

THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF THE ZAIWA NOUN PHRASE

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Abstract

This paper provides a basic description of major grammatical features of the Zaiwa noun phrase. It includes a review of Zaiwa phonology, a discussion of word classes and constituent order typology, and a description of the noun phrase including noun types, nominal modifiers, conjunctions and aspects of discourse grammar related to the noun phrase.

Keywords grammar, noun phrase, word class, Zaiwa, Tibeto-Burman

1. INTRODUCTION

Zaiwa is a language of approximately 150,000 speakers in the Northern Burmic Branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken in parts of Eastern Kachin State and Northern Shan State in Myanmar and in parts of Southwest Yunnan in China. The Zaiwa have a close cultural relationship with the Jinghpaw people and borrow extensively from the Jinghpaw language, as well as from Burmese, Dehong Dai and Yunnanese Chinese.

This paper will give a brief introduction to Zaiwa phonology, word classes and constituent order typology, and then move on to the primary focus of describing the Zaiwa noun phrase. The description includes nouns types, pronouns, nominal modifiers including the relative clause, demonstratives, postpositions, conjunctions, and discourse markers.

Data for this paper were collected while teaching at Payap University in Chiang Mai, Thailand. I would like to thank Payap University for their kind assistance in the study of the languages of Southeast Asia.¹ The grammatical data in this paper is from speakers from Sadon and Kengtung, Myanmar, as well as Janshi, China. Data was taken from recorded texts, letters and elicited examples.

2. ZAIWA PHONOLOGY

Zaiwa has 26 consonants (Table 1) and eight simple consonant clusters /bj, pj, p^hj, gj, kj, k^hj, mj, nj/ in initial position. Final consonants consist of /p, t, k, ʔ, m, n, ŋ/.

¹ I would like to thank Mr. La Bawk for his kind assistance with the data for this paper. I would also like to thank Larin Adams, Mary Ruth Wise, Randy LaPolla and Ken Manson for their helpful comments.

		<i>Labial</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Alveo-pal.</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Plosive	vl asp	p ^h hp	t ^h ht			k ^h hk	
	vl unas ²	p p	t t			k k	? q
	vd	b b	d d			g g	
Affricate	vl asp		ts ^h x	tʃ ^h ch			
	vl unas		ts ts	tʃ chy			
	vd		dz z	dʒ j			
Fricative	vl		s s	ʃ sh			h h
Nasal		m m	n n			ŋ ng	
Lateral			l l				
Approx		w w	ɹ r		j y		

Table 1: Zaiwa Phonemic Consonants and Orthographic Equivalents³

Zaiwa has five simple vowels as shown in Table 2. There are four diphthongs /ai au oi ui/ which only occur in open syllables.

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
	<i>unrounded</i>		<i>rounded</i>
hi	i i		u u
mid	e e		
low		a a	ɔ o

Table 2: Zaiwa Phonemic Vowels and Orthographic Equivalents

The basic syllable structure for Zaiwa can be represented as C1(C2)V(X) where X is optional vowel length (non-contrastive), a second member of a diphthong (V) or a final consonant (C3). Zaiwa also has unstressed, open, reduced CV syllables word initially, with a tendency towards vowel reduction to a [ə], e.g. [lədʒâŋ] ‘prepare’.

Zaiwa is a tonal language with voice quality contrast between modal and tense phonation types. There are four tones marked as high-falling (^), high (´), mid (unmarked), and low (`).⁴ Tone in checked syllables is predictable from the voicing of the initial consonant and the presence or absence of tense phonation. If the initial consonant is voiced the tone is low. If the initial consonant is voiceless the tone is high. If the syllable has tense phonation the tone is high. Zaiwa tense voice quality is marked orthographically with a word initial *p*, *t*, *k*, *ts*, *chy* or with

² The voiceless, unaspirated plosives and affricates [p t k ts tʃ] are allophones of the voiced series which are associated with tense voice. I posit that tense voice associates with the initial consonant on an autosegmental tier and spreads to the vowel. Even though Zaiwa has only two phonemic plosive and affricate series (aspirated and voiced), the orthography marks both allophones of the voiced series, and therefore I include the voiceless series in the chart.

³ The Zaiwa orthography used in this paper is the orthography accepted by the Zaiwa Language and Culture Committee in Myitkyina, Myanmar.

⁴ Some varieties of Zaiwa have only three tones: high-falling, mid and low.

an *h* following *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *r*, *w*, and *y* (e.g. *po* and *yhang* are tense voice syllables, *bo* and *yang* are not tense voice syllables).⁵

3. WORD CLASSES IN THE ZAIWA NOUN PHRASE

Word classes associated with the Zaiwa noun phrase are nouns, pronouns, postpositions, numbers, quantifiers, classifiers, adjectives, demonstratives, and noun particles. Nouns are lexical items which can be followed by a number + classifier or a nominal postposition such as the object marker *lé*. Pronouns can substitute for a noun phrase and cannot be modified by nominal modifiers. Postpositions are enclitic to the preceding noun phrase and precede noun particles. Nominal modifiers directly modify the head noun and occur pre- and post-nominally depending on their function. Classifiers are lexical items which directly follow a number. Noun particles fill the final enclitic slot in a noun phrase. A genitive marker, relativizer/nominalizer, conjunctions, and a discourse marker can also occur within the noun phrase. This paper will primarily deal with the word classes mentioned above.⁶

4. CONSTITUENT ORDER TYPOLOGY

There is no grammaticalization of syntactic functions in Zaiwa. Semantic roles tend to follow a specific constituent order in unmarked cases and are indicated by postpositions in marked cases. Zaiwa is a verb final language with more agentive or topical noun phrases typically occurring earlier in the clause. The order of noun phrases in transitive clauses is typically Agent-Patient/Focus as exemplified in sentences (1) - (3) below, but Patient-Agent order is observed when the patient is fronted for emphasis (176).⁷

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | A | P | | V | |
| (1) | <i>Yhang</i> | <i>yuqgè</i> | <i>lé</i> | <i>bat</i> | <i>é.</i> |
| | 3s | man | OBJ | hit | PFV |
| | 'He hit the man.' | | | | |

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | A | P | | V | | |
| (2) | <i>Ngamoq</i> | <i>htungká</i> | <i>lé</i> | <i>tô</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>é.</i> |
| | 1pexcl | basket | OBJ | put | CONT | PFV |
| | 'We put on the basket.' | | | | | |

⁵ For more information on Zaiwa phonology see Wannemacher, 1998.

⁶ A key to grammatical abbreviations is found at the end of this paper.

⁷ The examples in this paper are taken primarily from written texts, transcribed recordings, elicited sentences and formal speech. Examples taken from texts are marked with the text name and line number. Written texts and formal speech include some adjuncts that the spoken language tends to leave out, but that is a subject for another paper.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------|------------|
| A | | P | |
| (3) | <i>[chui zo yâng whoí]</i> | <i>gi, [wáng bê é</i> | |
| | orphan 3sposs grandmother TOP | ripe PAST NMLZ | |
| | <i>humjáng rà cham]</i> | <i>hpyoq yû mù,</i> | (orphan.4) |
| | wint.melon one CLF | pick.fruit take and | |
| | ‘orphan’s grandmother picked a melon that was ripe and...’ | | |

In intransative clauses, the constituent order is SV (4, 5)⁸.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| S | V | |
| (4) | <i>Ngò dùm yhup é.</i> | |
| | 1s again sleep PFV | |
| | ‘I went to sleep again.’ | |
-
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------|
| S | V | |
| (5) | <i>Brangdai rà dà m toq...</i> | (rabbit.14) |
| | rabbit one time get.up | |
| | ‘The rabbit got up again...’ | |

In ditransative clauses, the word order can be Agent-Recipient-Patient/Theme V (6) or Agent-Patient-Recipient V (7) depending on the context and pragmatic concerns. In ditransitive clauses the object marker⁹ *lé* marks the recipient.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| A | R | P | V | |
| (6) | <i>Yhang ngò lé mausau byì é.</i> | | | |
| | 3s 1s OBJ book give PFV | | | |
| | ‘He gave the book to me.’ | | | |
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| A | P | |
| (7) | <i>Hkohkâm... [yâng maumyî ra hkyam gón]</i> | |
| | king 3sposs land one half whole | |
-
- | | | |
|---|---|-------------|
| R | V | |
| | <i>[chui zo haû] lé gàm byî kat bê.</i> | (orphan.11) |
| | orphan that OBJ allot give do PAST | |
| | ‘The king... gave that orphan one half of his entire land.’ | |

Other common features relevant to word order typology are the order of adjectives, relative (nominalized) clauses and genitives in the noun phrase. In

⁸ Even though there is no grammatical subject in Zaiwa, I use S to mark the NP constituent in the intransitive clause as a matter of convention.

⁹ Even though there is no grammatical object in Zaiwa, I use “object marker” to refer to the postposition which generally follows the patient/recipient as a matter of convention.

Zaiwa the adjective generally follows the head noun (77), while the relative clause (76) and possessor precede the head noun (79).

5. THE NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase in Zaiwa consists of a head noun with optional pre- and post-nominal modifiers, postpositions and focusing adverbs. The head noun can be preceded by a genitive phrase, relative (nominalized) clause, and modifying noun. It can be followed by adjectives and a quantifier (including classifier phrase). The demonstrative can also modify the head noun and has a variable position depending on pragmatics and can be phrase initial, internal or final. Postpositions and focusing adverbs follow the head noun-modifier construction. See section 5.2 for examples of ordering. The linear order is shown in (8).

- (8) (GEN) (RELCL) (NMOD) N_{head} (ADJ/V) (QUANT) (POSTPOSITION) (FADV),
with (DEM) in variable position.

The noun phrase can act as an argument of a clause or modify another noun phrase. A common head noun can accommodate all nominal modifiers and postpositions, while proper nouns and pronouns are more restricted.

The postnominal slot for ADJ/V seems to be shared as no co-occurrences have been seen in my data. This would be expected since adjectives can generally fill the predicate position in a clause.

Nouns do not inherently express number (except pronouns). Number is marked by nominal modifiers.

There are simple noun phrases and compound noun phrases which are connected by conjunctions. Examples of the various nominal modifiers and adjuncts can be found in sections 5.2 and 5.3.

5.1 Noun Types

Nouns in Zaiwa refer to people (general, proper, and address), things (generally concrete, but a few abstract concepts are expressed by underived nouns), places (locations, directions) and times (specific times, general time increments, seasons, age). Nouns can be derived in Zaiwa from verbs and adjectives using the derivational nominalizing prefix *a-* (12). Agentive nouns can be formed using the singular agentive nominalizer (*é*) *sû* or plural agentive nominalizer (*é*) *bang* after a VP (see Section 5.2.8). Abstract nouns can be derived from a limited form of relative clause using *é hkyô*. Pronouns will be discussed in section 5.1.2.

Examples of general semantic categories of noun types:

People: *byù* ‘person’, *suwún* ‘elder’, *Lagam* ‘Lagam’, *gu-mang*¹⁰ ‘sibling’,
áwà ‘father-direct-address’, *hkau sû* ‘robber’

Things: *bui* ‘sun’, *shâm* ‘sword’, *nghoq* ‘bird’, *myit* ‘mind/heart’, *mû* ‘work’,
dingmán é hkyô ‘righteousness’

¹⁰ A hyphen in a Zaiwa word corrects for potentially ambiguous spelling due to Zaiwa syllable structure. For example, *gumang* could be pronounced *gu-mang* or *gum-ang*.

Locative nouns: *ahtoq* ‘top’, *loqpai hkyam* ‘leftside’, *nùng* ‘back’, *gyàm htoq* ‘upstairs’, *Sadon* ‘Sadon town’

Temporal nouns: *a-nhik* ‘last year’, *buigyum* ‘sunset’, *gyoqmyo* ‘winter’, *pyat* ‘generation’, *nap* ‘morning’

Nouns are generally mono- or bi-syllabic. Bi-syllabic nouns can consist of two combined words with their own semantic identity. Examples of compound nouns consisting of two combined words are as follows (9):

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| (9) N+N = N | <i>mau</i> (area) + <i>myi</i> (soil) = <i>maumyî</i> (land) |
| N+V = N | <i>buì</i> (sun) + <i>shûm</i> (to shade) = <i>buishûm</i> ¹¹ (shade) |
| NMOD + N head = N | <i>buì</i> (sun) + <i>ban</i> (flower) = <i>buiban</i> (sunflower) |
| N head + ADJ = N | <i>shì</i> (fruit) + <i>hpyik</i> (spicy) = <i>shihpyik</i> (pepper) |
| V + N head = N | <i>sui</i> (to grind) + <i>luq</i> (stone) = <i>suiluq</i> (whetstone) |
| V + V = N | <i>zò</i> (to eat) + <i>shuq</i> (to drink) = <i>zoshuq</i> (food) |
| N + CLF = N | <i>myoq</i> (eye) + <i>jí</i> (round obj.) = <i>myoqjí</i> (eyeball) |

There are also some simple nouns which are bi-syllabic, but the syllables of these words do not have meaning in isolation or the meanings in isolation do not combine to form the resulting meaning (10). These forms tend to be atypical or borrowed words.

- (10) *mausau* ‘paper’
*hkodoq*¹² ‘claw’

Zaiwa can also derive compound nouns by adding derivational and inflectional affixes to a root word (verb or adjective). Zaiwa has two derivational prefixes which produce compound nouns (11–12):

- (11) *ma-* nominalizing and expansive prefix, $V_1 + ma-V_1 \rightarrow N$

nyì	ma-	nyì
exist	NMLZEXP-	exist
‘everything that exists’		

- (12) *a-* nominalizing prefix, $a+V/ADJ \rightarrow N$

a-	myhi	a-	sik
nmlz-	to.cover	nmlz-	new
‘cover’		‘new one’	

Zaiwa also has other affixes which can be added to nouns to make the word bi-syllabic (13–20):

¹¹ In Zaiwa multi-syllabic words tone is only marked on the last syllable unless tone marking on earlier syllables is necessary to reduce ambiguity.

¹² Term used in Janshi area which may differ from other areas.

- (13) *a-* classifier expansion, *a*+CLF CLF = expanded classifier (the specific semantic expansion depends on the particular classifier used)

a- hu hu
CLFPL- kind kind
'different kinds'

a- jap jap
CLFPL- piece piece
'small pieces'

- (14) *â-* kinship direct address, *â*+kinship N = direct address kinship term

â- wà
DIRADD- father
'father (direct address)'

â- nha
DIRADD- sister
'sister (direct address)'

- (15) *î-* kinship general address, *î*+kinship N = general address kinship term

î- wà
GENADD- father
'father'

î- rhat
GENADD- sister-in-law
'sister in law'

- (16) *La-* masculine birth order, *La*+birth order N = masculine birth order term

La- gam
male- first
'first son'

La- hká
male- seventh
'seventh son'

- (17) *Mu-* feminine birth order, *Mu*+birth order N = feminine birth order term

Mu- roi
female- third
'third daughter'

Mu- htuq
female- fourth
'fourth daughter'

- (18) *-nhik* dual suffix, pronoun/demonstrative+*nhik* = dual pronoun/demonstrative

nga -nhik
1s -DUAL
'we two excl'

hé -nhik
that -DUAL
'those two'

- (19) *-moq* plural (>2), pronoun+*moq* = plural pronoun

nga -moq
1s -PL
'we >2 excl'

núng -moq
2s -PL
'you >2'

- (20) *-nhung* plural (>2) inclusive, pronoun+*nhung* = plural inclusive pronoun

nga -nhúng
 1s -PLINCL
 ‘we inclusive of hearer’

5.1.1 Common Nouns, Proper Nouns and Nouns of Address

Common and proper nouns behave similarly and are grouped together here. Common and proper nouns are unmarked, open classes which serve as the head of a noun phrase.

Temporal nouns and locative nouns can fill the noun slot in a clause or an adverbial phrase. They are large, semantically based noun sub-classes, but still limited. Temporal nouns are indicated syntactically in that they can be followed by the modifier *wui* ‘each, every’, and tend to precede the ablative marker *mai* or locative marker *má*.

Nouns of address are formed by the prefix *â-* for direct address and *î-* for general address followed by kinship titles.

Examples of nouns of direct address (21):

- (21) *âchyí* ‘grandfather’
âgu â-nhá ‘brothers and sisters’
âhtáng ‘uncle, aunt’
ânu âwa ‘mother and father’

Examples of nouns of general address (22):

- (22) *îchyí* ‘grandfather’
îgu î-mhoí ‘parents-in-law’
îmang ‘elder brother’
înu îwa ‘parents’

The postposition *ê* ‘vocative’ marks the addressee in a clause (23-24).

- (23) Gu-mang wuî ê, gyo wú keq.
 brother PL VOC listen look IMP.PL
 ‘Brothers, listen.’

- (24) Âwa ê náng é myìng gi...
 father VOC 2poss POSS name TOP
 ‘Father, your name...’

5.1.2 Pronouns

Zaiwa has personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, a reflexive pronoun, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and emphatic pronouns.

5.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Zaiwa personal pronouns are a closed class used to substitute for noun phrases. Personal pronouns tend to refer to animates only. Inanimates and previous events are referred to by demonstratives. There are five lexical roots which form the basis for all personal pronouns. These show some differences between first and second person singular and non-singular pronoun stems, which are common in Ngwi-Burmese languages (Bradley, 1993). Personal pronouns are marked for person using different lexical root forms, and marked for number using *-nhik* ‘dual’, *-moq* ‘plural’, and *-nhung* ‘1p-inclusive’ suffixes.¹³ These number suffixes are only used with pronouns and with demonstratives when they have a pronominal function and do not occur with other nominal types. There is no difference in the form of root or number suffixes in the agent or object positions for pronouns as demonstrated in (25) and (26). Xu and Xu (1984) report, however, a difference in *ngò* ‘nominative 1s’ with *nga* ‘accusative 1s’, but this has not been identified in my data.¹⁴

(25) Ngò yhangmoq lé hui é.
 1s 3p OBJ meet PFV
 ‘I met them.’

(26) Yhangmoq ngò lé bat é.
 3p 1s OBJ hit PFV
 ‘They hit me.’

Zaiwa personal pronouns¹⁵ are shown in Table 3. The six lexical root forms are underlined the first time they occur.

¹³ This differs from the typical plural markers *pé* and *wuì* following head nouns.

¹⁴ Xu and Xu (1984), reporting on a variety of Zaiwa in China, state that pronouns have three forms based on nominative, accusative, and possessive cases. First and second person nominative is high falling tone, accusative case is low falling tone, and possessive case is high level tone. For third person both nominative and accusative cases are low falling tone, while possessive case is high falling tone. The difference between what Xu and Xu call nominative and accusative forms is not apparent in my data and could be due to tone sandhi.

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that Zaiwa singular personal pronouns are nearly identical to old Burmese written forms *nga* ‘1s’, *nang* ‘2s’, and *eyang* ‘3s’. This shows some of the conservative qualities of Zaiwa and its common roots with old Burmese.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	<u>ngò</u>	<u>nga-nhik</u> ‘excl’ <u>i-nhik</u> ‘incl’	<u>nga-nhúng</u> ‘incl’ <u>i-nhúng</u> ‘incl’ <u>ngamoq</u> ‘excl’
2nd person	<u>nàng</u>	<u>núngnhik</u>	<u>núngmoq</u>
3rd person	<u>yhang</u>	<u>yhangnhik</u>	<u>yhangmoq</u>

Table 3: Zaiwa Personal Pronouns

As Table 3 reveals, *ngò* ‘1s’ and *nàng* ‘2s’ have variants *nga* and *nung* in non-singular combinatory forms, while *yhang* ‘3s’ is constant in all numbers. 1dual and 1p inclusive forms may use the root *i* as an option, which appears to be regionally determined (*i* used in some locations in Myanmar and *nga* used primarily in China). The first person plural form which includes the listener ‘1p inclusive’ is a modified juxtaposition of 1st and 2nd non-singular roots *nga* + *nung*. The exclusive form, by contrast, appears as the regular (default) first person plural *nga* + *moq*, the regular plural marker parallel to the other plural pronouns. Exclusive forms are generally used as first person plural subjects in narratives in which the hearer was not present when the events occurred.

Other suffixes (*-hpe* ‘father’, *-me* ‘mother’, *-nham* ‘spouse, couple’, *-tang* ‘sibling’) can be added to personal pronouns to express more detailed distinctions. For example (27):

- (27) *ngahpe* ‘we both, father and I’
ngá-me ‘we both, mother and I’
nga-nhâm ‘we, spouse and I’
nga-nhik tâng ‘my brother/sister and I’
núngnhâm ‘you and spouse’
núngnhik tâng ‘you and your brother/sister’
yhangnhâm ‘they, married couple’

There are also general plural pronouns *lhunglhang bang* ‘everyone, all of us’ (QNT+CLF(people) combination), and *yuq dujup* ‘everyone’ (CLF(person)+QNT combination). *lhunglhang bang* can act as a pronoun alone (28) or follow an existing pronoun to add emphasis (29).

- (28) *Lhunglhang bang* *lé* *keq.*
all CLF(people) come IMP.PL
‘Everyone come.’

- (29) *Nga-nhúng* *lhunglhang* *bang* *go* *sháng.*
1pincl all CLF(people) dance let.us
‘We, all of us, let’s dance.’

The general pronoun *supé* ‘others’¹⁶ can refer to other people in a generic sense (30).

- (30) *Supé èq tai kyo sháng.*
 other INS tell DRCT let.us
 ‘Let us tell through others.’

5.1.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronoun roots share formal similarities with the personal pronouns, but the singular forms have a grammatical tone change. Specifically, 1st and 2nd person singular possessive pronouns carry a high-level tone instead of the low tone of the corresponding personal pronouns, and the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun carries a high-falling tone rather than a mid tone as shown in Table 4.¹⁷

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 st person	<i>ngá + (é)</i>	<i>nga-nhik + é</i>	<i>ngamoq + é</i> <i>nga-nhúng + é</i>
2 nd person	<i>náng + (é)</i>	<i>núngnhik + é</i>	<i>núngmoq + é</i>
3 rd person	<i>yhâng + (é)</i>	<i>yhangnhik + é</i>	<i>yhangmoq + é</i>

Table 4: Zaiwa Possessive Pronouns

Singular possessive pronouns have an optional genitive marker *é* following the pronoun, while for the dual and plural forms (31a and b) the genitive marker is obligatory.

- (31) a. *Ngò ngá lazum wuì...(fish.3)*
 1s 1sposs friend PL
 ‘Me and my friends...’
- b. *Ngamoq é wà... (fish.2)*
 1pexcl POSS village
 ‘Our village...’

The difference in the use of the genitive marker may be due to the contrast or lack of contrast between personal and possessive pronouns. Singular personal and possessive pronouns already contrast in tone and, therefore, a genitive marker is redundant. Dual and plural personal and possessive pronouns, on the other hand, have the same base forms, and therefore, need to be marked syntactically in order

¹⁶ *supé* is formed from the nominalizer *sû* ‘one who’ followed by the plural marker *pé*.

¹⁷ This type of tone sandhi is typical for possessive pronouns in Ngwi-Burmese languages. For example, in Burmese, the tone on the last syllable of the possessive pronoun or possessive noun changes to a creaky tone (Bradley, 1993).

to contrast. Singular possessive pronouns generally only use the genitive marker to mark emphasis on possession.

The object of possession can be deleted if it is clear from the context (32).

- (32) Ngá hkui yâng é ø htoq wap ri.
 1sposs dog 3sposs POSS more.than bark REALIS
 ‘My dog barks more than his.’

Possessive pronouns with the genitive marker *é* can indicate possession in a question or statement without a following possessed object. In this case *ngá* ‘1sposs’ becomes *ngâ* ‘mine’. All other possessive pronouns keep the same tone (33-35). In this alternative construction the possessed object is typically a topicalized demonstrative preceding the possessor.

- (33) Ngâ é nghut lhê.
 1sposs POSS COP IPFV
 ‘It’s mine.’

- (34) Shî gi yhangmoq é nghut lhê lhi?
 this TOP 3s POSS COP IPFV INTRG
 ‘Is this theirs?’

- (35) Shî nâng é nghut lhê.
 this 2sposs POSS COP IPFV
 ‘This is yours.’

5.1.2.3 Reflexive Pronouns

Zaiwa expresses reflexive meaning by using the possessive pronoun plus the word for ‘body’ *gùng*, in combination with a reflexive verbal auxiliary *yu*¹⁸. *gùng* may follow the co-referential head pronoun nominal as in (36), or, if the pronominal reference is clear, alone represent the reflexive pronominal phrase, as in (37).

- (36) Ngò ngá gùng lé bat yu é.
 1s 1sposs body OBJ hit REFL PFV
 ‘I hit myself.’

¹⁸ As a main verb, *yu* has the meaning ‘get, acquire’. This function has been extended to serial verb constructions and seems to have extended its meaning to include reflexive.

- (37) Yhûm má gùng chi chi yu kut mù luî...
 home LOC body wash wash REFL do and.then
 ‘At home (I) washed (my) self/body and then...’ (in this sentence
 pronominal reference was clear from the previous sentence.)

Note that in (36) the 1st person possessive pronoun also precedes *gùng*, which emphasizes the reflexive nature of the action.

The reflexive particle *yu* is omitted when the reflexive pronoun is fronted or topicalized (38, 39).

- (38) Yhâng gùng yhang La Bok ga ri.
 3sposs body 3s La Bok call REALIS
 ‘He calls himself La Bok.’

- (39) Ngá gùng ngò a lumjing.
 1sposs body 1s NEG trust
 ‘I don’t trust myself.’

5.1.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are a small, closed class of forms, used in substance questions; they directly precede the verb phrase. The basic interrogative pronouns are *hká* ‘which’, *ó* ‘who’, and *haî* ‘what’ (40-42).

- (40) Ngá góm hká lò bê lhà?
 1sposs cup which become PAST INTRG.SELF
 ‘Which was my cup (questioning self)?’

- (41) Napmá ó lé râ?
 tomorrow who come IRR
 ‘Tomorrow who will come?’

- (42) Nàng haî kut lhê?
 2s what do IPFV
 ‘What are you doing?’

The basic interrogative pronouns can be combined with other morphemes (generally classifiers) to form compound interrogative pronouns. *hká* ‘which’ and *haî* ‘what’ are especially productive. Interrogative pronouns derived from *hká* include:

- (43) *hka-nhám* ‘when, which period’

Anù hka-nhám zo râ?
 mother when eat IRR
 ‘When will mother eat?’

- (44) *hká hkûn* ‘when, which time’

- (45) *hka-myháng* ‘how long’

- (46) *hkará* ‘where’

Âwà hkará zo râ?
 father where eat IRR
 ‘Where will father eat?’

- (47) *hká jung* ‘which type’

- (48) *hká lhum* ‘which thing/one’

- (49) *hka-myhó* ‘how much, how many, which amount’

- (50) *hká yuq* ‘who, which person’

[Je ko sù] hká yuq nghut lhê?
 more old one.who which CLF(person) COP IPFV
 ‘Which person is older?’

- (51) *hkasu* ‘how’

- (52) *hkasu mù* ‘why’

Hkasu mù lé é?
 how because.of come PFV
 ‘Why did (you) come?’

hká also combines with locative postpositions to form interrogative pronoun locative phrases (53-55).

- (53) *hká mai* ‘where from’

Hká mai lé é?
 where ABL come PFV
 ‘From where did (you) come?’

(54) *hká má* ‘where at, to’

Náng	gu	hká	má	nyì	lhê?
2sposs	younger.sib	where	LOC	stay	IPFV

‘Where does your younger sibling live?’

(55) *hká shut, hká hpyâng* ‘to where’

Hká	shut	ê	râ?
where	ALL	go	IRR

‘To where will (you) go?’

hká can also derive meaning from the argument it is replacing. For example, it can mean ‘where’ when associated with a directional verb phrase (56).

(56) *Hká ê râ?*
 where go IRR
 ‘Where will you go?’

There are also several interrogative pronouns derived from *haî* (57-59).

(57) *haî jung, haî hú*, etc. ‘what, what kind’
 (‘what’ followed by a specific classifier)

Yhang	haî	jùng	kut	ri?
3s	what	kind	do	REALIS

‘What kind (of action/thing) did he do?’

(58) *Haî hú zo nghut lhê?*
 what kind people COP IPFV
 ‘What kind (of clan) people are (you)?’

(59) *haî mù* ‘why, for what reason’

Haî	mù	taî	lhê?
what	because.of	say	IPFV

‘Why did (you) say (that)?’

Some interrogative pronouns can be made plural by reduplication of the interrogative pronoun or reduplication of the classifier (60, 61).

(60) *ó ó* ‘who-plural’

Nàng	ó	ó	lé	sé	lhê?
2s	who	who	OBJ	know	IPFV

‘Who-PL do you know?’

(61) *hká yuq yuq* ‘who-plural’

Suwún	gi	hká	yuq	yuq	nghut	lhê?
elder	TOP	which	CLF(person)	CLF(person)	COP	IPFV

‘Who-PL are the elders?’

The interrogative pronoun *ó yuq* ‘who’ can act as a possessor with or without the genitive marker *é* (62, 63):

(62) *Ó yuq é muq?*
 who CLF(person) POSS hat
 ‘Whose hat (is it)?’

(63) *Ó yuq yhangzo nghut lhê?*
 who CLF(person) child COP IPFV
 ‘Whose child is it?’

5.1.2.5 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns can consist of two or more morphemes. The first morpheme expresses indefiniteness of a person, place or thing indicated by interrogative pronouns (*hai* ‘what’, *hkâ* ‘which’, *ó* ‘who’, *ó yuq* ‘who’) and the second morpheme is one of several words which can express generalization such as *hkyô* ‘about’, *le* ‘also’, and *su* ‘like’ (64, 65).

(64) <i>hai hkyô</i> ¹⁹	‘anything’
<i>hai le</i>	‘anything, whatever’
<i>hai su</i>	‘whatever’
<i>hká le</i>	‘anyplace’
<i>ó le</i>	‘whoever, anyone (singular)’
<i>ó lé le</i>	‘whoever, anyone (plural)’
<i>ó yuq le</i>	‘whoever’

(65) *Yhang hká le a htoq.*
 3s which also NEG go.out
 ‘He did not go out anywhere.’

kolhang ‘any, whichever’ and *nghut kolhang* ‘anyone’ can also act as indefinite pronouns by themselves or in combination (part or whole) with interrogative pronouns (66):

¹⁹ The tone change between *hai* and *hai* is due to tone sandhi.

- (66) *hká nghut kolhang* ‘anyone’
hká má nghut kolhang ‘wherever’
ó nghut kolhang ‘anyone, whoever’
ó yuq nghut (ko) le ‘anyone’
ó yuq nghut kolhang ‘anyone’

The interrogative pronoun *hká* ‘which, where’ can be reduplicated to create an indefinite pronoun (67):

- (67) *hká hká le* ‘anyplace’

Ngùn wuì mù hká hká le a wó ê.
 money difficult and which which also NEG can go
 ‘Money is difficult and (I) cannot go anywhere.’

The interrogative pronoun *haî* ‘what’ can be made plural to indicate indefiniteness (68):

- (68) *haî* pé
 what PL
 ‘whatever’

The indefinite pronouns *ó (le)* ‘anyone SG’ and *ó lé le* ‘anyone PL’ can mean ‘no one’ when associated with a negated verb (69).

- (69) Ngò lé garum râ byù nang mai lai lui
 1s OBJ help IRR person 2s ABL pass and
- ó a nyì.
 anyone NEG stay
 ‘There is no one except you to help me.’

Two other indefinite pronouns are *rà yuq yuq* ‘someone, anyone’ made by duplicating the classifier *yuq* ‘person’ and *sû le* ‘anyone, anyone who’ made by generalizing the nominalizer *sû* ‘one who’ (70).

- (70) Rà yuq yuq gi ngau nyì.
 one CLF(person) person TOP cry PROG
 ‘Someone is crying.’

5.1.2.6 Emphatic Pronouns

Zaiwa uses pronoun constructions to emphasize that an action is done by someone in particular or to limit the scope of who performed an event. *yhang* ‘oneself, by oneself’, which is formally identical with the 3s personal pronoun, can be used following a head noun or pronoun to emphasize an actor or limit the scope of who does an action (71, 72).

	relcl		Nmod	HN		adj	demadj	quant
(77)	[Ngò	wuì	é]shokuq	hkyî-tsung	noq	shî		zùm
	1s	buy	NMLZ	leather sandal	black	this		pair

jaq gè ri.
very good REALIS

‘This black pair of leather sandals that I bought is very good.’

	relcl			HN	adj	quant	
(78)	[Ngá	mang	wó	é]	yhûm	mó	[sùm lhûm]
	1sposs	older.brother	have	NMLZ	house	large	three CLF

demadj postp
hâu gi âwà mui nghut lhê.
that TOP father inheritance COP IPFV

‘Those three large houses that my brother has are father's inheritance.’

	GenP		HN	adj	quant	postp
(79)	[yhâng	hpaumyî	é]	woq	hpó	te lé,
	3sposs	grandparents	POSS	chicken	male	single OBJ

dem Nmod HN postp
háu humjáng hkaû má kat luî... (orphan.4)
that melon inside LOC put.in then

‘she put the only rooster of his grandparents inside that melon and...’

As can be seen in examples (76-78), the demonstrative adjective has a variable position depending on pragmatics and can be initial, internal or final in the modifier order.

5.2.1 Nouns as nominal modifiers

Nouns can modify nouns. The modifying noun precedes the head noun (80):

(80)	ap	dòng	a-myû	mying
	needle	hole	tribe	name
	‘eye of needle’		‘tribe name’	
	ban	hkyâm	badíng	mau
	flower	garden	stranger	land
	‘flower garden’		‘foreign land’	

Some noun-modifier noun pairs are combined as compound nouns as a word structure convention based on the inherent closeness of the concept or metaphorical meaning (81).

(81) *bumhkyî* ‘base of mountain’ (lit. mountain foot)

It could be argued that the relative clause and modifying noun fill the same slot in the noun phrase since the relative clause is equated with a nominalized clause construction and thus could be interpreted as a modifying noun (see section 5.2.8). However, I choose to give them each their own pre-head slot due to examples such as (77) where both a modifying noun and relative clause (nominalized clause) are present.

5.2.2 Verbs and dependent clauses as noun modifiers

Verb phrases and dependent clauses can modify nouns. The verb phrase precedes the noun head (82). These may be a form of relative clause without the relativizer/nominalizer and may be used for more standardized or lexicalized terms.

(82)	zang	gaí	wap		bau	hpuq	nghoq
	rice	cook	room		insect	turn.over	bird
	‘cook room = kitchen’				‘woodpecker’		

In some cases, especially when modifying a type of person, a verb can follow the noun and act as a modifier (83).

(83)	byù	hkau		byù	lám
	person	steal		person	travel
	‘thief’			‘wanderer’	

5.2.3 Adjectives

The adjective typically follows the HN in Zaiwa. Adjectives can function as part of the noun phrase and modify nouns by expressing properties and conditions (84). Adjectives can also function like verbs as clausal predicates (verbal adjectives) (85).

(84)	sho-myi	noq		yhûm	mo	sùm	yhûm
	tail	black		house	big	three	CLF(house)
	‘black tail’			‘three big houses’			

(85)	Taukop	gi	gyai	nyham	é.
	turtle	TOP	very	slow	PFV
	‘The turtle was very slow.’				

Generally the relativizer/nominalizer *é* is included when a relative clause consists of an adjective (86). However in a limited number of cases, adjectives can also directly precede the head noun (87) and seem to be more tightly

associated to the noun giving an AN word order.²⁰ These may be related to a simplified form of a relative clause in which the relativizer/nominalizer *é* is deleted when the relative clause consists of a particular adjective. The *é* is always included when a relative clause consists of a verb or negative adjective.

- (86) Nyui *é* ngho-myuq shi pé gi
 green NMLZ banana fruit PL TOP
 ‘Bananas that are green...’

- (87) ko bang pé gi
 old CLF(people) PL TOP
 ‘old adults’

Gender is inherent in some human nouns (87).

- (87) *làng* ‘husband’ *myi* ‘wife’
 âchyí ‘grandfather’ *âwhoí* ‘grandmother’

Other human nouns must be marked by the modifiers *hpó* ‘male’ and *myhí* ‘female’ to indicate gender (88). The noun *yuq* ‘person’ is the only exception. A male person is referred to using *yuqgè*.

- (88) *yhumsîng hpó* ‘male head of house’
 yhumsîng myhí ‘female head of house’
 jùn hpó ‘male servant’
 jùn myhí ‘female servant’

Gender in animals is indicated by the noun modifiers *hpó* or *lo* for ‘male’ and *myhí* or *zìng* for ‘female’ (89).

- (89) *woq hpó* ‘rooster’ *woq myhí* ‘hen’
 hkui lo ‘male dog’ *hkui zìng* ‘female dog’

The gender modifiers *hpó*, *lo*, *myhí*, *zìng* do not share the verbal quality of most adjectives (i.e. cannot fill the verb slot in a clause) and could be considered either suffixes or adjectives/modifiers. I choose to call them modifiers (in the adjective slot) since they can be nominalized in the same way as other adjectives (90).

- (90) a- myhí a- lo
 NMLZ female (ADJ) NMLZ male (animal)
 ‘a female’ ‘a male animal’

²⁰ Dai (1994) considers the NA order to be proto-Tibeto-Burman and the AN order to be a later innovation in some Tibeto-Burman languages related to relativization.

5.2.4 Quantification

Quantifiers follow the head noun and any post-nominal adjective and precede postpositions (76-78). The quantifier may be a separate word or phrase such as *ra-am* ‘some’ (91), a number-classifier pair (79), or a plural or dual marker (86). The quantifier may also have a modifier like *kô* ‘approximately’ following the classifier (92).

- (91) ...ngamoq ngozo ra-am lé byíng mù... (fish.19)
 1pexcl fish some OBJ grill and
 ‘...we grilled some fish...’

- (92) Ngamoq rà htungká kô wó é. (fish.16)
 1pexcl one basket approximately have PFV
 ‘We had approximately one basket full.’

Note that in sentence (92), there is no head noun for the number to follow. This seems to be possible when the number-classifier construction is specific for one kind of item (*htungká* is only used for ‘basket’) and sufficient to supply the necessary information.

When nouns are quantified, a number follows the head noun and a classifier follows the number (93, 94).

- (93) HN NUM (CLF)

- (94) wa myi bun
 bamboo four CLF
 ‘four sections of bamboo’

When count nouns are numbered greater than 10, the classifier is optional (95).

- (95) wa rà xé í (bun)
 bamboo one ten two (CLF)
 ‘12 bamboo (sections)’

There are several morphemes which follow the head noun and indicate plurality. Nouns referring to humans can use the plural morphemes *pé* or *wui* (96). The dual marker *nhik* can be used with pronouns, nominalized constructions, demonstratives and some nouns referring to humans (97). Nouns referring to animals can also use the plural marker *pé* and the dual marker *nhik* (98). Nouns referring to inanimate objects can use the plural marker *pé* (99).

- (96) *zoshâng wui* ‘children’ *jongzò pé* ‘students’
 (97) *myoqjit su nhik* ‘2 who were blind’ *hau nhik* ‘those two’
myiwe nhik ‘women (dual)’

- (98) *myàng pé* ‘horses’ *nghoq nhik* ‘birds-2’
 (99) *yhûm pe*²¹ ‘houses’ *shám pe* ‘swords’

5.2.4.1 Basic quantifiers

Some quantifiers express a small amount or limit an amount (100). These quantifiers can be used following a noun as a noun modifier (101) or in place of a head noun (102).

- (100) *atsui* ‘little bit, few’
achyit ‘small amount, little bit’
ratsuí ‘little bit, small extent/amount, lit. one-few’
shaù ‘a little, a few’
tsuí ‘a few, small number’

- (101) Xû achyit za byi laq.
 oil a.little only give IMP
 ‘Give only a little oil.’

- (102) Ngò achyit za wó lhê.
 1s a.little only have IPFV
 ‘I only have a little bit.’

Some quantifiers express completeness or entirety (103-104). Some of the following quantifiers can be used either in place of a head noun (105) or to modify a head noun (106).

- (103) *bàn, banshoq* ‘all, all of them’
chyat ‘all’
du jup ‘every, each one’
góm ‘whole, entire, in reference to area’
hkanmó ‘each, every’
lunglhang ‘all, whole, every’
ó le ó ‘each one’
tîng ‘entire (used only with world)’
wuì ‘each, every, used with temporal nouns’²²

²¹ The change in tone marking on *pé* is due to tone sandhi.

²² This is a different morpheme from the plural marker *wuì* which is only used with human nouns.

- (104) mingkan tîng
world entire
'entire world'

- (105) Banshoq lé keq.
all come IMP.PL
'Everyone come.'

- (106) Byù banshoq lé keq.
person all come IMP.PL
'Everyone come.'

In two specific cases the quantifier can precede the head noun (107, 108). However, in light of the optional form in (109) this may be an optional head noun followed by a quantifier and classifier.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------|-------|------------|-------------|
| (107) | banshoq | bang | (108) | lhunglhang | bang |
| | all | CLF(people) | | all | CLF(people) |
| | 'everyone' | | | 'everyone' | |

- (109) (byù) banshoq bang nghap keq.
person all CLF(people) read IMP.PL
'Everyone read!'

Some quantifiers express large or increasing amounts (110, 111).

- (110) *myo* (*myo*) 'many, much'
rajùm rayò 'many (people)'
tsomra 'quite alot, certain amount, several'

- (111) Ngò ngùn myo myo wó lhê.
1s money many many have IPFV
'I have much money.'

Some quantifiers express partial amounts (112, 113).

- (112) *rà lhum lhum* 'one out of many'
ra-am 'some, part'

- (113) Bopen rà lhum lhum ge lhê.
pen one CLF CLF good IPFV
'One ball-point pen (of many) is good.'

5.2.4.2 Numbers

Numbers in Zaiwa include cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, fractions, and approximates. The number system is a 10-based system (114).

(114)	<i>rà (la)</i>	‘one’	<i>rà xê sùm</i>	‘thirteen’
	<i>í</i>	‘two’	<i>sùm xê</i>	‘thirty’
	<i>sùm</i>	‘three’	<i>rà shô</i>	‘one hundred’
	<i>myì</i>	‘four’	<i>myì híng</i>	‘four thousand’
	<i>ngò</i>	‘five’	<i>rà mun</i>	‘ten thousand’
	<i>hkyuq</i>	‘six’	<i>ngò mun</i>	‘fifty thousand’
	<i>nyhit</i>	‘seven’	<i>wan</i>	‘one million’
	<i>shit</i>	‘eight’		
	<i>gaù</i>	‘nine’		
	<i>xê</i>	‘ten’		

Numbers precede classifiers in the noun phrase and follow the head noun. For numbers greater than ten, the classifier following the number is optional (95).

Compound numbers are formed as follows: the number preceding 10, 100, 1000, etc. gives a multiple of that number and the number following 10, 100, 1000, etc. is in addition to that number (115). The word *eq* ‘and’ can be used to express a zero place, but is not obligatory (116).

(115)	<i>sùm</i>	<i>shô</i>	<i>myì</i>	<i>xê</i>	<i>hkyuq</i>
	three	hundred	four	ten	six
	‘346’				

(116)	<i>sùm</i>	<i>shô</i>	(<i>eq</i>)	<i>myì</i>
	three	hundred	and	four
	‘304’			

Ordinal numbers can be expressed using the English borrowing *nambat* ‘number’ (117, 118).

(117)	<i>nambat</i>	<i>rà</i>	(118)	<i>nambat</i>	<i>sùm</i>	<i>lhùm</i>
	number	one		number	three	CLF
	‘number one, first’			‘the third thing’		

Ordinal numbers can also be expressed using a number followed by a classifier (119), or more completely by a NUM+CLF+*nghu*(specifier²³)+NMLZ+CLF (120).

²³ A specifier points out a particular number or makes an ordinal number. It may be related to the verb *ngû* ‘called, named’.

- (119) sùm pyâm (120) rà xê dam nghu é dam
 three level ten trip SPEC NMLZ trip
 ‘third floor’ ‘tenth trip’

Ordinal numbers can also be expressed using time terms (121-123).

- (121) dum htâng dàm (122) bat htoq rà nyí
 again after time week top one day
 ‘third time’ ‘first day of the week’

- (123) sanghi dàm
 beginning time
 ‘first time’

Fractions can be expressed using classifier phrases which indicate partial amounts (124, 125). *ban* ‘half’ is used after the whole number-classifier combination (126).

- (124) rà lat ‘one half distance’
 rà túm ‘half length’
 rà wuí lai ‘greater than half’

- (125) Rà lat mai tau ló bê.
 one middle ABL return go PAST
 ‘Turned back from half way.’

- (126) rà hkying ban
 one hour half
 ‘one and one-half hours’

Fractions or percents can also be expressed by telling the fraction out of the whole with or without a classifier using the following structure: NUM (CLF) *má é* NUM (CLF). For example (127):

- (127) shit yuq má é rà yuq
 8 CLF(person) from one CLF(person)
 ‘one person from eight people’

Multiples can be expressed using *tu* ‘times’ following the number (128).

- (128) Yhang gi ngò wó é htoq má ngò tu wó
 3s TOP 1s have NMLZ top LOC five times have
 ri.
 REALIS
 ‘He has five times more than I have’

A number plus classifier construction can be approximated with a modifier following the construction (129, 130).

- (129) *myit kô* ‘approximately more’
hká myò ‘approximately’

- (130) Rà bat myit kô htang gyo ri.
 one week over approximately follow delay REALIS
 ‘Came late about one week.’

Numbers can also be approximated by using two consecutive numbers before a classifier to approximate the range of items (131).

- (131) rà í yuq
 one two CLF(person)
 ‘one or two people’

5.2.4.3 Classifiers

Zaiwa has a large number of classifiers which tend to categorize nouns with common characteristics as part of the quantifier. The classifier follows the head noun and number (94): HN NUM CLF. Classifiers can act as head nouns in the absence of a head noun. Demonstratives and interrogative pronouns can precede and modify classifiers which act as head nouns (e.g. *shî gám* ‘this plant’, *hká du* ‘which animal’).

A specific classifier for a specific noun is generally derived from the noun (132).

- (132) yhûm sùm yhûm
 house three CLF(house)
 ‘three houses’

Some other examples are given in (133):

- (133) *gok* ‘room, box’ *boq, poq, pat* ‘drop’
dui ‘rope turns’ *shi* ‘fruit’

Some classifiers are word specific, but not derived from the corresponding noun (134, 135).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--|-------------|--------------|
| (134) | <i>hkyam</i> | ‘knife’ | <i>kám</i> | ‘step, pace’ |
| | <i>hkyang</i> | ‘piece of land,
paddy field clearing’ | <i>mâ</i> | ‘meal’ |
| | <i>hkyuq</i> | ‘place’ | <i>tóng</i> | ‘place’ |
| | <i>htu</i> | ‘family’ | <i>tsup</i> | ‘handful’ |
| | | | <i>wò</i> | ‘place’ |

- (135) *dang* *rà* *hkun* *lháng*
word one CLF(word) only
‘only a single word’

Zaiwa also has echo classifiers which can combine with the general word for an object to make a more specific reference (136, 137).

- (136) *sikgâm* *myì* *gâm*
tree four CLF(plants)
‘four trees’

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| (137) | <u>CLF</u> | | <u>N+ CLF</u> | |
| | <i>làng</i> | ‘watercourse’ | <i>wuilàng</i> | ‘water+watercourse=river’ |
| | <i>bo</i> | ‘flower’ | <i>banbo</i> | ‘flower+flower=flower’ |
| | <i>koq</i> | ‘branch’ | <i>sikkoq</i> | ‘tree+branch=branch’ |

There is also a general classifier *lhùm* which can be used for almost all nouns.

There are classifiers which group together nouns with common characteristics, some of which are obvious, and some not so obvious (138).

- (138) *chap* ‘coin, split bamboo, tire’
hpu ‘knife, gun, handle, scale’
choq ‘piece, e.g. cloth’
hú ‘tribe, clan, group’
du ‘animal, vehicle’
shang ‘bamboo containers’
dung ‘cloth, clothes, mats, bedsheets’
tsáng ‘floor, level, step’

There are classifiers which are based on the shape of objects (139).

- (139) *cham* ‘small, round objects, e.g. fruit, star, ball, pills’
gáng ‘strand, threadlike’
hkat ‘long objects, hair, rope, bars, handles, pens, road’
hkyap ‘flat, thin items, paper, leaf, plate, card, sheet’
hkyí ‘thick piece or lump, meat, mudball’
htung ‘piece, chunk, lump’
jap ‘petal, clove, bit’
jí ‘round object, seed’
long ‘long, flat item, plank’
se ‘small sheet, photo’

<i>shi</i>	‘fruit, seed, small object’
<i>yang</i>	‘long item, bamboo, cord, strip of cloth’

There are classifiers which indicate measurements of length, height, weight, and volume (140-144).

(140) length:

<i>yap</i>	‘height of a person’
<i>dúng</i>	‘distance from elbow to fingertip’
<i>lám</i>	‘distance of arms spread apart’
<i>htô</i>	‘6 inches, distance between thumb and fingertip’
<i>shi</i>	‘finger width, one inch’
<i>déng</i>	‘one mile’

- (141) [Shigam] [rà yap kô] [myhâng bê].
 fruit.tree one CLF approximately high PAST
 ‘Fruit tree is about one person high.’

(142) weight:

<i>rûng</i>	‘ounce’
<i>joí</i>	‘vis, weight of 100 rupee coins’

(143) volume:

<i>hkoq</i>	‘1/2 liter’
<i>bùng</i>	‘basket measure’
<i>dò</i>	‘basket typically carried on animal’s back’

- (144) lungbùm rà dò
 corn one CLF(basket)-
 ‘one basket of corn’

There are group classifiers which indicate objects in a group or multiples (145, 146).

- (145) *bóm* ‘pile’, of dirt, branches
dìng ‘combined things, bundle, roll’
htaú ‘set’, e.g. clothes
jùm ‘groups, crowds, herds’, of animals
shuq ‘bundle, bouquet’, of flowers
yán ‘row, list, line, treeline, line’, of people
zúm ‘pair, couple, shoes, chopsticks’

- (146) *nò* *rà* *jùm*
 cow one herd
 ‘one herd of cattle’

There are temporal classifiers (147, 148).

- (147) *dá* ‘times, trips, rounds’
 dàm ‘time, number, trip’
 hkyap ‘month’
 yoq ‘time period’
 nyí ‘day’

- (148) *nyí* *myì* *nyí*
 day four day
 ‘four days’

Some classifiers seem to be derived from verbs (149).

- (149) *bóm* ‘pile’ from *bóm* ‘to pile’
 jap ‘petal, bit’ from *jap* ‘to chop, slice’
 lîng ‘round trip’ from *lîng* ‘to spin, turn’
 poq ‘drop’ from *poq* ‘to drip’
 tsáng ‘floor, level’ from *tsang* ‘to stack up’
 tsup ‘handful’ from *tsup* ‘to grasp’
 yap ‘height of a person’ from *yap* ‘stand’

Classifiers follow interrogative pronouns in interrogative sentences (150).

- (150) No *hka-mhyo* *du* *wó* *lhê?*
 cow how.many CLF(animal) have IPFV
 ‘How many cows do you have?’

5.2.5 Demonstratives

Zaiwa has five demonstratives²⁴ observed to date. Two demonstratives are near reference which can also be used to indicate previously denoted events. *shî* ‘this’ refers to an object near the speaker or to an event that has taken place in preceding speech (151), while *haû* ‘that, it’ indicates an object which is close to the listener or to an event which has taken place (152). The three other demonstratives indicate distant reference and relative height of the referent. *hê* ‘that’ indicates an object or location far from the speaker and listener, level with both (153, 154). *hû* ‘that’ indicates an object or location far from and higher than the speaker (155). *mhô* ‘that’ indicates an object or location far from and lower

²⁴ Demonstratives in Zaiwa have both pronominal and deictic functions, but the forms are identical. Therefore they will be considered one word class.

than the speaker (156). The relationship between the spatial demonstratives is shown in Table 5.

- (151) Shî hkui nghut lhê.
 this dog COP IPFV
 ‘This is a dog.’
- (152) Yò hkai é, haû mai sheq...
 field hoe PFV that ABL but
 ‘(He) hoed the field, but after that...’
- (153) Hê gi náng é yhûm nghut lhê lhi?
 that.level TOP 2sposs POSS house COP IPFV INTRG
 ‘Is that (far, level) your house?’
- (154) Hê o yuq nghut lhê?
 that.level who CLF(person) COP IPFV
 ‘Who is that?’
- (155) Hû nghoq zo dang lai lo ri.
 there.up bird small fly pass go REALIS
 ‘Up there, a bird flies past.’
- (156) Mhò ó yuq yap to ri?
 there.down who CLF(person) stand CONT REALIS
 ‘Who is standing down there?’

	proximal	distal
simple/general	<i>shî</i>	<i>haû</i>
elevational - above		<i>hû</i>
- same		<i>hê</i>
- below		<i>mhô</i>

Table 5: Spatial Demonstratives

Each of these demonstratives can be made plural by adding *pé* ‘plural marker’ or dual by adding *nhik* ‘dual marker’ similar to some nouns and personal pronouns (157).

- (157) *haú pé* ‘those’
 haú nhik ‘those two’
 mhó pé ‘those down there’
 shí nhik ‘these two’

Demonstratives can also be combined with the locative postpositions *má* ‘locative, at’ and *shut* ‘allative, to’ to derive locative nouns (158, 159).

- (158) *shí má* ‘here’
haú má ‘there’
mhó má ‘down there’
hú shut ‘up there’
hé shut ‘over there’

- (159) *Mhó má gyo ê aq.*
 there.down LOC descend go IMP.SG
 ‘Go down there.’

The demonstrative *haû* ‘that’ is commonly used in combination with or as part of conjunctive adjuncts (160).

- (160) *haû a nghut* ‘or’ (lit. ‘that not is’)
haú htâng ‘after that’

The order of the demonstrative in relation to the head noun and noun adjuncts is variable and depends upon pragmatic motivations. Most commonly the demonstrative follows the head noun (161), but it can also follow the quantifier (162). The demonstrative is reported to be more emphatic when used following the quantifier. The demonstrative can precede the head noun or noun phrase when used to disambiguate or point out a certain referent or location in relation to other possible ones (163).

- (161) *yhûm hê sùm yhûm*
 house that.level three CLF(house)
 ‘those three houses over there’

- (162) *yhûm mo sùm yhûm hê*
 house big three CLF(house) that.level
 ‘those three big houses over there’ (emphasis on location)

- (163) *Hû sikhpyo má haî nyì to ri?*
 there.up tree.top LOC what stay CONT REALIS
 ‘What is on top of that tree?’

Singular demonstratives generally follow the head noun (164) but can also precede the head noun in a less specific sense similar to a definite article (165).

- (164) *Byù haû a nyì byuq ló.*
 person that NEG stay COMP anymore
 ‘That person does not exist anymore.’

- (165) Haû byù gi, Garai hpan nghut lhê.
 that person TOP God create EMPH
 ‘The person (in general), God created.’

Plural demonstratives follow the head noun (166). Notice that in (161-162) the demonstrative does not need to be pluralized when numbers are part of the noun phrase.

- (166) no shî pé
 cow this PL
 ‘these cows’

There is also a demonstrative *gó* ‘another, other’ which precedes the head noun (167).

- (167) Go yuq lé hká taí.
 other CLF(person) OBJ NEG.IMP speak
 ‘Don't speak about other people.’

5.2.6 Postpositions

The semantic functions of Zaiwa noun phrases are indicated by word order, postpositions, and context. Postpositions are enclitic to the preceding noun phrase and mark the phrase as topic, instrumental (including focused agent), object (patient, recipient, benefactive), allative, ablative, locative, temporal, and comitative.

Zaiwa would seem to be a nominative-accusative language²⁵, however, there is no grammaticalized way to define the categories of subject and object in Zaiwa, and therefore these terms are not indicated.²⁶ In Zaiwa the A and S functions have no postpositional marking (168, 169), while the O function generally receives the object postposition *lé* (169, 170). Some Tibeto-Burman languages have a similar postposition that indicates an anti-agentive function, but Zaiwa uses the postposition *lé* for both animate and inanimate patients (169, 170), making it more general than the anti-agentive marker.

²⁵ Andrews defines nominative-accusative case marking systems as having “a ‘nominative’ case associated with the agent (A) and intransitive subject (S) functions, and an ‘accusative’ case associated with the object (O) function” (1985:75). If we were to analyze Zaiwa as nominative-accusative, the A and S functions would generally have a \emptyset case marker (168, 169), while the O function would be marked by the object (accusative) postposition *lé* when necessary (169, 170).

²⁶ LaPolla states that, “In order to determine if a language has such a grammaticalized subject, we can follow the methodology...of examining various constructions in the language to determine which argument of the verb, if any, figures as the syntactic pivot in each of the constructions.” (La Polla, 1993: 763). As far as I can tell, Zaiwa lacks these syntactic pivots for subject and object.

- S
 (168) Tangun doq yap é.
 Tangun go.up stand PFV
 ‘Tangun stood up.’

- A O
 (169) Ngamoq htungká lé tô to...
 1pexcl basket OBJ put CONT
 ‘We put on the baskets...’

- A O
 (170) Yhangmoq ngò lé bat é.
 3p 1s OBJ hit PFV
 ‘They hit me.’

Zaiwa also has a topic marker *gi*, which is morphosyntactically a part of the preceding noun phrase. The topic marker functions primarily in interclausal, intersentential, and discourse domains, with a primary function of introducing (171a, first sentence), changing (171b, second sentence) or contrasting (172) the referent.

- A
 (171) a. *Gohtat lé, [chui zo rà yuq gi,] asho awui*
 long.ago TEMP orphan one CLF (person) TOP poor

yhâng-whoí eq nyì nyì é gâ.
 3sposs.grandmother COM stay PROG PFV reported.speech

- A
 b. *Haú hkûn, ...[wo bang sut bang gi,]*
 that time have CLF(people) riches people TOP

O
 [yhum sing sutzè lé] no myang má hto
 own wealth OBJ cow horse LOC load.on.animal

chûng mù, hkohkâm-wàng má chîn zè
 hold and king.compound LOC husked.rice thing

htaí ê ló yán bum ri. (orphan.2-3)
 change go go move.uninterrupted PL.DUR REALIS

‘Long ago, an orphan was living with his poor grandmother, they say. At that time, ...rich people loaded their wealth on animals and went one after another to exchange for rice at the palace.’

- (172) S S
Dunau shinggan ê mù Roiseng gi yhûm má nyì é.
 Dunau outside go and Roiseng TOP house LOC stay PFV
 ‘Dunau went outside but Roiseng is at home. (Roi Seng in focus)’

Zaiwa pronouns behave identically with common and proper nouns in relation to postpositions as shown in (169, 170).

In Zaiwa, what would commonly be called the indirect object of a ditransitive clause or recipient is marked with the object marker *lé* (6, 7). The NP word order is generally A - R - T (6), but can be A - T - R. The T of a ditransitive clause is indicated only by word order (typically being the closest noun phrase to the verb), or semantics without an overt postpositional marking (173, 174). In all cases in my data, the R has a higher salience than T. It may be that *lé* marks the most salient of the two objects.

- (173) A R T
Ngá sará ngò lé laiká nghap mhoq ri.
 1sposs teacher 1s OBJ book read teach REALIS
 ‘My teacher taught me to read books.’

- (174) R T
Ngò lé laiká haû byi laq.
 1s OBJ book that give IMP-1-2
 ‘(You) give me that book.’

The object marker *lé* is generally utilized, but may be optional when the agent and patient of the verb are apparent from the semantic information in unmarked word order (175). In (175) it is obvious that *ngamoq* encodes the agent who dug up the soil, and not vice-versa.

- (175) *ngamoq myi-tse du mù luí eq... (fish.9)*
 1pexcl soil dig and then and
 ‘we dug up the soil, and then...’

The object marker *lé* is also used in clauses where there should not be ambiguity, having an animate agent and inanimate patient (169). The use of the object marker in clauses without ambiguity may be more prevalent in written communication and may have a more formal role in providing clarity based on the speaker's intentions or complexity of the clause.

The A noun phrase occurs clause initial in unmarked word order of a transitive or ditransitive clause. When another noun phrase is fronted for reasons of focus or pragmatics, the object marker *lé* is required if the noun phrase functions are not clear from context (176).

- (176) Byù haû lé ngò í dàm myàng é.
 person that OBJ 1s two CLF(time) see PFV
 ‘That person, I saw twice.’

When the role of each noun phrase is unambiguous due to context or the different semantic roles required by the verb, the O may be fronted without marking (177).

- (177) Zang banshoq zoshâng zo é.
 food all child eat PFV
 ‘The child ate all the food (focus).’

When the A noun phrase is in focus, the instrumental marker *èq* may be used to emphasize the doer of the action (178). The object can still be fronted when *èq* is used to put focus on the agent (179). The use of the instrumental to mark focused agent is rare in natural text and its function needs further investigation.

- (178) Nang èq ngo lé laiká haû byi ri.
 2s INS 1s OBJ book that give REALIS
 ‘You gave me that book (I did not take it myself).’

- (179) Yhang lé, hkuî èq ngat ri.
 3s OBJ dog INS bite REALIS
 ‘It was him that the dog bit.’

The object marker *lé* can also be used in combination with the verb *byi* following the main verb to mark benefaction (180).

- (180) Yhang lé ngò mebu wuì byi lhê.
 3s OBJ 1s clothes buy BEN(give) IPFV
 ‘I bought clothes for him (Lit. I bought and gave clothes to him).’

The object marker *lé* is sometimes followed by the topic marker *gi* to add emphasis or contrast (181).

- (181) Yhang lé gi ngùn byi, ngò lé gi shi byi.
 3s OBJ TOP money give, 1s OBJ TOP fruit give
 ‘To him give money, to me give fruit.’

Zaiwa also has postpositions that mark locative *má* (37, 171), temporal *lé* (171), instrumental *èq* (30, 179, 182), allative *chyáng*, *shut* (76, 183), ablative *mai*, *chyáng mai* (184-186) and comitative *eq* (171a, 187) case. The postposition *hkyô* ‘about’ also belongs in this category.

- (182) Shâm èq zàn goq.
 sword INS cut let.us.dual
 ‘Cut with the sword.’

- (183) ...haû bang lé Bhamo wa shut nhang.kat
 that clf(people) OBJ Bhamo village ALL send
 bê nghut ri.
 PAST EMPH
 ‘...(he) sent those people to Bhamo.’
- (184) Haú nyí mai chuizô hpaumyi gi, (orphan.12)
 that day ABL orphan grandparents TOP
 ‘From that day, the orphan and grandparents...’
- (185) Sik haû gi bùm mai zàn lò é.
 tree that TOP mountain ABL cut come PFV
 ‘That tree was cut from the mountain.’
- (186) Nungmoq chyáng mai nhang kat é byù a nghut.
 2pl ABL send NMLZ person NEG COP
 ‘(He) is not the person that was sent from you.’
- (187) Zang eq zo goq.
 rice COM eat let.us
 ‘Let us eat with rice.’
- (188) Nàng haû hkyô a ge taí.
 2s that about NEG should speak
 ‘You should not speak about that.’

The following are examples of additional postpositions with clause level functions (189-192):

- (189) Nang gi, ngá é sara **dông** hkâ lé taí.
 2s TOP 1sposs POSS teacher like NEG.IMP come talk
 ‘Don't come talk as if you are my teacher.’
- (190) Haû **su** yhang taí ri.
 that like 3s say REALIS
 ‘He said like that.’
- (191) Nàng wó é **gù** byî kat aq.
 2s have NMLZ as.much.as give put IMP.SG
 ‘Send me as much as you have.’

- (192) Haû **yanmai**, ngò lé nhîng nyi ri.
 that because.of 1s OBJ curse PROG REALIS
 ‘Because of that he is cursing me.’

5.2.7 Genitives

A possessor noun followed by the genitive marker *é* precedes the head noun which is possessed (193-195).

- (193) ngamoq é wà gi (194) *Tangun é yhangwa*
 1pexcl POSS village TOP Tangun POSS father
 ‘our village’ ‘Tangun's father’
- (195) zoshâng é hkui
 child POSS dog
 ‘child's dog’

The possessor noun can be a simple noun or a more complex noun phrase (79, 196, 197):

- (196) nò sù é myoqdong
 sick one.who POSS face
 ‘person who is sick's face’
- (197) myuq mo é loq (monkey.8)
 monkey big POSS hand
 ‘big monkey's hand’

Singular possessive pronouns are different from the singular personal pronouns and generally do not use the genitive marker *é*, as discussed in Section 5.1.2.2. Dual and plural pronouns, however, do not have a unique possessive form and add the genitive marker to mark possession.

Zaiwa also has inalienably possessed nouns such as *yhangwa* ‘his father’ (from *yhâng* ‘3sposs’ + *wa* ‘father’) and *nungzo* ‘your children’. By itself, *yhangwa* means ‘his father’. But when used following a 2nd or 3rd person plural pronoun followed by the genitive marker it can simply mean ‘father’, e.g. *yhangmoq é yhangwa* ‘their father’, *nungnhik é yhangwa* ‘your-dual father’.²⁷

5.2.8. Nominalization and the Relative Clause

Zaiwa has both lexical and clausal nominalization. Lexical nominalization of a verb or adjective can occur in Zaiwa by adding the nominalizing prefix *a-* (12).

²⁷ Following a 1p + *é*, ‘father’ is indicated by using *iwa*. Following 1s and 2s, ‘father’ is indicated by using *wa* without the genitive marker (e.g. *ngá wa*, ‘my father’).

Clausal nominalization generally occurs by postposing the nominalizer *é* to the end of a verb, adjective, or clause with the resulting nominal acting as a relative clause or nominalized clause (3, 76-78, 86, 186). The nominalizer *é* is the same morpheme used as the genitive marker and follows verbs and adjectives in their citation forms, which seems to be common in Tibeto-Burman languages²⁸. There are also special forms of nominalization which form agentive nominals (209-212) and abstract nouns (213-216).

Clausal nominalization and the relative clause are related in Zaiwa. At first glance the nominalizer *é* could be interpreted as a relativizer, but nominalized clauses which are immediately followed by an object or topic marker indicate a referential function instead of a modifying function (205, 206). Therefore I will interpret a [(NP) VP *é*] followed by a head noun as a nominalized clause playing the part of a relative clause.²⁹ The close relationship between relative clause, nominalizer and even the genitive marker may be easier to visualize by using alternative glossing. In (198) the gloss for the relative clause is ‘clothes that wear often’, but it could also be glossed as a nominalized modifier ‘wearing often clothes’ or, if we wanted to go so far as to connect the genitive marker with the nominalizing marker we could say, ‘clothes of wearing often’. But that is a topic for another discussion.

- (198) ayang wut é mebu
 often wear NMLZ clothes
 ‘clothes that wear often (everyday clothes)’

Relative clauses in Zaiwa are restrictive, externally headed and pre-nominal (199), immediately preceding the head noun or NMOD HN. The relative clause in Zaiwa uses a gapping strategy and thus is missing the nominal argument from the nominalized clause that appears as the head noun. There are no relative pronouns in Zaiwa. The relative clause can consist of a verb phrase (198) or verbal adjective phrase or a clause including associated nouns (200, 201). The verb inside the relative clause can be simple (200) or can be followed by tense or aspect markers (202, 204). The relative clause can modify the A (200), O (3, 201), and S (202) roles, as well as other roles.

- (199) Relative Clause = (NP) VP *é* HN

²⁸ Matisoff identifies the nominalizer, genitive marker and particle used with the verb citation form as the same morpheme in Lahu and generalizes this in Tibeto-Burman. “As a general rule of thumb applicable throughout the Tibeto-Burman family, whenever one discovers the particle used in verb citation, one can be sure of having discovered the most important nominalizer of the language.” (1972: 248).

²⁹ LaPolla refers to such a structural coalescence in relation to Rawang, “Although I have been referring to both structures throughout this paper as relative clauses, the nominalized modifier is not a true relative clause; it represents a shift in type of structure, from [relative clause + noun] to [nominalized clause + noun] (that is, [nominal + nominal]). This develops partly because of the tendency in Sino-Tibetan language to have nominal-nominal constructions where the first nominal modifies the second.” (2008: 807).

- (200) yhangmoq lé shuî-on é myuq mo gi (monkey.5)
 3p OBJ lead NMLZ monkey big TOP
 ‘the big monkey that led them’

- (201) Yhang hui é byù gi, shi má a nyì.
 3s meet NMLZ person TOP this LOC NEG stay
 ‘Person that he met is not here.’

- (202) laî lò bê é april lha-mó má (fish.3)
 pass go PAST NMLZ April month LOC
 ‘last April’ (at the month of April that passed already)

The relative clause follows the phrase-initial demonstrative adjective and can be rather complex (203, 204).

- (203) Haû yhang myang jup é ngozo gi, ngam
 that 3s can catch NMLZ fish TOP delicious
 dik ri.
 most REALIS
 ‘The fish that he was able to catch was most delicious.’

- (204) shî ngá é nhô má tui to é
 this 1sposs POSS nose LOC tie CONT NMLZ
 tuì gi (mouse.5)
 rope TOP
 ‘this rope that is tied in my nose’

Nominalized clauses can occur without a following head noun. This could be interpreted as a headless relative clause, but it seems more straightforward to interpret it as a nominalized clause which is acting as a referential phrase with the appropriate postpositional marking (205, 206).

- (205) Ko é lé wú aq.
 big NMLZ OBJ look.at IMP.SG
 ‘Look at the big one.’

- (206) Lé é gi hê yuq nghut lhê.
 come NMLZ TOP that CLF(person) COP IPFV
 ‘The one who came (comer) is that person.’

The postpositions can also be dropped and the nominalizer *é* can simply precede the matrix verb when the NP relation to the verb is unambiguous (207).

- (207) Yhang, Hkun Seng kut é (lé) myàng ri.
 3s Hkun Seng do NMLZ OBJ see REALIS
 ‘He saw what Hkun Seng did.’

A relative clause can occur without the nominalizer *é* when the event referred to is in the future, as indicated by the irrealis particle *râ* (208). This is a type of juxtaposed relative clause without an overt nominalization marker.

- (208) Yhang hui râ byù gi, shi má a nyì.
 3s meet IRR person TOP this LOC NEG stay
 ‘Person that he will meet is not here.’

A very common form of nominalization or specialized relative clause expresses occupations or people who are the regular agent of a verb (209-212). The pronouns of general reference for people, singular *sû*,³⁰ ‘one/person who’, and plural *bang*, ‘CLF(people)’, are used as the head nouns and the nominalizer *é* is optional. This seems to be a form in transition between lexical and clausal nominalization.

- (209) yo sai (é) sû
 field work NMLZ one.who
 ‘one who works field (farmer)’

- (210) yo sai (é) bang
 field work NMLZ CLF(people)
 ‘people who work field (farmers)’

- (211) làng myi lú (é) sû
 husband wife rob NMLZ one.who
 ‘person that robs husband/wife’ (adulterer)

- (212) haû má hî jé é sû lé chyungwuq
 that LOC first arrive NMLZ one.who OBJ prize

byi râ. (rabbit.4)
 give IRR
 ‘will give prize to person who arrives there first.’

Abstract nouns tend to be derived from a nominalized verb or adjective followed by the head noun *hkyô* ‘way, matter’ (213-216). Notice that the entire nominalized structure can be made plural (216).

³⁰ The Zaiwa word *sû* is identical to the old Burmese form *su* meaning ‘person who...’ which was a nominalizer.

(213) dingman é hkyô
 righteous NMLZ way
 ‘righteousness’

(214) gè é hkyô
 good NMLZ way
 ‘goodness’

(215) taí é hkyô
 say NMLZ way
 ‘wording’

(216) zui saí é hkyô pé
 work do NMLZ way PL
 ‘works/doings’

The word *myit* ‘heart’ can also act as the head of a nominalized verb or clause to express abstract nouns (217, 218).

(217) lumjǐng é myit
 believe NMLZ heart
 ‘faith’

(218) shakut sharâng é myit
 work.hard persevere NMLZ heart
 ‘perseverance’

5.2.9 Focusing Adverbs

This section includes adverbs that occur after a nominal (postpositional or noun) phrase. I include them here as they are more closely associated with the NP than the verb. These words include *le* ‘also’ (219, 220), *lháng* ‘even’ (221), and *za* ‘only’ (222).

(219) Yhang le ê râ.
 3s also go IRR
 ‘He also will go.’

(220) Yhang lé le ngò lé le nhik-yo ri.
 3s OBJ also 1s OBJ also angry REALIS
 ‘(He) is angry at him also, at me also.’

(221) Xâm ra hkat lé lháng hpyû shoq noq shoq,
 hair one CLF OBJ even white up.to black up.to

 nàng wó kut é a nghut.
 2s can make PFV NEG COP
 ‘You cannot make even one hair white or black.’

- (222) Yhang taî é lé za gyo yu sháng.
 3s say NMLZ OBJ only listen get let.us
 ‘Let us listen only to what he says.’

5.3 Conjunctions

The Zaiwa noun phrase can be simple or complex. Complex noun phrases combine simple noun phrases with additive or alternative coordinating conjunctions.

The most common additive coordinating conjunction in Zaiwa noun phrases is *eq* ‘and’ (223, 224). It is the same form used for the comitative marker, but is used between two simple noun phrases.

- (223) ngò eq yhang (224) shî yuq eq haû yuq
 1s and 3s this CLF(person) and that CLF(person)
 ‘I and he’ ‘this person and that person’

The most common construction which may function like an alternative coordinating conjunction in Zaiwa noun phrases is *a nghut le* ‘if is not, or’ (225). This construction may also be considered a conditional clause.

- (225) shî lhum a nghut le hê lhum
 this CLF NEG COP if that CLF
 ‘this one or that one’, Lit. ‘If is not this one (is) that one.’

5.4 Some Aspects of Discourse Grammar in the Noun Phrase

As mentioned in section 5.2.6, the noun phrase has a topic marker *gi* which depends on the discourse structure and context. One additional noun phrase component that is dependent on discourse constraints is the contrastive marker *kum*. *kum* is used following a head noun and preceding the topic marker when the topic of a new sentence is contrasted with the topic of the previous sentence. The two discourse related markers, *gi* and *kum*, are exemplified in (226).

- (226) Hkohkâm-wàng hkum má jé jáng, wo bang
 king.compound door LOC arrive when rich people

 sut bang **gi**, ra yuq htâng ra yuq
 riches people TOP one CLF(person) after one CLF(person)

 zo shuq é myang htaí bê râ ga yhumsîng
 eat drink REL can change IMMED.IRR said own

no myang lé kon dìn wàng lò bùm ri.
cow horse OBJ drive run enter come PL.DUR REALIS

Chuizo **kúm** haû **gi**, hkâsu kut râ lhú ga luî,
orphan but that TOP how do IRR INTRG said and

hkum yàm má maú yap to ri. (orphan.6)
door outside LOC wonder stand CONT REALIS

‘When (they) arrived at palace gate, rich people one after another drove-ran-entered own animals saying can exchange for food. But that orphan child said, (I) will do how, and stood wondering at outside gate.’

Another aspect of discourse grammar associated with the noun phrase relates to participant reference. Nouns in the topic position may be dropped (zero anaphora) after the initial mention in a text or sentence (227, 228).

(227) Ngamoq htungká lé tô to mù luî eq...
1pexcl basket OBJ put.on and then and

Ø luqgok pé waq kat mù luî eq... (fish.8-9)
stone PL lift put.in and then and

‘We put on baskets and then... (we) lifted-put in stones, then ...’

(228) Ngamoq myi-tse du mù luî Ø wui (lé)
1pexcl soil dig and then water OBJ

tíng chí pyám é. (fish.9)
close close away PFV

‘We dug up some soil and then closed water off.’

ABBREVIATIONS

1pexcl	first person plural exclusive of hearer pronoun
1pincl	first person plural inclusive of hearer pronoun
1s	first person singular pronoun
1sposs	first person singular possessive pronoun
2p	second person plural pronoun
2s	second person singular pronoun
2sposs	second person singular possessive pronoun
3d	third person dual pronoun
3p	third person plural pronoun
3s	third person singular pronoun

3sposs	third person singular possessive pronoun
A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
BEN	benefactive
CLF	classifier
CLFPL	classifier expansion/pluralizer
COM	comitative
COMP	completive
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIRADD	direct address
DO	direct object
DRCT	directive
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclamation
FADV	focusing adverb
GEN	genitive
GENADD	general address
HN	head noun
IMP	imperative
IMP.SG	imperative singular
IMP.PL	imperative plural
IPFV	imperfective aspect
INDIC	indicative
INS	instrumental
INTRG	interrogative mood marker
IO	indirect object
IMMED.IRR	immediate irrealis
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MOD	modifier
N	noun
NEG	negative
NEG.IMP	negative imperative
NMOD	noun modifier
NMLZ	nominalizer
NMLZEXP	nominalizing expansive
NP	noun phrase
NPART	noun particle

NUM	number
O	transitive object
OBJ	object marker
PAST	past tense
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
PL.DUR	plural durative
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive aspect
QUANT	quantifier
R	recipient
REALIS	realis
REFL	reflexive
RELCL	relative clause
S	intransitive subject
SPEC	specifier
T	theme
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
V	verb
VOC	vocative
VP	verb phrase

APPENDIX A

Zaiwa Orphan Text

Line 01 - Title

Chuizo *lawut.*

orphan poor

‘Poor orphan.’

Line 02

Gohtat *le,* *chuizo* *rà* *yuq* *gi,* *asho awui*
 long.ago TEMP orphan one CLF(person) TOP poor

yhâng *whoí* *eq* *nyì* *nyì* *é* *gâ.*
 3sposs grandmother COM stay PROG PFV reported.speech

‘Long ago, an orphan was living with his poor grandmother, they say.’

Line 03

Haú hkûn, bùm doq pá gyó zàn le
 that time mountain go.up plain descend rainy.season TEMP

mut huî huî nám le, wo bang sut
 look.for.food meet meet season TEMP rich people riches

bang gi, yhumsing sutzè lé no myang má
 people TOP own wealth OBJ cow horse LOC

hto chûng mù, hkohkâm-wàng má chîn zè
 load.on.animal hold and king.compound LOC husked.rice thing

htaí ê ló yán bum ri.
 change go go move.uninterrupted PL.DUR REALIS

‘At that time, when it was season of looking for sparse food going up the mountains going down to plains in the rainy season, rich people loaded their wealth on animals and went one after another to exchange for rice at the palace.’

Line 04

Haú hkûn, chuizo yhang whoí gi, wáng bê é
 that time orphan 3sposs grandmother TOP ripe PAST NMLZ

humjáng rà cham hpyoq yû mù, a-káng
 wint.melon one CLF pick.fruit take and core

htong pyám luî yhang hpaumyî é woq
 open strip.off then 3sposs grandparents POSS chicken

hpó te lé, haú humjáng hkaû má kat
 male single OBJ that winter.melon middle LOC put.in

luî htep za myhi pyám mù, haû chuiz yhang gashu
 then tight only close away and that orphan 3sposs grandchild

lé hkohkâm chyáng a jé jé gi, a hpóng
 OBJ king ALL NEG arrive arrive TOP NEG open

e za ê luí, chîn ê htaí lò aq
 NMLZ only go then husked.rice go change come IMP.SG

ga nhang kat ri.
 said send release REALIS

‘At that time, the orphan's grandmother picked a melon that was ripe already and, stripped out the core and, put the only rooster of his grandparents inside that melon and, closed it tightly and, sent the orphan, her grandchild saying, “Until you arrive to the king go without opening it and, exchange it for rice.”’

Line 05

Chuizo *haû* *gi,* *wó* *bang* *sut* *bâng* *htâng* *má*
 orphan that TOP rich people riches people after LOC

gyai *gyuq* *hoq* *é* *eq* *humjáng* *cham*
 very.much fear ashamed NMLZ COM winter.melon CLF

haû *lé* *waq* *mù* *châng* *tô* *le,* *haû* *bang*
 that OBJ carry.on.back and follow CONT TEMP that people

gi, *humjáng* *rà* *cham* *eq* *wá* *zo* *shuq* *htaí*
 TOP winter.melon one CLF COM even eat drink change

ê *gi,* *ga* *ra* *hkyo* *ê* *wuì* *hò* *chôm* *tû* *so*
 go TOP said whole way go laugh seek together reply walk

to *akô,* *nghut* *kôlhang,* *chuizo* *haû* *gi* *jít*
 CONT INDIC.PL COP but orphan that TOP not.function

le *a* *ga* *e zà* *cháng* *to* *ri.*
 also NEG speak only follow CONT REALIS

‘As that orphan carried that melon behind the rich people with much fear and followed, the people walked together and made fun the whole way saying, “(He) goes-exchanges the melon for food and drink,” but, that orphan continued followed without speaking.’

Line 06

Hkohkâm-wàng *hkum* *má* *jé* *jáng,* *wo* *bang* *sut* *bang*
 king.compound door LOC arrive when rich people riches people

gi, *rà* *yuq* *htâng* *rà* *yuq* *zo* *shuq* *é* *myang*
 TOP one CLF(person) after one CLF(person) eat drink NMLZ can

htaí *berâ* *ga* *yhumśîng* *no* *myang* *lé* *kon*
 change IMMED.IRR said own cow horse OBJ drive

dìn *wàng* *lò* *bùm* *ri.* *Chuizo* *kúm* *haû* *gi*
 run enter come PL.DUR REALIS orphan but that TOP

hkâsu *kut* *râ* *lhú* *ga* *luí* *hkum* *yàm* *má* *maú*
 how do IRR INTRG said then door outside LOC wonder

yap *to* *ri.*
 stand CONT REALIS

‘When they arrived at the palace gate, the rich people one after another drove in their own animals saying, “We will be able to exchange for food.”. But that orphan said, “How will I do,” and stood wondering outside the gate.’

Line 07

Haû su din yáng wang ló bûm kô lhê. Hkôhkâm-wá
 that like run quick enter go PL.DUR 2,3PL IPFV king

é lungji nghoq gi, yhâng é goqsân má zung to mù,
 POSS parrot bird TOP 3sposs POSS shoulder LOC sit CONT and

zè gè wùn sù gi htâng shut, ga hkôhkâm lé
 thing good carry one.who TOP behind ALL said king OBJ

taî kyo jáng, hkôhkâm-wá gi, htâng má ó lò
 tell DRCT when king TOP afterward LOC who come

ashî, hân ê wut wang lò keq ga yhâng é
 still fast go call enter come IMP.PL said 3sposs POSS

dui-nhâng zoshâng wuì lé nhâng kat mù, haú bang
 cause.move child PL OBJ send release and that people

gi, chuizo haû lé ê shuî wang lo akô.
 TOP orphan that OBJ go bring enter come INDIC.PL

‘They entered quickly like that. When the king's parrot was sitting on his shoulder, “One who carries good thing is behind,” like this he told the king, the king said, “Who is still coming, go call quickly,” like this sent his servants and, those people went and brought that orphan.’

Line 08

Hkôhkâm-wá, humjáng bún waq tô é chuizo haû
 king winter.melon carry carry CONT NMLZ orphan that

lé myàng jáng, náng loq má waq tô é gi, haî
 OBJ see and 2sposs hand LOC carry CONT NMLZ TOP what

nghut lhê lhu ga luî myî ri.
 COP IPFV INTRG said then ask REALIS

‘The king saw that orphan who carried the melon and, “What is what you carry in your hands?” like this he asked.’

Line 09

Chuizo haû kúm gi, gyai gyuq hoq é eq woq hpó
 orphan that but TOP much fear shame NMLZ COM chicken male

nghut lhê ga tû taí uchyang, yhâng whoí
 COP IPFV said answer say simul. 3sposs grandmother

myhi to é humjáng nhut lé hpông kat eq ra
 close CONT NMLZ wint.melon mouth OBJ open do and whole

yhum é byíng shoq duqbó kat ra, rago dum chôm
house POSS full up.to shine immediate carefully again together

wú kô le, humjáng hkaû má gi, hîng woq
look.at 2,3PL TEMP wint.melon middle LOC TOP gold chicken

hpó lúng tô ri.
male stay CONT REALIS

‘But as that orphan replied with much fear, “Is rooster.”, he opened the melon cover that his grandmother had put on and, immediately it shined to fill the whole house, when they looked at together again carefully, there was a gold rooster inside the melon.’

Line 10

Haú hkaû, hkohkâm-wá gi, chuizo haû lé, náng ahpau
that time king TOP orphan that OBJ 2sposs price

hka-myh o râ ga myi le, chuizo lawut haû gi,
how.much want IRR said ask TEMP orphan poor that TOP

dut é hkyô lé maú luî, û kyîn ya tô ri.
happen PFV NMLZ OBJ wonder then head scratch stand CONT REALIS

‘At that time, when the king asked that orphan, “How much is your price (you) want?”, that poor orphan wondered about what was happening and, stood scratching his head.’

Line 11

Hkohkâm-wá dat gyô é nghut jáng gi, chuizo
king can hear NMLZ COP suppose TOP orphan

lawut shî, u mâ é xâm myhó yhang ô nau ri
poor this head LOC NMLZ hair as.much 3s want REALIS

nhung ga luî yhang mau-myî rà hkyam gón
even said and 3sposs land one half whole

chuizo haú lé gâm byî kat bê.
orphan that OBJ divide give do PAST

‘What the king supposed and understood was, this poor orphan wanted as much as the hair on his head so, he gave that orphan one half of all his land.’

Line 12

Haú nyí mai chuižô hpaumyi gi, Garaî jeju wó yù
 that day ABL orphan grandparents TOP God grace can get

mù nyí ngón yuqyò nyì bekô.
 and day enjoyable nice stay PAST.PL

‘From that day, the orphan and grandparents received God's grace and lived peacefully.’

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