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THE KILEN LANGUAGE OF MANCHURIA: GRAMMAR OF A MORIBUND TUNGUSIC LANGUAGE

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Ph.D. THESIS

UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

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Abstract of thesis entitled

The Kilen Language of Manchuria: Grammar of a moribund Tungusic language

Submitted by

Zhang Paiyu

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at The University of Hong Kong

in February 2013

This thesis is the first comprehensive reference grammar of Kilen, a lesser known and little studied language of the Tungusic Family. At present, Kilen is a moribund language with less than 10 bilingual speakers in the eastern part of Heilongjiang Province of P.R.China.

Since the language does not have a writing system, the examples are provided in IPA transcription with morpheme tagging. This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 states the background information of Kilen language in terms of Ethnology, Migration and Language Contact. Beginning from Chapter 2, the language is described in the aspects of Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. This thesis is mainly concerned with morphosyntactic aspects of Kilen. Chapters 6-8 provide a portrait of Kilen syntactic organization.

The sources for this description include the work of You Zhixian (1989), which documents oral literature originally recorded by You himself, a fluent Kilen native speaker; example sentences drawn from previous linguistic descriptions, mainly those of An (1985) and You & Fu (1987); author's field records and personal consultation data recorded and transcribed by the author and Wu Mingxiang, one of the last fluent native speakers.

The aim is to provide a portrait of a Chinese Tungusic language on the brink of extinction. This thesis does not adopt any particular syntactic theoretical framework. The terminology in this thesis is tended to be theory-free and descriptive.

(226 words)

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The Kilen Language of Manchuria: Grammar of a Moribund Tungusic Language

by

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B.Litt. *Heilongjiang.*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at The University of Hong Kong

February 2013

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

Signed _____

Zhang Paiyu

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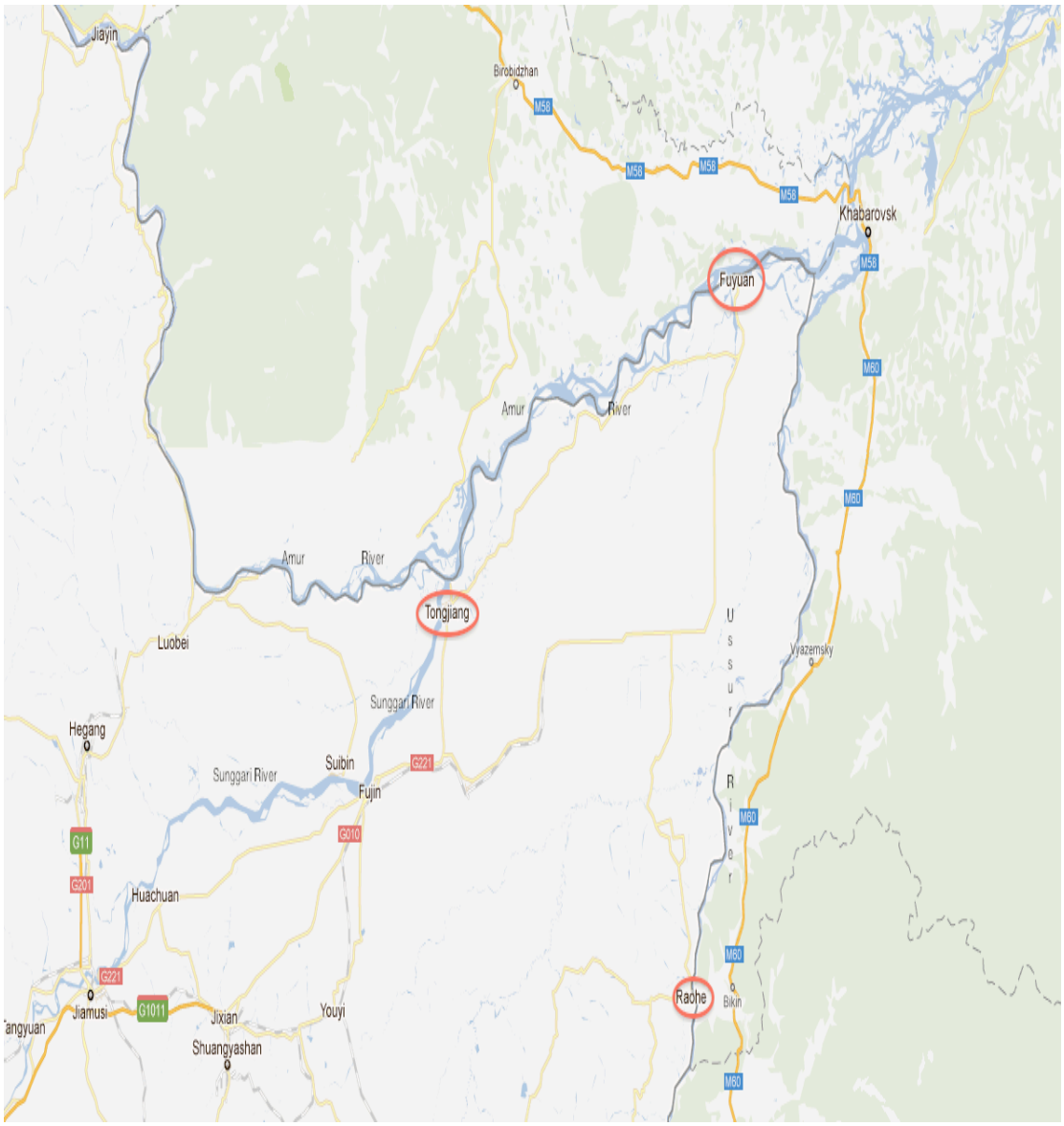
1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
1PL	First person plural
2PL	Second person plural
3PL	Third person plural
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
ANT	Anterior
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
COMP	Complement
CONV	Converb
COND	Conditional
Cop	Copula
DAT	Dative
DEM	Demonstrative
DTR	Ditransitive
DO	Direct object
FOC	Focus
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
I	Impersonal
IMP	Imperative
IMPERF	Imperfective
INF	Infinitive
INGR	Ingressive
INSTR	Instrumental

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INTR	Intransitive
IO	Indirect object
LAT	Lative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun phrase
O	Object
P/POST	Posterior
PAS	Passive
PERF	Perfective
PERM	Permissive
PL	Plural
POSS	Possession
PRED	Predicate
PROG	Progressive
PROL	Prolative
PRT	Particle
PTCPL	Participle
PURP	Purposive
REC	Reciprocal
REF	Reflexive
S	Sentence
SBJ	Subject
SIM	Simultaneous
SUBJ	Subjunctive

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Map. Living area of Kilen people (within P.R.China)



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CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This thesis is a philological portrait of the Kilen language, a lesser-known and little-studied moribund Tungusic language belonging to the Manchuria Sprachbund. It is referred to in previous Chinese literature as a major variety of the Hezhe, Hezhen or Hoche language in Heilongjiang Province of P.R.China.

This thesis is mainly concerned with morphosyntactic aspects of Kilen, in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax, with equal attention given to both relatively formal discourse[1] and daily casual conversation. I do not identify this study as either synchronic nor diachronic, since the major language documents are based on certain recordings of oral folklore literature which contains old language features that may be analyzed diachronically in this grammatical portrait, and its speakers' daily conversation showing aspects of both synchronic and diachronic.

To start this thesis, this initial introductory chapter embarks upon some background facts concerning the Kilen people and their language, such as ethnology, demographics, and social history. This is followed by a linguistic overview of language and aspects of language contact.

1.1 Ethnology

1.1.1 The Kilen people

The Kilen people mainly live in the settlements of Jiamusi city, Tongjiang, Fuyuan and Raohe counties on the banks of the Sunggari, Ussuri and Amur[2] rivers, as shown in Map 1.

The original Kilen belief is animistic shamanism, the attribution of spirits to all objects. After the influence of Buddhism during Imperial Tsing China, Kilen

[1] It mainly refers to the Imarkan folklore genre that contains singing and story telling, religious usage and honorific usage.
[2] In Chinese pinyin terms, Sunggari is Songhua; Ussuri is Wusuli; Amur is Heilongjiang.

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animistic shamanism was combined with Buddhist concepts, so that the idols of Buddhism became a kind of shamanic idols.

Originally, fishing played the most important role in their way of life; Kilen people also did hunting during the off-season for fishing . Fish was the major source of food, clothes and shoes. Commonly, only men were involved in fishing, while women mainly pursued other necessary activities, such as handicrafts (embroidery, sewing, leather and fish skin tanning), and fish drying.

Based on their traditional ways of life, Kilen were semi-nomadic within certain areas occupied by designaled clans; they pursued a mobile lifestyle and resettled frequently within a certain area. In winter, they travelled by sled and hunted on skis.

Nowadays, like other Tungusic minorities in P.R.China, after the cultural loss, deconstruction and rebuilding caused by new settler migration and socialist culture, the Kilen people have become a settled ethnic group; fishing and hunting have largely been replaced by agricultural activities.

1.1.2 Social organisation

When first recognized, Kilen was predominantly a patrilineal society. The most basic social organisation in Kilen is the xalamukun (tribe[3]'), a group of close-knit and interrelated families which all trace their origins to the same single ancestor. Each 'Xalamukun' had only one Xalamukunta (tribal chief), and several mukunta (patriarchs).

Mostly, only old, high generation and experienced fisherman or hunters could be Xalamukunta or mukunta; they managed manufacture, marriage, life planning and burial within the tribe. These tribal seniors were the controllers of unwritten tribal regulations; when serious issues arose, they organised the tribal members to convene the tribal congress, and also invited patriarchs from other xalamukun to be witnesses.

[3] Xalamukun is a compound word, 'xala' means the entire tribe; 'mukun' means the unit family.

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In recent times[4], the village organisation has been involved in the Kilen area, instead of the traditional xalamukun. But the villages still have strong tribal features; the heads of villages are still the tribal seniors, although the unwritten regulations have been abolished.

1.1.3 Population

With a population of 4640 (as of 2000), the Hezhe[5] are one of the smallest ethnic minorities in P.R.China. There is a lack of exact data to show the population of Hezhe before Imperial Tsing China; the Hezhe population was first documented around the early 18th century which refers to the late reign of Kangxi the Great; when first recorded the population was based on a vague census, including the population of other nationalities within the same area without any further ethnic differentiation. The official population in the period of R. China and P.R.China are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1.1[6] Historical Population Records

Census	Vague number including other groups	Clear official number
Early 18th cent	12000 plus	
1919	2500	
1930		780 plus
1945		300 plus
1990		4245
2000		4640

1.1.4 Ethnic origin

Exact records about the origin of the Kilen are missing. Oral folklore contains some anthropological information about their legendary origin; they see themselves as

[4] Beginning from the very late Imperial Tsing China

[5] I use the term *Hezhe* to indicate the entire ethnic group that is recognized as one unique nationality by P.R.China government, while Kilen is one of the major groups of Hezhe within China.

[6] All the data are from the local governmental internal report.

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Tungus people who moved to the Three-rivers plain from the 'North Sea[7]' after been defeated in the Great North Sea War between many Tungus tribes. Another legend indicates that the ancestral Kilen were deer-farming Tungus people living in the valleys of the Amgun, Bikin, and Kur-Urmi rivers.

1.1.5 Ethnic history

Proper historical records of the Kilen were first made during the sovereignty of the Jurchen Empire (1115-1234); at that time, the Kilen and other Hezhe tribes were recorded as **兀的改諸野人**, 'barbaric Udege'[8]. In early Imperial Mongol China, a particular ethnic group was referred to as **兀的哥**, 'Udege' which is the same as the term used in the Jurchen Empire. In later Imperial Mongol China, they were named **水達達**， 'water Tartar' in official documents. During Imperial Ming China, the Han Chinese government classified them as **野人女真**, 'barbaric Jurchen'. There is no clear classification of the ethnic groups around the Three-river plain before Imperial Tsing China (1644-1912).

Unlike the Imperial Chinese monarchs, the Manchu government treated the Kilen as their brother ethnic group. In early Imperial Tsing China, the central Manchu government conducted a primarily ethnic classification for the ethnic groups in this area, in which the term Kilen was first used as proper ethnonym in the documents. The Manchu government reorganised the military units of Hezhes along the same lines as the Manchu Eight-banners, and renamed them as *ice manju*, 'new Manchu'; the new Manchus could get peerages and titles at the same rank as the *fu Manju*, 'old Manchu'. After the fall of Imperial China, a certain ethnic group was noted as '**赫哲**,he4zhe2'which covered all similar Tungusic ethnic groups inside the boundary of post-imperial China .

[7] The legendary term North Sea is thought to refer to Lake Baikal; other Tungusic groups have similar legends suggesting an accestral homeland around the Baikal Lake.

[8] Udege here is different from the modern ethnographic terms Udege or Udihe which denote a particular ethnic group living in the Primorje region of Russia.

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1.1.6 Autonym, Ethnonym Kilen and other names

Kilen people use the word 'naniɔ/ nanyɔ' which means the local/ native person, people and human beings to indicate themselves; 'na' means local or earth, niɔ/nyɔ means person or human beings.

Sometimes, a partcular ethnic group prefers to apply the ancestral tribal name 'Kilen' to themselves, which is also used to refer to the official name of Oroqen '奇愣 qi2leng4; 奇勒爾qi2le4er, 麒麟qi2lin2' people in the historic documents in Imperial Tsing China. In fact, Kilen people were thought to be a subdivision of Oroqen people during Imperial Tsing China. Briefly, the Kilen in this description refers to the ethnic group that describe themselves as *kilən xala* 'Kilen tribe'. 'Kilen' used to refer to a group of people who live in the lower Amur, lower Sunggari and Ussuri Rivers, who are actually Udihe people. When referring to the Han Chinese literature, the names 韃子 'Tazi, barbarian' or 魚皮韃子, 'barbarians who wear fish skin clothes' are often used to refer to the Kilen.

1.2 Kilen language (Genetic affiliation)

The Three-rivers plain used to be a predominantly Tungusic-speaking area before late Imperial Tsing China. The Tungusic or Manchu-Tungus languages form a language family that is traditionally recognized as a subdivision of the hypothetical Altaic language family.

Kilen, a major dialect of the Hezhe ethnic group within the borders of China, is an agglutinative Tungusic language spoken by less than 10 speakers, all over 60 years old, at the time of writing most of the speakers are living in the Jiejinkou Hezhe ethnic township in Tongjiang city. According to the available records and fieldwork surveys, Kilen itself does not have any dialects.

Apart from Kilen, another dialect of Hezhe, named Hezhen or Ezhen within China, is relevant; according to the limited documentation (An, 1986) and interview records, the Hezhen dialect is similar to the Udihe language as spoken in Russia; as noted

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above Kilen people use the term *Hezhen* or *Ezhen* to refer to Udihe people who live in the middle and lower Ussuri valley.

The immediate linguistic relatives of Kilen are Udihe, spoken in the middle Ussuri valley region of Russia; Oroch, spoken in the lower Amur region in Russia; and Nanai, traditionally considered the same language as Kilen, spoken in the Upper Amur region in Russia. These four languages share a considerable amount of overlapping linguistic features in terms of lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. According to the language family scheme for Tungusic languages in Ethnologue 2009, Kilen is treated as a southeast Tungusic language under the Southern Tungusic sub-family, as shown in Scheme (1).

(1) Tungusic
- a. Northern
  - Even
  - Evenki
  - Negidal
- b. Southern
  - Southeast
    - Nanai
    - Udihe
    - **Kilen**
  - Southwest
    - Manchu
    - Sibe
    - Jurchen

Within the entire proposed Tungusic family, the criteria of subdivision are mainly based on the living area, oral tradition and Swadesh list; and the languages share an enormous amount of similarities that may reflect the intensive contact through the frequent merging of ethnic groups, Manchu cultural decline and migration during the Imperial Tsing China.

1.3 Previous research

As a lesser-known and little-studied language, Kilen, prior to this description, had only been documented as part of short surveys in ethnographic work and simple grammatical sketches. It is always recognised unspecifically as Hezhe (赫哲語, he4zhe2yu3), a term which also refers to the Nanai language in previous literature.

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According to the geographical indications of previous studies in Chinese, all of these studies are related to the particular area in which Kilen is spoken.

The most common and preliminary approach used in the studies on Kilen is the synchronic grammar sketch. The ethnologist Ling Chunsheng in his ethnographic work 'The Hezhe people in the Downstream Region of Sunggari River' first used romanised IPA symbols to represent the unwritten Kilen language. The language sketch part of his book was mainly based on the Kilen language of Jiejinkou Township.

In his work, he drew a quite simple portrait of Kilen grammar. He used the highly European-influenced phonetic way to describe the basic phonetic system of Kilen; for example, he combined the vowels and following nasal consonants to form nasal vowels, 'ɑ̃ ɜ̃ ɔ̃ ' shown in Ling (1935: 238).

Interestingly, Ling proposed that 'Kilen is a mixed language which contains Manchu, Mongolian, Ancient Asiatic and a small amount of Chinese,:

"赫哲的語言，實為一種混合語：以本來的赫哲語為主幹，加入滿洲語，蒙古語，古亞洲語及一小部份漢語而成"（*Ling, 1935:231****）.***

But he just proposed this hypothesis without detailed explanation in his work; and he did not define the term 古亞洲語 'Ancient Asiatic'.

Other previous investigations into Kilen grammar were those of An Jun (1985), You Zhixian & Fu Wanjin (1987) and Zhang Yanchang et al (1989). An's work is based on intensive fieldwork which is mainly based on the Jiejinkou borough (where the relevant Hezhe people are mostly Kilen). His work provides a basic grammatical sketch following the Soviet tradition of ethnographic grammar sketches; he also illustrated several differences between Kilen and Hezhen, briefly referring to the Udihe language in Russia, but this comparison is lacking in rich data and very preliminary.

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You and Fu are native Kilen speakers; their 1987 work which includes a grammar sketch provides a great amount of raw data and translated some Kilen folktales that are really precious. But You and Fu were not trained linguists, they did not explain certain definitions well, such as Converb and Infinitive, Tense and Aspect; and the work follows the organization of An's work. Zhang et al (1989) is the first Kilen grammar sketch in English; this work provides almost the same coverage as An (1986), and is even more simple than An's work.

Apart from his linguistic survey on Kilen, You Zhixian translated several legendary folktales into Chinese, and all these folktales are collected in his work 'Selections of Hezhe Imarkan' (1989). In this work, he translated and parsed to the morpheme level, but did not indicate certain grammatical categories.

Other relevant languages in this area are also involved here. These languages that share many linguistic properties with Kilen and belong to the Tungusic family include Udihe, Nanai and Oroqen. All these three languages share a great amount of linguistic features with Kilen, and we may treat them as immediate sister languages.

Udihe refers to the language spoken as a first language by approximately 100 people, all over 50 years old, in the southern part of the Russian Far East (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya, 2001). Udihe was also formerly spoken by Hezhe people in China, formerly name Ezhen within the borders of China.

Nanai refers to the language spoken by Nanai people in Nanai District of Khabarovsk Krai, Russia; only 100-150 native speakers remain in the Nanai district (Stolyarov, 1994).

Oroch refers to the language spoken by Oroch people in Khabarovsk Krai; only 257 speakers remain in one district (Russian Census 2002). Oroch is still a relatively unknown and undocumented language; there are only a few preliminary works on it, such as Abramova, G. S. (2002). *Illustrated Dictionary of the Oroch Language*. Saint Petersburg, Russia: Drofa (In Russian).

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Among these languages, Udihe is relatively well documented and studied. Nikolaeva and Tolskaya contributed a comprehensive grammar of Udihe in English in 2001, and Girfanova wrote a primary grammar sketch covering the basic grammar of Udihe under the name of Udege in 2002.

Nanai is the most well documented language among them; various scholars produced some dictionaries, texts and grammars in Russian and Japanese, as listed below.

(Russian) Avrorin, Valentin Aleksandrovich (1959). *Грамматика нанайского языка, т.1. М.*. Soviet Academy of Sciences.

(Russian) Avrorin, Valentin Aleksandrovich (1961). *Грамматика нанайского языка, т.2. М.*. Soviet Academy of Sciences.

(Russian) Putintseva, A.P. (1954). *Морфология говора горинских нанай.*.

(Russian) Putintseva, A.P. (1969). *О производственной лексике горинских нанай // Ученые записки ЛГПИ.*

(Russian) Stolyarov, A.V. (1997). *Нанайский язык: социолингвистическая ситуация и перспектива сохранения // Малочисленные народы Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока. Проблемы сохранения и развития*. St. Petersburg.

(Russian) Sunik, O.P. (1958). *Кур-урмийский диалект*.

(German) Doerfer, Gerhard (1973). "Das Kur-Urmische und seine Verwandten". *Zentralasiatische Studien* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz) (7): 567–599.

(German) Doerfer, Gerhard (1975). "Ist Kur-Urmisch ein nanaischer Dialekt?". *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* (47): 51–63.

(Japanese) Kazama, Shinjiro (March 1994). "ナーナイ語の「一致」について (On 'agreement' in Nanay)". ***北大言語学研究報告*** (Sapporo: Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University) (5).

Texts in Nanai

(Russian) Avrorin, Valentin Aleksandrovich (1986). *Материалы по нанайскому языку и фольклору*.

(Russian) *Нанайский фольклор: Нингман, сиохор, тэлунгу*. Новосибирск. 1996.

(Russian) Samar, E. (1992). *Манга покто/Трудные тропы*. Khabarovsk.

(Russian) Samar, E. (2000). *Кондонкан даламдини/Кондонский староста*. Khabarovsk.

(Russian) Passar, A. (2002). *Ми урэхэмби нингмансал/Сказки моего детства (Fairy Tales of my Childhood)*. Khabarovsk.

(Russian) Khodzher, A. (2000). *Михорангоари/Поклонение природе*. Khabarovsk.

(Russian) Marshak, S.Y.; Valentin Avrorin (translator) (1990). *Двенадцать месяцев/Дёан дюэр биа*. Khaborovsk.

(Russian) Bel'dy, G. (1980). *На найни: Стихи*. Khabarovsk.

(Japanese) Kazama, Shinjiro (1993). "**ナーナイ語テキスト** (Nanay Texts)". *Publications on Tungus Languages and Cultures* (Otaru, Japan: Center for

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Language Studies, Otaru University of Commerce) (4).
(Japanese) Kazama, Shinjiro (1996). "**ナーナイの民話と伝説**2 (Nanay Folk Tales and Legends 2)". *Publications on Tungus Languages and Cultures* (Tottori, Japan: Faculty of Education, Tottori University) (8).
(Japanese) Kazama, Shinjiro (1997). "**ナーナイの民話と伝説**3 (Nanay Folk Tales and Legends 3)". *Publications on Tungus Languages and Cultures* (Tokyo, Japan: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) (10).
(Japanese) Kazama, Shinjiro (1998). "**ナーナイの民話と伝説**4 (Nanay Folk Tales and Legends 4)". *Publications on Tungus Languages and Cultures* (China, Japan: Chiba University) (12).

Dictionaries

(Russian)Onenko, S.N. (1959). *Русско-нанайский словарь (свыше 8 000 слов)*.
(Russian)Petrova, T.I. (1960). *Нанайско-русский словарь (около 8 000 слов)*.
(Russian) Onenko, S.N. (1982). *Нанайско-русский и русско-нанайский словарь: пособие для учащихся средней школы (более 3 600 слов)*.
(Russian) Onenko, S.N. (1989). *Словарь нанайско-русский и русско-нанайский: пособие для учащихся средней школы (около 4 000 слов)*.
(Russian) Onenko, S.N. (1986). *Лоца-Наанай Хэсэhкуни/Русско-нанайский словарь (около 5 000 слов)*.
(Russian) Onenko, S.N. (1980). *Нанай-Лоча Хэсэhкуни/Нанайско-русский словарь (12 800 слов)*.
(Russian) Kile, A.S. (1999). *Нанайско-русский тематический словарь (духовная культура)*. Khabarovsk.

1.4 Sociolinguistic situation

During Imperial Tsing China, Manchu education was important for noble Kilen persons, in order to train them as officials. At that time, Manchu was a high-status language for the Kilen nobility. The other common Kilen were monolingual Kilen speakers or multilingual speakers of Kilen and other regional languages (such as Udihe and Nanai). After the demise of Imperial Tsing China (1911-1912), most Kilen people became bilingual Kilen-Mandarin speakers due to immigration of Mandarin speakers.

Nowadays, the Kilen language is not used in everyday communication, even among the elder speakers. Ethnic Kilen teachers introduced schooling in Kilen occasionally in the late 1990s, but it is not compulsory in the curriculum. Mandarin is the major language for communication between Kilen people now, and all Kilen people acquire Mandarin as their first language. Only a few elderly persons still use some Kilen

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words to indicate certain things in their daily life. In this area, language shift is virtually complete.

1.5 Orthography

Kilen has always been an unwritten language during its entire history. Scholars mostly use IPA symbols to document it. In some rare records, Chinese character-phonetic spelling has been used, such as the ethnic part of Chronicle of Jiamusi (1996).

1.6 Literature

Traditionally, four genres of oral folklore literature have been transmitted among the Kilen: Jalingko, Telungu, Suhuli and Imarkan. Jalingko refers to ballads that are mostly about love, hunting, fishing, and harvest; Suhuli are fables that contain the basic ethnic ethics; Telungu are the educational and historical records; Imarkan refers to legendary heroic stories. Telungu and Imarkan involve both story telling and singing.

Documentation of Jalingko is lacking, but the form of Jalingko had been recorded in Ling (1935). In You (1989), he translated five popular traditional Imarkans. In You and Fu (1987), a complete Suhuli story was presented (I provide the English translation in the sample text of this description.); Imarkan is the Kilen genre which has drawn the most attention. Telungu has not been discussed in previous studies on Kilen; our consultant, Mr Wu Mingxiang is the last Telungu teller.

These literary genres are illustrated by sample texts in the Texts section of this description. The Imarkan text contains a spoken part and a sung part which may be considered as representative of the Jalingko songs.

1.7 Data

The sources of data for this description include the following:

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A. the literary work of You Zhixian (1989), which documents materials originally recorded by You himself, a Kilen fluent native speaker;

B. I also use the example sentences of previous linguistic descriptions, mainly those of An (1985) and You & Fu (1987). An's data were elicited in consultation with native speakers during (1982-1983), including You Zhixian, Fu Wanjin and some relatives of Wu Mingxiang (the principal consultant for the present study).

In these works examples are given in phonemic orthography, with content words glossed in Chinese and Chinese translations provided. In this thesis, the examples taken from these sources are fully glossed following the Leipzig Glossing Rules[9].

C. field records (FD 2004) and personal consultation data which were recorded and transcribed by the author and Wu Mingxiang, himself another fluent native speaker.

The author himself is a descendant of Manchu speakers, and as such could be considered as a heritage learner; he studied Manchu language which is a sister language of Kilen at the University of Heilongjiang. Some Manchu language knowledge helps the author in understanding Kilen.

The native speaker consultant, Wu Mingxiang was born and grew up in a native traditional singer and storyteller's family; and he used to be a government official of the Bureau of Ethnic Affairs in Jiamusi. The author knew him through family social networks, and started to consult him about Kilen from 2003; these consultations included face-to-face discussion and telephone consultation, i.e. when the author had questions to be followed up, we arranged discussion by telephone or internet video conference.

Various sources will be indicated by different abbreviations, as listed below.
(Consul.) Personal consultation between author and Wu Mingxiang
(Lit. I) Oral literature Imarkan, mainly based on You (1989)

[9] The Leipzig Glossing Rules are provided by the Max Plank Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php

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(Lit. J) Jalingko
(Lit. S) Suhuli

(Lit. T) Telungu; these examples are also provided by Wu Mingxiang, the last Telungu teller. He is working on his Telungu collecting work, intending to publish a Telungu collection in future.

Other genres which are not involved much in this description include whisper blessings and shaman incantations, since these genres are not readily available for recording.

Sample texts are provided in Appendices I and II.

1.8 Linguistic profile of Kilen

As a relatively typical Tungusic language within the Manchuria Sprachbund, Kilen exhibits certain solid Tungusic linguistic features. It also bears many distinctive features that are acquired through intensive contact between various ethnic groups within the Manchuria Sprachbund.

1.8.1 Basic linguistic summary

Phonologically, Kilen has 33 basic phonemes: 5 vowels, 28 consonants, and 7 additional consonants mostly used in loanwords. Kilen allows three types of syllable: V, CV and CVC. As in many other Tungusic languages of Manchuria, only the nasal consonant /n/ can be the final consonant of a phonological word; vowels change a lot inside of the phonological word, (see details in 2.1); Kilen bears traces of vowel harmony which is distinctive in Tungusic language, (see details in 2.3.3). Unlike Sinitic languages, Kilen has a stress system, a general supra-segmental feature of Tungusic languages.

Kilen is an agglutinative language with a rich inflectional suffixing system to indicate case, person/number and Possession in nominals, and voice, mood and aspect in verbals. It also has a rich and productive suffixing derivational system to form new

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words based on existing words. Kilen also has a rich non-finite verbal system that consists of Participle, Converb and Infinitive.

Morphosyntactically, Kilen manifests head-final syntactic features with the basic word order of SOV, which means the subject always occupies the sentential initial position; the object always precedes the predicate; other attributives always precede the head component within each phrase. Kilen has a postposition system. Kilen is generally head-marking (in the sense of Nichols 1986), but also involves double-marking and dependent-marking occasionally, such as the case marking, as shown in (5.1.1.3).

1.8.2 Contact Effects on Kilen

Within the Manchuria Sprachbund, most ethnic groups are nomadic or semi-nomadic; their settlements are intensively mixed with others, and frequent intermarriage has taken place during their whole history. Apart from these natural social contact reasons, political factors are involved, that is, particular Kilen speaking areas have been under different prepotencies, such as Chinese and Manchu.

In certain data I have, it is possible to distinguish various contact sources; and these source languages have influenced Kilen on different levels.

Generally speaking, since it has only influenced indirectly through loanwords in Mandarin, Russian only influenced Kilen at the lexical level, as shown in (3.5.1n).

As stated in (1.4) above, the Manchu government used to support educational institutions that taught in Manchu during Imperial Tsing China (1644-1912). Over a long period, Manchu greatly influenced Kilen not only at the lexical level, but also in other aspects. Since Manchu and Kilen are closely related languages, it is rather difficult to examine lexical borrowing; but it is relatively easy to find evidence of morphosyntactic borrowing. According to the data, Kilen has two significant Manchu-influenced morphosyntactic features:

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(1) Suffix-splitting

Originally, the Kilen suffix always attached to the stem word immediately without any pause or independent stress; but it is quite common to see suffixes, especially case suffixes, split from the stem and bearing full stress, as shown in (1a-b).

(1a) bi ti tigi gugda.
1SG 3SG ABL tall
I am taller than him.

(Consul.)

(1b) bi xaɾbin dulə ənə-mi.
1SG Harbin LOC go-1SG. IMPERF
I will go to Harbin.

(consul.)

Manchu treats its case markers as a subclass of particles, and uses them seemingly independently; in Kilen (1a-b), two example sentences demonstrate the Manchu-influenced sentence, but they can only be found in daily conversation, rarely in oral literature.

(2) Lexicalization of Case

In spoken Manchu, the accusative case suffix is often lexicalized as an unchangeable content word to indicate the meaning of interrogative pronoun 'who, where' in certain interrogative constructions, as shown in (2a).

(2a) ərə wə ci? (Manchu)
this ACC Cop
Who is this?

(He, 2009)

Generally, in Manchu, this situation only arises when the interrogative word stands in the object position, as shown in (2a). But in Kilen, this usage is generalized: it can be use to substitute the relevant interrogative pronoun, as shown in (2b).

(2b) wə xaɾbin-dulə ənə-kiɕiə. (Kilen)
ACC Harbin-LOC go-SUBJ
Who would like to go Harbin?

(consul.)

In the history of the Manchuria Sprachbund, Chinese played a very important and active role; it influenced languages in the area extensively. As Zhao (1988) pointed out, 'half of Manchu vocabulary is borrowed from Chinese'. Kilen has been influenced by Chinese in various areas, such as lexicon, morphology and syntax.

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(3) Chinese effect on Kilen lexicon

In Kilen, Chinese loanwords are quite often to be seen. The percentage of Chinese loanwords in Kilen vocabulary may be even more than in Manchu. A simple word list demonstrates the various categories of Chinese loanwords:

(3a)

Agricultural terms

Kilen		Chinese
ʂu	sorghum	蜀黍shu3shu4
tɕindʑɔ	pepper	青椒qing1jiao1
suan	garlic	蒜suan4
maisə	wheat	麥子mai4zi
laŋgu	pumpkin	南瓜nan2gua1
xuasəŋ	peanut	花生hua1sheng1

Cuisine terms

Kilen		Chinese
tʂɔ-	stir	炒chao3
bɔ-lə	pack	包bao1
tʂɔ	pound	舂chong1
təufu	tofu	豆腐dou4fu
ɕiatuŋ	sugar	沙糖sha1tang2

Modern terms

Kilen		Chinese
dʑəŋdʑi	politics	政治zheng4zhi4
guŋjə	industry	工廠gong1chang3
xɔtʂə	train	火車huo3che1
tɕitʂə	car	汽車qi4che1
guŋdʑi	salary	工資gong1zi1

(4) Chinese influence on Kilen morphology

Chinese words never bear overt morphological markers, since Chinese lacks inflectional morphology. In the sense of morphology, it is easy to find cases of suffix dropping in Kilen.

When a Kilen nominal is used as a verbal, it usually bears certain derivational suffix, as shown in (4a).

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(4a)
amga (mouth)--> amga-la- (hold something within mouth)
muku (water)--> muku-lu- (to water)
aɾki (alcohol) --> arki-tʃi- (to drink alcohol; at least two persons)
baxa (to look) --> baxa-tʃi- (to meet one another)

But it is quite common to see these words used without any suffix with a verbal derivation, as shown in (4b).

(4b) ti səxəsə-wə amga-mi pi-ɾən.
3SG blood-ACC mouth-INF Cop-PROPS
His mouth is full of blood.
(Lit. I)

In (4b), the noun amga 'mouth' is used as the matrix predicate meaning to hold something in one's mouth without any further derivational affixation.

In Kilen, each argument within the clause bears a marker to indicate its grammatical role and relation, as shown in (4c).

(4c) ti sagdi imaxa**-wə** dʑɔbəgɔ**-ji** dʑɔbəgɔ-ɾɔ.
That big fish**-ACC** harpoon**-GEN** stick-OPT
Use the harpoon to get that big fish.
(consul.)

But it is quite common to hear sentences like (4d).

(4d) ti sagdi imaxa dʑɔbəgɔ dʑɔbəgɔ-ɾɔ.
That big fish harpoon stick-OPT
Use the harpoon to get that big fish.
(consul.)

In (4c), the accusative case indicates the direct object, and the genitive case indicates the instrumental role. But in (4d), all these overt markers are dropped, leaving the grammatical roles and relations to be determined by constituent order and meaning. Since such dropping of case markers rarely occurs in other tungusic languages (relative), the influence Chinese may be involved.

Note that such suffix dropping is used only in nominal morphology in general; it is extremely rare to see the dropping of verbal morphological markers.

(5) Chinese effect on Kilen syntax

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Chinese is an S-V-O language, and Kilen is a typical S-O-V language. Through long intensive contact, the S-V-O constituent order also exists in Kilen, as shown in (5a-c).

(5a) 我（wo3） 吃(chi1) 了(le) 飯(fan4)。(in Chinese)
1SG eat PERF.PART rice
I had meal already.

(5b) bi puta-wə dʑəfə-xəi-mi. (original Kilen)
1SG meal-ACC eat-PERF-1SG
I had meal.
(consul.)

(5c) bi dʑəfə-xəi(-mi) puta.
1SG eat-PERF(-1SG) meal.
I had meal.
(consul.)

Note that when the S-V-O constituent order is involved, all non-aspectual markers can be dropped, as shown in (5c; 5d-e).

(5d) arsalan mərin-du-ni ɔrɔxɔtə (-wə) nɔtu-xəi.
male name horse-DAT-3SG grass (-ACC) throw-PERF
Arsalan threw grass to his horse.
(consul.)

(5e) arsalan nɔtu-xəi mərin ɔrɔxɔtə.
male name throw-PERF horse grass
Arsalan threw grass to his horse.
(consul.)

In (5d), the recipient “horse” and theme ‘grass’ have a fixed order; in (5e), the order of recipient and theme is flexible.

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CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Vowels

The Kilen monophthong system consists of 11phonemic vowels as shown below in Table 1. This system is similar to that of other Chinese Tungusic languages (such as Manchu[10], Sibe[11] and Jurchen[12]). Among these monophthongs, 5 phonemic vowels are like cardinal vowels which are represented by the IPA symbols /i/, /a/, /ə/, /u/, /ɔ/ as shown in Table 1 (bold italic phonemes); they are distinguished by height, position and roundedness. Other phonemes are allophonic variations in general, except the pair of /ɛ/ /œ/ which are both rare in Kilen.

Table 2.1 Kilen vowels

	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
Close	***i***	[y]	[ɪ] [ʅ]	ʊ /ɯ	***u***
Close-mid					[o]
Mid			***ə***		
Open-mid	ɛ	œ			***ɔ***
Open	**a**				

The following minimal set demonstrates the difference between the cardinal-like phonemic vowels:

(1)	*ti*	*tə*	*ta*	*tu*	*tɔ*
	that (proximal)	sit	that (distal)	blessing pole	fire

/i/ is a close front unrounded vowel./i/ has four possible allophonic variants when it appears in particular phonological environments:

a. [ɪ] : When the phoneme /i/ occurs at the end of words to form a open syllable, the phoneme /i/ can be pronounced as [ɪ]:

(1) ɕimki → ɕimkɪ
cough
(2) fuli → fulɪ
walk
(3) ɔmi → ɔmɪ
drink

[10] Wang, 2005: 4; Liu et al, 1997: 3.
[11] Li & Zhong, 1984: 3; Chaoke, 2006: 19
[12] Sun, 2004: 146

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(4) ilətɕi → ilətɕɪ
lick

b. [ɪ]: When the phoneme /i/ occurs after the affricates /ts// tsʰ/ and fricative /s/ to form a open syllable, the phoneme /i/ is pronounced as [ɪ]:

(1) tsibən (zi1ben3, 資本)→ tsɪbən
capital,
(2) tsʰidaɔ (ci4dao1, 刺刀)→ tsʰɪdaɔ
bayonet
(3) siliŋ (si1ling4, 司令)→ sɪliŋ
commander

c. [ɭ]: When the phoneme /i/ is placed after affricates /tʂ// tʂʰ/ and fricative/ʂ/ to form a open syllable, the phoneme /i/ is pronounced as [ɭ]:

(1) tʂitʂʰi (zhi1chi2, 支持) → tʂɭ tʂʱɭ
support
(2) tʂʰitsi (chi3zi0, 尺子)→ tʂʱɭtʂɪ
ruler
(3) ʂitsi (shi4zi0, 柿子)→ ʂɭtsɪ
tomato

d. [y]: When the phoneme /i/ is placed after the alveolar nasal consonant /n/ or affricate /tɕ/to form a syllable, or placed initially before velar /k//g//x/ to start a word, the phoneme /i/ can be pronounced as [y]:

(1) niɔ → nyɔ
human
(2) taxtɕin → taxtɕyn
bighead carp
(3) ixtə → yxtə
hair

Note that [ɪ] and [ɭ] only appear in loanwords borrowed from Northern Mandarin as shown in (b1-3) and (c1-3); the allophonic change is obligatory, whereas the allophonic variants [ɪ] and [y] are free variants in use.

/a/ is an open front unrounded vowel. Generally, /a/ does not have any allophonic variant in Kilen; but if the phoneme /a/ appears in the medial position or final position within the word, it can be reduced to /ə/.

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/ɔ/ is an open-mid back rounded vowel. In daily spoken usage, /ɔ/ has a free allophonic variant [o], which can occur freely in any position within the word as shown in (2a-c):

(2a) ɔgdɔ → ogdo
welcome
(2b) xɔji → xoji
cut
(2c) lɔqɔ → loqo
hitch

Similar to /a/, when phoneme /ɔ/ appears in the medial position or final position within the word, the phoneme /ɔ/ can be pronounced as [ə].

Note that /ə/ is not merely an allophonic variant of /a/ and /ɔ/, I will discuss this phenomenon in (2.1.6).

/ə/ is a mid-central vowel. /ə/ has a rare allophonic variant [ɯ] which is only found in the final open syllable of words which are polysyllabic (more than two syllables) and in which all vowels are /ə/:

(3a) dəxəmə → dəxɯmɯ/dəxəmɯ
mother's sister
(3b) tərgələ →tərgəlɯ/tərgɯlɯ
clothes

Note that [ɯ] cannot replace the /ə/ of the initial syllable as shown above in (3a-b). Generally, this allophonic variant is only found in vocative uses (calling or warning). It results from stressing the syllable concerned.

/u/ is a close back rounded vowel. /u/ has two allophonic variants [ɯ] and [ʊ]. The allophonic variant [ɯ] is only found in the final open syllable of words ending with /u/:

(4a) dʑuɾu → dʑuɾɯ
two (cardinal number)
(4b) diɾamu → diɾamɯ
thick

The allophonic variant [ʊ] is only found in initial open syllables:

(5a) kuliakən → kʊliakən
worm

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(5b) tubəki → tʊbəki
fruit

Note that /ʊ/ is only found in polysyllabic words, as shown in (5a-b).

/œ/ is an open-mid front rounded vowel. [ɛ] is an allophonic variant of /œ/, but/œ/ itself is an extremely rare vowel phoneme in the Kilen materials currently available; it only appears in three paronyms and one autonomous word, tœqo 'chick', tœqan 'bird', œqun 'beak' and gœtquli 'cold'. Note that /œ/ is a distinctive vowel of Sibe (Chaoke, 2006: 22; Li & Zhong, 1984: 3); Kilen /œ/ may be borrowed from Manchu in history (see 1.8.2).

2.1.1 Vowel length

The Kilen vowel system does not have a vowel length distinction. Minimal pairs showing the distinctions between the short and long vowels cannot be found in Kilen. Rarely, long vowels occur in words borrowed from Northern Tungusic languages (such as Solon and Oroqen)[13]:

(6a) mɔtaːn 'tanning knife'
(6b) kataːl 'horse bit'
(6c) əmoːl 'saddle'

Generally, these words are shortened in use:

(6d) mɔtan 'tanning knife'
(6e) kata 'horse bit'
(6f) əmo 'saddle'

Kilen has rhetorical vowel lengthening. Mostly, the monosyllabic particles become longer than usual to indicate the focus:

(7) mafa-i **na(naː)** ɕimuki-ni.
Grandfather-1SG again (PART) cough-3SG
My grandmother is coughing again.

2.1.2 Vowel alternation

The close vowels /i/ and /u/ are interchangeable when they appear in the

[13] Solon and Oroqen share these words in common.

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final open syllable of words (except monosyllabic words) in which all the vowels (including inflected forms) are /i/ or /u/:

(8a) buʂuku → buʂuki
ghost
(8b) ɕibiɕiki → ɕibiɕiku
locust
(8c) dili-tigi → dili-tigu
head-ABL
(8d) bulku-du → bulku-di
mirror-DAT

There is another option for (8c):

(8e) dili-tigi → dili-tugi
head-ABL

2.1.3 Vowel devoicing

In Kilen, close vowels /i/ /u/ and central schwa /ə/can undergo devoicing in the certain phonological environments:

a. Appearing after /m//n//l//d/ in the final open syllable of the word:

(9) adili → adili̥
fishing net

bələ → bələ̥
rice

dalu → dalu̥
feed

məmə →məmə̥
milk

tɕarmi → tɕarmi̥
bowl

əŋgəmu → əŋgəmu̥
saddle

ama-ni → ama-ni̥
father-3SG

ilga-nə → ilga-nə̥
blossom

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b. Being placed between two voiceless consonants in the initial syllable or medial syllable of a word:

(10) səfərə → sə̥fərə / səfə̥rə
hold

tifulə → ti̥fulə / tifu̥lə
spit

kutulu → ku̥tulu / kutu̥lu
lead along (horse)

Note that vowel devoicing only happens in rapid speech and whisper blessings. When close vowels /i/ /u/ and central schwa /ə/ are placed between a voiceless consonant and velar consonant /x/, these vowels never undergo the devoicing process. Open and mid-open vowels never undergo such devoicing in Kilen, and vowel devoicing in initial syllables is comparatively rare.

2.1.4 Vowel deletion

When a polysyllabic word ending with a vowel undergoes derivation or inflection, the word-final vowel may be deleted before the initial consonant or vowel of the suffix as shown in (11a-d):

(11a) səl(ə)-dʑi
iron-INSTR

(11a) maf(a)-sər
grandfather/old man-PL

(11c) əm(ə)-xəi
come-PERF

(11d) satɕ(i)-ku
weed-DS (hoe)

In informal speech, the word-final vowel is often deleted if the next word begins with a vowel:

(12) dʑuɾ(u)ɔfɔrɔ
two nose
two noses

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2.1.5 Vowel epenthesis

When a word ending with the alveolar nasal /n/undergoes derivation or inflection, when the attaching elements begin with a nasal, plosive or lateral consonant, a schwa /ə/ will be inserted between the stem and suffix as shown in (13a-b):

(13a) dabusun-ə-dʑi
salt-ə-INSTR
(13b) təmtəkən-ə-lki
boat-ə-DS
baot-shape

Note that if the suffix begins with /n/, the vowel epenthesis will not apply; instead, one /n/ will be deleted naturally.

(13c) xəmən → xəmə-n-i
lips lips-3SG.POSS

2.1.6 Vowel centralization

"All real language vowels are centralized"(Crystal, 2008: 71). In Kilen, the tendency of centralization also is observed.

As shown in (Table 2.1) above, most of the frequent allophonic variants of vowels are articulated nearer the centre of the mouth. And as mentioned in (2.1) above, /a/ and /ɔ/ can be pronounced as /ə/ as shown in (14a-b):

(14a) xudala → xudalə/xudələ
shout
(14b) ɔfɔrɔ → ɔfərə/ɔfɔrə
nose

Generally, centralization in Kilen takes place in all unstressed vowels (Kilen lexical stress mostly falls on the initial syllable.) as shown in (a1-4), (4a-b) and (14a-b) above. Centralization happens in all speech registers[14] of modern Kilen in general.

[14] Speech situation means the particular type of speech, such as informal daily spoken, formal daily spoken, and religious spoken usage.

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2.2 Consonants

The Kilen phonemic system consists of 21 native consonants (bold phonemes in Table 2.2), 2 glides (bold italic phonemes in Table 2.2) and 7 consonants generally used for loanwords (underlined phonemes in Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Kilen consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Retro	Velar
Voiceless	plosive +asp	**pʰ**	**tʰ**			<u>kʰ</u>
	plosive -asp	**p**	**t**			**k**
	affr. +asp		<u>tsʰ</u>	<u>tɕʰ</u>	<u>tʂʰ</u>	
	affr. -asp		<u>ts</u>	**tɕ**	<u>tʂ</u>	
	fricative	**f**	**s**	**ɕ**	<u>ʂ</u>	**x**
	Tap		**ɾ**			
Voiced	plosive	**b**	**d**			**g**
	Affr.			**dʑ**		
	nasal	**m**	**n**			**ŋ**
	lateral		**l**			
	glide	***w***		***j***		

Manifestations of each consonant phoneme will be discussed below:

2.2.1 Plosives

Kilen has nine plosives (/pʰ/, /p/, /b/, /d/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/ and /g/) with these distinctive places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar. This is similar to other sister Tungusic languages such as Sibe, Manchu and Udeghe.

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2.2.1.1 Bilabial plosives

Kilen has three bilabial plosives: /pʰ/, /p/ and /b/.

/b/ is a voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive. Generally, /b/ occurs initially and medially in Kilen words as in (15a-b); it does not appear in syllable codas in general, as shown below in (15a-b):

(15a) buda 'meal/ rice'

(15b) sabu 'shoe'

/p/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive. /p/ only occurs before vowels in the word-initial syllable as in (16a-b); it does not appear in syllable coda as shown in (16a-b):

(16a) pitɕa 'flat'
(16b) pɔmitɔrɔ 'tomato' (Russian)

/pʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive. It can be a free allophonic variant of /p/; as same as /p/, /pʰ/ only occurs before vowel in the word-initial syllable and does not appear in syllable coda as shown below in (17a-b):

(17a) pʰitɕa 'flat'

(17b) pʰɔmitɔrɔ 'tomato' (Russian:Pomidor)

Note that /pʰ/ and /p/ are rare consonant phonemes, which mostly appear word-initially in loanwords as shown in (18a-c):

(18a) pudʑa 'shop' (Chinese: pu4zi 鋪子)
(18b) piətɕka 'match' (Russian: Pomidor)
(18c) pʰətilkə 'bottle' (Russian: butylka)

2.2.1.2 Alveolar plosives

Kilen has three alveolar plosives: /d/, /t/ and /tʰ/.

/d/ is a voiced unaspirated alveolar plosive. Generally, /d/ occurs word-initially and word-medially as in (19a-b); it does not appear in syllable coda that ends a word as shown in (19a-b); it can occur after voiced velar consonant /g/as in (19b):

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(19a) duka 'door'
(19b) sagdi 'big'

/t/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar plosive. /t/ occurs word-initially and word-medially as in (20a-b); it does not appear in syllable coda position.

(20a) tigdə 'rain'

(20b) xitəɾin 'nephew'

/tʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive. It can be an allophonic variant of /t/ as in (21a-d), especially, when /t/ occurs same-vowel-intervocalically in word-medial position as in (21c-d); it does not appear in syllable codas.

(21a) tigdə → tʰigdə 'rain'
(21b) xitəɾin → xitʰɾin 'nephew'
(21c) ətə → ətʰə 'win'
(21d) kutulu → kutʰulu ' lead along'

2.2.1.3 Velar plosives

Kilen has three velar plosives: /k/ /kʰ/ and /g/.

/g/ is a voiced unaspirated velar plosive. It appears in word-initial position as in (22a) and in word-medial position as in (22b); it can rarely occur in coda position.

(22a) gisun 'language'
(22b) agə 'elder brother/ boy'
(22c) sagdi ‘big’

/k/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive. Generally, it appears word-initially and word-medially as in (23a-b); it does not occur in syllable coda position.

(23a) kiɾa 'riverside'
(23b) sukə 'ax'

/kʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated velar plosive. It can be an allophonic variant of both /k/ and /g/, when they appear intervocalically in a multi-syllabic word as shown in (24a-b):

(24a) məkələkən → məkʰələkʰən
calf
(24b) kədəɾəku → kədəɾəkʰu
cramp

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2.2.1.4 Remarks on Plosives

Generally, Kilen plosives are unaspirated; pairs of plosives produced at the same place of articulation are distinguished by the manner of voicing as shown in (25-26):

(25)	/t/	vs.	/d/
	ta		da
	that (distal)		root
(26)	/k/	vs.	/g/
	kida 'spear'		gida- 'close'

Aspirated plosives are rare in Kilen: they only appear (a) as conditional allophonic variants of the unaspirated plosives, as shown above in (21a-d; 24a-b); and (b) in loanwords, as shown above in (18a-c) and below in (27a-b):

(27a) kʰəɛɔ 'science' (Chinese: Ke1xue2, 科學)
(27b) tʰaitu 'attitude' (Chinese: Tai4du4, 態度)

2.2.2 Affricates

In general, Kilen has two native affricates (/tɕ/ and /dʑ/) and five other affricates (/ts/, /tsʰ/, /tɕʰ/, /tʂ/ and /tʂʰ/) generally used for Chinese loanwords. The two native affricates are similar to those of other Tungusic languages such as Manchu, Oroqen, Solon, Udihe, and Evenki. The distinctive articulation places of Kilen affricates are: Alveolar, Alveo-alatal, and Retroflex.

2.2.2.1 Native affricates

/tɕ/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. /tɕ/ appears word-initially and word-medially in general as shown in (28a-b); it does not occur in syllable coda position.

(28a) tɕarəmi 'bowl'
(28b) tɕipitɕiki 'lynx'

/dʑ/ is a voiced unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (29a-b); it does not appear in the coda of syllables.

(29a) dʑirgə 'rhythm'
(29b) sundʑa 'the fifth month of a year'

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Note that /tɕ/ and /dʑ/ can occur preceding all vowels; but the most frequent case is preceding close front vowels (/i/ or its allophone /y/). Syllables formed by /tɕ/ or /dʑ/ plus other vowels are rather rare in Kilen.

2.2.2.2 Other affricates

/ts/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate. Generally, it appears word-initially and word-medially in Chinese loanwords that originally contain Chinese Pinyin 'z' as shown in (30a-b); it does not appear in the coda of syllable.

(30a) tsɪbən (Chinese: zi1ben3, **資本**)
capital
(30b) ʂʅtsɪ (Chinese: shi4zi0, **柿子**)
persimmon

/tsʰ/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate. In general, it occurs word-initially in Chinese loanwords that originally start with Chinese Pinyin 'c' as shown in (31); it does not appear in the coda of syllable.

(31) tsʰidaɔ (Chinese: ci4dao1, **刺刀**)
bayonet

/tɕʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate. Generally, it occurs word-initially and word-medially in Chinese loanwords that originally contain Chinese Pinyin 'q' as shown in (32a-b):

(32a) tɕʰi 'paint'
(32b) kuŋtɕʰiŋtʰuan 'communist youth league'

In rare cases, /tɕʰ/ can be an allophonic variant of /tɕ/ in Kilen words, when /tɕ/ appears word-medially as shown in (33):

(33) tɕipitɕiki → tɕipitɕʰiki
lynx

/tʂʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate. Generally, it appears word-initially and word-medially in the Chinese loanwords that contain Chinese pinyin 'ch' as shown in (34a-b); it never appears as a syllable coda.

(34a) tʂʅ tʂʱʅ (Chinese: zhi1chi2, **支持**)
support
(34b) tʂʱʅtʂɪ (Chinese: chi3zi0, **尺子**)
ruler

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/tʂ/ is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex affricate. Generally, it occurs word-initially and word-medially in Chinese loanwords that contain Pinyin 'zh' as shown in (35); it never appears in the coda of a syllable.

(35) tʂəŋtʂʅ (Chinese: zheng4zhi4, **政治**)

2.2.3 Fricatives

Kilen has five fricatives (/f/, /s/, /ʂ/, /ɕ/ and /x/) in which the distinctive places of articulation are: labial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, retroflex and velar.

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative. It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (36a-b); it never occurs in syllable codas.

(36a) falan 'floor'
(36b) dʑəfə- 'eat'

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (37a-b); it never appears in the coda of a syllable.

(37a) sabu 'shoe'
(37b) usə 'seed'

/ɕ/ is a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative. It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (38a-b); it does not appear in syllable codas.

(38a) ɕilxə 'gallbladder'
(38b) kəɕəkə 'cat'

/ʂ/ is a voiceless retroflex fricative. It appears in word-initial position as shown in (39a-b); it is used for loanwords, especially Chinese loanwords that contain Chinese Pinyin 'sh' in general as in (39a-b); it does not occur in syllable codas.

(39a) ʂɔlku 'sorghum'(Russian)
(39b) ʂuʂu 'sorghum' (Chinese: shu3shu3 蜀黍)

/x/ is a voiceless velar fricative. It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (40a-b); it does not occur in the coda of syllables.

(40a) xɔnin 'sheep'
(40b) imaxa 'fish'

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Note that /ɕ/ can occur as a conditioned allophonic variant of /x/, when /x/ is placed before close front vowel /i/ appearing word-initially as shown in (41a-b).

(41a) xiaɾgu ɕiaɾgu 'strabismus'
(41b) xilə- ɕilə- 'roast'

2.2.4 Tap

Kilen has only one tap **/ɾ/.** It appears intervocalically as shown in (42a-c); it can occur in the coda of medial syllables in some rare cases (42c).

(42a) taɾi- 'plant'
(42b) kədəɾə- 'rake'
(42c) xiaɾgu 'strabismus'

2.2.5 Lateral

Kilen has only one lateral consonant **/l/.** It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (43a); it does not occur in the coda of the syllable in general, except as a result of deletion or devoicing of the final vowel, as shown in (43b).

(43a) lələ- 'fear'
(43b) ləl̥- 'fear'

Note that when the tap consonant /ɾ/ appears intervocalically, lateral consonant /l/ can be an allophonic variant of /ɾ/ as shown in (44):

(44) kədəɾə → kədələ
rake

2.2.6 Nasals

Kilen has three nasals (/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/) in which the distinctive places of articulation are: bilabial, alveolar and velar.

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal. It appears word-initially and word-medially as shown in (45a-b); it does not appear in the coda of the syllable in general, although certain cases are similar to /l/, in which it would appear as coda when the final vowel is deleted or devoiced.

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(45a) məifən 'neck'
(45b) ɔlɔguma 'pheasant'

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal. It appears word-initially, word-medially and word-finally as shown in (46a-c); it can occur in coda of the syllable in general as shown in (46c-d).

(46a) nala 'hand'
(46b) əniə 'mother'
(46c) təndɔ 'straight'
(46d) mɔɾin 'horse'

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal. It occurs word-medially in general as shown in (47a-b).

(47a) sɔŋu- 'cry'

(47b) ɛiŋəɾi 'rat'

/ŋ/ can be conditional allophonic variant of /n/, when /n/ appears in the coda of syllable as shown in (48a-c)

(48a) təndɔ → təŋdɔ
'straight'
(48b) mɔɾin → mɔɾiŋ
'horse'
(48c) ɛiləngi→ɛiləŋgi 'dew'

2.2.7 Glides

Kilen has two glides /w/ and /j/, in which the distinctive places of articulation are: bilabial and palatal.

/w/ is a voiced bilabial approximant. Generally, it appears word-initially before a central vowel and open vowels as shown in (49a-b); it never occurs in the syllable coda.

(49a) wa 'kill'
(49b) waxʂan 'frog'
(49c) -wə ‘accusative suffix ’

When /w/ appears word-initially preceding an open front unrounded vowel /a/, it is generally pronounced as a voiced labio-dental approximant /ʋ/ as shown in (49d-e).

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(49d) wa →ʊa
'kill'
(49e) waxʂan → ʊaxʂan
'frog'

There are only two exceptions where [ʊ] is not a possible variant for /w/ appearing word-medially:

a. the passive voice marker '-wu-' as shown in (50);

(50) agə-ni wa-wu-xəi-ni.
Elder brother-3SG kill-PAS-PERF-3SG
His elder brother had been killed.

b. the accusative case marker -wə, which is normally applied to words that end with a central or open vowel as shown in (51a-b)

(51a) bia-wə
moon-ACC
(51b) mama-wə
old woman-ACC
(51c) dʑɔ-wə
house-ACC

/j/ is a voiced palatal approximant. Generally, it appears intervocalically as shown in (52a-b); it does not occur in the syllable coda, as shown in (52a-b)

(52a) fuji- 'boil'
(52b) saji- 'know'

There is only one exceptional example for /j/ appearing word-initially, which is the term jaliŋkɔ' ballad'; the etymology of this word is unclear, it may be borrowed from other related languages.

2.2.8 Consonant devoicing

The intervocalic glide /j/ tends to be devoiced when it appears before the close front vowel /i/ as shown in (53a-b), except when it appears between two /i/.

(53a) fuji- → fuj̥i- 'boil'
(53b) saji- → saj̥i- 'know'

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2.2.9 Consonant spirantization

The voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive /b/ may be spirantized to a voiced bilabial fricative [β], when it appears intervocalically as shown in (54a-b).

(54a) sabu → saβu
shoe

(54b) gɔbɔtɔ → gɔβɔtɔ
egg

The voiced unaspirated velar plosive /g/ may be spirantized to voiced velar fricative [ɣ], when it appears word-medially in the coda of syllable that is preceding a syllable which starts with a voiced unaspirated alveolar plosive /d/, as shown in (55a-b):

(55a) sagdi → saɣdi
big

(55b) bəgdələ → bəɣədələ
leg

2.2.10 Consonant sonorantization

A voiceless consonant can be sonorantized to its voiced counterpart when it appears intervocalically as shown in (55a-g); this intervocalic sonorantization is applicable to most native intervocalic voiceless consonants.

(55a) ətə- → ədə-
win

(55b) tɕipitɕiki → tɕipidʑiki/tɕibidigi
lynx

(55c) sukə → sugə
shoe

(55d) dʑəfə → dʑəvə
eat

(55e) usə → uzə
seed

(55f) uɕin → uʑin
farm

(55g) axa → aɣa
slave

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2.3 Phonotactics

This section deals with the sequential phonotactic rules of phonological units which appear in Kilen vocabulary.

2.3.1 Positional restrictions

In Kilen, all vowels may be in any position within the word; vowel clusters appear word-initially and word-medially in general (see details in Sec. Vowel clusters).

Most Kilen native consonants can appear word-initially, except tap /ɾ/ and voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ which are only found in the word-medial position in general as shown above in (42a-c; 47a-c). All native consonants can be found in the word-medial position. Only voiced nasal alveolar /n/ can be found in word-final position. All consonant clusters can only be found in the word-medial position as illustrated in (2.3.2.2)

2.3.2 Clusters

Clusters here means adjacent consonantal phonemes or vowel phonemes without intervening vowels or consonants. Kilen has both vowel clusters and consonant clusters.

2.3.2.1 Vowel clusters

Kilen does not have tautosyllabic adjacent vowels in general; Kilen only possesses bisyllabic vowel clusters, also known as diphthongs, which refers to two non-identical adjacent vowels that have no intervening consonant occurring within the same syllable as shown in (56).

(56) **ai**dʑi 'attentive'

Kilen has two groups of vowel clusters: vowel clusters starting with /i/ that include /ia/, /iɔ/, /iə/ and /iu/ as shown in (57);

(57a) iatəɾə 'poor'
miaguru- 'kneel'
(57b) iəxən 'mature'
niətə 'goose'

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(57c) iɔɾɔn 'lenok' (a kind of fish, Manchurian Trout)
niɔʊɔ- 'pull out'
(57d) iuxan 'cotton'
kiutɐin 'roe deer'

Vowel clusters with /i/ ending which include /ai/, /ɔi/, /əi/ and /ui/ as shown in (58a-d).

(58a) aiɐin 'gold'
baita 'event'
(58b) əixən 'donkey'
ʊəilə 'labor'
(58c) ɔi- 'write'
gɔinə 'close one's eyes'
(58d) uilə- 'work'
kuiləxə 'apricot'

Generally, Kilen vowel clusters appear word-initially and word-medially as shown above in (57a-d; 58a-d).

/i/-initial vowel clusters do not appear in the word-final position in general, except for some monosyllabic words as shown below in (59a-c).

(59a) pia 'moon'
(59b) niɔ 'person/human'
(59c) uiu 'bring along'

/iə/ can be found in word-final position as shown in (60a-b).

(60a) tugiə- 'lift'
(60b) baɾiə 'vague'

2.3.2.2 Consonant clusters

Kilen does not allow tautosyllabic adjacent consonants; Kilen only has bisyllabic consonant clusters that involve two non-identical adjacent consonants occurring within the same syllable as shown in (61).

(61) sakta 'old'

Generally, consonant clusters are only found in informal rapid speech. In general, Kilen only has consonant clusters in which the end consonant is a voiceless consonant. Kilen has two groups of consonant clusters. Voiceless-onset consonant clusters include /ɾt/, /ɾk/, /ɾx/, /ɾf/, /xt/ and /xs/ as shown in (62a-f):

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(62a) xaɾtəku 'carp'
(62b) bumubuɾkə 'rounded'
(62c) əɾxitɕin 'breath'
(62d) kiɾfudʑə 'sturgeon'
(62e) dəxtə ‘fly’
(62f) iaxsitɕi- ‘sneeze’

Voiced-onset consonant clusters include /lt/, /lk/, /ŋt/ and /bt/ as shown in (63a-d).

(63a) fɔltɔku 'hole'
(63b) ɔlkɔtɕini 'dried meat'
(63c) kiŋtitɕi 'dog fighting'
(63d) labtəkə 'sliced raw fish'

Most consonant clusters occur word-medially as shown above in (62a-f; 63a-d); they do not appear in the coda position of syllables in general, since most syllables are vowel-final or /n/-final. Consonant clusters do not appear word-initially.

2.3.3 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is an assimilatory process that determines what vowel will appear in all but the first syllable of a word (Goskel & Kerslake, 2005: 21). Kilen has a vowel harmony system based on the distinctive feature of vowel height; while non-close vowels harmonize, close vowels are harmonically neutral, which means close vowels can freely co-occur with non-close vowels and close vowels simultaneously.

Traditionally, non-close vowels are divided into two types which share the same harmonic feature: open and open-mid vowels (/a/ and /ɔ/) which are often named as ‘masculine’ vowels in the Tungusic literature, as opposed to the central vowel /ə/ which is often named as a ‘feminine’ vowel in previous literature (An, 1986; You & Fu, 1987; Chaoke, 1997). In Kilen, the ‘masculine’ (open-mid) vowels ‘/a/ and /ɔ/’ cannot get harmonized with ‘feminine’ (central) ‘/ə/’, but close vowels ‘/u/ and /i/’ can freely co-occur with any other vowels in a word, as shown below in Table 2.3 below:

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Table 2.3 Vowel harmony

	OPEN (MASC)		CENTRAL (FEM)	CLOSE (NEUT)	
	a	ɔ	ə	u	i
a	xaxa 'male'	alɔ ‘sledge’		afu ‘war’	tati- ‘study’
ɔ	kɔta ‘throat’	ɔxtɔ ‘medicine’		ɔmuxtə 'egg'	kɔʧi ‘anus’
ə			xələ ‘dump’	nəvu ‘younger brother’	ərin 'time'
u	tuka ‘city gate’		uləsə ‘meat’	xutu ‘ghost’	turi ‘bean’
i	ilga 'flower'		iməxsə 'oil'	imunu 'swallow'	dili 'head'

2.3.3.1 Roots

Table 3 also represents the co-occurrence of the vowels within lexical roots. On the other hand, disharmonic roots often appear in modern Kilen. Mostly, the disharmonic cases are produced by the effect of vowel centralization which means the open vowel and open-mid vowel are often centralized when they appear in the nucleus of penultimate syllable, as shown below.

(64) a → ə
  a. niamakta → niamaktə
     tears
  b. aminaka → aminəkə
     cock

(65) ɔ → ə
  a. fɔxɔlɔn →fɔxələn
     short
  b. sɔxtɔ →sɔxtə
     drunk

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Seemingly, in daily spoken usage, modern Kilen does not have a determinate vowel harmony system that is fully governed by the lexical root; the harmonized vowels of lexical roots do not control the vowel type of suffix in general, as shown in (66):

(66) Noun morphology
Dative suffix '-də' is for all kinds of lexical root that is ending with a vowel:

a.	na-də	b. mədəri-də	c. uɕin-də
	earth-DAT	sea-DAT	farm-DAT

(67) Verb morphology
Perfective aspect suffix '-xəi' is for all kinds of lexical root:

a. dəgdə-xəi	b. ulixi-xəi	c. sa-xəi
fly-PERF	understand-PERF	know-PERF

But Kilen still has cases of more than one suffix indicating the same category, which show the distinctions in the sense of vowel harmony; they become free variants of each other in the daily spoken, formal conversation and religious register, as shown below (68a-b):

(68a) kɔtɕili-ka/kə 'walnut'
(68b) ilga-na/nə- 'blossom'

Generally, vowel harmony is not applied to loanwords.

2.3.3.2 Vowel clusters and vowel harmony

As illustrated above in (2.3.2.1), vowel clusters are composed of the close front vowel /i/ and other cardinal vowels; when the initial syllable of the lexical root contains a vowel cluster, the 'other cardinal vowel' will be subject to vowel harmony, as shown above in (57a-d; 58a-d).

2.3.4 Syllables

Kilen only has three types of syllabic structures: V, CV and CVC, as shown in (69):

(69) utuxun 'empty'

u	tu	xun
V	CV	CVC

A vowel cluster is treated as a single V within the syllable in this description, as shown in (70a-b):

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(70a) ɔi- 'write'
V
(70b) niajin 'rotten'
CVCVC

2.3.5 Stress

Generally, the lexical roots of Kilen are stressed on the first syllable, as shown below in (71):

(71a) ˈəli 'more'
(71b) dˈubə 'sharp'
(71c) sˈəfərə- 'hold'

A secondary stress will be involved when a word contains four syllables or more, as in the situations illustrated below:

A. Compound words: the secondary stress falls on the first syllable of the last polysyllabic component of the entire compound as shown in (72)

(72) sˈɔxunsˌɔjan
sˈɔxun-sˌɔjan
light.bright yellow-yellow
dark yellow

B. Inflected forms: the secondary stress falls on the first syllable of a inflected suffix chain containing more than one syllable; and the stem must be a polysyllabic word, as shown in (73):

(73) dʑˈfə-xˌəi-mi
eat-PERF-1SG
I have eaten

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CHAPTER 3 WORD FORMATION

There are three major derivational means to form new words in Kilen: Suffixation, Conversion and Compounding. Furthermore, reduplication and lexical borrowing also play a role in word formation.

3.1 Suffixation (derivation)

Suffixation is one of the major means of word formation in Kilen. It not only forms new words through meaning change based upon the existing stem, but may change its word class.

There are derivational affixes to mark the word class clearly in Kilen, which not only mark the derived word class, but also show the original word class before derivation. In modern Kilen as represented by our data, only a few derivational affixes with extensive significations in Kilen are active and used in new word formation; and lexicalization has been found in a large number of inactive derivational endings. E.g.:

kuməxtə ‘mosquito’
xuɾməxtə ‘small bite’
pəxtə ‘earthworm’

kaskə ‘bird’
səŋkə ‘hedgehog’

/-xtə/ and /-kə/ are diminutive markers, but they occur rarely in modern Kilen. The corresponding forms without ending do not exist in Kilen.

However, in some cases a linguist may identify a suffix that is not obviously a morphological marker as a kind of typical ending marking. E.g.:

ɕiŋə (small hole) → ɕiŋə-ɾi (rat)
wukusa (powder)→ wukusa-ɾi (moths)

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/-ɾi/ can be treated as a diminutive suffix here, since corresponding forms without the ending exist in Kilen and show a relatively augmentative meaning.

Taking the final word class of the derivatives as the criterion for classification, this description divides the derivational affixes into three classes: “forming nouns”, “forming verbs” and “forming adjectives”.

3.1.1 Nominal derivation

Such affixes will form nouns, as shown in (1).

(1)

Suffix	**Base word**
-xtɕi	verbs
-tɕin	nouns/verbs
-ta	nouns
-ku/-qu/-kɔ	verbs
-ka/-kə	adjectives and qualitative nouns
-ki	onomatopoeia
-ɾi	nouns
-ɔn	verbs

Whereas the first four are active affixes used in new word formation, the latter four are limited to a subset of proper nouns.

3.1.1.1 *-xtɕi*

Generally, the base word from which nouns may be formed by conjoining -xtɕi is a transitive verb. The derived noun refers to those who were engaged in certain occupations related to the base word, as shown in (2;3a-b).

(2) taɾi (to farm)→ taɾi-xtɕi (farmer)
(3a) ulɕi (to sew)→ ulɕi-xtɕi (tailor)
(3b) fuɕi (to shave)→ fuɕi-xtɕi (barber)

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3.1.1.2 *-tɕin*

When the base word from which nouns are formed by conjoining *-tɕin* is a noun, such nouns are usually derived from some actions, and the nouns derived are usually agents of such actions, as shown in (4-6).

(4) damxi (smoke) → damxi-tɕin (a man who is smoking)
(5) tua (fire) → tua-tɕin (man who lights a fire)
(6) ɕɔxɔlɔ (story) → ɕɔxɔlɔ-tɕin (storyteller)

When the base word is a verb which is derived from a noun; the final derived noun will be the direct performer of the action, as shown in (7-8).

(7) ɔxtɔ (medicine)→ɔxtɔ-lɔ (envenom)→ ɔxtɔ-lɔ-tɕin (the man who puts the poison on an arrow, spear etc.)
(8) jɔdzu(locker)→ jɔdzu-lu (lock)-->jɔdzu-lu-tɕin (the man who locks something)

3.1.1.3 *-ta*

The base word of the noun derived by adding *-ta* is generally the social unit in traditional Hezhe society. The derived word representing the leader of the corresponding social group is an honorific title, as shown in (9-10); while similar social units in the case of borrowings does not have such derivations.

(9) gaʂan (village)→gaʂan-ta (village head)
(10) mukun (clan)→mukun-ta (patriarch)

The morphème *-ta* can not be used independently.

3.1.1.4 *-ku/-qu/-kɔ*

The derivatives formed by conjoining *-ku/-qu/-kɔ* are generally derived from verbs, and the nouns derived denote tools related to the actions of the original verbs. We could not identify the differences of these three forms through the etymology and phonological alternation, we just treat them as free variants in the final position, as shown in (11-13).

(11) kətərə (to saw)→ kətərə-ku (saw)
(12) papu (to chisel)→ papu-qu (chisel)
(13) kiɔlɔ (to carry) → kiɔlɔ-kɔ (fishing trap with a handle)

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Derivational suffixes *-ku/-qu/-kɔ* cannot be differentiated in the extant materials, but are normally interchangeable. The suffixes are also applied to some Chinese loanwords, however, the Chinese base word is a noun rather than a verb, and with the same meaning as the Kilen suffixed form, as shown in (14-15).

(14) təŋ (stool, Chinese pinyin deng4) → təŋ-ku (stool)
(15) siaŋ (case, Chinese pinyin xiang1)→ siaŋ-ku (case)

3.1.1.5 *-ka/-kə*

These derivatives are less productive; they generally denote animals and plants related to the relevant features and characteristics of the base word, as shown in (16-17).

(16) kɔtɕili (curly)→kɔtɕli-ka (walnut)
(17) uatɕi (long leg)→ uatɕi-kə (egret)

The suffixation principle of the two derivational suffixes is vowel harmony, which is optional when the base word has a neutral vowel. In (16), the back vowel /ɔ/ triggers the 'masculine' variant [*-ka*], while in (17) the reduced 'feminine' form is used, as discussed in (2. 1.1.6 & 2.1.3.3).

3.1.1.6 *-ki*

This kind of nominal derivative is generally derived from onomatopoeic words, most of which are animal names, as shown in (18-20). The base word is mostly the corresponding animal sound. For example, the pecking of woodpecker on a tree is represented as *tɔxtɔw* , as shown in (19).

(18) saksa → saksa-ki (magpie)
(19) tɔxtɔw → tɔxtɔw-ki (woodpecker)
(20) ləlu → ləlu-ki (wolf)

3.1.1.7 *-ɾi*

This kind of derivative is usually derogatory, mostly denoting pests. The base word is mostly a noun related to the life or shape of such creatures, as shown in (21-23).

(21) ɕiŋə (small hole) → ɕiŋə-ɾi (rat)
(22) wukusa (powder)→ wukusa-ɾi (moths)
(23) səfə (hair) → səfə-ɾi (caterpilar)

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Furthermore, this affix is also found in some Chinese borrowings into Kilen, as shown in (24).

(24) tu (bean, Chinese pinyin dou4) → tu-ɾi (bean)

3.1.1.8 *-ɔn/-fun*

This kind of nominal derivative is similar to *-ku/-qu/-kɔ* in that all the base words denote actions for which the item denoted by the nominal derivatives is used. However, such affixes are not common in Kilen, and rarely seen in real life. The following examples occur in oral literature of the *jalinkɔ* genre.

(25) sɔkɔ (scoop) → sɔkɔ-n (spoon)
(26) xatɛi (hang)→xatɛi-ɔn (hanging pot)
(27) xati (cut)→ xati-fun (sickle)

3.1.2 Verb derivation

Compared to nominal derivatives, there are fewer affixes for verb derivation, and the affixation principle is relatively simple. A great number of affixes are interchangeable variants, as shown in (28).

(28)

Suffix	Base word
-la-/-lɔ-/-lə-/-lu-	nouns
-tɛi-	verbs
-na-/-nə-	nouns

3.1.2.1 *-la-/-lɔ-/-lə-/-lu-*

This set of affixes is mostly seen in verb derivations expressing instrumental meanings, namely, actions taking the base word as the main participants or main tools. In the affixation process, the first vowel of the stem determines the vowel harmony of the suffix, as shown in (29-32).

(29) amga (mouth)→amga-la- (hold something within one's mouth)
(30) muku (water)→ muku-lu- (to water)
(31) əŋku (shack) →əŋku-lə- (to live)
(32) ɔxɔdɔ (medicine) → ɔxɔdɔ-lɔ- (to apply venom)

If the base word is a loanword (especially Chinese borrowings), the principle of vowel harmony still operates, as shown in (33-34).

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(33)mədzɔ （mill, Chn: mo4zi0）→ mədzɔ-lɔ- (to grind)
(34) bafu (bag,Chn: bao1fu0) → bafu-la- (to wrap)

In more recent times (since 1949), such derivational affixes are usually attached to Chinese borrowings derived from the verb, so as to indicate the part of speech of Chinese verbs, among which, -la-/-lə- is the most frequently used and interchangeable, and the vowel harmony need not apply, as shown in (35-36).

(35) yŋxu (to advocate, Chn: yong1hu4) → yŋxu-lə- (to advocate)
(36) biɔjaŋ (to praise, Chn: biao3yang2)→ biɔjaŋ-la- (to praise)

3.1.2.2 *-tɕi-*

This affix is the abbreviation of the reciprocal voice marker -matɕi-. Through daily use over a long period of time, the voice marker undergoes lexicalization with the original verb, thus deriving a word with reciprocal meaning, and the original voice marker will be changed into the derivative; the verb containing such affix generally denotes a "mutual" concept, as shown in (37-39).

(37) arki (alcohol) → arki-tɕi- (to drink alcohol; at least two persons)
(38) baxa (to look) → baxa-tɕi- (to meet one another)
(39) gasxu (to vow) → gasxu-tɕi- (to curse each other)

3.1.2.3 *-na-/-nə-*

Derivatives containing this affix are usually related to a change of natural phenomenon or natural things expressed by the base word, and this affix is not productive, as shown in (40-42).

(40) ilga (flower) →ilga-nə (to blossom)
(41) ədin (wind) → ədi-nə- (to blow)
(42) agdin (thunder) → agdi-na (to thunder)

If the basic noun ends in /-n/, it coalesces with the initial /n/ of the suffix, as shown in (41-42) above.

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3.1.3 Adjective derivation

Suffixation deriving adjectives is rarely seen in Kilen, and most Adjective derivations are qualitative Adjectives. There are two Adjective derivational affixes: -lki (with a noun as the base word)/ -ŋki (with an adjective as the base word).

3.1.3.1 *–lki*

This suffix is mostly seen in derived Adjectives, attaching to the noun to form the character Adjective directly, as shown (43-45).

(43) ilga (flower)→ ilga-lki (flowery;like a flower)
(44) bəxə (ink) →bəxə-lki (ink black)
(45) tuɾa (pilla) →tuɾa-lki (pillar-shaped)

(45) is commonly seen in Kilen, a concrete thing suffixed with –lki forms a new word expressing the concept of the features and characteristics of the base word. In daily application, this affix will often be omitted.

3.1.3.2 *–ŋki*

As an adjective suffix, -ŋki does not only mean "as … as…" but also expresses the meaning of "very, much" in the sentences expressing equal comparison with a exclamation, as shown in (46).

(46) əi niɔ kusi-ŋki-ni mafaka-tigi.
this person strong-ADJ-3SG bear-ABL
This person is very strong, as strong as a bear.
(Lit.T)

In daily application, this affix will often be omitted.

3.1.4 Remarks on Suffixation

The non-finite forms of Kilen verbs can serve as other parts of speech, which results in a great amount of derivation-like suffixation. Participles can serve as adjectival modifiers, as shown below:

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dɔldi-xən ***gurun***
listen-PERF.PCP people
Audience (the people who listened.)

dɔldi-rən ***gurun***
listen-IMPERF.PCP people
Audience (the people who are going to listen.)

See '6.1.1 Verbal morphology' for detailed description of Non-finite-forms.

3.2 Zero-derivation

By zero-derivation we mean a type of word formation by which a word is converted into another word class without morphological marking (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya, 2001). In Kilen, some words can be used – without any obvious derivational process having applied- as another word class. It is similar to the schema as shown in Dixon (2010 P: 49):

CLAUSE STRUCTURE Predicate NP as argument

WORD CLASS basic verbs → some derived nouns

Some derived verbs ← basic nouns

Dixon's schema is based on the analysis of English, which generally indicates the direction of Zero-derivation clearly: that is, we can determine which is the base word. However, the conversion relationship in Kilen is bidirectional in general, for example, in "Verb ←→ Noun", we couldn't determine the direction of derivation, that is to say, we are unable to tell the original word class of zero-derivation words.

In Kilen, there are two types of bilateral Zero-derivation, "Verb←→Noun" and "Adjective ←→ Noun", as well as unidirectional Zero-derivation.

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3.2.1 Bilateral Zero-derivation

3.2.1.1 Verb ←→ Noun

Such a case frequently happens in Kilen. The relevant verbs are generally heads of transitive predicates, while the relevant nouns are generally arguments of transitive predicates, as shown in (47-48).

(47) a. səkətə(cushion)←→səkətə- (to make a bed)
b. isalə （eyes)←→isalə- (to look)
c. jisa (braid)←→jisa-(to tress)
d. bithə (book) ← →bithə- (work as a secretary)
e. xafun (army official) ←→xafun- (work as a army official)
f. sɔŋwu (tear) ←→sɔŋwu- (to cry)

(48) niani səkətə-wə səkət-mi pi-rən
he cushion spread-INT Cop-PROSP
He is spreading a cushion on the bed.

3.2.1.2 Adjective ←→ Noun

As shown in the (5.3 Adjectives), Kilen adjectives have been classified into Non-derived Adjectives and Derived Adjectives. In Kilen, Non-derived Adjectives and Nouns may undergo Bilateral Zero-derivation, as shown in (49).

(49) sərgun (cool) sərgun (coolness)
ərdə (early) ərdə (morning)
nirə (weak) nirə (illness, state of being ill)

By contrast, derived adjectives cannot undergo bilateral zero-derivation. Derived adjectives may undergo similar zero-derivation within a headless noun phrase. For example, amətə-ŋki is a derived adjective in (50a), which may also function as a noun when case marked (50b)

(50a)
Bi ti əm tɕikin amətə-ŋki imaxa-mə dzᵩfu-jə.
me that one extremely tasty fish-ACC eat-IMP-1SG
I eat the tastiest fish.
(consul.)

(50b)
Bi ti əm tɕikin amətə-ŋki-mə dzᵩfu-jə.
me that one extremely tasty -ACC eat-IMP-1SG
I eat the tastiest (fish).
(consul.)

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Such zero-derivation for derived adjectives is obviously unidirectional. Non-derived adjectives such as sagdi ‘big’ may also undergo unidirectional zero-derivation, as shown in (51a-b).

(51a)

Bi	ti	əm	tɕikin	sagdi	imaxa-mə	dʐəfu-jə.
me	that	one	extremely	big	fish-ACC	eat-IMP-1SG

Let me eat the biggest fish.

(consul.)

(51b)

Bi	ti	əm	tɕikin	sagdi-mə	dʐəfu-jə.
me	that	one	extremely	big-ACC	eat-IMP-1SG

Let me eat the biggest (fish).

(consul.)

3.2.2 Unidirectional Zero-derivation

3.2.2.1 Participles serving as other classes

Participles in Kilen are special words, which combine the functional properties of verbs, nouns and adjectives, as shown in (52-53).

(52) Participle to Noun

waxtɕi-i-ni	Hunter (hunting man)
<hunt-PTCPL-3SG>	
ɡabta-i-ni	archer (Shooting man)
<shoot-PTCPL-3SG>	
xudaʂə-i-ni	merchant (selling man)
<sell-PTCPL-3sg>	

(53) Participle to Adjective

baldi-i	alive
<to give birth- PTCPL>	
əbdu-i	broken
<to break- PTCPL>	
unku-i	ill
<be ill -PTCPL>	

Such zero-derivation generally occurs between active participles of verbs and nouns or adjectives.

Note that the participle maker ‘-i’ can be freely omitted in use.

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3.2.2.2 Adjectives to Verbs

When adjectives combine with the copula "pi" to form a copular construction, adjectives change in lexical class and are similar to verbs in function, with morphological suffixes of verbs added. In (54) the infinitival suffix /-mi/ is attached to the adjective targun 'fat'.

(54)
bi targun-mi pi-ɾən.
1SG fat-INFbecome-PROSP
I am getting fat.

(Lit.I)

3.3 Compounding

Compounding involves word-formation based on the combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open lexical classes such as nouns or verbs (Aikhenvald, 2007).

In Kilen, compound words constituted through compounding are similar to the corresponding phrases. E.g.:

(Modifer+Head noun)

ɯuɕik'uli-xit'ə
little-child
little child

(Noun+ Head verb)

iləkasapɛə
ləka sapɛə
flower embroider
Embroidery

Basically, the criteria used to distinguish compounds from phrases are (A) Compounds often form one phonological word and thus have just one stress (Aikhenvald, 2007). In Kilen, compounds are stressed on the first syllable of the first element; there is no second stress in the whole compound word;

(55) a'ma-əniə
father-mother
parents

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(56) sə'lə-faxɕiə
ison-craftsman
blacksmith

(B) Morphologically, inflections of Kilen compound words take the whole as the unit to which the suffix is attached, instead of applying to the various components of which the compound is made up.

(57) pi əiniŋ əmə iləkasapɕə-ɯə sapɕə-xa-jə.
1sg today one embroidery product-ACC embroider-PAST-IMP
I embroidered a piece today.
(Lit.S)

3.3.1 Classification of Kilen compounds

According to Scalise & Bisetoo (2009), the general classification of compounds is based on the grammatical relations between the components of a compound word. In Kilen, we have found four types of compound word:

a. Subordinate: with one of the components being dependent upon the other.

(58) mɔ -faxəɕiə
wood-craftsman
carpenter

imaxa-ɕila
fish-soup
fish soup

nasə-sapə
leather- shoe
leather shoe

xɔləsa-puɾin
quilt-cover
quilt cover

pia-budəxən
moon die-PERF
Lunar Eclipse

b. Coordinate: the components have a relation of coordination, with the components being equal in terms of meaning and internal grammatical relation.

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(59) ənduɾi-ətɛən
god-emperor
God-emperor

duxa-xɔlɔtɛixi
blood relatives- neighbours
folks

c. Attributive: the grammatical relation is one of attribution, with the head component being modified by or associated with the other.

(60) niɔxun -nyŋkian
bright.green-green
dark green

sɔxun -sɔjan
bright.yellow-yellow
dark yellow

saɢdi-mama
big-woman
old woman

d. Exocentric: According to L. Bauer (1988), Endocentric compounds denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements; exocentric compounds denote something, which is different from either of their components. After the data sorting, we have found that most of compounds are endocentric in Kilen; the exocentric compound is rarely to be found. And most of the rare examples are of the coordinate type:

(61) iɾmə -xulxa
needle -thief
dragonfly

jəjə -mafa
grandpa(Chinese loanword)-old man/grandfather
tiger

e. Noun incorporation: The term noun incorporation refers to morphological structures in which a nominal constituent is added to a verbal root, and the resulting construction is both a verb and a single word (Aikhenvald, 2007). Noun incorporation is a relatively productive type of word formation in Kilen: any transitive verb can be the verbal root hosting incorporation. There are three expecially active verbal roots for incorporation, *puta-* ‘to get, to find’, *wa-* ‘to kill’, *fuli-* ‘to hunt’. The incorporated

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nominal components could be bare nouns or their inflected forms (such as accusative forms, as shown in 62). Mostly, the incorporated objects are in the accusative, but sometimes the incorporated nouns are morphologically unmarked.

(62) imaxa-(wə)-puta
fish-ACC-catch/fish-catch
catching fish (alive)

imaxa-(wə)-wa
fish-ACC-kill/ fish-kill
catching fish (dead)

xantərxan-(wə)-fuli
moose-ACC-hunt/ moose-hunt
hunting moose (mostly dead)

Mostly, *puta-* 'to get, to find' and *wa-* 'to kill' could express every kind of hunting, getting and catching, while *fuli-* 'to hunt' just expresses the hunting of animals in the forest. Alternatively, the derived word may serve as a noun phrase; the resulting constructions express the function of verb.

(63) pi dɔmaki imaxa-puta-xtɕi-jə.
1SG tomorrow fish-catch-PROSP-OPT
I will go fishing tomorrow.

(Lit.I)

3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is a word formation process in which the stem of a word (or part of this word) is repeated. In Kilen, productive reduplication only applies to non-derived adjectives to show the meaning of strengthening (as discussed in 5.3 Adjectives).

3.5 Lexical Borrowing

In Kilen, we have found a large number of loanwords. Lexical borrowing is also an important method for creating new words in Kilen.

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3.5.1 Source of Borrowing

Most of the modern loanwords of Kilen come from Northern Mandarin; in addition because it is close to the China-Russia border, there are some Russian loanwords in Kilen.

(64) From Chinese:
- a. tʂaxu< Cha2 Hu2
  tea pot
- b. piaŋɕi< jiao3 Zi
  dumpling
- c. yəpiŋ< Yue4 Bing3
  mooncake
- d. jantai < Yan4 Tai2
  inkstone
- e. ɯantəu< Wan1 Dou4
  pea
- f. p'anzɨ < Pan2 Zi
  plate
- g. tsu < Cu4
  vinegar
- h. taifə < Dai4 Fu
  medical doctor

(65) From Russian:
- a. pətilkə <бутылка
  bottle
- b. xəliəpə <хлеб
  bread
- c. pomitɔr <помидор
  tomato

3.5.2 Types of Lexical Borrowing

Kilen has two major types of lexical borrowing: phonological assimilation and loan translation. In the case of phonological assimilation, the new word is integrated phonetically, [15] as shown above in (64) and (65).Loan translation involves a word borrowed from another language by word-for-word translation.

(66) aiɕin məun ilxa Honeysuckle
gold silver flower
(In Chinese, Honeysuckle is Jin1 Yin2 Hua1, which means 'gold & silver flower')

[15] The definition here is related to the classification of (Duckworth, 1977).

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(67) sɔlɔki ilxa Cauliflower
vegetable flower
(In Chinese, Cauliflower is Cai4 Hua1, which means 'vegetable flower')

3.6 Ideophones

Kilen has a large number of ideophones. Onomatopoeic words in Kilen simulate the various noises inherent in nature or the sounds related to actions. The words generated in this way are adverb-like, generally placed before verbal forms to modify them, and express the sound (generally with the effect of expressing the strength) or quality (to express the result caused by the action) of action in progress, as shown in (68-70).

(68) tiɔkɔ gəgəkə gəgəkə kili-nemi pi-ɾən.
Chick tweet-CONV Cop-PROSP
The chick is tweeting loadly.
(Lit.I)

(69) ti mɔɾin putuɾ putuɾ bugda-nəmi pi-ɾən.
the horse run-CONV Cop-PROSP
The horse is running so fast.
(Lit.S)

(70) imaxa fɔtɔkini sɔ sɔ laɛijin.
Fish tail wag
The fish wags (its tail) so fast. (Emphasizing the wagging of the tail)
(Lit.J)

Some of these ideophones can still be heard in the Mandarin spoken in the region, as shown in (71).

(71) 他 吃得 flu-flu 的。
3SG eat-PRT flu-flu-PRT
He ate so much. (flu-flu is the sound when someone eats voraciously.)
(FD2004)

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CHAPTER 4 FUNCTION WORDS

Function words are linguistic elements which carry primarily grammatical, rather than lexical, meaning and which fulfil mainly syntactic and structural functions (Bussmann, 2000). Generally, function words belong to closed word classes. Kilen has three sub-classes of function words: adverb, Particle and Postposition. They are all closed-class, but very productive in use.

4.1 Description of Adverb

A content word that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often treated as an adverb. Functionally, an adverb provides further attribution of the meaning of a verb, an adjective, another adverb, or a complex construction. Formally, Adverbs can be characterized primarily in terms of their distribution (Payne 2006: 117). It is relatively easy to identify the class of adverbs in Kilen.

a. Adverbs are morphologically unchangeable;
b. Adverbs function as predicative modifiers or clausal adjuncts;
c. Adverbs cannot be used alone to answer a question;
d. An adjective or possessive modifier cannot modify an adverb.

Based on the semantic meaning, Kilen has manner adverbs, degree adverbs, temporal adverbs, spatial adverbs and adverbs of frequency. We will examine and list the features and usages of adverbs in this section.

4.1.1 Manner Adverbs

In Kilen, manner adverbs mostly function as the attributive modifiers of verbal components, showing the manners of actions. This is the largest subclass of adverbs in Kilen.

Generally, there is no specific marker labelling manner adverbs as such. Since a large number of manner adverbs overlap with qualitative adjectives (in their bare forms), they can only be identified through their distribution within actual syntactic structures. If the item precedes a noun immediately, it is used as an adjective, as

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shown in (1); if it precedes a verb without any inflection, used barely, it functions as an adverb, as shown in (2).

(1) bi xɔɾdun(-mə) mɔɾi-mə jalu-jə.
1SG fast (-ACC) horse-ACC ride-IMP
I ride the fast horse.
(consul.)

(2) ɕi xɔɾdun jalu.
2SG quicklyride.
Be quick. (You ride it quickly.)
(Lit.I)

Beside the bare adjectival manner adverbs, there are a number of manner adverbs derived from the instrumental case forms of adjectives by adding the instrumental case suffix -dʑi.

(3) niani tuɾgun-dʑi ənə-xəi
3SG quick-INSTR go-PERF
He went rapidly.
(consul.)

In daily verbal communication, the use of manner adverbs containing -dʑi is not much and bare adjectives are usually used directly. Mostly, this use exists in the traditional folklore texts. Other manner adverbs originate from converbs and ideophones.

4.1.1.1 Converbs as Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs may be converted from converbs. This gives additional expressivity to the action, as shown in (4-5).

(4) bi nixətənə-mi dɔldi-xai.
1SG laugh-INF listen-PERF
I was laughing so much when I heard of it.
(consul.)

(5) ti afinə-mi baldi.
3SG sleep-CONV live.
He lives in a dream.
(Lit.I)

In Kilen, there is a kind of manner adverbs with –m ending. This kind of phonological structure doesn't accord with the morphophonemic rules in Kilen. Actually, this kind of manner adverbs is due to elision of the converb ending in '-mi'. Its usage is the

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same as that of converbs, but it can be considered as a lexicalization phenomenon[16]. E.g. :

sɔŋɔm ‘crying’

dʑəfəm ‘eating’

4.1.1.2 Ideophones as Manner adverbs

In Kilen, ideophones form a distinctive subclass of manner adverbs. Ideophones are very expressive and are meant to create a figurative image related to visual, audible or tactile impressions (Nikolaeva, 2001: 381). Reflecting the high expressivity of this kind, they are mainly used in everyday speech.

Ideophones are mostly words that imitate the sounds of their referents as we shown in (3.6). Beside this, we have found there is a kind ideophonic manner adverb, indicating or simulating the circumstances of a soundless action, as shown in (6-7).

(6) xiaŋ xiaŋ dʐ̩əfəxəjə.
eat-IMP
Please eat much more if you can. (the circumstance of the full stomach)
(Lit.S)

(7) niani tɕilə tɕilə əjiu-mi pi-ʁən.
3SG sweat-CONV Cop-PROSP
He is sweating heavily.
(Lit.I)

As in Chinese, these may not be modified by other kinds of adverbs .

4.1.2 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs denote the quantitative evaluation of properties and the intensity of action. We list the most common degree adverbs here.

(8) əli ‘more’
bi imaxa-wə əli malxun wa-xi əli aji.
1SG fish-ACC more many kill-1SG more good.
I get the more fish more the better.
(consul.)

[16] In languages with rather close genetic relationship, the manner adverbs with this kind of -m ending are commonly seen and they also come from converbs (Nikolaeva, 2001:378)

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As shown in (8), əli is used to form a correlative structure.

(9) matɕi ‘a little bit’

ama-ji	xəiki-mi	matɕi	adaqəli.
Father-GEN	pants-1SG	a little bit	dirty

Father’s pants are a little bit dirty.

(consul.)

In (9), the degree is low and it is change in degree that can hardly be perceived.

(10) muɾa ‘rather’

ama-ji	xəiki-mi	muɾa	adaqəli.
Father-GEN	pants-1SG	rahter	dirty

Father’s pants are quite dirty.

(consul.)

In (10), the degree is a little bit higher than matɕi. External evidence can be seen, but the degree is not deep.

(11) atɕimə ‘very’

ama-ji	xəiki-mi	atɕimə	adaqəli.
Father-GEN	pants-1SG	very+very	dirty

Father’s pants are very dirty.

(consul.)

In (11), the degree is rather strong and externally obvious.

(12) bəɾdi ‘extremely’

əi	ɕiɕaxtə	bəɾti	sagdi
This	hazelnut	very+very+very	big

This hazelnut is extremely big.

(Lit.S)

(13) tɕikin

the most

əi	ɕiɕaxtə	tɕikin	sagdi
This	hazelnut	the most	big

This is the biggest hazelnut.

(consul.)

In (12-13), they are the upper limits of measurable concept in Hezhen cognition.

(14a) əkiə ‘so’

əi	ɕiɕaxtə	əkiə	sagdi
This	hazelnut	so	big

This hazelnut is so big!!(Positive)

(consul.)

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Usually, *əkiə* 'so' only appears in the exclamatory sentences expressing positive meanings to express surprise at greatly exceeding a measurable upper limit. In the materials, there are also cases where this function is expressed by the form *uki*, as shown in (14b).

(14b) uki 'so'

əi	ɕɔxɔli	uki	utəli-ʁən
this	story	so	smile-PERF.PCP

This is story is so laughable.

(consul.)

(15) əntə 'terribly'

əi	ɕiɕaxtə	əntə	saqdi
This	hazelnut	terribly	big

This hazelnut is terribly big!! (Negative)

(consul.)

In (15), the usage is similar to *əkiə* but *əntə* only expresses negative meaning.

(16) tikini

comparatively

talqɔ-wə	ti	xɔji	tikini	aji
raw fish slice	this	cut	comparatively good.	

To cut raw fish slice like this is relatively satisfactory.

(consul.)

Usually, the adverb in (16) expresses concepts that are passable compared with those that are completely negative, but its own meaning is not positive.

4.1.3 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs denote the semantics of time. Most temporal adverbs are deictic. Morphologically, Kilen temporal adverbs include three types: bare forms, inflected forms, and loan forms. Bare forms are basic simple temporal adverbs, which cannot be divided further and do not have any other content meaning, as shown below.

əɕi	now
alipti	former/ long ago/already
əʂdulətə	a short while later
təni	just, recently (a few minutes ago)

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Bare forms often express time concepts with a general sense and indefinite meaning. əɛi (now), alipti (former/ long ago/already) are not often seen in daily use since the relevant time concept is often expressed through corresponding tenses of verbs.

Inflected forms are morphologically the case forms (nominative/ bare forms, dative forms) of nouns with temporal meanings and a few bare forms of general temporal adverbs, as shown in (17).

(17) əɛi-du (now-DAT) at once
tiɔɾɔ the day after tomorrow
tɔmaki tomorrow
dɔlbu in the evening

Generally, inflected forms encode meanings of cyclic time and deictic time.

There is only one example of loan temporal adverb in Kilen: masaŋ, 'right now/ at once'. It is borrowed from Chinese word ma3 shang4 ' right now', as shown in (18).

(18) ti tiɔqɔ masaŋ bugdana-mi dəɾiwə-xəi-ni.
This/the chick right now run-CONV start-PERF-3SG
That chick is running right now.
(consul.)

4.1.4 Adverbs of frequency

Kilen frequency adverbs have three types: bare forms, inflected forms and reduplicated forms.

Bare forms are monosyllabic, as shown in (19).

(19) tə also
na again

Inflected forms are casemarked forms of numerals and nouns with temporal/frequency meanings, as shown in (20).

(20) əɾin-du
once/time – DAT
sometimes

əmkən-dʑi
one-INSTR
always

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əmkən-tigi
one-ABL
never ever

There is only one example of a reduplicated form in our data, as shown in (21).

(21) ərin-ərin
time-time
often (every single time, very frequently)
tigurun ərin-ərin arki-wə ɔmi.
they time-time alcohol-ACC drink
they drink alcohol every time.
(Lit.T)

Since the similar structure and meaning, we may treat it as a loan translation from Chinese Mandarin word '時時,shi2shi2, every time'.

4.1.5 Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs encode concepts of location and direction. There is no pure bare spatial adverb in Kilen. Mostly, the spatial adverbs are converted from the spatial-related case forms (Locative, Dative and Ablative) of spatial nouns and demonstrative pronouns, and their meanings reflect the meaning of these related cases.

Generally, the locative or lative case labelling of a noun or pronoun indicates a static spatial concept "in/ on/ at a place", as shown in (22).

(22) əi-lə
here-LOC
at here

fərə-xi
north-LAT
in the north

ami-lə
back-LOC
at the behind

dʑulutin-dulə
opposite-LOC
opposite

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xadʑuta-lə
left-LOC
on the left

ui-lə
upper-LOC
above

In Kilen, lative '-xi' is an unusual case form. It is only used to mark spatial adverbs and it only marks compass directions, whereas in common case inflection, the locative is usually used. At the same time, there is no difference semantically.

The dative case labelling of a noun or pronoun indicates the dynamic spatial concept " to/ into/ onto a place", as shown in (23).

(23) əi-də
here-DAT
to here

fərə-də
north-DAT
to the north

ami-də
back-DAT
to the back

dʑulutin-du
opposite-DAT
opposite

xadʑuta-də
left-DAT
to the left

ui-də
upper-DAT
to the above

The ablative case form of a noun or pronoun indicates the dynamic spatial concept "away from/ out of a place", as shown in (23).

(23) əi-tigi
here-ABL
out of here

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fərə-tigi
north-ABL
from the north

ami-tigi
back-ABL
from the back

dʑulutin-tigi
opposite-ABL
from opposite

xadʑuta-tigi
left-ABL
from the left

ui-tigi
upper-ABL
from above

The instrumental case form of a noun or pronoun indicates the spatial concept " by means of a place/ via", as shown in (24).

(24) əi-dʑi
here-INSTR
via here

fərə-dʑi
north-INSTR
via the north

ami-dʑi
back-INSTR
via the back

dʑulutin-dʑi
opposite-INSTR
via opposite

xadʑuta-dʑi
left-INSTR
via the left

ui-dʑi
upper-INSTR
via the top

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4.1.6 Usage

We have examined five types of adverbs in Kilen. All adverbs can be combined when used as adverbials. When it is necessary to use more than one adverb, there isn't a fixed sequence, as shown in (25a-b).

(25a) niani əɕi-du turgun-dʑi ənə-xəi
3SG at once quick-INSTR go-PERF
He went rapidly at once.
(Lit.S)

(25b) niani turgun-dʑi əɕi-du ənə-xəi
3SG quick-INSTR at once go-PERF
He went rapidly at once.
(consul.)

But when we use degree adverbs to modify other adverbs, degree adverbs always precede other adverbs and take the first place within the adverb phrase.

(26) niani tɕikin turgun-dʑi ənə-xəi
3SG the most quick-INSTR go-PERF
He went the most rapidly.
(consul.)

4.2 Postpositions

Typologically, Tungusic languages are postpositional languages, as all adpositions follow the nominal complements within the adpositional phrase, typically with an adverbial function. Kilen has a large number of postpositions in use; most of which are converted from the bare forms of nouns and demonstratives without any inflection or derivation, while most of the unconverted forms are overlap with bare adverbs, as shown in (27a-b)

(27a) Converted forms
əi 'this place' → əi 'here'
ami 'rear surface of body' → ami 'behind'
dʑulutin 'opposite side' → dʑulutin 'opposite'

(27b) Non-Converted forms

əɕi	now
alipti	former/ long ago/already
əʂdulətə	a short while later
təni	just, recently (a few minutes ago)

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Apart from adverbs, postpositions may be inflected for case within the postpositional phrase. For example, the ablative suffix may attach to either the postposition as in (28a) or to the noun itself as in (28b):

(28a) bi uʀkən ui-tigi-ni əu-xəi-ji.
1SG hill top-ABL-3SG come down- PERF-1SG
I came down from the hill.
(Lit.I)

(28b) bi uʀkən-tigi ui-ni əu-xəi-ji.
1SG hill-ABL top-3SG come down- PERF-1SG
I came down from the hill.
(consul.)

When the postposition takes a case inflection within the postpositional phrase, its nominal complements are bare as shown in (28a). On the contrary, if a nominal complement takes the case inflection within the postpositional phrase, the head postposition only takes the possessive suffix as shown in (28b); a postposition and its complement never take the same inflection at the same time.

Kilen also has a group of morphologically invariant postpositions, the origins of which are unclear. They always require genitive NPs as their complements, as shown in (29-30).

(29) ti agə-ji gəsə ənə-jə.
3SG elder brother-GEN with go-IMP
I will go with his elder brother.
(Lit.I)

(30) ti əniə-ji kətɛi gutɛikuli.
3SG mother-3SG.POSS as…as… beautiful
She is as beautiful as her mother.
(consul.)

Based on the semantics, Kilen has four kinds of postpositions in general: spatial, temporal, comparative and comitative.

4.2.1 Spatial Postpositions

Spatial postpositions all overlap with spatial adverbs: spatial adverbs and postpositions share the same forms and are converted from nouns and demonstratives denoting spatial concepts as in the case of əi-lə ‘here’ in (31a) and (31b). And all spatial postpositions can be morphologically inflected as in (31b).

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(31a) bi əi-lə tə-jə.
1SG here-LOC (Adv) sit-IMP
I sit here.
(consul.)

(31b) bi əi-lə-mi tə-ɾu.
1SG here-LOC-1SG (PP) sit-SUBJ
please sit my side.
(Lit.I.)

The most distinctive feature of postpositions is the ability to take a possessive marker to show the close relationship with the nominal complement, as in (5b); by contrast, adverbs never takes any real inflectional suffixes. Also, the adverbs are lexicalized forms, and they are not the markers of particular grammatical categories.

4.2.2 Temporal postpositions

Like spatial postpositions, temporal postpositions are morphologically changeable in Kilen. Kilen has two groups of temporal postpositions: a. temporal postpositions based on spatial concepts; b. pure temporal postpositions.

Temporal location is the time at which or within which an event happens or a state holds (Goksel & Kerslake, 2005). Type (a) are based on the particular location or directional case (Mostly, it would be the locative, or – very rare- other cases denoting spatial concepts) forms of certain spatial postpositions, as shown in (32a-b)

(32a) saɾilə-ɾən ami-lə-ni
betroth-PROSP back-LOC-3SG
after betrothal

(32b) saɾilə-ɾən dʑuli-lə-ni
betroth-PROSP front-LOC-3SG
before betrothal

Such temporal postpositions only appear in the third person singular form.

Type (b) is a class of pure temporal postpositions. They indicate strongly temporal meanings, and never take markers associated with spatial concepts. Most temporal postpositions overlap with temporal adverbs, as shown in (33a-b).

(33a) saɾilə-ɾən əɕi-ni
betroth-FUT P now-3SG
at the moment of betrothal

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(33b) saɾilə-ɾən əʂdulətə-ni
betroth-FUT P a short while later- 3SG
a short while later after the betrothal

As shown in (32a-b;33a-b) above, temporal postpositions always select participle complements within the postposition phrase.

4.2.3 Comparative postpositions

In Kilen, comparative postpositions are morphologically invariant. The etymology of this kind is quite vague. Comparative postpositions always govern genitive complements. There are only two high frequency comparative postpositions in the data, both indicating the meaning of equality, as shown in (34a-b)

kətɕi ‘as …as…’
(34a) ti ama-ji kətɕi taɾkun.
3SG father-3rd. SG.POSS as…as… fat
he is as fat as his father.

(Lit.T)

Adalin ‘ similar to’
(34b) ti ama-ji adalin taɾkun.
3SG father-3SG.POSS similar to fat
he is about as fat as his father.

(Lit.T)

4.2.4 Comitative postpositions

Like comparative postpositions, comitative postpositions are morphologically invariant, and always require a genitive complement. There is only one comitative postposition in the data, which shows the meaning of “together”, as shown in (29). This “together” sense could involve two persons or even more participants, as shown in (35).

(35) ama-mi gəsə ənə-xəi-ni.
father-GEN with go-PERF-3PL.
(Someone or some people) go (somewhere) with my father.

(Lit.T)

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4.3 Particles

Particles are functional words without any content meaning, which have no inflectional and derivational morphology; they are not used referentially. Particles are used either dependently or independently in Kilen.

Generally, particles are used pragmatically; they complete or provide additional subjective meaning to a certain constituent of the sentence. They are mostly placed after that constituent.

Based on their syllable structure and etymology, Kilen has two kinds of particles: correlative conjunctions (converted from non-finite verb forms) and monosyllabic particles.

4.3.1 Correlative Conjunctions

This kind of particle is multi-syllabic, and all are converted from the non-finite forms of verbs. Mostly, they function as correlative clausal linkers/ conjunctions, which show the structural meaning of coordination or subordination. Given their relatively complex syllable structure, they are used independently. Most of them are translatable.

(A) Coordination type

(36) pi-ɕi...pi-ɕi... 'and' (static use, mostly they conjoin non-action clauses)

pi-ɕi	niɔ	saɾfana,	pi-ɕi	niɔ	aɕixan.
have-2SG	person	old	have-2SG	person	young.

Some are old, some are young.

(Lit.J)

This conjunction is derived from the imperfect aspect form of the auxiliary verb 'be/have', hence the residual 2rd person suffix '-ɕi '.

(37) əməɾ-xtɕi... əməɾ-xtɕi..., 'and' (they are used to conjoin action events, which happen at the same time, and the clauses are of equal status)

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əmər-xtɛi arki-wə ɔmi-mi, əmər-xtɛi nixtə-wə xilə-ni.
back-IMPERF alcohol-ACC drink-1SG, back-IMPERF boar-ACC grill-3SG
I am drinking alcohol, while he is grilling the boar.

(Lit.S)

This conjunction is derived from the prospective active participle ending in '-xtɛi' (see details in 6.1.1.7).

(B) Subordination type

(38) əməkərə 'since'

əməkərə pəji unkulu-mi, pixanfuli ənə-ɾtɛə.
since body get ill-1SG, hunting(forest)go-NEG
Since I feel unwell, I am not going hunting.

(consul.)

(39) duinəmi ' because'

bi pəji unkulu-mi duinəmi pixanfuli ənə-ɾtɛə.
1SG body get ill-INF because hunting (forest) go-NEG
Because I feel unwell, I do not go hunting.

(consul.)

In (39), 'duinəmi' is a lexicalized form containing the simultaneous converbal suffix '-dui' and purposive converbal suffix '-nəmi'.

As mentioned above, Kilen particles generally precede the constituents to which they are attached. Apart from the general cases as shown above in (38), some conjunctions are always placed after the added constituents, as shown above and in (39).

4.3.2 Monosyllabic Particles

Monosyllabic particles may be used either independently or dependently (mostly independently). We cannot examine the etymology of this kind of particles through our data. The number of monosyllabic particles is limited in Kilen. The most frequent monosyllabic particles are: na, ka, -da, mai, -ɾɔ; each of them has more than one

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function, and their meanings may overlap, I will illustrate their functions one by one below.

4.3.2.1 na

This is a non-clitic particle, always used independently. It always precedes the predicative constituents. Semantically, it expresses the meanings of 'again', ' once more', or 'another' , as shown in (40).

(40) mama-i na ɕimuki-ni.
Grandmother-1SG again cough-3SG
My grandmother is coughing again.
(consul.)

It also functions as a clausal conjunction with the meaning of 'and', as shown in (41).

(41) ti imaxawa ulixi-ni na wa-xtɕi-ni malxun.
3SG fish catching know-3SG and catch-IMPF-3SG much
He knows the skills of fish catching, and can catch a lot (of fish).
(Lit.I)

When na expresses the function above, it also involves an additive focus, as shown in (41).

4.3.2.2 ka

This is a non-clitic particle too. It functions as a clausal conjunction to express a new topic; it always precedes the new topic, as shown in (42a).

(42a) tati-xtɕi-ni kusuləmi pi-ni, ka fixi-ni
study-IMPERF-3SG hard Cop-3SG but brain-3SG
mənən.
stupid.
He studies hard, but his brain is stupid.
(consul.)

Its function and meaning are very similar to the Chinese correlative word "可 ke3, but".

(42b) **他學習努力，可（是）腦子笨。**
ta1 xue2xi2 nu3li4 ke3 (shi4) nao3zi ben4.
3SG study hard, but brain stupid.

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He studies hard, but his brain is stupid.

This particle has a rare variant ‘kasi’, ‘kasi’ is similar to 可是ke3shi4 ‘but’ of Mandarin. The ‘si’ and ‘shi4’ are optional in both languages. ‘ka(si)’ in Kilen and ‘ke3shi4’ in Mandarin share a similar structure, sound and function. It maybe borrowed from Northern Mandarin.

4.3.2.3 -da

This particle is the most frequent of the particles discussed here. It is an additive clitic particle, which mainly expresses the meaning of coordination and functions as a focus marker. Unlike the above particles, it is always cliticized after the word over which it has scope, generally a nominal constituent.

(a) Coordination

Its basic meaning is ‘as well’.

(43) niani-da ənə-xtɕi-ni .
3SG go-IMPERF-3SG
He goes as well.
(consul.)

(b) Focus

It takes scope over any kind of constituent of a sentence, as shown in the variant (44a-c).

(44a) mini fixi-mi surə-da.
1SG Poss brain-1SG clever-FOC
I am clever.
(Lit.J)

(44b) mini fixi-mi-da surə.
1SG brain-1SG-FOC clever.
I am clever.
(consul.)

(44c) mini-da fixi-mi surə.
1SG-FOC brain-1SG clever
I am clever.
(consul.)

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4.3.2.4 mai

Mostly, *mai* is used independently. This particle expresses the restrictive meaning 'only' in optative clauses. It always is placed after the unit which it focuses on. Mostly, it is placed after the predicate, as shown in (45).

(45) pəti kəsə matɕi tamxin ɔmi mai
1PL together less tobacco smoke FOC
We should only smoke a little bit tobacco.

(consul.)

The morpheme 'mai' was originally a comitative personal marker, which indicates the subject includes the speaker-self, but this kind of comitative is very literary.

4.3.3 Usage

In general, the independent particles can be used dependently, but the dependent particles cannot be used independently. Vowel harmony can occur in the usages of monosyllabic particles. 'na', 'ka', '-da', can be changed to the relevant 'masculine' variety with the front vowel /a/ and 'feminine' variety with the central vowel /ə/. All monosyllabic particles have the function of focus.

Coordinating conjunctions are used in pairs to express the correlative meaning; it is rare to see this kind of particle in single use.

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CHAPTER 5 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

5.1.0 Introduction of nouns

Nouns in Kilen are a quite large open class. The vocabulary of this part of speech usually indicates physical objects in the objective world, for example: *puta* 'rice', *dzɔ* 'house', *mɔrin* 'horse'. There is no morphological distinction between count and mass nouns.

Some proper nouns express fixed abstract concepts, such as *jaliŋkɔ* 'ballad' (a specific genre)

Apart from being expressed with proper nouns, abstract concepts are usually expressed with phrases or verb participles rather than with the form of lexical nouns, as in the following cases.

Phrases: *əmətin* *xanin*
first soul
former life

Participles: *kɔni-matɕi*
think-REC
meaning

Morphologically, nouns in Kilen are inflected for the following morphologically marked categories: case, number and possession, and the affixes appear in this order:

Stem-Number-Case-Possession

Nouns can function as arguments, modifiers, adjuncts or as predicates in copular constructions.

5.1.1 Lexical nouns

Lexical nouns as defined here are words which display a certain unique set of morphological and syntactic properties (Slater, 2003), and which refer to concrete

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referential objects (Dixon, 2010). They also denote the primary noun forms that have not undergone any morphological change.

Earlier research on Tungusic languages usually classifies words into several inflectional classes based on the phonemes at the end of words (Schneider, 1936; Nikolaeva and Tolskaya, 2001; Hengxu, 2002). In the process of suffixation in Tungusic languages, it is often the case that more than one suffix expresses the same grammatical category, with the choice depending on the phonemes at the end of the roots (Chaoke, 1997; Ramstedt, 1952).

This thesis also adopts the traditional classification based on the phonemes at the end of words to facilitate the analysis of morphological changes. After most words in Kilen are sorted out, it is found that there are two circumstances in Kilen: words with the consonant "-n" ending, "/-n/ final (NF)", and words ending with vowels, "Vowel final (VF)". Some suffixes have two allomorphs conditioned by the stem ending.

The basic order of the noun inflections is repeated here for convenience, with 'our children' as an example.

Stem-Number-Case-Possession

xitə-ɾin-du-mu

child-PL-DAT-1PL POSS

'our children'

5.1.1.1 Number

Kilen does not generally mark plurality. Usually, the number of nouns can only be deduced from the quantifying expressions before the nouns, i.e. the number category in Kilen is usually zero marked, as shown in (1a-c).

(1a) mɔɾin
horse (bare noun)

(1b) əmə mɔɾin
one horse(0-mark)
a horse

(1c) ilan mɔɾin
three horse (0-mark)
three horses

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However, when concepts relating to "people" (kinship appellation and social appellation, etc.) are involved, Kilen marks plurality. There are three plural markers: *-ɾin*（common form）*,-səɾ*(honorific form), *-ɾi* (religious form)

(2a) xitə-ɾin
child-PL
children

(2b) sagdi-ɾin
big-PL
adults

(2c) ətən-ɾin
idiot-PL
idiots

(2d) pɔʂku-ɾin
official-PL
officials

(3a) mama-səɾ
old lady-PL
old ladies

(3b) mafa-səɾ
old man-PL
old men

(3c) pɔʂku-səɾ
official-PL
officials

(3d) mɔkɔta-səɾ
Patriarch-PL
Patriarchs

(4a) mafa-ɾi
ancestor-PL
ancestors

(4b) səwun-ɾi
statue-PL
statues

From the cases (2d) and (3c), we see that-*ɾin* (common form) is neutral and can be used after all nouns that may appear in plural form except the cases relating to faith, while *-ɾi* (religious form) is seldom seen and only used in nouns related to deities or in oblations.

When there are numerals or quantifiers before the plural forms of nouns, the plural affix is dropped.

Numerals:

(5) ilan xitə (*-ɾin)
three child
three children

(6) ilan mɔkɔta(* -səɾ)
three patriarch
three patriarchs

Quantifiers:

(7) adi xitə(*-ɾin)
several child
several children

(8) malxun xitə (*-ɾin)
many child
many children

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There are no numerals or quantifiers before deity nouns, so the rule that the plural affix drops does not apply, as shown in (9a-b;10a-b)

(9a) *ilan mafa-ɾi
three ancestor-PL
three ancestors
(9b) *ilan mafa
three ancestor
three ancestors
(10a)*adi mafa-ɾi
several ancestor-PL
several ancestors
(10b)*adi mafa
several ancestor
several ancestors

However, words denoting oblations may be modified by numerals and quantifiers, in which case they drop the plural affix *-ɾi* (religious form), as shown in (11-12).

(11) ilan səwun(*-ɾi)
three statue
three statues
(12) adi səwun(*-ɾi)
three statue
three statues

5.1.1.2 Case

The case system in Kilen is defined as having eight cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Locative, Prolative, Ablative and Instrumental. Among them apart from the Nominative, which is zero marked, and Ablative and Instrumental, with a single marker, all the cases have two allomorphs. This dual system relates to the stem-final consonants, as mentioned above (5.1 Lexical nouns). Based on the difference among the phonemes at the end of words, Kilen vocabulary is classified into the two classes, "VF" and "NF", and the allomorphs of the case suffixes correspond with this classification, as shown in Table 5.1.

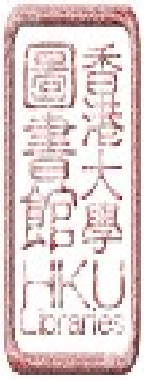

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Table 5.1 Case Suffixes

Case	Vowel-final(VF)	*-n* final(NF)
NOM	*Ø*	*Ø*
ACC	*-wə*	*-mə*
GEN	*-ji*	*-i*
DAT	*-də*	*-du*
LOC	*-lə*	*-dulə*
PROL	*-li*	*-duli*
ABL	*-tigi*	*-tigi*
INSTR	*-dzi*	*-dzi*

Practical instances are as follows:

(13) *xaʂi* 'warehouse'(VF)　　（14）*jafuxən* 'garden'(NF)

NOM	*xaʂi-Ø*	*jafuxən-Ø*
ACC	*xaʂi -wə*	*jafuxən-mə*
GEN	*xaʂi –ji*	*Jafuxən-i*
DAT	*xaʂi -də*	*jafuxən-du*
LOC	*xaʂi -lə*	*jafuxən-dulə*
PROL	*xaʂi –li*	*jafuxən-duli*
ABL	*xaʂi –tigi*	*jafuxən-tigi*
INSTR	*xaʂi -dzi*	*jafuxən-dzi*

Colloquial Kilen doesn't necessarily differentiate "VF" and "NF" strictly and there are many mixed uses. As a rule, "VF" suffixes occur more often and are often substituted for "NF" suffixes, as shown below in (15)

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（15）*fatirən* ‘wall’(NF)

NOM	*fatirən-Ø*
ACC	*fatirən -wə*
GEN	*fatirən –ji*
DAT	*fatirən -də*
LOC	*fatirən -lə*
PROL	*fatirən –li*
ABL	*fatirən –tigi*
INSTR	*fatirən -dʑi*

Nevertheless, when the final vowels of VF nouns are not the open vowels *a* and *ɔ*, the phenomenon of adding *-n* to word ending often occurs and the phenomenon of “NF” nominative affixes further becomes applicable:

（16）*ɕinkələ* ‘cave’

NOM	*ɕinkələ-Ø*
ACC	*ɕinkələ-n-mə*
GEN	*ɕinkələ-n-i*
DAT	*ɕinkələ-n-du*
LOC	*ɕinkələ-n-dulə*
PROL	*ɕinkələ-n-duli*
ABL	*ɕinkələ-tigi*
INSTR	*ɕinkələ-dʑi*

（17） *təji* ‘forest’

NOM	*təji-Ø*
ACC	*təji-n-mə*
GEN	*təji-n-i*
DAT	*təji-n-du*
LOC	*təji-n-dulə*
PROL	*təji-n-duli*
ABL	*təji-tigi*
INSTR	*təji-dʑi*

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As locative and prolative are similar semantically in Kilen and they both mean "having undergone "and "by means of ", the locative is often substituted for the prolative in use:

(18a) mərkən təji-li pukətənə-mi pi-rən
hero forest-PROL run-CONV Cop-PROSP
The hero is running across the forest.
(Lit.I)

(18b) mərkən təji-lə pukətənə-mi pi-rən
hero forest-LOC run-CONV Cop-PROSP
The hero is running across the forest.
(consul.)

5.1.1.3 Possession

Possessive suffixes are added to the possessed nouns in Kilen. Kilen nouns distinguish: first person, second person and third person possessors. First and second person possessive markers refer to the person and number of the possessor, as shown in Table 5.2

Table 5.2 Possessive suffixes

Person	Number	Suffix
1st	*Singular*	*-mi (VF)/-i (NF)*
	Plural	*-mu*
2nd	*Singular*	*-ɕi*
	Plural	*-su*
3rd	/	*-ni*

All possessive markers have one form except 1SG which has two forms, applying to VF and NF stems respectively. The third person possessive suffix does not differentiate between singular and plural, as shown in (19-20) below.

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(19) fila (VF)plate

1st	Singular	fila -mi	my plate
	Plural	fila –mu	our plate
2nd	Singular	fila -ɕi	your(SG) plate
	Plural	fila -su	your(PL) plate
3rd	/	fila -ni	his/her/their plate

(20)wan (NF) 'ladder'

1st	Singular	wan-i	my ladder
	Plural	wan-mu	our ladder
2nd	Singular	wan-ɕi	your(SG) ladder
	Plural	wan-su	your(PL) ladder
3rd	/	wan-ni	his/her/their ladder

Between the two first person suffixes, '*-mi'* which connects to VF roots is used more often and may usually be substituted for '*-i* '. In the process of substitution, the"*-n*" at the end of NF words is removed.

(21) *wan* (NF) 'ladder'

1st	*Singular*	*wa-mi*
	Plural	*wan-mu*
2nd	*Singular*	*wan-ɕi*
	Plural	*wan-su*
3rd	*/*	*wan-ni*

The plural possessive suffixes in Kilen are not often used in daily life. As possessive forms are usually used in the subjects relating to "people", when many persons share the same object, "this group of persons" will have a certain social relationship. Under this circumstance, Kilen will often treat them as a whole, so the singular form of possession is often used as a substitute, as shown in (22b) which can be substituted for the plural form (22a).

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(22a) bəti-ji ama-mu
1PL-GEN father-1PL
our father
(22b) bəti-ji ama-mi
1PL-GEN father-1SG
our father

As in the cases (22a) and (22b), the possessive concepts in Kilen are usually expressed by means of double-marking (in the sense of Nichols, 1986). However, omissions often occur in daily use:

A. Complete omission

(22c) bəti ama
1PL father
our father

B. Partial omission

(22d) bəti ama-mi (head marking)
1PL father-1SG
our father

(22e) bəti-ji ama (dependent marking)
1PL-GEN father
our father

5.1.1.4 About suffixation of Noun inflection

In the process of adding affixes to noun inflections, if a case or possessive suffix is added to a noun with plural affix, the affix to express number may be omitted.

(23a) Fuləxun-i xitə-ɾin-wə
Fuləxun-GEN child-PL-ACC
Fuləxun's children
(23b) Fuləxun-i xitə-wə
Fuləxun-GEN child-ACC
Fuləxun's children

In the process of adding affixes, the selection of affixes is determined by the ending phoneme of the stem, and will not be based on the original noun to which the affixes are added, as shown in (24a-b).

(24a) *xitə(VF)-ɾin(NF)-mə(for NF)-ni
child-PL-ACC-3PL
children

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(24b) xitə(VF)-ɾin(NF)-wə(for VF)-ni
child-PL-ACC-3PL
children

5.2 Pronouns

Kilen pronouns include five types: Personal, Possessive, Reflexive, Demonstrative and Interrogative. Morphologically, Kilen pronouns have the following morphologically marked categories: Case and Possession.

5.2.1 Personal pronouns

There are three persons in the personal pronouns of Kilen. The persons clearly show the singular /plural distinction inflectionally, as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Citation forms of personal pronouns

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">1st person</td><td>2nd person</td><td colspan="2">3rd person</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Singular</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">bi ‘I’</td><td rowspan="2">ɕi ‘you’</td><td>Proximal</td><td>Distal</td></tr>
<tr><td>niani ‘/‘he/she/it’ ’</td><td>ti /‘he/she/it’ ‘’</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Plural</td><td>Exclusive</td><td>Inclusive</td><td rowspan="2">su ‘you’</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">ti-kuɾuŋ /ti‘they’</td></tr>
<tr><td>bu /munu ‘we’</td><td>bəti‘we’</td></tr>
</table>

According to Horst 2005, clusivity is a distinction between *inclusive* and *exclusive* first-person pronouns, also called *inclusive "we"* and *exclusive "we"*. Inclusive "we" specifically includes the addressee (that is, one of the words for "we" means "you and I"), while exclusive "we" specifically excludes the addressee (that is, another word for "we" means "he/she and I, but not you"), regardless of who else may be involved. But Kilen first person pronouns show a different pattern, in which the exclusive forms exclude the speaker himself.

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In Table 5.3, the first person plural pronoun has the two forms of "exclusion" and "inclusion", which respectively express specific meanings, but this is not the common distinction between inclusive (1+2) and exclusive (1+3). *Bu* and *munu* are exclusive forms and their meaning lies in that the *speaker* is not a participant of the business or action expressed in the sentence. For example:

(25a) bu saman mədələ-mi ənə-jə.
1PL.EXCL wizard ask-INF go-IMP.
Let us (except me) go to ask the wizard.

(25b) munu saman mədələ-mi ənə-jə.
1PL.EXCL wizard ask-INF go-IMP.
Let us (except me) go to ask the wizard.

munu makes reference to kinship. As shown in (25b), "we" refers to those who of the two exclusive forms, are related to speaker by kinship. But *bu* indicates a group of people who do not need to be related in any way, again the excluding the speaker.

By contrast, the inclusive form *bəti* shows that the speaker is a participant of the action or business expressed in the sentence.

(25c) bəti saman mədələ-mi ənə-jə.
1PL.INCL wizard ask-INF go-IMP.
Let us go to ask the wizard.

The plural quantity that *bəti* usually expresses is "dual", that is, including only the speaker and the addressee. Cases involving a quantity more than two have not yet been found in the collected materials, while *bu /munu* do not have quantity restrictions. When people express the inclusive form for a quantity more than "two", *su bi* "you and me" are used, for example:

(26) su bi imaxa-waxtɕi-mi ənə-jə.
2PL 1SG.nom fish-catch-INF go-IMP
We go fishing together.

However, in daily use, *bəti* does not simply express the concept of "two"; we often see *bəti* used interchangeably with *su bi* "you and me".

5.2.1.1 Third Person Reference

As shown in Table 5.3, there are two forms of third person singular pronoun: *Niani* and ti. The difference between them is that only *niani* makes reference to kinship: it

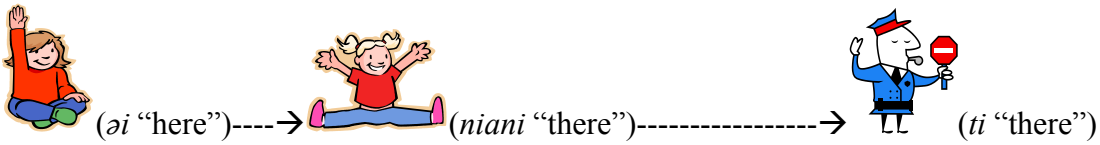
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refers to someone related to the speaker. *ti* is the same form as singular demonstrative pronoun "that". It can also be used for third person plural reference. *Kuɾuŋ* means "people/family/clan", and therefore *tikuɾuŋ* literally means "that family" which denotes "they" in the concept of Hezhen.

Niani sometimes alternates with *ti* as a demonstrative pronoun referring to a distant place. *Ti* expresses the concept of referring to a thing in more distant place in the category of demonstrative pronoun, namely "that one/ the one (human or thing) over there " as in "here" and "there".

Based on Hezhen cognition, Kilen expresses a spatial concept in an interesting way. There are two kinds of 'away' places (there). As we mentioned above, *ti* expresses the meaning of "the one over there". The "there "here involves the meaning of " really far away from HERE", and *niani* expresses the meaning of " the one over there" (not really far away from the speaker), as shown in Axis 1.

Axis 1 deictic cognation



In fact, the phenomenon exactly explains that in the traditional cognitive concept of Kilen people, "here" is a conceptual space that only includes the first person and second person, while the third person is a concept that exists "there".

5.2.1.2 Case inflection of personal pronouns

General declensions of Kilen personal pronouns are same as for Nouns. The only difference is that the Dative affix of personal pronouns is only –du, while the form -də doesn't exist, as shown in Table 5.4 and 5.5.

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Table 5.4 Declension of Person pronouns (singular)

	1st	2nd	3rd
NOM	bi- 0	ɕi-0	niani/ti -0
ACC	mi-mə/minɔ-wə	ɕi-wə	niani/ti -wə
GEN	min-i	ɕin-i	niani/ti -i
DAT	min-du	ɕin-du	niani/ti -du
LOC	min-dulə	ɕin-dulə	niani/ti -dulə
PROL	min-duli	ɕin-duli	niani/ti -duli
ABL	min-tiki	ɕin-tiki	niani/ti -tiki
INSTR	min-dʑi	ɕin-dʑi	niani/ti -dʑi

Table 5.5 Declension of Personal pronouns (plural)

	1st		2nd	3rd
NOM	bu -0	bəti -0	su -0	tikuɾuŋ -0
ACC	munu-wə	bəti-wə	su-mə/sunu-wə	tikuɾuŋ-wə
GEN	munu-i	bəti-i	sunu-i	tikuɾuŋ-i
DAT	munu-du	bəti-du	sunu-du	tikuɾuŋ-du
LOC	munu-dulə	bəti-dulə	sunu-dulə	tikuɾuŋ-dulə
PROL	munu-duli	bəti-duli	sunu-duli	tikuɾuŋ-duli
ABL	munu –tiki	bəti-tiki	sunu-tiki	tikuɾuŋ-tiki
INSTR	munu-dʑi	bəti-dʑi	sunu-dʑi	tikuɾuŋ-dʑi

We can find from Table 5.4 and 5.5 that the accusative case of the first person singular and the second person plural each have two forms. As shown in Table 5.5, the pronouns have suppletive forms: *bu* only exists in the form of nominative, and it appears as *munu* when there is a morphological change, while *munu* never exists in the nominative form. Similarly, *su* "you (pl)" appears as the stem *sunu* when there is a morphological change. These suppletive pronominal forms are characteristic of the Altaic languages as a group (Georg et al, 1999).

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5.2.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns of Kilen are generated from personal pronouns through derivation, and the derivational affixes are *-əŋkə*(-n final stem) and *-nəŋkə* (Vowel final stem). The first person PL still has exclusive and inclusive forms; the singular third person also has the two forms *niani/ti*, as shown in table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Citation forms of Possessive pronouns

	1st		2nd	3rd
Singular	min-əŋkə		ɕi-nəŋkə	niani/ti -nəŋkə
Plural	Exclusive	Inclusive	su -nəŋkə	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə
	mu-nəŋkə	bəti -nəŋkə		

The following examples illustrate the contrast between inclusive and exclusive first person plural possession, as shown in (27-28)

.(27) əi wumətɕən mu-nəŋkə.
This canoe 1PL-POSS
This is canoe is ours. (The canoe should belong to our family, and the speaker is not the exact owner or the user.)
(Lit.T)

(28) əi wumətɕən bəti -nəŋkə.
This canoe 1PL-POSS
This canoe is ours. (The speaker is the owner or the user of this canoe)
(consul.)

Apart from Possessive forms, a Possessive pronoun cannot modify the noun, as shown in (27) and (28) where the pronouns are used predicatively.

5.2.2.1 Case inflection

Possessive pronouns may also have case inflections. The rule is the same as that for nouns and personal pronouns, as shown in Table 5.7 and 5.8.

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Table 5.7 Declension of Possessive pronouns (singular)

	1st	2nd	3rd
NOM	min-əŋkə	ɕi-nəŋkə	niani/ti-nəŋkə
ACC	min-əŋkə-ɯə	ɕi-nəŋkə-ɯə	niani/ti-nəŋkə -ɯə
GEN	min-əŋkə-i	ɕi-nəŋkə-i	niani/ti-nəŋkə-i
DAT	min-əŋkə-du	ɕi-nəŋkə-du	niani/ti-nəŋkə-du
LOC	min-əŋkə-dulə	ɕi-nəŋkə-dulə	niani/ti-nəŋkə-dulə
PROL	min-əŋkə-duli	ɕi-nəŋkə-duli	niani/ti-nəŋkə-duli
ABL	min-əŋkə-tiki	ɕi-nəŋkə-tiki	niani/ti-nəŋkə-tiki
INSTR	min-əŋkə-dʑi	ɕi-nəŋkə-dʑi	niani/ti-nəŋkə-dʑi

Table 5.8 Declension of Possessive pronouns (plural)

	1st		2nd	3rd
NOM	mu-nəŋkə	bəti -nəŋkə	su -nəŋkə	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə
ACC	mu-nəŋkə -ɯə	bəti -nəŋkə -ɯə	su -nəŋkə -ɯə	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -ɯə
GEN	mu-nəŋkə -i	bəti -nəŋkə -i	su -nəŋkə -i	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -i
DAT	mu-nəŋkə -du	bəti -nəŋkə -du	su -nəŋkə -du	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -du
LOC	mu-nəŋkə -dulə	bəti -nəŋkə -dulə	su -nəŋkə -dulə	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -dulə
PROL	mu-nəŋkə -duli	bəti -nəŋkə -duli	su -nəŋkə -duli	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -duli
ABL	mu-nəŋkə -tiki	bəti -nəŋkə -tiki	su -nəŋkə -tiki	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -tiki
INSTR	mu-nəŋkə -dʑi	bəti -nəŋkə -dʑi	su -nəŋkə -dʑi	tikuɾuŋ -əŋkə -dʑi

5.2.2.2 Possessive forms

Possessive pronouns also have possessive forms, whose suffix systems are the same as for nouns and personal pronouns; however, the possessive forms of possessive pronouns only exist in noun phrases where the head noun is omitted, for example:

(29a) su mu-nəŋkə-ɯə-mu duɾi-xai.
2PL 1PL-POSS-ACC-PL grab-PERF
You grabbed ours (fishing net).

(Lit.I)

In daily spoken language, this kind of possessive form is often omitted and only possessive pronouns are used to express the same meaning.

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(29b) su mu-nəŋkə-ɯə duɾi-xai.
2SG 1PL-POSS-ACC grab-PERF
You grabbed ours (fishing net).

(consul.)

5.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

There are two reflexive pronouns in Kilen, often used with nouns or personal pronouns. The form *mənə* used with personal pronouns means "oneself", for example:

(30) niani mənə xaxa xit'ə-ni paldi-xəi.
3SG herself male.son-3SG give birth-PERF
She gave birth by herself (without other's help).

(Lit.T)

pəi is used with concrete nouns usually used in sentences discussing the intrinsic characteristics of the things, and it means "proper"; it has the same meaning as mənə, but it can only be used of animals (or food derived from animals). For example:

(31) əi puta pəi əxələ.
this food itself bad
this food itself is bad.

(Lit.S)

In an imperative sentence, a reflexive pronoun can be used independently without a personal pronoun. However, in fact, the independent use is due to the omission of personal pronoun. For example:

(32) mənə ənə-jə-ɾɔ.
Yourself go-IMP-PRT
Go by yourself.

(consul.)

(33) pəi ti-ɯə imnuɾə-qunə.
self(bear evil) he-ACC swallow-IMP
Swallow him.

(Lit.I)

5.2.3.1 Case inflection

The reflexive pronoun inflects for case and possession. The rule is the same as for other pronouns: the selection of the affix depends on the noun or personal pronoun, which is the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun. However, a reflexive pronoun generally appears in the nominative, as in (32-33); other forms are rarely seen.

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When concept of "possession" is involved, a reflexive pronoun can take the derivational affix *-nəŋkə*, which has the same form with possessive pronoun, and form a reflexive possessive pronoun. This case is mostly used in daily spoken language; the pronoun is used together with the possessive form of reflexive pronoun. For example:

(34a) ɕi **mənə-nəŋkə** puta-i tɕifə-ɾɔ.
You yourself-POSS meal-GEN eat-OPT
Eat your own meat.
(Lit.S.)

(34b) ɕi **mənə- ɕi** puta-i tɕifə-ɾɔ.
You yourself-2SG meal-GEN eat-OPT
Eat the meal of yourself.
(consul.)

5.2.4 Demonstrative pronoun

According to the division of the Hezhen ethnic group, logical space can be divided into the two cases of "referring to close/ here" and "referring to away/ there". We classify logical space according to the semantic meaning, as shown in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Demonstrative Pronouns

		Proximal	Distal
For Physical objects		əi	ti
For Location	Logical Close	ətu	tatu
	Logical Away	ələ	talə

We have mentioned before that "ti" is the same as the common use form of third personal singular pronoun "he/she/it", and it also refers to "away/there". The division of logical space comes from Kilen understanding of space (see details in 5.2.1.1).

In Kilen cognition, the "close/ here" region is constituted by two parties in the "one to one" and "one to many" logical conversation within the region, and in the region, the demonstrative pronoun used is naturally "referring to close/here". For example, in a conversation, A is the father of B, C is a friend of B, the three people are having a

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conversation; while B introduces A to C in their conversation, B will use, as shown in (35a).

(35a) əi ama-mi.
this father-1SG.POSS.
This is my father.

(An, 1985)

In the same condition, the distances between people are completely equal, while A does not participate in the conversation, and then A becomes the "away/there" place of the "region" in the conversation between B and C; when B introduces A to C, B will use, as shown in (35b).

(35b) ti ama-mi.
that father-1·POSS.
That is my father.

(An, 1985)

Accordingly, when we refer to a thing or a place, there are always concepts that haven't been delimited in logical space in the previous discourse; in the reference afterwards, the concepts will appear in the form of "close/ here" and the rest will be treated as "away/there".

We can see from Table 10 that there are two kinds of demonstrative pronouns to refer to a place, no matter close or away, and their difference lies in the logical distance between the thing referred to and the reference point. When the logical distance is close, *ətu/tatu* is used; while if the logical distance is far away, *ələ/talə* is used, as shown in (36a-b;37a-b).

(36a) ɕi ətu matɕi t'əinə ɾɔ.
2SG here(close) for a while rest PRT
You may rest here for a while.

(Lit.I)

(36b) ɕi ələ matɕi t'əinə ɾɔ.
2SG here (away) for a while rest PRT
You may rest here for a while.

(consul.)

(37a) tatu əmə piɾa pi-ɾən.
there(close) one river be-PROSP
There is a river there.

(Lit.T)

(37b) talə əmə piɾa pi-ɾən.
there(away) one river be-PROSP
There is a river there.

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(consul.)

Demonstrative pronouns do not have plural forms of their own. When plurality is relevant, one strategy is to combine with the cardinal numeral of the specific numerical value, and the other is to combine the demonstrative with adjectives such as *adi* 'some/several' which express quantity concepts. For example:

(38) əi ilan pit'xə minəŋkə.
this three book mine
These three books are mine.

(consul.)

(39) əi adi pit'xə minəŋkə.
this several book mine
These books are mine.

(consul.)

Demonstrative pronouns may take morphological inflections following the case and possession rules of third person plural; however, such morphological inflections seldom happen and they generally appear where demonstrative pronouns serve as arguments or adjuncts independently, as in (39a). In daily use, a demonstrative pronoun can be used directly without change, as in (39b).

(39a) ɕi ələ-ɯə əmərki ɾɔ.
You here(close)-ACC back PRT
You should come back here. / come here (proximal)

(consul.)

(39b) ɕi ələ əmərki ɾɔ.
you here(close) back PRT
You should come back here./come here (distal)

(consul.)

Demonstrative pronouns have an anaphoric character. They can be used directly to refer back to any concept mentioned in the text before and are not subject to the restrictions of the text before in use.

On the contrary, other "Pro-forms" which are based on the demonstrative pronouns əi/ti and formed by compounding with other words are restrictive, and these words must be anaphoric to nouns in the text before. For example:

(40) min-i ama-mi puda əik'ətɕi tɕifə pi-ɾən
1SG-GEN father-1SG meal this way eat be-PROSP
My father likes to eat meals this way.

(You & fu 1987)

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The adverb *əikətɕi* is used anaphorically, as mentioned in (15) above of this chapter: the manner of eating it refers to must have been mentioned in the preceding discussion about dietary habits in the original dialogue.

5.2.5 Interrogative pronouns

There are altogether nine commonly seen interrogative pronouns in Kilen, which are shown in Table 5.10:

Table 5.10 Interrogative Pronouns

Who	ni
What	ia
Which	ɔɕi
Where	iatu
When	iaɾin
How	ɔməɕi
How many	uki
How many	ati
Why	ɔŋnəmi

Of the two interrogative pronouns used for quantity interrogation, *uki* can be understood as asking about an unknown quantity; while *ati* is about an uncertain known quantity and the quantity is within 10.

Interrogative pronouns may be inflected for case and possession, and their inflections are the same as that of personal pronouns.

In Kilen, indefinite pronouns are identical to interrogative pronouns. The inflections of indefinite pronouns are also the same as those of interrogative pronouns. For example:

(41) niani ia-ɯə ti-du gadʑi-mi pi-ɾən.
he what-ACC you-DAT bring-INF Cop-PROSP
He brought something for you.

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(consul.)

(42) iatu-tiki xɔɾkitɔ dəgdə-xəi.
where-ABL god for women fly-PERF
Women gods came flying from somewhere.
(Lit.S)

5.3 Adjectives

Lexical adjectives are words that can undergo inflectional changes in degree weakening forms: they take the suffixes *-kən/-qən* (for VF) and *–kun/-qun* (for NF) with degree weakening meanings, which are attached to the lexical adjective stems.

Syntactically, lexical adjectives function as adjectival modifiers in adjectival NPs (see details in 5.5.2), and may sometimes behave as heads of Headless adjectival NPs (as shown in 5.5.4).

5.3.1 Types of adjectives in Kilen

According to their internal structure, I classify Kilen adjectives into non-derived and derived adjectives. Non-derived adjectives are monosyllabic or disyllabic:

səɾgun, 'cool',
əɾdə, 'early'
niɾə, 'weak',
sagdi, 'big'

Non-derived adjectives take suffixes *-kən/-qən* (for VF) and *–kun/-qun* (for NF) with degree weakening meaning, and reduplicate the first syllable of a word to show the degree strengthening meaning[17].

(43) sagdi-qən xaɾku
big-WEAKENING carp
relatively big carp

(44) sub surə xitə
REDU-clever boy
Very clever boy

(45) taq taq dʑɔlu
hard hard stone
very hard stone

(46) sab sagdi-qən imaxa

[17] We need to add a consonant *b* to the end of the first syllable, when it is an open syllable, as shown in (44).

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REDU big-WEAKENING fish
Biggest fish

Mostly, derived adjectives are derived from nouns, usually by the conversion suffix –*lki/-ŋki*, and composed of three or more syllables:

(47) ilga-lki
flower-CS (conversion suffix)
flowery

(48) buɾiŋgi-lki
dust-CS
muddy

(49) iuxan-ŋki
cotton-CS
cottony

Derived adjectives are not gradable. In order to express degree, they need to be modified by degree adverbs, as shown in (50).

(50) Bi ti əm tɕikin **amətə-ŋki** imaxa-mə .
me that one extremely **tasty** fish-ACC
dʐəfu-jə
eat-IMP-1SG
Let me eat the tastiest fish.
(consul.)

5.4 Numerals

The counting system of Kilen is a decimal system that can easily be understood with modern mathematical concepts. According to the specific word meanings and morphological characteristics, the numerals in Kilen can be divided into six categories: cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, collective numerals, distributive numerals, approximate numerals and fractions.

5.4.1 Cardinal Numeral

Based on the interior structure of the terms, the cardinal numerals of Kilen can be divided into two classes: pure cardinal numerals and compound cardinal numerals.

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5.4.1.1 Pure Cardinal Numerals

The cardinal system of Kilen is an existence quantity system, and the logical null quantity, 0, does not exist.

1 əmkən	7 natan	30 kɔɛin
2 dʐuru	8 dʑakɔn	40 təxi
3 ilan	9 ɯuyn	50 susai
4 tuin	10 dʑuan	100 taun
5 sundʑa	15 tɔpkɔn	1000 miŋa
6 niuŋ	20 ɔɾin	10000 tumən

5.4.1.2 Compound Cardinal Numeral

Compound cardinal numerals are formed of pure cardinal numerals based on certain counting rules. The counting rules of Kilen compound cardinal numeral are incremental, including adding and multiplying the two conditions, as shown in (51-52).

(51) Adding, the condition is as follows:

11＝ 10＋1 dʑuan əməkən
17＝ 10＋7 dʑuan natan
23＝ 20＋3 ɔɾin ilan
25＝ 20＋5 ɔɾin sundʑa
32＝ 30＋2 kɔɛin dʐuru
45＝ 40＋5 təxi sundʑa
155＝ 100＋50＋5 əmə [18] tauŋ susai sundʑa

(52) Multiplying, the general condition is as follows:

200 = 2*100 dʐu tauŋ
500 =5*100 sundʑa tauŋ
1000 =1*1000 əm miŋa
4000 =4*1000 tuin miŋa
20000 =2*10000 dʐu tumən
90000 =9*10000 ɯuyn tumən

[18] When forming a compound cardinal number greater than 10, *əməkən* is simplified to *əm/əmə*, and *dʐuɾu* is simplified to *dʐu*.

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The constitution of the numbers 60, 70, 80, 90 is in fact the results of 6, 7, 8, 9 multiplied by 10, but in the process of forming the numbers, the final syllable "*an*" of *dʑuan* 10 falls off, therefore the results become

60 niuŋ dʑu (< niuŋ dʑuan)
70 natan dʑu
80 dʑak'ɔŋ dʑu
90 ɯuyn dʑu

5.4.1.3 Numeral formation

The numeral formation system of Kilen is very similar to Chinese, and it involves simple adding and accumulation. For example:

27494 dʐu tumən natan miŋa tuin taun uyn dʑu

(兩萬七千四百九十四)

159163 tɔpkɔn tumən ɯuyn miŋa əmə taun niun dʑu ilan

(十五萬九千一百六十三)

5.4.1.4 Dates

The cardinal numerals of Kilen can be used to express dates. When used to express the month, the general pattern is to use the cardinal numeral plus *pia* 'moon/month':

February	dʐu pia (二月)
March	ilan pia (三月)
April	tuin pia (四月)
May	sundʑa pia (五月)
June	niun pia (六月)
July	natan pia(七月)
August	dʑakɔn pia (八月)
September	uyn pia (九月)
October	dʑuan pia (十月)

In these expressions, the use of *pia* 'moon/month' is clearly calqued on the Chinese use of 月 (yue4, moon/month).

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To express January, November and December, the three proper nouns *ani pia, ɔmʂɔn pia, dʐɔrqɔn pia* are used[19].

The cardinal numerals can be used to express the dates of a month; however, to express the first ten days of each month, *idʒə* is added before a cardinal numeral. The meaning of the word is 'initial' or 'front' '初' in chinese. The expression form is very similar to the concepts of "lunar first day" "lunar tenth day" in Chinese, as shown below.

Lunar first day	idʒə əmkən	(初一)
Lunar second day	idʒə dʐuru	(初二)
Lunar third day	idʒə ilan	(初三)
Lunar fourth day	idʒə dujin	(初四)
Lunar fifth day	idʒə sundʑa	(初五)
Lunar sixth day	idʒə niuŋ	(初六)
Lunar seventh day	idʒə natan	(初七)
Lunar eighth day	idʒə dʑak'ɔŋ	(初八)
Lunar ninth day	idʒə ɯuyn	(初九)
Lunar tenth day	idʒə dʑu	(初十)

When Kilen express the "lunar tenth day", the final syllable *an* in *dzuan* still falls off.

5.4.2 Ordinal Numeral

Adding the suffix *–tin* to the end of a cardinal numeral constitutes the expression of the ordinal numerals in Kilen. For example:

ila-tin	'third'
duji-tin	'fourth'
sundʑa-tin	'fifth'
niu-tin	'sixth'
nata-tin	'seventh'
dʑak'ɔ-tin	'eighth

In the process of adding the suffixes, we can see when adding a suffix to a stem ending with consonant *n*, the consonant at the end is dropped.

[19] These are the same as the same terms used in Manchu.

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For expressing ‘first’, there exist two methods in Kilen. One is adding *-tin* to constitute *əmkə-tin*, which can be used in large quantity ordinal numerals, for example *uyn dʑu əməkə —t’in* ‘91st’ . Another expression for ‘first’ is *pɔŋkɔqi*, which can only be used independently but cannot be linked to other numbers; it also has the meaning of “champion”. In addition, when forming the ordinal numeral ‘Second’, the syllable *-ɾu* in *dʑuɾu* ‘two’ is dropped to form *dʑu-tin.*

5.4.3 Collective Numerals

The collective numeral is a quantity aggregation formed by regarding a certain quantity as a whole. The constitution of collective numerals of Kilen is very simple, just adding the suffix “*-məli*” to the cardinal numeral of the relevant quantity. But the use of collective numeral is limited to cases where “people” are involved, for example:

(53a) tikuɾun-i axandu dʑu-məli
they-nom brothers two-COLL
Two of the brothers.
(53b) *mɔɾin dʑu-məli
horse two-COLL
Two horses

In addition, collective numerals usually appear with even number numerals, while odd numbers are very rare. The cardinal numeral parts are often omitted in daily use and the suffix *-məli* is added directly to the head noun, as shown in (54).

(54) tikuɾuŋ-i axandu-məli
they-nom brothers-COLL
Two of the brothers.

When a number larger than 2 is used, the cardinal numerals are not be omitted, otherwise it can give rise to different meanings.

5.4.4 Distributive numerals

There exists a kind of distributive numeral in Kilen that is formed by repeating cardinal numerals under 10 to mean “each several of”. For example:

(55)

dʑuɾu-dʑuɾu ‘two each’
dʑak’ɔŋ-dʑak’ɔŋ ‘eight each’

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5.4.5 Approximate Number

When expressing some uncertain number, Kilen expresses the meaning by adding the approximate number affix *-kəɕiə* to the end of a cardinal numeral, for example:

(56)

ɔɾin-k'əɕiə about twenty
əmtauŋ-k'əɕiə about a hundred

5.4.6 Fraction

Fractions are expressed using a phrase based on Chinese phrase structure. There are three forms of expressions:

(A) The denominator is formed by cardinal numeral plus the genitive case of "numeral + ɔpu, 'part' "; numerator is formed by cardinal numeral plus the nominative case of " numeral + ɔpu, 'part'". The denominator precedes the numerator, for example:

(57a) natan ɔpu-i tuin ɔpu
seven part-GEN four part
four seventh

(58a) ɯuyn ɔpu-i dʑak'ɔŋ ɔpu
nine part-GEN eight part
eight ninth

(B) The denominator is formed by cardinal numeral plus the possessive case of " ɔpu 'portion'"; numerator is formed by cardinal numeral plus the third person possession form of " ɔpu 'portion'". The denominator precedes the numerator, for example:

(57b) natan ɔpu-i tuin ɔpu-ni
seven part-GEN four part-3rd POSS
four seventh

(58b) ɯuyn ɔpu-i dʑak'ɔŋ ɔpu-ni
nine part-GEN eight part-3rd POSS
eight ninth

Note that (A) and (B) show the structure of Chinese with Kilen morphology which shows different pattern of agreement marking: dependent marking as illustrated in (57a;58a), and double marking as shown in (57b;58b).

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(C) The third condition is constituted on the basis of the first fraction form with the possessive case form of "dulia 'middle'" plus the participle form of the auxiliary "bi-, there be", for example:

(57c)	natan ɔpu-i	dulia-ni	tuin	ɔpu	bi-ɾən	
	seven part-GEN	middle-3SG	four	part	there be	
	four seventh					
(58c)	ɯuyn ɔpu-i	dulia-ni		dʑak'ɔŋ	ɔpu	bi-ɾən
	nine part-GEN	middle-3SG		eight	part	there be
	eight ninth					

Comment: 'middle' here is used to mean 'among', like the Chinese word '中'.

5.5 Noun phrases

Noun phrases in Kilen contain a head noun with an optional modifiers. In Kilen, lexical nouns and pronouns (personal pronouns, possessive pronouns) can function as nominal heads. The following lexical classes can function as modifiers: Pronouns (personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns), numerals, adjectives .

The head of the noun phrase comes in the final position. Generally speaking, Kilen has a fixed word order within the noun phrase:

Noun phrase = modifier + head (case suffixes)

5.5.1 Possessive NPs

Generally speaking, possessive suffixation shows the relationship of the modifier and head. As shown in (22a) and (22b), in traditional formal style, both possessor and possessed noun have corresponding markers expressing possessive concepts.

The syntactic role of a phrase can be realized by marking the head with suffixes, which are attached before possessive markers. Generally, the structure of Possessive NPs is as follows:

Possessor (case-suffix) + Possessed noun (Case suffixes) (possessive suffixes)

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(59a) min-i aŋku-mi
1SG cave-1SG
my cave
(57b) min-i aŋku-də-mi
1SG cave-DAT-1SG
in my cave
(59c) min-i aŋku-dʑi-mi
1SG cave-INSTR-1SG
with my cave

As stated in (1.1.1.3: 22c-22e), in daily use, suffixes can be omitted selectively. When possessive NPs appear in nominative forms, even all suffixes may be omitted.

However, when possessive NPs appear in other syntactic roles, the suffixes expressing possession can be omitted while the suffixes expressing syntactic roles cannot be omitted, as shown in (60a-c).

(60a) bi niani-ji dʑɔ-dulə-ni ənə-mi
1SG 3SG-GEN house-LOC-3SG go-INF
pi-ɾən.
Cop-PROSP
I will go to his house.
(Lit.S)

(60b) bi niani dʑɔ-dulə ənə-mi pi-ɾən.
1SG 3SG house-LOC go-INF Cop-PROSP
I go to his house.
(consul.)

(60c) *bi niani dʑɔ ənə-mi pi-ɾən.
1SG 3SG house go-INF Cop-PROSP
I go to his house.
(consul.)

5.5.1.1 Possessive NPs with Multi-Layer Possessors

In Kilen, there is a kind of possessive NP that includes more than one layer of possession, as shown in (61).

(61) min-i əniə-mi mama-ni isalə-ni
1SG-GEN mother-1SG nanny-3SG eye-3SG
the eyes of my mother's nanny.
(consul.)

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Usually, the multi-layer structure is limited to three levels in Kilen as shown in (61). The marking method for expressing possession takes the first layer of the possessive chain as the base point:

(61a)

[min-i əniə-mi]
1SG-GEN mother-1SG
my mother

(61b)
[[min-i əniə-mi] mama-ni]
1SG-GEN mother-1SG nanny-3SG
my mother's nanny

(61c)
[[[min-i əniə-mi] mama-ni]] isalə-ni]]]
1SG-GEN mother-1SG nanny-3SG eye-3SG
the eyes of my mother's nanny

5.5.1.2 Number agreement of Possessive NPs

Generally speaking, the number agreement of possessive NPs is determined by the possessor, as shown in (61a) above where the first person possessor triggers first person singular agreement on the head noun.

However, in the daily use of Kilen, people in fact often do not define number agreement strictly. Nouns often appear in singular forms or appear with no possessive markers added.

5.5.2 Adjectival NPs

As the term suggests, the modifiers of adjectival NPs are usually the words or structures expressing attributive concepts, such as attributive adjectives and nouns encoding attributive concepts.

The word order of adjectival NPs is:

Adjectival modifier + Head noun (case suffixes)

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(62a) surə xitə
clever boy
clever boy
(62b) sagdi mɔrin
big horse
big horse
(62c) dʑɔlu miawun
stone heart
cold heart
(62d) aiɕin isalə
gold eyes
golden eyes

The head noun takes the case suffixes expressing the syntactic role of the adjectival NP.

(63) ti [surə xitə-**tigi]** surə
he clever boy-**ABL** clever
He is cleverer than a clever boy.
(FD 2004)

(64) bi [dʑɔlu dʑɔ-**lə]** baldi-mi pi-rən
1SG stone house-**LOC** live-INF Cop-PROSP
I live in a stone house.
(FD 2004)

In the adjectival NPs in Kilen, at most two attributive modifiers may appear and there is no semantic restriction on their sequential order, as shown in (65a-b).

(65a) sagdi aiɕin isalə
big gold eyes
big golden eyes
(65b) aiɕin sagdi isalə
gold big eyes
big golden eyes

5.5.2.1 Degree changing forms within Adjectival NPs

As shown in (5.3) above, adjectives in Kilen can take the suffixes *-qən/-kən* with degree weakening meaning, and can undergo reduplication of the first syllable for the degree strengthening meaning. In adjectival NPs, adjectives may also appear in this form that has undergone degree change, as shown in (66a-d).

(66a) tarkun-qən xarku
fat-WEAKENING carp
relatively fat carp
(66b) sub surə xitə
REDU-clever boy
very clever boy

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(66c) taq taq dʑɔlu
hard hard stone
very hard stone

(66d) sab sagdi-qən imaxa
REDU big-WEAKENING fish
biggest fish

5.5.2.2 Adverbials within Adjectival NPs

Adverbials are seldom seen in the noun phrases in Kilen. However, adverbs of degree may appear in adjectival NPs in the form of adverbials to express the degree of the properties of adjectival NPs, as shown in (67-68).

(67) tɕikin surə xitə
extremely clever boy
extremely clever boy

(68) ɔkiə sagdi imaxa
very big fish
very big fish

5.5.3 Numeral NPs

The following elements are found as modifiers in Kilen Numeral NPs: Cardinal numerals, quantifiers and classifiers.

The word order of Numeral NPs is:
modifier + Head noun (case suffixes)

All kinds of modifiers appear in their bare form. As discussed in (5.1.1.1) above, there are no suffixes in numeral NPs that show number after an affix is added to the head. The syntactic role of the whole phrase is indicated by the case suffixes after an affix is added to the head.

5.5.3.1 Cardinal numerals within Numeral NPs

Cardinal numerals precede the head noun:
Cardinal numeral + Head noun (case suffixes)

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(69) ilan mɔɾin bugdanə-mi pi-ɾən
three horse run-INF Cop-PROSP
Three horses are running.

(Lit.S)

(70) bi təxi imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG forty fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught forty fish.

(FD 2004)

Among numerals, there is a category of approximate numbers. As we discussed in (5.4.5) above, Kilen expresses the meaning by adding the approximate number affix -*kəɕiə* to the end of a cardinal numeral.

(71) bi təxi -kəɕiə imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG forty-APPR fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught about forty fish.

(FD2004)

5.5.3.2 Classifiers within Numeral NPs

The classifiers in Kilen are only used together with cardinal numerals.

Cardinal numeral + classifier + Head noun (case suffixes)

These classifiers are usually nouns that can be used as a unit of measure, such as *adili* 'fishing net', *arŋə* 'year', as shown in (72-73)

(72) bi sundʑa adili imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG five net (CL) fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught five nets of fish.

(FD 2004)

(73) Niani kiaməsə-də ɔɾin arŋə əɾin baldi-xəi
3SG Jiamusi-DAT twenty year time live-PERF
He lived in Jiamusi for twenty years.

(FD 2004)

Note that Kilen classifiers only be involved in numeral context functioning as unit of measure, not sortal and other classifiers ss in Chionese.

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5.5.3.3 Quantifiers within the Numeral NPs

Quantifiers are not abundant in Kilen and the most often used ones are *adi* 'several', *əmati* 'several (with focus on everyone)', *malxun* 'many'. Quantifiers can be used jointly with classifiers. The word order of this kind of Numeral NPs is:

Quantifiers + (classifier)+ Head noun (case suffixes)

(74a) bi adi imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG several fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught several fish.
(FD 2004)

(74b) bi malxun imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG many fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught many fish.
(FD 2004)

(74c) bi adi adili imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG several net (CL) fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught several nets of fish.
(FD 2004)

5.5.4 Headless NPs

Headless NPs are commonly seen in Kilen. Headless NPs appear in discourse and the omitted heads must be something that has been mentioned in the previous course of the conversation. Each kind of NP can generate headless NPs. Meanwhile, the part of speech originally serving as modifiers may play the syntactic role of head and carry the case suffix:

Noun phrase = modifier (case suffixes) + head ~~(case suffixes)~~

5.5.4.1 Headless Possessive NPs

In possessive NPs, when the head is omitted, the possessor must either take the genitive case suffix, as in (75a), or be changed into the possessive pronoun for the corresponding person as shown in (75b) . At the same time, the case suffixes that would have been marked on the head to indicate its syntactic role transfer to the former modifiers, as shown in (75a-b).

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(75a) bi niani-ji-dulə ~~dʑə-dulə-ni~~ ənə-mi
1SG 3SG-GEN-LOC ~~house-LOC-3SG POSS~~ go-INF
pi-ɾən.
Cop-PROSP
I go to his place.

(Fd- 2004)

(75b) bi niani-nəŋkə(-dulə) ~~dʑə-dulə-ni~~ ənə-mi
1SG 3SG POSS(-LOC) ~~house-LOC-3SG POSS~~ go-INF
pi-ɾən.
Cop-PROSP
I go to his place.

(FD 2004)

When headless possessive NPs are generated based on multi-layer possessive NPs, the case affix and possessive pronoun affix will be marked on the possessor which was originally nearest to the head.

5.5.4.2 Headless Adjectival NPs

When adjectival NPs become headless, the adjective which originally would not take case or possessive inflections may play the syntactic role which would have been played by the head noun, as shown in (76).

(76) ti surə-tigi ~~xitə-tigi~~ surə
he clever-ABL ~~boy-*ABL*~~ clever
He is cleverer than a clever boy.

(FD 2004)

5.5.4.3 Headless Numeral NPs

Commonly, cardinal numeral NPs will generate headless NPs but this seldom happens with numeral NPs containing classifiers and quantifiers. When the head is omitted, the cardinal numeral will play the syntactic role of head noun, as shown in (77).

(77) bi təxi-wə ~~imaxa-wə~~ waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG forty-ACC ~~fish-ACC~~ fish-PERF
I caught forty (fish).

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5.5.5 Demonstrative pronouns within NPs

The two most often seen demonstrative pronouns in Kilen, *əi* 'this' (Proximal) and *ti* 'that (distal)', can usually be placed before any modifier, playing the role of determination, as shown in (78-81).

(78) bi **əi** niani dʑɔ-dulə ənə-mi
1SG **this** 3SG house-LOC go-INF
pi-ɾən.
Cop-PROSP
I go to this house of his.
(FD 2004)

(78) ti **əi** surə xitə-tigi surə
3SG this clever boy-ABL clever
He is cleverer than this clever boy.
(Fd 2004)

(80) **ti** ilan mɔrin bugdanə-mi pi-ɾən
that three horse run-INF Cop-PROSP
Those three horses are running.
(consul.)

(81) bi **ti** sundʑa adili imaxa-wə waxtɕi-xəi.
1SG **that** five net (CL) fish-ACC fish-PERF
I caught those five nets of fish.
(FD 2004)

5.5.6 Word order of Multiple Modifiers in NPs

In natural language materials, it is hard to find an NP that has multiple modifiers. Therefore, we could only find a general rule from the collocation among the modifiers inside NP.

From the above (5.5.3) we may know that order is:

Cardinal numeral/quantifier + Classifier + Head noun

Generally, when adjectival NPs encode numerical concepts, number modifiers will be placed before adjectival modifiers.

(82) ilan surə xitə
three clever boys
three clever boy

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(83) adi surə xitə
several clever boy
several clever boys

In possessive NPs, adjectival modifiers and numeral modifiers are usually put before head nouns and after possessors directly, as shown in (84).

(84) bi niani-ji sagdi dʑɔ-dulə-ni ənə-mi
1SG 3SG-GEN big house-LOC-3SG POSS go-INF
pi-ɾən.
Cop-PROSP
I go to his big house.
(FD 2004)

(85) bi niani-ji adi dʑɔ-dulə-ni ənə-mi
1SG 3SG-GEN several house-LOC-3SG POSS go-INF
pi-ɾən
Cop-PROSP
I go to several of his houses.
(FD 2004)

So we can know that the order of the modifiers of NPs is:

DEM-POSS-NUM/QUANT-CL-ADJ Head Noun

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CHAPTER 6 VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

6.1 Description of Verbs

Verbs in Kilen are a quite large open class. The vocabulary of verbs usually expresses phenomena which involve time-stable meanings: actions, processes and states, e.g., events such as sanu- 'to eat', xɔla- 'to read', budə- 'die', etc. Phonologically, Kilen does not have consonant-final verbs; all verbs of Kilen end in vowels. [20]

Morphologically, Kilen has a clear lexical class of verbs, which is marked by particular conjugations, as well as the grammatical categories: voice, mood, aspect, and person/number, as shown in (1a-b).

(1a) agə-ni wa-wu-xəi-ni.
elder.brother-3SG kill-PAS-PERF-3SG
His elder brother had been killed/ was killed.
(Lit.I)

(1b) ɛi arki-wə ɔmi-kiɛiə
2SG alcohol-ACC drink-SUBJ
Please drink the alcohol.
(FD 2004)

Kilen combines the number and person with personal possessive suffixes, and does not differentiate singular and plural when the subject is in the form of third person, as shown in (2a-c).

(2a) agə-ɛi wa-wu-xəi-ni.
elder.brother-2SG kill-PAS-PERF-3
Your(singular) elder brother had been killed.
(consul.)

(2b) agə-su wa-wu-xəi-ni.
elder.brother-2PL kill-PAS-PERF-3
Your (plural) elder brother had been killed.
(consul.)

(2c) tikuɾuŋ agə-ni wa-wu-xəi-ni.
3 elder brother-3 kill-PAS-PERF-3
Their elder brothers had been killed.
(consul.)

Generally, verbs in Kilen are morphologically inflected in the following order:

[20] Words of other classes may end with /-n/ in Kilen.

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[Verb- Voice-Aspect/Mood-Person/Number].

Inflected verbal forms are classified into two kinds: finite and non-finite forms. Finite forms are used for independent predication in a main clause, as shown in (3).

(3) puta-mi dʑəfə-xəi-ni.
meal/rice-1SG eat-PERF-1SG
I have eaten my meal.

(FD 2004)

Mostly, non-finite forms do not serve as independent predicates, they only co-occur with auxiliaries or finite forms to express a fully finite predication. For example in (4), the non-finite form *nixtə-nə-mi* 'smiling' is used together with the finite *verb xədzu-xəi-ɕi* 'tell-PERF-2SG', as shown in (4).

(4) ɕi min-tigi nixtə-nə-mi xədzu-xəi-ɕi.
2SG 1SG-ABL smile-DS-INF tell-PERF-2SG
You told me (something) with a smiling face.

(An, 1985)

6.1.1 Verbal Morphology

Based on their internal morphological structure, Kilen verbs are divided into two types: derived and non-derived. Non-derived verbs are mostly bi-syllabic roots:
(VCV) ənə- 'to go', ətə- 'to win', ulu- 'to boil';
(CVCV) fata- 'to pinch', dasa- 'to mend', fətə- 'to dig';
(VCCV) ulɕi- ' to stitch', abdu- 'to break', ulxi- 'to understand';
(CVCCV) sɔndʐə- ' to select', dəndə- 'to distribute', tanta- 'to beat'.

The number of monosyllabic verbs in Kilen is rather few, but includes some of the most frequently used verbs. There are two canonical forms of monosyllabic verbs in Kilen: (CV) bu- 'to give', tə- 'to sit', wa- 'to kill'; and (V) ɔi- 'write'

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6.1.1.1 Verbal Derivation

As discussed in the 3.1.2, many verbs are derived from nominals by adding derivational suffixes.

Suffix	**Base word**
-la-/-lɔ-/-lə-/-lu-	nouns
-tʃi-	verbs
-na-/-nə-	nouns

(28) Of 3.1.2

All these suffixes clearly indicate derived verbs.

Derivational suffixes always precede the verbal inflectional suffixes, being attached immediately to the stems, schematized as below and shown by (5a-b).

[Verbal stem- (Derivational Suffix)- Voice- Mood/ Aspect- Person/Number]

(5a) niani ɔxɔdɔ-lɔ-wu-xəi-ni
3SG medicine-DS-PAS-PERF-3SG
He had been poisoned.
(Lit. S)

(5b) ɛi agdi-na-wu-xtɛi-ɛi.
2SG thunder-DS- IMPF-2SG
You will be struck by thunder. (A curse)
(Lit.I)

The derivational suffixes can be optional when the verbal stems are fully inflected in a sentence. For example, in different versions of the same incantation, we find the alternative forms, as shown in (5c-d)

(5c) niani ɔxɔdɔ-wu-xəi-ni
3SG medicine-DS-PAS-PERF-3SG
He had been envenomed.
(consul.)

(5d) ɛi agdi-wu-xtɛi-ɛi.
2SG thunder-DS- IMPF-2SG
May you be struck by thunder. (A curse)
(consul.)

Derivational suffixes cannot be dropped when they are used with loan verbs, as shown in (6).

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(6) niani ɕikəsə kaiχui-la-xəi-ni.
3SG yesterday to attend a meeting- DS-PERF-3SG
He attended a meeting yesterday.

(An, 1985)

kaiχui-la- 'to attend a meeting' is borrowed from northern mandarin '開會 kai1hui4'. The derivational suffix *-la* is obligatory to show the part of speech of verb here.

6.1.1.2 Finite inflection of verbs

As shown above, Kilen verbs are inflected for four grammatical categories: Voice, Mood, Aspect/Tense, and Person/Number. The verbal forms that are fully inflected function as independent predications and are named finite verbs. Verbal inflection does not involve vowel harmony. In the following sections, we will illustrate the details of the finite inflection of verbs.

6.1.1.3 Voice

"Voice can be defined as a verbal grammatical category that is used to express certain changes of the relationship between subject and object of a verb, without changing the meaning of the sentence, (Crystal, 2008:515)". In finite forms of verbs, Kilen has five distinct voices: Active, Passive, Causative, Reciprocal and Comitative.

Active voice is morphologically unmarked in Kilen. It represents the normal case of the verb, in which the subject of the action is agent, as shown in (7a-b).

(7a) niani puta-wə dʑəfə-xəi-ni.
3SG meal-ACC eat- (ACT)-PERF-3SG
He had eaten the meal.

(FD 2004)

(7b) ɕikəsə ərxə-xəi-ni.
Yesterday rest- (ACT)-PERF-3SG
He rested yesterday.

(Fd 2004)

Passive voice is morphologically marked by the suffix '-wu-'. In the passive, the agent of the action becomes the oblique object in the Dative case, as shown in (8a-b); the patient of the action becomes the subject in the nominative case. The passive voice is applied to transitive verbs, as shown in (8a-b).

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(8a) ti xitə agə-du-ni tanta-wu-xəi-ni.
DEM boy elder.brother-DAT-3SG beat-PAS-PERF-3SG.
The boy was beaten by his elder brother.

(An, 1985)

(8b) tʃafə ɕiŋəri-du dzəfə-wu-xəi-ni.
Fish roe rat-DAT eat-PAS-PERF-3SG
Fish roe was eaten by Rat.

(Lit. S)

Causative voice is morphologically marked by the suffix '-wu-'. The causative indicates that a subject causes someone the 'Causee' to do or become something. The action is the result of the will of another subject.

Grammatically, the causee plays the role of direct object, which is morphologically in the form of accusative, as shown in (9a-b); the causer who causes the action to happen plays the role of subject, morphologically marked by the nominative. The direct object of the action, if any, does not take any case marking, since the accusative suffix is applied to the causee. The causative voice is applied to both transitive and intransitive verbs, as shown in (9a-b)

(9a) ɕi niani-wə tə-wu-ni.
2SG 3sg-ACC sit-CAUS-3SG
You have him sit.

(FD 2004)

(9b) ama-wə-mi nɔ-mi tanta-wu-ni.
Father-ACC-1SG younger.brother-1SG beat-CAUS-3SG
(Mother) causes my father to scold my younger brother.

(consul.)

Passive and Causative share the same voice marker '-wu-' in Kilen, as shown in (8a-b&9a-b). In the passive construction, the agent of the action is marked by dative case, as shown in (8a-b); in the causative construction, the causee of the action is marked by accusative case, as shown in (9a-b).

Reciprocal voice is morphologically marked by the suffix '-matɕi-'. It expresses that more than one subject performs the action and that all these subjects mutually play the role of benefactive in the action (Girfanova, 2002: 26). The subjects of the action are marked by nominative case, as shown in (10a-b).

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(10a) ti guɾun pəltʃi-matɕi-xəi-ni.
3PL-(NOM) help-REC-PERF-3PL
They helped each other.

(FD 2004)

(10b) fuləxun mərgən pəltʃi-matɕi-ni.
Person's name- (NOM) Hero- (NOM) help-REC-3PL
Fulehun and Hero help each other.

(consul.)

Based on the particular semantic limitation, there are only a limited number of transitive verbs encoding reciprocal concepts that could take this voice. In modern Kilen, Reciprocal often involves only two subjects of the particular action as shown in (10b).

Comitative voice is morphologically marked by the suffix '-tɕi-'. This voice indicates that more than one subject processes the action together. The subjects of the action are marked by nominative case. The comitative is applicable to both transitive and intransitive verbs, as shown in (11a-b)

(11a) bəti tɔmaki kiutɕin-mə wa-tɕi-xtʃi-mu.
1PL.INCL tomorrow roe deer-ACC catch-COM-IMPERF-2PL
We will go to catch roe deer together tomorrow.

(An, 1985)

(11b) bəti ɕikəsə dɔtbu sɔnɔ-tɕi-xəi-mu.
1PL.INCL yesterday night cry-COM-PERF-2PL
We cried together last night.

(FD 2004)

Unlike the relatively flexible suffixation order of other sister languages (Udeghe, Evenki, Oroqen), voice suffixes always precede other verbal categorical suffixes in Kilen. There is only one voice marker in one sentence if the voice is marked[21]. In everyday speech, there is a Verb-dropping construction in use, in which the voice must be reciprocal or comitative. The original object of the action takes the verbal categorical suffixes, and the accusative suffix of the object would be dropped, as shown in (12a-b)

[21] According to Bulatova & Grenoble (1998) in Evenki, comitative voice is often found in conjunction with the reciprocal and causative; Nikolaeva & Tolskaya, 2001 say that in Udihe, Causative can co-occur with another indirect voice, such as passive. Such combinations are not attested in Kilen.

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(12a) fuləxun mərgə arki-matɕi-xəi-ni (taru).
Name hero alcohol-REC-PERF-3PL (toast)
Fulehun and Hero toasted each other.

(FD 2004)

(12b) fuləxun mərgə arki-tɕi-xəi-ni (ɔmi).
Fulehun hero alcohol-COM-PERF-3PL (drink)
Fulehun and hero drank together.

(FD 2004)

Interestingly, this kind of construction can only be found in the context of drinking; it could be treated as a fixed slang.

6.1.1.4 Mood

Mood is a grammatical category of the verb that expresses the personal attitude of the speaker towards the state of affairs described by the utterance (Bussmann, 2000). A mood suffix influences the sentence pragmatically, without any syntactic changes. Kilen has one unmarked indicative mood and **oblique marked moods**, which are Imperative, Optative, Subjunctive and Permissive. All kinds of moods can be applied for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Indicative mood is the "verbal mood that portrays the state of affairs described by verb as 'real'… the indicative is considered the most basic mood and is used to express neutral, objective statements"(Bussmann, 2000). Kilen does not have a particular suffix to indicate this mood. Indicative mood has its own independent paradigm to show the aspectual opposition, as shown in (13a-b). I will illustrate the details of the indicative mood with aspectual inflection in the following (6.1.1.5).

(13a) niani ilan ɔlguma-wə wa-0-xəi-ni.
3SG three Pheasant-ACC hunt- (IND)-PERF-3SG
He caught three pheasants.

(FD 2004)

(13b) bi əinin ərxə-0-xtʃi-mi.
1SG today rest- (IND)-IMPERF-1SG
I am taking a rest today.

(FD 2004)

Unlike the neutral and objective indicative mood, the oblique moods express the subjective attitude of the speaker. In Kilen, oblique moods do not take any aspectual

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suffixes. But all the oblique moods involve actions which would take place or be performed in future. Each oblique mood has its own suffixes to express a certain mood.

There is no person/number marker after the oblique mood markers. The general finite verbal form with oblique mood marker is [Verbal stem - Mood]. In the following Sec, I will describe the **oblique moods**: Imperative, Optative, Subjunctive and Permissive.

Imperative mood is thought of as expressing commands or strong requests in Kilen. Its suffixes distinguish the by person/number of the subject. The imperative suffix '-jə- ' exists for the 1st person singular and plural. It indicates a very strong positive voluntary request with a relatively high degree of politeness. The speaker is the main or one of the main subjects of the action, as shown in (14a-b)

(14a) bəti gəsə ənə-jə.
1PL.INCL together go-IMP.1
Let us go (somewhere) together.
(FD 2004)

(14b) bi ɛɔɛɔ-lə ənə-jə.
1SG school-LOC go-IMP.1
I strongly want to go to school.
(FD 2004)

There is a rare form of 1st person plural imperative marked by '-wu', as shown in (15).

(15) bəti kiaməsə-lə ənə-wu.
1PL.INCL Jiamusi-LOC go-IMP.1PL
Let us go to Jiamusi.
(consul.)

An unmarked imperative form exists for the 2nd person singular and plural, in which the verb is used in its bare form. It indicates neutral commands, in which the speaker requests the subject of the action to perform the requested action. But it cannot be used to talk to elders or guests, as shown in (16a-b)

(16a) ɛi imaxa-wə dʑəfə
2SG fish-ACC eat
Eat the fish. (Dialogue with same generation or close friend)
(consul.)

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(16b) su tə.
2PL sit
Sit.

(consul.)

The imperative suffix '-ɾki' exists for the 2nd person singular and plural. It indicates that the speaker commands the subject of the requested action to perform a certain action impolitely, as shown in (17a-b).

(17a) ɛi tərə-wə barki-ɾki.
2SG table-ACC clean-IMP.2
Clean the table.

(FD 2004)

(17b) su tə-ɾki.
2PL sit-IMP.2
Sit. (Impolite)

(consul.)

Optative mood is morphologically marked by '-ɾɔ/-ɾu '[22]. This mood expresses an action that the speaker has a desire, hope, or wish to perform or to be performed; and the action would occur in future, as shown in (18a-b). This mood exists for 1st, 2nd person singular and plural. This is a polite form in Kilen in contrast to the imperative discussed above in (14a-b).

(18a) bəti gəsə ənə-ɾɔ.
1PL.INCL together go-OPT
Let us go (somewhere) together. (polite)

(FD 2004)

(18b) bi ɛɔɛɔ-lə ənə-ɾu.
1SG school-LOC go-OPT
I hope to go to school.

(FD 2004)

Unlike (14a-b) which express a moderately strong but relatively polite request, (18a-d) show a very polite wish.

(18c) ɛi naxan-du tə-ɾu.
2SG brick-bed-DAT sit-OPT
Please sit on the brick-bed.

(consul.)

(18d) əm imaxa-wə min-du bu-ɾu.
one fish-ACC 1SG-DAT give-OPT
I hope to get a fish from you.

(Lit.S)

[22] These two forms are free variants, which are interchangeable. Originally they may have been allomorphs determined by vowel harmony.

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Since the optative is used in daily conversation between speaker and listener, others do not need to be involved in the optative concept; It is extremely rare to see the optative used for 3rd person, as shown in (18e):

(18e) inaki imaxa-wə dʑəfə-ɾɔ.
dog fish-ACC eat-OPT
Let the dog eat fish.

(consul.)

When the optative is applied to the 3rd person, the sentence does not involve politeness, as shown in (18e). The meaning of optative mood is very close to that of the imperative, but more polite . This kind of politeness is used between people of equal generation and social class/position. It is not allowed to use these forms with a person who belongs to a higher generation or social position.

Subjunctive mood is morphologically marked by the suffix '-kiɕiə'. This mood portrays the state of affairs described by the verb as 'hypothetical'; it can be used to express a subjective evaluation by the speaker, such as a wish, a doubt or an expression of possibility (Bussmann, 2000). In Kilen, the subjunctive is always used honorifically. This mood exists for all persons, singular and plural, as shown in (19a-f). Mostly, this mood is used for conversation with the elder generations.

(19a) ɕi tə-kiɕiə.
2SG sit-SUBJ
Please sit down. (Very polite)

(consul.)

(19b) su aɾki-wə ɔmi-kiɕiə.
2PL alcohol-ACC drink-SUBJ
Please drink the alcohol. (This is a toast.)

(FD 2004)

(19c) bəti imaxawa-kiɕiə.
1PL fish-kill-SUBJ
Let us go fishing.

(consul.)

(19d) bi xusu-kiɕiə.
1SG say-SUBJ
Please allow me to say (something).

(Lit.I)

(19e) ti aɾki ɔmi-kiɕiə.
3SG.DIS alcohol drink-SUBJ
Let him (guest) drink.

(Lit. I)

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(19f) ti guɾun sutʃaɾki-kiɕiə.
3PL hide-SUBJ
Please let them hide (somewhere).
(Lit.S)

As shown in (19e), the case marker of the object of the transitive verb is optional, if the sentence is in the subjunctive mood.

Permissive mood is morphologically marked by '-kunə/ -kini'. Kilen may have differentiated these two permissive suffixes by vowel harmony historically, but they are freely interchangeable in modern Kilen. This mood portrays the state of affairs described by the verb as 'permitted'; it indicates that the speaker permits an action to be performed by somebody. In Kilen, permissive mood may be used neutrally without constraints of politeness. This mood only exists for 3rd person singular and plural, as shown in (20a-b).

(20a) niani aɾki ɔmi-kini.
3SG alcohol drink-PERM
He may drink alcohol.
(consul.)

(20b) ti guɾun tə-kunə.
3PL sit-PERM
They may sit down.
(consul.)

6.1.1.5 Aspect

Aspect is that part of the grammar of a language which expresses the temporal viewpoint from which a situation is presented (Goksel & Kerslake, 2005: 330). Such aspects refer to the internal temporal shape of verbal expressions, whether they are ongoing, completed, and prospective, etc. Aspect is distinct from tense, which is 'the grammatical expression of the relation of time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered (Payne, 1997: 236)'.

Kilen does not have a categorical grammatical system to label the relation of time of an event to some reference point in time; it means that Kilen does not grammaticalize tense. In general, Kilen just indicates the internal temporal shape of the action morphologically and expresses the particular reference point in time by words denoting particular times.

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As shown in (6.1.1.4 Mood) above, Kilen verbs with oblique mood suffixes neutralize aspectual oppositions. All aspects are under the unmarked indicative mood. Kilen has three general aspectual forms that express the internal temporal shape of the action: **Perfective, Imperfective and Prospective**. Kilen also has ingressive aspect, expressed by a fixed suffix-chain as shown in below.

All aspects exist for all persons, singular and plural, and both transitive and intransitive verbs.

"**Perfective** presents the totality of the situation referred to…without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases that make up the action of entry ."(Comrie, 2005a:3).

In Kilen, perfective aspect expresses an action completed within the temporal boundary of the situation involved in the speaker's utterance. It is morphologically marked by the suffixes '-xə/-xəi/-xən'.

'-xə' indicates an action which was completed within the temporal duration considered by speaker a short while before the clause is uttered, as shown in (21a-b).

(21a) bi dʑəfə-xə-mi.
1SG eat-PERF-1SG
I just ate (a meal).

(FD 2004)

(21b) ti əi-du afinə-xə-ni.
3sg here-DAT sleep-PERF-3SG
He just slept here.

(FD 2004)

'-xəi' indicates an action which was completed within the temporal boundary considered by the speaker as a relatively longer time before the clause is uttered; the endpoint of '-xəi' is before the endpoint of '-xə', as shown in (22a-b)

(22a) bi dʑəfə-xəi-mi.
1SG eat-PERF-1SG
I ate (a meal) a while ago.

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(consul.)

(22b) ti əi-du afinə-xəi-ni.
3sg here-DAT sleep-PERF-3SG
He slept here a while ago.
(consul.)

'-xən' indicates an action which was completed within the temporal boundary considered by the speaker as a long time before the clause is uttered, as shown in (22c-d).

(22c) bi dʑəfə-xən-mi.
1SG eat-PERF-1SG
I ate (meal) some time ago.
(consul.)

(22d) ti əi-du afinə-xən-ni.
3sg here-DAT sleep-PERF-3SG
He slept here some time ago.
(consul.)

The timing order of the three perfective suffixes is as shown below:

----------[-xən]—[-xəi]—[-xə]---Now----------→

Unlike perfective aspect, '**imperfective** looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forwards to the end of the situation, and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end' (Comrie, 2005a:4).

In Kilen, imperfective aspect refers to those aspectual forms that denote the meaning of non-temporally-delimited events. The Kilen imperfective falls into three types: **Habitual, Progressive and Imperfect**.

Habitual aspect describes a situation which is characteristic of an extend period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment, but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 2005a:26-28).

In Kilen, habitual aspect expresses that a static situation is incomplete, but it happens habitually over a period of time. It does not imply that an instance of the event is

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taking place ‘now’ (Payne, 1997: 241). This aspect is morphologically marked by the suffix ‘-mbi’, as shown in (23a)

(23a) bi atilə-dʑi imaxa wa-mbi-mi.
1SG net-INSTR fish kill-HAB-1SG
I use a net to fish. /I used to use a net to fish.

(FD 2004)

As shown in (23b), Kilen does not differentiate between habitual past and habitual present. Kilen just specifies the temporal period by temporal adverbials as shown below in (23b).

(23b) bi atilə-dʑi imaxa alipti wa-mbi-mi.
1SG net-INSTR fish long ago kill-HAB-1SG
Long ago, I used to use a net to fish.

(FD 2004)

Progressiveness is the combination of continuousness with non-stativity (Comrie, 1976:12). The **progressive** aspect usually denotes an incomplete dynamic event or static state that is presented as ongoing, processing at the temporal reference time.

In Kilen, progressive aspect expresses that a dynamic event is incomplete, but still ongoing at the moment that the clause is uttered. This aspect is expressed periphrastically: the progressive construction is formed by the converb form with suffix ‘*-mi’* and future participle of the auxiliary *pi* ‘be/ have’, as shown in (24-25).

(24)min-i ama-mi puda dʑəfə-mi pi-ɾən.
1SG-GEN father-1SG.POSS rice/meal eat-CONV Cop-PROSP
my father is eating a meal.

(consul.)

(25) min-i ama inin imaxawaxtɕi-mi pi-ɾən.
1SG-GEN father yesterday daytime fish-catching-CONV Cop-PROSP
My father was catching fish yesterday in the daytime. (spear-fishing)

(You and Fu 1989)

Imperfect aspect here shows pure imperfectivity. It just denotes an incomplete dynamic event, without any beginning, without any end, and without showing the possibility of continuousness.

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In Kilen, imperfect aspect expresses that a dynamic event happens at the speech time or future. The imperfect is not marked morphologically, but the personal forms of verbs form the imperfect aspectual construction, as shown in (26-27).

(26) ti xəsu-ni.
3SG say-3SG
He is saying (something)./ He is going to say (something).
(FD 2004)

(27) ɕi kiaməsə-tigi ənə-ɕi.
2SG Jiamusi (a city's name)-ABL go-2SG
You are on your way to Jiamusi. / You will go to Jiamusi.
(FD 2004)

The actual time is indicated by the particular time word or the entire discourse.

Prospective aspect indicates that 'a state is related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being about to do something (Comrie, 2005a:64)'.

In Kilen, prospective aspect describes a comparatively climactic situation in which the event occurs subsequent to the moment the clause is uttered. This aspect is morphologically marked by the suffix '-xtɕi', as shown in (28;29a-b).

(28) ti əi-du afinə-xtɕi-ni.
3SG here-DAT sleep-PROSP-3SG
He is going to sleep here.
(FD 2004)

(29a) bi tɔmaki giutɕin buta-xtɕi-mi.
1SG tomorrow roe deer hunt-PROSP-1SG
I will go to catch roe deer tomorrow.
(An, 1985)

Note that this suffix is homophonous with the agentive suffix (see details in 3.1.1.1) which may be accidental.

When the subject of the action is 1st person, the verb can take the imperative mood suffix '-jə' to show the strong wish of the subject as in (29b):

(29b) bi tɔmaki giutɕin buta-xtɕi-jə.
1SG tomorrow roe deer hunt-PROSP-IMP
I intend to go hunting roe deer tomorrow.
(FD 2004)

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Ingressive aspect expresses the onset or beginning of a state, event or an action. Mostly, Kilen ingressive aspect describes a situation where the event occurs before the moment the clause is uttered. This aspect is labelled by the suffix-chain *'-mi-tu-xə/xəi/xən'*, '-xə/-xəi/-xən' are perfective aspect marker (see 6.1.1.5),'-mi-' is the suffix of infinitive marker of verb, '-tu-' is the Posterior converbal marker. The path by which the combination '-mi-tu-' came to develop this function is unclear.

'-xə/xəi/xən' are perfective markers as shown in (6.1.1.5 Perfective). According to (Comrie, 2005a: 19), 'perfective forms of some verbs… can in fact be used to indicate the beginning of a situation (ingressive meaning)'. The Kilen ingressive matches this situation. Mostly, the Kilen ingressive is used perfectively. As indicated by the various perfective suffixes, the Kilen ingressive differentiates the various temporal points in relation to which the clause is uttered, as shown in (30-31).

(30) bi ɕikəsə pianɕila-mi-tu-xəi.
1SG yesterday 'make dumpling'-INF-P. CONV-PERF
I started to make dumplings yesterday.
(FD 2004)

(31) min-i ama əmə-ni, puta ulu-mi-tu-xə.
1SG-GEN father come-3SG. meal cook-INF-P. CONV-PERF
I started to cook the meal when my father was back.
(FD 2004)

As shown in (30) and (31), Ingressive aspect can be used independently in an independent sentence or together with an embedded clause. The ingressive form seldom takes person agreement markers. In (31) it is in the main clause.

As stated in (6.1) above, Kilen has combined number and person and personal possessive suffixes, and does not differentiate singular and plural when the subject is in the third person, as illustrated in table 5.2 previously. Mainly, Kilen finite verbs obligatorily contain a person/number marker within the form to express the subject of the action. The person/number marker can only be omitted when the subject is clearly conveyed in the sentence.

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6.1.1.6 Non-finite forms of Verbs

Compared to finite forms of verbs, non-finite forms are unconjugated forms, which are not fully inflected to function as independent predicates, but can serve as the predicates of subordinate clauses, as shown in (32).

(32) niani sɔŋɔ-mi budə-xəi.
3SG cry-INF die-PERF
He died while crying.
(Lit.S)

Generally, Kilen non-finite verbs share features with nominals; however, nouns or adjectives cannot modify non-finite verbs, as shown in (33).

(33) bəti uʂukuli-tigi gəsə baldi-wu-xən axandu.
2SG.INCL childhood-ABL together live-PAS-P.PART brother
We are brothers who have lived together since our childhood.
(Lit.I)

But non-finite verbs can sometimes take case markers , as shown in (34).

(34) ti budə-xən-wə ədʑi xəsu-ɾə-ɕi.
3SG die-P. PART-ACC NEG say-OPT-2SG
Please do not talk about his having died.
(consul.)

Kilen has three major types of non-finite verbs: participles, converbs and infinitives. They are all marked by suffixes. In the following sections, I will illustrate the details of the non-finite verbs.

6.1.1.7 Participles

A participle is a non-finite verbal form that has properties of both nominals and verbs. Participles are formed from verbal stems and may be used attributively, substantively or predicatively (Butalova & Grenoble, 1999: 40). They can be treated as verbal forms that have reduced verbal properties, but which are not fully nominalised (Payne, 1997: 38).

In Kilen, the verbal stems of participles are always the non-inflected forms of verbs (derived verbs and non-derived), as shown in (35a-b)

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(35a) jalu-ɾən
ride-PROSP.PTCPL
riding
(35b) mukə-lə-xən
water-DS.V-PERF.PTCPL
watering

Mostly, participles are used attributively and substantively; it is comparatively rare to see the predicative use except in the copular construction co-occuring with the appropriate copula (see details in Ch. 7 Clause).

(36a) Attributive Use
sɔnɔ-ɾən isalə
cry-PROSP.PTCPL eyes
crying eyes

(36b) Substantive Use
fuləxun xilə-xən əkiə aja.
Name (male) roast-PERF.PTCPL very good.
The thing which Fulehun roasted is very delicious.
(FD 2004)

(36c) Predicative Use
niani ənə-xən pi-ɾən.
3SG go-PERF.PTCPL Cop-PROSP
He is gone (somewhere).
(FD 2004)

Kilen participles differentiate two voice forms: **Active (Unmarked) and Passive (marked)**. Both forms can take aspectual suffixes (**perfective and prospective**) to show the related aspectual meaning. Unlike some other Tungusic languages, such as Evenki, Kilen participles do not differentiate the personal and impersonal forms, since they do not encode the person/number of the corresponding subject. I will illustrate the details of each form in the following sections.

As mentioned (6.1.1.3 Voice) above, Active is morphologically unmarked, but the **active participle** can sometimes be marked by suffix –i(NF)/-ji (VF). [23] Active participles distinguish two aspectual forms: perfective and prospective. The corresponding aspect suffixes of the finite verbs mark these two aspectual forms.

[23] The active participle marker '-i/-ji' is found in other sister languages such as Udihe, and Oroqen; but it seems that this marker is rare in use in modern Kilen.

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Perfective active participles are morphologically marked by the perfective suffix '-xən'. Unlike perfective aspect, perfective active participles do not encode the temporal distance between the context and the time. This kind of participle expresses the final result or effect of an action.

Prospective active participles are morphologically marked by the prospective suffix '-xtɕi'. In Kilen, prospective participles contain the aspectual meaning of imperfective. This kind of participles expresses the uncompleted state of an action as shown below in (37a).

(37a) imaxa wa-xtɕi nyɔ.
fish kill-PROSP person
The person who is fishing. / The person who is going to do fishing
(consul.)

(37b) mini suxuli-wə dɔldi-ɾən ɡuɾun əmə-xəi
1SG.POSS story-ACC listen-PROSP people come-PERF
The people who are going to listen my story-telling have arrived.
(consul.)

Sometimes, a prospective active participles can be marked by the suffix '-ɾən', which is the prospective suffix of auxiliary *pi* 'be/have' as shown above in (37b). The origin of this suffix in Kilen is unclear . Strictly speaking, there is no semantic difference between the two forms of prospective active participles.

Passive participles are morphologically marked by the passive suffix '-wu-'. Like active participles, passive participles also distinguish two aspectual forms: perfective (see above example 33) and prospective as shown below in (38). The prospective active participle marker '-ɾən' does not exist for passive participles. The passive suffix precedes the aspectual suffix, added immediately to the verbal stem:

Passive Participle: [Verbal stem- PAS- ASP]

(38) ɕini əxələ-wə xəsu-wu-ɾən dɔldi-ɕi.
2SP.POSS comment-ACC say-PAS-PROSP listen-2SG
You should follow the suggestions made for you by others.
(Lit.T)

In Kilen, participles are the only non-finite verbs that can take case suffixes, as shown in (39a-b).

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(39a) fuləxun xilə-xən-wə dʑəfə-ɾə-mi.
name(male) roast-P. PART-ACC eat-OPT-2SG
I want to eat the thing which is roasted by Fulehun.
(FD 2004)

(39b) ɕi niani tʂutʂa-dʑi ɔu-xən-dʑi mɔri-mə
2SG 3SG whip-INSTR make-P. PART-INSTR horse-ACC
tʂutʂala-jə.
whip-IMP
You use the whip that he made to whip the horse.
(FD 2004)

This phenomenon can only be found when the participle serves to express the predicate of the subordinate clause.

6.1.1.8 Converbs

"A converb is defined here as a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination (Haspelmath, 1995: 3). A converb cannot be the only verb form in a sentence, and that it is semantically related to another verb form". (Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov, 1987: 75).

Like participles, many Kilen converbs are derived from the uninflected verbal stems, as shown in (40a-b).

(40a) əmə-ki-ɕi
go-P.CONV.COND-2SG
(if) you would go

(40b) tʂutʂa-la-ki-ni
whip-DS.V-P.CONV.COND-3SG
(if) he were to whip (the animal)

Some converbs may be derived from the prospective form of the verb when the converb contains the meaning of purpose or continuous action, as shown in (41a-b).

(41a) bi nikan gisun-mə tati-xtɕi-nəmi
1SG Chinese language-ACC study-PROSP-I.CONV.PURP
əmə-xə-mi.
come-PERF-1SG
I came to learn Chinese.
(FD 2004)

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(41b) xitə-ni sukə-dʑi mɔ-wə
child-3SG. POSS axe-INSTR tree-ACC
tɕaqə-xtɕi-ɾnəmə ali-xtɕi-ni.
cut-PROSP-I.CONV.ANT Wait-PROSP-3SG
While he is felling the trees, his child is waiting.

(consul.)

Converbs that contain the meaning of posteriority always require the infinitival form as the stem, as shown in (42).

(42) niani fətɕi-mi-dulu imaxa-wə duɾi-xəi.
3SG get.tired-INF-CONV.POST fish-ACC grab-PERF
He grabbed fish until he got tired.

(FD 2004)

Kilen converbs do not take suffixes which express voice and aspectual oppositions. The temporal concept always is expressed by the predicate of main clause, as with the various aspectual meanings showing in (41a-b)(42).

Based on the encodability of person/number, Kilen converbs can be divided into two types: Impersonal and Personal converbs. Impersonal converbs are used in sentences where the main clause and the subordinate clause share the same subject, as shown in (41a-b)(42). Personal converbs are used to clarify the subject of the subordinate clause when the main clause and subordinate clause do not share the same subject, as shown in (43).

(43) bi aɾki-wə ɔmi-ki-mi xanqə-xtɕi-ni.
1SG alcohol-ACC drink-P. CONV. COND-1SG anger-PROSP-3SG
When I drink, she will get angry.

(You & Fu 1989)

Converbs do not take case marking, since they are always used adverbially.
Converbal suffixes precede the personal suffixes, being added to the verbal stem directly as shown in (42a-b).

Kilen has a number of converb suffixes. Based on their semantics, Kilen converbs comprise five kinds: Conditional, Anterior, Posterior, Simultaneious and Purposive.

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Conditional converbs indicate the action of the subordinate clause upon which the action of the main clause is dependent. Conditional converbs differentiate personal forms containing person agreement and impersonal forms.

Personal conditional converbs are morphologically marked by the converbal suffix '-ki', which indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause differs from the subject of the main clause. This suffix is followed by the the subject agreement suffix, as shown below in (44)

(44) niani xaŋkɔ-ki-ni sɔnɔ-xəi-mi.
3SG anger-P. CONV. COND-3SG cry-PERF-1SG
When he got angry, I cried.
(consul.)

Impersonal conditional converbs are morphologically marked by the converbal suffix '-ɾə', which signals that the subject of subordinate clause is same as that of the main clause. Consequently, an agreement suffix is not required, as shown in (45).

(45) ɛi dʑɔ-lə əɾxə-ɾə təni əmə.
2SG home-LOC rest-I. CONV. COND again come- (IMP).
Come back again after taking a rest at home.
(consul.)

Anterior converbs are used to express that the action of the subordinate clause happens before the action of the main clause. Unlike conditional converbs, there is no conditional relationship between the anterior converb and its main verb. In Kilen, anterior and conditional converbs are the only kinds that have both personal forms and impersonal forms. Like conditional converbs, anterior converbs differentiate personal and impersonal forms as well.

Personal anterior converbs are morphologically marked by the suffix '-dʑi', which shows that the subordinate clause and the main clause do not share the same subject, as shown in (46).

(46) bi puta-wə dʑəfə-dʑi niani əmə-xəi-ni.
1SG meal-ACC eat-P. CONV. ANT 3SG come-PERF-3SG
As soon as I had eaten the meal, he came immediately.
(FD 2004)

Kilen anterior converbs do not differentiate common and immediate anteriority, but the personal anterior converbs are used to express immediate anteriority in general as shown in (46).

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Impersonal anterior converbs are morphologically marked by the suffixes '-tu/ -ɾnəmə', which indicate that the subordinate clause and main clause share the same subject. Impersonal anterior converbs, formed by the suffix '-tu', indicate anterior actions that are felt to be temporarily very close to the time of the action of the main clause, as shown in (47).

(47) ɕi ənə-tu əməɾgi-ɕi.
2SG go-I. CONV. ANT come back-IMPF.2SG
You go and then come back immediately.
(FD 2004)

In some special cases, the impersonal anterior converb in '*-ɾu'* can be used to express a conditional meaning, similar to conditional converbs, as shown in (48).

(48) bi putadʑəfə-tu imaxawa-mi ənə-ji.
1SG eat-meal-I. CONV. ANT fish.catch-INF go-IMPF.1SG
After finishing my meal, I will go fishing.
(FD 2004)

This special use shown in (48) does not involve the meaning of immediate anteriority.

Impersonal anterior converbs, formed by the suffix '-ɾnəmə' indicate that the anterior action is continuously ongoing before the action of main clause is involved, as shown in (49).

(49) agə-ni dʑaɾi-ɾnəmə əməɾgi-xəi.
elder.brother-3.POSS sing-I. CONV. ANT come.back-PERF
His elder brother was singing before he reached home.
(Lit.T)

In general, converbs in '-ɾnəmə' do not involve the immediate meaning. But converbs in '-ɾnəmə' can be used to express simultaneous meaning when the main verb shows prospective aspectual meaning as shown in (41b). In this case, the verbal stem of the subordinate clause is always in the prospective form.

Posterior converbs are morphologically marked by the suffix '-dulu'. Posterior converbs always require the infinitival form of the verb as stem as shown above in (42). Posterior converbs are used to express that the action of the subordinate clause precedes that of the main clause; the action of the main clause is triggered by the subordinate clause, as shown in (50).

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(50) ama-ni səksə itɕi-mi-dulu sɔnɔ-mi
Father-3.POSS bloodstain look-INF-CONV. POST cry-INF
dəɾi-xəi-ni
start-PERF-3SG
As soon as his father saw the bloodstain, his father started to cry.
(Lit.S)

Similarly in (42), The form duɾi-xəi, 'fish had been grabbed' is triggered by the posterior converb fətɕi-mi-dulu 'got tired '.

Posterior converbs do not differentiate between personal and impersonal forms. In general, when subordinate clause and main clause share the same subject, posterior converbs do not take personal suffixes, as shown in (42) and (51). If the subject of the subordinate clause differs from the subject of the main clause, the posterior converb will take a personal suffix to clarify the subject of each, as shown in (51).

(51) əm uda walə-mi-dulu-ni əm uda adilə-wə-mi
one time row-INF-CONV.POST-3SG one time net-ACC-1SG
nɔdu-xəi-mi.
spread-PERF-1SG
As soon as he rowed, I spread the net.
(Lit.S)

Unlike anterior converbs, posterior converbs do not involve the sense of immediacy.

Simultaneous converbs are morphologically marked by the converbal suffix '-dui'. This converb is used to indicate that the actions of the subordinate clause and main clause happen at the same time; but the action of the subordinate clause is secondary to the main action:

(52) niani imaɾkan dʑaɾi-dui sapɕə-xəi-ni.
3SG legend sing-I. CONV. SIM embroider-PERF-3SG
While singing legends, she embroidered (something).
(FD 2004)

Simultaneous converbs are impersonal in Kilen, since this converb only exists in same-subject clauses as shown in (52).

Purposive converbs are morphologically marked by the converbal suffix '-nemi'. The verbal stem of a purposive converb is formed by the bare verb plus the

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prospective aspectual suffix '-xtɛi'. This converb indicates that the action of the subordinate clause is the purpose or intent of the main action, as shown in (53).

(53) bi əlbɛi-xtɛi-nəmi mukə-wə dʑigdə-xtɛi-mi.
1SG bath-PROSP-I. CONV. PURP water-ACC boil-PROSP-1SG
In order to have a bath, I will boil water.
(FD 2004)

Purposive converbs only have impersonal forms, which are used when the subordinate clause and main clause share the same subject as shown in (41a) and (53).

6.1.1.9 Infinitives

The infinitive is a marked non-finite verbal form in Kilen. The infinitival forms are morphologically marked by the infinitival suffix '-mi' which is the only infinitival marker in Kilen. The infinitive requires the uninflected root verb as its verbal stem, as shown in (54a) for non-derived verbs and (54b) for derived verbs.

(54a) sa-mi
know-INF

altɛi-mi
wait-INF

sɔnɔ-mi
cry-INF

(54b) əŋkulə-mi
live-INF

baxatʃi-mi
meet-INF

ilgana-mi
blossom-IN

Kilen infinitives are morphologically invariant; infinitival forms do not take person/number or case inflection and never carry verbal inflection, such as voice, mood and aspect marking, as shown in (55a-b)

(55a) niani əŋku-tigi bugdana-mi ənə-xtɛi-ni.
3SG home-ABL run-INF go-PROSP-3SG
He will go (there) by running from home.
(FD 2004)

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(55b) bi sɔnɔ-mi xəsu-xəi-ni.
1SG cry-INF say-PERF-1SG
he spoke while crying.

(An, 1985)

Infinitives indicate a neutral state of the action and do not involve any temporal concept. As in the case of converbs, the temporal markers of the main verbs express the temporal concepts of the sentence as shown in (55a) and (55b).

Infinitives are only used when the infinitive itself and the main verb share the same subject, as shown in (55a) and (55b). Generally, infinitives are used to form subordinate adverbial clauses to express the manner of the main action. That means infinitives are used adverbially in general, as in (55a) and (55b) where *bugdana-mi*, 'run-INF' and *sɔnɔ-mi*, 'cry-INF' are used as adverbials to show the manner of the main verbs.

When the main verb is in the imperative form, infinitival forms express focus on the simultaneity, instead of the manner, of the main action, as shown in (56).

(56) ɛi adili-wə kinda-mi əmərgi.
2SG net net-INF come.back
Set the net on your way back.

(Lit.T)

We may treat this usage as like a simultaneous converbal use.

Infinitival forms of verbs are also used to form the stem of posterior converbs as shown in above (42), (50), (51).

In the raw data, the infinitival suffix '-mi' also is found to form the verbal stem of the purposive converbs, as shown in (57).

(57) niani naniɔ gisun-mə tati-mi-xtɛi-nəmi
3SG local language-ACC study-INF-PROPS. I. CONV. PURP
əmə-xəi.
come-PERF
He come (here) in order to study the local language (Kilen).

(FD 2004)

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The order of the infinitival marker and prospective suffix is flexible. The etymology of this form is unclear.

In some previous studies (An, 1985; You & Fu, 1987), they did not use the term 'infinitive', just merging the non-finite forms in '-mi' with the simultaneous converbs which indicate that the action of the subordinate clause and main clause happen at the same time.

These authors used the term 'equivalent' which suggests that the action of the dependent clause and main action should have equal status. But the so-called 'converb in -mi' just functions as a predicative modifier to show the manner of the main action.

In general, converbs can take personal suffixes to agree with the subject. Infinitives, however, never take personal inflection. Within the subordinate clause, infinitives cannot govern an object as shown in (55a)(55b). But the converbs can govern objects within the subordinate clause as shown in (6.1.1.8). Infinitives can only govern objects when they are used converbally as shown in (56).

6.2 The Verb Phrase

Generally, "the verb phrase is equivalent to the whole of the predicate of a sentence. (Crystal, 2008: 510)". In this description, I use the term 'verb phrase' to indicate the verbal predicative component that "in conjunction with the subject, forms the minimal statement of utterance" (Bussmann, 2000: 376).

A Kilen verb phrase normally consists of at least a verb functioning as the head of the phrase, and sometimes complements governed by the verbal head within the clause, and optional adjuncts that modify the verbal head, as shown in (58-60).

(58)	ɕi	min-tigi	sɔnɔ-mi	xədzu-xəi-ɕi.
	2SG	1SG-ABL	sɔnɔ-INF	speak-PERF-2SG
	[S]	[	PRED	]
		[COMP]	[ADV]	[HEAD]
	You spoke to me while smiling.			

(FD 2004)

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(59) tigurun tə-xə-ni.
3PL sit-PERF-3PL
[S] [PRED]
They just sat down.

(consul.)

(60) bi imaxa-wə dʑəfə-xəi.
1SG fish-ACC eat-PERF
[S] [PRED]
[COMP] [HEAD]
I ate fish.

(FD 2004)

6.2.1 Elements of the Verb phrase

As stated above, a verb phrase is composed of a **verb**, its **complements** and optional **adjuncts**. I will examine the details of each of these elements in the following.

6.2.1.1 The Head Verb

In a verb phrase, the verb plays the role of head. "The internal structure of a verb phrase depends primarily on the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb, which relates to the ability of verb to take a direct object" (Goksel & Kerslake, 2005: 140). Generally, the direct object is the patient that is marked by the accusative suffix in Kilen. According to their ability to take a direct object, Kilen verbs can be classified into three subtypes: Transitive, Intransitive and Ditransitive verbs

Transitive verbs refer to actions that are carried out by a prototypical agent on a prototypical patient. Transitive verbs take direct objects, which are marked by the accusative suffix in Kilen, as shown in (61-63)

(61) bi gərbi-(wə)-ɕi ədʑə.
1SG name-(ACC)-2SG remember (IMP)
I remember your name.

(FD 2004)

(62) tʃurkuli səxəsə-(wə)-ni ɕimi-xəi.
demon blood-(ACC)-3SG suck-PERF
A demon sucked his blood.

(Lit.S)

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(63) niani aɾki-(wə) ɔmi-xəi-ni.
3SG alcohol- (ACC) drink-PERF-3SG
He drank alcohol.

(Lit.I)

In daily spoken usage, the accusative suffix can be optional in use, as shown above in (61-63). Then a transitive verb can take an unmarked noun or noun phrase as its direct object.

Intransitive verbs refer to situations that do not have a direct effect on the prototypical patient or do not take a prototypical patient. In Kilen, intransitive verbs cannot take direct objects marked by the accusative suffix, as shown in (64-65).

(64) tə-xəi-ni.
sit-PERF-3SG
He sat down.

(65) bi tɔmaki laxasusu-dulə ənə-mi.
1SG tomorrow city's name-LOC go-1SG. IMPERF
I am going to Lahasusu tomorrow.

In (65), the complement of the intransitive verb ənə 'go' is marked by a locative suffix; and in (64), the intransitive verb tə 'sit' does not govern any object.

There is only one exception where intransitive verbs can be used in a transitive-like way. When the complement is composed by the demonstrative pronoun, the pronoun is typically used bare without any case marker:

(66) ti əi (-du) afinə-xən-ni.
3sg this (-DAT) sleep-PERF-3SG
He slept at this place long time ago.

(FD 2004)

If the location is marked by the dative case suffix or used bare as shown in (66), the locational component here appears like a direct object of the verb head, as shown above in (66).

Ditransitive verbs are verbs that can take two objects, which correspond to recipient and theme of the sentence in the sense of semantic roles. The primary objects (PO) that refer to the theme of the sentence are marked by the accusative suffixes or used bare, as is the case with transitive verbs in general. The secondary objects (SO) that

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refer to the recipient or patient of the sentence are marked by the corresponding case suffixes obligatorily:

(67) arsalan mɔrin-du-ni ɔrɔxɔtə (-wə) nɔtu-xəi.
male name horse-DAT-3SG grass (-ACC) throw-PERF
[SO] [PO]
[RECIPIENT] [THEME]
Arsalan threw grass to his horse.

(FD 2004)

(68) ɛi bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-kiɛiə.
2SG 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-SBJ
[SO] [PO]
[PATIENT] [THEME]
I wish you could teach me the Chinese language.

(FD 2004)

As shown above (67-68), the accusative suffixes of the primary objects can be optional in use. The primary objects are mostly placed immediately before the verbal head, as shown above in (67) and (68). When the secondary objects are marked by the dative suffix, the order of primary object and secondary object can be flexible, as shown in (69).

(69) arsalan ɔrɔxɔtə (-wə) mɔrin-du-ni nɔtu-xəi.
male name grass (-ACC) horse-DAT-3SG throw-PERF
[PO] [SO]
Arsalan threw grass to his horse.

(FD 2004)

6.2.1.2 Complements of the Verbal head

The complement here refers to the linguistic entity that is used necessarily in a verb phrase to complete the predication expressed by the verbal head. Generally, complements of the verbal heads are nominal components in Kilen, as shown above in (58-60). Based on the various kinds of verbs, Kilen has two types of complement: **Direct objects** that are required by the transitive verb and ditransitive verb; and **Oblique complements** that are generally required by the intransitive verbs.

A **direct object (DO)** is an entity which is directly affected by the action that is denoted by the verbal head within the verb phrase. The verbal head that is composed

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by the transitive verb (TR V) or ditransitive verb (DTR V) requires a direct object, as shown in (70-72).

In Kilen, the constituents that denote the function of direct objects are either marked by the accusative suffix or unmarked, as shown in (70-72)

(70) fuləxun məri (-mə)-ni jalu-ni.
Fulehun horse (-ACC)-3SG ride-3SG. IMPERF
[DO] [TR V]
Fulehun is riding his horse.
(FD 2004)

(71) bi ɕi-wə bitxə (-wə) tatimi-jə.
1SG 2SG-ACC characters (-ACC) teach-IMP
[SO] [DO.PO] [DTR V]
Let me teach you characters.
(FD 2004)

(72) bi ɕi-du bitxə (-wə) bu-mi.
1SG 2SG-DAT book (-ACC) give-1SG. IMPERF
[SO] [DO. PO] [DTR V]
I will give you a book.
(FD 2004)

An **oblique complement (OC)** is an entity that is not directly affected by the action indicated by the verbal head of the verb phrase, but is a necessary part of the predicative completion. In Kilen, oblique complements are generally required by intransitive verbs that cannot take accusative marked NPs as their primary complements.

In terms of semantic roles, oblique complements mostly express the **recipient, location, benefactive and circumstance**. Generally, oblique complements are marked by the corresponding case suffixes to show the different semantic roles.

Recipient oblique complements are marked by the dative suffix. This is the only oblique complement that is required by a ditransitive verb. In general, the recipient oblique complements function as the secondary objects (indirect object) of predications denoted by ditransitive verbs. This kind of complement denotes the animate destination of the direct object, as shown in (73-74).

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(73) niani bi-du imaxa (-wə) bu-xəi.
3SG 1SG-DAT fish (-ACC) give-PERF
[SO] [DO]
[RECIPIENT] [PATIENT]
He gave me fish.

(FD 2004)

(74) aɾsalan tiɔqɔ-du ʂɔlqu-wə usə-ni.
male name chiken-DAT corn-ACC spread-3SG. IMPERF
[SO] [DO]
[RECIPIENT] [PATIENT]
Arsalan is spreading corn for the chicken.

(FD 2004)

In (73) and (74), the verbal heads *bu* 'give', *usə* 'spread' are ditransitive verbs. The dative-marked recipient oblique complements function as secondary objects of the verb phrase to indicate the animate destination expressed by *bi* 'me' and *tiɔqɔ* 'chicken', to which the direct objects imaxa 'fish' and *ʂɔlqu* 'corn' move.

Unlike the patient direct object that can be marked by an accusative suffix, as shown above in (70-72), a **Benefactive oblique complement** is marked by the dative suffix as in (75-76). This kind of complement is required by an intransitive verb as its obligatory complement. A benefactive oblique complement denotes the general benefactive or goal, which is not directly affected by the verbal head; this kind of benefactive does not undergo a visible change in state.

(75) bi ɕi-du adgə-mbi.
1SG 2SG-DAT believe-HAB
[INTR]
[BEN]
I believe you.

(Lit.J)

(76) əi awu fuləxun-du pitɕikə-mbi.
this hat male name-DAT match-HAB
[INTR]
[BEN]
This hat matches Fulehun.

(FD 2004)

(77) bi aŋkɔ-du əməɾgi-xə.
1SG cave-DAT back-PERF
[GOAL]
He just returned to the cave.

(Lit.S)

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In (75) and (76), *adgə* 'believe' and *pitɕikə* 'match' cannot have a physical effect on the prototypical benefactives. *ɕi* 'you' and *Fuləxun* ' fulehun' just undergo an invisible process that is expressed by *adgə* 'believe' and *pitɕikə* 'match'. In (77), *aŋkɔ-du* 'cave-DAT' denotes the semantic role of goal.

Location oblique complements indicate spatial concepts, not only locational in the narrow sense but also directional; they are marked by the spatial-direction-related case suffixes, such as locative, ablative, prolative, and the rare lative.

Location oblique complements marked by the locative suffix express a strictly locational meaning, as shown in (78).

(78) bi fusəli-lə ənə-xəi.
1SG shop-LOC go-PERF
[INTR]
[LOCATION]
I went to the shop.

(consul.)

It is rare to see lative marking strict location, since the lative suffix '-xi' is an unusual case in modern Kilen. The lative marking forms can be substituted by locative marking forms, but the reverse does not exist in Kilen, as shown in (79).

(79) bi fusəli-xi ənə-xəi.
1SG shop-LAT go-PERF
[LOCATION]
I went to the shop.

(consul.)

An ablative-marked oblique complement expresses the location, which the movement is away from; we may also treat it as a direction, as shown in (80).

(80) ti xɔtɔn-tigi bugdanə-xtʃi-ni.
3SG hamlet-ABL run-PROSP-3SG
[LOCATION]
He will escape from the hamlet.

(Lit.S)

A prolative-marked oblique complement expresses the location which is along or through the place where the related motion takes place, as shown in (81).

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(81) niani mə-li fuli-xəi.
3SG forest-PROL walk-PERF
[LOCATION]
He walked through the forest.

(Lit.I)

In this description, circumstance refers to the way that an action is carried out or the instrument that used to carry out an action. **Circumstance oblique complements** are marked by the instrumental suffix in Kilen. Generally, this kind of oblique complement expresses the comitative as in (82), manner as in (83) and instrument role as shown in (84). Circumstance oblique complements are required by some intransitive verbs.

(82) ti agə-dʑi-mi tainə-tɕi-xən.
3SG brother-INST-1SG curse-COM-PERF
[INTR]
[COMITATIVE]
He and my brother cursed others.

(consul.)

(83) ti unku-dʑi budə-xəi.
3SG illness-INST die-PERF
[INTR]
[MANNER]
He died of illness.

(Lit.S)

(84) fuləxun kilən-dʑi xəsu-mbi-ni
male name Kilen-INST speak-HAB-3SG
[INTR]
[INSTRUMENT]
Fulehun speaks in Kilen

(FD 2004)

There is a special use of instrumental marking in Kilen in which the verb phrase is composed by the instrumental-marked complement plus active-voice verb; this use expresses a reciprocal event, in which the participants within the clause carry out the same action on each other, as shown in (85).

(85) ti agə-dʑi-mi tainə-xən.
3SG brother-INST-1SG curse-PERF
He and my brother cursed each other.

(consul.)

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6.2.1.3 Adjuncts of the Head Verb

"Adjunct refers to an optional or secondary element in a construction: an adjunct may be removed without the structural identity of the rest of the construction being affected "(Crystal, 2008: 12).

In Kilen, unlike the obligatory complements of the head verb , adjuncts are normally optional; adjuncts are used attributively to provide additional information such as time, location, instrument, source and manner in which the particular action was completed. In terms of word order, adjuncts always precede the complement, and are placed immediately after the subject of the clause .

Generally, time adjuncts are composed by temporal adverbs as in (86) or nouns with temporal meaning as in (87).

(86) bi təni arki-wə ɔmi-xə.
1SG a few minutes ago alcohol-ACC drink-PERF
[Adv]
[ADJUNCT]
He drank alcohol a few minutes ago.
(FD 2004)

(87) niani ɛikəsə dəlbu sɔnɔ-xəi-ni.
3SG yesterday night cry-PERF-3SG
[Nouns with temporal meaning]
[ADJUNCT]
She cried last night.
(FD 2004)

Location adjuncts are composed by the nominals that take a locative case suffix, as shown in (88-89).

(88) ama-mi xaʂi-lə ɔkətɔ-wə sulia-ni.
father-1SG garage-LOC herbal medicine-ACC mix-IMPF.3SG
[noun]
[ADJUNCT]
My father is mixing the herbal medicine in the garage.
(Lit.T)

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(89) fuləxun ə-lə afinə-xən-i.
male name This place-LOC [DEM] [ADJUNCT] sleep-PERF-3SG
Fulehun slept here.

(FD 2004)

As in the similar sentence shown above in (66), the locative-marked demonstrative ‘ə, this’ in (89) can be removed freely.

Instrument adjuncts are formed by nominals taking instrumental case suffixes, as shown in (90)

(90) bu atilə-dɛi imaxa-wə wa-mbi-mu.
1PL.INCL net-INST [INSTRUMENT] fish-ACC catch-HAB-1PL
We are fishing by net.

(Lit.T)

Manner adjuncts are generally formed by manner adverbs, as shown in (91).

(91) niani xɔɾdun məɾi-mə jalu-xəi.
3SG quicklyhorse-ACC [Adv] [ADJUNCT] ride-PERF
He rode the horse quickly.

(Lit.I)

Source adjuncts are formed by nominals that take the ablative case suffix, as shown in (92).

(92) ɛiŋəɾi takətu-tigi ʧafə-wə xulxa-xʧi-ni.
rat fish storage-ABL [noun] [ADJUNCT] fish roe-ACC steal-PROSP-3SG
Rat is going to steal some fish roe from the fish storage.

(Lit.S)

This kind of adjunct denotes the place from which a certain action proceeds. In (92), *takətu* ‘fish storage (an underwater enclosure where live fish are stored)’ is where the action *xulxa* ‘steal’ happens.

Generally, it is comparatively rare to see an intransitive verb phrase containing in adjunct that is not a time adjunct, as shown above in (87).

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In Kilen, a verb phrase can contain more than one adjunct:

(93) ama-mi ɕikəsə xaʂi-lə nala-dʑi
father-1SG yesterday garage-LOC hand-INST
[TIME] [LOCATION] [INSTRUMENT]
ɔkətɔ-wə sulia-xəi.
herbal medicine-ACC mix-PERF
my father mixed the herbal medicine by hand in the garage last night.
(Lit.T)

There are three adjuncts in (93); the order of these three adjuncts is highly flexible.

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CHAPTER 7 CLAUSES

In the following sections, I will describe the morphosyntactic structures and properties of Kilen at the clausal level.

7.0 General description of the Clause

A clause is a grammatical unit formed by a number of words, obligatorily consists of a predicate (verb phrase or noun phrase) and optionally one or more nominal phrases that indicate the argument(s) of the predicate; one of the arguments must be the subject of predicate, as shown in (1):

(1) bi imaxa-wə dʑəfə-xəi.
1SG fish-ACC eat-PERF
[S] [PRED]
[COMP] [HEAD]
I ate fish.

(FD 2004)

A clause may form a simple sentence that only contains one independent clause as shown in (2a-b), or part of a complex sentence that contains a matrix clause and one or more dependent clauses as shown in (3a-b).

(2a) bi tɔmaki laxasusu-dulə ənə-mi.
1SG tomorrow city name-LOC go-1SG. IMPERF
[S] [PRED]
I am going to Lahasusu tomorrow.

(FD 2004)

(2b) niani aɾki-(wə) ɔmi-xəi-ni.
3SG alcohol- (ACC) drink-PERF-3SG
[S] [PRED]
He drank alcohol.

(FD 2004)

(3a) bi gɔni-xəi fuləxun dʑaɾi-kiɕiə.
1SG think-PERF male name sing-SUBJ
[IC] [DC]
I thought Fulehun would sing.

(FD 2004)

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(3b) ɕitəɾi titi-mi pi-ɾən xəxə dʑaɾi-xtɕi-ni.
bracelet wear-INF AUX-PROSP woman sing-PROSP-3
[DC] [IC]
The woman who is wearing a bracelet is going to sing.
(FD 2004)

Based on the dependency of the clause, clauses are classified as independent clauses (IC) as shown in (1; 2a-b; ICs in 3a-b) and dependent clauses (DC) as shown in (DCs in 3a-b). In the following sections, we are going to discuss the details of Subject, Predicate, Independent clause, Dependent clause and related linguistic phenomena.

7.1 Subject

The Kilen subject can be a noun, pronoun or noun phrase, optionally morphologically marked by the nominative case, and always precedes the predicate. By default, the subject occupies the clause-initial position as the privileged argument within the clause, as shown in (1; 2a-b). The semantic role of the subject is prototypically that of agent of an action that the subject itself undertakes, as shown above in (1; 2a-b). The subject governs the agreement of the verb in terms of person, as shown above in (1; 2a-b; 3a-b). In Kilen, the subject is not always overtly present within the clause. When a verbal predicate is marked for person governed by the subject, as shown in (4a); a subject can be omitted, as shown in (4b).

(4a) bi aɾki-(wə) ɔmi-xəi-mi.
1SG alcohol- (ACC) drink-PERF-1SG
I drank alcohol.
(consul.)

(4b) ∅ aɾki-(wə) ɔmi-xəi-mi.
alcohol- (ACC) drink-PERF-1SG
I drank alcohol.
(consul.)

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7.2 Predicates

The predicate indicates an event, a process or state in which the subject is involved, as shown below in (5-6).

(5) niani bixan fuli-xəi-ni.
3SG beast hunt-PERF-3SG
He caught some wild animals.
(FD 2004)

(6) tərgələ adakɔli.
clothes dirty
The lothes are dirty.
(FD 2004)

The predicate is always placed after the subject, as shown in (5-6).

According to the word class of the matrix predicate, Kilen clauses can be distinguished into two major types: Verbal and Non-verbal. Both of these predicate types are used frequently in Kilen.

7.2.1 Verbal predicates

In Kilen, a verbal predicate contains a finite verb, which is typically marked for aspect, mood and person, as shown in (7-8).

(7) bi ɕiksə ɔlguma-wə dʑəfə-xəi-mi.
1SG yesterday pheasant-ACC eat-PERF-1SG
I ate pheasant yesterday.
(consul.)

(8) ɕi imaxa-wə xilə-ɾki.
2SG fish-ACC grill-IMP.2
You grill the fish.
(FD 2004)

The predicate is equivalent to the verb phrase in this description. For the details of the structures and features of such constructions, see (6.2).

Besides the standard verbal predicates formed by a finite verb, Kilen also has compound verbal predicates which are composed of a finite verb plus a non-finite verb, as shown below in (9).

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(9) niani imaxa-wə xilə(-mi) ulxi-mbi-ni.
3SG fish-ACC grill(-INF) know-HAB-3SG
He knows how to grill fish.

(FD 2004)

(10) ia-wə ɔmi (-mi) kətɕi-kiɕiə.
what-ACC drink (-INF) want-SUBJ
What would you like to drink?

(consul.)

As shown in (9-10), the finite verb (ulxi-mbi-ni 'know-HAB-3SG' in '9'; kətɕi-kiɕiə, ' want-SUBJ' in '10') is always placed after the non-finite verb (xilə (-mi) 'grill (-INF)'; ɔmi (-mi) ' drink (-INF)'). It is always the vector component of the compound verbal predicate which indicates the grammatical categories (such as aspect, mood and person).

In contrast, the non-finite verb is the component that carries the semantics of the compound verb predicate, and determines its arguments. In Kilen, the non-finite verb of the compound verbal predicate is always used in its infinitival form, although the infinitival marker '-mi' can be optional in daily spoken usage, as shown above in (9-10).

7.2.2 Non-verbal predicates

A non-verbal predicate is normally expressed by a non-verbal word accompanied by a copula indicating the meaning of 'be' as in (11), or appears by itself without an overt copula, as shown in (12). The semantic content of predication is embodied in a non-verbal component (a nominal component in Kilen), as shown in (11-12).

(11) əti adʑan aɕixən bi-ni
this woman young be (COP)-3SG
This woman is young.

(FD 2004)

(12) əti adʑan gəgə-mi.
this woman elder.sister-1SG.POSS
this is my elder sister.

(FD 2004)

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In general, non-verbal predicates are not marked for aspect or mood on the predicative elements, as shown above in (11-12). And the copula is optional in daily spoken usage. Since non-verbal predicates are closely related to the copula construction, they will be examined in detail in (7.6.1.).

7.3 Independent clauses

An independent clause is also named main clause in linguistic terminology (Bussmann, 1996: 223). The independent clause can stand on its own as a sentence as shown above in (1; 2a-b) or it can be used as the main clause in a complex sentential construction as shown above in (3a-b).

7.3.1 Internal structure of Independent clauses

Based on the nature of the predicate, Kilen differentiates two kinds of independent clause: verbal and non-verbal.

A verbal independent clause consists of a predicate that is expressed by a finite verb in the clause-final position, and a number of arguments and adjuncts to the left of the predicate. The subject of the predicate always occupies the clause-initial position, as shown in (13):

(13) ɛiŋəri takətu-tigi ʧafə-wə xulxa-xʧi-ni.
rat fish storage-ABL fish roe-ACC steal-PROSP-3SG
[S] [ADJUNCT] [COMP] [PRED]
Rat is going to steal some fish roe from the fish storage.
(Lit.S)

The pattern of verbal independent clauses is as shown below:

[Sentence]
[NP (S)] [NP] [NP(O)][VP(PRED)]

Besides verbal independent clauses (as shown above in 1-3), Kilen also has non-verbal independent clauses, in which the predicate consists of a noun phrase, as shown in (14-15).

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(14) ti ama-ni sələfaxɛi.
3SG father-POSS blacksmith
[S] [NP(PRED)]
His father is a blacksmith

(FD 2004)

(15) bi gəgə-mi gugəda.
1SG elder sister-POSS tall
[S] [NP(PRED)]
My elder sister is tall.

(FD 2004)

The clausal pattern of the non-verbal independent clause is stated as below:

[Sentence]

[NP(S)] [NP(PRED)]

Like verbal independent clauses, non-verbal predicates are placed in the clause-final position as well; and the subject also occupies the clause-initial position, as shown above in (14-15).

7.3.2 Types of Independent clause

Clauses can be classified functionally, based on the types of utterance that they express. Kilen has three subtypes of independent clauses: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory. All of these can be expressed by verbal and non-verbal clauses. In this section, we will just discuss the verbal clauses.

7.3.2.1 Declarative clause

The declarative clause is the most simple clausal type in Kilen, and it is widely used in the daily spoken language. This kind of clause is typically used in the expression of statements. A declarative clause consists of between zero and three arguments followed by a predicate, as shown below in (16-19).

(16) tə-xəi-ni.
sit-PERF-3SG
He sat down.

(consul.)

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(17) ti tə-xəi-ni.
3SG sit-PERF-3SG
He sat down.

(consul.)

(18) bi gərbi-(wə)-ɕi ədʑə.
1SG name-(ACC)-2SG remember (IMPERF)
I remember your name.

(FD 2004)

(19) ɕi bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-kiɕiə.
2SG 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-SUBJ
I wish you could teach me Chinese.

(FD 2004)

As shown above in (16), the argument that indicates the role of subject can be omitted when the predicate is marked for person. Apart from this, the leftmost argument is the subject of the predicate within the clause in general, as discussed in (7.3.1) above. Object arguments are placed between the subject and predicate, as shown in (18-19). Accusative-marked arguments always immediately precede the predicate, as shown in (18-19). As discussed in (6.1.1.3), a ditransitive verb takes two objects; in this case, the order of these two arguments is interchangeable, as shown in (20a-b).

(20a) bi ɕi-wə dʑarə-wə tatimi-jə.
1SG 2SG-ACC song-ACC teach-IMP
Let me teach you songs.

(FD 2004)

(20b) bi dʑarə-wə ɕi-wə tatimi-jə.
1SG song-ACC 2SG-ACC teach-IMP
Let me teach you songs.

(consul.)

Dative-marked arguments precede accusative-marked object arguments within the ditransitive clause, as shown in (21).

(21) bi ɕi-du dʑixa-wə bu-mi.
1SG 2SG-DAT money-ACC give-1SG. IMPERF
I will give you money.

(FD 204)

The basic word order can be schematized as S-V in intransitive clauses, as shown in (16-17); A-P-V in transitive clauses, as shown in (18); and A-R-T-V in ditransitive clauses, as shown in (19, 20a, 21). The agent can be omitted in every kind of clause, as long as the predicate is marked for person.

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7.3.2.2 Interrogative clauses

An interrogative clause is the kind of clause in which the speaker requests information about something. The following syntactic characteristics can usually identify Kilen interrogative clauses: question intonation, interrogative pronouns, and modal particles. Kilen allows several types of interrogative clauses: polar interrogative, constituent interrogative, alternative interrogative and contrastive interrogative.

Polar interrogatives may also be named yes/no questions, those for which the expected "answer simply consists in providing a truth-value for the corresponding declarative clause" (KÖnig & Siemund, 2007). The answer to this kind of interrogative is expected to be either 'YES' or 'NO'.

Polar interrogatives do not involve any peculiar morphological means or syntactic characteristics; they are simply indicated by the questioning intonation such that the last word of the clause will be pronounced with a rising intonation, as shown in (22a-b, 23a-b, 24a-b).

(22a) ɕi sa.
2SG know
You know.
(Lit.S)

(22a) ɕi sa?
2SG know
You know?
(consul.)

(23a) ti jaliŋkɔ jali-mi ulxi.
3SG folklore song sing-INF be able to
He can sing folklore.
(FD 2004)

(23b) ti jaliŋkɔ jali-mi ulxi?
3SG folklore song sing-INF be able to
Does he know how to sing folklore?
(FD 2004)

(24a) niani əinin laxəsusu-dʑi əmə-ɾən.
3SG today place name- INSTR come-PERF
He came here from Lahesusu today.
(FD 2004)

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(24b) niani əinin laxəsusu-dʑi əmə-ɾən?
3SG today place name- INSTR come-PERF
Did he come to here from Lahesusu today?
(FD 2004)

As shown above in (22-24), the polar interrogatives keep the original clausal pattern in word order as the corresponding declarative clauses; the finite verbal predicate is always placed clause-finally.

In some cases, the polar interrogatives are marked by special interrogative particles, as shown in (25a-c).

(25a) ɕi sa ba?
2SG know INT P
Do you know? (The speaker's expected answer is biased towards positive)
(consul.)

(25b) ɕi sa ma?
2SG know INT P
Do you know? (The speaker has no expectation of the answer; it just is a neutral question.)
(consul.)

(25c) ɕi sa a?
2SG know INT P
Do you really know? (The speaker believes the hearer does not know the information that the speaker provides.)
(consul.)

The cases above (25a-c) are very similar to the usage of interrogative particles in Northern Mandarin.

(25d) 你知道吧？
Ni3 zhi1dao ba?
2SG know INT P
Do you know? (The speaker's expected answer is positive)

(25e) 你知道嗎？
Ni3 zhi1dao ma?
2SG know INT P
Do you know? (The speaker has no expectation of the answer; it just be a neutral question.)

(25f) 你知道啊？
Ni3 zhi1dao a?
2SG know INT P
Do you really know? (The speaker believes the hearer does not know the information that the speaker provides.)

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Given the high similarity of these interrogative particles, these particles may be assumed to be borrowed from Northern Mandarin.

Contrastive interrogatives are marked by the particle '-nə' which follows the contrastive component containing the focus function. The contrastive particle '-nə' is marked by a distinctive rising intonation in general. Generally, the contrastive component always be the predicate of the clause, as shown in (26-27)

(26) ɕi adɔqɔli nə?
2SG cold CONT P
Do you feel cold (or not)?

(FD 2004)

(27) ɕi mi-mə agədə-ɕi nə?
2SG 1SG-ACC trust-2SG CONT P
Will you trust me (or not)?

(Lit.I)

In some cases, the contrastive particle '-nə' can be marked on other constituents, as shown in (28-29), but this pattern is rarely seen in the data.

(28) surʂarə nə talaxa?
tasty CONT P grilled fish
Is the grilled fish tasty (or not)?

(FD 2004)

(29) əi maŋmu nə suŋgri?
this river CONT P Sunggari.
Is this river Sunggari (or not)?

(FD 2004)

Note that in such cases, the rising intonation occurs on the particle itself or both on the particle and the final syllable. As shown above, the Subject is never marked for the contrastive component. The particle *nə* is also used in form nə…nə … in the disjunctive contexts, see below (33;34;37).

Alternative interrogatives are those in which "the speaker offers the addressee a list of possible answers from which is to be chosen the correct one without any biased expectation (Siemund 2001: 1012)." In Kilen, the alternative interrogative can be formed by the special interrogative verb 'ja-' alone or in combination with disjunctive particles. The intonation of the alternative interrogative clause normally rises at the end of the first disjunct, and falls at the end of the second disjunct.

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(30) ɕikəsə imaxa-wə dʑəfə-xəi-ni ja-xəi-ni.
yesterday fish-ACC eat-PERF-3SG INT-PERF-3SG
Did he eat fish yesterday or not ?

(consul.)

(31) ti əi-du afinə-xtʃi-ni. ja-xtʃi-ni.
3SG here-DAT sleep-PROSP-3SG INT-PROSP-3SG
Is he going to sleep here or not?

(FD 2004)

As shown in (30-31), the alternative interrogative can be simply formed by the interrogative verb 'ja-' which takes the same morphological form as the finite verb in the first disjunct.

In (32) and (33), the alternative interrogatives are formed with the disjunctive particles si…si 'either … or' and nə …nə 'either …or', as shown in (32-33).

(32) əinin imaxa-wə dʑəfə-kiɕiə si ja-kiɕiə si?
Today fish-ACC eat-SUBJ DIS P INT-SUBJ DIS P
Should we eat fish today or not?

(consul.)

(33) su ənə-xəi nə ja-xəi nə?
2PL go-PERF DIS P INT-PERF DIS P
Did you go or not?

(Lit.S)

The disjunctive particles are placed between the predicative finite verb in the first disjunct and the interrogative verb 'ja-' which is presenting in the second disjunct in the same morphological form with the predicative finite verb. The disjunctive particles are used in pairs, as shown in (32-33). Generally, the alternative interrogative is marked on the verbal predicate, as shown in (30-33); and the use of the interrogative verb 'ja-' is obligatory, when the question is described by the same verb in a positive and a negative form.

When the alternative is described by different verbs without the presence of grammatical polarity, the various predicative disjuncts are simply marked by the disjunctive particles, as shown in (34-35). In such cases, the clause contains more than one finite predicate in the same morphological form, as shown in (34-35).

(34) əi kaxala gaŋgin pi-xtɕi nə xaxətənə pi-xtɕi nə?
this shirt bright be-PROSP DIS dark be-PROSP DIS
Will this shirt be bright or dark in colour?

(FD 2004)

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(35) əi dɔlbu tiɔqɔn-wə ulu-xtɛi-ni si imaxa-wə
This night chicken-ACC boil-PROSP-3SG DIS fish-ACC
xilə-xtɛi-ni si?
grill-PROSP-3SG DIS
Is he going to boil chicken or grill fish tonight?

(FD 2004)

Basically, si…si 'either … or' and nə …nə 'either …or' share the same meaning in general, although the latter one also has the function of focusing.

When disjunction is applied to the non-predicative component, the disjuncts within the alternative interrogative are also marked by the disjunctive particles. In this situation, the alternative interrogative clause only has one finite predicate, as shown in (36-37).

(36) əi ilga dɔldi-ni ɔməɛi-da ?
This flower smell-IMPERF.3SG how-FOC
surʂarə si faqɔli si?
Fragrant DIS sticky DIS
What sort of smell does this flower have, fragrant or unpleasant?

(FD 2004)

(37) niani kiaməsə-lə nə laxasusu-lə nə
3SG city's name-LOC DIS city's name-LOC DIS
ənə-ni?
go-IMPERF.3SG
Does he go to Jiamusi or Lahasusu?

(FD 2004)

Constituent interrogatives, also named content or question-word interrogatives, are those formed by a specific 'question word', normally an interrogative pronoun (see the list in 5.2.5). The interrogative pronoun replaces the queried constituent within the clause, as shown in (38a-b); any constituent of the independent clause can be queried in this way, as shown in (38a-d). The word order of a constituent interrogative retains the original word order of the declarative clause, as shown in (38a-d; 39a); It is rare to see the interrogative word taking initial position in the interrogative clause or changing the original word order of the relevant declarative clause, as shown in (39b). Constituent interrogatives retain the intonation of declarative clause but with a rising tone at the position of the interrogative word.

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(38a) niani tɔmaki xarbin-lə ənə-kiɕiə.
3SG tomorrow Harbin-LOC go-SUBJ.
He would like to go to Harbin tomorrow.
(FD 2004)

(38b) niani jarin xarbin-lə ənə-kiɕiə?
3SG when Harbin-LOC go-SUBJ
When would he like to go to Harbin?
(consul.)

(38c) ni tɔmaki xarbin-lə ənə-kiɕiə?
who tomorrow Harbin-LOC go-SUBJ
Who would like to go to Harbin tomorrow?
(consul.)

(38d) niani tɔmaki jatu-lə ənə-kiɕiə?
3SG tomorrow where-LOC go-SUBJ
Where would he like to go tomorrow?
(consul.)

(39a) su ja-wə dʑəfə-ɕi ?
2PL INT-ACC eat-IMPERF.2SG
What are you eating?
(consul.)

(39b) ja-wə su dʑəfə-ɕi ?
INT-ACC 2PL eat-IMPERF.2SG
What are you eating?
(FD 2004)

Given that other Chinese Tungusic languages generally have wh- fronting, it may be due to the influence of Northern Mandarin that wh-in situ as shown in (39a) is predominant. When the case-marked constituent is being queried, the interrogative words are in the form of corresponding case, as shown in (38d; 39b). Note that the morpheme 'ja-' meaning 'what' is (39a-b) is the same morpheme as the interrogative verb seen in (30-31). We therefore consider it an interrogative pro-form.

When the verbal predicate is being queried, the interrogative clause is formed by the interrogative word in the accusative case combined with the interrogative word taking verbal morphology marked, as shown in (40-41).

(40) ja-wə ja-xəi-ni?
What-ACC INT W-PERF-3SG
What did he do?
(consul.)

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(41) irə-dzi ja-wə ja-ɕi ?
files-INSTR what-ACC INT W-IMPERF.2SG
What will you do with the files?

(consul)

The interrogative word *ja*-'what' covers a range of interrogative meanings that is equivalent to *ɔməmi* 'why', as shown in (42a-b). This interrogative word can substitute for other interrogative words to form the clause in daily spoken language as well.

(42a) niani ɔməmi sɔnɔ-mituxə?
3SG why cry-INGR
Why did she start to cry?

(FD 2004)

(42b) niani ja sɔnɔ-mituxə?
3SG what cry-INGR
Why did she start to cry?

(consul.)

The interrogative pronoun 'ja' in the nominative case can form tag interrogatives. 'ja' is usually placed in the clausal-final position of the declarative clause, as shown in (43-44).

(43) ɕi ənə-ɕi ja?
2SG come-IMPERF INT W
You will come, won't you?

(FD 2004)

(44) su mi-mə sa-xəi ja?
2PL 1SG-ACC know-PERF INT W
You do know me, don't you?

(FD 2004)

Kilen allows multiple constituent interrogatives, although this is rare in everyday usage, as shown in (45a-b).

(45a) ni tɔmaki jatu-lə ənə-kiɕiə?
who tomorrow where-LOC go-SUBJ
Who would like to go to where tomorrow?

(consul.)

(45b) ni jaɾin jatu-lə ənə-kiɕiə?
who when where-LOC go-SUBJ
Who would like to go to where when?

(consul.)

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When the constituent interrogative is querying the quantity of a certain entity, the interrogative pronouns *uki* 'how many'/ *ati* 'how many (within 10)' precede the entity which is being queried, as shown in (46-47)

(46) ati kutaxan pi-ɾən ?
how many alcohol cup have-PERF
How many alcohol cups do you have?

(FD 2004)

(47) asən-ɕi uki sa taxən ?
wife-2SG.POSS how many year age
How old is your wife?

(FD 2004)

7.3.2.3 Imperative clause

Imperative clauses are used primarily to express a request or command. In Kilen, the imperative clause is signaled by verbal mood suffixes on the predicate of the clause, such as suffixes of imperative, optative, subjunctive and permissive mood (see the details in 6.1.1.4).

The clause consists of between zero and two expressed arguments, as shown in (48-54); there is no agent present in the clause; the verbal predicate carrying the mood suffix is placed at the end of clause, as shown in (53-54); aspect is not marked on the verbs when they are in any of these moods, and the clauses do not take person agreement suffix on the verb.

(48) dʑəfə!
eat
Eat! (You eat it)

(Lit.I)

(49) dʑəfə-jə!
eat-IMP
Eat!

(consul.)

(50) dʑəfə-ɾɔ!
Eat-OPT
Please eat.

(consul.)

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(51) dʑəfə-kiɕiə!
eat-SUBJ
Please eat! (Very polite)
(consul.)

(52) dʑəfə-kunə!
Eat-PERM
You may eat.
(consul.)

(53) ɕi dʑəfə-ɾɔ!
2SG eat-OPT
Please eat!
(FD 2004)

(54) ɕi talaxa-wə dʑəfə-ɾɔ!
2SG grilled fish-ACC eat-OPT.
Please eat the grilled fish.
(FD 2004)

As shown above in (48), the verb can be used in bare form to express a simple imperative; this kind of bare imperative clause always expresses the second person imperative, as shown in (48). Imperative clauses in imperative mood and optative mood are more often seen in the data. The word order of an imperative clause is as same as the declarative clause. Generally, imperative clauses express speech acts directed to addressees in the narrow sense of the word, that is, expressing the second person, as shown above in (48-54, except 52). When an imperative and optative mood marker implies both the speaker and addressee, they indicate an imperative clause with politeness, as discussed in (6.1.1.4). Subjunctive imperatives such as (51) imply honorific reference to all persons present (see 6.1.1.4). At the clause level, a permissive imperative only implies a third person, without constraints of politeness; but a permissive imperative prototypically implies a second person addressee, which means the speaker permits somebody (second person) to allow somebody (third person) to do something, as shown in (55)

(55) niani aɾki ɔmi-kini.
3SG alcohol drink-PERM
(Tell him), he may drink alcohol.
(FD 2004)

(56) ti guɾun tə-kunə.
3PL sit-PERM
(Tell them), they may sit down.
(FD 2004)

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Note that only a speaker in a position of authority, such as a shaman or patriarch, may use such permissive imperatives. As shown above (48-56), we can relatively easily determine the person from the marker that the imperative predicate takes; that means that Kilen imperative related mood markers encode person in the sense of a grammatical category.

7.3.2.4 Exclamatory clauses

An exclamatory clause is used to express a strong emotional reaction. Kilen has several types of exclamatory clause, as shown in (a below)

a. an individual word with an emphasizing intonational contour;

(57a) unɕi-mi!
pain-1SG
I am feeling pain!

(Lit.S)

(57b) unɕi!
It hurts!

(FD 2004)

Exclamatory clauses can lack inflection of the predicate, when the predicate is used independently, as shown in (b-c) below.

b. a simple declarative clause with final rising intonation;

(58) kilən niɔ jaliŋkɔ-wə tɕaɾi-mi tixalə-ɾən.
Kilen people folklore-ACC sing-INF like-PERF
Kilen people like to sing jalingko folklore!

(consul.)

c. Focus/emphasizing particles

(59a) unɕi-mi da!
Pain-1SG FOC
I am in pain.

(consul.)

(59b) unɕi da!
pain FOC
Pain!

(FD 2004)

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(59c) kilən niɔ jaliŋkɔ-wə tɕaɾi-mi tixalə-ɾən da.
Kilen people folklore-ACC sing-INF like-PERF FOC
Kilen people like to sing jalingko folklore!

(consul.)

As shown above in (59a-c), the uninflected focus particles are placed at the final position of the clauses to form an exclamation; the particles are pronounced with rising intonation. Generally, all monosyllabic particles have the function of focus; they more or less interchangeable when used to express an exclamatory meaning, as shown in (60a-b).

(60a) unɕi-mi na!
pain-1SG FOC
I am feeling painful!

(consul.)

(60b) unɕi-mi mai!
I am feeling pain.

(consul.)

7.4 Valency

"Valency, or grammatical valence refers to the number of arguments that can be governed by the matrix verb within the given clause"(Whaley, 1997: 183).

In Kilen, the notion of valency is highly correlated with the notion of transitivity: an intransitive verb has a valence of one, a transitive verb has a valence of two and ditransitive verb has a valence of three. The different types of verbs can occur with different numbers of arguments which can be assigned by semantic roles /case-marking.

In the following section, we will deal with constructions of different valency and valence-changing operations.

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7.4.1 Valence constructions

All valence constructions here represent constructions in the active mood. This means that "the element with the semantic role of agent (A) corresponds to the grammatical relation of the subject"(Nikolaeva and Tolskaya, 2001: 507).

7.4.1.1 Univalent construction

A univalent verb is a verb governing only one argument; it refers to an intransitive verb that involves only one participant. A Kilen univalent verb only governs the argument that is the subject of the matrix verb appearing in unmarked nominative case, as shown in (61-62).

(61) niani agə təni furku-xə-ni.
3SG elder brother.NOM a few minutes ago jump-PERF-3SG
[ARGUMENT] [ADJUNCT]
His elder brother just jumped a few minutes ago.

(FD 2004)

(62) mafa-mi budə-xəi-ni.
grandfather-1SG.POSS.NOM die-PERF-3SG
[ARGUMENT]
My grandfather died.

(Lit.I)

The sole argument of a univalent construction may be optional in use, when its referent is clearly mentioned in the previous context.

There is a special case for verbs dealing with natural meteorological phenomena, as shown in (63-64).

(63) (abqa) ədinə-xə.
sky.NOM wind-PERF
[ARGUMENT]
The wind blew

(Lit.I)

(64) (abqa) tigdə-mi pi-rən.
sky.NOM rain-INF be-PROSP
[ARGUMENT]
It is raining.

(FD 2004)

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The subject arguments are always optional in use, since these subjects are cognate, as shown in (63-64); and the optional subject argument of such constructions is not assigned any semantic role.

Note that most meteorological verbs are derived from related meteorological nouns or natural things by adding suffix '-na/-nə', as illustrated in (3.1.2.3); and some of them are not intransitive verbs, as shown in (63) above.

7.4.1.2 Divalent construction

A divalent verb is a verb governing two arguments; generally, it refers to a transitive verb which involves two participants where one participant acts toward or upon the other (Payne, 2006:239).

A Kilen divalent verb takes two syntactic arguments: a subject assigned the semantic role of agent, appearing in nominative case; and a direct object assigned the semantic role of patient, appearing in marked or unmarked accusative case, as shown in (65-66).

(65) tɕurkuli nilkə(-wə) usə-xəi-ni.
Evil nit-ACC plant-PERF-3SG
[ARGUMENT] [ARGUMENT]
The evil one planted nits.
(Lit.I)

(66) bi mukə(-wə) ɔmi-xə.
1SG water-ACC drink-PERF
[ARGUMENT] [ARGUMENT]
I drank water.
(Lit.S)

Note that accusative case marking is optional, as shown in (65-66). As in univalent constructions, the subject argument and direct object argument can be optional, when the related referents are clearly present in the previous context, but it is rare to see a sentence in which both of them are omitted.

Apart from transitive divalent verbs, Kilen has a set of **intransitive divalent verbs** that involve two arguments: a subject, appearing in unmarked nominative case; and an

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oblique complement (see details in 6.1.1.4) which may be marked by dative, locative, ablative, prolative, lative or instrumental cases, as shown in (67-69).

(67) bi ɛi-du adgə-mbi.
1SG 2SG-DAT believe-HAB
I believe you.
(Lit.I)

(68) bi fusəli-lə ənə-xəi.
1SG shop-LOC go-PERF
I went to the shop.
(FD 2004)

(69) ti xɔtɔn-tigi bugdanə-xtʃi-ni.
3SG hamlet-ABL run-PROSP-3SG
He will escape from the hamlet.
(FD 2004)

(70) niani mɔ-li fuli-xəi.
3SG forest-PROL walk-PERF
He walked through the forest.
(Lit.T)

(71) bi fusəli-xi ənə-xəi.
1SG shop-LAT go-PERF
I went to the shop.
(consul.)

(72) ti unku-dʑi budə-xəi.
3SG illness-INST die-PERF
He died of illness.
(Lit.S)

In (67), the non-subject argument bears the semantic role of benefactive, appearing in the dative case; in (68-71), the non-subject arguments bear the semantic role of location, being marked by the location-related cases (see details in 6.1.1.4); in (72), the non-subject argument bears the semantic role of circumstance, being marked by the instrumental case.

Note that the casemarking in the intransitive divalent construction is obligatory; and none of the arguments can be omitted in any situation.

7.4.1.3 Trivalent constructions

A trivalent verb is a verb governing three arguments in total; it refers to transitive verbs or ditransitive verbs that involve three core participants (Payne, 2006:239).

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Kilen trivalent verbs take three syntactic arguments: a subject assigned the semantic role of agent, appearing in the unmarked nominative case; a direct object assigned the semantic role of patient, appearing in accusative case; and a secondary object assigning the semantic role of benefactive or location, appearing in the accusative, dative, or location-related cases, as shown in (73-76).

(73) arsalan tiɔqɔ-du ʂɔlqu(-wə) usə-ni.
male name chicken-DAT corn-ACC spread-3SG. IMPERF
[SO] [DO]
[RECIPIENT] [PATIENT]
Arsalan is distributing the corn to the chickens.
(FD 2004)

(74) bi ɕi-wə bitxə (-wə) tatimi-jə.
1SG 2SG-ACC characters (-ACC) teach-IMP
[SO] [DO]
[RECIPIENT] [PATIENT]
Let me teach you characters.
(FD 2004)

(75) arsalan uɕin-lə ʂɔlqu(-wə) usə-ni.
male name field-LOC corn seed-ACC spread-IMPERF.3SG
[SO] [DO]
[LOCATION] [PATIENT]
Arsalan is spreading the corn seeds onto the farmland.
(consul.)

(76) aimi kuta-tigi ɕikə(-wə) kəltə-xəi.
God of Shaman magic bag-ABL magic clothes-ACC find-PERF
[SO] [DO]
[LOCATION] [PATIENT]
Aimi found magic clothes from within his magic bag.
(Lit.S)

Note that the direct object is placed immediately before the matrix verb in general, but it is common to see flexible order in daily spoken usage; and the accusative case marking on the direct object can be optional.

7.4.2 Valence-changing operations

Valence-changing mechanisms are morphological; this means that decreases or increases in valence are signaled by affixes on either the predicate (verbal morphology) or on its arguments (case) (Whaley, 1997: 185). In Kilen, the commonest way to change the verbal valency is by morphological marking on the

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predicate which indicates different voice structures. Kilen has three morphological valence-changing operations: Passive, Causative and Reciprocal voices.

7.4.2.1 Passive

In Kilen, the passive is a morphological valence-decreasing operation; it is morphologically marked by the suffix '-wu-' on the matrix verb within the clause, and generally applied to transitive and ditransitive verbs which involve at least two semantic participants, as shown in (77-78).

(77) ti xitə agə-du-ni tanta-wu-xəi-ni.
3SG boy elder brother-DAT-3SG. POSS beat-PAS-PERF-3SG
The boy had been beaten by his elder brother.
(An,1985)

(78) ʂəlqu-wə tiɔqɔ-du arsalan-du usə-wu-ni.
corn-ACC chicken-DAT Arsalan-DAT spread-PAS-IMPERF.3SG
The corn is spread to the chickens by Arsalan.
(FD 2004)

In (77), we see the basic form of the Kilen passive construction: the semantic patient becomes a subject in the form of nominative case within the clause and triggers verbal agreement, as shown in (17); the semantic agent is morphologically marked by the dative case and takes the function of adjunct. (78) shows that when a ditransitive verb is passivized, the semantic agent will be morphologically marked by dative case and be placed immediately before the matrix verb; other constituents keep the same morphological form as when the verb is in the indicative mood, as shown in (73) above; and the verbal agreement is still triggered by the semantic agent. Note that the patient ʂəlqu 'corn' retains the accusative case, as shown in (78). This may be analysed as an impersonal passive construction. Intransitive verbs seldom occur in the passive voice in Kilen; the rare examples show that intransitive verbs require an impersonal reading when passivized and the arguments are non-referential, as shown in (79-80).

(79) ti-du budə-wu-xəi.
there-DAT die-PAS-PERF
There somebody died.
(Lit.I)

(80) ti dʑɔ-du ənə-wu-xəi.
that house-DAT go-PAS-PERF
Somebody went to that house before.
(FD 2004)

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7.4.2.2 Causative

Causative is the only morphological valence-increasing operation in Kilen; it is morphologically marked by the suffix '-wu-' on the matrix verb within the clause. The Causative functions to add an argument to the clause, which is caused or urged to carry out the action by the subject of the clause. All kinds of verbs can be causativized, as shown in (81-85),

(81) ədinə-wu-jə.
wind-CAUS-IMP
Make the wind blow. (A Shaman incantation)
(Lit.I)

(82) ɕiŋəri waksə-mə ənə-wu-xəi.
Rat frog-ACC go-CAUS-PERF
Rat caused Frog to go.
(Lit.S)

(83) ɕiŋəri waksə-mə imaxa-wə dʑafa-wu-xəi-ni.
Rat frog-ACC fish-ACC catch-CAUS-PERF-3SG
Rat caused frog to catch fish.
(Lit.S)

(84) niani mafa agə-ni-wə min-du
3SG grandpa elder brother-3SG.POSS-ACC 1SG-DAT
bitəxə-wə bu-wu-xə-ni.
Book-ACC give-CAUS-PERF-3SG
His grandpa caused his elder brother to give me a book.
(FD 2004)

(85) aimi kɔɾi-wə jaɾin-wə mɔtu-wə
Aimi Eagle god-ACC incantation-ACC female name-ACC
tatimi-wu-xəi.
teach-CAUS-PERF
Aimi caused Eagle god to teach Moto incantations.
(Lit.T)

As shown in (81), a univalent meteorological verb can be causativized in folklore genres, such as shaman incantation. As shown in (82-85), the causer that initiates the action triggers the verbal agreement; the causee is always placed immediately after the causer, and the direct object always immediately precedes the matrix verb; in a causative construction, the agent argument (causer) corresponds to the grammatical relation of subject, while the patient/theme arguments correspond to the direct object.

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7.4.2.3 Reciprocal

A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other; both are equally agent and patient (Payne, 1997: 200).

The Kilen reciprocal is a morphological valence-decreasing operation; it is morphologically marked by suffix '-matɕi-' on the matrix verb within the clause. As discussed in (6.1.1.3), the Kilen reciprocal expresses that an action is performed by more than one doer upon one other in the same way symmetrically, as shown in (86-87).

(86) waksən tɔuki əltɕi-matɕi-ni
frog moose compete-REC-3PL
Frog and Moose competed.
(Lit.S)

(87) tiguɾun pəltɕi-matɕi-ni.
3PL help-REC-3PL
They helped each other.
(Lit.I)

(88) tiguɾun xitə-ni-wə tainə-matɕi-ni.
3PL child-3SG-ACC curse-REC-3PL
They are cursing each other's child.
(Lit.S)

As shown in (86-87), both intransitive and transitive verbs can be reciprocalized; it is rare to see the reciprocalization of ditransitive verbs; the matrix verb always takes third person plural agreement. (88) is a special case which shows that the paticipants share the ownership of the object, in (88), participants are from the same family, cursing their own child.

7.5 Relationships within the Clause

Relationships here are understood as relations between constituents within the clause in terms of morphosyntactic arrangement that have semantic and pragmatic effects.

Based on the basic grammatical functions, we commonly distinguish arguments (Noun Phrases) and predicates (Verbs) within the clause; according to this, we differentiate two major relationships: Relationships between noun phrases and verbs

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within the clause, and Grammatical Relations in the sense of Tallerman (2005) (mainly referring to Subjecthood and Objecthood within the clause).

7.5.1 Relationships between Noun phrases and Verbs

"There are three basic techniques which languages use to code syntactic functions: order and arrangement, np-marking and cross-referencing"(Andrews, 2007: 141). Kilen clearly uses these three major ways to indicate the relationship between noun phrases and the verbal predicate.

7.5.1.1 Constituent order

"It is the order of Noun phrases relative to the verb that indicates which is the subject (and therefore the agent) and which the object (and therefore the patient)"(Andrews, 2007:141).

Commonly, the basic constituent order is exhibited in pragmatically neutral simple declarative clauses. As discussed in (6.2.1.1), Kilen exhibits a S-V pattern in intransitive clauses, as shown in (89):

(89) ti tə-xəi-ni.
3SG sit-PERF-3SG
[S] [V]
He sat down.

(consul.)

An S (Agent)-O (Patient)-V pattern is followed in transitive clause, as shown in (90):

(90) tʃuɾkuli səxəsə-(wə)-ni ɕimi-xəi.
demon blood-(ACC)-3SG suck-PERF
[S(agent)] [O(Patient)] [V]
A demon sucked his blood.

(Lit.S)

A S (Agent)-SO (Recipient or Patient)-PO (Theme)-V pattern is used in ditransitive clauses, as shown in (91):

(91) aɾsalan məɾin-du-ni ɔɾɔxɔtə (-wə) nɔtu-xəi.
male name horse-DAT-3SG grass (-ACC) throw-PERF
[S(Agent)] [SO] [PO] [V]
[RECIPIENT] [THEME]
Arsalan threw grass to his horse.

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(FD 2004)

Compared to the general statement about the internal structure of independent clauses in (7.3.1) above, the pattern of the verbal independent clause is:

[Sentence]

[NP (S)] ([NP] [NP (O)])[VP (PRED)][24]

According to the examples above, Kilen expresses the typological features of Subject initiality and Verbal predicate finality which are inviolable. Briefly, Kilen exhibits the fixed constituent order system that is described as **S-O-V**. It is rare to see or hear other constituent orders in Kilen; we may just find some informal examples from bilingual conversations which is highly influenced by Northern Mandarin, as shown in (92).

(92a) ɕi dʑəfə imaxa.
2SG eat fish
You eat fish. (This is an utterance spoken by an old native Kilen woman to her granddaughter who only has very basic knowledge of Kilen)

(FD 2004)

The standard Kilen sentence is shown in (92b):

(92b) ɕi imaxa-wə dʑəfə(-jə).
2SG fish-ACC eat-(IMP)
You eat fish.

(consul.)

Note that in addition to using S-V-O order, the speaker in (92a) omits the accusative case marker.

7.5.1.2 Case-marking

"Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads" (Blake, 2001:1).

At the clausal level, casemarking is the way of specifying the relationship of various complements and adjuncts to the predicate. Case-marking appears as a post-word affix which is marked on the final element of the NP concerned, which the head noun within NP, as shown in (93).

[24] The underlined positions are empty when the verbal predicate is intransitive.

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(93) bəti ama-mu sagdi mɔɾin-wə jalu-mbi-ni.
1PL father-1PL. POSS big horse-ACC ride-HAB-3SG
Our father rides a big horse.
(consul.)

In (93), the clause involves two NPs, *bəti ama-mu*, 'our father' and *sagdi mɔɾin-wə*, 'big horse'; the relevant cases are marked on the related head nouns, unmarked nominative on *ama-mu,* accusative on *mɔɾin*, 'horse'.

As listed in (5.1.1.2), Kilen has eight inflectional cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Locative, Prolative, Ablative and Instrumental.

Nominative case is morphologically unmarked in Kilen. The grammatical subject always appears in the nominative form in Kilen. Grammatical subject here means both agent of the transitive/ditransitive predicate and the subject of intransitive predicates, as shown in (94-96).

(94) bi gəɾbi-ɕi -(wə) ədʑə.
1SG(NOM) name-2SG- (ACC) remember.IMPERF
I remember your name.
(FD 2004)

(95) ɕi bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-kiɕiə.
2SG(NOM) 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-SUBJ
I wish you could teach me the Chinese language.
(FD 2004)

(96) ti afinə-xən-ni.
3SG(NOM) sleep-PERF-3SG
He slept.
(consul.)

In some cases like (94) and (95), the direct object is not marked with the accusative marker; this condition just indicates accusative omission of direct object, it does not mean the interchangeablity between subject and its direct object; the fixed order is for the subject to precede the direct object.

In equative clauses (see 7.6), the clause may contain two nominative arguments appearing in the unmarked nominative case, as shown in (97-98).

(97) əi mafa bəti mafa.
This old man 1PL grandfather
This old man is our grandfather.
(consul.)

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(98) ti dʑɔlu ti əniə.
That stone 3SG mother
That stone is his mother. (from A Suhuli story based on 'Monkey King'.)
(Lit.S)

Accusative case is morphologically marked by the suffix *-wə/-mə*[25]. This marking indicates the grammatical direct object of the transitive predicate and the primary object and secondary object (Patient) of ditransitive predicates, as shown in (99-100).

(99) inaki **gulmaxu-mə** sanu-xəi.
dog **rabbit-ACC** bite-PERF
[S (Agent)] [O (Patient)] [V]
The dog bit the rabbit.
(FD 2004)

(100) ɛi **bi-wə** **nikan gisu (-wə)** tatimi-kiɛiə.
2SG **1SG-ACC** **Chinese language (-ACC)** teach-SUBJ
[SO (Patient)] [PO (Theme)]
I wish you could teach me Chinese.
(FD 2004)

As shown above in (94-95; 100), the accusative marker is not obligatorily marked sometimes. In (100), the accusative marker of the secondary object (patient) is obligatory in such a ditransitive clause. The reason of optionality of accusative suffix cannot be determined from the data, since it seems that this condition is quite flexible.

Genitive case is morphologically marked by the suffix '-i/-ji'. Unlike other cases that mainly express the relationship between a noun and the predicate, genitive case indicates the relationships of possession between two nouns within the noun phrase. It is marked on the dependent within the noun phrase to indicate the possessor of the head noun, as shown in (101-102).

(101) ti mandu**-ji** ama(-wə) wa-xəi-ni.
3SG name**-GEN** father (-ACC) kill-PERF-3SG
He killed Mandu's father.
(Lit.I)

(102) əi niɔ kiaməsə**-ji** niɔ.
This person Jiamusi**-GEN** person.
This person is a Jiamusi[26] person.
(FD 2004)

[25] The distinction between these two suffixes is listed in (5.1.1.2).
[26] It is the name of a city.

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In some cases, the genitive case may express the instrumental role of an entity by means of which an action occurs, as shown in (103-105),

(103) ti mandu-**ji** ama luki-**ji** wa-xəi.
3SG name-**GEN** father arrow-**GEN** kill-PERF
He killed Mandu's father with an arrow.
(Lit.I)

(104) əi imaxa-wə kutɕə-**ji** xɔji-jə.
This fish-ACC knife-**GEN** cut-IMP
Use a knife to cut up this fish.
(FD 2004)

(105) ti sagdi imaxa-wə dʑəbəgɔ-**ji** dʑəbəgɔ-ɾɔ.
That big fish-ACC harpoon-**GEN** stick-OPT
Use the harpoon to get that big fish.
(FD 2004)

Generally, the genitive instrumental expresses a 'harmful' meaning when it appears in a common declarative clause, as shown in (105). Mostly, genitive instrumentals appear in imperative clauses to indicate the entity by means of which an action occurs, as shown in (104-105). The relationship between genitive and instrumental is discussed below. When the possessive marker morphologically marks the head noun, the genitive case marker is optional, as shown in (106).

(106) ti mɔɾin(-i) ilgi-ni xɔji-xəi.
3SG horse(-GEN) tail-3SG.POSS cut-PERF
He cut the horse's tail.
(Lit.S)

Dative case is morphologically marked by the suffix '-də/-du'. This marking indicates the grammatical indirect object of two-argument intransitive clauses, or the secondary object (Recipient) of ditransitive predicates. In Kilen, dative is a grammatical case that can encode a variety of semantic roles: recipient, benefactive, goal and location, as shown in (107-110).

(107) bi ɕi-du adgə-mbi.
1SG 2SG-DAT believe-HAB
[S] [BEN] [INTR]
I believe you.
(Lit.I)

(108) niani bi-du imaxa (-wə) bu-xəi.
3SG 1SG-DAT fish (-ACC) give-PERF
[S] [RECIPIENT] [THEME] [DITRS]
He gave me a fish.

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(FD 2004)

(109) ti ulkian xaɾku-də fuɾku-xəi.
3SG pig sty-DAT jump-PERF
[s] [GOAL] [INTR]
He jumped into the pigsty.

(FD 2004)

(110) bi baitə-ɕi-də əmə-kiɕiə.
1SG issue-2SG. POSS-DAT come-SUBJ.
[S] [GOAL] [INTR]
I came here for your issue.

(FD 2004)

Locative case is morphologically marked by the suffix '-lə/-dulə'. Generally, this marking marks the indirect object of an intransitive predicate, which signals motion directed toward a point, or limit of a motion event. This marking only occurs in intransitive clauses, as shown in (111-112).

(111) bi laxasusu-lə ənə-xtɕi-mi.
1SG place name-LOC go-PROSP-1SG
I will go to Lahasusu.

(FD 2004)

(112) niani aɾsalan-i dʑɔ-lə əɾi-mi pi-ɾən.
3SG name-GEN house-LOC sweep-INF Cop-PROSP
He is at Arsalan's house doing some cleaning.

(FD 2004)

In (111), the locative case marks motion directed toward a point; in (112), the locative expresses a limit of a motion event.

In some cases, locative case may substitute for the dative case, when the dative marks an indirect object which takes the semantic role of goal of a motion event. For example, sentences (109-110) above can be reformulated with the locative case, as shown in (113-114).

(113) ti ulkian xaɾku-lə fuɾku-xəi.
3SG pig sty-LOC jump-PERF
[s] [GOAL] [INTR]
He jumped into the pigsty.

(consul.)

(114) bi baitə-ɕi-lə əmə-kiɕiə.
1SG issue-2SG. POSS-LOC come-SUBJ.
[S] [GOAL] [INTR]
I came here for your issue.

(consul.)

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Prolative case is morphologically marked by the suffix *-li/-duli*. It indicates the location through which an action occurs, as shown in (115); it also expresses the duration of time within which an action will be completed, as shown in (116).

(115) arsalan təji-li bugdana-xəi.
name forest-PROL run-PERF
Arsalan ran through the forest.

(FD 2004)

(116) tɕurkuli ilan inin-duli budə-xtɕi-ni.
Devil three day-PROL die-PROSP-3SG
The Devil will die within three days.

(Lit.I)

In some cases, the Prolative case also marks the theme of speaking, meaning'about' as in 'to speak/talk about …', as shown in (117).

(117) ti ənduri-li xəsu-mi pi-rən.
3SG gods-PROL talk-INF COP-PROSP
He is talking about gods.

(Lit.I)

Ablative case is morphologically marked by the suffix '-tigi'. It marks the semantic role of locational or temporal source of an event or action, as shown in (118-120).

(118) niani laxasusu-tigi əmə-xəi.
3SG Lahasusu-ABL come-PERF.
He came from Lahasusu.

(FD 2004)

(119) tɕaxəsə abka-tigi tuxə-xə-ni.
Letter heaven-ABL drop-PERF-3SG
The Letter dropped down from Heaven.

(Lit.S)

(120) bi ɕikəsə-tigi pianɕila-mi-tu-xəi.
1SG yesterday-ABL 'make dumpling'-INF-P. CONV-PERF
I started to make dumplings from yesterday.

(FD 2004)

In Kilen, the ablative case is also used to mark the standard of a comparative construction, as shown in (121-122).

(121) gurdʑən ɕibɕiki-tigi sagdi.
Cricket locust-ABL big
A Cricket is bigger than a locust.

(FD 2004)

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(122) nikan kilən-tigi malxun.
Han Chinese Kilen-ABL many
The population of Han Chinese is more than the Kilen.
(FD 2004)

Instrumental case is morphologically marked by the suffix '-dʑi'. Generally, this marking is used for the adjunct of a transitive clause or the indirect object of an intransitive clause; 'this case appears with NPs that indicate the instrument or manner by means of which an action is carried out, or and entity in whose accompaniment an action takes place' (Slater, 2003: 170), as shown in (123-124).

(123) ti dʑəbəgə-dʑi imaxa-wə dʑəbəgələ-xəi.
3SG harpoon-INSTR fish-ACC stick-PERF
He used a harpoon to impale fish.
(FD 2004)

(124) ti unku-dʑi budə-xəi.
3SG illness-INST die-PERF
He died of an illness.
(Lit.S)

The instrumental case also has a special use as a marker of reciprocal action, as discussed in (6.1.1.2).

As discussed above, the genitive case can also express instrumental meaning in some cases, as shown in (103-105). The distinction between genitive instrumental and instrumental is as follows:

a. The Genitive instrumental can only be used in transitive clauses, as shown in (103-105); the Instrumental can also be used in intransitive clauses, as shown in (124).
b. A Genitive instrumental marked constituent is always placed after the direct object and immediately before the verbal predicate, as shown in (103-105); an Instrumental case marked constituent always precedes the direct object, as shown in (123).
c. The Genitive instrumental is generally used in imperative clauses, as shown in (104-105); the Instrumental does not have this feature.

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7.5.1.3 Agreement

Agreement, or Cross-referencing, means that a matrix verb is formally marked to reflect various grammatical properties of its NP arguments. Kilen inflected verb phrases only agree with the subject (nominative noun phrase) with regard to person and number, as shown in (37-39).

(125a) bi afinə-xən-mi.
1SG sleep-PERF-1SG
I slept.
(consul.)

(125b) bəti afinə-xəi-mu.
1PL sleep-PERF-1PL
We slept.
(consul.)

(126a) ɕi nikan-wə tatimi-mbi-ɕi.
2SG Chinese-ACC teach-HSB-2SG
You (pl.) teach Chinese.
(consul.)

(126b) su nikan-wə tatimi-mbi-su.
2PL Chinese-ACC teach-HAB-2PL
You teach Chinese.
(consul.)

(127a) niani bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-mbi-ni.
3SG 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-HAB-3SG
He teaches me Chinese language.
(FD 2004)

(127b) tigurun bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-mbi-ni.
3PL 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-HAB-3PL
They teach me Chinese language.
(consul.)

As shown in (125-127) and mentioned in (6.1), Kilen indicates the number and person of the subject with person morphemes which also serve as possessive suffixes, and do not differentiate singular and plural when the subject is in third person. Nominative subjects all trigger agreement on the matrix verb within the clause.

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As mentioned in (6.1.1.4), when the matrix verb is marked by a non-indicative mood markers, the nominative subject does not trigger the agreement on the matrix verb, since all non-indicative mood markers encode the person/number features themselves, as shown in (128-129).

(128) ɕi tərə-wə barki-ɾki.
2SG table-ACC clean-IMP.2
You clean the table.

(FD 2004)

(129) niani arki ɔmi-kini.
3SG alcohol drink-PERM
He may drink alcohol.

(FD 2004)

The imperative suffix '-ɾki' as in (128) only exists for the second person; the permissive suffix '-kini' in (129) only exists for third person. Generally, the subject cannot be omitted when the clause is in a non-indicative mood. When the clause is in the indicative, the person/number markers can be omitted when the subject is present, as shown in (130-131).

(130) ɕi nikan-wə tatimi-mbi.
2SG Chinese-ACC teach-HAB
You teach Chinese.

(consul.)

(131) bəti afinə-xəi.
1PL sleep-PERF
We slept.

(consul.)

In some special cases, person/number markers also occur on the object, as shown in (132-134).

(132) tʃuɾkuli səxəsə-ni ɕimi-xəi.
demon blood-3SG suck-PERF
A demon sucked his blood.

(Lit.S)

(133) arsalan mərin-du-ni ɔrɔxɔtə (-wə) nɔtu-xəi.
male name horse-DAT-3SG grass (-ACC) throw-PERF
Arsalan threw grass to his horse.

(FD 2004)

(134) arsalan mərin-wə-ni tanta-xə
Arsalan horse-ACC-3SG hit-PERF
Arsalan hit his horse.

(FD 2004)

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In (133) and (134), the person/number markers indicate the possession of the nominative subject; in (132), the person/number marker introduces the possession of another possessor which can only be determined through the discourse. These cases are not related to the matrix verb within the clause, nor to the agreement between subject and verbal predicate.

7.5.2 Grammatical relations

"Grammatical relations, or grammatical functions, mean the relationship a constituent in a sentence has with the other constituents" (Richards et al, 2005: 299).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, grammatical relation here refers to the functional relationships between noun phrases (participants) within the clause: Subject and Object. In this section, we will determine the properties of both subject and object, and the system for organizing grammatical relations.

7.5.2.1 Subjecthood

Subject is the most important grammatical relation cross-linguistically. The subject here is "a grammatical relation that is the normal expression of the A and S[27] grammatical functions… as a grammatical relation, the subject should function as a significant ingredient… it seems plausible to recognize it as a structural primitive "(Andrews, 2007: 166).

Semantically, the Kilen subject is normally used to express the agent of transitive and ditransitive clauses, as shown in (135-136); or the only core argument of intransitive clauses, as shown in (137).

(135)	**niani**	tɛɔki-mə	səfərə-mi	pi-ɾən.
	3SG	knife-ACC	hold-INF	be-PROSP
	[SUB (A)]			
	He is holding a knife.			

(Lit.I)

[27] A refers to the agent; S refers to the subject of intransitive clause.

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(136) **niani** bi-wə nikan gisu-mə tatimi-mbi-ni.
3SG 1SG-ACC Chinese language-ACC teach-HAB-3SG
[SUB (A)]
He teaches me Chinese.

(FD 2004)

(137) **niani** gətə-xəi-ni.
3SG wake-PERF-3SG
[SUB]
He woke up.

(FD 2004)

Morphosyntactically, Kilen has a set of unambiguous features to give a clear indication of subject:

a. The subject is always morphologically marked by the nominative case that is null, as discussed and shown in (7.5.1.2) above;

b. Typically, the subject occupies the preverbal clause-initial position within the clause, as shown and discussed in (7.5.1.1) above;

c. the subject governs the agreement of the verb in terms of person, as shown and discussed in (7.5.1.3) above;

d. the subject controls the reference of reflexive NPs which are coreferential with the subject itself, as shown below in (138-139);

(138) ti ama **ti** **mənə** tɕabtɕi-xəi-ni.
3SG father **3sG** **-self** slash-PERF-3SG
His father slashed himself.

(FD 2004)

(139) mandu əniə-ni **niani** **mənə** mandu-du
Mandu mother-3SG. POSS **3SG** **-self** Mandu-DAT
paldi-xəi-ni.
Give birth-PERF-3SG
Mandu's mother gave birth to Mandu by herself without others' help.

(Lit.I)

In (138) and (139), we understand that the reflexive forms refer back to the third person singular subject.

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e. "The subject controls the switch-reference-system in which the verb of a clause takes a marker that indicates whether the subject within the clause is the same or different from that of some other coordinated or subordinated clause" (Andrews, 2007: 176). In Kilen, it means, the non-finite verb that forms the subordinate clause may take some related markers to clarify the coreference of the subjects of superordinate and subordinate clauses, as shown in (52-53);

(140) ɕi ənə-**tu** əmərgi-ɕi.
2SG go-**I. CONV. ANT** come back-IMPF.2SG
You go and then come back immediately.
(FD 2004)

(141) bi ulu-xtʃi-**nəmi** mukə-wə dʑigdə-xtʃi-mi.
1SG cook-PROSP-**I. CONV. PURP** water-ACC boil-PROSP-1SG
In order to cook, I will boil water.
(FD 2004)

In (140) and (141), the impersonal anterior converb marker *-tu* and impersonal purposive converb *-nəmi* indicate that the subordinate clause and the superordinate clause share the same subject which is controlled by the subject of the superordinate clause. (See further examples in 6.1.1.6)

f. The subject is understood as the elided element in the construction where the matrix verb takes verbal agreement, as shown in (142-144);

(142) ∅ tə-xəi-**ni**.
(3SG) sit-PERF-**3SG**
He sat down.
(consul.)

(143) ∅ tərə-wə barki-**ɾki.**
(2SG) table-ACC clean-**IMP.2**
You clean the table.
(FD 2004)

(144) ∅ putadʑəfə-**tu** ∅ imaxawa-mi
(1SG) eat-meal-**I. CONV. ANT** (1SG) fish.catch-INF
ənə-**ji**.
go-**IMPF.1SG**
When I finish the meal, I will go to catch fish.
(FD 2004)

Note that the subject can be elided in both simple independent clauses, as shown in (142-143) above, and complex sentences, as shown in (144) above.

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7.5.2.2 Objecthood (Direct object)

Object here, or direct object, means the complement that is directly affected by the transitive verb within the clause, associated with the Patient function. Semantically, the Kilen object is used to express the patient of transitive, as shown in (145) and ditransitive clauses, as shown in (146).

(145) ti ama ɔxɔtɔ-wə gadʑi-mi pi-ɾən.
3SG father medicine-ACC hold-INF Cop-PROSP
[Patient]
His father is holding the medicine.

(FD 2004)

(146) mama mandu-wə saɾkə-wə lɔqɔ-xəi-ni.
Old lady Mandu-ACC amulet-ACC put…on…-PERF-3SG
[Patient] [Theme]
The old lady put an amulet on Mandu.

(Lit.I)

Compared to Subject, there are only a few grammatical processes applying exclusively to specific types of direct object. Morphologically, in Kilen, the unit that is identified, as the direct object is the noun phrase that is morphologically marked by accusative case, as shown in (7.5.1.2: Accusative case) above. Syntactically, the Kilen direct object has two major features to indicate itself:

a. The direct object is placed between the subject and predicate immediately preceding the predicate , as shown in (147);

(147) bi təni **buɕuku-wə** itiɕi-xə-mi.
1SG a.few.minute.ago **ghost-ACC** see-PERF-1SG
[ADJUNCT] **[DO(P)]**
I saw a ghost a few minutes ago.

(Lit.S)

Note that the ditransitive clause is a special case in that the direct object may not precede the matrix verb immediately in a ditransitive clause, since the theme argument always precedes the matrix verb in this case, as shown in (146) above.

b. The direct object is the only grammatical relation that can be passivized, as shown in (148a-b);

(148a) aimi buɕuku-wə tanta-xəi-ni.
Shaman god ghost-ACC hit-PERF-3SG
Aimi hit the ghost

(Lit.T)

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(148b) buɕuku aimi-du tanta-wu-xəi-ni.
Ghost shaman god-DAT hit-PAS-PERF-3SG
The ghost was hit by Aimi.

(Lit.T)

Note that as stated in (b) above, the patient in (146) should allow passive, but it does not, because the double accusative marked ditransitive clause as in (146) never allow passive.

Indirect object refers to the oblique complement in this description; see detail in (6.1.1.4)

7.5.2.3 System for organizing S, A and P

"In order to adequately define grammatical relations, it is convenient to identify three basic semantico-syntactic roles, termed S, A, and P" (Comrie, 1978: 329-94).

"The S is defined as the only nominal argument of a single-argument clause…A is defined as the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause… P is the "most PATIENT-like" argument of a multi-argument clause" (Payne, 1997: 133-134).

In Kilen, the S refers to the Subject of the only core argument of the intransitive clause, as shown in (137) above; A refers to the subject of the transitive and ditransitive clause, as shown in (135-136); P refers to the direct object of the transitive and ditransitive clause, as shown in (145-147) above. According to the examples in this chapter, Kilen marks S and A in the same way, and treat P differently; this constitutes a Nominative/ Accusative system.

7.5.2.4 Remarks

The optionality of the accusative marker on direct object is not a significant feature of direct objects. This optionality only applies in casual conversation, and is related to the distance to the matrix verb, as discussed in the paragraph of Accusative case (see 7.5.1.2) above.

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7.6 Copula Clause

"The copula clause here refers to clauses that have as predicate a copula verb, taking two core arguments, Copula Subject and Copula Complement", (Dixon, 2010: Vol 2: 159). "A copula may cover the semantic relations of Identity, Attribution; often also Possession, Benefaction and Location," (Dixon, 2010, Vol 2: 159).

In this description, copula clause refers to two-core-argument clauses (as shown in 149-154 below) that are expressed by the **copular construction** itself, as shown in (152-154), or by a **bare nonverbal predicate**, as shown in (149-151), which is actually an argument within the copula clause.

Kilen copula clause covers semantic relations of Proper inclusion as shown in (149), Equative as shown in (150), Attribution, as shown in (151), Existence as shown in (152), Location as shown in (153) and Possession as shown in (154).

(149) əi niɔ **mɔ** **faxɕi.**
this person wood craftsman
This person is a carpenter.
(FD 2004)

(150) əi mafa **min-i** **amaxani**.
This elder 1SG-GEN father.in.law
This elder is my father-in-law.
(FD 2004)

(151) əi mɔɾin-i iligini **gudʑikuli.**
This horse-GEN tail beautiful
This horse has a beautiful tail.
(FD 2004)

(152) bi ***maŋmu*** ***tʃiap (-duli)*** ***kəɾə*** **pi-tɕin.**
1SG river bank(-PROL) side Cop-PROG
I am beside the river bank.
(FD 2004)

(153) tatu ***əmə*** ***piɾa*** **pi-rən**
there a river Cop-PROSP
There is a river over there.
(consul.)

(154) ti ***mutʃu*** ***wufa-ni*** **pi-rən**
3SG wheat powder-3SG.POSS Cop-PROSP
He has flour.
(Lit.S)

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As in other declarative clauses, the subject of a copula clause is always placed clause-initially, as shown in (149-154); the subject complement embodying predication which completes the subject by renaming, as shown in (149-150) and describing its situation, as shown in (152-154), can be placed between subject and copula verb, as shown in (152-154) or be placed after copula verb, as shown in (155).

(155) bi pi-mbi pulafun.
1SG Cop-HAB wand
I have a wand.

(Lit.S)

Although the subject complement of a copula clause may look like an OBJECT argument, the complements are actually the predicative elements of the copula clause, as shown in (149-155) above. In this chapter, we will determine the details by distinguishing different predicative elements: copular constructions, and bare nonverbal predicates.

7.6.1 Copular construction

The copular construction consists of an overt copula and a certain predicate nominal, as shown in (152-154) above.

7.6.1.1 Copula

Kilen has two distinct copulae: 'pi-' (similar to the 'be' in English) and 'da-' (encoding change of state, similar to 'become' in English), as shown in (156-157). They do not have overlapping meaning.

(156) adili imaxa pi-ɾən.
fishing net fish Cop-PROSP
There is a fish in the net.

(Lit.S)

(157) bi gɔɛin da-xəi.
1SG thirty Cop-PERF
I am (now) thirty years old.

(consul.)

The Copula mainly denotes a linking function between the subject and its complement within the copula clause; it does not bear any semantic content other than

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the change of state component, only appearing as a semantically-empty verb that bears verbal inflection, such as aspect, as shown in (153-157); it is rare to see a copula which bears a person agreement marker, as shown in (176).

Generally, copulae have the same inflectional marking system as described for other regular verbs. There are only two exceptions: pi- 'be' takes '-ɾən' to denote prospective aspect, as shown in (153-154;156), and '-tɕin' to express progressive aspect, as shown in (152).

7.6.1.2 Predicate nominals within Copula construction

The Kilen copula construction involves three kinds of predicate nominals: Locationals, Existentials, and Possessives.

The Locational copula construction consists of a copula, generally 'pi-', and a location-related case-marked predicative nominal; it is the only type of copula clause in which the subject complement bears obligatory case marking, as shown in (158-159).

(158) ti agə pi-tɕi dʑɔ-lə.
3SG elder.brother Cop-PROG house-LOC
His elder brother is at home.

(consul.)

(159) ti laxasusu-tigi pi-xə.
3SG Lahasusu-ABL Cop-PERF
He was from lahasusu.

(FD 2004)

Existentials and Possessives are not formally differentiated in Kilen. They share the same clausal structure, as shown in (160-161).

(160) uɕixa tɔɾu bi-ɾən.
temple god rod Cop-PROSP
There is a god rod in the temple.

(Lit.I)

(161) bi kita bi-tɕin.
1SG spear Cop-PROG
I have a spear.

(Lit.I)

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Semantically, the existential requires a locational or temporal adjunct that is instantiated by the subject of the copula clause, as shown in (153; 160); the Possessive always requires an animate subject, as shown in (154; 161). The copula 'pi-' in Existentials and possessives normally takes the progressive or prospective marker, as shown in (160-161).

According to the description above, 'pi-' is frequently used to express the existential, locational and possessive; we never see the copula 'da-' expressing these three semantic-relations. 'da-' is always used to express the semantic relation of attribution, as shown in (162).

(162) niani xitə surə da-xəi.
3SG son clever Cop-PERF
His son became clever.

(Lit.S)

'da-' is always marked by the perfective markers to denote a changed attribution, as shown in (157; 162).

7.6.2 Bare nonverbal predicate

Kilen has a kind of copula clause that only consists of a subject and its complements; the complement plays the role of predicate without any other verbal association; the complement of this kind of clause is named a nonverbal predicate, as shown in (163-165).

(163) ɔtɔ mafa ənduɾi.
old-man-luck god
old-man-luck is a god.

(Lit.S)

(164) min-i agə ama-ni.
1SG.GEN elder brother father-3SG. POSS
My elder brother is his father.

(FD 2004)

(165) ɛiŋəɾi kuimali
rat cunning
Rat is cunning.

(Lit.S)

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The nonverbal predicate of a copula clause without an overt copula does not bear any verbal inflection, as shown in (149-151; 163-165).

Kilen have two kinds of nonverbal predicates: predicate nominals and predicate adjectives. Semantically, "predicate nominals express the notions of proper inclusion which means a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in predicate nominal"(Payne, 1997: 114), as shown in (149; 163), and "equative means which a particular entity is identical to the entity specified in predicate nominal" (Payne, 1997: 114), as shown in (150; 164).

Predicate adjectives are not distinct structurally from predicate nominals, as shown in (151; 165). Semantically, predicate adjectives express the notion of attribution, that is, expressing a quality of the subject, as shown in (151; 165).

In some rare examples, the predicate adjective is used together with the copula, as shown in (166-167).

(166) ti tɕikin fakɕə pi-tɕin.
3SG very skillful Cop-PROG
She is very skillful.

(FD 2004)

(167) mandu saqdi da-xəi.
Mandu big Cop-PERF
Mandu became big. (Mandu is growing up, has become stronger.)

(Lit.I)

Similarly, predicate nominals occasionally bear the copula 'da-' to denote the changed notions of proper inclusion, as shown in (168) and equative, as shown in (169).

(168) mandu ənduɾi da-xəi.
Mandu god Cop-PERF
Mandu became a god.

(Lit.I)

(169) min-i agə ama-ni da-xəi.
1SG.GEN elder.brother father-3SG. POSS Cop-PERF
My elder brother became his father. (in this sentence, the elder brother became another person's stepfather; Kilen does not have a specific word to indicate stepfather.)

(FD 2004)

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7.7 Comparison

A comparative is a construction in which two items are compared according to some quality, (Payne, 1997: 88). Logically, there are two distinct kinds of comparison: comparison of superiority that indicates the different graded position according to the proper quality between to objects, as shown in (170), and comparison of equality that similarity between two objects according to the relevant quality , as shown in (171).

(170) sungaɾi usuɾi-tigi ɔmɔniɔ.
Sunggari Ussuri-ABL long
[SBJ] [STD]-[MKR] [QUAL]
The Sunggari (River) is longer than the Ussuri (River).
(consul.)

(171) mandu-ji isalə-ni aiɛin adalin gəŋgin.
Mandu-GEN eye-3SG. POSS gold as…as… vivid
[SBJ] [STD] [MKR] [QUAL]
Mandu's eyes are as vivid as gold.
(Lit.I)

As Payne (1997: 89) mentioned, a grammaticalized comparative construction has four elements: a subject which functions as a Comparee; a standard which the subject of the clause is compared; a comparative marker which denotes that the clause is a comparative construction; and the Quality by which the subject is compared with the standard, as exemplified in (170-171).

7.7.1 Comparison of Superiority

In Kilen, the ablative case '-tigi' is the only comparative marker to signal the construction of Comparison of Superiority, as shown in (172-173).

(172) ti kənin-ni dʑɔlu-tigi adakɔli.
3SG heart-3SG.POSS stone-ABL cold
His heart is colder than stone.
(Lit.J)

(173) nikan kilən-tigi malxun.
Han Chinese Kilen-ABL many
The population of Han Chinese is greater than the Kilen.
(FD 2004)

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The morphological comparative marker 'tigi' is marked on the standard of comparison, as shown in (170; 172-173). Generally, the quality is expressed by an adjective, as shown in (170; 172), or an adverb as shown in (173); the quality is morphologically unmarked. When degree of superiority is expressed by nominal phrase, the degree expression takes the instrumental case, as shown in (174-175).

(174) əi mɔ ti mɔ-tigi natan xɔxɔ-dʑi.
this tree that tree-ABL seven hand (measurement)-INSTR
This tree is seven hands taller than that tree.
(consul.)

(175) ti min-tigi ilan sə-dʑi.
3SG 1SG-ABL three year-INSTR
He is older than me by three years.
(consul.)

Occasionally, a copula may appear in such a clause; the copula then occupies the clause-final position, as shown in (176).

(176) əi mɔ ti mɔ-tigi natan xɔxɔ-dʑi pi-ni.
this tree that tree-ABL seven hand-INSTR Cop-3SG
This tree is seven hands taller than that tree.
(consul.)

The copula carries the verbal agreement to show the person of subject, as shown in (176).

In some cases, comparison of superiority is expressed by two separate clauses, as shown in (177-178).

(177) ti xitə-ni surə. min-i xitə-mi
3SG son-3SG. POSS clever 1SG-GEN son-1SG.POSS

əli surə
more clever
His son is clever. My son is cleverer.
(FD 2004)

(178) bi gugəda. min-i mafa **muɾa** gugda.
1SG tall. 1SG-GEN grandpa very tall.
I am tall. My grandfather is very tall.
(consul.)

As shown in (177-178), this kind of comparison is expressed by the degree adverbs 'əli ' and 'muɾa' contrasting the degree of the property expressed in each clause.

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7.7.2 Comparison of Equality

In Kilen, the comparison of equality is expressed by the similative postpositions 'kətɕi' and 'adalin' (see Ch.4 Function words). These similative postpositions can be used interchangeably, as shown in (179).

(179) bi adʑan xitəɾin-ni kətɕi/adalin sagdi.
1SG female nephew-3SG. POSS as old.
I am as old as his niece.

(consul.)

7.8 Negation

Negation means a process or construction which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning (Crystal, 2008: 323).

Basically, Kilen adopts two common negative strategies: Clausal negation, used to negate a whole assertion as shown in (180-181), and Constituent negation which is associated with certain constituent within the clause, as shown in (182).

(180) bi tiaxələ-ɾtɕə-mi.
1SG agree-NEG-1SG
I do/did not agree.

(FD 2004)

(181) bi puda-wə dʑəfə-ɾtɕə.
1SG rice-ACC eat-NEG
I did not eat rice.

(FD 2004)

(182) bi ti tab-ɾtɕə mɔɾi-mə jalu-jə.
1SG that fat-NEG horse-ACC ride-IMP
I ride the horse that is not fat.

(FD 2004)

Morphosyntactically, Kilen does not differentiate clausal negation and constituent negation by any particular markers, as shown in (180-182); they share the same negator-system in general.

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7.8.1 Clausal negation

Clausal negation is a common grammatical device in Kilen. As Payne (1997: 282) pointed out "One noteworthy feature of clausal negation is that most languages possess more than one type." Kilen provides two types of clausal negation: morphological negation that is marked by negative suffix, as shown in (180-182) above, and analytic negation that is denoted by the negative particle, as shown in (183).

(183) ti niɔ kɔimali atɕi.
DEM person trick NEG.PRT
That person does not trick people.

(FD 2004)

7.8.1.1 Morphological negation

Morphological negation is denoted by the negative suffix '-ɾtɕə-' marked on the matrix verb, as shown in (184-186).

(184) ti sɔnɔ-ɾtɕə-ni.
3SG cry-NEG-3SG
He did not cry.

(consul.)

(185) bi xaɾbin-lə ənə-ɾtɕə-mi.
1SG Harbin-LOC go-NEG-1SG
I did not go to Harbin.

(FD 2004)

(186) bi nikan ɡisu-mə tatimi-ɾtɕə-mi.
1SG Chinese language-ACC teach-NEG-1SG
I do not teach Chinese.

(consul.)

Generally, the matrix verbs in negative clauses do not take aspect markers; they only carry person agreement, as shown in (180-181; 184-186). There is only one exception: when a prospective process needs to be negated, the matrix verb takes the prospective marker to signal the relevant aspect, and the prospective marker '-xtɕi-' always precedes the negative suffix '-ɾtɕə-', as shown in (187-188).

(187) bi xaɾbin-lə ənə-xtɕi-ɾtɕə-mi.
1SG Harbin-LOC go-PROSP-NEG-1SG
I am not going to go Harbin.

(consul.)

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(188) bi puda-wə dʑəfə-xtɕi-ɾtɕə.
1SG rice-ACC eat-PROSP-NEG
I am not going to eat rice.

(consul.)

7.8.1.2 Analytic negation

Kilen has two negative particles: 'kia' and 'atɕi'. As particles, they do not have any content meaning, and have no morphological change, only being used in their bare forms, as shown in (189-191).

(189) ti ɕin-i agə-ɕi kia.
3SG 2SG-GEN elder brother-2SG. POSS NEG.PRT
He is not your elder brother.

(FD 2004)

(190) atɕi xəsu.
NEG.PRT speak.
Do not speak!

(FD 2004)

(191) bi atɕi xanku.
1SG NEG.PRT anger
I am not angry.

(FD 2004)

The negative particle 'kia' is mostly associated with the nonverbal predicate of a copulaless copula clause to negate the equative copula clause, as shown in (189) above. It is also used to negate copula clauses that express the semantic notion of proper inclusion, as shown in (192).

(192) əi niɔ mɔ faxɕi kia
this person wood craftsman NEG.PRT
This person is not a carpenter.

(consul.)

It always occupies the final position within the clause, as shown in (189-190; 192).

The negative particle 'atɕi ' is mostly associated with a verbal predicate that is typically an intransitive verb, as shown in (190-191); it always immediately precedes the matrix verb, as shown in (190-191). The matrix verbs are all used in bare form, as shown in (190-191). It is also used to negate copular clauses covering the semantic

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notions of existence as shown in (193), location as shown in (194) and possession, as shown in (183; 195).

(193) bi maŋmu tʃiap (-duli) kərə atɛi
1SG river bank(-PROL) side NEG.PRT
I am not beside the riverbank.
(consul.)

(194) tatu əmə piɾa atɛi
there a river NEG.PRT
There is no river over there.
(FD 2004)

(195) ti mutʃu wufa-ni atɛi
3SG wheat powder-3SG.POSS NEG.PRT
He has no wheat flour.
(consul.)

In this case, the negative particle 'atɛi' replaces the copula, being used in bare form and occupying the clause-final position, as shown in (193-195).

7.8.1.3 Negation of clause containing a compound predicate

When a clause contains a compound predicate, the negator falls on the vector component; and the negator here can be expressed either morphologically, as shown in (196a) or analytically, as shown in (196b).

(196b) niani imaxa-wə xilə(-mi) ulxi-ɾtɛə-ni.
3SG fish-ACC grill(-INF) know-NEG-3SG
He does not know how to grill fish.
(consul.)

(196b) niani imaxa-wə xilə(-mi) ulxi kia
3SG fish-ACC grill(-INF) know NEG.PRT
He does not know how to grill fish.
(consul.)

In (196a), the vector verb *ulxi*, 'know' takes the negative suffix; in (196b), the negative particle *kia* is placed after the bare vector verb *ulxi* 'know' immediately. The negative particle *atɛi* does not occur in such clauses.

7.8.1.4 Negation of Predicate adjectives

Predicate adjectives allow both morphological and analytic forms of negation, as shown in (197-198).

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(197) ɕiŋəri aji-ɾtɕə.
Rat kind-NEG
Rat is not kind.
(Lit.S)

(198) əi mɔɾin-i iligini gudʑikuli atɕi.
This horse-GEN tail beautiful NEG.PRT
This horse does not have a beautiful tail.
(consul.)

The negative article *atɕi* follows the predicate adjective immediately, as shown in (198). The negative suffix *-ɾtɕə* falls on the predicate adjective directly, as shown in (197). The negative particle *kia* does not be involved in this construction.

7.8.2 Constituent negation

In Kilen, constituent negation is less common than clausal negation. Unlike clausal negation, constituent negation only has analytic negation, as shown in (199-200).

(199) ti niɔ atɕi kɔimali
DEM person NEG.PRT trick
That person has no trick.
(consul.)

(200) ɕiŋəri atɕi duxanaka.
Rat NEG.PRT friend
Rat has no friend.
(Lit.S)

The most common form of constituent negation involves the meaning of 'have', meaning 'X has/have NO something', as shown in (199-200) above. Here the negative particle 'atɕi' precedes the negated constituent, and plays the function of predicate.

In some cases, negation of adjuncts may occur, as shown in (201-207).

(201) bi təni atɕi aɾki-wə ɔmi-xə.
1SG a.few.minute.ago NEG.PRT alcohol-ACC drink-PERF
He drank alcohol not a few minutes ago.
(consul.)

(202) niani ɕikəsə dɔlbu atɕi sɔnɔ-xəi-ni.
3SG yesterday night NEG.PRT cry-PERF-3SG
It was not last night that he cried.
(consul.)

(203) ama-mi xaʂi-lə atɕi. ɔkətɔ-wə
Father-1SG garage-LOC NEG.PRT herbal.medicine-ACC

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sulia-ni.
mix-IMPF.3SG
It is not in the garage that my father is mixing the herbal medicine.
(consul.)

(204) fuləxun əi-lə atɛi. afinə-xən-i.
male name This place-LOC NEG.PRT sleep-PERF-3SG
The place that Fulehun slept is not here.
(FD 2004)

(205) bu atilə-dɛi atɛi imaxa-wə wa-mbi-mu.
1PL.INCL net-INST NEG.PRT fish-ACC catch-HAB-1PL
We are fishing without a net.
(FD 2004)

(206) niani xɔɾdun atɛi mɔɾi-mə jalu-xəi.
3SG quicklyNEG.PRT horse-ACC ride-PERF
He rode the horse not quickly.
(FD 2004)

(207) ɛiŋəɾi takətu-tigi atɛi tʃafə-wə xulxa-xtʃi-ni.
Rat fish garage-ABL NEG.PRT fish roe-ACC steal-PROSP-3SG
It is not from the fish garage that Rat is going to steal some fish roe .
(Lit.S)

The negative particle always follows the adjunct immediately, as shown in (201-207). Some rare examples show that the negative particle 'atɛi' may take the casemarker indicating the role of the adjunct, as shown in (208).

(208) bu atilə atɛi-dɛi imaxa-wə wa-mbi-mu.
1PL.INCL net NEG.PRT-INSTR fish-ACC catch-HAB-1PL
We are fishing without a net.
(consul.)

This situation only arises for instrumental adjuncts, as shown in (208).

In some cases, the negative particle 'atɛi' can precede an adverbial adjunct, as shown in (209).

(209) niani atɛi xɔɾdun mɔɾi-mə jalu-xəi.
3SG NEG.PRT quickly horse-ACC ride-PERF
He rode the horse not quickly.
(consul.)

When an oblique complement occurs with negation, the negative particle 'atɛi' always precedes the oblique complement, as shown in (210-211).

(210) bi atɛi ɛi-du adgə-mbi.
1SG NEG.PRT 2SG-DAT believe-HAB
The one I believed is not you.
(consul.)

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(211) bi atɕi fusəli-lə ənə-xəi.
1SG NEG.PRT shop-LOC go-PERF
The place I went is not a shop.

(consul.)

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CHAPTER 8 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences, or multi-clausal constructions, refer to forms of organization composed of more than one clause and conjoined either by coordination, as shown in (1-3), or subordination as shown in (4-6).

(1) urkən-du bui, maŋmu-du imaxa.
mountain-DAT beast, river-DAT fish
There are beasts on the mountain; there are fish in the river.
(Lit.T)

(2) bi kiaməsə-lə ənə-xəi-mi xarbin-lə ənə-rtɕə-mi.
1SG Jiamusi-LOC go-PERF-1SG Harbin-LOC go-NEG-1SG
I went to Jiamusi before, but have never been to Harbin.
(FD 2004)

(3) əmər-xʧi arki-wə ɔmi-mi, əmər-xʧi nixtə-wə
Back-IMPF alcohol-ACC drink-1SG, back-IMPF boar-ACC
xilə-ni.
grill-3SG
I am drinking alcohol, while he is grilling the boar.
(consul.)

(4) [ama gisu-mə xəsu-xən-ni]
father saying-ACC talk-PERF. PART-3SG
bi ətɕi-xəi-mi.
1SG remember-PERF-1SG
I remember the saying that my father said.
(An,1985)

(5) [ɔmi-mi] səkəsəkə.
drink-INF joyful
It is joyful to drink.
(FD 2004)

(6) ti əfinə-ni [fəbuki-mi].
3SG sleep-IMPERF.3 sleep-talk
He is talking in his sleep.
(FD 2004)

8.1 Coordination

"Coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements" (Haspelmath, 2007: 1). "Each of the sub-clauses within the complex sentence has the internal structure of an independent clause, and none of them is embedded in the other" (Kroeger, 2005: 210).

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In Kilen, coordinate sentences do not involve any non-finite verbal forms; the predicates of such complex sentences are expressed by the same finite form, as shown in (1-6) above. Semantically, Kilen coordinate sentences can be classified into three different logical relationships: Conjunction, Disjunction and Adversative; structurally, Kilen involves three strategies of coordinate complex sentence: shared-constituent, particle linkage and simple juxtaposition. In the following section, I will follow the semantic classification, and use the structural classification to set up sub-kinds.

8.1.1 Conjunction

"Conjunction is primarily a logical relationship between propositions; if the conjunction of two propositions is true then each of the component propositions is true" (Payne, 1997: 339). Normally, conjunction is associated with the logical content of "and". Kilen marks conjunction by various strategies, as mentioned above, as shown in (7-12).

(7) pi-ɕi nyɔ kilən, pi-ɕi nyɔ nikan.
PRT person Kilen, PRT person Han Chinese
Some are Kilen, some are Han Chinese.
(FD 2004)

(8) əmər-xtɕi pia niamakɔli da-mi pi-ɾən,
PRT weather warm Cop-INF Cop-PROSP
əmər-xtɕi ilga xuɾku-mi pi-ɾən.
PRT flower blossom-INF Cop-PROSP
The weather is getting warm, and the flower is blossoming.
(Lit.T)

(9) ti ama-ni mɔkɔnta, ti agə-ni
3SG father-3SG.POSS Patriarch, 3SG elder brother-3SG. POSS
kaɕinta da.
Village head PRT
His father is Patriarch, and his elder brother is village head.
(FD 2004)

(10) bi təmətəkə-mə kiɔli-mi, jaliŋkə-wə dʑaɾi-mi.
1SG boat-ACC row-IMPERF.1SG ballad-ACC sing-IMPERF.1SG
da
PRT
I am rowing a boat, and singing a ballad as the same time.
(Lit.S)

(11) bi ɕimiki-xə, min-i agə-mi da.
1SG cough-PERF 1SG-GEN elder brother-1SG. POSS PRT
I coughed and my elder brother coughed too.
(FD 2004)

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(12) mandu ɔkɔtɔ-wə sulia-ni.
Mandu medicine-ACC dispense-IMPERF.3SG
ənidədu ɔkɔtɔ-wə xuyu-ni.
Enidedu medicine-ACC boil-IMPERF.3SG
Mandu is dispensing the medicine, and Enidedu is boiling the medicine.
(Lit.I)

In (7-9), the conjunction is signaled by the particle linkages, such as *pi-ɕi* , *əmər-xtɕi* and *da*. *pi-ɕi* and *əmər-xtɕi* always are used in pairs preceding the each of the daughter independent clauses within the coordinate sentence, as shown in (7-8); the particle *da* is always used alone following the latter daughter independent clause, as shown in (9).

(10) and (11) show the shared-constituent type (shared-subject in 10; shared-predicate in 11), where the predicates of the coordinate sentence appear in the same finite form; the only distinct feature is that the second independent clause is associated with the particle *da*.

It is rare to see other constituents being shared in terms of conjunctive coordination. (12) shows the simplest form of coordination, in which means the two daughter clauses are simply juxtaposed without any other syntactic elements being added.

8.1.2 Disjunction

"Disjunction is a logical relationship between propositions such that if the logical disjunction of two propositions is true, and then one or both of the component propositions can be true" (Payne, 1997: 339). Disjunction encodes the logical content of " either…or…" in general. Kilen disjunctive coordination only involves the particle-linkage strategy; such constructions are marked by particles, such as 'si… si…' 'nə…nə…', as shown in (13-14).

(13) əniə ʂəlku-wə niɕi-xəi si, ʂəlku-wə
mother corn-ACC twist-PERF PRT, corn-ACC
tɕɔki-xəi (si)
pound-PERF PRT
mother twisted or pounded the corn.
(FD 2004)

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(14) bi ɔrɔkɔtɔ-wə tatə-mi (nə),
1SG grass-ACC pull out-IMPERF.1SG PRT
min-i ama ɔrɔkɔtɔ-wə tatə-ni nə.
1SG-GEN father grass-ACC pull out-IMPERF.3SG PRT
I will go to pull out the grass, or my father will go to pull out the grass.
(FD 2004)

In (13-14), the particles are used in pairs; each single particle is placed after the related daughter clause. The latter particle can sometimes be omitted , as shown in (13-14). As discussed in (7.3.2.2: Alternative interrogative), '*si... si...*' and '*nə...nə...*' share the same meaning of 'either…or…' and are used interchangeably.

In some rare cases, the particle *ka* is used in pairs to signal the logical relationship of disjunction, as shown in (15).

(15) bi tɕatɕixi-wx wa-xəi ka, kuərə-wə
1SG whitefish-ACC catch-PERF PRT grass carp-ACC
ka.
PRT
I might catch a whitefish or grass carp.
(FD 2004)

Like 'si… si…' and 'nə…nə…', 'ka' is placed after the related daughter clause as well; and it is obligatorily used in pairs. Unlike the 'si…si…' disjunction that is talking about the proposition objectively, the 'ka… ka…' disjunction involves the meaning of 'guessing', as shown in (15).

8.1.3 Adversative

"Adversative refers to a construction that expresses an antithetical circumstance, (Crystal, 2008: 177)." It expresses the logical content of "but" which is similar to "and" but with an extra flavor of contrast in the sense of contrast logic (Meyer, 1994:2). In Kilen, adversative coordination is marked by the particle 'ka', as shown in (16-17).

(16) surʂar-dʑi dʑəfə-mbi, ka fakɔli-dʑi xunɕi-mbi.
Tasty-INSTR eat-HAB, PRT stinky-INSTR smell-HAB
It tastes good, but smells bad.
(consul.)

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(17) kɔti əkiə əmətəgə, ka muɾa kɔmɔsu.
Black.amur.bream extremely delicious PRT very rare
Black amur bream is extremely delicious, but it is quite rare.
(FD 2004)

The adversative coordinator 'ka' always precedes the second daughter clause to introduce another proposition to contrast with the first, as shown in (16-17); and it is obligatorily in use.

8.2 Subordination

Subordination is an important device in clause combining. Unlike coordination where the daughter clauses are of equal importance as discussed in (8.1) above, the daughter clauses of a subordinate sentence are not of equal importance. In a subordinate sentence, one of the daughter clauses is dependent upon the other, rather than the entire sentential construction being double-headed, as shown in (18-20)[28].

(18) sakasaki [xəxə tɕuɾusu-**mi**-ni] taku-xəi-ni
Magpie woman be.pregnant-INF-3SG rescue-PERF-3SG
Magpie rescued the woman who is pregnant.
(Lit.S)

(19) bi tixalə-mbi-mi [niani dʑaɾi-**xtɕi**-wə-ni].
1SG like-HAB-1SG 3SG sing-PROSP. ACT. PTCPL-ACC-3SG
I like what she is singing.
(Lit.I)

There is no fixed clause-chaining order between the daughter clauses within the subordinate sentence, as shown in (20a-b).

(20a) [bəti jalabi-**ki**-mu] kilən gisun-dʑi
1PL pray-P. CONV.COND-1PL Kilen language-INSTR
xəsu-mbi-mu.
Speak-HAB-1PL
When we pray, we speak in Kilen.
(FD 2004)

(20b) kilən gisun-dʑi xəsu-mbi-mu
Kilen language-INSTR Speak-HAB-1PL
[bəti jalabi-**ki**-mu]
1PL pray-P. CONV.COND-1PL
When we pray, we speak in Kilen.
(FD 2004)

[28] Here, I use square brackets to label the dependent clause.

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In Kilen, the non-finite verbal forms mainly signal subordination, based on the infinitive as shown in (18), participles as shown in (19) and converbs as shown in (20). Examples are lacking to show a finite clause expressing subordination in Kilen. The constituent order of subordinate clauses is the same as the basic constituent order of independent clause that is schemized as **S-O-V**, as shown in (18-19) above.

According to their different functions, Kilen subordinate clauses may be divided into three kinds: **Complement clauses** that constitute an argument as shown in (19), **Relative clauses** that constitute an attributive as shown in (18) and **Adjunct clauses** that constitute a adverbial as shown in (20). I will illustrate the details of each kind in the following sections.

8.2.1 Complement clause

A complement clause is a type of clause that fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause (Dixon, 2010: 370). A complement clause functions as the Subject or Object of another clause that refers to as the main clause (Kroeger, 2005: 219).

In Kilen, the complement clause normally appears as a sentential argument expressing the grammatical relation of subject, as shown in (23) or direct object as shown in (21-22); the indirect object complement clause never be involved in Kilen. The complement clause always is signaled by non-finite verbal form, which means the Kilen complement always is non-finite clause, as shown in (19; 21-23); Kilen does not involve any special complementizer or marker to introduce the complement clause, but its predicate is constituted by a participle as shown in (21) or an infinitive as shown in (22-23). No data are available to show a finite clause constituting a complement clause.

(21) tiguɾun adəgə-mbi-ni [səwuən
All persons believe-HAB-3PL Sewun
xəsu-xən-wə-ni.]
tell-PERF.ACT.PTCPL-ACC-3SG
Everybody trusts in what the Sewun god says.
(Lit.T)

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(22) bi tixalə-xəi-mi [awu-mi].
1SG like-PERF-1SG write-INF
I liked writing before.
(FD 2004)

(23) [mukanki-wə fuləgi-mi] muɾa tɛɔbutɛɔun.
Mouth harp-ACC blow-INF very difficult.
Blowing the mouth harp is quite difficult.
(FD 2004)

The complement clause is embedded within the main clause, as shown in (21-23) above.

8.2.1.1 Sentential subject

In Kilen, a complement clause taking the syntactic role of subject is mostly expressed by infinitive forms that are uninflected for tense and agreement, as shown in (24-26).

(24) [niani imaxa-wə xilə-mi] aja.
3SG fish-ACC grill-INF good
He grills fish well. (He is good at grilling fish.)
(consul.)

(25) [əi-du afinə-mi] səɾkun.
This-DAT sleep-INF cool
It is cool to sleep here.
(FD 2004)

(26) [təji-dulə ənə-mi] əpətɛəkuli.
Forest-LOC go-INF dangerous.
It is dangerous to go into the forest.
(FD 2004)

(27) [ɛi bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-mi] aja.
2SG 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-INF good
He teaches me Chinese well.
(consul.)

As shown in (24-27), a sentential subject expressed by a subject complement clause always occupies the sentence-initial position and precedes the matrix predicate within the complex sentence. All kinds of verbs can be the subordinate predicate of a complement clause, as shown in (24-27) above.

Normally, a complex sentence containing a sentential subject always involves a copula structure in the main clause, and the matrix predicate is expressed by a predicate adjective, as shown in (24-27) above, and as discussed in (7.5.1.2).

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Essentially, the semantic relation between sentential subject and the main clause is attribution, as shown in (24-17). In some cases, the sentential subject may associate with the particle 'da' which puts the focus on sentential subject, as shown in (28-29).

(28) [ama-ɐi ənə-mi da] muɾa aja
father-2SG. POSS go-INF FOC very good
It would be very good for your father to go.
(FD 2004)

(29) [əi-du afinə-mi da] sərkun.
This-DAT sleep-INF FOC cool
It is cool to sleep here.
(FD 2004)

As shown in (24-29), a sentential subject is coreferential with the subject of main clause; the coreferential subject is normally absent when it has a generic interpretation. Generally, this type of sentence are talking about situations which are semantically close to subjectless constructions, as shown in (25-26; 28-29).

Sometimes, the copula 'da-' is involved in a complex sentence containing a complement clause to show a change of state, as shown in (30-31).

(30) [kasxɔ-mi] tiləkan da-xəi-ni.
Curse-INF loud Cop-PERF-3SG
The cursing became loud.
(lit.S)

(31) [təji-dulə ənə-mi] əpətɕəkuli da-xəi-ni.
Forest-LOC go-INF dangerous Cop-PERF-3SG
It became dangerous to go to the forest.
(FD 2004)

In some rare cases, as discussed in (7.5.1.2), the predicate adjective of the main clause may combine with the copula 'pi-' to show a semantic relation of attribution, as shown in (32-33).

(32) [əi-du afinə-mi] sərkun pi-kiɕiə.
This-DAT sleep-INF cool Cop-SUBJ
It is cool to sleep here.
(consul.)

(33) [ɐi bi-wə nikan gisu (-mə) tatimi-mi] aja
2SG 1SG-ACC Chinese language (-ACC) teach-INF good
pi-ɾu.
Cop-OPT
He teaches me Chinese well.
(consul.)

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These rare cases only occur in formal conversation, and denote a very polite meaning; the matrix predicate 'pi-' takes an optative or subjunctive marker, as shown in (32-33).

In certain constructions that involve a copula as shown in (30-33) above, the copula may be placed before the predicate nominal, as shown in (34-35).

(34) [kasxɔ-mi] da-xəi-ni tiləkan
Curse-INF Cop-PERF-3SG loud
The cursing became loud.
(consul.)

(35) [əi-du afinə-mi] pi-kiɕiə səɾkun
This-DAT sleep-INF Cop-SUBJ cool
It is cool to sleep here.
(consul.)

In some rare cases, the participle form may denote the predicate of a complement clause, as shown in (36).

(36) [kasxɔ-xən-ni] dəldi-wu-xəi
curse-PERF.Act.PART-3SG hear-PAS-PERF
His curse is heard.
(Lit.S)

(37) [xulxa-xən-ni] sa-wu-xtɕi.
steal-PERF.ACT.PART-3SG know-PAS-PROSP
It will become known that the person steals.
(Lit.S)

Unlike the infinitive complement clause, the participle complement is inflected for its subject, as shown in (36-37); in such constructions, the matrix predicate is a regular finite verb in the passive voice, and the agent of such passive construction is always dropped, as shown in (36-37). Typically, the participial sentential subject is distinct from the subject of the main clause, as in (36-37).

8.2.1.2 Sentential object

In Kilen, a complement clause taking the syntactic role of direct object is signaled either by an infinitive as shown in (38) or by participle forms, as shown in (39).

(38) ti saman tixalə-mbi [kasxɔ-mi].
that Shaman like-HAB rebuke-INF
That Shaman is fond of rebuking others.
(Lit.T)

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(39) bi [suəxuli-wə xəsu-xən-wə-ni]
1SG legendary story-ACC tell-PERF.ACT.PTCPL-ACC-3SG
tixalə-mbi-mi.
like-HAB-1SG
I like the Suhuli stories that are told by him.

(FD 2004)

As shown in (38-39), the sentential object can be placed before the matrix predicate of the main clause, or after it. When the sentence involves focus as shown in (40) or negation as shown in (41), the sentential object may be placed at the sentence-initial position.

(40) [imaxa-wə xilə-xə-wə-ni] da dʑəfə-jə.
fish-ACC grill-PERF.ACT.PTCPL-ACC-3SG FOC eat-1.IMP
I eat the fish that is grilled by him.

(consul.)

(41) [nikan gisu-mə xəsu-mi] ulxi-ɾtɛə-mi.
Han Chinese language-ACC speak-INF know-NEG-1SG
I do not know how to speak Han Chinese.

(FD 2004)

In complex sentences which contain an infinitival sentential object, the subordinate clause and the superordinate share the same subject, as shown in (38; 41); in complex sentences which contain a participial sentential object, the subject of subordinate clause is distinct from the subject of superordinate clause, as shown in (39-40). The participial predicate of subordinate clause always takes the accusative case to indicate its grammatical relation of object, and the personal marker which refers to the subject of the subordinate clause, as shown in (39-40); the infinitival predicate of subordinate clause does not take any other marker, as shown in (38; 41).

In some rare cases, when the participial predicate does not take the accusative case and personal suffix, a same-subject complex sentence is involved, as shown in (42).

(42) [imaxa-wə xilə-xə] da dʑəfə-jə.
fish-ACC grill-PERF.ACT.PTCPL FOC eat-1.IMP
I eat the fish that is grilled by myself.

(consul.)

8.2.1.3 Matrix Verb of Main clause

"The form of a complement clause is often determined by the specific verb that occurs in the main clause, (Kroeger, 2005: 223)." In Kilen, the forms of complement

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clauses are selected by the matrix predicate. As shown in (8.2.1.1) above, the subject complement clause is determined by the matrix predicate which is often a predicate adjective; these predicate adjectives mostly refer to the quality or feature of the entity which is expressed by the subject complement clause, as listed in (43).

(43) aja 'good'
əxələ 'bad'
səɾkun 'cool'
niamakuli 'warm'
udəli 'loosen'
tiɾa 'tight'
əɾdə 'early'
niadu 'late'

The infinitive object complement clause is determined by the matrix predicate which is often an aspectual verb as shown in (44-45), or a modal verb as shown in (46-47).

(44) təɾi 'begin'
ɔti 'finish'

(45) ti saman [kasxu-mi] təɾi-mituxəi-ni.
3SG Shaman curse-INF begin-INGR-3SG
That shaman started to curse.

(46) kələ 'want'
kɔni 'plan'
ulxi 'willing'
mətə 'can/ be able'
sa 'know'
tixalə 'like'
lələ 'afraid

(47) xitə-ɾin [tasxa kilini-mi] lələ-xtɕi-ni.
Child-PL tiger call-INF be.afraid-PROSP-3SG
Children are afraid of tiger calls.

(FD 2004)

The participial object complement clause is determined by the matrix predicate that is often a common verb as shown in (40) above, or modal verb as shown in (46) above.

8.2.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a subordinate clause that delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause (Andrews, 2007: 206). A relative clause is an embedded nominalized clause that functions as a modifier of a head noun; the relative clause is thus a constituent of an NP (Slater, 2003: 233).

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In Kilen, the relative clause always appears as a clausal attributive within a Noun-phrasal construction, as shown in (48-51).

(48) bi ədʑə-mbi-mi [mama-mi
1SG remember-HAB-1SG grandma-1SG. POSS
xəsu-xən-wə-ni] suxuəli-wə
Tell-PERF.ACT.PTCPL-ACC-3SG story-ACC
I remember the story which my grandma told.
(consul.)

(49) bi ədʑə-mbi-mi [mama-mi
1SG remember-HAB-1SG grandma-1SG. POSS
suxuəli-wə xəsu-xən-wə-ni.]
story-ACC Tell-PERF.ACT.PTCPL-ACC-3SG
I remember the story which my grandma told.
(consul.)

(50) [tɕafana-wə xulxa-xən] ɕiŋərɨ budə-xəi-ni.
fish.roe-ACC steal-PERF.ACT.PTCPL rat die-PERF-3SG
The rat that stole fish roe died.
(Lit.S)

(51) [ɕiŋərI tɕafana-wə xulxa-xən] budə-xəi-ni.
Rat fish.roe-ACC steal-PERF.ACT.PART die-PERF-3SG
The rat that stole fish roe (Rat who stole the fish roe) died.
(Lit.S)

(52) mafa-səɾ kɔmusu da-xəi-ni imaɾkan-mə
old.man-PL few Cop-PERF-3PL Imarkan-ACC
imakə-mi ulxi-xən.
sing+tell-INF know-PERF.ACT.PART
The old men who know how to sing Imarkan are few.
(FD 2004)

(53) bi dʑəfə-mituxəi-mi ama-mi
1SG eat-INGR-1SG father-1SG. POSS
kəɾtɕi-xən-wə-ni.
Cut-PERF.ACT.PART-ACC-3SG
I started to eat (sashimi) that my father cut.
(FD 2004)

As shown in (48-53) above, Kilen relative clauses are always non-finite. Kilen only uses participial marking on the subordinate predicate to recognize the relative clause, as shown in (48-53) above. There is no specific marker for the relativized noun, as shown in (48-53). The participial subordinate predicate is inflected for a certain case which agrees with the relativized noun to indicate the syntactic role of the relativized noun within in the main clause, as shown in (48-49; 53).

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As Andrews (2007: 208) mentioned, relative clauses may be divided into three major types, based on the relationship between the relative clause and some additional nominal material, which we will call the 'domain nominal'. The domain nominal is the Head noun in this description. There are three possible orders of head noun and relative clause:

a. The head noun appears outside of the relative clause, forming an externally headed relative clause, as shown in (48&50);
b. The head noun appears inside of relative clause, forming an internally headed relative clause, as shown in (49&51);
c. The head does not appear in either the main clause or relative clause, which is labeled as headless relative clause, as shown in (52-53).

8.2.2.1 Externally headed

Externally headed relative clauses are those in which the head noun occurs outside the modifying clause, whether before or after (Kroeger, 2005: 232). Cross-linguistically, Verb-final languages tend to have prenominal relative clauses; Kilen is a rather typical S-O-V language in which the relative clause precedes the head noun within the entire sentence, as shown in (48&50) above. The head noun is always gapped within the externally headed relative clause, as shown in (54-58). [29]

(54) [imaxa-wə xilə-xən] niɔ sɔnɔ-xəi-ni.
∅ fish-ACC grill-PERF.ACT.PART person cry-PERF-3SG
The man who grilled the fish cried.
(Lit.S)

(55) [ɛiksə əmə-xən] xaxa ama-ni
∅ yesterday come-PERF.ACT.PART man father-3SG. POSS
sa-xəi-ni.
Know-PERf.3SG
The man who came yesterday knew his father.
(FD 2004)

(56) bi dɔldi-xəi-mi [saman dʑari-xən-ni]
1SG hear-PERF-1SG Shaman ∅ sing-PERF.ACT.PART
jaliŋkɔ-wə.
ballad-ACC
I listened the ballad that the shaman sang.
(FD 2004)

[29] The syntactic gap is expressed by the symbol ∅ in this description.

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(57) bi ənə-xəi-mi [niani ∅ ənə-xə-lə-ni] .
1SG go-PERF-1SG 3SG go-PERF.ACT.PART-LOC-3SG
kaɕin-lə
village-LOC
I went to the village where he went before.
(FD 2004)

(58) bi ankula-mi [(bi) takɔ-xən-du(-mi)]
1SG live-IMPERF.1SG 1SG ∅ repair-PERF.ACT.PART-DAT-1SG
dʑɔ-du.
House-DAT
I live in the house that I repaired.
(Lit.I)

When the subject of main clause is relativized using an externally headed relative clause, the subordinate clause and main clause always share the same subject, and the syntactic role of subject in relative clause is gapped, as shown in (54-55); it is extremely rare to see a different-subject complex sentence which contains an externally headed relative clause.

When another syntactic role is relativized with in the externally headed relative clause, the subordinate clause and main clause may or may not share the same subject, and the relevant position of syntactic role is gapped, as shown in (56-58). When they do not share the same subject, the relative clause involves a subordinate subject which refers to the agent of the participial predicate marked by the nominative case, as shown in (56-57); and the participial predicate bears the personal inflection agreeing with the person and number of subordinate subject within the relative clause, as shown in (57-58). In this case, when main clause and relative clause share the same subject, the subordinate subject and the personal marking on the participial predicate can be optional, as shown in (58). Normally, the participial predicate takes appropriate casemarking to indicate the syntactic role of the relativized noun, as shown in (56-58). The head noun corresponds to the gapped position

8.2.2.2 Internally headed

An internally headed relative clause refers to a construction in which the head noun occurs within the relative clause. In Kilen, the participial construction is postnominal within the relative clause, which means the internally headed relative clause has a

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regular internal S-O-V structure, as shown in (49&51). The head noun of the relative clause retains the proper syntactic role of the main clause, but the head noun does not bear the casemarking which shows the syntactic role of head noun within the main clause; appropriate casemarking is marked on the participial predicate within the relative clause, as shown in (59-64). For example, in (62-64) the relativized noun is a direct object of the matrix verb and before the participle takes the accusative suffix -*wə*.

(59) [niɔ jaliŋkɔ-wə dʑaɾi-ɾən] xəsu-xtɕi-ni.
Person ballad-ACC sing-PROSP.ACT.PART speak-PROSP-3SG
The man who is going to sing ballads will speak.
(FD 2004)

(60) [bi imaxa-wə xilə-xən] suɾsaɾ.
1SG fish-ACC grill-PERF.ACT.PART tasty
The fish I grilled is tasty.
(FD 2004)

(61) [niɔ bitəxə-wə awɔ-mi ulxi-xən]
Person character-ACC write-INF know-PERF.ACT.PART
nala-wə xɔji-xəi-ni.
Hand-ACC cut-PERF-3SG
The man who knows how to write characters cut his hand.
(Lit.T)

(62) saman dʑaɾi-xtɕi-ni [bi jaliŋkɔ-wə
Shaman sing-PROSP-3SG 1SG song-ACC
awɔ-xən-wə-mi]
compose-PERF.ACT.PART-ACC-1SG
Shaman will sing the song that I composed.
(Lit.T)

(63) [niɔ xulxa-ɾən-wə-ni] saman
person steal-PROSP.ACT.PART-ACC-3SG Shaman
taku-xəi-ni
save-PERF.3SG
Shaman saved the person who steals.
(Lit.S)

(64) ti dʑigədə-xtɕi-ni [ti dʑɔ-wə
3SG burn-PROSP-3SG 3SG house-ACC
ɔki-xən-wə(-ni)].
build-PERF.ACT.PART-ACC-3SG
He will burn the house which he built.
(Lit.I)

When the main clause and relative clause share the same subject, the participial predicate does not bear personal marking, as shown in (59-61; 64); when they do not share the same subject, the participial predicate bears personal marking which indexes the subject within the relative clause, as shown in (62-63). The head noun bears the

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casemarking to show its syntactic role within the relative clause, as shown in (59-64). Generally, the relative clause occupies the grammatical position which the head noun occupies within the main clause, as shown in (59-62; 64) above; otherwise, when the head noun shows a non-subject syntactic role, the internally headed relative clause will always be fronted, with all elements of the main clause occupying the sentence-initial position, as shown in (63).

8.2.2.3 Headless

In such a relative clause, the head is lacking, as shown in (52-53) above. The participial predicate takes casemarking to indicate the syntactic role of the headless noun phrase within the main clause, as shown in (65-67).

(65) [jaliŋkɔ-wə awɔ-ɾən] saman-du xəsu-xtɕi.
ballad-ACC compose-PROSP.ACT.PART shaman-DAT speak-PROSP
The people who compose ballads will talk to the shaman.
(Lit.T)

(66) bi awɔ-xəi-mi [ti dʑaɾi-ɾən-we-ni].
1SG compose-PERF-1SG 3SG sing-PROSP.ACT.PART-ACC-3SG
I composed what he is going to sing.
(Lit.T)

(67) bi [mana-ɾən-dʑi-ni] mana-xəi
1SG use-PROSP.ACT.PART-INSTR-3SG use-PERF
I used what he will use.
(FD 2004)

As in other types of relative clauses, the personal marking is obligatory when subordinate clause and main clause do not share the same subject, as shown in (66-67).

Sometimes, the interrogative pronoun *ia* 'what' may be used in such headless relative clause to fill the slot of the hypothetical head noun, as shown in (68-69).

(68) bi dʑəfə-xəi-ni [bi xilə-xən-we-mi]
1SG eat-PERF-1SG 1SG grill-PERF.ACT.PART-ACC-1SG
ia-we
what-ACC
I ate what I grilled.
(Lit.S)

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(69) bi awɔ-xəi-mi [niani ia-wə
1SG compose-PERF-1SG 3SG what-ACC
dʑaɾi-ɾən-we-ni].
sing-PROSP.ACT.PART-ACC-3SG
I composed what he will sing.

(Lit.T)

As shown in (68-69), the relative clause which takes a interrogative pronoun as its relativizer only exists when the hypothetical head noun takes the syntactic role of direct object in the main clause; the interrogative head noun can be either external as shown in (68) or internal as shown in (69). The interrogative pronoun takes the casemarking to indicate its syntactic role in main clause when the subordinate clause is externally headed, as shown in (68), or to indicate its syntactic role within the relative clause as shown in (69). The participial predicate takes casemarking to indicate the syntactic role of the implicit head noun in the main clause, as shown in (68-69).

In some rare cases, Kilen uses a finite independent clause to express regular headless relative clause, as shown in (70). Such situation only arises when the implicit head noun takes the syntactic role of direct object of each predicate.

(70) bi dʑəfə-xəi-ni bi xilə-xəi-mi]
1SG eat-PERF-1SG 1SG grill-PERF-1SG
I ate what I grilled.

(consul.)

8.2.2.4 Relativitzation and Restrictiveness

Generally, every syntactic role that is constituted by a nominal component in the main clause is relativizable in Kilen, as shown in (8.2.2.1 & 8.2.2.2) above. As mentioned in (8.2.2.3) above, when the complex sentence involves a headless relative clause, this construction tends to relativize only the subject and direct object.

Semantically, Kilen relative clauses are mostly restrictive; occasionally, the internally headed relative clause and headless relative clause may bear a non-restrictive interpretation. These situations only arise in Kilen oral literature, as shown in (51), where the Rat is a proper noun in a well-known Suhuli story.

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8.2.3 Adjunct clauses

An Adjunct clause is an embedded subordinate clause that takes an adverbial function within a main clause; such adjunct clauses are used attributively to provide additional information to the matrix predicate within the complex sentence; they do not perform as arguments of the predicate, and are just attached to the proposition which is already complete.

In Kilen, adjunct clauses are headed by non-finite forms: infinitive (71), participle (72) and converb (73).

(71) [dʑaɾi-mi] fuli-xəi-mi.
sing-INF walk-PERF-1SG
I was walking while singing.
(consul.)

(72) [ti iɔxɔlətɛi-xən-də-ni] imaxa-wə
3SG come to visit-PERF.ACT.PART-DAT-3SG fish-ACC
xilə-xəi-mi.
grill-PERF-1SG
When he came to visit me, I grilled fish.
(consul.)

(73) [mafa-mi budə-ki-ni] sɔnɔ-xəi-mi.
grandfather-1SG die-P. CONV. COND-3SG cry-PERF-1SG
When my grandfather died, I cried.
(consul.)

Unlike the adjuncts of verbs, which are always placed between argument and predicate, as discussed in (6.1.1.3), adjunct clauses are fronted within the complex sentence as shown in (71-73) above. In the following sections, I will illustrate the details by the classification of various non-finite verbal forms, and treat the semantic types, such as manner, location, time, condition and purpose, as subtypes of each of them.

8.2.3.1 Infinitival adjunct clauses

Infinitival adjunct clauses are constituted by infinitive forms that are morphologically marked by '-mi', as shown in (71) above. In Kilen, the infinitive adjunct clause just expresses the manner of the matrix predicate, as shown in (74-76).

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(74) [arki-wə ɔmi-mi] itɕi-xtɕi-mi.
alcohol-ACC drink-INF watch-PROSP-1SG
I will watch (fighting) while drinking alcohol.
(consul.)

(75) [pulafu-mə səfərə-mi] aimi jarin-wə dʑari-xəi.
scepter-ACC hold-INF Aimi blessing song-ACC sing-PERF
Aimi sang the blessing songs while holding the scepter.
(Lit.T)

(76) [sɔxɔtɔ-mi] ti budə-xəi-ni.
Get.drunk-INF 3SG die-PERF.3SG
He got drunk to death (i.e. severely drunk).
(Lit.T)

As discussed in (6.1.1.9), the infinitive always involves simultaneity; the actions of main clause and infinitival adjunct clause are simultaneous, as shown in (74-76). The infinitival predicate of the adjunct clause never bears other morphological markers, as shown in (74-76); the main clause and infinitival adjunct clause always share the same subject, as shown in (74-76).

In some rare cases, the infinitival adjunct clause receives an anterior interpretation, as shown in (77).

(77) [tɕafa-wə xulxa-mi] bugdanə-xəi-ni.
fish.roe-ACC steal-INF run-PERF-3SG
Stealing the fish roe, he ran away.
(Lit.S)

In (77), the action of main clause ‘bugdanə-xəi-ni, run away’ takes place immediately after the action of the subordinate clause. Seemingly, the subordinate clause expresses a prerequisite of the main clause; this condition may be caused by the overlapping usage between infinitive and converb, as discussed in (6.1.1.9).

8.2.3.2 Participial adjunct clause.

A participial adjunct clause is formed by participle forms associated with certain casemarking such as locative in (78) or a postposition as shown in (79).

(78) [kira-mə umupu-rən-lə-ni] xaɕi-wə
Corpse-ACC bury-PROSP.ACT.PART-LOC-3PL garage-ACC
ɔki-xəi-ni.
build-PERF-3PL
They built a garage where they buried the corpse before.
(Lit.T)

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(79) [bi əmə-xən-mi dʑuli-lə-mi]
1SG come-PERF.ACT.PART-1SG before-LOC-1SG
mafa budə-xəi-ni.
grandfather Die-PERF-3SG
Grandfather died before I came.

(consul.)

As shown in (79) above, the postposition takes the appropriate casemarking to indicate the semantic type of participial adjunct clause. In (78-79), the locative case on the participle shows the location, with a temporal interpretation in (79).

Participial adjunct clauses involve four semantic subtypes: Location, Time and Condition. The semantic subtype of a participial adjunct clause is determined by the casemarking on the participle or postposition that immediately follows the participle.

A. Participial locational clauses

Spatial casemarking on the participle, such as Locative (80), Dative (81) and Ablative (82), signals this subtype.

(80) [iləga bi-ʁən-lə] bi ankulə-xtɕi-mi.
flower Cop-PROSP.ACT.PART-LOC 1SG live-PROSP-1SG
I will live where the flowers blossom.

(Lit.J)

(81) [ankulə-xtɕi-də-mi] iləga ilganə-ni.
Live-PROSP.ACT.PART-DAT-1SG flower blossom-IMPERF
Where I am going to live, the flowers blossom.

(Lit.J)

(82) [taʁi-xen-tigi-mi] ti ɡuiləxə-wə dʑəfə-xəi-ni.
Plant-PERF.ACT.PART-ABL-1SG 3SG apricot-ACC eat-PERF-3SG
He ate the apricot from where I planted it.

(FD 2004)

A spatial postposition may indicate a participial locational clause as well, as shown in (83).

(83) [ləluki bi-ʁən dʑulutin-lə-ni] ankulə-xəi-mi.
wolf Cop-PROSP.ACT.PART opposite-LOC-3SG live-PERF-1SG
I lived opposite the place where there are wolves.

(FD 2004)

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B. Participial temporal clauses

Most frequently, this type of adjunct clause is formed by a temporal postposition, as shown in (79) above. A participial temporal clause can also be formed by the participle in certain cases, as shown in (72) above, where the dative-marked participle expresses the situation that the subordinate action and main action simultaneously. Such case-marked participial temporal clauses are rare in the available data and documents.

C.Participial conditional clauses

The postposition 'adasini, if' may combine with a participle to constitute a participial conditional clause, as shown in (84). This case is rare in the data I have.

(84) [ɕi arki-wə ɔmi-ɾən-ɕi adasini]
2SG alcohol-ACC drink-PROSP.ACT.PART-2SG if
dʑaɾi-xtɕi-ni.
Sing-PROSP-3SG
If you drink alcohol, he will sing.

(FD 2004)

The subject of a complex sentence that contains a participial adjunct clause may or may not have the same subject. When the subjects are different the participle takes the personal suffix that refers to the subject of the subordinate clause, as in (84) where the participle takes the 2nd person agreement suffix -ɕi.

8.2.3.3 Converbal adjunct clauses

Converbal adjunct clauses are simply formed by converbal forms without any other association, as shown in (73) above. Converbal adjunct clauses include three semantic subtypes: Time, Condition and Purpose. The temporal type may be divided into three types: the anterior type constituted by anterior converbs showing that the action of subordinate clause happens before the main clause, (see details in 6.1.1.8 Anterior Converbs), the posterior type expressed by the posterior converbs showing the action of subordinate clause happens after the main clause, (see details in 6.1.1.8 Posterior Converbs) and the simultaneous type constituted by simultaneous converbs showing the actions of subordinate and main clause both happen as the same time, (see details

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in 6.1.1.8 Simultineous Converbs). The details of other converbal adjunct clauses are also illustrated in (6.1.1.8 Conditional Converbs and 6.1.1.8 Purposive Converbs).

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Text I: The Frog, the Rat and the Reindeer

uaksən,	**ɕiŋɾi,**	**tɔuki**	**(suhuli)**
Frog,	**Rat,**	**Reindeer**	**(Fable tale)**

(Excerpts)

This suhuli is a educational fable to be told to children. The author transcribed it from the chinese source, You & Fu (1987) with some amendments.

sulə,	əkətɕi	əmə	uaksə	pi-ji-ni,
In the past,	such	a	frog	Cop-PTCPL-IMPERF.3
kɔnin	əptɕukuli	aji.		
heart	very	good.		

In the past, there was a warm-hearted frog.

əmtan,	uaksən	piɾakən	tɕapkəɾən-duli
Once	frog	brook	side-PROL
dʑəfə-kə	nə	kəltə-i-ni.	
Eat-DS	FOC	seek-PTCPL-IMPERF.3	

Once, the frog was seeking food along the brook.

əi	puɾkin-duli	ia	madʑakə	kili-ji-ni
this	moment-PROL	what	something	shout-PTCPL-IMPERF.3
tilkan	tɔlti-xən			
voice	hear-PERF			

At this moment, the frog heard something shouting,

xuɾku-mi	ənə-ɾə,	itɕi-ki-ni,	əmə	ɕiŋəɾi.
jump-INF	go-I.CONV.COND	see-P.CONV.COND-3SG	one	Rat

The frog jumped and saw a rat.

ɕiŋəɾi	iaməktə	tiki-mi	xəsu-i-ni
rat	tear	drop-INF	speak-PTCPL-IMPERF.3

The Rat was speaking while crying.

“uakəsən	kəkə,
frog	elder sister

Frog sister.

əi	inin,	dʑəfə-kə	nə	kəltə-i-ni-duli,
this	today,	eat-DS	FOC	seek-PTCPL-IMPERF.3-PROL,

Today, when I was looking for the food,

əmə	ilgalki	kəskən-du	itɕi-wu-xəi,
one	flowery	cat-DAT	see-PAS-PERF

I was spotted by a turtoiseshell cat.

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bugdanə-ni ələtə-ki-ni, ərəkən-ji tə atɕi da-xən.
run-PTCPL slow-P.CONv.COND-3SG life-GEN FOC Neg Cop-PERF
If I had run slowly, I might have lost my life already.

bəgədələ-ji ətɕikən xɔktu-də xujələ-wu-xəi,
Leg-GEN just a moment ago road-DAT hurt-PAS-PERF
minə-mə pəltɕi-rɔ."
1SG-ACC help-OPT
My legs were hurt on the road, please help me."

uakəsən ɕiŋəri xuma-mə itɕi-rə, mura kutɕinəini,
Frog Rat appearance-ACC see-I.CONV.COND very poor
Frog saw Rat's appearance, very wretched.

niani mai tɕatɕi-rə dʑɔkutu-lə
3SG FOC carry on one's back-I.CONV.COND home-LOC
katɕiləkirə xujə-wə taku-ni.
Bring back-I.CONV.COND injury-ACC cure-IMPERF.3
It carried the Rat home on its back and cured Rat's injury.

inin inin, uakəsən ɔktu-wə katə-mi katɕiləkirə
day day frog medicine-ACC pick-INF bring back
ɕiŋəri bəgədələ-ni xujə-wə aitɕi-ji-ni,
Rat leg-3SG.POSSinjure-ACC dress-PTCPL-IMPERF.3
pirakən tɔu-tigi ɔkutɕu-mə dʑafa-mi
Brook inside-ABL small fish-ACC catach-INF
dʑəfə-wu-kunə-ni.
Eat-CAUS-PERM-3SG.
Everyday, Frog brought back the medicine which he picked to dress rat's injury, and caught small fish from the brook to feed Rat.

kɔltuku pia tə tulunə-xən,
half month FOC go pass-PERF
Half a month later,

ɕiŋəri bəgədələ xujə-ni tə əiturki-xən,
Rat leg injure-3SG. POSS FOC recovered
uakəsən dʑɔkutu-tigi ənə-xən.
Frog home-ABL go-PERF.
Rat left frog's home when his legs recovered.

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Text II: The Hero Antu

antu mərkən (imarkan)

Antu hero (Heroic stories)

(excerpts)

This Imarkan excerpt is translated from the Chinese source, You & Fu (1987) with a few amandements.

(Talking part)

təni kamurəɕimi ɔti-ki-ni,
just praying finish-P.CONV.COND-3SG
When Antu had just finished praying,

sulia-tigi əmə faɕi ɕiankin tuksu təkətə-xə
west-ABL one piece white cloud fly-PERF
A piece of white cloud took off from the west.

tiakə uiləni iɕanə-mi tu sarata-xən.
yacht above arrive-INF then disperse-PERF
The cloud dispersed when it passed over the boat,

əkətɕi, tiakə amitɕikə-duli əmə tɕaka tiɔfurə tə-xən,
whereupon yacht poop-PROL one something heavy sit-PERF
Whereupon, it seemed something heavy sit on the poop of the boat.

tiakə əɕi uənətəkən da-xən,
yacht now steady become-PERF
The yacht was sailing steadily now.

ɔtin-du fulikia-mi uə-wə kəltuli-mi,
wind-DAT blow-INF wave-ACC cut-INF
The wind broke the waves.

kukuta kamun kula-mi niəkətə pa-wə
high hill overflow-INF low-lying ground-ACC
niləpə-mi, niɔru kətɕi tɕuləɕiki ənə-ni
spill-INF arrow as same as front go-IMPERF.3
The waves overflow the high hills, spill low-lying ground, going forward like an arrow.

(Singing part) (note: the sung portion is representative of the Jalingko genre of songs; it begins with a chant, the meaning of which (if any) is obscure.)
xərilə xərilənani xərikəikə

mərkən muxan ajitɕi tələti
hero youngman good-carefully listen
Hero, listen carefully.

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mini əmə asən xitə-i dʑuan tɕakun sə
1SG.POSS one female child-GEN ten eight year
da-xən.
become-PERF
I have a daughter who is eighteen years old already.

mətələki niɔ aɕitɕimə malxun
requested person extremely many
There are so many suitors.

bi ni-də pu-ɾtɕə əxələ.
1SG 3SG-DAT give-NEG bad
I cannot decide.

əltɕi-matɕi-mi xɔti-wə kəltə
compete-REC-INF son-in-law-ACC pick
Competition for marriage selection

bi əɕi ilan tɕaka kələ
1SG now three stuff want
I want three things:

tɕulə-xi mɔ kəwun-dulə əmə kiatɕi pi-ɾən
south-LAT tree hole-LOC one eagle Cop-PROSP
There is an Eagle in the Tree hole of the South.

əitɕiki mukə-dulə əmə aiɕin tau pi-ɾən
East water-LOC one golden salmon Cop-PROSP
There is a golden salmon in the water of the east.

sulia uɾəkən-dulə əmə kumakə pi-ɾən
West hill-LOC one deer Cop-PROSP
There is a deer in the hills of the west.

ni əi ilan tɕaka katɕi-ki-ni bi asən-ji
who this three stuffs bring-P.CONV.COND 1SG daughter-GEN
ni-də pu
who-DAT give.
I will give my daughter to the one who can bring back these three things.

tɔlti-xən ətɕi-xən sɔ? aɾna
hear-PERF remember-PERF PART
have you heard and remembered ?

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