ke bachik isi  
man-DEF underneath para come-NMLZ-come.down POSS-NSUBJ=TOP basket one

*hlongkelo*

**hlong-kel-lò**

get-NEG.DRV-RL

‘when the man came down from the tree (up to where the basket was) and could not get (find) one basket’ (MI Pear film)

### 11.9 Summary

As has been observed from the above analysis the negative suffix *-Ce* can occur as the only verbal operator, and the stem with the negative suffix can function as a general negative verb form for most TAM. The exception is the realis *-lò*, which requires the reduced negative existential copula *-yong* to form its negative. Besides, the realis *-lò* has future meaning in the negative. The habitual *-man* is different to other forms that it has only one negative form option, which is the basic V-NEG form. As a summary, Table 11.1 gives an overview of the main negative forms.

The negation system in Amri Karbi shows to be asymmetric in standard negation and non-declarative clauses, except in the questions. In Amri Karbi questions, the structure appears to be symmetric. In some TAM distinctions, such as future, past and irrealis<sup>2</sup>, the structure is either symmetric or asymmetric. According to the symmetric and asymmetric classification of standard negation (Miestamo, 2013) Amri Karbi is Type SymAsy, which means the language has both symmetric and asymmetric negation. This type is a dominant type across the languages and is found in some related (besides Karbi) languages, like Meithei and in a contact language Khasi (Miestamo, 2013).

Table 11.1 Affirmative and negative paradigm

Functions	Affirmative	Negative
Irrealis1	<i>dam-bo</i>	<i>dam-de-lò</i> <i>dam-de</i>
Irrealis2	<i>dam-bang</i>	<i>dam-de</i> <i>dam-de-bang</i> (change of meaning: ‘not going now, but will go after some time’)
Realis	<i>dam-lò</i>	<i>dam-de-yong</i> <i>dam-de-yong-ò</i> <i>dam-de-lò</i> ‘change of meaning to future/irrealis’
Future	<i>dam-ye</i>	<i>dam-de-ye</i> <i>dam-de</i>
Past	<i>ki-dam</i>	<i>ki-dam-de</i> <i>dam-de</i> <i>dam-de-yong(-ò)</i>
Habitual	<i>dam-man</i>	<i>dam-de</i>
Modal	<i>lag</i>	<i>nang-ne</i>
Imperative	<i>chó</i> (bare stem) <i>chó-not</i> <i>chó-tha</i> <i>chó-te</i>	<i>chó-nek</i>
Existential copula	<i>do</i>	<i>ingyong</i> <i>we</i> <i>kangwe</i>
Equational copula	$\emptyset$	<i>kalēk</i> <i>kaleyong</i>

## 12 Discourse

This chapter deals with various topics related to discourse and context-conditioned markers and expressions. It starts with discourse and epistemic clitics §12.1, then proceeds with the marking of the information source §12.2 and discussion of information structure clitics §12.3. Fillers and interjections are addressed in §12.4 followed by two sections on cohesion by discourse coordinators §12.5 and tail-head linkage §12.6. Amri Karbi uses topicalization and right-dislocation for emphasis; these are briefly described in §12.7 and §12.8, respectively. The chapter ends with treatment of some topics on narrative discourse §12.9.

### 12.1 Discourse and epistemic clitics

This section describes Amri Karbi discourse and epistemic clitics. Some of the discourse clitics, such as question clitics, have been described in previous chapters. The clitics that are described in this section are dependent on the context and have not yet been described elsewhere in the grammar. These clitics predominantly occur in conversations and interactive situations. Therefore, they rarely occur in monologues, like narratives, except for the emphasis clitic =*he*. Deontic modality has been described in §5.1.7.3.6 as a part of predicate derivation system and in §9.1.3.3 as complement-taking verbs. Epistemic modality is marked with clitics that are described in §12.1.4 of this chapter. All of them express different degrees of uncertainty. The indefinite clitic =*bak* (§12.1.6) is also correlated with the epistemic clitics; it is a special morpheme as it carries the indefinite meaning across other categories in the language (see in §3.10).

#### 12.1.1 Reply =*to*

The clitic =*to* is attached to the end of a proposition which is generally an answer to a previous question. The clitic =*to* generally attaches to the predicate. Example (12.1) contains the answer to the question of how many years did the shop owner have had her shop. The responder (S2) uses clitic =*to* at the end of the proposition and attaches it to the verb after the realis -*lô*.

(12.1)

S1

*nang-dukan-po kombak a-nengkan=te do-lò*

2-shop-DEF how.many POSS-year=Q2 COP-RL

‘how many years have you been having your shop?’

S2

*ne-dukan-po=ke nengkan ~ nengkan kithom do-lo=to*

1-shop-DEF=TOP year ~ year three COP-RL=REPL

‘I have had my shop for three years’ (Lit.: ‘my shop has existed for three years’) (BT&LT Interview)

Example (12.2) shows one speaker (S1) greeting another speaker (S2) with the usual Amri Karbi greeting, which is a question *mé doma* (be.good COP=Q) ‘are you well?’. In response, the second speaker (S2) answers *mé do* (be.good COP) ‘(I am) good’ marking the proposition with the clitic =*to*.

(12.2)

S1

*parake anang pu-lo khhoi mé-do=ma nang*

then 3 say-RL friend be.good-COP=Q 2

‘then he said, hello friend, are you well?’

S2

*mé-do=to=hō*

be.good-COP=REPL=INTER

‘yes, (I am) good’ (BM Monkey and fox)

### 12.1.2 Emphasis =*he*

The clitic =*he* marks both predicates and noun phrases. It functions as a clitic that gives emphasis or attention to the element it marks. As an attention clitic =*he*, is addressee oriented. Example (12.3) S2 shows =*he* marking the verb *hreng-hong-ye* (survive-get-FUT) ‘I get to survive’ in response to a question from S1 asking what he does with the leaves that he gathers in the jungle. S2 responds that he makes a living by selling the leaves, using the clitic =*he* for the emphasis.

(12.3)

S1

*jor-dam-man=ma*

sell-go-HAB=Q

‘do you sell (the leaves)?’

S2

*jordamsi lasi hrenghonggehe*

jor-dam-si lasi hreng-hong-ye=**he**

sell-go-NF:RL so survive-get-FUT=EMPH

‘I go to sell, so I get to survive/make a living’ (PI&LT Interview)

In example (12.4), =*he* appears in a situation where the speaker is saying that they came too late for the event, so marking the verb *dingongo* ‘became late’ with =*he* for the emphatic meaning ‘became too late’.

(12.4)

*halike arni dingongohe neng*

hali=**ke** arni ding-ong-lo=**he** neng

1PL.EXCL=TOP day be.late-be.much-RL=EMPH sister-in-law

‘we are (reaching) day became too late sister-in-law’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

The clitic =*he* may also mark noun phrases. Example (12.5) shows =*he* marking *asarpe sarpepo* ‘old woman and woman’s husband’ in the narrative introduction to draw an attention to the protagonists.

(12.5)

*isi a-sar-pe sar-pe-po=**he** mane hen ki-e-dam=tànghò*

one POSS-old-F old-F-M=EMPH means yam NMLZ-plant-go=REP

‘one old woman and woman’s husband, I mean, (they) went to plant yam’ (BT Monkey)

### 12.1.3 Interactive =*hō*

The interactive clitic =*hō* occurs at the end of the proposition, (12.6), (12.7). It can be either attached to a verb or singled out and pronounced separately. It is generally used in a request or

when someone asks for a favour or receives a favour. It is pronounced or shouted separately when people talk to each other from a distance (12.8).

(12.6)

*angopo thanphakbohō*

ango-po than-phak-bo=**hō**

before-DEF tell-back-IRR=INTER

‘(I) will tell the previous (story) again, ok?’ (MsR Meeting)

(12.7)

*hane ki-do a-thēm=yok ne=ki-pon a-potsi bus henduman-po*  
 1 NMLZ-stay POSS-place=ALL 1=NMLZ-take POSS-PURP bus conductor-M

*a-yok hane kardom=hō pu-si pu-lò*  
 POSS-NSUBJ 1 thank.you=INTER say-NF:RL say-RL

‘(he) took me till the place I was staying so I said thank you to the bus conductor’ (JB Bus)

(12.8) clitic = *hō* is separated from the verb

*jike nipupe nebithang ahem manta neke*

ji(Asm)=ke ni=pu-Ce ne-bithang a-hēm manta ne=ke  
 whatever=TOP 1=say-NEG 1-self POSS-family but 1=TOP

*ambak-hel-si wang-bo neng hō*

sometimes-PL-FOC come-RL sister-in-law INTER

‘whatever you say you are my own family, yet after sometime I will come, ok?’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

#### 12.1.4 Epistemic modality clitics

There are epistemic modality clitics =*hole*/=*hele*, =*mine*, =*ne* and =*tema* that express different degrees of a speaker’s confidence. These clitics appear after TAM suffixes.

The clitics =*hole*/=*hele* mark verbs to express the speaker’s assumption (12.9) and (12.10). They usually appear with and before the confirmation question clitic =*bō*.

(12.9)

*te arleng chi-ap-bub-bo=hole=bō hilai=pen=ke*  
so man RR-shoot-kill-IRR=ASSUM=CONF.Q gun=with=TOP

‘then may be (you) will shoot people with gun (by mistake)?’ (PI&LT Interview)

(12.10)

*mod=to ki-dok-bak=hele=bō la=ta*  
very=REPL NMLZ-be.sweet-INDEF=ASSUM=CONF.Q DEM=ADD

‘that is also might be very sweet?’ (BM Monkey and fox)

The clitic =*mine* is glossed as ‘maybe’ as it also marks the speaker’s doubt and uncertainty; it appears on the verbs after TAM suffixes (12.11).

(12.11)

*thūr-bò monon=ke ne=ta ne-khoi-po wang-hleng-dun-bò=mine*  
stand.up-IRR2 now=TOP 1=ADD 1-friend-DEF come-get-join-IRR2=may.be

‘I will stand up and now my friend will reach me, may be’ (HI Turtle and monkey)

The clitic =*ne* marks propositions when a speaker is uncertain about the event. Example (12.12) shows =*ne* marking the verb in *dopone* ‘they will stay’ in a rhetorical question ‘how they will stay/live?’ to mark that the speaker has doubts about the future of her grandchildren with a negative undertone.

(12.12)

*minonke osomarhelke potdisi doponene*  
minon=ke oso-mar-hel=ke potbadi=si do-pon-ye=**ne**  
now=TOP child-PL-PL=TOP how=FOC:RL stay-ITER-FUT=UNCERT

‘now how their (my children’s) children will live?’ (Tui Education)

The clitic =*tema* marks propositions as suppositions, where the speaker does not have confirmation or a proof for the proposition (12.13).

(12.13)

*neke angkatdununetema khoi katun'e potsi*

ne=ke nang=kat-dun-ùn-Ce=**tema** khoi kat-ùn-Ce potsi

1=TOP CIS=run-join-be.able-NEG=SUPP friend run-be.able-NEG because

'I will not be able to run behind you, perhaps, my friend, because I cannot run' (HI Turtle and rabbit)

12.1.5 Declarative =*ro*

The clitic =*ro* shown in (12.14) has a very limited occurrence with only four cases in the data. All of them come from the speech of two male language consultants around the age of 60, but from two different areas and religious backgrounds. I could not identify the function of this clitic and as it appears only in declarative clauses with no apparent meaning, it is glossed as 'DCL' (declarative).

(12.14)

*pare phili pare phongo arkeng=ke aro ki-jor-si*

80.betelnuts four 80.betelnuts five betelnut=TOP and NMLZ-sell-NF:RL

*hal-chot-man=ro*

win-be.much-HAB=DCL

'four or five pare of betelnut we sell mostly' (PI&LT Interview)

12.1.6 Indefinite clitic =*bak*

The indefinite clitic =*bak* marks propositions for uncertainty. It often co-occurs with the epistemic modality clitics =*hole*/=*hele* and precedes them. Example (12.15) shows =*bak* marking the predicate *suru-lò* (cry-RL) 'cried' to express the uncertainty or indefiniteness of an assumption. The clitic =*bak* also appears as an indefinite nominal clitic (see §4.2.5.3) and there is also an indefinite predicate derivation suffix -*bak* (see §5.1.7.3.1).

(12.15)

*parake a-so-so=bak=ke ankangchir-bak-si suru-lo=bak=hole*  
then POSS-child-DIM=INDEF=TOP hungry-INDEF-NF:RL cry-RL=INDEF=ASSUM  
'then the baby became hungry and cried' (PaI Pangolin)

## 12.2 Information source

This section gives a description of Amri Karbi overt expressions of information source. Marking one's information source or evidentiality indicates how one learnt something (Aikhenvald 2004:1). The expressions of information source in Amri Karbi consist of the quotative *pu* which is a verb 'say' §12.2.1 and the reportative *=tàng/=tànghò* §12.2.2. The description of the quotative *pu* in §12.2.1 will include not only the information source function, but all the other functions that the quotative *pu* has. The reportative *=tàng/=tànghò* on the other hand is concerned only with the information source.

### 12.2.1 Quotative *pu(si)*

The quotative *pu(si)* has a wide range of functions in Amri Karbi: it is a verb that means 'say'. Multifunctionality of the quotative has been attested in many Tibeto-Burman languages. It was noted by Saxena that the multifunctionality of the quotative is an areal feature of the quotative:

"The grammaticalized functions of the verb 'say' in South Asian languages are: quotative, causal, purpose and conditional conjunctions; it occurs with embedded questions, with onomatopoeic expressions, as a question word complementizer, as an evidential particle, as an expletive and as a naming-labeling device." (Saxena 1988)

It has been also attested in other parts of the world that quotatives are multifunctional elements. The Amri Karbi quotative *pu(si)* has most but not all of the functions listed by Saxena, thus *pu(si)* is a quotative, a conditional conjunction, a name-labeling device, a complementizer and an information source or an evidentiality tool.

The quotative *pu(si)* can appear either with the non-final suffix *-si* or the copula *do* or both. It appears that the quotative *pu(si)* with the non-final suffix *-si* has lexicalized in a way that the non-final *-si* does not always carry a function of a non-final marker anymore, i.e. it may or may not precede the main verb.

The first function of *pu(si)* is quotative, where *pu(si)* marks direct and inner speech. Example (12.16) shows *pu(si)* marking a direct speech and example (12.17) shows indirect speech.

(12.16) direct speech

*manta halabang athepo ili hekpensonang pusi*

manta ha=la=bang a-the-po ili hek-pen-sonang **pusi**  
but DIST=DEM=GNR POSS-fruit-DEF 1PL.EXCL pluck-really-HORT.EMPH QUOT

*anali chithano*

anali chi-than-lò

3PL RR-say-RL

‘but (before going) let us pluck this fruit, they said to each other’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

(12.17) inner speech

*neta katbang pune aro aphel angchilang ayokke akhoipo*

ne=ta kat-bang **pu-ne** aro aphel nang=chi-lang a-yok=ke a-khoi-po  
1=ADD run-IRR1 say-NF:IRR and after CIS=RR-SEE POSS-PURP=TOP POSS-friend-DEF

*thektheyong*

thék-Ce-ingyong

know-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘I also need to run, (he) said and then (he) took a look behind (but) did not see his friend’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The quotative *pu* occurs as a part of the conditional conjunctive phrase *putang putene* (12.18) or sometimes just *putene* (12.19).

(12.18)

*aro labang hakpo kiphok phoknge putang putene nang eku*

aro la=bang hak-po ki-phok phok-ye {**putang putene**} nang eku  
and DEM=GNR bucket-DEF NMLZ-open open-FUT then 2 nothing

*hlonghleye*

hlong-Ce-ye

get-NEG-FUT

‘and this bucket, if you open then you will not get anything’ (PM Bilangthe)

(12.19)

*arnam ahem kachirdomyok dame putene angkhan arlengke*

arnam a-hēm ki-chirdom=yok dam-ye **putene** angkhan arleng=ke  
god house-house NMLZ-worship=PURP go-FUT then some people=TOP

*akilok ape chi 'ikman*

a-ki-lok a-pe chi-ik-man  
POSS-NMLZ-be.white POSS-clothe RR-wear-HAB

‘when we go to worship God, some people wear white colour of clothes’ (PK&AM Weaving)

The quotative *pu* functions as a name-labelling device, shown in (12.20).

(12.20) *pu* as a name-labelling device

*amri karbi a-dak karpu pu-ne ki-pu a-pe-po*  
PN:Amri PN:Karbi POSS-among pangolin say-NF:IRR NMLZ-say POSS-animal-DEF

*ili thék-man*

1PL.INCL see-HAB

‘in Amri Karbi (land) we see animal called *karpu* (pangolin)’ (PaI Pangolin)

The quotative *pu* functions as a complementizer, as discussed in §9.1.3.1.

The quotative *pu* occurs in folktales as a reportative. It does not occur in every clause, but occasionally, possibly to give prominence or highlight that particular piece of narrative, (12.21) and (12.22).

(12.21) quotative *pu* occurring in folk tales

*arlengpo thanuno tike apal akiong pusi*

arleng-po than-ùn-lò tike a-pal a-ki-ong **pusi**  
man-DEF say-be.able-RL tiger POSS-group POSS-NMLZ-be.much QUOT

‘the man knew that the tigers were in a big group, it says’ (BK Widow)

(12.22) quotative *pu* occurring in folk tales

*asopoke mane chopidetno mengsurungpo asomar ayok*

a-so-po=ke mane chó-pi-det-lò mengsurung-po a-so-mar a-yok  
POSS-child-DEF=TOP means eat-ben-all-RL fox-DEF POSS-child-PL POSS-NSUBJ

*pachodetno pusi*

pa-chó-det-lo      **pusi**

CAUS-eat-all-RL      QUOT

‘I mean his children were eaten (by fox’s children), the fox fed his children with all (crocodile’s children), it says’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The quotative *pu* in everyday speech marks information that is not part of speaker’s general knowledge or as a strategy to undermine speaker’s knowledge, due to the culturally restricted territories of information or due to politeness. The quotative *pu* marks the indirect evidence information that has become part of one’s knowledge.

Example (12.23) shows that the speaker uses *pu* to undermine his knowledge. The speaker in example (12.23) is talking to an older relative and in this situation, it might be so that showing own’s knowledge in front of a senior relative might be impolite.

(12.23)

*tene arkeng ki-chó a-bang angkhan=ke hēm chó-man pu do*

then betelnut NMLZ-eat POSS-GNR some=TOP house eat-HAB QUOT COP

‘then the people who eat betelnut, some eat at home, they say’ (PI Betelnut)

Example (12.24) shows that *pu* marks the indirect evidence information that has become part of one’s knowledge.

(12.24)

*tene nang arkeng nang sal katiki arleng*

tene nang arkeng nang sal ki-tiki arleng

then 2 betel.nut 2 work NMLZ-work person

*pusi thanuno*

**pusi**      than-ùn-lò

QUOT      say-be.able-RL

‘then I know (lit. ‘I can say’) you are the person who grows betel nut’ (PI&LT Interview)

### 12.2.2 Reportative =*tàng* and =*tànghò*

The reportative =*tàng* and =*tànghò* mark indirect sources of information, information that was obtained from other people. =*tàng* and =*tànghò* are used in situations when a speaker does not want to take responsibility for the information. The reportative =*tàng* appears in conversations whenever the speaker wants to express the indirect source of information; =*tànghò* is used mainly in the non-eyewitnessed narratives that happened a long time ago or fairy tales, but may be used in conversation with a function similar to =*tàng* (= *tàng* does not appear in non-eyewitnessed narratives that happened a long time ago or in fairy tales). The reportatives =*tàng* and =*tànghò* usually appear in the end of the clause and mark the main verb. In example (12.25), the speaker uses =*tànghò* and the translation has an epistemic reading because the information was obtained from someone else and the speaker does not take the responsibility for it.

(12.25)

*anithuhelne eneta wanglhengetangho*

anithu-hel=ne            ene=ta    wang-lheng-ye=**tànghò**

evening-PL=FOC:IRR    just=ADD    come-reach-FUT=REP

‘they may reach in the evening’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

Example (12.26) shows =*tàng* marking the verb *ho-lag-e* (send-should-FUT) ‘(I) should send’ to express that this information was obtained. The fact that the information was obtained is also specified by the quotative *pu*.

(12.26)

*lasi anuwe anuwe=si            ne la=bang-po            la-hel=yok=ta            ladisi*

so    evening    evening=FOC:RL 1    DEM=GNR-DEF    DEM-PL=NSUBJ=ADD    like.this

*ho-lag-ye=**tàng**            pu-si            ne mail            nang=ho-lò*

send-should-FUT=REP    say-NF:RL            1    e-mail(Eng)    CIS=send-RL

‘so that night I sent this to them, like (they) told I should send, I sent an e-mail’ (BM Trip)

Example (12.27) shows =*tànghò* marking the verb *honpilagye* ‘(I) have to guard’ to indicate that the speaker has to guard the king’s drum because the king told him to do so.

(12.27)

*mini=ke pot=te ote-do holek=ke*  
today=TOP what=Q2 do-COP here=TOP  
'today, what are you doing here?'

*parake anang pulo hei rechopo achengpo honpilagetangho*

*parake anang pu-lò hei recho-po a-cheng-po hon-pi-lag-ye=tànghò*  
then 3 say-RL EXCL king-DEF POSS-drum-DEF guard-BEN-should-FUT=REP  
'then he said, 'I need to guard the king's drum' (BM Monkey and fox)

The reportative =*tanghò* is an integral part of the Amri Karbi speech genre of folk tales and narratives. Similar to the quotative *pu*, the reportative =*tanghò* does not occur on every final verb or clause in a narrative. It may occur in the beginning of a story when the setting of the story is given, e.g. (12.28).

(12.28)

*isi a-sar-pe sar-pe-po=he mane hen ki-e-dam=tànghò*  
one POSS-old-F old-F-M=EMPH means yam NMLZ-plant-go=REP  
'one old woman and woman's husband, I mean, they went to plant yam' (BT Monkey)

The reportative =*tanghò* sometimes occurs further in the narrative, probably to highlight an event. Example (12.29) presents a situation where the main protagonist of a narrative decided to take a revenge; the narrator used the reportative =*tanghò* in (12.29) probably to make hearers ponder of what the protagonist might do as a revenge.

(12.29)

*to minike nangchopene pusi alang kachirontangho mensurungpoyok*

*to mini=ke nang=chó-pen-ye pusi alang ki-chiron=tànghò mensurung-po=yok*  
so today=TOP CIS=eat-really-FUT QUOT 3 NMLZ-think=REP fox-DEF=NSUBJ  
'so, today I will really eat the fox, he thought' (RB Fox and crocodile)

Even though the reportative =*tànghò* often occurs in non-eye witnessed narratives and fairy tales, it is worth noting that =*tànghò* does not appear in such genres narrated by people of the younger generation. The reason could be that using the reportative =*tànghò* is considered to be the register of an older generation sociolect or that the reportative =*tànghò* is being lost among the younger generation of Amri Karbi. Since modern Amri Karbis often watch TV and use

modern media as entertainment, the loss of practice of telling fairy tales as entertainment could lead to the loss of linguistic forms that are used only in them.

### 12.3 Information structure clitics =*ta* ‘ADD’, =*ke* ‘TOP’, =*si* ‘FOC:RL’ and =*ne* ‘FOC:IRR’

The following sections describe information structure that is manifested in clitics: the additive =*ta*, the topic =*ke*, the focus clitics =*si* and =*ne*.

#### 12.3.1 Additive =*ta*

This section presents pragmatic functions of the additive =*ta*. The function of the additive =*ta* as a noun phrase clitic is discussed in §4.2.5.4. and as a coordinator in §9.3.1.2. Here the function of the additive =*ta* as a topic-switch marker will be discussed. Topic-switch is when a change or a switch of a topic to a new one has taken place.

Example (12.30) shows =*ta* marking the noun phrase *anangai* ‘her mother’ to signal that a topic-switch has taken place. Previously, the topic was *Bilangthepe* ‘Bilangthe’ and then the topic became *anangai* ‘her mother’.

(12.30)

*Bilangthe-pe=si*      *i-hut*      *arje*      *ki-mé*      *ki-do*  
 pn:Bilangthe-F=FOC:RL    one-CLF:HUM.SG    beautiful    NMLZ-be.good    PST-COP  
 ‘Bilangthe was beautiful’

*anang-ai=ta*      *hime*      *arlung*      *ki-do*  
 3-mother=ADD      widow    person    NMLZ-COP  
 ‘her mother was a widow’ (PM Bilangthe)

Another topic switch example is shown in (12.31), where the speaker was talking about the ‘bus conductor’ and then switched the topic to himself, *neta* ‘1=ADD’

(12.31)

*bus hendumanpo poisa nangrungngo neta poisa kipiboyoksi*  
 bus henduman-po poisa    nang=rung-lò    **ne=ta**    poisa    ki-pi-bò=yok=si  
 bus conductor-M    money    CIS=collect-RL    1=ADD    money    NMLZ-give-IRR2=PURP=FOC:RL

*chilangngo*

chi-làng-lò

RR-look-RL

‘bus conductor came to collect money, I looked (for the purse) as I was about to give money’

(JB Bus)

Amri Karbi does not mark switch reference in situations when there is no topic-switch occurring. Example (12.32) shows that the argument *hali* ‘1PL.EXCL’ is the R argument of the verb *pi* ‘give’, the A argument of the next verb *chó* ‘eat’ and the S argument of the main verb *wang* ‘come’. Since the topic of the clauses is *hali* ‘1PL.EXCL’, there is no marking of the switch reference.

(12.32)

*aro anhan halipisi chosi wango*

aro an-han      hali=pi-si              chó-si      wang-lò

and rice-curry 1PL.EXCL=give-NF:RL eat-NF:RL come-RL

‘and food was given to us, we ate (food) and went home’ (MsR Meeting)

### 12.3.2 Topic =*ke*

The topic clitic =*ke* marks a noun phrase that denotes an item that a clause is about in stative predications. Besides that, =*ke* additionally marks contrastive topics. The topic =*ke* is also found to mark adverbs and peripheral arguments for emphasis. The clitic =*ke* has a high frequency of occurrence in the database and it interacts with several grammatical categories.

The topic =*ke* often marks S arguments of different types of stative predications (12.33), which corresponds to the definition of a topic that it is an element that is being talked about. Example (12.33) has an equative clause where the S argument *anang* ‘3’ is marked with =*ke*.

(12.33)

*anang=ke ne-ai-pe*

3=TOP      1-mother-F

‘she is my mother’ (elicited)

Example (12.34) has an existential possessive clause where the S argument *nedukan* ‘my shop’ is marked with the topic =*ke*.

(12.34)

*ne-dukan-po=ke nengkan ~ nengkan kithom do-lò=to*  
1-shop-DEF=TOP year ~ year three COP-RL=REPL

‘I have been having my shop for three years’ (Lit.: ‘my shop has existed for three years’)

(BT&LT Interview)

Example (12.35) shows an intransitive clause with a regular verb, where the S argument *lahel* ‘they’ is marked with the topic =*ke*.

(12.35)

*labadisi lahelke katkrenge*  
labadisi la-hel=**ke** kat-kreng-lò  
like.this 3-PL=TOP run-all-RL

‘like this they (tigers) all ran (away)’ (BK Widow)

Topic =*ke* may also mark A arguments of transitive clauses ().

(12.36)

*anali=ke pu-lò hali=ke hen phurul e do*  
3PL=TOP say-RL 1PL.EXCL=TOP yam potato plant COP

‘they said, we are planting yam’ (BM Yam)

The topic =*ke* marks contrastive topics. Example (12.37) has two independent clauses coordinated by the conjunction *aro* ‘and’ and =*ke* marks the contrastive topic in each clause. Example (12.38) has two independent clauses coordinated by juxtaposition with three contrastive topics marked with the topic =*ke*.

(12.37)

*angkhan=ke ki-chó a-yok chi-bi-man aro angkhan=ke jor-man*  
some=TOP NMLZ-eat POSS-purpose RR-keep-HAB and some=TOP buy-HAB

‘some we keep for ourselves for eating and some we sell’ (PI Betelnut)

(12.38)

*[aro pongho-hel paning-hel=ke la=ke] [pongho=ke a-penso a-phan]*  
and scarf-PL skirt-PL=TOP DEM=TOP man’s.scarf=TOP POSS-man POSS-BEN

[*paning=ke la=ke arloso a-phan*]

skirt=TOP DEM=TOP woman POSS-BEN

‘and man's scarf and the skirt, that scarf is for men, and the skirt is for women’ (BT Weaving)

The topic *=ke* may mark temporal adverbs for emphasis. Example (12.39) shows the temporal adverb *mini* ‘now’ marked with *=ke*.

(12.39)

*arnam, minike kanghu sumu pawangwenang*

arnam mini=**ke** kanghu sumu pa-wang-Ce-nang

god now=TOP thief thief CAUS-come-NEG-HORT

‘God, now do not let the thieves to my home’ (BK Widow)

The topic *=ke* may occur on right-dislocated arguments for emphasis. Example (12.40) has an instrument *hilaipen* ‘with gun’ right-dislocated and marked with *=ke*.

(12.40)

*te arleng chi-ap-bub-bò hole=bō hilai=pen=**ke***

so person RR-shoot-kill-IRR2 probably=CONF.Q gun=with=TOP

‘then may be (you) will shoot people with gun?’ (PI&LT Interview)

### 12.3.3 Focus clitics *=si* and *=ne*

Amri Karbi has focus clitics: *=si* and *=ne* that are in complementary distribution; *=si* occurs in declarative clauses and *=ne* occurs in non-declarative clauses or irrealis contexts. For that reason the focus clitic *=si* is glossed as ‘FOC:RL’ and the focus clitic *=ne* as ‘FOC:IRR’. Noun-phrase focus markers *=si* and *=ne* likely have origins similar to the verbal non-final suffixes *-si* and *-ne* that have parallel declarative vs. non-declarative complementary distribution.

#### *Focus clitic =si*

The focus clitic *=si* marks noun phrases and occurs in declarative clauses.

The example (12.41) occurs in a personal narrative where a speaker talks about her family. The example (12.41) shows *=si* marking the place name *Nongpok* and the locative relator noun *-long*, as the information of these locations is new to the hearer and that the location is permanent. The clitic *=si* may mark locations without other locative markers like with

*Nongpok*<sup>56</sup>=*si* (Nongpok=FOC:RL) ‘in Nongpoh’. Besides newness of the information that =*si* marks in (12.41) it also shows marking of a relevant alternative, as there are existing alternatives in terms of a location, i.e. this place and not any other else.

(12.41)

*mononta ajutsopen kidoke ha kene nongpoksi*

monon=ta ajut-so=pen ki-do=ke ha kene PN:Nongpok=**si**  
 now=ADD youngest-child=with NMLZ-stay=TOP DIST.DEM something Nongpok=FOC:RL

*do dokan alongsi do*

do dokan a-long=**si** do  
 stay shop POSS-LOC=FOC:RL COP

‘now someone stays with the youngest child, there in Nongpoh he (my son) stays, in the shop’ (Tul Education)

The example (12.42) shows the focus clitic =*si* marking *iku* ‘nothing’ to indicate that the presupposition ‘everybody knows something’ is different from the assertion ‘I know nothing’.

(12.42)

*nelokhelke skul daman arilo manta dun saksaksi*

ne-lok-hel=ke skul dam-man arilo manta dun-sak-sak-si  
 1-friend-PL=TOP school go-HAB desire but continue-regularly~regularly-NF:RL

*neke ikusi thektheyongo*

ne=**ke** iku=**si** thék-Ce-ingyong-lò  
 I=TOP nothing=FOC:RL know-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘my friends went to school, even though I wanted, but I could not continue regularly, that is why I know nothing’ (Tul Education)

The focus =*si* marks old information to give it prominence. Example (12.43) shows =*si* marking the demonstrative *labang* which refers to the information (‘the heart’) that was given earlier, in order to give prominence.

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<sup>56</sup> *Nongpok* (officially *Nongpoh*) is a small town and the administrative center of Ri-Bhoi district in Meghalaya, located midway between Shillong and Guwahati.

(12.43)

*tene dow labangpoyoksi lagike tene endamphaqminang*

tene dow la=bang-po=yok=si lag-ye=ke tene en-dam-phak-minang  
then go.HORT DEM=GNR-DEF=NSUBJ=FOC:RL should-FUT=TOP then take-go-back-HORT

*pusi kampipopen ghurial aro jangmupe akangriyok*

pusi kampi-po=pen ghurial aro jangmu-pe a-kangri=yok  
QUOT monkey-DEF=with crocodile and blackberry-AUG POSS-underneath=DIR

*wangphakngo*

wang-phak-lò  
come-back-RL

‘let’s go, since she wanted this (heart), let us go back (they) said, the monkey and the crocodile went back underneath the blackberry tree’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

One more example where =*si* gives prominence to the given information is shown in (12.44). In (12.44) *a*, information about ‘friend’ is given and then in (12.44) *b*, ‘friend’ is referenced by the pronoun *anang* ‘he’, which is marked with =*si* for prominence.

(12.44)

a.

*labadi isi lang a-kung a-long théngpe a-ròng i-ròng do*  
like.this one water POSS-near POSS-LOC wood POSS-plant one-CLF:plant COP

*la=bang-po=long hane-khoi i-hut do-man*  
DEM=GNR-DEF=LOC 1-friend one-CLF:HUM.SG COP-HAB

‘like this, there is a tree by the water, my friend lives there’

b.

*anang=si arni=ten=ta ne=pi-man*  
3=FOC:RL day=every=ADD 1=give-HAB

‘he (my friend) always gives me (fruit)’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

In example (12.45), the focus clitic =*si* marks the noun phrase *akhanang alampo* ‘truth’ (lit.: the real words) as a selection of an alternative of what people should tell.

(12.45) =*si* with the meaning of ‘only’

*lasi ili ahuwitta akhanang alamposi thanponlage*

lasi ili            ahuwit=ta    a-khanang    a-lam-po=**si**            than-pon-lag-ye  
so    1PL.EXCL    all=ADD            POSS-real    POSS-word-DEF=FOC:RL    say-ITER-should-FUT  
‘so we all should tell only the truth’ (BR Lying cowboy)

In example (12.46), the focus =*si* marks the noun phrase *tokokpo=yok* (stick-NSUBJ) ‘stick’ as a focal element because the assertion ‘he bit the stick’ differs from the presupposition ‘he bit the foot’.

(12.46)

*alangke akengpo hlodamphlutsi tokokpoyoksi*

alang=ke    a-keng-po            hlo-dam-phlut=**si**    tokok-po=yok=**si**  
3=TOP        POSS-foot-DEF    release-go=NF:RL    stick-DEF-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*pakorongo nang nechoye ba nechoyepoke*

pa-kōr-rōng-lò            nang    ne=chó-ye=ba            ne=chó-ye-po=ke  
CAUS-bite-by.mistake-RL    2        1=eat-FUT=or            1=eat-FUT-DEF=TOP

*nang budi dochotdik khoi*

nang budi        do-chot=dik        khoi  
2        wisdom    COP-more=TAG    friend

‘how he released the foot and bit the stick by mistake, if you really want to eat me, you have a lot of wisdom, ok, friend?’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

The focus marker =*si* occurs in other functions that are described in other parts of the grammar: interrogative pronouns §3.6.4; contrastive negation §11.7; correlative constructions §10.1.8; adverbial modification §5.3, adverbial clauses §9.1.2.

*Focus clitic =ne*

The focus clitic =*ne* marks noun phrases and it occurs in non-declarative clauses or irrealis contexts; it usually marks new information or noun phrases in situations when a speaker is uncertain or wondering about the item marked with =*ne*. Example (12.47) shows the clitic =*ne* marking *ladi* ‘like this’ and in (12.48) =*ne* appears on *anhan* ‘rice and vegetables’, both examples have imperative clauses.

(12.47)

*ladine nangsomar jangtoldunot hane langdunne*

ladi=**ne**                    nang=so-mar   nang=tol-dun-not hane   lãng-dun-ye

like.this=FOC:IRR   2=child-PL   CIS=send-join-IMP 1   look-join-FUT

‘like this, you send your children, I will watch (after them)’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

(12.48)

*anhanne jangtholdun nangne*

an-han=**ne**                    nang=thol-dun   nang-Ce

rice-vegetable=FOC:IRR   CIS=send-join   should-NEG

‘you should not send vegetables and rice’(RB Fox and crocodile)

Example (12.49) shows another non-declarative clause where the focus =*ne* marks nouns *sok* ‘uncooked rice’ and *anerlo* ‘afternoon’.

(12.49)

*sok-hel=ne                    chi-te=ta                    mé-lò=he                    ambak   anerlo-hel=ne*

paddy-PL=FOC:IRR   RR-dry=ADD   be.good-RL=EMPH   some   afternoon-PL= FOC:IRR

*wang=ta                    mé-lò*

come=ADD   be.good-RL

‘drying paddy is also good, come sometime in the afternoon is also good’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

Example (12.50) shows =*ne* marking the time reference *anethu* ‘before dark’, as the speaker is uncertain about the time ‘they reach’.

(12.50)

*anethuhelne eneita wanghlengetangho*

anethu-hel=**ne**                    enei=ta                    wang-hleng-ye=tãnghò

before.dark-PL=FOC:IRR   just=ADD   come-get-FUT=REP

‘(they) may reach in the evening, they say’ (Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

In example (12.51), the noun *ret* is marked with the focus clitic =*ne*, which occurs in a conditional clause. Not all conditional clauses have the focus clitic =*ne*; the choice of the focus clitic in conditional clauses depends on the speaker.

(12.51)

*retne e'e tene bonghom jongonadta chohlonghe*

ret=**ne**                      e-Ce              tene bonghom      jongonad=**ta**      chó-hlong-Ce

jhum.field=FOC:IRR    plant-NEG    then    white.gourd    pumpkin=ADD    eat-get-NEG

'if (we) do not do jhum cultivation then we get to eat neither white gourd nor pumpkin' (TuI Field)

Example (12.52) shows =*ne* marking the noun *budi* 'wisdom', which has the meaning of an instrument. The context here is that the speaker is expressing wonder. Note that the pronoun *alang* '3' is marked with =*si* as the speaker is certain about who made him release, but he is amazed at 'his wisdom'.

(12.52)

*alangsi ladi abudine pahlophlutno*

alang=**si**    ladi              a-budi=**ne**                      pa-hlo-phlut-lò

3=FOC:RL    like.this    POSS-wisdom=FOC:IRR    CAUS-release-immediately-RL

'he only, with such wisdom, made me immediately release (him)!' (RB Fox and crocodile)

The focus =*ne*, along with the focus =*si*, is involved in constructions of adverbial modifiers, see more in §5.3.1.

*Clitics =ta and =si in restrictive focus construction*

The clitics =*ta* and =*si* occur together in the restrictive focus construction, as shown in (12.53). The additive =*ta* marks a noun for the meaning 'out of' and the clitic =*si* marks the noun in focus.

(12.53)

*nekorposomarta ihutdetsi skul damo*

ne-korpo-so-mar=**ta**                      i-hut-det=**si**                      skul      dam-lò

1-husband's.brother-DIM-PL=ADD      one-CLF:HUM.SG-INTENS=FOC:RL    school    go-RL

'out of my husband's brothers only one went to school' (TuI Education)

## 12.4 Fillers/Interjections

This section deals with Amri Karbi fillers and interjections, that includes a rhetorical question *potte pubo* ‘what will I say’, filler expression *putang putene* and hesitation words *kene* and *mane*.

### 12.4.1 Filler *potte pubò*

Rhetorical questions usually starting with the question word *pot* ‘what’, like *potte pubò* ‘what will I say’, are used as filler words when a person is filling a gap in their speech to get some time to think of what to say next. Example (12.54) shows an answer to the question ‘what do people not like?’ where the speaker asks herself the question ‘what will I say?’ as a filler.

(12.54)

*aneng kidodepoke ladilo laba potte pubo*

aneng ki-do-Ce-po=ke            ladi=lò            la=bang    pot=te    pu-bò  
heart NMLZ-stay-NEG-DEF=TOP like.this=FOC DEM=GNR what=Q2 say-IRR2

‘what do people not like, what will I say, some people do not like chips’ (BT&LT Interview)

### 12.4.2 Filler *putang putene*

The expression *putang putene* (*putang pu tene* (pu-tang pu tene ‘say-finish say then’) ‘that is’/‘then’, that is also a conditional expression (see 9.4), is used as a filler for a speaker to fill a pause or as a signal that what follows is an explanation or a paraphrasing of what was said previously, e.g. (12.55). It often appears with a conditional clause (§9.4) as is in example (12.55), where there is a conditional clause before *putang putene*, so *putang putene* has somewhat consequential meaning similar to ‘then’.

(12.55)

*aro labang hakpo kiphok phoknge putang putene nang eku*

aro la=bang    hak-po    ki-phok    phok-ye    [putang putene]    nang    eku  
and DEM=GNR bucket-DEF NMLZ-open    open-FUT    then                    2    nothing

*hlonghleye*

hlong-Ce-ye

get-NEG-FUT

‘and this bucket, if you open (it) then you will not get anything’ (PM Bilangthe)

#### 12.4.3 Hesitation words *kene* and *mane*

The words *kene* and *mane* are used to mark hesitation and pause. *kene* is used in cases when a speaker does not remember a word and uses *kene* instead. Example (12.56) shows a speaker not remembering the name of the plant and using *kene* plus the filler question *pot=tàng* ‘what=REP’

(12.56)

*aro bek-so a-din aphel=ke mingsurung-po kene pot=tàng*

and be.little-DIM POSS-day after=TOP fox-DEF SMTH what=REP

‘again after a few days the fox was eating something, what is it’ (BM Monkey and fox)

The hesitation word *mane* is a borrowing from Assamese which can be translated ‘I mean’ or ‘means’; speakers use it to get some time for themselves to think of what to say next. *mane* can appear in any position in a clause; usually, the utterance that is to come after *mane* is given emphasis. Example (12.57) shows how *mane* is used just before the predicate.

(12.57)

*ba ghurialpota laba jangmu athepolong mane angchoman*

bang ghurial-po=ta la=bang jangmu a-the-po=long **mane** nang=chó-man

GNR crocodile-DEF=ADD DEM=GNR blackberry POSS-fruit-DEF=LOC I.mean CIS=eat-HAB

‘this crocodile, I mean, comes to eat this blackberry fruit’ (BM Monkey and fox)

## 12.5 Discourse coordinators

Table 12.1 lists all the discourse coordinators found in the narratives. They connect parts of a discourse together and provide cohesiveness to the discourse. The coordinator *parake* consists of the ablative postposition =*para* ‘from’ and the topic =*ke*. The coordinator *lasi* ‘so’ contains the demonstrative *la* and probably the focus clitic =*si*. Coordinators *la aphel(ke)/laphel(ke)* consist of the demonstrative *la* that either modifies the relator noun *aphel* ‘after’ or cliticizes to it and may also be marked with the topic =*ke*.

Table 12.1 Discourse coordinators

Form	Gloss
<i>parake</i>	‘then’
<i>aro</i>	‘and’
<i>lasi</i>	‘so’
<i>labadi(si)/ladi(si)</i>	‘like this’
<i>la aphel(ke)/laphel(ke)/aphel</i>	‘after that’/ ‘after’
<i>manta</i>	‘but’

The coordinator *parake* is usually used in the beginning of the new clause and usually marks sequential events (12.58).

(12.58)

*parake anang pulo to nipachotoltha*

para=ke anang pu-lò=to ni=pa-chó-tol-tha

then=TOP 3 say-RL=REPL I=CAUS-eat-send-IMP:PL

‘then he said, please allow me to eat’ (BM Monkey and fox)

The coordinator *aro* connects parts of a discourse together by relating to the previous part and is placed at the beginning of a clause (12.59).

(12.59)

*aro wo thatbo lata kamprek achengmuri do*

aro wo that-bo la=ta kamprek **a-cheng-muri** do

and bird slaughter-IRR DEM=ADD be.different POSS-drum-trumpet COP

‘and we will slaughter a chicken, for that also there is a different (tune of playing) drum and trumpet’ (TI Puja)

*aro* can cooccur with other coordinators, for example *aphel* ‘after’ (12.60).

(12.60) *aro* and *aphel* cooccur together

*neta katbang pune aro aphel angchilang ayokke*

ne=ta kat-bang pu-ne aro aphel nang-chi-làng a-yok=ke

1=ADD run-IRR1 say-NF.IRR and after CIS=RR-look POSS-PURP=TOP

*akhoipo thekthejong*

a-khoi-po thék-Ce-ingyong

POSS-friend-DEF know-NEG-NEG.EX.COP

‘I also need to run, (he) said and then (he) took a look behind (but) did not see his friend’ (HI Turtle and rabbit)

The coordinator *aro* can also change the topic of the discourse. Example (12.61) shows a piece from a conversation, where the owner of a shop (S1) is telling about the types of people coming to the shop, and the second speaker (S2) asks whether children come to the shop, starting the question with *aro* ‘and’.

(12.61)

S1:

‘one or two drunkers come (to the shop), but not like that, joking people come’

S2:

*aro oso-hel wang-chot-man=ma a-ki-re-hel wang-chot-man,*  
and child-PL come-be.much-HAB=Q POSS-NMLZ-be.mature-PL come-be.much-HAB

*bù*

grandmother

‘so mostly children come or grownups come, grandma?’ (BT&LT Interview)

The coordinator *aro* may enclose or frame some references. Example (12.62) shows *aro* appearing after the location reference *la-long* (DEM=LOC) ‘there’, thereby enclosing the location.

(12.62)

*lalong aro nang ihutdetsi domanma kamprek arleng*

la=long aro nang i-hut-det=si do-man=ma ki-amprek arleng  
DEM=LOC and 2 one-CLF:HUM.SG=FOC:RL stay-HAB=Q NMLZ-be.different person

*angdodungman*

nang=do-dung-man

CIS=stay-follow-HAB

‘there, you stay alone, or a different person stays with you?’ (BT&LT Interview)

Example (12.63) shows the coordinator *aro* enclosing a time reference element *la apheke* ‘after that’.

(12.63)

*la aphe=ke aro la=bang lang a-ki-the-pe=long=ke*

DEM after=TOP and DEM=GNR water POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG=LOC=TOP

*ghurial i-jon ki-do*

crocodile one-CLF:ANIM NMLZ-COP

‘after that there was one crocodile in this big water’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

Example (12.64) shows *aro* enclosing the noun phrase *kampipopen ghurial* ‘monkey and crocodile’ that functions as the S argument of the verb *wang* ‘come’.

(12.64)

*tene dow labangpoyoksi lagike tene*

tene dow la=bang-po=yok=si lag-ye=ke tene  
then go.IMP DEM=GNR-DEF=NSUBJ=FOC:RL want-FUT=TOP then

*endamphakminang pusi kampipopen ghurial aro jangmupe*

en-dam-phak-minang pusi kampi-po=pen ghurial **aro** jangmu-pe  
take-go-back-HORT QUOT monkey-DEF=with crocodile and blackberry-AUG

*akangriyok wangphakngo*

a-kangri=yok wang-phak-lò  
POSS-underneath=DIR come-back-RL

‘let’s go, if she wanted this (heart), then let us go back (they) said, the monkey and the crocodile went back underneath the blackberry tree’ (RI Monkey and crocodile)

In example (12.65), *aro* encloses the noun *arkeng* ‘betel nut’ that functions as the P argument of the verb *jor* ‘sell’.

(12.65)

*pare phili pare phongo arkeng=ke aro ki-jor-si*  
80.betel.nuts four 80.betel.nuts five betelnut=TOP and NMLZ-sell-NF:RL

*hal-chot-man=ro*

win-be.much-HAB=DCL

‘four or five of 80 betel nuts (*pare*) we sell mostly’ (PI&LT Interview)

The coordinator *lasi* ‘so’ expresses consequence; it also functions as a reason logical relation conjunction (see §9.3.1). *lasi* is a frequent coordinator (174 occurrences) that is used to start a discourse. Example (12.51) shows *lasi* being used in a personal narrative about the speaker having gone to visit a public office and arriving earlier than the appointed time. The consequence (the speaker was asked to wait) is marked with *lasi*.

(12.51)

*adap preng wango*

adap preng wang-lò  
morning early come-RL

‘early morning (I) came’

*lasi bekso niyok panghongtolo apor chokchelang apodsi*

lasi bek-so ne-yok pa-inghong-tol-lò apor chok-Ce-lang apodsi  
so be.little-DIM 1-NSUBJ CAUS-wait-send-RL time finish-NEG-yet because  
'so I was asked to wait sometime because time is not yet finished' (BM Trip2)

*lasi* may also be used as a simple coordinator without consequential meaning. Example (12.52) shows *lasi* used in two clauses in a row to connect them together, without consequential meaning.

(12.52)

*lasi anang chirono arme kahowengne kikat achorongmarsi*

**lasi** anang chi-ron-lò arme ki-howeng=ne ki-kat a-choròng-mar=si  
so 3 RR-think-RL tail NMLZ-bend=NF:IRR NMLZ-run POSS-cow-PL=FOC:RL

*akimeye*

a-ki-mé-ye

POSS-NMLZ-good-FUT

'so he thought, if I bend (the cow's) tail and the cows that run away are good (cows)' (BK Widow)

*lasi kanghupo chorong bisar-pono akime achorong,*

**lasi** ki-inghu-po chorong bisar-pon-lò a-ki-mé a-choròng,  
so NMLZ-steal-DEF cow want-take-RL POSS-NMLZ-be.good POSS-cow

*akisar achorongta chipachakman*

a-ki-sar a-choròng=ta chi-pa-chak-man

POSS-NMLZ-be.old POSS-cow=ADD RR-CAUS-meet-HAB

'so the thief was looking for a good cow, but he found an old cow' (BK Widow)

Coordinators *labadi(si)/ladi(si)* are used at the beginning of a discourse or in a summary of the previous discourse. It can be translated as 'like this' or 'so' depending on the context (12.53), (12.54). *labadi(si)/ladi(si)* are compositional of the demonstrative *la-* and the relator noun *badi*, with the first syllable *ba-* dropped in *ladi/ladisi*. The morpheme *-si* in *labadisi/ladisi* is the focus clitic =*si*. *labadisi/ladisi/labadi/ladi* occur in the database 167 times.

(12.53)

*ladisi ihum ahem ihut arleng kido*

**ladi=si** i-hum a-hēm i-hut arleng ki-do  
like.this=FOC:RL one-CLF:house POSS-house one-CLF.HUM.SG man PST-COP  
'so, there was one man in a family' (MI One man)

(12.54)

*aro tikepomar gutei angjangkrengo*

aro tike-po-mar gutei(Assm) nang=jang-kreng-lò  
and tiger-DEF-PL all CIS=fall-all-RL  
'and the tigers all fell down'

*labadisi lahelke katkrengo*

**labadi=si** la-hel=ke kat-kreng-lò  
like.this=FOC:RL DEM-PL=TOP run-all-RL  
'like this, they all ran away'

*aro labadisi arlengpo basisi dolo*

aro **labadi=si** arleng-po basi=si do-lò  
and like.this=FOC:RL man-DEF safe=FOC:RL COP-RL  
'and so, the man was safe' (BK Widow)

Coordinators *la aphel/la aphelke* (DEM after/DEM after=TOP) 'after that' are similar to *parake* and mark sequential events, e.g. (12.55).

(12.55)

*la aphe=ke aro la=bang lang a-ki-the-pe long=ke ghurial*  
DEM after=TOP and DEM=GNR water POSS-NMLZ-be.big-AUG LOC=TOP crocodile

*i-jon ki-do*  
one-CLF:ANIM NMLZ-COP

'after that there was one crocodile in this big water' (RB Fox and crocodile)

As a discourse coordinator, *manta* ‘but’ marks the contrast between two propositions. Example (12.56) shows the contrast to the ideas ‘he was a big snake’ and ‘he did not show himself as a snake; he came out as a handsome man’.

(12.56)

‘when he came out, he was a big snake’

*manta phurulpoke chiklangklesi arlengposi*

**manta** phurul-po=ke chi-klang-Ce-si arleng-po=si  
 but snake-DEF=TOP RR-show-NEG-NF:RL man-DEF=FOC:RL

*kimead arlengposi chiklangdungsi wango*

ki-mé-ad arleng-po=si chi-klang-dung-si wang-lò  
 NMLZ-be.good-very man-m=FOC:RL RR-show-near-NF:RL come-RL

‘but the snake did not show himself (as a snake) he came out as a handsome man’ (PM Bilangthe)

Similarly to the coordinator *aro* ‘and’, the coordinator *manta* can enclose referents with the meaning ‘though’. Example (12.57) has a time reference *inirsi adin* ‘one day’ enclosed with the coordinator *manta*.

(12.57)

*ne kicholotlot adunglepo nekiphakdet aholan ne*

ne ki-chó-lot~lot a-dungle-po ne=ki-phak-det a-holan ne  
 I NMLZ-eat-cultivate~cultivate POSS-land-DEF I=NMLZ-back-all POSS-in.return I

*anangyok inirsi adin manta ajarhule*

anang=yok inirsi a-din **manta** ajarhul-ye  
 3=NSUBJ one.day POSS-day but take.revenge-FUT

‘he took back my cultivating land, one day I will take revenge’ (MI One man)

## 12.6 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage, where some part of the previous discourse is repeated as a link to the previous section, is often used in Amri Karbi narratives and procedural texts. The repeated

discourse usually consists of the verb and the closest-to-the-verb argument from the previous clause. The verb is either marked with the non-final realis *-si* or the realis *-lò*. Example (12.58) shows the tail-head linkage of *piji i-jon pachak* (musk.cat one-CLF:ANIM encounter) ‘encounter one musk cat’.

(12.58)

*damsi isi ajaga along piji i-jon pachakngò*

dam-si    isi    a-jaga        a-long        **piji**        **i-jon**        **pachak-lò**  
 go-NF:RL   one   POSS-place   POSS-LOC   musk.cat   one-CLF:ANIM   encounter-RL  
 ‘when he went to one place, he encountered one musk cat’

*piji i-jon pachaksi apmo manta*

**piji**        **i-jon**                **pachak-si**                ap-lo    manta  
 musk.cat   one-CLF:ANIM   encounter-NF:RL        shoot-RL   but

*phopheyongo la arnike*

pho-Ce-ingyong-lò        la arni=ke  
 miss-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL   DEM day=TOP

‘when he encountered one musk cat, he shoot, but did not miss that day’ (SR Hunter)

Example (12.59), from a procedural text about weaving, shows the tail-head linkage of two verbs *wan* ‘bring’ and *palut* ‘wind’.

(12.59)

*kichengke hali hong wanman parake honpo wansi hali*

ki-chéng=ke    hali    hong **wan-man**    para hong-po    **wan-si**    hali  
 NMLZ-start=TOP   1PL.EXCL   yarn   bring-HAB   then   yarn-DEF   bring-NF:RL   1PL.EXCL

*bobin along palutman parake bobin along paluttango tene*

**bobin**    a-long        **palut-man**    parake bobin        a-long        **palut-tàng-lò**    tene  
 bobbin    POSS-LOC   wind-HAB    then    bobbin(Eng)    POSS-LOC   wind-COMPL-RL   then

*hali ranman*

hali ran-man

1PL.EXCL line-HAB

‘in the beginning we get yarn from a market, when we bring the yarn, we wind the yarn on the bobbin, after winding we make line’ (PK&AM Weaving)

Sometimes speakers may not repeat the verb from the previous clause in procedural texts, but instead use the generic verb *tàng* ‘finish, complete’ to recap the previous clause (12.60).

(12.60)

*aro kollagelang pherlagelang tangsi thakhlongman*

aro kol-lag-ye-lang pher-lag-ye-lang *tàng-si* thak-hlong-man

and scratch-should-FUT-yet spin-should-FUT-yet complete-NF:RL weave-get-HAB

*tangsi ranglage*

**tàng-si** rang-lag-ye

finish-NF:RL spread-should-FUT

‘(we) have yet to scratch and spin (the cotton), once finished, we get to weave, once finished, (we) we need to spread’ (BT Weaving)

## 12.7 Topicalization

Topicalization is an establishing of an element as a clause topic. In Amri Karbi, the topicalized element appears in front of the clause and consequently it may or may not appear in its usual position, as it has already been established before the clause. The topical element may still be referenced by its modifiers. Examples (12.61) and (12.62) show topical elements fronted and placed before the clause. They are then omitted in the clause, but the headless relative clauses in both (12.61) and (12.62) still point towards the topicalized elements. In (12.61) the topicalized element is *homoi* ‘time’, and in (12.62) it is *lam* ‘story’. Topicalized elements may occur in a response to a question, as in (12.61) or at the beginning of a discourse to indicate its topic, as in (12.62).

(12.61)

*kombak a-homoi mane ki-wang-lage-po bek-so nuwe-ye*  
what POSS-time I.mean NMLZ-come-should-DEF be.little-DIM be.dark-FUT say-NF:RL

*pu-si pu-do*  
say-NF:RL say-COP

‘the time means, (the time) that they should come will be a little dark they are saying’  
(Mrs&Mrs Gathering)

(12.62)

*arkeng kie alam arkeng kie-po ladi kido*  
arkeng ki-e a-lam arkeng ki-e-po la-badi ki-do  
betel.nut NMLZ-plant POSS-story betelnut NMLZ-plant-DEF DEM-as NMLZ-COP  
‘story about planting betel nut, planting betel nut (story) is like this’ (PI Betelnut)

### 12.8 Right-dislocation of a constituent

Right-dislocation means that a constituent is placed after the verb. In Amri Karbi the P argument of a transitive verb or the R argument of a ditransitive verb may be moved to the right. When P and R are marked with *-yok* they are able to be unrestricted in changing their usual position. Therefore, unmarked constituents for their role are usually not dislocated. The right-dislocation is generally used for emphasis. Example (12.63) has the P argument *mensurungpo ayok* ‘for the fox’ right dislocated.

(12.63)

*aro inersi ayok aro ladisi inghongphaqngotang mensurungpo ayok*  
aro inersi a-yok aro ladisi inghong-phak-lò=tàng **mensurung-po a-yok**  
and one.day POSS-DIR and like.this wait-again-RL-REP’ fox-DEF POSS-NSUBJ  
‘and one day, (the crocodile) was waiting for the fox again’ (RB Fox and crocodile)

### 12.9 Narrative discourse

This section gives an overview of some narrative discourse topics, including a brief note on the difference between true and non-true narratives, analysis of participant reference and interplay of the past tense *ki-* and the realis *-lò* marking of the verbs in narratives.

### 12.9.1 Difference between true and non-true narratives

There is usually a difference between folktale and legend. A folktale is a story that is not to be believed, while a legend might be a true story (Lüthi:1947). Languages usually have some linguistic devices to signal that a narrative is not a fiction. In Amri Karbi there is the quotative *pu* and the reportatives =*tàng*/=*tànghò* that indicate that the narrator is not an eyewitness of an event, but they do not signal that the narrative is either fictional or non-fictional. Both folktale and legends and even personal narratives might open with *inirsi adin* ‘one day’ and this device again does not indicate that the event of the narrative that follows is fictional. After analyzing all the narratives in the database, it has been observed that the use of proper names of people and places indicate that the story is likely to be non-fictional. The indicator of fiction is usually animals talking with each other or with people. The presence of magic and/or supernatural events in a narrative is not an indicator of fiction.

### 12.9.2 Participant Reference in Narratives

The full analysis of participant reference in narratives is described in Philippova (in preparation), so this section provides a summary. The method for participant references analysis is based on the method proposed by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), but it has been largely modified. The analysis attempts to give answers to some of the questions that arose during the study of narrative discourse in Amri Karbi: How are participants introduced and maintained throughout the narrative? Why is one participant referenced by a noun phrase throughout the narrative, instead of by a pronoun? How are Amri Karbi native speakers able to overcome apparent ambiguity in cases with zero anaphora references?

The participant reference analysis was based on three Amri Karbi narratives, given in the Appendix 4. One is a modern day third person narrative, and the other two narratives are folk tales.

The inventory of participant references in Amri Karbi narratives combine reference forms such as noun phrases, proper names, pronouns, demonstratives and zero anaphora.

As a result of the study, it emerged that villain protagonists in all three narratives are introduced and maintained exclusively by a noun phrase such as ‘boy’, ‘monkey’ or a noun describing their roles such as ‘king’. In contrast, hero protagonists use a wide range of referent forms such as proper names, noun phrases, pronouns, demonstratives and zero anaphor. In spite of the fact that the zero-anaphor reference in narratives is prevalent, it is found to be used only for the hero protagonist of the stories and protagonists that do not do anything, but have things done

to them. Interestingly, the common assumption that the zero anaphor is a minimal linguistic device used for highly activated participants does not hold for all participants in Amri Karbi narratives. For example, the participants referring to the villains of the story are never dropped, despite being highly activated throughout most of the narrative. This observation shows that the linguistic coding of the participants referring to villains is not compliant with the scale of topic accessibility outlined by Givón (1983:17). I suggest that this might be a strategy to differentiate between two highly prominent and accessible participants that have an active role in the narrative.

### 12.9.3 Past tense *ki-* and realis *-lò* in narratives

This section deals with the use of the past tense *ki-* and the realis *-lò* in the narratives; the analysis there is based on the same three stories used for the participant reference analysis. The full transcriptions of the stories are given in Appendix 4. Here are short summaries of these stories:

- ‘Yam’ story (folk tale): Grandfather and grandmother went for jhum cultivation and encountered monkeys who deceived them and stole their yam.
- ‘Koli and Mokali’ story (folk tale): Two orphan girls Koli and Mokali who were smart and adopted by a king. They were then slandered and had to flee from the king.
- ‘Witchcraft’ story (modern story): A boy wanted to marry a girl, but her family did not want him to marry her. So, the boy sent witchcraft on the girl and she became sick. Then the girl was miraculously healed.

The main method for analysis is looking at in what section of the narrative the past tense or realis occurs. The assumption is that there is a general tendency in languages to mark event and non-event type information in narratives differently by means of different TAM marking. Event and non-event type information is distinguished according to Grimes (1975). Event type information consists of events that carry the narrative forward, while non-event information includes setting, explanatory, collateral and performative information.

As a result of the analysis, it was discovered that the use of the past tense *ki-* and the realis *-lò* varies in narratives. The ‘Koli and Mokali’ story starts with the past tense until event type information occurs; after that, is when the narrator continues the story with the realis almost until the end, and then in the last clause the narrator uses the habitual. In the ‘Yam’ story, the narrator does not use any other TAM markers apart from the realis mode. In the ‘Witchcraft’ story the narrator predominantly uses past tense; only in the first event type information clause

and when the story is resolved does the narrator switch to the realis mood, while the last clause has ‘V-*si do*’ construction. Considering the types of stories, ‘Koli and Mokali’ and ‘Yam’ are folk tales that are believed to have happened in the distant past. The ‘Witchcraft’ story is not a folk story and it is believed to have happened in recent past. So, the modernity of the story might be the reason for the use of the past tense, but that needs to be confirmed with other modern stories. The narrator of the ‘Koli and Mokali’ story used past tense for the setting or non-event information. Even though the narrator of the ‘Witchcraft’ story mostly used past tense for the narration, the realis mood was used in a couple of clauses. As was observed in the discussion of the past tense *ki-* and the realis *-lò*, it seems that division of events marked with the realis *-lò*, as opposed to non-events marked with the past tense *ki-*, is also not firmly maintained in narratives. Certainly, further analysis is required by including more narratives; however, it can be said with certainty that there is a tendency to mark event type information with the realis *-lò*. Consider a paragraph from a modern-day first-person narrative in (12.64), where the speaker starts the introduction with the past tense *ki-* and then switches to the realis *-lò* to mark events.

(12.64)

*anali assam a-yok ki-wang*  
 3PL PN:Assam POSS-DIR PST-come  
 ‘they came to Assam’

*ki-wang-si pene=bak workshop isi ki-do gohati*  
 NMLZ-come-NF:RL something=INDEF workshop one PST-COP PN:Guwahati

BRO a-long  
 PN:BRO<sup>57</sup> POSS-LOC  
 ‘when they came, there was one workshop in Guwahati, BRO’

---

<sup>57</sup> BRO stands for Bosco Reach Out center.

*la-long ne=ta ki-wang*  
DEM=LOC I=ADD PST-come  
'I also came there'

*kiwangsi ne analipen chipochakngo*  
ki-wang-si ne anali=pen chi-pochak-**lò**  
NMLZ-come-NF:RL 1 3PL=with RR-meet-RL  
'as I came, I met with them'

*labang kachipochak aphelparasi hali mead chichinilo*  
la=bang ki-chi-pochak aphel=para=si hali mé-ad chi-chini-**lò**  
DEM=GNR NMLZ-RR-meet after=from=FOC:RL 1PL.EXCL be.good-very RR-know-RL  
'from that meeting onward, we knew each other very well' (BM Trip)

## Conclusion

This grammar is the first attempt to comprehensively describe Amri Karbi grammar, but it certainly is not the last word about the Amri Karbi language. As has been pointed out throughout the thesis, there are still some gaps in understanding how the language works. Some of these issues are summarized as follows.

Christian sociolect §1.1 will be an interesting topic for further research as the Christian communities from scattered villages communicate with each other regularly and use similar written materials.

On the phonological level, further research is needed to study the correlation of the marginal vowels and the mid tone §2.1.2. My hypothesis is that these vowels might in fact be allophones of the same phonemic vowels, due to the interaction with tone.

In the outline of word classes §3.6.3, it was indicated that the proximal and distal distinctions of two demonstratives *la-* and *ha-* are questionable, and the status of *ha-* needs further research.

On the morphological level, a large and diverse set of predicate derivation suffixes §5.1.7 posited a dilemma for analysis. Further research and larger data are required to identify whether there is a group of predicate derivations that would employ a particular negation strategy; i.e., when a verb with the predicate derivation is negated, negation has a scope over either the whole predicate or the predicate derivation only. Then status of modal predicate derivation suffixes also remained unclear as they exhibit the properties of bound suffixes and of complement taking verbs as well. Sometimes, predicate derivations from the same functional domain appear on one verb and the order of derivation suffixes in such cases could not be explained.

Differential object marking §6.2 has remained a puzzle due to the pragmatic motivation for the object marking, which needs a larger data set for further analysis. Besides that, the pronominal object marking on the verb also needs further research based on a larger natural data set.

The occurrence of both the nominalizer *ki-* and the non-final suffix *-si* on the same verb §9.2.2 also requires further research to establish whether this combination of affixes is in fact an indicator of an unexpected event.

Finally, in the narrative discourse-oriented section §12.9, it was discovered that certain participants, who are usually villains in a narrative, are marked only with a noun phrase throughout the entire narrative. This finding needs to be confirmed by studying more narratives.

## Appendix 1 Amri Karbi clan names and their roles

Clan name	Function
<i>Ingthi</i>	'Priest' who also slays an animal as a sacrifice
<i>Inghi</i>	'Messenger'
<i>Dingjang</i>	'Advisor'
<i>Bengjang</i>	'Trumpet player'
<i>Rongchong</i>	'Chairman of meetings'
<i>Kleng</i>	'Pig slayer' when as pig is given as a fine payment; 'Hunters'
<i>Therang</i>	'Judge'
<i>Ingjal</i>	'Fisherman'
<i>Chepang</i>	'Cow slayer'
<i>Lange</i>	'Assistant during sacrifice'

## Appendix 2 Metadata of recordings

Name of the speaker	Place of recording	hh:mm:ss	Name of the recording	Genre
Mrs. Bharatti Theron (BT)	Khulija	00:02:56	Monkey	Folk story
Mrs. Bharatti Theron (BT) Mr. Lawrence Theron (LT)	Khulija	00:02:54	Interview	Interview
Mrs. Bharatti Theron (BT)	Khulija	00:02:19	Weaving	Procedural
Mr. Bhuksin Kiling (BK)	Hankara	00:05:25	Widow	Folk story
Mr. Jewel Bey (JB)	Shillong	00:02:52	Bus	Personal narrative
Mr. Panbor Ingthi (PI)	Pitagog	00:01:05	Betelnut	Procedural
	Pitagog	00:01:14	Honeybee	Folk story
Mr. Panbor Ingthi (PI) & Mr. Lawrence Theron (LT)	Pitagog	00:03:17	Interview	Interview
Mr. Panbor Ingthi (PI)	Pitagog	00:01:45	Culture	Expository
Mr. Dhomeso Tumung (DT)	Khulija	00:03:46	Culture	Expository

Mr. Kahang Tumung (KT)	Amguri	00:14:05	Jhum cultivation	Expository
Mr. Thombor Inghi (TI)	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:03:30	Puja	Expository
	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:04:05	Bihu	Expository
Mrs. Tuli Inghi (TuI)	Khulija	00:01:51	Field	Expository
	Khulija	00:01:02	Field2	Expository
	Khulija	00:03:03	Education	Personal narrative
Mrs. Podumi Kathar (PK)  Mr. Amin Marme (AM)	Lalmati	00:06:21	Weaving	Explanation and interview
Mr. Padum Ingti (Pal)	Amguri	00:03:03	Pangolin	Folk story
Mr. Khargeshwar Phangcho (KP)	Lalmati	00:02:48	Honghora	Folk story
	Lalmati	00:01:52	Jhum cultivation	Expository
	Lalmati	00.02:09	Marriage	Expository
Mr. Haneshwar Ingthi (HI)	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:01:20	Turtle and rabbit	Folk story
Mr. Nomita Rongpi (NP)	Lalmati	00:01:39	Monkey and turtle	Folk story
Ms. Babani Marme (BM)	Helsinki	00:13:21	Helsinki trip 1	Personal narrative

	Helsinki	00:03:33	Helsinki trip 2	Personal narrative
	Helsinki	00:11:34	Monkey and fox	Folk story
Mr. Mohan Ingthi (MI)	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:01:59	One man	True narrative
	Guwahati	00:05:55	Pear film	Online narrative
Mr. Pratap Ronghang (PR)	Shillong	00:01:35	Witchcraft	True narrative
Mr. Puron Marme (PM)	Sonapur	00:10:21	Bilangthe	Folk story
Mr. Sormon Ronghang (SR)	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:03:40	Hunter	Story
Mr. Riewsing Bey (RB)	Plasha	00:05:31	Fox and crocodile	Folk story
Ms. Tes Bey (TB)	Plasha	00:03:26	Song's writing workshop	Personal narrative
	Plasha	00:00:59	Vegetables	Procedural
Mr. Jendro Klein (JK)	Plasha	00:03:31	Pastor's work	Expository
	Plasha	00:01:23	Bear	Folk story
Mrs&Mrs	Bandergog	00:01:33	Gathering	Conversation
Ms. Rijula Ingjal (RI)	Lalmati	00:04:48	Monkey and crocodile	Folk story
Mr. Konok Theron (KT)	Himgog	00:08:47	Name giving ceremony	Expository

Mr. Bungdu Inghi (BI)	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:12:07	Baby birth	Expository
	Pisamhuru/Pisamhuru	00:03:56	Clan marriage restriction	Expository
Mr. Anonglo Ingjal (AI)	Marme	00:01:19	Name giving ceremony	Expository
Mr. Bimal Rongpi (BR)	Lalmati	00:05:28	Lying cowboy	Folk story
	Total:	02:34:08		

### Appendix 3 Language consultants' metadata

Name of the speaker	From	Lives	Age	Language Proficiency other than Amri Karbi
Mr. Dhomeso Tumung	Khulia	Khulia	~50	Assamese Some: Hindi, English, Karbi (Karbi Anglong)
Mr. Kahang Tumung	Bandergog	Bandergog	~70	Assamese
Mr. Thombor Inghi	Khulia	Khulia	~50	only Amri Karbi
Mrs. Tuli Inghi	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Khulia	~65	only Amri Karbi
Mr. Panbor Ingthi	Pitagog	Pitagog	~60	Some Assamese
Mrs. Podumi Kathar	?	Lalmati	~55	Assamese
Mr. Amin Marme	Guriaghuli	Guriaghuli	~55	Assamese, English
Mr. Padum Ingti	Amguri	Amguri	~60	Assamese, English
Mr. Khargeswar Phangcho	?	Samota	~30	Assamese, English
Mr. Buksing Kiling	Hankara	Hankara	~50	Assamese, English
Mr. Haneshwar Ingthi	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	~28	Assamese, English, Karbi (Karbi Anglong), Khasi
Mrs. Nomita Rongpi	Amguri	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	~25	Assamese
Ms. Babani Marme	Guriaghuli	Guriaghuli	~50	Assamese, English

Mr. Mohan Ingthi	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Sonapur	~35	Assamese, English
Mr. Jewel Bey	Plasha	Shillong	~23	English, Assamese, Khasi
Mr. Pratap Ronghang	Barbaduli	Barbaduli	~25	Assamese, Hindi, English
Mr. Puron Marme	Bandergog	Bandergog	~53	Assamese, Hindi, English
Mr. Sormon Ronghang	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	~40	English, Assamese
Mr. Lawrence Teron	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	~39	Assamese, Hindi, English
Ms. Rijula Ingjal	Kolompur	Kolompur	~28	English, Assamese
Mr. Bimal Rongpi	Barbaduli	Barbaduli	~25	English, Hindi, Assamese
Mrs. Bharatti Theron	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Khulia	~60	only Amri
Mr. Jendro Klein	Plasha	Plasha	~40	Assamese, Khasi, English, Nagamese, Karbi (Karbi Anglong)
Ms. Tes Bey	Plasha	Plasha	~25	Khasi, English, Some: Nagamese, Assamese, Hindi, Karbi (Karbi Anglong)
Mr. Riewsing Bey	Plasha	Plasha	~55	Khasi

Mr. Anonglo Ingjal	Marme	Marme	~50	?
Mr. Bundu Inghi	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	Pisamsuru/Pisamhuru	~55	?
Mr. Konok Theron	Himgog	Himgog	~50	?
Mrs.		Bandergog	~45	Assamese
Mrs.		Bandergog	~50	Assamese

## Appendix 4 Texts

### Koli and Mokali (Folk tale)

(1)

*Kolipipen Mokalipe jangre aso kido*

Koli-pe=pen Mokali-pe jangre a-so ki-do

PN:Koli-F=with PN:Mokali-F orphan POSS-child PST-COP

‘Koli and Mokali were orphans’

(2)

*anali banghini bang ahem ahem sang hangworsi*

anali bang-hini bang a-hēm a-hēm sǎng hang-wor-si

3 CLF:HUM.PL-two GNR POSS-house POSS-house uncooked.rice beg-here.and.there=NF:RL

*an kicho*

an ki-chó

rice PST-eat

‘they both ate by begging for rice from house to house’

(3)

*inisi anali théngpe a-ròng a-ben=long sǎng-si ki-do*

one.day 3PL tree POSS-plant POSS-shadow=LOC rest-NF:RL PST-stay

‘one day they were resting in the shadow of a tree’

(4)

*anali recho thudpo pen amuntirihel yok tharwe arong*

anali recho i-hud-po=pen amuntiri-hel=yok tharwe a-ròng

3PL king one-CLF:HUM.SG-DEF=with king.servant-PL=NSUBJ mango POSS-plant

*abenlong kisang thekngo*

a-ben=long ki-sǎng thék-lò

POSS-shadow=LOC NMLZ-rest see-RL

‘they saw the king and his workers resting in the shadow of a mango tree’

(5)

*recho po tharwe aloncheredlong tharwe akimen pumni*  
 recho-po tharwe alonchered=long tharwe a-ki-men pum-ni  
 king-M mango top.of.tree=LOC mango POSS-NMLZ-be.good CLF:fruit-two

*theksi pulo inghosi tharwe akimen pumnipo*  
 thék-si pu-lo ingho-si tharwe a-ki-men pum-ni-po  
 see-NF say-RL whoever-FOC mango POSS-NMLZ-be.good CLF:fruit-two-DEF

*paripiunema ne anangyok banta piye*  
 pari-pi-ùn-Ce=ma ne anang=yok banta pi-ye  
 pluck-give-be.able-FUT=Q 1 3=NSUBJ prize give-FUT  
 ‘the king saw two ripe mangoes on the top of the tree and said: “Whoever can pluck those two mangoes I will give a reward”’  
 (6)

*ahuwidta tharwepo kapari ayok chidhorelo*  
 ahuwid=ta tharwe-po ki-pari a-yok chi-dhore-lò  
 all=ADD mango-DEF NMLZ-pluck POSS-PURP RR-try-RL  
 ‘all of them tried to pluck the mangoes’

(7)  
*lahel kaita kiun'e theksi Kolipipen Mokalipe*  
 lahel kaita ki-ùn-ce thék-si Koli-pe=pen Mokali-pe  
 3PL nobody NMLZ-be.able-NEG see-NF:RL PN:Koli-F=with PN:Mokali-F

*rechopoyok wangthano*  
 recho-po=yok wang-than-lò  
 king-DEF=NSUBJ come-say=RL  
 ‘nobody could, so Koli and Mokali came to say to the king’  
 (8)

*anali pulo haliyok papari tolema recho*

anali pu-lo hali=yok pa-pari tol-ye=ma recho  
3PL say-RL 1PL.EXCL=NSUBJ CAUS-pluck send-FUT=Q king  
they said: "King, will you allow us to pluck?"

(9)

*lahel analiyok theksi ingneksolo*

la-hel anali=yok thék-si ingnek-sol-lò  
DEM-PL 3PL=NSUBJ see-NF:RL laugh-all-RL  
'they laughed all looking at them'

(10)

*recho po chingdilo apodsi Kolipipen Mokalipe nol sirkep thusi jorelo*

recho-po chingdi-lo apodsi Koli-pe=pen Mokali-pe nol sirkep thu-si jore-lò  
king-DEF nod-RL because PN:Koli-F=with PN:Mokali-F reed nine cut-NF:RL join-RL  
because the king nodded, Koli and Mokali cut nine reeds and joined them together

(11)

aro la=pen=si tharwe a-ki-men pum-ni pari-si  
and DEM=with=Nf:RL mango POSS-NMLZ-be.ripe CLF:round-two pluck-NF:RL

*recho-po=yok pi-lò*

king-DEF=NSUBJ give-RL  
'and with that (they) pluck the two ripe mangoes and gave to the king'

(12)

*recho po la theksi lahelyok banta kipi badi hem ayok*

recho-po la thék-si la-hel=yok banta ki-pi badi hēm a-yok  
king-M DEM see-NF:RL DEM-PL=NSUBJ reward NMLZ-give as house POSS-all

*wano aro analiyok pangrhengo*

wan-lò aro anali=yok pa-inghrens-lò  
bring-RL and 3PL=NSUBJ CAUS-take.care-RL  
'the king saw this and as a reward to them (he) brought them to his house and took care of them'

(13)

*aphelyokke muntri ihud rechopoyok lam chuddamo te*

aphel=yok=ke muntri i-hud recho-po=yok lam chud-dam-lò te  
after=DIR=TOP court one-CLF:HUM.SG king-DEF=NSUBJ word gossip-go-RL that  
'later on, one from the court said to the king'

(14)

*Koli-pe=pen Mokali-pe bek-so-det kalēk*

PN:Koli-F=with PN:Mokali-F be.small-DIM-all NEG.EQ.COP  
'Koli and Mokali are not very small'

(15)

*la-hel pene a-ki-the a-jad a-hēm arleng*

DEM-PL some POSS-NMLZ-be.big POSS-type POSS-house man  
'they are from some high class family'

(16)

*inisi anali asomar nanghale aro nangingholpo khardetne*

inisi anali a-so-mar nang=hal-ye aro nang-inghol-po khar-det-ye  
one.day 3PL POSS-child-PL 2=win-FUT and 2-throne-DEF take-all-FUT  
'one day their heirs will take victory over you and will take your throne'

(17)

*lasi rechopo pheredetsi lahel ayok kamari hukum pilo*

lasi recho-po phere=det=si lahel a-yok ki-mari hukum pi-lò  
so king-DEF be.afraid=all=NF:RL 3PL POSS-NSUBJ NMLZ-kill order give-RL  
'so the king got afraid and ordered to kill them'

(18)

*Kolipipen Mokalipeke hem karkok arlengpara lampo arjulo*

Koli-pe=pen Mokali-pe=ke hēm ki-arkok arleng=para lam-po arju-lò  
PN:Koli-F=with PN:Mokali-F house NMLZ-sweep man=from word-DEF ask-RL

*aro laparake anali nol-hong phili thu--si rod i-pak ote-lò*

and then 3PL reed-CLF:LONG four cut-NF:RL reed one-CLF:flat make-RL  
'Koli and Mokali heard (this) from the sweeper, took the four reeds and made a chariot'

(19)

*lahel labo rodpopen ingjarsi katphlungo aro Mayong rechopo*

lahel la=bang rod-po=pen ingjar-si kat-phlung-lo aro Mayong rechopo  
3PL DEM=GNR chariot-DEF=with fly-NF:RL run-away-RL and PN:Mayong king-DEF

*ahem sangdamo*

a-hēm sāng-dam-lò

POSS-house rest-go-RL

‘they flew away on that chariot and stopped to rest at Mayong king's palace’

(20)

*Mayong rechopo ahem analiyok kapadopon amunsi anang anali*

\*Mayong rechopo a-hēm anali=yok ki-pa-do-pon amun=si anang anali  
Mayong king-M POSS-house 3PL=NSUBJ NMLZ-CAUS-stay-take while=FOC:RL 3 3PL

*para jadumontorohel chirli-phrodno*

para jadumontoro-hel chirli-**phrod**-lò

from witchcraft-PL learn-all-RL

‘when they were allowed to stay at the king Mayong's house he learned all their witchcraft’

(21)

*lasi Mayong rechopo danebak mel dam tene rodpeni daman*

lasi Mayong rechopo danebak mel dam tene rod=pen=si dam-man  
so PN:Mayong king-DEF when meeting go then chariot=with=FOC:RL go-HAB

*aro lapara=si arleng-hel anang=yok phere-man*

and then=FOC:RL person-PL 3=NSUBJ be.afraid-HAB

‘so king Mayong, whenever he goes to a meeting, then with chariot he goes and from that onwards people are afraid of him’

## Witchcraft (Modern tale)

(1)

*ingkolne phongo nengkan ango isi pariwal kido*

ingkol=ne      phongo nengkan ango    isi pariwal(Ind) ki-do  
twenty=FOC:IRR five    year    before one family      PST-COP  
'twenty five years ago there was one family'

(2)

*la=long a-penso bang      kithom aro arloso i-hut      ki-do*

DEM=LOC POSS-boy CLF:HUM.PL three    and girl    one-CLF:HUM.SG PST-COP  
'they had three boys and one girl'

(3)

*arlosepe bang ahem pehan kidun apor wangkichok*

arloso-pe bang a-hēm pehan ki-dun apor nang=ki-chok  
girl-F other POSS-house husband NMLZ-follow time CIS=PST-solve?  
'time came for that girl to get married'

(4)

*la apor labang arlosepeyok ihut apenso wangkachilong*

la    apor    la=bang    arloso-pe=yok    i-hut      a-penso    nang=ki-chilong  
DEM time    DEM=GNR girl-F=NSUBJ    one-CLF:HUM.SG POSS-boy    CIS=NMLZ-love  
'that time one boy loved that girl'

(5)

*a-penso-po la=bang arlosepe=yok ki-en      a-yok      ki-ron*

POSS-boy-M DEM=GNR girl-F=NSUBJ    NMLZ-take POSS-PURP PST-intend  
'the boy wanted to marry that girl'

(6)

*manta hem abang apra apensopoyok aneng kachodokdesi*

manta hēm a-bang    a-para    a-penso-po=yok    a-neng    ki-cho-do-Ce-si  
but    house POSS-GNR POSS-from POSS-boy-M=NSUBJ POSS-heart NMLZ-MAL-stay-NEG-NF:RL

*apensopoyok pipeyongo*

a-penso-po=yok pi-ce-ingyong-lò  
POSS-boy-M=NSUBJ give-NEG-NEG.EX.COP-RL

‘but the (girl’s) family refused to marry (her) with that boy’

(7)

*lasi arlosopeyok montro thono apensopopara*

lasi arloso-pe=yok montro thon-lo a-penso-po=para  
so girl-F=NSUBJ curse send-RL POSS-boy-M=from

‘so the boy sent witchcraft on the girl’

(8)

*bemar chiplango apot doctor aro sanghel chilang manta*

bemar chiplang-lo apot doctor aro sàng-hel chi-làng manta  
sick become-RL because doctor and healer-PL RR-look but

*kimemesi kido*

ki-me-Ce-si ki-do  
NMLZ-be.good-NEG-NF:RL PST-COP

‘because (she) became sick (they) went to doctors and healers but (she) was not healed’

(9)

*manta konam Guwahati ayok kachilang ayok kipon*

manta konam Guwahati a-yok ki-chi-làng a-yok ki-pon  
but when Guwahati POSS-DIR NMLZ-RR-look POSS-PURP NMLZ-take

‘but when (they) took (her) to Guwahati (hospital) for checking’

(10)

*la apor arnam ayok kachini arlenghel anangliyok kithan*

la apor arnam a-yok ki-chini arleng-hel anangli=yok ki-than  
DEM time god POSS-PURP NMLZ-know person-PL 3PL=NSUBJ PST-say

‘that time some believers told them’

(11)

*nangli Jisu arnam a-yok krol tene la=bang bemar-po me-ye*

2 PN:Jesus god POSS-NSUBJ believe then DEM=GNR sick-DEF be.good-FUT

‘if you believe in Jesus that sickness will be healed’

(12)

*anangli bang a-lam-po arju-si anang ai-pe=para cheng-si*  
3PL other POSS-word-DEF hear-NF:RL 3 mother-F=from start-NF:RL

*arnam akung dunbo pusi neng along kachinpon*

arnam a-kung dun-bò pusi neng a-long ki-chinpon  
god POSS-near follow-IRR2 QUOT heart POSS-LOC NMLZ-believe

‘they heard those people’s word and her mother and all family started to believe in God’

(13)

*arnam a-kung kiwang aphel arlenghel arlosope aphan kapinkitpi*

arnam a-kung ki-wang aphel arleng-hel arloso-pe a-phan ki-pinkit-pi  
god POSS-near NMLZ-come after man-PL woman-F POSS-for NMLZ-pray-BEN

‘after coming to God all believers prayed for the girl’

(14)

*arlenghel kapinkit para arlosope labang sohapne*

arleng-hel ki-pinkit para arloso-pe la=bang so-hap=ne  
man-PL NMLZ-pray from woman-F DEM=GNR sickness-worry=FOC:IRR

*kidopo medetno*

ki-do-po mé-det-lò  
NMLZ-COP-DEF be.good-all-RL

‘people prayed and the girl got well/healed’

(15)

*lasi arnampo asombhik sal katikipo theksi minihok labadisi arnam*

lasi arnam-po asombhik sal ki-tiki-po thék-si mini=hok labadisi arnam  
so god-DEF amazing work NMLZ-work-DEF see-NF:RL now=till like.this god

*ponpen krolmengsi do*

pon-pen krol-meng-si do  
take-NF? believe-obey-NF:RL COP

‘so God has done amazing work in (their life) and till today (they) believe in God’

## Yam (Folk tale)

(1)

*inisi iphu sanrhekpopen iphu sanrhekpe red pandamo*

inisi i-phu sanrhek-po=pen i-phu sanrhek-pe red pan-dam-lo  
one.day 1PL.INCL-gr.parent old-M=with 1PL.INCL-gr.parent old-F field clean-go-RL  
'one day our grandpa and grandma went for dry cultivation'

(2)

*red pantangsi me kelo*

red pan-tàng-si mē kel-lò  
field clean-finish-NF:RL fire burn-RL  
'having finished cleaning the field they set fire'

(3)

*laparake anali redlong hen phurul edamo*

laparake anali red=long hen phurul e-dam-lò  
after.that 3PL field=LOC yam potato plant-go-RL  
'after that they went to plant yam in the dry cultivation'

(4)

*ki-e-dam arni kampi-hel anali bang-hini=yok thék-si pu-lò*

NMLZ-plant-go day monkey-PL 3PL CLF:HUM.PL-two=NSUBJ see-NF:RL say-RL  
'on the day of planting the monkeys saw both of them and said'

(5)

*ei a-ta nali pot=te ote do*

INTERJ POSS-grandfather 3PL what=Q2 do COP  
'hei, grandpa, what are you doing?'

(6)

*anali=ke pu-lo hali=ke hen phurul e do*

3PL=TOP say-RL 1PL.EXCL=TOP yam potato plant COP  
'they said, we are planting yam'

(7)

*ladike apun wangwe*

ladi=ke      a-pun              wang-Ce  
like.this=TOP POSS-right.time come-NEG  
'it doesn't work like this'

(8)

*henpomar upwenne tehebak arong wangdapme*

hen-po=mar up-wen-ye      tehe=bak      a-ròng      wang-dap-ye  
yam-DEF=PL boil-remove-FUT then.only=INDEF POSS-plant come-early-FUT  
'if you boil yam then only the plant will come up soon'

(9)

*anali kithan alampo krolsi hen phurulhel hemyok wanphakngo*

anali ki-than a-lam-po      krol-si      hen phurul-hel hēm=yok wan-phak-lò  
3 NMLZ-say POSS-word-DEF believe-NF:RL yam potato-PL house=DIR bring-back-RL  
'they believed to what was said and brought back the yam home'

(10)

*la-pirka arni=ke hen phurul-hel up-wen-si red=long*  
DEM-next day=TOP yam potato-PL boil-remove-NF:RL field=LOC

*bor-chok~chok-si e-lò*

wrap-little~little-NF:RL plant-RL  
'the next day (they) boiled the yam and wrapped (with banana leaves) and then planted'

(11)

*anali kiwang aphelke kampihel phurdamkrensi chodetno*

anali ki-wang aphel=ke      kampi-hel phur-dam-kreng-si chó-det-lò  
3PL NMLZ-come after=TOP monkey-PL dig.out-go-all-NF:RL eat-all-RL  
'then after they left the monkeys took and ate (them) all'

(12)

*aro anali lapirka arni kilangdamyokke henhel chodamdetno*

aro anali la-pirka arni ki-làng-dam=yok=ke hen-hel chó-dam-det-lò  
and 3PL DEM-next day NMLZ-look-go=PURP=TOP yam-PL eat-go-all-RL  
'and the next day when they went and saw that all the yam was eaten up'

(13)

*lasi anali chithano te minon parake inghonebak*

lasi anali chi-than-lò te minon parake inghonebak  
so 3PL RR-say-RL that now then someone

*ladi alam ithanta ili laparake krolnangne*

ladi a-lam i-than=ta ili la parake krol-nang-Ce  
like.this POSS-word 1PL.INCL-say=ADD 1PL.INCL DEM then believe-should-NEG  
'then they said to each other from now on if someone says something we should not believe'

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