

The speaker knows that the hearer wants something. The information phrase is *imata* 'what'.

- 2) kay nanču-*m* ayakucuman ri-q? 'Does that road go to Ayacucho?'
 thas road go

This is asked with the speaker's belief that it does.

- 3) mana-*m* kanču 'There isn't any.'
 Negator
 (not)

This is the speaker's negative assertion.

2. On the other hand, when the speaker reports what he has heard, the enclitic *si* is used. The speaker is not responsible for truth of his statement in this case. This is the only comment enclitic that occurs with the quotative tense.

huk-*si* kasqa huk maču-capiwan paya-ča
 once be Quotative a old man old woman
 past

'Once upon a time there was an old man and an old woman.'
 dona presentas wanu-rqin 'They say Doña Presenta has just died.'
 die

The idiomatic combination of *-ču-s-mi* indicates opinion with conviction 'I think that':

papalata-*ču-s-mi* yanuykusqanki 'I think you've only cooked potatoes.'
 mana-*ču-s-mi* 'I don't think so.'

3. Another enclitic *-ča* indicates conjecture:

tardimanča quwaykuq risaq 'I may go visit him later.'
 mana-*m* alinča 'It's not good, I guess.'

4. *-puni* means 'definitely', 'undoubtedly':

wasi-*puni-m* 'It is definitely a house.'
 ri-*m-puni* 'He undoubtedly goes.'
 mana-*puni-m* 'By no means.'

Because of the speaker's strong conviction associated with *-puni*, we can observe that it normally occurs with *-mI*.

5. *a³* is a general emphatic, occurring with stems only in polite or intimate address.

mamay 'Madam!' apuraykuyya 'Hurry up!'
 ari 'Yes!' kasararuytaqya 'So get married!'
 hakuwa 'Let's go!' mana-puni-*m-a* 'Definitely not!'
 wasinsa 'He says it's his house!'

³ Represented by stress shift from penultimate to final syllable with noun stems and with the particle *ari* 'yes', by *-wa* with the defective verb stem *haku* 'let's go', and by *-ā* with the comment enclitics or *-ya* (See Parker, 1969).

6. *-iki* indicates slight apology or humility ('anyway', 'well, ...'). It occurs only with comment enclitics.

risaq-č-*iki* 'I may go anyway.'

B. Reclamatory question intonation:

While the intonation of statement is /2 3 1 ↓/, and that of interrogative-imperative-exclamatory intonation /2 4 1 ↓/, the following cases have the special question intonation /2 4 1 ↑/, with shift of accent to the final syllable: 1. the reclamatory question, 2. the listener, changing the topic, asks for the previous speaker's continued comment on the new topic with the final syllable *qa* enclitic, 3. the speaker asks his listener's approval. The reclamatory question:

ima-*m* suti-ki ka-*rqa?*↗ 'What was your name?↗'
 what name 2nd be 3rd pers.
 pers. poss. past

Cf. ima-*m* suti-ki ka-*rqa?*↘ 'What was your name?↘'

C. The imperative form is formed by adding the imperative suffix *-y* directly to the verb stem:

gawa-*y* 'Look!'

References

Parker, Gary J. 1969. Ayacucho Quechua Grammar and Dictionary. The Hague.
 Informant: Mr. Soto

II. Hidatsa

There are eight different sentence-final mood morphemes in Hidatsa.

A. Declarative class

1. Period *c*

This mood indicates that the speaker believes the sentence to be true. Most ordinarily used:

súka A cixé *c*
 dog Af VP Mood (Period)
 '(I suppose) the dog jumped.'

This mood is also used for sentences that describe the speaker's desires or feelings.

wíi A₁ wíira G rakcí héo-A₁ wácéo *c*
 Period

'I want to roast the goose.'

Expectedly, it does not appear in the embedded relative, or nominalized clause:

wacéo A teo c
Period

‘The man died.’

ríi A₂ waceo aku A teo éahkéo c
you man who died know Period

‘You know a man who died.’

2. Emphatic **ski**

This mood indicates that the speaker asserts the sentence to be true.

wacéo A íikipi G kurè héo ski
Emphatic

‘The man (sure) did carry the pipe.’

If a sentence that ends with the Emphatic particle is false, the speaker is considered a liar. This is not the case with the Period particle; he is considered to be mistaken. The Period particle seems to indicate that the speaker almost presupposes the truth of the sentence.

The Emphatic mood indicates a promise or emphasis, when the sentence expresses the speaker’s intention or feeling.

wíi A₁ ickáo réo -G₁- ski
Emphatic

‘I promise I’ll go there.’

3. Quotative **wareac**

The speaker regards his utterance to be something that everyone knows, i.e., a hearsay.

wacéo A íikipi G kurè héo wareac
Quotative

‘The man carried the pipe, they say.’

Sentences of a myth end with the Quotative mood.

4. Report **rahe**

This particle indicates that the speaker was told the information by someone else, and is not responsible for its truth value.

wacéo A wíira G rakí héo rahe
Report

‘I’ve been told that the man roasted the goose.’
(It’s been rumored.)

B. Both the Indefinite and Question moods indicate that the speaker does not know whether or not the sentence is true.

1. Indefinite **toak**

The speaker usually thinks the listener does not know.

wacéo A cihpa G rakcí héo toak
 Indef

'Perhaps the man roasted the prairie dog.'

This indefinite S might be answered by \bar{e} 'Yes, perhaps he did' or by *reaco c* 'I know whether he did or not'. And the latter is followed by either a negation or assertion of the given proposition.

2. Question (vowel interruption; if the last element is a vowel, it gets a grave accent)

wío A cihpa ikaò

(You probably know whether or not the woman saw a prairie dog.)

The speaker normally thinks the listener knows the truth value of the sentence. This Q sentence must (?) be answered by \bar{e} 'Yes, I do know' or by *reaco c* 'I don't know'. If *e*, it might be followed by *A ikao c* 'She saw it'. or *A ikao tha c* 'She didn't see it'. As seen, the replies are primarily directed to the mood.

C. For the Optative and Imperative moods, the 'head' of the subject phrase must be animate.

1. Optative

The main VP of an Optative S is immediately followed by mood and, therefore, cannot contain the remote past morpheme *stao*, which would follow the VP. A nonpast tense morpheme (future=*aru*, etc.), however, can precede the VP.

aru wacéo G ichéo ah
 Fut man Af VP Optative
 'I hope that the man will wake up.'

Cf. aru wacéo G ichéo C
 Period

ísa G cácki ah wacéo
 again VP Optative man
 'Would that the man be noisy again.'

Cf. ísa wacéo G cácki C
 Period

'The man is noisy again.'

The animateness of the subject, the impossibility of the past tense morpheme, and the obligatory postposition of the subject noun to the end of the S (optional in Period, Quotative and Report moods) are common both in the Optative and Imperative and make the Hidatsa Optative look closer to the Imperative than in other languages.

2. Imperative

The Imperative S has a further restriction: the verb phrase must be active and not contain an aspect morpheme. And it does not have the subject agreement morpheme *Af*, whereas the Optative does as all other non-imperative moods.

wíira téo héo aka wacéo ← Subj. Postposing wacéo wíira A téo héo aka
 goose die CAUSE Imp man

'The man will kill the goose, or else.'

Cf. wacéo wíira A téo héo C
 Period

'The man killed the goose.'

The obligatory postposing of the subject noun does not apply to all Imperative and Optative sentences. Certain noun stems turn into prefixes to an immediately following verb form.

This prefixed subject cannot be moved to the S-final position. The stem *ríi* 'you' is a case in question.

ríi hírawe heo ki Imperative
 'You'll make yourself go to sleep, or else.'

ríi ki xákao-hkéo ah
 Optative
 'I hope you make yourself move.'

Reference

Matthews, G. 1965. *Hidatsa Syntax*. The Hague.

III. Papago

A. Declarative

1. c- quotative

This implies the utterance is hearsay, on the authority of another. Common in narrative and folklore.

Ex. e'am
 'there, *it is said*'

2. ki -evidential

This indicates the statement is based on evidence or deduction.

Ex. d-o-'ki-a 'co'o'daM
 'It is evidently only a person.'

3. va- volitional

This indicates certainty of accomplishment. It is frequently found with the future -o-, implying immediate, impending, certain intention, volition, and action. It is of variable position. The anterior position apparently stresses the volition and certainty.

va-N-t-o-hi 'I will go.' Cf. n-t-o-hi 'I shall go.'

Fut.

va-'t-o- 'djiya' 'He intends to come.'
va-N-t-o-me-ea' 'I am going to kill you.'
va-'t-e'p-o-' tci'kp 'We will work again.'
 am-o-**va-hihi**' 'They have decided to go.'
 a 'pi-o-**va-se-maI**' 'You will find out.'
 an-o-**va-wu**'c 'There will spring up.'
 d-o-**va-ha**'i-'G 'There will be some.'

When the subject is the first person, the prefix *va-* seems to be intention, and when it is not, the prefix seems to mean the speaker's assurance of certainty.

4. (1) *tp-* dubitative, 'self-interrogative'

This prefix indicates the speaker's strong suspicion aroused by evidence.

tp-hú-ju
 'I wonder if it rained.'

The speaker's presumption is based on some inferentially related fact. A single prefix is suggested to consist of complex abstract semantic structures.

4. (2) *s-* 'self-interrogative'

s-hu-ju
 'I wonder if it rained.'

This least unmarked self-interrogative verbal prefix lends a sense of uncertainty. Further example:

ku- 's-(h) astcu-wu'D
 'What can this be?'
 ku-'tc-se-we'ho-'pi-ha'i'tcu-wo-'ca'i-ñel
 'Will we really be able to see nothing?'

B. Imperative

-²*g-*(2nd pers. sing.)

-²*go-*(2nd pers. pl.)

The independent pronouns are optionally used.

a'pi-'G chikpaN

'You work!'

i-'ge-be'I

Loc.

'Give it here!'

e-'ge-va' ko N

'Wash yourself!'

a'pime-'go-'ko'ks

'You (pl) sleep!'

C. Interrogative

na(=a nonsubordinating sentence initiator)

na-t o chikp g Hosi

'Will Jose work?'

Cf. other initiators

ku-t o chikp g Hosi

'And Jose will work.'

na'a-s o chikp g Hosi

'Maybe Jose will work.'

References

- Dean & Lucille Saxton(eds.) 1969. Dictionary: Papago & Pima to English to Papago & Pima. Tucson.
- Mason, J. Alden. 1950. The Language of the Papago of Arizona. Philadelphia.
- Alvarez, Albert & Kenneth Hale. 1970. Toward a manual of Papago grammar; some phonological terms IJAL 36. 83-97.

IV. Lahu

A. Declarative Sentences

Degree of commitment in a factual claim is represented by different particles in declarative sentences of Lahu.

1) cê: Quotative Particle

à-	šwè-	tha	chɔ	tê	gâ	có	ve	cê	
once	upon	a	time	person	one	clf	be, there,	indicative	Quot. prt.
						for	have	Nominalizer	
						people			

'Once upon a time there was a certain man.'

2) hé: Dubitative Particle

yô	qay	gâ	hé
he	go(V)	want(Pv)	Dubit. prt.

'He probably wants to go.'

hé=something like 'I presume'

3) šā: Intentive Particle

This expresses speaker's intended action.

ɲà	pū	ca	e	šā!
I	police-man	look for	prt.	Intentive
			of,	prt.
			movement away from	

'I will look for a policeman.'

4) yò: Declarative Particle

yô qay yò
he go Dec.

'He is going.'

B. Interrogative Sentences

Different particles are used for the yes/no Q and substance Q:

1) lâ: yes/no Question Particle

yô qay lâ?
he go Q

'Is he going?'

2) le: Question-word Question

a-pi=qu chi a-šu le?
old lady Q

'Who is this old lady?'

C. Imperative Sentences

1) Command

nò go nò' qô' pí-
you Focalizer you say him

(aux. verb indicating that the recipient of the verb's
action is the third person)

'You, *you* tell him!'

2) Request

pāu a-cí hō a- ?
coconut a little sell urging prt. imperative
morpheme

'Please sell us some coconuts.'

a-ci is used as a request softener and it is interesting to see a word with the same meaning *čom* 'a little' used to make a command into a request in Korean

cf. mun- il čom jəl-ə ču-si o!
window Obj a little open adverbializer give Imperative
(Benefactive) Marker

'Please open the window!'

References

- Matisoff, James A. 1969. Lahu bilingual humor. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12:2.
———. 1972. Lahu nominalization, relativization, and genitivization. *Syntax and Semantics* Vol.1 ed. by John P. Kimball.

V. Chrau

A. Imperative

Imperative sentences are marked by a forceful intonation drop on the last word, or final particles *vo*, *vỏq*, or *vây*. The second person subject of the sentence *mai*(masc) is often deleted.

- 1) Saq!↘ 'go!
go
- 2) Mai guq **vỏq!**↘ 'You sit still!
you sit still
- 3) Saq **vô.**↘ 'Go, now.'

Vô is a very mild imperative or exhortation. *Vỏq* is stronger than *vô*. *Vỏq* is basically an emphatic assertion particle and *vô* is a mild attention-getter in a declarative sentence.

Vây is a negative imperative, formed only in conjunction with a *vâng* 'don't' in the main clause.

- 4) *Vâng saq vây!* 'Don't go!'

The mood dimension, which reflects the emotional outlook of the speaker, can be manifested in vocabulary choices as in:

- 1) *sa* 'Eat.'
- 2) *dro* 'Eat!' (getting impatient)
- 3) *taplĩh tapli* 'Eat!!' (angry)

B. Interrogative

- a) Yes/no questions are usually marked by a final particle like *hâng*

Mai gu't ôp be? 'Do you know how to lumber?'

Mai gu't ôp be hâng? 'Do you know how to lumber?'

- b) Q words have the highest pitch in a S, with a normal falling intonation. (Q word movement occurs. SOVO adv.)

Lũh mai saq? 'Why are you going?'
why

Păch n'hya păch nõq? 'What is that?'
what

Mỗq vơ'n ôp vrêq? 'What can we do now?'
what, how

- c) Reclamatory. The listener may repeat a word, which he thinks he may not properly understood, with a final rising glide, as if to say, 'Did you say...?'

Nhi? ↑ ‘Did you (really mean to) say *nhi*?’

C. Bewilderment

Sentences expressing bewilderment or surprise may be marked by *o'n*.

Něh co'nh tachu't ănh *o'n*. ‘He wants to kill me!’

Lũh něh phiêt chěq *o'n*? ‘Why is he missing?’

To'm êq dip ca *o'n* lâu? ‘Why didn't it catch fish at all?’

Reference

David D. Thomas. 1971. Chrau Grammar. University of Hawaii Press.

VI. Nguma

A. The Imperative marker *pa*

1) It is used for imperatives at the head of an independent sentence:

pa munu

Imp drink

‘Drink!’

2) Consider its function in the following interrogative sentence:

pa va-ki e-sava

Imp go to where

‘Where are you going?’

There is no separate second person subject in the above sentence and its only difference from an imperative sentence is that it has a question word.

3) The marker is used for purpose conditional:⁴

ku tatakovi au noai naga *pa* munu
you ask me water that *you might* drink

B. The Intentive marker *ga*

Ga can occur without *woo* ‘future’, but not vice versa; *Woo* cannot occur without *ga* or *pa*.

1) Intention (1st person)

a *ga* munu

I Int drink

‘I'll drink!’

a *ga* woo munu

I Int Fut drink

‘I'll (definitely) drink.’

⁴ Cf. Fred W. Householder. 1971. Linguistic Speculations, pp. 41-96.

2) Prediction or presumption (3rd person)

- a) go te ga maligo
and it Int be-dark
'And it will be dark.'
- b) naga na-anoai pōta sikai e ga taa piragi a
that male other one he Int not take her
'So that another man might not take her.'
- c) e ga woo la'ki
she Int Fut marry
'She will marry.'
- d) e ga woo ma-taa
it Int will bleed
'It will bleed.'
- e) e pia + naga ku ga woo pano
it good that you Int Fut go
'It's good that you're going.'

3) Prohibitive (2nd person)

ku ga taa toko raki nia
you Int not stay for him
'Don't wait for him.'

C. Interrogatives

A change in intonation alone may change a statement to a question. Observe the following:

1) Statement

/2 3 1/ ²eu pa-ki ³vi'la 'They went to Vila.'

This contour marks a statement sentence or a question word (e.g. na-sava what) question.

2) Question (yes/no)

/2 3 3/ ²e ga woo ³pa ³no 'Will he go?'

This SVO language does not show a Question word movement.

Reference

Schütz. Albert J. 1969. Nguma Grammar. University of Hawaii Press.

VII. Dehu

Constituent order

aŋeič a lep la kuli ŋene la sinesinφ
He hits the dog with the stick.

A. Imperative, etc.

1) Imperative

to δæ (epun)
Imp

'Go!' (you)

φle δæ la koko
cook Imp the yam!

Right after the unconjugated verb comes the Imperative marker.

2) Exhortative

epi to čilie ačeme nido
Exhort go he go with them!
particle
May

3) A weak imperative construction approximating to the French Infinitive of instruction can be formed by simply employing *to a* before the V:

e.g. to a isa ŋækæŋ
'They must each prepare.'

4) The Necessitative Form consists of a simple adjective *loi* (good) + an Extra Dependent Condition Clause

e.g. loi e to eφ a aδ
good if you will swim
'You must swim.'

5) Desideratives

(1) Non-voluntary

eni a pi xen
Desid. VH

'I wish to eat.'

(2) eni a aδan to a humuθ i aŋeič
'I want to kill him.'

* Future Tense

to ni a aδ +to+S+a+Vh
Go I swim

'I shall swim'. Future Tense Simple

to ni a to a aδ
Go I go swim

'I shall swim.' Future Tense with idea of movement.

to ni a to to a aδ
Go I go go swim

a Future Tense with idea of movement and purpose.

to a aδ
go swim

'One will swim.' Impersonal

Past Tense (Active)...Rare

eni a xen ekφ
I eat before 'I have eaten.'

A special performative construction of refusal has the reversed order of the Verb and Subject, and Subject, and *ma* replaces the *to a* of the second Desiderative form above.

e.g. xele ni ma iδ
Refuse I to drink

Cf. eni a sipon pine nemen aʒat a to
I ask because of what they leave
why

B. Interrogative

1) Interrogative (yes/no) sentences are marked by two features:

(1) Interrogative particle + Declarative Clauses, (2) Rising Intonation.

hapeu aʒat a xen 'Do they eat?'
Q S Tense V
they eat

With Present Tense direct question, the following construction exists (with no time element employed)

ate epun la δuʒæ
V S O
know you the fish
'Do you two know the fish?'

2) Question Word questions do not employ a question particle. Question words do not move to the front. Observe:

- (1) epun a lepi dei?
you hit whom?
- (2) epun a hamæ dei la tusi?
you give whom the book
- (3) epun a iði melek eu?
you drink milk when
'When do you drink milk?'

However, in the identificational construction, the question word comes first:

- dei epon?
 who (are) you two
 (cf. Korean: nəhi-ka nuku-i -nja?)
 you SM who Cop Q
- nemen la pun?
 what (is) the end
 (cf. Korean: kkith -ka muət -i- nja?)
 end SM what Cop Q

Reference

Tryon, D. T. 1967. Dehu Grammar. Canberra.

VIII. Turkish

A. Interrogative

a. A straightforward Wh-question has a falling intonation whereas a corresponding reclamatory question has a somewhat rising intonation:

1. adI -n ne idi? ↘
 name 2nd what was
 Pers

(What was your name? -normally presupposing change in name)

2. adI-n ne idi? ↗

(What was your name?)

2 is equivalent to

3. adI -n ne de di -n
 name 2nd what say past 2nd
 Pers Pers

(What did you say your name was?)

b. The information question is formed by placing the postclitic *-mî* after post-verbal-predicate personal suffixes. No significant intonation difference from the declarative counterpart.

yazdîm *mi* 'Did I write?'
 past

cf. yazdîm 'I wrote.'
 past

yazdîlâr *mi* 'Did they write?'

cf. yazdîlâr 'They wrote.'

B. Imperative

The verb base occurs as imperative utterances:

Gít 'Go!'

Various post-predicate personal suffixes occur showing different degrees of formality or politeness:

Gít	'Go!' (abrupt singular: usually military)	
Gídin	'Go!' (plural or more formal singular)	} (if plural: friendly if 2nd Pers. singular: formal)
Gídiniz	'Go!' (plural &/or most polite)	
Gítsín	'Let him go!' (Permission)	
Gítsinlér	'Let them go!' (")	
Gidelím	'Let us go!'	
Gideyím	'Let me go!' 'I'll go.'	} 1st Pers.

C. Presumptive

{-(y) miş/imiş}, presumptive aspect enclitic, represents that the predication is presumed on the basis of a report or circumstantial evidence. The speaker is the experiencer of presumption if the subject is a third person. Otherwise, the experiencer is some third person.

iyişiş 'He is reportedly well.'
iyimişim 'I am reportedly well.' (e.g. I feel poorly in fact.)

On the other hand, a predicate emphatic suffix *-dir* is used to certify the predicate function, differentiating it from any other syntactic slot.

iyi-dim-dir 'I am well.'

D. The adverbial particle *ácaba* is used to mean 'I wonder...'. This represents an indirect way of interrogation, but in Turkish this construction elicits the 'yes/no' response just as a straightforward information question does.

kardeşi gel-di mi 'Did his brother (or sister) come?'
Q: *ácaba* kardeşi gel-di mi 'I wonder if his sibling came.'
A: evet, gel-di 'Yes, he came.'
yes
hayır, gel-me-di 'No, he didn't come.'
no neg

It is always the speaker who wonders.

Reference

Informants: Professor Başgöz, Rüban

IX. Rawang

In Rawang, four major sentence types can be posited in view of the distribution of sentence final marker suffixes, as done in Morse's article, i.e., affirmative, imperative, optative, and exclamatory. In the course of presentation, however, we will find that fewer basic illocutionary force types can be considered in the classification.

A. Affirmative

		Clausemarker SFM			Examples
		order			
		4th	5th	6th	
a. non-past		—	-ē		à:ŋí lègá r̄yòē. (He reads books.)
					àŋ dīē. (He goes, will go.)
b. past	[Vt		-à		à:ŋí lègā r̄y b̄y à. (He read books.)
	[Vi		-i		cánī àŋ diá:mì. (Yesterday he went.)
Narrative			-ē	wā	à:ŋí lègā r̄yòē wā. (He reads books.)
Emphatic assertion			-ē	lé!	à:ŋí lègār̄yòē lé! (He does read books.)
Incredulous assertion			-ē	màwá!	à:ŋí lègā r̄yòē màwá! (Don't say he reads books.)

(1) The affirmative sentence-final marker suffix *-ē*, which is not realized in the fifth order of the past tense sentence, does not occur in dependent clauses. And this seems to be reasonable since dependent clauses are not assertions but mostly presupposed propositions. This is also the case in Korean in which the declarative SFM *-ta* occurs in the main sentence.

(2) Subtypes are formed by attaching particles in addition to the assertion suffix *-ē*, e. g., Narrative *-ē wā*, Emphatic assertion *é lé!*, Incredulous assertion *-ē màwá!* These additional particles are sixth order elements.

Informational interrogative		-ē		má?		à:ŋí lègā r̄yòē má?
						(Does he read books?)
						à:ŋí lègā m̄r̄yòē má?
						(Doesn't he read books?)

(3) In this language, the interrogative sentence is formed by adding an interrogative

particle to the affirmative form. The implication is that the informational question is not mutually exclusive to the affirmative form, but rather a subtype of the latter and that what is included in the interrogative is more than a mere proposition. Consequently, reaction to an information question is giving an affirmative sentence. And postulation of the underlying form 'I ask you to TELL me whether he reads books or he does not read books' seems to have logical plausibility.

In addition, the following interrogative forms are listed:

Confirmatory interrogative	-ē	wánā?	à:ɣí lègā r̄yòē wánā? (You mean he reads books?)
Incredulous interrogative	-ē	lá?	à:ɣí lègā r̄yòē lá? (What! he reads books?)

Question words do not move in this language:

kāgý diá:mí má? 'Who went?'
 who past Q
 Vi

àp kádægəp diá:mí má? 'When did he go?'
 he when past Q
 Vi

B. Imperative

	—	X	—	lègā èr̄yò nàma'í lègā èr̄yònȳp (Read books!) (You(pl) read books.)
Requestive	—	—	nà	lègā èr̄yò nà(Please read books!)
Hortatory	—	—	lè	lègā èr̄yò lè (You should read books.)

1) Imperative sentences contrast with affirmative sentences in (1) the non-occurrence of SFM suffix and (2) the optional presence of the second person subject (though co-occurrence of second person pronominal affixes with the predicate is obligatory).

2) Requestive and Hortatory subtypes are formed with the secondary sixth order particles *nà* and *lè* attached to the imperative form. These additional particles are used as devices of weakening imperative force functioning like the English sentence adverbial *please*. Let us consider some other subtypes.

Prohibitive	3rd mè-	(P)	5th -nī	lègā mèr̄ȳnī (Don't read books!) nàma'í lègā mèr̄ȳnȳnī. (Don't you (pl) read books!)
Intentive			-nī	lègā r̄ȳinī (Let's read books.) lègā r̄ȳp̄ònȳp̄ (Let (me) read books.)

Formally, the above sentence types have the optative particle *-nī*. However, semantically they are imperative; prohibition can be imposed on the addressee about his action and such expression as 'Don't be tall' would not be permitted, and intention is about the speaker's action and again nonvolitional verbs would not be used in such construction of asking permission.

On the other hand, assumptive optative sentences take the affixes *dā...-nī*.

Assumptive optative	dā-	(P)	—	-nī	—	à:ǵí lègā dār̄yòṅī. (Surely, (I assume) he will read books.) à:ǵí lègā lār̄yòṅì. (But he reads books (doesn't he?) uncertain))
Concessive	lā-	(P)	—	-nī/-nī	n̄y	à:ǵí lègā lār̄yòṅì n̄y. (But he does read books (certain).)
Precative	laʔ-	(P)	—	—	X	lègā laʔr̄yò à:ǵí lègā laʔr̄yò 'Let(him) read books.' 'Let him read books.'
Optative interrogative	—	—	—	-nī	má	lègā r̄yìnī má? (Shall we read books?) lègā èr̄yòṅì má? Would (you) read books?

All the classes of optative sentences have the meaning of 'I wish, I pray, or I desire it to be the case that P, and the expression of hopes, wishes, or desires can be regarded as strictly weakened imperative illocution. Its difference from the explicit Imperative is that the desire is directed to a non-explicit person (sometimes God or natural force). Thus its propositional content can be anything, including events beyond human control, whereas the Imperative sentence takes only the hearer's future action as its proposition. The Concessive *I-(P)-nī* implies 'But I wish (with uncertainty) that he reads books'. The Precative has certain imperative force of wishing for permission, and Optative interrogative *-nī má* has the implicit force of asking for permission just as in the Intensive *-nī*. In the latter case, if the pronominal affix in the predicate verb is the second person, the sentence is meant to ask about the hearer's intention.

III. Exclamatory

Now, let us consider the exclamatory type of sentences. Exclamatory sentences are different from affirmative sentences in that the latter is a factual claim when the former is an expression of surprise at a certain fact.

Exclamatory adversative	5th	6th		à:ǵí lègā r̄yò wē But he reads books. (contrary to expectation)
	—	wē!		
Declamatory	—	wē	lè!	à:ǵí lègā r̄yò wē lè!

The sincerity condition of exclamation must be the feeling of surprise even if we can make a conversational or diplomatic gesture of exclamation lacking this sincerity of surprise, just as we can make a statement falsely without believing it. Exclamation is also a different illocutionary force from interrogation in the sense that it does not ask for information as interrogation does. Therefore, we must not be confused at the surface similarity between exclamatory sentences and interrogative sentences.⁵ As in Rawang, we find an exclamatory sentence final marker suffix in Korean *-kuna!*, which is mutually exclusive with the declarative and interrogative final markers.

In a normal speech context, every utterance of independent sentence is purported to cause some effect on the hearer, or has some illocutionary force. This expectation of the speaker might ultimately be represented by some form of imperative force. Even a normal declarative sentence is meant to make the hearer of the sentence believe what the speaker says. Its difference from an imperative sentence must be its weak degree of force. As we have observed, however, even in the class of declarative sentences, there are variant degrees of assertion and this can cause different effects on the hearer accordingly; the emphatic assertion *-ē lól!* must mean 'I assure you that...' 'Believe me,...'.

X. Lahu

1. Verb Particle

According to James A. Matisoff's study on Lahu⁶, verb particles (Pv's) serve to orient the verbal idea along one or another of several semantic dimension, temporal, modal, aspectual, etc. as the post-verbal bound morphemes.

For example, the desiderative Pv *gâ* occurs as follows:

V	+	Pv	(not multiverbal)
qai		<i>gâ</i>	'want to go'
câ		<i>gâ</i>	'want to eat'

Modal auxiliaries:

qô	<i>cô</i>	'should hoe'
dô	<i>cô</i>	'should hit'
qô	<i>phè</i>	'may hoe'
dô	<i>phè</i>	'may hit'

2. Pre-head concatenations(vC's)

Verbal Nucleus of a VP (β) \rightarrow (vV)+Vh

⁵ Cf. Fred W. Housholder, 1971. *Linguistic Speculations*, Chapter 6.

⁶ James A. Matisoff. 1969. Verb concatenation in Lahu: The syntax and semantics of 'simple juxtaposition'. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*. 12:1, pp. 69-120.

The versatile verb is in a subordinate, modifying relationship to the head verb on the right.

- (1) l̥ ta 'ask to begin'
vV Vh Performative
- (2) ta l̥ 'begin to ask'
vV Vh

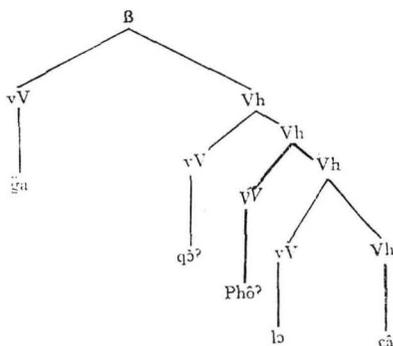
The above permutation of verbs creates change in performativeness; the possible performative verb in (1) becomes a non-performative in (2).

3. Multiversatile pre-head concatenations

An optional recursive rule:

$$V_h \xrightarrow{\text{opt}} vV + V_h$$

ḡa	q̥ḁ	ph̥ḁ	l̥	ca
vV	vV	vV	vV	Vh
must again together beg to eat				



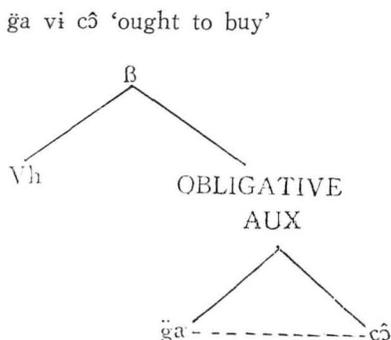
Each verb to the right of a given verb functions as the latter's head. The act of begging *l̥* is secondary to its envisaged goal, eating *ca*. The inherent semantic features of individual verbs determine the syntactic properties of concatenations: the more abstract, general, or 'aspectual' vV's occur to the left of those which have a more concrete, specific, or 'marked' semantic content. That is, the more abstract the vV, the less intimate its connection with the Vh.

The Lahu, however, do not feel there is any meaning difference between

q̥ḁ	ḡa	cā	
vV	vV	Vh	
again	must	eat	'must eat again'
(iterative)(obligative)			
and ḡa q̥ḁ cā			
vV			
must again eat		'must eat again'	

A V_v, *chê* 'continuative', is set off against the rest of the concatenation. *Tô* 'out' is a member of the highly concrete juxtacapital class, while *chê* '-ing' is a highly abstract variable V_v. The abstract modifies, the concrete is modified. Thus we can assign 'primacy' to the versatile verb which belongs to the abstracter subclass.

(3) The aspectual vV *gä* 'must' frequently occurs in the same concatenations with the caudal *cô* 'ought, should'.



When the aspectual *gä* means 'must V_h' and its transcapital partner is, e.g., the causative V_v *ci*, they constitute an ambi-prime pair: *gä pû ci* may mean either 'must-make (him) carry (pre-primacy), or 'make (him)-have to carry' (post-primacy).

XI. Frisian (Northern Frisian of Föhr)

I. Imperative

Gung ütj! 'Go out!
 go out
 Ûtj! 'Go out!'

No expression like 'I *order* you to go out' is found. No verbs like *order*, *force*, etc. Rarely:

Ik *bad* di gung ütj
 I bid you go out
 Cf. Hi beed hör, { hat skul ütjung.
 { she should go out
 { ütjtugungen
 { go out

An advice:

Ik *riid* di det äi widjertusaaen.
 'I advise you not to tell it to anybody.'
 (Ich rate dir es nicht weiterzusagen -German)

A request is made in a question form:

Könnst dü ans a döör eebenmaagi?
 can you the door open make
 (Kannst du mal die Tür aufmachen? -German)

Here *ans* or *mal* always functions as a request marker.

A suggestion can be made by challenging for a reason:

Huaram smatst dü ham äi ütj?
 'Why don't you throw him out?'

A weakened imperative (suggestion):

Kom *dach!*
 (Komm doch! -German)

II. Promise

Ik ferspreeg tu skriiwen.
 I promise to write (a letter).

Cf. Ik skriiw.

'I (will) write.' (No future marker)

Ik ferspreeg dat ik kem.
 I promise that I (will) come.

Cf. Ik kam.

'I (will) come.'

III. Interrogative

The information question has a rising intonation:

Heest dü (noch) an saster? ↗
 'Do you have a sister?'

The Wh-Question has a falling intonation, but a reclamatory question rises in intonation:

Hoker wiar det?
 who was it?
 wat? ↗ 'what?' (impolite but used)
 wa? ↘ 'what?' (more impolite)

Reference

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