STUDIES ON THE VERB COMPLEX OF SANTA MONGOLIAN

MATEUS FROES NAPOLI

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

Payap University
January 2014
Title: Studies on the Verb Complex of Santa Mongolian
Researcher: Mateus Froes Napoli
Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics
Advisor: Larin Adams, PhD
Approval Date: 28 January 2014
Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. __________________________ Committee Chair
   (Assoc. Prof. Saranya Savetamalya, Ph.D.)

2. __________________________ Committee Member
   (Larin Adams, Ph.D.)

3. __________________________ Committee Member
   (Stephem S. Kim, Ph.D.)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude for Stephen S. Kim for introducing me to this amazing people group. I want to thank you for believing in a boy who thought he knew much more than he actually did. Thank you for your support, encouragement and guidance on my contacts with linguistics. Thank for keep helping and encouraging me after so many years. Your love and dedication are great source of inspiration.

I also want to thank Aj. Larin Adams, my main advisor. Thank you for always encouraging and challenging me. Your linguistic curiosity allied with your great knowledge were invaluable and decisive for the completion of this thesis. Thanks for taking the risk of advising from distance, on a language family you were not familiar. Thanks for all the support, from bicycles to motorbikes, from e-mails to long skype meetings.

Thanks also to all the ajarns in the Linguistic Departament, for all the efforts and the knowledge shared. I would like to give special thanks to the ajarns that have served at the department during these years. Thanks for Aj Karen, for encouraging me to take a step of faith when I could not see further, this thesis would not happen without your encouragement. To Aj Art, Aj Pam and Aj Margie, as well as the secretaries Yui and Minh who have helped a lot with all the papers, dates and signatures that could never keep up.

Also special thanks to Aj Prang, for her help on my thesis proposal and guiding me through the Mongolic languages literature. Thanks also for Aj Saranya, for being part of my defense committee.

I also want to give special thanks to my Dongxiang friends that have helped me to learn this language and have taught me to love and admire this people. Special thanks to my language helpers Machao, Min Xiaohu, Majinshan. Thanks for the patience, for the interest, for believing that it is worth, for collecting stories. You were a great
motivation for me to keep studying and analyzing this wonderful language. Your friendship has made my work much easier and enjoyable. Also thanks for those who have told their stories and shared their experience which served as basis for this thesis.

I also want to thank the small army of people, friends, brothers and sisters from different parts of the world, who have supported me in all areas throughout these years. This thesis is your success!

I also want to thank the support of my family. Thanks to my parents, my brother and my sister for the encouragement, for the trust, and for being so close despite the distance.

I want to especially thank my wife, a real virtuous woman, who has created the right environment for me to be able to complete this thesis. Thanks for your patience and comprehension throughout these years. Thank for being by my side in all the difficult times and for asking me to keeping moving forward. You are more than I could ask for. Thanks for my little daughter who has been lately the main motivation for finishing this thesis.

Finally, I want to thank the Almighty, Creator of all things, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Word. May Your name be glorified in every language for ever and ever.

Mateus Froes Napoli
ABSTRACT

The present thesis is an analysis of the verb complex of Santa Mongolian, the language spoken by the Chinese minority group called Dongxiang. Even though Santa Mongolian is the third largest Mongolic language, it is one of the least researched. Typologically, Santa Mongolian has no distinctive vowel harmony and vowel length properties. The syllable structure is relatively simple, having only approximants happening in consonant clusters. It is an agglutinative language that uses only suffixes on its morphology. It has a case system with five different cases. The typical word order is SOV.

There are basically two kinds of verbs in Santa: finite and non-finite verbs. The finite verbs receive tense-aspect-mood suffixes, whereas the non-finite do not. The verb stem in Santa can receive two markers: plural marker -ndu, and causative marker -gha. These two markers can work as valence changing strategies.

Finite morphology can be divided into three moods: declarative, interrogative and imperative. There are three tense-aspect markers in the declarative mood: perfective -wo, imperfective -zho, and non-perfective -ne. The aspectual system in Santa can be described as a distinction between two parameters: whether the event is referred to as having started or not and whether it is referred to as having finished or not. The imperfective marker -zho marks an event that must have started, but it could have finished or not. On the other hand, the non-perfective -ne marks events that could
have started or not, but necessarily have not finished. This same pattern is followed by the participle markers. Finally the perfective marker -wo, marks events that have both started and finished, therefore referring always to past tense events. These findings are further supported by an analysis of the tense-aspect markers interacting with different types of events.

Non-finite verbs are divided into two categories: participles – nominalized usage of verbs, and converbs – adverbialized usage of verbs. There are nine verb markers divided into three categories: same event converbs, different event converbs and quasiconverbs. Same event converbs mark verbs that are understood as a single event with the following verb. Therefore, these events are simultaneous and share the subject. These converbs usually mark manner, purpose, instrument or attendant circumstance. Different event converbs mark verbs that are understood as a distinct event from the next verb. They express basically a temporal relation between the conterval clause and the main clause, but their meaning can be augmented to have other kind of semantic relations such as conditional, concessive, substitutive, etc.

Quasiconverbs are not fully grammaticalized forms. They take the form of a participle plus a case marking, and express only one basic semantic temporal relation, lacking the augmented meanings of the different event converbs. The meaning of the converbs is highly dependent on the context and the main elements that influence it are: the tense-aspect of the main clause, the aktionsart of the verb marked, adverbs and pragmatic factors. These findings are supported by the predictability showed in the analysis of the converbs with overlapping meanings.
บทความย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อวิเคราะห์โครงสร้างไวยาคิบขั้นภาษาซานต้ามองโกเลียน
ภาษาถิ่นย่อของชนกลุ่มน้อยในประเทศจีนที่เรียกว่าชาวตงเซี้ยง แม้ภาษาซานต้ามองโกเลียนจะ
เป็นภาษาในตระกูลภาษามองโกลแต่กลับไม่ได้รับการสนใจศึกษาจากนักในทางแบบลักษณ์
ภาษาซานต้ามองโกเลียนเป็นภาษาที่ไม่มีการแยกความหมายของคำโดยความสอดคล้อง
กลมกลืนและความยาวของเสียงสรรค์ โดยโครงสร้างประโยคค่อนข้างเรียบง่ายคือมีเพียงเสียงปัจจุบัน
ที่ก่อนเพียงหนึ่งเท่านั้น ภาษาซานต้ามองโกเลียนเป็นภาษาที่มีรูปคำติดต่อโดยที่มีการเดิม คำปัจจุบัน
มีการจำกัดการ และมีลักษณะคำในภาษาเป็นแบบ SOV

คำวิเคราะห์ภาษาซานต้ามองโกเลียนแบ่งเป็นสองประเภทได้แก่ คำวิเคราะห์ และคำวิเคราะห์ไม่แท้
คำวิเคราะห์สามารถสรับคำباحจัยแสดงการณ์ ลักษณะและคำบอกทศนะความไปในขณะที่
คำวิเคราะห์ไม่แท้ไม่สามารถสรับได้ รากของคำวิเคราะห์สามารถสรับคำباحจัยได้สองประเภท ได้แก่ คำ
แสดงพหูพจน์-ndo และคำแสดงการิต -gra ซึ่งเป็นคำที่ทำหน้าที่สับเปลี่ยนความสัมพันธ์ในประโยค

มาลาที่ประกอบกับคำวิเคราะห์สามารถแบ่งออกได้เป็นสามประเภท ได้แก่ มาลาแบบบอกเหล่า
มาลาแสดงคำทำาและมาลาแสดงคำสั่ง โดยในมาลาแบบบอกเหล่าสามารถสรับคำباحจัยแสดง
การบกพร่องได้ตามประเภท ได้แก่ การบกพร่องสมบูรณ์ -wo การบกพร่องไม่สมบูรณ์ -zho
และการณ์ลักษณะที่ไม่ใช้การณ์ลักษณะสมบูรณ์ –ne ระบบการณ์ลักษณะในภาษาซานต้ามองโกเลียนมีการระบุความแตกต่างของเหตุการณ์ระหว่างเหตุการณ์ที่เริ่มหรือยังไม่เริ่ม และเหตุการณ์ที่เสร็จสิ้นแล้วหรือยังไม่เสร็จสิ้น คำปัจจัยการณ์ลักษณะไม่สมบูรณ์ –zho แสดงเหตุการณ์ที่เริ่มขึ้นแล้วแต่อาจยังเสร็จสิ้นหรือยังไม่เสร็จสิ้น ไม่ทางตรงกันข้ามคำปัจจัย การณ์ลักษณะที่ไม่ใช้การณ์ลักษณะสมบูรณ์ –ne แสดงเหตุการณ์ที่อาจเริ่มขึ้นแล้วหรือยังไม่เริ่ม ได้แก่เหตุการณ์ที่ยังไม่เสร็จสิ้น ในทางตรงกันข้ามนี่คําปัจจัยที่ไม่สมบูรณ์แสดงเหตุการณ์ที่เริ่มขึ้นแล้วแต่ยังไม่เสร็จสิ้น ได้แก่เหตุการณ์ที่เริ่มขึ้นแล้วแต่ยังไม่เสร็จสิ้น

คําบ่งชี้การณ์ลักษณะสมบูรณ์ –wo แสดงเหตุการณ์ที่เริ่มต้นแล้วและเสร็จสิ้นลงไปแล้ว ดังนั้น จึงแสดงเหตุการณ์ที่เป็นอดีตกาลเท่านั้น ความหมายของคําบ่งชี้การณ์ลักษณะสมบูรณ์นี้จะวนไปในเหตุการณ์ที่กล่าวมานี้ผู้วิจัยวิเคราะห์ตามประเภทของเหตุการณ์ต่างๆ

คํากริยาไม่แท้แบ่งออกเป็นสองประเภทได้แก่ ผู้วิจัยพิจารณาได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่าวเป็นนาม และภายนอกวิจัยได้แก่ คํากริยาที่กล่า
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ................................................................................................................. ii
Abstract ................................................................................................................................. iv  
บทคัดย่อ ............................................................................................................................. vi

List of Tables .......................................................................................................................... xi
List of Figures .......................................................................................................................... xii
List of Abbreviations and Symbols ......................................................................................... xiii

Chapter 1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 Socio-cultural Background .............................................................................................. 1
  1.2 Linguistic Background ..................................................................................................... 2

Chapter 2 Methodology ......................................................................................................... 5
  2.1 Santa Literature Review ................................................................................................. 5
    2.1.1 Literature on Related Languages ........................................................................... 6
    2.1.2 Important Features of Santa Verbs ....................................................................... 6
  2.2 Relevant Linguistic Concepts .......................................................................................... 8
    2.2.1 Meaning of Verbs ................................................................................................. 8
    2.2.2 Clause Linking Strategies ...................................................................................... 10
  2.3 Data Collection and Analysis ......................................................................................... 12

Chapter 3 Grammatical Overview ....................................................................................... 14
  3.1 Phonology ...................................................................................................................... 14
  3.2 Morphology .................................................................................................................... 16
    3.2.1 Inflectional Morphology ....................................................................................... 17
    3.2.2 Derivational Morphology ...................................................................................... 19
  3.3 Syntactic Structure ........................................................................................................ 21
    3.3.1 Word Order ........................................................................................................... 21
    3.3.2 Noun Phrase .......................................................................................................... 22
    3.3.3 Postpositional Phrase ............................................................................................ 25
    3.3.4 Non-verbal Clauses ............................................................................................... 26
  3.4 Summary .......................................................................................................................... 28

Chapter 4 Verb Complex ...................................................................................................... 29
  4.1 Verb Stem ....................................................................................................................... 29
    4.1.1 Causative -gha ...................................................................................................... 30
6.4.2 Different Event Converbs ................................................................. 89
6.4.3 Quasiconverbs .............................................................................. 96
6.4.4 Overlapping Meanings ................................................................. 101
6.5 Summary ......................................................................................... 102
Chapter 7 Conclusion ........................................................................... 104
  Further Studies .................................................................................. 107
Bibliography ......................................................................................... 108
Appendix A Story 1: The Bigshot of the Third Team .............................. 114
Appendix B Story 2: Going to School Before Sunrise ............................ 119
Appendix C Story 3: The Sheep’s Tail .................................................... 126
Appendix D Story 4: I Know Marei ....................................................... 132
Appendix E Story 5: Crying out of Fear ............................................... 136
Appendix F Story 6: Six Daughters ....................................................... 143
Resume .................................................................................................. 150
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Temporal features of the situation types (Smith 1991:20) ........................................ 9
Table 2 Clause combining strategies (Slater 2003:223) ....................................................... 10
Table 3 Stories collected ........................................................................................................ 13
Table 4 Consonants in Santa ................................................................................................. 14
Table 5 Vowels in Santa ......................................................................................................... 15
Table 6 Writing system for consonants .................................................................................. 16
Table 7 Writing system for vowels ......................................................................................... 16
Table 8 Case markers in Santa .............................................................................................. 17
Table 9 Possessive markers in Santa ..................................................................................... 18
Table 10 Basic constituent order in Santa ............................................................................. 22
Table 11 Demonstrative in Santa .......................................................................................... 23
Table 12 Numerals in Santa ................................................................................................... 23
Table 13 Santa pronouns ........................................................................................................ 25
Table 14 Postpositions in Santa ............................................................................................ 25
Table 15 Non-verbal clauses in Santa .................................................................................... 28
Table 16 Verb stem markers .................................................................................................. 30
Table 17 Meaning resulting from the causative marker ......................................................... 31
Table 18 Declarative and interrogative mood markers ......................................................... 34
Table 19 Imperative mood markers ....................................................................................... 34
Table 20 Aspectual distinctions between the tense-aspect markers ..................................... 35
Table 21 Question words in Santa ......................................................................................... 40
Table 22 Non-finite verb markers .......................................................................................... 42
Table 23 Participles ................................................................................................................ 43
Table 24 Converb markers in Santa ...................................................................................... 45
Table 25 The durative marker in different languages .............................................................. 60
Table 26 Tense-aspect markers ............................................................................................. 62
Table 27 Clause combining strategies (Slater 2003:223) ..................................................... 75
Table 28 Types of converbs in Santa ..................................................................................... 81
Table 29 Different views on the declarative mood markers .................................................. 105
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Qinghai-Gansu language taxonomy .................................................................3
Figure 2 Santa Verb Complex.........................................................................................29
Figure 3 Temporal relation between the main and conditional events .........................89
Figure 4 Temporal relation between the main and concessive events.........................93
Figure 5 Temporal relation between the main and completive events ......................97
Figure 6 Temporal relation between the main and contemporal events ...................99
Figure 7 Temporal relation between the converbs and instantaneous events ..........102
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1pEXC = First person plural exclusive
1pEXC.CONN = First person plural exclusive connective case
1pINC = First person plural inclusive
1pINC.CONN = First person plural inclusive connective case
1pINC.DAT = First person plural inclusive dative case
1s = First person singular
1sABL = First person singular ablative case
1sDAT = First person singular dative case
1sPOSS = First person singular possessive marker
2p = Second person plural
2p.DAT = Second person plural dative case
2s = Second person singular
2sCONN = Second person singular connective case
2sDAT = Second person singular dative case
2sPOSS = Second person singular possessive marker
3p = Third person plural
3pCONN = Third person plural connective case
3pDAT = Third person plural dative case
3pPOSS = Third person plural possessive marker
3s = Third person singular
3sCONN = Third person singular connective case
3sDAT = Third person singular dative case
ABL = Ablative case marker
ADJ = Adjective
ADVZ = Advebalizer
ADV = Adverb
AP = Adjective phrase
AUX = Auxiliary verb
CAUS = Causative marker
C-EXP = Counter-expectation particle
COMP = Completive converb marker
CONC = Concessive converb marker
COND = Conditional converb marker
CONN = Connective case marker
COP = Copula
DAT = Dative case marker
DEM = Demonstrative
EVD = Evidentiality marker
IMP = Imperative
INT = Interation marker
INTS = Intensifier
IPFV = Imperfective
MAN = Manner converb marker
NEG = Negator
NOM = Nominalizer
NP = Noun phrase
NP[LOC] = Noun phrase locative
NP[obj1] = Noun phrase object 1
NP[obj2] = Noun phrase object 2
NP[POSS] = Noun phrase possessor
NP[subj] = Noun phrase subject
NPFV = Non-perfective
NUM = Numeral
O = Object
PERM = Permissive mood
PFV = Perfective
pl = Plural marker
POSS.SUB = Subject possessor marker
POST = Post position
PP = Postpositional phrase
PROG = Progressive
PURP = Purposive converb marker
QUES = Question word
RC = Relative clause
RECP = Reciprocal marker
REL = Relativizer
S = Subject
SUG = Suggestion particle
TAM = Tense-aspect-mood
TERM = Terminative converb marker
TOP = Topicalizer
V = Verb
V[intr] = Intransitive verb
VOL = Voluntative mood
VP = Verb phrase
Chapter 1
Introduction

The present thesis is an analysis of the verb complex of Santa Mongolian, the language spoken by the Chinese minority group called Dongxiang (东乡). The present chapter gives an overview on the people group and the sociolinguistic status of the language. In Chapter 2, a discussion on the previous literature on Santa and related languages is given, as well as a discussion of the main linguistic concepts relevant to this thesis. In order to give some linguistic background to the readers, a grammatical overview is presented in Chapter 3, covering the main features of the language. The analysis on the verb complex per se begins in Chapter 4, where a more detailed explanation on the morphology applied to verbs is presented, as well as other elements that have semantic and syntactic impact on verbs. Santa’s tense-aspect system is rather simple if compared to other Mongolic languages, however it has many nuances that make possible expressing the vast range of meanings that all languages need. The analysis of the tense-aspect system is discussed in Chapter 5. Another important aspect of Santa is the usage of non-finite verbs (converbs) to provide adverbial modification to the finite verbs as well as linking clauses. An overview of these markers is provided in Chapter 6.

1.1 Socio-cultural Background

The Dongxiang people group (also called Dunsiang, Mongolian Muslim, Mongolian Huihui, Dongxiang Huihui) is one of the 55 Chinese minority groups. They call themselves Santa, which is probably derived from the term sart, historically used refer to Persian and Turkic-speaking traders and urban people in Eastern Central Asia (Kim 2003). The Santa are conservative Sunni Muslims and religion is the main source of ethnic identity. Actually, currently the term “Santa” simply means ‘Muslim’ and embodies anyone who follows Islam. When asked in Mandarin, the Santa speakers will call themselves either “Dongxiang” or “Hui”. The Hui is the largest Chinese Muslim people group. They speak Chinese and historically have had great impact on Santa language and culture. The term “Hui” has also developed the ethnonymic sense of ‘Muslim’. The term “Dongxiang” is Chinese for ‘eastern village’ and comes from the fact that Hezhou area (today’s Linxia Prefecture) was divided in
four: north, south, east and west. The Santa people used to live in the eastern part, which is know as Dongxiang.

Due to the lack of writing records, it is hard to precisely indentify the origin of this people group. There are two theories about it: the first one, less accepted, is that they are Mongolians converted to Islam; the second one is that they were Muslim artisans from Central Asia captured by the Mongolian Army on its western expeditions during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and forced to learn Mongolian (Field 1997). Kim (2003) states that both theories are probably true, but the proportion of Mongolian and Central Asian origin is not clear.

According to the 2010 census, their population numbers 621,500. They are mostly located in the Dongxiang County, but there is also a considerable population in neighboring Linxia and Lanzhou City in Gansu Province, as well as Ili Autonomous District in Xinjiang Province. Due to severe drought in Dongxiang county, the Chinese government promoted mass relocation to Xinjiang in the 60’s and 80’s and to other Gansu areas more recently. The people that have migrated kept their mother tongue. Their main economic activity is agriculture (mainly potato, wheat and corn) and cattle breeding (mainly sheep and cow).

1.2 Linguistic Background

Even though, Santa Mongolian is the third largest Mongolic language, it is one of the least researched. Genetically, Rybatzki (2003) proposes a division on Mongolic languages that correlates geographically. The six areas proposed are: Northeastern, with Dagur; Northern, including Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat; Central, including Mongol proper, Ordos and Oirat; South-Central, with Shira Yughur; Southeastern, including Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan and Santa; and Southwestern, with Moghol.

Nugteren (2011) makes a slightly different division, introducing a sub-group called the Southern Periphery. This southern periphery is also called Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund languages, because these languages are spoken in the border area between Gansu and Qinghai province, in northwestern China. The Santa Mongolian language is part of this group, but it is unintelligible with any other languages within the group. Because of centuries of isolation from other Mongolic languages, these languages have developed many idiosyncratic innovations, making it a special group. These languages have been under major influence from Chinese, Tibetan and Salar – a Turkic language. Nugteren (2011), proposes a division for the Qinghai-
Gansu languages, shown in Figure 1. According to this figure, Bonan and Kangjia are the languages more closely related to Santa.

Santa is a single language by itself, but it can be divided into three dialectal areas, according to Kim (2003). These three dialects are Wanjia, Suonan and Sijiaji, which have slight phonological and lexical variations and are mutually intelligible.

Santa has been under heavy Chinese influence. According to the Dongxiang Language Dictionary (Buhe 1983), about 50% of the Santa lexicon is borrowed from Linxia Hui Chinese dialect. Fields (1991) raises the hypothesis that such a large percentage of loan words is because Santa was originally a pidgin of Mongolian with a rather impoverished lexicon. According to his hypothesis, the Santa people were originally Islamic artisans captured by Mongolian forces and forced to acquire their language, and were strongly influenced by the Chinese Muslims of the Linxia area during this process. This would also explain the absence of some features common to Mongolic languages, such as vowel harmony and contrastive vowel length. Another source of borrowings is Arabic (mainly for religious terms), Turkic and Persian to a less extent.
According to Lewis (2009), there are 200,000 Santa speakers, 80,000 from those being monolingual. Even though the language attitude is positive, the language is threatened, with the population shifting to Chinese. However, Santa is still used in the domains of home, religion, local commerce, and oral tradition. According to Kim (2003) by 1992, only 17% of the Santa population was literate in Chinese.

Typologically, Santa Mongolian, differently from many Mongolian languages, has no distinctive vowel harmony and vowel length properties. The syllable structure is relatively simple, having only approximants happening in consonant clusters. Santa is considered rich in consonants, having also borrowed the retroflex obstruents. Stress usually falls on the last syllable, with very few exceptions only in borrowed words.

Santa is an agglutinative language that uses only suffixes on its morphology. Santa has a case system with five different cases. Santa has preserved a full set of suffixes that occur on the possessed noun, indicating who the possessor is. These markers are attached to nouns to express belonging, even if the possessor is not expressed in the sentence. Santa is an SOV language. However, there is some space for flexibility, since it has a case marking system.
Chapter 2  
Methodology

This chapter is an explanation of the methodology used for the present thesis. First, in section 2.1, there is a description of the main literature on Santa Mongolian, as well as related languages, and a discussion on the main topics relative to verbs in Santa. In section 2.2, there is a review of the linguistics literature relevant to this thesis. Finally, in section 2.3, there is an exposition on the data collection method and a description of the data itself.

2.1 Santa Literature Review

There have been only a few publications on Santa Mongolian, the most relevant ones are briefly commented on this section. According to Kim (2003), the first publication giving Santa the status of an independent language is by Potanin in 1983. The first author that has specifically dealt with Santa grammar was the Russian linguist Todaeva, who wrote a several papers on grammar and ethnology. A main paper from this author is called Dongxiangyu (1980) in Chinese, which is grammar sketch with texts and a short lexicon – the author uses Cyrillic alphabet to write Santa.

Other Chinese authors have also made an effort to describe Santa. Special mention must be made to Liu Zhaoxiong’s Dongxiangyu Jianzhi (Notes on Dongxiang Language). This book provides an overview of Santa Mongolian. It is divided into three sections: phonology, vocabulary and grammar. Another important book is Dongxiangyu Lunji, edited by Hao Sumin. This book is a collection of articles by different Chinese linguists on Santa Mongolian’s phonology and grammar. The main Chinese researcher on Santa is by far Buhe, who wrote three important books: Dongxiangyu he Mengguyu (Dongxiang and Mongolian languages), where the Buhe provides a grammar sketch on Santa Mongolian, comparing it to Khalka Mongolian; Dongxiangyu cihui (Lexicon of Dongxiang Language), where the Buhe provides a large lexicon of Santa; and Dongxiangyu Huayu Cailiao, a collection of texts and stories in Santa. More recently, a dictionary Santa-Mandarin has been produced by Ma & Chen, in 2001.

Two foreign researchers have made major contributions for the description of Santa grammar. Dongxiangyu Cifa Yanjiu (A Study of Dongxiang Morphology), by Stephen S.
Kim, is a doctoral dissertation, produced in Chinese. It is the most comprehensive and deep Santa Mongolian grammar produced to date. Its main focus is on the morphology but it also provides very interesting insights on the phonology and the syntax. Kim has also published an article in 2003. Even though it is a very short paper, it is quite comprehensive, giving an overview on Santa Grammar. Finally, Kenneth Fields wrote a doctoral dissertation in 1997, which covers various different topics, including an interesting study on event-switch markers. This, alongside with Kim’s paper, are the only material published in English.

2.1.1 Literature on Related Languages
The main materials produced on related languages used in this thesis were:

- *The Mongolic languages*, edited by Juha Janhune. It is a very comprehensive book with one article on the grammar of almost all Mongolic languages. It also has a discussion on proto-Mongolic, on the taxonomy of Mongolic languages and the relationship between Turkic and Mongolic languages.

- *A grammar of Mangghuer: A Mongolic language of China’s*, by Keith W. Slater. It is comprehensive grammatical overview of Minhe Monguor, since it shares many features with Santa, the discussions on this book were very helpful to shed light on the present thesis.

- *A grammar of Bao’an tu, a Mongolic language of Northwest China*, by Robert Wayne Fried. It is a doctoral dissertation presenting a grammar of the Bao’an dialect spoken in Qinghai. Likewise Slater’s book, this one was very insightful to some of the discussions on the present thesis.

2.1.2 Important Features of Santa Verbs
This section is a discussion about the research of other scholars on the main features of Santa verbs. For doing so, three main authors are taken into account: Buhe, Kim and Field.

The verb stem in Santa can receive both causative and reciprocals markers. Both are marked by a suffix and appear with both finite and non-finite verbs. They both are valency changing strategies – causatives add one argument to the verb, whereas reciprocals remove one argument. Fields (1997) and Buhe (1986) both defend that these suffixes belong to the class of inflectional morphology, while Kim (2003) argues that they are actually a matter of derivation.
Typically the verbs in Mongolian languages can be divided into finite and non-finite, so it is the case for Santa. The finite verb uses are fully marked with tense-aspect, whereas the non-finite are dependent on the finite. A sentence can have many non-finite verbs, but only one finite. The non-finite verb usages can be divided into two categories: participles – nominalized usage of verbs, and converbs – adverbialized usage of converbs.

There are three participle markers for Santa Mongolian, which are also called nominalizers. Kim (2003) says that the participles “create dependent nominalized clauses, which may function as arguments of another clause, or may modify a head noun, thus functioning as a relative clause”. He describes the three markers as being futuritive, perfective and agentive. The futuritive has an imperfective aorist-future temporal-aspectual reference (e.g. ‘A way to walk’). The agentive has a very similar function but it tends to be used as an “independent (substantival) noun” (e.g. ‘This is one that watches the house’). The perfective has a past-perfective reference (e.g. ‘a person who has come’). Buhe (1986) interprets them slightly different, he calls them non-past, past, and topical participle respectively, this interpretation reflects the way he sees the finite marking system. Finally, Fields (1997) interprets them as being imperfective, perfective and progressive, which similarly to Buhe, reflects his way of interpreting the indicative system. Even though they use different labels, they seem to be largely agreeing on the semantic function of these markers, except for what Field calls progressive and the other two call topical or agentive marker.

For the converb markers, the three authors largely agree on the specific meaning and usage of each marker. However, there is a major disagreement on the nature of these markers. Kim (2003) and Buhe (1986) believe that the non-finite clauses are converbal constructions, while Field (1997) believes they are clause chaining constructions. The basic difference between converbal and clause-chaining constructions is a matter of whether the non-finite clause is embedded in the main clause or not (for more on this see section 2.2 and Chapter 6). The traditional researchers of Mongolic languages have used the term ‘converb’ to describe the non-finite verbs. It is also important to remark that many different meanings have been attributed to a single converb marker, but previous works have failed in describing the specific contexts where these markers are interpreted in each one of these meaning.

Finite verbs can be divided in three different moods: declarative, imperative and interrogative. For imperatives, the authors seem to agree on its function and
categories. Buhe (1986) explain the three types of imperatives. The first one he calls desiderative, referring to the desire to take the action, and is used for first person, singular or plural. The suffix that expresses the desiderative mood is -ye. The second one, called imperative, is an order to a second person, plural or singular, with a -∅ marking. The author says that some modality words could be added after the verb in order to soften or harden the tone of the order. The last type of imperative is called permissive, and is used for third person, singular or plural, marked by the suffix -gie.

The finite declarative morphology is another source of disagreement. Fields (1997) and Kim (2003) agree that the markers -wo, -ne and -zho, mark aspect and function as perfective, imperfective and progressive respectively. On the other hand, Buhe (1986) proposes that the suffixes actually refer to tense. For him, the suffix -wo is actually past tense and the suffix -ne is actually non-past tense, while -zho is actually be a combination of the converb marker -zhi and the copula wo, generating progressive aspect marker, treating it in his conversbs section. This is the greatest discord between them and definitely needs more study, since none explain it completely.

2.2 Relevant Linguistic Concepts

The main concepts that are relevant to the present thesis can be divided into two categories. The first section refers to elements that can influence in the meaning of the verbs, and consequentially the meaning of the utterance. Among these elements, the main ones are tense-aspect-mood markings, Akionsart of the verbs, syndesis, and pragmatic factor. The second section refers to the syntactic structure of complex events and clause combining strategies.

2.2.1 Meaning of Verbs

Santa commonly makes use of non-finite verbs. Haspelmath (1995) states that the notion of non-finiteness can be problematic. It basically distinguishes verbs that are fully inflected for tense, aspect and mood, from those which are dependent. Therefore, the non-finite verbs will be interpreted through the inflection applied to the finite verb.

Comrie (1976:3) defines aspect as the ‘different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation’. According to Smith (1991), the aspectual meaning of a sentence can express two kind of information. The first one is the particular
perspective or viewpoint, i.e. if the situation is considered entirely as a single unit, called perfective, or with internal time structure, called imperfective.

The second kind of information is refers to the type of situation expressed by the verb, whether it is a state or an activity for instance. Smith (1991) uses the term “situation” to refer to both states and events. In the present thesis they will all be called events and the distinction will be made between stative events and the other kinds of events. This kind of aspectual information is also called lexical aspect or Aktionsart, and is inherent to the kind of event. Vendler (1967) distinguishes between four different types of events: state, activities, accomplishments and achievements. The difference between these types of events is a matter of three parameters: whether they are stative or not; whether they are durative or instantaneous; and whether they are telic or not – if they need to have a definite ending point. Smith (1991) summarizes the different types of events, adding the semelfactive, in a table similar to Table 1, presented below.

Table 1 Temporal features of the situation types (Smith 1991:20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Static</th>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>Telic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dowty (1979) gives many examples of the different types of events, as well as proposing tests to distinguish between them. For states he mentions verbs like know, believe, have, desire and love. For activities he mentions run, walk, swim, push a cart, drive a car. For accomplishments he mentions paint a picture, make a chair, deliver a sermon, draw a circle, push a cart, recover from illness. For achievements he mentions recognize, spot, find, lose, reach and die.

Finally, when talking about stative events, there is an important distinction made by Kratzer (1995), that is the distinction between individual-level states (non-transitory, like having brown hair) and stage-level events (transitory, like being seated on a chair).

For tense, Timberlake (2007:304) states that “tense in language starts from the here-and-now of speech and constructs a linkage to a second time – here termed the contextual
occasion”. In other words, the tense marks if the event happens before, during or after the speech time. Dowty (1979) differentiates tense and aspect saying that tense relates the time of a situation being describing in relation to the speech time, whereas aspect specifies if the situation has finished or not, if it happens only one time or is iterative, or the beginning, middle or ending is being referred to. However, this distinction can be very blurry, since languages tend to have markers that refer to both aspect and tense, which is the case in Santa. Therefore, in the present thesis, tense and aspect will be considered as a unit, even though they refer to distinct features.

Besides the type of event expressed by the verb, and the tense-aspect markers attached to it, there are independent operators that can contribute to the utterance meaning. König (1995) talks about syndesis as one of these semantic factors. Syndesis refers to the overt presence of a subordination or coordination marker. These markers can be conjunctions, conjunctival adverbs, focus particles, or case suffixes in some languages. Santa makes uses of focus particles (such as ye ‘also’ and da ‘still’) to express relations between clauses like concessive-conditionals.

### 2.2.2 Clause Linking Strategies

There are basically three types of clause linking strategies: coordination, subordination and cosubordination. Foley and Van Valin (1984) differentiate these types of clause linking strategies in terms of embedding and dependency. The dependent clauses are non-finite and thus dependent on the main verb for tense and aspect interpretations. Van Valin (2005) states that for subordination, one of the clauses must be embedded in the other, functioning either as an argument (complementation), or as a modifier (adverbial clause). So the clauses can be ± dependent and ± embedded. Slater (2003) adapts a table from Foley and Van Valin (1984) that shows the possible combinations, introducing a fourth type of clause linking – direct quotation. The Table 2 shows these clause combining strategies.

**Table 2 Clause combining strategies (Slater 2003:223)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>embedded</th>
<th>dependent</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>cosubordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>embedded quotation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If a clause is non-dependent and non-embedded in other clause, then they are considered to be coordinate. If a clause is dependent on a main clause and is embedded in it, then it is subordinate to it. This is the classical distinction between coordination and subordination. However, there are some constructions, namely serial verb constructions and clause-chaining constructions that have non-finite, thus dependent clauses that are arguably not embedded in the main clause. These constructions are called cosubordinate. Slater (2003) adds another type of relation, that is common in Mangghuer and also in Santa. He calls it embedded quotation, which is a direct quotation, with full inflected verbs, embedded in a clause, thus + embedded and -dependent.

Haskelmath (1995) defines converbs as a nonfinite verb form that is used adverbially in a subordinate clause. He also compares this construction to other similar ones, especially clause chaining constructions. He concludes that, even though there is much overlap between these, the main difference is that in the former, the non-finite clause is subordinate and the latter is cosubordinate to the main clause. He also presents five criteria for subordination, claiming that any subordinate construction will meet a subset of these criteria and coordinate clauses will fulfill none. An analysis of the five criteria and why they are not applicable to Santa is made in Section 6.1.

On the other hand, Cristofaro (2005) presents the problems of establishing syntactical criteria to define subordination crosslinguistically. She argues that these criteria will fail to account for all the types of subordination strategies languages use. She also points to the fact that the same semantic and/or pragmatic relations can be encoded in different ways by different languages – what is subordinate in one language, may be coordinate in other. Therefore she proposes the use of pragmatic criteria to decide whether a construction is subordinate or not. She argues sentences can have a part that is what the speaker means to communicate and other parts that are used for other purposes. The part the speaker intends to communicate imposes its profile through the whole sentence, therefore this part is the one asserted by the speaker. The other part is pragmatically non-asserted and therefore subordinate. She proposes two tests. The first one is negating a whole sentence, if only one clause is negated, then the other clauses are subordinate, like in (a). The second test is using a tag question, if only one clause is being asked, then the other clauses are subordinate, like in (b). In (a), the negated part is about the fleeing of the burglar, not about the ringing of the alarm. In ii, the part questioned is also the fleeing of the
burglar and not the ringing of the alarms. Therefore she concludes that the clause *alarms ringing* is subordinate.

(a) *It is not the case that, alarms ringing, the burglar fled.*

(b) *Alarms ringing, the burglar fled, didn’t he?*

In summary, for analyzing the finite verb, it is very important to take into account the tense-aspect concepts, namely the lexical aspect, also called the *aktionsart*, the morphological tense and aspect, attached as suffix to the verb in Santa, and other particles, like adverbs, that impact the tense and/or the aspect of the verbs. For analyzing the non-finite verbs it is very important to understand the concepts of converbs and clause-chaining. For these three there is a basic important distinction accepted in the literature of embedding, that is to say, that converb are believed to be embedded into the main clause and medial verbs in clause-chaining constructions are not.

### 2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The data on this thesis is formed by six stories and elicited sentences. Table 3 shows the name of the stories and the number of sentences in each one of them.

Three language helpers were consulted for this thesis. The basic data was elicited from Ma Jinshan, 30, who was raised Daban Town and have moved to Lanzhou city recently. He is fluent in Santa and Standard Mandarin, as well as the local variations of Chinese. The second language helper was Min Xiaohu, 21, also originally from Danban, but has lived in Lanzhou since he was 7 years old. His strongest language is Mandarin, but he is also fluent in Santa and local Chinese dialects. The third language helper was Ma Chao, 25, originally from Daban, but moved to Lanzhou as a baby. His strongest language is Mandarin, but he is also fluent in Standard Mandarin and local Chinese dialects.
The first three stories were collected from a woman who is 50 years old and was born and raised in Hongzhuang village, which is part of Daban Town, in Dongxiang County. Her mother tongue is Santa, but she also speaks the local variation of Chinese as well as standard Mandarin. She is the mother of one of my language assistants who recorded these stories from her. The first and second stories are experiences from her childhood in the village, the third one is a folk tale.

The fourth story was collected from another woman from a village in Daban Town, in Dongxiang county. This woman is the mother of another language helper. This story was recorded by the language helper, while she was talking with her uncle.

The fifth story, was recorded from a man who was born in Longquan Township, in Dongxiang County, but has migrated to Zhongchuan Town, which is part of Lanzhou City. This story was directly recorded by me in Lanzhou. It is a narrative of personal experiences.

The last story was recorded from an elder man who is from Longquan Township, in Dongxiang county and still lives there. This story is a folk tale and was also directly recorded by me.

All data was recorded either using a cell phone or using a digital recorder. This data was then transcribed into the computer, using the writing system described in section 3.1. Finally, the data was internilarized and further analyzed with the help of the software Fieldworks.

### Table 3 Stories collected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Number of sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bigshot of the Third Team</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to School Before Sunrise</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sheep's Tail</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Know Marei</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crying out of Fear</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Daughters</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3
Grammatical Overview

This Chapter is an overview of Santa’s grammar. It is divided into three sections. Section 3.1 is a brief presentation of the phonology of Santa, as well as the writing system used in the present thesis. Section 3.2, gives an overview on the morphology. It is divided in inflectional and derivational morphology. The morphology applied to verbs is discussed in detail in the following chapters. Section 3.3 is an overview of the clause structure, presenting the word order typology, the noun phrase and the non-verbal clauses.

3.1 Phonology

The Santa Mongolian has no distinctive vowel harmony and vowel length properties. The syllable structure is relatively simple and follows the pattern \((C)(C_{\text{Approx}})V(C_{\text{Approx}})(/N/)\). In the last position in the coda, only \([m]\), \([n]\) and \([ŋ]\) occur and are phonologically predictable. Field (1997), also notes that \([ə˞]\) can also occur at the end of the syllable, but it is too marginal to be accounted as a phoneme by itself. The consonants and the vowels of Santa are represented in Table 4 and Table 5, respectively. Several sounds are allomorphic variants as discussed below.

Table 4 Consonants in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilab</th>
<th>Lab-Dent</th>
<th>Dent Alv</th>
<th>Post-alv</th>
<th>Palat</th>
<th>Retr</th>
<th>Vel</th>
<th>Uvul</th>
<th>Glot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>b̪</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>k̪</td>
<td>q̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>ts̪</td>
<td>tʃ̪</td>
<td>ts̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>z̄</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Kim (1997) [t] is in complementary distribution with [tɕ], and [tʰ] with [tɕʰ]. He argues that [tɕ] and [tɕʰ] occur before [i], whereas [t] and [tʰ] on other contexts. However, since these phonemes are not in complementary distribution in Chinese, and Santa has borrowed many words from Chinese with both pairs of phonemes, in this thesis, loan words from Chinese will be written as follows:

- words with [ti] will be written with ‘d’, like dianshi ‘TV’ ([tɕienʂi] in Mandarin and [tɕienʂi] in Santa)
- words with [tʰi] will be written with ‘t’, like tian ‘day’ ([tʰien] in Mandarin and [tɕʰien] in Santa)
- words with [tɕi] will be written with ‘j’, like jiehun ‘to get married’ ([tɕiexuŋ] in Santa)
- words with [tɕʰi] will be written with ‘q’, like qifula ‘bully’ ([tɕʰifula] in Santa)

Also, according to Kim (2003), [q] and [ʁ] are in complementary distribution, where [ʁ] occurs intervocally and [q] elsewhere. For the vowels, according to Kim (2003) /i/ is realized as [ɯ] after velar and uvular consonants, as [ɿ] after dental-alveolar sibilants, as [ɿ] after retroflex, and as [i] elsewhere. Ha also notes that [ə] is realized as [ɤ] on before nasal codas in non-initial syllables. The aspirated stops would be better represented by [pʰ], [tʰ], [kʰ] and [qʰ], since the aspiration has a velar quality. Kim (2003) also notes that, the vowels [i], [ɯ], [u] and [ə] become voiceless when they occur after a voiceless segment and before an aspirated stop or fricative consonant in non-stressed syllables. Fields (1997) notes that in nasal-stop constraints, the nasal tends to be realized in the same articulatory point as the stop. Kim (2003) says that, the stress usually falls on the last syllable, with very few exceptions in words borrowed, from Arabic for instance.

The writing system used for this thesis is very similar to the one used on the Dongxiang Language Dictionary (Ma et al. 2001), slightly changed. The system used there is based on Hanyu Pinyin, the romanized writing system for Chinese.
Table 6 shows the orthographic representations used in this thesis. The difference with the system used by Ma et al. (2001) is basically that for [ʁ] he uses ‘gv’. However, since [ŋ] and [ʁ] are in perfect complementary distribution, there is no need for introducing a new consonant. Words with [ʐ] in Chinese are written with ‘r’, therefore Ma et al. (2001) have chosen to write both [ɾ] and [ʐ] with ‘r’.

Table 6 Writing system for consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>[pʰ]</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>[s]</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>[w]</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>[tʃʰ]</th>
<th>kh</th>
<th>[qʰ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[ʨʰ]</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>[ʐ]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[tɕ]</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>[tɕʰ]</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>[ʦʰ]</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>[tɕ]</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>[ʦ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>[ɕ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The orthographic representation of the vowels and the combinations with glides, as well as nasals in the codas are shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7 Writing system for vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>[i]</th>
<th>ao, ou</th>
<th>[ow],[aw]</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>[aŋ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>[we]</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>[aŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>[wa]</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>[əŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>ue</td>
<td>[ue]</td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>[əŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[wo]</td>
<td>wei</td>
<td>[wej]</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>[əŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>[je]</td>
<td>iai</td>
<td>[jɛ], [jaŋ]</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>[iŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>[ja]</td>
<td>iao</td>
<td>[jo], [jow]</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>[jɛŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>[jow]</td>
<td>iei</td>
<td>[jej]</td>
<td>uan</td>
<td>[wan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>[ej]</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>[jou]</td>
<td>iang</td>
<td>[joŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>[e] [aj]</td>
<td>uai</td>
<td>[we], [wai]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Morphology
Santa is an agglutinative language that uses only suffixes. The inflectional morphology applied to nouns will be discussed in section 3.2.1 and the inflectional morphology applied to verbs will be discussed in the following chapters. In section 3.2.2, there is an overview of the derivational morphology, more discussion on some derivational morphology applied to the verbs is made in Chapter 4.
3.2.1 Inflectional Morphology

In this chapter, we will focus the discussion on the inflectional morphology (i.e. morphology which clearly interacts with sentence level syntax is inflectional) applied to the nouns. In Santa these markers can be divided into three categories: case, possession and number marking. Inflectional morphology on verbs is discussed in depth on Chapter 4.

3.2.1.1 Case

Santa has a case system with five different cases.

Table 8 below shows each one of the cases.

Table 8 Case markers in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>connective</td>
<td>accusative; genitive</td>
<td>-ni, -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>dative; locative; benefactive</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ablative; comparative</td>
<td>-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commitative</td>
<td>accompaniment; instrument</td>
<td>-gh(u)ala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative case is not marked and normally a nominative NP occupies the first position in the sentence. The connective case is used to mark the accusative case, e.g. the patient. It can also be used to mark the genitive case: possessor, belonging, material. The dative case marks the recipient, location, goal or benefactor. The ablative case is normally used to mark the origin, both locative and temporal. It can also be used to express comparison. The commitative case can be used to mark the accompaniment and can also be used to mark instruments.

3.2.1.2 Possession

Possession is usually expressed through the construction \( \text{NP}_{\text{poss-er}} \text{NP}_{\text{poss-e}} \), where the \( \text{NP}_{\text{poss-e}} \) is marked with the connective case, like in (1).

(1) \[3:13\] \text{khan jiai -zhi china -zhi china -zhi , ingie -se}  
\[
\text{fire fire.up IPFV cook IPFV cook IPFV do.this COND}
\]
\[
\text{yane nainaigie -i samu zholiere -zho .}
\]
\(\text{C-EXP old.woman CONN cabbage.stem soften IPFV}\)

*Having lit the fire, (it) cooked and cooked, so the woman’s stem got soft.*
Besides that, Santa has preserved a full set of suffixes that occur on the possessed noun, indicating properties of the possessor. These markers are attached to nouns to express belonging, even if the possessor is not expressed in the sentence. These markers are shown in Table 9.

**Table 9** Possessive markers in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-mi(ni)</td>
<td>-matani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-chei(ni)</td>
<td>-tani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples (2), (3) and (4) show how these markers are used. Note that in (4) there is redundancy, since, along with the -ni on the possessed noun, the possessor is overt Lixiaolui ‘Lixiaolong’ and marked with connective case expressing the genitive relation.

(2) [6:53] “ Chi jiu yan baer , giedoghoni baer bi -se jiu ogi -∅  
2s just what money how.much money be COND just give IMP  
va , oqini -ni jiu ene gan doura wo "gie -zhi .  
C-EXP daughter 1s.poss just this barrel under COP make IPFV  
"How much money do you (have), just give how much you have, my daughter is under this barrel," he said.

(3) [2:6] hha xianzi yiniang -chei ga ,  
that time aunt 2sPOSS small  
*At that time, your aunt was small*

(4) [2:12] hha nie magha -ni , Lixiaolong -i ama -ni  
that one morning TOP Lixiaolong CONN mother 3sPOSS  
miyi wuru -le ire -zho  
1sCONN call PURP come IPFV  
*That morning, Lixiaolong’s mom had come to call me*

Besides these markers, there is also a subject possessive marker -ne that expresses that the noun marked is possessed by the subject of the sentence, like in example (5). This marker can also co-occur with the case markers, as shown (6) with the dative case and in (7) with the comitative case.

(5) [5:48] ingie -se jiu bi hai -ne tai agi -wo .  
do.this COND just 1s shoe POSS.SUB take.off away PFV  
*Therefore I took off my shoes*
The person would feed it all to her own baby!

Therefore, the grandmother and her grandson lived together.

3.2.1.3 Number

In Santa, the suffix -la is used to express plural. The singular is not marked and if there is enough information in the context about the number, the suffix -la can be omitted. This contrast is expressed in (8) and (9). In (8), the expression ghurang modulo oqinla ‘three naughty girls’ is used with the plural marker -la, while in (9), the expression ghurang oqin ‘three girls’ is used without it.

(8) [2:27] hhontura -hri inge -hri xierei -hri wenjien -i
    sleep IPFV do.this IPFV wake.up IPFV door CONN
nie -le ire -se “Ene ghurang mouduo oqin -la
    open PURP come COND this three naughty lady pl
banyesangen -ji yimeqie yala ire -zho shi lie mejie -ne
    late.night ADVZ so.early why come IPFV COP NEG know NPFV
(He) was sleeping, then, having woken up, when (he) came to open the door (he said):
"These three naughty girls, why coming late in the night, so early, is (something that I) do not know"

(9) [2:1] bijien hha xianzi jiu , ga bikude jiu , nie aghan -de jiu
    lpEXC that time just small when just one village DAT just
bijien ghurelie ghurang oqin wanshi -le echi -zho
    lpEXC three.people three lady study PURP go IPFV
We, at that time, when (we) were small, at a village, three of us girls went to study

3.2.2 Derivational Morphology

Santa has numerous derivational suffixes, but, since this is not the focus of the present thesis, only the main ones will be displayed. Some of these suffixes are very productive, others have a limited set of words which they can be applied. Through
some of these suffixes it is possible to see remnant of vowel harmony – e.g. the verbs derived from nouns by -la and -lie.

3.2.2.1 Derived Verbs

In Santa, there are verbs that are derived from nouns, adjectives and other verbs. Verbs can be derived from nouns using the suffix -la or -lie, like in dourang ‘will’ and dourala ‘to want’, sozi ‘lock’ and sozila ‘to lock’, andeghei ‘egg’ and andegheilie ‘to lay an egg’. Another verbalizer is -ku, like in ho ‘bad temper’ and hoku ‘to be angry’, no ‘sleepiness’ and noku ‘to be sleepy’. Kim (1998) interprets this suffix as the verb ku ‘to arrive’.

Verbs can also be derived from adjectives. These verbs usually mean ‘to become A’ where A is the adjective. The main suffixes are -re, like in gieghere ‘to shine’; -da or -do, like in gou ‘good’ and gouda ‘to become good’, undu ‘tall’ and unduda ‘to become tall’, olon ‘a lot’ and olodo ‘to make something too much’; -la or -lu, like in hhantu ‘together’ and hhantula ‘to unite’, oqiao ‘old’ and oqiaolu ‘to grow old’; -shi, like in seighanshi ‘to become beautiful’; -she bayan ‘rich’ and bayanzhe ‘to become rich’.

Finally, there are also verbs derived from verb by the suffix -gha (causative), which is discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

3.2.2.2 Derived Nouns

There are many ways of deriving nouns from verbs, the main three are: -dan, very productive and meaning ‘the style of doing V’, where V is the verb, like in gie ‘to do’ and giedan ‘way of doing’, you ‘to walk’ and youdan ‘walking style’; -sun (particularly productive with body fluids) like in she ‘to urinate’ and shesun ‘urine’, ghada ‘to nail’ and ghadasun ‘nail’; -n, like in kielie ‘to speak’ and kielien ‘language, tongue’, dogholo ‘to be lame’ and dogholon ‘lame person’. There are also the participles -ku, -san and -chen that are discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

There are also nouns derived from other nouns. The main suffixes are -chi, like in lajiao ‘chili pepper’ and lajiaochi ‘one who likes or sell chili pepper’, lanqiu ‘basketball’ and lanqiuchi ‘one who like or plays basketball’; -ghun, which is very productive, like in gie ‘house’ and gieghun ‘the one at the house’, muzha ‘wood’ and muzhaghun ‘the wooden one’.
3.2.2.3 Derived Adjectives
The main types of derived adjectives are: adjectives derived from nouns by the suffix -tu, very productive, like in amin ‘life’ and amintu ‘alive’, gien ‘sickness’ and gientu ‘sick’; and adjectives derived from stative verbs by suffix -lan, like in oliesi ‘to be hungry’ and oliesilan ‘hungry’, bayasu ‘to be happy’ and bayasulan ‘joyful’.

3.2.2.4 Derived Adverbs
Derived adverbs usually come from adjectives, the two main suffixes, both very productive, are: -de, like in ghujin ‘quick’ and ghujinde ‘quickly’, lalaghan ‘slow’ and lalaghande ‘slowly’; -ghan, which means ‘more A’ where A is the adjective, like in ghujin ‘quick’ and ghujinghan ‘quicker’, gou ‘good’ and goughan ‘better’.

There is also the suffix -ji that is applied to onomatopoeias and makes them into manner adverbs, like in khuada khuadaji tongulie ‘make a sound like khuada khuada’.

3.2.2.5 Suffixes Applied to Numerals
There are also two main suffixes that are applied to numerals. The first one is -lie which means ‘# people’, where # is the number, like in ghurelie ‘three people’. The second one is -jia which means ‘# by #’ or ‘# per person’, like in tawunjia ‘five by five, five per person’.

3.3 Syntactic Structure

3.3.1 Word Order
Santa is an SOV language. However, there is some space for flexibility, since it has a case marking system. Prototypically, a simple sentence begins with NP\textsubscript{[subj]} followed by a temporal adjunct, a locative adjunct, then NP\textsubscript{[obj2]} (receptor, benefactor), NP\textsubscript{[obj1]} (patient), then the VP.

Another important feature of Santa is that it makes wide use of converbal clauses. These clauses are discussed in depth in Chapter 6. There are basically two kinds of converbal clauses: one marked with converbs that can have different subject and another marked with converbs that can only take same subject. The converbal clauses that can have different subject must come before the beginning of the main clause. The second kind can appear inside the finite clause but always after the NP\textsubscript{[subj]}.
The pairwise order between the elements in the sentence is presented in the table below. Santa usually follows the pattern of the modifier coming before the head. This is especially true for nouns and verbs. The only exception is intensifiers and adjectives. An intensifier can come before or after the adjective. But even in this case there is no flexibility, since there are only two intensifiers that can come after the adjective, namely *nu* and *hen*, and they cannot come before it.

**Table 10 Basic constituent order in Santa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause word order</th>
<th>SOV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject and intransitive verb</td>
<td>NP_{sub} V_{intr}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical verb and auxiliary verb</td>
<td>V AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun and adposition</td>
<td>NP POST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessor and possessed</td>
<td>NP_{poss-er} N_{poss-ee}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective and noun</td>
<td>ADJ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative clause and noun</td>
<td>REL N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative and noun</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral and noun</td>
<td>NUM N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifier and adjective</td>
<td>INTS ADJ or ADJ INTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative and verb</td>
<td>NEG V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb and verb</td>
<td>Adv V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content question words</td>
<td>in situ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.2 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase in Santa can have the following elements, typically in this order: demonstratives, numerals, measure words and classifiers, adjective phases, and relative clauses. The head noun or pronoun always appears at the end of the NP. Each one of these modifiers will be presented below. The main demonstratives are displayed in Table 11.
Table 11 Demonstrative in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ene</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hha</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enzeghan</td>
<td>these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhazaghan</td>
<td>those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ende</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhande</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enturo</td>
<td>in here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhanturo</td>
<td>in there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entu</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qintu</td>
<td>like that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals in Santa are shown in Table 12 below. Chinese numbers are used from eleven on. When a quantifier or measure word is in Chinese, the numeral will also be in Chinese, even if it is lower than eleven.

Table 12 Numerals in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Santa</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nie</td>
<td>yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ghua</td>
<td>er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ghurang</td>
<td>san</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>jieron</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tawon</td>
<td>wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>zhighest</td>
<td>liu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>dolon</td>
<td>qi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>neiman</td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yesun</td>
<td>jiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>hharang</td>
<td>shi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yibai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yiqian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Santa, normally there is no need to use a classifier between the numeral and the noun, like in example (10). But there are some classifiers borrowed from Chinese that can be used, such as gie which is non-specific and can be used with many different kinds of nouns, kuai used for money, sui used for age. In my data the only
classifier that can be used with Santa numerals is *kozi* and it is also generic. According to Kim (1998) it also comes from the Chinese 颗 *kè* used for grains or round things. There are also many measure words borrowed from Chinese, like *zhuntou* ‘hour’, *liang* ‘fifty grams’, *mi* ‘meter’, *nian* ‘year’. Some Santa nouns can also be used as measure words like *shoushou* ‘spoon’, *udu* ‘day’, *sara* ‘month’, *huang* ‘year’, *fa* ‘time’, etc.

(10)  [1:13] ingie  -zhī  ghurang  tukhuang  wo  .
do this IPFV three courtyard COP

*Thus, there was three courtyards*

An adjective phrase, like all the other modifiers comes before the head noun. If the AP occurs after the head noun, it is predicative. Inside the AP, the modifiers come before the head adjective. Another strategy to intensify the adjective is by reduplicating it.

There are four categories of relative clauses in Santa: verbal, attributive, locative and equative. The verbal relative clauses are made by using the three participles -san, -ku, -chen. These markers are discussed in depth in Chapter 4. For attributive relative clauses, the marker -ni is attached to the head adjective or to the intensifier in case they occur after the adjective (only *hen* and *nu* both meaning ‘very’ can occur after the adjective), like in example (11). Locative relative clauses are formed by adding one of the suffixes -tu or -ku interchangeably to the location or to the postposition, like in example (12). Finally, equative relative clauses do not receive any markings, as in example (13).

most beautiful REL daughter NEG go.out CAUS NPFV

*He would not let the most beautiful daughter go out.*

(12)  ghazha  jiere  -tu  hha  nie  noghei  miyi  zhe  -wo
field on REL that one dog lsCONN bite PFV

*The dog on the field bit me*

(13)  [1:26] san  dui  hhe  nie  bawan  halao  Remi  hunla  -zhī  hhende
3 team that one big.shot ugly Remi cheat IPFV there

*We cheated the third team's bawan, that ugly Remi, into entering there.*
The next element that can appear in a noun phrase is a pronoun. Santa makes a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive. The pronouns are shown in the table below, inflected for the different cases. Since the connective case marking can take the form -\(i\) or -\(ni\), the pronouns can also have two forms, as shown in Table 13. The alternate forms in the dative case are in free variation.

**Table 13 Santa pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>CONN</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>miyi</td>
<td>made</td>
<td>mase</td>
<td>bighala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>chei</td>
<td>chide</td>
<td>chise</td>
<td>chighala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>hhe</td>
<td>hhei</td>
<td>hhade/hhande</td>
<td>hhase</td>
<td>hhaghala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pINC</td>
<td>matan</td>
<td>matai/matani</td>
<td>matande</td>
<td>matanse</td>
<td>matanghala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pEXC</td>
<td>bijien</td>
<td>bijiei/bijieni</td>
<td>bijiande</td>
<td>bijiense</td>
<td>bijienghala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ta/tan</td>
<td>tai/tani</td>
<td>tade/tande</td>
<td>tase</td>
<td>taghala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>hha(n)la</td>
<td>hhalai/hhalani</td>
<td>hha(n)lade</td>
<td>hha(n)lase</td>
<td>hha(n)laghala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3.3.3 Postpositional Phrase**

A postpositional phrase in Santa has a postposition occupying the final position. Santa’s main postpositions are listed in Table 14. It is important to remark that because Santa has the dative and the ablative case markings, words like English ‘to’ or ‘from’ are not commonly used. Moreover, because of the rich temporal relations expressed by the converbs, temporal postpositions are also rarely used.

**Table 14 Postpositions in Santa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghatane</td>
<td>out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shita</td>
<td>next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melie</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qitoro</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doura</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiere</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khuina</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunda</td>
<td>between</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.4 Non-verbal Clauses

Kroeger (2005), presents five types of non-verbal clauses: equative, possessive, locative, existential and attributive. Santa has different constructions for each one of these clauses, making use of three copulas: the equative copula wo, the existential copula weine and the borrowed copula shi.

Equative clauses are marked with the Santa copula wo at the end of the sentence. These clauses can also receive the copula shi, borrowed from the Mandarin (是 shì). The Mandarin borrowed copula goes between the two NPs being equated, instead of being sentence final. Therefore, the clause follows the schema [NP (shi) NP (wo)], instead of the expected [NP NP (shi) (wo)]. Example (14) illustrates equative sentences with both copulas, example (15) only with shi and example (16) only with wo.

(14) [6:45] laowu shi nie dogholan wo de .
        fifth.kid COP one lame COP EVD
        The fifth daughter was lame.

(15) [1:4] bi shi er dui nie bawan .
        1s COP two team one big.shot
        I was the 'bawan' of the second team

(16) ene kun melieshi guaichen wo , ede bayazhe -wo
        this person before beggar COP now get.rich PFV
        That man was a beggar before, now is rich

Attributive clauses follow the schema [NP AP (wo)] like in example 13 with copula, and example (18) without copula. Attributive clauses can have a converbal clause, like in example (19).

        old.men NOM hard COP
        The man's (stem) was hard.

(18) [4:2] hha Mairei hha shihou -de jianza jianza .
        3s Mairei that time DAT naughty naughty
        That Marei, at that time was very naughty

(19) [4:18] ene shihou -de sumula -se hunerei wo dei .
        this time DAT think COND funny COP EVD
        If (I) think now, it was funny
Locative clauses follow the schema \([\text{NP} \{\text{NP}_{\text{loc}} \} \text{PP} \{\text{wo}\}]\). The locative can be a noun phrase marked with dative case, like in example (20) or a phrase with a post-position, like example (21).

(20) [1:11] youyici -ni bijien hunla -zhi jiu bijien hhe er dui -de
once TOP 1pEXC cheat IPFV just 1pEXC that two team DAT
wo .
COP
Once, we were cheating... we were at second team's (place)

(21) [6:53] “ Chi jiu yan baer , giedoghoni baer bi -se jiu ogi -Ø
2s just what money how.much money be COND just give IMP
ya , ogin -mi jiu ene gan doura wo .” gie -zhi .
C-EXP lady 1s.poss just this barrel under COP make IPFV
"How much money do you (have), just give how much you have, my daughter is under this barrel." he said.

Existential clauses usually follow the schema \([\{\text{NP}_{\text{loc}}\} \text{NP} \{\text{weine}; \text{wo}\}]\). In this case, the \(\text{NP}_{\text{loc}}\) is a noun phrase marked with the dative case -de. So, literally translating, it always follows the pattern ‘at... there is...’ The example (22) shows a sentence using the copula wo. The existential copula weine can be translated as ‘to have, there is’, like in example (23). In (24), the existential clause occurs with a PP.

(22) [5:34] ghoni adula -ku gochen -de nie undu qintu nie wula
sheep herd NPFVP process DAT one tall like.that one mountain
wo .
COP
During the time (I) herded sheep, there was a mountain high like that

(23) bijien woron -de nie kozi wula weine
1pEXC place DAT one clf mountain have
In our village there is a mountain

(24) [5:36] kuan doura jin shi hha gun gun hha nokien wo .
foot under invariably COP that deep deep that hole COP
Under my foot, all was that deep deep hole

There are two different schemas for the possessive clauses. The first one is similar to the equative clause \([\text{NP} \text{shi} \text{NP}_{\text{poss}}]\), but with the second NP being possessive marked with the nominalizer -ghun, like in (25). The second schema is similar to existential \([\text{NP}_{\text{poss}} \text{NP} \{\text{weine}\}]\), where the possessor is marked as a NP in the dative case, like in (26) with the copula verb and (27) without it.
(25) **hha nie igha shi mighun**  
that one bowl COP 1sGEN  
*That bowl is mine*

(26) **[5:40] keneng shi yi bai si wu shi mi weine .**  
possibly COP one hundred four five COP meter have  
*Maybe it had 140 or 150 meters*

(27) **hhalade tawon kesi**  
3pDAT 5 child  
*They have 5 kids*

Table 15 summarizes the non-verbal clauses schema, as well as the negative forms of them (the negative forms are discussed in the section 4.5.1).

**Table 15 Non-verbal clauses in Santa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>[NP AP wo]</td>
<td>[NP AP wuwo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>[NP_{loc} NP weine]</td>
<td>[NP_{loc} NP wuwo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>[NP (shi) NP (wo)]</td>
<td>[NP NP pusho]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>[NP_{poss} NP weine]</td>
<td>[NP_{poss} NP wuwo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>[NP NP_{loc}] or [NP NP_{loc} weine]</td>
<td>[NP NP_{loc} wuwo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.4 Summary

The Santa Mongolian has no distinctive vowel harmony and vowel length properties. The syllable structure is relatively simple, having only the glides occurring in consonant clusters. Santa is an agglutinative language having only suffix on its morphology. Santa has a case system with four marked cases (connective, dative, ablative and commitative) and one unmarked (nominative). Santa has also preserved a full set of possession markers. These markers attach to the possessed noun and express person agreement with the possessor. Santa has also the number marker -la that attach to nouns expressing plural, but it is not obligatory. Santa’s derivational morphology is very rich and includes nominalizers, verbalizers, adjectivizers, and adverbalizers. The normal word order in Santa is SOV, and usually a modifier occurs before the modified word. In the noun phrase the head noun must occur at the end, and all the modifiers precede it. There are five types of non-verbal clauses that use different structures: equative, attributive, locative, existential and possessive.
Chapter 4
Verb Complex

In Santa, the distinction between finite and non-finite verbs is very important. This distinction is very common in Mongolian linguistics. Finite verbs are those fully inflected for tense-aspect-mood, whereas non-finite verbs do not receive this kind of inflection. Normally, there is only one finite verb per sentence. The exception to this rule is when there is direct quotation. There are many factors that affect the meaning and the choice of the finite markers, this discussion is made in Chapter 5.

There are two kinds of non-finite verbs: converbs and participles. Converbs are non-finite verbs that function as adverbs modifying the main verb. In this thesis, converbs are divided into three categories: same event converbs, different event converbs and quasiconverbs. The present chapter is an overview of the morphology applied to verbs, as well as other factors that have direct impact on their meaning, such as negators and adverbs. All the markers will be presented, but a deeper discussion on tense-aspect markers and converbs is made in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, respectively. Figure 2 below, presents the schema of the verb complex.

4.1 Verb Stem

The morphology of the verb stem refers to morphemes that are applied directly to the verb stem, independently of the morphology applied afterwards – which can be either finite or non-finite. There are two suffixes that can be applied to the stem: the plural and the causative marker. The possible combinations and its meanings are expressed in Table 16 below and are discussed on the following sections.
Table 16 Verb stem markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Argument/Number</th>
<th>Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(n)du</td>
<td>plural or reciprocal</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gha</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(n)du -gha</td>
<td>causee plural or reflexive</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gha -(n)du</td>
<td>causer plural</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(n)du -gha</td>
<td>causer and cause plural</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causative marker adds one argument to the verb and has a fixed position to be attached to. The plural marker has three different options and in certain contexts can have a reciprocal meaning, subtracting one argument of the verb.

4.1.1 Causative -gha

The causative marker -gha, increases the valency of the verb by adding one argument to it. In the case of attaching to a intransitive verb V its meaning will be to cause, to make or to allow the object to do V. Some examples of the usage of the causative marker -gha can be seen in (28) and (29).

(28) kai mutun -i eghi una -gha -wo  
wind tree CONN hit fall.down CAUS PFV  
*The wind threw down the tree*

(29) bijien hhanlei san dui -de bao -zhi nadu -le  
1pEXC 3pCONN 3 team DAT go.down IPFV play PURP  
echi -se, hha bijiei eghi -zhi hhande ulie  
go COND 3s 1pEXC.CONN hit IPFV there NEG  
ire -gha -ne .  
come CAUS NPFV  
*If we went down to play at to the third team's (place), she would hit us and not allow us to come there*

In the example (28), the originally intransitive verb una ‘to fall down’ is derived into the transitive verb unagha ‘to throw down’ (or ‘to cause to fall’). The object of the verb unagha is mutun ‘tree’ and is marked with the connective case marker in this case functioning as accusative. In example (29), the intransitive verb ire ‘to come’ is derived into the transitive verb iregha which in this case means ‘to allow to come’. Like in example (28), the object bijiei ‘1pEXC’ is a pronoun with connective case.
Below, Table 17 shows the meaning resulting from the derivation made by the causative marker -\textit{gha}.

The causative marker can also attach to transitive verbs. In this case, a causer is added and the verb becomes ditransitive. The meaning of these constructions is that the subject causes or forces the object\textsubscript{1} to do V to the object\textsubscript{2}. For certain verbs, the object\textsubscript{1} is the benefactor and is marked with the dative case marker -\textit{de}.

Table 17 Meaning resulting from the causative marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original form</th>
<th>With causative marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ech\textit{i} to go</td>
<td>ech\textit{igha} to give away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ire to come</td>
<td>ire\textit{gha} to give in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oro to enter</td>
<td>oro\textit{gha} to put in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khe to go out</td>
<td>khe\textit{gha} to take out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iye to eat</td>
<td>iye\textit{gha} to feed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khei to be open</td>
<td>khe\textit{igha} to open up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bou to go down</td>
<td>bou\textit{gha} to bring down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khe to go up</td>
<td>khe\textit{gha} to take up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayi to fear</td>
<td>ay\textit{igha} to frighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bei to stand up</td>
<td>be\textit{igha} to build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suru to study, to learn</td>
<td>sur\textit{ugha} to teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>una to fall down</td>
<td>un\textit{agh}a to throw down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example (30) below is an example of this usage. In this case the verb \textit{iye} ‘to eat’ is used transitively. After being derived it takes the form \textit{iye\textit{gha} ‘to cause to eat, to feed’}. In this case, \textit{hha ‘3s’ caused the zhochen ‘guest’} (marked with dative -\textit{de}, since it benefits from the action) to eat the \textit{tegha ‘chicken’}.

(30) \textit{hha zhochen -de teh\textit{gha ku -zhi iye -gha -wo}}
\hspace{1cm}3s guest DAT chicken fry IPFV eat CAUS PFV
\hspace{1cm}\textit{She fried the chicken and fed it to the guests}

In other cases, the verb does not indicate a benefactor. In some cases, which of the NP is the object\textsubscript{1} is very clear for pragmatic reasons, like in example (31) – it is impossible that the gunnysack would carry the other object \textit{miyi ‘me’}. However, in some other cases, it could be ambiguous, like in example (32). In these cases, the natural interpretation is that the first NP is object\textsubscript{1} and the second is object\textsubscript{2}. It is also possible to mark the object, with the dative marker to remove the ambiguity, and concomitantly giving word order flexibility, like in example (33).
Finally, the causative can be applied to ditransitive verbs, also increasing their valency, hence making them tritransitive. In these cases it means that the subject causes the object$_1$ to do $V$ to object$_2$ for object$_3$. Normally, the subject takes the semantic role of causer, like in examples (34) and (35).

(34) ada miyi Yusufu -de gianan agi -gha -zho  
father 1sCONN Yusufu DAT bread buy CAUS IPFV  
(My) father made me buy bread for Yusufu

(35) Yusufu Hasan -i Mayen -de chizhe khugho -gha -zho  
Yusufu Hassan CONN Mayen DAT flower deliver CAUS IPFV  
Yusufu has asked Hasan give a flower to Mayen

### 4.1.2 Number -(n)du

The number marker -(n)du can also take the form -du. This marker is used to mark if the subject or the object – or both – are plural. This marker is not obligatory and most of times it is not used. In the stories collected, many instances occur where the subject is plural, but this marker occurs only once. This instance is shown in example (36).

do.this COND there play pl IPFV  
Therefore, (we) used to play there.

Other elicited instances are shown below. In example (37), the plural marker is used with an intransitive verb – $fughu$ ‘to die’. On example (38), it is also used with an intransitive verb – $echi$ ‘to go’, but with a locational complement – $Beijing$ ‘to Beijing’. On example (39), it is used with a transitive verb – $eghi$ ‘to hit’. This example is interesting because it illustrate a possible ambiguity. Since the plural
marker and the reciprocal marker have the same form – -ndu, this example is ambiguous. It can mean that they hit the snake or that they fought the snake (i.e. they and the snake have hit each other).

(37)  giedogho ni kun melie fa -ku dizhen sudoo fughu -du -wo

how much person front time REL earthquake inside die pl PFV

Many people died on the last earthquake

(38)  hhenla Beijing -de echi -du -wo

3p Beijing DAT go pl PFV

They went to Beijing

(39)  hhanla moghei eghi -du -zho

3p snake hit pl IPFV

They have hit the snake/ They have fought the snake

When used with the causative marker -gha, there are three possibilities for the position of the plural marker – before, after or both before and after the causative marker. The use of the plural marker is non-obligatory, but the position before the causative marker refers to object plurality – like in example (40) – and the position after the causative marker refers to subject plurality – like in example (41). This marker can also be used in both positions when both the subject and the object are in plural, like in example (42).

(40)  laoshi gakesi -la -de suru (-du) -gha -zho

teacher child pl DAT learn pl CAUS PFV

The teacher is teaching the kids.

(41)  hhanla moghei fughu -gha (-du) -wo

3p snake die CAUS pl PFV

They killed the snake

(42)  youeryuen -i laoshi -la gakesi -la -de

kindergarten CONN teacher pl child pl DAT

iye (-du) -gha (-du) -wo

eat pl CAUS pl PFV

The teachers at the kindergarten fed the children

The plural marker -(n)du can also take a reciprocal meaning. To be understood in this way, the sentence must not have object. Instead, the subject must be compound, usually using the commitative case marker -gh(u)ala, like in (43), or plural marker -la like in (44). In this sense, this strategy can also be considered valence decreasing,
since the verbs will not have an object. It is used with a limited set of transitive verbs that can be understood as reciprocal, and makes these verbs intransitive.

\[(43)\] \textbf{bi gaga} -ghuala eghi -du -zho

1s older.brother COM hit RECP IPFV

\textit{Me and my older brother are having a fight (Lit.: are hitting each other)}

\[(44)\] \textbf{hha ghua kun} -la ore -du -zho

that two person pl kiss RECP IPFV

\textit{Those two people are kissing (each other)}

However, if there is an object, the marker is automatically interpreted as a plural marker, like in (45).

\[(45)\] \textbf{hha ghua kun} -la jiuju -i ore -du -zho

that two person pl baby CONN kiss pl IPFV

\textit{Those two people are kissing the baby}

4.2 Finite Verb Morphology

The suffixes of the finite verbs are presented in Table 18 and Table 19 below:

**Table 18 Declarative and interrogative mood markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Declarative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>-wo + u = -wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-zho</td>
<td>-zho + u = -zhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-ne + u = -nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 19 Imperative mood markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voluntative</td>
<td>-ye</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>-gie</td>
<td>third</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that the three imperative markers – imperative, voluntative and permissive, cannot co-occur with the tense-aspect markers. One example of a verb receiving all the categories of markers (except imperatives) is shown in example (46) below. This sentence was elicited and, even though it is grammatically possible, is rather unlikely to occur in natural speech.
Did the teachers at the kindergarten feed the children?

4.2.1 Declarative Mood

In the declarative mood there are three tense-aspect markers in Santa: perfective -wo, non-perfective -ne, and imperfective -zho. The main distinction can be shown in Table 20 below.

Table 20 Aspectual distinctions between the tense-aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Started</th>
<th>Finished</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zho</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Events marked with the perfective marker -wo are considered as a whole, having a clear ending point. In this sense it can be considered both perfective aspect and past tense. The imperfective marker -zho is prototypically used to mark events with internal time structure, such as durative, habitual, and progressive events. For instantaneous events it is interpreted as perfect marker, expressing the present state of having completed the instantaneous event. The non-perfective -ne marker can be used to express events that have not started yet – expressing future tense. It can also be used in the past to express possible events in the narrative time, as well as habitual events. Finally it can also be used to mark individual-level stative events, i.e. events that are inherent, unchangeable.

A deep discussion on these markers, as well as what are the elements that impact their meaning is presented in Chapter 5.

4.2.2 Imperative Mood

In Santa there are three imperative markers: the volutative marker -ye, used with first person; the imperative marker -Ø, used with second person and; the permissive marker -gie, used with third person. All these three markers can be used with both plural and singular persons. Slater (2003) states that, in Mangghuer, rather than being three different types of imperatives, it is actually only a person distinction. He
also says that he is using the traditional terminology – imperative for second person, voluntative for first person and hortative for third person – to avoid misunderstanding, but it is actually only a person distinction. This is also the case for Santa. Therefore in this study the three distinct names will be used to refer to the markers used for the three different persons.

Another note is that in the stories, the imperatives tend to occur in quotations. That is understandable if we think about its nature – they can only occur in dialogues. The only instances that they occur without quotation are when the narrator is interacting with the hearers.

4.2.2.1 Voluntative -ye

The voluntative marker -ye can be used for first person singular and for first person plural inclusive and exclusive. It is used to express a desire, a plan or a suggestion. In the example (47) below, the derived verb bougha ‘to take down’ is used to express a suggestion of the first person singular bi.

\[(47) \quad [5:45.1] \quad “ \text{Chi nundu -ne hamı -Ø ma . bi beilie -dene} \]
\[
\quad 2s \text{ eye POSS.SUB close IMP INT 1s carry COMP}
\quad \text{bou -gha -ye “ gie -zhi} . \]
\[
\quad \text{down CAUS VOL make IPFV}
\quad (\text{He) said: “You close your eyes, I will carry you on my back and get you down”}
\]

Example (48), shows the use of the voluntative marker -ye to express a plan. The narrator introduces the story saying the she intends to tell a story from when she was young. This is an intent and is one of the few instances where it occurs out of quotations, since it is an interaction between the narrator and the hearers.

\[(48) \quad [1:1] \quad \text{bijien eqie -de -ni jiu bijien ga bikude aghan -de} \]
\[
\quad \text{1pEXC early DAT TOP just 1pEXC small when village DAT}
\quad \text{nadu -san nie kielie -ye} . \]
\[
\quad \text{play REL one say VOL}
\quad \text{I will tell about when we were small, long ago, playing at the village}
\]

It is important to note that, when used in this sense, the voluntative marker expresses a plan that has a smaller degree of certainty that the non-perfective marker -ne (see section 5.1). Even though they are both plans or intents, the non-perfective marker expresses a stronger intent. The two examples below illustrate this distinction. In example (49), a suggestion of plan is expressed with qizheye, which
can be translated as ‘I feed it’ or ‘Let me feed it’. On the other hand, in example (50) the speaker get angry – hokuzhi, and expresses a stronger intent using the non-perfective marker -ne, in this case it can be translated as ‘I will feed it’.

(49) [4:7] kun ire -se jiu “ Chi ire -gha -Ø bi qiezhe -ye  
  person come COND just 2s come CAUS IMP 1s feed VOL  
  gie -zhi  
  make IPFV  
*The person would come and say: “You bring it, I feed”*

(50) [4:9] ingie -se miyi huoku -zhi “ Chi ire -gha -Ø bi  
do.this COND 1sCONN be.angry IPFV 2s come CAUS IMP 1s  
  qiezhe -ne “ gie -zhi .  
  feed NPFV make IPFV  
*Therefore, I would say angrily: “Give it to me, I will feed”*

Example 0 below, shows the voluntative marker -ye being used as a suggestion, having the subject matan, which is first person plural inclusive. In example (52), it is used to expresses an intent of the narrator. This example is similar to (48) above in the way that both are intents and both are interactions of the narrator with the hearer.

(51) [1:27]“ Matan hhende oro -dene nadu -le you -ye  
  1pINC there enter COMP play PURP walk VOL  
  gie -zhi .  
  make IPFV  
*Saying: "Let's enter here to play"

  again God.willing have opportunity 1pINC again say VOL  
*God willing, next time, when we have opportunity, we talk again*

In the stories, there are no instances of the voluntative marker -ye being used with subject bijien, which is first person plural exclusive. It is possible as seen in (53) a common sentence used to farewell, where the voluntative marker is used to express intent.

(53) bijien xien you -ye  
  1pEXC first walk VOL  
*We are leaving (Lit.: we will walk first)*
4.2.2.2 Imperative -Ø
The imperative is marked with -Ø, but is very clearly distinguished since it is a final verb without any other markers. It can be used to express an order or a suggestion, with the subject being second person singular or plural. In the example (54) below it is used to express suggestion. In example (55) it is used to express an order. In example (56), the imperative is used with its specialized negator bu, also to express an order. Example (57), shows its usage with the second person of plural.

(54) [4:7] kun ire -se jiu “ Chi ire -gha -Ø bi qiezhe -ye
person come COND just 2s come CAUS IMP 1s feed VOL
” gie -zhi
make IPFV
*The person would come and say: "You bring it, I will feed"*

(55) [2:16] “ Ayo sumu chi ghujighan besi -dene sangei chi
Sumu 2s quickly wake.up COMP porridge.maize 2s
dai -Ø ma ,
set.on IMP INT
"Ayo, Sumu, quickly wake up and set on the porridge'

(56) [4:14] “ Chi puse bu qiezhe -le ire -Ø , maghashijie bi
 2s again do.not feed PURP come IMP tomorrow 1s
guajia -ne qiezhe -ne ”
one.self POSS.SUB feed NPFV
"You do not come to feed anymore, tomorrow I will feed (it) myself"

(57) ta aman -ne minji -Ø
 2p mouth POSS.SUB shut IMP
*Shut up, you all!*

4.2.2.3 Permissive -gie
The permissive marker -gie is used with third person singular or plural to express a desire, a suggestion or an order. There are no instances of this marker in the stories, so the examples below were all elicited. In example (58), it is used to express a desire. In examples (59) and (60), it is used to express a suggestion or order. In example (57), the subject is in third person plural, in example (60), in third person singular.
May God give you good

Let's stay at home. Let them go to study.

Let's make food, let him wash the dishes

4.2.3 Interrogative

There are three strategies to mark the interrogative mood, each one used to mark a different kind of question. The first strategy is by using the interrogative mood marker -u, the second one is by using the interrogative pro-forms (i.e. question words like ‘when’, ‘what’, etc), the third is by using polar questions. These three strategies will be explained in detail below.

4.2.3.1 Interrogative Mood Marker -u

To mark that a sentence is in interrogative mood, the interrogative mood marker -u is used. This marker can only co-occur with the indicative markers. This way, it generates a Yes/No type of question. In this case, phonetically the markers merge changing its form – the perfective marker -wo becomes -wu, the imperfective marker -zho becomes -zhu, and the non-perfective marker -ne becomes -nu.

In the examples below, the interrogative marker is used with the perfective marker -wo in example (61), with the non-perfective marker -ne in example (62), and with the imperfective marker in example (63). Finally, in the example (64), it is used in co-occurrence with a question word, to form a content question.

(61) ana zo -de moghei chala holu -wo -u ?
    mother kitchen DAT snake see run PFV QUES
    Did the mom run for seeing the snake in the kitchen?

(62) chi hha nie noghei holu -gha -ne -u ?
    2s that one dog run CAUS NPFV QUES
    Will you make the dog run away?
Has the sheep's tail been pulled off?

Where are you going?

4.2.3.2 Content Questions

The second interrogation strategy is using question pronouns. These question words are used in situ. In order to emphasize the interrogative nature of the sentence, the interrogative marker -u can be added to the verb. Table 21 below shows a list of question words, and following are a few examples of their usage.

Table 21 Question words in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yan</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kien</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kienghun</td>
<td>whose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khala</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khalase</td>
<td>whence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matu gie</td>
<td>how; how come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giezhe/yang shihou</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan giezhi</td>
<td>why; for what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giedun</td>
<td>how much; how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giedo ghon cha</td>
<td>how long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ali</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When is the party?

Where do you want to go for a walk?

Why did the mother run?
(68) [6:44]  ье  -се  ене  кун  ыан_gie  -цho  
do.this  COND  this  person  what  make  IPFV
Therefore what did this person do?

4.2.3.3 Polar Question

In Santa, when negators are added at the end of a declarative sentence, it is understood as being a question, these kinds of constructions are called polar questions. Santa has several negators each with a distinct function (for more on this see section 4.5.1). There are two markers to negate realis events – wuye and ese. However, to create a polar question the only possible negator is wuye. Examples (69) and (70), shows its usage. Events marked with the non-perfective marker -ne can only receive the negator (u)lie. Since this negator can only be used with events marked with this marker, the finite marker can be dropped. This is not the case with wuye, since it can negate events marked with -wo and -zhо. Therefore, in order to specify the tense-aspect of the sentence, the marker is obligatory. Below, example (71) show the polar question with (u)lie.

(69)  чи  База  -дe  эчи  -wo  wuye  
2s  Linxia  DAT  go  PFV  NEG
Did you go to Linxia or not?

(70)  тa  егиегага  нu  -ne  вагха  -zhо  wuye  
2p  early  face  POSS.SUB  wash  IPFV  NEG
Do you wash your face in the mornings or not?

(71)  ххa  чи  -гала  База  -дe  эчи  ( -ne  )  лie  
3s  2s  COM  Linxia  DAT  go  NPFV  NEG
Will he go with you to Linxia, or not?

The same pattern can be seen with non-verbal clauses. For clauses using wo or shi as copula, the particle enbene must be added, these questions follow the pattern in example (72). For attributive, possessive, locative and existential clauses using the copular verb weine, the polar question follows the pattern in (73).

(72)  ххa  ( shi  )  нie  гоu  лаoshi  enbene  pushо  
3s  COP  one  good  teacher  is  is.not
Is he a good teacher or not?

(73)  таде  лаoshi  киле  -san  hha  нie  shu  weine  wuwo  
2sDAT  teacher  say  REL  3s  one  book  have  have.not
Do you have the book that the teacher mentioned or not?
4.3 Non-finite Verbs
There are two types of non-finite verbs in Santa: participles and converbs. Participles are nominalized usages of verbs, and thus can receive all the morphology and suffixes that apply to nouns, whereas converbs are adverbalized usages of verbs. The non-finite verb markers are shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same Event</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-zhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converbs</td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Event Converbs</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>-senu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>-tala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-converbs</td>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-dene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contemporal</td>
<td>-kude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning-postspan</td>
<td>-kuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particples</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-san</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>-chen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this section, there will be a brief exposition the different types of the converbs. However, given its complex syntactical and semantic nature, a deeper explanation is made on Chapter 6. The participles are relatively simple, since their meaning is not as dependent on the finite verb or the time frame of the sentence. Therefore the participles will be discussed more fully in Section 4.3.1.

4.3.1 Participles
There are three participles in Santa: the non-perfective participle -ku, the imperfective participle -san and the agentive participle -chen. The participles can create relative clauses that modify a head noun or can create nominalized phrases that serve as an argument for the verb. It is important remark that verbs marked with participles cannot receive any of the finite tense-aspect markers nor the converb markers.

The agentive participle -chen has a limited usage, only referring to agents. It can be used as a relative clause modifying a agent head noun or the head noun can be
dropped and it can understood as an agent nominalized action, like in example (74). This marker only appears in elicited sentences in my data.

(74) usu khuo -chen (kun)
    water deliver REL person
    The person who delivers water

The non-perfective and the imperfective participles have a more broad usage. When used in relative clause constructions, the difference them can be illustrated on the minimal pair (75) and (76) below.

(75) chi sou -san bangdeng
    2s sit IPFVP chair
    The chair you are seated on / The chair you seated on

(76) chi sou -ku bangdeng
    2s sit NPFVP chair
    The chair for you to sit on

In (75), the imperfective participle has a more specific meaning, where the action has already started, and it actually does not specify if the action has finished or not. In (76), the non-perfective participle can have both a habitual or a futuritive meaning, it does not specify if the action has started or not, but it has not finished. In this sense it is possible to say that the imperfective refers to a more specific event, since the actual event has already started. On the other hand, the non-perfective participle refers to a non-specific event, either a generic, a possible or a habitual event. Having said that, it is important to remark that they can have some overlapping meanings. In this example, if the subject frequently seats on the referred chair, both markers can be used almost interchangeably. The Table 23 Participles below explains the difference in meaning between these participles. The distinction shown on Table 23, is very important in Santa. It is also the difference between the imperfective and the non-perfective finite markers.

Table 23 Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Started</th>
<th>Finished</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective -san</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfective -ku</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These markers can also be used to express nominalized actions, like in examples (77) and (78). This last example is interesting because it receives the connective marker -
i, attesting that it is a nominalized form, rather than a relative clause whose head noun was dropped. It is important to note that it is an argument of the main verb chenlie ‘to listen’, attesting that it is a participle rather than a quasiconverb (which would function like an temporal adverbial). It is also worth remarking that in (77), nadusan ‘a playing’ is referring to a specific event, whereas in (78), waradaku ‘the calling’ is referring to a non-specific event.

(77) [1:1] bijien eqie -de -ni jiu bijien ga bikude aghan -de  
1pEXC early DAT TOP just 1pEXC small when village DAT  
nadu -san__nie kielie -ye .  
play IPFVP one say VOL  
I will tell about one time playing at the village, when we were small, long ago.

(78) [2:47] dang dang -ji ingie -zhi youni gie -se chan Minxiao  
onom onom ADVZ do.this IPFV food make COND often Minxiao  
Minxiao -ji laoshi -la warada -ku ______-i______ bijien  
Minxiao ADVZ teacher pl scream NPFVP CONN 1pEXC  
chenlie -zho ma .  
listen IPFV INT  
Dang dang like this, when he used to make food, we often heard the teachers yelling at him "Minxiao, Minxiao"

The non-perfective marker seems to be grammaticalized for some actions, forming grammaticalized nouns. Some examples are iyeku ‘food’ (iye ‘to eat’ + -ku), ochiku ‘beverage’ (ochi ‘to drink’ + -ku) musiku ‘clothes’ (musi ‘to wear’ + -ku), naduku ‘toy’ (nadu ‘to play’ + -ku).

4.3.2 Converbs

In the same way that participles can create nominal or adjectival phrases from verbs, converbs are non-finite forms that function like adverbial phrases modifying the main verb. The meaning of the converbs can be affected by the finite verb, by the akionsart of the verb marked, by other adverbs, or by pragmatic factors. Converbs in Santa can be subdivided into three categories: same event converbs, different event converbs and quasiconverbs. Santa converbs are presented in Table 24.
Table 24 Converb markers in Santa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>English parallel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same Event Converbs</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-zhi</td>
<td>V-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>V-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>to; in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Event Converbs</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>when; if; because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>-senu</td>
<td>after; even if; although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>-tala</td>
<td>until; before; instead of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasiconverbs</td>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-dene</td>
<td>after; even if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contemporal</td>
<td>-kude</td>
<td>while; as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning-postspan</td>
<td>-kuse</td>
<td>since</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Same” event converbs compose a single semantic unit with the following verb, in other words one single event. Therefore, they are simultaneous and necessarily have the same subject. Since they are all simultaneous, their meaning is not temporal, rather they express manner, purpose, instrument, etc.

“Different” event converbs are not clearly subordinate to the main clause, in fact it is virtually impossible to prove its status relative to the main clause. Since they mark different events, they are free to have different subject from the main clause. The basic function of the different event converbs is to locate temporally the main event in reference to the event they mark. But also, depending on the context, they can express more complex relations, such as condition, cause, comparison, etc.

The quasiconverbs syntactically function as clause linking converbs. Janhunen (2003) defines quasiconverbs as actually adverbial uses of the participles. They usually have the form of:

```plaintext
VERB + PARTICIPLE + CASE
```

When these forms become totally grammaticalized, they become part of the system of actual converbs. The contemporal and the beginning-postspan converb clearly follow this pattern. Kim (2003) argues that the completive converb -de(ne) is also a quasiconverb, with non-converbal parallels in Bonan and Mangghuer. These quasiconverbs have a more defined meaning, expressing only temporal relations between the clauses. It is important to remark here that, in Santa, quasiconverbs can only occur with the dative and the ablative cases. If there is a verb form with participle and any other case markers, then it functions as a noun and cannot be
considered a quasiconverb. The converb markers, their usage, structure and meaning are discussed in depth on Chapter 6.

4.4 Auxiliary Verbs
Santa has many auxiliary verbs that can be divided, according to their function, into directionals or TAM. There are three possibilities for auxiliary verb constructions in Santa. The auxiliary verb always is sentence final with finite markings. Almost all the auxiliary verbs can be used as independent verbs with different meanings. The exceptions are the ability verbs da ‘to be unable to’ and shida ‘to be able to’, that can only be used as auxiliary verbs. The semantically main verb comes right before it, having one of the three options: unmarked; marked with the imperfective converbal marker -zhi or; marked with the purposive converb marker -le (only with auxiliary verbs marking the beginning of an event). It is also possible to have more than one auxiliary verb, in this case they can receive the same markings as the semantically main verbs and only the last one will receive the finite markings. This schema can be illustrated as follows:

\[ V\{-zhi; -le; \varnothing\} V_{[aux]} -[finite]\]

For directionals, the auxiliary verbs come in pairs: echi ‘to go’ (meaning away from the subject) and ire ‘to come’ (meaning towards the subject), and bao ‘to move down’ (meaning downwards) and khe ‘to move up’ (meaning upwards).

For the category of TAM, there are many different auxiliary verbs. To mark the beginning of an event the auxiliary verbs qi ‘to begin’ and kaiyi ‘to start’ are used, like in gie-zhi qi ‘start to make’. To mark the completion of an event, the auxiliary verbs balu ‘to finish’, bara ‘to finish’ and goudagha ‘to complete’ are used, like in iye balu ‘finish eating’, weili gie bara-gha ‘finish this work’, and budan gie gouda-gha ‘finish doing the food’. To mark ability or permission the auxiliary verbs shida ‘to can’ and mejie ‘to know’ are used, like in kuru shida ‘to be able to arrive’ and anba mejie ‘can swim’. The opposite of these is inability auxiliary verb da ‘to be not able to’, like in baer zhanji da ‘to be not able to make money’. The auxiliary verb dou ‘to cross’ is used to mark experiential perfect aspect, like in echi-zhi dou ‘have been to’. The auxiliary verb wuzhe ‘to see, to try’ is used to express attempt, like in iye-zhi wuzhe ‘try to eat’. The auxiliary verb agi ‘to get, to remove’ is used to express that the action has resulted in displacement, like in hai tai agi ‘take off the shoes’ and denji agi ‘pull away’.
4.5 Adverbs

The two classes of adverbs that have a great impact on the verbs are the temporal adverbs and the aspectual adverbs. The temporal adverbs, such as melieshi ‘before’, eqiede ‘in the past’, khuinashi ‘after’, are important because they can give the temporal frame with which the finite markers are going to be interpreted. These adverbs tend to appear at the beginning of the sentence or clause.

The second important class of adverbs is the aspectual one. The aspectual adverbs in Santa include puse ‘again’, niecha ‘for a while’, cai ‘only then’, deigo ‘right away’, xiacha ‘continuously’, liuzhe ‘no matter’, man ‘all’, yizhi ‘continuously’, jiu ‘exactly’. These adverbs tend to happen right before the verb they modify.

More discussion on how these adverbs can influence in the meaning of the tense-aspect of the sentence is made in Chapter 5. Their influence in the meaning of the converbs is discussed in Chapter 6.

4.5.1 Negation

In Santa there are several negation strategies, with specialized markers for different tense, aspect and mood sentences. The negators (e)se and wuye can occur with finite verbs marked with the perfective and imperfective tense-aspect markers. The negator (u)lie is used to negate verbs marked with non-perfective -ne. Imperatives have a special negator bu. Equative sentences take the negative copula pusho. Attributive, existential, locative and possessive clauses take the non-existential copula wuwo. Finally, there is the inability auxiliary verb da, mentioned in section 4.4. Each of these negators is explained below.

4.5.1.1 Perfective and Imperfective Negators ese and wuye

The negators wuye and ese (which can also take the form se) are used interchangeably to negate verbs marked with the perfective and the imperfective aspects. Below are some examples.

(79) hhe se khezhe ire -gha -zho .
that NEG come.out come CAUS IPFV
(We) did not allow her to come out
Having walked and walked, got to Amasa village, when we got to the school's gate, the school's gate was not opened.

The boss did not give the money to Hassan

These markers can be used interchangeably in almost any situation. The only situation that they differ is for the construction of polar questions, where only wuye can be used. For more on polar questions, please check section 4.2.3.3.

### 4.5.1.2 Non-perfective Negator ulie

The non-perfective negator ulie can also take the form lie, and is used specially to negate verbs marked with the non-perfective marker -ne. Temporally, the verbs negated by ulie can both be in future time, like in example (82), present, like in example (83), or past time, like in example (84), as long as they are marked with -ne.

A mountain like this (I) will not climb

Ene ghurang mouldo oqin -la

(He) was sleeping, then, having woke up, when (he) came to open the door (he said):

"These three naughty girls, why (they are) coming late in the night, so early, is (something that I) do not know"

(we) sat, but (the day) would not dawn
4.5.1.3 Prohibitive *bu*

The prohibitive *bu* is used to negate imperative verbs. In my data, this negator does not occur with voluntative (1p) or permissive (3p) imperative markers. It only appears with imperative -Ø marker, like in example (85) below.

(85) [4:14] “Chi puse bu qiezhe -le ire -Ø, maghashijie bi
guajia -ne qiezhe -ne”

“You do not come to feed (it) anymore, tomorrow I will feed (it) myself”

4.5.1.4 Non-existential copula *wuwo*

The non-existential copula *wuwo* is used to negate attributive clauses (86), possessive clauses (87), locative clauses (88) and existential clauses (89).

(86) hha nie oqin seghan wu -wo

That girl is not beautiful

(87) kesi yamada wu -wo.

(child) did not have any kids

(88) hha nie khutogho chougha -de wu -wo

That knife is not in the drawer

(89) bijjie aghan -de usu wuwo.

There is no water at our village

4.5.1.5 Negative copula *pusho*

The negative copula *pusho*, sometimes also analyzed as *pushi wo* is used in equative negative sentences. Like the copula *wo*, this copula can co-occur with the Mandarin borrowed copula *shi*, but it is not obligatory, like in examples (90) and (91).

(90) chi (shi) kun pusho

You are not a person!
(91)  hha (shi) laoshi pusho
        3s  COP teacher is.not
  He is not a teacher

4.5.1.6 Inability Auxiliary Verb da
The inability auxiliary verb da is used to express the inability of performing the verb that precedes it. This auxiliary verb is the antonym of the ability auxiliary verb shida. When these verbs are used, the semantically main verb cannot receive any converbal or tense-aspect markings. They also cannot be used independently, like all the other auxiliary verbs. This may be evidence that they are actually suffixes, instead of independent forms. But to prove this is out of the scope of this study. Below, are examples of the inability auxiliary verb occurring with perfective marker -wo (92), with the imperfective marker -zho (93), and with the non-perfective marker -ne (94).

       do.this COND just also money earn cannot PFV
  Having done that, also (I) was not able to make money.

(93)  [2:37] ershiji  shi  sara  gieghan  shi  sara  gieghan  nie  tian
       over.twenty COND moon bright ten moon bright one day
  yinji  -se  yane  ,  kun  xieni  mejie  da  -zho  de  .
       be.cloudy COND person night know cannot IPFV EVD
  It was (the day) twenty and something and it was a full moon, a full moon and a cloudy day, I could not know that it was night.

(94)  [5:46] ingie  -se  bi ye ayi  -zhi  bazilie  da  -ne  .
       do.this COND 1s also fear IPFV control.self cannot NPFV
  Therefore, I was so afraid that I could not control myself.

4.6 Special Constructions with gie
The verb gie is very common and is used in many different ways. Its basic meaning is ‘to make’, but it can also mean ‘to say’ or ‘to think, to plan’. This verb can also co-occur with Chinese borrowed verbs, like in chumin gie ‘to be famous’ (the word chumin is borrowed from Chinese 出名 chǔmíng ‘to be famous’), making possible that the borrowed word receive Santa morphology. There are other special constructions involving the verb gie that are explained below.
4.6.1 Sentential Adverbs *ingie* and *qingie*

The verb *gie* ‘to do’ can be combined with the particles *in* ‘this way’ and *qin* ‘that way’ to form the *ingie* ‘do this’ and *qingie* ‘do that’. Their normal verbal usage is illustrated in (95) below. In this example, the narrator is telling a story of when he almost fell down from a boat, and the sentence must be understood with the actual body movement he made to explain what movement the boat did.

![Sentence](95) [5:59] `chuang nie ingie -se bi chabudo usu -de angda`  
`boat one do.this COND 1s almost water DAT fall`  
`bou -wo`  
`down PFV`  
*When the boat did like this, I almost fell down to the water*

But these expressions have a very important grammaticalized function, they work as sentential adverbials or pro-sentences. These sentential adverbials are converb forms – that function as a discourse tool to give sequence to the speech. These sentential adverbials are remarkably common, specially *ingie*, which occurs 80 times in the stories elicited. They can co-occur with the conditional converb marker -se, with the imperfective converb marker -zhi, with the completive converb marker -dene, or unmarked – all having basically the same meaning. They can have a basic sequential meaning – where the sentence or clause that follows it occur after the sentence or clause that precedes it – or a causal relational meaning – where the sentence or clause that precedes it are the cause of the sentence or clause that follows it. Therefore, they can be glossed as ‘so, therefore’ for the causal relation (96) and ‘then, and then, having done this’ for the temporal relation (97). It is important to notice that in Santa this is the only way to express cause and consequence relation between independent sentences: ‘cause’ *ingie* ‘consequence’. There is no word like the English ‘because’, which changes the logical order to: ‘consequence’ *because* ‘cause’.

![Sentence](96) [2:14-15] `wencha -de gieghere -se wuda -wo yijin`  
`winter DAT shine COND be.late PFV already`  
`ingie -se bi nie jinda -se jiu “Ayyo!” yiniang -chei`  
`do.this COND 1s one be.worried COND just aunt 2sPOS`  
`wuru -zho`  
`call IPFV`  
*During the winter, if it is bright, it is late already. Therefore, I got nervous and called your aunt: ‘Ayyo!’*
He took the woman's (pot) out, and put his own pot at the place of the woman's, and put the woman's pot on his own (pot) place. Then, (they) cooked both more.

4.6.2 Expression Verb giezhi

The verb gie can also be used to mark direct quotation. In this case, usually it comes after a quotation, marked with the imperfective converb marker -zhi, taking the form giezhi, like (98). This is a non-regular construction since a non-finite verb marked with the imperfective converb occurs sentence finally. But it can also take other verbal markers, like non-perfective -ne, in (99).

From the main gate turn around entering back again and said: "Old woman, old woman, someone is calling you at the main gate"

4.6.3 Desiderative -ne giezho

Another construction that uses a structure similar to the quotation, is the one expressing desire. This is structure uses verb marked with non-perfective marker -ne followed by the verb gie with the imperfective marker -zho. The meaning of the construction V-ne giezho is ‘to want to do V’. In this construction, the verb giezho can be interpreted as an expression verb, but expressing thoughts, rather than actual
words. Therefore, the literal translation of X V-ne giezho would be ‘X is thinking: “I will V”’, where X is the subject and V the action. Example (100) illustrates this construction for a simple event, and example (101) with a complex event.

(100) hha budan -i iye -ne gie -zho
3s food CONN eat NPFV think IPFV
He wants to eat the food (Lit.: He is thinking “I will eat the food”)

(101) hha kewon -de -ne shiyi -zhi budan -i
3s boy DAT POSS.SUB try IPFV food CONN
iya -gha -ne gie -zho
eat CAUS NPFV think IPFV
He wants to make his son try to eat the food (Lit.: He is thinking: “I will cause my son to try to eat the food”)

4.6.4 Irrealis Inceptive -ne giese
Similar to the desiderative construction, the irrealis inceptive is expressed by construction X V-ne giese has the meaning ‘when X was about to do V’, where X is the subject and V the action. This construction can also be interpreted as ‘when X thought: “I am going to do V”’. It can be considered irrealis because it is used say that the action actually does not take place right away, and the following clause is the event that interrupted it. Examples (102) and (103) illustrate this construction.

(102) [1:33] oro -gha -de hha kezhe -ne gie -se-se ya
enter CAUS COMP 3s come.up NPFV make COND
eghi -zhi se kezhe -gha -zho .
hit IPFV NEG come.up CAUS IPFV
After making (her) enter, when she was almost coming out, (we) hit her not allowing (her) to come out.

(103) [3:34] lai -zhi echi -ne gie -se , nainaigie ghoni xien -se
pull IPFV go NPFV make COND old.woman sheep tail ABL
nie denji -se yane xien -i denji agi -zho .
one pull COND tail CONN pull away IPFV
When (he) was about to pull (the sheep) out, the old woman pulled the sheep from the tail and the tail broke off.
4.7 Modality Particles
Santa has a few modality particles. These particles must occur at the end of the sentence or at the end of a different event converbal clause. These particles are presented in the following sections.

4.7.1 Counter Expectation \textit{ya(ne)}
The particle \textit{ya} can also take the form \textit{yane} and comes at the end of a clause to express that the event in the next clause is not expected. It can mark simply that the next clause is unexpected, like in example (104), but it can also mark a concessive relation between the two sentences, resembling construction with ‘but, however’ in English, like in example (105).

\begin{verbatim}(104) [2:13] wuru -le ire -se yane , bi nie wuzhe -se ya call PURP come COND C-EXP ls one look COND C-EXP giegie -gha -ne wolu -zho shine CAUS NPFV complete IPFV \end{verbatim}

\textit{When she came to call me, I took a look and (the sky) was bright already.}

\begin{verbatim}(105) [2:21] you -zhi , you -zhi Amasa echi -zhi xuexiao walk IPFV walk IPFV Hongliu.village go IPFV school wenjien -de echi -se ya , xuexiao wenjien wuye nie -zho . door DAT go COND C-EXP school door NEG open IPFV \end{verbatim}

\textit{Having walked and walked, got to Amasa village, when we got to the school’s gate, but the school’s gate was not opened}

4.7.2 Interaction \textit{ma}
The empathy marker \textit{ma} has several different usages. It can be used to request the listener’s agreement or to make sure they are understanding, like in (106). Another function is to emphasize something that should be obvious, like in (107). It can also be used to persuade someone to do something, like in example (108). Finally, it can also be used to coordinate clauses, which can also create a counter-expectation relation if the event on the second clause is not the expected, like in (109).

\begin{verbatim}(106) [3:9] hha xianzi hha tuluzi wo ma that time that clay.stove COP INT \end{verbatim}

\textit{At that time, (people used) clay stove, right?}
Cried, cried... this sheep has always been raised by the old woman, at the house.

(He) said: "You close your eyes, ok? I will carry you on my back and get you down"

(You thought of a way (to see her) like this, like that, this is the most beautiful of my daughters, but you cannot see (her)"

4.7.3 Evidentiality *dei*

The evidentiality particle *dei* is used to emphasize the speaker's opinion, like in example (110). It can also be used to mark direct evidence (eye-witnessing), like in example (111).

*If (I) think now, it was funny*

4.7.4 Suggestion-politeness *bai, sha*

Santa also has two suggestion-politeness particles. The particle *bai* is used to express suggestion or to weaken an imperative. The particle *sha* has a very similar meaning but it is used to express a higher degree of politeness. The examples below show their usage.
"Use whatever technique and means to take a look at this girl"

Why don't you go to sleep

The particle *bai* can also be used to invite the listener’s agreement, like in 49. In this sense it works very similarly to the particle *ma*.

Since they are seven brothers, (they) always call (him) Qiwa, Qiwa. (Qiwa lit means seventh kid)

4.8 Summary

The verb stem in Santa can receive two markers: plural marker *-ndu*, and causative marker *-gha*. These two markers can work as valence changing strategies. The causative marker always adds one argument to the verb, whereas when a transitive verb marked with *-ndu* occurs without object and with plural subject, it is interpreted as reciprocal. There are basically two kinds of verbs in Santa: finite and non-finite verbs. Finite verbs receive TAM suffix, whereas non-finite do not. Finite morphology can be divided into three moods: declarative, interrogative and imperative. The declarative and interrogative can co-occur with each other, but not with the imperative. There are three tense-aspect markers in the declarative mood: perfective *-wo*, imperfective *-zho*, and non-perfective *-ne*. These markers are discussed on Chapter 5. After the tense-aspect marker, the interrogative marker *-u* can occur, making the sentence into a question. There are three imperative markers, that are actually distinct in person agreement: first person voluntative marker *-ye*, second person imperative marker *-ø*, and third person permissive marker *-gie*. The non-finite verbs are divided into two categories: participles – nominalized usage of verbs, and converbs – adverbalized usage of verbs. The three participle markers differ from each other in aspectual terms – the participle *-ku* is non-perfective and the participle *-san* is imperfective, the third one is the agentive *-chen*, which is more marginal, marking the agent of the event. There are nine compel marker divided into three categories. These markers are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.
Other important factors that can affect the meaning of the verbs are adverbs, auxiliary verbs, negators – Santa has seven different negation markers, and the modality particles. In Santa, the verb gie ‘to make’ can be used in many different forms with a wide range of functions, such as marking borrowed verbs, quotation marking, sentencial adverb, desiderative marker, and irrealis inceptive.
Chapter 5
Tense-Aspect Markers

There are three tense-aspect markers in Santa: -wo, -zho, and -ne. When talking to native speakers, they always seem to perceive -wo as past, -zho as present or progressive and -ne as future. But a closer analysis will show that they are actually more than that. For instance, the marker -zho can also be used in a past time and -ne in both present, past, and future.

There is disagreement about these markers in the literature as well. Fields (1997) and Kim (2003) agree that -wo is perfective, -ne is imperfective and -zho is progressive. Field (1997) states that “The perfective aspect characterizes a completed action that has a definite endpoint. The imperfective aspect characterizes an uncompleted action that may or may not have commenced yet. The progressive aspect characterizes an ongoing event relative to a specific event frame.” This definition seems to be pretty accurate. However, there is some limitation to it, since progressive is a kind of imperfective. For example, Kim (2003:358) shows two examples, one marked with -ne and one marked with -zho, both glossed as ‘used to’. These examples are reproduced in (115) and (116). Another important point to check is what would happen when -zho used with instantaneous non-repetitive events, if it really marks an ongoing event.

(115) meila shihou -de jiujiu -mi chan ghudang kielie -ne
small time DAT brother.younger 1s.poss often lie say NPFV
When he was little, my brother used to tell lies

(116) bi melieshi hhende chan echi -zho
1s before there often go IPFV
In the past, I used to go there a lot

On the other hand, Buhe (1986) states that the suffixes are actually tense markers. For him, the suffix -wo is actually past tense and the suffix -ne is actually non-past tense. Further, -zho is not a tense marker, it is actually the combination of the imperfective converb marker -zhi and the copula wo. Actually, there is a lot of overlapping between Buhe’s definition and the other ones, since a completed event
that has a definite ending point is necessarily in the past, and a uncompleted action that may or may not have commenced is much like non-past.

This chapter is an attempt to shed light on this discussion, trying to analyze why these two different constructions have similar meanings, what are the subtle differences between them? What makes a speaker choose to use one or the other? Another important discussion is about the main elements that impact the meaning of events marked with these markers, specifically the type of eventuality, the temporal frame, the other adverbs and conjunctions present on the sentence and pragmatic factors.

5.1 Definition
The declarative finite markers -wo and -ne are derived from the Proto-Mongolic terminative (*-bA) and durative (*-nAm) markers respectively. Santa has also an innovation, namely the marker -zho, probably fruit of the combination between the imperfective converb -zhi and the copula wo (see Buhe (1986), Field (1997) and Kim (1998)). According to Janhunen (2003:23) the durative, together with the narrative, and deductive forms “have been identified as representing the present tense and the imperfective aspect” while the terminative functioned as “praeteritum perfecti”.

In Santa, the marker -wo has retained much of its features. It normally refers to an event being considered as whole, having a clear ending point, like in example (117). Therefore, the label terminative is compatible with the modern meaning of the particle -wo in Santa.

(117) ingie -se jiu bi hai -ne tai agi -wo .
    do.this COND just 1s shoe POSS.SUB take.off away PFV
    Therefore, I took off my shoes

On the other hand, the marker -ne has developed other meanings that are not compatible with the label durative, specifically the future meaning – which can be attached to instantaneous events, like in (118) (in Santa, ‘to arrive’ is an instantaneous event).

(118) maghashi hha san jien -de Lanzhou -de kuzhe -ne
    tomorrow 3s 3 o'clock DAT Lanzhou DAT arrive NPFV
    Tomorrow three o'clock he will get to Lanzhou
This marker is attested for almost all Mongolic languages. Even though, is has
different applications in different languages, many linguists still choose to label is as
durative. Table 25 shows how different authors refer to markers derived from the
Common Mongolic durative. The table also shows how they choose to call it and
what they report as the function of the marker in each language.

It is striking to note that the great majority of these linguists choose to keep the
nomenclature ‘durative’, despite the fact that in most of these languages it also has a
future tense meaning. In many of these languages the ‘durative’ markers actually has
the same function as in Santa. However in Santa, future is the main usage of this
marker. So it sounds inaccurate to call ‘durative’ a marker whose main function is to
mark future events, independently of their duration.

**Table 25 The durative marker in different languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>Bonan</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fried</td>
<td>Bonan</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>stative, future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater</td>
<td>Mangghuer</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>subjective future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akerman</td>
<td>Monghul</td>
<td>-m/-n</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>imperfective/future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nugteren</td>
<td>Shira Yughur</td>
<td>-nAi</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>non progressive present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiers</td>
<td>Moghol</td>
<td>-na, -n</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>future/present-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasing</td>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td>-nA</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birtalan</td>
<td>Oirat</td>
<td>-nAm, -nAi, -nAA &gt; -na</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georg</td>
<td>Ordos</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present, progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svantesson</td>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>affirmative non-past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsumagari</td>
<td>Dagur</td>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skribnik</td>
<td>Buryat</td>
<td>-nA</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present and proximate future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janhunen</td>
<td>KhamniganMongol</td>
<td>-nAn, -na-d</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td>present, restrictedly future and habitual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This problem is further complicated by the fact that Santa has developed the
imperfective marker -zh0, which has some overlapping meaning with the marker -ne,
and its main function is to refer to events with internal temporal structure, like in
Actually, it is more accurate to call the imperfective marker -zho ‘durative’, instead of the marker -ne.

(119) [2:12] **ingie - se jiu ene ghuala xiacha china -zho .**
   do.this COND just this two.people continuously cook IPFV
   So, these two were continuously cooking

After analyzing more closely the usage of the marker -ne, we see that Field(1997) is right to say that it does not specify if the event has already started or not, but rather that the event necessarily has not finished or is analyzed from within, temporally speaking. If an event that has not started to take place yet is marked with the marker -ne, then is a future or irrealis event, like in (120). On the other hand, if the event has started (and it could have even finished already) and is marked with -ne, then it is being analyzed from within temporally, like in (121). That is where we get the imperfective or the durative meaning attached to the marker -ne.

(120) [4:14] “**Chi puse bu qiezhe -le ire -Ø , maghashijie bi**
   2s again do.not feed PURP come IMP tomorrow 1s
   guajia -ne qiezhe -ne ”
   oneself POSS.SUB feed NPFV
   “You do not come to feed anymore, tomorrow I will feed (it) myself”

(121) [4:13] **kun -yi jiujiu -de jia nie iye -gha -se**
   person CONN brother.younger DAT only one eat CAUS COND
   guajia jiujiu -de ghurang iye -gha -ne .
   oneself brother.younger DAT three eat CAUS NPFV
   (She) would only feed one (spoon) to other’s baby, and feed three to (her) own baby.

Actually, for a limited set of some verbs that refer to individual-level states (see Kratzer (1995)), -ne is the only marker acceptable. For instance the verb **mejie ‘to know’,** if receives one of the other two tense-aspect markers, its meaning will be inchoative ‘to understand, to get it’, like in (122). To express the stative meaning of ‘to know’ it necessarily has to use the form **mejiene,** no matter what is the temporal frame of the sentence, like in (123). A similar phenomena happens to the verb **tani ‘to know someone’,** if you change the tense-aspect marker, the meaning will be ‘to meet someone’, the only way of expressing ‘to know someone’ is by using **tanine.**

This usage is probably a heritage from Proto-Mongolic, since it is attested in many different languages.
Having gone into and looked, having opened the door, (he) having spoken like this, only then we understood that it was early.

When I was little I was able to speak Mandarin, now I forgot.

In contrast, the imperfective -zho refers to events that have already started, but it does not specify if it has finished or not, like in (124). In this example the event has finished already, and we know that the event has finished because the narrator is telling a story from his childhood. This same example could mean ‘I am crying out of fear all day along’, in other words, an event that has not finished yet. In this sense, it is more definite than the marker -ne, since it refers to an specific action or habitual event that has already started to take place. Therefore, these two markers do have some overlapping.

Aya! I was crying out of fear, all along

Table 26 below shows the meaning of the three aspect-tense markers in terms of the event having started or finished.

Table 26 Tense-aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Started</th>
<th>Finished</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zho</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that there is a preferred usage for both -zho and -ne, which seems to be prototypical in the minds of the speakers, namely imperfective for -zho (+ started and -finished) and future for -ne (-started and -finished).
Moreover, according to this table it is clear that -zho can overlap in meaning with both -wo (+started and +finished) and -ne (+started and -finished). The overlapping with -wo is more marginal and seems to be related to preferred discourse style of some speakers. It seems to be a common phenomenon crosslinguistically, which is to use present tense or progressive aspect in a narrative that is in past time, in order to make it lively. In the stories elicited, it is very clear that some speakers have a preference for this style. For example, in the three stories elicited from the first speaker from Daban Town this pattern is very clear, whereas in the stories elicited from the speakers originally from Longquan Township, the use of the marker -wo to perfective events is preferred, leaving the marker -zho only for imperfective events. Further studies are needed to reveal exactly what are the discourse features that are being applied in each one of these choices.

Furthermore, the overlapping between -zho and -ne (when both are +started and -finished) seems to be more on grammatical level than on discourse level. In this case there is a difference in the degree of definitiveness. The marker -zho is more definite and refers to a habit, or an event with internal time structure, or even to the present state resulting from that action that is already taking place in the real world. On the other hand, the marker -ne is less specific referring to the possibility of an event or a habitual event less frequent than one marked with -zho. In other words, an event marked with -ne could be uncertain or even irrealis in the narrative time. The contrast between -ne and -zho is similar to the contrast between ‘would’ and ‘used to’ in English (like in When I was young, my father would tell me horror stories vs When I was young, my father used to tell me horror stories). The examples below illustrate that contrast in Santa. These sentences are from the same story and are consecutive. In (125), the event is more specific, therefore the marker -zho is used, the definitiveness of the event is further emphasized by the adverb chan ‘often’. In (126), the conditional marker -se in the converbal clause is evidence that the event is less specific, thus marked with -ne.

(125) [2:8] bijien yi dui er dui -ni ghuala -ghun jiu chan hha
1pEXC one team two team CONN two.people NOM just often 3s
nie san dui hha nie chan eghi -zhi qifula -zho .
one 3 team 3s one often hit IPFV bully IPFV

We, from the first and second teams, used to often bully and hit the one from the third team
If we went down to play at the third team's (place), she would hit us and not allow us to come there.

It is also worth to remark that when the subject is the first person, the marker -ne and the first person voluntative marker -ye can have very similar meanings, like in the examples (127) and (128). However, in this case, -ne is more certain than -ye.

(127) maghashijie heifan -de bijien zhaghasun iye -ne
tomorrow dinner DAT 1pEXC fish eat NPFV
*Tomorrow for dinner we will eat fish*

(128) matan tegha iye -ye
1pINC chicken eat VOL
*Let's eat chicken*

The marker -ne can also be compared to the inchoative usage of the perfective marker -wo (see section 5.2.2), like in examples (129) and (130) below. But in this case, the event marked with -wo is more certain than the one marked with -ne. It is also worth noting that this meaning of the second example can only be interpreted like this from the context. Out of context the interpretation would be “I went to study”.

(129) bi Baza -de echi -ne
1s Linxia DAT go NPFV
*I will go to Linxia*

(130) [2:17.2] bi wanshi -le echi -wo .
1s study PURP go PFV
*I am (now) going to study’

In order to eliminate confusion, the Proto-Mongolic terms will not be used in this thesis. Instead, the marker -wo will be called perfective, the marker -zhö will be called imperfective and the marker -ne will be called non-perfective.
5.2 Interaction Between Tense-Aspect Markers and Different Types of Events

On this section the meaning of the tense-aspect markers will be analyzed with different types of events. These types of events are the ones listed by Vendler (1967), namely: states (section 5.2.1), activities (section 5.2.2), achievements (section 5.2.3), and accomplishments (section 5.2.4). For each type of event, there will also be an analysis for that event in the past, present and future, when applicable.

5.2.1 Stative Events

For stative events, the perfective marker -wo indicates that the event mentioned is being considered completely, with an ending point, all at once. Like in the example (131) below.

(131) Hulan jian musi -san hha nie oqin bi naiyi -wo
    red clothes wear IPFVP that one lady 1s like PFV
    The one dressed in red clothes is the one that I loved.

Out of context, this example can be ambiguous. If the verb naiyi ‘to like’ is taken to be stative it means that the subject bi ‘1s’ loved the girl wearing red clothes, independently of how long he loved her for, and does not love her anymore. In other words, the state of loving is finished. But this verb can also have an achievement meaning (like ‘to choose’), like if the subject could choose among different girls, that he does not know, one that he likes best. In this case, it would not be a state, rather an achievement, and it would be finished as well.

For stative events, the imperfective marker -zho has an imperfective meaning, i.e. it looks to the event from inside, emphasizing the state, like in (132).

(132) hulan jian musi -san hha nie oqin bi naiyi -zho
    red clothes wear IPFVP 3s one lady 1s like IPFV
    The one dressed in red clothes is the one I love.

This example is different from (131) which has perfective marking because it is not ambiguous and it means that the subject still loves or used to love the girl on red clothes, depending on the temporal context. Example (133) illustrates the usage of -zho in a past context. In this case, the term adulazho could mean ‘was herding’ or ‘used to be herding’.
Therefore, a relative of ours was also herding sheep. Therefore, a relative of ours also used to herd sheep.

For stage-level stative verbs, the non-perfective marker -ne expresses the high probability of the subject to enter into the state. Like in the example (134) and (135) below. It can also refer to the likelihood of it happening in a time before of the speech time, like in example (136). It is noteworthy that this marker could be easily confused with the imperfective marker -zho (which would ‘used to’), even though these have very similar meanings, the latter is more specific than the former.

(134)  
he ne eni kielen -i chenli -ne  
3s this one subject CONN listen COND happy NPFV
*If she hears this, she will be happy.*

(135)  
dego kielen -zhi bara -gha da -ne  .  
immediately say IPFV finish CAUS cannot NPFV
*Soon (I) will be talking without an end (Lit.: Soon (I) I will not be able to stop talking)*

(136)  
hha ga bi -ku -se jiu shizhe -ne  
3s small be NPFVP ABL just shy.be NPFV
*Since she was small she would get shy. / She is shy since she is small.*

The example (136) is actually ambiguous, since it could be referring to an individual-level state, i.e. a state that is inherent to the subject and cannot change. For individual-level states, the non-perfective marker -ne has a habitual meaning, and is the preferred marker. For instance, in example (137), the narrator is talking about a very high mountain, in his perception ‘to cause fear’ is inherent to the situation mentioned and cannot change, therefore -ne is the chosen marker. Other verbs that would enter this category is mejie ‘to know (something)’ and tani ‘to know (someone)’.

(137)  
tai kongbu tai ayi -gha -ne  .  
too frightening too fear CAUS NPFV
*Extreme frightening, really causes fear.*
5.2.2 Activities

For activity events, the perfective marker -wo usually refers to an event that has already been completed, normally understood as in the past. Examples are shown below.

(138) nie ghughei baer -ni ghula -de holu -wo
one thief money CONN steal COMP run PFV
A thief ran after stealing the money.

(139) ingie -se jiu hha nainaigie jiu hha sunzi -ghuala -ne jiu
do.this COND just that old.woman just that grandson COM just
do -wo .
pass PFV
Therefore, the grandmother and her grandson lived together (Lit.: pass (the days) together)

(140) eqiemagha bijien lashigha iye -wo
early 1pEXC noodles eat PFV
In the morning we ate noodles

(141) ingie -zhi ghurelie wanshi -le echi -wo.
do.this IPFV three.people study PURP go PFV
This way, three (of us) went to study.

Another possibility is to use this marker to refer to an event that is about to start and will certainly be completed, as in the examples (142) and (143) below.

(142) ede bi you -wo
now 1s walk PFV
I will leave now. (lit.: I walked now)

(143) bi wanshi -le echi -wo
1s study PURP go PFV
I am going to study (Lit.: I went to study)

It is noteworthy that the second example can only be understood as a referring to a future event by the context. Out of the story, this sentence could perfectly mean ‘I went to study’.

For activity events, the marker -zho can refer to progressive aspect, especially when the event is in the present, like in the two examples below.
The kid is playing by running at his house.

He is talking mosque stuff.

The marker -zho can also be interpreted as a habitual event, both in the present and in the past, like in the examples (146) and (147).

Now everybody call him Qiwa.

At that time, I was nursing Ayubu.

Also this marker can be used to refer to a durative event in the past, like in (148) and (149) below.

We were running in PE class yesterday.

Yesterday for lunch we were eating meat.

For activity events, the marker -ne refers to an action in the future, like in the examples (150) and (151).

Don’t come to feed anymore, tomorrow I will feed (him) myself.

Tomorrow for dinner we are going to eat fish.
It can also refer to an irrealis situation, where the conditions must be fulfilled in order for it to take place, like in examples (152) and (153).

(152) **Chi miyi eghi -se , bi holu -ne**

2s 1sCONN hit COND 1s run NPFV

*If you hit me, I will run.*

(153) [3:9] **nainaigie -ghun zholiere -se , nainaigie kere -ne .**

old.woman NOM soften COND old.woman want NPFV

*If the woman's (stem) gets soft, the woman will have (the sheep)*

Like in the case of stative events, for activities, the non-perfective marker can also be used to express an event that, at the narrative time, was not specific, like in example (154) below.

(154) [2:46] **Xiake gie -se , lingzi eghi -ne .**

finish.class COND bell hit NPFV

*When the class finished, (he) (sometimes) would ring the bell*

### 5.2.3 Achievements

For achievement events, the perfective marker -wo indicates that the event happened in the past and has no direct consequences on the present state. Like in example (155) below, *fughuwo ‘died’*.

(155) **Wudai huang miyi noghei fughu -wo**

last year 1sCONN dog die PFV

*Last year, my dog died*

In Santa the verb *ku* ‘to arrive’ is understood as an achievement and cannot be interpreted in a progressive aspect (like ‘is arriving’). In example (156) below, the verb *kuwo* ‘arrived’ expresses that the time came (rather than ‘the time has come’).

(156) [2:39] **bijien echi -de jiu sou -zhi sou -zhi yi lian gie xiaoshi**

1pEXC go COMP just sit IPFV sit IPFV one two MW hour

**sou -se cai kun -la wanshi -le ire -ku shijien**

sit COND just person pl study PURP come NPFVP time

**ku -wo**

arrive PFV

*After we went, we sat, sat for one or two hours and just then the time for people to come to study arrived.*

69
One of the properties of the achievement events is that they are non-durative, and hence it does not make sense to have these events in a progressive aspect. Therefore, when achievement events receive the marker -zho, they are interpreted as either a resulting state or as a past event that is still relevant to the present. Following are two examples.

(157) miyi  zixinche qidalu  -zho  
1sCONN bicycle break  IPFV
_My bike is broken/has broke_

(158) wudai huang miyi  noghei fughu  -zho  
last year 1sCONN dog die  IPFV
_In the last year, my dog has died._

In Santa, the verb qidalu (to brake) is an achievement verb, therefore nothing can ‘be breaking’, since an achievement verb is instantaneous. Therefore, it is naturally interpreted as either a state (is broken) or perfect aspect (has broken). Example (158), contrasts with example (155) above, in the sense that it represents a past event that still has significance in the present.

As mentioned before, the verb ku or kuzhe (to arrive) in Santa is also an achievement verb. Therefore, when it is marked with -zho it is automatically interpreted as either an state or the resultant state. In these cases, the ‘arriving’ has already taken place, like in example (159) below.

(159) bi Lanzhou  -de  kuzhe  -zho  
1s Lanzhou DAT arrive  IPFV
_I have arrived in Lanzhou_

Achievements and accomplishments events are telic, i.e. they necessarily have an ending point, either a goal, an outcome or other change in state. For achievement events, the marker -ne express the possibility of this outcome taking place, like in the examples below.

(160) shafa jiere bu  jiaoli , hha qidalu  -ne  
sofa on do.not jump 3s brake  NPFV
_Don’t jump on the sofa, it will break!_

(161) ede chi made  yuanyin kieli  bi dongjiere  -ne  
now 2s 1sDAT reason say 1s understand  NPFV
_Tell me now the reason that I will understand_
Don't take medicine randomly, otherwise you will die.

The non-perfective marker -ne, can also be used to express an event that was uncertain at the narrative time. Example (163) below illustrates that:

(163) [3:38] nietan bei -se yane, Nainaigie
    a.while pass COND old.woman
    chougha -de -ni -ya khuada khuada -ji
    drawer DAT 3sPOSS CONJ onom onom ADVZ
    tongulie -ne .
    make.sound NPFV

After a while, a 'kuada, kuada' sound would be made in the old woman's drawer.

5.2.4 Accomplishments

For accomplishment events, the perfective marker -wo refers to an event that has been completed already, as shown in the examples below.

(164) bi nasun chighan shihou -de san jien gie gie -wo
    1s age young time DAT 3 house make PFV

When I was young, I built three houses.

(165) [3:27] china -se “ Ede wuzhe -ye -ma kien -ghun
    cook COND now look VOL INT who NOM
    zholiere -wo ” gie -zhi .
    soften PFV make IPFV

Having cooked, (he) said: "Now let's look, whose got soft"

For accomplishment events, the marker -zho refers to an action that has started, can be still in progress, but has not been completed. In this sense, it can be considered a progressive aspect. The example (166) below illustrates the phenomenon.

(166) aye -mi xiang -de gie gie -zho
    grandfather 1s.poss homeland DAT house make IPFV

My grandfather is building a house in his homeland.

However, in some cases, the accomplishment events marked with -zho, like the achievement events, can also be interpreted as the resulting state of the conclusion of the event. To illustrate this, compare the examples (167) and (168) below. In (167), the first interpretation is the resultant state from a completed event, because
the verb is marked with -zho but the time is present. In (168), because the adv lalaghan ‘slowly’ is added, the event must have internal temporal structure, therefore the interpretation becomes the progressive aspect.

(167) [2:42] ede hha kun nie bewanfuwen gholu -zho.
    now that person one rich.person become IPFV

    Now, that person has become a rich man.

(168) ede hha kun lala -ghan nie bewanfuwen gholu -zho
    now that person slow ADVZ one rich.person become IPFV

    Now that person is slowly becoming a rich man.

For accomplishment events, like for achievements, the marker -ne express the possibility or strong intention of the event taking place. Some examples are shown below.

(169) bi baer zhangji -se , nie fugie gie gie -ne
    1s money earn COND one big house make NPFV

    If I earn money, I will build a big house.

(170) hha holu -zhi gujin shi , hha nie kun -i barei -zhi
    3s run IPFV story COND that one person CONN catch IPFV
    agi -ne .
    get NPFV

    If he runs fast, he will catch that person.

Similarly to the other types of events, for accomplishments, the non-perfective marker -ne can be used to express an event that was less specific in the narrative time, like in the example (171) below:

(171) [4:23] kun man jiuju -de -ne iye -dene
    person all brother.younger DAT POSS.SUB eat COMP

    bara -gha -ne!
    finish CAUS NPFV

    The person would feed it all to her own baby!

5.3 Summary
Santa has three tense-aspect markers: perfective -wo, non-perfective -ne, and imperfective -zho. The perfective -wo is used to express completed events, considered all at once, without internal temporal structure. In a more marginal usage, it can be used to mark events that are about to happen and will certainly finish. The non-
perfective -ne is used to mark two types of events. The first is events that have not started to take place, these include future, possible and irrealis events. The second type is events that have started but have not finished or are analyzed temporally from within. These events could be individual-level states, not certain habitual events or events likely to happen in the narrative time. The imperfective marker -zho, is used to mark events that have already started to take place, not specifying whether they have finished or not. The prototypical usage is to mark events with internal time structure, including durative events, progressive events, habitual events. When applied to instantaneous events, like achievements and accomplishments, it is interpreted with a perfect aspect, i.e. either understood as the resulting state from the event or a past event that is relevant in the present.
Chapter 6
Converbs

This chapter takes a closer look on the converbs in Santa. In section 6.1 there is a discussion on the definition of converbs normally used and the problems related to that definition and a proposed definition that is more applicable for Santa. Section 6.3 is a discussion on the meaning of converbs and what elements can have an impact on them. Finally section 6.4, shows the usage of each converb marker in Santa, also areas where they overlap.

6.1 Definition
Haspelmath (1995) defines converbs as nonfinite verbs whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. This definition has four important elements:

- Converbs are verbs: he argues that they are inherently subordinate verb forms rather than a verb plus a complementizer.

- Converbs are nonfinite: converbs usually lack specification on tense, aspect, mood, and agreement, which makes them nonfinite – even though he acknowledges that the definition of (non)finiteness is a problematic one.

- Converbs function as adverbial: they are adverbial, in order to exclude participles and verbal nouns.

- Converbs are in subordination: he argues that the converbs are always in subordination relation to the finite clause.

He also mentions the clause-chaining constructions, which make use of medial verbs, saying that they are very similar to converbal constructions, except by the fact that medial verbs do not meet the last criterion. Instead of being subordinate, medial verbs are actually cosubordinate, i.e. they are dependent on the main verb but they are not embedded in the main clause.

Slater (2003) has a very useful table (reproduced in Table 27) contrasting the types of relation between clause in terms of dependency and embedding. From this table, it is clear that the discussion about subordination or cosubordination is actually about embedding.
Table 27 Clause combining strategies (Slater 2003:223)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embedded</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>cosubordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>embedded quotation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Haspelmath (1995) proposes five criteria to test the subordination saying that subordinate verbs meet any subset of these criteria and coordinate meet none:

i. embed in the superordinate clause;

ii. come before or after the superordinate clause;

iii. there is backward pronominal anaphora and control.

iv. can be focused with ‘only’ and ‘also’ particles;

v. can be extracted; meaning it is possible to form a question based on a subordinated clause.

6.2 Subordination vs. Cosubordination in Santa

Field (2007) has many interesting insights on the nature and meaning of the non finite verbs in Santa. He did not find data in his corpus to prove subordination according to Haspelmath’s (1995) criteria. Therefore, he argues that the non-finite verbs are not in subordinate relation and that they are actually clause-chaining verbs that operate with event-switch markers.

In our data, we have examples that meet criteria iv and v. Haspelmath (1995) argues that only subordinate verbs can be interpreted as narrowing the reference of the main clause, and that this is a prerequisite for focusing. Therefore, only subordinate clauses can be focused. He argues that focus can be marked by focus particles like ‘also’ and ‘only’. In our data, we found a few examples using these focus particles.

In example (172), we can see that the converbal clauses clearly narrows the reference of the main clause. Semantically speaking, in this example, the understanding of the situation could only take place after the list of factors listed as converbal clauses happened. Therefore, the reference of the main clause was narrowed by the converbal clauses. This is phenomenon is syntactically evidenced by the particle cai ‘only then’, that marks this relation between the clauses.
Having gone into and looked, having opened the door, he having spoken like this, only then we understood that it was early.

Likewise, we can see a similar phenomenon happening in the example (173) below. The meaning of the main clause is narrowed by the converbal clause, in the sense that it refers to a specific situation you ‘to walk’ where the subject cannot stand up right – bai da. In this case, the particle ye ‘also’ – in this case meaning ‘even for’ – is syntactically used to emphasize this concessive-conditional relation between the sentences. It is important to remark that, even though in the free translation the word ‘even’ appears in the subordinate clause, in Santa it belongs to the main clause.

Even for walking, I could not stay up right because I was afraid.

Field (1997) has also found data that support this criterion. However, he poses the question whether cosubordinate clauses can also be used to narrow the reference of the main clause or not. This criterion alone is also problematic, since it is mainly semantic and the syntactic evidence is rather weak.

The last criterion on Haspelmath’s list is the possibility of extraction. He argues that coordinate clauses severely restrict the possibility of extraction. He proposes that, in order to check the possibility of extraction, we can try to make the proposition into a question removing one of the clauses. This is clearly the type of data that is hard to find in natural speech. However, we have one excerpt, showed in example (174), where the uncle gives instructions and then asks again, in example (175), in order to make sure the niece understood.
My uncle at that time, as leaving, said: "When the shadow walking comes here, you feed (the baby) with soaked bread"

These sentences show us that the main clause can be extracted and substituted by the question word. The fact that it is the main clause that is being extracted, instead of the converbal clause, does not change the fact that they can be independently questioned, which evidences that they are in a relation of subordination, rather than coordination. In English the parallel would be the sets below. In sentence (a), the clauses have a relation of subordination, therefore the sentence in (b) is grammatical. On the other hand, in sentence (c) the clauses are coordinate, thus sentence (d) is ungrammatical.

(a) When the shadow comes here, you feed the baby with soaked bread.
(b) What will you do when the shadow comes here?
(c) The shadow will come here and you will feed the baby with soaked bread.
(d) *What will you do the shadow will come here and?

This criterion also has a problem, if the question word is used in situ, the question can be understood as a clarification and is grammatical in English, like in (e). The problem in Santa is that the question words are always used in situ, therefore this ambiguity is not solved.

(e) The shadow will come here and you will do what?

Besides Field (1997) not being able to prove that converbs in Santa are subordinate, Slater (2003) argues that in Mangghuer, the non-finite verbs are ambiguous in terms of their embedding status and whether they are converbs or clause-chaining. Also, Fried (2010:300) says that in Bao'an Tu “The embedded status of the vast majority of non-final clauses is irresolvably ambiguous".
Haspelmath (1995) mentions that the term converb was first coined to refer to verbs in Mongolic languages. In his text, he also acknowledges that many times the description of non-familiar languages have suffered from harmful Eurocentrism. However, in his attempt to make a crosslinguistic definition of converbs, he seems to be putting aside the very verbs for which the term was coined.

Cristofaro (2003) points to the problems of trying to use crosslinguistic definition of subordination based on syntactic criteria, instead she defines it in pragmatic terms. She argues sentences can have a part that is what the speaker means to communicate and other parts that are used for other purposes. The part the speaker intends to communicate imposes its profile through the whole sentence, therefore this part is the one asserted by the speaker. The other parts a pragmatically non-asserted and therefore subordinate. One of the tests that she proposes is making the whole sentence a tag question. If only one part is being questioned, that is the main clause and the other clauses are subordinate. For example in the pair:

(f) *When the shadow came here, you fed the baby with soaked bread.*

(g) *When the shadow came here, you fed the baby with soaked bread, didn’t you?*

The question is not about the movement of the shadow, but rather it is about the feeding of the baby. Therefore, according to Cristofaro (2003), in (f) *you fed the baby with soaked bread* is the main clause whereas *when the shadow came here* is subordinate. This test can easily be applied to Santa. The example (176) and (177) below show clearly that the question is about the hugging and not about the relationship, therefore the clause marked with *-dene* is subordinated.

(176) **hhenla -ghula guanxi gouda -de nie**
3p COM relationship get.good COMP one

**qiu -du -wo**
carry.in.arms RECP PFV

*After their relationship got better, they hugged each other*

(177) **hhenla -ghula guanxi gouda -de qiu -du -wo**
3p COM relationship get.good COMP carry.in.arms RECP PFV wuye ?

NEG

*After their relationship got better, they hugged each other, didn’t they?*

Since it is not clear how the syntactic construction is realized in Santa, Cristofaro’s (2003) definition of subordination is more suitable.
Having said that, it is important to remark that, in Santa, there is an important distinction between converbs that are semantically merged into the next event – in this sense semantically embedded in the event, and those converbs that mark an semantic interruption from the next event. It could be that further studies would conclude that the semantic embedded events are realized as subordinate constructions and should be called converbs whereas the semantically distinct events are cosubordinate and therefore should be called medial verbs in a clause-chaining construction. But in the present thesis, these kind of non-finite verbs will be called converbs.

6.3 Meaning of Converbs

When talking about how to interpret the meaning of converbs, König (1995) argues that cross linguistically the meaning of the converbs is vague rather than polysemic. He argues that there are many factors that can interact affecting the meaning of the converb. He gives a list with 13 different circumstantial relations, arguing that they need to be clearly defined and differentiated, even though they might be inherently related. He also says that in some cases, a clause can have different interpretations according to the amount of background information given.

König (1995) also lists the factors that contribute to the utterance meaning. The first one is grammatical properties, mainly the constituent order. This is not very relevant to the discussion in Santa, since the constituent order is very strict. The second factor is semantic, which he divides into three categories:

i. *Syndesis* – when the converb co-occurs with other particles that can change the relational meaning;

ii. TAM – the tense, aspect, mood and modality of the main clause, and;

iii. *Aktionsart* – the type of event expressed by the converb.

Finally, he describes a third factor, which is pragmatics, mainly world knowledge.

For this study, we are going to focus on the three semantic factors that can affect the meaning of the utterance: *syndesis*, TAM of the main clause, and the *aktionsart*. Nevertheless, the pragmatic factors will be mentioned when relevant.
6.4 Types of Converbs in Santa

Field (1997) argues that medial verbs in Santa are actually switch-event markers, and that there are two same-event medial verbs and four different-event medial verbs. Kim (2003) says that Santa has three converbs that can only be used with the same subject and four that can have different subjects. He also mentions that one of the markers that can be used with different subject constructions is actually a quasiconverb. Buhe (1986) does not categorize the different types of converbs.

In this thesis, in an attempt to unify these categorizations, the Santa converbs are divided into three categories: same-event converbs, switch-event converbs and quasiconverbs.

Same-event converbs are semantically merged with the next verb, composing a single event in the mind of the speakers. In order to fulfill this requirement, there are two conditions: it always has the same subject as the next verb, and it is always simultaneous with the next verb. Prototypically, these converbs can express manner, purpose, instrument, cause or attendant circumstance. Three converbs are under this category: imperfective -zhi, manner -n, and purposive -le.

Switch-event converbs mark a semantically distinct event from the verb that follows it. They can same or different subjects from the verb that follows and each marker expresses a distinct temporal relation with the following event. Therefore, their basic meaning is temporal, but each one of them has a further semantic interpretation. Three converbs are under this category: conditional -se, concessive -senu, and terminative -tala.

Janhunen (2003) defines quasiconverbs as actually adverbial uses of the participles. They usually have the form of:

\[ \text{VERB + PARTICIPLE + CASE} \]

When this forms become totally grammaticalized, they become part of the system of actual converbs. Kim (2003) argues that the completive verb -de(ne) is actually a quasiconverb, with non-converbal parallels in Bonan and Mangghuer.

In addition to the completive marker -dene, I also introduce the contemporal quasiconverb -kude – which is similar in meaning to the English ‘when; while’, and the beginning-postspan quasiconverb -kuse – which is similar to the English ‘since’. These are very typical cases of quasiconverb, using the nominalizer -ku plus the locative case -de or the ablative case -se. These are considered quasiconverbs because
they are not totally grammaticalized, still being productive, specially the marker -kuse. In other words, these markers can have pure nominalized usages with a case marking, rather than expressing the temporal relation. But it seems that, especially the marker -kude, is gradually being interpreted by the speakers as a single unit, having only the temporal meaning. It is important to remark that only the dative and the ablative cases can have this temporal meaning. If the verb is marked with any other case markings, it is interpreted as a nominal usage.

When used to express the temporal relation, they operate in very similar ways with the different event converbs, except by the fact that their meaning is limited to temporal relations. Therefore, for this thesis both converbs and quasiconverbs will be analyzed equally, as if they were part of the same category.

Table 28 shows the different kinds of converbs and their function. The label used for each one of these markers follows the tradition in Mongolian literature, except for the contemporal and beginning-postspan quasiconverbs, which were not described before.

**Table 28 Types of converbs in Santa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>English parallel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same Event Converbs</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>-zhi</td>
<td>V-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manner</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>V-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>to; in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Event Converbs</td>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>when; if; because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>concessive</td>
<td>-senu</td>
<td>after; even if; although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>terminative</td>
<td>-tala</td>
<td>until; before; instead of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasiconverbs</td>
<td>completive</td>
<td>-dene</td>
<td>after; even if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contemporal</td>
<td>-kude</td>
<td>while; as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beginning-postspan</td>
<td>-kuse</td>
<td>since</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**6.4.1 Same Event converbs**

There are three same event converbs: imperfective -zhi (discussed in 6.4.1.1), manner -n (discussed in 6.4.1.2), and purposive -le (discussed in 6.4.1.3).
6.4.1.1 Imperfective -\textit{zhi}

Temporally speaking, the imperfective marker -\textit{zhi} always refers to simultaneous events. The two verbs can either refer to two different aspects or dimensions of one single event or to two different events that have a unity of time and space, giving the impression of singleness on the events. Therefore, in both cases, the verbs must have the same subject. The simultaneity of the verbs can be interpreted into three basic categories: manner, instrumental and attendant circumstance.

The imperfective -\textit{zhi} can be used to mark a verb that specifies the way of the main event is performed. Like in the example (178) below, where the verb \textit{youzhi} ‘walking’ specifies the way the shadow would come. On example (179), they made Remi enter (\textit{oroghazho}) by cheating (\textit{hunlazhi}) her. When used this way, it functions as a manner marker.

\begin{quote}
(178) [4:19] aba -mi hha shihou -de youla -kudene ingie -zho “
uncle 1s.poss that time DAT walk.away when do.this IPFV
\end{quote}

Xiujiu \textit{you} -\textit{zhi} eneturo \textit{ire} -\textit{se} chi jiu gienan pola -\textit{zhi}
shadow walk IPFV here come COND 2s just bread soak IPFV
\textit{iyen} -\textit{gha “}.  
eat CAUS
My uncle at that time, as leaving, said: “When the shadow \textit{walking} comes here, you feed (the baby) with soaked bread”

\begin{quote}
(179) [1:26] san dui hhe nie bawan halao Remi hunla -\textit{zhi} hhende
3 team that one big.shot ugly Remi cheat IPFV there
\textit{oro} -\textit{gha} -\textit{zho}.
enter CAUS IPFV
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
We cheated the third team's bawan, that ugly Remi, into entering there. (Lit.: ‘we made her enter by cheating her’
\end{quote}

Another situation that can be interpreted as manner is a directional construction. Like in (180) below, the manner the man went (\textit{echi}) was by going out (\textit{khezhi}). In (181), we have the way by which the tail came (\textit{irezho}) was by falling (\textit{baozhi}), which came about by pulling (\textit{denji}).

\begin{quote}
(180) [3:15] engiese jiu ene laojiga -ni jiu kun ghadane nie
Therefore just this old.men CONN just person outside one
\textit{khe} -\textit{zhi} \textit{echi}.
go.out IPFV go
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
So, this man went outside.
\end{quote}
The sheep’s tail was pulled and fell down.

It is noteworthy that some directional constructions using $V$-$zhi$-$ire$- (Verb + to come) are becoming grammaticalized, evidenced by the semantic bleaching and the phonological contraction, taking the form $V$-$zhe$-, like in the following examples.

(181) [3:34] ghoni xien -yi denji bao -zhi ire -zho .

sheep tail CONN pull fall IPFV come IPFV

The sheep’s tail was pulled and fell down.

(182) [1:10] bhe jiere khezhe -se bijien hbe -i egbi -zho .

3s on come.out COND 1pEXC 3s CONN hit IPFV

When she came out, we hit her.

(183) [5:7] ershi sui jiere bi Lanzhou holu -de douzhe -wo .

twenty year.age on 1s Lanzhou run COMP cross.come PFV

When I was twenty, I came to Lanzhou.

(184) [5:52] bou ire -dene jiu hha nie mo jiere bouzhe -jiu bi

down come COMP just that one path on come.down just 1s

ingie ayi -de bali doura sou -zho .
do.fear COMP bamboo under sit IPFV

After coming down, coming down to that path, I sat under the bamboo out of fear.

(185) [6:30] kharei -dene orozhe -wo .
go.back COMP enter.come PFV

After going back, (she) entered.

Another way of interpreting the imperfective -$zhi$ is instrumental or means. In this kind of construction the verb marked with -$zhi$ describes the method used to perform the event, like (186), where the cooking (chinateho) was made by heating (tuliezhi) the scraps. In (187), the narrator was supposed to feed (iyegha) the baby with soaked (polazhi) bread. Note that the relation between the clauses is always contemporaneous.


scrap COM heat IPFV cook IPFV INT

(They) heated with scraps and cooked.
My uncle at that time, when leaving, said: "When the shadow walk until here, you feed (the baby) with soaked bread" (soak the bread and feed it to the baby)

A third way of interpreting the imperfective -zhi is attendant circumstance, defined by König (1995) as ‘two independent events or actions are involved, either of which could be stopped without affecting the other, but which manifest a unity of time and place and thus also a “perceptual unity”.’ (188) below illustrates this kind of use for Santa.

In this usage, the relation again is simultaneous. However, there are two other kinds of relation that seem to be sequential instead of simultaneous. The first one is purely temporal. Like in examples (189) and (190) below. However in both cases, there seems to be some integration of a very close knit sequence between the events.

The second one is a causal relation, like in (191) and (192). In these kind of construction the converb is always a stative event, expressing a kind feeling the subject is having, which causes the finite event to happen. It is important to remark
that this kind of sentence is interpreted as having a causal relation for pragmatic reasons. Because we know that being worried can cause someone to cry, or fear can cause someone to not be able to stand. If it were not for this world knowledge, they would simply be interpreted as simultaneous events.

\[191\] [3:30] engiese jiu nainaigie jiu jinda-zhi nainaigie jiu
Therefore just old.woman just be.worried IPFV old.woman just
weila-zho.
cry IPFV
So, the old woman got worried and cried

\[192\] [5:50] you -se ye ayi-zhi bai da-ne.
walk COND also fear IPFV stand cannot NPFV
When walking, also could not stay stand out of fear

The imperfective converb marker -zhi has another marginal usage. It is a construction that uses the repetition of the verb marked with -zhi. This kind of construction has a durative meaning, i.e. the action was carried for a while. This usage is very similar to the manner converb -n (see section 6.4.1.3).

\[193\] [3:12] khan jiai-zhi china-zhi china-zhi, engiese yane
fire fire.up IPFV cook IPFV cook IPFV Therefore
nainaigie-i samu zholiere-zho.
odl.woman CONN cabbage.stem soften IPFV
Having lit the fire, (it) cooked and cooked, so the woman’s stem got soft.

\[194\] [3:30] weila-zhi weila-zhi yizhi nainaigie qiezhe-san ghoni
cry IPFV cry IPFV all.along old.woman feed IPFVP sheep
wo ma, gie-de.
COP INT house DAT
(She) cried and cried, after all, this was the sheep that had always been raised by the old woman, at the house.

walk IPFV walk IPFV Hongliu.village go IPFV school
wenjian-de echi-se ya, xuexiao wenjian wuye nie-zho.
door DAT go COND school door NEG open IPFV
Having walked and walked, got to Amasa village, when we got to the school’s gate, the school’s gate was not opened

85
We called him at the door, knocked and hit the door, called and called at the gate, then that person came to open the door. Finally it is important to remark that the imperfective marker -zhi can be dropped, without impacting the meaning, like in examples (197) and (198) below. In (197), the narrator uses the construction bouzhi ire ‘to come down’. In (198), the same narrator uses the construction bou ire, which has the same meaning, even though it does not have the imperfective converb marker. There is only one instance where the imperfective converb marker necessarily needs to be dropped and that is when used with the ability auxiliary verbs shida ‘to be able to’ and da ‘to not be able to’. Example (197) also illustrates this, since nothing can be added to the verb ire ‘to come’.

(197) [5:35] ingie -se bi hhende khere -zhi echi -dene bou -zhi
  do.this COND 1s there climb IPFV go COMP down IPFV ire da -wo .
come cannot PFV

Therefore, after climbing there, I was not able to go down

(198) [5:51] ingie -de bi jiu qingie you -dene bou ire -wo .
  do.this COMP 1s just do.that walk COMP down come PFV

Then, after walking like that, I came down.

6.4.1.2 Purposive -le

The purposive marker -le is used to express the purpose of the main event. It occurs before a very limited set of verbs, namely echi ‘to go’, ire ‘to come’, you ‘to walk, to leave, to go’ and qi ‘to start’. This marker is the second of the three same-event converbs. Like the case of the imperfective marker -zhi, it is understandable why it has the same subject as the next verb, given the nature of the circumstantial relations it expresses. The construction is very similar to the directionals expressed by -zhi, but instead of describing the manner of the direction, it expresses the purpose of the main event. This converb must happen right before the main verb or a switch-event converb. This can be seen in the examples (199), (200) and (201).
Field (2007) considers it a purposive complement clause, interpreting the converb as being a complement of finite verb. Mangghuer has the same construction and Slater (2005) also agrees that it is a complement.

(199) [2:18] ingie bijien ghurelie wanshi -le echi -zho .
   do.this 1pEXC three.people study PURP go IPFV
   Then, three of us went to study

(200) [2:12] hha nie magha -ni , Lixiaolui ama -ni miyi
   that one morning TOP Lixiaolong mother 3pPoss 1sCONN
   wuru -le ire -zho
   call PURP come IPFV
   That morning, Lixiaolong's mom had come to call me

(201) [1:27] “ Matan bhende oro -dene nadu -le you -ye ”
   1pINC there enter COMP play PURP walk VOL
   gie -zhi
   make IPFV
   Saying: “Let's enter there to play”

It is worth mentioning that in the case of these constructions, in a first look, the verbs seem to refer to different events, and not to two dimensions of the same event. In the examples shown, the event of studying (wanshi) seems to be different from the event of going (echi), as well as the calling (wuru) and the coming (ire) and the playing (nadu) and the going (you). Field (2007) explains this by stating that the purposive converb is actually irrealis, in the sense that it does not refer to the event but to the purpose or intention of carrying out the event rather than the actual goal of the verb marked. Moreover, since they are in a purposive relation and the event marked with -le is a complement of the motion verb, it is natural that they receive the same subject. However, the converb can receive different arguments, like in (200), miyi ‘me’ is an argument of the verb wurule ‘to call’, and not of the verb ire ‘to come’, since it is intransitive.

There is also a semantically slightly different construction using the finite verb qi ‘to begin’. In this construction the clause marked with -le is the argument of the finite verb, and therefore clearly in subordinate to it. Field (1997) calls this construction realis, in the sense that it has already taken place. In (202) below, there is a case with two verbs marked with -le. The first one is the normal purposive relation we have just discussed with a motion verb preceded by a verb that is the purpose in which the motion takes part. However, in this example the motion verb is also marked with the purposive -le and the finite verb is qi ‘to begin’. In this case, the
purpose marker -le is used to mark that the verb is the complement of the verb qi ‘to begin’. In my data, the marker -le can only have this kind of relation to the verb qi. It is also noteworthy that, for this construction, both purposive marker -le and imperfective marker -zhi can be used interchangeably, like in the elicited example (203).

(202) [2:35] zuihou saghei -zhi yi lian gie xiaoshi wolu -se ,
finally wait IPFV one two make hour complete COND
cai kun -la man wanshi -le ire -le qi -wo .
only.then person pl all study PURP come PURP begin PFV
Finally, having waited for one or two hours, only then the people all started to come to study.

(203) hha ( cai ) gie -ni gie -zhi/-le qi -zho.
3s just.now house CONN make IPFV/PURP begin IPFV
He has just started to build the house

6.4.1.3 Manner -n
The manner converbal marker -n is used to express the means by which the next verb took place – therefore it could express manner or cause. It normally happens reduplicated to emphasize the verb was carried out for a period of time. It is very similar to the marginal usage of the marker -zhi (see section 6.4.1), however this marker is less common. Examples (204), (205), and (206) below illustrate its usage.

(204) you -n you -n mo -ni weida -gha -zho .
walk MAN walk MAN path CONN have.not CAUS IPFV
(He) walked and walked and got lost. (Lit.: (He) walked and walked then caused path to disappear)

(205) hhe ghuala nadu -n nadu -n eghi -ndu -wo .
that two.people play MAN play MAN hit RECP PFV
Those two playing playing hit each other.

(206) kiemada ese guanji -se wella -n wella -n bai -wo.
whoever NEG care COND cry MAN cry MAN stand PFV
Since nobody cared about (him), (he) crying crying stopped.

In (204), the getting lost (moni weidagha) happens because of the walking (youn). In (205), the kids were playing (nadun) and that caused them to fight (eghindu). In (206), the stopping (bai) came to happen through the continuous crying (weilan).
6.4.2 Different Event Converbs

In Santa there are three different event converbs: conditional -se (discussed in 6.4.2.1), concessive -senu (discussed in 6.4.2.2), and terminative -tala (discussed in 6.4.2.3).

6.4.2.1 Conditional -se

The conditional marker -se has the primarily function of marking a temporal relation between the clauses. Basically it locates temporally the event in the finite clause as beginning right after the event in the conditional clause begins. It is similar to English constructions using ‘when’. Figure 3 represents this relation.

The examples below illustrate this use.

(207) [3:36] suozila jie -se , ghoni laojiga lai echi -zho .
When she locked (the tail), the old man pulled away the sheep
be.locked put COND sheep old.men pull go IPFV

(208) [6:29] echi -se jiu sugie ni jielie -gha -wo .
When (she) went, (she) collected the axe
go COND just axe CONN catch CAUS PFV

(209) [2:19] wuzhe -se giegie -gha -ne wolu -zho .
When we saw, it was completely bright
look COND shine CAUS NPFV complete IPFV

(210) [3:5] engiese china -se ghuala kielie -zho “ Kien china -zhi
Therefore cook COND two.people say IPFV who cook IPFV
xian melieshi ”
first before
So, when cooking (the stem), the two said: "Whose (stem) cook first..."
This function can be further emphasized if *nie* ‘one’ is added before the converb and the particle *jiu* ‘just’ in the finite clause. In this situation the interpretation is similar to the English ‘as soon as’. The example (211) below illustrates this usage.

(211) 15.1 ingie -se bi nie jinda -se jiu “ Ayyo !”
   do.this COND 1s one be.worried COND just
   yiniang -chei wuru -zho .
   aunt 2sPOS call IPFV

*Therefore, I got nervous and immediately: ‘Ayyo!’(I) called your aunt*

It is important to note that in all these examples, the finite verb is either perfective or imperfective aspect, and thus *realis*. This is the basic temporal relation expressed by the conditional marker -se. However, if the finite verb is *irrealis* – non-perfective -ne or imperative – there is a tendency to interpret the clause marked with -se as a condition for the finite clause to happen. Therefore, when the main clause is marked with non-perfective -ne in irrealis sense or with imperative markers, the converbal clause also has conditional meaning. In other words, in order for the main event to happen, the converbal event must take place. Longacre (2005) states it is a common fact that some languages have no distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’ clauses, he mentions languages from Indonesia, as well as Papua New Guinea and Liberia. The following examples illustrate the conditional usage of -se.

(212) [3:8] laojiga -ghun zholiere -se laojiga kere -ne .
   old.men NOM soften COND old.men want NPFV
   nainaigie -ghun zholiere -se , nainaigie kere -ne .
   old.woman NOM soften COND old.woman want NPFV
   *If the man’s get soft, the man will have (it). If the woman’s get soft, the woman will have (it)*

(213) maghashi ghura bao -se , bi lie ire -ne
   tomorrow rain fall COND 1s NEG come NPFV
   *If it rains tomorrow, I will not come*

(214) chi budan -i iye -se jiu gou
   2s food CONN eat COND just good
   *If you eat the food it would be very good*

(215) hha chade asa -se , chi hhande shihua bu kieli.
   3s 2sDAT ask COND 2s 3sDAT truth do.not say
   *If he asks you, do not tell him the truth.*
Example (216) is actually ambiguous, since both interpretations are plausible. This is an elicited sentence, but the context would disambiguate its meaning. In (217), even though the finite verb is an imperative, the event marked with -se is very certain – our world knowledge tells us that the shadow will certainly get to the point – therefore, the natural interpretation is the basic temporal relation (when). This is an example of the pragmatics and contextual information influencing the interpretation of the converb.

Example (218) is interesting because, even though, the main clause is located in the past, it is marked with -ne, which expresses uncertainty at the narrative time. In this case it can be both interpreted as ‘when’ and as ‘if’. Actually in English the same phenomenon happens. In sentence (a) below, the subordinate clause is expressing a temporal relation, but also a condition for the main clause to take place. Therefore, the two sentences below have overlapping meaning.

(a) Whenever we went there, she would hit us.

(b) If we went there, she would hit us.
Less prototypically, there are some examples of conditional clause with the main event marked with imperfective, like in (219). But in this case, the inability verb *da* ‘to not be able’, marked with imperfective – which in this case has a habitual meaning – influences the meaning of the whole sentence.

(219) [2:37]  
\begin{verbatim}
ershiji  shi  sara  gieghan  shi  sara  gieghan  nie  tian  
over.twenty  COND  moon  bright  ten  moon  bright  one  day  
vinji    -se    yane  ,  kun  xiensi  mejie  da  -zho  de  .  
be.cloudy  COND  person  night  know  cannot  IPFV  INT  
\end{verbatim}  
*If it is (the day) twenty and something and it is full moon, full moon and a cloudy day, one cannot know that it is night.*

Crosslinguistically, in conditional constructions the main clause must be a non-factual, otherwise there is a tendency to interpret the sentence as causal instead. The sentences (220) and (221) below illustrate this contrast. On the first case, the hitting (*eghi*) is a condition for the running (*holu*). On the second case, it could be both interpreted as simply temporal relation, but also as causal relation (I run away because you hit me). Another good example of this contrast is the sentence (222) below. When compared to sentence (212) mentioned above, it is very clear that the temporal adverb *ede* ‘now’, makes *zholiere* ‘to get soft’, which originally was a conditional, become a reason for getting (*kere*) the sheep.

(220)  
\begin{verbatim}
chi  miyi  eghi  -se  ,  bi  holu  -ne  
2s  1sCONN  hit  COND  1s  run  NPFV  
\end{verbatim}  
*If you hit me, I will run away.*

(221)  
\begin{verbatim}
chi  miyi  eghi  -se  ,  bi  holu  -wo  
2s  1sCONN  hit  COND  1s  run  PFV  
\end{verbatim}  
*When you hit me, I ran away.*

(222) [3:28]  
\begin{verbatim}
alojiga  -ghun  zholiere  -se  ,  ede  hha  ghoni  laojiga  
old.men  NOM  soften  COND  now  that  sheep  old.men  
kere  -ne  "  gie  -zhi  
want  NPFV  make  IPFV  
(He) said: "Since the man's (stem) is soft, now the man will get that sheep"
\end{verbatim}

### 6.4.2.2 Concessive *-senu*

The concessive marker *-senu* can also take the form of *-sunu*. Like all the other clause linking converbs, it has a basic temporal meaning and, depending on the context can take other relation meanings. The basic meaning of *-senu* is temporally locating the
main event after the completion of the converbal event. The Figure 4 below represents this relation. It is very similar to the completive quasiconverb marker -
dene, and has roughly the meaning of English ‘after’. The examples below illustrate this usage.

- Figure 4 Temporal relation between the main and concessive events

(223) bi bierei agi_-senu_ gie  -de -ne se echi -wo
1s Woman get COMP house DAT POSS.SUB NEG go PFV
After I got a wife I didn’t go home

(224) matan su -zhi balu_-senu bi gie -de -ne echi -wo
1pINC learn IPFV finish after 1s house DAT POSS.SUB go PFV
After we finished studying I went to my house

(225) hha budan ive_-senu_ zuoye huai -le lie echi -ne
3s food eat CONC homework write PURP NEG go NPFV
After eating, he will not do the homework/Even after eating, he will not do the homework

This last example is particularly interesting because, depending on the semantic context it is inserted, it can have a conditional-concessive meaning – which is expressed in English by words like ‘even if’ or ‘no matter how’. If the subject hha ‘he/she’ is expected to do the homework (zuoye) after eating, than the sentence can be read into the second free translation. When using words like matei ‘how’ in the converbal clause and ye ‘also’ in the main clause, the meaning tends to be exclusively interpreted as conditional-concessive, like in (226)and (227) below. These are clearly cases of syndesis impacting the meaning of the converb.

(226) chi matei ana -ne bayasi-_senu_ gha -senu_ , ana -chi
2s how mother POSS.SUB happy CAUS CONC mother 2sPOS
tade baer lie ogi -ne .
2p.DAT money NEG give NPFV
No matter how much you make your mother happy, she will not give you money.
Even if he is very busy, he will also come to see you. (Lit.: After getting busy, he will also come to see you)

Finally, if the main clause is not expected from the context and it is marked with the imperfective -zho or the perfective -wo markers, the meaning is interpreted to as purely concessive. In (228) below, the subject is expected to be happy after making money and since it is not the case, it is interpreted as having a concessive meaning. Words like ye ‘also’ and da ‘still’ in the main clause can further accentuate this meaning.

Altough he has made money, he is still not happy.

6.4.2.3 Terminative -tala

The terminative converb -tala can have three basic meanings, two temporal meanings and one relation meaning. Temporally speaking it locates the ending of the main event before the beginning of the converbal event. Therefore it can be interpreted as resembling the meaning of the English word ‘before’ and ‘until’. The difference between these two meanings is the kind of event of the main clause. If the main clause has an activity event, with no particles restricting its meaning, then the interpretation will tend to be ‘until’, like in (229) and (230) below.

Altough he has made money, he is still not happy.

However, if something is expressed in the main clause that limits its time of performance, then it will naturally be interpreted as meaning ‘before’. The two examples below make this distinction very clear. On the first case (231), there is nothing limiting the extend of the playing, while on the second case (232), the words xien ‘first’ and niecha ‘for a while’ reduce the temporal extend of the event, therefore changing its meaning to ‘before’.

(227)  hha jinda -senu chei ye wuzhe -le ire -ne
       3s be.bussy CONC 2sCONN also look PURP come NPFV
       Even if he is very busy, he will also come to see you. (Lit.: After getting busy, he will also come to see you)

(228)  hhe baer zhangji -senu ( da ) se bayasi -zho
       that money earn CONC still NEG happy IPFV
       Altough he has made money, he is still not happy.

(229)  bi iye balu -tala chi hhaturo bei
       1s eat finish TERM 2s there stand
       You stand there, until I am done eating

(230)  bi tou youla -tala hhaghala kielien kielie -ye
       1s beginning walk.away TERM 3sSOC subject say VOL
       Until I leave I will be chatting with him
Let's play until the time to eat.

Before eating, let's first play for a while.

The kind of eventuality expressed in the main clause can also affect this interpretation. If this event is an accomplishment or achievement the meaning will be interpreted as 'before' rather than 'until', like (233) and (234).

Before I run away, I talked to them.

Let's finish this work before we get tired.

This is understandable if we think about the nature of the meaning of these events. Since accomplishment events are non-durative, they cannot be used in ‘until’ constructions, like in the examples a below.

(a) *He was understanding it until the evening.

(b) *My wife was finding the keys until we left.

The third interpretation of the marker -tala is comparative or substitutive, resembling the meaning of the English ‘rather than’ and ‘instead of’. For this interpretation to be possible, the two events must be understood as being possibly exchangeable. In example (235), comparative meaning is the only one acceptable. On the other hand, in example (236), both temporal and comparative meanings are possible.

I like Zuliha better than Ayisha.

Before working, let's watch TV for a while instead of working.
6.4.3 Quasiconverbs

In Santa there are three markers that can be considered quasiconverbs: completive -dene (discussed in 6.4.3.1), contemporal -kude (discussed in 6.4.3.2), and the beginning-postspan -kuse (discussed in 6.4.3.3).

6.4.3.1 Compleitive -de(ne)

According to Kim (2003), the completive marker -dene is actually a quasiconverb, having non-converbal parallels in Bonan and Mangghuer. Slater (2003) states that the Mangghuer danang ‘after’ is a word by itself, actually a conjunction. However, he still chooses to use explain it in the non-finite section with the other converb markers. All the authors that have written about Santa agree that it is a suffix rather than a separate word. The present thesis will not discuss deeply this matter, since our purpose is to explain meaning and usage rather than the morphological details. The two main arguments for the separate word theory in Santa are phonological patterns and the possibility to co-occur with the voluntative finite marker. For all the other converb markers, the stress falls on the last syllable of the converb markers, like for the verb warada ‘to call’ the stress fall on the last syllable: warada‘se, waradase‘nu, waradata‘la, warada‘zhi. However for converbs marked with -dene the stress goes on the last syllable of the stem, like in wara‘dadene. Also Field (1997) has a few instances where -dene co-occurs with the first person voluntative marker -ye, like in example (237) below, adapted from Field (1997). Since converb markers cannot co-occur with finite markers, this would be an argument for calling -dene a single word. However, this usage is very rare, and could be both a speaking style, or even a mistake from the speaker. Lacking stronger evidence, in the present thesis, the completive marker will be considered a suffix. However, since it its origin can not be easily traced back and it is not clear whether it is a suffix or a separate word, it will be considered a quasiconverb.

(237) bi chi -ni beille -ye -de bou -zhi you -ye
1s 2s CONN carry VOL COMP down IPFV walk VOL
I intend to carry you on my back and then I intend to go down [into the river] walking

Normally, this quasiconverb works similarly to different event converbs, marking distinct events and being able to have different subject from the next verb. It has the basic concessive meaning. In other words, it marks that the main event occurs after the verb event. However, it has a loose temporal relation, in other words, how long after may vary. The Figure 5 represents this relation, note that beginning of the
The main event is flexible. The examples (238) and (239) show its use. The brace represents the possible interval where the main event can start, in other words, the main event may start any point in time under the brace.

![Diagram of main event and completer event]

Figure 5 Temporal relation between the main and completer events

(238) [2:32] jiaoshi -de oro -dene sou -zho .
classroom DAT enter COMP sit IPFV
After entering the class we sat

(239) [5:49] hai -ne tai agi -dene jiu bi jiu lalaghan
shoe POSS.SUB take.off away COMP just 1s just slowly
you -zho .
walk IPFV
After taking off my shoes, I just started to walk slowly

It is very common to use this marker as a discourse tool to give cohesion to the narrative. This use takes place by repeating the main verb of the last sentence, to introduce the next one. It is similar to English ‘after that’ or ‘and then’. Examples (240) and (241) illustrate this use.

(240) [5:51-52] ingie -de bi jiu qingie you -dene bou ire -wo .
do.this COMP 1s just do.that walk COMP down come PFV
bou ire -dene jiu hha nie mo jiere bouzhe jiu bi ingie
down come COMP just that one path on come down just 1s do this
ayi -de bali doura sou -zho .
fear COMP bamboo under sit IPFV
Then, I just doing that, after walking, came down. After coming down, coming down to that path, I seated under the bamboo out of fear

(241) [5:7-8] ershi sui jiere bi Lanzhou holu -de douzhe -wo .
twenty year.age on 1s Lanzhou run COMP cross.come PFV
Lanzhou holu -de douzhe -dene jiaji ghura -zho .
Lanzhou run COMP cross.come COMP furniture collect IPFV
When I was twenty, I came to Lanzhou. After coming to Lanzhou, (I’ve) collected furniture
In the first example, the verbs *bou ire* ‘to come down’ are repeated to give sequence to the event. On the second example, the main event is a little more complex, it actually has three verbs *holu* to run, *dou* ‘to cross’ and the verb *ire* ‘to come’. The verb *douzhe* is a phonological reduction of *douzhi ire* (for more on this consult section 6.4.1.). Therefore, the three verbs are repeated to introduce the next sentence.

Another application is, rather than clause connection, more like manner modification. In this sense, it resembles some uses of the imperfective -*zhi*. It can be used to mark casual relation, manner, and attendant circumstance. When used like this, it works like a same event converb, being highly integrated into the next verb (nearly simultaneous) and necessarily having the same subject.

In example (242), is expresses a causal relation, the converb *ayi* ‘to fear’ is the cause for the main verb *weila* ‘to cry’. In this case, it is clear that both events occur simultaneously, rather than successively. This usage is very similar to the marker -*zhi*, like in examples (191) and (192) (section 6.1.1.1).

(242) [5:38.2] bi jiu ayi -de weila -zho , yizhi .

1s just fear COMP cry IPFV all.along

*I was crying out of fear, all along*

In the examples (243) and (244) below, the marker -*dene* is used to express manner. In example (243), the food was finished – *baragha* 'to finish' – by means of eating – *iye* ‘to eat’. In the next example, the coming down – *bou ire* – happened by walking – you.

(243) [4:23] kun man jiujiu -de -ne iye -dene

person all brother.younger DAT POSS.SUB eat COMP

bara -gha -ne !

finish CAUS NPFV

*The person would feed it all to her own baby! (Lit.: Person would finish it all by feeding it to her own baby)*

(244) [5:51] ingie -de bi jiu qingie you -dene bou ire -wo .

do.this COMP 1s just do.that walk COMP down come PFV

*Then, I just doing that, walking, came down.*

In the examples (245) and (246) below, the converb -*dene* marks an assistant circumstance. In the example (245), the carrying (*beilie*) is going to be happening all through the going down (*bougha*). Moreover, the carrying is not the means by which
the going down will take place. These two events are actually assistant circumstances. The same happens in example (246), where kha ‘to close, to lock’ and jie ‘to put, to leave’ are assistant circumstances.

(245) [5:45] “ Chi nundu -ne hami ma , bi bellie -dene
   2s eye POSS.SUB close INT 1s carry COMP
   bou -gha -ve ” gie -zhi .
   down CAUS VOL make IPFV
(He) said: “You close your eyes, I will carry you on my back and get you down”

(246) [3:31] hha qidoro kha -de jie -zho .
   3s inside close COMP put IPFV
(We) left her locked inside. (Lit.: We locked and left her inside.)

6.4.3.2 Contemporal -kude

The marker -kude is very clearly a quasiconverb. It takes the following form:

\[
\text{VERB} + \text{ku (nominalizer)} + \text{de (locative case marker)}
\]

Even though it is clearly a quasiconverb, its function is very similar to the other different event converbs and it is very common in daily speech. Therefore, it seems that this marker is moving towards becoming part of the set of actual converbs. However, different from the different event converb markers, this marker has only a temporal meaning, namely a contemporal meaning, i.e. the main event begins anytime within the time of the converbal event. This relation is represented in the Figure 6. The brace marks the interval in time where the main event can begin, i.e. the main event can start anytime within the realization of the converbal event. The meaning of this marker resembles the English ‘when’ and ‘as’ in its temporal sense. The example (247) below shows this usage. In the example (248), after the case marker -de, the verb also receives the reflexive marker -ne, but the meaning is still the same, just emphasizing who is the subject of the verb.

![Figure 6 Temporal relation between the main and contemporal events](image-url)

99
When I was eating, my grandfather was killing the sheep. My uncle at that time, while leaving, said: "When the shadow walking comes here, you feed (the baby) with soaked bread." 

6.4.3.3 Beginning-postspan -kuse

The marker -kuse is also very clearly a quasiconverb. It takes the following form:

\[ \text{VERB} + \text{ku (nominalizer)} + \text{se (ablative case marker)} \]

This quasiconverb, is not as common as the contemporal marker -kude, but also can clearly have a usage similar to different event converbs. Like the contemporal marker, this quasiconverb has not developed a semantic relation meaning other than its temporal relation – beginning-postspan meaning. Loos (2004) defines it as ‘a temporal relation in which an event or state is expressed as marking the initiation of a durative event or state.’ In other words, the main event begins during the time the event marked with -kuse happens and keeps taking place until the speech time. It is similar to the English since, in its temporal sense. Example (249) shows this usage.

However, the example below shows a normal nominalizer usage of these markers together. The verb ayi ‘to fear’, normally has a complement that is the cause of the fear. In Santa, this complement receives the ablative case marker -se. In (250) below, the cause of the fear is the ‘dying from being carried and falling down there’.

Therefore, in this case, -kuse is merely a nominalizer plus a case marker usage, rather than a quasiconverbal usage, i.e. it is used as a noun not expressing any time relation. In my data, there was no such usage for -kude, which may suggest the -kude is already more grammaticalized than -kuse.
Many converb markers have overlapping meanings in the right context. The concessive marker -senu and the completive marker -dene have very similar meaning when used on the temporal relation. However, in my data -dene is far more common than -senu. It could be the case that -dene is an innovation that is pushing away -senu. However, more data would be necessary to prove this.

The completive marker -dene can also overlap in meaning with the imperfective marker -zhi, when used like the same event converbs. However, the latter seems to express a higher degree of integration between the events.

Both the conditional marker -se, the concessive marker -senu, and more marginally the completive marker -dene can be used to express a concessive-conditional relation between the clauses. The requirement for them to have this meaning is the main clause must be unexpected, and some emphasis particle need to be added, such as ye ‘also’ or da ‘still’, Like in example (251).

There is also an environment where the conditional marker -se, the concessive marker -senu, the completive marker -dene, and the contemporal marker -kude can all be used interchangeably. The environment must exclude all the temporal explanations. Therefore is the main clause must be marked with the perfective marker -wo or imperfective marker -zho. The second requirement is that the converbal event must instantaneous – an achievement. If these two conditions are met all these markers can be used interchangeably, with almost exactly the same meaning. To explain this phenomenon we need to take a close look at the meaning of each converb marker. The conditional marker -se locates the beginning of the main event right after the beginning of converbal event, if the converbal event has no duration the beginning of the main event would be right after the completion of

(250) [5:47] bi ingie nundu -ne hami -se beilie -se jin

1s do.this eye POSS.SUB close COND carry COND invariably

miyi beilie hhende bou weida -ku -se jiu ayi -zho .

1sCONN carry there down die NPFVP ABL just fear IPFV

fall I got frightened from the idea of being carried. When I closed my eyes and was carrying down there and dying. (Lit.: frightened from the dying for being carried and falling down there)

6.4.4 Overlapping Meanings

Even if he is very busy, he will come to see you.
the converbal event. Similarly, the contemporal marker -kude expresses locates the beginning of the main event somewhere within the realization of the converbal event, for an instantaneous event this would be right after the completion of the converbal event. Both the concessive -senu and the completive -dene locate the beginning of the main event somewhere close to the end of the converbal event. Therefore, for instantaneous event they would all have very similar meanings. A brief analysis on the figures that illustrate the meaning of these markers would explain this phenomenon. In all those figures, the converbal event is assumed to have duration. However if it does not have duration all the representations of those markers would look like the Figure 7.

![Figure 7 Temporal relation between the converbs and instantaneous events](image)

6.5 Summary

The same way that participles can be nominalized usages of verbs, the converbs are adverbalized usages of them. In Santa it is not clear whether the converbal clause is embedded within the main clause or not. But an important distinction is between the converbs that mark if the event is integrated with the next one or distinct. The converbs that mark verbs that are understood as a single event with the following verb are called same event converbs. These converbs usually mark manner, purpose, instrument or attendant circumstance. Therefore, they are understood as being simultaneous and have the same subject with the following verb. In Santa, there are three same event converb markers: the imperfective -zhi, the manner -n, and the purposive -le. The converbs that mark verbs that are understood as a distinct event from the next verb are called different event converbs. These converbs express basically a temporal relation between the converbal clause and the main clause, such as successive, contemporal, etc. However, their meaning can be augmented to have other kind of semantic relations such as conditional, concessive, substitutive, etc. In Santa, there are three different event converb markers: conditional -se, concessive -senu, and terminative -tala. Another important element of converbs is
whether they are fully grammaticalized or not. If they are not fully grammaticalized – i.e. they are clearly a participle plus a case marking, they are called quasiconverbs. The quasiconverbs in Santa express only one basic semantic temporal relation, lacking the augmented meanings of the different event converbs. In Santa there are three quasiconverbs: completive -dene, contemporal -kude, and beginning-postspan -kuse. The meaning of the converbs is highly dependent on the context and the main elements that influence it are: the tense-aspect of the main clause, the aktionsart of the verb marked, adverbs and pragmatic factors.
Chapter 7

Conclusion

Santa is the third largest Mongolian language, however it is still one of the most under-researched. The present thesis contributes to the understanding of Santa’s grammar in many aspects. It also contributes to the understanding of tense-aspect system of languages that work outside of the European paradigm. Finally, this thesis also contributes to the understanding of the semantic structure of verbs and the factors that contribute to their meaning.

The discussion about the desiderative construction using -ne giezho and the irrealis inceptive construction using -ne giezhi were not present in past works. It is a complex construction apparently using two finite verb markers (-ne gie-zho) or using one non-finite marker after a finite marker (-ne gie-zhi). If that were the case, these constructions would be violating the rule that a sentence must have only one finite marker and it must happen sentence finally. These constructions were analyzed as grammaticalization of direct quotations constructions, using the expressing verb -gie. The desiderative would have its meaning coming from giezho ‘is thinking’ and the verb marked in future with the non-perfective marker -ne, therefore meaning ‘is thinking: I will do…’ generating the meaning ‘wants to do’. The inceptive would have its meaning from the conditional converb -se ‘when … was thinking’ and the verb marked in future with the non-perfective marker -ne, therefore meaning ‘when … was thinking: I will do…’ generating the meaning ‘when he was about to do’.

Field (1997) notes that the tense-aspect system in Santa is rather simple, this could be a way in which, after centuries of simplifications, Santa is now developing a more complex system. Further studies could reveal whether other Mongolic languages can do the same with their quotation markers.

One of the main insights of this thesis is the contribution to the understanding of the aspectual system in Santa. There is an aspectual distinction that is very important for this language and is present in both the finite and non-finite verbs. The aspectual system in Santa can be described as a distinction between two parameters: whether the event is referred to as having started or not and whether it is referred to as having finished or not. This is the very distinction between what is called in the present thesis imperfective and non-perfective. The imperfective must have started, but it could have finished or not. On the other hand, the non-perfective could have
started or not, but necessarily it could not have finished. This has a few consequences. First is that the imperfective is more specific that the non-perfective, since it referring to a specific event, or set of events, that have already started. Second is that, since it can refers to events that have not, the non-perfective can refer to irrealsis situation, whereas the imperfective is bound to realsis situations. Adding these two factors together, we can see that the imperfective when referring to a habitous or iterative event expresses more certainty that the non-perfective, even though their meanings overlap to a great extent.

This system also explains why the non-perfective is the only one that can be used with individual-level stative events. Since these states are inherent, theoretically they do not have a finishing point.

Another consequence of this system is that the perfective, which refers to events that have both started and finished, is bound to past events. It is not like in other languages where perfective can be used with future tense. The imperfective and the non-perfective have more freedom in terms of tense. However, the non-perfective is the only one that can refer to pure future situations. Consequently, it is not accurate to talk about a tense only system or an aspect only system, since one marker conveys both tense and aspectual information. Therefore, we can conclude that the previous views, although not totally accurate, were not wrong. Field (1997) and Kim (1998 and 2003) both considered the system to be aspectual, differentiating perfective -wo, imperfective -ne and progressive -zho. On the other hand, Buhe (1986) considered it to be a tense system differentiating past -wo, non-past -ne, and giving some space for aspectual interpretation of -zhi + wo, arguing that it works like progressive. These views, together with the view presented on the present thesis are shown in Table 29.

Table 29 Different views on the declarative mood markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zho</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Santa’s declarative mood system refers to both aspect and tense, therefore it is not wrong to say that -wo is past, or perfective, or even past perfective. The idea of non-perfective can both entail that it can be used for non-past and imperfective situations. Finally, progressive is a type of imperfective. However there are many
other types of imperfective such as habitual or iterative, which actually occur with -
\textit{zho}. Maybe further studies will show that this distinction is also helpful to explain
the tense-aspect system of other Mongolic languages.

Another important contribution of the present thesis was the detailed study of each
one of these tense-aspect markers interacting with the \textit{Aktionsart} of the different
types of events. This study shed light on how the markers are interpreted in the
different situations. One important finding was that for instantaneous events, the
imperfective marker would be interpreted as habitual or perfect aspect, depending
on the context. This usage of the imperfective marker -\textit{zho} has not been described in
previous works.

On the discussion about the converbs, it became clear that the definition of converb
as necessarily being subordinate, as well as the criteria used to determine
subordination given by Haspelmath (1995) are not suitable to Santa. However, these
converbal clauses are clearly dependent and clearly function as adverbial clauses
modifying the main clause. The test proposed by Cristofaro (2003) made it clear that
pragmatically, the converbal clauses are subordinate to the main clause.

The discussion introduced by Field (1997) about switch-event markers was also very
helpful to clearly describe the different kinds of converbs – same event converbs and
different event converbs. This distinction was very helpful to explain two patterns.
The first is why some converbs can only occur in same subject construction, it is
interesting that these converbs always have a temporal relation of simultaneity,
besides other semantic relations. These facts are clearly explained by the fact that
they belong to the same event as the next verb. The different event converbs, on the
other hand, are free to have different subject, and all of them follow the pattern of
having a basic temporal meaning, and getting other meanings depending on the
context. This is also explained by the fact that they are expressing other event.
Finally the quasiconverbs, can only have the basic temporal meaning. This could be
because they are not totally grammaticalized yet. Maybe a diachronic study could
reveal that different event verb markers used to have only a temporal meaning,
and have developed the other relations over the time. This would allow us to expect
that the present quasiconverbs will develop other semantic relation meanings.

Another important contribution of the present thesis is the careful study on which
elements have an impact on the meaning of the converbs. All the authors agree that
they may have different meanings in different situations. However no systematic
study has been made to understand what helps the speaker to interpret the meaning
of the converbs. This thesis uses some the important elements pointed by König (1995), namely: the TAM of the main clause; *syndesis*; the *Aktionsart* of the verb marked; and pragmatic factors. This study has proved to be very productive and has shed light on what meaning can be expected in each situation. This study has also been fruitful to evidence contexts where different converbs can have overlapping meanings, as well as the subtle differences between them.

**Further Studies**

This thesis has also made it clear some areas that do need more study. One point that has repeatedly come up is whether a certain word should be considered a suffix or not, or whether determined suffix should be treated as a separate word or not. That is the case for the causative *-gha*. Evidence for treating it as a separate word is the fact that the plural marker *-ndu* has a special position before it to mark cause plural, and another one to mark causer plural. Since the plural marker cannot be repeated without the causative marker, this could be evidence that the verb would be a separated verb, with *-ndu* marking subject plural, and *gha* would be a separate verb.

Another case is the ability and inability auxiliary verbs. These are the only auxiliary verbs that do not occur independently. Moreover, no marker can be attached to the verb that precedes it. Further studies could reveal that these verbs are actually suffixes. Finally, the completive converb marker *-dene*, is treated as a separate word in Mangghuer and Bao’an. The evidence for it to be treated as a different word are the phonological stress and the possibility of co-occurring with voluntative marker – even though in a very marginal usage.

Another important area that greatly needs further studies is discourse analysis in Santa. To my knowledge, no studies on discourse level have been made in Santa so far. A study like that would be helpful to understand the choice between the *-wo* and *-zho* for events that have finished, as well as the choice between *-ne* and *-zho* for habitual events in the past. Another possible area that could be clarified by a discourse analysis study is the choice between the negators *ese* and *wuye*. The present thesis presents only one, rather marginal, context where they differ, namely polar questions.

Another area that remains undetermined is the syntactic status of the converbal clause, whether it is embedded or not in the main clause. The tools so far used to make that distinction crosslinguistically have proven to be unsuitable to the analysis for Santa. New tools or an adaptation of the actual tools must be developed.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Dowty, David R. Word meaning and Montague grammar: The semantics of verbs and times in Generative semantics and in Montague’s PTQ. (Synthese language library, 7.) Dordretch: D. Reidel.


Appendix A

STORY 1: THE BIGSHOT OF THE THIRD TEAM

I will tell about one time playing at the village, when we were small, long ago.

In our place there, in a village we had three production teams

The first team, the second team and the third team

I was the bigshot of the second team

The bigshot of the first team was Rejie

The bigshot of the third team was an ugly Remi.

Therefore, three of us often, each team a bigshot, three of us would come out...
We, from the first and second teams, used to often bully and hit the one from the third team.

If we went down to play at to the third team's (place), she would, by hitting us, not allow us to go there.

When she came up, we used to hit her.

Once, we were cheating... we were at second team's (place).

At the second team's courtyard

Thus, there was three courtyards

Linked as a big courtyard

Therefore, (we) used to play there.

Three of us were playing and playing, after she came, (we), cheating (her), made her enter a compound.
A big house that people had demolished

Originally (it) was a big house like this.

The big house... the people had demolished their house

Having teared it down, there was the hole of the kang

The door on the gate was locked

Therefore, we, from that compound, entered the big house cheating her (saying that) we were going to play.
We cheated the third team's bigshot, that ugly Remi, into entering there.

"Let's enter there to play"

"Let's enter this big house to play"

A demolished big house

Therefore we entered.

Having entered, having all of us entered there, we all came out from the hole of the kang.

(We) did not allow her to come out

After making her enter, we she was about to come out, we hit her not allowing her to come out.
We let her locked inside.
Appendix B

STORY 2: GOING TO SCHOOL BEFORE SUNRISE

1 bijien hha xianzi jiu , ga bikude jiu , nie aghan -de jiu bijien
   1pEXC that time just small when just one village DAT just 1pEXC
ghurelie ghurang oqin wanshi -le echi -zho .
   three people three girl study PURP go IPFV
   We, at that time, when (we) were small, at a village, three of us girls went to study

2 niudu you -zhi , bi , Lixiaolui ama -ni , Sofiiai ama -ni
every day walk IPFV 1s Lixiaolong mother 3pPoss Sofia mother 3pPoss
   bijien ghurelie wanshi -le echi -zho .
   1pEXC three people study PURP go IPFV
   We walked every day, me, Lixiaolong's mom, Sofia's mom, three of us went to study.

3 nie magha -ni jiu bijien nie niene wuru -le echi -zho .
one morning TOP just 1pEXC each other call PURP go IPFV
   Every morning, we would call each other

4 ingie -zhi jiu ghurelie hhantu wanshi -le echi -zho
do this IPFV just three people together study PURP go IPFV
   That way, three of us went together to study

5 bi nie magha tou echi -tala jiu gie -de yiniang tande chei
   1s one morning beginning go TERM just house DAT aunt 2p.DAT 2sCONN
   ...
   One morning, before going, I, at the house with your aunt...

6 hha xianzi yiniang -chei ga ,
   that time aunt 2sPOS small
   At that time, your aunt was small

7 anai -chei wu -wo shijiu ,
   grandmother 2sPOS have not PFV if
   When your grandmother was not (home)

8 bi gie -de , khan jiere ,
   1s house DAT fire on
   I, at the house, on fire...
At that time, (people used) clay stove

On the clay stove, on the fire, I used to set maize porridge.

Having put potatoes, this way, after setting the porridge, I used to go to study.

That morning, Lixiaolong’s mom came to call me

When she came to call me, I took a look and (the sky) was bright already.

During the winter, if it is bright, it is late already

Therefore, I got nervous and called your aunt: 'Ayyo!'

"Ayo, Sumu, quickly wake up and set on the porridge’
17.1 made sangei -ku shijie wei da -wo.

1sDAT porridge.maize set.on NPFVP time have cannot PFV

'I don't have time to set the porridge'

17.2 bi wanshi -le echi -wo.

1s study PURP go PFV

'I am going to study'

17.3 shijie wuda -zho " gie -zhi.

time be late IPFV say IPFV

'I am late' I said (lit. time is late)

18 ingie bijien ghurelie wanshi -le echi -zho.

d0.this 1pEXC three.people study PURP go IPFV

Then, three of us went to study

19 wuzhe -se giegie -gha -ne wolu -zho.

look COND shine CAUS NPFV complete IPFV

When we saw it was completely bright

20 wanshi -le echi -se ya , xuexiao wenjien -de.

study PURP go COND C-EXP school door DAT

When we went to study, at the door of the school

21 you -zhi , you -zhi Amasa echi -zhi xuexiao wenjien -de

walk IPFV walk IPFV Hongliu.village go IPFV school door DAT

echi -se ya , xuexiao wenjien wuye nie -zho.

go COND C-EXP school door NEG open IPFV

Having walked and walked, got to Amasa village, when we got to the school’s gate, the school’s gate was not opened

22 tiemen suozila jie -zho.

iron door be.locked put IPFV

The iron door was locked

23 ingie -se bijien jiu damen wenjien -de warada -zho.

do.this COND 1pEXC just gate door DAT scream IPFV

Therefore, we called at the main gate.

24 dashifu -i warada -zho.

keeper CONN scream IPFV

(We) called the keeper.
That time, a person from Daban used to serve as the keeper for us at Amasa.

We called at the door, knocked and hit the door, called and called at the gate, then that person came to open the door

(He) was sleeping, then, having wake up, when (he) came to open the door (he said): "These three naughty girls, why coming late in the night, so early, is (something that I) do not know"

(He) scolded us

After scolding and opening the door, he entered and went to sleep again.

Three of us went to the classroom again
Having gone into and looked, having opened the door, (he) having spoken like this, only then we understood that it was early.

After entering the class we seated

Still that same aspect

Finally, having waited for one or two hours, only then the people all started to come to study.

The result was that on that day's eve was cloudy

It was (the day) twenty and something and it was full moon, full moon and a cloudy day, I could not know that it was night.

It was exactly like the aspect of a clear dawn
After we went, we sitted, sitted for one or two hours and just then the time for people to come to study arrived.

This way, three of us went to study

The person who served as keeper, at that time the Daban person was serving as a keeper at our school in Amasa

Now, that person has become a rich man

Big boss

Now, (people) call him Qiwa.

At that time, when he was teacher at our school, the teachers used to yell at him often.

When the class finished, (he) would ring the bell
Dang dang like this, when he used to make food, we often heard the teachers yelling at him "Minxiao, Minxiao"

It is his own real name

Since they are seven brothers, (they) always call (him) Qiwa, Qiwa. (Qiwa lit means seventh kid)

Now he is Qiwa, very famous

Being the Qiwa from Daban, he is very very rich and amazing.

Finished
Appendix C

STORY 3: THE SHEEP'S TAIL

Long time ago, an old man and an old woman were together

An old couple

(they) did not have any kids

Therefore, they used to harvest chinese cabbage on the field and bring the stem to dry under the sun.

(they) used to cook the dry stem during the winter

So, when cooking (the stem), the two said: "Whose (stem) cook first..."

(They) were raising a sheep at the house
So: "whose stem get soft by cooking, will get this sheep"

If the man's get soft, the man will have (it)

If the woman's get soft, the woman will have (it)

A sheep

So, these two were continuously cooking

Having lit the fire, (it) cooked and cooked, so the woman's stem got soft.

The man's (stem) was hard.

Still had not got soft.

So, this man went outside.
From the main gate turn around entering back again and said: "Old woman, old woman, someone is calling you at the main gate"

So the woman was cheated and went out to the main gate.

At that time (they used) clay stove with a hole on top.

Thus, (they) cooked on the clay stove.

(They) heated with scraps and cooked.

The woman, being cheated, opened the main door.

He took the woman's (pot) out.

and put his own pot at the place of the woman's

and put the woman's pot on his own (pot) place.
26 ingie puse china -zho ghuala .
do this again cook IPFV two people
This way, cooked both more.

27 china -se " Ede wuzhe -ye -ma kien -ghun zholiere -wo ")
cook COND now look VOL INT who NOM soften PFV
gie -zhi .
make IPFV
Having cooked, (he) said: "Now let's look, whose got soft"

28 ingie wuzhe -se yane laojiga -ghun zholiere -zho .
do this look COND C-EXP old men NOM soften IPFV
This way, having looked, the man's (stem) was soft.

29 " laojiga -ghun zholiere -se , ede hha ghon laojiga kere -ne "
old men NOM soften COND now that sheep old men want NPFV
gie -zhi .
make IPFV
(he) said: "Since the old man's (stem) is soft, now the old man will get the sheep"

30 ingie -se jiu nainaigie jiu jinda -zhi nainaigie jiu
do this COND just old woman just be worried IPFV old woman just
weila -zho .
cry IPFV
So, the old woman got worried and cried

31 weila -zhi weila -zhi yizhi nainaigie qiezhe -san ghon wo ma ,
cry IPFV cry IPFV all along old woman feed IPFVP sheep COP INT
gie -de .
house DAT
Cried, cried... this sheep has always been raised by the old woman, at the house.

32 ingie -se jiu nainaigie echi jiu ...
do this COND just old woman go just
So, the old woman went...

33 " laojiga ghoni kere -ne " gie -zhi .
old men sheep want NPFV make IPFV
(the old man) said "The old man will get the sheep"
When (he) was going to pull it out, the old woman pulled the sheep from the tail and the tail broke.

The sheep's tail was pulled and fell down.

The sheep's tails was locked at the woman's drawer.

Having passed a while, in the old woman's drawer there was a 'kuada, kuada' sound.

The old woman, having opened her drawer, when took a look, (the tail) had become a little boy.

(The tail) had become a grandson to the old woman.
Therefore, the grandmother and her grandson lived together.

So, it finished.
Appendix D

STORY 4: I KNOW MAREI

1 mairei bi mejie -ne .
Mairei 1s know NPFV
I know Marei

2 hha Mairei hha shihou -de jianzha jianzha .
3s Mairei that time DAT naughty naughty
That Marei, at that time was very naughty

3 hha shihou -de bi Ayubu hunla -zho .
that time DAT 1s Ayubu nurse IPFV
At that time, I was taking care of Ayubu

4 hha hhai Abudu -ne hunla -zho .
that 3sCONN Abudu POSS.SUB nurse IPFV
She was taking care of that Abudu of her

5 ingie hha beilie ire -wo jiujuu -ne .
do this that carry come PFV brother.younger POSS.SUB
Then, she came carrying her baby

6 jiang wutukun -de bi Ayubu -de gienan pola -zhi
just.now lunch DAT 1s Ayubu DAT bread soak IPFV
iye -gha -ne .
eat CAUS NPFV
Right at lunch time, I would be feeding Ayubu with soaked bread

7 kun ire -se jiu “ Chi ire -gha -Ø bi qiezhe -ye “
person come COND just 2s come CAUS IMP 1s feed VOL
gie -zhi .
make IPFV
The person would come and say: "You bring it, I will feed"
Therefore, it would be one spoon to Ayubu, three to Abudu, one spoon to Ayubu and three to Abudu.

Therefore, I would say angry: "Give it to me, I will feed"

"I will feed"

At that time she was very naughty, also older than me.

Smart, smart, smart

Only fed one (spoon) to other's baby, and fed three to (her) own baby.

"You do not come to feed anymore, tomorrow I will feed (it) myself"

"You do not come to feed anymore, tomorrow I will feed (it) myself"

Therefore she would say "OK"

Next day would come, (she) would knock on the door
17 yen hha nie shihou -de ire -ne .
   (She) would still come at that time
still that one time DAT come NPFV

18 ene shihou -de sumula -se hunerei wo dei .
   this time DAT think COND funny COP EVD
   If (I) think now, it was funny

19 aba -mi hha shihou -de youla -kudene ingie -zho “ Xiujju
   uncle 1s.poss that time DAT walk.away when do.this IPFV shadow
you -zhi eneturo ire -se chi jiu gienan pola -zhi iye -gha -Ø
   walk IPFV here come COND 2s just bread soak IPFV eat CAUS IMP
   ”.
   My uncle at that time, when leaving, said: "When the shadow walk until here, you feed
   (the baby) with soaked bread"

20 “ Ene xiujju you -zhi eneturo ire -se yan gie -zho shi de
   this shadow walk IPFV here come COND what make IPFV COP EVD
   ?”
   "What do you have to do when the shadow comes here?"

21 bi xiujju bangjian hhaturo ire -se jiu , bi gienan pola -dai
   1s shadow roughly there come COND just 1s bread soak COMP
jie -se jiu kun wenjien benglangda -gha -zhi ma .
   put COND just person door INT
   Just when the shadow roughly came to that place, just when I put the bread to soak, she
   would knock on the door

22 qingie -zhi giedui fa ire -se jiu jiujiu -de -ne
   do.that IPFV a.few time come COND just brother.younger DAT POSS.SUB
wei -dene agi -se puse yihui -de qingie -zhi ire -se jiu bi
   feed COMP get COND again once DAT do.that IPFV come COND just 1s
wenjien matei benglangda -gha liuzhe Ayubu wuru -zhi gie doura
   door how knock.knock CAUS no.matter Ayubu call IPFV house under
oro -dene ... nie -le giedui fa wuye echi -se .
   enter COMP open PURP a.few time NEG go COND
   Having done that, coming a few times, fed (her) own baby, next time (she) came that
   way, I, no matter how she knock on the door, called Ayubu to enter the house and, did
   not go to open many times.
The person would feed it all to her own baby!
Appendix E

STORY 5: CRYING OUT OF FEAR

Since the time I was small, seven or eight years old

At Dongxiang, Longquan, Huangshan village (I) used to take care of sheep, at (my) homeland

Have done this, taking care of sheep for several years, when (I) was eleven, I went to school to study

At age sixteen I went to study at the mosque

Four years at the mosque

I turned twenty

When I was twenty, I came to Lanzhou
8 Lanzhou holu -de douzhe -dene jiaji ghura -zho .
   Lanzhou run COMP cross.come COMP furniture collect IPFV
   After coming to Lanzhou, (I) collected furniture

9 jiaji nietan ghura -wo .
   furniture a.while collect PFV
   I collected furniture for a while

10 ye baer zhangji da -wo .
   also money earn cannot PFV
   Also was not able to make money

11 ingie -dene puse nietan weilie gie -wo , gongchenla jiere .
   do.this COMP again a.while work make PFV factory on
   Then, also a worked a little bit, at factories

12 ingie -se puse nietan moto holu -wo ,
   do.this COND again a.while motorcycle run PFV
   Having done that, also rode the motorbike for a while

13 nietan caishui hui -wo ,
   a.while vegetables sell PFV
   Sold vegetables for a while

14 nietan qiaochu tuoba ye entui hui -wo .
   a.while broom mop also like.this sell PFV
   Also sold broom and mop for a while

15 nietan ghoni ghura -wo .
   a.while sheep collect PFV
   I also collected sheep for a while

16 arasun ghura -wo .
   skin collect PFV
   Collected the skin

17 chongcao wai -wo ,
   cordyceps dig PFV
   Harvested cordyceps

18 san nien chongcao wai -wo .
   3 year cordyceps dig PFV
   Harvested cordyceps for three years
Having done that, again in Lanzhou, sent oil for a while.

Delivered oil for one year, to restaurants.

Having done that, also was not able to make money.

After a while I went to manual work.

Also was not able to make money.

Then, also opened a real state for a while.

To open a real state was a little bit good, I thought.

Did not have to work hard.

Therefore, these 10 or 20 years, doing these things, finished.

(I) could not do anything formidable.
Then I also migrated to Zhongchuan Airport area.

Therefore, it all looked like I was going to fall down from there

Aya! I was crying out of fear, all along
39 **tai undu**.
   too tall
   *Too high!*

40 **keneng shi yi bai si wu shi mi weine**.
   possibly COP one hundred four five ten meter have
   *Maybe it was 140 or 150 meters*

41 **tai undu**.
   too tall
   *Too high!*

42 **ingie -se ayi weila -zho**.
   do.this COND fear cry IPFV
   *Therefore (I) was crying out of fear*

43 **ingie -se bijiei nie qingu ye ghoni adula -zho**.
   do.this COND 1pEXC.CONN one relative also sheep herd IPFV
   *Therefore, a relative of ours was also herding sheep*

44 **hha bijien -ghala ton sui wo**.
   3s 1pEXC COM same year.age COP
   *He was same age as us*

45.1 "**Chi nundu -ne hami -Ø ma**.
   2s eye POSS.SUB close IMP INT
   *(He) said: "You close your eyes, I will carry you on my back and get you down"*

45.2 **bi beilig -dene bou -gha -ye " gie -zhi**.
   1s carry COMP down CAUS VOL make IPFV

46 **ingie -se bi ye ayi -zhi bazilie da -ne**.
   do.this COND 1s also fear IPFV control.self cannot NPFV
   *Therefore, I was so afraid that I could not control myself*

47 **bi ingie nundu -ne hami -se beilig -se jin miyi**
   1s do.this eye POSS.SUB close COND carry COND invariably 1sCONN
   *When I closed my eyes and was carried, I got frightened from the idea of being carried, fall down there and die.*
Thefore I took off my shoes, After taking off my shoes, I just start to walk slowly, walking, also could not stay stand out of fear, Then, I just doing that, after walking, came down, After coming down, coming down to that path, I sat under the bamboo out of fear, Will not do like this again, Mountain like this (I) will not climb, Too frightening, causes too much fear, (I) was crying, out of fear, Once I took a boat from Liujiaxia
58 **chuang sou** -se, **ene jiere sou** -se **ene chuang** -ni **qierun jiere**
boat sit COND this on sit COND this boat CONN head on
**sou** -zho .
sit IPFV
when on the boat, seating here, on the head of the boat.

59 **chuang nie ingie** -se **bi chabudo usu** -de **angda bou** -wo .
boat one do.this COND ls almost water DAT fall down PFV
When the boat did like this, I almost fell down to the water

60 **jiu entu nie gochen wo** .
just like this one history COP
The story went just like this

61 **ingie** -se **jiu ingie wei** -zhi gie -ye .
do.this COND just do.this have IPFV make VOL
Therefore,

62 **puse InshAllahu you jihui** matan **puse kielie** -ye .
again God.willing have opportunity 1pINC again say VOL
God willing, next time, when we have opportunity, we talk again

63 **deigo kielie** -zhi **bara** -gha da -ne .
immediately say IPFV finish CAUS cannot NPFV
Soon (I) will be talking without an end
STORY 6: SIX DAUGHTERS

1 zhíghang oqin shi ne, six girl COND NPFV
    There was six girls

2 nie sugho wo. one blind COP
    One was blind

3 nie dogholan wo. one lame COP
    One was lame

4 ingie -se -ma shi nie kewon jiu ene kun -yi nie zuí
    do.this COND INT COP one boy just this person CONN one most
    hen, zuí hen, zuí hen -i nie oqin jiu kanshang liao.
    formidable most formidable most formidable REL one girl just like PFV
    Then, there was a guy who felt in love for the very most formidable daughter of this
    man

5 ingie -se jiu, jinyinzhubao giedoghan kere ye olu -wo,
    do.this COND just treasures many many want also complete PFV
    Therefore, he could ask for as much money as he wanted

6 chi napa baer giedoghan kere liuzech olu -wo.
    2s even if money many many want no matter complete PFV
    You can ask as much money you want, it is ok.

7 ( zuihóu -de shi ene kun ),
    finally DAT COP this person
    Finally was this person

8 adan -i ene oqin -ne matu gie -zho,
    father CONN this daughter POSS.SUB how make IPFV
    How did the father do with this daughter?
9 zuihoude shi fanzhen ene nie dogholan -ne khe -gha -ne.
   last COP anyway this one lame POSS.SUB go.out CAUS NPFV
   At the end, he would let the lame daughter come out anyway.

10 sugho -ne khe -gha -ne
   blind POSS.SUB go.out CAUS NPFV
   he would let the blind daughter come out

11 zui seighan -i oqin lie khe -gha -ne.
   most beautiful REL daughter NEG go.out CAUS NPFV
   but he did not let the most beautiful one go out.

12 ingie -se ene kun kielie -wo: “Chi yan kere -se kere -Ø
   do.this COND this person say PFV 2s what want COND want IMP ma”.
   INT
   Therefore this person said: “You can ask whatever you want”

13.1 " chi yan jiqiu banfa -ghala ene oqin wuzhe -Ø bai.
   2s what technique means COM this girl look IMP SUG
   "You can use whatever technique and means to take a look at this girl"

13.2 matu gie -zhi wuzhe -se nie wuzhe -Ø “gie -zhi.
   how make IPFV look COND one look IMP make IPFV
   to somehow take a look” he said.

14 ingie -se ene kun, gai jiere khe -dene warada -zho.
   do.this COND this person roof on climb COMP scream IPFV
   Therefore this person, climbed up on the roof and screamed:

15 “Ada, ada, jinjinji futou, yinyinji bazi, kualyao jiejin niji
   father father golden axe silver bar soon come.in 2s.Poss
   huayuanli, ni jiegha” gie -zhi.
   courtyard 2s get make IPFV
   (In Chinese dialect) “Father, father, golden axe, silver bar, are coming into your
   courtyard, come and get it” he said

16 Jinjinji futou shi yan weine?
   golden axe COP what have
   What is golden axe?

17 antang -i sugie wo,
   gold CONN axe COP
   It is golden axe.
It is silver bar.

Fell at this yard of yours.

Come and get it" (he) said.

Therefore, the pretty girl went and cathed it.

So he liked her again.

(he) said "I will take a look at the oldest daughter"

(He) saw the oldest daughter and she had put too much make up and was dirty

When (he) went, he did not like (her)

Then, (he said) "let's see the second daughter"
26 “Ada, ada, jinjinji futou, yinyinji bazi, jiedao niji huayuanli,
father father golden axe silver bar come.in 2s.Poss courtyard
jiegeiha” gie -zhi.
get make IPFV
(In Chinese dialect) “Father, father, golden axe, silver bar, are coming into your
courtyard, come and get it” he said

27 ingie -se puse ene laoer -ni puse man ungie -ne
do.this COND again this second.kid CONN all face POSS.SUB
huai -de echi -wo.
paint COMP go PFV
Therefore, also the second daughter also put

28 ingie -se echi -se mo kanshang.
do.this COND go COND NEG like
Therefore when (he) went (he) did not like her

29 echi -se jiu sugie -ni jielie -gha -wo.
go COND just axe CONN catch CAUS PFV
When (she) went, (she) collected the axe

30 kharei -dene orozhe -wo.
go.back COMP enter.come PFV
After going back, (she) entered.

31 ingie -se puse laosan -i wuzhe -ne ma.
do.this COND again third.kid CONN look NPFV INT
Therefore also see the third daughter,

32 ede matei wuzhe -ne sha.
now how look NPFV SUG
Now how can (I) take a look (at her)

33 ingie -se yaghiya.
do.this COND
Therefore… (unintelligible)

34 “Ada, ada, jinjinji futou, yinyinji bazi, jiedao niji huayuanli,
father father golden axe silver bar come.in 2s.Poss courtyard
kuai jiegeiha”
quickly get

“come and get it, are coming into your courtyard, silver bar, golden axe, father, Father” (In Chinese dialect)
Therefore she also went to get it.

After going to get it,
Therefore what did this person do?

The fifth daughter was lame.

The lame because this girl crippled

"I do not like that you cripple"

Therefore finally (the father) spoke like this:

"You thought of a way (to see her) like this, like that, this is the most beautiful of my daughters, but you cannot see (her)"

Therefore, he said to this blind girl:

"You thought of a way (to see her) like this, like that, this is the most beautiful of my daughters, but you cannot see (her)"

Therefore this person said:
"How much money do you (have), just give how much you have, my daughter is under this barrel," he said.

Therefore, the last person was the beautiful girl under the barrel, so he gave his money and treasures.

At that time (he) said "two hundred kilograms of silver"

(He) gave two hundred kilograms of silver

After giving, when this person pulled out the person under the barrel, (her) blindness got healed

Therefore it was finished
RESUME

Name: Mateus Froes Napoli
Date of Birth: 12 December 1983
Place of Birth: Brazil

Institutions Attended: 2001-2005, Production Engineering, Polytechnic School of University of Sao Paulo