

RECORDING CHUK211015G

-da past tense for 1st person in affirmative sentences if sure about what you did.
NOM.PST:DIR “conjunct”

-da in questions referring to the 2nd and 3rd person, if the addressee knows that the speaker will know the answer to the question, i.e. the speaker does not know the answer, but presumes the addressee to know

-da NEVER as past tense marker for 2nd and 3rd person in affirmative sentences!

-da as nominaliser making an adjective from a verb

-da as nominaliser making an adverb from a verb

I was sleeping. I wake up. Someone asks me, ‘what did you do?’ I say: I slept: GA MINDA.
*GA MINBA *GA MINNYI (GA MINDA JUDEQ.)

Someone was sleeping. I didn’t see him sleep. I meet him. I ask him, ‘did you sleep’ ~ ‘what did you do’: {NANG MINDANYI?} ~ NANG ABE LEDA YA? *NANG ABE LENYI YA
*NANG ABE LEBA YA

Someone was sleeping. I didn’t see him sleep. I meet someone who came from his room. I ask him, ‘did he sleep’ ~ ‘what did he do’: WOY MINDANYI ~ WOY ABE LEDA YA?
*WOY ABE LENYI YA *WOY ABE LEBA YA

-ba as nominaliser making an adjective from a verb

-ba as past tense for 1st person in affirmative sentences if not sure about what you did

-ba as past tense for 2nd and 3rd person in affirmative sentences if speaker did not personally witness it. NOM.PST:INDIR “disjunct”

-ba as past tense marker for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in affirmative sentences if not sure

I was sleeping. I wake up, but I am still sleep-drunk. Someone asks me ‘what did you do’. I say: I slept or what: GA MINBANYI A LEBA NYI? *GA MINDANYI

Someone was sleeping. I didn’t see him sleep. I meet him. I ask him: ‘Did you sleep?’: NANG MINDANYI KHUM OKHYAK SHETLONG. *NANG MINbaNYI?

Someone was sleeping. I didn’t see him sleep. I meet someone but I don’t know whether he was in the room or not. I ask him, ‘did he sleep’ ~ ‘what did he do’: WOY MINJUDEQ NYI ~ WOY ABE LEDEQ YA? BECAUSE U DON’T KNOW WHETHER SLEEPING OR NOT
*WOY ABE LENYI YA *WOY ABE LEDA YA

-nyi as past tense for 2nd and 3rd person in affirmative sentences if speaker personally witnessed it. PRT NO IT IS PST.INDIR

-nyi as past tense for 1st person in questions if the speaker is not sure about what he did

-nyi as question marker for 1st and 3rd person in sentences without question word

-nyi as patient marker

-nyi NEVER as past tense for 1st person in affirmative sentences!

(16) ηó ?acín dót bá.

ηó ?acín dó-tó-bá

1sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir

'I've just had my meal (I know, because I experienced it).'

I just had ara (I know, because I experienced it)

I just had ara (I think, because I am drunk, but I don't remember the actual drinking)

I just had ara (someone told me, even though I don't remember the actual drinking)

ga hoko hontar ara nyungda. jang oma gungum ara jamshi. (if know for sure) nang dejju namphong abe leda ja? ga dejju namphong ara nyungda.

ga hoko ara nyundeq I am drinking ara now.

ga ara nyungnyitsen? (if asking did I have ara) ga ara nyungda (if sure)

ga ara nyungba tshotle (SOME DAY TSHOTLONG! it seems I drank ara). nang dejju ara nyungnyibej (you drank ara yesterday)

(17) *nó ?acín dót bá.

nó ?acín dó-tó-bá

2sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir

(18) *bì î ?acín dót bá.

bì î ?acín dó-tó-bá

3sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir

(19) *ηó ?acín dót barèe.

ηó ?acín dó-tó-bá = rèe

1sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir = pq

dejju namphong nang abe leda changrin leda (to pick up arguments with people and disturb them when drunk) ja?

woj dejju namphong abe ledaja? woj dejju namphong ara nyungnyibej (he drank ara yesterday evening)

NYI/BA/DA as past markers

WOJ → NYI/BA + NYI in Q woy innyi (dei yakci). woyyoq abe innyi? (if both addressee and 3rd person were in sense last night: woy abe innyi {ja}?) also when addressee was drunk.

*woy deyyu namphong abe inbaya? woy deyyu namphong aberang bainnyi (He did not say anything last night). woy deyyu namphong abe innyi ya (asking what third person said if addressee was present but speaker not). *woy inba (dei yakpan he said, if the speakers was present and knows that he said it). woy deyyu namphong abe indalo? (what did he say if speaker was not present but addressee was).

NANG → NYI/BA + DA in Q nangngoq innyi (nang yakci). nang abe innyi (if addressee remembers)- nang abe inda? (if addressee doesn't seem to remember). nang deyyu namphong adak karmanyi abe inda? (if addressee appears remember). nang deyyu namphong adak karmanyi abeabe indanyi? (only question: goq adak karmanyi aberang bainba (I did not say anything I know it). nang aberang bainnyi (you didn't say anything I know it).

GA → DA/BA + NYI in Q goq inda. ga abe innyitsen? goq deyyu namphong abe innyi ya? goq deyyu namphong abeabe inba (last night I said many things).

1sg. deyyu ga jongda (ining jang jump anji). Yesterday I jumped. deyyu ga jongba (ining jang jump ana). deyyu ga jongNYInyi? (did I jump yesterday, ong deyyu nang jongnyi (If speaker saw it). *ong deyyu nang jongba (NOT COMMON I didn't see personally). ong deyyu nang jongnyibey (yesterday you jumped I saw it and tell u now). ong deyyu nang jongnyi innyibey (I didn't see it but others saw it and are telling u now). *deyyu ga jongnyi.

2sg. deyyu nang jongnyi (ining nan jump anji). *deyyu nang jongba. deyyu nang jongnyibey (I saw u jump yesterday, u don't remember it, but I am telling u. nan jongshi mai). deyyu nang jongdanyi? (I didn't see it but others told it and I ask u whether u jumped or not). *deyyu nang jongnyinyi? (yesterday u jumped right? I didn't see it but others told me. so I ask u as rhetorical question THIS WOULD BE DEYYU NANG JONGDANYI).

3sg. deyyu woy jongnyi (ining dan jump anji. if the second person is not present. I tell I story to mother about what he did. he jumped.). deyyu woy jongba (yesterday he jumped. I saw it. mother tells him he didn't jump. then I tell mother that it wasn't a lie, but that he jumped, I saw it). st and me stay at home. A. mother comes home and asks me. deyyu sang thinly abe lenyi ya? (what did st do yesterday). I say to mother. deyyu woy jongnyi. mother says zok tha le, woy deyyu tv doйда junyi. I say. boyu woy deju ngomarang jongnyi. B. mother comes home and scolds st that he didn't do anything yesterday. I say, boyu, woy deyyu jongba (I saw him jump).

If it is right now. Two people talking. Third person doesn't hear. 1 person leaves. Third person can ask both woy hoko hontar abe indeq ya? woy hoko abe innyija?

(20) nó ?acín dót barèe?

nó ?acín dó-tó-bá = rèe

2sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv.dir = pq

'Have you had your meal (I believe you must know, because you would have experienced it)?'

1 Did you drink ara (I believe you must know, because you would have experienced it)

2 Did you drink (I am not sure whether you remember, because you are drunk)

3 Did you drink ara (someone told me so)

1 nang ara nyungBAnyi? (did you drink ara?)

nang ara NYUNGbaqnyi (will you drink ara?)

2 nang ara nyungdanyi adi? (did you drink ara or what)

3 nang ara nyungdanyi? (did you drink ara?)

*nang ara nyungnyinyi?

*

(21) *bî î ?acín dót barè.

bî î ?acín dó-tó-bá = rèè

3sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir = pq

(22) *ŋó ?acín doggée bá.

ŋó ?acín dó-gée-bá

1sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir

(23) nó ?acín doggée bá.

nó ?acín dó-gée-bá

2sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir

'You had your meal (I have seen you doing it).'

1 You drunk ara (I have seen you doing it)

2 You drunk ara (I can smell it from your breath)

3 You drunk ara (someone told me)

1 nang ara nyungnyi.

2 nang ara nyunglong.

2 *nang ara nyungda.

3 nang ara nyungnyi indeq ayyoq.

(24) bî î ?acín doggée bá.

bî î ?acín dó-gée-bá

3sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir

'He has had his meal (I have seen him doing it).'

1 He drunk ara (I have seen him doing it)

He drunk ara (I can smell it from his breath)

He drunk ara (someone told me)

1 woy ara nyungnyi.

2 woy ara nyunglong (hocuqaq shis hamdeq). the one who drank will say. ong nyungba.

3 woy ara nyunglong indeq ayyoq. the one who drank will say. ong nyungba.

(25) ηó ?acín doggée barèe?

ηó ?acín dó-gée-bá = rèe

1sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir = pq

'Have I had my meal (I can't remember, but believe that you know)?'

Did I drink ara (I can't remember, but believe that you know?)

goq ara nyungnyitsen? jang ining nyeri ara jamshitsin? *nyungbatsin. *nyunglongtsin

nang ara nyungdani? (someone who sees ego with red eyes and asks). If X asks ego. what happened to you. I don't know. nang ara nyungnyitsin. (is it because) u drank ara?

(26) *nó ?acín doggée barèe?

nó ?acín dó-gée-bá = rèe

2sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir = pq

(27) bì ì ?acín doggée barèe?

bì ì ?acín dó-gée-bá = rèe

3sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir = pq

'Has he had his meal (I don't know, but believe that you know)?'

Did he drink ara (I don't know, but believe that you know)

woj ara nyungnyitsen? if the drinker doesn't remember anymore, then the speaker will ask the addressee 'did he drink ara?' then *woy ara nyungbanyi? (will he drink ara) ~ woj ara nyungban? (did he drink ara). YES: woy ara nyungnyinyi? (dan ara jamshi mai)

(28) ηó ?acín dót nammé nà.

ηó ?acín dó-tó-nám = ə nà

1sg cooked.rice eat-ego-nzr:ev = cop decl

'I have had my meal (I know, I experienced it).'

I have had ara (I know, I experienced it)

ga ara nyunglong (jang ara jamshi)

(29) nó ?acín dót nammé rèe?

nó ?acín dó-tó-nám = ə rèe

2sg cooked.rice eat-ego-nzr:ev = cop pq

‘Have you had your meal (I assume that you experienced this)?’

Have you had ara (I assume that you experienced this)

*nang ara nyunglongnyi?

(30) nó ?acín doggéé nammó nà.

nó ?acín dó-gée-nám = ə nà

2sg cooked.rice eat-alter-nzr:ev = cop decl

‘You have had your meal (I have seen you eating).’

You have had ara (I have seen you drinking)

nang ara nyunglong. (I saw u drink. I know it)

(31) bì ì ?acín doggéé nammó nà.

bì ì ?acín dó-gée-nám = ə nà

3sg cooked.rice eat-alter-nzr:ev = cop decl

‘He has had his meal (I have seen him eating).’

He has had ara (I have seen him drinking)

woy ara nyunglong (he had I saw it)

(32) ñó ?acín doggéé nammó rèè?

ñó ?acín dó-gée-nám = ə rèè

1sg cooked.rice eat-alter-nzr:ev = cop pq

‘Have I had my meal (I can’t remember, but believe that you know)?’

Have I had ara (I can’t remember, but believe that you know)

ga ara nyunglongnyi? (if I don’t know, but I expect u to know)

(33) bì ì ?acín doggéé nammó rèè?

bì ì ?acín dó-gée-nám = ə rèè

3sg cooked.rice eat-alter-nzr:ev = cop pq

‘Has he had his meal (I don’t know, but believe that you know)?’

Has he had ara (I don’t know, but believe that you know)

woy ara nyunglongnyi.

(34) ñó nà ?acín dót nà.

ñó nà ?acín dó-tó-nà = ə

1sg decl cooked.rice eat-ego-nzr:sub = top

‘It is I who had my meal (I know, I experienced it).’

It is I who had ara (I know, I experienced it).

ara nyungkhen mi mi? who is drinking ara. nyungkhen ga beq. ga nyungba. warbak banyung in.

(35) bi î nà ?acín doggée nà.

bi î nà ?acín dó-gée-nà = ə

3sg decl cooked.rice eat-alter-nzr:sub = top

‘It is he who had his meal (I have seen him eat).’

It is he who had ara (I have seen him drink).

nyungkhen woy beq, woy nyungba.

(36) ηó/*nó/*bi î ?acín dól pè.

ηó/nó/bi î ?acín dó-lapè

1sg/2sg/3sg cooked.rice eat-intn

‘I am (*you are/*(s)he is) going to have a meal.’

I am (*you are/*(s)he is) going to have ara

mongkha ga ara nyungbaq.

nang mongkha ara nyungbaqshi (u will surely drink ara tomorrow).

mongkha ga ara nyungbaq (tomorrow I will drink ara), nangtheq nyungbaq juthya oloq (u will drink as well right).

nangtheq nyungjule. u will drink tomorrow (I will make u drink).

wojtheq nyungjule (he will be drinking too). woytheq nyungbaq (he will drink too).

mongkha ga ara nyungbaq. woytheq nyungbaq. nangtheq nyungma. (tomorrow I will drink. he will drink too (I know he drinks. I asked him, he agreed. or I will be able to force him to make him drink). you drink too (imp). *nang nyungbaq (because you cannot force that person yet).

(37) nó/*ηó/*bi î ?acín dól pèrè?

nó/ηó/bi î ?acín dó-lapè = rè

2sg/1sg/3sg cooked.rice eat-intn = pq

‘Are you/*am I/*is (s)he going to have a meal?’

Are you/*am I/*is (s)he going to have ara?

ga ara nyungtshetbaqtsen (would I have to drink too if all of them drink?) *ga nyungbaqni?

nang ara nyungabaqnyi? (will u drink tomorrow)

woy ara nyungbaq innyi (did he say he will drink tomorrow?) *woj nyungbaqni?

(38) ηó/*nó/*bi î câat lapè.

ηó/nó/bi î càa-tó-lapè

1sg/2sg/3sg ascend-ego-prd

'I (*you/*(s)he) see myself going up.'

I (*you/*(s)he) see myself drink ara.

ga ara nyungbaq.

nangtheq ara nyungma *nyungbaq

woytheq ara nyungbaq innyi *nyungbaq

(39) nó/*ηó/*bì ì cãat lâp r̀e?

nó/ηó/bì ì cãa-tó-lap̀e r̀e

2sg/1sg/3sg ascend-ego-prd pq

'Do you (*I/*(s)he) see yourself going up?'

Do you (*I/*(s)he) see yourself drink ara.

nang ara nyungbaqni?

woytheq ara nyungbaq indeqni? *nyungbaq

gantheq ara nyungtshetbaqtsen? *nyungbaq

(40) nó/bì ì/*ηó cãar lap̀e.

nó/bì ì/ηó cãa-ŕe-lap̀e

2sg/3sg/1sg ascend-alter-prd

'I say you'll/(s)he'll (*I'll) go up (knowing you/him/her as I do).'

I say you'll/(s)he'll (*I'll) drink ara (knowing you/him/her as I do)

woy thala name theq phak nyungjule. nyungbaq. nyungtheq.

nang thalatheq phak nyungjule. *nyungbaq. nyungtheq.

ga thalatheq phak nyungjule (not so sure: more sure). NYUNGbaq (sure). nyungtheq (not sure)

(41) ηó/bì ì/*nó cãar lâp r̀e?

ηó/bì ì/nó cãa-ŕe-lap̀e r̀e

1sg/3sg/2sg ascend-ego-prd pq

'Do you say I'll/(s)he'll (*you'll) go up (knowing me/him/her as you do)?'

Do you say I'll/(s)he'll (*you'll) drink ara (knowing me/him/her as you do)

thalatheq ga phak nyungtheq samdeqnyi?/nyungjule samdeqnyi?/nyungbaq samDEQnyi.

thalatheq woytheq phak nyungjule samdeqnyi? nyungtheq. nyungbaq.

nangtheq phak nyungjule samdeqnyi? nyungtheq. nyungbaq.

(42) ηó/*nó/?bì ì tól caab̀e.

ηó/nó/bì ì tol̀e cãa-b̀e

1sg/2sg/3sg dst.loc.up ascend-epf.ego

'I've (*you've/?(s)he's) been up there (I have experienced this).'

I've (*you've/?(s)he's) drunk ara (I have experienced this)
ga phak thok hin nyungda. ga phak thok hin nyunglong. nang phak thok hin nyunglong.
*nyungda. woy phak thok hin nyunglong. *nyungda

(43) nó/*ηó/?bi î tôl caabèe rèe?
nó/ηó/bi î tolò càa-bée rèe
2sg/1sg/3sg dst.loc.up ascend-epf.ego pq
'Have you (*have I/?has (s)he) been up there (in your experience)?'
Have you (*have I/?has (s)he) drunk ara (in your experience)
nang ara thok hin nyungdanyi? woy ara thok hin nyungnyinyi? *ga

(44) nó/bi î/*η ó tôl câad kèe.
nó/bi î/ηó tolò càa-dàk = ée
2sg/3sg/1sg dst.loc.up ascend-epf.alter
'You've/(s)he's (*I've) been up there (I have witnessed or otherwise have indirect experiential knowledge of this).'
You've/(s)he's (*I've) drunk ara (I have witnessed or otherwise have indirect experiential knowledge of this).
goq woy ara thok hin nyungba aynyi. goq nang ara thok hin nyungba aynyi. ga ara thok hin nyungba granja londeq.

(45) ηó/bi î/*nó tôl câad keerèe?
ηó/bi î/nó tolò càa-dàk = ée = rèe
1sg/3sg/2sg dst.loc.up ascend-epf.alter = pq
'Have I/has (s)he (*have you) been up there (I believe that you have witnessed or otherwise have indirect experiential knowledge of this)?'
Have I/has (s)he (*have you) drunk ara (I believe that you have witnessed or otherwise have indirect experiential knowledge of this)
see 43.

(47) ηó ?acín doggée bây kè.
ηó ?acín dó-gée-bá = yukè
1sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir = rep
'It is said that I was observed to have had my meal.'
It is said that I was observed to have had ara.
waloq insena ga ara thok hin nyungnyi indeq.

The situation in which (47) would be uttered is exactly this: person a has witnessed person b's eating; person b later cannot recall whether he ate or not (perhaps he was drunk), and so makes a general enquiry. Person a then informs person b, using something like the sentence in (48). Person b finally relates the fact to another person c, using the sentence in (47). = wojjoq ga phak nyungnyi indeqbej.

(47) ηó ?acín doggée bây kè.
ηó ?acín dó-gée-bá = yukè
1sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir = rep
'It is said that I was observed to have had my meal.'
It is said that I was observed to have had ara.
ong, woyyoq ga phak nyungnyi indeq.

(49) tamík ?acín dót bây kè.
tamík ?acín dó-tó-bá = yukè
name cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir = rep
'Tamik has asserted that he had his meal.'
Tow has asserted that he had ara.
ga phak nyungbale.
tow phak nyungda indeq.

(50) *bì î ?acín dót bá.
bì î ?acín dó-tó-bá
3sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir

(52) ηó ?acín dót bá əmdùu.
ηó ?acín dó-tó-bá əm-dùu
1sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir say-ipfv
'I'm saying I had my meal.'
I'm saying I had ara.
deyyu ga phak nyungba indashi.

(53) ηó ?acín doggée bá əmdùu.
ηó ?acín dó-gée-bá əm-dùu
1sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir say-ipfv
'He's saying I had my meal.'
He's saying I had ara.
tow tsheringnoq ga phak nyungnyi indeq.

(54) bi ì ?acín dót bá əmdùu.
bi ì ?acín dó-to- bá əm -dùu
3sg cooked.rice eat-ego-pfv:dir say-ipfv
'He'si saying hei had hisi meal.'
He'si saying hei had hisi meal.
woy chaba chanyi innyi.

(55) bi ì ?acín doggée bá əmdùu.
bi ì ?acín dó-gée-bá əm -dùu
3sg cooked.rice eat-alter-pfv:dir say-ipfv
'He'sj saying hei had hisi meal.'
He'sj saying hei had hisi meal.

(58) ηó koodâa tokkè olôo tobá.
ηó koodâa tokkè ò-lòo-tó-bá
1sg balcony abl.up fall.from.height-downward-ego-pfv:dir
'I fell from the balcony (I know, I experienced it).'
I fell from the roof (I know, I experienced it).
ga wamcha changloq tutonglong (if you don't remember).
ga wamcha changloq tutongnyi (if you remember).
ga wamcha changloq tutongda (answer to question naq ley abe leda ya? What happened to your leg)

(59) *ηó koodâa tokkè olôo geebá.
ηó koodâa tokkè ò-lòo-gée-bá
1sg balcony abl.up fall.from.height-downward-alter-pfv:dir

(60) ηó kanôo tobá.
ηó kanôo-tó-bá
1sg hungry-ego-pfv:dir
'I got hungry (I know, I experienced it).'
I got hungry (I know, I experienced it).
ga khamnyi.
*ga khamlong (as if you don't realise it)

(61) *ηó kanôo geebá.

ŋó kanòo-gée-bá

1sg hungry-alter-pfv.dir

(62) *bi î kanòo tobá/geebá.

bi î kanòo-tó-bá/-gée-bá

3sg hungry-ego-pfv.dir/-alter-pfv.dir

(63) ?bi î bós geebá.

bi î bohó-gée-bá

3sg afraid-alter-pfv.dir

‘He got scared (I witnessed him acting frightened).’

He got scared (I witnessed him acting frightened).

Woy taklong. (without seeing)

*Woy takba.

Woy taknyi (if he got scared when we saw it).

Woy takda. (if without any reason he got scared)