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The Akha Connection A preliminary discussion.

Paper for the 29th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Leiden, October 10-13, 1996

In this paper, I'll look into the various ways in which Akha connect words, clauses and sentences, and will also see whether it is possible - or needed - to set up a special wordclass 'conjunctions'.

In Akha, as is true for so many languages in the East- and Southeast Asian area, verbs are easily stringed together in a verb concatenation, or verbs in series (see Hansson 1985). The condition is that the verbal event must be only one with regard to acting persons, affected object, time and place, i.e. the verb concatenation describes one single state or action. The Akha concatenation is heavily right-bounded, i.e. the versatile verbs connecting to the verb-head, are always placed after the verb-head. A verb or verbal auxiliary may be restricted as to its concatenability, i.e. whether it may only occur as verb-head, only as verb-head and in the first post-head position (restricted versatile verb), as verb-head and also in several post-head positions (non-restricted versatile verb), not as verbhead but in many post-head positions (non-restricted post-head auxiliary) or in only the first post-head position (restricted post-head auxiliary), and finally pre-head verbal auxiliaries (only 4 words). The verbal auxiliaries dont fulfill the criteria for verbhood as they are bound to a verb in order to surface. The internal order of the post-head auxiliaries shows that the more abstract the meaning, the farther away from the verb-head it is placed. The negation is placed in front of the concatenation and can't interfere inside it. Some examples:

òq í mòq láVh Vv Vaux Vvreturn go want startstart to want to go back

bi pjaq kha lèq phà auxV Vh Vv Vaux Vv cause pick down to ought ought to cause them to pick down to me

mà dja dji tjhø Neg. Vh Vv Vaux not tell all able can't tell it all

khú xòq làq kəq dji
Vh Vaux Vaux Vv Vv
call back to arrive all
all have been called back and arrived

ja bi djó í auxV auxV Vh Vv must cause stay go must cause to go to stay

Verb concatenation is a very frequent feature of the Akha language. Almost equally frequent though is a construction type where several verbs and/or concatenations are interspaced with the verb particle 5, marking a sequence of events. The agent must be the same for this chain of verbs, but the object can be different:

àjòq já-ŋɛ i ó tjhé kha ó òq lá ó hò dzà dzà ó... he field go VP rice plant VP return VP rice eat VP

He went to the fields and planted rice and returned and ate and...

If there is a change of agent/subject or of scenery, náa 'when, and then' is used:

mɔ-hý hóə mɔ-njǐ njàq tjhà-ờ lế hm thà ố øøøøế ø náa PN and PN two slingshot prepare keep VP come P when

xhà-dzé ø ø ø náa... eagle come when

Mohý and Monji, the two, kept slingshots ready and when it came, when the eagle came...

bəq kha ó tjàq ó dzà dèq náa, jò phu jò tjhan shoot down VP cook VP eat full then another village walk

tjhan é phá í nà djé P further go SP FP

They shot it down, cooked it and ate their fill and then they further went walking to another village.

náa relates to a group of words that always are - or at least can be - followed by a pause, may follow a verbal predicate as well as a nominal predicate, and by replacing a sentence particle clearly relate two sentences to each other.

àjòq àkhà mế he is an Akha (mế = sentence particle)
náa if he is an Akha, when the case is...
mià if he is an Akha...
lɔ-nm̃-à if he was an Akha (but he isn't)...
minɛ as he is an Akha...
xòqì although he is an Akha...

náa has in non-past tense the meaning 'if/when', depending on context, in past always 'when'. míà, on the contrary, always has a conditional meaning, never a temporal one. lo-ním-à implies that something happened or not in contrast to what is stated: if you hadn't come - but you did, if you had come - but you didn't. See examples below.

 $\eta \varepsilon$ 'while, during the time that, when' can't follow a noun. An exception is the fixed expression $h \phi \eta \varepsilon$ 'at that time, lit. that while'. $xh \phi \delta$ 'not yet' requires a negated verb. These two, like the ones mentioned above, replace a sentence particle connecting two sentences, and can be followed by a pause

hóə 'and' connects two nouns only and can't be said to replace a sentence particle. It is also used to express 'or', which there is no single word for in Akha. The meaning 'or' is constructed by contrasting one negated and one non-negated form (noun, adjective or verb), sometimes with a question word added afterwords, or with the addition of 'I don't know':

djò-mjaq pho mà shì djò-gy pho mà shì, àgə pho mà behind side not know front side not know which side not shì ló know FP

I don't know (if it was) behind the house or in front of the house, I don't know which side.

tshà ə mà shì, mà tshà ə mà shì, tshà mà tshà xòqì right VP not know not right VP not know right not right but ja dja mia must tell SP

I don't know if it is right or not, right or not right but I must tell

thə à, djaq mà djaq ŋɛ i, jò djó naqù ja dzà ə that TP have not have while always get eat VP

As for those, if they have (money) or not, they always get to eat.

gaq ə hóə mà gaq ə, àshúyà shì nja ə, nó yà cold VP and not cold VP who know VP you clf

Who knows whether they are cold or not, you!

These 8 words are, so far as I know, the only ones that might be put together in one word-class, conveniently called conjunctions. $h\acute{o}$ is slightly differently defined, but it seems unnecessary to set up a one single-member word-class.

There are in Akha some other ways of expressing 'if', 'in order to, so that', 'as'. It can be by double negation, by nominalizing a verb making it an object to another verb, and be sheer context. Some examples of this:

hə lóqé mà ŋó a mà shì nja á nja this like not be SP not know SP

If it is not like this, I don't know (anything more about the story).

ja-phí mà ŋɔ́ a, thì djè i mà djaq lé é lɔ mɛ́ lé opium not be SP anything not have FP say P SP FP

If not for opium, we wouldn't have anything (to take when sick), they say.

ná lá ηε mà ŋɨ à mà dó, mà ná ηε à mà dó

pain come when not be SP not smoke not pain when TP not smoke lé nồ mĩa thế

FP think SP FP

if not being in pain, we don't smoke, when we aren't in pain, we don't smoke, we think.

á lé àshúyà mà shì lé, thì yà mó mà lé, ja-tjiq thì mó oh FP who not know FP one person see SP FP chicken one clf

dì sèq ə ja shà mà dzà a lé beat kill VP chicken meat not eat SP FP

Oh, I don't know who it was, I saw one person, she killed one chicken but didn't eat the meat.

Here one could imagine - and probably could insert - $x \partial q \hat{i}$: dì sèq ə $x \partial q$ ì 'even though she killed....

àjòq da bàq àŋ ə lé bàq ố í ŋà djé they father carry sell VP FP carry VP go SP FP

They went carrying their father in order to carry and sell him.

The first verb phrase is nominalized, marked by the quotative final particle $l\acute{\epsilon}$, standing as an object to the second one, which states the purpose for the action.

jò γà naqù i-kháŋ bi òq ú lá ə lέ έ a everybody house cause return into come VP FP say SP

They say it in order to make everybody go back into their houses.

This same construction, with or without $l\acute{\epsilon}$, is also used for saying: think that.. and similar expressions:

mà bi sjhì lé dú xòqì... not let know FP think although

Even though you think that you don't let them know (that you are addicted)..

xhà-me ne kòq dzà ə lé dú... mouth NP bite eat VP FP think

I thought that they eat biting with their mouths√

Below I give examples of the 8 possible conjunctions in Akha:

If: lo-nm-à

1. dì lá lɔ-nm-à ja sjhi mε beat come if must die SP

If he comes to beat me, I'll must die (comes to beat me with a special stick knowing the secret about it - but he doesn't know it).

2. ŋá xòqì ny nờ mà nờ thà nja lɔ-nm-à, tóqlóqɛ́ xòqì mà phá
I even think not think keep able if like that even not again

dja nja á tell able SP

Even I, if I couldn't remember, I wouldn't be able to go on telling like that.

3. nó mà djó lo-nm-à, xhố mì-lu à àli nố sèq a you not stay if that PN NP son cry die SP

If you weren't here, that son of Milu would cry his heart out.

4. ámjòq ma lɔ-nm-à thì mɔ́ mɔ́ è lɛ́ monkey mother if one clf see SP FP

If it was (a question of) a monkey mother, I have seen one (but it wasn't a question of that).

If/when: náa

In present and future tense: 'if/when, and then' - depending on context. In past: 'when'.

Very common in initial position as a lose connection to what happened before: And then...

After noun: 'if it is a, then'

5. dzái jò naŋ jò átjyq gy le náa,... further another day a little dry come when

After some days, when (the fields) had dried a bit, ...

6. ijàŋ jàŋ i náa, jàŋ jàŋ ε jàŋ náa, m tjìq le fish with net go when fishing when evening come

ŋàá lớ, m tjìq tjìq le náa... SP FP evening come when

They went fishing, fishing and fishing, and then it became evening, and when it had become evening....

7. mà ná náa, thì shì mà dó not be in pain when one clf not smoke

If/when we are not in pain, we don't smoke a single pipeful.

8. dzo ĭ náa, mà bì dzε nja á nja addicted go when not throw away can SP

If/when you have become addicted, you can't throw it away

9. òq lá náa, ja dm phá, mà dm phá náa, jo gaq return come when must wear change not wear change if feel cold gaq

When she returns, she must change (clothes), if she doesn't change clothes, she will get cold.

10. àjòq bàq ú náa, áby phá bi dm á she carry into when blanket further let wear SP

When she has been carried into (the coffin), they let her have a blanket on.

11. àjòq hò dzà ə kəq lá náa...

she rice eat VP arrive come when

When time comes for her to eat...

12. dzε ĭ náa, dzε mi làq nà djé throw go when throw catch towards SP FP

When they went to throw (the net) they got a catch.

13. ja-tjiq dì sèq náa, ja-tjiq shà-dji mà dzà na djé chicken beat kill when chicken meat not eat SP FP

When she had killed the chicken, se didn't eat the meat.

14. náa, njì naŋ shm naŋ djó náa... and then two day three day stay when

And then, when he had stayed for two or three days...

15. djí-djø náa djí-djø, tjhú-ù-lu náa tjhú-ù-lu drongo then drongo barbet then barbet

If it was a drongo it was a drongo, if it was a barbet it was a barbet (can't recall which kind of bird it was, but it was one of them).

16. àbu náa jaq-áŋ ja pjàq á, àli náa kaq ja pjàq á girl if spindle must carve SP boy if crossbow must carve SP

If it is a girl, then (the father) must carve a spindle, if it is a boy, then he must carve a crossbow.

If: mià

Frequently: $t \circ q (l \circ q) \in m \circ \hat{a}$: if it is so.

After a noun: if it is N

17. òq le lέ έ mià, ηà pjhà nε έ nè θ djè mia return come FP say if my wife NP say to VP kind SP

If he says that I (should) go back, it is something said by my wife.

18. tóqé mià, òq kha le ò mia so if return down come Imp. SP

If that's so, come down!

19. ŋàq ə àma mià, làq-nø tshò doq làq shá è lέ έ ŋà my NP mother if finger stick out towards please SP FP say SP

djé FP

If you are my mother, please stick in your finger, she said.

20. nòq ə míà, ŋà bú bi m dzà le lé lé é ŋà djé your NP if my daughter let marry go SP FP say SP FP

If it is yours, I'll let my daughter marry you, he said.

While, when, during the time that..: $\eta \varepsilon$

Mostly after a verb. Denotes strictly time and no condition. Special expression: $h \not o \eta \varepsilon = at$ that time, while then.

21. hò thì naŋ dzàŋ nja ŋε, ja-phǐ thì bjó mà dzàŋ nja ớ rice one day starve can while opium one meal not starve able VP

bə lé FP FP

While you are able to starve for rice for one day, you can't starve for opium for a moment.

22. hò mεq ηε ma-bi mà doq le a rice hungry while tear not appear come SP

While being hungry for rice, tears don't come out.

23. ĭ ŋɛ à, xhà-là ə dò-mì ja-tjiq phàŋ áŋ tjhò ú thà go while SP tiger NP tail chicken cage NP stick into keep

ŋa djé SP FP

When they went down, there was the tiger's tail sticking into the chicken cage.

24. hố ηε ηά náhà ηε lέ, ηà ma ηà da ná-hà ηε lέ... that time I ask when FP my mother my father ask when FP

Not yet, not until: mà V xhờ á

Always follows a negated verb.

25. nèq thó mà thó xhờ á mà pjaq dzà nja spirit recite not recite yet not butcher eat can

When we have not yet recited to the spirits, we can't butcher and eat.

26. hố và mà ố xhờ á, ná thì djè i mà dján nja that clf not come yet I one kind P not do can I can't do anything until he comes.

27. hố mà dzỳq xhờ á, i-khán mà ja ú lá that not wash yet house not must enter come

Until you have washed your feet, you can't enter the house.

As, because, reason: mine, mie

28. ná-hà xhờ i ó gà mie ló listen steal go VP hear as FP

Because she had heard it, having gone to listen stealthily.

29. xhà-là nε thì poq dzà djǐ à tshó-hà mǐε, àtjhò áŋ sàq dó tiger NP once eat finish NP person as other NP shy nja lέ έ ŋà djé SP FP say SP FP

"As I am a person who has once been eaten all up by a tiger, I feel shy towards others", she said.

30. ηá hə gá lá è mè thai mò áŋ àdjé mǐnε lá ə mà ŋɨ,

I here come VP Thailand NP what reason come VP not be

àkhà ə dò dzo mòq míɛ lá è Akha NP word study want as come SP

I came here to Thailand for no other reason than wanting to study Akha.

31. dó dzo ó ne sjhà mǐe dja nja ó, mà dó dzo smoke addicted VP poor as tell able VP not smoke addicted

ớn ε à, mà sjhà lɔ-nm-à, ηá djǐ hə lóq ε xòqì mà ε nja VP not poor if I also like this even not say able

As I am poor from being addicted I can speak, if I were not poor from being addicted, even I couldn't speak.

32. xhố γε, àdzò minε ò dzaŋ lé ó, njm phá phá that also fool as believe go VP house further exchange

nè ŋà djé le towards SP FP FP

That one, as he was a fool, believed (what he said) and then exchanged his house with him.

Although, even if, also: xòqì

Mostly after a verb, negated or not: Neg. $+ \partial + x \partial q \hat{i}$: even though (you) don't V $\partial + x \partial q \hat{i}$: even though (you) V

after a noun:

N $x \partial q \hat{i}$: even N, also N N $x \partial q \hat{i} + \text{Neg} + \text{V}$: not even V the N àshúyà $x \partial q \hat{i}$: whoever

33. ù jé jé xòqì, mà à le à lé rain even not wet come SP FP

Even though it rains, I don't get wet.

34. dì xòqì, mà shí à lé beat even not die SP FP

Even though I did beat her, she didn't die.

35. ja-phí shím shì téqé mà ŋɔ́ xɔ̀qì zɔ́ i nja ɔ́ bə lɛ́ opium three clf only not be even buy go able VP FP FP

Even though it is not just three smokes, you can go and buy (as much as you like, not yet beeing addicted you still have money).

36. àshúγà xòqì, ηá ε΄ gá náhà ò who even I say place listen imp.

Whoever it is, listen to what I say.

37. njm lòqέ ho-já xòqì mà shì nja ə bə lέ, áhu à djaq-γà like now hospiral even not know VP FP FP before P medicine

phú-làq dzà ə xòqì... i.e. eat VP even

Like now, we don't even know about hospitals, before even though we ate medicine...

38. ŋà ma xòqì ja-phí dó mǐɛ, àdjɛ thì djɛ ná lá xòqì... my mother even opium smoke as whatever pain come even

As also my mother smoke, also whatever kind of pain came...

And: hóə

Usually between nouns but may also occur between adjectives or verbs.

39. mo-hý hóo mo-njí ò gá-koq PN and PN NP story

The story of Mohý and Monjí.

40. ná-ma hớp ba-la sun and moon

The sun and the moon.