

Multi-CAST

Jinghpaw *annotation notes*

Keita Kurabe

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v1.0



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Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	Overview of clause structures	1
3	Referential expressions	2
3.1	Form of referential expressions	2
3.1.1	NPs	3
3.1.2	Pronouns	5
3.1.3	Zero	6
3.2	Animacy and person of referential expressions	7
3.3	Function of referential expressions	9
3.3.1	Core argument functions	9
3.3.2	Oblique function	10
3.4	Other syntactic functions	12
4	Predicates	13
4.1	Verbal predicates	13
4.2	Verbless and copula predicates	15
4.3	Non-canonical predicates	16
5	Complex sentences and direct speech	17
5.1	Subordination and nominalization	17
5.2	Complement clauses	18
5.3	Relative clauses	19
5.4	Adverbial clauses	21
5.5	Direct speech	22
5.6	Coordination	23
6	Constructions with special features	24
6.1	External possessor constructions	24
6.2	Serial verb construction	25
6.3	Tail-head constructions	26
6.4	Phrase or clause repetition	27
	References	27
	Appendices	29
A	List of corpus-specific GRAID symbols	29

B List of abbreviated morphological glosses

30

1 Introduction

This document is a revised reproduction of the first half of Kurabe (2018).¹ It contains notes on the implementation of the GRAID (Haig & Schnell 2014) and RefIND (Schiborr et al. 2018) annotation conventions in the Multi-CAST Jinghpaw corpus, corresponding to version 2108 of the annotations, published in August 2021. Unless a more recent version of this document exists, it also applies to any later versions of the annotations.

The aim of this paper is two-fold: To outline an implementation of the GRAID glossing conventions (Haig & Schnell 2014) to Jinghpaw (kach1280), a language spoken in northern Burma (Myanmar) and neighboring areas of China and India; and to give initial findings drawn from the Jinghpaw corpus. The language is affiliated with the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Within Tibeto-Burman, it is closely related to Luish (Asakian) languages such as Cak, Kadu, and Ganan, which are distributed in small discontinuous pockets situated across northwestern Burma, southeastern Bangladesh, and northeastern India.

The linguistic data in our Jinghpaw corpus are based on a variety spoken in and around Myitkyina, the Kachin State of Burma, and it is considered to be the standard dialect of the language in Burma. The corpus data consist of traditional narrative texts, all of which are primary data, selected from 1 805 narrative recordings in Jinghpaw. They were collected in Burma by the author and local collaborators between 2009 and 2017 with the help of 196 native narrators. As of January 2018, 939 stories have been transcribed by the author and native collaborators using the Jinghpaw orthography. All recordings and transcriptions are available online at PARADISEC, the Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (Kurabe 2013, 2017).^{2,3}

This paper is structured as follows. Beginning with an overview of clause structures in Section 2, Section 3 takes a closer look at Jinghpaw referential expressions with the GRAID glossing in terms of their forms, semantics, and functions. Annotations of predicates, including verbal, nominal, copula, and non-canonical predicates, are given in Section 4. Section 5 explores complex sentences in Jinghpaw, offering an implementation of the GRAID glossing to complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, direct speech, and coordinate constructions. Our treatment of constructions with special features, including external possessor constructions, serial verb constructions, tail-head constructions, and repetition, is provided in Section 6.

2 Overview of clause structures

A predicate, both verbal and non-verbal, is always placed at the end of a clause, as illustrated by the following examples with linguistic glosses and GRAID annotations. The two major clause types are verbal clauses headed by a verbal predicate as in (1a), and copula/nominal clauses headed by a nominal predicate with or without a copula as in (1b) and (1c).

(1) a. *shi nta de wa ai da.*

<i>shi</i>	<i>nta</i>	<i>=de</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>=ai</i>	<i>=da</i>
3SG	house	=ALL	return	=DECL	=HS
##	pro.h:s	np:g	=rn	v:pred	=rv
				=other	

‘She went back home, it’s said.’

[mc_jinghpaw_natga_0051]

1 Kurabe, Keita. 2018. *The GRAID-annotated Jinghpaw corpus: Annotations and initial findings*. Asian and African Languages and Linguistics 12. 37–73. (<http://hdl.handle.net/10108/91142>).

2 <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/KK1>

3 <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/KK2>

- b. *ndai ngai na nga nan re.*

<i>ndai</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>re</i>
this	1SG	=GEN	cow	self	COP
##ds	dem_pro:s	ln_pro.1:poss	=ln	np:pred	other cop

“This is exactly my cow.” [mc_jinghpaw_nga_0040]

- c. *ndai ngai na nga.*

<i>ndai</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>nga</i>
this	1SG	=GEN	cow
##ds	dem_pro:s	pro.1:poss	=rn np:pred

“This is my cow.” (elicited)

All nominal expressions, excluding afterthoughts, occur before predicates, as shown above. NPs, especially non-core arguments, are marked by postpositive case marking clitics to indicate their relationship to the predicate. The order of NPs, as seen in (2a) and (2b), is relatively free, being determined by pragmatic factors. Because predicates are the only obligatory constituents of clauses, references of arguments, when pragmatically retrievable from the context, are freely omitted in Jinghpaw, as seen in (2c).

- (2) a. *nang ngai hpe grau tsawra ai i?*

<i>nang</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>=hpe</i>	<i>grau</i>	<i>tsawra</i>	<i>=ai</i>	<i>=i</i>
2SG	1SG	=ACC	more	love	=DECL	=Q
##ds	pro.2:a	pro.1:p	=rn	other	v:pred	=rv =other

“Do you love me more (than him)?” [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0065]

- b. *nanhte hpe ngai tsawra nga na yaw*

<i>nanhte</i>	<i>=hpe</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>tsawra</i>	<i>=nga</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>=yaw</i>
2PL	=ACC	1SG	love	=CONT	=IRR	=SFP
##ds	pro.2:p	=rn	pro.1:a	v:pred	=aux	=aux =other

“I will love you (always).” (KK1-0474_026 in PARADISEC)

- c. *nta du hkra hkan shachyt ai da.*

<i>nta</i>	<i>duhkra</i>	<i>hkan</i>	<i>shachyt</i>	<i>=ai</i>	<i>=da</i>
house	TERM	follow	run_after	=DECL	=HS
np:g	rn	lv	v:pred	=rv	=other

‘(The spirit) chased (her) to the house, it’s said.’ [mc_jinghpaw_natga_0066]

3 Referential expressions

Glossing of referential expressions is a fundamental part of GRAID annotations. This section, following Haig & Schnell (2014), explores Jinghpaw referential expressions in terms of their forms (Section 3.1), semantics (Section 3.2), and functions (Section 3.3).

3.1 Form of referential expressions

The distinction between NP, pronoun, and zero is captured by the form glosses ⟨np⟩, ⟨pro⟩, and ⟨∅⟩, respectively.

<i>categories</i>	<i>forms</i>	<i>interrogative</i>	<i>indefinite</i>	<i>negative indefinite</i>
person	<i>gadai</i>	‘who’	‘anybody’	‘nobody’
thing	<i>hpa</i>	‘what’	‘anything’	‘nothing’
place	<i>gara</i>	‘where’	‘anywhere’	‘nowhere’
amount	<i>gade</i>	‘how many’	‘any amount’	‘no amount’
time	<i>galoi</i>	‘when’	‘anytime’	‘never’
manner	<i>ganing</i>	‘how’	‘anyhow’	‘no way’

Table 1 The interrogative–indefinite relationship.

3.1.1 NPs

In GRAID annotations, the form gloss ⟨np⟩ is given to what in the literature is labeled “lexical mention/expression”, and so on (Du Bois 1987; Haig & Schnell 2014). As with other corpora, the most typical NPs glossed with the form gloss ⟨np⟩ in our corpus are those headed by common nouns. NPs are also headed by kinship terms, person and place names, and so on. These NPs are introduced with or without case-marking postclitics depending on their functions and/or semantic roles (see Section 3.3). Examples:

- (3) a. *ndai u hka mung mau mat na she...*
ndai u-hka =mung mau =mat =na =she
 this bird-crow =also be.surprised =COMPL =SEQ =then
 ## 1n_dem np.d:s =other v:pred =aux =other =other
 ‘This crow was surprised and...’ [mc_jinghpaw_hpaji_0032]
- b. *ganu hpe bai yu dat ai shaloi wa, ...*
ganu =hpe bai yu =dat =ai shaloi =wa
 mother =ACC again look =away =DECL when =TOP
 ## 0.h:a np.h:p =rn other v:pred =aux =rv other =other
 ‘When (he) saw his mother again, ...’ [mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0024]

Numerals also receive the form gloss ⟨np⟩ when they head NPs. Unlike neighboring classifier languages, such as Shan and Burmese, Jinghpaw numerals, displaying a similar distribution of common nouns, can occur in the absence of semantic heads and classifiers. Numerals, as such, can express different types of referents. The numeral *masum* ‘three’, for instance, may denote ‘three persons’, ‘three dogs’, ‘three houses’, ‘three books’, and so on, unlike other languages in the region.

- (4) *ora masum gaw yup rawt ai hte...*
ora masum =gaw yup rawt =ai =hte
 that three =TOP sleep awake =DECL =COM
 ## 1n_dem np.h:s =other lv v:pred =rv =adp
 0002
 ‘The three (men) wake up and...’ [mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0038]

Interrogative pro-forms are also glossed with the form gloss ⟨np⟩ when they head NPs. Interrogatives, often followed by additive particles meaning ‘also’, can be employed to express indefiniteness as well. The relationship between major interrogative and indefinite meanings is summarized in Table 1. Examples follow:

- (5) a.
- ma e kadai ni hte sa na ma nga na?*

<i>ma</i>	= <i>e</i>	<i>gadai</i>	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>hte</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>na</i>	= <i>ma</i>			
child	=SFP	who	=PL	=COM	go	=IRR	=Q			
##ds	0.2:s	np.h:voc	=other	np.h:other	=rn	=rn	v:pred	=aux	=other	##
		<i>nga</i>	= <i>na</i>							
		say	=SEQ							
0.h:s_ds		v:pred	=other							

“Child, who[PL] will (you) go with?” [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0028]

- b.
- shi mung hpa ma n-chye ai le*

<i>shi</i>	= <i>mung</i>	<i>hpa</i>	= <i>ma</i>	<i>n-chye</i>	= <i>ai</i>	= <i>le</i>	
3SG	=also	what	=also	NEG-know	=DECL	=SFP	
##neg	pro.h:a	=other	np:p	=other	v:pred	=rv	=other

‘He also knows nothing.’ [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0212]

For complex NPs, the form gloss ⟨np⟩ is given to their heads, and other NP-internal subconstituents, excluding possessors that are specified for their own functions (see Section 3.4), are glossed as ⟨ln⟩ or ⟨rn⟩ depending on their relative positions to the head. Typical NP-internal subconstituents in our corpus include: adnominal demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and the pluralizing postclitic *ni*, which encodes additive, collective, and associative plural meanings. Examples:

- (6) a.
- dai la masum dai ni gaw...*

<i>dai</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>masum</i>	<i>dai</i>	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>gaw</i>	
that	man	three	that	=PL	=TOP	
##	ln_dem	np.h:s	rn_qfr	nc_dem_np	nc	=other

‘These three men, they (are labourers and)...’ [mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0011]

- b.
- nga kaba ni nlu rim ai majaw...*

<i>nga</i>	<i>gaba</i>	= <i>ni</i>	<i>n-lu</i>	<i>rim</i>	= <i>ai</i>	<i>majaw</i>		
fish	big	=PL	NEG-get	catch	=DECL	because		
#ac.neg	0.h:a	np:p	rn	=rn	lv	v:pred	=rv	other

‘Because (she) could not catch big fish...’ [mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0021]

In conjunctive coordination of NPs, whether monosyndetic (i.e. [A-co] [B]) or disyndetic (i.e. [A-co] [B-co]), the form gloss ⟨np⟩ is given to the last coordinant in our corpus, and other coordinants to its left are glossed with the form gloss ⟨ln⟩. Jinghpaw has various kinds of coordinators, including comitative case postclitic *hte* ‘with, and’, additive particle *mada* ‘also’, and a special coordinator *yen* that is restricted to binary coordination of human beings.

- (7) a.
- makaw yen magam dai ni gaw nanau...*

<i>makaw</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>magam</i>	<i>daini</i>	= <i>gaw</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>nau</i>	
first_daughter	and	first_son	today	=TOP	2DU	brothers	
##ds	ln_np	ln	np.d:voc	other	=other	pro.2:appos	np.d:s

“My daughter and son, today you siblings...” [mc_jinghpaw_shanngayi_0017]

	<i>SG (NOM)</i>	<i>SG (GEN)</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 st	<i>ngai</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>anhte</i>
2 nd	<i>nang</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>nanhte</i>
3 rd	<i>shi</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>shanhte</i>

Table 2 Personal pronouns.

- b. *shan nga ni gaw ah yi mada ah la mada nrung grai tsawm na...*

shannga =ni =gaw *ayi* =mada *ala* =mada *nrung grai*
 deer =PL =TOP female =also male =also horn very
 ## np.d:dt =rn =other ln_np.d =ln np.d:appos =rn np:s other
tsawm =na
 be.beautiful =SEQ
 v:pred =other

‘As for deer, both male and female, their horns were very beautiful and...’

[mc_jinghpaw_shanngayi_0002]

3.1.2 Pronouns

Our corpus, following Haig & Schnell (2014: 9) who intend to capture “definite pronouns”, labels personal and demonstrative pronouns with the form gloss ⟨pro⟩. Examples of personal pronouns include:

- (8) a. *ngai nang hpe garum hpyi mayu ai.*

ngai *nang* =hpe *garum hpyi* =mayu =ai
 1SG 2SG =ACC help ask =DESID =DECL
 ##ds pro.1:a pro.2:p =adp lv v:pred =aux =rv

“I want to ask you for help.”

[mc_jinghpaw_chyeju_0067]

- b. *shi gaw dai ni hpe hta la na she...*

shi =gaw *dai* =ni =hpe *hta* =la =na =she
 3SG =TOP that =PL =ACC pick =take =SEQ =then
 ## pro.h:a =other dem_np:p =rn =rn v:pred =aux =other =other
 0002 0026

‘He took these (fish) and then...’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0067]

Jinghpaw personal pronouns are encoded as free pronouns with full forms whose systems exhibit three-way splits in person (first, second, third) and in number (singular, dual, plural), yielding the paradigm given in Table 2. All personal pronouns, as can be seen, are formally distinguished, and there is no syncretism of person or number contrasts. The dual/plural distinction is only found in personal pronouns. Separate genitive forms exist for singular, which have their diachronic sources in a contraction of singular personal pronouns plus the obsolete genitive case marker *a*.

Demonstratives, when they head NPs, also receive the form gloss ⟨pro⟩. They are glossed with an additional gloss ⟨dem⟩, which is combined with other glosses separated by an underscore, for example, ⟨dem_pro. h: s⟩. Demonstratives in Jinghpaw function as free pronouns, and distinguish speaker-addressee orientation, relative distance, or relative height from the deictic center: *ndai* [proximate; speaker-centered]; *dai* [proximate; addressee-centered]; *htora* [distal; up]; *wora* [distal; level]; *lera* [distal; down]. Demonstratives, in terms of qualitative features of the ref-

erent, are specified for inanimate by default, as in (9a), unless followed by the plural marker *ni*, which turns demonstratives into neutral for humanness and animacy, as in (9b).

- (9) a. *shi gaw dai hpe lang di na...*
 shi =*gaw* *dai* =*hpe lang* *di* =*na*
 3SG =TOP that =ACC hold LV =SEQ
 ## pro.d:a =other dem_pro:p =rn v:pred other =other
 ‘She held it [= meat] and...’ [mc_jinghpaw_hpaji_0010]
- b. *ndai ni gaw ngai hpe gara hku wa masu sha na i?*
 ndai =*ni* =*gaw* *ngai* =*hpe gara* =*hku* *wa*
 this =PL =TOP 1SG =ACC how =like return
 ##ds dem_np.h:a =rn =other pro.1:p =adp other =other lv

 masusha =*na* =*i*
 lie =IRR =Q
 v:pred =aux =other
 ‘‘How will these ones come back and lie to me?’’ [mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0050]

Complex NPs headed by pronouns, including personal and demonstrative pronouns, show reduced possibilities for their internal constituents. Unlike common nouns and numerals, they cannot take multiple types of adnominals, such as adjectives, demonstratives, genitives, and relative clauses. Typical complex NPs with pronoun heads in our corpus, as in (9b), are those with numerals and pluralizing markers.

3.1.3 Zero

Almost all references of arguments, when pragmatically recoverable from the context, can be freely omitted in Jinghpaw. In our corpus, zero arguments are assumed when they are: (a) licensed by the argument structure of a verb; (b) recoverable from the discourse; and (c) not constructionally suppressed. Usually, these zero arguments can alternatively be expressed by overt forms. Zero arguments receive the form gloss $\langle \emptyset \rangle$. Because all NPs, as noted in Section 2, occur before predicates and their order is relatively free, it is impossible to determine the exact position of zero arguments. Instead of arbitrarily determining their positions, we put all of them at the beginning of clauses regardless of their syntactic functions.

- (10) a. *shi hpe la taw ai.*
 shi =*hpe la* =*taw* =*ai*
 3SG =ACC wait =CONT =DECL
 ## \emptyset .h:a pro.h:p =rn v:pred =aux =rv
 ‘(She) was waiting for him.’ [mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0060]
- b. *nang gaw sa rim u!*
 nang =*gaw* *sa rim* =*u* *rai* =*na*
 2SG =TOP go catch =IMP
 ##ds \emptyset :p pro.2:a =other lv v:pred =rv
 ‘‘You go catch (them)!’’ [mc_jinghpaw_chyeju_0017]

c. *hpai wa na she...*

<i>hpai</i>	= <i>wa</i>	= <i>na</i>	= <i>she</i>	
carry	=VEN	=SEQ	=then	
##	0.h:a	0:p	v:pred	=aux =other =other

‘(He) carried (the fish) back and...’ [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0071]

We assume a zero in the S position of imperative and hortative clauses, despite them often being omitted, as in (11a) and (11b), because they can alternatively be expressed by overt forms, as in (11c) and (11d). For cases where we do not assume a zero, see Section 4.3.

(11) a. *atsawm rai na bai wa u yaw!*

<i>a-tawm</i>	<i>rai</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>wa</i>	= <i>u</i>	= <i>yaw</i>
ADV-be.beautiful	COP	=SEQ	again	return	=IMP	=SFP
##ds	0.2:s	other	other	=other	other	v:pred =rv =other

“(You) come back carefully!” [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0038]

b. *mare kaba de sa mat ga.*

<i>mare</i>	<i>kaba</i>	= <i>de</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>mat</i>	= <i>ga</i>
village	big	=ALL	go	=COMPL	=HORT
##ds	0.1:s	np:g	rn_adj	=rn	v:pred =aux =rv

“Let (us) go to a big village.” [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0057]

c. *nang atsawm rai na bai wa u yaw.*

<i>nang</i>	<i>atsawm</i>	<i>rai</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>wa</i>	= <i>u</i>	= <i>yaw</i>
1SG	well	LV	=SEQ	again	return	=IMP	=SFP
##ds	pro.2:s	other	other	=other	other	v:pred =rv =other	

‘You come back carefully!’ (elicited)

d. *anhte mare kaba de sa mat ga.*

<i>anhte</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>kaba</i>	= <i>de</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>mat</i>	= <i>ga</i>
1PL	village	big	=ALL	go	=COMPL	=HORT
##ds	pro.1:s	np:g	rn_adj	=rn	v:pred =aux =rv	

‘Let us go to a large village.’ (elicited)

3.2 Animacy and person of referential expressions

Four animacy and person glosses, that is, ⟨.h⟩, ⟨.d⟩, ⟨.1⟩, and ⟨.2⟩, are considered in the Jinghpaw corpus. Reference to speech-act participants, glossed with ⟨.1⟩ and ⟨.2⟩, only occur in direct speech in our corpus because it consists of narrative texts. Examples include:

- (12) a. *shi ganu hpe grai tawng ban ai i.*
shi ganu =hpe grai tawngba =ai =i
 3SG mother =ACC very apologize =DECL =SFP
 ## pro.h:a np.h:p =rn other v:pred =rv =other
 ‘he apologized to his mother very much, OK?’ [mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0066]
- b. *nang ngai hpe grau tsawra ai i?*
nang ngai =hpe grau tsawra =ai =i
 2SG 1SG =ACC more love =DECL =Q
 ##ds pro.2:a pro.1:p =rn other v:pred =rv =other
 ‘‘Do you love me more (than him)?’’ [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0065]

Because our corpus contains some fables that feature animals and spirits, the animacy gloss ⟨.d⟩ is also employed to gloss anthropomorphized discourse participants. These referents are given human qualities, such as the ability to speak human language. Examples:

- (13) a. *shi gaw hi na kasha hpe tsun ai, ...*
shi =gaw shi =na gasha =hpe tsun =ai
 3SG =TOP 3SG.GEN =GEN child =ACC say =DECL
 pro.d:a_ds =other ln_pro.d:poss =ln np.d:p =rn v:pred =rv
 ‘He [= the deer] said to his children, ...’ [mc_jinghpaw_shanngayi_0016]
- b. *aba ngai ora maling de agu wa du brang ni dumsi ni kaw sa lam na*
aba ngai ora maling =de agu wadu brang =ni
 elder.brother 1SG over.there forest =ALL uncle boar brother =PL
 ##ds np.d:voc pro.1:s ln_dem np:g =rn ln_np ln_np.d ln_np =ln
dumsi =ni =kaw sa lam =na
 porcupine =PL =LOC go wander =IRR
 np.d:appos =rn =rn lv v:pred =aux
 ‘‘Brother [= a deer], I will go to wander to the forest over there, to uncle boar and brothers porcupine.’’ [mc_jinghpaw_shanngayi_0031]

Animacy features are given depending on semantic role consideration of the referent rather than its form. Thus, the same noun may be assigned different animacy values depending on its meaning in context. For example, a place noun *mare* ‘village’ is treated as a goal and receives no animacy feature in (14a), in contrast to (14b), where the same noun is metonymically used for those who live in the village.

- (14) a. *mare langai mi kaw du yang gaw...*
mare langai mi =kaw du yang =gaw
 village one one =LOC arrive when =TOP
 ## 0.h:s np:g rn_qfr rn_qfr =rn v:pred other =other
 ‘When (they) arrived at one village, ...’ [mc_jinghpaw_galang_0011]

- b. *Mare ting nga nawng jawm htawk ai nhtoi lamang langai galaw ya ai da.*

	<i>mare</i>	<i>ting</i>	<i>nga-nawng</i>	<i>jawm</i>	<i>htawk</i>	
	village	whole	fish-pond	do.together	pick.up	
##	0.h:a	#rc	rel_f0:other	np.h:a	rn_qfr	np:p lv v:pred
	<i>=ai</i>	<i>nhtoi-lamang</i>	<i>langai</i>	<i>galaw</i>	<i>=ya</i>	<i>=ai</i> <i>=da</i>
	=DECL.NMLZ	day-program	one	do	=BEN	=DECL =HS
	=rv	% np:p	rn_qfr	v:pred	=aux	=rv =other

‘(They) held a festival program where the whole villagers removed water from a pond (to catch fish), it’s said.’
[mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0008]

3.3 Function of referential expressions

3.3.1 Core argument functions

NPs, as noted in Section 2, may be marked by postpositive case marking clitics. The case marking pattern, as shown in (15a) and (15b), is the nominative-accusative type (S/A vs. P), where the S and A functions occur without any overt case marker in contrast to the P, which may be case-marked by an accusative postclitic. The P function, as seen in (15c), may also be introduced without any overt marker (see below).

- (15) a. *ngai sa na law.*

	<i>ngai</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=law</i>
	1SG	go	=IRR	=SFP
##ds	pro.h:s	v:pred	=aux	=other

“I will go.” [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0035]

- b. *ngai nang hpe garum hpyi mayu ai.*

	<i>ngai</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>=hpe</i>	<i>garum</i>	<i>hpyi</i>	<i>=mayu</i>	<i>=ai</i>
	1SG	2SG	=ACC	help	ask	=DESID	=DECL
##ds	pro.1:a	pro.2:p	=adp	lv	v:pred	=aux	=rv

“I want to ask you for help.” [mc_jinghpaw_chyeju_0067]

- c. *raitimmung nang hpaji naw ra ai yaw.*

	<i>raitimmung</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>hpaji</i>	<i>naw</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>=ai</i>	<i>=yaw</i>
	but	2SG	knowledge	still	need	=DECL	=SFP
##ds	other	pro.2:a	np:p	other	v:pred	=rv	=other

“But you still need knowledge.” [mc_jinghpaw_hpaji_0036]

The P function is obligatorily marked by the accusative when the P outranks or is equal to the A on the animacy hierarchy given in (16), and is left unmarked or optionally marked by the accusative when the P is lower than the A. This case marking pattern is well motivated by the need to differentiate between two potential agents by overtly case marking the P with the accusative, leaving the A unmarked (Kurabe 2012). In other words, the P is case marked when there is a possibility that it may be misconstrued with the A otherwise, the situation of which arises when the P is equally high or higher than the A on the animacy hierarchy, as the prototypical P is lower than the A in animacy (Comrie 1981: 121).⁴

4 This type of case marking employed for disambiguation of the P from the A is widespread among TB languages

- (16) Animacy hierarchy (Comrie 1981: 178)
human > animal > inanimate

A similar case marking pattern is also observed for ditransitive constructions whose case frame is that the A remains unmarked, the recipient is obligatorily marked by the accusative, and the theme is left unmarked. This is due to the fact that the recipient is typically human; this is in contrast to the theme, which is typically non-human, and ranked lower than the agent and recipient on the animacy hierarchy.⁵ To illustrate this, consider (17). In our corpus, the theme is glossed as ⟨: p2⟩.

- (17) *nang ngai hpe manu jahpu jaw na...*

<i>nang</i>	<i>ngai</i>	<i>=hpe</i>	<i>manu-jahpu</i>	<i>jaw</i>	<i>=na</i>
2SG	1SG	=ACC	price-price	give	=IRR
#ds_cc:p	pro.2:a	pro.1:p	=rn	np:p2	v:pred =aux

 “[Give me] what [you said] you would give me.” [mc_jinghpaw_chyeju_0088]

3.3.2 Oblique function

Obliques are encoded by means of case-marking postclitics. As core arguments, obliques always precede verbal predicates with relatively free orders. Following the GRAID manual (Haig & Schnell 2014: 14–16), our corpus considers three types of adjuncts: locations ⟨: l⟩, goals ⟨: g⟩, and other semantic roles ⟨: obl⟩. Locations and goals can both be encoded by the locative case *kaw* that marks physical locations (18a), goals (18b), and sources (18c) (in the last case, with an ablative case). Examples follow:

- (18) a. *ndai kaw jahkring mi naw hkring la ga.*

<i>ndai</i>	<i>=kaw</i>	<i>jahkring</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>naw</i>	<i>hkring</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>=ga</i>
this	=LOC	for_a_while	one	still	rest	take	=HORT
##ds	0.1:s	dem_np:l	=adp	other	rn	other	lv v:pred =rv

 “Let’s take a rest here for a while.” [mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0019]
- b. *shi gaw lup kaw du ai hte i...*

<i>shi</i>	<i>=gaw</i>	<i>lup</i>	<i>=kaw</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>=ai</i>	<i>=hte</i>	<i>=i</i>
3SG	=TOP	grave	=LOC	arrive	=DECL	=COM	=SFP
##	pro.h:s	=other	np:g	=rn	v:pred	=rv	=rn =other

 ‘He arrived at a grave and, OK?’ [mc_jinghpaw_galang_0045]

as well as is crosslinguistically common (LaPolla 1992; Malchukov 2008; and others). The definiteness of the P function, although known to play some role in some languages, does not play a role in Jinghpaw. This can be seen in the fact that P arguments low in definiteness, such as interrogatives, can potentially be marked with the accusative.

- 5 When equally-ranking recipient and theme NPs are involved, both of them must be case marked with the accusative. In such situations, the interpretation of the recipient and theme is determined by context, as scrambling of the recipient and theme NPs does not contribute to the meaning (Kurabe 2012).

- c. *ma nang ndai gara kaw na la wa ai rai?*

<i>ma</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>ndai</i>	<i>gara</i>	= <i>kaw</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>la</i>	= <i>wa</i>	= <i>ai</i>
child	2sg	this	where	=LOC	=ABL	take	=VEN	=DECL
##ds	np.h:voc	pro.2:a	dem_np:p	np:l	=rn	=rn	v:pred	=aux =rv

=*rai*
=Q
=other

“Child, where did you bring this from?”

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0203]

Goals can also be marked by the allative case *de*, as in (19a), which, unlike the locative *kaw*, is sensitive to the animacy of the goal NP it marks: It can only mark inanimate goals, for example, *nta de* ‘to the house’ vs. **manang de* ‘to the friend’. The allative can mark animate goals only by means of *hpang* (originally a locator noun meaning ‘behind’), which is employed to “locationalize” animate nouns, as in (19b).

- (19) a. *mare kaba de sa mat ga.*

<i>mare</i>	<i>kaba</i>	= <i>de</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>mat</i>	= <i>ga</i>
village	big	=ALL	go	=COMPL	=HORT
##ds	0.1:s	np:g	rn_adj	=rn	v:pred =aux =rv

“Let (us) go to a big village.”

[mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0057]

- b. *shanhte ni hkawhkam wa hpang de wa sa ya na she...*

<i>shanhte</i>	= <i>ni</i>	<i>hkawhkam</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>hpang</i>	= <i>de</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>ya</i>	= <i>na</i>
3PL	=PL	king	place	=ALL	return	send	=BEN	=SEQ	
##	0.h:p	pro.h:a	=rn	ln_np	np:g	=rn	lv	v:pred	=aux =other
	0002	0054			0046				

=*she*
=then
=other

‘(they) took (him) to the king’s place and’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0196]

Other obliques receive the function gloss ⟨:obl⟩, marking semantic roles such as companion (20a), instrument (20b), and so on.

- (20) a. *gwi hte rau hpun hta sa na she...*

<i>gwi</i>	= <i>hte</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>hpun</i>	<i>hta</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>na</i>	= <i>she</i>
dog	=COM	together	wood	pick	go	=SEQ	=then
##	0.h:a	np:other	=rn	other	np:p	lv	v:pred =other =other

‘(He) went to pick wood with his dog and then...’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0113]

- b. *shupsheng hte bau ni hte shangoi na...*

<i>shupsheng</i>	= <i>hte</i>	<i>bau</i>	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>hte</i>	<i>shangoi</i>	= <i>na</i>
cymbal	=COM	drum	=PL	=COM	make.a.noise	=SEQ
##	0.h:s	np:other	=rn	np:other	=rn =rn	v:pred =rv

‘(They) played cymbals and drums and...’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0233]

Circumstantial adjuncts, even when marked by the locative case *kaw* like locations, are given the function gloss ⟨:other⟩ in accordance with the GRAID manual (Haig & Schnell 2014: 17), where

obliques are glossed depending on semantic role considerations rather than their forms.

3.4 Other syntactic functions

Other glosses for syntactic functions considered in the Jinghpaw corpus include: ⟨: dt⟩ for dislocated topics, ⟨: voc⟩ for vocatives, ⟨: appos⟩ for appositionals, and ⟨: poss⟩ for possessors. The gloss ⟨: dt⟩ is given to NPs that occur outside clause boundaries. No distinction is made between right and left dislocation. The function of clause-internal co-referential elements, when relevant, is also marked for dislocated phrases.

- (21) a. *dai mare langai mi ndai kaw...*
 dai mare langai mi ndai =kaw
 well village one one this =LOC
 ## other np:dt_1 rn_qfr rn_qfr dem_pro:1 =rn
 ‘Well, in one village, there...’ [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0002]
- b. *nang da nang kahpu re majaw...*
 nang =da nang kahpu re majaw
 2SG =HS 2SG elder.brother COP because
 #ds_ac pro.2:dt_s =other pro.2:s np.h:pred cop other
 ‘“You, because you are the elder brother, ...”’ [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0013]

The function gloss ⟨: voc⟩ is applied to vocative phrases, which are typically kinship terms. Examples:

- (22) a. *adwi n matsing sai.*
 a-dwi n-matsing =s-ai
 KIN-grandmother NEG-remember =CSM-DECL
 ##ds.neg 0.1:a 0:p np.h:voc v:pred =rv
 ‘“Grandma, (I) don’t remember (it) anymore.”’ [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0091]
- b. *ma nang ndai gara kaw na la wa ai rai?*
 ma nang ndai gara =kaw =na la =wa =ai
 child 2SG this where =LOC =ABL take =VEN =DECL
 ##ds np.h:voc pro.2:a dem_np:p np:l =rn =rn v:pred =aux =rv
 =rai
 =Q
 =other
 ‘“Child, where did you bring this from?”’ [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0203]

The function gloss ⟨: appos⟩ is given to appositional phrases, which are co-referent with juxtaposed phrases, adding additional information to the referent.

- (23) a. *Anhte shinggyim masha ni gaw...*
 anhte shinggyim-masha =ni =gaw
 1PL human.being =PL =TOP
 ## pro.1:s_ds np.h:appos =rn =other
 ‘We human beings, ...’ [mc_jinghpaw_natga_0004]

- b. *shi na kasha magam wa hpe jaw ai.*

	<i>shi</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>kasha</i>	<i>magam-wa</i>	= <i>hpe jaw</i>
	3SG	=GEN	child	first_born_son-man	=ACC give
##	0.h:a	0:p2	1n_pro.h:poss	=1n np.h:p	np.h:appos =rn v:pred
	= <i>ai</i>				
	=DECL				
	=rv				

‘(The mother) gave (them) to her son, the firstborn son.’

[mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0012]

Possessors, which are typically encoded with the genitive case marker *na*, are glossed with the functional gloss ⟨: poss⟩, which is the only NP-internal function in GRAID. Separate genitive forms, as noted in Section 3.1.2, exist for singular personal pronouns, for example *na* ‘your (SG)’.

- (24) a. *ndai gumra wa anhte na mam nli mahkra sha kau ya sai.*

	<i>ndai</i>	<i>gumra</i>	= <i>wa</i>	<i>anhte</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>mam-nli</i>	<i>mahkra</i>	<i>sha</i>	= <i>kau</i>
	this	horse	=TOP	1PL	=GEN	paddy-seed	all	eat	=away
	1n_dem	np:a	=other	1n_pro.1:poss	=1n	np:p	rn_qfr	v:pred	=aux
	= <i>ya</i>	= <i>s-ai</i>							
	=BEN	=CSM-DECL							
	=aux	=rv							

“‘This horse ate all of our rice seeds.’”

[mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0057]

- b. *na kashu she rai sai gaw.*

	<i>na</i>	<i>kashu</i>	= <i>she</i>	<i>rai</i>	= <i>s-ai</i>	= <i>gaw</i>
	2SG.GEN	grandson	=then	COP	=CSM-DECL	=SFP
##ds	0.h:s	1n_pro.2:poss	np.h:pred	=other	cop	=rv =other

“‘If it is indeed your grandson.’”

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0249]

4 Predicates

This section provides the GRAID glossing of predicates in the Jinghpaw corpus, beginning with verbal predicates (Section 4.1), followed by copula/nominal (Section 4.2), and non-canonical predicates (Section 4.3).

4.1 Verbal predicates

Predicates headed by verbs receive the form gloss ⟨v⟩ and function gloss ⟨: pred⟩. The copula, although it is morphosyntactically a verb in Jinghpaw, is glossed differently with the gloss ⟨cop⟩ (see Section 4.2). Jinghpaw is an aspect- and mood-prominent language with no grammatical tense. Verbs are typically followed by mood-marking postclitics consisting of six paradigmatic values, for example, *ai* ‘DECL’ and *u* ‘IMP’, which mark the end of the verbal predicate. Mood markers, as illustrated by (25), are glossed with the form gloss ⟨rv⟩. Elements occurring after mood markers, such as sentence-final particles, are elements outside the verbal predicate, and thus receive the form gloss ⟨other⟩, as in (25b).

- (25) a. *shi gasha hpe grai tsaw ra ai.*
 shi gasha =hpe grai tsaw-ra =ai
 3SG child =ACC very love-like =DECL
 ## pro.h:a np.h:p =rn other v:pred =rv
 ‘She loved her son very much.’ [mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0033]
- b. *raitimmung nang hpaji naw ra ai yaw.*
 raitimmung nang hpaji naw ra =ai =yaw
 but 2SG knowledge still need =DECL =SFP
 ##ds other pro.2:a np:p other v:pred =rv =other
 ‘‘But you still need knowledge.’’ [mc_jinghpaw_hpaji_0036]

Jinghpaw verbs fall into two primary lexical aspect classes: the active verb, which semantically encodes a dynamic situation or ‘something happens’, and the stative verb, which encodes a stative situation or a non-happening. The importance of this classification primarily lies in the temporal interpretation of verbs with the declarative mood marker *ai*. When followed by this marker, an active verb, as in (26a), normally indicates the time prior to the moment of speech, while a stative verb, as in (26b), normally indicates the present moment (although time reference is changeable with the help of temporal adverbs, such as *shani shagu* ‘every day’ and *moi* ‘long ago’). Both active and stative verbs receive the gloss ⟨v:pred⟩ in our corpus.

- (26) a. *shi gaw dai kaw yup ai.*
 shi =gaw dai =kaw yup =ai
 3SG =TOP that =LOC sleep =DECL
 ## pro.h:s =other dem_np:l =rn v:pred =rv
 ‘He slept there.’ [mc_jinghpaw_galang_0052]
- b. *jan grai ja ai law.*
 jan grai ja =ai =law
 sun very be.hard =DECL =SFP
 ##ds np:s other v:pred =rv =other
 ‘‘It is very hot.’’ [mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0018]

Many morphosyntactic properties show that words denoting property concepts, such as *ja* ‘be hot’, can be best treated as stative verbs in Jinghpaw, being thus glossed with ⟨v:pred⟩. Note further that some stative verbs, especially those denoting the four core semantic types of adjectives (Dixon 1982), unlike other stative verbs, have an additional ability to modify nouns in the post-nominal position without any marker of syntactic dependency. We label them as “adjectives” and treat them as a subclass of stative verbs. When functioning as predicates, adjectives receive the gloss ⟨v:pred⟩, and when functioning as modifiers, they receive the gloss ⟨rn⟩. Compare:

- (27) a.
- ndai nga ni gaba ai.*

ndai nga =ni gaba =ai
 this fish =PL be_big =DECL
 ## ln_dem np:s =rn v:pred =rv

‘These fish are big.’

(elicited)

- b.
- nga kaba ni nlu rim ai majaw..*

nga gaba =ni n-lu rim =ai majaw
 fish big =PL NEG-get catch =DECL because
 #ac.neg 0.h:a np:p rn =rn lv v:pred =rv other

‘Because (she) could not catch big fish..’

[mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0021]

Verbs may be followed by an array of optional auxiliaries, expressing meanings associated with aspectuality, modality, evidentiality, intensity, and so on. Auxiliaries are glossed with the form gloss (aux) in our corpus.

- (28) a.
- shi hpe la taw ai.*

shi =hpe la =taw =ai
 3SG =ACC wait =CONT =DECL
 ## 0.h:a pro.h:p =rn v:pred =aux =rv

‘(She) was waiting for him.’

[mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0060]

- b.
- dai ma gaw manang ni hte grai chyai mayu ai.*

dai ma =gaw manang =ni =hte grai chyai =mayu =ai
 that child =TOP friend =PL =COM very play =DESID =DECL
 ## ln_dem np.h:s =other np.h:obl =rn =rn other v:pred =aux =rv
 0002

‘the child (orphan) wanted to play with friends.’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0016]

4.2 Verbless and copula predicates

Verbless predicates typically consist of nominal predicates. The relation, encoded by a nominal predicate, may be identity (equation), classification, and location, as illustrated by the following examples. The nominal predicate receives the gloss (np: pred).

- (29) a.
- shi gaw anhte na manang.*

shi =gaw anhte =na manang
 3SG =TOP 1PL =GEN friend
 ## pro.h:s =other ln_pro.1:poss =ln np:pred

‘He is our friend.’

(elicited)

- b.
- dai namlap dai gaw ndai tsi hkrung tsi nan i.*

dai namlap dai =gaw ndai tsi-hkrung-tsi-nan =i
 that leaf that =TOP well medicine-alive-medicine-NC =SFP
 ## ln_dem np:s rn_dem =other other np:pred =other

‘This leaf was an elixir of life, you know?’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0086]

c. *shi gaw ya nta kaw.*

<i>shi</i>	= <i>gaw</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>nta</i>	= <i>kaw</i>
3SG	=TOP	now	hours	=LOC
##	pro.h:s	=other	other	np:pred_1 =rn

‘He is at home now.’

(elicited)

Nominal predicates show reduced morphosyntactic possibilities. They cannot express properties associated with verbs. For example, they cannot be negated, cannot be specified for aspect and mood, cannot be elaborated by auxiliaries, and cannot be modified by adverbs. These morphosyntactic properties must be encoded by means of a verb, in this case, the copula verb. All relations encoded by a nominal predicate, as shown below, can also be expressed with a copula. A copula, which has the function to relate the subject of a clause with a copula complement, receives a special gloss <cop>. In a copula clause, the copula complement always follows the copula subject. This is in contrast to a transitive clause, which also takes two core arguments, but they have a flexible order.

(30) a. *ndai ngai na nga she re gaw.*

<i>ndai</i>	<i>ngai</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>nga</i>	= <i>she</i>	<i>re</i>	= <i>gaw</i>
this	1SG	=GEN	cow	=only	COP	=SFP
##ds	dem_pro:s	ln_pro.1:poss	=ln	np:pred	=other	cop =other

“‘This is my cow.’”

[mc_jinghpaw_nga_0033]

b. *nat-ga re nga na tsun ma ai.*

<i>nat-ga</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>nga</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>tsun</i>	= <i>ma</i>	= <i>ai</i>
spirit-language	COP	QUOT	=SEQ	say	=PL	=DECL
##ds	0:s	np:pred	cop % 0.h:s_ds	other	=other	v:pred =aux =rv

‘(They) say (it) is a spirit language.’

[mc_jinghpaw_natga_0017]

c. *shi gaw ya nta kaw re.*

<i>shi</i>	= <i>gaw</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>nta</i>	= <i>kaw</i>	<i>re</i>
3SG	=TOP	now	hours	=LOC	COP
##	pro.h:s	=other	other	np:pred_1	=rn cop

‘He is at home now.’

(elicited)

4.3 Non-canonical predicates

Predicates that exhibit reduced possibilities for government of verbal arguments receive the gloss <vother:pred> (Haig & Schnell 2014: 22–23). Three predicates heading dependent clauses fall into this category in the Jinghpaw corpus, all involving the core functions S and A. Because arguments are systematically suppressed, no zeros are assumed in the glossing for these cases. The first example comes from a predicate with the subordinator *let*, which forms a simultaneous adverbial clause. One constraint imposed on this construction is that the S or A argument in the dependent clause, which is always coreferential with the S or A argument in the main clause, must not be overtly expressed. Consider:

(31) *ganu gaw grai matsan let sha grai gasha hpe bau maka ai.*

<i>ganu</i>	=gaw		<i>grai</i>	<i>matsan</i>	<i>let</i>	=sha	<i>grai</i>	<i>gasha</i>	
mother	=TOP		very	be_poor	SIM	=only	very	child	
##	np.h:a	=other	#ac	0.h:s	other	vother:pred	other	=other % other	np.h:p
= <i>hpe</i>	<i>baumaka</i>	= <i>ai</i>							
=ACC	take_care_of	=DECL							
=rn	v:pred	=rv							

'The mother, while being very poor, took good care of her son.'

[mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0005]

The next example comes from a negated nominalized clause that forms an adverbial clause conveying the sense of privation. Again, the S or A in the dependent clause, being coreferential with the S or A in the main clause, is systematically suppressed.

(32) *shi nba nhpun ai sha yup ai.*

<i>shi</i>		<i>nba</i>	<i>n-hpun</i>	= <i>ai</i>		= <i>sha</i>	<i>yup</i>	= <i>ai</i>	
3SG		blanket	NEG-wear	=DECL.NMLZ		=only	sleep	=DECL	
##	pro.h:s	#ac.neg	np:p	vother:pred	=rv	%	=other	v:pred	=rv

'He slept without a blanket.'

(observed)

The last example is illustrated by complementation verb serialization, where one serialized verb takes a clause headed by another verb as its complement. Only complement-taking transitive verbs are involved, where the S or A in the complement, which is always coreferential with the S or A argument in the main clause, must not be overtly expressed.

(33) *shi gaw ganu hpe shat shadu garum nga ai.*

<i>shi</i>	=gaw	<i>ganu</i>	=hpe	<i>shat</i>	<i>shadu</i>	<i>garum</i>	=nga	=ai		
3SG	=TOP	mother	=ACC	food	cook	help	=CONT	=DECL		
##	pro.h:a	=other	np.h:p	=rn	#cc:p	np:p	vother:pred	% v:pred	=aux	=rv

'He is helping his mother cook food.'

(elicited)

5 Complex sentences and direct speech

5.1 Subordination and nominalization

The pervasive use and multifunctionality of clausal nominalization are prominent features of Jinghpaw grammar. A nominalized clause can be used not only nominally but also adnominally and adverbially, being exploited to form all the three major types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses (headed and headless), and adverbial clauses. Clausal nominalization is achieved by adding the nominalizer *ai* to a verb, which also marks the verb citation and declarative mood. Thus, an identical clause may occur as a well-formed main clause, complement clause, headed and headless relative clause, and adverbial clause, as illustrated by elicited examples in (34), respectively.

- (34) a. *shi shat sha ai.*
 shi shat sha =ai
 3SG food eat =DECL
 ## pro.h:a np:p v:pred =rv
 ‘He ate food.’ (elicited)
- b. *ngai shi shat sha ai chye ai.*
 ngai shi shat sha =ai chye =ai
 1SG 3SG food eat =DECL know =DECL
 ## pro.h:a #cc:p pro.h:a np:p v:pred =rv % v:pred =rv
 ‘I know that he ate food.’ (elicited)
- c. *shi shat sha ai lakung...*
 shi shat sha =ai lakung
 3SG food eat =DECL spoon
 ## #rc pro.h:a np:p v:pred =rv % np:s
 ‘The spoon that he ate food with (is)...’ (elicited)
- d. *shi shat sha ai hte...*
 shi shat sha =ai =hte
 3SG food eat =DECL =COM
 ## #rc:obl pro.h:a np:p v:pred =rv % =rn
 ‘With which (spoon) he ate food...’ (elicited)
- e. *shi shat sha ai majaw...*
 shi shat sha =ai majaw
 3SG food eat =DECL because
 ## #ac pro.h:a np:p v:pred =rv % np:other
 ‘The spoon that he ate food with (is)...’ (elicited)

Despite the fact that all the clauses in (34) are headed by the same verb form, we differentiate nominalized (subordinate) clauses from main clauses based on the fact that the former do not exhibit full-fledged properties of main clauses; for example, topic and sentence-final particles never occur within nominalized clauses.

5.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses, as noted in Section 5.1, are formed by means of clausal nominalization. The beginning of complement clauses is glossed by the clausal operator ⟨#cc⟩, and the end of them by a clause boundary marker ⟨%⟩. Complement clauses may function as the S or P argument, and are thus glossed in the same way as those of other referential expressions. Verbs that have the ability to take nominalized complements may be intransitive verbs from specific semantic classes, such as emotion (e.g. # *pyo* ‘be fun’), difficulty (e.g. *yak* ‘be difficult’), speed (e.g. *lawan* ‘be quick’), and judgment (e.g. *teng* ‘be true’), or transitive verbs from such semantic classes as knowledge and acquisition of knowledge (e.g. *ce* ‘know’), conception (e.g. *shadu* ‘think’), perception (e.g. *mu* ‘see’), fearing (e.g. *hkrit* ‘fear’), preference (e.g. *ra* ‘like’), demonstration (e.g. *sharin* ‘teach’), manipulation (e.g. *garum* ‘help’), and phrasal aspect (e.g. *ngut* ‘finish’). Examples:

- (35) a.
- jawng sa ai pyaw ai i?*

jawng sa =ai pyaw =ai =i
 school go =NMLZ be_fun =DECL =Q
 ## #cc:s 0.2:s np:g v:pred =rv % v:pred =rv =other
 ‘Is it fun for you to go to school?’ (observed)

- b.
- marang htu ai gaw ra ai.*

marang htu =ai =gaw ra =ai
 rain(N) rain(v) =NMLZ =TOP like =DECL
 ## 0.1:a #cc:p np:s v:pred =rv % =other v:pred =rv
 ‘(I) like rain.’ (observed)

Complement clauses, as demonstrated in Section 4.3, can also be formed by means of verb serialization, in which case, suppression of verbal arguments is observed, unlike nominalized complements, which do not exhibit them. Compare:

- (36) a.
- shi gaw ganu hpe shat shadu garum nga ai.*

shi =gaw ganu =hpe shat shadu
 3SG =TOP mother =ACC food cook
 ## pro.h:a =other np.h:p =rn #cc:p np:p vother:pred %

garum =nga =ai
 help =CONT =DECL
 v:pred =aux =rv
 ‘He is helping his mother cook food.’ (elicited)

- b.
- shi gaw ganu shat shadu ai garum nga ai.*

shi =gaw ganu shat shadu =ai garum =nga =ai
 3SG =TOP mother food cook =NMLZ help =CONT =DECL
 ## pro.h:a =other #cc:p np.h:a np:p v:pred =rv % v:pred =aux =rv
 ‘He is helping his mother cook food.’ (elicited)

5.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses, as noted in Section 5.1, are formed by means of clausal nominalization. Relativization involves no explicit indication of the relationship between the head noun and the relative clause. A relative clause construction may be analyzed as a simple juxtaposition of a nominalized clause and a head noun. This is supported by the flexible position of a relative clause, as shown below, although a relative clause is most commonly prepositive.

- (37) a.
- grai gaba ai hpun ni moi grai nga ai.*

grai gaba =ai hpun =ni moi grai
 very be_big =NMLZ tree =PL before very
 ## #rc rel_f0:s other v:pred =rv % np:s =rn other other

nga =ai
 be =DECL
 v:pred =rv
 ‘There were many trees which had been very big before.’ (elicited)

- b. *hpun grai gaba ai ni moi grai nga ai.*

hpun grai gaba =ai =ni moi grai
 tree very be_big =NMLZ =PL before very
 ## np:s #rc rel_f0:s other v:pred =rv % =rn other other

nga =ai
 be =DECL
 v:pred =rv

‘There were many trees which had been very big before.’

(elicited)

The “gapped” argument of relative clauses, as in (37), receive the form gloss ⟨rel_f0⟩ followed by semantic and function glosses depending on the function of the coreferential head noun, which include not only core arguments such as agent, patient, recipient, and theme, but also obliques, such as companion, instrument, material, vehicle, location, source, goal, and so on. Examples from our corpus include:

- (38) a. *htora lupwa kaw yup ai dai wa gaw dai kaw yup na she...*

htora lupwa =kaw yup =ai dai wa
 that cemetery =LOC sleep =DECL that man
 #rc rel_f0.h:s ln_dem np:l =rn v:pred =rv % ln_dem np.h:s

=gaw dai =kaw yup =na =she
 =TOP that =LOC sleep =SEQ =then
 =other dem_np:l =rn v:pred =other =other

‘That man who slept at the cemetery slept there and...’

[mc_jinghpaw_galang_0058]

- b. *ngai hpe lup da ai shara kaw nampan langai pu wa na re.*

ngai =hpe lup =da =ai shara =kaw
 1SG =ACC bury =RES =NMLZ place =LOC
 ##ds #rc 0.h:a rel_f0:l pro.1:p =rn v:pred =aux =rv np:l =rn

nampan langai pu =wa =na re
 flower one bloom =VEN =IRR COP
 np:s rn v:pred =aux =aux other

‘‘There will bloom a flower at the place where (they) bury me.’’

(KK1-0474_030 in PARADISEC)

The head noun is not always co-referential with an argument or adjunct of the modifying clause. In (39a), for example, the modifying clause expresses the content of the head noun, and thus the head noun cannot be interpreted as an argument or adjunct of the modifying clause. Another example comes from (39b), where the head noun, which is not coreferential with an argument or adjunct of the modifying clause, is characterized in relation to the event described by the modifying clause. These examples show that Jinghpaw is a language with a single construction that covers all ranges of the noun modifying clause expressions, which comes to be called the “general noun-modifying clause construction” (GNMCC) in the literature (Matsumoto et al. 2017). These modifying clauses are “gapless”, and we assume no gaps (i.e. ⟨rel_f0⟩) for these examples.

- (39) a.
- bungli hpe mung a tsawm rai galaw ya mayu ai myit n rawng ai.*

	<i>bungli</i>	= <i>hpe</i>	= <i>mung</i>	<i>atsawm</i>	<i>rai</i>	<i>galaw</i>	= <i>ya</i>	= <i>mayu</i>
	work	=ACC	=also	well	COP	do	=BEN	=DESID
##neg	#cc	0.h:a	np:p	=adp	=other	other	other	v:pred =aux =aux

= <i>ai</i>	<i>myit</i>	<i>n-rawng</i>	= <i>ai</i>
=DECL	mind	NEG-have	=DECL
=rv	%	0.h:a	np:p v:pred =rv

‘They did not have the mind to want to work for (him).’

[mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0014]

- b.
- ngai gaw shu ngoi ai nsen na ai re.*

<i>ngai</i>	= <i>gaw</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>ngoi</i>	= <i>ai</i>	<i>nsen</i>	<i>na</i>	= <i>ai</i>
1SG	=TOP	frog	make_a_noise	=NMLZ	sound	hear	=DECL
##	pro.1:a	=other	#cc	np:s	v:pred	=rv	%

<i>re</i>
COP
other

‘I heard the sound of a frog making noise.’

(observed)

Jinghpaw also has headless relative clauses whose semantic heads are phonologically null. Headless relatives are similar to nominalized complements in that they have a full constituent structure of clauses, and that they constitute an NP head. The empty semantic head of headless relatives may be virtually any semantic role, for example, agent, patient, companion, instrument, location, goal, cause, and so on. Headless relatives that take on argument positions are referential, and thus receive glosses in the same way as those of other referential expressions.

- (40) a.
- gaga lusu ai ni mung sa ai.*

<i>gaga</i>	<i>lusu</i>	= <i>ai</i>	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>mung</i>	<i>sa</i>	= <i>ai</i>
other	be_wealthy	=DECL.NMLZ	=PL	=also	go	=DECL
##	ln_qfr	#rc.h:s	v:pred	=rv	%	=rn

‘The rich people also went (to the festival).’

[mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0015]

- b.
- nang mung nang kam ai kaw yup u.*

<i>nang</i>	= <i>mung</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>kam</i>	= <i>ai</i>	= <i>kaw</i>	<i>yup</i>	= <i>u</i>
2SG	=also	2SG	be.willing	=DECL	=LOC	sleep	=IMP
##ds	pro.2:dt_s	=other	pro.2:s	np:l	=rn	=rn	v:pred =rv

“‘You also sleep where you want!’”

[mc_jinghpaw_galang_0035]

5.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses, except afterthoughts, are preposed to or interposed within main clauses. Jinghpaw has two main strategies to form adverbial subordinate clauses: (a) to employ subordinators that directly follow verbs; and (b) to exploit nominalization-relativization as a subordination strategy with a head noun from generic nouns (e.g. *ten* ‘time’), locator nouns (e.g. *hpang* ‘after’), and postpositions (e.g. *majaw* ‘because’).

- (41) a. *ganu gaw grai matsan let sha grai gasha hpe bau maka ai.*
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------|--------|---|-------|
| <i>ganu</i> | = <i>gaw</i> | <i>grai</i> | <i>matsan</i> | <i>let</i> | = <i>sha</i> | <i>grai</i> | | | | |
| mother | =TOP | very | be_poor | SIM | =only | very | | | | |
| ## | np.h:a | =other | #ac | 0.h:s | other | vother:pred | other | =other | % | other |
- gasha =hpe baumaka =ai*
 child =ACC take_care_of =DECL
 np.h:p =rn v:pred =rv
- ‘The mother, while being very poor, took good care of her son.’
 [mc_jinghpaw_ganu_0005]
- b. *masusha ai majaw grau pawt mayu mat na...*
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---|-------|-------|--------|------|
| <i>masusha</i> | = <i>ai</i> | <i>majaw</i> | <i>grau</i> | <i>pawt</i> | = <i>mayu</i> | | | | | |
| lie | =DECL | because | more | get_angry | =DESID | | | | | |
| ## | #ac | 0.h:s | v:pred | =rv | other | % | 0.h:s | other | v:pred | =aux |
- =mat =na*
 =COMPL =SEQ
 =aux =other
- ‘Because they lied to him, (he) got even angrier and...’
 [mc_jinghpaw_nchyang_0061]

5.5 Direct speech

Direct speech (or thought, content, intention, and so on), unlike the subordinate clauses described above, exhibits full properties of sentences, and is thus treated as a full-fledged sentence, not involving nominalization. Direct speech, as illustrated by (42), is introduced by the lexical verb *ngu* ‘say that’. This quotative verb, when no addressee is involved, is treated as an intransitive verb as in (42a). It is treated as a transitive verb when, as in (42b), an overtly expressed addressee that is marked by an accusative case just like the P argument function (see Section 3.3.1) occurs. Direct speech is not analyzed as a P argument in our corpus, but is treated as independent clauses signaled by a clausal operator (<#ds>).

- (42) a. *oi, sa ga ngu ai!*
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|---|----------|--------|-----|
| <i>oi</i> | <i>sa</i> | = <i>ga</i> | <i>ngu</i> | = <i>ai</i> | | | | |
| INTJ | go | =HORT | say | =DECL | | | | |
| ##ds | 0.1:s | other | v:pred | =rv | % | 0.d:s_ds | v:pred | =rv |
- ‘“Hey, let’s go!” (they) said.’
 [mc_jinghpaw_manau_0014]
- b. *u ni wa shi hpe, anhte a mun ni shabai la na ngu nna,...*
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|-----|------|
| <i>u</i> | = <i>ni</i> | = <i>wa</i> | <i>shi</i> | = <i>hpe</i> | <i>anhte</i> | = <i>a</i> | <i>mun</i> | | |
| bird | =PL | =TOP | 3SG | =ACC | 1PL | =GEN | hair | | |
| np.d:a_ds | =rn | =other | pro.d:p | =rn | ##ds | 0.1:a | ln_pro.1:poss | =ln | np:p |
- =ni shabai la =na ngu =nna*
 =PL return take =IRR say =SEQ
 =rn lv v:pred =rv % v:pred =other
- ‘The other birds (said) to him, “We will take back our feathers!”, and...’
 [mc_jinghpaw_manau_0029-0030]

Direct speech is also introduced by means of a quotative complementizer *ngu*. The complementizer, although apparently having a diachronic connection with the quotative verb, is treated as a particle, glossed ⟨other⟩, based on the fact that it is followed by other verbs of utterance and conception, including *ngu* ‘say that’, and a full syntactic element may be interposed between complementizers and verbs. Example:

- (43) *madu jan gaw madu wa hpe ndai asi ni yawng hkra di la ga ngu tsun ai da.*
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>madu-jan</i> | = <i>gaw</i> | <i>madu-wa</i> | = <i>hpe</i> | <i>ndai</i> | <i>asi</i> | = <i>ni</i> | <i>yawng</i> |
| host-female | =TOP | husband-man | =ACC | this | fruit | =PL | all |
| ## np.h:a_ds | =other | np.h:p | =rn | ##ds 0.1:a | ln_dem | np:p | =rn rn_qfr |
| = <i>hkra</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>la</i> | = <i>ga</i> | <i>ngu</i> | <i>tsun</i> | = <i>ai</i> | = <i>da</i> |
| =until | cut | take | =HORT | QUOT | say | =DECL | =HS |
| =other | lv | v:pred | =rv | % other | v:pred | =rv | =other |
- ‘The wife said to her husband, “Let us pick all of these fruit,” it is said.’
- [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0082]

5.6 Coordination

Jinghpaw does not have a genuine sentence-level coordinating conjunction. A sequence of events is expressed by co-subordination (Foley & Van Valin 1984), where a sequential particle *na* (~ *nna*) is directly added to verbs (or auxiliaries, if any), with only the final verb being marked for aspect and mood. All arguments involving cosubordination can be expressed overtly although often left unexpressed due to their redundancy. A co-subordinate clause, a dependent clause in a strict sense, is simply treated like an independent clause in the Jinghpaw corpus, with its beginning marked by the leftward-boundary marker ⟨##⟩.

- (44) a. *ngai akatsi sha lagu sa na bai wa na yaw.*
- | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>ngai</i> | <i>a-katsi</i> | = <i>sha</i> | <i>lagu sa</i> | = <i>na</i> |
| 1SG | ADV-be.silent | =ADV | steal go | =SEQ |
| ##ds pro.1:s | other | =other | lv | v:pred =other |
-
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| <i>bai</i> | <i>wa</i> | = <i>na</i> | <i>yaw</i> |
| bai | return | =IRR | =SFP |
| ##ds 0.1:s | other | v:pred | =rv =other |
- “I will go silently and secretly and (I) will come back.”
- [mc_jinghpaw_shanngayi_0035]
- b. *dai kaw rim na sha kau ai da.*
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>dai</i> | = <i>kaw</i> | <i>rim</i> | = <i>na</i> |
| that | =LOC | catch | =SEQ |
| ## 0:a 0.h:p | dem_pro:l | =rn | v:pred =other |
-
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>sha</i> | = <i>kau</i> | = <i>ai</i> | = <i>da</i> |
| eat | =away | DECL | =HS |
| ## 0:a 0.h:p | eat | =aux | rv =other |
- ‘(The tiger) caught (him) there and (it) ate (him), it is said.’
- (KK1-0265_073 in PARADISEC)

Coordinating conjunctions are also expressed by means of the subordinator *yang*, which forms temporal (i.e. ‘when’) and conditional (i.e. ‘if’) clauses, as in (45a).⁶ This subordinator, often followed by the particle *she* ‘then’, is further deprived of its semantic content, as in (45b), being merely used to coordinate successive events. In such case, the clause is often simply treated like an independent clause.

- (45) a. *nanhte ngai hpe nmu yang mung...*
 nanhte ngai =hpe n-mu yang =mung
 2PL 1SG =ACC NEG-see when =also
 #ac.neg pro.2:a pro.1:p =rn v:pred other =other
 ‘Even if you don’t see me...’ (KK1-0474_030 in PARADISEC)
- b. *bai sa yang =she langai mi kaw bai du yang gaw..*
 bai sa yang =she langai mi =kaw bai
 again go when =then one one =LOC again
 ## 0.h:a other v:pred other =other ## 0.h:s np.h:g rn =rn other
 du yang =gaw
 arrive when =TOP
 v:pred other =other
 ‘(They) went further, and (they) again arrived at another person...’
 (KK1-0265_041 in PARADISEC)

A sequence of events, as shown below, is also encoded by means of serial verb constructions (SVCs). Unlike the abovementioned cases, an SVC is treated as a single clause because serialized verbs form a single predicate. The constraint against role-doubling (Durie 1997), by which a serial verb complex is blocked from containing duplicate roles, that is, two agents, two patients, two instruments, and so on, indicates that an SVC is monoclausal in contrast to the abovementioned biclausal constructions, which allow duplicate roles to occur within them. For more details of SVCs, see Section 6.2 below.

- (46) *shi na manang-wa hpe sa shaga ai da.*
 shi =na manang-wa =hpe sa shaga =ai =da
 3SG =GEN friend-man =ACC go call =DECL =HS
 ## 0.h:a ln_pro.h:poss =ln np.h:p =rn lv v:other =rv =other
 ‘(He) went and called his friend, it is said.’ [mc_jinghpaw_galang_0060]

6 Constructions with special features

6.1 External possessor constructions

External possessor constructions are constructions where an NP that is semantically understood as the possessor is coded as a core grammatical relation of the verb (Payne & Barshi 1999). In our corpus, external possessors, as exemplified below, are treated as dislocated phrases.

⁶ This kind of neutralization between conditionals and temporal clauses, especially with predictive conditionals and future clauses, is cross-linguistically common since, as Thompson et al. (2007: 258) put it, the distinction between temporal and conditional clauses ‘is simply one of degree of expectability’.

(47) a. *shi gaw hkum gaba ai.*

shi =gaw *hkum gaba* =ai
 3SG =TOP body be_big =DECL
 ## pro.h:dt =other np:s v:pred =rv
 ‘As for him, (his) body is big.’ (elicited)

b. *shi gaw kalang ta nrung mung daw daw re na i.*

shi =gaw *kalangta nrung =mung daw daw re*
 3SG =TOP at_once horn =also be_broken be_broken lv
 ## pro.d:dt =other other np:s =other nc v:pred other
 =na =i
 =SEQ =SFP
 =other =other
 ‘As for her, her horn was broken at once and, OK?’

[mc_jinghpaw_shanngayi_0046]

6.2 Serial verb construction

The pervasive use of serial verb constructions (SVCs), where verbs are serialized productively in a single predicate without any marker of syntactic dependency, is one of the prominent features of Jinghpaw grammar. Serialized verbs are contiguous, and no syntactic elements are interposed between their components. SVCs describe (a) a sequential action, which is expressed by temporally iconic ordering of verbs, where recurrent semantic relationships held between component verbs are consecutivity, means, and cause-effect; and (b) a simultaneously occurring event where component verbs are related in concomitance and manner relationships. Serialized verbs, as a single predicate, receive only one ⟨v:pred⟩ gloss, which is given to the last verb in serialization. The remaining verbs preceding it automatically receive ⟨lv⟩, regardless of the head of the serialized verbs. As a result of verb serialization, the argument structures of component verbs are conflated into a single structure, following the constraint against role-doubling (Section 5.6). Overt expressions of duplicate roles are systematically suppressed, and thus, no zeros are assumed for them.

(48) a. *dai gwi langai mi masha =ni si =mat =na sa*

well dog one one person =PL die =COMPL =SEQ go
 ## other np:s rn_qfr rn_qfr np.h:a =rn v:pred =aux =other ## lv
gabai =da =ai =le =i
 throw.away =RES =DECL =SFP =SFP
 v:pred =aux =rv =other =other
 ‘(A dog) died and people threw (it) away, OK?’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0098]

b. *nmarawn shaga ga.*

n-marawn shaga =ga
 NEG-shout speak =HORT
 ##neg 0.1:s lv v:pred =rv
 ‘Let’s not speak by shouting.’ (observed)

SVCs, as noted in Section 5.2, are also exploited for complementation strategies. The complementation serialization is asymmetrical (a term from Aikhenvald 2006 in that the last verbs in the serialization are drawn from a subset of complement-taking verbs, for example, *lanyan* ‘be slow’, *ra* ‘like’, and *garum* ‘help’). SVCs also describe subevents linked by a purposive relationship. In purposive SVCs, as illustrated by (49b), the dependent clause headed by the preceding verb describes the purpose of the following verb in the main clause. Due to the constraint against role-doubling, overt expressions of duplicate roles are systematically suppressed, and, as noted in Section 4.3, no zeros are assumed for them.

- (49) a. *bugamasha ni gaw gaga kanbaubungli lata yak ai majaw...*
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>buga-masha</i> | =ni | =gaw | <i>gaga</i> | <i>kanbau-bungli</i> | <i>lata</i> | |
| local-person | =PL | =TOP | other | living-work | choose | |
| #ac | np.h:dt | =rn | =other | #cc:s ln | np:p | vother:pred % |
- yak* =ai *majaw*
 be_difficult =NMLZ because
 v:pred =rv np:other
- ‘Because it’s difficult for locals to choose other work for a living...’ (observed)
- b. *gwi hte rau hpun hta sa na she...*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|---------------|
| <i>gwi</i> | =hte | <i>rau</i> | <i>hpun hta</i> | <i>sa</i> | =na | =she |
| dog | =COM | together | wood pick | go | =SEQ | =then |
| ## | 0.h:a | np:other | =rn other | np:p lv | v:pred | =other =other |
- ‘(He) went to gather firewood with (his) dog and...’ [mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0113]

6.3 Tail-head constructions

Tail-head linkage (THL) is a discourse strategy to connect clause chains by recapitulating the last clause of a chain at the beginning of the next chain (de Vries 2005). THL is also attested in Jinghpaw narrative text. Consider examples (50a) to (50c), which are successively occurring sentences in the same narrative, where every final clause is repeated in the first clause of the next chain to ease processing and/or to carry out discourse-structuring functions, such as referential coherence. The recapitulation, as seen below, is often done partially. We assume zeros in tail clauses in our Jinghpaw corpus.

- (50) a. *dai magam gaw num la sai*
- | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>dai</i> | <i>magam</i> | =gaw | <i>num</i> | <i>la</i> | =s-ai |
| that | first.born.son | =TOP | woman | take | =CSM-DECL |
| ln_dem | np.h:a | =other | np.h:p | v:pred | =rv |
- ‘The first-born son got a wife.’ [mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0031]

- b. *num la na she nga rai yang she, dai shan nau hkai da ai hpun dai mung kaba wa sai.*

num la =na =she nga rai yang
 woman take =SEQ =then live COP when
 ## 0.h:a np.h:p v:pred =other =other ## 0.h:s v:pred other other
 =she dai shan nau hkai =da =ai hpun
 =then that 3DU brother plant =RES =DECL.NMLZ tree
 =other ## nc #rc rel_f0:p ln_np np.h:a v:pred =aux =rv % np:s
 dai =mung kaba =wa =s-ai
 that =also be.big =VEN =CSM-DECL
 rn_dem =other v:pred =aux =rv

‘(He) got a wife and (they) lived and the tree they planted also became big.’

[mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0032-0033]

- c. *kaba wa na she...*

kaba =wa =na =she
 be.big =VEN =SEQ =then
 ## 0:s v:pred =aux =other =other

‘(It) became big and...’

[mc_jinghpaw_hkaili_0034]

6.4 Phrase or clause repetition

Repetition of phrases and clauses prevails in Jinghpaw narrative texts. It, as illustrated by (51a), contributes to an iconic meaning associated with concepts such as iterativity and durativity. Repetition also performs the function of reinforcing communication, as in (51b), where the speaker repeats the command to ensure the hearer’s attention. Repeated constructions are counted only once following Bickel (2003), and leaving others glossed <nc> (i.e. ‘non-classified’).

- (51) a. *hkawm hkawm hkawm re she...*

hkawm hkawm hkawm re =she
 walk walk walk LV =then
 ## 0.h:s nc nc v:pred other =other

‘(He) walked, and walked, and walked, on and on...’

[mc_jinghpaw_dwi_0157]

- b. *mare dai kaw wa she masha kadai n-nga taw-nga ai da, masha kadai mung n-nga taw-nga ai.*

mare dai =kaw =wa =she masha kadai n-nga =taw-nga
 village that =LOC =TOP =then person who NEG-live =CONT-CONT
 ##neg np:l rn_dem =rn =other =other np.h:s rn_np v:pred =aux
 =ai =da masha kadai =mung n-nga =taw-nga =ai
 =DECL =HS person who =also NEG-live =CONT-CONT =DECL
 =rv =other #nc nc nc nc nc nc nc

‘No one lived in the village, it’s said. No one lived in the village.’

[mc_jinghpaw_galang_0012-0013]

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Appendices

A List of corpus-specific GRAID symbols

The following is a list of the non-standard GRAID symbols used in the annotation of the Multi-CAST Jinghpaw corpus. Please refer to the *GRAID manual* (Haig & Schnell 2014: 54–55) for an inventory of basic GRAID symbols.

Form symbols and specifiers

⟨rel_f0⟩	gapped constituent in a relative clause
⟨dem_pro⟩	demonstrative pronoun
⟨pn_np⟩	proper name
⟨dem_other⟩	other demonstratives

Function symbols and specifiers

⟨:s_ds⟩	subject of a verb of speech, intransitive
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Subconstituent symbols

⟨_adj⟩	attributive adjective; attaches to ⟨1n⟩ and ⟨rn⟩
⟨_dem⟩	demonstrative determiner; attaches to ⟨1n⟩ and ⟨rn⟩
⟨_qfr⟩	qualifier; attaches to ⟨1n⟩ and ⟨rn⟩

Other symbols

⟨nc_⟩	<i>specifier</i> : marks form glosses with RefIND indices in segments otherwise not considered (i.e. those marked ⟨#nc⟩)
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B List of abbreviated morphological glosses

1	first person	INTJ	interjection
2	second person	INTNS	intensifier
3	third person	IRR	irrealis
ABL	ablative	KIN	kinship
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
ADV	adverbializer	LV	light verb
AGT	agentive	NEG	negative
ALL	allative	NMLZ	nominalizer
BEN	benefactive	ONOM	onomatopoeia
CAUS	causative	PL	plural, pluralizing clitic
CLF	classifier	POS	possibility
COM	comitative	PROH	prohibitive
COMPL	completive	Q	question
CON	conative	QUOT	quotative
CONT	continuous	RECIP	reciprocal
CONTR	contrastive	RED	reduplicant
COP	copula verb	RES	resultative
COUP	couplet	SEQ	sequential
CSM	change-of-state marker	SFP	sentence-final particle
DECL	declarative	SG	singular
DESID	desiderative	SIM	simultaneous
DU	dual	SUPER	superlative
EMPH	emphatic	TERM	terminative
EXCL	exclamative	TOP	topic
EXP	experiential	VEN	venitive
GEN	genitive		
HORT	hortative		
HS	hearsay	NC	not classifiable
IMP	imperative		

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