16 South-East Asia and Oceania

16.1 Apma

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Apma is an Oceanic language of the Austronesian family. It is actively spoken by 8,000 people in central Pentecost, Vanuatu, which makes it a relatively large language for this linguistically diverse country. Map 16.1.1 shows Pentecost’s location within the island nation, and Map 16.1.2 shows Apma’s place within Pentecost Island.

Map 16.1.1 Vanuatu (www.worldofmaps.net, reproduced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 licence)
1.2 Typological profile

Apma has a (Cons) Vwl (Cons) syllable structure; (usually) penultimate stress; ten vowels (five short vowels and their elongated counterparts) and seventeen consonants. Nominative–accusative relations are flagged by a fairly rigid SV/AVP constituent order. Apma sentences also grammatically encode passivisation, which is an uncommon feature amongst Oceanic languages.

Pronominal distinctions are inclusive/exclusive and singular/dual/plural; there is no gender distinction. Nouns are directly or indirectly possessed, with four indirect possession categories and an ‘associative construction’ encoding non-controlling relationships between NPs.

Apma nouns take little morphology. Some bound nouns require pronominal affixation, but most nouns are free. The class of adjectives falls into two main categories. The ‘type 1’ adjectives can take a nominalising suffix. The ‘type 2’ adjectives formally resemble verbs but, unlike verbs, have a simple morphology. The verb, with the VP that contains it, is the most morphologically complex syntactic category. It is made up of up to three phonological words: (1) an optional preverbal complex; (2) a required head; and (3) an optional postverbal complex. Each is morphologically complex. The preverbal complex contains a subject pronoun which hosts an aspect/modality marker, followed by optional morphemes, including
the clitics gam ‘minimiser (MIN)’ and mu ‘additional (ADD)’ (Section 2.2). The verb head itself takes morphology, including the partitive marker te (Section 2.3). Finally, overt direct object NPs appear within the postverbal complex and can host their own dependent morphemes.

2 Evaluative morphology

Evaluative morphology (EM) in any given language must meet certain formal and semantic conditions (Grandi 2005, 1). Crucially, it requires an identifiable form that carries one of the semantic values of BIG/SMALL/GOOD/BAD. This form must relate morphologically to a recognisable, lexically autonomous base form. Semantically, the meaning of the base changes to accommodate the addition of the evaluative form.

EM plays a small but productive role in Apma. Nouns, verbs and adjectives are reduplicated, and their formal by-products express modified concepts of either diminution/distribution, augmentation/extension or intensity (Section 2.1). The VP can optionally incorporate minimising and/or augmenting morphemes into its structure (Section 2.2). And the partitive marker, which as a clitic moves between nouns and verbs, has an evaluative function when attached to verbs (Section 2.3).

The evaluative morphemes discussed herein are non-referential. Instead, they have an attributive function whereby they signal a hyponymy relation between a base form and its derivative.

2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is a productive process used on noun, verb and adjective roots to express a variety of evaluative concepts. Except for the bound roots in Table 16.1.4, where reduplication occurs from left to right, all other roots reduplicate from right to left, and the process is bimoraic.2 That is, either two consecutive light (Cons Vwl or Vwl Cons) syllables are reduplicated, or one heavy one (Cons Vwl Cons or Cons Vwl:) is.

2.1.1 Reduplication of noun roots

Reduplication of the noun root leads to one of two semantic results. It can either augment the quantity denoted in the noun’s base form whilst leaving its size intact (BIG), or conversely, it can pluralise the base form while at the same time minimising and dispersing it (SMALL).

Bauer (1997, 545) argues that plural marking is actually not inflectional in many languages. Indeed, in Apma, reduplication is only a secondary strategy for expressing plurality. Pluralisation is instead productively encoded when nii ‘plural (PL)’ follows the noun head. In cases where the noun is both reduplicated and also followed by nii, the effect of the pluralisation seems to be more pronounced. That is, the notion of ‘plenty’ factors in, as implied by ‘many trees’ or ‘lots of wood’ in Table 16.1.1 below.

The examples listed as ‘SMALL’ in Table 16.1.1 illustrate how noun root reduplication can ‘scatter’ or disperse the noun, with the reduplicated referents being reduced in size in comparison to the base.

Tsibi~tsibikte ‘ancestors’ in Table 16.1.1 could, arguably, be viewed as a sort of attenuation/diminution on the base form, tsibikte ‘grandparent’.

2.1.2 Reduplication of verb roots

Verb root reduplication has two major functions: to augment, extend, continue or habitualise the action or event, on the basis of an objective criterial norm (BIG), or to intensify
the portrayal of the event (GOOD). Table 16.1.2 groups the verbs into the two semantic categories.

An interesting counter-example to the intensification function is mwap ‘burn’ > mwap~mwap ‘be hot’, which appears to be a deintensification.

2.1.3 Reduplication of adjective roots
Reduplication of adjectives causes their meaning to intensify; this is a reliable outcome, as shown in Table 16.1.3.

Some type 2 adjectives occur as bound roots, and reduplication proceeds from left to right, rather than vice versa (Table 16.1.4). However the semantic effect is the same.

2.1.4 Reduplication: summary
Reduplication on noun, verb and adjective roots creates evaluative meanings such as diminution/dispersal, augmentation and intensity. Other syntactic effects are plural marking on nouns, and aspectual marking on verbs. However, there are regular and productive alternatives for marking these grammatical categories, and so it reasonable to assert that the primary function of reduplication is derivational, not inflectional.

2.2 'Minimisation’/’addition’ morphemes on the verb
Two morphemes in the VP encode ‘minimisation’ (Section 2.2.1) and ‘addition’ (Section 2.2.2). They seem inflectional in that they have optional reserved slots within the
VP architecture (normally attaching to the preverbal complex, but sometimes to the verb head itself, depending upon verbal phonotactics). However, their function is derivational, being either to minimise or to augment the base meaning of the verb root. *Gam* is common and productive, while *mu* is much rarer.
Gam ‘minimiser (MIN)’

Gam (with allomorphs gam-, ga-, =gam and =ga), is a grammaticalisation of the verb gamra ‘to just do (something)’. It functions to minimise an event.

In (1), an elderly woman has just explained the intricacies of pre-Western cooking. She then contrasts this with the relative ease of using a saucepan, using gam ‘minimiser (MIN)’ (shown underlined) to emphasise her point:

(1) BAD (contempt):

Ta=t=ba=m lel-i=nga, te=gen go=ah niaha,
1PL=PFV=NEG1=ADD do-TR=NEG2 3SG.PFV=like one=PROX REL

gema ah kaamat di, bi go ah ra=t di
1PL.EXCL.INDP REL 1PL.EXCL.PFV live and one REL 3PL=PFV live

baawo, ani kaa=m=gam iusum sosban nante=ah.
before but 1PL.EXCL=IPFV=MIN use saucepan nothing=PROX
‘We don’t do it any more, like us who lived before, and those who were alive before, but we just use a saucepan, nothing more.’

Gam is also used with events that are about to occur, in order to downplay their duration or importance (2):

(2) BAD (attenuation):

Na=n=ga van ne-gil-i taro katsil, bi
1SG=IRR=MIN go LINK-dig-TR taro three and

na=n=ga mulma.
1SG=IRR=MIN come.back
‘I’ll just go and dig three taros, and then I’ll come right back.’

Gam may express a ‘near miss’; the speaker in (3) uses it to convey how the coconut crab has just beaten his competitor in a race:

(3) BAD (near miss):

Te=gam dok ne-van ut go, ba mwe=gen go=ah,
3SG.PFV=MIN stay LINK-go place other COMM 3SG.PFV=like one=PROX

wakatsiwas=ah te sadok=te.
coconut.crab=PROX 3SG.PFV sit=COMPL
‘When he got to the other place, this coconut crab was already sitting there.’ (Lit.:
'He was just going to the other place, like this, this coconut crab was already sitting there.'

Gam can also be used to express the very recent past. In (4), the speaker is correcting a talk he has just finished. Gam functions more as a tense marker here than as an evaluative morpheme:

\[(4) \text{NOT EVALUATIVE (very recent past):} \]
\[\text{Go}=\text{ah} \quad \text{nia}=\text{m}=\text{gam} \quad \text{veb} \quad \text{nehu}, \quad \text{tei} \quad \text{Liwusvet}, \]
\[\text{one}=\text{PROX} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{1SG}=\text{IPFV}=\text{MIN} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{L.} \]
\[\text{ba} \quad \text{tei} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ba}=\text{i}=\text{te} \quad \text{Liwusvet}=\text{nga}, \]
\[\text{COMM} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{3SG.PFV} \quad \text{NEG}1=\text{be}=\text{PART} \quad \text{L.}=\text{NEG}2 \]
\[\text{ani} \quad \text{tei} \quad \text{atsi}=\text{ah} \quad \text{nia}=\text{ha}, \quad \text{tei} \quad \text{no}=\text{n} \quad \text{kadadago}. \]

but FOC someone=PROX REL FOC CLF-3SG.POSS guard

‘What I was just saying, that it was Liwusvet, but it wasn’t Liwusvet, but this person was his guard.’

Example (4) demonstrates how gam ‘minimiser (MIN)’ has a spectrum of functions, some of which fall outside the scope of EM.

2.2.2 Mu ‘additional (ADD)’

Mu appends a sense of ‘addition’ to the base meaning of the verb. In (5), mu is used twice. In the first instance it relates to sak ‘go up’ to indicate additional distance, that is, ‘go up a little more’. In the second instance, mu is associated with wutihi ‘find’ to convey the meaning ‘find another’:

\[(5) \text{BIG (augmentation):} \]
\[\text{Bi} \quad \text{ra}=\text{m}=\text{ru} \quad \text{veb}, \quad \text{‘Ta}=\text{n} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ru} \quad \text{sak} \quad \text{si}, \]
\[\text{and} \quad \text{3PL}=\text{IPFV}=\text{DU} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{1PL}=\text{IRR} \quad \text{ADD}=\text{DU} \quad \text{go.up} \quad \text{a.little} \]
\[\text{na} \quad \text{bih} \quad \text{ta}=\text{n} \quad \text{mu}=\text{ru} \quad \text{wutihi} \quad \text{te}=\text{go}.’ \]
\[\text{1SG} \quad \text{IPFV}.\text{think} \quad \text{1PL.INCL}=\text{IRR} \quad \text{ADD}=\text{DU} \quad \text{find} \quad \text{PART}=\text{one} \]

‘And the two of them said, “Let’s go a little further, I think we’ll find another one.”’

Example (6) follows the preface: Once there was a man named Bulemamkan. He had ten wives. The morpheme mu ‘additional (ADD)’, which modifies the verb di ‘stay, exist’, conveys that a new character in the story ‘also exists’:

\[(6) \text{BIG (augmentation):} \]
\[\text{Tei} \quad \text{lego}, \quad \text{bi} \quad \text{atsi} \quad \text{havin} \quad \text{te}=\text{mu} \quad \text{di}, \]
\[\text{FOC} \quad \text{before} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{3SG.PFV}=\text{ADD} \quad \text{stay} \]
\[\text{ah} \quad \text{dalmwa} \quad \text{nii} \quad \text{ra}=\text{t} \quad \text{hural} \quad \text{ne-tka}-\text{i}. \]
\[\text{REL} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{3PL}=\text{PFV} \quad \text{walk} \quad \text{LINK-carry-TR} \]

‘Once there was also this woman who slept with lots of men.’

2.2.3 Gam and mu in relation to each other

Within the preverbal complex, gam and mu are ordered consecutively. Co-occurrence of the two morphemes is possible, but rare, and there appears to be no interaction between
them; each simply derives the root in its own predictable way. This is shown in (7), where each contribute its respective ‘minimising’ and ‘additional’ semantics to the meaning of the verb.

(7) BAD=BIG:

entorah niah ta=m ga=mu dahki
while REL 1PL.INCL=IPFV MIN=ADD put.salt.on
ka-da le-leut nii nong, . . .
CLF=1PL.INCL.POSS various~thing PL now
‘When we just salt our different foods again now, . . .’

2.3 Partitive te

Partitive te is a clitic that can attach to either the noun or the verb (Schneider 2008). As a nominal marker, it signifies ‘part of whole’ semantics and non-specificity/indefinite quantity in the NP. However, we are not concerned here with its syntactic function.

Partitive te also attaches to the VP. In appropriate contexts it is used as a morphosyntactic marker within the verb complex, where it changes the meaning of the base. In affirmative statements, it signifies that the action of the verb is not fully executed, or that it is carried out in an unconfident or non-rigorous manner. Pragmatically, it conveys differentiation and politeness. On the other hand, partitive marking makes negative statements stronger than they otherwise would be, and emphasises that an event is absolutely and completely unfulfilled.

Like gam ‘minimiser (MIN)’ and mu ‘additional (ADD)’, partitive te occupies an optional reserved slot within the VP. However there are periphrastic alternatives to the partitive and, on balance, its function is more derivational than inflectional.

2.3.1 Partitive marking in the affirmative

The partitive conveys a sense of ‘partial execution’ or ‘attempt’ at completing an event, whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

In (8), siba ‘peel’ acquires a sense of non-completion when partitive te is encliticised. The repetition of siba further suggests that the agent is engaged in not a single decisive action, but a series of tentative ones. The final instantiation of siba ‘peel’ is not marked for partitive, because the speaker anticipates that the action will come to an end:

(8) BAD (approximation/partial execution):

nema siba=te ba, nema siba=te ba,
3SG.PRSP peel=PART COMM 3SG.PRSP peel=PART COMM
mabonmwel, nema siba i biri bu.
M. 3SG.PRSP peel INS small knife
‘She’ll peel it, she’ll peel it, Mabonmwel, she’ll peel it with the small knife.’

In (9), an attempt to break is marked with the partitive (9a), whereas a successful execution of the verb instead takes transitive marking (9b):

(9) a. BAD (approximation/partial execution):

kaa=ga mu=bma ne-bwah=te.
Now you guys come and try to break it.

Mwa=bwah-a, ra=mwa bwah-a vet nong.

He breaks it, they break this stone.

In (10), te ‘partitive (PART)’ attaches to the verb as an indication that the activity, veb ‘talk’, may be executed less than fully:

Ani na=n veb=te nge teweb.

But 1SG=IRR talk=PART just a.little.bit
‘But I’ll just talk a little bit.’

The speaker’s pragmatic message expresses ‘negative politeness’: he wants to avoid imposing upon his listener by taking up too much time.

2.3.2 Partitive marking in the negative
While partitive in the affirmative codes an event as partially or tentatively operative, partitive marking on negated verbs has the converse effect: it suggests that the action is not somewhat, but completely, unfulfilled.

In (11) a mother, fearful for her life, is pleading with her vengeful son, swearing that she had never abandoned him. She uses te ‘partitive (PART)’ with mkoo ‘abandon’ to emphasise this fact:

Nutsu-k tewot, ko=bma, na=t ba=mkoo

child-1SG.POSS beloved 2SG=come 1SG=PFV NEG1=abandon
te=nga i kik!
PART=NEG2 IND.OBJ 2SG.OBJ
‘My beloved child, come here, I never abandoned you at all!’

The following pair of examples contrasts the unmarked non-partitive in (12a) with its more definite, fully unexecuted partitive counterpart in (12b):

a. Na=t=ba git-a=nga.

1SG=PFV=NEG1 find-TR=NEG2
‘I can’t find it (but it might be somewhere else).’

b. GOOD (intensification):

Na=t=ba gi-a te=nga.

1SG=PFV=NEG1 find-TR PART=NEG2
‘I can’t find it anywhere (and I’ve finished looking).’

3 Summary
EM has a limited but productive role in Apma. In Figure 16.1.1, the derivational semantic functions of Apma EM are mapped onto the general typological representation of
EM as presented in the introductory chapter to this volume. We can see that Apma’s BIG and SMALL categories conform to Nieuwenhuis’ proposed hierarchy for BIG (augmentatives) and SMALL (diminutives) in EM: Noun > Adjective/Verb > Adverb/Numeral/Pronoun/Interjection > Determiner (Nieuwenhuis 1985, 221, as cited by Bauer 1997, 540). For example, since verb roots take EM in Apma, then we would also expect the same from nouns (because nouns are higher on the hierarchy). This is indeed the case.

While Figure 16.1.1 presents Apma EM in absolute terms, the examples in Section 2 demonstrate that there are varying degrees of ‘goodness of fit’ within the EM paradigm. For example, noun and verb root reduplication have a partially syntactic function (pluralisation of nouns, and aspectual distinctions on verbs). The other evaluative morphemes (gam ‘minimiser (MIN)’, mu ‘additional (ADD)’ and te ‘partitive (PART)’) have optional but reserved slots within the VP. This makes them appear superficially inflectional. Yet as unique identifiable forms, all assign meaningful BIG/SMALL/GOOD/BAD values to their hosts and thus modify standard baseline meanings in (usually) predictable ways. Therefore all meet the criteria for being evaluative morphemes.

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<th>Positive</th>
<th>Descriptive perspective</th>
<th>Qualitative perspective</th>
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<td>BIG</td>
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<td>Noun root</td>
<td>Augmentation of quantity</td>
<td>Verb root reduplication</td>
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<td>Verb root</td>
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<td>reduplication</td>
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<td>VP clitic mu</td>
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<td>(PART)’ negative</td>
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<td>Negative</td>
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| Noun root         | Diminution / dispersal  | VP clitic gam ‘minimiser| Contempt/ atten-
| reduplication     |                         | (MIN)                   | uation/ near miss |
|                   |                         | VP clitic te ‘partitive |
|                   |                          | (PART)’ affirmative      |
|                   |                         | Approximation/           |
|                   |                          | partial execution/       |
|                   |                          | reduction/lower          |
|                   |                          | social position          |

Figure 16.1.1. Apma’s evaluative morphology mapped onto the typology of semantic functions
Acknowledgements

Thanks to the many Apma-speaking people of central Pentecost who worked with me between 2003 and 2006, and who provided me with the data used in this chapter.

Notes

2. Some of the data on reduplication is taken from Gray and Buletangsuu Temwakon (2012).
1 Introduction

In many European languages, ‘Chinese’ (French *chinois*, German *Chinesisch*, etc.) is commonly used to refer to Standard Mandarin Chinese (henceforth: SMC), i.e. the national language of China; in English, this variety is also referred to as ‘Mandarin’ or ‘Mandarin Chinese’. However, ‘Chinese’ could be used to refer to any language (or ‘dialect’) belonging to the Sinitic family of languages, and ‘Mandarin’ is also the name of the largest branch of Sinitic (in terms of number of speakers); thus, it may be used to indicate either SMC or Mandarin dialects as a group. In what follows, we will use the term ‘Chinese’ only when making statements about Sinitic in general or about earlier stages of development of the language; in keeping with the tradition, we shall use the term ‘dialect’ to refer to varieties other than SMC, also because, with the (partial) exception of Cantonese, they lack a standard form (i.e. they have the status of ‘dialects’ in relation to SMC). Varieties other than SMC are indicated with the name of the main centre where they are spoken, followed by the dialect group (e.g. ‘Shanghai Wu’).

Chinese, or Sinitic, is a branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family; the relation between Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman has been firmly established on the basis of shared cognates, regular sound correspondences and (reconstructed) derivational morphology (LaPolla 2001). However, Sinitic shares many prominent typological characteristics with the non-Sinitic languages of East and South-East Asia: analytic and isolating morphology, with the loss of (old) derivational processes (see Section 2), overwhelmingly monosyllabic morphemes, verb-medial word order (vs. verb-final for the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages), complex classifier and tone systems, etc. This is not wholly uniform throughout Sinitic: as may be expected, varieties to the south are closer to the ‘South-East Asian type’, with stronger isolating tendencies, whereas languages to the north resemble their Altaic neighbours to some extent, with simpler tone systems, fewer classifiers and agglutinating tendencies, and a preference for suffixation (Comrie 2008). Having evolved from Mandarin dialects, SMC is representative of the ‘Northern type’.

2 Morphology: an overview

Chinese has virtually no inflection, that is, no obligatory expression of tense, aspect, gender, case, etc., except for number in personal pronouns (SMC 我 wǒ ‘I’ vs. 我們 wǒ-men ‘we’), although this is arguably not a fully grammaticalised category in some dialects (Yue 2003).
Compounding is by far the most common word-formation process (Lin 2001), involving the combination of lexical morphemes (free and/or bound), as in SMC:

(1) a. 網球  
    *wāng-qíu*  
    net-ball  
    ‘tennis’  
  
  b. 吹風機  
    *chuī-fēng-jī*  
    blow-wind-machine  
    ‘blowdryer’  

Another morphological technique which is very common in Sinitic is reduplication, which may involve nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and classifiers. Reduplication in Sinitic has a rather broad range of meanings, both within and across dialects, including e.g. universal quantification (for classifiers), perfective aspect, repetition of action (for verbs), and many others. Many patterns of reduplication are evaluative in nature, such as Taiwanese Hakka 竜驚 *giang⁴ giang⁴* ‘somewhat afraid’, vs. 驚 *giang⁴* ‘afraid’ (Lai 2006, 491). Moreover, segmental and/or suprasegmental (tonal) changes in the lexical root may have a morphological function, but this is arguably never found in SMC.

There seems to be a general consensus on the reconstruction of a number of subsyllabic derivational affixes for Old Chinese; none of these survived into the modern dialects, albeit some vestiges may be found (e.g. in Jin dialects; Sagart 2004). The kind of morphology which flourished in the evolution of Chinese involves the agglutination of monosyllabic morphemes; since in most cases there is no formal differentiation between lexical morphemes and would-be affixes, it is unclear whether Chinese has productive derivational processes in its present historical stage. For instance, is the (SMC) morpheme 學 *xué* ‘study, -logy’ a derivational suffix in words such as:

(2) a. 動物學  
    *dōngwù-xué*  
    animal-study  
    ‘zoology’  
  
  b. 語言學  
    *yǔyán-xué*  
    language-study  
    ‘linguistics’  

given that 學 *xué* can be used as a free form, as in (3)?

(3) 我學日語  
    *wǒ xué rìyǔ*  
    1sg study Japanese  
    ‘I study Japanese’  

The issue is, needless to say, far beyond the scope of the present chapter (for an overview, see Arcodia 2012).
3 Evaluative morphology

Chinese is fairly rich in evaluative morphology, although not all such constructions are still productive. Since a thorough presentation of this domain of word formation in Sinitic languages would require a book-length study, to say the least, here we can describe in some detail only the situation of SMC, the most studied and researched variety of Chinese; data from other dialects will be also presented, but in an unsystematic fashion. We shall discuss separately concatenative and non-linear morphology, i.e. reduplication and changes in the root, namely ‘ablaut’ (segmental) and tone change (Bickel and Nichols 2007).

3.1 Evaluative affixes

Most of the oldest (syllabic) derivational affixes of Chinese seem to have been evaluative in nature (see Wang 1989, 5–14). The prefix 阿 - a- has been used at least since the fifth century CE as a marker of endearment, and may be added to single-syllable personal names and kinship terms (Lin 2001, 62):

(4) a. 阿寶  
ā-bāo  
END-Bao  
‘Bao’

b. 阿姨  
ā-yí  
END-maternal.aunt  
‘auntie’

This prefix is not used very often in SMC, and it is more common in Southern dialects (Wang 1989). In Hong Kong Cantonese, it is normally prefixed to first names, kinship terms (for elder relatives) and surnames (Matthews and Yip 2011, 429):

(5) a. 阿陳  
a-Chán  
END-Chan  
‘Mr Chan’

b. 阿黃  
a-Wóng  
END-Wong  
‘Mr Wong’

Note that, when prefixed with 阿 - a-, surnames undergo tone change (e.g. Wòhng > Wóng).

The prefix 老 - láo- ‘old’ also has a very long history, as it has been in use since the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE), attaching to personal names, kinship terms and names of animals:

(6) a. 老王  
lǎo-Wáng  
old-Wong  
‘old Wang’
b. 老兄
lǎo-xiōng
old-elder.brother
‘brother, old chap’
c. 老虎
lǎo-hú
old-tiger
‘tiger’

At present, the only productive usage of 老- lǎo- is the first one, in which the prefix is added to surnames to convey ‘a vague sense of seniority, familiarity, affection or colloquialism’ (Lin 2001, 61); the other cases exemplified here are now fully lexicalised. Chinese also makes use of a prefix 小- xiǎo- ‘young, small’, which is also attached to personal names:

(7) 小李
xiǎo-Lǐ
young-Li
‘young Li’

Needless to say, this is a less respectful form of address than 老- lǎo- (Li and Thompson 1981, 37).

Two suffixes which certainly deserve to be mentioned here are -子 -zì and -儿 -r. The morpheme 子 zì, bearing the third tone in SMC, has a broad range of meanings, including ‘child’, ‘son’, ‘seed’, etc.; it is found in complex words such as:

(8) 子女
zǐ-nǚ
son-daughter
‘sons and daughters’

In its use as a bound right-hand constituent, however, it is toneless (i.e. in the neutral tone):

(9) 例子
lì-zǐ
example
‘example’

Thus, it is one of the very few cases in which affixal status may be argued for (also) on the basis of formal criteria, namely fixed position, bound status and phonetic (suprasegmental) reduction. In its modern usage, -子 -zì is generally considered to be a ‘dummy affix’ (Lin 2001, 81), which adds no lexical meaning to the morpheme it attaches to, as appears to be the case in the examples provided above. However, -子-zì originally also had a diminutive value, which is still apparent in a few modern words such as 刀子 dāozi ‘small knife, pocketknife’ (and 大刀子 dà dāozi ‘big (small) knife’ would sound odd; Pan, Ye and Han 2004, 88). Although -子-zì derived words are commonly encountered in SMC, from the synchronic point of view this suffix has, at best, very limited productivity (see Nishimoto 2003).
The suffix -児 -r also derives from a noun ‘child’ (SMC ér), arguably the commonest source for diminutives cross-linguistically (Jurafsky 1996), and is the only non-syllabic affix of SMC, thus numbering also among the handful of affixes which may be identified on formal criteria. This suffix can already be found in sixth-century texts, in which it is used to form nicknames; this is argued to be the basis on which it developed its diminutive usage (Wang 1989, 12). Nowadays, -児 -r is still fairly productive; the original diminutive meaning, with a sense of endearment, is preserved more often for words derived with -児 -r than for those derived with -仔 -zi; compare:

(10) 老頭兒
lǎo-tou-r
old-NMLS-END
‘old man’

(11) 老頭子
lǎo-tóu-zi
old-NMLS-PEJ
‘old fogey/codger’

Note also that many words derived with -仔 -zi and -児 -r which have at present no connection with evaluative (diminutive/endearment) meaning seem to be the product of the typical semantic extensions of CHILD diminutives (Cominetti 2010).5

The use of -児 -r can also be found outside the Mandarin group. In Wenzhou Wu it can convey smallness and endearment, but also pejorative meaning (Zhengzhang 2008, 127–36); thus, its evaluative meaning is much more evident than in SMC. In Central and Southern dialects, cognates of -児 -r are not very common, but there are other suffixes deriving from a noun ‘child/son’, as Hong Kong Cantonese -仔 -jái, Leizhou Southern Min -仔 -kia42 or Changsha Xiang -崽 -tsai41 (Wu 2005, 10, 88):

(12) 書仔
syū-jái
book-DIM
‘booklet’ (Matthews and Yip 2011, 46)

(13) 樹仔
ts’iu33-kia42
tree-DIM
‘small tree’ (Cai 1993, 120)

Again, for these morphs the evaluative flavour is stronger. Leizhou Southern Min -仔 -kia42 is particularly interesting, as it can also be attached to verbs, to indicate short duration of action, and in this usage it loses its tone:

(14) 鼻仔
pi34-kia
smell-ATT
‘smell a bit’ (Cai 1993, 122).
3.2 Non-linear evaluative morphology: reduplication, ablaut, tone change

Reduplication of nouns is not productive in SMC, being limited to a few items, yielding meanings in the area of universal quantification:

(15) 人人
ren-ren
person-person
‘everyone’

Most common kinship terms are reduplicated forms, such as 姐姐 jiě-jie ‘elder sister’, 哥哥 gē-ge ‘elder brother’; these are fully lexicalised (note the neutral tone of the second syllable), and probably originate from child language (Ōta 1987). Note that Chinese parents often address their children with a reduplicated form of (the last syllable of) their name, as e.g. 亮亮 liàng-liàng ‘Liang’, arguably yielding endearment (Lin 2001, 71–2; cf. 娃娃 wá-wa ‘child-child = baby, doll’). This kind of (weakly) diminutive/endearment reduplication is also found in child language and baby talk in Hong Kong Cantonese (Matthews and Yip 2011). In Shanghai Wu, both diminutive and universal quantification reduplication of nouns are found (Zhu 2006, 58):

(16) 花花
hù-hù
flower-flower
‘small flower’

(17) 家家
kà-kà
family-family
‘every family’.

Reduplication of adjectives typically conveys vividness and/or intensification, as in SMC 高高 gāo-gāo ‘(very) tall’. In Taiwanese Southern Min, monosyllabic adjectives are reduplicated for attenuation, whereas they are triplicated for vividness/intensification (Tsao 2004, 287):

(18) 紅紅
âng-âng
red-red
‘reddish’

(19) 紅紅紅
âng-âng-âng
red-red-red
‘red’ (vivid description; cf. the Hakka example in Section 2).

For disyllabic adjectives, ‘diminishing’ reduplication takes the form ABAB, whereas ‘increasing’ reduplication is AABB (Tsao 2004, 296–7):
There are many functions for verbal reduplication, as hinted above. As to evaluative meaning, in many (if not most) varieties the reduplication of verbs indicates the so-called ‘delimitative aspect’, i.e. ‘doing an action “a little bit”, or for a short period of time’ (Li and Thompson 1981, 232):

(22) 看看
kàn-kan
‘have a look’ (SMC)

(23) 幫助幫助
pòngzu-pòngzu
‘help (a bit)’ (Shanghai Wu; Zhu 2006, 86)

However, when a compound verb made of coordinate constituents is reduplicated, it generally follows the AABB pattern and indicates intensification/iteration, just as seen above for adjectives, rather than attenuation, as e.g. in SMC:

(24) 跑跑跳跳
pǎo-pǎo-tiào-tiào
‘run about, run and jump in a vivacious way’

Evaluative meaning may also be expressed through modifications in the lexical morpheme, either at the segmental level (ablaut), at the suprasegmental level (tone change) or both, although this is not found in SMC. In Xinyi Cantonese, for instance, the diminutive form of nouns is built by adding a nasal coda and raising the pitch at the end of the tonal contour (Luo 1987, 200–1; tone values after the change are not indicated in the source):

(25) a. 豬
tsy⁵³
‘(big) pig’

b. tsyn
‘small pig’

Note that here the ‘base’ form indicates not normal size, but BIG; with terms of address, the base form indicates someone who belongs to the elder generation, whereas the ‘changed’
form is used with someone who belongs to the younger generation. This pattern of ablaut/tone change has a fairly consistent SMALL meaning for most word classes in Xinyi (Luo 1987, 203–9):

(26) a. 食飯
sek22-fan¹¹
eat-rice
‘eat’
b. seŋ-fan¹¹
eat ATT-rice
‘eat a bit’

(27) a. 讀多書
tok22 tɔ53 sy53
read more book
‘read more books’
b. tok22 tɔn sy53
read more ATT book
‘read a bit more books’

(28) a. 有時讀書
jʊu22 si²³ tok²² sy53
sometimes read book
‘read books sometimes’
b. jʊu22 sin tok²² sy53
sometimes ATT read book
‘read books occasionally, sporadically’

4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shown that modern Sinitic languages are quite rich in evaluative morphology, both concatenative and non-linear, although this may be not so evident if only SMC is considered. As to the semantic domains of evaluative morphology, SMALL appears to be by far the most developed; note that, while the development MOTHER > AUG is very widespread in East and South-East Asia, it is probably absent in Sinitic (cf. Matisoff 1992). It seems that SMALL is most often associated with GOOD, whereas pejorative meaning is not very common.

Notes

1. Here ‘China’ is meant to include both the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China (Taiwan), which are de facto controlled by different governments. SMC is also a co-official language of the Republic of Singapore.
2. Traditional Chinese characters have been used as a default throughout the chapter. We did not add characters when the source did not provide them. The Pinyin system is used for the transliteration of SMC; for all other varieties, we use the transcriptions provided by the sources. Tones are indicated either as diacritics or as superscript numbers, depending on the romanisation system.
3. ‘Taiwanese Hakka’ is used here loosely as a cover term for the Hakka dialects spoken in Taiwan. The transcription of this example represents the Siyen (四縣, SMC Sìxiàn) variety.

4. In the broadest sense, the language from the earliest written records until the third century CE.

5. In Beijing casual speech, -兒 -r is also sometimes used just as a substitute for other syllables, as in 今兒 jīnr for 今天 jīntiān ‘today’.

6. Note that, whereas adjectival reduplication and the reduplication of coordinated verbs are morphological in nature, other patterns of verb reduplication could also be understood as syntactic phenomena, given e.g. that aspect particles may appear between base and reduplicant.

7. Note, however, that in SMC if -兒 -r is added to a closed syllable, the coda is replaced by -兒 -r, as e.g. in 熊 xiōng [çyŋ] ‘bear’ > 熊兒 xiōngr [çyə̃r] (Sun 2006, 38).
16.3 Lisu

David Bradley

1 Introduction

Lisu (ISO 639–3 lis) is spoken by over a million people in south-western China, north-eastern Burma/Myanmar, northern Thailand and north-eastern India. Like most other Tibeto-Burman languages, it is verb-final with mainly postposed marking; for more information, see Bradley (2003; forthcoming). Like all other Burmic languages, it has no verbal person or number agreement morphology; tense–aspect, modality, epistemicity and so on are marked by various postverbal elements. All of these apart from a few clause-final markers are phonologically independent words; modals are also syntactically independent words. The only pre-head verbal elements are negation markers. Nominal case marking is also post-head; core case marking is noun phrase final, non-obligatory and fairly infrequent. There is also no number marking on any Lisu nominal forms, other than second and third person animate pronouns, which may have the plural suffix -wà. Lisu forms are cited in a transcription reflecting the orthography, which represents a central dialect; other dialects have slightly different forms, but exactly the same structures for nominal diminutive and augmentative suffixes; there are also deverbal stative verb diminutives and augmentatives used as postnominal modifiers, and diminutive, augmentative and intensifier adverbial nominals which precede the verb. All Lisu examples are cited from a corpus of narrative, conversational and ritual texts, representing the three main dialects.

2 Nominal suffixes

Lisu diminutive and augmentative nominal forms have a suffix on the head of the nominal nucleus. Other elements (demonstrative, numeral plus classifier, case marker, topic marker) may follow within the noun phrase. The nominal diminutive suffix is -zà, which is identical to the nominal stem meaning ‘son/child’. The nominal augmentative suffix is -dà mga, which is a bound nominal suffix meaning ‘a big one’; there is a homophonous verb dà ‘fetch water’, and amg is a verb nominaliser suffix, but there is no obvious semantic connection between fetching water and being big, and there is no medial a in the augmentative suffix.

Most nominal stems have one syllable, but most nominal nuclei have two or sometimes three or more syllables (see examples below); thus most nominal nucleus forms are compounds. Some nominal stems are bound; there are many bound nominal forms which occur only in the second slot in a compound noun, some which occur only in the first slot in a compound noun, and a few which may occur in both. Many nominal heads with a
bound lexical second element contain a dummy first syllable. There is a very frequent but non-productive first syllable *a* with various tones conditioned by the tone of the following syllable, as seen in ascending generation kin terms like *a pa* ‘grandfather’, in animal and vegetable terms such as *a gu* ‘dove’ and *a pu* ‘cucumber’; in question words such as *a li* ‘which?’ and grammaticalised question words derived form stative verbs such as *a mjá* ‘how many?’ from the verb *mjá* ‘many’; in temporal nominals such as *a so* ‘a short time ago’ as well as in the diminutive, augmentative and intensifier adverbial nominals discussed below; and in many other very frequent nouns such as *a ðá* ‘knife’; for examples in Southern Lisu, see Bradley et al. (2006, 322–39), and in Northern Lisu, see Bradley (1994, 1–11). The other very frequent and completely productive Lisu nominal prefix is *jí* (Northern dialect é, Southern dialect í); this occurs before almost any bound nominal stem; a bound nominal stem which occurs in second position may occur as an independent head noun, with this prefix as the first syllable, as in *ji dzi* ‘tree, stem’; otherwise such bound nominal head stems occur after a bound lexical form such as *tô-‘pine’ as in *tò dzi* ‘pine tree’; the bound forms such as *tô- and -dzi* do not occur independently.3 There is a further slot in the head nominal for a stative verb modifier, following the nominal elements, such as *lǽ* ‘unmarried’, *mò* ‘old’ and *ne* ‘black’, as in *zà miu lé* ‘unmarried daughter’, *xo sà mò* ‘old Buddhist monk’ and *a gi ne* ‘black dove’, resulting in a three-syllable head noun. As discussed below, the stative verbs *wi* ‘big’ and *zà* ‘small’ may occur with augmentative and diminutive meanings in this slot. The stative verb diminutive or augmentative modifier does not occur followed by a nominal diminutive or augmentative suffix; *NP -wù dàma* and *NP -zà* are ungrammatical; however, the reverse order -zà -wù does occur, as seen in (3c) below; but -dà mg -wi is unattested.

The nominal stem *zà* is extremely frequent as a head noun, and occurs very frequently as the first syllable in two-syllable compounds such as *zà ng* ‘child’, *zà miu* ‘daughter’ and *zà miu* ‘wife’; and less often as the second element in two-syllable compounds as in *sà zà* ‘son of a sibling of opposite gender from ego’, as well as in initial and final slots in longer compound forms such as *zà miu zà* ‘woman’. In song language, it may also occur as a single syllable nominal form. Its core meaning is ‘son’, also extended to ‘child’. This stem may occur with the prefix *ji-* in the meaning ‘son/child’. The formative prefix *ji-* is homophonous with the third person animate pronoun, so a form such as *jí dzi* can also mean ‘his or her tree’, and likewise *jí zà* can also mean ‘his or her son/child’. A bound nominal stem may occur with any preceding pronoun as a possessive; this pronoun provides the first nominal element in a compound form, as in *nyà zà* ‘my son/child’ (lit. ‘I son/child’).

The form *zà* is also extended to refer to groups of humans of both genders, or to humanity in general. It may appear as a final syllable in a nominal compound, as in *ts₇o pá zà* ‘man’, or ‘woman’ as seen above; *ts₇o* ‘person’ is a bound form like *zà* which may occur first or second in a two-syllable nominal form, as in *là ts₇o* ‘people’, *ts₇o* *mò* ‘elders’ and so on; *pá* is the less frequent of two male suffixes. The extended-meaning *zà* is also found as the first and third or second and fourth syllables in four-syllable compounds such as *zà gli zà na* ‘sibling children’; *gli* here is a bound form usually used as the classifier for groups of siblings (Bradley 2001); and *ts₇o* *zà wá zà* ‘people, humanity’; here *wá* is a bound form in words for groups of humans, also seen as the plural suffix on second and third person pronouns and as the numeral classifier for humans in Southern Lisu and in some subdialects of Central Lisu.

The use of this nominal stem as a diminutive suffix -zà is quite frequent and very productive; almost any nominal form can have it added, typically producing a nominal head with three syllables such as *a ðá zà* ‘small knife’. In the Southern dialect, the diminutive can also have the reduced form ā or ē, but speakers still regard these as derived from zà, and literate
Lisu speakers will usually write it this way, even if they pronounce it as à or ã. Some bound nominal stems occur only with a following -zà diminutive suffix, as in te ho -zà ‘string/thread’. In addition, there are a few verbs which have diminutive -zà as a second syllable, such as ò o -zà ‘to pity’, but the vast majority of verbs are one syllable and cannot occur with a following -zà.

(1) a. á ʃɨ jì -zà ɲa la ɓe -a? what day DIM be come say Q
   ‘What little day did you say has come?’

b. á tì ʨi -zà ʨɔo je læ.
   a. bit thread DIM turn away urge
   ‘Please let’s turn the thread away.’

c. bjà ɡa òo -zà lè ɓe -a lo.
   bee chase pity DIM entirely say DECL true
   ‘(We) truly say that we really pity those who chase bees.’

By contrast, the augmentative -dà ma is bound and may only occur in the last slot in the nominal head, and must either follow a lexical head nominal, typically of two or more syllables, or the formative dummy prefix ji-. It is somewhat less frequent than the diminutive use of -zà, but is completely productive. The form jì dà ma may have its expected meaning ‘a big one’, but is much more often lexicalised to mean ‘God’ (a traditional sky god, also an alternative term for the Christian God) as in (2b).

(2) a. là ma -dà ma tho ɱa tɛ a ɿ ɲa guu ɿu ti ḳo.
   tiger AUG this NMLS OBJ how be also take cause FUT
   ‘This is how (we) will get this big tiger caught.’

b. ʐɔ jì -dà ma by tu læ.
   we NMLS AUG roar stand urge
   ‘Let’s roar out and stand up for God.’

3 Stative verb modifiers

Lisu also uses its dimensional stative verb wù ‘big’ as an augmentative and õ ‘small’ as a diminutive, using the same structure as for other combinations of noun plus stative verb modifier; these compounds may also have the more specific meaning ‘eldest’ and ‘young-est’, especially when following a kinship term. The verbal forms may also be reduplicated to produce an adverbial form; the verbal form wù occurs too as a nominal classifier in the meaning ‘a big one’ after a numeral, and there is a bound nominal form -wù ‘size’ derived from it. Compared to -dà ma, the augmentative use of the verb -wù is somewhat more frequent, especially in song language; however, the diminutive -zà is much more frequent than the modifier use of the verb - õ as a diminutive. Example (3c) shows the possible combination of -zà - õ.

(3) a. mỳ -wù mà -dʒ o -ʃi mà -dʒ o.
   country AUG NEG exist thing NEG exist
   ‘There is nothing that the big country does not have.’
b. bjà -ʐə we -ʐə xwā -a.
bee DIM guest son speak DECL
‘The small bee speaks to the guests.’

c. teʰi bu -dà ma teʰi bu -ʐə kwā -bə ŋa -à mi.
banjo AUG banjo DIM small LOC ABL be but
‘However, it is from big banjos and small banjos.’

It is possible that a stylistic preference for parallelism in structure may be a factor in why (3c) is possible; this has a pair of four-syllable nominals, rather than one with three and one with four syllables.

4 Adverbial nominals

To express augmentation or diminution of verbal state or action, an adverbial nominal derived from forms nominalised by the prefix a- (discussed above) is used. The augmentative is á mjà ‘very, a lot’ and the diminutive is á ti ‘a bit’; these normally occur immediately preceding the negative (if any) and then the verb. They are a separate constituent forming a separate word, and are thus unlike verbal constituents which follow the verb. The augmentative is derived from the very frequent dimensional stative verb mjà ‘many’ with the nominalising prefix a and followed by a fused extra syllable á; there is also a very frequent deverbal bound nominal form -mjà ‘quantity’; for discussion of grammaticalisation of this and other similar dimensional stative verbs such as wù ‘big’ in Lisu and related languages, see Bradley (1995). The diminutive has the prefix a plus the bound stative verb form -tì ‘sole, only’, the latter developed from the numeral tʰi ‘one’ by the addition of a prefix which deaspirates the initial and changes the tone; while this does not occur as an independent verb, it is fairly frequent as a postnominal modifier; it also occurs as a pre-numeral modifier meaning ‘another’ and as the numeral ‘one’ when added to a round number, as in tsʰi tì ‘eleven’ (lit. ‘ten one’). The diminutive á tì very frequently carries a bleached meaning of politeness rather than its core meaning of ‘a bit’, especially in imperatives; when it has this bleached meaning, its syntactic position is less fixed and it may occur closer to the beginning of the clause, preceding various other nominal elements. See (1b) above for an example of á tì in sentence-initial position indicating politeness. The adverbial form á tì may be followed by the nominal diminutive -ʐə as in (4b), which further mitigates it. However, á mjà dà ma does not occur.

(4) a. nu á tì lé tʰà- eő ŋa.
you a.bit only NEG.IMP touch be
‘Don’t touch it at all!’

b. á tì -ʐə gò le ŋa yà kwà tʂ -o.
a.bit DIM twist change COND rock LOC jump PST
‘When (it) twisted a little bit, (he) jumped on the rock.’

c. á mjà kà kr ŋo.
a.lot stab PRF FUT
‘(He) will have stabbed (him) many times.’
There is also an extremely frequent general intensifier form à kʰɯ̀ːr: it occurs seventy-two times in the corpus, much more frequently than à tí and à mjá. This is derived from the a-prefix plus the verb kʰɯ̀ːr ‘exceed/go beyond’. Like à mjá and à tí, this normally occurs in an immediately preverbal slot; a clause may only contain one of these three adverbial nominal forms, i.e. they do not co-occur.

(5) á mò à kʰɯ̀ dzɤ̀ xa ši.
  horse INT ride good thing
  ‘The horse is a very good thing to ride.’

5 Conclusion

Table 16.3.1 shows the overall frequency of diminutive and augmentative forms as a proportion of all tokens of the identical forms in the corpus.

As Table 16.3.1 shows, postnominal modifier use of stative verbs wù and ɀo as diminutive or augmentative is more frequent than their use as main verbs, while nominal use of zà is much more frequent than its use as a diminutive. By far the most frequent use of the syllable [ɀo] is as the classifier for humans, perhaps derived from the verbal form.

As we have seen, the diminutive and augmentative nominal suffix forms of Lisu are asymmetrical: though both are bound suffixes, they have a different number of syllables, and their syntactic status is different: -dà ma only occurs bound as an augmentative, while the diminutive -zà is much more frequent in its nominal head use, and has many extended nominal uses, and the augmentative has no current nominal or verbal source and no other uses. It appears that the development of these two Lisu suffixes is a recent phenomenon. The diminutive follows a widespread semantic pathway by grammaticalising a form for ‘son’; but closely related languages such as Lahu and Burmese grammaticalise different forms.6

Lisu productively adds stative verbs as postnominal modifiers; this includes the stative verb for ‘big’ in augmentative and other meanings, and the stative verb for ‘small’ in diminutive and other meanings; this is parallel to many other stative verbs which are productively used in the same way.

While there is no derivational morphology for indicating augmentation or diminution of state or action attached to verbs in Lisu, there are of course separate adverbial forms which can express this meaning; these precede the verb. In Lisu, these adverbials are a sub-class of nominals, and are derived by prefixing a nominal prefix a- to the source form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIM/AUG</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>% DIM/AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-zà</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>189 ‘son/child’</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dà ma</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ɀo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4 ‘small’</td>
<td>-ɀo ‘human CLF’</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wù</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29 ‘big’</td>
<td>1 CLF ‘a big one’</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à tí</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-tí ‘sole/only’</td>
<td>Tì numeral</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à mjá</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-mjá ‘quantity’</td>
<td>mjá ‘many’</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes

1. The transcription used here represents tones with superscript diacritics: acute accent for a high tone, grave accent for a low tone, haček for a rising tone and mid tone unmarked, as in Bradley with Hope, Fish and Bradley (2006). The mid and low tone both occur either with creaky phonation or with normal phonation; creaky phonation is indicated by underlining the vowel, while normal phonation is unmarked.

2. Note that Lisu and all other related and most unrelated languages in East and mainland South-East Asia have no adjective form class; adjectival meanings are expressed by stative verbs which function syntactically like other verbs.

3. Many stative and some other verbs can also be nominalised into abstract nouns by adding the same prefix: ji ng ‘blackness’ from ng ‘black’, ji dzl ‘a rule’ from dzl ‘to rule’, and so on.

4. Song language is stylistically archaic, and is composed of pairs of syntactically parallel seven-syllable lines of four syllables plus three syllables; the length and structural restrictions on lines in song language mean that nominal forms are often shorter than in spoken language.

5. The Southern Lisu form is /à mjáà/.

6. Lahu grammaticalises è ‘baby’ into a diminutive, while Burmese grammaticalises kh alè ‘child’.
16.4 Muna
René van den Berg

1 Introduction
The Muna language (ISO 639–3 code mnb) is spoken on the island of Muna and some smaller neighbouring islands in the province of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, by an estimated 300,000 speakers. Muna is an Austronesian language belonging to the Celebic macro-group within Western Malayo-Polynesian (Mead 2003). Major publications relating to Muna are van den Berg (1989; 2004) and van den Berg with La Ode Sidu (1996). All Muna words in this chapter are written in the standard orthography.

Muna morphology is mostly agglutinative with a rich and diverse array of forms. Prefixation and suffixation are prevalent, but there is also infixation, circumfixation, reduplication (with three subtypes: partial, full and supernumerary), and various combinations of these categories. Less common are compounding, incorporation and abbreviation.

The major word classes are verbs and nouns, both of which have extensive morphological possibilities, especially verbs. Verbs are classified into three declension classes (a-, ae- and ao-class, based on the 1sg subject form) and are inflected for subject, direct object and indirect object. In addition, verbs are morphosyntactically grouped into a further three classes: stative (corresponding to adjectives), dynamic (intransitive) and transitive. Closed classes, most of which have few morphological possibilities, are pronouns, numerals and classifiers, quantifiers, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections.

Inflectional morphology centres on four person–number sets: subject prefixes, direct object suffixes, indirect object suffixes and possessor/agent suffixes (on nouns and on passive participles). TMA morphology is limited to irrealis -um-, perfective -mo and reduplication for continuous action. Verbal derivational morphology is broad, including a variety of valency-changing affixes (among others causative fo-, and feka-, reciprocal po-, detransitivising fo-, applicative -ghoo, transitivising -Ci, requestive fe-, accidental passive ti-) and nominalisations (ka-, -ha, as well as the circumfix ka- . . . -ha). Many affixes, however, appear to be category-neutral vis-à-vis the inflection/derivation distinction, such as ta- ‘only’, -e ‘vocative’, pe- ‘approximately’ and paka- ‘when first’.

2 Evaluative categories
Muna has a relatively rich saturation of evaluative morphology, covering diminution, contempt, approximation, attenuation and intensification. Most of these function productively in the language.

In the following subsections each of these five evaluative categories and their
morphological exponents are dealt with in detail. Phonology does not seem to play an independent role in evaluative morphology, and so the emphasis will be on formal expression and semantics.

2.1 Diminution

The combination of the prefix \textit{ka}- and full reduplication (defined as disyllabic and prefixing) on a nominal base normally indicates diminution. Examples are shown in Table 16.4.1.

A number of points should be noted about this formation. Firstly, what counts as a ‘small’ token of a particular entity is of course subject to cultural and personal norms. For example, since Muna is relatively flat with only low hills, any elevation in the landscape may count as a \textit{ka-kabha-kabhawo} ‘hill’. Secondly, many formations have developed specific lexicalised meanings. Examples include \textit{ina} ‘mother’ > \textit{ka-ina-ina} ‘foster mother, wet nurse’; \textit{lima} ‘hand, arm’ > \textit{ka-lima-lima} (i) ‘handrail’, (ii) ‘pickpocket’, and \textit{mata} ‘eye’ > \textit{ka-mata-mata} ‘kind of edible shellfish’. In some of these cases a diminutive meaning is still available given the right context. For instance, when admiring a newborn baby, one could comment on its \textit{ka-lima-lima} ‘little hands’ and \textit{ka-mata-mata} ‘little eyes’, overriding their more usual lexicalised meanings. Thirdly, diminutive formation appears to be mainly productive on nouns referring to concrete, specific and tangible entities. Generic nouns such as \textit{kalalambu} ‘toy’ and \textit{kadadi} ‘animal’ do not take the diminutive, and neither do natural objects such as \textit{gholeo} ‘sun’, \textit{wula} ‘moon’, \textit{kawea} ‘wind’ and \textit{ifi} ‘fire’.

2.2 Contempt

The combination of the prefix \textit{ka}- and full reduplication on a nominal base may also indicate contempt, but this is a marginal procedure, limited to two elicited examples (discovered while investigating diminution): \textit{guru} ‘teacher’ > \textit{ka-guru-guru} ‘non-professional teacher, poorly performing teacher’ and \textit{pahulo} ‘hunter’ > \textit{ka-pahu-pahulo} ‘poorly performing hunter’. In both cases the formation is applied to a noun referring to a profession, indicating a lack of ability and conveying contempt.

2.3 Approximation

Various morphological procedures exist in Muna to signal approximation. The target of the approximation is either a stative verb (translated as an adjective) or a numeral phrase.

Table 16.4.1. Diminution in Muna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>golu</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>\textit{ka-golu-golu}</td>
<td>small ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabhawo</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>\textit{ka-kabha-kabhawo}</td>
<td>small mountain, hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabhera</td>
<td>piece (cut off)</td>
<td>\textit{ka-kabhe-kabhera}</td>
<td>small piece (cut off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kontu</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>\textit{ka-kontu-kontu}</td>
<td>small stone, pebble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lia</td>
<td>cave, hole</td>
<td>\textit{ka-lia-lia}</td>
<td>small cave, small hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raha</td>
<td>platform (for drying)</td>
<td>\textit{ka-raha-raha}</td>
<td>small platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohhine</td>
<td>woman, female</td>
<td>\textit{ka-rohhi-rohhine}</td>
<td>small (and young) female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>tree, stick</td>
<td>\textit{ka-sau-sau}</td>
<td>small tree, small stick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The combination of the prefix \textit{mba-} and full reduplication on a stative verbal base carries an approximative meaning, indicating that a certain degree of the state of affairs holds, but that it cannot be properly called that state. English equivalents are ‘somewhat’, ‘rather’, ‘quite’ and ‘–ish’. Table 16.4.2 shows several examples of this productive process. (The prefix \textit{no-} marks 3rd person singular realis subject.)

In some people’s speech \textit{mba-} is in free variation with \textit{ma-}. This \textit{ma-} is also the allomorph found when the stative verbal base contains a prenasalised consonant: \textit{mpona} ‘long (of time)’ \textit{no- \textit{ma-} mpona} ‘rather long (of time)’. An example of this formation in a clause is shown in (1):

\begin{verbatim}
(1) Do-po-kapi-kapihi welo daoa no-mba-hali-hali rampano
1/3PL.R-RECP-RDP-search in market 3SG.R-APPROX-RDP-difficult because
no-bhari mie.
3SG.R-many person
‘Looking for each other in the market is rather difficult because there are so many people.’
\end{verbatim}

\subsection{2.3.2 \textit{ka-} + reduplication}

A second avenue to expressing approximation is by combining the prefix \textit{ka-} with full reduplication. This procedure is limited to fewer than ten stative verbs, some of which are shown in Table 16.4.3.

Approximation with \textit{ka-} appears to be limited to stative verbs referring to notions with a negative or undesirable meaning component. With many neutral or positive stative verbs, this formation is impossible: \textit{bhal} ‘big’ (*\textit{no-ka-bhal}bhal), \textit{rubu} ‘small’, \textit{maho} ‘near’, \textit{kesa} ‘beautiful’, but also the inherently negative \textit{dai} ‘broken; ugly’. On the basis of \textit{kadoho} ‘far’, both \textit{no-ka-kodo-kodo} and \textit{no-mba-kodo-kodo} are possible, both meaning

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Approximation with \textit{mba-} in Muna}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Base form & Meaning & Reduplicated form & Meaning \\
\hline
dea & red & \textit{no-mba-dea-dea} & it is rather red, it is reddish \\
hali & difficult & \textit{no-mba-hali-hali} & it is rather difficult \\
lalesa & wide & \textit{no-mba-lale-lalesa} & it is rather wide \\
nifi & thin & \textit{no-mba-nifi-nifi} & it is rather thin \\
taa & good & \textit{no-mba-taa-taa} & it is rather good, it is OK \\
wanta & long & \textit{no-mba-wanta-wanta} & it is rather long \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Approximation with \textit{ka-} in Muna}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Base form & Meaning & Reduplicated form & Meaning \\
\hline
\textit{kodo}ho & far & \textit{no-ka-kodo-kodo} & rather far \\
lolu & stupid & \textit{no-ka-lolu-lolu} & rather stupid \\
lui & tough & \textit{no-ka-lui-lui} & rather tough \\
luntu & slow & \textit{no-ka-luntu-luntu} & rather slow \\
lungke & deaf & \textit{no-ka-lungke-lungke} & rather deaf \\
lungbu & fat & \textit{no-ka-lungbu-lungbu} & rather fat \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
‘rather far’, without any clear difference in meaning. The negative meaning overtones of 
*ka* could be related to various other *ka* + reduplication derivations referring to negative or 
undesirable character traits. In most cases the simple base does not exist. Examples include 
*no-ka-dhoro-dhoro* ‘unmannered, arrogant’ (*dhoro*); *no-ka-hao-hao* ‘greedy’ (*hao) and 
*no-ka-duso-duso* ‘hasty, reckless’ (*duso*).

Three stative verbs referring to taste sensations display the unusual feature of (optional) 
initial consonant apheresis, as shown in Table 16.4.4.

### 2.3.3 -hi

The suffix *-hi* is a multi-purpose affix. In addition to indicating plurality and diversity on nouns 
and verbs, it may also signal that the state or event is part of a larger series or that the action 
was done at leisure, without specific purpose. For example, *do-fumaa-hi* (*3PL.R-eat-PLUR*) may 
mean (i) ‘they all eat’, (ii) ‘they eat (among other things)’ and (iii) ‘they eat (at their leisure)’.

With a few stative verbs, it appears that *-hi* may also have an approximating meaning, as 
in *ne-taa-hi* ‘it is rather good, it is OK’ (from *taa* ‘good’) and *no-rubu-hi* ‘it is rather small’ 
(from *rubu* ‘small’). Since the ‘part of a larger series’ meaning appears to be the most 
accessible, some language consultants do not accept the meaning ‘rather’ in these cases, 
and most textual examples are in fact ambiguous. For example, a bird is described as 
*ne-ngkonu-hi parewa-no* (*3SG.R-round-PLUR body-3SG.Poss*), which is either ‘its body is rather 
round’ or ‘its body is round (among other things)’, in the context of a longer description. 
The use of *mba* + reduplication would disambiguate in this case.

### 2.3.4 sa- . . . ha-no

A rather special formation on the basis of stative verbs is the combination of the prefix *sa-* 
and the suffix *-ha*, followed by a possessive suffix, which is almost always 3SG-*no*, though 
other person–number combinations are also possible. Allomorphs of *sa-* are *sae-* (with *ae-*verbs) and *sao-* (with *ao-*verbs). The resulting formation is not so much an approximation, 
but rather means that a state $X$ has been reached to a minimal degree in the perception of 
the speaker. English translation equivalents are ‘only just $X$’, ‘just $X$ enough’, ‘(just) barely $X$’, ‘just about $X$’, ‘not really $X$’, ‘almost not $X$’. Table 16.4.5 illustrates some examples. 
The following show clausal examples:

(2) \[ \text{Tee aini sao-meko-ha-no.} \] 
\[ \text{tea this MINIMAL-sweet-DEGREE-3SG.Poss} \]
\[ \text{‘This tea is barely sweet enough.’} \]

(3) \[ \text{Ne-fanahi oe sao-pana-ha-no.} \] 
\[ \text{3SG.R-heat water MINIMAL-hot-DEGREE-3SG.Poss} \]
\[ \text{‘She heated the water until it was just about hot (but not boiling).’} \]
No-ghuse sao-bhie-ha-no.
3SG.R-rain MINIMAL-heavy-DEGREE-3SG.POSS
‘It is raining, but not really that heavy.’ (Lit. ‘It rains just about heavy.’)

It seems helpful to think of this construction in terms of grading along a scale of 1–10, where 5 is a fail and 6 a pass. If a cup of tea is considered sao-meko-ha-no, this means it just narrowly scores a 6 for being sweet. If, however, it is no-mba-meko-meko ‘rather sweet’, its score is around 7–8.

In some of the illustrative examples there appears to be a temporal meaning element, translated as ‘until’. It appears that (at least historically) this formation is related to the prefix sa-, signalling a temporal connection as in the sentence sa-rato-ku, no-kala-mo (WHEN-arrive-1SG.POSS 3SG.R-go-PRF) ‘as soon as I arrived, he went away’. In other examples this temporal element seems to have disappeared and only the resulting state is in focus.

This sa- . . . -ha-no formation is also possible on intransitive verbs, as in sa-toolea-ha-no (MINIMAL-contain-DEGREE-3SG.POSS) ‘just barely able to contain, just the right size’, and sa-wamu-ha-ku (MINIMAL-get.up-DEGREE-1SG.POSS) ‘I am just able to get up (but I cannot really walk)’. This usage is rather rare and mostly occurs in elicited material. In these cases there is the nuance of ability.

Finally, on the basis of the stative verb taa ‘good’, the derivation sae-taa-ha-no ‘just about good’ has acquired the specialised meaning ‘medium, around the middle of the scale, average’, when followed by a nominalised stative verb. An example is:

Nunsu-no sae-taa-ha-no ka-bhala-no
beak-3SG.POSS MINIMAL-good-DEGREE-3SG.POSS NMLS-big-3SG.POSS
‘Its beak is of average size.’ (Lit. ‘Its beak, its bigness is just about good.’)

The prefix pe- signals approximation with numbers. It is found with so-called measure phrases, that is, phrases consisting of a prefixed numeral and either a classifier or a measure noun. It also occurs with numeral verbs. The meaning of pe- in each case is ‘approximately, about’, and as illustrated in (6), pe- must co-occur with the irrealis prefix na- in measure phrases, or with the irrealis set of plural subject markers in numeral verbs, as illustrated in (7).

(6) a. na-pe-se-dhamu
IRR-APPROX-one-hour
‘about one hour’

---

### Table 16.4.5. Minimal degree with sa- . . . -ha-no in Muna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Affixed form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhie</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>sao-bhie-ha-no</td>
<td>only just heavy, not really heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowu</td>
<td>drunk</td>
<td>sao-lowu-ha-no</td>
<td>just about drunk, barely drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meko</td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>sao-meko-ha-no</td>
<td>just about sweet, not too sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntalea</td>
<td>light (not dark)</td>
<td>sae-ntalea-ha-no</td>
<td>just barely light, not really light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>sao-pana-ha-no</td>
<td>just barely hot, not really hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pande</td>
<td>able, clever</td>
<td>sa-pande-ha-no</td>
<td>just barely able, not really clever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.6 Reduplication

Reduplication in Muna is a very rich and rewarding area for research, as it has several forms and many meanings, some of which overlap. Reduplication typically indicates continuous or durative aspect, intensification, distribution, plurality (versus duality) or personification. Occasionally, full reduplication may have an approximating meaning, as shown by the following pair: *rambi se-mata* (lit. ‘O’clock one-eye’) ‘one o’clock’ and *rambi-rambi se-mata* (lit. ‘rdp-o’clock one-eye’) ‘around one o’clock’.

2.4 Attenuation and reduction

2.4.1 po-ka- and reduplication

The combination of the prefix *poka*- with full reduplication of the verbal base (either intransitive or transitive) is a productive process in which the added meaning component of the resulting verb is that of downplaying the seriousness and importance of the activity. The action is not really performed in the strict sense of the word, but it is done ‘just a bit’, ‘just for fun’, ‘not properly and not seriously’, ‘as if one is learning to do it’, ‘according to one’s ability (and therefore not really well)’, ‘somewhat randomly’. Occasionally the meaning can even shade into ‘pretend to’. Providing adequate translation examples out of context is not easy, and the examples in Table 16.4.6 give rough equivalents only.

These derivations retain the transitivity of the original verbal base. Examples in clauses (with some comments) show the range of usage.

(8) *O* tobho ka-fegholei *miina* nae-mbali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buri</td>
<td>write</td>
<td>no-poka-buri-buri</td>
<td>just write a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fumaa</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>no-poka-fuma-fumaa</td>
<td>eat just a little, eat a little for fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadiu</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>no-poka-kadi-kadiu</td>
<td>take a bath, but not properly; just have fun playing with water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linda</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>no-poka-linda-linda</td>
<td>dance a little, dance just for fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toda</td>
<td>notch</td>
<td>no-poka-toda-toda</td>
<td>just make some notches (not properly)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16.4.6. Attenuation with *poka*- in Muna
A dagger sharpened with magic, you cannot just pull it out (from its sheath) for fun or for no particular reason; the elders say that (if you do that) you will get hepatitis.

'The finch said (to the monkey), “Just open (your mouth) a little bit for me, so that we can talk first.”’ (The finch is trapped inside the monkey’s mouth and is hoping to escape. A normal request would be lengka-kanau ‘open for me’. By using pok-a-he is downplaying the importance of his request.)

Here it is, I hereby return your writings (to you), I have just scribbled a little bit inside, to the extent of my ability.’ (From a letter in which the author, a respected and knowledgeable community leader, returned draft pages of a Muna dictionary with his comments written in. The use of pok-a, as well as his choice of bhor-i ‘scribble’ instead of the more usual buri ‘write’, is a polite way of downplaying his contribution.)

Possibly the ‘leisurely’ meaning of -hi on verbs can also be viewed as a case of attenuation (see also Section 2.3.3). In such cases the suffix signals that the action is performed in a relaxed and leisurely way, often somewhat aimlessly and without a specific purpose. Typical examples include de-mpali-mpali-hi ‘they take a stroll, at their leisure, without going anywhere’, from mpali-mpali ‘stroll’ (usually reduplicated) and ne-ngko-ngkora-hi ‘she or he is sitting down, in a relaxed way, without any particular purpose’, from ngkora ‘sit’, with partial reduplication.

Intensification is typically signalled by full reduplication, but only with nouns, as illustrated in (11). (With verbs, full reduplication usually signals continuous action.)

a. ai-ai ‘youngest sibling’

b. ko-se-ghulu-ghulu-ha-e ‘all over his whole body’
Partial reduplication (defined as monosyllabic reduplication with optional lengthening of the reduplicated vowel) on stative verbs may also signal intensification, as with no-bha-bhala ‘very big’, no-ghi-ghito ‘very black’ and no-pu-pute ‘very white’. This pattern is rather limited in the standard variety of Muna, but in the southern dialect this is much more common. However, only the consonant is reduplicated in that case. The vowel is a lengthened copy of the verb-class vowel o or e: no-bhoo-bhala ‘it is very big’, no-doo-dai ‘it is very bad’, no-koo-kuni ‘it is very yellow’, ne-tee-taa ‘it is very good’.

3 Conclusion

Evaluative morphology figures prominently in Muna, though the semantic nuances are not always easy to pin down and in a few cases (such as -hi), one can argue over whether a particular formation should be classified as evaluative morphology.

Acknowledgements

I want to acknowledge some of the Muna friends who helped me to learn their beautiful language between 1985 and 1994: †Nilus Larangka, †Hanafi, †La Ode Abdul Fattah, †La Ada and Syahruddin. More recently, Mainuru Hado, La Habi, La Indasa and Lawa have been very helpful.

Notes

1. The exact number of Muna speakers is difficult to come by, as several thousand Muna speakers are found in the provincial capital of Kendari, but nobody knows their exact number. Also, since the population is shifting to Indonesian, there is an increasing number of ethnic Muna people with a limited or only a passive knowledge of the language.

2. Most symbols have their expected value, but <bh> is an implosive /ɓ/, <dh> a voiced dental plosive /ḓ/ and <gh> a voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/.

3. There are also two known cases of partial reduplication with an approximative meaning: rubu ‘small’ > no-ru-rubu ‘it is rather small’ and mpona ‘long (of time)’ > no-mpo-mpona ‘it is rather long’.
16.5 Tagalog

Carl Rubino

1 Introduction

Tagalog is a native language of Southern Luzon, Philippines, which includes the capital city Manila and the fertile agricultural lands of south-central Luzon. Tagalog is also spoken natively with dialectal variation on the islands of Lubang and Marinduque, with communities on Mindoro, Palawan and Mindanao as well. Since 1937, a standardised form of Tagalog has served as the national language Pilipino for the highly multilingual archipelago, replacing the regional lingua francas and colonial languages Spanish and English as the preferred means of intercultural communication for the majority of the Philippine population.

The language retains its Philippine-type Western Austronesian structure with minimal morphosyntactic interference from its colonial languages Spanish and English, most notably in the syntactic comparative construction and some subordination strategies. It is a predicate-initial language, with a canonical word order reflecting agent before patient, and it has a highly prefixing morphology. Like its sister indigenous Philippine languages, Tagalog has complex verbal morphology which reflects aspect, mode and voice (orientation). Orientation encodes the semantic relationship between the verb and its nominative argument via prefixes, suffixes, infixes and combinations thereof. Tagalog words can be categorised into two main classes: open-class roots that may take inflectional and/or derivational affixation, and a closed class of non-inflecting forms such as particles, enclitics and case-marking articles. There is also a pervasive particle (na after consonants, -ng after n or vowels) used to link related constituents (heads and attributes) and called a ligature. All open-class roots may predicate, given the appropriate morphology, and all verbs may be morphologically nominalised.

Evaluative morphology (EM) in Tagalog is derivational and stems from two sources: borrowed Spanish diminutive suffixes and native morphological processes. I will detail the Spanish borrowings and native morphological processes that contribute to EM first, and then exhibit current trends in EM processes used in modern Tagalog slang, concluding with a sampling of formally and functionally distinct EM in sister Philippine languages.

2 Spanish borrowings

The highly productive Spanish diminutive suffixes -ito (masculine) and -ita (feminine) appear in the Tagalog language, mostly with lexicalised nouns that were borrowed as whole units with their affixes, for example plato ‘plate’ > plattito ‘little plate, saucer’; baso ‘glass’ > basito ‘small glass’; botelya ‘bottle’ > botelyita ‘little bottle’; bangko ‘bench’ >
bangkito ‘stool, small bench’; kutsara ‘spoon’ > kutsarita ‘teaspoon’; bola ‘ball’ > bolita ‘pellet, ball bearing’; papel ‘paper’ > papelita ‘slip of paper’ > papelito ‘small slip of paper; paper package for powdered drugs’; guapo ‘good looking’ > guapito ‘really cute; good-looking young man’. These derivatives in -ito/-ita may be commonly applied to Hispanicised names, mostly to reflect endearment, for example Paco > Paquito, Carlos > Carlitos, Perla > Perlita.

Tagalog is a language which does not reflect gender grammatically. The third person pronouns are gender neutral and the only agreement conventions that currently exist in the language stem from the large influx of gender-carrying adjectives from Spanish, for example tsino ‘Chinese (Spanish borrowing of chino)’ > tsinito ‘little Chinese man’, tsinita ‘little Chinese woman’. Although most of the -ito/-ita diminutives entered the language as fully fledged lexical items, this suffix may be used with some native roots, carrying the diminutive sense it had in its original language, for example baklā ‘gay’ > baklita ‘little gay boy’, bago ‘new’ > bagito ‘greenhorn, little newby’.

Like the -ito/-ita suffix, the Spanish suffix -illo/-illa (Tagalog -ilyo/-ilya) survives in modern Tagalog. Batchelor and San José (2010, 452) categorise this diminutive suffix in Spanish as a possible carrier of a pejorative overtone, especially in Latin America where its use is ‘almost exclusively pejorative’. One could classify Tagalog words taking this suffix in a cline of morphological complexity – at one end of the spectrum, words that were borrowed wholesale where Tagalog speakers do not immediately recognise the diminutive morphology, and at the other end, words where the diminutive morphology serves a semantic function.

Words that were borrowed wholesale and are most probably psychologically monomorphic to Tagalog speakers include pasilyo ‘hall’, gantsilyo ‘crochet’, tripilya ‘tripe soup’, gatilyo ‘trigger’, mansanilya ‘chamomile’ and karilyo ‘shadow play’. Words that were probably borrowed wholesale but whose simplex forms still exist in Tagalog include baratilyo ‘bargain, sale’, gusanilyo ‘auger, small worm’, lomilyo ‘tenderloin’, bombilya ‘light bulb’, makinilya ‘typewriter’, kusinilya ‘gas stove’, palilyo ‘toothpick’ and karetilya ‘push cart’. And finally, there are words where the diminutive affix is immediately recognised by Tagalog speakers. Some of these exist in Spanish, such as platilyo ‘small plate’, bigotilyo ‘thin moustache’, abogadilyo ‘paralegal, nearly a lawyer’, kursilyo ‘short course of study’, sapatilya ‘heeled slipper’ and bintanilya ‘ticket window’; and some of these words take the Spanish diminutive suffix with native roots: bago ‘new’ > bagotilyo ‘little newby, novice’; binatà ‘bachelor’ > binatilyo ‘teenager’.

3 Native evaluative morphology

Native EM strategies include prefixation, reduplication, and reduplication with suffixation. Full root reduplication with the suffix -an/han can be employed to create diminutive nouns or to express imitation (Schachter and Otanes 1972, 100). See Table 16.5.1.

With stative verb roots where agentivity is involved to reach the resulting state (morphologically encoded with stress shift), disyllabic reduplication is employed to intensify. Disyllabic roots are repeated, but with trisyllabic roots, the first reduplicand is disyllabic and ending in an open syllable (Schachter and Otanes 1972, 234). See Table 16.5.2.

With stative verb roots that express inherent qualities, this same type of reduplication is used, but for attenuation. Schachter and Otanes (1972, 236) describe this as ‘adjectival moderation’. This is used with both ma- and unaffixed adjectives. See Table 16.5.3.

When these same stative verbs are doubled with an intervening linker (na after
consonants or \(-ng\) after vowels), the meaning is that of intensification, not attenuation. In example (1) this use is illustrated with two adjectives borrowed from the colonial languages, English and Spanish (source: twicsy.com/i/7QELpd).

(1) May shades o wala, guwapo- ng guwapo at EX shades or NEG.EX handsome-LINK handsome and hot na hot si Daniel Padilla. hot LINK hot ART Daniel Padilla

‘With or without shades, Daniel Padilla is really handsome and very hot.’

Disyllabic reduplication may also be used to attenuate actions (Schachter and Otanes 1972, 340–1). The examples in Table 16.5.4 portray this function with both agent-oriented (\(mag\)- prefix) and patient-oriented (-\(in\) suffix) verbs.

The prefix \(napaka\)- is also used to intensify. It most commonly appears with statives
which take the prefix \textit{ma-} (Table 16.5.5). A noteworthy feature of this prefix is that the single argument predicate produced cannot take a nominative argument but only a genitive one. This unique syntax closely mirrors that of the nominative morphology found in Tagalog exclamatives, using the prefixes \textit{pagka-} or \textit{ka-}.

(2) Nápaka- ligaya ko noon.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{INT}-happy & \textit{1S.GEN} then\textit{.PST} & \\
\end{tabular}
‘I was really happy then.’ [Intensive with genitive actor]

(3) Pagka- bait- bait ni Mrs Santos!
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{NM}\textit{L}\textit{S}-kind-kind & \textit{GEN} Mrs Santos & \\
\end{tabular}
‘Mrs Santos is so kind!’ [Exclamative with genitive actor]
(Schachter and Otanes 1972, 282)

(4) Iwas- an mo lang yung sobra- ng pagka- bait mo.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{AVOID-TR} & \textit{2S.GEN} just & \textit{DIST} over-\textit{LINK} & \textit{NM}\textit{L}\textit{S}-kind \textit{2S.GEN} & \\
\end{tabular}
‘Just avoid being excessively nice.’ [Nominative use with same syntax]

Unlike in many other Philippine languages where affixation or reduplication is employed to express comparative degree, Tagalog has calqued a Spanish syntactic form, borrowing the Spanish word \textit{más} ‘more’ placed before the adjective. However, superlative degree is formed morphologically with the prefix \textit{pinaka-}: \textit{ganda} ‘beauty’ > \textit{maganda} ‘beautiful’ > \textit{mas maganda} ‘more beautiful’ > \textit{pinakamaganda} ‘most beautiful’.

Tagalog young people are also known to derive new word forms using what is called \textit{baliktad} speech, or syllable reversal. Since most Tagalog roots are disyllabic, this does not pose a challenge for spontaneous creation and immediate recognition; for instance \textit{pangit} ‘ugly’, \textit{ngitpa} ‘pretty ugly’. Some of these reversals take additional morphology and have gained acceptance in their newly lexicalised forms, for example \textit{ma-baho} (ST-stink) ‘smelly’ > \textit{hoba} > \textit{hobabs} ‘really stinky person’, \textit{guwapo} ‘good looking’ > \textit{pogi} ‘handsome, cute.’

In addition, some recently coined slang terms have employed non-productive affixes (Zorc and San Miguel 1991). See Table 16.5.6.
4 Evaluative morphology in other Philippine languages

EM can be found in many forms in Philippine languages quite distinct from what exists in Tagalog. I will provide a short sample of what can be found in the hundreds of languages across the archipelago.

In the Cordilleran language of Balangao spoken in Northern Luzon, the complex prefix pagaCCV- is used with colours to attenuate them: ditak ‘red’ > pagaddiditak ‘reddish’; pokaw ‘white’ > pagappopokaw ‘whitish’; lanhi ‘green’ > pagallalanhi ‘greenish’. The infix -in- combined with CVC reduplication forms diminutives and pejoratives: balon ‘packed lunch’ > binabalon ‘inadequate lunch’; balli ‘typhoon’ > binaballi ‘wee typhoon’; Paola ‘name’ > Penapaola ‘derogatory ways of Paola’ (Shetler 1976, 104–6).

In the Mansaka language of Mindanao, the circumfix gi- is used to augment or ameliorate, for example otaw ‘man’ > gyotawan ‘famous man’, dakora ‘large’ > gidakoraan ‘largest’ (Svelmoe and Svelmoe 1974, 17).

Romblomanon, a Visayan language spoken in Romblon province north of Panay Island, employs two different strategies to intensify states. The prefix ka- with full reduplication of the root signals intense degree: basa ‘wet’ > ka-basa ‘basas’ ‘very wet’; huga ‘difficult’ > ka-huga ‘huga’ ‘very difficult’. Some roots can take the (ma)CV- prefix to encode veracity, intensifying the speaker’s conviction: punu ‘full’ > mapupunu ‘really full, truly full, clearly full’ (Newell 2006, 66–7).

The Ilocano language of Northern Luzon uses the prefix nag- with the enclitic -(e)n or the complex prefix nakaCVC- to intensify states: na-lukmég ‘ST-fat’ > naglukmegen ‘really fat, surprisingly fat’ > nakaluklukmég ‘really fat’. To moderate the degree of statives, the prefix paN- is employed with the suffix -en: lukmég ‘fat (root)’ > panglukmegen ‘rather stout’; kusipet ‘almond-eyed’ > pangusipeten ‘slightly squinty’; dakkel ‘big’ > panakkelen ‘rather large’. Initial closed syllable reduplication is employed to form comparatives and the ka- prefix circumfix serves to create superlatives: na-pintas (ST-beauty) ‘beautiful’ > napinpintas ‘more beautiful’ > kapintasan ‘most beautiful’ (Rubino 2000, lvi).

Table 16.5.6. Tagalog slang affixation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td>augmentative</td>
<td>abno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pejorative</td>
<td>‘abnormal, mentally retarded’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lets</td>
<td>attenuative</td>
<td>bading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘gay’</td>
<td>‘little gay boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Coy</td>
<td>pejorative</td>
<td>kastila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Cay</td>
<td>‘Spanish’</td>
<td>‘damn Spaniard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>puke</td>
<td>‘vagina’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘specific vagina’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>discourse variation</td>
<td>binata’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘bachelor’</td>
<td>‘highly eligible bachelor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bigote</td>
<td>‘moustache’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘cool moustache’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsing</td>
<td>pejorative</td>
<td>puta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘prostitute’</td>
<td>‘whore, immoral woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In the Tausūg language of Jolo Island, the prefix Caw-, where C represents the initial consonant of the root, forms distributives where many arguments are affected or involved. However, with single arguments, the affix has a durative or intensifying function. It forms collectives with kin terms (Rubino 2006, 275–7). See Table 16.5.7.

The Ibaloi language of Northern Luzon employs a reduplicative prefix Ce- to denote diminutive imitation or pretence, akin to the use of full reduplication in Tagalog. This prefix may occur with concomitant initial root vowel changes or medial consonant mutations (Ruffolo 2004, 104). See Table 16.5.8.

In the Bikol language of South-eastern Luzon, full reduplication may be used to express diminutives as well as plurals and intensives, for example mahal ‘expensive’ > mahal-mahal ‘somewhat expensive’ or ‘very expensive’. Another prefix, Curu-, is used to express both augmentation of events (plural, iteration, continuative, distributive) and attenuation (diminution and imitation), but not intensive augmentation: balyo ‘change’ > burubalyo ‘keep on changing’; banggi ‘night’ > burubanggi ‘every night; karabasa ‘pumpkin’ > kurukarabasa ‘small pumpkin’; but barato ‘cheap’ > burubarato ‘somewhat cheap’, not ‘very cheap’ (Mattes 2006).

### 5 Conclusion

Derivational EM in the Tagalog language derives from two distinct origins with two distinct formal characteristics: Spanish suffix borrowing and indigenous Austronesian reduplication and/or prefixation. These evaluative processes are used to attenuate, forming diminutives with related semantic extensions. Augmentative morphology used to refer to specific entities, although present in the colonial language Spanish, does not exist in Tagalog. However, there are strategies to intensify actions and states with native morphemes. The inventories of EM in Philippine languages vary from language to language in both form and function. Hence, much more can be learned in this realm from sister languages, many of which remain undocumented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Prefixed form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mag-dagan</td>
<td>AG-run</td>
<td>magdagdaganan</td>
<td>run all over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utang</td>
<td>debt</td>
<td>magkaaw'utang</td>
<td>get into a lot of debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag-panayam</td>
<td>AG-play</td>
<td>magpawpanayam</td>
<td>play around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag-taymanghud</td>
<td>RECP-sibling</td>
<td>magtawtaymanghuds</td>
<td>entire family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag-'itung</td>
<td>AG-count</td>
<td>magaw'itung</td>
<td>keep counting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Prefixed form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabajo</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>kekebajo</td>
<td>horse figurine, horse statuette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aso</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>aaso</td>
<td>toy dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baley</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>bebedey</td>
<td>play house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>tetoo</td>
<td>doll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damisaan</td>
<td>table</td>
<td>dedamisaan</td>
<td>toy table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baro</td>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>bebecho</td>
<td>toy clothes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16.5.7. The Tausūg prefix Caw-

Table 16.5.8. The Ibaloi prefix Ce-
16.6 Tibetan

Camille Simon and Nathan W. Hill

1 Introduction

Most researchers see Tibetan as a member of a language family which also includes Burmese and Chinese; this family is known by names including ‘Tibeto-Burman’, ‘Sino-Tibetan’ and ‘Trans-Himalayan’, of which the last is the most neutral and accurate (cf. van Driem 2012). In 650, Tibetan was reduced to writing as an administrative exigency of running the Old Tibetan empire; the earliest extant documents date from a century later (Hill 2010, 110–12). Tibetan linguistic history is conventionally divided between Old Tibetan (eleventh century and earlier) and Classical Tibetan (later texts). Tibetan boasts a vast literature with a wide variety of genres, and the family of Tibetic languages spoken today is comparable in size and diversity to the Romance languages (Tournadre 2008, 282–3). Lhasa Tibetan is the language spoken in the city of Lhasa, the cultural and historical centre of the Tibetan-speaking area; this dialect is closely affiliated with the other Central Tibetic languages (Ü-kä, Dbus-skad).1

Different morphosyntactic processes are attested in Lhasa Tibetan to express evaluative semantics.2 In addition to diminutive and intensive formations, Lhasa Tibetan also has honorifics, which express an evaluation by the speaker.

2 Diminutives

Diminutives are mostly expressed by suffixation. Only one reduplicative structure is used as a diminutive.

2.1 Suffixation

2.1.1 The suffix -ḥu

In a formation that is no longer productive in Lhasa Tibetan, the noun bu ‘son, child’ suffixed to a noun forms a diminutive (e.g. bum-pa ‘water pot’, bum-bu ‘small water pot’, cf. Uray 1952, 185). The diminutive can add an unpredicted element of meaning (e.g. rlig-pa ‘testicles’, rlig-bu ‘scrotum’, cf. Uray 1952, 185). In some cases the non-diminutive form is unattested or the diminutive derives from a verb stem (e.g. √dril ‘turn’, dril-bu ‘bell’, √tor ‘throw’, thor-bu ‘fragments, miscellanea’3).

After open syllables the -ḥ- weakens to -b- (pronounced [ɣ] in Old Tibetan), and the vowel -a- ablatu to -e-, e.g. spra ‘ape’, spreḥu ‘monkey, rta ‘horse’, rteḥu ‘colt, mare’ (cf. Uray 1952, 186).4 Often the suffix assimilates to the preceding final consonant, as in
lug-gu ‘lamb’ (cf. lug ‘sheep’) (Uray 1952, 185–6). However, this orthographic practice does not reflect phonological or phonetic gemination in Lhasa Tibetan. The word mde-hu ‘bullet’ (cf. mdaḥ ‘arrow’), as an early modern technology, serves as a terminus post quem for the productiveness of this formation.

2.1.2 The suffix -tsam

A reflex of the Classical Tibetan clitic -tsam, a pronunciation [ts] in Lhasa, occurs in the word tog.tsam ‘a bit’ and in a diminutive construction, in which it is postponed to verbs, adjectives or numerals. Suffixed to adjectives, -tsam weakens the strength of the adjective.

(1) na-r dus.tshod man-tsam dgos-kyi.hdug
    1SG-DAT time lot-DIM need-PRS.TEST
    ‘I need a bit more time.’

With numerals, this suffix tends to convey an idea of approximation, more than a diminutive; it is often understood as ‘almost NUM’, or ‘a bit more than NUM’.

(2) khoṅ ma-thug-nas lo bcu-tsam phyin-soṅ/
    3SG.HON.ABS NEG-meet-CONN year ten-DIM go-PST.TEST
    ‘I have not met him for about ten years.’

When suffixed to verbs, this derivation triggers a modification of the part of speech: to be used as a verb, the derived stem must be reverbalised with the help of the light verb byed ‘to do’.

(3) na-hi rogs.pa-hi yig.tshad lta-tsam byas-pa.yin
    1SG-GEN friend-GEN exam.ABS look-DIM LIGHTV-PST.EGO.INTENT
    ‘I took a look at my friend’s exam.’

Related to its diminutive function, -tsam is also grammaticalized as an aspectual marker; suffixed to a verb it means ‘to have just V’.

(4) kha.lag bzas-tshar-tsam-yin
    meal.ABS cat-finish-ASP-PST.EGO.INTENT
    ‘I have just eaten.’

2.1.3 The suffix -ḥdra

Two structures which contain the morpheme ḡdra ‘to be similar’ or the adjective ḡdra.po ‘similar’ convey a diminutive meaning that can be paraphrased as ‘kind of NP’. The first structure is derived by the following morphosyntactic rules: NP → NP-ḥdra; the second structure has the two alternative forms N → N-GEN-bzo.ḥdra and N → N-GEN-bzo-ḥdra-po. The indefinite marker cig ‘a’ frequently follows the noun phrase that results from these processes. In natural speech, the syllable <ḥdra> is phonologi-
cally realised /ra/ or /rä/ (instead of the regular /da/), but most speakers still recognise its etymology.

Morphosyntactically, NP-ḥdra modifies the whole noun phrase to which it is postposed. It is best described as a noun phrase enclitic.6

```
(5) ḷmo mi skho.p-o-ḥdra-cig yod- pa.ḥdra
3.SG.ABS person poor-DIM-INDF COP-EPIST

'It seems that he was kind of poor.' (Hoshi et al. 1981–90)
```

The second derivation, which associates the verb bzo 'to make' with the verb ḡdra or the adjective ḡdra-po, has the same structure as a postposition: it is only postposed to nouns, to which it is linked by the genitive marker.

```
(6) ḷmo raṅ thugs.spro-ḥi bzo.ḥdra-cig-la.yā skad.btaṅ-gar-byas
3SG.HON.ABS party-GEN DIM-INDF-DAT invite-CONN-do

'[They] decided to invite him to a kind of party.' (Hoshi et al. 1981–90)
```

Both structures are fully productive.

### 2.2 Reduplication

The only reduplication strategy that conveys a diminutive meaning applies to both adjectives (7) and verbs (8), but not to nouns. The derivation has the form ADJ/VERB-la ma ADJ/VERB. Its meaning can be paraphrased by ‘not very ADJ’ or ‘to half-V’/‘not to V whole-heartedly’/‘to almost V’.

```
(7) gsal-la ma-gsal
clear-CONN NEG-clear

'not very clear'
```

```
(8) pā-lags gāe.gē-btaṅ-byuṅ/ father-HON scolding-LIGHTV-PST.EGO.REC
yin.na.ḥaṅ ṇan-la ma-ḥaṅ-byas-pa.yin/
but listen-CONN NEG-listen-LIGHTV-PST.EGO.INTENT

'Father scolded me, but I only half-listened.'
```

### 3 Intensives

Lhasa Tibetan has a number of intensive derivations formed through suffixation and reduplication.
3.1 Suffixation

Two intensive formations are expressed through suffixes, namely adj-drag(s) and n/adj-tsha.po. Suffixation with -drag(s) is productive, but suffixation with tsha.po is, at least partially, lexicalised.

3.1.1 The suffix -drag(s)

The suffix -drag(s) is used to derive excessive meaning of adjectives regularly. Etymologically, it results from the grammaticalisation of the adjective drag.po ‘ferocious, violent’. The two spellings -drag and -drags are both accepted.

(9) 
\[
\text{Mo.ṭa maṅ-drags-bźag}
\]

‘There are too many cars.’

The modification of the range of syntactic functions accessible to the lexical item is made clear, here, by the absence of copula, which would otherwise be necessary for the expression of predicative adjectives. Here, the adjective suffixed by -drag is directly followed by the verbal aspecto-modal suffix -bźag.

3.1.2 The suffix -tsha.po

Synchronically, tsha.po is an independent adjective ‘hot’. It may also combine with a nominal stem (N tsha.po) to form a derived adjective. In such compounds, tsha.po regularly alternates with chen.po ‘big’, which conveys a more literary register. In this combination tsha.po (or chen.po) maintains its aspiration and tone; thus, phonologically in this context too tsha.po is treated simply as an adjective following a noun. However, syntactically and semantically the result is a single adjective that bears no relationship to ‘hot’, and for this reason it is tempting to analyse -tsha.po as a derivational suffix. Most of these adjectives have a pejorative meaning.

(10) 
\[
\text{rñog.gra → rñog.gra tsha-po}
\]

problem → problem hot-pos → ‘problematic’

For a few adjectives this suffix derives an intensive equivalent:

(11) 
\[
\text{ljid-po → ljid-po tsha-po}
\]

heavy-pos → heavy-pos hot-pos → ‘(very) heavy’

Because the structure is partly lexicalised, the intensive meaning is sometimes weak.

3.2 Reduplication

Since reduplication is iconically linked to intensive meaning, it comes as no surprise that this meaning is mainly expressed through reduplication. Reduplication seems fully productive, although it might be restricted to a particular semantically motivated subgroup of lexical items.
3.2.1 Syntactic reduplication

Simple reduplication of adjectives, verbs and numerals conveys an intensive meaning.

(12) ག་ལེ་­ ག་ལེ-­ ར་­ གཉིད་ཁུག-­ གི་འདུག
ga.le ga.le-r gnid.khug-gi.hdug
slow slow-ADV fall.asleep-IMP.TEST
‘[I] fall asleep very slowly.’

This meaning is not always evident, as in the following example:

(13) མ་­ སྐད་­ སྐད་­ སྐོང་­ ཐོས་­ ཀྱི་འདུག
kho gnis-gnis skad.cha bśad-kyi-hdug
3SG two-two.ABS speech.ABS speak-IMP.TEST
‘The two of them are talking.’

The reduplication of a verb or a part of the verb phrase conveys a meaning that can be interpreted as an evaluative or an aspectual value (intensification or quantification of the process; see also Vittrant and Robin 2007, 5–6).

(14) ད་­ དཔྱེ-­ དཔྱེ-­ འཛིན་­ ཚུའྱ་­ དགོས-­ ཡོད་
kha phye-grabs phye-grabs bye-kyi.hdug
mouth open-about open-about LIGHTV-IMP.TEST
‘[He] is just about to open [it].’

The reduplication of an interrogative in a question invites the interlocutor to answer with an enumeration:

(15) ར་-­ ད་-­ སྐྱེ-­ ཐོས། naṅ-la su-su yod/
inside-DAT who-who exist.ego
‘Who lives at your home?’ (Lit.: ‘Who [and] who lives at [your] home?’)

Or, if the interrogative is used as an indefinite, with the nominalisation of the verb:

(16) ཁན་­ སྐྱེ-­ སྐྱེ-­ དང་­ ཡི་གེ-­ བྱེད-­ དགོས-­ ཡོད། gan.rgya daṅ yi.ge ga.re ga.re bzung-dgos-yod-naḥaṅ bzung-gi.yin
contract and letter what what put-must-COP-but put-FUT.EGO

‘I will write whatever contract and letter are necessary/I will write as much contracts and letters as necessary.’ (Lit.: ‘What and what contract and letter I should make, I will make it.’)\(^8\) (Hoshi et al. 1981–90)

3.2.2 Reduplication of adjectives and verbs after an interrogative

This construction applies equally to adjectives and verbs. Its meaning is: ‘As ADJ/V as possible’\(^9\).

(17) a. ག་­ སྐྱེ-­ སྐྱེ
gaṅ-man-man
3.2.3 Reduplication before rkyaṅ

This construction, meaning ‘completely adj’, is particularly frequently used with colour adjectives, but is also attested with other adjectives, such as: gcig-pa gcig-rkyaṅ (same-POS same-single) ‘exactly the same’, gsar-pa gsar-rkyaṅ (new-POS new-single) ‘very new’, dkar-pa dkar-rkyaṅ (white-POS white-single) ‘completely white’.

3.2.4 Other complex reduplication structures

Other complex reduplication structures conveying an intensive meaning are attested, some of them being fully lexicalised, as in (20). Other forms are more productive, such as the structure neg-V dgu-V. Described in Vittrant and Robin (2007, 14), it conveys an intensive and pejorative meaning and can be paraphrased as: ‘to V too much and without care’.

In (20a), the adjectival stem draṅ is repeated, once with a positive suffix and then with the suffixed verb bźag ‘to put’. In (20b), the verb byuṅ ‘to appear’ is repeated, once preceded by the interrogative particle and then by the adjective ‘a lot’.
4 Honorifics

Lhasa Tibetan has a pervasive honorific system, in which an honorific equivalent is available for much of the vocabulary. A small proportion of the honorific lexicon is purely lexical and thus arbitrary, but others words are morphologically analysable, although it is difficult to evaluate their synchronic productivity. Examples cited in this section are taken from Rdo.rje Gsang.bdag Rdo.rje and Ross (2002) and Mélac, Robin and Simon (2013). A precise inventory of the attested morphological processes of honorific lexicon derivation can be found in Kitamura (1975, 68–74).

As shown by DeLancey (1998), morphologically constructed honorific nouns and adjectives consist of compounds, in which the first constituent has a categorisation property over the second. In such compounds, the first constituent is an unanalysable honorific root of a noun or verb, related to the semantic domain of the non-honorific root. The second constituent is the non-honorific root and carries the semantic information. A possible nominal suffix is deleted in the honorific form: *thab* ‘stove’ à *gsol-thab* (eat.DON-stove) ‘stove.DON’, *las ka* (work-NML+SFX) ‘work’ à *phyag-las* (hand.DON-work) ‘work.DON’, *par* ‘picture’ à *sku-par* (body.DON-picture) ‘picture.DON’, *lam-ka* (road-NML+SFX) ‘road’ à *phebs-lam* (go.DON-road) ‘road.DON’.

If the non-honorific word is already a compound, its first component is replaced by an honorific categoriser morpheme. Often the first component is replaced by its honorific equivalent: *sems-khral* (mind-tax) ‘worry’ à *thugs-khral* (mind.DON-tax) ‘worry.DON’. The process is also generalised to other types of bisyllabic nouns, containing no categoriser in the non-honorific form: *chu-tshod* (water-measure) ‘clock’ à *phyag-tshod* (hand.DON-measure) ‘clock.DON’, *yi.tsi* ‘soap’ (< Ch. 胰子 yìzi) à *phyag-tsi* (hand.DON-?) ‘soap.DON’. The fact that this morphological rule operates on the loanword ‘soap’ indicates that this formation was still productive at the time of the loan.

An alternative strategy is available for marking honorific verbs. Most Lhasa Tibetan verbs are multisyllabic, composed of a predicative noun and a light verb. Honorific verbs are constructed with the honorific counterpart of the predicative noun and the honorific equivalent of the light verb. This formation is fully productive in Lhasa dialect.

For verbs (full or light) that lack a lexical honorific equivalent, the honorific light verb *gnañ* is appended to the verb.

a. *ḥdam* → *ḥdam-gnañ*
   /dæm/ → /dæm-næñ/
   ‘to.choose’ → ‘to.choose.DON’

b. *skad-btañ* → *skad-btañ-gnañ*
In this case, since both the verb and the light verb carry a tone, gnañ is not a suffix, but rather this is a serial verb construction.

5 Conclusion

Three categories of evaluative meaning are expressed by different morphological means in Lhasa Tibetan: diminutive, intensive and honorific. Reduplication mainly serves to express intensive meanings, although one type of reduplication conveys diminutive or pejorative meaning. Prefixation is limited to the construction of honorific nouns, whereas suffixation is attested for all three types of meaning. Certain constructions not only express evaluative values, but also modify the range of the syntactic functions of the stem; this is especially frequent when the stem is a verb.

Notes

1. Dbus-skad is a transliteration of the Tibetan word for the dialect we are discussing here. Ū-kā is an attempt to reproduce something like the pronunciation of this word in the dialect itself. In IPA it would be [ykeʔ]. Among the many treatments of Lhasa Tibetan, Kitamura (1977) provides a good short grammar; Hoshi (1988) is a good longer treatment. There is no accurate short treatment of Classical Tibetan; Schwieger (2006) is the best lengthy treatment.

2. In order to restrict the current discussion to morphological processes, a formation is described only if it meets at least two of the following criteria: (i) the item resulting from the application of the process is one phonological word (containing only one aspiration and one tone); (ii) its meaning is not strictly compositional; (iii) the process alters the part of speech or range of syntactic functions of the input form; (iv) at least one element of the derived form is phonologically different from the expected outcome (e.g. <ḥdra> /ra/ rather than /ɖa/); and (v) at least one element of the derived form cannot be used synchronically as an independent linguistic unit.

3. The symbol √ precedes an uninflected verbal root.

4. In the word byiḥu ‘little bird’ (cf. bya ‘bird’) the ablaut is unpredictably to -i- rather than -e-.

5. The behaviour of -tsam in Classical Tibetan is not well enough understood to allow us to suggest whether or not it should be considered evaluative morphology.

6. Note that the same verb ḥdra ‘to be similar’, shown in (5), has also been grammaticalised as a component of an epistemic marker (Vokurková 2008).

7. Although the standard orthography gives ljid-po in (11), the positive adjectival suffix in this and other words is pronounced /ko/. What dictates the selection of /po/ versus /ko/ in Lhasa Tibetan is not well understood; perhaps it can be linked to spellings such as sa-ḥon for sa-bon ‘seed’ and šo-ge for šo-be ‘lie, falsehood’, which also give evidence of interchange among -b-, -h- and -g- as early as Old Tibetan (cf. Hill 2011).

8. For other examples of simple reduplication of verbs with an aspectual (iterative, continuative or exhaustive) meaning, see Vittrant and Robin (2007, 6). For more on Tibetan reduplication in general see Uray (1954) and Vollman (2009).

9. Etymologically, gan is an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘what’. In its interrogative functions, it is replaced by ga in modern Lhasa Tibetan.
16.7 Yami

D. Victoria Rau and Hui-Huan Ann Chang

1 Introduction

This chapter describes evaluative morphology (EM) in Yami, a Philippine Bashiic language in the Austronesian family spoken by 3,000 speakers on Orchid Island. Previous studies in Austronesian languages have provided rich data on gestalt symbolism (Blust 1988, 59ff; 2009, 355) and lexical iconicity (Rau 1994). Studies on Yami have also laid the foundation for a description of the grammar (Rau and Dong 2006) with detailed analysis of reduplication (Rau and Dong 2005) and iconicity in the tense–aspect–modality system (Rau 2005). Since the mid-1990s, this language has been well documented, including in a Yami–Chinese–English dictionary (Rau, Dong and Chang with Rau and Rau 2012) and on three websites established between 2005 and 2009 on Yami digital archives, Yami e-learning and a Yami online dictionary. Based on the rich corpus of the Yami language and the assistance of Yami language consultant Maa-nu Dong, this chapter aims to give a general picture of Yami EM. The chapter begins with a description of reduplication, followed by augmentatives and diminutives, and appreciatives and depreciatives. A complete table of Yami EM is presented in the conclusion.

2 Reduplication in evaluative morphology

Reduplication is the most common and productive morphological process in Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005). In Yami, this phenomenon occurs primarily by partial reduplication (CV-\textit{rdp}) and full reduplication (CVCV-\textit{rdp}) without coda to indicate plurality, repetition/continuation, intensification, comparison, diminution, attenuation and imitation/fakeness (Rau and Dong 2005).

As (1) shows, Yami reduplication can be used primarily for the formation of augmentatives (1a–k) and diminutives (1l–o). A metaphorical extension from size to value can be further developed.

(1) Yami reduplication of augmentatives and diminutives:

a. \textit{aro-aro} \textit{rdp}-many
   ‘more’

b. \textit{api-apia} \textit{rdp}-good
   ‘better’
c. *ma-te-téneng*
   SV-RDP-smart
   ‘all smart’

d. *ma-te-teeneng*
   SV-RDP-smart
   ‘better at, know more about’

e. *ma-te-te-teneng*
   SV-RDP-RDP-smart
   ‘understand a lot’

f. *rak-rako*
   RDP-big
   ‘older’

g. *ara-rako*
   RDP-big
   ‘all big, biggish’

h. *mi-lavi-lavi*
   AF-RDP-cry
   ‘keep crying, fussing’

i. *mi-ci-cipa*
   AF-RDP-spit
   ‘keep spitting phlegm’

j. *ma-ra-rahet*
   SV-RDP-bad
   ‘all bad’

k. *ma-rahe-rahet*
   SV-RDP-bad
   ‘worse’

l. *ma-veve-veveh*
   SV-RDP-short
   ‘shorter’

m. *ali-likey*
   RDP-small
   ‘all small, smallish’

n. *alik-likey*
   RDP-small
   ‘smaller’

o. *ava-avang*
   ‘RDP-boat’
   ‘toy boat’

Semantically, the derived forms are downgraded or upgraded in their dimensional structure. Take *alikey* ‘small’ in (2), for example. Through partial reduplication, *alilikey* ‘all small, smallish’ indicates either plurality or diminutive, as in (3).

(2) *ya likey rana o ayob ko.*
   AUX small already NOM clothes 1SG.GEN
   ‘My clothes have shrunk.’ (Lit.: ‘My clothes are small.’)
3.1 Augmentative intensifier marker tey- ‘very’

The intensifier marker tey- can apply to gradable stative verbs with semantic $x$ to generate a meaning of very $x$, as in (4).

(4) Augmentative intensifier formation of tey-:
   a. tey-rako
      AUG-big
      ‘very big’
   b. tey-likey
      AUG-small
      ‘very small’
   c. tey-apia
      AUG-good
      ‘very good’
   d. tey-ma-rahet
      AUG-SV-bad
      ‘very bad’
   e. tey-ma-oyat
      AUG-SV-strong
      ‘very diligent’
   f. tey-ma-lma
      AUG-SV-lazy
      ‘very lazy’

Compared with malma ‘lazy’ in (5), the augmentative teymalma ‘very lazy’ in (6) represents an intensification of the semantic force.
(5) ya ma-lma o mehakay ito.
   AUX SV-lazy NOM male that
   ‘That man is lazy.’

(6) ka tey-ma-lma ya.
   2SG.NOM AUG-SV-lazy this
   ‘You are really lazy.’

3.2 Superlative augmentative ni-. . . na ‘most’

Yami superlatives are formed by affixing ni- to the stem, followed by the possessive/genitive marker na, as in niapia na ‘the best’. The intensification process presents a gradable quality, as shown in (7).

(7) Superlative augmentative formation of ni-. . . na:
   a. ni-anaro na
      SUP-long 3SG.GEN
      ‘the longest’
   b. ni-ma-veveh na
      SUP-SV-short 3SG.GEN
      ‘the shortest’
   c. ni-alikey na
      SUP-small 3SG.GEN
      ‘the smallest’
   d. ni-apia na
      SUP-good 3SG.GEN
      ‘the best’
   e. ni-ma-teneng na
      SUP-SV-smart 3SG.GEN

While tey- ‘very’ in (8) intensifies semantic force, ni-. . . na ‘most’ in (9) presents an even more centralised semantic meaning of the good taste of the fish soup.

(8) tey-apia a yop-en o asoy no ivay ya.
     AUG-good LINK drink-PF NOM soup GEN FISH.NAME this
     ‘This ivay fish soup is very good to drink.’

(9) ni-apia na a yop-en o asoy no ivay ya.
     SUP-good 3SG.GEN LINK drink-PF NOM soup GEN FISH.NAME this
     ‘This ivay fish soup is the best to drink.’

3.3 Distributive marker mika- ‘gradually, increasingly’

The distributive marker mika- can refer to ‘gradually, increasingly’ to mark an action of temporal contiguity, as exemplified in (10).

(10) Distributivity formation of mika-:
   a. mika-kala-kalat
Distr-RDP-climb
‘climb in droves’

b. mika-kda-kdas
Distr-RDP-cut.on.the.skin
‘scratch the skin open’

c. mika-’i-’iteng
Distr-RDP-drip
‘sweat dripping one after another’

d. mika-cio-cik
Distr-RDP-new.sprout
‘sprout one after another’

In (11), the motion event (Rau, Wang and Chang 2012) of mikalakalat ‘climb upward together’ can be interpreted as temporal simultaneity. However, in (12), mikalakalat ‘climb upward one after another’ expresses the sequential event/action with temporal contiguity.

(11) mi ta mi-kala-kalat do toko-tokon.
go 1PL.NOM.INCL AF-RDP-climb LOC RDP-mountain
‘Let us go climb trees in the mountains.’

(12) to sia rana mika-kala-kalat o tao
AUX 3PL.NOM already Distr-RDP-climb NOM people
a t<om>anang do ma-ka-karang a tokon a.
LINK <AF>go.up LOC SV-RDP-high LINK mountain PAR
‘The people climbed to the higher mountain in droves.’

3.4 Approximative -en ‘become or do such and such easily’

The following examples are by no means prototypical augmentatives or diminutives; however, their approximative affixations have developed a secondary meaning of quantitative evaluation via metaphorical extension.

When the approximative -en is attached to a stem, the semantics denoted by the stem becomes augmented. The augmented force signifying habitualness, however, can be either a positive or a negative evaluation. The examples in (13) are intensified.¹

(13) Approximative -en ‘become or do such and such easily’:

a. ma’e-’en-en
SV-RDP-cold-APPROX
‘tend to feel cold easily’

b. ma-it-itkeh-en
AF-RDP-sleep-APPROX
‘have a habit of falling asleep’

c. ma-na-nakaw-en
maN-ta-takaw-en
AF-RDP-steal-APPROX
‘have a habit of stealing’

d. ma-ngaa-ngaa-ap-en
maN-aa-aa-ap-en
AF-RDP-RDP-take-approx
‘love to go fishing’

e. ma-m’i-m’ing-en
AF-RDP-laugh-approx
‘love to laugh’
f. ma-sara-saray-in
SV-RDP-happy-APPROX
‘tend to be optimistic’
g. maka-boa-boang-en
AF-RDP-familiar-APPROX
‘adapt to a group easily’

In (14), manakaw is an action of stealing, whereas mananakawen in (15) becomes a habit of stealing.

(14) ya ma-nakaw so nizpi.
3SG.NOM AF-steal OBL money
‘He stole money.’

(15) ma-na-nakaw-en so pza-pzat-an no tao.
AF-RDP-steal-APPROX OBL RDP-protect-NMLS GEN person
‘(He) often steals other people’s things.’

Similarly, maboang in (16) is a state of being close to someone, while makaboaboangen in (17) is a habit of getting along well with others.

(16) ya ma-boang jiaken o anak ni wari.
AUX SV-familiar 1SG.LOC NOM child GEN younger.brother
‘My younger brother’s children are very close to me.’

(17) ya maka-boa-boang-en si Masaray.
AUX AF-RDP-familiar-APPROX NOM PN
‘Masaray gets along easily with others.’

3.5 Approximative marker mala- ‘smell or look a little like’

The approximative marker mala- can refer to either ‘smell a little like’, as in (18a–d), or ‘look a little like’, as in (18e–g), to mark an approximation. As mala- is added to the stem, a metaphorical extension from SIZE to EVALUATION is developed.

(18) Approximation formation of mala-:
a. mala-inaw
   APPROX-fish.smell
   ‘smell a little like fish’
b. mala-pe-pseng
   APPROX-RDP-burned
   ‘smell a little like something is burned’
c. mala-vo-vongtot
approx-rdp-rancid
‘smell a little like rotten food’
d.  mala-ta-taci
APPROX-RDP-urine
‘smell a little like urine’
e.  mala-ciring
APPROX-WORD
‘look talkative’
f.  mala-váyo
APPROX-new
‘look young’
g.  mala-ngóngoy
APPROX-mouth
‘look mouth protruding’

Some expressions of hedges, such as sort of in English, are used to weaken a speaker’s assurance of a proposition (Lakoff 1972). In Yami, when the diminutive morpheme mala- is attached to a stem, the semantics denoted by the stem becomes attenuated. Compared with (19), the prefix mala- in (20) adjusts the category membership property ‘burned’ by making central members of a category less central, i.e. ‘smell a little like burned smell’.

(19)  Ya ma-pseng o kanen.
AUX SV-burned NOM rice
‘The rice is burned.’

(20)  mo ma-‘angno o ya mala-pe-pseng ang?
2SG.GEN PF.able-smell NOM AUX APPROX-RDP~burned Q
‘Do you smell that burned smell?’

4 Appreciatives and depreciatives

Among the descriptive/quantitative EM discussed above, apart from mala- ‘taste, smell or look a little like’, which marks attenuation, the rest all encode intensification. Although SIZE may be the primary meaning in EM, its metaphorical extension can be either positive or negative.

This section presents the attitudinal/qualitative dimension of Yami EM. Qualitative EM is associated with the Yami attitude marker ka- (Rau and Dong 2010), which only encodes depreciatives.

Once again, the following examples are not primarily evaluative but have developed a secondary meaning as depreciatives in the process.

4.1 Depreciative marker mapaka- ‘pretend to be’

The prefix mapaka- ‘pretend to be’ denotes the feature of ‘marginality’ or ‘imitation’, as in (21). The negative evaluation is not about the action itself, but about the person who fakes the action.
(21) Depreciative formation of mapaka-
   a. mapaka-’it-’itkeh
      pretend-RDP-sleep
      ‘pretend to sleep’
   b. mapaka-deh-dehdeh
      pretend-RDP-foreigner
      ‘disguise as foreigners’
   c. mapakey-ngey-ngen
      pretend-RDP-sick
      ‘pretend to be sick’
   d. mapaka-tok-toklay
      pretend-RDP-limp
      ‘pretend to limp’
   e. mapaka-tele-teleh
      pretend-RDP-deaf
      ‘pretend to be deaf’

While keyngeyngen ‘hurt’ in (22) is a statement of the physical condition, mapakeyngayngen ‘faked sickness’ in (23) implies a negative evaluation of the person who fakes it.

(22) pan-pandan na do key-ngay-ngen na
    RDP-limit 3SG.GEN LOC INT-RDP-hurt 3SG.GEN
    no ngepen na ni akay a.
    GEN tooth 3SG.GEN GEN grandfather PAR
    ‘My grandfather’s teeth really hurt.’

(23) ma-sekeh a ma-ngay do gako am,
    SV-unwilling LINK AF-go LOC school PAR
to mapakey-ngay-ngen a.
    AUX pretend-RDP-hurt PAR
    ‘He didn’t want to go to school, so he faked illness.’

4.2 Depreciative delimitation ka- ‘only’

The delimitive marker ka- ‘only’ can be attached to a stem to convey limited and negative action, as in (24).²

(24) Depreciative formation of limited action ka-:
   a. ka-’ak-akaw
      DLM-RDP-plough
      ‘only farm’
   b. ka-nake-nakem
      DLM-RDP-think
      ‘only want to’
   c. ka-pa-nangdang
      ka-paN-dangdang
      DLM-CAUS-warm
      ‘only get warm by the fire’
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d. **ka-raing**
   DLM-kill.fish
   ‘only kill fish’

e. **ka-sa**
   DLM-one
   ‘only one, small amount and unimportant’

f. **ka-iteh**
   DLM-sleep
   ‘only sleep’

Compared with *panangdang* ‘get warm’ in (26), *kapanangdang* ‘only get warm near the fire’ in (27) is viewed negatively as implying a person who does nothing except sitting there getting heat.

(25) **pa-nangdang jito.**
   CAUS-get.warm.near.the.fire there
   ‘Come warm yourself by the fire.’

(26) **ka-pa-nangdang mo koimo a,**
   DLM-CAUS-get.warm.near.the.fire 2SG.GEN someone PAR
   *ji angay ma-ngayo a?*
   NEG go AF-pick.up.firewood PAR
   ‘Do you only sit there getting warm and not go pick up firewood?’

4.3 **Depreciative intensification** ka- . . . na ‘very’

Intensification *ka- ‘very’* is prefixed to a reduplicated verb stem, followed by a third person singular genitive pronoun *na* to indicate a negative evaluation of a great amount (for quantity) or a great degree (for attribute) as in (28).

(27) Depreciative intensification ka-. . . na:
    a. **ka-singa-singat na**
       INT-RDP-expensive 3SG.GEN
       ‘so expensive’
    b. **ka-owy-oyat na**
       ka-oya-oyat na
       INT-RDP-strong 3SG.GEN
       ‘so strong’
    c. **ka-iley-lamnay na**
       INT-RDP-take.it.easy 3SG.GEN
       ‘so laid back’
    d. **key-ngrey-ngen na**
       INT-RDP-hurt 3SG.GEN
       ‘so painful’
    e. **ka-key-key-kai na**
       INT-RDP-RDP-fast 3SG.GEN
       ‘so quickly’
Pragmatically, the intensification ka-RDP...na expresses a speaker’s attitude towards certain states or events. Compared to the augmentative intensifier marker tey- ‘very’, discussed above in Section 3.1, depreciative intensification ka-RDP...na is used to express a complaining attitude. In contrast to the description of vegetables being expensive in (28), the speaker’s negative evaluation of the prices in (29) implies ‘if it were not so expensive, I would buy it’.

(28) ya ma-singat o napa.
   AUX SV-expensive NOM vegetable
   ‘Vegetables are expensive.’

(29) ka-singa-singat na? tosia, ji ko nazang-i.
    INT-RDP-expensive 3SG.GEN don’t.want.it NEG 1SG.GEN buy-LF
    ‘That expensive? Never mind then, I’m not buying it.’

4.4 Depreciative blaming attitude marker ka- ‘it serves you right’

The blaming marker ka- can be used to find fault with someone who did something that she or he should not have done, as in (30–2). It is not the action itself that is being evaluated, but rather someone who is involved in the action that is being criticised. A detailed discussion of the special morphosyntax of this evaluative marker can be found in Rau and Dong (2010).

(30) ka-bakbak mo jia?
   BLM-hit 2SG.GEN this.LOC
   ‘Who told you to hit him?’

(31) ka-panci mo nia?
   BLM-call 2SG.GEN this.GEN
   ‘Who told you to call him?’

(32) ka-panmama mo, man-ngo ori,
   BLM-chew 2SG.GEN AF-what that
   ya mika-kte-kteb so ngepen ang.
   AUX DISTR-RDP-break OBL tooth PAR
   ‘Look at you. Why eat betel nut? Your teeth have all fallen out one after another from eating betel nut.’

5 Conclusion

EM in Yami is marked by both reduplication and affixation, as summarised in Table 16.7.1. There is no apparent prototypical EM to mark terms such as ‘big table’ or ‘small chair’ in many Indo-European languages. However, the discussion of Yami examples in this chapter has increased our understanding of the process of the metaphorical extension from SIZE to EVALUATION and further development of evaluation as a secondary meaning in the language.

The only quantitative EM in Yami consists in augmentative tey- ‘very’, superlative ni-...na ‘the Xest’ and distributive mika- ‘increasingly, one after another.’
The two approximatives -en ‘do such and such easily’ and mala- ‘smell, or look like’ have developed a secondary meaning as augmentatives and diminutives, respectively. The processes of intensification and attenuation adjust the category membership property of the state/action/event to a less central position. Even though quantitative perspectives are independent from qualitative perspectives, BIG and BAD seem to be more frequently encoded than GOOD and SMALL in Yami. Incidentally, this conclusion also corresponds to the preponderance of negative emotion in Yami (Rau, Wu and Yang, forthcoming).

Finally, all the affixes interpreted as evaluative in the qualitative perspectives convey negative attitudes towards the person who does the action; for example, mapaka- ‘pretend to be such and such’, delimitive ka- ‘do nothing except such and such’, depreciative intensification ka- ‘very . . . (contrary to the speaker’s expectation)’ and blaming ka- ‘it serves you right’. As these affixes evaluate negatively not the action itself but rather the person who does the action, these evaluative meanings are only secondary via metaphorical extension. Notwithstanding secondary meaning, they are by no means peripheral or trivial in the Yami system. The blaming prefix ka- has its own morphosyntax, different from the ergative case marking in the regular Philippine focus system. A detailed discussion of the morphosyntax of ka- is certainly beyond the scope of this chapter and awaits another paper.

Notes
1. The second line in (13c) indicates that the root is takaw and that N- of the maN- prefix is a homorganic nasal, which assimilates to the place of articulation of the beginning segment of the root. The second line in (13d) indicates that the root is ap and that N- becomes ng- when it precedes a root which starts with a vowel.
2. The second line in (24c) indicates that the root is dangdang and that N- is a homorganic nasal which assimilates to the place of articulation of the beginning segment of the root.

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