A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF AKHA
SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES

The members of the Committee approve the masters thesis of [Your Name]

Dr. Kirk R. Person
Supervising Professor

Dr. Fraser Bennett

Ajarn Ken Manson

[Name]

[Name]

[Name]

Approval Date: ________________________________
A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF AKHA
SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES

by

Noel Kya Heh

Presented to the Graduate School of Payap University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

PAYAP UNIVERSITY, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

June 2002
RESUME

Name: Noel Kya Heh
Date of Birth: December 24, 1955
Place of Birth: Pang Wai, Kyaing Tong, Eastern Shan State, Myanmar

Institutions attended:

- No. 1. State High School, Taunggyi, Myanmar (1972 Matriculation)
- Burma Institute of Theology (1977 Bachelor of Theology)
- Burma Institute of Theology (1977 Bachelor of Divinity)

Employment:

- Principal, Pang Wai Bible School, Kaing Tong, Shan State, Myanmar (1977-1979)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author of this thesis wishes to express a heart-felt thank to the thesis supervising professor Dr. Kirk Roger Person and thesis committee members Dr. Fraser Bennet, the Linguistics Department head, and Ajarn Ken Manson, a lecturer in the Department. This thesis could not have been accomplished without their kind support, guidance as well as encouragement.

The author would like to express a special gratitude to all the staff members of the Linguistics Department of Payap University for equipping him with the linguistic and tools that enabled him to do this research.

The author feels very much indebted to SIL International and Myanmar Baptist Convention for supporting him in linguistic study. A special thank is due to the responsible SIL members in Chiang Mai, who never failed to show care and concern throughout his prolonged study.

The author is grateful to Dr. Paul W. Lewis, who not only invented the most popular Akha orthography but also made great contribution to Akha, Lahu and Hani literature, for his encouragement to analyze the particles that play a major role in Akha grammar.

The last, but not the least, to be thanked is God, the source of all knowledge, whom the author absolutely trusts and to whose course the he is deeply committed, for granting him this special opportunity to acquire such knowledge of invaluable applicability in His ministry.

June 14, 2002
ABSTRACT

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF AKHA SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES

Noel Kya Heh

Payap University, Chiang Mai, 2002

Supervising Professor: Dr. Kirk R. Person

Akha sentence final particles, like those of other Yi-Burmese languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family, play a very important role in the grammar. These small dependent grammatical units not only determine whether a statement is factual, evidential, predictive, or conjecture, but also disclose the attitude and emotion of the speaker.

This thesis is part of a larger effort to understand the role of particles in Akha-Hani dialects specifically, and in Yi-Burmese languages generally. The goal of this thesis is to describe the structure and function of the Akha sentence final particles as spoken by Jerway dialect speakers. This thesis will first and foremost serve a descriptive purpose. It is hoped that this description will serve as inspiration for scholars interested in the theoretical implications of particle usage in southeast Asia.

The data of this research is from a variety of resources such as recorded texts, observed conversation, and personal knowledge. Most of the declaratives, and some of the jussives and interrogatives are from selected tales published by Paul Lewis (1989). The remaining examples were drawn from observations of daily communication and personal knowledge, since the researcher himself is a native speaker of the Jerway dialect.

Although Akha exhibits many phrase level particles, this research focuses solely on the 87 sentence final particles. These particles were then sorted into three broad
categories based on sentence type: declaratives, jussives, and interrogatives. The particles that do not fit into any of the three categories are presented in a miscellaneous category.

Each particle is described in terms of its structure and function: the structure is elaborated in examples and the functions are summarized in tables which describe sentence type restrictions, subject-person reference restrictions, temporal reference and polarity marking.

Particles that have similar phonetics, structures and functions are carefully compared and contrasted to each other so that each particle can be thoroughly understood. Each particle is given a technical identification code number for category identification as well for easier reference in cross-sectional discussion.
บทคัดย่อ
การอธิบายถึงการศึกษาค่าที่ใช้จบหัวในประโยคภาษาอาข่า
dโดย โนเอล จำเริญ

มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ, เชียงใหม่, พ.ศ.2545

อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา ดร.เคอร์ก อาร์. เพอร์เซ็น

ค่าที่ใช้จบหัวในประโยคภาษาอาข่า ก็เช่นเดียวกับกลุ่มภาษาต่าง ๆ ในตะวันออกของภาษาที่เป็น
เบอร์แมน มีความสำคัญมากในหลักภาษา แม้ว่าค่าที่จบหัวเป็นส่วนเล็ก ๆ นั้นไม่เพียงแต่ให้
ความชัดเจนในประโยคต่าง ๆ หรือ สร้างจุดเด่น หรือ สามารถบ่งบอกถึงเหตุการณ์ล่วงหน้า หรือ
การคาดคะเน แต่สามารถอธิบายถึงลักษณะ และอารมณ์ของผู้พูด

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีความตั้งใจอย่างมากที่จะช่วยให้เข้าใจถึงการใช้ ค่าที่จบหัวในกลุ่มภาษา อาข่า-
อาห์ และในกลุ่มภาษาตะวันออกของภาษาที่เป็นเบอร์แมน โดยทั่วไป จุดประสงค์ของวิทยานิพนธ์
ฉบับนี้ คือ ผู้เข้าใจถึงโครงสร้างและหน้าที่ ของค่าที่จบหัวในภาษาอาข่า โดยผู้เขียนนั้นมีเป้าหมายให้
เจริญวิจัยและเป็นภาษาแม่ วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นฉบับแรกและมีการอธิบายถึงอุตสาหะ หรือ
ความหวังเช่นเดียวกัน ที่จะช่วยลดไขเท่านั้นว่า การใช้ค่าที่จบหัวในกลุ่มภาษาต่าง ๆที่
อาข่าอยู่ในแถบทวีระตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

แหล่งข้อมูลต่าง ๆ ที่ใช้ต้นข่าวนั้น โดยอาศัยวิธีต่าง ๆ เช่น การบันทึกเสียง การพื้น และความรู้
ส่วนตัว ส่วนใหญ่ต่างถูกการบอกเล่า (declaratives) และบางส่วนของการพิพากษาคือ
(jussives) เช่น คำสั่ง คำขอร้อง ให้คำปรึกษาเป็นต้น และการซักถาม (interrogatives) นั้นมา จากงานนิพนธ์ต่าง ๆ ของ พอล ลูอิส (Paul Lewis 1989) ด้วยอย่างที่แสดงให้เห็นในตารางนั้น สังเกตุการจากการใช้ชีวิตประจำวันและ ความรู้ด้วยว่า เนื่องจากผู้เขียนนั้นเป็นผู้ เจียวเบย์เป็น ภาษาแม่โดยแล้ว

แม้ว่าในภาษาอักษรจะใช้คำสั่งท้ายในรูปแบบต่าง ๆ อย่างมากมายก็ตาม การค้นหาครั้งนี้ ได้ใช้ คำสั่งท้ายมากถึง 87 ประโยคด้วยกัน คำสั่งท้ายเหล่านี้แบ่งออกเป็น 3 ชั้นด้วยกัน เช่น การบอกเล่า (declaratives) การพึ่งพาอาศัย (jussives) เช่น คำสั่ง คำขอร้อง ให้คำปรึกษาเป็นต้น และการซักถาม (interrogatives) โดยยังหลักขั้นพื้นฐานของประโยค คำสั่งท้ายที่ไม่สามารถใช้ กับ 3 ชั้นด้วยกัน ได้วิเคราะห์ตามชนิด ในเบ็ดเตล็ด

ในแต่ละคำสั่งท้ายนั้น ได้อธิบายในลักษณะของโครงสร้างและหน้าที่ของคำสั่งท้าย โครงสร้างนั้น ได้แสดงถึงความละเอียดในตัวอย่างและให้จำแนกความ และส่วนหน้าที่นั้นได้สรุปให้เห็นในตาราง เช่น การจัดเก็บแบบของประโยค (sentence type restrictions) แบบของประธาน-บุคคล (subject-person reference restrictions) การอ้างถึงชั่วคราว (temporal reference) และให้ไปในทิศทางเดียวกัน (polarity marking)

คำสั่งท้ายที่คล้ายคลึงกัน ในการออกเสียง โครงสร้าง และทำหน้าที่ นั้นได้มีการปรับเปลี่ยน เช่น แสดงให้เห็นอย่างชัดเจน โดยยังมั่นคง เพื่อความเข้าใจอย่างง่ายที่สุด ใจแต่ละคำสั่งท้ายนั้นได้ใส่ระหัส ซึ่งแสดงถึงขั้นต่าง ๆ ของคำ เพื่örü่ำองการค้นคว้าและยังอิง
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ........................................................................................................ v
Abstract ........................................................................................................................ vi
List of Tables ................................................................................................................... xvii
List of Abbreviations ..................................................................................................... xxiii

Gloss  Basic Form Description .................................................................................... xxiii
Abbreviation of Code Names ......................................................................................... xxv

Chapter 1 ......................................................................................................................... 1
INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................. 1

  1.0 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 General information ............................................................................................. 1
  1.1.1 Language names ............................................................................................ 1
  1.1.2 Population ..................................................................................................... 2
  1.1.3 Geographical distribution ............................................................................. 3
  1.2 Review of relevant literature ............................................................................... 3
  1.2.1 Phonology ..................................................................................................... 3
  1.2.2 Grammar ....................................................................................................... 5
  1.2.3 Particles ......................................................................................................... 6
  1.3 The goal of this thesis ......................................................................................... 7
  1.4 Methodology ....................................................................................................... 8

Chapter 2 ......................................................................................................................... 9
DECLARATIVES ............................................................................................................. 9

  2.0 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 9
  2.1 Statement ............................................................................................................ 9
  2.1.1 Positive statement ....................................................................................... 9
    2.1.1.1 Generic positive statement particle mē (~mè) (001-2/3PSS) ........... 10
    2.1.1.2 Generic positive statement particle mā (~mà) (002-1PSS) ........... 11
2.1.1.3 Non-visual positive statement particle  mí-ā (003-1PSS) .............13
2.1.1.4 Visual positive statement particle  yá (¬yá-ā) (004-1PSS) ..........15

2.1.2 Negative statement ..............................................................................16
2.1.2.1 Generic negative statement particle  ¬ā (¬ā) (005-2/3NSS) ..........16
2.1.2.2 Generic negative statement particle  ¬nā (¬nā) (006-1NSS) .........17

2.2 Weak assertion ..........................................................................................19
2.2.1 Presumption ............................................................................................19
   2.2.1.1 Positive presumption particle  tē-ʔā (007-PUS) .........................19
   2.2.1.2 Negative presumption particle  ¬ā (¬já) (008-PUS) .................21

2.2.2 Confrontation .......................................................................................22
   2.2.2.1 Denial confrontation particle  bā (009-1NFS) .........................22
   2.2.2.2 Denial confrontation particle  ¬bā (¬bā) (010-3NFS) ..............23
   2.2.2.3 Insistent confrontation particle  mā (¬mā) bā (011-1PFS) .......25
   2.2.2.4 Insistent confrontation particle  ¬mē (¬mē) bā (012-3PFS) .......27
   2.2.2.5 Justifying confrontation particle  ¬bā (013-2/3PFS) .............29

2.2.3 Denial ....................................................................................................31
   2.2.3.1 Strident denial particle  o (014-1NDS) ....................................31
   2.2.3.2 Persistent denial particle  nā (015-NDS) ...................................35

2.3 Probability ....................................................................................................37
   2.3.1 Generic positive probability particle  džèmē (016-3PPS) ..........38
   2.3.2 Generic negative probability particle  džè-ā (017-3NPS) ..........39
   2.3.3 Visual positive probability particle  džèyá (018-3PPS) ..........41
   2.3.4 Visual negative probability particle  ¬yá (¬džèyā) (019-3NPS) ....43
   2.3.5 Irrealis negative probability particle  sī (020-NPS) .................45
2.4 Possibility

2.4.1 Positive possibility particle dū (021-3POS)

2.4.2 Negative possibility particle pʰà (022-3NOS)

2.5 Appreciation

2.5.1 Positive appreciation

2.5.1.1 Visual positive appreciation particle jā+ADJ/ADV+ηā (~hā mú ηā) (023-2/3PXS)

2.5.1.2 Auditory positive appreciation particle nāhā mú mí-a (024-3PXS)

2.5.1.3 Non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle jā+ADJ/ADV+ηā (025-3PXS)

2.5.2 Comparative appreciation

2.5.2.1 Visual comparative appreciation particle ADJ/ADV+dζē ηā (026-2/3PYS)

2.5.2.2 Auditory comparative appreciation particle tʰēsā+ ADJ/ADV+dζē ηā (027-3PYS)

2.5.2.3 Non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particle ADJ/ADV+dζē ηā (028-3PYS)

2.5.3 Superlative appreciation

2.5.3.1 Visual superlative appreciation particle [ʔa tʃʰ] nāʔ mà tsʰē ADJ/ADV+ηā (029-2/3PZS)

2.5.3.2 Non-visual superlative appreciation particle [ʔa tʃʰ] nāʔ mà tsʰē +ADJ/ADV pā (030-3PZS)

2.5.4 Absolutive appreciation

2.5.4.1 Visual absolutive appreciation particle dū dū ηā (~sū sū ηā) (031-2/3PBS)
2.5.4.2 Non-visual absolutive appreciation particle $du$$u$$ua$$nä$ (032-3PBS)
2.5.4.3 Hyper-appreciation particle $zä$ +ADJ/ADV+$nä/nä$ (033-2/3PBS)
2.5.4.4 Exclamatory appreciation particle $gä$$në-$$ä$ (034-2/3PBS)

2.6 Contra-expectation

2.6.1 Negative visual contra-expectation particle $l$$5$$h$$5$$y$$ä$ (035-3NCS)
2.6.2 Positive visual contra-expectation particle $l$$5$$h$$5$$y$$ä$ (036-3PCS)
2.6.3 Negative non-visual contra-expectation particle $l$$5$$h$$5$$n$$ä$ (037-3NCS)
2.6.4 Positive non-visual contra-expectation particle $l$$5$$h$$5$$m$$i-$$ä$ (038-3PCS)
2.6.5 Onomatopoeic contra-expectation particle ?dë (039-3PCS)

2.7 Negative prediction

2.7.1 Generic negative prediction particle $l$$u$$ʔ$$-$$ä$ (040-2/3NTS)
2.7.2 Visual negative prediction particle $l$$u$$ʔ$$nä$ (041-2/3NTS)
2.7.3 Non-visual negative prediction particle $l$$u$$ʔ$$nä$ (042-2/3NTS)

Chapter 3

JUSSIVES

3.0 Introduction

3.1 Command

3.1.1 Command particle -$ä$ (043-2PIS)
3.1.2 Prohibitive particle $ô$ (044-2NIS)
3.1.3 Reproach command particle $t$$b$$ô$ (045-2IS)

3.2 Negative imperatives

3.2.1 Offensive refutal particle $ô$ (46-2NIS)
3.2.2 Defensive refutal particle $ô$ (047-1NIS)
3.2.3 Disapproval critical particle lɔ tʰɔ (048-2NIS).................................92
3.2.4 Impatient critical particle -ɔ-é (049-2NIS).....................................95
3.2.5 Argumentative denial particle -è (050-NIS).................................96
3.3 Mitigatives ......................................................................................99
  3.3.1 Petitionary mitigative particle nè là? (~nè là?) (051-1MS) ..........99
  3.3.2 Requesting mitigative particle fé (052-1MS)...............................102
  3.3.3 Surrendering mitigative particle má-i (053-1MS).......................103
  3.3.4 Formally notifying mitigative particle là (054-1PMS)..................105
  3.3.5 Semi-request notifying mitigative particle hɔlà (055-1PMS).......106
  3.3.6 Notifying mitigative particle fà lù (~fà-mù) (56-1PMS) ..........108
3.4 Exhortatives ..................................................................................109
  3.4.1 Demonstrative exhortative particle lɔ (057-2ES) .......................109
  3.4.2 Patronal exhortative particle dë (058-2ES) ...............................113
  3.4.3 Beneficial benedictive particle lùʔ-ù (059-2/3PES) ...................115
  3.4.4 Tolerant benedictive particle lùlù (060-3ES) ...............................117
  3.4.5 Admonition exhortative particle nì (061-2PES) .......................119
3.5 Hortatives ......................................................................................122
  3.5.1 Bilateral hortative particle kʰá-á (~kʰáá~báá) (062-2PHS) ........122
  3.5.2 Initiative consolidation particle là (063-2PHS) ............................123
  3.5.3 Persuasive consolidation particle ?élɔ (064-2PHS) ...............125
3.6 Proposal .........................................................................................127
  3.6.1 Voluntary proposal particle njá (065-1PPS) .............................127
  3.6.2 Obtrusive proposal particle lā (~ā) (066-1PPS) ....................129
3.7 Advisory ......................................................................................131
3.7.1 Amendment advisory particle  \( p^b \)àyā (067-2PVS).................131
3.7.2 Disapproval advisory particle  \( p^b \)àyā (068-2PVS).................133
3.7.3 Assertive advisory particle  \( p^b \)̀mē  (069-2PVS).........................137
3.7.4 Depreciative advisory particle -\( \ddot{\text{m}}^h \)\( \ddot{\text{s}} \)  (070-2PVS)........139
3.7.5 Alternative advisory particle \( \text{mì-à} \)  (071-2PVS)..................141

3.8 Precaution .........................................................................................143
3.8.1 Admonitory precautionary particle \( n\ddot{m} \)  (072-2PWS)...............144
3.8.2 Preclusive precautionary particle \( m\ddot{a} \)  (073-2WS)....................146
3.8.3 Conjectural precautionary particle \( b\ddot{5}l\ddot{e} \)  (074-3NWS)........149

Chapter 4 ..................................................................................................151

4.0 Introduction.........................................................................................151
4.1 Inquisitive interrogatives .................................................................152
4.1.1 Inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^b \)\( \ddot{e} \)  (075-2QIS)..............152
4.1.2 Inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^b \)\( \ddot{a} \)  (076-3QIS)...............155
4.1.3 Generic inquisitive interrogative particle -\( \ddot{a} \)  (077-3QIS)..........156
4.1.4 Visual inquisitive interrogative particle \( y\ddot{a} \)  (078-3QIS).........158
4.1.5 Non-visual inquisitive interrogative particle \( p\ddot{a} \)  (079-3QIS).......160
4.1.6 Attitudinal interrogative particle \( t^b \)\( \ddot{s} \)  (080-2/3QIS).........162
4.1.7 Attitudinal interrogative particle \( n\ddot{e} \)  (081-2/3QIS)............164
4.2 Yes-no interrogatives .........................................................................165
4.2.1 Yes-no interrogative particle \( l\ddot{o} \)  (082-2QYS).....................166
4.2.2 Yes-no interrogative particle \( l\ddot{a} \)  (083-2QYS).....................168
4.2.3 Yes-no interrogative particle \( l\ddot{e} \)  (084-2QYS).....................170
Chapter 5 ................................................................................................................................. 174
MISCELLANEOUS PARTICLES .............................................................................................. 174
  5.0 Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 174
  5.1 Third person speaker marker particle $ná-š$ (085-3SMS) ............................................. 174
  5.2 Third person quotation marker particle $džé$ (086-3QMS) ........................................... 176
  5.3 Reiterative particle $lé$ (087-2RS) ................................................................................. 177
Chapter 6 .................................................................................................................................. 179
CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................. 179
  6.1 Summary ......................................................................................................................... 179
  6.2 Further research ............................................................................................................... 180
Appendix .................................................................................................................................... 183
bibliography ............................................................................................................................... 187
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Functions of the statement particle $mē (~mē)$ (001-3PSS) ........................................11
Table 2. Functions of the generic positive statement particle $mā (~mā)$ (002-1PSS) 12
Table 3. Functions of the non-visual positive statement particle $mī-ā$ (003-1PSS) ....14
Table 4. Functions of the visual positive statement particle $ηā (~ηā-ā)$ (004-1PSS).16
Table 5. Functions of the generic non-first person negative statement particle $-ā (~ā)$
 (005-2/3NSS) ..................................................................................................................17
Table 6. Functions of the first person negative non-visual statement particle $μā (~μā)$
 (006-1NSS) ......................................................................................................................18
Table 7. Functions of the positive presumption particle $tē-ʔā$ (007-PUS) ...............21
Table 8. Functions of the negative weak assertion declarative particle $-á (~jā)$ (008-
NUS) ....................................................................................................................................22
Table 9. Functions of the denial confrontational particle $bō$ (009-1NFS) .............23
Table 10. Functions of the confrontation particle $-ābō (~ābō)$ (010-3NFS) ..........25
Table 11. Functions of the insistent confrontation particle $mā (~mā) bō$ (011-1PFS)27
Table 12. Functions of the insistent confrontation particle $mē (~mē) bō$ (012-3PFS).29
Table 13. Functions of the justifying confrontation particle $-bō$ (013-2/3FS)........31
Table 14. Functions of the strident denial particle $ο$ (014-1NDS) .................33
Table 15. Functions of the persistent denial particle $nō$ (015-ND) ......................37
Table 16. Functions of the positive speculative particle $dʒêmê$ (016-3PPS).................39

Table 17. Functions of the negative porobability particle $dʒê-ä$ (017-3NPS).................41

Table 18. Functions of the visual positive probability particle $dʒêγá$ (018-3PPS) ....43

Table 19. Functions of the third person visual negative probability particle

\[ \etaóγá (\sim dʒêγá) (019-3NPS) \] .................................................................45

Table 20. Functions of the irrealis probability particle $sì$ (020-NPS).........................47

Table 21. Functions of the positive possibility particle $dú$ (021-3POS) .......................49

Table 22. Functions of the negative possibility particle $p^hâ$ (022-3NOS).................51

Table 23. Functions of the visual positive appreciation particle $j̃ ñù pá$

\[ (\sim zó ñù pá) (023-2/3PXS) \] ...........................................................................54

Table 24. Functions of the auditory positive appreciation particle $ná hà ñù mì-ä$

(024-3PXS) ...........................................................................................................55

Table 25. Functions of the non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle

\[ j̃+ADJ/ADV+pá (25-3PXS) \] .................................................................................57

Table 26. Functions of the visual comparative appreciation particle

\[ ADJ/ADV+dʒê pá (026-2/3PYS) \] .........................................................................59

Table 27. Functions of the auditory comparative appreciation particle $mù dʒê pá$

(027-3PYS) ..............................................................................................................61

Table 28. Functions of the non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particle $k^hú$

\[ dʒê pá (028-3PYS) \] ............................................................................................62
Table 29. Functions of the visual superlative appreciation particle \(?à \ terre nà? \ mà \ ts\check{e}\) mû yà (029-2/3PZS)........................................................................64

Table 30. Functions of non-visual superlative appreciation particle \(?à \ terre nà? \ mà \ ts\check{e}\) + ADJ/ADV + nā (030-3PZS)........................................................................66

Table 31. Functions of the visual absolutive appreciation particle dû dû yà (-sú sú yà) (031-2/3PBS)........................................................................................................67

Table 32. Functions of non-visual absolutive particle appreciation particle dû dû nā (032-3PBS)........................................................................................................69

Table 33. Functions of the hyper-appreciation particle zî+ADJ/ADV+ yā/nā (033-2/3PBS)........................................................................................................72

Table 34. Functions of the exclamatory appreciation particle gá nē-à (034-2/3PBS) 74

Table 35. Functions of the negative visual contra-expectation particle lî hō yà (035-2/3PZS)........................................................................................................76

Table 36. Functions of positive visual contra-expectation particle lî hō yà (036-3PCS)........................................................................................................77

Table 37. Functions of negative non-visual contra-expectation particle lî hō nà (037-3NCS)........................................................................................................79

Table 38. Functions of the positive non-visual contra-expectation particle lî hō mî-ā (038-3PCS)........................................................................................................80

Table 39. Functions the onomatopoeic contra-expectation particle ?ô-ē (039-3PCS) 81

Table 40. Functions of the generic negative prediction particle lù?-à (040-2/3NTS).83
Table 41. Functions of the visual negative prediction particle lùʔyá (041-2/3NTS) ...83
Table 42. Functions of the non-visual prediction particle lùʔyá (042-2/3NTS) ........84
Table 43. Functions of command particle -ɔ (043-2PIS) ....................................86
Table 44. Functions of the prohibitive particle ɔ (044-2NIS) ................................87
Table 45. Functions of the reproach imperative particle tʰò (045-2IS) ...............89
Table 46. Functions of the offensive refutal particle ɔ (046-2NIS) .................91
Table 47. Functions of the defensive refutal particle ɔ ........................................(047-1NIS) 92
Table 48. Functions of the disapproval critical particle ló tʰò (048-2NIS) ..........94
Table 49. Functions of the impatient critical particle -ɔ-é (049-2NIS) ..............96
Table 50. Functions of the argumentative denial particle -è (050-NIS) .............99
Table 51. Functions of the petitionary mitigative particle nè làʔ (~nè lèʔ) (051-1MS)101
Table 52. Functions of requesting mitigative particle jé (052-1MS) ..................103
Table 53. Functions of the surrendering mitigative particle má-î (053-1MS) ....105
Table 54. Functions of formally notifying mitigative particle lā (54-1PMS) ........106
Table 55. Functions of semi-request mitigative particle hōlā (55-1PMS) ...........107
Table 56. Functions of the notifying mitigative particle fālū (~fā-mū) (56-1PMS) ..108
Table 57. Functions of the demonstrative exhortative particle lò (057-2ES) .......112
Table 58. Functions of the patronal exhortative particle dē (058-2ES) .............114
Table 59. Functions of the beneficial benedictive particle lùʔ-ú (059-2/3PES) ...116

xx
Table 60. Functions of the tolerant benedictive particle lā (060-3ES)..................119
Table 61. Functions of admonition exhortative particle nnī (061-2PES)...............122
Table 62. Functions of hortative exhortatory particle k'hā-ā (~k'hābā ~bā) (062-2PHS)123
Table 63. Functions of consolidation particle là (063-2PHS).............................124
Table 64. Functions of consolidation particle ḗēlā (064-2PHS).........................127
Table 65. Functions of the voluntary proposal particle ṇā (065-1PPS) .................129
Table 66. Functions of the obtrusive proposal particle ā (~ā) (066-1PPS)............130
Table 67. Functions of the amendment advisory particle p'hāyā (067-2PVS) ......133
Table 68. Functions of the disapproval advisory particle p'hāyā (068-2PVS) ......136
Table 69. Functions of the assertive advisory particle p'hāmē (069-2PVS) ............139
Table 70. Functions of the depreciative advisory particle -t'hā (~lā) (070-2PVS) 141
Table 71. Functions of advisory particle mī-ā (071-2PVS)..............................143
Table 72. Functions of the admonitory precautionary particle nnī (072-2PWS)......145
Table 73. Functions of the preclusive precautionary particle mā (73-2WS) ...........149
Table 74. Functions of the conjectural precautionary particle bā lē (074-3NWS)...150
Table 75. Functions of the inquisitive interrogative particle t'hē (t'hē~dē~dē) (075-2QIS).................................................................................................154
Table 76. Functions of the inquisitive interrogative particle t'hā (~t'hā~dā~dā) (076-3QIS)........................................................................................................156
Table 77. Functions of the inquisitive interrogative particle -ā (077-3QIS) ..........158
Table 78. Functions of the visual inquisitive interrogative particle ŋā (078-3QIS) ..159
Table 79. Functions of the non-visual inquisitive interrogative particle, nā (079-3QIS) 161
Table 80. Functional comparison of -ā, ŋā and nā ..........................................................162
Table 81. Functions of the attitudinal interrogative particle ḫb (080-2/3QIS) ........164
Table 82. Functions of the attitudinal interrogative particle ń (081-2/3QIS) .........165
Table 83. Functions of the yes-no interrogative particle lō (082-2QYS) ...............168
Table 84. Functions of the yes-no interrogative particle lā (083-2QYS) ...............170
Table 85. Functions of the yes-no interrogative particle le (084-2QYS) ...............173
Table 86. Functions of the third person speaker marker particle ṇā (085-3SMS) .175
Table 87. Functions of the third person quotation marker particle dē (086-3QMS)177
Table 88. Functions of the reiterative imperative particle lé (087-2RIS) ...............178
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Basic Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>Ṽá, Ṽà</td>
<td>First Person Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>nò, nò</td>
<td>Second Person Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ḵà ḵò?</td>
<td>Third Person Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>lá</td>
<td>Ablative (downward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td>Alternative Connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>-ú</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>-ò</td>
<td>Addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGNT</td>
<td>nè</td>
<td>Agent Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>jò</td>
<td>Adjective Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td>Adverb Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAVS</td>
<td>là'?</td>
<td>Beneficiary Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Ṽó</td>
<td>Verb “Be”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVP</td>
<td>jà</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVS</td>
<td>nè</td>
<td>Beneficiary Elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAS</td>
<td>dzè</td>
<td>Comparative Adjective Suffix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xxiii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>lé</td>
<td>Causative Clause Connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td></td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS</td>
<td>lù?</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVS</td>
<td>yê</td>
<td>Deviatory Elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBVS</td>
<td>nè</td>
<td>Elative Beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>lé, -í</td>
<td>Elative Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>Human Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>nè</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-ú</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCSI</td>
<td>nmì (nmì-nì)</td>
<td>Negative Connotative Sentence Initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>bì</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLT</td>
<td>tʰpóʔ</td>
<td>Polite Expression Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRHB</td>
<td>tʰà</td>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>bì</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>nì</td>
<td>Reverse Connective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RLS  Realis
RECI P  Reciprocal
RMVS  jàl Remoteness Marker
RVP  pʰá Reiterative
SPEC  Specifier
SUBJ  Subject
TEVS  hā Transportive Elative
TRNS  Transitive
VS1  -₃ Verb Suffix (Present Tense)
VS2  -ød Verb Suffix (Past Tense)
*  Grammatically unacceptable example

Abbreviation of Code Names

01-88  Particle Serial Number
1  First Person
1/2  Non-third Person
2  Second Person
2/3  Non-first Person
3  Third Person
ES  Exhortative Sentence particle
MS  Mitigative Sentence particle
NCS  Negative Contra-expectation Sentence particle
NDS  Negative Denial Sentence particle
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NFS</td>
<td>Negative Confrontation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTS</td>
<td>Negative Prediction Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIS</td>
<td>Negative Command/Imperative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOS</td>
<td>Negative Possibility Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS</td>
<td>Generic Negative Statement Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUS</td>
<td>Negative Presumption Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWS</td>
<td>Negative Precautionary Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS</td>
<td>Positive Absolutive Appreciation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS</td>
<td>Positive Contra-expectation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PES</td>
<td>Positive Exhortative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS</td>
<td>Positive Confrontation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHS</td>
<td>Positive Exhortatory Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIS</td>
<td>Positive Command/Imperative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMS</td>
<td>Positive Mitigative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Positive Possibility Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPS</td>
<td>Positive Probability Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSS</td>
<td>Generic Positive Statement Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUS</td>
<td>Positive Presumption Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVS</td>
<td>Positive Advisory Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWS</td>
<td>Positive Precautionary Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PXS</td>
<td>Positive Appreciation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PYS</td>
<td>Positive Comparative Appreciation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PZS</td>
<td>Positive Superlative Appreciation Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QIS</td>
<td>Inquisitive Interrogative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QMS</td>
<td>Quotation Marker Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>Yes-no Interrogative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIS</td>
<td>Reiterative Imperative Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS</td>
<td>Speaker Marker Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS</td>
<td>Precautionary Sentence particle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Akha language has a great number of particles that play an important role in grammar. Those particles can be divided into two groups, phrase particles and sentence particles. The phrase particles may be further divided into verb particles, noun particles, adverb particles and adjective particles, which mainly function to modify the respective phrases.

The sentence particles mainly function as sentence type markers of different categories of sentences that come under three major categories: declarative, jussive and interrogative. Beside these major functions, most particles may also function as subject person marker, positive/negative marker and tense marker.

This thesis will discuss Akha sentence particles as spoken by Jerway speakers from North-eastern Myanmar, Northern Thailand, South-western Yunnan and North-western Laos. The Jerway dialect, which is regarded as the standard Akha dialect upon which written Akha is based, has more sentence particles than other Akha dialects. Some Akha dialects, which are geographically distant from the Jerway dialect, have lost some important sentence particles and this poses a major obstacle in dialect intelligibility.

1.1 General information

1.1.1 Language names

The Akha are known by a variety of exonyms in the various regions of Southeast Asia.
The Tai peoples of Shan State, Myanmar, have used the name ‘I Kaw’ to refer to the Akha, a contemptuous name with a feminine connotation, as some Akha take it, since they are usually neutral in inter-people-group conflicts. This was shortened to ‘Kaw’, a derogatory name that they are still often called. Contemporary Akha think that any name with the syllable ‘Kaw’ is a contemptuous reference to them. A few years ago the Akha Cultural Committee of Myanmar complained about these negative names, and ‘Akha’ was adopted as the new official name by the Myanmar government (Kya Heh 1999a).

Akha is officially called ‘Ai Ni’, or ‘Za Ni’, in China and included under the Hani nationality. ‘Kha Kaw’ is their common name in Laos and Vietnam. The Lahu and the Karen call them ‘Taw Kaw’. The Akha have also been referred to by the following names (and spellings of names) in various written materials: Aini, Aka, Ak'a, Ekaw, Ekwa, Ikaw Khao, Ikho, Ikor, Khako, Kha Ko, Ko and Woni.

1.1.2 Population

The Ethnologue Grimes (2000) suggests a total population of 450,000, distributed as follows: 103,600 in China, 103,600 in Myanmar, 60,000 in Thailand, 58,000 in Laos, and 1,261 in Vietnam.¹ The most recent Akha self-estimates of population are: Total 1,230,000; China 700,000, Myanmar 400,000, Thailand 70,000, Laos 60,000 (Akha Cultural Committee of Myanmar, 1994).

It seems that population between 400,000 and 500,000 is reasonable estimate, although no adequate, comprehensive census data is available.

1.1.3 Geographical distribution

The homeland of the Akha is China, in Southwest Yunnan (Xixhuanbanna and Lacang Prefectures) where the great majority still live (Lewis 1984). Akha also live in Myanmar (Burma), in the eastern part of Keng Tung District in the Shan State. Smaller populations of Akha live in Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai and Mae Hong Son Provinces of northern Thailand, extreme northern and northwest Laos (Phongsali and adjacent areas) and northern Vietnam.

1.2 Review of relevant literature

Several linguists have made important contributions to the linguistic study of Akha dialects spoken mostly in Thailand and adjacent areas of Burma. These include Inga-Lill Hansson, Paul Lewis, David Bradley, David Whitley Dellinger, Søren Egerod and Makio Katsura. Their contributions will be summarized in two categories: phonological interpretation and grammatical description.

1.2.1 Phonology

Inga-Lill Hansson, of Lund University, Sweden, has spent more than two decades conducting extensive linguistic research among the Akha in northern Thailand (1985, 1988, 1989..). Hansson’s earlier contribution was phonological comparisons of some Akha and Hani dialects. She compared Hani data with the main dialect of Akha spoken in Thailand and Myanmar based mainly on her own files from Thailand and on Lewis’ (1986) data from Myanmar.

David Bradley (1996), of Latrobe University, Australia, has contributed to a wider view of Akha dialects, interpreting the internal phonological relations of Akha dialects spoken in China, Burma, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, as well as their phonological relationship with other Loloish languages. In his article ‘Tibeto-Burman Languages of PDR Lao’ he presents 15 Akha subgroups with official names given by the Laotian government (Kophen, Ko Chi cho, Pou Ly, Pa Na, Phou Khoua, Lou Ma,
Mou chy, Oe Pa, Chy Piau, Mou toe, Py Xo, Py Lou, O Ma, Ma Mouang, Kong Sat) and nine additional smaller Akha sub-groups (Pusang, Boche, Nuki/Nuquay, Nuchi, Rala, Chapo, Mukuy and Akui). According to his report, there are 24 Akha sub-groups in PDR Laos alone!

In an earlier paper ‘Akha and southern Loloish’ Bradley (1977) gives a general description of Akha and Hani dialects so far studied to give an overall picture of the language subgroup in Southern China and adjacent areas in South-east Asia.

Paul Lewis, who created the most popular Akha orthography, has described Akha phonology in several articles. The descriptions he made on Akha consonants, vowels, tones, syllable formation and phonological change are important contribution to Akha linguistics.

In his article ‘Tone in the Akha language’ Lewis (1973) describes important features of Akha tones such as tone structure, syntactic tonal change, tone and Akha music, tone change through time, and the relation between the tones and the two classes of vowels he distinguishes as oral vowels and pharyngealized vowels. An interesting analysis made by him is that the percentage of each tone used in the spoken Akha language is: 33% high tone, 25% mid tone, 29% low tone, 4.5 % laryngealized mid tone, and 8.5 % laryngealized low tone.

Makio Katsura (1966) describes the phonology of the Alu dialect, which he mentioned as one of the Akha dialects spoken in Thailand. The phonology is similar to the Jerjaw dialect, the second largest sub-group of Akha spoken in Myanmar, Thailand and Laos. His phonology of Alu has the same quantity of tonemes as other Akha dialects. However, his interpretation of high and low tones as contour tones is interesting because all Akha dialects spoken in Mainland Southeast Asia, except the three Luma dialects spoken in Northern Lao and Southern Yunnan that have tone similarity with the Akhui language, are rather conservative with high and low
registered tones. The dialect name ‘Alu’ itself is not known to native Akha speakers in Myanmar, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam.

1.2.2 Grammar

Dellinger’s Aspects model described Akha grammar based on Chomsky (1965). His work provides worthwhile information on the structure of Akha grammar. The description of the syntactic component, especially the role of verb particles in phrase level, is excellent whereas the descriptions on the phonological and semantic components are rather weak. Furthermore, he makes no distinction between phrase particles and sentence particles.

Segments smaller than word are omitted in his analysis. He makes the point clear that the Akha grammar is not a rigidly explicit sort of transformational grammar, rather that he has sought to couch his explanations in the framework of transformational theory (page iii). His transformational description focuses solely on the syntactic and phonological components, leaving out the semantic component. The syntactic component is divided into two parts, the base component and the transformational component. The base component itself is further divided into two parts, the categorial subcomponent and the lexicon.

While Dellinger’s Akha grammar provides an excellent picture of the surface structure, it fails to describe the underlying meaning changes that come along with the changed constituent order in the surface structure.

Inga-Lill Hansson contributed worthwhile information on Akha grammar through a number of articles and presentations. In her article ‘Object Verb in Akha: The ABB Structure (1996b),’ she presents numerous examples of noun-verb constructions---syntactically mostly object-verb---where the verb has the same phonetic shape as the second syllable of the preceding noun (ABB), which are sometimes referred to as cognate object constructions.
In her article ‘Verb Concatenation in Akha,’ Hansson (1985) describes which position the various verbs can have inside a concatenation, the semantic components involved, and the verbal auxiliaries that can intervene in the concatenation. In another article, ‘The Word Order of Akha Nouns,’ describes the locations of Akha nouns through recorded texts, comprising 14000 words of stories, narratives, interviews and conversations. She states that a pronoun as a subject has a tendency to be manifest as zero anaphora when not stressed or in contrast, especially in questions.

1.2.3 Particles

Some information contributed by Paul W. Lewis, Inga-Lill Hansson and Søren Egerod sheds light on Akha particles. Lewis, a former missionary linguist among the Akha in Myanmar, gives a basic semantic interpretation of some particles in an unpublished paper titled ‘Final Particles in Akha’ (1978) and did give a basic semantic interpretation. Nonetheless, he stopped short of classifying the particles or assigning grammatical terms to them.

Inga-Lill Hansson (1996a) has written an interesting article entitled ‘The Interplay Between the Verb Particle ‘ə’ and the Sentence Particles in Akha,’ in which sentence particles (sP) and final particles (fP) are clearly contrasted with adverb particle (aP), noun particles (nP) and verb particles (vP). Hansson and Egerod’s ‘Aspects of Akha Grammar,’ (1976) is indeed a very interesting article that analyses the contrast between the evidential sensorial sentence particles with non-evidential sentence particles and non-sentence particles. This article also describes one system of sentence particles which distinguishes the contrasting features of ‘first person prime mover – non-first person prime mover’, ‘past – non-past’, ‘expectation – non-expectation’, and ‘positive – negative’.

Søren Egerod’s description of the bigeneric nature of the Akha verb and tone difference on the verb particle (suffix) -ə as tense marker in his article ‘Typological
Features in Akha’ further describes the role of sentence particles in Akha grammar. The following elaboration in his article shows how sophisticated semantic expressions are packed up in the particles:

If we consider the relationship of the speaker (or the prime mover) to the utterance we find that the Akha system of sentence particles in each utterance takes a stand on whether it is a matter of a first move, a lead, a beginning, or not; whether it is an accord, an assertion or not; whether it is a matter of knowledge or not; and whether there is personal involvement or not…(1985:120).

Egerod presents the structural relationship of particles in concatenation, which is the most sophisticated part of Akha morphology. He also presents a good picture of phonemic representation and phonetic variation in tonal sandhi of Akha language. He distinguishes sentence particle from the phrase particles that share identical phonetic form, a valuable contribution to Akha morphology.

1.3 The goal of this thesis

Akha sentence final particles, like those of other Yi-Burmese languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family, play a very important role in the grammar. These small dependent grammatical units not only determine whether a statement is factual, or evidential, or predictive, or conjecture, but also disclose the attitude and emotion of the speaker.

This thesis is part of a larger effort to understand the role of particles in Akha-Hani dialects specifically, and in Yi-Burmese languages generally. The goal of this thesis is to describe the structure and function of the Akha sentence final particles as spoken by Jerway dialect speakers. This thesis will first and foremost serve a descriptive purpose. It is hoped that this description will serve as inspiration for scholars interested in the theoretical implications of particle usage in southeast Asia.
1.4 Methodology

The data of this research is from a variety of resources such as recorded texts, observed conversation, and personal knowledge. Most of the declaratives, some of jussives and interrogatives are from selected published folktales (Lewis 1989). The remaining examples were drawn from observation of daily communication and personal knowledge since the researcher himself is a native speaker of the Jerway dialect.

Only those particles that function as sentence finals were selected for this research. The particles were then sorted into three broad categories based on sentence type: declaratives, jussives, and interrogatives. The particles that do not fit into any of these categories are analyzed in miscellaneous category.

The declaratives are analyzed in seven subcategories: statement, weak assertion, probability, possibility, appreciation, contra-expectation, and negative prediction. The jussives are analyzed in eight subcategories: command, negative imparative, mitigative, exhortative, hortative, proposal, advisory and precaution. The interrogatives are analyzed in two subcategories: Content questions and Yes-No questions.

Each particle is described in terms of its structure and function: the structure is illustrated in examples and the functions are summarized in a table which describes four functional areas of each particle such as sentence type restrictions, subject-person reference restrictions, temporal reference and polarity marking.

Particles that have similar phonetics, structure and function are carefully compared and contrasted to each other so that each particle can be thoroughly determined. Each particle is given a technical identification code number for category identification as well for easier reference in cross-sectional discussion (see Abbreviations for a description of the coding).
CHAPTER 2

DECLARATIVES

2.0 Introduction

Akha declarative sentence particles are contrasted with interrogative and imperative sentence particles in this paper. The declarative particles are divided into seven categories: statement, weak assertion, probability, possibility, appreciation, contra-expectation, and negative prediction. Some categories are further divided, describing particles that have similar features and semantics, in order to make the wider picture of particle relationship clearer.

2.1 Statement

A statement sentence is strongly asserted to be true, the speaker being ready to back up the assertion with evidence or argument. Akha statement sentences are marked by a variety of evidential statement particles denoted in terms of the parties to which the subjects of sentences belong, in terms of positive or negative sentence construction, different tenses, and different sources from which a speaker draws a conclusion.

Statement particles may be divided into in two sub-categories, positive statement particles and negative statement particles. Particles in each category are contrasted in terms of different types of evidential experience based on generic, visual, and non-visual sensations. They also contrast in terms of different subject persons, for which these particles function as markers.

2.1.1 Positive statement

There are four positive statement particles in Akha language. these contrast with the two negative statement particles, which will be discussed in the next section. The four positive particles themselves contrast with each other in the function of marking
different subject-person, and also in terms of different sensations on which the evidence for different statements is based.

### 2.1.1.1 Generic positive statement particle \( m\bar{e} \) (\( \sim m\bar{e} \)) (001-2/3PSS)

The non-first person generic positive statement sentence particle \( m\bar{e} \) (\( \sim m\bar{e} \)) (001-2/3PSS) is normally used when the speaker makes a positive statement about a third party, without stating any sensorial realization on which the evidential statement is based on. It is a widely used particle in the Akha language and one of the most frequently used sentence finals in Akha narratives as well as formal conversation. It may co-occur with several other sentence particles of different categories.

The subject of a \( m\bar{e} \) sentence is always third person and the subject is rarely expressed in the sentence because the particle functions as the subject person identifier. \( m\bar{e} \) also includes an evidential meaning. An Akha speaker will never use this particle unless he talks about something he himself has witnessed.

The structure of a sentence that takes the statement particle \( m\bar{e} \) (001-2/3PSS) as a sentence final could be simple or complex. Example 2.1.1 is a simple sentence and example 2.1.2 is a complex sentence.

(2.1.1)

\[
\begin{align*}
d\dot{z}\dot{\mathrm{c}} & \; m\bar{e} \\
\text{live (001-2/3PSS)} & \\
\text{‘[He] is [at home].}
\end{align*}
\]

(2.1.2)

\[
\begin{align*}
l\ddot{e}\ddot{\mathrm{c}} & \; -\ddot{a}\ddot{\mathrm{c}} \; i \; -\ddot{s} \; l\ddot{e} \; \gamma\ddot{e} \; \gamma\ddot{e} \; -\ddot{c} \; d\dot{z}\dot{\mathrm{c}} \; m\bar{e} \\
\text{market LOC go VS1 CCC about AC live (001-2/3PSS)} & \\
\text{‘[He] is [at home], but he is about to go to the market’}
\end{align*}
\]
Normally, the syntactic position of particle $m\ddot{e}$ is sentence final. But, it may be followed by the quotative marker $d\ddot{z}\ddot{e}$. For instance, in the sentence $d\ddot{z}\ddot{e}$ $m\ddot{e}$ $d\ddot{z}\ddot{e}$ ‘[He/she/they say] he is at home,’ particle $m\ddot{e}$ precedes particle $d\ddot{z}\ddot{e}$, which means the statement sentence marked by $m\ddot{e}$ is embedded in the quotative sentence marked by $d\ddot{z}\ddot{e}$ (see section 5.2).

The statement particle $m\ddot{e}$ has four functions: a statement sentence marker, a non-first person subject marker, a positive sentence marker, and present tense or past tense marker depending on tone changes as summarized in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m\ddot{e}$ ($\sim m\ddot{e}$) (001-2/3PSS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Statement sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Mid-tone on $m\ddot{e}$ is the present tense marker Low tone on ($\sim m\ddot{e}$) is the past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Functions of the statement particle $m\ddot{e}$ ($\sim m\ddot{e}$) (001-3PSS)

Mid-tone on $m\ddot{e}$ identifies non-past tense and slightly rising low tone identifies past tense. The low tone which marks past tense is pressed down to the level of the Black Lahu extra low tone, so that the particle $m\ddot{e}$ is distinguished from the verb $m\ddot{e}$, ‘to preach or to teach,’ which is always a registered tone. When the particle is on the mid-tone it marks the third person subject only, but when it is on the low tone, it marks either the second person or third person subject.

2.1.1.2 Generic positive statement particle $m\dot{a}$ ($\sim m\dot{a}$) (002-1PSS)

The first person positive statement particle $m\ddot{a}$ ($\sim m\ddot{a}$) (002-1PSS) is used when a speaker makes a statement about him/herself. Its usage in spoken Akha is as frequent as the non-first person positive statement particle $m\ddot{e}$ (001-2/3PSS). The two particles
contrast only in subject-person. mā (~mà) marks first person subject whereas mē markes non-first person person subject.

The syntactic position is the same as the particle mē, occurring clause finally (see examples 2.1.3 and 2.1.4).

\[
\text{Example 2.1.3) } \quad d₃ \quad mā \quad \text{live (002-1PSS)}
\]

‘[I] am, [at home].

\[
\text{Example 2.1.4) } \quad lō? \quad -āl \quad ʔī \quad -ō \quad lē \quad yēyē \quad -ē \quad d₃ \quad mā \quad \text{market LOC go VS1 CCC about AC live (002-1PSS)}
\]

‘[I] am [at home], but I am about to go to the market’

The particle mā (~mà) has four functions (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā (~mà)</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Statement sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(002-1PSS)</td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Mid-tone on mā is the present tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low tone on mā is the past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Functions of the generic positive statement particle mā

(~mà) (002-1PSS)

As in the case with the non-first person positive and negative statement particles mè (001-2/3PSS), the low tone on the particle mā has is slightly rising so that this particle is distinguished from the negative verb prefix mà which usually takes low level tone. For that reason, some speakers even pronounce this particle as mà-ā, so that the rising tone can be clearly heard.
The particle $mā$ is sometimes used for a promise, where it expresses a guarantee that it will actually take place. The promise $nī \overline{f}ō \, ?ī \, mā \, ‘[I] will go tomorrow’$ is a surety, rather than a projection, which is to be taken as already realized when it ends with the positive statement particle $mā$ instead of the weak assertion positive statement particle $tēʔ-ā$ (007-3PUS) which is a common particle to mark future tense.

2.1.1.3 Non-visual positive statement particle $mī-ā$ (003-1PSS)

The first person positive non-visual statement particle $mī-ā$ (003-1PSS) is used to express physical and emotional realizations based on non-visual (tactile, auditory, nostril and gustatory) sensations. It is used to express any kind of physical realization and inner feeling just as its negative counterpart $nā \, (\sim \, nā)$ (006-1NSS), so long as it is a subjective realization or perception. $nā \, (\sim \, nā)$, instead of $mī-ā$ may be used in positive sentences that imply contra-expectation. In folksongs, $mī-ā$ is pronounced $mī-nā$.

Among all Akha particles, the particle $mī-ā$ is highly emotive. Its great impact to the hearers is indescribable. Young folks often use it in folksongs to reveal their inner feelings. Most folksongs start with the famous prelude $γō \, fā \, mī-ā \, ‘What a pitiful guy am I’$ to express how the singer is tortured by his own feeling. No one can help weeping if they hear the same clause uttered by a person who is in great suffering.

Any statement that is marked by $mī-ā$ exclusively implies subjective realization in positive sense. It is never used for negative expressions in standard Akha. As a strict rule, the particle $mī-ā$ is never used in an objective or negative sense. It is self-addressed and self-contained. Therefore, the implicit obligatory subject of every $mī-ā$ sentence is the first person.
As mentioned above, the particle mí-ā is used to express all kinds of physical and emotional realizations a person has perceived through the four non-visual senses\(^2\). By uttering the sample sentence given in example 2.1.7, a speaker states his realization of the presence of the object by cognitive evidence through one of the five senses. He knows it is there through his experience of hearing its noise, or smelling its odor, or touching it, or tasting it with his tongue.

\[(2.1.7)\]

\[dʒ̪ма́
live \,(003-1PSS)\]

\[[He/she/they/it] is there.\]

When the same person realizes the absence of that object by the same experience, he cannot just repeat that sentence by adding a negative prefix. they must replace the particle as well. Therefore the negative sentence for example 2.1.7 is reconstructed as in example 2.1.8. (See section 2.1.2.2 for more details).

\[(2.1.8)\]

\[мà \ dʒ̪мà
not \ live \,(006-1NSS)\]

\[[He/she/they/it] is not there.\]

The particle mí-ā has four functions as summarized in Table 3. Unlike other statement particles, it has no tonal variants marking tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mí-ā (003-1PSS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Statement sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Functions of the non-visual positive statement particle mí-ā (003-1PSS)

---

\(^2\) mí-ā could be used in relation to vision only when a speaker states visibility based on the condition of his eyes. For instance, when he makes a statement that he can clearly see now since the speck in his eye has been removed, he would use this particle.
2.1.1.4 Visual positive statement particle ɲá (~ɲà-á) (004-1PSS)

The first person positive visual statement particle ɲá (~ɲà-á) (004-1PSS) is used to express objective visual perception, in contrast to a subjective visual realization that is marked by the particle mî-á (003-1PSS). When an Akha speaker says mî lá ɲá ‘It is visible,’ he means the object is in a visible position, but when he says mî lá mî-á ‘I can see it,’ he means either his eyes are in good condition or he is in the position of seeing it.

While ɲá is primarily used to express objective visual perception, it is also used to refer to mental images in conversation, reflecting what has been seen through eyes in the past or what is going to be visibly real, i.e. what is going to be real. The following examples illustrate the usage of this particle in physical and mental visibility.

(2.1.9)

\[ dʒɔ \quad ɲá \quad live \quad (004-1PSS) \]

[I saw that he/she/they/it] is over there.

Example 2.1.9 illustrates the reporting to a second person of an object that is presently being seen by the speaker.

(2.1.10)

\[ jā \quad ḟì \quad ɲá \quad must \quad die \quad (004-1PSS) \]

[He/she/they/it] must die.

Example 2.1.10 illustrates a statement that expresses mental perception of the third person living being(s) who is actually going to die.

The particle ɲá (~ɲà-á) has four functions (see Table 4).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>या (~या-ध)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Statement sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(004-1PSS)</td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>~या and ~या-ध are positive sentence markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~या and ~या are negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>~या is present continuous and future tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~या is present tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~या is past tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~या-ध is perfect tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Functions of the visual positive statement particle या (~या-ध) (004-1PSS)

### 2.1.2 Negative statement

There are only two negative statement particles in the Akha language, in contrast to the four positive statement particles (section 2.1.1). While both particles represent generic sensations, they contrast with each other in respect to different subject-person markers.

#### 2.1.2.1 Generic negative statement particle -अ (~ऄ) (005-2/3NSS)

The generic non-first person negative statement particle -अ (~ऄ) (005-2/3NSS) is used when a speaker makes a negative statement about a third person. It is the negative counterpart of में (001-2/3PSS). Its syntactic distribution is almost the same as में, except that it always co-occurs with the denial or refusal negative verb prefix मा.

As in the case with में (001-2/3PSS), the particle -अ is used in sentences where the speaker gives a statement to the listener about a third party. A -अ sentence is always an evidential denial or refusal (see example 2.1.11).
My father is not [at home].

The generic non-first person negative statement particle -ā (~ā) (005-2/3NSS) has four functions (see Table 5). When the negative statement particle -ā (~ā) is in the present tense form -ā, it refers to the third person subject. Nevertheless, when it is in the past tense form -ā, it does not mark any specific person, i.e. it may mark any of the first, second and third persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ā (~ā)</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Statement sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>mid-tone -ā is present tense marker low tone (~ā) is past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Functions of the generic non-first person negative statement particle -ā (~ā) (005-2/3NSS)

2.1.2.2 Generic negative statement particle ɲā (~ɲā) (006-1NSS)

The first person negative non-visual statement particle ɲā (~ɲā) (006-1NSS) is used to express a speaker’s physical and emotional realization. It is used to express all kinds of physical realization through the five senses such as bodily pain, brightness of light, loudness of sound, sharpness of smell, spiciness of food, etc., and all kinds of emotional feelings such as love, hatred, passion, happiness, sadness, jealousy, etc. This particle may also be used in a positive sentence that implies contra-expectation, although its primary function is for negative expressions.
Nevertheless, any expression that is marked by the particle ɲā (~ɲà) is limited to a person’s subjective physical and emotional realization rather than objective perceptivity. For instance, the statement mà mọ lá ɲā (example 2.1.12) means ‘[I] cannot see it’ and the statement mà mọ lá ɲā means ‘[It is] out of my sight.’ The first statement expresses the viewer’s visual capability and the second statement expresses the visibility of the object.

(2.1.12)

\[
\text{NEG see ABL (006-1NSS)}
\]

[I] cannot see it.

(2.1.13)

\[
\text{NEG see ABL (004-1NSS)}
\]

[It is] out of my eye sight.

Functions of the first person negative non-visual statement particle ɲā (~ɲà) (006-1NSS) are summarized in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲā (~ɲà)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Statement sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Mid-tone ɲā is present tense marker Low tone (~ɲà) is past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Functions of the first person negative non-visual statement particle ɲā (~ɲà) (006-1NSS)

The mid-tone and low tone on the particle ɲā (~ɲà) are generally taken as present tense and past tense markers, with the low tone being pressed down to a lower point than the phonemic low tone and slightly rising. However, this particle is never used in past tense to represent visual realization.
The negative statement particle \( n\dot{a} (~n\dot{a}) \) (006-1NSS) is contrasted with the negative statement particle \(~\dot{a} \) (005-2/3NSS) in terms of subject-person marking.

### 2.2 Weak assertion

In the Akha language, there are some particles that have a weaker assertion than the statement particles described in section 2.1, but have stronger assertion degrees than those of probability (section 2.3) or possibility (section 2.4). Such particles are collectively called “weak assertion particles” in this paper. The weak assertion particles may be further classified as presumption, confrontational and denial categories.

#### 2.2.1 Presumption

The particles in presumption category are weakly asserted to be true; the speaker is not as ready to support the assertion as he is with the statement particles. Some adverbs like *maybe* and *hopefully* are English equivalents of Akha presumption particles.

##### 2.2.1.1 Positive presumption particle  \( t\dot{e}-\dot{n}\dot{a} \) (007-PUS)

The positive and negative presumption particles \( t\dot{e}-\dot{n}\dot{a} \) (007-PUS) and \(~\dot{a} \) (008-3NUS) have stronger assertion to be true than possibility and speculative particles. However, the weak assertion particles must be understood as taking something for granted or accepted as true without proof. Some native speakers would say *nà pà? bi p'ë? mā* ‘I would let my ear be cut off,’ betting their ears for the surety of a statement marked by \( t\dot{e}-\dot{n}\dot{a} \), showing excessive confidence for what is not realized yet. It is a surety in the speaker’s mind.
The particle *tè-*?á occurs only in positive sentences. The rule that the particle *tè-*?á only occurs in positive sentences is confusing when negative propositions are embedded in a positive sentence for which this particle is the sentence final. In that case, it is important to know the proposition boundary as well as superordination and subordination of adjoined propositions. For instance, in the sentence *mà ?í lé ?è tè?-á* ‘He will say “I will not go”,’ the negative proposition *mà ?í* ‘I will not go’ is subordinate to the positive proposition ?è tè?-á ‘he will say.’ Notice also that the connective lé always joins two propositions or clauses, the superordinate one being preceded by the subordinate one.

Both positive and negative weak assertion particles immediately follow the verb, and the verb never takes the verb suffix -á. Both particles rarely take any particle between them and the preceding verb.

The proposition or the clause that is marked by *tè-*?á is usually very short, mostly composed of an optional noun phrase and an obligatory verb phrase as illustrated in example 2.2.1. The sample sentence shows that the speaker is very confident that the listener’s father will come. He is speaking as though the listener’s father has promised him to come.

(2.2.1)

\[ nò dā ?ā tè?-ā \]

\[ 2S \text { father come (007-3PUS)} \]

**Your father will come.**

The positive presumption particle has three functions as stated in Table 7.
### 2.2.1.2 Negative presumption particle -á (~já) (008-PUS)

As has been discussed in the preceding section, weak assertion declarative particles carry a stronger truth assertion than those particles in the probability and possibility categories. The negative weak assertion declarative particle -á (~já) (008-PUS) must be understood as the strongest assertive negative particle of all negative declarative particles. Native speakers use this particle for the most likely negative prediction of something being expected by someone.

The structure of a negative weak assertion sentence is an optional noun phrase, an obligatory negative verb prefix, an obligatory verb, and the sentence particle -á (~já) as illustrated in example 2.2.2.

(2.2.2)

\[ nò dā mà ?ā -á (~já) \]

2S father NEG come (008-3NUS)

**Your father will not come**

The negative weak assertion particle -ā(~já) has four functions (see Table 8.). One has to be careful that the negative weak assertion particle -á (~já) must not be confused with the non-first person negative declarative particle -ā(~ā). Although both occur sentence finally, -ā (~ā) is never realized as a high tone.
2.2.2 Confrontation

The Akha language has some particles which are used to express emotional confrontation when one thinks he is accused of doing something wrong. Such particles may be defined as confrontational particles which have weaker assertion than statement particles. A confrontational particle is always marked by the sentence particle åb, or åb in combination with statement particles such å (~å), mē (~mē), or mā (~mā). This section will discuss four confrontational particles, which are analyzed in three sub-categories labeled as denial, insistent and justifying.

2.2.2.1 Denial confrontation particle åb (009-1NFS)

The denial confrontation particle åb (009-1NFS) is used to mark a first party denial of a third party’s accusation of the first party in a confrontation before a second party witness who is accountable as a judge for that particular argument. A denial confrontational expression marked by the particle åb is always a strong confrontation.

The particle åb occurs only in negative sentences following the last verb of a sentence. When serving as a denial confrontational particle to defend the speaker himself, i.e., the first person, the particle åb will either follow the adjective åb ‘true’ or a verb with a past tense suffix -å. If a speaker is accused, åb å åb åb åb ‘He is the thief!’ the denial confrontation will be mā å å åb ‘[No, I] am not!’ If he is accused
of theft saying ʔàjɔʔ mɔ́ né qʰwè-à mẽ ‘He stole the cow!’ the denial confrontation will be mà qʰwè-à bɔ́ ‘[No, I] did not steal [it]’

(2.2.3)

ʔàjɔʔ  smiqʰwè  mẽ
3S  thief (001-2/3PSS)

He is a thief!  (Accusation 1)

mà  ʞ̣  bɔ́
NEG  true (009-1NFS)

[No, I] am not!  (Confrontation 1)

ʔàjɔʔ  mõṇe  qʰwè  -à  mẽ
3S  cow  steal VS2 (001-3PSS)

He stole a cow!  (Accusation 2)

mà  qʰwè  -à  bɔ́
NEG  true (005-2/3NSS) (009-1NFS)

[No, I] did not steal [it]!  (Confrontation 2)

The denial confrontational particle bɔ́ has four functions (see Table 9). 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| bɔ́  
(009-1NFS) | 1  Sentence type | Weak assertion sentence marker |
|          | 2  Subject-Person | First person subject marker |
|          | 3  Positive/Negative | Negative sentence marker |
|          | 4  Tense | Unmarked |

Table 9. Functions of the denial confrontational particle bɔ́ (009-1NFS)

2.2.2.2 Denial confrontation particle -ābɔ́ (~àbɔ́) (010-3NFS)

The denial confrontation particle -ābɔ́ (~àbɔ́) (010-3NFS) is used to mark a denial by a first party of a statement made by a third party in a confrontation before a second party witness who is accountable as a judge for that particular argument. For instance, Mr. A (first party) is denying Mr. C’s (third party) statement about Mr. C before Mr.
B (second party) who is a village chieftain. In other words, the denial is made by the first person, the subject being the third person and the addressee being the second person.

The only difference between the denial confrontational particles -bɔ (~'àbɔ) and -àbɔ (~àbɔ) is the subject of the statement. The subject of a bɔ (~àbɔ) sentence is always first person whereas the subject of a -àbɔ (~àbɔ) sentence is always the third person. This difference is marked by the third person negative statement particle -à (005-2/3NSS).

Like the particle bɔ (~àbɔ) (section 2.2.2.1), the particle -àbɔ (~àbɔ) only occurs in negative sentences. A denial confrontation marked by -àbɔ (~àbɔ) always counters a positive statement made by a third party. For instance, a third party statement ṣà tf?ì jà mú t?i yà mā ‘I am a good man’ may be countered by a first party’s denial mà ṣà-àbɔ ‘He is not!’ In this example the particle immediately follows the adjective. When this particle occurs in a stative sentence, no other grammatical element will intercede between the verb stem and the particle (see confrontation 1 in example 2.2.4).

\[\begin{align*}
\etaá & \text{ tf?ìhà jùmù t?ì yà mā} \\
& 1S \text{ man good one HC (002-1PSS)}
\end{align*}\]

\begin{itemize}
\item I am a good man \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Statement 1)}
\item mà ṣà -àbɔ \hspace{1cm} \textbf{NEG true (010-3NFS)}
\item [No, he] is not! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Confrontation 1)}
\item ηá ?ítì? ìtì? yà mà \hspace{1cm} \text{1S water bath PERF (002-1PSS)}
\item I have taken a bath. \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Statement 2)}
\end{itemize}
The low tone on the first syllable à of the particle àbô is past tense marker. When the first syllable is in mid-tone, the tense is changed from past tense to present (continuous) tense.

The denial confrontational perlocutionary particle -àbô (~àbô) has four functions (see Table 10). Just like the particle bô (~àbô), the particle -àbô (~àbô) is a present tense marker when occurring in a adjective denial phrase and it is a past tense marker when occurring in a verb phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-àbô (~àbô) (010-3NFS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Weak assertion sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Past/Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Functions of the confrontation particle -àbô (~àbô) (010-3NFS)

2.2.2.3 Insistent confrontation particle mà (~mà) bô (011-1PFS)

The insistent confrontation particle mà (~mà) bô (011-1PFS) is used to mark a first party’s assertion against a third party’s denial before a second party witness who is accountable as a judge for that particular argument. For instance, Mr. A is insisting against Mr. C’s denial of Mr. A’s former statement before Mr. B, who is a village chieftain. In other words, the first party is attacking the third party’s denial of the first party’s statement before a second party witness. The subject of an insistent confrontational expression marked by the particle mà (~mà) bô is always first person.
The sample sentences illustrated in example 2.2.5 are extensions of examples 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 to follow the dialogue to the point where the insistant confrontation expression, marked by the particle mā (~mà) bō, take place.

First, we shall look at a stative statement dialogue set marked particle mā bō. Mr. A, who is the first person in the dialogue, states ɲá tʃʰʊ häɹ mʊ tʰi yà mā ‘I am a good man,’ which is denied by Mr. C, the third person, saying mà ɲ̃ tò̃ bō ‘[No, he] is not.’ Then, Mr. A counters Mr. C’s denial by insisting ɲ̃ mā bō [Yes, I] am. All three sentences are actually addressed to Mr. B who is witnessing the dialogue.

(2.2.5)

1S man  good  one  HC (002-1PSS)

I am a good man.  (Statement 1)

NEG  true  (011-1PFS)

[No, he] is not!.  (Denial 1)

true  (011-1PFS)

[Yes, I] am!  (Insistence 1)

Now we shall go through another dialogue using transitive statements that leads to a final confrontation sentence marked by the particle mà bō, as illustrated in example 2.2.6. Mr. A. says ɲá ñì cù dzęù? yà mà ‘I have taken a bath,’ but Mr. C denies the statement, saying mà dzęù? -bō ‘[No, he] hasn’t!’ And Mr. A counters Mr. C’s denial of his statement by insisting dzęù? mābō [Yes, I] have!’
The insistent confrontational perlocutionary particle mà (~mà) bɔ has four functions (see Table 11). Just like the particle bɔ (~abɔ), the particle mà (~mà) bɔ is a present tense marker when occurring in a stative denial phrase and it is a past tense marker when occurring in a verb phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mà (~mà)</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Weak assertion sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔ(011-1PFS)</td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Past/present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. Functions of the insistent confrontation particle mà (~mà) bɔ
(011-1PFS)

**2.2.2.4 Insistent confrontation particle mè (~mè) bɔ (012-3PFS)**

The insistent confrontation particle mè (~mè) bɔ (012-3PFS) is used to mark a first party’s assertion against a third party’s denial before a second party witness who is accountable as a judge for that particular argument. For instance, Mr. A is insisting against Mr. C’s denial of Mr. A’s former statement about Mr. C before Mr. B, who is a village chieftain. In other words, the first party is attacking the third party’s denial
of the first party’s statement about the party before a second party witness. The subject of the insistent confrontational expression marked by the particle $mā (~mā) bā$ is always the third person.

Examples 2.2.7 and 2.2.8 illustrate the context of the insistent confrontational particle $mē (~mē) bā$. The three stative serial sentences in the dialogue set in example 2.2.7 are arranged to elaborate the context of the insistent confrontational sentence marked by the particle $mā bā$. The relation of Statement 1, Confrontation 1 and Insistent 1 in example 2.2.8 may be illustrated as follows: Mr. A is addressing Mr. B about Mr. C and says $?ājō? sml qhē mē$ ‘He is a thief.’ Mr. C denies this, saying $mā yō bā$ [No, I am not.’ Mr. A insists, saying $yō mēbā$ [Yes, he] is!’

(2.2.7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$?ājō$</th>
<th>smlqhē</th>
<th>mē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>thief</td>
<td>(001-2/3PSS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He is a thief! (Statement 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$mā$</th>
<th>$yō$</th>
<th>$bā$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>(009-1NFS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[No, I am not! (Confrontation 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$yō$</th>
<th>mēbā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>true</td>
<td>(012-3PFS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Yes, he] is! (Insistent 1)

The three transitive sentences in the dialogue set in example 2.2.8 are arranged so that the context of the insistent confrontational sentence $jū dzā mēbā$ ‘[Yes, he] did’ may be clearer. Statement 2, $?ājō? sīlē jū dzā mē$ ‘He ate an orange,’ is Mr. A’s accusation of Mr. C. Confrontation 2, $mā jū dzā -ābā$ [No, I] didn’t eat [it]!,’ is Mr. C’s rejection of Mr. A’s accusation. Insistent 2, $jū dzā mēbā$ [Yes, he] did!,’ is Mr. A’s assertion that counters Mr. C’s denial. The subject, the person in focus in the
dialogue, is the third person, i.e. Mr. C, and the witness, the person to whom all three sentences are addressed, is Mr. B.

(2.2.8) 

\textit{ naïrí silé jú dzà mè}  

he/she orange take eat (001-2/3PSS)  

\textbf{He took an orange and ate it.} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Statement 2)}

\textit{mà jú dzà -à bõ}  

NEG take eat (010-1PFS)  

\textbf{[No, I] did not eat it!}. \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Confrontation 2)}

\textit{jú dzà mòbõ}  

take eat (012-3PFS)  

\textbf{[Yes, he] did take and eat it!}. \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Insistence 2)}

The insistent confrontation particle \textit{mè (~mè) bõ} has four functions (see Table 12).

Just like the preceding confrontational particles, the particle \textit{mè (~mè) bõ} is a present tense marker when occurring in a stative denial phrase, and a past tense marker when occurring in a verb phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mè (~mè) bõ} (012-3PFS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Weak assertion sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Past/Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. Functions of the insistent confrontation particle \textit{mè (~mè) bõ} (012-3PFS)

\textbf{2.2.2.5 Justifying confrontation particle -\textit{bõ} (013-2/3PFS)}

The justifying confrontation particle \textit{-bõ} (013-2/3PFS) is used to justify oneself for having been accused of responsibility for having done something wrong. By using
this particle, the wrongdoer is not denying what has been done, but justifying his action instead. He may show good reasons for having doing it.

Although the first syllable of the particle is the verb suffix -ǝ structurally, it has to be taken as a single piece with the adjoining syllable bǝ to mean the argumentative justifying confrontation particle, because the meaning of bǝ is changed when it is separated from -ǝ. For instance, when bǝ is joined with -ǝ, the two become a single piece from the denial justifying confrontation particle -ǝbǝ.

Akha children often use the particle ǝbǝ when they are reprimanded by their parents for committing a misdeed. When an older child is admonished by his parents for physically abusing his younger brother, he would say ǝjǝ? ǝǝ-ǝ tǝ lǝ ǝbǝ ‘Because he challenged me,’ to justify his abuse (see sentence 1 of example 2.2.9). A justifying expression marked by ǝbǝ can occur in either a positive or a negative sentence.

The example discussed in the preceding paragraph is a positive sentence that can be reversed into a negative expression ǝjǝ? ǝǝ-ǝ tǝ lǝ ǝbǝ to mean ‘Because he did not challenge me,’ if the boy is mocked by his friends for not brave enough to fight with someone. Sentence 2 of example 2.2.9 is a natural negative expression.

(2.2.9)

Because he challenged me!

Because he did not listen to [my] word!

The sentence particle tʰǝ is often added to the particle when it is used to justify some failure by putting the blame on someone or something else. For instance, if hunters
did not catch anything after a day’s hunt, they might say jā tʰē ṭà kʰù mā pā-ḥō tʰō ‘Because the hunting dogs are not good.’ The structure of this sentence is similar to confrontation sentence 2 of example 2.2.3.

The justifying confrontational particle -ḥō has only three functions (see Table 13). It is not applicable as person marker because the subject could be any person. Neither it is applicable as positive/negative marker because it freely occurs both in positive and negative sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ḥō (013-2/3FS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Weak assertion sentence marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13. Functions of the justifying confrontation particle -ḥō (013-2/3FS)

2.2.3 Denial

The Akha language has some sentence finals which occur only in the sentences that declare a statement to be untrue. There are three denial particles in the Akha language: strident denial particle, argumentative denial particle and reiterative denial particle. This section will describe the strident denial particle and persistent denial particles, which have a weaker degree of assertion than statement particles but a stronger assertion than particles in other categories. The argumentative particle will be described in section 3.2.

2.2.3.1 Strident denial particle ə (014-1NDS)

In the Akha language, a sentence that is uttered without a sentence particle or that abruptly ends up with a verb is a strident expression that is purposely uttered to inflict a special illocutionary force on the hearer. For every native speaker it is difficult to
utter a sentence without a sentence particle, because leaving it without a sentence final always makes them feel that the sentence is not closed or sealed, just as what one would feel to leave one’s room open while he is away. Therefore, in the Akha language, a sentence without a sentence final particle is to be taken as a deliberate act designed to inflict a strong effect on the hearer. When an Akha denies a statement without using a sentence particle, he unveils a rude attitude toward the addressee.

A denial sentence that is uttered without a sentence final may be labeled as a strident denial sentence and the vacuum created by the absence of sentence particle may be understood as the strident denial particle ə (014-1NDS). The Lahu language also has a zero particle denial expression which is intended for the same effect as in Akha, but has a weaker degree of assertion than the Akha expression. However, the Burmese language has a spoken particle which corresponds exactly to that zero particle in structure and function. The following is a comparison of the zero denial particles in Akha and Lahu and the denial particle bú Burmese.

(2.2.10)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mà} & \quad \eta \acute{\iota} & \quad ə \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{am} & \quad (014-1NDS) \\
\text{[No! I] am not!} & \quad (\text{Akha})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
má & \quad \text{hē?} & \quad ə \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{BE} & \quad (014-1NDS \text{ equivalent}) \\
\text{[No! I] am not!} & \quad (\text{Lahu})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
mà & \quad \text{hāʔ?} & \quad bú \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{BE} & \quad (014-1NDS \text{ equivalent}) \\
\text{[No! I] am not!} & \quad (\text{Burmese})
\end{align*}
\]

In example 2.2.10, each sentence representing one of the three languages is composed of three grammatical units, the negative verb prefix, a verb “be” and the strident
denial particle. The structural position of the three denial particles correspond exactly. However, there is one functional difference: in the Akha denial sentence, the (zero) sentence particle represents the first person implicit subject only, whereas Lahu and Burmese particles in the same slot may represent any subject person. The Akha sentence must add the third person negative statement particle -ā (005-2/3NSS) to mark the second or third person subject, and in doing so, the illocutionary force is automatically weakened. That means an Akha strident denial sentence implies full illocutionary force only when the subject of the sentence is the first person.

A native speaker would utter a zero particle denial sentence to respond to a statement that wrongly accuses him of doing or being something for which he is not responsible at all. No one who is not absolutely blameless would the denial particle instead of the argumentative denial particle -ê (see section 3.2).

The strident denial particle ø (014-1NDS) has three functions (Table 14). The implicit subject of a strident sentence marked by zero particle (ø) is primarily the first person since, as discussed in the preceding paragraph, a denial sentence can reach ultimate stridency only when the subject is the first person.

The zero denial particle must be understood as present tense marker because it is making a denial of a condition when the speech is taking place even though it may refer back to something that occurred in the past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø (014-1NDS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Weak assertion sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14. Functions of the strident denial particle ø (014-1NDS)
It has been stated in the preceding paragraph that a denial sentence can be strident only when the subject is the first person. In other words, an Akha strident denial sentence can only be constructed in negative form. This argument leads us to a syllogistic conclusion that the Akha have strident denial for positive statements only. This fact rules out a possible strident denial for a negative statement, since a denial utterance for a negative statement must be a positive one. For instance, the positive denial for the negative statement ‘You are not a linguistic student’ must be ‘Yes I am.’

As far as Akha grammar is concerned, there is no strident response to a statement which is constructed in negative form because no positive sentence would take a zero sentence particle as a negative sentence would do. The most assertive denial sentence in a positive construction would take the first person positive statement particle mā (~mā) (002-1PSS). The positive denial ṭōmā ‘Yes [I am]’ does not impose illocutionary force as the negative denial māγō ‘[No, I am] not’ does, although it imposes a strong assertion. Therefore, a positive denial sentence is included in the declarative sentence category. The two denial expressions are juxtaposed in the example below.

(2.2.11)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
mā \; \eta\, \delta \; \varnothing \\
\text{NEG BE (014-1NDS)} \\
\text{[No, I] am not! (Denial)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\eta\, \delta \; mā \\
\text{BE (002-1PSS)} \\
\text{[Yes, I] am. (Statement)} \\
\end{array}
\]

A strident denial sentence is very rude when spoken in a high voice. However, the stridency can be demoted by adding the argumentative denial particle -e(secti

3.2.5) and the exhortative particle dē (section 3.4.2). Adding a kinship address at the
end of the sentence can neutralize the degree of assertion. Hence, *mà ṣā o dā-ō ‘[I am] not, Dad!’* may be taken as a much more polite denial expression. The Akha slang expression *˘m̀ ṣm˘?,’ meaning ‘No way!’ which is used by children under ten, may have semantic relation with the zero denial particle. *˘m̀ ṣm˘?* is an impolite denial expression, which may be equivalent to ‘Nope’ in English.

### 2.2.3.2 Persistent denial particle *n̡* (015-NDS)

The persistent denial particle *n̡* (015-NDS) is used to express a repeated denial expression to a statement which is repeated for the second time or more. The particle shows that the speaker is persistently denying a statement and that he is becoming impatient with the repeated accusation. The illocutionary force of the particle is weaker than that of the denial particle *o* (014-AS) and stronger than that of the particle -è (050-NIS, section 3.2.5).

The structure of a negative -*n̡* sentence is identical to that of a positive sentence. The denial verb particle, a core verb, and the particle are obligatory when the subject is the first person. If the subject is either the second or third person, the third person negative statement particle -ā (005-2/3NSS) must be added to the first sentence right before the particle *n̡*. All the components shown in example 2.2.12 are obligatory in their respective sentences.

(2.2.12)

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
mà & ṣā & n̡ \\
\text{NEG} & \text{BE} & (015-\text{NDS})
\end{array}
\]

[I] insist [I] am not.  (First Person Subject)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
n̡ & mà & ṣā & -ā \\
2S & \text{NEG} & \text{BE} & (005-2/3NSS) (015-\text{NDS})
\end{array}
\]

[I] insist you are not.  (Second Person Subject)
When the sentence subject is first person, the particle  necessità is neither preceded nor followed by any other sentence particle. However, when the subject is either second person or third person, it always follows the third person negative statement particle -ā (005-2/3NSS). In addition, the second person subject of the sentence is always explicit. However, just as with the argumentative denial particle -ē (050-NIS), the adjective  necessità is always omitted in reiterative denial sentences with a second person subject (see the second sentence of example 2.2.13). The following example shows the same necessità sentence reconstructed three times, each time taking a different person subject.

Just like the particle -ē (050-NIS), the particle necessity also occurs in positive denial sentence. However, when it occurs in a positive sentence, it choice of co-occurring sentence particle is changed (see example 2.2.12). When the subject of a positive sentence is the first person, the particle necessity always follows the first person positive declarative particle mā (002-1PSS), and when the subject is either the second person or the third person, the particle necessity always follows the third person positive declarative particle mē (001-2/3PSS). In addition, the second person subject of a necessità sentence is always explicit. All components in example 2.2.13 are obligatory in their respective sentences.

(2.2.13)

η nécessité mā necessity nesse
BE (002-1PSS) (015-NDS)

[I] insist [I] am. (First Person Subject)
The persistent denial particle นี้ has only two functions (see Table 15). This particle is not applicable as a subject person marker because it takes any person as the subject. Like the particle -่ต (050-NIS), it functions as neither a negative nor a positive marker, because it can occur in either form. Although the particle itself does not indicate the tense, it must be understood as present tense marker because it is making a denial of a condition that is allegedly present when the speech is taking place, even though it may refer back to something that has occurred in the past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>นี้ (015-NDS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Weak assertion marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Any person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. Functions of the persistent denial particle นี้ (015-NDS)

2.3 Probability

The Akha language has five particles which may be labeled as positive probability, negative probability, visual positive probability, visual negative probability and irrealis negative probability. These particles have stronger assertion in terms of certainty than possibility sentence particles, which are discussed in section 2.2.
2.3.1 Generic positive probability particle $dʒɛmɛ$ (016-3PPS)

The third person generic positive probability particle $dʒɛmɛ$ (016-3PPS) is used for positive irrealis sentences which are less assertive than those that use the weak assertion particle $tɛ-ʔa$ (007-PAS), but stronger than the possibility particle $dú$ (021-3POS) in terms of certainty. Thus, the degree of certainty exhibited by the particle $dʒɛmɛ$ is weaker than that of particle $tɛ-ʔa$, but weaker than that of $dú$.

Akha speakers use this particle for a predictive conjecture, which is motivated by a speaker’s hope in terms of needs which are beyond his reach. In other words, there is very weak evidence that something may happen, so the certainty is rather to be understood as hope. Nevertheless, the degree of assertion depends upon the degree of motivation by the belief the speaker has. This particle may be understood as a mixture of three grounds, evidence, conjecture and belief, although it seems to be rather leaning toward belief.

The positive probability particle $dʒɛmɛ$ is strictly positive. It has a negative counterpart $dʒɛ-ʔa$ (017-3NPS), which represents the same degree of expectation but in a negative way (section 2.3.2). The structure of a $dʒɛmɛ$ sentence is similar to that of a $dú$ sentence. Normally, it is composed of an optional subject, an obligatory verb, the obligatory verb suffix $-ʔ$, and the obligatory sentence particle $dʒɛmɛ$. The verb that immediately precedes the sentence particle $dʒɛmɛ$ must always take the verb suffix $-ʔ$.

(2.3.1)

$$nò \; dā \; ʔā -ʔ \; dʒɛmɛ$$

2S father come VS (016-3PPS)

I hope your father will come.
The sample sentence in example 2.3.1 states an expectation instead of a certainty. This sentence is motivated by a subjective longing with evidence apparently weaker than in the preceding positive expectiative sentences. The degree of certainty is weaker, but the degree of assertion may be strong depending on the degree of belief that motivates the speaker. The speaker is speaking in terms of what he believes is going to happen. In example 2.3.1, by using the positive particle, the speaker is very hopeful that the father is coming. A native listener understands that such a *dżemē* utterance is rather driven by the speaker’s hope and that the certainty of the statement is rather weak.

The generic positive probability particle *dżemē* has three functions: probability sentence marker, third person subject marker and positive sentence marker (see Table 16). It is not a tense marker because, as in the case with the positive assumptive particle *dú* (021-3POS), the tone level of the obligatory verb suffix -نى determines the tense of every assumptive sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dżemē</em></td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>probability sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16. Functions of the positive speculative particle *dżemē* (016-3PPS)

### 2.3.2 Generic negative probability particle *dżē-ā* (017-3NPS)

The third person generic negative probability particle *dżē-ā* (017-3NPS) is the negative counterpart of the generic positive possibility particle *dżemē* (016-3PPS). It has the same degree of certainty as *dżemē*. It is less assertive than the negative weak

---

3 In the Akha language, the dependent morpheme *dżē* has three functions. The first function to identify one of a variety of things by paring up with the article *hā* ‘this’ and *q’ā* that. *hā dżē* means ‘this type’ and *q’ā dżē*
assertion particle -á (008-2/3NAS), but more assertive than the negative possibility particle $p^b$á (022-3NOS); thus the degree of certainty asserted by the particle $d$à-á is between the other two.

As mentioned earlier, for probability and possibility sentences, the verb suffix -$\tilde{\alpha}$ determines tense. With expectative sentences, it is primarily on the mid-tone so that it indicates an infinitive that becomes futuristic when it co-occurs with irrealis particles. Nevertheless, it may be manifest as a low tone when a sentence is referring to something that may have taken place at the time when the speaker is making the statement.

With the particle $d$à-á, there is very weak evidence for something to happen and the certainty merely depends on a subjective expectation. It is uttered out of the speaker’s belief that something is going to happen. Nevertheless, the degree of assertion depends upon the degree of motivation by the belief that the speaker has. This particle may thus be understood as a mixture of three grounds, evidence, conjecture and belief, and it seems to be rather leaning toward belief.

In standard Akha expression, the verb prefix $m$á and the verb suffix -$\tilde{\alpha}$ are obligatory. However, as in the case with the negative possibility particle $p^b$á, the negative verb prefix must always be the denial verb prefix $m$á. The normal structure of a negative speculative sentence is a composition of an optional subject, the obligatory denial verb prefix $m$á, an obligatory verb, the obligatory verb suffix -$\tilde{\alpha}$, and the obligatory sentence particle $d$à-á.

---

means ‘that type.’ The second function is a noun suffix which turns a verb into a noun phrase. As the Thai noun prefix $q^{am}$ and the verb $rat$ make the noun phrase $q^{am}rat$, the Akha verb $g$à-$\alpha$ and the suffix $d$à make the same noun phrase $g$à-$\alpha$ $d$à. The third function is a prefix that joins the non-first person declarative particle $m$è and á to form the positive and negative weak assertion particles $d$àmè and $d$à-á.
I hope your father will not come.

The sample sentence in example 2.3.2 is an expectation that is motivated by a subjective longing for something to take place. The degree of certainty is weaker than in weak assertion sentences and possibility sentences. However, the degree of assertion depends on the degree of belief that motivates the speaker. The speaker is speaking in terms of what he believes is going to happen. The negative sentence particle makes this utterance even weaker than the corresponding positive statement. A native listener may not be encouraged to wait for the coming of the father. The certainty of a $dʒɛ-ə$ statement is just next to a daydream.

The generic negative probability particle $dʒɛ-ə$ has three functions: probability sentence marker, third person subject marker, and negative sentence marker. It does not function as tense marker because the tone level of the obligatory verb suffix $-\tilde{s}$ determines the tense of every assumptive sentence.

$$nɔ̃\ dā\ mə\ ʔɛ\ -\tilde{s}\ dʒɛ-ə$$

2S father NEG come VS1 (012-3NDS)

### Table 17. Functions of the negative porobability particle $dʒɛ-ə$ (017-3NPS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$dʒɛ-ə$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(017-3NPS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Probability sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3 Visual positive probability particle $dʒɛɣą$ (018-3PPS)

The third person visual positive probability particle $dʒɛɣą$ (018-3PPS) is used for speculative conjecture, based on insufficient evidence. Unlike other positive declarative sentences, a visual positive probability sentence attempts to interpret
something in a deductive way, trying to draw a conclusion from some insufficient pieces of evidence. The degree of assertion of this particle is stronger than that of the preceding probability particles.

There must always be some evidence for a speaker to utter a conjecture sentence using the particle *dzēṇā*, but that evidence is never sufficient to make a clear conclusion, thereby leaving room for reasoning to wind up a probable conclusion. This particle has the strongest degree of objective assertion among all the irrealis particles, because half of the statement has been realized.

The particle *dzēṇā* is primarily used for positive sentences. It has a negative counterpart, which will be discussed in section 2.4.4. The structure of a *dzēṇā* sentence is similar to that of *dú* (021-3PPS) and *dzēmē* (016-3PPS) sentences. Normally, it is composed of an optional subject, an obligatory verb, the obligatory verb suffix -ő, and the obligatory sentence particle *dzēṇā*. The preceding verb must always have the verb suffix -ő, which is primarily on the low tone because the nature of a probability sentence rather tends to express a prediction as though something has already taken place at the time the speaker utters the argument. Thus, the statement in example 2.3.3 is presented in perfect tense.

(2.3.3)

\[
\text{Your father come VS2 (018-3PPS)}
\]

**It could mean that your father is already here.**

The sample sentence *nő dā ?āē -ő dzēṇā* ‘It shows that your father is already here’ is an argument based on some evidential clues. For instance, if the father usually rides on a large horse, the footprint of a large horse is good evidence to make such an argument. A deductive conclusion based on more than one bit evidence has stronger assertion to be true.
As mentioned earlier, the particle is primarily used in positive sentences. This is true because of structural rule as illustrated in example 2.16. However, it can be used in a modified negative sentence such as  må pʰá dèʔ-ə dʒèŋá ‘It is no longer alive.’ Notice that the negative prefix må is not attached to the verb dèʔ ‘live,’ but moved up to the position before the adverb pʰá ‘no longer.’ Structurally, this is still a positive sentence because the verb maintains a positive structure. This shows that the positive probability particle has a strong tendency to maintain the positivity of a sentence to which it is virtually a sentence particle. Only a negative probability particle takes a negative verb, as discussed in section 2.4.4.

The visual positive probability particle dʒèŋá has three functions as summarized in Table 18. As discussed above, the particle dʒèŋá primarily occurs in positive sentences. It is tenseless because the verb suffix -ə is always a tense marker of positive probability sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dʒèŋá</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Declarative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18. Functions of the visual positive probability particle dʒèŋá (018-3PPS)

2.3.4 Visual negative probability particle ŋǎŋà (~dʒèŋā)(019-3NPS)

The first person visual negative probability particle ŋǎŋà (~dʒèŋā) (019-3NPS) is the negative counterpart of the first person positive probability particle dʒèŋá (018-3PPS), and it has the same degree of assertion as dʒèŋá. In terms of certainty, it is the strongest probable degree of all the negative irrealis particles. A negative irrealis
sentence marked by this particle expresses a probable conclusion, taking something to be true on the basis of insufficient evidence. Like its positive counterpart, the degree of assertion of this particle has the strongest probability degree of objective assertion among all the irrealis particles.

For a native speaker to choose this particle, as has been discussed in the preceding section with the positive particle ṣáŋá (~dzèŋā), there must always be some concrete evidence to make further prediction, but that evidence must never be sufficient by itself to make a clear conclusion, thereby leaving room for reasoning to wind up a deductive conclusion.

The particle ṣáŋá (~dzèŋā) is primarily used for negative probability sentences. The structure of a ṣáŋá (~dzèŋā) sentence is similar to that of pân (022-3NOS) and dzè-ā (017-3NOS) sentences. Normally, it is composed of an optional subject, the obligatory denial negative verb prefix mà, an obligatory verb, the obligatory verb suffix -ā, and the obligatory sentence particle ṣáŋá. The preceding verb must always have the verb suffix -ā, which is primarily on the low tone because the nature of a negative probability sentence rather tends to predict as if something has been in failure at the time the speaker utters the argument. Thus, the statement in example 2.3.4 is presented in past tense.

(2.3.4)

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{nò} & \text{dà} & \text{mà} \ \text{?ē} \ -\darrow \ \text{ṣáŋá} \ (\sim\text{dzèŋā}) \\
\text{2S father} & \text{NEG} & \text{come} \ VS2 \ (019-3NPS)
\end{array}
\]

**Your father seems not to have come.**

The sample sentence nò dà mà ?ē-ā ṣáŋá ‘Your father seems not to have come’ or nò dà mà ?ē-ā dzèŋā ‘It shows that your father is not here’ is an argument based on some evidential clues. For instance, if the father usually rides on a large horse, the absence of a large foot print among the footprints of the horses ridden by the guests
could be good evidence to make a negative argument. Still this is a deductive conclusion; the more clues available, the stronger the assertion becomes.

The visual negative probability particle ṣóŋà (~džèŋà) is primarily used in positive sentences. Nevertheless, it can be used in a positive sentence which has some kind of negative tendency in it. The positive conjecture tʰì yà tèʔ-é ?ãē-à ṣó ŋà (~džèŋà) ‘It seems that only one man came’ is a good example. In this sentence, the noun phrase ‘only one man’ has a negative sense, as opposed to the expected quantity yò m/ā yà ‘many persons.’ It is noteworthy that the positive probability particle džèŋá at high tone level becomes a negative probability particle džèŋà at mid-tone level. Such semantic contradiction conditioned by phonological influence is more common with interrogative sentence particles.

The visual negative probability particle ṣóŋà (~džèŋà) as three functions: probability sentence marker, third person subject marker, and negative sentence marker. It is tenseless because the verb suffix - hã is a tense marker of both positive and negative probability sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣóŋà (~džèŋà) (019-3NPS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Probability sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Primarily negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19. Functions of the third person visual negative probability particle ṣóŋà (~džèŋà) (019-3NPS)

2.3.5 Irrealis negative probability particle sì (020-NPS)

The irrealis negative probability particle sì (020-NPS) is used to imply the meaning that something, which is supposed to take place, has not taken place yet. The particle
sì is a semi realis declarative particle, indicating that the full stated reality will come to pass in a matter of time.

The particle sì is used in two different contexts, in which the meaning of it is slightly different. The first context is when the time for something to happen is not ripe, and the second context is when something that should have taken place has being delayed, postponed or prolonged for some reasons. The first and second sentences in example 2.3.5 represent the first and second contexts, respectively.

The obligatory components of an irrealis probability sentence that is used in the first context are an (explicit or implicit) noun phrase, the denial negative verb prefix, a verb phrase, a realis declarative particle (i.e. one of the six statement sentence particles), and the particle sì. The first sentence of example 2.3.5 is composed of an obligatory and explicit noun phrase lè¿ò¿ ‘strawberry,’ the obligatory denial negative verb prefix mà, the verb ?ɔ? ‘ripe,’ an optional ablative verb suffix lá, the realis declarative particle ãà, and the particle sì.

(2.3.5)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{strawberry} & \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{ripe} \quad \text{ABL} \quad (004-3NSS) \quad (020-NPS) \\
\text{The strawberry is not ripe yet.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{now} \quad \text{until weep} \quad \text{CTS} \quad (005-2/3NSS) \quad (020-NPS) \\
\text{[She] is still weeping until now.}
\end{align*}
\]

The components of the second sentence of example 2.3.5 that is used in the second context are an obligatory implicit noun phrase (subject) [she], an optional time phrase jìn-mí kɔ?nì ‘still,’ an obligatory verb ãé ‘weep,’ an optional continuous tense

---

4 ‘Ripe’ is a verb in Akha.
marker (CTS) lù?, an obligatory declarative particle -ā (005-2/3NSS) and the particle sì. The particle sì is always preceded by an evidential declarative particle.

The unrealized probability particle sì has two functions: declarative sentence marker, and future tense marker. It is not applicable as a specific person marker because it co-occurs with all three persons. It does not function as positive/negative marker because it freely occurs in both forms. It always marks future tense because it always points to something that will be realized soon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sì (020-NPS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Probability sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Any person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Future tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20. Functions of the irrealis probability particle sì (020-NPS)

2.4 Possibility

The Akha language has two sentence final particles that may be called possibility particles. Particles in this category have a weaker degree of assertion than the particles in the weak assertion (section 2.2) and probability categories (section 2.3). This section will discuss the two particles labeled as third person positive and negative possibility. The possibility particles mark predictive sentences which are generally equivalent to English sentences marked by adverbs like ‘maybe’ and ‘hopefully.’

2.4.1 Positive possibility particle dú (021-3POS)

The third person positive possibility particle dú (021-3POS) is used for positive predictive sentences which are less assertive than those that use the positive presumption particle tè-?ā (section 2.2.1.1), and the positive probability particles
For native speakers, the degree of certainty of the particle *dú* is weaker than the other four. A native speaker chooses one of these particles on the basis of the potency of evidence he has to project a prediction, and a native listener reads the degree of certainty of his prediction in terms of the speaker’s choice of particles.

The particle *dú* is strictly positive and is never used in negative expressions. This is because it has a negative counterpart, *p³â* (022-3NOS), which represents the same degree of prediction in negative way (section 2.3.2). A *dú* sentence structure is similar to a *tèʔ-â* sentence structure with one exception: in the *dú* sentence, the verb that immediately precedes the sentence particle *dú* takes the verb suffix -ᵳ. Sentence composition is an optional subject, an obligatory verb, the obligatory verb suffix -ᵳ, and the obligatory sentence particle *dú*. Example 2.1 illustrates a repetition of the sentence from example 2.2.2, with the verb suffix -ᵳ added and the particle *dú* replacing *tèʔ-â*.

\[ (2.4.1) \]

\[
\text{nò dà ʔā -ᵳ dú} \\
2S father come VS1 (021-3POS)
\]

Your father will probably come.

The sample sentence in example 2.4.1 states a possibility instead of a certainty. A *dú* utterance is partly evidential and partly conjectural. It may be in the center between evidence and conjecture. The utterance may be evidential in the sense that the father used to come there at that time three days a week. It may be conjectural because the speaker is not very sure if the father is to come there on that particular day. But the speaker is rather supporting the positive view because he uses the positive particle
instead of the negative one. With such an utterance, the listener is to take the certainty as fifty percent.

The positive possibility particle *du* has three functions (see Table 21). It is primarily a third person subject marker. Nevertheless, it is not a tense marker because the tone level of the obligatory verb suffix *-̄* determines the tense of every assumptive sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>du</em> (021-3POS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Possibility sentence marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21. Functions of the positive possibility particle *du* (021-3POS)

### 2.4.2 Negative possibility particle *pʰà* (022-3NOS)

The third person negative possibility particle *pʰà* (022-3NOS) is the negative counterpart of the positive possibility particle *du* (021-3POS). It has the same degree of certainty as *du*, but in a negative way. The normal structure of a negative assumptive possibility declarative proposition is an optional subject, the obligatory negative verb prefix *mà*, an obligatory verb, the obligatory verb suffix *-̄*, and the sentence particle *pʰà*.

In standard Akha expression, a negative possibility declarative sentence cannot be constructed without the negative verb prefix *mà* and the verb suffix *-̄*. The negative verb prefix must always be the denial verb prefix *mà*, not the prohibitive verb prefix *tʰà*. The tone level of the verb suffix *-̄* determines the tense of an assumptive sentence, the mid-tone denoting future tense and the low tone denoting past tense.
Example 2.4.2 is a repetition of example 2.4.1 with verb suffix - SetValue being added and the negative possibility particle $p^h_\text{父}$ replacing $d_\text{父}$.

(2.4.2)

\[
\begin{align*}
n\dot{\text{父}} & \quad \text{父} \quad \text{没} & \quad \text{来} & \quad \text{不} & \quad p^h_\text{父} \\
\text{你} & \quad \text{父} & \quad \text{不} & \quad \text{能} & \quad \text{来} & \quad \text{不} & \quad \text{来} & \quad \text{不} & \quad \text{来} & \quad \text{不} & \quad \text{来} & \quad \text{不} & \quad \text{来}
\end{align*}
\]

Your father will not possibly come.

The sample sentence in example 2.4.2 is partly evidential and partly conjectural. As in the case with the positive sentence in example 2.4.1, it may be in the center between evidence and conjecture. The speaker is rather negative toward the coming of the father and his utterance may be evidential in the sense that the father never came to that particular on any particular day of the week. It may be conjectural because the speaker is not one hundred percent sure whether the father is coming on that particular day. However, the speaker is rather supporting the negative view because he uses the negative suffix instead of the positive one. With such an utterance, the listener is to take the negative assertion as more than fifty percent.

Although the particle $p^h_\text{父}$ is primarily used in negative sentences, this is not to be taken as strict rule. It could also be used in a positive sentence by there altering the meaning of the sentence by using the particle $d_\text{父}$. When used in positive sense, the particle $p^h_\text{父}$ emphasizes the agent, not the event, as the particle $d_\text{父}$ does. For instance, the sentence in example 2.4.1 $n\dot{\text{父}} \ d\dot{\text{父}} \ ?\text{来-不} \ d_\text{父}$ ‘Your father will probably come,’ the emphasis is on the verb ‘来-不 ‘come.’ However when the sentence is changed to $n\dot{\text{父}} \ d\dot{\text{父}} \ ?\text{来-不} \ p^h_\text{父}$, the emphasis is on the subject, i. e., the father. The English equivalent for this sentence would be ‘Your father will possibly come, [instead of your mother].’ Note that the mother, not the father, was expected to come. Hence the occurrence of the negative possibility particle in a positive sentence still implies a negative meaning. See the comparison in example 2.4.3.
The first sentence in example 2.4.3 corresponds to the question ‘Will my father come or not?’ whereas the second sentence corresponds to the question ‘Who [among the two] will come?’ Such an underlying meaning change that goes along with a trivial adjustment in the surface structure is often not properly understood by outsiders even though they seem to speak good Akha. Even the present day younger generation native speakers often use the two particles interchangeably without knowing the change of the underlying meaning.

The third person negative possibility particle \( p^{h\text{à}} \) has three functions (see Table 22). As in the case with the positive possibility particle \( d\text{ú} \), it is not a tense marker because the tone level of the obligatory verb suffix -\( \tilde{s} \) determines the tense of every assumptive sentence. But it is an undeniable fact that it is primarily a third person subject marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( p^{h\text{à}} ) (022-3NOS)</td>
<td>1  Sentence type</td>
<td>Possibility sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22. Functions of the negative possibility particle \( p^{h\text{à}} \) (022-3NOS)
2.5 Appreciation

The appreciation particles are used to express appreciation in cheering someone up by asserting that he/she has done a good job. The Akha appreciation particles may be divided into four categories: positive, comparative, superlative and absolutive. The first three belong to a system similar to English positive, comparative and superlative adjectives. However, the absolutive category is a non-comparative attributes which show emotional appreciation.

2.5.1 Positive appreciation

The positive appreciation particles express appreciation. There are three positive appreciation particles, contrasting with each other in terms of sensation on which each particle is based. They may be labeled as visual positive appreciation particle, auditory positive appreciation particle and non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle.

Most of the positive appreciation particles are compound particles so deeply woven into the last phrase of the sentence that they appear phrasal rather than a particle. But their functions, semantics, and syntatic distributions show them to be particles rather than phrases.

2.5.1.1 Visual positive appreciation particle $j\bar{t}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\acute{a}$ (~$h\ddot{e} \text{ mu } \eta\acute{a}$) (023-2/3PXS)

The visual positive appreciation particle $j\bar{t}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\acute{a}$ (~$h\ddot{e} \text{ mu } \eta\acute{a}$) (023-2/3PXS) is used to express a speaker’s visualized pleasure or delight in something that has been done with the purpose of bringing about a positive emotional effect on the doer. The particle $j\bar{t}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\acute{a}$ conveys two-fold expression, revealing the speaker’s pleasure of what has been done on the basis of his visual realization and
simultaneously producing the emotional effect of that pleasure in the hearer so that he may enjoy it as well.

The three obligatory components of the visual positive appreciation particle $j\bar{z}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\acute{a}$ ($\sim h\hat{\bar{z}} m\text{\textsubscript{\textmu}} \eta\acute{a}$) are the adjective prefix $j\bar{z}$, an attribute which could be either an adjective or an adverb,\(^5\) and visual positive statement particle $\eta\acute{a}$ (004-1PSS).

The element $h\hat{\bar{z}} m\text{\textsubscript{\textmu}} \eta\acute{a}$ is composed of the verb $h\hat{\bar{z}}$, the adjective $m\text{\textsubscript{\textmu}}$ and the particle $\eta\acute{a}$ (004-1PSS) Note that the verb $h\hat{\bar{z}}$ ‘look’ cannot be replaced by any other verb since the sentence particle $\eta\acute{a}$ is limited to visual realization.

Some common appreciation expressions are, $j\bar{z} m\text{\textsubscript{\textmu}} \eta\acute{a}$ ‘Pretty good!’ $j\bar{z} k^h\hat{\bar{z}} \eta\acute{a}$ ‘Pretty fast!’ and $j\bar{z} n\ddot{\text{n}} \eta\acute{a}$ ‘Pretty clever!’ Sample sentences are illustrated in examples 2.5.1.

\(2.5.1\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[n\ddot{\text{o}}]} \\
\text{[2S]} \\
(023-2/3PXS)
\end{array}
\]

[You] are handsome!

\[
\begin{array}{c}
n\ddot{\text{o}} n\ddot{\text{\texte}} g\hat{\text{\textmu}}\ddot{\text{\textmu}} \ -\dot{\text{o}} j\bar{z}m\text{\textsubscript{\textmu}}\eta\acute{a} \\
2S \text{AGNT} \text{sew} \ VS \ (023-2/3PXS)
\end{array}
\]

Your needlework is beautiful!

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[n\ddot{\text{o}}} -\dot{\text{o}}] \\
\text{[2S POSS]} \ \text{garment} \ h\hat{\text{\textmu}}m\text{\textsubscript{\textmu}}\eta\acute{a} \\
(023-2/3PXS)
\end{array}
\]

[Your] garment is beautiful!

In example 2.5.1, the subject of the first sentence is the second person. However, the subject of the second and the third sentences must be understood as the third person, the needlework and the garment, respectively. Therefore, the subject of a positive

\(^5\) In the Akha language, adjective and adverb are in the same category.
appreciation sentence is either a second person or a third person, but never a first person. Hence the subject of this type of appreciation expression can be taken as a non-first-person subject.

Adjective stems that can fill the adjective slot of the particle ‘jǐ+ADJ/ADV+ŋá’ are any particle that can be realized by means of visual sensation, such as né ‘to be red,
hù ‘big,’ kǚ ‘fast,’ b’à ‘flat,’ etc. Some of the adjective stems, such as ‘rough,’ b’à and ‘flat,’ lā ‘round, can fill in the adjective slot of the particle jǐ [k’hui]ŋā (see section 2.5.1.1).

jǐ mù ŋá (~hǐ mù ŋá) has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, non-first-person subject marker, positive sentence marker and present tense marker.

jǐ mù ŋá (~hǐ mù ŋá) never occurs in a negative sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jǐ mù ŋá (~zǐ mù ŋá)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23. Functions of the visual positive appreciation particle jǐ mù ŋá (~zǐ mù ŋá) (023-2/3PX).

jǐ+ADJ/ADV+ŋá(~hǐ mù ŋá) may be intensified by using the adjectival prefix zǐ rather than jǐ. zǐ mù ŋā implies stronger emotional effect than jǐ mù ŋá. Some speakers use both together, saying jǐ zǐ mù ŋá to show the highest degree of appreciation.

However, the particle zǐ mù ŋá may also be used for hyper-appreciation, choosing the negative particle ŋā, rather than the positive particle ŋá, for the final component.
2.5.1.2 Auditory positive appreciation particle *ná hà muì mí-a* (024-3PXS)

The auditory positive appreciation particle *ná hà muì mí-a* (024-3PXS) is used to express a speaker’s pleasure or delight in what he heard that has been done with the purpose to bring about a positive emotional effect on the doer.

The primary auditory positive appreciation particle has three obligatory components that are different from the components of visual positive appreciation particle *jũ muì yá* and non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle *jũ [kʰú] pnā*. The three obligatory components are the verb *ná hà ‘listen,’* the adjective *muì ‘good’* and the non-visual evidential particle *mí-ã* (003-1PSS). No non-auditory appreciation particle would take the first and the last obligatory components of the auditory particle *ná hà muì mí-ã*. This composition must be always preceded by either the verb *tʃá-š ‘singing’* or the noun *tʰésā ‘voice.’* Thus, *nó tʃʰá-š ná hà muì mí-ã ‘You sing sweetly!’* is a typical auditory positive appreciation particle (see sample sentence 1 in example 2.5.2).

*ná hà muì mí-ã* has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, third person subject marker, positive sentence marker and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ná hà muì mí-ã</em></td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>third-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24. Functions of the auditory positive appreciation particle *ná hà muì mí-ã* (024-3PXS)
2.5.1.3 Non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle \( j\bar{\imath}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\text{nā} \) (025-3PXS)

The non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle \( j\bar{\imath}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\text{nā} \) (025-3PXS) is used to express a speaker’s pleasure or delight, which is realized by gustatory, tactile and olfactory sensations, of something that has been done with the purpose to bring about a positive emotional effect on the doer.

The three obligatory components of the appreciation particle \( j\bar{\imath}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\text{nā} \) are the adjective prefix \( j\bar{\imath} \), an adjective or advert that can be realized by means of tactile, gustatory and olfactory sensations and the first person subjective evidential particle \( \text{nā} (\sim \text{nà}) \) (see section 2.1.4). The first and the last components are unchangeable, but the second component can be any adjective so long as it can be realized through the three sensations mentioned above. Therefore the formula of the positive appreciation particle in this category is ‘\( j\bar{\imath} +\text{ADJ}+\text{nā}. \)’

Adjective and adverb stems that can fill the ADJ/ADV slot of the particle \( j\bar{\imath} +\text{ADJ/ADV}+\text{nā} \) include \( \gamma\dot{\imath} \) ‘to be hard,’ \( \text{nà} \) ‘soft,’ \( d\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘smooth,’ \( s\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath} \) ‘rough,’ \( b\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘flat,’ \( l\dot{\imath} \) ‘round,’ \( t\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘sharp (as for a knife),’ \( \text{d}m\) ‘blunt,’ \( \text{l} \) ‘hot,’ \( ts\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘cold,’ \( b\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘rotten (smell),’ \( q\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘bitter (taste),’ \( t\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘sour,’ \( t\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘sweet,’ \( k\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘fast,’ \( m\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘slow.’ Some of the adjective stems, such as \( s\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath} \) ‘rough,’ \( b\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \) ‘flat,’ and \( l\dot{\imath} \) ‘round,’ can also occur in the the particle \( j\bar{\imath} +\text{ADJ/ADV}+\text{nā} (\sim h\dot{\imath} \text{mù} \text{nā}) \) (see section 2.5.1.1).

(2.5.3)

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{nò } & -\text{ }] \gamma\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} & j\bar{\imath} k\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath} \text{nā} \\
[\text{your } & \text{POSS}] \text{curry (025-3PXS)}
\end{align*}
\]

[Your] curry is delicious!
The hat that you wove is warm!

The flower that you gave [me] is sweet smelling!

\( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) (025-3PXS) has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, third person subject marker, positive sentence marker and present tense marker. A positive appreciation sentence which takes the particle \( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) cannot be constructed in a negative form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} ) (025-3PXS)</td>
<td>1  Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25. Functions of the non-audio-visual positive appreciation particle \( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) (25-3PXS)

As with the visual positive appreciation particle \( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta \tilde{a} \ (~h\tilde{5} \text{ m\tilde{u} } \eta \tilde{a}) \), the particle \( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) also has a variant \( z\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) which is an intensified form of the \( j\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) and is often used in Akha daily expressions especially by youngsters \( z\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) implies stronger emotional effect than \( jj\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \). However, the particle \( z\tilde{5}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\tilde{a} \) sounds like hyper-appreciation when used by adult speakers.
2.5.2 Comparative appreciation

There are three particles in this category, which may be labeled as visual, auditory and non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particles. A common formula for the comparative appreciation particles is composed of three obligatory components: a verb or verbal adjective + dzè + an evidential particle (ŋá/ŋā).

2.5.2.1 Visual comparative appreciation particle ADJ/ADV+dzè ŋá (026-2/3PYS)

The visual comparative appreciation particle ADJ/ADV+dzè ŋá (026-2/3PYS) is used to express appreciation of someone or something, which the speaker thinks is superior in merit or rank. This particle is primarily used for visual realization only although it may be used for imaginary visualization.

The components of the comparative appreciation particle ADJ/ADV+dzè ŋá are an adjective or adverb, the comparative adjective suffix dzè and the third person visual evidential particle ŋá (004-3PSS).

The comparative appreciation particle mù dzè ŋá and the positive appreciation particle jō múŋ ŋá occur in identical syntactic structures.

(2.5.4)

[nō] mú dzè ŋá
2s (026-2/3PYS)

[You] are more beautiful!

nō nē gū? -ō mú dzè ŋá
2s AGNT sew VS2 (026-2/3PYS)

Your needlework is more beautiful!

[nō -ō] pēqō mú dzè ŋá
2s POSS] garment (026-2/3PYS)

[Your] garment is more beautiful!
The components and structure of all sample sentences in example 2.5.4 are identical to those in example 2.5.2.

*ADJ/ADV + dzè ηá* has four function as summarized in Table 26. A visual comparative appreciation sentence, which takes the particle, *ADJ/ADV + dzè ηá* cannot be constructed in a negative form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJ/ADV + dzè ηá</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(026-2/3PYS)</td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first-person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26. Functions of the visual comparative appreciation particle

*ADJ/ADV + dzè ηá (026-2/3PYS)*

### 2.5.2.2 Auditory comparative appreciation particle *tʰésá+ ADJ/ADV + dzè jnā (027-3PYS)*

The auditory comparative appreciation particle *tʰésá+ ADJ/ADV + dzè jnā (027-3PYS)* is used to express the prominence of a sound in comparison with another sound or sounds. The usage of this particle is limited to expressions realized through auditory sensation, such as that the sound of a violin is sweeter than that of a guitar or that the singing of Miss A is sweeter than that of Miss B.

Generally, the internal structure of the auditory comparative appreciation particle *tʰésá+ ADJ/ADV + dzè jnā* is similar to that of the visual comparative appreciation particles *ADJ/ADV + dzè ηá (026-2/3PYS)* and non-audio-visual *ADJ/ADV + dzè jnā (028-3PYS).*
Normally, the auditory comparative appreciation particle \( t^h \text{ésá}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+džè \, nā \) occurs with \( t^h \text{é} \, sā \, '\text{voice}.\) The verb \( nāhā \, '\text{listen}' \) is often added in spoken expression although the meaning of the sentence is not really changed by adding it (see sentence 2 of example 2.5.5).

(2.5.5)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nò -} \, t^h \text{ésá} \, mù \, džè \, nā \\
\text{2S POSS voice (020-3PYS)}
\end{array}
\]

**Your voice is sweeter!**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nò -} \, t^h \text{ésá} \, nāhā \, mù \, džè \, nā \\
\text{2S POSS voice listen (027-3PYS)}
\end{array}
\]

**Your voice is sweeter!**

The usage of the verb \( nā \, hā \, '\text{listen}' \) with the particle \( t^h \text{ésá}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+džè \, nā \) is limited to the expression of the 'sweetness' or 'attractiveness' of the voice. It is never used in expressing the height, length, loudness, etc. of the voice. For instance, \( *nò - \, t^h \text{é} \, sā \, nā \, hā \, γā \, džè \, nā \) meaning 'Your voice is higher,' is not a correct expression, but \( nò - \, t^h \text{é} \, sā \, γā \, džè \, nā \) (see example 2.5.6).

(2.5.6)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nò -} \, t^h \text{ésá} \, γā \, džè \, nā \\
\text{2S POSS voice (027-3PYS)}
\end{array}
\]

**Your voice is more outstanding!**

Any comparative appreciation expression, which takes the particle \( mù \, džè \, nā \), cannot be constructed in a negative sentence.

\( mù \, džè \, nā \) has four functions as summarized in Table 27.
### 2.5.2.3 Non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particle

**ADJ/ADV+dzê ṭā (028-3PYS)**

The non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particle *ADJ/ADV+dzê ṭā* (028-3PYS) is used to express a speaker’s comparably greater pleasure or delight, which is realized by gustatory, tactile and olfactory sensations, of something in comparison with other thing or things. This particle is used for expressions such as ‘beef is tastier than pork’ or ‘the food that Mr. X cooked is tastier than that cooked by Mr. Y.’

The particle *ADJ/ADV+dzê ṭā* is composed of three obligatory components: an adjective or adverb (which can be realized by means of tactile, gustatory and olfactory sensations), the comparative suffix *dzê*, and the first person subjective evidential particle *ṭā* (006-1NSS). The second and the last components are unchangeable, but the first component can be any adjective or adverb so long as it can be realized through the three sensations mentioned above.

The syntactic environment of the non-audio-visual comparative particle *ADJ/ADV+dzê ṭā* that is illustrated in example 2.5.8 is identical to that of the positive particle *jā kʰúṭā ṭā* as illustrated in example 2.5.3.

(2.5.8)

\[
[ nō -ū ] yō ṭā kʰúṭā dzê ṭā
[ 2S POSS] curry (028-3PYS)
\]

*[Your curry] is more delicious!*
The hat that you wove is warmer!

The flower that you gave [me] smells sweeter!

The subjects of each sample sentence in example 2.5.8 is not the second person pronoun $nɔ$, but the third person subject that is the whole noun phrase of each sentence adjoining the particle $k^{h}u$ $dzɛ \_nɛ$: $nɔ-\_ɛ \_yɔ \_nɛ$ ‘your curry’ for the first sentence, $nɔ \ nɛ \ dzɛ?-\_ɛ \ ?u \ qo? \ ‘the hat that you wove’ for the second sentence, and $nɔ \ nɛ \ bi?-\_ɛ \ ?a \ jɛ\? \ ‘the flower that you gave [me]’ for the third sentence.

$ADJ/ADV+dzɛ \_nɛ$ (028-3PYS) has four functions as summarized in Table 28. The non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particle, $ADJ/ADV+dzɛ \_nɛ$ can never occur in a negative sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k^{h}u$ $dzɛ _nɛ$ (028-3PYS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28. Functions of the non-audio-visual comparative appreciation particle $k^{h}u$ $dzɛ \_nɛ$ (028-3PYS)

2.5.3 Superlative appreciation

There are only two particles in superlative appreciation category. There is no separate auditory appreciation particle because the appreciation based on auditory sensation is structurally the same as the other three non-visual appreciation particles. The two
particles in this category are may be labeled as visual superlative appreciation particle and non-visual superlative appreciation particle.

2.5.3.1 Visual superlative appreciation particle [ʔà tʃʰ̬] nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é

ADJ/ADV+ŋá (029-2/3PZS)

The visual superlative appreciation particle [ʔà tʃʰ̬]nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é ADJ/ADV+ŋá (029-2/3PZS) is used to express a speaker’s highest degree of appreciation of someone or something, which is realized through visual perception, in comparison with others. Although the usage of this particle is primarily based on physical visual realization, it may also be used for appreciation based on imaginary realization.

The components of the superlative appreciation particle [ʔà tʃʰ̬] nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é mù ŋá are: the obligatory superlative adjective prefix [ʔà tʃʰ̬] nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é ‘than others’, a obligatory adjective/adverb, and the obligatory visual evidential particle ŋá (004-1PSS).

The first component [ʔà tʃʰ̬] nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é ‘more than [others]’ is sometimes replaced by [dɔ tʃʔ lùʔ] nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é ‘more than [all],’ and the second component could be any adjective, but the last component must always be the visual evidential particle ŋá. The superlative adjective prefixes [ʔà tʃʰ̬] nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é ‘more than others’ and dɔ tʃʔ lùʔ nāʔ mà tsʰ̬é ‘more than all’ are in free variation. Hence both sample sentences in example 2.5.9 mean ‘You are more beautiful than all others.’

(2.5.9)

[ŋá] [ʔàtʃʰ̬] nāʔ mà tʃʰ̬é mù ŋá
2S (029-2/3PZS)

[You] are more beautiful than others!
[nɔ̀\] di₃tɔ̄₃ lù° nà? mà tsʰé mù yá
2S (029-2/3PZS)

[You] are more beautiful than all!

Some Akha speakers would add the comparative adjective suffix dzè ‘more than’ in a superlative appreciation expression, although that particle is not functionally needed in the expression since both the superlative adjective prefixes ?à tfʰ₃ nà? mà tsʰé and dɔ tɔ̄ tù° nà? mà tsʰé mean ‘more than all others.’

?à tfʰ₃ nà? mà tsʰé mù yá has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, non-first person subject marker, positive (not negative) sentence marker, and present tense marker (see Table 29).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?à tfʰ₃ nà? mà tsʰé mù yá (029-2/3PZS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29. Functions of the visual superlative appreciation particle ?à tfʰ₃ nà? mà tsʰé mù yá (029-2/3PZS)

2.5.3.2 Non-visual superlative appreciation particle ?à tfʰ₃ nà? mà tsʰé

+ADJ/ADV nà (030-3PZS)

The non-visual superlative appreciation particle ?à tfʰ₃ nà? mà tsʰé + ADJ/ADV + nà (030-3PZS) is used to express a speaker’s highest degree of appreciation of someone or something, which is realized through any non-visual sensation in comparison with others. The only difference between visual superlative appreciation particle and the non-audio-visual superlative appreciation particle is the final evidential particle yá
(004-1PSS) or 埁 (006-1NSS), representing visual and non-audio-visual realizations, respectively.

The common componential elements of non-audio-visual superlative appreciation particles are: the superlative adjective prefix, an adjective or an adverb, and the evidential particle 埁 (006-1NSS). The first and last are fixed components whereas the second changes according to the sensation through which a person realizes the appreciation. For instance, ㄍ‘tasty’ may be used for realization through gustatory sensation, ㄈ‘sweet smelling’ for olfactory sensation, ㄌ‘soft’ for tactile sensation, and ‘loud’ for auditory sensation (see example 2.5.10).

(2.5.10)

```
nə -ə ạ̱̫̫ jnə ʔatfʰ̱̫ jnə? mà tfʰ̱̫ kʰù jnə
2S POSS curry (030-3PZS)

Your curry is tastier than [all others]!  (Gustatory Sensation)
```

```
nə -ə ʔajəʔ ʔatfʰ̱̫ jnə? mà tfʰ̱̫ sə̱ jnə
2S POSS flower (030-3PZS)

Your flowers smell sweeter than [all others]!  (Olfactory Sensation)
```

```
nə -ə ḥə̱̫ jnə ʔatfʰ̱̫ jnə? mà tfʰ̱̫ nə̱ jnə
2S POSS rice cake (030-3PZS)

Your rice cake is softer than [all others]!  (Tactile Sensation)
```

```
nə -ə tʰésə ʔatfʰ jnə? mà tfʰ qəʔ jnə
2S POSS voice (030-3PZS)

Your voice is higher than [all others]!  (Auditory Sensation)
```

Choice of an adjective/adverb to describe a sensorial experience is rather determined by sensorial realization rather than by sense organs. For example, the tongue may realize tactile sensation in addition to gustatory sensation.
?à tf⁶ nāʔ mà tsʰé + ADJ/ADV + nā has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, third person subject marker, positive (not negative) sentence marker, and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?à tf⁶ nāʔ mà tsʰé + ADJ/ADV + nā (030-3PZS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30. Functions of non-visual superlative appreciation particle ?à tf⁶

nāʔ mà tsʰé + ADJ/ADV + nā (030-3PZS)

### 2.5.4 Absolutive appreciation

There are some appreciation particles that may be collectively labeled as absolutive appreciation particles, which are used to express absolute appreciation. They are contrasted to positive, comparative and superlative appreciation particles, which are based on three progressive degrees of comparison. The absolutive appreciations express extraordinary appreciation based on the speaker’s emotion.

The four absolutive appreciation particles that are discussed in this section are visual absolutive appreciation particle, non-visual absolutive appreciation particle, hyper-appreciation particle and exclamatory appreciation particle.

#### 2.5.4.1 Visual absolutive appreciation particle dū dū ĕá (~sú sú ĕá) (031-2/3PBS)

The visual absolutive appreciation particle dū dū ĕá (~sú sú ĕá) (031-2/3PBS) is used to express a speaker’s absolute appreciation of someone or something, which is realized through visual perception. This particle is often mistaken as an appreciation in superlative degree, the highest of the three comparative degrees. Actually, it is used
for expressing on the basis of subjective perfection rather than on the objective comparison.

A visual absolutive appreciation sentence marked by the particle duū duū yá (sú sú yá) is minimally composed of two phrases, a main phrase and a modifying phrase. If the main phrase, which is usually the first phrase of the sentence, is a noun phrase, the modifying phrase is an adjective phrase; if the main phrase is a verb phrase, the modifying phrase is an adverb phrase. Therefore, appreciation expressions marked by the particle duū duū yá (sú sú yá) may be understood as having two sentence types, namely noun-oriented and verb-oriented. In both types, the modifying phrase usually consists of two elements: a stem, which is either an adjective or an adverb, and the particle duū duū yá (sú sú yá). Both sentence types are illustrated in example (2.5.12)

\[
\begin{align*}
&nè -\dot{a} \quad påeq\hatscript{h} \quad mû \quad dūdûyâ \ (sûsûyâ) \\
&2S \ 2S \POSS \ 2S \ garment \ 2S \ good \ (031-2/3PBS)
\end{align*}
\]

Your garment is absolutely beautiful! \ (Noun oriented)

\[
\begin{align*}
&nè \ t\hatscript{f}è? -\hatscript{h} \quad k\hatscript{h}y\hatscript{h} \quad dūdûyâ \ (sûsûyâ) \\
&2S \ run \ VS1 \ fast \ (024-2/3PBS)
\end{align*}
\]

You run extremely fast! \ (Verb oriented)

The visual absolutive appreciation particle duū duū yá (sú sú yá) has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, non-first person subject marker, positive (not negative) sentence marker, and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duū duū yá (sú sú yá) (031-2/3PBS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31. Functions of the visual absolutive appreciation particle duū duū yá (sú sú yá) (031-2/3PBS)
2.5.4.2 Non-visual absolutive appreciation particle \textit{dū ēnā} (032-3PBS)

The non-visual absolutive appreciation particle \textit{dū ēnā} (032-3PBS) is used to express a speaker’s absolute appreciation of someone or something, as realized through non-visual sensation (gustatory, olfactory, tactile or auditory sensation). The usage and structure of the non-visual absolutive appreciation particle \textit{dū ēnā} and the visual absolutive appreciation particle \textit{dū ēnā (\~sú sú ēnā)} are generally the same except the difference in the final components ēnā (006-1NSS) and ēnā (004-1PSS), which are different evidential sentence particles representing non-visual and visual realization, respectively.

As in the case with the visual absolutive appreciation particle \textit{dū ēnā (\~sú sú ēnā)}, the non-visual absolutive appreciation particle \textit{dū ēnā} may be mistaken as appreciation in the superlative degree. Actually, it expresses subjective perfection rather than objective comparison. It is used to appreciate something or someone as being absolutely perfect in their own right.

The visual absolutive appreciation particles \textit{dū ēnā} and \textit{sú sú ēnā} are in limited variation, \textit{dū ēnā} being more common presently and \textit{sú sú ēnā} being introduced to younger generation in a considerably wide range of contexts. However, \textit{sú sú ēnā} is not used to represent any non-visual realizations. Not using \textit{\~sú sú ēnā} in free variation with \textit{dū ēnā}, when \textit{sú sú ēnā} and \textit{dū ēnā} are widely used in free variation, is a mystery. It could be due to phonological uncomfortability rather than a semantic problem.

The two obligatory components of non-visual absolutive appreciation particle are: the absolutive adjective suffix \textit{duū duū} and the evidential sentence particle ēnā (006-1NSS). 4 sample sentences representing 4 sensations are illustrated in example 2.5.13
Your curry is absolutely tasty! (Gustatory)

Your rice bread is absolutely soft! (Tactile)

Your voice is absolutely loud! (Auditory)

The non-visual absolutive appreciation particle *dù dù nā* has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, third person subject marker, positive (not negative) sentence marker, and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dù dù nā</em></td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(032-3PBS)</td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32. Functions of non-visual absolutive particle appreciation particle *dù dù nā* (032-3PBS)

### 2.5.4.3 Hyper-appreciation particle zó +ADJ/ADV+ŋā/ȵā (033-2/3PBS)

The hyper-appreciation particle *zó+ADJ/ADV+ŋā/ȵā* (033-2/3PBS) is used to express appreciation in a exaggerative manner aiming to hearten the hearer--a kind of appreciation rather motivated by encouragement, not by accreditation as the
absolutive appreciation particles $\text{duu duu }\eta$ (\text{~sù sù }$\eta$) (031-2/3PBS) and $\text{duu duu }\eta$ (025-2/3PBS) are. A good situation to use this particle is when a father tells a toddler ‘Your are walking so fast!’ to encourage the toddler keep on walking.

The hyper-appreciation particle $z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\ddot{a}/\eta\ddot{a}$ consists of three components: the adjective suffix $z\dot{a}$ ‘very,’ an adjective or adverb (\text{ADJ/ADV}), and a realis locutionary particle $\eta\ddot{a}$ or $\eta\dddot{a}$. When the appreciation is realized through visual sensation, the formula would be $z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\ddot{a}$, and when it is realized through any of the other four senses, the formula would be $z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\dddot{a}$. However, unlike non-absolutive appreciation particles, the components ordering of both visual ($z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\ddot{a}$) and non-visual ($z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\dddot{a}$) absolutive appreciation are the same.

The visually realized hyper-appreciation particle $z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\ddot{a}$, never takes the visual positive evidential sentence particle $\eta\dot{a}$. Its correlation with the visual negative evidential particle $\eta\ddot{a}$ rather than the positive particle $\eta\dot{a}$ makes the hyper-appreciation particle $z\dot{a}+\text{ADJ/ADV}+\eta\ddot{a}$ not as solid as the absolutive appreciation particle $\text{duu duu }\eta$ (\text{~sù sù }$\eta$) which is corroborated by the visual evidential particle $\eta\dot{a}$ (004-1PSS). As noted previously, in evidential expressions, $\eta\ddot{a}$ is used only for negative expressions (see the third person visual evidential $\eta\dot{a}$ (\text{~sù~sù~sù} $\eta$) (004-1PSS).

The adjective prefix $z\dot{a}$, slightly rising from mid to high tone when spoken, could be an appreciation as well depreciative prefix, functioning much in the same way English ‘very’ functions in the three progressive degrees of comparison. The prefix $z\dot{a}$ exactly corresponds to the popular Burmese appreciation prefix $\theta\ddot{e}$?, which is often used in common appreciation expressions such as $\theta\ddot{e}$? $kau\ddot{y} \ d\ddot{e}$ ‘Very good!’ or $\theta\ddot{e}$?
só dè ‘Very bad!’ The Akha appreciation expressions zó mù ṣā ‘Very good!’ or zó dè ṣā ‘Very bad!’ are common, too.

It is an undeniable fact that the hyper-appreciation adjective prefix zó is becoming more popular and is finding ground in standard expression today. However, older generation speakers may not yet consider it a standard expression. A good evidence of this is found in Paul Lewis’ translation of the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of the Gospel according to John. The first clause of that verse, ‘God so loved the world,’ is translated mijé mís’hà zà-ǎ gà dūdū-صدق mìnē, using the appreciation verb phrase gà dū dū, rather than zó gà, to match the English phrase ‘so loved.’

Five hyper-appreciation sentences marked by the particle zó+ADJ/ADV+ŋā/ŋā are illustrated in example 2.5.14. The adjectives (underlined) in the five sample sentences-- mù ‘good,’ k’hú ‘tasty,’ sō ‘sweet-smelling,’ nà ‘soft,’ and qāʔ ‘loud’--are embedded in the particle cluster zó+ADJ/ADV+ŋā/ŋā.

(2.5.14)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nò -ò } & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{p’hè q’hà}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
zó mù ŋā
\end{array} \\
2S & \text{POSS} & \text{garment} & \text{(033-2/3PBS)} \\
\text{Your garment is very beautiful!} & \text{(Visual)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nò -ò } & \quad \begin{array}{c}
y’hnà
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
zó k’hú ƞá
\end{array} \\
2S & \text{POSS} & \text{curry} & \text{(026-2/3PBS)} \\
\text{Your curry is very tasty!} & \text{(Gustatory)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nò -ò } & \quad \begin{array}{c}
?ąjēʔ
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
zó sō ƞá
\end{array} \\
2S & \text{POSS} & \text{flowers} & \text{(033-2/3PBS)} \\
\text{Your flowers smell very sweet!} & \text{(Olfactory)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nò -ò } & \quad \begin{array}{c}
h’h’hà
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
zó nà ƞá
\end{array} \\
2S & \text{POSS} & \text{rice-cake} & \text{(033-2/3PBS)} \\
\text{Your rice cake is very soft!} & \text{(Tactile)}
\end{align*}
\]
Your voice is very loud! (Auditory)

Your voice is very sweet! (Auditory)

The hyper-appreciation particle $z\ddot{o}+$ADJ/ADV+$\eta\ddot{a}/n\ddot{a}$. has four functions as summarized in Table 33.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$z\ddot{o} +A/A + \eta\ddot{a}/n\ddot{a}$ (033-2/3PBS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33. Functions of the hyper-appreciation particle $z\ddot{o}+$ADJ/ADV+$\eta\ddot{a}/n\ddot{a}$ (033-2/3PBS)

2.5.4.4 Exclamatory appreciation particle $g\ddot{a}$ n\ddot{e}-\ddot{a} (034-2/3PBS)

The exclamatory appreciation particle $g\ddot{a}$ n\ddot{e}-\ddot{a} (034-2/3PBS) is primarily used when a speaker makes a self-addressed appreciation of something, which is unusual. When a native speaker says $s\ddot{a}$ $g\ddot{a}$ n\ddot{e}-\ddot{a} ‘What a sweet smell!’ he is talking to himself appreciating the sweetness of the smell. Although it is a self-addressed utterance, the speaker may expect others to notice the appreciation. An expression marked by this particle always represents a feeling of genuine appreciation mixed with a little bit of craving.

Although an utterance which is marked by $g\ddot{a}$ n\ddot{e}-\ddot{a} is a self-addressed utterance, it can be misunderstood by non-native speakers as been addressed to another person, much like the hyper-appreciation particle $z\ddot{o} +A/A + \eta\ddot{a}/n\ddot{a}$ (026-2/3PYS). However, as far
as the Akha grammar is concerned, the speaker is making a self-addressed utterance, even if he is staring at another person’s face. Even if the speaker purposely makes the other person feel as if he is addressing him by mentioning his name at the beginning of a sentence (see sample sentence 1 of example 2.5.15), the utterance is still self-addressed.

All three sample sentences in example 2.5.15 are self-addressed utterances or exclamations. However, it is hard to believe the sample 1 is not addressed to the second person ‘you,’ which is explicit in the sentence. However, the sentence particle, rather than the subject, determines sentence types in the Akha language. In the Akha mind, the particle gá nē-ā represents an inner feeling rather than an outer communication. In other words, it should be what a person is silently saying in his mind. If it is articulated, it must be taken as a sigh that is made when experiencing an emotion or feeling. γ̀ ינא hō qʰ m kʰ ú gá nē-ā ‘What a delicious dish is this’ is a sigh that is made when experiencing an extraordinary taste and tsʰ hà tʰ và kʰ gá nē-ā ‘This man is extremely fast!’ is a sigh that is made when experiencing a person running unusually fast.

(2.5.15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nō</th>
<th>-ə</th>
<th>pʰ é qʰ ṭ</th>
<th>mü</th>
<th>gánē-ə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
<td>(034-2/3PBS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What a beautiful garment is yours!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>γ̀ ינא</th>
<th>hō</th>
<th>qʰ m</th>
<th>kʰ ú</th>
<th>gánē-ə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>curry</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>dish</td>
<td>tasty</td>
<td>(034-2/3PBS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What a delicious dish is this!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsʰ ṭ à</th>
<th>tʰ và</th>
<th>kʰ gánē-ə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>HC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What a speedy man he is!
The exclamatory appreciation particle *gănê-à* has four functions: appreciation sentence marker, non-first person subject marker, positive (not negative) sentence marker, and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gănê-à</em></td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Appreciation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(034-2/3PBS)</em></td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34. Functions of the exclamatory appreciation particle *gănê-à*

(034-2/3PBS)

### 2.6 Contra-expectation

Contra-expectation particles are used when encountering an unexpected result.

As in the case with statement particles (001-006) and appreciation particles (023-034), contra-expectation particles exhibit evidentiality. This section will describe five contra-expectation particles: negative visual contra-expectation, positive visual contra-expectation, negative non-visual contra-expectation, positive non-visual contra-expectation, and onomatopoeic contra-expectation.

#### 2.6.1 Negative visual contra-expectation particle *l5 hö yà* (035-3NCS)

The negative visual contra-expectation particle *l5 hö yà* (035-3NCS) is used to express an unexpected negative result when a positive result was expected. *l5 hö yà* is only used for a negative contra-expectation result, whereas the visual contra-expectation particle *l5 hö ýá* (next section) is used for a positive contra-expectation result which was expected to be negative. The only feature to differentiate the two particles is the tone difference on the last syllable, the former taking high tone and the latter taking low tone.
A group of people who are hunting beehives saw a round black object on a tree in a distant hilltop, and believing that was a beehive they prepared tools and set to capture it. However, if when they got near the object, they found it to be a nest of ants, they would say *byà kʰûlā mà ɲó l5hɔnà* ‘[It] was not a beehive [actually]!’ or ‘It turns out not to be a beehive’ (see sentence 1 of example 2.6.1). If a group of people carrying a seriously injured man to a local dispensary, expecting to meet a doctor there, found that the doctor was not there, they would say *sà lâ ɲò mà dzɔ l5hɔnà* ‘The doctor was not here!’ or ‘It turns out to be that the doctor is not here!’ (see sentence 2 of example 2.6.1)

The particle usually follows an adjective or a verb without been intercepted by any grammatical elements. In sample sentence 1 of example 2.6.1, which is a stative sentence, the particle follows the adjective ɲó ‘true,’ and in sample sentence 2, which is a transitive sentence, the particle follows the verb ?ǝ ‘come.’ The particle only occurs in negative sentences, whether they be stative or transitive.

(2.6.1)

\[
\begin{align*}
b\=à & \ k^{h}u\=l\=a & \ m\=a & \ ɲ\=o & \ l5h\=n\=a \\
\text{bee hive} & \ \text{NEG} & \ \text{true} & \ (035-3NCS) \\
\text{[It] was not a beehive!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
s\=u\=l\=a\=y\=\=o & \ m\=a & \ ?a\=\=e & \ l5h\=n\=a \\
\text{doctor} & \ \text{NEG} & \ \text{come} & \ (035-3NCS) \\
\text{The doctor was not here!}
\end{align*}
\]

*l5 hɔ ɲà* has four functions: contra-expectation sentence marker, third person subject marker, negative sentence marker and present tense marker (see Table 35).
Table 35. Functions of the negative visual contra-expectation particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| $l5\, \text{h\'\text{\u00e8}}$  
(035-3NCS) | 1  Sentence type            | Contra-expectation sentence marker   |
|            | 2  Subject-Person           | Third person subject marker          |
|            | 3  Positive/Negative        | Negative sentence marker             |
|            | 4  Tense                    | Present tense marker                 |

2.6.2 Positive visual contra-expectation particle $l5\, h\text{\'}{\text{\u00e8}}$ (036-3PCS)

The positive visual contra-expectation particle $l5\, h\text{\'}{\text{\u00e8}}$ (036-3PCS) is used to express an unexpected positive result, when a negative result was expected. The context and structure of $l5\, h\text{\'}{\text{\u00e8}}$ is almost identical to that of the particle $l5\, \text{h\'\text{\u00e8}}$ (section 2.6.1). The only difference between the two particles is that $l5\, \text{h\'\text{\u00e8}}$ exclusively occurs in negative sentences while $l5\, h\text{\'}{\text{\u00e8}}$ exclusively occurs in positive sentences.

The context of the first sentence one in example 2.6.2 could be as follows: when a group of young boys were hunting squirrels, they saw an object on a branch high above in a tree and they sat down to guess what it was. After a few minutes of observation, they concluded that it was a projection of tree bark rather than a squirrel. But when they started moving out of that place, the squirrel fled away and one of them said $q^h\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}{\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}}\, l5h\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}$ ‘[It] was a squirrel after all!’ Another one might also say $y\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}\, l5h\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}$ [Yes, it] was.’ In both sentences, the particle $l5h\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}$ shows that an object turned out what it were not expected to be.

(2.6.2)

$q^h\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}{\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}}\, l5h\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}\text{\texttt{\text{\u00e8}}}$
squirrel  (36–3PCS)

It was a squirrel after all!
A good event to illustrate the context of sentence 2 in example 2.6.2 is as follows. Having heard a rumour that wild pigs, which are expected to eat rice in the night, were found near village rice fields, a man waited in his rice field to shoot the wild pigs. He waited for three nights, but no pigs came in to eat the rice. Therefore, he decided to go home on the fourth night, assuming the pigs would not come in that night too. However, when he went to the field early the next morning and found that half of his rice field was destroyed by the pigs, he said ‘[Yeah,] wild pigs came to eat [rice] after all!’ In this sentence, the particle expresses that what was not expected to happen actually happened.

The positive visual contra-expectation particle has four functions: contra-expectation sentence marker, third person subject marker, positive sentence marker and present tense marker (see Table 36).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l5 hɔŋャ (036-3PCS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Contra-expectation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36. Functions of positive visual contra-expectation particle l5 hɔŋャ (036-3PCS)

2.6.3 Negative non-visual contra-expectation particle l5 hɔɲə (037-3NCS)

The negative non-visual contra-expectation particle l5 hɔɲə (037-3NCS) is used to express unexpected negative result, which is realized through tactile, gustatory, olfactory or auditory sensations. The particle l5 hɔɲə is only used for a negative
result, whereas the positive non-visual contra-expectation particle lɔ hɔ mì-â (section 2.6.4) is used for a positive result which was supposed to be a negative one. lɔ hɔ nà co-occurs with noun and adjective rather than verb because the four non-visual sensations perceive qualities rather than events.

When a man dips his hand into a bamboo gopher’s hole and touches a snake instead of a bamboo gopher, he would say one of the two sample sentences given in example 2.6.3. Sample sentence, ṭá mā mā ṭá lɔ lɔ hɔ nà ‘My goodness! [It] was a snake!’ is a positive sentence by virtue of not having the denial verb prefix mà. However, it is a negative sentence for the native speakers because the particle itself is a negative sentence marker.

Both sentences in example 2.6.3 contextually communicate the same meaning to onlookers who see what the man does and what he says. In both sentences, the context and the particle lɔhɔnà shows that he was looking for a gopher, but he felt a snake instead, which is a negative result.

(2.6.3)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(omomatopoeia) } & \quad \text{snake (037-3NCS)} \\
\text{My goodness! [This] was a snake after all!} \\
\text{(gopher) } & \quad \text{NEG true (030-3NCS)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{My goodness! [This] was a snake after all!} \\
\text{[This] was not a bamboo gopher!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

lɔ hɔ nà has three functions as summarized in Table 37. Although this particle primarily occurs in negative sentences, some expressions can be constructed in positive sentence. Even if it occurs in a positive sentence structurally, it still implies a negative meaning. Therefore, it is taken as a negative sentence marker.
2.6.4 Positive non-visual contra-expectation particle Clusters (038-3PCS)

The positive non-visual contra-expectation particle Cluster (038-3PCS) is used to express an unexpected positive result, which is realized through tactile, gustatory, olfactory or auditory sensations. The speaker meets a good result, when expecting a bad result. Just like Cluster (section 2.6.3), Cluster co-occurs with noun and adjective rather than verb because the four non-visual sensations perceive qualities rather than events.

A man saw a lot of bamboo shoots in the jungle but collected only a few, thinking that it might have bitter taste. When he came home and cooked it and found out that it was very sweet, he regretfully said Cluster ‘[They] were sweet!’ The particle Cluster shows that he expected the bamboo shoots to be bitter but it turned out to be sweet. He thus regretted not having collected more.

(2.6.4)

Cluster 甜 [They] were sweet after all!

Cluster has four functions as summarized in Table 38. A sentence that takes Cluster as a sentence particle can never be constructed in a negative form.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ลี ห่า มิ-ätzlich (038-3PCS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Contra-expectation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38. Functions of the positive non-visual contra-expectation particle ลี ห่า มิ-ätze (038-3PCS)

2.6.5 Onomatopoeic contra-expectation particle โห-่ะ (039-3PCS)

The onomatopoeic contra-expectation particle โห-่ะ (039-3PCS) is used to add an emotional expression of regretfulness to the realization implied by the contra-expectation particles ลี ห่า ยา (036-3PCS) and ลี ห่า มิ-ätzlich (038-3PCS). As mentioned earlier, ลี ห่า ยา and ลี ห่า มิ-ätzlich mark finding a good result when a bad result was expected. In such an experience, there is a sense of regret for not knowing it earlier or not having being prepared for it. The onomatopoeic particle โห-่ะ makes that sense of regret explicit.

The group of boys who exclaimed ปหนี่ ซอ่? ลี ห่า ยา [It] was a squirrel!’ had experienced a contra-expectational result. They could add the particle โห-่ะ and say ปหนี่ ซอ่? ลี ห่า ยา โห-่ะ, to mean that they felt regret for not having realized it was a squirrel and shooting it.

(2.6.5)

โหเด้? ลีห่ายะ
squirrel (036-3PCS)

[It] was a squirrel after all!

โหเด้? ลีห่ายะ โห-่ะ
squirrel (036-3PCS) (039-3PCS)

Rats! [It] was a squirrel after all!
In the same way, when the man who collected only a few bamboo shoots says *jʒtʃ*ə́ lɔ́ ʰɔ́ mì-ə́ [They] were sweet!,’ he is just uttering his late realization. However, when the particle ʔó-ə is added to the sentence to become *jʒtʃ*ə́ lɔ́ ʰɔ́ mì-ə́ ʔó-ə, he is expressing a genuine regret for not having collected more bamboo shoots (see sentence 2 of example 2.6.6).

(2.6.6)

\[ *jʒtʃ*ə́ lɔ́ ʰɔ́ mì-ə́ \]
\[ sweet \ (038-3PCS) \]

[They] were sweet after all!

\[ *jʒtʃ*ə́ lɔ́ ʰɔ́ mì-ə́ ʔó-ə \]
\[ sweet \ (038-3PCS) \ (039-3PCS) \]

Rats! [They] were sweet after all!

ʔó-ə has four functions as summarized in Table 39.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔó-ə</td>
<td>1  Sentence type</td>
<td>contra-expectation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(039-3PCS)</td>
<td>2  Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39. Functions the onomatopoeic contra-expectation particle ʔó-ə (039-3PCS)

2.7 Negative prediction

Negative prediction particles are primarily used to imply a speaker’s pessimistic attitude towards an addressee’s performance, such as underestimation, distrust, inability, unreliability, incompatibility, or insufficiency.

This section will discuss three particles: the generic negative prediction, the visual negative prediction and the non-visual negative prediction particles.
2.7.1 Generic negative prediction particle \( lùʔ-ā \) (040-2/3NTS)

The generic negative prediction particle \( lùʔ-ā \) (040-2/3NTS) is used to express a prediction of failure on the basis of unlikelihood. In making a generic prediction, a speaker does not state a specific sensation through which he realizes the possibility of failure. The generic negative prediction particle is made up of two parts, the continuous tense marker \( lùʔ \) and the negative evidential \( -ā \), (005-2/3NSS). This particle contrasts with the visual negative prediction particle \( lùʔ-ŋā \) (041-2/3NTS) and the non-visual negative prediction particle \( lùʔ-ŋā \) (042-2/3NTS) in terms of evidentiality; the generic negative prediction does not imply any specific sensorial evidence, whereas the latter two are explicitly based on visual and non-visual evidences.

\( (2.7.1) \)

\[
\text{mà lòʔ lé lùʔ-ā} \\
\text{NEG sufficient ELA (40-2/3NTS)}
\]

[I am afraid the food] may not be sufficient.  (General prediction)

The context of this sentence could be, an Akha wedding ceremony where the host is worried about not having sufficient food to feed the guests. By choosing the evidential particle \( -ā \) for the second component of the negative prediction particle, the criticism is not based on any sensory evidence. The generic negative prediction has a weaker degree of assertion than its visual and non-visual counterparts.

\( lùʔ-ā \) has four functions as summarized in Table 40.
### 2.7.2 Visual negative prediction particle \( lùʔ\-á \) (041-2/3NTS)

The visual negative prediction particle \( lùʔ\-á \) (041-2/3NTS) is used to express a prediction of failure on the basis of the speaker’s visual realization.

Example 2.7.1 is repeated in example 2.7.2, except that the visual negative prediction particle \( lùʔ\-á \) (041-2/3NTS) replaces \( lùʔ\-á \) (040-2/3NTS) to show that the speaker is doing the prediction on the basis of what he has seen.

(2.7.2)

\[
\text{mà } lòʔ \quad \text{lè } lùʔ\-á \quad \text{NEG sufficient ELA} \quad (041-2/3NTS)
\]

[See that the food] may not be sufficient. (Visual prediction)

\( lùʔ\-á \) has four functions: negative prediction sentence marker, non-first-person subject marker, negative sentence marker and present tense marker. This particle occurs only in the negative sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( lùʔ-á ) (041-2/3NTS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Negative prediction sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 41. Functions of the visual negative prediction particle \( lùʔ\-á \) (041-2/3NTS)
2.7.3 Non-visual negative prediction particle ㄌㄩㄣㄚ (042-2/3NTS)

The non-visual negative prediction particle ㄌㄩㄣㄚ (042-2/3NTS) is used to express a prediction of failure on the basis of the speaker’s realization through tactile, auditory, olfactory and auditory sensations.

The same sample sentence illustrated in example 2.7.2 is adapted again in example 2.7.3, the non-visual negative prediction particle ㄌㄩㄣㄚ (042-2/3NTS) replacing the visual negative prediction particle ㄌㄩㄣ (041-2/3NTS), to show that the speaker is making he prediction on the basis of what he has realized through a non-visual sensation.

(2.7.3)

\[ \text{NEG} \ \text{sufficient} \ (042-2/3NTS) \]

[I am afraid the food] may not be sufficient. (Non-visual prediction)

The non-visual negative prediction particle ㄌㄩㄣㄚ (042-2/3NTS) has four functions: negative prediction marker, non-first-person subject marker, negative sentence marker and present tense marker. This particle occurs only in negative sentences. The subject of a negative prediction sentence is either second or third person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㄌㄩㄣㄚ (042-2/3NTS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Negative prediction sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 42. Functions of the non-visual prediction particle ㄌㄩㄣㄚ (042-2/3NTS)
CHAPTER 3

JUSSIVES

3.0 Introduction

The jussive particles contrasted to statement particles (section 2.1) in terms of the additional thrust that a speaker uses to strengthen an utterance, whether making a request, commanding, entreatying or exhorting.

3.1 Command

Akha imperative sentences are marked by one of three particles, which may be classified as common, prohibition and reproach. These three imperative particles are rooted in different degrees of aggression in the attitude of the speaker. This section will discuss the three imperative particles, which are technically labeled as command particle - öneri, prohibitive particle o, and reproach particle tʰọ.

3.1.1 Command particle - öneri (043-2PIS)

The command particle - öneri (043-2PIS) is only used in positive sentences, an expression of forcing someone to do something. A command sentence with the imperative sentence particle - öneri has the strongest illocutionary force. Adding other particles that have weaker illocutionary force can soften such a strong command. For instance, the assertion degree of the commanding imperative clause ḇi-وجه ‘go’ is demoted when followed by hortatory particle dē. When a speaker says ḇi-وجه dē instead of ḇi-وجه, he is giving a command but in much softened manner.

The particle -وجه occurs after the last verb of a clause, although it affects the whole sentence in deep structure. Example 3.1.1 shows the position of the particle -وجه.
The particle may be preceded or followed by other particles, with any co-occurrence with other particles always weakening its forcefulness, as shown in example 3.1.2.

(3.1.2)

\[ m\text{èn} \ hādʒi \ p^hı \ -\dot{s} \ \dot{s}i \ -\dot{s} \ dē \]
\[ \text{cow meat carry and go (043-2PIS)(058-2ES)} \]

**Take some beef with you and go.**

### 3.1.2 Prohibitive particle ə (044-2NIS)

Politeness is an important feature in Akha. Speakers feel the necessity in linguistic communication to show mutual social respect. When a speaker utters a sentence without a sentence particle, he deliberately chooses it to impress the listener that he is...
in a aggressive mood. Therefore, the unmarked prohibitive imperative particle \( \sigma \) (044-2NIS) is a deliberate utterance to imply a stern illocutionary force.

A prohibitive sentence is a command that forces a person not to do or stop doing something. Akha prohibitive sentences are usually marked by the negative verb prefix \( t^h \). It has no sentence level particles that mark the sentence type in contrast with non-imperative sentence types. Having no particle is an indication of a pure prohibitive sentence.

As in the case with the imperative sentence or clause, which is marked by the imperative particle -\( \delta \), adding hortatory particles, can soften a prohibitive imperative sentence or clause. For instance, example 3.1.3 can be softened by adding the hortatory particle \( d\dot{e} \) (see example 3.1.4).

(3.1.3)

\[
m\dot{o}n\dot{e} \ f\dot{a}d\dot{z}\dot{i} \ p^h \ i \ -\delta \ t^h \dot{a} \ ?i \ \sigma \\
\text{cow meat carry and PRHB go (044-2NIS)}
\]

[You] must not go carrying beef!

(3.1.4)

\[
m\dot{o}n\dot{e} \ f\dot{a}d\dot{z}\dot{i} \ p^h \ i \ -\delta \ t^h \dot{a} \ ?i \ \sigma \ d\dot{e} \\
\text{cow meat carry and PRHB go (044-2NIS) (058-2ES)}
\]

Do not go carrying beef, OK!

The prohibitive particle \( \sigma \) has four functions as summarized in Table 44.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \sigma ) (044-2NIS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Command sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Non-past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 44. Functions of the prohibitive particle \( \sigma \) (044-2NIS)
3.1.3 Reproach command particle \( t^h\hat{o} \) (045-2IS)

The reproach command particle \( t^h\hat{o} \) (045-2IS) is used in a cause or occasion of blame, discredit, or disgrace. It is a reiterative insistent particle that marks the repetition of an imperative statement, repeating the former statement in a cause and effect relationship. There always seems to be an implicit causative phrase ‘because of that’ in a reproach imperative sentence, and the cause and effect expression is always influenced by a confrontational dialogue.

The particle \( t^h\hat{o} \) reveals a confrontational situation in which one of the two opponents is about to give in. A prohibitive sentence reiterated with particle \( t^h\hat{o} \) shows that the speaker has the upper hand and will eventually subdue his weakening opponent. On the other hand, a command sentence reiterated with the particle \( t^h\hat{o} \) shows that the speaker is in a rather compromising position and is about to surrender to the will of the opponent, as shown in example 3.1.5.

(3.1.5)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
t^h\hat{o} \\
PRHB \quad go \\
(045-2IS)
\end{array}
\]

Thus \( I \) said \([you] \) do not go.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
?i \\
goo \\
(018-2PIS) \quad (045-2IS)
\end{array}
\]

Thus \( I \) say now \([you] \) may go.

In example 3.1.5, the first reproaching imperative sentence shows the speaker has upper hand in a confrontational dialogue that is coming to conclusion and his opponent is almost subdued. However, the second sentence shows through the particle \( t^h\hat{o} \) preceded by \(-\hat{o}\) that the speaker is losing in the dialogue and he is ready to give in to the will of the more aggressive opponent, but not willingly. The two examples show the usage of the particle in \( t^h\hat{o} \) opposite directions, and demonstrate
that the negative reproaching sentence makes a stronger assertion than the positive one.

The reproach command interrogative particle \(\text{ṭọ} \) has three functions (see Table 45). Like the particle \( \text{lé} \) (087-2IS), it functions as neither a negative or a positive sentence marker, because that function is taken either by the particle(s) that precede(s) it or the prohibitive verb prefix \(\text{ṭọ} \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ṭọ} ) (045-2IS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Command sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 45. Functions of the reproach imperative particle \(\text{ṭọ} \) (045-2IS)

3.2 Negative imperatives

Negative imperative particles which are used for refutation, criticism and denial. This section describes five negative imperative particles: the offensive refutal particle, the defensive refutal particle, the disapproval critical particle, the impatient critical particle, and the argumentative denial particle.

3.2.1 Offensive refutal particle \( \text{ọ} \) (46-2NIS)

Akha has a type of sentence that expresses unwillingness to do something that is assigned. This type of sentence is usually marked by sentence particles which may be labeled as refutal particles. The refutal expressions contrast with denial expressions in terms of mutually exclusive choice of verb forms: refutal expressions take active verbs whereas the denial expressions take passive verbs\(^6\). In denial expression, one is

---

\(^6\) Any verb that takes the passive voice suffix \( \text{bi} \) becomes a passive verb.
arguing what he is or is not. In a refutal expression, he is rejecting he has been asked or assigned to do.

Both expressions mentioned above imply illocutionary force, which indicate an attitude of dislike to either the original statement or the person who made the statement. There are a number of particles that can be used to express a polite or mild refutal, but as elaborated in the previous section, a zero sentence particle may be intentionally chosen to express a stern reaction.

The Akha refutal expression may be divided into two types which are marked by two zero particles labeled as offensive refutal particle and defensive refutal particle. The next two sections will describe the structure and function of the two refutal particles.

The offensive refutal particle \( \emptyset \) (046-2NIS) is used to express the intention to intercept or to stop an event in progress or before it has begun. In the act of uttering a refutal sentence, the speaker is in an offensive position being rather aggressive in regard to an event that is taking place or about to take place. In the speaker’s mind, it is unacceptable and he has all the reasons to stop it and wants to see it stopped immediately. It is not a command, but every native speaker realizes through the zero particle that it is a tough refutal. An offensive refutal sentence, when uttered in a high strident voice, is a strong prohibition.

The subject of an offensive refutal sentence is always second person. However, the object could be second or third person, as illustrated in example 3.2.1.

(3.2.1)

\[ t'\dot{a} \quad ?i \quad \emptyset \]
PRHB go (046-2NIS)

[You] don’t go!

\[ t'\dot{a} \quad bi \quad ?i \quad \emptyset \]
PRHB PASS go (046-2NIS)

[You] don’t let [him/her/it/them] go!
The reason that the subject of an offensive refutal sentence can never be a first person or a third person is that the imperative verb prefix t'â and the offensive refutal particle cannot occur in any sentence in which subject is not the second person. In the second sentence of example 3.2.1, the person who does the going is the third person, but the second person, rather than the third person himself, is responsible for the going. Hence, the second person is pressured not to let the third person go.

The offensive refutal particle $\sigma$ has four functions: negative imperative sentence marker, second person subject marker, negative sentence marker and non-past tense marker. An offensive refutal sentence cannot be constructed in a positive form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\sigma$ (046-2NIS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Negative imperative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Non-past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 46. Functions of the offensive refutal particle $\sigma$ (046-2NIS)

**3.2.2 Defensive refutal particle $\sigma$ (047-1NIS)**

The defensive refutal particle $\sigma$ (047-1NIS) is used to express a strong rejection. A speaker who uses this particle is strongly defending himself against undertaking the responsibility assigned to him.

In contrast to the offensive refutal expression, which is always addressed to a second person or has an implied second person subject, the subject of a defensive refutal sentence is always first person. However, the object could be first person or third person. Samples of the two sentence types are illustrated in example 3.2.2.

(3.2.2)

$\text{mà} \ ? \ \sigma$

NZG $\text{go}$ (047-1NIS)

[I] won’t go!
The refusal verb prefix mà, together with the zero sentence particle, plays an important role in the defensive refutal expression. It implies a strong rejection. The refusal verb prefix mà and the zero sentence particle inseparable as far as the refutal expression is concerned.7

The defensive refutal particle ø has four functions: negative imperative sentence marker, first person subject marker, negative sentence marker and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø (047-1NIS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Negative imperative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 47. Functions of the defensive refutal particle ø (047-1NIS)

3.2.3 Disapproval critical particle lɔ tʰɔ (048-2NIS)

Critical particles express critical judgment or suggestions. In using one of these particles, the speaker is intentionally making the hearer feel that he is somehow degraded or disapproved of. These particles mark an unhealthy relationship between the two parties.

The disapproval critical particle lɔ tʰɔ (048-2NIS) is used to express a mixture of disapproval and emotionally charged intervention. A speaker may intentionally use

---

7 In daily communication, especially in the language of children, any refutal sentence can be represented by the expression ὲ órg, which is equivalent to the refutal expression ‘No!’ in English. Some Akha speakers along the Sino-Burmese border would say mà instead of ὲ órg.
this particle to impose a strong criticism against a person whom he thinks is involved in misconduct, a behavior not in accordance with prevailing standards or laws, in such a way as to make the target person feel that he is not only responsible, but also culpable, for his actions.

When uttered in a strident tone, the particle $l$ $t^h$ sentence has a strong emotional effect on a hearer, making him feel like he is being treated as an insensible or unqualified person. However, uttering it in a slow and softer tone demotes the degree of assertion, just as when a mother tenderly tries to stop a small child from spitting at another child. Adding a kinship name or a title at the end of the sentence following the particle will demote the degree of assertion to the lowest level possible (see example 3.2.3).

(3.2.3)

$z$ $-\dot{a}$ $t^h$ $q^h\dot{e}$ $l$ $t^h$

child ACC PRHB torture (048-2NIS)

[You] should not torture a child [like that]!

$d$ $q^h\dot{a}$ $t^h$ $q^h\dot{a}$ $f^e$ $l$ $t^h$

saliva PRHB spit upon (048-2NIS)

[You] should not spit on [people]!

$t^h$ $t^h\dot{e}$ $d$ $l$ $t^h$ $d$ $-\dot{a}$

PRHB quarrel (048-2NIS) father ADDR

[You] should not quarrel [with people] father!

Among the three sentences of example 3.2.3, sentence 1 implies stronger degree of assertion than sentence 2. The speaker of sentence 1 may raise his voice to the peak in order to stop man from torturing a child, but a mother will use tender voice to admonish her own little son not to spit on others. Sentence 3, an eldest son’s attempt to stop his father from quarreling with others, is certainly stronger than sentence 2, if the kinship term $d$ $-\dot{a}$ (Father + addressee marker) is not intentionally added to
demote the degree of assertion. In Akha social discourse, a younger speaker usually tries to demote the degree of assertion when he is forced to direct the particle ]=$t$ toward an older addressee. Any Akha would try to avoid addressing an older man with this particle.

The particle ]=$t$ usually follows a verb, sometimes being preceded by a verb suffix, which comes right after the verb. It mostly occurs in negative sentences, although its occurrence in positive sentences is not unusual, probably because the negative construction seems to imply a stronger assertion than the positive one. For instance, $à$ $sè? ]=$t$ ‘[You] should not kill [it]!’ naturally implies a stronger assertion than $è$ $nè$ ]=$t$ ‘[You] should set [it] free.’

Furthermore, native speakers would rather use the depreciative advisory particle -(=$5(~~=$) (070-2PVS) than the disapproval critical particle ]=$t$ expressions in positive form, which means changing the particle category from the emotional level to an attitudinal level, i. e. a shift from the criticizing level to the advising level.

The disapproval critical particle ]=$t$ has four functions: negative imperative sentence marker, second person subject marker, negative sentence marker and present tense marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>]=$t$ (048-2NIS)</td>
<td>1  Sentence type</td>
<td>Negative imperative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 48. Functions of the disapproval critical particle ]=$t$ (048-2NIS)
3.2.4 Impatient critical particle -\textdagger-\textdagger (049-2NIS)

The impatient critical particle -\textdagger-\textdagger (049-2NIS) is used to express an impolite criticism with an impatient manner. A speaker who uses this particle has come to the point he can no longer be patient with the addressee for some reason. Such a criticism deliberately makes the addressee feel somehow degraded or disqualified.

(3.2.4)

\begin{verbatim}
?æ  tl̄ étwè  -\textdagger-

come quickly (049-2NIS)

Hurry on!
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
ltù  p̄ b̄ á  d̄ i  -\textdagger-

PRHB  RVP  beat (049-2NIS)

Don’t beat [him] anymore!
\end{verbatim}

In negative sentence structure, the particle -\textdagger-\textdagger directly follows the verb stem, and could be preceded by an adverb. Sentence 1 of example 3.2.4 is a typical positive expression. The particle -\textdagger-\textdagger indicates that it may be the third time that the speaker has yelled for the boy to walk faster, either on this day or on previous days.

Sentence 2 in example 3.2.4 is composed of the prohibitive negative prefix \textdagger, the reiterative verb prefix \textdagger, a verb \textdagger ‘beat’ and the particle -\textdagger-. An Akha grandmother who saw her son beating his son (her grandson) might yell, \textdagger \textdagger \textdagger ‘Don’t beat [him] any more’ who is repeatedly beating his own son. The grandmother is apparently impatient with her son for beating her grandson more than he ought to. This would not have been the first time that she yelled at him; the grandmother is exasperated with both the present action and his habitual abuse.
The impatient critical particle -é has three functions: negative imperative sentence marker, second person subject marker, and present tense marker. This particle may occur both in positive and negative sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-é</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Negative imperative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 49. Functions of the impatient critical particle -é (049-2NIS)

3.2.5 Argumentative denial particle -é (050-NIS)

The argumentative denial particle -é (050-NIS) is used to express a denial argument, which is less assertive in degree than the strident denial particle ø (015-1NDS). The particle -é is used to counter a statement in a dispute where both parties seem to have equal evidence and when the accused may not be completely culpable.

There are two possible contexts in which a speaker may choose to use the particle -é instead of the zero denial particle. The first context that could motivate a person to use the particle -é would be when a person who has committed a number of serial mistakes is accused of making another successive mistakes for which he is not actually responsible.

The second context where the particle -é may be used would be when a person softens a denial expression so as not to be too rude by using the strident zero particle. He would do it when he is responding to some one whom he loves or admires, and when he does not want to be strident by using zero particle even though he is in the position to use it.

The following examples show identical environment for the two particles.
When the subject of a strident denial particle is the first person (see example 3.2.5),
the particle -è is neither preceded nor followed by any other sentence particle.
However, when the subject is either second or third person, it always follows the third
person negative realis declarative particle -ā (005-3NSS), and the third person subject
of the sentence is always made explicit. The following example shows the same
-è sentence reconstructed three times, each time taking a different person subject.

(3.2.6)

while the particle -è is primarily used for negative denial sentences, its occurrence in
positive denial sentences is common too. However, when it occurs in a positive
sentence, the sentence particle that co-occurs with it is changed (see example 3.2.6).
When the subject of a positive sentence is first person, the particle -è always follows

(3.2.5)

mà  nyò  ø
NEG  BE  (015-1NDS)
[No, I] am not!  (Strong Denial)

mà  nyò  -è
NEG  BE  (050-NIS)
[No, I] am not!  (Argumentative Denial)
the first person positive realis declarative particle *mā* (002-1PSS), and when the subject is either second or third person, the particle -è always follows the third person positive realis declarative particle *mē* (001-2/3PSS). In addition, the second person subject of an -è sentence is always made explicit. However, in argumentative denial sentences, the adjective *ηδ* is always omitted when the subject is second person (see the second sentence of example 3.2.7). All the components in example 3.2.7 are obligatory in their respective sentences.

(3.2.7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ηδ} & \quad \text{mā} & \quad -è \quad \text{BE} & \quad (002-1\text{PSS}) & \quad (050-\text{NIS}) \\
\text{[Yes, I] am.} & \quad \text{(First Person Subject)} \\
\text{nδ} & \quad \text{mē} & \quad -è \quad 2\text{S} & \quad (001-2/3\text{PSS}) & \quad (050-\text{NIS}) \\
\text{[Yes] you are.} & \quad \text{(Second Person Subject)} \\
\text{ηδ} & \quad \text{mē} & \quad -è \quad \text{BE} & \quad (001-2/3\text{PSS}) & \quad (050-\text{NIS}) \\
\text{[Yes, he/she/it/they] is/are.} & \quad \text{(Third Person Subject)}
\end{align*}
\]

The argumentative denial particle -è (050-NIS) has only two functions as summarized in Table 50. The particle -è is not applicable as a subject person marker because the subject of the sentence can be any person. It does not function as a negative/positive marker like the zero particle, because it can be either. However, the particle must be understood as a present tense marker because it is making a denial of a condition when the speech is taking place, even though it may refer back to something that occurred in the past.
Table 50. Functions of the argumentative denial particle -è (050-NIS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-è (050-NIS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Argumentative denial sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Any person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Mitigatives

The mitigative particles are the least assertive among all sentence particles in the Akha language. For example, in the Akha political structure, there is always a dominant man on the district level who is addressed as ‘Jawba,’ (chieftain). His political status is roughly equivalent to that of the ‘Nai Amphoe’ (district officer) in the present day political structure of Thailand. An ordinary villager feels so shy to stand face to face and speak to such a chieftain that he needs some particles to show proper respect for him. He needs to produce ‘how small he thinks he is and how much the chieftain means to him’ particles with every sentence he speaks. These particles may also be used in everyday social situations in which some sort of hierarchy is present (child to parent, beggar to donor, etc.).

This section will discuss six mitigative particles: petitionary, requesting, surrendering, formally notifying, semi-request notifying, and notifying mitigative particles.

3.3.1 Petitionary mitigative particle nè là? (~nè lè?) (051-1MS)

The petitionary mitigative particle nè là? (~nè lè?) (051-1MS) is used primarily to show a speaker’s expression of timidity or meekness in making a petition or an appeal. This particle can also be used to express nothing more than a simple request, for every sentence that asks something from any person ends with it. The following is a good example of a petitionary mitigative sentence.
A simple request of daily life such as ishlist? nt? 6il? nèlè? ‘Give me some rice,’ may not be impressive enough to argue as having apologetic illocutionary force, although it can be accepted as a polite expression. However, when a leper asks a chieftain ýs ñà mà nè lè? ‘Have mercy on me,’ the imposition of the apologetic illocutionary force is undeniable. It tries to indicate the hierarchical difference between the addresser and the addressee. This is an utterance made while pressing down oneself to even lower status and lifting the hearer to the highest possible status.

The difference between the two sentence types is two-fold, a difference both in surface and deep structures. In the first sentence, the particle nè lè? is preceded by the verb 6il? which is practically asking for the direct object ishlist? rice. In the second sentence, on the other hand, the particle is neither follows the verb 6il? ‘give’ nor has a direct object. Therefore, particle nè lè? is used as a common expression of asking something in the first sentence whereas it is used with mitigative force in the second sentence.

Actually, the particle nè lè? is a compound particle made up of elative verb suffix nè and ablative verb particle lè?. The grammatical description of ‘elative,’ meaning ‘motion from inside,’ and ‘ablative,’ meaning ‘motion from outside,’ are borrowed from Finnish (Crystal 1997:133). The Akha understand the act of giving 6il? nè as ‘motion (away) from inside’ and receiving 6il? lè? as ‘motion from outside (into inside).’
The two verb particles are used as a compound sentence particle nè là? to create a complete ‘from you into me’ type of meaning. Hence, ãì nè là? means ‘give from you into me,’ and yò ñà gà nè là?, earlier translated ‘Have mercy on me,’ literally means ‘Be kind from you to me,’ while Ñà-à ñò-à là nè là? means ‘Please come to my house’ or ‘May I invite you to come to my house.’ Therefore, both the giver and the recipient are marked by this particle although the first person recipient is the subject of the sentence. The sentence particle is purposely used to have an effect of mitigative force when it does not co-occur with the verb ãì ‘give.’

The structure and function of the particle is confined within the last clause of a sentence. It can be preceded and proceeded by other sentence particles for further manipulation of illocutionary force. It occurs both in positive and negative sentences.

The petitionary mitigative particle nè là? (~nè lè?) has three functions as summarized in Table 51. It does not function as positive/negative marker because it can occur in both. nè là? and (~nè lè?) differ in one feature, vertical distance. nè là? is used when the addresser is on a vertically higher or equal physical or geographical location with the addressee and nè lè? is used when he is in a lower location than the addressee. Sometimes, they are used in the same distinction denoting lower and higher hierarchy of social status. Note that nè cannot be used alone apart from the vertical markers là? and lè?.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nè là? (~nè lè?) (051-1MS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Mitigative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 51. Functions of the petitionary mitigative particle nè là? (~nè lè?) (051-1MS)
3.3.2 Requesting mitigative particle \textit{fê} (052-1MS)

The requesting mitigative particle \textit{fê} (052-1MS) is used for an expression showing or characterized by correct social usage. A \textit{fê} sentence has an appearance of consideration, tact, and deference, lacking roughness and crudity. This particle may have lexical and semantic relationship with the Lahu mitigative particle \textit{fê}: (with extra low tone) and the Burmese feminine mitigative particle \textit{fê}.

The particle \textit{fê} rarely co-occurs with other sentence particles. It is preceded only by the petitionary mitigative particle \textit{nê là?} (\textit{–nê là?}) (051-1MS) and followed only by particle \textit{lé} (087-2RIS). The last clause of a \textit{fê} sentence is usually a simple construction of a verb and the sentence particle itself.

The particle \textit{fê} may be paired up with an adverb phrase \textit{tʰì pōʔ} ‘please’ to be characterized by correct social usage which imposes mitigative force. The literal meaning of \textit{tʰì pōʔ} is ‘one time’ or ‘once,’ but its connotative meaning is equivalent to the English adverb ‘please.’ This is similar to Lahu adverb phrase \textit{tē pàː}, meaning ‘one bite’ or ‘one word,’ which pairs up with the Lahu mitigative particle \textit{fēː}. Both adverb phrases are purposely used to demote every imperative imposition down to mitigative manner.

When the particle \textit{fê} is used apart from the polite expression marker \textit{tʰì pōʔ}, it is a normal but incorrect social usage, which may not be characterized by politeness. However, when the two particles are paired up, it must be considered having mitigative force in the form of a request. Hence, \textit{h₃ lá fê} ‘Come and look’ is a simple request for a friend to come and see something, but \textit{tʰì pōʔ h₃ lá fê} ‘Please come and have a look’ is an earnest request for a superior to come and see the situation. The following three sentences show increasing mitigative strength.
The free English translation attempts to show the progressive mitigative strength. The most polite form of the usage of particle is sentence three, i.e. pairing up with adverb phrase ℓɪ pō? and sentence particle nè là?.

The mitigative particle ŋé has three functions as summarized in Table 52. It does not function as positive/negative marker because it can occur in both types of sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋé (052-1MS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Mitigative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 52. Functions of requesting mitigative particle ŋé (052-1MS)

3.3.3 Surrendering mitigative particle má-ì (053-1MS)

The surrendering mitigative particle má-ì (053-1MS) is used to express that one has come to the point of giving up completely or agreeing to defer in favour to another, after an argument that might have lasted for some time. The particle is also used in a
connective phrase tō?-é má-ì which bears a similar meaning to ‘if it is so’ in English. However, this section will focus on the sentence final má-ì.

The mitigative particle má-ì is always preceded by the first person positive declarative particle mā (002-1PSS). As previously discussed, the particle mā has a very strong assertion of factuality. Hence, the combination of the two particles shows a complete surrender. As shown in example 3.3.3, a typical surrendering mitigative sentence is composed of a denial verb prefix, a reiterative verb prefix, a verb, the declarative particle mā and the surrendering mitigative particle má-ì.

\[ (3.3.3) \]

\[
\text{NEG RVP do (002-1PSS) (053-1MS)}
\]

[I] will not do it again (if it is so!)

The surrendering mitigative sentence mā pʰá dʒá mā má-ì ‘I will not do it again (if it is so)’ is an absolute agreement to forgo in favour of another. As far as illocutionary force is concerned, this sentence is contrasted with other expressions such as mā pʰá dʒá mā dê, which is an expression of agreement rather in a sarcastic manner and mā pʰá dʒá mā tʰò, which is a stern expression of agreement, and mā pʰá dʒá mā lê, which is a half-hearted expression of agreement. All three examples have the same meaning but with different degrees of illocutionary force.

The particle má-ì has three functions: mitigative sentence marker; first person subject marker, and present tense marker. It is not applicable as positive/negative marker because, although it can occur in positive sentences, it prefers negative construction.
3.3.4 Formally notifying mitigative particle ลำ (054-1PMS)

The formally notifying mitigative particle ลำ (054-1PMS) is used to notify of an action in a polite manner. When a native speaker uses the mitigative particle ลำ, he is supposed to be in the initial position of making his own decision and the addressee(s) are may be on-lookers, elderly observers, or assisting participants. The action may not affect anybody.

The common Akha expression น้า ลำ ลำ ’May I go [now]’ or ‘It is time for me to go,’ is a formal notice uttered by a person who is about to leave a person or a group of persons with whom he has spent some time. The speaker is not really making a request because the addressees are not in the position to grant him the action. His choice of the particle rather than petitionary mitigative particle นิลำ (ลำ) (051-1MS) or requesting mitigative particle ลำ (052-1MS) shows that the addressee(s) are either indifferent to his action or they are not in a position to influence him.

Normally, a sentence that is marked by the formal notifying mitigative particle ลำ is composed of an optional subject, the polite expression marker ลำ, an obligatory verb and the particle ลำ (see example 3.3.4). The subject of a formal notifying mitigative utterance is always a first person. The particle usually co-occurs with the polite expression marker ลำ.
(3.3.4)

ηά tʰipōʔ ?i lā
1S POLT go (054-1PMS)

May I go [now].

The formally notifying mitigative particle lā has four functions, as summarized in Table 54.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lā (054-1PMS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Mitigative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 54. Functions of formally notifying mitigative particle lā (54-1PMS)

3.3.5 Semi-request notifying mitigative particle hɔlā (055-1PMS)

The semi-request notifying mitigative particle hɔlā (055-1PMS) is used to express a request to try something in such a way that the addressee understands it as a mixture of request and notification. The function and syntactic structures of this particle are almost identical with that of the formal notifying mitigative particle lā (054-1PMS), the only difference being notifying of an action versus notifying of a trial action.

When a native speaker uses the semi-request mitigative particle hɔlā, he is requesting as well as notifying the hearers that he will do something as a test. He is not absolutely in the initial position of making his own decision and the addressee(s) are either on-lookers or elderly observers who may stop him from trying it. He may be able to try it or he may not be, because the decision is partly his and partly others’.

The utterance ηά tʰi pōʔ ?i hɔlā ‘May I go [there]!’ is a good mitigative expression marked by the particle hɔlā. In this sentence, the speaker is probably asking to go to a
place where he has not been before. Example 3.3.5 repeats example 3.3.4, changing the particle only, since the syntactic components of the two particles are identical. The particle ʰʱlā also co-occurs with the polite expression marker idiom ᵗʰⁱᵖᵒʔ  which means ‘Just once!’

(3.3.5)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{May I go [there]!} & \\
\text{Let me have a look at [it]!} & 
\end{align*}
\]

ʰʱlā is etymologically made up of two components, the verb ʰʱ ‘look’ and the formal notifying mitigative particle ˡā. However, the particle component ʰʱ of the first sentence in example 3.3.5 is distinguished from the verb ʰʱ by the preceding verb ʰⁱ ‘go,’ since the verb ʰʱ never follows any verb. In other words, when ʰʱ does not follows another verb, it is the verb ʰʱ ‘look’ (see sentence 2 of example 3.4.5).

The semi-request notifying mitigative particle ʰˡlā has four functions, as summarized in Table 55.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʰˡlā</td>
<td>1  Sentence type</td>
<td>Mitigative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 55. Functions of semi-request mitigative particle ʰˡlā (55-1PMS)
3.3.6 Notifying mitigative particle ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ) (56-1PMS)

The notifying mitigative particle ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ) (56-1PMS) is used to notify the hearers of what a person is going to do. Actually, the particle is a self-addressed notification. The speaker is revealing a self-addressed thought to inform others what he is going to do. There is no sense of request in this particle, although the expression implies a mitigative attitude.

When a native speaker says ㄆㄆ tʰi pō? ?i ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ) ‘May I go,’ he is speaking to himself rather than to other persons, although he may purposely say it so that other may hear it or know what he is going to do. In other words, the speaker is making others hear his inner thought, which he is to bring out in an action. Others are informed but they are not supposed to intercede. The speaker is keeping himself out of bounds from others when he chooses the particle ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ.

The function and structure of the three particles are the same. Therefore the same content of examples 3.3.4 and 3.3.5 is repeated again in example 3.3.6.

(3.3.6)

ηá tʰi pō? ?i ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ)

[To self] May I go?

The semi-request notifying mitigative particle ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ) has four functions, as summarized in Table 56.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ) (56-1PMS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Mitigative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 56. Functions of the notifying mitigative particle ㄆㄆ ㄌㄌ (ㄆㄆ-ㄇ) (56-1PMS)
3.4 Exhortatives

‘Exhortative’ and ‘hortative’ are often used interchangeably by linguists. Bussmann (1996) defines ‘exhortative’ as:

[A] sentence type with verb-initial placement in English and many Indo-European languages which expresses a request for joint action, often coded in the first person plural: Let’s meet tomorrow in the park! (p. 159).

For Crystal (1997), ‘hortative’ means:

A term sometimes used in the grammatical analysis of verbs, to refer to a type of modal meaning in which an exhortation is made, as in the ‘let us’ construction in English [Let us pray] (p. 186)

The term ‘exhortative’ is used in this paper for a wider range of meaning that may include inciting by encouragement or advice, urging strongly, stimulating motivation, etc. The Akha understanding of exhortation is not limited to the ‘let us’ construction. Rather, the language has four types of exhortation, which are distinctive in terms of the different attitudes of the person making the exhortation. These are marked by one of the following four particles: demonstrative exhortative particle, patronal exhortative particle, hortative exhortative particle and admonitory exhortative particle. Each particle represents an illocutionary force that reveals the speaker’s stand and attitude as he makes an utterance of exhortation.

3.4.1 Demonstrative exhortative particle ล๐ (057-2ES)

The demonstrative exhortative particle ล๐ (057-2ES) is primarily used in demonstrative sentences that try to explain the proper way of doing a certain thing which is rather complicated. The most common usage of this particle is when an Akha mother teaches her daughter how to handle a needle and a piece of cloth to make beautiful needleworks.
Every sentence that ends with the particle \( l\)\( \) is an instruction. To native speakers, this particle somehow conveys a teacherly or elderly attitude, therefore it has the strongest illocutionary force among exhortative particles. For that reason, the younger generation is reluctant to use it when they teach something to someone from the older generation. However, like some imperative particles, adding weaker particles can soften the impact of \( l\).

The structure of \( l\) is simple and confined within the last verb phrase of a sentence. It occurs both in positive and negative sentences. It is rarely preceded by any sentence particle except when it follows the admonitory exhortative particle \( n\iota-\iota\iota\) (072-2PWS), as when a teacher wants his students to be cautious of doing the wrong thing. It is never proceeded by declarative particles. The patronal exhortative particle \( d\iota\) (058-2ES) is the most likely particle to co-occur by following it. Almost all realis locutionary particles may follow the particle \( l\), although this seldom happens. Example 3.4.1 illustrates a typical \( l\) sentence.

(3.4.1)\( \)
\[ j\iota\ d\iota\ d\iota\ -\iota\ g\iota\delta\?\ l\d\ ]\\( \)
\( AP\) straight straight AS sew (057-2ES)

\textbf{Sew [it] in a straight line.}\( \)

Typically, the structure of the particle \( l\) is confined to the last verb phrase that is preceded by an adjective turned adverb phrase, and that adverbial part is the core instruction of the sentence. The sample sentence in example 3.4.1 is made up of three phrases: an adjective phrase, an adverb phrase and a verb phrase. The adjective phrase \( j\iota\ d\iota\ d\iota\ ‘straight’ \) is embedded in adverb phrase \( j\iota\ d\iota\ d\iota\-\iota\ ‘straightly’ \) and the verb phrase \( g\iota\delta\?\ l\d\) is adjoined to it.
The adverbialization pattern of the adjective phrase j₃ d₃ into j₅ do d₅-é is a common pattern of adverb phrases that precede the last verb phrase in demonstrative exhortative sentences. An adjective that takes the adjective prefix j₃ can be adverbialized by adding the adverb suffix (AS) -é on the way to constructing a ḫ sentence. Therefore, similar sentences such as j₃ lāe lāé-é tʰà ḫ ‘Grind it thoroughly,’ j₅ ḫm ḫm-é tʰè ḫ ‘Cut it short; and j₃ qāʔ qāʔ-é ḫ ‘Hit it harshly’ are very common demonstrative exhortative sentences in daily usage.

To construct a negative ḫ sentence, the prohibitive verb suffix tʰà is added before the core verb of the last verb phrase. Therefore the positive expressions can be reconstructed in negative forms such as j₃ d₅ d₅-é tʰà qū? ḫ ‘Do not sew it straightly,’ j₃ lāe lāé-é tʰà tʰè ḫ ‘Do not grind it thoroughly,’ and j₃ qāʔ qāʔ-é tʰà di ḫ ‘Do not hit it harshly,’ etc.

The particle ḫ is seldom used as a sentence final without being preceded by an adverb phrase as shown in example 3.4.1, because this particle is used for the purpose of correction, to keep a person from doing something incorrectly. The sentence ‘Sew it in a straight line’ is uttered by an instructor who sees a learner is not doing well enough at sewing a straight line. The particle ḫ is originally used to pull someone into the bright side when he is in a dilemma between the bright side and the dark side, and the speaker, at that moment, is concerned about him straying into the dark side. Therefore, the meaning of the particle ḫ is based on a dualistic concept.

Now, the question is whether the particle ḫ is used apart from an adverb phrase. In the preceding paragraph, it has been said that it is seldom used as sentence final without having been preceded by an adverb phrase. We may say that the particle ḫ is secondarily used in some sentences without an adverb phrase, so far as Akha
construction rules are concerned. The following example is a \( l_{3} \) sentence without an
adverb, composed of the locative noun ‘outside,’ the prohibitive verb prefix \( t^{b_{3}}a_{3} \), the
verb \( d_{0}\) ‘exit,’ the elative verb suffix (ELA) -i and the particle \( l_{3} \).

(3.4.2)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{là?nhí} & \quad t^{b_{3}}a_{3} \quad d_{0}\_i \quad l_{3} \\
\text{outside} & \quad \text{PRHB} \quad \text{exit} \quad \text{ELA} \quad (023-2ES)
\end{align*}
\]

**Do not go outside.**

The sentence \( \text{là? ní} \quad t^{b_{3}}a_{3} \quad d_{0}\_i \quad l_{3} \) ‘Do not go outside’ is a prohibitive utterance.
Nevertheless, it is not the kind of prohibitive expression that parents use to stop their
children from outdoor activities on a sunny day. It is rather an instruction that tries to
keep a learner within the boundary in learning how to weave a bamboo mat, for
instance—an activity in which a learner may tend to go beyond acceptable boundaries
in the beginning stage. Hence, the particle \( l_{3} \) must be understood as an instructional
prohibition or assertion, rather than a normal prohibition or assertion.

The demonstrative exhortative particle has three functions as summarized in Table
57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( l_{3} ) (057-2ES)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Exhortative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 57. Functions of the demonstrative exhortative particle \( l_{3} \) (057-2ES)

Tone changes of the particle \( l_{3} \) must not be mistaken as tense changes as is the case
with some interrogative and locutionary particles. When the particle is on the mid-
tone, the particle is demoted to a benedictive exhortative particle \( l_{5} \) (060-3ES).
3.4.2 Patronal exhortative particle \( dê \) (058-2ES)

The patronal exhortative particle \( dê \) (058-2ES) is primarily used as an inciting expression, which has a weaker degree of assertion than the particle \( lô \). It conveys a kindness done with an air of authority by an elderly man to a younger listener. The particle \( dê \) is the most popular sentence particle that the native speakers regards as comprising semantic components such as love, kindness, care and concern. It makes the hearer comfortable enough to accept an exhortation which is challenging.

The particle \( dê \) is used as a notifying particle when it co-occurs with declarative particles. For instance, \( dzô mā \) ‘(Yes) I am’ is a due response to the person who asks the question \( dzô ma lô \) ‘Are you at home?’ However, \( dzô mā dê \) ‘I am here’ is a notice for everyone who is in the range of hearing the statement. For \( dzô mā dê \) ‘I am here’ to be the right answer, the inquiry should be \( sà là hō gâ dzô lô hō mà sì \) ‘I wonder if the village head is here.’ When a hunter shouts \( tfî hâ ?âē mē dê \) ‘The barking dear is coming down,’ he is making an announcement to every hunter.

As previously discussed, the particle \( dê \) is used to demote the particle \( lô \). For instance, \( jî lê lê-ē tfûa lô dê \) ‘(Would you please) grind is thoroughly,’ is much more polite than \( jî lê lê-ē tfûa lô \) ‘Grind it thoroughly.’ The particle \( dê \) can be preceded by any type of sentence particle. However, when it co-occurs with statement particles, it functions more as a notifier than as an exhortative particle. The particle never occurs in interrogative sentences.

The patronal exhortative particle \( dê \) must be clearly distinguished from the interrogative particle \( dê \), which is an allophone of the interrogative particle \( t hô \) (see
section 4.1.1). The structure of the patronal exhortative particle is simple. It can be preceded by any sentence particle although it will not be normally followed by any particle. In example 3.4.3, the sample sentence of example 3.4.1 is repeated with the particle \( d\check{e} \) added.

(3.4.3)

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{AP} & \text{straight} & \text{straight} & \text{ADV} & \text{sew} & \text{(057-2ES)} & \text{(058-2ES)} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Sew it in a straight line, dear.’

In the free English translation, the adverb ‘please’ is added to show that the patronal exhortative sentence \( j\check{a} \ d\check{a} \ d\check{a} -\check{e} \ g\check{u}\check{a} \ l\check{a} \ d\check{e} \) is more polite than the demonstrative exhortative sentence \( j\check{a} \ d\check{a} \ d\check{a} -\check{e} \ g\check{u}\check{a} \ l\check{a} \), although the particle \( d\check{e} \) does not exactly match to English ‘please.’

The patronal exhortative particle \( d\check{e} \) has three functions, as summarized in Table 58.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( d\check{e} ) (058-2SE)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Exhortative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 58. Functions of the patronal exhortative particle \( d\check{e} \) (058-2ES)

The patronal exhortative particle \( d\check{e} \) does not function as positive/negative marker because it occurs in both positive and negative sentences. It primarily functions as the...
second person subject marker. However, it can occur in sentences with first or third person subjects when it is preceded by other sentence particles which function as subject marker.

### 3.4.3 Beneficial benedictive particle $lù\?-ú$ (059-2/3PES)

The beneficial benedictive particle *$lù\?-ú*$ (059-2/3PES) is primarily a classical benedictive particle used in ceremonial blessings pronounced by religious leaders, especially by the village priest and the village chieftain in the first fruits ceremony. However, the usage of this particle is not confined to a benedictive sense. It is used for four types of expressions: ceremonial blessing, common wishes, indications of toleration and statements of imprecation.

The primary usage of the particle is in religious practice rather than in common expressions. * ámb-ṣ já dzà, qò¿?-ṣ ja dó $lù\?-ú$* ‘May you be richly blessed by the labour of your hands’ is a classical pronouncement of blessings on the annual harvest, which is marked as a benediction by the particle *$lù\?-ú*$*. This is the most popular usage, where the particle symbolizes the blessings that the older generation can give to the younger generation.

Secondarily, the particle *$lù\?-ú*$ is used for non-ceremonial wishes. For instance, a native speaker would say *já $k^h\?-é$ lò $lù\?-ú*$ ‘Get well soon’ to a friend who is sick. This type of expression is still a kind of blessing. This is to be taken as a social wish rather than a religious benediction as used in the primary sense. However, both usages may be still in the same semantic domain since both of them are beneficiary acts.

In the third sense, the particle *$lù\?-ú*$ is used in a tolerating sense, manifesting an indifferent attitude, rather than a beneficiary act. For instance, * ámb $lù\?-ú$* ‘Let it be’ expresses a tolerance for something which is unfavorable, as the English expression
‘forget it’ can mean to tolerate something with defects. This sounds like a semantic transfer to a different domain of speech act. In this type of expression, the tolerant phrase prefix ?è ‘let’ is obligatory.

In the fourth sense, the particle lù?-ú is used in an extremely opposite sense, an imprecatory expression. Normally, this type of expression reflects a person’s worst feeling against someone who causes great trouble to his livelihood. The typical curse form nè? gù lé lù?-ú ‘May an evil spirit inflict him’ is an extreme expression of this sense.

The structure of the particle lù?-ú is the same as those of other exhortative particles. It immediately follows the last verb of a sentence, sometimes preceded by an elative or illative verb suffix that is added after the verb to intensify the expression. Thus, the elative verb particle lé precedes lù?-ú in nè? gù lé lù?-ú ‘May an evil spirit inflict him.’

The beneficial benedictive particle lù?-ú has four functions, as summarized in Table 59. The subject of the sentence is either second person or third person patient, which is always a patient although it may take the place of subject in the surface structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lù?-ú</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 59. Functions of the beneficial benedictive particle lù?-ú (059-2/3PES)

Function numbers 2 and 3 of the particle lù?-ú could be argued to be redundant, because the particle appears to be a second person subject marker and occurs in
negative sentences as well. However, the particle "lù?-ú" is primarily a third person subject marker because it is never used for second person in normal communication, but only in a ceremonial way.

When we adopt the rule that the particle "lù?-ú" is a positive sentence marker, we need to be aware of negative clauses that could be embedded in positive sentences so that we may not confused about the fact that "lù?-ú" is always a positive sentence marker. The following illustration is an example of a positive sentence with a negative clause embedded in it.

(3.4.4)

```plaintext
mà ná mà gǒ nǐ jā dē? lù?-ú
NEG ill NEG pain RC BVP live (059-2/3PES)
```

May your live without illness and pain.

The sentence in example 3.4.4 is made up of two clauses, "mà ná mà gǒ ‘without illness and pain’ and jā dē? ‘have to live,’ and the two clauses are connected with a reversible connective nǐ. As previously discussed, all clauses are embedded in the last clause which is sealed with the sentence particle, and the negativity of the sentence is determined by the negative verb prefix mà in the last clause. Therefore, the sample sentence is a positive sentence. Thus, a "lù?-ú" sentence can never be truly negative because that sentence particle never co-occurs with any negative affix in the same clause.

### 3.4.4 Tolerant benedictive particle l5 (060-3ES)

The tolerant benedictive particle l5 (060-3ES) is primarily used for an expression that tells whether a speaker allows something to take place. A positive l5 sentence shows
the speaker grants the permission while a negative sentence shows that he denies permission. The particle is obligatory for both forms.

To describe the real nature of the particle *l₅* is not easy, for it is one of the most elusive sentence particles. The best descriptive method for this particle may be to contrast it with other particles of the same class. It is contrasted with imperative particles in the sense that it is not a command for something to be done, but rather allows or forbids continuance of what is already taking place. It neither encourages nor discourages the commencement of an action as exhortative particles would do.

Whenever the particle *l₅* is used in a positive sentence, the speaker is at the stage of preference of something that is not directly challenging to him for a judgment or an action. He is merely at the stage of preference, which could be the prelude overlooking an action to be taken on the basis of toleration. He does not want to disturb anything. The following is an example of a positive tolerant sentence.

(3.4.5)

```
NEG do disturb RC PASS come (060-3ES)
```

**Let [him/it] come without any disturbances.**

The positive expression *mà lā́? bà nǐ bī ʔā̀ l₅* ‘Let [him/it] come without any disturbances,’ shows the speaker does not want to interfere in the motion of a man or animal. For instance, a village chieftain might say it to a group of children who were trying to block a blind man coming toward him. In a sense, this sentence sounds like it has an imperative illocutionary force since that the speaker is telling a second party not to disturb the movement of a third party. However, the semantic nature of the particle is rooted in the domain or the idea of tolerance, not in the domain of command, as far as it is used in negative sentences. Nevertheless, when *l₅* is used in a negative sentence, it imposes a stronger illocutionary force.
(3.4.6)  
\[ h\ddot{o} \ p^{h\ddot{o}} \ t^{\prime}u \ b\ddot{i} \ ?\ddot{a} \ l5 \]
this side  PRHB  PASS  come  (060-3ES)

**Do not let [him/it] come this way.**

In the sample sentence \[ h\ddot{o} \ p^{h\ddot{o}} \ t^{\prime}u \ b\ddot{i} \ ?\ddot{a} \ l5 \] ‘Do not let [him/it] come this way,’ the speaker is asking the second party to stop the action of the third party. This sentence imposes a sense of command which is milder than that imposed by the prohibitive particle \( \varnothing \) (044-2NCS). In a negative tolerant benedictive sentence, the prohibitive verb prefix \( t^{\prime}u \) and the imperative verb prefix \( b\ddot{i} \) are obligatory components of the verb phrase of the last clause. The imperative verb prefix is obligatory in every tolerant benedictive sentence and it is a clue that shows the subject of the sentence as a third party as well.

The beneficial benedictive particle \( l5 \) has only two functions, as summarized in Table 60. The particle can occur both in positive and negative sentences, and it is always tenseless.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( l5 )</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Benedictive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 60. Functions of the tolerant benedictive particle \( l5 \) (060-3ES)

### 3.4.5 Admonition exhortative particle \( nn\ddot{i} \) (061-2PES)

The admonition exhortative particle \( nn\ddot{i} \) (061-2PES) is primarily used to indicate duties or obligation with the attitude of warning or disapproval in a gentle, earnest, or solicitous manner. It is also used to give friendly, earnest advice or encouragement.
A clause that takes the particle \( nm \) is always preceded by a causative clause, which is usually advice to avoid a bad result. For instance, in the sentence \( ?à zà zà-é tjóá lò, pê? tò? nm \) ‘Walk slowly, otherwise you will stumble,’ the first clause \( ?à zà zà-é tjóá lò \) ‘Walk slowly’ is a correction, the ignoring of which can cost the second clause \( pê? tò? \) ‘stumble.’ In this sentence, the particle \( nm \) is equivalent to the English resultive expression ‘otherwise.’ A \( nm \) clause which tries to stop someone from doing something always presupposes a mistake that is going to take place unless a person is careful to avoid it.

The particle \( nm \) is often used in a stern way to stop someone from doing something which is abusing to someone else. \( jmí-ní jà nê bi dì nm \) ‘[Behave yourself or you] will be beaten by me’ is a common ultimatum from a mother to stop her child from doing wrong, using the particle in the highest degree of illocutionary force. An elder sister yelling at her three year old younger brother \( là? pà? nm \) ‘You may [accidentally] break it!’ in order to stop him from touching a glass on the Table is using the particle with a high degree of solicitude.

The two sample sentences stated in the preceding paragraph are illustrated in example 3.4.7. The first sentence \( jmí-ní jà nê bi dì nm \) ‘[Behave yourself or you] will be beaten by me’, a typical admonition exhortative sentence that implies a stronger degree of assertion, is composed of a warning sentence initial \( jmí-ní \), first person pronoun \( jà ‘me,’ agent marker \( nê \), patient marker \( bi \), verb \( dì ‘beat,’ and the particle \( nm \). The second sentence \( là? pà? nm \) ‘You may [accidentally] break it,’ which also is a common admonition exhortative sentence that implies a comparatively weaker degree of assertion than the first sentence, is composed of a generic action verb prefix \( là? \), the verb \( pà? ‘break,’ and the particle \( nm \).
The particle *nm* is also used for technical correction when an elderly person is teaching a youngster how to make domestic tools properly. For instance, ḕa nē jā tū ϱeh dzò? *nm* ‘You must use thicker bamboo strips’ is a mild elderly teaching of how to weave a strong mat for winnowing rice.

The particle *nm* is used in the mildest form in such a context, which does not really presuppose that a person is going to do it a wrong way. However, when a young boy uses this particle for a technical correction for his contemporaries, he will be considered as proud and swaggering. Therefore, there are times when degrees of mitigation implied by the particle are more closely tied to social context other than actual semantics.

Therefore, the particle *nm* may be understood as been used in two different manners which may be discerned as a solicitous manner and a correctional manner. The two usages are discriminated by a diacritic low rising tone. While on the high level tone, it is used in the correctional manner, but when on the low rising tone, it is used in the solicitous manner.

The structural ordering of a *nm* sentence is generally the same as other exhortative particles. *nm* usually follows the verb of the last clause in the sentence. Like other
particles, the illocutionary force imposed by the particle \( mâ \) can be demoted by adding weaker exhortative particles such as \( dê \) and \( lê \).

The admonition exhortative particle \( mê \) has four functions in any sentence in which it occurs as a sentence particle: exhortative sentence marker; second person subject marker, positive sentence marker and present/future tense marker. When used in solicitous manner the particle \( mê \) indicates future tense, predicting what is going to happen. While used as a correctional manner, it is in present tense by virtue of what is being shown presently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( mê )</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Exhortative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Primarily positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present and future tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(061-2PES)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 61. Functions of admonition exhortative particle \( mê \) (061-2PES)

### 3.5 Hortatives

The Akha language has some particles which may be collectively understood as hortative sentence particles. Such particles are used to ask for bilateral action or to seek company to stand together. This section will discuss three particles namely bilateral hortative, initiative consolidation and persuasive consolidation particles.

#### 3.5.1 Bilateral hortative particle \( k^bå-ê \ (\sim k^båbê \sim bê) \) (062-2PHS)

The bilateral hortative exhortatory particle \( k^bå-ê \ (\sim k^båbê \sim bê) \) (062-2PHS) is a typical hortative particle, which conforms to the modal meaning of the ‘let us’ construction in English. The particle \( kå-ê \) is used to request joint action.
In structure, the hortative particle \( k^b\text{á}-\delta \) (\(-k^b\text{áb}\delta \sim b\delta \)) is never preceded by any sentence particle although it may be preceded by some verb suffixes (mostly elative and ablative verb ones). It prefers to remain as sentence final except when proceeded for intensifying purpose by the consolidating particles \( l\text{à} \) and \( ?\text{ël}\delta \). Its structural relation to a sentence is limited to the last verb phrase of a sentence. Example 3.5.1 is an illustration of a simple hortative exhortatory sentence, in which the speaker is inviting the listener to participate in a joint action, an equal partnership.

(3.5.1)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ni}s\delta \\
\text{tsùʔsi} \\
dë \\
i \\
k^b\text{á}-\delta \\
tomorrow \\
\text{chestnut} \\
\text{hit} \\
\text{ELA} \\
(025\text{-2PES})
\end{array}
\]

**Let us go and collect chestnuts tomorrow.**

The hortative exhortatory particle \( k^b\text{á}-\delta \) (\(-k^b\text{áb}\delta \sim b\delta \)) has four functions (Table 62). While \( k^b\text{á}-\delta \) is used for standard expressions, (\(-k^b\text{áb}\delta \)) and (\(-b\delta \)) are used as free variation in spoken Akha. Children start using (\(-b\delta \)) before they can properly communicate in standard expressions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( k^b\text{á}-\delta ) ((-k^b\text{áb}\delta \sim b\delta )) (062-2PHS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Exhortatory sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 62. Functions of hortative exhortatory particle \( k^b\text{á}-\delta \) (\(-k^b\text{áb}\delta \sim b\delta \)) (062-2PHS)

**3.5.2 Initiative consolidation particle \( l\text{à} \) (063-2PHS)**

The initiative consolidation particle \( l\text{à} \) (063-2PHS) is used to seek bilateral action, the speaker taking the initiating role. This particle is used in a situation in which both participants are supposed to take bilateral action. For instance, when two persons are
ready to go hunting, one of them, probably the older, would say to the other
\[ \text{i mā là 'Let us go.'} \]

In structure, the particle là would never immediately follow a verb. It normally
follows statement particle particle mā (002-1PSS), or the bilateral particle
\( k^h\á-\á(\sim k^h\á\á \sim b\á) \) (062-2PHS), both of which are usually preceded by a verb, or the
persuasive consolidation particle \( ?\é\á \) (064-2PHS). It co-occurs with mā,
\( k^h\á-\á(\sim k^h\á\á \sim b\á) \) and \( ?\é\á \), to add more hortative perlocutionary force (see example
3.5.2).

(3.5.2)
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{niśā} & \text{yàsā} & \text{pè} & -í & \text{mā} & \text{là} \\
\text{tomorrow} & \text{fish} & \text{catch} & \text{ELA} & \text{(002-1PSS)} & \text{(063-2PHS)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[ \text{[Let us] go fishing tomorrow.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{niśā} & \text{yàsā} & \text{pè} & -í & k^h\á-\á(\sim k^h\á\á) & \text{là} \\
\text{tomorrow} & \text{fish} & \text{catch} & \text{ELA} & \text{(062-2PHS)} & \text{(063-2PHS)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[ \text{[Let us] go fishing tomorrow.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{yàsā} & \text{pè} & -í & \text{mā} & ?\é\á & \text{là} \\
\text{fish} & \text{catch} & \text{ELA} & \text{(002-1PSS)} & \text{(064-2PHS)} & \text{(063-2PHS)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[ \text{[Let us] go fishing [tomorrow].} \]

The initiative consolidation particle là has four functions as summarized in Table 63.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>là (063-2PHS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Hortative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 63. Functions of consolidation particle là (063-2PHS)
3.5.3 Persuasive consolidation particle ʔêlɔ́ (064-2PHS)

The persuasive consolidation particle ʔêlɔ́ (064-2PHS) is primarily used to seek company from a second party by means of persuasion to stand against a third party. It is secondarily used in free variation with the initiative consolidation particle là (063-2PHS).

A careful distinction needs to be made between a persuasive consolidation sentence, which usually ends with the particle ʔêlɔ́, a demonstrative exhortatory sentence, which usually ends with the verb ʔë, and the exhortative particle lɔ̀ (057-2ES). The only difference between the two endings is tone: the second syllable of the hortative particle ʔêlɔ́ has a rising prosodic nature, usually starting at low tone and ending up at mid-tone, whereas the exhortative particle lɔ̀ is always a level tone. It is difficult for non-native speakers to hear this tonal difference.

The nature of rising tones needs to be briefly discussed at this point. A rising tone that begins at low tone level (Akha low tone level in this case) and ends up at the mid-tone level is extremely hard to discern. Any rising tone which rising height is limited at mid tone has two potential pitch level points at which it might end. For instance, there are four pitch unit levels from low to mid tone, and the low rising tone that is supposed to terminate at mid-tone level can stop at any pitch level point except the low tone level (which is the starting point). All low rising tones, whether it is toneme or allotone, of all Lahu and Akha dialects must start exactly at the registered low tone level, but could end up at any of the three level units including mid-tone level. The low rising tone are therefore rather conservative with the starting pitch level, but potentially liberal with the ending pitch level.

On the contrary, the rising tone which is supposed to terminate at an extra high tone level may start at any pitch level which is lower than the extra high tone itself, but it
must stop exactly at the extra high tone level. This seems to be a contour tone rule which applies to Akha and Lahu dialects.\(^\text{10}\)

Now, both sentences of example 2.5.3 are composed of identical phonetic segments. Nevertheless, there is semantic difference between the two sentences which is marked only by the tonal difference of the last syllable \(l\), and it is important that that tonal different is clearly heard. Although it is easy for native speakers to hear the tonal difference, it is quite difficult for non-native speakers.

\[(2.5.3)\]
\[
yàfà \; nè? \; -ì \; mā \; ?él\]
\[
\text{fish} \; \text{catch} \; \text{ELA} \; (002-1PSS) \; (064-2PHS)
\]
\[
[\text{We} \; \text{are going fishing} \; [\text{aren’t we}?]]
\]
\[
yàfà \; nè? \; -ì \; mā \; ?é \; l\]
\[
\text{fish} \; \text{catch} \; \text{ELA} \; (002-1PSS) \; \text{say} \; (057-2IES)
\]
\[
\text{Tell [them] that we are going fishing.}
\]

Sentence 1 of example 2.5.3 is a persuasive consolidation sentence marked by the particle \(?él\), which is trying to win the second party’s favour in the presence of or against the potential intent of the third party. Such sentence is uttered in a situation that the first party is seeking the second party’s company when the second party may have the option to accompany either the first or third party.

Sentence 2 of example 2.5.3 is a demonstrative exhortative sentence which is marked by the exhortative particle \(l\). Such an expression is used in a situation when the first party wants the second party to inform a third party that the first and second parties are going to do something together. This sentence does not imply persuasion. Some speakers would add the beneficiary elative verb suffix \(-i\) between the verb \(?é\) ‘tell’

---

\(^{10}\) There seem to be only two rising tonemes in all Lahu and Akha dialects with which this author is familiar.
and the exhortative particle \( \text{ê} \) to distinguish the demonstrative exhortatory sentence from the persuasive consolidation sentence.

The persuasive consolidation particle \( ?é \ \text{ê} \) has four functions (see Table 54). Negative phrases or clauses may be included in a persuasive consolidating sentence, but the fact that the last and the dominant phrase which takes the particle \( ?é\text{ê} \) cannot be constructed in negative form is the reason to rule that this particle occurs only in positive sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ?é\text{ê} ) (064-2PHS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Hortative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first-person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 64. Functions of consolidation particle \( ?é\text{ê} \) (064-2PHS)

### 3.6 Proposal

**3.6.1 Voluntary proposal particle \( \etaá \) (065-1PPS)**

A voluntary proposal particle sentence marked by the sentence particle \( \etaá \) (065-1PPS) indicates a proposal to intrude into someone else’s business under the pretense that the speaker could perform the task at hand better than the addressee. Paul Lewis (1978) gives valuable information about this particle:

This means to show what one intends to do right now... \( \text{tʰi dʒè mà ɳá-á ɳá dʒá nè \etaá} \) ‘Never mind, I’ll show you how to do it right now.’ If this were changed to the future it would read; \( \text{nì fʒ sá pʰè dʒá nè mà} \) ‘I will do it for you tomorrow or the day after’ (p. 9).
Lewis’ free translation of Akha sentence tı dže mà yó-á.yá džá nèná as ‘Never mind, I’ll show you how to do it right now,’ could also be translated as ‘Never mind, let me show you how to do it right now,’ to make the voluntary offer explicit. Nevertheless, particle mà in Lewis’ second illustration shows the sentence ní jó sá p’è dż nèmá is presented in realis expression, giving a solemn promise as if it is already realized.

Lewis’ description of the particle mà as an inflection of particle ná in future tense must be taken only as sequential relationship, because the particle mà is a positive declarative particle that is not normally used as a voluntary proposal particle unless it is a solemn promise presented as already having been realized (see section 2.1.1.2).

Note that the first sentence tı dže mà yó-á.yá džá nè ná ‘never mind, I’ll (let me) show you how to do it right now’ must be a voluntary offer, because in normal Akha expression a speaker will never use the particle ná if the interlocutor explicitly asked for assistance. However, the particle mà in the second sentence ní jó sáp’è dżá nè mà ‘I will do it for you tomorrow or the day after’ shows that it is a response to a request for help.

The particle ná is almost always paired up with accusative verb suffix nè such that there is a risk of interpreting the two as a single unit. Notice that the verb suffix nè is also paired up with positive declarative particle mà in the second sentence of Lewis’ illustration. While the particle ná is most used from the bright side to express voluntary help, it is also used from the dark side to express an abuse. When used from the dark side, it does not pair up with the prefix nè. For example, a boy whose toy is broken by a younger friend would abuse him saying yá tè? yá ‘I offer you a slap,’ a good example of a practical abuse.
Co-occurrence with the obligatory first person pronoun subject ɲá is a distinctive feature of a ɲá sentence among other types of sentences of which the subject of the sentence is usually omitted and it is marked by sentence particles instead. Another important feature is that a voluntary proposal sentence is always positive, i.e. the last clause must be always positive although it may be occasionally preceded by negative clauses. A typical ɲá sentence is illustrated below to show the structure.

(3.6.1)

\[ \text{Come on! Let me do it for you.} \]

The voluntary proposal proposal particle ɲá has four functions as summarized in Table 65.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲá</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Proposal sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 65. Functions of the voluntary proposal particle ɲá (065-1PPS)

3.6.2 Obtrusive proposal particle lā (~ā) (066-1PPS)

The obtrusive proposal particle lā (~ā) (066-1PPS) primarily expresses an aggressive proposal to intrude into someone else’s business, which the speaker thinks he could handle better than the addressee. Both proposal particles lā (~ā) and ɲá are motivated by the same intention of intrusion, but lā (~ā) has stronger degree of aggression than ɲá.
The statement ‘Come on, let me do it for you’ in example 3.6.1 is a polite verbal proposal to take over what is being done by another person. For instance, an older brother would offer such a proposal if he wanted to help his younger brother, who was having difficulty fixing his sling shot. If the older brother says ‘Come on, Let me do it,’ he is rather impatient with the younger brother’s inability or repeated failure. When the particle lā (–ā) replaces nēná in the same sentence, the verbal proposal is accompanied simultaneous physical action. As a native speaker says ‘Come on! Let me do it!’ he starts to seize the thing that the other person is doing.

(3.6.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lā (–ā)</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Proposal sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>First person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 66. Functions of the obtrusive proposal particle lā (–ā) (066-1PPS)

The obtrusive proposal particle lā is neither a reflection nor a derivation of the yes-no interrogative particle lā, despite the fact that they are phonetically identical. They are two different grammatical segments having different functions in different types of
sentences. In structure, the interrogative particle ḿā can be preceded by the reiterative particle ḱé, and or verb suffix -ā́, whereas the proposal particle ḿā can be preceded by none of those.

Again, the inflection -ā of the obtrusive proposal particle ḿā (--ā) must be clearly contrasted with the third person negative declarative particle -ā (--ā) (005-2/3NSS). In addition to the structural differences stated in the above paragraph, the most prominent structural difference between them is that the declarative -ā occurs only in negative sentences and the proposal -ā occurs only in positive sentences.

3.7 Advisory

The Akha language has some sentence final particles, which may be labeled as advisory particles. Any sentence marked by one of these particles is an expression of suggestion or advice. There are six advisory particles which may be divided into six categories, namely, amendment, disapproval, assertive, depreciative, and alternative advisory particles.

3.7.1 Amendment advisory particle ｐʰapeutics (067-2PVS)

The amendment advisory particle ｐʰapeutics (067-2PVS) is used to express advice that is intended to modify or improve what is already taking place. This particle bears a positive attitude and it has the least assertive degree among the Akha advisory particles. The speaker who uses this particle for giving advice is an outsider who is not entitled to intervene in the matter. Therefore, a ｐʰapeutics sentence is already quite optimistic about what is taking place.

The amendment advisory utterance marked by the particle ｐʰapeutics is advice based on the speaker’s visual perception. The advisory particles primarily represent objective
visual perception in the same way the declarative particle \( \eta \bar{\eta} (~\eta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}) \) (004-1PSS) does (see section 2.1.1.4), although there may be times when they are used to represent conceptual suggestions.

In structure, the particle \( \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} \) usually follows the core verb without being preceded by any other particle, although it may be followed by such particles as the patronal exhortatory particle \( \delta \bar{\delta} \) (058-2ES), the reproach imperative particle \( \tau\theta \) (045-2CS)), the reiterative particle \( \lambda \bar{\lambda} \) (087-2RIS) and the consolidating perlocutionary particles \( \lambda \bar{\lambda} \) (063-2PHS) and \( \lambda\lambda \bar{\lambda} \) (064-2PHS). When followed by those particles, the assertion degree normally implied by \( \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} \) may be weakened.

The sample sentence \( \delta\bar{\delta}\tau\theta\bar{\theta}\bar{\theta} \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} ~ \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} \) ‘You better beat (it) with a stick’ in example 3.7.1 is a typical amendment advisory sentence marked by the sentence particle \( \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} \). It is the kind of advice given to a man who is having a hard time controlling a water buffalo and is thus beating it with his hands to subdue the animal. The speaker sees that the man should use a stick instead of his own hands to control the animal when he gives that advice. In this case, the speaker sees the addressee as doing the right thing but with a weak effort.

The sentence in example 3.7.1 is composed of a noun \( \delta\bar{\delta}\tau\theta\bar{\theta}\bar{\theta} \rho\gamma \) ‘stick,’ an instrumental noun suffix \( \rho\gamma \), a verb \( \delta\bar{\delta} \) ‘beat,’ and the particle \( \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} \). The noun and noun suffix are optional components and the verb and the particle \( \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta} \) are obligatory components.

(3.7.1)
\[
d\bar{d}\tau\theta\bar{\theta}\bar{\theta} \rho\gamma \rho\gamma \bar{\eta} \bar{\eta} \delta \delta \rho\gamma\eta\bar{\eta}
\]
\[
\text{stick INST beat (067-2PVS)}
\]
\[
[\text{You}] \text{ better beat [it] with a stick.}
\]
Some Jerway dialect speakers in the Golden Triangle would put the possibility particle $dú$ (021-3POS) as an infix between the two syllables of the particle $p^hàŋā$ to demote the advisory sentence down to a puzzled manner. The expression $dá tʃ bʊ nē dì p^hà dú ŋā$ ‘It might be better to beat [it] with a stick’ rather sounds like a person thinking to himself that beating with a stick is a better choice.

In daily communication, the subject of a $p^hàŋā$ sentence is always an implicit second person and the object is always a third person who may be either implicit or explicit. The particle $p^hàŋā$ never occurs in a negative verb phrase. In a $p^hàŋā$ sentence that consists of more than one verb phrase, a negative verb phrase may precede the final verb phrase, but it is the final (positive) verb phrase that takes the particle $p^hàŋā$.

The amendment advisory proposal particle $p^hàŋā$ has four functions (see Table 67). The particle is usually in present tense because a suggestion is always made related to an event that is presently taking place, or taken for granted as taking place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$p^hàŋā$ (067-2PVS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Advisory sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 67. Functions of the amendment advisory particle $p^hàŋā$ (067-2PVS)

### 3.7.2 Disapproval advisory particle $p^hàŋá$ (068-2PVS)

The disapproval advisory particle $p^hàŋá$ (068-2PVS) is used to express advice given in a manner showing disapproval. A speaker is apparently disappointed with what an addressee is doing when he gives advice using this particle. Unlike the amendment advisory particle $p^hàŋā$ (067-2PVS), the particle $p^hàŋá$ is based on the pessimistic
attitude of the speaker. Therefore, a disapproval advisory utterance usually implies a stronger assertion than an amendment advisory utterance.

Undoubtedly, the particle \( p^h\text{ñá} \) is derived from the amendment advisory particle \( p^h\text{ñã} \) (067-2PVS) and the two of them have similar functions. Phonemically, the two particles differ only in tone, one is high tone and the other is mid-tone. However, they belong to two different types of sentences within the advisory category.

The particle \( p^h\text{ñá} \) is used in two different manners. The first manner of it is similar to that of the particle \( p^h\text{ñã} \), but it is more assertive and shows that the speaker is blameful of the addressee. The second manner is rather sarcastic, in which case the speaker is not treating the listener well.

When the particle is used in a blameful manner, as the natural tendency, the verb may be strengthened by an adverb. For instance, the amendment advisory sentence \( d\text{å} t^h\text{ú} n\text{è} \text{ di } p^h\text{ñã} \) ‘You better beat (it) with a stick’ (example 3.7.2) indicating that the addressee should use a stick, rather than his hands, can be transformed into the disapproval advisory sentence \( d\text{å} t^h\text{ú} n\text{è} \text{ di } t^h\text{è} t^h\text{è} \) \( p^h\text{ñá} \) ‘You should keep on beating [it] vigorously with the stick!’ by strengthening with the adverb \( t^h\text{è} t^h\text{è} \) ‘quickly’ (example 3.7.2), indicating that the addressee is not using the stick vigorously enough.

(3.7.2)
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{stick} & \text{INST} & \text{beat} & \text{quickly} (068-2PVS) \\
\end{array}
\]

[You] should keep on beating [it] vigorously with the stick!

The high tone on the particle \( p^h\text{ñá} \) in the example shows that the speaker is a bit upset with the weak action of the addressee. The disapproval advisory expression of example 3.7.2 may be made when the speaker sees that the water buffalo is almost
out of control, as the addressee is not beating it hard enough. At this stage, the weakness of the addressee has become a reprimendable action in the eyes of the speaker. ʟi ʟ́ế ʟ́ế ᴘʰáŋá ‘You should keep on going faster,’ ʟₐ qₐ t₁é ɗu ɗuí ᴘʰáŋá ‘You should be extremely happy,’ ɗzₐ n₃ₐ n₃ₐ ʟₚʰáŋá ‘You should keep on eating quickly’ etc. are similar disapproval advisory expressions.

Now, we will discuss the potentially sarcastic manner of the particle ʟₚʰáŋá. This is an ambiguous expression which is not structurally discriminated from the other two expressions discussed above. The sarcastic implication of the advisory particle ʟₚʰáŋá is rather determined by the discourse, the environment and prosodic modification of pitch and vowel length within the particle. When the discourse or the speech environment has enough evidence to show an utterance as a sarcastic expression, the prosodic modification may not be necessary. When neither discourse of environment provides efficient evidence, prosodic modification may be made in order to make the sarcastic nature of the expression clearer. This fact is further discussed in the following paragraph.

The utterance ɗ₁ₜₕ₇uí n₇ di ʟₚʰáŋá ‘You better beat (it) with a stick’ (example 3.7.2) can be easily transformed into sarcastic advice merely by raising the mid-tone of the last syllable ɲá to high tone ɲá. However, if the preceding events in the discourse or the speech environment provide no evidence, ɗ₁ₜₕ₇uí n₇ di ʟₚʰáŋá ‘You better beat (it) with a stick’ could not be a sarcastic expression. However, if it is addressed to a crazy father, who is beating a one-year-old child with a big stick, that utterance is clearly a sarcastic one.

The sarcastic manner of the particle ʟₚʰáŋá always implies a negative meaning. The speaker is sarcastically encouraging something that is taking place when he is actually opposed to it. This type of stylistic expression is common in daily expression and every native speaker understands that ɗ₄tfₕ₇uí n₇ di ʟₚʰáŋá ‘You better beat (it) with a
stick’ means ‘You are doing something you should not really do,’ or rather directly ‘You should not beat (a child) with a stick, man!’ The father is seriously mocked by the speaker for the action he is doing. One can imagine the strength of the negative assertion for the sarcastic expression dátyú nē dì t'ē t'ē p’ayá ‘You should keep on beating (the child) quickly with the stick.’

In daily communication, the subject of a p’ayá sentence is always an implicit second person. Structurally, the particle p’ayá never occurs in a negative verb phrase, for it is always a sentence final for a positive sentence, although carries negative connotations. In standard expression, in a p’ayá sentence, a negative verb phrase may precede the final verb phrase, but it is the final (positive) verb phrase which takes the sentence final p’ayá.

The disapproval advisory particle p’ayá has four functions (Table 68). The particle is usually in present tense because it always overlooks an immediate action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p’ayá</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Advisory sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(068-2PVS)</td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 68. Functions of the disapproval advisory particle p’ayá (068-2PVS)

Like the amendment advisory particle p’hui, the disapproval particle p’ayá is never preceded by any sentence particle, but it may be followed by the particles that follow p’hui (namely the patronal exhortatory particle dē (058-2ES), reproach imperative particle t’ō (045-2IS), the reiterative imperative particle lé (087-2RIS)) and the consolidating particles lâ (063-2PHS) and ?élâ (064-2PHS). Nevertheless, unlike the
particle $p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}$, a morpho-phonemic change may take place when it is followed by some sentence particles. For instance, $p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}$ becomes $p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}-\tilde{\text{a}}$, the last syllable $\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}$ taking a tonal glide from high to mid level $\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}-\tilde{\text{a}}$, when followed by the monosyllabic sentence particle $\text{lē}$ (see example 3.7.3). However, this morpho-phonemic change affects the tone only in terms of rhyme adjustment.

(3.7.3)

\[
dât^h\text{ú} \ nē \ dì \ t^h\text{èt}^h\tilde{\text{è}} \ p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā} \ -\tilde{\text{a}} \ \text{lē}
\]

stick INST beat quickly (068-2PVS) (087-2RS)

[I insist you] should keep on beating [it] vigorously with the stick!

However, when $p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}$ is followed by a disyllabic sentence particle, the morpho-phonemic changes will not take place (see example 3.7.4).

(3.7.4)

\[
dât^h\text{ú} \ nē \ dì \ t^h\text{èt}^h\tilde{\text{è}} \ p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā} \ \text{êl̃̃}
\]

stick INST beat quickly (068-2PVS) (064-2PHS)

[We suggest] keep on beating [it] vigorously with the stick, [don’t we?]

The reason of morpho-phonemic adjustment in example 3.7 3 is that the sentence $dá t^f^h\text{ú} \ nē \ dì \ p^h\text{ŋ}^\text{ā}$ has six syllables and adding the monosyllabic particle $\text{lē}$ results in an odd number of syllables. Therefore the syllable $-\tilde{\text{a}}$ is required to pair up with the particle $\text{lē}$, so that the sentence maintaind an even number of syllables. However, example 3.7.4 does not need such a morpho-phonemic adjustment since the added particle $\text{êl̃̃}$ is already a disyllabic particle.

3.7.3 Assertive advisory particle $p^h\text{mê}$ (069-2PVS)

The assertive advisory particle $p^h\text{mê}$ (069-2PVS) is used to express advice that conveys illocutionary force, which has the strongest degree of assertion among the
advisory particles. An assertive advisory utterance shows that the speaker knows the nature of the listener well enough to make predictions about his behaviour. He might have witnessed the listener’s failure in the past and he is concerned about the same thing being repeated again.

The structure of an assertive advisory sentence is the same as that of the amendment advisory sentence illustrated in the example 3.7.1, and the same sentence is modified by use of particle $p^h\dot{a}$ mē in example 3.7.5. The assertive advisory utterance $dā tf^h\dot{u} nē dī p^h\dot{a}$ mē ‘You should beat [it] with the stick [now]!’ is addressed to a man who is having difficulty controlling a water buffalo and is apparently at the stage of using a stick. The speaker nonetheless is predicting, based on prior experience and the nature of the addressee that he will not use the stick and the buffalo is going to be out of control.

(3.7.5)
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{stick} & \text{INST} & \text{beat} & (069-2PVS) \\
\end{array}
\]

You should beat [it] with the stick [now]!

Like the preceding advisory particles, the particle is never preceded by any sentence particle although it may be followed by the particles that follow the other advisory sentence particles. Subsequent particles do not affect morpho-phonemic changes in $p^h\dot{a}$ mē. It may take the tolerant benedictory particle l5 (060-3ES) as an infix to produce a complex particle which functions as an ‘aftermath evaluation’ to express what would have been a better choice. A speaker may say $dā tf^h\dot{u} nē dī p^h\dot{a}l5$ mē ‘He should have beaten [it] with the stick [now]!’ when the buffalo is already loose.

In spoken Akha, the subject of a $p^h\dot{a}mē$ sentence is always an implicit second person. Structurally, the particle $p^h\dot{a}mē$ never occurs in a negative verb phrase for it is always a sentence final for a positive sentence, although it always carries negative
connotations. In standard expression, in a $p^h\text{âmē}$ sentence, a negative verb phrase may precede the final verb phrase, but it is the final (positive) verb phrase that takes the sentence final $p^h\text{âmē}$.

The assertive advisory proposal particle $p^h\text{âmē}$ has four functions, as summarized in Table 69. The particle is usually in present tense because it always involves an immediate action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$p^h\text{âmē}$ (069-2PVS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Advisory sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 69. Functions of the assertive advisory particle $p^h\text{âmē}$ (069-2PVS)

### 3.7.4 Depreciative advisory particle $-\text{t}^h\tilde{\delta}$ ($-\text{l}\tilde{\delta}$)

The deprecative advisory particle $-\text{t}^h\tilde{\delta}$ ($-\text{l}\tilde{\delta}$) (070-2PVS) is primarily used to express advice that conveys a rather deprecative attitude on the part of the speaker, implying a negative attitude toward the addressee’s behaviour or performance.

When used in a deprecative expression, the particle $-\text{t}^h\tilde{\delta}$ ($-\text{l}\tilde{\delta}$) is always accompanied by some prosodic features, such as louder voice and lengthened syllable, or tone glide, to make its deprecative and sarcastic nature explicit. Facial expressions and bodily actions may also be present when a speaker wants to express his sarcastic attitude at the highest possible degree. When spoken softly without the prosodic features, its deprecative degree can be demoted down to the lowest degree of depreciation. Children and some youth would use this particle for normal expressions without feeling any implication of deprecative expression, but adults would seldom do this.
Example 3.7.6 is from Akha story two, about a famous Akha king Azaw Jawbah, who was eventually assassinated by the Anyi Clan of Akha. The sentence is advice given to the Akha by the Shan people to kill the oppressive king. Through the particle - букв (~бук), the sentence not only express the will of the Shan people that the king be killed, but also their bad attitude and feeling towards the Akha for tolerating the king and being incapable of getting rid of him.

Furthermore, there is a sense of impatience in an expression marked by the sentence particle - букв (~бук). In example 3.7.6, the Shan people are impatient of the suffering of the Akha people under the rude king and they depreciate the way the Akha people endure the situation. That expression shows that, in the Shan people’s mind, the king should have been assassinated long ago and they are encouraging the Akha to do it in a depreciative manner.

(3.7.6)

\[
\begin{align*}
n:\rightarrow & \quad \hat{s}ap^h \hat{a} \quad t^n \hat{a} \quad \hat{y}a \rightarrow \hat{d} \hat{a} \rightarrow \hat{s}e? \rightarrow t^n (\sim l^n) \\
2S & \text{POSS} \quad \text{king} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{HC} \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{kill} \quad (070-2PVS) \\
\end{align*}
\]

[Can’t you] plan to kill your king!

Structurally, - бук (~бук) never occurs in a negative verb phrase since it is always a sentence final for a positive sentence, although it always carries negative connotations. In standard expression, in an - бук (~бук) containing sentence, a negative verb phrase may precede the final verb phrase, but it is the final (positive) verb phrase which takes this particle.

The depreciative advisory particle - бук (~бук) has four functions, as summarized in Table 70. It is usually in present tense because it always involves an immediate action. - бук and бук are in free variation.
Table 70. Functions of the depreciative advisory particle -Ǿð (~-Ǿɔ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ǿð (~-Ǿɔ)</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Advisory sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(070-2PVS)</td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7.5 Alternative advisory particle mí-à (071-2PVS)

The alternative advisory particle mí-à (071-2PVS) is primarily used to express late advice, which would have been a better alternative if adopted earlier, evaluating an unfavourable result. It is half-blameful advice given to a person who should have been successful but failed. When a young boy reports that he failed to catch a big fish using the smaller fishing hook, his father would say mí ʧ̅è nĕ lɔ mí-à ‘[You] should have used a sword [instead].’ It is an utterance which mixes a blameful attitude for loss that has already taken place, along with good advice for the future.

The particle mí-à is secondarily used to express a retort when a person is not encouraged to do a certain thing because he appears predictably incapable of succeeding. For instance, when people advise a man not to train a rather wild waterbuffalo fearing that the animal might probably hurt him, he may react mà džɔ nǎ nā sè? džà mí-à ‘[I] will kill it and eat if [I] cannot train it, [who cares]!’ Such a witty reply is a self-addressed advice, the implicit subject being the first person, but also to be heard by onlookers.

The particle is never preceded by any sentence particle, although it often follows the verb suffix ļɔ-ì, ‘swiftly,’ and some directional verb particles. It may only be followed by the consolidating perlocutionary particle ʔɛfɔ (064-2PHS), meaning ‘Isn’t it?’ The sample sentence illustrated in example 3.7.7, composed of a noun, an
instrumental noun suffix, a verb and the particle *mi-*à, is a typical alternative advisory sentence.

\[(3.7.7)\]

\textit{mitf}è nè \textit{l5 mi-*à}

\textit{sword INST strike 071-2PVS}

[You] should have used a sword

The secondary usage, the retortive expression of the particle *mi-*à, usually comprises two clauses, a positive clause followed by a negative one, and is much more complicated in structure than in the primary usage. The first clause expresses the projected opinion of other people and the second clause is an alternative idea created by the speaker himself as an antagonistic alternative. The first clause is always a negative clause and the second clause is always a positive one, which makes the contrastive ideas clearer. The sample sentence illustrated in 3.7.8 is composed of a denial verb prefix, a verb, an adverb, an alternative connective, two serial verbs, a verb suffix, the particle *mi-*à, and the particle ?élò.

\[(3.7.8)\]

\textit{mà dzś \textit{pā nā sè?} dzā jś-i mi-*à \textit{?élò}}

\textit{NEG train can if kill eat GVP (071-2PVS) (064-2PHS)}

I will kill and eat it if I cannot train it, [who cares]? Isn’t it?

The first clause \textit{mà dzś \textit{pā nā sè?} dzā jś-i mi-*à ‘I will kill it and eat if I cannot train it, [who cares], and the particle \textit{?élò ‘Isn’t it?’ is finally added to seek the company of a third party to support his stand. Note that the particle \textit{?élò is the only optional unit in this sentence while the rest are all obligatory.}
The alternative advisory particle *mi-à* has four functions (see Table 71). The implicit subject of a primary type of a *mi-à* sentence is always the second person and the implicit subject of a secondary type is always the first person. In standard expression, in a *mi-à* containing sentence, a negative verb phrase may precede the final verb phrase, but it is the final (positive) verb phrase which takes this particle. The particle is usually in present tense because it involves an immediate action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mi-à</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(071-2PVS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Advisory sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>First/Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 71. Functions of advisory particle *mi-à* (071-2PVS)

The alternative advisory particle *mi-à* (071-2PVS) has neither a semantic nor a phonological relationship with the positive statement particle *mi-à* (003-1PSS), although the two are phonetically similar, contrasting only in tone.

### 3.8 Precaution

The Akha language has some particles that express concern on the speaker’s part which somehow imply warnings for the listener. Such particles may be labeled as precautionary particles, for they impose special implications, in different degrees, of the need of carefulness in carrying out a certain undertaking. This section will discuss three different precautionary particles, described as the admonitory, preclusive and conjectural precautionary particles.
3.8.1 Admonitory precautionary particle nnī (072-2PWS)

The admonitory cautionary particle nnī (072-2PWS), which is normally pronounced as nnī-nī is used to express a precautionary warning in an admonitory manner. The speaker wants the hearer to take account of unexpected things that might probably take place, or to be prepared for unforeseen troubles.

The particle nnī implies an attitude of encouragement rather than discouragement. In uttering a nnī sentence, the speaker is on positive ground and quite optimistic about the hearer’s performance. The warning that is expressed in the particle nnī is understood by the hearer as an optimistic supplementary, rather than pessimistic reprimand. It is a tender warning rather than a harsh reproof. It is weaker, in degree of assertion, than the preclusive precautionary particle mā (073-2WS). However, it may be stronger than the conjectural precautionary particle bālē (074-3WS).

The particle nnī is used in direct speech only, i.e. a direct address from first person to second person, regardless of who the subject of the sentence is. Structurally, a nnī sentence is in active voice when the subject is second person, and it is in passive voice when the subject is a third person. In other words, the subject of an active voice nnī sentence is always the second person, and the subject of a passive voice sentence is always the third person.

In both active and passive voice, the object is technically the third person unless a first or second person pronoun is deliberately mentioned with illative, elative or ablative verb particles added to the verb stem. The second person subject, which is the default subject for active voice sentences, is chosen for the categorical identification number of the particle. Hence, the identification number of this particle


is (037-2WS). Example 3.8.1 illustrates the particle *nnǐ-ní* in both active and passive voice sentences.

(3.8.1)

\[ \text{lá? qè? nnǐ} \]
\[ \text{do break (072-2PWS)} \]

**You might break it!**

\[ \text{bì lá? qè? nnǐ} \]
\[ \text{PASS do break (072-2PWS)} \]

**You might let it broken [by him/her/it/they]!**

The subject of the active voice sentence is a second person and the object is a third person, which is anything that is breakable. However, adding the verb prefix *bì* to the same sentence changes the sentence into passive voice.

The admonitory precautionary particle *nnǐ* has four functions, as summarized in Table 72. As mentioned above, it is a second person subject marker in active voice sentences and a third person subject marker in passive voice sentences. It is impossible for a negative sentence final verb phrase to take the *nnǐ* particle, although it may be preceded by some negative verb phrase, and this fact maintains a *nnǐ* sentence always positive. It is doubtless that the precautionary nature of *nnǐ* implies future tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nnǐ</em></td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Precautionary sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Non-first person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Future tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 72. Functions of the admonitory precautionary particle *nnǐ* (072-2PWS)
The admonitory precautionary particle *nṃ* (072-2PWS) must be discriminated from the admonitory exhortatory particle *nṃ* (061-2PES), since the two particles are often heard pronounced the same in spoken Akha. The precautionary particle *nṃ* is used in solicitous manner and the exhortatory particle *nṃ* is used correctional manner. Phonetically, although this may not be clear when spoken, the two particles are discriminated by the high level tone (') and the low rising tone ('*').

(3.8.2)

```
qʰmá pʰá lā? pā? nṃ-mí lɔ
```

Be careful not to break another cup!

```
qʰmá pʰá lā? pā? nṃ-mí dɛ
```

Be careful not to break another cup!

The degree of assertion is intensified by the particle *lɔ* in sentence 1, whereas it is demoted by particle *dɛ* in sentence two, although back translations for both sentences are the same.

### 3.8.2 Preclusive precautionary particle *mā* (073-2WS)

The preclusive precautionary particle *mā* (073-2WS) carries the strongest degree of assertion among all the precautionary particles. A *mā* utterance often looks back to a certain defect that is not quite tolerable. The addressee of a *mā* utterance is to take the warning seriously knowing that the speaker is really concerned about him or her repeating the same mistake again. A good example is a father’s warning for a wayward teenage boy (see example 3.8.3).
You must not be wandering for a long time [as you did before]!

The sentence initial ṁm-ṇí is originally a time phrase meaning ‘now’ which is widely used as sentence initial to refer to the present moment, the moment the utterance is being made. Nevertheless, when used as a sentence initial, especially in a preclusive precautionary sentence marked by the particle mā, it has a negative connotative meaning. When used as a pure time marker, it may not occur with the reiterative verb prefix pʰá and the sentence particle mā.

On the other hand, if the sentence initial ṁm-ṇí ever occurs with the prefix pʰá and the sentence particle mā in a non-precautionary sentence, a verb phrase or an attention particle, usually hè ‘right now,’ would immediately follow the sentence particle. Alternately, the attention particle hè could precede ṁm-ṇí as a sentence initial, in order to indicate that it is not a precautionary expression. It is interesting that all these efforts are made to discriminate between a preclusive precautionary sentence and a declarative sentence.

A preclusive precautionary sentence is one of the most interesting and ambiguous expressions in the Akha language. When we say that the preclusive precautionary sentence initial ṁm-ṇí, in co-occurrence with the particle mā, has a negative connotative meaning or implies a negative expression when the sentence structure is still a positive one, we are interpreting this in terms of the linguistic behaviour of the native speakers, i.e. what such a particular expression means to them in their daily life communication, not in terms of what would it mean according to the sentence construction. In such a complicated linguistic implication, we need to capture the thought rather than the structure.
Akha takes the preclusive precautionary sentence \( \text{nm}-\text{m} \ p^h\text{a} \ \text{tj}^h\text{a} \ \theta^i\text{i} \ y\bar{\text{i}} \ \text{m} \) (example 3.24) a literal translation for which would mean ‘Now, you are wandering to be lost again,’ as a prohibitive utterance, a negative sentence, equivalent to a free translation ‘You must not be wandering for a long time [as you did before]!’ when there is no negation in the sentence to prove it to be a negative sentence as far as grammatical rules are concerned.

In the sample sentence illustrated in example 3.8.3, the combination of the three components, \( \text{nm}-\text{m} \), \( p^h\text{a} \) and \( \text{m} \), must be taken as a special configuration which illuminates negative meaning of a positive sentence in the Akha language. The prefix is playing a less important role than the other two, which only refer back to the unfavourable performance of the addressee in the past.

The role of the preclusive precautionary particle \( \text{m} \) plays the most important part in the configuration that illuminates a positive sentence as a negative expression, and yet, apart from the two components, it can be easily mistaken for the first person positive realis declarative particle \( \text{m} (\sim \text{m}) \) (002-1PSS) (see section 2.1.1.2). The most difficult part of an attempt to distinguish a preclusive precautionary sentence from a positive realis declarative sentence lies on in the indistinguishable similarity between the two sentence particles \( \text{m} \) (073-2WS) and \( \text{m} (\sim \text{m}) \) (002-1PSS).

So far, we understand that each of the two particles belongs to a different category of particle in spite of sharing identical phonetic features. It is important to know that the positive declarative particle is a first person subject marker and the precautionary particle is a second person subject marker, and that the former is a realis sentence marker and the latter is an irrealis sentence marker.

Furthermore, discrimination between the two sentence types is determined by the discourse context. The preceding events in the storyline can provide us with evidence that leads us to make a plausible prediction. However, when a preclusive
precautionary particle is in a linguistic environment which does not provide us external evidence to make a prediction, the discrimination is determined by the combination of three components: the time phrase $\text{jm-mi}$, the reiterative verb prefix $p'h\dot{a}$ and the sentence particle $m\tilde{a}$, which together mark a preclusive precautionary sentence. Such a combination is impossible with a first person realis declarative sentence.

The preclusive precautionary particle $m\tilde{a}$ has three functions, as summarized in Table 73.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m\tilde{a}$ (073-2WS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Precautionary sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Future tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 73. Functions of the preclusive precautionary particle $m\tilde{a}$ (73-2WS)

The degree of assertion implied to a precautionary sentence by the preclusive precautionary particle $m\tilde{a}$ is slightly demoted when the patronal exhortatory particle $d\tilde{e}$ (058-2ES) is added after the particle $m\tilde{a}$. Therefore, the degree of warning of the sentence $\text{jm-mi} p'h\dot{a} t:j'h\tilde{a} b/\tilde{o}\? \gamma\tilde{e} m\tilde{a}d\tilde{e}$ ‘You must not be wandering for a long time [as you did before]’ is weaker than that of $\text{jm-mi} p'h\dot{a} t:j'h\tilde{a} b/\tilde{o}\? \gamma\tilde{e} m\tilde{a}$ ‘You must not be wandering for a long time [as you did before]’ although they may imply the same degree of assertion in their English equivalents.

3.8.3 Conjectural precautionary particle $b\tilde{5}l\tilde{e}$ (074-3NWS)

The conjectural precautionary particle $b\tilde{5}l\tilde{e}$ (074-3NWS) is used for expressing precaution based on one’s conjecture. In normal expression marked by this particle, a
first person is suggesting a second person be prepared to meet or to take account of what the first person thinks could happen. This particle implies the least assertive warning among precautionary particles. The verb suffix -ʔ, is an obligatory component of a conjectural precautionary sentence (see example 3.8.4).

(3.8.4)  
\begin{align*}  
mà & lòʔ \quad lé \quad -ʔ \quad b₃lē \\
{\text{NEG}} & \text{enough} \quad {\text{ELA}} \quad {\text{VS1}} \quad (074-3NWS)  
\end{align*}  

[It] might not be enough.

The particle b₃ lē is primarily used in a negative sentence to show a sense of worry or concern that something that is being prepared may not meet the required quantity or quality. In uttering the sample sentence mà lòʔ lē-ʔ b₃lē ‘(It) might not be enough,’ the speaker’s thought is quite negative on the question of sufficiency. That very thought leads him to construct a negative sentence, rather than a positive one. For that reason, for the native speakers, there is always a natural tendency to utter a conjectural precautionary sentence with a negative sense.

Even when a conjectural precautionary sentence is in a positive construction, it is still predominated by a negative thought, a forecast that predicts something may not hit the target.

The conjectural precautionary particle b₃lē has four functions, as summarized in Table 74.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b₃ lē</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Precautionary sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(074-3NWS)</td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Negative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Future tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 74. Functions of the conjectural precautionary particle b₃ lē (074-3NWS)
CHAPTER 4

INTERROGATIVES

4.0 Introduction

The Akha language has interrogative adjectives, interrogative adverbs and interrogative pronouns, all of which correspond to their counterparts in the English language, both in meaning and position in the syntactic structure. The function and structure of the Akha interrogative adjective Ꙍ꯿ꏧ directly corresponds to ‘which’ in English. Similarly, Ꙍꏨꏪꏲꏤꏩꏫ and Ꙍꏴꏥꏲꏤꏩꏮ correspond to ‘why’ and ‘who,’ respectively. In addition to these question words, the Akha language has ten particles which mark different types of interrogative sentences: Ꙍ h ൗ (~dē~t h e~dē), Ꙍ h ā (~da~t h ā~dā), Ꙍ h ō, Ꙍ ꧆, Ꙍ ꧿, Ꙍ ꧸, Ꙍ ꧼ, Ꙍ ꧿, Ꙍ ꧽ, and Ꙍ ꧼ.

There are two kinds of interrogatives: yes-no questions and information questions. In the Akha language, those two sub-categories of interrogatives are distinguished by interrogative particles. The first seven particles, Ꙍ hē (~dē~t hē~dē), Ꙍ hā (~dā~t h ā~dā), Ꙍ ꧆, Ꙍ ꧿, Ꙍ ꧸, and Ꙍ ꧽ, are information question markers. They are labeled as ‘inquisitive interrogative particles’ in this paper. An interrogative sentence with one of these particles is asking for new information.

The last three particles, Ꙍ ꧽ, Ꙍ ꧽ, and Ꙍ ꧼ are yes-no question markers labeled as ‘Yes-no interrogative particles’ in this paper. An Akha speaker who asks a question using one of these particles is either trying to confirm some information of which he already knows partially, or simply asking for something that he wants. Actually, the last particle, Ꙍ hē, is not strictly a yes-no particle. It is rather a duplication particle, repeating the same question for a different addressee. Principally, it belongs to the
yes-no category, although sometimes it can be an inquisitive particle in terms of optional answers.

The syntactic structural difference between the two kinds of question is that every inquisitive interrogative sentence has an obligatory question word or two at the beginning, in addition to the interrogative particle that comes at the end of the sentence, but no yes-no interrogative sentence has a question word.

4.1 Inquisitive interrogatives

The seven inquisitive interrogative particles, $t^\text{hē}$ ($\sim dē \sim t^\text{hē} \sim dē$), $t^\text{hā}$ ($\sim dā \sim t^\text{hā} \sim dā$), ā, ṭā, ṇā, $t^\text{̄bē}$ and nē, are the classifiers of the seven types of interrogative sentences. The difference between the two forms is in syntactic structure. The inquisitive interrogative sentence differs from the yes-no interrogative sentence in that it requires an obligatory interrogative word in the beginning part of the sentence. The trick is that when they do not co-occur with question words, the particles simply become non-interrogative realis sentence particles. However, this rule does not apply to the particles $t^\text{̄bē}$ and nē.

4.1.1 Inquisitive interrogative particle $t^\text{hē}$ ($\sim t^\text{hē} \sim dē \sim dē$) (075-2QIS)

In spoken Akha, question words such as ṭàsúyā ‘who,’ ṭàdzè ‘what,’ ṭàm’ā ‘when,’ ṭàgá ‘where,’ ṭàgā ‘which,’ are often the first word of a sentence when two persons are engaged in a dialogue because, in Akha, first person and second person pronouns are seldom used in a dialogue between two parties as long as they are talking about themselves. They use a pronoun or a proper noun only when they switch to talk about a third party, but they use it for the first sentence only. However the use of pronouns is optional when three parties are involved in a conversation in which all the three parties are participants.
The fact that an Akha sentence does not have pronoun at subject and object position does not mean it does not indicate subject and object at all. Such a sentence is impossible in the Akha language. As explained previously, a particle can function as a marker of both subject and object. In other words, the Akha can read both subject and object in the underlying structure of the sentence as marked by the particle. This is somewhat difficult for outsiders.

The first particle to be analyzed is the second person inquisitive interrogative particle $t^b\bar{e}$. First, a sample sentence will be given to provide a general view of the nature of a $t^b\bar{e}$ interrogative sentence structure and the position of the particle in that sentence. After that, special attention will be given to the description of the functional components packed up in the particle, defining each component with an appropriate grammatical term.

\[(4.1.1)\]
\[
?\bar{a}g\bar{\bar{a}} \quad l\bar{\bar{e}}? \quad -\acute{\bar{\bar{a}}} \quad ?i \quad t^b\bar{e} \\
\text{Which market LOC go (075-2QIS)}
\]

**Which market are you going to?**

Example 4.1.1 is from a folktale entitled ‘A little chicken who looked for her mother,’ in ‘Akha legends, stories and myths’ (Lewis, 1989). In structure, an inquisitive interrogative sentence usually takes an obligatory question word immediately after the optional subject, followed by an optional locative and an obligatory transitive verb and ends with the inquisitive interrogative particle $t^b\bar{e}$.

Every interrogative particle is multi-functional in Akha grammar. The meaning and direction of an interrogative sentence are carried by the particle. The particle contains the information as to who is talking to whom about what, and in what tense is he doing the talking.
The inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \) has two functions, as summarized in Table 75. While it primarily occurs in positive sentences, it may also occur in negative sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t^h\ddot{e} ) ((t^h\ddot{e} \sim \ddot{d} \sim \ddot{d})) ((075\text{-}2QIS))</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Inquisitive interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Mid tone is present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low tone is past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 75. Functions of the inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \)

The mid-tone particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \) and the low tone particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \) are to be counted as the same particle. However, tone difference represents tense difference. Mid-tone stands for present tense and low tone stands for past tense. As a rule, tones are to be taken as tense markers for the inquisitive particles \( t^h\ddot{e} \) and \( t^h\ddot{a} \). Hence, the question \( \ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \text{ le}\ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{i}} \) \( t^h\ddot{e} \) means ‘Which market are you going to’ while \( \ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \text{ le}\ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{i}} \ddot{\text{i}} \) \( t^h\ddot{a} \) means ‘Which market have you been to.’

There is a voicing assimilation rule that effects every aspirated initial consonant of all inquisitive interrogative particles. Consequently, the particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \) fluctuates to \( d\ddot{d} \) and the particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \) fluctuates to \( d\ddot{d} \), having voicing assimilation with the vowels of the preceding syllable, because almost all Akha syllables are open. Nowadays, most native speakers tend to pronounce \( d\ddot{d} \) for \( t^h\ddot{e} \) and \( d\ddot{d} \) for \( t^h\ddot{e} \).

This phonological assimilation rule poses a phonetic discrimination problem on the particle \( t^h\ddot{e} \). While this particle is pronounced as \( d\ddot{d} \), it is indistinguishable from hortatory particle \( d\ddot{d} \). In this case, the distinction is determined by syntactic rather
than phonological rules. Native speakers distinguish them by the question words, which occur at the beginning of inquisitive interrogative sentences.

For further clarification, a question word usually co-occurs with an inquisitive interrogative particle, but it is mutually exclusive with any non-interrogative particle of the same sound. The question word determines whether the sentence particle is a question particle or not. With that apparent determination, interrogative dē and exhortative dē are clearly perceived as two different grammatical units, despite their phonetic similarity.

4.1.2 Inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^hā \) (~\( t^hā\~dā\~dā \)), (076-3QIS)

Like the inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^hē \) (~\( t^hē\~dē\~dē \)), (075-2QIS), the position of the particle \( t^hā \) (~\( t^hā\~dā\~dā \)) (076-3QIS) is usually sentence final for simple interrogative sentences, unless the sentence is embedded in another sentence. Both particles are often found in near identical syntactic environments, the chief difference being that \( t^hē \) refers to second person and \( t^hā \) to third person.

(4.1.2)

\[
\text{What VS2 matter discuss VS1 say (076-3QIS)}
\]

What case does he say we are going to discuss?

Example 4.1.2 is taken from a dialogue between husband and wife in a folktale titled “The Story of a Thief.” It is a question from the husband who was told that the village head was summoning every villager to a meeting. Once the subject, the village chief, is introduced, he is identified by particles in the following sentences, instead being mentioned as the subject of every sentence, until a third party joins in the story-line.

The inquisitive interrogative particle has two functions: inquisitive interrogative sentence marker and third person subject marker. This particle is not applicable as
positive or negative sentence marker because it occurs in both, although it primarily occurs in positive interrogative sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tⁿᵃ (-tⁿᵃ–dᵃ–dᵃ) (076-3 QIS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Inquisitive interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Mid tone is present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low tone is past tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 76. Functions of the inquisitive interrogative particle tⁿᵃ (-tⁿᵃ–dᵃ–dᵃ) (076-3QIS)

The only difference between tʰⁿᵃ and (-tʰⁿᵃ) is tone. As in the case with tʰⁿᵉ and to tʰⁿᵉ, tone difference means tense difference. The low tone on the particle tⁿᵃ is a past tense marker and the mid-tone on the particle tʰⁿᵃ is present tense marker. Hence, the interrogative sentence ?ⁿᵃ dⁿᵉ ḍ gᵃ kⁿᵉ bⁿ dⁿᵃ ḃ ṭᵉ tʰⁿᵃ means 'What is he going to discuss with us?' and ?ⁿᵃ dⁿᵉ ḍ gᵃ kⁿᵉ bⁿ dⁿᵃ ḃ ṭᵉ tⁿᵃ means 'What was the case that he said we are going to discuss?'

It has been stated that, being conditioned by a voicing assimilation rule, the second person inquisitive interrogative particles tʰⁿᵉ and tⁿᵉ fluctuate to dⁿᵉ and dⁿᵉ, respectively. By the same phonological rule, the third person inquisitive particles tʰⁿᵃ and tⁿᵃ fluctuates to dᵃ and dᵃ. Nowadays, most native speakers tend to pronounce dᵃ for tʰⁿᵃ and dᵃ for tⁿᵃ; this has no impact on differentiation between the two particles.

4.1.3 Generic inquisitive interrogative particle -ᵃ (077-3QIS)

The third person inquisitive interrogative particle -ᵃ (077-3QIS) is a final particle for questions that try to find out the identity of third party persons or things. Stative
sentences are preemptive answers to -ā type questions. Common questions of this type in daily life expressions are ʔà dʒè-a ‘What is it?’ ʔà sú yà-ā ‘Who is it?’ ʔà gā hûn ñè tʰè ‘Which one?’ etc.

(4.1.3)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ʔàdʒè} \quad \text{-ā} \\
\text{What (077-3QIS)}
\end{array}
\]

**What is [it]?**

An Akha who has a good understanding of English would say that the Akha example and English free translation in example 4.1.3 are exactly corresponding in meaning and structural ordering. The difference is the representation of interrogative components. Speaking in terms of function, the particle -ā is grammatically equivalent to the last two words in English, *is it*. However, -ā is an independent multi-functional morpheme whereas *is* and *it* are two independent words, each having its own regular function.

Normally, an -ā question is short and simple. It never takes a verb. If it does, it can no longer use the same interrogative anymore. For instance, if a speaker want to add the verb *dʒà ‘eat’* in the question ʔà dʒè-ā ‘What is it?’ he has to replace particle -ā with either tʰè or tʰā. In that case, the third person inquisitive interrogative sentence ʔà dʒè-ā ‘What is it?’ will be eventually changed to either a second person inquisitive interrogative sentence ʔà dʒè dʒà tʰè ‘What are you eating?’ or a third person inquisitive interrogative sentence ʔà dʒè dʒà tʰā ‘What is he/she/they eating?’

The interrogative particle -ā has four functions, as summarized in Table 77.
4.1.4 Visual inquisitive interrogative particle yā (078-3QIS)

The structure and functions of the third person inquisitive interrogative particle yā (078-3QIS) are identical to those of the third person inquisitive interrogative particle -ā (077-3QIS), except that the former is more specific than the latter. The particle yā is used only for questions presupposing a visual experience, i.e., asking a person what he has seen. By contrast, the particle -ā must be understood as a generic interrogative particle, prompting any kind of answer so long as it corresponds to an inquisitive question.

A yā question is asked when the addressee is currently looking at or seeing something, and the answer is always marked by the first person visual declarative sentence particle yā (004-1PSS), reflecting visual realization. For instance, answers like ʔā lī yā ‘[It] is a fish,’ or ʔāsī lī dzi̯è yā ‘[It] is a kind of fruit’ are possible corresponding answers to the question ʔā dzi̯è-yā ‘What is [it]?’ (see example 4.1.4)

(4.1.4)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔādzi̯è} & \quad yā \\
\text{What (078-3QIS)} & \\
\text{What is [it]?} & \quad (\text{Question}) \\
\text{ʔālī} & \quad yā \\
\text{Snake (004-1PSS)} & \\
\text{[It] is a snake?} & \quad (\text{Answer})
\end{align*}
\]
Fruit one kind (004-1PSS)

[It] is a kind of fruit.  

(Answer)

The inquisitive interrogative particles -ā and ŋā function the same as far as simple enquiries such as ?ā dʒè-ā or ?ā dʒè-ŋā, both meaning ‘What is it?’ in English, which prompts simple stative answers such as ?ā lō ŋā ‘It is a fish,’ or ?āsi tǐ dʒè ŋā ‘It is a kind of fruit.’ etc. However, when it comes to ask questions about events, the particle -ā is not applicable anymore (see example 4.1.5). When ?ā dʒè dʒā-ŋ ŋā, What are [they] doing?’ is a correct usage, *?ā dʒè dʒā-ŋ-ā, What are [they] doing?’ is never used in either oral or written Akha.

(4.1.5)

?ādʒè dʒā-ŋ ŋā
What do VS1 (078-3QIS)

What are [they] doing?

*?ādʒè dʒā-ŋ-ā
What do VS1 (077-3QIS)

What are [they] doing?

The visual inquisitive interrogative particle ŋā has four functions (see table 78).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ŋā  
(078-3QIS) | 1 Sentence type | Inquisitive interrogative sentence marker |
|          | 2 Subject-Person | Third person subject marker |
|          | 3 Positive/Negative | Positive sentence marker |
|          | 4 Tense | Present tense marker |

Table 78. Functions of the visual inquisitive interrogative particle ŋā  
(078-3QIS)
4.1.5 Non-visual inquisitive interrogative particle ɲā (079-3QIS)

The third person visual inquisitive interrogative particle ɲā (079-3QIS) is another specific particle whose structure and function are the same as -ā and ɲā. The only contrast is that ɲā is used for questions which ask a person to answer on the basis of what he has realized through non-visual sensations. A ɲā question prompts answers based on tactile, auditory, olfactory, and gustatory sensations, where tactile perception could involve either bodily contact or mental feeling.

Just as the answers for the ɲā visual questions are marked by the visual declarative sentence particle ɲā (006-1NSS), answers for a ɲā question are also marked by the non-visual declarative particle ɲā. Thus, the respective corresponding answers for the questions ḩàgá dè -ā ɲā ‘Where did [the bee] sting [you]?’ and ḩà ɗè t’è sá ɲā ‘What sound is it?’ would be ḩùdù-ā dè -ā ɲā ‘[It] stung me on the head’ and mìbŋ? t’hésá ɲā ‘It is the sound of gunfire’ see example (4.1.6)

(4.1.6)

?àgá  dè  -̄  ɲā
Where  sting  VS1  (079-3QIS)

Where did [the bee] sting [you]? (Question)

?ùdù  -̄  dè  -̄  ɲā
Head  LM  sting  VS1  (006-1NSS)

[It] stung me on the head.  (Answer)

?àdʒè  t’hésá  ɲā
What sound  (079-3QIS)

What sound is it? (Question)

mìbŋ?  t’hésá  ɲā
Gun  sound  (006-1NSS)

It is the sound of gunfire. (Answer)
Unlike the inquisitive interrogative particle -ā (079-3QIS), the interrogative particle nā is applicable to ask questions based on events, just as the interrogative particle ɣā is. When a group of hunters hear a deer coming in the night, an elderly hunter would ask the younger hunters ?à qā p’h5 ?ā -ð nā ‘Which direction is [the deer] coming from?’ Again, the corresponding answer γàl5 tf’5tf’h5 -é ?ā -ð nā ‘[It is] coming down the valley’ is marked by the non visual declarative sentence particle ɣā (006-1NSS) (see example 4.1.7).

(4.1.7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?àgā</th>
<th>p’h5</th>
<th>?ā</th>
<th>-ð nā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>direction</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>VSI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Which direction is [the deer] running from?’ (Question)

γàl5 tf’h5tf’h5 -é ?ā -ð nā
valley through AS come VSI (006-1NSS)

[It is] coming down the valley. (Answer)

The non-visual inquisitive interrogative particle nā has four functions (see table 79).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā (079-3QIS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Inquisitive interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 79. Functions of the non-visual inquisitive interrogative particle nā (079-3QIS)

Now, it is taken for granted that while all three questions, ?à dʒè-a, ?à dʒè ɣā and ?à dʒè nā, are natural equivalents of English question ‘What is it? each of the last two questions prompts a more specific answer. To be more specific,
the English equivalent for ʔà dʒè ŋā should be ‘What is it [that you saw]?’ and ʔà dʒè ɲā should be ‘What is it [that you heard/touched/felt]?’ Therefore, the same sentence construction with the three different interrogative particles must be understood as three different types of questions, since they correspond to three sub-categorical answers, although they contrast with each other in two specific functional comparisons. A comparison of functional components is summarized in the table below. Notice the three particles are contrastive to each other only in the stative/transitive and promption slots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>-ā</th>
<th>ŋā</th>
<th>ɲā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>Inquisitive interrogative (contrasting to Yes-no interrogative)</td>
<td>Inquisitive interrogative (contrasting to Yes-no interrogative)</td>
<td>Inquisitive interrogative (contrasting to Yes-no interrogative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject-person</td>
<td>Third person subject</td>
<td>Third person subject</td>
<td>Third person subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Positive sentence</td>
<td>Positive sentence</td>
<td>Positive sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative/Transitive</td>
<td>Stative sentence only</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preemp-tion based on sensations</td>
<td>Based on all sensations</td>
<td>Based on visual sensation only.</td>
<td>Based on all non-visual sensations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 80. Functional comparison of -ā, ŋā and ɲā

### 4.1.6 Attitudinal interrogative particle ʈʰţ̥ (080-2/3QIS)

The attitudinal interrogative particle ʈʰţ̥ (080-2/3QIS) is used in questions which show the speaker’s blameful attitude towards the addressee. The particle ʈʰţ̥ may have been derived from the pronoun ʈʰţ̥ which is equivalent to the English pronoun ‘that.’ However, when used as a sentence final, it can no longer be treated as the pronoun ʈʰţ̥, but as an attitudinal interrogative particle which always implies a negative connotation.
When used in the simplest form with the second person pronoun ‘you,’ as in the first sentence of example 4.1.8, the meaning is equivalent to ‘And you?’ This form implies a sense of contempt or humiliation.

The negative implication of the particle \( t^b\ddot{s} \) is stronger when it is used in a transitive interrogative sentence. For instance, the interrogative sentence \( \ddot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \ ?i \ t^b\ddot{e} \ ‘\text{Where are you going}’ \) is a simple inquiry. However, the question \( \ddot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \ ?i \ t^b\ddot{e} \ t^b\ddot{s} \ ‘\text{Where are you going then}?’ \) still keeping the same meaning in English, expresses a sense of dislike or suspicion in Akha. A mother who meets her son, who is expected to be at home, on a street and asks him \( \ddot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \ ?i \ t^b\ddot{e} \ t^b\ddot{s} \ ‘\text{Where are you going then}?’ \) is inquiring where he is going as well as expressing her dislike of his going.

An interrogative sentence with such a connotative meaning is usually composed of an obligatory question word, which could be \( \ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{s}\ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{\text{y}}\ddot{\text{y}} \ ‘\text{who},’ \ \ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{\text{d}}\ddot{\text{z}}\ddot{\text{e}} \ ‘\text{what},’ \ \ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{\text{m}}\ddot{\text{v}}\ddot{\text{a}} \ ‘\text{when},’ \ \ddot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \ ‘\text{where},’ \text{ or } \ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} \ ‘\text{which},’ \) an obligatory verb, an obligatory inquisitive interrogative particle \( t^b\ddot{e} \ (t^b\ddot{e}\sim\ddot{d}\ddot{e}\sim\ddot{d}\ddot{e}) \ (075\text{-}2\text{QIS}), \) or \( t^b\ddot{a} \ (\sim t^b\ddot{a}\sim\dd\ddot{a}\sim\dd\ddot{a}) \ (076\text{-}3\text{QIS}), \) and the attitudinal interrogative particle \( t^b\ddot{s} \) (see the second sentence of example 4.1.8).

(4.1.8)

\[
\begin{align*}
n&\ddot{\text{s}} & t^b\ddot{s} \\
2S \ (080-2/3\text{QIS})
\end{align*}
\]

**And you?**

\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}} & \ ?i & t^{b\ddot{e}} \\
\text{where} & \ \text{go} \ (075\text{-}2\text{QIS}) \ (080-2/3\text{QIS})
\end{align*}
\]

**Where are you going then?** \textbf{(With blameful attitude)}

The attitudinal interrogative particle \( t^b\ddot{s} \) only has two functions (see Table 81). It is not applicable as a positive or a negative sentence marker because it freely occurs in both.
4.1.7 Attitudinal interrogative particle  

The inquisitive interrogative particle  \(n\bar{\varepsilon} (081-2/3\text{QIS})\) is identical to the particle \(t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) both in meaning and structure. The two interrogatives imply the same degree of negative implication when used separately, and they add negative implication to each other when used together. Both primary attitudinal interrogative expressions \(n\bar{\varepsilon} t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) and \(n\bar{\varepsilon} n\bar{\varepsilon}\), having the same English equivalent ‘And you?’, imply the same degree of blameful attitude (see example 4.1.9).

The secondary attitudinal interrogative expression \(n\bar{\varepsilon} t^h\bar{\varepsilon} n\bar{\varepsilon}\), which may still be translated ‘And you?’ in English, implies a stronger, blameful attitude. In this type of expression, the particle \(t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) always precedes the particle \(n\bar{\varepsilon}\) (see example 4.1.9).

A good example of the third and final type of attitudinal interrogative expression may be \(\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\iota} t^h\bar{\varepsilon} n\bar{\varepsilon} t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\ ‘Where are you going then?’ which has stronger blameful attitude than \(\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\iota} t^h\bar{\varepsilon} t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) (see example 4.1.8) although both have the same English equivalent. \(\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\iota} t^h\bar{\varepsilon} n\bar{\varepsilon} t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) is the strongest possible interrogative expression to show a speaker’s blameful attitude towards an addressee. Notice that, in this type of expression, the particle \(t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) follows the particle \(n\bar{\varepsilon}\), reversing the ordering in the secondary expression where \(n\bar{\varepsilon}\) follows \(t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\) (see example 4.1.9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| \(t^h\bar{\varepsilon}\)  
(080-2/3QIS) | 1 Sentence type | Attitudinal interrogative sentence marker |
| | 2 Subject-Person | Non-first person subject marker |
| | 3 Positive/Negative | Both |
| | 4 Tense | NA |

Table 81. Functions of the attitudinal interrogative particle \(t^h\bar{\varepsilon} (080-2/3\text{QIS})\)
The attitudinal interrogative particle \( n\ddot{e} \) has two functions (see Table 82). It is not applicable as subject-person marker, because it will take any person at a time. Neither is it applicable as a positive or a negative sentence marker because it freely occurs in both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( n\ddot{e} )</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Attitudinal interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Any person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 82. Functions of the attitudinal interrogative particle \( n\ddot{e} \) (081-2/3QIS)

### 4.2 Yes-no interrogatives

The yes-no interrogative particles are used to establish the certainty or validity of something of which the speaker is partially informed. There are four particles of this kind, which are often related to each other in a chain of questions seeking to build up information and establish a solution.
The Akha language has rhetorical questions that are similar to the English counterparts. Most rhetorical questions are used in a pejorative sense with disparaging attitude. Some are used in a sympathetic form, especially in such a situation as when a loving mother expresses tender care toward a sick child. Inquisitive particles are not used for such expressions.

In this section, the syntactic structure and functions of each of the four yes-no particles ló, lā, lē and t’ê, will be discussed. Unlike the inquisitive particles, yes-no particles do not mark the party about which the questions are inquiring.

### 4.2.1 Yes-no interrogative particle ló (082-2QYS)

The yes-no interrogative particle ló (082-2QYS) can be an interrogative sentence final for both positive and negative questions. Adding a negative particle before the verb does not alter the meaning of a question. ʰʰ ʰʰ mâ ʰʰ ló ‘Will you go?’ and mà ʰʰ ʰʰ ló ‘Will you not go?’ are two variations of interrogative expression for confirming whether a person going or not.

As stated in the previous sections, spoken Akha often omits explicit subjects, while indicating the person of the subject by the final particle. In the positive yes-no question ʰʰ ʰʰ mâ ʰʰ ló ‘Will you go?’ the first person declarative sentence particle mâ (002-1PSS) is used for the second person subject, which is normally used for first person subject in declarative sentences. When the question takes the third person declarative sentence particle më (001-2/3PSS), the subject of the sentence is changed to the third party. Thus, in the question is ʰʰ ʰʰ më ʰʰ ló ‘Will [he/she/it/they] go?’ the declarative sentence particle më indicates that the subject is third party. The particle ló does not function as a subject marker for a positive question.
In the negative question mà ḗi ló ‘Will you not go?’ the offensive refutal particle ø (014-1NDs), (046-2NIS) indicates the subject as second person. However, when the question is altered as mà ḗi-ā ló ‘Will [he/she/it/they] not go?’ the generic negative statement particle -ā (005-3NSS) indicates that the subject of the sentence is the third party. The negative answer to this question is mà ḗi-ā ‘[He/she/it/they] will not go.’ At this point, the declarative sentence final particle -ā should not be confused with the inquisitive interrogative particle -ā (077-3QIS). It must be noted that the interrogative particle always co-occurs with a question word.

(4.2.1)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Will [you] go?} & \\
?i & mā & ló \\
go & (002-1PSS) (082-2QYS)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Will [you] not go?} & \\
?i & mē & ló \\
go & (001-2/3PSS) (082-2QYS)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Will [he/she/it/they] go?} & \\
?i & -ā & ló \\
NEG & go & (005-2/3NSS) (082-2QYS)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Will [he/she/it/they] not go?} & \\
?i & -ā & ló \\
NEG & go & (005-2/3NSS) (082-2QYS)
\end{align*}
\]

The yes-no interrogative particle ló never co-occurs with a question word so long as it is a sentence final. It may co-occur with a question word or two when it is not a sentence final. In a multi-particle sentence where a chain of ye-no particles is used, the particle can be a sentence final or it can be embedded in a superordinate clause.
As discussed in the preceding section, the functions of the last particle, dominate the whole sentence, making the functions of preceding particles subordinate to it.

The yes-no interrogative particle ló has three functions (see Table 83). It is not applicable as a positive or a negative sentence marker because it freely occurs in both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ló (082-2QYS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Yes-no interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 83. Functions of the yes-no interrogative particle ló (082-2QYS)

4.2.2 Yes-no interrogative particle lā (083-2QYS)

The Yes-no interrogative particle lā (083-2QYS) is a confirmatory question or a counter-question mark. It seems to be closely related to the Burmese interrogative particle là and Lahu interrogative particle lá, both in structure and meaning. This particle is frequently used in oral as well as written language.

A native speaker would use the particle lā to confirm something he has been told of. For instance, if a person is asked to bring a hoe and if there are more than one, he may need to confirm which one the speaker is referring to. In that case, he may ask jǐ fiù? kʰá là ‘The new one?’ Some speakers would use the yes-no interrogative particles là and ló interchangeably and say jǐ fiù? kʰá ló ‘The new one?’ However, it is more formal to use là, rather than ló, for a simple confirmatory question (see the first sentence of example 5.11).
There is a limitation in interchangeability of the two particles. The particle lō will be used if the confirmatory question reiterates the earlier request of the person who requests the hoe, then the confirmatory question would be jǐfù? kʰá ?é tē lō ‘Did you say the new one?’ or ‘You mean the new one?’ (see sample sentence 3 of example 4.2.2)

The interrogative particle lā is sometimes used to express discontent over a statement or a decision. For instance, ʢá tēʔ-é ?i-꾼 lā ‘Must I go alone?’ is a discontent reaction for having been assigned to go alone on a mission. In this case, the particle is used in the form of rhetorical question and the expected answer or the underlying meaning of that question is ‘I will not go alone’ (see example 4.2.3). There could be no recognizable syntactic structural difference between reiterative lā and rhetorical question lā in a written statement. However, diacritic feature such as tenseness in sound and facial appearance will help the hearer to recognize that difference right at
the moment the sentence is being uttered. In written statements, such a difference is recognizable in the story-line development of the discourse.

\[ (4.2.3) \]

\[ ŋä  tèʔ-é  ?i  -s  lā \]

I must go alone? \hspace{1cm} \textbf{(Rhetorical question)}

The yes-no interrogative particle \( lā \) has three functions (see Table 84). It is not applicable as positive or negative sentence marker because it freely occurs in both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( lā ) (083-2QYS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Yes-no interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 84. Functions of the yes-no interrogative particle \( lā \) (083-2QYS)

The yes-no interrogative particle \( lā \) must be clearly discriminated from the formally notifying mitigative particle \( lē \) (054-1PMS) since they are phonetically identical. The interrogative \( lā \) is a question marker and the mitigative \( lā \) is a semi-request declaration.

**4.2.3 Yes-no interrogative particle \( lē \) (084-2QYS)**

The yes-no interrogative particle \( lē \) (084-2QYS) is used in an interrogative sentence, which asks the speaker to repeat the same statement again. It is a confirmatory question particle used to ascertain something a hearer has not clearly heard. It is similar to the yes-no particles \( lō \) (082-2QYS) and \( lā \) (083-2QYS) in function and
structure. However, its co-occurrence with question words is obligatory unless it is embedded in other types of questions. ló and lā never co-occur with question words.

One notable feature of the yes-no interrogative particle lé is that it is semi-interrogative in terms of that it is not really a question, but a request to repeat the same statement. It is seeking corroboration rather than information. The hearer is merely asking a question to confirm what he is told when he is in cooperation with the speaker in a certain course. It is not even to confirm the particular item among many that the speaker is referring to as in the case of the interrogative particle ló (082-2QYS). It is just asking the speaker to repeat what he has said so that the hearer can respond correctly.

The particle lé is very common in spoken Akha. There are two types of lé questions. The first type is a request to repeat a statement and the second type is a request to say yes or no. In other words, the addressee who missed the whole statement asks the first type of lé question, and the addressee who partly missed the statement asks the second type of lé question.

The typical usage of the first type is that when two persons talking loudly to each other from distant hill tops, both of them would often ask each other ṭàdʒè lé ‘What did you say?’ asking to repeat the same statement louder in order to make it clearer. While the literal translation of ṭàdʒè lé would be ‘What did you say?’ the dynamic natural equivalent is ‘[Can you] repeat it again?’ Example 4.2.4 illustrates the first type of lé question.

(4.2.4)

| ṭàdʒè lé |
| what (084-2QYS) |
| Question |

What did you say?
In example 4.2.4, the interrogative sentence Hôtel ‘What did you say?’ is a single-particle interrogative sentence for which Hôtel ‘What’ is an obligatory question word and Hôtel (084-2QYS) is the only particle as well as the sentence final. The formal answer for this question is repeating the whole statement, such as nő Hôtel Hôtel ‘I said “You go”’. (see example 4.2.4). For this type of ôtel question sentence, a question word such as Hôtel (what, Hôtel sú yà ‘Who,’ Hôtel m’a? ‘How many,’ etc., is an obligatory component.

The second type of ôtel question is a yes-no question, i.e. a request to say yes or no. This type of question never takes a question word. Instead, the question itself repeats the statement and then add the question mark ôtel so that the answer could be just yes or no. When a senior village man requests a young man to go somewhere by saying nő Hôtel Hôtel ‘You must go,’ the young man’s confirmatory question will be Hôtel Hôtel Hôtel ‘Do you say I must go?’ If the request is Hôtel Hôtel Hôtel Hôtel ‘Let him go’ the confirmatory question will be Hôtel Hôtel Hôtel Hôtel ‘Do you say he must go?’ (see example 4.2.5)

In both examples, the whole statement is repeated. Notice that the first confirmatory changed the subject of the statement from the second person pronoun nő ‘you’ to the first person pronoun Hôtel ‘I’ because the person who is asked to go is referring to himself in confirmatory question. However, the third person subject in a statement is not changed in the confirmatory question.
(4.2.5)

\[ nî \ ?î \ -\delta \]
2S go (043-2PIS)

You must go. (Preceding statement)

\[ ñà \ ?î \ -\delta \ \text{lé} \]
1S go (043-2PIS) (084-2QYS)

Did you say I must go? (Corresponding lé question)

\[ ?àjî? \ \text{bì} \ ?î \ -\delta \]
3S PASS go (043-2PIS)

Let him go. (Preceding statement)

\[ ?àjî? \ \text{bì} \ ?î \ -\delta \ \text{lé} \]
3S PASS go (043-2PIS) (084-2QYS)

Did you say ‘Let him go?’ (Corresponding lé question)

The yes-no interrogative particle \( lé \) has three functions (see Table 85). It is not applicable as positive or negative sentence marker because it freely occurs in both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( lé ) (084-2QYS)</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Yes-no interrogative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 85. Functions of the yes-no interrogative particle \( lé \) (084-2QYS)
CHAPTER 5

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICLES

5.0 Introduction

Three sentence final particles, which do not fit into the categories discussed in chapters two, three and four, are discussed in this chapter as miscellaneous particles.

5.1 Third person speaker marker particle ɲá-ǝ (085-3SMS)

The third person speaker marker particle ɲá-ǝ (085-3SMS) is a spoken quotation mark that marks a statement which is a quotation from a third party. The first party makes a statement, which is a direct quotation from the third party, for the second party. The speaker marker particle ɲá-ǝ always co-occurs with the close- quotation particle dǝ́ (section 2.2.5.2), and the former is dependent on the latter. Either of the two particles can be sentence final, depending on sentence structure. Example 5.1 illustrates the particle ɲá-ǝ in sentence final position.

(5.1)

\[
\text{ля -ǝ́ dǝ́ ɲá-ǝ́}
\]

\[
\text{come (043-2PIS) (086-3QMS) 1S mother (086-3SMS)}
\]

My mother says “Come!”

A quoted positive statement marked by the particle ɲá-ǝ is often composed of an obligatory verb phrase that is marked by command particle -ǝ́ (043-2PIS), the obligatory quotation marker particle dǝ́, an obligatory third person noun or pronoun, and the speaker marker particle ɲá-ǝ. The sample sentence in example 2.18, лá-ǝ́ dǝ́ ɲá-ǝ́ ɲà mā ɲá-ǝ́ ‘My mother says, “Come!”’ is composed with the verb phrase лá-ǝ́
‘Come!’ the quotation marker particle ɗé, the third person common noun ṣàmā ‘my mother,’ and the speaker marker particle ṁá-̢.

A quoted sentence that takes the particle ṁá-̢ as sentence final is usually constructed in a reversed order, i. e. having the subject in the end of the sentence rather than in the beginning. Such a reversed structure is a common expression in the Akha language so far as quotation particles are concerned. The speaker marker particle freely occurs both in positive and negative sentences. The negative expression ṭbara lá ɗé ṣà mā ṁá-̢ ‘My mother says “Don’t come,”’ (example 5.2) is as natural as lá-̢ ɗé ṣà mā ṁá-̢ ‘My mother says “Come”’ (example 5.1) in the Akha language.

(5.2)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRHB} & \quad \text{come} \ (086\text{-3QMS}) \quad 1\text{S} \quad \text{mother} \ (085\text{-3SMS}) \\
\text{My mother says “Don’t come!”}
\end{align*}
\]

The third person speaker marker ṁá-̢ has three functions (see Table 86). It is not applicable as a positive or negative sentence marker because it freely occurs in both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṁá-̢</td>
<td>1  Sentence type</td>
<td>3rd Person speaker marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(085-3SMS)</td>
<td>2  Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 86. Functions of the third person speaker marker particle ṁá-̢ (085-3SMS)
5.2 Third person quotation marker particle dǝ́ (086-3QMS)

The third person quotation marker particle dǝ́ (086-3QMS) closes a direct quotation from a third party. It may also co-occur with the open quotation mark ɲá-ɓ (section 5.1). The particle dǝ́ may occur in the final position of a phrase or a sentence.

(5.3)

ヤマ ピャ ラ -δ dǝ́
1S mother (085-3SMS) come (043-2PIS) (086-3QMS)

My mother says ‘Come!’

A typical quoted statement is usually composed of a noun phrase marked by the speaker marker ɲá-ɓ (085-3SMS), a verb phrase marked by the command particle -δ (43-2PIS), and the quotation marker ɲá-ɓ. Example (5.4) is composed of the subject ヤマ ‘my mother’ which is marked by the speaker marker ɲá-ɓ (085-3SMS), the verb ラ ‘come,’ the command sentence particle -δ (043-2/3PIS), and the quotation marker particle dǝ́

Example 5.4 is a reordering of example 5.3 that keeps the particle dǝ́ in sentence final position. Example 5.2, the negative construction composed of the same elements, can be reordered in the same way to keep the particle dǝ́ in final position, as shown in example 5.4, by adding the prohibitive verb prefix tʰą to the verb ラ ‘come.’

(5.4)

ヤマ ピャ tʰャ ラ dǝ́
1S mother (085-3SMS) PRHB come (086-3QMS)

My mother says “Don’t come!”
Either of the two quotation particles can be sentence final depending on sentence structure.\(^\text{11}\)

The quotation marker particle ᵃ is has the same three functions as the speaker marker ᶜ-_skills (see Table 87).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᵃ</td>
<td>Sentence type</td>
<td>third person quotation sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(086-3QMS)</td>
<td>Subject-Person</td>
<td>Third person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 87. Functions of the third person quotation marker particle ᵃ (086-3QMS)

5.3 Reiterative particle lé (087-2RS)

The reiterative particle lé (087-2RS) is a repetition of an imperative sentence that has already been uttered. It is an insistence to carry out of what has been ordered. The particle lé is also used in declarative and interrogative sentences as an insistent particle. Nevertheless, when a declarative sentence is modified by adding the particle lé, it becomes somewhat imperative because of the illocutionary force represented by that particle.

Like the command particle -₃ (043-2PIS) and negative command particle ø (044-2NIS), the particle lé is confined within a verb phrase, usually the last verb phrase of a sentence. However, it never immediately follows a verb stem, i.e. there must always be a sentence particle between the verb stem and the particle lé. A command particle or a prohibitive particle may immediately follow the verb stem, but the particle lé will never do that. It usually comes after one of those particles because its

\(^{11}\) Example 5.1 illustrates the particle ᶜ in sentence final position.
major function is to mark the repetition of the same sentence. The following example would be helpful to understand the reiterative particle.

(5.5)

\( ?i \sim \delta \)

\( \text{go } (043\text{-2PIS}) \)

\textbf{Go!}

\( ?i \sim \delta \quad l\acute{e} \)

\( \text{go } (043\text{-2PIS}) (087\text{-2RS}) \)

\textbf{I said [you] go!}

In the first sentence in example 5.5, a command clause \( ?i-\delta \text{ 'go,'} \) can be repeated as in the second sentence, \( ?i-\delta \ l\acute{e} \text{ 'I said [you] go,'} \) to insist a person not delay obedience to a commanded. In the same way, a prohibitive clause \( t\acute{a} ?i \text{ 'Do not go'} \) can be repeated as \( t\acute{a} ?i \ l\acute{e} \text{ 'I said [you] do not go.'} \) As far as imperative expressions are concerned, the particle \( l\acute{e} \) is never followed by any other particles, although it may be preceded by some sentence particles.

The reiterative imperative particle \( l\acute{e} \) has three functions (see Table 88). Unlike the command particle \(-\delta \ (043\text{-2PIS}) \) and negative imperative particle \( \varnothing \ (044\text{-2NIS}) \), it does not function as negative or positive sentence marker, because that function is taken either by the particles that precedes it and the verb suffix \(-\delta \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Functional Categories</th>
<th>Functional Loads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( l\acute{e} \ (087\text{-2RIS}) )</td>
<td>1 Sentence type</td>
<td>Imperative sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Subject-Person</td>
<td>Second person subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Positive/Negative</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Tense</td>
<td>Present tense marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 88. Functions of the reiterative imperative particle \( l\acute{e} \ (087\text{-2RIS}) \)
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This thesis provides a preliminary analysis of the sentence final particles as spoken by the Jerway dialect speakers in the Eastern Shan State of Myanmar and Northern Thailand. The Jerway dialect has 87 sentence final particles in three major categories: declarative, jussives, interrogative; and one miscellaneous category. There are 42 declarative particles, 32 jussive particles, 10 interrogative particles and 3 miscellaneous particles.

The declarative particles are divided into seven categories: statement, weak assertion, probability, possibility, appreciation, contra-expectation and negative prediction. The jussive particles are divided into eight categories: command, negative, mitigative, exhortative, hortative, proposal, advisory and precaution. The interrogative particles are divided into inquiry questions and yes-no questions.

In terms of syntactic surface structure, sentence final particles contrast with non-sentence final particles such as noun particles, verb particles, adverb particles, and connective particles, in both position (sentence finally) and function.

This research focused on various functional areas of each particle, such as sentence type restrictions, subject-person reference restrictions, polarity marking, and temporal reference in addition to syntactic structure to elaborate the role of sentence final particle in Akha syntax.

Sentence type and subject-person reference are obligatory functions for almost every sentence final particle. The sentence type function determines the particle type, i.e. the category or subcategory to which a certain sentence particle belongs. Subject-person indicates whether the subject is singular or plural, providing a discourse level
method of maintaining participant reference in the face of the widespread zero anaphora found in Akha discourse.

The polarity marking and temporal reference functions are rather optional functions for some of the sentence final particles. Polarity marking indicates negative or positive sentences, with the negative marker generally co-occurring with either the prohibitive verb prefix (PROH) ̂tʰà or the denial verb prefix (NEG) mà. Temporal reference is usually marked by the two contrastive tones on the verb suffix ‘a,’ the mid tone ‘ā’ being non-past and the mid-tone ‘ã’ being past. However, when a sentence final particle takes this function, the verb suffix is deleted and the tense is taken over by the sentence particle. Hence, when the sentence final particle me is in the mid-tone mē, it is a non-past tense marker and when in the low tone mè, it is a past tense marker.

6.2 Further research

As stated above, this paper represents a preliminary analysis of the Akha sentence particles, attempting to describe the role and function of individual particles, mostly in simple sentences where each particle stands as a sentence final. Only in a few cases have particles in more complex sentences been discussed. Further research is needed in order to have a more complete view of sentence final particles in Akha grammar in all possible manifestations.

Further research is also needed on the ordering of sentence final particles. The Akha sentence final particles seem to have clear rules of concatenation where particles from different categories could come into different strings of concatenation to make meaningful communication in Akha society. The concatenation of sentence particles involves linguistic maneuvers to configure an unbiassed or an evidential message with a speaker’s attitude and feeling toward an addressee.
The concatenation of sentence particles may help us to find out rules of speech behaviour of the Akha language by studying which particles out of all three categories are usually chained together with particles from their own category, as well as from other categories. The concatenation of particles from all three categories will be most interesting, because it shows us how an evidential declaration is seasoned by the speaker’s attitude and feelings that are expressed in jussive particles.

The compatibility of some particles to be chained together with particles from other categories is also of great interest, because preliminary observation shows that only a few particles may concatenate with particles from all three categories simultaneously. For example, in non-interrogative particle concatenation, evidential particles are successively followed by attitudinal particles (jussives) and emotional particles (jussives). Example 6.2.1 illustrates a common daily expression as an example of sentence particle concatenation, for which a natural English translation is really difficult.

Example 6.2.1, which is merely made up of one verb and five sentence particles, displays undeniably crucial role that the sentence final particles have in the grammar of the Jerway dialect. A thorough analysis of Akha sentence particles concatenation rules as spoken by Jerway dialect speakers may give us interesting speech behaviour of the language as well.
An additional important direction for further research would involve particle comparison among the Akha-Hani dialects spoken in Myanmar, Thailand Laos, China and Vietnam. Such research may help to predict language intelligibility among the related dialects. For example, while lexical correspondence in terms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs between some Hani and Akha dialects is higher than 80 percent, they are unintelligible to each other because Hani dialects have lost many sentence particles which still see rigorous usage in Akha dialects.
APPENDIX

SUMMARY CHART OF AKHA SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Code Number</th>
<th>Technical name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.1</td>
<td>mē (~mè)</td>
<td>001-2/3PSS</td>
<td>generic positive statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.2</td>
<td>mā (~mà)</td>
<td>002-1PSS</td>
<td>generic positive statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.3</td>
<td>mî-ā</td>
<td>003-1PSS</td>
<td>non-visual positive statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1.4</td>
<td>ŋá (~ŋà-á)</td>
<td>004-1PSS</td>
<td>visual positive statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.1</td>
<td>-ā(~ā)</td>
<td>005-2/3NSS</td>
<td>generic negative statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2.2</td>
<td>ŋā (~ŋà)</td>
<td>006-1NSS</td>
<td>non-visual negative statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1.1</td>
<td>tè-ʔā</td>
<td>007-PUS</td>
<td>positive presumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1.2</td>
<td>-ā(~ja)</td>
<td>008-NUS</td>
<td>negative presumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.1</td>
<td>bô (~ḥbô)</td>
<td>009-1NFS</td>
<td>denial confrontation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.2</td>
<td>-ḥbô (~ḥbô)</td>
<td>010-3NFS</td>
<td>denial confrontation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.3</td>
<td>mā (~mà) bô</td>
<td>011-1PFS</td>
<td>insistent confrontation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.4</td>
<td>mē (~mè) bô</td>
<td>012-3PFS</td>
<td>insistent confrontation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2.5</td>
<td>-ḥbô</td>
<td>013-2/3FS</td>
<td>justifying confrontation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3.1</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>014-1NDS</td>
<td>strident denial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3.2</td>
<td>nô</td>
<td>015-NDS</td>
<td>persistent denial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1</td>
<td>džèmē</td>
<td>016-3PPS</td>
<td>positive probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2</td>
<td>džè-ā</td>
<td>017-3NPS</td>
<td>negative probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3</td>
<td>džèŋā</td>
<td>018-3PPS</td>
<td>visual positive probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.4</td>
<td>ŋèŋà (~džèŋā)</td>
<td>019-3NPS</td>
<td>visual negative probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.5</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>020-NPS</td>
<td>irrealis negative probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1</td>
<td>dú</td>
<td>021-3POS</td>
<td>positive possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2</td>
<td>p̀à</td>
<td>022-3NOS</td>
<td>negative possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1.1</td>
<td>j5+ADJ/ADV+ŋá(~h5 + ADJ/ADV+ŋá)</td>
<td>023-2/3PX</td>
<td>visual positive appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1.2</td>
<td>ná hà mù mí-a</td>
<td>024-3PX</td>
<td>auditory positive appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1.3</td>
<td>j5+ADJ/ADV+ŋá</td>
<td>025-3PX</td>
<td>non-audio-visual positive appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2.1</td>
<td>mù dzè ŋá</td>
<td>026-2/3PYS</td>
<td>visual comparative appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2.2</td>
<td>[ná hà] mù dzè ŋá</td>
<td>027-3PYS</td>
<td>auditory comparative appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2.3</td>
<td>ADJ/ADV+dzè ŋá</td>
<td>028-3PYS</td>
<td>non-audio-visual comparative appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3.1</td>
<td>ŋà t̀f³ ŋà? mà tsǹ́è+ ADJ/ADV+ŋá</td>
<td>029-2/3PZS</td>
<td>visual superlative appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Particle</td>
<td>Code Number</td>
<td>Technical name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3.2</td>
<td>ʔattività nāʔ mà tsʰé+ ADJ/ADV+nā</td>
<td>030-3PZS</td>
<td>non-visual superlative appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.1</td>
<td>ADJ/ADV+dúū dùū ŋā (~ADJ/ADV+sú sú ŋā)</td>
<td>031-2/3PBS</td>
<td>visual absolutive appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.2</td>
<td>dūū dūū ŋā</td>
<td>032-3PBS</td>
<td>non-visual absolutive appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.3</td>
<td>zöt+ADJ/ADV+yā/nā</td>
<td>033-2/3PBS</td>
<td>hyper-appreciation particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.4</td>
<td>yā nē-ā</td>
<td>034-2/3PBS</td>
<td>exclamatory appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.1</td>
<td>ADJ/ADV+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.2</td>
<td>dūū dūū ŋā</td>
<td>032-3PBS</td>
<td>non-visual absolutive appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.3</td>
<td>zöt+ADJ/ADV+yā/nā</td>
<td>033-2/3PBS</td>
<td>hyper-appreciation particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4.4</td>
<td>yā nē-ā</td>
<td>034-2/3PBS</td>
<td>exclamatory appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.1</td>
<td>lāī hō ŋā</td>
<td>035-3NCS</td>
<td>negative visual illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.2</td>
<td>lāī hō ŋā</td>
<td>036-3PCS</td>
<td>positive visual illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3</td>
<td>lāī hō ŋā</td>
<td>037-3NCS</td>
<td>negative non-visual illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4</td>
<td>lāī hō mī-ā</td>
<td>038-3PCS</td>
<td>positive non-visual illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.5</td>
<td>ŋō-ē</td>
<td>039-3PCS</td>
<td>onomatopoic illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7.1</td>
<td>lū-ā</td>
<td>040-2/3NTS</td>
<td>generic negative prediction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7.2</td>
<td>lūières</td>
<td>041-2/3NTS</td>
<td>visual negative prediction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7.3</td>
<td>lūières</td>
<td>042-2/3NTS</td>
<td>non-visual negative prediction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>043-2PIS</td>
<td>command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2</td>
<td>ó</td>
<td>044-2NIS</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3</td>
<td>tʰò</td>
<td>045-2IS</td>
<td>reproach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1</td>
<td>ó</td>
<td>046-2NIS</td>
<td>offensive refutal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>ó</td>
<td>047-1NIS</td>
<td>defensive refutal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3</td>
<td>lō tʰó</td>
<td>048-2NIS</td>
<td>disapproval critical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4</td>
<td>-ó-é</td>
<td>049-2NIS</td>
<td>impatient critical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.5</td>
<td>-è</td>
<td>050-NIS</td>
<td>argumentative denial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1</td>
<td>nè lāʔ (~nē lèʔ)</td>
<td>051-1MS</td>
<td>petitionary mitigative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2</td>
<td>jē</td>
<td>052-1MS</td>
<td>requesting mitigative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3</td>
<td>mà-i</td>
<td>053-1MS</td>
<td>surrendering mitigative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4</td>
<td>lā</td>
<td>054-1PMS</td>
<td>formally notifying mitigative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.5</td>
<td>hōlā</td>
<td>055-1PMS</td>
<td>semi-request notifying mitigative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.6</td>
<td>jā lū (~jā-m)</td>
<td>056-1PMS</td>
<td>notifying mitigative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1</td>
<td>lō</td>
<td>057-2ES</td>
<td>demonstrative Exhortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2</td>
<td>dē</td>
<td>058-2ES</td>
<td>patronal exhortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3</td>
<td>lūʔ-ū</td>
<td>059-2/3PES</td>
<td>beneficial Benedictory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Particle</td>
<td>Code Number</td>
<td>Technical name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.4</td>
<td>ǐ</td>
<td>060-3ES</td>
<td>tolerant beneficary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.5</td>
<td>mǐ</td>
<td>061-2PES</td>
<td>admonition exhortatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.1</td>
<td>kā-ā</td>
<td>062-2PHS</td>
<td>bilateral hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.2</td>
<td>là</td>
<td>063-2PHS</td>
<td>initiative consolidation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.3</td>
<td>rēlō</td>
<td>064-2PHS</td>
<td>persuasive consolidation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6.1</td>
<td>jná</td>
<td>065-1PPS</td>
<td>voluntary proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6.2</td>
<td>lā (~ā)</td>
<td>066-1PPS</td>
<td>obtrusive proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.1</td>
<td>pāŋā</td>
<td>067-2PVS</td>
<td>amendment advisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.2</td>
<td>pāŋá</td>
<td>068-2PVS</td>
<td>disapproval advisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.3</td>
<td>pā mē</td>
<td>069-2PVS</td>
<td>assertive advisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.4</td>
<td>-ōtū</td>
<td>070-2PVS</td>
<td>depreciative advisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.5</td>
<td>mī-ā</td>
<td>071-2PVS</td>
<td>alternative advisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8.1</td>
<td>nmī</td>
<td>072-2PWS</td>
<td>admonitory precautionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8.2</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>073-2WS</td>
<td>preclusive precautionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8.3</td>
<td>hō lē</td>
<td>074-3NWS</td>
<td>conjectural precautionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1</td>
<td>tʰē (tʰē<del>dē</del>dé)</td>
<td>075-2QIS</td>
<td>inquisitive interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2</td>
<td>tʰā (<del>tʰā</del>dā~dā)</td>
<td>076-3QIS</td>
<td>inquisitive interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>077-3QIS</td>
<td>inquisitive interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.4</td>
<td>jā</td>
<td>078-3QIS</td>
<td>visual inquisitive interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.5</td>
<td>jnā</td>
<td>079-3QIS</td>
<td>non-visual inquisitive interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.6</td>
<td>tʰā</td>
<td>080-2/3QIS</td>
<td>attitudinal interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.7</td>
<td>nē</td>
<td>081-2/3QIS</td>
<td>attitudinal interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1</td>
<td>lō</td>
<td>082-2QYS</td>
<td>yes-no interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2</td>
<td>lā</td>
<td>083-2QYS</td>
<td>yes-no interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3</td>
<td>lē</td>
<td>084-2QYS</td>
<td>yes-no interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>jná-ā</td>
<td>085-3SMS</td>
<td>third person speaker marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>dējé</td>
<td>086-3QMS</td>
<td>third person quotation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>lē</td>
<td>087-2RS</td>
<td>reiterative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


_______ 2000. Personal communication.


