# Deictic Elements in Hyow and Kuki-Chin

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# Contents

# Abbreviations Used

| | |
|---|---|
| 1/1st | first-person |
| 2/2nd | second-person |
| 3/3rd | third-person |
| ABS | absolutive |
| AND | coordinative |
| BE.ABLE | potentiality |
| BEN | benefactive |
| CAUS | causative |
| CLASS | numeral classifier |
| COLL | collective |
| COMIT | comitative applicative |
| COMP/COMPLET | completive |
| COND | conditional |
| CONJ | conjunction |
| COP | copula |
| D/DU/DUAL | dual |
| DIM | diminutive |
| DIR | directional, andative |
| DIST | distal (distance contrast) |
| DOWNHILL | downhill (directional) |
| DX | deictic marker |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| EQ.COP | equative copula |
| ERG | ergative |
| EVID | evidential |
| EX.COP | existential copula |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| FOC | focus marker |
| FUT/IMMED.FUT | immediate future |
| HABIT | habitual |
| HORT | hortative (imperative) |
| IMPER | imperative |
| INCL | inclusive |
| INTENS | intensifier |
| INTERJ | interjection |
| INTRANS | intransitive |
| IRR | irrealis |

| | |
|---|---|
| ITER | iterative |
| LOC | locative |
| LOC.APPL | locative applicative |
| LOC.COP | locative copula |
| MALEF | malefactive |
| MED.DIST | medio-distal (distance contrast) |
| MID | middle, medio-passive |
| NEG | negative |
| NON.VIS | non-visibility marker |
| OBL | oblique |
| OBLIG | obligative |
| P/PL | plural |
| PERF | perfect |
| PERFECT | perfective |
| POSS | possessive |
| PROX | proximal (distance contrast) |
| Q | question marker |
| QUOT | quotative |
| REAL | realis |
| RECIP | reciprocal |
| REL | relativizer |
| S/SG | singular |
| SUB | subordinative |
| SUFF | suffix |
| SUPER.DIST | super-distal (distance contrast) |
| TAG | tag question |
| TOP | topicalizer |
| TRANS | transitive |
| UPHILL | uphill (directional) |
| VIS | visibility marker |
| VOC | vocative |
| WH.Q | *wh*-question |
| YN.Q | yes/no question |

# Introduction

Hyow (or *Hyowkhew*) is the language spoken by the Hyow people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the Bandarban District in southwest Bangladesh. The people and their language are occasionally referred to by the exonym *Khyang* (e.g. Bernot & Bernot 1958; Kim, Roy & Sangma 2011). This thesis will use the local endonym *Hyow* for both. The language is classified in the Southern Chin group of the Kuki-Chin subfamily of Tibeto-Burman (VanBik 2009: 20). Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken across Southeast Asia, as evidenced by their name, from Tibet to Burma. Kuki-Chin languages occupy the hill country, from Bangladesh, through India, to Burma. Hyow in particular is spoken to the north and west of the city Bandarban Sadar (Peterson 2003: 173). The precise population of the Hyow is difficult to determine. Bernot & Bernot (1958: 7) estimate that 500 individuals occupied twelve villages. Peterson (personal communication), visiting the same village as Bernot & Bernot, estimates a higher population of several thousand. Lastly, the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) cites a figure of 2,340 from census information. It should be noted that Lewis (2009) also groups the Hyow with the Ashö people of Burma, whose population exceeds 10,000. For the purposes of this thesis, Ashö will be treated as a separate language, as there is at the very least significant dialectal variation between the two.

Despite significant language contact, Hyow remains the dominant language of the Hyow people and retains many Kuki-Chin features. Kim, Roy & Sangma (2011) report from a survey that Hyow is spoken in nearly every household in Hyow villages. At the same time, multilingualism with both the local dialect of Bangla (Indo-European: Bangladesh, India) and Marma (Lolo-Burmese: Burma, Bangaldesh) is over 80%. The former constitutes the main language of education, trade, and government in Bangladesh. The Hyow people were likely in

contact with a third language, Mru (Lolo-Burmese: Burma), at some point in their history based on apparent loanwords (Peterson, personal communication). As further evidence, the nearby Bawm people report some use of Mru (Kim, Roy & Sangma 2011). Multilingualism with Bangla and Marma, however, represent the strongest active forces of language contact on Hyow.

Like many Tibeto-Burman languages, the Hyow language lacks detailed descriptive literature, though several authors, especially in recent years, have treated it with varying degrees of detail. An ethnographic sketch and word list of over 800 items was produced over fifty years ago by Bernot & Bernot (1958), who visited the Gongru Para village. David Peterson conducted fieldwork in the same location from 1999 to 2000, and this work was expanded upon by Zakaria Rehman (2006). Peterson (2003) provisionally lays out Hyow verbal agreement and basic participant marking, and Rehman (2009) treats aspects of its phonology and general morphosyntactic characteristics. Other recent work includes research into orthographical development in the area (Clifton 2009) and a sociolinguistic investigation of language use in Bangladeshi Kuki-Chin languages (Kim, Roy & Sangma 2011). This thesis serves to provide further, more detailed descriptive analysis of the Hyow language, namely of its nominal elements. In addition, since perhaps all previous research on the language is derived from elicited data, a narrative corpus was developed to provide a more detailed account of Hyow semantics and discourse.

The data for this thesis was collected and synthesized from Peterson and Rehman's aforementioned fieldwork (1999-2000; 2006). Two corpora were analyzed: several hundred pages of Peterson's elicited data, and ten narrative texts transcribed and preliminarily glossed by Rehman. These corpora were digitized in Microsoft Excel and further analyzed.

Phonological analysis was conducted using Praat software. Throughout this thesis, example sentences from both corpora are used. Sentences from the elicited data corpus will be referenced by corpus and page number, as in (I.49). Excerpts from the narrative corpus, frequently small sections of lines, are referenced by text and line number, as in (6.39). Lastly, two additional corpora were compiled from more recent fieldwork by Peterson (2011) to check the noun phrase analyses put forth in this thesis. This fieldwork constitutes elicited data set III and text 11. For the reconstruction of the Kuki-Chin demonstrative paradigm in Chapter 4, literature on other Kuki-Chin languages was surveyed. The results of this survey are summarized in Appendices A and B. For an assessment of the data, see Section 4.1.2.

This thesis will attempt to give a detailed synchronic and diachronic analysis of the Hyow and Kuki-Chin noun phrase, with particular attention to demonstratives and information status markers. These markers will heretofore be referred to collectively as deictic elements. The Hyow noun phrase and demonstrative paradigm has yet to be treated at all. Other accounts in Kuki-Chin languages include Barnes (1998) on the semantics and morphology of Lai demonstratives, Chhangte (1986) on Mizo noun phrase elements, and Bedell (2001), who analyzes Lai demonstratives using the Determiner Phrase Analysis. In the following chapters, the Hyow noun phrase is described for the first time, and further analysis of Kuki-Chin demonstratives is presented. Owing to the limited data on Hyow and other Kuki-Chin languages, the results in each chapter are necessarily provisional and serve to best explain the data given.

Chapter 1 gives a brief introduction to Hyow phonology and select morphosyntactic typology, building on the previous work of Peterson (2003) and Rehman (2009). In Chapter 2, Hyow noun phrase elements are described in detail from both a morphological and semantic

standpoint. Chapter 3 outlines Hyow nominal deictic elements, including the preposed demonstrative paradigm, postposed information status markers, and other possibly related morphemes. A tentative reconstruction of Kuki-Chin deictic elements is outlined in Chapter 4. Lastly, Chapter 5 presents a typological perspective on the syntax of Kuki-Chin demonstrative systems. All in all, this thesis aims to elucidate the Hyow and Kuki-Chin noun phrase, and also to provide evidence relevant to general linguistic issues like the Determiner Phrase Hypothesis and the grammaticalization pattern of deictic elements.

# Chapter 1: Basic Phonology and Morphology of Hyow

## 1.1 Phonology

### 1.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

As shown in Figure 1.1 below, there are twenty-four contrastive consonant phonemes in Hyow. The figure indicates graphemes that will be used in this thesis. The precise phonetic realization of these phonemes will be discussed later in this section. Note that several sounds, marked by asterisks, are only found in loanwords and some loan morphology, so their phonemic status is debatable.

| | | Labial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vl. Stop | Inaspirate | *p* | *t* | *c* | *k* | *'* |
| | Aspirate | *ph* | *th* | | *kh* | |
| vd. Stop | | *b* | *h* | | *g** | |
| vl. Fricative | | | *s* | *hy* | | *h* |
| vd. Affricate | | | *dj** | | | |
| vl. Nasal | | *hm* | *hn* | | *hŋ* | |
| vd. Nasal | | *m* | *n* | | *ŋ* | |
| vl. Lateral Fricative | | | *hl* | | | |
| vd. Approximant | | *w* | *r, l* | *y* | | |

*Figure 1.1: Hyow Consonant Phonemes*

The stop series consists first of the voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/, along with the palatal stop /c/, whose realization ranges from [c] to the palato-alveolar [tʃ], and the glottal stop /'/, [ʔ], whose status as a phoneme is discussed below in Section 1.2.2. Three of the voiceless stops have aspirate counterparts, /ph/, /th/, and /kh/, and there are two voiced stops, /b/ and /d/. The voiced velar stop /g/* appears solely in loanwords (e.g. *hnaga* 'snake' from Bangla) and onomatopoetic forms (e.g. *goaŋ* 'sound of throwing'). However, /g/* appears to be gaining status as a phoneme due to grammaticized loanwords. For example, the seemingly borrowed numeral classifier *gåråt* 'egg, round' appears to have been grammaticalized into the Numeral Classifier system described below in Section 2.8. This phonemic presence, though, may be the result of the multilingualism in the region. Lastly, it should be noted that /g/* only appears before the back vowels /u/, /o/, or /å/, or in the loan suffix -*gri* 'great'. This phoneme, thus, has a limited distribution both phonologically and morphologically.

Hyow has three contrastive voiceless fricatives, /s/, /hy/, and /h/. The phoneme /s/ varies in realization from [s] to [ʃ], the second phoneme /hy/ is the palatal fricative [ç], and /h/ is the glottal fricative [h]. There are no voiced fricatives, though the voiced alveolar affricate /dj/*, [dʑ], appears in several loanwords (e.g. *djolum* 'paper' from Bangla). This sound has a lower frequency and an even more restricted distrubtion than /g/* above.

There are six nasals, three voiced and three voiceless: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /hm/, /hn/, and /hŋ/. The nasals are articulated as labials [m] and [m̥], alveolars [n] and [n̥], and velars [ŋ] and [ŋ̊]. As for laterals, there are two fricatives, the approximant /l/, [l], and the fricative /hl/, [ɬ]. The alveolar flap /r/ exists most often in consonant clusters, as in *krå* 'to fall', and the high-frequency storytelling discourse marker *hare* 'understand?' In this latter word, however, /r/ appears to exist in free variation with /l/, as there are numerous instances of *hale*. Additionally, /r/ may

appear in any position in loanwords, such as *rishi* ‘king’ (from Sanskrit *ṛṣi* ‘seer’ through Bangla) and the aforementioned suffix *-gri* ‘great’ from Marma. Lastly, there are two glides, /y/ and /w/, which will be treated as phonemes for the purpose of this thesis. For a discussion on their possible diphthongal nature, see Section 1.1.3 below.

### 1.1.2 Vowel Phonemes

As seen in Figure 1.2, Hyow has nine vowel phonemes. Again, the forms listed here denote graphemes whose phonetic realizations are described below. Figure 1.3 then shows a vowel plot based on average formant values (F1 on the x-axis, F2 on the y-axis) of a sample from the elicited data corpus.

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| Close | *i* | *ö, ü* | *u* |
| Close-mid | *e* | | *o* |
| Open-mid | *æ* | | *å* |
| Open | | *a* | |

*Figure 1.2: Hyow Vowel Phonemes*

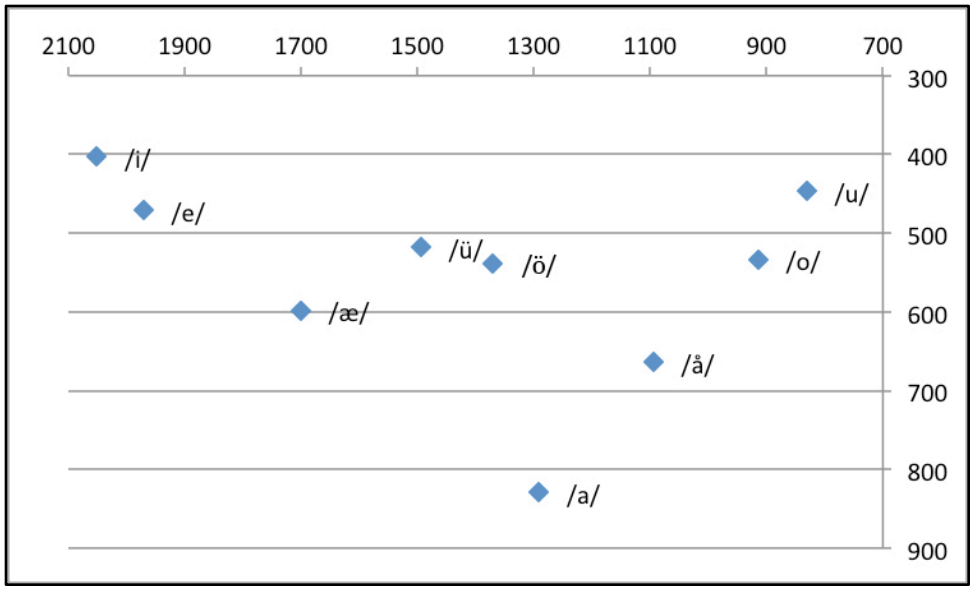


*Figure 1.3: Hyow Vowel Space*

There are three front, unrounded vowels, /i/ [i], /e/ [e], and /æ/ [æ]. Conversely, there are three back, rounded vowels, /u/ [u], /o/ [o], and /å/, the last of which is realized as the open-mid, back rounded vowel [ɔ]. Lastly, there are two close, central vowels: /ö/, which varies between [ɨ] and [ɯ], and /ü/, [ʉ]. Lastly, the one open vowel /a/ is realized as a central [a]. These vowels may also reduce to a schwa-like element in unstressed syllables and fast speech.

### 1.1.3 Diphthongs

Finally, Hyow could be said to display a range of diphthongs, all composed of cardinal vowels and the glides /j/ and /w/. Both rising and falling diphthongs may contain any of the nine vowel phonemes, as shown in Figure 1.4. The rising diphthongs all appear syllable-finally, and the falling diphthongs most often appear syllable-initially, with a few exceptions, such as *nyak* 'boil', and *pyå* 'happy'. Note that these examples are not based on minimal pairs. Hence, certain diphthongs like *üy* and *öy*, *åy* and *oy*, and *åw* and *ow* are so close in articulation that

they may in fact constitute the same diphthongal element. Regardless, the glides may appear in such a wide range of environments, as opposed to a small set of discrete diphthongs, that they will be treated as two separate phonemes.

| Vy | example | Vw | example | yV | example | wV | example |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | /iw/ | *hakiw* 'teeth' | /yi/ | *yi* 'bazaar' | /wi/ | *wik* 'poke' |
| /ey/ | *ey* 'eat' | /ew/ | *hew* 'wood' | /ye/ | *yel* 'cold' | /we/ | *wey* 'cradle' |
| /æy/ | *khæy* 'flower' | /æw/ | | /yæ/ | *yæŋ* 'promise' | | |
| /ay/ | *kay* 'come' | /aw/ | *kaw* 'separate' | /ya/ | *ya* 'howl' | /wa/ | *wa* 'net' |
| /üy/ | *hüy* 'DUAL' | | | /yü/ | *yüŋ* 'tree' | /wü/ | *wüt* 'beat' |
| /öy/ | *möy* 'live' | /öw/ | *köw* 'speak' | /yö/ | *yöm* 'burn' | /wö/ | *wöt* 'leech' |
| /åy/ | *kåy* 'climb' | /åw/ | *håw* 'say' | /yå/ | *yå* 'hear' | /wå/ | *wå* 'enter' |
| /oy/ | *kroy* 'burn' | /ow/ | *hyow* 'person' | /yo/ | *yoŋ* 'monkey' | /wo/ | *wok* 'pig' |
| /uy/ | *luy* 'cross' | | | /yu/ | *yuŋ* 'rabbit' | /wu/ | *wun* 'skin' |

*Figure 1.4: Hyow Diphthongs*

## 1.2 The Hyow Syllable

### 1.2.1 Syllable Canon

| [[Cv] [C1 [C2]] V [C3] T] |
|---|

*Figure 1.5: Hyow Syllable Canon*

Figure 1.5 above shows the syllable canon for Hyow. The minimal syllable type is the single vowel nucleus, without an onset or coda, as in *a* 'chicken' or *o* 'drink'. While each

syllable is also marked by tone, tone will not be indicated in this orthography. The onset and coda are both optional. Figure 1.6 shows the set of consonants that may appear in each of these positions. Note that nearly all phonemes may appear in the C1 position, but only approximants and semivowels may appear in consonant clusters, and only voiceless unaspirated stops, voiced nasals and approximants may be used in the coda position. Lastly, there are four tones, described below in Section 1.2.2.

| [[C1 | [C2]] | V | [C3] | T] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *p, ph* | *r* | *i* | *p* | high |
| *t, th* | *l* | *e* | *t* | low |
| *c* | *w* | *æ* | *k* | high-checked |
| *k, kh* | *y* | *a* | *m* | low-checked |
| *b, g* | | *ö* | *n* | |
| *s, hy, h* | | *ü* | *ŋ* | |
| *m, hm* | | *å* | *l* | |
| *n, hn* | | *o* | *w* | |
| *ŋ, hŋ* | | *u* | *y* | |
| *l, hl* | | | | |

*Figure 1.6: Phoneme Positions in the Syllable Canon*

### 1.2.2 Tone

As mentioned above, each syllable in Hyow is associated with one of two or four tones. As Rehman (2009: 26) shows, there are examples of minimal sets for four contrastive tones, such as *cí* 'take', *cì* 'salt', *cí'* 'sister', and *cì'* 'seed'. These tones consist of high, low, high-checked, and low-checked distinctions, respectively. It is noted, however, that obstruent-final syllables show a distinction just between high and low tones, as in *síp* 'peak' and *sìp* 'poison'. These checked tones, thus, may simply incorporate a vowel and a syllable-final glottal stop. The

glottal stop is also found in syllable-initial position in *tu'uy* 'tiger', the 3rd person suffixal verbal marker *-'u*, and likely elsewhere. For this reason, Hyow will be analyzed as having two tones, high and low, though this distinction is not marked in the orthography used in this thesis.

### 1.2.3 Sesquisyllabic Roots

Lastly, some Hyow roots display what Tibeto-Burmanists describe as a "sesquisyllabic" structure (Matisoff 2003: 153). While most roots are monosyllabic, with the exception of compounds, sesquisyllabic roots contain one syllable preceded by a syllable with a reduced nucleus. The word *s'müycå* 'child', for example, can be parsed diachronically into a sesquisyllabic root *s'müy* and a suffix *-cå* 'DIM'. Unlike related languages such as Daai Chin (see, So-Hartmann 2009: 41), Hyow has reduced many of these sesquisyllabic forms, as shown in Figure 1.7 below.

| | Hyow | Daai Chin |
|---|---|---|
| 'water buffalo' | *nå* | *mna* |
| 'liver' | *ëthin, thin* | *mthin* |
| 'mouse' | *hyu* | *'phɣu* |
| 'vomit' | *låk* | *mlå'* |
| 'branch' | *bak* | *ŋba:n* |
| 'frog' | *uphö* | *'u* |

*Figure 1.7: Hyow and Daai Chin Sesquisyllabic Roots (Daai Chin from So-Hartmann, 2009)*

Note that the sesquisyllables are often realized in Daai Chin as nasal or glottal elements, though these elements have clearly been deleted in Hyow. While *uphö* 'frog' may appear sesquisyllabic, the Daai Chin form *'u* makes it clear that *-phö* is not part of the original root. Only the word for 'liver' shows any trace of the structure, though this vowel element is possibly a 3rd person possessive marker with a reduced vowel form in fast speech.

Other sesquisyllabic roots that trace back to stops as opposed to nasals and glottals seem to be conserved in Hyow. These forms include *b'hnaŋ* 'dysentery', *b'litcå* 'type of oxen', *b'rotcå* 'type of oxen', *c'hnu* 'daughter', and *d'döl* 'earth'. Tellingly, these forms are often realized with a second vowel copied from the root vowel when elicited in slow speech: *bahnaŋ, bilitcå*, *borotcå, cuhnu*, and *dödöl*. Hyow, thus, seem to have lost some Tibeto-Burman sesquisyllabic elements, such as nasals and glottals, but retained others, such as other plosives and fricatives, as in *s'müycå* above.

## 1.3 Phonological word

While many Tibeto-Burman languages are described as having highly isolating morphology, this description of Hyow recognizes a larger domain of the phonological word, which includes numerous clitics. This analysis, based on Peterson (2003b)'s account of Hakha Lai, rests on phonological features that seem to spread from morpheme to morpheme or clitic. These effects are largely referred to in this thesis as vowel or consonant harmony. Example (1.1) below demonstrates two of the most frequent harmony processes.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1.1) | *e-* | *cet* | *-al* | *-ay* | *-hyå* |
| | 3S- | go | DIR | IRR | REAL |
| | 'He will go.' | | | | |

In this verbal complex, the quality of the 3rd person singular marker *e-* is due to the vowel of the verb root *cet*. Likewise, the place of articulation, of the realis marker consonant in *-hyå* depends on the final glide of *-ay* (both consonants are palatal).

## 1.4 Lexical Morphology

This and the following section will give a broad outline of Hyow morphology, grouped into lexical and inflectional structures. The former category is applied to derivational processes that result in new lexemes, the latter to inflectional processes that produce forms within the paradigm of a single lexeme. In this section, noun compounding, verb stem formatives, and verb stem ablaut will be discussed. The latter two are involved in derivational processes, which are no longer systematically productive in Hyow morphology. A verb with the mediopassive-marking stem formative *-ey*, for example, is often analyzed as a separate lexeme entirely with a developed semantic value that is now unpredictable. While some of these formatives along with verb stem ablaut may still appear to be used productively with certain verbs, there is evidence that these constructions lack the wide productivity of the affixes described in the following section. Such a distinction is on some level splitting hairs, as the distinction between lexical and inflectional morphology appears to lie on a continuum rather than to be set in stone.

### 1.4.1 Noun Compounding

Hyow compound nouns may derive new lexemes with a variety of semantic patterns. First, two semantically related nouns, when compounded, may indicate their broader category. In Example (1.2) below, *nu* 'mother' and *på* 'father' are compounded, resulting in a new lexeme meaning 'parents'. Similarly, the compound of *kut* 'hand' and *kho* 'leg' in (1.3) signifies the

collective noun ‘limbs’. The forms *nupå* and *kutkho*, along with some others, constitute basic, fairly high frequency vocabulary items. Since Hyow also has an extensive numeral classifier system (discussed below in Section 1.6), doubly-compounded forms, such as *tanåwpay(hni)* ‘(two) siblings’ in (1.4), may arise.

(1.2) *acaŋ = nu = på = o* *naŋhni* *ihni-hlü-ey-öm*
old = mother = father = VOC 2D 2D-want-MID-Q
‘Parents, what do you (two) want?’ (6.43)

(1.3) *luki = khæ* *u-kut = kho = khæ* *ø-ey-cak-hn’ti*
head = ALL 3S-hand = leg = ALL 3S-eat-INTENS-COMPLET
‘He ate all of its head and limbs.’ (7.59)

(1.4) *ahni-phå* *ta = nåw = pay = hni*
3D.DIR-reach elder.brother = younger.brother = CLASS = 2
‘The (two) siblings reached (the land).’ (7.103)

### 1.4.2 Verb Stem Formatives

In Hyow verbs, a variety of previously productive stem formatives may have resulted in new lexemes. This section will focus on the reciprocal *a-*, the mediopassive *-ey*, and the *h-* causative (derived from the Tibeto-Burman **s-*causative; other similar elements may exist.

First, a prefixal element *a-* affixes to verb stems, though not with high frequency, resulting in reciprocal semantics. For example, compare the verb pair *bop* ‘kill, fight’ and *(a)bop* ‘kill, fight each other’. The Third Person marker, predicted to be **o-* because of vowel harmony, is marked as *a-* in instances of the verb *(a)bop*. Likewise, the 3rd person plural directional marker *ani-* is realized *ana-*. Given the low frequency of this form, however, it is possible that the vowel quality in both person markers is the result of a productive *a-* directional marker.

By contrast, the suffixal element *-ey* is highly frequent in Hyow verbs. In some instances, the *-ey* form has been reanalyzed as a separate verb, as in *hmak* 'put something on someone' and *hmakey* 'paint one's face with makeup'. The latter form seems derived from a reflexive form. Other verb pairs demonstrate this reciprocity, such as *bop* and *bopey* 'kill, fight each other' (in contrast with *(a)bop* above, which lacks the *-ey* formative). Additionally, the marker may act as a mediopassive marker or a detransitivizer, as in the verbs *ton* 'do, make' and *thoney* 'happen'. It seems possible, thus, that the reciprocal *a-* element, which exists only in a few crystallized forms, is being replaced by the mediopassive *-ey*.

Lastly, the Tibeto-Burman **s*-causative (Matisoff 2003: 100) survives in Hyow as a form that will be termed the *h*-causative. This element has no phonological form of its own; instead, it changes the quality of the stem-initial consonant through devoicing or aspiration. For instance, the verb *yul* 'to be wet' is clearly related to *hyul* 'to make wet'. Numerous other verb pairs exist with evolved semantics, such as *kål* 'be unwell' and *khål* 'make unwell, attack'. Figure 1.8 summarizes the verb stem formatives described in this section.

| ROOT | *a*-RECIP | *h*-CAUS | *ey*-MID |
|---|---|---|---|
| *po* 'do (TRANS)' | *kanapo* 'do to us' (**kani-*) | | *poey* 'occur' |
| **mar* 'spread out'? | | *hmak* 'put something on someone' | *hmakey* 'paint one's face with make-up' |
| *cå* 'burn' | | | *cåey* 'set fire to' |
| *bop* 'kill' | *anabop* 'fight each other' (**ani-*) | | *bopey* 'fight' |
| *kål* 'be unwell' | | *khål* 'attack' | |
| *ton* 'do' | | *thon* 'make someone do' | *thoney* 'happen' |

*Figure 1.8: Verb Stem Formative Examples*

### 1.4.3 Verb Stem Ablaut

A set of Hyow verb roots follows an ablaut pattern that appears across the Kuki-Chin family. This pattern may not be highly frequent anymore, however. So-Hartmann (2009: 75) estimates the number of such roots in Daai Chin to be at most 20% of all verb roots. At a rough glance, the ablaut has a similar frequency in Hyow, but many of the forms that do retain it are very frequent, including verbs of seeing, hearing, and speaking. Consequently, the Kuki-Chin ablaut pattern appears to be resilient, if not productive in Hyow.

The Hyow verb ablaut system involves two verb stems, termed Form I and II as per convention (e.g. VanBik 2009: 517). The two forms seem to be employed in specific semantic situations. The verb *tak* 'say', for example, uses Form II ablaut in affirmative transitive clauses, but appears as Form I *tå* in negative clauses. Figure 1.9 below outlines the general pattern of the ablaut. Note the two interrogative morphemes *-(ö)m* and *-ey*. The former, which marks *wh*-questions, takes Form II, while the latter, which marks yes-no questions, takes Form I. In general, the distinction between Form I and II appears to correlate with Irrealis and Realis semantics.

| Form I (*tå*) | Form II (*tak*) |
|---|---|
| *Irrealis constructions* | *Realis constructions* |
| Negative | Indicative |
| Interrogative *-ey* | Interrogative *-(ö)m* |
| Imperative | Applicative |

*Figure 1.9: Semantics of Hyow Verb Stem Ablaut*

Hyow verb stem ablaut is largely based on the presence or absence of a final consonant in the stem. Most of the verbs in Figure 1.10 exhibit ablaut involving this, occasionally accompanied by vowel alternation. According to So-Hartmann (2009: 81), Daai-Chin ablaut consists of other processes, such as vowel-lengthening, and final consonant alternation. For example, the Daai Chin verb *vaaŋ* 'enter' has the ablaut form *vaan*. By contrast, the Form I form of the Hyow cognate *waŋ* 'enter' deletes the final consonant to *wå*. Daai Chin, thus, seems to have retained a final consonant, while Hyow exhibits deletion and vowel raising. Other Hyow verbs have likely leveled the ablaut forms. For example, *kap* 'cry' does not display ablaut, while its cognate in Daai Chin *kyap* 'cry' alternates with *kyah*, again with final consonant alternation. Conversely, it is also possible that *kyap* has gained an ablaut form through analogy with other Daai Chin verbs that display similar ablaut patterns, perhaps through folk etymology.

| | Form I | Form II | Alternation pattern |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'say' | *tå* | *tak* | V-raising; *-k* |
| 'build' | *så* | *sat* | V-raising; *-t* |
| 'hear' | *yå* | *yak* | V-raising; *-k* |
| 'marry' | *nå* | *nåk* | None; *-k* |
| 'see' | *so* | *sot* | None; *-t* |
| 'stab' | *tu* | *tuk* | None; *-k* |
| 'enter' | *wå* | *wåŋ* | None; *-ŋ* |
| 'see' | *hmu* | *hmu'* | None; *-'* |
| 'cry' | *kap* | *kap* | No ablaut |

*Figure 1.10: Hyow Verb Stem Ablaut Phonology*

## 1.5 Inflectional Morphology

Morphological elements that are systematically productive, resulting in inflectional forms of the same lexeme, will be discussed in this section. These forms include noun case markers along with aspect and mood-marking verbal affixes. These forms constitute the most readily productive elements of Hyow morphology.

### 1.5.1 Nominal Morphology

Nouns may be marked by a variety of case clitics. Example (1.5) below demonstrates three of these case markers. The subject of the sentence, *phöl* 'snake', takes the ergative marker *=la*, the object of the transitive verb, *key* '1S', takes the null morpheme as an absolutive element, and the oblique element *yåntö* 'yesterday' takes the oblique, locative clitic *=a*. Note that basic word order in Hyow is Subject-Object-Verb, and it displays ergatively-aligned case-marking, though with split-ergative alignment.

(1.5) *yåntö=a* *phöl=la* *key=ø* *ö-ŋåwey-så*
yesterday=OBL snake=ERG 1S=ABS 3S-bite-REAL
'Yesterday, the snake bit me.' (*Notes*, 14)

The ergative marker may also be used in intransitive sentences, such as (1.6). The intransitive verb *tak* 'say' takes a subject, *måtogri* 'minister' and an obliquely marked noun *eya* 'him'. In a strict ergative-absolutive language, this subject should be absolutively marked. It is possible that Hyow exhibits a split-ergative tendency, such as marking animate subjects of intransitive verbs with the ergative case. Another possibility is that an object of the verb *tak* in (1.6), such as what the minister said, does exist, but is unstated. More research is thus needed to tease out the precise distribution of the case marking system.

(1.6) *måtogri = hãt = la* *ey = a* *ø-tak = ni*
minister = one = ERG 3S = OBL 3S-say = DX
'One minister said to him.' (7.109)

### 1.5.2 Verbal Morphology

Hyow verbs display a wide variety of affixes that can result in long verbal complexes as seen in (1.1) above, *ecetalayhyå*. In addition to the stem formatives and ablaut described above, verbs may also take morphemes that mark grammatical aspect, mood, and participant coding (marked PREF and SUFF, discussed in Section 1.7). Figure 1.11 provides a brief outline of certain forms, particularly those seen in the narrative text in Appendix C. Other forms certainly exist, but more data is needed to understand their distribution. The slots marked by asterisks are of particular note, as these morphemes may co-occur, often consistently in the order from top to bottom of the column. For example, *-ay* and -C*å* usually mark irrealis and realis, but they may co-occur to produce the immediate future marker *-ayhyå*. Forms that can co-occur are marked in the table with an asterisk. As another example, morphemes in certain slots tend to become grammaticalized and stacked on one another. The frequent narrative suffix *-tihicæ* in fact consists of two crystallized suffixes *-ti* and *-hi* along with the topic marker *=cæ*.

| PREF | STEM | FORM* | APPL* | ASP* | | SUFF | MOOD1 | MOOD2* | DX |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ke-* | *cet* | *ey* | *pek* | *hnüŋ* | *tü* | *ŋa* | *ey* | *hn'* | *ni* |
| *ne-* | | *såk* | *puy* | *cak* | *ci* | *ti* | *öm* | *ti* | *cæ* |
| *e-* | | | *nak* | *ay* | *dök* | *a* | *sæ* | *hi* | *dö* |
| | | | *al* | C*å* | *öŋ* | *khol* | *cå* | *tiŋ* | |
| | | | | | | *hüy* | | *nu* | |

*Figure 1.11: Selected Hyow Verbal Morphemes*

In the first slot following the verb stem and formatives are applicative constructions, such as the benefactive *-pek,* the comitative *-puy,* the locative *-nak,* and the directional *-al.* These forms often represent recent grammaticalizations, like *pek*, which derives from the Kuki-Chin root **peek* 'give' (VanBik 2009: 89) and continues to be a verb in Hyow, *pek* 'give'. These forms may co-occur and appear to follow the order presented in Figure 1.11 in *puy-nak* (cf. 8.25; Appendix C). Next is a large set of aspect markers, which also may co-occur. As mentioned above, the realis and irrealis markers *-ay* and *-Cå* together mark immediate future. Note that the consonant in the realis marker *-Cå* follows a similar allomorphy as the *h-* causative. The preceding consonant is reduplicated, then devoiced (for *m*, *n*, and approximants) or aspirated (for stops); for a preceding velar nasal, the consonant is realized as a glottal fricative *h.* Other aspect markers seem to follow the order laid out in Figure 1.11, noting that the two "ASP" columns represent one slot with numerous possible morphemes. Following aspect marking is suffixal participant coding, usually used to mark verbs with negative polarity. The indicative paradigm is outlined in Section 1.7. Additionally, imperative verbs are marked with respect to participant number, with *-ø* 'SG', *-hüy* 'DUAL', or *-khol* 'PL'. Following this slot are mood markers, including the interrogatives *-ey* and *-(ö)m* described above, a hortative *-sæ*, and a jussive imperative *-cå.* There is a second set of mood markers which may co-occur. These forms are more peripheral to the verb stem, as they seem to display clause-level semantics. Forms frequent in narratives include the completive *-hn',* the evidential *-ti,* the conditional *-hi*, and the quotative *-tiŋ.* The visibility marker *-nu* is included as a deictic element in Chapter 3. Other mood markers, such as evidentials likely exist, though more data is needed to discern them. Lastly, information status markers may cliticize to the verb, also with clause-level semantics. These forms are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

## 1.6 Numerals

The numerals accounted for in the Hyow corpus are shown at the end of this section in Figure 1.12. It appears that the base of this counting system is 10, though the corpus data is limited with regard to large numbers. The word for 12, *ley-hni* seems best described as 'and-two', making it likely that the counting system is based on finger counting. The form *leyhni* could also derive from a word for 6, though *ley* seems unrelated to the Proto-Kuki-Chin root **ruk* (VanBik 2009: 241). Additionally, the words *du* '30' and *duhni* '60' seem suspiciously basic, though again these glosses are unclear. Of further interest is the numeral for one, which grammaticalizes often into indefinite markers, among other grammatical items (Heine & Kuteva 2002, 219). Hyow has two forms for this numeral, *hãt* and *ak*. The former appears to be related to the Kuki-Chin numeral **khat*, with consonant deletion and nasalization of the vowel (Benedict 1972: 94). This numeral appears both with and without numeral classifiers similarly to other numerals. The latter marker *ak*, however, does not appear with a numeral classifier in the corpus. This numeral may in fact be a borrowing from the Bangla *ek* 'one' (e.g. Ray 1966: II. 6.2). Fittingly, this form does not take a numeral classifier, as indicated by the second column in Figure 1.12 below.

Hyow has an extensive system of non-obligatory numeral classifiers. For a more complete description of numeral classifiers and their function within the noun phrase, see Section 2.8 below. The classifier is used in certain circumstances, such as introducing new participant noun phrases, as in example (1.8). However, in (1.7), the classifier is omitted. It is unclear whether abstract nouns like *hnüp* 'day' do not receive classifiers or if there is another factor at play.

(1.7) *eydö* *hnüp = ak* *möy* *hnüp = hni* *möy* *hnüp = thum* *möy*
then day = 1 live day = 2 live day = 3 live
'Then he lived for one day, two days, three days.' (7.166)

(1.8) *eydö* *påtå* *wat = cum = hni* *håw = ey*
then man cloth = CLASS = 2 search = MID
'Then the man searched for two pieces of cloth.' (10.41)

| | Takes Classifier? | NUM |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | N | *ak* |
| 1 | Y | *hãt* |
| 2 | Y | *hni* |
| 3 | Y | *thum* |
| 4 | Y | *hli* |
| 5 | Y | *hŋa* |
| 6 | Y? | **ruk* |
| 7 | Y | *sæ* |
| 8 | Y? | **riat* |
| 9 | Y | *ko* |
| 10 | Y | *ha* |
| 12 | Y | *leyhni* |
| 30? | Y | *du* |
| 60? | Y | *duhni* |

*Figure 1.12: Outline of Basic Hyow Numerals (6 and 8 from VanBik, 2009)*

## 1.7 Verbal Participant Coding

### 1.7.1 Basic Paradigm

Perhaps the most complex morphological system in Hyow is its verbal participant coding. Peterson (2003a) outlines separate paradigms for affirmative and negative person marking, termed Prefixal and Suffixal forms, respectively. Hyow distinguishes between two paradigms; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Person; singular, dual, and plural; inclusive and exclusive. Prefixal forms are

composed of prefixes to the verb stem, the singular forms of which bear a strong resemblance to person markers in nominal possession. Suffixal forms are composed of suffixes to the verb stem, which seem to be derived from an older layer of participant coding. Figure 1.13 outlines these distinctions, using attested forms from the Hyow corpus.

| | Sg. | Dual | Dual Incl. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Person | | | | |
| PREF | *kV-* | *kihni-* | *ni-* | *kini-* |
| SUFF | *-ŋa* | *-hni'ŋa* | *-pu* | *-'unga* |
| 2nd Person | | | | |
| PREF | *nV-* | *hnihni-* | | *nini-* |
| SUFF | *-ti'* | *-hni'ti* | | *-cu* |
| 3rd Person | | | | |
| PREF | *V-* | *ihni-* | | *ini-* |
| SUFF | *-a'* | *-hüy* | | *-'u* |

*Figure 1.13: Verbal Subject Participant Coding Paradigm*

Participant coding on verbs also marks the person of the object, though not its number or other information. Certain forms in this paradigm are much less frequent than subject coding, due if anything to the larger number of possible forms. In other words, a 2nd person dual subject form is likely more common than a 2nd person dual subject + 1st person object form. Figure 1.14 below compares the attested forms in the corpus with Peterson (2003a)'s elicited data. Note that the chart is separated by prefixal and suffixal forms. The person and number of the subject is indicated by row, and the person of the object by column. Bolded items indicate forms attested in the corpus, while non-bolded items indicate the predicted form according to Peterson (2003a). Occasionally, attested forms differ, in which case, Peterson's form is denoted by parentheses.

| PREF | 1st Object | 2nd Object | 3rd Object |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1S | / | ***kini-*** | ***kV-*** |
| 1D | / | ***ki(h)ni-*** | ***kihni-*** |
| 1D.INCL | / | / | ***ini-*** *(ni-)* |
| 1P | / | ***kini-*** | ***kini-*** |
| 2S | *khråŋnV-* | / | ***nV-*** |
| 2D | *khråŋhnihni-* | / | ***nihni-*** *(hnihni-)* |
| 2P | *khråŋnini-* | / | ***nini-*** |
| 3S | ***V-*** | ***ni-*** | ***ø-*** |
| 3D | *khråŋhni-* | *(h)ni-* | ***(i)hni-*** |
| 3P | ***ini-*** *(khråŋni-)* | ***ni-*** | ***(i)ni-*** |
| SUFF | | | |
| 1S | / | ***kini- -ŋa*** | ***-ŋa*** |
| 1D | / | ***-hni'ŋa*** | *-hni'ŋa* |
| 1D.INCL | / | / | ***-pu*** |
| 1P | / | ***kini- -ŋa*** *(kini- -uŋa)* | ***-uŋa*** |
| 2S | ***khråŋ- -ti*** | / | ***-ti*** |
| 2D | *khråŋ- -hni'ti* | / | ***-hni'ti*** |
| 2P | *khråŋ- -cu* | / | ***-cu*** |
| 3S | ***V- -a*** | ***ni- -a*** | ***-a*** |
| 3D | *khråŋ- -hüy* | *ni- -hüy* | ***-hüy*** |
| 3P | ***-ŋa*** *(khråŋ- -u)* | *ni- -u* | ***-u*** |

*Figure 1.22: Verbal Subject + Object Participant Coding Paradigm*

While most forms appear as predicted, there is a relative scarcity of the *khråŋ-* prefix for first person objects. It seems possible that these forms are being leveled in casual speech, and elicited data has produced more formal speech. Conversely, the forms could be innovative and

do not appear in the narrative speech register or are not used by every speaker. The number of 1st person objects in this corpus is too small, however, to provide conclusive data regarding this morpheme.

### 1.7.2 Allomorphy

In addition to the substantial person-marking paradigm on Hyow verbs, several forms display allomorphy. First, the vowels of the singular subject markers *kV-*, *nV-*, and *V-* take their quality from the main vowel of the verb stem. Each of the nine vowel phonemes may produce this vowel harmony. Examples (1.9) – (1.11) below shows a few examples of this process. It should be noted that the 3rd person marker has a zero allomorph (cf. (1.3)), though the distribution of this allomorph appears to be lexical, perhaps limited to stative verbs such as *khin* 'think', as opposed to active verbs like *cet* 'go', though more research is needed in this area to confidently draw this conclusion.

(1.9) *nå-nåk-ay-hi*
2S-marry-IRR-COND
'If you marry…' (10.9)

(1.10) *kü-dü=nu*
1S-die-VIS
'I will die (you see).' (10.44)

(1.11) *a-kap-ey-al-hlå-tü*
3S-cry-MID-DIR-REAL-ITER
'He cried and cried.' (7.17)

It should be noted that the aforementioned reciprocal *a-* marker (Section 1.4.2) interacts with this vowel harmony in a complex manner. In (1.12) below, the 2nd person dual marker is

not realized as *nihni-*; its vowels are instead both *a*. This pattern contrasts with the directional marker *a-*, meantioned above in Section 1.4.2. In (1.13), the verb *khåy* 'pick up' likely receives the directional prefix because of some aspect of motion associated with the action of picking up. Unlike *nahna-* in (1.12), the directional prefix is only marked on the initial vowel of the person marker *ahni-* (otherwise expected to be *ihni-*). Perhaps the verb *thuk* in (1.12) also receives the directional prefix, though at present the picture is unclear.

(1.12) *nahna-* *thuk-ey-hyå-hi=cæ*
2D.RECIP wash-MID-REAL-COND=TOP
'If you (two) wash yourselves…'

(1.13) *ey=ni* *ahni-khåy-hn'=ti*
3S=DX 3D.?-pick.up-COMPLET=EVID
'They picked him up.'

The low frequency of these forms renders it difficult to fully assess their function. In addition, their low frequency makes it difficult to fully assess the nature of these morphemes, so further research, potentially via elicitation, may be necessary to fully account for this paradigm.

# Chapter 2: The Hyow Noun Phrase

## 2.1. Overview of the Noun Phrase

The Hyow noun phrase, much like the verb phrase, may contain a variety of elements, which precede or follow the head noun. Some of these forms, such as numeral classifiers and case marking, were described above. In this chapter, the full array of noun phrase elements will be elucidated in further detail. To begin, an outline of noun phrase elements is given in Figure 2.1. Minimally, the noun phrase consists of a head noun, pronoun, or a demonstrative element. Maximally, any of the various elements below may appear along with the head noun.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="10">Noun Phrase</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Pre-Head</th><th colspan="2">Head</th><th colspan="6">Post-Head</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Relative Clause</td><td colspan="2">Common Noun</td><td rowspan="5">Genitive</td><td rowspan="5">Adjective</td><td colspan="2">Classifier Phrase</td><td rowspan="5">Number</td><td rowspan="5">Case</td><td rowspan="5">Dx</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Demonstrative</td><td colspan="2">Pronoun</td><td>Classifier</td><td>Numeral</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">Possessor-NP</td><td colspan="2">Proper Noun</td><td colspan="2">Quanitifer Phrase</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Dem. Pronoun</td><td>Quantity</td><td>Quantifier</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Locative Noun</td></tr>
</table>

*Figure 2.1: Outline of the Hyow Noun Phrase*

Hyow noun phrases may largely be distinguished from verb phrases by the presence of the elements depicted above. In their minimal, unmarked states, the word class of nouns such as *uy* 'dog' and verbs such as *cet* '(he) goes' may only be determined by semantic content and syntactic ordering. In comparing the noun phrase paradigm in Figure 2.1 with the verb phrase paradigm in Figure 1.17, it is immediately evident that nouns and verbs are morphologically very distinct word classes. Verbs, for example, may not co-occur with possessors, case, or relative clauses. Nouns, on the other hand, do not appear with negation or aspect marking (with the possible exception of demonstrative proverb elements, described below in Section 2.4).

There do exist other smaller word classes such as ideophones and adjectives, though their morphology is limited. This section will examine the morphology and syntax of elements particular to the noun phrase.

Unlike the verb phrase elements described above, which are most often bound to the verb root, few of the noun phrase elements here are bound to the head noun. Many of these constituents are treated as free elements because they do not display morphophonological effects like the realis aspectual suffix -C*å* shown in Section 1.3 above. While these elements are certainly less grammaticalized than those in the verbal complex, they are not necessarily more peripheral or oblique to the instantiation of the noun. For example, the locative and numeral classifier elements could be seen to perform a parallel function as with locative applicative constructions (see, Section 1.5.2). The nominal deixis seems to correlate cross-linguistically with verbal directionality (Rijkhoff 2004: 224). Because of this imbalance in terms of grammaticalization of word class elements, Hyow could be described as an "event-dominated language" (Rijkhoff 2004: 26, in contrast with "object-dominated languages"). In other words, verbs in this language receive much morphology, while nouns do not. This distinction is cited by Rijkhoff as one factor that determines the complexity of noun phrases. However, as this chapter shows, Hyow noun phrases may still exhibit a number of elements. In addition, elements that may affix to a number of word classes will provide the basis for a complex paradigm of information status and deixis, which will be explored subsequently in Chapters 3 and 4. In the following sections, each of the elements in Figure 2.1 will be described in greater detail.

## 2.2. The Head Noun

As mentioned above, Hyow noun phrases are easily distinguishable from verb phrases, largely due to their morphology. There are several subcategories of Hyow head nouns: common nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns. These subcategories are differentiated by unique morphological patterning within the paradigm laid out above. For example, common nouns may take the full breadth of noun phrase elements, but proper nouns tend to receive less morphology. For closely related Daai Chin, So-Hartman (2009: 85) distinguishes several further subtypes of nouns, such as location and direction nouns. Comparable Hyow elements will be treated here as noun phrases compounded with a head noun phrase.

### 2.2.1. Common Nouns

Common nouns are nominal elements that may receive the full breadth of noun phrase morphology. Semantically, these nouns may denote animate, inanimate, or abstract concepts, as shown below in (2.1) – (2.3).

(2.1) *cua* *lugodjoma = ci =* *nåw = sæ = la* *ani-sa*
there river.spirits = sister = CLASS = 7 = ERG 3P.DIR = destroy
'There, the seven sisters of the river god went and destroyed (it).' (10.51)

(2.2) *eydö* *å = måŋ = a = ni* *cua* *u = nu* *hmu-ey*
then 3S = dream = LOC = DX there 3S = mother see-MID
'Then, his mother saw (it) in her dream.' (7.166)

(2.3) *key* *ke-cet-al-ayhyå* *ni = påt = öŋ = cæ*
1S 1S-go-DIR-IMMED.FUT DX = way = OBL = TOP
'I will go on this path.' (9.29)

In (2.1), the loanword *lugodjoma* ‘river spirits’ is compounded with *ci* ‘sister’ much like *måŋgric’hnu* ‘king’s daughter’, a compound of *måŋgri* ‘king’ and *c’hnu* ‘daughter’. This construction could either be noun compounding like *acaŋnupå* (Section 1.4.1) or a genitive phrase grammaticalized without the genitive marker. The noun phrase *lugodjomaci* is then modified by a numeral classifier *nåw*, numeral *sæ*, and ergative case marking. In (2.2), the abstract noun *måŋ* ‘dream’ is marked as an oblique element with the locative clitic *=a* and the deictic marker *=ni*. Note that the following nominalized demonstrative *cua* ‘there’ appears as an appositive to the previous noun phrase, perhaps due to its complexity. Lastly, in (2.3), the noun *påt* ‘way, path’, is marked with a prenominal demonstrative, an oblique-marking clitic, and a topicalizer.

Finally, it is worth noting that Hyow nouns do not appear to show any semantic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Regarding Daai Chin, So-Hartman (2009: 59) describes a subclass of inherently-possessed nouns, such as *paai* ‘father’, which is phonologically reduced when possessed, as in the phrase *kah pa:* ‘my father’. As (2.5) and (2.6) show below, Hyow nouns do not appear to have this distinction. Certain kinship and body part terms very frequently appear in possessive phrases in the corpus, but their unpossessed forms do not show any allomorphy. Hence, inalienability is not evidently coded in the language. For example, *påtå* ‘husband, man’ and *hmutå* ‘wife, woman’ are nearly always possessed, as in (2.4). Unpossessed kinship terms are connected with indefiniteness, as in (2.5), or are explicitly nouns of address, the unrelated lexemes *måŋda* ‘husband’ and *nahmadå* ‘wife’.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (2.4) | *ey* | *nå=påtå=ni* | *ibå* | *ini-tuk-hnüŋ-ay-öm=ting* |
| | DX | 2S=husband=DX | what | 1D.INCL-kill-BE.ABLE-IRR-Q=QUOT |
| | ‘‘How will we kill your husband?’ he said.’ (9.7) | | | |

(2.5) *hmutå* *kon = öŋ = hã* *påtå* *po-ay-la-hå*
woman with = OBL = 1 man do = IRR = OBLIG = PERF
'A man must go with a woman.' (7.176)

### 2.2.2. Proper nouns

Proper nouns, such as names of people and places, may also act as head nouns and receive nominal morphology. The subject of the subordinate verb *hæŋ* 'imprison' in (2.6) is a proper noun, presumably borrowed, owing to the non-native *g* and *dj* sounds. This proper noun is marked with the ergative case, as is the pronoun *eyla*, the subject of the matrix clause in which *hæŋ* is embedded. It is as of yet unclear if the full breadth of nominal morphology, such as numeral classifiers, may appear with proper nouns. Though, as (2.6) shows, they may receive case marking.

(2.6) *ey = dün = a* *ey = la* *lugodjo = la* *ani = hæŋ-nak-khå*
DX = place = LOC 3S = ERG river.god = ERG 3D = imprison-LOC-REAL
'In that place (she met seven sisters that) the Lugodjo had imprisoned.' (10.42)

### 2.2.3. Pronouns

The Hyow pronoun paradigm resembles the verbal participant coding outlined in Section 1.7 above. Like proper nouns, pronouns may be marked with case and information status. Figure 2.2 below shows the basic independent pronoun paradigm, and (2.7) shows a pronoun in the context of a sentence

| Person | Singular | Dual | Dual Inclusive | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | *key* | *keyhni* | *naŋkey* | *keyni* |
| 2nd | *naŋ* | *naŋhni* | | *naŋni* |
| 3rd | *ey/cu/ni* | *eyhüy/cuhüy/nihüy* | | *eykhol/cukhol/nikhol* |

*Figure 2.2: Hyow Pronoun Paradigm*

(2.7) *ta = o* *key = cæ* *khi-ti-ŋa = nu*
elder.brother = VOC 1S = TOP endure-ANY.MORE-NEG.1S = VIS
'Elder brother, I cannot endure this any longer, you see.'

## 2.3. Relative Clauses

Hyow relative clauses, easily identifiable as clauses that modify a head noun, have two distinct constructions, a more typical structure from a Kuki-Chin perspective, and one seemingly borrowed from a local Bangla variety. Both types of relative clause precede the head noun. Owing to data limitations, this description of relative clauses is tentative, though the distinction between the two structures is readily evident.

The native Kuki-Chin relative clause is largely identifiable by verbal morphology. In (2.8) – (2.9) below, the verbs contain the relativizer *= ti*, which is possibly cognate with the Hakha Lai relativizer *tùu*, descended from the Proto-Kuki-Chin relativizer **tuu* (VanBik 2009: 102). Additionally, the verbs are marked with the deictic suffixes *= cæ* and *= ni*. Lastly, note the lack of 3rd person marking on the verb, following the relative clause in (2.8).

(2.8) *ey koŋbaŋ lo eya* *ø-dü = ti = ni* *ø-dü-ayhyå*
in.fact 3S-die-REL = NZ 3S-die-IMMED.FUT
'Indeed, he who is to die, will die.' (7.19)

(2.9) *e-thin* *å-cop* *ø-ey = ti = cæ* *ey = cæ* *å-nuy-hi = cæ*
3S-liver 3S-lung 3S-eat-REL = TOP 3S = TOP 3S-laugh-COND = TOP
'He who eats the liver and lung, if he laughs...' (7.50)

These phrases, thus, show a clear pattern of nominalization, as is common in Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. So-Hartmann, 2009: 138, on Daai Chin).

Other Hyow relative clauses appear to contain syntactic patterns borrowed from Bangla. Indo-European languages such as English use interrogative pronouns, such as *who* and *where* in relative clauses. Bangla uses relative pronouns at the start and end of each relative clause (Bhattacharya, 2001). In sentences (2.10) and (2.11) below, the Hyow interrogative words *iöm* 'what' and *u* 'who' are incorporated in the relative clauses. While the verb in (2.10) is marked with the topicalizer *=cæ* as in (2.9) above, it lacks the relativizer *-ti*. Also, note the lack of a verb in (2.11) and the repeated deictic demonstrative *cua* 'there', which perhaps serves to mark the clause in the absence of other nominalizing elements.

(2.10) [*i=öm* *kini-pek-khå=cæ*] *mo=a* *ni-ci=öm*
what=Q 1S.2S-give-REAL=TOP where=LOC 2S-take=Q
'Where did you take that which I gave to you?' (6.36)

(2.11) [*cua* *toŋgi=hån=a* *cua* *u* *ey=öm*] *ey=ni* *sho-öŋ=bala=cæ*
DX top.floor=ON=LOC DX who 3S=Q 3S=DX see-OBL=SUB=TOP
'She went to see who was on the top floor.' (7.161)

Overall, more data is needed to analyze the full breadth of potential relative constructions, especially given the tendency shown here to use both Kuki-Chin and Bangla patterns. Nevertheless, it is readily apparent how relative clauses fit into the Noun Phrase paradigm, as a prenominal phrasal element.

## 2.4. Demonstrative Pronouns

As mentioned above in Section 2.2, demonstratives precede their head noun and also frequently act as a phrase themselves in the head noun position. The particular form of the demonstrative adjective or pronoun places the noun phrase spatially, while potentially related

deictic enclitics mark reference (discussed below in Section 2.9.2). These paradigms will be discussed in full detail in Section 3 below. Structurally, demonstratives tend to take one of two forms: a prenominal or pronominal element. These structures will be explored below.

As a prenominal element, demonstrative pronouns procliticize to the head noun, often in conjunction with a suffixal deictic element. While this construction is common in the Kuki-Chin family (cf. Barnes 1998, on Lai), it is by no means frequent in the Hyow narrative corpus. Examples (2.12) and (2.13) give two such examples. The nouns *sampho* 'ship' and *muy* 'elephant' are marked with both a prenominal and postnominal deictic element. Since the element *ey* also marks the 3rd person singular pronoun, these forms are also potentially ambiguous. For example, the clause *eymuyni con* in (2.13) is very similar to the clause *ey muyni con* 'he, the elephant, ran'. The form *ey* seems not to represent a distinct participant, as the verb *con* is intransitive. The overall paucity of the pre- and postnominal construction, described in other Kuki-Chin languages, is suspicious.

(2.12) *ey=sampho=ni* *åkey-hn'ti* *hare*
DX=ship=DX be.stuck-COMPLET understand
'This ship got stuck, you see.' (7.143)

(2.13) *eydö* *å=hnåmåŋ* *tun-bala=cæ* *ey* *muy=ni* *con*
then 2S=trunk straighten-SUB=TOP DX elephant=DX run
'Then, straightening its trunk, that elephant ran.' (9.36)

Demonstratives do have a wide use as locative elements. When marked with the locative clitic *=a*, demonstratives may mark spatial or referential position. For example, in (2.14), the distal locative demonstrative *cua* 'there' appears to act as a conjunction, while the medio-distal locative demonstrative *eya* 'there' refers to the place that the subject has travelled to.

(2.14) *cu = a* *amati konna = khok = a* *ø-cet* *ey = a* *a-phå*
DX = LOC Amati.Konna = to = LOC 3S-go DX = LOC 3S.DIR = reach
'Then, he went to Amati Konna and reached there.' (10.34)

## 2.5. Possessive Constructions

Noun phrases may include a variety of possessive constructions, which involve both prenominal and postnominal elements. Two constructions involving prenominal constructions will be discussed here, and a third involving a genitive case marking below in Section 2.6. The two constructions in this section involve an affixal possessor and noun compounding, respectively.

The first of these prenominal constructions involves a set of pronominals very similar to the paradigm of free pronouns in Section 2.2.3 above and that of basic verbal participant coding in Section 1.7.1. As examples (2.15) and (2.16) show, if the possessor of a noun is a pronoun, that pronoun may be affixed directly as a prefix to the head noun, such as *påtå* 'husband' in the former and *cå* 'child' in the latter. In (2.15), this possessive phrase is preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *ey*. This order suggests that the demonstrative construction is more peripheral to the head noun than the pronominal possessive construction. Not enough phrases with both of these elements appear in the corpus, however, to provide a comprehensive explanation of the relationship of these two sets of elements.

(2.15) *ey = nå = påtå = ni* *ibå* *ini-tuk-hnüŋ-ay = öm = ting*
DX = 2S = husband = DX what 1D.INCL-kill = BE.ABLE = IRR = Q = QUOT
'How will we be able to kill your husband?' (9.7)

(2.16) *tuhnup = a = cæ* *ni = huy* *nihni = cå* *ø-dü-hå = ni*
today = LOC = TOP this = way 2D = child 3S-die-REAL = DX
'Your child has died today.' (7.12)

As (2.16) suggests, pronominal possessive referents reflect all possible categorical combinations within the pronoun paradigm.

## 2.6. Nominal Suffixes

As mentioned above in 1.5.1, Hyow nouns may receive one of several case markers. In addition to these case markers, which cliticize to the noun phrase before deictic elements, there are several affixes that may derive nouns. These affixes include gender and diminutive markers, though they vary in productivity of use. In fact, gender markers exist only in certain relic expressions, or have been limited to a specific semantic realm.

### 2.6.1. Noun Formatives

The noun formatives that precede case marking include masculine and feminine gender markers and diminutive and augmentative suffixes. As sentence (2.17) shows, these elements are often used with animate referents. In (2.18), however, it is evident that the use of the diminutive marker *-cå*, which also acts as a noun *cå* 'son, child' (more commonly *c'på* 'son'), has spread to any noun phrase as a general diminutive. Note that the morphemes *-nu* and *-på* along with *-cå* are affixed directly after the head noun and before any sort of case marking, such as *=la*, here a coordination marker.

(2.17) *eyni* *acaŋnu=la* *acaŋpå=la=ni* *håa-cå=ni*
that old.woman=AND old.man=AND=DX wild.hen-DIM=DX
'The old man and woman (brought up) a little wild hen.' (8.1)

(2.18) *cua=ni* *å-hnå-cå* *duk=a=ni* *hån-ey=hn'-ti*
there=DX 3S-ear-DIM inside=LOC=DX make.enter-MID=COMPLET
'He made that one enter inside his ear.' (8.10)

As So-Hartmann shows for Daai-Chin, the gender markers *-nu* and *-på* appear limited to animate referents (So-Hartmann, 2009: 147). The augmentative *-leen* has a similarly small distribution, in contrast with the wide range of noun phrases that may be marked with *-cå*. In some Kuki-Chin languages, the feminine gender marker has been reanalyzed as an augmentative morpheme (VanBik 2009: 84). In Hyow, however, this use has been lost, perhaps having been replaced by *-leen*.

### 2.6.2. Case Marking

Following the elements discussed above, Hyow noun phrases may take one of four case markers: ergative, absolutive, locative, or oblique. As mentioned above in Section 1.5.1, Hyow patterns largely as a split-ergative language (also cf. Peterson 2003a). In other words, the subjects of transitive verbs tend to be marked differently from their objects and the subjects of intransitive verbs. The nominal clitic *=la* appears to mark agentive participants, while absolutive participants are unmarked. Example (2.19) gives an example of a transitive sentence, with the object, *cucæ* 'that one', sentence-initially, following the oblique conjunction *eydö*. This ordering, different from the expected Subject-Object-Verb ordering, can be explained by the topicalizer *=cæ*. Note that *cucæ* is unmarked with respect to case, while *tuy* 'water' receives ergative marking.

(2.19) *eydö* *cu=cæ* *tuy=la* *ø-phon-shå-pe*
then there=TOP water=ERG 3S-make.float-CAUS-BEN
'Then, the water made that one float.' (7.191)

Similarly, in (2.20) below, the subject, *ata* 'his elder brother', receives no overt case marking and patterns as *cucæ* above. Note that the constituent *pre* 'country' is not a core participant of the verb, as it is marked with the locative case, *-a*.

(2.20) *cua* *a=ta=ø* *pre=a=ha* *a-krå*
there 3S=brother=ABS country=LOC=? 3S.DIR-reach
'His brother reached the country there.' (7.193)

Of particular note is a morpheme *=la* identical to the ergative suffix that figures in NP-conjunction. (2.21) demonstrates that this morpheme does not mark ergativity. The subjects of the intransitive verb *möy* 'live', are predicted to take the absolutive case. Since both noun phrases take the suffix *=la*, it seems that the morpheme is indicating conjunction and not case.

(2.21) *ey=* *acaŋnu=la* *acaŋpå=la* *uhuy=ni* *ihni-möy-hn'ti*
DX old.woman=ALSO old.man=ALSO that.way=DX 3D-live-COMPLET
'The old man and woman lived that way.' (7.197)

As for oblique case markers, there is a locative marker *-a* and a general oblique marker *-öŋ*. The locative marker generally indicates direction towards or static location of the head noun. This construction has been explored in Section 2.4 above. The second marker *-öŋ* performs a variety of functions, indicative comitative constructions, indirect objects, and instruments. The clitic may simply mark all non-locative obliques. In example (2.22) below, the locative *=a* is cliticized to the demonstrative *ey* and the noun *poy* 'party', while the non-locative oblique *–öŋ* to *påtå* 'husband'. Note that in the first clause the noun phrase *toŋ* 'pot' is a core constituent marked in the absolutive case, while *åpåtå* is an oblique element. Likewise, both *eya* and *poya* are oblique phrases of the intransitive verb *lo* 'come' in the second clause.

(2.22) *toŋ = ø* *ø-khu-öŋ-bala = cæ* *å = påtå = öŋ* *eya* *poy = a* *ihni-lo = ti*
pot 3S-cover-OBL-SUB = TOP 3S = husband = OBL there party = LOC 3D-come = EVID
'Carrying her husband in a pot, (they came) to the party.' (9.41)

## 2.7. Adjectives

While there are many of words in Hyow that correspond to English adjectival concepts, the class of true adjectives is small and seemingly closed. Some concepts such as 'good' are commonly expressed as intransitive verbs, as indicated by verbal morphology. In (2.23) and (2.24), the form *påy* 'good' receives participant coding and the directional morpheme *-al*.

(2.23) *e-se* *nu-hlu-ey* *å-påy* *nu-hlu-ey*
3S-be.dead 2S-want-Q 3S-be.good 2S-want-Q
'Do you want (your daughter) to be okay, or do you want her to be dead?' (8.42)

(2.24) *e-be = la* *å-påy-al*
3S-grandmother = ERG 3S-be.good-DIR
'The grandmother made her well.' (10.25)

These intransitive verbs also frequently show reduplicative tendencies unlike regular verbs. For example, the intransitive verb *thåw* 'be fat', which takes participant coding in both the positive and negative paradigms, has allomorphs *thåwthu* and *thåwthuthu*. Other words such as *hantöltöl* 'be bald' and *khilkhongkhong* 'be uneven, bumpy' follow this pattern. Since this reduplication is similar to the structure of numerous adverbs such as *måtmåt* 'very' and *cinglinglinga* 'in a squatting manner', it is possible that these forms are verbal classifiers (Peterson, personal communication), though more research is needed to establish such a word class. Nevertheless, these reduplicative forms are most often used as intransitive verbs and are not found in typical noun phrases, unlike the small class of true adjectives.

The small class of true adjectives receives little or no morphology. In fact, they seem most similar to the gender suffixes *-på* and *-nu* discussed above in Section 2.6.1. For instance, in (2.26) below, the adjective *bok* 'white' fills a slot in the noun phrase close to *muy* 'elephant', even preceding the numeral *hãt* and the case marker *=öŋ*. Similarly, in (2.27), *tha* 'new' precedes the ergative case marker *=la*.

(2.26) *ey=öŋ* *muy=bok=hãt=öŋ=dö* *ey* *ø-tåk-ula=cæ*
DX=OBL elephant=white=1=OBL=FOC DX 3S-scratch-PL.SUB=TOP
'(They'll kill each other) by scratching the white elephant.' (9.34)

(2.27) *key* *måŋ=tha=la=tiŋ* *tak=hn'=ti*
1S king=new=EMPH=QUOT say=COMPLET=EVID
'I am the new king, he said.' (9.39)

In some cases it seems that the noun-adjective phrase may have been lexicalized as a new noun. For example in the narrative of (2.26) above, *muybok* 'white elephant' is a proper noun describing a particular character, a white elephant charged with the task of finding a new king. In fact, white elephants are very prevalent in local mythology. Similarly, the adjective phrase *ben bok* 'white crane' has become lexicalized as *benbok* 'egret'.

This class of these adjectives is fairly small, with only a handful appearing in the narrative corpus. Most of these true adjectives are monosyllabic, such as *sen* 'red', *åy* 'yellow', and *set* 'right (direction)'. Several others appear to contain affixes, as in *åy*löŋ 'orange' (*åy* 'yellow' + *löŋ* '?'), and *setöŋ* 'left (direction)' (*set* 'right' + *=öŋ* 'OBL'). Confusingly, however, it seems that even true adjectives may sometimes use verbal morphology. In (2.28), *bok* acts as an intransitive verb in the first relative clause, then as an adjective. This sentence indicates that adjectives may perhaps be used interchangeably as intransitive verbs. Diachronically, it is

possible that one of these constructions is transitioning to the other, causing both to be interchangeable, as the example may translate more literally to ‘He kept the white cotton, cotton that is white’.

(2.28) *phåy* *ø-bok-ti* *phåy=bok* *ø-tå-ey-hyå=ti*
cotton 3S-be.white-REL cotton=white 3S-keep-MID-REAL=COMPLET
‘He kept the white cotton.’ (10.50)

Because of this variation, it seems that there may not be a distinction between adjective and verb word classes. Certainly, the classes constitute two distinct morphological constructions. Roots themselves, however, may perhaps be used interchangeably in either.

## 2.8. Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifier phrases represent another construction that may precede phrase-final elements such as case marking. Their general structure is discussed above in Section 1.6. In the context of the noun phrase, the numeral classifier (whose identity depends on the class of the head noun) follows the head noun, which is in turn followed by a numeral. As (2.29) shows below, the numeral classifier phrase *=payhni* is postposed to the head compound noun *tanåw* ‘siblings’ (*ta* ‘older brother’ + *nåw* ‘younger brother), but precedes the ergative marker *=la* and the deictic clitic *=ni*.

(2.29) *ta=nåw=pay=hni=la=ni…* *dülmo=a=ci*
o.b.=y.b.=CLASS=2=ERG=DX yard=LOC=HABIT
‘The older brother and younger brother (would play) in the yard.’ (7.76)

While most numeral classifier phrases are marked by deictic clitics in the manner seen above, these clitics may also appear immediately following the head noun phrase. Note the

separation of the numeral classifier in (2.30) below. The noun *cå* 'son' receives the deictic suffix *=ni* before the classifier phrase *pocoŋhni*. This structure suggests that the noun phrase may have two possible sites for case marking and other suffixes, since the deictic maker *=ni* is usually the final element of the noun phrase. It seems more likely, however, that *pocoŋ* is an apposition to the noun phrase *ahnicåni* and is not a typical numeral classifier phrase.

(2.30) *eydö ahni=cå=ni pocoŋ=hni ø-möy cua påtå=cå=hüy=ni*
then 3D=son=DX CLASS=2 3D-live there husb.=son=DUAL=DX
'Then, their two sons, the father's two sons lived there.' (7.2)

Like demonstrative pronouns, numeral classifier phrases may through anaphora replace the whole noun phrase. The clause in (2.31) comes after much discussion of the chicks of *æŋkoaycånu* 'mother sparrow'. Since *æŋkoaycå* 'sparrow' takes the classifier *lu*, it is evident that the understood object of the verb in this sentence, *tuk* 'kill', must be one of the chicks. Note that *eyni*, since it is not marked with an ergative clitic, refers to the absolutive object participant.

(2.31) *eyni ø=lu=ak ø-tuk*
that chick=CLASS=1 3S-kill
'He killed that one of them (the chicks).' (7.10)

Additionally, there are some nouns that habitually take a ø-numeral classifier. These nouns include temporal or spatial abstract nouns such as *khrå* 'month', *pre* 'country', and *låm* 'path'. Example (2.32) below gives an example of *hnüp* 'day' foregoing a numeral classifier. This particular construction may, however, be a crystallized narrative form or analogy with the first clause, which lacks a numeral classifier due to the nature of the numeral *ak* '1' (cf. Section 1.6).

(2.32) *eydö* *hnüp=ak* *ø-möy* *hnüp=hni* *ø-möy* *hnüp=thum*
then day=1 3S-live day=2 3S-live day=3
'Then he lived one day, two days, three days…' (7.166)

Lastly, the class of which nouns take which numeral classifier seems to be clearly semantically motivated. Figure 2.3 below gives an outline of attested numeral classifiers along with their general semantic domain. Note that the majority of distinctions appear to pertain to kinship classes, object shape, or consistency. More information would be needed to fully account for this system, which may only be partially systematic in the first place. For example, several classifiers such as *thiŋ* only appear with one noun and in this case appear to be recent grammaticalizations, though this could be the result of limited data. Other markers like *wåŋ* refer both to paired objects and to body parts, owing to the paucity of examples of other inherently paired items.

| Numeral Classifier | Semantic domain | Examples | Possible PKC Origin (after VanBik 2009) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pay* | generic | *iyöŋma* 'couple', *im* 'house' | ? |
| *pocoŋ* | younger generation | *c'hnu* 'daughter', *cå* 'son' | **θaŋ* 'grain, seed'? |
| *lu* | domesticated animals | *a* 'chicken', *uy* 'dog' | **luu* 'head' |
| *wåŋ* | paired objects | *mik* 'eye', *tån* 'leg' | ? |
| *pum* | large, round | *sel* 'cow', *håythey* 'mango' | **pum* 'body' |
| *gåråt* | small, round | *töy* 'egg' | ? |
| *lep* | small, flat | *sey* 'leaf' | **hlep* 'cut, skin'? |
| *tum* | round, flat | *ha* 'gold piece' | **tum* 'block of wood, drum'? |
| *hyåŋ* | long, thin | *ålåŋ* 'river', *sampho* 'ship' | ? |
| *cum* | clothing | *pönap* 'shoe', *wat* 'cloth' | **θuam* 'clothing'? |
| *thiŋ* | trees | *thiŋ* 'tree' | **thiŋ* 'tree' |
| *iy* | betel nut | *kom* 'betel nut' | ? |
| *khå* | word | *khew* 'word' | **khee* 'foot'? |

*Figure 2.3: Selected Hyow Numeral Classifiers*

## 2.9. Noun Phrase Suffixes

The final element of the Hyow noun phrase is a set of number, information status, and deictic markers. As mentioned above, these elements appear to be cliticized either directly to the head noun or perhaps to the end of the noun phrase as a whole. In fact, the information status and deictic markers may even occur clause-finally with a clause-level scope. This phenomenon will be discussed in depth below in Chapter 3. Because of this scope, these elements seem to be the most peripheral to the noun phrase.

### 2.9.1. Number Markers

In addition to the numeral classifier phrase, noun phrases indicate number distinctions through a set of several suffixes. Singular nouns are, as one would expect, unmarked. Plural or collective nouns are marked with the clitic *-khol*. In addition, there is also a dual marker *-hüy*, which appears to be identical to the suffixal third person dual verbal participant coding shown in Section 1.7.1 above. Confusingly, in the case of the dual, a numeral classifier phrase may also be employed to convey very similar meaning. Example (2.30) above may show an instance of both methods being employed. The noun *cå* is marked once with the classifier *pocoŋ* (*ahnicånipocoŋni* 'their two sons') and later with the dual marker *-hüy* (påtåcåhüyni 'the husband's two sons'). The aforementioned sentence is problematic, however. Sentences (2.34) and (2.35) below show more straightforward examples of the dual and collective markers. Note that in (2.35), the deictic suffix *=ni* follows the collective marker in *eykholni*.

(2.34) *kå=cå=hüy* *eyhuy* *kå=påtå=la* *å-tuk-pek-al-ayhyå*
1S=son=DU that.way 1S=husband=ERG 3S-kill-MALEF-DIR-IMMED.FUT
'My husband will kill my sons that way.' (7.23)

(2.35) *a = nåw = la = cæ* *a = thin = khol* *ö = cop = khol* *ey = khol = ni*
3S = brother = ERG = TOP 3S = liver = PL 3S = lung = PL DX = PL = DET
'The younger brother (ate) the livers and lungs, you see.' (7.62)

### 2.9.2. Deictics

Referential deictic markers are the last elements of the noun phrase. These morphemes are highly frequent and appear in numerous examples throughout this chapter. These elements mark information status, including the topicalizer *=cæ*, the focus marker *–dö,* and the proximal deictic *=ni*. For a simple example, note the two *=dö* suffixes in (2.36), which follow all other elements of the noun phrases, including the ergative marker *-la*. These clitics largely perform discourse functions and may be affixed to other types of phrases, particularly verbs. The precise semantics and interplay between these morphemes will be discussed in Chapter 3.

(2.36) *key = dö* *na = hnaga = la = dö* *ö-tö-så*
1S = FOC 2S = snake.god = ERG = FOC 3S-send-REAL
'The Snake God has sent me.' (7.150)

## 2.10. Summary

In this section, the breadth of Hyow noun phrase elements has been explored from a structural and semantic perspective. While these noun phrases may be complex, they largely follow the schema outlined in Figure 2.1, and certain elements interact with one another in predictable ways.

# Chapter 3: The Hyow Deictic Paradigm

## 3.1. The Realm of Deictic Elements

This section details the use of deictic demonstratives in Hyow, elements that indicate the physical or abstract placement of linguistic entities. In other words, Hyow noun phrases may be categorized by their relative conceptual distance, much like English phrases that are governed by the demonstratives 'this' and 'that'. In his WALS chapter on demonstrative distance contrasts, Diessel (2005) identifies the concept of the *origo*, the deictic center of discourse, which is essentially constituted by the speaker's position. The cross-linguistic instantiation of distance-contrasts has a surprising lack of variation. All languages studied have between one and five deictic positions. Two-way contrasts nearly always distinguish simply between near and far from the origo, forms often described as *proximal* and *distal*. Three-way distinctions frequently include the notion of hearer- and speaker-proximity, in which the listener forms a second origo. Other systems retain the speaker as the origo and include a medio-distal form, denoting a distance neither proximal nor as far away as distal. Lastly, systems with greater numbers of contrasts are cross-linguistically rare and feature elements such as a super-distal marker. While Diessel concentrates on distance contrasts, other deictic elements may interact closely with the demonstrative system, such as directional elements in Maori that distinguish between referents that are uphill or downhill from the origo (Bauer 1997: 350). Other such distinctions include visibility or non-visibility to the origo, as in the related Kuki-Chin language Mizo (see *sòò* 'yonder, visible' and *cùù* 'that, not visible' in Barnes 1998: 53), and elements being pointed to by hand, like the Hyow interjection *co* 'there'.

The prototypical deictic demonstrative paradigm in Hyow consists of three basic forms, though each of these forms may occupy a variety of places in the noun phrase, and numerous relic and related morphemes interact paradigmatically with the basic forms. The complex nature of this deictic system likely results from the spreading of the semantics of related forms from simple spatial deixis to temporal and relational deixis. In other words, the forms that prototypically refer to spatial reference, then became grammaticalized to indicate discourse-related deixis. Lenz (2003: vii) shows that spatial deixis often closely interfaces with speakers' perceptions of temporality, as if the sequence of events is interpreted as a physical timeline. Similarly, the English conjunctions 'before' and 'after' began as spatial markers (as in, fore and aft on a boat), but now mark abstract event ordering (OED: "before", "after"). In a further development, deictics in the Kuki-Chin family also tend to mark reference and perform other discourse functions, such as topicalizing, focus-marking, and indication of tense. Figure 3.1 illustrates the interaction between the concrete and abstract representations of deictic forms. The person on the left is the speaker, and the one on the right is the hearer. The referential level denotes discourse deixis, the ground denotes spatial deixis (with the speaker pointing at an object), and the outer temporal layer denotes a more abstract temporal level, like deictic elements grammaticalized as tense. In general, a proximal spatial demonstrative may be related to a focus marker, as both refer to things conceptually nearby. Likewise, a distal demonstrative may be related to a past tense marker, as both are metaphorically distant. Note that this representation is generalized for the purpose of illustrating Hyow deictic elements. Other languages may have different elements with other interpretations.

In the sections below, each basic deictic demonstrative form will be explored, along with other non-demonstrative forms which seem related semantically. Of particular focus will be

which forms co-occur and which act in opposition to others in paradigmatic ways. Most examples will involve text analysis from the narrative corpus. While the corpus is not large enough to prove the nonexistence of certain combinations of forms, those that do exist may be analyzed in a highly contextualized manner.

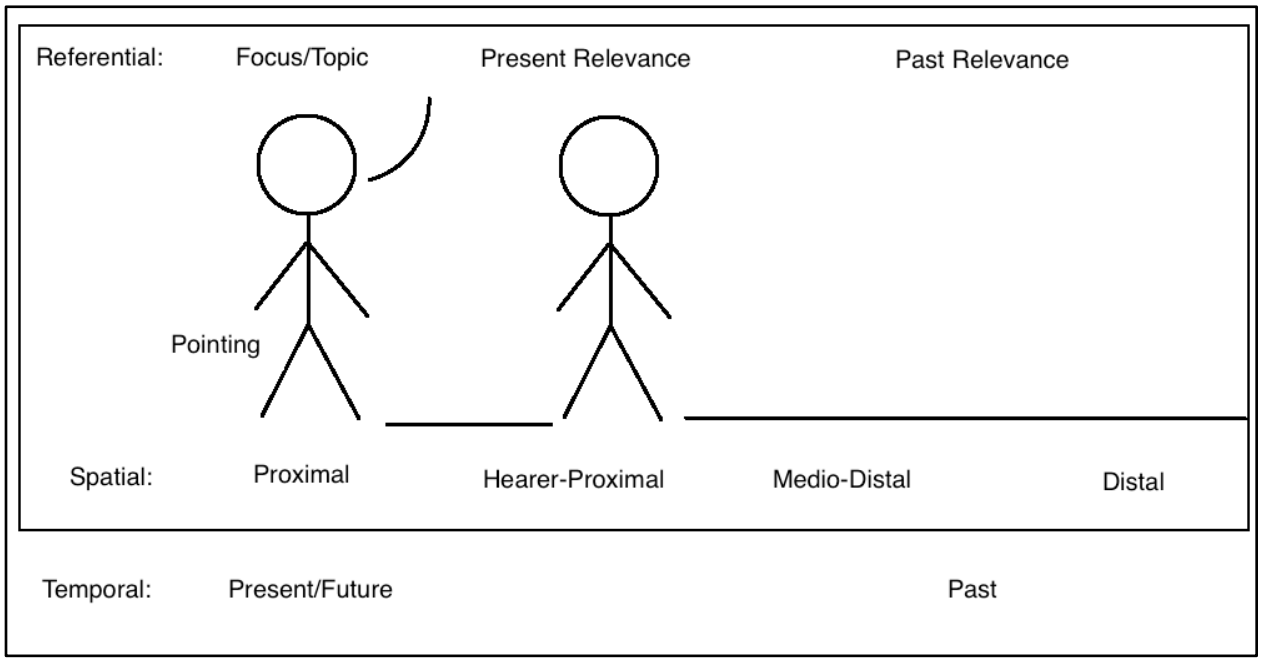


*Figure 3.1: A Broad Outline of Deictic Element Categories (tailored to Hyow elements)*

## 3.2. Demonstrative Forms

As mentioned above, there are three basic deictic demonstrative forms: the speaker-proximal *ey*, the hearer-proximal *ni*, and the distal *cu*. Each of these forms may appear in a variety of positions in the noun phrase. First, they may appear as a noun phrase head themselves, as seen in Section 2.4 above. Second, they may modify a head noun as a demonstrative adjective. In both of these instances, the semantics indicated may be spatial or referential marking. Lastly, they may be cliticized to the head noun, usually with discourse-based semantics. More specific instantiations of these forms and meanings will be shown below.

### 3.2.1. *ey* / *öy*

Next is a pair of medio-distal, or hearer-proximal forms, *ey* and *öy*. While these morphemes do not appear as frequently as *ni* in the corpus as deictic demonstratives, they have a wide distribution in the form of grammaticalized oblique elements. For example, many sentence examples throughout this thesis begin with the form *eydö* 'then' due to a common discourse style. The form *öydö* also exists, but the distribution of the two has not yet been ascertained. These forms are easily analyzable as the *ey* / *öy* element with the *dö* focus marker, described below in Section 3.4.2. Additionally, the *ey* form is phonologically identical to the third person pronoun *ey*. Such a relation between a demonstrative and pronoun seems to be possible for distal elements, if one relates the proximal deictic to the 3rd person. This grammatical path in either direction has not been reliably attested, however (lack of evidence in Heine & Kuteva 2002).

Much like the other demonstratives, *ey* and *öy* may be preposed to a head noun. In the narrative corpus, these forms are not very frequent, perhaps because of the nature of the speech mode. In other words, if the narrator is telling a story to a crowd, none of the elements in the ensuing tale will be spatially related to those hearers. Therefore, a hearer-proximal element would be rare in narratives. By contrast, these forms are more frequent in reported speech and elicited data. In addition, because of the similarity of *ey* to the 3rd person pronoun, it is often difficult to distinguish between its use as a pronoun and a demonstrative element. Example (3.1) shows an instance of this form from the elicited data corpus. Note the potential confusion with the repeated subject of (3.1), *ey*. As a demonstrative, though, *ey* is clearly prefixed to *hnüp* 'day' and acts in opposition with the contrasting locative prefix *pön* 'next'. Here, this form is marking temporality like its counterpart *pön*, which also has a spatial use, meaning

'next to, adjoining'. It is also evident that *ey* acts as a medio-distal marker, referring to a day that is not proximal to the speaker, as that construction would likely instead involve *tuhnup* 'today.'

(3.1) *ey* *ey = hnüp = a* *lo-a* *ey* *pön = hnüp = öŋ* *ø-lo*
3S DX = day = LOC come-NEG.3S 3S next = day = OBL 3S-come
'He didn't come this day, he came the next.' (II, 158)

This marker may also be the head noun of a noun phrase, especially when cliticized to the locative clitic *= a*, as in *eya* 'here'. (3.2a) – (3.2b) show basic sentences with *ey* and *öy*. Owing to the closely controlled nature of the elicited sentences, it is certain that these forms are locative demonstratives. Both of these forms also clearly medio-distal demonstratives, but only some speakers detect a difference between the two. Some older speakers insist that the sentence (3.2a) is commanding someone to put a bottle near the hearer, and the sentence (3.2b) is commanding someone to bring a bottle closer to them, but further away than the hearer. For these speakers, thus, *ey* likely marks hearer-proximal referents, while *öy* marks medio-distal referents farther away than the hearer. Some younger speakers do not detect a difference between the two forms, suggesting that they have merged to both mark medio-distal referents.

(3.2a) *ey = a* *buŋ* *tå*
DX = LOC bottle put
'Put the bottle here.' (III, 8)

(3.2b) *öy = a* *buŋ* *tå*
DX = LOC bottle put
'Put the bottle there.' (III, 8)

The form *öya* 'there' may also be used in this context to indicate a location that is further away than *eya* but still not distal. More research is needed to decipher its precise semantics, though, especially given the phonological similarity between the two forms.

Other examples of *eya* may seem ambiguous, owing to the high frequency of *eya* as an animate pronominal referent marked in the oblique case. For example, in (3.3), *eya* could be the oblique-marked object of the intransitive verb *küpey* 'cover'. Likewise, *eya* could be a locative form, though this element is also not overtly indicated in the gloss. If the latter were the correct interpretation, it would seem that the demonstrative is perhaps marking a subtle discourse function because of its lack of overt translation.

| (3.3) | *eydö* | *ey = a* | *lung pael = öŋ* | *ini-küp-ey-hyå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | then | DX = OBL | stone = OBL | 3P-cover-MID-REAL |

"Then they were covered by a stone." (10.43)

Lastly, the medio-distal elements may potentially cliticize to the noun phrase to indicate a discourse function. In the narrative and elicited data corpora, the hearer-proximal clitic *=ni* has a much higher frequency, indicating that *=ey* has a limited distribution, or the construction is being misanalyzed. As mentioned above, this limitation could be the result of the speaker telling stories not involving the hearer, but the small number of instances of the form remains suspicious. Consider one of the few examples from the narrative corpus given with two different interpretations in (3.4) and (3.5).

| (3.4) | *eydö* | *cu = a* | *uwåk = hãt = ey* | *hãt = ni* | *uwåk* | *khom = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | then | DX = LOC | pig = 1 = DX | 1 = DX | pig | meet = SUB = DX |

'Then, after meeting the one pig there...' (8.8)

| (3.5) | *eydö* | *cu = a* | *uwåk = hãt* | *ey = hãt = ni* | *uwåk* | *khom = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | then | DX = LOC | pig = 1 | DX = 1 = DX | pig | meet = SUB = DX |

'Then, after meeting the one pig there...' (8.8)

It is tempting to analyze *ey* as an enclitic in 3.4, though it seems much more likely that the morpheme is acting as a pronominal restatement of *uwåk*. This sentence also contains potentially ambiguous elements, as one wild pig meets another wild pig. The two *uwåk* 'pig' are distinguished only by the demonstratives *cua*, the distal pig being met, and the proximal subject.

For more straightforward examples of the enclitic instantiation of *=ey*, consider (3.6) and (3.7). The clause in (3.6) appears in the introduction to the lengthy tale of the Sun and Moon Brothers. The first two lines give the history of the two brother's parents. The action of building a nest is the final action in a long series of events beginning in the distant past. Perhaps the medio-distal marker *=ey* is used to indicate a progression in tense from the distant past to a more recent time. Alternatively, it may mark the entire series of actions as being in the non-present tense. Note that the deictic morpheme occupies a different slot from the phonologically similar *-ey* mediopassive and the *=ey* question marker.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (3.6) | *æŋkoaycå=nupå=la=ni* | *cua=ni…* | *bu=cå=ni* | *ihni-sek-ey=hn'ti=ey* | |
| | sparrow=parents=ERG=DX | there=DX | nest=DIM=DX | 3D-build-MID=COMP=DX | |
| | 'Then the sparrow parents built a nest (on the roof).' (7.2) | | | | |

As another example, in (3.7), a father is describing how women are in general supposed to act towards their husbands. Presumably implying that a wife should never stray far very far from her husband, the father uses the medio-distal deictic to demonstrate where she should go. The father could also be using the form as a temporal marker, indicating that the wife should go sooner rather than later. As a suffix, thus, *=ey* may represent a demonstrative that has grammaticalized into a tense marker, or it may retain some semantics of a spatial deictic. Overall, more data is needed to more precisely analyze these forms.

(3.7) *nå = påtå* *moa* *ø-cet = öm* *ey = a* *cet-ay-la-ti = ey* *cå = o*
2S = man where 3S-go = Q 3S = LOC go-IRR-OBLIG-IMPER = DX child = VOC
'Where does your man go? Go to him! Daughter, you must go with him.' (7.156)

### 3.2.2. *ni*

Perhaps the most frequent deictic element in the narrative and elicited data corpora is the speaker-proximal demonstrative *ni*. The form acts as a demonstrative prefixal element frequently, especially in the elicited data corpus. Like the medio-distal *ey-*, this prefix may be glossed as 'this', as in (3.8), though *ni* seems to be the true proximal marker.

(3.8) *ni* *s'möycå* *u-nuy-så*
DX boy 3S-laugh-REAL
'This boy laughs.' (I, 18)

The proximal *ni* may also be used in the locative *nia* 'here'. (3.9) gives a clear example of this locative use. In this instance, the speaker constructs a situation in which a bottle is across the room, potentially in a medio-distal position. The speaker then asks that the bottle be brought, perhaps even to hand the bottle to them.

(3.9) *ni = a* *buŋ* *tå*
DX = LOC bottle put
'Put the bottle here.' (III, 8)

In (3.10), a washerman is speaking to a king, who is trying to find the land of a princess named Amati Konna. His washerman senses that the land is near, and river spirits shows them the way, starting with this sentence. Again, the *nia* represents proximity, as the washer seems to

be saying that the land is right in front of him. Similarly, the visibility marker *=nu* (discussed below in Section 3.4.4) suggests that the land is eminently visible, or metaphorically that the king should now understand where it is.

(3.10) *ni=a=cæ* *ne-pre=a=cæ* *ey=huy=dö=nu=tiŋ*
DX=LOC=TOP 2S-country=ALSO=TOP DX=way=FOC=VIS=QUOT
‘‘Your country is there in that way’, they said.’ (10.53)

Lastly and most frequently, the demonstrative *ni* is used as a postposed referential deictic marker. The other spatial deictics *ey* and *cu* are only rarely postposed. In fact, *=ni* rarely has a purely spatial deictic function as a postposed element, suggesting that the form marks information status in that position. Examples of such reference are frequent throughout this thesis, as in (2.30) and (2.31), reproduced below, in which words such as *ahnicå* ‘their son’ and *ey* ‘him’ are marked with the *=ni* suffix. Since each noun has already been introduced into the narrative previously, it seems that the suffix marks continuing topic, or perhaps present relevance. Both semantics seem to follow from the proximal deictic semantics of the demonstrative *ni*.

(2.30) *eydö* *ahni=cå=ni* *pocoŋ=hni* *ø-möy* *cua* *påtå=cå=hüy=ni*
then 3D=son=DX CLASS=2 3D?-live there father=son=DUAL=DX
‘Then, their two sons, the father’s two sons lived there.’ (7.2)

(2.31) *ey=ni* *lu=ak* *ø-tuk*
3S=DX CLASS=1 3S-kill
‘He killed that one of them (the chicks).’ (7.10)

Furthermore, *=ni* may also act as a complementizer, as in (3.11) below. Note that the clitic has a clause-level scope, over the entire indirect discourse, as *=ni* follows the quotative marker.

(3.11) *ke = a* *måŋgri = c'hnu* *nak = a* *ke-cet-ayhyå = tiŋ = ni* *ø-tak = hn'ti*
1S = EMPH king = daughter marry = LOC 1S-go-FUT = QT = DX 3S-say = COMPLET
''(Then) I am going to go marry the king's daughter', he said.' (8.13)

Another example of this complementizer use is shown in (3.12). Once again, the suffix has clausal scope over the complement of the verb *hmu* 'see'.

(3.12) *am = öŋ* *kup-ey-öŋ-bala = ni* *ihni-hmu = hn'ti*
curry = OBL cover-MID-OBL-SUB = DET 3D-see = COMPLET
'They saw that she had covered up curry (on the fireplace shelf).' (7.56)

The enclitic form is also frequently affixed to the word *khoa* 'at the time' with a particular information status. The clause in (3.13) appears after a long history of two parents raising a child. After numerous actions in the past tense, this clause finally sets the scene of the story. The enclitic *=ni* places *khoa* in a proximal position, metaphorically. It is difficult to ascertain whether the clitic serves to indicate that the time has present relevance, to place the clause more in the present tense, or to perform both functions. Contrast this use with *khoa = cæ* described in Section 3.4.1.

(3.13) *ihni-can = hn'la = cæ* *kum = ak* *kho = a = ni* *tak = hn'ti*
3D-raise = SUB = TOP year = 1 time = LOC = DX say = COMPLET
'After they raised him for one year, it was in that time, they say.' (8.2)

Lastly, perhaps due to the wide range of uses for the proximal deictic element *ni*, its enclitic form tends to spread to multiple words in the same clause. Take (3.14) for example (similar to (3.6) above). Perhaps to emphasize the present relevance of the nouns in the clause, *=ni* is

encliticized to four words in a row. This spreading only underscores the high frequency and versatility of the proximal deictic element *ni*.

| (3.14) | *æŋkoayca = nupå = la = ni* | *cua = ni* | *imhle = cå = a = ni* | *bu = cå = ni* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sparrow = parents = ERG = DX | there = DX | roof = DIM = LOC = DX | nest = DIM = DX |
| | 'The sparrow parents then (built) a little nest on the roof.' (7.2) | | | |

### 3.2.3. *cu* (*u-*)

The third basic forms is the distal *cu*. Like *ey-* and *ni-*, *cu-* may be preposed to a noun phrase. (3.15) shows a straightforward instance of this distal form, which places the *s'möycåkhol* 'boys' far away from the speaker and hearer.

| (3.15) | *cu = s'möycå = khol = la* | *håythey* | *ni-hley-ey-khö* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | DX = boy = PL = ERG | mango | 3P-buy-MID-PERF |
| | 'Those boys bought mangoes.' (I, 42) | | |

There is possible allomorphy with a prefix *u-*, as in (3.16). This form contrasts with *eyhuy* and *nihuy*. Since *cuhuy* does not appear in the corpus, it seems possible that *u-* may occasionally be the realization of the distal demonstrative prefix. However, it may also be an instance of *eyhuy* that has undergone vowel harmony with the second syllable.

| (3.16) | *ahluy = på = hãt* | *po-al-bala = cæ* | *u = huy = ni* | *tåk-al = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | rooster = father = 1 | cook-DIR-SUB = TOP | DX = way = DX | keep-DIR = COMP |
| | 'She kept cooking the rooster (more and more) that way.' (7.67) | | | |

The most frequent form containing *cu* is the adverbial locative *cua*, which contrasts with *eya* and *nia*. This form is also fairly straightforward, as shown in (3.17). Here, *cua* clearly refers to a general distal location. It should be noted that the verb *lo* 'come' and *cet* when

glossed as ‘come’ are used with *eya* and *nia*, while *cet* here is glossed as ‘go’. The distal marker, thus, seems to mark elements that are categorically farther away than both the proximal and medio-distal.

(3.17) *cu=a* *buŋ* *a-tå*
DX=LOC bottle 3S.DIR-put
‘(Go) put the bottle there.’ (III, 8)

Lastly, *cu* does not clearly exist as a postposed element. Potentially *ey* already functions as a clause-level distal marker, or the other reference markers such as *=cæ* and *=dö* have taken over those semantics.

## 3.3. Relic Forms

Aside from the three or four basic deictic demonstratives, there are several relic forms that perform a variety of similar functions. They may have at once been productive demonstratives or have come to perform a similar function, such as information status marking. Given the wide variety of different demonstrative systems in Kuki-Chin languages outlined in Chapter 4, it seems that these forms are susceptible to changes such as reanalysis, along with spreading and leveling in the demonstrative paradigm. Therefore, relic forms are of particular interest, as they could provide evidence for diachronic development while subtly enriching the synchronic picture of deixis in each language.

### 3.3.1. *tu-*

The first of these relic forms is **tu*, reconstructed as ‘now’ for Proto-Kuki-Chin (VanBik 2009: 100), though it seems probable that it at some point had demonstrative semantics. As

shown below in (3.18) – (3.19), the fossilized Hyow form *tua* is consistently glossed as 'now'. This form seems to be an obvious parallel to *eya, nia,* and *cua* mentioned above.

(3.18) *key* *tua* *ke-cet-al-ay-la-så*
1S now 1S-go-DIR-IRR-OBLIG-PERF
'I have to go now.' (I, 115)

(3.19) *ey* *tua=dö* *ø-cet-al-så*
3S now=FOC 3S-go-DIR-PERF
'He went just now.' (II, 151)

Several other lexical items hint at the deictic origin of this form. The words *t'hnüp* 'today' and *t'yån* 'tonight' are clearly derived from *hnüp* 'day' and *yån* 'night', respectively, and a prefix involving the *t* consonant. The vowel reduction is indicative of the lexicalization of these forms and their reanalysis as sesquisyllables. Both of these words clearly involve proximal-like semantics, like *tua.* While these words are frequent in the corpora, other relic forms are vanishingly rare. Intriguingly, the word *tu* itself occurs once in the elicited corpus and is glossed as 'that place', though it does not appear in the context of a sentence. It seems likely that **tu* was part of the Kuki-Chin deictic paradigm at a certain point, but it was then reanalyzed.

### 3.3.2. *-hi, hi-*

In contrast with the single semantic remnant of **tu,* the potential former deictic element **hi* appears to have grammaticalized into at least two discrete morphemes. First, as a verbal affix, *-hi* marks the conditional mood, as in (3.20) below.

(3.20) *eydö* *ibå* *nå-måŋ-nak-khå-öm=tiŋ* *ini-tak-hi=cæ*
then what 2S-dream-LOC-REAL-Q=QUOT 3P-say-COND=TOP
'If he then asks what you dreamt...' (9.10)

This morpheme has several other instantiations. First of which is as part of the suffixal element *-tihicæ* in the frequent narrative phrase *ibå thoneyömtihicæ* 'what would happen?' This form is likely derived from some combination of the evidential element *-ti*, described below in Section 3.4.3, *-hi* as a conditional marker or some other sort of existential element, and the topicalizer *=cæ*. This construction, however, is limited to this one phrase, which is often repeated in traditional storytelling framework as an introduction to new information (see, Appendix C, 1).

Secondly, *hi* exists in the negative equative copula *hia*. Though *hi* as an affirmative copula no longer is used, *hia* is analyzable as *hi* and the negative 3rd person verbal participant coding suffix. In (3.21), both *hia* and *hi* as a conditional marker appear in the word *hiahicæ* 'if not that'.

(3.21) *hia-hi=cæ* *nihni-kaw-ayhyå* *ø-möy=tiŋ*
NEG.COP-COND=TOP 2D-separate-IMMED.FUT 3S-EX.COP=QUOT
'If not that, you two will have to stay separate.' (9.19)

Lastly, the morpheme *hi* is preserved in the word *båhicæ* 'then'. This word appears to be a grammaticalization of *bå* 'what', *hi*, and *=cæ*, with the semantics somewhere along the lines of 'what's next'. Again, this form is no longer reducible and often appears as a near-synonym for *eydö* 'then'. All in all, the morpheme *hi* is still evident in the language through various relic forms and grammaticalized morphemes.

### 3.3.3. *-ba- / -ti- / -la-*

Three final relic forms of note are the remaining elements of the *=balacæ* and *=tihicæ* complexes described above. First, the element *-ba* appears in the subordinating enclitic *=bala*. It may be related to the *bå* seen in *båhicæ* 'then' and *ibå* 'what', though the vowel is problematic. These forms all seem to be crystallized, however, and the function of *-ba* has been obscured. Second, the *-ti-* morpheme has reflexes in the narrative form *=tihicæ*, the evidential morpheme *-ti*, and the relativizer *-ti* described in Section 2.3. Lastly, the element *-la* has no related forms yet identified, except in subordinating enclitics *=bala*, *=hn'la*, *=hüyla*, and *=ula*. Perhaps the form was at one point a subordinative enclitic, but it now only appears in these relic forms.

## 3.4. Other Related Forms

As alluded to above, there are various morphemes that, although not related to the demonstratives in origin or semantics, interact on a paradigmatic level with the deictic demonstrative system. These forms include information status markers, the evidential, and visibility markers. It is evident from Section 3.2 above that the deictic demonstrative paradigm itself is not completely robust, as the three-way distance contrast is not preserved in every environment, and certain forms seem not to exist. A potential reason for this lack of consistent structure is the wide variety of semantics performed by the basic demonstratives, especially *=ni*. Since demonstratives and related forms mark spatial, temporal, and referential deixis, it does not seem surprising that there would be morphemes related in some way to at least one of these semantic domains.

### 3.4.1. Topicalizer =cæ

The topicalizer *=cæ* is a high frequency morpheme that appears in many of the example sentences throughout this thesis. In the absence of a *cu*-based form, *=cæ* constitutes a morpheme to contrast with the information status marker *=ni*. It may seem possible that *=cæ* is related to *cu.* Indeed, Khumi deictics, for example, display vowel alternation between preposed and postposed elements, such as *hu* and *ho*; *tu* and *to* (Peterson, personal comm.). More evidence would be needed, though, to suggest this conclusion for Hyow. Nevertheless, *=cæ* marks semantics similar to a distal element with relation to *=ni*. As seen in (3.12) reproduced below, the suffix *=balani* is used for clauses with present, ongoing relevance. These constructions are often translated as 'while (verb)ing…' By contrast, the suffix *-balacæ*, here the plural form *=ulacæ*, marks an interruption of the action and is often translated as 'after (verb)ing…', as in the frequently used narrative form *eyhn'lacæ* 'after this…' The clause in (3.22), for example, clearly has past relevance, as the action of meeting the son's father-in-law has both past tense and old information semantics, as the following clause represents an unrelated subsequent action (of speaking). Note that the verb is restated because of a stumble in this sentence, though it is not shown in this transcription.

(3.12) *am=öŋ* *kup-ey-öŋ-bala=ni* *ihni-hmu=hn'ti*
curry=OBL cover-MID-OBL-SUB=DET 3D-see=COMPLET
'They saw that she had covered up curry (on the fireplace shelf).' (7.56)

(3.22) *shakkhat* *po-ey-ula=cæ* *eydö* *khråŋ=tak=ti*
meeting do-MID-SUB.PL=TOP then 2S.1S=say=EVID
'After having a meeting (with the son's father-in-law), you say to me…' (6.30)

The *=cæ* suffix also contrasts with *=ni* when used with the *khoa* form. Two phrases from the same line, (3.23) and (3.24) give examples of both *khoani* and *khoacæ*. The former indicates that the action of going has present relevance. Following that phrase, a wife washes her husband's head, and *khoacæ* seems to indicate the ending of that action, giving it past relevance.

(3.23) *eydö* *kho=a=ni* *ihni-cet=ni*
then time=LOC=DX 3D-go=COMPLET
'Then, at that time they went…' (9.18)

(3.24) *kho=a=cæ* *eyo* *nå-krå-ay* *hare=tiŋ*
time=LOC=TOP VOC 2S-fall-IRR understand=QUOT
'(After washing his head) he said, 'You will fall down, understand?'' (9.18)

Given these tendencies, it seems that the *=cæ* suffix acts like a distal demonstrative in its abstract functions. Unlike *=ni*, which marks present tense, present relevance, and continuing action, the topicalizer *=cæ* marks past tense, new information, and interrupted action. Rather than having contrastive functions, these two forms are very similar. For (3.25), *=cæ* exhibits the same sort of clausal spreading that *=ni* does. It is also worth noting that these morphemes never co-occur in the corpora. Due to this similarity and contrastive function, the demonstrative suffix paradigm appears to contain two forms in a paradigmatic relationship, *=cæ* and *=ni*.

(3.25) *cua* *a=döm=a=cæ* *kawkum=a=cæ* *am=öŋ*
there DIR=over=LOC=TOP fireplace.shelf=LOC=OBL curry=OBL
'(They saw that she had covered up) curry over the fireplace shelf.' (7.56)

### 3.4.2. Focus Marker *=dö*

Unlike *=cæ*, the focus marker *=dö* is only superficially similar to the deictic demonstratives in that it occupies a similar position in the noun phrase. For instance, the clause in (3.26), repeats the phrase from (3.22) above but including the verbal stumble. The phrase *shakkhat poeyulacæ* is restated to correct the number marker *u* to *ba*. The repeated phrase then features the focus marker *=dö* instead of the topicalizer *=cæ*. In this instance, the suffix serves to focus the phrase, to call attention to the restatement. Interestingly, *=dö* also does not co-occur with either *=cæ* or *=ni*, suggesting that this form is also involved in the information status marker paradigm.

| (3.26) | *ey* | *shakkhat* | *po-ey-u-la=cæ* | *shakkhat* | *po-ey-ba-la=dö* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3S | meeting | do-MID-SUB=TOP | meeting | do-MID-SUB=FOC |
| | ‘He, after meeting (his son’s father-in-law)...’ (6.30) | | | | |

The focus marker may also suffix to *khoa*, as in (3.27). As in the previous example, *khoadö* receives a special emphasis. In this tale, a man is giving a woman advice on how to kill her husband. After explaining how to deviously plot such a plan, he emphasizes that ‘at that time’ above all others, she may push him into the river.

| (3.27) | *kho=a=dö* | *ey* | *nå=påtå* | *ey=kon* | *ne-hle-ey-hnüŋ-hå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | time=LOC=FOC | 3S | 2S=husband | 3S=from | 2S-push-MID-BE.ABLE-REAL |
| | ‘At that time you’ll be able to push down your husband.’ (9.13) | | | | |

The marked semantics of *=dö* thus distinguish it from the *=cæ* and *=ni* paradigm. In a sense, the focus marking supercedes information status marking in the final slot of the noun phrase. More research is needed, however, to fully lay out this paradigm due to the rarity of many of these forms in the corpora.

### 3.4.3. Visibility Markers *co* and *=nu*

The last forms to be discussed in this section are two markers, *=co* and *=nu*, which occupy a similar clausal position; both mark visibility-related semantics. These morphemes are distinct from the demonstrative paradigm in that they may not appear as a prefix or head noun. However, as (3.28) shows, *=nu* may be postposed to a noun phrase, and *co* appears as a free morpheme, almost an interjection. The former morpheme most often appears with verbs of seeing, thinking, or demonstrating, as if physically or metaphorically showing something. The latter *co*, as mentioned above, seems connected with the gesture of pointing at an object.

(3.28)

| *cu=a* | *co* | *co* | *co* | *ey=nu=tiŋ* | *å-dån=ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DX=LOC | DX | DX | DX | 3S=VIS=QUOT | 3S-show=COMPLET |

'He showed them, saying, 'There, there, there it is.' (10.54)

These visibility-marking morphemes may also be paired with the focus marker, as in (3.29). In this sentence, a son sees his father who had just transformed from a snake into a man. The son then exclaims that he is visibly now a man. Intriguingly, the clitic *=dö=nu* violates the notion that the focus marker *=dö* must come at the end of the noun phrase. This structure could indicate that *=nu* and *=co,* in the attested *=dö=co*, may have clausal scope. It remains unclear, however, if this *=dö* is identical to the focus marker or if these forms are composed of different morphemes entirely.

(3.29)

| *naŋ=cæ* | *khråŋ=dö=nu* | *lucå=dö=nu=tiŋ* | *ø-tak=ti* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2S=TOP | man=FOC=VIS | human=FOC=VIS | 3S-say=COMP |

'You are a human! (after having been a snake)' (9.24)

Like *=cæ* above, the consonants of these two forms suggests that they may be related through some vowel alternation with the proximal *ni* and the distal *cu*. These origins both seem unlikely, though, unless further evidence is found. Nevertheless, these forms both have semantics related to the deictic demonstratives and occupy a similar, but not identical place in the noun phrase.

## 3.5. Conclusion

All in all, it is evident that the Hyow deictic demonstrative paradigm is anything but straightforward. There are four prototypical spatial demonstratives, *ni, ey*, *öy*, and *cu*. Other forms like *co* are used as interjections denoting spatial location. The demonstrative *ni* is also incorporated into an information status paradigm with the focus marker *=dö* and a topicalizer or past relevance markr *=cæ*. Lastly, *=ni* and possibly *=ey* as enclitics in some instances mark tense. Figure 3.2 outlines these paradigms.

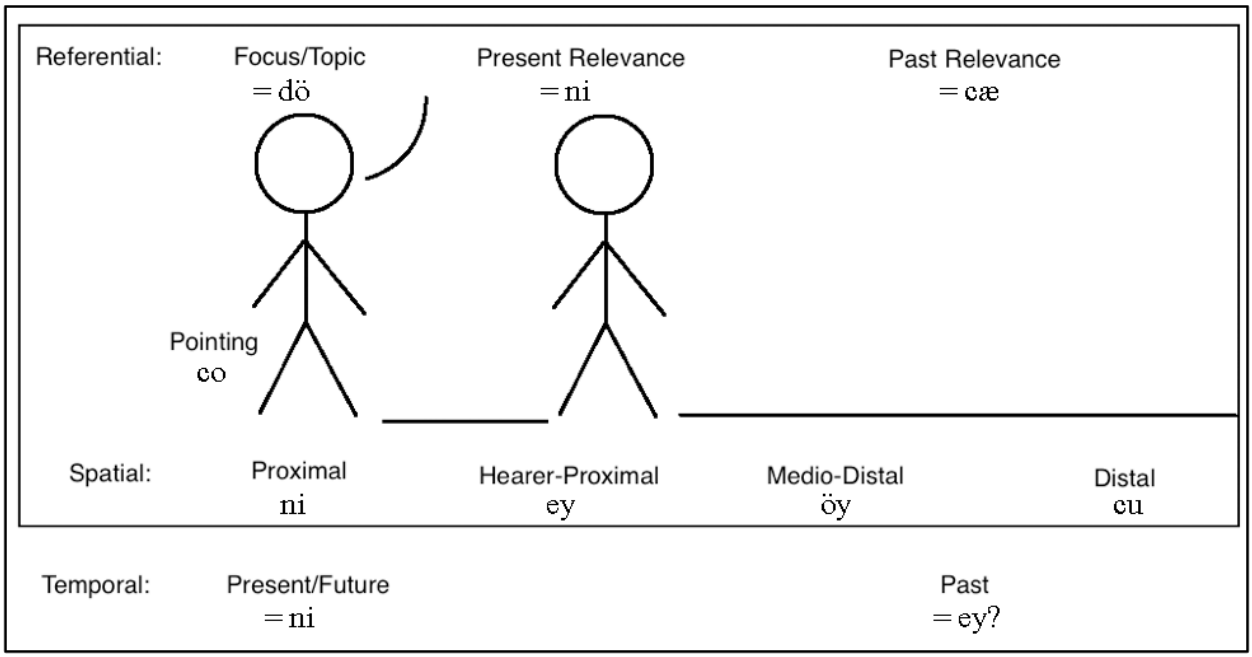


*Figure 3.2: Summary of Selected Hyow Deictic Elements*

# Chapter 4: Deixis in the Kuki-Chin Family

## 4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the Proto-Kuki-Chin demonstrative system will be reconstructed, and patterns of grammaticalization to and from demonstratives will be posited. Demonstrative paradigms across the Kuki-Chin family display wide variation. For example, the four-form system in the Central Chin language Hmar, *hi* 'this', *so* 'that', *khi* 'that (uphill)', and *khu* 'that (downhill)', bears little resemblance to the four-form system of the Southern Chin language Hyow, *ni* 'this', *ej* 'this (near hearer)', *öj* 'that', and *tsu* 'that (far away)'. Despite this variation, nearly all Kuki-Chin deictic elements can be reconstructed to a Proto-Kuki-Chin form, with little phonological change. The proximal deictics mentioned above, *hi* and *ni*, for instance, can be readily traced back to PKC **hi* and **ni.* The overall semantic categories of the demonstrative systems are also fairly consistent. The variation seen in these forms, thus, is largely due to semantic shift of discrete forms within specific distance categories. In this chapter, these forms will be reconstructed, as will be their semantic development.

First, to expound upon the nature of these tendencies, phonological change is not frequent in Kuki-Chin demonstratives, and may be the result of analogy with other demonstrative forms. One of a few examples, Northern Chin languages develop the form **khu* to *xu* and also *hu* based on what seems to be a regular sound correspondence, as many of these languages lack an aspirated velar stop (Peterson, personal communication). Several Southern Chin languages also seem to exhibit the effects of analogy, as in the Ngmüün distal *tši* 'that', whose vowel likely derives from analogical leveling with the proximal *š$^{h}$i* 'this'. Of further note, both forms also appear to have consonants palatalized before a front vowel.

Next, Diessel (2005a) suggests from cross-linguistic data that there is little variation in the semantic distance categories of demonstratives. This much is true for Kuki-Chin languages. Systems range from a simple contrast between proximal and distal elements, such as Daai *hi-* 'this' and *su* 'that', to more complex systems, such as Maraa *he* 'this', *kha* 'this (near hearer)', *hu* 'that', *cha* 'that (far away)', *khi* 'that (uphill)', and *khu* 'that (downhill)'. Despite this variation, a clear pattern emerges, as shown in Figure 4.1. Aside from Central Chin directional markers, distance categories of demonstratives are fairly predictable. The only language that seems to violate this principle out of the 38 studied is Hyow, with its two medial markers *ej* and *öj*, though more research is needed on those forms.

| | Number of Categories | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Distance Category** | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4+ |
| PROX (near speaker) | X | X | X | X |
| MED (near hearer) | | X | X | X |
| DIST (far away) | X | X | X | X |
| SUPER.DIST | | | X | X |
| Non-distance-related, e.g. NON.VIS | | | | X |

*Figure 4.1: Distance Contrast Pattern in Kuki-Chin Languages*

Lastly, semantic shift will be evoked as the major driving force behind the diachronic development of Kuki-Chin demonstratives. Semantic shift is often regularized in the form of grammaticalization paths, particularly those compiled by Heine & Kuteva (2002). The path DEMONSTRATIVE > RELATIVIZER, for instance, indicates that demonstratives are known to grammaticalize over time into relativizers, but not vice versa. In this example, Heine & Kuteva cite data from such diverse languages as Canela-Krahô (Gê: Brazil), Baka (Ubangian: Cameroon, Gabon), and English (Indo-European: United States, Great Britain, etc). The paths

outlined in Heine & Kuteva will largely be justified in this chapter, with a few exceptions. The lexical item **tu* 'now' will be shown to occasionally grammaticalize into a mediodistal demonstrative, and the relation between copulas and demonstratives will be explored.

While Heine & Kuteva (2002) posit a unidirectional path, DEMONSTRATIVE > COPULA, Katz (1996) proposes a more complicated development. While both proposals make sense intuitively, neither presents solid evidence. Heine & Kuteva (2002: 99-101) provide examples of demonstratives grammaticalizing into existential and locative copulas. It is suggested that an equative copula may arise from demonstratives, perhaps via other copular elements. Their only examples, though, are from a pidgin, Kenyan Pidgin Swahili, and they admit, "more evidence is required on this process" (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 99). Additionally, a possible grammaticalization path from a locative copula to an equative copula is suggested, which could provide an alternate development (DEMONSTRATIVE > LOCATIVE COPULA > EQUATIVE COPULA). The data again comes only from Kenyan Pidgin Swahili, raising the same qualifications as above. Katz (1996), by contrast, suggests that equative copulas may develop into demonstratives, which in turn may develop into other types of copulas. Her data from Chinese, Hebrew, and Turkish, though, was not cited by Heine & Kuteva (2002) (though they do not explicitly deny such a development). This lack of inclusion may also be attributed to the fact that Katz's work is an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation or to her dissertation's larger claim that grammaticalization paths are not necessarily unidirectional. Because of the interplay between copulas and demonstratives in Kuki-Chin langauges, the grammaticalization paths DEMONSTRATIVE > COPULA (Heine & Kuteva 2002) and EQUATIVE COPULA > DEMONSTRATIVE > EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE COPULA (after Katz 1996) will be evoked and compared with regard to their explanatory power in this language family.

### 4.1.1. Languages

The reconstructions in this chapter are based on a sample of 38 languages in or closely related to the Kuki-Chin sub-family of Tibeto-Burman. Ken VanBik (2009)'s depictions of these languages will largely be used for the initial comparison of Kuki-Chin demonstratives. Several languages, in particular Maraa, Khumi, Old Kuki languages, and Meithei, have disputed positions in the family, perhaps the result of language contact with other sub-families. Maraa, for one, has characteristics of both Southern and Central Chin languages. These languages will be analyzed separately for the purposes of this chapter. By and large, however, VanBik's reconstruction will be used as a rubrick, as only a handful of lexical items will be analyzed in each respective language. Figures 2-6 depict the Kuki-Chin language family (after VanBik 2009, inserting Old Kuki as a sub-family). Figure 2 shows the position of Proto-Kuki-Chin within Tibeto-Burman, and the remaining figures the three major sub-families of Kuki-Chin along with the Old Kuki languages included in this chapter. Note that languages in parentheses indicate those not included in this chapter's analysis. Also note that other languages may not be listed. For instance, the Maraic languages Zotung and Senthang are listed in VanBik (2009: 23), but not here, as it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully account for every language in Kuki-Chin.

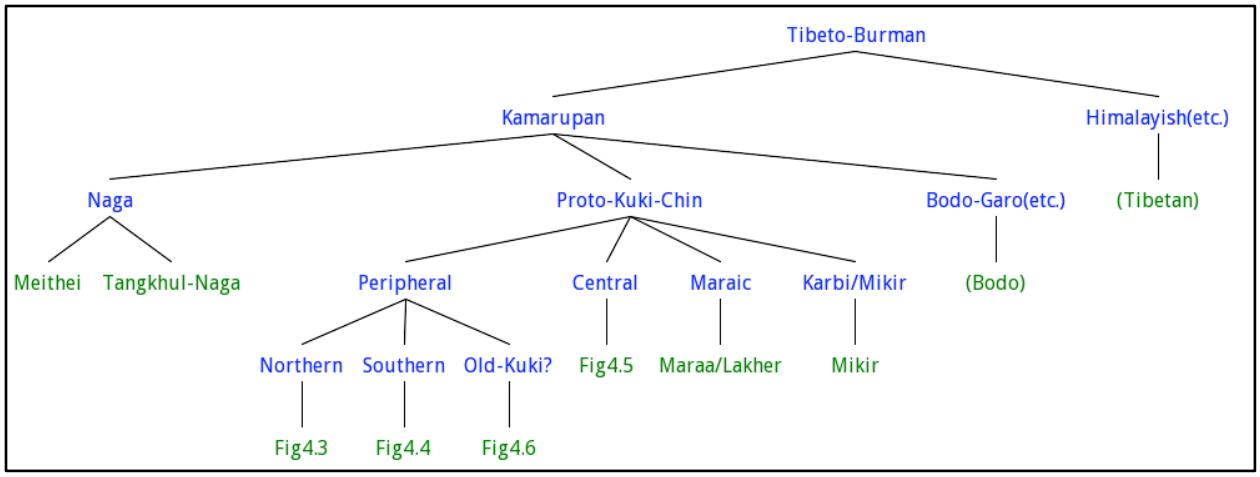


*Figure 4.2: Tibeto-Burman sub-families*

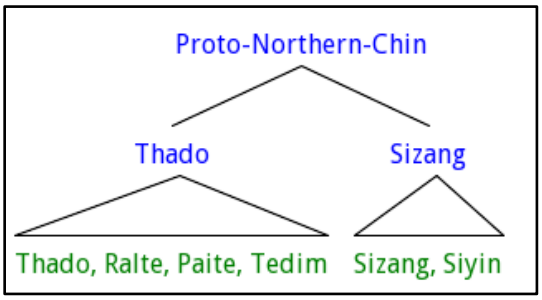


*Figure 4.3: Proto-Northern Chin*

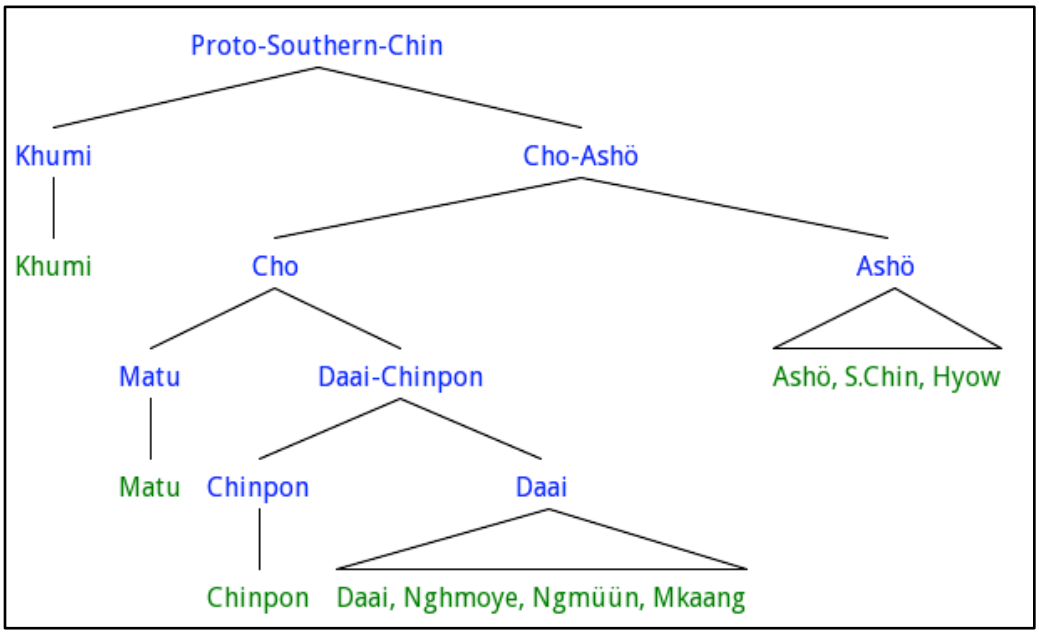


*Figure 4.4: Proto-Southern Chin*

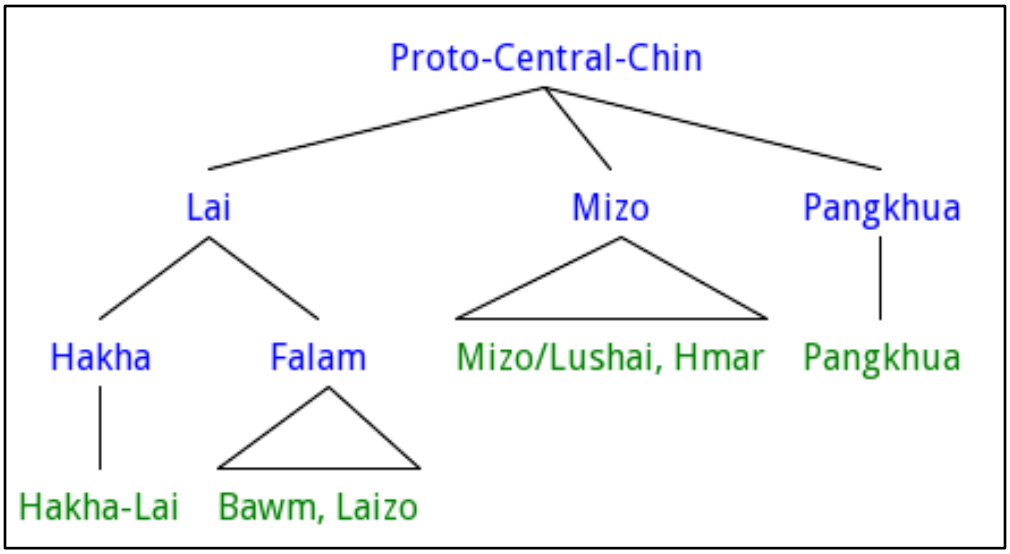


*Figure 4.5: Proto-Central Chin*

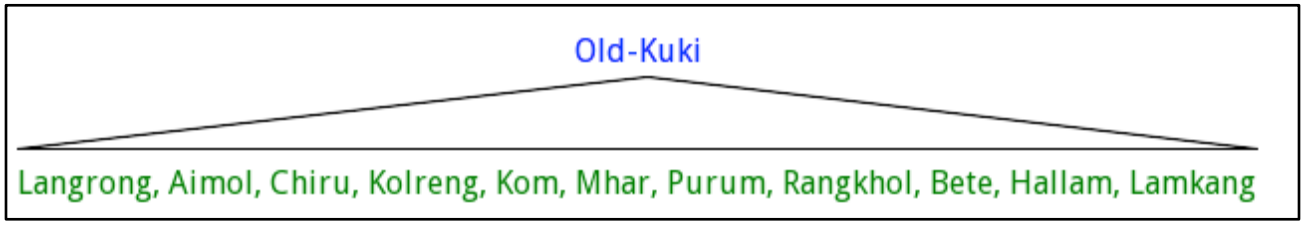


*Figure 4.6: Old-Kuki languages*

### 4.1.2. Source Material

Finally, the quality of source material plays a fair role in certain aspects of the reconstruction. Specific language references can be seen in Appendix B. The most recent and direct sources are my own analysis presented in previous chapters of this thesis, along with David Peterson's fieldwork and analysis of Hyow and Khumi. Recent work has also been published on languages like Daai (So-Hartmann 2009), Lai (Barnes 1998), and Meithei (Chelliah 1997). A number of languages have limited data accounted for and thus a qualified impact on the reconstructions. The Old Kuki languages used here are described in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1904, excepting Lamkang in Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007). The descriptions in the LSI frequently provide some information on demonstrative

forms, though their phonology is less reliable, and forms are glossed simply as 'this' or 'that'. More data would be needed to thoroughly account for these languages. Similarly, So-Hartmann (1988) gives a word list of several Southern Chin languages such as, Mkaang, Ngmüün, Nghmoye, Chinpon, and Matu, but again only accounts for the forms 'this' and 'that'. These descriptions potentially ignore medio-distal forms like Khumi *tu*, which is also less common than its proximal and distal counterparts (Peterson, personal communication). A full account of the Kuki-Chin demonstrative system, thus, will rely on more complete descriptions of these and other less-studied languages.

## 4.2. Proto-Demonstratives

Given that many Kuki-Chin languages have three or more demonstrative elements, it seems only natural that Proto-Kuki-Chin may have had a system replete with them. In this section, three forms will be strongly reconstructed, **hi-* 'PROX', **so-* 'MED', and, **tsu-* 'DIST', along with a dubious form **si-* 'MED'.

### 4.2.1. **hi-* 'PROX'

Perhaps the most widespread element of the Kuki-Chin deictic demonstrative paradigm is the proximal marker **hi* 'this'. The form is attested as a proximal demonstrative in 30 of the 38 languages surveyed. Southern Chin is the only sub-family with any languages that lack the form. Even then, in languages like Hyow, *hi* remains in other crystallized forms like the negative equative copula. Furthermore, the phonetic realization of this morpheme is strikingly consistent. As shown in Figure 4.1 below, the form's consonant and vowel show little variation across the family. In addition, only a handful of languages show any semantic variation; **hi*

rarely if at all acts as a non-proximal element. Tangkhul Naga also has a proximal demonstrative *hi*, suggesting that this form is more ancient than Proto-Kuki-Chin. The language abbreviations used in this and other figures in this chapter are explained in Appendix B.

| PKC | Maraic | Central | | | Northern | | Southern | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | LZ/BW/HM | MZ | LA | SY/TD/PA/RA | TH | DA/KM | NG | CB | MT | MK |
| **hi-* | *he* | *hi* | *hei* | *hii* | *hi-* | *hii-* | *hi* | *-hii-* | *ho-* | *hɛ* | *hɔ-* |
| | PROX | PROX | | | PROX | | PROX | | | | DIST |

| Old Kuki | | Tangkhulic |
|---|---|---|
| LK | LR/AI/CH/KR/KO/MH/PU/RK/HL | TK |
| *hə-* | *hi* | *hi* |
| PROX | | PROX |

*Figure 4.7: Reflexes of* *hi-

As mentioned above, **hi* has little phonetic or semantic variation across the Kuki-Chin family, though several forms deserve further exploration. Thadou, Lai, and Mizo have forms indicative simply of long vowel distinctions: *hii, hii,* and *hei*. Maraa has a proximal *he*, whose vowel has been lowered under unclear circumstances, though it remains a front vowel. So-Hartmann (1988)'s data poses some difficulty. Mkaang *hɔ-* may have assimilated its vowel from the deictic suffix *-tsɔ*, though more data is needed to understand the semantics of its system. The vowel in Chinpon *ho* is possibly the result of analogy with a medial form **to*, though this form is also unattested. Matu also has a proximal with a lowered vowel, *hɛ,* perhaps lowered in similar circumstances to the Maraa form. Lastly, the Old Kuki language Lamkang has a reduced vowel in *hə-*, though again more data is needed on these forms. All in all, it seems very straightforward to reconstruct a Proto-Kuki-Chin proximal demonstrative **hi*.

Of further note, **hi* has grammaticalized in paths predicted by Heine & Kuteva (2002). Hyow has a conditional marker *hi*, and one of Khumi's conditional markers is *hə-*. These elements support the grammaticalization path DEMONSTRATIVE > CONDITIONAL. Secondly, some Northern and Southern Chin languages display a copular element derived from **hi*, all realized as *hi*. Paite and Ralte have existential copulas. Siyin and Thadou have negative existential copulas, suggesting they are older forms. As mentioned above, Hyow has a negative equative copula, in opposition with *om* 'to be'. This variation suggests Heine & Kuteva (2002)'s notion that demonstratives may grammaticalize into any copular form. Using a strict Katz hypothesis, it seems unreasonable based on the Hyow equative copula alone to conclude that the demonstrative **hi* arose from an equative copula. Hence, the first analysis in Figure 4.8 is preferred (denoted in bold). In this figure, it is suggested that before Proto-Kuki-Chin, a lexical item was grammaticalized into a proximal demonstrative **hi*, was a demonstrative in Proto-Kuki-Chin, and subsequently developed into existential copulas, equative copulas, and conditional markers.

| **hi-* | **Pre-PKC** | **PKC** | **Post-PKC** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Heine & Kuteva (2002)** | **lexical > DEM** | **DEM** | **DEM > EX.COP, EQ.COP, COND** |
| Katz (1996) | lexical > EQ.COP | EQ.COP > DEM | DEM > EX.COP, COND |

*Figure 4.8: Possible Semantic Developments of* *hi-

### 4.2.2. **so-* 'MED'

The first medio-distal element reconstructed is **so-*, which has reflexes in Central, Northern, and Southern Chin languages, though is not nearly as widespread as **hi*. The forms are

characterized by an alveolar or alveopalatal consonant and an *-o* vowel. Figure 4.9 shows the reflexes across the family. Note that the number of demonstrative distance contrasts is given in parentheses.

| PKC | Central | | Northern | Southern | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MZ | HM | SY | AS | SC | HY |
| **so-* | *soo* | *so* | *to-* | *t'o* | *to* | *co* [tso] |
| MED | DIST(3) | DIST(2) | MED(2) | MED(3) | | INTERJ |

*Figure 4.9: Reflexes of **so-

These forms show clear developments in Kuki-Chin sub-families. Central Chin languages Mizo and Hmar both display an alveolar fricative *s*. These forms are possibly the result of an original Proto-Kuki-Chin form **so-* or perhaps analogy with **si-*, described in Section 4.2.3 below. These forms are also distal markers, replacing **tsu-*. In Northern and Southern Chin, the elements have an alveolar stop, with the possible exception of the Hyow interjection *co*. This form may be indicative of a proto-form **tso-*, which then developed into other languages as *to*. Based on these forms, it seems most natural to reconstruct the form as a medio-distal marker. Originally Proto-Kuki-Chin **so-*, it became **tso-* in the ancestor of Northern and Southern Chin, perhaps in analogy with the distal marker **tsu-*. Lastly, it is worth noting that other forms may have arisen from **so-*, though the circumstances are unclear. Khumi, for example, has a medio-distal form *tu* seemingly grammaticalized from **tu* 'now' (see, Section 4.5.1). Likewise, *tu* may be a reflex of **to* with a vowel assimilated from the distal *hu*. This situation is precisely mirrored in Tedim, with the minor difference that Khumi now has a different word for 'now', *vai*. See Section 4.5.1 for more discussion on this topic. Figure 4.10 summarizes these developments, which do not touch on the copula grammaticalization in the previous section.

| *so- | Pre-PKC | PKC | Post-PKC |
|---|---|---|---|
| | lexical > DEM | DEM | DIST, MED.DEM |

*Figure 4.10: Semantic Development of* *so-

### 4.2.3. **si-* 'MED?'

A second medio-distal demonstrative, **si-*, is possibly reconstructable, though its status as a demonstrative is much less clear. The form is attested in Central and Southern Chin along with perhaps Meithei and Tangkhl Naga, suggesting that it could derive from a Proto-Kuki-Chin root. However, the low number of extant forms seems to hint that the form is a more recent development and that the Meithei and Tangkhul Naga demonstratives are unrelated. Further research, though, may provide further cognate forms, which would allow for more specific conclusions. Figure 4.11 outlines these few forms.

| PKC | Central | Southern | | | | Other | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LA | NM | MD | NG | CB | MT | TK |
| **si-* | *si* | *$\check{s}^h$i* | *si-* | *-si-* | *si-* | *si* | *ci* |
| lexical? | EQ.COP | PROX | | DIST(2) | | PROX | DIST |

*Figure 4.11: Reflexes of* *si-

Phonologically, this form is consistent. In Ngmüün, the consonant has been palatalized before a front vowel, though the aspiration is unclear. Similarly, the Tangkhul Naga consonant may have palatalized to [ts] before the front vowel. Otherwise, each form consists of an alveolar fricative and a high front vowel. Semantically, the forms are disparate, however. Lai has a positive equative copula *si* in opposition with a presumably older form *ni* in the negative. In Southern Chin, **si* is a demonstrative in various positions. In Ngmüün and Mindat, the form

is a proximal demonstrative, perhaps having displaced a reflex of **hi*. Tellingly, **si* is a distal in Nghmoye and Chinpon, in which **hi* is present. Likewise, *si* is a proximal in Meithei in the absence of **hi*. The Meithei form is possibly evidence that the **si-* demonstrative is not just a Southern Chin development. Nevertheless, the form is simply not widespread enough in the family to warrant a full reconstruction. As Figure 4.12 shows, **si-* could represent evidence for a development from a demonstrative to an equative copula or vice versa, but it seems most parsimonious for both of these forms to have derived from a separate lexical item. All in all, more research is needed on this form.

| **si-* | **Pre-PKC** | **PKC** | **Post-PKC** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Heine & Kuteva (2002) | lexical > DEM | DEM | DEM > EQ.COP |
| Katz (1996) | lexical > EQ.COP | EQ.COP | EQ.COP > DEM |
| **Alternate** | **lexical** | **lexical** | **lexical > DEM, EQ.COP** |

*Figure 4.12: Possible Semantic Developments of* *si-

### 4.2.4. **tsu-* 'DIST'

Lastly, a distal element **tsu-* is widely attested across the family. The form is characterized by an alveopalatal or alveolar consonant and a back rounded vowel. One exception is Ngmüün *tši,* which exists in opposition to a proximal **si-* element, *š$^{h}$i*. Each sub-family of Kuki-Chin has attestations of **tsu-*, and two related languages show possible cognates, Tangkhul Naga and Meithei. The widespread use of **tsu-* reflexes as distal demonstratives suggests that this form is certainly traceable back to Proto-Kuki-Chin. Figure 4.13 displays the many cognates across the family.

| PKC | Maraic | Central | | | Northern | | Southern | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | LA | MZ | BW | RA | TH | HY | MD | NG | DA |
| **tsu-* | *cha* | *tsuu* | *cuu* | *chu* | *chu* | *chu* | *cu* | *cu-* | *tši* | *su* |
| | [tsa] | | [tsu:] | [tsu] | [tsu] | [tsu] | [tsu] | [tsu] | | |
| DIST | DIST(4) | NON.VIS | | DIST(2) | DIST(2) | DIST(3) | DIST(4) | DIST(2) | | |

| Southern, cont. | | Other | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AS/SC | MK | TK | MT |
| *sü* | *-tsɔ* | *ci* | *du* |
| DIST(3) | SUFF | DIST(2) | |

*Figure 4.13: Reflexes of* *tsu-

Each sub-family shows forms realized precisely as *tsu*, so no major sound changes appear to have affected the form, though individual languages show some variation. Maraa has lowered the back vowel under unclear circumstances to [a]. Ngmüün has further palatalized the consonant to [tʃ] before a high front vowel, which it may have attained through analogy with the proximal *š$^{h}$i*. Daai Chin, Ashö, and Southern Chin have all deaffricated the consonant to [s], and Ashö and Southern Chin have fronted the vowel to [ü]. Mkaang has lowered the vowel to [ɔ]. These developments are all unexplained in the context of each language, though are minor enough too be attributed to inconsistent sound changes within the demonstrative paradigm. With regard to other related languages, Tangkhul Naga has fronted the vowel to [i] and palatalized the consonant, while Meithei perhaps has a from with a hardened consonant [d]. More research would be needed to establish the relationship of these forms, however. For the moment, just a Proto-Kuki-Chin **tsu-* form will be reconstructed.

These forms also show very little semantic variation, and the changes that do occur easily stem from the demonstrative. Lai and Mizo mark non-visible elements with a **tsu-* reflex. This use seems to be a natural development of a distal element, perhaps after another distal form

entered the demonstrative paradigm. Second, **tsu-* has become a general demonstrative suffix in Mkaang. As Khumi, Hyow, and Chinpon show with **-ni* in Section 4.3.1, this use is also a natural extension of demonstratives. Lastly, Mizo and Maraa show further grammaticalizations. Mizo *cu* is a relativizer and conditional marker, and Maraa *cha* is a relativizer. Both of these grammaticalization paths have already been well established. Figure 4.14 outlines these straightforward developments.

| **tsu-* | Pre-PKC | PKC | Post-PKC |
|---|---|---|---|
| | lexical > DEM | DEM | DEM > NON.VIS, SUFF, REL, COND |

*Figure 4.14: Semantic Development of* *tsu-

## 4.3. Proto-Copulas

As alluded to above, Kuki-Chin languages display a variety of copular elements, which are particularly susceptible to grammaticalization to other forms. The forms **hi- and *si-* described above are examples of these elements, though they are not reconstructed as original to Proto-Kuki-Chin. In this section, **ni-* will be reconstructed as a Proto-Kuki-Chin equative copula. Other elements are potentially reconstructible, but will not be discussed at length in this thesis, as they show no reflexes in any demonstrative system. For example, **om* is reconstructible as a Proto-Kuki-Chin existential copula. It appears in Central, Northern, and Southern Chin, along with a number of Old Kuki languages. In other languages like Hyow, it retains what may be its previous lexical semantics: *om* 'to sit'. Other forms like **ba* (Khumi *bə* 'EX.COP') and **la* (Ashö *la* 'EX.COP') interact with the copula system, but are likely grammaticalized from as of yet unidentified sources. See Section 3.3.3 for a discussion on these two forms.

### 4.3.1. **ni-* 'EQ.COP'

One of the more perplexing Kuki-Chin demonstrative forms is **ni-*. Attested in Central, Southern Chin, and Khumi, it is presumed that the form is derived from a Kuki-Chin root that has been seemingly lost in Northern Chin languages. Figure 4.15 gives the cognates found so far in these languages.

| PKC | Central | | Southern | | | Khumic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LA | MZ/HM | AS/HY/SC | MD | CB | KH |
| **ni-* | *ni* | *ni* | *ni* | *ni* | *ni* | *nə* |
| EQ.COP | FOC/ERG/NEG.EQ.COP | EQ.COP | PROX | EQ.COP | SUFF | EQ.COP |

*Figure 4.15: Reflexes of* *ni-

The only phonological variation of this form is a vowel reduction in Khumi. In terms of semantics, **ni-* is attested as an equative copula in Central, Southern Chin, and Khumi. The Lai form has grammaticalized into a focus and ergative marker (Peterson, 2003b). The development COPULA > FOCUS is described by Heine & Kuteva (2002: 95). A further grammaticalization FOCUS > ERGATIVE is not attested, though it seems plausible, as ergative case marking inherently represents a grammaticalization of a focus case marker. In Southern Chin, Ashö, Hyow, and Southern Chin all have proximal demonstrative *ni* elements. Additionally, Chinpon (along with Hyow and Khumi, not marked in the above figure) has a general demonstrative suffix *-ni*, likely a development of an earlier demonstrative. These forms are limited to Southern Chin and Khumi. The equative copula is more widespread, so it seems more parsimonious to support the Katz (1996) hypothesis that equative copulas may develop into demonstratives. Since Mindat appears to be more peripheral to the Southern Chin languages than Ashö, Hyow, Southern Chin, and Chinpon, one semantic change from the equative copula

to a proximal demonstrative adequately explains the Kuki-Chin forms, as opposed to various languages developing from demonstratives to equative copulas at several different points. It should be noted, however, that the latter scenario is certainly possible. The grammaticalization path EQUATIVE COPULA > DEMONSTRATIVE simply seems to have more explanatory power for this form. Figure 4.16 depicts this conclusion.

| *ni- | Pre-PKC | PKC | Post-PKC |
|---|---|---|---|
| H&K (2002) | lexical > DEM | DEM | DEM > EQ.COP, SUFF; EQ.COP > FOC; FOC > ERG |
| **Katz (1996)** | **lexical > EQ.COP** | **EQ.COP** | **EQ.COP > DEM > FOC, SUFF; FOC > ERG** |

*Figure 4.16: Possible Semantic Developments of* *ni-

## 4.4. Proto-Directionals

Central Chin languages along with Maraa contain three forms *khi, kha*, and *khu*, which often act as uphill and downhill direction markers. While these forms seem limited to this one sub-family, **khu* appears to have reflexes elsewhere in the family, leading the forms to be reconstructed to Proto-Kuki-Chin. Also, it should be noted that Maraa has very evidently borrowed these forms from Central Chin languages, as supported by its proximity to those peoples, namely the Mizo (Peterson, personal communication).

### 4.4.1. **khi* 'UPHILL'

First, **khi* is reconstructed fairly straightforwardly as an uphill directional marker. While it seems perhaps more intuitive for a distal demonstrative to be pushed into such a deictic

marking position by the entrance of another distal form. Such a development is suggested in Section 4.2.4 for non-visible markers. The uphill directional marker may also be a grammaticalization origin for distal demonstratives in the first place. Figure 4.17 outlines the extant forms of **khi,* which has been lost in Northern and Southern Chin.

| PKC | Maraic | CKC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | LA | LZ | MZ | BW/HM |
| **khi* | *khi* | *khii* | *khi* | *khii* | *khi* |
| UPHILL | UPHILL | DIST(3) | | UPHILL | |

*Figure 4.17: Reflexes of* *khi

Phonologically, these forms show no variation. Semantically, there is only one development to address. As mentioned above, it is suggested that **khi* grammaticalized into a distal demonstrative in the Lai sub-family of Central Chin (Lai and Laizo appear to have identical demonstrative systems) and has remained as an uphill marker elsewhere. The reverse development from demonstrative to directional seems overly complicated, so the grammaticalization path UPHILL > DEMONSTRATIVE will be endorsed in this section.

### 4.4.2. **kha* 'DOWNHILL'

The second directional form is **kha*, whose reconstruction is less straightforward. Also attested in Maraa and Central Chin, **kha* is most frequently attested as a medio-distal demonstrative. Figure 4.12 gives these forms.

| PKC | Maraic | CKC | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | LA/MZ | LZ | BW |
| **kha* | *kha* | *khaa* | *kha* | *kha* |
| DOWNHILL | MED.DIST | MED.DIST | | DOWNHILL |

*Figure 4.18: Reflexes of* *kha

Based on the conclusion in the previous section and the following analysis of **khu*, it will be posited that **kha* is a Proto-Kuki-Chin downhill directional marker, which has grammaticalized into a medio-distal demonstrative in Lai, Laizo, and Mizo. Bawm retains the original directional marker, which may have coexisted with the medio-distal in Proto-Central Chin, but was lost in the other languages in favor of **khu.* With this hypothesis, the grammaticalization path DOWNHILL > DEMONSTRATIVE will be endorsed. As **khu* reflexes will show below, there does not seem to be a particular correlation between downhill directionals and medio-distals, or uphill directionals and distals.

### 4.4.3. **khu* 'DOWNHILL'

Finally, **khu* appears to be a third directional element closely related to **kha.* Based on a downhill directional marker *-ju* found in languages like Lai and Mizo, it seems possible that an alternate downhill directional marker, ***kha-ju* > **khu,* developed. Assuming that this marker traces back to Proto-Kuki-Chin, reflexes appear in Northern Chin, Khumi, and indeed in the pre-borrowing demonstrative system of Maraa. Figure 4.19 shows these possible cognates. Note that TH2 refers to Grierson's account of Thadou in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson, 1904).

| PKC | Maraic | | Northern | | | | Central | | Khumi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | | PA | TH | TD | TH2 | MZ | HM | KH |
| **khu* | *hu* | *khu* | *hu-* | *xuu-* | *hu-* | *hu* | *khuu* | *khu* | *hu* |
| | MED(4) | DOWNHILL | DIST(2) | | DIST(4) | MED(3) | DOWNHILL | | DIST(3) |

*Figure 4.19: Reflexes of* *khu

Phonlogically, this form shows predictable variation in the initial consonant. In the absence of an aspirated velar stop in Northern Chin languages and a pattern of variation between *kh* and *h* in some Kuki-Chin roots (Peterson, personal communication), it seems natural for non-Central Chin languages to have a glottal fricative in place of the aspirated velar stop. Tellingly, Thadou has a velar fricative *x*, hinting at the development of this form.

With regard to semantics, it seems that the form developed into a demonstrative early in the family. Since **khu* acts as a downhill directional only in Central Chin, it seems likely that it grammaticalized into a distal demonstrative in the ancestor of Northern and Southern Chin, though was lost in Proto-Southern Chin. The origin of the Maraa and Khumi forms is uncertain and depends on further research to establish their position within Kuki-Chin. Lastly, it is worth noting that this form appears to be distinct from other demonstrative elements. Thadou (Grierson 1904), and Maraa have both *hu* and a reflex of **tsu-*. Tedim and Khumi display *hu* in opposition with a cognate of **tu* (see Section 4.5.1). Tellingly, the reflex of **tu-* is always more proximal-marking than **khu*, which in turn is more proximal-marking than **tsu-*. These patterns suggest that these three elements are all reconstructible Proto-Kuki-Chin forms and that they change in cyclical fashion in demonstrative systems. Figure 4.20 summarizes the semantic developments of the directional forms discussed in these three sections.

| | Pre-PKC | PKC | Post-PKC |
|---|---|---|---|
| **khi* | lexical > UPHILL | UPHILL | UPHILL > DEM |
| **kha* | lexical > DOWNHILL | DOWNHILL | DOWNHILL > DEM |
| **khu* | **kha-ju* > **khu* | DOWNHILL | DOWNHILL > DEM |

*Figure 4.20: Semantic Development of* *khi, *kha, *and*, *khu

## 4.5. Other Forms

Lastly, other non-demonstrative or directional elements interact with the deictic system. In this section, **tu* 'now' will be described in detail as a lexical item that occasionally grammaticalizes into a demonstrative. There are other elements perhaps worth discussing, though more data would be needed to fully express their development. For example, the Khumi word *vai* 'now' and the Mru existential copula *wöy* may provide the origin of the Hyow medio-distal markers *ej* and *ɔj*, but this conclusion is tentative and rests on finding more cognates in Southern Chin languages. Additionally, the Proto-Kuki-Chin third person singular pronoun **amaa* (attested in Nothern, Central Chin, and Old Kuki languages, as seen in Appendix B) is possibly the origin of distal demonstratives in Old Kuki languages like Langrong and Purum. However, more data is needed from these languages, as their descriptions (Grierson 1904) are brief and non-specific. Further data is also needed to describe isolated forms like the distal demonstratives Siyin *ye-* and Matu *kɛ.*

### 4.5.1. **tu-* 'now'

One of the most widely attested forms in this chapter is the lexical item **tu* 'now', reconstructed by VanBik (2009: 93). Languages across the family have exact cognates of this form. As Figure 4.21 shows, though, it is not uncommon for **tu* to grammaticalize into other elements.

| PKC | Maraic | Central | | | | Northern | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | LA | | MZ | | PA/TH | SY | | SZ | TD |
| **tu-* | *-tu-* | *-tuu* | *tuu* | *tu-* | *tu* | *tu* | *tu-* | *-tu-* | *tu* | *tu-* |
| 'now' | 'now' | 'now' | REL | 'now' | REL | 'now' | | COND | DIST(2) | MED(4) |

| Southern | | Khumic | Old Kuki | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HY/SC | AS | KH | KO | RK | HL |
| *tu-* | *tü-* | *tu* | *tu-* | *-tuu-* | *-tu-* |
| 'now' | | MED(3) | 'now' | | |

*Figure 4.21: Reflexes of* *tu-

Phonologically, there is practically no variation in these forms, though they display a wide range of semantics. Lai and Mizo both have relativizers in addition to lexical items meaning 'now'. In Siyin, **tu* has grammaticalized into a conditional marker. Sizang, Tedim, and Khumi all have demonstratives derived from **tu.* Given VanBik's reconstruction, it will be concluded that **tu* can be traced back to a Proto-Kuki-Chin root meaning 'now'. The presence of an additional Proto-Kuki-Chin demonstrative **tu* 'MED' would explain the development of the Lai and Mizo forms along with those seen in Siyin, Sizang, Tedim, and Khumi. Since no reflex of this demonstrative is seen in Central Chin languages, however, it will be suggested that **tu* 'now' grammaticalized directly to a relativizer in Lai and Mizo. Then, in Northern Chin and Khumi, the form **tu* 'now' was grammaticalized into a demonstrative. Based on this hypothesis, the grammaticalization paths NOW > DEMONSTRATIVE and NOW > RELATIVIZER are both proposed. Figure 4.22 summarizes these hypotheses.

| **tu* | Pre-PKC | PKC | Post-PKC |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hyp. I | DEM > 'now' | DEM, 'now' | DEM > REL, COND |
| **Hyp. II** | **'now'** | **'now'** | **'now' > REL,DEM; DEM > COND** |

*Figure 4.22: Possible Semantic Developments of* *tu-

## 4.6. Conclusion

As shown in the section above, numerous Proto-Kuki-Chin deictic elements can be reconstructed, along with their semantic development. A three-form demonstrative system is reconstructed for Proto-Kuki-Chin: **hi-* 'PROX', **so-* 'MED', and **tsu-* 'DIST'. Based on these forms, the grammaticalization path DEMONSTRATIVE > CONDITIONAL is established, perhaps via a topicalizing element. In addition, several directional markers enter into the demonstrative system, **khi* 'UPHILL', and **kha~*khu* 'DOWNHILL', via the grammaticalization paths UPHILL > DEMONSTRATIVE and DOWNHILL > DEMONSTRATIVE. An equative copula **ni* is reconstructed, with the path FOCUS > ERGATIVE suggested, along with an existential copula **om*. Other lexical items like **tu* 'now' are also shown to grammaticalize into deictic elements via the paths NOW > DEMONSTRATIVE and NOW > RELATIVIZER. Lastly, forms like **si* and *?vaj* are suggested, though with further research needed to ascertain their precise function.

Throughout this chapter, the grammaticalization path between equative copulas and demonstratives has been debated. Three forms, **hi-*, **ni*, and **si* all have reflexes in Kuki-Chin languages as equative copulas and proximal demonstratives. The development of **si* is at present unclear, but deserves explanation. In the face of the very widespread Kuki-Chin proximal demonstrative **hi-*, the negative equative copula *hi-* in Hyow seems to provide evidence for the path DEMONSTRATIVE > EQUATIVE COPULA or, more likely, EXISTENTIAL COPULA > EQUATIVE COPULA. By contrast, **ni* seems most naturally described as a Proto-Kuki-Chin equative copula, which grammaticalized into a proximal demonstrative in certain Southern Chin languages. Hence, the path EQUATIVE COPULA > DEMONSTRATIVE is supported. These conclusions do not invalidate the unidirectionality hypothesis espoused by Heine &

Kuteva (2002). Additionally, Katz (1996)'s hypothesis, that equative copulas develop into demonstratives, which in turn develop into existential copulas, is also upheld. The conclusion reached in this chapter is that copulas and demonstratives represent a unidirectional grammaticalization cycle: DEMONSTRATIVE > EXISTENTIAL COPULA > EQUATIVE COPULA, LOCATIVE COPULA > DEMONSTRATIVE… This cyclical change seems to best explain Kuki-Chin demonstrative systems, which repeat grammaticalization patterns over time. Such grammaticalization also explains the concatenative nature of relic forms described above in Section 3.3.3.

# Chapter 5: The Syntax of the Hyow Determiner Phrase

## 5.1. Introduction to the Determiner Phrase Analysis

In this chapter, the Hyow noun phrase will be assessed synchronically and diachronically with respect to the now widespread determiner phrase analysis (see, Bernstein 2008). First proposed by Abney (1987), the determiner phrase considers the similarities of the noun phrase to the inflectional phrase, linking nouns to predicates. Abney and further authors such as Rijkhoff (2004) have developed this hypothesis with evidence that noun phrases display similar clausal properties to complementizer phrases. In short, both nouns and verbs are necessarily placed in context by the heads of their respective phrases. Rijkhoff extends this comparison by correlating the elements that tend to be most and least oblique to Noun and Verb phrases (Rijkhoff 2004: 58). Perhaps the most cited example of this comparison is person marking, which purportedly can apply to both Noun and verb phrases, as shown in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below.

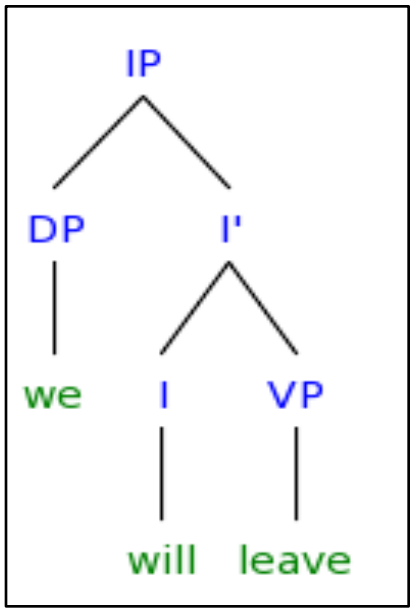


*Figure 5.1*

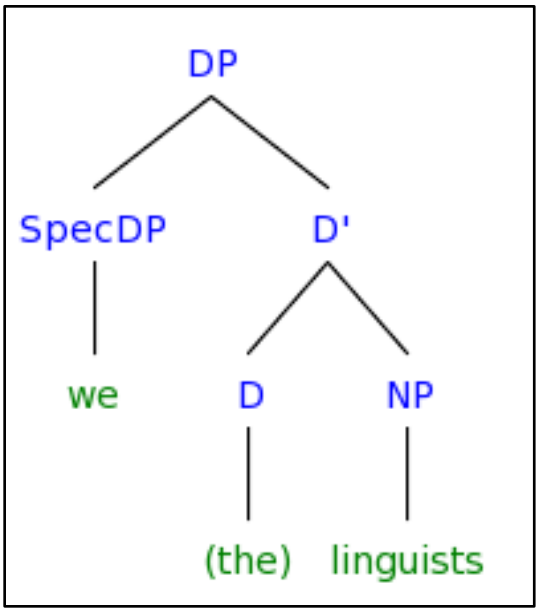


*Figure 5.2*

Longobardi (1994) clarifies the distinction by stating that the noun phrase, like a verb phrase, represents a predicate; and the determiner phrase, like an inflectional phrase, represents an argument. Further interpretation of this structure, however, has been contentious. Pereltsvaig (2007) describes determiner phrase heads as referential indices. Building on this work, Bernstein (2008) uses the similarity of nominal and verbal person marking to arrive at the conclusion that determiner phrase heads function as person-based referential indices. Lastly, Brugè (2002) gives demonstratives a broader function, operating on the two features of [+Referential] and [+Deictic]. The distinction between 'determiner' and 'demonstrative', however, is potentially problematic here. Authors that examine determiners (e.g. Bernstein (2008)) seem to concentrate on definite articles, while Brugè concentrates on demonstratives. Bernstein (2008) and others, however, expand their hypotheses to apply to determiner-like elements as a whole. In the following sections, the Hyow determiner phrase along with the Kuki-Chin phenomenon of circumfixal demonstratives will be examined from this analytical framework.

## 5.2. The Hyow Determiner Phrase

### 5.2.1. Hyow Noun Phrases

As shown above in Chapter 2, the Hyow noun phrase has a wide range of potential elements. Given that Hyow exhibits basic Subject-Object-Verb word order, the language seems to be largely head-final. Dryer (1992: 120) notes that articles tend to prepose the noun in VO languages, while demonstrative ordering shows no correlation with general word order. Hyow determiners follow this conclusion. The article-like information status markers follow the noun, while demonstratives precede it. Dryer even calls into question whether the two should be grouped into one class of 'determiner.' In Hyow and each of the languages described in this

chapter, it will be noted that the preposed and postposed morphemes do not constitute one circumfix, but two distinct morphemes. In fact, the Hyow markers do not frequently co-occur, though certainly may be present in a noun phrase, as outlined above in Section 2.4.

These two deictic markers make it difficult to represent Hyow noun phrases as determiner phrases. As a head-final language, it is tempting to depict simple noun phrases like *öy tupni* 'that hat (11.21)' as what is shown in Figure 5.3 below. This representation is convenient and makes some measure of sense. The preposed demonstrative *öy* may be placed in the Specifier position, as it qualifies the category of its sister phrase, *tupni* 'hat'. In addition, this construction aligns nicely with the overall head-final nature of the language. It seems clear, however, that this analysis is not adequate. The postposed clitic *=ni* does not simply modify the noun *tup* 'hat'; it lends discourse status to the whole noun phrase *öy tup*. By contrast, the preposed demonstrative does not have clause-level scope; it modifies just the semantic head noun *tup*. Note that demonstratives will be marked as "DX", while articles or information status markers will be labeled "REF" in the figures throughout this chapter.

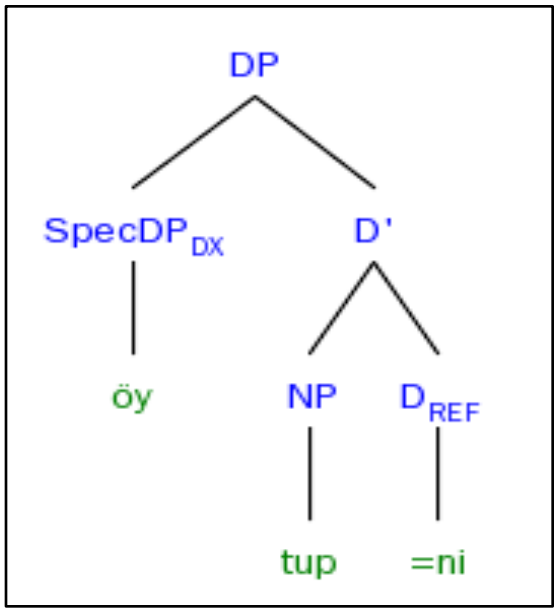


*Figure 5.3 (11.21)*

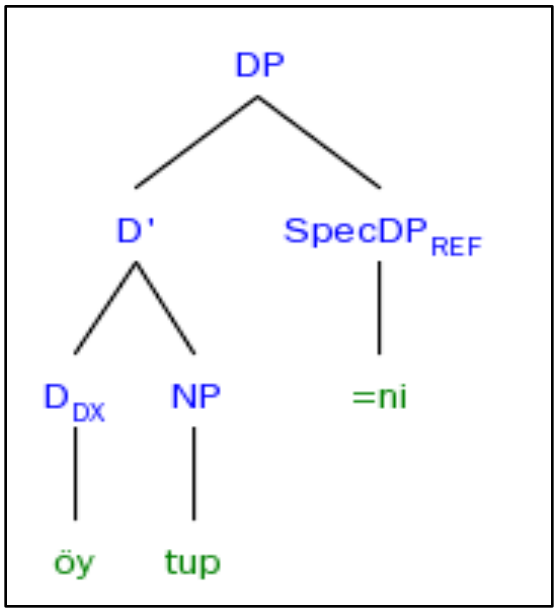


*Figure 5.4*

The analysis in Figure 5.4 makes more semantic sense, but results in a peculiar head-initial construction. Regardless, Hyow determiners seem to perform deictic and referential functions as in Spanish and French (Brugè 2002). Additionally, a simple determiner phrase analysis is perhaps a useful tool to describe the preposed and postposed Hyow morphemes.

### 5.2.2. Verb Phrases

Continuing with the determiner phrase analysis, Hyow deictic elements present an intriguing glimpse into the relationship between the DP to the complementizer phrase. In particular, postposed reference markers such as *=ni* may modify both noun phrases and verb phrases. As shown above in Section 3.2.2, *ni* may be postposed, in which case it acts as a nominalizer and subsequently a deictic marker indicating present relevance or continuing focus. Figures 5.5 and 5.6 give two alternate interpretations of an example of such a construction, and example (5.1) gives the gloss of the original clause. Note the similarity of Figure 5.6 to the noun phrase above in Figure 5.4.

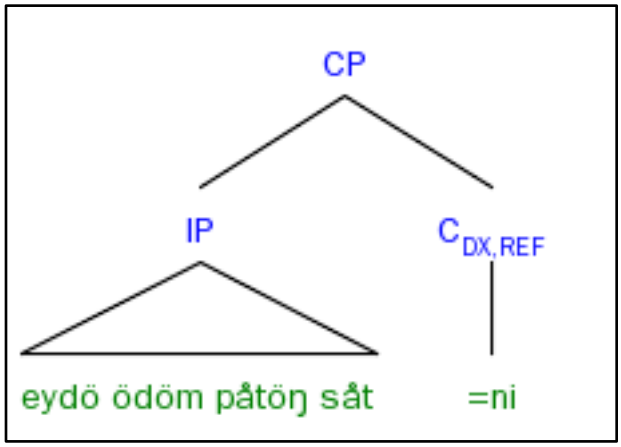


*Figure 5.5 (11.6)*

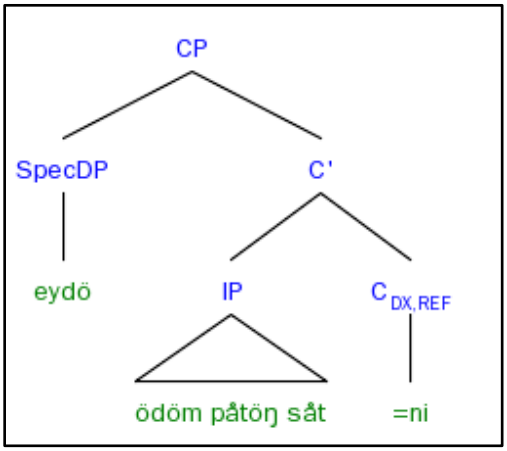


*Figure 5.6*

(5.1) *eydö* *ödöm* *påt=öŋ* *ø-såt=ni*
then above upwards=OBL 3S-look=DX
'When he looked up…' (11.6)

As alluded to above, the *=ni* clitic seems to perform both referential and deictic marking in this subordinate clause. Deictically, it is marking Past Tense, in that the action of looking up has necessarily occurred in the past. Referentially, it is de-focusing the clause at the start of the sentence before introducing the next action in the main clause. In contrast with the noun phrase, there does not seem to be any nesting structure that requires an X'-level. Hence, Figure 5.5 represents a simple construction as just a shell above the inflectional phrase. However, there is a second position in the complementizer phrase that frequently displays deictic elements: the clause-initial adverbial position. Especially in storytelling, but also in casual speech, an adverb such as *eydö* 'then', *båhicæ* 'then', and *cua* 'there' often begins clauses, situating them referentially. While these morphemes do not seem to show any systematicity like the deictic paradigms, words like *båhicæ* represent three deictic markers stacked on each other. These frequent grammaticalizations suggest that clause-initial adverbs represent one of the potential landing sites of deictic markers. Regardless of their relevance to the complementizer phrase analysis, these markers will become important in Section 5.4 below on the subject of the diachronic demonstrative cycle.

Taking into account the complementizer phrase, thus, the determiner phrase analysis does not fully capture Hyow nominal syntax. Certainly, there are noticeable similarities between the deictic instantiation of the noun phrase and the verb phrase. Instead, it seems that determiners essentially perform two functions: deixis and reference. For nouns, one determiner is preposed and one is postposed; for verbs, the same determiner performs both functions and is postposed.

For a syntactic representation to adequately capture this process, it would take a complex tree structure along with interior phrase movement. A simpler explanation of phrase-initial and/or phrase-final affixing seems more effective in this situation.

## 5.3 Cross-Linguistic Circumfixal Demonstrative Elements

### 5.3.1. Introduction

In order to further analyze the Hyow determiner phrase, a few similar constructions will be introduced, some with a diachronic perspective. The circumfixal demonstrative construction is common throughout the Kuki-Chin family, as represented here with Hakha Lai. The Japanese -*wa* topicalizer has received attention from syntacticians. Likewise, the French and Spanish demonstrative constructions are much studied. It should be noted that none of these constructions are truly circumfixal, as preposed and postposed elements always perform separate, if related functions.

### 5.3.2. French

Thanks to diachronic evidence from Latin and Old French, it is possible to track the development of the present circumfixal demonstrative construction of Modern French. Like most Indo-European languages, French is head-medial, with adjectives and relative clauses following and personal pronouns preceding the head noun. Spatial demonstrative elements, however, are postposed to the noun. Several studies have confronted this exception because of its syntactic errancy.

The modern construction, as shown below in Figure 5.7, is composed of a preposed reference marker *ce* and a postposed cliticized deictic marker, such as *=ci* 'this' or *=là* 'that'.

The nested structure in this example follows the similar Hyow example in Figure 5.4. The postposed element c-commands the noun phrase *livre*, as evidenced by adjectival additions, as in Figure 5.8 with *rouge* 'red'. Secondly, the preposed element c-commands the rest of the determiner phrase, because of its referential function.

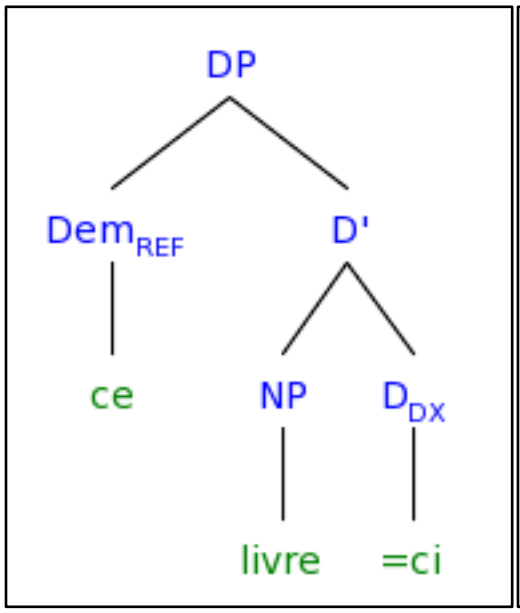


*Figure 5.7*

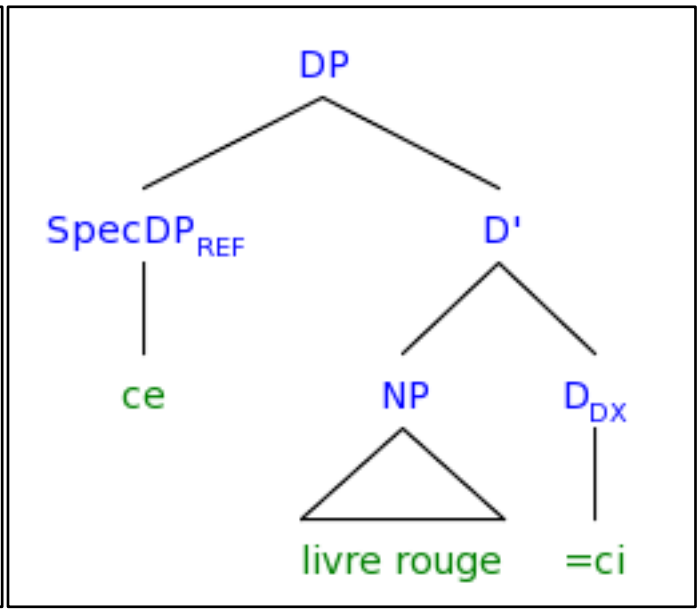


*Figure 5.8*

An alternate, more complex interpretation of this construction is presented by Brugè (2002) in order to account for the head-final appearance of the postposed elements *=ci* and *=là*. Figure 5.9 shows Brugè's conclusion that both demonstrative elements originate from an interior functional phrase. The preposed element originates from a specifier position in the functional phrase so it is not blocked in its movement to the top determiner phrase. The element is then able to feature-check its referential marking back in the functional phrase during the Logical Form phase before its phonological production. In addition to the increased complexity of this interpretation, it is unclear how the postposed clitic modifies the noun phrase *livre rouge*.

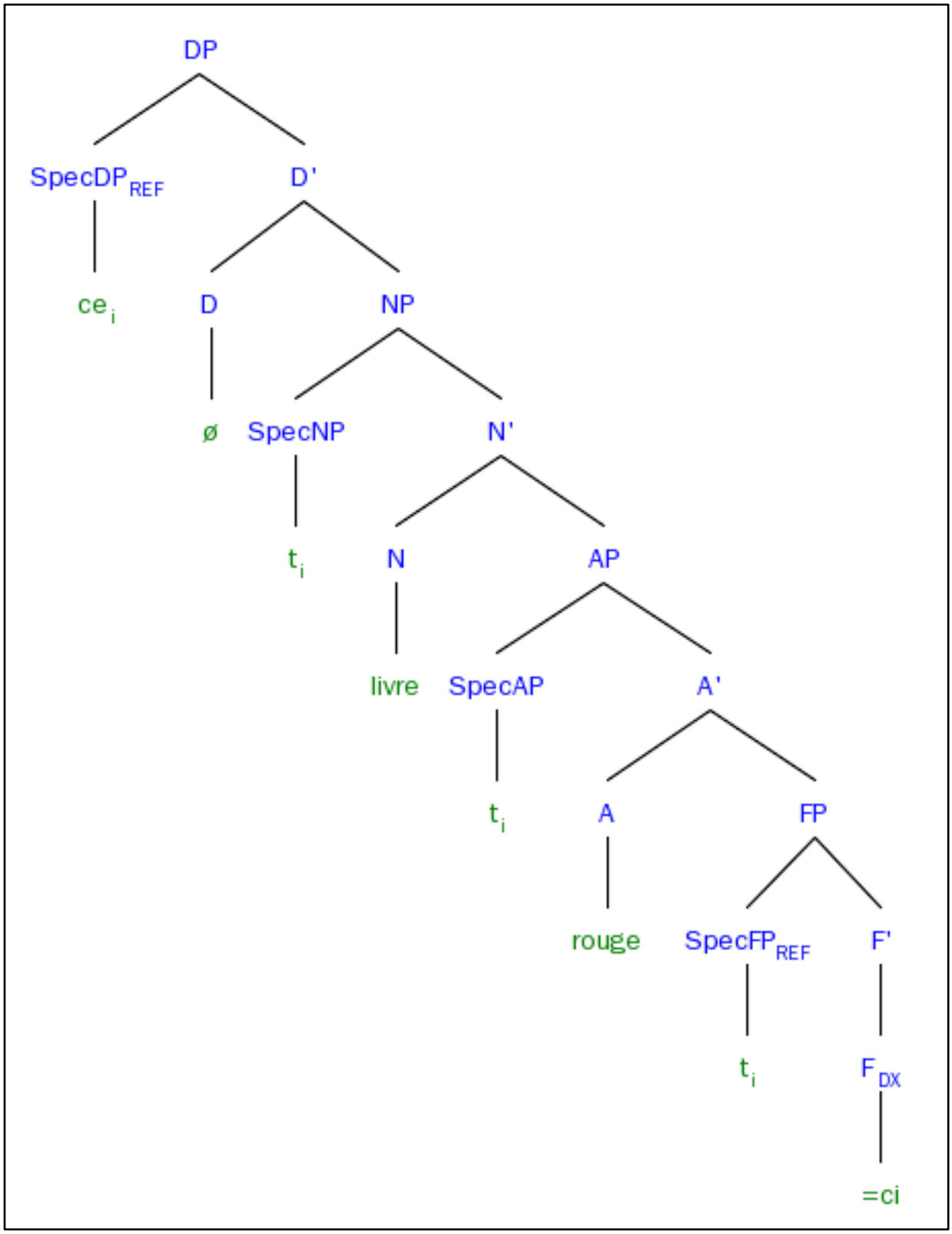


*Figure 5.9 (adapted from Brugè 2002)*

Especially because the postposed element clearly must c-command the interior noun phrase, the interpretation in Figures 5.7 and 5.8 seems much more tenable. In addition, it is not impossible for languages to display alternate phrase ordering. Just as German occasionally has Subject-Object-Verb ordering in subordinate clauses (e.g. Bernstein 2008), it seems plausible that in the special case of determiner phrases, French simply exhibits head-final phrase structure.

Diachronic evidence shows that demonstratives once preceded the noun, however. Ewert (1938) explains that the preposed element *ce* was originally part of a set of referential and also deictic markers derived from Latin phrases. These preposed demonstratives were derived from the Latin exclamation *ecce!* 'look!' and the three Latin deictic demonstratives *ille* 'that', *iste* 'that (of yours)', and *hic* 'this'. Through grammaticalization and reduction, these preposed forms became *cil*, *cest*, and *ço*. The "demonstrative force," however, gave way to the postposed elements *=ci* and *=là* in Old French (Ewert 1938: 164). Diachronic French evidence, thus, suggests that new elements may take over the semantics of deixis or reference and attach to a phrase-initial or phrase-final slot in the determiner phrase.

### 5.3.3. Spanish

Despite also being a Romance language, Modern Spanish exhibits an opposite development to the French demonstrative system. Again described by Brugè (2002), Spanish also has a circumfixal demonstrative construction, though the system is losing favor for modern speakers. As shown by Figures 5.10 and 5.11 below, the article-like determiner *el* precedes the noun *libro* 'book', while the demonstrative *este* 'this' (in opposition with *ese* 'that', and *aquel* 'that over there') follows it.

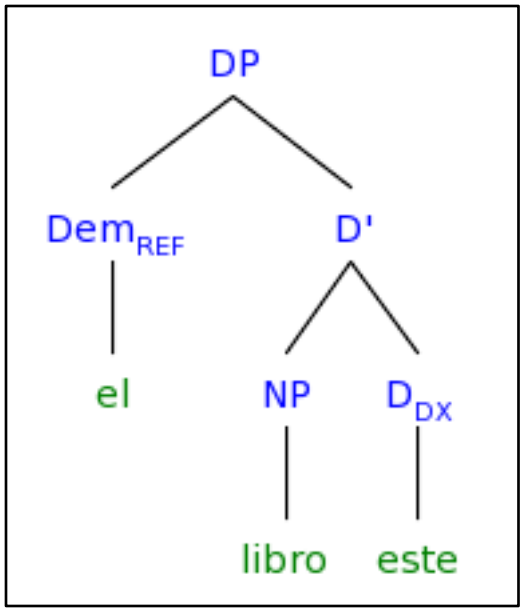


*Figure 5.10*

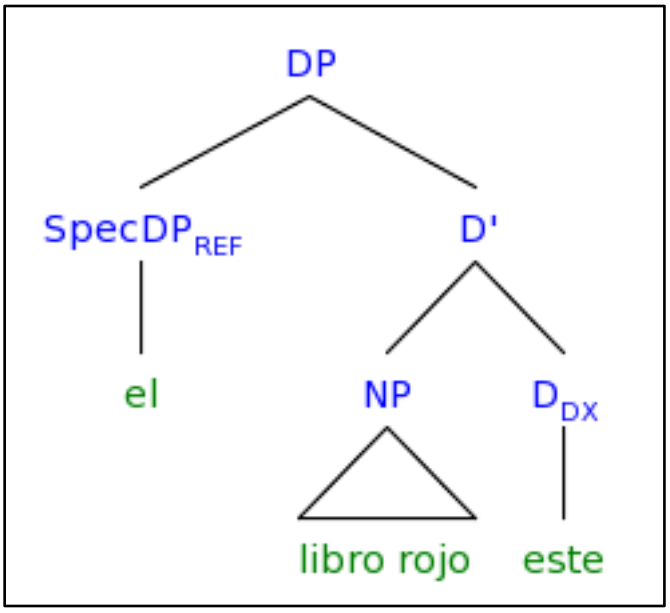


*Figure 5.11*

Again, the reference marker occupies the specifier position, while the deictic marker the head of the determiner phrase. As with the French data, Brugè places both markers in an interior functional phrase, which requires the determiner to move up several slots to the exterior DP. For similar reasons as above, it seems more efficient to interpret Spanish determiner phrases as head-final.

Intriguingly, the circumfixal construction seems much less frequent than Brugè lets on. Basic Spanish lessons often omit it entirely in favor of the preposed demonstrative, as in *este libro* 'this book' (e.g. Study Languages, 2012). Other reference grammars do describe the construction, but qualify it as strictly formal or even "sarcastic or insinuating" (Butt & Benjamin 2011). These insights suggest that a different form has taken hold in Modern Spanish. As Figure 5.12 shows, the bare demonstrative could have moved diachronically to the specifier position and appears to mark both reference and deixis. Furthermore, numerous instances of a second construction, *el este libro*, can be found using Internet search engines, though is not

mentioned in any reference. The syntactic structure of this phrase in Figure 5.13, though, suggests that the demonstrative has remained the head of the Spanish determiner phrase; the DP itself has shifted to become head-initial. Such variation does not seem outlandish considering the English dialectal variant *that there* (cf. the Henry Lawson poem "*That There Dog O' Mine*").

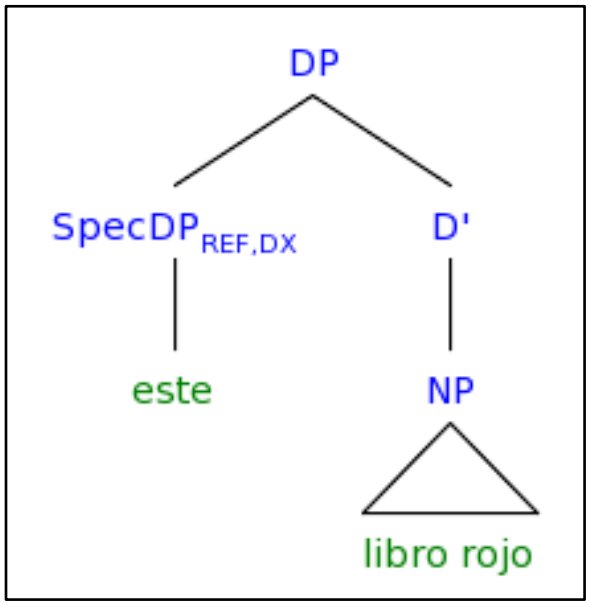


*Figure 5.12*

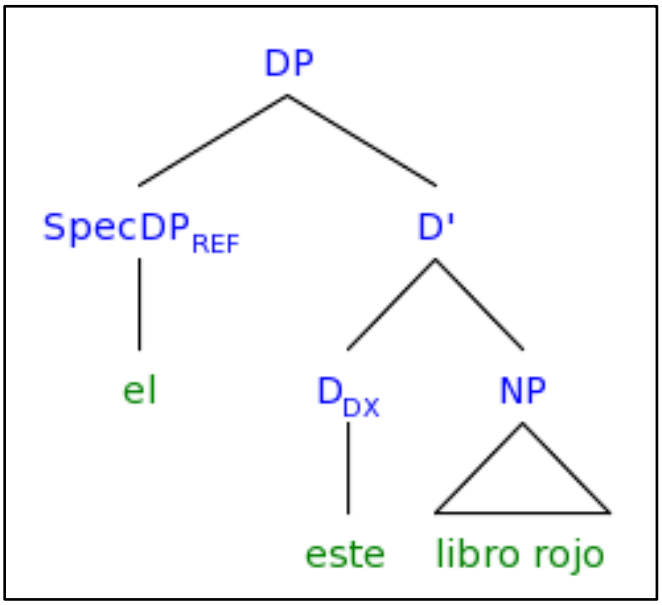


*Figure 5.13*

Given the diachronic shift in Spanish and French demonstratives, it is evident that the determiner phrase is susceptible to structural shifts from head-initial to head-final and vice versa. If one eschews the determiner phrase analysis, it is possible to conclude that deictic elements are particularly prone to grammaticalization at noun phrase-initial and noun phrase-final slots. In the case of Spanish, the postposed element of *el libro este* could have existed in variation with an *este libro* form, the latter form being referentially unmarked. Next, the former form could be falling out of common parlance, with the determiner grammaticalizing again, but this time phrase-initially, to form *el este libro*.

### 5.3.4. Japanese

The syntax of the Japanese determiner phrase represents another well-, if incompletely-studied circumfixal construction. Numerous authors have commented on the *=wa* topic marker, though mostly just in semantic contrast with the subject marker *=ga* (e.g. Heycock 2008). Others have concentrated on demonstrative adjectives like *ano* 'that', *kono* 'this', and *sono* 'this or that' (Fukuda 1996). If one treats the topic marker as a referential deictic and the demonstratives as spatial deictics, Japanese determiner phrases seem much more similar to Hyow, French, and Spanish determiner phrases. Since Japanese is a head-final, Subject-Object-Verb language, syntacticians such as Fukuda (1996) go through great lengths to preserve head-final structure in determiner phrases. This representation is shown in Figure 5.14 below with the phrase *ano John=wa* '*That* John'. If one allows determiner phrases to move as in the languages above, though, Figure 5.15 also seems possible. This construction allows the spatial deictic to remain the head of the DP and the reference marker the specifier.

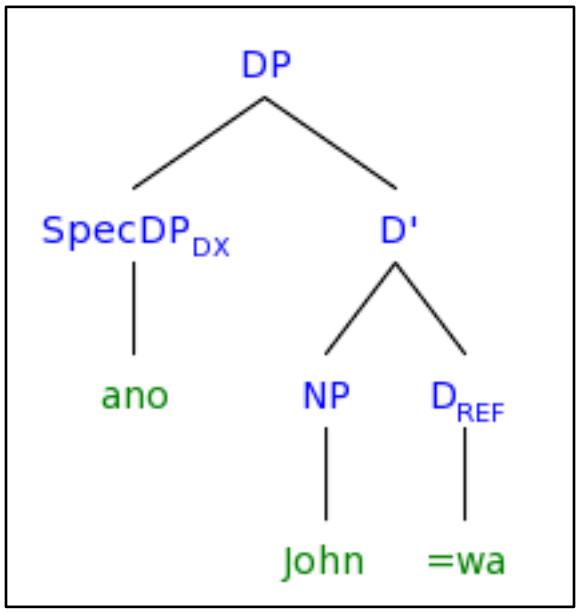


*Figure 5.14*

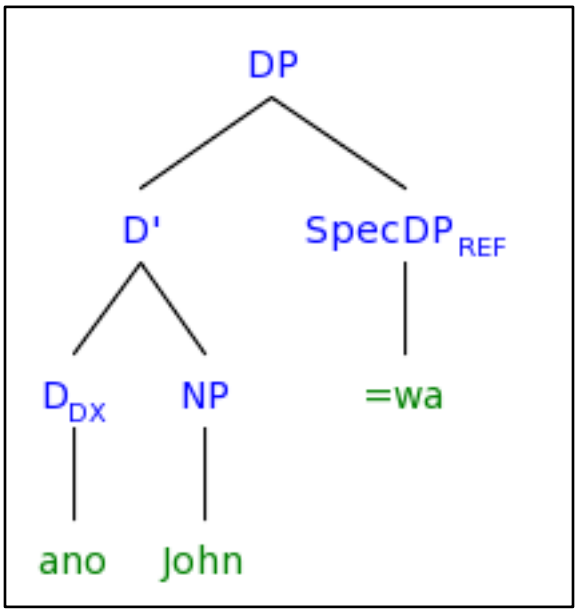


*Figure 5.15*

Fukuda (1996) comes to much different conclusions by comparing the demonstrative to the possessive-marking morpheme *=no*. In treating these two elements as a specifier and head of the same determiner phrase, Fukuda requires a DP-shell construction. Indeed, the possessive construction is an often-cited instantiation of the determiner phrase. For example, in an English phrase like *John's picture*, the possessor is placed in the specifier position, the possessee as a complement, and the possessive morpheme *='s* as the head of the DP (Fukuda 1996). This type of phrase contains drastically different elements as the reference and deixis-based determiner phrase analyzed in this chapter. By splitting these structures into Determiner and Possessive Phrases, the phrase in Figure 5.16 and (5.2) becomes much more easily interpreted.

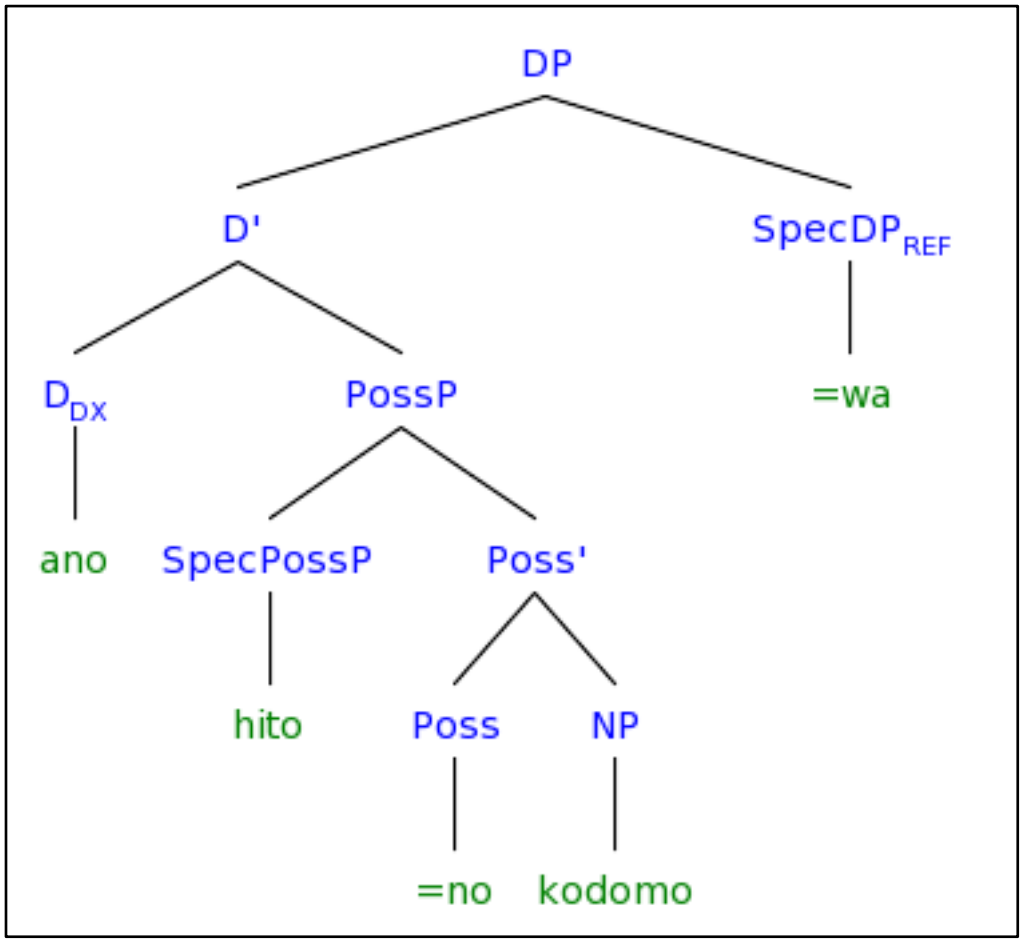


*Figure 5.16*

(5.2) *ano* *hito = no* *kodomo = wa*
that person = POSS child = TOP
'*That* person's child…'

Following the Japanese data, it seems that determiner phrases, at least in languages exhibiting both preposed and postposed deictic elements, can often be explained by identifying referential and deictic elements. Again, despite being a head-final language, Japanese is better explained as a head-initial determiner phrase or simply by the fact that noun phrases have initial and final slots for deictic elements.

### 5.3.5. Hakha Lai

For one final example, the related Kuki-Chin language Hakha Lai will be considered. Lai appears to have a circumfixal construction to a greater extent than Hyow because the preposed and postposed forms are identical. In Figure 5.17, the prenominal demonstrative *hii* 'this here' marks spatial deixis, while the postnominal element, according to Barnes (1998: 57), differs only in narrative speech, in which the former marks narrative-internal deixis, and the latter narrator-based. The particular usage of the postposed element, though, remains unclear. The distinction is more evident with distal elements like *tsuu* 'that (non-visible)', which act as topicalizers, as in Figure 5.18. (5.3) gives a gloss of both phrases. Given this variation, it seems that the postnominal elements are developing into reference markers and losing their deictic status. This development further suggests that these determiner phrase constructions tend to exhibit both referential and deictic elements in the languages explored in this chapter.

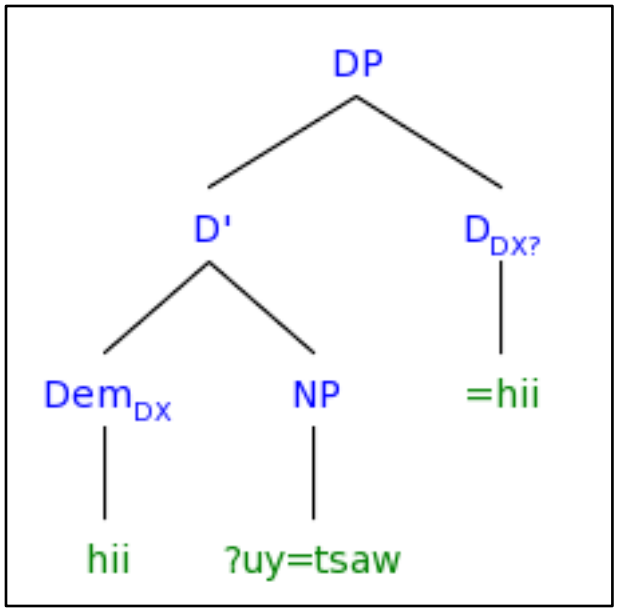


*Figure 5.17*

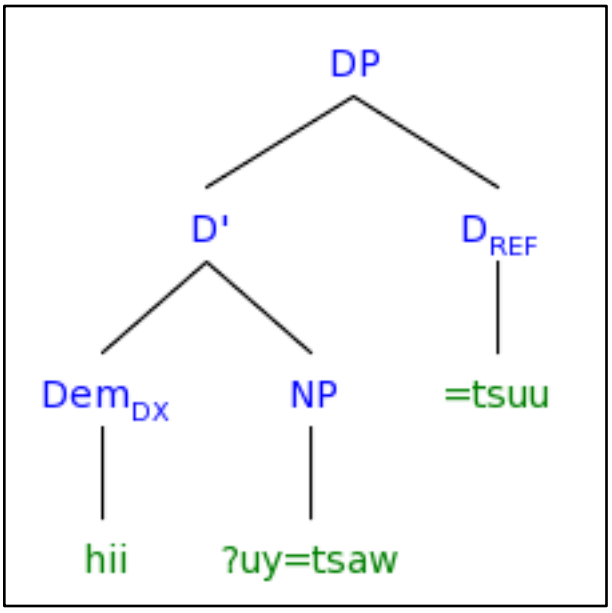


*Figure 5.18*

| (5.3) | *hii* | *?uy tsaw=hii* | *hii* | *?uy tsaw=tsuu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DX.PROX | dog=DX.PROX | DX.PROX | dog=DX.DIST |
| | 'This dog here.' | | '*This* dog.' | |

Like Hyow reference markers, Lai deictic elements can appear clause-finally, though they seem to have deictic as opposed to referential force. As shown in Figures 5.19 and (5.4) below, the clausal suffix *=hi?* 'here' demonstrates that the action of stealing a pig is taking place proximally. Therefore, the deictic marker must c-command the inflectional phrase. It is unclear whether any elements in Lai may occupy the specifier position in these complementizer phrases. In contrast with the Hyow phrase-final elements, though, the Lai elements appear to be solely deictic, either marking spatial or temporal deixis (e.g. Past Tense). It is evident, thus, that deictic elements in complementizer phrases can mark reference and/or deixis, much like determiner phrases. In simpler terms, both noun phrases and clauses have initial and final slots for deictic elements.

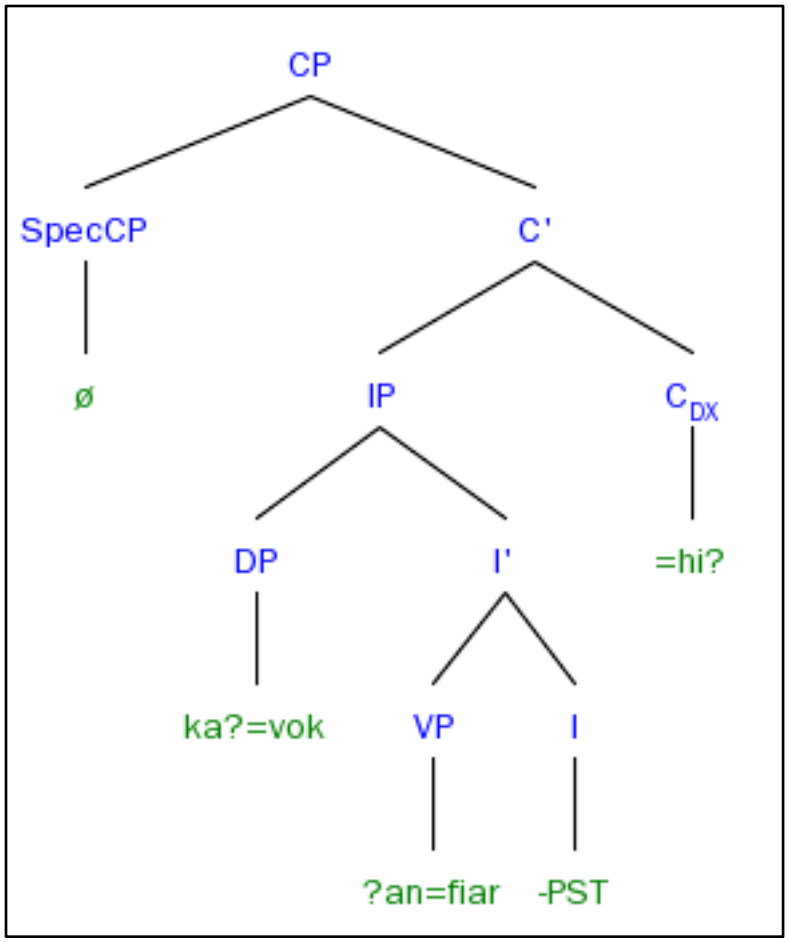


*Figure 5.19*

(5.4) *ka?=vok* *?an=fiar=hi?*
3S=pig 3S=steal=DX.PROX
'Look, he is stealing my pig here!' (from Barnes 1998)

### 5.3.6. Conclusion

Taken together, Hyow, French, Spanish, Japanese, and Hakha Lai circumfixal demonstratives provide consistent evidence for a certain interpretation of deictic markers. Noun phrases along with clauses seem to have phrase-initial and phrase-final slots for reference- and deictic-marking elements (though evidence for phrase-initial clause elements is unclear). The pattern of which element appears in which position appears not to depend on the general phrase

structure of the language as a whole. These elements, rather, appear to switch around, enter, and exit the system with fairly high rapidity, given the changes in progress evident in French and Spanish. If the Determiner Phrase Hypothesis is assumed, information status markers seem to be consistently placed into the specifier position, and deictic markers into the head-DP position. The precise manner in which determiner phrases correlate with complementizer phrases, however, remains unclear, and the Determiner Phrase Hypothesis itself seems unnecessary. It seems to make more sense that demonstratives constitute oblique elements in the complement position, leading to the construction shown below in Figure 5.20. Eschewing the notion of a determiner phrase shell above noun phrases, this construction illustrates that deictic and referential determiners in Hyow are preposed and postposed to the head noun, respectively. The deictic marker acts as a complement to the head noun, while the cliticized referential marker c-commands the rest of the noun phrase.

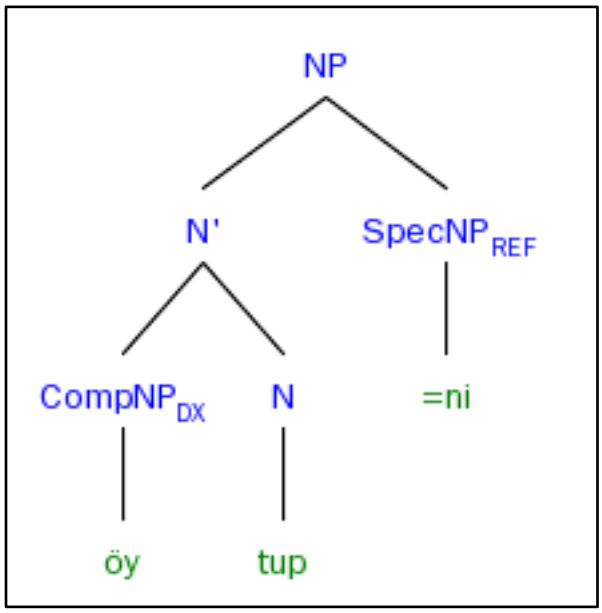


*Figure 5.20*

Figure 5.21 demonstrates that this construction also captures the noun phrase syntax of the other languages discussed in this chapter. The blue path represents the pattern seen in Hyow, Japanese, and Hakha Lai; the red path represents modern French; and the green path modern Spanish along with the English *that there* variant. The determiners all precede the noun in VO languages and follow it in OV languages. Demonstratives, however, show little correlation. This pattern supports Dryer (1992: 121)'s assertion and suggests that the Determiner Phrase Hypothesis is insufficient for describing both articles and demonstratives. Demonstratives in particular are better explained as oblique complements to the noun phrase. Articles, however, seem to fill the role of specifier, c-commanding the noun phrase because of their clause-level scope.

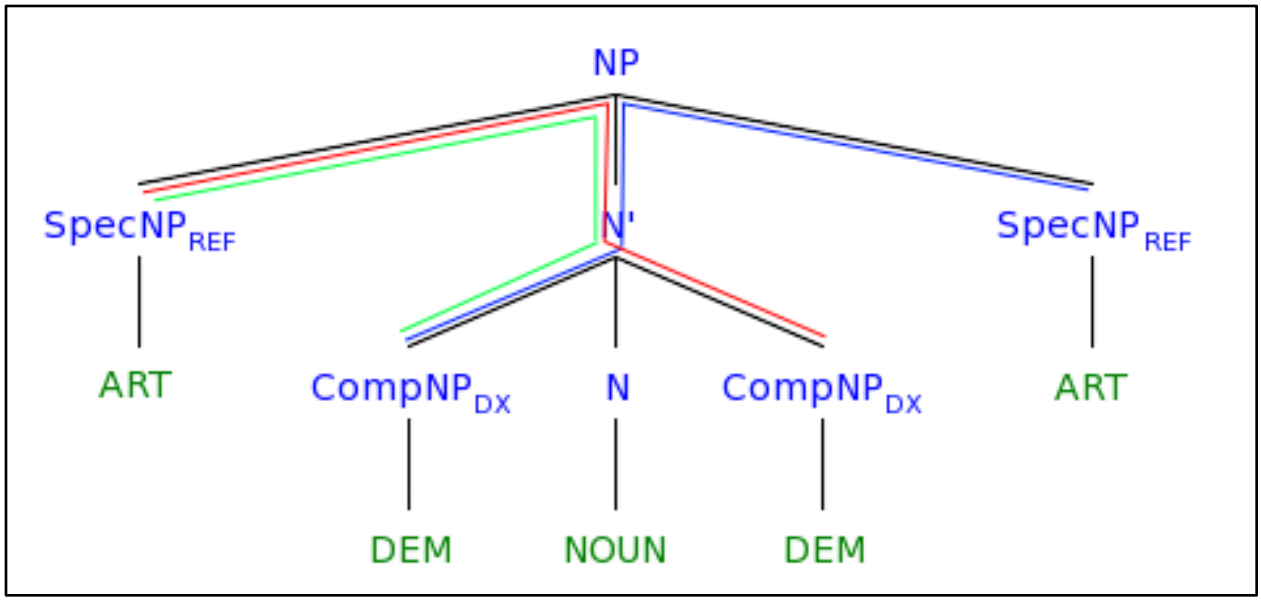


*Figure 5.21*

## 5.4 The Deictic Cycle

While the Determiner Phrase Hypothesis has some use in synchronically describing these deictic constructions, the diachronic picture of deixis is best interpreted by a functional cycle analysis. It is tempting to try to reconstruct Proto-Kuki-Chin demonstrative syntax. But while phonological and semantic reconstruction are widely studied processes, several authors have expressed methodological concerns with syntactic reconstruction (e.g. Pires & Thomason 2008), in part simply due to a dearth of previous study. Harris (2008), defending syntactic reconstruction, even admits that it seems outright impossible to perform in certain circumstances. In the absence of direct reconstruction, other authors have explored alternate analyses, namely the notion of cyclical change. As a starting point, many grammaticalization paths have been thoroughly studied (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2002). In addition, Lohndal (2009) has examined the particularly relevant copula cycle. Lohndal shows that copular elements tend to develop from words with concrete semantics to phrasal specifiers to phrase heads and finally to grammaticalized affixes. This so-called "Principle of Feature Economy" illustrates well the Kuki-Chin picture of deictic elements.

The following description will elaborate on this deictic cycle for Hyow elements. Deictic elements begin as free morphemes with individual semantics, such as a verb meaning 'go' (for lack of evidence in Hyow, from Heine & Kuteva 2002). The verb may then grammaticalize into a distal demonstrative, entering the noun phrase as an oblique complement, as in the Hyow distal marker *cu.* Next, the demonstrative may be further grammaticalized as a clitic in the specifier position. The Hyow topicalizer *=cæ* may have followed this path, and the deictic *=ni* may currently be undergoing such a process. After this, these elements may become phrase heads, as in the well-worn path of demonstrative to copula. The Kuki-Chin copula **hey* likely

developed this way. Lastly, these phrase heads may grammaticalize completely, becoming affixes or crystallizing into grammaticalized lexical elements. The former copula **hey,* for example, became a conditional marker *-hi* in Hyow and exists in relic forms like the negative copula *hia* and oblique elements such as *båhicæ* 'then'. The cyclical nature of Kuki-Chin deictic elements results in synchronic oddities such as numerous copular and demonstrative elements across the family and forms that seem to stack suffixes, like the subordinating suffix *=balacæ*, which seems to contain two crystallized deictic elements *-ba* and *-la* along with a currently productive suffix *=cæ*. All in all, taking the diachronic picture into account with regard to deictic elements in Kuki-Chin results in a much clearer interpretation of demonstrative syntax: dynamic paradigms and consistent grammaticalization paths.

# Conclusion

This thesis has provided a synchronic and diachronic perspective on numerous aspects of Hyow deictic elements, along with diachronic analyses of Kuki-Chin and several other languages. Chapter 1 presented an outline of select phonological and morphosyntactic aspects of Hyow. Chapter 2 went into more depth with the Hyow noun phrase and its possible constituents. In Chapter 3, the Hyow demonstrative paradigm was laid out, along with a detailed analysis of other deictic elements, such as the information status paradigm. These forms were compared to elements in other Kuki-Chin languages, and a diachronic reconstruction was given in Chapter 4. Additionally, several novel grammaticalization paths to and from deictic elements were demonstrated. Lastly, the syntax of Hyow demonstratives and information status markers was compared cross-linguistically to languages with similar constructions. A functional, diachronic explanation was presented to explain the development of these syntactical patterns, and a deictic cycle was suggested as a principle driving force behind the complexities of Kuki-Chin and other languages' demonstrative and information status paradigms. All of these chapters present new analyses, which result in a more complete study of Hyow deixis than any previously published materials. Further research and data, however, will undoubtedly lend increasing nuance to our understanding of Kuki-Chin demonstratives and of linguistic deixis in general.

Appendix A: Deictic Elements in Kuki-Chin (and related languages)

Note: Forms listed are those found so far in the sources (App. B). Italicized forms indicate uncertain semantics.

| | Language | PROX | MED1 | DIST1 | DIST2 | SUFFIX | ELEVATION | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | SPEAKER | HEARER | DIST1 | DIST2 | | UPHILL | DOWNHILL |
| Proto-Kuki-Chin | PKC | *hi | *so/*tso | | *tsu | | *khi | *kha |
| | | | | | | | | *kha-ju |
| Northern | Sizang | | | | tu | | | |
| | Siyin (Rundal) | hi- | to- | | ye- | | | |
| | Siyin (Naylor) | hi- | | | hia- | | | |
| | Tedim | hi- | tu- | hia- | hu- | | | |
| | Paite | hi- | | | hu- | | | |
| | Ralte | hi | | | chu | | | |
| | Thadou (Krishan) | hii- | | | xuu- | | | |
| | Thadou (Grierson) | hi | hu | | chu | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Central | Lai | hii | khaa | | khii | | | |
| | Laizo | hi | kha | | khi | | | |
| | Bawm | hi | | | chu | | khi | kha |
| | Mizo/Lushai | hei | khaa | | soo | | khii | khuu |
| | Hmar | hi | | | so | | khi | khu |
| | Pangkhua | hi | tsu | | khi | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Maraic | Maraa/Lakher | he | kha | hu | cha | | khi | khu |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Southern | Daai | hi- | | | su | | | |
| | Mkaang | *ø-* | | | *hɔ-* | -tsɔ | | |
| | Ngmüün | *$š^hi$* | | | *tši* | | | |
| | Nghmoye | *-hii-* | | | *-si-* | | | |
| | Chinbon | *ho-* | | | *si-* | -ni | | |
| | Mindat | si- | | | cu- | | | |
| | Ashö | ni | t'o | | sü | | | |
| | Hyow | ni | ej | ɔj | cu | -ni | | |
| | S Chin (Joorman) | ni- | to | | sü | | | |
| | Matu | hɛ | | | kɛ | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Khumic | Khumi | hi | tu | | hu | -ni | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Old Kuki | Lamkang | *hə-* | | | *ə-* | | | |
| | Langrong | hi | | | *sa/ma* | | | |
| | Aimol | hi | | | *ha/kha* | | | |
| | Chiru | hi | | | *kha/tu* | | | |
| | Kolreng | hi | | | *ha* | | | |
| | Kom | hi | | | *kha* | | | |
| | Mhar | hi | | | *chu/kha* | | | |
| | Purum | hi | | | *ha/chu/ma* | | | |
| | Rangkhol | hi | | | *sho/ku* | -ma | | |
| | Hallam | hi | | | *sa/ma-* | -ha | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Non-Kuki-Chin | Karbi/Mikir | ø- | | | ha- | -la | | |
| | Tangkhul Naga | hi | | | ci | | | |
| | Meithei | si | | | du | | | |

Appendix A: Deictic Elements in Kuki-Chin (and related languages)

Note: Forms listed are those found so far in the sources (App. B). Italicized forms indicate uncertain semantics.

| Language | VISIBILITY | | 'now' | REL | COND | COP.EQ | COP.EX | today | tonight | 3S |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NON-VIS | VIS | | | | | | | | |
| PKC | | | *tu | | | *ni/*si | *om | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | *ama |
| Sizang | | | | | | | | | | |
| Siyin | | | tu- | | -tu- | | om/hi | | | |
| Siyin | | | | | | | om/hi | | | amaa |
| Tedim | hu- | hiya | | | | | | | | |
| Paite | | | tu | | | | hi | | | |
| Ralte | | | | | | | hi | | | |
| Thadou | | | tu | | | | um/hi(NEG) | | | |
| Thadou | | | | | | | um | | | amaa |
| | | | | | | | | | | amaa |
| Lai | tsuu | | -tuu | tuu | | si/ni(NEG) | | | | |
| Laizo | | | | | | | | tu- | tu- | |
| Bawm | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mizo/Lushai | cuu | | tu- | kha/cu/tu | cu- | ni | om | tu- | tu- | |
| Hmar | | | | | | ni | | va- | | ama |
| Pangkhua | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Maraa/Lakher | | | -tu- | kha/cha | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Daai | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mkaang | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ngmüün | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nghmoye | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chinbon | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mindat | cei- | ca- | | | | ni | | | | |
| Ashö | | | tü- | | | | u | | | |
| Hyow | | co | tu- | | hi | | om/hi(NEG) | | | |
| S Chin | | | tu- | | | | | t'- | t'- | |
| Matu | | | | | | | | to- | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Khumi | | | vai | | hə-/khə-/bə- | nə | bə | | | |
| | | | | | | | | vai- | | |
| Lamkang | | | | | | | | | | |
| Langrong | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aimol | | | | | | | om | | | |
| Chiru | | | | | | | om | | | |
| Kolreng | | | | | | | om | | | |
| Kom | | | tu- | | | | | | | |
| Mhar | | | | | | | om | | | |
| Purum | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rangkhol | | | -tuu- | | | | om | | | |
| Hallam | | | -tu- | | | | om | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Karbi/Mikir | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tangkhul Naga | | | | | | | | | | |
| Meithei | | | | | | | | | | |

## Appendix B: Kuki-Chin Language Sources


**Ashö (AS)** Houghton Bernhard H. 1892. "Essay on the language of the southern Chins and its affinities." Government Printing Office.

**Bawm (BW)** Reichle, Verena. 1981. *Bawm language and lore*. Bern: Peter Lang.

**Bētē (BE)** Grierson, G.A., ed. 1904. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III: Tibeto-Burman family (3 parts). Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing.

**Chinbon (CB)** Helga So-Hartmann. 1988. "Notes on the Southern Chin Languages." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.2: 98-119. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24.

**Daai Chin (DA)** So-Hartmann, Helga. 2009. *A Descriptive Grammar of Daai Chin*. Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project.

**Hallām (HL)** Grierson, G.A., ed. 1904. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III: Tibeto-Burman family (3 parts). Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing.

**Hmar (HM)** Baruah, P.N. Dutta and V.L.T. Bapui. 1996. *Hmar grammar*. Manasagangotri, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

**Hyow (HY)** Bernot, Denise and Lucien Bernot. 1958. *Les khyang des Collines de Chittagong (Pakistan oriental)*. L'homme: Cahiers d'ethnologie, de géographie et de linguistique, 3. Paris: Librairie Plon.

**Khumi (KH)** Shafer, Robert. 1944. "Khimi grammar and vocabulary." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11:386-434.

**Lai (LA)** Barnes, Jonathan. 1998. "Tsuu khaa tii hla?: deixis, demonstratives and discourse particles in Lai Chin." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 21.1: 53–86.

**Lai (LA)** Newland, A.G.E. 1897. *A practical hand-book of the language of the Lais as spoken by the Hakas and other allied tribes of the Chin Hills, commonly the Baungshè dialect.* Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma.

**Laizo (LZ)** Osburne, Andrea Gail. 1975. *A transformational analysis of tone in the verb system of Zahao (Laizo) Chin*. Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation.

**Lamkang (LK)** Thounaojam, Harimohon and Shobhana Chelliah. 2007. "The Lamkang Language: Grammatical Sketch, Texts and Lexicon." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30.1: 1-212.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Marā/Lakher (MA)** | Lorrain, R.A. 1951. *Grammar and dictionary of the Lakher or Mara language*. Gauhati: Government of Assam. |
| **Maring (MR)** | Marrison, G.E. 1967. *The classification of the Naga Languages of north-east India.* Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. 2 volumes. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |
| **Matu (MT)** | Helga So-Hartmann. 1988. "Notes on the Southern Chin Languages." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.2: 98-119. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |
| **Meithei (MT)** | Chelliah, Shobhana. 1997. *A grammar of Meithei*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. |
| **Meluri (ML)** | Marrison, G.E. 1967. *The classification of the Naga Languages of north-east India.* Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. 2 volumes. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |
| **Mikir/Karbi (MI)** | Jeyapaul, V.Y. 1987. *Karbi grammar*. Manasagangotri, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages. |
| **Mindat (MD)** | Jordan, Father Marc. 1969. *Chin dictionary and grammar*. Southern Chin Hills People's language, Mindat District, Burma. Paris. |
| **Mizo (MZ)** | Chhangte, Lalnunthangi. 1993. *Mizo syntax*. University of Oregon Ph.D. dissertation. |
| **Mkaang (MK)** | Helga So-Hartmann. 1988. "Notes on the Southern Chin Languages." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.2: 98-119. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |
| **Ngmüün (NM)** | Helga So-Hartmann. 1988. "Notes on the Southern Chin Languages." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.2: 98-119. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |
| **Nghmoye (NG)** | Helga So-Hartmann. 1988. "Notes on the Southern Chin Languages." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.2: 98-119. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |
| **Paite (PT)** | Singh, Naorem Saratchandra. 2006. *A Grammar of Paite*. Mittal Publications. |
| **Puiron (PU)** | Marrison, G.E. 1967. *The classification of the Naga Languages of north-east India.* Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. 2 volumes. Accessed via STEDT database <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search/> on 2012-03-24. |

| | |
|---|---|
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## Appendix C: "The Wild Hen and Pig Story"

Speaker: Soi Pho Ong

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ayaŋ = kho = a = ti* | *cua = ni* | *ibå* | *thoney = öm = tihi = cæ* | *ey = ni* | |
| | ancient = time = LOC = EVID | there = DX | what | happen = Q = SUB[1] = TOP | 3S = DX | |
| | *acaŋ = nu = la* | *acaŋ = på = la = ni* | *håa = cå = ni* | *ihni-can-ey = hn'ti* | | |
| | old = mother = AND | old = father = AND = DX | wild.hen = DIM = DX | 3D-raise-MID = COMP[2] | | |

'In an ancient time, they say, what happened there? An old woman and man raised a little wild hen.'

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | *eydö* | (*ni'*) | *ihni-can-ey* | *ihni-can-ey = hn'la = cæ* | *ibå* | *thon-ey-öm* |
| | then | 3P | 3D-raise-MID | 3D-raise-MID = SUB[3] = TOP | what | do-MID-WH.Q |
| | *can-ey = öŋ = hüyla = cæ* | *(cua* | *ka-om-na = e = må* | *hû* | *nia* | |
| | raise-MID = OBL = DUAL.SUB[4] = TOP | there | 1S.DIR-sit-LOC.APPL = ? = ? | INTERJ | here | |
| | *hû*) | *eydö* | *ihni-can-ey = hn'la = cæ* | *thon-ey = öm = tihi = cæ* | *ey* | |
| | INTERJ | then | 3D-raise-MID = SUB = TOP | do-MID = WH.Q = CONJ = TOP | MED.DIST | |
| | *hnüp = ak* | *ey* | *khrå = ak* | *ihni-can* | *khrå = hni* | *ihni-can* |
| | day = 1 | MED.DIST | month = 1 | 3D-raise | month = 2 | 3D-raise |
| | *kum = ak* | *ihni-can = hn'la = cæ* | *kum = ak* | *kho = a = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* | |
| | year = 1 | 3D-raise = SUB = TOP | year = 1 | time = LOC = DX | say = COMPLET | |

'Then, after they raised him, what happened? After the two of them raised him (Sit there, here, over here), then after they raised him, what happened? They raised him for one day, for one month. They raised him for two months. They raised him for one year. It was at this time of one year, he spoke:'

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | *acaŋ = nu = o* | *acaŋ = på = o* | *ey = o* | *puy = o* | *puyel = o* | *båhicæ* |
| | old = mother = VOC | old = father = VOC | 3S = VOC | aunt = VOC | uncle = VOC | then |
| | *ke-a = la = cæ* | *ey* | *phia* | *nåk = a* | *ke-cet-ayhyå = tiŋ* | |
| | 1S-FOC = OBLIG = TOP | MED.DIST | wife | marry = INF | 1S-go-IMMED.FUT = QUOT | |

'The wild hen said, 'Old woman, old man, aunt, uncle, I must go then to marry a wife.'

4 *ey = hn'la = cæ* *ey = hn'la = cæ* *ibå* *thon-ey = öm = tihi = cæ*
MED.DIST = SUB = TOP MED.DIST = SUB = TOP what do-MID = WH.Q = SUB = TOP

*a-cet = hn'ti*
3S.DIR-go = COMPLET

'After this, after this, what happened? He went away.'

5 *e-cet = hn'la = cæ* *eydö* *e-cet* *e-cet* *e-cet = hn'la* *båhi* (*puy = o*)
3S-go = SUB = TOP then 3S-go 3S-go 3S-go = SUB then aunt = VOC

*eycæ* *ibå* *tu = o* *ibå* *nå-nåk-ayhyå = m = tiŋ*
then what grandchild = VOC what 2S-marry-IMMED.FUT = WH.Q = QUOT

'After he went, he kept going, going, going. Then (aunt) then the aunt said, 'Grandchild, how will you marry her?'

6 *öho* *ka-nåk-ay-hnüŋ-hå = dö = tiŋ*
no 1S.DIR-marry-IRR-BE.ABLE-REAL = FOC = QUOT

'He said, 'No, I will be able to marry her.'

7 *e-cet* *e-cet* *e-cet = hn'la = cæ* *ibå* *thon-ey = öm* *eyni* *låm = a = ni*
3S-go 3S-go 3S-go = SUB = TOP what do-MID = WH.Q this path = LOC = DX

*eydö* *cua = ni* (*khö*) *eyni* *uwåk = hãt = ni* *khöm = hn'ti*
then there = DX this pig = 1 = DX meet = COMPLET

'He went, he went. After he went, what happened? On this path, then there, he met this one pig.'

8 *eydö* *cua* *uwåk = hãt = ni* *ey = hãt = ni* *uwåk* *khom = hn'la = cæ* *båhicæ*
then there pig = 1 = DX 3S = 1 = DX pig meet = SUB = TOP then

*ey = o* *ku-suy = o* *moa* *ne-cet-ayhyå = m = tiŋ* *tak = hn'ti*
3S = VOC 1S-friend = VOC where 2S-go-IMMED.FUT = WH.Q = QUOT say = COMPLET

'Then after meeting the one pig, that one the pig there, then he said, 'This one, friend, where are you going?'

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | (*ibå*) | *eydö* | *tak = hn'la = cæ* | *key* | *båhicæ* | *ke = æ* | *ey* |
| | what | then | say = SUB = TOP | 1S | then | 1S = DIR | MED.DIST |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *måŋgri = c'hnu* | *nåk = la* | *no-lo-ayhyå* | *pöy* | *eya* |
| king = daughter | marry = OBLIG | 2S-come-IMMED.FUT | festival | there |

| | |
|---|---|
| *no-lo-ayhyå* | *eycæ = tiŋ* |
| 2S-come-IMMED.FUT | this = QUOT |

'After saying this, then he said, 'I'm going to marry the king's daughter. Will you come with me to this festival?'

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *båhi* | *ke = a* | *ko-lo-ay = tiŋ* | *(kul* | *ey* | *hû)* | *kå-hnå = cå* |
| | then | 1S = DIR | 1S-come-IRR = QUOT | | MED.DIST | INTERJ | 1S-ear = DIM |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *duk = a* | *waŋ = ti* | *cua = ni* | *å-hnå = cå* | *duk = a = ni* |
| inside = LOC | enter = IMPER | there = DX | 3S-ear = DIM | inside = LOC = DX |

| |
|---|
| *hån-ey = hn'ti* |
| make.enter-MID = COMPLET |

'Then the pig said, 'I'll come.' (? over there) The wild hen said, 'Enter inside my ear.' There, he made him enter his ear.'

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | *eydö* | *ålå* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* |
| | then | more | 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ŋolaysu* | *im = ni* | *khom = hn'ti* |
| sinner | home = DX | meet = COMPLET |

'Then he went some more, going going going going. He met the home of a sinner.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | *ku-suy = o = tiŋ* | *tak = hn'ti* | *moa* | *ne-cet-ayhyå = m* | *eyni = tiŋ* |
| | 1S-friend = VOC = QUOT | say = COMPLET | where | 2S-go-IMMED.FUT = WH.Q | this = QUOT |

''My friend', the sinner said. 'Where are you going?'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *tak = hn'la = cæ* | *ibå* | *thon-ey = öm = tihi = cæ* | *eyni* |
| | MED.DIST = SUB = TOP | say = SUB = TOP | what | do-MID = SUB = TOP | this |

| *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet = hn'la = cæ* | *båhicæ* | *ke = æ* | *måŋgri = c'hnu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go = SUB = TOP | then | 1S = DIR | king = daughter |

| *nåk = a* | *ke-cet-ayhyå = tiŋ = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|
| marry = LOC | 1S-go-IMMED.FUT = QUOT = DX | say = COMPLET |

'After this, after he said this, what happened? This one went, going going. After he went, then he said, 'I am going to go marry the king's daughter.'

**14**

| *a-tak = hn'la = cæ* | *eydö* | *båhicæ* | *ke = a* | *ku-suy = o* | *ko-lo-ay = tiŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S-say = SUB = TOP | then | then | 1S = DIR | 1S-friend = VOC | 1S-come-IRR = QUOT |

| *kay = tiŋ* | *cua = ni* | *å-hnå* | *duk = a = ni* | *hû* | *kå-hnå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| come = QUOT | there = DX | 3S-ear | inside = LOC = DX | INTERJ | 1S-ear |

| *duk = a* | *woŋ = tiŋ = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|
| inside = LOC | enter = QUOT = DX | say = COMPLET |

'After he said this, then the sinner said, 'Friend, I will come.' The wild hen said, 'Come.' There inside his ear. He said, 'Here, come inside my ear.'

**15**

| *eydö* | *ålå* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet = hn'la = cæ* | *cua = ni* | *ŋolay* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | more | 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go = SUB = TOP | there = DX | sinner |

| *mey = ni* | *khom = hn'ti* | *ku-suy = o* | *naŋ* | *moa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| fire = DX | meet = COMPLET | 1S-friend = VOC | 2S | where |

*ne-cet-ayhyå = m = tiŋ*
2S-go-IMMED.FUT = WH.Q = QUOT

'Then he went more, going going. After he went, there he met the fire sinner. He said, 'Friend, where are you going?'

**16**

| *ey = o* | *ke = æ* | *ku = suy = o* | *båhiæ* | *ke = æ* | *eya* | *ke-cet-ayhyå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = VOC | 1S = DIR | 1S = friend = VOC | then | 1S = DIR | there | 1S-go-IMMED.FUT |

| *måŋgri = c'hnu* | *nåk = a = tiŋ* | *båhi* | *ke = a* | *ko-lo-ay = tiŋ* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| king = daughter | marry = LOC = QUOT | then | 1S = DIR | 1S-come-IRR = QUOT | say = COMP |

‘The wild pig said, ‘My friend, I am going to marry the king’s daughter.’ Then the fire sinner said, ‘I will come.’’

17

| *kay* | *båhiæ* | *suy = o* | *båhi = tiŋ* | *tak = hn’ti* | *cua* | *å = nå = cå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| come | then | friend = VOC | then = QUOT | say = COMPLET | there | 3S = ear = DIM |

| *duk = a* | *eya* | *hån-ey = hn’ti* |
|---|---|---|
| inside = LOC | there | make.enter-MID = COMPLET |

"Wild hen said, "Friend, come." Then he made the fire of sin enter inside his ear."

18

| *ålå* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *e-cet* | *cet = hn’la* | *ŋolay* | *tuy = ni* | *khom = hn’ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| more | 3S-go | 3S-go | 3S-go | go = SUB | sinner | water = DX | meet = COMPLET |

‘He went more, going going. After he went, he met the water sinner.’

19

| *båhiæ* | *å = suy = o* | *naŋ = cæ* | *moa* | *ne-cet-ayhyå-m = tiŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | 3S-friend = VOC | 2S = TOP | where | 2S-go-IMMED.FUT = WH.Q = QUOT |

| *ke = æ* | *cua* | *måŋgri = c’hnu* | *nåk = a* | *ke-cet-ayhyå = tiŋ = ni* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1S = DIR | there | king = daughter | marry = LOC | 1S-go-IMMED.FUT = QUOT = DX |

*tak = hn’ti*
say = COMPLET

‘Then the water sinner said, ‘Oh friend, where are you going? The wild pig said, ‘I am going there to marry the king’s daughter.’

20

| *eydö* | *ey = hn’la = cæ* | *cua* | *måŋgri = c’hnu* | *nåk = a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | 3S = SUB = TOP | there | king = daughter | marry = LOC |

*ke-cet-ayhyå-m = tiŋ = ni*
1S-go-IMMED.FUT-WH.Q = QUOT = DX

‘Then, after that, he said, ‘Am I going there to marry the king’s daughter?’’

21

| *båhicæ* | *ku = suy = o* | *ke = a* | *ko-lo-ay = tiŋ = ni* | *tak = hn’ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | 1S = friend = VOC | 1S = DIR | 1S-come-IRR = QUOT = DX | say = COMPLET |

| *tak = hn'la = æ* | *båhiæ* | *ku = suy = o* | *båhi* | *no-lo-ay = dö = tihi = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| say = SUB = TOP | then | 1S = friend = VOC | then | 2S-come-IRR = FOC = CONJ = TOP |

| *kå = hnå* | *duk = a* | *wåŋ = tiŋ = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1S = ear | inside = LOC | enter = QUOT = DX | say = COMPLET |

'Then, the water sinner said, 'My friend, I will come.' After he said that, the wild pig said, 'My friend, if you want to come, enter inside my ear.''

22

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *cet = hn'ti* | *e-cet* | *e-cet = hn'la = cæ* | *eydö* | *måŋgri* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | go = COMPLET | 3S = go | 3S-go = COMPLET | then | king |

| *cua = a* | *måŋgri* | *khuy u'* | *eya* | *kruŋ = öŋ* | *kåy = öŋ = bala = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| there = LOC(?) | king | | there | roof = OBL | climb = OBL = SUB[5] = TOP |

| *båhicæ* | *måŋgri = c'hnu* | *kå = nåk* | *uwok = tiŋ = ni* | *a-paŋ* | *a-khoŋ = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | king = daughter | 1S = marry | hen.call = QUOT = DX | 3S-? | 3S-call = COMPLET |

"After that, he went. Then, climbing up on the roof of the king, he sounded "Uwok!" and said, "I'm going to marry the king's daughter."

23

| *a-khoŋ = hn'la = æ* | *ey* | *eya = cæ* | *key* | *c'hnu* | *nå-ay = ti = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S-call = SUB = TOP | 3S | there = TOP | 1S | daughter | marry-IRR = EVID = TOP |

| *u-al = öm* | *båhicæ* | *ey = o* | *cet = khol = cå* | *båhicæ* | *a-måm* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| who-?hja = Q | then | 3S = VOC | go = PL = IMPER | then | 3S-catch |

| *a-måm = khol = cå* | *ey = håa = cå = ni = tiŋ* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|
| 3S-catch = PL = IMPER | MED.DIST = wild.hen = DIM = DX = QUOT | say = COMPLET |

"After he called, the king said, "Who is there that will marry my daughter?" Then he said, "Go catch, catch the wild hen!"

24

| *måtgri* | *måt = la = khol = o* | *a-mån = khol = cå = tiŋ* | *ey = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| minister | minister = ERG = PL = VOC | 3S-catch = PL = IMPER = QUOT | 3S = SUB = TOP |

| *mån = öŋ = hn'la = cæ* | *cua = ni* | *a-kheŋ* | *duk = a = ni* |
|---|---|---|---|
| catch = OBL = SUB = TOP | there = DX | 3S-hen.house | inside = LOC = DX |

*ani-hæŋ-nak = hn'ti*
3P.DIR-imprison-LOC = COMPLET

"The king said, 'Ministers, catch him!' After they caught him, they imprisoned him inside a hen house."

**25**

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *cua = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* | *u-suy = o* | *båhicæ* | *iö* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | there = DX | say = COMPLET | 3S-friend = VOC | then | what |

| *båhicæ* | *måŋgri* | *pöy* | *ey = a* | *no-lo-ay-hjå* | *hja = ey* | *måŋgri* | *pöy* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | king | party | eat = LOC | 2S-come-IMMED.FUT | NEG.COP = Q | king | party |

| *ey = a* | *kini-lo-puy-nak-khå* | *båhicæ* | *pöy* | *ey* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eat = INF | 1S.2S-come-COMIT-LOC.APPL-REAL | then | party | eat |

| *ey-hnüŋ-ti = ey = tiŋ = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|
| eat-BE.ABLE-NEG.2S = Q | say = COMPLET |

"After that, the wild hen said, 'Friend,' then the sinner said, 'What?' Then he responded, 'Will you come to the king's party? I will come with you there to eat.' Then, he continued, 'Are you not able to eat at the party?' he said."

**26**

| *eydö* | *ŋolay* | *uwåk = ni* | *ey = kon* | *thok-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *haŋhaŋ* | *ŋolay* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | sinner | pig = DX | 3S = from | come.out-OBL = SUB = TOP | all | sinner |

| *eydö* | *eya* | *håa = khæ = ni* | *haŋhaŋ* | *ey-cak = hn'ti* | *hare* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | there | hen = all = DX | all | eat-INTENS = COMPLET | understand |

"Then coming out from there (the hen's ear), the pig sinner and all the sinners, then there they ate all the chickens there, understand."

**27**

| *eydö* | *ey-cak = hn'la = cæ* | *eydö* | *ibå* | *thoney = öm = tihi = cæ* | *eydö* | *ey* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | eat-INTENS = SUB = TOP | then | what | happen = Q = SUB = TOP | then | 3S |

| *ey = kon* | *eydö* | *eya* | *köp = tiŋ* | *ey-cak* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = from | then | there | sound.of.eating = QUOT | eat-INTENS |

"Then, after they ate everything, then what happened? Then from there, then they ate everything else (each other), saying '(sound of eating).'"

28 *ey = hn'la = cæ* *ey* *hlüt-al-cak = bala = cæ* *eydö* *cua = ni* *ålå*
3S = SUB = TOP 3S be.freed-DIR-INTENS then there = DX more

*khükæk = tü = ni* *khükæk-tü = hn'la = cæ* *a-nåk-al-tü* *eidö* *a-pa*
morning-ITER = DX morning-ITER = SUB = TOP 3S-marry-DIR-ITER then 3S-?

*a-khoŋ-al-tü = hn'ti* *kokælekok* *måŋgri = c'hnu* *kå-nåk-tü*
3S-call-DIR-ITER = COMPLET sound.of.hen king-daughter 1S-marry-ITER

*kok = tiŋ*
sound = QUOT

"After that, he was all freed. Then there he crowed again and again. After crowing, he went off to get married. Then, he called, 'Kokalekok! I am marrying the king's daughter. Kok!'"

29 *ey* *ey = cæ* *uwåk* *iyån = tü* *mü = a* *kini-tak-khå = cæ*
hey! 3S = TOP pig night = last dark = LOC 1S.2S-say-REAL = TOP

*a-kheŋ* *duk = a* *a-hæŋ-nak = tiŋ* *kini-tak-khå = cæ*
3S-hen.house inside = LOC 3S-imprison-LOC.APPL = QUOT 1S.2S-say-REAL = TOP

*a = la* *tu-'u = ey* *ey = cæ* *ålå* *ibå* *lo-al-bal-khö*
chicken = COLL kill-NEG.3P = Q 3S = TOP more what come-DIR-?-PERF

*a-so-khol-cå = tiŋ*
3S-see-PL-IMPER = QUOT

"(The king said), 'Hey! I told you to imprison the pig inside the hen house last dark night,' He continued, 'I told you not to kill all the chickens, didn't I? See what has come about!'"

30 *cua* *ani-ey-cak = ni* *a = khæ = cæ* *haŋhaŋ* *uwåk = la*
there 3P.DIR-eat-INTENS = DX chicken = ALL = TOP all pig = ERG

*ey-cak-dök = ü*
eat-INTENS-PERFECT = EVID

"There they found that the pig had eaten all the chickens."

31 *eydö* *ey = hn'la = cæ* *ibå* *thoney = öm* *ålå* *eydö* *ey = cæ* *iö*
then 3S = SUB = TOP what happen = Q more then 3S = TOP what

| *ey = cæ* | *sellum = a* | *a-hæŋ-na-khol-cå* | *sel = la* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = TOP | cow.shed = LOC | 3S-imprison-LOC.APPL-PL-IMPER | cow = COLL |

| *ey-cak* | *cæl-cak* | *se = khæ = u = tiŋ* |
|---|---|---|
| eat-INTENS | bruise-INTENS | cow = ALL = EVID = QUOT |

"Then after that, what happened? Then what? Then he said, 'Imprison him there in the cow shed so all the cows can bruise and eat him.'"

32

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *cua = ni* | *sellum = a* | *(cituŋ)* | *ci-öŋ = ula = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | there = DX | cow.shed = LOC | | take-OBL = PL.SUB[6] = TOP |

| *sel* | *ey* | *sellum = a = ni* | *ani-hæŋ-nak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|---|
| cow | 3S | cow.shed = LOC = DX | 3P.DIR-imprison-LOC.APPL = COMPLET |

"After that, taking him to the cow shed, they imprisoned him in the cow shed."

33

| *ani-hæŋ-nak = hn'la = cæ* | *eydö* | *eydö* | *iån = cin* | *thoney = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P-imprison-LOC.APPL = SUB = TOP | then | then | night = deep | happen = SUB = TOP |

| *båhicæ* | *iö* | *suy = o* | *båhiæ* | *suy* | *tu'uy = o* | *iö* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | what | friend = VOC | then | friend | tiger = VOC | what |

| *nia* | *pöy* | *ey = a* | *kini-lo-puy-nak-khå* | *pöy* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| here | party | eat = INF | 1S.2S-come-COMIT-LOC.APPL-REAL | party |

| *i-ey-ti = ey = tiŋ* | *pöy* | *ey-ti = dö = tiŋ* | *tak = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3S-eat-NEG.2S = Q = QUOT | party | eat-NEG.2S = FOC = QUOT | say = SUB = TOP |

| *cua = ni* | *ey* | *tu'uy = ni* | *thok-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *haŋhaŋ* | *sel = khæ = ni* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| there = DX | 3S | tiger = DX | come.out-OBL = SUB = TOP | all | cow = ALL = DX |

| *cö-cak-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *ey-cak-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *ey* | *(å'å')* | *å-nå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bite-INTENS-OBL = SUB = TOP | eat-INTENS-OBL = SUB = TOP | 3S | ? | 3S-ear |

| *duk = a* | *hån-ey-al-tü = hn'ti* |
|---|---|
| inside = LOC | make.enter-MID-DIR-ITER = COMPLET |

"After they imprisoned him, then what happened in the deep night? Then he said, 'Friend, tiger friend, I have come here with you to eat at the party. Will you not eat with me?' He said, 'You won't eat at the party?' There, he made the tiger enter inside his ear, coming out, he bit and ate all the cows."

34 *åy* *ey* *håa = cå = cæ* *lot-al-tü = hn'ti* *ey = hn'la = cæ*
MED.DIST 3S hen = DIM = TOP set.free-DIR-ITER = COMPLET 3S = SUB = TOP

*iö* *ey = cæ* *ey = hn'la = cæ* *iö* *ey = cæ* *iö* *eydö* *khükæk-tü = ni*
what 3S = TOP 3S = SUB = TOP what 3S = TOP what then crow-ITER = DX

*a-khoŋ-al-tü = hn'ti* *cua* *måŋgri = c'hnu* *kå-nåk*
3S-call-DIR-ITER = COMPLET there king = daughter 1S-marry

*kok = tiŋ = ni* *a-khoŋ-al-tü = hn'ti*
sound.of.hen = QUOT = DX 3S-call-DIR-ITER = COMPLET

"They set the hen free again. After this, what? After this, what? Then, he crowed again, 'I am marrying the king's daughter, kok!' he called."

35 *å-på = la* *på* *ey = cæ* *i* *(it)* *iyån = tü* *mü = a*
3S-father = ERG father 3S = TOP what night = last dark = LOC

*sellum = a* *a-hæŋ-na-cu = ey* *ibå* *håa = cå = cæ* *ibå*
cow.shed = LOC 3S-imprison-LOC.APPL-NEG.2P = Q what hen = DIM = TOP what

*tu-hnüŋ-cu = ö = tiŋ = ni* *tak = hn'ti*
kill-BE.ABLE-NEG.2P = Q = QUOT = DX say = COMPLET

"The king said, 'Father, what (happened) last dark night? What, did you not imprison the little hen in the cow shed? What, were you unable to kill him?'"

36 *eydö* *tak-tü = hn'la = cæ* *eydö* *ey* *kon = ni* *thok-al-tü = hn'ti*
then say-ITER = SUB = TOP then 3S from = DX come.out-DIR-ITER = COMPLET

"Then after saying this, then he came out from that again."

37 *thok-al-tü = bala = cæ* *eydö* *a* *båhicæ* *cet-khol-cå = tiŋ*
come.out-DIR-ITER = SUB = TOP then chicken then go-PL-IMPER = QUOT

*a-mån-khol-cå = tiŋ*
DIR-catch-PL-IMPER = QUOT

"After he escaped, then the king said, 'Go to the chicken!' He said, 'Catch him!'"

38 *ey = hn'la = cæ* *cua* *(ey)* *eya* *cet-khol = tiŋ* *cet* *eya*
3S = SUB = TOP there there go-PL = QUOT go there

*khoŋkhapå = a* *a-åp-khol* *eya* *böt-sæ* *håa-på = tiŋ*
executioner = LOC DIR-give-PL there slaughter-HORT hen-father = QUOT

"After that, there he said, 'Go!' They went. He said, 'Give him to the executioner. Let the hen father be slaughtered.'"

39 *håa = på* *böt-sæ* *tu-sæ* *cet-khol* *a-böt*
hen = father slaughter-HORT kill-HORT go-PL DIR-slaughter

*a-böt-såk-khol = tiŋ = ni* *tak = hn'ti*
DIR-slaughter-CAUS-PL = QUOT = DX say = COMPLET

"'Let the hen father be slaughtered and killed. Go, make him be slaughtered,' he said."

40 *ey = hn'la = æ* *cua* *khomkhapå = a = ni* *cua = ni* *eydö* *eya*
3S = SUB = TOP there executioner = LOC = DX there = DX then there

*khomkhapå = a = ni* *ani-åp = hn'la* *khomkha = a* *cua*
executioner = LOC = DX 3P.DIR-give = SUB executioner = LOC there

*sållak = a = ni* *ani-åp = hn'la = cæ* *cua* *håa* *så-ay = hn'la = cæ*
executioner = LOC = DX 3P.DIR-give = SUB = TOP there hen kill-IRR = SUB = TOP

*å-så-ayhyå* *böt-ayhyå* *po = ni* *iö* *ey = cæ* *iö*
3S-kill-IMMED.FUT slaughter-IMMED.FUT do = DX what 3S = TOP what

*ani-sot-nak-khå = ey* *u-suy = o* *båhicæ* *pöy* *ey = a*
3P.DIR-see-LOC.APPL-REAL = Q 3S-friend = VOC then party eat = LOC

*no-lo-hå = ey* *hia = ey* *ey* *ibå* *thok-ti = ö = tiŋ*
2S-come-REAL = Q NEG.COP = Q 3S what come.out-NEG.2S = Q = QUOT

*tak = ni* *cua = ni* *mey* *hlåw = tiŋ* *thok-öŋ = bala* *ey*
say = COMPLET there = DX fire sound.of.fire = QUOT come.out-OBL = SUB 3S

*eyni* *ö-cak = hn'ti*
that burn-INTENS = COMPLET

"After that there was the executioner. Then there they gave him to the executioner. After they gave him to the executioner so that he would kill the hen, he said, 'I will kill and slaughter him.' The hen said, 'What are they watching? Friend, are you coming to eat at the party, are you? What, won't you come out?' There, the fire came out, '(sound of fire),' and burned him (the executioner)."

41

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *ålå* | *ey = kon* | *ey* | *ey = cæ* | *ibå* | *khoŋkhapå = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | more | 3S = from | 3S | 3S = TOP | what | executioner = TOP |

| *ibå* | *thoney-hyå = tiŋ* | *ey = cæ* | *khoŋkha* | *ey = la = cæ* | *ibå* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| what | happen-MID = QUOT | 3S = TOP | executioner | 3S = ERG = TOP | what |

| *ey-hnüŋ-a = ö* | *ey = cæ* | *ibå* | *dö = nu* | *ni = æ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eat-BE.ABLE-NEG.3S = Q | 3S = TOP | what | FOC = VIS | PROX = TOP |

| *a-pek-ci = ey = tiŋ* | *ani-sot = ni* | *cua* | *konkhapå = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3S.DIR-give-HABIT = Q = QUOT | 3P.DIR-see = COMPLET | there | executioner = TOP |

| *dü-dök* | *mey = la* | *le-cak-öŋ = bala* | *mey = öŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| die-PERFECT | fire = ERG | lick-INTENS-OBL = SUB | fire = OBL |

*ö-cak-öŋ = bala = cæ*
burn-INTENS-OBL = SUB = TOP

"After that, the king said, 'What happened to the executioner?' Why couldn't he do it? Did he give this one to him?' They saw that the executioner died. The fire licking him, he was being burned by the fire."

42

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *iö* | *båhicæ* | *måŋgri = o* | *båhicæ* | *nu-c'hnu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | what | then | king = VOC | then | 2S-daughter |

| *ani-pek-ey-hyå = ey* | *e-pek-ey-ti* | *hia = ey* | *e-se* | *nu-hlu = ey* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P.DIR-give-MID-REAL = Q | 3S-give-MID-NEG.2S | NEG.COP = Q | 3S-be.dead | 2S-want = Q |

| *å-påy* | *nu-hlu = ey = tiŋ = ni* | *tak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|
| 3S-be.good | 2S-want = Q = QUOT | say = COMPLET |

"After that, what (happened)? Then, the hen said, 'Oh king, will they give your daughter to me? Will you not, eh? Do you want this to end well, or do you want to be dead?'"

43

| *åå* | *kini-pek-ey-hnüŋ-a = tiŋ* | *eydö* | *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *ibå* | *eyni* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1S.2S-give-MID-BE.ABLE-NEG.3S = QUOT | then | 3S = SUB = TOP | what | that |

| *thoney = öm = tihi = cæ* | *eyni* | *cua = ni* | *eydö* | *ey* | *tuy = ni* | *båhicæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| happen = Q = CONJ = TOP | that | there = DX | then | 3S | water = DX | then |

| *iö* | *ku-suy* | *tuy = o* | *båhiæ* | *iö* | *iö* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| what | 1S-friend | water = VOC | then | what | what |

| *ni-mey-na-khö = nu = tiŋ* | *cua* | *thok-tü = dö = tiŋ* |
|---|---|---|
| 2S-set.fire-LOC.APPL-PERF = VIS = QUOT | there | come.out-ITER = FOC = QUOT |

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *tuy* | *thok = ni* | *tuy* | *thok* | *o-thok* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | water | come.out = DX | water | come.out | 3S-come.out |

| *o-thok = hn'la = cæ* | *ey* | *pre = khæ = ni* | *nek-cak = hn'ti* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3S-come.out = SUB = TOP | 3S | country = ALL = DX | be.drowned-INTENS = COMPLET |

"The king said, 'I can not give her to you.' Then after that, what happened? There, then the wild hen said to the water, 'Oh, water friend.' He replied, 'Why did you set fire there?' So he said, 'Come out.' After that, the water came out, came out. After he came out the whole country was all drowned."

**44**

| *e-nek-cak = hn'la = cæ* | *o* | *håa = cå* | *båhicæ* | *key = a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S-be.drowned-INTENS = SUB = TOP | oh! | hen = DIM | then | 1S = EMPH |

| *kini-pek-ey-ay* | *kini-pek-ey-ay = tiŋ* | *ta-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *ey = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1S.2S-give-MID-IRR | 1P.2S-give-MID-IRR = QUOT | say-OBL = SUB = TOP | 3S = SUB = TOP |

| *cua = ni* | *tuy* | *ey-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *ey* | *tuy = khæ = ni* | *båhicæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| there = DX | water | increase-OBL = SUB = TOP | that | water = ALL = DX | then |

| *ni-pek-ey-ay = dö = tihi = cæ* | *ani-pek-ey-ay = ey* | *kini-pek-ey-ay* |
|---|---|---|
| 2S-give-MID-IRR = FOC = CONJ = TOP | 3P.1S-give-MID-IRR = Q | 1P.2S-give-MID-IRR |

| *ani-pek-ey-ay = ey* | *kini-pek-ey-ay* |
|---|---|
| 3P.1S-give-MID-IRR = Q | 1P.2S-give-MID-IRR |

"After it was drowned, The king said, 'Oh, little hen, I will give her to you, I will give her to you!' With the water increasing, then all the water, the hen said, 'May you give her? Will they give her to me?' He said, 'They will give her to you!' The hen said, 'Will they give her to me?' He said, 'We will give her to you!'"

45

| *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *cua = ni* | *eydö* | *cua* | *djolum* | *khrå = öŋ* | *khew = khå = thum* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S = SUB = TOP | there = DX | then | there | paper | on = OBL | word = CLASS = 3 |

| *krå* | *ey* | *djodj-öŋ = ula = cæ* | *eydö* | *ey = hn'la = cæ* | *eydö* | *ey = hn'la = cæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| agree | 3S | write-OBL = PL.SUB = TOP | then | 3S = SUB = TOP | then | 3S = SUB = TOP |

| *ey = bå* | *ey = öŋ = ula = cæ* | *eydö* | *eyni* | *å-nå* | *eya* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DX = way | 3S = OBL = PL.SUB = TOP | then | that | 3S-ear | there |

| *hån-ey-al-cak* | *hån-ey-al-cak = bala = cæ* | *ey* | *måŋgri = c'hnu = ni* |
|---|---|---|---|
| enter-MID-DIR-INTENS | enter-MID-DIR-INTENS = SUB = TOP | 3S | king = daughter = DX |

| *nå-al-öŋ = bala = cæ* | *cua* | *acaŋnu = la* | *acaŋpå* | *so-ey-al = ni* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| marry-DIR-OBL = SUB = TOP | there | old.woman = ERG | old.man | see-MID-DIR = COMPLET |

| *cet-al-hlå = ti* | *hare* | *iyum* | *phu-dök*[7] |
|---|---|---|---|
| go-DIR-REAL = COMPLET | understand | point | break-PERF |

"After that, then they agreed, writing three words on paper. Then after that, doing this way, then it entered his ear. Entering his ear, he was marrying the king's daughter. Then, the old man and woman went to see them, understand. The end."

## Notes (on frequent narrative form abbreviations)

1. *-tihi* 'CONJ' formed from evidential *-ti* and conditional *-hi*. Often used as, 'What may happen next?'
2. *-hn'ti* 'COMPLET' formed from the completive *-hn'* and the evidential *-ti*. Indicates completed action in a narrative.
3. *-hn'la* 'SUB' formed from the completive *-hn'* and the subordinative *-la*. Often used as, 'After that happened…'
4. *-hüyla* 'DUAL.SUB' formed from the suffixal dual form *-hüy* and the subordinative *-la*. Indicates ongoing action, in contrast with *-hn'la*, performed by a dual subject, as in, 'While those two were…'
5. *-bala* 'SUB' formed from an incompletive element *-ba* and the subordinative *-la*. Similar to *-hüyla*, but with singular subjects, as in, 'While he/she/it was…'
6. *-ula* 'PL.SUB' formed from the suffixal plural form *–'u* and the subordinative *-la*. In a paradigm with *-hüyla* and *-bala*, marking ongoing action performed by a plural subject, as in, 'While they were…'
7. *iyum phudök* is a common narrative-final clause, similar to 'the end'. It is more literally translated as 'at this point, it (the story) breaks'.

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