

On the Use of *Dah* in Lai Chin Questions and the Operator Syntax of Functors

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O. INTRODUCTION. The following remarks are intended as bearing upon a general treatment of the syntax of questions and its extension to a larger class of quantificational functors within the framework of Minimalist and Bare Phrase Structure syntax (Chomsky 1993, 1994). They are motivated in the first instance by the problem of how to generalise an account of the element *dah* in the Lai, or Haka Chin language.

1. THE PARTICLE *DAH*. At the most elementary level of observation, *dah* is the mark of a *wh* question, and in this usage, it follows immediately the element (N), of its immediate scope. Thus

- (1) *zei khua dah a-si.*
wh village DAH it-is
What village is it?

But *dah* can also be used at the end of a sentence or, rather, clause, to mark it as a question. Thus

- (2) *an-dam rih lai dah*
they-well stay will DAH
[I am in doubt *whether*]they are well.

That this usage is best thus translated using 'whether' is clear from the fact that such sentences as (2) are in fact contractions, expandable as follows:

- (3) *an-dam rih lai maw, dam rih lai lo dah ka-thei lo.*
they well stay will 'or else', well fut. not 'whether',
I know not.
I don't know if they are well or not.

Moreover, it is now particularly obvious that the *wh*-words taken without the element *dah*, i.e., not in the scope of the latter, function just as non-specific quantifiers, where it is also obvious that indeed *maw*, otherwise coming after a sentence to mark it as

a Y/N question, is best glossed generally as 'or other' / 'or else', as in (3).

- (4) *zei cauk maw ka-duh lai*¹
 what book or-other I want shall
 I shall want some book or other.

Note, in this connection that there is another quite common contracted form of (3), now given as 2¹

- (2¹) *an-dam rih lai maw ka-thei lo*
 they well stay will 'or otherwise' I don't know
 I don't know *if* they are well.

2. WH, Y/N, AND THE GENERALISED SYNTAX OF QUESTIONS: *DAH* AND *MAW*. From this it is readily seen that, as in Thai (Siamese), the superficial marking of a sentence with a post sentential Y/N marker, here *maw*, is more exactly a contracted form of a sentence comparing two opposed values (positive, negative) of the same predicate, as follows:

- (5) *na-dam maw*
 You well ?
 Are you well?
- (5¹) *na-dam maw, dam lo dah ka-thei lo.*
 you well 'or-else' not well ? I don't know.

Indeed, even

- (5¹¹) *na-dam maw dam lo dah*

can be used grammatically to express the same Y/N question, although it is excessively high-flown, pompous, and therefore something of a joke.

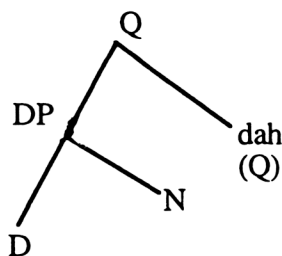
3. *DAH* AS THE HEAD OF A Q-PHRASE. This all leaves, one, of course, with but a solitary underlying Q, which is *dah*.. I shall not say just yet how, in a Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1994), or even Minimalist (Chomsky 1993) syntax, it is attached to the category of its immediate scope, save that it is invariably on its immediate right edge. In spite of a passing remark by Chomsky (1994), I cannot see that we can get away easily with supposing that it is part of a discontinuous Determiner morpheme in Spec/NP, so placed in Morphology.

Two considerations militate against such a view: first, that it is not semantically an Operator-Quantifier (e.g., non-specific), of the *wh*-variety, and secondly, that it is hard to imagine how it might be part of any Specifier of a clause, either Spec/IP, or, in Bare Phrase Structure without any necessary equivalent to IP, Spec/VP, i.e., how it could possibly be construed as intimately related, morphologically, to the Subject NP.

Therefore, perhaps it might be, after all as I suggested in Lehman 1990, an Adjunct of the maximal X category whose scope it marks as questioned. The problem with this is that it is inconsistent with the branching structure of this language, a rigidly Head-right (V-final) language, and even more of a problem for R. Kayne's theory of UG as uniformly SVO (1993), as modified and extended in Chomsky 1994. I dare say that one might suggest that, in this language, adjuncts are generally placed where we see them by morphology, but this seems too much of an *ad hoc* solution. Alternatively, given Chomsky's (1994) severe constraints upon adjunction, we could imagine that these elements are rather Heads — heads, that is, of Operator phrases of a certain sort. This is plausible, it seems to me, in as much as they 'take' maximal XP as their scope and hence make sense as '*defining* what a given category is as a syntactic type.'

On this last view, which is clearly the only one I have reasonable confidence in, a *wh*-questioned NP, will look like (6):

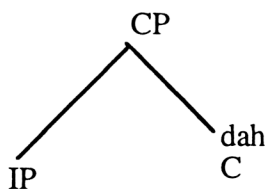
(6)



where Q projects, as does D, so that, DP² is Spec/Q. A questioned clause should then be a CP, with head C (=Q), so that we shall be, in the final analysis at least, obliged to reconstruct the notion of a complementiser as a special sort of

Operator that, however, is not (say, in the sense of Grimshaw 1994) a syntactic operator like *wh*, i.e., not in Spec/X; this operator in the present instance is our *Q*, but more generally it is a *functor* taking its Specifier into a new maximal X type (e.g., a new location or utterance type, or, in the case of Nouns, a quantification over a class or set already quantified as a Determiner Phrase³), it has no discernible binding properties, say over variables or traces, and it never takes a complement. This assumption about questioned clauses may not be altogether arbitrary in view of the fact that they are, at least covertly as reconstructed as LF, always subordinate to main clauses (or functors of the kind mentioned above) signifying doubt or lack of knowledge (and, in some languages, including the ones here dealt with, this leads to a nice account of evidential ‘particles’ on simplex main clauses, with the evidentiaries being yet another of this species of functor⁴). It may be somewhat more arbitrary to suggest that the Spec/C here is an IP.

(7)

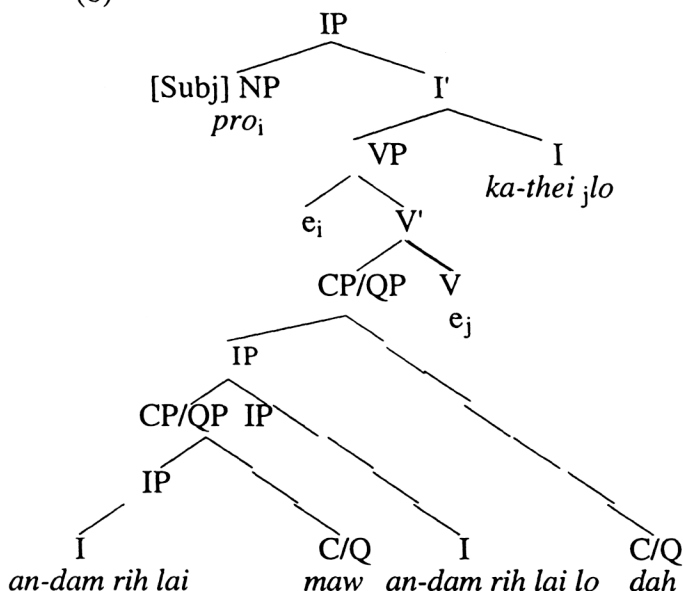


In any event, it seems that ‘S’ = Spec/CP in such constructions. Thus, consider (3), above, repeated here for convenience

(3) an dam rih lai maw, dam rih lai lo *dah* ka-thei lo.

This would arguably have the following Phrase Structure in (8):

(8)



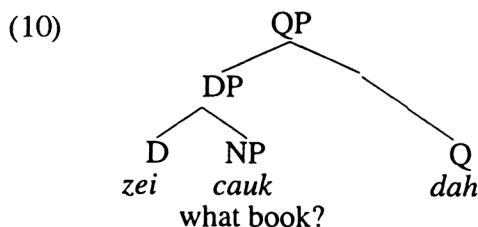
where the lowest CP/QP is the phrase structure of the ordinary colloquial Y/N question ending in *maw*, namely, (9):

- (9) *an dam rih lai maw*
 they well stay will or-otherwise
 Are they well?

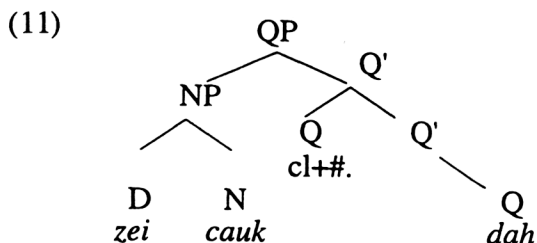
Here I am deliberately equivocating as between the X-bar category designations Q and C because the second order functors under consideration have the interesting property of quantifying over disjunct quantified expressions and taking them into further expressions of the same X-bar type. I shall assume, without all that much warrant, that in fact Q and C are in fact universally variants of one another, not only because *dah* occurs in all the places it does but also because, after all, complementisers in the ordinary sense indeed 'quantify' in the algebraical sense (Lehman 1985), i.e., express a choice function over the membership of elements of a set or class, in this kind of case the set of events of a certain intensional class; it is likewise also the case that they map a sentence into a complement or subordinate clause.

3.1. Parametric Variation in the X-bar Syntax of Nominal Phrases

Let us now examine *dah-headed* nominal phrases, such as (10):



If indeed it is universal that the X-bar category properly containing the determiner, D, is DP (because D projects), then this tree has the problem that, in this otherwise systematically head-right language, the head of DP is at its left edge. Therefore, we could imagine that, for at least these language types, e.g., languages in which, for instance, AGR is outside the scope of INFL (free empty category languages, that is — see now Lehman forthcoming), Determiners are, in this context at least, Spec/NP, in which case we will have the tree in (11), where ‘cl means ‘classifier’:



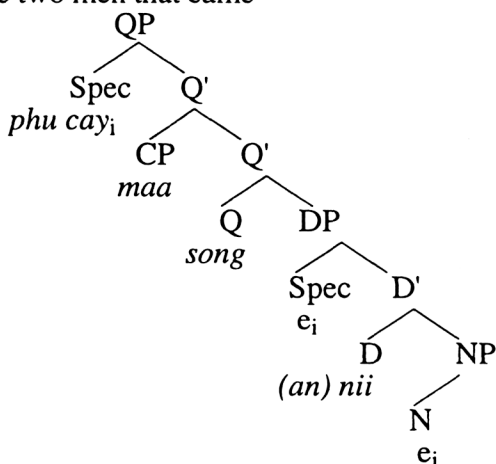
It may not matter for the present argument which of the two representations we choose, save that (11) seems better for preserving what seems like a very strict word order in these languages, in which case we suppose that this requirement and the associated morphological requirement of classifier-type agreement between an N and at least some or its modifiers, overrides the usual embedding/C-command order of the nominal expression as a whole. The important thing is that, in either case, the QP has its head, Q, on the right and this Q is, by the argument and demonstration of my most recent paper on the syntax of numerical expressions (including classifiers — Lehman 1990), is just where it should be to accommodate

numerical and other such classifier-bearing expressions. It may therefore be that in languages with classifier phrases dominating NP, we indeed need to relegate the Determiner to the rank of Spec/NP, since, in such languages, it appears that the QP/classifier phrase functions to quantify over NP in the way DP's do otherwise, e.g., in English and other European-type languages. Note that the fact that adjoined Q is on the left of the basic Q that accommodates *dah* is not a problem under the common supposition that we must expect adjunction to be left-adjunction more or less regardless of word order. Lest this seem a really off-the-wall proposal, let me point out that, with the substitution of 'Quantifier Phrase' for 'Number Phrase', this proposal is at least closely related to that recently put forward by Ritter (1995) for not dissimilar reasons with regard to Hebrew (where the Number Phrase is not dominant over DP).

As previously (Lehman 1990), we require an adjunction to Q' to accommodate the numerical Q in such a way as to account properly for the classifier morphology on it as a case of specifier-head agreement. For, NP is Specifier to QP and thus to **all** the heads under the composite Q'!

This has general bearing upon classifier theory that somewhat modifies Lehman (1990) as follows. Consider Thai, with its SVO word order and corresponding fairly strict Head-right word order. The surface order seems at first to go against that generalisation, but once again it seems that the way out follows straight forwardly from consideration of the dominance/direct C-command of QP and its agreement system over DP/NP. The result is a bit different from the Lai Chin as, of course, owing to the different word order and related branching structure, in particular because NP is now within DP. But, still, QP and its classifier-type agreement morphology dominates the whole nominal expression. So,

- (12) phu chay an (thii) maa song khon khon nii
 man Agr C come 2 cl. cl. this
 these two men that came



(where, then, we must consider the 'classifier'/so-called complementizer, *an*, to be another instance of an agreement clitic; presumably as a first approximation at least, just in case IP is embedded, as in relative clause constructions here, in an essentially Control structure — here, the head of the immediately c-commanding NP controls some argument, in this instance the subject, of the IP in question. We then need $AGR_{s/o}$ because this Spec/Head agreement relation depends upon *pro* being in fact in Spec/AGR P with V temporarily in the relevant AGR head position (see next phrase structure tree, below).

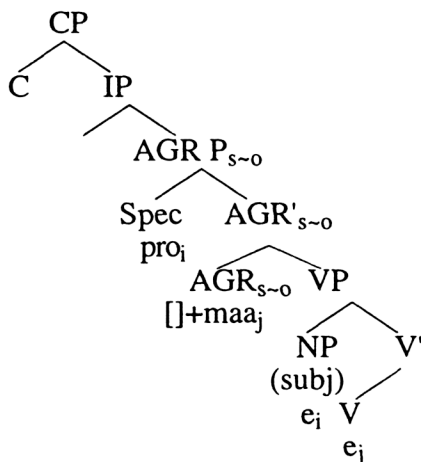
Anyhow, we retain the idea of Thai having and NP-internal adjunct in QP (the extra Q'), although now we must let QP dominate DP/NP, so that this internal adjunction within the whole nominal construction contains the complement of the nominal expression, which practically has got to be base generated there rather than under NP, since any restriction of 'Move α ' to just Head Movement would not allow for any movement of a whole clause (CP) from the position of the sister of the lowest e_i to adjoin to Q'. And, once again, it seems to be because of this QP classifier usage that DP is demoted to a mere specifier of NP; for otherwise we have no account available of the curious fact that, if DP dominates NP, we should expect, in this strictly head-left language (save for subjects in leftward

Spec/VP ~ Spec/IP!) to find determiners on the far right of the whole nominal expression!

So now, when the noun (Head/NP) moves (and all these movements are sanctioned by 'Greed' (Chomsky 1994) on account of the morphological requirement of agreement) first to Spec/DP, it triggers a clitic on D. Then, the N moves again, this time up to Spec/QP. In turn, this serves as controller of an empty/pro argument in the relative clause, which is enough to require that its verb be marked with clitic agreement with the missing controlled argument (possible arbitrarily selected in as much as all the clauses arguments may well be pro), as in (13). The classifier/AGR clitic on Q is particularly interesting. Remember that the relative clause (NP complement superficially at least) is an adjunct. Therefore, N, ultimately in Spec/QP not only controls the given missing argument in the relative clause, but it also remains, together with this linking clause, in the necessary Spec-Head relation with Q, which therefore requires that Q also be cliticised with the classifier for agreement.

We leave the status of the so-called complementiser, *thii* as it was explained in Lehman (1990), and therewith submit as the structure of the appropriate fragment of the sentence in (12), ... *an thii maa ...*, as (13):

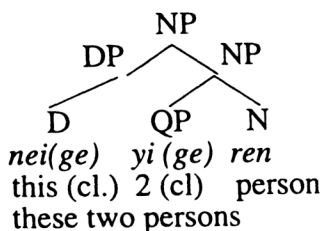
(13)



where '[]' stands for the 'complementiser' *thii* and related clausal scope elements.

Burmese works, not surprisingly in view of the strict head-final word order, just like Lai Chin except for the trivial morphological difference that the Burmese classifier cliticises onto the end of the numeral quantifier. Chinese, however, seems again rather different because, assuming for the time being a general word order modifier-head, consistent with but not necessary for V-medial languages, the DP is Spec/QP, and here then the classifier/agreement clitic goes on a specifier rather than a head. The numeral Q is at least *ex hypothesi* a complement in the nominal expression (general order specifier, complement, head, predicting an underlying word order SOV (perhaps changing to SVO as V-second for main clauses) and, again DP has to be a Spec/NP, although now QP does not c-command the whole nominal expression but is just the complement of the NP. It seems that the adjunction is of the DP to NP itself, so that once again the DP is 'demoted' relatively to NP, to accommodate the 'classifier' morphology under specifier-head agreement. The NP complement clause, linked by the genitive marker *de*, I leave for future detailed representation. Thus, rather schematically, (14):

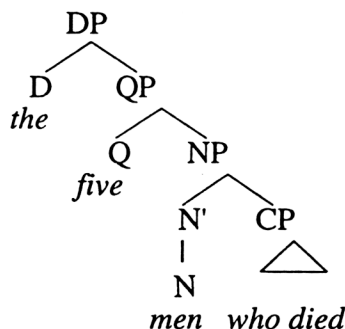
(14)



And it seems that the morphological rule may be simply that clitic/classifier agreement markers go on anything that can count as Spec/NP.

The idea that, one way or other, a QP, accommodating numerical expressions, is a proper part of any nominal expression is not strange, as it is also needed for, e.g., English, if we are to accommodate numeral expressions outside of the Determiner proper. If, in fact, NP is within DP, and if English word order is in fact generally specifier, head, complement, then we must postulate something like (15):

(15)



The most general point here is that the relative dominance order of Q, DP, and NP, respectively, seems to be determined by a combination of morphological and word-order (head/modifier) considerations.

4. THE EXTENSION TO CONJUNCTION. Let us continue to take the position that *maw* ('or other') is effectively a conjunction — so that, for instance, (5) is in fact a periphrase ('You are well or ...'). Then a conjunction (cf. Chomsky (1994)) must indeed be a head, here the head of CP, the Spec of IP. On first view this may seem odd, but really it is not. To begin with, conjunctive particles in these languages uniformly come where heads are expected, at the right edge of everything in their scope. Moreover, these languages have nothing like true co-ordinate conjunction, only participial conjunction, and this is true for 'and' as well. Thus (16):

- (16) *ka-it i ka-ei*
 I sleep and I eat (lit. 'I having slept/sleeping, I go')
 (where it is readily shown that *i* marks participial subordination⁵)

Under current Minimalist or Bare Phrase Structure versions of syntax, there is simply no place for multiple, non-binary branching, with the consequence that the relationship between

so-called conjoined structures has to be of the general sort seen in (8). Furthermore, it is impossible to imagine that the clauses are in any kind of head-complement relation, since in effect the complement relation seems to be one that is selected by lexical heads: verbs subcategorise for complements in the well known way, whilst noun phrase complements serve strictly to partition the class named by the head noun. I am practically forced, then, to say that the first conjunct, or rather the CP headed by the conjunction (here, *maw*) is the Specifier of the following clause (the CP headed here by *dah*).

5. FURTHER ON SECOND-ORDER QUANTIFICATION

With respect to what was said above about non-specific NP expressions in connection with wh-questions, another such expression exists, which I shall now treat very summarily.

- (17) *cauk zei poh na-ka-pek mi, ka-lah ko lai*
 book wh you-to-me give-one, I take emph. will.
 I'll take whatever book you give me. (lit., I'll take
 even the arbitrary 'ith book' you may give me.)

Here we see the wh-word, *zei* following the N, and followed, in turn, by *poh*, 'even'/'at all'. Clearly, it is possible to suppose that morphology (still something of a *deus ex machina*) could be credited with the post nominal (re-) positioning of wh, say to merge with the emphatic *poh*., which serves as a more emphatic Boolean operator than *dah*, and one that does not involve disjunction but rather selects (quantifies, i.e., serves as a choice function) over the non-specific disjunct N (= x_i (arb)) (see Lehman 1985a; and see also Lehman MS, *passim*). It is at least equally possible to suggest that the expression *zei poh* is a parenthetical interpolation, although, once again, this suggestion raises the problem of its following the N head, 'book'. In any case, it is necessary to mention that (17) has a counterpart, possibly somewhat less ordinary in style, (18):

- (18) *zei cauk poh na-ka-pek mi, ka-lah ko lai.*

I am quite unable to decide between the foregoing two alternative with regard to (17), the more so because the Morphology solution is called into question by the absence of any noticeable running together of *zei* and *poh*, whilst there is also no phonetic, e.g., intonational evidence that *zei poh* is parenthetical. Still, as far as can be seen at present, and within the Minimalist-Bare

Phrase Structure framework adopted here, one or other of the two possible solutions has got to be right.

6. THE QUANTIFICATIONAL STATUS OF NUMBER AND CASE. Finally, it is possible to extend the discussion above to bear upon the relation of numerical expressions to the nouns they qualify. This is because it is really quite clear that numerical expressions function semantically neither as complements nor as straightforward specifiers, so that they are arguably of the same general class of functor operators as the words we have so far been dealing with (see Lehman 1990). Now, the languages I am attending to here are all numeral classifier languages and Lehman 1990 is centrally concerned with the phenomenon of numeral classifiers and their syntax. For various reasons, in that paper, I came to the conclusion that these numeral-plus-classifier expressions were adjuncts, but the present syntactic framework precludes that. Indeed, it is particularly hard to see how to motivate right adjunction in such rigidly right-branching languages in any case. I am therefore forced to revise my position and claim that these expressions must be heads, since they invariably follow the noun phrases they quantify. Consider, then (19):

- (19) *cauk pa-khat*
 book cl-one
 one book

If, as stated, the numerical expression *pa-khat*, where *pa* is an agreement clitic (agreeing in some sense with book (*cauk*), cannot make sense as a complement of book;— e.g., (19) doesn't mean anything like 'the book that is three',— then it has to be a head in the intended sense of the present paper. It certainly is not a determiner, for determiners come on the left, and readily co-occur with numerals, as (20):

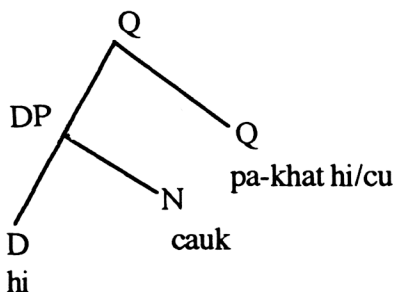
- (20) *hi cauk pa-khat hi/cu*
 this book cl-one here/thus
 this one book

where the post-numerical *hi* or *cu*, respectively, bear, amongst others, case-marking features and also carry feature agreement with the demonstrative proper (see Lehman 1985b).

6.1. Q-SYNTAX AND AGREEMENT FACTS. It seems that the only way to give a uniform description of all this in the

present syntactic framework is to claim that (19) and (20) have essentially the same structure as (6), thus for (20)

(21)



where the number is the basic head, Q, and where the DP as a whole is in the necessary specifier-head relation with Q, so that we have an automatic account of the agreement facts by way of some sort of feature-sharing between heads and specifiers. *Thus, the DP as a whole takes up the classifying features of N*, and this properly motivates the choice of the classifier insofar as classifiers agree non-vacuously with their head nouns. Moreover, in (20), the DP (*hi cauk*) also, inherently, bears the features of the D head, so that these can percolate, as it were, to the head Q, where, no doubt, in the Bare Phrase Structure system, morphology can be made to account for the spelling out of the post-nominal *hi* — with *cu*, the case features of the entire construction (again no doubt spelt out by the morphology module) partially, but only partially, override those of the determiner proper. For the determiner can house a demonstrative that has what amounts to discourse-anaphoric properties, as in (22):

(22) *cu cauk cu*
 such book Q
 that book

where *cu* indicates not a book pointed to in 3-space but rather one presupposed or otherwise already mentioned, the second *cu* still agreeing with the determiner. However, *cu* postposed, in and of itself, to any argument, whatever else it does, marks the absolutive case in this ergative language, in particular marking intransitive subjects and transitive objects (21 - 24):

(23) keimah cu ka-kal
 I Abs. I-go
 I go/went.

(24) cauk cu ka-peek
 book Abs. I-give
 I give/gave [the] book.

6.2. Q-STRUCTURE AND CASE. Is the morphological realisation of case itself a functor of the class I am proposing in this paper, as (22) - (24) seem to indicate? I think a case can be built to support this idea. After all, case at least in this sense, takes a DP into a θ (thematic) role or relationship (though a default case may have to be assigned to an Argument that bears no theta role, or rather the Empty Theta Role). Thus, for instance, a subject noun phrase may start out, say, in Spec/VP, which defines it as an external argument, and yet it needs to have Case assigned elsewhere, say by INFL, at Spec/IP in as much as that is where it comes to be, as it were, a particular *kind of* DP (the agent, patient, or whatever that the verb selects for), rather in the way that I have suggested functors of the same general class turn a plain propositional sentence into one with more constrained illocutionary force, or a nominal expression into an additionally quantified expression that also gives it something very similar to illocutionary force in the case of a wh-question — puts it into a particular kind of exocentric relation to the clause as a whole (not just the VP). In the case of numerical expressions, it is easily argued that numerical quantification puts a DP (possibly first-order quantified, by a Determiner) into a second-order (set partition) relationship with all other partitions of the set or class. Thus, speaking not altogether informally, 'this book' or 'a book' represent simply first-order partitions, that is, choice functions, on the class of books. But 'five books', itself non-specific and hence not a choice function upon the set, partitions the set so as to narrow the range within which any choice function can be applied (Lehman 1985a), and not, as with a complement, by cross-partitioning; so that 'these five books' picks out a specific subset of five only from amongst all subsets of cardinality five.

7. CONCLUSION. It therefore seems to be the case that there is a syntactic class of second-order quantifiers, functors taking quantified categories into quantified categories. This class has a number of interesting properties, one of which, at least, is that the quantificational functor in question is a projecting head (whereas ordinary quantifiers are specifiers and have argument binding properties) that takes no complements and that has a necessary maximal x-bar category as its scope in specifier position. Amongst the elements that fall into this category are question markers (overt or, as in English, covertly present at LF perhaps), conjunctions and numerical expressions, as well as morphological case markers. It is at least very likely that, if indeed wh-words are basically merely non-specific determiners, what motivates the raising of wh-words, at very least in LF, to COMP (Spec/CP) is the presence of question-Q in the head of CP, with which the wh-word must ultimately check for agreement as to whatever features, ϕ_q , are added to wh over and above those defining non-specific (cf. Aoun and Li 1993), disjoint set quantification in the sense of Lehman (1985a).

Notes

¹I acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. Lian Uk, B.A., LL.B., for having taught me the Lai Chin language over the last 38 years, and, more immediately, for having worked on this problem with me at this time. In the text, final /-h/ in Lai Chin words is the standard orthographic representation of the glottal stop, ʔ. All Lai formatives glossed with English personal pronouns, namely, *ka*, *na*, *a*, (I, you, he/she) are Agreement clitics in the sense of Lehman (to appear). Lai Chin, also known as Haka Chin (properly *lai holh*) is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Naga-Kuki-Chin branch, spoken mainly in the central part of the Chin State of Burma (Myanmar), on its Western border with India. It is rapidly becoming the *lingua franca* of the Chin State. Tones are not indicated in the standard orthography employed here; in any event Lai is at best only marginally tonal, though the other Sino-Tibetan and Tai languages referenced here are tonal, of course.

² On the category DP (Determiner Phrase) that dominates NP, see now especially Abney (1987) and now Chomsky (1994: 9 ff..). The essential motivations, some of which hark back to Postal's (1966) paper on English pronouns, is the evidence that the category Determiner 'projects', i.e., the evidence that pronouns are bare determiners and the evidence that a minimal nominal expression is often no more than a bare determiner or deictic element.

³ There are some interesting consequences of this position. Consider a problem raised by Grimshaw (1994: §4). In many languages at least, Negation has scope over predications only, possibly quantifying in the intended sense over IP (minimally over VP, in any case). This goes against the standard view in formal propositional logic that negation quantifies over propositions, but there is a good deal of evidence for this view all the same even though, by an obvious entailment, one can paraphrase [NP Neg VP] by 'It is not the case that [NP VP]'. Certain adverbial expressions of a more modal character, e.g., 'sometimes' or 'from time to time', seem to have a much more expandable or labile scope; the evidence for this is the same as the evidence for the suggestion that they are adjuncts, namely, that they have a certain freedom of position in the clause. Thus.

- (i) He at one time or other has gone.
- (ii) ?He has at one time or other gone.
- (iii) He has gone at one time or other.
- (iv) At one time or other he has gone.

Arguably its natural scope extends to the whole clause. Now, it happens, possibly for morphological reasons peculiar to certain languages like English, that the two sorts of quantifiers (in the sense given above) may be combined, the output of which contraction in English is the so-called negative polarity item 'never'. But this latter combination word has its own peculiar properties. In particular, the combination with negation can take the otherwise adjunct adverbial to a more definite level of scope relatively to the clause as a whole, so that it moves (in Grimshaw's system, any way) as an operator to Spec/CP, thus triggering inversion of the V to the fill the otherwise empty head of CP, as in

- (v) Never has he gone

i.e.,

- (vi) [CP never [C has]] [IP he [t [gone ...

Alternatively, of course, the combination can take the original scope of negation itself, thus giving the option of

- (vii) He has never gone.

⁴Evidentials are essentially sentence level elements that modify the illocutionary force of a declarative proposition on the basis of the source (direct experience as against relying upon the report of others) of the information conveyed. This topic is too complicated to go into here (see, e.g., for Tibetan, with reference also to Sherpa evidentials, DeLancey 1990), but it may be worth pointing out that these evidentials, like the functors I am more concerned with here, bear a certain resemblance to 'Illocutionary Verbs', although a Minimalist approach ensures that no covert things of the kind are postulated simply to account for illocutionary force, and CP/QP is held to be present syntactically only where there is overt, lexical material in it (in its head, directly, or (Grimshaw 1994) in its specifier in such a way as to require movement of some other element into its head).

Some examples of relevant evidential usage are: in Lai Chin, for instance, if I say

- (i) ka-kal lai
I shall go

I know, from direct evidence of my own volitionality that I am going to go, but if I am only accompanying someone on that other person's itinerary, I must say

- (ii) ka-kal lai a-ti
I go will he-'says'.

In Lushai (Mizo), there are two modal particles to express the irrealis/future: *dawn* and *ang*, meaning, respectively, something directly known from internal or external experience and something taken from hearsay or general public wisdom. Thus, speaking for myself, I will say

- (iii) ka-kal dawn

but speaking, let us say, about a proposed journey of some third party, I should say

- (iv) ka-kal ang.

In Burmese, there is a pervasive 'quotative' particle, /-te./ (တဲ), which is appended to a finite verb+desinences, either after reduction of the final modal particle or after putting on the latter a n emphatic, long-falsetto-voice intonation. This is used repeatedly to indicate that what is being said is on the basis of someone else's information, and it is especially common to add it here and there when reading from written text. Thus

- (v) thwa:me
go *realis*
[I] go/went.

- (vi) thwa:me^hte
[he/she] went [it is said].

⁵ The evidence is too far reaching to go into in this note. Cf. Lehman MS for Burmese evidence. Two things, however bear crucially on this point. First, sentential conjunction in these languages is not subject to Ross's (1967) co-ordinate structure constraint: one can extract material, e.g., questioning it, from a single conjunct (the equivalent of 'Who having seen, did you run away?' is acceptable, using this conjunction between clauses). Secondly, *i* and its demonstrable cognate *-a* function, in the sister language, Lushai (Mizo) also to mark such clearly subordinated constructions as attributive clause constructions of the general form 'the V-ing N', whilst in Lai itself *-a* (its relation to *i* is seen only in the Lushai evidence) marks participial stems, as in

- (i) a kal-*a* cun
he go *ing* thus
after he went/ he having gone.

Indeed, in Lushai, the relation of these two markers has eventuated in a derivative marking of, respectively, male and female proper names, where personal names are understood as indicating 'one who' is characterised by the attributes inherent in the terms forming names, so that, for example, *thangi* is a woman's name and *thanga* a man's, with *thang* meaning

'famous'. It is perhaps significant that in all these languages the conjunction between noun phrases is quite distinct from that used between clauses; and certainly in Lai and its closest relatives the nominal conjunction (*le*) is strictly co-ordinate. But all this does is to tend to confirm that clausal conjunction indeed has the participial subordinating properties adduced here. It says nothing about the structure of nominal conjunction itself. As a matter of fact there is also evidence that this, too, is a Spec/Head relation, with the specifier headed by the conjunction. This takes me too far afield for this note, and yet it may be worth pointing out that in many of these languages, e.g., Burmese, though not in Lai and its closest kin, the 'and' between noun phrases is actually a word meaning basically 'with', a *postposition* unarguably heading a phrase with a nominal *complement*, where it is at least reasonably likely that the PP projects, and that it is the specifier of the following conjunct rather than that the latter is the complement of the former, since, typically, specifiers 'qualify' heads but heads do not 'qualify' complements.

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