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A GRAMMAR OF HYOW

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Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
CONTENTS	III
LIST OF FIGURES	XVII
LIST OF TABLES	XIX
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	XXII
ABSTRACT	XXIX
1 HYOW: LAND, LIFE AND LANGUAGE	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Purpose of the Study	1
1.3 Previous Studies	2
1.4 Data Sources	4
1.5 Language Endangerment	5
1.6 Place of Hyow in Kuki-Chin	6
1.7 The Language Name and The People	10
1.7.1 Migration History	11
1.7.2 Current Location	15
1.7.3 Life of Hyow	16
1.7.3.1 Clan system	16
1.7.3.2 Tattoos	17
1.7.3.3 Religion	18
1.7.3.4 Livelihood	18
1.7.3.5 Social norms	19
1.8 Language Contact	19
1.9 Typological Overview	21
1.9.1 Phonology	21
1.9.2 Morphology	22
1.9.3 Syntax	24
1.10 Conclusion	25
2 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY	27
2.1 Introduction	27

2.2 Segmental Phonetics and Phonology.....	27
2.2.1 Syllable Structure	28
2.2.1.1 Phonotactic constraints on syllable structure.....	28
2.2.2 Consonants	33
2.2.2.1 Stops	34
2.2.2.2 Affricate.....	39
2.2.2.3 Fricatives.....	40
2.2.2.4 Nasals	41
2.2.2.5 Approximants	43
2.2.3 Allophones of Consonant Phonemes.....	48
2.2.4 Free Variation	49
2.2.4.1 Post-alveolar fricative	49
2.2.4.2 Alveolar stops	50
2.2.4.3 Palatal approximant	50
2.2.5 Acoustic Analysis.....	51
2.2.5.1 The process of measuring VOT.....	51
2.2.5.2 Correlations of acoustic and articulatory analysis.....	51
2.2.5.3 VOT of the affricate	57
2.2.5.4 Duration of voiced and voiceless sonorants	58
2.2.6 Vowels	58
2.2.7 Allophones of Vowel Phonemes.....	60
2.2.8 Acoustic Analysis of Vowels	62
2.2.8.1 Process of sampling.....	62
2.2.8.2 Vowel space	66
2.3 Word.....	66
2.3.1 Phonological criteria of words.....	67
2.3.2 Grammatical criteria of words.....	67
2.4 Clitics.....	68
2.5 Phonological Processes.....	68
2.5.1 Vowel Harmony.....	68
2.5.2 Resyllabification.....	69
2.5.3 Glottal Stop Deletion	71
2.5.4 Transphonologization	71
2.6 Suprasegmental Phonetics and Phonology	73
2.6.1 Tone	73
2.6.2 Tone Analysis in Hyow	75

2.6.2.1	Process of sampling.....	75
2.6.2.2	Findings.....	77
2.6.2.3	Contour tone	80
2.6.3	Tone Sandhi-----	82
2.6.3.1	Process of sampling.....	82
2.6.3.2	Person-marking prefix and root.....	83
2.6.3.3	Monomorphemic disyllabic words	84
2.6.3.4	Inflected words.....	85
2.6.3.5	Derived words	88
2.6.3.6	Compound words	89
2.6.4	Intonation-----	91
2.6.4.1	Intonation and declarative clause	92
2.6.4.2	Intonation and interrogative clauses	93
2.6.4.3	Intonation and imperative clauses.....	96
2.7	Conclusion	97
3	WORD CLASSES	99
3.1	Introduction	99
3.2	Word Class	99
3.3	Open Word Class	100
3.3.1	Verbs -----	100
3.3.2	Nouns -----	105
3.3.2.1	Inalienable body part terms	110
3.3.2.2	Bound common nouns	111
3.3.2.3	Bound locative nouns.....	113
3.3.2.4	Unbound locative nouns	115
3.3.2.5	Kinship terms	118
3.3.2.6	Alienable body part terms	120
3.3.2.7	Proper nouns	120
3.3.2.8	Common nouns.....	121
3.3.3	Pronouns-----	124
3.3.3.1	Personal pronouns	125
3.3.3.2	Demonstrative pronouns	126
3.3.3.3	Interrogative pronouns.....	128
3.3.3.4	Indefinite pronouns	129
3.3.3.5	Generic Indefinite pronoun	133
3.3.4	Nominal Modifiers -----	135

3.3.4.1	Nominal deictics	136
3.3.4.2	Nominal anaphoric demonstrative	137
3.3.4.3	Quantifying demonstratives	137
3.3.4.4	Quantifier	138
3.3.4.5	Numerals	140
3.3.4.6	Numeral classifiers	145
3.3.4.7	Case Clitics	153
3.3.5	Temporal Words	154
3.3.6	Adverbs	156
3.3.7	Manner nouns	160
3.3.8	Discourse Connectives	163
3.3.9	Phrasal Conjunction	166
3.3.10	Interjections	167
3.3.11	Exclamatory Expressions	167
3.3.12	Onomatopoeic Words	168
3.3.13	Expressives	169
3.3.14	Quotative Particle	170
3.3.15	Clitics	172
3.4	Conclusion	173
4	NOUN PHRASE	174
4.1	Introduction	174
4.2	Structure of a noun phrase	174
4.3	Functions of a noun phrase	176
4.3.1	Head of a noun phrase	177
4.3.1.1	Simple head	177
4.3.1.2	Compound head	178
4.3.1.3	Complex head	179
4.4	Constituents of a noun phrase	181
4.4.1	Pre-head constituents	181
4.4.1.1	Demonstratives	181
4.4.1.2	Nominalized relative clauses	185
4.4.1.3	Possessor and genitive nouns	186
4.4.1.4	Numeral compounds of dependents	188
4.4.2	Post-head constituents	190
4.4.2.1	Verbal modifier	190

4.4.2.2	Quantifiers	191
4.4.2.3	Numeral compounds of heads	192
4.4.3	Noun phrase clitics	193
4.4.3.1	Vocative clitic	193
4.4.3.2	Case clitics	194
4.4.3.3	Topic clitic	195
4.4.3.4	Focus clitic	196
4.4.3.5	Emphatic clitic	197
4.5	Headless noun phrase	198
4.5.1	Headless genitive dependent	198
4.5.2	Headless nominalized genitive dependent	200
4.5.3	Headless nominalized relative clause	200
4.5.4	Headless verbal modifier	201
4.5.5	Headless quantifier	203
4.6	Conclusion	203
5	NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY	206
5.1	Introduction	206
5.2	Compounding	206
5.2.1	Criteria of compound words	206
5.2.1.1	Phonological criteria	207
5.2.1.2	Morphological criteria	208
5.2.1.3	Semantic criteria	208
5.2.2	Compound types	209
5.2.2.1	Endocentric compounds	209
5.2.2.2	Exocentric compounds	211
5.2.2.3	Appositional compounds	212
5.2.3	Sequences of constituents in compounds	212
5.2.3.1	Noun-Noun Compounding	212
5.2.3.2	Verb-Noun Compounding	217
5.2.3.3	Noun-Verb Compounding	218
5.2.3.4	Noun-Verb-Noun Compounding	221
5.2.4	Compounds with <i>khô</i> 'time'	221
5.2.5	Compounds with fossilized roots	223
5.3	Reduplication	224

5.4 Nominal Prefix	225
5.4.1 Generic referential prefix-----	225
5.4.2 Possessive prefixes -----	230
5.5 Nominal suffixes	233
5.5.1 Diminutive-----	233
5.5.2 Augmentative-----	237
5.5.3 Plural-----	239
5.5.4 Life-cycle indicative suffix (LIS)-----	241
5.5.5 Inclusive-----	243
5.5.6 Exclusive -----	244
5.5.7 Superlative degree of verbal modifiers -----	245
5.5.8 Multiplicative-----	247
5.5.9 Approximative -----	248
5.5.10 Expansive -----	249
5.6 Nominalization.....	250
5.6.1 Nominalizing Suffixes-----	250
5.6.1.1 Agentive nominalization	251
5.6.1.2 Patientive nominalization.....	253
5.6.1.3 Place nominalization	254
5.6.1.4 Instrumental nominalization.....	255
5.6.1.5 Purposive nominalization.....	256
5.6.1.6 Temporal nominalization	256
5.6.1.7 Comitative nominalization	257
5.7 Conclusion	257
6 VERBS: FORMS AND CLASSIFICATIONS	259
6.1 Introduction	259
6.2 Verb Stem Alternation	259
6.2.1 Forms of stems-----	259
6.2.2 A historical explanation of verb stem alternations -----	263
6.2.3 Functions of verb-stem alternations-----	267
6.2.3.1 Nominalization processes.....	268
6.2.3.2 Intransitive clauses	270
6.2.3.3 Imperative mood	271
6.2.3.4 Positive-Negative polarity	272
6.2.3.5 Dependent clause types	274

6.2.3.6	Interrogative clause	276
6.2.3.7	Nominalized relative clause	277
6.3	Basic classification of verbs.....	279
6.3.1	Transitivity.....	280
6.3.2	Intransitive verbs	280
6.3.3	Transitive verbs	284
6.3.3.1	Monotransitive verbs	286
6.3.3.2	Ditransitive verbs	287
6.4	Middle verbs.....	289
6.4.1	Direct reflexive verbs	290
6.4.2	Reciprocal verbs.....	292
6.4.3	Deponent verbs	293
6.4.4	Grooming verbs.....	294
6.4.5	Body posture and action verbs	295
6.4.6	Nontranslational verbs.....	296
6.4.7	Translational verbs.....	297
6.4.8	Positional verbs.....	298
6.4.9	Emotion verbs.....	299
6.4.10	Cognition verbs	300
6.4.11	Perception verbs	300
6.4.12	Spontaneous verbs	301
6.4.13	Indirect reflexive verbs	301
6.5	Derived middle verbs.....	302
6.6	Causative verbs	304
6.7	Psychocollocation and Other Verbs.....	306
6.8	Conclusion	308
7	MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS I: REFERENTIAL AND PREFIXAL CATEGORIES	309
7.1	Introduction	309
7.2	Structure of the verb complex.....	309
7.3	Prefixal Zone	316
7.3.1	Person markers on intransitive verbs.....	317
7.3.2	Person markers on transitive verbs	323
7.3.3	Directional marker	344

7.3.4	Inverse marker-----	346
7.3.5	Number markers -----	348
7.4	Restricted Selectional Zone 1	350
7.4.1	Person marking suffixes -----	351
7.5	Conclusion	356
8	MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS II: DERIVATIONAL AND VALENCY-CHANGE	359
8.1	Introduction	359
8.2	Derivational Suffix Zone	359
8.2.1	Derivation by middle suffix -----	359
8.2.2	Derivation by departative suffix -----	362
8.2.3	Derivation by spontaneitive suffix -----	363
8.3	Valency-Changing Suffix Zone	364
8.3.1	Valence modification by middle suffix -----	365
8.3.2	Valence increasing by applicatives -----	370
8.3.2.1	Benefactive/Malefactive	371
8.3.2.2	Associative-benefactive	373
8.3.2.3	Locative/Instrumental	375
8.3.3	Valence increasing by causative suffix -----	377
8.4	Conclusion	379
9	MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS III: INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES AND CLITICS	381
9.1	Introduction	381
9.2	Variably-positioned Suffix Zone.....	382
9.2.1	Modality-----	382
9.2.1.1	Realis	383
9.2.1.2	Irrealis	385
9.2.1.3	Deductive	390
9.2.1.4	Speculative	392
9.2.1.5	Assumptive	393
9.2.1.6	Factive	395
9.2.1.7	Existimative	397
9.2.1.8	Desiderative.....	399

9.2.1.9	Preferential	401
9.2.1.10	Obligative	403
9.2.1.11	Physical capabilitive	406
9.2.1.12	Cognitive capabilitive	407
9.2.1.13	CHANCE	410
9.2.1.14	DARE	411
9.2.1.15	Pretensive	414
9.2.1.16	Conative	415
9.2.2	Aspectual suffixes	416
9.2.2.1	Completive	417
9.2.2.2	Inchoative	418
9.2.2.3	Iterative	419
9.2.2.4	Non-iterative	423
9.2.2.5	Stative	425
9.2.2.6	Habitual past	427
9.2.2.7	LEAVE V-ING	428
9.2.2.8	Continuous	430
9.2.2.9	Terminative	431
9.2.2.10	Non-Habitual	433
9.2.2.11	Anterior	434
9.2.3	Adverbial Suffixes	436
9.2.3.1	SURPRISE	437
9.2.3.2	AGONISING	438
9.2.3.3	Erroneous	440
9.2.3.4	Unpredicted	440
9.2.3.5	Regularity	442
9.2.3.6	Frequent	443
9.2.3.7	Experiential frequency	444
9.2.3.8	Ultimative	445
9.2.3.9	Prioritive	447
9.2.3.10	Extensive	448
9.3	Restricted Selection Zone 2	448
9.3.1	Clause-linking suffixes	449
9.3.1.1	Temporal clause-linking suffix	451
9.3.1.2	Conditional clause-linking suffix	452
9.3.1.3	Concessive clause-linking suffix	453
9.3.1.4	Reason clause-linking suffix	454

9.3.1.5	Delimitative clause-linking suffix.....	455
9.3.1.6	Purposive clause-linking suffix	456
9.3.1.7	Motivational purposive clause-linking suffix	457
9.3.1.8	Simultaneous clause-linking suffix	458
9.3.1.9	Circumstantial clause-linking suffix.....	460
9.3.1.10	Posterior temporal clause-linking suffix	461
9.3.1.11	Negative adverbial clause-linking suffix.....	462
9.3.1.12	Anterior temporal clause-linking suffix.....	463
9.3.1.13	Sequential clause-linking suffix.....	464
9.4	Restricted Selectional Zone 1	464
9.4.1	Predicate-marking suffixes	465
9.4.2	Verbal classifier.....	468
9.5	Invariably-ordered Suffix and Clitic Zone.....	470
9.5.1	Sentential mood	470
9.5.1.1	Polar interrogative	470
9.5.1.2	Content interrogative.....	471
9.5.1.3	Imperative with singular addressee	472
9.5.1.4	Imperative with dual addressee.....	473
9.5.1.5	Imperative with plural addressee	474
9.5.1.6	Cohortative	475
9.5.1.7	Exhortative	477
9.5.1.8	Prohibitive	478
9.5.1.9	Jussive	479
9.5.1.10	Optative.....	480
9.6	Clitic Zone	482
9.6.1	Topic clitic with clausal scope	482
9.6.2	Focus clitic with clausal scope	483
9.6.3	Emphatic clitic with clausal scope.....	484
9.6.4	Evidentials.....	485
9.6.4.1	Sensory evidential	486
9.6.4.2	Reported evidential.....	488
9.7	Conclusion	491
10	GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS AND ARGUMENT MARKING	492
10.1	Introduction	492

10.2 Grammatical Functions	492
10.2.1 Constituent order	493
10.2.2 Case marking	497
10.2.3 Argument indexation	502
10.2.3.1 Declarative and Interrogative	502
10.2.3.2 Imperative and Optative	510
10.2.4 Suffixal indexation	515
10.2.5 External possession	515
10.3 Morphology of case marking	518
10.3.1 Core case marking	519
10.3.1.1 Unmarked core arguments	519
10.3.1.2 Ergative	522
10.3.1.3 Core dative	523
10.3.2 Oblique case marking	526
10.3.2.1 Instrumental	526
10.3.2.2 Comitative	530
10.3.2.3 Genitive	533
10.3.2.4 Non-core dative	534
10.3.2.5 Locative and allative	535
10.3.2.6 Inessive	536
10.3.2.7 Ablative	540
10.3.2.8 Delimitative	541
10.4 Argument Marking in Valence Changing Constructions	542
10.4.1 Case marking	543
10.4.1.1 Causativization	543
10.4.1.2 Applicativization	546
10.4.2 Indexation on verbs	552
10.4.2.1 Causative argument indexation.....	552
10.4.2.2 Applicative argument indexation.....	555
10.5 Conclusion	558
11 SIMPLE CLAUSE STRUCTURE	560
11.1 Introduction	560
11.2 Canonical Clause Structure	560
11.3 Non-canonical Clause Structure	563
11.3.1 S/A as afterthoughts	563

11.3.2	P as afterthought	566
11.3.3	Other constituents as afterthoughts	566
11.4	Declarative Clauses	567
11.5	Interrogative Clauses	572
11.5.1	Polar questions	573
11.5.2	Tag questions	576
11.5.3	Alternative questions	577
11.5.4	Content questions	578
11.5.4.1	What (indefinite things)	579
11.5.4.2	How (manner)	582
11.5.4.3	Why (reason)	584
11.5.4.4	Who/Whom (person)	585
11.5.4.5	Where (place)	587
11.5.4.6	When (time)	588
11.5.4.7	Which (inanimate)	589
11.5.4.8	How much/many	589
11.6	Imperative Clauses	591
11.6.1	Canonical imperative clauses	591
11.6.1.1	Plain imperative clause	592
11.6.1.2	Plain imperative clause with politeness	594
11.6.1.3	Exhortative clause	594
11.6.1.4	Prohibitive clause	595
11.6.2	Non-canonical imperatives	596
11.6.2.1	Cohortative clause	597
11.6.2.2	Jussive clause	599
11.7	Optative Clauses	601
11.7.1	Positive optative	601
11.7.2	Negative optative	602
11.8	Comparison clauses	603
11.8.1	Equality clauses	603
11.8.2	Comparative clause	604
11.8.3	Superlative clause	605
11.9	Copular clauses	606
11.10	Existential clauses	610

11.11	Verbless Clauses	613
11.12	Conclusion	618
12	COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE	620
12.1	Introduction	620
12.2	Types of clauses in complex sentences	620
12.2.1	Independent clause	621
12.2.2	Dependent clause	623
12.3	Features of Dependency	626
12.4	Strategies of complex sentence construction	627
12.4.1	Adverbial Clauses	629
12.4.1.1	Temporal clause	629
12.4.1.2	Conditional clause	640
12.4.1.3	Concessive clause	655
12.4.1.4	Reason clause	664
12.4.1.5	Delimitative clause	669
12.4.1.6	Purposive clause	672
12.4.1.7	Motivational purposive clause	677
12.4.1.8	Simultaneous clause	681
12.4.1.9	Circumstantial clause	683
12.4.1.10	Posterior temporal clause	687
12.4.1.11	Negative adverbial clause	692
12.4.1.12	Anterior temporal clause	697
12.4.1.13	Sequential clause	701
12.4.2	Relative clauses	710
12.4.2.1	Agentive relative clause	711
12.4.2.2	Patientive relative clause	715
12.4.2.3	Instrumental relative clause	719
12.4.2.4	Place relative clause	720
12.4.2.5	Temporal relative clause	725
12.4.2.6	Purposive relative clause	729
12.4.2.7	Relative-correlative clauses	734
12.4.2.8	Comparative correlative clauses	741
12.4.3	Complement clauses	745
12.5	Conclusion	752

TEXT	754
How to hunt a deer	754
HYOW-ENGLISH DICTIONARY	767
APPENDIX I: F₀ VALUES AND RHYME DURATIONS	825
APPENDIX II: A COMBINATORY MATRIX FOR DEPENDENT CLAUSE VERBS	828
APPENDIX III: A COMBINATORY MATRIX FOR IMPERATIVE VERBS	831
REFERENCES	833

List of figures

Figure 1: My chief language consultant, Hlakroy Prue Khyang, in the traditional Hyow dress (www.ksibandarban.com)	xxv
Figure 2: Traditional rice wine processing	xxv
Figure 3: The celebration of Haney (a sacrifice to the God of the river)	xxvi
Figure 4: Offerings to the God of harvest (Boogeley)	xxvi
Figure 5: A map showing Hyow living places (solid circles) in the CHT	xxvii
Figure 6: A closer look at the Hyow living places (H grafitted marker) in the CHT	xxviii
Figure 7: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Shafer (1974)	7
Figure 8: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Benedict (1972)	8
Figure 9: Bradley's classification of Kuki-Chin languages	8
Figure 10: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Matisoff (2003)	9
Figure 12: Peterson's subgrouping of Kuki-Chin languages (2017)	10
Figure 11: The subgrouping of Kuki-Chin languages by Kenneth VanBik (2009)	10
Figure 13: The map of migration of different tribes after the fall of Arakan (Brauns and Löffler, 1995)	13
Figure 14: The proposed migration route of the Hyow from Rakhine State to the CHT	14
Figure 15: The structure of a Hyow syllable	28
Figure 16: VOT of [k] in [kɔ ⁴⁴]	53
Figure 17: VOT in voiceless unaspirated vs. aspirated stops in EGH	54
Figure 18: Comparative mean VOT of voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops	55
Figure 19: VOT of voiced stops in Hyow	56
Figure 20: VOT of EGH oral stops	56
Figure 21: VOT of the affricate in EGH	57
Figure 22: A comparative representation of durations of voiced and voiceless sonorants and approximants	58
Figure 23: The vowel space in EGH	66
Figure 25: Graphical representation of resyllabification process in Hyow	70
Figure 25: Level tones in EGH smooth syllables (male speaker)	78
Figure 26: Level tones in EGH checked syllables (male speakers)	79
Figure 27: EGH high falling tone with other level tones in smooth syllables (male speakers)	82
Figure 28: Pitch track of PMP syllables and root-initial smooth syllables (male speaker)	84
Figure 29: Mean pitch track of rhymes of PMP syllables and root-initial checked syllables (male speaker)	84
Figure 30: Mean pitch track in disyllabic words (MDW initial syllable followed by smooth syllable; male speaker)	85
Figure 31: Mean pitch track in disyllabic words (MDW initial syllable followed by smooth syllable; male speaker)	85
Figure 32: Tone sandhi between noun (H) and expansive suffix	86
Figure 33: Tone sandhi between noun (F) and expansive suffix	87
Figure 34: Tone sandhi between noun (H) with smooth syllable and diminutive suffix	87
Figure 35: Tone sandhi between noun (H) with checked syllable and diminutive suffix	88
Figure 36: Tone sandhi between noun (F) and diminutive suffix	88
Figure 37: Tone sandhi between verb (H) and agentive nominalizer	89
Figure 38: Tonal representation of a compound word in Hyow	90
Figure 39: Tone sandhi between two members of compound words	90
Figure 40: Intonation at the boundary of a declarative clause	92
Figure 41: Intonation at the boundary of a declarative clause with a final stop syllable	93
Figure 42: Comparison of intonational effect at the boundary of a polar interrogative and a declarative clause	94
Figure 43: Pitch representation at the boundary of a content interrogative clause	95
Figure 44: Pitch at the final of a content interrogative clause followed by an afterthought noun	95
Figure 45: Pitch comparison at the final of imperative verbs with different numbers	96
Figure 46: Pitch at the boundary of a Jussive	97
Figure 47: Pitch at the final of an exhortative	97

<i>Figure 49: A linear illustration of Hyow demonstrative pronouns</i>	127
<i>Figure 49: Syntagmatic structure of the noun phrase (NP) in Hyow</i>	174
<i>Figure 51: A middle schema for grooming verbs</i>	295
<i>Figure 52: A representation of difference between a regular and a frequent event</i>	444
<i>Figure 52: Members of afterthought expressions in Hyow</i>	567
<i>Figure 54: An outline of a verbless clause</i>	614
<i>Figure 54: Comparative intonation pattern on a temporal and a matrix clause in Hyow</i>	640
<i>Figure 55: Level intonation at the boundary of a conditional clause</i>	655
<i>Figure 57: Intonation at the boundary of a verbless concessive clause</i>	663
<i>Figure 58: Intonation marking at the boundary of a postposed reason clause</i>	668
<i>Figure 58: Intonation pattern at the boundary of an initial reason clause (elicited)</i>	669
<i>Figure 59: Intonation pattern at the boundary of an inceptive delimitative clause</i>	672
<i>Figure 61: Graphical representation of zero intonation at the boundary of a purposive clause</i>	677
<i>Figure 61: Graphical representation of intonation pattern at the boundary of an initial motivational purposive clause</i>	680
<i>Figure 63: Intonation at the boundary of a simultaneous adverbial clause</i>	683
<i>Figure 63: Graphical representation of intonation at the boundary of a circumstantial clause</i>	687
<i>Figure 64: Intonation pattern at the boundary of a posterior temporal clause</i>	692
<i>Figure 65: Graphical representation of pitch at the boundary of a negative adverbial clause</i>	697
<i>Figure 66: Intonation at the boundary of an anterior temporal clause</i>	701
<i>Figure 67: Intonation at the boundary of a sequential clause</i>	708
<i>Figure 68: Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie</i>	710
<i>Figure 69: Intonation at the boundary of a relative clause</i>	715
<i>Figure 70: Intonation at the boundary of a patientive clause</i>	718
<i>Figure 71: Pitch track showing zero intonation at the boundary of a restrictive place relative clause</i>	724
<i>Figure 72: Pitch track showing zero intonation at the boundary of a non-restrictive place relative clause</i>	725
<i>Figure 73: Zero intonation at the boundary of a temporal relative clause</i>	729
<i>Figure 74: Intonation at the boundary of a purposive relative clause</i>	733
<i>Figure 75: Relative-correlative clause strategies in South and Southeast Asian languages</i>	736
<i>Figure 76: Intonation at the boundary of a relative-correlative clause</i>	741
<i>Figure 78: Zero intonational effect at the boundary of a comparative correlative clause</i>	745
<i>Figure 78: Level intonation at the boundary of a complement clause</i>	751

List of tables

<i>Table 1: List of Hyow clans in Bangladesh</i>	17
<i>Table 2: Examples of compound words in Hyow</i>	22
<i>Table 3: Examples of kinship plural and nominalization marker</i>	23
<i>Table 4: Examples of numeral compounds</i>	23
<i>Table 5: Use of voicing alternation and aspiration to form lexical causatives in Hyow</i>	24
<i>Table 6: Examples attesting different syllable structures in Hyow</i>	29
<i>Table 7: Permissible consonant clusters in the onset of a syllable</i>	30
<i>Table 8: Permissible consonant clusters in the onset of a syllable</i>	31
<i>Table 9: The phonotactic distribution of Hyow segmental phonemes</i>	31
<i>Table 10: The presence of /ɹ/ in loan words of Hyow</i>	32
<i>Table 11: The presence of the voiced velar stop in loan words of Hyow</i>	32
<i>Table 12: The consonantal phoneme inventory of Hyow</i>	33
<i>Table 13: Examples showing bilabial stops at different word positions</i>	35
<i>Table 14: Examples showing alveolar stops at different word positions</i>	36
<i>Table 15: Examples showing velar stops at different word positions</i>	36
<i>Table 16: The development of glottal stops in Southern Chin languages</i>	38
<i>Table 17: Examples showing the glottal stop in different positions of words</i>	39
<i>Table 18: Examples of voiceless affricate in different word positions in Hyow</i>	40
<i>Table 19: Examples of /ʃ/ and /h/ at different positions of words</i>	41
<i>Table 20: Examples showing contrasts between voiced and voiceless bilabial nasals</i>	42
<i>Table 21: Examples showing voiced and voiceless alveolar nasals in different positions</i>	42
<i>Table 22: Examples showing voiced and voiceless velar nasals in different positions</i>	43
<i>Table 23: Examples showing voiced and voiceless lateral approximants in different positions of words</i>	43
<i>Table 24: Examples of voiced and voiceless palatal approximants</i>	44
<i>Table 25: The role of voicing in lexical simplex-causative pairs in Hyow</i>	44
<i>Table 26: Examples showing positional variants of the labial-velar approximant</i>	45
<i>Table 27: Examples of unreleased stops</i>	49
<i>Table 28: Free variation of the post-alveolar fricative</i>	50
<i>Table 29: Free variation of alveolar stops in Hyow</i>	50
<i>Table 30: Examples of free variation of the palatal approximant</i>	51
<i>Table 31: Samples for measuring VOT of voiceless stops</i>	54
<i>Table 32: Samples for measuring VOT of unaspirated stops</i>	55
<i>Table 33: VOT of the alveolar affricate and the voiceless stops</i>	57
<i>Table 34: Hyow vowel phonemes</i>	59
<i>Table 35: Minimal pairs for front vowels</i>	60
<i>Table 36: A triplet showing contrast among central vowels</i>	60
<i>Table 37: Minimal pairs showing contrasts among back vowels</i>	60
<i>Table 38: Examples showing the allophonic variant of /æ/</i>	61
<i>Table 39: Examples showing the allophonic variant of vowels in Hyow</i>	62
<i>Table 40: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /i/</i>	63
<i>Table 41: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /e/</i>	63
<i>Table 42: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /æ/</i>	63
<i>Table 43: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /ɨ/</i>	64
<i>Table 44: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /ə/</i>	64
<i>Table 45: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /u/</i>	64
<i>Table 46: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /o/</i>	65
<i>Table 47: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /ɔ/</i>	65
<i>Table 48: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /a/</i>	65
<i>Table 49: Transphonologization process of forming predicate-marking suffixes in Laitu Hyow</i>	72
<i>Table 50: Examples showing three lexical tones in Hyow</i>	74

Table 51: A triplet showing Hyow tonemes	76
Table 52: A triplet showing tonemes in EGH	77
Table 53: Wilcoxon rank-sum test of checked syllable level tones in EGH.....	80
Table 54: Examples illustrating falling tone.....	81
Table 55: Negative suffixes in Hyow.....	101
Table 56: Formal properties of Hyow verbs.....	105
Table 57: Subclasses of nouns that can function as the heads of NPs.....	108
Table 58: Inalienable body part terms in Hyow	111
Table 59: Bound common nouns in Hyow.....	113
Table 60: Bound locative nouns in Hyow	115
Table 61: Kinship terms in Hyow.....	118
Table 62: Unbound common nouns in Hyow	123
Table 63: Properties of nouns in Hyow	124
Table 64: Personal pronouns in Hyow	125
Table 65: Interrogative pronouns in Hyow.....	128
Table 66: Negative indefinite pronouns in Hyow	131
Table 67: Specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow.....	132
Table 68: Non-specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow.....	133
Table 69: Quantifying words in Hyow.....	140
Table 70: Cardinal numeral (1-10) in Hyow.....	141
Table 71: Cardinal numerals in Hyow.....	143
Table 72: Numeral classifiers in Hyow.....	148
Table 73: Case enclitics in Hyow	153
Table 74: Temporal words in Hyow	155
Table 75: Adverbs in Hyow	157
Table 76: Reduplicated adverbs in Hyow.....	158
Table 77: Examples of adverbs with reduplicated intensifiers.....	159
Table 78: Manner nouns in Hyow.....	161
Table 79: Discourse connectives in Hyow	164
Table 80: Exclamatory expressions in Hyow.....	168
Table 81: Onomatopoeic words in Hyow	168
Table 82: List of some expressives in Hyow.....	170
Table 83: Functions of stative verbs in relation to nouns in Hyow	176
Table 84: Possessive prefixes in Hyow.....	231
Table 85: A list of GLI suffixes in Hyow	242
Table 86: Types of verb-stem alternations in Hyow	261
Table 87: Distribution of Stem I and Stem II verbs.....	279
Table 88: Deponents in Hyow.....	294
Table 89: Derived middle verbs with different meanings.....	303
Table 90: Some lexical causative verbs in Hyow.....	305
Table 91: The morpheme-order in a verb complex.....	314
Table 92: Prefixal person-marking paradigm for intransitive verbs.....	318
Table 93: The prefixal person-marking paradigm of transitive verbs.....	324
Table 94: A summary of prefixal person markers.....	343
Table 95: A distributional summary of the inverse marker	348
Table 96: Distributional summary of number markers on verb roots.....	350
Table 97: The paradigm of person marking suffixes in Hyow.....	353
Table 98: A list of clause-linking suffixes in Hyow	450
Table 99: Comparison of oblique relational noun phrases inflected by inessive and locative case clitics	539
Table 100: Comparative case marking status of base and applicative P.....	552
Table 101: Inflection matrix for canonical imperative clauses in Hyow	596
Table 102: Inflectional categories of non-canonical imperative clauses.....	601
Table 103: Types of Hyow dependent clauses.....	628
Table 104: Summarized features of adverbial dependent clauses.....	709
Table 105: Summarized features of relative clauses.....	734
Table 106: Summarized features of a complement clause.....	752

<i>Table 107: F0 values and mean duration in high falling tones in smooth syllables in EGH.....</i>	<i>825</i>
<i>Table 108: F0 values and mean duration in high-level tones in smooth syllables in EGH</i>	<i>825</i>
<i>Table 109: F0 values and mean duration in low-level tones in smooth syllables in EGH.....</i>	<i>826</i>
<i>Table 110: F0 values and mean duration in high-level tones in checked syllables in EGH</i>	<i>826</i>
<i>Table 111: F0 values and mean duration in low-level tones in checked syllables in EGH.....</i>	<i>827</i>

Abbreviations and conventions

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

AQ	Alternative Question	MC	Matrix Clause
CC	Central Chin	NC	Northern Chin
CQ	Content Question	PKC	Proto-Kuki-Chin
CIC	Canonical Imperative Clause	POST	Postposed
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts	PRE	Preposed
DC	Dependent Clause	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
EGH	Eastern Gungrupara Hyow	RA	Restrictive Access
EMBD	Embedded	REC	Reporting Clause
FA	Full Access	REPC	Reported Clause
IC	Interrogative Clause	SC	Southern Chin
IDC	Independent Clause	TQ	Tag Question
KC	Kuki Chin	WGH	Western Gungrupara Hyow

Symbols

F	Falling tone
H	High level tone
L	Low level tone

The following abbreviations are used in the glossing:

1	First person	DARE	Dare modality
2	Second person	B	Bangla
3	Third person	CAP	Capabilitive modality
ABL	Ablative case	CIR	Circumstantial
ADDT	Additional	CLS	Classifier
AGNS	Agonisive	COG	Cognitive
ALQ	Aliquomodive	COMPL	Completive
ANAPH	Anaphoric	COMT	Comitative case
ARG	Argument	CONCESS	Concessive
ASSP	Assumptive	COP	Copula

CON	Conative	IMP	Imperative
CONT.Q	Content question	INCEP	Inceptive
CONT	Continuative aspect	INCH	Inchoative
CAUS	Causative	INE	Inessive locative case
DEM	Demonstrative	INCL	Inclusive
DED	Deductive	ICS	Inclusive suffix
DEL	Delayed	INST	Instrumental case
DLIM	Delimitative case clitic	ITER	Iterative aspect
DLM	Delimitative clause- linking suffix	JUSS	Jussive
		LOC	Locative case
DIM	Diminutive suffix	LV	Leave V-ing
DIR	Directional prefix	MID	Middle
DIST	Distal deixis	NEG	Negative suffix
DP	Discourse particle	NECOHORT	Non-emphatic cohortative
DL	Dual number		
DV	Dummy verb	NMLZ	Nominalizer
E	English	NITER	Non-iterative
ECOHORT	Emphatic cohortative	OBL	Oblique case
ECS	Exclusive suffix	OPNT	Opinionative
EE	Elaborate expression	PERM	Permissive
ELAB	Elaborative	PH	Physical
EMPH	Emphatic suffix	PL	Plural number
EVID	Evidential	PLNMLZ	Place Nominalizer
EV	Elaborate Verb	PM	Predicate Marker
EXCL	Exclusive	POL	Polar
EXP	Experiential frequency	POST	Posterior
EXPR	Expansive suffix	PL	Plural number
EXTM	Existimative	PNMLZ	Purposive
FOC	Focus clitic		Nominalizer
FREQ	Frequentative	POL	Polite
GEN	Genitive case	POL.Q	Polar question
GRP	Generic referential prefix	PREF	Preferential
		PROB	Probabilitive modality
IDSC	Idiosyncratic	PROX	Proximal deixis

PRTN	Pretensive		
PURP	Purposive	REG	Regulative
Q	Question	SEQ	Sequential suffix
QNT	Quantifier	SG	Singular number
QT	Quotative particle	REP	Reported evidential
SIM	Simultaneous	TERM	Terminative
SPEC	Speculative	ULT	Ultimative suffix
SPTN	Spontaneitive	UNEX	Unexpectedative
SS	Sensory evidential	UNITER	Unusual Iterative
TER	Terminal	VCL	Verbal Classifier
TOP	Topic clitic		



Figure 1: My chief language consultant, Hlakroy Prue Khyang, in the traditional Hyow dress
(www.ksibandarban.com)



Figure 2: Traditional rice wine processing



Figure 3: The celebration of Haney (a sacrifice to the God of the river)



Figure 4: Offerings to the God of harvest (Boogeley)



Figure 5: A map showing Hyow living places (solid circles) in the CHT¹

¹ created using sitemap.com

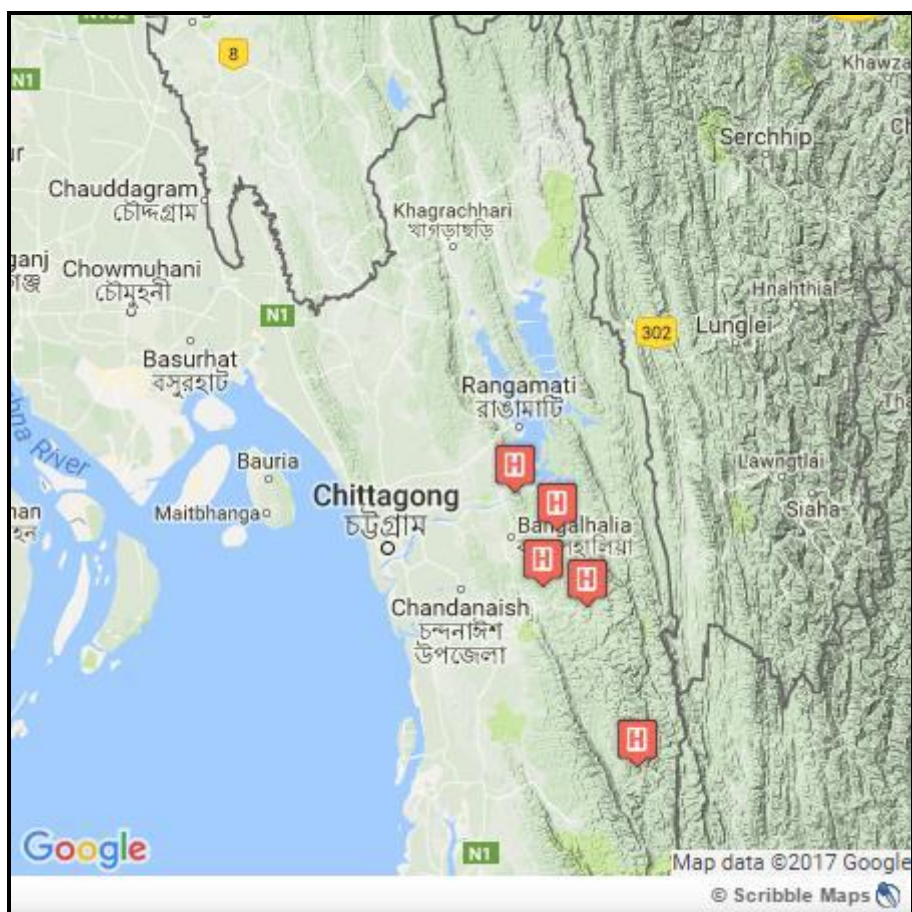


Figure 6: A closer look at the Hyow living places (H grafittied marker) in the CHT²

² created using scribble maps

Abstract

Hyow is an undocumented language, with about four thousand speakers living in the southeast of Bangladesh. This dissertation describes the linguistic features of this undocumented language. This dissertation consists of twelve chapters, a text, a Hyow-English dictionary, three appendices and references.

The first chapter of this grammar contains an introductory discussion of the land, life and language of Hyow. An attempt has been made to work out the genetic relation of Hyow with other Kuki-Chin languages in this chapter. The second chapter includes the description of phonetics and phonology, which addresses the vowel and consonant inventory, phonotactics, acoustic analysis, phonological processes and tone sandhi among other topics. The third chapter deals with the word classes found in Hyow. Different formal properties have been used to identify the open and closed word classes in this chapter. The fourth and the fifth chapter are dedicated to a discussion of noun phrase constituents and morphology of nominals, and also address word formation processes. Verbs play an important role in the grammar of Hyow. The sixth chapter focuses on stem alternations and various classes of verbs. The seventh, eighth and ninth chapters concentrate on the morphology of verbs. The tenth chapter includes discussion on grammatical functions and argument indexation on verbs. Case-marking morphology and argument indexation have been utilized to identify the grammatical functions in this chapter. Other than the morphosyntactic coding of core arguments, markings of oblique arguments have also been made in this chapter. Finally, the eleventh and the twelfth chapters deal with structures of simple clauses and complex sentences respectively. The discussion of complex sentences includes adverbial, relative and complement clauses. In addition, discussions have been also done on relative-correlative and comparative-correlative constructions.

One text from the corpus has been added as a sample. There is also a bilingual dictionary of about three thousand and one hundred words. The appendices include tokens of acoustic analysis, permitted inflectional categories to the dependent and imperative verbs. At the end of this grammar, a list of references have been given.

This is the first attempt of writing a grammar of the language. Out of many interesting linguistic features of Hyow, tone sandhi, verb stem variants and their functions, person hierarchy, middle voice, clausal nominalization and strategies of forming complex clauses are noteworthy. The findings of tone sandhi in Hyow will contribute to understand tone patterns of other undocumented Southern Chin languages. The discussion on stem variants based on their uses in different types of clauses will add to the study of stem alternations in Kuki-Chin languages. The effect of stem alternations on lexical tones might be useful for further study of tonal correspondences among different Kuki-Chin languages. Among the documented Southern Chin languages only Hyow and Asho (Otsuka 2015) show person hierarchy for argument indexations on verbs. This can be useful to determine the lower-level classifications of Kuki-Chin languages. Middle voice plays an important role in the grammar of Hyow. However, this topic has not been widely discussed in other Kuki-Chin languages. The extensive discussion of middle voice in this dissertation will contribute to future studies of middle voice in other Kuki-Chin languages. The use of clausal nominalization again demonstrates how significant it is in Tibeto-Burman languages. To sum up, this dissertation is expected to further the studies of Kuki-Chin languages in the future.

1 Hyow: land, life and language

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Hyow is a Southern Chin language with all its varieties spread from the present day Rakhine State on the southwest of modern Myanmar to the Chittagong Hill Tracts (henceforth, CHT) in the southeast of Bangladesh. The exonym of the Hyow is *khyang*. The varieties of this language are known by different names in Myanmar.³ The common names are Laitu, Laisaw and Kongtu. An approximate population of 4,000 speakers of two varieties, Laitu (the people who live in the plain or who live in the valley) and Kontu (the people who live in the highland or upper land), are found in three districts of Bangladesh, namely Chittagong, Rangamati and Bandarban. The population of Myanmar varieties is very hard to determine, as there are no extensive studies on these languages. However, one of the language consultants from Myebon (Myanmar) estimates approximately 2,000 families of Laitu living in the Mrauk-U, Minbya and Myebon townships. Moreover, he suggests that there is another variety in the delta area called Sumtu, although an article by Watkins (2013) suggests that the morphosyntax of Sumtu is rather different from other Hyow varieties in Bangladesh. According to SIL (2007), there are 14,000 Sumtu living in Myebon, Minbya and Ann townships in Rakhine State. There are roughly 5,000 Kongtu (the term for the similar people in Bangladesh is *Kontu*) in the Southern hills, next to the Laitu in Minbya Township. This grammar is principally based on the Laitu Hyow spoken by around 1,200 people who live at Gungrupara in Bandarban of the CHT.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The key purposes of this study are to produce a grammar of Hyow and archive the recorded materials. The grammar will also assist interested linguists to do further research on the language. As Hyow does not have a writing system, the grammar can be used as a reference for producing a writing system. Furthermore, I intend to print the interlinearized text stories to distribute among the language community, so that Hyow children may be acquainted with the traditional stories. This will enable the speakers to pass their oral tradition to the next generations in a written format.

³ The Myanmar varieties might have developed into separate languages. I have identified them as varieties due to their identical names and a significant percentage of lexical similarities with Bangladesh varieties. In order to identify them as separate languages, a documentation is required.

Additionally, this grammar can be used to produce teaching and learning materials for any future initiatives of introducing education in the mother tongue to the indigenous children in the CHT.

1.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES

The history of Chin language studies is more or less 200 years old. After Burma and East Bengal (Bangladesh) underwent British colonization, there were many efforts made to survey the languages of the hilly area of Arakan and Chittagong.

Captain T.H. Lewin, the then Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts, mentioned Kheyang in his book (1869). Along with Tipperah, Khumi and Mru, Lewin also included words from Khyeng in his comparative dictionary. Regarding the living area of the Khyang he said (1869: 94):

The Khyengs or Khyang are very few in number in this district; they chiefly inhabit the spurs of the great hill range separating the Hill Tracts from Arakan. They are the offshoots of a large and powerful hill tribe in Burmah, who are yet said to be independent. In religion and customs, they differ in no material particular from the Mru tribe...

The Hyow and the Mru might share various religious beliefs, as both of their ancestors followed animism. Their houses also look fairly similar. However, they have distinctive cultures and customs.

In 1872, Major G.E. Fryer wrote a paper *On the Khyangs of Sandoway district of Myanmar*. His article was more resembling a grammatical sketch of the Sandoway Kheyang, which was basically a replication of grammars of Indo-European languages. He too included an English-Kheyang dictionary.

The then Deputy Commissioner of Sandoway, Bernard Houghton, wrote a book *Essay on the Language of the Chins and Its Affinities* in 1892. On the migration status of the Southern Chins, he wrote (1892: 4):

The late date of the arrival of the Chins in their present habitat is shown by their use of the word *makü* (From Hindustani *tomako*) for tobacco. That drug

was, I apprehend, into these parts not earlier than the year 1550, and had the Chins then been living in Arakan as at present they would almost certainly have adopted the same word as the Burmese, as they are now completely out of touch with any natives of India. There are two other obviously Aryan words in their vocabulary, namely, *hakalun*=all, (from the Chittagonian word), and *talaih*=medicine, from the Bengali and Chittagonian *dhavai*. It is therefore probable that at no great distance of time they were living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where the Lushai* or *Dzo* now are. The language of the latter is most intimately allied with Chin, and it is by no means impossible that *Dzo* and *Asho*, their national names, are etymologically the same.

Indeed, the national names ‘Dzo’ and ‘Asho’ are etymologically the same (see §1.7), and the name ‘Hyow’ is also connected to these names. Looking at the changes in laryngeal features motivated by lexical prefixes in Kuki-Chin languages, it becomes possible to connect the name ‘Hyow’ with the names ‘Dzo’ and ‘Asho’ (see Matisoff 2003, LaPolla 2003, VanBik 2009 and Mortensen 2013). Houghton was right in predicting that the history of the Chins in the CHT is not very old. It is most likely that the Hyow along with the Marma migrated to the CHT after the fall of the Arakan (see §1.7.1).

Houghton explained that, similar to other Tibeto-Burman languages, Chin languages did not have adjectives (1892: 8). He listed 122 Chin sentences used in the public service. Houghton (1895) also wrote a grammatical sketch of Southern Chin, and a dictionary of English-Chin, where he listed words from Minbu Chin and Sandoway Chin.

The third volume of the Linguistic Survey of India (1904, hereafter LSI) includes Khyang under the Southern Chin subgroup. Konow (1904) used a list of vocabulary received from the CHT in LSI. While speaking of the Khyang, Konow (1904: 331) writes, “While the most northerly Shös have not been much influenced by the civilization of the surrounding tribes, the more southerly gradually assimilate themselves to the customs and manners of the neighbours.” Konow was able to observe a significant difference between the northern and the southern Shös (Hyows). In fact, the southern Hyows have close affinities with the Burmese in Myanmar, and with the Marma in the CHT of Bangladesh. As a result, the southern Myanmar Hyow

(Rakhine State) can speak Burmese very fluently, while most of the southeast Bangladesh Hyow can speak Marma (a dialect of Arakanese) very fluently.

In 1958, the Bernots (Denise Bernot and Lucien Bernot) wrote a book *Les Khyang Des Collines De Chittagong*, based on their two-day stay in a Hyow village at Gungrupara during their visit to the CHT in 1951-1952. They wrote about the social and cultural life of the Hyow as well as about the language. There is a list of Hyow vocabulary and a French-Hyow dictionary in this book. The Bernot couple compared their list of the Gungrupara Hyow words with the Chin words listed by Houghton (1892), Fryer (1875), Naylor (1925) and Rundall (1891). Their comparative vocabulary list helped in comparing the Hyow words with the related Chin words. The Bernots also discussed the vowel and consonantal system of the Gungrupara Hyow.

Löffler (1959) wrote an article on the Kheyang of the CHT titled *Die Khyang Der Chittagong Hill Tracts*, where he mostly discusses previous studies on Hyow, and tries to figure out the migration history of the Hyow from the southern Arakan to the CHT. He and Brauns present a map in their book *Mru: Hill People on the Border of Bangladesh*, showing the Hyow living in the northern Bandarban. In a table, they estimate the number of Hyow in the CHT as 500 (1901), 1000 (1956) and 1500 (1981). The 1981 numbers are rough estimations.

David A. Peterson started collecting data on Khumi, Hyow and Mro in Bandarban from 1998, and wrote a few papers (Peterson 2000, 2008, 2010) on Hyow. I started collecting data on Hyow in 2006 as a research assistant of Peterson and submitted my MA thesis titled *Comparative Study of Bangla and Hyow Phonology* to the Department of Linguistics at the University of Dhaka in 2008. Baclawski, one of Peterson's students, wrote his 2012 MA thesis titled *On the Deictic Elements in Hyow and Kuki-Chin*, mostly based on my collected and interlinearized data. Hence, this is the first attempt to write a full grammar of Hyow.

1.4 DATA SOURCES

All the data used in this grammar were collected during several field trips to Bandarban in the CHT of Bangladesh. I started recording and transcribing Hyow

stories in 2006 as a research assistant of David A. Peterson. There are more than 100 pages of transcribed stories from my fieldwork over a period of 3 years from 2006 to 2009. I recorded all the stories using a Sony minidisk and digitized them later on. Since the commencement of my Ph.D. candidature at NTU, I have made four field trips amounting to fourteen months in total. I have recorded narratives, traditional stories, procedural texts, argumentative texts, conversations and image-aided short stories during these four field trips, which comprise approximately 9 hours of recordings. I have used a ZOOM H4N recorder for audio recording in WAV format and a Canon HD camera for video recording in MTS format. I have interlinearized the recorded texts using Toolbox, and have archived the data with Paradisec, which can be found at <http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/repository/ZM1>. A Hyow-English dictionary has been prepared using the same software. The dictionary is included at the end of this grammar (see pp 767ff.). Most of the collected data come from Laitu speakers living in the eastern Gungrupara in Bandarban. For the purpose of segmental inventories and tonal analysis, I recorded isolated words and words in carrier sentences in two varieties of Hyow spoken in Bandarban – Laitu and Kontu. I recorded a list of words in the Laitu variety spoken in the southern Myanmar during my short visit to Yangon.

This is a descriptive grammar of Hyow. I have consciously avoided presenting a diachronic analysis of the language, since there is not enough data to make such kind of analysis. At present, the historical analysis of many grammatical categories cannot be done justifiably. However, I have provided historical sources and grammaticalization paths of different linguistic categories which show traceable and plausible routes of development.

1.5 LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

Whether Hyow is an endangered language or not needs consideration of a few things. At the first glimpse, considering the quantity of loanwords from Bangla and Marma in the speech of younger generations, the absence of a writing system, the conversion to other religions, etc., one might envisage that it is an endangered language. Nevertheless, I will follow a model in order to determine the endangerment of Hyow. There are many models of assessing endangerment of languages. For assessing the endangerment of Hyow, I refer to Lewis and Simons' (2009) model called EGIDS

(Ethnologue's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), which is based on the model GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) of Fishman 1991. EGIDS includes thirteen levels, which can be used to measure the endangerment level of a language. These thirteen levels were developed due to problems with the nine levels of endangerment assessment factors developed by UNESCO (2003: 17).

According to the thirteen levels of EGIDS, it can be said that Hyow is a safe language, which can be labelled with *Vigorous*, because it is still learnt as a first language by Hyow children.

1.6 PLACE OF HYOW IN KUKI-CHIN

This section deals with the classification of Hyow within the Kuki-Chin group. The classification of the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-Burman branch is not a conclusive one due to the lack of sufficient grammars. In the LSI, Sten Konow (1904) considered Kuki-Chin under Naga-Kuki-Chin.

Robert Shafer (1974) and Paul K. Benedict (1972) provide the major genetic classifications of Sino-Tibetan languages. Shafer (1974) refers to the present Kuki-Chin group as Kukish and puts it in the second level of his classification. His genetic classification had four taxonomic levels – divisions, sections, branches and languages.

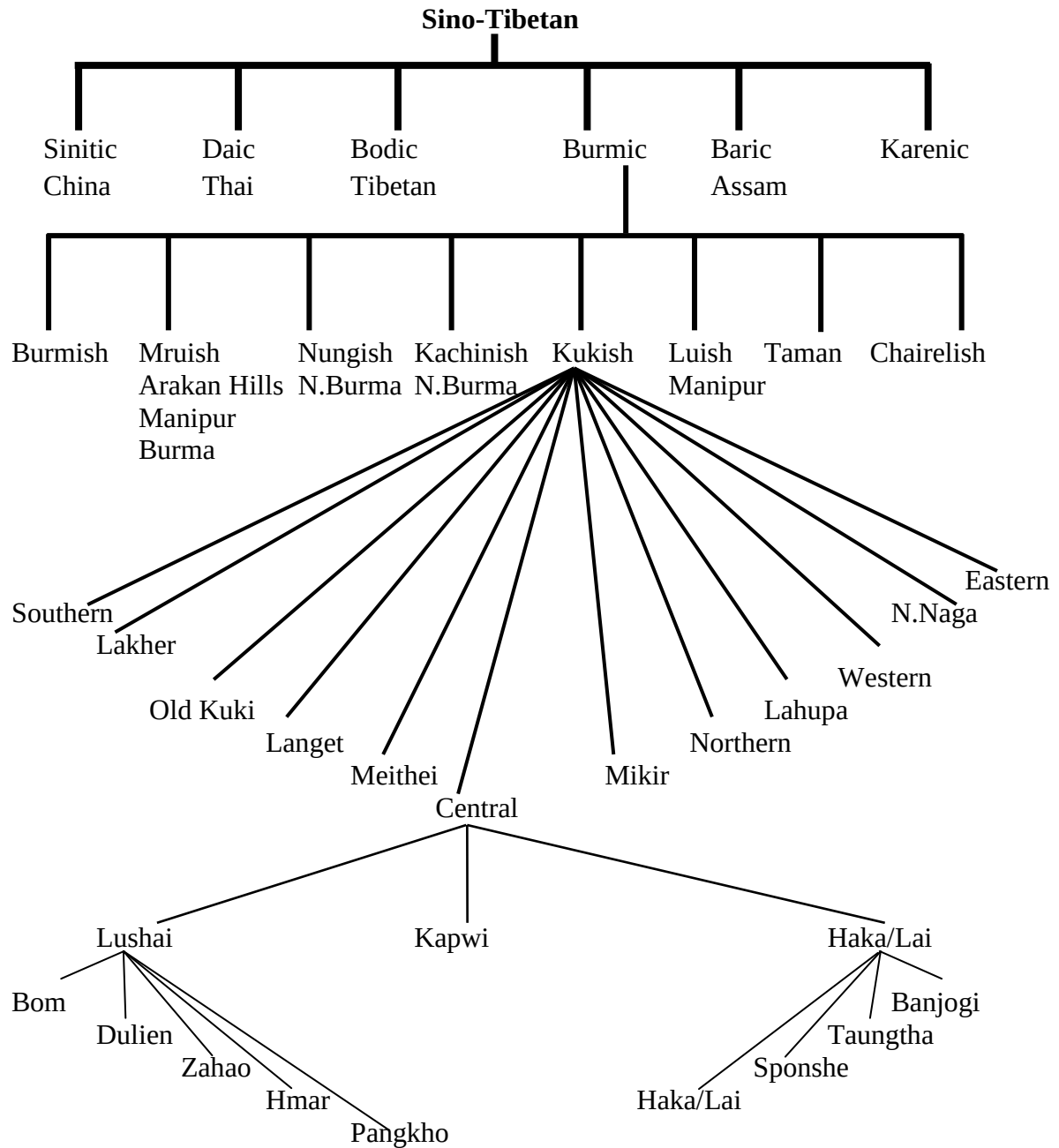


Figure 7: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Shafer (1974)

Benedict (1972) places Kuki-Chin under a Kuki-Naga group in his classification of Tibeto-Burman. Benedict (1972) based his classification on the shared initial monosyllabic roots, with specific correspondences in different positions.

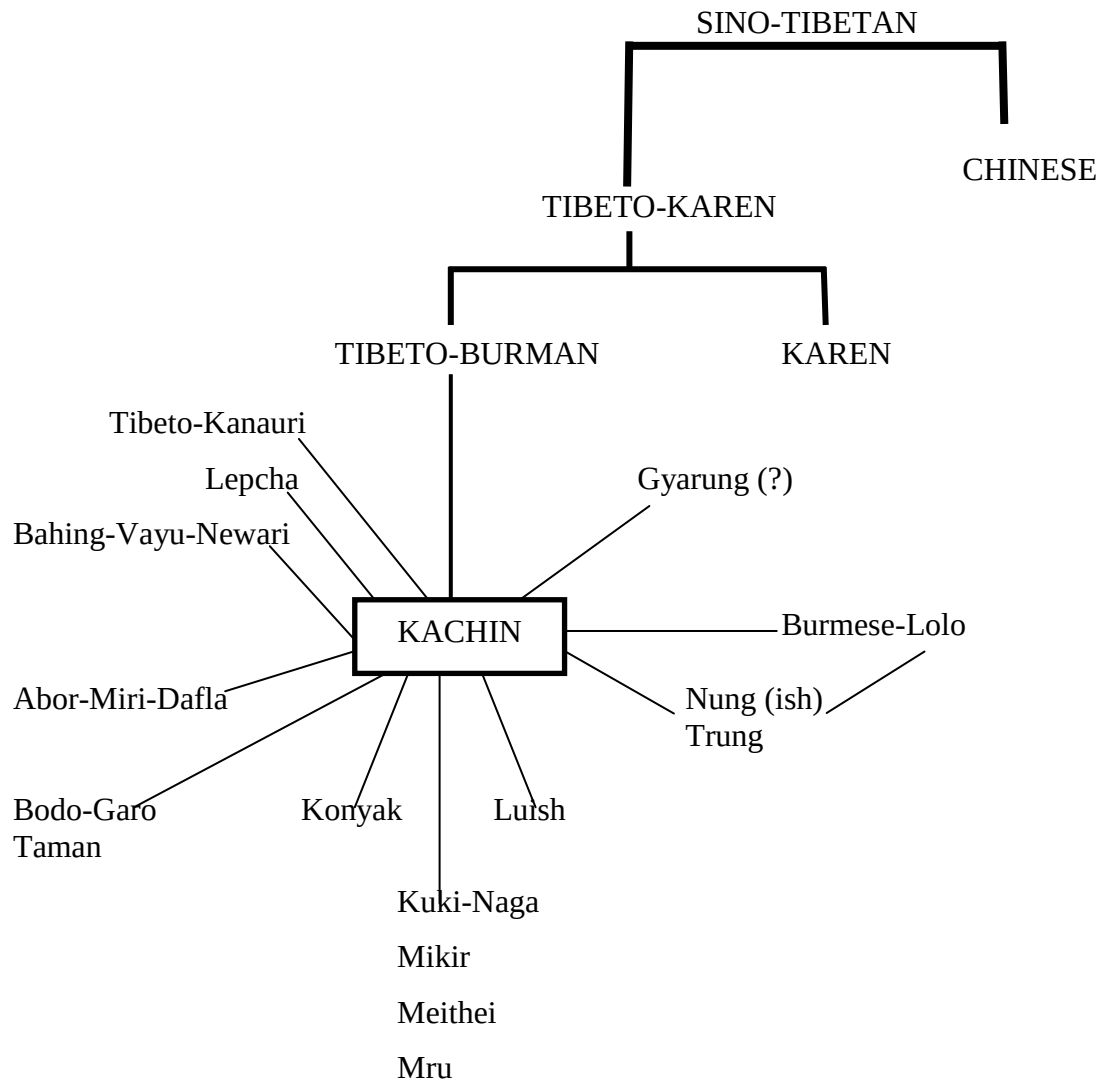


Figure 8: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Benedict (1972)

David Bradley (1997) includes Kuki-Chin under the Northeastern India group. He divided Chin into three groups – North Chin, Central Chin and South Chin. According to Bradley (1997: 30), Khyang belongs to the South Chin subgroup.

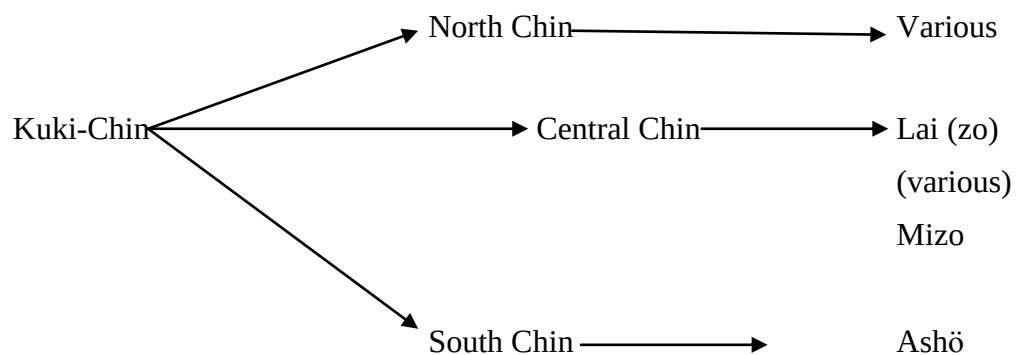


Figure 9: Bradley's classification of Kuki-Chin languages

The recent classification by James A. Matisoff (2003) considers Kuki-Chin under the geographic name *Kamarupan* of Tibeto-Burman branch. There is much debate on the use of the name *Kamrupan*, which is a Sanskrit word for *Assam*. Burling (1999: 170) argues that such a name of a district is misleading and inappropriate for an umbrella name of all the languages spread from the west of India to the South of Myanmar. Matisoff (1999: 179) refers to Dr. Moral's (an Assamese linguist) opinion on the name, but we should not forget that Dr. Moral himself is an Indo-European language speaker. As noted in Burling 1999, I agree that the Sanskrit word, *Kamrupan*, used by Matisoff requires a revision for calling the Tibeto-Burman languages of this huge area from the west of India to the South of Myanmar, including the southeast of Bangladesh.

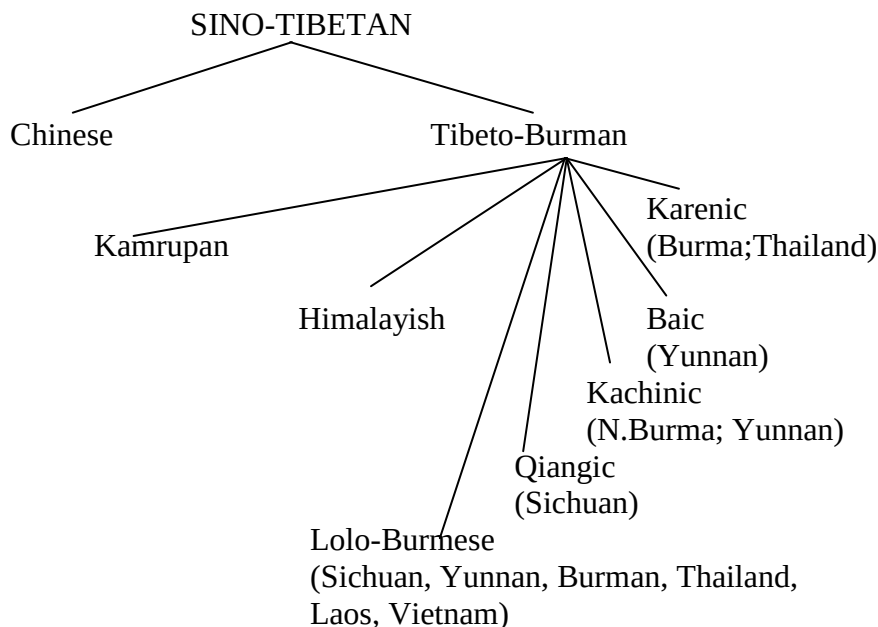


Figure 10: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Matisoff (2003)

Kenneth VanBik (2009: 23) follows the genetic classification of Matisoff (2003), and proposes a sub-grouping of the Kuki-Chin group, based on shared innovations. VanBik (2003) discusses two shared innovations that separate Kuki-Chin languages from the rest of the Tibeto-Burman family – a thorough going verbal stem alternation in the cognates and a phonological change of the PTB initials **s/sy* to PKC **th*. Interestingly, according to his second generalization of PTB **s/sy* initials becoming **th* in PKC, Sumi should be considered as a KC language, because Sumi has a likewise development of *th* out of PTB **s/sy* (Teo, 2014: 109), and Rawngtu should not be considered as a Kuki-Chin language, since it does not have the

development of *th* from PTB **s/sy* (observation from SIL word list of Rawngtu, acquired by personal communication).

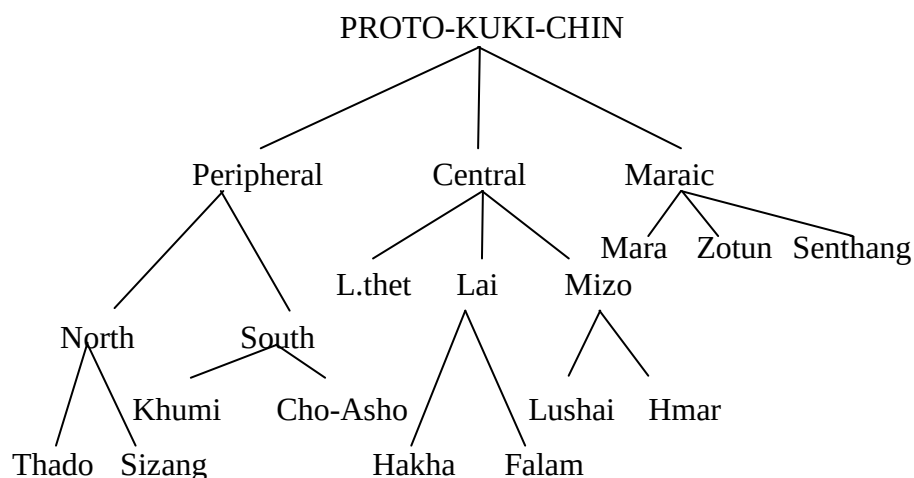


Figure 11: The subgrouping of Kuki-Chin languages by Kenneth VanBik (2009)

VanBik (2009) bases his classification on Peterson (2001), who proposes a peripheral sub-grouping founded on a set of features. Peterson's (2017) recent paper proposes three subgroups of KC languages. His proposed subgrouping is based on the treatment of Proto-Tibeto-Burman **r*, alignment patterns, participant markings and verb-stem alternations. The proposed subgrouping of Peterson (2017: 206) is given in Figure 12. According to this subgrouping, with which I agree, Hyow is classified as a Southern Chin language along with Asho.

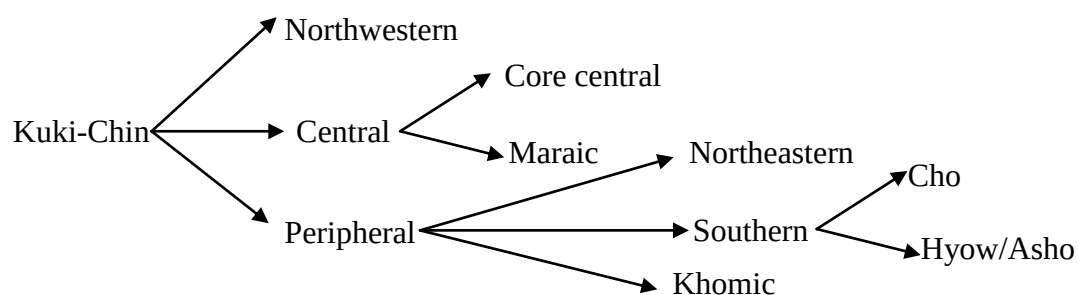


Figure 12: Peterson's subgrouping of Kuki-Chin languages (2017)

1.7 THE LANGUAGE NAME AND THE PEOPLE

Other language speakers who live around the Hyow call them 'Khyang'. Most Hyow speakers take the name 'Khyang'. According to Luce (1959: 25), the name 'Khyang' is the archaic form of the term 'Chin', which means 'friends' in modern Burmese.

VanBik (2009: 4) states that the origin of this name can be traced to the languages of Asho-Chin. According to Doorman (1906: 12), the word for ‘person’ in Asho-Chin is sometimes *khlaang* or *khlong*. VanBik (2009: 4) states that when the Burmese met the Asho-Chin people, they used to call them by this name. In Hyow, the word *khrõng* means person/people. The *kh* cluster can be realized as *kh*/idiosyncratically. A Hyow person calls himself *hyôw khrõng* ‘Chin person’. Therefore, the exonym ‘Khyang’ and the Hyow word *khrõng* do not seem to be the same word. Lehman (1979: 2) speculates that the WB *khlang* ‘mosquito’ is cognate with the *cang* (Haka Chin) and *chang* (Yawdin), which means creeping or flying things. VanBik (2009: 161) proposes PKC **tsang-tse* for the word ‘earthworm’ based on his data from different KC languages (no data from SC). The word for earthworm is *tsál* in Hyow. In view of this, it is plausible that the Burmese word *khyang* (early Burmese inscriptional name was */khlang:/*) is not used to denote ‘person’ to the Chin. It should be mentioned here that the Burmese merged the *kh*/*kh* cluster to *khy* in 1200 CE.

The endonym *hyôw* (Chin) has cognates in other Kuki-Chin languages, like *yo*, *zo*, *sho*, *asho*, etc. The name *sho/asho* is the older form for all these words *hyow*⁴, *yo*, *zo*, etc., in Kuki-Chin languages, which are used to identify their respective tribes. It can be confirmed from Luce 1985. He (1985: 78) quotes from Fan Ch’o (military secretary to the Chinese Governor of Tongking [Luce, 1985: 77]) that the Min-no and Min-chen people (Min-no and Min-chen kingdoms were established near the Chindwin river) called their princes and chiefs *shou* (**ziəw*).

The initial vowel of the name *a-sho* must be the prefix that is commonly found in KC languages, specially in bound nouns. In Hyow, it is similar to the generic referential prefix (see §5.4.1). Thus, the name *a-sho* probably refers to the prince or chief of a kingdom or village. Like what we see in lexical causatives due to the **s*-causative, same thing happens here, resulting in the possible changes – *ash(y)o(w) > sh(y)o(w) > hyow > yow > yo/zo*.

1.7.1 MIGRATION HISTORY

The migration history of the Hyow is intertwined with the Marma, who were called ‘Mranma’ when they first arrived in Burma after the raids of Nanzhao in the early

⁴ *hyôw* means ‘Chin’ in Southern Laitu (Minbya Township, Rakhine State, Myanmar).

eighth century (Myint-U, 2001: 56-57). The Mranma built a small-fortified city of Pagan (Bagao) in 849 AD. The Chin established a kingdom in the early ninth century in the Chindwin valley (LaPolla, 2001: 237). The Chins were in contact with the Burmese in the ninth century (Luce, 1985: 80). Shans drove the Chins away to the west after the Mongols conquered northern Burma in 1283 (LaPolla, 2001: 237).

Kings of different places in old Burma rose at different periods and involved themselves in wars with neighbouring areas. Arakan (Rakhine), a region to the south of the main Chin area, where the Khyang are said to have come down (most likely after being separated from the Northern Chins), faced aggression of different kings of Pagan, Ava, Pegu and Toungoo. Arakan was at the zenith of spreading its reign in the 15th century, when Basawpyu captured Chittagong in 1459 AD (Harvey, 1925: 140). The Arakanese grew stronger in the next two centuries until they fell to the Burmese permanently in the late eighteenth century, when the great migration from Arakan to the Chittagong Hill Tracts took place. As Chittagong fell to Arakan in 1459 AD, from then on I assume Arakanese began to migrate to the Chittagong Hill Tracts in small numbers. Phayre (1883: 172) mentioned from Sir John Shore's (1790) paper that an inscription on a silver plate was found in a relic chamber of a pagoda in Chittagong. The inscription said that the pagoda was built in 1542. In 1625, the Arakans along with Portuguese mercenaries seized Dhaka, and drove out the Mughal King. Nevertheless, the Mughal Subedar Shayesta Khan defeated the Arakanese in 1666. Arakan lost its independence completely in 1784, when some Arakanese nobles requested the then King Bodawpaya to take control of Arakan. Brauns and Löffler (1990: 30) say that as the kingdom of Arakan declined and became a part of the Burmese empire in 1784, most of the forefathers of the Marma moved out of Arakan. They furthermore mention that 'For the year 1798 alone a report speaks of 10,000 refugees; and in addition to the Marma, the Chakma and other hill tribes are also mentioned'. From here, it can be assumed that the Hyow arrived or started living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the late 18th century. Brauns and Löffler (1990: 30) show a map depicting migrations of different groups, but they did not put the Hyow on that map (Figure 13).

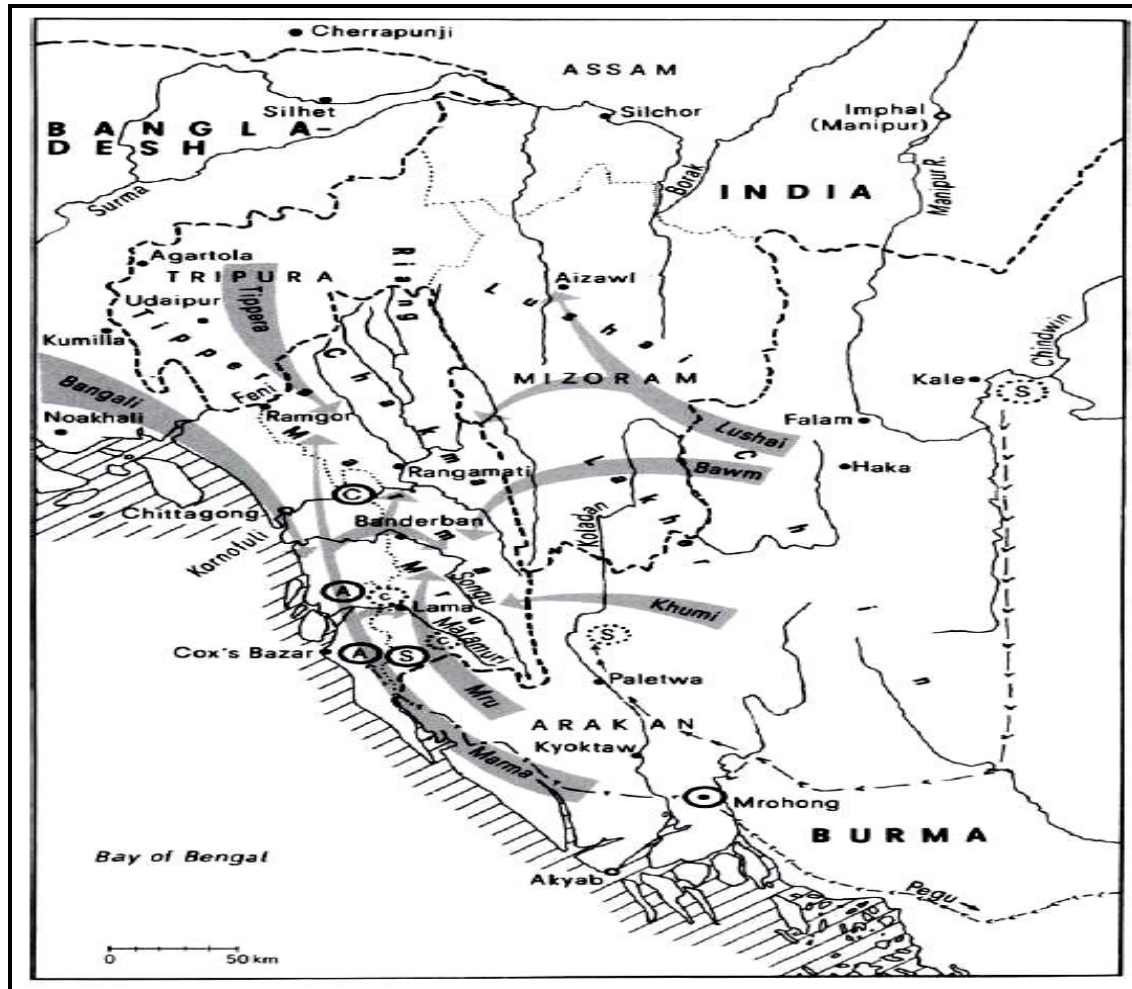


Figure 13: The map of migration of different tribes after the fall of Arakan (Brauns and Löffler, 1995)

The map in Figure 13 shows that the Marma migrated from the southern part of Arakan. As it is mentioned earlier that at present the Laitu, Kongtu and Sumtu live in Mrak-U, Minbya and Myebon, so it is not unjustifiable to say that the Laitu came along with the Marma or at a later period following the same or different route. Maybe they came along the Naf River and entered to the CHT through Thanchi. Alternatively, they might have taken the low land route along the Kyauktaw, and followed the stream at the mouth of Petu by the Kaladan River. Then, they might have moved into Thanchi climbing up the 200-300 meter hills in Rahai-Thanchi border. The illustrated route in the following map (Figure 14) is based on a few observations. Firstly, there are Hyow inhabitants in Thanchi, who might have migrated from Hyow (Asho) inhabited places in Myebone of Rakhine State. Secondly, language consultants from Gunrupara reported on several incidents of their relatives coming from Rakhine State following the same route. This route then must have been an established route for the Hyow and other groups.

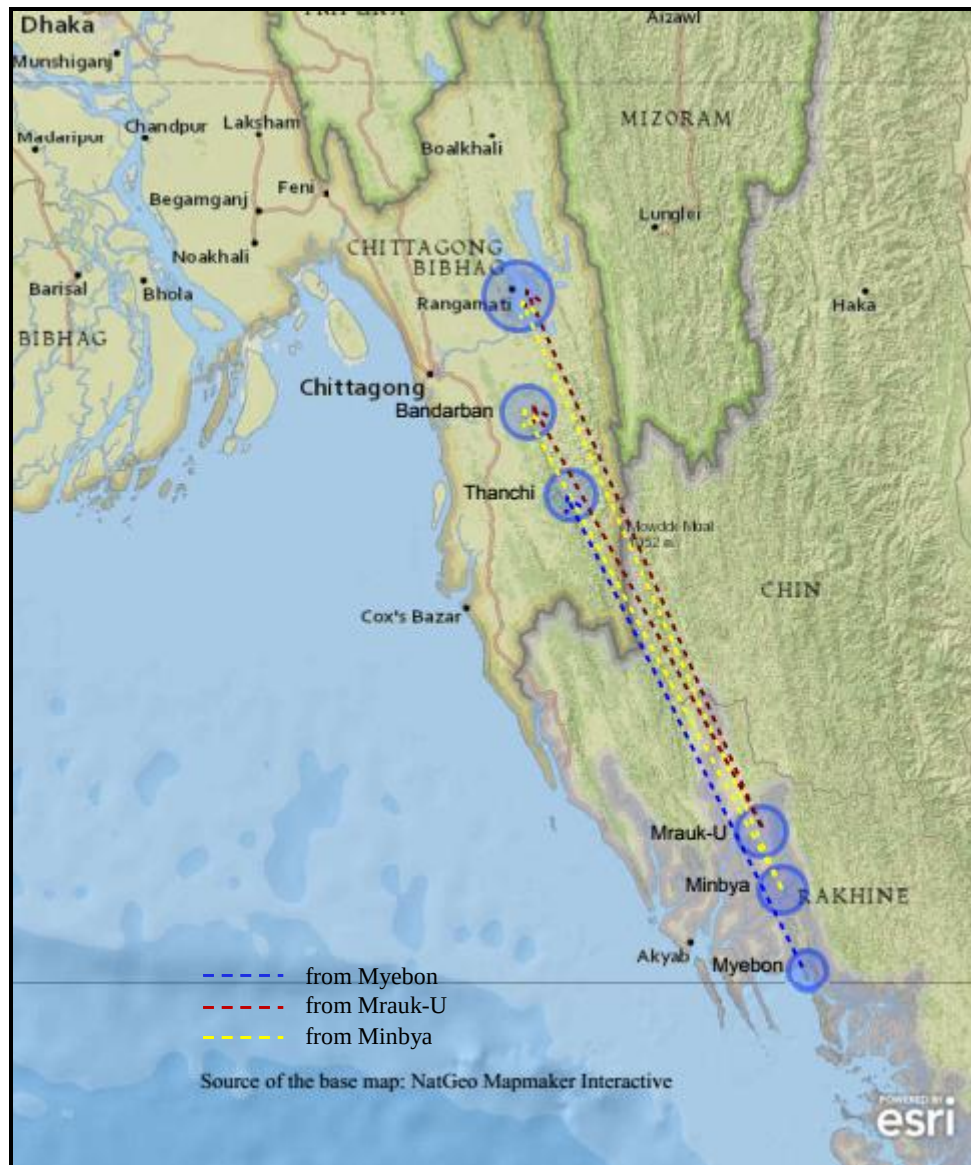


Figure 14: The proposed migration route of the Hyow from Rakhine State to the CHT

Thirdly, during one of the meetings with the Laitu of Mrauk-U and Minbya, when I spoke to the Laitu Hyow speaker of Minbya (southern Laitu) in Hyow, read stories from my notes, and played stories told by native Hyow speakers, he understood the language to some extent. Fourthly, to my knowledge, the Hyow in Bangladesh and the Southern Laitu and Laisaw (a different language now) preserve the word final *l*, which reflects their close connection with each other. Finally, the southern varieties have likewise developed an initial voiceless palatal in several words whose proto form had a prefix **s-*. From all the reasons discussed here, I assume that the first group of migrants must have come from these places, and settled in Rajostholi of Rangamati district in the CHT. The second group might have come with the Marma after 1784, and settled in Gungrupara, which is just 8-10 kilometres away

from Bandarban town, and surrounded by Marma villages. A reason for positing this idea is that the Laitu who live in Gungrupara do not live in a very high place, and have their villages located in hills of similar heights in Mrauk-U and Minbya. The hills of these two townships range from 0 to 250 meters, and so do the hills in Gungrupara and Rangamati. The third group might have moved from the Minbya Township or more southern area of Rakhine State to Thanchi of Bandarban.

1.7.2 CURRENT LOCATION

This grammar is chiefly based on the variety that is spoken at Gungrupara, a Hyow village, which is about 15km away from Bandarban town, one of the three districts in the CHT. I have also used data from the other variety, but not to a significant extent. In addition, I have used data from other varieties of Myanmar to make comparative comments in a couple of places.

The Hyow live in three districts of Bangladesh – Chittagong, Rangamati and Bandarban, which are marked by square boxes on the map in Figure 5.

The first group of the Hyow has settled in Rajostholi and adjacent areas of Rangamati. My consultants estimate that there are almost 242 families of both Laitu and Kontu Hyow at Rajastholi Upazila. Most of the Hyow living here are Christians and have the highest literacy rate (an approximate idea of the language consultants) among the Hyows in Bangladesh. Unfortunately, there is no separate mention of the number of Hyow in the census of 2011.

There are approximately 50 Christian Hyow families in Kaptai Upazila of Rangamati. Mostly the Chakma, Marma, and Bangalee surround the Hyow living in Rangamati⁵. The number of L1 speakers in this district is the lowest because of their higher rate of participation in the higher education and their involvement in different professions. Moreover, the major language in this area is Bangla and Chakma. As a result, the Hyow speaking people have to use both Bangla and Chakma to a great extent in their daily lives.

⁵ I prefer *Bangalee* to *Bengali*, because the former suggests a spelling in the way native Bangla speakers would spell. The original name of the language does not have a front vowel /e/ in the first syllable, the vowel is rather a low central /a/.

The second group has settled in the plain and highland of Gungrupara, and the adjacent Upazila in Chittagong district. Bandarban district has the highest number of Hyow living in the Sadar (the administrative centre of the district), Thanchi and Rowangchhari Upazila. Around 200 families of the Hyow live in Gungrupara, north of Bandarban town. Most of the Hyow living here are Laitu, and they believe in Buddhism.

The third group named Kontu has settled in the highlands of the Thanchi and Rowangchhari Upazila. There are roughly 50 families in Thanchi Upazila, and 170 families in Rowangchhari Upazila. The Hyow of Thanchi and Rowangchhari are mostly Christians. The literacy rate among these Hyow is higher than those of Gungrupara.

1.7.3 LIFE OF HYOW

The lives of the Hyow are similar to other Kuki-Chin people, who were worshippers of nature before they were converted to Buddhism and Christianity. They have distinct cultural and religious festivals, which they observe around the year. This section describes a few of the significant socio-cultural features of the Hyow in order to understand their daily existence.

1.7.3.1 Clan system

The Hyow are divided into several clans. The Hyow living in the highland belong to either Khepcho (*khéptsṵ*) or Monglomsaw (*mónglṵmsâw*) clan. Table 1 lists the name of the clans of Hyow in Bangladesh. It can be mentioned here that there might be other clans, but my consultants in Bandarban could provide me with only eight names. Bernot (1958: 28) mentions six clans among the Gungrupara Hyow: ‘Ils nous ont donne une courte liste de ces sous groupes pe’ a’ cṵ?, pe’, étant un fruit que nous n’avons pu identifier (cf. le vocabulaire); ‘hok’cṵ? << clan del’ecorce>>; she’jṵ? «clan de la lance>>; shṵm’jṵ? «clan de la canne a sucre>>; mon’’cṵ? «clan du Roi>>; khyep’’cṵ? (signification inconnue)’. The southern Rakhine Hyow have more than 100 clans.

Name of clans (transliteration in English)	Phonemic transcription	Meaning
Pekcho	péktsô	Clan of elephant apple
Hokcho	hóktsô	Clan of tree bark
Mongcho	móngtsô	Clan of king
Monlomsaw	mónglómsâw	Clan of king's guide
Seycho	séytsô	Clan of lance
Mincho	míntsô	Clan of cat
Khepcho	khéptsô	Clan of frequent eye lash movers
Somcho	sómtsô	Clan of people who stand all together like sugarcane

Table 1: List of Hyow clans in Bangladesh

The significance of the clan system is unknown or forgotten by the Hyow speakers at present. Nonetheless, referring to Benedict (1941: 364), it is found that Kuki-Chin language-speaking people, except the Central and Southern Kuki, have clan exogamy as a part of their social system. Benedict (1941: 369) mentions from Browne (1872) that Khyeng (Sho) girls are engaged to one of their cousins early, and marrying in one's own family is the right thing to do. Benedict (1941) explains the significance of the clan system for exogamous marriage in other subgroups of Kuki-Chin languages.

1.7.3.2 Tattoos

There is mention of tattoos on the bodies of Chins by different scholars. The Hyow in Bangladesh have small tattoos done on their hands when they are born, but there is no evidence of having tattoos on the faces of women, which is mentioned by a few writers. In the southern part of Rakhine State in Myanmar, there is still some evidence of tattoos on the faces of Laitu Hyow women.⁶ According to (Hughes, 1881: 13), there are a few reasons for women having tattoos on their faces. Firstly, women had tattoos on their faces to make them look ugly, so that the Burmese did not take them away. Secondly, they wanted to recognize their own women, if they were carried off

⁶ The source of this information is my Hyow consultant in Myanmar.

by other tribes during raids. Hughes (1881: 13) said that since the Chin tribes lived not far off the Burmese, it gave the impression that Hyow adopted tattooing in imitation of the Burmese. Since I did not have any conversations with tattoo-faced Laitu women, I cannot make any conclusive remarks on this.

1.7.3.3 Religion

The Hyow are very religious, and most of them abstain from drinking alcohol (*alak*), which is produced from rice by a few of the houses located in different Hyow villages for selling to their Marma neighbors.

The Hyow who are Buddhists also celebrate festivals of their traditional religion, and follow some of the rituals too. According to their traditional religion, they believe in the ghost/soul known as *nát* to them. They believe that a bad ghost brings misfortune to them, while a good ghost takes care of them. They sacrifice goats and chickens to the god of the river, so that the god does not flood the village or bring a bad omen to the village. This sacrifice to the river god is known as *hǎnêy* ‘Haney’. There are two festivals of sacrificing to the river god celebrated by Hyow – *hǎnêy* ‘Haney’ and *khyóng* ‘Khyong’. There is another festival called *búkkélé* ‘Boogeley’, which is celebrated in the harvest season. Hyow also sacrifice chickens when a baby is born so that the newborn has a good health. These kinds of traditional and religious festivals are on the verge of extinction, as the new generations do not take part in such festivals anymore.

Those who have been converted to Buddhism go to Buddhist temple and pray to the Buddha, who is called *phólá* ‘Buddha’ by them. The converted Buddhist Hyow do not kill any animals by themselves. The converted Christians go to church regularly. Surprisingly, there are seven churches at Khamtangpara, a small village of Kontu Hyow in Bandarban. Most of the Kontu Hyow are converted to Christianity. They do not celebrate any of the festivals of their traditional religion, but celebrate Christmas profoundly.

1.7.3.4 Livelihood

The Laitu Hyow mainly depend on cultivating different crops like paddy, potato, cucumber, pumpkin, tobacco, etc. on the low land nearby their houses. At present,

they have grown more interest in growing tobacco leaves than other crops, since they get a good profit from this. On the other hand, the Kontu Hyow do jhum (a.k.a. swidden agriculture) in the highlands, and propagate gardens of valuable trees. Jhum is a traditional way of harvesting in the highlands. In order to do jhum, the indigenous people burn the hills first to get rid of the trees and unwanted plants. Both Hyow men and women cultivate the jhum.

The Hyow often go for hunting, but it has lessened in a great degree nowadays, because of the excessive deforestation in particular areas. The Kontu Hyow are more engaged in hunting than the Laitu Hyow is. They also go out for fishing in the streams that flow by their village.

1.7.3.5 Social norms

Usually, there is a Karbari (village head) in each village, who leads the village in religious festivals, and looks into minor crimes that take place in the village. The Karbari is selected by the villagers and approved by a Headman (the head of several villages), and a Chief Circle (the chief of a district). There are three Chief Circles for three districts in the CHT. Bandarban is under Bohmong Circle. If there is an incident of theft, the villagers beat the thief first, and then the Karbari asks the thief to pay a fine. If there is an incident of adultery, the man involved in the adultery is asked to pay a pig and money to the husband of the woman. As in other Chin tribes, a Hyow man has to pay the parents of a woman to get married.

1.8 LANGUAGE CONTACT

The Hyow in the CHT are in frequent contact with speakers of other language groups. They have close contact with the Bangalee and Marma. That is why they have many borrowed words from Marma. Some of the borrowed words are considered their own words by now. Most of the Hyow living in the CHT know Marma. The second influential language is Bangla. Hyow has many borrowed words from Bangla too; terms that refer to new things and have been introduced to the Hyow are borrowed from Bangla. Most of the Hyow know Bangla, as they have to deal with the Bangalee in their everyday life affairs. Besides, Bangla is used in schools as the medium of teaching and learning. Though not the standard form, the Hyow are very fluent in speaking the Chittagonian dialect of Bangla. When old people speak, one can hear

many borrowed words from the Chittagonian dialect. There are also many words in Hyow that are borrowed from English via Bangla. The examples throughout this grammar presents a lot of Bangla borrowed words, which are marked by a subscript B.

Lexical items are borrowed more easily than phonological or grammatical units are, and their borrowability has been the topic of discussion for many decades. To be precise, in order to know the nature of borrowing, it is essential to know about which lexical items are more frequently borrowed and which are not. Tadmor and Haspelmath's (2009a) findings are useful in this regard. They have found out that nouns are more borrowable than any other category, content words are more borrowable than function words, and pronominal and motion verbs are less borrowable.

Words of Source Languages (SL) can be borrowed into Recipient Languages (RL) in two ways – either they are non-integrated or they are integrated. Non-integration (code-mixing) refers to imitation of a SL word (phonetic features are kept intact), and integration means the approximation of SL sounds with RL phonetic features. The example in (1) illustrates a non-integrated borrowed lexicon to Hyow from Bangla. The borrowed item is borrowed in its grammatical form. The attachment of the possessive prefix to the borrowed noun shows that the item is not integrated in Hyow. Moreover, Hyow has its own word *béw* for 'language'. I have observed that older people use *béw*, while middle aged and younger people use the borrowed word from Bangla without any approximation. The imitation of the voiced aspirated stop in is also evident of the non-integrated borrowing, since Hyow does not have a native voiced aspirated segment.

(1) Bangla_{SL}-Hyow_{RL}

kêy kóhówæ?yphí? túhnúpâ kóló khæwêng èy múkhér bháshá méyâ? ʔ.

kêy kó-hów-æ?y-phí? túhnúp = â kóló khæw = êng èy

1SG 1A-tell.II-IRR-PNMLZ today=LOC Bangalee words=INE ANAPH.DEM

múkh-ér **bháshá** méy-á?

mouth_B-POSS_B **language_B** exist-3SG.NEG

‘That language does not exist that I can tell in Bangalee’s words.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0083]

1.9 TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

I will briefly overview various typological features of Hyow to provide an idea of the language. This grammar is principally based on Laitu Hyow spoken by approximately 1,200 people who live at Gungrupara in Bandarban of the CHT. However, for a comparative discussion, I have used data from other varieties too. I will give a brief overview of Hyow in this section, so that we can get a brief idea how the language presents typologically. There are at least 5 dialects of Hyow (which may be different languages now) spread from southern Myanmar to the southeast of Bangladesh.

1.9.1 PHONOLOGY

Hyow has a consonant inventory consisting of twenty-two phonemes and a vowel inventory comprising nine phonemes. The Hyow consonant inventory has a series of voiceless aspirated stops and voiceless sonorants. The consonantal inventory has a lateral approximant, which can be used in word final positions. Interestingly, there is no presence of a final lateral approximant in other Southern Chin languages (see VanBik 2009). The voiced series of consonants does not have a velar stop in the inventory, which is a very common omission in the world’s languages due to aerodynamic reasons (Ohala 1983). Some dialects of Hyow have a palatal approximant *j*, while in other dialects it is realized as a voiced alveolar fricative *z* instead.

The vowel inventory of Hyow consists of three front unrounded, two central unrounded, one central rounded and three back rounded phonemes. The Kontu variety does not have a central unrounded vowel *ə* in its inventory; it has merged this vowel phoneme with the back vowel *o*. All the varieties in Bangladesh have an allophonic creaky vowel *æ̤*.

Hyow is a tonal language with three lexical tones – high level (H), low level (L) and high falling (F). Interestingly, different varieties of Hyow have distinct tonal systems. Kontu Hyow employs two falling tones starting from two different pitch levels, while the western Gungrupara Laitu Hyow employs two rising tones. The Laitu dialect in Myanmar has one convex tone and two falling tones, which are recognized as high, mid and low in the orthography. The convex tone and the falling tones of southern Laitu (Minbya Township, Rakhine State) correspond to the falling tone and the level tones of Gungrupara variety respectively. Hyow tones are dealt in §2.6.1. I have not included data from Kontu in the tonal analysis.

1.9.2 MORPHOLOGY

Hyow has two open word classes: noun and verb. The closed class of words are pronouns, demonstratives, and classifiers. A process of nominal compounding is used mostly to form new words. There are many examples of noun-verb and noun-noun compounding in Hyow, as exemplified in Table 2.

Compound words	Gloss
khóy-tûy ⁷	‘honey (bee-water)’
mìk-mâ	‘blind (eye-be.dark)’
bùʔ-îm	‘kitchen (cook-house)’

Table 2: Examples of compound words in Hyow

There are no gender markers in Hyow. Sometimes, *pɔ̃* and *nû*, which are generic terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ respectively, are used for distinguishing male-female

⁷ The hyphen is used to separate two morphemes in the compound word.

features of animals. There is a plural marker used only for kinship nouns. The kinship noun plural number marker *-tíʔ* is isomorphic with a nominalizer used at phrasal and clausal level.

Word	Gloss
<i>phrów = tíʔ</i>	(friend-PL) ‘friends’
<i>kóp-tíʔ</i>	(shoot-ANMLZ) ‘shooter’ or ‘the person who shoots’

Table 3: Examples of kinship plural and nominalization marker

Hyow has a number of numeral classifiers (see §4.4.2.3). In Hyow, numeral classifiers form numeral compounds with numerals. The numeral compounds modify the noun by postposing it, as shown in Table 4.

Numeral compounds	Gloss
<i>khróng pótsóng-ák</i>	(person CLS-one) ‘one person’
<i>sháel púm-sháéʔ</i>	(cow CLS-seven) ‘seven cows’

Table 4: Examples of numeral compounds

Hyow grammatical functions are mainly encoded by argument indexation on verbs. The arguments are indexed on verbs following a person hierarchy, where first and second person referents are placed at the top (see §7.3.1 and §10.2.3). Alternatively, grammatical functions of third person arguments are marked by case clitics. Only a third person pronoun or a noun phrase that functions as an A argument of a transitive verb is marked by an ergative case clitic *=lá*. The first person and the second person arguments are unmarked by a case clitic. Dative arguments of transitive verbs are treated as core arguments in Hyow.

Similar to other Kuki-Chin languages, Hyow has two variants of verbs – Form I and Form II. The use of these two forms depends on different syntactic environments (see §6.2). The verb morphology comprises several suffixes and three prefixes. The prefixes include cross-referencing morphemes, a directional marker, and an inverse or a number marker (these two do not co-occur). The finals of the cross-referencing prefixes harmonize with the root-initial vowel. Hyow has a paradigm of negative

suffixes, which is also used as the paradigm of cross-referencing suffixes in sequential dependent clauses.

Hyow executes several strategies of valency modifying operations. Among these, the middle voice plays a significant role in Hyow grammar. In fact, the middle is a signature linguistic feature of Hyow, which is found in abundance in text examples. The middle suffix *-êy* is used to increase and decrease valency of verbs. It is functionally a bipolar grammatical category (see §6.4). Hyow uses three applicative suffixes in order to increase the valence of a verb (see §8.3.2). Hyow utilizes voicing alternation and aspiration for forming lexical causatives. Generally, verbs with voiced initials are non-causatives, and verbs with voiceless initials are causatives in Hyow. In addition, there is a morphological causative in Hyow- *shók*, which is used for indirect causation. Some examples of lexical causatives are given in Table 5.

Non-causative	Causative	Gloss
<i>kóy</i>	<i>khóy</i>	‘ascend’
<i>yál</i>	<i>hyâl</i>	‘collapse’
<i>yâI</i>	<i>hyâI</i>	‘be.cold’
<i>yúmêy</i>	<i>hyúm</i>	‘believe’

Table 5: Use of voicing alternation and aspiration to form lexical causatives in Hyow

1.9.3 SYNTAX

Hyow is a verb final language, like the vast majority of other TB languages. In non-canonical independent clauses, any one of the arguments of a verb might follow it, which occurs due to afterthought. There are a number of clause-linking suffixes in Hyow, which attach dependent clauses to matrix clauses. Based on the type of dependent clause, the stem variant is selected. Some dependent verbs require Stem I verb, while some other Stem II. Some of the dependent clauses have a set of canonical (full) clauses and a set of non-canonical clauses (requires Stem I). Like many TB languages, Hyow relative clauses are also nominalized (see §12.4.2). In addition, there is a borrowed relative construction in Hyow. There is also a borrowed correlative-comparative construction in Hyow from Bangla (see 12.4.2.8).

1.10 CONCLUSION

Hyow has a complex and rich morphology, as we can expect of a typical agglutinative language. The verbal morphology in Hyow looks very intricate, which I will discuss in chapter 7. Besides, Hyow syntax also reflects many interesting features that are not commonly observed in other Kuki-Chin languages. The next chapter focuses on the phonetics and phonology of Hyow.

2 Phonetics and Phonology

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the grammar lays out the phonetics and phonology of Hyow through many examples and analysis of the data specifically recorded for writing this chapter. Hyow words are mostly monosyllabic except for compounds and borrowed words from Bangla and Marma. It is an interesting KC language considering the way it treats some segments. PKC initial voiceless nasals are not only preserved in Mara and Central Chin languages (VanBik, 2012: 220), but also in Hyow, while they are merged with the voiced series in Northern Chin languages. Another important observation is that unlike other SC languages, Hyow final liquids are sometimes preserved, or developed into central approximants. In fact, final liquids are preserved in Bangladesh Hyow, and in Laitu and Laisaw in Southern Myanmar. I start with segmental phonetics and phonology in §2.2, which includes discussions on syllable structure in §2.2.1, Hyow consonants in §2.2.2, free variations of consonants in §2.2.3, consonantal acoustic analysis in §2.2.5, Hyow vowels in §2.2.6 and their acoustic analysis in §2.2.8. Next, I set criteria for defining a word phonologically and grammatically in §2.3, which is followed by a discussion of phonological process in Hyow in §2.5. Hyow is a tonal language, but the tonal system is not consistent across different dialects and varieties. For tonal analysis, I have used data from Eastern Gungrupara Hyow (a.k.a. Gungrumukh Para). I use a number system (Chao 1930) of 1 to 5 representing 1 as the lowest tone and 5 as the highest tone for demonstrating tones phonetically, while I use a diacritic ə for low-level tone, é for high-level tone and ê for falling tone phonemically. I discuss the suprasegmental features of Hyow in §2.6, which include analytical presentations of tone in §2.6.1 and intonation in §2.6.4. Finally, I conclude the chapter with the key findings of this chapter in §2.7.

2.2 SEGMENTAL PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

The segmental phonetics and phonology includes articulatory and acoustic features of segmental phonemes. Essentially, it also includes discussions of syllable structures. This section starts with a discussion of the syllable structure in Hyow, which will gradually build our understanding in the distributions of Hyow segments discussed in subsequent sections.

2.2.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The phonotactics of segmental phonemes plays a significant role in understanding the phonology of Southeast Asian languages. Matisoff 1973 identifies monosyllabicity as one of the key features of mainland Southeast Asian languages. He (1973c: 77) argues that Tibeto-Burman languages have always been monosyllabic. Moreover, he states that a true tonal language requires monosyllabic morphemes. In reference of what Matisoff (1973c) argues, it can be said that Hyow is a tonal language with a great percentage of monosyllabic words.

The fact that Hyow is a monosyllabic language comes from an observation of the percentage of monosyllabic words in Hyow based on the Swadesh list. Out of 206 words in the Swadesh list of 207 words, 79% words are monosyllabic and 21% are polysyllabic in Hyow. Unlike the other Southern Chin languages (Sumtu, Daai, and Lemi), Hyow polysyllabic words do not carry initial reduced syllables with short durations. There are only two words with sesquisyllables in Hyow. Other than these two words, due to a phonological process of vowel harmony, the harmonized syllable might end up having a short syllable only when there are central vowels in the root-initial syllables (see §2.5.1). A simple form of a Hyow syllable is shown in Figure 15.

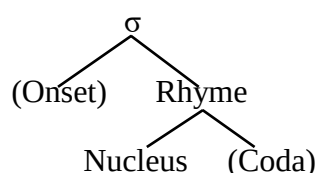


Figure 15: The structure of a Hyow syllable

2.2.1.1 Phonotactic constraints on syllable structure

Hyow syllables can have optional onsets, and codas, which can form rhymes together with the nucleus. In the onset position, there can be a single consonant or a consonant cluster, while the coda position can be filled by a consonant or a consonant cluster, where the glottal stop is the first member of the cluster, and the second member of the coda cluster includes either a voiced nasal or a voiced approximant. Before giving a phonotactic statement, an illustration of possible syllable types in Hyow help understand the complexity that might take place in the coda and onset cluster. Table 6

illustrates the syllable types in Hyow, starting from a very simple syllable with only a vowel (1 in Table 6) and ending with a very complex syllable with consonant clusters on both the onset and coda of a syllable (7 in Table 6). There is a tone associated with all the syllable rhymes.

Syllable structures		Examples	Gloss
1.	V	/ô/	‘good smell’
2.	CV	/bì/	‘work’
		/wà/	‘light’
3.	CCV	/klô/	‘fall’
		/kjún/	‘keep an eye on someone’
		/pjò/	‘be happy’
		/pwák/	‘bloat’
		/blún/	‘sound of jumping’
		/mlát/	‘be alive’
4.	VC	/ók/	‘drink’
5.	CVC	/bút/	‘cook (Form II)’
6.	CVCC	/p ^h éʔj/	‘broom’
		/hlóʔw/	‘fry.II’
		/háʔl/	‘select (Form II)’
		/páʔm/	‘hold from falling.II’
		/kháʔn/	‘assume.II’
		/phóʔng/	‘break a dam.II’
7.	CCVCC	/klóʔj/	‘burn (Form II)’

Table 6: Examples attesting different syllable structures in Hyow

An onset consonant cluster is presented as **C₁C₂** and a coda consonant cluster is presented as **C₃C₄** in the phonotactic statement. The **C₂** position in the onset is only

accessible by voiced approximants, while the **C₄** position in the coda can be filled by voiced nasals and approximants only if there is a glottal stop in **C₃** position.

Moreover, the consonant clusters in the onset do not permit all the consonants in the **C₁** and **C₂** positions respectively. The permissible consonants in the onset and coda consonant clusters are demonstrated in Table 7 and Table 8.

C₁	C₂		
	l	j	w
p	+	+	+
p ^h	+	+	+
t	+	+	+
t ^h	-	+	+
k	+	+	+
k ^h	+	+	+
b	+	+	+
d	-	+	+
ts	-	+	+
ʃ	-	+	+
h	-	-	-
m	+	+	+
m̥	-	+	+
n	-	+	+
n̥	-	+	+
ŋ	-	+	+
ŋ̥	-	+	+
l	-	+	+
l̥	-	+	+
j	-	-	-
j̥	-	-	-
w	-	-	-
ʔ	-	-	-

Table 7: Permissible consonant clusters in the onset of a syllable

C ₃	C ₄									
	p	t	k	m	n	ŋ	l	y	w	ʔ
ʔ	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-

Table 8: Permissible consonant clusters in the onset of a syllable

Based on the syllable types and phonotactic constraints, the syllable structure of Hyow can thus be represented in 1.

$$1. \quad (C_1 (C_2)) \left[V (C_3 (C_4)) \right]^T$$

Where,

C₁ = [-syll] → Stops, Affricate, Fricatives, Nasals, Approximants

C₂ = [-syll] → Voiced Approximants

V = [+syll] → Modal Vowels

C₃ = [+cons] → Voiceless Unaspirated Stops, Voiced Nasals, Voiced Approximants

C₄ = [-cont] → Nasals, Voiced Approximants

T = High Level, Low Level, High Falling

Table 9 illustrates the distributions of Hyow segmental phonemes following the phonotactic constraints.

(C ₁	(C ₂))	V	(C ₃	(C ₄))
p p ^h t t ^h k k ^h b d g ⁸	l ɭ	i e æ	p t k ʔ	m n ŋ
ts	w j	ə u a	m n ŋ	l w j
ʃ h		u o ɔ	l w j	
m ɱ n ɳ ŋ ɲ				
ɭ l ɿ				
w j ʝ				

Table 9: The phonotactic distribution of Hyow segmental phonemes

⁸ The voiced velar stop is only found in cognates of PTB roots and in borrowed words from Bangla and Marma.

The corpus shows many examples where there is variation between the post-alveolar approximant and the alveolar lateral approximant. This might be an example of a sound change process. Peterson (2000: 4) mentions this as a change from the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ to the post-alveolar approximant ɹ in Hyow. I agree with Peterson (2000) regarding the post-alveolar approximant and the alveolar lateral approximant. However, because the use of the post-alveolar approximant in place of the alveolar lateral approximant is idiosyncratic, and the post-alveolar approximant is only found as a second member of the onset cluster, the post-alveolar approximant does not hold any phonemic value in the consonant inventory, though its presence is frequent in the borrowed words, in initial and medial positions of words, as illustrated in Table 10.

Hyow	SL	Gloss
[ɹiʃi]	Marma	‘great’
[sɹa]	Marma	‘teacher’
[tebɹe]	Marma	‘king’

Table 10: The presence of /ɹ/ in loan words of Hyow

The voiced velar stop is not found in contrastive positions in Hyow. Therefore, the voiced velar stop is not considered a phoneme in the inventory. There are very few old words that preserve an initial voiced velar stop in Hyow. These particular words can be reconstructed to PTB, e.g. *gip* (ten) originates in PTB **g(y)ip* ≠ **gip* (Matisoff 2003: 592). In addition, the voiced velar stop can be found in borrowed words from Bangla, as shown in Table 11.

Hyow	Source	Gloss
[goɹi]	Bangla	‘clock’
[guna]	Bangla	‘wire’
[guluy]	Bangla	‘slingshot’

Table 11: The presence of the voiced velar stop in loan words of Hyow

2.2.2 CONSONANTS

This section focuses on the articulatory and acoustic features of consonantal phonemes in Hyow. I start the discussion with the articulatory features of the segmental consonants in Hyow, followed by an acoustic analysis of the consonantal phonemes.

The Hyow consonant inventory consists of twenty-two consonantal phonemes, where there are three series of stops, two series of nasals and two series of approximants. Consonants contribute the highest percentage to the phoneme inventory of Hyow, which is typologically a strong feature in world languages, as observed by Maddieson (1984: 9), who notes that in an inventory the number of consonants varies from six to ninety-five with a mean of 22.8. The number of Hyow consonants is close to the mean observed by Maddieson 1984.

Table 12 illustrates the consonantal phonemes of Hyow. I have included the post-alveolar approximant and the voiced velar stop (starred) in Table 12 as well. Symbols in parentheses indicate the orthographic representation where this differs from the phonemic representation.

	Place of Articulation	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Manner of Articulation							
Stop	voiced	b	d			g [*]	
	voiceless	p	t			k	ʔ
	unaspirated						
	voiceless	p ^h (ph)	t ^h (th)			k ^h (kh)	
	aspirated						
Affricate	unaspirated		ts				
Fricative	unaspirated			ʃ (sh)			h
Nasal	voiced	m	n			ŋ (ng)	
	voiceless	m̥ (hm)	n̥ (hn)			ŋ̥ (hng)	
Approximant	voiced		l	ɹ [*] (r)	j (y)	w	
	voiceless		l̥ (hl)		j̥ (hy)		

Table 12: The consonantal phoneme inventory of Hyow

2.2.2.1 Stops

This section discusses the articulatory features of the Hyow stops. First, I talk about some theoretical concepts, which helps explain the distribution of Hyow stops in syllables. Then, I discuss the place of articulation of Hyow stops and illustrate these with examples.

There is an opposition of unaspirated and aspirated voiceless stops in Hyow. Both the unaspirated and aspirated series are used word initially, and word medially in compounds. The aspirated series is never used syllable finally in Hyow.

Hyow stops utilize four places of articulation, which are bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal. The voiced series does not have a velar stop in the inventory (no longer used except in a very few old words), which is a very common feature in the world languages because of an aerodynamic reason (Ohala 1983). The space between the stop closure and the larynx is very small for the voicing of the velar stop. Because of the lack of space for accommodating air passing through the glottis, the vibration of the vocal folds quickly diminishes before the release of the stop closure. Thus, /g/ is the most likely gap to occur in the voiced stop series of a language. For the same reason, the labial stop has the greatest compatibility with voicing. Therefore, Hyow has three series of stops – plain voiced, plain voiceless and voiceless aspirated stops. Maddison's study (1984: 28) shows that these three stop series have the highest percentage of frequencies in world languages, with 89.5% plain voiceless stops, 69.7% plain voiced stops and 63.2% aspirated voiceless stops. Various examples illustrating the Hyow stop series at different positions of words is given in the following paragraphs. A list of minimal pairs has been provided at the end of this section showing phonemic contrasts on all the Hyow consonants.

Hyow has both voiced and voiceless bilabial stops. In order to produce the bilabial stops, before the release, the upper lip and the lower lip are held tight enough to block the air coming from the lungs. The voiceless unaspirated stops are unreleased in syllable final position, which will be discussed as allophonic realisations in §2.2.3. As shown in Table 13, only the voiceless unaspirated stop can be found in syllable final positions in Hyow. The examples in Table 13 contain bilabial stops at different positions of words.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/pɔ́/	‘father’
/pʰɔ́/	‘reach’
/bɔ́/	‘folklore flute’
/pí/	‘cane rope’
/pʰí/	‘pressurize/coerce’
/bí/	‘work’
/kʰyúp/	‘cap’
/pʰɔ́ypí/	‘wool’
/kílʰ/	‘handkerchief’
/làybítíʔ/	‘farmer’

Table 13: Examples showing bilabial stops at different word positions

There are three alveolar stops in Hyow – a voiced, a voiceless unaspirated, and a voiceless aspirated. Hyow alveolar stops are apical. The passive place of articulation can change in free variation, which means that there is no contrast between the dental and alveolar stops in Hyow. This possibly indicates an effect of contact with Bangla. The voiceless unaspirated series of this stop can use the syllable final positions in Hyow, which is evident from the examples listed in Table 14.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/tû/	‘kill (Form I)’
/t ^h û/	‘ruin’
/dă/	‘repetitive’
/tɔ/	‘keep.I’
/t ^h ɔ/	‘reach.CAUS’
/dɔ/	‘cooking pot’
/lút/	‘pimple’
/bútháng/	‘button’
/k ^h óytûy/	‘honey’
/lădúl/	‘world’

Table 14: Examples showing alveolar stops at different word positions

Hyow has a series of voiceless dorso-velar plosives. Only the unaspirated velar stop of this series is allowed in syllable final positions. There is no voiced stop in this place of articulation, as previously discussed in §2.2.2. Examples in Table 15 show the voiceless velar stops at different positions of words.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/kí/	‘parrot’
/k ^h í/	‘full payment’
/ká/	‘step’
/k ^h â/	‘white ant’
/kòk/	‘burst’
/tók/	‘tear off rope by pulling’
/k ^h ílk hí/	‘window’
/kùm kôy/	‘thunderbolt’

Table 15: Examples showing velar stops at different word positions

Hyow has a glottal stop, which is found to be contrastive with other stops in syllable-final position, and in syllable-initial position in limited examples. It is a key segment for identifying many of the Stem II verbs (see §6.2). Different linguists see the treatment of the glottal stop in Southeast Asian languages from different viewpoints. Several linguists (Okell 1969, Burling 1992, Duanmu 1994) have treated it only as a part of the tone system, or disregarded it as a different tonal exponent (Thurgood 1976, Hartmann 2009). Coupe (2003: 24-27) treats the glottal stop as an unpredictable word prosody, because of its limited distribution, and because unlike other stops, glottal stops in Mongsen Ao are deleted when occurring at a word internal syllable boundary in word formation processes. Hartmann (2009: 39) includes the glottal stop in the Daai inventory, and states that the final glottal stop occurs after the short vowels, which do not take high or low tone as other stop-final syllables do.

A comparative discussion of the glottal stop in Southern Chin languages might prove helpful to understand the development of the glottal stop in Hyow. In this regard, Table 16 demonstrates PKC forms that have glottal stops in the cognates in SC languages. PKC forms are taken from VanBik 2009 and Daai forms are taken from Hartmann 2009. Stem I and Stem II of verbs are shown in brackets in Table 16.

PKC (VanBik 2009)	Daai (Hartmann 2009)	Hyow	Gloss	Remarks ⁹
*mee	me: ¹⁰	màʔ	‘goat’	The PKC long vowel became short in Hyow with a glottal stop at the final position.
*tsii	msi:	itsìʔ	‘seed’	The PKC long vowel becomes shorter in Hyow, and thus the glottal stop develops. The initial prefix <i>m-</i> in Daai (the corresponding prefix is <i>i-</i> in Hyow) can refer to natural phenomena, names, and parts of plants (Hartmann, 2009: 56).
*beɛŋ (I) *beŋ (II)	kbeih ¹¹ (I) kbeei: (II)	bàeʔ (I) báe (II)	‘slap’	The PKC long vowel becomes short in Hyow, and we see a glottal stop syllable finally in Hyow, while Daai has gone through a diphthongization process, with the deletion of the velar nasal.
*phaʔ	phou ¹²	phòʔ	‘stretch’	The PKC <i>*a</i> becomes /ɔ/ in Hyow (see Peterson, 2007: 2), and the final PKC glottal stop is preserved.
*ʂuʔ	buh	bùʔ	‘cooked rice’	The glottal stop is preserved in both Daai and Hyow.

Table 16: The development of glottal stops in Southern Chin languages

I have found very few corresponding cognates in Asho, where an omission of the PKC glottal stop takes place. It appears that Hyow reserve the PKC final glottal stop and go through changes in other words as exemplified in Table 16.

⁹ The remarks are example specific, not generalized.

¹⁰ The colon is used to represent a falling tone in Daai (Hartmann, 2009: 49).

¹¹ The syllable final *h* represents glottal stop in Daai (Hartmann, 2009: 50).

¹² Mid-level (called low by Hartmann) are orthographically unmarked in Daai (Hartmann, 2009: 47).

As stated above, the glottal stop is contrastive with other stops both in initial and final positions of syllables. However, the number of initial glottal stops is very small. There is no deletion of the glottal stop before word-internal syllable boundaries. The glottal stop is also found as Stem II final (see §6.2).

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/k ^h áʔ/	‘close’
/k ^h àk/	‘wake up’
/tsəʔ/	‘document’
/tsók/	‘bamboo pot for bini ¹³ ’
/k ^h èʔwá/	‘fox’
/bùʔtsún/	‘wrap of rice’
/ʔèy/	‘eat.II’
/péy/	‘edge of a bowl’

Table 17: Examples showing the glottal stop in different positions of words

2.2.2.2 Affricate

There is only one voiceless alveolar affricate in Hyow. Maddieson’s observation (1984: 38) suggests that this is the second most frequent affricate in languages. Though there are stops in the same place of articulation, the affricate in Hyow is considered as a separate sub-system following Coupe (2003: 35), who refers to Lass (1984: 184), who proposes that if there are a stop and an affricate in the same place of articulation, then the affricate is considered to be a member of a discrete sub-system. This alveolar affricate is found word initially, and sometimes word medially in compounds or borrowings in Hyow. Examples in Table 18 demonstrate the voiceless affricate at different positions of words.

¹³ Bini is a special kind of sweet cooked rice served inside banana leaves.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/tsî/	‘sister’
/tsò/	‘small’
/ bíttsó/	‘a little bit’

Table 18: Examples of voiceless affricate in different word positions in Hyow

2.2.2.3 Fricatives

Hyow has two fricatives – a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ and a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. The most common fricative in world languages is a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, which is found in free variation with the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in Hyow.

Fricatives are the speech sounds that are produced by narrow approximations of two articulators producing a turbulent airstream (Ladefoged, 1971: 46). The active articulator, the blade of the tongue and the passive articulator, the back of the alveolar ridge, produce the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative. Hyow has a voiceless glottal fricative too. However, there is a lot of debate regarding the treatment of this sound as a fricative. This is evident in Johnson’s (2012: 160) statement:

... the glottal “fricatives” [h] and [ɦ] are fricatives if we define the class as sounds produced with turbulent airflow; but, unlike other fricatives, they are nonconsonantal in the sense that they have coupled front and back tubes (i.e. vowel-like spacing between formants), while consonantal sounds have no front/back coupling and thus wider spacing between formants, with sudden changes in the number of formants at the boundaries between consonantal and nonconsonantal segments.

That means the spectrum of [h] looks like a vowel spectrum but with greater amplitude in the higher formants (Johnson, 2012: 162). In explanation of not putting [h] in his IPA chart of English consonants, Ladefoged (2001: 125) says,

One consonant, h, has been left out altogether, as it does not have any particular place of articulation. On the IPA chart, it is regarded as a glottal

fricative, because most of the noisy airstream in *h* is produced just above the vocal folds. But this is not a very good description of the way this sound is made. It is usually just a voiceless version of the adjacent sounds.

Nonetheless, I have included /*h*/ in the phoneme inventory of Hyow. These two fricatives /*ʃ*/ and /*h*/ are only found word initially and medially. Word final positions are not accessible to these fricatives. Table 19 lists some examples showing different positions of these two fricatives in words.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/ʃi/	‘oil’
/hi/	‘ask.IMP’
/ʃɔ/	‘wild pig’
/hɔ/	‘spread mouth’
/k ^h óʃún/	‘noon’
/ni ^h úʔj/	‘like this’

Table 19: Examples of /*ʃ*/ and /*h*/ at different positions of words

2.2.2.4 Nasals

Hyow has a series of voiceless nasals (called secondary nasals by Ferguson 1963) and a series of voiced nasals (called primary nasals by Ferguson 1963), which have three places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar. In reference to implicational markedness, languages are more likely to have voiced nasals (unmarked) than voiceless nasals (marked). If a language has a voiceless nasal, it implicates that the language also has a voiced nasal (LaPolla 1995; Maddieson 1984).

Hyow voiced nasals are allowed syllable-initially, word-medially and syllable-finally, but voiceless nasals are not permitted in syllable-final positions. From this observation, it can be said that only the unmarked segments are permitted syllable-finally in Hyow. The nasals are also responsible for the allophonic nasalized vowels in Hyow (see §2.2.7). Several examples of nasals are listed in Table 20.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/mó/	[mõ ⁴⁴]	‘stare’
/m̥ó/	[m̥õ ⁴⁴]	‘pimple’
/mín/	[mĩn ⁴⁴]	‘cat’
/m̥ín/	[m̥ĩn ⁴⁴]	‘ripen’
/tûm/	[tũm ⁵²]	‘play instruments’
/tûn/	[tũn ⁵²]	‘straighten’
/n̥ómúŋ/	[n̥õ ⁴⁴ mũŋ ⁵²]	‘trunk of an elephant’
/m̥əŋm̥úl/	[m̥õ ¹¹ m̥ũ ⁴⁴]	‘moustache’

Table 20: Examples showing contrasts between voiced and voiceless bilabial nasals

There is a voiced apico-alveolar nasal and a voiceless apico-alveolar nasal in Hyow. Hyow only permits the voiced alveolar nasal in syllable final positions. The distributions of the apico-alveolar nasals at different positions of words are given in Table 21.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/nó/	[nõ ⁴⁴]	‘buffalo’
/n̥ó/	[n̥õ ⁴⁴]	‘no more’
/ní/	[nĩ ⁴⁴]	‘this’
/n̥í/	[n̥ĩ ⁴⁴]	‘two’
/túm/	[tũm ⁴⁴]	‘tree trunk’
/tún/	[tũn ⁴⁴]	‘push’
/p ^h ánáp/	[p ^h a ⁴⁴ nãp ^{ˈ44}]	‘shoe’

Table 21: Examples showing voiced and voiceless alveolar nasals in different positions

Hyow has two dorso-velar nasals: /ŋ/ and /ŋ̥/. Examples in Table 22 show the dorso-velar nasals at different positions of words in Hyow.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/ŋð/	[ŋð ⁵²]	‘fish’
/ŋ̥ð/	[ŋ̥ð ⁵²]	‘be.separated’
/món/	[mõn ⁴⁴]	‘catch’
/món̥/	[mõn̥ ⁴⁴]	‘king’
/klín̥álén/	[kli ⁴⁴ ŋã ⁴⁴ lén ⁴⁴]	‘be adult/matured’

Table 22: Examples showing voiced and voiceless velar nasals in different positions

2.2.2.5 Approximants

Hyow has five approximants, and only the lateral and palatal approximants have both the voiced and voiceless series. Approximants are produced when the air passes through the vocal tract with an even laminal airflow and no audible friction (Laver, 1994: 270).

There are a voiced lateral approximant and a voiceless lateral approximant in Hyow. Only the voiced approximant is permitted syllable-finally, as shown in Table 23. Among the SC languages, only Hyow preserves the final lateral approximant. The palatal approximant has a variant [z] across different dialects, which will be discussed in §2.2.3.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/l̥/	‘raise hand’
/l̥̥/	‘obligate’
/úlú/	‘mad’
/l̥ú/	‘donate’
/bél/	‘grass’
/k ^h óylá/	‘pocket’
/t ^h án̥láy/	‘cane’

Table 23: Examples showing voiced and voiceless lateral approximants in different positions of words

Hyow has two palatal approximants with voicing opposition. The voiced palatal approximant can be used in the onset and coda formed with a complex consonant cluster. Some examples illustrating the palatal approximants are given in Table 24.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/júl/	‘wet’
/j̥úl/	‘wet.CAUS’
/júm/	‘believe’
/j̥úm/	‘sharp’
/káj/	‘come’
/k ^h ójúŋ/	‘dark cloud’

Table 24: Examples of voiced and voiceless palatal approximants

Maddieson (1984: 93) proposes that typologically languages do not tend to develop a voiceless palatal approximant; rather they develop a voiceless labial-velar approximant. He explains that the voiceless palatal approximant is not adequately distinguishable from the glottal fricative /h/, as most of the languages have this sound. If the voiceless palatal approximant is articulated forcefully to demarcate a strong difference with the glottal fricative, then it is realized as a palatal fricative.

However, by having a voiceless palatal approximant in the inventory, I am able to explain the voicing alternation for lexical simplex-causative pairs in Hyow, as shown in Table 25. I should also mention here that this voicing alternation of the initial consonant is found in other manners of articulation of consonants as well.

Non-causative	Causative	Gloss
/jút/	/j̥út/	‘fall (e.g. fruits)’
/jál/	/j̥ál/	‘collapse’
/jǽl/	/j̥ǽl/	‘be.cold’
/júm/	/j̥úm/	‘believe’

Table 25: The role of voicing in lexical simplex-causative pairs in Hyow

Hyow has a voiced labial-velar approximant. The labial-velar approximant can be used in initial, medial and final positions of words. In addition to the lateral approximant, the labial velar approximant can be a part of the complex consonant cluster in a syllable. Several examples are given in Table 26 to show the different positions of the labial-velar approximant in different words.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/wá/	‘light’
/wún/	‘skin’
/lôw/	‘fresh’
/t ^h ów/	‘rise’
/p ^h ówálá/	‘belcher (the person who belches)’

Table 26: Examples showing positional variants of the labial-velar approximant

Now that all the Hyow consonants have been discussed and their realizations shown at different positions of words through numerous examples, the following paragraphs list the minimal pairs showing phonemic contrasts between different consonants in Hyow.

The following triplets demonstrate the phonemic contrast among the voiced, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated bilabial stops in Hyow.

/b/ versus /p/ and /ph/

/bàk/	[bak ^{ˈ22}]	‘branch’
/pák/	[pak ^{ˈ44}]	‘without’
/p ^h ák/	[p ^h ak ⁴⁴]	‘company’

The following triplet illustrates the phonemic contrast among the voiced, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated alveolar stops in syllable initial positions in Hyow.

/d/ versus /t/ and /th/

/dúm/ [dũm⁴⁴] ‘fisherman’

/túm/ [tũm⁴⁴] ‘play’

/t^húm/ [thũm⁴⁴] ‘three’

The phonemic contrast between the glottal stop and the unaspirated stop is demonstrated by the following minimal pair

/ʔ/ versus /p/

/kæʔ/ [kæ⁴⁴] ‘fear’

/kæk/ [kæk^{ʔ44}] ‘be cracked’

The following set of words shows phonemic contrasts of the voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate with alveolar stops. Though the affricate shares a place of articulation with the stops, it is considered as a part of a different sub-system in Hyow (see §2.2.5.3).

/ts/ versus /d/, /t/ and /th/

/tsî/ [tsi⁵²] ‘elder sister’

/dí/ [di⁴⁴] ‘thatch’

/tí/ [ti⁴⁴] ‘time’

/t^hî/ [thi⁵²] ‘blood’

The following minimal pair shows the phonemic contrast between the post-alveolar fricative and the glottal fricative in syllable initial positions.

/ʃ/ versus /h/

/ʃi/ [ʃi¹¹] ‘veranda’

/hi/ [hi⁴⁴] ‘ask’

The voiced and voiceless bilabial nasals are shown in contrastive positions using the following minimal pair.

/m/ versus /m̥/

/mîn/ [mĩn⁵²] ‘cat’

/m̥ín/ [m̥ĩn⁴⁴] ‘be ripen’

The following minimal pair demonstrates a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless alveolar nasal in syllable-initial position.

/n/ versus /n̥/

/nûy/ [nuy⁵²] ‘laugh’

/n̥ûy/ [n̥uy⁵²] ‘dough’

The following minimal pair shows the phonemic voicing contrast between the velar nasals.

/ŋ/ versus /ŋ̥/

/ŋô/ [ŋõ⁵²] ‘fish’

/ŋ̥ô/ [ŋ̥õ⁵²] ‘be different’

The voicing contrast between the lateral approximants is shown in the syllable-initial position in the following minimal pair.

/l/ versus /l̥/

/lí/ [li⁴⁴] ‘touch’

/l̥í/ [li̥⁴⁴] ‘four’

The following minimal pair illustrates the phonemic contrast of the voiced and voiceless palatal approximant in the syllable-initial position in Hyow.

/j/ versus /j̥/

/jà/ [ja¹¹] ‘howl’

/já/ [ja⁴⁴] ‘stand up’

The following minimal pair demonstrates the phonemic contrast between the voiced palatal approximant and the voiced labial-velar approximant in word-initial and final positions.

/j/ versus /w/

/jûn/ [jũn⁵²] ‘rabbit’

/wún/ [wũn⁴⁴] ‘skin’

/lòw/ [low¹¹] ‘field’

/lôy/ [loy⁵²] ‘talon’

2.2.3 ALLOPHONES OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

This section presents a discussion on the allophonic realizations of stops in Hyow. There is an allophonic realization of the voiceless unaspirated stops both syllable-finally before obstruents and word-finally in Hyow. The voiceless unaspirated stops are unreleased in these final positions in contrast to their released status in initial positions of syllables.

The following rules in 1-3 are constructed to represent the allophonic realisations of the unaspirated stops in Hyow, where C represents obstruents.

1. /p/ → [p̚]/___ { C
}
2. /t/ → [t̚]/___ { C
}
3. /k/ → [k̚]/___ { C
}

Some examples of the unreleased stops at the syllable- and word-final positions are given in Table 27.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/mók ^h úm/	[mɔk ^{ˈ44} k̚ ^h ũm ⁴⁴]	‘measurement’
/nàk/	[nãk ^{ˈ22}]	‘be late’
/mòttsó/	[mɔt ^{ˈ22} tsɔ ⁴⁴]	‘finely’
/bót/	[bɔt ^{ˈ44}]	‘hang’
/jàpjàp/	[jap ^{ˈ22} jap ^{ˈ22}]	‘various ways’
/káp/	[kap ^{ˈ44}]	‘cry’

Table 27: Examples of unreleased stops

2.2.4 FREE VARIATION

The Hyow speakers, possibly reflecting an effect of multilingualism, use free variations voluntarily. Three phonemes in Hyow have frequent free variants – the post-alveolar fricative, the alveolar stops, and the palatal approximant. The use of free variations voluntarily by Hyow speakers possibly reflects the effect of multilingualism in the area where Hyow is spoken.

2.2.4.1 Post-alveolar fricative

The post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ has a free variant [s] in Hyow. Speakers are frequently found to switch between these two sounds in the absence of any discernible environment. Some examples showing free variation of the post-alveolar fricative are listed in Table 28.

Interchangeable free variants	Gloss
[sæ ⁴⁴] or [ʃæ ⁴⁴]	‘horse’
[sɔ ⁴⁴] or [ʃɔ ⁴⁴]	‘wild pig’
[si ⁴⁴] or [ʃi ⁴⁴]	‘oil’
[sip ^{ˈ22}] or [ʃip ^{ˈ22}]	‘move’
[suk ^{ˈ22}] or [ʃuk ^{ˈ22}]	‘paddy grinder’

Table 28: Free variation of the post-alveolar fricative

2.2.4.2 Alveolar stops

Hyow alveolar stops have dental free variants. This might be an effect of Bangla dental stops, since a great number of Hyow speakers in Bangladesh can speak Bangla very fluently. This might also be an idiosyncratic feature. Since Hyow does not have stops in both alveolar and dental articulatory places, the change in place of articulation does not create any contrastive phonemic value. Table 29 lists some examples of free variation of alveolar stops in Hyow.

Interchangeable free variants	Gloss
[t ^h i ⁵²] or [t ^h i ⁵²]	‘blood’
[t ^h u ⁴⁴] or [t ^h u ⁴⁴]	‘kill’
[d̪ãŋ ⁴⁴] or [d̪ãŋ ⁴⁴]	‘beam’

Table 29: Free variation of alveolar stops in Hyow

2.2.4.3 Palatal approximant

Hyow speakers use the voiced alveolar fricative [z] in free variation with the palatal approximant /j/, which is mostly observed in open syllables. Moreover, this reflects a significant observation of the language itself. The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ has developed out of the voiced palatal approximant /j/ in Kuki-Chin languages, which originates from Proto **g*. Hyow shows a characteristic of a simple sound change development in this regard. It should be mentioned in the other variety of Hyow spoken in Bangladesh, /z/ has a phonetic value instead of the palatal approximant.

Interchangeable free variants	Gloss
[zæ ⁴⁴] or [jæ ⁴⁴]	‘hairline’
[zæ ¹¹] or [jæ ¹¹]	‘encourage’

Table 30: Examples of free variation of the palatal approximant

2.2.5 ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS

I discuss various acoustic features of Hyow consonantal phonemes in this section. This section largely looks at the VOT of different stops and an affricate to make specific comments on the acoustic nature of the Hyow consonantal segments. This section also compares durations of voiced and voiceless sonorants in order to provide acoustic evidence for treating voiceless sonorants as single phonemes, not clusters with *h*. I have used the data collected from two male speakers of the Eastern Gungrupara Hyow (henceforth, EGH) for the acoustic analysis. Therefore, the acoustic analysis in this section represents EGH consonants.

2.2.5.1 The process of measuring VOT

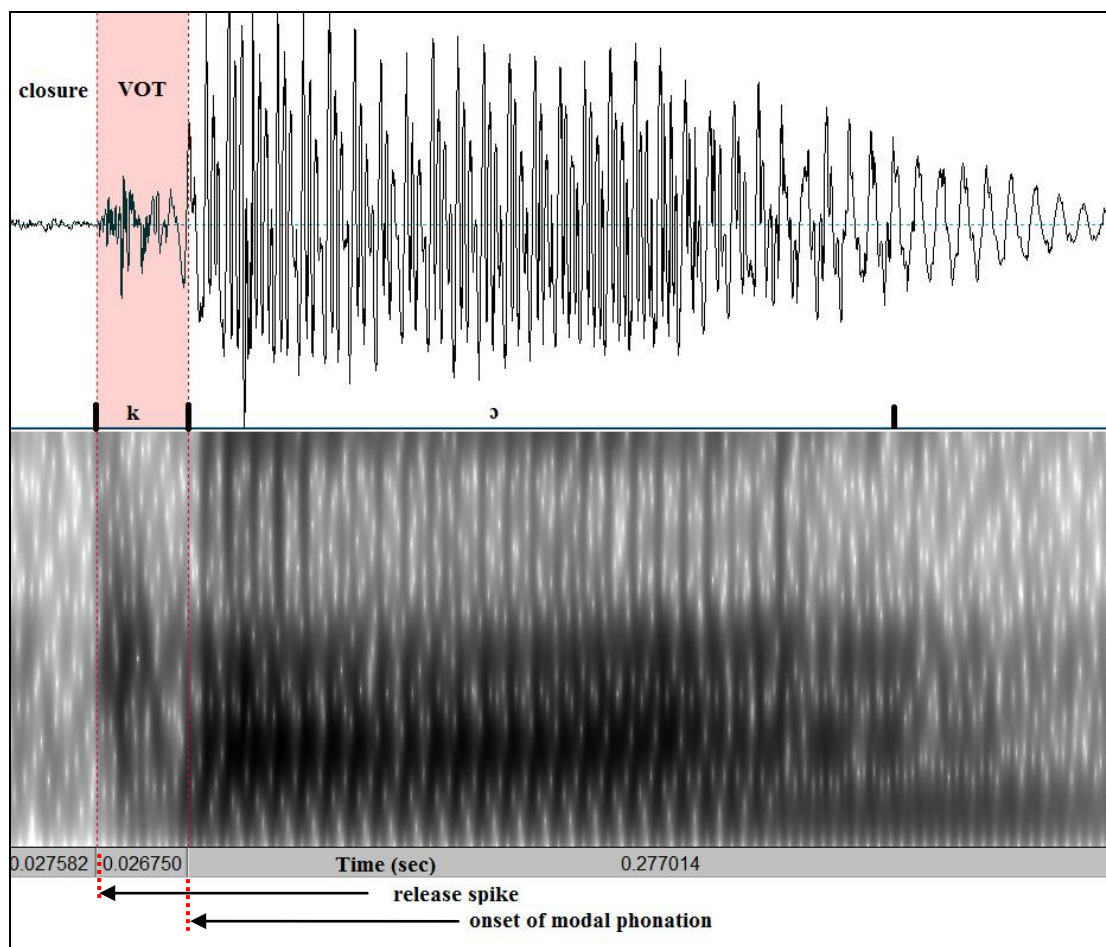
I have recorded 115 tokens in isolation for the acoustic analysis of the EGH consonants. All the tokens have been measured word initially, because there is a process of neutralization for the stops word finally. The voiceless aspirated series is not used word finally. I have used a Canon HD Cam and a ZOOM H4N recorder for recording all the data in a natural environment at Gungrupara and Bandarban town in the CHT. The samples were recorded in WAV format at a rate of 44100Hz with a bit depth of 24. There was no controlling over the vowel quality, though durations of VOTs might be longer due to close vowels (Coupe 2003: 67). I have used the mean of all related readings to draw statistical graphs for showing VOTs of EGH consonantal phonemes at word-initial position. The methodology in this section is based on Coupe 2003.

2.2.5.2 Correlations of acoustic and articulatory analysis

The data of the acoustic analysis correlates with the articulatory analysis that I have presented in §2.2.2. It is plausible that the disparate readings of VOT will correlate with the places of articulation (Lisker and Abramson 1964). The more back the place of articulation is, the longer the VOT is, and thus, the VOT corresponds to the

articulatory features of the investigated segments. We know that for a velar stop, there is a very short space behind the constriction, while for bilabial and alveolar stops this space is greater. Due to this short space behind the constriction for the velar stop, air passing through the vocal folds gets very highly pressurized. As a result, when the release occurs, the air pressure takes time to fall resulting in a longer VOT for the velar stop (Cho & Ladefoged 1999: 209-210; Coupe 2003: 67). Moreover, the compressed air pressure behind the constriction will take time to fall because after being released, this compressed air pressure behind the constriction has to move the air in the oral cavity in front of the constriction. Cho and Ladefoged (1999: 210) say that regardless of the air pressure behind the closure, velar stops take longer time for the air in the vocal tract to drop, which in result take more time to achieve the difference in the transglottal air pressure essential for voicing.

Hyow voiceless stops have two series, which are in privative opposition based on aspiration. To measure the VOT (following the methodology used in Coupe 2003), I have identified the duration of VOT in the investigated samples, as shown in Figure 16. The first point of the measurement is the release of the stop closure and the final point of the measurement is the onset of the vocal fold vibration. The time between these two points is known as the voice onset time.

Figure 16: VOT of [k] in [kɔ⁴⁴]

Looking at the means of the voiceless stops in Table 31, it is observed that the aspirated voiceless series has way much longer VOT than the opposite series of unaspirated ones, where the mean VOT of the latter stops is 17ms, and the mean of the former stops is 69ms. From the study of Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 66), we know that voiceless aspirated stops are characterized as having longer VOT. Similar kind of observation is found in other studies (Cho and Ladefoged 1999, Coupe 2003, Lisker and Abramson 1964). The Lisker and Abramson 1964 data shows that the range of VOT for voiceless unaspirated stops is 4-47ms, and for voiceless aspirated stops, it is 58-126ms (Cho and Ladefoged 1999). The data analysis shows a VOT hierarchy of *velar stops* > *alveolar stops* > *bilabial stops* in EGH. However, the VOT hierarchy observed in voiceless aspirated stops is reversed for the bilabial and alveolar ones in EGH. A similar phenomenon is observed in Mongsen Ao (Coupe, 2003: 67), and in the survey of Lisker and Abramson (1964) by Cattord 1977. Nevertheless, the difference in VOT is very low between these two stops in EGH.

	[p]	[t]	[k]	[ph]	[th]	[kh]
Mean of VOT (ms)	13	14	25	67	65	75
Standard deviation	0.58	2.50	3.17	8.49	10.81	11.46
Number of tokens	4	16	12	3	9	8

Table 31: Samples for measuring VOT of voiceless stops

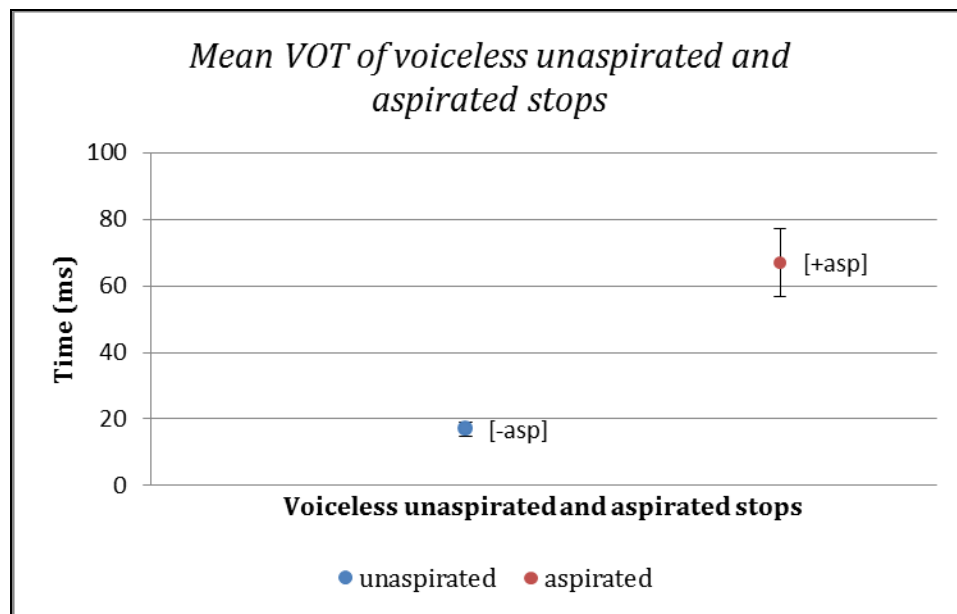


Figure 17: VOT in voiceless unaspirated vs. aspirated stops in EGH

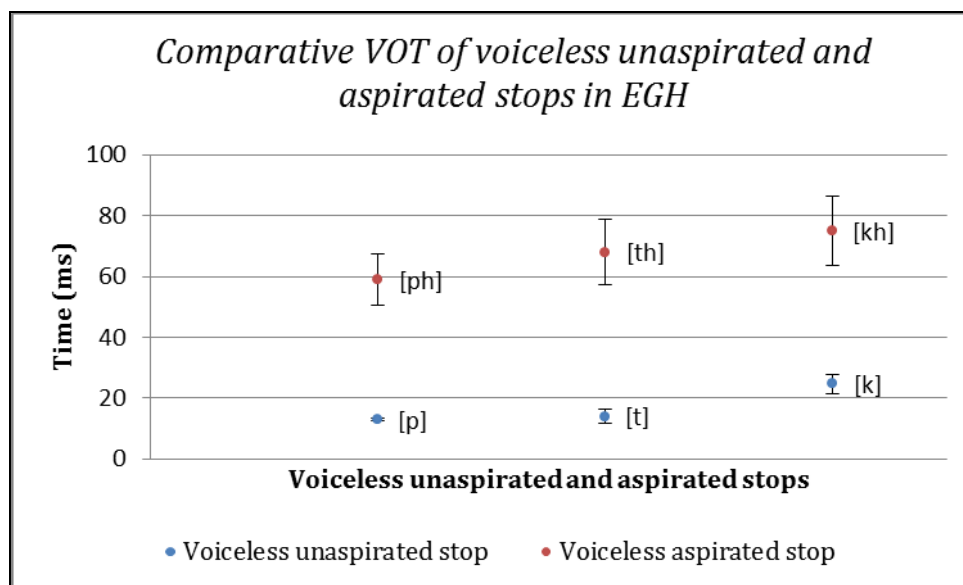


Figure 18: Comparative mean VOT of voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops

Figure 17 and Figure 18 clearly show a big difference in VOT between the voiceless unaspirated and the voiceless aspirated stops in EGH.

The voiced stop series of Hyow only include two phonemes – bilabial and alveolar; the velar stop is missing from the series. Theoretically, voiced stops should have negative VOT, because they include voicing during the time of closure or air occlusion, not after the release. In certain languages (in certain phonological environment), voiced stops might have VOTs near voiceless unaspirated series (Lisker and Abramson 1964). Table 32 shows that EGH voiced stops have negative VOTs. Similar to the voiceless series, the voiced series shows a preference of longer VOTs for consonants nearer to the rear of the oral cavity – alveolar stops > bilabial stops.

	p	t	k	b	d
Mean of VOT	13	14	25	-110	-82
Standard deviation	0.58	2.50	3.17	8.52	7.81
Number of tokens	4	16	12	4	3

Table 32: Samples for measuring VOT of unaspirated stops

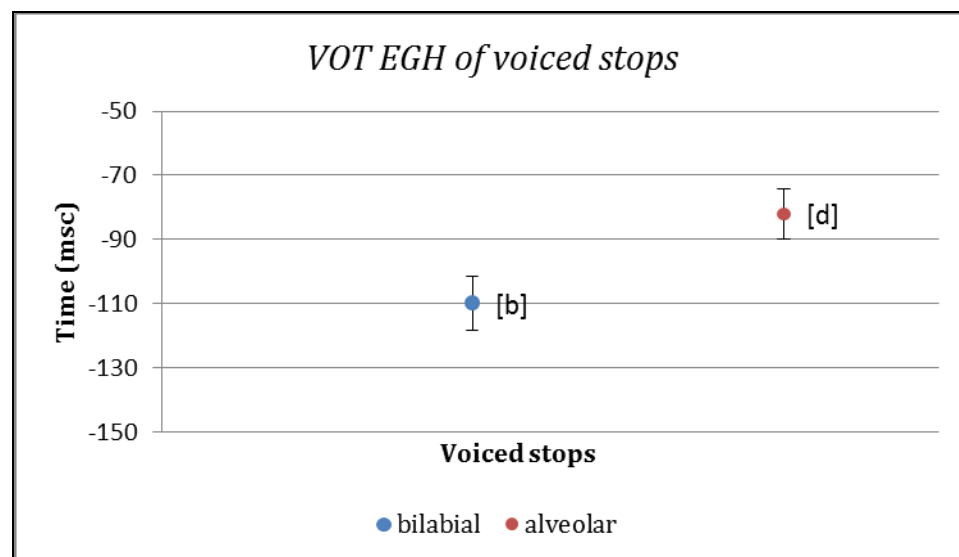


Figure 19: VOT of voiced stops in Hyow

Figure 19 shows the mean VOT of -110ms for the bilabial stop and the mean VOT of -82ms for the alveolar stop.

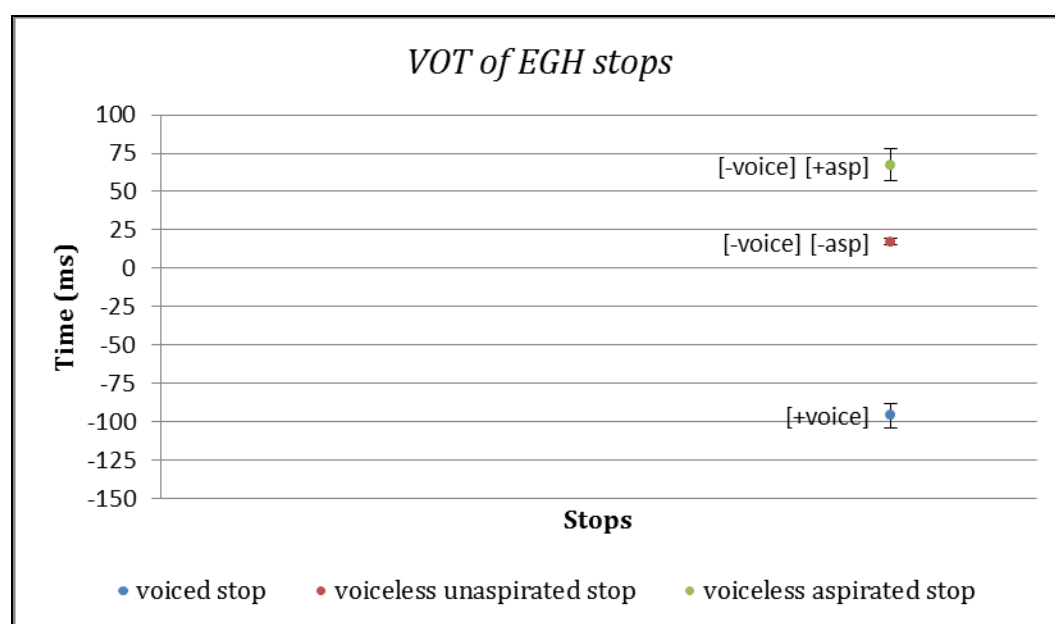


Figure 20: VOT of EGH oral stops

What Figure 20 reveals is not surprising considering the relevant VOT in other languages (Lisker and Abramson 1964). The voiceless aspirated stops have the highest VOT, while for the voiced series the VOT is the lowest with negative values.

2.2.5.3 VOT of the affricate

Hyow has an unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate. An affricate has both the characteristics of stops and fricatives. It starts with an oral occlusion and ends with a release of air through a narrow passageway between the active and the passive articulators. VOTs of affricates are measured by taking the measurement of the time between the release of the closure and the onset of the voicing. The sound wave is more chaotic in the spectrogram of an affricate. The mean VOT of the EGH alveolar affricate is 48ms. Table 33 represents the VOT measurements of the alveolar affricate and voiceless stops.

	ts	p/t/k	ph/th/kh
Mean of VOT	48	17	67
Standard deviation	5	2.08	10.25
Number of tokens	9	32	20

Table 33: VOT of the alveolar affricate and the voiceless stops

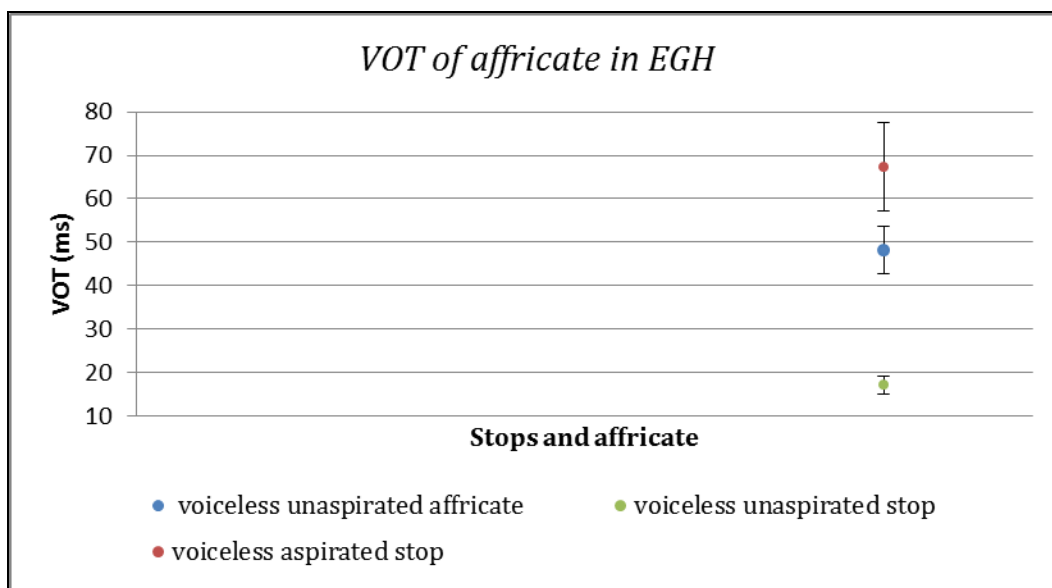


Figure 21: VOT of the affricate in EGH

If we compare the VOT of the alveolar affricate with the voiceless series of stops in EGH, we observe in Figure 21 that the VOT of the affricate is in between the unaspirated and the aspirated stops.

2.2.5.4 Duration of voiced and voiceless sonorants

Hyow has a series of voiceless sonorants. Other than from the use of devoicing of root-initial voiced sonorants to form lexical causatives (see §6.6), the non-cluster status of these voiceless segments is evident from their respective durations. The durations of voiced and voiceless sonorants are compared in Figure 22.

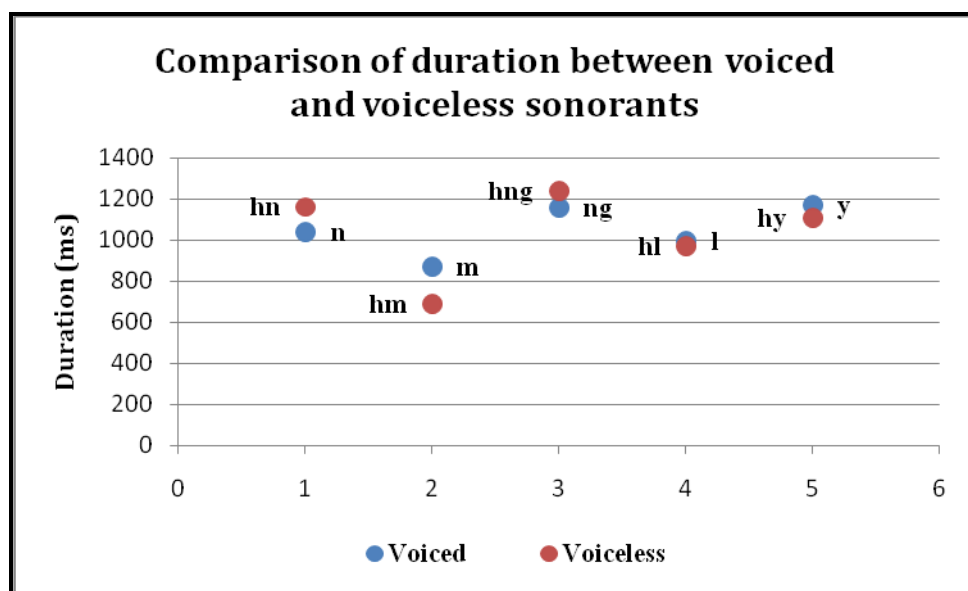


Figure 22: A comparative representation of durations of voiced and voiceless sonorants and approximants

Figure 22 shows that the difference in duration between the voiced and voiceless sonorants is too insignificant to consider them as clusters. In Hyow, the mean duration of the glottal fricative is 750 ms, which is based on 15 tokens. Based on the same number of tokens, the voiced sonorants show a mean duration of 1046 ms. If the voiceless sonorants were clusters, then longer durations would have been presented in Figure 22. The voiceless sonorants show a mean duration of 1035 ms, which is not even longer than the mean duration of the voiced sonorants.

2.2.6 VOWELS

This section deals with a discussion of articulatory features of the Hyow vowels, which is followed by an analysis of allophonic realisations of Hyow vowels in §2.2.7 and an acoustic analysis of the EGH vowels in §2.2.8.

Hyow has a triangular system of nine modal vowels, which is a less common system among world languages. Based on the theory of (Trubetzkoy 1969: 98), it can be said that the vowel system in Hyow has four classes of timbre (front unrounded, central unrounded, central rounded and back rounded), which does not violate four classes of timbre in a single system, the maximum possible. Kontu Hyow does not have a central /ə/ vowel in its inventory as this particular vowel is merged with a back rounded /o/ vowel. Table 34 represents Hyow vowels based on the articulatory and auditory analysis.

	Front unrounded	Central		Back rounded
		unrounded	rounded	
High	i		ʊ	u
Mid	e	ə		o
Low	æ	a		ɔ

Table 34: Hyow vowel phonemes

There are three unrounded front vowels in Hyow. Among all the vowels in Hyow, only the low front vowel /æ/ has a creaky allophonic variation (see §2.2.7). The following examples in Table 35 show some near minimal pairs of Hyow front vowels in contrastive distributions.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/bì/	‘work’
/bê/	‘grandmother’
/ʃí/	‘oil’
/ʃê/	‘burn’
/ʃá/	‘sneeze’
/ʃĩ/	‘sesame’
/kí/	‘parrot’

/kǣ/	‘fear’

Table 35: Minimal pairs for front vowels

Hyow has one rounded and two unrounded central vowels – /ʊ/, /ə/ and /a/ respectively positioned at high, mid and low articulatory positions. A triplet showing these three vowels is given in Table 36.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/k ^h ʊ/	‘pigeon’
/k ^h ə/	‘hole’
/k ^h a/	‘termite’

Table 36: A triplet showing contrast among central vowels

Hyow has three back rounded vowels. The Hyow high back /u/ and higher mid back /o/ vowels are lower than the central high /ʊ/ and central mid /ə/ vowels. The high back vowel /u/ holds a rather lower space in respect of the high front and the high central vowel because of a higher F1. Some near minimal pairs of the back vowels are given in Table 37.

Phonemic Transcription	Gloss
/k ^h ʊ/	‘carry on the head’
/k ^h ó/	‘leg’
/k ^h ɔ/	‘be bitter’
/tù/	‘kill’
/tɔ/	‘keep’

Table 37: Minimal pairs showing contrasts among back vowels

2.2.7 ALLOPHONES OF VOWEL PHONEMES

The low-mid front vowel /æ/ has a creaky realization before the glottal stop, and all the vowels have nasalized realizations both after and before the nasals. These allophonic variants are discussed below with examples.

The allophone [æ̤] is found either after [k] or before [ʔ] or both, as in [kæ̤¹¹] ‘fear’. Non-modal phonation is common as allophones, as Gordon and Ladefoged (2003: 391) say, ‘Segmentally conditioned allophonic non-modal phonation on vowels is extremely common in the vicinity of consonants that are not produced with modal phonation.’ So often, a creaky allophone is associated with vowels adjacent to glottal stop in Hyow. Now, we can formulate rules for the above-mentioned environment, where the modal voice /æ/ is realized as [æ̤].

1. /æ/ → [æ̤]/___ʔ
2. /æ/ → [æ̤]/ [k] _____ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$

The following examples in Table 38 reflect the propositions made in 1 and 2.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/jæ̤ʔ/	[jæ̤ʔ ²²]	‘be heavy’
/jæ̤ʔ/	[jæ̤ʔ ²²]	‘sell.II’
/hæ̤ʔl/	[hæ̤ʔl ²²]	‘discriminate’
/kæ̤/	[kæ̤ ⁴⁴]	‘bean’

Table 38: Examples showing the allophonic variant of /æ/

All the vowels in Hyow have their nasalized allophones before or after nasal stops. The nasals can be either voiced (in both onset and coda) or voiceless (only in onset). This distribution can be represented by rules in 3 and 4.

3. V → Ṽ/ N _____ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$
4. V → Ṽ/ $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$ _____ N

Examples in Table 39 illustrate the proposition stated in 3 and 4.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/mɔ́/	[mɔ̃ ⁴⁴]	‘pimple’
/bân/	[bân ⁵²]	‘get.I’
/lũŋ/	[lũŋ ⁵²]	‘stone’
/múm/	[mũm ⁴⁴]	‘ache’

Table 39: Examples showing the allophonic variant of vowels in Hyow

2.2.8 ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS OF VOWELS

An acoustic analysis of the EGH vowel segments is presented in this section. Two hundred and twenty five tokens were recorded for analysing vowels of EGH. For the acoustic analysis of vowels, a few factors were kept in mind. Since the formant frequencies of vowels are dependent on the size and configuration of a vocal tract, a specific vowel is expected to be distributed in a certain space within a scatter plot (see Figure 23). The vowel quality may be affected by different factors such as duration, rate of speech, position in the syllable, etc. (Meunier and Espesser, 2010). In addition, gender difference can exert effects on the acoustic vowel space in languages (Weirich and Simpson 2014). In fact, naturally vowels are spread over a large area, which can be plotted using F1 and F2 values of different tokens. Like the consonants, I have used the data collected from NJK to analyse the EGH vowels acoustically. Only the tokens of NJK gave the opportunity to analyse acoustically all the vowels in Hyow. Tokens of the other speakers did not fully cover the complete set of Hyow vowels.

2.2.8.1 Process of sampling

All the tokens were recorded both in video and in audio using a Canon HD Cam and a ZOOM H4N recorder. The audio recording is done in WAV format using a 44100 Hz sample rate with a depth of 24 bits. All the tokens were textgridded in Praat to measure the mean F₁ and F₂ values of each sample of vowels automatically. Once the files were textgridded, the ‘get first formant’ and ‘get second formant’ commands were used to measure the mean formants for the selected durations in Praat. For a single vowel, several tokens were considered, and the means of all the tokens were used to plot the vowels. The effect of perturbing onsets and finals was taken into consideration in the sampling process. However, due to the lack of samples, several

syllables with the initial [ʃ] and [ts] had to be used for the analysis. The tokens used for plotting the EGH vowel space are given from Table 40 to Table 48.

Tokens	Gloss	Target Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
[bi ⁵²]	‘work.IMP’	i	290	2411
[k ^{hi} i ¹¹]	‘full payment’	i	356	2389
[p ^{hi} i ¹¹]	‘pressurize’	i	352	2449
[hi ⁴⁴]	‘ask’	i	383	2331
[pi ⁴⁴]	‘cane rope’	i	345	2333
[hi ⁵²]	‘feeling cold’	i	355	2418
[hi ⁴⁴]	‘correct’	i	381	2400
[t ^{hi} i ⁴⁴]	‘iron’	i	399	2303
[t ^{hi} i ⁵²]	‘blood’	i	364	2370
		Mean	358	2378

Table 40: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /i/

Tokens	Gloss	Target Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
[tse ¹¹]	‘raise hand to beat’	e	452	2176
[ʃe ⁵²]	‘old’	e	445	2121
[be ⁵²]	‘grandmother’	e	433	2192
[bel ⁴⁴]	‘grass’	e	445	2244
		Mean	444	2183

Table 41: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /e/

Tokens	Gloss	Target Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
[kæ ^{ʔ22}]	‘fear’	æ	625	2145
[kæ ⁵²]	‘bean’	æ	677	2071
[kæ ⁴⁴]	‘stop dheki’	æ	633	2118
[hæ ^{l44}]	‘select’	æ	666	1818
[hæ ^{l44}]	‘miss a target’	æ	663	1863
[hæ ^{ʔl22}]	‘discriminate’	æ	715	1827
		Mean	663	1974

Table 42: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /æ/

Tokens	Gloss	Target	F1	F2
		Vowel	(Hz)	(Hz)
[ʊt ⁴⁴]	‘bloat’	ʊ	299	1620
[ʊk ²²]	‘cheer’	ʊ	306	1570
[mʊ ⁵²]	‘be blind’	ʊ	317	1831
[tʊn ⁵²]	‘measure.II’	ʊ	368	1928
[p ^h ʊ ⁴⁴]	‘lit fire’	ʊ	332	1693
		Mean	324	1728

Table 43: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /ʊ/

Tokens	Gloss	Target	F1	F2
		Vowel	(Hz)	(Hz)
[bə ¹¹]	‘disarrange’	ə	515	1907
[pə ¹¹]	‘enter hand into hole’	ə	535	1788
[t ^h ə ⁵²]	‘sour’	ə	515	2080
[ə ⁵²]	‘yes’	ə	533	2017
[k ^h ə ⁴⁴]	‘hole’	ə	533	2068
		Mean	522	1939

Table 44: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /ə/

Tokens	Gloss	Target	F1	F2
		Vowel	(Hz)	(Hz)
[tuk ⁴⁴]	‘move slowly’	u	453	1101
[ʃuk ⁴⁴]	‘punch’	u	467	1355
[ʃuk ⁴⁴]	‘end of road’	u	466	1529
		Mean	462	1328

Table 45: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /u/

Tokens	Gloss	Target Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
[kho ¹¹]	‘leg’	o	536	1436
[hyow ⁴⁴]	‘near’	o	509	1160
[pok ^{˧22}]	‘burst’	o	574	1503
[pok ^{˧44}]	‘cut a tree with an axe’	o	549	1576
[pok ^{˧44}]	‘eating of chicken’	o	576	1557
		Mean	549	1446

Table 46: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /o/

Tokens	Gloss	Target Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
[ho ⁵²]	‘bird’	ɔ	746	1242
[ho ⁴⁴]	‘joke’	ɔ	713	1309
[ŋɔ ⁵²]	‘fish’	ɔ	827	1577
[lɔ ⁴⁴]	‘wash face’	ɔ	696	1490
[bo ⁴⁴]	‘flute in folk drama’	ɔ	615	1498
[mɔ ⁴⁴]	‘pimple’	ɔ	697	1397
		Mean	719	1442

Table 47: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /ɔ/

Tokens	Gloss	Target Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
[k ^h a ⁵²]	‘white ant’	a	816	1644
[ha ⁵²]	‘gold’	a	830	1406
[ha ⁴⁴]	‘snacks’	a	886	1534
[ta ⁴⁴]	‘brother’	a	860	1545
[t ^h a ⁴⁴]	‘new’	a	824	1592
		Mean	843	1544

Table 48: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /a/

2.2.8.2 Vowel space

Based on 48 tokens, the EGH vowel space is plotted in Figure 23. The back vowels /u/ and /ɔ/ have F_2 values greater than we normally observe in other languages, which suggests that during the articulation of the back vowels the tongue is more advanced than retracted in EGH.

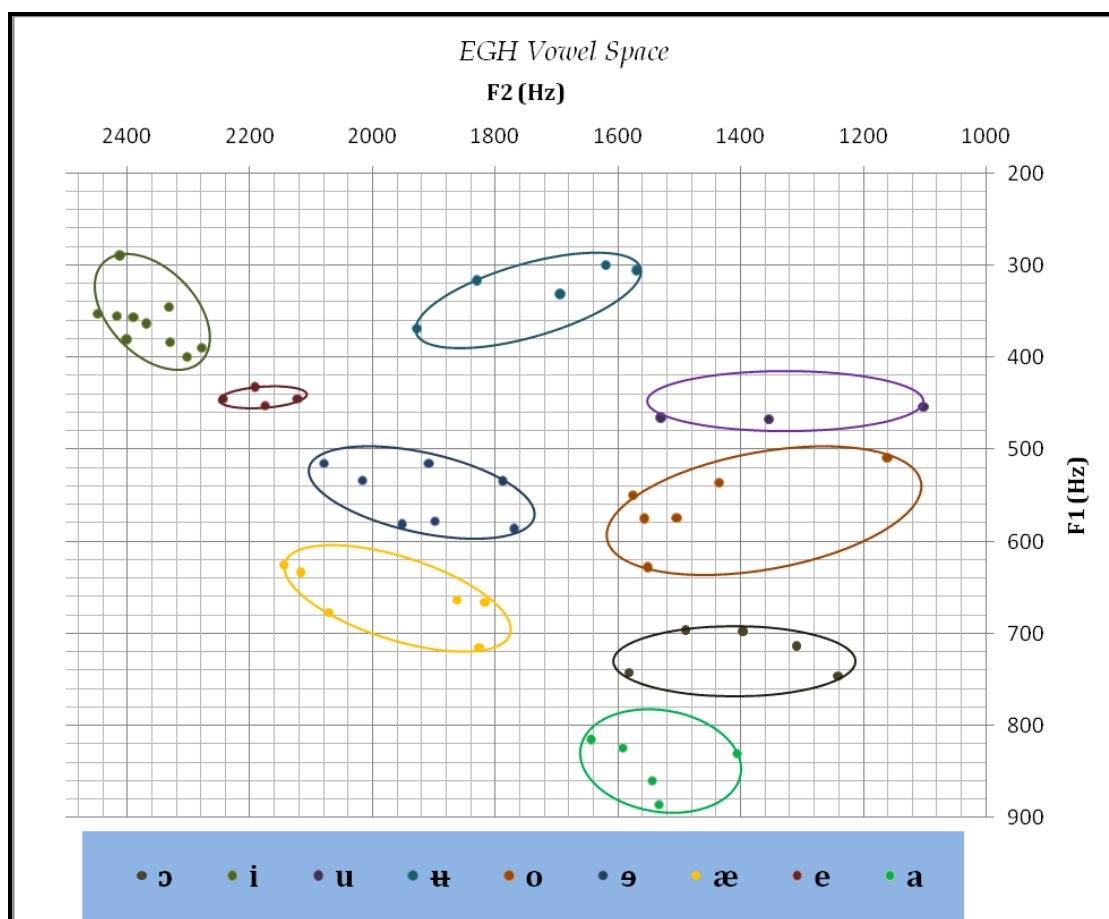


Figure 23: The vowel space in EGH

2.3 WORD

A Hyow word can consist of a single syllable. This monosyllable can simultaneously form both a phonological and a grammatical word. Most words in Hyow have monosyllabic roots (inferred from the result of the Swadesh list of 207 words). Many monomorphemic words contain two or more than two syllables, e.g. *pílók* 'bat'. The following criteria can be used for identifying phonological and grammatical words in Hyow, and these follow Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002).

2.3.1 PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA OF WORDS

The first criterion is based on segmental features. Hyow phonology permits only the unaspirated stops in the coda. The unaspirated stops in the syllable-final positions are useful to draw word boundary in Hyow, though these stops can also be used word-medially in monomorphemic words.

The second criterion involves a prosodic feature. Tone plays a significant role in Hyow. All the syllables in a phonological or a grammatical word carry tones. The high-level tone is employed for grammatical words, as in *lát* (pull.IMP) ‘pull!’ The person markers on nouns and verbs formally harmonize with the vowel of root-initial syllables in Hyow (see §2.5.1). As a result, their tones also depend on the tones of the root-initial syllables. In fact, the tone of the root-initial syllable spread over the possessive prefix or person-marking prefix. For example, if the root-initial syllable has a high falling (HL) tone, the H of the composite H-L (falling) tone spread over the prefixes under discussion. This rule of tone spreading is not applicable to first person P and third person A argument-marking prefixes.

The third phonological criterion relates to word-internal resyllabification process in Hyow. For example, the final stop of the root *tsét* ‘go’ becomes the onset of the adjacent departative suffix *-âl*, e.g. *tsét-âl* becomes *tsè-tâl* (see §2.5.2 for more on resyllabification).

2.3.2 GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA OF WORDS

The grammatical words in Hyow can be defined by the following criteria following Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002) and Coupe (2007: 51).

- a. *Potential pause*: There can be potential pause between two Hyow words, but it is not a sole criterion to mark a word boundary.
- b. *Immutability*: The suffixes of a grammatical word are ordered in a conventionalized way. There are specific places for different suffixes in a grammatical word. The change of order of the suffixes may produce nonsense words or may change the meaning of the word in Hyow.

- c. *Isolatability*: This is a very effective criterion to know a word, because the speakers are most likely to give meaning of a grammatical word with several morphemes, but not likely to be able to spontaneously give any meaning of the segmented morphemes of the grammatical word.

2.4 CLITICS

A clitic in Hyow can be defined as a word that is phonologically dependent. The clitics always require a host and have scope over a word, a phrase, or a clause. Hyow has several clitics, e.g. *nâm lôm-khól=â* (road-EXP=LOC) ‘on the roads of the village’. Here the locative clitic has scope over the whole NP, and the expansive suffix (EXP) has scope over the head noun only. That a clitic is dependent on its host phonologically is evident from the restriction of a sequence of identical clitics in Hyow. Both the additive and dative clitics have identical form *=á*. The additive clitic becomes *=há* following the dative clitic *=á*. Other than the phonological dependence, clitics rely on the NP to be employed with their respective semantics.

2.5 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The phonological processes include prefixes, suffixes and clitics. The phonological process of vowel harmony takes place at the prefixal level (§2.5.1), where vowels of person marking prefixes depend on other prefix-initial (see §5.3 and §7.2) or root-initial syllables. The phonological process of resyllabification takes place at post-head positions (§2.5.2), while the phonological process of glottal stop deletion takes place at the suffixal or clitic level (§2.5.3). Finally, transphonologization, which is a very productive process in Hyow, takes place at the suffixal level, involving a verb root and a suffix, or two suffixes (§2.5.4).

2.5.1 VOWEL HARMONY

Vowel harmony is a significant phonological process in Hyow. This process is utilized by the underspecified vowels of person-marking prefixes (except inclusive S/A arguments). First person and second person possessive person-marking prefixes have initials identical to their respective full pronouns, while third person marking prefixes contain only underspecified vowels. The underspecified vowel of all these prefixes harmonizes with the vowel of other prefix-initial or root-initial syllables. For example, the full form of second person singular pronoun is *náng*. Thus, the

respective person-marking suffix has the form *-nV*, where V represents the underspecified vowel. To illustrate, the example in (2) is taken from a narrative text. The prefixes in bold type refer to their respective possessors. Both the forms of the possessive prefixes have harmonizing vowels, which harmonize with the vowel of their respective root-initial syllables. Beside the segmental form, the underspecified vowel also depends for its suprasegmental property on the other prefix-initial or root-initial syllable.

(2) *kéyá kálá kólóng méyâ? ʋ.*

kêy = á	ká -lá	kó -lóng	mêy-á?
1SG=ADD	1SG.POSS -land	1SG.POSS -EE	exist-3SG.NEG

‘There is no land and property to me.’ [ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0065]

In (3), the prefixes attached to the nouns refer to possessors, while the prefix attached to the verb refers to the actor of the predicated event. All the prefixes in this example have harmonizing vowels.

(3) *kótsô kútsúhnú kópò?éyæ?yhyô.*

kó -tsô	kú -tsúhnú	kó -pó?-êy-æ?y-hyô
1SG.POSS -son	1SG.POSS -daughter	1A -DV.II-MID-IRR-PM

‘I will bring up my son and my daughter myself.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0078]

2.5.2 RESYLLABIFICATION

Resyllabification is a common and frequent phonological process in Hyow. It involves a nominal or a verbal head and one or more inflectional suffixes. The phonological process of resyllabification does not take place between heads ending with all types of syllables and their inflectional suffixes, but only when the final of a head or a suffix has a consonantal segment, and the suffix following it has a vowel segment as the initial. This cross-morphemic sequence of C-V (see Figure 24) allows the restructure of respective syllable codas and onset of the morphemes engaged. For

example, in (4), the root-final and the following departative suffix initial have cross-morphemic sequence of C-V. The final of the departative suffix *-âl* and the initial of the stative suffix *-êng* also have a cross-morphemic sequence of C-V. This condition meets the requirement for the phonological process of resyllabification. Therefore, *tám-âl-êng* becomes *tə-má-lêng* after the resyllabification process. It is evident from such examples that the suprasegmental features of the relevant syllables are also affected. Underlyingly, the root has a high-level tone and the departative suffix has a falling tone. Due to the resyllabification process, the coda of the root and the departative suffix become zero, which changes the tone of the root and the departative suffix to low-level and high-level respectively. In addition, the coda of the root becomes the onset of the departative suffix and the coda of the departative suffix becomes the onset of the stative suffix. The change of the falling tone to the high-level tone of the departative suffix also reflects the fact that duration is one of the features of pitch contour (see Zhang 2001 for the correlation of duration and contour tone). The displacement of the lateral approximant, which has the ability to carry tone (and whose harmonics are well formed for pitch modification), makes the rhyme of the syllable shorter, leaving it only with the H. Since the initial of the person-marking suffix *-tî* does not have a vowel initial, the coda of the preceding stative suffix *-êng* does not become the onset of the following second person-marking suffix *-tî*. However, the underlying tone of the stative suffix is still affected (see §2.6.3). A graphical representation of the resyllabification process is given in Figure 24.

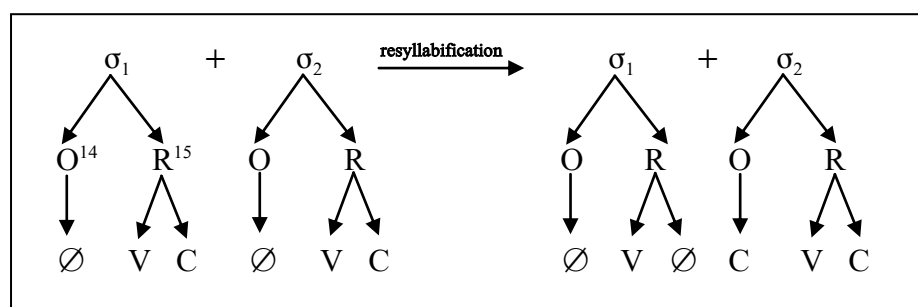


Figure 24: Graphical representation of resyllabification process in Hyow

¹⁴ Onset
¹⁵ Rhyme

(4) *təmálóngtílá óhngó nðálhnángtiéy* ↗?

təm-âl-óng-tí-lá

ó-hngó

nó-âl-hnâng-tí = êy

chase-DEP-STAT-2SG-SEQ GRP-be.different marry.I-DEP-PH.CAP-2SG.NEG=POL.Q

‘Were you not able to marry a different one divorcing her?’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_020]

2.5.3 GLOTTAL STOP DELETION

Under a specific condition, the glottal stop is deleted from the coda of a syllable. When the glottal stop does not have morphosyntactic significance, it can be deleted from the coda of a syllable, which occurs due to a resyllabification process. The glottal stop plays a vital role in forming Stem II verbs (see §6.2 for more). Generally, Stem II verbs have glottal stops in their coda clusters. Since the phonotactics of Hyow allows a glottal stop as the first member of a coda cluster, due to the resyllabification process (e.g. see §2.2.1.1), the glottal stop becomes the single coda of a given Stem II verb. For example, the verb for ‘pick up’ has two stem variants – *kól* ‘pick up.I’ and *kóʔl* ‘pick up.II’. If the Stem II verb is marked by any of the inflectional morphemes that have a vowel initial, then the final of the Stem II verb becomes the onset of the inflectional morpheme. Accordingly, *kóʔl-âl* ‘pick.up.II-DEP’ becomes *kòʔ-lâl* after resyllabification. The glottal stop in such stems survives any phonological process because the glottal stop determines the delineating line between the Stem I and Stem II variants for a given verb. The resyllabification process in a noun phrase is not important to keep the glottal stop in the output of the resyllabification process. For example, the word for ‘broom’ is *phámphéʔy* in Hyow. When a case clitic is attached to this noun, the glottal stop can be deleted without any effect on any level of grammatical or semantic structure of the phrase. Accordingly, *phámphéʔy = êng* ‘broom=INE’ becomes *phámphé = yêng*. Since the glottal stop does not have any grammatical significance within the noun phrase, it goes under the phonological process of deletion.

2.5.4 TRANSPHONOLOGIZATION

Transphonologization is a phonological process of rephonemization (see Luján, 2014: 84). Through the transphonologization process, an opposition of voicing or aspiration

between initials of two morphemes takes place. In order to form two grammatical categories – predicate-marking suffix and jussive mood-marking suffix, transphonologization is used in Hyow. The predicate-marking suffix has a sibilant initial in the Kontu variety. Though the sibilant initial suffix is not used in the Laitu variety, the transphonologization process is evidence for the predicate-marking suffixes originally being a sibilant-initial morpheme. Due to this transphonologization process, when the predicate-marking suffix follows a morpheme ending with a closed syllable, then the initial of the predicate-marking suffix forms an opposition of voicing or aspiration with the final of the closed syllable morpheme. The devoicing or aspiration due to a sibilant is not new in TB languages. LaPolla 2003 and Matisoff 2003 talk about this. This transphonologization process of forming the predicate-marking suffix can be summarized below in Table 49.

Kontu Hyow	Laitu Hyow	Examples
$\Sigma \dots V\text{-sh}\hat{o}$	$\Sigma \dots V\text{-h}\hat{o}$	hí-h $\hat{o}$ (ask.II-PM)
$\Sigma \dots t\text{-sh}\hat{o}$	$\Sigma \dots t\text{-th}\hat{o}$	tsét-th $\hat{o}$ (go- PM)
$\Sigma \dots p\text{-sh}\hat{o}$	$\Sigma \dots p\text{-ph}\hat{o}$	íp-ph $\hat{o}$ (sleep-PM)
$\Sigma \dots k\text{-sh}\hat{o}$	$\Sigma \dots k\text{-kh}\hat{o}$	pék-kh $\hat{o}$ (give.II-PM)
$\Sigma \dots l\text{-sh}\hat{o}$	$\Sigma \dots l\text{-hl}\hat{o}$	yúl-hl $\hat{o}$ (get.wet-PM)
$\Sigma \dots n\text{-sh}\hat{o}$	$\Sigma \dots n\text{-hn}\hat{o}$	bín-hn $\hat{o}$ (touch.II-PM)

Table 49: Transphonologization process of forming predicate-marking suffixes in Laitu Hyow

It is observed in (5) that there is a voicing opposition between the final and the initial of the irrealis suffix and the predicate-marking suffix respectively. Similarly, in (6), there is a voicing opposition between the departative suffix final and the predicate marker initial. The departative marking has a voiced lateral approximant / in the final position. Therefore, the predicate-marking suffix contains a voiceless lateral approximant initial.

(5) *khróng phía yá kónókæ?yhyôâm.*

khrông phía yá kV-nók-æ?y-hyô = êm

man wife why 1A-marry.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘Why will I marry the wife of the man?’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0121]

(6) *ê, kóhló?álhlô, púytsángó, pútsángó, tîng tákhné?tî.*

ê kó-hló?-âl-hlô púytsáng-ó pútsáng-ó

yes 1A-pick.up.II-DEP-PM grandmother=VOC grandfather=VOC

tîng ták-hné? = tî

QT tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘He said, “Yes, grandmother, grandfather, I picked up (the paddy).’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0057]

2.6 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

Under suprasegmental phonetics and phonology, I discuss tone and intonation in Hyow. Though tone, stress and intonation are traditionally known as suprasegmental features, they are necessarily realization of pitch modification of segments that allow the process. Hyow utilize only tone and intonation as suprasegmental features. Compared to tone, intonation is less vital in the phonetics and phonology of Hyow.

2.6.1 TONE

Tone plays a significant role in Hyow, as like many other KC languages (see Coupe 2007; Hyman and VanBik 2002a, 2004; Peterson 2014 and Watkins 2013). The tonal analysis in this section and the following sections is based on the EGH, which has three lexical tones: high-level tone (H), low-level tone (L) and falling tone (F), as in Table 50.

Phonemic representation	Phonetic representation	Gloss
/hâ/	[ha ⁵²]	‘gold’
/há/	[ha ⁴⁴]	‘swidden potato’
/hà/	[ha ¹¹]	‘snacks’

Table 50: Examples showing three lexical tones in Hyow

Hyow also employs grammatical tones. A first person P argument is marked by a low-level tone and a third person A is marked by a high-level tone obligatorily. Both of these argument-marking prefixes have an underspecified vowel. The vowel that forms the respective first person P and third person A markers on verbs harmonizes with the adjacent morpheme-initial vowel. It is only the tone that differentiates a first person P marker from a third person A marker. For example, *ò-bóp* ‘1P-beat’ means ‘He beats me’, while *ó-bóp* ‘3A-beat’ means ‘He beat him.’ And so, this reflects the grammatical use of tone in Hyow. Furthermore, only tone can make the difference between a transitive and an intransitive verb. The verb *húl* ‘be dried’ is an intransitive verb. The transitive version of this verb is *hùl* ‘dry’. This example demonstrates that the low tone is utilized to transitivize the intransitive verb.

Areally, tone systems in Southeast Asian languages are very complex; in this regard, Wang (1969: 94) says that it is typical of the Sino-Tibetan languages to have more complex tone paradigms, where a single paradigm might include six to seven tones. In addition, there is a complexity of variation in tone categories across different dialects. It is rightly said by Watkins that an extensive analysis of tones in Southern Chin Languages looks very difficult, as the tone system varies across dialects (2013: 101). The two varieties of Hyow in Bangladesh display different tone systems, which support what Watkins 2013 observes.

Generally, Southern Chin languages allow level tones, rising tones and falling tones for different types of syllables in their respective systems. Khumi has three level tones, a falling tone and a rising tone (Peterson 2014). Among the three level tones in Khumi, two are checked. Hartmann (2009: 47-48) reports two lexically contrasting tones in Daai – a mid-level and a falling. She (2009: 47) calls the mid-level tone as a

low tone, as no distinctions exist between the mid and low tones. Sumtu, a closely related language to Hyow, has two lexical tones – a high and a low (Watkins 2013).

The consecutive subsections present a discussion on different tone categories in EGH based on two syllable types – smooth and checked (§2.6.2.2), an analysis of tones in disyllabic words (§2.6.3) and a discussion on the tonal sandhi process in EGH (§2.6.3.4).

2.6.2 TONE ANALYSIS IN HYOW

The data for acoustic analysis of Hyow tones was collected from different varieties of Hyow. However, only the tone system of EGH is discussed extensively in this section.

2.6.2.1 Process of sampling

Four hundred and ninety eight tokens were recorded from ten speakers of Hyow spoken in Bandarban. The tokens include two utterances in isolations and one utterance in two different carrier sentences, as shown in 1 and 2.

1. kêy/náng/ání ____ kV/nV/Ø-hów
 1SG/2SG/3SG ____ 1SG/2SG/3SG-say(s)
 ‘I/You/He say(s) ____.’
2. kêy/náng/ání ____ kV/nV/Ø-yók
 1SG/2SG/3SG ____ 1SG/2SG/3SG-write(s)
 ‘I/You/He write(s) ____.’

The blank space represents the target tokens. The tokens were recorded from five male speakers and five female speakers. The speakers are aged from 25 to 45. The data used for the acoustic analysis is of the male speakers of the EGH variety. A triplet showing the tones in EGH is given in Table 51. Using Chao’s (1930) number system, the EGH falling tone is written as 52, the high-level tone as 44, the low-level tone in checked syllables as 22 and the low-level tone in smooth syllables as 11. Nevertheless, I will use diacritics in order to mark tones in Hyow.

Phonemic representation	Phonetic representation	Gloss
/hḥ/	[hḥ ⁵²]	‘bird’
/hḥ/	[hḥ ⁴⁴]	‘spread mouth’
/hḥ/	[hḥ ¹¹]	‘joke’

Table 51: A triplet showing Hyow tonemes

For an auditory analysis, the findings are based on all the tokens from the five speakers (three male and two female), and for an acoustic analysis, the findings are based on the tokens of male speakers only. For a perception test, three male speakers were tested.

The controlling of different variables of the tokens is very important to analyse tone of a language. It is well known that the stops have effects on the F_0 of the following vowels (Ohala 1978; Yip, 2003: 33) and the F_0 of the preceding vowels (Raphael 1971; Lisker 1978; Luce and Luce 1985). Moreover, Maddieson 1984 shows that not only the voicing distinction in stops, but also the voicing distinction in sonorants affects the F_0 of the following vowels. Generally, voiced stop and sonorants lower the pitch of the following vowel, and the counterparts raise the pitch. The onset was controlled to avoid any effect on the analysis presented here.

The quality of vowels is another factor in analysing tones, as high vowels intrinsically bear high fundamental frequencies and low vowels bear low fundamental frequencies (Lehiste 1970). I have tried to keep a balance between high and low vowels, so that there is no effect on the investigated tonal type.

All the recorded data were finally analysed using Praat manually. First, the rhyme of a syllable was selected in Praat and expanded to the full width of the monitor to divide the spectrogram into seven sampling points. An on-screen scale was used to locate each sampling point. Next, I measured the value of the sixth harmonic at 0%, 10%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 90% and 100% duration of the rhyme and calculated the F_0 at these points. The purpose of the seven sampling points was to measure any differences in fundamental frequencies over a period of duration. This manual system of measuring F_0 was done following Coupe (2003). However, Coupe 2003 used the process to avoid any spurious F_0 values measured automatically by Praat. I used the

process to avoid any sort of misreading, as sometimes the automatic pitch tracking system in Praat shows undefined values at the edge of the two reading points. The means of the seven mentioned points were then used to plot the tones as a function of absolute mean duration. In order to control the rhyme duration and the effect of intrinsic pitch of consonants on the tone, all the tokens were divided based on two types of syllables – smooth syllables and checked syllables. The smooth syllables include open syllables and sonorant final syllables, while the checked syllables are stop finals. The data is provided in Appendix I: F₀ values and rhyme durations.

2.6.2.2 Findings

All the tokens were investigated for an auditory analysis first, which allowed me to assign tones to all the tokens based on the auditory readings. The tones were written phonetically. From time to time, the auditory readings were compared with different tokens to have a good auditory analysis. The subsequent process of auditory analysis helped to identify three tonemes in the EGH. The tonemes in EGH are – high-level (H), low-level (L) and high falling (F). A triplet distinguished solely by tone in EGH is given in Table 52.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/t ^h î/	[t ^h i ⁵²]	‘blood’
/t ^h í/	[t ^h i ⁴⁴]	‘iron’
/t ^h î/	[t ^h i ¹¹]	‘umbrella’

Table 52: A triplet showing tonemes in EGH

EGH smooth syllables and checked syllables have two level tones in isolation – high-level (44) and low-level (22 or 11). The high-level tone (H) in smooth syllables has a mean duration of 220 ms (see Table 108 in Appendix I: F₀ values and rhyme durations) and the low-level tone has a mean duration of 223 ms see (Table 109 in Appendix I: F₀ values and rhyme durations).

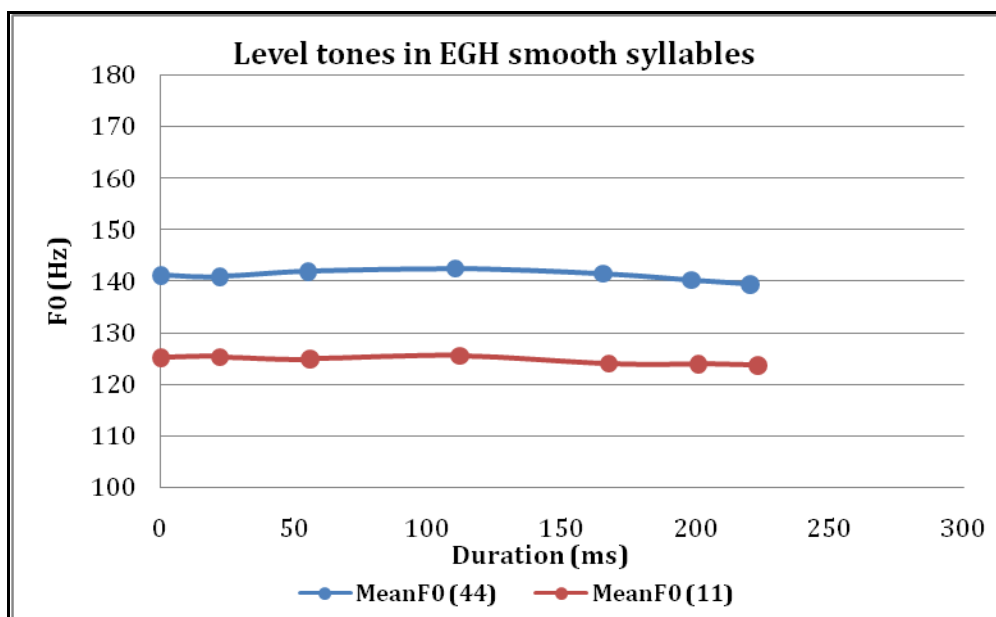


Figure 25: Level tones in EGH smooth syllables (male speaker)

Figure 25 shows that the high-level tone has an initial F_0 of around 140 Hz, and the low-level tone has an initial F_0 of around 125 Hz. The two level tones in the smooth syllables have almost identical durations. In addition, the F_0 is also very stable during the whole duration. This indicates that the only cue for perceiving these two tones is the F_0 height (Coupe 2003: 105).

EGH checked syllables include all the stop final syllables. The high-level tone in the checked syllables has a mean duration of 67 ms (see Table 110 in Appendix I: F_0 values and rhyme durations) and the low-level tone has a mean duration of 64 ms (see Table 111 in Appendix I: F_0 values and rhyme durations).

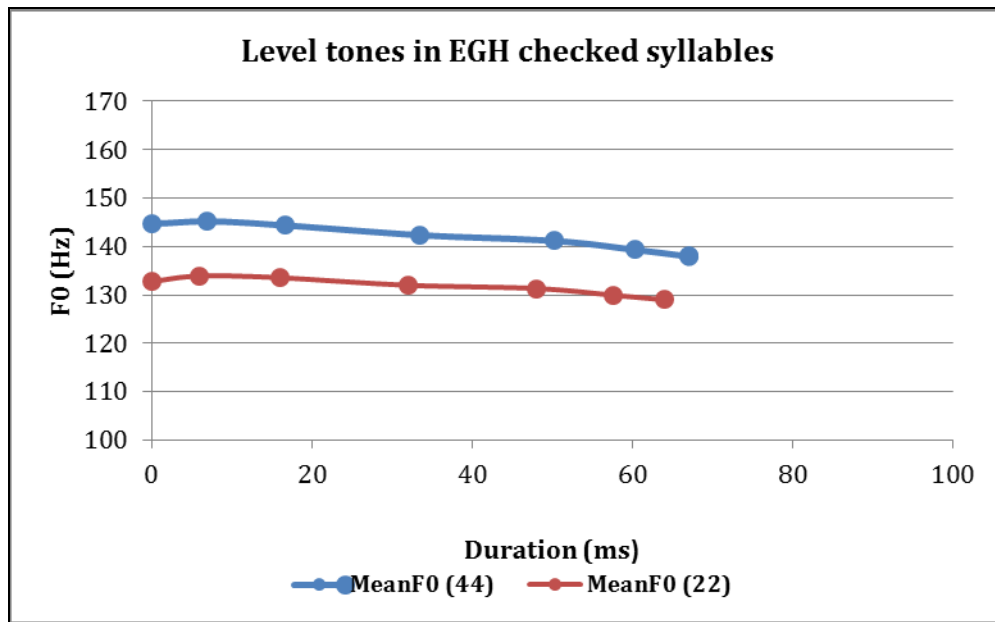


Figure 26: Level tones in EGH checked syllables (male speakers)

Figure 26 exhibits that the checked syllables have shorter durations than the smooth syllables. The checked syllables also show a slightly higher pitch than the smooth syllables. Figure 26 also demonstrates that the high-level tone has an initial F_0 of around 145 Hz and the low tone has an initial F_0 of around 130 Hz. In his discussion of Mongsen Ao, Coupe (2003: 105) suggests that the relative height of F_0 values is the only perceptual key for the identification of each toneme in that language. Therefore, it is understandable that the relative pitch difference of the high and low tone helps Hyow speakers to perceive the tonemes.

Figure 26 also shows that the pitch levels between the high-level tone and the low-level tone in checked syllables are close. The pitch difference in the beginning of the two tones is 15 Hz, which gets closer at the end by a pitch difference of 12 Hz. This might be the result of the perturbation of the initial fricative in the tokens used for the analysis of the low-level tone. The slight falling at the end of the two level tones in Figure 26 is an indication of the fact that the tones decline naturally in most of the languages (see Gussenhoven 2004).

In order to investigate statistically that the two level tones of the checked syllables are distinct, I have used the Wilcoxon rank-sum test (Wilcoxon 1945; Mann and Whitney 1947) to run an equality test. I have used the rank-sum test on the mean

F₀ at 0%, 50% and 100% duration. The test result shows that the p-values are greater than 0.0014, 0.0038 and 0.0104 at 0%, 50% and 100% duration of the rhyme respectively. Therefore, the Wilcoxon rank-sum test result shows that the two level tones of the checked syllables are significantly different from each other at three different points of their mean durations. The summary of the test is presented in Table 53.

Two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) test					p> z
0%	Tone	obs	rank sum	expected	0.0014
	L (22)	6	21	48	
	H (44)	9	99	72	
	combine	15	120	120	
50%	Tone	obs	rank sum	expected	0.0038
	L (22)	6	23.5	48	
	H (44)	9	96.5	72	
	combine	15	120	120	
100%	Tone	obs	rank sum	expected	0.0104
	L (22)	6	26.5	48	
	H (44)	9	93.5	72	
	combine	15	120	120	

Table 53: Wilcoxon rank-sum test of checked syllable level tones in EGH

2.6.2.3 Contour tone

The EGH has a high falling tone. The falling tone is treated as the combination of an H and an L, employing Halle & Stevens' (1971) source features [$\pm$ stiff] and [$\pm$ slack]. Physiologically, the articulation of a contour tone requires a change in the pitch, which can be achieved by changing the tension in vocal fold. A contraction of cricothyroid muscles causes the rise in pitch, while a relaxation of cricothyroid muscle and contractions of thyroarytenoid and sternohyoid muscles cause the falling of pitch (Arnold 1961 and Ohala 1978). The underlying fact is that two physiological

states of the muscles compose the contour tone. Thus, the F tone will be written as HL in the tone sandhi analysis. Other varieties of Hyow have rising tones. The EGH high falling tone is only attested in smooth syllables. The shorter durations of the checked syllables are not suitable for a falling tone, while conversely, the longer durations of the smooth syllables are suitable for the falling tone (Zhang, 2001: 34). The falling tone of a smooth syllable becomes a high-level tone before a syllable with falling tone in EGH (see section §2.6.3.4). Some examples of the falling tone are given in Table 54.

Phonemic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Gloss
/hâ/	[ha ⁵²]	‘gold’
/t ^h â/	[t ^h a ⁵²]	‘be strong’
/kî/	[ki ⁵²]	‘parrot’
/ʃî/	[ʃi ⁵²]	‘sesame’
/hô/	[ho ⁵²]	‘bird’

Table 54: Examples illustrating falling tone

The mean duration of the high falling tones in the smooth syllables is 208ms (see Table 107 in Appendix I: F₀ values and rhyme durations); while the mean duration of the high-level tone in the smooth syllables is 220 ms. The falling tone starts from a higher pitch than the high-level tone of smooth syllables, which is evident from Figure 27.

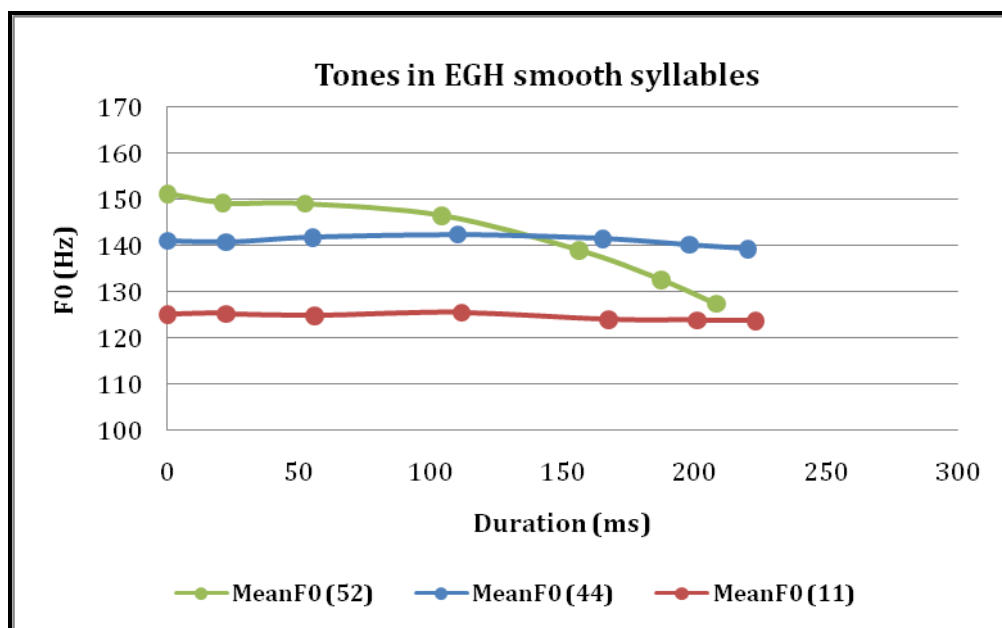


Figure 27: EGH high falling tone with other level tones in smooth syllables (male speakers)

Figure 27 shows that F_0 starts to drop from the 50% of the mean duration of the falling tone. The measured fundamental frequency also shows that the high falling tone starts in around 150 Hz and ends in around 125 Hz in average.

2.6.3 TONE SANDHI

This section deals with any change of tone due to an inflection and word formation process. I include tonal interactions between person marking prefixes (henceforth, PMP) and roots (§2.6.3.2), in monomorphemic disyllabic words (henceforth, MDW) (§2.6.3.3), in inflected nouns and verbs (§2.6.3.4), and in compound words (§2.6.3.6). At first, the process of sampling is explained in §2.6.3.1. Then, the patterns of tones in disyllabic words in Hyow are discussed.

2.6.3.1 Process of sampling

All the tokens used for analysing tones in disyllabic words were taken from the Eastern Gunrupara Hyow (EGH). One male speaker was consulted for this analysis. Similar to the analysis of monosyllabic words, the F_0 was measured manually at seven sampling points of the total duration of the rhymes of both the syllables of a disyllabic word using Praat. The mean fundamental frequency at seven different points of the rhyme duration of the first syllable was compared with the mean fundamental

frequency of the rhyme duration of the second syllable of disyllabic words in order to investigate the tone sandhi in such words.

2.6.3.2 Person-marking prefix and root

The acoustic analysis reflects the evidence that the tone of the person-marking prefixes (PMP syllables) depend on their roots. Disyllabic words with initial PMP syllables and final smooth and checked syllables of roots (presented as Σ) illustrate that the tones of the smooth and checked syllables spread over the PMP syllables, as shown in Figure 28 and Figure 29. The underlyingly underspecified vowel of the PMP syllable harmonizes with the vowel of the root-initial syllable. If the root-initial syllable has a high-level tone (H) or a falling tone (H-L), then the prefix gets a high-level tone. For the high-falling root initial syllable, the high tone (H) of the composite falling tone (H-L) spread over the underlyingly underspecified vowel of the PMP. If the root has a low-level tone then the PMP syllable also has a low-level tone.

Figure 28 shows the mean pitch of the PMP syllables and the root-initial smooth syllables. The black dots in the following figures represent the duration of the onset of the second syllable. The figure also shows that there is not any significant tone difference between the syllables in such type of disyllabic words in EGH. Two reasons are identified for the comparatively insignificant high pitch illustration of the root-initial syllable in Figure 29. Firstly, it is well known that high pitch is associated with voicelessness (see Matisoff, 1973: 78). The onset of the smooth syllables of words with initial PMP was not controlled in the sample. Secondly, the rhymes of checked syllables possess higher pitch than the rhymes of open syllables (see Figure 25 and Figure 26).

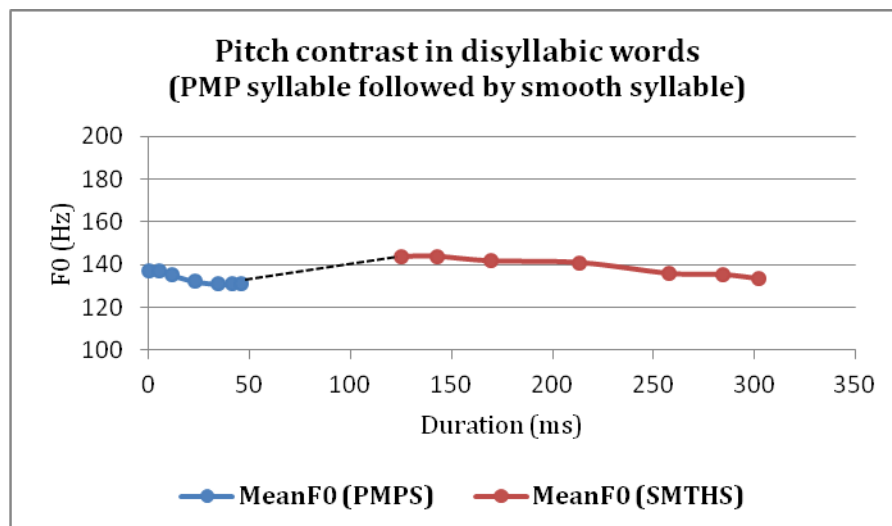


Figure 28: Pitch track of PMP syllables and root-initial smooth syllables (male speaker)

Figure 29 shows the mean pitch differences of two syllables in disyllabic words, where PMP syllables are followed by checked syllables. The rather high pitch at the beginning of the checked syllable is already explained above.

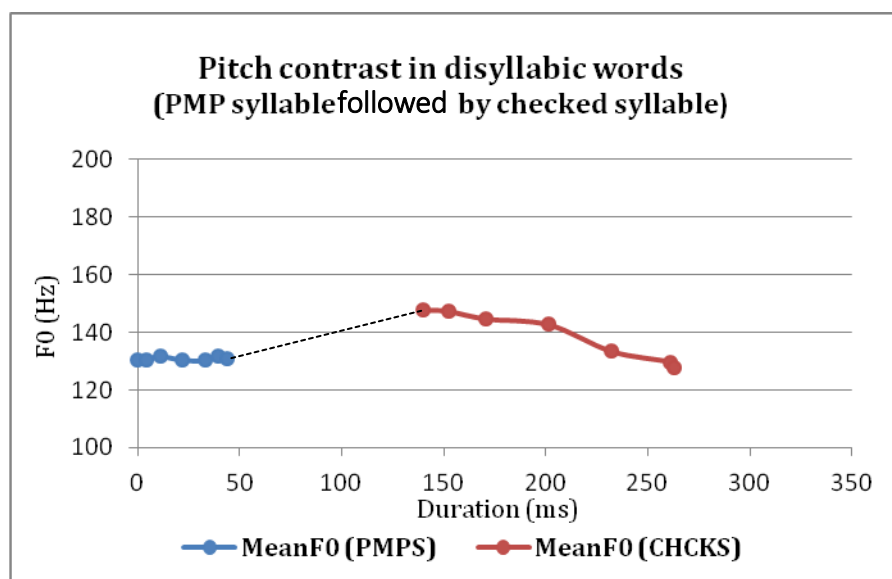


Figure 29: Mean pitch track of rhymes of PMP syllables and root-initial checked syllables (male speaker)

2.6.3.3 Monomorphemic disyllabic words

Figure 30 and Figure 31 illustrate the mean pitch of tone bearing units of two syllables in monomorphemic disyllabic words, where MDW initial syllables are followed by smooth syllables and checked syllables respectively. Like the first type of disyllabic morphological unit discussed earlier (see Figure 28), no significant pitch

differences are observed between the two syllables in these two types of syllables in EGH. In both the figures, the initial gap in the duration represents the respective onset.

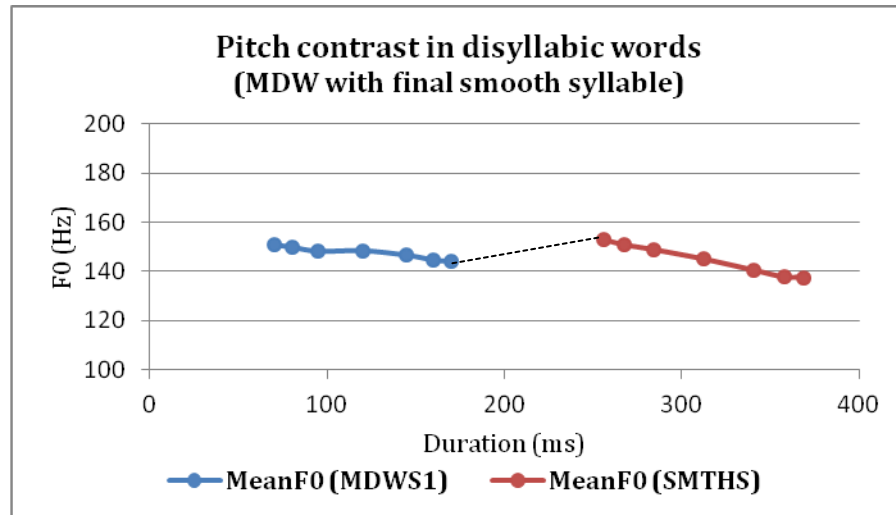


Figure 30: Mean pitch track in disyllabic words (MDW initial syllable followed by smooth syllable; male speaker)

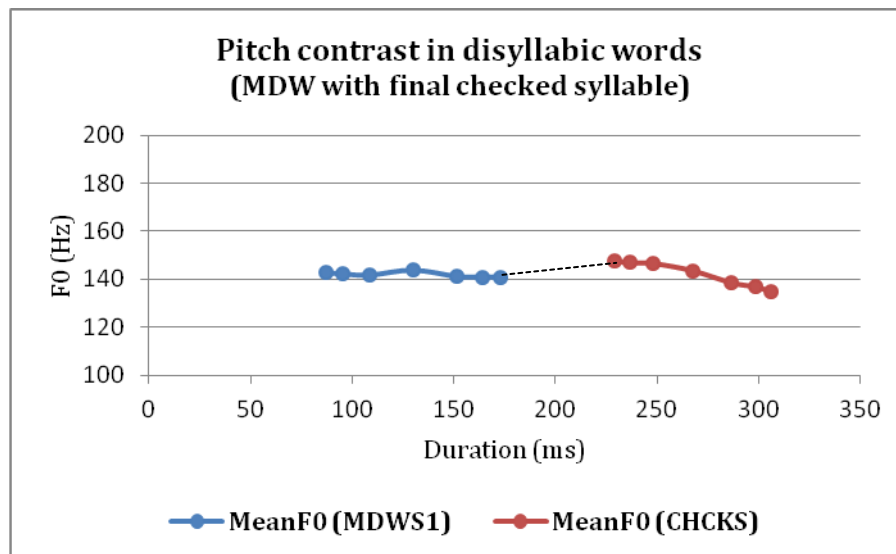


Figure 31: Mean pitch track in disyllabic words (MDW initial syllable followed by smooth syllable; male speaker)

2.6.3.4 Inflected words

Nouns are inflected with different grammatical morphemes. As a result, interactions take place between roots and inflectional morphemes. The inflectional morpheme may be a suffix or a clitic. The acoustic analysis of inflected nouns show that if a root

with high-level tone is inflected by an expansive suffix or a diminutive suffix, then the high-level tone of the root changes to the low-level tone. On the other hand, if the root has a high falling tone, then it becomes high-level tone due to the tonal interaction between the root and the inflectional morpheme. The tone sandhi process between a root and the expansive suffix is represented in A and B.

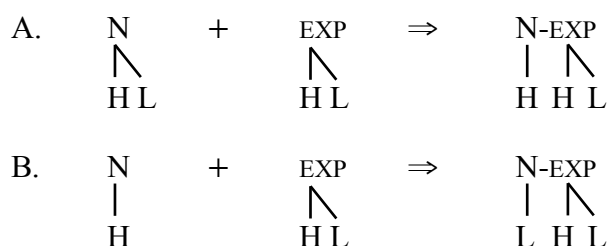


Figure 32 represents the change of tone of inflected nouns that have high-level tones in isolation. The blue line in Figure 32 represents the mean pitch of rhymes of roots in isolation. The red line shows the mean pitch of rhymes of the same roots after the inflection process.

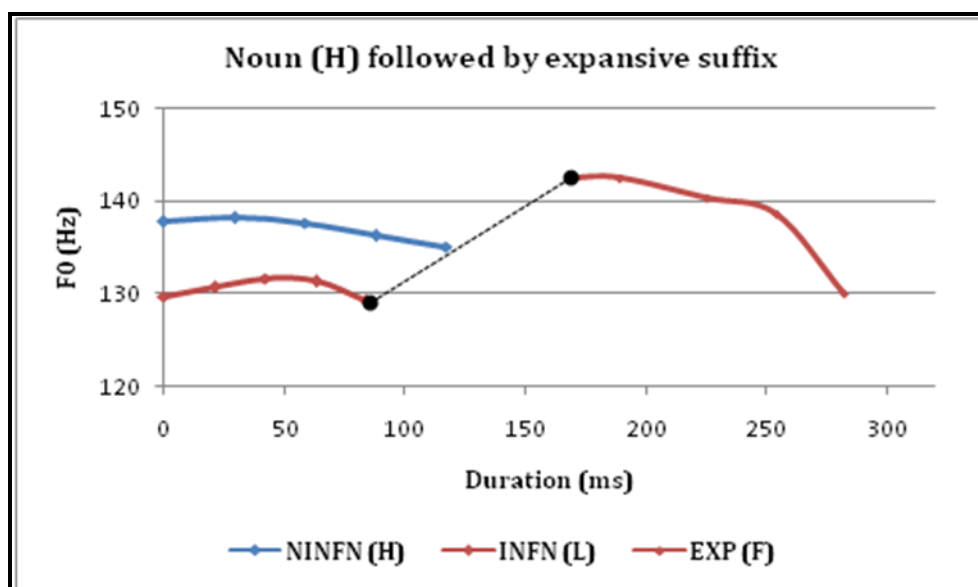


Figure 32: Tone sandhi between noun (H) and expansive suffix¹⁶

The high tone realization of roots with underlying falling tones is reflected in Figure 33, where the sample roots are inflected by the expansive suffix *-khôl*.

¹⁶ NINFN stands for non-inflected noun and INFN stands for inflected noun.

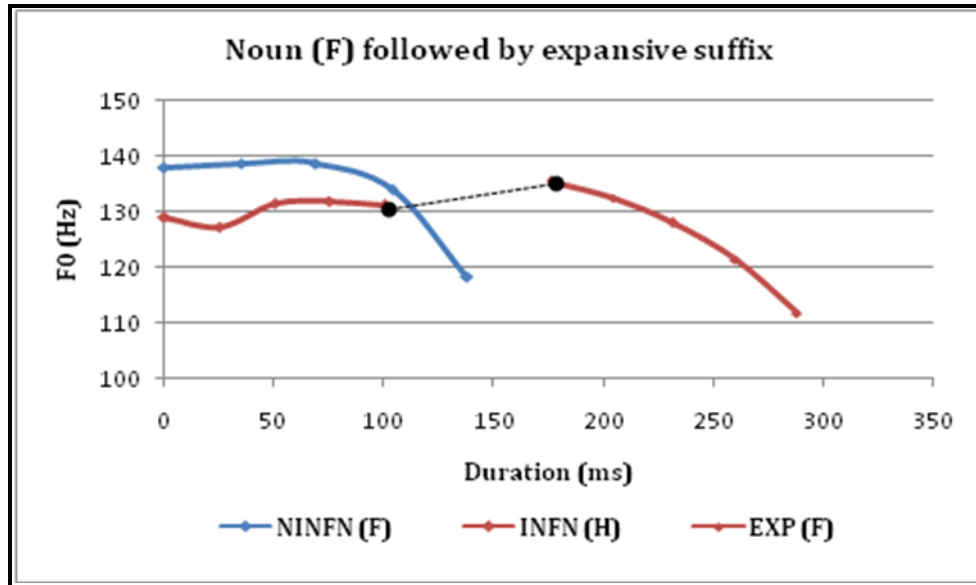


Figure 33: Tone sandhi between noun (F) and expansive suffix

Figure 34, Figure 35 and Figure 36 show effects of tone sandhi between root nouns with high and falling tones, and the diminutive suffix *-tš*. In Figure 34, the mean pitch is presented for isolated root nouns and inflected root nouns with smooth syllables. In Figure 35, the pitch representation is made for isolated root nouns and inflected root nouns with checked syllables. Both the figures support the statement made in the beginning of this section.

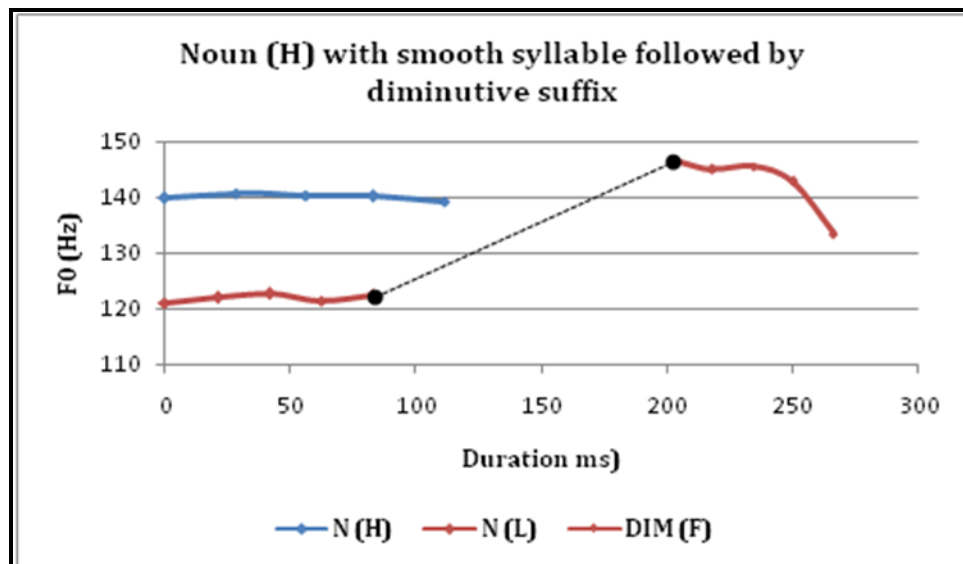


Figure 34: Tone sandhi between noun (H) with smooth syllable and diminutive suffix

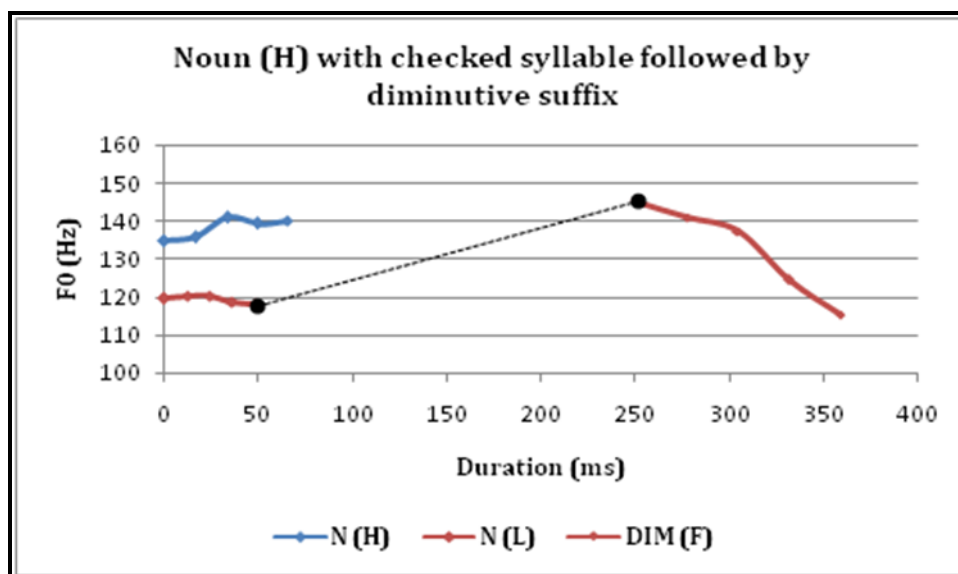


Figure 35: Tone sandhi between noun (H) with checked syllable and diminutive suffix

Since checked syllables do not occur with falling tone, Figure 36 represents the effect of tone sandhi between isolated root nouns and inflected root nouns with falling tone. The figure shows the tonal change of the root from falling to level due to the inflection process.

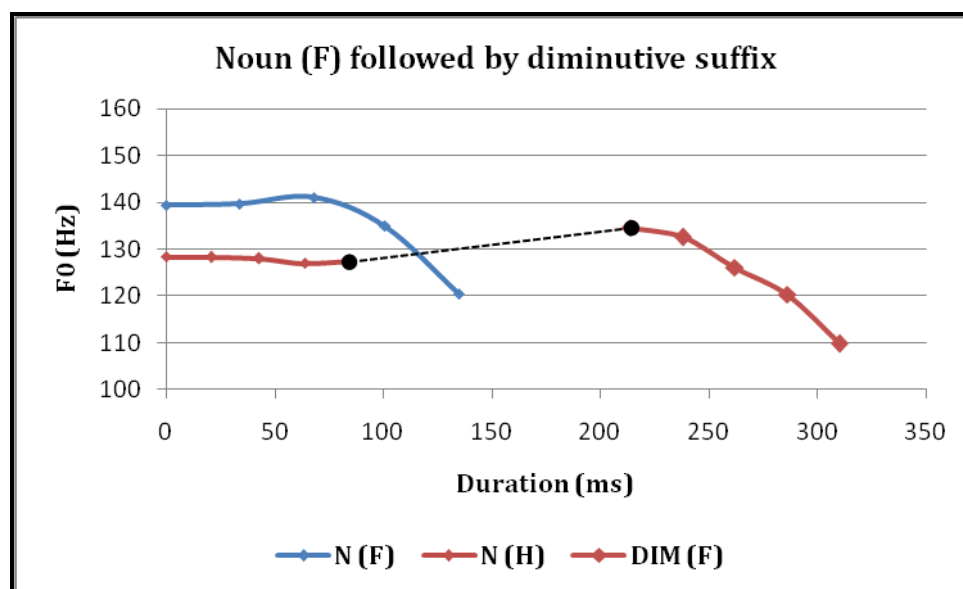


Figure 36: Tone sandhi between noun (F) and diminutive suffix

2.6.3.5 Derived words

Nouns can be derived from verbs by different kinds of nominalizers in Hyow. The nominalizing prefix *-tiʔ* is used to derive agentive nouns from Stem I verbs. When a verb root with underlying high-level tone is marked by the agentive nominalizer, then

the underlying high-level tone of the root becomes low-level, which is evident from the acoustic analysis of such derived words represented in Figure 37.

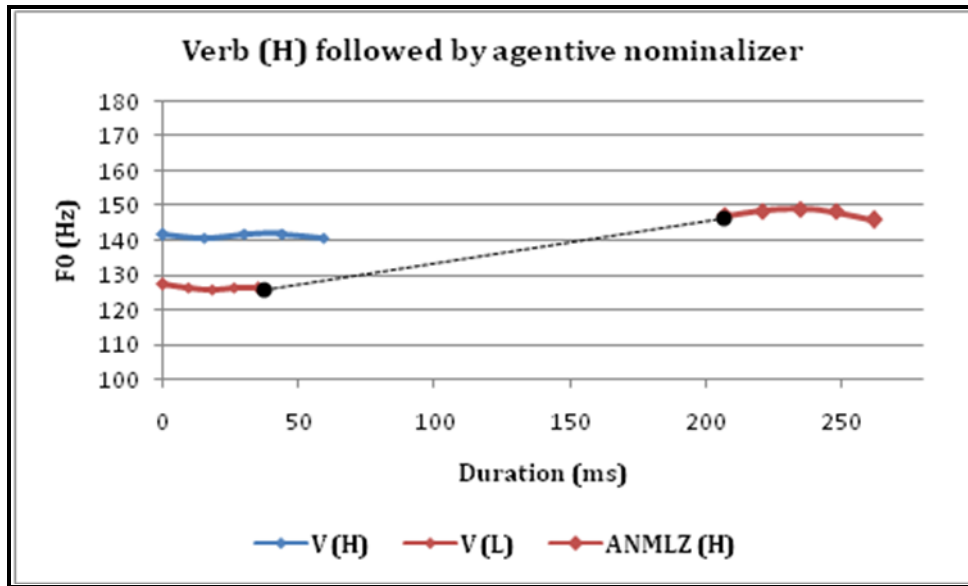


Figure 37: Tone sandhi between verb (H) and agentive nominalizer

2.6.3.6 Compound words

Compound words can be formed between a noun and a verb or between a noun and another noun (see §5.2) in Hyow. In a compound word, the first constituent of the compound always has a high tone if it has a falling tone underlyingly. Since Hyow does not allow the falling tone other than in pre-pausal positions, the replacement of the falling tone by the high-level tone of the first member of a compound word displays the non-pausal condition between the compounded words. For example, the word *nû* ‘mother’ has a falling tone in isolation. When it forms a compound word *nûpô* ‘parents’ with another word *pô* ‘father’, the L tone of the composite falling tone H-L of the word *nû* ‘mother’ is deleted under the condition of the absence of a hiatus. A representation of fundamental frequencies of the relevant rhymes of the compound word is given in Figure 38. The same colour lines (green in Figure 38) represent the fundamental frequencies of rhymes of the compound word *nûpô* ‘parents’. The second member of the compound does not go under any tonal change due to this word formation process.

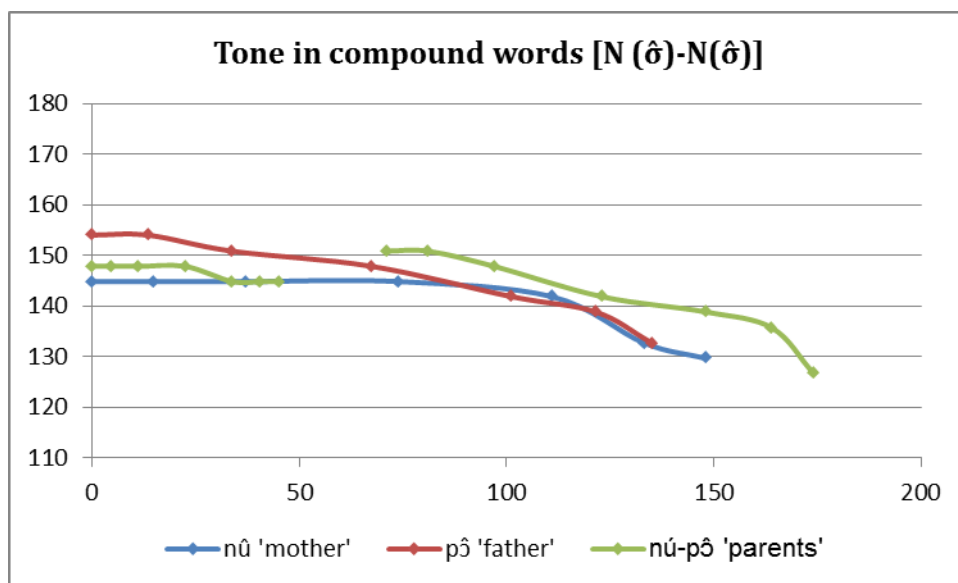


Figure 38: Tonal representation of a compound word in Hyow

If the first member of a compound word has a high-level-tone and the second member has a falling tone, the underlying high-level tone of the first member is realized as low-level tone in the compound word, which is similar to the tonal effect seen in inflected nouns in §2.6.3.4 and derived nouns in §2.6.3.5. Figure 39 reflects this observation. The blue and red lines in Figure 39 represent the tone of the compounded words in isolation, and the green line represents their tonal realization in the compound word.

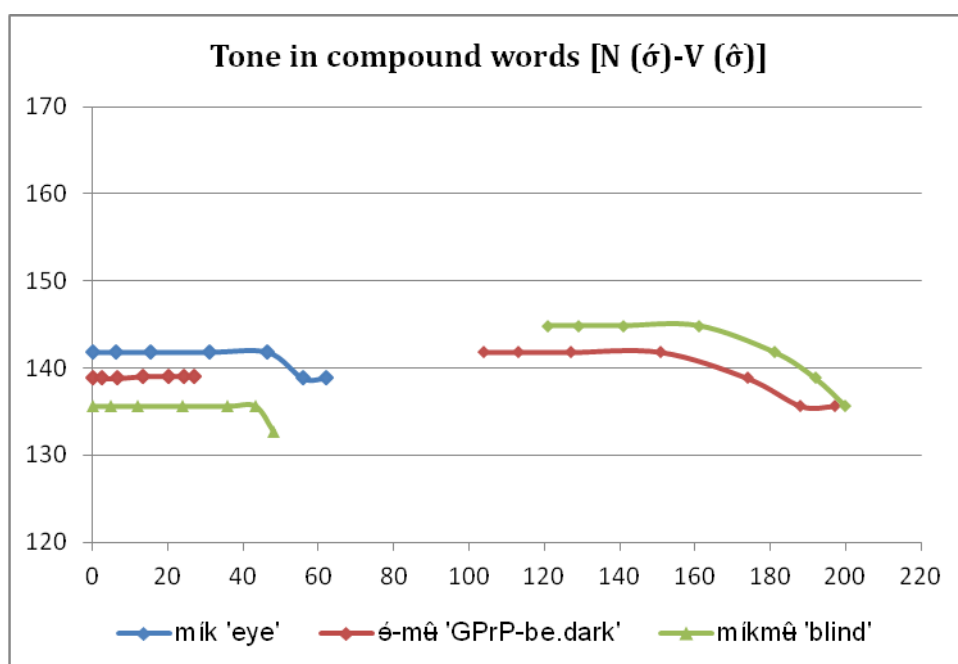


Figure 39: Tone sandhi between two members of compound words

This observation in compound word bears a great importance in differentiating a compound word from two juxtaposed nouns. Juxtaposed nouns have pauses that allow them to retain their underlying tones, but compound words or a noun and a verb compound do not have the pause, which allows them to go through the sandhi process of changing their underlying tones. There is a lack of words with low-level tones as first members of compounds. That is why no analysis of such combination is added to this section.

2.6.4 INTONATION

Intonation is one of the suprasegmental features in the phonology of a language. Both tone and intonation exploit pitch in order to carry out specific linguistic function. Though they both use tone, their functional domain is different from each other. The domain of tone is syllable, while the domain of intonation is the whole utterance. To Maddieson (2005: 75), intonation is a descriptive term to explain sentence types or an element to express a speaker's intention to continue or stop speaking. Lehiste (1970: 95) defines intonation as a use of tonal features at the sentential level in order to bear linguistic information. According to him, intonation may also function to carry non-linguistic meaning (tempo). The discussion of intonation is limited to linguistic function of intonation in this section.

Cross-linguistically, intonation can be used for discourse organization, signalling of modality, linking of clauses, emphasis, expression of emotions, etc. (see Fonagy & Bérard 2006). Therefore, intonation can function at word, phrasal and clausal levels. The functional domain of intonation is clausal and sentential in Hyow. In fact, intonation does not play any significant role in the grammar of Hyow. There is no extensive use of intonation to differentiate among sentence types. All the sentence types have different morphology, so intonation does not contribute much. Nevertheless, a falling intonation (marked by ↘) is used at the end of a declarative matrix clause regardless of the final syllable types. In addition, a dependent clause may have a rising intonation (marked by ↗), though it is not obligatory in Hyow to mark the boundary of a dependent clause with a rising intonation. Either the boundary of a dependent clause is marked by the rising intonation or the final morpheme of the clause retains its underlying tone (see §12.2.2). I discuss intonation only at the boundary of simple independent clauses in the following sections.

2.6.4.1 Intonation and declarative clause

A declarative clause is used to express a statement either positively or negatively (see §11.4). Generally, there is no special morpheme to mark a declarative clause. The absence of a question marker and restriction from using bare Stem I are the indications of declarative clauses. Nonetheless, a falling intonation is obligatorily required at the boundary of a declarative clause in Hyow. The Praat representation of intonation of a declarative clause in Figure 40 shows that the boundary of the clause is marked by a falling intonation. The Stem II verb *bân* ‘get.II’ has a high tone. Here, the underlying tone of the verb has been downplayed by the falling intonation.

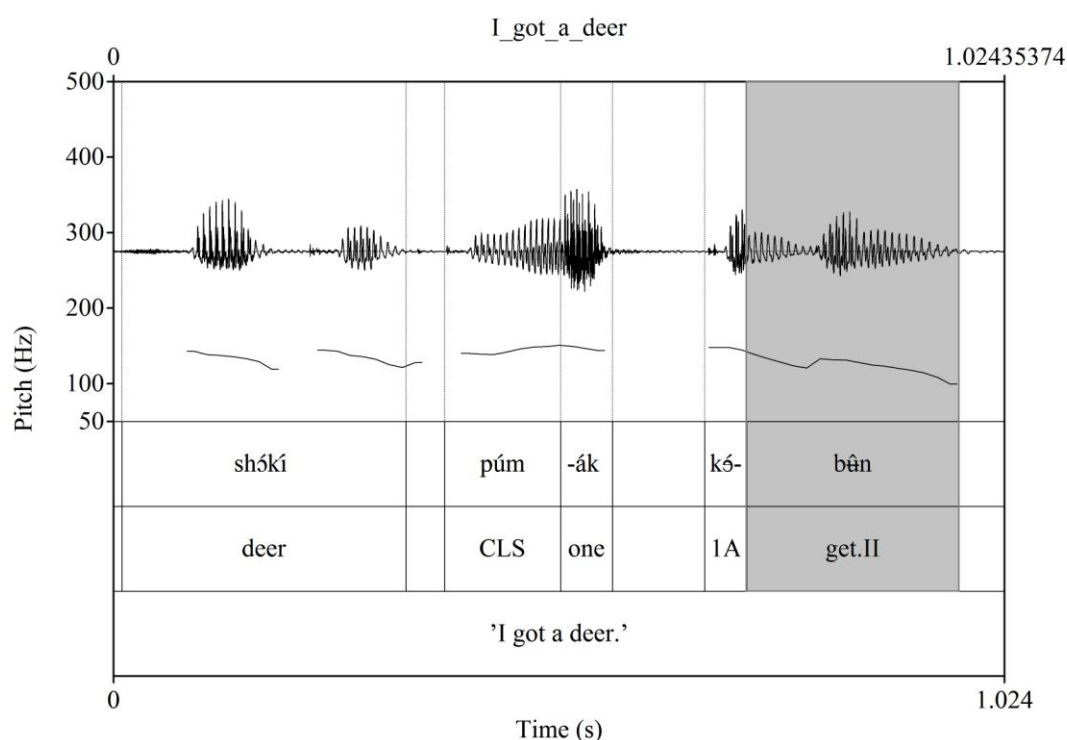


Figure 40: Intonation at the boundary of a declarative clause

Likewise, a declarative matrix clause ending with a stop final syllable is also marked by a falling intonation, as shown in Figure 41. From §2.6.2, we already know that Hyow does not have a falling tone for stop final syllables. Therefore, the intonation utilizes the pitch to mark the final of the declarative clause. The shaded part in Figure 41 shows the intonational effect on the final stop syllable of the declarative matrix clause.

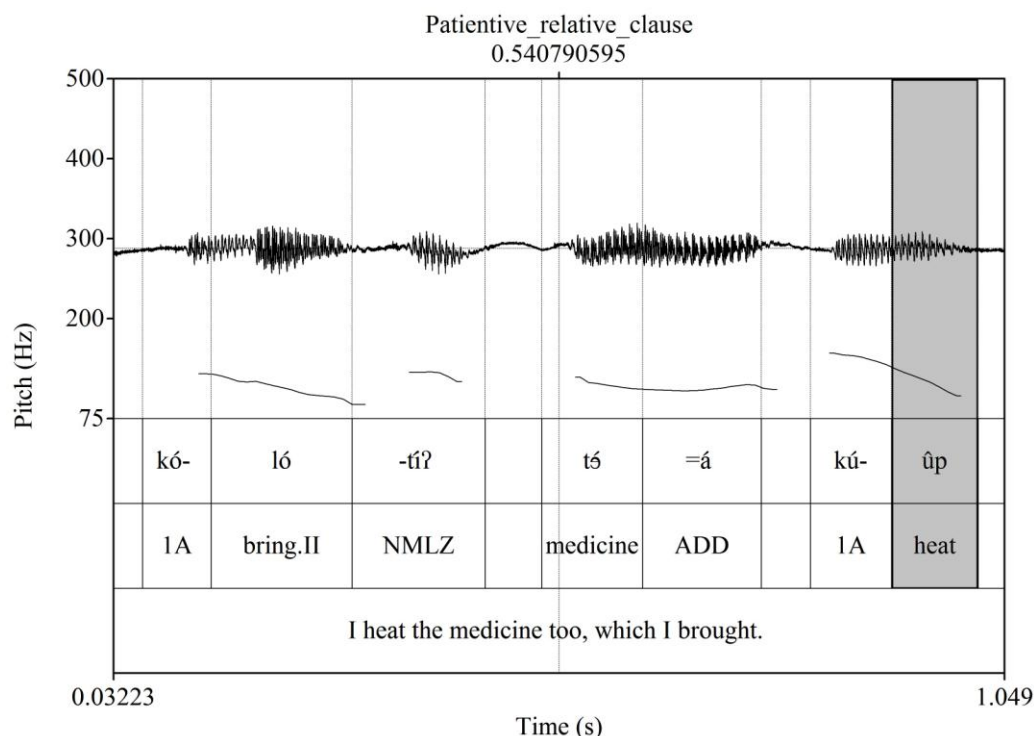


Figure 41: Intonation at the boundary of a declarative clause with a final stop syllable

2.6.4.2 Intonation and interrogative clauses

Compared to a declarative clause, both the content and polar interrogative clauses are marked by specific morphemes. A content interrogative clause is marked by the clitic $=\hat{m}$ and a polar interrogative clause is marked by the clitic $=\hat{y}$, which can be preceded by the predicate-marking suffix in verbal interrogative clauses (see §11.5). The content interrogative clause is also used in a relative clause in Hyow (see §12.4.2.7). In a relative-correlative construction, the clitic $=\hat{m}$ either has a rising intonation or its underlying falling tone. It is inferred from there that this clitic has an inherent falling tone. The polar question marker $=\hat{y}$ also has an inherent falling tone. In order to disambiguate a polar question in which the polar question marker does not follow the predicate-marking suffix from a declarative clause that ends with an identical middle suffix $-\hat{y}$ (see §8.2.1), the polar question ends with a rising intonation.

The graph in Figure 42 compares the intonation between a polar interrogative clause and a declarative clause. We see that both the clauses end with falling pitch. Compared to the discussion in §2.6.4.1, it is understandable that the falling pitch at the end of the declarative clause in Figure 42 is due to an intonational effect, while a

presence of intonational function is absent at the boundary of the polar interrogative clause. Since the clitic =êy is following the predicate-marking suffix -hâ in the sample clause, there is no obligation to use the rising intonation at end of the polar interrogative clause represented in Figure 42.

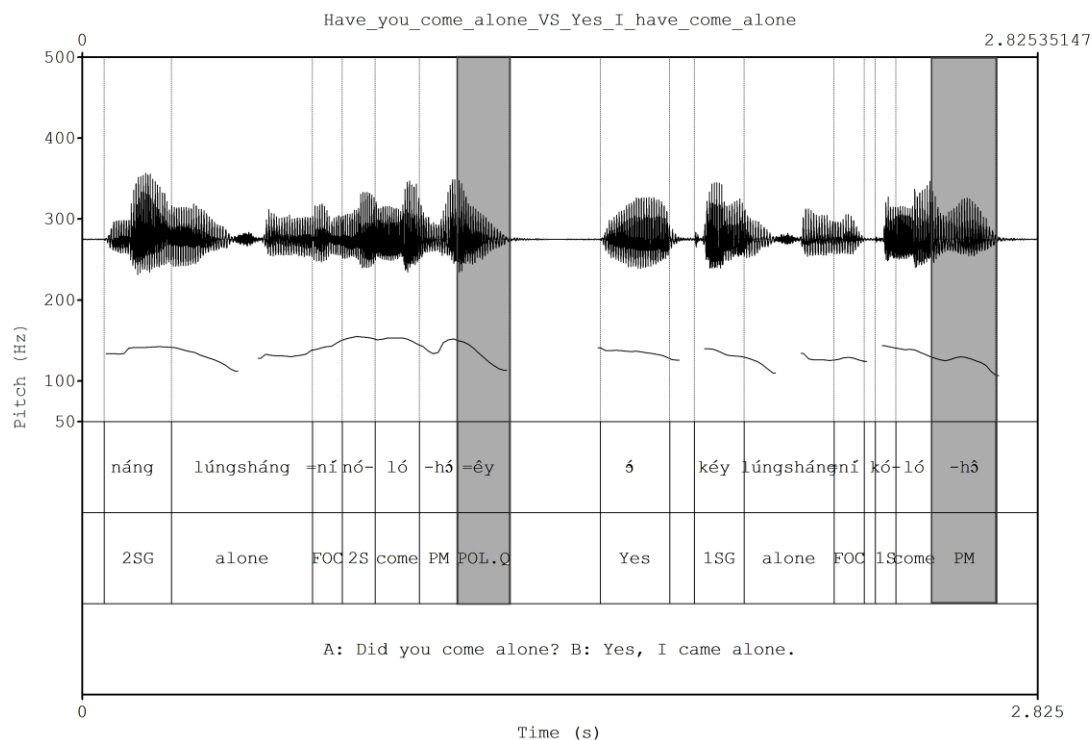


Figure 42: Comparison of intonational effect at the boundary of a polar interrogative and a declarative clause

An example of a content interrogative clause demonstrates the similar treatment of intonation. Figure 43 shows the pitch at the boundary of a content interrogative clause. Here, the final content interrogative clause marking clitic's inherent tone is not affected by any intonational exploitation of pitch. The sequence of the predicate-marking suffix and the question marking clitic is only important to a Hyow speaker to consider it as an interrogative clause.

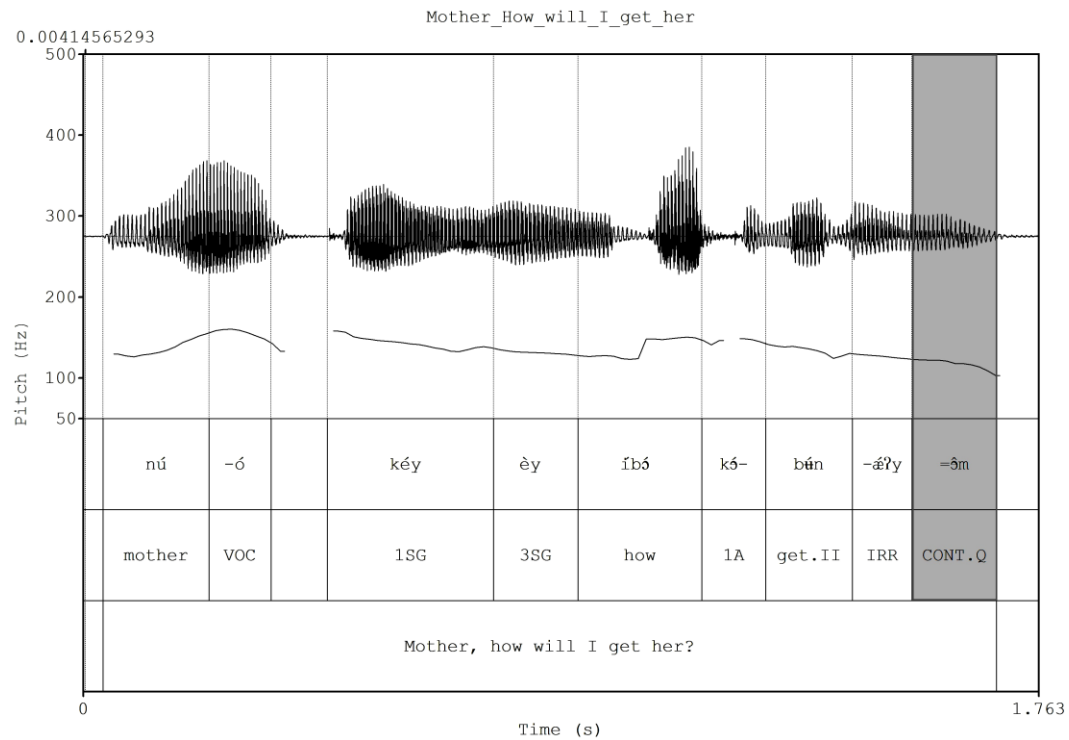


Figure 43: Pitch representation at the boundary of a content interrogative clause

If an addressing noun is used as an afterthought, then the inherent falling tone of the content question clitic becomes high due to the lack of a hiatus or due to the non-final position, as evident from Figure 44.

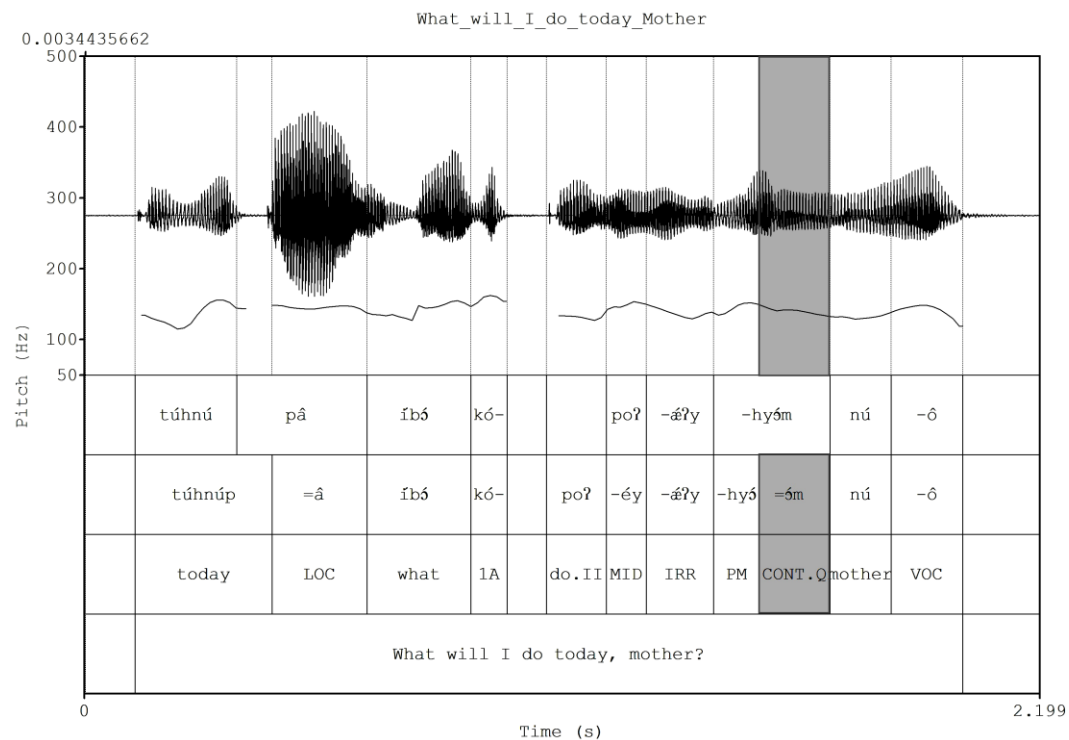


Figure 44: Pitch at the final of a content interrogative clause followed by an afterthought noun

2.6.4.3 Intonation and imperative clauses

Imperative clauses are used to express order, request, prohibition and wish. Hyow has different types of imperative clauses (see §11.6). Similar to interrogative clauses, there is no exploitation of pitch by intonation at the boundary of imperative clauses. An imperative clause is identified by a Stem I verb and the markers the Stem I verb takes. Figure 45 shows the imperative forms of the verb *tsét* ‘go’. Since it is an intransitive verb, it does not have any stem variant. The absence of the falling pitch and the use of the bare verb help a Hyow speaker to consider it as an imperative clause. The imperative verb marked by the dual number in the second imperative clause in Figure 45 also keeps its underlying level tone. The fact that the dual marker cannot be used in a declarative clause and there is an absence of falling intonation identifies the clause as imperative.

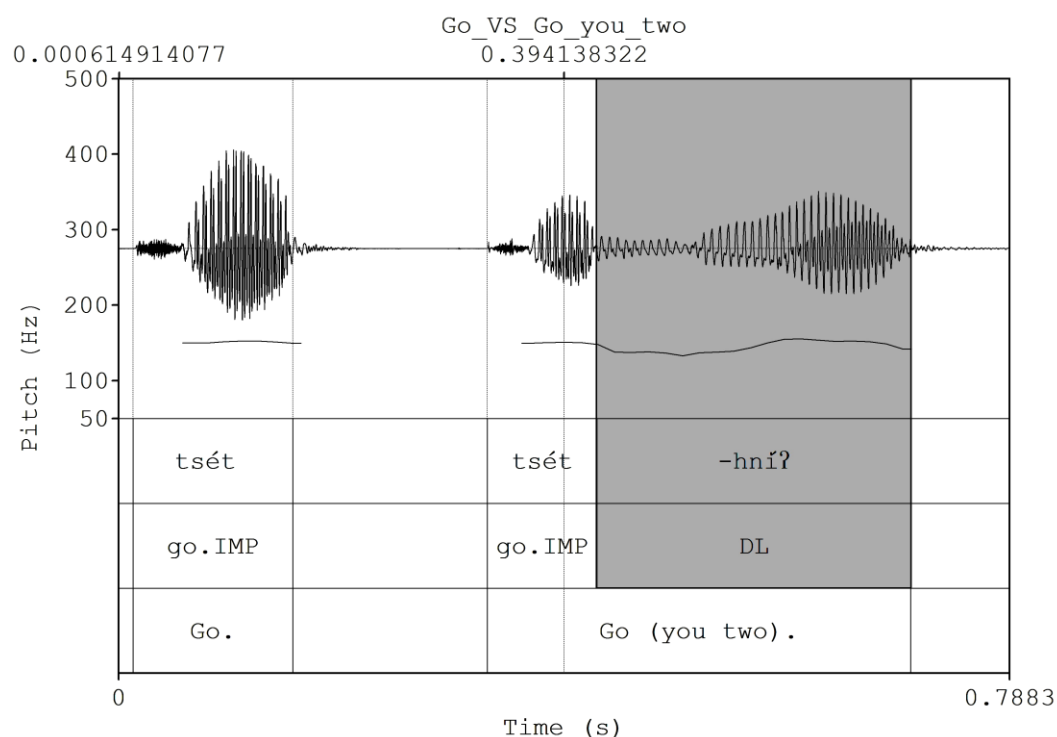


Figure 45: Pitch comparison at the final of imperative verbs with different numbers

In other types of imperative clause, the pitch of respective imperative clause finals does not show any intonational effect. The finals of both a jussive and an exhortative retain their respective underlying tone, as shown in Figure 46 and Figure 47 respectively.

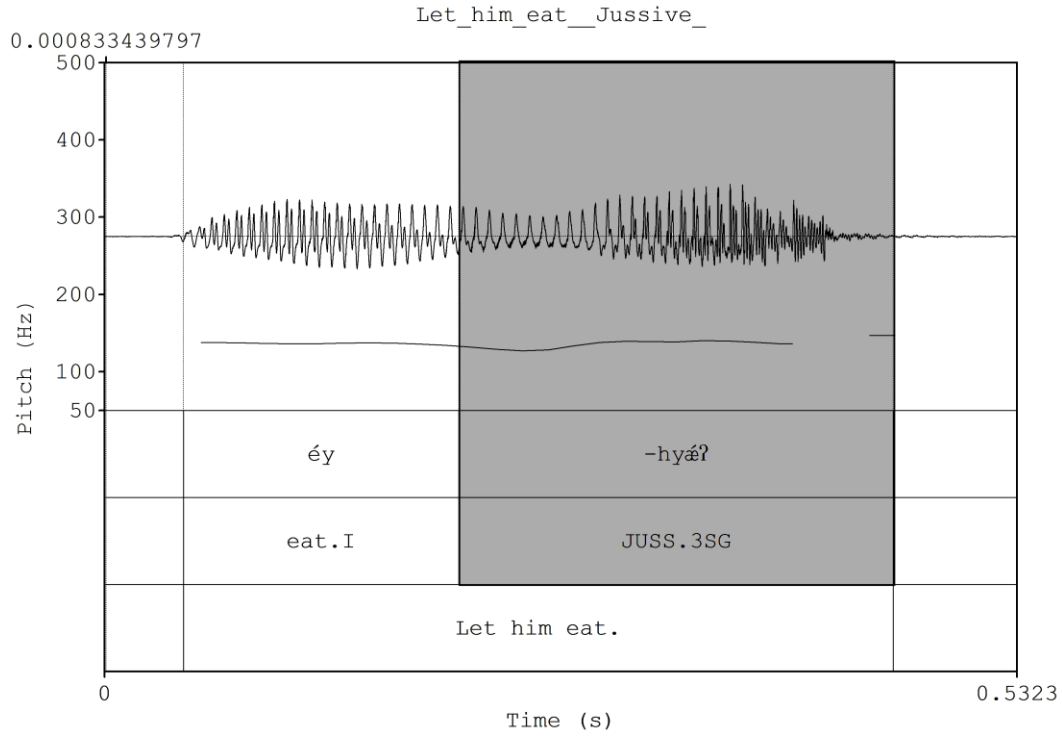


Figure 46: Pitch at the boundary of a Jussive

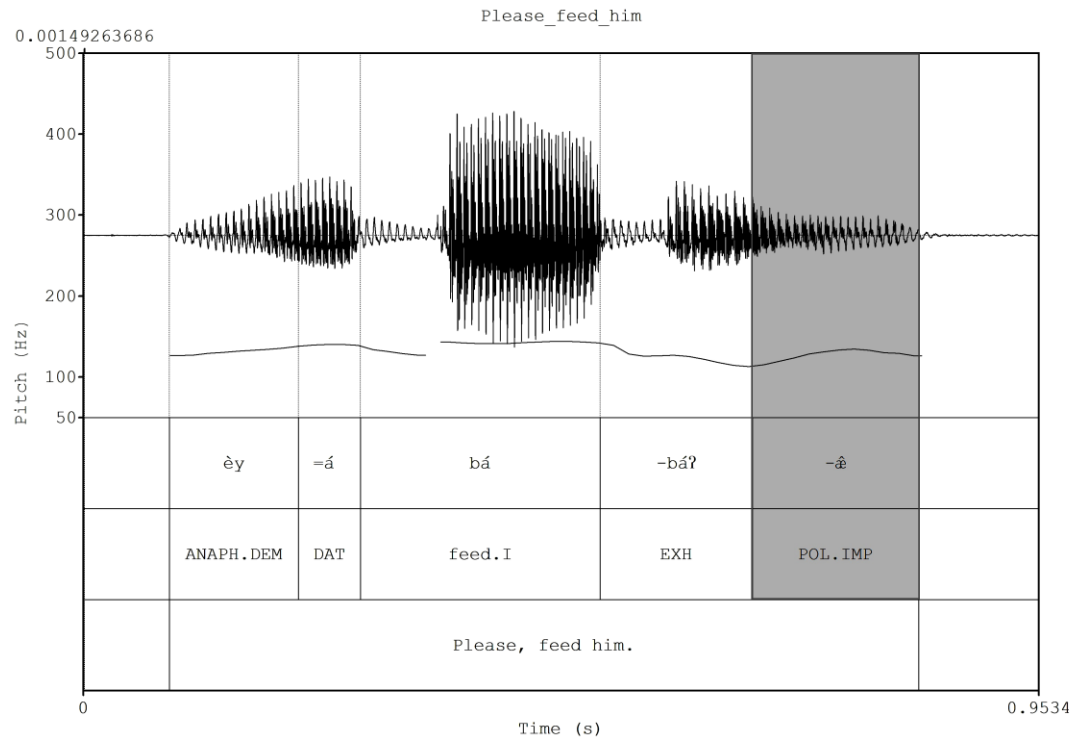


Figure 47: Pitch at the final of an exhortative

2.7 CONCLUSION

The phonology of Hyow is different from that of most other Kuki-Chin languages, and it shows various salient features. Firstly, the complex onset and coda cluster

provides an insight on the phonology of the proto language. The formation of glottal coda cluster in verb stems supports a historical nominalization and causativization process (see §6.2), which is responsible for the innovative stem variants in different KC languages. Secondly, the phonotactics of Hyow allows only certain consonantal segments as the second member of the glottal coda. The phonotactics of Hyow also shows a final liquid. The presence of the final liquid in the coda is quite rare in other KC languages. So far, only Hyow and the closely related languages show this phenomenon. Then, Hyow vowel system lacks phonemic long vowels, which are found in many KC languages. Yet, the tone bearing rhymes can be assigned to the falling tone. It is observed that pitch contour is related to rhyme duration in Hyow. The restriction of the falling tone in non-pausal position and the change of the falling tone of the initial constituent of a compound word to a high tone support this observation. Next, the grammatical use of tone in Hyow plays a significant role in distinguishing grammatical categories with similar segmental forms. Finally, the non-significant use of intonation reflects the feature of rich morphology in Hyow. The discussion in the next chapter focuses on defining criterion for determining word classes in Hyow.

3 Word Classes

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses criteria for determining different word classes in Hyow. The word classes are primarily identified by morphological (structural) and syntactic (distributional) features, which are also summarized in tables in respective sections. The description is preceded by opening remarks on types of word classes in §3.2. Next, a discussion on the structural and distributional features of open class words are given in §3.3.1 (verb) and in §3.3.2 (noun). In §3.4, I discuss Hyow pronouns. Nominal modifiers are treated in §3.4.2, followed by a description of Hyow temporal words in §3.4.3. The successive sections include discussions on adverbs in §3.4.4, discourse connectives in §3.4.6, phrasal conjunction in §3.4.7, interjections in §3.4.8, exclamatory expressions in §3.4.9, onomatopoeic words in §3.4.10, the quotative particle in §3.4.10 and clitics in §3.4.13. Finally, I give some concluding remarks in §3.5.

3.2 WORD CLASS

The difference between an open class and a closed class word is established through explanations of whether new members can be added to a particular class or not. Based on this evaluative feature, members of open class words are not fixed, while members of the closed class words are quite fixed or limited in number. Other than the inability to add new members, the closed class words have very tight opposition-based semantic structure (Evans, 2000: 710).

The open class of words in Hyow includes verbs (§3.3.1) and nouns (§3.3.2). They can be the heads of verbal clauses and noun phrases respectively. The closed classes of words includes distinct pronouns (§3.4), nominal modifiers (§3.4.2), temporal words (§3.4.3), adverbs (§3.4.4), discourse connectives (§3.4.6), a phrasal conjunction (§3.4.7), interjections (§3.4.8), exclamatory expressions (§3.4.9), onomatopoeic words (§3.4.10), a quotative particle (§3.4.11) and clitics (§3.4.13). There is no separate class of adjectives in Hyow. This is a very common phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages (see Dixon 1977, Dryer, 2008: 57; Genetti et al. 2008). Generally, stative intransitive verbs modify nominal heads by following them. The

stative verbs that modify nominal heads are obligatorily marked by a prefix in citation forms. This prefix is formed by harmonizing with the vowel of the root-initial syllable. This prefix is identical to the generic referential prefix of bound nouns (see §3.3.2.2 and §5.4.1). I call this prefix by the same name. In order to disambiguate between the modifying and predicative function of a stative intransitive verb, the verb does not take any argument marker when it is used as a modifier. In addition, when a stative intransitive verb is used as a modifier, it can be followed by another noun, which functions as the head noun of the preceding modified possessor noun. For example, the citation form of the stative intransitive verb ‘be big’ is *é-lén*, where the prefix refers to a generic referential prefix (see §5.4.1). When it is used as a predicate, it retains the prefix, which becomes specific from generic, because the prefix refers to a third person singular S in the predicate, as in *hó é-lén* ‘The bird is big.’ When the stative verb *é-lén* follows a noun without the prefix, as in *hó lén* ‘big bird’, it functions as a modifier.

3.3 OPEN WORD CLASS

The forms of the open word classes of noun and verb involve several inflectional and derivational morphological processes, which help them function according to their distributions in the syntax (for more on structural and distributional properties of open word classes see Evans, 2000: 710-713 and Payne, 1997: 32-62).

3.3.1 VERBS

Verbs generally express actions, processes and states. Hyow verbs display a complex morphology, which plays a significant role in the grammar of Hyow. Hyow verbs are marked by argument markers for both person (§7.3.1) and number (§7.3.5), a directional marker (§7.3.3) and an inverse marker (§7.3.4) prefixally and by a middle suffix (§8.2.1), a departative suffix (§8.2.2), a spontaneitive suffix (§8.2.3), applicative suffixes (§8.3.2), a causative suffix (§8.3.3), modality suffixes (§9.2.1), aspectual suffixes (§9.2.2), adverbial suffixes (§9.2.3), argument-marking-suffixes (§7.4.1), clause-linking suffixes (§9.3), predicate marking suffixes (§9.4.1), a verbal classifier (§9.4.2) and mood markers (§9.5.1) suffixally. Verbs can be also marked by clitics, which include topic (§9.6.1), focus (§9.6.2), emphatic (§9.6.3) and evidentials (§9.6.4). However, both verbs and nouns use some of these markers.

Morphologically, a Hyow verb can be distinguished by its ability to be inflected by a

directional prefix, negative markers, mood and modality markers, and a predicate marker.

Hyow verbs can be inflected by negative markers, which form a paradigm of negative suffixes cataloguing different persons on verb stems. Table 55 includes all the negative suffixes that are indexes of different persons on verb stems in Hyow. Negative markers are only attached to Stem I verbs.

Person	Negative suffixes on verbs in present tense				
	SG	DL.INC	DL.EXC	PL.INC	PL.EXC
First	Σ-ngâ	Σ-pû	Σ-hnì?ngâ	Σ-kô	Σ-ùngâ
Second	Σ-tî		Σ-hnì?tî		Σ-tsû
Third	Σ-á?		Σ-hó?y		Σ-ú
Negative suffixes with delayed negative					
First	Σ-hnò?-ngâ	Σ-hnò?-pû	Σ-hnò?-hnì?ngâ	Σ-hnò?-kô	Σ-hnò?-ùngâ
Second	Σ-hnò?-tî		Σ-hnò?-hnì?tî		Σ-hnò?-tsû
Third	Σ-hnó?		Σ-hnò?-hó?y		Σ-hnò?-ú

Table 55: Negative suffixes in Hyow

Table 55 also lists delayed negative suffixes combined with the negative person marking suffixes. The delayed negative suffix *-hnó?* precedes cross-referencing suffixes in clauses with negative polarity that express delayed actions, processes or states.

The example in (7) demonstrates an intransitive *lómêy* ‘commute’ inflected for negation, which is encoded by the third person plural marking suffix.

(7) *ʃhlómhló kóông ní= êng lómêy-hnâng-ú* \.

ʃ-hlómhló kóông ní= êng lómêy-hnâng-ú

GRP-distance reason=INE PROX=INE commute-PH.CAP-**3PL.NEG**

‘They are not able to commute because of the distance.’ [UTK_SA_052014_023]

A verb can be formally identified by the available modality and aspect markers in Hyow (see §6.2). An anterior aspectual marker can mark a transitive or an intransitive verb, which is not accessible to other classes of words. For example, the anterior aspect marker marks a Stem II verb of a declarative clause in (8).

(8) *èykʰ? túp í-ní-hmú?-dók* \.

èy = kʰ? túp í-ní-hmú?-dók

ANAPH.DEM=GEN hat 3A-PL-see.II-ANT

‘They had seen his hat.’ [ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0040_0021]

Verbs can be heads of their respective clauses. Their function as heads of clauses can be used as a distributional criterion. A verb can also be nominalized and function as the head of a noun phrase. Stative verbs must be marked by argument indices, modality and aspect suffixes or the predicate-marking suffix in order to separate their functions as nominal modifiers from predicates of clauses. This is demonstrated by the stative verb *læk* in (9), which functions as a predicate, because it is marked by the predicate-marking suffix. On the other hand, it functions as a nominal modifier in (10), because it is marked by a dative case clitic, which has scope over the whole noun phrase, in which the head noun is modified by the stative verb.

(9) *úlúngtsæ làkényhyô hnó? á-tá*

ú-lung = tsæ læk-êy-hyô hnó? á-tá
 3SG.POSS-heart=TOP be.small-MID-PM DP 3SG.POSS-brother

‘He is mean (Lit.: His heart is small.), right? Her brother.

[ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0048]

(10) *ngók làkàní tàkhnè?tí.*

ngók læk = á = ní ták-hnó? = tí
 brother’s.wife be.small=DAT=FOC tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘He finally told his young sister-in-law.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_009]

Like other Kuki-Chin languages, Hyow transitive verbs also have two stems, which serve different syntactic purposes. Stem I verbs are usually used in affirmative clauses and matrix clauses, and Stem II verbs are commonly used in imperative and negative clauses (see King 2009 for more uses of stem alternations in KC languages). As an illustration, the clauses in (11) and (12) exemplify the inflection of Stem I and Stem II verbs by an irrealis suffix and a negative suffix respectively.

(11) *èy khóádê tsùmtsæ nútùkæ?yhnúngngô.*

èy khó = â = dê tsúm = tsæ nú-túk-æ?y-hnúng-ngô
 ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=EMPH giant=TOP 2A-kill.II-IRR-PH.CAP-PM

‘You will be able to kill the giant at that time.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_193]

(12) *èydə èrshádlátsə tùâ? ʋ.*

èydə èrshád = lâ = tsə tú-â?

then Ershad=ERG=TOP **kill.I-3SG.NEG**

‘Then, Ershad did not kill him.’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_068]

Hyow verbs take a directional prefix *á-* to encode the direction of movement of the referent of an S or an A argument, as in *bú? ká-á-?éy* (rice 1A-DIR-eat.II) ‘I go to eat rice.’ The directional prefix is solely used by verbs. Therefore, it can be used to diagnose the verbhood of a word.

Hyow verbs are marked by a middle marker (see §8.2.1), a departative marker *-ál* (§8.2.2), applicatives (§8.3.2), a causative (§8.3.3) and different MA (modality and aspect) markers, which include among others a habitual marker *-hút* (§9.2.2.6). Hyow verbs are also marked for an inchoative (§9.2.2.2) and an anterior aspect suffix (§9.2.2.10). Example (13) illustrates the inflection of a verb by the departative suffix.

(13) *èydə tŏng khó ínishílálhlŏ.*

èydə tŏng khó í-ní-shíl-ál-hlŏ

then pillar hole 3A-PL-fill.II-DEP-DUR

‘Then, they fill up the pillar holes.’ [UTK_HMH_052014_009]

An ergative case marker in Hyow signals the transitivity status of a verb. Third person noun phrase arguments in A function are marked by the ergative case clitic, while first and second person markers for the same grammatical function are not marked, which is demonstrated by the examples in (14) and (15). The third person singular argument of the verb in (14) is not marked by any case marker, while the third person singular argument of the verb in (15) is marked by an ergative case clitic. Therefore, the verb *méy* ‘stay’ is classified as intransitive and the verb *hmú?* ‘see.II’ is classified as transitive in Hyow.

(14) *èydô èyâ ání méyálhnô?tî.*

èydô èy = â ání mêy-âl-hnô? = tî
 then ANAPH.DEM=LOC 3SG stay-DEP-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, he stayed back there finally.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_041]

(15) *ánílâ hmù?hô.*

ání = lâ hmù?-hô
 3SG=ERG see-PM

‘He saw that.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0087]

Based on the discussion made so far, the properties of Hyow verbs are listed in Table 56.

Properties	Stative	Action	Transitive	Ditransitive
	Intransitive	Intransitive		
Negation	✓	✓	✓	✓
Argument indexing	✓	✓	✓	✓
Directional prefix	✗	✓	✓	✓
Modality and aspect	✓	✓	✓	✓
Evidentiality	✓	✓	✓	✓
Stem alternation	✗	✗	✓	✓
Applicatives	✗	✓	✗	✓
Head of a verb clause	✓	✓	✓	✓
Form modifiers	✓	✗	✗	✗

Table 56: Formal properties of Hyow verbs

3.3.2 NOUNS

Nouns belong to the open class of words. The word class of noun is a language specific category, and nouns refer to specific entities (Lehman and Moravcsik, 2006: 733). Semantically, prototypical nouns refer to the most time-stable referents and demonstrate a resilient feature-association (Givón, 2001: 51). The discourse function

of nouns is to represent a syntactic function as arguments, while the semantic representations of nouns are different objects, names, places and things (Evans 2000: 710). The formal features of nouns are discussed in this section.

Nouns function as arguments of verbs. This functional feature of nouns is marked by different case clitics. Nouns can be formally identified by the ergative case clitic, which they take when they function as A argument of transitive verbs. As an example, the A argument, *hmútótsô* ‘girl’ in (16) is marked by the ergative case clitic =*lâ*, which formally defines it as a noun.

(16) *èydô hmútótsôlâ khûy hnú?pékâhlô*

èydô	hmútótsô=lâ	khûy	hnú?-pék-âl-hlô
then	girl=ERG	story	narrate.II-BEN-DEP-PM

‘Then, the girl narrated the story for them.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0073]

Quantifiers can quantify nouns, but not verbs. There is a small set of quantifiers in Hyow (see §3.4.2.3). Generally, quantifiers follow nouns to modify them. For example, the quantifier *óbóng* ‘many’ follows nouns of both animate and inanimate referents. The example in (17) shows the quantification of a noun by following it.

(17) *é táá óbóng ébân \.*

é	táá	óbóng	é-bân
yes	money	many	3A-get.II

‘Yes, she got a lot of money.’ [ZM_ARGS8_082015_Hyow_0011_0026]

Quantification can also be used to make formal distinctions among subclasses of nouns. Quantifiers are only allowed to quantify some sub-classes of nouns. For instance, using the quantifier *óbóng* ‘many’ preceded by a personal name is ungrammatical, as shown in (18). On the other hand, since *tsóng* ‘paddy’ is a common noun in (19), the use of the quantifier *bíttsó* ‘a little bit’ is grammatically correct.

(18) **èydô kántsónmálá óbóng méyhyô*.

èydô kántsónmálá óbóng méy-hyô

then name.of.a.person many exist-PM

*‘Then, there were many Kanchonmalas.’ [Elicited]

(19) *tsóng bíttso tsí shàynhnhnò?û *.

tsóng bíttso tsí sháy-hnhng-hnó?-ú

paddy a.little.bit often bring.again.and.again.II-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-3PL.NEG

‘The often will not be able to bring a little bit paddy again and again.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_026]

Gender marking is not available in Hyow. Instead, the word for ‘mother’, *nû* and ‘father’, *pô* are suffixed to nouns to mark motherhood and fatherhood of animate referents respectively, as in *à-nû* (chicken-MO) ‘hen that has chicks’ and *àhlúy-pô* (rooster-FA) ‘rooster that has chicks’. These two examples are not possessive phrases, which is evident from the internal tonal changes due to the sandhi process. A pause between the roots and the parenthood suffixes, and underlying tone retention of the roots establishes the two morphemes as possessive phrases instead of inflected nouns. The example in (20) demonstrates the use of the parenthood suffix, which is attached to noun *àhlúy* ‘rooster’. Since the word *àhlúy* ‘rooster’ has a falling tone on the last syllable, it changes to a high-level tone after the inflection. This change in tone reflects the inflection process.

(20) *èydâ èyání àhlúypá tákdàhnè?tí.*

èydâ èy = â = ní àhlúy-pâ = á ták-dâ-hnè? = tí

then ANAPH.DEM=LOC=FOC **rooster**-FA=DAT tell.II-IRR-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, she told the father rooster there again like before.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_043]

The subclasses of noun that can function as heads of noun phrases include diverse types of nouns. The formal properties of different sub-classes of noun in Hyow are presented in §3.3.2.1 (inalienable body part terms), §3.3.2.2 (bound common noun), §3.3.2.3 (locative noun), §3.3.2.4 (relational noun), §3.3.2.5 (kinship terms), §3.3.2.6 (alienable body part terms), §3.3.2.7 (proper noun) and §3.3.2.8 (unbound common noun). The sub-classes of nouns are presented with representative examples in Table 57.

Types	Sub-classes of nouns	Examples
Bound nouns	Inalienable body part term	<i>ú-kút</i> (GRP-hand) ‘hand’
	Bound common noun	<i>á-hngá</i> (GRP-servant) ‘servant’
	Bound locative noun	<i>ú-dúk</i> (GRP-inside) ‘inside’
Unbound nouns	Unbound locative noun	<i>shé?y</i> ‘near’
	Kinship term	<i>tá</i> ‘brother’
	Alienable body part term	<i>tín</i> ‘nail’
	Proper noun	<i>lódó</i> ‘Bandarban town’
	Common noun	<i>lóm</i> ‘road’

Table 57: Subclasses of nouns that can function as the heads of NPs

Table 57 shows the classification of Hyow nouns – bound and unbound. The distinction between bound and unbound nouns is based on possession types. Possessions are either inalienable and inherited or alienable and acquired in Hyow. Referents that are inalienable and inherited are expressed by bound nouns, while referents that are alienable and acquired are expressed by unbound nouns. These two

types of nouns are further distributed into six subclasses. Bound nouns are divided into three subclasses- body part terms, bound common nouns and bound locative nouns. All of these classes of bound nouns take a generic referential prefix. The generic prefix is formed by vowel harmonization (see §2.5.1). This generic referential prefix is identical with a third person singular possessive prefix. In the absence of a specific referent, bound nouns are obligatorily marked by the generic referential prefix in order to encode their inalienability and inheritance. For example, as body parts (except hair and nails) are not alienable from animate referents, the generic referential prefix is attached to the inalienable body parts. Therefore, the generic referential prefix refers to a generic possessor ‘someone’, as in *ó-khó* ‘leg’ (Lit.: someone’s head).

For the bound common nouns, it is understandable that the referents of the nouns belong to some entities or they are parts of something (part-whole relationship). As a result, when there is no specific possessor, the bound nouns are marked by the generic possessor prefix. If a specific possessor is present to the referent of bound nouns, then the generic referential prefix is removed from the root, as in *í-shíp* (GRP-poison) ‘poison’, but *phêl shíp* (snake poison) ‘snake’s poison’. The inalienability and inheritance of the referent of bound nouns are further determined by the absence of genitive clitic. Genitive clitics are attached to possessor nouns, when the referent of possessed nouns are either alienable or acquired. Accordingly, when an inalienable and inherited possession is acquired by any means, then the possessor noun is marked by the genitive clitic. However, the possessed noun is still marked by the generic referential prefix.

The unbound nouns are further divided into five subclasses – locative noun, kinship terms, alienable body part terms, proper nouns and common nouns. The Hyow stock of common nouns is very big, and the stock of relational nouns is very small. The kinship terms are not obligatorily marked with any relational prefix in Hyow, which is quite unlike other Southern Chin languages, where the kinship terms are obligatorily marked by a relational prefix in citation forms (Benedict 1941 and Hartmann 2009: 83).

3.3.2.1 Inalienable body part terms

Body parts in Hyow belong to the bound class of nouns. There is no difference between the body part terms of a living thing and the body part terms of a dead entity in Hyow. Typically, body parts are inalienable, and for that reason, the body part terms obligatorily take the generic referential prefix in citation forms and in examples in which no specific possessors exist, which is shown by the example in (21). There is no specific possessor of the body part *ú-kút* ‘hand’ in this example, which is understandable from the context. The use of the indefinite quantifier *khâ* ‘all’ further confirms the non-specificity of the referent encoded by the generic referential prefix attached to the body part term ‘hand’ in (21).

(21) *èynítsê úkút khàniá pòyhyô.*

èyní = tsê	ú-kút	khâ = ní = á	pôy-hyô
so=TOP	GRP-hand	all=FOC=DAT	be.good-PM

‘So, it is good to all hands.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_012]

Compared to the example in (21), the possessor of the body part term *é-hón* ‘belly’ is specific, which can be inferred from the context. Therefore, in (22), the prefix attached to the body-part term *é-hón* (3SG.POSS-*belly*) ‘her belly’ is interpreted as a third person singular possessor marker. Table 58 lists some examples of the inalienable body part terms in Hyow.

(22) *éhón dùkâ ótsô hngát méytí.*

é-hón	dúk = â	ó-tsô	hngát	mêy = tí
3SG.POSS-belly	inside=LOC	GRP-child	one	exist=R.EVID

‘There was a child inside her belly.’ [ZM_ARGS8_082015_Hyow_0011_0004]

Noun subclass	Examples
Inalienable body part terms	<i>ú-lúkí</i> (GRP-head) ‘head’
	<i>ó-khó</i> (GRP-leg) ‘leg’
	<i>ś-hśn</i> (GRP-belly) ‘belly’
	<i>ś-hnśkú</i> (GRP-ear) ‘ear’
	<i>ú-kùtpǎm</i> (GRP-finger) ‘finger’

Table 58: Inalienable body part terms in Hyow

3.3.2.2 Bound common nouns

Quite a number of bound common nouns can be found in Hyow. Referents of these nouns are treated as inherited possession, because the referents of these common nouns generally are products or part of something, or belong to something. And so, like the inalienable body part terms, the bound common nouns are marked by the generic referential prefix, which indicates the non-specific possessor of the possessed item. For instance, there is no specific possessor of the referent of the bound common noun *á-lá* ‘land’ in (23). Therefore, it is marked by the generic referential prefix in order to indicate that the referent of this noun is an inherited possession.

The use of the distant demonstrative pronoun in (23) refers that the bound noun is already mentioned in the discourse. Without the generic referential prefix attached to the root *lá*, the noun would refer to a specific possessor, which would be expressed by the anaphoric use of the distant demonstrative pronoun *tsú* ‘his/her’ in this example. Moreover, since the generic referential prefix and the third person singular possessive prefix are formally similar, the use of an anaphoric demonstrative before a bound noun confirms the identity of the attached prefix as the generic referential prefix. If the prefix identified a third person singular possessor, then the use of the anaphoric distant demonstrative would have been ungrammatical. Whether the prefix of the bound noun is referring to a generic possessor or a specific possessor is also recoverable from the discourse (see §5.4.1).

(23) *èydô tsú á-lá í-ní-shót-êy*

èydô tsú á-lá í-ní-shót-êy
 then DIST GRP-land 3A-PL-look.II-MID

‘Then, they look at the land themselves.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_004]

Like the inalienable body part terms, when a specific possessor is used, the bound common noun loses its generic referential prefix. For example, *ú-hnûy* ‘grain’ is a bound common noun. When a specific possessor is added, then the root *hnûy* gets rid of its generic referential prefix *ú-*, as shown in (24).

(24) *èydô dâ hnûy phúl-êy-ná-hlóngá=tsê...*

èydô dâ hnûy phúl-êy-ná-hlóngá=tsê
 then sand grain sprinkle.I-MID-SPNT-CIRM=TOP

‘Then, sprinkling sand grains...’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_107]

Table 59 lists some more examples of bound common nouns in Hyow. The common noun *ó-hlông* ‘river’ is a bound noun and is marked by the generic referential prefix, because every Hyow clan has an ancestor. The ancestor is mainly a river. Every river has several clans. For example, in Myanmar Laitu, *khálông* ‘a name of a river/forefather of six clans that descend from the river (Myanmar Laitu use *ó-lông* instead of *ó-hlông*.)’ refers to an ancestor.

Noun subclass	Examples
Bound common nouns	<i>ú-krûy</i> (GRP-lump) ‘lump’
	<i>é-krék</i> (GRP-powder) ‘powder’
	<i>í-shíp</i> (GRP-poison) ‘poison’
	<i>ú-hnúy</i> (GRP-grain) ‘grain’
	<i>á-hngá</i> (GRP-servant) ‘servant’
	<i>ó-hlông</i> (GRP-river) ‘river’

Table 59: Bound common nouns in Hyow

Bound common nouns can be quantified by quantifiers or numerals, as in *á-mánú hngát* (GRP-maid one) ‘one maid’ in (25).

(25) *ímthông íbó èy-é?y á-mánú hngátêng.*

ímthông	íbó	èy-é?y	á-mánú	hngát = êng
family	how	FILL-IRR	GRP-house.maid	one=COM

‘How will he make a family with a housemaid?’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0103]

3.3.2.3 Bound locative nouns

Hyow locative nouns are relational nouns, which are divided into bound and unbound classes. Bound locative nouns are similar to the inalienable body part terms and bound common nouns, because they express internal and external locations around nominal referents. Consequently, the bound locative nouns take the generic referential prefix in citation forms, as in *é-dóm* (GRP-over) ‘over’, and when there is no specific possessor. The corresponding prefix in Daai is *a-* (Hartmann, 2009: 88).

If a locative noun is the head of a right-headed noun phrase (for right-headed noun phrase and nominal compound, see Carstairs-McCarthy, 2001: 61), then the generic referential prefix is not attached to the locative noun, as in *kêy ím dóm = a* (1SG house over=LOC) ‘over my house’. Examples of a bound locative noun are given

in (26) and (27). The bound locative noun *ś-kśl* (GRP-under) ‘under’ is functioning as heads of their respective possessive noun phrases in (26) and in (27). Additionally, in (26), the locative noun does not have a specific possessor, but in (27), it has a specific possessor.

(26) *shíʔní èy hnângâ śkśl shóeyâʔ* ʋ.

shíʔ-ní èy hnâng = â **ś-kśl** shó-êy-âʔ
 pluck.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM time=LOC **GRP-under** look.I-MID-3SG.NEG

‘When he was plucking (the pears), he did not look down at that time.’

[ZM_PSN_072015_Hyow_0047_015]

(27) *thîng kòlâ kêy káákòʔlâl*.

thîng **kśl** = â kêy ká-á-kóʔl-âl
 tree **under**=LOC 1SG 1A-DIR-pick.II-DEP

‘I went to pick up that (bird) under the tree.’

[ZM_EOBH_HP_062014_Hyow_0046_006]

Locative nouns are historically good sources of case markers in Tibeto-Burman languages (see DeLancey, 1985: 62). DeLancey (1985: 62) shows the cognate of Tibetan locative *nang* ‘interior’ developed as case postpositions in Hayu, Primi and Newari.

A demonstrative pronoun can precede a locative noun, but the demonstrative pronoun cannot function as an adnominal. It can be used as an anaphoric demonstrative, which refers to a previously mentioned argument, the dependent of such construction, where the locative noun creates a possessor-possessee relation with the anaphoric demonstrative, as shown in (28). Due to the formation of this possessive noun phrase, the generic referential prefix is removed from the stem.

(28) *èy dùkání tòkpèkhhô.*[èy dúk = â = ní]_{NP} [tók-pék-khô]_{VCMPLX}

[ANAPH.DEM inside=LOC=FOC] [keep.II-BEN-PM]

‘She kept him inside that.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_250]

Likewise, in (29), the locative noun *ú-dúk* (GRP-inside) ‘inside’ is functioning as the head of the noun phrase, which does not have a specific possessor. Table 60 lists some examples of Hyow locative nouns.

(29) *ùdùkâ khán méyhyô*

ú-dúk = â khán méy-hyô

GRP-inside=LOC room exist-PM

‘There is a room inside.’ [ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_004]

Noun subclass	Examples
Bound locative nouns	<i>á-lây</i> (GPP-middle) ‘middle’
	<i>ô-kól</i> (GPP-under) ‘under’
	<i>é-kén</i> (GPP-near) ‘near’
	<i>ô-pông</i> (GPP-side) ‘side’

Table 60: Bound locative nouns in Hyow

3.3.2.4 Unbound locative nouns

Unbound locative nouns are also relational, and are more likely to change into case markers earlier than the bound locative nouns historically. In fact, these locative nouns presently have the status of postpositions. This is evident from the syntactic constraint on the unbound locative nouns. The unbound locative noun is only permitted to follow another noun or an anaphoric demonstrative. Like the bound locative noun, the unbound locative noun cannot be used on its own. In other words, it should be a part of a noun phrase that has a possessor-possessee construction. There

are only four unbound locative nouns in Hyow – *khók* ‘near’, *shókʔy* ‘near’, *thókʔw* ‘from’, *lákʔ* ‘with (including)’ and *kónâng* ‘with’.

All the unbound locative nouns are the heads of the respective noun phrases in (30), (31) and (32).

(30) *èykókʔ khókádâ áómâ*

èy = kókʔ **khók** = â = dâ á-óm-â
ANAPH.DEM=GEN **near**=LOC=EMPH DIR-sit-POL.IMP.SG

‘Go to sit near that.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_024]

(31) *náng slá khókâ khòytsíptâ kótók-hàt-khókʔ* ʔ.

náng slá **khók** = â khóytsíp-tsâ kótók-hàt-khókʔ
2SG teacher **near**=LOC ring-DIM 1A-keep.II-LV-FACT

‘I really kept the ring near your teacher.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_166]

(32) *slá shókʔykhólâ kíhníʔtsétlâʔ* ʔ.

slá **shókʔy**-khól = â kí-hníʔ-tsét-laʔ
teacher **near**-EXP=LOC 1S-DL-go-OBLG

‘We have to go to the teachers.’

[ZM_SN_MZK_092015_Hyow_0025_0014]

The example in (33) from an argumentative text describes that when a mother finally found her lost son, she wanted her son to go with her, but an old couple brought up the son. The speakers in the argumentation were arguing what the son should do in such a situation. By the locative noun *lákʔ* in *ú-nûlákʔ* (3SG.POSS-mother with) ‘with his mother’ and in *á-tsáng-núpô lákʔ* (GRP-be.old-parents with) ‘with old parents’, the speaker questions whether the son is going to leave his foster parents or

he is going to live together including his own mother and including his foster parents. Here, *ú-nû láʔ* (3SG.POSS-mother with) and *á-tsáng-núpô láʔ* (GRP-be.old-parents with) ‘with old parents’ are rather complementing the word *útû* ‘together’; they are not oblique arguments of the intransitive verb *mêy* ‘stay/live’ in (33).

- (33) *æ̀læktsó khró thóʔw méyhyô èy átsángnúpô kònông. átsángnúpô kònông. hyàʔhítsæ èy únúláʔ átsángnúpóláʔ útû íníméyéhýóʔ ↗.*

æ̀-læk-tsô		khró	thóʔw	mêy-hyô	èy		á-tsáng-núpô	
3SG.POSS-be.small-DIM		time	from	stay-PM		ANAPH.DEM	GRP-be.old-parents	
	kònông	á-tsáng-núpô		kònông	hyáʔ-hí = tsæ	èy		
	with	GRP-be.old-parents		with	be.not-COND=TOP	ANAPH.DEM		
ú-nû		láʔ		á-tsáng-núpô		láʔ		útû
3SG.POSS-mother		with		GRP-be.old-parents		with		together
	í-ní-mêy-æ̀ʔy-hyô = êy							
	3S-PL-stay-IRR-PM=POL.Q							

‘He stayed with the old parents from his childhood time (first sentence). With the aforementioned old parents (second sentence repeats the statement). If it is not right, will they live together including his mother and the old parents?’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_028-030]

In the same way, the example in (34) demonstrates the use of the locative noun *láʔ*. This example is taken from the Pear Story (Chafe, 1980), which describes a situation where a boy steals a basket of pears. The boy first takes one pear and then puts it back. Then he takes the whole basket. The narrator here uses the unbound locative noun *láʔ* ‘with’ following the noun *tóng*, as in *tóng láʔ* (basket with), to say that the boy takes the pears including the basket.

(34) *èydê púmák ólò?wéyà?yhyô pò?ní, tòkálbàlâtsâ, tònglâ? ilâ? tsí?éyhyô*

èydê púm-ák ó-ló?w-êy-â?y-hyô pò?-ní tók-âl-bá-lá = tsâ
 then CLS-one 3A-pick.II-MID-IRR-PM DV.II-TEMP keep.I-DEP-3SG-SEQ=TOP
 tóng lá? í lá? tsí?-êy-hyô
 basket **with** EE **with** take.II-MID-PM

‘Then, keeping that, when he tried for picking one (pear), he took away the pear including the basket.’ [ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0021_0026]

3.3.2.5 Kinship terms

Hyow kinship terms belong to the unbound noun class. Unlike other KC languages (see Benedict 1941; Hartmann 2009: 83-84), Hyow kinship terms do not have obligatory relational prefix in citation forms. The study of kinship terms by Benedict (1941: 333-351) also shows that not all the SC languages have a prefix with the kinship terms. Nevertheless, Benedict’s study (most of Benedict’s data on the SC languages come from Houghton 1892) show that Shö (spoken in the Rakhine State of southern Myanmar) kinship terms have a prefix *a-* attached to them. Table 61 lists some kinship terms in Hyow.

Noun subclass	Examples
Kinship terms	<i>pô</i> ‘father’
	<i>nû</i> ‘mother’
	<i>tá</i> ‘brother’
	<i>tsî</i> ‘sister’
	<i>pûy</i> ‘aunt’
	<i>púshél</i> ‘uncle’

Table 61: Kinship terms in Hyow

In addition to person names, kinship terms can also take a vocative clitic, which a Hyow speaker uses to call an addressee. In (35), the speaker calls the addressees by adding the vocative clitic =*ó* to the kinship terms.

(35) *púyó púshéló bóhítsæ kéyádótsæ èy phíánókâ kétsétæ?yhyó tîng*

púy-ó	púshél-ó	bóhí = tsæ	kéy = â = dâ = tsæ	èy
aunt=VOC	uncle=VOC	then=TOP	1sg-also=EMPH=TOP	ANAPH.DEM
phía	nók-â	ké-tsét-æ?y-hyó	tîng	
wife-	marry-PURP	1SG-go-FUT-DUR	QP	

‘(The wild chicken) said, “Aunt! Uncle! I will also go to marry her.”’

[SPWK_WC_092007_002]

Other than the vocative clitic =*ó*, a kinship word can be marked by a plural marker (§5.5.3). The plural suffix *-tî?* is only applicable for kinship words. Other non-kinship words cannot take this plural suffix. The plural suffix attached to the kinship term *nû* ‘mother’ and *pô* ‘father’ do not refer to plural numbers of the referent’s mother and father, rather it refers to the whole family in the example give in (36). This sense of plural markers with kinship terms is common in Bangla, the national language of Bangladesh. In addition, the expansive suffix *-khôl* refers to people who are like the referent of the kinship term to which the expansive suffix is attached. Accordingly, *ngâk-tî?-khôl* (brother’s wife-PL-EXP) ‘brothers’ wives’ refers to wives of brothers and wives of the people who the referent call brother (distant relatives) in the village.

(36) *tsíʔ-êy-âl-ní èy = â nû-tíʔ pô-tíʔ-khól = lâ*

tsíʔ-êy-âl-ní èy = â nû-tíʔ pô-tíʔ-khól = lâ
take.II-MID-DEP-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=LOC **mother-PL** **father-PL-EXP=ERG**

tá-tíʔ ngók-tíʔ-khól = lá = ní í-ní-ták-hnóʔ = tí
elder.brother-PL brother's.wife-PL-EXP=ERG=FOC3A-PL-tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘When he brought her, mothers and fathers, elder brothers and brothers’ wives there told him...’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_031]

3.3.2.6 Alienable body part terms

The alienable body part terms only consist of two words in Hyow: *shóm* ‘hair’ and *tín* ‘nail’. The referents of these nouns can be separated from the animate body and thus, they do not take the generic-possessive prefix like the inalienable body part terms do.

It is typical of human social practices to cut hair and nails on a regular basis and these are replaced naturally. Hyow speakers do not use any generic-referential prefix with nouns to encode any attachment of these two separable and naturally replaced body part referents to non-specific referents. The example in (37) attests the alienability of the referent of the noun *shóm* ‘hair’ in Hyow.

(37) *èydô shóm phúéyêy.*

èydô shóm phû-êy-êy
then **hair** fall.out-MID-POL.Q

‘Did the hair fall out?’ [ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0059]

3.3.2.7 Proper nouns

Proper nouns include personal names, place names and name of things. The personal names in Hyow can take a vocative clitic for addressing. The example in (38) illustrates the use of the vocative clitic =ó with a personal name.

(38) *èydô úhlátsíngó kóng hyènéytsô.*

èydô úhlátsíng=ó kóng hyón-êy-tsô
 then **Uhlaching**=VOC name.of.special.leave.for.prayer throw.II-MID-VCL

‘Then, I said, “Uhlaching! Throw the Kong leaves.”’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_050]

Personal names can also be marked by the plural suffix *-tí?* like the kinship terms. When the plural suffix is attached to a personal name, it refers to the whole family of the person. The family of that person is defined by his/her name. Accordingly, the plural suffix attached to the names in (39) is referring to the family of the referents.

(39) *tsúâ bármáâ ínìlámhmô, èy phrúthóytí? bá?thwáyí? pùtí? khæ \.*

tsú=â bármá=â ínì-lám-hmô èy
 DIST=LOC Burma=LOC3PLA-cross-NMLZ ANAPH.DEM
phrúthóy-tí? bá?thwáy-tí? pú-tí? khæ
name.of.a.person-PL name.of.a.person-PL uncle-PL all

‘They crossed Burma, those Phruythoys and Bahthways, all the uncles.

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_136-137]

Nouns that express names of place and things can take different case clitics. They can be heads of their respective noun phrases. They can also be preceded by demonstrative pronouns.

3.3.2.8 Common nouns

Common nouns in Hyow form a large part of the Hyow vocabulary. The semantic class of common nouns spread widely from nature to culture. These nouns can take life-cycle indicative suffixes (§5.5.4), case markers and other available inflectional morphemes. However, enumeration by quantifiers and numerals is most salient than all other grammatical morphemes in identifying common nouns formally.

Hyow does not differentiate between count nouns and mass nouns in respect of suffixal inflectional markings. However, they both can be quantified. The numerals that quantify the count and mass nouns form numeral compounds with numeral classifiers (see §3.4.2.6, §4.4.1.4). The classifiers are based on types of referents of count and mass nouns. Generally, sortal numeral classifiers are used for count nouns and mensural classifiers are used for mass nouns, as exemplified in (40) and (41) respectively. Inanimate count and mass common nouns are not indexed on verbs for their grammatical functions in Hyow.

(40) *bú? lóngshǎ? ʔn lóngshǎ? áthǎ?yhyǎ.*

bú?	lông-shǎ?	ʔn	lông-shǎ?	á-thǎ-ǎ?y-hyǎ
rice	M.CLS-seven	curry	M.CLS-seven	DIR-deliver.II-IRR-PM

‘He will go to deliver seven pots of rice and seven pots of curry.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_319]

(41) *úytsóní lùák íhni?tsànéyhnǎ?tí.*

úy-tsǎ = ní	lú-ák	í-hní?-tsán-êy-hnǎ? = tí
dog-DIM=FOC	CLS-one	3A-DL-bring.II-MID-ULT=R.EVID

‘They two brought up one puppy.’ [ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0003]

Common nouns, which belong to the open class of words, are spread over a large semantic area. Semantically, common nouns that refer to natural concepts and objects are sometimes compounds in forms taking the optional morpheme *khô* ‘time’. Table 62 lists some common nouns of different semantic classes in Hyow.

Semantic class	Examples
Nature	<i>khó-kúm</i> ‘year’ <i>khó-hnúp</i> ‘day’ <i>khó</i> ‘rain’ <i>khrí</i> ‘wind’
Fauna	<i>ûy</i> ‘dog’ <i>tù?ûy</i> ‘tiger’ <i>mûy</i> ‘elephant’
Flora	<i>khéypá</i> ‘flower’ <i>thîng</i> ‘tree’
Insects	<i>khôy</i> ‘bee’ <i>pîl</i> ‘mosquito’ <i>mó</i> ‘bedbug’ <i>khîw</i> ‘cockroach’
Instrument	<i>khôw</i> ‘spoon’ <i>hmúlang</i> ‘mirror’ <i>hníbók</i> ‘gun’ <i>hêy</i> ‘axe’ <i>tsim</i> ‘da/knife’
Misc.	<i>kóm</i> ‘bank’ <i>dí</i> ‘dirt’ <i>bé</i> ‘word’

Table 62: Unbound common nouns in Hyow

Until now, various types of nouns and their morphological and syntactic properties have been discussed. Based on the discussion above, the properties of nouns are summarized in Table 63.

Noun categories	Properties of nouns							
	Head of a NP	Head of a possessive NP	Quantifiable	Case marking	Life-cycle indicative suffix marking	Pluralization (-ti?)	Vocative cliticization	Demonstratives
Body part terms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓
Bound locative nouns	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓
Bound common nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓
Kinship nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓	some	✓	✓	✓
Personal nouns	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Unbound common nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓
Unbound locative nouns	✗	some	✗	✓	✗	✗		✓

Table 63: Properties of nouns in Hyow

3.4 CLOSED WORD CLASS

The closed word classes consist of various types of pronouns, a number of nominal modifiers including case clitics, temporal words, adverbs, manner nouns, discourse connectives, a phrasal conjunction, interjections, exclamatory expressions, onomatopoeic words, expressives, a quotative particle and several clitics.

3.4.1 PRONOUNS

Pronouns are closed class of words, and belong to the nominal category. Pronouns can be further divided into several subclasses, which include personal pronouns (§3.4.1.1), demonstrative pronouns (§3.4.1.2), interrogative pronouns (§3.4.1.3), indefinite pronouns (§3.4.1.4) and generic indefinite pronoun (§3.4.1.5). These pronouns have a wide variety of functions in the grammar of Hyow. Since they are a nominal category, they can be formally identified by the properties used for nouns in Table 63.

3.4.1.1 Personal pronouns

The set of personal pronouns in Hyow has thirteen members (two additional) with three way distinctions for person and number. In addition, Hyow also makes a distinction between exclusive and inclusive for first person in dual and plural numbers. Typically, personal pronouns are used to refer to human-referent. However, personal pronouns are generically disassociated with the identifying properties of their referents because they are primarily assigned to denote speech roles (Bhat, 2004: 38). They cannot be modified by demonstratives or complemented. For non-human referents, anaphoric demonstratives are used in Hyow. Table 64 lists all the personal pronouns in Hyow.

Person	Number				
	SG	DL.INC	DL.EXC	PL.INC	PL.EXC
First	kêy	hníhní?	kéyhní?	nàngké?y	kéyní?
Second	náng	nànghní?, náhá?y		nàngní?, ná?y	
Third	ání	áhní?		ání?	

Table 64: Personal pronouns in Hyow

The second person dual and plural pronouns have alternative forms in Hyow. Cognates of the additional second person pronoun forms are not found in any other SC languages. Therefore, the origin of the second person dual and plural pronouns, *náhá?y* and *ná?y* respectively, cannot be predicted. However, the *há?y* of the second person dual pronoun form, which expresses the number, seems to be related to a third person dual marker *-hó?y* on verb. Examples of the alternative second person pronouns are given in (42) and (43).

(42) *náhá?ydô àtæálhní?*

náhá?y = dô àt-tæ-âl-hní?

2DL=EMPH 1P-send.I.IMP-DEP-DEL.IMP

‘Send us back.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_127]

(43) *náʔy tsètákhólhnóʔ.*

náʔy tsét-âl-khól-hnóʔ

2PL go-DEP-PL.IMP-ULT

‘Go back at once.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_040]

There are three demonstratives in Hyow. One of the demonstratives is used anaphorically. Bhat (2004: 132-150) explains how third person pronouns are different from the first person and second person series of pronouns. He (2004: 14) mentions that some languages derive the third person from the demonstrative pronouns. Hyow is a good example of that.

Hyow personal pronouns are marked for different case clitics. Third person pronouns are marked by an ergative case clitic, while first and second person pronouns are not marked by the ergative case clitic (see §10.3.1).

Unlike nouns, personal pronouns cannot be preceded by any demonstratives as adnominals. If a demonstrative is juxtaposed with a noun by preceding it, then it constructs an equative copula clause, where the personal pronoun function as the copula complement.

3.4.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Hyow has two distinctive demonstrative pronouns in relation to the distance from the speech act participants. These two forms of the demonstrative pronouns can also function as spatial deictics with adverbial meanings, but they have to take the locative clitic in order to function so. The proximate demonstrative pronoun *ní* and the distant demonstrative pronoun *tsú* in Hyow can be illustrated with a linear line in Figure 48. The black circle represents the place of the object in relation to the speech act participants (SAP) and the rectangular represents the SAPs. Other than these two demonstratives, which show binary opposition, there is an anaphoric demonstrative *éy* in Hyow (not shown in Figure 48).

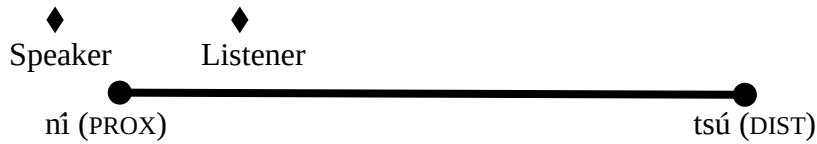


Figure 48: A linear illustration of Hyow demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives modify nouns by preceding them. All the three demonstratives can function adnominally. All the three demonstrative pronouns can also function as heads of NPs. Moreover, they are also used as third person referents in the text. The dual number suffix and expansive suffix, *-hóʔy* and *-khôl* attached to the demonstrative pronouns to form third person dual and plural pronouns respectively. Examples of the distal demonstrative and proximal demonstrative referring to third person referents are given in (44) and (45) respectively. In both the examples, the demonstratives are functioning as heads. There is also an anaphoric demonstrative in (44), which is referring to an activity of collision in the context.

(44) *èydô èy pônông tsùhàʔá íhniʔtsètâl.*

èydô èy pôn-ông tsú-hóʔy = á í-hniʔ-tsét-âl
 then ANAPH.DEM finish-TEMP DIST-DL=ADD 3S-DL-go-DEP

‘Then, when that finished, they two also went away.’

[ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_019]

(45) *shóʔ nì-khól lûmhnângùhô.*

shóʔ nì-khól lûm-hnâng-ú-hô
 no PROX-EXP cross.II-PH.CAP-3PL.NEG-PM

‘No, they will not be able to cross.’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_196]

Demonstrative pronouns also form adverbial demonstratives by taking bound adverbials. For example, the bound adverbial morphemes *húʔy*, *bó* and *lúp* are frequently used to form manner adverbial demonstrative, as in *nìhúʔy* ‘like this’, *tsùbó* ‘like this’, *èylúp* ‘like that’, etc. In addition, when the demonstratives are marked by the locative and inessive case clitics, they form locative adverbial demonstratives, as

in $ní = \hat{a}$ (PROX=LOC) ‘here’, $tsú = \hat{a}$ (DIST=LOC) ‘there’ and $èy = \hat{a}$ (ANAPH = LOC) ‘there (anaphoric).

3.4.1.3 Interrogative pronouns

Hyow has eight interrogative pronouns and they are ontologically categorized. The interrogative pronouns take a content question-marking clitic $= \hat{a}m$ or a polar question-marking clitic $= \hat{e}y$ in verbless interrogative clauses. When these pronouns are used in full interrogative clauses, the question markers are attached to verbs, heads of clauses. Table 65 lists all the eight interrogative pronouns in Hyow.

Ontological categories	Interrogative pronouns	Underline structures	Gloss
Thing	<i>í</i>	i	‘what’
	<i>móng</i>	<i>móng</i>	‘which’
Person	<i>ú</i>	u	‘who’
Place	<i>mòâ</i>	mó = â (where=LOC)	‘where’
Time	<i>itîâ</i>	í-tí = â (what-time=LOC)	‘when’
Cause	<i>yá</i>	yá	‘why’
Process	<i>ibó</i>	í-bó (what-way)	‘how’
Quantity	<i>ibóng</i>	í-óbóng (what-many)	‘how many’
Value	<i>ihyó?</i>	í-hyó? (what-much)	‘how much’

Table 65: Interrogative pronouns in Hyow

Table 65 demonstrates that four of the interrogative pronouns are based on *í* (what). The Thing interrogative pronoun *í* and the Process interrogative pronoun *ibó* are interchangeable; one can be used for another in texts.

Interrogative pronouns can be identified by a multiplicative suffix, which points to plural referents expressed by the interrogative pronouns. The multiplicative suffix *-ó* is only accessible to the interrogative pronouns (see §5.5.8). The multiplicative

suffix attached to the interrogative pronouns as in (46) and (47) helps the interrogative pronouns denote multiple referents.

(46) *mòngdâ ínîyâ?ôm?*

móng-ô = â í-ní-yâ? = ôm

which-MULT=LOC 3A-PL-sell.II-CONT.Q

‘In which places they sell (the sculptures)? (Lit.: Where where do they sell)’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0041]

(47) *îó hlâôm?*

í-ô hlâ = ôm

what-MULT be.required=CONT.Q

‘What (documents) are required (Lit.: What what are required?)’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0094]

When interrogative pronouns precede nouns, they function as adnominals. Similar to the demonstrative pronouns, they modify nouns by preceding them, as exemplified in (48).

(48) *í khâwkhôl nókrowhôm.*

í khâw-khól nó-krów-hô = ôm

what word-EXP 2S-speak-PM=CONT.Q

‘What languages are you speaking?’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0029]

3.4.1.4 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Hyow are divided into negative indefinite pronouns, specific indefinite pronouns and non-specific indefinite pronouns. These three types of indefinite pronouns are formed differently. The series of indefinite pronouns in Hyow

displays Haspelmath's (1997) interrogative-based and generic-noun-based indefinite systems.

The negative indefinite pronouns are based on inflected interrogative pronouns. When an interrogative pronoun inflected by a scalar additive clitic =*á* is used in a clause with negative polarity, then the inflected interrogative pronoun functions as a negative indefinite pronoun. Therefore, based on the classification given by Haspelmath (1997: 26), the negative indefinites in Hyow can be said to be interrogative-based indefinites. It is not uncommon for languages to form indefinite pronouns from interrogative pronouns (See Haspelmath, 1997: 26-27). Furthermore, it makes sense that the negative indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogative pronouns. According to Bhat (2004: 227), both the interrogative and the indefinite pronoun contain a gap of information or a lack of knowledge. Generally, the use of an interrogative pronoun refers to a gap of a speaker's failure to provide information, and the use of an indefinite pronoun refers to the speaker's incapability or lack of enthusiasm. In addition to what Bhat (2004) says, it can be added that a problem of specificity is related to the semantics of the interrogative pronouns. This issue of non-specificity of information allows the inflected interrogative pronouns to function as negative indefinite pronouns in clauses with negative polarity.

In citation forms, the negative indefinite pronouns have to be accompanied with a negative copular verb *hyá?* 'be not'. Without the negated copular verb, the interrogative pronouns inflected by the scalar additive clitic do not stand for anything to a Hyow speaker. They consider such forms ungrammatical without the negated copular verb in citations or in a copula clause. In view of that, a grammatically correct negative indefinite pronoun can be semantically derived from *ú = lá = há* (what=ERG=SC.ADD) 'even who' used in a clause with negative polarity in (49).

(49) *kêy dúkhá? ùláhá khi?éyhnò?ú* ㄣ.

kêy dúkhá? ú = lâ = há khi?-êy-hnò?-ú

1SG trouble what=ERG=SC.ADD tolerate.II-MID-DEL.NEG-3PL.NEG

‘Nobody will tolerate my troubles.’ [ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0058]

Table 66 lists the inflected interrogative pronouns, which can be interpreted as negative indefinite pronouns in clauses with negative polarity. Since the locative case clitic =*â* and the scalar additive clitic =*á* have identical segmental form, the Place and Time negative indefinite pronouns take *há* as a part of the respective negative indefinite pronouns in order to avoid a sequence of two vowels of similar quality.

Categories	Negative indefinite pronouns	Underlying forms and meanings	Interpretation
Thing	<i>íá hyá?</i>	<i>í = á hyá?</i> (what=SC.ADD be.not) ‘even what not’	‘nothing’
Person	<i>ùá hyá?</i>	<i>ú = á hyá?</i> (who=SC.ADD be.not) ‘even who not’	‘none (no one)’ (S)
	<i>ùláhá Σ-á?</i>	<i>ú = lâ = há Σ-á?</i> (who=ERG=SC.ADD root-3SG.NEG) ‘even who not’	‘none (no one)’ (A)
Place	<i>mòáhá hyá?</i>	<i>mòâ = há hyá?</i> (where=SC.ADD be.not) ‘even where not’	‘nowhere’
Time	<i>ìtiáhá hiá?</i>	<i>itiâ = há hyá?</i> (when=SC.ADD be.not) ‘even when not’	‘never’

Table 66: Negative indefinite pronouns in Hyow

Specific indefinite pronouns are formed by utilizing interrogative pronouns, the numeral ‘one’ and generic nouns in Hyow. Haspelmath (1997: 27-28) explains that generally the generic-noun-based indefinites are derived from generic nouns of ontological categories (thing, person, time and place) and indefiniteness marker.

Likewise, the Hyow specific indefinite pronoun for Time includes the word *ékút* ‘various’, which inherently carries a semantics of indefiniteness. The Thing, Person and Place specific indefinite pronouns include interrogative pronouns as parts of their forms. Table 67 lists the specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow.

Categories	Specific indefinite pronouns	Gloss
Thing	<i>ùák, iêm</i>	‘something’
Person	<i>ùôm</i>	‘someone’
Place	<i>mòngáôm, mòáôm, ùàká</i>	‘somewhere’
Time	<i>ékút khòâ</i>	‘sometimes’

Table 67: Specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow

Non-specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow obligatorily include the morpheme *lálá* and the modifier *pêy* ‘at least’. If a speaker wants to refer to any place, then the speaker adds the locative case clitic to the morpheme *lálá* followed by *pêy*. The morpheme *lálá* can only be used to form the non-specific pronouns. Outside the non-specific indefinite pronouns, it does not have any use. Examples of the Time and Manner non-specific indefinite pronouns are given in (50) and (51) respectively.

(50) *làlakhóápêy kímílàè?yhyśdś kéyní? ʘ.*

làlakhóápêy kí-ní-lò-æ?y-hyô = dś kéyní?

anytime 1S-PL-come-IRR-PM=EMPG 1PL

‘We will come anytime.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_042]

(51) *kóbóyó làlàhù?ypêy ápô ʘ.*

kó-bôy-ó làlàhù?ypêy á-pô

1SG.POSS-lord=VOC **anyhow** DIR-DV.I.IMP

‘My lord! Go to mend (that) anyhow.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_015]

A non-specific indefinite pronoun can modify a noun by following it. The non-specific indefinite pronoun for Thing is modifying the elided possessee noun of the genitive noun phrase in (52).

(52) *èy hnòthĩngtsô pùmhlíəngkʰə? làlàápêy tsíəybəy.*

èy hnòthĩng-tsô púm-hlí = êng = kʰə? **làlàápêy**
 ANAPH.DEM banana.tree-DIM CLS-four=INE=GEN **anything**

 tsí-êy-bəy
 take.I.IMP-mid-DEL.IMP

‘Take within any one of those four banana trees.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0067]

Table 68 lists the non-specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow.

Categories	Non-specific indefinite pronouns	Gloss
Thing	<i>làlàápêy</i>	‘anything’
Person	<i>lòshùápêy</i>	‘anyone’
Place	<i>làlàápêy</i>	‘anywhere’
Time	<i>làlàkhóápêy</i>	‘anytime’
Manner	<i>láláhù?ypêy</i>	‘anyhow’

Table 68: Non-specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow

3.4.1.5 Generic Indefinite pronoun

Hyow includes two generic indefinite pronouns – a singular and a plural. The singular generic indefinite pronoun originates in the free numeral for one in Hyow. It is a minor class of indefinite pronoun following Haspelmath’s (1997: 29) observations cross-linguistically. There are two numerals for *one* in Hyow. The numeral *hngát*

(VanBik 2009 reconstructed the PKC form as **hat*, but there is no nasalized vowel), which is an unbound form can be used as a generic pronoun in Hyow. On the other hand, the plural indefinite pronoun, *hángháng* can also function as a lexical quantifier. As a nominal category, it has limited function. Unlike the singular generic indefinite pronoun, the plural generic indefinite pronoun cannot be marked by any case clitic. Nonetheless, the plural generic indefinite pronoun can function as a head of a NP and a nominal modifier in Hyow.

The singular generic indefinite pronoun can take different case clitics as the other personal pronouns, and nouns. In (53), the generic indefinite pronoun is an A argument of the transitive verb *pék* ‘give.II’. And so, the generic indefinite pronoun is marked by the ergative case clitic =*lâ*. On the other hand, the generic indefinite pronoun is functioning as the S argument of the intransitive verb *lò* ‘come’ in (54).

(53) *èydô èy hngàtlâ ápèkâl.*

èydô èy **hngàt=lâ** á-pék-âl
then ANAPH.DEM **one=ERG** DIR-give.II-DEP

‘Then, that one went to return (the hat).’

[ZM_PSN_072015_Hyow_0047_024]

(54) *óló hngát sháykèlông lòní...*

óló **hngát** sháykél=êng lò-ní
again **one** cycle=INE come-TEMP

‘Again, when one came on cycle...’

[ZM_PSM_072015_Hyow_0048_011]

The plural generic indefinite pronoun is not marked by any case clitic. It can function as a head and a nominal modifier, which is evident from examples in (55), (56) and (57). In (55), the plural generic indefinite pronoun is functioning as an S argument of the intransitive verb *pôy-êy* (be.good-MID) ‘beautiful’. In (56), it is functioning as P argument of the transitive verb *shǎ?l* ‘clean.II’ and in (57), it is used

as a nominal modifier of the elided NP head, which is also modified by the numeral compound *pótsóng-sháé?* (CLS-six). The classifier helps to identify the elided head, which is ‘woman’.

(55) *hángháng pýy-êy.*

hángháng	pýy-êy
all	be.good-MID

‘All were beautiful.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0065]

(56) *èykhól khàní hángháng íníshà?lâl.*

èy-khól	khá = ní	hángháng	í-ní-shà?l-âl
ANAPH.DEM-EXT	all=FOC	all	3A-PL-clean.II-DEP

‘They cleaned all, all those [things].’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_016]

(57) *pòt? mò?dóhóní hángháng pótsóngshèktsâ.*

pòt?	mó?	dó-hó = ní	hángháng	pótsóng-shók = tsâ
husband	owner	COP-PM=FOC	all	CLS-six=TOP

‘All six were owners of husband.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_068]

3.4.2 NOMINAL MODIFIERS

Nominal modifiers belong to closed class of words. They follow or precede nominals in order to build a modifying relation with heads of noun phrases. Hyow nominal modifiers comprise nominal deictics (§3.4.2), nominal anaphoric demonstrative (§3.4.2.2), quantifying demonstratives (§3.4.2.3), quantifiers (§3.4.2.4), numerals (§3.4.2.5) and case clitics (§3.4.2.7)

3.4.2.1 Nominal deictics

Nominal deictics in Hyow modify the head of a NP preceding it. The proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns can function as nominal deictics, as in *ní pót* (PROX way) ‘this way’ and *tsú pót* (DIST way) ‘that way’. One of the uses of such deictics as modifiers is to define the position of the nominal referent in the space, which means that speakers use the nominal deictics to refer to the distance of the referent in relation to the speech act participants (SAP). Examples in (58) and (59) illustrate the use of proximal and distal nominal deictics in Hyow. In each of the examples, the nominal deictic indicates a spatial distance of the referent of the modified head by pointing out with gestures.

(58) *ní túytsòktsô tsòkshæ? tsìéyhni?*

ní [tùytsók-tsô]_{HEAD} tsók-shæ? tsí-êy-hní?
PROX [bambbo.water.glass-DIM] M.CLS-seven take.I.IMP-MID-DEL.IMP

‘Take these seven bamboo water-glasses.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_130]

(59) *tsú ímâ kôy.*

tsú [îm = â]_{HEAD} kôy
DIST [house=LOC] ascend

‘She climb up to that house.’ [ZM_GG_SPW_062007_Hyow_0033_006]

For dual or plural referents of head nouns, the nominal deictics are not marked for dual or plural numbers, which is evident from the example in (58), where another nominal modifier, the numeral compound *tsòk-shæ?* (CLS-seven), encodes the quantity of the referent of the head.

It is also significant here to mention that such use of spatial nominal deictics is greatly used in conversations, where the referent is visible to both of the speech act participants. If a storyteller directly quotes a speech of the characters in the story, then such use of nominal deictics is also possible.

3.4.2.2 Nominal anaphoric demonstrative

Among the three demonstrative pronouns, the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, *èy*, can function as nominal demonstrative. The anaphoric demonstrative *èy* refers to a nominal referent that is already mentioned in the preceding discourse (for the function of an anaphoric demonstrative, see Diesel, 1999: 95-100). Sentence (60) exemplifies a textual application of the anaphoric nominal demonstrative in Hyow. Here, the anaphoric demonstrative is indicating to the referent of the noun *wán* ‘thing’, which is already mentioned in previous discourse. This use of the nominal anaphoric demonstrative allows the addressee to track down the referent.

(60) *èydô èy wánkholóng námâ tsétálhlô.*

èydô èy [*wán-khól* = *ông*]_{HEAD} *nám* = *â* *tsét-âl-hlô*
 then **ANAPH.DEM** [thing-EXP=COMT] village=LOC go-DEP-PM

‘Then, he went back to the village with those things.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0053]

The nominal anaphoric demonstrative is frequently used in oral stories. The contexts of such demonstrative necessarily do not include the visibility of referents to the speech act participants.

3.4.2.3 Quantifying demonstratives

Quantifying demonstratives are formed by the demonstrative pronouns and a bound quantifier *hyɔʔ* ‘much’. All the three demonstrative pronouns can form quantifying demonstratives, which point out to the quantity of nominal referents, with the bound quantifier in Hyow. The quantifying demonstratives do not have any variant based on count and mass noun.

Quantifying demonstratives precede the head of a NP to modify it, which is manifested in the given examples in (61) and (62), where a proximal quantifying demonstrative and an anaphoric quantifying demonstrative are modifying their respective heads.

(61) *nìhyó? khókúm kémêy.*

nìhyó? [khókúm]_{HEAD} ké-mêy

QN.DEM [months] 1S-stay

‘I stayed this many months.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0060]

(62) *èyhyó? dúkhá? méyhnó? ʌ.*

èyhyó? [dúkhá?]_{HEAD} mêy-hnó?

QN.ANAPH.DEM [trouble] exist-DEL.NEG

‘There will not be that much troubles.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_052]

3.4.2.4 Quantifier

There are not many quantifying words in Hyow. The function of these quantifiers is to modify the noun by following it. There is no separate class of quantifiers for count and mass nouns. For example, the quantifier *śbóng* ‘many’ can modify both a count and a mass noun, as in *tîy śbóng* ‘many water’ and *ngó śbóng* ‘many fishes’.

The plural generic indefinite pronoun *hángháng*, which is a reduplicated form, functions as a quantifier too. Being a quantifier, it follows a noun. The example in (63) shows how the plural indefinite pronoun modifies the noun *ú-lúkí* ‘his head’ by following it. Likewise, it is quantifying the anaphoric demonstrative in (64).

(63) *èydô úlúkí hángháng khà?éyáltî.*

èydô úlúkí hángháng khà?-êy-âl = tí

then 3SG.POSS-head all shave.II-MID-MID=R.EVID

‘Then, he shaved off all his head himself.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_246]

(64) *èy háng háng tsòwálùlàtsê ímâ íníshàyâl.*

èy háng háng tsów-âl-ú-lá = tsê ím = â
ANAPH.DEM all dig.I-DEP-3PL-SEQ=TOP house=LOC

í-ní-sháy-âl

3A-PL-bring.again.and.again.II-DEP

‘Digging all those, they brought to the house again and again.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_031]

The other quantifying word for ‘all’ in Hyow is *khæ*, exemplified in (65). Given a preference of usage based on the animate~inanimate distinction, Hyow speakers are inclined to use *háng háng* for inanimate referents and *khæ* for animate referents. However, textual examples show that the quantifier *háng háng* can be used for animate referents as well.

(65) *khóytsìp-khòl khæ hòwá? íní-mík tsékhô = tî.*

khóytsìp-khòl **khæ** hòwá? í-ní-mík tsék-khô = tî
ring-EXP **all** without 3.POSS-PL-eye be.impaired-PM=R.EVID

‘Their eyes were impaired without all rings.’

[ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0047]

The quantifying word *śbóng* probably has an initial prefix, but its source and category is unknown. The presumed initial prefix is not deleted from the root under any morphophonological condition. So, when this quantifies a noun, the prefix is not deleted from the stem, as shown in (66), where it is quantifying an inanimate and count noun.

(66) *bôytsâ sbóng méyéy* ↗.

bôy = tsâ **sbóng** méy-êy

book_B=TOP **many** exist-POL.Q

‘Are there many books?’ [ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0100]

The quantifiers of Hyow are listed in Table 69, which shows two quantifying words for ‘half’. The word *dám* ‘half’ is used for quantifying liquid referents.

Quantifiers	Gloss
<i>háng háng, khá</i>	‘all’
<i>sbóng</i>	‘many’
<i>bíttsó</i>	‘a little’
<i>bèngák</i>	‘half’
<i>dám</i>	‘half’ (for liquid)

Table 69: Quantifying words in Hyow

3.4.2.5 Numerals

Hyow employs a decimal numeral system for counting things. In fact, the decimal system starts from thirty, where the morpheme *gíp* is used in the decimal slot. This morpheme for expressing decimal originates in PTB **gíp* (Benedict 1972) or *in *g(y)ip* ≠ **gíp* (Matisoff 2003). Before thirty, the numerals are formed in different ways, which are explained after the numerals from one to ten listed in Table 70.

PTB (Benedict 1972)	PTB (Matisoff 2003)	PKC (VanBik 2009)	Hyow	Gloss
<i>*t(y)ik</i>	<i>*t(y)ak</i> ꜜ ¹⁷ <i>*t(y)ik</i>	<i>*khat</i> ꜜ <i>*ʔat</i> ꜜ <i>*hat</i>	<i>hngát, ák</i>	‘one’
<i>*g-nis</i>	<i>*ni</i>	<i>*niʔ</i> ꜜ <i>*hniʔ</i>	<i>hniʔ</i>	‘two’
<i>*g-sum</i>	<i>*sum</i>	<i>*thum</i>	<i>thûm</i>	‘three’
<i>*b-liy</i>	<i>*ləy</i>	<i>*lii</i>	<i>hlí</i>	‘four’
<i>*l-nga</i>	<i>*nga</i>	<i>*ngaa</i>	<i>hngó</i>	‘five’
<i>*d-ruk</i>	<i>*kruk, *ruk</i>	<i>*ruk</i>	<i>shók</i>	‘six’
<i>ʔ</i>	<i>*ni</i>	<i>*sa-riʔ</i>	<i>sháéʔ</i>	‘seven’
<i>*b-r-gyat</i>	<i>*gyat</i> ꜜ <i>*ryat</i>	<i>*riat</i>	<i>sháét</i>	‘eight’
<i>*d-kuw</i>	<i>*gəw, *kəw, *rəw</i>	<i>*kua</i>	<i>kóʔ</i>	‘nine’
<i>*gip</i>	<i>*g(y)ip, *gip</i>	<i>*hraa</i>	<i>há</i>	‘ten’

Table 70: Cardinal numeral (1-10) in Hyow

Table 70 demonstrates two forms for numeral one in Hyow. The unbound numeral *hngát* originates in the PKC **khat*ꜜ**ʔat*ꜜ**hat*. Myanmar variety of Laitu Hyow has the similar form for numeral one. We know that nasalized vowels are the results of assimilation. Nasal vowels may become phonemic in languages after the loss of nasals over a period. At the end of this cycle of sound change, the nasalized vowels become plain vowels. In view of that, the form for numeral one in Hyow is the older form than what VanBik 2009 reconstructed as the PKC form (we expect a nasalized vowel to become a plain vowel due to the drop of the nasal consonants). The numeral *hngát* ‘one’ is free. As a result, it functions as a generic indefinite pronoun, which I have discussed in §3.4.1.5. The other form for numeral one, *ák*, originates in the PTB **t(y)ik* (Benedict 1972) or **t(y)ak*ꜜ **t(y)ik* (Matisoff 2003). The numeral *ák* is bound, because it has to be attached to classifiers in order to form a numeral compound, as in *hô lù-ák* (bird CLS-one) ‘one bird’. If a noun does not have a numeral classifier or if the numeral classifier is not used, then the numeral is attached

¹⁷ This symbol represents alloforms on the both sides.

to the relevant noun. Similarly, the numerals from two onwards can be used with a noun if there are no numeral classifiers.

The numeral *hniʔ* ‘two’ originates in PTB **g-nis*. There is a voicing alternation of the nasal in Hyow. The numeral *hniʔ* also forms the first and second person dual pronouns. The numeral *thûm* ‘three’ originates in PTB **g-sum* (Benedict 1972) or **sum* (Matisoff 2003). The change of PTB **s* to PKC **th* is treated as one of the shared features of Kuki-Chin languages by VanBik (2009), though it is a problematic feature to attribute to KC languages, since Sumi (Teo 2014) and Rawngtu, which are KC languages, do not show the change of PTB **s* to PKC **th*. However, the change of the proto initial to voiceless alveolar stop in Hyow is very straightforward.

The numerals from ‘four’ to ‘ten’ in Hyow can be traced back to PTB, while the numeral *há* ‘ten’ originates in PKC **hraa* (VanBik 2009). Table 71 lists the numerals after ten.

Numerals	Underline forms	Gloss
<i>páyleyák</i>	páylēy-ák (after.ten-one)	‘eleven’
<i>páyleyhní?</i>	páylēy-hní? (after.ten-two)	‘twelve’
<i>kúl</i>	na	‘twenty’
<i>kùlgólhngát</i>	kúl-gól-hngát (twenty-and-one)	‘twenty one’
<i>thúnggíp</i>	thùng-gíp (three-ten)	‘thirty’
<i>thúnggìpgólhngát</i>	thùng-gíp-gól-hngát (three-ten-and-one)	‘thirty one’
<i>hligíp</i>	hlí-gíp (four-ten)	‘forty’
<i>hngògíp</i>	hngó-gíp (five-ten)	‘fifty’
<i>khrák</i>	khrá-ák (hundred-one)	‘one hundred’
<i>khràhní?</i>	krhá-hní? (hundred-two)	‘two hundred’
<i>khràhni?gólhlí</i>	khrá-hní?-gól-hlí (hundred-two-and-four)	‘two hundred and four’
<i>thóhngát</i>	thông-hngát (thousand-one)	‘one thousand’
<i>thóhghá</i>	thông-há (thousand-ten)	‘ten thousand’
<i>thóhngkúl</i>	thông-kúl (thousand-twenty)	‘twenty thousand’
<i>thóhngthúnggíp</i>	thông-thùng-gíp (thousand-three-ten)	‘thirty thousand’

Table 71: Cardinal numerals in Hyow

After ten, the numerals are formed by taking the morpheme *páylēy*, which has a literal meaning of ‘exceeding ten’, though there is no Hyow numeral in this form that can be interpreted as ‘ten’. Other varieties of Hyow have a similar sort of morpheme for counting from eleven to nineteen. Looking at the Daai data (Hartmann 2009), it seems that this (using *páylēy*) is a new and short system. The old system, which is used by only old Daai speakers, included the numeral *há* ‘ten’ for forming the numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’, as can be found in Daai numeral ‘eleven’, *xa-lei-at* (Hartmann, 2009: 128). The morpheme *ley* used in the numerals from eleven to nineteen originates in PTB **lay* > **ley* (Matisoff 2003), which means ‘exceed’, ‘pass’ or ‘surplus’. A. Coupe (personal communication, August 11, 2017) suggests that this

could be a very old Tai loan, as it has the same meaning in Thai and other Southeastern Tai languages.

The form of numeral twenty originates in the PTB **(m-) kul* (Benedict 1972) or **kul* (Matisoff 2003). After the numeral twenty, the form of the numerals take twenty as base until the numeral twenty-nine, as in *kúl-gól-hníʔ* (twenty-and-two/twenty-two). The morpheme *gól* seems to function as a conjunctive morpheme, which means ‘add’ or ‘and’. The conjunctive morpheme *gól* possibly originates in PTB **ral* (Matisoff 2003), which means ‘connect’. This can be explained considering the reflexes of PTB initial **r* in Kuki-Chin languages, especially in Northern Chin languages (VanBik 2009).

From the numeral thirty, Hyow employs a decimal system by adding the old numeral *gíp* ‘ten’ with the bases, as in *thûng-gíp* (three-ten) ‘thirty’, *hlí-gíp* (four-ten) ‘forty’, etc. Though the numeral for three is *thûm*, Hyow seems to have velarized the final nasal for the numeral *thúng-gíp* ‘thirty’ (the numeral three in Khumi, one of the Southern Chin languages, is *thung*). From thirty-one, the Hyow speakers add the conjunctive morpheme *gól* to form the numerals, as in *thúng-gíp-gól-thûm* (three-ten-and-three) ‘thirty-three’.

The numeral for hundred in Hyow is *kh rá* and the numeral for one hundred and one is *kh rák* (kh rá-ák). The PKC form for the numeral hundred is **yaa* (VanBik 2009). There is no conjunctive morpheme in numerals after one hundred in Hyow. Hartmann (2009: 129) reports that Daai old numeral system uses a conjunctive word *kəna* after the numeral hundred, as in *phya-at kəna mat* ‘one hundred one’. She glosses *kəna* as ‘after’ or ‘afterwards’, and mentions that though she is not sure of the semantics, *kəna* has an alternative form *kənhng*. The clitics *=kôn* and *=əng* are ablative and inessive locative case markers in Hyow.

VanBik (2009) has not reconstructed thousand in PKC, but Matisoff reconstructs it in PTB as **tong*, which has a cognate in Daai, *athoong* or *thong-at* ‘one thousand’. The Hyow numeral for one thousand is *thónghngát* (*thông-hngát*). Thousand is the highest numeral unit in Hyow.

3.4.2.6 Numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers are a kind of quantifier that is used to count things by unit (Greenberg, 1972: 2). The counting unit, namely the numeral classifier, can be semantically categorized based on referents' size, shape, animacy and structure (Aikhenvald, 2000: 98), which are generally termed as relevance of referents. Hyow has several numeral classifiers. Though numeral classifiers can be independent lexemes in many languages, they are bound morphemes in Hyow and are attached to either the numerals or the nouns. Thus, numeral classifiers form compounds with numerals in order to modify nouns.

According to the second hypothesis of Greenberg (1972: 2), the numeral classifier construction is modelled on the measure construction of mass nouns. Greenberg also mentions that such a type of construction arises in languages where there was distinction between a mass and a count noun previously. This observation of Greenberg 1972 is true for Hyow. Hyow no longer differentiates between the mass noun and count noun (both types of nouns can be modified by same quantifiers).

Hyow has both mensural and sortal classifiers, but Hyow does not have classifiers for all nouns, as can be seen in many of the world languages (Greenberg 1972, Aikhenvald 2000). Table 72 lists the numeral classifiers in Hyow.

Categories	Classifiers	Members
Human	<i>pótsông</i>	man, woman, boy, girl, etc.
Four-legged animals	<i>púm</i>	tiger, goat, cow, pig, elephant, rabbit, mongoose, tree, etc.
Two-legged animals	<i>lú</i>	birds, bat, etc.
Aquatic animals	<i>nú</i>	fish, frog, mosquito, insects, ant, etc.
Long things	<i>hyông</i>	snake, crocodile, river, brook, boat, ship, knife, bamboo, ladder, bridge, monitor lizard, etc.
Small things that come out of a base	<i>káng</i>	bamboo flower (handmade), seedling, pelage, feather, etc.
Ingredients/General	<i>pây</i>	stick, fruits, pillar, mat, pocket, spoon, button, book, pen, earring, ring, etc.
Instruments	<i>tól</i>	bill-hook, sickle, axe, spade, knife, hoe, etc.
Thin and long things	<i>tám</i>	stick of match, cigarette, arrow, etc.
Bulb shaped things	<i>bú</i>	onion, garlic, etc.
	<i>lùng</i>	chilly, cooked rice, snail, etc.
Things that form lumps/Piece of things	<i>pêl</i>	stone, soil, snacks, rice, and curry of small fish, meat, chinese cabbage, cauliflower, etc.
Clothing	<i>thé</i>	shirt, pant, loin, lungi, thami, mat, etc.
Things that are used for covering	<i>hl</i>	fence, wood plank, door, cloud, etc.
	<i>lók</i>	plate,
Flattened things	<i>póʔl</i>	biscuit, cake, thin snacks, (hand of) ginger, (hand of) turmeric, etc.

Categories	Classifiers	Members
Bunch of fruits that form cluster in trees	<i>shôm</i>	tamarind, grape, mango, etc.
	<i>khâm</i>	lichi
Finger like things separated from its base/group	<i>tsák</i>	piece of ginger, turmeric, banana, etc.
Instruments	<i>shú</i>	lance, knife, fishnet, rifle, axe, spade
Things that hang from neck	<i>yóm</i>	necklace, garland, etc.
Things that bloom	<i>pá</i>	flower, clove, etc.
Circular things	<i>kól</i>	bangle, wheel, etc.
Round thins	<i>hlúm</i>	balls, shots, tablet/pills, singaras, bunch of banana tree, bush of bamboo, bush of sugarcane, etc.
Body parts (both human and non-human)	<i>wóng</i>	eyes, ears, etc.
Things with elongated roots	<i>yûng</i>	radish, carrot, etc.
Roll of things	<i>yâ</i>	betel
Measurement by glass	<i>khóp</i>	glass/cup of water, milk, etc.
Serving measurement by plate/saucer	<i>lông</i>	plate/saucer of rice
Serving measurement by bowl	<i>khók</i>	bowl of curry (that does not make a lump), greens, beans, etc.
Measurement by sheaf	<i>tsêng</i>	sheaf of paddy
Measurement by hand	<i>mók</i>	hand of cloth, tree, rope, etc
Measurement from one knot to another knot	<i>pín</i>	bamboo, sugarcane, etc.
Measurement by rotation	<i>pát</i>	rope, wire, etc.
Counting frequency of actions	<i>krông</i> <i>shót</i>	time (once, twice, etc.)

Categories	Classifiers	Members
Banana	<i>tsôw</i>	hand of banana
	<i>không</i>	stem of banana
Misc.	<i>lép</i>	leaf, book page, etc.
	<i>shông</i>	house, room, shop, umbrella, etc.
	<i>phák</i>	sandal, shoe (one piece)
	<i>tsûm</i>	pair of anything
	<i>phû</i>	corn
	<i>phæ?</i>	share of anything
	<i>phót</i>	for measuring rice (borrowed from Bangla via English ‘pot’)
	<i>píl</i>	stick of cinnamon
	<i>thôw</i>	stick of sugarcane
	<i>kú?y</i>	turn of roads
	<i>tán</i>	class/grade in schools
	<i>khô</i>	word
	<i>lóp</i>	notes and coins
	<i>dúp</i>	blood (drop)

Table 72: Numeral classifiers in Hyow

The set of numeral classifiers given in Table 72 are built on several criteria. The Hyow generic numeral classifier is *púm*. Hyow speakers can use this classifier for any new things introduced to them or for the things that do not have any specific numeral classifiers. There can be more than one classifier for a noun. The selection of specific classifier depends on the sortal characteristics or measuring tools. For example, there are two mensural classifiers for rice depending on the tool that is used to serve it. A mass noun might have a sortal classifier. For example, based on the ability to be lumpy, curry, whose referent is uncountable, can be modified by the sortal numeral classifier, which is evident from the examples in (67), where the noun *əntsó* ‘curry’ is

modified by a sortal numeral classifier. On the other hand, the mass noun *curry* can be measured by using a measuring tool, such as a bowl. When a *curry* is measured with a bowl, then the mensural classifier is used, as in (68), where the anaphoric mensural numeral compound is referring to a *curry*.

(67) *èydê òntsô pàlák tsí tsóméykhôl*

èydê ón-tsô **pàl-ák** tsí tsóm-êy-khól
 then curry-DIM **ST.CLS-one** each taste.I.IMP-MID-PL.IMP

‘Then, taste one lump of curry each.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_106]

(68) *mòngdóó nángá khòkák kínítòkpék ʘ.*

móngdó-ó náng = á **khók-ák** kí-ní-tók-pék
 husband=VOC 2SG=DAT **MSR.CLS-one** 1A-PL-keep.II-BEN

‘Husband! I kept a bowl of gourd curry for you.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0069]

Numeral classifiers form compounds with numerals to modify a noun. In (69), the noun, referring cow, is classified by the numeral classifier *púm* and quantified by the numeral compound *pùmák*. Since the referent of ‘cow’ is countable, the use of a classifier with this countable noun serves the purpose of sorting the referent in reference to its size, shape and animacy. Same classifier can be used for animals that have four legs (see Table 72)

(69) *nìhú?y nìhú?y shél pùmák kròkkhô.*

nìhú?y	nìhú?y	shél	púm-ák	krók-khô
like.this	like.this	cow	CLS-one	be.lost-PM

‘One cow is lost like this and like this.’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_010]

Languages that have numeral compounds or numeral classifier phrases tend to acquire the anaphoric use of numeral compounds or phrases. In languages, the head noun that numeral compound quantify can be deleted, and the compound can function anaphorically (Greenberg 1972: 6). Hyow also has a similar system of utilizing numeral compounds. Numeral compounds can function as anaphora in texts, where the modified noun head is not mentioned. In (70), the head noun of the numeral compound is absent, but it is mentioned in previous discourse. Therefore, the numeral compound is functioning anaphorically in this example.

(70) *èydê pùmák òlò?wéyhyô.*

èydê	púm-ák	ó-ló?w-êy-hyô
then	CLS-one	3A-take.on.hand-MID-PM

‘Then, he took one basket on his hand.’

[ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0026_0021]

Nouns that do not have numeral classifiers can be used as classifiers themselves. These are called autotransformers. That the numerals are not free and must form compounds with either autotransformers or numeral classifiers is evident from the internal tone sandhi process between the numeral and the autotransformer or the numeral classifier. The noun *hnúp* ‘day’ does not have any classifier in Hyow. As a result, the noun itself is used as an autotransformer, as shown in (71).

(71) *èydô hnúpák khóání úpútì?lâ ínínhm* \.

èydô hnúp-ák khô = â = ní ú-pú-tí? = lâ

then day-one time=LOC=FOC 3SG.POSS-uncle-PL=ERG

í-ní-shín

3A-PL-fetch

‘Then, one day, his uncles fetched him.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_003]

Other than the temporal noun *hnúp* ‘day’, temporal nouns such as *ýôn*, *kûm*, *khô* ‘month’, etc. can be used as autoclassifiers. Some nouns can be used as mensural classifiers. For example, the noun *khóp* ‘glass’ can be used as a mensural classifier, as in *tûy khòp-ák* (water glass-one) ‘one glass of water’.

The formation of numeral compounds after ten is different from before ten. If a noun head is quantified by a numeral after ten, then the base and the linking element of the numeral precedes the numeral classifier. The base and the linking element of the numeral *kùlgólhní?* (*kúl-gól-hní?*) ‘twenty one’ is *kùl-gól*. When the numeral twenty-one quantify a noun, the base and the linking element precede the classifier of the numeral compound. This process of numeral compound formation is exemplified in (72), where the base along with the linking element of the numeral *kùlgólhngô* (*kúl-gól-hngô*) ‘twenty five’ is preceding the numeral classifier. It is also important to note that this process of discontinuous numerals in numeral compounds is not applicable to numerals from eleven to nineteen and for the base numerals – twenty, thirty, forty and so on.

(72) *èy kùlgólpòtsònghngó kíníméhyô*

èy kùl-gól-pótsóng-hngó kí-ní-mêy-hyô
ANAPH.DEM **twenty-and-CLS-five** 1S-PL-exist-PM

‘We were those twenty five learners.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0034]

Both the sortal and mensural numeral classifiers can be used to modify a noun head in the same construction. In a construction like this, the numerals form compounds with the sortal numeral classifier. An example of such a construction is given in (73), where *pây* is the sortal numeral classifier of the referent of land and *mítár*, a loan word from Bnagla, is the mensural numeral classifier.

(73) *èydô àlàtsê khraàkgólshèggìbgólpâythûm mítár méyhyô*

èydô á-lá = tsê khra-ák-gól-shók-gíb-gól-pây-thûm mítár mêy-hyô
then GRP-land=TOP hundred-one-and-six-ten-and-CLS-three meter_B exist-PM

‘Then, there were one hundred and sixty three meters of land.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0017]

Since numeral compounds themselves are parts of noun phrases and can be used anaphorically, they can take all the available case clitics in Hyow. The example in (74) shows that the numeral compound is marked by the comitative case clitic, which has scope over the whole noun phrase and includes the head noun and the numeral compound.

(74) *úytsô lùákông íhniʔtsónêyhnəʔtí.*

úytsô lù-ák = êng í-hniʔ-tsón-êy-hnəʔ = tí

puppy CLS-one=COMT 3S-DL-walk-MID-ULT=R.EVID

‘They two finally roamed around with a puppy.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0193]

3.4.2.7 Case Clitics

There are eight case clitics in Hyow. Case clitics and argument markers on verbs overtly mark grammatical functions in Hyow (see §10.2). Case clitics are of two types – core case clitics (mark the grammatical functions of the core arguments) and oblique case clitics (mark the grammatical functions of the oblique arguments). Hyow clitics are identifiable by their positions at the end of a noun phrase and scope over the whole noun phrase. The core case clitics and the oblique case clitics in Hyow are listed in Table 73.

Core case enclitics		Oblique case enclitics	
Ergative	= <i>lâ</i>	Locative	= <i>â</i>
Dative	= <i>á</i>	Inessive	= <i>êng</i>
	(for ditransitive verbs)	Genitive	= <i>kʂʔ</i>
		Dative	= <i>á</i>
		Ablative	= <i>kón</i>
		Comitative	= <i>êng</i>
		Instrumental	= <i>êng</i>
		Delimitative	= <i>tʂʔ</i>

Table 73: Case enclitics in Hyow

The marking of core arguments is only applicable when the arguments are not speech act participants. Therefore, third person pronouns and noun phrases that function as A (agent) arguments of transitive verbs can be marked by the ergative case

clitic = *lâ* (see §10.3.1.2). The core dative argument of a ditransitive verb is marked by the dative case clitic = *á* (see §10.3.1.3). In general, there is no marking of the P (patient) argument in Hyow. The S argument of intransitive verbs is always unmarked in Hyow.

The oblique arguments are obligatorily marked by the case clitics. Table 73 shows some case syncretism between instrumental (see §10.3.2.1), comitative (see §10.3.2.2) and inessive (§10.3.2.6) in Hyow.

3.4.3 TEMPORAL WORDS

Temporal words are used for temporally situating an activity, process or state. Preferably, temporal words sit at the beginning of a clause or sentence. Formally, temporal words can utilize some of the available nominal case clitics. Quite a number of temporal words exist in Hyow. Some of the temporal words take the generic referential prefix as well. Again, some temporal words are monomorphemic, and some are compounds in nature. Table 74 lists the temporal words of Hyow.

Temporal words	Underline forms	Gloss
<i>khómhnúp</i>	khôm-hnúp (time-day)	‘day’
<i>tùâ</i>	now=LOC	‘now’
<i>tàhnúp</i>	tá-hnúp (now-day)	‘today’
<i>ýyôn</i>	ó-yôn (GRP-night)	‘night’
<i>týyôn</i>	tó-ó-yôn (now-GRP-night)	‘tonight’
<i>hótót?</i>	<i>hót = tót?</i> (NA=DLIM)	‘tomorrow’
<i>títút?</i>	<i>tí = tót?</i> (NA=DLIM)	‘one day hence’
<i>khíntút?</i>	<i>khín = tót?</i> (NA=DLIM)	‘two days hence’
<i>króktút?</i>	<i>krók = tót?</i> (NA=DLIM)	‘three days hence’
<i>múntút?</i>	<i>mún = tót?</i> (NA=DLIM)	‘four days hence’
<i>yóntót?</i>	<i>yón = tót?</i> (night=DLIM)	‘yesterday’
<i>tsûn</i>	MONOMORPHEMIC	‘day before yesterday’

Temporal words	Underline forms	Gloss
<i>ú-mâ</i>	ú-mâ (GRP-dark)	‘evening’
<i>tsík</i>	NA	‘some time ago’
<i>óngó</i>	ó-ngó (GRP-morning)	‘morning’
<i>tóngó</i>	tó-ó-ngó (now-GRP-morning)	‘this morning’
<i>khóshún</i>	khô-shún (time-noon)	‘noon’
<i>ú-mâ-lôm</i>	ú-mâ-lôm (GRP-be dark-road)	‘afternoon’
<i>hmúhmóp</i>	MONOMORPHEMIC	‘dusk’
<i>tsónshéng</i>	MONOMORPHEMIC	‘later’
<i>t’nâ</i>	NA	‘a while’
<i>yónkûm</i>	yóntś?-kum (yesterday-year)	‘last year’
<i>tùkûm</i>	tV-kûm (now-year)	‘this year (now-year)’
<i>shénkûm</i>	red-year	‘next year’
<i>tsókûm</i>	NA	‘year after next year’

Table 74: Temporal words in Hyow

Table 74 presents six bound temporal words. The temporal noun *tùâ* ‘now’ has the obligatory locative case clitic =*â* inseparably marked on it. It is used as formative in other temporal words that express relative temporal proximity. When it is attached to another temporal word, as in *tâ-hnúp* to form the temporal word *tâhnúp* ‘today’ with relative temporal proximity, then the vowel of the formative depends on the root-initial syllable of the second member of the word. This can be used to define a phonological word in Hyow. The *tś?* and *tú?* of some temporal words in Table 74 is in fact the delimitative case clitic, which means ‘until’. The meaning of the roots are not available for these temporal words. Table 74 also shows several temporal words that include the locative case clitic.

Some temporal words can be modified by demonstratives by following them. In such constructions, temporal words are the heads of the phrases, which is evident from the example given in (75).

(75) *èyông èy mǎá kǎtsétǎl*

èy = ông èy mǎ = â kǎ-tset-âl

ANAPH.DEM=INE ANAPH.DEM evening=LOC 1SG-go-DEP

‘Then (in that), I went that evening.’ [NJK_ME_062014_062]

The temporal words *à-không* ‘early morning’ and *à-khó-wá* ‘dawn’ are interesting in respect to their compounding. These two words include the word for ‘chicken’. Generally, chickens call in the early morning. Therefore, the word *à-không* literally refers to the time when the chicken calls. The word *à-khó-wá* literally refers to the time, dawn, when the day begins for chickens.

3.4.4 ADVERBS

Adverbs are modifiers of verbs, and they belong to closed class of words. The function of the adverbs is to modify the verb. However, their places in clauses are very variable. They do not have specific positions in a clause or sentence. Some of the adverbs listed in Table 75 are formed by adding the grammaticalized locative case clitic. Adverbs are also formed from stative verbs by adding the grammaticalized locative case clitic. Table 75 lists the adverbs in Hyow.

Categories	Adverbs	Underline forms	Gloss
Frequency	<i>ólô</i>	MONOMORPHEMIC	‘again’
Frequency	<i>tsí</i>	NA	‘always’
Manner	<i>ékréngâ</i>	V-krêng-â (GRP-be.slow=LOC)	‘slowly’
Manner	<i>króngsháng</i>	MONOMORPHEMIC	‘suddenly’
Manner	<i>mótmóttso</i>	NA	‘finely/carefull’
Degree	<i>tháshá</i>	thash-a (banging.sound=LOC)	‘very’
Quantity	<i>únûng</i>	NA	‘much’
Deictic	<i>èyâ</i>	èy=â (ANAPH.DEM=LOC)	‘there’
adverbs	<i>nîâ</i>	nî=â (PROX=LOC)	‘here’

Categories	Adverbs	Underline forms	Gloss
	<i>tsùâ</i>	tsú=â (DIST=LOC)	‘there’
	<i>èyhyóʔ</i>	èy-hyóʔ (ANAPH.DEM-much)	‘that much’
	<i>nìhyóʔ</i>	ní-hyóʔ (PROX-much)	‘this much’

Table 75: Adverbs in Hyow

Among the adverbs listed in Table 75, the manner adverb *ékréngâ* is derived from the stative verb *é-krêng* (GRP-be.slow) ‘be slow’ using the locative case clitic =â. This is a common process of forming adverbs (by adding case clitics to deverbal nouns) in KC languages. Konow (1904: 339) discusses the formation of adverbs in Chittagong Khyang by adding an *-a* suffix to verbs. Regarding the nature of Kuki-Chin verbs, Konow (1904: 8) states that a verbal noun combines with case suffixes in order to form an adverbial clause.

Some reduplicated forms include adverbs. Yet again, the reduplicated adverbs might not be possible to be analysed to their non-reduplicated forms, as the adverb *mótmót* ‘very’. These reduplicated adverbs (a.k.a. chiming adverbs) are also found in other Kuki-Chin languages, as in Tiddim-Chin (Hendersom, 1969: 57; Bhaskararao 1989). Some adverbs are formed from verbs by reduplication. For example, the adverb *yówyôw* ‘glitteringly’ is formed from the verb *yóyôw* ‘glitter’, which itself has a quasi-reduplicated form initially. The partial reduplicated form of the verb *yóyôw* ‘glitter’ seems to encode the continuity of the event encoded by the verb. The reduplicated adverb *yówyôw* show take the locative case marker =â obligatorily to be functional as a constituent. Other reduplicated adverbs are listed in Table 76.

Reduplicated adverbs	Possible origin	Gloss
<i>yónyónâ</i>	NA	‘hurriedly’
<i>wóngwóngâ</i>	<i>wóng</i> ‘surround’	‘vulnerable’
<i>tsátsákâ</i>	NA	‘in drops’
<i>phúlphúlâ</i>	<i>phúl</i> ‘scatter’	‘crowdedly’
<i>léwléwâ</i>	<i>léw</i> ‘be less’	‘fully’
<i>kótsótsô</i>	NA	‘accordingly’
<i>khyámkhyámâ</i>	NA	‘peacefully’
<i>hóyhóytsó</i>	NA	‘vacuously’
<i>dæwdæwâ</i>	NA	‘completely’
<i>hlúmlúmâ</i>	<i>hlún</i> ‘shake’	‘shakingly’
<i>hyóhyóâ</i>	NA	‘drunkedly’
<i>hyóphyópâ</i>	NA	‘manner of throwing’
<i>lóklókâ</i>	NA	‘manner of burying’
<i>lúklúkâ</i>	NA	‘buzzingly’

Table 76: Reduplicated adverbs in Hyow

Some reduplicated morphemes function as intensifiers. They are used to derive adverbs from stative verbs. The locative case marker is also obligatory for these words to function as adverbs. The example in (76) demonstrates the use of a reduplicated adverb and an adverb with reduplicated intensifier. The reduplicated adverb *yówyówâ* ‘glitteringly’ modifies the state in which the pond is and the adverb with reduplicated intensifier *bókphóngphóngâ* ‘in utterly white’ modifies the state of the referent of the third person S argument.

- (76) *yówyówâ kón hngát hmù?hóní bókphóngphóngâ útsùnì úpúm khéní hén dzídziâ thónéydêk hánghâng ʘ.*

yówyówâ kón hngát hmù?hóní bókphóngphóngâ

glitteringly pond one see.II-PM-TEMP in.utterly.white

ú-tsú-ní ú-púm khê = ní hén dzídziâ

3S-jump-TEMP 3SG.POSS-body all=FOC silver just

(thón-éy-dêk) hánghâng

(happen-MID)-ANT all

‘Since he saw a pond glittering, when he jumped in utterly white, all his body became just silver, all.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_063]

Some of the adverbs with reduplicated intensifiers are listed in Table 77. The forms of the reduplicated intensifiers are different for different adverbs.

Reduplicated adverbs	Underlying forms	Gloss
<i>bókphóngphóngâ</i>	<i>bók-phóngphông = a</i> (white-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly white’
<i>hómpúngpúngâ</i>	<i>hóm-phúngphung = â</i> (black-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly black’
<i>kéngdítítâ</i>	<i>kéng-dítít = â</i> (black-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly black’
<i>hyúnpímpímâ</i>	<i>hyung-pímpím = â</i> (pitch.black-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly pitch black’
<i>shénkí?kí?â</i>	<i>shén-kí?kí? = â</i> (red-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly red’
<i>khóh máethmáetâ</i>	<i>khó-hmáethmáet = â</i> (bitter-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly bitter’
<i>túykúpúpâ</i>	<i>túy-kúpúp = â</i> (sweet-INTS=LOC)	‘in utterly sweet’

Table 77: Examples of adverbs with reduplicated intensifiers

In Table 75, there are five deictic adverbs. The first three deictic adverbs are formed by inflecting the demonstrative pronouns and the locative case clitics. They are very frequently used in texts. The quantifying adverbs, *èyhyó?* ‘that much’ and *níhyó?* ‘this much’ modify the verbs to express the degree by which a predicated

event is done. In (77), anaphoric deictic adverb is referring to the degree of difficulty of exam. The speaker has used the anaphoric deictic because he mentions the degree of difficulty of an interview in a previous discourse.

(77) *èy khóátsæ èyhyó? ngètíhnó? ʋ.*

èy	khô = â = tsâ	èyhyó?	ngét-tí-hnó?
ANAPH.DEM	time=LOC=TOP	that.much	be.difficult-NITER-DEL.NEG

‘It will not be that much difficult that time.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0082]

3.4.5 MANNER NOUNS

There are six manner nouns in Hyow. They behave like nominals, but they function like adverbs. The manner nouns *èybó*, *nìbó* and *tsùbó* are used to refer to manners by which the predicated event is done. The accompanied deictics in the nominal forms indicate directions of the manner of an action, process or state mentioned in speech. The example in (78) illustrates the use of the deictic adverb *nìbó* ‘this way’. The speaker uses this deictic adverb right after describing the preceding events in the speech. The accompanied deictic directs the manner of the current predicated event in the preceding speech not in the space or time.

(78) *nìbó krówéyhyó hmóndróng.*

nìbó	krôw-êy-hyó	hmóndró = êng
this.way	speak-MID-PM	magical.words=INE

‘He spoke in magical words this way.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_179]

Table 78 lists the manner nouns available in Hyow. The manner nouns *èyhú?y*, *nìhú?y*, and *tsùhú?y* refers to manners of states. These manner nouns function similar as the manner nouns *èybó*, *nìbó* and *tsùbó*, which refers to manners of processes.

Manner nouns	Underline forms	Gloss
<i>èybó</i>	èy-bó (ANAPH.DEM-way)	‘that way’
<i>nìbó</i>	ní-bó (PROX-way)	‘this way’
<i>tsùbó</i>	tsú-bó (DIST-much)	‘that way’
<i>èyhú?y</i>	èy-hú?y (ANAPH.DEM-like)	‘like that’
<i>nìhú?y</i>	ní-hú?y (PROX-like)	‘like this’
<i>tsùhú?y</i>	tsú-hú?y (DIST-like)	‘like that’

Table 78: Manner nouns in Hyow

The proximal deictic can also direct manner in the space. When the speaker directs to an ongoing process in proximity of the interlocutors, the speaker can use the proximal manner noun, which allows the speaker to describe an event to the speaker in respect of the ongoing process in proximity of the speaker and the addressee.

Manner nouns can take oblique case markers, but the number of oblique case marker which can be attached to them is limited. For example, the delimitative case clitic *tsʔ* cannot be attached to a manner noun. In (79), the anaphoric manner noun *èyhú?y* is marked by the inessive case clitic =*êng*. The situation illustrated by the example in (79) involves a cat and her sisters. When the cat’s human husband wanted to take her to his parents’ house, the cat was worried because her husband’s brothers’ wives were humans. At that moment, the cat’s sisters tried to calm her by saying that she did not have to worry for those human sister-in-laws. The manner noun is used to refer to the manner of the cat’s worrying in this example.

(79) *èyhù?yêng núlúng pùè?ytí.*

èyhù?y = êng nú-lúng pú-æ?y-tí
like.that=INE 2SG.POSS-heart feel-IRR-2SG.NEG

‘Don’t worry for them like that.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_085]

The proximal manner noun is marked by the comitative case clitic and topic clitic in (80). When a mongoose saw that his masters’ son is dead of snake bite, he

realized that his masters would not keep him with them anymore since he was supposed to protect their son in their absence.

(80) *hnágá nìhù?yǝngtsǝ òtǝálǝ?yhǝ?ynû \.*

hnágá nìhù?y = êng = tsǝ ò-tǝ-âl-ǝ?y-hǝ?y = nú

god like.this=COMT=TOP 1P-keep.I-DEP-IRR-3SG.NEG=SS.EVID

‘God, they two will not keep me with (them) like this.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_030]

In a verbless adverbial clause, the clause-linking suffix is attached to nominals in Hyow (see §12.4.1.2). Like other types of nouns, manner nouns can also take a clause-linking suffix in a verbless clause, as demonstrated by the example in (81).

(81) *nìhù?yhìtsǝ shénkúmáhá ǝlǝ í-ní-hǝnéyǝ?ydǝhǝ.*

nìhù?y-hí = tsǝ shénkúm = â = há ǝlǝ í-ní-hǝnéy-ǝ?y-dǝ-hǝ

like.this-COND=TOP next.year=LOC=ADD again 3S-PL-do.haney-IRR-ITER-PM

‘If it is like this, we will do the Haney next year again like before.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_119]

The manner nouns can be inflected by the extensive suffix *-pé* (see §9.2.3.10). The adverbial nature of such manner nouns is evident from here too. The extensive suffix is a verbal category, which is an adverbial suffix. The example (82) demonstrates the inflection of the anaphoric mannernoun *èbǝ* by the extensive suffix.

(82) *èybópé èybópé tsó tànák tànàkkón tànhni?ông kókóyéyní...*

èybópé èybópé tsó tán-ák tán-ák = kón

like.that-SIM like.that-EXTN lesson CLS-one CLS-one=ABL

tán-hní? = ông kó-kôy-êy-ní

CLS-two=INE 1S-ascend-MID-TEMP

‘More that way, more that way, when I got into the second grade from the first grade...’ [ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0061]

Similarly, in a verbless interrogative clause, manner nouns marked by the question clitics. The content question clitic is attached to the anaphoric manner noun in (83).

(83) *átàlá hlàà?hô yá èybóôm?*

á-tá = lâ ù-hlá-á?-hô yá èybó = ôm

3SG.POSS-elder.brother=ERG 1P-want.I-3SG.NEG-PM why **like.that=CONT.Q**

‘Why was it like that that her elder brother did not like me?’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_022]

3.4.6 DISCOURSE CONNECTIVES

Hyow speakers use many discourse connectives that are used to continue the flow of the discourse for establishing pragmatic structure. The function of the discourse connectives is not to connect two noun phrases like the phrasal conjunction (see §3.4.7), or not to connect a dependent clause with its matrix clause like the clause-linking suffixes (see §9.3). Hyow employs the discourse connectives in stories to connect two non-paratactic independent clauses in order to make sure that an utterance has relevance with its previous utterance. Therefore, almost in each full utterance in Hyow, we find a discourse connective at the beginning.

Structurally, discourse connectives are compounds, which mostly include the anaphoric demonstrative and other verbal and nominal grammatical categories. The most frequent discourse connective is *èy = dŕ* (ANAPH.DEM=EMPHATIC), which means ‘then’. The function of this connective is to organize the discourse in a cohesive manner. Hyow has another discourse connective that functions as a sequential connective. It is formed by the sequential clause-linking suffix, as in *èy-hnŕ?-la* (ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ). There is an adverbial suffix *-hnŕ?* in this connective. The adverbial suffix is generally attached to a verb stem encoding the performance of an action, a process or being in a state at the final phase. However, with an anaphoric demonstrative and a sequential clause-linking suffix, it refers to the previously concluded action, process or state. Moreover, the sequential clause-linking suffix *-lá* that functions as a dependent clause connecting device is used in this discourse connective to encode the independent sequences of events. Most of the discourse connectives use the anaphoric demonstrative with the grammaticalized locative and inessive suffixes that express temporal presupposition, as in *èy-là-há* (ANAPH-SEQ-LOC) ‘after that’. The discourse connectives in Hyow are listed in Table 79.

Discourse connectives	Underline forms	Gloss
<i>èydŕ</i>	ANAPH.DEM-EMPH (<i>èy = dŕ</i>)	‘then’
<i>èyniâ</i>	DIST-PROX-LOC (<i>èy-ní = LOC</i>)	‘in this and that/infact’
<i>èyhnŕ?lá</i>	ANAPH.DEM-CNCL-SEQ (<i>èy-hnŕ?-lá</i>)	‘after that’
<i>èyêng</i>	ANAPH.DEM-INE (<i>èy = êng</i>)	‘in that’
<i>hyà?hí</i>	NEG-COND (<i>hyá?-hí</i>)	‘if not’
<i>èylàhá</i>	ANAPH.DEM-SEQ=LOC (<i>èy-la = há</i>)	‘after that’
<i>nìhù?yhi</i>	PROX-like.this-COND (<i>ní-huy?-hi</i>)	‘if this way’

Table 79: Discourse connectives in Hyow

Table 79 also lists the discourse connectives *hyá?-hí* (NEG-COND) ‘if not’ and *ní-hù?y-hí* (PROX-way/like-COND) ‘if like this’, which are respectively negative and

positive conditional discourse connectives. They are used to express conditional presupposition, as exemplified in (84).

(84) *hyà?hítsæ èmèngkè?tsæ íníòmndhítsæ pótódê hmútó mólâ hlâùhí...*

hyà?hí = tsæ	é-mó = êng = kó? = tsæ	í-ní-ómnó-hí = tsæ
NEG-COND=TOP	NMLZ-be.sneaky=INE=GEN=TOP	3A-PL-get.marry-CVB=TOP
pótó = dê	hmútó mó = lâ	hlâ-ú-hí
man-same	woman owner=AGT	like-NEG.3PL-COND.CVB

‘If not, if they get married by sneaking, if the parent of the the woman do not like the same man...’ [NJK_ME_062014_009]

The discourse connective *hyà?hí* in sentence (84) conditionally presupposes that if the previous event does not happen, then there will be some other consequences. Table 79 shows that six of the eight discourse connectives have the anaphoric demonstrative *èy* in their forms. The demonstratives make the difference between a discourse connective and a dependent clause. An example will make this clearer.

(85) *èydê lów-pó? khínâ lów íníwòkêy*

èydê	łów-pó?	khín = â	łów
then	swidden.agriculture-DV	season=LOC	swidden.agriculture
í-ní-wók-êy			
3PL-clear-MM			

‘Then, during the season of swidden agriculture, they clear the (field of) swidden agriculture.’ [UTK_SA_062014_004]

(86) *wòkùlàtsâ, hnùphlí hnùphngó tòùlàtsâ, èy lòwkhôl tsàtsàkhìtsâ...*

wók-ú-lá = tsâ	hnúp-hlí	hnúp-hngó	tó-ú-lá = tsâ	èy
clear-3PL-SEQ=TOP	day-four	day-five	keep-3PL-SEQ=TOP	ANAPH.DEM
lów-khól	tsá-tsák-hí = tsâ			
swidden.field-EXP	be.dried-COMPL-COND=TOP			

‘Clearing and keeping [the swidden field] for four-five days, if those swidden fields are dried completely...’ [UTK_SA_062014_005]

Comparing the sentences in (85) and (86), it is observed that the storyteller starts the sentence (86) by constructing a dependent clause with the verb that was in the matrix clause in (85). The speaker could have used a discourse connective to fill in the same function done by the topicalized dependent clause in (86). Here the topic clitic has scope over the whole dependent clause. Therefore, all the discourse connectives can also take the topic clitic = *tsâ* or the focus clitic = *ní*.

3.4.7 PHRASAL CONJUNCTION

There is only one phrasal conjunction in Hyow. It connects nouns or noun phrases in a clause. The phrasal conjunction *lá* has grammaticalized to the sequential clause-linking suffix that is discussed in §9.3.1.13. The phrasal conjunction appears before the last noun if there are more than two nouns in Hyow, but it is not necessary to use the phrasal conjunction in such situations (see §4.3.1.3). In (87), two possessive noun phrases are conjoined by the phrasal conjunction.

(87) *ólô hngàtsâ núpô ngìngùlàtsâ, pótó núpô lá hmútó núpô ngìngùlàtsâ,
ínìòmndéyhyô.*

ólô hngát = tsâ núpô ngì-êng-ú-lá = tsâ pótó núpô lá
again one=TOP parents agree-INE-3PL-SEQ=TOP man parents CONJ
hmútó núpô ngì-êng-ú-lá = tsâ ínì-ómno-êy-hyô
woman parents agree-INE-3PL-SEQ=TOP 3PL-get.marry-MM-PM

‘The other one is, after the parents are in agreement, after the parents of the man and the parents of the woman are in agreement, they get married.’

[NJK_HM_062014_004]

3.4.8 INTERJECTIONS

Hyow includes two interjections, which are used as one word answer to an interrogative and a declarative clause. The word *əhó* is used to say ‘no’ to give negative reply to a question or to a proposition, while the word *é* with a high-level tone is used to say ‘yes’ to give a positive reply to a question or a proposition.

3.4.9 EXCLAMATORY EXPRESSIONS

Hyow has a semi-open class of a few exclamatory words. The exclamatory words are used for reactions of feeling good, bad, surprised, etc. Exclamatory words might have diverse forms due to their direct connection with spontaneous physical or mental feelings. They always come at the beginning of a clause or sentence. Table 80 lists four of the exclamatory expressions in Hyow.

Exclamatory words	Gloss	Underlying semantics
<i>áhá</i>	‘ah!’	something pleasant or satisfactory
<i>úh</i>	‘oh ho!’	something unpleasant or dissatisfactory
<i>óh</i>	‘oh!’	something surprising
<i>héy</i>	‘hey’	attention grabbing

Table 80: Exclamatory expressions in Hyow

3.4.10 ONOMATOPOEIC WORDS

Hyow speakers use many onomatopoeic words in folktales to make the stories lively and real. Onomatopoeic words are sounds of different animate things, actions or processes. Table 81 lists some of the onomatopoeic words in Hyow.

Onomatopoeic words	Gloss	Onomatopoeic words	Gloss
<i>óó</i>	sound of elephant	<i>kóp</i>	sound of eating
<i>krâng</i>	sound of tear falling	<i>brûng</i>	sound of jumping
<i>góâng</i>	sound of throwing	<i>shút</i>	sound of snake
<i>khrák</i>	sound of throwing	<i>kók</i>	sound of calling
<i>kókkælékók</i>	sound of chicken	<i>túk</i>	sound of striking
<i>khrup</i>	sound of sitting	<i>wáw</i>	sound of barking
<i>lâw</i>	sound of loose fitting of knot/bamboo cracking	<i>lóp</i>	sound of bone breaking
<i>shôw</i>	sound of water-flow	<i>hyâw</i>	sound of leaves for airflow
<i>khaw?</i>	sound of dry leaves	<i>duk</i>	sound of walking

Table 81: Onomatopoeic words in Hyow

Onomatopoeic words are always followed by the quotative particle in Hyow. Generally, quotative particle is used to quote direct speech. Sounds of different things are regarded as direct quotation. As a result, onomatopoeic words are obligatorily followed by the quotative particle. However, like the direct speech, there is no reporting verb complex to present an onomatopoeic expression, as shown in (88).

(88) *èyâ kyót tîng tsèt-dá-dók* ㄣ.

èy = â	kyót	tîng	tsèt-dá-dók
ANAPH.DEM=LOC	sound.of.going	QT	GO-ITER-ANT

‘He had gone again there with the sound ‘kyot’.

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_141]

3.4.11 EXPRESSIVES

Expressives express emotions, feeling and other abstract features associated with actions, processes or states. Semantically, expressives supplies vivid imagery, which contributes to the flavoring of utterances (Patent, 1998: 155). Expressives are also known as ideophones. Expressives are phonologically characterized by their distinct use of reduplication in Hyow. No other grammatical or lexical categories use the process of reduplication as intensely as expressives. In addition, expressives are obligatorily marked by the grammaticalized locative case clitic. Consequently, expressives behave like adverbs. It is sometimes difficult to come up with a meaning for expressives, since they evoke the manner of particular action, process or state in sounds. An expressive can be used both preverbally and postverbally. In (89), the expressive is used postverbally. I have listed a few expressives of Hyow in Table 82.

(89) *èyâ méy phápháâ*

èy = â mêy phápháâ
 ANAPH.DEM=LOC stay feeling.of.emptiness

‘He stayed there with a feeling of emptiness.’

[ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_028]

Expressives	Gloss
<i>bétbétâ</i>	manner of drizzling
<i>phétphétâ</i>	manner of drizzling
<i>tséttsétâ</i>	state of itching
<i>létlétâ</i>	state/manner of shaking/fear
<i>bákbákâ</i>	state of sudden fall of things one after another
<i>lólópâ</i>	manner of entrance one after another
<i>sóysóyâ</i>	manner of exit one after another
<i>phápháâ</i>	feeling of emptiness
<i>lúklúkâ</i>	state of swelling
<i>mrókmróka</i>	state of legs being trapped in clay

Table 82: List of some expressives in Hyow

3.4.12 QUOTATIVE PARTICLE

Particles are a closed class of words that are scantily found in Hyow. Particles are non-inflectional. The quotative particle distributionally holds the position right after a reported speech or direct quotation. The quotative particle *tîng* can be found in abundance in oral stories. This particle marks direct speech. The direct speech is an embedded complement of speech act verbs. Hyow speakers often do not use speech act verbs in reporting direct speech. Nonetheless, the quotative particle is obligatory after a direct speech. Sentence (90) exemplifies the use of the quotative particle.

(90) *í núhlá-êy-hyô = êm tîng*

í	nú-hlá-êy-hyô = êm	tîng
what	2A-want.II-MID-PM=CONT.Q	QT

‘He said, “What do you want for yourself”

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_149]

The quotative particle can also be used with onomatopoeic words, which is already exemplified in (88).

The quotative particle has another function in Hyow. It can be used as a dependent reason clause marker. This is like the use of the speech act verb *bola* ‘say’ in Bangla. In Bangla, the speech act verb is used to introduce a direct speech. However, it can also function as a reason converb (for different functions of speech act verbs, see Saxena 1988), as exemplified in (91).

(91) *she thakbe bole, ami thakbo na.*

she	thak-be	bol-e	ami	thak-bo	na
3SG	stay-3.FUT	say-REAS.CVB	1SG	stay-1.FUT	NEG

‘Since he will stay, I will not stay.’ [Elicited]

Instead of the speech act verb, Hyow uses the quotative particle to mark a reason dependent clause. This also indicates that the quotative particle has originated in the speech act verb, which has lost its function as a verb now. The example in (92) illustrates the function of the quotative particle as a reason dependent clause marker.

(92) *shórkárlâ sháláhyhý, éphíá èy ópótó dàdók tîng.*

shórkár = lâ	sháláy-hyó	é-phíá	èy
government _B =ERG	drive-PM	3SG.POSS-wife	ANAPH.DEM
pótó	dá-dók	tîng	
man	die-ANT	QT	

‘Since that man died, the government ran his wife (took care of his wife).’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_249]

3.4.13 CLITICS

Clitics are a closed class of words that are phonologically bound to their hosts. Clitics are the last morphemes of their noun phrases or verb complexes. Functionally, they have scope over the whole noun phrase or verb complex. There are four (not to be mixed with the case clitics) syntactically independent but morphologically bound clitics in Hyow – a focus clitic = *ní* (see §4.4.3.4), a topic clitic = *tsê* (see §4.4.3.3), a content question clitic = *êm* (see §9.5.1.2), a polar question clitic = *êy* (see §9.5.1.1), a reported evidential clitic = *tî* (see §9.6.4.2), and a sensory evidential clitic = *nú* (see §9.6.4.1). An example of the focus clitic is given in (83), where it has a scope over the noun *shó* ‘wild pig.’ Here, the focus clitic puts focus on the nominal argument. Underlyingly, it bears a meaning of ‘only’ or ‘just’ or of the cleft construction ‘it is the X’, restricting the reference of the noun phrase, as exemplified in (83).

(93) *èydê shóní kááníhyùldá ólô.*

èydê	shó = ní	ká-á-ní-hyúl-dá	ólô
then	wild.pig=FOC	1A-DIR-follow.ii-ITER	again

‘Then, we again followed just the wild pig again (*It was the wild pig* that we followed again). [HPK_HTJ_062014_038]

3.5 CONCLUSION

The discussion on the word classes of Hyow has outlined their formal properties. The description reveals that the open word classes of noun and verb show distinctive morphosyntactic characteristics that identify them formally. It is also observed that the absence of a word class of adjective is not surprising in Hyow. A distributional and a formal property allow the stative intransitive verbs to modify nouns by following them. Compared to the open class of words, the closed class of words has a limited number of members. Adverbs are one of the closed classes of words, and the number of free adverbs is very small, because Hyow uses many adverbial suffixes (see §9.2.3) within verb complexes. Manner nouns functionally behave as adverbs in Hyow. They can be marked by case clitics and other types of clitics in Hyow. The closed class of words also includes onomatopoeic and expressive words, which are used as ornamental elements in utterances. They show a significant characteristic of expressing feelings, emotions and sounds of different things, which allow the speakers to encode the vividness of the world around them. This general discussion on the different word classes will help understand the complex morphology and syntax of Hyow in later chapters. The next chapter contains a discussion of nominal constituents.

4 Noun phrase

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter moves into discussing bigger linguistic constructions in terms of what has been covered in the previous chapter. The focus of this chapter is on noun phrases and their adjuncts. I briefly talk about the structure of the noun phrase in Hyow in §4.2. Following that, §4.3 presents a broad discussion on different constituents occurring before and after a noun head. I discuss disparate headless noun phrases in §4.5 and finally, sum up with some concluding remarks on Hyow noun phrases and their constituents in §4.6.

4.2 STRUCTURE OF A NOUN PHRASE

The structure of a noun phrase in Hyow consists of an obligatory noun or a pronoun head and several other optional constituents. The syntagmatic structure of a noun phrase is laid out in Figure 49. The constituents in parenthesis are optional and only one of the constituents in braces in Figure 49 is possible at a time in a NP, which means either a nominalized relative clause or a possessor noun is structurally coherent with the following noun in a Hyow NP. A NP can be headless. Therefore, a noun is not obligatory in a NP structure (see §4.5)

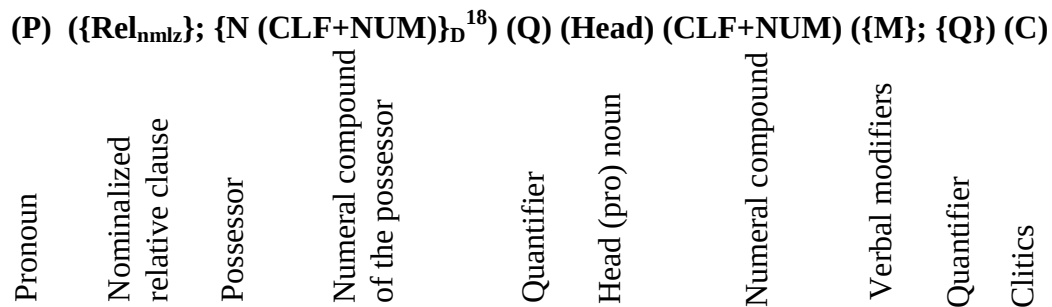


Figure 49: Syntagmatic structure of the noun phrase (NP) in Hyow

Generally, a stative verb used as a verbal modifier without the generic referential prefix attached to its root follows the NP, as exemplified in (94), in order to avoid any ambiguity with the predicative use of the stative verb, which requires its single argument to be indexed on it, as shown in (95). Here, the stative verb *pôy* ‘be

¹⁸ Dependent

good’ is functioning as a predicate. Examples in (94) and (95) show the function of the stative verb *ɔpɔy* ‘be good’ as a verbal modifier and a predicate respectively.

(94) *wát pɔy í-ní-hlé?y-êy*.

wát pɔy í-ní-hlé?y-êy
dress **be.good** 3A-PL-buy.II-MID

‘They buy good dresses themselves.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_171]

(95) *tsúâ wát, ɔpɔy hmù?hóátsæ èyhú?y* ʘ.

tsú=â wát ɔ-pɔy-êy hmú?-hô=á=tsæ èyhú?y
DIST=LOC dress **3S-be.good-MID** see.II-PM=ADD=TOP like.that

‘He also said that the dress there was beautiful.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_109]

When a stative verb functions as a modifier, case clitics or other types of nominal clitics and nominal inflectional categories can be attached to the stative verb. The attached clitics have scope over the whole NP in such examples. In (96), the locative case clitic =â is attached to the stative verb, because the stative verb functions as a modifier and forms a NP with the head noun *álá* ‘place’ here.

(96) *èy tɔwâ álá pɔyâ átàkál*.

èy tɔw=â á-lá pɔy=â á-tók-âl
ANAPH.DEM forest=LOC GRP-place be.good=LOC DIR-keep.II-DEP

‘He went to keep him in a good place in the forest.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_051]

The absence of the generic referential prefix in a stative verb, when it functions as a verbal modifier, is identical to the generic referential prefix deletion of the inalienable body part terms in the presence of an overt possessor. In fact, semantically, stative verbs that can function as verbal modifiers express inherent states of referents, which are not detachable from their referents. Therefore, under the semantic condition of inherence and the syntactic condition of disambiguation, the generic referential prefix is deleted from the bound root when it modifies a noun.

A summary of distributions, forms and functions of stative verbs in relation to head nouns is drawn in Table 83.

Constituent	Structures	Positions	Functions
Stative verbs	GRP-V V	Before the clausal head	Headless NP
	[N _H V] _{NP} V	After the head noun	Verbal modifier
	[N _H CLS QNT] _{NP} ARG-V	After the NP	Predicate

Table 83: Functions of stative verbs in relation to nouns in Hyow

4.3 FUNCTIONS OF A NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrases have several functions to play in the grammar of Hyow. The functions are listed below from i to vi.

- i. core arguments of a clause (§10.3.1)
- ii. oblique arguments of a clause (§10.3.2)
- iii. topic of a verbless clause (§11.11)
- iv. topic of a copula clause (§11.8)
- v. complement of a verbless clause (§11.11)
- vi. complement of a copula clause (§11.8)

The syntactic head of a noun phrase is a noun or a pronoun. However, many instances of headless noun phrases are found in Hyow (see §4.5). The boundary of a

noun phrase is marked by the underlying tone of phrase final syllables with a hiatus. There is no effect of superimposed intonation at the phrase level in Hyow.

4.3.1 HEAD OF A NOUN PHRASE

The head of a noun phrase can be simple, compound or complex. The compound and complex noun head are formed through word formation process or through a conjunctive word. This section focuses on different types of heads of noun phrases.

4.3.1.1 Simple head

A simple head of a noun phrase may consist of a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun or a single noun with its different morphological markers. The example in (97) marks simple noun phrase heads in bold type. The noun phrase *éphiálâ*, participating as an A argument, has a simple head with a prefixal third person singular possessor marker and an ergative case clitic. On the other hand, the noun phrase *trá* is functioning as a P argument in (97).

(97) *éphiálâ trá shòt-êy-hyô khêw.*

[é-phíá=lâ] _{NP}	[trá] _{NP}	shót-êy-hyô	khêw
3SG.POSS-wife = ERG	[trial.ABS]	look.for.II-MID-PM	DP

‘His wife looked for the trial, that is the story.’

[ZM_ARGS3a_082015_Hyow_0006_0011]

Three demonstrative pronouns are used as simple heads of noun phrases in (98). The proximal demonstrative *ní* is the S argument of the intransitive verb and the anaphoric demonstrative *èy* are the oblique arguments of the verb in (98).

(98) *èykòntsæ ní lò-æ?y?hyô tîngá hówhnúngnò?ngâ, èyóngkô? ʘ.*

[èy = kón = tsæ]_{NP} [ní]_{NP} lò-æ?y-hyô tîng = á
 [ANAPH.DEM=ABL=TOP] [PROX] come-IRR-PM QT=ADD
 hôw-hnúng-hnó?ngâ [èy = ông = kô?]_{NP}
 say.I-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-1SG.NEG [ANAPH.DEM=INE=GEN]

‘I will not be able to say that this, the question of the exam, will come from there (from the books).’ [ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0102]

4.3.1.2 Compound head

Compound heads of noun phrases are compound nouns formed by different arrangements of appositions of nouns and verbs. Compound nouns are formed by noun-noun, noun-verb and verb-noun appositions. In noun-verb appositions, the verb either can be nominalized with a nominalizing affix or can just combine with a noun to form a compound noun. The apposed nouns and verbs are formally arranged similarly to possessor-possessee, modifier-modified or modified-modifier constructions in Hyow. Some examples of different compound nouns (in bold type) functioning as head of phrases are given below.

(99) *lòwímâ tsælálùlâtsæ íniphòwâl.*

[lòw-îm] = â tsæl-âl-ú-lá = tsæ
 [swidden.field.house]=LOC thresh.I-DEP-3PL-SEQ=TOP
 í-ní-phów-âl
 3A-PL-dry.under.sun.II-DEP

‘Threshing [the paddy] in the swidden field house, they dry up the paddy under the sun.’ [ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_033]

(100) *nìhu?y shámphókèmlómâ kètsèt-æ?y-hyô.*

nìhu?y [shámphó-kóm-lôm] = â ké-tsét-æ?y-hyô

like.this [quay]=LOC

1S-go-IRR-PM

‘I will go to the quay like this.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_073]

(101) *ngòshúy thóʔw íhniʔlòálæʔyní...*

[ngò-shúy] thóʔw íhniʔlò-âl-æʔy-ní

[fish-searching] from 3A-DL-come-DEP-IRR-TEMP

‘When they will come back from fish-searching...’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_030]

4.3.1.3 Complex head

A complex head of a noun phrase is conjoined by a phrasal conjunction in Hyow. Generally, two nouns are conjoined by the phrasal conjunction *lá* in Hyow (see §3.4.7). If there are more than two nouns, then the phrasal conjunction *lá* precedes the last noun. However, it is not obligatory in Hyow to use the conjunctive morpheme to conjoin nouns of a complex head; they can be just juxtaposed. For example, two nouns are juxtaposed in (102) to form a complex head. The nominal deictic *tsú* in pre-head position determines this complex head.

(102) *éydâ, tsú átâtí? óngòktì?lâtsâ, èykhóllâ iníkáðæʔytí.*

éydâ [tsú [á-tá-tí? ó-ngók-tí? = lâ = tsâ]_H]_{NP}

then [DIST [3SG.POSS-elder.brother-PL 3SG.POSS-sister.in.law=PL=ERG=TOP]]

[èy-khól = lâ]_{NP} ì-ní-kâélây = tí

ANAPH.DEM-EXP=ERG 1P-INV-envy=R.EVID

‘Then, those of his brothers and his sister-in-laws, they envied him.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_072]

The example in (103) is very interesting concerning the present discussion of complex NP. The noun phrase in the dependent clause has a complex head, where two possessive noun phrases are conjoined by the phrasal conjunction *lá*. Both of the

conjoined possessive noun phrase have compound heads themselves with a noun-noun apposition.

(103) *pótó nú-pô lá hmútó nú-pô ngìngùlàtsâ...*

[pótó nú-pô lá hmútó nú-pô]_{NP} ngì-êng-ú-lá = tsâ

[man mother-father and woman mother-father] agree.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP

‘Having agreed, the man’s parents and the woman’s parents...’

[ZM_HMS_NZK_122013_Hyow_0044_005]

Sometimes the nouns of a complex head are just juxtaposed. They are not conjoined by the phrasal conjunction, which is evident from the example in (104). This example illustrates a complex head with a series of juxtaposed nouns without any phrasal conjunction.

(104) *kéyá kêy kátá kúnû kópó kúpúshéltí? kúpúytí? kátátsángpótí? éykhôl khèní háng háng lúmóngngálàtsâ, hniéyâ kàtâ? ㄟ.*

kêy = á [kêy ká-tá kú-nû kó-pô

1SG=ADD [1SG 1SG.POSS-elder.brother 1SG.POSS-mother 1SG.POSS-father

kú-púshéltí? kú-púy-tí? ká-tátsángpótí?]_{NP} éy-khól

1SG.POSS-uncle-PL 1SG.POSS-aunt-PL 1SG.POSS-gr.father-PL] ANAPH.DEM-EXP

khâ = ní háng háng lúm-êng-ngâ-lá = tsâ hní-êy-â kâ-tâ?

all=FOC all gather-DUR-1SG-SEQ=TOP get.engaged-MID-PURP1A-send.II

‘Having gathered all, all my elder brother, my mother, my father, my uncles, my aunts, my grandfathers, all those, I send them for the engagement (ceremony).

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_054]

4.4 CONSTITUENTS OF A NOUN PHRASE

Figure 49 has already shown the structure of a noun phrase, in which there is a head, several pre-head constituents and several post-head constituents. In addition, there are also headless noun phrases. This section presents a discussion of all these constituents with relevant examples from the corpus.

4.4.1 PRE-HEAD CONSTITUENTS

The pre-head constituents of a noun phrase include exophoric and anaphoric demonstratives, possessor nouns and their numeral classifiers or alternatively, nominalized relative clauses and finally, quantifiers. There has been already a discussion of demonstratives in §3.4.1.2 and in §3.4.2.1, and numeral classifiers in §3.4.2.6. The discussion of these constituents in this section will focus on their structural and distributional features within noun phrases.

4.4.1.1 Demonstratives

Hyow has two exophoric demonstratives – *ní* and *tsú*, and an anaphoric demonstrative – *èy*. Exophoric demonstratives refer to entities in the context or speech situation (Diesel, 1999: 93; Haliday and Hasan, 1976: 58). The example in (105) illustrates the exophoric use of the proximal demonstrative. Here, the speaker is pointing to the referent of a dress. This is the typical function of the demonstrative. The distal exophoric demonstrative can also function anaphorically in order to point to a referent that is already mentioned in a distant discourse. The distal demonstrative in (106) is pointing to the referent of a shirt, which was mentioned forty-four sentences back in the text.

(105) *móngdó ní wát-é?y-tí-ngâ*

móngdó = ó **ní** wát-é?y-tí-ngâ

husband=VOC **PROX** wear-IRR-NITER-1SG.NEG

‘Husband, I will not wear **this** anymore.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_116]

(106) *tsú báyú dòkéyáldàdók \.*

tsú báyú dók-êy-âl-dá-dók
 DIST.ANAPH shirt wear.II-MID-DEP-ITER-ANT

‘He had worn back **that** shirt again like before.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_150]

The anaphoric demonstrative, *èy*, refers to a place, a thing, or a person that has been already mentioned in a recent discourse (see Diesel, 1999: 95; Haliday and Hasan, 1976: 60). A use of the anaphoric demonstrative is shown in (107), where the speaker points to the referent of a chicken that is already mentioned in the previous discourse.

(107) *èy áâ tsók pék*

èy á = â tsók pék
 ANAPH.DEM chicken=LOC animal.food give.II

‘Give food to **that** chicken.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_061]

In a noun phrase, when there is a head noun or other following nominals, the demonstratives function as nominal deictics. In other words, the demonstratives situate or point the nominal referents in the context or discourse to identify referents and attract attentions of addressees. For example, in (108), the speaker of the utterance is pointing to something at a distance to draw the addressee’s attention, and to identify the referent.

(108) *kóbóyó tsú hngàtsâ tòkæ?yhyódâ.*

kó-bôy = ó tsú hngát = tsâ tók-æ?y-hyô = dâ
 1SG.POSS-lord=VOC DIST one=TOP keep.II-IRR-PM=EMPH

‘My lord, I will keep **that** one,’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_027]

There is a proximal demonstrative *ní* and a distal (visual/non-visual) demonstrative *tsú* in Hyow, which function exophorically modifying the nouns or

nominalized relative clauses. The proximal demonstrative locates a referent that is close to the speaker. This is demonstrated in (109), in which the proximal demonstrative modify the following head noun.

(109) *ní tsóng kíhní?phòwhóní\.*

[ní tsóng]_{NP} bóhí = tsâ kí-hní?-phów-hô = ní
[PROXrice] so=TOP 1A-DL-dry.II-PM=FOC

‘So, we dried this paddy.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0031]

In (110), in order to keep his word to an old couple, a young boy is praying to his god to let a magical bead fall into the stomach of the old woman. The speaker is pointing to the referent of the old woman’s stomach. Here, the proximal demonstrative is modifying the noun phrase denoting the referent.

(110) *ní átsángnú hánông klóhèbây tîng.*

[ní átsángnú hân = ông]_{NP} klô-hó-bây tîng
[PROX old.womanstomach=INE] fall-OPT-DEL.IMP QT

‘She prayed, “Let it fall into this old woman’s stomach.”’
[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_019]

The distal demonstrative *tsú* locates both visual and non-visual nominal referents at a distance in given situations. In describing the place from where a man stole different fighting tools of the enemies, the narrator has used the distal demonstrative anaphorically before the word *nâm* ‘village’ in (111).

(111) *èydô èy álóngbàlàtsâ, tsú námâ tsètálhlô.*

èydô èy á-lô-ông-bá-lá = tsâ [tsú nám = â]_{NP} tsét-âl-hlô
then ANAPH.DEM DIR-bring.I-3SG-SEQ=TOP [DISTvillage=LOC] go-DEP-PM

‘Then, going to bring that, he went back to that village.’
[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0046]

In another example in (112), while giving advice to a job-seeking person, a speaker used the distal demonstrative modifying the following noun. Here, the distal demonstrative referred to non-visual books (to both the interlocutors) that the speaker advised to read to take preparation for job exams and interviews.

(112) *tsú tsó dòn-tí? óngkó? bôy mêy, èykhôl nóshót-lá?-æ?y ʌ.*

[tsú tsó dòn-tí? = ông = kó? bôy]_{NP} mêy èy-khôl
 [DISTlesson show.I-NMLZ=INE=GEN book] exist ANAPH.DEM-EXP
 nó-shót-lá?-æ?y
 2A-see-OBLG-IRR

‘For example, there is a book on that; there is a book on showing that lesson.
 You will have to see those. [ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0040]

The function of the anaphoric *èy* demonstrative is to track the referent that is already mentioned in the discourse. It is always coreferential with nouns or noun phrases in previous discourse (Diesel 1999: 95). Consider the following examples for an explanation of the anaphoric demonstrative.

(113) *shóták khóâ nàmání méytí? khrông hngát méyhyô. èydô nàmshòkhólátsê táá pýyshá méyà?hò hngúdâ tsìáká méyà?hò shángláyshû shángláyshû*

shót-ák khó = â nám = â = ní mêy-tí? khrông hngát méy-hyô
 CLS-one time=LOC village=LOC=FOC exist-NMLZ person one exist-PM
 èydô nàmshó-khôl = á = tsê táá pýyshá méy-á?-hò hngúdâ
 then villager-EXP=DAT=TOP note coin exist-3SG.NEG-PM DP
 tsí-ák = á méy-á?-hò shángláyshû shángláyshû
 piece-one=ADD exist-3SG.NEG-PM poor.person poor.person

‘Once there was a rich man in a village. Then, there was no money to the villagers, OK? There was not even a piece (to them). They were poor people, poor people.’ [ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0002]

(114) *èydô shóták khóâ èy námshókhôlní èy shángláyshûkhôlní èy mêtítí? khókâ, ínítsetthô*

èydô [shót-ák khó = â]_{NP} [èy námshó-khól = ní]_{NP} [èy
then [CLS-one time=LOC [ANAPH.DEM villager=EXP=FOC] [ANAPH.DEM
shángláyshû-khól = ní]_{NP} [èy mêtí-tí? khók = â]_{NP} í-ní-tsét-thô
poor.person=EXP=FOC] [ANAPH.DEM exist-NMLZ near=LOC] 3S-PL-go-PM

‘Then, one time, **those** villagers, **those** poor people, went to **that** rich man.’

[ZM_AGRS4_082015_HYOW_0007_0002-0006]

Comparing (113) and (114), it is observed that all the referents (underlined) in (114) are previously mentioned in (113) and are combined by the anaphoric demonstrative *èy* (in bold letters) in (114). It can be mentioned here that Hyow does not have any determiners. Hyow is an example of those languages that Himmelmann 1996 mentions as employing anaphoric demonstrative in second mentions of referents.

4.4.1.2 Nominalized relative clauses

Nominalized relative clauses are one of the pre-head constituents of noun phrases in Hyow. The whole relative clause is regarded as one constituent and it modifies the head noun. This feature of relative clause nominalization is common in the languages of the greater Tibeto-Burman branch (see Genetti et al. 2008, Noonan 1997). Hyow also displays this feature of clausal nominalization.

Several nominalizers are found in Hyow (see §12.4.2 for fuller description). The nominalizer *-tí?* functions as an agentive nominalizer with Stem I verbs, and patientive nominalizer with Stem II verbs. This nominalizer is also used to form relative clauses by clausal nominalization. An example of the agentive nominalizer is given in (115). In (115), when the narrator was talking about helping ‘a woman who

took poison’, he used a nominalized relative clause to describe the woman. In such a phrase, the relative clause in bold type modifies the head noun.

(115) *èydâ èy bîsh òtî? hmútóní yèkóngùngálàtsâ, pòmóngùngálàtsâ, pòtsóngthùm pòtsónghlílâ gáríng kááníkhôy.*

èydâ [èy [bîsh ò-tî?]_{REL} hmútó = ní]_{NP}

then ANAPH.DEM [**poison drink.I-NMLZ**] woman=FOC]

yók-âng-úngâ-lâ = tsâ póm-âng-úngâ-lâ = tsâ pòtsông-thùm

lift.I-DUR-1PL.EXC-SEQ=TOP carry.I- DUR-1PL.EXC-SEQ=TOP CLS-three

pòtsông-hlí = lâ gárí = âng ká-á-ní-khôy

CLS-four=ERG car=INE 1A-DIR-PL-make.ascend

‘Then, after we lifted the woman **who drank the poison**, after we carried her, we, three-four persons went to put her into a car.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0085]

In addition to the ways of forming relative clauses, and modifying the head noun exemplified in (115), relative clauses are also built by relative-correlative strategy, which is a borrowed construction from Bangla. All types of relative clauses are discussed in §12.4.2.1.

4.4.1.3 Possessor and genitive nouns

Both a possessor noun and a genitive noun refer to a person or thing that possesses something. Two different ways can be employed for constructing possessives in Hyow, and in both constructions, the possessors precede the possessee. In a juxtaposed possessive construction (zero or head marked), the possessee is an inalienable noun, and in a genitive construction (dependent marked), the possessee is an alienable noun.

Inalienability refers to any possession that cannot be separated from a referent (see Haiman 2001; Heine 1997; Nichols 1988, 1999 for inalienable and alienable

possession). For example, a person stays in his shop from morning to evening regularly. While talking to his friend, if the person wants to tell his friend ‘Come to my place, which means his shop, then the person will say *kêy lá lò* (1SG place come) ‘Come to my place’, but not **kêykəʔ álá lò* (1SG=GEN GRP-place come) ‘*Come to my place’, in which construction *kêykəʔ álá* refers to the person’s property. A property can be either inherited or bought, which is not necessarily inalienable from the possessor. On the other hand, the existence of a person in a place is not separable from his spatial location. Similarly, *kêy wún* ‘my skin’ refers to my own skin, but *kêykəʔ wún*, with the dependent marked by the genitive case, it refers to the skin (may be cow skin or same sort) that I have bought or acquired by some other means. Consistent with this concept, for kinship terms, genitive constructions are never used in Hyow. Therefore, only the kinship terms and nouns of inalienable referents can follow an unmarked personal pronoun or a possessor noun in apposition.

In (116), the word *tá* ‘elder brother’ is a kinship term, where the head noun *tá* has been inflected by a third person pronominal prefix, and forms a noun phrase. The possessor noun is not overtly expressed here, instead a head marking pronominal prefix is referring to a third person singular possessor. In the next juxtaposed inalienable possessive phrase *tsú tá phiá-tíʔ = lá = tsə* (DIST elder.brother wife-PL=ERG=TOP) ‘that elder brothers’ wives’, *tá* is the possessor noun and *phiá* is the possessee. The square brackets mark the boundaries of the noun phrase.

(116) *èy khóphnúp lòní, átàtíʔ tsú tá phiá-tíʔ látsə áthámkhólông ínítíʔ* ㄟ.

<i>èy</i>	<i>khóphnúp</i>	<i>lò-ní</i>	<i>[á-tá-tíʔ</i>	<i>tsú</i>
ANAPH.DEM	day	come-TEMP	[3SG.POSS-elder.brother-PL	DIST
<i>tá</i>	<i>phiá-tíʔ = lâ = tsə</i>	<i>á-thám-khól = êng</i>	<i>í-ní-tsíʔ</i>	
	elder.brother wife-PL=ERG=TOP]	GRP-shoulder.pole-EXP=INE	3A-PL-take.II	

‘When the day came, they took his elder brothers and those elder brothers’ wives in shoulder poles.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_042]

Beside this juxtaposition strategy, Hyow also has a genitive construction expressing alienable possession or a part-whole relationship. Genitive nouns function

as dependent of noun heads in genitive or alienable possessive constructions. In (117), the first person genitive possessor is a dependent noun.

(117) *kéy kʰá? dúkhá? úá kóhòwpèkæ?yhyóân?*

[**kêy = kʰá?** dúkhá?]_{NP} ú = â kó-hów-pék-æ?y-hyô = êm

[1SG = GEN trouble] who = LOC 1A-say.II-BEN-IRR-PM = CONT.Q

‘Whom will I tell my trouble?’ [ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0067]

There can be multiple possessive constructions in a single noun phrase. The bolded type phrase in (118) is a whole noun phrase, in which two hierarchically dependent possessed nouns exist.

(118) *nóbôy núkʰá? khóytsíp núhmù?éy ↗?*

[**nó-bôy nú = kʰá? khóytsíp**]_{NP} nú-hmú? = êy

[2SG.POSS-**lord mother** = GEN **ring**] 2A-see.II = POL.Q

‘Did you see **the ring of your lord’s mother?**’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_190].

4.4.1.4 Numeral compounds of dependents

Numeral compounds in prehead positions of noun phrases in Hyow function as nominal attributes of possessors. A discussion of structures and functions of numeral compounds has already been presented in §3.4.2.6. I briefly talk about numeral compounds in relation to noun phrases in this section.

Numeral compounds are formed with numerals and classifiers of nouns. Numerous classifiers in Hyow are based on shape, size and other features of nominal referents (see Table 72 for the list of numeral classifiers in Hyow). In a noun phrase, the numeral compound follows the head to quantify it. The following example in (119) has a numeral compound (in bold type).

(119) *lálá hú?ypêy, máné, èyóngtsâ khróng pótsonghngó dukóngtsâ lòálây?là?hódâ.*

lálá hú?ypêy máné èy = êng = tsâ [[khróng pótsonghngó]

by.any.means means ANAPH.DEM = INE = TOP [people CLS-five]

dúk = êng = tsâ]_{NP} lò-âl-â?y-lá?-hâ = dâ

inside = INE = TOP come-DEP-IRR-OBLG-PM = EMPH

‘By any means, it means that it (the trial) has to reflect what five other people think.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0117]

Reference to particular individuals can be done by using classifiers (Diesel, 1999: 318). This functional criterion can be utilized to use numeral classifiers anaphorically. Diesel (1999: 318) also mentions that deletions of nouns are more frequent than deletions of numeral classifiers. It is typical of Hyow to leave out or delete nominal arguments from clauses. Therefore, a numeral compound can also function without the noun it modifies. This reflects the anaphorical function of the numeral compound, which identifies the referent of the noun in a given clause. In a noun phrase where the numeral compound is functions anaphorically, the numeral compound can be marked by case clitics and other inflectional markers that are accessible to nouns. In (120), the numeral compound is marked by the ergative case clitic =*lâ* and the focus clitic =*ní*.

(120) *èydâ páyhni?lání íhni?tsi?hnè?tí.*

èydâ páyh-ní? = lâ = ní í-hní?-tsí?-hné? = tí

then CLS-two=ERG=FOC 3A-DL-take.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, the two took him.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_224]

An anaphoric numeral compound can be preceded by a demonstrative, which modifies the anaphoric numeral compound functionally. This also distributionally puts the numeral compound in the position of the head of a noun phrase.

(121) *èy páyhni? íhni?kôyhyô shámphóông.*

èy páy-hni? í-hni?-kôy-hyô shámphó = êng
ANAPH.DEM CLS-two 3S-DL-ascend-PM plain=INE

‘Those two boarded on the plain.’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_230]

4.4.2 POST-HEAD CONSTITUENTS

Several post-head constituents can appear in a noun phrase in Hyow. Verbal modifiers, which were discussed briefly in §3.2, can occur in the in post-head position as nominal attributes. Other than this, the numeral compounds and quantifiers can also modify the head of a noun phrase.

4.4.2.1 Verbal modifier

Verbal modifiers can follow the noun head in a noun phrase. Stative intransitive verbs can be utilized as verbal modifiers in Hyow. Distributions of stative verbs enable them to modify a noun. In citations, stative verbs that can be used to modify nouns are obligatorily marked by the generic referential prefix. When these stative verbs follow nouns, they do not retain the generic referential prefix, which makes them function as modifiers. For example, *é-lén* (GRP-be.big) ‘be big’ is a stative verb. In order to modify a noun, it has to follow a noun without the generic referential prefix attached to it, as in *ngó lén* ‘big fish’. If the stative verb follows the noun with the prefix attached to it, then the stative verb functions as a predicate, as in *ní ngó é-lén* (PROX fish 3S-be.big) ‘This fish is big’. Since the generic referential prefix and the third person singular S marker on verb are identical, and stative verbs generally express inherent state of nominal referents, the prefix is deleted from stative verb roots in order to functionally assign the as modifiers of nouns.

The post-head modifier position is either accessible to a verbal modifier or a quantifier, as exemplified in (122). In (122), the first appearance of the stative verb *pôy* ‘be good’ without the generic referential prefix after the noun *hníbók* is functioning as a verbal modifier. The consecutive appearances of the stative verb with the generic referential prefix attached to it are examples of headless verbal modifiers.

(122) *tsùkhóllátsâ, tsètùlàtsâ, hníbók pây, ópây, ópây, ópây, tsìéytsàkdâkû* \.

tsú-khól = lâ = tsâ	tsét-u-lá = tsâ	[hníbók pây ó-pây
DIST-EXP=ERG=TOP	go-3PL-SEQ=TOP	[rifle be.good GRP-be.good
ó-pây	ó-pây	tsí-êy-tsák-dók-ú
GRP-be.good	GRP-be.good	take.I-MID-COMPL-ANT-3A.PL

‘Going, they had completely taken good rifles, the good ones, the good ones, the good ones for themselves.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_103]

If there is already a verbal modifier in the post-head position, a quantifier cannot be in the post-head position too. Instead, the quantifier holds the pre-head position. Putting the quantifier in the post-head position where there is already a verbal modifier produces an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in (123).

(123) **shómáytsô pâykhól óbóng skùlâ méyhyô*

shómáytsô	pây-khól	óbóng	skúl = â	mêy-hyô
boy	good-EXP	many	school=LOC	exist-PM

*‘There were many good boys in the school.’ [Elicited]

4.4.2.2 Quantifiers

There are several types of quantifiers in Hyow (see §3.4.2.4) that modify the head of a noun phrase by following it. As said earlier in §4.4.2.1, quantifiers cannot be used in the post-head position, if there is already a verbal modifier. Some examples of quantifiers are given in (124) and (125).

(124) *èy tsótí? sbóng méyhyô kóngní túâ sís shónng sís hngát méyáldú*

èy [sótí? sbóng]_{NP} méy-hyô

ANAPH.DEM [GRP-child-PL many] exist-PM

‘She had many children’ [ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_003]

(125) *íní-tsét-âl-ní lóm bòngákâ, èykó? túp íníhmù?dók *

íní-tsét-âl-ní [lóm bòngák=â]_{NP} èy=kó? túp

3PL-go-DEP-TEMP [road half=LOC] ANAPN.DEM=GEN hat

íní-hmù?-dók

3PL-see.II-ANT

‘When they went away, they had seen his hat on the half way.’

[ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0040]

4.4.2.3 Numeral compounds of heads

Numeral compounds can modify both a dependent noun and a head noun of a noun phrase. When the numeral compound modifies the head of the noun phrase, it follows the head, which is exemplified in (126). Here, the numeral compound *páyhni?* is following the head noun *tánów* ‘sibling brother’.

(126) *èyhnè?lá, tánów páyhni?ní íhni?káp *

èy-hnè?-lá [tánów pây-hní?=ní]_{NP} í-hní?-káp

FILL-ULT-SEQ [sibling.brother CLS-two=FOC] 3S-DL-cry

‘After that, the two sibling brothers cried.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_111]

Between a verbal modifier and a numeral compound, the verbal modifier stands closer to the head. The numeral compound follows the verbal modifier then. In the elicited example in (127), the numeral compound *páyhni?* is following the verbal modifier *pây* ‘good’.

(127) *îm pây pâyhní? kábàndók\.*

îm pây pây-hní? ká-bán-dók
house good CLS-two 1A-find.II-ANT

‘I have found two good houses. [Elicited]

As the last constituent of a noun phrase, different types of clitics can be attached to a numeral compound. The example in (128) shows that the numeral compound *pùmhlí* is inflected by the inessive and the genitive case clitics.

(128) *èy hnóthíngtsô pùmhlíngkó? lálápêy tsìéybây.*

èy hnóthíng-tsô **pùm-hlí**= êng = kó? lálápêy tsì-êy-bây
ANAPH.DEM banana.tree-DIM **CLS-four** = INE = GEN any take.I-MID-DEL.IMP

‘Take any of those four banana trees.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0067]

4.4.3 NOUN PHRASE CLITICS

Clitics are not regarded as constituents of noun phrases, because they do not form any syntactic element that can function on its own. However, a discussion of the clitics is required because of their significant role in denoting the semantic and syntactic functions of their host NPs.

4.4.3.1 Vocative clitic

The vocative clitic is attached to addressing terms and kinship terms in order to address a person. The vocative clitic =*ó* can follow other clitics attached to a host. Hyow speakers often lengthen the duration of vowel of the vocative case clitic when the addressee is at a distance. They also often use a singsong intonation at the end of a addressing or kinship noun attached by the vocative clitic.

An example of the vocative clitic is given in (129). The addressing term for ‘son’ is *tsô* in Hyow. The speaker is addressing her two sons. Therefore, the dual marker *-hó?y* inflects the word *tsô*.

(129) *tsʰhəʔyó ʉbànálhnəʔhniʔtí.*

tsʰhəʔy = ó ʉ-bán-âl-hnəʔ-hniʔtí

son-DL=VOC 1P-find.II-DEP-DEL.NEG-2PL.NEG

‘Sons, you will not find me back.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_082]

4.4.3.2 Case clitics

Diachronically, case clitics can be derived from relational nouns, but not all case clitics are derived from them. Relational nouns are like adpositions. Syntactically they resemble nouns. Semantically, their meanings describe spatial or temporal locations of nominal referents. Some case markers are developed through a process of grammaticalization of relational nouns in genitive or possessive constructions (see LaPolla 2004). Coupe (2011) has shown how relational nouns in appositional NPs are likely to be historical sources of case-marking morphology in Ao, and by analogy in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Hyow relational nouns comprise bound and unbound locative nouns. Beside the clitics, the locative nouns in Hyow function to establish relations between distinct arguments. For instance, the locative noun *kónâng* ‘with’ in (130) is referring to the speaker’s companion of a friend. Perhaps, the comitative case clitic =*âng* has grammaticalized from this locative noun in Hyow.

(130) *kêy phrów-tíʔ kónâng kétsètthô.*kêy phrów-tíʔ **kónâng** ké-tsét-thô1SG friend-PL **with** 1S-go-PM

‘I went with my friends.’ [ZM_EOBH_HP_062014_Hyow_0046_003]

Case clitics are used to mark core and oblique arguments of different persons and numbers. However, not all persons are marked for their grammatical functions in the grammar of Hyow. Among the core arguments, first person and second person core arguments do not have any overt case marking, while the third person A argument is marked with an ergative case clitic =*lâ*, as shown in (131).

(131) *krôwéyóngùngálàtsâ, kéykón tsètí?khóllâ, khróngínhòwpèkál.*

krôw-êy-ông-ùngâ-lá = tsâ kéy = kón tsét-tí?-khól = lâ
 speak-MID-DUR-1PL.EXC-SEQ=TOP 1SG=ABL go-NMLZ-EXP=ERG
 khrông-í-ní-hów-pék-âl
 1P-3A-PL-say.II-BEN-DEP

‘Speaking with each other, the people who went from my side told me that.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_058]

In Hyow, in addition to the ergative case clitic, there are other oblique case markers, which are discussed in §3.4.2.7 and in §10.3.

4.4.3.3 Topic clitic

The topic clitic = *tsâ* is attached to the final constituent of a noun phrase or comes after another clitic. The topic clitic topicalizes a noun phrase or a dependent clause in Hyow. Generally, topic is discourse dependent, and can be best explained by discourse and extra-sentential features (Li & Thompson, 1976: 466). In Hyow, the topic clitic is generally utilized to mark an old or given information, which plays a vital role in discourse organization.

The example in (132) starts with a discourse connective, which connects the current sentence to the previous sentence. This is a typical way of continuing the discourse in Hyow. From a topic-comment perspective, the third person singular A arguments, *kéy* ‘tiger’ and *hóm* ‘bear’ are topics in (132), and their predicates are functioning as their comments.

(132) *èyhnəʔlàtsə kéylàtsə áta tsíʔéy hòmlàtsə ónòwní tsíʔéy hárê.*

èy-hnəʔ-lá = tsə [kéy = lâ = tsə]_{NP} á-tá tsíʔ-éy
 FILL-ULT-SEQ = TOP [tiger = ERG = TOP] GRP-elder.brother take.II-MID
 [hóm = lâ = tsə]_{NP} ó-nów = ní tsíʔ-éy hárê
 [bear = ERG = TOP] GRP-younger.brother take.II-MID DP

‘After that, the tiger took the elder brother and the bear took the younger brother, understand?’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_116]

The oblique noun argument in (133) *tsôw* ‘root’ is marked by the topic clitic. The topicalization of the oblique noun argument tells us that the clause in (133) talks about the source of picking up something. If the clause were about the thing that has been picked up, then the distal demonstrative would have been topicalized instead.

(133) *tsú tsôwkòntsə yúkəyàʔtí dá.*

tsú tsôw = kón = tsə yúk-éy-áʔ-tí dá
 DIST root = ABL = TOP pick-MID-3SG.NEG-EVID DP

‘(I said), “He did not pick up that from that root, OK!”

[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0070]

4.4.3.4 Focus clitic

The focus clitic =*ní* attached to a noun phrase restricts the referent of the phrase. It is used to avoid any ambiguity of semantically emphasized nouns from other nouns in a given situation. Generally, focus is utilized to mark a new information in a given utterance (Payne, 1997: 267). The focus clitic marks only a new referent in a context not a running referent.

Examples of the focus clitics is demonstrated by two noun phrases marked by the focus clitic in (134). In both the instances, the focus clitic has scope over the entire noun phrase. By the focus clitic, the speaker restricts the referent of the A argument in

this example, so that the addressee has an unambiguous idea about the person who has performed the event described by the clause.

(134) *èy khrông hngátlání èy óhlómhlókón, ní kárbáří khæwní khínf.*

èy	khrông	hngát = lâ = ní	èy	
ANAPH.DEM	person	one = ERG = FOC	ANAPH.DEM	
óhłómhló = kón	ní	kárbáří	khæw = ní	khín = tí
distance = ABL	PROX	village.chief	word = FOC	hear = R.EVID

‘Then, that, only that one person heard only the words of the village chief from the distance.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0016]

4.4.3.5 Emphatic clitic

Unlike the focus clitic, the emphatic clitic = *dʂ* does not function to disambiguate an argument from the other one. The emphatic clitic is utilized to specify a noun or noun phrase. In other words, the emphatic clitic is used to make a specific referent of the noun phrase stand out in a given situation. For example, the emphatic clitic is used in a context in which if a Hyow speaker asks ‘What did you see?’, the addressee, who thought that the speaker would know what he saw, would reply with the emphatic clitic attached to the NP that the addressee wishes to emphasize.

The emphatic clitic = *dʂ* originates in a copular verb, which is still used in limited number of copula clauses in Hyow. An example of the emphatic clitic is presented in (135). In the described situation of this example, the speaker emphasizes on the referent of the noun *hmútʂ* ‘woman’. The noun is specified here allowing the speaker to indicate to a specific referent.

(135) *hmútsdê kónòk-é?yhyê*

hmútó = **dê** kó-nók-é?y-hyê

woman=EMPH 1A-marry.II-IRR-PM

‘I will marry the woman.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_019]

Like the focus clitic, the emphatic clitic can also have a clausal scope being attached to the verb complex.

4.5 HEADLESS NOUN PHRASE

It is not always the case that noun phrases will have a head noun. The constituents that made up a noun phrase might lack a head and form a headless noun phrase instead. Syntactically, these headless noun phrases are equivalent in function to noun phrases with heads. Different types of headless clauses are discussed in the following subsections.

4.5.1 HEADLESS GENITIVE DEPENDENT

The genitive dependent is part of an alienable possessive construction. Sometimes the dependent appears without the head (possessee) in a noun phrase. It is not uncommon for a language in which nominal arguments are absent very frequently in texts. The noun phrases in square brackets in (136), (137) and (138) do not have a head. The missing head is identifiable from the discourse, which helps the addressee to recover the meaning even though the head is absent in the phrase. Sometimes the numeral for one is used in such phrases to fill up the gap of the syntactic head. However, the semantic head remains absent.

The example in (136) is an intransitive clause. The noun phrase in square brackets is the headless noun argument of the intransitive clause.

(136) *áyâng khóák? hngô.*

[áyâng khô = â = kó?]_{NP} hngô
[long.back time = LOC = GEN] be.different

‘The one of the old time was different.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_167]

The example in (137) is taken from a folk story. The topic clitic marked on the verb complex (underlined) is functioning as a relativizer here. The whole clause marked by the topic clitic is functioning as a modifier of the missing head.

(137) *tsùkhólk? ?èyhyókhóltsâ; túyhù?ydâ pítî èykâ?tsâ hlímhmóéy ↗.*

[tsù-khól = kó?]_{NP} ?éy-hyô-khól = tsâ túy-hú?y = dâ
[DIST-EXP=GEN] eat.II-PM-EXP=TOP water-like=EMPH
pí = tí [èy = kó? = tsâ]_{NP} hlím-hmó-êy
feel.II=R.EVID [ANAPH.DEM=GEN=TOP] sweet.and.sour-PM=POL.Q

‘He felt their [food cooked by his brothers’ wives] food that he ate like water (literally, he felt the eaten food of theirs like water). Was her food [his cat wife’s] delicious?’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_052]

The addressing term, which is the head of the genetic construction in (138), is missing. Therefore, the genitive dependent inside square brackets constructs a headless NP in this example. The vocative clitic is usually attached to an addressing term. Since the head is missing here, the dependent is marked by the vocative clitic.

(138) *kóbóykəʔó bóhí tùhnúp tỳónátsə nàngá nóbôy méytìàʔhō.*

[kó-bôy = kəʔ = ó] bóhí tùhnúp tỳôn = á = tsə
 [1SG.POSS-lord=GEN=VOC]so today tonight=LOC=TOP
 náng = á nó-bôy mēy-tí-áʔ-hō
 2SG=DAT 2SG.POSS-lord exist-NHITER-3SG.NEG-PM

‘My lord’s one, so, at the night of this day, you do not have your lord anymore.’
 [ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0111]

4.5.2 HEADLESS NOMINALIZED GENITIVE DEPENDENT

A nominalized relative clause can function as a genitive dependent of an alienable possessive construction. The genitive dependent in square brackets in (139) is a nominalized place relative clause. If the head of the genitive dependent were overtly present, then the locative and the genitive case clitic would have been attached to the head of the genitive construction.

(139) *tsúə shómóytsólâ tûy hlòʔhódnákəʔ káək-khō.*

tsú = á shómóytsô = lâ [tûy hlòʔ-hô-dân = á = kəʔ]_{NP}
 DIST=LOC boy=ERG [water bathe-PM-LOC=GEN
 ká-ók-khō
 DIR-drink.II-PM

‘I went to drink the water there where a boy was taking a bath.’
 [ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_022]

4.5.3 HEADLESS NOMINALIZED RELATIVE CLAUSE

Relative clauses are formed by a nominalization process in Hyow (see §12.4.2). Sometimes these relative clauses lack their heads and function as headless noun phrases, as exemplified in (140) and (141). The relevant headless noun phrase are inside square brackets.

(140) *èy dóggyá kómá méydánátsæ íphnó?tí*

èy dóggyá kóm = â [mêy-dân = â = tsæ]_{REL}
 ANAPH.DEM sea_B bank=LOC [exist-PLNMLZ=LOC=TOP]
 í-íp-hnó?-tí
 3S-sleep-ULT=R.EVID

‘He (king’s son) finally slept in the place **where he stayed** on the bank of that river.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_199]

(141) *təwâ ihní?tsèthtsæ yê thùáldânâ króngshâng tú?úyhúy kængdítítá tú?úyhú?yông áló má tú?úyhú?yní pò?éyhñ?tí tú?úyhú?y pò?éy.*

təw = â í-hní?-tsét-hí = tsæ [yê thú-âl-dân = â]_{REL}
 forest=LOC 3S-DL-go-TEMP=TOP [bamboo be.rotten-DEP-PNMLZ=LOC]
 króngshâng tú?úy-hú?y kængdítítá tú?úy-hú?y = êng áló má
 right.away tiger-like utterly.black tiger-like=COMT big_M
 tú?úy-hú?y = ní pò?-éy-hnó?-tí tú?úy-hú?y pò?-éy
 water-like=FOC do-MID-ULT-EVID tiger-like do-MID

‘If they two go to the forest, he (father in law) immediately becomes like a big tiger, like a utterly black tiger in the place where he (father in law) gathered bamboos to tie.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_284]

4.5.4 HEADLESS VERBAL MODIFIER

Verbal modifiers that function as nominal attributes can stand alone without the head in a noun phrase. A headless verbal modifier retains the generic referential prefix, which refers to a generic referent, whose inherent state is expressed by the verbal modifier.

The verbal modifier in (142) forms a headless NP, which is the P argument of the transitive verb *bñ* ‘get.II’. As mentioned above, the generic referential prefix, which is identical to the third person singular S/A marker on verbs, is retained by the

verbal modifier in this example. The verbless modifier is not considered as a predicate here since it neither meets the requirements of being a dependent clause (see §12.2.2 for morphosyntactic criteria of dependent clauses) nor it is marked by a complementizer or a relativizer.

(142) *ópôy ní-ní-bún-êy-á?y-hyô*.

ópôy	ní-ní-bún-êy-á?y-hyô
GRP-be.good	2A-PL-get.II-MID-IRR-PM

‘We will get the good ones.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_130]

A headless verbal modifier can be modified by an adverb, which is evident from the example in (143). Here, the adverb *mótmót* is modifying the verbal modifier *ópôy* ‘good’.

(143) *kêy mótmót ópôy piéyngâ*.

kêy	mótmót	ópôy	pí-êy-ngâ
1SG	very	GRP-be.good	feel.II-MID-1SG.NEG

‘I did not feel very good.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0037]

Without the generic referential suffix attached to the root, a stative verb can still function as a modifier of a headless NP, but the modifier has to be marked by another referential morpheme. The headless verbal modifier *póyá?* ‘bad’ in (144) is marked by the third person singular negative suffix *-á?*. Here, it is indicating to a non-specific referent, which is done by the generic referential prefix in the non-negated form.

(144) *kéy pâyá? kóthónéyàè?yhyô*

kêy pây-á? kó-thón-êy-á?y-hyô
 1SG be.good-3SG.NEG 1S-happen-MID-IRR-PM

‘I will become a bad one’ [ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_022]

4.5.5 HEADLESS QUANTIFIER

Quantifiers can also form headless NPs. In such headless quantifier NPs, the quantifier takes all the clitics. In (145), the headless quantifier NP is square bracketed. The referent of the noun modified by the quantifier is not recoverable from the sentence in (145). However, the listener is able to identify the quantified referent from the previous discourse.

(145) *tá óngphónglâ bǝngák tsí? ʘ.*

tá óngphóng = lâ [bǝngák]_{NP} tsí?
 elder.brother name.of.a.person = ERG [half] take.II

‘Elder brother Ongphong took half. [ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0032]

The headless quantifier NP in (146) is marked by the expansive suffix and the comitative case clitic, which are generally attached to a head noun.

(146) *khǝkhólǝng ínítsetthô*

[khǝ-khól = êng]_{NP} í-ní-tsét-thô
 [all-EXP=COMT] 3S-PL-go-PM

‘They went with all (instruments).’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0056]

4.6 CONCLUSION

The constituents of a noun phrase in pre-head and post-head positions, which form a congruent clausal unit, have been discussed in this chapter. The congruent organization of the constituents within a noun phrase has choices in both pre-head and

post-head positions. In pre-head positions, any of the demonstrative is allowed to hold the initial slot. A demonstrative itself can be the head of a NP. Then, there is a choice between a nominalized relative clause and a dependent noun. Both of them can function as headless dependent of a possessor-possessee construction. The use of nominalized relative clause as an attribute of the head of a noun phrase is linguistically very salient. This illustrates the extensive function of nominalization and its importance in the grammar of TB languages. Following either a relative clause or a dependent noun, the head of a NP holds the central position of the NP. A NP head can be simple, compound and complex, which is followed by a numeral compound, if the head has a numeral classifier. If the NP head does not have a numeral classifier, then the numeral is attached to the head. Numeral compounds show organizational variations. Before twenty, numerals follow classifiers, but after twenty, the base and the linker of a numeral precedes the classifier. After the numeral compound, there is a choice between a verbal modifier and a quantifier. The verbal modifier and the quantifier cannot be used on the same side of a NP head. Nonetheless, the post-head position is obligatory for a verbal modifier. When there is already a verbal modifier in a NP, then the quantifier has to be located in a pre-head position. Whichever is the last constituent of a NP – numeral compound, verbal modifier, quantifier – all the clitics are attached to that. There can be more than one clitic attached to the last constituent of a NP. The clitics have scope over the whole NP. The next chapter contains discussions of nominal morphology in Hyow.

5 Nominal morphology

5.1 INTRODUCTION

After the detailed layout on noun phrases made in Chapter 4, this chapter advances on discussing different types of noun compounding and nominal morphology. I discuss several types of compounding through examples from Hyow corpus in §5.2. In §5.3, I focus on nominal prefixes, which are used for non-derivational morphological functions. There is an explanatory discussion on nominal suffixes in §5.5, which is followed by a discussion of several types of nominalizations in §5.6 and some conclusive remarks on nominal morphologies in §5.7.

5.2 COMPOUNDING

Compounding is a morphological process of combining two or three roots to form new stems. According to Spencer (1991: 309), the process of compounding in so many ways represents a crossing point between morphology and syntax. He also argues that a process of forming phrases through concatenations of words defines syntax, while a process of forming new words through concatenations of words defines compounding. However, there should be some criteria to distinguish a compound noun from a phrase. These criteria include stress, non-referentiality of compound dependents, incapability of compound roots in isolated inflections, etc. Different languages employ different strategies to make this distinction. Hyow also executes some strategies to demarcate morphology from syntax.

5.2.1 CRITERIA OF COMPOUND WORDS

Hyow, like other languages that use compounding as a process of word formation, shows several criteria to distinguish a compound word from a phrase. The criteria for defining compound words in Hyow include – phonological (§5.2.1.1), morphological (§5.2.1.2) and semantic (§5.2.1.3). Since morphosyntactic criteria are not good diagnostic tools for distinguishing a compound word from a phrase in Hyow, it is not included in the discussion.

5.2.1.1 Phonological criteria

Phonologically, Hyow compound words show salient features. Constituents of Hyow compound words undergo phonological processes of tone sandhi and resyllabification. I have already discussed the resyllabification process of a different type in (§2.5.2), and the acoustic analysis of tones in compound words in §2.6.3.6. This section focuses on establishing these criteria to define a compound word.

Hyow has both lexical and grammatical tones. The underlying lexical tones of compounded elements go through a change due to the compound word internal tone sandhi process. The tones of first elements of compound words are subject to change in order to form the compounds. If the first element of a compound word underlyingly has a high-level (H) tone, then it becomes low-level (L) tone in the compound. For example, when the noun *iʔl* ‘blanket’ forms a compound word *iʔl-tsông* (blanket-guard) ‘mosquito net’, then the underlying H tone of the first element of the compound word *iʔl* ‘blanket’ becomes L. If the first element of a compound word has a falling (H-L) tone in isolation, then it becomes high-level tone (H) in the compound (see §2.6.3.6 for acoustic analysis of tones in compound words). For example, when the noun *nû* ‘mother’ and the noun *pô* ‘father’ forms a compound word *núpô* ‘parents’, then the underlying F tone of the first element *nû* ‘mother’ changes into H tone in the compound. The first member of a compound word with underlying L tone does not go under any change. For example, when the noun *tsiʔ* ‘milk’ and the noun *tûy* ‘water’ forms the compound word *tsiʔ-tûy* (milk-water) ‘spit’, then the underlying tone of the noun *tsiʔ* does not change in the compound. For the compounds whose first elements have underlying L tone, other criteria are applicable for establishing them as compounds. The compound word internal tones are consistent tone sandhi outcomes across different types of compound words in Hyow.

If the first constituent of a compound word ends with a sonorant or stop and, the second constituent starts with a vowel, then the final of the first constituent becomes the onset of the second constituent’s initial syllable. For example, when the noun *khôy* ‘bee’ and the verb *ýt* ‘bloat’ form the compound word *khóyýt* ‘bee hive (black part)’, the final palatal approximant of the first constituent becomes the onset of the second constituent in the compound, as in *khôy + ýt → khó-yýt*. Other than the resyllabification process, a few compound words show a phonological process of

vowel deletion. For example, the nouns *khó* ‘leg’ and *yûng* ‘root’ form the compound word *khòûng* ‘tip of the foot’. In this example, the initial palatal approximant is deleted due to the word formation process.

5.2.1.2 Morphological criteria

Morphologically, the constituents of a compound word are constrained by the restriction of internal inflection. In other words, the first element of a compound word cannot be inflected by any of the inflectional categories within the compound word; rather the compound word is inflected as a whole or unit. Accordingly, **bù?-tsó-ón* ‘*rice-curry’ is ungrammatical, but *bù?-òñ-tsó* (rice-curry-DIM) ‘rice-curry’ is not. Similarly, the plural suffix *-tí?* cannot be attached to the first constituent of a compound word, as in **nú-tì?-bé* (mother-PL-grand.mother) ‘siblings’. In order to be inflected by the plural suffix *-tí?*, the compound word should be treated as a whole, as in *nú-bè-tí?* (mother-grandmother-PL) ‘siblings’. This constraint of internal inflection is also applicable to numerals when they are attached to a noun, rather than to a numeral classifier, as in *nú-bè-thûm* (mother-grandmother-three) ‘three siblings’.

5.2.1.3 Semantic criteria

Semantically, compound words can be either compositional or non-compositional. Meanings of compositional compound words can be explained by the summation of the participating words (see Aikhenvald, 2007: 28). On the other hand, meanings of non-compositional compounds cannot be overtly plausible from the participating words. Therefore, the idiomatic feature of the whole compound can be utilized as a semantic criterion. Hyow has both compositional and non-compositional compounds. For example, the compound word *àkhông* ‘early morning’ is formed by the noun *á* ‘chicken’ and the noun *không* ‘calling of chicken’. The meaning cannot be interpreted from the compounded elements. There is a metaphoric use of the amalgamation of the two nouns in this example. This is an example of the non-compositional compound. On the other hand, the compound word *bù?îm* ‘kitchen’ can be interpreted from its constituents – *bú?* ‘rice’ and *îm* ‘house’. A kitchen is a kind of house that is used for eating rice by the Hyow. This is an example of compositional compound.

5.2.2 COMPOUND TYPES

Numerous types of compounding are discussed in literature, sometimes with different names but with similar definitions. Compounds can be divided into two types – lexical and syntactic. Lexical compounding is a process of joining two or more than two roots to form a new stem that expresses a new meaning. A syntactic compound involves a verb and another modifying element that could be an argument of the verb in a clause. In such compounds, the modifying element can be turned into a PP within the NP (see Spencer, 1991: 325; Velupillai, 2012: 118). Compounds can be also discussed based on relations of the constituents in compound words, which permit relations of head-modifier, predicate-argument and apposition (Spencer, 1991: 310). Based on these relations, compound words can be endocentric, exocentric and appositional, which are all found in Hyow.

5.2.2.1 Endocentric compounds

Hyow by and large uses endocentric compounding (a.k.a. Tatpuruṣa in Sanskrit) in order to form a new lexeme by merging noun and verb in different sequences. By definition, endocentric compounding requires a head within a compound word, in which the meaning of the head plays the chief role in contributing the meaning to the newly formed lexeme, the compound (see Aikhenvald, 2007: 30; Fabb, 2001: 66; Spencer, 1991: 310). Moreover, endocentric compounding is a way of enforcement to find a common ground between the skeletal elements of a compound word (see Lieber 2004:63).

Hyow endocentric compound words are right-headed. They represent an underlying construction of modifier-modified. For example, in the compound word *à-khêng* (chicken-cage) ‘cage’, the second constituent *khêng* ‘cage’ is the head of the compound word, in which the meaning of the head is chief component. Similar compound words include *wòk-khêng* (pig-cage) ‘pig cage’, *à-îm* (chicken-house) ‘chicken house’, *mà?-îm* (goat-house) ‘goat house’, etc. Furthermore, the combination of nouns in such compound words are subject to pragmatics. For example, the noun *wók* ‘pig’ and the noun *îm* ‘house’ cannot form the compound **wòk-îm* (pig-house) ‘*pig house’, because pigs are not kept in a closed place like house in Hyow villages. They are kept in a fenced area under their houses or in a separate area. The sequence

of compound word constituents is along the lines of the canonical word order in Hyow (see §11.2), a verb final language.

Endocentric compound words also include syntactic compounds, where there is a relation of argument-predicate type. This is used in the sense of Lieber (2004: 54), who says that the first constituent of such compound words is typically an argument of the verbal base of the head. The non-head or dependent noun can be interpreted as the genitive possessor of the NP, in which the verbal based head is the understood possessee. Hyow has many examples of syntactic compound that are endocentric by nature. For example, the compound word *ngò-shúy* (fish-search.II) ‘fish searching’ is an example of syntactic compound. The verbal based head *shúy* ‘search.II’ has a dependent, the assumed argument of the predicate, *ngó* ‘fish’ within the compound word.

Endocentric syntactic compound words can include both Stem I and Stem II transitive verbs. Since Stem II verbs are historically nominalized (see §6.2), they do not require any nominalizer to form a syntactic compound word. Accordingly, adding the nominalizer *-tíʔ* to the compound word **kùʔy-hlèʔ-tíʔ* (turn-turn.around.II-NMLZ) ‘*road turning’ is regarded ungrammatical. On the other hand, Stem I transitive verbs are required to be nominalized before they can form a syntactic compound, which is an equivalent process of forming the English compound ‘truck driver’ (truck+drive-er). In such compound constructions in Hyow, the nominalized verb expresses occupational terms. Genetti et al. (2008: 108) argue that this type of compound construction is the result of combining a patient noun and a nominalized verb, and are bistructural, since they are identical to headless relative clauses. In Hyow, an endocentric syntactic compound word that includes Stem I verb can be distinguishable from a headless relative clause by means of phonology. There is a substantial pause between a patient noun and a nominalized relative clause, while a patient noun and a nominalized Stem I verb of a syntactic compound word are subject to changes of underlying tones dues to the process of tone sandhi, and do not allow any pause between them. For example, the noun *a tsó* ‘lesson’ and the nominalized Stem I transitive verb *dòʔn-tíʔ* (show.I-NMLZ) ‘shower’ forms the endocentric syntactic compound word *tsò-dòʔn-tíʔ* (lesson/knowledge-[show.I-NMLZ]) ‘lesson shower/tutor’, not a headless relative clause. In this compound word, *dòʔntíʔ* ‘shower’ is the head. Moreover, a headless nominalized clause does not allow resyllabification with the

preceding patient noun. For instance, the headless relative clause *ó-tsóp ?êy.I-tí?* (3SG.POSS-lung eat.I-NMLZ) ‘the person who ate her lungs’ does not permit the resyllabification by utilizing the final stop of the noun *ó-tsóp* and the initial vowel of the Stem I verb *êy* ‘eat.I’, but a compound word allows this process. And so, when the nominalized Stem I verb *?êy-tí?* (eat.I-NMLZ) ‘eater’ forms the compound with the noun *ó-tsóp* ‘3SG.POSS-lung’, then the resyllabification takes place, and the compound word is realized as *tsò-péy-tí?* ‘lung eater’. It is also noticeable here that the third person singular possessive prefix *ó-* is deleted from its noun root *tsóp* in the compound. This allows the non-head constituent of the compound word to be non-referential. The non-referentiality of non-head constituents of compounds distinguish them from syntactic constituents (Spencer, 1991: 312).

This is a very productive process of forming occupational terms in Hyow. Examples of such syntactic compounding include *tsò-hmòt-tí?* (lesson/knowledge-[know.I-NMLZ]) ‘knower/knowledgeable person’, *túy-khóy-tí?* (water-[pick.I-NMLZ]) ‘water picker’, etc.

5.2.2.2 Exocentric compounds

In comparison to endocentric compounds, exocentric compounds (a.k.a. Bahuvrihi in Sanskrit) contribute lesser number of lexical members to the word stock of Hyow. Unlike the endocentric compounds, which have heads, exocentric compounds do not have heads within the compounds. Strictly speaking, an exocentric compound cannot be considered as a subclass of any of the constituents of the compound word (Velupillai, 2012: 118), that is, an exocentric compound word is not a hyponym of the compound’s head (Bauer, 2001: 700). The compound word *ú-mú-lôm* (GRP-be.dark-road) ‘afternoon’ has two constituents – *ú-mú* ‘GRP-be.dark’ and *lôm* ‘road’, which literally stands for ‘the road to the dark’. Here, none of the constituents is functioning as the head of the compound. Examples of similar types of exocentric compounds include *lân-khóm* (enemy-meet.II) ‘fight’, *túy-hló?* (water-pick.up.II) ‘bath’, *túy-bó-lôm* (water-pour.II-road) ‘quay’, *hlòk-bá?* ‘ladder-slap.II’ ‘rung’, etc. Such examples of exocentric compounds are limited in numbers in Hyow.

5.2.2.3 Appositional compounds

Appositional compounds, also known as coordinative compounds or *dbandbas* in Sanskrit, are formed by juxtapositions of two constituents. There are no relation of dependency between the two constituents of an appositional compound word (Spencer, 1991: 311). The two constituents form a unitary concept (Aikhenvald, 2007: 31). For example, the noun *tá* ‘elder brother’ and the noun *nôw* ‘younger sibling’ are used appositionally to form the appositional compound word *tâ-nôw* (elder.brother-younger.sibling) ‘sibling brothers’. In this example, none of the constituents is head of the compound. Both are equally contributing to the new lexeme. Similar type of examples include *tsí-nôw* (elder.sister-younger.sibling) ‘sibling sisters’, *nú-bé* (mother-paternal.gandmother/sister) ‘siblings’, etc.

5.2.3 SEQUENCES OF CONSTITUENTS IN COMPOUNDS

The relations between constituents of compounds are built by amalgamations of noun-noun, noun-verb, verb-noun and noun-verb-noun in Hyow. The verb in a compound can be either of the stem variants of a transitive verb. Intransitive verbs do not have stem variants in Hyow. The following subsections discuss disparate kinds of compounding with relevant examples.

5.2.3.1 Noun-Noun Compounding

Two noun roots can form a new lexeme through the process of compounding. This process of forming new words is very productive in Hyow. This type of compounding can be endocentric, exocentric or appositional. Endocentric compounds are right-headed, exocentric compounds do not have any heads, and appositional compounds form a unitary expression.

A newly formed endocentric compound noun with a sequence of noun-noun might have a different meaning from their roots or it might bear an extended meaning of the head within the compound, where one of the roots functions as a morphological modifier, as exemplified in (147). The compound noun *lòwîm* (*lów* + *îm*) is semantically identical to a possessive phrase. However, it is different from a phrase for several reasons. Firstly, the root *lów* ‘swidden field’ is not marked by the genitive case clitic (see §10.3.2.3) to form a possessor-possessee relation with the head of the compound, *îm* ‘house’. Secondly, it is modifying the head *îm* ‘house’ within the

compound. Then, the modifier noun *lów* in the compound cannot be inflected, as in **lów-khól-îm* (swidden.field-EXP-house) ‘swidden field houses’, rather the whole compound has to be inflected if it requires to be so. This also reflects the fact that no other morphemes can separate the constituents of the compound. Finally, the modifier noun in the compound *lówîm* ‘swidden field house’ does not have a specific referent rather it is general, which enables this non-referential non-head noun to modify the head noun within the compound. Therefore, *lówîm* is a compound word rather than a phrase of two phonological words.

(147) *lówîmâ tálùlâtsâ, íníphòwâl.*

[lów-îm]_{COMP} = â tó-âl-ú-lá = tsâ í-ní-phów-âl
 [swidden.field.house] = LOC keep.I-DEP-3PL-SEQ = TOP 3A-PL-dry.in.sun.II-DEP
 ‘Keeping (the paddy) in the swidden field house, they dry the paddy in sun.’
 [ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_033]

Names of fruits in Hyow always carry a bound noun that means ‘fruit’. The bound noun *ǎthǎ?y* ‘fruit’ forms an endocentric compound word with a free noun referring to a fruit. The inclusion of the word *thǎ?y* ‘fruit’ is obligatory with names of referents that Hyow consider fruits. In Hyow, some beans are regarded as fruits. That is why the word for ‘green bean’, *lonthǎ?y* requires the word *thǎ?y* with it, as demonstrated in (148).

(148) *mék ínishùnhìtsê, èyông tú hìlthé?y òy lònthé?y khállón măt háng háng èylúp ínítsó?éytsák* ↓.

mék í-ní-shún-hí = tsê èy = êng
hole.for.plunging.seed 3A-PL-plunge.II-COND=TOP ANAPH.DEM=COMT

tú [híl-thé?y]_{COMP} òy [lón-thé?y]_{COMP} khállón
together [blonde.cucumber.fruit] turmeric [green.bean.fruit] summer.bean

măt háng háng èylúp í-ní-tsó?-êy-tsák
chilly all like.that 3A-PL-sow.II-MID-COMPL

‘When they plunge (paddy plants) into the holes, they completely sow all the blonde cucumber, turmeric, green bean, wax bean and chilly like that together with that (paddy plant). [ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_012]

Likewise, the bound noun, *í-thîng*, referring to a tree, form compound nouns with names of trees, as in *hòythîng* ‘mango tree’, *hnòthîng* ‘banana tree’, *pínáythîng* ‘coconut tree’ etc.

Exocentric compounds built on noun-noun amalgamations do not have heads within the compound words. Meanings of such compound words are sometimes metaphoric. For example, the compound noun *ímthông* ‘family’ in (149) consists of two roots *ìm* ‘house’ and *thông* ‘prison’. The compound word *ímthông* bears a metaphorical meaning of the compounded roots. The meaning of the compound word is predictable if one gets the metaphor behind it. The compound in square brackets in (149) metaphorically illustrates that a family is like a prison in a house. Here, none of the constituents functions as the head within the compound.

(149) *tùhnúpâ kây ímthôngtsô ké?éyâl.*

tùhnúp = â kây [ím-thông]_{COMP}-tsô ké-?éy-âl
 today = LOC 1SG [family]-DIM 1A-eat.II-DEP

‘Today, I started a small family.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0064]

Like the compound word *ímthông* ‘family’ in (149), the exocentric compound word *kùtmông* ‘middle finger’ in (150) also defines the referent by metaphoric expression of the roots *kút* ‘hand’ and *mông* ‘king’. The compound word *kùtmông* referring to a ‘middle finger’ literally means ‘the king of the hand’. Indeed, the middle finger is normally the longest one among other fingers, but it is not a kind of king.

(150) *èydô, úkùtmóngtsóngkó? thí òtéýóngbàlàtsâ, tsâyhlông, tsâyhlông, tsâyhlông, tsâyhlông, tsâyhlông, tsâyhnângtiâ? \.*

èydô ú-[kút-móng]_{COMP}-tsô = ông = kó? thí
 then 3SG.POSS-[middle.finger]-DIM = INE = GEN blood

 ót-êy-ông-bá-lá = tsâ tsây-hlông tsây-hlông
 adze.I-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP pour.blood.I-CIRC pour.blood.I-CIRC

 tsây-hlông tsây-hlôngâ èy = â
 pour.blood.I-CIRC pour.blood-CONT-CIRC ANAPH.DEM=LOC

 tsây-hnâng-tí-á?
 pour.blood-PH.CAP-NITER-3SG.NEG

‘Then, adzing blood out of his middle finger (to create a road with the blood drops), pouring blood, pouring blood, pouring blood, pouring blood, he could not pour blood there anymore.’ [ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0120]

Examples of similar types of exocentric noun-noun compounds can be observed in *kùt-nû* (hand-mother) ‘thumb’, *kùt-mót* (hand-minister) ‘ring finger’, etc.

Appositional noun-noun compound words do not involve dependency relationships between the compound constituents. Outside the compound word construction, the noun roots in apposition can be coordinated by a phrasal conjunction in Hyow (see §3.4.7). The appositional compound noun *tánôw* ‘sibling brothers’ in (151) is composed of *tá* ‘elder brother’ and *nôw* ‘younger sibling’. This type of compound is called coordinative compound (Bloomfield 1933), where neither of the nouns functions as the head of the compound.

(151) *èyhnəʔlatsə, tsùâ tánôw páyhniʔlâ lôm íhniʔyáʔ* \.

<i>èy-hnəʔ-la</i> = tsə	tsú = â	[<i>tá-nôw</i>] _{COMP}
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ = TOP	DIST = LOC	[elder.brother-younger.sibling]
<i>pây-hniʔ</i> = lâ	<i>lôm</i>	<i>í-hniʔ-yáʔ</i>
CLS-two = ERG	road	3DL-move.by.hand

‘After that, the two sibling brothers there moved the road by hand.
[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_137]

The meaning of the compound in (151) is predictable from the meaning of the roots, though it is not the case for every compound found in Hyow, as the one in (152). The coordinative compound noun *núbé* ‘sibling brother and sister’ in (152) is composed of noun roots *nû* ‘mother’ and *bé* ‘paternal grandmother/sister’. Unlike *núpô* ‘parents’, the meaning of *núbé* is not predictable from the constituents of the compound word. Here, the meaning of the compound word has drifted away from the summarized meaning of the roots.

(152) *núbèthûm ìníkúlúnàkæ?yhyô hmòttíé? ↗?*

[nú-bè]_{COMP}-thûm

ì-ní-kúlúnák-æ?y-hyô

[mother-paternal.grandmother/sister]-three 1P-INV-torture.II-IRR-PM

hmót-tî = êy

know.II-2SG.NEG=POL.Q

‘Don’t you know that the three siblings will torture us?’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0068]

Some bound nouns forming compounds lose part of the meaning of their roots. Words like *ídík* ‘step-mother’ and *álâng* ‘own mother’ form compounds with other nouns. The newly formed compounds only express the attributive meaning ‘step’ and ‘own’ of the roots. The two compounds in square brackets in (153) exemplify so.

(153) *èydô, tsùóngkó? ôtsôdíkô tsuâ thónáldâ \. ôtsólangtsâ hitiâ? \.*

èydô tsú = êng = kó?

ô-[tsô-dík]_{COMP} = dô

tsú = â

then DIST = INE = GEN

3SG.POSS-[step.child] = EMPH

DIST = LOC

thón-âl-dók

ô-[tsô-lâng]_{COMP} = tsâ

hí-tí-á?

happen-DEP-ANT

3SG.POSS-[own.child] = TOP

be.right-NITER-3SG.NEG

‘Then, it happened that that of his (child) was his step child. He was not his own child anymore.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_005]

5.2.3.2 Verb-Noun Compounding

In a compound of a stative verb and a noun, none of the constituents functions as the head of the compound word. Such compound words are exocentric in Hyow. There is only one instantiation of verb-noun compounding in my Hyow corpus. The exocentric compound word *ú-mú-lóm* ‘afternoon’ in (154) is an amalgamational outcome of the verb *ú-mû* ‘be dark’ and a noun *lóm* ‘road’. The literal meaning of the compound word *ú-mú-lóm* is ‘road to the dark’. An example of this exocentric compound word is given in (154).

(154) *ámélómák kæná? kááníméynatsikhó? èyátsæ.*

[~~á-mâ-lôm~~]_{COMP}-ák kæná? ká-á-ní-mêy-ná-tsí-khó?

[GRP-be.dark-road]-one every 1S-DIR-stay-SPNT-REG-FACT

èy = â = tsæ

ANAPH.DEM=LOC=TOP

‘We really went to stay there spontaneously every afternoon.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0027]

5.2.3.3 Noun-Verb Compounding

Non-verb compounding is a productive process of forming new endocentric compound words in Hyow. The constituents of an endocentric compound word formed by the noun-verb sequence bear a typical argument-predicate type relationship between them within the compound word. The verb root of the compound might be a Stem II transitive verb or a Stem I transitive verb. Stem II verbs do not require any nominalization prior to forming compound words, while Stem I transitive verbs are required to be nominalized before they can form compounds. Combinations of noun-verb create endocentric and exocentric compounds.

When a Stem II transitive verb forms an endocentric compound word with a noun, then the verb functions as the head. Generally, such endocentric compounding of nouns and verbs refer to names of activities. The compound word *hó-kó?* (bird-shoot.II) ‘bird hunting’ in (155) refers to the name of a shooting or hunting activity.

(155) *hókò?â tsètùngálá...*

hókò? = â tsèt-úngâ-lá

bird-shoot.II=LOC go-1PL.EXC-SEQ

‘Going to bird hunting...’ [ZM_EOBH_HP_062014_Hyow_0046_002]

Such a process of forming activity names is very common and productive in Hyow. Examples of similar compounds include *shò-tám* ‘wild.pig-chase.II’ ‘wild pig chasing’, *lòw-bí* (swidden.field-work.II) ‘swidden field cultivation’ and so on.

A nominalized Stem I transitive verb can also form an endocentric compound noun. Along with the compounding of a Stem II verb and a noun, this type of compounding is known as syntactic compounding, where the constituents of the compound word engage in an argument-predicate relationship. For instance, in the compound noun *shèl-tsóng-tí?* (cow-[graze.II-NMLZ]) ‘cow grazer’, exemplified in (156), the derived noun or the nominalized verb is considered as the head within the compound word. The other constituent of this compound word, the noun *shél* ‘cow’ can be expressed in a PP within the NP. However, following the compound word, the nominalized verb is functioning as a relative clause. It is not an instantiation of a compound word. This can be inferred from the substantial pause between the appositional compound noun *bù?ón* ‘rice-curry’ and the nominalized verb *pò-tí?* (DV.I-NMLZ) ‘who cooks’. This nominalized relative clause has its head overtly present in (156).

(156) *èydô, shèltsóngtí? èy bù?ón pòtí? shómáytsô hngát ínítípúynàkkhô.*

èydô	[shél-tsóngtí?] _{NP}	[èy	[bú?-ón] _{COMP}	pó-tí?] _{REL}
then	[cow.grazer]	[ANAPH.DEM	[rice-curry]	DV.I-NMLZ]
shómáytsô	hngát	í-ní-tsí?-pûy-nák-khô		
boy	one	3A-PL-take.II-BEN.ASSO-INST-PM		

‘Then they took a cow grazer and a boy who cooked those meals.’

[ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_004]

A noun-verb amalgamation can lead to the formation of an exocentric compound word too. By default, an exocentric compound word does not have a head, which is reflected in newly formed noun-verb compound words, as in *í?ltsông* ‘mosquito net’ in (157), in which both of the noun *í?l* ‘blanket’ and *tsông* ‘guard.II’ are non-heads.

(157) *í?ltsông kínítí?ây.*

[í?l-tsông] _{COMP}	kíní-tsí?-ây
[mosquito.net]	1A-PL-take.II-MID

‘We took a mosquito net for ourselves.’

[ZM_HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0035]

A newly formed noun-verb compound sometimes functions as a nominal attribute, which is the sole definition of bahubrihi compound in Sanskrit (Burrow, 1955: 215). This kind of compound word consists of a noun, and either a stative verb or a Stem II dynamic verb. In (158), the exocentric noun-verb compound word *khò-tsék* (leg-be.paralyzed) ‘lame’ functions as an attribute of the preceding noun *mûy* ‘elephant’.

(158) *éydô èy múy khòtsék tsíey tîng ták* ㄟ.

éydô èy múy [khó-tsék]_{COMP} tsí-êy tîng ták
 then ANAPH.DEM elephant [lame] take.I-MID QT say

‘Then, he (the younger son) said, “Bring that lame elephant.”’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_110]

Examples of similar compound words include *hnòpóng* ‘deaf’ (ear-embrace.II) ‘deaf’ and *mikmâ* (eye-be.dark) ‘blind’.

5.2.3.4 Noun-Verb-Noun Compounding

Some compound words containing three constituents in a sequence of noun-verb-noun represent a single concept. These compound words are exocentric, with no heads within the compound. The word *shámphò-kâm-lôm* (aeroplane-descend-road) ‘airport’ in (159) is an exocentric compound word of three constituents.

(159) *nîâ nîhú?y shámphòkâmlómâ kêtsèt-æ?y?hyô. ínîshínéy-æ?yhyô?m tîng.*

nî = â nîhú?y [shámphò-kâm-lôm]_{COMP} = â ké-tsét-æ?y-hyô
 PROX=LOC like.this [airport]=LOC 1S-SG-go-IRR-PM

 ì-nî-shín-êy-æ?y-hyô = êm tîng
 1P-INV-ask.to.fetch.II-MID-IRR-PM=CONT.Q QT

‘He said, “I will go to the airport here like this. What will you ask me to fetch?”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_073]

Compound words of three constituents are very rare in Hyow. The other available example is – *túy-tsà?-bú?* (water-soak.II-rice) ‘watery rice’.

5.2.4 COMPOUNDS WITH *khô* ‘TIME’

Some compounds in Hyow have a root *khô* meaning ‘time’. Hartmann (2003: 85) argues that the word *khô* is part of some natural nouns and it is not possible to translate the meaning of this word into another language. The word *khô* forms

compounds with noun as well as with verb roots. Words for ‘year’ and ‘day’ are *khókúm* and *khóhnúp* respectively. In (160), these two compound words are instantiated.

(160) *èydê, khókúm, khóhnúpák khóání, tsùání, éngkóáytsá núní, kròkhnè?tí háré*

èydê	[khókúm] _{COMP}	[khóhnúp] _{COMP} -ák	khô = â = ní	tsú = â = ní
then	[year]	[day-one]	time=LOC=FOC	DIST=LOC=FOC
éngkóáytsá	nû = ní	krók-hnè?-tí		hare
sparrow	mother=FOC	be.lost-ULT-EVID		DP

‘Then, the sparrow mother was lost, there, one day (on a time of a year’s one day), understand?’ [ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0008]

The word *khô* ‘time’ can also form compounds with verbs. In Hyow, compounds like *khó-wá* (time-be bright) ‘morning’ and *khó-mâ* (time-be dark) ‘evening’ possess this noun. The participating verbs of these compound words are in fact statives. An example of the compound word *khómâ* ‘evening’ is given in (161).

(161) *èydê khómâ ó-yôn tsîng thónéydání, áá?éydâhê*

èydê	[khómâ] _{COMP}	ó-yôn	tsîng	thón-êy-dá-ní
then	[evening]	GRP-night	deep	happen-MID-ITER-TEMP
á-á-?êy-dâ-hê				
3A-DIR-eat.II-ITER-PM				

‘Then, when the evening became deep night again like before, he went to eat again like before [ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_034]

The noun *khô* ‘time’ is used as the head of a NP when the verbal constituent of the *khô* compound words forms a predicate. The examples in (162) and (163) illustrate the use of the noun *khô* ‘time’ as head of the respective NP.

(162) *khô múní bù?tsô ?éyálóngùlàtsê...*

khô	mû-ní	bú?-tsô	?êy-âl-ông-ú-lá = tsê
time	be.dark-TEMP	rice-DIM	eat.I-DEP-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP

‘When the time was dark, having eaten up rice...’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0018]

(163) *khó wání, únû shùyâl.*

khó	wá-ní	ú-nû	shúy-âl
time	be.bright-TEMP	3SG.POSS-mother	search.II-DEP

‘When it was morning (the time was bright), she looked for her mother.

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0092]

Other than forming compounds, the word *khô* ‘time’ is used as a temporal nominalizer. The discussion of temporal nominalizer is presented in §5.6.1.6.

5.2.5 COMPOUNDS WITH FOSSILIZED ROOTS

Some compounds in Hyow contain roots that have lost their meanings and they are not used as distinct words anymore. The meaning of such a root is predictable from the meaning of the compound in whole. When the words *nâm* ‘village’ and *pré* ‘country’ contain a fossilized root *shó*, as demonstrated by (164), the compound words refer to the residents of those places. The root *shó* is never exemplified in isolation in the existing corpus of Hyow.

- (164) *námshó khé prèshó khé pànyùlá, pýtsô pèkéybàlá, ní pèkéýngùlàtsâ, èyní mēy.*

[**nâm-shó**]_{COMP} khé [**pré-shó**]_{COMP} khé pán-êy-ú-lá pây-tsô
 [**villager**] all [**countryman**] all call-MID-3PL-SEQ banquet-DIM
 pék-êy-bá-lá ní pék-êy-ông-ú-lá = tsâ
 give.I-MID-3SG-SEQ-TEMP PROX give.I-MID-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP
 èy = ní mēy
 ANAPH.DEM=FOC exist

‘Calling all the villagers and all the countrymen, giving a banquet, having given this, he stayed.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_095]

The compound word *ímbrátshó* ‘house’s whole resident’ contains three roots in (165). Here the root *shó* is fossilized with the bound root *brát* ‘whole’.

- (165) *tsùlá kēy káátsúá?y kēy pô shóngshál méyàk hángháng zíbóndzapón ínísháláyà?yhyó ímbràtshòlàní.*

tsú = lâ kēy ká-a-tsû-á?y kēy pô shóngshál méy-àk
 DIST=ERG 1SG 1S-DIR-jump-IRR 1SG father family_B exist-INCEP.DEL
 hángháng zíbóndzapón í-ní-sháláy-á?y-hyô [**ím-brát-shó**]_{COMP} = lâ = ní
 all livelihood_B 3A-PL-drive_B-IRR-PM [house-whole-resident]=ERG=FOC

‘He said, “I will go to jump. Until my father’s family starts to live, the whole house’s residents all will run the livelihood.”’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_223]

5.3 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is not a productive process of word formation in Hyow. There are several words that show reduplicated form, but the meaning of the respective non-reduplicated form is unknown. For example, the generic plural indefinite pronoun

hángháng has a reduplicated form, but the meaning of only *háng* is not known to the speaker.

5.4 NOMINAL PREFIXES

A noun can have one prefix attached to it. The attached prefix is either a generic referential prefix, when the referent is not specific or a possessive prefix, when the referent is specific. The following subsections shed lights on these two kinds of prefixes through discussions with examples.

5.4.1 GENERIC REFERENTIAL PREFIX

The generic referential prefix (glossed as GRP in texts) is commonly found with bound nouns whose referents are considered as either inalienable or inherited in Hyow, like some Tibeto-Burman languages. The prefix goes by different names in different Tibeto-Burman languages. Some reasons justify the naming of this prefix ‘a generic referential prefix’ in Hyow rather than a non-relational prefix (Coupe, 2007: 248), an impersonal reference prefix (Henderson, 1965: 95) or something else used by Tibeto-Burman scholars.

The generic referential prefix in Hyow is a part of bound nouns, which comprise inalienable body part terms (see §3.3.2.1), some common nouns that refer to part-whole relationships (see §3.3.2.2) and some locative nouns (see §3.3.2.3). Kinship terms do not require any prefixes in Hyow, though other Kuki-Chin languages show consistencies with having a prefix for kinship nouns (see Benedict, 1941: 306-389).

The generic referential prefix with a bound noun usually refers to a non-specific possessor, and it establishes a part-whole relationship with the referent. When a body part term takes the generic referential prefix, as in *ú-kút* (GRP-hand) ‘hand’, then it refers to the inalienability of the referent from the referent of an indefinite possessor as opposed to a definite possessor referred by a third person singular possessive prefix. Since the body parts are regarded as inalienable possessions in Hyow, the respective nouns symbolize the inalienability by having the generic referential prefix.

For other bound common nouns, the name of the generic referential prefix is also justified in this grammar. Hyow includes many bound nouns whose meanings are different from those without the generic referential prefix. For example, the word *khómhnúp* ‘day’ is a free common noun. When the generic referential prefix is attached to it, it means ‘birthday’. Therefore, the word *ó-khómhnúp* ‘birthday’ (GRP-day) illustrates that when a common noun referring to a non-referential ‘day’ is marked by the prefix under discussion, then the noun makes a generic reference, which is not definite. A non-referential ‘day’ becomes referential ‘day of something’ (birthday) in this example for the attachment of the generic referential prefix. Similarly, words like *pótó* ‘man’ and *shûl* ‘balloon’ become *ó-pótó* (GRP-man) ‘husband’ and *ú-shûl* (GRP-balloon) ‘bladder’, when they have the generic referential prefix attached to them. With the generic referential prefix attached to the noun *ó-pótó* (GRP-man) ‘husband’, the noun can be modified by the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *èy* (see §3.4.1.2 and §3.4.2.2) by preceding it, as demonstrated by the example in (166). Here, the demonstrative pronoun is pointing to someone’s husband not to some random man. Without the anaphoric demonstrative attached to the same noun, when the noun is preceded by the anaphoric demonstrative, as exemplified in (167), the noun refers to a specific man (not to someone’s husband), who is already mentioned in the previous discourse.

(166) *èy ópótólâ áòktâbâl.*

<i>èy</i>	<i>ó-pótó = lâ</i>	<i>á-ók-tâbâl</i>
ANAPH.DEM	GRP-man=ERG	DIR-drink.II-SURP

‘That husband went to drink unexpectedly.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_024]

(167) *èydâ èy pótótsâ shngpôâ ínítâ?âl*

<i>èydâ</i>	<i>èy</i>	<i>pótó = tsâ</i>	<i>ó-hngó-pó = á</i>	<i>í-ní-tâ?âl</i>
then	ANAPH.DEM	man=TOP	GRP-different-side=LOC	3A-PL-send.II-DEP

‘Then, they send back the man to a different way.’

[ZM_ARGS8_082015_Hyow_0011_0069]

The vowel of the generic referential prefix takes the form of the vowel of root-initial syllables. This process is similar to how a homophonous third person singular possessive prefix is formed in Hyow. The difference of these two prefixes can be made by the use of anaphoric demonstrative, and from contexts. When the prefix functions as the generic referential function, a prefixed noun can be modified by the anaphoric demonstrative, as shown in (166), but when the prefix functions as the third person singular possessor marker, the prefixed noun cannot be modified by the anaphoric demonstrative. Since the third person singular possessive prefix already makes the referent specific and identifiable, the use of the anaphoric demonstrative is ungrammatical due to redundancy. Accordingly, in (168), the use of the anaphoric demonstrative before the noun marked by the third person singular possessive prefix is considered ungrammatical.

(168) **èy ópótólâ yók* ʘ.

<i>èy</i>	<i>ó-pótó = lâ</i>	<i>yók</i>
ANAPH.DEM	3SG.POSS-man=ERG	hear.II

‘*Her husband heard.’ [Elicited]

Furthermore, when the referent is definite in a given context (mentioned second time), a bound noun is preceded by the anaphoric demonstrative, and the generic referential prefix is deleted from the root. If we compare (169) and (170), we see that the word *ó-khê* (GRP-hole) ‘hole’ is referring to an indefinite referent in (169), while in (170), the word *khê* ‘hole’ preceded by an anaphoric demonstrative and used without the generic referential prefix is referring to a definite referent. The referent in (170) is definite since it is already mentioned in (169). Likewise, the bound locative noun *ó-tsôw* (GRP-bottom) ‘bottom’ in (169) is a bound noun with the generic referential prefix. However, since there is a definite possessor *thîng lènpó* (tree be.big-AUG) ‘very big tree’, the generic referential prefix is deleted from the root.

(169) *èydâ, èy dânâ, thîng lènpô hngát méyhyâ èy thîng lènpô tsôwâ ákhô mêy.*

èydâ èy dân = â thîng lén-pô hngát mêy-hyâ èy
 then ANAPH.DEM place=LOC tree be.big-AUG one exist-PM ANAPH.DEM
 thîng lén-pô tsôw = â **á-khô** mêy
 tree be.big-AUG bottom=LOC **GRP-hole** exist

‘Then, there was a big tree in that aforementioned place. There was a hole at the bottom of that aforementioned tree.’

[ZM-HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0014]

(170) *èydâ, èy khô dukâ èy khô dukátsâ èy táng méyhyâ*

èydâ èy **khô** dúk = â éy **khô** dúk = â = tsâ
 then ANAPH.DEM **hole** inside = LOC ANAPH.DEM **hole** inside = LOC = TOP
 èy táng mêy-hyâ
 ANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard exist-NMLZ

‘Then, that aforementioned monitor lizard was inside that aforementioned hole.’ [ZM-HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0015]

Inalienable body parts and referents of bound nouns are naturally possessed. That is why their possessions are expressed by juxtaposed possessive constructions (see §4.4.1.3), where the possessor is definite, and the possessee noun does not require the generic referential prefix anymore, as illustrated by the NPs *mín wún* (cat skin) ‘cat’s skin’ and *èy wún* (ANAPH.DEM skin) ‘her skin’ in (171). However, if the referent of the inalienable body part noun is alienated, then the inalienable body part noun is obligatorily marked by the generic referential prefix, as demonstrated by the example *ú-wún* (GRP-skin) ‘(cow/goat) skin’ in square brackets in (171).

(171) *ínínôw úhmúngéyhyâ kláóng, èy úwùnní shùtángulàtsâ, mín wún
 shùtálóngulàtsâ, dék dukání ínìlì?áltí èy wùntsâ.*

ííní-nôw	ú-hmûng-êy-hyô		
3PL.POSS-younger.sister	3S-play.in.water-MID-PM		
klá = êng	èy	[ú-wún = ní]	shút-êng-ú-lá = tsê
period = INE	ANAPH.DEM	[GRP-skin = FOC]	peel.off.II-STAT-3PL-SEQ = TOP
[mín wún]	shút-âl-êng-ú-lá = tsê	dék	dúk = â = ní
[cat skin]	peel.off.II-DEP-DUR-3PL-SEQ = TOP	soil	inside = LOC = FOC
í-ní-lí?-âl-tî	[èy	wún = tsê]	
3A-PL-conceal-DEP-EVID	[ANAPH.DEM	skin = TOP]	

‘During the period when they were bathing, during the time when their younger sister was playing in the water, having peeled off that skin (something else’s skin), having peeled off the cat’s skin, they concealed her skin inside soil. [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_087]

If the body parts and the referents of the bound nouns are alienated from the natural or inherited possessors, or they are possessed by ownerships through other than natural ways or inheritances, then the possession is expressed through a genitive possessive construction. In such genitive phrases, the possessed nouns do require the generic referential prefix attached to roots. For instance, the skin of the body is an inalienable referent, and it is possessed by a referent naturally. In order to refer to some specific referent’s skin in Hyow, one needs to use the juxtaposed possessive construction, as illustrated by the NPs *mín wún* (cat skin) ‘cat’s skin) and *èy wún* (ANAPH.DEM skin) in (171). Once an inalienable possession is alienated, one needs to use a genitive construction to express the possession, and the generic referential prefix with the possessee noun, as shown in (172).

(172) *śyśkśngkś? úwûn áhlá? ʘ.*

[ś-yśk = êng = kś?

ú-wûn]

á-hlá?

[GRP-corpse = INE = GEN

GRP-skin]

3SGA-take.off

‘He took off a corpse’s skin.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_078]

Another way of distinguishing the generic referential prefix from the identical third person singular possessive marker is the recoverability of the referent of a prefixed noun in a given context. If a specific referent is retrievable from the discourse, then the prefix is regarded as a third person singular possessive prefix, and if there is no specific referent, the prefix makes a generic reference.

In other KC languages and in most other TB languages, the form of the prefix under discussion is usually *a-*, which also functions as a derivational morpheme. The identical forms of these prefixes are common in Kuki-Chin languages. Lehman 1975 makes his synchronic and diachronic arguments on similarities and dissimilarities of the pronominal *a-* prefix and the non-pronominal *a-* prefix on derived nouns in Tibeto-Burman languages described by Wolfenden 1929.

5.4.2 POSSESSIVE PREFIXES

Possessive prefixes are attached to possessed nouns to mark possessors. This is one of the ways to express possessions in Hyow. The other way of expressing possession in Hyow is to use a genitive construction. This type of possessive construction reflects head-marking morphology. The possessive prefixes in Hyow are identical to single argument (S) markers of intransitive verbs (see §7.3.1). Table 84 lists the possessive prefixes used to mark possessors on possesseees in Hyow.

Person	Numbers				
	SG	DL.INC	DL.EXC	PL.INC	PL.EXC
First	kV ¹⁹ -	ìní-	kíhní?-	ìní-	kíní-
Second	nV-		níhní?-		níní-
Third	V-		íhní?-		íní-

Table 84: Possessive prefixes in Hyow

Vowels (marked as V in Table 84) of the respective singular possessor marking prefixes depend on first vowels of root-initial syllables of possessed nouns. Such harmonizing vowels are underlyingly toneless. Tones of the root-initial syllables of respective possessed nouns spread over the possessor marking prefixes. For instance, the first person singular possessive prefixes have voiceless velar stop initials and harmonized vowel finals in (173). If the rhyme of the root-initial syllable has a falling tone as in (173), then the respective possessive prefix gets a high-level tone, because the phonology of Hyow does not allow the falling tone in an initial syllable (see §2.6.3 for tone sandhi outcomes).

(173) *èydê, kúkhrúamá? tsètálhláé? kótsódê lòálhí kùnú.*

èydê kú-khrúamá? tsét-âl-hláé? kó-tsô = dê lò-âl-hí
 then 1SG.POSS-son's.wife go-DEP-HORT 1SG.POSS-son = EMPH come-DEP-COND
 kí-nú
 be.fine-EVID

‘Then, he (the king) said, “Let my daughter-in-law go away. It is fine (I do not care) if my son comes back.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_126]

The forms of the non-singular possessive prefixes include both person and number markers. In a non-singular possessor marking prefixal form, the vowel of the person marker harmonizes with the vowel of the root-initial syllable of the number marker, which is demonstrated by the example in (174). In this example, the vowels

¹⁹ V stands for vowel.

of the third person and first person person marking suffixes harmonize with the vowels of the root-initial syllables of the respective number markers.

- (174) *ím lâ lòw lá dâ í ní kâ? ná k â? y ʋ . bó hí ts â , tú ô , kí h ní? ts ô p ô y mé y â? ʋ . ké y h ní? á kí h ní? n ó w p ô y mé y â? ʋ .*

ím = lâ lòw = lâ = dâ í-ní-kâ?-ná-k-â?y bó hí = ts â

house=ERG swidden.field=ERG=EMPH 3-PL-carry.II-INST-IRR so=TOP

tú-ô kí-hní?-tsô pô y mê y-á? ké y h ní? = á

grand.son=VOC 1-DL-son be.good exist-3SG.NEG 1DL=DAT

kí-hní?-nó w pô y mê y-á?

1-DL-young.person be.good exist-3SG.NEG

‘They said, “The house and the swidden field will feed (carry) you. So, grandson, we do not have a good son (literally, our good son does not exist). We do not have a good young boy (literally, there is no good young boy to us).”

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0023]

Similarly, second person non-singular person marking prefixes are also formed by harmonizing with the vowel of the root-initial syllable of number markers, as shown in (175).

- (175) *ní ní hâ bó ng bó lók mé y khô l . ní ní h m ô y k â n é y khô l t â ng t â kh n ô? t î .*

ní-ní-hâ bó ng bó lók mê y-khô l ní-ní-hmô y kân-ê y-khô l

2-PL-butt face.down.butt.up stay-IMP.PL 2-PL-face cover.I-MID-IMP.PL

tâ ng tá k-hnô? = tî

QT say.II-ULT = R.EVID

‘He said, “Get your butts bottom up. Cover your faces.”

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_231]

5.5 NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Unlike the low numbers of prefixes, Hyow has a fair number of nominal suffixes. This section will discuss all the non-derivational nominal suffixes through providing examples from different texts.

5.5.1 DIMINUTIVE

A diminutive suffix generally refers to the small size of a referent. It can also express states or qualities of familiarity, love, endearment or pity (Chen, 1999: 21). The diminutive suffix *-tsô* is a productive morpheme in Hyow. It has grammaticalized from the word *tsô* ‘son/child’, which is a very common pathway of grammaticalization of the diminutive suffix in Tibeto-Burman languages. Matisoff (1992: 333) cross-linguistically generalizes that diminutives can grammaticalize as concepts of biological offspring, dependent (product) or little thing (cute) and objects (bulk-provider). Chen (1999) mentions the function of a diminutive suffix as a nominalizer too. The Hyow diminutive suffix can function in most of the ways that Chen (1999) and Matisoff (1992) discuss in Southern Chinese and cross-linguistically respectively.

Generally, the diminutive suffix refers to small sizes of both animate and inanimate referents in Hyow, thereby demonstrating that it is fully grammaticalized from its lexical source. The diminutive suffix *-tsô* in *tsâʔ-tsô* (border-DIM) ‘small border’ and *ím-tsô* (house-DIM) ‘small house’ is referring to small sizes of the respective inanimate referents in (176).

(176) *nâm tsáʔtsâ, èyâ ímtsô shôéyóghèʔylátsâ, èy ímtsóngní íhniʔméyhyôhniʔtí.*

nâm	tsáʔ-tsô = â	èy = â	îm-tsô
village	border-DIM = LOC	ANAPH.DEM = LOC	house-DIM
shô-êy-ông-hôʔy-lá = tsâ	èy	îm-tsô = ông = ní	
make.I-MID-DUR-3DL-SEQ = TOP	ANAPH.DEM	house-DIM = INE = FOC	
í-hniʔ-mêy-hyô-hniʔ = tí			
3S-DL-stay-PM-ULT = R.EVID			

‘Having built a small house themselves there in the small border of the village, they lived in that small house.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_033]

The diminutive suffix in (177) in *námshô-tsô* (villager-DIM) ‘villager’ and *kóysháng-tsô* refers to small numbers of the respective animate referents.

(177) *hniéyâ kâetâʔní, èydô áníʔláhàtsâ èyâ pótsóghá námshôtsô áníʔ kóyshángtsô tósongùlàtsâ, áníʔláhàtsâ èyâ ínítsông*

hni-êy-â	kâe-tâʔ-ní	èydô	áníʔ = lâ = há = tsâ
be.engaged-MID-PURP	1A-send.II-TEMP	then	3PL=ERG=ADD=TOP
èy = â	pótsóghá	námshô-tsô	áníʔ kóysháng-tsô
ANAPH.DEM=LOC	CLS-ten	villager-DIM	3PL relative-DIM
tó-ông-ú-lá = tsâ	áníʔ = lâ = há = tsâ	èy = â	
keep.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP	3PL=ERG=ADD=TOP	ANAPH.DEM=LOC	
í-ní-tsông			
3A-PL-wait			

‘When I sent them for being engaged, then having kept ten persons, small number of villagers and their small number of relatives, they also waited there.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_055]

The diminutive suffix expresses the small amount of an animate referent too. The diminutive suffix in *ngò-tsô* (fish-DIM) ‘small fish’ is referring to the size of the referent in (178).

(178) *bòhìtsæ, ngòtsô áshúyéýngkhôl tîngní ták, íhní?krówéyhnhô?tî.*

bóhí = tsæ ngó-tsô á-shûy-êy-óng-khól tîng = ní ták
so = TOP fish-DIM DIR-search.I-MID-INC.HORT-IMP.PL QT = FOC say.II

í-hní?-krôw-êy-hnó? = tí

3S-DL-speak-MID-ULT = R.EVID

‘So, saying, “Let’s go to search some fishes.” they spoke to each other finally’.

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0029]

Similarly, the diminutive suffix refers to the small amount of inanimate referents in (179) in *álák-tsô* (alcohol-DIM) and *dùm-tsô*.

(179) *áláktsô thòéyhnhngtì?lâ náttśálángátsæ bûng dùmśô lô.*

álák-tsô thó-êy-hnhng-tí? = lâ náttśáláng = â = tsæ
alchol-DIM give.I-MID-PH.CAP-PM=ERG name.of.a.place=LOC=TOP

bûng dùm-tsô lô
bottle half-DIM bring.I.IMP

‘The person who can give a little amount of alcohol (literally, little amount of alcohol giver), bring half bottle to the Natchalang.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_042]

Other than expressing the small size and little amount of animate and inanimate referents, the diminutive suffix refers to the offspring of animate referents too. In (180), the diminutive suffix refers to the offspring of a dog in the first instance, while in the second instance, the diminutive suffix refers to the size of the wood apple fruit.

(180) *èydô úytsólâsê èy úylékéthæ?y zízí nòkhnò?tí tsùâ úylékéthæ?ytsóní dùk.*

èydô ûy-**tsô** = lâ = tsê èy úylékéthæ?y zízí
 then dog-DIM=ERG=TOP ANAPH.DEM wood.apple.fruit again.and.again
 nók-hnó? = tí tsú = â úylékéthæ?y-**tsô** = ní dúk = â
 bark.II-ULT=R.EVID DIST=LOC wood.apple.fruit-DIM=FOC inside=LOC

‘Then, the puppy barked at that wood apple fruit again and again. The puppy saw something inside the small wood apple there.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0009]

The semantic difference between the small size and an offspring is very subtle, since naturally ‘offspring’ refers to small sizes too, as exemplified in (180). Therefore, the context determines the actual semantic interpretation of the diminutive suffix.

Expressing endearment is one of the other functions of the diminutive suffix in Hyow, as is expressing the small number and amount of animate and inanimate referents. Consider the following example in (181). Here the diminutive suffix in *phía-tsô* (wife-DIM) ‘wife’ does not refer to either the size or the offspring of the referent. The diminutive suffix encodes endearment expressed towards the referent in this context in (181).

(181) *kêy tsíkâ phiátsónók yâphní? kóhòwóngkó? hngàtsâ tsíkâ kóhòw.*

kêy tsík = â [[phía-**tsô**]-nók]_{COMP} yâp-hní? kó-hów = êng = kó?
 1SG ago=LOC [[wife-DIM]-marry.II] way-two 1SGA-say.II=INE=GEN
 hngát = tsê tsík = â kó-hów
 one=TOP ago=LOC 1SG-say

‘A little while ago, I told one of the two ways of marrying a wife.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_001]

Some Hyow words lexicalize the diminutive suffix. Generally, these words denote small or young referents, as in *shámýy-tsô* ‘boy’, *hmútô-tsô* (woman-DIM) ‘girl’ and *ì?l-tsô* (blanket-DIM) ‘towel’. The words *hmútô* and *ì?l* mean ‘woman’ and ‘blanket’ respectively. With the diminutive suffix grammaticalized, their meanings have changed. Some words themselves refer to small things, but they still carry the diminutive suffix, as the word *nów-tsô* (younger.sibling-DIM) ‘younger brother/sister’.

The diminutive suffix functions as a nominalizer too. This kind of nominalization is not very productive. However, it functions as a nominalizer to form a limited number of nouns from stative verbs. Examples of such nominalization is given in (182).

(182) *ólótsæ tsuâ námóngkó? tsángtsô lèntsôkhôl èykhólâ kátâ* ㄣ.

óló = tsæ	tsú = â	nâm = êng = kó?	tsâng-tsô	lén-tsô-khól
again=TOP	DIST=LOC	village=INE=GEN	be.old-DIM	be.big-DIM-EXP
èy-khól = á		ká-ták		
ANAPH.DEM-EXP=DAT		1A-tell.II		

‘Again, I told them, the aged and the elders of the village there.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0065]

The stative verbs *tsâng* ‘be old’ and *lén* ‘be big’ are nominalized by the diminutive suffix in (182). Therefore, *tsáng-tsô* (be.old-DIM) ‘aged’ and *lén-tsô* (be.big-DIM) ‘elder’ are functioning as nouns.

5.5.2 AUGMENTATIVE

The binary system of expressing size in Hyow includes an augmentative suffix contrasting the diminutive suffix. As opposed to the diminutive suffix, the use of the augmentative suffix *-pó* is infrequent. It is uncommon for a suffix to grammaticalize from the word ‘father’ and function as an augmentative in Southeast Asian languages. Generally, the word for father grammaticalizes into a nominalizer in Tibeto-Burman languages. Matisoff (1992: 317-333) illustrates how the word ‘mother’ functions as an

augmentative cross-linguistically and in different Southeast Asian languages. Even in a limited frequency, languages that lack an augmentative may use the word ‘mother’ as an augmentative in Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. see Coupe 2007: 272).

However, in some words speakers use *-pô* as an augmentative, as in *shókí lèn-pô* (deer be.big-AUG) ‘very big deer’.

The augmentative suffix *-pô* can be attached to nouns referring to both animate and inanimate referents. The words *phílú-pô* (ogre-AUG) ‘large ogre’ and *ś-dóm-pô* (GRP-be.lazy-AUG) ‘a great lazy person’ in (183) and (184) respectively represents animate referents.

(183) *kò?ní, èy króngshángní, èydô grung tîng èytò?kòntsâ èyâ dâ \ èy phílúpô dâdók nát phàngákô? \.*

kó?-ní èy króngsháng = ní èydô grung tîng

shoot-TEMP ANAPH.DEM right.away=FOC then ONOMT QT

èy = tó? = kón = tsâ èy = â dâ èy

ANAPH.DEM=DLIM=ABL=TOP ANAPH.DEM=ADD die ANAPH.DEM

phílú-pô dâ-dók nát phung = â = kó?

ogre-AUG die-ANT god kingdom=LOC=GEN

‘When he_i shot that right away with the sound ‘grung’, then, he_j died from that. That big ogre of the god’s kingdom had died.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_339]

(184) *tápkútâ tsídâ méyhyâ. èy kóông óngòktîlâ tsí ódómmppô ódómpô tîng tsí ínítàkkhótí.*

tápkút = â tsí = dâ méy-hyâ èy kóông
 cooking.place=LOC often=EMPH stay-PM ANAPH.DEM reason.INE
 ó-ngók-tí? = lâ tsí ó-dôm-pô
 3SG.POSS-elder.brother's.wife-PL=ERG often GRP-be.lazy-AUG
 ó-dôm-pô tîng tsí í-ní-ták-khâ = tí
 GRP-be.lazy-AUG QT often 3-A-PL-say.II-PM=R.EVID

‘He often lived in the cooking place. For this reason, his elder brothers’ wives often called him a great lazy man.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_006]

Similarly, the word *tóng lén-pô* (pillar be.big-AUG) ‘a very big pillar’ in (185) is denoting an inanimate referent. The addition of the augmentative suffix to the verbal modifier *lén* ‘be big’, which already refers to a big pillar, makes the referent definite and strong.

(185) *èydâ, tóng lén-pô álayákó?, álaythêâ tòngní, shòtêy.*

èydâ tóng lén-pô á-lây = â = kó? á-lây-thé = â
 then pillar be.big-AUG GRP-middle=LOC=GEN GRP-middle-right=LOC
 tóng = ní shòt-êy
 pillar=FOC plunge.II-MID

‘Then, he plunged a very big pillar right into the middle. A very big pillar of the middle.’ [ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_0018]

5.5.3 PLURAL

Number marking in Hyow is a bit complex. There is a plural number-marking suffix in Hyow. The plural suffix *-tî?* only marks the plurality of referents expressed by kinship nouns and proper nouns. This is not unprecedented in Kuki-Chin languages, since Reichle (1981: 21) also mentions the existence of a separate plural number marker for kinship nouns in Bawm, a Kuki-Chin language. Nouns other than those of

kinships' take an expansive suffix (see §5.5.10) to express plurality. The plural suffix is identical to the agentive (§5.6.1.1) and patientive (§5.6.1.2) nominalizing suffix in Hyow.

The plural suffix with a proper noun expresses the plurality of the proper noun in a different way, as exemplified in (186). Here, the plural suffix marks the referent of the proper noun and other people (of family) related to the referent of the proper noun. It is like the English expression 'The Petersons' in 'The Petersons will come today', where 'the Petersons' refer to the family of a person named Peterson. Similarly, *phíá-tí?* (wife-PL) 'wives' in (188) does not mean plural number of wives; rather it stands for wife and children or wife and her parents in Hyow.

(186) *èy kón hyà?éy ↗ tsùâ, bármáâ, ínîlâmhmô, èy phrúthóytí? bá?thwáyí? pútí? khæ* ㄣ.

èy = kón	hyá? = êy	tsú = â	bármá = â	ínî-lâm-hmô
ANAPH.DEM=ABL	be.not=POL.Q	DIST=LOC	Burma=LOC	3-A-PL-cross.II-PM
èy	phrúthóy-tí?	bá?thwáyí?	pú-tí?	khæ
ANAPH.DEM	Phruthoy-PL	Bahthway-PL	uncle-PL	all

'Was not it from there? They crossed Burma, all those Phruthoys, Bahthways and uncles. [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_136-137]

Address terms can take the plural suffix as well, as demonstrated by the example in (187). The kinship and address terms are the same in Hyow. In (188), the plural suffix marks a kinship word.

(187) *bóhítsæ, tsítì?ô kéyní íbó kókònàè?yém. kéyàtsæ kómó? méyhòmà?hó
úhmùtsúéy / tîng tàkhnè?tí.*

bóhí = tsæ tsî-tí? = ô kêy = ní íbó kó-kón-á?y = êm
so=TOP elder.sister=VOC 1SG=FOC how 1A-cross.II-IRR=CONT.Q
kêy = á = tsæ kó-mó? mēy-hóm-á?-hō
1SG=DAT=TOP 1SG.POSS-owner exist-yet-3SG.NEG-PM
ú-hmú-tsú-êy tîng ták-hnó? = tí
3SG-see.I-2PL.NEG-Q QT say.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘So, she finally said, “Elder sisters, how will I cross? Do not you see that I am yet to have a husband (literally, there is no owner to me yet).”’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0053]

(188) *kòlòální èyâ kíphíá-tí? kótsótí? kútsúhnú-tí? ínipyǎl.*

kò-lò-âl-ní èy = â kí-phíá-tí? kó-tsô-tí?
1S-come-DEP-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=LOC 1SG.POSS-wife-PL 1SG.POSS-son-PL
kú-tsúhnú-tí? í-ní-pyó-âl
1SG.POSS-daughter-PL 3S-PL-be.happy-DEP

‘When I came back, my wives, my sons and my daughters were happy there.’ [ZM_GSS2_082015_Hyow_0016_0023]

Other than the plural-marking suffix *-tí?* attached to kinship and proper nouns, the plurality of core arguments can be marked on verbs prefixally. The number marking of core arguments is discussed in §7.3.5.

5.5.4 LIFE-CYCLE INDICATIVE SUFFIX (LIS)

Hyow does not mark gender on nouns. However, Hyow has various suffixes that I call ‘life-cycle indicative suffix’ together (henceforth, LIS). These suffixes are common in other Kuki-Chin languages. Interestingly, based on types of referents, a suffix

marking the certain age of life can have different forms for different referents in Hyow.

We have already seen in §5.5.1 that the diminutive suffix can refer to animate offspring. Words like *úy-tsô* (dog-DIM) ‘puppy’, *mín-tsô* (cat-DIM) ‘kitten’, *hmútô-tsô* (woman-DIM) ‘girl’, etc. indicate the young age of respective referents.

In order to express adulthood, Hyow nouns are marked by different suffixes depending on the class and sex of referents. These suffixes mark male adults and female adults (see Table 85).

Categories	LIS suffixes	Examples	Gloss
Young <i>male/female</i>	-tsô	shèl-tsô	‘calf’
		à-tsô	‘chick’
Uncastrated <i>adult male</i>	-hêw	shèl-hêw	‘uncastrated adult bull’
		wòk-hêw	‘uncastrated adult boar’
	-tsól	mà?-tsól	‘uncastrated adult buck’
	-hlûy	à-hlûy	‘uncastrated adult rooster’
Castrated	-phát	shèl-phát	‘castrated bull’
Adult virgin <i>female</i>	-hík	shèl-hík	‘adult virgin heifer’
		nò-hík	‘adult virgin female buffalo’
	-lô	mà?-lô	‘adult virgin doe’
		wòk-lô	‘adult virgin sow’
Motherhood	-nû	mà?-nû	‘mother goat’
		shèl-nû	‘mother cow’
Fatherhood	-pô	úy-pô	‘father dog’
		mà?-pô	‘father boar’

Table 85: A list of GLI suffixes in Hyow

Nouns referring to an uncastrated adult (male) bull, buffalo, dog, cat, boar, etc. take the suffix *-hêw*, while the female adults of the same referents except pig are marked by *-hík*. The noun referring to an adult male pig is marked by *-hêw* (in (189)) like the noun referring to an adult male cow, while the noun referring to a female virgin pig is marked by *-lô* unlike the noun referring to a female virgin cow, which is marked by *-hík*.

(189) *shôhêwpôtsê gógógógó tîng èyâ dùdók*↘.

shô-**hêw**-pô = tsê gógógógó tîng èy = â dù-dók
wild.pig-adult.male-AUG = TOPONOMT QT ANAPH.DEM = LOC die-ANT

‘The big adult wild pig had died there with the gogogogo sound.’

[ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_040]

Nouns referring to castrated animals are marked by *-phát* in Hyow, as in (190). Animals can be castrated either while they are young or while they are adult. A noun referring to a young castrated animal takes both the castrating suffix and the diminutive suffix.

(190) *èyhnê?lâtsê, tsùâ wòknû wòkphát môn*.

èy-hnê?-lá = tsê tsú = â wók-nû wók-phát môn
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ = TOP DIST = LOC pig-MO pig castrated catch.I

‘Finally, after that, catch the mother pig and the castrated pig there.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_142]

5.5.5 INCLUSIVE

The inclusion of a referent with another referent in an event, action or process is expressed by an inclusive suffix in Hyow. The function of the inclusive suffix is different from the comitative case clitic. The inclusive suffix refers to a state of referents, whether they are together or not. There is one inclusive suffix in Hyow *-mô?*. The inclusive suffix *-mô?* refers to a referent inside something.

The inclusive suffix *mɔʔ* is semantically equivalent to English ‘full’, as in ‘a bottle, full of water’. The inclusive suffix *-mɔʔ* in *khróng-mɔʔ=tsâ* (man-ICS = TOP) is referring to a plane (elided in the clause) which was full of people.

(191) *èydâ tsùlâ kôʔhìtsâ úpûm zíziêng kródók \. khróngmòʔtsâ krâʔ \.*

èydâ tsú=lâ kôʔ-hí=tsâ ó-hóng zízi=êng kró-dók
then DIST=ERG shoot.II-COND=TOP GRP-be.empty only=INE fall-ANT

khróng-**mɔʔ**=tsâ krô-áʔ
people-ICS=TOP fall-3SG.NEG

‘Then, when he shot (a magical spell), it had fallen only on the empty ones (planes). It did not fall on the plane, full of people.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_0181]

5.5.6 EXCLUSIVE

As opposed to the inclusive suffix, Hyow has one exclusive suffix, which excludes a referent from another referent. The exclusive suffix *-kô* is identical to the first person plural inclusive negative suffix on a verb in Hyow. The example in (192) is a proverb, which is told by two ministers of a king to him in order to persuade him to marry again after the death of his queen. They were comparing the king’s state with things that are incomplete if they are empty of something, as in *é-nèn-kô kálá* (GRP-spout-ECS jug) ‘spoutless jug’, *hmútó-kô pótó* (woman-ECS man) ‘womanless man’ and *pótó-kô hmútó* (man-ECS woman) ‘manless woman’ in (192).

(192) *èy méyhnè?làtsæ, mótgrí mót lá áhni?tàkní, “úh kóbóyô, bòhìtsæ, énnènkô kálá tángléyák \. bòhìtsæ, hmútókô pótóá tángléyák \. pótókô hmútóá tángléyák \”.*

èy	mêy-hnó?-lá = tsæ	mótgrí	mót = lâ		
ANAPH.DEM	stay-ULT-SEQ=TOP	great.minister	minister=ERG		
á-á-hní?-tāk-ní	úh	kó-bóy = ô	bóhí = tsæ	é-nén-kô	
3A-DIR-DL-talk.II-TEMP	INTJ	3SG.POSS-lord=VOC	so=TOP	GRP-spout-ECS	
kálá	táng-léyák	bóhí = tsæ	hmútó-kô	pótó = á	táng-léyák
jug	CLS-eleven	so=TOP	woman-ECS	man=ADD	CLS-eleven
pótó-kô	hmútó = á	táng-léyák			
man-ECS	woman=ADD	CLS-eleven			

‘After he stayed finally, when the great minister and the minister went to talk, they said, “Uh, my lord, so, a spoutless jug is odd (incomplete). So, womanless man is also odd (incomplete). Manless woman is odd also (incomplete).”’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0039]

5.5.7 SUPERLATIVE DEGREE OF VERBAL MODIFIERS

We have already seen that the stative verbs are used as verbal modifiers in §4.4.2.1. These verbal modifiers can express the superlative degree by taking a superlative suffix *-shúm*. The derived superlative degree of verbal modifier functions as a grade of comparison in a clause like ‘X is the V-est Y’ e.g. ‘He is the smartest person’, where the clause is a verbless clause. In most of the instances in the Hyow corpus, superlative nominal attributes form headless noun phrases, as shown in (193).

- (193) *shókí páyhí páyhngó èyngkó? shókí lènpô, élèshúm, èy tsò?ng áákèmní, tsò?ng ókhó òkêy.*

shókí	pây-hlí	pây-hngô	èy = êng = kó?	shókí	lén-pô
deer	CLS-four	CLS-five	ANAPH.DEM=INE=GEN	deer	be.big-AUG
é-lén- shúm	èy	tsó? = êng	á-á-kóm-ní		
GRP-be.big-SUP	ANAPH.DEM	trap=INE	3S-DIR-descend-TEMP		
tsó? = êng	ó-khó	ók-êy			
trap=INE	3SG.POSS-leg	be.stuck-MID			

‘When the very big deer, the biggest deer out of the four-five deer that came down into that trap, its leg was stuck in the trap.’

[ZM_HTHD_HP_062014_Hyow_0003_0020-0023]

The superlative suffix can also be attached to a noun, making it function as a nominal attribute. In such constructions, the superlative suffix situates the referent in the furthest point of a continuum of the degree of comparison, as in *ú-hnúng-shúm* (GRP-back-SUP) ‘the furthest back’ in (194) and *ú-kún-shúm* (GRP-roof.edge-sup) ‘the furthest edge of the roof’ in (195). In (194), the relational noun functions as a nominal contribute referring to the ‘furthest back’ of a place.

- (194) *tsóytsê íbó thónéyém. úhnùngshùmóng étsàdâ, nêwtsóshùmtsê.*

tsóy = tsê	íbó	thón-êy = êm	ú-hnúng- shúm = êng	é-tsét-dâ
DP=TOP	what	happen-MID=CONT.Q	GRP-back-SUP=INE	3S-go-ITER
nêw-tsô-shúm = tsê				
be.young-DIM-SUP=TOP				

‘See, what happened to him? The youngest one went into a place in the most back again and again.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_105]

The word *ú-kún* (GRP-roof.edge) means ‘roof-edge’. When the superlative prefix is attached to this word, it refers to the most extreme point of the roof in *úkúngshúm* in (195).

(195) *èydô, póngkhótsô páyshæ? bôtéyhyóngkè?ní hngatní lów?tî. úkúngshúmákô? hngatní lów? ʌ.*

èydô póngkhót-tsô pây-shæ? bôt-êy-hyô = êng = kô? = ní
 then hand.carrying.bag-DIM CLS-seven be.hung-MID-PM=INE=GEN=FOC

hngát = ní lów = tî ú-kún-shúm = â = kô? hngát = ní lów
 one=FOC pick.II=R.EVID GRP-roof.edge-SUP=LOC=GEN one=FOC pick.II

‘Then, he picked up one of the seven handed hand carrying bags. He picked the one of those in the furthest roof edge.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_095]

5.5.8 MULTIPLICATIVE

The multiplicative suffix semantically indicates multiple referents. Many instances of interrogative pronouns in Hyow take the multiplicative suffix *-ô*, but not a single example of a noun can take the multiplicative suffix. Therefore, it is fair to say that the use of the multiplicative suffix is very limited in Hyow.

The multiplicative suffix with the Thing interrogative pronoun in *î-ô* (what-mul) in (196) refers to multiple referents, which can be literally translated as ‘what all’.

(196) *nótòngéyhítsâ èyángtsâ ìô ínìhòwâm. èy tsòông ìô ínìhòwâm.*

nó-tóng-êy-hí = tsâ	èy = ông = tsâ	í-ô
2A-apply.II-MID-COND=TOP	ANAPH.DEM=INE=TOP	what-MUL
í-ní-hów = ôm	èy	tsó = ông
3A-PL-say.II=CONT.Q	ANAPH.DEM	document=INE
í-ô	í-ní-hów = ôm	
what-MUL	3A-PL-say.II=CONT.Q	

‘When you applied, what all did they say in that (circular)? What all did they say in that document?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0014]

In (197), the multiplicative suffix with the person interrogative pronoun is expressing multiple persons in the context.

(197) *èyâ tsàknââ ùô ínìlòâm. èy khróngông kíníhmôtêy, èytà?dô.*

èy = â	tsàknâ = â	ú-ô	í-ní-lò = ôm	èy
ANAPH.DEM=LOC	learn=LOC	who-MUL	3S-PL-come=CONT.Q	ANAPH.DEM
khrông = ông	kíní-hmôt-êy	èy = tó? = dô		
people=INE	1A-PL-know.II-MID	ANAPH=DEM=DLIM=EMPH		

‘Untill that, we got acquainted with those people who all came to learn there. Just up to that.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0072]

5.5.9 APPROXIMATIVE

The approximative suffix *-bóng* helps to express an approximate number or amount of animate or inanimate referents. In this sense, it is a number suffix like the plural suffix or the multiplicative suffix. It might have grammaticized from the quantifier *ôbóng* ‘many’ (see §4.4.2.2). Since the quantifier ‘many’ does not refer to a specific number rather it refers to plentiful number of a referent, it is plausible that it has a

grammaticalized use as the approximative. Therefore, if a speaker is unsure of the exact number of referents, or if the number of referents is not a round figure, he/she uses the approximative suffix to denote an approximate number of referents.

While describing the process of producing alcohol, a Hyow speaker is telling how many days they keep rice to be fermented. A juice comes out of the fermented rice in this process of fermentation, which takes about two nights. The number of nights for the fermentation process varies from time to time. Therefore, the speaker uses the approximative suffix in *yón-hníʔ-bóng* (night-two-APPX) ‘about two nights’ to generalize the number of nights required for the fermentation process.

(198) *yónhníʔbóng tǝngùlǝtsǝ èydǝ èyní ǝtsǝ lôʔ.*

yón-hníʔ-bóng	tǝ-ǝng-ú-lǝ = tsǝ	èydǝ	èy = ní
night-two-APPX	keep.I-DUR-3PL-SEQ=TOP	then	ANAPH.DEM=FOC
ǝ-tsǝ	lǝ		
GRP-juice	come		

‘After they keep it for about two days, then that, a juice comes out.’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_006]

5.5.10 EXPANSIVE

The expansive suffix expresses expanded nominal referents. It refers to things that are similar to the referents of nouns to which the expansive suffix is attached. Except for kinship terms, there are no plural markers for marking other nouns in Hyow. The expansive suffix is used to refer to non-singularity of nominal referents. An example of the expansive suffix is given in (199).

(199) *móng wátkhôl móng dānshákhôl wátshókúlátsæ íníwátálshê* ㄣ.

móng	wát- khôl	móng	dānshá-khôl	wát-shók-ú-lá = tsæ
king	clothe-EXP	king	ornament-EXP	wear-CAUS-3PL-SEQ=TOP

í-ní-wát-âl-shók

3A-PL-wear.II-DEP-CAUS

‘After they made him wear the king’s clothe and so on, and king’s ornaments and so on, they made him wear it (crown).’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_088]

Since kinship terms are marked by the plural suffix *-tíʔ*, the expansive suffix cannot be directly attached to kinship terms. A kinship term has to be inflected by the plural suffix first, then it can be marked by the expansive suffix, as in *tà-tíʔ-khôl* (elder.brother-PL-EXP) ‘elder brothers and people like them’.

5.6 NOMINALIZATION

Nominalization is a derivational process through which nouns and nominal attributes are derived from verbs in Hyow. The process of nominalization applies not only at the word level, but it is also extended to the clause level in Hyow, as in many of the Southeast Asian languages (see Genetti et.al 2008, Matisoff 1991, Noonan 1997 and Yap et.al 2004). Peterson 2008 is explains versatilities of nominalization in Kuki-Chin languages. Only nominalizing suffixes can be employed to derive nouns from verbs in Hyow. The following subsections present discussions on different types of nominalizations in Hyow.

5.6.1 NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES

There are a number of nominalizing suffixes in Hyow. Other than deriving nouns from verbs, some of the nominalizing suffixes function as relativizers too (see §12.4.2), which I discuss in following relevant subsections.

5.6.1.1 Agentive nominalization

An agentive nominalizer is used to derive agentive nouns from verbs. The agentive nominalizer is functionally and semantically equivalent to the Bangla *-ək* and English *-er* suffixes. The derived noun functions as an S or an A argument either of an intransitive verb or a transitive verb respectively.

The agentive nominalizing suffix that is used to derive an A argument can take only a stem I of transitive verbs (see §6.2.1). The agentive nominalizer in *ò-tìʔ-khól* (drink.I-NMLZ-EXP) in (200) takes stem I *ó* of the verb ‘drink’. The Stem II of the verb ‘drink’ is *ók*.

(200) *èy álák òtìʔkhól ínítsetátsàkní bùʔímâ wông.*

<i>èy</i>	<i>álák</i>	<i>ó-tìʔ-khól</i>	<i>í-ní-tsét-âl-tsák-ní</i>
ANAPH.DEM	alcohol	drink.I-NMLZ-EXP	3S-PL-go-DEP-COMPL-TEMP
<i>bùʔím = â</i>	<i>wông</i>		
kitchen=LOC	enter		

‘Then, saying, “So, I will tell you,” when the alcohol drinkers went away, she entered into the kitchen.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0038]

The agentive nominalizing suffix can also function as a relativizer or a relativizing element (see §12.4.2.1). The nominalized relative clause functions as a modifier of the head noun, as exemplified in (201). Not every single verb has two stems in Hyow. The nominalizing suffix attached to the verb *khôy* ‘pick.I’ forms a relative clause with the other constituent noun *tûy* ‘water’ (it is not a compound, because there is a substantial pause between the noun and the verb complex) and modifies the head noun ‘person’, which is absent in the clause, but identifiable by the numeral classifier. Therefore, the nominalized relative clause *tûy khôyítíʔ* (water pick.I-NMLZ) means ‘who picked up water’ in (201).

(201) *èyóngkó? tûy khôytí? pótónghlí? íníméhyóngkó? hngàtsâ yánghngótí.*

èy = êng = kó?	tûy	khôy-tí?	pótóng-hlí?
ANAPH.DEM=INE=GEN	water	pick.I-NMLZ	CLS-four
í-ní-mêy hyô = êng = kó?	hngát = tsâ	yâng-hngó = tí	
3s-PL-stay-PM=INE=GEN	one=TOP	be.quick-PM=R.EVID	

‘One of those four living persons who picked up the water of that (river) was quick.’[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_232]

Some disyllabic verbs in Hyow have *-nák* as a part of the stem. In Daai, *-nak* is a nominalizer (Hartmann 2009). However, in Hyow, it is an applicative and it is lexicalized with some verbs. The verb *tsók* means teach, but with *-nak* lexicalized, the word *tsèknák* means ‘learn’. When the agentive suffix is attached to the verb *tsèknák*, the final unaspirated voiceless velar stop of *-nak* undergoes apocope, which reflects the fact that *nak* was basically a verb at some point in this language or in the Proto language (see §6.2.1 for more). Therefore, form I of the lexicalized *-nák* allows the stem *tsèknák* to take the agentive suffix and become a derived agentive noun *tséknátí?* ‘learner’, as demonstrated by the example in (202).

(202) *kínítsèknàk khô dùk êng hnúpàk hní? prềng pràng êng èy kón ínítsòn éypúynák
èy kón kínítsét tsèknátí? khôl khæ ní háng háng\.*

kí-ní-tsèknàk-khô dúk = êng hnúp-ák-hní? pré = êng práng = êng

1A-PL-learn.II-PM inside=INE day-one-two country=INE yard=INE

èy = kón ì-ní-tsón-êy-púy-nák èy = kón kí-ní-tsét

ANAPH.DEM=ABL 1P-INV-run-MID-ASS.BEN-SPNT ANAPH.DEM=ABL 1S-PL-go

tsèkná-tí? khôl khæ = ní háng háng

learn.I-NMLZ-EXP all=FOC all

‘During our learning, the people from there helped us roaming one-two days in the district and in the yard. We went (to different places) from there, all the learners, all’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0033]

5.6.1.2 Patientive nominalization

A patientive nominalizing suffix derives a patientive noun from a verb. The patientive nominalizing suffix is same as the agentive nominalizing suffix in Hyow. However, the difference between these two nominalization processes is that the patientive nominalizing suffix takes a Stem II of a transitive verb to derive a patientive noun. The verb for ‘shoot’ has two stems in Hyow. When the stem II takes the patientive nominalizing suffix, as in *kò?-tí?* (shoot.II-NMLZ) in (203), it means ‘shootee’, and when the Stem I verb *kóp* ‘shoot.I’ takes the suffix, then it means ‘shooter’. Patientive nominalization also takes place at the clause level (see §12.4.2.2)

(203) *kàkholóng ngónghà?ykhólong ínikò?tí? bish* ㄟ.

ká-khól = êng ngónghà?y = khól = êng í-ni-kó?-tí? bish
 bean-EXP=GEN egg.plant=EXP=INE 3A-PL-shoot.II-NMLZ poison

‘She drank the poison that they spray/shot on the eggplants and on same sort of fruits.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0046]

5.6.1.3 Place nominalization

A place nominalizer derives a noun from a verb, which refers to the place of an action, state or process. The place-nominalizing suffix *-dân* has grammaticalized from the noun *dân* ‘place’. Like the agentive and patientive nominalizing suffix, the place-nominalizing suffix also functions as a relativizer in Hyow (see §12.4.2.4). The nominalized verb *tsón-dân* (run-PLNMLZ) ‘place of running’ in (204) is referring to the place where one could go to avoid the horror of mass killing during the Liberation War of 1971 in Bangladesh.

(204) *tsòndâná iá méyá?* ㄟ.

tsón-dân = á iá méy-á?
 run-PLNMLZ=LOC nothing exist-3SG.NEG

‘There is no place of running away.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0038]

Likewise, the nominalized verb *né-méy-dân* (2S-live-PLNMLZ) in (205) refers to the living place of a second person singular argument.

(205) *èytsâ, èyâ néméydânkhótsâ èylùpkhól pýây.*

èy = tsâ	èy = â	né-mêy- dân -khól = tsâ
ANAPH.DEM=TOP	ANAPH.DEM=LOC	2SGS-stay- PLNMLZ -EXP=TOP
èylúp-khól	pây-ây	
like.that-EXP	good-MID	

‘That is, your living place there is beautiful like those.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0007]

5.6.1.4 Instrumental nominalization

An instrumental nominalizer derives a noun from a verb referring to an instrument or thing, which is used to do an activity or process. The instrumental nominalizing suffix is same as the place-nominalizing suffix in Hyow. Therefore, a verb taking the suffix *-dân* in *món-dân* (catch.II-NMLZ) either refers to a net or a place of catching fish, which is an instrument to catch fish, or refers to the place of catching fish. The interpretation of the particular type of nominalization depends on the context. This suffix can be also used to relativize clause (see §12.4.2.3). Some examples of the instrumental nominalizations include *hâ?-dân* ‘fan’ (fan.II-INMLZ), *yâk-dân* ‘paper’ (write.II-INMLZ), *phôt-dân* ‘book’ (study.II-INMLZ), *kýy-dân* ‘ladder/pipe’ (ascend-INMLZ), *shôt-dân* ‘eye’ (look.II-INMLZ), and *tsètáy-dân* ‘leg’ (walk-INMLZ). The derived noun *kýydân* in (206) refers to a pipe that is used to extinguish smoke from ships.

(206) *èykón méykhú kýydân èyông brúng tîng èy búm pòkhnó? ʘ.*

èy = kón	méykhú	kýy- dân	èy = ông
ANAPH.DEM = ABL	smoke	ascend- INMLZ	ANAPH.DEM = INE
brúng	tîng	èy	búm
ONMT	QT	ANAPH.DEM	bomb
			burst.II-CNCL

‘That bomb burst with a ‘brung’ sound with the smoke pipe from there.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_225]

5.6.1.5 Purposive nominalization

A purposive construction expresses the purpose of a predicate. A purposive nominalizing suffix and an irrealis suffix attached to a verb can be used to derive a purposive noun. The examples in (207) and (208) illustrate the purposive nominalization.

(207) *kéyáhátsâ kínípekà?yphí? ñ méyá? túô*

kêy = á = há = tsâ	kí-ní-pék-â?y-phí?	ìá	mêy-á?
1SG = DAT = ADD = TOP	1A-PL-give.II-IRR-PNMLZ	nothing	exist-3SG.NEG
tú = ô			
grand.son = VOC			

‘O, grandson, we have nothing for giving.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0065]

(208) *âhlè?â?yphí? méyâ? \.*

â-hlé?-â?y-phí?	mêy-á?
3A-buy.II-IRR-PNMLZ	exist-3SG.NEG

‘He had no money for buying.’ [ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0049]

The purposive nominalizing suffix is also utilized at the clause level (see §12.4.2.6)

5.6.1.6 Temporal nominalization

The temporal nominalizing suffix *-khô* is used to derive temporal noun in Hyow. The temporal nominalizing suffix originates from the noun *khô* ‘time’. In order to derive a temporal noun through the nominalization process, a Stem II verb is required. Like the other types of nominalizing suffix, the temporal nominalizing suffix can be utilized for clausal nominalization in order to form a temporal relative clause (see §12.4.2.5). The example in (209) demonstrates the use of the temporal nominalizing suffix.

(209) *nétsètkhóâ táákhólá íníhòwéyàé?yey* ↗.

né-tsét-**khô** = â

táá-khól = á

í-ní-hów-êy-áé?y = êy

2S-go-TNMLZ=LOC

money-EXP=ADD

3A-PL-say.II-MID-IRR=POL.Q

‘Did they also ask for money at the time of your going?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0074]

5.6.1.7 Comitative nominalization

A comitative nominalizing suffix derives a noun from a verb, which refers to a companion of an action, state or process. The comitative nominalizing suffix *-phak* forms words like *?éy-phák* (eat.II-CNMLZ) ‘eating companion’, *tsèt-phák* (go-CNMLZ) ‘going companion’, etc. The sentence in (210) illustrates an example of such a nominalization in Hyow.

(210) *“kópóyálhítsâ krêwphák shángphák íníbànàé?hyô” tîng táktî*

kó-pôy-âl-hí = tsâ

krêw-**phák**

sháng-**phák**

1S-be.good-DEP-COND=TOP

speak.II-CNMLZ

EE-CNMLZ

ì-ní-bún-áé?y-hyô

tîng ták = tí

1P-INV-find.II-IRR-PM

QT

tell.II=R.EVID

‘If I become well, you will find me a company to speak (literally, speaking companion).’ [ZM_ASTH_DK_06_2007_Hyow_0052_0002]

5.7 CONCLUSION

The nominal morphology of Hyow shows various features. The word formation process of compounding in Hyow is very productive to represent single concepts through new stems, and different criteria are used to differentiate the compound words from phrases. Hyow allows only one type of prefix to be attached to nouns. There is a referential suffix, either a generic (generic referential prefix) or a specific (possessive prefixes), for nouns to encode referentiality. Compared to the single type of prefix, Hyow has various types of suffixes. The nominalizing morphology is very

much functional at the word level as well at the clause level in Hyow like other Southeast Asian languages. The next chapter focuses on verbs and their classifications.

6 Verbs: forms and classifications

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the form and classifications of verbs in Hyow, morphosyntactically the most important word class of the language. I present an exhaustive discussion on verb stem alternations in Hyow in §6.2, which is a common phenomenon in other Kuki-Chin languages originating from two different diachronic morphosyntactic processes. In §6.3, there is a discussion of a basic classification of verbs in Hyow. Then, I move on to talk about Hyow middle verbs in §6.4, which are particularly of pervasive interest typologically. Since Hyow executes a phonological process to form lexical causative verbs, there is a discussion on such lexical causative verbs in §6.4.7. Finally, I make some concluding remarks in §6.8.

6.2 VERB STEM ALTERNATION

Like other Kuki-Chin languages, Hyow verbs also have two overtly distinguishable stems, which are only applicable to transitive verbs. Other than divergent phonological forms, functions in different morphosyntactic environments distinguish these two stems of a verb in Hyow. Some Kuki-Chin languages have three stems – Stem I, Stem II and Stem III – still preserved for some verbs (e.g. Mizo, Changte, 1993: 86-87). Scholars of Tibeto-Burman linguistics speculate that Stem II and Stem III verbs originate from attachments of a nominalizing suffix and a valency-changing suffix (Changte 1993, Matisoff 2003 and King 2009) respectively. Different scholars call them by different names. Changte (1993: 85) calls them independent and dependent stem, while other scholars call them Form I and Form II, Stem I and Stem II or Stem A and Stem B (Hartmann 2009) respectively. I will call the forms Stem I and Stem II to avoid contributing further to unnecessary linguistic terminology. The following subsections explain the forms and functions of verb stems in Hyow.

6.2.1 FORMS OF STEMS

Stem I and Stem II transitive verbs mostly diverge in their final segments from each other, which are predicatable in Hyow to some extent. For other Kuki-Chin languages, scholars claim that the form of Stem I verb is predictable, while the form of Stem II verb is not completely predictable (Hartmann 2009: 97-98; King 2009:

142). Stem I verbs in Hyow have vowel, sonorant or stop finals (except the glottal stop), while the forms of Stem II verbs depend on Stem I verbs. Some generalizations about the Stem II verb finals are given from 1 to 5.

1. Stem I ends with open syllables → Stem II contains stop finals/No change
2. Stem I ends with the bilabial stop → No change in Stem II, but Stem II ends with a glottal stop if the peak consists of the high-back vowel.
3. Stem I ends with the alveolar stop → Stem II contains glottal stop finals/No change
4. Stem I ends with the velar stop → No change in Stem II for most of the verbs/Some Stem II verbs has glottal stop finals
5. Stem I ends with the glottal stop → No change
6. Stem I ends with sonorant finals → No change in Stem II for most of the verbs, but some Stem II verbs contain glottalized sonorants

The process of forming the Stem II of a transitive verb involves a process of replacement or addition of final segments in Hyow. When a coda is added to the Stem I variant, then the process of addition occurs in the Stem II variant, as in *ó* ‘drink.I’, but *ók* ‘drink.II’. On the other hand, when the replacement process takes place, the final of Stem I is replaced by another segment in the Stem II variant, as in *hnúk* ‘narrate.I’, but *hnúʔ* ‘narrate.II’. The types of forming two separate stems are laid out in Table 86. The formation types of Stem II verbs are divided based on syllable types – smooth and checked – in Table 86.

Stem I final syllable types	Formation types	Examples		Glosses
		Stem I	Stem II	
Smooth	Addition	shò	shót	‘look’
		shò	shók	‘wear lower garments’
		hmù	hmúʔ	‘see’
		khán	kháʔn	‘hope’
		tàl	táʔl	‘thresh’
		tày	táʔy	‘tear’
		hlów	hlóʔw	‘fry’
	Replacement	bót	bóʔ	‘be hanged, hang’
		dóng	dón	‘be shown, show’
		tów	tóʔ	‘poke’
Checked	Replacement	shép	shéʔ	‘wash’
		wàet	wæʔ	‘wry’
		yək	yóʔ	‘pull up’

Table 86: Types of verb-stem alternations in Hyow

Table 86 illustrates some examples of forming two different stems of the same transitive verb in Hyow. This phonological process of forming two different stems of a verb exhibits significant features in Hyow.

Changte (1993: 86-87) explains through examples from Mizo, a Central Kuki-Chin language, that forming of such different stems of a verb originates in two derivations – a nominalizing suffix *-d* and a PTB causative suffix *-t*, which becomes *-ʔ* in Mizo. Similarly, Matisoff 2003 suggests that the two stems are derived from a subordinating *-ʔ* and a causative *-ʔ* (from a PTB causative *-s*). King (2009: 143) proposes that a nominalizing suffix *-t* and a causative or benefactive suffix *-ʔ* acted on verbs at different times, resulting in three separate stems of a verb – original form (Stem I), nominalized form (Stem II) and causative or benefactive form (Stem III).

Some Kuki-Chin languages have still kept the three distinct forms and some languages have kept forms derived from one of the morphosyntactic processes (King, 2009: 143). In line with this, Changte (1993) argues that some Kuki-Chin languages have chosen the nominalized form, while others have chosen the causative or benefactive form for every cognate verb.

Based on the arguments made above by different scholars, it appears that Hyow has preserved the nominalized forms as Stem II along with the original stems. There are a couple of reasons to posit this. Firstly, unlike some Kuki-Chin languages, there is no nasal ~ stop alternation in Hyow, which is an example of causative form in some Kuki-Chin languages (see King, 2009: 144). Secondly, Hyow employs two separate strategies to form causative verbs – a phonological and a morphological, which are different from what Changte (1993) and Matisoff (2003) talk about. Fourthly, as citation forms, Hyow speakers always use the Stem II of a verb, which we expect to be a nominalized form. For example, the verb for ‘be ashamed’ is *hyǝkêy*, which is a Stem I verb. The Stem II verb *hyǝʔêy* is not used as a verb in Hyow anymore. Hyow treats this stem as a noun, which means ‘shame’. Finally, some textual examples treat a Stem II as a nominalized verb without any derivational strategy applied, and these verbs can form a possessive-like construction. In such a construction, a person prefix on the verb marks a possessor, or there is an overt presence of the possessor, and the nominalized verb functions as a possessed item, as exemplified in (211) and (212). Neither of the verb can be considered as a complement clause, because there is no complementizer marked on the Stem II verbs in both the examples (for complement clauses, see §12.4.3).

(211) *únúng tók pǝyáʔ* ㄴ.

ú-núng	tók	pǝy-áʔ
GRP-too.much	think.II	be.good-3SG.NEG

‘Too much thinking is not good.’ [Elicited]

(12) *èy hyón pŏy-áʔ* ʔ.

<i>èy</i>	<i>hyón</i>	<i>pŏy-áʔ</i>
ANAPH.DEM	throw.II	be.good-3SG.NEG

‘Throwing of that (corpse) was not good.’

[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0036]

Considering tones of Stem I and Stem II verbs, it can be generalized that many of the Stem I verbs contain either the low-level tone or the falling tone, while most of the Stem II verbs contain the high-level tone. The high-level tone of Stem II verbs may be an effect of the derivation of Stem II verbs from Stem I verbs by using the historical action-nominalizing suffix *-ʔ*, *-t* or *-k*. The increased tension of vocal folds during glottal closure has caused the high-level tone on Stem II verbs. Consequently, the verbs that do not show any difference between the two variants, they have Stem II verbs containing high-level tones.

6.2.2 A HISTORICAL EXPLANATION OF VERB STEM ALTERNATIONS

The finals of Stem II verbs can be explained through a process of nominalization in Hyow, and in reference to what Changte 1993 and Matisoff 2003 have commented regarding the issue. If we look at the forms of the Stem II verbs, we notice that there is a significant resemblance of the final segment of Stem II verbs to the historical nominalizing and causative forms postulated by Changte 1993 and Matisoff 2003 (see §6.2.1). In the following paragraphs, I provide explanations for the origin of the Stem II verbs from Stem I verbs through a process of nominalization, following Genetti et al. 2008.

Genetti et al. (2003) show that derivational nominalization has developed from clausal nominalization in some TB languages. They also provide examples for a reversed process, for which clausal nominalization has developed from derivational nominalization. Hyow makes extensive use of clausal nominalization (see §12.4.2), but it lacks an action nominalizing suffix. The derived noun by action nominalization becomes the head of a NP and resembles a predicate (see Harris & Campbell, 1995: 310), or expresses a proposition (Comrie & Thompson, 2007: 354). However, such

outcomes of the action nominalization process already exist in Hyow. In §5.2.3.3, I discuss the noun-verb compounding which produces compound words that express activity names, and which are built on the relationship of argument-predicate. Such compound words always include Stem II verbs (the verb does not require to be nominalized), as in *lów* (swidden field) + *bí* (work.II) → *lòw-bí* ‘swidden field working/swidden field cultivation’, *hmôy* ‘face’ + *hmú?* ‘see.II’ → *hmôy-hmú?* ‘face seeing (a ritual during marriage)’, *shó* ‘wild pig’ + *kó?* ‘shoot.II’ → *shò-kó?* ‘wild pig hunting/shooting’ etc. A comparison between the Stem II verbs *hmú?* ‘see.II’ and *kó?* ‘shoot’ in these examples, and agentive and patientive nominalizing suffix *-tí?* shows a resemblance among their respective finals and tones.

Except a limited set of verbs, Hyow intransitive verbs do not have Stem II forms, which can be evident from a few observations. Firstly, the form of a grammatical category also reflects this. The multifunctional suffix *-nák* has two forms suggesting that it was a verb itself once upon a time. The multifunctional suffix *-nák* can be used as a verbalizer, valence increasing suffix and spontaneitive suffix. When the suffix is used as the spontaneitive marker, which encodes a doer’s spontaneity of performing an action, process or being in a state, with intransitive verbs, it has the form *-ná*. On the other hand, when it is used with a transitive verb, depending on morphosyntactic constraints either the form *-ná* (I) or the form *-nák* (II) is used, as in *tsèt-ná* (go-SPNT) ‘He went spontaneously’, and *tsèt-nà-á?* (go-SPNT-3SG.NEG) ‘He did not go spontaneously’, but *hmù?-nák* (see.II-SPNT.II) ‘He saw spontaneously’ and *hmù-nà-á?* (see.I-SPNT.I-3SG.NEG) ‘He did not see spontaneously’. Secondly, since intransitive verbs do not have patient arguments by default, they were not subject to action nominalization diachronically. Furthermore, they do not behave like nouns as the Stem II verbs do, as shown in (211) and (212). Accordingly, the example in (213) is ungrammatical.

(213) **nétsét pŏyâ? ʘ.*

né-tsét pŏy-â?

2S-go be.good-3SG.NEG

*‘Your going is not good.’ [Elicited]

In order to form a grammatical construction with the intransitive verb *pŏy* ‘be good’, the verb *tsét* ‘go’ requires a complement clause. Accordingly, the example in (214) is grammatical, in which the intransitive verb *tsét* ‘go’ marked by the predicate marker *-thô*, which also functions as a complementizer (see §12.4.3). This is used as a complement clause embedded into the intransitive clause headed by the verb *pŏy* ‘be good’.

(214) *nétsètthô pŏyâ? ʘ.*

né-tsét-thô pŏy-â?

2S-go-PM be.good-3SG.NEG

‘It was good that you went/That you went was good’ [Elicited]

Though intransitive verbs generally does not show stem variants, certain verbs show stem variants only in certain constructions. For example, the verb *íp* is an intransitive verb, but it shows a Stem II variant *í?* only when the verb is causativized, as in *íp-â!* (sleep.I-DEP) ‘He slept’, but *í?-shók-â!* (sleep.II-CAUS-DEP) ‘He made him sleep’. Both the variants – *íp* and *í?* – are considered grammatical in the presence of the causative suffix *-shók*. The verb *káp* ‘cry’ also shows the same feature of showing the Stem II *ká?* ‘cry.II’ only in morphological causative construction. Additionally, transitive counterparts of certain intransitive verbs show similar patterns as Stem II variants of transitive verbs. However, they cannot be the result of same process, since Stem II variants of transitive verbs developed due to a process of action nominalization of Stem I verbs. Therefore, transitive counterparts of intransitive verbs presumably developed due to the process of causativization, as in *hyô!* ‘lie down’, but *hyô?* ‘make someone lie down’, and *thów* ‘get up’, but *thó?* ‘make get up’. Hyow also possess lexical causative verbs, which are formed by a Proto **s-* prefix (see

LaPolla, 2003: 22). For example, the lexical causative of the verb *yát* ‘stand’ is *hyát* ‘make stand’. Since *hyát* is a transitive verb, it went through the action nominalization process historically, which resulted the Stem II form *hyáʔ* ‘make stand.II’. Another interesting verb, which show four stems, can be mentioned in this regard. The verb *krô* ‘fall’ has three stem variants – *krók* ‘make fall’, *khro* ‘make fall.I’ and *khrok* ‘make fall.II’. The form *krók* is supposedly derived from the historical causativization. The form *khro* is the lexical causative of the intransitive verb *krô* ‘fall’. Finally, the lexical causative verb *khro* has undergone the historical action nominalization process, which has resulted in the nominalized form *khrok* ‘make fall.II’. This process of forming stem variants in Hyow suggests that the KC languages which still reserve three stems of a verb, in fact had the causativization process first and then the derivation process.

Based on the form of the finals of Stem II verbs, the nominal nature of Stem II verbs and the observations of Changte 1993, Matisoff 2003 and King 2009, it is plausible that the Stem II verb finals are relic reflexes of the action nominalization from an earlier diachronic stage of Hyow.

Still, we need to explain why there are preglottalized nasals and approximants in some Stem II verbs. Looking at the Stem II verbs, as *hyáʔy* ‘grill.II’, *hlôʔw* ‘fry.II’, *hngíʔl* ‘forget.II’ and *kháʔn* ‘process raw food.II’, it is observed that the sonorants are preglottalized. An important question arises from here: if the Stem II verbs are derived from a historically action nominalization process, then how do the sonorants become preglottalized? This can be explained with reference to Plauché et al. 1998. Citing Kingston 1993 and Silverman 1995, they propose that glottalization can show up anywhere during the oral closure of sonorants. Since it is important to preserve the features of sonorants as much as possible during the transition from sonorants to vowels, it is normal to have preglottalization in sonorants. Thus, when there is a vowel-to-nasal transition, the laryngeal feature manifests as a postglottalized sonorant. The glottalization can appear at either side of a sonorant. Therefore, it is normal that the glottal stop, a reflex of the historical action nominalization, is found at the beginning of the final sonorants of Stem II verbs in Hyow. Moreover, since Hyow has a process of resyllabification and instances of deletion of glottal stops, the placement of the glottal stop before the sonorants helps preserve the glottal stop, which is important for distinguishing Stem I and Stem II verbs.

The derived output due to the clausal nominalization of Stem I verbs can be used both as a relative clause and as a nominal argument. This nature of the nominalization, where the nominalized clause can function as a headless relative clause and a compound nominal argument, in Dolakha Newar, a TB language, is marked as bistructural by Genetti et al. (2003: 108) and Genetti (2007: 375). This is because there is no phonological criterion to demarcate a line between the patient noun and the nominalized verb in compound words and in relative clauses in Dolakha Newar (Genetti et al. 2003: 108). In Hyow, this is differentiated by a process of tone sandhi, as in *ʒn* (curry) + *bút* (cook.I) + *tíʔ* (NMLZ) → *ʒn-bút-tíʔ* ‘curry chef’, but *ʒn* (curry) *bút* (cook.I) + *tíʔ* (NMLZ) → *ʒn bùttíʔ* ‘the person who cooks curry’. Similarly, the output of clausal nominalization of Stem II verbs can also be used as a NP and a relative clause (see § 12.4.2.1 and §12.4.2.2).

The new set of nominalizing suffixes developed from appositional constructions between the historically nominalized Stem II verbs and other nouns in Hyow. Because Stem II verbs are already nominalized, they can form NPs with other nouns, which function as heads of the nominalized verb. The place and instrumental nominalizer *-dân* and the temporal nominalizer *-khô* originate from free nouns in Hyow. And so, at one stage, these nouns, *dân* ‘place’ and *khô* ‘time’, were heads of nominalized Stem II verbs that were derived from action nominalization of Stem I verbs, and eventually, they have become new types of nominalizers, which nominalize only Stem II verbs historically derived from action nominalizations. The whole process can be framed in A.

- A. V (Stem I) + -t/-k/-ʔ → nominalized Stem II (dependent) N (head of a relative clause) → Stem II-Nominalizing suffix → Nominalized Place/Instrumental/Temporal relative clause.

6.2.3 FUNCTIONS OF VERB-STEM ALTERNATIONS

Verb-stem alternations participate in distinct structural and pragmatic functions, which are morphosyntactic manifestations of how focus-shifts on syntactic arguments work through phonological changes of verb forms in Hyow. King (2009: 142) argues that verb-stem alternations are morphosyntactic manifestations of agentive voice and non-agentive voice in Kuki-Chin languages. Therefore, looking at pertinent functions

of verb-stem alternations in Hyow in following subsections will help draw an outline based on which we can generalize a basic functional distinction of using two different verb-stems.

6.2.3.1 Nominalization processes

Apart from the agentive nominalization discussed in §5.6.1.1, other nominalizations in Hyow take Stem II verbs to derive nouns or form relative clauses (see §5.6.1.2, §5.6.1.4, §5.6.1.5 and §5.6.1.6).

Stem I verbs take the nominalizer *-tíʔ* to derive an agentive noun, which functions as an actor of a given event or action. The Stem I and Stem II of the verb ‘pluck’ are *shík* and *shíʔ* respectively. The clause in (215) illustrates an example of agentive nominalization, where the verb takes Stem I (in bold letters).

(215) *èydô, tsú, èydô æ-thæʔy shík-éy-tíʔ kêm-âl-hlô.*

èydô	tsú	èydô	æ-thæʔy	shík-éy-tíʔ	kêm-âl-hlô
then	DIST	then	GRP-fruit	pluck.I-MID-NMLZ	climb.down-DEP-PM

‘Then, there, the fruit plucker climbed down.’

[ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0049_0021]

In §6.2, I mention that only a small percentage of Hyow verbs have two stems, and intransitive verbs do not show any stem variants. As it is always predictable that agentive nominalization takes a Stem I verb, it is only the morphosyntactic environment that helps identify the stem of the transitive verbs that do not have stem variants. The example in (216) illustrates an intransitive verb in an agentive nominalization construction, in which the intransitive verb *mêy* ‘stay.exist’ does not show any stem variant. On the other hand, in (217) and (218), the verb *dók* ‘put on’ is used in a clauses with positive and negative polarity respectively.

(216) *èydô, shèták khóâ, èy námshòkhólní, èy shángláyshúkhólní èy méytí? khòkâ ínítsetthô.*

èydô shèt-ák khò = â èy námshó-khòl = ní èy
 then CLS-one time=LOC ANAPH.DEM villager-EXP=FOC ANAPH.DEM
 shángláyshú-khòl = ní èy **mêy-tí?** khók = â
 poor=EXP=FOC ANAPH.DEM **exist-NMLZ** near=LOC
 í-ní-tsét-thô
 3S-PL-go-PM

‘Then, another time, those villagers, those poor people went to that rich man.’
 [ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0006]

(217) *tsú báyú dòkéyáldàdók \.*

tsú báyú dók-êy-âl-dú-dók
 DIST.ANAPH shirt put.on.II-MID-DEP-ITER-ANT

‘He had put on that shirt back again like before.’
 [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_150]

(218) *únúpólá dòkéýngbàlá báng pèyà?tí.*

ú-núpô = lâ dók-êy-óng-bá-lá báng
 3SG.POSS-parent = LOC put.on.I-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ even
 páy-á?-tí
 be.finished-3SG.NEG = R.EVID

‘Even having put on the cloth (by his parents), it was not finished.’
 [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_064]

6.2.3.2 Intransitive clauses

Very few intransitive verbs show stem alternations because of transitivity. This occurs due to a valence increasing process of indirect causativization historically (see §6.2.2). The verbs for ‘hang’ and ‘show’ have two stems in Hyow. Stem I verbs, *bót* ‘be hanged’ and *dóng* ‘be shown’ are used in intransitive clauses and Stem II verbs *bót?* ‘hang’ and *dón* ‘show’ are used in transitive clauses. In view of that, the intransitive matrix clause has a stem I verb in (219).

(219) *èydô, èyâ èylúp kêmální, khónidô dòngtià?tí.*

<i>èydô</i>	<i>èy = â</i>	<i>èylúp</i>	<i>kém-âl-ní</i>	<i>khóní = dô</i>
then	ANAPH.DEM = LOC	like.that	descend-DEP-TEMP	sun = EMPH

dóng-tí-á? = *tí*

be.seen-NITER-3SG.NEG = R.EVID

‘Then, when he came down there like that, the sun was not seen anymore.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_183]

On the other hand, the final matrix transitive clause has stem II verb *dón* ‘see’ in (220). Therefore, it is evident from this that stem alternations due to transitivity are still preserved in Hyow.

(220) *èyní dón \. tsùâ èy ngólay áhlùypólâ khóm \, ngólay, èylâ khóm \, èy khàniá khóytsíp ní dòn hnè?tí.*

èy = ní dón tsú = â èy ngólay áhlúy-pô = lâ
 ANAPH.DEM = FOC show.II DIST = LOC ANAPH.DEM sin rooster-FA = ERG
 khóm ngólay èy = lâ khóm èy khá = ní = á
 obstruct.II sin ANAPH.DEM = ERG obstruct.II ANAPH.DEM all = FOC = ADD
 khóytsíp = ní **dón**-hné? = tí
 ring = FOC **show.II**-ULT = R.EVID

‘Then, he showed that. That sinner rooster obstructed (the way), the sinner, he obstructed (the road). Then, finally, he showed the ring to all those.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_190]

6.2.3.3 Imperative mood

Imperative verbs require Stem I in Hyow. Generally, a bare Stem I verb expresses simple imperative mood (command) in singular number, as in *hmú* ‘see.i’, *tsí* ‘take.I’, etc. There is no intonation effect on the underlying tone of the Stem I verbs in imperative mood (see §2.6.4.3). It is possible to express imperative mood in different numbers by attaching number suffixes at the end of an imperative verb. The dual and plural numbers are marked by *-hni?* and *-khól* respectively on Stem I verbs to construct clauses in imperative mood in Hyow (see §11.6.1.1). In addition, there is a politeness marker *-æ*. A singular imperative takes this suffix by default. The polite dual and plural imperative verbs are marked by the number markers preceding the politeness suffix (see §11.6.1.2). The singular and plural polite imperatives are marked by *-æ* and *-khól* in (221) and (222) respectively, where Stem I verbs are used.

(221) *èyhnəʔlàtsə “phítđ áldéyá” títg tàktí.*

èy-hnəʔ-lá = tsə phít = đ á-lđ-êy-á
 ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ = TOP basket = EMPH DIR-**bring**.I-MID-POL

 títg ták = tí
 QT tell.II=R.EVID

‘Finally after that, she said, “Go to bring a basket yourself.”’

[ZM_TDG_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_017]

(222) *èydđ, èy pənhitsə, màʔtsə hlákéyálkhólá.*

èydđ èy pón-hí = tsə máʔ-tsə **hlák**-êy-âl-khól-á
 then ANAPH.DEM end.II-COND=TOP goat-DIM **scrape**.I-MID-DEP-IMP.PL-POL

‘Then, if that ends, scrape off (the skin of) the goat (you all) yourselves.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_075]

6.2.3.4 Positive-Negative polarity

Clauses with negative polarity always take Stem I verbs, while clauses with positive polarity generally take Stem II verbs in Hyow. There are very few examples in Hyow where a clause with positive polarity can take a Stem I verb. However, in such instances, suffixal person markers are used instead of usual prefixal person markers on Stem II verbs with positive polarity. The clauses in (223) and (224) exemplify what has been just explained here. The concessive dependent clause with positive polarity has taken a Stem II verb, *hmúʔ* ‘see’, while the matrix clause with negative polarity has taken a Stem I verb, *hmú* ‘see’ in (223). Likewise, both the matrix clauses with negative polarity in (224) have Stem I verbs.

(223) *èythôn, úhmù?thôn, hmùâ? \.*

èy-thôn	ú-hmù?-thôn	hmù-á?
ANAPH.DEM-CONCESS	3A- see.II -CONCESS	see.I -3SG.NEG

‘Even if it was that, even if he saw, he did not see.’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0040]

(224) *èytà?kòntsâ, èy bènàtiú. èytsâ, èy khóytsíp-tsô króální, bènàtiú \.*

èy = tó? = kón = tsâ	èy	bó -ná-tí-ú
ANAPH.DEM=LIM=ABL=TOP	ANAPH.DEM	pour.I -SPNT-NITER-3PL.NEG

èy = tsâ	èy	khóytsíp-tsô	krô-âl-ní
ANAPH.DEM=TOP	ANAPH.DEM	ring-DIM	fall-DEP-TEMP

bó-ná-tí-ú

pour.I-SPNT-NITER-3PL.NEG

‘After that, they did not pour that spontaneously anymore. That, when that ring fell down, they did not pour (water) spontaneously anymore.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_240]

The following example in (225) illustrates that a matrix clause with positive polarity can have a Stem I verb in Hyow. However, this kind of clause must be very old, since the verbs take suffixal person markers. Moreover, examples of such clauses are very rare in the Hyow corpus. Semantically, they differ from the usual positive polarity clauses with Stem II verbs in that the focus of the predicate is on the A argument rather than on the P argument. In (225), the matrix clause is emphasizing on ‘the people’ (the semantic agent and the A argument), who took all the good rifles, so the main character in the story did not have any good rifles left to take (mentioned in the next clause in the text). In this example, the verbal modifiers function as headless NPs.

(225) *tsùkhóllàtsâ, tsètúlàtsâ, hníbók ópôy ópôy ópôy ópôy tsíeytsàkdàkû \.*

tsú-khól = lâ = tsâ	tsét-ú-lá = tsâ	hníbók	ó-pôy	ó-pôy
DIST-EXP=ERG=TOP	go-3PL-SEQ=TOP	rifle	GRP-be.good	GRP-be.good
ó-pôy	ó-pôy	tsí-êy-tsák-dók-ú		
GRP-be.good	GRP-be.good	take.I-MID-COMPL-ANT-3PLA		

‘After they went, they had taken the good rifles completely.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_103]

6.2.3.5 Dependent clause types

Adverbial clauses are connected to matrix clauses by clause-linking suffixes (see §9.3). Among these dependent clauses, the sequential (see §12.4.1.13), circumstantial (see §§12.4.1.9), simultaneous (see §12.4.1.8), motivational purposive (see §12.4.1.7), posterior temporal (see §12.4.1.10) and non-canonical dependent clause with positive polarity carry Stem I verbs. Along with Stem I verbs, sequential dependent clauses also require suffixal person markers, as exemplified in (226). Rest of the other dependent clauses (with positive polarity) – temporal (see §12.4.1.1), conditional (see §12.4.1.2), concessive (see §12.4.1.3), reason (see §12.4.1.4), purposive (§12.4.1.6), anterior temporal (see §12.4.1.12) and delimitative (see §12.4.1.5) – require Stem II verbs and prefixal person markers, as in (227).

(226) *ámèbálá, álòbálá, èyông, námâ, tsètálhlô.*

á-mè-bá-lá	á-ló-bá-lá	èy = ông	nâm = â
DIR-steal.I-3SG-SEQ	DIR-bring.I-3SG-SEQ	ANAPH.DEM = INE	village = LOC
tsét-âl-hlô			
go-DEP-PM			

‘After he stole (food), after he brought (food), he went into that, in the village.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0052]

The clauses in bold type in (227) are all conditional dependent clauses, where only the verb *hmúʔ* ‘see.II’ has a phonologically distinct Stem I verb. In other two conditional clauses, the stems of the verbs lack Stem II variants.

(227) *èydê, náméngdê hmútó ínìlòhìtsê, máné, hmútó íníméyhìtsê, hmútó pòydê
hmùʔhìtsê, èy hmútóéngkhôl hmútóéngkhôl kràkêy. ólótê hmútóéngkhôl hyôl.*

èydê	nám = êng = dê	hmútó	í-ní-lò-hí = tsê	máné
then	village=INE=EMPH	woman	3S-PL-come-COND=TOP	mean _B
hmútó	í-ní-méy-hí = tsê	hmútó	pôy = dê	hmúʔ-hí = tsê
woman	3S-PL-exist-COND=TOP	woman	be.good=EMPH	see.II-COND=TOP
èy	hmútó = êng = khôl	hmútó = êng = khôl	kràk-êy	
ANAPH.DEM	woman=COMT=ELAB	woman=COMT=ELAB	be.wicked-MID	
ólót = tsê	hmútó = êng = khôl	hyôl		
again=TOP	woman=COMT=ELAB	lie.down.I		

‘Then, if women come in the village, which means, if there are women, if he sees good women, he is wicked with them. Moreover, he lies down with them.’

[ZM_ARGS3a_082015_Hyow_0006_0005]

However, if the conditional dependent clause and other type of dependent clauses bears negative polarity, then the verb is in Stem I, as represented in (228). In such a situation, the morphosyntax of negation outweighs the morphosyntax of conditional in choosing the stem.

(228) *pékálá. èy khóytsíp-tsô-dô tsí-éy-ngá-hí, tsèthnúnghnò-ngá.*

pék-âl-æ èy khóytsíp-tsô = dô tsí-éy-ngá-hí
 give.I-DEP-POL ANAPH.DEM ring-DIM=EMPH **take.I-MID-1SG.NEG-COND**
 tsét-hnûng-hnó?-ngá
 go-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-1SG.NEG

‘Give! If I do not take that ring, I will not be able to go.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_185]

Based on her survey on five Kuki-Chin languages, King (2009: 152) argues that clauses in irrealis mood in Kuki-Chin languages use Stem I verbs, though she shows second type of example where the verbs take Stem II in conditional clauses in several Northern and Southern Chin languages.

6.2.3.6 Interrogative clause

Unlike some Kuki-Chin languages, Hyow uses Stem II verbs in both polar and content questions. The verbs of the interrogative clauses in (229) have Stem II forms, while the negative clause in the same example has a Stem I verb.

(229) *“núhmù?éy↗? nóshòtáy↗? móngdó” tîng. “shó?, shòngá.” tîng.*

nú-hmù? = éy nó-shót-éy móngdó = ô tîng shó?
 2SGA-see.II=POL.Q 2A-look.II=POL.Q husband=VOC QT no
 shó-ngá tîng
 look.I-1SG.NEG QT

‘She said, “O husband, did you see? Did you look?” He said, “No, I did not look.” [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_060]

Similarly, content questions also require Stem II verbs, as illustrated in (230), where the interrogative clause has a Stem II verb and the negative clause has a Stem I verb.

(230) *átàkní “mòáâm tîng káytsê hmùngánú nàngtsê mòâ núhmú?hóâm” tîng.*

á-ták-ní	mòâ = êm	tîng kây = tsê	hmú-ngâ-nú
3A-tell.II-TEMP	where-Q	QT 1SG=TOP	see.I-1SG.NEG-EVID
náng = tsê	móâ	nú-hmú?-hê = êm	tîng
2SG=TOP	where	2A-see.II-PM=CONT.Q	QT

‘When she (daughter) said, “Where? I do not see. Where did you see?” she (mother) replied, “See that, see that! The friends are going away.”

[ZM_SFA_MZK_062015_Hyow_0036_028]

6.2.3.7 Nominalized relative clause

A relative clause that relativizes an A argument requires a Stem I verb, which is similar to agentive nominalization. In fact, like other Kuki-Chin languages, Hyow can use an agentive nominalization construction as a relative clause, because the nominalizing suffix used in agentive nominalization also functions as a relativizer. The use of nominalization at the clausal level is a very common phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages (see DeLancey 2011, Genetti 2011, Genetti et al. 2008, Matisoff 1972 and Noonan 1997). Relative clauses in which P argument or oblique arguments are relativized require Stem II verbs in Hyow like other Kuki-Chin languages (see §12.4.2).

The relative clauses in square brackets in (231) are similar to agentive nominalizations, in which the A arguments are the relativized elements and the verbs have Stem I forms.

(231) *èydê, hmútóŋgtsê ánílá ní kây phálátsê hmòttí?, tànhá òngtí?. èykòntsê ánítsê úlúkíá mēy.*

èydê hmútó = êng = tsê ání = lâ = ní kây phía = lâ = tsê [hmót.I-tí?]_{RC}
 then woman=INE=TOP 3SG=ERG=FOC 1SG wife=ERG [know.I-NMLZ]
 [tán-há óng-tí?]_{RC} èy = kón = tsê ání = tsê
 [CLS-ten pass.I-NMLZ] ANAPH.DEM=ABL=TOP 3SG=TOP
 ú-lúkí-á mēy
 3SG-head-ADD exist

‘Then, among the women, only she, my wife, who knows and who passed class ten, she is intelligent among them too (literally, she has a head also from them).

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_007]

To summarize, Table 87 lists the morphosyntactic environments where Stem I and Stem II verbs are used in Hyow. All the situations have similar kind of verb-stem usage in Hyow, as in other Kuki-Chin languages, except for the interrogative clause and the non-adverbial clause.

Morphosyntactic environment	Stem I	Stem II
Agentive nominalization	✓	
Intransitive clause	✓	
Negative Clause	✓	
Dependent Clause (sequential, circumstantial, simultaneous, motivational purposive, anterior temporal and non-canonical)	✓	
Non-agentive nominalization		✓
Transitive clause		✓
Middle		✓
Affirmative Clause		✓
Interrogative Clause		✓
Dependent Clause (temporal, reason, concessive, conditional, delimitative, posterior temporal)		✓

Table 87: Distribution of Stem I and Stem II verbs

6.3 BASIC CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

This section discusses a basic classification of Hyow verbs. The semantic core of propositions or clauses depends on verbs. Givón (2001: 105) says that semantically verbs are primarily characterized by the semantic roles of the participants of states or events that they code. Syntactically, verbs are characterized by the grammatical roles of the participants. Based on these semantic and syntactic features of verbs, which build the core concept of transitivity, I discuss the basic types of Hyow verbs in the following subsections.

6.3.1 TRANSITIVITY

In the continuum of transitivity, proposed by Hopper & Thompson 1980, transitivity is measured in reference of each parameter set by the authors (Hopper & Thompson, 1980: 252). There are ten parameters in the continuum, and based on these various parameters, transitivity of a clause can be said to be either high or low (see Hopper & Thompson, 1980: 252-255). According to the parameters of the transitivity continuum, a clause with a single participant can be more transitive than a clause with two participants. On the other hand, according to VanValin & LaPolla, 1997: 147-153), transitivity of verbs or clauses are determined by the macroroles that they take. According to the macroroles, there is no ditransitive verb, since a verb can have two macroroles maximally. I do not use RRG completely to identify the classes of verbs in Hyow, but I use aktionsart in describing different classes of verbs in Hyow. Aktionsart refers to the inherent temporal quality of a verb (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 92). Therefore, according to the internal temporal nature of verbs, they can be static/non-static, bounded/un-bounded and punctual/non-punctual.

6.3.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Typically, a single core argument involved in a state, event or action characterizes an intransitive verb. Intransitive verbs can be discussed by the aktionsart of verbs. There are four types of aktionsart – state, achievement, activity and accomplishment.

Verbs that express states formulate the semantic core of propositions signifying states, where no changes of actions are involved. They can be characterized as [+static], [-telic] and [-punctual]. Other than being used as predicates, stative verbs function as verbal modifiers in Hyow. Hyow stative verbs are different from verbs that express accomplishments from a number of morphosyntactic perspectives. Those that encode referents' inherent states are obligatorily marked by the generic referential prefix in citation forms and when they are used as headless NPs, as in *í-hmín* (GRP-be.ripe) 'be ripe', *ǣ-yǣl* (GRP-be.cold) 'be cold', *ǣ-kræk* (GRP-be.cracked) 'be cracked', etc. In contrast, verbs that express accomplishments are not marked by the generic referential prefix in citation forms; nor they can function as headless NPs, e.g. *krûy* 'be crushed', *hyǣ?* 'be cursed', *khók* 'be expensive', *d#* 'die' etc.

The difference between verbs that express states and verbs that express accomplishments can be explained from an example. The verbs *ś-wśp* (GRP-be.blurry) ‘be blurry’ and *hmúp* ‘be blurry’ express meaning consistent with blurriness. However, the verb *ś-wśp* (GRP-be.blurry) ‘be blurry’ is characterized by [+static], [-telic] and [-punctual] features, and the verb *hmúp* ‘be blurry’ is characterized by [-static], [+telic] and [-punctual] features. Moreover, stative verbs function as verbal modifiers by following nouns, but accomplishment verbs cannot function as nominal attributes by following nouns. Generally, verbs of the stative class do not take any progressive aspectual marker and are temporally unbounded (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 91-94).

The stative verb *ś-m̂* (GRP-be.dark) ‘be dark’ in (232) is referring to the state of the eyes of a referent of the third person singular S argument. This could be an example of either a permanent or a temporary state, considering that the referred participant might be able to see again after a medical treatment. This verb is obligatorily marked by the generic referential prefix in citation forms and in headless NPs, and can function as verbal modifier by following a noun.

(232) *hóngbàlá, shòtní, èydô, é-mík m̂*

<i>hóng-bá-lá</i>	<i>shót-ní</i>	<i>èydô</i>	<i>é-mík</i>	<i>m̂</i>
open-3SG-SEQ	look.II-TEMP	then	3SG.POSS-eye	be.dark

‘After he opened (his eyes), when he looked (at that), then his eyes were blind.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_100]

Verbs that are temporally bounded, non-static and punctual express the achievement aktionsart. They encode prompt changes in states and activities. In other words, they take place instantaneously, which is evident from the example in (233). Here, the verb *hyám* ‘faint’ expresses a punctual state of affairs, which is temporally bounded, and there is no internal duration involved.

(233) *ètəʔəŋg íníhyámhnəʔtí.*

ètə = təʔ = əŋg

í-ní-hyám-hnəʔ = tí

ANAPH.DEM=DLIM=INE

3S-PL-faint-ULT=R.EVID

‘Within that, they fainted ultimately.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_102]

Verbs that express accomplishments are temporally bound, and non-punctual. They happen over a period. The verb *káw* ‘become separated’ in (234) is an example of an accomplishment verb. As the verb *káw* ‘become separated’ does not encode an inherent state, it cannot function as a verbal modifier by following a noun.

(234) *“nəhngəʔg núpúm lá núlúkí íníkàwəʔyhyə.” tɪŋ.*

nə-hngəʔl

nú-púm

nú-lúkí

2SG.POSS-throat

2SG.POSS-body

2SG.POSS-head

í-ní-káw-əʔy-hyə

tɪŋ

3S-PL-be.separated-IRR-PM

QT

‘He said, “Your throat, your body and your head will become separated.”’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_031]

The stative verb that expresses the state of separation is *ə-hngəʔ* (GRP-be.separated) ‘be separated’. In a context, where a separation happens between parents and children, e.g. death, then the state verb *ə-hngəʔ* (GRP-be.separated) ‘be separated’ is used.

As opposed to stative intransitive verbs, activity verbs are characterized by [-static], [-telic] and [-punctual] features. Activity verbs are generally known as dynamic verbs. These verbs are inherently temporally unbounded, unlike the accomplishment verbs. Examples of activity intransitive verbs include *tsón* ‘run’, *tsèt* ‘go’, *thók* ‘itch’ etc.

The example in (235) illustrates the activity verb *tsón* ‘run’. It is understood from the example that the activity of running is not temporally bounded, but it is dynamic.

(235) *kêy hmóyhmó dédé= ní shò shông í-ní-tsón-hnô kúhmú? \.*

kêy hmóyhmó dédé= ní shò shông í-ní-tsón-hnô kú-hmú?
 1SG front through=FOC wild.pig herd 3S-PL-run-PM 1A-see.II

‘I saw that the herd of the wild pigs ran through my front.’

[ZM-HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0058]

Activity verbs can be converted to accomplishment verbs by adding the departative suffix *-âl* encoding the termination of an activity as exemplified in (236).

(236) *èydô èy pón-ông tsúhò?yá íhni?tsétâl. íhni?tsónâl.*

èydô èy pón-ông tsú-hó?y = á í-hni?-tsét-âl
 then ANAPH.DEM END-TEMP DIST-DU-ADD 3S-DL-go-DEP
 í-hni?-tsón-âl
 3S-DL-run-DEP

‘Then, when that ended, those two also went away. They ran away.’

[ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_019]

The dynamic verbs *tsét* ‘go’ and *tsón* ‘run’ are telic in (236) (temporally bounded), since the departative suffix is pointing to the termination of the events in the relevant predicates. This example is taken from a video stimulus and in the described context, two octopuses ran away from the people who bought one of the octopuses and was transferring it into another place. The octopus that was still in the shop helped the octopus (that was bought and was being transferred) get free.

It is important to explain that the telicity of an event might not be expressed morphologically only, as exemplified in (236), rather it can be expressed syntactically

also. The verb *móp* ‘slip’ in (237) encodes a telic event, which is expressed by the sequential dependent clause. Again, the verb *krô* is an example of an atelic event.

(237) *hlók-báéngní mópbálá, èykón krô.*

[hlók-báé]_{COMP} = éng = ní **móp**-bá-lá èy = kón **krô**

[landing] = INE = FOC **slip**-3SG-SEQ ANAPH.DEM = ABL **fall**

‘Slipping from the stair landing, she fell from there.’

[ZM_SFM_HP_122013_Hyow_0040_018]

6.3.3 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs require minimum two core arguments. In Hyow, regardless of semantic roles, if there is an A and a P argument, then the verb is considered a transitive verb, which is identified by an overt marking. Prototypical transitive verbs, which are called primary transitive verbs (PTVS) by Andrews (2007: 185), involve a context where one participant acts on another participant, and due to the performed action, one participant is affected. Examples of such contexts are given in (238) and (239). In (238), the referent of the A argument acts on the referent of the P argument. Here, the A argument is not overtly expressed, but it can be traced in the previous discourse. Due to performed action by the agent, (here, a woman) the patient (here, a baby bird) is affected. If the A argument were overtly expressed, then it would have been marked by the ergative case clitic, which is a morphosyntactic strategy to mark a A argument (only third person) in Hyow. There is no case marking of the affected patient in Hyow (see §10.2.2). This example depicts that the verb *túk* ‘kill.II’ has two core arguments – an agent and a patient. And so, this is a transitive verb.

(238) *èy lùàkní tùktàhnò?tí hárê.*

èy lù-ák = ní **túk**-tá-hnó? = tí hárê

ANAPH.DEM CLS-one=FOC **kill.II**-ITER-ULT=R,EVID DP

‘Again like before, she killed that baby bird, understand?’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0017]

Similarly, there are two arguments of the verb *shóʔ* ‘hack.II’ in (239). The referent of the absent A argument acts on the referent of the P argument *hmútótsô* ‘girl’ in the exemplified situation in (239). Consequently, the referent of the P argument is affected.

(239) *èy hmútótsóní shòʔhnòʔtí*

<i>èy</i>	<i>hmútótsô = ní</i>	<i>shóʔ-hnóʔ = tí</i>
ANAPH.DEM	girl=FOC	hack.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘He finally hacked that girl.’ [ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0044]

Referents of all the noun A arguments do not directly act on the referents of the P arguments. For example, the verb *hmót* ‘know.II’ in (240) includes two core arguments – an A and a P. However, the referent of the A argument do not affect the referent of the P argument by the act of knowing. Here, the A argument is an experiencer semantically. Yet, the A argument is marked by the ergative case clitic in (240). It indicates that Hyow treats agent and agent like arguments similarly.

(240) *èyhúʔytsê áníʔláhá íníhmòtthô hngúdâ.*

<i>èyhúʔy = tsê</i>	<i>áníʔ = lá = há</i>	<i>í-ní-hmót-thô</i>	<i>hngúdâ</i>
like.that=TOP	3PL=ERG=ADD	3A-INV-know.II-PM	DP

‘They also know you like that, OK?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0084]

On the other hand, referent of all the P arguments are not affected by the referents of the A arguments. Therefore, arguments of a transitive verb semantically play roles of an agent, patient, instrument, force, undergoer, receiver or benefactor and syntactically play the roles of a A and a P (see Bybee 1985, Dixon 2012, Givón 2001, Hopper & Thompson 1980, LaPolla 2011, Ramchand 2008 and Van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

Depending on the number of arguments, transitive verbs have different valences. However, no example of taking more than three core arguments by a transitive verb is found in Hyow.

6.3.3.1 Monotransitive verbs

A monotransitive verb requires two core arguments, which can play different semantic roles in different contexts. Regardless of their semantic roles, the core arguments of a monotransitive verb play the grammatical functions of an A and a P. The verbs *mól* ‘hit’ and *bóp* ‘beat’ in (241) are monotransitives. There are two arguments of both the verbs in (241).

(241) *èyní, èyâ ímâ íphíá ómólálhlô hngúdâ. tháshá óbòpphô.*

èy = ní	èy = â	ím = â	í-phíá
ANAPH.DEM=FOC	ANAPH.DEM=FOC	house=LOC	3SG.POSS-wife
ó-môl-âl-hlô	hngúdâ	tháshá	ó-bóp-phô
3A-SG-hit.II-DEP-PM	DP	very	3A-beat.II-PM

‘After that, he hit his wife there in the house, OK? He beat her very much with a stick.’ [ZM_GSS1_082015_Hyow_0015_0007]

In (241), both the referents of P arguments (the wife [same in both the clauses]) are affected by the actions initiated by the referents of A arguments (the husband [same in both the clauses]). It is important to notice that the full nouns, which function as A, are not overtly present in the context. However, they are marked by the argument indexes prefixally on the respective verbs in (241). On the contrary, both the arguments of the monotransitive verb *túk* ‘kill’, a third person singular A and a second person singular P are present in the matrix clause in example (242). In the initial dependent clause, the second person A argument is indexed on the dependent verb *túk* ‘kill’. The third person P argument is not marked on the verb, which follows a hierarchy for argument indexation (see §7.3.1 and §10.2.3). However, the verb of the final matrix clause is marked for the third person singular argument. Since a third person is ranked lower than the second person is, there is also an inverse prefix marked on the verb in (242).

(242) *khrông nútùkhitsê, khrónglâ náng í-ní-túk-âl-hlô.*

khrông nú-túk-hí = tsê khróng = lâ náng í-ní-túk-âl-hlô
 person 2A-kill.II-COND=TOP person=ERG 2SG 3A-INV-DEP-PM

‘If you kill a man, a man kills you.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_069]

6.3.3.2 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs require more than two participants. Situations encoded by ditransitive verbs include an A, a P and a D (dative) argument. Dative arguments are overtly marked by a dative case clitic (see §10.3.1.3). However, a dative argument of a ditransitive verb is regarded as a core argument, because the dative argument is marked on the verb if it ranks higher than the P argument, which is based on the person hierarchy – 1, 2 > 3 (animate) > inanimate. If a ditransitive has a second person A, a third person P and a first person D, then the verb is marked for the first person D argument, because first person ranks higher than the third person does. On the other hand, if a ditransitive verb has a second person A, a first person P and a third person D, then the verb is marked for the first person. The D argument remains marked by the dative case clitic regardless its indexation on the verb, and the P argument remains case-unmarked morphosyntactically like other transitive verbs. Therefore, the marking of the D argument by the dative case clitic, the unmarked P argument and the indexation of the D argument (based on the person hierarchy) on the verb differentiate a ditransitive verb from a monotransitive verb, which include two core arguments. The verbs ‘send’, ‘give’, etc. are examples of typical ditransitive verbs. There are three arguments of the verb *shán* ‘send’ in (243) – a first person A, a third person P and a third person D. Since the D argument is a third person, it is not marked on the verb *shán* ‘send’, but it is overtly marked by the dative case clitic =*á*.

(243) *káhlá-êy khôá ání ní kēy tsó káshân*.

ká-hlá-êy khô = â ání = á = ní kēy tsó ká-shán
 1A-want.II-MID time=LOC 3SG=DAT=FOC 1SG letter 1A-send.II

‘During the time I liked her, I sent letters to her.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_009]

In (244), the ditransitive verb *pék* ‘give.II’ of the matrix clause has a second person singular A argument, third person singular P argument and a first person D argument. The dative argument is not overtly expressed in this example. However, it is marked on the verb. According to the person hierarchy, first and second person arguments hold the same position. As a result, the core D argument is marked by the prefix *ì-*. The second person A argument is not marked on the verb, instead there is an inverse marker attached to the verb *pék* ‘give.II in (244). The inverse marker is also attached to the verb that has a first person A and second person P.

(244) *tsólí kúhlá-êy-hyô kóông, nàng ní ìnípèk-æ?y-lá?-hô*.

tsólí kú-hlá-êy-hyô kóông náng = ní
 job 1A-want-MID-PM because 2SG=FOC

ì-ní-pék-æ?y-lá?-hô

1P-INV-IRR-OBLG-PM

‘Because I want the job for myself, you will have to give me the job.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0067]

Ditransitive verbs can be derived from monotransitive verbs through valence increasing operations in Hyow. Like other Kuki-Chin languages (Bedell 1997, 2003; Hartmann 2009: 189-209; Peterson 1998, 2004), Hyow also has several applicative suffixes and causative suffix in order to derive ditransitive verbs from monotransitive verbs (see §8.3.2 and §8.3.3).

6.4 MIDDLE VERBS

Middle verbs encode a wide range of middle situations in Hyow, which is typologically similar to what Kemmer 1993 discusses cross-linguistically. Middle verbs predicate events where actions or states affect actors of verbs (Barber, 1975: 21; Lyons 1969: 373). In this sense, middle verbs encode self-directed events, which are similar to direct reflexives (LaPolla, 1994: 1161). However, middle verbs are different from direct reflexives in that the nature of a referent as an actor and the nature of a referent as an undergoer in middle situations are not as distinct as in reflexive situations (LaPolla, 1994: 1161). In this regard, (Kemmer 1993: 208) explains that the subparts of complex events— low elaboration of participants in events or more generally, low elaboration of events, attached to middle situations are not as discernible as direct reflexive situations. Nonetheless, I have included reflexives and reciprocals under this section, as the basic function of middle verbs, reflexives and reciprocals are similar – to encode the affectedness of an actor. They are also marked by the same suffix *-êy*.

According to Kemmer's (1993: 25) criteria, Hyow can be considered a one-form middle language like German, French, Dulong and Lai, because the middle marker *-êy* is also used to mark direct reflexive and reciprocal verbs in Hyow. The middle marker originates in the reflexive marker diachronically (Croft, Skyldkrot & Kemmer 1987 and LaPolla 1994). LaPolla (1994: 1165) argues referring Croft, Skyldkrot and Kemmer (1987: 188) that the most common source of a middle marker is a reflexive historically, which gets extended to the marking middle situations over a period of time. For Dulong, LaPolla (1994: 1166) proposes that the spread of the reflexive marker have gone through several stages, which include marking prototypical reflexives first, then marking less prototypical reflexives and finally, marking middle situations. Croft, Skyldkrot and Kemmer 1987 propose the same. Accordingly, it is plausible to assume that the Hyow middle marker *-êy* originates from the source reflexive marker. Wolfenden (1929: 195) mentions a *-e* suffix for marking reciprocity or mutuality in Southern Chin languages. He also reports that relatively younger Southern Chin languages use this suffix, while older languages use prefixes. The following subsections focus on different types of middle situations along with reflexives and reciprocals.

6.4.1 DIRECT REFLEXIVE VERBS

Hyow direct reflexives take the suffix *-êy*, which is formally similar to the middle marker. Since reflexives, reciprocals and middles have some semantic correlation, I call the marker as ‘middle marker/suffix’ for all these three types of constructions. Prototypical direct reflexives involve two-participant single events, where initiators and endpoints (following Kemmer 1993) are the same or coreferential. Simply put, the actor acts on himself or herself in a reflexive situation. Kemmer (1993: 47) defines a reflexive marker as ‘a productive grammatical device that is used obligatorily to mark direct reflexive context in at least the third person.’

Hyow reflexive verbs take Stem II, which functionally focuses on the affectedness of the referent of a P argument (which is same as the actor in a reflexive situation). The verb *kân* ‘cover’ is a transitive verb, which requires two participants. With the middle suffix attached to it, the verb gives a reflexive meaning, as exemplified in (245). The initiator of the action and the endpoint of the action are same, which is a referent of the third person singular argument *shámák* ‘son-in-law’ in (245).

(245) *ání krô-hnô?lâtsâ, “í-ôm èy tsâ kêy shámáklâtsâ ôhmôydô kânéynû”.*

ání krô-hnô?-lá = tsâ	í-ôm	èy = tsâ	kêy
3PL fall-ULT-SEQ=TOP	what-Q	ANAPH.DEM	1SG
shámák = lâ = tsâ	ô-hmôy = dô	~~kân~~ -êy = nû	
son.in.law=ERG=TOP	3SG.POSS-face	cover.II-MID=SS.EVID	

‘After they arrived (literally, after they fall), he (father-in-law) said, “What is that? My son-in-law covered his (own) face.”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_052]

Transitive verbs, ‘see’, ‘look’, ‘find’, ‘get’, etc., inevitably have ambiguous meanings when they are used in reflexive constructions, especially in a language in which the core arguments are very frequently elided in texts. An equivalent of the sentence *He saw himself* in Hyow means either ‘the actor saw her own picture on a

mirror’ or ‘she saw something by herself not someone else’ or ‘the actor gave birth to a child’. The first meaning corresponds to a direct reflexive event, whereas the second meaning corresponds to an emphatic, and the third one illustrates a derivational use. The semantics of the emphatic essentially functions to outweigh a participant in contrast to other potential participants. Kemmer (1993: 47) argues that the reflexive marker tends to derive from an emphatic marker through a diachronic process of becoming a grammatical element. It is used to mark coreferential participants in a direct situation from a pragmatic element to single out a participant in an emphatic situation. Therefore, she claims that the reflexive marker is obligatory in a direct reflexive situation, while in an emphatic situation it is not. To illustrate, the verb *bân* ‘get’ is a transitive verb. In (246), the verb *bân* has two distinct participants – a human initiator, *nû* ‘mother’ and a non-human endpoint, *dúkhá?* ‘suffering’. However, the reflexive suffix extends the meaning as an emphatic in (246) because with a reflexive meaning, the sentence is regarded ungrammatical in Hyow. If a Hyow intends to say that a person is responsible for his own sufferings, he has to say *èy = lâ ú-púm = â dúkhá? pèk-èy-hyô* (ANAPH.DEM=ERG own=DAT trouble give-MID-PM). Therefore, the suffix *-èy* in the verb *bân-èy* in (246) emphasizes the event of having sufferings. Without the middle suffix, the sentence will be still grammatical. The verb *bân-èy* in (246) also expresses that the referents of the human actors are affected by the events predicated.

(246) *nûlâ dúkhá? bân-èy. pólâ dúkhá? bân-èy. èytsæ iá hmòtû \.*

<i>nû = lâ</i>	<i>dúkhá?</i>	<i>bân-èy</i>	<i>pô = lâ</i>	<i>dúkhá?</i>	<i>bân-èy</i>
mother=ERG	trouble	get-MID	father=ERG	trouble	get-MID
<i>èy = tsæ</i>	<i>ía</i>	<i>hmót-ú</i>			
ANAPH.DEM	nothing	know.I-3PL.NEG			

‘They (the daughters) did not know anything of that that the mother got troubles, the father got troubles’ [ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0084]

Hyow treats some of the verbs that Kemmer 1993 calls ‘grooming’ middle verbs as transitives, not as middles. Therefore, when an actor performs the action on himself or herself, the verb has to take the middle suffix to express a reflexive

meaning. As an example, in (247), the referent of the A argument, a singular third person, performs the grooming action on himself. Therefore, the middle suffix is attached to it.

(247) *èydô úlúkí háng háng khá?-êy-âl = tí*

èydô	ú-lúkí	háng háng	khá?-êy-âl = tí
then	3SG.POSS-head	all	shave.II-MID-DEP=R.EVID

‘Then, he shaved all his head himself.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_246]

6.4.2 RECIPROCAL VERBS

Reciprocal situations are different from reflexive situations in that there are low elaborations of events in reciprocal situations, since both of the agents in such situations act upon each other at the same time. Two types of reciprocal situations can be identified – prototypical reciprocal events and naturally reciprocal events. Kemmer (1993: 95) shows that the relation between a prototypical reciprocal and a natural reciprocal narrowly equals the relation between the reflexive and their associated middle types (see §6.4.4).

Prototypical reciprocal events represent situations where two participants stand to each other, while the natural reciprocal events are essentially and very recurrently reciprocal (Lichtenberk, 1985: 21-23). Lichtenberk (1985) also points out two temporal features corresponding to these two types of reciprocal verbs. His temporal features – simultaneity and sequentiality roughly correspond to natural reciprocal events and prototypical reciprocal events respectively. Based on these two temporal features of Lichtenberk (1985: 24), Kemmer (1993: 112) characterizes natural reciprocal events by a low degree of elaborations of situations. The low degree of elaboration of situations includes the relative distinguishability of participants and relative distinguishability of subevents that construct a complete situation. She characterizes prototypical reciprocal events by a high degree of distinguishability of actions performed by the two participants involved in given events.

In Hyow, the middle suffix is used to derive prototypical reciprocal verbs, while the naturally reciprocal verbs have the middle marker lexicalized in the verb root. The verb *shì-êy* (fight.I-MID) ‘quarrel’ derived from the transitive verb *shí* ‘fight.I’ expresses a naturally reciprocal event, where the performed actions by the two participants are simultaneous, as demonstrated by the example in (248). On the other hand, *bòp-êy* (beat-MID) ‘beat each other’ is an example of a prototypical reciprocal event, where the performed actions by the two participants are sequential. If there are two arguments A and B involved in the prototypical reciprocal event of beating, then after the referent of the A argument beats the referent of the B argument, the referent of the B argument beats the referent of the A argument, as exemplified in (248).

(248) *króngshángní èyhyô í-hní?shíêy í-hní?bòpéyní èydô èyniàní ínítàktí.*

króngsháng = ní	èy-hyô	í-hní?-shíêy	í-hní?-bòp-êy-ní
right.away=FOC	FILL-PM	3S-DL-quarrel	3A-DL-beat.II-MID-TEMP
èydô	èy = ní = á = ní	í-ní-ták = tí	
then	ANAPH.DEM=FOC=LOC	3A-PL-tell.II=R.EVID	

‘He did that right away. They quarreled. When they beat each other, then they (uncles) told him that.’ [ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_HYOW_0032_018]

Both the natural reciprocal and prototypical reciprocal events involve apparently separate subevents, which are discernible. However, the subevents in a prototypical reciprocal event are more discernible than the subevents in a naturally reciprocal event (Kemmer, 1993: 112).

6.4.3 DEPONENT VERBS

Deponents are middle verbs that do not have any unmarked counterparts. The deponents have the middle suffix *-êy* lexicalized in Hyow. The deponents do not allow any inflectional category in between the root and the lexicalized middle suffix. Moreover, without the lexicalized suffix, the use of the root is ungrammatical and meaningless. Table 88 lists some of the deponents in Hyow.

Deponents	Gloss
ngóêy	‘alert’
hlé?êy	‘look back’
yùmêy	‘believe
ngówêy	‘bite’
tsùnêy	endure

Table 88: Deponents in Hyow

Crosslinguistically, deponents are a separate verb class based on specific semantics that they carry. Many of these deponents in Hyow can also be categorized as other types of middles that Kemmer (1993: 108) suggests. They do not necessarily bear any meanings encoded by reflexives or their associated type verbs. The verb *ngówêy* ‘bite’ is used only when any non-human referent bites a human referent. In (249), with the middle suffix lexicalized to the verb, the verb does not bear any reflexive meaning nor it is used in a construction where the participants cannot be distinguished or there is not a low elaboration of the event.

(249) *èylâ iníngówéyà?yhyóds tîng.*

èy = lâ	ì-ní-ngówêy-æ?y-hyô = dâ	tîng
ANAPH.DEM = ERG	1P-INV-bite-IRR-PM = EMPH	QT

‘He said, “That (tiger) will really bite me.”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_050]

6.4.4 GROOMING VERBS

Verbs related to grooming body parts belong to the class of middle verbs, since the predicated events have lower distinguishability than direct reflexives and higher distinguishability than one-participant events (see Croft, Skyldkrot & Kemmer, 1987: 181; Kemmer 1993: 70). Syntactically, grooming verbs include two participants, where the Endpoint of the action is a body part of the Initiator of the action. Like one-form middle languages, these verbs are typically derived from unmarked transitive

verbs in Hyow. Following Kemmer (1993: 71), Figure 50 represents situations encoded by grooming verbs, where X denotes the Initiator and the Endpoint involved.

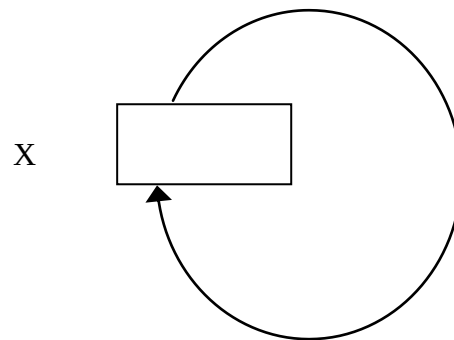


Figure 50: A middle schema for grooming verbs

The grooming middle verbs *thùkêy* ‘wash head’ and *hlòêy* ‘wash face’ in (250) are derived from the respective unmarked transitive verbs.

(250) *lùtsô mùm-tsô thùkéyngbàlatsâ, émiktsô óhmóytsô óhlóngtsô hlóéyngbàlatsâ, úbù?hódâ.*

lú-tsô	múm-tsô	thúk.I-êy-ông-bá-lá = tsâ	é-mík-tsô
head-DIM	EE-DIM	wash.II-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ-TOP	3SG.POSS-eye-DIM
ó-hmôy-tsô	ó-hlóng-tsô	hló-êy-ông-bá-lá = tsâ	
3SG.POSS-face-DIM	3SG.POSS-EE-DIM	wash.I-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP	
ú-bú?-hâ = dâ			
3A-cook-PM=EMPH			

‘Having her head washed and the like, having her eyes and her face washed, she cooked.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_045]

6.4.5 BODY POSTURE AND ACTION VERBS

Verbs of the body posture category – *hyóʔ* ‘lie down.II’, *óm* ‘sit down.II’, *yáʔ* ‘stand up.II’ and *khóʔ* ‘kneel down.II’ do not take middle markers in Hyow, which is evidence of the idiosyncratic nature of middle marking systems crosslinguistically. However, some verbs of the body action category belong to the class of middle verbs. Body posture and action verbs represent middle situations that include low

distinguishable participants, who act to bring changes in the configuration of the body in reference to its position, or perform actions through or on the body parts. Body action verbs are different from nontranslational verbs (see §6.4.6) in that the body action events involve greater affectedness than the body posture events. Therefore, *sháây* ‘sneeze’, *hiley* ‘breathe’, and *ùkây* ‘belch’ belong to body action verbs.

6.4.6 NONTRANSLATIONAL VERBS

Nontranslational verbs encode middle situations in which movements of body parts without any change of locations occur. In other words, nontranslational verbs stand for actions of motor operations of the body or body parts (Kemmer, 1993: 56). The verb *hmây* ‘close eyes’ in (251) and *khápây* ‘blink’ in (262) are examples of nontranslational middle verbs. The verbs ‘close eyes’ and ‘blink’ represent events predicating nontranslational motor activities, which are treated as middle verbs in Hyow, following the typology that Kemmer 1993 presents.

(251) *ê, úhmù?hâ. émikní hmây. èy yòkkhâ. óhnóní póngéyshòkkhâ.*

ê	ú-hmù?-hâ	é-mík = ní	hmá-ây	èy
yes	3A-see.II-PM	3SG.POSS-eye=FOC	close.eye-MID	ANAPH.DEM
yók-khâ	ó-hnó = ní	póngây-shók-khâ		
hear-PM	3SG.POSS-ear=FOC	embrace-CAUS-PM		

‘Yes, he saw. He closed his eyes. He heard that he blocked (embraced) his ears.’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0042]

(252) *èydâ, kónóbôte émík khàpéybàlá, édèyâl.*

èydâ kónóbôte é-mík khàp-êy-bá-lá é-déy-âl
 then somehow_B 3SG.POSS-eye blink-MID-3SG-SEQ 3S-open.eye-DEP

‘Then, blinking his eyes somehow, he opened eyes.’

[ZM_GG_SPW_062007_Hyow_0033_024]

Some nontranslational verbs that Kemmer (1993: 56) lists e.g. ‘turn’ do not have any counterparts showing middle situations in the corpus of Hyow. However, verbs like *hlêy* ‘wave’, *òkêy* ‘bend’, *hláêy* ‘move by hands’, *phópêy* ‘flick’, *páékêy* ‘jump’, *shòtêy* ‘look for a little bit’ etc. predicate middle situations. The verb *khà?êy* ‘bow’ in (253) also has an unmarked form, without any deviation from the meaning.

(253) *bóhítsâ, kíníkhè?éyâ?yhàtthô.*

bóhí = tsâ kí-ní-khó?-êy-â?y-hàt-thô
 so = TOP 1A-INV-bow.II-MID-IRR-LV-PM

‘Therefore, I will leave bowing you.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0061]

6.4.7 TRANSLATIONAL VERBS

A translational verb includes a motion verb that predicates a situation where an entity travels through a path from one location to another location. The verbs of this category are intransitive in their roots. Therefore, sometimes the unmarked intransitive roots do not always have their marked counterparts as middle verbs in Hyow. For example, Kemmer (1993: 269) lists ‘go’, ‘fly’, ‘swim’, ‘leap’, ‘fall’ and ‘climb’ as translational middle verbs, which are not middle verbs in Hyow. However, there are some translational middle verbs in Hyow that are also listed by Kemmer 1993 – *tsènêy* ‘flee’, *tsónêy* ‘roam’, *tsàkêy* ‘move’, *tsètêy* ‘walk’, *thàkêy* ‘bolt’ and *wàkêy* ‘crawl’. The verbs *tsètêy* ‘walk’ and *tsónêy* ‘roam’ are derived from *tsét* ‘walk’ and *tsôn* ‘run’ respectively, which have different meanings from their derived counterparts. The example in (254) illustrates two translational middle situations.

(254) *ínítsèây ínítsónây íní?éyây ínòkkhòhù?yní* ㄣ.

í-ní-tsétây	í-ní-tsónây	í-ní-?ây-ây	í-ní-ók-khò-hù?yní
3S-PL-walk	3S-PL-roam	3A-PL-eat-MID	3A-PL-drink-PM-like=FOC

‘They walked, they roamed, they ate like the way they drank.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0025]

6.4.8 POSITIONAL VERBS

Some positional verbs are classified as middle verbs in Hyow, but not all the possible positional verbs that Kemmer (1993) listed as middles are considered middle verbs in Hyow. The verb *bótây* ‘be hung’ in (255), which has a Stem I form, is classified as a positional middle verb in Hyow.

(255) *èyâ póngkhótsô páyshâ? bôtâyhyô*.

èy = â	póngkhót-tsô	páy-shâ?	bót-ây-hyô
ANAPH.DEM=LOC	hand.carrying.bag-DIM	CLS-seven	be.hung-MID-PM

‘The seven hand carrying bags were hung there.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_094]

Positional middle verbs can overlap with body posture verbs, since a position of the whole body or a body part changes the normal posture of an animate referent. The verbs *òkêy* ‘be stuck’ and *kòpêy* ‘cling’ in (256) and (257) respectively are positional middle verbs in Hyow.

(256) *yáyátánng íhní?òkèyální, èy gárimò?á lóm hmùéyà?hò*

yáyátán = ãng í-hní?-ókêy-âl-ní èy gá-rí-mó? = á
 drying.rope=INE 3S-DL-be.stuck-DEP-TEMP ANAPH.DEM car-owner=ADD
 lóm hmú-êy-á?-hò
 road see.I-MID-3SG.NEG-PM

‘When they were stuck in a cloth drying rope, that car owner did not see the road while that (car) was on running.’

[ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_025]

(257) *èydô, hô lénnû khrá tsówání, kôybalâtsâ, ákòpéyhnè?tí.*

èydô hô lén nû khrá tsôw = â = ní kôy-bá-lá = tsâ
 then bird be.big mother wing bottom=LOC=FOC climb.up-3SG-SEQ=TOP
 á-kòpêy-hnó? = tí
 DIR-cling-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, climbing, he finally went to cling up at the bottom of the big bird’s mother’s wings.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_218]

6.4.9 EMOTION VERBS

Emotion verbs involve one-participant events that require sensitive entities, where the emotional actions take place in response to some stimuli. It is the stimulus that generates or provokes an emotional activity in the mental structure of the sensitive entity, who becomes an experiencer because of the performed action. The initiator and the experiencer of the event is the same entity. Emotion middle verbs involve a higher degree of affectedness of the experiencer. This category includes *kàêy* ‘fear’, *pyðêy* ‘be happy’, *dùêy* ‘be hungry’, *hàlêy* ‘be thirsty’, *nà?êy* ‘covet’, *hlówêy* ‘weep’, *théthóêy* ‘pray’ and *yùmêy* ‘believe’. It is noteworthy here that the common emotion verbs ‘love’, ‘hate’, ‘be angry’, etc. do not fall under the class of middle verbs in Hyow. Kemmer (1993: 128-137) categorizes emotion and cognition verbs as simple mental events. The sentence in (258) exemplifies an emotion verb – *kàêy* ‘be scared’.

(258) *khrónglâ ínîkæ?làeyæ?yhyô kǎey.*

khrông = lâ í-ní-kǎ?lǎey-ǎy-hyô kǎey
people 3A-PL-**envy.II**-IRR-PM **fear**

‘He feared that the people will envy him.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0077]

6.4.10 COGNITION VERBS

Some cognition verbs illustrate middle situations, while other cognition verbs are intransitive verbs. The difference between a cognition middle verb and an intransitive verb is that the former category emphasizes the affectedness of the experiencer and the latter category includes more volitional and decisive activity. This category of verbs in Hyow only includes *khá?nêy* ‘think’ in the current corpus, as exemplified in (259). This is also an example of a complex mental event, since the proposition in the complement clause originates in the psychological system of the initiator (see Kemmer, 1993: 137-139).

(259) *ápòm-êy-â khrónglâ ínîkæ?làeyæ?yhyô khá?nêy.*

ápòm-êy-â khrông = lâ í-ní-kǎ?lǎey-ǎy-hyô khá?nêy
3SGA-take.on.lap-MID-REAS people=ERG 3A-PL-**envy.II**-IRR-PM 3A-think.II

‘He thinks that the people will envy him for taking her on lap.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0076]

6.4.11 PERCEPTION VERBS

Perception verbs stand for any events of expressing experiences through the motor functions of perceptual organs. Kemmer (1993: 136) divides perception verbs into two classes – experiencer-based and stimulus-based. Experiencer-based verbs treat an experiencer as the initiator, while stimulus-based verbs treat a stimulus as the experiencer. Verbs like *tsàmêy* ‘taste’, *nîey* ‘ache’ and *shòtêy* ‘try’ belong to this category of verbs. In (260), the initiators of the action *tsàmêy* ‘taste’ are also the experiencers.

(260) *èydô, ðntsô pàlâktsí tsòméykhôl, ní ní?éyéhnhngô.*

èydô ðn-tsô pàl-ák-tsí

then curry-DIM CLS-one-each

tsòméy-khôl ní-ní-?éy-éy-hnhng-hngô

taste-EXP.IMP 2A-PL-eat-MID-PH.CAP-PM

‘When a life is sacrificed, then taste a piece of curry each! You are able to eat (then).’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_106]

6.4.12 SPONTANEOUS VERBS

Spontaneous verbs encode situations of changing states of entities. These verbs express events that designate physical processes or actions that are conventionally perceived as taking place without any direct volitionality of human agents (Kemmer, 1993: 142). Therefore, spontaneous verbs reflect affectedness of patients or receivers, as encoded by verbs – *tùlêy* ‘swing’, *thônêy* ‘become’, *bùtêy* ‘boil’, etc. The verb *tùlêy* ‘swing’ encodes the affectedness of the receiver, which is absent in the text, but can be traced from the discourse.

(261) *pòpèkóngbàlâtsâ, tsûâ pákpánóngní tùléyhnò?tí.*

pó-pék-ông-bá-lá = tsâ tsú = â pákpán = ông = ní

cook.I-BEN-STAT-3SG-SEQ = TOP DIST = LOC cradle = INE = FOC

tùl-êy-hnó? = tí

swing.II-ULT = R.EVID

‘Cooking him (rice), she swung on the cradle there.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_072]

6.4.13 INDIRECT REFLEXIVE VERBS

Many examples of indirect reflexives have been noticed in the Hyow corpus. Indirect reflexives include three-participant events, where there is an agent, a patient and a

beneficiary. Since Hyow is a one-term middle language, it does not make any distinction between an indirect reflexive and an indirect middle.

Indirect reflexive verbs are derived from their unmarked counterparts, transitive verbs. Though a referent of an A argument acts on a referent of a P argument in situations predicated by indirect reflexive verbs, due to the performed action, the referent of the A argument gets affected or benefitted. Semantically, direct reflexives and indirect reflexives are close to each other, since they both express higher distinguishable participants of events than other types of middle verbs. However, the verbs of these two categories are set apart because of the direction of the affectedness (for more arguments see Kemmer, 1993: 75).

The sentence in (262) exemplifies an indirect reflexive construction and a direct reflexive construction. The verb *phæ* ‘divide’ with the middle suffix attached to it in the first sequential dependent clause in (262) means that the performed action is done for the benefit of the referents of the A argument, not for someone else. Therefore, they divided the meat for their own, not to distribute to other people. The verb *yæ?* ‘sell’ with the middle suffix attached to it in the final matrix clause means that the referents of the A argument sold the meat by themselves.

(262) *èydô, mrátál-tí? ní kíníyæ?êy.*

èydô mrát-ál-tí? = ní kí-ní-yæ?-êy

then be.remnant-PL=FOC 1A-PL-sell.II-MID

‘Then we sold the remains ourselves.’

[ZM-HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0068]

6.5 DERIVED MIDDLE VERBS

Some middle verbs derived from intransitive and transitive verbs bear different meanings than their unmarked counterparts in Hyow. Smith (1998: 4) observes similar type of middle voice derivations in Lai. Table 89 lists some of the derived middle verbs with different meanings from the roots.

Root verb	Gloss	Derived verb	Gloss
1. <i>óm</i>	‘sit’	<i>òmêy</i>	‘get married’
2. <i>tsét</i>	‘go’	<i>tsètêy</i>	‘walk’
3. <i>póy</i>	‘be good’	<i>póyêy</i>	‘be beautiful’
4. <i>thón</i>	‘happen’	<i>thònêy</i>	‘become’
5. <i>tsôn</i>	‘run’	<i>tsónêy</i>	‘roam around’
6. <i>kæʔ</i>	‘fear’	<i>kàêy</i>	‘be scared’
7. <i>ók</i>	‘drink’	<i>òkêy</i>	‘be stuck’
8. <i>bæʔ</i>	‘slap’	<i>bàʔêy</i>	‘clap’
9. <i>kák</i>	‘separate’	<i>kàkêy</i>	‘avoid’
10. <i>tám</i>	‘follow’	<i>tàmêy</i>	‘be a company’

Table 89: Derived middle verbs with different meanings

The verbs from 1 to 5 in Table 89 are derived from active intransitive verbs, while the middle verbs from 6 to 10 are derived from transitive verbs in Table 89. Though the meanings of the derived verbs are somewhat different from the meanings of the roots, some semantic relations can still be established between the root and derived verbs. For example, the verb *óm* ‘sit’ is an intransitive verb. With the middle suffix attached to it, as in (263), it means ‘get married’. Most importantly, the A argument is overtly marked by an ergative case clitic in (263), which is not possible with the intransitive verb predicated. It is evident from here that middle system cannot be defined as a morphosyntactic operation of detransitivization. It also shows that this middle verb is more like a transitive verb than an intransitive verb. There is also a cultural belief embedded in the semantics of this derived verb. Women are treated as weak and men in the area where Hyow is spoken dominate them. It is very common belief among the people in this area that women get married (literally, sits to marry) and men marry (literally, take a wife). There is another possibility that this concept of marriage is borrowed from Bangla (Bangla has exactly the same semantic expression) to Hyow and other languages spoken in the CHT. Nonetheless, if the referent of the A argument is a woman, then the middle verb *òmêy* ‘get married/sit to marry’ is used

and if the referent of the A argument is a man, the transitive verb *nók* ‘marry/take a wife’ (the verb *nók* originally means ‘take’) is used.

(263) *záté hmútólâ òméhyótsâ pótó òméhyô pótótsâ îê táá póyshá*↘.

<i>záté</i>	<i>hmútólâ</i> = lâ	<i>óm-êy-hyô</i> = tsâ	<i>pótó</i>	<i>óm-êy-hyô</i>
so.that _B	woman=ERG	sit-MID-PM =TOP	man	sit-MID-PM
<i>pótó</i> = tsâ	<i>îê</i>	<i>táá</i>	<i>póyshá</i>	
man=TOP	what	money	penny	

‘(So that), a woman gets married. She gets married to a man, the man who has money and penny. [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_041]

The bare stems of verbs in Table 89 represent more volitionality and immediate events, while the derived verbs represent less volitionality and slow events. In addition, the derived verbs seem to be subtypes of the more generic verb roots. The obvious features of the derived verbs are that they have lower distinguishability and higher distinguishability than the intransitive and transitive verb roots respectively. Moreover, the derived middle verbs encode the affectedness of the initiators.

6.6 CAUSATIVE VERBS

Hyow causative verbs are divided into two classes – lexical and morphological. This section of this chapter discusses only the lexical causative verbs. I will discuss the morphological causatives in the next chapter (see §8.2.3).

Lexical causative verbs can be derived from intransitive and transitive verbs. This process is a valence increasing operation in Hyow. The non-causative verb initials change to their voiceless or aspirated counterparts to form the respective causative verbs. The voicing and aspiration alteration in the causative forms takes place due to the Proto-TB **s-* prefix and have parallel forms elsewhere in TB. Table 90 lists some of the lexical causative verbs in Hyow.

Non-causative	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
<i>kàè</i>	‘fear’	<i>khàè</i>	‘make scared’
<i>kôy</i>	‘ascend’	<i>khôy</i>	‘pick up’
<i>klók</i>	‘be extinct’	<i>khlók</i>	‘make extinct’
<i>læk</i>	‘be small’	<i>hlæk</i>	‘shorten’
<i>lén</i>	‘be big’	<i>hlén</i>	‘enlarge’
<i>láy</i>	‘change place ownself’	<i>hláy</i>	‘transfer’
<i>lóm</i>	‘dance’	<i>hlóm</i>	‘make dance’
<i>nék</i>	‘sink’	<i>hnék</i>	‘drown’
<i>pók</i>	‘burst’	<i>phók</i>	‘make burst’
<i>yá?</i>	‘be open’	<i>hyá?</i>	‘open’
<i>yó?</i>	‘abate (sickness)’	<i>hyó?</i>	‘make abate’
<i>yúm</i>	‘end’	<i>hyúm</i>	‘make end’
<i>yáel</i>	‘be cold’	<i>hyáel</i>	‘make cold’
<i>yûl</i>	‘get wet’	<i>hyûl</i>	‘make wet’
<i>yút</i>	‘be fallen (from tree)’	<i>hyút</i>	‘make fall’
<i>yùt</i>	‘diminish’	<i>hyùt</i>	‘lessen’
<i>yúp</i>	‘be extinguished’	<i>hyúp</i>	‘extinguish’

Table 90: Some lexical causative verbs in Hyow

The verb *kôy* ‘climb up’ is an intransitive verb with one participant involved in the event. On the other hand, the derived verb *khôy* ‘make climb up/pick up’, as exemplified in (264) is a transitive verb, which requires at least two participants. This type of phonological process to derive lexical causatives from non-causatives is very common in Tibeto-Burman languages (see LaPolla 2003).

(264) *pó shángláy-óng-bá-lá = tsâ, pólahàtsâ ókhóyhnângá? \.*

pó shángláy-óng-bá-lá = tsâ pô = lâ = há = tsâ
 father be.empty-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP father=ERG=ADD=TOP

ó-khóy-hnâng-á?

3A-make.climb.up-PH.CAP-3SG.NEG

‘Having been poor, also father was not able to bear (the expense of my study).’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0016]

6.7 PSYCHOCOLLOCATION AND OTHER VERBS

Verbs related to psychological phenomenon collocate with psychological nouns – mostly mental, inherently ambiguous and mostly physical (Matisoff, 1986: 9), in order to represent psychocollocative expressions. Psychocollocations involve a psycho-noun and a psycho-mate (see Matisoff 1986 and VanBik 1998). Psycho-nouns include different body parts and psycho-mates include different action verbs in Hyow. Morphologically, psychocollocations have complex structures. Matisoff (1986: 6) argues that internal structure of psychocollocations can be used to classify them. The psycho-noun and the psycho-mate can be in different grammatical relationships with each other. Psychocollocations function as metaphorical expressions and behave as units in Hyow. Therefore, I consider psychocollocations as a class of verbs.

Psychocollocative verbs include mainly the body parts – heart and head to form metaphorical actions in Hyow. The metaphoric expression *lúng pô* ‘worry’ in (265) is a result of psychocollocation process, where the psycho-mate is the verb *pô* ‘feel’ and the psycho-noun is the bodypart *lúng* ‘heart’. This example of psychocollocation is the evidence why they should be treated as a unit. The verb *pô* ‘feel’ is a transitive verb in Hyow. If the noun *úlúng* ‘her heart’ were the P argument of the verb, then the A argument *tsùtsâ* ‘that’ (DIST=TOP) should have taken an ergative case, but it is not the case in (265). The psychocollocative verb *lúng pô* ‘worry’ is treated as a unit and belongs to the class of intransitive verb in Hyow.

(265) *tsèt-ŋg-ú-lá = tsê èy í-ní-hówêy-hí = tsê èybó, èydô, í-ní-lò-âl-ní, tsùtsê ú-lúng púhnè?tí.*

tsèt-ŋg-ú-lá = tsê èy í-ní-hówêy-hí = tsê èybó
go-STAT-3PL-SEQ = TOP ANAPH.DEM 3A-PL-search.II-COND = TOP like.that

èydô í-ní-lò-âl-ní tsú = tsê ú-lúng pú-hnó? = tí
then 3S-PL-come-DEP-TEMP DIST = TOP 3SG.POSS-heart feel.II-ULT = R.EVID

‘After they went for a while, when they searched that like that, then when they came back, that (the youngest sister) was worried (she felt her heart).’

Likewise, there are other psychocollocative verbs in Hyow – *lúng krô* ‘fall in love’ (heart fall), *lúng hláey* ‘change decision’ (heart change), *lúkí hyát* ‘realize’ (head open.knot), etc.

Some verbs in Hyow have two parts (thus making them look like phrasal verbs) and function similarly to the psychocollocative verbs. However, they are not psychocollocations in that they do not have any psycho-nouns as parts of their unitary semantic expression. For example, the citation form of the verb ‘bathe’ is *tûy hló?*, where *tûy* ‘water’ is not an argument of the verb *hló?* ‘pick up’ rather two constituents function as a unit. In this sense, this type of verb is also metaphorical, as shown in (266).

(266) *èykhôl shóʔy èyâ èy kònâ áhyówní, tûy íníhlòʔhlàngâ èyâ hyènhnèʔtî.*

èy-khól	shóʔy	èy = â	èy	kón = â
ANAPH.DEM-EXP	near	ANAPH.DEM=LOC	ANAPH.DEM=LOC	pond=LOC

á-hyôw-ní	tûy	í-ní-hlòʔ-hlóngâ	èy = â
DIR-be.near-TEMP	water	3A-PL-pick.up.II-SIM	ANAPH.DEM=LOC

hyón-hnèʔ = tî

throw.away.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘When he went to be near to the pond there near them, he threw away (the crown) there, while they were bathing.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_066]

6.8 CONCLUSION

Verb stem alternation is an integral part of explaining functions and classifications of verbs in Hyow, as in other Kuki-Chin languages. The recognition of two separate forms or stems originating in diachronic morphological processes do not only lay out the morphosyntactic features of the language, but also contribute to the classification of verbs based on the voice they represent. Hyow exhaustively uses middle situations, since there is no passive voice in this language. Middle situations are expressed by the same suffix attached to different middle, reflexive and reciprocal verbs. Compared to middle verbs used as a valence modifying operation, lexical causative verbs are used as the valence increasing operation in Hyow. An extensive discussion on verbal morphology is presented in the next three chapters.

7 Morphology of verbs I: referential and prefixal categories

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The morphology of verbs is very rich in Hyow. Since nominal arguments are absent from texts quite often, Hyow verbs carry heavy functional loads. The functional load of verbs are reflected in the abundance of inflectional and derivational categories. I start the discussion of this chapter by explaining the structure of the verb complex in §7.2. Considering the richness of verb morphology, I discuss the morphology of verbs in several chapters based of types of categories. This chapter deals with the referential and prefixal categories of verbs. In view of that, I look into the small set of verb prefixes in Hyow with examples in §7.3. Then, in §7.4, I present a thorough discussion of person marking suffixes, which belong to the Restricted Zone of a verb complex structure. Finally, I present some concluding remarks in §7.5.

7.2 STRUCTURE OF THE VERB COMPLEX

The simplest verb complex in Hyow contains either a Stem I verb with its underlying tone, which is interpreted as an imperative clause, or a Stem II verb with its underlying tone, which is interpreted as a declarative clause with a third person singular argument. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, Hyow is predominantly a suffix-abundant language, which include grammatical categories of modality (§9.2.1), aspect (§9.2.2), adverbials (§9.2.3), clause linker (§9.3), person markers (§7.4.1), predicate marker (§9.4.1) and verbal classifier (§9.4.2). In addition, sentential moods are also marked on verb complexes (§9.5.1). As opposed to suffixes, only four verb prefixes exist in Hyow – person marking prefixes (§7.3.1), a directional marker (§7.3.3), an inverse marker (§7.3.4) and number markers (§7.3.5).

The morphotactics of a language capture morpheme-orders employing language specific constraints. The arrangement of available morphemes in a verb complex is sometimes predictable from general syntactic and semantic features, but language-specific constraints come into play when there are unrestricted or flexible movements of morphemes and co-occurrence rules (e.g. see Ryan, 2010: 758). There can be four

types or generalizations about affix ordering according to Ryan (2010: 759-761). Firstly, the greater scope a morpheme has over another, the further it offsets from the root. In this regard, Bybee (1985: 39) explains, “The operator whose scope is primarily the verb (aspect) appears closer to the verb, while the operator whose scope may include the whole proposition (tense) occurs furthest from the verb.” This observation can be explained with examples from Hyow. There is an irrealis suffix in Hyow (see §9.2.1.2). When the irrealis suffix *-æʔy* is close to the verb, it refers to the verbal mood, but when it is far from the verb, it functions as a propositional modality, which has a scope over the whole proposition. The examples given in (267) and (268) illustrate the use of the irrealis suffix as the verbal mood and the propositional modality respectively. When there is no grammatical categories attached to the verb in order to determine the relative distance between the verb and the irrealis suffix, it becomes difficult to determine whether the suffix in question is functioning as the verbal mood or the propositional modality. In such situations, the discourse helps to understand the scope of the irrealis suffix *-æʔy*.

(267) *kétsètéyálhnângæʔy* ʌ.

ké-tsét-êy-âl-hnâng-æʔy

1S-go-MID-DEP-PH.CAP-IRR

‘I will be able to walk away.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_112]

(268) *kápâyæʔyhnúngngá*

ká-páy-æʔy-hnúng-hngá

1S-fly.II-IRR-PH.CAP-PM

‘I will be able to fly.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_110]

Bybee (1985: 41) also claims that the order of words in verb phrases results in the same order of morphemes to a great extent and the frequency of occurrences of specific verbal categories is a reflex of their occurrences adjacent to the main verb. Secondly, the order of affixes might be fixed, but their scope is reversible. Thirdly,

the affixes might be organized freely for one scope, but might be fixed for another scope and finally, two given affixes might be freely ordered for two given scopes.

In order to capture possible orders of morphemes through morphotactics in verb complexes, and to describe it, a workable theoretical framework is required. There are several theoretical frameworks to do so. However, every theoretical framework has its own limitations. Coupe (2007: 310) identifies two problems with a position analysis approach to describing affix orders in the verb complex. The first one is a flexible order of affixes in the verb complex, and the second one is a non-paradigmatic co-occurrence of suffixes of the same class. The first problem of the positional class analysis is found in a Hyow verb complex where person-marking suffixes have flexible orders. However, their flexible orders account for semantic changes, as Coupe (2007: 288) suggested in saying that any changes in the order of suffixes is responsible for some essential semantic selectional restrictions. When a person-marking suffix is closer to a root, it encodes the negative polarity of the verb. When the same person-marking suffix comes at the end of the verb complex (specifically, after the anterior aspect marker), then it encodes the positive polarity of the verb. Examples in (269) and (270) include the third person marker *-ú*, which corresponds to the negative and affirmative interpretations of the examples respectively.

(269) *hmót-ná-ú-hô dô*.

hmót-ná-ú-hô = dô

know.I-SPNT-3PL.NEG=EMPH

‘They did not know!’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_111]

(270) *èy-hnó?-lá dô hyúm-dók-ú tsó dzapân* ㄟ.

èy-hnó?-lá = dô

hyúm-dók-ú

tsó

dzapân

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=EMPH

lose-ANT-3PL

DEM

Japan

‘Finally, after that, they had lost, that Japan!’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_213]

Again, in a sequential dependent clause, the third person plural argument marking suffix do not express any negative meaning, as shown in (271). In sequential clauses, attached to Stem I verbs, the person-marking suffixes only refer to the respective S/A arguments.

(271) *ímâ áhlòkpèkálùlàtsâ...*

ím = â á-hlók-pék-âl-ú-lá = tsâ

house=LOC DIR-gather.I-BEN-DEP-**3PL**-SEQ=TOP

‘Going to gather those for her in the house...’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0043]

The second problem with the position class analysis can be exemplified through a verb complex that includes two suffixes of the same class co-occurring, but not paradigmatically. Such co-occurrence of two members of the same class of verbal category is determined by semantic compatibilities between the members (Coupe, 2007: 288). Therefore, the semantic possibilities of a linear order trigger any permutations of two members of the same class of verbal categories. For example, the preferential and desiderative suffixes are from the same class of verbal categories, but they can co-occur in a verb complex in Hyow, as shown in (272).

(272) *èy khóádâ ání?láhá ínípèkàè?ydòshànghngô, hngúdâ.*

èy khó = â = dâ ání? = lâ = há

ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=EMPH 3PL=ERG=ADD

í-ní-pék-é?y-**dó-sháng**-hngô hngúdâ

3A-INV-give.II-IRR-**PREF-DESID**-PM DP

‘At that time, they will also like to prefer to give you the job, understand?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0085]

Coupe (2007) and Peterson (2010) use the Athabaskan model of Kari (1989) in describing the morphotactics in Mongsen Ao and Khumi respectively. The concept of

a zone of adjacent affixes for explaining affix orders in Athabaskan verb complexes by Kari (1989: 435-436) is based on – (a) two morphemes co-occurring in a verb complex have discrete positions, while non-co-occurring two morphemes that meet identical tests relative to neighbouring morphemes hold the same position, (b) there is no justification of creating a group of affixes based on functional or semantic similarities, (c) the application of the zone concept puts fresh insights to morphology and word order, (d) an articulated phonological boundary closes off sections of a verb complex and (e) there should be consistency regarding homophony while sorting affixes in a given language and for harmonious policies of numbering positions of affixes. The concept of zoning removes the second problem with the position class approach.

A similar type of approach is found in Muysken's (1986) modified slot matrix model, which include three modes – (a) a lexical mode includes a fixed order of affixes that have close relationship with the preceding root, (b) a syntactic mode includes syntactically close affixes with a different meaning and a flexible order and (c) an inflectional mode includes fixed order affixes without lexical meanings.

The morphotactic constraints on affix orders in a verb complex of a clause in Hyow are represented through sequences of different zones following Kari 1989, Muysken 1986 and Peterson 2010 in Table 91. The prefixes allocated in the Prefixal Zone in Table 91 are fixed. Argument marking prefixes, either S, A or P, always precede a directional marker (see §7.3.3), which is followed by either number markers or an inverse marker. The suffixes in the Derivational Suffix Zone are used to derive new classes of verbs. For example, the middle suffix *-êy* is used to derive middle verbs, as in *tsét* 'go', but *tsèt-êy* (go-MID) 'walk'. The Valency-Changing Suffix Zone consists of both valency-increasing and valence-decreasing suffixes. Zone 5 in Table 91 includes the suffixes that can be used in any order depending on scopal abilities and co-occurrence constraints. Generally, adverbial suffixes follow the modality and aspectual suffixes, but when there is more than one adverbial suffixes, then the adverbial suffixes may occur in any order depending on the intended meaning. Zone 6 is available based on different morphosyntactic environments, e.g. negation. Zone 7 in Table 91 include sentential mood markers, which are only applicable to independent clauses. Finally, Zone 8 includes the clitics that have clausal scope.

1. Prefixal Zone (fixed order of prefixes): Person Marker (§7.3.1), Direction Marker (§7.3.3) and Inverse Marker (§7.3.4) or Number Marker (§7.3.5).	
2. Root (Stem I/II)	
3. Derivational Suffix Zone	Middle Suffix (§8.2.1), Departative Suffix (§8.2.2) and Spontaneitive Suffix (§8.2.3).
4. Valency-changing Suffix Zone	Valence-modifying Suffixes (§8.3) and Valency-increasing Suffixes (§8.3.2)
5. Variably-ordered Suffix Zone	Modality Suffixes (§9.2), Aspectual Suffixes (§9.2.2) and Adverbial Suffixes (§9.2.3)
6. Restricted Zone	Selection Zone 1: Person-marking Suffixes (§7.4), Predicate Marking Suffix [only applicable to independent declarative and imperative clauses, and reason and posterior temporal dependent clauses] (§9.4.1), Verbal Classifier (§9.4.2) Selection Zone 2: Clause-linking Suffixes (§9.3)
7. Invariably-ordered Suffix and Clitic Zone	Polar Question (§9.5.1.1), Content Question (§9.5.1.2), Singular Imperative (§9.5.1.3), Dual Imperative (§9.5.1.4), Plural Imperative (§9.5.1.5), Cohortative (§9.5.1.6), Exhortative (§9.5.1.7), Prohibitive (§9.5.1.8), Jussive (§9.5.1.9), Optative (§9.5.1.10)
8. Clitic Zone	Topic Clitic (§9.6.1), Focus Clitic (§9.6.2), Emphatic Clitic (§9.6.3) and Evidentials (§9.6.4)

Table 91: The morpheme-order in a verb complex

In the verb complex of a matrix clause, depending on the compositionality of different morphemes and possible semantic encodings, there can be maximally three prefixes and eight suffixes attached to the root. In the corpus of Hyow, there are examples where two prefixes, six suffixes (enumerated for a better understanding) and one clitic are attached to the verb in a matrix clause, as shown through a matrix clause in (273).

(273) *nàngá íníhówpékálà?yhnàngùngánú tîng.*

nàng = á kí-ní-hôw-êy₁-pék₂-âl₃-æ?y₄-hnâng₅-ùngâ₆ = nú₇

2SG=DAT 1A-INV-say.I-MID₁-BEN₂-DEP-₃IRR₄-PH.CAP₅-1PL.EXC.NEG₆=SS.EVID₇

‘After that, he said, “So, I will not be able to ask (that) for you.”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_034]

It is possible to add more suffixes and construct a grammatically correct sentence. However, all the suffixes are unlikely to be used at the same time due to co-occurrence and semantic limitations, which are language-specific constraints. The example in (274) shows eight suffixes attached to a Stem I verb in optative mood.

(274) *èy-hé?y lâ bú? ?éyálshòktsàkhnàngdànàdàngghé?y ʋ.*

èy-hé?y = lâ bú? êy-âl₁-shók₂-tsák₃-hnâng₄-dâ₅-ná₆-dáng₇-hé?y₈

ANAPH.DEM-DL=ERG rice eat.I-DEP₁-CAUS₂-COMPL₃-PH.CAP₄-ITER₅-SPNT₆-OPT₇-DL₈

‘May they two be able to make him eat up the rice completely again like before.’ [Elicited]

A verb complex of a sequential dependent clause can include maximally one prefix and eight suffixes depending on the compatibilities of the verbal categories. There is no anterior aspectual marker in such sequential clauses. The example in (275) shows one prefix, five suffixes and one clitic attached to the root in the verb complex of the sequential dependent clause.

(275) *èydô dùmnû tsúhnû khòkâ átsètáldùóngbàlâtsâ, èydô émêy émêy èybó* ㄴ.

èydô	dúm	nû	tsúhnû	khók = â
then	beggar.band	mother	daughter	near=LOC

á-tsét-âl₁-dû₂-ông₃-bá₄-lá₅ = tsâ

DIR-go-DEP₁-ITER₂-STAT₃-3SG₄-SEQ₅=TOP

èydô	é-mêy	é-mêy	èybó
then	3S-stay	3S-stay	that.way

‘Then, having gone to go back to the beggar band’s mother’s daughter again, he stayed, he stayed there that manner.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_059]

Certain verb roots can take certain morphemes of different categories. Sometimes, the choices of the prefixes or the suffixes are paradigmatic, e.g. person marking prefixes and suffixes, and sometimes the choices depend on co-occurrence constraints.

7.3 PREFIXAL ZONE

The prefixal zone of a verb complex consists of both referential and non-referential categories. Four categories of prefixes are attached to verb roots in Hyow and these are fixed in their orders. A Stem I verb of a sequential clause can take only a directional prefix, while Stem I or II verb of a non-sequential dependent clause and a matrix clause can take person markers (§7.3.1 and §7.3.2), a directional marker (§7.3.3), and an inverse marker (§7.3.4) or non-singular number markers (§7.3.5).

The examples in (276) and (277) illustrate the two possible clauses utilizing the alternative choices of verbal prefixes. The example in (276) illustrate a direct situation, where there is a first person dual A argument and a third person singular P argument. The prefix *kâ* marks the first person, which is followed by the direction marking prefix *á*-. Finally, the number of the A argument is marked by the plural marking prefix *hní*?

(276) *kéyhniʔ òntsô kááhniʔshùyâʔy* ㄴ.

kéyhniʔ ón-tsô ká-á-hniʔ-shúy-âʔy

1.EXC.DL curry 1A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR

‘We will search some curry.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0033]

The example in (277) illustrates an inverse situation, where the verb *hlóʔ* ‘pick.up.II’ has two core arguments – a first person singular A and a second person singular P. There is a person hierarchy in Hyow (see §7.3.4). First person and second person referents hold the same position in the hierarchy. As a result, when the referent of a first person acts on the referent of a second person, the situation is regarded as an inverse situation. And so, the prefix *ká-* marks the first person A preceding the direction marking prefix *á-*, which is followed by the inverse marker *ní-*.

(277) *pôô tûy kááníhlòʔâʔy* ㄴ.

pô = ô tûy ká-á-ní-hlóʔ-âʔy

father=VOC water 1A-DIR-INV-pick.up.II-IRR

‘Father, I will pick you up water.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_048]

7.3.1 PERSON MARKERS ON INTRANSITIVE VERBS

All the referents of the personal pronouns that participate as core arguments of verbs in Hyow are marked both on intransitive and transitive verbs, with some exceptions, e.g. transitive verbs never take any markings for second and third person P arguments in Hyow. Moreover, third person singular S and A arguments are not marked on respective intransitive and transitive verbs, if the argument is overtly expressed or identifiable from the context. There are no separate number markers for first person dual and plural inclusive S and A arguments. Both the markers take a plural referring prefix *ní-*. However, first person dual inclusive, second person dual and third person dual S and A arguments are marked for their numbers by the prefix *hníʔ-*.

Hyow intransitive verbs take prefixal person marking for S arguments. All but the first person dual and plural inclusive pronouns (bold in Table 92) have distinct

markers referring to respective S arguments. The symbol V stands for a vowel of underspecified quality in Table 92. Hyow has several phonological processes (regressive assimilation, re-syllabification, etc.), and vowel harmony is one of them.

Person	Numbers				
	SG	DL.INC	DL.EXC	PL.INC	PL.EXC
First	kV-Σ	ì-ní-Σ	kí-hní?-Σ	ì-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ
Second	nV-Σ	ní-hní?-Σ		ní-ní-Σ	
Third	(V)-Σ	í-hní?-Σ		í-ní-Σ	

Table 92: Prefixal person-marking paradigm for intransitive verbs

The output form of the vowel of the prefixal person markers (indicated by V in Table 92) depends upon the vowel of the root or affix-initial syllable to which they are attached. They are accordingly treated as underspecified vowels that harmonize in terms of height, backness and rounding. They also depend on adjacent roots or affixes for their underlying tones, since tone is seen as an integrated property of vowels. Thus, if a root or an affix has a high tone, the prefix also has a high tone. However, if the prefix attached to a root or an affix has a falling tone, then it acquires a high-level tone in the output due to a process of tone sandhi. Examples (278)-(288) illustrate the prefixal person-marking paradigm on Hyow intransitive verbs. In addition, the tones of first person P and third person A argument marking prefixes are fixed. As first person P and third person singular A marking prefixes are formed in the same way, the first person P argument marking prefix always carry a low-level tone. On the contrary, the third person singular A argument marking prefix always carry a high-level tone.

The prefixes *kɔ́-* and *ké-* marking first person singular arguments of the intransitive verbs *krɔ́* ‘fall’ and *tsét* ‘go’ in (278) respectively have harmonizing vowels. The underspecified harmonizing vowels of the prefixes also harmonize with the tones of the verb roots in the ways mentioned in the previous paragraph.

(278) *kêy éshé kókróní, thúngâ kétsèlà?hô.*

kêy	é-shé	kó-krô-ní	thúng = â	ké-tsét-lá?-hô
1SG	GRP-be.bad	1S-fall-TEMP	jail=LOC	1S-go-OBLG-PM

‘When I was judged bad/guilty (literally, I fell bad), I had to go to the jail.’

[ZM_GSS3_SAP_082015_0015]

The intransitive verb *mêy* ‘exist’ in (279) is marked by a first person marker *kí-*, which has a velar stop initial marking the first person, and a dual number marker *hní?*, which originates in numeral ‘two’ in Hyow. The vowel of the initial syllable of the first person prefix *kí-* harmonizes with the vowel of the dual marker *hní?*. The morphological status of the dual marker *hní?* is a prefix here, which forms a non-unitary first person dual marker together with the velar stop initial syllable.

(279) *kéyhní? kíhní?mêykhâ? \.*

kéyhní?	kí-hní?-mêy-khâ?
1DL	1S-DL-exist-FACT

‘We are here really.’ [ZM_SK_THP_092015_0029]

There is no difference between the markers of first person dual inclusive and first person plural inclusive on verbs in Hyow. The *í-* of *í-ní-* is a first person inclusive marker inherited from PKC (DeLancey 2013), while *ní-* marks the non-singularity. Examples in (280) and (282) illustrate formally indistinctive first person dual inclusive and first person plural inclusive markers on the respective intransitive verbs – *káw* ‘be separated’ and *tsét* ‘go’. The only way of functionally differentiating the two markers by the overt presence of the NP arguments in the text.

(280) *èy kóông túâ hníní? ìníkàwálæ?yhyô, hnámádóô.*

èy kóông túâ hníní? ì-ní-káw-âl-æ?y-hyô
 ANAPH.DEM reason.INE now 1DL.INC **1INCS-DL**-be.separated-DEP-IRR-PM
 hnámádó-ô
 husband=VOC

‘(She said), “Husband, we will be separated for that reason now.”’

[ZM_SK_THP_092015_0081]

The first person plural exclusive marker *kí-ní-* on the intransitive verb *hál* ‘be thirsty’ in (281) is formed of a regular first person marker and the plural marker *ní-*. In several Kuki-Chin languages, e.g. K’Cho (Bedell 2000), the plural person marker has a bilabial nasal initial instead of the alveolar nasal as in Hyow.

(281) *èyhnè?làtsæ, tsuání “pó-ô tûy kínháleyhyô.”*

èy-hnè?-lá = tsæ tsú = â = ní pó = ô tûy
 ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP DIST=LOC=FOC father=VOC water
 kí-ní-hál-êy-hyô
1S-PL-be.thirsty-IRR-PM

‘After that, they said, “Father, we are thirsty.”’ [ZM_DD_SPW_072007_105]

(282) *nángké?y hælóngpúlàtsæ, ìnítsétáhlô.*

nángké? hæl-ông-pû-lá = tsæ ì-ní-tsét-âl-hlô
 1PL.INC select.I-STAT-1PL.INC-SEQ=TOP **1INCS-PL**-go-DEP-PM

‘Having selected him, we went away.’ [ZM_SMTB_SPW_062007_0109]

The prefix, marking second person singular, also takes a harmonizing prefix like the first person singular argument marker on a verb. The second person singular

marker *nó-* on the verb *tsónêy* ‘roam’ in (283) shows that the vowel of the prefix *nó-* has harmonized with the vowel of the root-initial syllable.

(283) *éyâ hnúp há dúk êng mông-ó ní nótsónêykhòngâéyâm?*

éy = â	hnúp-há	dúk = êng	mông-ó = â = ní
ANAPH.DEM=LOC	day-ten	inside=INE	which-MULT=LOC=FOC

nó-tsónêy-khóng-âéy = êm

2S-roam-within-IRR=CONT.Q

‘Which places will you roam within ten days there?’

[ZM_PE_THP_092015_0021]

The initial prefix *ní-* in (284) and (285), marked on the intransitive verb *tsét* ‘go’ stands for the respective second person argument. The prefix *ní-* has a harmonizing prefix, while *hní?*- and *ní-* represent dual and plural numbers of the arguments respectively, which are similar to the first person dual and plural markers.

(284) *khótsô wàdâ ní íhní?tsét dâ dâk ㄴ. bù?tsô pò?pék. níhní?tsét álâéyhyô. nááhyâééyhyô.*

khô-tsô	wá-dâ-ní	í-hní?-tsét-dâ-dâk	bú?-tsô	pó?-pék
time-DIM	be.light-TEMP	3S-DL-go-ITER-ANT	rice-DIM	DV.II-BEN

ní-hní?-tsét-âl-âéy-hyô ná-á-hyâ-âéy-hyô

2S-DL-go-DEP-IRR-PM 2A-DIR-exile.II-IRR-PM

‘When it was morning again like before, they two had gone again like before. She (the wife) cooked them rice. She said, “You two will go away. You will go to exile him.”’

[ZM_KM_TUK_102015_0025]

(285) *ú kónông ní-tsét-âl-æ?y-hyô = êm.*

ú kónông ní-ní-tsét-âl-æ?y-hyô = êm

who with 2S-PL-go-DEP-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘Who will you be going with?’ [ZM_LS_SP_082015_0015]

The prefixal marker of a third person singular argument might seem ambiguous in texts because of its low frequency, which Peterson (2003: 180) observes too. The presence of the third person singular argument marked on the verb depends on the traceability of the independent pronoun in the text. If the independent pronoun is present in the clause or discoverable from the discourse, speakers tend not to use any marking for the third person singular S. This indicates that there is an interrelation between the case marking on the pronoun and person marking on the verb, where the two feed each other. If the third person singular is already discoverable from the discourse, the person marking becomes redundant. However, this is not applicable to other persons and numbers. In a corpus of Hyow of fifty texts of different durations, out of 354 instances of indexation of different S arguments, there are 77 instances of the third person singular S arguments. The following examples in (286)-(288) illustrate the indexation of third person S arguments on intransitive verbs in Hyow.

A third person singular is marked on an intransitive verb by a harmonizing vowel prefix. The third person singular prefix *í-* on the intransitive verb *hí* ‘be right’ in (286) harmonizes with the vowel of the root-initial syllable. Like the initials of the first person and second person markers, third person markers do not have any consonantal onset. The respective dual and plural person markers have the as usual dual and plural markers – *hní?*- and *ní*-, as exemplified in (287) and (288) respectively.

(286) *kárbárlâ íbó hòwê m íhëy hyà?éy ↗*

kárbárlâ = lâ íbó hów = êm í-hí-êy hyá? = êy

village.chief=ERG what say.II=CONT.Q 3S-be.right-MID be.not=POL.Q

‘Wasn’t it right what the village chief said?.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_0017]

(287) *íhniʔlúmtsôl bə̀bə̀éyhəʔylàtsə́, íhniʔkàptí.*

íhniʔ-lúmtsôl báe-báe-éy-hóʔy-lá = tsə́ í-hniʔ-káp = tí
 3DL.POSS-forehead REDUP-slap.I-MID-3DL-SEQ=TOP 3S-DL-cry.II=R.EVID
 ‘Slapping their foreheads, they (two) cried.’
 [ZM_SK_THP_092015_0061]

(288) *èy ílʔtsông dùkáhá íníwònghnâng pílhmàtsô.*

èy ílʔtsông dúk = â = há í-ní-wóng-hnâng
 ANAPH.DEM mosquito.net inside=LOC=ADD 3S-PL-enter-PH.CAP
 píl-hmàt-tsô
 mosquito-wee.things-DIM
 ‘The mosquito-wee things were able to enter even into inside the mosquito net.’
 [ZM_HTJ_HP_062014_0036]

7.3.2 PERSON MARKERS ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

There are uses of grammatical tone, vowel harmony, syncretism of inverse and plural markers, and an optional marker for first person undergoer (only in 3SG→1 situations) in Hyow. First person P and third person A argument marking prefixes are formed following the same process (harmonizing with the vowel of the root or affix-initial syllables). In 3SG→1 situations, third person A can be optionally marked following the first person A marker. Since third person A already has an underspecified vowel, the preceding first person P marking prefix cannot harmonize with the underspecified vowel of the third person A marking prefix. Therefore, the alternative first person P marking prefix *khron̄g-* is used if there is an overt presence of the third person A marker in 3SG→1 situations. The reflexives are not shown in Table 93, as they utilize different morphology (adding a middle suffix to the verb) in Hyow. Moreover, the isomorphic forms are marked by same colours in Table 93.

A ↓	O →	1SG	1DL.EXC	1DL.INC	1PL.EX	1PL.INC	2SG	2DL	2PL	3SG	3DL	3PL
					C							
1SG							kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kV-Σ	kV-Σ	kV-Σ
1DL.EXC							kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kí-hníʔ-Σ	kí-hníʔ-Σ	kí-hníʔ-Σ
1DL.INC										ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ
1PL.EXC							kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ	kíní-Σ	kí-ní-Σ
1PL.INC										ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ
2SG		ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ		ì-ní-Σ					nV-Σ	nV-Σ	nV-Σ
2DL		ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ		ì-ní-Σ					ní-hníʔ-Σ	ní-hníʔ-Σ	ní-hníʔ-Σ
2PL		ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ		ì-ní-Σ					ní-ní-Σ	ní-ní-Σ	ní-ní-Σ
3SG		Ë/ khrông-Ë- Σ	Ë/ khrông- Ë-Σ	(khrông) -Σ	Ë/ khrông- Ë-Σ	(khrông)-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	Ë-Σ	Ë-Σ	Ë-Σ
3DL		ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ	(khrông) -Σ	ì-ní-Σ	(khrông)-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-hníʔ-Σ	í-hníʔ-Σ	í-hníʔ-Σ
3PL		ì-ní-Σ	ì-ní-Σ	(khrông) -Σ	ì-ní-Σ	(khrông)-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ	í-ní-Σ

Table 93: The prefixal person-marking paradigm of transitive verbs

Whether functioning as A or P, there is always distinct marking of first person arguments in all possible situations in Hyow. Second person arguments are not marked in local situations, instead there is an inverse marker in such situations to indicate that the referents of the first and second person arguments hold the same position in the person hierarchy – 1,2 > 3 animate > inanimate (see §7.3.4 for more on inverse marking). Following the hierarchy, when a situation involves a first person A and a second person P, the inverse marker appears in the prefixal slot of the verb complex. The inverse marker is also found in mixed situations, e.g. 3 → 1, 2.

The example in (289) demonstrates how the first person singular argument is indexed on a transitive verb, when it acts on a second person singular argument, where the first person is marked by *kí-*, with a high front vowel harmonized with the vowel of the inverse prefix-initial syllable *ní-*.

(289) *láláhù?ypêy kíníhàè?yhyódô kêy.*

láláhù?ypêy kí-ní-háén-á?y-hyô = dô kêy

by.any.means 1A-INV-save.II-IRR-PM=EMPH 1SG

‘I will save you by any means.’ [ZM_PE_THP_092015_0062]

There are several reasons to posit that the prefix *ní-* is an inverse marker. Firstly, the prefix *ní-* cannot be the second person marker, because the vowel of this prefix does not harmonize with the vowel of the root-initial syllable. The process of harmonization forms all the argument markers. If the prefix *ní-* were the second person P marker in the situation exemplified in (289), then the vowel of the prefix *ní-* would have harmonized with the vowel of the root-initial syllable of the verb *háén* ‘save.II’. Secondly, the verb *háén* ‘save.II’ includes a first person singular A marker. Thus, *ní-* cannot be the plural marker. The prefix *ní-* could have been glossed as the plural marker of the first person A argument, if the P argument were a third person. Because third person P arguments are never marked on verbs, and the plural marking suffix does not harmonize with the vowel of the root-initial syllable, the prefix *ní-* could have been glossed as the plural marking suffix of the first person. Accordingly, the example in (289) should have been translated as ‘We will save him by any means’, which would have been incorrect in the context illustrated by the example in (289). Finally, the inverse marker *ní-* and the plural marker *ní-* share the same forms, but their functions are different, which are discernible by situation types (see Table 93.)

Numbers of first and second person arguments are never marked in local domains, where speech act participants act on each other. The example in (290) has a second person plural P argument. The person as well as the number of both the arguments is unmarked on the verb *pó?* ‘DV.II’ in (290). However, the inverse marker *ní-* endorses that the other argument in (290) is a speech act participant, which is a second person plural argument.

(290) *níníhókí? kýchú?y kínípò?álà?yhyô tîng tàkhnè?tî háre.*

níní-hókí?	kýchú?y	kí-ní -pó?-âl-é?y-hyô	tîng
2PL.POSS-anus	like.mine	1A-INV-DV.II-DEP-IRR-PM	QT
ták-hnó? = tî	háre		
say.II-ULT=R.EVID	DP		

‘He said, “I will make you (all) your anuses like mine.” Understand?’

[ZM_DD_SPW_072007_236]

Likewise, the A argument in (291) is an exclusive first person plural, but only the person is marked here, not the number of the argument.

(291) *níhú?y kéyní? kínílæktsô khóák?dô nà?yádô kínídónhnênghngô*

níhú?y	kéyní?	kíní-læk-tsô	khó = â = kó? = dô
like.this	1PL.EXC	1PL.EXC.POSS-small-DIM	time=LOC=GEN=EMPH
náy? = á = dô	kí-ní -dón-hnênghngô		
2PL=DAT=EMPH	1A-INV-show.II-PH.CAP-PM		

‘We are able to show you (all) one of our childhood time’s (thing) like this.’

[ZM_LSS_SPW__082015_0079]

Example (292) demonstrates a situation involving a second person A and a first person P argument. Here, the first person P is indexed by *í-*, with a low-level tone, and the inverse marker *ní-* indicates that the other argument is a speech act participant.

(292) *èy pònông èyhìdâ ìní-té-ây-æ?y-hyô*

èy	pòn-ông	èy-hí = dâ
ANAPH.DEM	end-TEMP	ANAPH.DEM-COND=EMPH

ì-ní-té-ây-æ?y-hyô

1P-INV-hold.tight.II-MID-IRR-PM

‘When that ends, if it is right, you make me a family (literally, you will hold me tight).’ [ZM_DD_SPW_072007_0056]

When an employed man was giving an advice on how to get a job to an unemployed man, the employed man advised the unemployed man to implore to employers. The ditransitive verb *pék* ‘give’ in (293) has a second person plural A and a first person singular D. Since the dative argument outranks the P argument, which is a third person, the first person dative argument is indexed on the verb by the prefix *ì-*.

(293) *níhú?y níhú?y “kúhlá-ây-hyô tsólî kúhlá-ây-hyô túâ ìnpèk-æ?ylá?hâ” tîng lngúdâ*

níhú?y	níhú?y	kú-hlá-ây-hyô	tsólî	kú-hlá-ây-hyô	tú = â
like.this	like.this	1A-need.II-MID-PM	job	1A-need.II-MID-PM	now=LOC

ì-ní-pék-æ?y -lá?hâ tîng húdâ

1P-INV-give.II-IRR-OBLG-PM QT DP

‘Like this, like this, tell, “I need the job. I need (the job) now. You (all) will have to give me the [job].” [ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0058]

Numbers of first person arguments are never marked in 1→2, 2→1 and 3→SAP situations, as demonstrated by the examples from (289) to (293). In example (289) and (292), changing the number of the A and P arguments to other numbers, it is still possible to get the same markers *kí-ní-* (as in (294)) and *ì-ní-* (as in (295)) respectively.

(294) *níníhókí? kéyhúy kínípò?álà?yhyâ*

níní-hókí? kéyní?hú?y **kí-ní**-pó?-âl-á?y-hyô
 2PL.POSS-anus like.ours **1A-INV-DV.II-DEP-IRR-PM**

‘We will make you (all) anuses like ours.’ [Elicited]

(295) *nàngní? kéyní? ìní-té-êy-á?yhyâ*

nàngní? kéyní? ì-ní-té-êy-á?y-hyô
 2PL 1PL.EXC 1P-INV-hold.tight.II-MID-PM

‘You (all) will hold us tight.’ [Elicited]

Nonetheless, there are instances of marking the second person in 2→1 situations, only if the second person is non-singular. In such situations, the alternative first person marker *khrông-* is used to index the first person P argument, as demonstrated in (296). Since the vowel of the second person A argument marking prefix *nV-* itself depends on the adjacent dual marking prefix *hní?*, the alternative first person marker *khrông-* is used in this example. This also allows avoiding a sequence of vowels with the same quality.

(296) *“púô bókítsê náháydô khrôngníhní?tàálhìtsê kíhní?tsètálà?yshâng.” tîng tàkhnó?tí*

pú-ô bókí = tsê náhá? = dô **khrông-ní-hní?**-tá-âl-hí = tsê
 uncle=VOC so=TOP 2DL=EMPH **1P-2A-PL-send.II-DEP-COND=TOP**

 kí-hní?-tsét-âl-á?y-shâng tîng ták-hnó? = tí
 1S-DL-go-DEP-IRR-DESID QT say.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘He said, “Uncle, so, if you (two) send us back, we want to go back.”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_072007_128]

The alternative first person P marker *khroŋg*- originates from the word *khroŋg* ‘other man/person/people’. In some Kiranti languages, the first person P marker also originates from the word ‘person/man/people’ (see Bickel & Gaenszle, 2015: 66-69). Therefore, if the non-first person non-singular A arguments are indexed in 2→1 and 3→1 situations, then the alternative first person P marker *khroŋg*- is used due to the underspecified vowel of the non-first person non-singular A argument markers. Moreover, the feature of not marking numbers for first person P arguments is not rare in Kuki-Chin languages, e.g. Cho/K’Cho does not mark first person plural objects (Bedell 2000: 142).

There is no marking of third person P arguments in Hyow. The first person singular A arguments which act on third person P arguments harmonize with the vowel of the root-initial syllable to form the markers, and such markers have tones of their roots. The examples from (297) to (300) include mixed situations, where SAPs act on non-SAPs.

In (297) and (298), the referent of a first person singular argument and the referent of a second person singular argument are acting on the referents of third person singular arguments respectively. Following the phonological process of harmonization, the first person singular marker *kú-* and the second person marker *ní-* are formed in (297) and (298) respectively. The third person arguments in both these examples do not have any markers on the respective verbs.

(297) *èy kóŋg kútùkálàʔyshànghngô.*

èy kóŋg **kú**-túk-âl-éʔy-shâng-hngô

ANAPH.DEM reason.INE **1A**-kill.II-DEP-DESID-PM

‘For that reason, I want to kill him.’

[ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_032-033]

(298) *nítsíŋéyáǵèŋyhyô*

ní-tsíŋ-êy-âl-ǵy-hyô

2A-take.II-MID-DEP-IRR-PM

‘You will take back your wife.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_0122]

Likewise, only the second persons are marked on respective verbs in 2→3 situations in (299) and (300). The third person arguments as well as their numbers do not have any markers in both these examples.

(299) *dórkhárhí nóhòwpekǵyláŋhódâ*

dórkhár-hi nó-hów-pék-ǵy -láŋ-hô = dâ

be.necessary-COND 2A-say.II-BEN-IRR-OBLG-PM=EMPH

‘If it is necessary, you will get to tell them (my name).’ [ZM_DD_SPW_0051]

(300) *íníkhó pēy nómónǵylǵhô, hngúdâ*

íní-khó pēy nó-môn-ǵy -láŋ-hô hngúdâ

3PL.POSS-leg even 2A-hold.II-IRR-OBLG-PM DP

‘You will have to hold even their legs. Understand?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0015_052]

As explained above, markers of the first person and second person arguments in 1, 2→3 situations have similar forms as their respective S argument markers on intransitive verbs. Like other Kuki-Chin languages (e.g. Bedell 1998, 2000), the third person Ps do not have any indexations on transitive verbs regardless of different numbers, which is reiterated in the examples from (301) to (306). Consequently, only the first and second person arguments are marked on the verb for their persons and numbers.

The prefixal marker of first person dual exclusive, *kí-hní?*, on the transitive verb *pán* ‘call.II’ and *bóp* ‘beat.II’ in (301) and (302) is similar to the first person dual exclusive marker on the intransitive verb *mêy* ‘live’ in (279).

(301) *èy kyóhlá kí-hní?pánêy*

èy *kyóhlá* *kí-hní?-pán-êy*

ANAPH.DEM name.of.a.person 1A-DL-call.II-MID

‘We called that Kyohla.’ [ZM_SB_PPW_082015_0016]

(302) *kí-hní?bòp-æ?yhyóds tǐngní èyhè?ylá ngèhè?ylá nìhú?y tòkhnè?tí.*

kí-hní?-bóp-æ?y-hyô = dô *tǐng = ní* *èy-hó?y = lâ*

1A-DL-beat.II-IRR-PM=EMPH QT=FOC ANAPH.DEM-DL=ERG

ngó-hó?y-lá *nìhú?y* *tók-hnó? = tí*

be.revengeful-3DL-SEQ like.this think.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Being revengeful, they thought like this, “Let the son of a bitch, the mongoose come first. We will beat him.”’ [ZM_SS_DBK_072007_0036]

The examples in (303) and (304) respectively include a first person dual and a plural inclusive A arguments, and third person singular P arguments. Both the first person inclusive arguments have same marker, *i-ní-*, on the respective transitive verbs. Only the presence of the full pronouns – *hníní?* ‘1DL.INC’ and *nángké?y* ‘1PL.INC’ – in the text help to identify the number and their clusivity of the person in such situations. The first person dual A argument is overtly mentioned in (303), and an antecedent mention of the first person plural inclusive in the text that (229) is taken from serves to clarify the number/clusivity.

(303) *hníní? ímthông ìní-té-êy-æ?y-hyô*

hníní? ímthông ì-ní-té-êy-æ?y-hyô

1DL.INC family 1INCA-DL-hold.tight.II-MID-IRR-PM

‘We will hold our family tight.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_072007_0056]

(304) *gólók-tsô khók = â mông tsúhnú ìní-tsí?-æ?y-hyô*

gólók-tsô khók = â mông tsúhnú ì-ní-tsí?-æ?y-hyô

grazier-DIM near=LOC king daughter 1INCA-PL-take.II-IRR-PM

‘They discussed, “We will take the king’s daughter to the grazier.”’

[ZM_SS_DBK_082007_0034]

The second person non-singular markers on transitive verbs in (305) and (306) are similar to their counterparts on intransitive verbs, where *hní?*- and *ní*- mark dual and plural numbers respectively.

(305) *kó? ní-hní?hlá-êy-êy /? táá póyshâ ní-hní?hlá-êy-êy /?*

kó? ní-hní?hlá-êy-êy táá póyshâ

wealth 2A-DL-want.II-MID=POL.Q taka_B paisa/penny

ní-hní?hlá-êy = êy

2A-DL-want.II-MID=POL.Q

‘Do you want wealth? Do you want money (taka (notes) and paisa (penny)).’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_172]

(306) *áwát thòpthûm nínlhlâyéyhyô.*

á-wát	thóp-thûm	ní-ní-hlây-êy-hyô
3SG.POSS-cloth	CLS-three	2A-PL-change.II-MID-PM

‘You (all) changed three parts of his clothing.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_082015_259]

The indexation of third person A arguments and first person P arguments in 3→1SG situations display some variations. When the third person A is overtly marked on the verb in 3→1SG (see (307)), then the alternative first person P marker *khronḡ*- is used. However, when the third person A is not marked on the verb, then the regular harmonized vowel with the low-level tone marks the first person P in 3→1SG situations, as shown in (308). The inverse marker is not attached to the verb in examples that illustrate 3→1SG situations.

(307) *bóhítsâ, khêw khròhní?dê khróngshòwpekkhô, slálâ.*

bóhí = tsâ	khêw	khró-hní? = dê	khronḡ -ó-hów-pék-khô	slá = lâ
so=TOP	word	CLS-two=EMPH	1P-3A-say.II-BEN-PM	master=ERG

‘So, he told me the two words, the master’ [ZM_OWOT_TUK_102015_0013]

(308) *skúlâ pólâ ìtsí?púynàkkhô.*

skúl = â	pó = lâ	ì-tsí?-pûy-nák-khô
school=LOC	father=ERG	1P-take.II-ASSO.BEN-PURP-PM

‘Father took me to school.’ [ZM_ASPLS_ASP_082015_0057]

The only difference between first person P and third person A, as demonstrated by the examples in (309) and (310) is the tone that they carry. The variations in marking first person P in 3→1SG situations are due to both the first person P and third person A prefixes being realized as underspecified vowels. When both of them are marked on a verb, the first person P takes the alternative marker, since it cannot depend on the underspecified vowel of the third person A marker to form its regular

marker with a harmonizing vowel carrying a low-level tone. This is exemplified in (309).

(309) *hìlɔ̃ng ùkáp-phô*

híl = êng ù-káp-phô

mackintosh=INST 3A-cover.II-PM

‘He covered him with a mackintosh.’

[Elicited from ZM_SS_DBK_082007_0015’]

(310) *hílɔ̃ng khróng-ùkáp-phô*

híl = êng khróng-ù-káp-phô

mackintosh=INST 1P-3A-cover.II-PM

‘The snake said to his father, “He covered me with a mackintosh.”’

[ZM_SS_DBK_082007_0015]

There are no overt indexations for numbers of first person P arguments (in all situations), as demonstrated from (312)-(314).

(311) *kêyní? ùlâ òshòt-é?y-hyô = êm*

kêyní? ú = lâ ò-shót-é?y-hyô = êm

1PL.EXC who=ERG 1P-look.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘Who will look after us?’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_0051]

(312) *tá-bóng-tá-ô ní khróng-hăng-êy-nák-khô phílúnú-lâ*

tá-bóng-tá-ô

ní = â

elder.brother.like.one's.own.elder.brother=VOC

PROX=LOC

khrông-hăng-êy-nák-khô phílúnú = lâ**1P**-imprison.II-MID-PURP-PM giantess=ERG

‘Elder brother, she imprisoned us for eating, the giantess.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_092015_0033]

In 3→1DL/PL.INC situations, third person A arguments are obligatorily unmarked in Hyow, as illustrated in (313) and (314). However, in such situations, the first person inclusive P arguments are optionally marked. They can be optionally indexed by the alternative form *khrông*-.

(313) *kêy pólâ hníhní? hmù?ă?yhyô*

kêy

pólâ = lâ

hníhní?

hmù?ă?y-hyô

1SG

father=ERG

1DL.INC

1P-see.II-IRR-PM

‘My father will see us.’ [Elicited]

(314) *nángkéy? túy-tsô mēytsô nûlâ khróng-hlô?hôt? tsètâldăk ʘ.*

nángkéy?

túy-tsô

mēytsô

nû = lâ

1PL.INC

water-DIM

fire-DIM

mother=ERG

khrông-hlô?hôt-tô?

tsèt-âl-dăk

1P-bathe.II-PM-TEMP

go-DEP-ANT

‘Mother had gone back after she bathed us.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_072007_0086]

The non-singular third person arguments are not marked for person or number on verbs most of the time in 3NSG→1 situations in Hyow. Instead, there is an inverse

marker, *ní-*, following the first person P marker, as exemplified in (315)-(316). In these three examples, the numbers of first person arguments are not also marked.

The example in (315) is taken from an argumentative text, in which a man drinks alcohol when his friends coerce him. Being drunk, the man beats his wife and then he ends up in a jail. After coming out of the jail, he explains to his wife why he was drunk and why he beat her. The causative verb *kháwáy* ‘feed’ in (315) is a loanword from Bangla. As discussed previously, the first person P argument marker is formed by a harmonizing vowel prefix, which harmonizes with the verb of the root-initial syllable of the inverse marker, *ní-* in (315).

(315) *èydô èydânâ álák iníkháwáyéyhyô*

<i>èydô</i>	<i>èy</i>	<i>dân = â</i>	<i>álák</i>
then	ANAPH.DEM	place=LOC	alcohol

ì-ní-kháwáy-êy-hyô

1P-INV-feed-MID-PM

‘Then, they made me drink wine in that place.’

[ZM_GSS3_SAP_072015_0005]

Since numbers of first person arguments are not marked on transitive verbs in all situations except 1→3, we see the same harmonizing vowel prefix marker for first person plural and dual exclusive arguments in (316) and (317) respectively.

(316) *nàngdô lútdúl kón nétsètâlhítsâ imkènshòlâ kéyní? ìnkúlúnákà?hyô.*

náng = dô lútdúl = kón né-tsèt-âl-hí = tsâ [ím-kén-shó = lâ] kêyní?

2SG=EMPH world=ABL 2S-go-DEP-COND=TOP [neighbor=ERG] 1PL.EXC

ì-ní-kúlúnák-â?y-hyô

1P-INV-torture.II-IRR-PM

‘If you go away from the world, the neighbours will torture us.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_0066]

(317) *ìnkâélâ?hyô.*

ì-ní-kâélâ?y-hyô

1P-INV-envy.II-PM

‘They envied us (two).’ [ZM_SS_MZ_092015_0044]

In rare occasions, a few examples demonstrate that the persons as well as the numbers of non-singular third person arguments are marked in 3NS→1 situations, as shown in (318) and (319). The compositional prefixal unit *í-hní?* is generally used to mark third person dual participant on an intransitive verb, where *hní?* marks the number of the person. Such rare examples of marking third persons on transitive verbs in the corpus reflect the fact that the prefixal argument marking is still undergoing the process of development, which is moving towards a nominative-accusative system from a hierarchical alignment.

(318) *èydô kêy tá-tsáng-pô = lâ kêy bé-tsáng-nû = lâ*

èydô kêy tá-tsáng-pô = lâ kêy bé-tsáng-nû = lâ
 then 1SG grandfather-old-FA=ERG 1SG grandmother-old-MO=ERG

khrông-í-hní?-tsán-âl pô

1P-3A-DL-bring.up.II-DEP

‘Then, my old grandfather and my old grandmother brought up me.’

[ZM_ASPLS_ASP_072015_0008]

In a similar process, the third person plural argument’s number is marked by *ní-* in (319). The inverse marker *ní-* and the plural marker *ní-* share the same forms, but their functions are different, which are discernible in situation types. Similar type of marking is also found in Asho, a closely related language to Hyow (Otsuka 2015). Situation types and co-argument sensitivities distinguish them, which is made clear in discussions and examples given above.

(319) *híl = ông khrông-kúp-phô phólshómó? = lâ khrôngínítómshô*

híl = ông khrông-kúp-phô phólshómó? = lâ
 mackintosh=INST **1P**-cover.II-PM snake.charmer=ERG

khrông-í-ní-tóm-shô

1P-3A-PL-chase.II-PM

‘He (snake) said to his father, “He covered me with a mackintosh. The snake charmers chased me.” [ZM_SS_DBK_082207_0015]

The phonological bulk and examples of *khrông-* so far indicate that *khrông-* must have been a later development as a first person P marker. As soon as the verbs started getting marked for third person A arguments, the optional first person P marker developed in Hyow. The examples in (318) and (319) show the marking of numbers of third person non-singular A arguments, where the first person A arguments are marked by the alternative marker *khrông-*.

I have already discussed the situations in which first person P markers and third person A markers (in 3→2, 3SG) use a harmonizing vowel prefix, which is formed in harmony with the first vowel of the root-initial syllable or another affix-initial syllable (inverse marker or number marker). The only difference lies in the tone that they carry. The distinct third person A argument markers in 3→2, 3SG carry a high-level tone (see examples [(320)-(325)]). Moreover, in 3→2 situations, none of the arguments is marked for number, as exemplified from (320) to (325).

The third person singular arguments are marked by harmonizing vowel prefixes with high level tones in (320)-(322), which index situations where the referents of third person singular arguments act on the referents of second person singular arguments. In (321), the possessor is marked on the verb. This reflects the marking of arguments following the person hierarchy, and the affected undergoer (see §10.2.5). The examples from (320) to (322) also reiterate the fact that the inverse marker *ní-* appears on verbs where either both of the arguments or at least one of the arguments is a speech act participant.

(320) *nópólâ íníshòtǎ?y élmá?y* ʘ.

nó-pô = lâ	í-ní-shót-ǎ?y	é-lámá?y
2SG.POSS-father=ERG	3A-INV-look.II-IRR	3SG.POSS-convenience

‘Your father will look after you at his convenience.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_0060]

(321) *phóllâ nókhòng kháelkhálú íníthónéyhyóđđ.*

phól = lâ	nó-khó = êng	kháelkhálú
snake=ERG	2SG.POSS-leg=INE	anklet

í-ní-thón-êy-hyô = đđ

3A-INV-put.II-MID-PM=EMPH

‘The snake will put an anklet on your leg.’” [ZM_SK_THP_092015_0035]

(322) *èylâ íníngówéyæ?hyódô tîng*

èy = lâ í-ní-ngówêy-æ?y-hyô = dô tîng

3SG=ERG 3A-INV-bite.II-IRR-PM=EMPH QT

‘She said, “She will bite you.”’ [ZM_KMALA_KRZK_072007_0050]

The examples from (323) to (325) include non-singular arguments. Numbers of none of the non-singular third person and second person arguments are marked on the verbs. The markers on verbs are the same as those used in situations involving singular second person and third person arguments.

(323) *ímâ lówládô ínphe?nákæ?y* ʘ.

ím = lâ lów = lâ = dô í-ní-phó?-nák-æ?y

house=ERG swidden.field 3A-INV-carry-SPNT-IRR

‘The house and the swidden field will carry you spontaneously.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_0035]

In (324), the prefixal marker of the third person A argument harmonizes with the vocalic directional prefix, *á-*. The directional prefix functions as a directional or translocative in Hyow (see §7.3.3).

(324) *èydô átsángnú ímâ náng ááníhyò?là?hyódô.*

èydô átsángnú ím = â náng á-á-ní-hyò?l-æ?y-hyô = dô

then old.woman house=LOC 2SG 3A-DIR-INV-lay.down.CAUS-IRR-PM=EMPH

‘Then, they will go to lay you down in the old woman’s house.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_20007_0196]

(325) *phólshómólâ íní-tóm-shô*

phólshómólâ = lâ í-ní-tóm-shô
 snake.charmer=ERG 3A-INV-chase.II-PM

‘The snake charmers chased you (two).’ [Elicited]

In situations where third persons act on other third persons, the markers for A arguments on transitive verbs are similar to the respective S argument markers on intransitive verbs. I have already mentioned that there are no markings for third person P arguments in Hyow. Examples (326)-(330) illustrate some of the situations involving third persons acting on other third persons.

(326) *èyhnè?látsæ étsetáhi hówáldatá? éyní tsûâ ótsô ékhétnákkhô æyânéyâ hówáldatá? ʘ.*

èy-hnó?-lá = tsæ é-tsét-âl-ní hôw-âl-dát-á?
 ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP 3S-go-DEP-TEMP say.I-DEP-DARE₁-3SG.NEG

èy = ní tsú = â ó-tsô é-khétnák-khô
 ANAPH.DEM=FOC DIST=LOC 3SG.POSS-son 3A-love.II-PM

æ-yâen-êy-â hôw-âl-dát-á?
 3A-cherish.II-MID-CAUS.CVB say.I-DEP-DARE₁-3SG.NEG

‘After that, when he went, he did not dare tell him there. He loved his son. As he loved him, he did not dare tell.’ [ZM_DS_HZ_082007_0045]

(327) *èydô páyhni?lání ihní?tsi?hnâ?tî.*

èydô pây-hní? = lâ = ní í-hní?-tsí?-hnó? = tí
 then CLS-two=ERG=FOC 3A-DL-take.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, they two took him finally.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_082015_0232]

(328) *záp í-ní-hôn-âl-æ?y-hyô*

záp í-ní-hôn-âl-æ?y-hyô

race 3A-PL-include.II-DEP-IRR-PM

‘They will include her into the race.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_102015_0212]

(329) *tsùâ èy ó-ngók-tí? lá = ní í-ní-tók-hnó? = tí*

tsù = â èy ó-ngók-tí? = lá = ní èy

DIST=LOC ANAPH.DEM 3SG.POSS-sister.in.law-PL=ERG=FOC ANAPH.DEM

álák í-ní-tók-hnó? = tí

wine 3A-PL-coerce.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘His sister-in-laws there coerced him wine (to drink).’

[ZM_DD_SPW_072007_0061]

(330) *phólshómó? lâ phól í-ní-tóm* ㄣ.

phólshómó? = lâ phól í-ní-tóm

snake.charmer=ERG snake 3A-PL-chase.II

‘The snake charmer chased a snake.’ [ZM_SS_DBK_082207_0002]

The person markers on verbs are argued to be derived from full pronouns (DeLancey 1988, Sun 1995). However, Bedell (1998) argues that the agreement particles in Lai do not originate from independent pronouns, as they do not have similar forms, and the pronominal particles are solely found in a verb complex (see Peterson 2003). In Hyow, the person markers seem to include reflexes of the independent pronouns and possessive prefixes. Most importantly, the person markers on verbs treat the verbs as possessed items in Hyow similarly as the possessive prefixes treat any nouns. I have already explained this in §6.2.2. Diachronically, Kuki-Chin Stem II verbs are derived due to a process of nominalization.

The respective person markers in different situations can be summarized in Table 94.

Forms	Situations	Status
kV-	1→∅, 1→2, 1→3	first person marker
nV-	2→∅, 2→3	second person marker
ì-	2→1, 3NSG→1EXC	first person undergoer marker
	1DL/PL.INC→ ∅, 3	first person inclusive actor
í-	3→2	third person marker
Ṽ-, khróng-Ṽ	3→1	first person undergoer
Ṽ	3→3	third person actor

Table 94: A summary of prefixal person markers

Considering the origin of person markers in independent pronouns, the prefix *ní-* can easily lead one to label it as a second person marker rather than an inverse marker, since the prefix has a nasal initial as in some other Kuki-Chin languages, which also have a nasal initial particle to mark second persons on verbs. However, there are several reasons not to consider it as a second person marker in relevant situations. Though I have argued in favour of categorizing this prefix as an inverse marker above, for the relevant discussion, I present more arguments here. Firstly, in the discussions made above, it is demonstrated that the person markers have harmonizing vowels, but the prefix in question, *ní-*, does not have a harmonizing vowel. Secondly, the prefix *ní-* is neither a second person A nor a second person P marker. The person marking on verbs is based on person hierarchy in Hyow. As a result, we only see marking of first person actors and undergoers, and chronological preference of first person argument markers over other markers, but no marking for second person and third person undergoers. Finally, though there is an isomorphism between the plural number marking prefix *ní-* and the inverse marker *ní-*, they are discernible by situation types. Furthermore, their source of origin must be different. This can be explained from the plural marking morpheme of the full pronouns. All the respective full pronouns (except the first person inclusive) have the morpheme *ní?* in their forms – *kéyní?* ‘1PL.EXC’, *nángní?* ‘2pl’ and *ání?* ‘3PL’. I have already presented

arguments in favour of argument markers originating from their respective full pronouns. In view of that, it is not unlikely that the plural number-marking prefix has lost its final glottal stop, which is still preserved in the respective full pronouns. Thus, the plural marking prefix *ní-* and the inverse marking prefix *ní-* originate from different sources.

7.3.3 DIRECTIONAL MARKER

The directional prefix *á-* that encodes the forward movement of the referent of S or A arguments to perform an action, a process or be in a state shares a common phonological shape with other Kuki-Chin languages. This is evident from Daai, where a prefix *va-* encodes an actor's direction of going forward to perform an action (Hartmann, 1989: 82). Peterson (2014) also shows that a directional marker has a widely attested *hV-* form in Kuki-Chin languages. The directional prefix appears as a perturbing element in participant markers (between the person and the number marking prefixes) in Hyow. It plays an important role in investigating the non-unitary status of person markers and number markers. The directional prefix always separates a person marker and its number marker, which confirms that the person marker and the number marker should be treated as separate verbal categories.

It has been already discussed in §7.3.1 and in §7.3.2 that the person markers in Hyow carry underspecified vowels. The person markers contain harmonizing vowels, which harmonize with vowel of an adjacent prefix-initial syllable, (which can be a directional marker, an inverse marker or number markers) or a root-initial syllable. The velar stop-initial first person A argument marker *kV-* underlyingly has an underspecified vowel and carries a vowel harmonizing with the directional prefix marker *á-* in (331). Due to this phonological process, the first person A argument marker in (331) has a form *ká-*, with the first person A prefix and the directional prefix realized in the output as a long vowel. Here, the directional marker encodes the movement of the referent of the first person plural A argument.

(331) *khòtéyùngáthênâ kááníshòthút álá ìhù?yâm.*

khót-êy-úngâ-thónâ

ká-á-ní-shót-hút

á-lá

bow.I-MID-1PL.EXC.NEG-CONCESS 1A-**DIR**-PL-look.II-HAB.PAST

GRP-land

ìhù? = êm

like.what=CONT.Q

‘Even though we did not bow, we left going to look at what the land was like.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0045]

Likewise, the third person S argument is marked by a form *á-*, which is the harmonizing vowel of the adjacent directional prefix *á-* in (332). The sequence of the third person S prefix and the directional prefix also sounds as a long vowel.

(332) *èydô èyâ tsètpé tsètpé tsètpéní dàtsàngâ ááníkrô.*

èydô èy = â

tsét-pé

tsét-pé

tsét-pé-ní

dàtsáng = â

then ANAPH.DEM=LOC go-CIR go-SIM go-still-TEMP desert=LOC

á-á-ní-krô

3S-**DIR**-PL-fall

‘Then, going, going, when they still went there, they arrived in the desert (literally, went to fall in the dessert)’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_027]

The directional prefix always follows the A argument marker, which is evident from the relevant argument markers form. Since argument-marking prefixes have harmonized vowels, it is understood that the directional marker, which does not contain any harmonized vowel, follows respective argument marking prefixes.

There is only marking of first person P argument on transitive verbs in Hyow. If there is also a first person P argument prefix attached to the verb in a given example, then the directional prefix follows the third person A prefix *á-*, which is evident from

the use of the alternative first person P marker in such examples. In (333), the directional prefix is following the third person A marking prefix. The referent of the first person P argument in this example is a fish.

(333) *khróngáátù?hó èyhú?y \, nánghú?y pípí hngátlá.*

khrông-á-á-tú?-hô	èyhú?y	nánghú?y	pípí	hngát = lâ
1P-3A- DIR -infuse.II-PM	like.that	like.you	quite	one=ERG

‘One (person) quite like you, went to infuse me inside an old woman’s vagina like that.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_184]

7.3.4 INVERSE MARKER

The inverse marker is formally identical to plural marker of persons on verbs in specific situations in Hyow. These formally identical prefixes are distinguished by situation types, which are already discussed in §7.3.2. The inverse prefix found in both local ($1 \rightarrow 2/2 \rightarrow 1$) and mixed situations ($3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$) is attached to a verb that predicates a situation where the undergoer is a speech act participant (see examples in §7.3.1). The following example in (334) involves a first person singular A, a third person singular P and a second person singular D. The dative argument is treated as a core argument in Hyow. Since the recipient in this situation is a speech act participant, which ranks higher than the P argument, and the referents of the first and second persons hold the same position in the person hierarchy ($1, 2 > 3_{\text{animate}} > \text{inanimate}$; see §10.2.3) in Hyow, there is an inverse prefix *ní-* in (334).

(334) *nàngàhàtsê ìá kíní-pék-hnâng-ngâ-æ?y \.*

náng = á = há = tsê	ìá	kí- ní -pék-hnâng-ngâ-æ?y
2SG=DAT=ADD=TOP	nothing	1A- INV -give.I-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG-IRR

‘So, I will not be able to give you nothing.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0064]

Typologically, the inverse marker is found in $2 \rightarrow 1$ and $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$ situations. As expected, in a $2 \rightarrow 1$ situation in the interrogative clause in (335), the inverse prefix is

attached to the root encoding that the exemplified situation is not a direct situation, where yet again the first person is marked on the verb (see §10.2.3). Moreover, as first person and second person referents hold the same position in the person hierarchy, and third person referents hold a lower position, the example in (335) does not only encode a 2→1 situation, but also 3NSG→1 situations (also see Table 93).

(335) *yá iní-bóp-phó=êm nú=ô tîng=ní èy khrúma?láni tákhnó?tí.*

yá	ì-ní-bóp-phó=êm	nú=ô	tîng=ní	èy
why	1P-INV-beat.II-PM=CONT.Q	mother=VOC	QT=FOC	ANAPH.DEM
khrúma?	=lá=ní	ták-hnó?	=tí	
daughter.in.law=ERG=FOC		say.II-ULT=R.EVID		

‘That daughter-in-law finally told her, “Mother, why did you beat me?”

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_134]

In situations where third persons act on first and second persons, the inverse prefix *ní-* is attached to the root. In a situation where a third person acts on a first person, the first person undergoer and the inverse prefix are attached to the root, as demonstrated in (336) elicited from (292).

(336) *èy pón-ông èy-hí=dô iní-té-ây-æ?y-hyô*

èy	pón-ông	èy-hí=dô
ANAPH.DEM	end-TEMP	ANAPH.DEM-COND=EMPH
ì-ní-té-ây-æ?y-hyô		
1P-INV-hold.tight.II-MID-IRR-PM		

‘When that ends, if it is right, he will make me a family (literally, he will hold me tight).’ [ZM_DD_SPW_072007_0056]

In 3→2 situations, we get the marking of third person actors instead of expected markers of second person undergoers, as exemplified in (322), repeated and

renumbered as (337) for convenience. However, the inverse marker indicates that the situation exemplified is an inverse situation.

(337) *èylâ íníngówéyæ?yhyóds tîng*

èy = lâ	í-ní-ngówêy-æ?y-hyô = dâ	tîng
3SG=ERG	3A-INV-bite.II-IRR-PM=EMPH	QT

‘She said, “She will bite you.”’ [ZM_KMALA_KRZK_072007_0050]

The distribution of the inverse marker can be summarized in Table 95.

Form	Position	Status	Situations
<i>ní-</i>	closest to the root	inverse marker	1→2, 2→1, 3NSG→1, 3→1

Table 95: A distributional summary of the inverse marker

7.3.5 NUMBER MARKERS

Generally, marking of number of core arguments depend on types of verbs and situations predicated in Hyow. Intransitive verbs are always marked by number prefixes of single arguments involved in the action, event or state, with some exceptions of marking number as well as the person of third person arguments. In §7.3.1 (see the discussion made for examples (286)-(288)), it was proposed that marking of a third person argument depends on the traceability of the argument in the context. Numbers of all persons are prefixed on transitive verbs in SAP, 3→3 situations and in rare occasions, in 3, 2→1 situations, where only the numbers of A arguments are marked (see examples (296), (318) and (319)).

Number prefixes always follow person marking prefixes and the directional prefix. The dual number and plural number of a person are marked by *hní?*- (originates in numeral two) and *ní-* respectively.

The dual number of a third person A argument is marked by *hní?*- in (338) in sequential dependent clauses. In some Kuki-Chin languages, for example, Lai (Bedell

1998), K'Cho (Bedell 2000) and Daai (Hartmann 2009), numbers of core arguments are marked suffixally in matrix clauses.

(338) *èydâ í-hníʔtsànéyní, èydâ, ælén ʌ, ælén ʌ. èylúp bíbíéyhàʔylá íhníʔtsànéypé, tsànéypèní, ælén tsóngkrông thónây.*

èydâ í-hníʔtsán-êy-ni	èydâ æ-lén	æ-lén	èylúp
then 3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID-TEMP	then 3S-be.big	3S-be.big	like.that
bì-bì-êy-hóʔy-lá	í-hníʔtsán-êy-pé		
REDUP-work.I-MID-3DLA-SEQ	3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID-SIM		
í-hníʔtsán-êy-pé-ní	æ-lén	tsóngkrông	thón-êy
3A-DU-bring.up-MID-more-TEMP	GRP-be.big	young.man	happen-MID

‘Then, when they two brought up him themselves, then he was adult (literally, he was big) like that. Working and working themselves, bringing up him, when they two brought up him more, the young man became adult.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_009]

The prefix *ní-* attached to transitive verbs predicating SAP, 3→3 situations mark plural numbers of relevant A arguments. The nasal initial plural prefix of personal pronouns and relevant person markers in Hyow share common origin diachronically with other Kuki-Chin languages (see Bedell 1998, 2000; Peterson 2003). The full personal pronouns in Hyow include a nasal initial syllable with a final glottal stop, but the glottal stop undergoes elision when it marks numbers of relevant arguments on verbs, as demonstrated by the example in (339).

(339) *èydô èyâ álák ínítók.*

èydô èy = â álák í-**ní**-tók
 then ANAPH.DEM=LOC alcohol 3A-**PL**-coerce.II

‘Then, they coerced him.’ [ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_030]

Table 96 summarizes the situations where the number markers and the inverse marker are attached to verb roots.

Form (X)	Position	Status	Situations
hníʔ-	X-Σ	dual marker	1DL→3, 2DL→3, 3DL→3 2DL→1 (if the 2DL person marker is present) 3DL→1 (if the 3DL person marker is present)
/níʔ-/ níʔ- → ní- / _ -Σ	X-Σ	plural marker	1PL→3, 2PL→3, 3PL→3 2PL→1 (if the 2PL person marker is present) 3PL→1 (if the 3PL person marker is present)
ní-	X-Σ	inverse marker	1→2, 2→1, 3NSG→1, 3→1

Table 96: Distributional summary of number markers on verb roots

7.4 RESTRICTED SELECTIONAL ZONE 1

The Selectional Zone 1 of the Restricted Zone of a verb complex contains a paradigm of person-marking suffixes. Since this chapter deals with the referential categories, the paradigm of argument suffixes, which also function as negative suffixes, is discussed in this section. The paradigm of argument marking suffixes encode an S or an A argument of different persons. The number of the persons is also marked, forming a unitary referential category, which cannot be perturbed by any other

suffixes. This paradigm of argument marking suffixes can be used by any non-sequential dependent clauses and matrix clauses with negative polarity. On the other hand, in sequential clauses, these suffixes do not encode any negativity. In addition, the person marking suffixes precede clause-marking suffixes in dependent clauses, and predicate-marking suffixes in declarative and interrogative independent clauses.

7.4.1 PERSON MARKING SUFFIXES

There is a substantial difference between the prefixal and suffixal person markers considering the stems of verbs that the prefixes and suffixes are indexed on. As mentioned before in §6.2, it is a shared feature among the Kuki-Chin languages to have two or three stems of a verb (VanBik 2009: 10). Hyow also employs different stems of a verb in distinct morphosyntactic environments. Stem I verbs are mostly indexed by suffixal person markers. Suffixal person markers are indexed on Stem I verbs that are used in non-sequential dependent and matrix clauses with negative polarity, as exemplified in (340), and in sequential dependent clauses with positive polarity, as demonstrated by the example in (341). In (340), the suffix *-ú* is referring to the third person plural argument. It is also expressing the negative polarity in combination with the Stem I verb *pék* ‘give.I’. On the other hand, in (341), the identical suffix is referring to the third person plural argument, but it does not encode negative polarity. A sequential clause in Hyow requires a Stem I verb and suffixal person markers for either S or A arguments. If there is a first person P argument, then it is indexed prefixally on verbs of sequential dependent clauses and on verbs of non-sequential dependent clauses and independent clauses with negative polarity. The example in (342) a suffixal marking for A argument and prefixal marking for first person P argument.

(340) *tsùkhólláhá pèkdòú* ㄣ.

tsú-khòl = lâ = há	pék-dó-ú
DIST-EXP=ERG=ADD	give.I-PREF-3PL.NEG

‘They did not also preferred to give the tax.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_108]

(341) *èydô, shòóngùlàtsâ, èykô? phótó tsǝngùlàtsâ, èylúp tsǝngùlàtsâ, èydô, ey ímâ ínítsetâl.*

èydô	shó-ông-ú-lá = tsâ	èy = kô?	phótó
then	look.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP	ANAPH.DEM=GEN	photo _E
tsí-ông-ú-lá = tsâ	èylúp	tsí-ông-ú-lá = tsâ	èydô
take.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP	like.that	take.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP	then
èy	ím = â	í-ní-tsét-âl	
ANAPH.DEM	house=LOC	3S-PL-go-DEP	

‘Then, having looked, having taken the photo of that, having taken like that, then they went back to that house.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_036]

(342) *èyhú?y táá póyshá èpèkhnângû ʘ.*

èyhú?y	táá	póyshá	è-pék-hnâng-ú
like.that	money	penny	1P-give.I-PH.CAP-3PL.NEG

‘They are not able to give me money like that.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0002]

It is not impossible for a Stem I verb to take suffixal person markers in a matrix clause with positive polarity, as shown in (343). Peterson 2003 shows that the suffixal paradigm of person markers is used only in non-final, subordinate, negative and imperative clauses in Hyow. Yet, other than these usual places of using the suffixal paradigm, very few examples exhibit suffixal person markers in final affirmative clauses in Hyow corpus. The interpretation of the person marking suffixes depends on the relative distance of the suffixes from the root, which is already explained in §7.2.

(343) *tsùkhóllátsâ, tsètùlàtsâ, hníbók ópôy, ópôy, ópôy, ópôy, tsìéytsàkdàkû\.*

tsú-khól = lâ = tsâ	tsét-ú-lá = tsâ	hníbók ó-pôy	ó-pôy
DIST-EXP=ERG=TOP	go-3PL-SEQ=TOP	rifle	GRP-be.good GRP-be.good
ó-pôy	ó-pôy	tsí-êy-tsák-dók-ú	
GRP-be.good	GRP-be.good	take.I-MID-COMPL-ANT-3PL	

‘Going, they had completely taken the rifles, the good ones, good ones, good ones, good ones.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_103]

There is a full paradigm of negative suffixes depending on different persons and numbers in Hyow. As shown above, the person marking negative suffixes are identical to person marking suffixes in sequential clauses, except the form for third person singular argument. The person marking suffixes are always attached to Stem I verbs. These paradigmatic suffixes are syntagmatically invariable in order. Table 97 lists the person marking suffixes based on different persons and numbers.

Persons	Numbers				
	SG	DL.INC	DL.EXC	PL.INC	PL.EXC
First	Σ-ngâ	Σ-pû	Σ-hnì?ngâ	Σ-kô	Σ-ùngâ
Second	Σ-tî	Σ-hnì?tî			Σ-tsû
Third	Σ-á?, Σ-ba (SEQ)	Σ-hó?y			Σ-ú

Table 97: The paradigm of person marking suffixes in Hyow

The first person inclusive negative suffix *-kô* in Table 97 is formally similar to the exclusive suffix (see §5.5.6 attached to nouns). The dual markers are formed by adding the dual marker *-hnì?*, which originates in numeral ‘two’. In the negative suffixal forms, the dual marker precedes the person marker, as in second person dual negative suffix *-hnì?tî* in Table 97. Plurality is marked by the suffix *-ú*, though the second person plural negative suffix does not include this form. Unlike the prefixal person marking, the suffixal negative suffixes behave as units, because there is no

perturbation between the number marker and the person marker, which is possible by the direction marker in prefixal person and number markers.

Examples in (344) and (345) show the use of a first person plural exclusive suffix in a negative clause and in a sequential clause respectively. It is important to note here that the type of stem is also recoverable from the tones that they carry and the morphosyntactic environment in which they are used. Since the verbs *mêy* ‘exist’ in (344) and *hlúm* ‘make round’ in (345) do not have any formal or tonal stem variants, the negative polarity of the clause triggers the identity of the stem employed.

(344) *tsóngkróngtsá èyhyó? méyùngâ kíníléw* ㄟ.

tsóngkróng = tsô = á	èyhyó?	mêy-úngâ	kí-ní-léw
young=DIM=ADD	this.many	exist.I-1PL.EXC.NEG	1S-PL-be.less

‘There were also not this many young men, we were less.’

[ZM_MENZKNZK_122013_Hyow_0043_006]

(345) *kéyní? shóták gúlûy hlùméyùngálá, hókò?â kínítsâ* ㄟ.

kéyní?	shót-ák	gúlûy	hlùm-êy-ùngâ-lá	[hókò?] = â
1PL	CLS-one	shot	make.round.I-MID-1PL.EXCA-SEQ	[bird.hunting]=LOC

kí-ní-tsét

1S-PL-go

‘Making shots round, we went to bird hunting.’

[ZM_EOBH_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_001]

The example in (346) exhibits the first person plural exclusive suffix attached to Stem I of the verb *hmú?* ‘see’ in a transitive clause with negative polarity.

(346) *ô, òlòâl. hmùbâng hmùùngâ mòâ mòâ dèhnè?páyôm?*

ô ò-lò-âl hmú-bâng hmú-ùngâ mòâ mòâ
yes 3SGS-come-DEP see.I-even see.I-1PL.EXC.NEG where where

dá-hnó?-pây = ôm

die.II-ULT-PROB=CONT.Q

‘Yes, he came back and we did not even see. Where did he possibly go?’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_142]

It should be also mentioned here that for a negated transitive verb with two core arguments, both prefixal and suffixal person markers are available in the verb complex (see §10.2.3 for a detailed discussion). The negative suffix refers to the A argument. This is demonstrated in (347), in which the prefix *kí-* is marking the first person A argument. Simultaneously, the negative suffix *-ngâ* also refers to the first A argument in the same clause.

(347) *èydô, tùátsê phílúnû lòâl lòální, shòtní, “ô kíní-tó-hnúng-tí-hnó?-ngâ hú nâng ㄣ”.*

èydô tú = â = tsê phílúnû lò-âl lò-âl-ní shót-ní ô
then now=LOC=TOP giantess come-DEP come-DEP-TEMP look.II-TEMP yes

kí-ní-tó-hnúng-tí-hnó?-ngâ hú nâng

1A-INV-keep.I-PH.CAP-NITER-ULT-1SG.NEG DP 2SG

‘Then, now the giantess came. When she came, when she looked, she said, “I will not keep you anymore ultimately, OK?”’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_073]

There is also a delayed negative marking suffix, which encodes a delayed action, process or state in a negative clause (see Table 55). The negative suffix for a third person singular argument in a delayed negative construction is zero, as exemplified in (348). The irrealis-marking suffix *-æ?y* is also attached to the verb in the presence of the delayed negative suffix, as illustrated by the example in (348). The

example in (348) also shows that regardless of the zero suffixal marking, the third person singular A argument is also marked on the verbs *tá* ‘tell.I’ and *hów* ‘say.II’ prefixally (see §10.2.3).

(348) *lâ?tsô tsúhnúhîtsâ èyhú?y ínítàè?yhnàhnô? \. íníhówàè?yhnàhnô? èyhú?y \.*

lâ?-tsô tsúhnú-hí = tsâ èyhú?y í-ní-tá-æ?y-hná-hnô?
human-DIM daughter-COND=TOP like.that 3A-INV-tell.I-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG

í-ní-hôw-æ?y -hná-hnô? èyhú?y
3A-INV-say.I-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG like.that

‘If she were a human’s daughter, she would not have told you like that, she would not have said you like that.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_033]

The example in (349) demonstrates marking of delayed negative suffix preceding a first person dual inclusive argument marking negative suffix. Unlike the prefixal person marking, suffixal person marking in clauses with negative polarity includes distinct marking for both the inclusive pronouns (dual and plural) in Hyow.

(349) *èy ín bâng ?éylà?hnô?pû.*

èy ín bâng ?éy-lá?-hnô?-pû
ANAPH.DEM curry even eat-OBLG-DEL.NEG-1DL.NEG

‘We will not be able to even eat that curry.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_091]

The suffixal markers of different persons will be discussed in relevant sections on imperatives and optatives (§10.2.3.2).

7.5 CONCLUSION

The morphology of verb is very rich in Hyow. This chapter has dealt only with the categories that are relevant to argument indexation on verbs. The discussion on the

argument indexation or person marking morphology on Hyow verbs reflect a complex system, which shows sensitivity to situation types. This feature of an alignment system is known as co-argument sensitivity (see Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2015). For Hyow, considering situation types – that is co-argument sensitivity – allow explaining the complex marking system generated by the person hierarchy. In their paper on decomposing hierarchical alignment, Witzlack-Makarevich et al. (2015: 21) explain that hierarchical marking can be explained using co-argument sensitivity, not in the other way around. Other than the prefixal cross-referencing person markers, there is a directional marking prefix, which encodes the movement of the referent of the argument. Hyow also has a paradigm of suffixal person markers, which function in clauses with negative polarity and in sequential dependent clauses with positive polarity. There are a very few examples showing the use of the suffixal paradigm of person markers in independent clauses with positive polarity. The next chapter deals with the derivational and valence modifying system of verbs.

8 Morphology of verbs II: derivational and valency-change

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Verbal suffixes outnumber verbal prefixes by a great margin in Hyow. There are six suffixal zones in a verb complex in Hyow – a Derivational Suffix Zone, a Valency-Changing Suffix Zone, an Invariably Ordered Suffix Zone, a Restrictive Selectional Zone, and a Variably Ordered Suffix Zone. In addition, the structure of a verb complex includes a Clitic Zone. The discussion of this chapter is only focused on derivational suffix zone and valency-changing suffix zone. The derivational suffix zone includes middle suffix, spontaneitive suffix and departative suffix. I discuss the middle suffix in §8.2.1, which is followed by §8.2.2 on the departative suffix. Then, I present a description of derivation by the spontaneitive suffix in §8.2.3. The discussion on Valency-Changing Suffix Zone consists of valence modifying middle suffix in §8.3.1, applicatives in §8.3.2 and causative in §8.3.3. Finally, I make concluding remarks in §8.4.

8.2 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX ZONE

Verbal derivational category includes a middle suffix, a departative suffix and a spontaneitive suffix. The middle suffix *-êy* (§8.2.1) and the departative suffix *-âl* (§8.2.2) operate within the word class of verbs. The spontaneitive suffix *-nák* can be used to derive verbs from nouns as well (§8.2.3).

8.2.1 DERIVATION BY MIDDLE SUFFIX

The middle suffix *-êy* can be used to derive middle verbs (see §6.5) from both intransitive and transitive verbs in Hyow. Other types of middle verbs such as, reflexives and reciprocals, has a formally identical suffix, but these are not members of the Derivational Suffix Zone; rather they are members of the Valency-changing Suffix Zone.

As a derivational category, the middle suffix *-êy* can be used to derive intransitive verbs from another intransitive verb. The derivation process of this type

necessarily results in a change of meaning of the derived verb. For example, the verb *tsét* ‘walk’ is an intransitive verb, which can be used to derive the verb *tsètêy* ‘walk’ by the middle suffix *-êy*, as demonstrated by the example in (350).

(350) *khrònghú?y tsètêyhnângngâ*.

khrònghú?y [tsét-êy]-hnâng-ngâ

like.man [go-MID]-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG

‘I could not walk like man.’ [ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0037]

Likewise, the middle verb *hlêwêy* ‘yearn’ can be derived from the intransitive verb *hlôw* ‘be loud’ by employing the middle suffix *-êy*, as shown in (351). Examples of the similar type of derived verbs include – *hngêy* ‘be different’ from *ǝhngǝ* ‘be separated from family’, *lêty* ‘go below’ from *lét* ‘be free’, *ngiêy* ‘be unanimous’ from *ngí* ‘be equal’, *ò mêy* ‘get married’ from *óm* ‘sit’, etc.

(351) *èy hlêwêyâ?yhyô*.

èy [hlôw-êy]-â?y-hyô

ANAPH.DEM [be.loud-MID]-IRR-PM

‘He will yearn.’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_031]

The middle suffix can be also used to derive middle intransitive and transitive verbs from other transitive verbs. When the middle suffix derives an intransitive middle from a transitive verb, then the valence of the transitive verbs also changes along with the meaning. For example, the intransitive middle verb *têmêy* ‘be in company’ is derived from the transitive verb *tém* ‘follow’. This is exemplified in (352).

(352) *náng kònông kínítòméyálè?yhyô*

náng kònông kí-ní-[**tóm-êy**]-âl-é?y-hyô
 2SG with 1S-PL-[**follow.II-MID**]-DEP-IRR-PM

‘We will be in company with you’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0018]

It is also possible to derive a middle transitive from a transitive verb. In such derivation, the transitivity of the derived verb is less than the transitivity of the root. For example, the transitive verb *bé?* ‘slap’ can be used to derive the middle transitive verb *bè?êy* ‘clap’, which has a different meaning from the transitive verb. The transitive verb *bé?* ‘slap’ requires two distinct arguments (other than the reflexive situation, where it will require the reflexive/middle marker *-êy* too) – an A and a P. When the middle transitive verb *bè?êy* ‘clap’ is derived from the transitive verb *bé?* ‘slap’, the middle transitive becomes less transitive because of the deletion of a distinct participant. This situation can be referred as the low elaboration of participants. For the action of clapping, the doer needs his/her two hands, and this is similar to non-translational middle verbs. The derived verb is still considered as transitive, which can be examined by the ergative marking of the A argument of the derived verb *bè?êy* ‘clap’, as shown in (353).

(353) *náng kóông hláprúlâ bè?éyhyô*

náng kóông hláprú = lâ [**bé?-êy**]-hyô
 2SG for name.of.a.person=ERG [**slap-MID**]-PM

‘Hlapru clapped for you.’ [Elicited]

Likewise, in (354), the transitive middle *kákêy* ‘avoid’ is derived from the transitive verb *kák* ‘separate’. Middle transitive verbs focus on the affectedness of the A argument rather than on the P argument, which is not affected in situations described by these verbs.

(354) *krô-é?y-dá-dók* 丩, *póy kàk-éytsákùlàtsê*.

krô-é?y-dá-dók póy [kák-éy]-tsák-ú-lá = tsê

fall-IRR-ITER-ANT banquet [separate-MID]-COMPL-3PL-SEQ=TOP

‘They had waited avoiding the banquet (literally, they separated the banquet from themselves).’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_186]

8.2.2 DERIVATION BY DEPARTATIVE SUFFIX

From the perspective of aktionsart, the departative suffix *-â/* can be used to derive accomplished verbs in Hyow. The departative suffix encodes the termination of the predicated action, process, or state. Originally, it was an aspectual property of a verb. It holds the same slot of the verb complex as the middle suffix and spontaneitive suffix, which are also derivational suffixes. Verbs that are derived with the departative suffix *-â/* are internally telic. As a derivational category, the departative suffix helps a given verb to express a new meaning that suggests that the predicated action, process, state or event started, ended and moved to a new action, process or state. For example, the verb *têmâl* ‘divorce/expel/drive out’ is derived from the transitive verb *tóm* ‘follow’. The verb *têmâl* ‘divorce’ postulates that the referents of the agent and the patient of the verb were married once, and after the action taken place, they are in a new state of relationship status. The verb *hlô?âl* ‘set free.i’ in (355) also contains a similar meaning denoting an accomplished verb, which is derived from the verb *hlô?* ‘let go.II’.

(355) *không tébrétsá kihní?hlô?âl*.

không tébré-tsó = â kí-hní?-hlô?âl

human country-DIM=LOC 1A-DL-set.free.II

‘We two set him free in the human country.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_129]

Similar types of verbs that are derived by the departative suffix include *hlàkâl* ‘abate.II’ from *hlâék* ‘pluck fruits by a stick.II’, *hlâyâI* ‘transfer.II’ from *hlây* ‘exchange.II’, *lâtâl* ‘overcome’ from *lât* ‘become free’, *krônâyâI* ‘return from half way’ from *krônây* ‘be reversed’, *thò?âl* ‘bring out.II’ from *thó?* ‘throw/kick out.II’, *shò?âl* ‘throw out of mouth.II’ from *shó?* ‘spit.II’, etc.

The directional prefix and the departative suffix view directionality in different facets. The directional prefix (see §7.3.3) refers to the directionality (moving forward/go) of the argument engaged in an event, while the departative suffix refers to the directionality of the predicated action, process or state, as in *tsèt-âl* (go-DEP) ‘go back’ from *tsét* ‘go’ and *lò-âl* (come-DEP) ‘return’ from *lò* ‘come’ by the non-derivative function of it.

8.2.3 DERIVATION BY SPONTANEITIVE SUFFIX

The spontaneitive suffix *-nák* holds rather a complex linguistic functionality in the grammar of Hyow. There is a similar form of suffix in other Kuki-Chin languages, where it is used as an applicative, which is also true for Hyow (see §8.3.2.3). However, its function is not straightforward in Hyow. I use the term ‘spontaneitive’ in general. The other functions of this suffix include applicativization and spontaneitive adverbial. The spontaneitive suffix *-nák* historically originated from a verb *nák*, which meant ‘take’. Peterson (2000: 14) mentions cognates of this verb from KC-external languages. In Hyow, there is evidence of the fact that it was originally a verb. There are two variants of this multifunctional suffix in Hyow – *-nák* and *-ná-*, which are used based on stem variants. The form with the glottal stop finals is used with Stem II verbs, and the form with open syllable is used with Stem I verbs. In addition, the suffix *-nák* derives verbs from either nouns or Stem II of other verbs. It is shown in §6.2.2 that Stem II verbs are historically nominalized. Thus, there must have been a stage when the historical verb *nák* formed compounds with its argument (noun or nominalized verb). Consequently, it became a derivational suffix over the time. Considering the meaning of the suffix *-nák* as ‘take’, the underlying meaning of the derived verbs become clear in Hyow. Several verbs in Hyow are derived by the spontaneitive suffix *-nák* – *bà?nák* ‘converse.II (take words)’ from *bá* ‘word’, *hyùmnák* ‘disdain (take failure)’ from *hyúm* ‘fail/lose’, *khètnák* ‘love.II (take love)’ from *khét* ‘love’, *mòngnák* ‘dream.II (take dreaming)’ from *móng* ‘dream’, *tsèknák*

‘learn.II (take teaching)’ from *tsók* ‘teach.II (take teaching)’, *tsónák* ‘give birth (take a child)’ from *tsô* ‘child’, *krúnák* ‘torture.II (take falling down)’ from *krú* ‘fall down’, etc. The sentence in (356) exemplifies the verb *tsəknák* ‘learn’.

(356) *èykhôl khəní nínítsəknák-lá?hə*

<i>èy-khól</i>	<i>khə = ní</i>	<i>ní-ní-tsəknák-lá?-hə</i>
ANAPH.DEM-EXP	all=FOC	2A-PL-learn.II-OBLG-PM

‘You all will have to learn all those.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0050]

Unlike Daai, Hyow does not use the suffix *-nak* as a nominalizer. However, some verbs, for example *məngnák* ‘dream’ and *tsəknák* ‘give birth’, are derived from nouns *móng* ‘dream’ and *tsô* ‘child’ respectively. Thus, the suffix *-nák* is utilized to derive verbs from nouns also, which has a similar treatment in Daai (Hartmann, 2001: 145). The example in (357) shows instances of the verb *məngnák* ‘dream’ derived from the noun *móng* ‘dream’.

(357) *èydə tsúə məngání èy tsúlə məngnàk khólá? mǝngrílə məngnàk khólá? \.*

<i>èydə</i>	<i>tsú = ə</i>	<i>móng = ə = ní</i>	<i>èy</i>	<i>tsú = lâ</i>
then	DIST=LOC	dream=LOC=FOC	ANAPH.DEM	DIST=ERG

<i>mǝngnák-khə-lá?</i>	<i>mǝngrí = lâ</i>	<i>mǝngnák-khə-lá?</i>

dream.II -PM-none.the.less	great.king=ERG	dream.II -PM-none.the.less

‘Nonetheless, he dreamed that in dreams there. Nonetheless, the great king dreamed. [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_122]

8.3 VALENCY-CHANGING SUFFIX ZONE

The Valency-Changing Suffix Zone of a verb complex includes valency-modifying suffixes and valency-increasing suffixes. Valency-modifying suffixes either increase or decrease the valence of verbs either semantically or syntactically. The middle suffix (§8.3.1) functions as valence modifiers semantically and syntactically in Hyow.

On the other hand, the applicative suffixes (§8.3.2) and the causative suffix (§8.3.3) increase the valence of verbs both semantically and syntactically.

8.3.1 VALENCE MODIFICATION BY MIDDLE SUFFIX

The middle suffix *-êy* functions as a valence-modifying operator in Hyow. It can both increase and decrease the valence of a verb. Generally, middle voice is thought of as a detransitivizing category, even in TB languages (LaPolla, 1998: 1940). Hyow is an exception in this regard. The transitivizing function of the middle suffix can be explained by the core semantics of middle verbs and middle situations. Barber (1975: 21) states that the active (transitive) system represents a situation in which the affectedness of the subject is not specified, while the middle system represents a situation in which the affectedness of the subject due to the action is focused.

Kemmer (1993: 73) includes Barber's subject affectedness as one of the aspects of low participant distinguishability. Regardless of the verb being transitive or intransitive, Hyow employs the middle suffix to mark the affectedness of the referent of the S or A argument. For example, the verb *h/ʰ* 'be required' is an intransitive verb, but the valence of this intransitive verb can be increased from one to two by using the middle suffix, which results in the transitive verb *h/ʰ-êy* (be.required-MID) 'want'.

Adding the middle suffix to the intransitive verb, it is possible to add a P argument to the verb. Most importantly, it also encodes the affectedness of the A argument, in that the desire of wanting something necessarily affects the 'wanter'/experiencer, not the person or thing that is wanted. The examples in (358) and (359) demonstrate the transitivization of the intransitive verb *h/ʰ* 'be required' by using the middle suffix *-êy*.

(358) *èydô àtsô lùhngô hlá*

èydô	á-tsô	lú-hngô	hlá
then	chicken-DIM	CLS-five	be.required

‘Then five chicks are required.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_019]

(359) *ópólâ táá hláéyhyô*

ó-pô = lâ	táá	hlá-êy-hyô
GRP-father=ERG	money	be.required-MID-PM

‘His father wanted money.’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_016]

Similarly, the verb *óm* ‘sit’ is an intransitive verb, but with the middle suffix attached to it, it becomes a transitive verb – *òm-êy* (sit-MID) ‘marry (for woman; there is a separate verb to express the marriage of man)’. Here, a P argument is added to the verb, but above all, the greater affectedness of the referent of the derived A argument is encoded by the middle suffix *-êy*, rather than the affectedness of the referent of the erstwhile S argument of the verb *óm* ‘sit’. There are not many examples that illustrate the transitivizing function of the middle suffix in Hyow, but the few at hand reiterate that the affectedness of a doer forms the core semantics of middles. It can thus represent affectedness in intransitive or transitive stems.

As opposed to the limited examples of transitivization, there is a good number of examples showing detransitivization of verbs using the middle suffix *-êy*. As Stem II verbs are historically nominalized (§6.2.2), the detransitivization of transitive verbs by the middle suffix *-êy* requires a Stem I verb. Examples of such valence decreasing process includes – *hlák-êy* (peel.skin.I- mid) ‘be bruised’, *bəl-êy* (mix-MID) ‘be mixed into crowd’, *krôn-êy* (reverse.I-MID) ‘be reversed’, *hlîng-êy* (ravel.I-MID) ‘be tangled’, etc. The example in (360) includes the intransitive form *thùp-êy* (hide.I-MID) ‘hide’ of the transitive verb *thúp* ‘hide.I’

(360) *èydê èy khóátsê thùpéyáltí kèptsáâ.*

èydê	èy	khô = â = tsâ	thúp-êy-âl = tí	kép-tsô = â
then	ANAPH.DEM	time=LOC=TOP	hide-MID-DEP=R.EVID	gap-DIM=LOC

‘Then, he hid back in the small gap.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_064]

A host of valency-modifying operations – including middle marking, reflexive, reciprocal, and indirect (benefactive) reflexive derivation – all make middle voice the most salient grammatical category in Hyow.

The reflexive suffix is identical to the reciprocal and middle suffix. Therefore, they are glossed similarly and treated as middles from a broader perspective. The middle suffix *-êy* of a reflexive verb decreases the semantic valence of the verb, since reflexive verbs involve two coreferential arguments. To put this in other words, reflexive verbs predicate actions, processes or states performed on oneself. Typologically, the verbal reflexive can originate from reflexive pronouns or from other diachronic sources (Kazenin, 2001: 917). It is important to distinguish direct reflexives from indirect reflexives, since indirect reflexives are treated as markers of low elaborated event types, where the benefactor of the predicated action, process or state is the actor. The middle suffix of a reflexive verb also bears emphatic semantics (see §6.4.1). In addition, if a derived verb already has the middle suffix, it can still select the middle suffix from the Valency-Changing Suffix Zone. Following Greenberg 1966, this is a marked situation, as opposed to those verbs that do not take the middle suffix.

The verb *shùt-êy* ‘undo’ and *dòk-êy* ‘wrap’ in (361) are examples of direct reflexive verbs in Hyow. In these examples, the syntactic valence of the respective verbs do not change, but the semantic valences change from two to one. On the other hand, the middle suffix attached to the transitive verb *khá?* ‘shave’ in (361) is a derived middle intransitive verb.

(361) *èydô wát khæ shùtêyálóngùlá gámsá shòkâl. èydô gónzí kræktsô hngát dòkêy.
èydô úlúkí hángháng khà?éyáltí.*

èydô wát khæ shùtêy-âl-êng-ú-lá gámsá shók-âl
then clothe all undo.I-DEP-DUR-3PLA towel wear.II-DEP

èydô gónzí kræk-tsô hngát **dókêy** èydô ú-lúkí
then tee.shirt ribbon-DIM one **wrap.II** then 3SG.POSS-head

hángháng khà?êy-âl = tí

all shave.II-MID-DEP=R.EVID

‘Then, undoing his all clothes, he wore a towel. Then, he wrapped one ribbon of a tee shirt himself. Then, he got all his head shaved off.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_243-247]

Indirect reflexives are also a kind of middle, since they also include co-referential A and P arguments. Indirect reflexives are also known as benefactive reflexives, since the A argument of the indirect reflexive verb benefit directly or indirectly form the performed action or process. There is an extensive use of indirect reflexives in Hyow. The example in (362) illustrates an indirect reflexive construction, in which the referent of the A argument does not perform the action on himself, but he benefits from performing the action (in this example, he does not benefit by not performing the action).

(362) *phía báng bânéyhnúnghnó? ʔ.*

phía báng bân-êy-hnúng-hnó?
wife even get.II-MID-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG

‘He will not be able to find himself even a wife.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_008]

The reciprocity of an action or process is encoded by the middle suffix *-êy*. A reciprocal verb projects situations where two actors act on each other simultaneously.

In this regard, the theoretical framework of low elaborated events by Kemmer 1993 is applied here (see §6.4.2 for the discussion of reciprocal verbs). In a reciprocal situation, both the actors act at the same time and get affected at the same time. Like reflexives, it is a semantic valence-decreasing strategy. The example in (363) presents a prototypical reciprocal verb derived from a transitive verb. The syntactic valence of the transitive verb *bóp* ‘beat’ is decreased to one from two due to the reciprocalization of the verb employing the middle suffix.

(363) *ìbó kí-ní-bóp-êy-â?yhyśm*

ìbó kí-ní-bóp-êy-â?y-hyś = śm

how 1S-PL-beat-MID-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘How will we beat each other?’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0038]

Unlike, the reflexives, the reciprocal verbs are intransitives, which is evident from the derivational process of prototypical reciprocal verbs. Like the middle intransitives, which are derived from their unmarked transitive verbs, reciprocal verbs are also derived from Stem I transitive verbs. For Example, there are two distinct stems of the verb ‘shoot’ in Hyow – *kóp* ‘shot.I’ and *kóp?* ‘shot.II’, which are used in different morphosyntactic environments (see §6.2). Since the predicated event encodes a reciprocal situation in (364), the reciprocal verb is derived from the Stem I verb *kóp* ‘shoot.I’. The A argument of the transitive verb is demoted to the S argument as a result of the reciprocalization of the verb.

(364) *íníkòpêyhyóní* \. *íníshùnèyhyódâ*.

í-ní-kóp-êy-hyô = ní

í-ní-shún-êy-hyô = dâ

3S-PL-shoot.I-MID-PM=FOC

3S-PL-stab.I-MID-PM=EMPH

‘They shot each other. They stabbed each other.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0007]

In (364), the thematic roles of both the participants are permuted, but they are linked to both the thematic roles at the same time. Simply put, the shooter is also the shootee and the stabber is also the stabbee.

8.3.2 VALENCE INCREASING BY APPLICATIVES

Valency-increasing suffixes include three applicative suffixes – benefactive/malefactive (§8.3.2.1), associative-benefactive (§8.3.2.2) and locative/instrumental (§8.3.2.3).

Applicative suffixes are utilized to increase the valence of a verb. By attaching an applicative suffix to the verb, it is possible to treat a semantically non-central participant as a semantically central participant (Peterson, 2008: 1). In other words, an applicative construction allows a clause to code ‘a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument’ (Peterson, 2007: 1). The selection of applicative suffixes depends on the semantic and syntactic criteria of a verb. Therefore, the choice of applicative suffixes is restrictive. Hyow includes three basic applicative suffixes – a benefactive or malefactive suffix *-pék*, an associative benefactive suffix *-pûy* and an instrumental/locative suffix *-nák*. Peterson (2007: 22) argues that if a language has any applicatives, then it is likely to have one of these three applicatives. The forms and functions of these three applicative suffixes are similar to other Kuki-Chin languages, as in Lai (Peterson 2004) and Khumi (Peterson 2013). This section on applicative suffixes will only focus on their forms and functions in verb complexes. A discussion on argument marking on verbs in applicative constructions can be found in §10.4.1.2.

8.3.2.1 Benefactive/Malefactive

The benefactive/malefactive applicative originates in the transitive verb *pék* ‘give’. From the meaning of the verb, the function of the grammaticalized benefactive/malefactive applicative *-pék* is understandable. Giving away something to someone might prove to be either benefactive or malefactive. That is why the same form has a contrastive semantic contribution at the functional level of an applicative construction.

The argument that is added or promoted by an applicative suffix in a verb complex is called an applicative argument (see Peterson 2004: 353, 2008: 7). Similar to ditransitive verbs, an applicativized transitive verb takes the argument marking either of the applicative argument or P argument following the person hierarchy. If the applicative argument is higher than the P argument, then the applicative argument is marked on the verb, and if the P argument is higher than the applicative argument, then the P argument is marked on the verb, which can be understood comparing the examples in (365), (366) and (367). In (365), there is a first person singular applicative argument, which is marked by the prefix *khron̄g-* on the verb *tók* ‘keep.II’. Since the valence of the verb is increased from two to three, it functions as a ditransitive verb, and like a ditransitive verb, the third core argument, the applicative argument is marked by the dative case clitic =á. However, the dative case clitic is syntactically encoding the semantic role of the benefactor.

(365) *èykhôl khàní kényá khron̄gínítòkpèkállá? ʋ.*

èy-khól khá = ní kény = á

ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC 1SG=DAT

khron̄g-í-ní-tók-pék-âl-lá?

1APP.P-3A-PL-keep.II-BEN-DEP-none.the.less

‘Nonetheless, they kept all those for me.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_060]

Similarly, the first person applicative argument of the imperative verb *khón* ‘tie.I’ is marked on the verb in (366).

(366) *kiáng nútsó bót ælénthé?y hæltílàtsæ òkhònpék ʌ.*

kiáng	nú	tsô	bót	æ-lén-thé?y	háel-tí-lá = tsæ
deer	mother	child	herd	GRP-be.big-SUP	select.I-2SG-SEQ=TOP

ò-khón-pék

1APP.P-tie.I-BEN

‘Selecting the biggest herd of deer’s mother and child, tie it for me.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_146]

In, (367) the applicative argument is a third person plural argument of the reflexive verb *hàkêy* ‘scrimmage’. The third person argument ranks lower than the first person argument in the person hierarchy. As a result, the first person P argument is marked on the verb in this example. The first person is also the possessor of the genitive construction. The marking of the possessor shows that a possessor is marked on the verb if it is directly affected by the performed action (see §10.2.5 for the discussion of external possession in Hyow).

(367) *ìníhàkéypék nìtsæ kékó? nìtsæ.*

ì-ní-[hák-êy]-pék	ní = tsæ	kêy = kó?	ní = tsæ
1APP.P-INV-[scrimmage]-BEN	PROX=TOP	1SG=GEN	PROX=TOP

‘They scrimmaged this one, this one of mine for themselves.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_294]

The benefactive applicative can also be used as a malefactive applicative. As a malefactive, it bears the meaning of being harmful to an applicative object. In the famous Pear Story, a boy steals one basket of fruit on his cycle, which is a loss to the fruit plucker. While telling the story, the speaker used the suffix *-pék*, as exemplified in (368), to indicate that the plucker was the referent who suffered from the theft of

two baskets of fruits. Since the A argument is retrievable from the context, there is no overt marking of the third person singular actor on the verb, while there is usual non-marking of the third person singular P argument (see §7.3.2 and §10.2.3 for the detailed discussion on argument indexation in Hyow).

(368) *èydô èy tsíʔéypèkkhô tóngâk* ㄴ.

<i>èydô</i>	<i>èy</i>	<i>tsíʔ-êy-pék-khô</i>	<i>tông-âk</i>
then	ANAPH.DEM	take.II-MID-BEN-PM	CLS-one

‘Then, he took back that, one basket, for himself from him.’

[ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0028_0021]

8.3.2.2 Associative-benefactive

The associative-benefactive applicative suffix *-pûy* is used when a referent of an argument helps another referent of an argument in doing something by accompanying him/her or sharing is/her work. Speakers construe the meaning of such an applicative suffix ‘help’ rather than ‘with’, which is consistent in other Kuki-Chin languages, as in Hakha Lai (Peterson, 2007: 18), Khumi (Peterson, 2013: 174) and Daai (Hartmann, 2009: 200).

The applicative argument in (369) is a female third person participant. The associative-benefactive suffix *-pûy* helps the verb to treat the third person singular applicative argument.

(369) *èydô, ínítsì?púynâk ʘ. èydô, kěntsàkùlàtsê, ínítsì?púynàkní, èyâ ááníkrô.*

èydô	í-ní-tsí?-pûy-nák	èydô	kân-tsák-ú-lá = tsê
then	3A-PL-take.II-ASSO.BEN-SPNT	then	cover.I-COMPL-3PL-SEQ=TOP
í-ní-tsí?-pûy-nák-ní	èy = â	á-á-ní-krô	
3A-PL-take.II-ASSO.BEN-SPNT	ANAPH.DEM	3S-AND-PL-fall	

‘Then, they took her along with them. Then, covering her completely, when they took her with them spontaneously, they reached there (literally, they went to fall there). [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_051]

In (370), the applicative argument is a first person, which is marked on the verb *bók* ‘incise.II’. In such constructions, the applicative argument is not overtly marked by any case clitic.

(370) *èylâ kēy ðbók-pùhyô.*

èy = lâ	kēy	ð-bók-pûy-hyô
ANAPH.DEM=ERG	1SG	1APP.P -incise.the.palm.of.a.date.tree.II-ASSO.BEN-PM

‘He helped me incising the palm of the date trees (not one that I am incising, but the other trees).’ [Elicited]

The use of the associative-benefactive applicative is clearer when its functional domain involves an intransitive verb. An intransitive verb is upgraded to a transitive verb through an increase of its valence. The verb *tsón* ‘run’ is an intransitive verb with only one argument, but when the associative-benefactive applicative suffix is attached to the verb, then it takes another argument, a second person singular argument in (371). Hyow does not employ any marking for second person P argument. An inverse marker in a situation, which includes a first person A and a second person P, encodes that the other participant of the verb is an SAP.

(371) *kêy náng lômâ kínítsònpúynàkkhô*.

kêy náng lôm = â kí-ní-tsón-pûy-nák-khô

1SG 2SG road=LOC 1-INV-run.II-ASSO.BEN-SPNT-PM

‘I made you run on the road with me (you tried to get hold of me, but I did not let you.)’ [Elicited]

8.3.2.3 Locative/Instrumental

The locative/instrumental applicative *-nák* makes a verb marked for an argument that marks a location, which is otherwise an oblique argument and thus, not marked on a verb. The instrumental applicative can also function as an instrumental applicative in Hyow, which is a locative nominalizer in Daai (Hartmann, 2001: 151). However, most of the text examples illustrate the locative applicative function of the suffix *-nák* in Hyow. The example in (372) includes an applicativized intransitive verb, whose valence has been increased from one to two by the locative applicative suffix. The second person P argument is added to the intransitive verb *pló* ‘make fun/joke.’ in this example. Based on the person hierarchy, there is an inverse marker for the second person P argument.

(372) *nìhú?y kíníplònnàkkhódâ*

nìhú?y kí-ní-pló-nák-khó = dâ

like.this 1A-INV-joke-LOC-PM=EMPH

‘I made fun on you.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_HYOW_0035_027]

Though the first person oblique argument in (373) is marked by an inessive case clitic, it is treated as a core argument because of the locative applicative suffix *-nák* attached to the verb. The verb is marked by a first person P marking prefix and an inverse prefix encoding the inverse situation in (373), which is an identical marking of a situation where a second person acts on a first person (see §7.3.2).

(373) *náng kɛ̀yɔ̀ng khèypá ìní-phú?l-nák-khò*.

náng kɛ̀y = ɔ̀ng khèypá ì-ní-phú?l-**nák**-khò

2SG 1SG=INE flower 1P-INV-scatter.II-LOC.APP-PM

‘You scattered flower on me.’ [Elicited]

The third person argument in (374) is marked by the locative clitic =*â*. However, the function of the suffix *-nák* as a locative applicative promotes the oblique third person argument to the core argument.

(374) *hngóhú-tsô = â = ní èy = á = ní nûy-nák-hnó? = tí* \.

hngóhú-tsô = â = ní èy = á = ní nûy-nák-hnó? = tí

young.girl=LOC=FOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC=FOC laugh-LOC.APPL=R.EVID

‘He laughed there at the young girl.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0017]

As said in the introductory para of this section, the locative applicative suffix can also function as an instrumental applicative. When the suffix *-nák* functions as the instrumental applicative, then the oblique instrumental argument is not marked with the instrumental case clitic anymore. The oblique instrumental argument in such constructions is promoted to the core argument, which is demonstrated by the example in (375).

(375) *èylâ súrí shél bə̀nàk khô.*

<i>èy = lâ</i>	<i>súrí</i>	<i>shél</i>	<i>bót-nák-khô</i>
ANAPH.DEM=ERG	knife	cow	butcher.II-LOC-PM

‘He butchered the cow with a knife.’ [Elicited]

In Hyow, the nominal phrases tend to be marked with oblique case clitics in applicative constructions. It is the argument marking on the verb root that signals the promotion of an oblique argument to a core argument in the applicative construction.

8.3.3 VALENCE INCREASING BY CAUSATIVE SUFFIX

The causative suffix *-shók* is a member of the Valency-Changing Suffix Zone of a verb complex in Hyow, which has grammaticalized from the verb *shók* ‘make’. This is an instance of a morphological causative, which was probably introduced to the language because of the limited productiveness of the lexical causative or the **s*-causative (see LaPolla, 1994: 70). Out of two processes of causativization, lexical causatives have been already discussed in §6.6. This section focuses only on the morphological causatives. The causative suffix allows a verb to take an extra core argument, and this makes the causativization process a valency-increasing process.

Verbs that are lexically causative do not normally take the causative suffix, but it is not impossible to causativize them again. Additionally, some verbs might use the morphological causative instead of the lexical causative. For example, the verb *lóm* ‘dance’ can be causativized both lexically and morphologically, as *hlóm* ‘make dance’ and *lóm-shók* ‘make dance’ respectively. Some verbs can be causativized twice. For example, the verb *yá?* ‘stand’ is an intransitive verb, while the transitive counterpart of this verb is lexically causativized – *hyá?* ‘stop/stand’. The verb *hyá?* can take the morphological causative too, as in *hyá?-shók* ‘make someone stop/stand.’

The verb *íp* ‘sleep’ is an intransitive verb with an S argument. When the verb selects the causative suffix *-shók* from the Valency-changing Suffix Zone, it becomes a transitive verb with two core arguments. The added new core argument is a third person singular in (376).

(376) *tsùâ átsángnú ímání áánípshòkhñtî.*

tsú = â á-tsáng-nú ím = â = ní

DIST=LOC GRP-be.old-F house=LOC=FOC

á-á-ní-íp-**shók**-hnó? = tí

3A-DIR-PL-sleep-CAUS-ULT=R.EVID

‘They went to make her sleep there in the old woman’s house.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_161]

Likewise, the verb *wát* ‘wear’ in (377) is a monotransitive verb with two core arguments, but with the causative suffix *-shók* attached to the verb, the verb becomes ditransitive with three core arguments. Like other ditransitive verbs, a causativized ditransitive verb is always for the A argument, and either for the derived causative argument or the P argument, based on the person hierarchy. If the P argument ranks higher than the causative argument, then the P argument is marked, and if the causative argument ranks higher than the P argument, then the causative argument is marked on the verb. In (377), both the causative and the P arguments are third person. As a result, the causativized verb is marked by the A argument marking prefixes (person and number) only.

(377) *mông wàtkhól mông dánshákhól wàtshòkùlâtsê ínîwàtâshók ʘ.*

mông wát-khól mông dánshá-khól wát-shók-ú-lá = tsê

king clothe=EXP king ornament=EXP wear.I-CAUS-3PL-SEQ=TOP

í-ní-wát-âl-**shók**

3A-PL-wear.II-DEP-CAUS

‘Making her wear the king’s clothes and the king’s ornaments, they made her wear (the king’s look). [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_088]

None of the causative arguments in (376) and (377) are overtly present. An overtly expressed causative argument is always marked by the dative case clitic =*á* in

Hyow, as shown in (378), in which the causative argument *dzóllak* ‘executioner’ is marked by the dative case clitic. Following the person hierarchy, none of the third person P and causative arguments qualify to be marked on the verb.

(378) *bóhítsæ zóllák kóshò?æ?yshòk khô*

bóhí = tsæ zóllák = á kó-shò?-æ?y-shók-khô
 so=TOP executioner_B=DAT 1A-hack.II-IRR-CAUS-PM

‘So, I will make the executioner hack her.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0088]

When a ditransitive verb is causativized, then both the causative and the dative arguments are marked by the dative case clitic. In a construction like this, the higher in ranked argument among the P, dative and causative arguments are marked on the verb, as demonstrated by the example in (379).

(379) *hláprúlâ kényá èyá khèypá hngát inípèkshók* ʘ

hláprú = lâ kény = á èy = á khèypá hngát
 name.of.person=ERG 1SG=DAT ANAPH.DEM=DAT flower one

ì-ní-pék-shók

1CAUS.P-give.II-CAUS

‘Hlapru made me give her a flower.’ [Elicited]

8.4 CONCLUSION

Hyow shows a great deal of diversity in utilizing the derivational and valency-changing suffixes. Particularly, the middle suffix functions in salient manner by decreasing syntactic valence, decreasing semantic valence and increasing syntactic. The applicative suffixes and the causative suffix are central to syntactic valency-increasing operations. The next chapter deals with the inflectional categories of verbs.

9 Morphology of verbs III: inflectional categories and clitics

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The inflectional categories and clitics, which have scopes over verbs and clauses respectively form a large group. This large group of inflectional categories and clitics is the central topic of this chapter. The discussion of this chapter includes inflectional categories of Variably Positioned Suffix Zone, Restricted Selectional Zone, Invariably Ordered Suffix Zone and clitics of Clitic Zone. This chapter does not include any detailed description of tense, because Hyow lacks the inflectional category of tense. In order to make temporal reference prior and after speech, Hyow speakers use temporal words (see §3.4.3). If anyone needs to refer the time before speech, the temporal words that refer to the time before the speech are used. For example, the temporal words *títúʔ* ‘one day hence’, *múntúʔ* ‘two day hence’, *yóntéʔ* ‘yesterday’, etc are used to make temporal reference of an event in the past. The example in (380) illustrates an event at the time before speech, which can be inferred from the temporal word *yóhntámá* ‘last night’.

(380) *èydê yóntámá èy íphíá háshpátálâ ínítsíʔhê.*

<i>èydê</i>	<i>yóntámá</i> = â	<i>èy</i>	<i>í-phíá</i>	<i>háshpátál</i> = â
then	last.night =LOC	ANAPH.DEM	3SG.POSS-wife	hospital _B =LOC

í-ní-tsíʔ-hê

3A-PL-take.II-PM

‘They **took** her, his wife to the hospital **last night**.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0094]

Likewise, if anyone wants to refer to the time of an event after the speech, then the temporal words that express such temporal points are used. Other than the temporal words, temporal reference of an event in the future can be made by the

irrealis mood-marking suffix *-æʔy*. However, the temporal locus of the verb still depends on the temporal words or the discourse, because an unactualized event can be referred to both before and after the time of speech.

(381) *ú átsúhnângæʔyôm?*

ú á-tsû-hnâng-æʔy = ôm

who DIR-jump-PH.CAP-IRR=CONT.Q

‘Who will be able to go to jump?’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_222]

I start the in depth discussion of this chapter with modality suffixes in §9.2.1, which is followed by a description of suffixes that belong to aspectual category in §9.2.2. Then, I present discussions on adverbial suffixes in §9.2.3, clause-linking suffixes in §9.3.1, predicate-marking suffix in §9.4.1, expansive suffix in §9.4.2, sentential mood markers in §9.5.1 and clitics in §9.6. Finally, I make concluding remarks in §9.7.

9.2 VARIABLY-POSITIONED SUFFIX ZONE

The suffixes of the Variably-positioned Suffix Zone of a verb complex include modality, aspectual and adverbial markers. These suffixes have co-occurrence constraints. Furthermore, based on scopal capability, they can be variably ordered. Not all types of clauses can use all the suffixes of this zone. Constraints of their occurrences are listed in Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs and Appendix III: A Combinatory Matrix for Imperative Verbs

9.2.1 MODALITY

Modality can be viewed as alternative realities intermediated by an authority (Timberlake, 2007: 315). Different linguistic elements of the propositional frame of a clause remain mostly unaffected by the grammatical category of modality, but modality essentially encodes a speaker’s judgements towards the proposition, which includes epistemic judgement and evaluative judgement (Givón, 2001: 319). Epistemic judgement includes truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence, while

evaluative or deontic judgement is based on desirability, preference, intent, ability, obligation and manipulation.

The binary opposition of realis and irrealis is a notional feature of modality in a given language, though sometimes these terms are problematic to use (Palmer, 1986: 1). According to Mithun (1999: 173), ‘The realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.’ Therefore, regardless of types of modality, realis and irrealis assert the actualization or non-actualization of events respectively. Languages mark realis-irrealis distinction through particles, clitics or verbal inflections. Generally, if only one of these two is marked, then it is likely to be the irrealis that is marked (Mithun, 1999: 173). Likewise, Hyow marks only the irrealis, while the realis is unmarked, and the binary opposition of realis and irrealis plays a vital role in the grammar of Hyow.

9.2.1.1 Realis

A proposition is deemed strongly true through realis assertion, though the hearer may challenge the truth-value of the proposition or the belief, which is defended by the speaker with a direct or strong evidence (Givón, 2001.I: 301). A proposition with a realis assertion is exemplified in (382), in which there are two clauses with the realis assertion.

(382) *ó-hépót bǝngák í-ní-bǝn-hnǝ èy-khól kááníshǝ ʘ.*

ó-hépót	bǝngák	í-ní-bǝn-hnǝ	èy-khól	ká-á-ní-shót
GRP-waist	half	3A-PL-find.II-PM	ANAPH.DEM=PL	1A-AND-PL-look.II

‘They found half part of the waist (of the Buddha’s statue). We went to look at those.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0024]

Since Hyow does not have a grammatical category of tense, an event is expressed either as actualized or unactualized. A verb denoting an actualized event is always unmarked and its temporal locus can be set at the time of speech or before the time of speech, which is usually inferred from the discourse. Therefore, if there is not

any contextual reference of time, e.g. temporal words, then an actualized event can be deemed to be taken place at the time of speech or at the time before speech, as demonstrated by the examples in (383) and (384). Furthermore, if a verb denoting an actualized event is not marked by the predicate-marking suffix (see §9.4.1), then it refers to a habitual event, which is evident from the example in (383). This example includes a question about the occupation of the referent of a second person argument. The example demonstrates that both the interrogative clause and the declarative clause verbs are not marked by the predicate-marking suffix, which would make the clauses ungrammatical. Thus, a verb denoting a realized event and without the inflection of the predicate-marking suffix can be used to express a habitual, a universal truth or a process.

(383) *náng í nó-pó?êm? kêy tsó kó-phôt*

náng	í	nó-pó? = êm	kêy	tsó	kó-phôt
2SG	what	2A-DV.II=CONT.Q	1SG	lesson	1S-study

‘What do you do? I study.’ [Elicited]

On the other hand, a verb denoting actualized event and marked by the predicate-marking suffix can be used to express a non-habitual event, as exemplified in (384). As said above, the temporal reference of the predicated event has to be made from the discourse.

(384) *kêy ímâ kétsèthâ*

kêy ím = â ké-tsét-thô

1SG home=LOC 1S-go-PM

‘I am going home.’

‘I was going home’

‘I went home’ [Elicited]

The verb denoting an actualized event can be further inflected by different aspectual and adverbial categories, which are discussed in §9.2.2 and in §9.2.3 respectively.

9.2.1.2 Irrealis

The irrealis suffix *-æʔy* refers to an event that is not actualized. According to Givón (2001: 302), a proposition expressed in the irrealis is dimly affirmed to be either likely, possible or uncertain, though the speaker is not prepared to support the statement with required evidence. In a situation like this, the speaker might expect challenges and questions about the proposition from the hearer. The irrealis marker generally accompanies several modality suffixes, both epistemic and deontic, and it accompanies adverbial suffixes.

The suffix *-nʔ* functions as a temporal clause-marking suffix (see §9.3.1.1). However, when the irrealis suffix precedes the temporal suffix in a dependent clause, as in (385), then the temporal suffix functions as a conditional suffix (see §12.4.1.1). Since irrealis is an inherent property of conditional clauses, and temporal clauses also carries the semantics of conditional, when the irrealis suffix is added in a temporal clause, then the dependent clause expresses a conditional which is equivalent to English ‘lest’ constructions. Semantically, this construction is termed as ‘possible consequence’ by Dixon (2009: 48).

(385) *étsètəʔyní, tsùâ éphíalâ, “shóʔ mǒng mǒngdó nésètəʔyhítsə tséttsǒng lú
tùméyhùtəʔyhyô.”*

é-tsét-əʔy-ní tsú = â é-phía = lâ shóʔ mǒngdó = ô

3S-go-IRR-TEMP DIST=LOC 3SG.POSS-wife=ERG INTJ husband=VOC

né-tsét-əʔy-hí = tsə tséttsó = ông lú túm-êy-hùt-əyhyô

2S-go-IRR-COND=TOP agreement=INE head make.plait-MID-LV-NECOHORT-PM

‘Lest he goes there, his wife tells him, “No, husband, lest you go, lets make
plaits to each other in agreement before leaving.”

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_101]

The irrealis suffix can also be used in a situation that is unactualized at the time before speech relative to the temporal locus of another event predicated at the time before speech, as exemplified by the irrealis suffix in bolded type in (386).

- (386) *dætsángání krání, èydô, èy shómáytsô ínibètà?yhyô ínípòhí, èy bètí?lâ khrông tsí bètí?lâ zólláklâ shómáytsô bètà?yhyô pòhí, èy shómáytsóní núydák \. hóhówâ núydák \, háhákklání \.*

dætsáng = â = ní krô-ní èydô èy shómáytsô

desert=LOC=FOC fall-TEMP then ANAPH.DEM boy

í-ní-bót-æ?y-hyô í-ní-pó?-ní èy

3A-PL-slaughter.II-IRR-PM 3A-PL-DV.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM

bót-tí? = lâ khrông tsí bót-tí? = lâ zóllák = lâ

slaughter.I-NMLZ=ERG man often slaughter.I-NMLZ=ERG slaughterer=ERG

shómáytsô bót-æ?y-hyô pó?-ní èy shómáytsó = ní

boy slaughter.II-IRR-PM DV.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM boy=FOC

nûy-dók hóhów = â nûy-dók háhákklá = ní

laugh.II-ANT ONMT=LOC laugh.II-ANT loud.laughter=FOC

‘When he reached the desert, when they prepared to slaughter that boy, when the slaughterer, who often slaughtered men, prepared to slaughter the boy, the boy had laughed. He had laughed loud with the ‘howhow’ sound.’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_028]

Other than marking an unactualized event, the irrealis suffix is obligatorily required to co-occur with the assumptive modality (§9.2.1.5) and the desiderative modality (§9.2.1.8) to construct grammatically correct sentences.

Though negatives and imperatives naturally present unactualized events, the verb of a clause with negative polarity and of an imperative clause can be further inflected by the suffixes *-hnó?* and *-bây* respectively, which encode late action, process or state. For example, in (387), the context includes a boy, who learns two very important words from his master. When he prepares to leave his master, his master tells him to sell the words for one thousand each later when he will leave the

school. The delayed temporal reference of the master's advice is encoded by the delayed imperative suffix *-bây*.

(387) *thòngàktsiông yàeybây tîng áták* ㄴ.

thóng-ák-tsí = êng	yàe-êy- bây	tîng	á-ták
thousand-one-each=INST	sell.I-MID- DEL.IMP	QT	3A-tell.II

'He said (the master), "Sell [the words that you learnt] yourself for one thousand each." [ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_014]

The example in (388) also demonstrates the use of the late imperative suffix, in which the husband of the younger sister refers to the action of taking the meat at a later period. The quotative particle is functioning as a reason clause-marking suffix in this example. This specific use of the quotative particle is borrowed from Bangla (see §12.4.1.4)

(388) *ók-ró ?éytsô tîng-hú?yní tsìpèkbây óngówá khótsô wáhí* ㄴ.

ók-ró	?éy-tsô	tîng-hú?y = ní	tsì-pék- bây	óngówá	khô-tsô
GRP-be.late	eat-NMLZ	QT-like=FOC	take.I-BEN- DEL.IMP	tomorrow	time-DIM
wá-hí					
be.light-COND					

'As eating time is late, take the meat tomorrow, when the light comes out.'
[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_156]

On the other hand, the suffix *-hnó?* encodes a late action, process or state described by a verb of a clause with negative polarity (see §7.4), which is evident from the example presented in (389). The example illustrates a situation in which the speaker comments on the level of difficulty of interview questions. The speaker has already faced an interview board, and from his experience, he advises the addressee not to worry. The speaker refers to an unactualized event that does not take place immediately after the speaker ends the conversation; rather the speaker refers to an

unactualized event that is going to take place after some time. The third person singular S argument is zero marked on the verb inflected by the delayed negative.

(389) *èy khóátsâ èyhyó? ngètíhnó? ʔ.*

èy khô = â = tsâ èyhyó? ngét-tí-hnó?-Ø

ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=TOP that.much be.difficult-NITER-DEL.NEG-3SG.NEG

‘At that time, it will not be that much difficult anymore.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0082]

Except for the third person singular S/A argument, all the other S/A arguments are marked suffixally on a negated verb. The person marking suffixes function both as referential and negation markers at the same time in Hyow, as shown in (390). The usual negative markers follow the delayed negative suffix *-hnó?*, which is evident from the following example in (390), in which the described situation refers to an unactualized event not to be performed after some time. The described context also illustrates that the speaker is currently drinking alcohol, and when his friends ask him if he wants to drink more alcohol, he replies that he will not drink anymore after finishing the alcohol that he is currently drinking.

(390) *álák òtíhnò?ngâ.*

álák ó-tí-hnó?-ngâ

alcohol drink.I-NITER-DEL.NEG-1SG.NEG

‘I will not drink alcohol anymore.’

[ZM_GSS2_082015_Hyow_0016_0029]

The delayed negative suffix does not co-occur with the irrealis suffix *-æ?y*, except in a verb complex where the verb is marked by the assumptive modality. The assumptive modality is encoded by the irrealis suffix and the assumptive suffix *-hnâ*.

9.2.1.3 Deductive

The deductive suffix *-tæ* encodes one's judgement based on visual experiences or knowledge. Therefore, a speaker's deduction of a proposition being truth based on other information is expressed through the deductive suffix, which belongs to epistemic modality. Palmer (1986: 26) classifies deductive modality as one of the three subtypes of epistemic modality. He defines deductive modality as one's inference from observable evidence.

The deductive suffix in the verb complex inside square brackets in (391) expresses a deductive judgement of an old couple who asks a stranger boy to live with them. At first, the boy hesitates to stay. When the old couple assures him that the land and the house will take care of him, the boy agrees to stay.

(391) *ím lâ lówlád íniphônàtææ?y* \. *kéyhni? kíhni?phææ?ylà?khə?é? ↗?*

ím = lâ

lów = lâ = dê

house=ERG

swidden.field=ERG=EMPH

[í-ní-phə-ná-tæ-æ?y

kéyhni?

[3A-INV-carry.on.back.II-SPNT-DED-IRR

1DL

kí-hni?-phə-æ?y-lá?-khə? = éy

1A-DL-carry.on.back.II-IRR-OBLG-FACT=POL.Q

'The house and the swidden field will surely look after you (literally, carry you).
Will we have to really look after?'

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_015]

The current corpus of Hyow includes a very few examples of the deductive suffix and all of them are used in interrogative clauses. When consultants were quizzed about its function, they gave elicited examples of the deductive suffix attached to verbs in declarative sentences, but with negative polarity. In interrogative clauses and clauses with negative polarity, the deductive modality encodes the dubious judgement of the referent of the respective argument. This particular use or

function is similar to the function of the dubitative modality. The elicited example in (392) involves a situation in which a wife is not sure whether her husband will return home that day or not.

(392) *èy ímâ túhnúpâ lòáltàéy ↗, hówhnúngá? ↘.*

èy ím = â túhnúp = â lò-âl-**tæ** = èy
ANAPH.DEM house=LOC today=LOC come-DEP-**DED**=POL.Q

hôw-hnúng-á?

say.I-PH.CAP-3SG.NEG

‘She does not know whether he will come home today or not.’ [Elicited]

The example in (393) is taken from an argumentative text. When a village chief is asked to make a decision on how to drive away enemies who come to fight the villagers, the village chief responds by asking the villagers whether he is able to solve the problem or not. Yet again, the deductive suffix is expressing the dubious judgement of the referent in (393).

(393) “*shíeyà?bák khóeyà?bák máné èyông tsú ónówtsô krăông èyá
hngilhnúngtàngáéy ↗?” tîng óshòtmòhâ khêw.*

shíey-á?-bák khóey-á?-bák máné èy = ông
quarrel-3SG.NEG-CONCESS EE-3SG.NEG-CONCESS means_B ANAPH.DEM=INE

tsú ó-nów-tsô prák = ông èy = á
DIST GRP-be.cool-DIM direction=INE ANAPH.DEM=ADD

hngí-âl-hnúng-**tæ**-ngâ = èy tîng ó-shót-mô-hó khêw
solve.II-DEP-PH.CAP-DED-1SG.NEG=POL.Q QT 3A-look.II-PRIOR-PM DP

‘He tried first saying “Shouldn’t I be able to solve that in that manner with cool head without quarrelling and so on?” [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0014]

9.2.1.4 Speculative

The speculative suffix *-páy* expresses speaker's uncertain judgement about a proposition. In other words, the speculative suffix refers to possibility. The speculative is also known as the dubitative. According to Bybee (1985: 179), "A Dubitative (and sometimes moods labelled differently) is usually described as expressing an element of doubt that the event described in the proposition occurred or will occur." However, Palmer (1986: 25) prefers the term speculative.

The example in (394) illustrates a situation in which a younger brother wants to revenge his elder brother's death, and the monster king's mother makes trouble for him. One night, she wanted to kill the boy, but she could not because the boy was awake. He went to sleep in the early morning. When the monster's mother saw the boy in bed, she speculated that the boy might have finally gone to sleep. Her speculation of the proposition is encoded by the suffix *-páy* in (394).

(394) *phólá phólá tîng ákhón pó=êng phók tîng thówóngbálátsê óh phólá dálá tsóngkróngtsô ípálhnè?pàynú tîng ááshòtní ípáldá ʘ.*

phólá phólá tîng ákhón pó=êng phók tîng

Buddha Buddha QT early.morning side=INE ONOMT QT

thów-óng-bá-lá = tsê óh phólá dálá tsóngkróng-tsô

get.up-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP INTJ Buddha EE young.man-DIM

íp-âl-hnè?-páy = nú tîng á-á-shót-ní íp-âl-dók

sleep.II-DEP-ULT-SPEC=SS.EVID QT 3A-AND-see.II-TEMP sleep.II-DEP-ANT

'She said, "Buddha, Buddha!" In the early morning, after she got up with the sound "phok", she said, "Oh, Buddha! He probably fell back to slept finally." When she went to look (at him), he had fallen back to sleep.'

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_215]

In (395), the speculative suffix is used with a stative verb, which describes elder sisters' speculation of the mental state of their younger sister.

(395) *hyókéyá? ó-hlú-êy-hyô hí-páy á-tsâng-pô tîngkhôl ínítàkhôl*

hyókéy-á?	ó-hlú-êy-hyô	hí-páy	á-tsâng-pô
be.ashamed-3SG.NEG	3A-want-MID-PM	be.right-SPEC	GRP-be.old-FA
tîng-khól	í-ní-ták-hnó? = tí		
QT-EXP	3A-PL-tell.II-ULT= R.EVID		

‘They told, “She is not ashamed. It is probably right that she wants the old man ultimately.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_086]

9.2.1.5 Assumptive

The assumptive suffix *-hnó* is an essential part of a matrix-clause verb complex in a conditional sentence. Following the conditional dependent clause, the verb in the matrix clause takes the assumptive suffix to express the epistemic modality of assumption. The equivalent expression of the assumptive suffix is ‘might have’ or ‘would have’ in English.

The first example of an assumptive suffix in a verb complex in (396) refers to a situation where a small snake thanks his lifesaver. When his lifesaver asks him to leave him immediately, he responds by saying that it is he who has freed his life, and he would have been caught by some snake charmers if it were not for him.

(396) *tsètálhnó? títg tàkní úh tábòngtáô nàngdónú kēy shók hlòtti?tsê hyà?hìtsê ínímónà?yhnènú\.*

tsét-âl hnó? títg ták-ní úh tá-bóng-tá-ô

go-DEP IMM.IMP QT tell.II-TEMP INTJ elder.brother-almost-elder.brother=VOC

náng = dós = nú kēy shók hlót-tí? = tsê hyá?-hí = tsê

2SG=EMPH=SS.EVID 1SG life set.free.I-NMLZ=TOP be.not-COND=TOP

ì-ní-môn-æ?y-~~hnú~~ = nú

1P-INV-catch.II-IRR-ASSP=SS.EVID

‘When he_i said, “Go away at once!” he_j (snake) said, “Brother (who is like ones own brother), if not for you, the one who set my life free, they (snake catchers) would have caught me.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_004]

The following two examples in (397) and (398) are used in clauses with negative polarity. The example in (397) predicates a situation where the agent assumes that if the addressee’s lover were a human, she would have told the addressee everything openly.

(397) *lú?tsô tsúhnúhìtsê èyhú?y ínítàè?yhnèhnó? íníhòwè?yhnèhnó? èyhú?y\.*

lú?-tsô tsúhnú-hí = tsê èyhú?y í-ní-tà-æ?y -~~hnú~~-hnó?

human-DIM daughter-COND=TOP like.that 3A-INV-tell.I-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG

í-ní-hòw-æ?y-~~hnú~~-hnó? èyhú?y

3A-INV-say.I-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG like.that

‘If she were a human’s daughter, she would not have told you like that, she would have not said you like that.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_033]

In (398), a small snake tells his father through a conditional sentence what would have happened to him if a human had not saved him. All these examples given

here spell out the function of the assumptive suffix by depicting the semantics of assumption of something in an imaginary world, where the assumptions might have had become true, if the conditions expressed in given clauses were actually met.

(398) *étsèt-ní èydê èyâ “ó pô kótsólâ tsók lònú” tîng tákní, “óhó?, pô ô níhú?y ùhmúálâ?yhnâhnó?tsú bóhítsâ ní ù?tsô lù?tsódâ hngát hyàhítsâ”.*

é-tsét-ní èydê èy = â ó pô kó-tsô = lâ tsók

3S-go-TEMP then ANAPH.DEM=LOC INTJ father 1SG.POSS-son=ERG food

lò = nú tîng ták-ní óhó? pô = ô níhú?y

come=SS.EVID QT tell.II-TEMP INTJ father=VOC like.this

ù-hmú-âl-â?y-~~hnâ~~-hnó?-tsú

1P-see.I-DEP-IRR-**ASSP**-DEL.NEG-2PL.NEG

‘When he_i went, then when he_j said, “O father, my son has brought food.’, he_i said, “No, father! You all would not have seen me.”’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_012-013]

9.2.1.6 Factive

The factive suffix *-khó?* refers to a proposition as true or correct. The speaker adds strong emphasis to make the proposition believable, though the proposition may be non-actualized, as exemplified in (399). While giving advice to a job applicant, a man tells him that if he goes to the respective members of the recruitment board and explains his problems, they will promise to give him a job. The factive suffix attached to the verb in the final matrix clause adds emphasis to an assertion.

(399) *èylátsæ nílúp nǎngkhò?nú tǐng kínípekà?khó? tǐng.*

èy = lâ = tsâ nílúp nǎng-khó? = nú tǐng

ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP like.this be.able-FACT=SS.EVID QT

kí-ní-pék-æ?y-khó? tǐng

1A-PL-give.II-IRR-FACT QT

‘They will say, “He is really able (to do the job) like this.” They will say, “We will really give him the job.”’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0085]

In the same way, the factive suffix attached to the verb in (400) illustrates a man’s true realization that he cannot become a good person.

(400) *ǎpǎytsæ thónéyhnǎngà?nú tǐng khínéykhô? \.*

ǎ-pǎy = tsâ thón-êy-hnǎng-á? = nú tǐng khín-êy-khô?

GRP-be.good=TOP happen-MID-PH.CAP-3SG.NEG=SS.EVID QT think.II-MID-FACT

‘He really thought that he could not become good.’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0023]

The example in (401) is taken from a conversational text. When a group of indigenous people from highland came to attack the indigenous people of lowland, the chief of the village, where the indigenous people of lowland live, asks everyone to calm down and not to go ahead to fight them. There was a man standing nearby. He heard the words that the village chief said. He thought himself that the words that the village chief spoke were really correct. Thus, the factive suffix is attached to the verb complex.

(401) *kárbári khêw kárbárlâ hòwhóní íhikhó? tîng níkhêw híkhè?nú* ㄨˊ .

kárbári	khêw	kárbárlâ	hów-hó-ní	í-hí-khó?
village.chief	word	village.chief=ERG	say.II-PM-TEMP	3S-be.right-FACT
tîng	ní	khêw	hí-khó? = nú	
QT	PROX	word	be.right-FACT=SS.EVID	

‘He thought, “When the village chief said those words, they were really right. Those words were really right.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0020]

9.2.1.7 Existimative

The desiderative suffix without the irrealis suffix expresses an epistemic modality, which is based on the speaker’s evaluative judgement. The existimative suffix *-sháng* refers to what the speaker thinks about an actor’s performing an action, process or being in a state.

The example in (402) illustrates a situation in which the parents of two sons build a house for the younger son, who leaves his parents earlier and only returns to his parents when he falls sick, and loses his money. On the other hand, the elder son stays with his parents and helps them. While speaking about the reaction of the elder son after the parents build the younger son a house even after he neglects his parents earlier, the narrator opines that the elder son should think about the action of his parents. The narrator’s evaluative judgement is encoded by the existimative suffix attached to the verb.

(402) *èydô èythênátsâ tsú tsú tsángtsólâ ìbó khínôm tìhâémáné tsángtsóláhàtsâ
khínshâng \.*

èydô	èy-thênâ = tsâ	tsú:	tsú	tsáng-tsô = lâ
then	ANAPH.DEM-CONCESS=TOP	DIST	DIST	be.old-NMLZ=ERG
ìbó	khín-ôm	tí-hô = tsâ	máné	
what	think.II=CONT.Q	say.II-PM=TOP	means _B	
tsáng-tsô = lâ = há = tsâ	khín-sháng			
be.old-PM=ERG=ADD=TOP	think.II-EXTM			

‘Then, even if that is the case, what does that elder son think? That means, the elder son also should think.’ [ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0055]

The example in (403) is taken from an argumentative text in which a sick king buys a young boy from his father for the king’s own treatment. When an executioner was about to kill the boy, the subjects of the king raise questions on ethical issues, asking whether they should or should not kill the boy. After a trial is held, the judge gives a verdict that the boy should be killed. In each instance of the subjective opinion, the existimative suffix is attached to the verb in (403).

(403) *èydô shómóytsô ínítsí? \. tsìóngùlàtsê èydô trá krô. èy shómóytsô tùkshàngéy, tùkshàngà?èy kóong. èydô èy trá khrótí?lání ták shómóytsô tùkshàngdô.*

èydô shómóytsô í-ní-tsí? tsì-óng-ú-lá = tsê èydô trá krô

then boy 3A-PL-take.II take.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP then trial fall

èy shómóytsô túk-sháng = èy túk-sháng-á? = èy

ANAPH.DEM boy kill.II-EXTM=POL.Q kill.I-EXTM-3SG.NEG=POL.Q

kóong èydô èy trá khrótí? = lâ = ní ták

reason=INE then ANAPH.DEM trial make.fall.I-NMLZ=ERG=FOC say.II

shómóytsô túk-sháng=dô

boy kill.II-EXTM=EMPH

‘Then, they took the boy. Having taken the boy, then the trial took place (literally, the trial fell) for the reason being: should he [the king] kill the boy, or should he not kill the boy? Then the judge said that he (the king) should kill the boy.’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_0017-0019]

9.2.1.8 Desiderative

The desiderative modality is encoded with the combination of the irrealis mood marking suffix *-é?y* (§9.2.1.2) and the existimative modality suffix *-sháng* (§9.2.1.7). It encodes the desire of a participant to perform an action, process or be in a state. Therefore, it helps a verb to predicate a non-actualized action, process or state. The desiderative suffix obligatorily requires the irrealis suffix to encode the intended desirability. Without the irrealis suffix, it expresses an epistemic modality, which is called existimative (see §9.2.1.7).

Examples of the desiderative modality is demonstrated in (404). In (404), being jealous, the uncles of a boy advise him to divorce his current wife, and they suggest him to marry a new girl. They tell him that if he wants to be rich, he needs to cultivate swidden fields.

(404) *təmdə təmâl dâ tîng təmálsngtílá ʃhngó nəálhnúngtíéy ↗ tîng. èyhúʔy*
níbiéyàʔyshâng \, nókóyéyàʔyshànghitsê tîng.

təm = dē tēmâl dâ tîng tēmâl-əng-tí-lá
 drive.away.I=EMPH divorce.I DP QT divorce.I-STAT-2SG-SEQ

ʃ-hngó nó-âl-hnúng-tí = éy tîng èyhúʔy
 GRP-be.different marry.I-DEP-PH.CAP-2SG.NEG=POL.Q QT like.that

ní-bí-éy-[**əʔy-sháng**] nó-kóy-éy-[**əʔy-sháng**]-hí = tsê tîng
 2A-work.II-MID-[**DESID**] 2A-ascend.II-MID-[**DESID**]-COND=TOP QT

‘They said, “Drive her away! Divorce her, OK?” They said, “Having divorced her, cannot you marry a different girl if you want to cultivate and do the likely things like that?”’ [ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_020]

Hyow grammar does not allow the desiderative suffix in a clause with negative polarity. This happens firstly because non-desirability depends on experiences. Secondly, it is to avoid redundancy in expressing non-actualized actions, processes or states by the desiderative suffix with the irrealis suffix and the negative suffix. To express the non-desirability of performing an action, process or being in a state, the verb has to take a preferential suffix along with the desiderative suffix. The preferential suffix attached to a verb semantically refers to the performance of an action, process or state based on previous experiences. Therefore, the non-desirability expressed in a clause with negative polarity obligatorily requires the preferential suffix

The example in (405) is an ungrammatical sentence. However, the example in (406) demonstrates the constraint discussed in the paragraph above. The matrix clause in square brackets in (406) is a grammatically correct clause with negative polarity, since the verb complex includes both the preferential and the desiderative suffixes. The sequence of these two suffixes is fixed.

(405) **kêy skúlâ tsètâ?yshàngngâ*

kêy skúl = â tsét-[â?y-sháng]-ngâ
1SG school_E=LOC go-[IRR-DESID]-1SG.NEG

*‘I do not want to go to school.’ [Elicited]

(406) *pùysángô pùtsángô tsétáldòshàngá? \. kúnúpô prèâ hngàtní
tsétáldòshàngéy / títngí íní-ták-hnó? = tí.*

púy-tsâng = ô pú-tsáng-ô
aunt-be.old=VOC uncle-be.old=VOC

[tsét-âl-dó-sháng-á?] kú-núpô pré = â hngát = ní
[go-DEP-PREF-DESID-3SG.NEG] 1SG.POSS-parents country=LOC one=FOC

tsét-âl-â?y-sháng = êy títng = ní í-ní-ták-hnó? = tí
go-DEP-IRR-DESID=POL.Q 3A-PL-tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘They [the old couple] said, “Then why?” They said, “Old aunt! Old uncle! He does not want to go back. Will one want to go back to my parent’s country?”’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_027]

9.2.1.9 Preferential

The fundamental semantic difference between the preferential suffix *-dó* and the desiderative suffix is that a preference of performing something is based on experiences of actualized events, while a desire to perform something is a non-actualized event. The fact that the fundamental semantics of the preferential suffix is based on actualized events is also understandable from the non-obligatory use of the irrealis suffix with it, unlike the desiderative suffix, which requires the irrealis suffix obligatorily. The preferential suffix *-dó* originates in the PKC verb **dú?* ‘lack/crave/want’ (see VanBik, 2009: 83 for the cognates of the PKC form in other KC languages).

The example in square brackets in (407) shows how the preferential suffix functions differently from the desiderative suffix. Here, the agent's preference for hunting is based on his liking or experience of hunting previously.

(407) *tòwkhólâ lèngdòhâ, hngúdâ. ʒpôy pôyhyâ, hngúdâ, tháshâ* \.

tów-khól = â	[lèng- dó -hâ]	hngúdâ	ʒ-pôy
forest-EXP=LOC	[hunt- PREF -PM]	DP	GRP-be.good
pôy-hyâ	hngúdâ	tháshâ	
be.good-PM	DP	very	

‘He liked to hunt in the forest, OK? The good son was very good, OK?’

[ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0004]

As opposed to the desiderative suffix, the preferential suffix can be used in a negative clause without the desiderative suffix. The agent of the clause in (408) has bad experience of meeting his uncles previously, or it is understandable from the story that his uncles are not good in nature. Therefore, he does not like to go down from his swidden field to meet his uncles, which is illustrated through the inclusion of the preferential suffix in the negative clause in (408).

(408) *èydâ ínishinní èydâ kèmdòâ?* \.

èydâ	í-ní-shín-ní	èydâ	kóm- dó -á?
then	3A-PL-summon.II-TEMP	then	descend.I- PREF -3SG.NEG

‘Then, when they [uncles] called him, then he did not prefer to go down.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_004]

Since the preferential suffix expresses modality fundamentally based on previous experiences, a part of the semantics of the suffix bears a meaning of regularity. All the instances of the preferential suffix in (409) demonstrate this. Since the wife in the example of (409) drinks alcohol regularly, she performs the actions

regularly. Thus, the narrator uses the preferential suffix to encode the regular behaviour of the drunk wife.

(409) *íhniʔshíeyhyôtsâ íphíálání álák òkdô \, tháshâ \. álák òkhítsâ kótókóhyô
krówdò \. ópótókhôl shòʔldô \. ópótóá óbúnák tàkdô \.*

í-hníʔ-shíey-hyô = tsâ í-phíá = lâ = ní álák ók-**dó** tháshâ
3S-DL-quarrel-PM=TOP 3SG.POSS-wife=ERG=FOC alcohol drink.II-**PREF** very

álák ók-hí = tsâ kótókóhyô krów-**dó** ó-pótó-khól
alcohol drink.II-COND = TOP nonsense speak.II-**PREF** 3SG.POSS-man-EXP

shólʔ-**dó** ó-pótó = á óbúnák ták-**dó**
scold.II-**PREF** 3SG.POSS-man=DAT bullshit say.II-**PREF**

‘They two quarreled. His wife liked to drink alcohol very much. If she drinks alcohol, she likes to speak nonsense. She likes to scold his husband and others. He likes to say bullshit to his husband.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0002-0004]

9.2.1.10 Obligative

The obligative suffix *-láʔ* expresses obligation of performing an action, a process or be in a state. It encode deontic modality. It can be attached to verbs that refer to predicated situations either in the realis mood or in the irrealis mood. The obligative suffix might have originated from a verb *láʔ* ‘pull out.II’, which is still in use as a verb in Hyow and evident from the adverbial use of the historically nominalized Stem II verb marked by the inessive case clitic – *lâʔ = éng* ‘by forcing’ in (410).

(410) *èy làʔŋg ínípánéyí*

èy láʔ = ŋg í-ní-pán-êy = tí
 ANAPH.DEM force.II=INE 3A-PL-call.II-MID=R.EVID

‘They called him by forcing.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_005]

The example in (411) is taken from a conversational text, in which two men talk about how to apply to a job. In a response to a question regarding what documents are to be submitted for a job application, an employed person answers that an applicant has to look at the advertisement for the required documents. He also suggests that the applicant has to submit all the documents that are requested by the employer. The obligations of looking at and submitting the documents in order to apply to the job is encoded by the obligative suffix in this example.

(411) *èy shòtéylaʔdô èy dúnâ í: hluàʔyhyôŋm. íníhòwhitsæ èykhòldô íníhòwhitsæ èykhòl khàní náng nóthónéyàʔylâhò hngúdâ*

èy shót-êy-láʔ = dô èy dún = â í-ô:
 ANAPH.DEM look.II-MID-OBLG=EMPH ANAPH.DEM place=LOC what-MULT

hlu-áʔy-hyô = ôm í-ní-hów-hí = tsæ èy-khòl = dô
 be.required-IRR-PM=CONT.Q 3A-PL-say.II-COND=TOP ANAPH.DEM-EXP=EMPH

í-ní-hów-hí = tsæ èy-khòl khæ = ní náng
 3A-PL-say.II-COND=TOP ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC 2SG

nó-thón-êy-áʔy-láʔ-hò hngúdâ
 2A-give.II-MID-IRR-OBLG-PM DP

‘Having looked at those, if they say that [these documents] will be required in that place, you will have to give all those. OK?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0015]

A similar type of example in (412) demonstrates an obligatory situation. The example here encodes the obligation of taking a decision, which has to be made by five people (the idea of five people comes from a local court system consisting of five persons, who are senior, elder, wise, educated or respected in a society).

(412) *ǎshèthón pótóngnhngô dùkóngdô méyæ?ylà?hô ǎpýthón pótóngnhngô dùkóngdô méyæ?ylà?hô.*

ǎ-shé-thón pótóng-hngô dúk = êng = dô mêy-ǎ?y-lá?-hô
3S-be.bad-CONCESS CLS-five inside=INE=EMPH exist-IRR-OBLG-PM

ǎ-pý-thón pótóngnhngô dúk = êng = dô mêy-ǎ?y-lá?-hô
3S-be.good-CONCESS CLS-five inside=INE=EMPH exist-IRR-OBLG-PM

‘The decision will have to be based on what five people think (literally, the decision will have to be inside five people’s (thoughts)), even if he is bad. The decision will have to be based on what five people think, even if he is good.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0118]

Instead of encoding the typical meaning ‘have to’, the obligative suffix sometimes means ‘get to’ in a given context, which also carries an obligatory meaning. More specifically, it stands for a forceful choice or an obligatory choice, as exemplified by the context in (413).

(413) *bú? ?éylà?ngâ khínâ bú? ?éylà?ngâ tó olà?ngâ kóm ?éylà?ngâ tîng èyhú?.*

bú? ?éy-lá?-ngâ khín = â bú? ?éy-lá?-ngâ tó
rice eat.I-OBLG-1SG.NEG time=LOC rice eat.I-OBLG-1SG.NEG tobacco

ó-lá?-ngâ kóm ?éy-lá?-ngâ tîng èyhú?
drink.I-OBLG-1SG.NEG bettle.leave eat.I-OBLG-1SG.NEG QT like.that

‘He said like that, “I do not get to eat rice at times. I do not get to eat rice. I do not get to smoke tobacco. I do not get to eat bettle leaves.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_084]

9.2.1.11 Physical capabilitive

The ability of performing an action, process or being in a state of an agent is captured by the physical capabilitive suffix *-hnâng* on a verb. It belongs to the dynamic modality. According to Timberlake (2007: 320), two roles are amalgamated in the modality of ability. The ability of a doer to bring about changes depends on that same doer. There are separate suffixes to encode physical and cognitive capability in Hyow. The example in (414) is taken from an argumentative text, where an old couple found a lost boy and brought up him. When the lost boy becomes young, the old couple loses the ability to work. Therefore, the boy starts working for them. The physical capabilitive suffix in the matrix clause in (414) refers to the inability of the old couple to work.

(414) *èydâ áhni?lâ bîhnângtíhó?y* ㄴ.

èydâ áhni? = lâ bî-hnâng-tí-hó?y

then 3DL=ERG work.I-**PH.CAP**-NITER-3DL.NEG

‘When he became young, then they could not work anymore.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_010]

The example in (415) displays the physical capabilitive suffix attached to the verb *hléy* ‘buy.I’. This is also taken from a conversational text. In the exemplified situation in (415), a wife answers her husband when the husband asks her not to borrow money. In her reply, the wife talks about the inability of her husband to buy rice.

(415) *nàngdô hnúpák kéná? tsông hlèyhnúngtíhí kēy móngkón íbó káhlè?à?yhyám
táá pùngáhi ㄟ.*

náng = dô hnúp-ák kéná? tsông hléy-**hnúng**-tí-hí

2SG=EMPH CLS.day-one everyday rice buy.I-**PH.CAP**-2SG.NEG-COND

kēy móng = kón íbó ká-hlé?-á?y-hyô = âm táá pú-ngâ-hí

1SG where=ABL what 1A-sell.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q money feel.I-1SG.NG

‘If you cannot buy rice everyday, from where I will buy that if I do not borrow money?’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0026]

9.2.1.12 Cognitive capabilitive

The suffix *-thé?y* represents the cognitive ability of performing an action, process, or being in a state. Attached to a verb, the cognitive capabilitive suffix refers to the potential skills known by a participant. The equivalent expression of the cognitive capabilitive suffix *-thé?y* is ‘know how to’ in English. There is a formally and functionally similar suffix in Daai (Hartmann, 2009: 273-274).

While talking about the skills of teachers of a training center that the narrator of the following text example in (416) attended, the narrator uses the cognitive capabilitive suffix in the verb complex in order to express the cognitive skills or abilities of performing the predicated events by the teachers.

(416) *khróngông íníkrówéythè?y íníshàngéythè?y? \. tsək̀tì?khólá ínípôy.
ínítsək̀thè?y \.*

khróng = êng	í-ní-krôw-êy- thè?y	í-ní-sháng-êy- thè?y
people=INE	3A-PL-speak.II-MID-COG.CAP	3A-PL-EV-MID-COG.CAP
tsək̀-tí?-khól = á	í-ní-pôy	í-ní-tsək̀- thè?y
teach.I-NMLZ-EXP=ADD	3A-PL-be.good	3A-PL-teach.I-COG.CAP

‘They know how to speak with people and so on. The teachers also are good. They know how to teach.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0064]

The previous example in (416) confirms that the cognitive capabilitive suffix is related to knowledge of doing something. For that reason, we can stipulate that the physical or motor ability of performing an action, a process, or being in a state is encoded by the physical capabilitive suffix (§9.2.1.11), while the cognitive capabilitive suffix encodes cognitive ability. The example in (417) elaborates a situation where a mother gets frustrated with her daughter for not knowing how to say something in order to avoid any awkward situation, such as the one she faces when her friend asks her for sticky rice.

(417) *èyhnè?làtsæ tsòngthów èyhnè?làdô yáám núô méyâ? \. hóttá káybây tîng*
tàthè?ytíey ↗ dâ.

èy-hnè?-lá = tsæ tsóngthów èy-hnè?-lá = dô

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP sticky.rice ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=EMPH

yá = êm nú-ô mêy-á? hóttá káy-bây

why=CONT.Q mother=VOC exist-3SG.NEG tomorrow come.IMP-PERM

tîng tá-**théy?**-tî = êy dâ

QT tell.I-COG.CAP-2SG.NEG=POL.Q DP

‘After that, she_i said, “O mother, why is there not sticky rice?” She_j said, “Do you not know how to say “You may come tomorrow. OK?””

[ZM_TDG_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_012]

Unlike Daai, the cognitive capabilitive suffix is not used as a verb in Hyow. However, the cognitive capabilitive suffix *-thé?y* is certainly cognate with PKC **thay?* ‘know/able/hear’ (VanBik, 2009: 133) or PKC **thiam* ‘know how’ (VanBik, 2009: 136). There is a noun *thé?y* meaning ‘consciousness’ in Hyow, which is formally similar to the sciotive suffix. Probably, it is the nominalized form of the original verb, which is not in use anymore as a verb. This is similar to the lexical status of the word *hyô?êy* ‘shame’ (see §6.2.1).

(418) *khòntsê méypèhóní, hángpúng hángkhyóngâ hángpúng hángkhyóngâ
 ákbáré khrông théy tyúá?dânâ khrông méyùdânâ tòkhrùtshô.*

khóní = tsê mēy-pé-hô-ní háng púng háng khyóng = â

sun=TOP exist-still-PM-TEMP waterfall EE waterfall inside=LOC

háng púng háng khyóng = â ákbáré khrông théy

waterfall EE waterfall inside=LOC completely_B people **consciousness**

tyú-á?-dân = â khrông mēy-ú-dân = â

wake-3SG.NEG-PLNMLZ=LOC people exist-3PL.NEG-PLNMLZ=LOC

tók-hùt-shô

keep.II-LV-PM

‘When the sun was still there, he kept his son inside a waterfall before leaving, completely in the place where people’s consciousness does not wake, and in the place where people do not exist.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_029]

9.2.1.13 CHANCE

The CHANCE modality suffix *-khrông* semantically stands for performing an action, a process, or being in a state by chance or somehow. Some part of the meaning of the suffix also includes negation. The equivalent meaning of the CHANCE modality suffix is ‘somehow’ in English. The example in (419) illustrates a situation, where the narrator describes the political culture in Bangladesh. He comments that the full period of governance for five years does not really last for five years. The election takes place before that. By attaching the CHANCE suffix to the verb, the narrator expresses the non-lasting of governance for full period somehow.

(419) *kùmhngó kònní ólô kùmhngó áákóykhòngâ? ↗, hngúdâ.*

kúm-hngó = kón = ní ólô kúm-hngó á-á-kóy-**khóng**-á? hngúdâ

CLS-five=ABL=FOC again CLS-five 3S-AND-ascend-CHAN-3SG.NEG DP

‘Out of five years, again, he (Muzibur Rahman) did not get to finish five years somehow, understand?’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_062]

The verb *dǎé?l* ‘swallow’ is marked by the CHANCE modality suffix in (420). The situation illustrated by the example in (420) involves a woman who drinks poison after becoming angry with her husband. The woman tries to drink a lot of poison, but somehow she manages not to drink a lot. However, she still somehow swallows a little bit, for which she goes to a hospital later on.

(420) *èydô èy bíttô ókthónátsâ èyní ǎdǎé?l?không.*

èydô èy bíttô ók-thóna = tsâ èy = ni

then ANAPH.DEM a.little.bit drink.II-CONCESS=TOP ANAPH.DEM=FOC

ǎ-dǎé?l-**không**

3S-swallow-CHAN

‘She somehow did not drink much of that (poison). A little bit of that somehow entered [into her mouth]. Her husband grasped her hands. Then, even though she [only] drank that a little bit, she managed to swallow that somehow..’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0041-0043]

9.2.1.14 DARE

There are two DARE modality suffixes in Hyow - *-dát* and *-bóp*, and both of them represents the actor’s daringness or courage to perform an action, a process, or be in a state. Hartmann (2009: 351) does not discuss anything about this suffix in Daai. She considers it an auxiliary verb in Daai. Despite having different forms, *-dát* and *-bóp* do not have any semantic or functional differences between each other. There are not many examples in the corpus showing instances of the DARE modality suffixes.

The folkloric example of (421) depicts a situation, in which king's son brings a girl from another country, even though he has a wife in his own country. When people raise questions, the king's son did not dare speak, because he feels that his speech would make people more agitated and he does not have the courage to speak because of his own wrongdoing. The storyteller uses the DARE modality suffix to encode the mental reflection of the actor towards the action in question.

(421) *èy kòngniông krówdàtâ? ʔ, shàngdàtâ? ʔ. èyhú?y thònéy. úlúlúp ní pò?éyhà?tí.*

èy	kóng = ní = êng	krôw-dát-á?	sháng- dát -á?
ANAPH.DEM	reason=FOC=INE	speak.I-DARE ₁ -3SG.NEG	EE-DARE ₁ -3SG.NEG

èyhú?y	thón-êy	úlúlúp = ní	pó?-êy-hnó? = tí
like.that	become-MID	like.mad=FOC	DV.II-MID-ULT=R.EVID

‘For that reason, he did not dare speak and so on. He became like that. He acted like he was mad.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0106]

Similarly, in (422), the verbs *mól* ‘beat.II’ and *bóp* ‘hit.II’ are inflected by the DARE modality suffix, which encodes a father’s inability to dare to beat and hit his children, even though they are involved in doing bad things.

(422) *túâ, kútsúhnútí? èyêng kútsúhnútí? kótsótí? óbúnák ínithónéythênâ,
mòléydátngâ. bòpéydátngâ.*

túâ	kú-tsúhnú-tí?	èy = êng	kú-tsúhnú-tí?
now	1SG.POSS-daughter-EXP	ANAPH.DEM=INE	1SG.POSS-daughter-EXP
kó-tsô-tí?	óbúnák	í-ní-thón-êy-thónâ	
1SG.POSS-son-EXP	lousy.thing	3S-PL-happen-MID-CONCESS	
mól-êy-dát-ngâ	bóp-êy-dát-ngâ		
beat.I-MID-DARE ₁ -1SG.NEG	hit.I-MID-DARE ₁ -1SG.NEG		

‘Now, even though my daughters and my sons do lousy things, I do not dare beat them. I do not dare hit them.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0069]

The second DARE modality suffix *-bóp* encodes the same meaning when attached to a verb, as exemplified in (423) and (424).

(423) *ááníhyènhnô hngát ní. èytsâ tsétálbòptiâ? , dâ.*

á-á-ní-hyén-hnô	hngát = ní	èy = tsâ
3A-DIR-PL-throw.II-PM	one=FOC	ANAPH.DEM=TOP
tsét-âl-bóp-tí-á?	dâ	
go-DEP-DARE ₂ -NITER-3SG.NEG	DP	

‘They went to throw one [person]! He did not dare go away. OK?’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_251]

(424) *ííp ʘ. áákhàkbòpú ʘ.*

í-íp á-á-khák-bóp-ú

3S-sleep 3A-AND-wake.I-DARE₂-3PL.NEG 3S-REDUP-be.shaken-PM=EMPH

‘He slept. They did not dare go to wake him.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_342]

9.2.1.15 Pretensive

Any feigned action, process or state is expressed through the pretensive modality suffix attached to a verb. The referent of the S or A argument of the feigned action, process or state pretends to perform the action, process, or be in the state. The contexts where such uses of the pretensive suffix *-lɔʔ* are found include deliberate efforts to prevent hazardous incidents. The example in (425) is taken from a narrative related to World War II. A soldier feigns death when a troop of Japanese soldiers fires at him and his fellow soldiers. Therefore, the narrator uses the pretensive suffix with the verb to express the contrived death of the central character of the story.

(425) *á-dú-êy-lɔʔ-ní, èydá, èy áyók ínílàʔhó. èy tsùá tsòʔ-æʔy-ông íníhyèndáná.*

á-dú-êy-lɔʔ-ní èydá èy yók í-ní-láʔ-hó èy

3S-die-MID-PRTN-TEMP then ANAPH.DEM corpse 3A-PL-pull.II-PM ANAPH.DEM

tsú = â tsóʔ-æʔy-ông í-ní-hyón-dán = â

DIST=LOC burn.II-IRR-PURP 3A-PL-throw.II-PLNMLZ=LOC

‘When he pretended to die, then they pulled out that corpse there in the place where they threw those [corpses] to burn.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_242]

The verb in the final matrix clause in (426) takes the pretensive suffix to express the feigned wailing of a sparrow wife. In the folkloric example of (426), the second wife of a sparrow kills the children of a sparrow husband’s first wife. When the sparrow husband comes back from searching food, his second wife cries, and she

pretends to wail. Since she killed the sparrow children herself, she pretended to wail to make her feelings believable to his husband and to make sure that her husband does not doubt her for killing the children.

(426) “*óh mǝngdǝ́ òh nùpátsǝ́ nìhù?y ìntsǝ́ dǝ́hóní ìntsǝ́ dǝ́h òh nùpátsǝ́ ìbǝ́
thónéyǝ́?yhyǝ́m?*” *tǝ́ngní tsùǝ́ní èydǝ́ ǝ́ngkóáytsǝ́ núní kǝ́péyǝ́hlǝ́
ǝ́hlòwéyǝ́llǝ́?hnǝ́?tí*

óh mǝngdǝ́ = ò túhnúp = ǎ = tsǝ́ níhù?y ìní-tsǝ́ dǝ́-hǝ́ = ní
INTJ husband=VOC today=LOC=TOP like.this 1DL.INC.POSS-DIM die-PM=FOC

ìní-tsǝ́ dǝ́-hǝ́ túhnúp = ǎ = tsǝ́ ìbǝ́ thón-èy-ǝ́?y-hyǝ́ = ǝ́m
2DL.INC.POSS-DIM die-PM today=LOC=TOP what become-MID-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

tǝ́ng = ní tsù = ǎ = ní èydǝ́ ǝ́ngkóáy-tsǝ́ nú = ní kǝ́p-èy-ǝ́l-hlǝ́
QT=FOC DIST=LOC=FOC then sparrow-DIM mother=FOC cry-MID-DEP-PM

ǝ́-ǝ́-hlów-èy-ǝ́l-**lǝ́**?hnǝ́? = tí
3A-DL-wail.II-MID-DEP-**PRTN**-ULT=R.EVID

‘She said, “Oh, husband! It’s your the our children who died today like this. Our children died. What will happen today?” Then, the sparrow mother cried there. She pretended to yearn [holding the dead child].’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0013]

9.2.1.16 Conative

The conative modality suffix *-tsǝ́m* refers to experiencing, examining, observing, tasting or trying something before doing something. The conative modality suffix originates from the verb *tsǝ́m* ‘try’ in Hyow. The meaning of the conative modality suffix denotes ‘try to V’, which is like tasting the salt of a curry to make sure that the quantity of salt put into it is fine, or which is like trying a dress in a shop before buying it to make sure the size of the dress is perfect for the buyer. In other words, the conative modality suffix encodes a trial action, process or state before the final one.

(427) *bóhítsæ kēy khòkâ méynàtáéy ʔ òmdô òmtsòmtsú dâ.*

bóhí = tsæ	kēy	khók = á	mēy-ná-tæ = êy	óm = dô
so=TOP	1SG	near=LOC	stay-SPNT-DED=POL.Q	sit=EMPH
óm-tsóm-tsú	dâ			
sit.I-CON-2PL	DP			

‘He said, “I she surely with me? Sit! Try sitting, will you?”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_031-032]

The verb in (428) takes the conative modality suffix to encode the trying of the predicated event. The example here illustrates a situation in which when a girl’s friend asks her about sticky rice, she thinks herself that when her mother will return, she will try telling her about her friend’s wish to eat sticky rice.

(428) *bóhítsæ nû lòálhítsæ kóhòwpékátsòtmæʔy hngúdâ tîng.*

bóhí = tsæ	nû	lò-âl-hí = tsæ	kó-hów-pék-âl-tsóm-æʔy
so=TOP	mother	come-DEP-COND=TOP	1A-say.II-BEN-DEP-CON-IRR
hngúdâ	tîng		
DP	QT		

‘She said, “So, if mother comes back, I will try telling her [mother] for her [my friend].” [ZM_SFA_MZK_062015_Hyow_0036_008]

9.2.2 ASPECTUAL SUFFIXES

The aspectual system in Hyow is very rich like any other KC languages, since these languages have not grammaticalized tense marking systems. Aspect refers to the internal temporal feature of verbs. Based on Holt (1943: 6), Comrie (1976: 3) defines aspect as distinct ways of looking at the internal temporal constituency of situations. Timberlake (2007: 303) defines aspect, which can be both lexical and contextual, as the relationship among situations, states of the world and time. The following subsections explain different aspect markers in Hyow.

9.2.2.1 Completive

When a performed action, process or state is done completely, then the relevant verb takes the completive aspectual suffix *-tsák*. The origin of the suffix is hard to identify. The example in (429) describes a situation where a boy breaks his promise of not telling people that he knows animal language, and that a snake gave him the power. When he breaks his promise, the snake kills him. Fortunately, he regains life by the magical power of some angels. However, he loses the ability to speak and understand animal language completely. He remembers nothing. The narrator uses the completive adverbial suffix to encode the degree of loss of what he learnt.

(429) *èydê, tsùâ èyhnê?làdê, èy mókshótdáwá bé kháéá hngiláítsák* ㄟ.

èydê	tsú = â	èy-hnê?-lá = dê	èy
then	DIST=LOC	ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=EMPH	ANAPH.DEM
mókshótdáwá	bé	kháé = á	hngíl-âl- tsák
animal	language	all=ADD	forget.II-DEP- COMPL

‘Then, after that, he forgot all those animals’ language completely. He came back’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_063]

In (430), the completive aspectual suffix attached to the verb refers to the complete change of the blood colour. When a boy starts laughing at the time of his killing, he tells the executioner in response to his question that thinking his body will lie down in the ground and his blood will turn completely red, he is laughing. The colour of the blood turning completely into red is encoded by the completive suffix *-tsák* attached to the verb.

(430) *t'nábòngátsê kúpúm dèkông hyđà?yhyô thí pàngà?ytsàkkhô dàtsángông.*

t'ná-bóng = â = tsê kú-púm dèk = ông hyól-ă?y-hyô
 a.little.bit.later-almost=LOC=TOP 1SG.POSS-body soil=INE lie.down-IRR-PM
 thí pàng-ă?y-tsák-khô dàtsâng = ông
 blood be.red.II-IRR-COMPL-PM dessert=INE

‘Almost a little bit later (after the slaughter), my body will lie down in the ground. The blood will be completely red in the desert.’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_036]

The completive aspectual suffix is attached closely to the verb stem. Other aspectual suffixes can be attached to the verb following the completive aspectual suffix. According to this constraint, the example in (431) is incorrect, and the example in (432) is correct.

(431) **èylâ bú? ?éydàtsàkkhô*

èy = lâ bú? ?èy-dá-tsák-khô
 ANAPH.DEM rice eat.II-ITER-COMPL-PM

*‘He ate rice completely again like before.’ [Elicited]

(432) *ówón tsángátsàkdà?nú ʘ.*

ó-wón tsáng-âl-tsák-dá-á? = nú
 GRP-foam be.clean-DEP-COMPL-ITER-3SG.NEG=SS.EVID

‘The foam was not completely clean again like before.’ [Elicited]

9.2.2.2 Inchoative

The inchoative aspect marker *-tûn* expresses the commencement of an event. Though there is not a single text example of inchoative aspect in the Hyow corpus, it is

possible to elicit examples of the inchoative suffix. The inchoative suffix *-tûn* in (433) expresses the beginning of pouring of water on the recipient's hand.

(433) *èydô èy túyní tsùâ èy mónóphrúŋg áálóynàkní úkùtŋg krótûn.*

èydô èy tûy = ní tsú = â èy mónóphrú = êng
then ANAPH.DEM water = FOC DIST = LOC ANAPH.DEM name.of.a.woman = INE

á-á-lôy-nák-ní ú-kút = êng krô-tûn
3A-AND-pour.II-SPNT-TEMP 3SG.POSS-hand = INE fall-INCH

‘Then, when he went to pour that water spontaneously on Monophru there, the water started to fall on her hand.’ [Elicited]

The inchoative aspectual suffix has some collocational constraints. It cannot inflect a verb that is marked by the irrealis mood suffix *-æʔy*. Furthermore, a verb marked by the inchoative aspectual marker cannot take the predicate-marking suffix, which also has some aspectual function (see §9.4.1). Accordingly, the elicited example in (434) is ungrammatical.

(434) **krótûnhnô*

krô-tûn-hnô
fall-INCH-PM

*‘He started falling.’ [Elicited]

9.2.2.3 Iterative

The iterative aspectual suffix *-dú/tú* encodes repetitions of situations that take place in the same manner previously. The equivalent English meaning that the iterative suffix encodes is ‘do something again like before’. Some speakers use the form *-dú* and some speakers use the form *-tú*. There is no phonological process involved with the alternation. According to Timberlake (2007: 289), “Iterative (or serial or periodic or cyclic or habitual) situations are then complex states composed of equivalent sub-

situations in which activity alternates with the absence of activity.” Therefore, repetitive activities or events are encoded by the iterative suffix.

The example in (435) illustrates a repetitive action. When a cat’s father-in-law asks his human sons to bring things made by their wives, the cat’s human husband falls into trouble. However, his cat wife has magical powers. When her human husband sleeps, she calls her elder sisters and they weave different things for her father-in-law. The cat wife gives the woven things recurrently to his human husband to give to her father-in law.

(435) *ínítsétální khô wání ʒpótʒàní pèkdâ \. hngú núnû lá nópáá tsìpèkdâ \.*

í-ní-tsét-âl-ní	khó wá-ní	ʒ-pótʒ = á = ní
3S-PL-go-DEP-TEMP	time be.light-TEMP	3GS.POSS-husband=DAT=FOC
pék-dâ	hngú núnû	lá nó-pâ = á
give.II-ITER	INTJ 2SG.POSS-mother	CONJ 2SG.POSS-father=DAT
tsì-pék-dâ		
take.I-BEN-ITER		

‘When they [elder sisters] went away when it was morning, she gave again like before (those things) to her husband. She told, “See/OK, take these again for your mather and your father like before.”’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_062]

The iterative suffix can co-occur with modality, adverbial and other aspectual suffixes. In (437), the iterative suffix co-occurs with the irrealis mood marker, where the repetitive going of the referent of the S argument is predicated. The iterative suffix in this example encodes that the predicated event is repeated like before.

(436) *kétsètæ?ylá?dáhô*.

ke'-tsét-æ?y-lá?-dáh-hô

1S-go-IRR-OBLG-ITER-PM

'I will have to go again like before.' [ZM_GSS1_082015_Hyow_0015_0017]

The use of the iterative suffix *-dáh* is context dependent. It cannot be used everywhere. Since the iterative suffix *-dáh* is only applicable to a situation in which the performance of the action is repeated in a regular manner, it cannot be used in a context where an event happens just now. The example in (437) presupposes that the referent of the S argument came today and will also come tomorrow. As a result, the iterative suffix *-dáh* cannot be used here. To be a grammatically correct sentence, the verb *lò* in (437) requires the emphatic and evidential clitic, as in *lò-æ?y-tâ-hô = dâ = nú* (come-IRR-ITER-PM=EMPH=SS.EVID) 'The deer will really come tomorrow like before.' As the event is unactualized, the speaker has to make the statement certain by using the emphatic and evidential clitic.

(437) **mónglání khintî bæ?mô óngóáhá lòæ?ytâhô*.

móng = lâ = ní khín = tî bæ?-mô óngó = â = há

king=ERG=FOC think.II=R.EVID stop.I-PRIOR tomorrow=LOC=ADD

lò-æ?y-tâ-hô

come-IRR-ITER-PM

*'The king thought about the pig. He said, "Stop first. It will come again tomorrow.'" [Elicited]

In (438), the iterative suffix co-occurs with the anterior aspect marker *-dák*. The situation exemplified in (438) includes a repetitive action of going and returning. Since the cat's father-in-law wants gifts from his sons' wives repeatedly, her human husband has to go to his father to give gifts repeatedly.

(438) *èydô èy khóáhàtsâ étsèttâ \. tsèttâóngbàlâtsâ lòáltàdòktí.*

èydô èy khó = â = há = tsâ é-tsét-tâ
 then ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=ADD=TOP 3S-go-ITER
 tsét-tâ-ông-bá-lá = tsâ lò-âl-tâ-dók = tí
 go-EMPH-DUR-3SGS-SEQ=TOP come-DEP-ITER-ANT=R.EVID

‘Then, he went again at that time like before. Having gone again like before, he had returned again like before.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_057]

The iterative aspect of a verb is also expressed by another suffix *-bál* in Hyow. The fundamental difference between these two iterative suffixes is that one represents expected and regular repetition of activities, while the other one represents unexpected and irregular repetition of activities. I gloss the expected or usual iterative aspect marker *-tâ/dâ* as ITER and the unexpected or unusual iterative aspect marker *-bál* as UNITER. Both of the iterative aspect suffixes are exemplified in (439). The usual repetitive action of scolding of the wife is encoded by the suffix *-dâ*. However, to the wife’s surprise, the husband repeats the action of bringing back his son home again, which is marked by the suffix *-bál* in (439).

(439) *èy èy óshòwáldâí. átsángnúí ólòálbálhló óló kááhyàè?y tìbàlâtsâ*

èy ó-shów-âl-dâ = tí á-tsáng nû = ní
 ANAPH.DEM 3A-scold.II-DEP-ITER=R.EVID GRP-be.old mother=FOC
 ó-ló-âl-bál-hló óló ká-á-hyá-è?y tí-bá-lá = tsâ
 3A-bring.II-DEP-NUITER-PM again 1A-AND-exile.II tell.I-3SGA-SEQ=TOP

‘She scolded him_i again like before. Having told the old woman “I will go to exile him_j (his son) again,” he_i brought him_j back again.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_014]

A repetitive action of taking back the food to the house is encoded by the suffix *-bál* in (440). A man invites all the people of the world to a banquet. A lot of food was

left. To his astonishment, he finds out that there is so much food left that even after sending back food to his house by other people, he has to take back more food to his house by himself. When he eats the food himself, he finds the answer of his astonishment.

(440) *èy thúnámkóktsóngkè?ní 3l3 tsí?éyállà?bàltí. ímâ mrátóngbálá tsùkhólk3?
?éyhy3khóltsâ túyhù?yd3 píttí. èyk3?tsâ hlímhm3éy ísmkhól báng
h3w-hnángà?ttí.*

èy	thúnámkók-tsô = óng = k3? = ní	3l3	
ANAPH.DEM	lime.box-DIM=INE=GEN=FOC	again	
tsí?-éy-âl-lá?-bál = tí	ím = â	mrát-óng-bá-lá	
take.II-MID-DEP-OBL-UNITER=EMPH	house=LOC	be.left.I-DUR-3SG-SEQ	
tsú-khól = k3?	?éy-hy3-khól = tsâ	tûyhú?y = d3	pí = tí
DIST-EXP=GEN	eat.II-PM-ELAB=TOP	like.water=EMPH	fell.II=R.EVID
èy = k3? = tsâ	hlím-hm3 = éy	í = êm = khól	báng
ANAPH.DEM=GEN=TOP	be.tasteless.II-PM=POL.Q	what=CONT.Q=ELAB	even
h3w-hnáng-á? = ttí			
say.I-PH.CAP-3SG.NEG=R.EVID			

‘He had to take back those [food] of the lime box’s again himself. Having been left in the house, he ate and drank that [food] of those [boxes’]. He felt like water. He thought, “Is that (food) of the box tasteless?” He could not even say what were those.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_052]

9.2.2.4 Non-iterative

The iterative aspectual suffix has a binary opposition in Hyow. The non-iterative aspectual suffix *-ttí* encodes the non-iteration of an activity, and it is always attached to a negated verb. The non-iterative aspect is a subtype of the perfective aspect. There are no separate classes of perfective and imperfective aspect in Hyow.

The example in (441) illustrates a situation where a man stops taking care of his children and his wife, and he starts to have illicit relations with other women. The fact that his repetitive or habitual activity of taking care of his children and wife stopped is marked by the non-iterative aspectual suffix *-tí* in (441).

(441) *ótsô nôw shòéytǎ? ʘ. túátsâ phía shòéytǎ? ʘ.*

ó-tsô nôw shò-êy-tí-á? túâ = tsâ phía

3SG.POSS-child EE look.I-MID-NITER-3SG.NEG now=TOP wife

shò-êy-tí-á?

look.I-MID-NITER-3SG.NEG

‘He did not look after his children anymore. No, he does not look after his wife there.’ [ZM_ARGS3a_082015_Hyow_0006_0004]

The non-repetitive aspect encodes the end of a man’s tolerance for hunger in (442). When the hungry man cannot tolerate his hunger anymore, his stomach starts burning.

(442) *ókòlông hlèwhótsâ khìtǎ?hô kóông...*

ó-kól = êng hléw-hô = tsâ khí-tí-á?-hô

GRP-be.internal=INE burn.II(gastric)-PM=TOP tolerate.I-NITER-3SG.NEG-PM

kóông

because

‘Since he did not tolerate that his stomach burnt internally...’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0025]

9.2.2.5 Stative

The stative suffix *-əng*, which can be used with the verb of a sequential dependent clause (see §12.4.1.13), expresses the state of an action or process. The stative aspectual suffix has grammaticalized from the inessive case clitic *=əng*. The basic semantics of the inessive locative marker indicates that the stative aspectual marker refers to the referent of an argument being in the state of an action or process. The sequential dependent clause involves a sequence of activities. Thus, an event predicated in a sequential clause sometimes requires overt marking by the stative suffix before the matrix clause event is predicated.

The verb *lɔ* ‘bring.I’ is marked by the stative suffix in the sequential clause in (443). When a group of people came to attack a village, one of the villagers went to steal the weapons carried by the attackers. After he brought those, he went back to his village. The two events in this example take place sequentially. The referent of the A argument, who brings the weapons, has the weapons in his possession first, and then he goes back to village. The stative suffix in this example refers to the referent’s state of bringing.

(443) *èydô èy ləŋgbàlatsə tsú námâ tsétálhlô.*

<i>èydô</i>	<i>èy</i>	<i>lò-əng-bá-lá = tsə</i>	<i>tsú</i>	<i>nám = â</i>
then	ANAPH.DEM	bring.I-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP	DIST	village=LOC
<i>tsét-âl-hlô</i>				
go-DEP-PM				

‘Then, having brought those, he went back to that village.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0044-0046]

The following examples in (444) and (445) depict the function of the stative aspectual suffix clearly. When a younger brother starts his journey to take revenge of his elder brother’s death, he gets some advice from a snakehead fish. The snakehead fish suggests the younger brother to make holes on the butts of the responsible monsters. He advises the boy to ask the monsters to search for one machete (a kind of

knife used in the subcontinent) each. When the searching is done, the fish advises the boy to ask the monsters to keep the machetes sharpened. After the searching and sharpening is done, then the boy will perform their requested task. The stative suffix attached to the dependent clause verbs suggest that the referents of the respective arguments of the dependent verbs have to finish the mentioned activities first in order to start another action.

(444) *tsímkhæ hngát hngát hngát tsí hòwéyóngtílàtsæ nítsì?æ?y ʌ, hyùmóngtílàtsæ tîng.*

tsímkhæ	hngát	hngát	hngát-tsí	hòwêy-ông-tí-lá = tsæ	
handleless.machette	one	one	one-each	ask.I-STAT-2SG-SEQ=TOP	
ní-tsí?-æ?y	hyúm-ông-tí-lá = tsæ			tîng	
2A-take.II-IRR	sharpen.I-STAT-2SG-SEQ=TOP			QT	

‘He (snakehead fish) said, “ Say, “Having searched for one raw da each, having sharpened the handless machette, you will take that.’”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_197]

When the younger brother thinks that the snakehead’s advice is good, he keeps the fish eating his food, until he gets content. The delimitative dependent clause (see (§12.4.1.5) indicates that the event predicated in the following sequential clause requires to be done first. Therefore, the verb *pék* takes the stative suffix in (445).

(445) *èy ngúlúytsáá ʃtsók ʃhngàák pèkóngbàlatsæ tsètálhnè?tí.*

èy	ngúlúy-tsâ = á	ʃ-tsók	ʃ-hngá-àk
ANAPH.DEM	snakehead.fish-DIM=ADD	3SG.POSS-food	3S-be.content.II-DLM
pék-ông-bá-lá = tsæ	tsét-âl-hnó? = tí		
give.I-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP	go-DEP-ULT=R.EVID		

‘Having given his food to the aforementioned snakehead fish until he_j was content, he_i finally went back.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_198]

In a similar type of situation, the stative suffix refers to the state of an activity or refers the argument being in the state permanently in (446). The stative suffix *-əng* attached to the verb *dú* ‘die’ is referring to the state of death of the narrator’s mother.

(446) *nûdúəngbálátsə, ʔéyngâ. èy ní póláhá átsánhnəngngâ.*

nû	dú-əng-bá-lá = tsə	ʔéy-ngâ	èy = ní
mother	die-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP	eat.I-1SG.NEG	ANAPH.DEM=FOC
pó = lâ = há	à-tsán-hnəng-áʔ		
father=ERG=ADD	1P-take.care(bring up).I-PH.CAP-3SG.NEG		

‘Having mother dead, I did not eat. Then, father could not bring up me.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_HYOW_0012_0007]

9.2.2.6 Habitual past

The habitual past aspect marker *-hút* encodes an action, process or state that is performed in an extended period regularly. The habitual past aspect is a subtype of the imperfective aspect. According to Comrie (1976: 27-28), habituals

...describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.

The verb *hlú* ‘want’ in (447) takes the habitual marker *-hút* to encode the regular or consecutive activity of wanting/longing by a woman and a man.

(447) *áyáng khóá kíhní?hláeyhàtthóey ↗?*

á-yáng khó = â kí-hní?-hlá-êy-**hát**-thó = êy
 GRP-be.first time=LOC 1A-DL-want-MID-**HAB**-PM=POL.Q

‘Long ago, did we use to want each other?’

[ZM_ARGS8_082015_Hyow_0011_0043]

The example in (448) also marks a habitual activity. The habit of feeding milk by a mother is marked by the habitual *-hát* in (448).

(448) *èydô tsí?tsô tsí pèkéyálhát ↘.*

èydô tsí?-tsô tsí pèk-êy-âl-**hát**
 then milk-DIM regularly give.I-MID-DEP-HAB

‘Then, she used to give her child milk regularly.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_154]

9.2.2.7 LEAVE V-ING

The LEAVE V-ING aspect *-hát* is a combination of two internal temporal features of a verb. It encodes an expression ‘leave V-ing’, where V stands for a given verb. In other words, the LEAVE V-ING suffix encodes the exit from an activity. The example in (449) depicts a situation where a king’s lost son is going to leave his host after staying with them for several months. When the couple come back from their daily work, the king’s son tells them that he will leave the next day after bowing and showing respect to them. The event of leaving after bowing is encoded by the LEAVE V-ING suffix *-hát* in (449).

(449) *bóhítsæ náháʔykón bóhítsæ bóhítsæ kíníkhəʔéyæʔyhútthô kíníʔéyæʔyhútthô.*

bóhí = tsæ náháʔy = kon bóhí = tsæ kí-ní-khəʔ-êy-æʔy-**hút**-thô

so=TOP 2DL=ABL so=TOP 1A-INV-bow.II-MID-IRR-LV-PM

kí-ní-éy-æʔy-**hút**-thô

1A-INV-FILL-LV-PM

‘So, from you [I will go away]. So, I will leave bowing you and so on.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0061]

In a similar type of situation, as illustrated through the example in (450), the LEAVE V-ING aspectual suffix encodes the termination of one event in order to start another event. In the situation illustrated by the example in (450), a boy keeps laughing before an executioner executes him for saving the life of a king. When the boy laughs, the king asks him the reason of his laughing. In a reply, the boy says if he does not leave before his death, when he will laugh. The boy’s leaving the world after laughing is expressed by the LEAVE V-ING suffix in (450).

(450) *níhúʔy ʔpôyhyô lútdálông núyhútngáhítsæ dàkhóání núyhútngáhi ítíá kúnùyæʔyhyôôm tîng shómáytsólání ták môngâ ʔ.*

níhúʔy ʔ-pôy-hyô lútdál = ông núy-**hút**-ngâ-hí = tsæ

like.this 3S-be.good-PM world=INE laugh.II-LV-1SG.NEG-COND=TOP

dá-khó = â = ní núy-**hút**-ngâ-hí ítíá

die.II-TNMLZ=LOC=TOP laugh.I-LV-1SG.NEG-COND when

kú-núy-æʔy-hyô-ôm tîng shómáytsól = lâ = ní ták mông = á

1S-laugh.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q QT boy=ERG=FOC tell.II king=DAT

‘The boy told the king, “In the world that is good like this, if I don’t leave laughing during the time of death, when will I laugh?”’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_038]

9.2.2.8 Continuous

The continuous aspectual suffix, *-hóm*, expresses the continuity of an action, a process or a state. The continuous aspect is a subtype of the imperfective aspect. The verbs that take the continuous marker are generally atelic. The meaning of the continuous suffix is equivalent to English ‘still V-ing’.

The example in (451) instantiates the continuous aspectual suffix both in positive and negative clauses. In the clause with positive polarity, the continuous aspectual suffix *-hóm* means ‘still’, while in the clause with negative polarity, it stands for ‘yet’. In both instances, the continuous suffix indicates the continuity of the predicated events in (451).

(451) *tsùkòntsæ nìtəʔátsæ lòhómú ʘ háré. èytəʔâ mrəʔtəʔádə ínìlòhám dátsô.*

tsú = kón = tsæ	ní = tśʔ = â = tsæ	lò- hóm -ú	háre
DIST=ABL=TOP	PROX=DLIM=LOC=TOP	come- CONT -3PL.NEG	DP
èy = tśʔ = â	mrśʔ = tśʔ = â = dš	í-ní-lò-hóm	dátsô
ANAPH.DEM=DLIM=LOC	town=DLIM=LOC=EMPH	3S-PL-come	DP

‘They did not yet come up to here from there. Understand? They are still coming up to there, up to the town, right? [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_125]

The example in (452) demonstrates a use of the continuous suffix *-hóm* in a clause with negative polarity. While speaking on his own life, a consultant tells that he is still suffering from his father’s sin, which is expressed through the clause with negative polarity in (452). The continuous suffix attached to the verb *lót* ‘get rid off.I’ encodes that the speaker is still not getting rid of his father’s sin.

(452) *kéyádê kókhò máhlô èyông túa èy wá?y lèthòmngâ, pô ngólây* \.

kêy = á = dê	kó-khóm-âl-hlô	èy = ông	túa	èy
1SG=ADD=EMPH	1A-meet.II-DEP-PM	ANAPH.DEM=INE	now	ANAPH.DEM
wá?y	lót- hóm -ngâ	pô	ngólây	
agony	get.rid.off.I-CONT-1SG.NEG	father	sin	

‘I also met back [the sufferings]. For that reason, I am still not getting rid off those agonies, father’s sins.’ [ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0063]

The continuous aspectual suffix originates from the free adverb *hóm* ‘still’, which is rarely found in my current corpus. The example in (453) shows the use of the continuous suffix as a free adverb.

(453) *nítsê shómáytsó dê hóm ǎ hmótá? ǎ hmòtâ?* \.

ní = tsê	shómáytsó = dê	hóm	ía	hmòt-á?	ía
PROX=TOP	boy=EMPH	still	nothing	know.I-3SG.NEG	nothing
				hmót-á?	
				know.I-3SG.NEG	

‘He is still a boy. He does not know anything. He does not know anything.’
[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_020]

9.2.2.9 Terminative

The terminative aspect is a subtype of the perfective aspect. The perfective aspect is not usually marked in Hyow. However, in some situations, the terminative aspectual marker *-pón*, which grammaticalizes from the verb *pón* ‘end’. The grammaticalization of the terminative aspectual marker from the verb ‘end’ is also reported in other languages (see Heine & Kuteva 2002: 136). The example in (454) demonstrates the use of the verb *pón* ‘end’.

(454) *pənə?yhnəhnó? títgkhôl óbúnák hngúdâ ínílágáhyô khêw*

pən-é?y -hná-hnó? *títg-khól* *óbúnák hngúdâ*

end-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG QT-EXP bullshit DP

í-ní-lágáy-hyô *khêw*

3A-PL-provoke.into.fight.II_B-PM DP

‘Saying, “That would not have ended,” [Bullshit, OK? (Narrator’s opinion)]
they_i provoked them_j into a fight. This is the story’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_034]

In (455), the termination of the covering activity is encoded by the terminative suffix *-pən*. When a snake bit a boy, a healer covered the wounded place with some sticky rice. Then, he told the father that they were the bites of a snake. Before talking to the boy’s father, the healer finished covering the wounded place.

(455) *èydô tsóngkówəng kənpən ípənónglô shòbây.*

èydô tsóngków = əng *kən-pən* *í-pən-əng = dô* *shó-bây*

then winnowing.fan=INST cover.II-**TERM** EV-TERM-CAUS=EMPH look.I-DEL.IMP

‘Then, he_i [healer] finished covering [the wound] with a winnowing fan. Having finished covering, he_i told the father, “Look.”’

[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_HYOW_0023_0013]

The terminative suffix can occur in an irrealis mood, which is demonstrated by the example in (456). The situation illustrated in this example involves a snake’s try to bite a small baby. When the baby strangles the snake and obstructs him from drinking water, the snake gets angry and tells the baby that he will finish his current activity of drinking water first and then he will bite the boy. The termination of the event drinking, which is still unactualized, is encoded by the terminative suffix *-pən* in (456).

(456) *ámánǎngní èy shókábók pólání tàkhnə?tí kóókæpónmô tîng*

ámán = êng = ní èy shókábók pô = lâ = ní ták-hnə? = tí
 anger=INE=FOC ANAPH.DEM cobra father=ERG=FOC tell.II-ULT=R.EVID
 kó-ók-áy-**pón**-mô tîng
 1A-drink.II-IRR-**TERM**-PRIOR QT

‘That cobra’s father told in anger, “I will finish drinking first.”’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_026]

The terminative suffix can function as a clause-linking suffix. In (457), the terminative suffix and the grammaticalized locative marker *-êng* are functioning as the anterior temporal clause linker (see §12.4.1.12).

(457) *èydô èy máng shónální èyhàtpònêng èy mængông thán \.*

èydô máng shón-âl-ní èy-hèt-**pón**-êng èy
 then pitcher pick.up.II-DEP-TEMP EV-LV-**TERM**-INE ANAPH.DEM
 máng = êng thón
 pitcher=INST put.II

‘Then, picking up that pitcher, after he left picking up and so on (cleaning), then he put that into the pitcher. [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_236]

9.2.2.10 Non-Habitual

The predicate-marking suffix can also function as a non-habitual aspect marker. A verb marked by the non-habitual marking suffix encodes an event at the time or before the time of the speech. The temporal locus of the described situation depends on the discourse as usual. For example, the transphonologized predicate-marking suffix *-hngô* in (458) encodes a non-habitual event situated at the time before speech. Here, the temporal locus of the event is recoverable from the context. Without the predicate-marking suffix, the example in (458) refers to a habitual event at the time of speech, which is mostly found in procedural texts. To illustrate, the example in (459)

illustrates a habitual event, because the verb is not marked by a predicate-marking suffix.

(458) *étsèthnè?lá shámphó thòwální tsèthnámghngô.*

é-tsét-hnəʔ-lá shámphó thów-âl-ní tsét-hnəng-hngô

3S-go-ULT-SEQ ship get.up-DEP-TEMP go-PH.CAP-PM

‘After he went, when the ship came out [of the water], he was not able to go.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_083]

(459) *èydô tsóng thók ʌ.*

èydô tsóng thók

then paddy come.out

‘Then, the paddy comes out.’ [ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_020]

9.2.2.11 Anterior

When an activity is over, but it is still relevant during the time of speaking then the verb that predicates the event is marked by the anterior suffix *-dók* in Hyow. Comrie (1976: 52) treats perfect or anterior differently from other aspectual types since an anterior marker does not directly point to any situation rather it denotes the relevance between a present state and a previous situation.

The following example in (460) displays an instance of the anterior suffix. When an employed man gives advice to an unemployed man about getting a job, the employed man tells the unemployed man that once he passes the first exam (written exam) he can be ensured that he has passed the whole exam. This relies on the fact that being indigenous, he will be able to persuade the interview board to give him the job. The passing of the exam is relevant to the persuasion of the viva board later. Therefore, the verb in the final matrix clause in (460) takes the anterior marker.

(462) *èyhnəʔlatsə èybó èydô èytəʔŋg hyólálmódók \, èy átsángnú*

èy-hnəʔ-lá = tsə	èybó	èydô	èy = tsəʔ = ŋg
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP	that.way	then	ANAPH.DEM=DLIM=INE
hyól-âl-mô-dú-dók	èy	á-tsáng-nú	
lie.down.I-DEP-PRIOR-ITER-ANT	ANAPH.DEM	GRP-be.old-MO	

‘After that, that old woman had lied down back first again that way upto that (next time).’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_208]

9.2.3 ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

This section includes discussion on different types of adverbial suffixes in Hyow. The grammatical category of adverbials includes several members in Hyow, as in other Kuki-Chin languages. It is one of the morphosyntactic features of KC languages to have a substantial number of adverbials attached to verbs. Adverbials always follow the modality markers in Hyow verb complexes. In view of this, the example in (463) is ungrammatical. In this example, the prioritive adverbial suffix is preceding the capability modality-marking suffix.

(463) **èy lów bìmòhnúghngô.*

èy	lów	bí-mô-hnúg-hngô
ANAPH.DEM	swidden.field	work-PRIOR-PH.CAP-PM

*‘I was able to cultivate that swidden field first.’ [Elicited]

Adverbial suffixes also follow aspectual markers, except the anterior marker *-dók*. Any other aspectual or adverbial markers cannot follow the anterior aspect-marking suffix. In view of that, the example in (464) contains two aspectual suffixes after the prioritive adverbial suffix.

(464) *hyólálmódádók* ၁.

hyól-âl-mó-dá-dók

lay.down-DEP-PRIOR-ITER-ANT

‘She had lay down first again like before.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_208]

Some aspectual markers and adverbials never co-occur. For example, the regularity adverbial suffix *-tsí* or the frequent adverbial suffix *-ngáp* and the iterative aspectual suffix never co-occur. Similarly, the anterior aspect marker and the ultimative adverbial never co-occur. However, the ultimative co-occurs with other aspectual markers. The co-occurrence constraints of aspectual and adverbial markers completely depends on the construction of meaningful expression.

9.2.3.1 SURPRISE

The SURPRISE adverbial suffix *-táál ~ -dáál ~ -dábál* encodes a surprising or unexpected performance of an action, a process or being in a state. The equivalent English word for this suffix is ‘surprisingly’ or ‘unexpectedly’. Both the examples in (465) and (466) are taken from the same text. When a daughter tells her father that the snake they put in her room is swallowing her, the father says that she will be fine, and she does not need to worry. Instead of leaving the girl, the snake keeps swallowing the girl. The alternative course of action (than what is expected) is encoded by the alternative suffix *-dáál*.

(465) *èydô shngólts? dæ?ldáální pôô shmùéyæ?ytíí*

èydô ô-hngôl = ts? dæ?l-dáál-ní pô = ô
 then 3SG.POSS-throat=DLIM swallow.II-SURP-TEMP father=VOC
 ô-hmú-êy-æ?y-tí-tí
 1P-see.I-MID-IRR-NITER-2SG.NEG

‘Then, when he [the snake] surprisingly swallowed her upto the throat, she said,
 “Father, you will not see me anymore.”

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0052]

Likewise, when a village chief goes to kill a python in a situation illustrated by the example in (466), there were no people, who were expected by the village chief and members of the trial. The absence of any people is a surprise to the village chief, because he expected curious people come to see the killing of the python. The surprise of the village chief is encoded by the SURPRISE adverbial suffix in this example.

(466) *èydô námóngkô? kárbáí èydô èy phólshèní bètæ?ytí? ùá méydaàlû*

èydô nám = êng = kô? kárbáí èydô èy phólshé = ní
 then village=INE=GEN village.chief then ANAPH.FEM python=FOC
 bót-æ?y-tí? ùá mêy-dáál-ú
 slaughter.II-IRR-NMLZ none exist.II-SURP-3PL.NEG

‘Surprisingly, there was no one who would slaughter the python.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0063]

9.2.3.2 AGONISING

The AGONISING adverbial suffix *-shé* originates in the stative verb *shé* ‘be bad’. A semantically related meaning is expressed by the AGONISING adverbial suffix, which encodes immense suffering in performing an action, a process, or being in a state. The

AGONISING suffix requires Stem I of middle verbs to function grammatically correctly, which means that only middle verbs, can take the AGONISING adverbial suffix.

The precise semantics and function of the AGONISING adverbial suffix are hard to pinpoint, as there are insufficient examples in the current corpus. When asked, consultants suggest a meaning of ‘stressful/agonising V’.

- a) *tsét-êy-shé* go-MID-AGNS ‘agonising/stressful/bad walking’
- b) *ò-êy-shé* drink.I-MID-AGNS ‘agonising/stressful/bad drinking’
- c) *khát-êy-shé* shave.I-MID-AGNS ‘agonising/stressful/bad shaving’

The storyteller of the folkloric example in (467) uses the AGONISING adverbial suffix in the verb complex to encode his perspective of an old couple’s feelings. The example in (467) portrays a situation in which an old couple goes for looking fish, leaving their child at home. When they go searching for fish searching, the weather becomes very bad. The temperature becomes too high that they feel thirsty badly for water. Their feelings of thirst is expressed by the AGONISING adverbial suffix.

(467) *òm-éy-hàt-hó?y-lá = tsâ í-hní?-tsét \. ngòshúyâ í-hní?-tsét-ní shókbók únúpólâ tsúâ kúshúngnílâ? khrông tûy hál-éy-shé-hô-lâ? \, khô lêng-hngólâ? \.*

óm-êy-hàt-hó?y-lá = tsâ	í-hní?-tsét	ngòshúy = â
sit.I-MID-LV-3DL-SEQ=TOP	3S-DL-go	fish.searching=LOC
í-hní?-tsét-ní	shókbók ú-núpô = lâ	tsú = â kúshúngnílâ?
3S-DL-go-TEMP	cobra 3SG.POSS-parents=ERG	DIST=LOC name.of.a.month
khrô = êng tûy	hál-êy-shé-hô-lâ?	khô lêng-hngólâ?
season=IE water	be.hungry.I-MID-AGNS-PM-INCL	time be.hot.I-PM-INCL

‘Leaving the boy sat, they went. When they went to fish-searching, the cobra’s parents were **badly** thirsty for the high temperature of the summer.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_007]

9.2.3.3 Erroneous

The erroneous adverbial suffix *-phíʔ* encodes a wrong action, process or state performed by the referent of an S or A argument. The equivalent English meaning that the erroneous adverbial suffix encodes is ‘mistakenly’. Some co-occurrence constraints exist on the use of the erroneous suffix. Without the anterior suffix at the end of a verb complex, the use of the erroneous adverbial suffix is ungrammatical. The identical morpheme is also used as a relative clause marker (see §12.4.2.6). Therefore, the collocational constraint of the erroneous adverbial suffix distinguishes its other functions.

(468) *búʔ kéʔéytsákphíʔdók* ʘ.

búʔ ké-ʔéy-tsák-**phíʔ**-dók

rice 1A-eat.II-COMPL-**ERR**-ANT

‘I have **mistakenly** eaten the completely.’ [Elicited]

The suffix *-phíʔ* also encodes the meaning ‘as well’, which refers to an additional event. In a construction in which the suffix *-phíʔ* functions as an ADDITIONAL adverbial suffix, the verb has to be marked by the predicate-marking suffix, as shown in (469).

(469) *lódókón rángámátíâ kétsètphíʔhò*.

lódók = kón rángámátí = â ké-tsét-**phíʔ**-hò

Bandarban=ABL Rangamati=LOC 1S-go-**ADDT**-PM

‘From Bandarban, I went to Rangamati **as well**.’

9.2.3.4 Unpredicted

The unpredicted adverbial suffix *-báʔ* encodes an actor’s performance of an action, a process or being in a state unpredictably that is generally unexpected or out of usual instances. This is well demonstrated by the example in (470). A group of sisters leaped over an old man who lay down on the road. However, the younger sister did not leap over him. Seeing this, the other sisters were surprised, because it was

unpredicted. They thought that the younger sister might have fallen into love with the old man. The unpredicted adverbial suffix attached to the verb encodes the desperate effort of the younger sister in not leaping over the old man.

(470) *ókòm ní èh nòw lá tsâ tsó èy ní kòn bá? á? hô.*

ókòm-ní	èh	nów = lá = tsâ	tsó
3S-descend-TEMP	INTJ	younger.sister=ERG=TOP	ANAPH

èy = ní	kòn-bá?-á?-hô
ANAPH.DEM=FOC	leap.I-UNPRED-3SG.NEG-PM

‘[They said], “When she came down, eh, look, younger sister did not leap over him [the old man] anyhow.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_085]

The example in (471) provides similar evidence of the unpredicted adverbial suffix. When a woman was narrating an episode of her severe sickness, she said that she became well, which was unpredicted. By this, she meant that she was so sick that she did not expect to be cured. Nonetheless, she was cured because she went to a lot of doctors and she did not leave any stones unturned.

(471) *èy ní tùádâ bítsô kópóyálhlô hngúdâ. tùátsâ kópóyálbâ? ʘ.*

èy = ní	tú = â = dâ	bítsô	kó-pôy-âl-hlô	hngúdâ
ANAPH.DIM=FOC	now=LOC=EMPH	a.little.bit	1SG-be.good-DEP-PM	DP

tú = â = tsâ	kó-pôy-âl-bá?
now=LOC=TOP	1SG-be.good-DEP-UNPRED

‘That is, I became well a little bit now, OK? I unpredictedly became well now.’

[ZM_SN_MZK_092015_Hyow_0025_0022]

Given the form and meaning in some contexts, one might want to label it as a mirative (see DeLancey 1997), but the unpredicted adverbial suffix misses the core

feature of the mirative suffix, which is to mark new information. The unpredicted suffix does not obligatorily always mark new information in Hyow.

9.2.3.5 Regularity

The regularity suffix *-tsí* refers to the regularity of a predicated event. Therefore, if an action, a process or a state is performed regularly then a verb takes the regularity suffix to express the consistency of the predicated event. There are two instances of the regularity suffix in the example in (472). When the Hyow go to cut their paddy in swidden fields during the harvesting season, they usually stay in a house that they build at the top of their swidden fields. They often go to cut paddy in the morning, and they often come back to the swidden field house in the evening. The frequency of such long hours of work is encoded by the frequent suffix *-tsí* in (472).

(472) *èy lówímâ khóngòhìtsâ tsèttsí\ . khô máhìtsâ lówímâ ínìlòátsí\ .*

èy	lówím = â	khóngó-hí = tsâ	tsét-tsí
ANAPH.DEM	swidden.field.house=LOC	morning-COND=TOP	go-REG
khó	mâ-hí = tsâ	lówím = â	í-ní-lò-âl-tsí
time	be.darkCOND=TOP	swidden.field.house=LOC	3A-PL-come-DEP-REG

‘They regularly go to the swidden field house when it is morning. They regularly return to that swidden field house when it is evening.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_027]

The regularity adverbial suffix is also found as a free adverb in Hyow. In fact, several free adverbs in Hyow are also used as post-verbal suffixes. The following example in (473) includes the frequent adverb both freely and suffixally.

(473) *múák káéná? ó-yónâ tsí nát mông khóká tsí áánílòm-lá?tsíhô.*

mú-àk káéná? ó-yón = â tsí nát mông khók = á tsí
be.dark-until every GRP-night=LOC often god king near=LOC **regularly**

á-á-ní-lóm-lá?-tsí-hô

3A-DIR-PL-dance-OBLG-REG-PM

‘Until it is dark, they have to go to dance regularly near the god’s king every night.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_131]

9.2.3.6 Frequent

Semantically very close to the regularity suffix, the frequent suffix *-ngáp* expresses the frequency of a predicated event. The frequent suffix encodes an action, process or state that takes place at frequent intervals (but not in a regular manner), while the regularity suffix encodes an action, process or state that takes place at a constant frequency. Moreover, the frequent suffix represents bigger chunk of time than the regularity suffix. It is possible to perform an action, a process or be in a state often regularly, but not the other way around. This is well demonstrated through the following example in (474).

(474) *èyhnè?làtsâ tsùâ shókí-tsóní hnúpák káéná? tsí thòkngàpphố.*

èy-hnè?-lá = tsâ tsú = â shókí-tsô = ní hnúp-ák káéná?
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP DIST=LOC deer-DIM=FOC day-one every

tsí thók-**ngáp**-phô = tí
regularly come.out-FREQ-PM=R.EVID

‘After that, deer come out there often regularly everyday.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_004]

That the deer come out often regularly at a definite place in a definite season for a definite period is encoded by the frequent suffix *-ngáp* in (474). The figure in Figure 51 illustrates the difference between a frequent and a regular event.

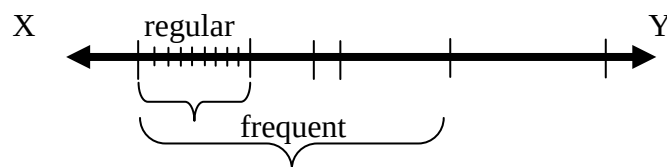


Figure 51: A representation of difference between a regular and a frequent event

9.2.3.7 Experiential frequency

The experiential frequency suffix *-phú* encodes a predicated event that is performed or experienced by someone. The equivalent English expression of this suffix is ‘ever’. An example of the experiential suffix is presented in (475). The example illustrates that when two monsters argue over whether there is a human in their kingdom or not, one monster asks the other one if he has ever heard that human can come to their kingdom. The experience of the activity in question is encoded by the suffix *-phú* in (475).

(475) *lù?tsáá nát prêâ ɔ́lɔ́ tɪ́ng nó-yók-phú=êy tórápángshá ?éy-á?y-hyô ð-lò-hí=tsê.*

lù?-tsâ = á	nát pré = â	ɔ́lɔ́ tɪ́ng nó-yók- phú = êy
human-DIM=SC.ADD	god country=LOC	againQT 2A-hear.I-EXPR=POL.Q
tórápángshá	?éy-á?y-hyô	ð-lò-hí = tsê
name.of.a.monster	eat.II-IRR-PM	3S-come-COND=TOP

‘He said, “Have you ever heard even a human child in a god’s country?” If the god Torapangsha comes, he will eat it.’”

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_257]

The experiential suffix is also used in a clause with negative polarity. In such a situation, the inexperience aspect of an event is encoded by the combination of the negative suffix and the experiential frequency suffix. The example in (476) illustrates a situation where a man never experiences seeing the shadow of a girl, and who leaves one night without any prior notice. Since Hyow allows double negation, there is a free adverb meaning ‘never’ in (476).

(476) *èyhnəʔlá tsùâ hngáyá yòphùǎhóní èy hmútótsóníʔ.*

èy-hnəʔ-lá	tsú = â	hngáyá	yó-phú-áʔ-hô = ní
FILL-ULT-SEQ	DIST=LOC	never	hear.I-EXPR-3SG.NEG-PM=FOC
èy	hmútótsó = ní		
ANAPH.DEM	girl=FOC		

‘After that, he has not ever heard of that girl there.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0084]

9.2.3.8 Ultimative

The ultimative suffix *-hnəʔ* has different meanings based on the mood of the sentence. Attached to a verb of a declarative sentence it means ‘finally; while attached to a verb of an imperative clause, it means ‘at once/immediately’. In Daai, it functions as an independent temporal adverb (Hartmann 2009: 124). Different instances of the ultimative adverbial suffix, *-hnəʔ*, shows that it is originally a copula verb. For example, the grammaticalized discourse connective *èyhnəʔlátsâ* ‘after that’ carries the ultimative suffix. Structurally speaking, this is an example of a sequential dependent clause, which requires a verb and a clause-linking suffix. Originally, the discourse linker must have initially had the structure *èy hnəʔ-lá = tsâ* ‘after that is final’ (ANAPH.DEM be.final-SEQ=TOP), where the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun is treated as a separate constituent of the structure. The anaphoric demonstrative is treated as a filler in the current collocation of the discourse connective, which parallels the basic dependent clause, as exemplified in (477).

(477) *étsèthnè?làtsâ tsùâ èy hmútótsó líp króní tsùâ áníá èylání ílipní hmù?éyhnâí.*

é-tsét-hnó?-lá = tsâ tsú = â èy hmútó-tsó líp

3S-go-ULT-SEQ=TOP DIST=LOC ANAPH.DEM girl-DIM shadow

krô-ní tsú = â ání = á èy = lâ = ní í-líp = ní

fall-TEMP DIST=LOC 3SG=ADD ANAPH.DEM=ERG=FOC 3SG.POSS-shadow=FOC

hmú?-êy-hnó? = tí

see.II-MID-ULT=R.EVID

‘Finally going there, when that girl’s_i shadow fell there, she_j also finally saw her_i shadow.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0081]

When the husband goes away, the wife gets to look at the shadow of a boy, who disturbs the wife. The ultimative suffix attached to the verb in (477) encodes that the actor of the event finally performs the action, process or is in the state.

The ultimative suffix *-hnó?* in (478) exemplifies the function of the morpheme in an imperative clause. When the recording of a text ended, the narrator asked another consultant to tell the researcher right away that the story is over.

(478) *khók-dók tîng táálhnó? túâ.*

khók-dók tîng tà-âl-hnó? túâ

be.finished-ANT QT tell.I-DEP-ULT now

‘He said, “It is over. Now, tell him right away/at once.”

[ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0097]

The ultimative suffix has co-occurrence constraints with the anterior aspectual suffix, predicate-marking suffix and the factive modality suffix.

9.2.3.9 Prioritive

The prioritive suffix *-mô* refers to the priority of an action, process or state. When a predicated event is prioritized to be done first, then the verb takes the premiere suffix to encode such expression. The prioritive suffix originates in the PKC **hmaa* ‘front/first’ (VanBik, 2009: 221). Like Hyow, Tidim, Thado and Khumi do not have the voiceless nasal initial. The prioritive suffix can be used as a bound noun also.

An example of the prioritive adverbial suffix is presented in (479). When a person talks about how to make alcohol in Hyow, he says that in the beginning some rice has to be put on a burner first. The commencing event is marked by the prioritive adverbial suffix in this example.

(479) *ɔmðəŋtsæ bú? íníshəŋgmô.*

ɔ-mô = əŋ = tsæ bú? í-ní-shəŋg-mô

GRP-first=INE=TOP rice 3A-PL-put.on.burner.II-PRIOR

‘At first, they put rice on a burner first’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_003]

Another example of the prioritive suffix is given in (480). This example illustrates a situation in which the village chief of a village tells a man what to do first during a sacrificing ceremony.

(480) *ánóbòtæ?ymðhô*

á-nó-bót-æ?y-mô-hô

DIR-2A-cut.II-IRR-PRIOR-PM

‘You are going to cut [the chicken] first.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_067]

Next to the right of the Variably Positioned Suffix Zone, there is a zone termed as the Restrictive Selectional Zone, which contains two optional zones. The choice of options depends on the type of construction. The Selection Zone 1 consists of suffixes

that are utilized by verbs as verbal mood, number-marking suffixes and negative suffixes in imperative clauses. The Selection Zone 2 includes person-marking suffixes, negative suffixes and clause-linking suffixes, which are taken by verbs of dependent clauses. The person-marking suffixes and the negative suffixes cannot co-occur, since they are formally same and refer to the relevant arguments.

9.2.3.10 Extensive

The extensive adverbial suffix encodes the extension of an action, process, or a state. The equivalent English word for this adverbial suffix is ‘more’. The extensive adverbial suffix is multifunctional. It is used as a simultaneous clause linker (see §12.4.1.8) and as a non-canonical concessive clause marker (see §12.4.1.3).

The examples in (481) and (482) demonstrate the use of the extensive adverbial suffix in a content interrogative clause and in a polar interrogative clause. In both the clauses, the adverbial suffix decodes the extensive quantity of the predicated events.

(481) *í kóhòwàè?ypèhóâm?*

í	kó-hów-é?y- pé -hâ = âm
what	1A-say.II-IRR-EXTN-PM=CONT.Q

‘What will I say more?’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_117]

(482) *álák ngóòkéypèéy↗?*

álák	ngó-ók-êy- pé = éy
alcohol	2A-drink.II-MID-EXTN=POL.Q

‘Will you drink **more** alcohol?’ [ZM_GSS2_082015_Hyow_0016_0026]

9.3 RESTRICTED SELECTION ZONE 2

The clause-linking suffixes of this zone are only functional in dependent clauses. Since dependent clause verbs can also take a limited number of MA markers, the dependent-clause-linking suffixes are discussed right after the discussion of the MA markers.

9.3.1 CLAUSE-LINKING SUFFIXES

This section deals with the dependent clause-marking suffixes briefly. The detailed discussion of the clause-linking suffixes and dependent clauses are made in §12.4.1. Hyow displays quite a number of clause-linking suffixes, which serve to link two or more clauses of a complex sentence. Clause linking suffixes operate within the different strategies of clause combining. Other than clause-linking suffixes, a complementizer (§12.4.3) and some relativizers (see §12.4.2) are used in Hyow to combine clauses. There are usually two clauses linked by a clause-linking suffix. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2009: 21) semantically identify a supporting clause (SC) and a focal clause (FC), which are generally linked by language specific linkers. Usually in Hyow, the clause-linking suffix is attached to a supporting clause, which can be a sequential clause or other types of adverbial clauses and the focal clause remains unmarked, which is a matrix clause. The clause-linking suffixes in Hyow are grammatical morphemes with lexical contents (based on the classification proposed in Thompson et.al. 2007: 238). A list of the clause-linking suffixes is given in Table 98.

Clause-linking suffixes	Gloss	Semantics	Syntactic status
-ní	‘TEMP’	relative time, conditional	Clause-linking suffix
-hí	‘COND’	conditional, conditional	Clause-linking suffix
-thón	‘CONCESS’	concessive conditional	Clause-linking suffix
-ông	‘REAS’	causal, reason, consequential	Clause-linking suffix
-àk	‘INCEP.DEL’	temporally inceptive activity	Clause-linking suffix
-àká	‘TER.DEL’	temporally terminal activity, boundary of an activity	
-â, æʔy- ông	‘PURP’	temporal sequence, situation	Clause-linking suffix
-hmónâ	‘MTV.PUR’	Motivationally purposive activity	Clause-linking suffix
-pé	‘SIM’	simultaneous activity, associated circumstance	Clause-linking suffix
-hlóng, - hlóngâ	‘CIR’	elaboration of events, circumstantial depiction	Clause-linking suffix
-khòngáʔ	‘POST.TEMP’	posterior activity	Clause-linking suffix
-bák	‘NEG.ADV’	obligatory, unavoidable and unintentional circumstance, negative adverbial	Clause-linking suffix, converb
-pèn-ông	‘ANT.TEMP’	anterior activity	Clause-linking suffix, converb
-lá	‘SEQ’	sequential activity, anterior event, temporal succession	Clause-linking suffix, converb

Table 98: A list of clause-linking suffixes in Hyow

9.3.1.1 Temporal clause-linking suffix

The temporal linking suffix *-ní* marks a temporal relation between two clauses. The suffix in discussion is attached to a dependent clause, where the dependent state of affairs (following Van Valin & LaPolla 1997 and Cristofaro 2003, and henceforth, SoA) corresponds to the temporal circumstance under which the independent SoA takes place. The temporal clause-linking suffix marks the adverbial relation that is categorized as temporal overlap by Cristofaro (2003: 156). The detailed functions of the temporal adverbial clauses will be discussed in §12.4.1.1.

The example in (483) includes two temporal adverbial clauses. Both of the clauses are connected to the matrix clause *hmú-êy-hó?y* ‘they did not see’ (see.I-MID-3DL.NEG) by the temporal clause-linking suffix *-ní*. The temporal adverbial clauses in (483) refer to the temporal situation of the predicated event of seeing by the referents.

(483) *khó ngóní èy átsángnúlâ átsángpólâ khànâ íhní?wóngní íhní?tsúhnútsâ
hmúéyhó?y* ㄴ.

khô	ngó-ní	èy	á-tsáng-nû = lâ	á-tsáng-pô = lâ
time	be.dawn-TEMP	ANAPH.DEM	GRP-be.old-MO=ERG	GRP-be.old-FA=ERG
khán = â	í-hní?-wóng-ní	íhní?-tsúhnú = tsâ	hmú-êy-hó?y	
room=LOC	3S-DL-enter.II-TEMP	3DL.POSS-daughter=TOP	see.I-MID-3DL.NEG	

‘When it was morning, when the old woman and the old man entered into the room, they did not see their daughter.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0057]

The temporal clause-linking suffix also helps a story to progress by linking consecutive events and making relevance of a given discourse. The temporal clause-linking and sequential clause-linking suffixes in (484) establish bridges between predicated events.

(484) *èydô òlòâl. òlòâlní, èybó mēy. méyhnò?làtsæ, kóbùnâldók tîng ták* ʘ.

èydô òlòâl	òlòâl-ní	èybó	mēy
then 3S-come-DEP	3S-come-DEP-TEMP	like.that	stay
mēy-hnô?lâ = tsæ	kó-bún-âl-dók	tîng	ták
stay.I-ULT-SEQ=TOP	1A-get.II-DEP-ANT	QT	tell.II

‘Then, he returned. When he returned, he stayed like that. Staying, he told [his master], “I have got [the cow].”’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_021]

9.3.1.2 Conditional clause-linking suffix

The conditional clause suffix *-hí* links a conditional clause, which does not have a truth-value, to a matrix clause. The truth-value of a conditional clause marked by the suffix *-hí* depends on the matrix clause. In a way, such conditional clauses include predictions. The proposition in the conditional clause under which the proposition in the matrix clause is expected to be true is marked by the conditional clause suffix in (485).

(485) *bóhí=tsæ poríkkhá pây?hí, nángá pâyhyónú* ʘ

bóhí = tsæ	poríkkhá	pây?hí	náng = á	pây-hyô = nú
so=TOP	exam	be.over-COND	2SG=DAT	be.good-PM=SS.EVID

‘So, if the exam is over, it is good to you (to apply to a job).’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0005]

It is an integral feature of the clauses marked by the conditional suffix to set a background of a proposition in a matrix clause in future, which means that a conditional clause includes futurity or non-actualisation of an event as one of basic properties. The proposition in the matrix clause is marked by the irrealis mood in (486), because the preceding dependent adverbial clause marked by the suffix *-hí* sets the predicted result at the time before speech.

(486) *èyhnè?làtsâ shó? mông tsúhnúđ gólóktsô khàká ínítì?hìđ pây-é?yhyô.*

èy-hnè?-lá = tsâ shó? mông tsúhnú = dâ gólók-tsô
 ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP INTJ king daughter=EMPH grazer-DIM
 khók = á ì-ní-tsí?-hí = dâ pây-é?y-hyô
 near=DAT 1INCA-PL-take.II-COND=EMPH be.good-IRR-PM

‘Finally, after that, they said, “No, if we take the king’s daughter to the grazer, it will be good.”’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_034]

When the conditional suffix follows the irrealis suffix *-é?y* in a verb complex of a dependent clause, the conditional suffix bears a temporal meaning, setting both the dependent and matrix clause events in future, as demonstrated in (487).

Typologically it is not a rare feature (see Dixon, 2009: 14 and Givón, 2001: 332).

(487) *èyniâ èyâ nétsèt-é?y hí bókítsâ pây ínípèk-é?yhyôđ.*

èy = ní = â èy = â né-tsét-é?y-hí bókí = tsâ pây
 ANAPH.DEM=FOC=LOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC 2S-go-IRR-COND so=TOP banquet
 í-ní-pék-é?y-hyô = dâ
 3A-INV-give.II-IRR-PM=EVID

‘After that, if you will go there (when you will go there, they will give you a feast.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_185]

9.3.1.3 Concessive clause-linking suffix

A dependent clause marked by the concessive suffix *-thén* encodes a concession to the event that is predicated in a matrix clause. The example in (488) demonstrates a situation where a village chief discusses with the villagers whether they should attack an impending enemy from the hills or not. Both the instances of the concessive clause in (488) help the relevant clauses to express concession to the predicated events in the respective matrix clauses.

(488) *èyní ìníkhònthón, póyâ? \. khóm-kóthón póyâ? \.*

èy = ní ì-ní-khóm-**thón** póy-á?

ANAPH.DEM=FOC 1INCA-PL-confront.II-**CONCESS** be.good-3SG.NEG

khóm-kó-**thón** póy-á? èybó ták-khô khêw

confront.I-1PL.INC.NEG-**CONCESS** be.good-3SG.NEG like.that say.II-PM DP

“Even if we confront them, it is not good. Even if we do not confront them, it is not good,” [ZM_ARGS2_082015_HYOW_0005_0033]

Sometimes, the concessive suffix is followed by the location marker, *-â*. Speakers do not recognize any functional or semantic difference with the locative marker added to the concessive suffix. In (489), the concessive suffix *-thón* is followed by the locative suffix *-â*.

(489) *tùátsâ bíttso krànghítsâ, ínìhyèndók \. bád! bíttso èy æphæmthónâ ínìhyónók \.*

tùâ = tsâ bíttso kràng-hí = tsâ í-ní-hyón-dók bád

now=TOP a.little.bit fade-COND=TOP 3A-PL-throw.II-ANT discard_B

bíttso èy æ-phæm-**thón-â** í-ní-hyón-dók

a.little.bit ANAPH.DEM 3S-be.old-**CONCESS-LOC** 3A-PL-throw.II-ANT

‘Now, if it faded a little bit, they had thrown it away. Discard! Even if that was old a little bit, they had thrown that away.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0072]

9.3.1.4 Reason clause-linking suffix

A dependent clause linked to a matrix clause by the reason suffix expresses a consequence, which involves a reason or cause in the dependent clause and result or effect in the matrix clause. The reason suffix *-êng* originates from the inessive case clitic *=êng*. As a result, a dependent clause marked by the reason suffix expresses the

reason for an event predicated in the matrix clause (see §12.4.1.4). The example in (490) includes a reason clause, which encodes the reason for some people lying down.

(490) *íníhyðhlónî tsùkhólá ínîkð?hóŋg tú íníhyðhlô, hngúdâ, krôâ?bák* ʘ.

í-ní-hyól-hlô = ní	tsú-khól = lâ	í-ní-kó?-hô-ŋg
3S-PL-lie.down-PM=FOC	DIST-EXP=ERG	3A-PL-shoot.II-PM-REAS
tú	í-ní-hyól-hlô	hngúdâ
right.away	3S-PL-lie.down-PM	DP
		fall-NEG.3SG-NEG.ADV

‘They_i lay down. Because they_j shot them_i, they_i lay down right away so as not to fall.’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_207]

When a morpheme *-lót* is attached to a verb complex preceding the suffix *-ŋg* in a dependent clause, the morpheme in question expresses continuity of the action, process or state. This continuous suffix *-lót* is only found co-occurring with the causal suffix *-ŋg*.

(491) *èydâ lòkéytîî òkdâ lòkéytîî é?éytsî?hólâŋg*.

ʔèy = dâ	lók-êy-tí-tí	ók = dâ
eat.II=EMPH	get.enough-NITER-2SG.NEG	drink.II=EMPH
lók-êy-tí-tî	é-ʔéy-tsí-hô-lót-ŋg	
get.enough-NITER-2SG.NEG	3S-eat.II-REG-PM-CONT-REAS	

‘Then, you did not have enough. Since he kept eating, you didn’t get enough drinking.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_026]

9.3.1.5 Delimitative clause-linking suffix

There are two kinds of delimitative dependent clauses – inceptive delimitative and terminal delimitative. The inceptive delimitative dependent clauses, marked by the clause-linking suffix *-ák*, marks the boundary of the matrix clause predicated event at the beginning of the dependent clause predicated event.

The inceptive delimitative suffix limits the temporal boundary of feeding a fish being attached to the verb complex in the dependent clause in (492). The situation described in (492) includes a boy and a snakehead fish. The boy wants to take revenge of his elder brother's death. A snakehead fish offers him its help. After the fish finishes advising the boy, the boy keeps feeding food to the fish until it starts to become content.

(492) *èy ngúlúytsáá tsók shngàák pèkóngbàlatsê, tsètálhnò?tí.*

èy ngúlúy-tsô = á ó-tsók ó-hngó-àk
ANAPH.DEM snakehead.fish-DIM=ADD3SG.POSS-food 3S-be.content-INCEP.DLM

pék-ông-bá-lá = tsê tsét-âl-hnó? = tí
give.I-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP go-DEP-ULT=R.EVID

'Having given the food until the snakehead fish started to become content, he went back finally.' [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_198]

The delimitative terminal clause-linking suffix *-àká* links a dependent clause to a matrix clause. The delimitative terminal clause-linking suffix encodes the temporal boundary of the matrix clause predicated event at the end of the dependent clause predicated event, as shown in (493). Further discussion on delimitative clause has been made in §12.4.1.5.

(493) *èy hówóyní syùmáká, lòkpèktí.*

èy hówóy = ní ó-yúm-áká lók-pék = tí
ANAPH.DEM wild.potato=FOC 3S-end-TERM.DLM bring.II-BEN=R.EVID

'He brought him (the old man) that wild potato until it ended.'

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0016]

9.3.1.6 Purposive clause-linking suffix

A dependent clause marked by the suffix *-ông* might not always carry a consequential relationship to a matrix clause. A Stem I verb without any person indices and marked

by the irrealis suffix *-ǎʔy* followed by the suffix *-ǎng* constructs a purposive dependent clause (see §12.4.1.6), as demonstrated in (494). All the dependent verbs in the following example are in Stem I forms, because they are prototypical reciprocal verbs derived from their transitive counterparts using the middle suffix (see §8.3.1).

(494) *èy èykhólǎng zúddhó thónéyǎʔyǎng bǎpéyǎʔyǎng shótéyǎʔyǎng túéyǎʔyǎng ínítsétthó.*

èy	èy-khól = ǎng	zúddhó	thón-èy-ǎʔy-ǎng
ANAPH.DEM	ANAPH.DEM-EXP=COMT	war	happen-MID-IRR- PURP

bǎp-èy-ǎʔy -ǎng	shót-èy-ǎʔy -ǎng	tú-èy-ǎʔy -ǎng
beat.I-MID-IRR- PURP	look.I-MID-IRR- CAUS	kill.I-MID-IRR- REAS

í-ní-tsét-thó

3S-PL-go-PM

‘They went for killing, for looking, for beating and for fighting them.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0057]

A purposive clause can be also formed by using the grammaticalized locative marker *-â.*, as demonstrated by the example in (495).

(495) *tsónéyâ, tsétthó èyhúʔy hngúdâ ㄴ.*

tsónéy-â	tsét-thó	èyhúʔy	hngúdâ
roam-PURP	go-PM	like.that	DP

‘He went for roaming like that, OK?’ [ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0009]

9.3.1.7 Motivational purposive clause-linking suffix

The suffix *-hmónâ* marks a clause that expresses motivational purpose of an action, a process or a state. In such clause-linking constructions, the matrix clause remains unmarked, while the dependent clause is marked by the motivational purposive clause-linking suffix *-hmónâ* in Hyow. A dependent clause marked by the

motivational purposive clause requires a Stem I verb. In (496), the clause marked by the suffix *-hmónâ* expresses that the motivation for the praying of the boy is to bring back her mother as before.

(496) *tsùlâ ʃtsólâ shúʔ . tòngéyhyóní, èyní, thàktsí ákróálhmònâ tsuâ póʔéyhyâ*

tsú = lâ	ʃ-tsô = lâ	shúʔ	tóng-êy-hyô = ní	èy = ní
DIST=ERG	3SG.POSS-son=ERG	prayer	pray-MID-PM=FOC	ANAPH.DEM=FOC
thàktsí	á-krô-âl- hmónâ	tsú = â	póʔ-êy-hyô	
similar	DIR-fall-DEP- PURP	DIST=LOC	DV.II-MID-PM	

‘Her son prayed. When he prayed, he prayed so that she is reincarnated.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_026]

Like the sequential and circumstantial clauses, the verb of the motivational purposive clause takes a Stem I verb. The Stem I of the verb ‘write’ is *yó*, which has an instance of being used in the motivational purposive clause in (497).

(497) *lòhìtsâ, mông yápông lòhóâm, èykhôl khâní mótmtótsô yèhnúng-hmónâ hngúdâ.*

lò-hí = tsâ	móng	yáp = ông	lò-hó = ôm	èy-khól
come-COND=TOP	which	way=INE	come-PM-CONT.Q	ANAPH.DEM-EXP
khâ = ní	mótmtótsô	yó-hnúng- hmónâ	hngúdâ	
all=FOC	finely	write.I-PH.CAP- PURP	DP	

‘If it appears in the exam, [you have to look first at the rules] that appear in the exam, so that you are able to write all those. Understand?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0109]

9.3.1.8 Simultaneous clause-linking suffix

The simultaneous clause-linking suffix *-pé* attached to a dependent clause expresses the simultaneous events associated or attendant circumstances of an action, a process,

or a state that is predicated in the matrix clause (see Coupe, 2007: 426 for a functionally similar type of morpheme in Mongsen Ao). Formally, simultaneous clauses are different from sequential clauses in that the verbs in sequential clauses take person-marking suffixes in Hyow, but the verbs in simultaneous clauses do not take any, neither suffixes nor prefixes, as illustrated in (498). The example in (498) depicts a situation where a man reaches at his own country while stripping off his clothes. In other words, his reaching his country happened while he was stripping off his clothes. It is also a characteristic of simultaneous clauses to be used repeatedly in a context, as exemplified in (498).

(498) *èybó, èybó, khónpé, khónpé, únûlá ání prèâ èy méyhyô. prètsà?ání ááphôâl.*

èybó	èybó	khón-pé	khón-pé	ú-nû	lâ
like.that	like.that	strip.off.I-SIM	strip.off.I-SIM	3SG.POSS-mother	CONJ

ání	pré = â	èy	mêy-hyô	pré-tsá? = â = ní
3SG	country=LOC	ANAPH.DEM	exist.II-PM	country-border=LOC=FOC

á-á-phô-âl

3S-DIR-reach.II-DEP

‘Like that, like that, stripping off, stripping off the banana tree stem, his mother and he stayed. He reached the border of the country.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0073]

Like the sequential dependent clause, the circumstantial dependent clause also takes a Stem I verb. The reduplicated circumstantial clause in (499) demonstrate this feature.

(499) *èydô, èy ómónkótsâ bânéyhno? \. èy kóông, tsú hmùpé, èy yòpé, hmòtpé, èy áamàkéyhyô khêw.*

èydô èy ó-món-kó = tsâ bân-êy-hnó?

then ANAPH.DEM GRP-price-EXCL=TOP get.I-MID-DEL.NEG

kóng = êng tsú hmú-pé èy yò-pé hmót-pé

reason=INE DIST see.I-SIM ANAPH.DEM hear.I-SIM know.I-SIM

èy á-a-mók-êy-hyô khêw

ANAPH.DEM 3A-AND-steal.II-MID-PM DP

‘Then, he will not get those without money. For that reason, seeing that [the ship], hearing them [the shipmen], knowing that [the ship], he went to steal that [food]. This is the story!’ [ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0053]

9.3.1.9 Circumstantial clause-linking suffix

The circumstantial clause-linking suffix *-hlóng* attached to a verb complex of a dependent clause expresses an associated or attendant circumstance of an event that is predicated in a matrix clause. Formally, circumstantial dependent clauses are different from sequential clauses in that the sequential clauses take person-marking suffixes in Hyow, but the circumstantial dependent clauses do not take person-marking prefixes, as exemplified in (500). The example in (500) depicts a situation where a man’s brother and their wives envy his cat wife. They go away from the man’s place, but still nurse the feelings of jealousy. Therefore, their departure with the feelings of jealousy is encoded by the circumstantial suffix *-hlóng* in (500).

(500) *káeláyhlàngâ ínítsetálhnǎtí.*

káeláy -hlóng-â í-ní-tsét-âl-hnó? = tí

envy.I-CIR-LOC 3S-PL-go-DEP-ULT=R.EVID

‘They finally went away envying her.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_075]

It is also a characteristic of circumstantial clauses to be used repeatedly in a context, and to include the locative clause-linking suffix in the final repeated clause or in a single-uttered clause, as demonstrated in (501). Moreover, a circumstantial dependent clause requires a Stem I verb (see §12.4.1.9).

(501) *étsèthnè?làtsâ tsùâ ɔ̀nòwtsâ yà?hlóng yà?hlóng yà?hlóng yà?hlòngâ étsèní, mónóshó lù?tsó prăi wá tîng áákrôâl*

é-tsét-hnó?-lá = tsâ tsú = â ɔ̀-nów = tsâ yá-hlóng

3S-go-ULT-SEQ=TOP DIST=LOC GRP-younger.brother=TOP move.by.hand.I-CIR

yá-hlóng yá-hlóng yá-hlóng-â

move.by.hand.I-CIR move.by.hand.I-CIR move.by.hand.I-CIR-LOC

é-tsét-ní mónóshó lù?-tsô pré = â wá tîng á-á-krô-âl

3S-go-TEMP human_B human-DIM country=LOlight QT 3S-AND-fall-DEP

‘Going finally, when the younger brother went there moving by hand, saying, “Light!” he reached the human country.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_137]

9.3.1.10 Posterior temporal clause-linking suffix

The posterior temporal clause-marking suffix *-khòngá?* marks a dependent clause that describes an event that take place after the event predicated in the matrix clause. The equivalent English word of the posterior temporal clause-linking suffix is ‘before’.

A posterior temporal clause can contain both Stem I and Stem II verbs. When a posterior temporal clause includes a Stem I verb, then the verb cannot take any person marking affixes, but when a posterior temporal clause contains a Stem II verb, the relevant person marking affixes mark the verb. The examples in (502) and (503) include two posterior temporal clauses with Stem I and Stem II verbs respectively. A detailed discussion on posterior temporal dependent clause is made in §12.4.1.10.

(502) *íníhyòldók ʌ, kópkhóngá?*

í-ní-hyól-dók kóp-khóngá?

3S-PL-lie.down-ANT shoot.I-POST.TEMP

‘They had lay down before shooting.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_206]

(503) *shókí íníkò?khóngá? hníbók ínìlòkkhô*

nì shókí í-ní-kò?khóngá? hníbók í-ní-lók-khô

PROX deer 3A-PL-shoot.II-POST.TEMP rifle 3A-PL-bring.II-PM

‘They brought a rifle before they shot this deer.’ [Elicited]

9.3.1.11 Negative adverbial clause-linking suffix

The negative adverbial suffix attached to a verb complex of a dependent clause, *-bák*, encodes negative concessive, negative circumstantial, negative purpose (avertive) and negative reason clauses in Hyow. This is a special type of construction in order to express different adverbial clauses with negative polarity. The negative adverbial suffix always co-occurs with the third person singular negative suffix preceding it, as exemplified in (504). In this example, the clause is expressing a negative circumstance. Since the clause has a negative polarity, the verb has to be in Stem I form in such a clause.

(504) *èyní kònà?bák mēy.*

èy = ní kòn-á?-bák mēy

ANAPH.DEM=FOC cross.I-3NEG.SG-NEG.ADV stay

‘So, she stayed not crossing him [the old man].’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_087]

When a dependent clause verb marked by the negative adverbial suffix takes a concessive suffix, it specifically expresses a negative concessive meaning. The

example in (505) includes a dependent clause that is marked by the negative adverbial and the concessive suffix.

(505) *èybó èy tòwtèthón ?éyæ?yhyô ítsô lòhmóná pòè?yæ?yhyô hyà?hìtsæ
hmùéyà?bàkthón pò?éyæ?yhyô.*

èybó èy tòw-tó-thón ?éy-æ?y-hyô í-tsô
like.that ANAPH.DEM forest.medicine-CONCESS eat.II-IRR-PM GRP-child

lò-hmóná pò?-èy-æ?y-hyô hyá?-hí = tsæ
bring.I-MTV.PURP-LOC DV.II-MID-IRR-PM be.not-3SG.NEG-COND=TOP

hmù-èy-tí-á?-bák-thón pò?-èy-æ?y-hyô
see.I-MID-NITER-3SG.NEG-NEG.ADV-CONCESS DV.II-MID-IRR-PM

‘Like that, even if that is a wild medicine, she will eat that. She will eat that for bringing (giving birth) child. If it is not, she will eat that, even if not giving birth anymore.’ [ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_045]

9.3.1.12 Anterior temporal clause-linking suffix

A dependent clause marked by the anterior temporal clause-marking suffix describes an action, process or state that takes place before the action, process or state described by the verb of a matrix clause (see §12.4.1.12 for more). The terminative aspectual suffix *-pón* and the grammaticalized locative marker *-ông* marks an anterior temporal clause together, as exemplified in (506). In this example, the dependent clause is expressing an event that took place before the death of the referent of the S argument of the matrix clause.

(506) *bánglá shádhín thónálpònông pô dádábáldók \.*

bánglá shádhín thón-âl-pónông pô dádábál-dók
Bangla_B free_B happen-MID-ANT.TEMP father die-SUR-ANT

‘After Bangla became free, father died unexpectedly.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0010]

9.3.1.13 Sequential clause-linking suffix

The sequential clause-linking suffix links a dependent and a matrix clause with sequential events. This type of temporally successive linking through the sequential suffix refers to the predicated events taking place one after another, marked by *-lá*. The order of the clauses is iconic to the sequence of the predicated events. The clause that is marked by the sequential suffix includes a Stem I verb and suffixal person marking.

The sequential clause-linking suffix *-lá* is formally similar to the phrasal conjunction *-lá* in Hyow (see §3.4.7). It is also used in a narrative linker. The sequential suffix is attached to the verb complex that predicates the event that happens first, as shown in (507). The example in (507) describes a situation in which a man comes to a shop to buy an octopus. When the man enters the shop and asks for a octopus, the sellers pick up and weigh an octopus. The clause that projects the first event, ‘picking up’, is marked by the sequential clause-linking suffix *-lá* in (507).

(507) *èydô khrông hngát lò-ní, èyní ínítún-pék \. pálá-ông tòngù-lá, ínítún-pék \.*

èydô	khrông	hngát	lò-ní	èy = ní	í-ní-tân-pék
then	person	one	come-TEMP	ANAPH.DEM=FOC	3A-PL-weigh.II-BEN
pála = ông	tóng-ú-lá	í-ní-tân-pék			
weight.machine(B)=INE	pick.up.I-3PL-SEQ	3A-PL-weigh.II-BEN			

‘Then, when a person came, they weighed that [octopus] for him. Picking up that [octopus] in a weight machine, they weighed that [octopus] for him.’

[ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_005]

9.4 RESTRICTED SELECTIONAL ZONE 1

The Selectional Zone 1 of the Restricted Zone of a verb complex contains three categories – person marking suffixes (§7.4.1), predicate-marking suffixes (§9.4.1) and a verbal classifier (§9.4.2). Person-marking suffixes are discussed in chapter 7. This section deals with the predicate-marking suffixes and the verbal classifier. The predicate-marking suffixes usually come at the end of a verb complex in a declarative

clause, and before the interrogative mood markers in interrogative clauses. Predicate marking suffixes are not taken by imperative, temporal, conditional and concessive clauses. On the other hand, the verbal classifier comes after the predicate-marking suffix in declarative and interrogative clauses.

9.4.1 PREDICATE-MARKING SUFFIXES

Most of the verb complexes in Hyow end up with suffixes that are formed through a transphonologization process (see §2.5.4). These suffixes have different forms based on the final segment of the root or the preceding suffix. If the root or the preceding suffix ends with a vowel, then the suffix takes the form *-hɔ̌*, e.g. *V-ló-hɔ̌* ‘He comes/came.’ (3S-come-PM). If the root or the preceding suffix ends with a stop, then the initial consonant of the predicate-marking suffix takes the aspirated form of the final stop of the preceding root or suffix, e.g. *V-tsét-thɔ̌* ‘He goes/went’ (3S-go-PM). Finally, if the preceding root or suffix ends a sonorant, then the initial consonant of the predicate-marking suffix has a voiceless form of the final sonorant of the preceding root or the suffix, e.g. *V-tsón-hnɔ̌* ‘He runs/ran.’ (3S-run.II-PM). All these variants of the predicate markers end with a back vowel *ɔ̌*.

The exact function of this morpheme is not conclusive. I have come up with the name after considering its function in Hyow compared to its function in related languages. These variant forms originate from the sibilant initial form *-shɔ̌*, which is used in rare cases in text examples in Laitu Hyow, as exemplified in (508). Instead of the form *-shɔ̌*, the speaker could have used *-thɔ̌*, taking the aspirated form of the preceding syllable final as its initial segment. Kontu, the other variant of Hyow, spoken in Bangladesh uses the original sibilant initial form as the predicate-marking suffix.

(508) *èyniâ íhniʔhmótshɔ̌, nílúp ní tîng*

èy = ní = â í-hniʔ-hmót-**shɔ̌** nílúp = ní ní tîng

ANAPH.DEM=FOC=LOC 3A-PL-know.II-**PM** like.this=FOC PROX QT

‘After that, he said, “They know this like this.”’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0100]

Based on its distribution and form, I assume that the predicate-marking suffix *-shô* may have originated from an old copula, which has the cognate forms *si* ‘equational verb’ in Bawm (Reichle, 1981: 98), and *hi* ‘narrative-equational’ in Sizang (Stern, 1963: 243). Taking data from Sizang (Stern 1963 and 1984), DeLancey (2011: 211) argues that the sentence final particle of Sizang is derived from the copula *hi*. The copula (*hi* in Sizang) along with the proclitic agreement on the verbs replaces an older finite verb in most of the Kuki-Chin languages. In Hyow, the morpheme in question has lost its copula status, since it does not have this functional feature in Hyow anymore. However, DeLancey’s idea that the new finite clause has a nominalized verb is arguably correct for several reasons, but not limited to what DeLancey (2011) proposes as the only evidence. Firstly, the finite clauses in Hyow always include Stem II transitive verbs (intransitive verbs do not have stem variants), which are historically already nominalized (see §6.2.2). Secondly, the Stem II verbs are nominalized is also evident from the fact that the person marking prefixes on Stem II verbs can function as markers of possessors, which treat the Stem II verbs as their possessed item e.g. *í-khín* ‘his thinking’ (3SG-think.II). It should be noted here that person markers on intransitive verbs cannot function similarly, as they are not historically nominalized. As a result, *é-tsét* (3sg-go) ‘his going’ is ungrammatical (see §6.2.2). Thus, with the personal prefix attached on a Stem II verb, the verb functions as a nominal argument, as exemplified in (509).

(509) *ó-y póy-hyô*

ó-y póy-hyô
3SG.POSS-sing.II be.good-PM

‘His singing is good.’ [Elicited]

Since the Stem II verbs are historically nominalized, and this fact is evident from the discussion above as well, the predicate status of the verb complex is marked by *-shô* and its variants in Hyow. The predicate-marking suffixes also function as complementizers in Hyow, as shown through the example in (510). *ʔéyshô ôkshô méyhyô* ‘that the food and drink existed’ is a complement clause and functioning as an argument of the verb *hmúʔ* ‘see.II’ in (510).

(510) *ʔéyshô ókshô méyhyô hmùʔhótí, hngúdâ*

èyshô	ókshô	mêy-hyô	hmúʔ-hô = tí	hngúdâ
food	drink	exist-PM	see.II-PM=R.EVID	DP

‘He saw that there was food and drink, OK?’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0010]

Since Stem I verbs are not historically nominalized, a clause with Stem I verb does not necessarily require the predicate-marking suffix. The use of the predicate-marking suffix in such clauses is optional, as demonstrated by the examples in (511) and (512). However, the number of Stem I verbs marked by the predicate-marking suffix in clauses are very small.

(511) *kéytsâ hmùngánû.*

kêy = tsâ	hmú-ngâ = nú
1SG=TOP	see.I-1SG.NEG=SS.EVID

‘I did not see’ [ZM_TDG_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_027]

(512) *hmùngáhô.*

hmú-ngâ-hô
see.I-1SG.NEG-PM

‘I did not see.’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0086]

The use of the predicate-marking suffixes is very common and productive in Hyow. However, imperatives clauses and sequential dependent clauses, which obligatorily take Stem I verbs, are never marked by the predicate-marking suffix.

The predicate-marking suffix can co-occur with almost all the modality and aspectual markers. It can also co-occur with the irrealis mood marker, as shown in (513).

(513) *hmútó kóshòtæ?yhyô*.

hmútó = ô kó-shót-æ?y-hyô

woman=VOC 1A-look.II-IRR-PM

‘Woman, I will not look.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_108]

The predicate-marking suffix can also function as a non-habitual marker (see §9.2.2.10). As a result, it has co-occurrence restrictions with the factive modality marker *-khó?*. Accordingly, the example in (514) is ungrammatical. It should be mentioned here that the predicate-marking suffix cannot be treated as a paradigmatic member of the epistemic modality markers.

(514) **kétsétkhô?hó*.

ké-tsét-khó?-hó

1SG-go-FACT-PM

*(Lit.) ‘I really went.’ [Elicited]

9.4.2 VERBAL CLASSIFIER

Verbal classifier form a small class of inflectional category in Hyow, with only one member of this category – the expansive verbal classifier (*-khôl*). Generally, verbal classifiers refer to the referents of arguments based on their size, shape, animacy, consistency, position and structure (Aikhenvald 2000: 176). The verbal classifiers refers to either an S or a P argument of an intransitive or a transitive verb respectively.

The multifunctional morpheme *khôl* is not only utilized by nouns, but also by verbs. This particular morpheme bears the semantics of expansion or elaboration. When the expansive suffix is attached to a noun, it generally refers to the expanded set of the referents involved in a predicated action, process or state (see §5.5.10), and when it is attached to a verb, it refers to the expanded set of referents of the S or P argument of an intransitive or a transitive verb respectively. The other function of this multifunctional morpheme includes expressing plural imperatives (§11.6.1).

The expansive verbal classifier always comes at the end of a verb complex, and precedes the clitics. The expansive suffix *-khôl* in the first matrix clause in square brackets in (515) denotes the expanded set of P argument. Since the P argument of the verb *tók* ‘keep’ II’ refers to rice-curry and items of similar sort (by the elaborated expression *zéytsô*), the verbal classifier *-khôl* denotes the keeping of expanded set of food items, not only rice-curry, but also other food items.

(515) *bù?àntsô zéytsô ánílá tók-éy-hyô-khól, ítsôkhól*

bú?ón-tsô	zéy-tsô	ání = lá	tók-éy-hyô- khól	í-tsô- khól
curry-DIM	EE-DIM	3SG=ERG	keep.II-MID-PM- EXP	EE-DIM- EXP

‘She kept the curry and other things, and did so on.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_043]

The expansive verbal classifier always come at the end of the verb complex, which can be then followed by other clitics. As opposed to a declarative clause, the same morpheme also comes at the end of an imperative clause marking plural addressee, but the verb is obligatorily Stem I in such imperative clauses, as in *hmù-éy-khól* (see.I-MID-PL) ‘See yourselves’. In (516), the expansive verbal classifier comes at the end of the verb complex. In this example, the expansive suffix refers to the expanded set of referents of the P argument who were buried.

(516) *èyâ dùtí? èyâ íniphùhlôkhól*

èy = â	dú-tí?	èy = â	í-ní-phúl-hlô-khól
ANAPH.DEM=LOC	die-NMLZ	ANAPH.DEM	3A-PL-bury.II-IPF

‘They buried those who died there.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0035]

Likewise, in (517), the expanded set of referents of the P argument, which is not overtly mentioned in the example, is marked by the expansive verbal classifier.

(517) *ngòk-tí?lâ í-ní-káeláy-é?y-hyô-khól.*

ngók-tí? = lâ í-ní-káeláy-é?y-hyô-khól

wife.of.elder.brother-PL=ERG 3A-PL-envy.II-IRR-IPF-EXP

‘The wives of the elder brothers and same sort envied them.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0114]

9.5 INVARIABLY-ORDERED SUFFIX AND CLITIC ZONE

The suffixes and clitics of this zone of a verb complex include sentential mood markers. Except the exhortative mood (see §9.5.1.7), these sentential mood markers generally come at the end of verb complexes, and they can be followed by the available set of clitics (see §9.6).

9.5.1 SENTENTIAL MOOD

Sentential mood refers to the conversational use of mood, which is conventionally associated with clause types (Portner, 2009: 262) and different types of illocutionary force. Sentential mood is closely related to both verbal mood and modality. The parameters that decide sentential form types include sentential particles, syntactic position, intonation and verbal mood (Kaufmann & Kaufmann 2016: 549). There are three basic types of illocutions in Hyow, interrogatives and imperatives are generally marked for their sentential mood, while declaratives remain modally unmarked in Hyow. The following subsections discuss different verbal markers relevant to illocutionary mood.

9.5.1.1 Polar interrogative

The clitic =éy marks a polar interrogative clause in Hyow. Polar questions refer to those questions that have two answers equivalent to English ‘yes’ and ‘no’. The polar questions clitic has an underlying falling tone. The intonation at the boundary of a polar question is rising (see §11.5.1). The example in (518) includes a polar question with the head verb. The clitic generally comes at the end of the verb complex, as shown in (518).

(518) *èyhnə?latsə “èy gólóktsóô nìhú?y núhmù?éy↗?” tìng tákní “śhó? kêy hmùngánú.”*

èy-hnə?-lá = tsə èy gólók-tsó-ô nìhú?y nú-hmù? = êy
 ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP INTJ cow.herd-DIM=VOC like.this 2A-see.II=POL.Q
 tìng ták-ní śhó? kêy hmù-ngâ = nú
 QT tell.II-TEMP INTJ 1SG see.I-1SG.NEG-=SS.EVID

‘After that, when he_i [the snake catcher] said, “Hey cowherd, did you see [a snake] like this?” He_j [the cowherd] said, “No, I did not see.”

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_003]

9.5.1.2 Content interrogative

The content interrogative clause clitic = *śm* is attached to a verb complex of an interrogative clause when a speaker asks for specific information about the participant or any situation. Other than the interrogative pronouns, which are similar to indefinite pronouns in form, a content question clitic is an obligatory part of an interrogative clause. There is no intonational marking at the boundary of a content interrogative clause (see §11.5.4). The interrogative clause in (519) includes the content question clitic at the end of the verb complex.

(519) *trá trá yá krśhśśm?*

trá trá yá krś-hś = śm
 trial trial why fall-PM=CONT.Q

‘Why did the trial take place?’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_043]

The final nasal segment of the content question clitic might drop in some places, especially in headless content questions. In such a context, both the speech act participants know about what the question is. Seeing his friend anxious, the king’s son asks his friend what happened to him just using an empty content question, which is exemplified in (520).

(520) *èydê, “íê khánbónô?”*

èydê í=ê khánbón-ô

then what = CONT.Q friend = VOC

“Then, he said, “What, friend?” [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_058]

9.5.1.3 Imperative with singular addressee

Plain imperatives refer to commands or orders. The marking of number obligatory for encoding commands or orders. The singular number is always unmarked in a plain imperative clause, which can be formed by a Stem I verb (see §11.6.1.1).

The example in (521) presents a plain imperative clause. Since the command is given to a singular participant, there is no marking of number with the verb ‘look’ in (521).

(521) *shó. kókhòphàytshê phólá thónéyáldê \.*

shó kó-khó-pháy = tsê phôl = á thón-êy-âl-dók

look.I.IMP 1SG.POSS-leg-palm=TOP snake=DAT happen.II-MID-DEP-ANT

‘[The husband told to his wife] “Look! My foot has become snake.”’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0082]

There is also a politeness marker, which makes an order or command polite. The politeness suffix *-ê* comes at the end of an imperative clause, as shown in (522).

(522) *èyhnə?làtsə phítđ á-lə-êy-æ títg táktí.*

èy-hnə?-lá = tsə phít = đđ á-lə-êy-æ títg

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP basket=EMPH DIR-bring.I-MID-POL.IMP QT

ták = tí

tell.II=R.EVID

‘After that, she said, “Go to bring the basket yourself.”

[ZM_TDG_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_017]

9.5.1.4 Imperative with dual addressee

The plain imperative clause with dual number is marked by the dual number suffix *-hní?*. The mood-marking intonation interacts with the number marker, since it is the final morpheme in such a clause.

(523) *èytsə mống dэдэд? tsétáhlô hówhní? tsəhə?yô títg tàkhnə?tí*

èy = tsə mống dэдэд? tsét-âl-hlô hów-hní?

ANAPH.DEM=TOP which direction go-DEP-PF say.I-DL

tsə-hə?y = ô títg ták-hnə? = tí

son-DL=VOC QT tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘He said, “Sons, tell me in which direction she went!”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_096]

An imperative clause with dual number can also take the politeness suffix *-æ*. The politeness suffix *-æ* follows the dual number marker in a dual plain imperative clause. For example, the number of people who are requested to make the call is marked by the dual number, which precedes the politeness-marking suffix in (524).

(524) *ǎhǎngǎlǎ?ydó tǐhǐtsǎ bǒhǐ tsét. tsónǎlhni?ǎ. phón ǎpòhni?ǎtǐ.*

ǎ-hǎng-ǎl-ǎ?y -dó tí-hǐ = tsǎ bǒhǐ tsét tsón-ǎl-**hni?ǎ**
 3S-be.alive-DEP-IRR-PREF be.said-COND=TOP so go.IMP run-DEP-DL-POL.IMP
 phón ǎ-pó-hni?ǎ = tí
 phone DIR-DV.I-DL-EXH=R.EVID

‘He [the healer] said, “If it is said that he will be alive! So, go! Run back! Go to make the phone call!”’[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0043]

9.5.1.5 Imperative with plural addressee

The plural number is marked by the suffix *-khôl*. Through the plural number suffix, a speaker encodes a command to a group of people. For example, while talking about a sacrificing festival, the village chief narrates how he leads the villagers to organize the festival properly. After the slaughtering of goats by the stream is done, the village chief asks all the people to go up in the village (the stream generally flows through a lower place than the houses). His command of calling people to come is encoded by the imperative verb *káy* (this verb is only used in an imperative clause) and the plural number marker *-khôl* in (525).

(525) *bǒhǐtsǎ, káykhôl, káykhôl. kǎmǎ?yhyô hngû.*

bǒhǐ = tsǎ kǎy-khôl kǎy-**khôl** kǎm-ǎy-hyô hngû
 so=TOP come.IMP-PL come.IMP-PL descend.I-COHT-PM DP

‘So, come all, come all! Let’s go up, OK!’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_034]

The politeness suffix *-ǎ* is only applicable to singular and dual imperatives in Hyow.

9.5.1.6 Cohortative

The cohortative suffixes *-æyhyó* and *-əngkhó* respectively encode a non-emphatic and an emphatic mutual encouragement to perform an activity respectively. Since no inflectional category comes between the cohortative markers *-æy* and *-hyó*, and *-əng* and *-khó*, I treat these as unitary categories. The examples in (526) and (527) demonstrate a non-emphatic and an emphatic cohortative clause respectively.

(526) *á?éyduæyhyó*

á-?éy-dá-æyhyó

DIR-eat.I-ITER-NECOHORT

‘Let’s go to eat again like before.’ [Elicited]

(527) *áshòəngkhó*

á-shó-əngkhó

DIR-look.I-ECOHORT

‘Let’s go to look at [the puppy].’ [ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0007]

Examples of both the non-emphatic and emphatic cohortative clauses presented in (528) and (529) show that no verbal inflectional categories can appear between the disyllabic mood markers.

(528) *bóhítsæ, èyádê tsíæyhyó, tsúâ lódódê*

bóhí = tsæ èy = â = dê

tsí-æyhyó

tsú = â

so=TOP

ANAPH.DEM=LOC=EMPH

take.I-NECOHORT

DIST=LOC

lódó = â = dê

Bandarban=LOC=EMPH

‘They [neighbors] said, “So, let’s take her there, there in Bandarban.”’

[ZM_GG_SPW_062007_Hyow_0033_028]

(529) *áhlòkpèkálèngkhó.*

á-hlók-pék-âl-èngkhó

DIR-pick.up.I-BEN-DEP-ECOHORT

‘Lets go to pick up water for him.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0042]

A non-emphatic cohortative does not imply a strong encouragement in performing an action, process or being in a state. For example, in (530), the speaker does not really care whether the addressee performs the action or not, because the speaker is the stepmother of the addressee. The addressee comes to his stepmother to get an advice on dealing with a dead woman who was killed by a trap that the addressee set in a jungle. Here, the speaker does not encourage the addressee mutually performing the action; rather the speaker is not willing to get herself involved in the event. Since the speaker is a family to the addressee, the speaker asks to perform the action mutually for the sake of the rather unhealthy relationship. There is a separate cohortative particle for ‘going’ in Hyow. The cohortative particle *tsæ* means ‘let’s go’ in (530).

(530) *khrónglâ hmùà?bák, tsóô tsét, tsæ tîng. phóálá hngát kètèngbàlání tsæhnó?. tsóô áphùlâyhyô.*

khróng = lâ hmù-á?-bák tsó-ô tsét tsæ tîng phóálá
people=ERG see.I-3SG.NEG-NEG.ADV son=VOC go.IMP let’s.go QT spade

hngát kèt-êng-bá-lá-ní tsæ-hnó? tsô = ô
one carry.on.shoulder-STAT-3SG-SEQ-TEMP let’s.go-at.once son=VOC

á-phúl-âyhyô

DIR-bury.I-NECOHORT

‘She [ugly mother] said, “Son, go, let’s go, so that people do not see [the dead body].” Having carried a spade on shoulder, she said, “Let’s go! Son, let’s bury [the dead body].”’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_023]

As opposed to the non-emphatic cohortative, using the emphatic cohortative, the speaker strongly encourages the addressee to perform an action together, as demonstrated by the example in (531), where a tiger asks his friend, a lion, to exchange the brothers they hold captive.

(531) *thùléyálèngkhó*.

thúl-êy-âl-èngkhó

exchange-MID-DEP-ECOHORT

‘Let’s exchange [the brothers].’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_121]

Among the available MA markers in Hyow, only a small number of aspectual and adverbial suffixes can be used in a cohortative clause. The permitted MA markers, which are listed in Appendix III: A Combinatory Matrix for Imperative always precede the cohortative markers.

9.5.1.7 Exhortative

A clause that expresses a request requires the verb to take an exhortative suffix. The exhortative suffix *-báʔ* marks a Stem I verb to encode a speaker’s request to an addressee. The number of the addressee is marked by the relevant number-marking suffixes, which follow the exhortative suffix *-báʔ*. In fact, unlike other mood markers, the exhortative mood marker appears close to the verb. Other permitted MA markers follow the exhortative marker (see Appendix III: A Combinatory Matrix for Imperative Verbs). The example in (532) depicts a situation where a magic girl cooks food for a prince, who lives in a jungle. The magic girl urges a rooster to tell his master, the prince, that she has cooked for him. The urge of the magic girl is encoded by the exhortative suffix *-báʔ* in (532).

(532) *bóhítsǽ, áhlúypóô króák hòwpèkbà?bây, nómò?póá \.*

bóhí = tsǽ áhlúypó = ô króák hów-pék-**bá?**-bây

so=TOP rooster=VOC a.little.bit say.II-BEN-EXH-DEL.IMP

nó-mó?-pô = á

2SG.POSS-owner-FA=DAT

‘The girl said, “So, rooster, please tell your master a little bit for him [to know about the food that I cooked].”’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_044]

The dual number and the plural number in clauses with the exhortative mood are marked by *-hni?* and *-êng* respectively.

(533) *tsèt-bà?hni?ǽ*

tsét-**bá?**-hni?-ǽ

go-EXH-DL-POL.IMP

‘Please go (you two)!’ [Elicited]

9.5.1.8 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mood in a clause is marked by the combination of the irrealis suffix *-ǽ?y* followed by the negative suffixes that refer to the second person arguments, whose referents are prohibited from performing an action, a process, or being in a state

The example in (534) demonstrates the prohibitive mood is expressed by the irrealis suffix followed the second person singular negative suffix. The suffix *-bây* in (534) is encoding a delayed imperative. Since Hyow lacks a future tense category, the use of the delayed imperative suffix allows a speaker to refer to the temporal locus of the prohibited action, process or state.

(534) *ínípekshímhyò?ní hyènbây. òæ?ytí.*

í-ní-pék-shím-hyó?-ní

hyón-bây

ó-æ?y-tí

3A-INV-give.II-more-much-TEMP throw.I-DEL.IMP drink.I-IRR-2SG.NEG

‘The snakehead fish said, “The more they give [alcohol], the more throw away [the alcohol]. Don’t drink.”’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_0156]

The prohibitive suffix precedes the second person dual negative marker *-hni?í* and second person plural negative marker *-tsú* in clauses that include dual and plural second person addressee respectively.

9.5.1.9 Jussive

The jussive mood encoded by the suffix *-Væ?* expresses a speaker’s intention or wish. The jussive mood typically includes first and third person participants. According to Timberlake (2007: 318), besides epistemology being one realm of modality, directive or jussive is another realm of modality. In jussive mood, the liability of the state of the world is relocated from one authority to another. Therefore, a speaker’s demand or wish of an activity being performed on himself/herself or on a third person can be encoded by the jussive suffix *-C_væ?* in Hyow (where *C_v* stands for a voiceless segment, which takes the devoiced form of the final segment of the root). If the root ends in an open syllable, the onset of the monosyllabic jussive suffix takes the form of the voiceless glottal fricative. The relevant person marking suffixes (only first and third person) in a clause with the jussive mood follows the jussive suffix. Spekaers of Hyow consider a jussive suffix followed by second person marker to be ungrammatical.

The jussive suffix *-hæ?* is followed by the first person singular marker *-ngâ* in (535). In this example, the jussive suffix encodes a king’s desire of being dead.

(535) *dùhàè?ngâ tîng méyhyâ èyâ.*

dù-hâè?-ngâ tîng méy-hyâ èy = â
 die-JUSS-1SG QT stay.II-PM ANAPH.DEM=LOC

‘Saying, “Let me die!” he stayed there.’

[ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_026]

When the desire of an activity to be performed on a third person is encoded in a clause with the jussive mood, the root is marked by the relevant third person-marking suffix. The demand of a princess to make an event happen is marked by the jussive suffix *-hnâè?* in (536). The third person is marked as zero on the verb in (536) and the jussive suffix is formed by taking the devoiced form of the final segment of the verb *thón* ‘happen’ as the onset in (536).

(536) *kóóméyàè?yhyâhnâ? gólóktsóthén thónhnâ? tîng èní óméytí*

kó-óm-êy-âè?y-hyâ hnâ? gólók-tsó-thén thón-hnâ?
 1S-sit.II-MID-IRR-PM be.final grazer-DIM-CONCESS happen-JUSS

tîng èy = ní óm-êy = tí
 QT ANAPH.DEM=FOC marry.II-MID=R.EVID

‘Saying, “It is final that I will get married to him. Even though he is a cowherd, let it happen.” the king’s daughter get married to that [cowherd].’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_041]

9.5.1.10 Optative

The optative sentential mood refers to a wish or a hope. Through the optative mood, a speaker does not make an addressee responsible for the change of any state in the world, rather the speaker expects for a change of a state spontaneously or be done by an omnipotent, e.g. by God (see Timberlake, 2007: 319). There are two types of optatives - positive and negative. Through the positive optative mood, the speaker

wishes for a positive change, and through the negative optative mood, the speaker wishes for a change not to be taken place.

The optative mood of a clause with positive is marked by the suffix *-hǎ*, which is followed by the delayed imperative suffix *-bǎy* and the person marking suffixes (see Table 97), which mark the person on whom the wish or desire is directed.

An example of the optative mood marked clause is given in (537). In this example, a king's son's wish of becoming an ant is encoded by the optative mood marker *-hǎ*.

(537) *kêy shímí-tsó = á thón-êy-hnúng-hǎ-bǎy-ngâ tîng*

kêy	shímí-tsó = á	thón-êy-hnúng- hǎ -bǎy-ngâ	tîng
1SG	ant-DIM=DAT	happen-MID-PH.CAP- OPT -DEL.IMP-1SG	QT

‘The king’s son said, “May I be able to become an ant!”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_217]

Similar to (537), the marker of the argument for whose referent the predicated event is desired follows the optative marker and the delayed imperative marker in (538). Here, the expected change is demanded for a third person plural referent.

(538) *èy khǎní lòh-bǎy-ú tí-hǎ*

èy	khǎní	lò- hǎ -bǎy-ú	tí-hǎ
ANAPH.DEM	all=FOC	come- OPT -DEL.IMP-3PL	be.said-PM

‘It was said, “May they all come!” [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_165]

The negative optative mood is expressed similarly to the prohibitive mood. A verb that takes the irrealis suffix and second person negative suffixes might also encode a negative desire, besides encoding prohibition on performing an activity by an addressee. Therefore, the elicited example in (539) might express both prohibition and negative wish.

(539) *ínípekà?yshímhyò?ní hyànbây. óà?ytí.*

í-ní-pék-á?y -shím-hyó?ní ó-á?y-tí
 3A-PL-give.II-IRR-more-much-TEMP drink.I-IRR-2SG.NEG

‘The snakehead fish said, “The more they will give [alcohol], the more you will throw away. May you not drink the alcohol (or, do not drink the alcohol).”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_0156]

9.6 CLITIC ZONE

The Clitic Zone of includes several clitics. This group of available clitics, which have clausal scope, include – =*dâ* ‘EMPHATIC’, =*tí* ‘R.EVID’, =*nú* ‘SS.EVID’, =*ní* ‘FOCUS’, =*tsâ* ‘TOPIC’, =*êy* ‘POL.Q’ and =*ám* ‘CONT.Q’. The following subsections carry discussions of these clitics and illustrate their use with relevant examples.

9.6.1 TOPIC CLITIC WITH CLAUSAL SCOPE

The topic clitic =*tsâ* generally marks given or old information (see §4.4.3.3). It is very frequent that an event predicated in a matrix clause is used as a topic of the next sentence in folk stories and other genres of texts in Hyow. A clause marked by the topic clitic functions as a discourse connective too (§3.4.6). All types of dependent clauses are generally marked by the topic clitic. If we look at the two consecutive sentences in (540) and (541) taken from a process text, we see how the topic clitic functions, and to where it is attached. The matrix clause of (540) is used as a topicalized dependent clause in (541), which is an example of Tail-Head linkage (see Thompson & Longacre 1985: 209).

(540) *bú? ínishòngmô* ㄅㄨˊ? ㄧㄣˊㄕㄨㄥˊㄇㄛˊ.

bú? í-ní-shóng.II-mó
 3A-PL-cook/boil.rice-PRIOR

‘They boil the rice first.’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_003]

(541) *bú? shóngùlâtsæ, bú? shóngóngùlá, èyní íníhlów ʘ.*

bú? shóng-ú-lá = tsæ bú? shóng-ông-ú-lá
 rice boil.rice.I-3PL-SEQ=TOP rice boil.rice.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ
 èy = ní í-ní-hlów
 ANAPH.DEM=FOC 3A-PL-mix.II

‘Boiling the rice, having boiled the rice, then they mix it.’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_004]

9.6.2 FOCUS CLITIC WITH CLAUSAL SCOPE

In addition to NP (see §4.4.3.4), the focus clitic also marks a verb complex. The focus clitic =*ní* marks new information (see Lambrecht 1994: 206). Specially, in answer of a question, the answer frequently includes a predicated event marked by the focus marker. Therefore, if there is a topicalized clause X, the comment in the matrix clause contains a focused clause Y, where the verb complex is marked by the focus clitic =*ní*.

The focus clitic obligatorily follow the predicate marker, as shown in (542). The situation exemplified in (542) illustrates that when a king was looking for a particular girl to marry, he asked his friends and others to go with him to look for that girl. The verb complex encoding their activity of searching for the girl is marked by the focus clitic in (542).

- (542) *níhú?y hmútótsâ mòâ kâbùnâ?yhyóém? bóhí, áshúykhóltsô. èydô, ínishùhyóní↘, shóláykhóllâ ínishùhyóní↘.*

níhú?y hmútó = tsâ móâ kâ-bùn-â?y-hyó = êm bóhí

like.this woman=TOP where 1A-find.I-IRR-PM=CONT.Q so

á-shúy-khól-tsô èydô í-ní-shúy-hyô = ní shóláy-khól = lâ

DIR-search.I-IMP.PL-DIM then 3A-PL-search.II-PM=FOC soldier=PL=ERG

í-ní-shúy-hyô = ní

3A-PL-search.II-PM=FOC

‘The king said, “Where will I find a woman like this? Go to search for a woman for a while.” Then, they searched for a woman. The soldiers searched for a woman.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_024-026]

Similar to (542), there are two matrix clauses marked by the focus clitic in (543).

- (543) *èydô, èyní khóhnúpák khóání, khóhyún kóyhyóní↘, nákhúmhlúmâ tsùâ khó lòâ?yhyóní↘.*

èydô èy=ní khóhnúp-ák khó=á=ní khóhyún kóy-hyô = ní

then ANAPH.DEM=FOC day-one time=LOC=FOC cloud ascend-PM=FOC

nákhúmhlúm=â tsú=â khó lò-â?y-hyô=ní

pitch.black=LOC DIST=LOC rain come-IRR-PM=FOC

‘Then, one day, the cloud became pitch black. [He thought] The rain would come there.’ [ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0061]

9.6.3 EMPHATIC CLITIC WITH CLAUSAL SCOPE

The emphatic clitic =*dô* attached to a verb complex in a matrix clause adds an emphasis to the predicated event. Generally, when a speaker expects an addressee to understand any inference made by him/her, and the addressee does not get the

meaning or looks confused, then the speaker puts emphasis on the events predicated in a dependent clause or in a matrix clause. The emphatic clitic follows the predicate marker in a verb complex of a matrix clause, as demonstrated in (544).

(544) *phól lá dǎhódǎ, hípây tǐng*

phól = lâ dǎh-hô = dǎ hí-pây tǐng
snake=ERG **strike.II-PM=EMPH** be.right-PROB QT

‘She said, “It seems that the snake **struck** him.”’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_045]

In a dependent clause, the emphatic clitic follows the relevant clause-linking suffix. In (545), while talking about the benefits of following his forefathers’ religion and practices, the headman tells the villagers that their parents and elders will be happy if they follow their beliefs. The condition expressed by the dependent clause is marked by the emphatic clitic, since significant value is attached to following ancient beliefs.

(545) *núpô tsánglénkǎ? ínítǎmhǎ, nǎngké?yá ínáyǎlǎ?yhyô mēy.*

núpô tsáng-lén = kǎ? í-ní-tǎm-hí = dǎ nǎngké? = á
parents be.old-be.big=GEN 3A-PL-follow.II-COND=EMPH 1PL.INC=DAT

í-ní-yǎl-ǎ?y-hyô mēy
3A-PL-be.cool-IRR-PF exist.II

‘It exists (the saying) that if we follow the parents’ and elder peoples’ practice (beliefs), then we will be in peace.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_116]

9.6.4 EVIDENTIALS

There is a binary opposition between evidential marking clitics in Hyow. The evidentials mark the source of a proposition or information provided by the speaker.

Typologically, languages might have an evidential system ranging from a simple system of two evidentials, to a complex system of six evidentials or even more (see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2003; Aikhenvald 2004). Hyow has a binary opposition between sensory and reported evidentials (the terminologies are adapted from Aikhenvald 2004). The sensory evidential marks a proposition that comes from a visual or other sensory source, while the reported evidential include information that come from hearsay.

9.6.4.1 Sensory evidential

The sensory evidential clitic =*nú* encodes an information that originates from visual or other sensory sources. The sensory evidential marker is a portmanteau morpheme in Hyow. When attached to a nominal phrase, it emphasizes and specifies the nominal referent. Therefore, when a verb complex takes the sensory evidential clitic, it refers to both a sensory source and an emphasis of the speaker.

The example in (546) describes a situation where a man asks his master if his wife has left a ring with him. The master denies getting any ring from his wife. When he himself finds out from a letter written by his wife that the master has the ring, he tells the master with certainty that his wife has given him the ring. The man's source of the information that the ring is surely given to him by his wife is formulated from the visual evidence of the letter written by his wife. Therefore, the relevant verb complex takes the sensory evidential clitic in (546). To emphasize his sensory source, the speaker has also used the emphatic clitic =*dô* along with the evidential marker.

(546) *bóhítsê èy khóytsíptsô ínípèkkhódónú. pèkálâ.*

bóhí = tsê èy khóytsíp-tsô í-ní-pék-khô = dô = **nú**

so=TOP ANAPH.DEM ring-DIM 3A-INV-give.II-PM=EMPH=SS.EVID

pèk-âl-â

give.I-DEP-POL.IMP

‘So, she gave you that ring. Give that back.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_185]

A king's son reached an old couple's house, after he left the palace. The old couple asked the king's son to stay with them without any hesitation. From their own experience, which is a direct source of information, they told the king's son that it would be good for him if he stayed in their house. Their judgement from their own experience is encoded by the sensory evidential clitic =nú in (547).

(547) *bóhítsæ èyhú?y néméynàè?yhytsæ pýhyónú* ㄴ.

bóhí = tsæ èyhú?y né-mêy-ná-æ?y-hyô = tsæ pýy-hyô = nú
so=TOP like.that 2S-stay-SPNT-FUT-PM=TOP be.good-PM=SS.EVID

‘They said, “So, it is good that you will stay without any hesitation like that.”’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0024]

The example in (399) demonstrates that the judgement of a proposition made by the referent of the A argument is based on physical evidence. I repeat the example here for the convenience of the discussion. When a man gives interview in an interview board, the board members reach a decision based on their evaluation of other candidates. In other words, they build their comparative judgement from the scores of written exams and interviews of the job applicants. This is a source of their evaluation is direct and physical. The decision that the referent of the P argument will be able to do the assigned job is based their direct assessment. Thus, their evaluation is marked by the sensory evidential clitic in (548).

(548) *èylátsæ “nílúp nángkhô?nú” tîng. “kínípekà?ykhó?” tîng.*

èy = lâ = tsæ nílúp náng-khó? = nú tîng
ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP like.this be.able-FACT=SS.EVID QT

kí-ní-pék-æ?y-khó? tîng
1A-PL-give.II-IRR-FACT QT

‘They will say, “He is really able (to do the job) like this.” They will say, “We will really give him the job.”’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0085]

9.6.4.2 Reported evidential

The reported evidential is mostly used in folk stories, which are passed orally from generation to generation. Since the source of a story is someone else or heard from someone, most of the clauses in a text of a folk story ends with the reported evidential = *tî*. The reported evidential originates from the intransitive verb *tî* ‘be told’, which is a common source of evidentials cross-linguistically. Saxena (1988: 318) talks reports the use of ‘say’ verb as an evidential particle in several Tibeto-Burman languages. The use of the verb *tî* ‘be told’ in predicates is very rare in the corpus of Hyow. It is only found in a conditional construction *tî-hî = tsê* (be.told-COND=top) ‘if it is told’ in Hyow. Other than the evidential, the quotative particle also has a form close to the form of the verb *tî* ‘be told’. The quotative particle *tîng* (see §3.4.12) is used to embed a reported speech to the matrix clause. The difference between the reported speech marked by the quotative particle and the proposition marked by the reported evidential is that the reported speech has a definite source, while the latter one does not have a definite source.

The following example in (549) is taken from a folk story. Since the story is heard from someone else, the storyteller has used the reported evidential clitic at the end of the verb complex following the predicate marker.

(549) *èy shòt-êng-bá-lá = tsê, phùlhlô tî.*

<i>èy</i>	<i>shòt-êng-bá-lá = tsê</i>	<i>phùlhlô = tî</i>
ANAPH.DEM	cut.I-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP	bury.II-PM= R.EVID

‘Having cut her [the woman], he [the king’s son] buried her.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0046]

There are some argumentative texts in the corpus. There were usually two to three Hyow speakers to participate in argumentation. They were given a situation first to argue about. One of the participants was usually asked to tell the given situation to other participants, after he read it from a piece of paper. While telling the situation to other participants from memory, the participant used the reported evidential marker at the end of the verb complex of a clause to inform the other participants that the

information that he delivered came from a secondary source – in this case, from a story, not from a person. The example in (550) is taken from an argumentative text. The speaker explained the given situation to the others, after he memorized it from the piece of paper. When he described the situation, he used the reported evidential clitic at the end of a verb complex of a matrix clause, as exemplified in (550).

(550) *áyáng khóání átsángnúpólâ lów hngát íhní?pò?éyhyótí.*

á-yáng khó = â = ní á-tsáng-núpó = lâ lów hngát
 GRP-be.fast time=LOC=FOC GRP-be.old-parent=ERG swidden.field one
 í-hní?-pó?-êy-hyó = tí
 3A-DL-do-MID-PM=R.EVID

‘Long back, an old couple cultivated their swidden field themselves.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_002]

Even in a narrative, when the narrator talks about his own story, he can use the reported evidential clitic for information that he acquires from someone else indirectly or by hearing. The example in (551) is taken from a narrative, in which the speaker narrates his personal life. He reports that he did not have any idea that his mother died and he drank milk from his dead mother’s breast. His mother died at his early age, which is why he does not have any memory of his mother’s death. The situation narrated in (551) is not from the narrator’s own memory; rather the source of the information is other people. The narrator has heard this from his relatives. Therefore, the verb complex of the predicate that carries this particular information of his drinking milk from the breast of his dead mother is marked by the reported evidential clitic in (551).

(551) *áyòkóngkó? bángátsæ úpùmông kóyngálàtsæ tsí? kòòkkhótí.*

á-yók = ông = kó?	báng = á = tsæ	ú-púm = ông
GRP-corpse=INE=GEN	even=ADD=TOP	3SG.POSS-body=INE
kôy-ngâ-lá = tsæ	tsí?	kó-ók-khâ = tí
climb.up-1SG-SEQ=TOP	milk	1SG-drink.II-PM= R.EVID

‘Climbing on her body, I drank milk even of the corpse.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0003]

The reported evidential marker can be used in a verbless copula clause, as shown in (552). Any folk story in Hyow starts with an expression ‘a long time back’, which is also a feature of some Indo-European languages spoken in this linguistic area. The nominal phrase is marked by the reported evidential clitic in (552), because it is a verbless copula clause.

(552) *áyáng khóátí, tsùání, tsóngkróngtsólání, lòwtsóní, biéyhnè?tí hárê.*

á-yâng	khó = â = tí	tsú = â = ní	tsóngkróng-tsô = lâ = ní
GRP-be.fast	time=LOC=R.EVID	DIST=LOC=FOC	young.man-DIM=ERG=FOC
lów-tsô = ní	bî-êy-hnó? = tí	hárê	
swidden.field-DIM=FOC	work.I-MID-ULT= R.EVID	DP	

‘It was a long time back. A young man cultivated a small piece of swidden field there finally, understand?’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_002]

The sensory and the reported evidential clitics can be used to mark the same utterance. In such an utterance, the evidential clitics denote that the information provided by the speaker is heard from another person by himself. I elicit an example from (546) to illustrate the use of the both evidentials in the same example in (553), in which the evidential markers denote that the speaker’s source of information is another person, but it is direct. The speaker has heard himself.

(553) *bóhítsæ èy khóytsíptsô ínpèkkhótínú.*

bóhí = tsæ èy khóytsíp-tsô í-ní-pék-khô = **tí** = **nú**

so=TOP ANAPH.DEM ring-DIM 3A-INV-give.II-PM=EMPH=**R.EVID**=**SS.EVID**

‘So, [I heard myself], she gave you that ring. Give that back.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_185]

9.7 CONCLUSION

Verbs contain very rich morphology in the grammar of Hyow. The verb complex includes markers on the both sides of the root and suffixes outnumber the prefixes, as in other KC languages. There are thirteen clause-linking suffixes in Hyow to connect adverbial clauses to their respective matrix clauses. The significant features of the verbal morphology in Hyow is the presence of a large number of modality, aspectual and adverbial suffixes. Other than the inflectional category of suffixes, Hyow has a verbal classifier that denote the S or P argument based on its referent’s size. In addition to the suffixes, Hyow contain six verbal clitics, which include two evidential clitics used in binary opposition. The next chapter investigates grammatical functions and argument marking in Hyow.

10 Grammatical functions and argument marking

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the ways of marking core and oblique arguments. The discussion of this chapter starts with the systems of coding the grammatical functions of A, S and P in §10.2. In §10.3, I discuss the case marking of different core and oblique arguments. Then, the marking of promoted and demoted arguments through valence changing operations is discussed in §10.4. Finally, I summarise the discussion of this chapter through concluding remarks in §10.5.

10.2 GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS

Grammatical functions of noun phrases denote relationships in the grammatical structure of a sentence, which is determined by morphosyntactic marking. According to Andrews (2007: 134),

A ‘grammatical function’ will be any definable relationship which it might be useful to recognize in the sentence structures of a language, regardless of how important it seems to be, or how sensible it might be to see it as a primitive ingredient of sentence-structure.

In a typical situation expressed by a transitive verb, there are two core arguments. For example, the transitive verb *bəʔ* ‘butcher/slaughter.II’ involves two core arguments – one who slaughters and the other who is slaughtered. These two arguments are assigned by the semantic roles of agent (slaughterer) and patient (who is slaughtered respectively). The agent and patient of a typical transitive verb, called primary transitive verb (PTV) by Andrews (2007: 138), as *bəʔ* ‘butcher/slaughter.II’, are encoded by the grammatical functions of A and P. Not all the transitive verbs express situations that involve similar kind of effects, as expressed by highly transitive verbs. However, there can be similar kind of treatment of arguments of transitive verbs that do not include semantic roles of agents and patients rather arguments with other semantic roles.

A transitive verb in Hyow has two core arguments with grammatical functions of A and P. The A argument subsumes the arguments which may have the semantic role of an agent, an experiencer and a force, and the P argument subsumes arguments which may have the semantic role of a patient. The singular argument of an intransitive verb has the grammatical function of S. The symbols S, A and P denoting the grammatical functions of various types of semantic roles are used following Comrie 1978 and Silverstein 1976. In addition, Hyow also has ditransitive verbs with three core arguments. I have marked the third core argument of a ditransitive verb as D (dative argument).

Grammatical functions can be encoded in three different ways – constituent order, case marking, and cross-referencing (Andrews, 2007: 141). Since noun phrases are very frequently elided in Hyow texts, the constituent order and case marking play a small role in encoding grammatical functions in Hyow, at least for first and second person arguments. However, it is still important to address these two strategies in order to understand the whole mechanism for expressing participant roles. It is observed that an alignment pattern in Hyow is best described based on argument indexation, because constituent order cannot be used in determining grammatical functions due to the frequent elision of NPs, while case marking strategy is only useful for describing grammatical functions of third person arguments. The following subsections present discussion of all the strategies for identifying the grammatical functions of S, A, P and D.

10.2.1 CONSTITUENT ORDER

Constituent orders can be used to mark different grammatical functions by identifying a specific position of an argument in a clause. The constituent order in a canonical declarative clause in Hyow is S/APV (see §11.2), like other Tibeto-Burman languages. The organization of constituents in an intransitive and a transitive clause can be demonstrated by the examples in (554) and (555) respectively. In the illustrated examples in (554) and (555), the intransitive clause has an SV and the transitive clause has an APV order respectively. In Hyow, without the arguments in grammatical functions overtly present, the respective verb complex itself is enough to express the full meaning of given sentences. That is why elision is a very common process in Hyow syntax.

(554) ***kéytsæ** dùkháʔŋg kókróâl.*

[kêy = tsæ]_S dúkháʔ = ŋg [kó-kró-âl]_V

[1SG=TOP] sorrow=INE [1S-fall-DEP]

‘I fell into sorrows.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_046]

(555) ***khrónglâ** náng ínítùkálhlô.*

[khrông = lâ]_A [náng]_P [í-ní-túk-âl-hlô]_V

[people=ERG] [2SG] [3A-INV-kill.II-DEP-PM]

‘People kill you (in the war)’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_069]

Though it is typical of a canonical declarative clause to have an S/APV constituent order, topicalization of an argument can rearrange the order. If an argument in the P function becomes the topic of a clause, then the P noun phrase argument holds the initial position of the clause, while the A noun phrase argument is placed before the verb, as shown in (556) and (557). In both these examples, the P argument is topicalized (in bold typeface). Hence, the most topical argument of a clause, regardless of its grammatical function, takes the initial position of the clause.

(556) *èydô **shó=tsæ** khrónglâ ínípòʔêy.*

èydô [**shó=tsæ**]_P [khrông = lâ]_A [í-ní-póʔ-êy]_V

then [**veranda=TOP**] [people=ERG] [3A-PL-DV.II-MID]

‘Then, the people build the veranda.’

[ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_0063]

(557) *èytsæ únúpólâ bǒng hlǎé?yú ʘ.*

[èy = tsæ]_P [ú-núpô = lâ]_A bǒng [hlǎ-é?y-ú]_V
 [ANAPH.DEM=TOP] [GRP-parents=ERG] almost [like-IRR-3PL.NEG]

‘The parents will nearly not like him.’

[ZM_HMS_NZK_122013_Hyow_0044_008]

In a non-canonical declarative clause (see §11.3), the S, A and P arguments can follow the verb, where they are used as afterthoughts or because of self-repairment. The postposed arguments are always paired with a pause after the head of the clause. The example in (558) includes a postposed P argument after the verb as an afterthought.

(558) *ngólóéyhyô, hmútótsæ.*

[ngó-ló-éy-hyô]_V [hmútó = tsæ]_P
 [2A-bring.II-MID-PM] [woman=TOP]

‘You brought the woman for yourself.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0105]

From (554) to (558), the core NP arguments are overtly expressed in the clause, which is not typical of Hyow syntax. In most of the examples, core NP arguments are elided, because they are indexed on their respective verbs. If any argument must be overtly present, then it should be a P argument, since Hyow verbs do not take indexical marking for P arguments, except for first person participants. That is why there is a more overt presence of second and third person P arguments in textual examples. A textual example showing only the overt mention of P arguments is presented in (559), in which there are two sentences. In both the sentences, only the P arguments are overtly expressed preposing their respective verbs.

(559) *tùhnúp tỳôn = â = dō. náng kíníkhômâl. kêy nìhú?y ìníkhà?hō.*

tùhnúp tỳôn = â = dō [náng]_P [kí-ní-khóm-âl]_V [kêy]_P nìhú?y
 today tonight=LOC=EMPH [2SG] [1A-INV-meet.II-DEP] [1SG] like.this
 [ì-ní-khrá?-hō]_V
 [1P-INV-ruin.II-PM]

‘Today, tonight, I met you. You ruined me like this.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0185]

A transitive clause at least has greater probability of having the P argument overtly present, but an intransitive clause has the least probability of having its single S argument overtly present, which is very common feature in Hyow. To illustrate, the intransitive clause of the second sentence in (560) does not have the first person plural S argument overtly mentioned, because the argument is retrievable from the co-referencing index on the verb.

(560) *èyâ ítákhólâ bíhár ó móndír méyhyō. èyâ kínítsét \.*

èy = â ítá-khól = â bíhár ó móndír méy-hyō
 ANAPG.DEM=LOC brick.field-EXP=LOC convent_B and_B temple_B exist-PM
 èy = â kí-ní-tsét
 ANAPH.DEM=LOC 1S-PL-go

‘There were a convent and a temple in the brickfield. We went there.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0023]

Thus, from the discussion and examples presented above, it is apparent that constituent order is not a factor in constraining the grammatical functions in Hyow. The constituent order only shows that the most topical argument appears at the beginning of a clause. Furthermore, out of 321 instances of first person plural S/A argument, only 13 instances were found to have overt presence of the S/A argument. This statistics shows just how minimal is the presence of first person plural S and A

arguments in the corpus. Based on all the presented facts, it is reasonable to conclude that constituent order plays hardly any role in determining grammatical functions.

10.2.2 CASE MARKING

Case markers are relational morphemes, which mark core and oblique arguments based on their semantic roles. Arguments whose roles are semantically pertinent to agents, experiencers or forces are identified for their grammatical function as A, arguments whose roles are semantically pertinent to patients are marked for their grammatical function as P, and arguments who are single arguments of intransitive verbs are identified for their grammatical function as S. In addition, arguments whose semantic roles include recipient, benefactor, causee, etc. are marked for their grammatical function as D in Hyow.

Hyow shows a split system of marking different grammatical functions. For first person and second person S, A and P arguments no relational marking has grammaticalized in Hyow. In accordance to that, the examples in (561), (562) and (563) illustrate the function of a first person plural exclusive argument as an S, an A and a P respectively in which none of the functions of the first person plural exclusive argument is case-marked. Other than the case marking, it is also observed that realis-irrealis mood has no bearing on relational marking of speech act participants.

(561) *bíphódéng nóklôhítsâ, kéyíí? kínílò-é?y* ʘ.

[bíphód = êng nó-klô-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [[kéyíí?]_s [kí-ní-lò-é?y]_v]_{MC}

[trouble_B=INE 2S-fall-COND=TOP] [[1PL] [1S-PL-come-IRR]]

‘If you fall into trouble, we will come.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_044]

(562) *náng kéyní? úddár káánípò?hâ.*

[náng]_P [kéyní?]_A [úddár ká-á-ní-pó?-æ?y-hyô = dâ]_V

[2SG] [1PL] [rescue_B 1A-DIR-INV-DV.II-IRR-PM=EMPH]

‘We went to rescue you.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_039]

(563) *lú?dúl kón nétsètálhîtsâ, ímkénshòlâ kéyní? íníkúlúnâkæ?yhyô.*

[lú?dúl = kón né-tsét-âl-hî = tsâ]_{DC} [[ímkénshó = lâ]_A [kéyní?]_P

[world=ABL 2S-go-DEP-COND=TOP] [[neighbor=ERG] [1PL]

[í-ní-kúlúnâk-æ?y-hyô]_{MC}

[1P-INV-torture.II-IRR-PM]]

‘If you go away from this world, the neighbors will torture us.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0067]

Likewise, the examples in (564), (565) and (566) show the use of a second person singular argument as an S, an A and a P respectively. Again, like the first person, the second person argument is not case-marked for any of its functions.

(564) *náng nólòálâ?y* ʘ.

[náng]_S [nó-lò-âl-æ?y]_V

[2SG] [2S-come-DEP-IRR]

‘You will come back.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_014]

(565) *èykhôl khâní náng nóshòtè?ylà?hò, hngúdâ.*

èy-khól khâ = ní [náng]_A nó-shót-é?y-lá?-hò hngúdâ

ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC 2SG 2A-look.II-IRR-OBLG-PM DP

‘You will have to look at all those.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0015]

(566) *tsóli kúhlâéyhyó kóông, nángní ínpèklà?hò.*

[tsóli kú-hlâ-éy-hyô kóông]_{DC} [[nángní]_P [ì-ní-pék-é?y-lá?-hò]_V]_{MC}

[job 1A-want.II-MID-PM since] [[2SG=FOC][1P-INV-give.II-IRR-OBLG-PM]]

‘Since I want the job, you will have to give [it] to me.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0067]

In contrast to the absence of relational marking of first and second person core arguments, a third person S argument of an intransitive verb remains unmarked, a third person A argument is marked by the ergative case clitic, and a third person P argument of a transitive verb remains unmarked. It means that third person arguments show an ergative-absolutive pattern in Hyow, with the alignments of [S, P] and [A]. The examples in (567), (568) and (569) illustrate the case marking of third person singular arguments in S, A and P functions respectively.

(567) *ání tsèthnè?tí.*

[ání]_S [tsét-hnó? = tí]_V

[3SG] [go-ULT=R.EVID]

‘He finally went.’ [ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0213]

(568) *ání lá tsæ álkálhlô*.[ání = lá = tsæ]_A [shæ]_P [á-lók-âl-hlô]_V

[3SG=ERG=TOP] [horse] [DIR-fetch.II-DEP-PM]

‘He went to fetch the horse.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0116]

(569) *múzíblâ ání ómót lén tòkényhyô*.[múzíb = lâ]_A [ání ó-mót lén]_P [tók-êy-hyô]_V

[Muzib=ERG] [3SG 3SG.POSS-vizier be.big] [keep.II-MID-PM]

‘Muzib kept him as his great vizier.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_018]

Looking at ditransitive verbs and their argument structures, an incongruity is found in Hyow. Ditransitive verbs have arguments with semantic roles of an agent, a theme, and a recipient. In (570), the argument with the semantic role of recipient is marked by the dative case clitic. In addition, the verb is also marked for the recipient but not for the gift that is given to the recipient. The example in (570) is not a valency-increasing construction. Yet, the recipient is considered as the P argument cross-referentially. This anomaly can be best explained by saying that dative argument of a transitive verb is actually a core argument in Hyow.

(570) *èyhú?y kény táá póyshá èpèkhnángú* ㄣ.

èyhú?y kény = á táá póyshá è-pék-hnáng-ú

like.that 1SG=DAT money pause 1D-give.II-PH.CAP-3PL.NEG

‘They are not able to give me money like that.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0002]

The grammatical functions of A, P and D encode the semantic roles carried out by a semantic actor, a semantic undergoer and a recipient respectively. It is important for Hyow to constrain these core arguments through their grammatical functions of A,

P and D being marked on the verb. The categories ‘direct object’ and ‘indirect object’ do not form grammatical relations or syntactic functions (LaPolla, 1993: 760) in Hyow. The example in (566) demonstrates that the P argument of the independent matrix clause is not expressed. Here, it is an unexpressed core argument with the grammatical function of P. In a ditransitive verb, as shown in (570), it is also a core argument with the grammatical function of P, but expressed. However, the verb in (570) is marked for the D argument. The marking of the D argument depends on the person hierarchy (see §7.3.2). If the P argument of a ditransitive verb is higher than the D argument, then the P argument is cross-referenced on the verb. On the other hand, if the D argument of a ditransitive verb is higher than the P argument, then the D argument is indexed on the verb.

A dative argument is not a sole feature of ditransitive verbs. An intransitive verb (see Dixon 1994: 122-123) can also have a dative argument, but it cannot be the core argument of the verb. Verbs like *krô* ‘fall’, *hlá* ‘be.required’, etc. have dative arguments in Hyow. An example of an intransitive verb with a dative argument is presented in (571). Here, the first person singular dative argument is not a core argument. This kind of dative use in Hyow might have developed as a result of contact with Bangla.

(571) *kéyátsæ ómótá hláâ?* ʘ.

<i>kêy</i> = á = tsæ	ó-mót = á	hlá-â?
1SG=DAT=TOP	3SG.POSS-vizier=ADD	be.required-3SG.NEG

‘I do not need his vizier (Lit.: His vizier is not required to me).’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_191]

Similarly, the intransitive verb in (572) has a non-core first person singular dative argument.

(572) *kéyá kámán kôy.*

kêy = á ká-mán kôy

1SG=DAT 1SG.POSS-anger ascend

‘I got angry (literally, my anger ascended to me.).

[ZM_GSS3_082015_Hyow_0017_0010]

10.2.3 ARGUMENT INDEXATION

A detailed discussion of argument marking is made in §7.3.1. The discussion on argument indexation in this section is advanced from the perspective of a grammatical function’s marking strategy. I have used ‘argument indexation’ instead of so-called ‘agreement system’ following Haspelmath 2013. There is a person hierarchy in Hyow – 1, 2 > 3 (animate) > inanimate, which plays a vital role in argument indexation in all types of clauses (see §7.3.1, §7.3.2 and §7.3.4. I discuss argument indexation in declarative and interrogative clauses first (§10.2.3.1), and then I talk about argument indexation on imperative and optative clauses (§10.2.3.2).

10.2.3.1 Declarative and Interrogative

Argument indexation follows the same strategy for the declarative and the interrogative clause. Regardless of person types, S and A arguments are indexed on verbs in both declarative and interrogative clauses. These indexed arguments are co-referential with the free pronouns or nouns, which can be either overtly present or elided from the text. Unlike what Andrews (2007: 145) says for Warlpiri, the indexed argument markers are obligatory in Hyow, except the third person singular argument. To illustrate this, I first present examples of first person arguments. The examples in (573) and (574) have a first person inclusive argument in S and A grammatical function respectively. The persons of respective arguments are marked on their verbs. However, since there is a neutralization of dual and plural numbers for inclusive arguments, they have similar forms in both the examples.

(573) *hníhní? ínìkàwálàè?yhyô*

[hníhní?]s [ì-ní-káw-âl-é?y-hyô]v

[1DL.INCL] [1INCL.S-PL-be.separated-DEP-IRR-PM]

‘We will be separated.’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0081]

(574) *hníhní? ímthóng ínítèéyàè?yhyô*

[hníhní?]A [ímthóng]p [ì-ní-té-êy-é?y-hyô]v

[1DL.INCL] [family] [1INCL.A-PL-hold.tight.II-MID-IRR-PM]

‘We will hold our family tight.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_056]

Similarly, second person S and A arguments are indexed on verbs by taking the form nV, where the nasal initial corresponds to the full form of the pronoun and V represents a vowel harmonized with the root-initial vowel. In (575), the second person singular argument is in S function, and in (576), the second person singular argument is in A function.

(575) *náng náéhàngàè?ylà?hódô*

[náng]s [nâ-háng-é?y-lá?hô = dô]v

[2SG] [2S-be.alive-IRR-OBLG-PM=EMPH]

‘You will have to be alive.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0063]

(576) *náng nàtأكéylà?hô, hngúdâ*

[náng]A [ná-ták-êy-lá? = hô]v hngúdâ

[2SG] [2A-tell.II-MID-OBLG=PM] DP

‘You will have to tell them, OK?.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0041]

For third person singular arguments, the argument indexation depends on a couple of things. Firstly, if the third person singular S or A argument is recoverable from the discourse, then the verb does not require to be indexed by the relevant marker. Secondly, if the third person singular S or A is overtly present in a given example, then the verb does not require to be marked for the argument. Examples in (567) and (568) are illustrative in this regard. Nevertheless, third person dual and plural arguments are obligatorily marked on the verb for their grammatical functions. The third person dual arguments are marked for their functions as S and A, and numbers in (577) and (578) respectively.

(577) *èydô èypònông áhniʔtsæ yóytànông íhniʔòkéyâl.*

èydô èy-pónông [áhniʔ = tsæ]_S [yôy-tán = ông]_{INST}
 then ANAPH.DEM-ANT.TEMP [3PL=TOP] [rope-vertically.hung=INST]

 [í-hniʔ-òkéy-âl]_V
 [3S-PL-get.stuck-DEP]

‘Then, after that, they two got stuck by a vertically hung rope.’

[ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_027]

(578) *èyní íhniʔtsànéy, áhniʔlâ.*

èyní [í-hniʔ-tsán-êy]_V [áhniʔ = lâ]_A
 then [3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID] [3DL=ERG]

‘Then, they two brought him up by themselves.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_007]

Interrogative clause verbs are also marked for their respective S and A arguments. The interrogative clauses in (579) and (580) include a second person singular S and a second person singular A argument respectively. These arguments are cross-referenced by the prefixal person markers.

(579) *náng mòâ nétsètthósm?*

[**náng**]_S mòâ [**né**-tsét-thó = êm]_V

[2SG] where [2S-go-PM=CONT.Q]

‘Where did you go?’ [Elicited]

(580) *nàngtsê mòâ núhmù?hósm?*

[**náng = tsê**]_A mòâ [**nú**-hmú?-hó = êm]_V

[2SG=TOP] where [2A-see.II-PM=CONT.Q]

‘Where did you see him?’ [ZM_SFA_MZK_062015_Hyow_0036_028]

It is a significant feature of argument indexation that none of the inanimate plural arguments is marked for number. Thus, if they are recoverable from the discourse or they are overtly expressed in a given instance, the respective verb is not marked for the inanimate plural S arguments. Comparing examples in (581) and (582) with the example in (583), it is observed that in (581) and (582), the referent of the S arguments are inanimate. That is why they are not marked on the respective verbs. On the other hand, the example in (583) refers to an animate referent by the third person plural S argument. As a result, the verb is marked for both the person and its number. I have put zero in (581) and (582) in order to show the correspondence between the noun phrase S arguments and the argument indices in bold typeface.

(581) *èyâ ákhàngkhôl mēy.*

èy = â [**ákháng-khól**]_S [Ø-mēy]_V

ANAPH.DEM=LOC [**garden-EXP**] [Ø-exist]

‘There were gardens.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0014]

(582) *èyhnə?làtsə tsùání wàtkhól hyàngéyhyô.*

èy-hnə?-lá = tsə tsú = á = ní [wát-khól]_s [Ø-hyang-êy-hyô]_v

FILL-ULT-SEQ=TOP DIST=LOC=FOC [dress-EXP] [Ø-be.disorganized-MID-PM]

‘After that, the dresses were disorganized there.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0126]

(583) *èydə póríkhól íníkrəwêy.*

èydə [pórí-khól]_s [í-ní-krəw-êy]_v

then [angel_B=EXP] [3S-PL-speak-MID]

‘Then, the angels spoke.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_031]

So far, I have talked about S and A arguments, which are indexed on verbs regardless of person types. For P arguments, indexations on verbs have some restrictions. In Hyow, only first person arguments are marked for their P grammatical function. The first person singular P, which is unmarked by a case clitic on noun phrases, is indexed on the verb for its grammatical function in a declarative clause, as shown in (584). In (585), the first person exclusive plural P argument, which is not marked by any case clitic, is indexed on the verb of an interrogative clause. It is to be noted here that negated verb take different person markers suffixally (see §7.4).

(584) *nópólá kēy ùhmùkhíál.*

[nó-pô = lá]_A [kēy]_P [ù-hmú-khí-á?]_V

[2SG.POSS-father=ERG] [1SG] [1P-see.I-tolerate.I-3SG.NEG]

‘Your father does not like me.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0058]

(585) *kéyní? ùlâ ðshòtæ?yhyśm.*

[kéyní?]_P [ú = lâ]_A [ð-shót-æ?y-hyś = śm]_V

[1PL.EXCL] [who=ERG] [1P-look.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q]

‘Who will look at us?’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0052]

In contrast, second and third person P arguments are not marked on verbs. If they are acted upon by an argument which is lower than them or equal to them, then an inverse marker *ní-* or the plural marker (if relevant) are attached to the verb. For example, there is a third person singular P argument in the declarative sentence in (586). The referent of the third person plural A argument acts on the referent of the third person singular P argument. The verb *túk* ‘kill.II’ is indexed only by the person and number of the A argument.

(586) *èy shámśytsóní ínítúkæ?yhyś*

[èy shámśytsś = ní]_P [í-ní-túk-æ?y-hyś]_V

[ANAPH.DEM boy=FOC] [3A-PL-kill.II-IRR-PM]

‘They will kill that boy.’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_024]

In the interrogative clause in (587), a third person referent is acting on a second person referent, which is an inverse situation. Since Hyow does not have verbal markings for second person P arguments, the third person A is marked on the verb, and the inverse marker is indicating an inverse situation involving a second person P.

(587) *èylâ bàngátsæ í ínishínéyâm?*

èy = lâ báng = á = tsæ

ANAPH.DEM=ERG even=SC.ADD=TOP

í í-ní-shín-êy = âm

what 3A-INV-convey.II-MID=CONT.Q

‘What did she even convey to you?’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_069]

In the same way, since first and second persons hold the same position in the person hierarchy, there is an inverse marker following the first person argument marker in (588).

(588) *kéy kó? tááŋg péy náng kínihànálà?yhyôdô*kéy = kó? táá = ŋg péy [náng]_P

1SG=GEN money=INST at.least [2SG]

[kí-ní-hànl-á?y-hyô = dô]_V

[1A-INV-make.alive.II-DEP-IRR-PM=EMPH]

‘I will make you alive at least with my money.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0064]

Hyow verbs not only take argument markers indexing their grammatical function prefixally, but also suffixally. Suffixal argument markers are usually utilized by a negated verb. In an instance of a negated verb, an argument in S or A function is marked on the stem as a suffix. The relevant argument marker functions as both a negative marker and an argument marker. Therefore, the negation marker changes with the argument in S or A function. The paradigm of the negative markers is given in Table 55 (§3.3.1) and Table 97 (§7.4). In (589), the first person dual inclusive A argument has been indexed suffixally on the verb.

(589) *èy ʒn báŋ ʔéyláʔhnóʔpû.*

[èy ʒn]p báŋ [ʔéy-láʔ-hnóʔ-**pû**]v

[ANAPH.DEM curry] even [eat.I-OBLG-DEL.NEG-**1DL.INCL.NEG**]

‘We will not get to eat that curry even.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_091]

In (590), a first person singular argument is in the A function and a second person argument is in the P function. The A argument is marked on the verb both prefixally and suffixally. Peterson 2003 labels this as an anomaly. Comparing this example with the example in (589), it is found that the example in (590) illustrates an inverse situation, while the example in (589) illustrates a direct situation.

(590) *kíníhówpékhnóʔngâ.*

kí-ní-hôw-pék-hnóʔ-**ngâ**

1A-INV-tesay.I-BEN-DEL.NEG-**1SG.NEG**

‘I will not tell you.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0035]

The example of an interrogative clause in (591) shows a direct situation. Here, the referent of a third person singular A is acting on the referent of a third person singular P. That is why, the A argument is marked suffixally. This also suggests that person negative markers have to do with negativity more than with the relevant grammatical function.

(591) *ìtîâ nó-æʔy-hnûng-ngâ-hô = êm*

ìtîâ nó-æʔy-hnûng-**ngâ**-hô = êm

when marry.I-IRR-PH.CAP-**1SG.NEG**-PM=CONT.Q

‘When will I not be able to marry her?’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_057]

10.2.3.2 Imperative and Optative

Argument indexation in imperative and optative clauses is quite different from declarative and interrogative clauses, because of their semanto-syntactic features. The marking of arguments on an imperative and an optative verb depends on the type of imperative. Nevertheless, the paradigm of markers is quite similar to that of negative suffixes. This is because of the stem variant used by an imperative and an optative clause. As these clauses utilize Stem I verbs, the markers for core arguments are suffixal.

In a plain imperative clause, the order/command of the predicated event is directed to a second person participant or the addressee. Therefore, the actor of the event is basically the second person. The second person argument is not overtly present in any form in imperative clauses in Hyow. If the second person A argument is overtly present in a clause with a Stem I verb, then it is regarded as a declarative clause. Accordingly, the example in (592) should be interpreted as a statement rather than an order.

(592) *bóhítsâ, náng nóbóy náhà?léyálà?yhyô.*

bóhí = tsâ [náng]_A [nó-bóy]_P [nâ-hâ?l-êy-âl-â?y-hyô]_V
 so=TOP [2SG] [2SG.POSS-lord] [2A-select.II-MID-DEP-IRR-PM]

‘So, you will select your lord by yourself.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0111]

In contrast to (592), in (593), the addressee is not marked on the verb nor it is overtly expressed. Here, the first person P is marked on the imperative verb.

(593) *ní lóngtsókholní æhætæ, lóngkhóldô*

ní lóng-tsô-khól = ní æ-hæt-æ lóng-khól = dô
 PROX worm-DIM-EXP=FOC 1P-bring.out.I-POL.IMP worm-EXP=EMPH

‘Bring me out these worms, the worms!’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_092]

Negative imperatives or prohibitives use the paradigm of negative suffixes for cross-referencing second person arguments. The second person is still the A argument of the predicated event in a given prohibitive clause. A second person singular argument is marked by *-tî*, a dual argument is marked by *-hni?ti*, and a plural argument is marked by *-tsû* in prohibitive clauses, as exemplified in (594), (595) and (596) respectively.

(594) *hyátæ?ytî.*

hyát-æ?y-tî
 open.I-IRR-2SG.NEG

‘Do not open the knot.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_132]

(595) *lôm kælông tsétálæ?yhni?tî, tùhè?yô.*

lôm kæl = êng tsét-âl-æ?y-hni?tî tú-hó?y-ô
 road clear.for.walking=INE go-DEP-IRR-2DL.NEG nephew-DL=VOC

‘Nephews, do not go back along the cleared road.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_132]

(596) *ə̀bənàtìə̀ʔytsû*

ə̀-bó-ná-tí-ə̀ʔy-tsû

1P-pour.I-SPNT-NITER-IRR-2PL.NEG

‘Do not spontaneously pour water on me anymore.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_239]

Jussives are a kind of imperative. A jussive expresses a proposition like command, permission, etc. to be done by a first person or a third person argument. Jussives directed to first and second persons use the negative paradigm of suffixes in order to mark the arguments in the A function (see Table 55 [§3.3.1] for the markers). A jussive directed to a third person singular does not have a marker co-referencing the third person singular argument, as exemplified in (597).

(597) *èydə́ úynútsố bézítsố lòálmòhə́ʔ.*

èydə́ úy-nú-tsô bəzí-tsô lò-ál-mó-hə́ʔ-Ø

then dog-mother-son mongoose-DIM come-DEP-PRIOR-JUSS-3SG

‘Then, let the son of the bitch, the mongoose come back first.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_038]

Other than jussives, verbs in optative mood also take argument markers from the paradigm of suffixal person markers. Hyow includes different types of optative mood. One particular optative is only directed at the third person argument. This particular construction is used to express prayers, wishes and prohibitions (in negative polarity) at the same time. Like the jussives, the third person singular argument does not have any marking in this construction, as shown in (598). However, in elicited examples in (599) and (600), the third person dual and plural arguments are respectively marked on their verbs. The optative clause with *-dáng* does not have a negative counterpart.

(598) *khánbón lònàdàng* \.

khánbón ló-ná-dáng-Ø

friend come-SPNT.I-OPT-3SG

‘May the friend come.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_057]

(599) *èy hê?ylâ bú? ?éytsákhnúngdànàdàng hê?y* \.

èy = hê?y = lâ bú? ?éy-tsák-hnúng-dá-ná-dáng-hê?y

ANAPH.DEM=DL=ERG rice eat.I-COMPL-PH.CAP-ITER-SPNT.I-OPT-3DL

‘May they two be able to eat the rice completely again like before.’ [Elicited]

(600) *ání?lâ òshòéynàdàngú* \.

ání? = lâ ò-shó-êy-ná-dán-ú

3PL=ERG 1P-look.I-MID-OPT-3PL

‘May they all look at me.’ [Elicited]

The regular optative clauses use the paradigm of suffixal person markers both in positive and negative polarity. In negative polarity, the suffixal person markers follow the irrealis suffix *-hê?y*, while in positive polarity, the same suffixes follow the delayed imperative marker *-bêy*. The examples in (601), (602) and (603) illustrate a first person plural exclusive, second person plural and third person singular argument in optative clauses respectively. Like the jussives, the third person singular is marked by zero in optative clause verbs.

(601) *khótkótótsó méyhàbáyùngâ kóya? kàwà?bák ʋ.*

khótkótótsó méy-há-bây-úngâ kóy-a? káw-á?-bák

well stay-OPT-DEL-**1PL.EXCL** EE-3SG.NEG be.separated-3SG.NEG-ADV.NEG

‘May we stay well without being separated and so on.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_100]

(602) *èydô bél tòngdô khùlà?hàbáytsû.*

èydô bél tóng = dô khú-lá?-há-bây-tsû

then grass basket=EMPH carry.on.head.I-OBLG-OPT-DEL-**2PL**

‘Then, may you have to carry the grass basket.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_037]

(603) *óhlóngmô?lâ khróngmôéyhàbây.*

óhlóng-mô? = lâ khrông-môéy-há-bây-Ø

river-owner=ERG 1P-bless-OPT-DEL.IMP-**3SG**

‘May the river god bless us.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_101]

In negative polarity, the verbs in optative mood are marked for all the arguments. In (604), a third person singular A is marked by *-yá* in a negative optative clause, while the third person dual is marked by the suffix *-há?y* in the negative optative clause in (605).

(604) *shónéyálhnángàʔyyá* ʌ.

shôn-êy-âl-hnâng-áʔy-yá

pick.up.I-MID-DEP-PH.CAP-IRR-3SG.NEG

‘May she not be able to pick up [the pitcher].’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_235]

(605) *hnágá nìhùʔyóngtsâ òtòálàʔyhèʔynû* ʌ

hnágá nìhùʔy = êng = tsâ ò-tó-âl-áʔy-hóʔy = nú

god like.this=INE=TOP 1P-keep.I-DEP-IRR-3DL=SS.EVID

‘God, may they two not keep me in like this.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_030]

10.2.4 SUFFIXAL INDEXATION

Suffixal argument indexation is applicable to verbs of clauses that are in negative polarity or to verbs of imperative clauses. If the clause with negative polarity has a transitive verb, then it takes both the prefixal and suffixal argument marking. Prefixal arguments follow the person hierarchy, and the suffixal arguments are only used to mark the relevant A argument. Suffixal argument markers have an identical paradigm across different clause types. The only argument that does not have a consistent marking is the third person singular argument. I have already discussed how a third person singular argument is marked in a sequential dependent clause in §9.3.1.13 and §12.4.1.13. I have discussed argument indexation in imperatives and optatives in §10.2.3.2. From all these discussion, it can be summarized that suffixal argument indexation only operated among the A arguments of verbs.

10.2.5 EXTERNAL POSSESSION

In an external possession construction, the semantic relation of possessor-possessee is expressed by marking the possessor like a core argument (see Payne and Barshi 1999 for more). Generally, a possessive noun phrase is regarded as a third person argument. In Hyow, certain verbs are marked for the possessor of a possessive noun phrase. In

fact, investigating carefully, it is found that verbs denoting actions that have great potential of affecting the possessor through affecting the possessee are marked for the possessor argument. The verbs which are marked for possessors include - ‘look for’, ‘change cloth’, ‘wash head’, ‘wash face’, ‘snatch’, ‘reveal/disclose’, ‘bite’, ‘pinch’, ‘deny’, ‘believe’, etc. Other than this, applicative constructions also allow the verb to be marked by the possessor. The indexation of a possessor follows the person hierarchy (§7.3.2). Therefore, if a possessor of a possessive noun phrase in the P function is a first person, then the verb takes the usual first person P argument marker. The example in (606) has a possessive noun phrase in the P function, but the verb is indexed by a first person P, which is the possessor of the possessive noun phrase. Since the action encoded in this example directly affects the possessor through his body, we see the verb being indexed by the possessor, which is treated as the P argument.

(606) *hnámádóó kúpúm ìníbò?álà?yhnâng-hngséy ↗?*

hnámádó-ó kú-púm ì-ní-bó?-âl-â?y-hnâng-hngô = êy

wife=VOC 1SG.POSS-body 1P-INV-wash.II-DEP-IRR-PH.CAP-PM=POL.Q

‘Wife, will you be able to wash off my body?’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0071]

Not all possessors are indexed on verbs. It is the affectedness that counts, which is based on pragmatics. If we change the possessed thing in (606), and construct a clause with a possessive phrase in P function, where the possession is also inalienable, then the indexation of the possessor is regarded as ungrammatical. The referent of the possessed noun in (607) is an inalienable type of possessor, which is evident from the non-use of the genitive case clitic, which builds the relation between an alienable possessee and a possessor. Yet, the indexation of the first person singular possessor on the verb is regarded ungrammatical in (607). Comparing the examples in (606) and (607), we find that the referent of the possessor of the possessive phrase in (606) is directly affected, while the referent of the possessor in (607) is not directly affected.

(607) **èylâ kēy ím òbò?hō.*

èy = lâ	kēy	ím	ò-bó?-hō
ANAPH.DEM=ERG	1SG	house	1P -wash.II-PM

*‘He washed my house.’ [Elicited]

One might wonder if animacy plays a role in determining which possessor can be indexed on verbs and which possessor cannot be. The answer of this is given in (608), where the possessed item is an inanimate referent. Still, the verb is indexed by the possessor noun, which is a first person singular argument. The borrowing of the book by the referent of the third person singular argument in the A function in (608) posits a great deal of affectedness of the possessor self. As a result, the possessor is treated as the P argument here.

(608) *èylâ kēykó? bōy ðhòwéyhyō*

èy = lâ	kēy = kó?	bōy	ð-(hów-êy)-hyō
ANAPH.DEM=ERG	1SG =GEN	book	1P -(say.II-MID)-PM

‘He is looking/asking for my book.’ [Elicited]

That the affectedness is the key feature for indexing a possessor on a verb is very clear from the example in (609). Both the sentences in (609) have a possessive noun phrase. Since the action of covering the face of the possessor does not affect the possessor directly, the possessors are not indexed on verbs in these two sentences in (609).

(609) *śhmðydś kúkhu?yæ?yhyś. kśhmðydś ná-kân-æ?yhyś.*

ś-hmý = dś

kú-khú?y-æ?y-hyś

kś-hmý = dś

3SG.POSS-face=EMPH

1A-cover.with.cloth.II-IRR-PM

1SG.POSS-face=EMPH

ná-kân-æ?y-hyś

2A-cover.II-IRR-PM

‘I will cover your face. You will cover my face.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_047]

10.3 MORPHOLOGY OF CASE MARKING

The morphology of case marking in Hyow is quite interesting and involves the features of case syncretism and case compounding. Case markers usually origin in relational nouns (see §3.3.2.3) in order to build a relationship between the predicate and the arguments (see LaPolla 2004). This is evident from a small set of Hyow relational nouns, which are juxtaposed with a noun phrase in order to encode spatial or temporal relations. These relational nouns are the former stage of case markers. Case markers are generally placed at the right end of a noun phrase, and they are treated as clitics, since they can be followed by other types of clitics in Hyow (see §4.4.3), having scope over the whole noun phrase. Therefore, a case clitic will be marked on a relational noun, if the relational noun forms a phrase with another noun on its left, which is like a possessor-possessee structure. Based on the semantic roles of the arguments, the case markers can be divided into two types- core and oblique. Core case markers are used for local and participatory arguments, which take part in the actual action, process or state. Oblique case markers are used for non-local and circumstantial arguments, which install different background information about the predicated event. The core case clitics mark the arguments which have grammatical functions of- S, A, P and D. The oblique case markers include- dative, instrumental, comitative, genitive, ablative, locative, inessive and delimitative. There are instances of case syncretism and complex case marking combinations in Hyow. There is a syncretism between the instrumental and the inessive locative case clitics. The locative case clitic can also function as an allative being attached to a relational noun. Quite often, a couple of case clitics are taken by the same host noun phrase argument,

forming a complex relation. This is called Relational Marker Compounding (henceforth, RMC) by Noonan (2009: 263).

10.3.1 CORE CASE MARKING

Core case markings are applied on core arguments. Among the core arguments, only third person A arguments are overtly marked by the ergative case clitic. The other two grammatical functions of the third person arguments are unmarked, in common with first and second person S, A and P arguments. Such distribution of case markers displays an ergative-absolutive pattern for third person arguments. The core case marking has only grammaticalized for third person arguments. On the other hand, cross-referencing of first and second person arguments suffices for encoding grammatical functions of SAPs. In addition, the marking of P and D argument of a ditransitive verb depends on the person hierarchy.

10.3.1.1 Unmarked core arguments

The unmarked first person and second core arguments by case clitics do not affect the grammatical structure of a clause. These important grammatical functions are constrained by argument indexation. As a result, the case marking strategy and the argument indexation strategy function as the morphosyntactic strategy to encode the grammatical functions of all the core arguments in the grammar of Hyow.

Nevertheless, the non-availability of case markers for first and second person arguments also reflects the fact that these are typical arguments in Hyow, who are also speech act participants. The third person arguments are less typical of being perceived as agents, which makes it require overt case marking. Based on the person hierarchy, it is observed that pronominal arguments are likely to be unmarked for their grammatical functions by case markers, while nominal arguments are likely to be marked by case markers (Silverstein 1976). In a system where there is a referential or animacy hierarchy, according to Bickel (2008: 192),

...high-ranking A arguments receive the same zero-marking as S (intransitive subject) arguments, whereas low-ranking A arguments are assigned an overt marker ('ergative'); high-ranking P arguments receive an overt marker ('accusative') while low-ranking P arguments receive the same zero-marking as S.

Therefore, the person hierarchy established by the argument indexation on verbs explains the non-marking of the first and second person core arguments in Hyow understandably. The hierarchy fits in the system well to explicate the alignment pattern of grammatical functions irrespective of how the hierarchy is manifested (case marking or argument indexation).

Following what I have said above, the examples in (610) and (611) show first person dual S and A arguments respectively not marked by any case clitics. In (612), there is a first person dual P argument, which is also not marked by any case clitics for its grammatical function.

(610) *kéyhni? kîhni?méykhó? ʘ.*

[kéyhni?]_S [kí-hni?-mêy-khó?]_V

[1DL] [1S-DL-stay-FACT]

‘We two really stayed.’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0053]

(611) *kéyhni? ʘntsô kááhni?shùy-æ?y ʘ.*

[kéyhni?]_A [ʘn-tsô]_P [ká-á-hni?-shúy-æ?y]_V

[1DL] [curry-DIM] [1A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR]

‘We two will go to search for curry.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0033]

(612) *ánîâ kómpúmágnî kéyhni? òbòphnè?tî.*

[ánî = lâ]_A [kómpúm = âng = ní]_{OBL} [kéyhni?]_P [ò-bóp-hnó? = tî]_V

[3SG=ERG] [stick=INST=FOC] [1DL] [1P-beat-ULT=R.EVID]

‘Finally, he beat us with a stick.’ [Elicited]

Like the first person core arguments, second person core arguments are also not marked by any case clitics. For example, the second person singular S argument of an intransitive verb in (613) is unmarked. In (614), there is an unmarked second person

singular A argument of a transitive verb. Finally, the example in (615) illustrates an unmarked second person singular P argument. The third person plural A argument of the transitive verb in (615) is elided.

(613) *náng lómông náng néméynáálà?y-dù-hô.*

[náng lôm = êng]_{OBL} [náng]_s [né-mêy-ná-âl-æ?y-dù-hô]_v
 [2SG road=INE] [2SG] [2S-stay-SPNT.I-DEP-IRR-ITER-PM]

‘You will stay back spontaneously again like before on your road.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0070]

(614) *èy dúnâ náhiéyà?ylà?hô.*

[èy dún = â]_{OBLQ} [náng]_A [ná-hí-êy-æ?y-lá?-hô]_v
 [ANAPH.DEM place=LOC] [2SG] [2A-ask.II-MID-IRR-OBLG-PM]

‘You will have to ask them by yourself at that place.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0041]

(615) *èy-dô átsángnú ímâ náng áníhyò?l-æ?y-hyô=dô.*

èy-dô [átsángnú ím = â]_{OBLQ} [náng]_p [á-á-ní-hyó?l-æ?y-hyô = dô]_v
 then [old.woman house=LOC] [2SG] [DIR-3A-INV-lie.down.II-IRR-PM=EMPH]

‘Then, they will lie you down in an old woman’s house.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_187]

At the beginning of this section, I only mentioned about first and second person arguments being unmarked by any case markers. In fact, third person S and P arguments are also not marked by any case markers. They receive the same morphosyntactic treatment, and can be grouped as [S, P]. The examples in (616) and (617) illustrate the grammatical function of S and P of a third person plural and a third person singular argument respectively.

(616) *ání? ínìòngǎ?yhyô.*

[ání?]_S [í-ní-óng-ǎ?y-hyô]_V

[3PL] [3S-PL-win-IRR-PM]

‘They will win.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0087]

(617) *kéyá ání kǎhlǎéyhyô.*

[kéy = á]_A [ání]_P [ká-hlǎ-éy-hyô]_V

[1SG=ADD] [3SG] [1A-want-MID-PM]

‘I also like her.’ [ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_048]

From what I have discussed above, it turns out that case does not play any significant role in constraining the grammatical functions for first and second person arguments in Hyow. In order to encode ‘who does what to whom’ involving first and second person arguments, a Hyow speaker relies on the discourse and on indexation of arguments on verbs.

10.3.1.2 Ergative

The ergative case marker is only applicable to third person A arguments, which is a reflection of their lower positions in the person hierarchy in Hyow (see §7.3.1). Third person A arguments are marked by the ergative case clitic =*lǎ*. This ergative case marker is not common in Kuki-Chin languages. Most of the Kuki-Chin languages have a nasal initial ergative case marker. The source of the liquid initial ergative case marker in Hyow is still unknown.

There are three instances of third person A arguments marked by ergative case clitics in (618), (619) and (620). The third person singular referent of the A argument in the matrix clause (618) is acting on the inanimate referent of the P argument. In (619) and (620), the respective P arguments are not overtly present. The ergative case clitic on the third person dual and third person plural arguments is the evidence that the respective verbs are transitive. It is one of the ways to test for transitivity of verbs in Hyow.

(618) *óphròwtí? ínítsétální, áníláhá ím phéy* \.

[ó-phrów = tí? í-ní-tsét-âl-ní]_{DC} [[**ání = lâ = há**]_A [ím]_P
 [3SG.POSS-friend=PL 3SW-PL-go-DEP-TEMP] [[**3SG=ERG=ADD**] [house]
 [phéy]_V]_{MC}
 [sweep.II]]

‘When her friends went away, she also swept the house.’

[ZM_SFM_HP_122013_Hyow_0040_012]

(619) *èydô, áhní?lá bíhnángtìhê?y* \.

èydô [**áhní? = lâ**]_A [bí-hnâng-tí-hê?y]_V
 then [**3DL=ERG**] [work.I-PH.CAP-NITER-3DL.NEG]

‘Then, they two could not work anymore.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_010]

(620) *èyhú?ytsê ání?láhá íníhmòtthô, hngúdâ.*

èyhú?y = tsê [**ání? = lâ = há**]_A [í-ní-hmót-thô]_V hngúdâ
 like.that=TOP **3PL=ERG=SC.ADD** [3A-INV-know.II-PM] DP

‘They even know you like that, OK?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0084]

10.3.1.3 Core dative

A dative argument plays the semantic roles of a recipient, an experiencer or of an owner. Generally, a possessive clause and a ditransitive clause include dative arguments, where it is non-core argument of the former and a core argument of the latter. Dative arguments are marked by the case clitic =*á*, which is homophonous with the additive clitic in Hyow. The dative case clitic shares an identical segmental shape with the locative case clitic, but it differs in tone.

Ditransitive verbs or verbs with more than two valences include a dative argument, which has a semantic role of a recipient. Dative arguments of transitive verbs are very important. Hyow ditransitive verbs are marked for the dative argument if the P argument ranks lower than the dative argument. This reflects the fact that Hyow ditransitive verbs treat the dative argument as a core, as shown in (621), where the P argument noun phrase is *táá póyshá* ‘money and penny’ and the dative argument is *náng* ‘2SG’, which is marked by the dative case clitic. The first person A argument prefix marks the verb of the clause. An inverse marker *-ní* also marks the verb, which is because first and second person arguments hold the same position in the person hierarchy. This example again shows that it is important for Hyow to mark the arguments that are higher on the person hierarchy. This process of marking the dative argument on the verb is not same as the dative shift in English, since Hyow does not require any morphosyntactic process to raise the dative argument as a core one.

(621) *kêy náng táá póyshá kínípekâ?y* ʘ.

kêy	náng = á	táá	póyshá	kí-ní-pék-â?y
1SG	2SG=DAT	money	paise	1A-INV-give.II-IRR

‘I will give money and penny.’ [ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_038]

It is usual for a benefactive applicative construction to include a dative argument, which has the semantic role of a benefactor. Like the normal ditransitive verb with a dative argument, a verb inflected by the benefactive applicative also includes an argument marked by the dative case clitic, but it is still indexed on the verb for its grammatical function if it holds a higher place than the P argument in the person hierarchy. The verb inflected by the benefactive applicative in (622) has a benefactive applicative argument marked by the dative case clitic. Since the applicative argument refers to a third person, it is not indexed on the verb in (622).

(622) *kóbóy tsóá nìhú?y phía kááníshùypèkkhô.*

kó-bóy	tsó=á	nìhú?y	phía	ká-á-ní-shúy-pék-khô
1SG.POSS-lord	son=DAT	like.this	wife	1A-DIR-PL-search.II-BEN-PM

‘We went to search my lord’s son a wife like this.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_029]

In fact, in a clause where the verb is inflected by the benefactive applicative, the dative case refers to a benefactive relation there with the core grammatical function of D, as shown in (623).

(623) *hóy-thé?ykhôl môngá tsipék ʘ.*

hóy-thé?y-khól	mông=á	tsí-pék
mango-fruit=EXP	king=DAT	take.I-BEN

‘Take the mangoes for the king.’ [Elicited]

The evidence of the applicative argument being a core argument is evident from the fact that based on the person hierarchy the higher ranked applicative argument is marked on the applicativized transitive verb regardless of clause types.

In a third person directed jussive clause, if there is a higher ranked dative argument, it gets marked on the imperative verb, which is evident from the example in (624). The higher ranked first person noun phrase D argument is a core argument because it is marked on the imperative verb. It is understandable from the context that when someone is trying to tell the speaker a story, someone else stops the storyteller. In reaction, the speaker tells this person to let the storyteller tell the story. Similarly, a canonical imperative clause has a D argument in (625); nonetheless, it is also marked on the verb, showing its core status and high rank in the person hierarchy. Here, the speaker politely orders the addressee to tell a story to the speaker.

(624) *kéyá khúy hngát úhnùkpèk khæ?* ʘ.

kêy=á khúy hngát ù-hnúk-pék-khæ?

1SG=DAT story one **1P**-tell.story.I-BEN-JUSS

‘Let him tell me a story.’ [Elicited]

(625) *kéyá khúy hngát úhnúkpékæ* ʘ.

kêy=á khúy hngát ù-hnúk-pék-æ

1SG=DAT story one **1P**-tell.story-BEN-IMP.POL

‘Tell me a story.’ [Elicited]

10.3.2 OBLIQUE CASE MARKING

Oblique case markers are those noun phrase arguments that are not obligatory for a verb to construct a meaningful expression; they are treated as extra arguments of a given verb. This group of arguments is a big set compared to the group of core arguments. Oblique arguments are marked by eight case clitics, some of which are also isomorphic. I deal with all these in the following sub-sections.

10.3.2.1 Instrumental

The instrumental case marks a noun phrase argument whose referent functions as an instrument with which the referent of an A argument performs an action, or a process. In Hyow, the instrumental case marker is isomorphic with the inessive case clitic and the comitative case clitic. Usually, comitative is attested in other TB languages to be syncretic with inessive (see Noonan 2008). As the instrumental is also isomorphic with the comitative case clitic, it is not surprising to have a syncretism between an inessive and an instrumental case clitic.

An oblique noun phrase argument marked by the instrumental case clitic generally precedes the clause head in canonical constructions. The example sentence in (626) carries an oblique instrumental argument marked by the instrumental case clitic in the dependent clause. The referent of the instrumental argument is used as an

instrument to cut canes in this example. The controller of the action of ‘cutting’ is still the agent, the referent of the third person singular A argument in (626).

(626) *èydê èyâ nîbô nîbô tsîmâng órdék ô?âlní, èydê, pò?hnô?tî.*

èydê èy = â nîbô nîbô [tsîm = âng]_{OBL} órdék

then ANAPH.DEM=LOC like.this like.this [billhook=INST] half_B

ô?âl-ní èydê pò?hnô? = tî

adge.II-DEP-TEMP then DV.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, when he adzed the cane in half with a billhook like this and like this there, then he finally made ropes.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_295]

Hyow is a language that employs both dependent and head marking, which is evident from the example in (627). A noun phrase consists of a head noun, and a dependent. There are two instrumental arguments in (627). In the first sentence, the instrumental case is marked on the dependent of the noun phrase *yóy_H [khóp-âk = âng]_D* (rope CLS-one=INST) – the numeral compound, while in the second sentence, the head noun is marked – *yóy = âng* ‘rope=INST’

(627) *èydô, tsùâ èy krášng, hmóshó mónglâ èy phêl khónéyhyô, yóy khòpàkông.
yâyông phêlshæ? khònhnóhngàtní, èy kháéní suríông shà?áldók \.*

èydô tsù = â èy krá = ông hmóshó móng = lâ èy
then DIST=LOC ANAPH.DEM period=INE Hmosho king=ERG ANAPH.DEM

phêl khón-êy-hyô [[yóy]_H [khóp-ák = ông]_D]_{OBL} [[yóy = ông]_H]_{OBL}
snake tie.II-MID-PM [[rope] [CLS-one=INST]] [[rope=INE]]

phêl-shæ? khón-hnó-hngàtní èy kháé = ní
cycle-seven tie.II-PM-REAS ANAPH.DEM all=FOC

surí=ông shà?-âl-dók
knife=INE cut-DEP-ANT

‘Then, during that period, King Hmosho tied that snake with one span of rope.
Because he tied it seven cycles with the rope, it cut all those (rope) with a knife.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_042]

If two coordinated nouns are coordinated by the conjunctive particle *lá*, then the instrumental case clitic marks the noun that follows the conjunctive particle, as exemplified in (628). Both the bamboo and reed were used as instruments to build the roof. Therefore, they are added by the conjunctive particle, and the final noun *dí* ‘reed’ is marked by the instrumental case clitic in (629).

(628) *krông í-ní-táé?hyô yó lá díông.*

krông í-ní-táé?-hyô [yó lá dí = ông]_{OBL}
roof 3A-PL-weave.roof.II-PM [bamboo and reed=INST]

‘They weave the roof with bamboo and reed.’

[ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_0031]

Like any other core arguments of a verb, an oblique instrumental argument can be uttered as an afterthought, as shown in (629). In fact, with the discourse particle

hngúdâ the sentence seems to have ended right there. The oblique argument *thól* ‘bow’ itself can be regarded as a part of the initial sentence, but it should be treated as a separate unit. This is because of the discourse particle, and the falling intonation at the end of the discourse particle.

(629) *bóhítsâ króngshángní kò?hò hngúdâ, thòlông.*

bóhí = tsâ króngsháng = ní kò?-hò hngúdâ thól = êng

so=TOP immediately=FOC shoot.II-PM DP bow=INE

So, he shot immediately, OK? With a bow.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_338]

In (630), the oblique argument marked by the instrumental case clitic is also a possessee of the possessive phrase, where the possessor is marked by the genitive case clitic. Importantly, the core P argument is following the verb as an afterthought. The instrumental argument *gamsa* is a loan word from Bangla.

(630) *kòlálbàlâtsâ shngólóngkó? gámsátsóeng pòtálhlô áthây* ㄣ.

kól-âl-bá-lá = tsâ [ó-hngól = êng = kó? gamsá-tsó = êng]_{OBL}

pick.up.I-DEP-3SG-SEQ=TOP [3SG.POSS-neck=INE=GEN towel_B=DIM=INST]

pót-âl-hlô á-thây

wipe.II-DEP-PM GRP-fruit

‘Picking up the guava, he wiped off the fruit with the towel of his neck.’

[ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0011_0021]

Since Stem II verbs are historically nominalized (see §6.2.3.1), it is common for a Stem II verb to be inflected by a case clitic. Accordingly, if a Stem II verb of an action is marked by the instrumental marker, the inflected verb functions as a manner of the predicated event. It is quite clear from the example given in (631) that ‘by pulling’ encodes the manner of the predicated event *pánây* ‘call’. Therefore, the clitic in question makes the verb function as an adverb. This is a common way of forming

adverbs by marking a bare root by a locative case in Kuki-Chin languages (see Konow 1904).

(631) *kəmdəàʔbák èyní èy làʔəng ínpànéytí.*

kóm-dó-áʔ-bák	èyní	èy	láʔ = əng
descend-PREF-NEG-ADV.NEG	so	ANAPH.DEM	pull.II=INE

í-ní-pán-êy = tî

3A-PL-call.II-MID=R.EVID

‘Even though he did not like to come down, they called him by pulling.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_005]

As we have seen in all the examples, an oblique argument is not marked on the verb. The verb takes markers only for the arguments that have grammatical functions of an S, an A, a P or a D in a given clause.

10.3.2.2 Comitative

A comitative case-marked oblique argument referent represents the entity that the A or S argument referent keeps with him/her during the performance of an action, a process or a state. In brief, the comitative case clitic codes accompaniment. The comitative case clitic is syncretic with the instrumental and the inessive case clitic, which is very common in European and other languages of the world (see Stolz et al, 2005: 212). The accompanied referent can be either an animate entity or an inanimate thing.

The noun phrase argument of a possessive construction is marked by the comitative case clitic in (632). It means that the indigenous people are the company in the predicated event of quarreling. The referent of the A argument has a fight with the referent of the comitative argument.

- (632) *áyáng khóá khúyúngóngkó? tóngshóní phrúmâ tsètùlá, èyákó? tóngshóŋg ínshíéyhyótí.*

áyáng khó = â khúyúng = êng = kó? tóngshó = ní
 long.ago time=LOC high.land=INE=GEN indigenous.people=FOC
 phrúm = â tsét-ú-lá [èy = â = kó? tóngshó = êng]_{OBL}
 plain.land go-3PL-SEQ [ANAPH.DEM=LOC=GEN indigenous.people=COMT]
 í-ní-shíêy-hyô = tí
 3S-PL-quarrel-PM=R.EVID

‘Long time ago, going to the plain land, the indigenous people of the highland fought with the indigenous people of that place.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0002]

The noun phrase referring to an inanimate thing is marked by the comitative case clitic in (633). The referent of the A argument in this example performs the action of going along with the referent of the inanimate thing, which is a comitative argument.

- (633) *èydô èy wánkholôŋg námâ tsètálhlô.*

èydô èy [wán-khól = êng]_{OBL} nám = â tsét-âl-hlô
 then ANAPH.DEM [thing-EXP=COMT] village=LOC go-DEP-PM

‘Then, he went back to the village with those things.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0053]

The verb *krów-êy* ‘speak’ is an intransitive verb in Hyow. It can take an oblique argument marked by the comitative case clitic, as shown in both the examples in (634). The first example is a headless noun phrase marked by the comitative case clitic. Since the noun phrase A argument is a third person singular participant, and it is retrievable from the context, it is not overtly mentioned in this example.

(634) “*ŋhngəŋg krəwéyhyô. pótó hngátəngdô krəwéyhyónú*” *tíng íní-ták-khô*.

[ŋ-hngó=əng]_{OBL} [krəw-êy]-hyô [pótó hngát=əng=dô]_{OBL}

[GRP-be.different=COMT]) [speak-MID]-PM [husband one=COMT=EMPH]

[krəw-êy]-hyô = nú tíng í-ní-ták-khô

[speak-MID]-PM=SS.EVID QT 3A-say.II-PM

‘They said, “She spoke with a different one, with one man.”’

[ZM_GSS2_082015_Hyow_0016_0009]

An oblique argument marked by the comitative case clitic can follow a verb being used as an afterthought. The example in (635) illustrates such a clause. The inanimate instrument marked by the comitative case clitic suggests that the actor performed the action while having the instrument with him.

(635) *èydô hnəshó mông thòkkhəhnəʔtí súríəng.*

èydô hnəshó mông thók-khə-hnəʔ = tí [súrí=əng]_{OBL}

then Hnosho king come.out-PM-ULT=R.EVID [knife=COMT]

‘Then, King Hnosho finally came out with a knife.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_072]

An interrogative pronoun can also be inflected with the comitative case clitic, as shown in (636). The interrogative pronoun here forms a functionally comitative unit to refer to the asked entity.

(636) *ùsəng nəkhəméyàʔylàʔhəóm?*

[ú-ô=əng]_{OBL} nə-[khóm-êy]-əʔy-láʔ-hô = əm

[who-MULT=COMT] 2A-[meet.II-MID]-IRR-OBLG=CONT.Q

‘With whom and whom will you have to meet.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0050]

10.3.2.3 Genitive

There are two strategies of constructing a possessive phrase – by juxtaposition and or by marking the possessor with the genitive. The first one is used for inalienable possessions, kinships or for part-whole relationships, while the later one is used for alienable possessions or for possessions that can be acquired. Both of the possession types are illustrated by the example in (637). The word *nũ* ‘mother’ refers to a kinship term, where the relation is naturally established. That is why this possession is expressed by just juxtaposing the two nouns *nó-bóy nũ* ‘your lord’s mother’. The referent of the noun *khóytsíp* ‘ring’ refers to a possession that can be bought, and is alienable. And so, the relationship of possession is constructed by the genitive case clitic being marked on the dependent noun of the possessive phrase in (637).

(637) *nóbòynúkʔ khóytsíp núhmùʔéy ↗?*

[<i>nó-bóy</i>	<i>nú=kʔ</i>] _{OBL}	<i>khóytsíp</i>	<i>nú-hmùʔ=êy</i>
[2SG.POSS-lord	mother=GEN]	ring	2A-see.II=POL.Q

‘Did you see my lord’s mother’s ring?’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_190]

The referent of the possessee noun phrase of the first possessive construction in (638) is alienable. Accordingly, the dependent of the possessive noun phrase is marked by the genitive case clitic. On the contrary, the possessee noun phrase of the possessor, which is the possessee of the first possessive phrase, refers to an integral part of the possessor *lá* ‘place’, which is why the possessor is not marked by the genitive case clitic.

(638) *áníʔkʔ lá dùkâ dóánkhôl mēy.*

[<i>áníʔ=kʔ</i>] _{OBL}	<i>lá</i>	<i>dúk=â</i>	<i>dóán-khôl</i>	<i>mēy</i>
[3PL=GEN]	place	inside=LOC	shop _B =EXP	exist

‘There were shops inside their place.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0013]

The inalienability does not depend on the noun class in Hyow. A possession referred by a noun can be inalienable depending on the context. The same possessee noun in (638), *lá* ‘land’ can be an inalienable possession, if it refers to the spatial position of a possessor, as shown in (639). The possessee noun phrase in this example refers to the position of the referent of the possessor noun *kêy* ‘1SG’, which is a part of the referent at the time of the speech. Thus, the strategy of constructing a possessive construction depends on inalienability, which is not fixed on noun types, but rather on pragmatics.

(639) *kêy làâ káybây.*

kêy	lá = â	káy-bây
1SG	place=LOC	come.IMP-DEL.IMP

‘Come to my place.’ [Elicited]

10.3.2.4 Non-core dative

Intransitive verb arguments marked by the dative case clitic are treated as non-core arguments. The examples in (640) and (641) include intransitive verbs, and the respective verbs agree with their single argument S, which is marked suffixally on the verb. The first person singular dative argument is marked by the dative case clitic in both the examples. Clauses like the one in (640) are analyzed as possessive clauses in Hyow.

(640) *kéyátsæ kómó? méyhómà?hâ.*

[kêy = á = tsæ] _{OBL}	[kó-mó?] _S	mêy-hóm-á?-hâ
[1SG=DAT=TOP]	[1SG.POSS-owner]	exist-still-3SG.NEG-PM

‘I do not have my master yet (literally, my master does not exist to me).’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0053]

(641) *kéyá íá hláá?* ㄴ.

[kéy = á]_{OBL} [íá]_S hlá-á?

[1SG=DAT] [nothing] be.required-3SG.NEG

‘I do not require anything (literally, anything is not required to me).’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_327]

10.3.2.5 Locative and allative

A locative oblique argument refers to a place. A noun phrase argument is marked by the case clitic =*â* to encode the location of a referent. Hyow includes two types of locative case clitics – generic and inessive. An inessive locative situates a thing inside another thing, while the generic locative case refers to a place in general. The oblique argument marked by the locative case clitic in (642), which is referring to the place where the referent of the S argument will go. The distal demonstrative is also inflected by the locative case clitic, but it functions more as a locative adverb rather than an oblique argument of the verb *wóng* ‘enter’.

(642) *tsùâ tòwâ ááníwóng-é?y* ㄴ.

tsú = â [tów = â]_{OBL} á-á-ní-wóng-é?y

DIST=LOC [forest=LOC] 3S-DIR-PL-enter-IRR

‘They will go to enter there in the forest.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_099]

Beside the case clitics, several locative nouns in Hyow also functions as relational morphemes (see §3.3.2.4). Some relational morphemes marked by the locative case clitic means a goal rather than a generic location. The unbound locative nouns *khók* ‘near’, *khóy* ‘near’ and *shók* ‘near’ all refer to location. When the locative case clitic is attached to these relational nouns, the locative case can function as an allative. The locative case clitic attached to the relational nouns in (643), (644) and (645) is referring to goals.

(643) *shó? mông tsúhnúđ gólóksđ khəká ìnítsí?híd poyə?yhyđ.*

shó? mông tsúhnú = dđ [gólóksđ khək = â]_{OBL} ì-ní-tsí?-hí = dđ

INTJ king daughter=EMPH [grazer near=LOC] 1INCLA-PL-COND=EMPH

pôy-ə?y-hyđ

be.good-IRR-PM

‘No, it will be good if we take the king’s daughter near to the grazer.’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_034]

(644) *èyhnə?lâ únúshóshé shə?yâ tsèthnə?tí.*

èy-hnə?-lâ [ú-nú-shóshé shə?y = â]_{OBL} tsét-hnə? = tí

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ [3SG.POSS-mother-ugly near=LOC] go-ULT=R.EVID

‘Finally after that, he finally went near to his ugly mother.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_017].

(645) *èydđ kóphrów hngát kónêng tsó káshànhnđ ání khəká.*

èydđ kó-phrów hngát kónêng tsó ká-shán-hnđ

then 1SG.POSS-friend one with letter 1A-send.II-PM

[ání khək = â]_{OBL}

[3SG near=LOC]

‘Then, I send a letter with one of my friends near to her.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_010]

10.3.2.6 Inessive

A noun phrase argument marked by the inessive case clitic functions as an oblique argument of the verb and refers to the location inside the referent of the noun. The inessive case clitic is isomorphic with the comitative and instrumental case clitics.

Other than the case markers, this form is used as a stative/durative marker and clause linker.

The noun *nâm* ‘village’ is marked by the inessive case clitic in (646) making it an oblique argument of the verb *shót* ‘look.II’. The example here expresses that the actor performs the action inside the village. She does not go outside the village looking for justice or a trial.

(646) *námông trá shòtéhyô*

[**nám = ông**]_{OBL} [trá]_P [shót-êy-hyô]_V

[**village=INE**] [trial] [look-MID-PM]

‘She looked for a trial in the village.’

[ZM_ARGS3a_082015_Hyow_0006_0020]

With emotional nouns, whose referent is an integral part of a being, it is always the inessive locative case that comes into play. This shows good evidence for how an inessive argument encodes an internal position rather than an external one. The example in (647) has an emotional/abstract noun marked by the inessive case clitic. Here, this oblique argument is referring to the internal condition, which the actor is questioned to bring about by performing the action predicated by the verb.

(647) *èykhôl dúkhá?ông khrô-é?yshànghngóey ↗?*

èy-khôl [dúkhá? = ông]_{OBL} khrô-(é?y-sháng)-hngô = êy

ANAPH.DEM-EXP [**sorrow=INE**] fall.CAUS-(IRR-OPNT)_{DESID-PM=POL.Q}

‘Will she want to make them fall into trouble?’

[ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0070]

The inessive oblique argument with temporal nouns in Hyow refers to a period, as the English preposition ‘in’, which is evident from the inessive oblique argument in (648) referring to a period. The inessive case marks a locative noun in this example.

(648) *èy hnùphá dùkông ís nópò?là?êm?*

[èy hnúp-há **dúk=êng**]_{OBL} í-ó nó-pó?-lá=êm

[ANAPH.DEM CLS-ten **inside=INE**] what-MULT 2A-DV.II-OBLG=CONT.Q

‘What and what did you get to do in those ten days?’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0019]

The bound locative noun *údúk* ‘inside’ being inflected by the inessive case clitic =*êng* can encode a meaning that is equivalent to English ‘among’, as shown in (649). The oblique inessive locative noun phrase refers the predicated event verb inside a group of people in this example.

(649) *èy námshó dùkông íníníeyálæ?yhyô.*

[èy námshó **dúk=êng**]_{OBL} í-ní-ngìey-âl-æ?y-hyô

[ANAPH.DEM **villager** **inside=INE**] 3S-PL-live.together-DEP-IRR-PM

‘They will live together among those villagers.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0128]

When attached to some locative nouns, the inessive case clitic can encode movement. For example, the inessive case clitic attached to the locative noun *ókól* ‘under’ refers that the actor of the verb moves under the referent of the possessor noun *thîng* ‘tree’ in (650). If the locative case clitic is attached to the same locative noun, it only refers to the location, as shown in (651).

(650) *thîng kòlông tsètbalá...*

[**thîng** **kól=êng**]_{OBL} tsét-bá-lá

[**tree** **under=INE**] go-3SG-SEQ

‘Going through under the tree...’

[ZM_JC_HP_122013_Hyow_0042_005: Elicited]

(651) *thîng kàlâ tsètbalá...*[thîng kól = â]_{OBL} tsét-bá-lá

[tree under=LOC] go-3SG-SEQ

‘Going under the tree...’

[ZM_JC_HP_122013_Hyow_0042_005: Elicited]

For a better understanding, I have listed the relational nouns inflected by the inessive case clitic or by a RMC (relational marker compounding), that includes the inessive case clitic in Table 99.

No.	Forms	Gloss	Meaning
1.	èy báttí = â = kó?	‘ANAPH.DEM without=LOC=GEN’	‘without/not from that place; referring to place’
	èy báttí = êng = kó?	‘ANAPH.DEM without=INE=GEN’	‘without/not from that one; referring to things’
2	ó-dóm = â = kó? bôy	‘GRP-above=LOC=GEN book’	‘the books above; refers to the location of non- moving referents’
	ó = dóm = êng = kó? shámphó	‘GRP-above=INE=GEN ship’	‘the plane above; refers to the location of moving referents’
3	ó-dóng = â = kó? khrông	GRP-below=LOC=GEN man	‘the man below; refers to the location of a referent’
	ó-dóng = êng = kó? khrông	GRP-below=INE=GEN man	‘the man below someone’s age’
4	èy hmóyhmó = â	ANAPH.DEM front=LOC	‘in front of that’
	èy hmóyhmó = êng	ANAPH.DEM front=INE	‘through that’s front’

Table 99: Comparison of oblique relational noun phrases inflected by inessive and locative case clitics

10.3.2.7 Ablative

A noun phrase marked by the ablative case clitic is regarded as an oblique argument of a given verb and a source. In Hyow, the ablative case clitic is =*kón*. VanBik (2009: 148) reconstructs the ablative case marker in PKC as *ʔin. Looking at the ablative marker in Hyow, it seems that it is a cognate.

The source of the actor's coming back in the example in (652) is represented by the ablative oblique argument *thúng = kón* 'prison=ABL'.

(652) *thúngkón lòâl*.

[*thúng = kón*]_{OBL} lò-âl

[*prison=ABL*] come-DEP

'He returned from jail.' [ZM_GSS1_082015_Hyow_0015_0014]

The ablative case clitic can form a relational marking compound with the inessive case clitic. In such a compound, the meaning is not always clear. For example, in (653) there is a RMC attached to the oblique argument *îm* 'house'. The meaning of the clause indicates that the ablative case clitic is regarded as the main case clitic in this example. The inessive case clitic encodes that the actors fled from inside the house.

(653) *kéyní? îmkònông ínítsènálhlô*.

[*kéyní? îm = kón = ông*]_{OBL} í-ní-tsén-âl-hlô

[*1PL.EXCL house=ABL=INE*] 3S-PL-flee-DEP-PM

'We fled from our house.' [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_145]

In the same way, the example in (654) includes a RMC of the delimitative case clitic and the ablative case clitic. The meaning of the ablative case can be logically integrated with the translation of the whole sentence. However, analysing the sentence, it is possible to accommodate the part of the delimitative case clitic, which limits the source of searching of the book strictly from class seven.

(654) *tùâ tànshèktə?kònní tànhatś? bóyní mòâ kááshùyæ?yâm?*

tú = â [tán-shók = tś? = kón = ní]_{OBL} [tán-há = tś?]_{OBL} bôy = ní

now=LOC [CLS-seven=DLIM=ABL=FOC] [CLS-ten=DLIM] book=FOC

mòâ ká-á-shúy-æ?y = âm

where 1A-DIR-search.II-IRR=CONT.Q

‘Now, where will I search the books from class seven up to class ten?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0101]

10.3.2.8 Delimitative

A noun phrase argument marked by the delimitative case clitic defines a boundary for the predicated event. The delimitative case clitic =tś? can be translated as ‘up to’ in English and indicates that the actor performs the action up to a defined mark represented by it. The examples in (655) and (656) show how the delimitative case clitic sets boundaries for predicated events. In (655), the referent of the S argument performs the action of going up to the defined point, which is a quay or ghat. In (656), the referent of the A argument performs the action of swallowing up to the waist of the referent of the P argument.

(655) *èy túybətś? kétsètáldák \.*

[èy túybś = tś?]_{OBL} ké-tsét-âl-dák

[ANAPH.DEM quay=DLIM] 1S-go-DEP-ANT

‘I had gone back up to that quay.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_076]

(656) *phólâ étsàengtś? dà?ltî, hmútótśó \.*

[phól = lâ é-tséng = tś?]_{OBL} dá?l = tí hmútótśó

[snake=ERG 3SG.POSS-waist=DLIM] swallow.II=R.EVID girl

‘The snake swallowed the girl up to the waist.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0023]

Like other oblique case markers, the delimitative case clitic can also form a RMC with other case clitics. I have already shown an example in (654), where the delimitative case clitic forms a RMC with the ablative case clitic. Other than the ablative case clitic, the delimitative case clitic can form a RMC with the inessive case clitic as well. The oblique argument marked by the delimitative and the inessive case clitic in (657) indicates that the actor of the predicated event performs the action not only up to the night, but also throughout the night.

(657) *támú?éngtsæ tsùâ èy èytsô bù?tsô hòwéyâl*

[támú = tsô? = éng = tsæ]	OBL	tsú = â	èy	èy-tsô
[tonight=DLIM=INE=TOP]		DIST=LOC	ANAPH.DEM	FILL-DIM
bú?tsô		(hów-èy)-âl		
rice-DIM		(say.II-MID)-DEP		

‘He asked for rice and things of same sort there up to through tonight.’

[ZM_GG_SPW_062007_Hyow_0033_031]

10.4 ARGUMENT MARKING IN VALENCE CHANGING CONSTRUCTIONS

Valence changing operations are implemented by employing some morpho-syntactic processes, which include causativization, applicativization, and middle marking. In middle marking, the valence of a verb can be both increased and decreased, while by causativization and applicativization, the valence of a verb can only be decreased. I discuss the marking of any oblique argument raised to a core argument signaled by case marking or argument indexation in this section. Therefore, I will not discuss middle constructions in this section (see § 8.3). Applicativization is done using several verbal suffixes – *-pék* ‘BENEFACTIVE/MALEFACTIVE’, *-pûy* ‘ASSOCIATIVE BENEFACTIVE’ and *-nák* ‘INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE’. I discuss both the case marking and argument indexation status for these raised arguments.

10.4.1 CASE MARKING

Case markers allow us to identify whether an argument is core or oblique. When a valence increasing operation takes place, an oblique argument is generally added or raised to a core argument. Accordingly, in an ideal scenario, the raised argument gets rid of its case clitic that signals its status as the oblique argument. In Hyow, the case clitic that marks the oblique status of an argument still remains attached to the argument even after a specific valence increasing operation takes place.

10.4.1.1 Causativization

By the process of causativization in an intransitive clause, an A argument is introduced, which is known as the causer. The original single argument of the intransitive clause in S function becomes the patient, which is also known as the causee. The introduced A argument in this scenario is not marked by any case clitic, if the introduced argument is a first or second person participant. If the introduced argument is a third person participant, then the argument is marked by the ergative case clitic obligatorily. On the other hand, the original S argument, which becomes the P argument in the derived clause, is obligatorily marked by the dative case clitic. It is to be mentioned here that there is no binary opposition of direct and indirect causation in Hyow. The marking of both the core arguments – ergative (A) and dative (P) of this derived transitive verb may not be overtly expressed due to the extensive use of noun phrase elision in Hyow, as demonstrated by the example in (658). Here, the verb *íp* ‘sleep’ is an intransitive verb, and it is transitivized by the morphological causative marker *-shók*. None of the introduced A and derived P are overtly present in this example. In order to have an example with overt introduced A and derived P arguments, I have elicited an example in (659) based on the context illustrated in (658). In (659), the third person plural argument is the introduced A, which is marked by the ergative case clitic, and the third person singular argument marked by the dative case clitic is the derived P argument of the causativized transitive verb.

(658) *tsùá átsángnú ím = á = ní á-á-ní-íp-shók-hnóʔ = tí*

tsú = á átsángnú ím = á = ní á-á-ní-íp-shók-hnóʔ = tí

DIST=LOC old.woman house=LOC=FOC 3SG-DIR-PL-sleep-CAUS-ULT=R.EVID

‘They finally went to make him sleep in the old woman’s house there.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_160]

(659) *èydô èykhôllâ tsóngkróngá kêy ímâ ínîpshâkhô*

èydô èy-khôl = lâ tsóngkróng = á kêy ím = á

then ANAPH.DEM-EXP=ERG young.man=DAT 1SG house=LOC

í-ní-íp-shók-khô

3A-PL-sleep-CAUS-PM

‘Then, they made the young man sleep in my house.’ [Elicited]

Compared to an intransitive verb, when a monotransitive verb is causativized, its valence increases from two to three; it becomes a ditransitive verb with three places as a result. Due to the causativization, there is a new introduced argument of the verb, which is known as the causer. The original argument in the A function of the monotransitive verb becomes the P argument of the causativized ditransitive verb, which is known as the causee. This is obligatorily marked by the dative case clitic. The original P argument remains unmarked for any case. The example in (660) illustrates well what happens to the case marking of core arguments when a monotransitive verb is causativized. The derived P argument of the causativized verb in (660) is marked by the dative case clitic, while the original P argument, ‘that snake king’s son’ is unmarked as usual.

(660) *kárbárlání èyá èyphól mông tsóní ápànéyshǎktí.*

kárbárlání = lâ = ní èy = á èy phól
village.chief=ERG=FOC ANAPH.DEM=DAT ANAPH.DEM snake

mông tsô = ní á-pán-êy-shók = tí
king son=FOC DIR-call.II-MID-CAUS=R.EVID

‘The village chief made him call that snake king’s son.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0064]

When a ditransitive verb is causativized, the introduced argument becomes the new A, the original A argument becomes the P argument marked by the dative case clitic, the original P argument remains unmarked, and the original D argument remains unchanged. The example in (661) explains it all, where both the derived P and the original D argument are in dative case.

(661) *èy dùmnúlâ útsúhnúá mông tsóá èy túyní ápǎkshók ʘ.*

èy dùm nû = lâ ú-tsúhnú = á mông
ANAPH.DEM singing.beggar.party mother=ERG 3SG.POSS-daughter=DAT king

tsô = á èy túy = ní á-pék-shók
son=DAT ANAPH.DIM water=FOC DIR-give.II-CAUS

‘That singing beggar party’s mother made her daughter give the king’s son that water.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_009]

I have summarized the causativization process from 1 to 3. The P in 1, P_D in 2, and P_D and P_{DAT} in 3 are obligatorily marked by the dative case clitic. All the As are marked by the ergative case if they refer to third person referents.

1. $SV \rightarrow APV$; A = new introduced argument, P = S
2. $APV \rightarrow AP_D PV^{20}$; A = new introduced argument, $P_D = A$, P = P
3. $APDV \rightarrow AP_D DPV^{21}$; A = new introduced argument, $P_D = A$, D = D, P = P.

10.4.1.2 Applicativization

Applicative constructions are utilized to promote a semantically peripheral argument to a morphosyntactically central argument. The promoted status can be achieved through three types of applicative, which are founded on their semantics. The applicatives in Hyow includes benefactive/malefactive, instrumental/locative and associative-benefactive. I discuss the status of the promoted argument from the perspective of case marking in this section.

The benefactive applicative can also be used as a malefactive applicative in Hyow. The functional meaning of this applicative suffix *-pék* depends on the context. The benefactive/malefactive suffix originates in the verb *épék* ‘give’. As a result, the benefactive/malefactive applicative argument is obligatorily marked by the dative case clitic. I have elicited an example in (662) based on the text example in (663) in order to compare the case marking of the applicative argument with the case marking of the same argument in a non-applicative construction. The non-applicative construction in (662) does not include the second person singular argument as a core. It is followed by a relational noun to encode the benefactive relation. On the other hand, in the applicative construction in (663), it is evident from the case marking of the second person singular argument by the dative case clitic that the applicative argument is core, since dative is regarded as core argument in Hyow.

(662) *móngdó náng kóông khókák kótàkdák* ↘

móngdó = ô	náng	kóông	khók-ák	kó-tók-dák
husband=VOC	2SG	for	CLS-one	1A-keep.II-ANT

‘Husband, I have kept a plate of gourd for you.’ [Elicited]

²⁰ P_D represents a derived P argument of a causativized ditransitive verb.

²¹ P_{DAT} represents the dative argument of the causativized ditransitive verb.

(663) *móngdó nàngá khòkák kínítápék* ㄣ.

móngdó = ô náng = á khók-ák kí-ní-tók-pék
husband=VOC 2SG=DAT CLS-one 1A-INV-keep.II-BEN

‘Husband, I kept a plate of the gourd for you.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0069]

Likewise, the example in (664) also shows a benefactive applicative argument marked by the dative case clitic.

(664) *èy bézítsólâ shómeytsá phól tàyúngtsô álòkpáhlhlô*.

èy bézítsól = lâ shómeytsá = á phól tàyúng-tsô
ANAPH.DEM mongoose=ERG boy=DAT snake herbal.medicine-DIM

á-lók-pék-âl-hlô

DIR-fetch.II-BEN-DEP-PM

‘The mongoose went to fetch back the snake’s herbal medicine for the boy.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_034]

If the benefactive/malefactive applicative inflects a verb that already has a dative argument, e.g. *shów* ‘say’, the applicative argument coincides with the base dative argument. For example, the dative arguments in (665) and (666) are also the benefactive applicative arguments. The difference between the sentences with and without the benefactive applicative is in the meaning. With the benefactive applicative added to the verb complex, the dative core argument also expresses a benefactive relation at the same time. On the surface, there is an ambiguity of whether there is any change in the argument structure or not. The meaning provided by the consultants also adds up a perfective meaning for the benefactive applicative suffix.

(665) *ópóá ááhòwpék* ʘ.

ó-pô = á á-á-hów-pék
 3SG.POSS-father=DAT 3A-DIR-say.II-BEN

‘She went to tell his father (for his father’s benefit).’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_169]

(666) *kéyá ìníhòwpék* ʘ.

kêy = á ì-ní-hów-pék
 1SG=DAT 1P-INV-say.II-BEN

‘You told me (for my benefit).’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_024]

The instrumental/locative applicative promotes a peripheral instrumental or locative argument to a core argument. In the process of doing so, the promoted core argument happens to be still marked with the oblique case clitic. That the oblique argument is still marked by its case clitic even after the valence increasing operation is evident from the example in (667), where the intransitive verb *sháʔn* ‘be clean’ is transitivized with the instrumental applicative suffix *-nák*. Similarly, the intransitive verb *núy* ‘laugh’ is transitivized in (668) by the instrumental/locative applicative suffix *-nák*. As a result, the verb has a P argument, which is a first person singular participant. Since it is a P argument, it is unmarked by any case clitic.

(667) *shágónêng ám shàʔnnàk khô*.

shágón = êng ám sháʔn-nák-khô
*soap*_B = INST pot be.clean-INST.APP-PM

‘The soap cleans the pot (literally, the pot is clean with the soap).’ [Elicited]

(668) *èylâ kēy ùnùynàkkhô*.

èy = lâ	kēy	ù-núy-nák-khô
3SG=ERG	1SG	1P-laugh-LOC.APP-PM

‘He laughed at me.’ [Elicited]

Likewise, the instrumental oblique argument of the verb *bú?* ‘cook.II’ in (669) is promoted to a core argument. Nonetheless, the promoted argument still holds onto the oblique case marker.

(669) *èy àmông bú? kúbù?nàkkhô*.

èy	ám = ông	bú?	kú-bú?-nák-khô
ANAPH.DEM	pot=INST	rice	1A-cook.II-INST.APP-PM

‘I cooked rice with/in that pot.’ [Elicited]

Having said all this, it is important to mention that the promoted argument of a transitive verb is not overtly present in the text for the most of the instances. That is why none of the examples from (667) to (669) is from the text, but rather are elicited in order to show that if the promoted arguments are overtly mentioned they still take the oblique case clitics. This is a semanto-syntactic asymmetry.

The associative benefactive applicative promotes a peripheral argument to a core argument whose referent is helped and accompanied by the referent of the A argument while performing an action, a process or being in a state, as exemplified in (670). In this example, the third person singular referent helps the referent of the applicative P argument to incise the trunks of date palm trees in order collect palm juice. The promoted oblique argument (which was a comitative) is not marked by any case. None of the text examples have *-pûy* as a single functional applicative unit. All the instances of the associative benefactive applicative suffix include the instrumental/locative applicative suffix *-pék* forming an applicative compound, as shown in (671).

(670) *èylâ kây ðbók-pûy-hyô*

èy = lâ	kây	ð-bók-pûy-hyô

ANAPH.DEM=ERG	1SG	1P-incise.date.palm.trunk.II-ASS.BEN-PM

‘He incised the date palm trunks with me.’ [elicited]

Because of the extensive use of noun phrase elision, it is impossible to determine if the applicative argument is a third person, as shown in example (671). Case marking does not help us identifying the applicative argument, since there is not any in Hyow for an associative benefactive applicative argument. For example, it is not possible to determine the core arguments and the associative benefactive applicative argument in (671). Spotting the overt presence of the applicative, we can only assume that there must be a process of argument promotion. The discourse of the text helps to identify the core arguments of this type of applicative construction.

(671) *èydô yó tûkâ tsí?pûynâkní, “édóm pòêng kóthô?lâ?yhyô”.*

èydô	yó	túk = â	tsí?-pûy-nák-ní	é-dóm

then	bamboo	cut.II=LOC	take.II-ASS.BEN-SPNT-TEMP	GRP-bottom

pó = êng	kó-thô?l-â?y-hyô

side=INE	1A-throw.II-IRR-PM

‘Then, when the king took him_j with him_i to cut the bamboo, the king said, “I will throw the bamboo at the bottom side.”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_278]

Similarly, from the surface argument structure in (672), it is not possible to identify the applicative argument. The speaker has to depend on the discourse to determine the applicative argument.

(672) *phól tsólâ ìtsí?pûynâk* ʘ.

phól tsô = lâ ì-tsí?-pûy-nák
snake son=ERG 1P-take.II-ASS.BEN-SPNT

‘The snake son took me with him.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_050]

Contrastively, if the verb is intransitive, then it is easier to see how the associative benefactive applicative works. The example in (673) has an applicative construction. The intransitive verb *tsónêy* ‘roam’ has valence of one. Due to the addition of the applicative suffix to the verb, it becomes a transitive verb, and is able to take the P argument – a first person plural participant marked by the prefix *ì-*. The inverse marker signals that the argument in A function is either a second person or a third person. Therefore, one must depend upon the discourse as well as the inverse marker to identify the third person plural A participant.

(673) *èykón inítsònéypûynâk* ʘ.

èy = kón ì-ní-(tsón-êy)-pûy-nák
ANAPH.DEM=ABL 1P-INV-roam-ASS.BEN-SPNT

‘From that, they roamed with us (for us).’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0032]

Based on the discussion above, I have prepared a table showing the case marking status of base P argument and applicative P argument in three types of applicative constructions in Hyow. The Base Oblique column in Table 100 shows the case marking of the peripheral arguments that become applicative P after the valence increasing process is implemented.

Applicative types	Base P	Base Oblique	Applicative P
Benefactive/Malefactive	unmarked	<i>kóông</i> (locative N)	= <i>á</i> (Dative)
Instrumental/Locative	unmarked	= <i>êng</i> (Instrumental)	= <i>êng</i> (Instrumental)
Associative-Benefactive	unmarked	<i>kònəng</i> (Locative N) = <i>êng</i> (Comitative)	unmarked

Table 100: Comparative case marking status of base and applicative P

10.4.2 INDEXATION ON VERBS

The arguments that are added or promoted due to the valence increasing operations are indexed on verbs depending on the person types and grammatical functions. We have already seen that Hyow verbs are indexed by their core arguments following a person hierarchy (§7.3.1). The valence increasing operations are not exclusive of this hierarchy. And so, the added and derived core arguments by the causativization strategy and the promoted core arguments by the applicativization strategy have to follow the person hierarchy in order to be indexed on the respective verbs in given situations.

10.4.2.1 Causative argument indexation

Due to the process of causativization, a new argument in A function is introduced to the causativized verb. For intransitive verb, the old argument in S function becomes the derive P argument, and a new argument is introduced in A function. For transitive verbs, the old argument in the A function becomes the derived P argument of the causativized verb, and the old argument in the P position remains the same. At the end of the process, the causativized verb ends up with double P arguments – the derived P marked by the dative case and the original P unmarked. When it comes to argument indexation on verbs, the introduced A and the derived P arguments are marked on verbs following the person hierarchy. If the derived P argument holds a higher rank than the original P than the derived P is marked on the verb. On the other hand, if the original P holds a higher rank than the derived P, then the original P is marked on the verb.

In the example in (674), the introduced argument is a second person singular participant, which is the addressee of the imperative clause. Imperative verbs do not take any markers for the second person, but it is expressed through the sentential mood. Therefore, since the derived P argument is a third person singular participant, it is not marked on the verb. To understand the indexation clearly, I have elicited an example in (675), where the derived P is a first person singular argument. Following the person hierarchy, the derived P argument is marked on the verb in this example.

(674) *“átsángnú ímâ áìpshòkkhól” títg íní-ták-hnó? = tí.*

átsángnú ím = â á-íp-shók-khól títg í-ní-ták-hnó? = tí
old.woman house=LOC DIR-sleep-CAUS-PL.IMP QT 3A-PL-tell.II-ULT-R.EVID

‘They finally told, “Go to make him sleep in the old woman’s house.”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_160]

(675) *èylâ kényá ìpâlsòkkhò*

èy = lâ kény = á ì-íp-âl-shók-khò
ANAPH.DEM=ERG 1SG=DAT 1P-sleep-DEP-CAUS-PM

‘She made me sleep.’ [Elicited]

Similar to the intransitive verbs, when a transitive verb is causativized, the introduced A and the higher ranked original P or the derived P are indexed on the verb. The causativized verb in (676) has a first person singular introduced A, the causer, an original P and a third person singular derived P, the causee. Following the person hierarchy, only the first person A argument is indexed on the verb in this example.

(676) *“kêy kótsóhə?y zólláká kóshə?ə?yshòkkhò tùhnúp tòyónátsə” tîng.*

kêy	kó-tsô-hó?y	zóllák = á	kó-shó?-é?y-shók-khò
1SG	1SG.POSS-son-DL	slaughterer=DAT	1A-slaughter.II-IRR-CAUS-PM
túhnúp	tóyón = â = tsə	tîng	
today	tonight=LOC=TOP	QT	

‘He said, “I will make the slaughterer slaughter my two sons today tonight.”’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0088]

If the original P is in a higher position in a causative construction, then the original P is marked on the verb, as demonstrated by the elicited example in (677).

(677) *kêy èyá ðbòpə?yshòkkhò*

kêy	èy = á	ð-bóp-é?y-shók-khò
1SG	ANAPH.DEM=DAT	1P-beat.II-CAUS-PM

‘I will make him beat me.’ [Elicited]

If both the original P and the derived P are SAP, then the verb is marked for the original P, which is evident from the elicited examples in (678) and (679).

(678) *èylâ kêy nángá ìníbòpə?yshòkkhò*

èy = lâ	kêy	náng = á	ì-ní-bóp-é?y-shók-khò
ANAPH.DEM=ERG	1SG	2SG=DAT	1P-INV-beat.II-CAUS-PM

‘He will make me beat you.’ [Elicited]

(679) *èylâ náng káyá ìníbòp?à?yshòkkhô*

èy = lâ náng kây = á í-ní-bóp-á?y-shók-khô
ANAPH.DEM=ERG 2SG 1SG=DAT 3A-INV-beat.II-CAUS-PM

‘He will make you beat me.’ [Elicited]

10.4.2.2 Applicative argument indexation

Applicative arguments are promoted to P function from their former oblique functions through the applicativization process. The promoted applicative argument is indexed on the verb when it ranks higher than the original P argument following the person hierarchy. Three applicative suffixes in Hyow serve to increase the valence of a verb.

The benefactive argument, which is an oblique argument in a non-applicative construction, is marked on the verb for its P function. The indexation of the arguments rigidly follows the person hierarchy, as evident from the examples in (680) and (681), where the higher-ranked first person arguments are the applicative P arguments and are marked on the verb, and the lower-ranked third person singular and plural arguments respectively are the base P arguments.

(680) *ání?lâ káyá góángthá?y ìníkò?lpèkáltí.*

ání? = lâ kây = á góángthá?y ì-ní-kó?l-pék-âl = tí
3PL=ERG 1SG=DAT guava.fruit 1P-INV-pick.up.II-BEN-DEP=R.EVID

‘They picked up me the guava fruit.’ [Elicited, Stimuli: Pear Story]

(681) *ínítsètní, kíkóngkhôl ìnítsì?pèkkhô.*

í-ní-tsét-ní kíkóng-khól ì-ní-tsí-pék-khô
3S-PL-go-TEMP prawn=EXP 1P-INV-take.II-BEN-PM

‘When they went, they took prawns for me’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0067]

If the base P is higher than the applicative P, then the base P is marked on the verb, as shown in (682). In this example, the base P is a first person singular argument, and the applicative P is a third person singular argument. As a result, the verb is marked for the base P, as it ranks higher than the applicative P.

(682) *èykhóllâ kèy èyá ìnílòpèkkhô.*

èy-khól = lâ	kêy	èy = á	ì-ní-ló-pék-khô
ANAPH.DEM-EXP=ERG	1SG	ANAPH.DEM=DAT	1P-INV-bring.II-BEN-PM

‘They brought me for him.’ [Elicited]

If the applicative P is a second person and the base P is a first person, then the verb is indexed for the base P. In such a construction, the first person argument in the base P function outranks the second person argument in the applicative P function, which is evident from the elicited example in (683).

(683) *èykhóllâ kèy nángá ìnílòpèkkhô.*

èy-khól = lâ	kêy	náng = á	ì-ní-ló-pék-khô
ANAPH.DEM-EXP=ERG	1SG	2SG=DAT	1P-INV-bring.II-BEN-PM

‘They brought me for you.’ [Elicited]

Again, if the applicative P is a first person and the base P is a second person, then the verb is indexed for the base P. In such a construction, the second person argument in the base P function outranks the first person argument in the applicative P function, which is evident from the elicited example in (684). Since there is no marking for the second person P argument in Hyow, the verb in this example is marked by the inverse marker, indicating that the undergoer is a SAP.

(684) *èykhóllâ náng kèyá ìnílòpèkkhô.*

èy-khól = lâ	náng kèy = á	í-ní-ló-pék-khô
ANAPH.DEM-EXP=ERG	2SG 1SG=DAT	3A-INV-bring.II-BEN-PM

‘They brought me for you.’ [Elicited]

When the applicative P or a derived is a SAP and the base P is a non-SAP, the verb in an applicative and causative construction respectively is always marked for the SAP. Conversely, when the base P is a SAP and the applicative P or the derived P is non-SAP, then the verb is marked for the SAP. When both the base and the applicative or derived P are SAP, then the verb is marked for the base P. This system of marking is consistent with ditransitive, causativized and applicativized verbs in Hyow.

A verb inflected by the instrumental/locative applicative is also indexed by the promoted argument. The first person singular argument is an oblique in a non-applicative construction, but in (685), it is a core argument. The core status of the promoted argument is ensured by its indexation on the verb *thón* ‘plough.II’ in (685).

(685) *lúʔtsólâ láy ìníthónnàkkhô.*

lúʔtsô = lâ	lád	ì-ní-thón-nák-khô
human=ERG	land	1P-INV-plough.II-INST-PM

‘They plough the land with me.’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_025]

The second person locative oblique argument is treated as a core argument in (686) due to the verbal inflection for the instrumental/locative applicative suffix. That the second person argument is promoted is conceivable from the inverse marker on the applicativized verb *phóʔ* ‘carry.II’.

(686) *ímlâ lòwládâ íníphò?nàk-æ?y* \

ím = lâ lów = lâ = dâ í-ní-phó?-nák-æ?y
house=ERG swidden.field=ERG=EMPH 3A-INV-carry.II-INST-IRR

‘The house and the swidden field will carry the expense on you.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0035]

Finally, the promoted applicative argument in an associative benefactive applicative construction is also marked on the verb. The first person singular argument can be an oblique argument in the non-applicative edition of the applicative construction in (687). In (687), it is evident from the argument indexation on the verb, *tsí?* ‘take.II’ that the first person singular argument is functioning as a core argument.

(687) *ínítsí?púydók* \, *phítkhôl*.

ì-ní-tsí?-pûy-dók phít-khól
1P-INV-take.II-ASS.BEN-ANT basket=EXP

‘They had taken the baskets with me (They had helped me taking the baskets).’

[Elicited]

10.5 CONCLUSION

Hyow relational morphology is not like most of the Kuki-Chin languages, which show ergative alignment in case marking and nominative-accusative alignment in argument indexation. Hyow is unlike other Kuki-Chin languages in showing an intermediate stage of developing relational morphology. Nonetheless, the dependent marking pattern shows an ergative-absolutive for third person NPs and the head marking pattern is hierarchical for SAPs. The inclusion of dative as a core argument by a ditransitive verb is the result of the person hierarchy. Finally, the diverse nature of argument marking morphology in Hyow makes it a very exciting language to study as does its syntax and phonology. The next chapter deals with simple clause structures in Hyow.

11 Simple clause structure

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The current chapter of this grammar deals with larger chunks of linguistic expressions, which constitute clausal structures. The overall discussion of this chapter on clause types and clause structures moves from verbal to verbless clauses. I start with a description of Hyow canonical clause structures in §11.2 and non-canonical clause structures in §11.3. Different types of clauses are illustrated through examples in §11.4 (declarative), §11.5 (interrogative), §11.6 (imperative) and §11.7 (optative). Next, I discuss copular clauses in §11.8, followed by a discussion on existential clauses in §11.10. Then, I move on to present an expounding description of verbless clauses in §11.11. The chapter concludes with some remarks on the nature of Hyow clauses in §11.12.

11.2 CANONICAL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Hyow is a verb final language. Generally, the verbal-clausal structure is consistently predicate-final, with the order of the constituents determined by pragmatic factors in which the most salient argument appears first. The salient argument is usually the actor, which explains why a SV/APV order predominates in Hyow. The verb typically comes at the end of a clause, except in some pragmatically motivated clauses, in which the post-verbal arguments are presented as afterthoughts with a hiatus between the verb complex and the postposed argument. The example in (688) displays a simple intransitive clause, with a single S argument preceding the verb *tsét* ‘go’.

(688) *èydô èy tsèt-tâ* ㄴ.

èydô [èy]_S [tsét-tâ]_{VCMPLEX}

then [ANAPH.DEM] [go-ITER]

‘Then, he went again.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_065]

Quite often, Hyow speakers tend to elide noun phrases, which increases the functional load on the verb complex to clarify the meaning of the expression. The elision of core arguments loads a verb complex with a lot of information in order to encode a full and meaningful expression. In a transitive clause, an A argument generally precedes a P argument, and the verb comes at the end, as exemplified in (689). In the first clause, all the arguments are present, while in the second clause, the A argument is not overtly expressed since the second clause is a repetition of the first clause. In contexts where a core argument is identifiable from an antecedent mention in the discourse and where core arguments are indexed on verbs, speakers tend to elide the noun phrase, as in (689). The directional marker *-á* encodes a forward movement of the referent of an S/A argument in Hyow, resulting in a meaning functionally equivalent to a purposive construction, as demonstrated by the example in (689).

(689) *kéyhniʔ òntsô kááhníʔshùýæʔy \, ngòtsô kááhníʔshùýæʔy \.*

[kéyhniʔ]_A [ón-tsô]_P [ká-á-hníʔ-shúy-æʔy]_{VCMPLEX} [ngó-tsô]_P

[1DL.EXC] [vegetable-DIM] [1A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR] [fish-DIM]

[ká-á-hníʔ-shúy-æʔy]_{VCMPLEX}

[1A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR]

‘We will go to search vegetables. We will go to search some fishes.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0033]

It is typical of Hyow to elide core arguments that are obligatorily indexed on verbs by prefixes, or are at least recoverable from a given discourse. In (690), none of the single core arguments of the respective intransitive verbs is overtly expressed. The single arguments of the respective verbs can be identified by the prefix attached to the verb.

(690) *èydâ íp \. èydâ émêy.*

èydâ	í-ip	èydâ	é-mêy
then	3S-sleep	then	3S-stay

‘Then, he slept. Then, he stayed.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_179]

In special contexts where a P argument is topicalized and marked by the topic clitic =*tsâ*, the P argument precedes an A argument, as demonstrated by the example in (691). The noun phrase referring to ‘his wife’ in (691) is a topicalized P argument, and it precedes the A argument marked by the ergative case clitic. It is the man, the referent of the A argument, who does the making of plait. Similarly, in the clause (b) in (691), the P argument is topicalized. This once more precedes the A argument marked by an ergative case clitic, and the verb secures the clause final position. It is to be noted here that these are not external arguments. In Hyow, the most topical argument comes at the initial position of a clause.

(691) *èydâ éphíátsâ spótólâ tûm \. spótótsâ éphíálâ tûm \.*

[èydâ	[é-phíá = tsâ] _P	[ó-pótó = lâ] _A	[tûm] _{VCMPLEX(a)}
[then	[GRP-wife=TOP]	[GRP-man=ERG]	[make. plait]
[[ó-pótó = tsâ] _P	[é-phíá = lâ] _A	[tûm] _{VCMPLEX(b)}	
[[GRP-man=TOP]	[GRP-wife=ERG]	[make.plait]]	

‘Then, as for the wife, the husband made her a plai. As for the husband, the wife made him plait also.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_102].

In addition to the context explained in (691), a P argument precedes an A argument, when both the arguments are in focus. The motivation of such a change in word order is not readily available, since the semantic agent is clearly marked by an ergative case. For example, both the arguments *hmútótsô* ‘daughter’ and *mông tsô* ‘prince’ are marked by the focus clitic =*ní* in (692), and the P argument is preceding

(693) *èydô, tsó, ní lúkí pùmshók \. èykònní, ní ókró ?éytsô tîngní, lúkídô pùmshók kóbànnhônô kénytsâ.*

èydô tsó ní lúkí púm-shók èy = kón = ní ní
then DP PROX head CLS-six ANAPH.DEM=ABL=FOC DIST

ó-kró ?èy-tsô tîng = ní lúkí = dô [púm-shók]_o
GRP-be.late eat.II-DIM QT=FOC head=EMPH [CLS-six]

[kó-bún-hnô]_{VCmplx} [kêy = tsâ]_A

1A-get.II-PM 1SG = TOP]

‘Then, he said, “Take, these are six heads. Saying, “From these, this one is for dinner (literally, late eating).” He said, “I found six heads, I (it’s me who got these six heads).” [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_155]

The anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, *èy* ‘ANAPH.DEM’, referring to a third person agent, has been postposed in (694) as an afterthought. This use of the afterthought results in a change in the constituent order of the matrix clause in Hyow.

(694) *dúkhá?âng khrók-â?y-âng shòthô, èylátsâ*

[dúkhá? = âng khrók-â?y-âng]_{DC} [[shót-thô]_{VCmplx} [éy = lâ = tsâ]_A]_{MC}

[trouble=INE fall.CAUS.II-IRR-PURP] [[look.II-PM] [ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP]]

‘He thought of making troubles for them.’

[ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0040]

Similarly, the topicalized noun phrase *nó-pótô = tsâ* (2SG.POSS-man) ‘your husband’ – is used as an afterthought in (695). That the topicalized noun phrase is a part of the declarative clause (a) is ensured by a pause after the verb complex final and by the absence of the falling intonation at the end of the verb complex in (695). In the clause (b) in (695), the A argument *náng* ‘you’ is elided, since it is already marked on the verb *ómêy* ‘get.married’.

(695) *dùdók, nópótóttsæ. átsángpô nóòmêyhyô. níttsæ.*

[[dú-dók]_{VCmplX} [nó-pótót = tsæ]_{S(a)} [[átsángpô]_P

[[die.II-ANT] [2SG.POSS-husband=TOP]] [[old.man]

[[nó-ómêy-hyô]_{VCmplX(b)}

[[2A-get.married-PM]]

‘He had died, your husband. You got married to an old man.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_143]

Frequently, core arguments, oblique arguments, and nominalized verbs are repeated after clause final verb complexes in order to emphasize or clear doubts about the core arguments, oblique arguments, and predicated events respectively. There is an example of an afterthought in (696). Compared to (695), this is quite differently expressed. The single S argument of the verb *mêy* ‘exist’ is not elided in the matrix clause in (696). There is also the usual declarative clause-final falling intonation at the end of the verb complex. Here, the afterthought noun phrase, which is coreferential with the single argument of the matrix clause verb, is used to clarify that the basket is a different one from the one into which the man kept pears. It clearly shows that an afterthought is not only used to refer to the elided argument, but also to further clarify the referent.

(696) *tsú kòmální, óshòtéyní, tóng hngát méyâ? \, óhóng hngàtsæ.*

[tsú kóm-âl-ní]_{DEP} [ó-shót-êy-ní]_{DEP} [[tóng hngát]_S

[DIST descend.II-DEP-TEMP] [3S-look.II-MID-TEMP] [[basket one]

[mêy-â?]_{VCmplX} [ó-hóng hngát = tsæ]_{S_{MC}}

[exist-3SG.NEG [GRP-be.empty one=TOP]]

‘When he came down, when he looked [at the baskets] himself, one basket was not there. The empty one!’ [ZM_PSM_072015_Hyow_0048_023]

11.3.2 P AS AFTERTHOUGHT

Arguments that Hyow speakers frequently elide from texts function as S or A arguments in most of the examples. This is because of the way arguments are indexed on verbs in Hyow. Argument indexation on verbs follow a person hierarchy, in which first person arguments in A and P roles, second person arguments in A roles and third person arguments in A roles are indexed on verbs. Since there is no indexing of P arguments on verbs (except for first persons), noun phrases functioning as P arguments are not elided from texts. Therefore, P arguments are not found as afterthoughts to produce a non-canonical word order. However, like other noun phrase arguments, noun phrases in P function can be repeated after verb complexes.

11.3.3 OTHER CONSTITUENTS AS AFTERTHOUGHTS

The postposed noun phrase might not be coreferential with the elided or overtly expressed argument, as illustrated in (696). Since the verb of a matrix clause (affirmative) is Stem II, which is historically a nominalized form (see §6.2.2), Hyow speakers can also use it as an afterthought expression. The reason for this use of a historically nominalized verb as an afterthought is to clarify the predicated event. The speaker emphasizes it is the predicated event in which the agent is involved, and not in anything else. To illustrate the predicated event in the matrix clause ‘heating’ is repeated as an afterthought expression in (697).

(697) *tsó. khèthúyytsâ thò?w kólòtí? tǎá kúùpkhà?nú, ùptsâ.*

tsó	[khéythyú = tsâ	thów?	kó-ló-tí?] _{RC}	[tǎ = á] _P
DP	name.of.a.person=TOP	from	1A-bring.I-NMLZ	medicine=ADD
	[kú-úp-khǎ? = nú] _{VCMLX}	úp = tsâ		
	[1A-heat.II-FACT=SS.EVID]	heat.II=TOP		

‘See! I heat the medicine too that I brought from Kheythuy. Heating!’

[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0048]

Not only the types of constituents discussed above, but also oblique arguments can be used as afterthought expressions. Oblique arguments normally precede verbs.

The oblique argument marked by the locative case, $\text{èy} = \hat{a} = \text{ts}\hat{a}$ ‘there’ (ANAPH.DEM=LOC=TOP), is postposed in (698).

(698) *ómá-lóm-ák kéná? kááníméynàtsikhó?, èyátsa*

ó-má-lóm-ák kéná? [ká-á-ní-mêy-ná-tsí-khó?]_{VCMLX}
 GRP-be.dark-road-one every [1S-DIR-PL-stay-SPNT-FREQ-FACT]
 [èy = $\hat{a}$ = ts $\hat{a}$]_{OBL}

[ANAPH.DEM=LOC=TOP]

‘We really spontaneously went to stay every evening, there.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0027]

The afterthought expression can include a variety of constituents in Hyow, though it does not contribute to the change of the word order in a canonical clause structure every time. The constituents of afterthought expressions can be summarized in Figure 52.

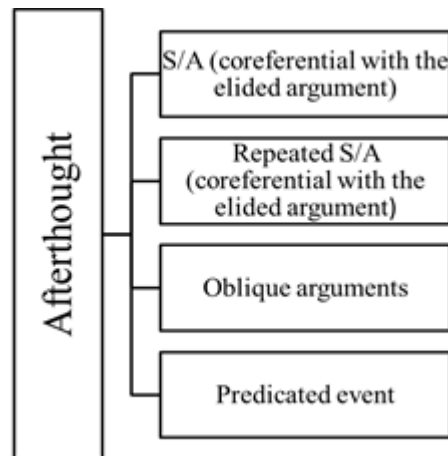


Figure 52: Members of afterthought expressions in Hyow

11.4 DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

An independent declarative clause with a positive polarity expresses affirmative statements, proposals, claims, etc., requires, while an independent declarative clause with a negative polarity expresses denials, refusals, negative statements, etc. Generally, a speaker supplies information to an addressee or a hearer with a declarative speech act (Givón, 2001: 291).

A declarative clause with positive polarity is not overtly marked by any morpheme. There are other means to separate a declarative clause with positive polarity from other types of clauses. Firstly, the use of a Stem II verb and the absence of interrogative clitics separate an independent verbal declarative clause with positive polarity from other clause types. Secondly, an anterior aspectual marker distinguishes the clause in discussion from different types of dependent clauses. Thirdly, along with a predicate marker, the anterior aspectual suffix separates a declarative clause with positive polarity from a dependent temporal clause. Finally, only the verb of a declarative clause can take the ultimative adverbial suffix (see §9.2.3.8).

The example in (699) presents a simple declarative clause. The A argument is not overtly expressed in this clause, but a referential prefixal marker is attached to the root to index the elided A argument. Furthermore, the noun phrase representing the P argument of the clause is missing the head. The referent of the head noun is identifiable from the classifier in the numeral compound and the context. The verb does not have any marking for tense, since there is no inflectional category of tense in Hyow. It is the anaphoric demonstrative modifying the noun ‘time’ that refers to a time mentioned by the speaker at an earlier stage of the story, or in the previous clause. Therefore, the time of the predicated event in (699) is signalled either by a temporal word used earlier in the text, or is relative to the time of events predicated prior to it. Hyow only marks the irrealis mood overtly. Accordingly, the clause in (699) is naturally in realis mood.

(699) *èydô èy khóá pùmák kíníban* ʘ.

èydô	èy	khó = â	[púm-ák] _P	[kí-ní-bán] _{VCmplX}
then	ANAPH.DEM	time=LOC	CLS-one	1A-PL-get.II

‘The, we got a pig at that time.’ [ZM-HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0045]

It is already argued in §6.2.2 that the Stem II verbs in Hyow are historically nominalized. Therefore, the predicate marker attached to the verb of a declarative clause asserts its predicate status, as demonstrated in (700). The predicate marker *-hyô* in (700) is formed through a transphonologization process (see §2.5.4). The initial

segment of the predicate marker takes the voiceless form of the final segment of the preceding suffix, which is a middle suffix in (700).

(700) *èydô kúhlá-êy-hyô*

èydô kú-hlá-êy-hyô

then 1A-want.II-MID-PM

‘Then, I want her (for myself).’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_150]

Yet, the predicate-marking suffix is not a sole feature of a dependent clause. An interrogative clause might also have the predicate-marking suffix. Quite often, question clitics of interrogative clauses follows a predicate-marking suffix. Therefore, there is no paradigm of discrete markers to distinguish different clause types in Hyow. In such a language, a combination of features is to be considered for making differential judgements.

The ultimate suffix *-khs?* (see §9.2.3.8) can be used to characterize a declarative clause. Other than being a part of discourse connectives (see §3.4.6), the ultimate suffix operates over the verb complex of a declarative clause, as exemplified in (701).

(701) *áyáng khóatî, tsùání, tsóngkróngtsólání, lòwtsóní, biéyhnhè?tî, hárê.*

á-yáng khó = â = tî tsú = â = ní [tsóngkróng-tsô = lâ = ní]_A

GRP-be.first time=LOC=R.EVID DIST=LOC=FOC [young.man-DIM=ERG=FOC]

[lów-tsô = ní]_p [bí-êy-hnó? = tî]_{VCmplx} hárê

swidden.field-DIM=FOC work.II-MID-ULT=R.EVID DP

‘Long ago, the young man there finally cultivated A swidden field, understand?’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_002]

A declarative clause with negative polarity is seen as negative assertion, which is the opposite of realis assertion, according to Givón (2001: 370). As opposed to a

declarative clause with positive polarity, a declarative clause with negative polarity requires a Stem I verb, like imperatives. The common feature shared by these two types of clauses is having unreality embedded in their semantics by default. Other than having Stem I verbs, declarative clauses with negative polarity require negative suffixes, which form a paradigm (see §7.4) and are referential with respect to A arguments. In other words, the negative suffixes refer to different persons differentiated not only by their basic classes, but also by numbers and clusivity.

The following dependent clause with negative polarity in (702) contains a Stem I verb, *lò* ‘come’. The verb is marked by a negative suffix, which refers to a third person plural S argument of the intransitive verb *lò* ‘come’. Without a temporal noun, this plain declarative clause with a realis mood can be referred to the temporal locus either prior to speech or during the speech.

(702) *tsùkòntsâ nítsátsâ lòhómû, háré* ㄴ.

tsú = kón = tsâ	ní = tsá = á = tsâ	lò-hóm-û	háré
DIST=ABL=TOP	PROX=LIM=ADD=TOP	come-CONT-3PL.NEG	DP

‘They did not yet come also upto here from there, understand?’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_124]

The declarative clause with negative polarity includes a second person S argument in (703). It is different from a prohibitive since a prohibitive requires a verb in irrealis mood.

(703) *túâ, náŋy pùmtsââ pèngéyhòmtsû.*

túâ	náŋy?	púm-tsó = â	péng-êy-hóm-tsû
now	2PL	body-own=LOC	be.dependent-MID-CONT-2PL.NEG

‘Now, you all are not still self-dependent (literally, yourself on [your] own).’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0016]

An irrealis negative clause holds a proposition to be weakly true. Epistemically, the proposition asserted by an irrealis negative clause might be true or wrong, while a negative asserted proposition is strongly untrue by virtue of its epistemic convention (see Givón, 2001: 301-302). In Hyow, a declarative clause in irrealis mood with negative polarity takes the delayed negative suffix, *-hnóʔ*. The regular event irrealis suffix *-ǎʔy* can co-occur with the negative suffixes referring to only first person singular exclusive S and A arguments, when the predicated event is asserted to be in irrealis mood. The delayed negative suffix *-hnóʔ* precedes the negative suffixes in the verb complex of a declarative clause with negative polarity.

The initial clause in (704) is a declarative clause with negative polarity. The proposition made by this clause that ‘We will not be able to cure her’ is weakly asserted. In other words, the speaker’s proposition that they will not be able to cure the woman in the village might be true or false. The speaker is not absolutely sure whether they can cure her in the village. And so, the special delayed negative suffix asserting the proposition weakly is attached to the negated verb *póál* ‘cure’ in (704). The negative suffix *-kô* refers to a first person plural exclusive argument.

(704) *póálhnâng hnóʔkô. háshpátálâ tsìǎyhyòdô tîng kényîi?khôl kínítâk \.*

pó-âl-hnâng-hnóʔ-kô

háshpátál = â

DV.I-DEP-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-1PL.EXCL.NEG hospital=LOC

tsí-ǎy-hyó = dô

take.I-NECOHORT=EMPH

‘We said, “We will not be able to cure her. Let’s take her to the hospital together.” [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0082]

The negative utterance in (705) is directed to a second person singular argument. The verb, *tsét* ‘go’ takes the second person singular negative suffix and the delayed negative suffix *-hnóʔ* at the end of the verb complex. The proposition of going to the members of a viva board empty-handed is loosely asserted by the clause in (705).

(705) *èydâ, ání? shó?yâ shòngtsâ, tsèthnó?tí dá.*

èydâ ání? shó?y = â ó-hóng = tsâ tsét-hnó?-tí dá
 then 3PL near=LOC GRP-be.empty=TOP go-DEL.NEG-2SG.NEG DP

‘Then, you will not go to near them empty (handed), OK?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0060]

Hyow uses a particular set of indefinite pronouns only in clauses with negative polarity (see §3.4.1.4). At first look, they seem to construct clauses with double negation, since they cannot be used as non-specific indefinite pronouns. However, in citation forms, they require a negated copula verb. That they do not construct double negation is evident from the fact that they do not bear positive meaning. Unlike what Dixon (2012: 148) explains regarding true double negatives having positive meaning, in most of the cases, the particular set of negative indefinite pronouns in Hyow still contains a negative meaning (except matrix clauses with negative polarity preceded by relative clauses with negative polarity).

The verb *thón* (become) is negated by the third person singular negative suffix *-á?* in (706). The negative indefinite pronoun, *íá* ‘nothing’, referring to things, which form a negatively asserted clause.

(706) *íá thón-á?hâ, khâw. ê èyâ námâ.*

íá thón-á?-hâ khâw ê èy = â nám = â
 nothing become-3SG.NEG-PM DP INTJ ANAPH.DEM=LOC village=LOC

‘Nothing grew, that is the story. Yes, there, in the village.’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0005]

11.5 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

An interrogative clause is used to enquire for information about a person, place, time, thing, cost, etc., to ask an addressee to give their judgement by choosing an option given by the enquirer, or to ask an addressee whether a given statement is true or

false. However, an interrogative clause might not always be utilized to ask questions. It can also be used to continue narratives. While telling stories, it is common among Hyow storytellers to use spontaneously a specific interrogative clause *ibó thónéyám* ‘What happened?’ when there is a twist or a climax, or when the storyteller anticipates that the audience is eager to know the next part.

Hyow interrogative clauses are marked both phonologically and morphologically. A high rising intonation at the boundary of a clause (polar interrogative) and two separate types of question clitics mark interrogative clauses. There are different types of interrogative clauses, which include polar, alternative/disjunctive, tag and content questions.

11.5.1 POLAR QUESTIONS

Through polar questions, a speaker anticipates an answer in ‘yes’ or ‘no’, or asks for the addressee’s judgement about something. A polar question clitic, =*éy*, marks polar questions in Hyow. Other than the morphological marking of a polar interrogative clause, a rising intonation at the boundary of the clause can be used to mark the clause as a question only if the polar interrogative verb is not marked by a predicate-marking suffix (see §2.6.4.2). Since a declarative clause can also end with an identical suffix, which functions as a middle marker, it is important to employ intonation as a mean to distinguish between the identical constructions, as in *tsèt-éy* (go-MID) ‘He walks.’, but *tsèt=éy ↗* (go=POL.Q) ‘Does he go?’

The example in (707) illustrates a simple polar question and its answer. When a boy goes to a giant to take revenge of his elder brother’s death, and takes food to the giant to trick him, the giant asks if the boy has come alone. The initial clause containing the polar question is marked by the polar question clitic, =*éy*, in (707). The second clause in (707) contains the answer of the polar question. It is noticeable that the answer does not merely include the positive response ‘yes’, but also contains an emphasized noun phrase, which is also emphasized in the polar question itself. The correspondent of the question could have opted for only using ‘yes’, but due to the speaker’s emphasis on the fact of him being alone, the correspondent felt it obligatory to repeat the emphasized noun phrase to assure the enquirer that he is alone.

(707) *náng lúngshángdê nólòhóey?. ê, kêy lúngshángdê*

[náng lúngsháng = dê nó-lò-hô = êy]_{IC} ê kêy lúngsháng = dê

[2SG alone=EMPH 2S-come-PM=POL.Q] INTJ 1SG alone=EMPH

‘The giant said, “Are you alone?” He said, “Yes, I am alone.”

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_332]

Unlike the positive response in (707), there is a negative response to the polar question in (708). A prince, on his way to searching his wife, stops at his teacher’s place, and asks about his wife. The teacher tells him that his wife was there, but she left after having some food. The prince asks his teacher if his wife has left anything with him. The teacher replies ‘no’, and adds a predicated event marked with an evidential in order to assure his student that his wife has not left anything with him. It is also noticeable here that unlike the polar interrogative clause in (707), the polar interrogative clause has a rising intonation at the boundary. Since the verb of the polar interrogative clause in this example is not marked by a predicate-marking suffix, the rising intonation is utilized to identify it as an interrogative clause.

(708) *èydê, wónkhólá ínípèkhutáy? tîng tàkhnè?tí. shó?, pèkà?nú tàkhnè?tí.*

[èydê wón-khól = á í-ní-pék-hút = êy]_{IC} tîng

[then thing-EXP=ADD 3A-INV-give.II-LV=POL.Q] QT

ták-hnè? = tí shó? pék-á? = nú ták-hnè? = tí

tell.II-ULT=R.EVID INTJ give.I-3SG.NEG=SS.EVID tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then, he_i finally told (the master), “Did she give you things before leaving?”

He_j told, “No, she did not give.”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_180-181]

Through a polar question, a speaker may express surprise as well as threat instead of anticipating an answer from the addressee. The polar question in the matrix clause in (709) expresses a surprise and a threat, rather than anticipates an answer. A giant, to whom a boy goes to revenge his elder brother, expresses surprise in the form

of a polar question. When the giant sees that the boy has brought very few thighs, which are not sufficient to satisfy his hunger, he expresses surprise at the boy's lack of knowledge.

(709) *bú? lòngsháe?, ón lòngsháe?, không pótóngàkhni? ké?éyhyó, hmòttíey ↗?*

bú? lòng-sháe? ón lòng-sháe? không pótóng-ák-hní?

rice CLS-seven curry CLS-seven man CLS-one-two

ké-?êy-hyô [hmót-tî = êy]_{IC}

1A-eat.II-PM [know.I-2SG.NEG=POL.Q]

'Don't you know that I eat seven pots of rice, seven pots of curry and one-two men?' [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_331]

The polar question in (710) sets up a background to give permission to a man to take soldiers with him. The enquirer wants to know if the addressee has any interest to take soldiers with him. He does not wait for an answer; rather he keeps on saying that even if it is soldier that he wants to take, he has no obligation. Therefore, the imperative clause at the final of the text in (710) sounds more like permission rather than an order, because of the speaker's tactful use of the polar question with the chance adverbial suffix in the interrogative clause.

(710) *èy bóhí=tsâ shóynó ní-tsí?-â?y=ây ↗? shóynóthón tsíeyhní? ↘.*

èy	bóhí = tsâ	shóynó	ní-tsí?-â?y = ây
ANAPH.DEM	so=TOP	soldier	2A-take.II-IRR=POL.Q

shóynó-thón	tsí-ây-hní?
soldier-CONCESS	take.I-MID-2DL

‘That is, so, will you take soldiers? Even if soldiers, take for yourselves.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_349]

11.5.2 TAG QUESTIONS

Tag questions in Hyow start with a declarative clause and finish with a tag question particle asking the addressee whether he agrees with the speaker’s proposition. According to Coupe (2007: 149), ‘This type of interrogative therefore seeks to confirm the veracity of the speaker’s presupposition. In other words, tag questions are more biased than the polar questions towards the proposition made by the speaker (see Givón, 2001 (I): 192).

This type of question includes a negated copula verb following the positive statement, where the verb complexes are juxtaposed. The negated copula verb has the form *hyá?* ‘be.not’, which can be analysed into *hí-á?* ‘be.right-3SG.NEG’. This negative copula verb is also used in negative copular clauses (see §11.8). In a tag question, the polar question clitic is attached to the negated verb.

In (711), the final clause is an example of a tag question, where the verb *mây* ‘stay’ has positive polarity, and the following copula verb has negative polarity. The missing head referring to the S argument is placed after the copula verb in (711).

(711) *ǎlǎktsô khró thò?wíhni?tsànhnôhngàtní méyǎ?y hyà?éy ↗, èytsǎ.*

ǎ-lǎk-tsô khró thów? í-hní?-tsán-hnô [hngát = ní

GRP-be.small-DIM age from 3A-DL-bring.up.II-PM one=FOC

mêy-ây hyá? = êy èy = tsǎ]_{AQ}

stay-IRR be.not=POL.Q ANAPH.DEM=TOP

‘They two brought up him from his young age. He will stay, wont’ he?’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_026]

Likewise, the example in (712) includes a similar structure forming a tag question. In this example, the speaker compares a man without a wife with the diamond not being used in a ring. He was asking for empathy from his interlocutors when he used the alternative question in the given context.

(712) *khóytsípkhôl khǎá hówá? ínímík tsèkkhótí, hyà?êy*

khóytsíp-khól khǎ = á hówá? íní-mík tsék-khô = tí

ring=EXP all=SC.ADD without 3PL.POSS-eye be.impaired-R.EVID

hyá? = êy

be.not = POL.Q

‘Their diamonds are valueless (impaired) without even all the rings, aren’t those?’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_039]

11.5.3 ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

Alternative questions contain an alternative between a positive and a negative option and require an answer with the chosen option from the addressee. Since Hyow does not have any disjunctive particles, the two polar questions are just juxtaposed. However, the initial polar question require the usual rising intonation at the boundary; but the final polar question does not require a rising intonation. The polar question clitic of the second polar interrogative clause retains its underlying falling tone.

Alternative questions may include two polar questions sharing the same S/A argument, as shown in (713).

(713) *náng néméyæ?yhyóéy, nétsétálæ?yhyóéy?*

náng	né-mêy-ây-hyô = êy	né-tsét-âl-ây-hyô = êy
2SG	2S-stay-IRR=POL.Q	2S-go-DEP-IRR-PM=POL.Q

‘Will you stay or will you go back?’ [Elicited]

An alternative interrogative clause may include two polar interrogative clauses sharing the same A/A arguments, as demonstrated by the example in (714).

(714) *ìnhlùéyhyóéy, àhlùéytíhyóéy.*

ì-ní-hlù-êy-hyô = éy	à-hlù-êy-tí-hyô = êy
1P-INV-want.II-MID-PM=POL.Q	1P-want.II-MID-2SG.NEG-PM=POL.Q

‘Do you want me or do you not want me anymore?’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_015]

11.5.4 CONTENT QUESTIONS

Content questions are also known as *Wh*-questions or constituent questions. By content questions, a speaker presupposes that the addressee shares knowledge or information about an action, a process or a state. However, the speaker lacks knowledge of a portion of the action, process or state. This missing information is the concentration of a content question (Givón, 2001(I): 300). This missing information may refer to any core arguments, obliques, predicated events, different qualities of predicated events, etc., and can be enquired about by respective interrogative pronouns. Hyow content questions are morphologically marked by a content question clitic, =*âm*, which has cognates in other Kuki-Chin languages. Other than the content question clitic, content questions obligatorily require interrogative pronouns, which are employed to enquire about certain types of information. Content questions with different interrogative pronouns are discussed in the following subsections.

11.5.4.1 What (indefinite things)

The speaker enquires information about things using the interrogative pronoun *í* ‘what’. This interrogative pronoun refers to both animate and inanimate things, and thus, I will term it as ‘thing’ or ‘generic non-human’ interrogative pronoun. If the interrogative pronoun *í* is used alone without any noun following it, then it refers to things queried in combination with a predicated event. Alternatively, the interrogative pronoun *í* refers to a specific referent if it is followed by a noun in an interrogative clause. As opposed to ‘which’, the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ refers to an indefinite number of referents, which means that the enquired referent is unknown to the speaker, and therefore, the addressee has a larger window of options in his or her answer.

The example in (715) illustrates a simple content question, where the speaker asks the addressee about the thing that the addressee wants for himself. The interrogative pronoun for referring to things is used by the speaker in this example to seek the missing information about the object.

(715) “*í náhlàéyhyốm?*” *tîng*.

[í ná-hlá-êy-hyô = ôm]_{CQ} tîng

[what 2A-want.II-MID-PM=CONT.Q] QT

‘He said, “What do you want?”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_149]

The ‘thing’ interrogative pronoun refers to the kind of activity in which the addressee is engaged in (716). The adverbial noun comes after the verb complex in this example.

(716) *“púshélô, í nópò?éyhyóâm shómáytsóhú?y?” tàktí.*

[púshél = ô í nó-pó?-êy-hyô = êm shómáytsó-hú?y]_{CQ} ták = tí
 [uncle=VOC what 2A-DV.II-MID-PM=CONT.Q children-like] tell.II=R.EVID
 ‘He said, “Uncle, what are you doing like children?”’
 [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_286]

If there is an overt A argument noun phrase in a content question, then the A argument precedes the interrogative pronoun. Such a distribution allows the noun phrase functioning as the A argument be modified by a nominalized relative clause, as shown in (717). It shows that unlike English, where the interrogative pronoun comes in the clause initial position, Hyow holds the clause initial position for an A argument noun phrase.

(717) *“nópólâ ínípèkéytí? phíálâ í íníshínéyâm?” tîng.*

[nó-pô = lâ í-ní-pék-êy-tí?]_{RC} [[phía = lâ]_A í
 2SG.POSS-father=ERG 3A-INV-give.II-MID-NMLZ [[wife=ERG] what
 í-ní-shín-êy = êm tîng]_{CQ}
 3A-INV-mid=CONT.Q QT]
 ‘He said, “What did the wife that your father gave you ask you to bring?”’
 [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_067]

When the interrogative pronoun *í* precedes a noun phrase in a content question, it modifies the following noun phrase. Using such a construction, the speaker enquires about the referent of the noun phrase that the interrogative pronoun precedes. The use of the interrogative pronoun *í* before the noun *kóng* ‘reason’ in (718) helps the speaker to ask the addressee about the specific reason for her inability to cross an old man.

(718) *ínítàkhnəʔtí, “nówô bóhítsâ í kóngâ kóntíhóóm?”*

í-ní-ták-hnəʔ = tí [[nów-ô bóhí = tsâ [í
3A-PL-tell.II-ULT=R.EVID [[younger.sister=VOC so=TOP [what
kóng = â] kón-tí-hô = ôm]]
reason=LOC] cross.I-2SG.NEG-PM=CONT.Q]]

‘They said, “Younger sister, so, for what reason did you not cross him (the old man)?”’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0046]

A manner interrogative pronoun *ibó* ‘how’ is sometimes used to express ‘what’. However, the semantic field of the manner pronoun used as the thing interrogative pronoun belongs to a grey area. In most of the examples, the manner interrogative pronoun translated as ‘what’ by consultants is used with the dummy verb *póʔ* and the intransitive verb *thòn-êy* (happen-MID) ‘become’. The dummy verb *póʔ* can be used in places of many verbs. Therefore, the meaning of the dummy verb depends on the context. The contexts where this pronoun in discussion is used might refer to queries about either things or the manner of the predicated event. In (719), the interpretation of the manner interrogative pronoun should be ‘what’.

(719) *“tùhnúpâ íbó kópòʔ-æʔyhyóóm, núô?”*

túhnúp = â íbó kó-póʔ-æʔy-hyô = óm nú = ô
today=LOC what 1A-DV.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q mother=VOC

‘The son said, “Mother, what will I do today?”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_011]

Likewise, in (720), the manner interrogative pronoun *ibó* is more likely to be interpreted as ‘what’ rather than ‘how’.

(720) “*íb níkhínhnám, hnámádó? nóbò?éyálà?yhnúghngóey↗?*”, *èy mǎng tsólâ*
tàkéyhnò?tí éphíáání.

[íb ní-khín-hnâm = âm]_{CQ} hnámádó = ô

[what 2A-think.II-PM=CONT.Q] wife=VOC

nó-bó?-ây-âl-ây-hnúng-hngô = êy èy mǎng tsó = lâ

2A-wash.II-MID-DEP-IRR-PH.CAP-PM=POL.Q ANAPH.DEM king son=ERG

ták-ây-hnó? = tí é-phíá = á = ní

tell.II-MID-ULT=R.EVID 3SG.POSS-wife=DAT=FOC

‘That prince finally told his wife, “What do you think, wife? Will you be able to wash away (the blood drops)?”’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0071]

11.5.4.2 How (manner)

The manner interrogative pronoun includes a bound morpheme, *bó* ‘way’ and the generic non-human interrogative pronoun *í* ‘what’. Literally, this interrogative pronoun means ‘what way’. A speaker utilizes the functional feature of this interrogative pronoun by assigning an addressee in coming up with an answer that necessarily pops out from the manner of a predicated event. It is generally used to enquire about a process or the manner of a predicated event.

Examples of the manner interrogative pronoun in the content question is presented in (721) and (722). If the A argument were overtly expressed, it would have come before the interrogative pronoun in the given clause in (721). On the other hand, if the S argument were overtly present in (722), then, it would have preceded the interrogative.

(721) *éyhñè?làtsâ, “ìbó kóbùn-éy-é?yâm, èyní púytsángô?” tîng.*

éy-hnó?-lá = tsâ íbó kó-bún-éy-é?y = âm èy = ní

FILL-ULT-SEQ=TOP how 1A-get.II-MID-IRR=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM=FOC

púytsáng-ô tîng

old.aunt=VOC QT

‘Finally, after that, he said, “Old aunt, how will I get her?”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_135]

(722) *ìbó kíhní?hlá-éyhyââm?*

ìbó kí-hní?-hlá-éy-hyâ = âm

how 1S-DL-like-MID-PM=CONT.Q

‘How did we like each other?’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_004]

While narrating a story, a narrator sometimes expects the audience to say something or ask questions so that he/she can move forward with his/her narration. The phrases generally include ‘Next?’ ‘What happens next?’, ‘Then?’ etc. This is a typical way of telling stories in South Asia. The content question in (722) is used by the storyteller himself. He was anticipating the addressee to ask the same question. Therefore, because of the silence of the audience, he uses the content question to move forward with his story.

(723) *tsètálóngbàlá, ìbó thón-éyâm?*

tsét-âl-ông-bá-lá ìbô thón-éy = âm

go-DEP-STAT-3SG-SEQ what happen-MID=CONT.Q

‘Having gone back, what happened?’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0070]

11.5.4.3 Why (reason)

The reason interrogative pronoun employed in a content question interrogates an addressee about the cause or reason of the predicated event. Moreover, the speaker may express anger, frustration, surprise, etc. through this type of content question.

The content question in the direct speech in (724) shows that after knowing that his wife borrows money from people, the husband asks her wife for the reason of her borrowing money from others; this is encoded using the reason interrogative pronoun along with the rest of the clause in (724). An expression of anger is also embedded with the question in this example.

(724) *èydê ípótólâ ták, “yá núpùè?ylâ?hóóm?”*.

èydê í-pótólâ = lâ ták [yá nú-pú-áy-lá?-hó = êm]_{CQ}

then 3SG.POSS-husband=ERG tell.II [why 2A-borrow.II-IRR-OBLG-PM=CONT.Q]

‘Then her husband said, “Why will you have to borrow [money]?”’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0018]

In (725), the speakers (elder sisters) use content questions to ask the addressee (younger sister) about the reason for her current condition. In these examples, the content questions do not only intend to fill in the gap of knowledge of the elder sisters about the condition of the younger sister, but also express sympathy.

(725) “*nòwô èyhyò?tsæ yá nó-pón-hnô = êm?*” *tíng*. “*yá èyhú?y dúkhá?êng nókróhóêm?*”

[nów-ô èyhyó? = tsæ yá nó-pón-hnô = êm]_{CQ} tíng[yá
[younger.sister=VOC that.much=TOP why 2S-be.morose-PM=CONT.Q] QT[why
èyhú?y dúkhá? = êng nó-krô-hô = êm]_{CQ}
like.that trouble=INE 2S-fall-PM=CONT.Q]

‘They (elder sisters) said, “Younger sister, why are you morose that much?”
They said, “Why did you fall in trouble like that?”

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_043]

It is not unusual to find content questions with two interrogative pronouns forming a multiple question clause. Such questions interrogate an addressee about multiple things. In the multiple content questions in (726), by using *yá* and *í*, the speakers intend to know the reason and type of the reason for the state of the addressee.

(726) “*yá í dúkhá?êng nókróhóêm?*” *tíngní tàkhnhè?tí*

[yá í dúkhá? = êng nó-krô-hô = êm]_{MCQ} tíng = ní ták-hnó? = tí
[why what trouble=INE 2S-fall=CONT.Q] QT=FOC tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Finally, he said, “Why and in what trouble did you fall?”

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_084]

11.5.4.4 Who/Whom (person)

A content question with the person interrogative pronoun asks for information about the referents of A, S or P arguments, where the referents are obligatorily human. Therefore, the interrogative pronoun *ú* ‘who/whom’ refers to a person in Hyow. The interrogative clause in (727) refers to an enquiry of a person who wants to sell men to the king. The content question in this example is used to inquire about the referent of the A argument. The P argument is preceding the interrogative pronoun in this example, which could also follow the pronoun without any grammatical error.

(727) “*khrông ùlâ yâ?â?yhyâ?m?*” *tíng ní tsùání, tsíng ní ínìhlèhnè?tí.*

[khrông ú = lâ yâ-â?y-hyâ = âm]_{CQ} tíng = ní tsú = â = ní
 [man who=ERG sell.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q] QT=FOC DIST=LOC=FOC
 tsíng = ní í-ní-hlé-hnâ? = tí
 drum=FOC 3A-PL-announce(beat)-ULT=R.EVID

‘Finally they beat the drum there saying, “Who will sell men?”’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0145]

As opposed to the content question in (727), the person interrogative pronoun in the following content question in (728) is used to ask about the referent of the P argument.

(728) “*èydâ ú núhmù?â?m?*” *tíng. èy tûy khâytî?ání, híhnè?tí*

èydâ [ú nú-hmù? = âm]_{CQ} tíng èy tûy
 then [whom 2A-see.II=CONT.Q] QT ANAPH.DEM water
 khây-tí? = á = ní hí-hnâ? = tí
 pick.I-NMLZ=DAT=FOC ask.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘Then he asked the person who picked water, “Whom did you see?”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_245]

A multiple content question with the person interrogative and the quantity interrogative pronoun is exemplified in (729). Unlike the previous example in (728), the person interrogative clause is marked by the ergative case clitic in this example since it refers to an A argument.

(729) *ùlâ íhyʔ tsí?éyhngâm? tsíeykhól.*

ú = lâ íhyʔ tsí?-êy-hnâng = âm tsí-êy-khól
 who=ERG how.much take.II-MID-PH.CAP=CONT.Q take.I-MID-PL.IMP

‘Who can take how many (rifles)?’ Take yourself.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_133]

When a content question enquires about the causative or applicative P argument that refers to a human participant, the interrogative clause requires the person interrogative pronoun marked by the dative case clitic, as shown in (730).

(730) *“kékʔ dúkhá? úá kóhòwpèkà?yhyʔâm?”*

kékʔ = kʔ dúkhá? ú = á kó-hów-pék-æ?y-hyô = âm
 1SG=GEN sorrow who=DAT 1A-say.II-BEN-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘To whom will I tell away my sorrows?’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0067]

11.5.4.5 Where (place)

In order to ask an addressee about the place of the predicated event, the speaker uses the place interrogative pronoun *mòâ*, on which the locative case clitic is lexicalized. It is not possible to use the form *mó* on its own. In (731), there is an example of a content question with the place interrogative pronoun. While conversing with another person, a boy asks the person about the place where he will find the books that he has suggested.

(731) *tùâ èyhyʔ? bóytsâ mòâ kúshùyâ?yâm?*

tùâ èyhyʔ? bóy = tsâ mòâ kú-shúy-æʔy = êm

now that.much book=TOP where 1A-search.II-IRR=CONT.Q

‘Where will I search that many books now?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0100]

Sometimes the interrogative pronouns are repeated in an interrogative clause to refer to the plurality of a referent of a noun phrase argument. The example in (732) contains a reduplicated two place interrogative pronoun. Here, the speaker is referring to ‘places’, and is enquiring about the locations that the addressee has visited.

(732) *mòâ mòâ nétsétlà?âm?*

mòâ mòâ né-tsét-láʔ = êm

where where 2S-go-OBLG=CONT.Q

‘Which places did you get to go to?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0011]

11.5.4.6 When (time)

The time interrogative pronoun refers to the time of a predicated event. Pertinently, a speaker can ask an addressee about the time of a predicated event via a content question that forms the question with the time interrogative pronoun, *ítîâ* ‘when’. The time interrogative pronoun in Hyow is a compound, which can be analysed as *í-tí=â* ‘what-time=LOC’. The direct speech in the example in (733) contains a content question in which the speaker asks his wife about the time of borrowing money from people.

(733) *èyđê khrông tsét-âl-ní, ó-pótó=lâ, “èykòntsê ìtiâ táá nú-pùê?”*

èyđê khrông tsét-âl-ní ó-pótó=lâ ták
 then people go-DEP-TEMP 3SG.POSS-husband=ERG tell.II

[èy = kón = tsê ìtiâ táá nú-pù = êm]_{CQ}

[ANAPH.DEM=ABL=TOP when money 2A-borrow.II=CONT.Q]

‘When the people went away, her husband told, “When did you borrow money from them?”’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0015]

11.5.4.7 Which (inanimate)

Unlike the interrogative pronoun *í* ‘what’ that refers to indefinite animate and inanimate things, the interrogative pronoun *móng* ‘which’ is used to refer to definite entities. When a speaker uses ‘which’, both the speaker and the addressee already know the options, or they share common knowledge about the enquired object. In (734), the father and the children share the knowledge that the children’s mother went somewhere. Since the number of directions is limited, the father uses the interrogative pronoun *móng* to learn of the specific direction that his wife took.

(734) *“èyniátsê móng dédé? tsét-âl-hlê, tsóhê?yô? hôw, hôw” tíngní tákhnó?tí.*

èy = ní = â = tsê móng dédé? tsét-âl-hlê = êm
 ANAPH.DEM=FOC=TOP which direction go-DEP-PM=CONT.Q

tsó-hó?y-ô hôw hôw tíng = ní ták-hnó? = tí
 child-DL=VOC say.II say.II QT=FOC tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

“After that he said, “Which direction did she go, children? Say, say.”

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_097]

11.5.4.8 How much/many

Generally, Hyow does not employ any formal marking or inflectional grammatical category to distinguish between mass and count nouns. As a result, there is a single

interrogative pronoun to form content questions for enquiring about the quantity of a mass or a count noun. The interrogative pronoun referring to the quantity of the referent of a mass or count noun forms a formal compound structure by taking the interrogative pronoun *í* ‘what’ and the adverbial bound morpheme *hyó?* ‘much’. The interrogative word *ìhyó?* refers to the quantity of interest in (735).

(735) *èy khróngkón ìhyó? shút nóbànà?yhyóêm?*

khrông = kón ìhyó? shút nóbàn-à?y-hyó = êm

people=ABL how.much interest_B 2A-get.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘How much interest will you get from the people?’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0004]

As opposed to (735), the example in (736) includes a count noun, whose quantity has been questioned by the speaker using the same interrogative word *ìhyó?* ‘how much’ in (735).

(736) *nańg ìhyó? ngó nóbànéyâm?*

nańg ìhyó? ngó nóbàn-êy = êm

2SG how.much fish 2A-get.II-MID=CONT.Q

‘How many fish have you got?’ [Elicited]

When the quantity interrogative pronoun takes an approximative suffix *bóng* (see §5.5.9), the derived interrogative pronoun refers to the quantity of a referent in comparison to the whole part it belongs to, or compared to a set it is characterized by. The example in (737) illustrates a context in which the speaker uses the derived compound quantity interrogative pronoun referring to a part of the total time that the addressee spent in a training program. Through this clause, the speaker presupposes that the whole time that the addressee spent in the training program was not good. And so, using the interrogative word *ìhyò?bóng* in (737), the speaker queries the approximate quantity of the good time that the addressee spent.

(737) *bóhítsæ èyâ tsètí-lá náng ìhyò?bóng ópôy ní-pí=âm?*

bóhí = tsæ èy = â tsét-tí-lá [náng

so=TOP ANAPH.DEM=LOC go-2SG-SEQ [2SG

ìhyò?-bóng ó-pôy ní-pí = âm]CQ

how.much-APPROX GRP-be.good 2A-fee.II=CONT.Q]

‘So, after you went there, around how much time did you feel good?’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0060]

11.6 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Imperative clauses in Hyow generally express commands, orders, requests, etc. Using these clauses speakers manipulate others to perform an action, a process, or to be in a state. Givón (2001) includes imperatives under manipulative speech acts, since commands can also be expressed through indirect declarative and interrogative speech acts (Searle 1975, 1976). Hyow has both canonical and non-canonical imperatives. Canonical imperative clauses include a first person as the manipulator and a second person as the manipulatee, while non-canonical imperatives include other persons at the receiving end of commands, orders, requests, prohibitions, etc. (see Aikhenvald 2010: 49). Languages may have different paradigms of markers to forming canonical and non-canonical imperatives, Hyow among them.

11.6.1 CANONICAL IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Canonical imperatives are directed to second persons to encode commands or orders, requests and prohibitions. Hyow canonical imperatives require the base form of verbs, Stem I of transitive verbs and invariant stems of intransitive verbs. The bare Stem I verb and the invariant stems of intransitive verbs are the hallmark of an imperative clause directed to the referent of a singular second person argument. Verbs of canonical imperative clauses take markers for non-singular second person arguments. Other than number markers, verbs of imperative clauses may take adverbial suffixes (see §9.2.3) and the iterative/repetitive aspectual suffix *-t(d)ɛ̃*. A list of available MA markers of imperative verbs is given in Appendix III: A Combinatory Matrix for Imperative Verbs

11.6.1.1 Plain imperative clause

Canonical plain imperatives express commands directed to second person arguments of different numbers. The example in (738) includes plain imperative clauses directed to the referent of singular second person argument and to the referent of a dual second person argument. In the first imperative clause, the speaker used the bare intransitive verb *tsét* ‘go’ twice to command his aunt and uncle separately. As intransitive verbs do not have stem variants, the absence of the clause final falling intonation distinguishes imperative clauses with bare intransitive verbs from declarative clauses. In the second clause, the command is directed to both to the aunt and uncle together. Accordingly, the Stem I verb *món* ‘hold’ takes the dual marker to denote the number of the referents whom the speaker commands to perform the action. The dual marker *-hní?* never occurs in a declarative or an interrogative clause verb suffixally (it occurs as a composite unit with second person dual marking suffix, as in *-hní?tí*).

(738) *tsét tsét. púyô, púshélô, á-món-hní?*

tsét	tsét	púy-ô	púshél-ô	á-món-hní
go	go	aunt=VOC	uncle=VOC	DIR-hold.I-DL

‘Go, go! Aunt, uncle, go to hold them (you two).’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0205]

The canonical imperative clause in (739) carries an adverbial suffix *-hné?* in the verb complex. The speaker asks the addressees to leave at once and go to their country on a ship. The dual number of the addressee is marked on the verb.

(739) *shóynó króbá tsétálné?hní?, ná?y prèâ shámphóông.*

shóynó	króbá	[tsét-âl-hné?-hní?	náy?	pré = â	shámphó = êng]
soldier	taking _M	[go-DEP-ULT-DL	2PL	country=LOC	ship=INE]

‘Taking the soldiers, you (two) go away to your country in a ship.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_350]

In (740), the order of performing the action is directed to referents of second person plural arguments. Through the imperative clause in (740), the speaker orders a group of addressees to dig a hole together.

(740) *èyníâ, nìhú?y wóm hngát tsòwéykhôl.*

èy = ní = â nìhú?y wóm hngát tsòw-êy-khôl
ANAPH.DEM=FOC=LOC like.this hole one dig.I-MID-PL

'After that, he said, "Dig (you all) a whole yourself like this.'"

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_226]

Plain imperatives are of three types based on the temporal reference – normal, immediate and delayed. All the examples given from (738) to (740) does not provide any specific temporal reference for carrying out the commands. These are instances of normal imperatives. When a command is given to be performed immediately, the ultimative suffix *-hnó?* is added to the imperative verb, as shown in (741).

(741) *tàálhnó? tùâ.*

tá-âl-hnó? tùâ
tell.I-DEP-IMD.IMP now

'Now, tell him immediately.' [ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0097]

On the other hand, a delayed imperative is encoded by the suffix *-bây*. When a command is given to be carried out at a later time, or a command that can wait, then the delayed imperative suffix is attached to an imperative verb. This is exemplified in (742). The speaker commands the addressee to perform an action at later period following his suggestion.

(742) *èyhú?y bíálbây.*

èyhú?y	bî-âl-bây
like.that	work.I-DEP-DEL.IMP

‘Cultivate like that (when you will go to cultivate)’

11.6.1.2 Plain imperative clause with politeness

A canonical imperative clause expressing an order may be inflected with a polite suffix –*é* in order to make the order sound milder. It is important to note here that this is not equivalent to an exhortative. The idiosyncratic polite suffix –*é*, as shown in (743), allows the speaker to encode politeness with the directed order to the addressee.

(743) *“èyhú?y máníngâ” tîng. “láláhù?ypéy wátmò-é”. “kóshòt-é?yhyô” tîng*

èyhú?y	mání-ngâ	tîng	láláhù?ypéy	wát-mó-é
like.that	agree-1SG.NEG	QT	by.any.means	wear.I-PRIOR-POL.IMP

kó-shót-é?y-hyô	tîng
1A-look.II-IRR-PM	QT

‘He said, “I do not agree like that. Wear first by any means! I will look at that.”’[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_122]

11.6.1.3 Exhortative clause

Exhortatives encode a speaker’s request directed to the referent of a second person argument. From a socio-pragmatic point of view, requests are made where there is no role of authority between a speaker and an addressee. Similar to plain imperatives, exhortatives can also inflect for numbers beside the exhortative suffix –*bá?*. The example in (532) is repeated here for convenience and renumbered as (744). Through the exhortative clause in (744), a magic girl urges a rooster to tell his master, the prince, that she has cooked food for him. The urge of the magic girl is encoded by the exhortative suffix –*bá?* in (744).

(744) *bóhítsæ áhlúypóô króák hówpèkbà?bây nómò?póá*

bóhí = tsæ áhlúypó = ô króák hów-pék-**bá?**-bây

so=TOP rooster=VOCa.little.bit say.I-BEN-EXH-PERM

nó-mó?-pô = á

2SG.POSS-owner-AUG=DAT

‘The girl said, “So, rooster, please tell your great master a little bit for him [about the food that I cooked].”’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_HYOW_0035_044]

11.6.1.4 Prohibitive clause

Prohibitives are employed to prohibit an addressee from performing an action, a process or from being in a state. These are also canonical imperatives, since these are directed to referents of second person arguments only. Hyow prohibitives look like simple negative declarative clauses. A clause with the irrealis marker *-æ?y* and the respective second person negative suffix expresses a prohibition, as shown in (745), while with the delayed negative suffix *-hnó?*, the clause is defined as a declarative clause with negative polarity encoding a weakly asserted proposition, as shown in (746).

The clause in square brackets in (745) encodes a village chief’s prohibition directed to the villagers, where the Stem I verb takes the irrealis suffix and the second person plural negative suffix.

(745) *èy kárbárlâ tàkkhô, námshóá tàkkhóng, “nàngní? lán khòmhòmæ?ytsú”.*

èy kárbárlâ = lâ ták-khô námshó = á ták-khô-óng

ANAPH.DEM village.chief=ERG tell.II-PM villager=DAT tell-PM-REAS

[nàngní? lán khóm-hóm-æ?y-tsú]_{PROHIBITIVE}

[2PL war fight.I-yet-IRR-2PL.NEG]

‘That village chief talked because he told the villagers, “Do not yet fight the war.”’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0031]

In comparison to (745), a Hyow speaker uses the clause in (746) as a statement rather than a command or order. The delayed negative suffix, *-hnóʔ*, draws the difference between the clause types (only for second person imperatives) of declarative and prohibitive-imperative.

(746) *níhúʔytsâ lúʔdál ʔéyhnâng-hnó-tsú = nú* ↗.

[níhúʔy = tsâ lúʔdál ʔéy-hnâng-hnó-tsú = nú]_{DECLARATIVE}

[like.this=TOP family eat.I-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-2PL.NEG=SS.EVID]

'You will not be able to have family like this.'

[ZM_ARGS3a_082015_Hyow_0006_0069]

The available markers for different types of canonical imperative clauses in Hyow are listed in Table 101.

Types of canonical imperative clauses	Person marking	Number marking	Irrealis marking	Adverbial suffix
Plain imperatives	✕	✓	✕	✓
Exhortatives	✕	✓	✕	✓
Prohibitives	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 101: Inflection matrix for canonical imperative clauses in Hyow

11.6.2 NON-CANONICAL IMPERATIVES

Non-canonical imperatives are generally directed at referents of non-second person arguments. The non-canonical imperative clauses include cohortatives and jussives in Hyow. Cohortatives are directed to referents of first person inclusive and first person exclusive participants, which means that this type of non-canonical imperative clauses may include the addressee (inclusive) or exclude the addressee (exclusive). Jussives are directed only to referents of first and third person participants. Both types of the non-canonical clauses employ different sets of bound morphemes. These are illustrated in the following sub-sections.

11.6.2.1 Cohortative clause

Speakers employ cohortative clauses in order to encode mutual encouragement or mutual discouragement in performing an action, a process, or being in a state.

Cohortatives are non-canonical imperatives and are of two types – non-emphatic and emphatic.

A non-emphatic cohortative encodes unwillingness of the speaker in performing the mutually encouraged action, process or state. In this type of cohortative imperative, the speaker expresses mere will of involvement in the encouraged event for the sake of empathy or other social relations. Non-emphatic cohortatives require a Stem I verb like other types of imperatives. The Stem I verb takes a disyllabic non-emphatic cohortative marker *-æyhyɔ́*. To illustrate, in (747) the cohortative clause in the direct speech possess a Stem I verb, which is marked by the non-emphatic cohortative marker *-æyhyɔ́*.

(747) “*tòéyálæyhyɔ́*” *tíngní, ínítòkéyáltí*

[tò-êy-âl-æyhyɔ́]_{COHORTATIVE} tíng = ní í-ní-tók-êy-âl = tí

[keep.I-MID-DEP-NECOHORT] QT=FOC 3A-PL-keep.II-MID-DEP=R.EVID

‘Saying, “Let’s keep back [the diamond] for ourselves,” they kept the diamonds for themselves.’ [ZM_SFA_MZK_062015_Hyow_0036_023]

Emphatic cohortative clause verbs are marked by *-əngkhɔ́*, which is a binary opposite of the non-emphatic cohortative marker *-æyhyɔ́*. The example in (748) illustrates a non-emphatic cohortative imperative.

(748) *“bóhítâ útúlá bú? nápák khát ?éyhàt-èngkhó” tîng tàktî.*

bóhí = tsâ	útú = lá	bú?	náp-ák	khát
so=TOP	together=ERG	rice	CLS-one	even.if
[?éy-hàt-èngkhó] _{COHORTATIVE}		tîng	ták = tí	
eat.I-LV-ECOHORT		QT	tell.II=R.EVID	

'So, everyone said, "Let's eat even if it is one meal of rice.'"

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_119]

An emphatic cohortative clause encodes strong will of the speaker to perform a mutually encouraged action, process or state. The cohortative clause in (749) is an example of emphatic cohortative. In the context of the example, a bear talks to a tiger regarding their food, and the bear proposes to exchange their food. The bear emphatically encourages the tiger to perform the action mutually, and this is encoded by the emphatic cohortative marker attached to the verb.

(749) *“khánbónô thùléyálâ, thùléyál-èngkhó” tîng.*

khánbón-ô	thúl-êy-âl-â	thúl-êy-âl-èngkhó
friend=VOC	exchange.I-MID-DEP-POL.IMP	exchange.I-MID-DEP-ECOHORT
tîng		
QT		

'He [bear] said, "Friend, exchange back [yours with mine]. Let's exchange back with each other"' [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_121]

A small number of MA markers can mark a cohortative clause verb. The full list of MA markers that can be utilized by the cohortative clause verb is given in Appendix III: A Combinatory Matrix for Imperative As an example, the second non-emphatic cohortative clause in (750) displays a conative modality suffix attached to the verb.

(750) *“bóhítsæ, nítsæ thòwálæyhyó, thòwátsòmæyhyó. í hípáyôm níní?” títg.*

[bóhí = tsæ ní = tsæ thów-âl-æyhyó]_{COHORTATIVE1}

[so=TOP PROX=TOP pick.up.I-DEP-NECOHORT]

[thów-âl-tsóm-æyhyó í-hípáy = óm ní = ní]_{COHORTATIVE2} títg

[pick.up.I-DEP-CON-NECOHORT what-seem=CONT.Q PROX=FOC] QT

'So, they said, “Let’s pick this up. Let’s pick it up to check what this seems like.” [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_059]

11.6.2.2 Jussive clause

Jussives are a type of non-canonical imperative that includes first and third person participants. Semantically, the jussives express optative meanings in the sense that they also express wish or desire. Jussives include person-marking suffixes along with markers for numbers. In fact, the paradigm of person-marking suffixes is similar to the paradigm of the negative suffixes utilized by prohibitives. Compared to optatives, jussives are specially used as curses in Hyow, but not always. Sometimes, the jussives express desire of an action that comes out of frustration or when the speaker agrees with a given proposal. The jussive imperative in (751) is directed to the speaker himself. The speaker curses himself so that he dies. He is asking some unseen entity or the nature to perform the action on him. It is evident in this example that the speaker does not want himself or other entity to perform the action; rather he asks nature to perform the action on him.

(751) *kêy lúngsháng kákánthá kákhra?éyæ?yhyô dùhæ?ngâ.*

kêy lúngsháng ká-kánthá ká-khra?-êy-æ?y-hyô [dú-hæ?-ngâ]_{JUSSIVE}

1SG alone 1SG.POSS-soul 1S-be.bad-MID-IRR-PM [die-JUSS-1SG]

'He said to himself, “I am alone. My soul will be bad. Let me die.”

[ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_024]

Jussives are not to be misinterpreted as optatives, though they also express wishes or desires in a sense. Jussives and optatives have discrete formal features in

Hyow. In jussives, the control of the action does not remain with a first person or third person participants; rather they are the affected objects. The example in (752) can be interpreted as a curse. The speaker hopes that his son's wife goes away, but his son must come back in return.

(752) *èydə kúkhúmá? tsə́álhlá? kótsódə lòálhí k̀nú*

èydə	[kú-khrúmá?	tsét-âl-hlá?]	_{JUSSIVE}	kó-tsô = də
then	[1SG.POSS-son's.wife	go-DEP-JUSS]		1SG.POSS-son=EMPH
lô-âl-hí		kí=nú		
come-DEP-COND		be.fine=SS.EVID		

‘Then he thought, “Let my son's wife go away. It is fine if my son comes back.”’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_126]

In (753), a princess gives her consent of getting married to a grazer using the non-canonical jussive imperative clause. There is no marker for the third person argument in jussives. Therefore, the verb does not include a person-marking suffix like the one in (751).

(753) *“kóòméyà?yhyó hnó? gólóktsóthén thónhná?.” t̃ng, èyní òméytí.*

kó-óméy-á?y-hyó	hnó?	gólók-tsó-thén	thón-hná?
1S-get.married-IRR-PM	be.final	grazer-DIM-CONCESS	happen-JUSS
t̃ng	èy = ní	óméy = t̃	
QT	ANAPH.DEM=FOC	get.married=R.EVID	

‘Saying, “It is final that I will get married to him. Let it happen even if he is a cowherd” she got married to him.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_041]

Table 102 lists the suffixes that the verbs of non-canonical imperative clauses can utilize.

Types of non-canonical imperatives	Person marker	Number marker	Moodality and Aspect	Adverbial suffix
Cohortatives	✕	✕	✕	✓
Jussives	✓	✓	✕	✓

Table 102: Inflectional categories of non-canonical imperative clauses

11.7 OPTATIVE CLAUSES

Optatives are regarded as a type of imperative due to their semantic affiliation with the imperatives and the obligatory marking of optatives by the delayed imperative suffix *-bây* in positive polarity like other imperatives. However, optative allows different inflectional categories that are restricted to other type of imperatives verb complexes. An optative clause generally expresses a wish or a hope. Through the optative clause, a speaker does not make an addressee responsible for the change of any state in the world, rather the speaker expects a change of a state spontaneously, or for it to be done by a supernatural power, e.g. by God (Timberlake, 2007: 319). There are two types of optatives – positive and negative. Through the positive optative mood, the speaker wishes for a positive change, and through the negative optative mood, the speaker demands a change not to be taken place.

The paradigm for person marking suffixes, which follow the positive optative mood suffix *-hâ* is similar to the paradigm of negative markers, except there is no marking for third person in an optative clause with positive polarity. However, an optative clause with negative polarity contains a negative suffix referring to a third person addressee in the paradigm of negative markers for negative optative clauses.

11.7.1 POSITIVE OPTATIVE

The suffix *-hâ* marks an optative with positive polarity, which can be preceded by any MA markers (except anterior), and is followed by the irrealis suffix *-bây* and the person marking suffixes. In (754), the optative suffix *-hâ* precedes the delayed imperative suffix *-bây* to form an optative clause. Since there is no marker for a third person singular argument, the verb is marked by zero for the third person singular argument in the optative clause in (754).

(754) *ólóngmò?lâ khróngmékàbây. khróngkhètnàbây.*

[ó-hlóng-mó? = lâ khrông-mó-êy-há-bây]_{OPTATIVE}

[GRP-river-owner=ERG 1P-bless.I-MID-OPT-DEL.IMP]

[khrông-khét-ná-hô-bây]_{OPTATIVE}

[1P-love.I-SPNT-PM-OPT]

‘May the spirit of the river (literally, the owner of the river) bless us. May he love us spontaneously!’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_101]

There is a prohibitive clause and an optative clause in (755). The basic constructional similarity between these two types of imperative clauses is quite clear in (755). The speaker prohibits the villagers from fighting with each other through the prohibitive clause, while he prays or wishes using the optative clause that everyone in the village may live in peace. The second person plural argument is marked by the suffix *-tsû* at the most periphrastic position of both the verb complexes of the prohibitive and optative clause in (755).

(755) *shîéyæ?ytsû hálê. mótmsótsódâ æyæ?tsódâ méykhébâytsû.*

[shîéy-æ?y-tsû hálê]_{PROHIBITIVE} [mótmsótsô = dâ

[quarrel-MID-IRR-2PL.NEG understand] [finely=EMP

æ-yæ?l-tsô = dâ mêy-há-bây-tsû]_{OPTATIVE}

GRP-be.calm-DIM=EMPH stay-OPT-DEL.IMP-2PL]

‘Do not quarrel with each other, understand? May you all stay finely in peace!’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_122-123]

11.7.2 NEGATIVE OPTATIVE

An optative clause with negative polarity does not include the optative suffix used in positive optative clause. The paradigm of negative suffixes is employed to form optative clauses with negative polarity. Moreover, these suffixes are obligatorily preceded by the irrealis suffix. In most of the examples in the corpus, these clauses

also contain the capabilitive suffix. For a second person addressee, the optative clause that expresses a negative desire also encodes prohibition on performing an activity by an addressee since they have a similar structure (see §9.5.1.10).

The clause in the direct speech in (756) illustrates an optative clause in negative polarity. It is noticeable here that there is a separate negative suffix for the third person singular addressee in this clause. This suffix attached to the verb complex is grammatical only when it is attached to the verb complex in a negative optative clause. If there were the regular third person singular negative suffix *-aʔ*, the clause would have been a declarative clause.

(756) “*shònéyálhnúngàʔyyá*” *tíng tàóngbàlâtsâ*...

[shón-êy-âl-hnúng-áʔy-yá]_{OPTATIVE} tíng tá-ông-bá-lá = tsâ

[pick.I-MID-DEP-PH.CAP-IRR-3SG.NEG] QT tell.I-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP

‘Having said, “May she not be able to pick up [the pitcher]...”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_235]

11.8 COMPARISON CLAUSES

Comparison clauses deals with comparing one referent with another based on a quality. The comparison may encode equal, comparative or superlative degree of quality of a referent compared to other referents. This section deals with these three types of clauses in Hyow.

11.8.1 EQUALITY CLAUSES

In equality clauses, the quality, which is being compared, of a referent is equal to another referent. Such clauses include structures as ‘*X is as Q as Y.*’ or ‘*X is Q like Y*’, where X and Y represents the referents and Q refers to the quality that is being compared. Depending on the quality, which can be either abstract or physical, the equality clauses are formed in Hyow. If an abstract quality is compared between two referents in an equality clause, then the second referent, with whom the first referent is compared, gets marked with the bound adverbial morpheme *hyʔʔ* ‘much’. An elicited example of this kind of equality clause is given in (757).

(757) *ní bók èy bók-hyó? pók-khó? ʌ.*

ní	bók	èy	bók-hyó?	pók-khó?
PROX	book	ANAPH.DEM	book-much	be.good-FACT

‘This book is really as good as that book.’ [Elicited]

When the quality of comparison is a physical quality then the second referent gets marked with the comitative case clitic =*êng*, as demonstrated in (758).

(758) *èy hmútótsó èy pótótsóêng dâng khyâng.*

èy	hmútótsó	èy	pótótsó = êng	dâng	khyâng
ANAPH.DEM	girl	ANAPH.DEM	boy=COMT	height	be.equal

‘The girl is as tall as the boy.’ [Elicited]

If there is no quality to compare with rather one referent is directly compared with another referent, then the referent with whom the first referent is compared gets marked with the bound adverbial morpheme *hú?y*. In the negative equality clause in (759), the second referent is marked with *hú?y*.

(759) *kúnúpók-khól ání? pók-hú?y hyá? ʌ.*

kú-núpók-khól	ání?	pók-hú?y	hyá?
1SG.POSS-parents=EXP	3SG	father-like	be.not

‘My parents and people like them are not like her father.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_022]

11.8.2 COMPARATIVE CLAUSE

Comparative clauses encode non-equal qualities of two referents. Since there is no word class of adjective in Hyow, there is no derived form of adjective that can express graded quality of nominal referents. Instead, the stative verbs which express nominal attribute are used as predicates, and the locative noun *thók* marked by the locative

case clitic $=\hat{a}$ are used to express the graded comparison between two referents. The locative noun usually follows the second referent, with whom the quality of the first referent is compared. In (760), the noun of the referent who is compared with the quality of the referent encoded by *èykhôl* ‘they’ is absent, but it is indexed by *æ-* on the stative verb *læk* ‘be big’.

(760) *èykhôl thókâ ælæk* ㄴ.

<i>èy-khól</i>	<i>thók = â</i>	<i>æ-læk</i>
ANAPH.DEM-EXP	than=LOC	3S-be.small

‘He is younger than them.’ [ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_040]

The nominal attribute that is compared between the referents in a comparative clause can be derived from an intransitive verb through agentive nominalization, where the derived noun refers to both A and S argument (see §12.4.2.1). The example in (761) includes a verbless ascriptive clause, where the nominal attribute *mêy-á?-tí?* (exist-3SG.NEG-ANMLZ) ‘poor’ is derived through agentive nominalization. As usual, the nominal argument whose referent represents the standard of comparison precedes the locative noun *thók* ‘than’ and the noun *kéyní?* ‘1PL’ whose referent is being compared precedes the noun *ání?* ‘3PL’ with whose referent it is compared.

(761) *kéyní?tsæ ání? thókâ bíttśó méyá?-tí?* ㄴ.

<i>kéyní? = tsæ</i>	<i>ání?</i>	<i>thók = â</i>	<i>bíttśó</i>	<i>mêy-á?-tí?</i>
1PL=TOP	3PL	than=LOC	a.little.bit	exist-3SG.NEG-ANMLZ

‘We are a little bit poorer than them.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_022]

11.8.3 SUPERLATIVE CLAUSE

Superlative clauses compare the quality of a referent with a larger group of referents. There are two ways to form a superlative clause in Hyow. The first way includes adding the superlative suffix *-shúm* to a stative verb or the nominal attribute of

comparison. I have already discussed this in §5.5.7. I will discuss only the alternative way of constructing the superlative clause in this section.

In the alternative superlative clause construction, the comparative clause structure is used. In the superlative construction, the noun whose referent represents the standard of comparison is fixed. The obligatory generic indefinite pronoun *hángháng* ‘all’ is used to encode the large group of referents with whom the other referents or referent is compared. The examples in (762) and (763) demonstrate two alternative superlative clauses in Hyow.

(762) *ní hángháng khæ thók = â pây.*

ní	hángháng	khæ	thók = â	pây
PROX	all	all	than=LOC	be.good

‘This is the best (This is better than all). [Elicited]

(763) *èy nígráshên ní tànông hángháng khæ thók = â pây*

èy	nígráshên	ní	tán = âng	hángháng
ANAPH.DEM	student	PROX	CLS=INE	all
khæ	thók = â	pây		
all	than=LOC	be.good		

‘That student is the best student in this class (That student is better than all in this class).’ [Elicited]

11.9 COPULAR CLAUSES

Usually, copular clauses are formed by juxtaposition in order to encode ascriptive and equational clauses. However, there is a copular verb in Hyow, which is rarely found in textual examples. This section deals only with the copular clauses formed by the copular verb *dă*. The typical way of encoding ascriptive and equational clauses formed by juxtaposition are discussed under verbless clauses in §11.11.

Copular clauses (henceforth, CC) require a copular verb (CVCmplx), which establishes a bridge between two noun phrases (copular topic CT and copular complement CCOM) forming an equative clause. Since Hyow is a verb final language, copular verbs also follow the same syntactic organization. There is hardly any copular verb left in Hyow. Most of the copular verbs have gone through changes in their functions as suffixes or clitics of different grammatical categories. One morpheme is still used as a copular verb, but in limited capacity. This morpheme is almost on the verge of leaving its original function that is as a copular verb.

Presently, the copular verb in question functions as an emphatic clitic =*dɔ̃*, which emphasizes a referent of a noun phrase or a predicated event in Hyow. The predicate function of the emphatic clitic is illustrated in (764). The predicate marker confirms the predicate status of the morpheme *dɔ̃* in (764).

(764) *tsùtsə̀ lùʔtsô tsúhnú tàtíʔ phíátsə̀ lùʔtsô tsúhnú kɛ́y phíátsə̀ mín dɔ̃hɔ̃*

tsú = tsə̀	lùʔ-tsô	tsúhnú	tá-tíʔ	phía = tsə̀
DIST=TOP	human-son	daughter	elder.brother-PL	wife
lùʔ-tsô	tsúhnú	[[kɛ́y phía=tsə̀] _{CT}	[mín] _{CCOM}	[dɔ̃-hɔ̃] _{CVCmplx}] _{CC}
human-son	daughter	[[1SG wife=TOP]	[cat]	[COP-PM]]

'They are elder brothers of the human race's daughter. The wife is human race's daughter. My wife is a cat.' [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_070]

Based on historical and comparative analysis, one might argue that it is the predicate marker which functions as the copular verb in Hyow, since the predicate marker originates in a sibilant initial copular verb, which has cognates in other Kuki-Chin language (see §9.4.1). Considering the predicate marker functioning as the copular verb, the clause in (764) would be grammatical without the emphatic clitic. However, Hyow speakers treat such a clause as ungrammatical, as demonstrated by the the following example in (765).

(765) **èytsâ nât tsúhnú hō.*

[[èy = tsâ]_{CT} [nat tsúhnú]_{CCOM} [hō]_{CVCmplx}]_{CC}

[[ANAPH.DEM=TOP] [god daughter] [COP]]

‘She is god’s daughter.’ [Elicited]

For being grammatically correct, the clause in (765) has to have the morpheme *dâ*. Furthermore, there is a pause between the noun and *dâ* in the CC in (764), which confirms the free morphemic status of *dâ*.

Similar to the verb of a declarative clause, a copular verb can also take a focus clitic =*ní* after a predicate marker, as shown in (766). Other than the predicate marker and the focus clitic, the copular verb can be inflected for any MA markers.

(766) *ékhrémá?tí? dàtsó nât tsúhnúkhól dâhóní dàtsó.*

[é-khrémá?-tí?]_{CT} dàtsó [nât tsúhnú-khól]_{CCOM}

[3SG.POSS-brother's.wife-PL] DP [god daughter-EXP]

[dâ-hó = ní]_{CVCmplx}]_{CC} dàtsó

COP-PM=FOC DP

‘See, her sisters are god’s daughters. See!’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_103]

It is possible to construct an ascriptive clause using the copular verb *dâ* in Hyow. The nominalized deverbal adjectives function as the complement of the copular clause. The elicited ascriptive clause in (767) expresses the size of the referent of the noun phrase in the CT position.

(767) *tsùtsæ óhlóng é-lén dshô.*

[tsú = tsæ óhlóng]_{CT} [tháshá é-lén]_{CCOM} [dsh-hô]_{CVCMPLEX}_{CC}
 [DIST=TOP river] [very GRP-be.big] [COP-PM]]

‘That river was very big.’ [Elicited]

In addition to the copular verb *dsh* in positive polarity, Hyow has a negated copular verb *hyá?*, which is a negative form of the verb *hí* ‘be right’ inflected by the third person singular negative suffix *-á?*. This negative verb is used in clauses expressing negative equatives and negative polar questions. The negative copular verb in (768) is employed to establish an equative relation between the omitted CT and the substituted CCOM by the adverbial demonstrative *èyhú?y* ‘like that’.

(768) *bóhi mótgrí mótláô èyhú?y hyà?nú.*

[bóhi mótgrí mótlá-ô èyhú?y [hyá? = nú]]_{CC}
 [so minister vizier=VOC like.that [be.not=SS.EVID]]

‘So, minister, vizier, [she] is not like [her].’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0107]

The negative copular verb takes the polar question clitic in a negative interrogative clause phrased by a polar question. The verb follows the CT and CCOM that come one after another in respective order. The anaphoric demonstrative is functioning as the CT and the possessive noun phrase is functioning as the CCOM in the CC in (769).

(769) *èy zérí pô, èy zérí pô hyàléy ↗.*

[èy]_{CT} [zérí pô]_{CCOM} [éy]_{CT} [zérí
[ANAPH.DEM name.of.a.person father] [ANAPH.DEM] [name.of.a.person
pô]_{CCOM} [hyá?]_{CV-éy}_{CVCmplx}]_{CC}
father] [be.not]-POL.Q]]

'Is he not Jerry's father?' [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_099]

11.10 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

An existential clause (henceforth, EC) expresses the existence of an animate or an inanimate thing in a location, or to a person in the form of possession. Existential clauses include an intransitive verb *mêy*, which has several meanings 'exist', 'live' and 'stay'. Since the existential verb is an intransitive verb, an existential clause obligatorily requires an S argument. In addition, the location or source of an object can be encoded by an oblique argument marked by a locative or an ablative case clitic respectively.

In (770), the speaker is referring to the existence of specific types of books in the market. The existential verb in (770) comes clause finally, as other types of verbal clauses in Hyow.

(770) *ziátsæ bôytsæ óbóng mêy.*

[zí = â = tsæ]_{OBL} [bóy = tsæ óbóng]_S [mêy]_{VCMPLX}]_{EC}
[market=LOC=TOP] [book=TOP] many] [exist]]

'Many books are in the market.'

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0037]

There can be two noun phrases used as oblique arguments in the same existential clause. In (771), the location of the big trees is expressed by the noun phrase *tšw = â* (forest=LOC) 'in the forest', while the location of the forest is expressed by another noun phrase in locative case.

(771) *èy dóggyá kómâ, thîng bóllí, thîng bóllí méyhyó têtâ.*

[èy dóggyá kóm = â]_{OBL} [thîng bóllí]_S [thîng bóllí]_S
 [ANAPH.DEM sea bank=LOC] [tree big] [tree big]
 [mêy-hyô]_{VCMPLEX} [têtâ = â]_{OBL}_{EC}
 [exist-PM] [forest=LOC]]

'Big, big trees are in the forest on the bank of that sea.'

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_198]

An existential clause also express possession of an item by a person. That is why, possessive clauses built from existential clauses. An existential clause that expresses possession necessarily includes a possessor noun and a possessed noun, which are not marked by any case clitic, and precede the existential verb *mêy* 'exist'. There are two existential clauses in (772); the first dependent existential clause is referring to the possession of children by a woman, while the second clause is referring to the existence of another baby in her womb. Other than the case clitics attached to oblique arguments, certain types of adverbial and aspectual suffixes can be attached to the verb of an existential clause. The verb of the matrix clause in (772) is inflected for an iterative aspectual suffix.

(772) *èy tsótí? óbóng méyhyó kóngní têtâ óló shênông óló hngát méyáldâ ʘ.*

[[èy]_{POSSESSOR} [ót-tsô-tí? óbóng]_{POSSESSEE} mêy-hyó]_{EC} kó = êng = ní
 [[ANAPH.DEM] [GRP-child-PL many] exist-PM]] reason=INE=FOC
 [têtâ óló [ót-hón = êng]_{OBL} óló [hngát]_S [mêy-âl-dâ]_{VCMPLEX}]_{EC}
 now again [3SG.POSS-stomach=INE] again one [exist-DEP-ITER]]

'Though she had many children, one was again in her stomach.'

[ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_003]

An existential clause can be negated and questioned. An existential clause with negative polarity requires the verb inflected by any of the suffixes that belong to the

paradigm of negative suffixes. The existential clause in (773) expresses possession of strength by a man. Since the possessor noun phrase of this clause refers to a third person singular referent, the existential verb takes the negative suffix that refers to a third person singular argument. The possessee NP in this example is a headless NP.

(773) *tsùâ áthá méyà?hóní* ㄣ.

[tsú = â [á-thá]_{POSSESSEE} [mêy-tí-á?-hô = ní]_{VCMPLEX}]_{EC}
[DIST=LOC [GRP-be.strong] [exist-NITER-3SG.NEG-PM=FOC]]

‘There, [he] had no more strong [power] (literally, his strength existed no more.).’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_142]

The existential verb can also be inflected for evidential markers, as exemplified in (774).

(774) *“úh tùô, bóhítsâ, kéyhni?átsâ iá méyà?nú” tîng.*

[úh tú-ô bóhí = tsâ [kéyhni? = â = tsâ]_{OBL} [ía]_S
[INTJ nephew=VOC so=TOP [1DL=LOC=TOP] [nothing]

[mêy-á? = nú]_{VCMPLEX}]_{EC} tîng

exist-3SG.NEG=SS.EVID]] QT

‘They said, “Uh, nephew, we do not have anything”’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0037]

An existential clause can be questioned through a polar or a content question. In both the cases, the existential verb is marked for the respective interrogative clitics. As usual, if there is any location specified via an oblique argument, that is marked by a locative case clitic. In (775), the first two clauses are existential polar questions, while the third clause is an existential content question.

(775) *pó dúkhá?âng méyéy ↗? shùkâng méyéy ↗? íbó méyâm? èytsâ ùláhá hmùâ? ↘.*

[pó]_s [dúkhá? = âng]_{OBL} [mêy = êy]_{VCmplx}_{EC} [shúk = âng]_{OBL}
 father [trouble=INE] [exist=POL.Q] [happiness=INE]
 [mêy = êy]_{VCmplx}_{EC} [íbó méy = âm]_{EC} èy = tsâ
 [exist=POL.Q]] [how exist=CONT.Q] ANAPH.DEM=TOP
 ú = lâ = há hmú-á?
 who=ERG=SC.ADD see.I-3SG.NEG

‘Was father in trouble? Was he in happiness? How did he live (how was he)?
 Nobody saw that.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0060]

11.11 VERBLESS CLAUSES

Verbless clauses (henceforth, VC) are employed to state identity and membership to a class of the referent of a noun phrase. The absence of a predicate separates a verbless clause from a verbal clause. Generally, two noun phrases are juxtaposed to form a verbless clause that expresses identity or membership to a class of a referent of a noun phrase used as the topic of the verbless clause. The first noun phrase of a VC functions as the topic of the VC, while the second noun phrase of a VC functions as the complement of the VC. Following Coupe 2007, I will term these two core arguments of a VC as Verbless Clause Topic (VCT) and Verbless Clause Complement (VCC).

In a verbless clause, the referent of the noun phrase in the VCT position and the referent of the noun phrase in the VCC position are the same entity. One way or the other way around, one (noun phrase) functions to define the other (noun phrase). The members of the NP in the VCT position comprises deictics, pronouns, nouns and possessive noun phrases, while the VCC position can be filled up by a numeral compound, noun and possessive noun phrase. A verbless clause can be represented as Figure 53.

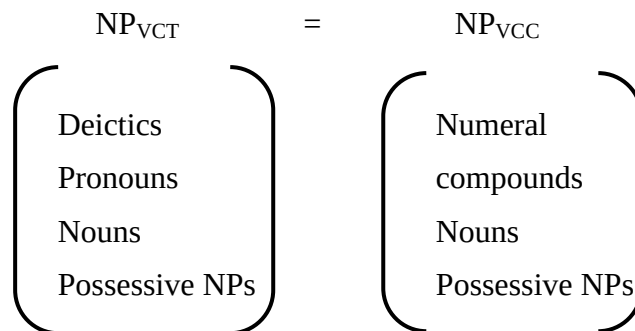


Figure 53: An outline of a verbless clause

The noun phrase in either of the available positions in a VC may contain a derived noun from a verb. Hyow employs an agentive nominalizer quite often to derive a noun from a verb. The derived noun encodes the membership of the referent to a class, as illustrated in the first verbless clause in (776). There is a possessive noun phrase functioning as the topic of this verbless clause. The noun phrase *yòtsùtí?* ‘understander’ derived from the Stem I verb *yòtsú* ‘understand.I’ by employing the agentive nominalizer *-tí?* functions as the complement of the verbless clause in (776). The second verbless clause in (776) is a part of a dependent clause, where the VCT contains a possessive noun phrase and the VCC contains a derived noun, which is an antonym of the noun phrase in the VCC position in the first VC.

(776) *námóngkó? ání?tsâ yòtsùtí? kény núpótsâ èyhú?y yòtsuà?tí? kóông èyhyó? khrónghláú* ㄴ.

[nám = êng = kó? [ání? = tsâ]_{VCT} [yòtsú-tí?]_{VCC}]_{VC} [kény núpó = tsâ]_{VCT}

[village=INE=GEN [3PL=TOP] [understand.I-NMLZ]] [1SG parents=TOP]

èyhú?y yòtsú-á?-tí?]_{VCC}]_{VC} kó = êng èyhyó? khróng-hlá-ú

like.that understand.I-NMLZ]] reason=INE that.much 1P-like.I-3PL.NEG

‘The [people] of our village were understanders. For the reason that my parents were not understanders like them, they did not like me that much.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_023]

As opposed to the position of the nominalized verb in (528), the VC in (777) includes a derived noun in the noun phrase functioning as the topic. A noun phrase

referring to a personal name is functioning as the complement of the VC. This clause is employed to encode the identity of the referent of the noun phrase in the topic position of the VC.

(777) *èydô èyâ èy bí-tí? èyâ bí-tí? mádób trípúra.*

èydô [èy = â [èy bí-tí?]_{VCT} èy = â
 then [ANAPH.DEM=LOC [ANAPH.DEM work.I-NMLZ] ANAPH.DEM=LOC
 [bí-tí?]_{VCT} [mádób trípúra]_{VCC}_{VC}
 [work.I-NMLZ] [first.name.of.a.person ethnic.name.of.a.person]]

‘Then, that worker there, the worker there was Madhob Tripura.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0073]

The third example of a verbless clause in (778) contains a topicalized second person pronoun in the VCT position and a possessive phrase in the VCC position. This is an example of defining membership of a referent to a class.

(778) *bóhí nàngtsâ prèthí khrông hngát.*

bóhí [náng = tsâ]_{VCT} [pré-thí khrông hngát]_{VCC}_{VC}
 so [2SG=TOP] [country-whole person one]]

‘So, you are the whole country’s one person’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0040]

A verbless clause in Hyow does not form an ascriptive clause in order to express property or quality of a referent since there is not a separate word class of adjective in Hyow. The verbal modifiers carry out the function of adjectives. Therefore, in order to express property or quality, the stative verbs are used in predicates. For example, ‘He is good’ can be expressed via an intransitive clause, as in *ání ɔ-pôy* (3SG 3SG-be.good). On the other hand, the clause ‘He is a good person’ can be expressed via a verbless copular clause, as in *ání khrông pôy* (3SG man

be.good), in which the stative verb is functioning as a verbal modifier of the head of the copular complement NP.

A verbless clause can be questioned by forming a verbless interrogative clause. The verbless interrogative clause (henceforth, VIC) can be phrased by both a polar question and a content question. A verbless polar question has the same structure as the verbless declarative clause. The final noun phrase in the complement position takes the polar question clitic. In (779), there is a focused noun phrase in the VCT position of the VIC. The noun phrase *lù?tsô* ‘human chld’ in the complement position takes the polar question clitic.

(779) *níphíání lù?tsóey ↗?*

[[ní-phíá = ní]_{VCT} [lù?-tsô]_{VCC} = êy]_{VIC}

[[2SG.POSS-wife=FOC] [human-child]=POL.Q]

‘Is your wife a human child?’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_032]

A VIC expressing a content question has a noun phrase followed by an interrogative pronoun and marked by a question clitic, as shown in (780). The quantity interrogative pronoun in (780) is followed by a noun, which is marked by the content question clitic = *ém*. The speaker queries the quantity of troubles that the addressee is having using a VIC in (780).

(780) *èydô ihyó? dúkhá?ém.*

èydô [ihyó? dúkhá? = ém]_{VIC}

then [how.much trouble=CONT.Q]

‘Then, how much trouble?’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0035]

Like a verbal interrogative clause, a VIC may have two interrogative pronouns followed by noun phrases. In this case, the second noun phrase takes the content

question clitic, and the interrogative pronouns function as modifiers of the noun phrases. In (781), both the noun phrases *tsô* ‘son’ and *nów* ‘younger brother’ are followed by person interrogative pronouns. Abiding by what is said earlier, the second noun phrase takes the question clitic.

(781) *èydô, “ú tsô, ú nówóm” tîng íhni?hí\.*

èydô [ú tsô ú nów = óm]_{VIC} tîng í-hní?-hí
 then [who son who younger.brother=CONT.Q] QT 3A-PL-ask.II

‘Then, they asked, “Whose son, whose brother is [he]?”’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_005]

In some verbless interrogative clauses, the noun phrase representing the referent that is questioned about precedes the interrogative pronoun. The speakers query the place of the addressee’s wife in (782). In this VIC, the noun phrase is preceding the interrogative pronoun and the interrogative pronoun has taken the question clitic. This is because the clause in (782) is a verbless existential interrogative clause.

(782) *“náng phíá mòáâm?” tîng.*

[náng phíá mòâ = âm]_{VIC} tîng
 [2SG wife where=CONT.Q] QT

‘He said, “Where is your wife?”’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0230]

Similar to (782), an equative interrogative clause can also be verbless since Hyow lacks an equative copular verb, as illustrated in (783).

(783) *bóhítsê, náng phía úm.*bóhí = tsê [náng phía ú = êm]_{VIC}

so=TOP [2SG wife who=CONT.Q]

‘So, who is your wife?’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_063]

If the interrogative pronoun is utilized to ask about specific information about the addressee, then the noun phrase that is co-referential with the topic of the VIC takes the question clitic. In (784), the speaker asks about the name of the addressee’s wife. Here, the noun phrase that refers to the name is coreferential with the possessive noun phrase that precedes the interrogative pronoun in (784).

(784) *bóhítsê, náng phía í mینگ.*

bóhí = tsê [náng phía í mینگ = êm]

so=TOP [2SG wife what name=CONT.Q]

‘So, what is the name of your wife?’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_062]

A verbless clause cannot not be negated in Hyow because it requires a negated copular verb *hyá?* ‘be.not’ (*hí-á?* ‘be.right-3SG.NEG’), as in *ání khrông pây hyá?* (3SG man good be.not) ‘He is not a good man.’

11.12 CONCLUSION

Hyow canonical clause structures are likely to have an S/APV word order, with a rigid position of the verb. There are examples where S/A and P arguments swap their places based on topicality and information structure. On the other hand, non-canonical clause structures display a PVS/A word order in which the clause final arguments are a result of afterthought. The discussion of different types of clauses illuminates the fact that Hyow does not employ a paradigm of suffixes to clearly distinguish clause types; rather clause types are best explained through combinations of phonological

and morphological features. Copular clauses can employ only one copular verb in limited capacity. In addition, existential clauses can encode both existence and possession of objects in Hyow. As opposed to verbal clauses, verbless clauses show consistent morphological arrangements in different syntactic environment because there are less grammatical categories to employ within this type of clause. The discussion of simple clause structures (though some examples are taken from complex clauses) in this chapter lays a foundation for the description of complex sentence structures in Hyow in the next chapter.

12 Complex sentence structure

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Hyow complex sentences show a great deal of structural diversity surfacing relationships between a dependent clause and a matrix clause. The description of complex clause structure in this chapter largely follows theoretical concepts explored by Haiman and Thompson (1984), Foley and Van Valin (1984), Lehman (1988), Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and Cristofaro (2003). I will start with a discussion of dependency continuum in §12.2. In §12.3, the theoretical background of clausal hierarchy and its limitations in explaining dependency status of Hyow dependent clauses are presented. Next, I move on to discussing different types of dependent clauses in Hyow in §12.4. The final section in §12.5 presents some concluding remarks on complex sentence structure in Hyow.

12.2 TYPES OF CLAUSES IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

In contrast to simple clauses (both canonical and non-canonical), complex sentences deal with two or more clauses along with the morphosyntactic categories they require for encoding a string of expressions, that are semanto-syntactically dependent on each other in Hyow. Dependent clauses are of mainly three types that build different relationships with the higher clause, which can be either another dependent clause or an independent clause. The dependent clauses that exploit clause-linking suffixes include adverbial dependent clauses, which set temporal, conditional, concessive, reason, delimitative, circumstantial, purposive, motivational purposive, simultaneous, posterior temporal, anterior temporal, sequential and negative adverbial backgrounds for matrix clause predicated events. The dependent clause that modifies nominal arguments of matrix clauses include relative clauses, and the dependent clause that functions as core arguments of higher clauses includes complement clauses. On the other hand, an independent clause is subsumed by three types of clauses – declarative, interrogative and imperative. Other than square brackets, I have used several abbreviations, which include – DC (dependent clause), MC (matrix clause), INDC (independent clause), RC (relative clause), COMPL (complement clause), REC (reporting clause) and REPC (reported clause) in order to mark different kinds of clauses in language text examples.

12.2.1 INDEPENDENT CLAUSE

An independent clause can stand on its own both semantically and syntactically, which creates the formal grounds that separate it from a dependent clause. An independent clause has an unabridged form of a verb, which is typically finite. It is thought that cross-linguistically finiteness is a feature of independent clause (Givón 1990, 2001; Cristofaro 2003). However, the idea of finiteness in relation to the use of different forms of verbs in dependent and independent clauses cannot be validated in Hyow (for further discussion, see §12.4).

Usually, an independent clause with positive polarity have a historically nominalized Stem II transitive verb (intransitive verbs do not have stem variants). I have already provided evidence that Stem II transitive verbs are historically nominalized (see §6.2.1 and §6.2.2). In addition to the use of nominalized verbs in independent clauses, the verb of an independent clause takes all the available MA markers. The temporal location of a dependent clause verb depends on a matrix clause verb. Furthermore, the illocutionary force of a complex sentence depends on an independent clause.

An independent clause may be a declarative, an interrogative or an imperative clause, which can be demonstrated by some examples. There is a declarative clause with positive polarity functioning as the independent clause in (785). This example shows the typical order of a complex clause, in which an independent clause is preceded by a dependent clause.

(785) *èydô, òmóngbàlâtsâ \, éméy.*

èydô [òm-ông-bá-lá = tsâ]_{DC} [é-mêy]_{MC}

then [sit-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP] [3S-stay]

‘Then, having sat, he stayed.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_009]

In a different example in (786), the independent clause of S2 carries an interrogative clause formulated by a content question. The independent interrogative clause is preceded by a dependent conditional clause in (786).

(786) *èy kédô \. núyngáhîtsâ, ú nùhyôâm.*

[èy kédô dô]_{S1} [[núy-ngá-hí = tsâ]_{DC}

[ANAPH.DEM 1SG COP] [[laugh.I-1SG.NEG-COND=TOP]

[ú núy-hyô = ôm]_{MC}_{S2}

[who laugh.II-PM=CONT.Q]]

‘That was me. If I did not smile, who smiled?’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_037]

The complex clause in the following example in (787) includes an imperative clause functioning as an independent clause and a dependent conditional clause.

(787) *èydê èy nópò?pènhitsê èy àá tsók pék.*

èydê [èy nó-pó?-pón-hí = tsê]_{DC}
 then [ANAPH.DEM 2A-DV.II-TERM-COND=TOP]

 [èy à = á tsók pék]_{MC}
 [ANAPH.DEM chicken=DAT animal.food give.I.IMP]

‘Then, if you finish doing that, give food to that aforementioned chicken.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_061]

Independent clauses play a vital role in determining the dependency of their dependents. Other than the internal morphosyntactic features of dependent clauses, the dependency of dependent clauses is set by a number of morphosyntactic features of independent clauses. For example, the temporal locus of independent clause verbs has scope over the temporal locus of dependent clause verbs.

12.2.2 DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Dependent clauses of different types show morphosyntactic characteristics of a diverse nature. In comparison to an independent clause verb, a dependent clause verb takes less inflectional categories, though the availability of inflectional morphemes depends on the type of the dependent clause.

Many examples in the corpus show that the dependent clauses function as topics (marked by the topic clitic = *tê*). The matrix clause of such a topicalized dependent clause functions as the comment creating a Topic-Comment structure. The examples provided from (785) to (787) demonstrate topicalized dependent clauses followed by their respective comments, the matrix clauses. Other than adverbial dependent clauses, complement clauses can be also topicalized. Since complement clauses function as one of the arguments of an independent matrix clause, the topicalized complement clause can be topicalized, which is evident from the example in (788). In this example, the topicalized complement clause is playing the function of the P argument of the matrix clause verb *hmú?* ‘see.II’

(788) *ínítsetálhlótsæ kúhmú? ʘ.*

í-ní-tsét-âl-hlô = tsæ kú-hmú?

3S-PL-go-DEP-PM=TOP 1A-see.II

‘I saw that that went back.’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_150]

Compared to adverbial and complement clauses, relative clauses cannot be topicalized since they function as a modifier of any of the matrix clause arguments. However, a headless dependent clause can be topicalized. As the head is absent in a headless relative clause, the relative clause can take any marker applicable to the head. The relative clause in (789) does not have its head. As a result, the headless relative clause is topicalized.

(789) *hyùmti?tsæ òngshók ʘ.*

[hyúm-tí? = tsæ]_{RC} [óng-shók]_{MC}

[lose-NMLZ=TOP] [win-CAUS]

‘[The king] made [the person] win who lost.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_115]

The temporal locus of dependent clause verbs depend on the temporal locus of independent clause verbs. Thus, the temporal locus of the sequential dependent clause verb *míli* ‘reconcile’ is dependent on the temporal locus of the independent clause verb *mêy* ‘stay’ in (790). Since the matrix clause verb is unactualized, the dependent clause verb is also interpreted as unactualized.

(790) *míliùlatsæ útú íníméyálæ?yhyô.*

[míli-ú-lá = tsæ]_{DC} [útú í-ní-mêy-âl-æ?y-hyô]_{MC}

[reconcile-3PL-SEQ=TOP] [together 3S-PL-stay-DEP-IRR-PM]

‘Reconciling, we will stay together again.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_032]

Phonologically, a dependent clause can be separated from a matrix clause either by using a rising intonation or by the retention of underlying tone of the boundary final morpheme. The intonational features of dependent clauses are discussed in the respective sub-sections of dependent clauses.

Although the matrix clause in (791) formally looks discontinuous, it does not influence the dependency of the sequential dependent clause on the interrogative clause in the matrix clause position. The example in (791) also shows that the mood of the interrogative clause does not have scope over the mood of the dependent clause.

(791) “*í ?éyngtílá, nómóng pànghngóóm?*” *tíng*.

[[í [?êy-êng-tí-lá]_{DC} nómóng páng-hngó = êm]_{MC}]_{REPC} tíng

[[what[eat.I-DUR-2SG-SEQ] 2SG.POSS-lip be.red-PM=CONT.Q]] QT

‘He said, “Why was your lip red having eaten?”’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0085]

There can be more than one dependent clause in a complex sentence. There is a sequence of three sequential clauses preceding a matrix clause in (792).

(792) *tsètálbàlatsê, tsíálóngbàlatsê, èy phíá tsíálbàlatsê, ámánútsê íbó thónéyê?*

[tsét-âl-bá-la = tsê]_{DC} [tsí-âl-ông-bá-lá = tsê]_{DC} [èy phíá
[go-DEP-3SG-SEQ=TOP] [take.I-DEP-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP] [ANAPH.DEM wife
tsí-âl-bá-lá = tsê]_{DC} [ámánú = tsê íbó thón-êy = êm]_{MC}
take.I-DEP-3SG-SEQ=TOP] [house.keeper=TOP what happen.II-MID=CONT.Q]

‘Going back, having taken her back, having taken his wife back, what did the
housekeeper do?’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0123]

12.3 FEATURES OF DEPENDENCY

The discussion on different types of Hyow dependent clauses in complex sentences is done in reference to the features used to establish a dependency hierarchy by Haiman and Thompson (1984), and Lehman (1988). Haiman and Thompson (1984: 511) use seven independent properties associated with non-coordinated clause combinations. They discard the idea of subordination in favour of using these independent properties to determine the relationship between two clauses in a complex sentence. To them, the idea of the subordinate clause is problematic for languages that use clause chaining. Based on their observations, Haiman and Thompson (1984: 510) reject ‘subordinate clause’ as a grammatical category. Similar to Haiman and Thompson’s independent properties, Lehman (1988: 183) uses six semant syntactic parameters – hierarchical downgrading of a subordinate clause, main clause syntactic level of a subordinate clause, desententialization of a subordinate clause, grammaticalization of the main verb, interlacing of two clauses, and explicitness of linking – to determine the place of a subordinate clause in a continuum. Lehman (1988) draws a continuum for each of the parameters explaining how integrated a subordinate clause is into a matrix clause. I will discuss different types of Hyow dependent clauses in the following sections based on the semanto-morphosyntactic features of dependent clauses outlined by the authors mentioned above. However, I observe that drawing a hierarchy for the dependent clause types is problematic in Hyow. Firstly, the idea of finiteness is very problematic in Hyow, since there are two classes of stem, and they are used in different syntactic environments. For example, an independent declarative clause with positive polarity includes a historically nominalized Stem II verb. It is

possible for an independent clause to use both the stems depending on the syntactic environment, e.g. Stem II in positive polarity and Stem I in negative polarity. Secondly, several of the adverbial dependent clauses have non-canonical versions (non-canonical dependent clauses do not take any person markers and obligatorily require Stem I verb with positive polarity unlike their canonical counterpart dependent clauses). The non-canonical dependent clauses in a given hierarchy would make a group with the adverbial clauses that only have canonical versions, e.g. a canonical circumstantial clause does not take any person markers and obligatorily require Stem I verbs (see §12.4.1.2).

12.4 STRATEGIES OF COMPLEX SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION

Different types of dependent clauses use different strategies in order to build a relationship between a dependent clause and a matrix clause. Adverbial clauses use clause-linking suffixes to establish the dependent relationships. The linking suffix decides the relationship types between the adverbial and matrix clauses. The native Hyow relative clauses are constructed through a nominalization process. Complement clauses are marked by the predicate-marking suffix obligatorily. There is a comparative correlative construction in Hyow. The native comparative clauses are built with a combination of a relative pronoun carrying nominalized dependent clause and a correlative pronoun carrying matrix clause. Table 103 lists the types of dependent clauses of Hyow. Examples of the dependent clauses in the table are marked by square brackets and bolded type.

Dependent clauses	Types	Examples
Adverbial	Temporal (§12.4.1.1), Conditional (§12.4.1.2), Concessive (§12.4.1.3), Reason (§12.4.1.4), Delimitative (§12.4.1.5), Purposive (§12.4.1.6), Motivational Purposive (§12.4.1.7), Simultaneous (§12.4.1.8), Circumstantial (§12.4.1.9), Posterior Temporal (§12.4.1.10), Negative Adverbial (§12.4.1.11), Anterior Temporal (§12.4.1.12), Sequential (§12.4.1.13)	[í-ní-tsét-ní] _{DC} [kó-lò-â] _{MC} ([3S-PL-go-TEMP] [house-LOC 1S-come-DEP]) ‘ When they went , I came back.’
Relative	Agentive Relative Clause (§12.4.2.1), Patientive Relative Clause (§12.4.2.2), Instrumental Relative Clause (§12.4.2.3), Place Relative Clause (§12.4.2.4), Temporal Relative Clause (§12.4.2.5), Purposive Relative Clause (§12.4.2.6), Relative-correlative Clause (§12.4.2.7), Comparative Correlative Clause (§12.4.2.8)	[álák ó-tí?] _{RC} [khrông hmú-ngâ] _{MC} ([alcohol drink.I-NMLZ] [man see.I-1SG.NEG]) ‘I did not see the people who drank alcohol. ’
Complement	Complement Clause (§12.4.3)	[álák í-ní-ók-khâ] _{COMC} [kú-hmú?] _{MC} ([alcohol 3A-PL-drink.II-PM] [1A-see.II]) ‘I saw that they drank alcohol. ’

Table 103: Types of Hyow dependent clauses

12.4.1 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses are a type of dependent clause. Though all the types of dependent clauses – adverbial, relative and complement – fall under traditionally labelled subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses are regarded as less subordinate, because they function as a whole in relation to the matrix clause (see Thompson et al., 2007: 238). Some of the dependent clauses, e.g. conditional clauses, can also function as topics of matrix clauses due to their frequent use for discourse organizations (see Haiman 1978). According to Thompson et al. (2007: 291), “...an adverbial clause whose role is to maintain cohesion within the discourse as a whole is functioning as a topic with respect to the sentence to which it is attached.” Similarly, the function of an adverbial clause as a topic is attested in Hyow by an overt marking of the adverbial clause by a topic clitic, which cannot be attached to all kinds of dependent adverbial clauses though. The topic function of adverbial clauses is not unlikely.

Formally, some adverbial clauses are very similar to independent clauses, except that suffixal markers obligatorily mark the dependency of adverbial clauses. In other words, the clause-linking suffix and restrictions on using certain MA markers separate an adverbial clause from an independent clause formally. Considering the criteria – coreferential arguments and MA markers, so-called reduction of clauses, grammatical markers, intonational signal, scope, absence of tense iconicity and speech act perspective (Haiman and Thompson, 1984: 511; more generalized in Lehman, 1988: 183), this also shows that the adverbial clauses have the least degree of dependency on independent clauses in a hypothetical continuum of dependency.

Adverbial clauses set temporal, conditional, concessive, reason, delimitative, circumstantial, purposive, motivational purposive, simultaneous, posterior temporal, anterior temporal, sequential and negative adverbial backgrounds of matrix clause predicated events. Different types of adverbial clauses that are based on the backgrounds set for the matrix clause events are discussed in the following subsections.

12.4.1.1 Temporal clause

Temporal adverbial clauses set the temporal background of state of affairs (following Siewierska 1991, Foley & VanValin 1984) or predicated events in matrix clauses.

Temporal dependent clauses show morphosyntactic differences from their corresponding matrix clauses in respect to the properties used to describe their dependency status. However, the available formal criteria demarcate a thin line between the former and latter clause types. The semantic and morphosyntactic properties of temporal dependent clauses are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Following Dixon's semantic classifications of temporal linking (Dixon: 2009: 10), this type of temporal clause in Hyow serves the temporal linking of relative time (Ir), where the predicated event in the matrix clause is situated at a point of time of the action, process or state encoded by the temporal clause. Furthermore, there should be an asymmetrical figure-ground relationship between a temporal adverbial clause and a matrix clause in order to establish a relationship of dependency between them (see Cristofaro, 2003: 27). The state of affairs or predicated event of an adverbial clause thus sets the ground for the state of affairs of a matrix clause, which is known as the figure.

To illustrate, in (793) the temporal ground of the matrix clause event *pú* 'worry' is established by the dependent clause. Therefore, the time of 'worrying' of the referent of the S argument in the matrix clause is set at the time of 'returning' of the referent of the S argument in the dependent clause in (793). It is important to notice here that the dependent clause event *lò-âl* 'come-DEP' refers to a temporal point, not to a temporal period for the matrix clause predicated event *pú* 'worry'.

(793) *èydê ínìlòální, tsùtsê úlúng pùhnè?tí.*

èydê [í-ní-lò-âl-ní]_{DC} [tsú = tsê ú-lúng pú-hnè?-tí]_{MC}
 then [3S-PL-come-DEP-TEMP] [DIST=TOP 3SG.POSS-heartworry-ULT-R.EVID]

'Then, when they (wives of her husband's brothers) returned, she became worried.' [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_101]

Formally, the morphosyntactic features that show similarities and dissimilarities between a temporal and an independent clause include the form of verb stems, argument indexation on verbs, MA markers, topicalization, grammatical marking of the temporal clause and the scope of the illocutionary force on the temporal clause.

Firstly, both the verbs of a temporal clause and an independent clause can take both Stem I and Stem II forms in clauses with negative and positive polarity respectively, which can be illustrated through examples from texts. There is a dummy verb *ópóʔ* (citation form) ‘do’ in Hyow. It refers to an event based on the context. It is important to note that this verb does not have an auxiliary function like English or Bangla. The dummy verb ‘do’ has two stems – the original form, *pó* (Stem I) and the derived form, *póʔ* (Stem II). Both the dependent and the independent clause verb complexes have Stem II verbs in (794). From the context, it is understandable that the speaker is talking about cooking. And so, the dummy verb *póʔ* refers to cooking in (794).

(794) *búʔ ðntsô khæ ínípòʔéyní, èydô, bùʔtsô ínípòʔpék* ʌ.

[búʔ ón-tsô khæ í-ní-póʔ-êy-ní]_{DC} [èydô búʔ-tsô
[rice curry-DIM all 3A-PL-DV.II-MID-TEMP] [then rice-DIM

í-ní-póʔ-pék]_{MC}
3A-PL-DV.II-BEN]

‘When they cooked all the rice and curry, then they cooked some rice for him.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_324]

In the same way, the example in (795) shows the use of a Stem II verb in both the dependent and independent clause. The verb *ædæʔl* ‘swallow’ has two stems in Hyow – *dæʔl* (Stem I) and *dæʔl* (Stem II). The example in (795) illustrates a context where a snake starts eating a girl living in a same room; the girl eventually tells her father that the snake is swallowing her completely. The father does not listen to his daughter, and asks her to be calm. The predicated event of ‘telling’ in the independent clause, which is a reporting clause, takes place when the snake swallows the girl up to her neck.

(795) *shngóltsʔ dæʔlní, hmútótsólâ taktî, “pó, kshngóltsʔ àdæʔldàknú, phóllátsæ.*

[[ʔ-hngól = tsʔ dæʔl-ní]_{DC} [hmútótsól = lâ ták = tî]_{MC}]_{REC}

[[3SG.POSS-neck=LIMswallow.II-TEMP] [girl=ERG tell.II tell.II=R.EVID]]

[pô = ô ksh-hngól = tsʔ æ-dæʔl-dók = nú phól = lâ = tsæ]_{REPC}

[father=VOC 1SG.POSS-neck=LIM 1P-swallow.II-ANT=SS.EVIDsnake=ERG=TOP]

‘When he swallowed [her] up to her neck, she said, “Father, the snake has swallowed [me] up to my neck!”’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0027]

Like an independent clause, in a temporal adverbial clause with negative polarity, the grammatical category of negative modality overrides the morphosyntactic obligation of the verb to take the Stem II form. Thus, as in example in (796), the dependent verb of the temporal clause includes a Stem I verb *shó* ‘look.I’ (*shót* ‘look.II’). The verb of the sequential clause also has a Stem I verb. It is interesting to see that the temporal clause expresses a reason with negative modality. The example in (796) illustrates that since the man was not looking downwards, the boy took the chance of stealing the basket full of pears.

(796) *shóeyàʔní, tònglòtóng, tòngéybàlà sháykélóng.*

[shó-êy-áʔ-ní]_{DC} [tóng-lòtóng]_{MC} [tóng-êy-bà-lá

[look.I-MID-3SG.NEG-TEMP] [throw.II-CONT] [keep.over.I-MID-3SG-SEQ

sháykél = ông]_{DC}

bicycle=INE]

‘When he_i was not looking, keeping the basket on the bicycle, he_j kept throwing pears.’ [ZM_PSM_072015_Hyow_0048_012]

It appears that the semantics of ‘reason’ encoded by the temporal dependent clause in negative polarity in (796) is not a mere accident. The example in (797) also expresses a similar meaning. Along with setting the temporal ground of the predicated event ‘collide’ of the independent clause, the temporal clause in (797) also expresses

the reason for why there was a collision. Yet again, the verb of the dependent clause takes the Stem I form in (797). All these examples formally attest that both the temporal and independent clause behaves similarly in relation to using verb stems.

(797) *áníláhá lóm hmùéyìàní, tsùâ lómpóngóngkhôl, èyóngkhôl áápǎk* ㄣ.

[ání = lá = há	lóm	hmù-êy-tí-á?-ní] _{DC}	[tsú = â
3PL=ERG=ADD	road	see.I-MID-NITER-3SG.NEG-TEMP	[DIST=LOC
lóm-pông = ông = khôl	èy = ông = khôl	á-á-pók] _{MC}	
road-side=INE=ELAB	ANAPH.DEM=INE=ELAB	3A-AND-collide.II]	

‘When he also did not see the road anymore, he collided on the road side and so on.’ [ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_017]

Secondly, like other Kuki-Chin languages, core arguments are elided quite often in Hyow. In such languages, the tracking of referents is achievable either from the discourse or from the argument indices on the verb. Unlike the dependent clauses that do not allow argument coreferentiality (switch reference), and thus do not take S/A markers (prefixes), the verb of a temporal adverbial clause is indexed by core argument prefixes. Moreover, the S/A argument of a temporal dependent clause verb need not be coreferential with the S/A argument of a matrix clause verb. The core arguments of the temporal dependent clauses in (798) and (799) are third person plural A and third person singular P respectively. Since Hyow transitive verbs do not take a third person P marker, only the A arguments are indexed on the dependent verbs in both the examples in (798) and (799). The corresponding independent clauses in (798) and (799) have non-coreferential arguments indexed on the verbs – a third person singular S (P in the dependent clause) argument in (798) and a third person singular A (P in the dependent clause) argument in (799).

(798) *èydô íhníʔtsànéyní, èydô álén* \.

[èydô í-hníʔ-tsán-êy-ní]_{DC} [èydô á-lén]_{MC}

[then 3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID] [then 3S-be.big]

‘Then, when they brought him up by themselves, then he grew up.’

[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_009]

(799) *èydô, èyâ álák íníták* \, *íníták* \, *íníták* \; *ínítàkní, óòktí*.

[èydô èy = â álák í-ní-tók]_{S1} [í-ní-tók]_{S2}

[then ANAPH.DEM=LOC alcohol 3A-PL-coerce.II] [3A-PL-coerce.II]

[í-ní-tók]_{S3} [[í-ní-tók-ní]_{DC} [ó-ók = tí]_{MC}]_{S4}

[3A-PL-coerce.II] [[3A-PL-coerce.II-TEMP] [3S-drink.II=R.EVID]]

‘Then, they coerced him with alcohol there, they coerced him, they coerced him; when they coerced him, he drank the alcohol.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_030]

Thirdly, there are restrictions on available MA markers for the temporal dependent clause verbs. Hyow has two types of temporal clause. The temporal clause marked by the suffix *-ní* only expresses realized events. The verb of a temporal dependent clause can be inflected by the large set of adverbial suffixes available in Hyow like other Kuki-Chin languages. Among the existing aspectual markers, the verb of a temporal dependent clause cannot take the anterior marker *-dók* (see §9.2.2.10) unlike its counterpart verb in an independent clause. The reason for the restriction lies in the very semantics expressed by the anterior marker. The anterior aspect can refer a predicated event or state to all the three possible temporal points – preceding time of speech, at the time of speech and following the time of speech. Whatever the reference point is, the anterior aspect suggests that the event or state has already taken place or at least has been initiated before the reference point (Givón, 2001, Vol. 2: 294). Since the temporal ground of the predicated event of a matrix clause is encoded by the temporal clause, the predicated event of the temporal clause marked by the anterior aspect, which has its own reference point, cannot set its

internal temporal quality as the temporal ground of the matrix clause event. In (800), the event of ‘sleeping’ happened prior to the time of the old woman’s coming to look at the referent of the P argument. Thus, the matrix clause verb is marked by the anterior suffix *-dók* in (800). However, the reversed example is ungrammatical in Hyow, as shown in (801). This restriction of using the anterior aspectual marker holds for all types of dependent clauses except concessive and reason clauses in Hyow.

(800) *ááshòtní, ipáldók* ʘ.

[á-á-shót-ní]_{DC} [íp-âl-dók]_{MC}

[3A-AND-look.II-TEMP] [sleep-DEP-ANT]

‘When she went to look at him, he had already fallen back asleep.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_215]

(801) **ááshòtdòkní, ipálhlô*.

[á-á-shót-dók-ní]_{DC} [íp-âl]_{MC}

[3A-AND-look.II-TEMP] [sleep-DEP]

*‘When she had gone to look at him, he slept back.’

Generally, an unmarked temporal adverbial clause makes a realis assertion in the past or present. The grammatically correct use of irrealis mood on the verb stem of a temporal adverbial clause is subject to the context in which it is used. The addition of the irrealis suffix to the verb complex of a temporal adverbial clause adds conditional semantics to the clause, since a temporal clause inherits conditional semantics. Irrealis is an inherent property of the conditional clause-marking suffix *-hí*. For that reason, the combination of the irrealis and the temporal linking suffix encodes a condition through the structure of a temporal clause. The temporal adverbial clause in (802) refers to both the temporal ground and the condition for the predicated event of the independent clause. With the temporal meaning, the speaker has a high epistemic expectation of the truthfulness of the predicated event, while with the conditional meaning, the speaker has a low epistemic expectation of the predicated event (Givón, 2001, VOL 2: 232). The dependent clause in (802) sets the

ground for going to the banquet, which is encoded by the independent clause in the same example. Here, ‘when you will go’ is equivalent to the conditional interpretation ‘if you go’.

(802) *èyâ nétsètà?yní, bóhítsâ, páy ínípèkà?yhyódâ.*

[èy = â né-tsét-æ?y-ní]_{DC} [bóhí = tsâ páy
[ANAPH.DEM=LOC 2S-go-IRR-TEMP] [then=TOP banquet

í-ní-pék-æ?y-hyô = dâ]_{MC}
3A-INV-give.II-IRR-PM=EMPH]

‘When you will go there, then they will give you a banquet.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_185]

In relation to the current discussion, it is important to note that the dependent verb of a temporal clause has to be unactualized obligatorily, if the corresponding independent verb of a matrix clause is also unactualized. Hyow does not have any marker for expressing temporal locus. Therefore, an unactualized event can refer to the temporal locus of a situation or state of affairs at the time after speech. Since the temporal locus of the temporal verb depends on the matrix clause verb, this obligation of taking the irrealis suffix fits the given explanation. In view of that, the example in (803) is ungrammatical, where the matrix clause verb is marked by the irrealis suffix, but not the verb of the temporal clause is not.

(803) **náng nétsètální, kêy ùlâ ètsèttsóà?yhyóâ?*

[náng né-tsét-âl-ní]_{DC} [kêy ú = lâ è-tsèttsó-æ?y-hyó = âm]_{MC}
[2SG 2S-go-DEP-TEMP][1SG who=ERG 1P-take.care.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q]

(Lit.) *‘When you go/went away, who will take care of me?’ [Elicited]

Furthermore, if the matrix clause consists of an imperative or an interrogative clause, then there are restrictions on a temporal clause preceding it. A temporal clause describing an actualized or unactualized event is ungrammatical, if it precedes an

imperative or interrogative clause, as shown in (804). Therefore, with or without the irrealis suffix *-æʔy* attached to the dependent verb *tsét* ‘go’ in (804), the sentence is ungrammatical.

(804) **zîâ nétsètæʔyní, bóy hngát ð-ló-pék-bôy.*

[zî = â né-tsét-(æʔy)-ní]_{DC} [bóy hngát ð-ló-pék-bôy]_{MC}
 [market=LOC 2S-go-(IRR)-TEMP] [book one 1P-bring.I-BEN-DEL.IMP]

*(Lit.) ‘When you will go to market, bring a book for me.’ [Elicited]

To set the temporal ground of a predicated event in an imperative or interrogative clause, the preceding temporal clause has to be nominalized and marked by the locative case marker *=â*. Setting the temporal ground of an imperative clause is required when a speaker orders an action or a process to be performed or to be in a state in the future, or when event is not to be actualized right away. Since a temporal clause marked with *-ní* only refers to a realis event at the point of actualization, it is ungrammatical to use a *-ní* temporal clause when there is an imperative clause in the matrix clause position. I consider this as a separate type of temporal clause, which is built on a relativization complex sentence construction strategy. I discuss the relativized temporal clause in §12.4.2.5.

A temporal clause assists in organizing the discourse in a function equivalent to that of a discourse connective. This is illustrated in (805). Looking carefully, it becomes clear that the temporal construction *kó-póʔ-ní* (1A-DV.II-TEMP) ‘When I did,’ of the S2 is functioning more as a discourse connective than as a temporal clause. Moreover, the matrix clause of the S2 is not a usual interrogative clause either. The interrogative clause here serves a pragmatic function, which is used by the speaker to check the attention of the audience or to engage them in the narrative performance.

(805) *èyláhá, kámànông kópò?hò, hngúdâ! kópò?ní, íbó ínithònéyâm?*

[èy-lá = há ká-mán = ông kó-pó?-hò hngúdâ]_{S1}

[ANPH.DEM-SEQ=ADD 1SG.POSS-anger=INE 1A-DV.II-PM DP]

[[kó-pó?-ní]_{DC} [íbó í-ní-thón-êy = ôm]_{MC}]_{S2}

[[1A-DV.II-TEMP] [what 3S-PL-happen-MID-CONT.Q]]

‘Even after that, I beat her in my anger, understand? When I beat her, what did they do?’ [ZM_GSS3_082015_Hyow_0017_0014]

Among the existing modality markers, a temporal clause’s dependent verb can take a strongly asserted obligation marker *-lá?* ‘OBLG’ (see §9.2.1.10), a physical ability marking suffix *-hnông* ‘PH.CAP’ (see §9.2.1.11), and a cognitive ability-marking suffix *-thé?y* ‘COG.CAP’ (see §9.2.1.12). The temporal dependent clause in (806) encodes the obligation of the speaker via the suffix *-lá?*. This clause appears to violate the rule that I have explained with the example in (802). Since the obligation marker inherently carries irrealis semantics (event not actualized), it is redundant to attach the irrealis suffix to the dependent verb complex. However, the sentence is deemed grammatical, because the irrealis suffix harmonizes the mood of the dependent verb with the mood of the independent verb.

(806) *ziâ kétsèt-lá?æ?yní, èy kêy kónóng kítsi?æ?yhyô.*

[zí = â ke-tsét-lá?-æ?y-ní]_{DC} [èy kêy kónóng

[market=LOC 1S-go-OBLG-IRR-TEMP] [ANAPH.DEM 1SG with

ké-tsét-æ?y-hyô]_{MC}

1S-go-IRR-PM]

‘When I will have to go to the market (If I have go to the market), I will take him with me’ [Elicited]

The dependent verb of a temporal clause cannot be inflected for the deductive modality, speculative modality, assumptive modality, factive modality, desiderative

modality or weakly asserted obligation marker. However, in a non-canonical temporal clause, the dependent verb can take the weakly asserted obligation marker *-sháng* ‘EXTM’. The instance of the temporal clause in (807) is ungrammatical since the dependent verb of the canonical²² temporal clause is not permitted to be inflected by the existimative suffix, that expresses weakly asserted obligation and to be indexed by argument indices at the same time. In order to make a grammatically correct clause, the temporal clause should be non-canonical and the dependent verb cannot be indexed by the core argument markers, as shown in (808). It shows that the existimative suffix is used in a non-canonical temporal clause to encode the speaker’s obligation of performing a certain action, or process, or being in a certain state. The absence of the argument marker on the dependent verb of the non-canonical temporal clause is due to the obligatory requirement of Stem I verb in such non-canonical clauses. The MA categories that can be attached to the dependent verb of a temporal clause is listed in Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs

(807) **kétsetà?yshàngní, kétsetà?yhyô*.

[ké-tsét-(ǎ?y-sháng)-ní] [ké-tsét-ǎ?y-hyô]

[1S-go-(IRR-DESID)_{EXMT}-TEMP] [1S-go-IRR-PM]

*(Lit.) ‘When I should to go, I will go’ [Elicited]

(808) *tsètshàngní, tsètà?yngáéy* ↗.

[tsét-sháng-ní] [tsét-ǎ?y-ngá = êy]

[go-EXMT-TEMP] [1S-go-IRR-1SG.NEG=POL.Q]

‘When I should go, won’t I go?’ [Elicited]

In addition to morphological marking, intonation can also potentially indicate the boundary of a dependent clause. However, as there is already a clause-linking suffix to mark a temporal dependent clause, sometimes speakers do not bother to use

²² By canonical, I refer to a regular temporal clause whose verb is indexed with argument markers. A non-canonical temporal clause does not allow its verb to take any argument marking affixes, and obligatorily requires Stem I verb. Similar binary opposition is made for other types of dependent clauses that show such a variance.

intonation at the border of the dependent clause. Generally, a dependent clause is marked by a rising intonation, while a matrix clause is marked by a falling intonation at their respective boundaries. The shaded square boxes in Figure 54 mark the two intonational units of the utterance ‘When he came, I sat to eat rice.’ The shaded box on the temporal ‘TEMP’ suffix *-ní* shows the rising intonation marking the temporal dependent clause in Figure 54, while the shaded box on the verb *óm* ‘sit’ shows the falling intonation marking the declarative matrix clause in Figure.

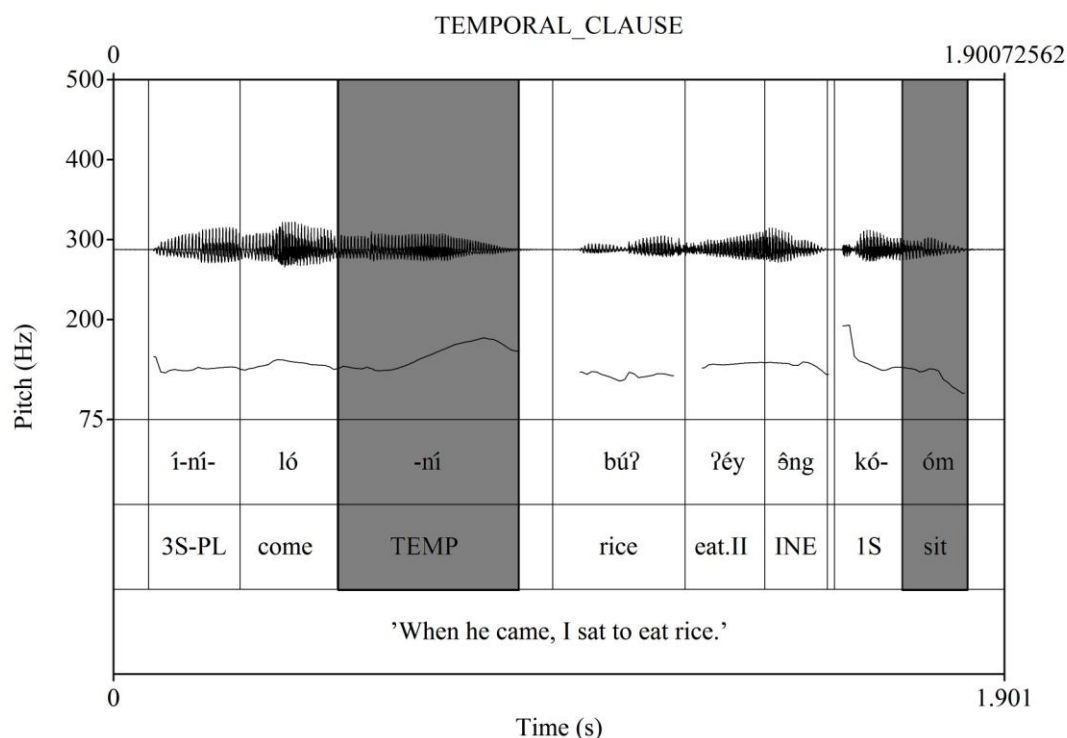


Figure 54: Comparative intonation pattern on a temporal and a matrix clause in Hyow

12.4.1.2 Conditional clause

Conditional clauses are a type of adverbial clause that sets a predictive, hypothetical or counterfactual condition for a matrix clause predicated event to be actualized in the real world or in an imaginary world. The conditional clause and the matrix clause of this type of sentence are also known as the protasis and apodosis respectively. Cross-linguistically, the order of protasis-apodosis is prevalent, which is also true for Hyow. The order of the clauses in a conditional construction reflects the symmetrical representation of the structure and the concept of the sentence (Cristofaro, 2003: 7). In Hyow, the conditional clause is marked by the suffix *-hí* ‘COND’, which originates in an old auxiliary, still found in some Chin languages, e.g. Bawm. The conditional

clauses in (809) set the backgrounds of the results or consequences expressed in the respective matrix clauses. The example in (809) is taken from a procedural text of performing a traditional religious event. In the first sentence (S1), the speaker, a village chief, describes that if a goat, which is sacrificed to the river god, eats the food given by the person who will be sacrificing the goat, then it is good for the village. In the second sentence (S2), the speaker expresses the reverse situation. Though both the sentences are set in present, none of the events in the conditional and matrix clauses is actualized. The actualization of the matrix clause event takes place if the condition is met by the event predicated in the conditional clause or the vice versa in (809). It is common for a conditional clause to be the topic of the sentence in Hyow, which is also true cross-linguistically (see Haiman 1978). Accordingly, both the conditional clauses in (809) are overtly marked by the topic clitic = *tsâ*.

(809) *èyláhá, é?éyhítsâ, pôy. ?éyà?hítsâ, póyâ? ʘ.*

èy-lá = há [[?éy-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [pôy]_{MC}_{S1} [[?éy-á? -hí = tsâ]_{DC}
 FILL-SEQ=ADD [[eat.II-COND=TOP] [be.good]] [[eat.I-3SG.NEG-COND=TOP]

 [póy-á?]_{MC}_{S2}
 be.good-3SG.NEG

‘Even after that, if it (the goat) eats, it is good; if it [the goat] does not eat, it is not good.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_066]

In reference to Cristofaro’s opinion (2003: 160), which is based on Thompson and Longacre (1985: 190), it is observed that the example in (809) expresses reality condition, where both the events in the dependent clauses are deemed possible. Givón (2001: 331) differentiates an irrealis conditional and a counter fact conditional. A state of affairs (hereafter SoA, after Cristofaro 2003) described by a possible or predictive condition can be met for the situation or SoA described by the matrix clause, while a situation or SoA described by a counterfactual condition cannot be met for the situation or SoA described by the matrix clause. Additionally, a situation or SoA described by a hypothetical condition might have been met in the time before speech for the situation or SoA described by the matrix clause. Since the situation or SoA described by the counterfactual and the hypothetical conditions are only possibly

met in an imaginary world or could have possibly been met in the past respectively, the matrix clause event cannot be actualized. The difference of the hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals can be identified by the context in which they are used. In Hyow, the predictive, hypothetical and counterfactual conditional dependent clauses have identical structures, but their respective matrix clauses are different from each other. If we compare the examples in (809) and (810), we see that the example in (810) expresses a hypothetical conditional since the assumptive modality of the independent clause verb has a scope over the dependent clause verb. The dependent conditional clauses in (809) and (810) have a Σ -*hí* = *tsâ*, but it is the verb complex of the independent clause in (810) marked by irrealis and assumptive modality that expresses a hypothetical condition in (810). Furthermore, the sentence in (810) expresses a hypothetical conditional, but not a counterfactual conditional, because the described situations in this complex sentence is not set in an imaginary world. The hypothetical conditional clause follows S1 in (810), which has already described that a snake was freed by a man. In S2, the speaker describes a situation that might have happened in the situation described by the S1. In other words, if it had not been the man who freed the snake, the snake might have been caught. In reality, the snake was not caught. Therefore, the independent clause event was not really actualized.

(810) *úh! tàbòngtào, nàngdónú, kēy shók hlèttíʔtsæ. hyàʔhìtsæ, ínīmónæʔyhnənú \.*

[úh tá-bóng-tá-ô náng dós = nú kêy shók
[INTJ elder.brother-almost-elder.brother=VOC 2SG COP=SS.EVID 1SG life

hlót-tí? = tsâ]_{S1} [hyá?-hí = tsâ ì-ní-món-é?y -**hnú** = nú]_{S2}

set.free.I-NMLZ=TOP] [be.not-COND=TOP 1P-INV-catch.II-IRR-ASSP=SS.EVID]

‘He (snake) said, “Oh! Brother, you are the one, who set my life free. If it had not been you, he (snake catcher) might have caught me.’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_004]

Similar to the temporal dependent clause, a conditional clause can use both a Stem I and a Stem II verb in a clause with negative polarity and positive polarity respectively. The irrealis conditional clause preposing the posterior temporal clause

and the independent clause in (811) has a Stem II verb *póʔ* ‘DV.II’, while the independent clause verb also has a Stem II verb *shót* ‘look.II’.

(811) *hyòwlâ lów ínípòʔéyhítsæ lów pòéykhòngáʔ lá ááníshòtêy.*

[hyów = lâ lów í-ní-póʔ-êy-hí = tsæ]_{DC} [lów
[Hyow=ERG swidden.field 3A-PL-DV.II-MID-COND=TOP] [swidden.field
pó-êy-khóngáʔ]_{DC} [lá á-á-ní-shót-êy]_{MC}
DV.I-MID-POST.TEMP] [land 3A-DIR-PL-look.II-MID]

‘If Hyow cultivate a swidden field, they look at the land before cultivating the swidden field.’ [ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_002]

Likewise, with positive polarity, both the irrealis conditional clause and the independent clause in (812) have Stem II verbs – *ʔéy* ‘eat.II’ and *wát* ‘wear.II’ respectively.

(812) *èyní, ʔèylàʔhí, kíʼ. èyní, wàtlàʔhí, kíʼ.*

[èyní [ʔéy-láʔ-hí]_{DC} kí]_{MC}_{S1} [èyní [wát-láʔ-hí]_{DC} kí]_{MC}_{S2}
[so [eat.II-get-COND] be.fine]] [DC [wear.II-get-COND] be.fine]]

‘So, it is fine if he gets to eat. So, it is fine if he gets to wear.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0083]

I could not find a single instance where both the clauses of a complex sentence have same Stem I verbs with negative polarity. Therefore, I have used different examples in order to show that both the dependent conditional clause and the independent clause have Stem I verbs with negative polarity. In (813), the conditional clause is in negative polarity, where the Stem I verb *bân* ‘get.I’ forms the predicate. The intransitive verb *dú* ‘die’ in the independent clause does not have any stem variants.

(813) *“bàntsúhìtsâ, mông dâ-é?y-hyó” tîng ták ㄣ.*

[[bân-tsú-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [mông dâ-é?y-hyó]_{MC} tîng]_{REC} ták]_{REPC}

[[get.I-2PL.NEG-COND=TOP] [king die-IRR-PM] QT] say.II]

‘He said, “If you don’t find [the medicine], the king will die.”’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_009]

The conditional clause verb *krô* ‘fall’ in (814) does not have a stem variant, but the corresponding independent clause verb, which is negated, has stem variants. Here, the verb *shót* ‘butcher.I’ is in the Stem I form. The Stem II form of the verb is *shó?* ‘butcher.II’, which is used in declarative and interrogative clauses with positive polarity.

(814) *zúldô krôhìtsâ, shòthnúng-hnó?-tí.*

[zúl = dô krô-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [shót-hnúng-hnó?-tí]_{MC}

[even=EMPH fall-COND=TOP] [butcher.I-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-2SG.NEG]

‘If the leaves fall in even number, you will not be able to butcher [the goat].’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_052]

Now, it is evident that the examples from (811) to (814) illustrate that both the dependent conditional clause and the independent clause are allowed to take both the available variants of a verb, depending on the syntactic environment that requires the use of a specific stem.

When it comes to argument indexation, a conditional clause verb is allowed to take both prefixal and suffixal argument markers, which again are subject to different morphosyntactic environments. A clause with positive polarity requires a Stem II verb, and the arguments are indexed prefixally. For example, the conditional clause of (815), which sets a presupposed condition for the matrix clause situation to be actualized, has second person plural A argument; this is indexed on the verb by second person marker *nV-* and plural marker *ní-*. The matrix clause verb has a third person singular A argument and second person plural P argument. The arguments are

indexed on the independent verb following the argument indexation rule in Hyow (see §7.3.2 and §10.2.3). The arguments of the dependent and independent clauses are not co-referential, which suggests that conditional clauses are less dependent on independent clauses.

(815) *níníshòtèyálhítsâ, túúyílâ ínítèmhnhángkhô?↘.*

[ní-ní-shót-êy-âl-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [túúy = lâ í-ní-tóm-hnúng-khó?]_{MC}
 [2A-PL-look.II-MID-DEP-COND=TOP] [tiger=ERG 3A-INV-chase.II-PH.CAP-FACT]

‘If you look back, the tiger can really chase you.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_103]

In contrast to verbs with positive polarity, which take prefixal markers, negated verbs take S/A argument markers as both prefixes and suffixes. The negated verb of the conditional clause in (816) is inflected by the third person suffix *-á?*, while no person marker inflects the corresponding matrix clause verb, because the third person singular A argument is overtly mentioned. A clause with negative polarity has to take the third person singular person-marking suffix even if the S/A argument is overt because the suffix in discussion functions both as a negative marker and a person marker. It is also noticeable in (816) that the A arguments of the dependent conditional clause and the independent clause are not co-referential, which attests that the conditional clause verb is not restricted to sharing S/A arguments with the matrix clause verb in Hyow.

(816) *kárbárlâ núngà?hítsâ, háélméylâ nung.*

[kárbárl_B = lâ nung-á?-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [háélméy = lâ nung]_{MC}
 [village.chief=ERG can-3SG.NEG-COND=TOP] [headman=ERG can]

‘If the village chief cannot do [it], the headman can do [it].’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0116]

When the coreferential S/A argument between a conditional clause and a matrix clause is a third person singular argument, then the conditional clause verb gets

indexed by the S/A prefixal marker and the matrix clause verb remains unmarked for the coreferential third person singular S/A argument, as illustrated in (817).

(817) *útùkálhítsê, tsùá ngólayá khóm-ê?y* ʘ.

[ú-túk-âl-hí = tsê]_{DC} [tsú = á ngólay = á khóm-ê?y]_{MC}

[3A-kill.II-COND=TOP] [DIST=ADD sin=ADD meet.II-IRR]

‘If she kills that too (the newborn), she will get sins too.’

[ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_039]

Like the temporal adverbial clause (§12.4.1.1), conditional clause verbs also have limited access to the sets of aspectual and modality markers (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs for permitted MA categories). Generally, adverbial clause-linking suffixes do not express propositional modality, but they present or presuppose the factual status of the predicated event (for related discussion, see Nordstorm, 2010: 249). In view of that, the conditional clause-linking suffix *-hí* refers to an unactualized event predicated in a conditional clause. Being contingent on the dependent verb in the conditional clause, the matrix clause predicated event is also non-factual (for more see Cristofaro, 2003: 160). However, the example in (818) refers to a norm, an expected or habitual situation, which is not necessarily non-factual. It is due to the temporal reference of the predicated event in the matrix clause. Since the matrix clause verb is not inflected by the irrealis suffix denoting an unactualized event, so is the event in the conditional clause. As a result, the speaker’s presupposition is strongly asserted. As the matrix clause event is actualized and the temporal locus is set at the time of speech, which can be understood from the antecedent discourse, the temporal reference of the conditional clause also has to be made at the time of speech, which is only possible by having a verb in realis mood.

(818) *móngdǎ hǎngálhítsǎ, ní námǎng shúk méyhyǎ.*

[móng = dǎ hǎng-âl-hí = tsǎ]_{DC} [ní nám = ǎng shúk méy-hyǎ]_{MC}

[king=EMPH be.alive-DEP-COND=TOP] [PROX village=INE happiness exist-PM]

‘If the king is alive, there is happiness in this village.’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_022]

As seen above, when the matrix clause verb is inflected by the irrealis suffix *-ǎy*, the meaning of the whole sentence is understood as non-factual, as demonstrated by the example in (818)

(819) *nǎwǎnghítsǎ, kútsúhnú kínípékéyǎy ǎ.*

[[nǎ-wǎng-hí = tsǎ]_{DC} [kú-tsúhnú kǐ-ní-pék-êy-ǎy]_{MC}

[[2S-enter-COND=TOP] [1SG.POSS-daughter 1A-INV-give.II-MID-IRR]

‘If you enter, I will give you my daughter.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0042]

If an independent verb of a matrix clause is marked by the irrealis suffix, then the dependent verb of a conditional clause must be inflected by the irrealis suffix too, which I refer as mood harmony in §12.4.1.1. Now, this leads us to ponder why a conditional verb that expresses an unactualized event will not be ungrammatical if it is inflected by the irrealis suffix in Hyow, because the use of the irrealis suffix is redundant for a conditional verb. A solution of this can be found in Chung and Timberlake (1985: 256), who suggest that an event that takes place after the point of speech is naturally not actual. Therefore, there is a connection between the non-factual mood (irrealis mood) and future. We can infer from here that the irrealis suffix attached to a conditional verb potentially refers to the future. Depending on the context, the irrealis marker *-ǎy* can also be used to refer the temporal point of the predicated event at the time after speech, since there is no tense marking in Hyow. Perhaps, it is one of the stages of grammaticalization, in which a morpheme’s original function is extended. When the matrix clause event is projected at the time after speech, the dependent verb is also marked by the irrealis suffix to comply with that.

For example, the independent clause in (820) describes an unactualized event, setting the temporal locus of the situation at the time after speech. Accordingly, the dependent conditional verb is inflected by the irrealis suffix. Therefore, it is rightly established that even though the irrealis marker is not constrained by any temporal reference, specific construction types, such as in (820), enables the irrealis suffix to extend its use to refer the temporal locus of an event after the time of speech in Hyow.

(820) *bóhí nétsètálæ?yhitsæ, nétsètæ?y?là?hódé; méynû* ㄴ.

[bóhí [[né-tsét-âl-æ?y-hí = tsæ]_{DC} [né-tsét-æ?y?-lá?-hô = dâ]_{MC}]_{S1}

[so [[2S-go-DEP-IRR-COND=TOP] [2S-go-IRR-OBLG-PM=EMPH]]

[[mêy-nû]_{MC}]_{S2}]_{REPC}

[[stay.IMP=SS.EVID]]]

‘So, they said, “If you will go back, you will get to go, stay (now)!”

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0063]

All the instances of conditional clause verbs overtly marked by the irrealis suffix are only found in sentences where the matrix clause contains a declarative or interrogative clause verb marked by the irrealis suffix or constitutes a delayed imperative clause. Hyow imperatives are divided into three types based on the temporal reference of the given command or order – normal, immediate and delayed (see §11.6.1.1). A normal imperative is marked by a zero morpheme. An immediate imperative is marked by *-hné?*, and a delayed imperative is marked by *-bây*. The imperative clause in (821) expresses a delayed command, which is conditioned by the event of rain falling in the conditional clause. Since the suffix *-bây* projects the command after the speech moment, the conditional clause verb is inflected by the irrealis suffix *-æ?y*.

(821) *khòtsódô lòè?yhìtsâ, ní tsóngtsô hlòkáltí lá tǎlbây.*

[khó-tsô = dâ lò-é?y-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [ní tsóng-tsô
[rain-DIM=EMPH come-IRR-COND=TOP] [PROX paddy-DIM
hlók-âl-tí-lá]_{DC} [tǎ-âl-bây]_{MC}
pick.up.something.from.a.mat-DEP-2SG-SEQ] [keep.I-DEP-DEL.IMP]

‘When (literally, if) the rain will come, picking up this paddy from the mat, put (it) away.’ [ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0032]

However, if there is an alternative temporal word in a conditional clause, it is not obligatory for the conditional clause verb to be inflected by the irrealis suffix, even though there is an imperative in the matrix clause expressing a delayed command, as shown in (822). In this example, the temporal point of the conditional clause verb matches the temporal point of the imperative clause verb by the presence of the word *ómó* ‘first’. Inflected by the inessive case clitic, the word is referring to the temporal point of the conditional verb, which agrees with the temporal point of the delayed imperative.

(822) *“ómóng kétsèthitsâ, èy hówéybây” tîng.*

ó-mó = êng ké-tsét-hí = tsâ èy hów-êy-bây tîng
GRP-first=INE 1S-go-COND=TOP ANAPH.DEM say.I-MID-DEL.IMP QT

‘The husband said, “If I go first, tell him that yourself.”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_304]

As it appears, due to redundancy, that a conditional clause verb does not take the irrealis suffix can be used to indicate the temporal point of the conditioned verb. Other than the restricted use of the irrealis suffix, the dependent verb of a conditional clause can be inflected by desiderative, obligative (asserts obligation strongly), physical capability, or cognitive capability suffixes, but not by any other epistemic modality suffixes. The list of permitted MA categories for the conditional clause verb is presented in Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs

When the dependent verb of a conditional clause is marked by the desiderative *-æʔy-sháng* (which then functions as a unit), the matrix clause predicated event encodes either an obligation or a command through a declarative or an imperative clause respectively. The example in (823) expresses obligation in the independent matrix clause, which is conditioned by the desire expressed in the conditional clause. Though the matrix clause verb is also inflected by the desiderative, it necessarily expresses obligation to make a cohesive meaning.

(823) “*èyhúʔy ní-bí-êy-(æʔy-sháng) ʌ, nókóyéyæʔyshànghìtsæ” tîng.*

[[èyhúʔy ní-bí-êy-(æʔy-sháng)]_{DC}

[[like.that 2A-work.II-(IRR-OPNT)_{DESID}]

[nó-kóy-êy-(æʔy-sháng)-hí = tsæ]_{MC} tîng]_{REPC}

[2S-ascend-MID-(IRR-OPNT)_{DESID} -COND =TOP] QT]

‘He said, “If you want to be rich, you have to cultivate (the swidden field) like that.” [ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_020]

In (824), the conditional clause is followed by an imperative clause in the main clause position. The conditional clause expresses the desire of the addressee and the imperative clause predicates the event that needs to be done by the addressee in order to achieve his desire.

(824) “*lowódé níbiéyæʔyshànghìtsæ, èydé lòwông èybây” tîng ʌ.*

lowé = dé ní-bí-êy-æʔy-sháng-hí = tsæ èydé

swidden.field=EMPH 2A-work.II-MID-IRR-DESID-COND=TOP then

lowé = ông èy-bây tîng

swidden.field=INE FILL-DEL.IMP QT

‘She said, “If you want to cultivate the swidden field, then do that in the swidden field.” [ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_021]

Similar to the available instantiations of capabilitive modality found in the corpus, the example in (825) suggests that if the predicated event in a matrix clause is projected at the time after speech, the dependent verb in the conditional clause can be projected at the time of speech, but not before the time of speech.

(825) *ké?éyálhnúng-hí tsâ, kéy shòk-tsô ní ì-ní-hmát-é?y* ㄋ.

ké-?éy-âl-hnúng-hí = tsâ kéy shók-tsô = ní ì-ní-hmát-é?y

1A-eat.II-DEP-PH.CAP-COND=TOP 1SG life-DIM=FOC 1P-INV-keep.alive.II-IRR

‘If I am able to eat up, you will keep my life alive.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0149]

The conditional clause becomes more dependent on the matrix clause if there is an existimative modality, which expresses weak assertion. Only such a modality marker can inflect a non-canonical conditional clause. In a non-canonical conditional clause, the dependent verb is restricted from being indexed by core argument, because the non-canonical clause requires a Stem I verb. If the S/A argument of the non-canonical conditional clause and independent clause are co-referential, then the S/A argument of the non-canonical conditional clause is not overtly mentioned. However, if the S/A argument of a non-canonical conditional clause is not co-referential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause, then the non-co-referential S/A argument of the non-canonical conditional clause has to be overtly present. The conditional clause in (826) is non-canonical. As the S argument of the non-canonical conditional clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause, the S argument is not overtly mentioned in (825).

(826) *tsètshànghí, kétsèt-é?yhyô*.

[tsét-sháng-hí]_{DC} [ké-tsét-é?y-hyô]_{MC}

[go-OPNT-COND] [1S-go-IRR-PM]

‘If I should go, I will go.’ [Elicited]

The conditional clause verb is also restricted from using the full inventory of aspectual markers in Hyow. A conditional clause verb cannot be inflected by anterior, habitual, factive, ultimative or continuative aspectual markers. For example, the verbal suffix *-hèt* cannot be translated as a habitual aspect marker, as shown in the alternative translation in (827). It is functioning as a LEAVE V-ING aspect. Therefore, the first translation is grammatically correct.

(827) “*kúdàè?ykhóá, núyhètngáhí, itîâ kúnúyè?yhyôsm?*” *tîng shómóytsólání tâk \, môngá.*

[[[kú-dá-é?y-khó = â]_{DC} [núy-hèt-ngá-hí]_{MC}]_{DC} [itîâ

[[[1S-die-IRR-TNMLZ=LOC] [laugh-LV-1SG.NEG-COND]] [when

kú-núy-é?y-hyô = ôm]_{MC} tîng]_{REPC}[shómóytsó = lâ = ní tâk mông = á]_{REC}

1S-laugh-IRR-PM=CONT.Q] QT] [boy=ERG=FOC tell.II king=DAT]

‘The boy told the king, “If I do not leave laughing when I will die, when will I laugh?”’

*‘The boy told the king, “If I am not used to laughing at the time I will die, when will I laugh?”’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_038]

From the inventory of aspectual markers available to an independent clause verb, a conditional verb can take iterative, non-iterative and terminative aspect markers. Many instances of the terminative aspectual marker pairing with a conditional verb can be found in the Hyow corpus. For instance, the example in (828) illustrates a normal process of alcohol making by Hyow. The temporal locus of both the sentences are set in the present, since it is a procedural text. The terminative aspect refers to the condition of finishing a stage of processing the alcohol for fermentation. If the condition is not met, the fermentation does not happen.

(828) *tûy í-ní-thón-pón-hí = tsê tsímle thón-êy.*

tûy í-ní-thón-pón-hí = tsê tsímle thón-êy
 water 3A-put.II-TERM-COND=TOP fermented.white.substance happen-MID

‘If they finish putting water (into the rice), it becomes a fermented white substance.’ [ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_009]

Conditionals are topics of sentences cross-linguistically (Haiman 1978), so as in Hyow. However, the conditional marker does not function alone as a topic marker itself. There is hardly any conditional clause that is not additionally marked by the topic clitic = *tsê* in Hyow. After having a look at all the examples above, it becomes plausible that in most of the examples the conditional clause is marked by the topic clitic.

Unlike temporal adverbial clauses, conditional clauses have no constraints of co-occurring with an interrogative and an imperative clause. The example in (829) displays a conditional clause in a dependency relationship with a content question in the matrix clause. The temporal reference of the conditional verb is under the scope of the temporal locus of the verb in the interrogative clause, which is in realis (unmarked in Hyow) in (829).

(829) *kéydê núyngáhitsê, ú núyhyóâm?*

[kéy = dó núy-ngá-hí = tsê]_{DC} [ú núy-hyó = êm]_{MC}
 [1SG=EMPH laugh-1SG.NEG-COND=TOP] [who laugh-PM=CONT.Q]

‘If I did not laugh, who laughed?’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_037]

If the matrix clause verb is marked by the irrealis suffix, then the conditional clause verb is temporally located in present (unmarked) or in future (marked by the irrealis suffix). Otherwise, the temporal points of the predicated events have to be referred to the discourse. The speaker describes the process of performing a traditional ritual in (830). Therefore, the temporal reference is likely to be in present, regardless of the predicated event being actualized or unactualized, which is the scope

of the modality. In (830), a conditional clause has a small degree of dependency on the final imperative clause, and that is of temporal locus.

(830) *èydâ èy ní-ní-pón-hí = tsâ, èydâ wùyéykhôl.*

[èydâ èy ní-ní-pón-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [èydâ wùy-êy-khô]_{MC}
 [then ANAPH.DEM 2A-PL-finish-COND=TOP] [then divide.I.IMP-MID-PL]

‘Then, if that ends, then divide yourself.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_078]

An adverbial clause can have its own complement clause or relative clause. The complement taking verb in the conditional clause in (831) has an embedded complement clause.

(831) *âhângálâ?yhyâdâ tihitsâ, bóhí, tsét, tsónálhni?â, phón ápòhni?â.*

[[[â-hâng-âl-â?y-hyâ = dâ]_{DC} [tí-hí = tsâ]_{MC}]_{DC} [bóhi tsét]_{MC}]_{S1}
 [[[3S-be.alive-DEP-IRR=EMPH]] [be.said-COND=TOP]] [so go.IMP]]

[tsón-âl-hní?-â]_{S2} [phón á-po-hní?-â]_{S3}
 run.IMP-DEP-DL-POL [phone DIR-DV.I.IMP-DL-POL]

‘If it is said that he will be alive back, so, go! Run back! Go to make a phone call!’ [ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0043]

A conditional adverbial clause can be verbless. As Hyow uses a juxtaposition strategy to construct copula clauses, it is usual to have verbless conditional clauses in the corpus, where the examples carry a noun phrase marked by the conditional marking suffix. The example in (832) includes a verbless conditional clause.

(832) *tóng pâyshók mòkshèkhí mòkshók tóng íníshót* ㄊㄨㄥˊ ㄆㄞˋ ㄕㄨㄛˊ ㄇㄛˋ ㄕㄨㄛˊ ㄊㄨㄥˊ ㄧˊ ㄋㄧˊ ㄕㄨㄛˊ ㄊㄨㄥˊ.

[tóng pây-shók mók-shók-hí]_{DC} [mók-shók tóng í-ní-shót]_{MC}
 [pillar CLS-six handspan-six-COND] [handspan-six pillar 3A-PL-put.inside]

‘If the six pillars are six handspan long, they put the pillars six handspan inside the soil.’ [ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_0023]

Intonation does not play a vital role in marking a conditional clause. Since there is already a suffix marking the clause, Hyow speakers tend to be irregular in using a consistent intonational pattern at the boundary of a conditional clause. However, when the conditional clause is not the final clause in a sentence, the boundary of the conditional does not allow a falling intonation at least. The pitch stays level, as shown in Figure 55.

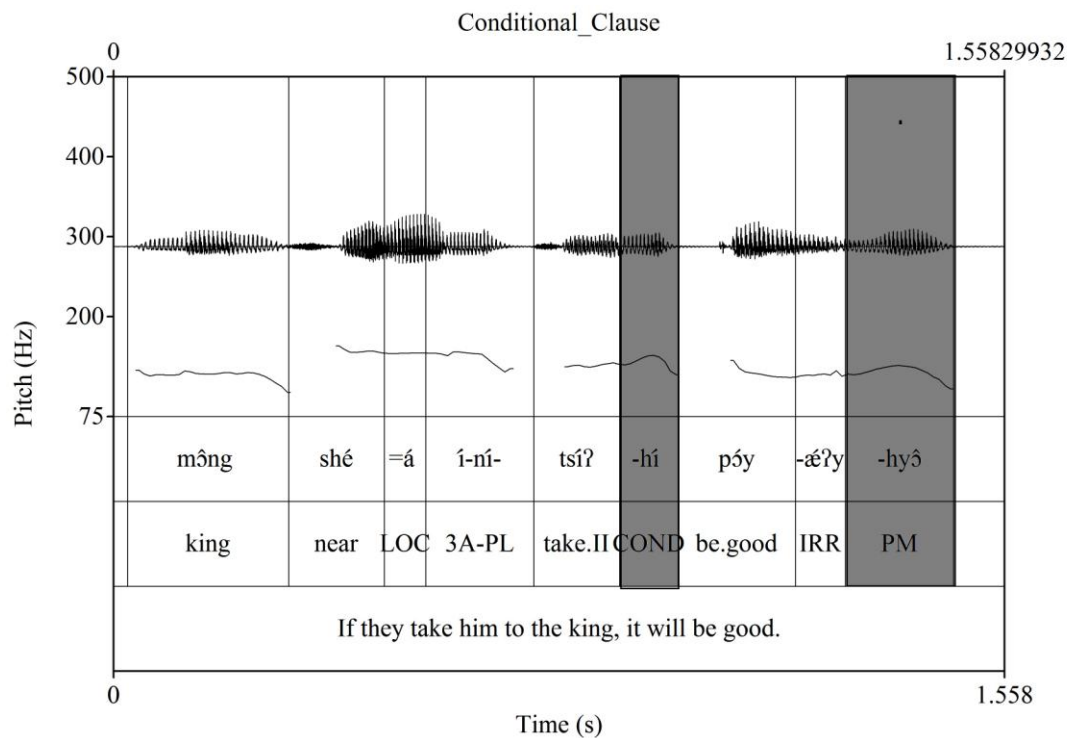


Figure 55: Level intonation at the boundary of a conditional clause

12.4.1.3 Concessive clause

Hyow concessive adverbial clauses are clustered with temporal and conditional clauses with respect to the degree of dependency on the independent clause. A concessive clause holds a contrastive or counter-expected presupposition, while a

corresponding independent matrix clause expresses an unanticipated or a less-probable event (Givón, Vol 2: 336). A concessive clause is marked by *-thón*, which connects the concessive clause with a matrix clause. The concessive clause in (833) illustrates a situation of searching for water, while the situation described by the matrix clause is unforeseen. In this example, the dependent clause encodes concession towards the proposition asserted in the matrix clause.

(833) *tsùâ íhní?shùythón, èyáhá úhúl* ㄴ.

[tsú = â í-hní?-shúy-thón]_{DC} [èy = â = há ú-húl]_{MC}
 [DIST=LOC 3A-PL-search.II-CONCESS] [ANAPH.DEM=LOC=ADD 3S-be.dried]

‘Though they searched [water] there, the water had dried there too.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_010]

Hyow also employs a scalar concessive clause, which is equivalent to ‘even though/even if’ constructions in English. The scalar additive clitic *=á* pairs with the concessive suffix to form a unitary functional category *-thóná*. The example in (834) demonstrates a scalar concessive clause, where the predicated event in the concessive clause is over-emphasized by the scalar concessive suffix *-thóná*.

(834) *kálá?thónàtsâ, pókó? úylâ ínípíl-æ?y-tsák* ㄴ.

[ká-lá?-thóná = tsâ]_{DC} [pô = kó? ûy = lâ í-ní-píl-æ?y-tsák]_{MC}
 [1A-pull.II-SC.CONCESS=TOP] [father=GEN dog=ERG 3A-PL-rend.II-IRR-COMPL]

‘Even if I pull her, father’s dogs will rend her completely.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_077]

Alternatively, a non-canonical concessive clause can be marked by *-pé*, which has other functions in Hyow grammar. It is used in a simultaneous dependent clause as a clause linker (see §12.4.1.8) and as an extensive adverbial marker in independent clauses (see §9.2.3.10). Both a simultaneous and non-canonical concessive clause verb has the constraint of taking prefixal argument markers, because they both require Stem I verbs. The restriction of taking person marking prefixes results in overt

mentions of S/A arguments of non-canonical dependent clauses, if the S/A arguments are not co-referential with S/A arguments of matrix clauses. The example in (835) demonstrates the non-canonical concessive clause linked to the matrix clause by *-pé*. The third person plural S argument of the intransitive verb *thón* ‘happen’ is overtly mentioned in this example.

(835) *nótsòhè?yá bóhítsâ níhú?y èy hmútó làktsô thónpètsâ, íbó hmútó pèkéytíhyóm?*

[nó-tsô-hó?y = á bóhí = tsâ níhú?y èy hmútó
[2SG.POSS-son-DL=DAT so=TOP like.this ANAPH.DEM woman
láktsô thón-pé = tsâ]_{DC} [íbó hmútó pèk-êy-tí-hyô = ôm]_{MC}
perfect_M happen-SIM=TOP] [why woman give.I-MID-1SG.NEG-PM=CONT.Q]

‘Though your two sons chose those perfect women like these, why did you not give the women to them?’ [ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0087]

A non-canonical concessive clause marked by *-pé* can be postposed after an independent clause, as shown in (836). The A argument of the non-canonical concessive clause is not overtly mentioned in this example, as it is coreferential with the first person singular A argument of the independent clause.

(836) *kéyátsâ èyhú?y tsó kóphôtâl, dúkhá? bân-pé* ㄴ.

[kêy = á = tsâ [èyhú?y tsó kó-phôt-âl]_{MC} dúkhá? bân-pé]_{DC}
[1SG=ADD=TOP [like.that lesson 1A-study.II-DEP] sorrow get.I-SIM]

‘I also studied like that, though I had sufferings.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_047]

Like the verb of an independent clause, the verb of a canonical concessive clause has access to both the stem variants available. For example, the verb takes Stem I if the concessive clause is in negative polarity, as exemplified in (838), and Stem II if the concessive clause is in positive polarity, as exemplified in (837).

(837) *shó ínhyúl* \. *ínhyùlthón*, *èyádó krók* \.

[shó í-ní-hyúl]_{S1} [[í-ní-hyúl-thón]_{DC} [èy = â = dó
[pig 3A-PL-follow.II] [[3A-PL-follow.II-CONCESS] [ANAPH.DEM=LOC=EMPH
krók]_{MC}]_{S2}
be.lost]]

‘They followed a pig. Though they followed the pig, it was lost.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_124]

(838) *kárbárí khâw khìnà?thènàtsæ* *ópôy*.

[kárbárí khâw khín-á?-thóná = tsæ]_{DC} [ó-pôy]_{MC}
[village.chief word listen.I-3SG.NEG-SC.CONCESS=TOP] [3S-be.good]

‘Even though he did not listen to the village chief’s words, it was good.’

[ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0085]

Concessive clauses also have non-canonical versions marked by the suffix *-thón* or *-thóná*. A canonical concessive clause verb is marked for core arguments both prefixally and suffixally, which is exemplified in (839) and (840) respectively. In (839), the first person singular S argument of the intransitive verb in the canonical concessive clause is indexed on the verb prefixally by *ké-*, while the third person S is unmarked on the independent clause verb, which is a normal morphosyntactic feature in Hyow (see §7.3.1). The dependent negated verb in (840) is marked by its first person A argument marker by *-ngâ* suffixally, while the S argument of the independent clause verb is unmarked. On the other hand, a non-canonical concessive clause marked by *-thón* or *-thóná* is not marked by its argument marking prefixes. The third person singular S argument is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause verb in (841). That is why it is not overtly mentioned.

(839) *kódùthónátsâ, nópô méykhô? ʋ.*

[kó-dú-thóná = tsâ]_{DC} [nó-pô méy-khó?]_{MC}

[1S-die-SC.CONCESS=TOP] [2SG.POSS-father exist-FACT]

‘Even if I die, your father is there for sure.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0056]

(840) *hmùéyngáthón, pòyéhyô.*

[hmú-êy-ngá-thón]_{DC} [pôy-êy-hyó tîng]_{MC}

[see.I-MID-1SG.NEG-CONCESS] [be.good-MID-PM QT]

‘Though I did not give birth to her, it was wonderful.’

[ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_013]

(841) *tsètshàngthóná tsètngâ.*

[tsét-sháng-thóná]_{DC} [tsét-ngâ]_{MC}

[go-OPNT-CONCESS] [go-1SG.NEG]

‘Even though I should have gone, I did not go.’ [Elicited]

If a non-canonical concessive clause verb is negated, then instead of the person-based negative suffixes, a generic negative suffix is used, which is identical to the third person negative suffix. The verb also does not take a Stem I variant like the canonical concessive clause or the independent clause with negative polarity. The example in (842) displays the use of the generic negator *-á?* in Hyow. This shows a reversed choice of stem variants by a canonical and a non-canonical dependent clause. A canonical dependent clause requires a Stem I verb in negative polarity and a Stem II verb in positive polarity. On the other hand, a non-canonical dependent verb requires a Stem II verb in negative polarity and Stem I verb in positive polarity.

(842) *shòtshàngà?thón, kóshòthô*[shót-sháng-á?-thón]_{DC} [kó-shót-thô]_{MC}

[look.II-OPNT-NEG-CONCESS] [1A-look.II-PM]

‘Though I should not have looked, I looked at her.’ [Elicited]

Like other adverbial clauses, concessive clauses cannot use all the MA markers, which again reiterate the dependency of adverbial clauses on matrix clauses for any temporal reference. Nonetheless, the modal system of both the concessive and the matrix clauses function independently, which is evident from the examples given in (843) and (844). The predicated events in both the clauses in (843) and (844) are unactualized, which means that they did not actually take place, while the predicated events in both the independent matrix clauses in (843) and (844) are actualized events.

The difference between the concessive clause and the independent clause in these two examples is in the inflectional category. The concessive clause verbs *hyón* ‘throw.II’ and *lótéy* ‘go.down’ are both marked by the irrealis suffix, which encodes the non-actuality of the events. Therefore, the concessive clauses in both these examples are referring to events that might have taken place, but before the actualisations of those events in the concessive clause predicates, the referents of the core arguments in the independent clauses performed their actions. This is also an indication of what Cristofaro (2003: 165) talks about with regard to the temporal features of reality condition and reason clauses. These types of clauses do not set the temporal reference or the verb-internal temporal structure of the linked SoAs. For that reason, the dependent event in a concessive clause cannot be posterior to the main event, but can be anterior or simultaneous. The example in (843) illustrates a context where a girl was supposed to be thrown out by a man, but before that could happen, a prince brought her with him to his kingdom. In (844), the situation depicted refers to the strange movement of a magical bamboo, which held a road. For that reason, a father and his son were not been able to move ahead the road. They were taking preparation to go down the bamboo, but before they could do that, the magical bamboo went down itself.

(843) *ŏhyònæ?ythèná, ngólòéyhyô* ㄴ.

[ŏ-hyón-æ?y-thèná]_{DC}

[ngó-ló-êy-hyô]_{MC}

[3S-throw.II-IRR-SC.CONCESS]

[2A-bring.II-MID-PM]

‘Even though he would throw her, you brought her yourself.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0105]

(844) *tsuâ ŏdôngông ínlètêyæ?ythèná, ŏdôngông kâm* ㄴ.

[tsú = â ŏ-dông = ông í-ní-létêy-æ?y-thèná]_{DC}

[ŏ-dông = ông

[DIST=LOC GRP-below=INE 3S-PL-go.down-IRR-SC.CONCESS] [GRP-below=INE

kâm]_{MC}

descend]

‘Even though they would go down below (the obstacle), the bamboo (also) went down below the obstacle.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_100]

Similarly, the example in (845) shows that the predicated independent clause event is unactualized, while the predicated concessive clause event expresses the minimum condition for the independent clause event to become real. The modal system of both clauses functions independently. Nevertheless, since the irrealis suffix has a conceptual connection to the time after speech and Hyow does not have any explicit tense marking system, the concessive clause event has to be interpreted to take place in either at the time of speech or at the time after speech, which is consistent with the scope of the independent clause verb mood over the adverbial clause verb mood.

(845) *tsú nó-phót-thóná, króy-æ?y-hyô = dó*[tsú nó-phót-thóná]_{DC} [kró-êy-æ?y-hyô = dó

[DIST 2A-study.II-SC.CONCESS] [be.correct-MID-IRR-PM=EMPH

èy hówá?]_{MC}

ANAPH.DEM without]

Even though you read that book, it will be OK without that.'

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0097]

A concessive clause verb is inflected for the MA categories that are listed in Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs), which is also valid for non-canonical concessive clauses. The example shown in (846) confirms that the temporal reference of the concessive clause event is dependent on the independent clause. It also demonstrates that the concessive clause can form a complex sentence preposing an imperative clause or an interrogative clause.

(846) *“núkút tsəntsəŋg ðədòwtíthəná nókhó tsəntsəŋg khát ðədòwé” tǐngní tákhnó?tí.*[[nú-kút tsón-tsô = ŋg ð-dów-tí-thəná]_{DC} [nó-khó

[[2SG.POSS-hand tip-DIM=INE 1P-give.I-2SG.NEG-SC.CONCESS] [2SG.POSS-leg

tsón-tsô = ŋg khát ð-dów-æ]_{MC} tǐng = ní]_{REPC} [ták-hnó? = tí]_{REC}

tip-DIM=INE at.least 1A-give.I-POL] QT=FOC] [say.II-ULT=R.EVID]

‘Even though you do not give me [a wrap of betel] with the tip of our hand, at least give me (a wrap of bettle) with the tip of your leg.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0089]

As demonstrated in the preceding section for conditional clauses, there are instances of verbless concessive clauses in the corpus of Hyow. In a verbless concessive clause, the concessive clause-linking suffix is attached to the noun phrase. The verbless concessive clause in (847) is a part of the jussive clause.

(847) *kòoméyæ?yhyó hnâ? \. gólóksóthón, thònhnâ? \.*

[kó-ómêy-æ?y-hyô hnâ?]_{S1} [[gólóksô-thón]_{DC} [thón-hnâ?]_{MC}]_{S2}

[1A-get.married-IRR-PM be.final] [[grazer-CONCESS] [happen-JUSS]]

‘It is final that I will get married finally. Though he is a grazer, let it happen.’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_041]

The role of intonation in marking a dependent clause is overridden by the clause-linking suffixes. Because of this compromise, any use of intonation to mark the boundary of a dependent clause is scant in text examples. The above examples demonstrate that in none of the examples, intonation is marked. Yet, the absence of the expected rising intonation and retention of the underlying tone by the concessive clause-linking suffix gives a clue about the status of the clause. Since a falling intonation marks an independent clause or a final clause, absence of the falling intonation means that the clause is non-final. In elicited examples, the absence of the falling intonation and the retention of the underlying tone by the concessive clause-linking suffix *-thóná* (in the shaded box) are marking the concessive dependent clause. This pattern is demonstrated in Figure 56.

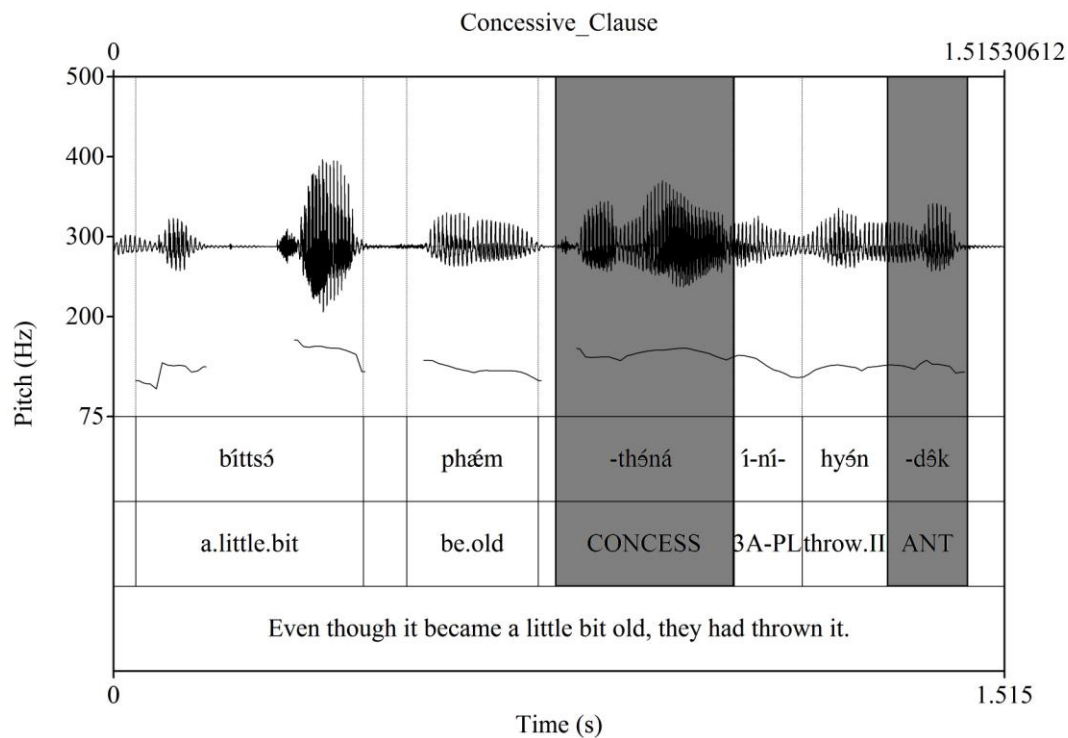


Figure 56: Intonation at the boundary of a verbless concessive clause

12.4.1.4 Reason clause

A reason or causal clause encodes a motivation for the matrix clause predicated event taking place. In other words, a reason clause-linking suffix establishes a relation of consequence between the dependent and the matrix clause (see Dixon, 2009: 17; Givón, 2001, VOL 2: 335; Cristofaro, 2003: 161). The reason clause-linking suffix, which originates in the inessive locative case marker *=əng*, marks reason clauses in Hyow, which explains the difference in syntactic status of a reason clause marked by *-əng* and a temporal or a conditional or a concessive clause. The clause-linking suffixes in temporal, conditional and concessive clauses originate from copula verbs. That is why the respective dependent clauses do not require a predicate-marking suffix to warrant the predicate status of the dependent clause, which usually takes a historically nominalized Stem II verb. On the other hand, a reason clause marked by *-əng* obligatorily takes the predicate-marking suffix to entail the predicate status of the clause, as exemplified in (848). The reason clause in (848) encodes the cause of the consequence expressed by the independent clause predicated event. Both the clauses are more similar syntactically than temporal, conditional, and concessive adverbial clauses, because both the clauses are marked by the predicate-marking suffix (in bold letters).

(848) *ópóyéy hmù?hə́əng, tòkéyhyô dâtsô.*

[ó-póyéy hmù?-**hə́**-əng]_{DC} [tók-êy-**hyô** dâtsô]_{MC}

[3SG.POSS-beauty see.II-**PM**-REAS] [keep.II-MID-**PM** DP]

‘Because he saw her beauty, he kept her for himself, OK?’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_090]

A reason clause has the liberty of utilizing both the available stems of a verb, which establishes its similar syntactic status as an independent clause in relation to having access to verbal stem variants. As the reason clause can include both the stem variants, verbs of reason clauses can be indexed by core arguments both prefixally (in positive polarity) and suffixally (in negative polarity). The verbs of the independent clause and the reason clauses are intransitives in (849), which do not have stem variants. Nonetheless, the reason clause verb is marked suffixally for the first person

singular core S argument, while the independent clause verb is marked prefixally for the third person plural S argument in.

(849) *kútsúhnú-tí? kótsóti?àtsâ ínîlûng dúkhá?êng ínîmêy, kêy ópngáhóng* ↗.

[kú-tsúhnú-tí? kó-tsô-tí? = á = tsâ ínî-lûng dúkhá? = êng

[1SG.POSS-daughter-PL 1SG.POSS-son-PL=ADD=TOP 3PL.POSS-heart sorrow=INE

í-nî-mêy]_{MC} [kêy óp-ngá-hô-êng]_{DC}

3S-PL-stay] [1SG be.well-1SG.NEG-REAS]

‘My daughters’ and also my sons’ hearts were in sadness because I was not well.’ [ZM_SN_MZK_092015_Hyow_0025_0011]

A reason clause does not predetermine the temporal point or aspectual features of the matrix clause predicated event. Following from this, the predicated event of a reason clause can be anterior or simultaneous to the matrix clause predicated event, but cannot be posterior. The temporal point of the reason clause predicated event in (850) is thus relative to the independent clause predicated event. The event of ‘thinking’ performed by the referent of the A argument in (850) takes place in the past, as does the reason of the referent’s thinking.

(850) *“âkâhóngdâ, kêy khrông ùtùkâ?yhyôdâ hnùpák” tîng tòkhnè?tî.*

[â-kâ-hó-óng = dâ]_{DC} [[kêy khrông ù-túk-â?y-hyô = dâ

[3S-be.scared-PM-REAS=EMPH] [[1SG people 1P-kill.II-IRR-PM=EMPH

hnúp-ák tîng]_{REPC} [tòk-hnô?-tî]_{REC}]_{MC}

CLS-one QT] [think.II-ULTM-R.EVID]]

‘Because he was scared, he thought, “One day, people will kill me.”’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_352]

That the reason clause is less dependent on an independent clause than other types of adverbial clauses is evident from the fact that this clause is marked by the

predicate-marking suffix, and can take the anterior aspectual marker like an independent clause verb. The anterior aspectual marker with the verb of the reason clause in (851) encodes that the female giant went somewhere while the referent of the S argument was there, and he stayed back for a while because the female giant had returned.

(851) *èy phílúnúá lòáldàkkhóông, èy bíttśó khóâ méyhnə?tí.*

[èy phílúnú = á lò-âl-dók-khô-ông]_{DC} [èy bíttśó
[ANAPH.DEM giantess=ADD come-DEP-ANT-PM-REAS] [ANAPH.DEM a.little.bit
khó = â méy-hnə? = tí]_{MC}
time=LOC stay-ULTM=R.EVID]

‘Because that giantess had come back, he finally stayed for a little bit of time.’

[Elicited]

Yet, the temporal reference still depends on the matrix clause predicated event. In addition, a reason clause verb cannot be inflected for certain aspectual suffixes – inchoative, continuative and durative, and for certain modality suffixes – factive, deductive and speculative. The elicited example of (852) is ungrammatical because the reason clause verb is marked by the factive modality.

(852) **èylâ ðhòwkhə?ông, ím hngát kóshòk-pék-khô.*

[èy = lâ ð-hów-khə?ông]_{DC} [ím hngát kó-shók-pék-khô]_{MC}
[ANAPH.DEM=ERG 1P-say.II-FACT-REAS] [house one 1A-make.II-BEN-PM]

‘Because he really told me (the truth), I made him a house.’ [Elicited]

Since a reason clause is least dependent on an independent clause, it can prepose or postpose a declarative, an interrogative, or an imperative clause. The position of the reason clause is not as rigid or nearly rigid as the other types of adverbial clauses. The reason clause in (853) is a part of the complement clause of the verb *hmót* ‘know’. Even so, the reason clause has postposed the independent clause

whose complement clause is its corresponding matrix clause. Considering it as a dependent of the verb *hmót* ‘know.I’, then there will be no cohesive meaning of the sentence.

(853) *èydô tsú bézítsô tóyúng lòngbàlâtsâ, lòálhlótsâ, hmòthô?y ʘ, ótsô hængálâ?yhyóóng ʘ.*

èydô [[tsú bézí-tsô tóyúng [lô-êng-bá-lá = tsâ]_{DC}

then [[DIST mongoose-DIM vaccine [bring.I-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP]

lò-âl-hlô = tsâ]_{MC}]_{DC} [hmót-hó?y]_{INDC} [ó-tsô hæng-âl-â?y-hyô-êng]_{DC}

come-DEP-PM=TOP] [know.I-3DL.NEG] [3SG.POSS-sonbe.alive-DEP-IRR-PM-REAS]

‘Then, they did not know that having brought the vaccine, that mongoose came back because her son would be alive.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_039]

A non-canonical reason clause is structurally just like other non-canonical adverbial clauses discussed so far. The verb of the non-canonical reason clause is not marked for core arguments; rather it is the independent clause verb that is marked for core arguments. If the arguments of a non-canonical reason clause and a matrix clause is not co-referential, then the arguments of the non-canonical reason clause has to be overtly mentioned. Nonetheless, the non-canonical clause can be inflected for permitted modality markers. The non-canonical reason clause verb in (854) is inflected by a modality suffix that expresses weakly asserted obligation. Since the S argument of the non-canonical reason clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause, the third person S argument of the reason clause is not overtly present.

(854) *tsètshànghngóóng ʘ, kínítsê ʘ.*

[tsét-sháng-hngô-êng]_{DC} [kí-ní-tsét]_{MC}

[go-OPNT-PM-REAS] [1S-PL-go]

‘Since we should have gone, we went.’ [Elicited]

Frequently in speech, speakers do not always use intonation to mark the boundary of a dependent clause. However, if a reason clause ends up at the end of a sentence postposing the matrix clause, then the boundary of the clause is consistently marked by a rising intonation, as shown in Figure 57. The example is taken from an old recording, which includes a lot of background noise. However, the falling intonation of the initial independent clause and the rising intonation at the boundary of the final reason clause are very clearly indicated.

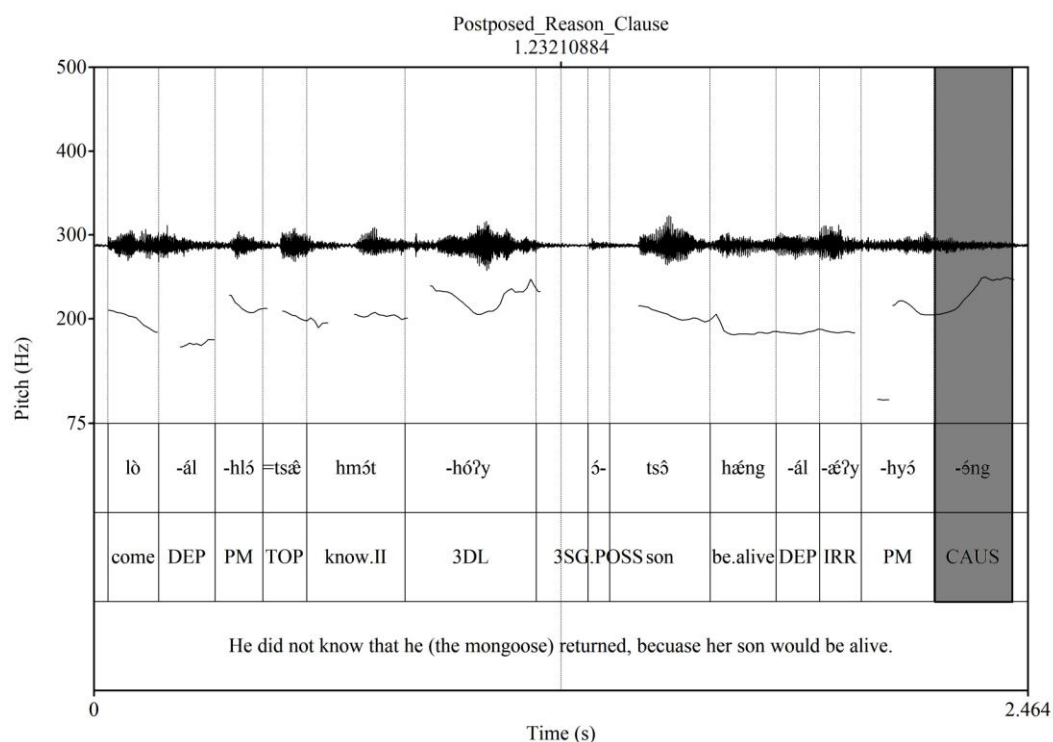


Figure 57: Intonation marking at the boundary of a postposed reason clause

On the other hand, in a preposed reason clause, the clause-linking suffix *-óng* at the boundary of the clause retains its underlying falling tone, which is clearly visible in Figure 58.

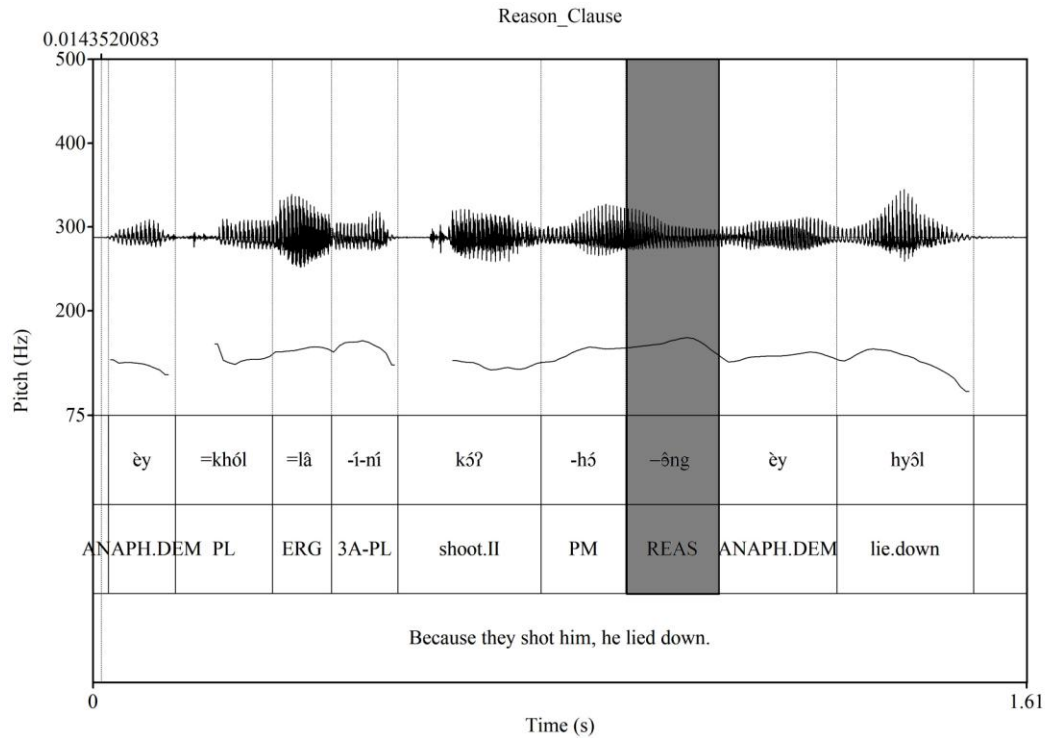


Figure 58: Intonation pattern at the boundary of an initial reason clause (elicited)

12.4.1.5 Delimitative clause

Delimitative clauses define the temporal boundary of a matrix clause predicated event. They are also a type of temporal clause, and they set the length of time for the matrix clause predicated event. Delimitative clauses are of two types in Hyow – inceptive and terminal. An inceptive delimitative clause sets the temporal boundary of a matrix clause predicated event at the beginning or starting temporal point of the inceptive delimitative clause predicated event. The suffix *-ək* marks an inceptive delimitative dependent clause. The example in (855) is taken from a procedural text. The initial inceptive delimitative clause shapes the temporal boundary for the independent clause predicated event of ‘drying turmeric’. Thus, the sentence in (855) means that the drying of turmeric ends when the threshing of paddy starts.

(855) *áánítsæ?lâkdâ ínítsâéy* \.

[á-á-ní-tsá-ál-âk = dâ]_{DC}

[í-ní-tsá-éy]_{MC}

[3A-DIR-PL-thresh.II-INCEP.DLM=EMPH] [3A-PL-dry.II-MID]

‘They dry the turmeric, until they go to start threshing the paddy.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_032]

On the other hand, a terminal delimitative clause is marked by *-âká*, which sets the temporal boundary of the matrix clause event at the termination point of the dependent clause event. The terminal delimitative predicated event is perfective in aspectual nature. This nature of the terminal delimitative clause verb makes the elicited sentence in (856) is ungrammatical, in which the terminal delimitative clause event is actualized, but the independent clause event is unactualized. To be a grammatically correct sentence, the predicated event in the independent clause also needs to be actualized.

(856) **kêy pô shóngshál méyâk háng háng zíbóndzâpón ínisháláyæ?yhyô, ímbrátshólánî* \.

[kêy pô shóngshál méy-âká]_{DC} [háng háng zíbóndzâpón

[1SG father family exist-TER.DLM] [all livelihood_B

í-ní-sháláy-æ?y-hyô ím-brát-shó = lâ = ní]_{MC}

3A-PL-drive_B-IRR-PM house-whole-resident=ERG=FOC]

*(Lit.) ‘That one said, “Until my father’s family is there, the house’s whole residents will run the entire livelihood.”

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_223]

Following this restriction, the example in (857) presents a grammatically correct example, where both the predicated events are actualized. The sentence in (857) suggests that the bringing of the wild potato ended as soon as the supply of the wild potato was exhausted.

(857) *èy hówóyní óyùmàká lòkpèktí.*

[èy hówóy = ní ó-yúm-áká]_{DC} [lók-pék = tî]_{MC}
 [ANAPH.DEM wild.potato=FOC 3S-end-TERM.DLM] [bring.II-BEN=R.EVID]

‘He brought him (the old man) that wild potato until it ended.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0016]

A delimitative clause verb can take both the stem variants, which allows it to take argument markers both prefixally and suffixally. Unlike the other adverbial clauses, delimitative clause verb cannot be in irrealis mood, as discussed above. There are very few examples of delimitative examples in the corpus. Consultants suggest that a delimitative has more restrictions on accessing available aspectual and modality markers than other types of adverbial clause. However, the mood of the delimitative clause event is dependent on the mood of the matrix clause event as usual. The independent clause event in (858) is marked by the irrealis suffix (this is grammatical since the independent clause is preceding an inceptive delimitative clause), which refers the temporal reference of the event at the time after speech. Accordingly, the temporal point of the inceptive delimitative predicated event has to be at the time of speech.

(858) *èy méyàk, bú? ké?éy-æ?y-hyô.*

[èy mêy-àk]_{DC} [bú? ké-?éy-æ?y-hyô]_{MC}
 [ANAPH.DEM stay-INCEP.DLM] [rice 1A-eat.II-IRR-PM]

‘I will eat until he starts staying.’ [Elicited]

None of the delimitative clauses has non-canonical versions, in which the person markers are not indexed on verbs. In addition, as types of dependent clauses, none of the examples of the delimitative clauses shows any intonation marking at the boundary of the clause. The inceptive delimitative clause-linking suffix *-àk* has low tone, which is visible in the pitch track drawn in Figure 59. The matrix clause is marked by the falling intonation, as anticipated.

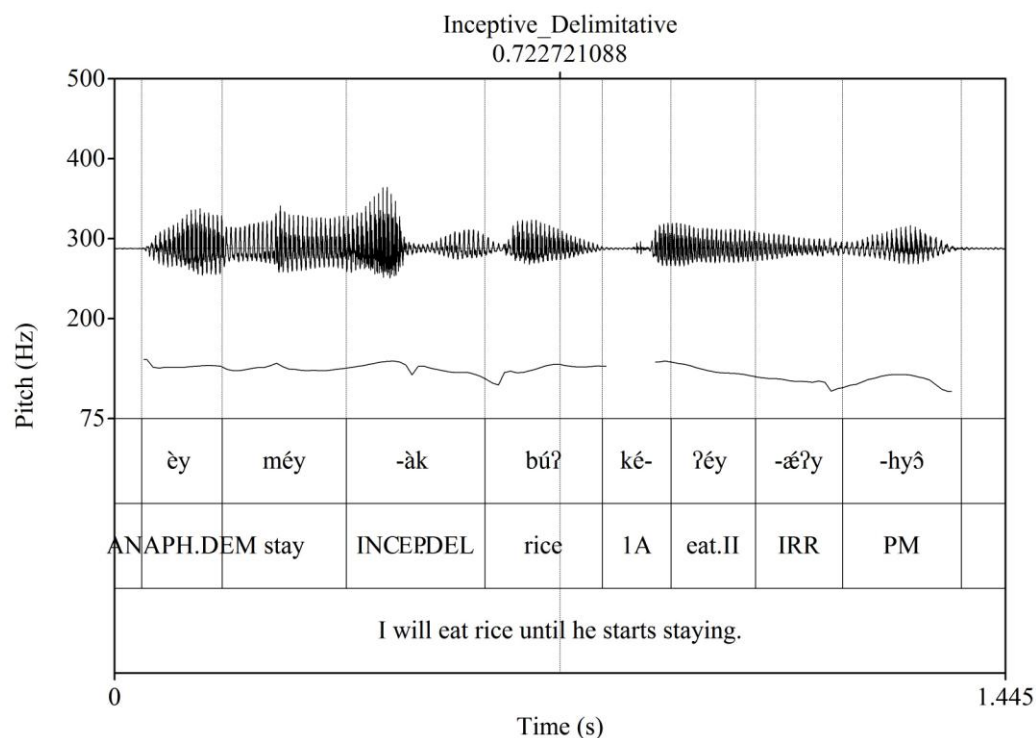


Figure 59: Intonation pattern at the boundary of an inceptive delimitative clause

12.4.1.6 Purposive clause

In Hyow, purposive clauses can be expressed in different ways based on their internal semantics, e.g. internally motivational, and externally motivational. In general, purposive clauses justify actors' performances of events predicated in clauses. According to Cristofaro (2003: 157), "Purpose relations link two SoAs one of which (the main one) is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of another one (the dependent one)." Unlike temporal and conditional clauses, reason and purposive clauses are hardly used in a discourse organizing function (Diessel, 2013: 350). That is why we find reason and purposive clauses postposing matrix clauses. Purposive clauses show two different constructions in Hyow – motion purposive and non-motion purposive.

A motion purposive clause, which has an actualized verb, is marked by the purposive clause-linking suffix *-â* in order to express the purpose or intention of the referent in performing an action, a process, or being in a state that is predicated in a matrix clause. A purposive clause requires a Stem II verb, which is historically nominalized (see §6.2). As a nominalized verb, it can take locative case markers. Therefore, the motion purposive clause-linking suffix *-â* originates from the general

locative case clitic = *â*. Since a motion purposive clause encodes the goal of a participant, and a goal necessarily involves a location, it is logical to use a locative marker for encoding purpose. The example in (859) expresses the purpose of a third person singular S argument in the motion purposive clause marked by the suffix *-â*.

(859) *tsònéyâ, tsètthô èyhú?y, hngúdâ.*

[tsónéy-â]_{DC} [tsét-thô èyhú?y]_{MC} hngúdâ

[roam-PURP] [go-PM like.that] DP

‘He went for roaming like that, OK?’

[ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0009]

A non-motion purposive clause is marked by *-êng*, which originates from the inessive locative case marker = *êng*. A non-motion purposive clause is obligatorily marked by the irrealis suffix *-é?y*. The example in (860) illustrates a non-motion purposive clause preposing an independent clause. Here, there is no motion involved with the respective participant in relation to the purpose of performing the event predicated in the independent clause. It is also noticeable here that the verb ‘scold’ is a non-motional verb.

(860) *áphæt-ní, lòál-é?yêng pó?.*

[á-phæt-ní]_{DC} [lò-ál-é?y-êng]_{DC} [pó?]_{MC}

[DIR-scold.II-TEMP] [bring.II-DEP-IRR-PURP] [DV.II]

‘When he went to scold her, he did it to bring her back.’

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_042]

In sentences where purpose relations are established between the purposive and matrix clauses, the actor of the matrix clause event might or might not have control over the realization of the matrix clause events. However, it is the nature of a purpose relation that ensures some degree of involvement of the actor of the matrix clause event in the realization of the purposive clause predicated event (Cristofaro, 2003: 157). Therefore, it is typical of a purposive clause not to have the verb marked for its

core arguments, which is also observed in Hyow. Both the motion and non-motion purposive clause verbs are not indexed by their core arguments. The A argument of the motion purposive clause verb in (861) is not marked on the verb, while the independent matrix clause verb is marked by its S argument. From this example, it can be inferred that the S argument of the independent clause verb is coreferential with the A argument of the dependent verb of the motion purposive clause in (861). This example also reflects the fact that the actor of the matrix clause event has a control over the realization of the dependent clause predicated event.

(861) *khronḡ ʔéy-â, ínítsethó.*

[khronḡ ʔéy-â]_{DC} [í-ní-tsét-thô]_{MC}

[people eat.II-M.PURP] [3S-PL-go-PM]

‘They went to eat people.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_060]

Similarly, the A argument of the non-motion purposive clause verb in (862) is not marked on the verb, because it is coreferential with the marked argument on the verb of the independent clause. It means that the actor of the independent clause predicated event, which involves a S argument, is also the actor of the non-motion purposive clause predicated event, which involves an A argument.

(862) *khúyúngákʔ tòngshó ínìlòhó, phrúməkʔ tòngshó tèmàèʔyâng.*

[khúyúng = â = kʔ tòngshó í-ní-lò-hó]_{MC}

[highland=LOC=GEN indigenous.people 3S-PL-come-PM]

[phrúm = â = kʔ tòngshó tòm-æʔy-âng]_{DC}

[lowland=LOC=GEN indigenous.people chase.II-IRR-NM.PURP]

‘The indigenous people of the highland came to chase the indigenous people of the lowland.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0023-0024]

One might argue that since the transitive verbs show that purposive clauses require Stem II verbs, which are historically nominalized in Hyow, the purposive

construction are infact nominalized verb marked by the locative case clitic. However, the obligatory non-marking of argument markers on the purposive clause verb sets it apart from a nominalized NP. Nonetheless, the verb of the purposive clause is also restricted from using some of the available MA markers (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs. Like other dependent verbs, the mood of the purposive clause verb is dependent on the mood of the matrix clause verb. The independent clause verb *tsét* ‘go’ in (863) refers to an unactualized event. Thus, the event in the purposive clauses in (863) is temporally set at the time of speech. On the other hand, the independent verb (864) refers to an actualized event. Thus, the temporal locus of the situation described by the dependent clause verb is set before the time of speech.

(863) *èy bí khàtsâ pəʔydók ʋ. tùâ lòkéyâ kétsètəʔyhnəʔ ʋ.*

[èy bí khâ = tsâ pəʔy-dók]_{S1} [[túâ lòkéy-â]_{DC}
 [ANAPH.DEM work all=TOP be.finished-ANT] [[now play-PURP]
 [ké-tsét-əʔy-hnəʔ]_{MC}]_{S2}
 1S-go-IRR-ULT]]

‘All that work has been finished. I will finally go to play now.’

[ZM_SFM_HP_122013_Hyow_0040_017]

(864) *èy áyók ínílà?hâ, èy tsùâ tsò?à?yâng íníhyèndúnâ.*

[èy á-yók í-ní-lá?-hâ]_{MC} [èy tsú = â
[ANAPH.DEM GRP-corpse 3A-PL-pull.II-PM] [ANAPH.DEM DIST=LOC
[tsò?-á?y-âng]_{DC} [í-ní-hýon-dún = â]_{DC}
[burn.II-IR-PURP] [3A-PL-throw.II-PNMLZ=LOC]

‘They pulled that corpse there for burning in the place where they threw those.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_242]

The purposive clause can prepose or postpose a matrix clause. A speaker can order an addressee to perform an action, which necessarily encodes the purpose of the order. The example in (865) illustrates a situation where a mother tells her daughter to go to play since she was able to finish her assigned work. The order of going is intended for playing, which is captured by the motion purposive clause in (865).

(865) *núlâ bí pè?yní, “lòkêyâ tsètâ” tîng.*

[nú = lâ bí pó?y-ní]_{DC} [[lókêy-â]_{DC} [tsèt-â]_{MC} tîng]_{REPC}
[mother=ERG work be.finished-TEMP] [[play-PURP] [go-POL.IMP] QT]

‘When the work was finished, Mother told, “Go to play.”’

[ZM_SFM_HP_122013_Hyow_0040_021]

There is no marking of intonation at the boundary of a purposive clause, whether it preposes or postposes a matrix clause. This observation is made on both frequent speech and elicited examples. The spectrogram and pitch track in Figure 60 represents a text example, where there is no presence of an intonational effect at the boundary of the purposive clause.

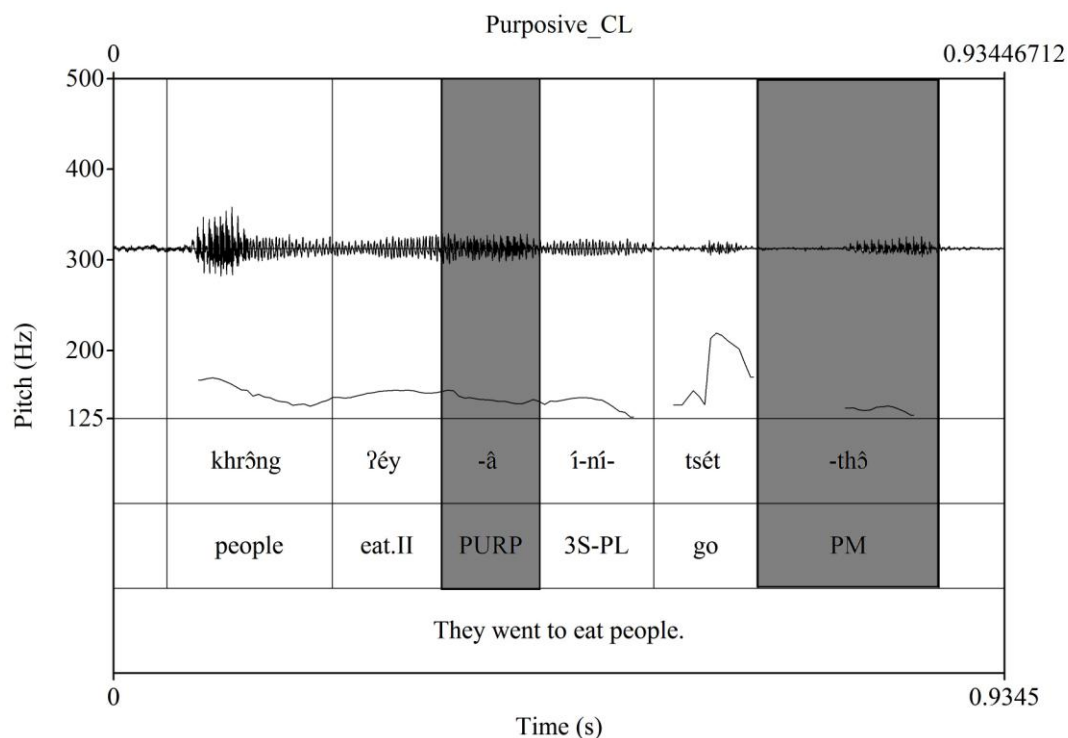


Figure 60: Graphical representation of zero intonation at the boundary of a purposive clause

12.4.1.7 Motivational purposive clause

A motivational purposive clause encodes the internal motivation for performing an action, a process or being in a state expressed in a matrix clause predicate. Typically, a motivational purposive clause verb is inflected by the capabilitive modality in order to express the ability of performing the predicated event in the matrix clause, which is the goal or intention or motivation of an actor. However, it is not obligatory for a motivational purposive clause verb to be inflected by the capabilitive suffix. The example in (866) illustrates a motivational purposive clause. The act of praying is motivated by the purpose or intention of being born together in (866). Here, the postposed clause encodes the motivational purpose.

(866) *shú? ínítòngéyhyô, khàní útú ákróálmóná.*

[shú? í-ní-tóng-êy-hyô]_{DC} [kháé = ní útú
[prayer 3A-PL-perform.prayers-MID-PM] [all=FOC together
á-krô-âl-hmóná]_{MC}
DIR-fall-DEP-MTV.PURP]

‘They prayed so that they would all be reborn together.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_079]

A motivational purposive clause always takes a Stem I verb, and it is not indexed by its core participants. The core arguments S/A are coreferential with the matrix clause verb core arguments S/A. That the verb of a motivational purposive clause takes Stem I variant is evident from the example in (867). The independent clause verb in (867) is not marked by its third personal singular A argument, since it is usual not to mark a third person singular S/A in Hyow (see §10.2.3). The co-referentiality of arguments are evident from the example in (866) too.

(867) *tsô lóhmóná, pò?éyà?yhyô.*

[ô-tsô ló-hmóná]_{DC} [pó?-êy-á?y-hyô]_{MC}
[GRP-child bring.I-MTV.PURP] [DV.II-MID-IRR-PM]

‘She will try so that she brings a child.’

[ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_045]

A motivational purposive clause verb cannot take all the available applicative suffixes. For example, the instrumental or locative applicative suffix *-nák* has functional limitations based on stem variants. This applicative suffix is only compatible with Stem II verbs (see §8.3.2.3). Since the verb of a motivational purposive is Stem I, it cannot be inflected by the instrumental and locative applicative suffix *-nák*. The example in (868) is ungrammatical, since the valence of the dependent clause verb *tsét* ‘go’ cannot be increased by the instrumental or locative applicative. The sentence is grammatically correct without the applicative suffix.

(868) **èyá táá pékbôy, gáríông tsétnákhnúnghmóná.*

[èy = á táá pék-bôy]_{MC}

[ANAPH.DEM=DAT money give.I-DEL.IMP]

[gárí = ông tsét-nák-hnúng-hmóná]_{DC}

[bus_B=INST go-INST.APP-PH.CAP-MTV.PURP]

*(Lit) ‘Give him money so that he can go by a bus.’ [Elicited]

However, the verb of the motivational purposive clause can be inflected by the beneficial applicative suffix *-pék*, since it does not have any compatibility constraints on using stem variants. In view of that, the example in (869) is grammatical.

(869) *èyá tsók-bôy, èylâ èyá hówpèkhnúnghmóná.*

[èy = á tsók-bôy]_{MC} [èy = lâ èy = á

[ANAPH.DEM=DAT teach.I-DEL.IMP] ANAPH.DEM=ERG ANAPH.DEM=DAT

hów-pék-hnúng-hmóná]_{DC}

say.I-BEN-PH.CAP-MTV.PURP]

‘Teach him_i so that he_i can tell him_i.’ [Elicited]

Other than the obligative, physical capabilitive and cognitive capabilitive modality markers, and inchoative, habitual, repetitive and non-repetitive aspectual markers, the verb of a motivational purposive clause cannot be inflected for available modality and aspectual markers (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs. If a matrix clause verb is in irrealis modality, it is ungrammatical to have the verb of the motivational purposive clause also in irrealis modality. With the irrealis verb of the motivational purposive clause, the sentence in (870) is ungrammatical, but without the irrealis marker, the sentence is correct.

(870) **èylâ shòt-é?ymòhò, hàléy-é?yhnâng-hmóná.*

[èy = lâ shót-é?y-mó-hò]_{MC} [hæl-èy-é?y-hnâng-hmóná]_{DC}

[ANAPH.DEM=ERG look.II-IRR-PRIOR-PM] [choose.I-MID-IRR-PH.CAP-MTV.PURP]

*(Lit) 'He will look at the shirt first, so that he will be able to choose.' [Elicited]

The position of a motivational purposive clause is not rigid in relation to the corresponding matrix clause, which can be inferred from the examples in (866) and (867). The corresponding matrix clause can be both dependent and independent, which is consistently observed in the examples given in this section so far.

There is no intonational marking at the boundary of a motivational purposive clause. The illustration of pitch track in Figure 61 shows the presence of a zero intonation at the boundary of the preposed motivational purposive clause.

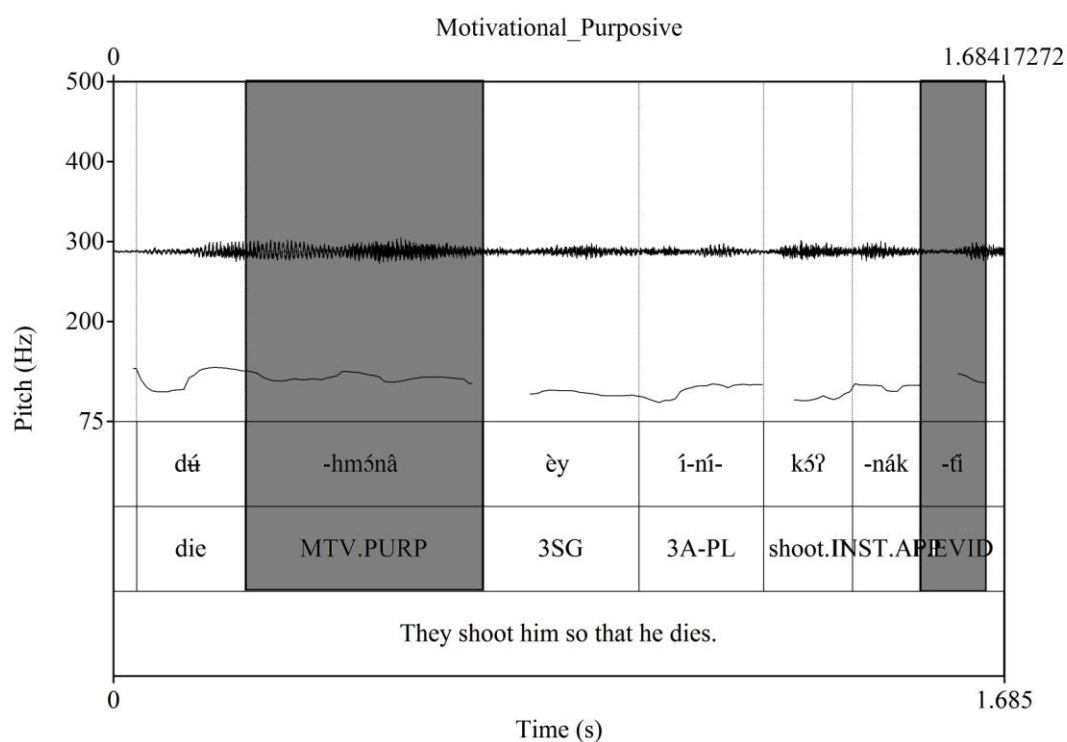


Figure 61: Graphical representation of intonation pattern at the boundary of an initial motivational purposive clause

12.4.1.8 Simultaneous clause

A simultaneous clause event takes place at a same time a matrix clause event takes place. Its functional domain falls within the adverbial clause, since it sets the environment of the matrix clause event. In simple words, the simultaneous clause encodes the manner of the matrix clause predicated event. A Hyow simultaneous clause is marked by *-pê*. A distinct feature of a simultaneous clause is for it to be repetitive by its very semantic nature. This kind of clause is found abundantly in South Asian folktales, and so it is in Hyow. The simultaneous clause-linking suffix has an internal imperfective meaning, which is a member of an inflectional category available to the independent clause verb (see §9.2.3.10). A typical simultaneous clause is exemplified in (871). The sentence in this example refers to the actions of ‘following’ and ‘meeting/finding’ in simultaneous and independent clauses respectively taking place at the same time. Since *-pê* also involves an extensive meaning, and the simultaneous clause demands imperfectivity inherently, the clause is repeated twice or more than twice in order to create a symbolic representation of imperfectivity via a distinct iconic structure.

(871) *èydô èylúp hyùlpê, hyùlpê, shèták khóâ shóní? kí ní khóm-dá* ㄴ.

èydô [èylúp hyùl-pê hyùl-pê]_{DC} [shét-ák khó = â shó-ní?

then [like.that follow-SIM follow-SIM] [CLS-one time=LOC wild.pig-foot.print

kí-ní-khóm-dá]_{MC}

1A-PL-meet.II-ITER]

‘Then, following, following that way, we met the footprint of the wild pig again one day.’ [ZM_HTJ_HP_062014_Hyow_0018_0040]

A simultaneous clause requires a Stem I verb, like a motivational purposive clause. Moreover, arguments are never indexed on the dependent verb of a simultaneous clause. The arguments are coreferential with the matrix-clause core arguments. It is the very nature of the simultaneous clause to share the actor of the matrix clause. However, the role of the actor might be different depending on their nature of involvement with the action or state – either S or A. In (872), the actor in

both the clauses is the single argument of their respective verbs, and they are coreferential.

(872) *èydô èy khóá èylúp mǎtpê mǎtpêá, íníméyhyótí, hngúdâ.*

[èydô èy khó = â [èylúp mǎt-pê mǎt-pê = á]_{DC}
[then ANAPH.DEM time=LOC [like.that starve-SIM starve-SIM=SC.ADD]

í-ní-mêy-hyô-tí]_{MC} hngúdâ
3S-PL-stay-PM-R.EVID] DP

‘Then, at that time, even starving, starving like that, they lived, OK?.’

ZM_ARGS8_082015_Hyow_0011_0034]

In contrast, the coreferential arguments are assigned to different roles in (873). In the independent clause, the third person singular participant is an agent and in the simultaneous clause, it is the singular argument of the intransitive verb *káp* ‘cry’.

(873) *èy útsúhnútsángtsólání èyhú?y kǎppé kǎppèní, èy únúá nípí hòngkhôl pék ʘ.*

[èy ú-tsúhnú-tsáng-tsô = lâ = ní [èyhú?y káp-pê
ANAPH.DEM 3SG.POSS-daughter-old-DIM=ERG like.that cry-SIM
káp-pê = ní]_{DC} èy ú-nú = á nípí hóng-khól pék]_{MC}
cry-SIM=FOC] ANAPH.DEM 3SG.POSS-DAT a.prawn.paste juice=EXP give.II]

‘While crying, her daughter gave her the juice of the prawn paste.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0070]

A simultaneous clause is very much desententialized, in the sense that the verb of a simultaneous clause cannot be inflected for any of the available MA markers (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs. It can be placed almost anywhere in a sentence without any positional constraint, which makes it like a free adverb in Hyow. However, the simultaneous clause does not have any co-occurrence restriction as the temporal clause does in Hyow.

A simultaneous clause does not have an intonational marking at the boundary of the clause. As drawn in Figure 62, the simultaneous clause-linking suffix *-pê* retains its falling tone at the boundary of the clause.

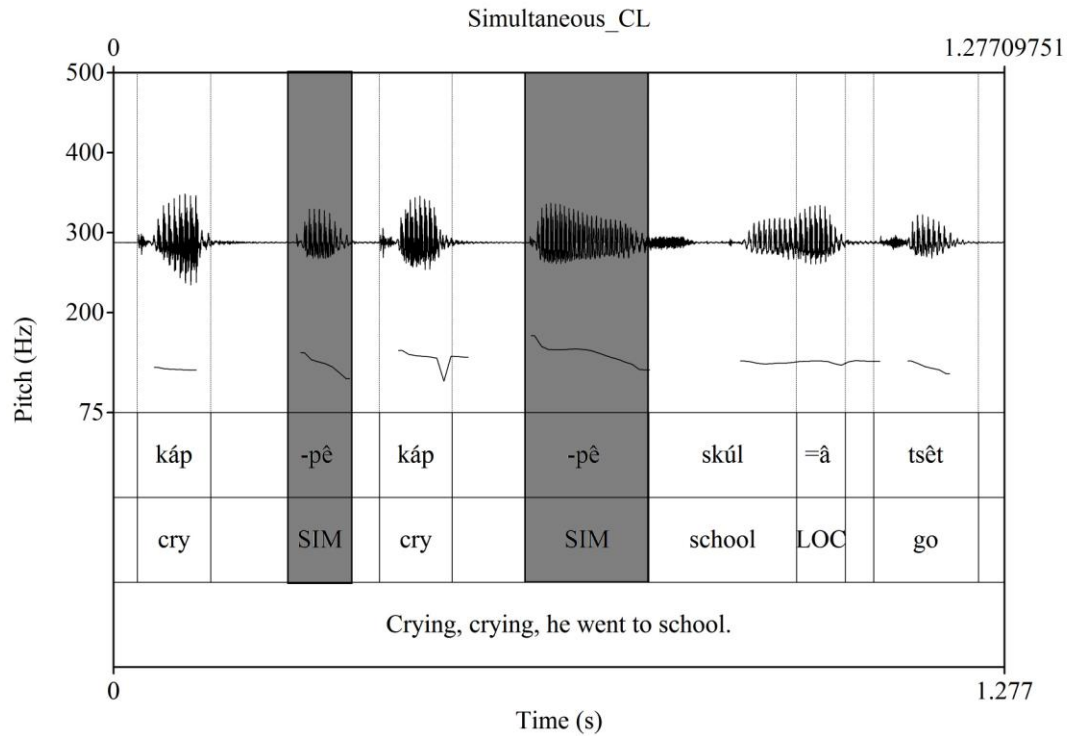


Figure 62: Intonation at the boundary of a simultaneous adverbial clause

12.4.1.9 Circumstantial clause

A circumstantial clause encodes the situation or condition in which a matrix clause event takes place. Theoretically, there is a very subtle difference between a simultaneous and a circumstantial clause, since events predicated by both the clauses describe the manners of their respective verbs. According to Mikhal 2017²³,

A circumstantial clause is a clause providing ‘background information’ on an occurrence described by another clause—more precisely, on the state or qualities of the participants involved in a given event or situation, their position or actions at the time of the occurrence, etc...

Hyow circumstantial clauses are marked by the linking suffix *-hləngâ*. Like the simultaneous clause, a circumstantial clause is also repeated twice or more. The first

²³ Online, 6 December 2016.

mention of the clause does not require the final vowel, but the second repetition does. The example of the circumstantial clause in (874) refers to a situation in which the actor of the independent clause performed the action. Note that the clause in question does not refer to the simultaneous event in relation to the event in the independent clause.

(874) *èyhnəʔlatsə, èy hyúnəngní phónéyhlóng phónéyhlóng phónéyhləngâ, kəmhəʔtí.*

èy-hnəʔ-lá = tsə [èy hyún = əng = ní phón-êy-hlóng
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP [ANAPH.DEM rope=INST=FOC be.hung-MID-CIR
phón-êy-hlóng phón-êy-hləngâ]_{DC} [kəm-həʔ-tí]_{MC}
be.hung-MID-CIR be.hung-MID-CIR] [ascend-ULT-R.EVID]

‘Finally, after that, he climbed up hanging with that rope.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_109]

Repetitions of the circumstantial clause are commonly found in the text, but it is not an absolute necessity. There are examples in the corpus where a circumstantial clause is mentioned only once. In such instantiations, the circumstantial clause builds the syntactic relationship of dependency with the matrix clause by the linking suffix *-hləngâ*. In (875), the circumstantial clause is mentioned only once encoding the mental situation of the coreferential actors of the predicated events of the clauses.

(875) *kələəʔyhləngâ, ínítsétâlhəʔtí.*

[kələəʔy-hləngâ]_{DC} [í-ní-tsét-â-l-həʔ-tí]_{MC}
[envy.II-CIR] [3S-PL-go-DEP-ULT-R.EVID]

‘Envying her, they went away.’ [ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_074]

Like a simultaneous clause, a circumstantial clause verb cannot be indexed by the core arguments. They are coreferential with the arguments of the matrix clause verb. The referent of the matrix clause event is in either S or A function in the

circumstantial clause. The S argument of the independent clause verb in (876) is coreferential with the A argument of the circumstantial clause.

(876) *é?éyní pè?yní, ?éyhlèngâ, étsét ʘ.*

[?éy-ní pə?y-ní]_{DC} [?éy-hlèngâ]_{DC} [é-tsét]_{MC}
 [eat.II-TEMP finish.II-TEMP] [eat.I-CIR] [3S-go]

When he ate, when he finished, he went eating.

[ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_036]

Similarly to the simultaneous clause, a circumstantial clause has to take a Stem I verb. The verb for ‘put’ has two stems in Hyow – *lát* ‘put.I’ and *lá?* ‘pull.II’. The use of the Stem I verb in a circumstantial clauses is instantiated in (877).

(877) *èydô èy nútsô páyhni? làthlèngâ, èyâ tsí? ʘ.*

èydô [èy nú-tsô páy-hni? [lát-hlèngâ]_{DC} èy = â tsí?]_{MC}
 then [ANAPH.DEM mother-son CLS-two [pull.I-CIR] ANAPH.DEM=LOC take.II]

‘Then, she took the two, the mother and son, there, pulling.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_157]

A circumstantial clause verb cannot take any of the available inflectional categories that mark MA in Hyow (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs. However, they can be inflected by usual adverbial suffixes.

A circumstantial clause does not have any positional constraint. It can both prepose and postpose a matrix clause. A circumstantial clause has no constraints of co-occurrence either. It can co-occur with both interrogative and imperative clauses. In (878), the circumstantial clause, depicting the situation in which the actor should perform the commanded action, is preposing an imperative clause, which is marked by a polite imperative suffix.

(878) *èy lôm dédé?dó phùléynàhlòngâ, tsét-ê.*

[èy lôm dédé? = dó [phùl-êy-ná-hlòngâ]_{DC} tsét-ê]_{MC}

[ANAPH.DEM road along=EMPH [spread-MID-SPNT-CIR] go-POL.IMP]

‘Spreading sand on your face, go along that road.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_104]

As stated above, the circumstantial clause can also co-occur with an interrogative clause, as exemplified in (879), where the condition of ‘worrying’ by the actor depicted in the circumstantial clause is assumed to affect the ability to weave a blanket. The circumstantial clause in (879) also shows that the clause can be a topic of the sentence.

(879) *úlûng pùhlòngátsê, íbô kíphíálâ tò?álhyóôm?*

[ú-lûng pú-hlòngâ = tsê]_{DC} [íbô kí-phíá = lâ]_{MC}

[3SG.POSS-heart worry-CIR=TOP] [how 1SG.POSS-wife=ERG]

tó?-âl-hyó = êm

weave.II-DEP-PM=CONT.Q

‘He thought, “How will my wife weave worrying?”’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_057]

Intonation does not come into play in identifying a circumstantial clause boundary. Figure 63 shows that the circumstantial clause-linking suffix *-hmónâ* retains its underlying falling tone at the boundary of the circumstantial clause.

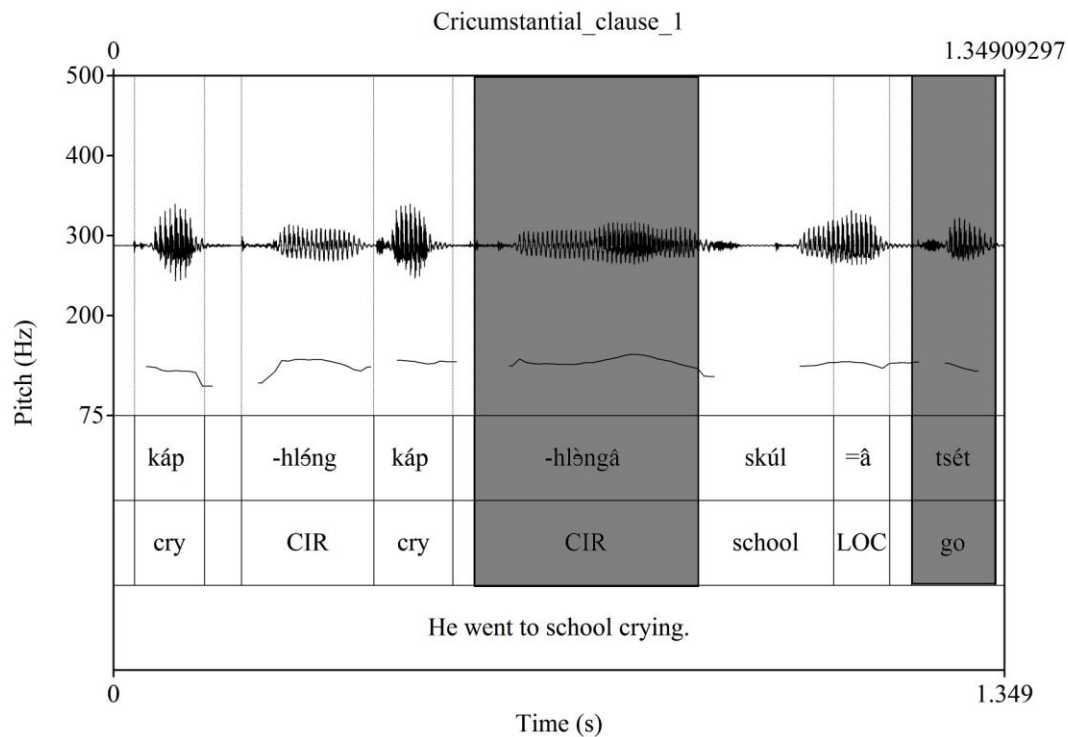


Figure 63: Graphical representation of intonation at the boundary of a circumstantial clause

12.4.1.10 Posterior temporal clause

A temporal clause is already defined in §12.4.1.1. In relation to that, it can be added that a posterior temporal clause describes an action, a process, or a state that follows an action, a process, or a state encoded by a matrix clause. Cristofaro (2003: 159) defines a posterior relation as one that places the dependent clause event later than the matrix clause event. At the time of the realization of the independent event, the dependent event remains unactualized. Posterior temporal clauses are marked by the suffix *-khóngáʔ*. The posterior temporal clause in (880) situates the independent clause predicated event prior to it.

(880) *lów pòéykhóngá? lá ááníshòtêy.*

[lów pò-êy-khóngá?]_{DC} [lá á-á-ní-shót-êy]_{MC}
 [swidden.field DV.I-MID-POST.TEMP] [land 3A-DIR-PL-look.II-MID]

‘Before cultivating the swidden field, one checks the land.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_002]

A posterior temporal clause can be both non-canonical and canonical like the temporal, conditional, concessive and reason adverbial clauses. A canonical posterior temporal clause verb has to be obligatorily marked by the predicate-marking suffix. The arguments of the posterior temporal clause verb and the matrix clause verb can be either coreferential or non-coreferential. The canonical posterior temporal clause in (881) is marked by the predicate-marking suffix. The third person plural A argument of the dependent verb here is coreferential with the third person plural A argument of the independent clause verb.

(881) *ínítòngè?yhyókhóngá?tsâ, àmónní tsímlé thòntsàkóngùlàtsâ, íníshông.*

[í-ní-tóng-é?y-hyô-khóngá?=tsâ]_{DC} [ám=êng=ní tsímlé
 [3A-PL-pick.II-IRR-PM-POST.TEMP=TOP] [pot=INE=FOC fermented.liquid
 thón-tsák-êng-ú-lá=tsâ]_{DC} [í-ní-shông]_{IDC}
 put.II-COMPL-DUR-3PL-SEQ=TOP] [3A-PL-put.on.stove.II]

‘Before they will keep the alcohol, putting the fermented liquid completely inside a pot, they put (the pot) on a stove.’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_012]

Like the other adverbial clauses that have non-canonical versions, a non-canonical posterior temporal clause verb is not marked for core participants. For example, the first person plural S argument of the matrix clause verb in (882) is not marked on the dependent verb of the posterior temporal clause. An S/A argument of a non-canonical posterior temporal clause which is not co-referential with the argument of the matrix clause S/A argument has to be overtly mentioned, which is demonstrated

by the example in (883). Since Stem I verbs do not get marked prefixally by argument markers in clauses with positive polarity, the non-co-referential argument has to be overtly mentioned in such non-canonical dependent clauses.

(882) *“náng tsí?túy nóshò?hó, dèkông krókhóngá? kínìlòálà?yhyóds” ínitàkhò?tí ʌ.*

[[náng tsí?túy nó-shó?-hó dèk = ông]_{RC} [kró-khóngá?]_{MC}]_{DC}

[2SG saliva 2A-spit.out.II-PM soil=INE] [fall-POST.TEMP]]

[kí-ní-lò-âl-æ?y-hyô = dâ]_{MC}]_{REPC} [í-ní-ták-hnó?-tí]_{REC}

[1S-PL-COME-DEP-IRR-PM=EMPH]] [3A-PL-say.II-ULT-R.EVID]

‘They finally said, “We will return before the saliva that you spit out falls on the ground.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_054]

(883) *kêy kòpkhóngá? íníhyòldók ʌ.*

kêy kóp-khóngá? í-ní-hyól-dók

1SG shoot.I-POST.TEMP 3S-PL-lay.down-ANT

‘Before I shot, they had laid down.’ [Elicited]

The verb of a non-canonical posterior temporal clause is only allowed to utilize Stem I to form a predicate. The verb ‘shoot’ has two stems in Hyow – *kóp* ‘shoot.I’ and *kò?* ‘shoot.II’. The posterior temporal clause verb in (884) includes a Stem I verb, and refers an event taking place after the independent clause event, which means that the act of shooting happens after the act of lying down on the ground. The A argument of the posterior temporal clause is not overtly present because it is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause.

(884) *íníhyòldák, kòpkhóngá? ʋ.*

[í-ní-hyól-dák]_{IDC} [kóp-khóngá?]_{DC}

[3S-PL-lie.down-ANT] [shoot.I-POST.TEMP]

‘They had laid down before they he shot.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_206]

The temporal point of the dependent verb of a non-canonical posterior temporal clause is relative of the matrix clause’s temporal locus. If the temporal setting of the matrix clause verb is after the time of speech, the temporal locus of the dependent verb is either at the time or after the time of speech, or vice versa, as exemplified in (881) and (882) respectively. On the other hand, a canonical posterior temporal clause event has to be at the time or after the time of speech if the matrix clause verb denotes an actualized event. Otherwise, if the temporal locus of the matrix clause verb is set before the time of speech, so is the posterior temporal clause, as shown in (885). The reporting clause is missing from the example in (885), which describes an actualized event. In inference of that, the event described by the dependent verb is set before the time of speech.

(885) *phólshé kábètè?yhyókhóngá?, kúpúmōng thî dùpáká méyà?bák, bòtáyálbây.*

[phólshé ká-a-bét-é?y-hyô-khóngá?]_{DC} [[kú-púm = êng thî

[python 1A-DIR-butcher.II-IRR-PM-POST.TEMP] ISG.POSS-body=INE blood

dúp-ák = á mēy-á?bák]_{DC} [bót-êy-âl-bây]_{MC}]_{REC}

CLS-one=SC.ADD exist-NEG-PURP.NEG] [wash.I-MID-DEP-DEL.IMP

‘Before I would go to butcher the python, I said, “Wash me so that there is not even one drop of blood on my body.

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0079]

The position of a posterior temporal clause is not rigid. It can prepose or postpose the matrix clause. It also does not have any constraints on following or preceding any clause other than a declarative. The posterior temporal clause in (886)

follows the independent matrix clause. The different positions of the posterior temporal clause suggest that they are not iconically represented on the surface.

(886) *íníshòngǎ?yhyókhóngá?tsâ, ìbó ínípò?mòám?*

[í-ní-shóng-ǎ?y-hyô-khóngá? = tsâ]_{DC} [ìbó
[3A-PL-put.on.stove.II-IRR-PM-POST.TEMP=TOP] [what
í-ní-pó?-mó = ám]_{MC}
3A-PL-DV.II-PRIOR=CONT.Q

‘Before they will put the fermented liquid on a stove, what do they do first?’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_013]

A posterior temporal clause can be verbless. Such use seems to be a contact effect from Bangla. As a result, examples can be found in constructions that include loan words from Bangla. Nonetheless, consultants suggest that such a use of the posterior temporal suffix is grammatical in Hyow, as exemplified in (887).

(887) *zúddhókhóngá? kíníméykhô?ǎ, èyâ.*

[zúddhó-khóngá?]_{DC} [kí-ní-mêy-khô? èy = â]_{MC}
[war_B-POST.TEMP] [1S-PL-live-FACT ANAPH.DEM=LOC]

‘We really lived there before the war.’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_083]

Like other types of adverbial clauses, intonation does not play a vital role in marking the boundary of a posterior temporal clause. The analysis of posterior temporal clause samples using Praat reveals no visible or potential pitch difference at the boundary of a posterior temporal clause. In Figure 64, the pitch shows the underlying tone of the clause-linking suffix final at the boundary of a posterior temporal clause.

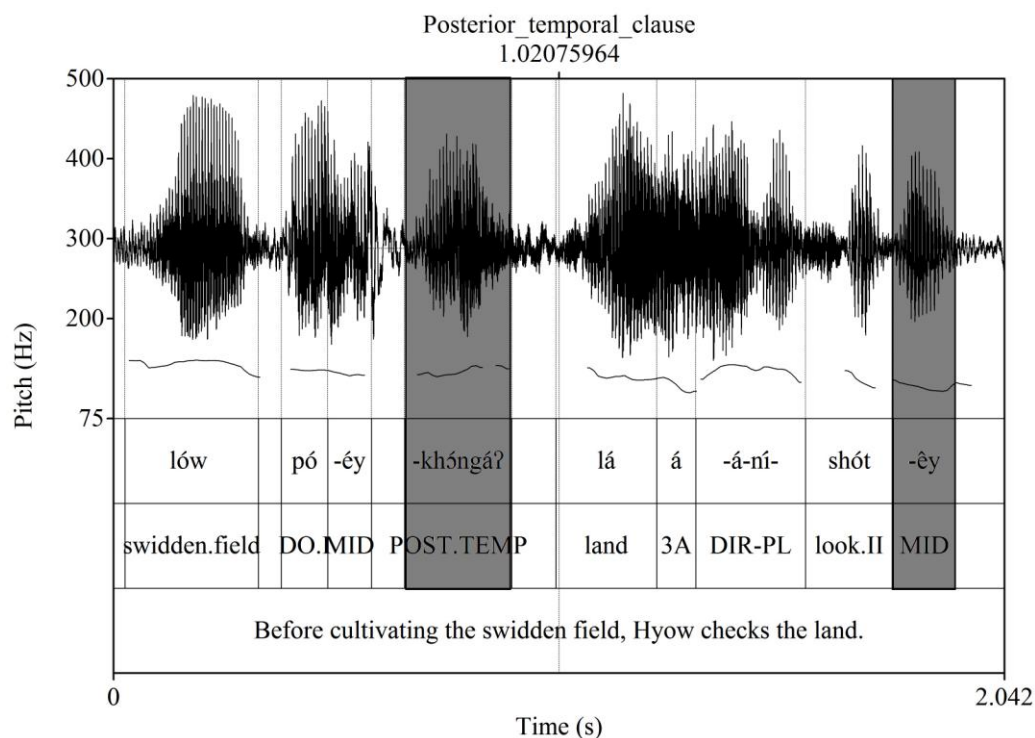


Figure 64: Intonation pattern at the boundary of a posterior temporal clause

12.4.1.11 Negative adverbial clause

A negative adverbial clause is a special type of construction in Hyow. It is not uncommon to find special negative dependent clause construction cross-linguistically (see Schmidtke-Bode, 2009: 186; Lichtenberk 1995). Negative adverbial clauses encode negative concessive, negative circumstantial, negative purpose (avertive) and negative reason clauses in Hyow. A negative adverbial clause is marked by the third person singular negative suffix *-áʔ* and the negative adverbial suffix *-bák*. The suffix *-bák* is only found in negative dependent clauses. The negative dependent clause in (888) ambiguously expresses both a negative reason and a negative concessive meaning.

(888) *èydê shó bân-á?-bák, kínìlòâl.*

èydê [shó bân-á?-bák]_{DC} [kí-ní-ló-âl]_{MC}

then [wild.pig get.I-NEG-NEG.ADV] [1S-PL-come-DEP]

‘Then, we came back, even though we did not find a wild pig.’ (CONCESS)

‘Then we came back not getting a wild pig.’ (REASON)

[ZM_HTJ_HP_062014_HYOW_0018_0028]

In (889) and (890), the dependent clauses express neither a negative concession nor a reason; rather they express manners or circumstances in which the matrix clause event took place or has to be performed respectively.

(889) *èyní kòn-á?-bák émêy.*

èyní [kón-á?-bák]_{DC} [é-mêy]_{MC}

so [cross-NEG-NEG.ADV] [3S-stay]

‘So, she stayed not crossing him (the old man).’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_087]

(890) *dùm-á?-bák, khó wààkní, tsíng nútùm-è?ylà?hó.*

[dúm-á?-bák]_{DC} [khó wá-ák = ní]_{DC} [tsíng

[stop.II-NEG-NEG.ADV] [time be.light-INCEP.DEL=FOC] [drum

nú-túm-é?y-lá?-hó]_{MC}

2A-play.music.instruments.II-IRR-OBLG-PM]

‘You will have to play the drum without stopping until the morning.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_137]

Yet, the dependent clause in (891) expresses a purposive meaning. A negative purposive is often called avertive. Accordingly, (891) is an example of an avertive clause.

(891) *khrónglâ hmùà?bák, tsô tsét tsê tîng.*

[[khrông = lâ hmù-á?-bák]_{DC} [tsô = ô tsét tsê]_{MC} tîng]_{REPC}

[[people=ERG see.I-NEG-NEG.ADV] [son=VOC go COHORT] QT]

‘The mother said, “Son, let’s go, lest people see (so that people do not see).”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_023]

Regardless of the function to which a negative adverbial clause is assigned, the verb of the negative adverbial clause is always Stem I. Most importantly, there is no argument indexation on the verb. The S/A argument of the dependent verb of a negative adverbial clause are coreferential with the S/A argument of the verb of a matrix clause, which is evident from all the examples in this section. In addition, interestingly, the third person singular negative suffix functions as a generic negative marker. The actor of the event predicated by the independent clause in (892) is a first person singular argument, which is also the A argument of the dependent verb of the negative reason clause. In a normal independent clause, we find the verb negated by the suffix that represents the respective A argument. Since a negative adverbial clause has a constraint of not being marked for arguments, the function of the negative polarity is assigned to the third person singular negative suffix, as exemplified in (892). This is a nice example showing why and how the reanalysis of a morpheme takes place. The negativity is a necessary part of the negative adverbial clause, but regular negative markers cannot be used because of the argument indexation constraint. And so, the gap is filled by the most peripheral core argument – third person. Thus, it is assumed that the third person negative suffix is becoming a generic negation marker in Hyow.

(892) *kíbiállá?, tsó phòtlà?tià?bák.*

[kí-bí-âl-lá?]_{MC} [tsó phót-lá?-tí-á?-bák]_{DC}

[1A-work.II-DEP-OBLG] [lesson study.I-OBLG-NITER-NEG.ADV]

I had to work back, not getting to study anymore.'

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0097]

Other than a few modality and aspectual markers – obligative, capabilitive, habitual, iterative, non-repetitive and terminal – a negative adverbial clause is not marked by MA suffixes (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs. The second and third avertive clause verbs are inflected by the capabilitive and non-iterative suffixes in (893). The matrix clause is not included in this example.

(893) *kràktìà?bák, khrónglâ tàhnúngtià?bák, hówhnúngtià?bák.*

[krák-tí-á?-bák]_{DC} [khrông = lâ

[be.wicked-NITER-NEG-NEG.ADV] [people=ERG

tá-hnúng-tí-á?-bák]_{DC} [hów-hnúng-tí-á?-bák]_{DC}

tell.I-PH.CAP-NITER-NEG-NEG.CONCESS] [say.I-PH.CAP-NITER-NEG-NEG.CONCESS]

'...so that he is not wicked anymore, so that people cannot talk (about him), so that he cannot say (anything) anymore.'

[ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0066]

The temporal point of the dependent clause verb in such constructions is inferred from the temporal locus of the matrix clause. If the verb of the matrix clause describes an actualized event, then the dependent clause expresses an actualized event. If the matrix clause event is unactualized, then the dependent clause event should be in either at the time of speech or after the time of speech. The matrix clause verb refers to an actualized event in (894), and so is the negative concessive clause. On the other hand, the temporal point of a matrix clause event is set at the time after

speech by the unactualized event. Therefore, the negative concessive clause verb is to be inferred in either at the time of speech or after the time of speech.

(894) *kəmdòà?bák, èyní èy là?ông ínípànéytí.*

[kóm-dó-á?-bák]_{DC} [èyní èy là?-ông
[descend-PREF-NEG-NEG.ADV] [so ANAPH.DEM pull.II=INE

í-ní-pán-êy = tí]_{MC}
3A-PL-call.II-MID=R.EVID]

‘Even though he did not like to come down, they called him by pulling.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_005]

(895) *hyà?bàktsæ, télà?hnò?pú.*

[hyá?-bák = tsæ]_{DC} [té-là?-hnó?-pú]_{MC}
[be.not-NEG.ADV=TOP] [hold.tight.I-OBLG-DEL.NEG-1INC.DL.NEG]

‘Even though it is not, we will get to hold ourselves tight.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_005]

No co-occurrence restriction exist for a negative adverbial clause. In addition, it can be placed both preposing and postposing the matrix clause. Also, there can be more than one negative adverbial clauses following or preceding a matrix clause. The example in (896) illustrates two negative concessive clauses preceding an imperative clause in the matrix clause position. The second dependent clause is used as an elaboration of the first dependent clause.

(896) *ʔéytsô òtsúlá, shîàʔbák khóyàʔbák, tsètákhôl.*

[ʔéy-tsô ó-tsú-lá]_{DC} [shî-áʔ-bák]_{DC} [khôy-áʔ-bák]_{DC}
 [eat.II-NMLZ drink.I-2PL-SEQ] [fight.I-NEG-NEG.ADV] [EE-NEG-NEG.CONCESS]
 [tsét-âl-khôl]_{MC}
 [go-DEP-PL.IMP]

‘Eating, drinking, go away not quarreling and so on.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_118]

Negative adverbial clauses are also found not to be marked by any intonation at their boundaries. The example on which the pitch track is drawn in Figure 65 shows that there is no visible intonation mark at the boundary of the dependent clause.

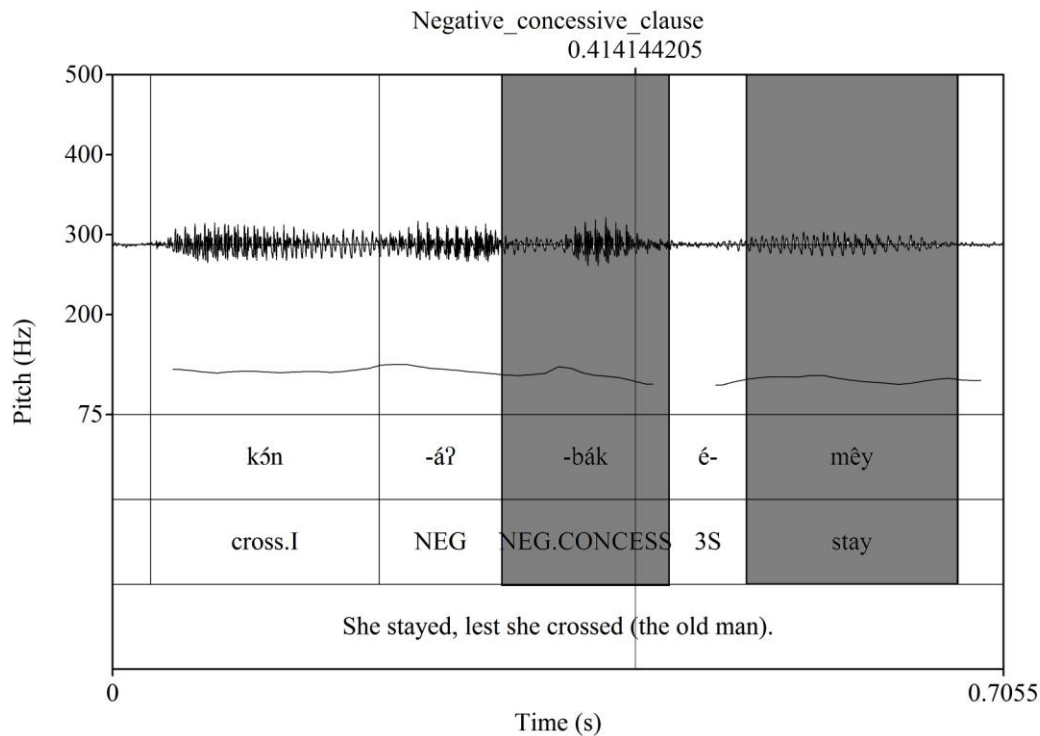


Figure 65: Graphical representation of pitch at the boundary of a negative adverbial clause

12.4.1.12 Anterior temporal clause

An anterior temporal clause is a type of temporal clause that encodes an action, a process, or a state that precedes an action, a process, or a state described by a matrix clause. The terminative aspectual marker is the core inflectional category for

constructing an anterior terminal clause in Hyow. A terminal clause is marked by *-pənəng*, which is the combination of the terminative aspectual suffix *-pən* (see §9.2.2.9) and the locative marker *-əng*. The example in (897) illustrates a situation where the anterior temporal clause is used to set the independent clause event after the anterior temporal clause event. The example describes that the Hyow start cutting paddy after the paddy is ripe. The cutting of the paddy starts after the ripening of the paddy.

(897) *èydə tsóng hmín-pənəng, bìnəng phittsəng ínítànhnə.*

èydə [tsóng hmín-pənəng]_{DC} [bín = əng phít-tsó = əng
 then [paddy ripe-ANT.TEMP] [sickle=INST basket-DIM=INST
 í-ní-tán-hnə]_{MC}
 3A-PL-cut.II-PM]

‘Then, after the paddy is ripe, they cut the paddy with sickles and [collect it with] baskets.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_022]

An anterior temporal clause is free of any constraint in stem choices. The verb of an anterior temporal clause can be both Stem I and Stem II, depending on the morphosyntactic environment. This also allows an anterior temporal clause verb to be indexed by their own arguments. Therefore, the arguments of an anterior temporal clause verb do not have to be coreferential with the arguments indexed on the verb of a matrix clause. In accordance with that, in (898), the dependent and the independent verbs of the anterior temporal clause and the matrix clause are respectively indexed by their own arguments. The dependent verb *tsét* ‘go’ is marked for its third person singular S argument and the independent verb *hlóʔ* ‘free.II’ is marked for its third person plural A argument.

(898) *èydâ étsètphônâng, ýyùmâ èy khâelâtsâ íníhló? \.*

èydâ [é-tsét-phônâng]_{DC} [ý-yúm = â èy khâ = lâ = tsâ

then [3S-go-ANT.TEMP] [GRP-be.finished=LOC ANAPH.DEM all=ERG=TOP

í-ní-hló?]_{MC}

3A-PL-free.II]

‘Then, after he went at the end of the road, they all freed him.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_189]

Like other fully constructed adverbial clauses, not all the available MA markers can inflect an anterior temporal clause verb (see Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs. It is mandatory for an anterior temporal clause event to be actualized before the matrix clause event. In that case, if the anterior clause verb is marked by an irrealis marker, the matrix clause verb has to be marked by the irrealis suffix too. However, this restriction is not applicable vice-versa. The verb of the independent clause is marked by the irrealis suffix *-æ?y* in (899), which encodes a non-realized event. Thus, the event of the anterior temporal clause is inferred to take place in either at the same time or after the time of speech. The translation of the anterior temporal clause in (899) suggests that the event is situated at the time of speech. This is because the unavailability of tense markers in Hyow. Since the irrealis mood refers to an unactualized event, the absence of this suffix in a verb complex automatically sets the temporal locus of the situation at the time or before the time of speech. However, as the temporal locus of the dependent clause event relies on the temporal locus of the matrix clause event, the temporal locus of the anterior temporal clause event is situated at the time of speech in (899).

(899) *kúhmù?éypènnóngdǎ, náng káy mîng kíníhòwéypèkǎ?yhyô.*

[kú-hmù?-êy-pènnóng = dǎ]_{DC} [náng káy mîng

[1A-see.II-MID-ANT.TEMP=EMPH] [2SG 1SG name

kí-ní-hów-êy-pék-ǎ?y-hyô]_{MC}

1A-PL-say.II-MID-BEN-IRR-PM]

‘After I give birth to the child, we will tell them my name.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_050]

The organization of the anterior temporal and the matrix clause in a sentence is iconic to the actualization of the events. The anterior temporal clause always precedes the matrix clause, which iconically represents the order in which the events unfold.

An anterior temporal clause does not have any co-occurrence constraints of pairing up with an interrogative or an imperative clause. It can precede any kind of clause occurring in Hyow syntax. Moreover, it can function as the topic of the matrix clause, which serves to comment on the anterior temporal clause. The anterior temporal clause in (900) is a topic of the independent matrix clause.

(900) *kólòpènnóngtsǎ, niâ hyólǎldók ʘ.*

[kó-lò-pènnóng = tsǎ]_{DC} [ní = â hyól-âl-dók]_{MC}

[1S-come-ANT.TEMP=TOP] [PROX=LOC lie.down-DEP-ANT]

‘After I came, she had lain down there.’

[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0026]

There is verbless version of the anterior temporal clause, where the unitary functional clause-linking suffix *-pènnóng* is attached to a noun phrase, as illustrated in (901).

(901) *èypónông kēy ílís káshán*

èy-pónông	kēy	ílís	ká-shán
ANAPH.DEM-ANT.TEMP	1SG	again	1A-send.II

‘After that, I sent her again.’ [ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_012]

The modulation of pitch is sometimes present and sometimes absent to mark the boundary of an anterior temporal clause. Either there is a rising intonation or the anterior temporal clause final suffix retains its falling tone. Compared to the pitch at the border of the final clause in Figure 66, the pitch at the boundary of the anterior temporal clause is higher. This is observed in ten samples of the anterior temporal clause. It suggests that the rising intonation at the boundary of the anterior temporal clause is marking the dependent clause in Figure 66.

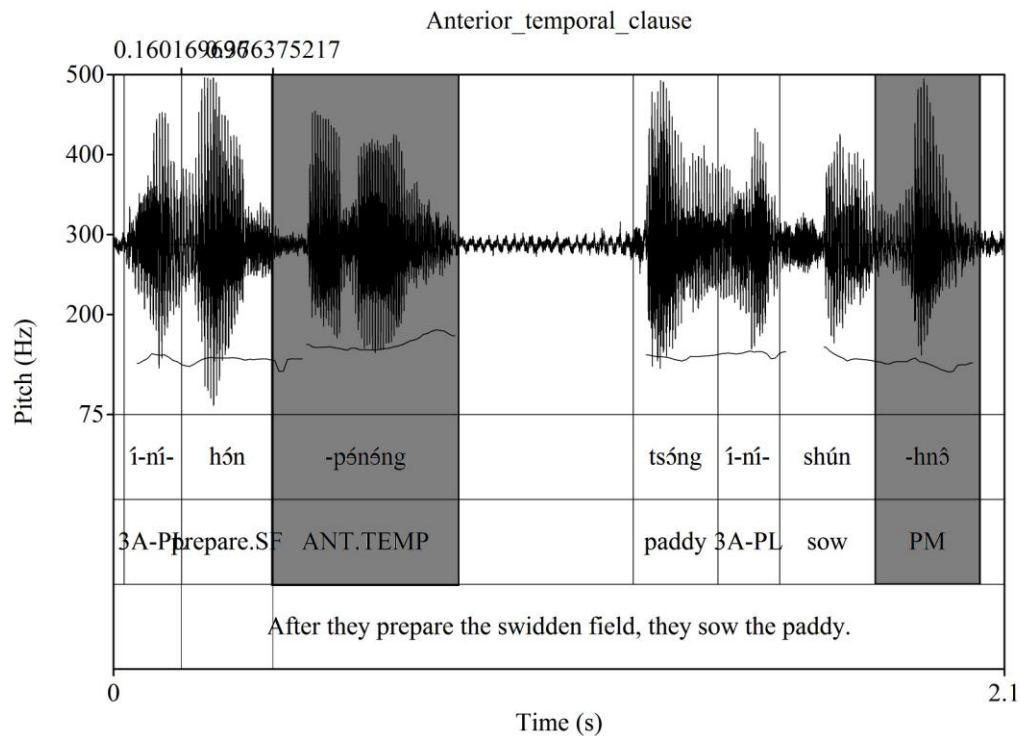


Figure 66: Intonation at the boundary of an anterior temporal clause

12.4.1.13 Sequential clause

It is one of the hallmark features of Hyow to use sequential clauses extensively, especially in folktales. A sequential clause not only serves as the topic of a sentence, but is also used as a discourse connective. Sequential clauses are used to make a link

between two independent predicates in order to organize the discourse and maintain the iconic sequence of multiple events in a narration. Therefore, it is one of the major functions of a sequential clause to express old information in discourse. As a dependent clause, it installs the background information for a matrix clause event. Structurally, a sequential clause displays significant features by employing the paradigm of negative suffixes functioning as person markers only and by using Stem I verb. Usually, the combination of a Stem I verb and person marking suffixes are features of clauses with negative polarity. However, marked by the sequential clause-linking suffix, the combination forms a sequential clause with positive polarity. The paradigm of the person-marking suffix is found in many Chin languages, and is speculated to be a shared innovation (see Peterson 2000). This anomalous feature of Hyow is also found in Northern Chin languages, but the motivation for it is still unknown.

Since Hyow does not have a syndetic or asyndetic process of organizing a series of events, it uses this special construction, where the dependent clause is marked by -/á. This is homophonous with a conjunctive particle used for the coordination of noun phrases. For that reason, it is rational to say that it is an equivalent construction of an English in which two independent clauses are added by ‘and’. An example of the sequential clause is presented in (902).

(902) *èydô hô lén nú khrá tsòwání kóybàlâtsâ, ákòpéyhñè?tî.*

èydô [hô lén nú khrá tsów = â = ní [kóy-bá-lá = tsâ]_{DC}

then [bird be.big mother wing bottom=LOC=FOC [ascend-3SG-SEQ=TOP]

á-kóp-êy-hñé? = tí]_{MC}

DIR-cling-MID-ULT=R.EVID]

‘Then, climbing up, he went to cling to the bottom of the big bird’s mother’s wing.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_218]

The verb of a sequential clause can use only the Stem I form like the simultaneous (§12.4.1.8), sequential (§12.4.1.9) and posterior temporal (§12.4.1.10)

clauses. The sequential clause in (903) has the verb ‘marry’, which has two stems – *nó* ‘marry.I’ and *nók* ‘marry.II’. Only Stem I can be used in this type of clause.

(903) *nát tsúhnú nòéngbàlatsâ, èyhyô, èy biéyhyô.*

[nát tsúhnú nó-ông-bá-lá = tsâ]_{DC} [èy-hyô èy bí-êy-hyô]_{MC}
 [goddaughter marry.I-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TP][FILL-PM ANAPH.DEM work.II-MID-PM]

‘Having married the king’s daughter married, he cultivated that swidden field.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_011]

The verb of a sequential clause is marked suffixally for its arguments, while the verb of a matrix clause is marked prefixally for its arguments. Historically, the suffixal markers are older (see DeLancey 2013, Peterson 2000). Since Hyow does not have a separate negative marking system, it uses the suffixal markers both in negative polarity (matrix clause) and in positive polarity (dependent clause). The example in (904) shows a declarative clause in negative polarity, where the negative suffix is referring to a first person singular argument as well as to the negative polarity of the verb. Again, in (905) the first person suffixal marker is used in a sequential clause with positive polarity and in a matrix clause with negative polarity.

(904) *kêy bíhnûngngâ.*

kêy bí-hnûng-ngâ
 1SG work.I-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG

‘I cannot work.’ [ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_015]

(905) *tòwngàlatsâ, krówéyhnûngngâ.*

[tów-ngâ-lá = tsâ]_{DC} [krów-êy-hnûng-ngâ]_{MC}
 [look.straight.I-1SG-SEQ=TOP] [speak.II-MID-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG]

‘Looking straight, I could not speak.’ [ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0038]

Unlike the non-canonical, posterior temporal, simultaneous and circumstantial clauses, coreferential arguments are marked on the sequential clause verb. It is obligatory for a sequential clause verb to have arguments coreferential with the matrix clause verb, which is evident from the example in (906). The third person dual A argument (marked by *-hóʔy*) of the sequential clause is coreferential with the third person dual A argument (marked by *í-hníʔ*) of the independent clause verb here.

(906) *bân-hóʔy-lá=tsâ, èydô ímání íhníʔ-tsíʔ* ㄴ.

[bân-hóʔy-lá=tsâ]_{DC} [èydô ím=â=ní í-hníʔ-tsíʔ]_{MC}

[find.I-3DL-SEQ=TOP] [then home=LOC=FOC 3A-DL-take.II]

‘Finding him, then they went home.’ [ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_004]

If the sequential clause functions as a discourse connective, then the following matrix clause can still have non-coreferential arguments marked on the verb. Accordingly, the example in (907) is grammatically correct. The sequential clause connects the previous independent clause in the text with the present sentence in order to continue relevance and maintain an organized flow of the narration.

(907) *mêyálùngálàtsâ, èydô tùákôʔ phíá kólòwéyál*.

[mêy-âl-úngá-lá=tsâ]_{DC} [èydô tùá=kôʔ phíá kó-ló-êy-âl]_{MC}

[stay-DEP-3PL-SEQ=TOP] [then now=GEN wife 1A-bring.II-MID-DEP]

‘Staying back, then I brought back my present wife myself.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0050]

In contrast, the second sentence in (908) is ungrammatical, since the sequential clause verb and the matrix clause verb arguments are not coreferential. If the second sentence started with the discourse connective *tsón-éy-úngá-lá=tsâ* instead of the current sequential clause, then the second sentence would have been grammatically correct too. Thus, based on the function of the sequential clause, co-referentiality becomes a constraint.

(908) *èyâ kínítsònèykhôl. *èyâ phólá khàtèyùngálá, táákhólá kóthònèyhùt* \.

[èy = â kí-ní-tsònèy-khól]_{S1} [[èy = â phólá
[ANAPH.DEM=LOC 1S-PL-roam.around-ELAB]][[ANAPH.DEM=LOC Buddha
khót-èy-úngá-lá]_{DC} [táá-khól = á kó-thón-èy-hùt]_{MC}]_{S2}
bow-MID-1PL-SEQ] [money-EXP=ADD 1A-give.II-MID-LV]]

‘We roamed around and did so on there. *Bowling to the Buddha there, I left gave money too before leaving.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0025-26]

Reduplication is not a very productive morphology in Hyow. Nonetheless, it is the Stem I verb of a sequential clause that executes reduplication in order to encode the protracted duration of activity verbs. The reduplicated verb comes at the beginning of the root, and the final of the root is deleted in the reduplicated form, as shown in (909) and (910). The Stem I verb *hōw* ‘say.I’ in the sequential clause in (909) is partly reduplicated, and the reduplicated form *hó* precedes the root. Likewise, the Stem I verb *lát* ‘pull.I’ in the sequential clause in (910) is reduplicated, and the reduplicated form *lá* precedes the root.

(909) *khápzá lúng hóhōwùlá lów mó íníkôy*

[khápzá lúng hó-hōw-ú-lá]_{DC} [lów mó í-ní-kóy]_{MC}
[song_M word_M REDUP-say-3PL-SEQ][swidden.field front 3A-PL-ascend]

‘Saying, saying words of songs, they climbed up in front of the swidden field.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_016]

(910) *phòngóngkó? yó lálàtùlá ínípàngông tòngéyùlá ím kénâ pòngphók ínipháp.*

[phóng = ông = kó? yó lá-lát-ú-lá]_{DC} [íní-páng = ông
[bunch=INE=GEN bamboo REDUP-pull.I-3PL-SEQ] [3PL.POSS-shoulder=INE
tóng-êy-ú-lá]_{DC} [ím kén = â póng-phók í-ní-phrôp]_{MC}
carry.II-MID-3PL-SEQ] [house beside=LOC fence-material 3A-PL-weave.II]

‘Pulling, pulling the bamboo from a bunch, carrying on their shoulder, they weaved fence materials beside the house.’

[ZM_HMH_UTK_Hyow_0004_0035]

If the verb root ends with an open syllable, then the reduplicated form takes the same form as the root, as shown in (911). The verb for ‘tell’ has two stems – *tá* ‘tell.I’ and *ták* ‘tell.II’. The Stem I of the verb ‘tell’ ends with an open syllable, so does the reduplicated form at the beginning of the stem.

(911) *èybó tátàhè?ylá, phól íhní?shùyí phólshé ʘ.*

[èybó tá-tá-hé?y-lá]_{DC} [phól í-hní-?shúy-tí phólshé]_{MC}
[that.way REDUP-tell.I-3DL-SEQ] [snake 3A-PL-search.II-R.EVID python]

‘Telling, telling that way, they searched the python.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0043]

As for MA markers, a sequential clause verb has the same restrictions as other canonical adverbial clauses. In addition, the irrealis marker never inflects a sequential clause verb. The verb of the sequential clause is inflected by the irrealis suffix in (912). The whole sentence is regarded as ungrammatical due to this.

(912) **pyópyóæ?yùlá, tàtí?khólttsæ ínítsètálæ?yhyô.*

[pyó-pyó-æ?y-ú-lá]_{DC}

[tá-tí?-khól = tsæ

[be.happy-be.happy-IRR-3PL-SEQ]

[tell.I-NMLZ-EXP=TOP

í-ní-tsét-âl-æ?y-hyô]_{MC}

3S-PL-go-DEP-IRR-PM]

*‘Being happy, being happy, the brothers will go away.’ [Elicited]

Thus, it is apparent that if a matrix clause verb is inflected by the irrealis suffix, and if the matrix clause event is situated at the time after speech, the sequential clause event is also inferred after the time of speech.

Whether it is a topic or not, a sequential clause essentially preposes a matrix clause, which is an iconic representation of the meaning of the sentence. Furthermore, a sequential clause can precede both an interrogative and an imperative clause in the matrix clause position, which suggests that there is no co-occurrence constraint for a sequential clause in this regard. For example, two sequential clauses in (913) follow a cohortative clause in the matrix clause position.

(913) *hángháng kháení ngiéypúlá, ímtsô tónákâ òmpúlá, èyâ èy hyáytso kháení ínipháeyéyæyhyô, hngát hngát hngát tsí.*

[hángháng khá = ní ngí-èy-pû-lá]_{DC}

[ím-tsô tónák = â

[all all=FOC be.gathered-MID-1DL.INC-SEQ] [house-DIM place=LOC

óm-pû-lá]_{DC}

[èy = â

èy

hyây-tsô

khá = ní

sit-IDL.INC-SEQ] [ANAPH.DEM=LOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC kebab-DIM all=FOC

í-ní-phây-æyhyô

hngát

hngát

hngát

tsí]_{MC}

3A-PL-distribute.I-NECOHORT

one

one

one

each]

‘All being gathered, sitting at a place in the house, let’s distribute all those kebab one each.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_090]

A sequential matrix clause may have a rising intonation at the boundary. Alternatively, the sequential clause-linking suffix can retain its level pitch, where there is no intonation marking at the boundary of a given sequential clause. In view of that, the pitch representation of a sequential clause in Figure 67 reveals that the level pitch of the final sequential clause-linking suffix *-lá* is raised.

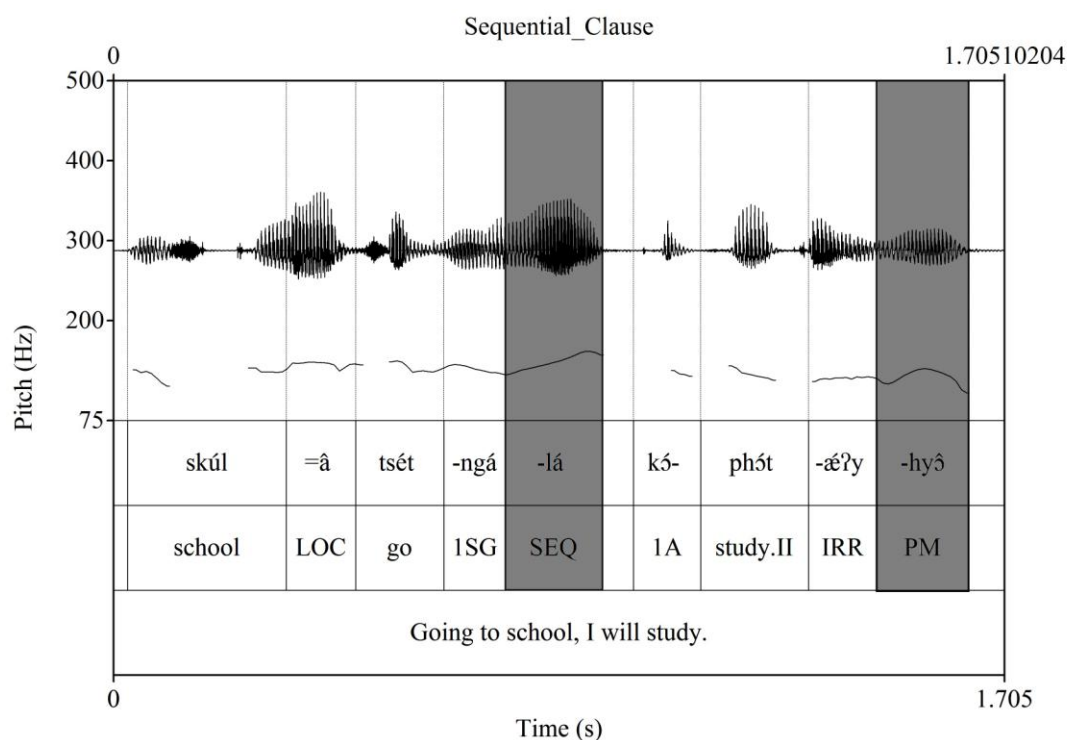


Figure 67: Intonation at the boundary of a sequential clause

Based on the discussion above, the morphosyntactic and phonological features of the adverbial clauses can be listed now. The features listed in Table 104 not only give an understanding of the dependency level of each type of the adverbial clause, but also are helpful for a comparative analysis among different types of dependent clauses. For accommodating all the features in the horizontal column some abbreviations have been used, which include argument indexation (ARG INDX), Stem I (SI), Stem II (S2), reduplication (REDUP), predicate-marking (PM), topicalization (TOP), modality and aspect (MA), order of the clause (O), non-canonical versions (NC), co-occurrence restrictions (CO), intonation (INT) and degree of dependency (DPN). In the vertical line, the types of adverbial clauses are listed. If an adverbial clause has a feature listed in the horizontal lines, then it is marked by ✓, and if it does not have the feature, then it is marked by ✗. In addition, some abbreviation forms are used to make

comments on certain features. These abbreviated comments include – restricted access (RA), non-final (NFIN), final (FIN), preposed (PRE) and postposed (POST). Intonations are represented by the symbols ↗ ‘rising’, ↘ ‘falling’ and 0 ‘zero’.

	ARG	VERB		RED	PM	TOP	MA	O	NC	CO	INT	DPN
	INDX	SI	SII									
TEMP	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	RA	NFIN	✓	✓	↗, 0	loose
COND	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✓	✗	↗, 0	loose
								PST				
CONCES	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✓	✗	↗, 0	loose
REAS	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	RA	PRE	✓	✗	↗, 0	very
								POST				loose
DLM	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	RA	PRE	✗	✗	0	loose
PURP	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✗	✗	0	strong
								POST				
MTV.PUR	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✗	✗	0	strong
								POST				
SIM	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	↗, 0	strong
CIR	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	PRE	✗	✗	↗, 0	strong
								POST				
P.TEMP	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	RA	PRE	✓	✗	↗, 0	loose
								POST				
NEG.AD	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✗	✗	0	strong
								POST				
A.TEMP	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✗	✗	↗, 0	loose
SEQ	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	RA	PRE	✗	✗	↗, 0	strong
MATRIX	✓	✓	✓	✗, ✓	✗, ✓	✗, ✓	RES	PRE	✗	✗	↗, 0	loose,
DEPEND												strong
MATRIX	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	FULL	FIN	✗	✗	↗,	indep
INDEP								NFIN			↘, 0	

Table 104: Summarized features of adverbial dependent clauses

12.4.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Hyow relative clauses are formed in two different ways – one is native to the language family to which Hyow belongs, and the other one is borrowed from an Indo-Aryan language. I will postpone the discussion of the borrowed relative clause construction, namely the correlative clause, until §12.4.2.7. The original process of constructing a relative clause takes place through clausal nominalization, which is extensively used in Tibeto-Burman languages (see Genetti et al.2008). The function of a relative clause is to modify a noun phrase of a clause. For that reason, a relative clause is equivalent to a nominal attribute or nominal modifier. A relative clause modifies or provides more information about noun phrases that function in different roles in a dependent or an independent clause. The noun phrase can be in an A, an S, or a P argument, or it can be a non-local argument of the verb. There are no instances of relativizing a genitive argument, but a dative or other oblique arguments can be relativized in Hyow, as in (914), in which the S argument of the matrix clause, *hmútótsó* ‘girl’, is the dative argument of the relative clause preceding it.

(914) *kêy khéypá képèktí? hmútótsó kêy ímâ lôhâ.*

kêy	khéypá	ké-pék-tí?	hmútótsó	kêy	ím = â	lô-hâ
1SG	flower	1A-give.II-PNMLZ	girl	1SG	house=LOC	come-PM

‘The girl whom I gave flower came to my house.’ [Elicited]

Hyow can relativize up to the oblique position and the positions on its left in the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie (1977). Figure 68 presents the Accessibility Hierarchy developed by Keenan and Comrie (1977).

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparative

Figure 68: Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie

Clausal nominalizations utilized to modify any of the arguments – core or oblique – is done using different types of nominalizers. The following subsections include discussions on relative clauses that modify different types of arguments of a clause in Hyow.

12.4.2.1 Agentive relative clause

A process of nominalization forms an agentive²⁴ relative clause that modifies a noun functioning as a core or an oblique argument of a transitive or an intransitive verb. Through the nominalization process, a verb complex is nominalized by the nominalizer *-tíʔ*. The nominalizer is homophonous with the kinship plural markers *-tíʔ*. It is important to note that this is a process of clausal nominalization, which can be also used to derive a noun of whose referent is either an S of an intransitive verb or an A of a Stem I transitive verb. The transitive verb has a Stem II form in the process of patientive or person (undergoer) nominalization. I discuss this in §12.4.2.2. Therefore, nominalizing suffix *-tíʔ* can be used to derive a doer or an actor of a verb from an intransitive or Stem I transitive verb, and a patient from a Stem II transitive verb. In (915), the nominalizer is attached to a Stem I of a transitive verb, thus refers to an A argument, who has performed the predicated event in the relative clause. The relative clause is modifying the elided S argument of the matrix clause verb *kóm* ‘descend’. It is fundamental for a relative clause to share the argument with the matrix clause, where the argument might be either referential or non-referential. In this example, the shared argument functions as A in the relative clause and as S in the matrix clause.

(915) *èydô èy tháʔy shikéytíʔ kómáhlô.*

<i>èydô</i>	<i>[èy</i>	<i>tháʔy</i>	<i>shík-êy-tíʔ]</i> _{RC}	<i>[kóm-âl-hlô]</i> _{MC}
then	[ANAPH.DEM	fruit	pluck.I-MID-NMLZ]	[descend-DEP-PM]

‘Then [the person] who was plucking the fruits climbed back down.’

[ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0049_0021]

Due to the extensive use of noun phrase ellipsis in Hyow, it is typical of a relative clause to be headless. In such clauses, where the head of the relative clause is not overtly expressed, the actor or doer of the relative clause verb is recovered from the pragmatic context of a given text. If we compare the relative clauses in (916) and (917), it is observed that the relative clause in (916) has a head – *hngát* ‘one’ (used

²⁴ The term agentive does not refer to an A argument of a transitive clause only; it also refers to the single S argument of an intransitive clause. The use of this term is limited to the discussion of relative clauses.

both as a numeral and a pronoun), - while the relative clause in (917) does not. The relative clause in (916) contain a verb borrowed from Bangla. That is why it does not have a stem variant.

(916) *gárí sháláy-tí? hngàtàní, phón kínípò?shók* ㄴ.

[gárí sháláy-tí?]_{RC} [hngát = á = ní phón kí-ní-pó?-shók]_{MC}
 [bus drive_B-NMLZ] [one=DAT=FOC phone 3A-PL-DV.II-REAS]

‘We made him call to the one who drove a bus.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0083]

(917) *èyhú?y pôy-êy-tí? prithíbíng méyâ?* ㄴ.

[èyhú?y pôy-êy-tí?]_{RC} [prithíbí = êng méy-á?]_{MC}
 [like.her be.good-MID-NMLZ] [world_B=INE exist-3SG.NEG]

‘There is none in the world who is beautiful like her.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_248]

When the nominalized relative clause refers to an actor of a transitive verb, the verb takes a Stem I form. As a result, it is unlikely to have prefixal arguments indexed on the relative clause’s nominalized Stem I transitive verb, but it is not impossible. In most of the text examples, relative clauses modify a noun, rather than first or second person pronominal arguments. However, the Stem I verb can have suffixal person markers as forms of negatives. The relative clause in (918) modifies a nominal complement of the intransitive verb *thônêy* ‘become’. The relative clause, which has negative polarity, takes a third person negative suffix.

(918) *bîhnângà?tì?á, kóthònêy, tûhnúpâ.*

bî-hnâng-á?-tí? = á kó-thón-êy tûhnúp = â
work.I-PH.CAP-3SG.NEG-NMLZ=ADD 1S-happen-MID today=LOC

‘Today, I have become [a person] who cannot speak too (looking straight at other people).’ [ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0085]

A nominalized agentive relative clause verb has lower restrictions of utilizing the available MA markers than the adverbial clause verbs. The relative clause is a full clause, but it is nominalized to modify the nominal constituent of a matrix clause. The verb of a relative clause can take most of the available MA markers. The verb of the relative clause in (919), which is modifying a noun in a sequential clause, is inflected by the anterior aspectual marker, which is rarely accessible to adverbial clause verbs (only accessible to the conditional clause verb; see §12.4.1.2).

(919) *bóhítsâ, kényá kíáng ókhwá? thókdòktí?, kíáng nútsóbót ælènthé?y æhæltílàtsâ, òkhònpék.*

bóhí = tsâ [kény = á [kíáng ókhwá? thók-dók-tí?]_{RC} kíáng
 so=TOP [1SG=DAT [deer antler come.out-ANT-NMLZ] deer
 nú-tsô-bót æ-lén-thé?y æ-hæl-tí-lá = tsâ]_{SEQ.CL}
 mother-child-including GRP-be.big-SUP 1P-select.I-2SG-SEQ=TOP]
 [ò-khón-pék]_{MC}
 [1P-tie.I-BEN]

‘So, selecting the biggest deer for me, including the mother and child, whose antler has come out, tie (it) for me.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_146]

Similarly, the irrealis mood marker can inflect an agentive relative clause verb. Still, the temporal locus of the relative clause verb is dependent on the verb of the clause whose nominal constituent it modifies. There are two relative clauses in (920), and the heads of both the relative clauses are elided. The verbs of the relative clauses

are in irrealis mood. However, their temporal locus is dependent on the respective verbs of the clauses whose argument they modify.

(920) *króngsháng óng-é?yí?tsâ òngshók ㄣ, hyùm-é?yí?tsâ hyùmshók ㄣ, tlá kròk ní.*

[króngsháng [ông-é?y-tí? = tsâ]_{RC} óng-shók]_{MC} [[hyúm-é?y-tí? = tsâ]_{RC}

[immediately [win.I-IRR-NMLZ=TOP] win.II-REAS] [[lose-IRR-NMLZ=TOP]

hyúm-shók]_{MC} [tlá krók-ní]_{TEMP.CL}

lose-REAS] [trial fall.REAS-TEMP]]

‘When she held the trial, she immediately made the people win who would win, made the people lose who would lose.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_118]

Regardless of clause types in the matrix clause position, a nominalized agentive relative clause can modify any noun. The restrictive relative clause in (921) modifies a noun in P function in an imperative clause. In this example, the S argument of the agentive relative clause verb is coreferential with the P argument of the matrix clause verb.

(921) *nópók-s? shé mrán-thé?yí? ㄣ áló tng ták ㄣ.*

[[nó-pô = k-s? shé mrán-thé?y-tí?]_{RC} [á-ló]_{MC} tng]_{REPC} [ták]_{REC}

[[2SG.POSS-father=GEN horse be.fast-SUP-NMLZ] [DIR-fetch.I] QT] [tell.II]

‘He told, “Go to fetch your father’s horse that is the fastest.”’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_049]

An agentive relative clause boundary carries a falling pitch. The falling pitch of the nominalizing suffix is actually a physical representation of the falling intonation at the boundary of the clause. A Praat analysed pitch track has been presented in Figure 69 to investigate pitch modulation for marking intonation at the boundary of a person relative clause.

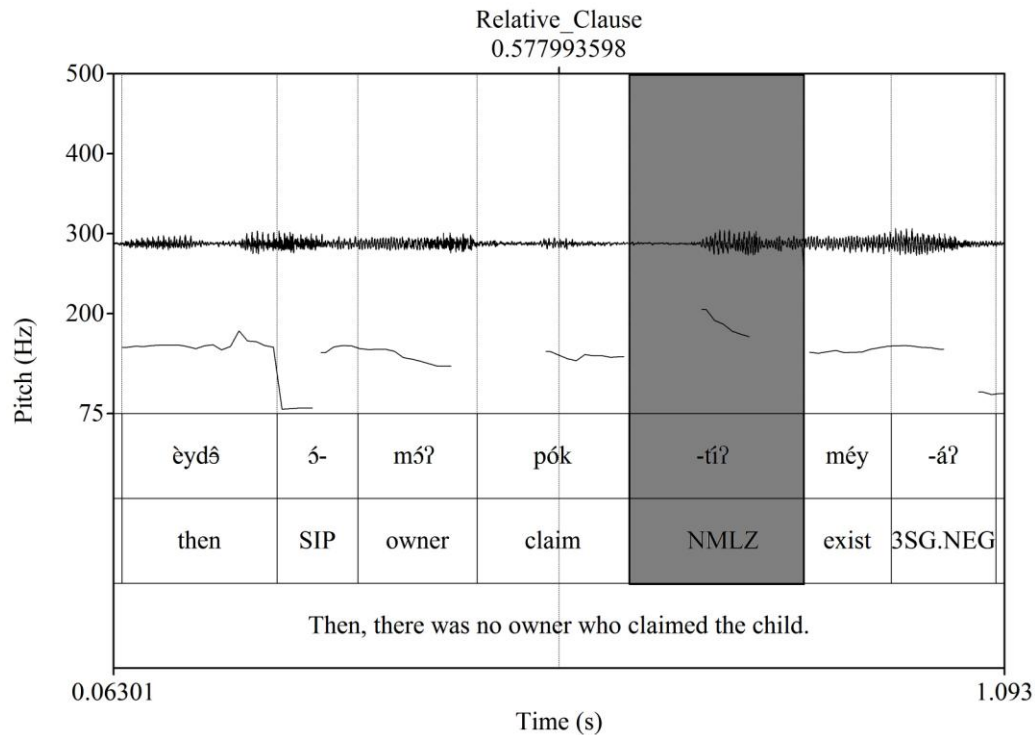


Figure 69: Intonation at the boundary of a relative clause

12.4.2.2 Patientive relative clause

A nominalized relative clause can refer to a patient on whom/which an action is performed by an actor or a doer. This is the binary opposite of what I have discussed in agentive (S/A) relative clause (§12.4.2.1), which refers to the actor. A nominalized patientive relative clause that refers to a P argument also takes the nominalizing suffix *-tí?*. However, the verb of the patientive relative clause takes the Stem II form, which can be differentiated from the Stem I form by either the stem final segment or the tone (see §6.2). Additionally, the person marking system on verbs also help to identify whether an A or a P argument is relativized. Since Stem II verbs take prefixal person markers in positive polarity, and suffixal person markers for A arguments in negative polarity, the type of relativization can be inferred from the referential marking on the verbs that do not show any stem variants. The choice of Stem I and Stem II by two different types of relative clauses, referring to core arguments, probably reflects the fact that a Stem I verb is agent oriented, while a Stem II verb is patient oriented in general. This is true due to the fact that Stem II verbs are historically nominalized and derived from Stem I verbs (see §6.2.2). The example in (922) is taken from a true incident of a snakebite narrated by a Hyow speaker. The nominalized relative clause is referring to the medicine brought by the actor referent of the relative clause verb.

Here, the nominalized clause is modifying the P argument of the independent clause. The relative clause and the independent clause share the P argument in (922).

(922) *khéytsâ thó?w kólótí? tsá kóòk khà?dâ.*

[khéy = tsâ thó?w kó-ló-tí?]_{RC} [tsá = á kó-ók-khà? = dâ]_{MC}
 [Khey=TOP from 1A-bring.II-NMLZ] [**medicine**=ADD 1A-drink.II-FACT=EMPH]

‘For sure, I really ate the medicine too, which I brought from Khey.’

[ZM_SB_PPK_082015_Hyow_0023_0048]

Likewise, the first relative clause, preceding the second relative clause that modifies the complement noun of the verbless interrogative clause, modifies the elided P argument of the second relative clause in (923). The second relative clause is functioning as the notional head of the first relative clause in (923). The first relative clause is an example of a patientive relative clause.

(923) *niâ kēy kákhàngéynàktí? hóngáltí? ùm?*

[[ní = â kēy ká-khàng-êy-nák-tí?]_{RC1} [hông-âl]_{MC-tí?}]_{RC2}
 [[PROX=LOC 1SG 1A-imprison.II-MID-LOC-NMLZ] [release.I-DEP]-NMLZ]

[ú = êm]

[who=CONT.Q]

‘Who is the person who released the girls whom I imprisoned here?’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_046]

Other than in a clause with negative polarity, in which an A argument is marked suffixally, a patientive relative clause verb is marked by its arguments prefixally. The indexed argument on the verb of the patientive relative clause is coreferential with either an A/S or a P argument of the matrix clause. For example, in (924), the P argument of the patientive relative clause is coreferential with the P argument of the matrix clause. The third person A argument and the number of the argument are marked on the verb of the relative clause.

(924) *dèkông ínípòttí? wànkhol kááníshót* \.

[dék = êng í-ní-pót-tí?]_{RC} [wán-khól ká-á-ní-shót]_{MC}
 [soil=INST 3A-PL-carve.II-NMLZ] [**thing**=EXP 1A-DIR-PL-look.II]

‘We went to look at the things that they carved with soil.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0038]

There are no special constraints in using available MA markers for a verb of a patientive relative clause. It is similar to an agentive relative clause. No positional co-occurrence constraints exist either for a patientive relative clause either. When the relative clause is potposed, then the relative clause is non-restrictive. The relative clause is restrictive if it precedes matrix clause (for more on restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, see Coupe 2017), as in (925). Most of the examples in the corpus are of restrictive types. A restrictive clause does not presuppose that the predicated event might be true (it is a part of the speaker’s epistemic modality); rather asserts the proposition by providing new information about the modified argument (see Givón, 2001, VOL 2: 176).

The example in (925) illustrates both a restrictive and a non-restrictive clause. The relative clause *èylâ, èy phílúnúlâ tsànéytí?* preposing the independent clause is restrictive, which is an obligatory part of the independent clause. On the other hand, the relative clause *únúdiklâ hyètí? lùprèádê* postposing the independent clause is non-restrictive, which supplies additional information about the referent of the S argument of the independent clause. The shared argument is in bold typeface in (925).

(925) *èylâ, èy phílú núlâ tsànéytí? \, èy mông kóyálhlô únúdiklá hyètí? \, lùprèádô*

[èy = lâ èy phílú nú = lâ tsán-êy-tí?] **REST.RC**

[ANAPH.DEM=ERG ANAPH.DEM giant mother=ERG bring.up.II-MID-NMLZ]

èy mông kóy-âl-hlô [ú-nú-dík = lâ

ANAPH.DEM king ascend-DEP-PM] [3SG.POSS-mother-step=ERG

hyótí? lú-pré = â = dô] **NON-REST.RC**

exile-NMLZ human-country=LOC=EMPH]

‘[He] whom she, that giant’s mother brought up by herself, rose as the king,
whom his step-mother exiled in the human country.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_194]

As expected, similar to the boundary intonation of the agentive relative clause, the boundary of a patientive relative clause has a falling pitch, which has affected the underlying level tone of the relative clause nominalizer as shown in Figure 70.

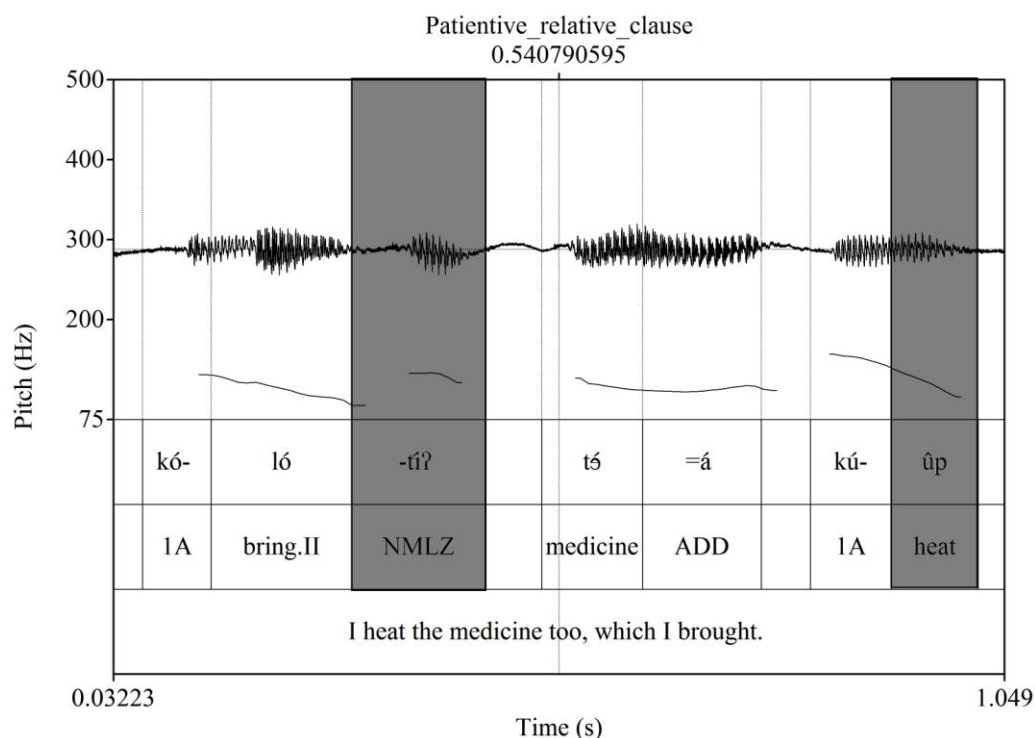


Figure 70: Intonation at the boundary of a patientive clause

12.4.2.3 Instrumental relative clause

An instrumental relative clause refers to an instrument with which an action or a process is done. Typically, an instrumental relative clause modifies the oblique instrumental argument of a matrix clause verb. In Hyow, an instrumental relative clause is nominalized by the suffix *-dân*, which is also used for place relative clauses (see §12.4.2.4).

Similar to the patientive relative clause, an instrumental relative clause also contains the Stem I of a verb, as exemplified in (931). There are no examples of instrumental relative clauses in the current corpus of Hyow. The examples used in this section are all elicited. The elicited example in (926) presents an instrumental relative clause. In the illustrated example, the nominalized relative clause is modifying the instrument that is asked to be brought by the speaker of the imperative clause.

(926) *èy kútùkdân súrí lòbôy.*

[èy	kú-túk-dân] _{RC}	súrí	lò-bôy
[ANAPH.DEM	1A-kill.II-INMLZ]	knife	bring.I-DEL.IMP

‘Bring the knife with which I killed that.’ [Elicited]

Similarly, the example in (927) displays an instrumental relative clause, which modifies the P argument *tʃ* ‘medicine’ of the matrix clause verb *hyón* ‘throw.II’.

(927) *hóythæʔy kíhmín-nák-dân tʃ kóhyónâldók ʋ.*

[hóythæʔy	kí-hmín-nák-dân] _{RC}	tʃ	kó-hyón-âl-dók
[mango	1A-ripen-INST.APP-INMLZ]	medicine	1A-throw.II-DEP-ANT

‘I have thrown away the medicine, with which I ripen the mangoes.’ [Elicited]

An instrumental relative clause can also be restrictive or non-restrictive depending on the position of the clause. The instrumental relative clause in (928) is a restrictive, because it is preceding the matrix clause. This restrictive instrumental relative clause restricts the reference to a subset of the referent of the S argument in

the matrix clause. On the other hand, the instrumental relative clause in (929) is non-restrictive, which postposes the independent matrix clause. In this example, the non-restrictive instrumental relative clause provides extra information about the referent of the noun *kómpúm* ‘stick’.

(928) *há hlím-nák-dên ní shíní pôy-hyô.*

[há hlím-nák-dên]_{RES.RC} ní shíní pôy-hyô
[biscuit be.delicious-INST.APP-INMLZ] **PROX** sugar be.good-PM

‘This sugar with which the biscuit is delicious is good.’ [Elicited]

(929) *kêy kómpúm hngát kéhlè?dók, phól nútùkhnúng-é?y-dên.*

kêy kómpúm hngát ké-hlé?y-dók [phól
1SG stick one 1A-buy.II-ANT [snake
nú-túk-hnúng-é?y-dên]_{NON-RES.RC}
2A-kill.II-PH.CAP-IRR-INMLZ]

‘I have bought a stick, with which you will be able to kill the snake.’ [Elicited]

As for temporal locus, an instrumental relative clause verb has to depend on the temporal locus set by the matrix clause, which is demonstrated by the example in (929). Since the matrix clause verb refers to the time after speech, the temporal locus of the relative clause verb has to be in the time of speech or after the time of speech.

12.4.2.4 Place relative clause

A place relative clause modifies the oblique argument of a matrix clause verb that situates an action, a process, or a state in a location. A place relative clause is nominalized by the instrumental relative clause nominalizer *-dên*. The fundamental difference between an instrumental and a place relative clause is that a place relative clause head has to be inflected by the locative case markers – *=â* and *=êng*. If the head is missing from the sentence, then the case clitics are marked on the nominalized

place relative clause. The place-nominalizing suffix is not only used for clausal nominalization, but also for noun derivation, as in *mêy-dân* ‘living place’.

The example in (930) includes a place relative clause that modifies the oblique argument of the matrix clause. The oblique nominal argument *kóm* ‘bank’, which refers to the place of the action *hyól* ‘lie.down’, is further clarified by the place relative clause. The place relative clause modifies the bank of the river by specifying the bank, and specifies that the action takes place in a precise place, where people pick up water for their daily use.

(930) *tûy ínìkhòydân kòmání, óhlóng kòmâ, èyání, lómání, hyòlhnò?tí.*

[[tûy í-ní-khóy-dân] _{RC}	kóm = â = ní	óhlóng	kóm = â
[[water 3A-PL-pick.up-PNMLZ]	bank=LOC=FOC	river	bank=LOC
èy = â = ní	lôm = â = ní	hyól-hnò? = tí	
ANAPH.DEM=LOC=FOC	road=LOC=FOC	lie.down-ULT=R.EVID	

‘He lay down on the bank where they pick up water, on the river bank, there, on the road.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_084]

It was previously mentioned in §12.4.2.2 that a relative clause can be headless. In that view, a place relative clause can also be headless, which is evident from the example in (931). Since the place relative clause is headless, the case markers that are supposed to be affixed to the head are instead attached to the nominalized place relative clause. Furthermore, the verb is in Stem II form in the place relative clause. The verb for ‘bathe’ has two stems in Hyow – *hlók* ‘bathe.I’ and *hló?* ‘bathe.II’. The nominalized relative clause in this example is referring to the place where the narrator went to drink water.

(931) *tsùâ shómáytsólâ tûy hlò?hódúnákó? kááòkkhô.*

[tsú = â shómáytsô = lâ tûy hló?-dân = â = kó?]_{RC}

[DIST=LOC boy=ERG water bathe.II-PNMLZ=LOC=GEN]

ká-á-ók-khô

1A-DIR-drink.II-PM

‘I went to drink the water of the place where a boy was bathing.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_022]

If the place relative clause has negative polarity, then the argument markers are essentially marked prefixally on the verb, as demonstrated in (932), in which there are two consecutive place relative clauses. Both of the relative clauses are restrictive. The initial noun *tów* ‘forest’ marked by the locative case clitic =â is modified by both the place relative clauses in this example.

(932) *èydô tòwâ khrông khêw hlòwà?dúnâ, khrông méyúdúnâ. ání lúngshâng.*

èydô tòw = â [khrông khêw hlów-á?-dân = â]_{RC}

then forest=LOC [people word be.loud-3SG.NEG-PNMLZ=LOC]

[khrông mêy-ú-dân = â]_{RC} ání lúngshâng

[people live-3PL.NEG-PNMLZ=LOC] 3SG alone

‘Then, he was alone in a forest, where peoples’ words are not loud and where people do not live.’ [ZM_OWOTE_TUK_Hyow_0029_024]

The temporal locus of the verb of a place relative clause is not dependent on the matrix clause as the agentive and patientive relative clause verbs are. The notional verbs of agentive and patientive relative clauses are not specified for temporal setting. In the case of place relative clause and other relative clauses that modify oblique arguments of a matrix clause, the verbs of the respective relative clauses can have their own temporal point. For example, the temporal locus of the independent matrix clause verb is set in the time before speech in (933), but the temporal locus of the

place relative clause verb is set in the time of speech, since the speaker's living and working place are the same as before and after they went and returned from a place. The place relative clause in (933) is headless and of the non-restrictive type.

(933) *kéyní? kíníbidân, kíníméydân, kínílòâl.*

[kéyní?kí-ní-bí-dân = â]_{RC}

[kí-ní-mêy-dân = â]_{RC}

[1PL 1A-PL-work.II-PNMLZ=LOC]

[1A-PL-live-PNMLZ=LOC]

kí-ní-lò-âl

1A-PL-come-DEP

‘We returned to the place, where we work, and where we live.’

[ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0049]

The example in (934) is taken from a procedural text on how to make local alcohol. That is why the temporal locus of both the matrix clause and the relative clause verbs depends on the context. The relative clause in this example is following the independent clause, which makes it a non-restrictive relative clause. The oblique argument about which the non-restrictive clause is giving extra information is in bold typeface in (934).

(934) *pákhópêng íníkhòmlà?hò mêng òmdân.*

pákhóp = êng

í-ní-khóm-lá?-hò

[mêng òm-dân]_{NON-RES.RC}

pitcher.stand=INE

3A-set-OBLG-PM

[pitcher sit-NMLZ]

‘They have to set (the pitcher) in a pitcher stand, where the pitcher rests.’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_029]

A place relative clause does not have any positional and co-occurrence constraints. It can precede a matrix clause, or it can follow a matrix clause, which can carry any type of available clauses in Hyow.

There is no phonological process at the boundary of a place relative clause in order to mark the clause intonationally. The underlying falling tone of the locative case clitic or the nominalizing suffix retains their respective tones without having any effect of intonation on their own pitch. The Figure 71 presents intonational representation of a restrictive and a non-restrictive place relative clause respectively. Compared to the intonation at the boundary of the respective final clauses, there are nothing much to observe in respect of intonation at the boundary of the respective place relative clauses. The boundary morphemes of the respective place relative clauses in Figure 71 and Figure 72 retain their own falling tones. However, there is a potential pause between a matrix clause and a non-restrictive relative clause.

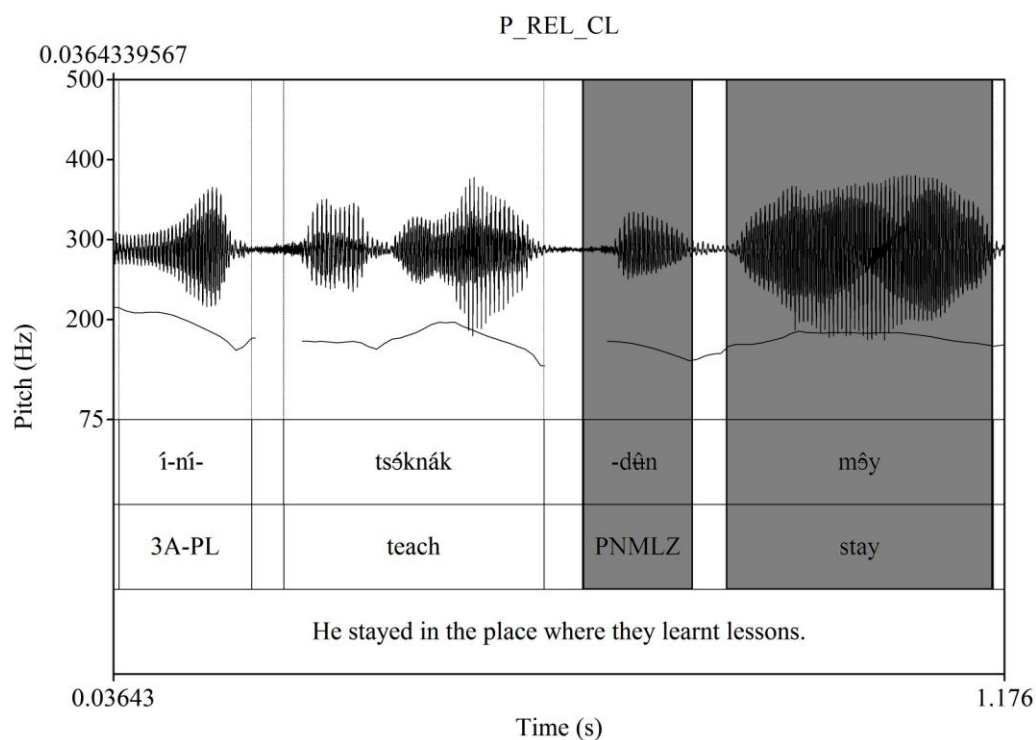


Figure 71: Pitch track showing zero intonation at the boundary of a restrictive place relative clause

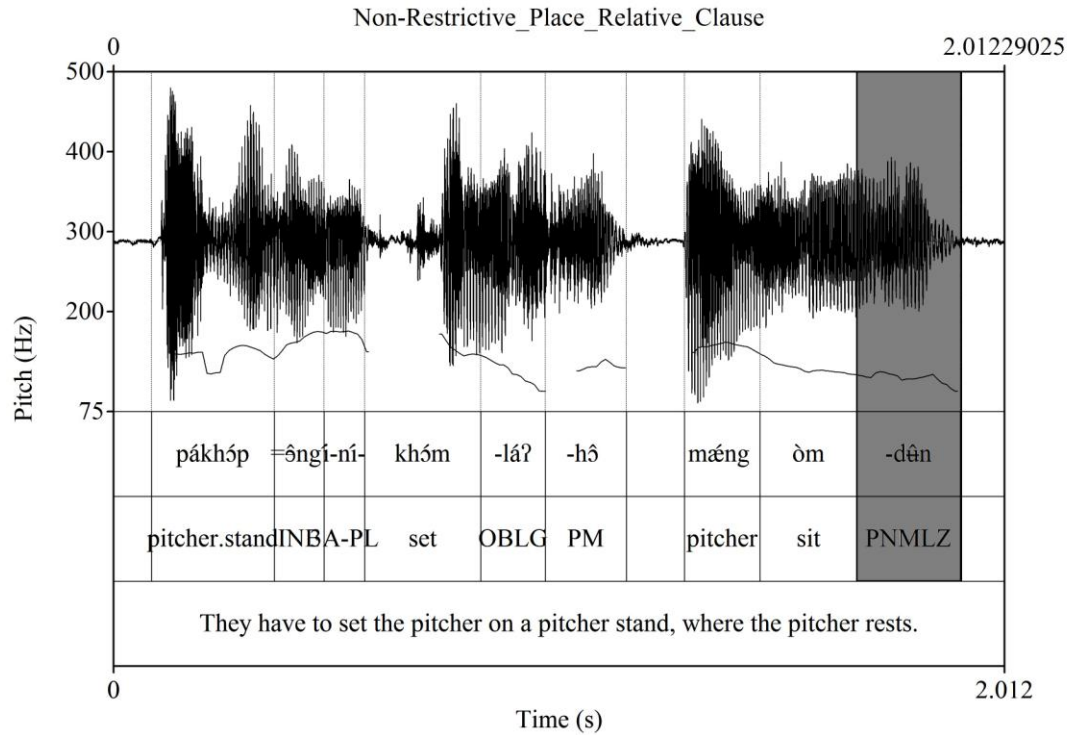


Figure 72: Pitch track showing zero intonation at the boundary of a non-restrictive place relative clause

12.4.2.5 Temporal relative clause

A temporal relative clause refers to the time of an action, a process, or a state. It is an alternative construction of the adverbial temporal clause, which has a co-occurrence constraint with an interrogative and an imperative clause in the matrix clause position. A temporal relative clause is nominalized by the word *khô* ‘time’. The word *khô* is also a fossilized morpheme in some time-related and nature related words. Generally, the nominalized temporal relative clause is marked by the locative case clitic, if the head is missing. The example in (935) is taken from a personal narrative. The temporal relative clause is referring to the time when the narrator was happy.

(935) *èykhôl ínkàpphókphókâ káytsâ kópyô.*

[èy-khól í-ní-káp-phô-khô = â]_{RC} [kêy = tsâ kó-pyô]_{MC}
 [ANAPH.DEM-EXP 3S-PL-cry-PM-TNMLZ=LOC] [1SG=TOP 1S-be.happy]

‘I was happy at the time when they were crying.’

[ZM_ASPLS_072015_Hyow_0012_0005]

A temporal relative clause requires a Stem II verb, which allows it to take prefixal argument markers. As expected, when a temporal relative clause is in negative polarity, the verb should be in Stem I form. The temporal relative clause in (936) is in positive polarity, thus carries a Stem II verb. The verb is also marked for the third person plural A argument. In this example, the nominalized temporal relative clause refers to the time when the narrator will be starving for food.

(936) *ʔntsʔ íníbùʔéyæʔyhyʔkhóâ mǎæʔyhyʔdʔ.*

[ʔn-tsʔ í-ní-bùʔ-êy-æʔy-hyʔ-khô = â]_{RC} mǎ-æʔy-hyʔ = dʔ

[curry-DIM 3A-PL-cook.II-IRR-PM-TNMLZ=LOC] starve-IRR-PM=EMPH

‘I will starve at the time they will cook curry.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_083]

Unlike the place relative clause, the temporal locus of the matrix clause verb has a crucial bearing on the temporal locus of the relative clause verb. Since the temporal relative clause refers to the time of the predicated event of the matrix clause, the temporal point of both the verbs has to be symmetric. In other words, the mood has to be symmetrical of both the verbs. For example, the previous example in (936) has a matrix clause verb inflected by the irrealis marker. The discourse of the procedural text from which this example is taken confirms that the irrealis mood with the matrix clause verb in this example refers the temporal point in the time after speech, rather than an unactualized event in the time before speech. As a result, the temporal locus of the verb of the temporal relative clause is also inferred in the time after speech. The event of the matrix clause in (937) is an actualized event, so it cannot be referred to the temporal locus of an unactualized event.

(937) **náng néméyæʔy khóátsæ kēy kʔpótʔ dǎhʔ.*

[náng né-mêy-æʔy-khô = â = tsæ]_{RC} kēy kʔ-pótʔ dǎ-hʔ

[2SG 2S-stay-IRR-TNMLZ=LOC=TOP] 1SG 1SG.POSS-husband die-PM

*‘My husband died when you will stay (here).’ [Elicited]

Accordingly, the verb of the relative clause in (938) is inflected by the habitual, which encodes an actualized event. If the independent clause had referred to an unactualized event, then the relative clause would have been ungrammatical.

(938) *èydô èyní tá ógáshá tá dóónggyó méyhàtkhóâ èy tálâ èyní mótómótsó pó? ʘ.*

èydô èyní [tá ógáshá tá dóónggyó méy-hút-khô = â]_{RC}
 then so [grand.fatherOngsha grand.father Doongio live-HAB-TNMLZ=LOC]

èy tá = lâ mótómótsó pó?
 ANAPH.DEM elder.brother=ERG finely DV.II

‘Then, so, the elder brother lived finely when grandfather Ongsha and grandfather Doongio used to live.’ [ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0014]

A temporal relative clause does not have any positional or co-occurrence restriction. If the relative clause postposes the matrix clause then the relative clause becomes non-restrictive, as shown in (939). The non-restrictive temporal relative clause asserts the proposition made here. It also provides new information about the time when the narrator’s children were unhappy.

(939) *èyhú?y ínîlûng dúkhá?êng ínîmêy, kêy ópngáhókhóâ.*

[èyhú?y ínî-lûng dúkhá? = êng í-nî-mêy]_{NON.RES.RC} kêy
 [like.that 3PL.POSS-heart sorrow=INE 3A-PL-live] 1SG

óp-ngá-hô-khô = â
 be.well-1SG.NEG-PM-TNMLZ=LOC

‘They were in sorrows like that, when I was not well.

[ZM_SN_MZK_092015_Hyow_0025_0021]

I have already shown in §12.4.1.1 that a temporal clause has constraints on being able to co-occur with an interrogative clause and an imperative clause. That gap in the grammar of Hyow is fulfilled by the temporal relative clause. A nominalized

temporal relative clause does not have any constraint on co-occurring with an interrogative and an imperative clause. The temporal relative clause in (940) preposes the independent clause. The nominalized relative clause is modifying the time of the independent clause predicated event. In (941), the temporal relative clause is preposing an imperative clause, modifying the time of the ordered event in the imperative clause.

(940) *nótòngéykhóá ís nópò?éylà?ém.*

[nó-tóng-êy-khô = â]_{RC} í-ó nó-pó?-êy-lá? = ém

[2A-apply.II-MID-TNMLZ=LOC] what-MULT 2A-DV.II-MID-OBLG=CONT.Q

‘What things did you do when you applied to a job yourself?’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0010]

(941) *ziâ nétsètkhóá bóy hngát òlòpèkbây.*

[zí = â né-tsét-khó = â]_{RC} bóy hngát ò-ló-pék-bây

[market=LOC 2S-go-TNMLZ=LOC] book one 1P-bring.I-BEN-DEL.IMP

‘Bring me a book when you go to market.’ [Elicited]

All the examples of the temporal relative clause in the current corpus of Hyow are headless. However, the retention of the underlying falling tone by the locative case clitic at the end of a temporal relative clause suggests that there is no intonational marking at the boundary of a temporal relative clause. The graphical representation of pitch measurements of a sentence that carries a temporal relative clause in Figure 73 shows that the final locative case clitic holds onto its own underlying tone, though it shows only a slight fall due to the speech speed. The final of the independent clause has a falling intonation as expected. The underlying high-level tone of the verb *pyó* ‘be happy’ is downplayed by the final clause boundary marking as a function of intonation.

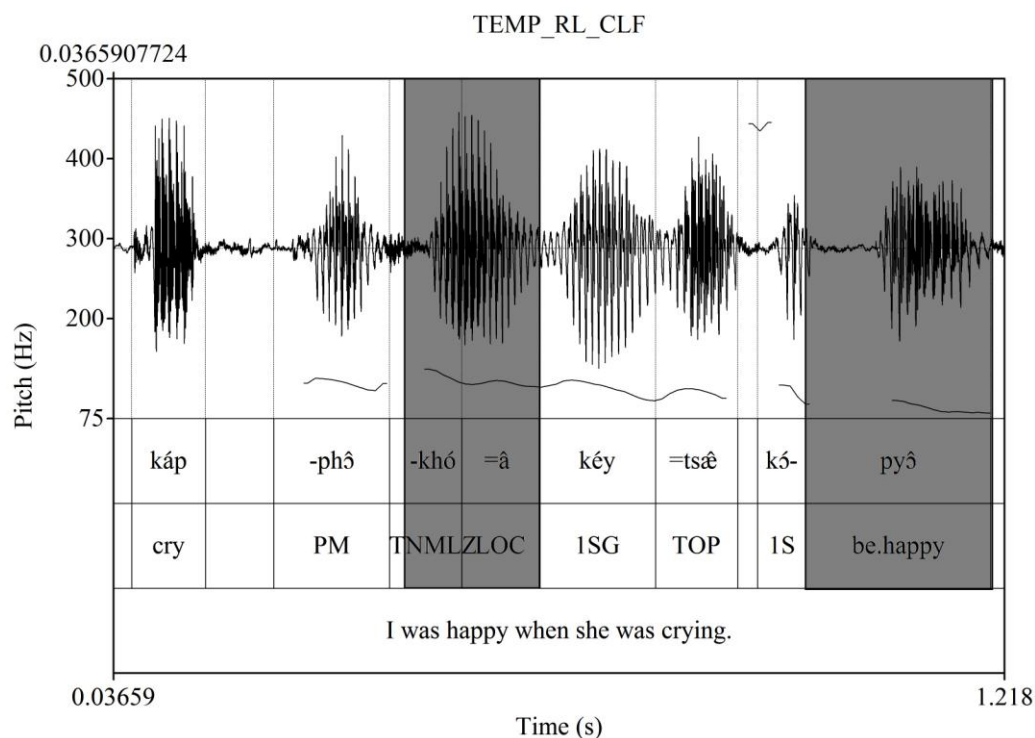


Figure 73: Zero intonation at the boundary of a temporal relative clause

12.4.2.6 Purposive relative clause

A purposive relative clause refers to the purpose of a referent of a nominal argument in a matrix clause. This is slightly trickier construction considering that it looks like it is functioning as an instrumental when modifying an instrumental argument of a relative clause. This nature is typical of the purposive relative clause, as it modifies a non-S/A argument of a matrix clause, typically an instrument. The referent of the S/A of a matrix clause performs an action on the referent of another argument in order to generate an action, a process or a state presented in the relative clause (Gast and Schäfer, 2012: 381). A purposive relative clause is a nominalized clause, whose verb is obligatorily marked by the irrealis suffix and the nominalizing suffix *-phi?* in Hyow. Coupe (2017, 2013) talks about a similar type of construction in Mongsen Ao, a TB language. The suffix *-phi?* has other functions scoping over an independent clause verb (see 9.2.3.3). The example in (942) illustrates a purposive relative clause, which is rendering the purpose of the referent of the A argument of the independent clause of looking for a tree. The referent of the A argument of the independent clause looks for a tree in a forest. The purpose is to live on the tree. The purposive relative clause presupposes the use of the P argument of the independent clause.

(942) *təwâ tsètálóngbàlâtsê ááméyálàè?yphí? thîng hngátá hmùéyâ? ʘ.*

təw = â tsèt-âl-ông-bá-lá = tsê [á-á-mêy-âl-é?y-phí?]_{RC}
 forest=LOC go-DEP-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP [3S-DIR-DEP-IRR-PURP.NMLZ]
 thîng hngát = á hmú-êy-á?
 tree one=ADD see.I-MID-3SG.NEG

‘Having gone away to the forest, he did not find a tree (for himself) that he would go back to stay on.’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0090]

By default, a purposive relative clause verb requires a Stem II verb. If the clause is in negative polarity, the verb takes Stem I due the syntactic constraint of using a Stem I verb in negative polarity. The purposive relative clause in (943) has a Stem II verb *shók* ‘wear lower garments’, which has a Stem I form *shà*. The nominalized relative clause here encodes the purpose of having two inches of loin by the S argument of the independent clause.

(943) *èy khóádê kíníshòkàè?yphí? úkhótsô béyhní? báng méyâ? ʘ.*

èy khô = â = dô [kí-ní-shók-é?y-phí?]_{RC}
 ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=EMPH [1A-PL-wear.lower.garments.II-IRR-PURP.NMLZ]
 úkhó-tsô bêy-hní? báng méy-á?
 loin-DIM CLS-two even exist-3SG.NEG

‘At that time, there were not even two inches of tiny loin that we would wear.’
 [ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0073]

Similarly to what Gast & Schäfer 2012 found in their study on relative clauses with adverbial meaning in Latin, there is no single instance of a purposive relative clause that has a non-third person head. Logically, it is possible to conceive a first or second person relativized argument, but probably, it is the semantics of performing an action, a process, or being in a state involved with an argument that minimizes the use

of such relativized argument. In other words, it is easier to make use of a third person for a purpose, since the first and second person referents are speech act participants.

Inherently, a purposive relative clause is non-factive. The purposive clause expresses the purpose, explaining or licensing the S/A argument of the matrix clause to perform an action, a process or be in a state. And so, it is logical for a purpose clause verb to be inflected by the irrealis suffix, as exemplified in all the examples in this section.

A purposive relative clause can be a topic of a matrix clause. Topicalized purposive clauses are found in examples where they modify indefinite pronouns. In such examples, instead of the indefinite pronoun, its antecedent, the nominalized relative clause gets the topic marker. The purposive clause in (944) is modifying the indefinite pronoun *ιά* ‘nothing’.

(944) *bóhítsæ nítsi?éyæ?yphì?tsæiá méyà?nú* ʘ.

[bóhí = tsæ [ní-tsí?-êy-æ?y-phí? = tsæ]_{RC}

[so=TOP [2A-take.II-MID-IRR-PURP.NMLZ=TOP]

ιά méy-á? = nú

nothing exist-3SG.NEG=SS.EVID

‘So, there is nothing for your taking (that you will take).’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_028]

A purposive relative clause does not have any co-occurrence constraints. It can modify a nominal argument of any type of clause, regardless its clausal-syntactic status – dependent and independent. The purposive clause in (945) is modifying the elided oblique argument of the reason adverbial clause, which is dependent on the matrix clause. In (946), the purposive relative clause is modifying the P argument of the imperative clause.

(945) *ʔéyæʔyphíʔ èyhyóʔ khrông ínídàhʔóngkʔ èy búʔ kháá lòhô.*

[[í-ní-ʔéy-æʔy-phíʔ]_{RC} èyhyóʔ khrông í-ní-dà-hô-óng = kʔ

[[3A-PL-eat.II-IRR-PURP.NMLZ] that.many people 3S-PL-die-PM-REAS=GEN

èy búʔ khá = á lò-hô

ANAPH.DEM rice all=ADD bring.II-PM

‘He brought all those rice too, because that many people died for the rice that they would eat.’ [ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_038]

(946) *phùhniʔâ phùák niâ íníbùʔéyæʔyphíʔ tðbʔytsû.*

[phú-hníʔ = â phù-ák ní = â í-ní-búʔ-èy-æʔy-phíʔ]_{RC}

[CLS-two=LOC CLS-one PROX=LOC 3A-PL-cook.II-MID-IRR-PURP.NMLZ]

[tð-bʔy-tsû]_{MC}

[keep.I-DEL.IMP-2PL]

‘Keep one of the two shares that they will cook here.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_080]

There is an incongruity in the purposive relative clause. A purposive relative clause can be verbless as well as headless. In such clauses, there is no shared argument, the principal feature of a relative clause. From the construction of such clauses, it seems that they are like verbless dependent clauses that are also found for other types of dependent relations. The clauses marked by the purposive nominalizing suffix are functioning as nominal complement of their respective copula verbs in (947).

(947) *èy ké-ǎ?y-phí? hyá? . kóbòytsǎ?yphí? dǎ.*

[[èy ké-ǎ?y-phí?]_{NOM.COMPL} [hyá?]_{COP}]_{S1}

[[ANAPH.DEM 1SG-IRR-PURP.NMLZ [be.not]]

[[kó-bóy-tsǎ-ǎ?y-phí?]_{NOM.COMPL} [dǎ]_{COP}]_{S2}

[1SG.POSS-lord-son-IRR-PURP.NMLZ] [be]]

‘She is not for me, she is for my lord’s son.’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_087]

Like other relative clauses, a purposive relative clause is not also marked by any intonation. The final of a purposive clause includes a glottal stop, which has its expected pitch elevation in the spectrogram, as shown in Figure 74. There is nothing much else to say on the intonation in relation to a purposive relative clause.

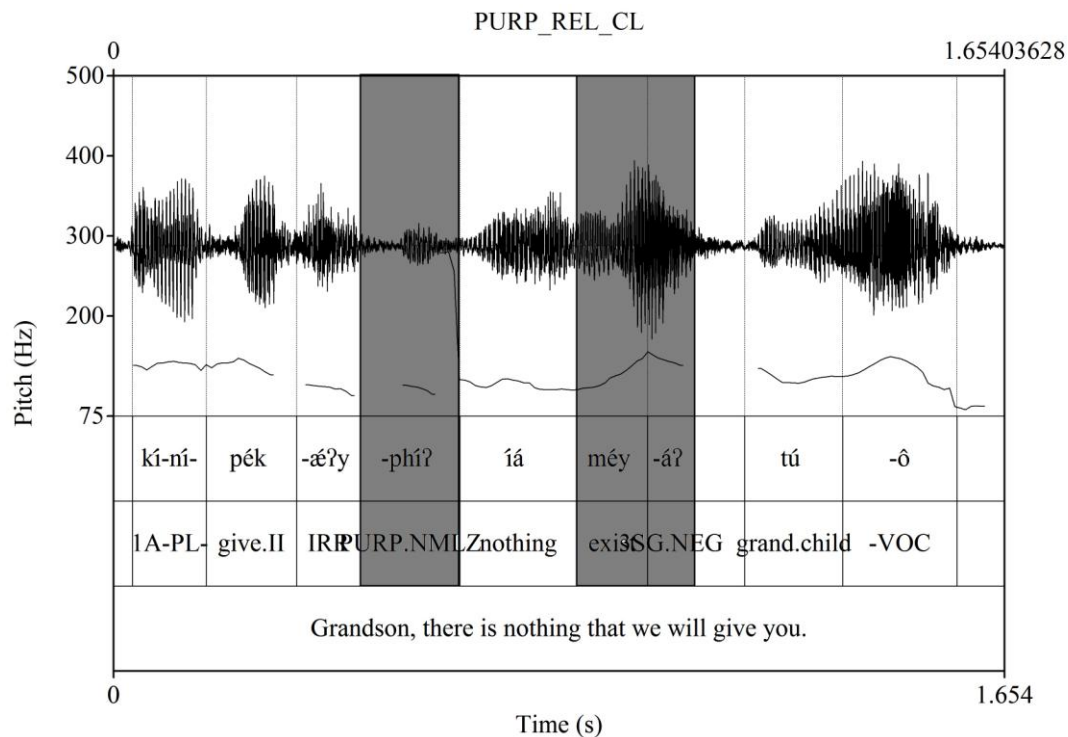


Figure 74: Intonation at the boundary of a purposive relative clause

The features of the relative clauses discussed so far in this section are summarized in Table 105. This will allow having a comparative idea about the relative clauses and their degree of dependency on the matrix clause.

	AGT	PAT	PLC	INST	TEMP	PURP	Matrix
ARG INDX	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Verb Stem I	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Stem II	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Reduplication	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
PM	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗, ✓
Topicalization	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗, ✓
MA	RA	RA	RA	RA	RA	RA	FA
Order of the clause	PRE POST	PRE POST	PRE POST	PRE POST	PRE POST	PRE POST	NON-FINAL FINAL
Non-canonical variant	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Co-occurrence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Intonation	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	falling (declarative), rising (polar interrogative, zero (imperative)
Dependency	EMBD	EMBD	EMBD	EMBD	EMBD	EMBD	DEP, INDEP

Table 105: Summarized features of relative clauses

12.4.2.7 Relative-correlative clauses

Relative-correlative clauses are found in abundance in Hyow. This type of relative clauses is not native to Tibeto-Burman languages. The TB languages that have relative-correlative clauses borrowed such clauses from Indo-Aryan languages, which is due to the effect of language contact, more specifically due to the spread of Buddhism. The teachings of Buddha is written in Pali, an Indo-Aryan language. As a result, a lot of borrowings from Pali can be found in languages spoken in Southeast Asia as well as in Burmese (see Mathias 2015). Since the history of contact between the Hyow and the Marma, people who speak a dialect of Arakanese, is very long, the borrowing of Pali relative-correlative structure via Marma is quite understandable. The examples in (948) and (949) are taken from Duroiselle (as in Huziwara, 2005: 3) and Huziwara (2008: 18). These two examples demonstrate relative-correlative

construction in Pali and Marma respectively. In Pali, there is a pair of relative-correlative pronoun (j-class pronoun), while the interrogative pronoun is used as the relative pronoun in Marma.

(948) *jo janāti so imam gaṇhatu. (Pali)*

jo	janāti	so	imam	gaṇhatu
REL	knows	COREL	this	let.take

‘He who knows let him take this.’ (Duroiselle, 1997: 153)

(949) *yáng θu, ja jəgama ja lou? răphǒlé, yángcago mətai?. (Marma)*

yáng	θu	ja	jəga = ma	ja	lou?	ră-phǒ = lé
that	man	what	place=LOC	what	work	must-FUT=Q.COL
yáng = ca = go			mə-tai?			
that=DEF=OBJ			NEG-know			

‘That man did not know what he must do and where he must work.’ (lit. ‘That man, in what place and what (he) must work, did not know that=thing.’)

(Huziwara, 2008: 18)

Instead of the j-class pronouns of relative-correlative constructions found typically in Indo-Aryan languages, there is use of the interrogative pronoun in the relative clause (this is identical to an interrogative clause) and a demonstrative in the correlative clause. The use of these two strategies, j-class pronouns and interrogative-demonstrative pronouns, in different languages of South and Southeast Asia is presented by a map in Figure 75. This map is prepared based on data from Coupe 2017, Subbārāo 2012 and Huziwara 2005.

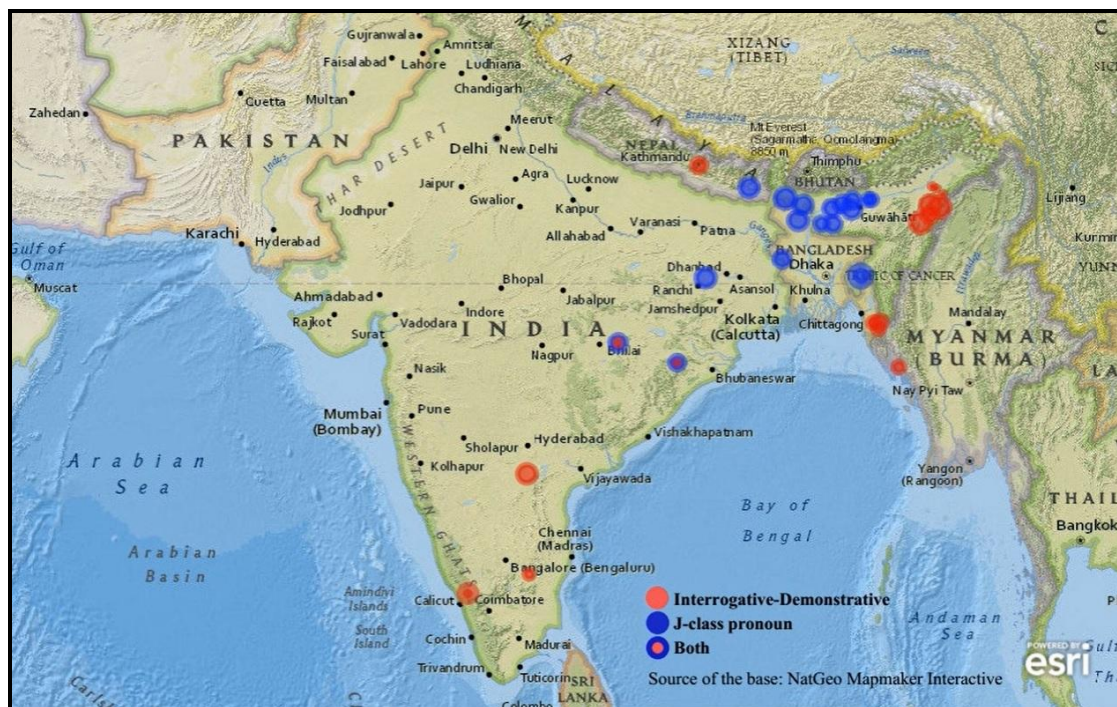


Figure 75: Relative-correlative clause strategies in South and Southeast Asian languages

In a relative-correlative clause, the relative clause is the lower or dependent clause and the correlative clause is the higher clause. In a relative-correlative clause in Hyow, the relative clause essentially carries an interrogative clause. With all its features retained, the interrogative clause functioning as a relative clause cannot be interpreted as a question inside the relative-correlative clause construction. Outside the correlative clause, it can be used as an independent interrogative clause, which suggests that other than temporal locus, the relative clause in a relative-correlative construction is not dependent on the correlative clause. Unlike Indo-Aryan languages, the correlative clause does not have pairs of correlative-relative pronouns in Hyow. Nonetheless, if the shared argument is present anaphorically in the correlative clause, then the available anaphoric demonstrative is used for all the corresponding interrogative pronouns – indefinite things, manner, reason, person, place, time, inanimate things, and quantity. There is a coreferential interrogative pronoun in the relative clause, as given in the example in (950). In most of the cases, also in (950), the coreferential argument in the matrix clause remains missing from the clause. There are two interrogative pronouns in (950), which suggests that there are in fact two relative clauses here, but both of them have the same predicate.

(950) *èy pótótsæ íbòó mòâ tsètómá hówhnúnggâ.*

[èy pótó = tsæ íbò-ó móâ tsét = êm = á]_{RC}
 [ANAPH.DEM man=TOP how-MULT where go=CONT.Q=SC.ADD]
 [hów-hnúng-ngâ]_{MC}
 [say.I-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG]

‘I cannot even say how and where that man went.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0117]

A relative-correlative clause can be used to modify any of the core and oblique arguments of the higher or matrix clause. The overtly expressed interrogative pronoun indicates the modified argument of the matrix clause. The relative clause in (951) is referring to a third person plural P argument. Both the interrogative pronoun and the shared argument are present in (951). The shared argument is in bold face in this example. Lipták (2009: 2) identifies ‘demonstrative requirement’ as one of the features of relative-correlative construction. If the shared argument of the correlative clause is overtly expressed, then one of the demonstratives used in Hyow precedes it. The shared argument in the correlative clause *khæ* ‘all’ is preceded by an anaphoric demonstrative in (951).

(951) *ú bórábór nóyèkæ?ylà?hóóm èykhôl khæní náng nóshòtæ?ylà?hó, hngúdâ.*

[ú bórábór nó-yék-æ?y-lá?-hó = êm]_{RC} èy-khól **khæ** = ní
 who to_B 2A-write.II-IRR-OBLG-PM=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC
 náng nó-shót-æ?y-lá?-hó hngúdâ
 2SG 2A-look.II-IRR-OBLG-PM DP

‘You will have to look at all those to whom you will have to write (a letter).’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0018]

The relative clause in (952) is modifying the elided P argument (in brackets in translation) of the correlative clause. It is significant to note here that the clauses in

this example have their own temporal setting. The predicated event in the relative clause is temporally set in the time before speech, while the predicated event in the correlative clause is set in the time after speech. However, this does not say much about the dependency of the relative clause verb on the verb of the correlative clause. Hyow speakers confirm that if the temporal locus of a correlative clause is made in the time before speech, then the temporal locus of the relative clause verb also has to be set in the time before speech. Thus, there is a dependency relationship for temporal setting.

(952) *èydê ɔ-pótɔlâ ták táá ítîâ núpùhɔ́m nɔ́hòwæ?ylà?hɔ́dê.*

èydê ɔ-pótɔ = lâ ták [táá ítîâ
then 3SG.POSS-husband=ERG tell.II [money when
nú-pú-hô = êm]_{RC} nɔ́-hów-æ?y-lá?-hó = dê
2A-borrow.II-PM=CONT.Q] 2A-say.II-IRR-OBLG-PM=EMPH

‘Her husband said, “You will have to tell (the time) when you borrowed the money.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0033]

In the relative-correlative clause construction in (953), the relative clause is modifying a thing, which is a shared P argument in the correlative clause. The temporal locus of the correlative clause verb is set in the time after speech in this example, so the temporal locus of the verb can be inferred in either at the time of speech or after the time of speech.

(953) *ní dúkâ í méyhyɔ́m kóshòtæ?yhyô dá ʘ.*

[ní dúk = â í méy-hyô = êm]_{RC} kó-shót-æ?y-hyô dá
[PROX inside=LOC what live-PM=CONT.Q] [1A-look.II-IRR-PM DP

‘Then he said, “I will look at what lives inside, alright?.”’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_099]

The interrogative pronoun *móng* refers to things usually (see §11.5.4.7), which is exemplified in a relative clause in (954). The shared argument, the anaphoric demonstrative, is overtly expressed in this relative-correlative clause construction.

(954) *èydô èy dúnátsâ móng íníhîsm èy núnúnghitsâ nóhòwpék-lá?hâ.*

[èydô èy dân = â = tsâ móng í-ní-hí = êm]_{RC}

[then ANAPH.DEM place=LOC=TOP which 3A-PL-ask.II=CONT.Q]

èy núnúng-hí = tsâ nó-hów-pék-lá?hâ

ANAPH.DEM 2S-be.able-COND=TOP 2A-say.II-BEN-OBLG-PM

‘You have to tell them, if you are able to answer those which they ask you in that place.’ [ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0089]

Hyow has a set of interrogative pronouns, which are equivalent to English ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, ‘however’, ‘whenever’, etc. These interrogative pronouns are also instantiated in relative-correlative clauses in Hyow. With a free adverb *báng* ‘even’ the regular interrogative pronouns form such English equivalent interrogative pronouns. There are three examples of relative-correlative clauses using these interrogative pronouns from (955)-(957). The example in (955) illustrates a temporal relative clause, whose shared argument is overtly expressed in the correlative clause. In (956), there is a thing interrogative pronoun in the relative clause. The shared argument is not overtly expressed here. The example in (957) also refers to a thing.

(955) *ítíá báng kēy kúh-lá-éy = êm èy khóá kúpùh-hô.*

[ítíá báng kēy kú-hlá-éy = êm]_{RC} èy khó = â

[when even 1SG 1A-want.II-MID=CONT.Q] ANAPH.DEM time=LOC

kú-pú-hô

1A-borrow.II-PM

‘I borrow at the time whenever I want.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0017]

(956) *èydô ání?lá í báng í-ní-hí = êm mót móttsó ngóhòwpék-é?y-lá?hô.*

èydô [ání? = lá í báng í-ní-hí = êm]_{RC} mót móttsó

then [3PL=ERG what even 3A-INV-ask.II=CONT.Q] finely

ngó-hów-pék-é?y-lá?hô

2A-say.II-BEN-IRR-OBLG-PM

‘You will have to tell them finely whatever they ask you.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0092]

(957) *móng báng hów = êm èyhú?y hngát tsí-êy-bây.*

[móng báng hów = êm]_{RC} èyhú?y hngát tsí-êy-bây

[which even say.II=CONT.Q] like.that one take.I-MID-DEL.IMP

‘Take the one for yourself whichever you say like that.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0066]

A relative-correlative clause ends with one of the question clitics. After Praat analysis, I have not observed any intonation effect at the boundary of a relative-correlative. A graphical representation of a relative-correlative clause is given in Figure 76.

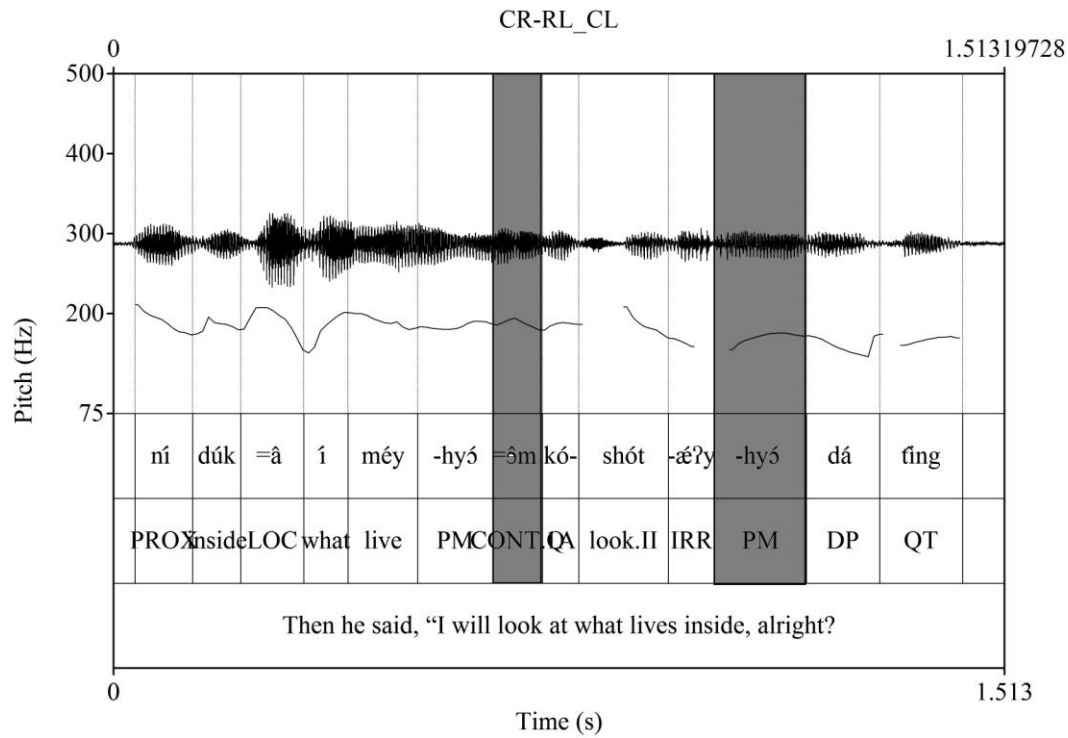


Figure 76: Intonation at the boundary of a relative-correlative clause

12.4.2.8 Comparative correlative clauses

A comparative correlative construction expresses a degree of increase of the predicated event in a relative clause, which in turn makes the correlative clause event express a degree of increase too. A comparative correlative clause is also known as conditional correlative (see Beck, 1997: 219 and Dikken, 2005: 497). Compared to relative-correlative clause constructions, the comparative correlative clause constructions do not have shared arguments unless both the dependent and the independent clauses have transitive verbs. Hyow has two types of comparative correlative construction – one is native to Hyow and the other is borrowed from Bangla, an Indo-Aryan language.

A native Hyow comparative correlative construction is built by nominalizing the preposed relative clause with a superlative degree formative/nominalizing suffix *-shím* and attaching a bound adverb *hyśʔ* 'much' to it. The correlative clause follows the relative clause in such constructions. The verb of a correlative clause does not take the quantity adverbial *hyśʔ* like the one in the corresponding relative clause, nor is there any correlative pronoun in the matrix clause. In (958), the relative clause is

nominalized, and it is postposing another dependent clause of the correlative clause. Here, the relative clause is dependent on the correlative matrix clause.

(958) *tùátsæ áthá íníbànshímhyó? bíttso ókrúnghitsæ íníhyèndók* ㄣ.

túâ = tsâ [á-thá í-ní-bân-shím-hyó?]RC bíttso
now=LOC=TOP [NMLZ-new 3A-PL-get.II-more-much] a.little.bit

ó-krúng-hí = tsâ í-ní-hyón-dók

3S-be.old-COND=TOP 3A-PL-throw.II-ANT

‘Now, the more they got new clothes, if that became a little bit old, the more they had thrown away.’ [ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0075]

The example in (959) illustrates a relative clause dependent on the correlative circumstantial adverbial clause.

(959) *íníkáélé?yshímhyó? tsùtsæ lûng pùhlàngání tsètálnhè?tí*

[í-ní-káélé?y-shím-hyó?]RC tsú = tsâ lûng pú-hlóngá = ní
[3A-PL-envy.II-NMLZ-much] DIST=TOP heart worry.II-CIR=FOC

tsét-âl-hnó? = tí

go-DEP-ULT=R.EVID]

‘The more they envied her, worrying the more (for her), he went away.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_076]

According to consultants, if the referent of the shared argument is uncountable, then the relative clause verb is inflected by the adverbial suffix *-hyó?*. If the referent of the shared argument is a countable, then the verb of the relative clause is inflected by the suffix *-á?*. However, there are no examples in the corpus to support this explanation. Even in simple sentences, *-hyó?* refers to both countable and uncountable referents. However, if both the relative and correlative clauses have intransitive verbs,

there is no shared argument between these two clauses. In (960), both the relative and correlative clauses have intransitive verbs, thus end up having no shared argument.

(960) ***ákàpshímhyó? áhá kây = dâ = nú khótí méyéyæ?yhyó***

[á-káp-shím-hyó?]_{RC} áhá kây = dâ = nú khótí

[3S-cry-NMLZ-much] INTJ 1SG=EMPH=SPEC loss_B

‘He thought, “Aha! The more he cries, the more I have loss.”’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0139]

This kind of clause does not have any co-occurrence restrictions like the temporal adverbial clause. The example in (534) is repeated here as (961) to illustrate this claim, where the relative clause has a shared argument in the correlative imperative clause.

(961) ***ínípekshímhyó?ní hyôn-bây. ôæ?y-tí.***

[í-ní-pék-shím-hyó? = ní]_{RC} hyôn-bây ó-æ?y-tí

[3A-INV-give.II-more-much=FOC] throw.I-OPT drink.I-IRR-2SG.NEG

‘The more they give you, the more throw (the alcohol). Don’t drink.’”

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_0156]

The second type of comparative correlative clause is borrowed from Marma. Matching with the Marma construction, there is an interrogative pronoun with the bound quantity adverb in the relative clause, and there is a corresponding demonstrative pronoun with the bound quantity adverb. According to Hyow speakers, instead of the demonstrative-adverb correlative form, a demonstrative followed by the quantifier *khæ* ‘all’ can be used in the borrowed comparative correlative clause. The example in (962) is taken from a story of a snake king. The relative clause has an adverbial interrogative and the correlative clause has a corresponding correlative adverbial demonstrative. Both of the relative and correlative forms are typed in boldface in (962).

(962) *ihyɔʔ ihniʔtsowêṁ èyhyɔʔdê kómî.*

[í-hyɔʔ í-hniʔ-tsów = êṁ]_{RC} èy-hyɔʔ = dê kóm = tî
 [what-much 3A-DL-dig.II=CONT.Q] ANAPH.DEM-much=EMPH descend=R.EVID

‘The more they two dug, the more the snake went down.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0012]

Without the overt presence of the corresponding correlative pronoun, it is not possible to form a grammatically correct comparative correlative construction. A construction without the correlative adverbial demonstrative becomes a relative-correlative clause, where the relative clause along with the adverbial interrogative refers to the quantity of the shared argument, as exemplified in (963).

(963) *ihyɔʔ ná-bún-éy-éʔyêṁ èydê nóshòtèʔylàʔmòhê.*

[í-hyɔʔ ná-bún-éy-éʔy = éṁ]_{RC} èydê nó-shót-éʔy-láʔ-mó-hê
 [what-much2A-get.II-MID-IRR=CONT.Q] then 2A-look.II-IRR-OBLG-PRIOR-PM

‘You will have to look first at how much you will get.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0083]

The types of comparative correlative clauses can be written as in A, B and C.

- A. $[[---\Sigma_1.II-----]_{NMLZ}-hyɔʔ]_{RC} [0]_{SA} [---\Sigma_2.II-----]_{CRC} (\Sigma_1, \Sigma_2 = \text{TRANSITIVE})$
- B. $[[---\Sigma_1.II-----]_{NMLZ}-hyɔʔ]_{RC} [---\Sigma_2.II-----]_{CRC} (\Sigma_1, \Sigma_2 = \text{either one INTRANSITIVE})$
- C. $[[i-hyɔʔ] [---\Sigma_1.II-----]=êṁ]_{RC} [[èy-hyɔʔ] [---\Sigma_2.II-----]]_{CRC} (\Sigma_1, \Sigma_2 = \text{TRANS, INTRANS})$

Phonologically, there is no marking at the boundary of a comparative correlative clause. The clause final segment retains its underlying tone, which is evident from the pitch representation of a comparative correlative construction in Figure 77.

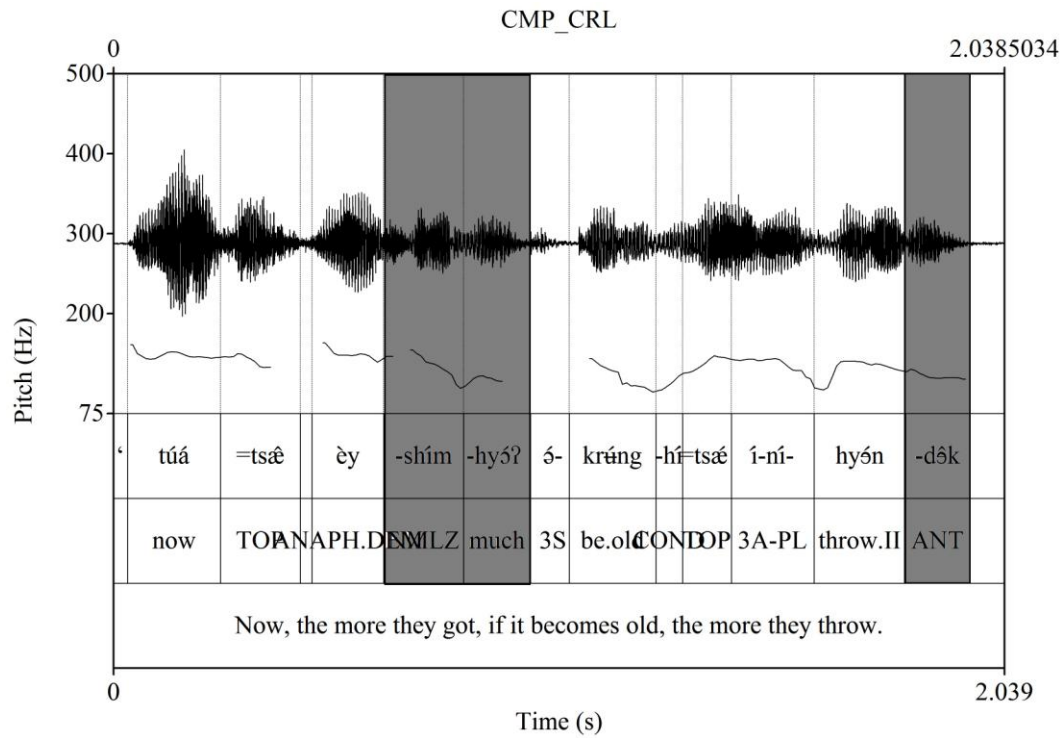


Figure 77: Zero intonational effect at the boundary of a comparative correlative clause

12.4.3 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

A complement clause functions as a core argument of a complement taking verb. Typically, a complement clause replaces a nominal argument of a verb, and functions within the constituent structure of a given sentence.

Hyow uses a complementizer to embed a complement clause into a matrix clause. Generally, the person-marking suffix functions as the complementizer in Hyow, which is demonstrated by the example in (964). This example is taken from a traditional story in Hyow. Usually, the transitive verb *hmu?* 'see.II' can take a P argument. In this example, the complement clause is holding the position of a P argument of the verb *hmú?* 'see.II'.

(964) *khéwthíngkón tùâ tûy tsàhó íníhmú? ㄣ, nángkêy.*

[khéwthíng=kón túâ tûy tsàh-hô]_{COMPL} ì-ní-hmú? nángkêy

[fig.tree=ABL now water pour-PM] 1A.INCL-PL-see.II 1PL.INC

‘We see that water pours down from the fig tree now.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0093]

Dixon (2006: 24) explains that a complementizer has different functions in a given language. It is also true for Hyow. The predicate-marking suffix, as *-hó* in (964), functions as the complementizer to embed the complement clause in the higher/matrix clause. The fact that the predicate-marking suffix is the complementizer is based on the evidence of an ungrammatical complement clause without the predicate marker at the end of complement clause. Accordingly, the example in (965) is regarded as ungrammatical to a Hyow speaker.

(965) **íhní?tsétál kúhmú? ㄣ.*

[í-hní?-tsét-ál]_{COMPL} kú-hmú?

[3S-PL-go-DEP] 1A-see.II

*(Lit.) ‘I say that they two went away.’ [Elicited]

The predicated marker, which is formed by a transphonologization process, origins in an old copula (see §9.4.1). Since complementation often involves verbs like ‘be’, ‘say’, etc. (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2006), it explains well why the predicate marker, which was a copula verb historically, can also function as a complementizer in Hyow.

If both the complement clause and the matrix clause take the predicate-marking suffix, then both the clauses are treated as separate sentences. Other than the predicate-marking suffix, if the complement taking verb takes other types of inflectional category, which usually makes it a complete sentence in different kinds of text, then the postposing predicate marker inflected clause is regarded as a complement clause of the higher clause, as shown in (966). The final clause in (966)

itself can be a complete sentence. Since the predicate marker inflected verb complex is preposing the final clause, it is regarded as a complement of the final clause verb.

(966) *ínítsètálhlóní hmù?hné?tí.*

[í-ní-tsét-âl-hlô = ní]_{COMPL} hmú?-hné? = tí
[3S-PL-go-DEP-PM=FOC] see.II-ULT=R.EVID

‘She finally saw that they went away.’

[ZM_SFA_MZK_062015_Hyow_0036_027]

Other than the verb *hmú?* ‘see.II’, the list of complement taking verbs include *ták* ‘tell.II’, *hmót* ‘know.II’, *sháng* ‘want.II’, *hl#* ‘be required’, *dón* ‘show.II’, etc. All these complement-taking verbs can use the complement clause as a topic, which is evident from the topicalized complement clause. The complement clause in the place of the P argument of the verb *hmót* ‘know.II’ in (967) is marked by the topic clitic = *tsê*.

(967) *nûdùhóttsê hmòtéyhòmùngâ.*

[nú dâ-hô = tsê]_{COMPL} hmót-êy-hóm-ùngâ
[mother die-PM=TOP] know.II-MID-yet-1PL.NEG

‘We did not yet know that mother died.’

[ZM_LS_SPW_082015_Hyow_0019_0065]

The use of the predicate-marking suffix as a complementizer also suggests that the complement clause can have a full sentential status outside the control of the higher clause. Moreover, there are no reductions of the verb, nor any special argument marking or MA restrictions in a complement clause. However, the temporal setting of the complement clause verb is controlled by the verb of the clause into which it is embedded. For example, the verb of the higher clause in (968) is set in the time before speech, so is the complement clause verb.

(968) *shlúhlámhmódó ínyók* ㄴ.

[ʃ-hlúhlám-hmô = dʔ]_{COMPL} í-ní-yók

[3S-be.shaken-PM=EMPH] 3A-PL-hear.II

‘They heard that it was shaking.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_342]

On the other hand, if the higher clause verb is temporally set in the time after speech, the complement clause verb does not necessarily need to be in be temporally set in the time after speech as well. The temporal locus of the verb of the higher clause in (969) is in the time after the speech, but the temporal locus of the complement clause verb is set in the time before speech.

(969) *kêy kááhów kátákæ?y* ㄴ.

kêy ká-á-hów ká-ták-æ?y

1SG 1A-DIR-say.II 1A-tell.II-IRR

‘I will tell him that I went to say (the words).’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0171]

A complement clause does not have any co-occurrence constraints, though the position of the complement clause is strictly rigid, always preposed. A complement clause can function as an argument of an interrogative clause or of an imperative clause. For Example, the verb *hmót* ‘know.II’ of the interrogative clause in (970) has taken a complement clause.

(970) *múzib méylà?hó nóhmòtéy* ㄴ?

[múzib mēy-lá?-hó èybó]_{COMPL} nó-hmót-êy

[Muzib live-OBLG-PM that.way] 2A-know.II-POL.Q

‘Do you know that Muzib had to live that way?’

[ZM_TLW_TUK_062007_Hyow_0030_011]

So far, I have given examples of *that*-complement clauses, where the predicate marker represents the English equivalent ‘that’ in Hyow. Other than the *that*-complement clause, there can be infinitival complement clauses in Hyow, where the predicate marker also marks the complement clause. The complement clause in (971) is an infinitival complement clause embedded in the place relative clause. In place of the complement clause, it is possible to insert a noun. Therefore, it is certainly functioning as a complement clause. In addition, if the sentence is translated with ‘that’, it is not possible to get a cohesive translation for the Hyow sentence in English. Thus, regardless of types, the predicate marker obligatorily marks Hyow complement clauses.

(971) *khron̄g hænálhlô íníttsèknák-dân mēy.*

[[khron̄g hæn-âl-hlô]_{COMPL} í-ní-tsèknák-dân mēy

[[people save-DEP-PM] 3A-learn.II-NMLZ exist

‘There was a place where they learnt to save people.’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_055]

Hyow uses another complementizer to add a complement clause to a complement taking verb. The conditional clause-linking suffix *-hí* can be used to embed a complement clause into a matrix clause. This is not uncommon cross-linguistically (Noonan 2007: 55). The example in (972) illustrates the use of ‘if’ as a complementizer of the complement taking verb *yók* ‘hear.II’.

(972) *èylúp nát prèáhá lú? lòhí nýyòkphùéy ↗?*

[èylúp nát pré = â = há lú? lò-hí]_{COMPL}

[like.that god country=LOC=ADD human come-COND]

[nó-yók-phú = êy

[2A-hear.II-ever=POL.Q

‘Did you ever hear if a human came to the god’s country also like that?’

[ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_263]

To this point, I have only discussed complement clauses of complement taking verbs. In addition to verb complement clauses, there are noun complement clauses in Hyow, which follow a copula complement of a copula clause. For example, the content question in (973) carries a copula clause. It is typical in Hyow to construct copula clauses by juxtaposition. The content question here is verbless. That is why the copula complement *hmútó* ‘woman’ takes the content question clitic. The noun complement clause is complementing this copula complement *hmútó* ‘woman’ in (973).

(973) *níhù?ytsæ í kǎkhèmnàk-khô hmútóâm.*

[níhù?y = tsæ í [kǎ-khèmnák-khô]_{COMPL} hmútó = âm

[like.this=TOP what [1A-meet.II-PM] woman=CONT.Q

‘Like this, what is the woman that I met?.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_025]

As noticed in other types of dependent clauses, intonation does not play any role in marking a complement clause as well. The final of a complement clause, the predicate-marking suffix, usually has a falling tone when it is an independent clause. When introduced as a complement clause, the boundary pitch is showing that the predicate marker retains its underlying falling tone, as shown in Figure 78 (brown shade).

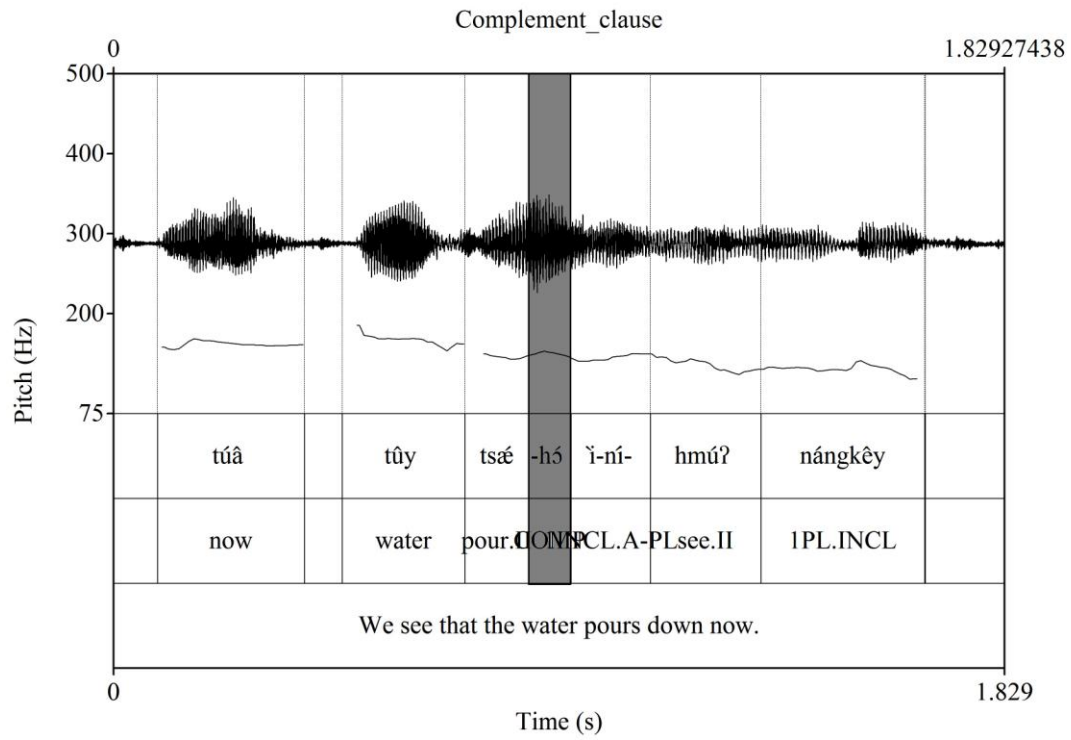


Figure 78: Level intonation at the boundary of a complement clause

The morphosyntactic and phonological features of a complement clause are summarized in Table 106.

		Complement Clause (COMPLC)	Matrix Clause (MC)	
			Dependent	Independent
Argument indexation		✓	✓	✓
Verb	Stem I	✓	✓	✓
	Stem II	✓	✓	✓
Reduplication		✗	✗, ✓	✗
Predicate marking		✓	✗	✗
Topicalization		✓	✗, ✓	✗
MA	full access		restrictive access	full access
Order of the clause	prepose		non-final, final	non-final, final
Non-canonical version		✗	✗	✗
Co-occurrence restrictions		✗	✗	✗
Intonation		zero	rising (↗), zero	falling (↘), rising (polar interrogative), zero (imperative)
Dependency		embedded	loosely dependent	independent

Table 106: Summarized features of a complement clause

12.5 CONCLUSION

The complex-sentence construction strategies and dependent clause types illustrate many variations from morphosyntactic perspective. The non-canonical versions of some adverbial clauses supports the fact that prefixal referential morphology has developed later than suffixal referential morphology. Dependent clauses also show mood harmony with independent clauses in Hyow. The absence of the tense category makes the binary mood distinction of realis and irrealis an important feature to make

temporal references of events. Other than adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses also take part in forming complex sentences. Like other TB languages, Hyow utilize clausal nominalization to form relative clauses. The multifunctional predicate-marking suffix functions as a complementizer in Hyow. Other than the native complex-sentence construction strategies, the borrowed correlative-relative constructions in Hyow are also significant for investigating the degree of contact effect in the syntax of the language. The intonation pattern in different types of dependent clauses gives some interesting insights how the prosodic feature is used at the clausal boundary.

Text

HOW TO HUNT A DEER

Speaker: Hla Prue Khyang

Recording date and place: June 2014, Bandarban, Bangladesh

Summary: This is a narration of the speaker's personal experience of hunting wild animals with his friends in his childhood. The text will be archived at <http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/repository/ZM1>.

1. shét-ák khô = â kêy phrów-tí? ì-ní-pán-êy-ní shó
time-one time-LOC 1SG friend-PL 1P-INV-call.II-MID-TEMP wild.pig
tóm-â kí-ní-tsét-thô
hunt.II-PURP 1S-PL-go-PM
'Once upon a time, when my friends called me, we went for hunting.'
2. èydê tsét-pé tsét-pé tsú = â óhlómhló = â pótsóng-hlí pótsóng-hngô
then go-SIM go-SIM DIST=LOC distance=LOC CLS-four CLS-five
bóng kí-ní-mêy
APPX 1S-PL-exist
'Then, going, going, we were about four-five persons there in a distance.'
3. èy-khòl khâ = ní kí-ní-tsét-thô útú
ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC 1S-PL-go-PM together
'All of those (four or five), we went together.'
4. èydê hnúp-ák kí-ní-mêy èy = â óyôn = â tów = â kí-ní-íp-phô
then day-one 1S-PL-exist ANAPH.DEM=LOC night=LOC forest=LOC 1S-PL-sleep-PM
'Then, one day, we stayed there, we slept in the forest at night.'

5. èydê ó-mó hnúp = êng = tsê iá bân-ùngâ kí-ní-tsón-êy-hyô
 then GRP-first day=INE=TOP nothing get.I-1PL.NEG 1S-PL-run-MID-PM
 kí-ní-shúy-hyô shó kí-ní-shúy-hyô
 1A-PL-search.II-PM wild.pig 1A-PL-search-PM
 'Then, we did not get anything on the first day. We loitered, we looked [for a prey], we looked for a wild pig.'
6. shó kí-ní-shúy-ní iá èy hnúp = â bân-ùngâ
 wild.pig 1A-PL-search-TEMP nothing anaph.DEM day=LOC get.I-1PL.NEG
 'When we looked for a wild pig, we did not find any on that day.'
7. èydê lôm = â táng hngát kí-ní-hmú?
 then road=LOC monitor.lizard one 1A-PL-see.II
 'Then, we saw a monitor lizard on the road.'
8. èydê èy táng = ní kéyní? konəng ûy = á mêy-hyô = ní
 then anaph.DEM monitor.lizard=FOC 1PL with dog=ADD exist-PM=FOC
 ûy-thêy-ti?
 dog-hunt-NMLZ
 'Then , [we saw] that monitor lizard. We had a dog also with us, a hunting.'
9. èydê ey ûy-thêy tsí-pûy-nâ-ùngâ-lá èy
 then ANAPH.DEM dog-hunt take.I-ASS.BEN-SPNT-1PL-SEQ ANAPH.DEM
 táng = ní tsú = â óhlómhló = â kí-ní-hmú?-hô
 monitor.lizard=FOC DIST=LOC distance-LOC 1A-PL-see.II-PM
 'Then, taking the hunting dog for helping us, we saw a monitor lizard there in a distance.'
10. èydê lôm = kón kóm-ùngâ-lá èy táng = ní
 then lôm=ABL descend-1PL-SEQ ANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard-FOC
 kí-ní-món-êy-hyô kí-ní-shot
 1A-PL-catch.II-MID-PM 1A-PL-look.II
 'Then, descending from the road, we tried to catch the aforementioned monitor lizard.'

11. *èydô ûy-thêy = lâ = tsâ èy táng ìbó mêt-hyô = êm*
 then dog-hunt=ERG=TOPANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard what stay-PM=CONT.Q
ìbó ì-ní-món-hnêng-hngô = êm
 what 1A.INCL-PL-catch.II-PH.CAP=CONT.Q
 ‘Then, how was the hunting dog able to catch us that monitor lizard from where he stayed?’
12. *èy ûy-thêy = lâ = tsâ ì-ní-món-hnêng-hngô-ní èy*
 DEIX dog-hunt=ERG=TOP 1P-INV-catch.II-PH.CAP-PM-REAS ANAPH.DEM
ûy-thêy kí-ní-tsí?-êy-pûy-nák
 dog-hunt 1A-PL-take.II-MID-ASS.BEN-SPNT
 ‘Then, we took the hunting dog with us because that hunting dog was able to catch us the [monitor lizard].’
13. *èydô èy dân = â thîng lén-pô hngát mêt-hyô èy*
 then ANAPH.DEM place=LOC tree big-AUG one exist-PM ANAPH.DEM
thîng lén-pô tsów = â ó-khó mêt
 tree big-AUG below-LOC GRP-hole exist
 ‘Then, there was a very big big tree in that place. There was a hole below the very big tree.’
14. *èydô èy khó dúk = â èy khó dúk = â = tsâ èy*
 then ANAPH.DEM hole inside-LOC ANAPH.DEM hole inside=LOC=TOPANAPH.DEM
táng mêt-hyô
 monitor.lizard exist-DUR
 ‘Then, inside that hole! That monitor lizard was inside that whole.’
15. *èydô ûy-thêy-tí? = lâ nó-nó-bá-lá èy*
 then dog-hunt-NMLZ=ERG REDUP-bark-3SG-TEMP ANAPH.DEM
táng = ní món
 monitor.lizard=FOC catch
 ‘Then, barking, the hunting dog caught that monitor lizard.’

16. èydê kéyní? = áèy ûy = lâ tsá? = kón nók-ní èydê
 then 1PL=ADD ANAPH.DEM dog=ERG begin.II=ABL bark.II-TEMP then
 kéyní? = á kí-ní-tset máné ká-á-ní-món
 1PL=ADD 1S-PL-go means_B 1A-DIR-PL-catch.II
 ‘Then, we also, when the dog barked again and again, we also went, means, we
 went to catch [the monitor lizard].’

17. ká-á-ní-món-ní môn-ùngâ-lá eydê kí-ní-ló-âl
 1A-DIR-PL-catch.II-TEMP catch.I-1PL-TEMP then 1A-PL-bring.II-DEP
 ‘When we went to catch [any prey], catching [the prey], then we returned.

18. èydê èy tang hngát kí-ní-bún-êy hnúp = â
 then ANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard one 1A-PL-get.II-MID day=LOC
 ‘Then, we got the monitor lizard in day.’

19. èydê èy pón-êng óló hnúp-ák khô = â óló hnúp-ák khô = â
 then ANAPH.DEM finish-TEMP again day-one time=LOC again day-one time=LOC
 ɔlo sho shuy-a kí-ní-tset-dâ tów = â èy
 again wild.pig search.II-PURP 1S-PL-go-ITER forest-LOC ANAPH.DEM
 kí-ní-íp-dên = kón ɔlo óhlómhló = â
 1S-PL-sleep-PLNMLZ=ABL again distance=LOC
 ‘Then, when that ended, we went to look for a wild pig in the forest again another
 day, at a distance from our sleeping place.’

20. èydê shó ní?-khôl kí-ní-hyúl móng = á mêy = êm
 then wild.pigfootprint-EXP 1A-PL-follow.II which=LOC exist=CONT.Q
 móng dédé tset = êm
 where direction go=CONT.Q
 ‘Then, we followed the wild pig’s footprints, where [the wild pig] lived, in which
 direction [the wild pig] went.’

21. èydê shûy-pé shûy-pé èylúp kêy phrów-tí? hngát = tsê
 then search.I-SIM search.I-SIM that.way 1SG friend-PL one-TOP
 hníbók kóp-tí? = tsê ó-mó = â tsét tsú = â kóngtíng = â
 cartridge shoot.I-NMLZ=TOP-GRP-first=LOC go DIST=LOC junction.of.hills=LOC
 tsét
 go
 ‘Then, searching, searching, one of my friends, the cartridge shooter, went ahead.
 He went there in the junction of the hills.’

22. èydê èy í-ní? hyûl-ùngâ-lá kéyní? = ásho
 then ANAPH.DEM GRP-footprint follow.I-1PL-SEQ 1PL=ADD wild.pig
 kí-ní-tóm kóng-ák = êng
 1A-PL-chase.II hill-one=LOC
 ‘Then, following the [wild pig’s] footprint, we also chased the wild pig on a hill.’

23. èydê tēm-pé tēm-pé hnúp-ák khô = â èy shó = ní
 then chase.I-SIM chase.I-SIM day-one time-LOC ANAPH.DEM wild.pig=FOC
 bân-dá-ùngâ
 get.I-ITER-1PL.NEG
 ‘Then, chasing, chasing, we did not get the wild pig in one day.’

24. yámêy = ní tsú = â óhngó dede óhngó lôm hngát
 because=FOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC different direction different road one
 mēy-hyô ey lôm = êng tset-al
 exist-PM ANAPH.DEM road=LOC go-back
 ‘Because, there was a different road in a different direction. It (the wild pig) went
 back on that road.’

25. èy dédé tó?shó á-óm-hmô dédé èy shó
 ANAPH.DEM direction hunter DIR-sit-PM direction ANAPH.DEM wild.pig
 tsét-á?
 go-3SG.NEG
 ‘The wild pig did not go to that direction, in the direction where the hunter went to
 sit.’

26. èydê tsét-á?-ní ey sho bân-ùngâ ey hnúp = â
 then go-NEG.3SG-TEMP ANAPH.DEM wild.pig get.I-1PL.NEG ANAPH.DEM day=LOC
 ‘Then, when the wild pig did not go [to that direction], we did not get a wild pig
 on that day there.’

27. èydê shó bân-á?-bak kí-ní-ló-âl
 then wild.pig get.I-3SG.NEG-NEG.ADV 1A-PL-bring.II-DEP
 ‘Then, not getting the wild pig, we returned.’

28. kí-ní-ló-âl lôm = â èy = â óy-tsô-khôi kolkok-tsô-khôi
 1A-PL-bring.II-DEP road=LOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC crab-DIM-EXP snail-DIM-EXP
 ngó-tsô-khôi kí-ní-shúy-êy-âl ó-hlóng-tsô = â hæng = â
 fish-DIM-EXP 1A-PL-search.II-MID-DEP GRP-stream-DIM=LOC brook=LOC
 ‘On our way back, then we looked back for crabs, snails, and fishes in a stream
 and in a brook.’

29. èydê kéyní? kí-ní-bú?-êy-âl-dá
 then 1PL 1A-PL-cook.II-MID-DEP-ITER
 ‘Then, we cooked again.’

30. èy bút-?êy-âl-ùngâ-lá èy kí-ní-?êy-âl-dá
 ANAPH.DEM cook.I-eat.I-DEP-1PL-SEQ ANAPH.DEM 1A-PL-eat.II-DEP-ITER
 ‘Cooking that, we ate that [monitor lizard] again.’

31. èydê èy ?êy-âl-ùngâ-lá óyôn = â kí-ní-íp-âl-dá
 then ANAPH.DEM eat.I-DEP-1PL-SEQ night=LOC 1A-PL-sleep-DEP-ITER
 èy = â tów = â kí-ní-íp-phô
 ANAPH.DEM=LOC forest-LOC 1S-PL-sleep-PM
 ‘Then, eating that up, we slept at night, we slept there in the forest.’

32. èy tów = â kí-ní-íp-phô = á thásá dúkhá? = êng kí-ní-íp-phô
 ANAPH.DEM forest=LOC 1S-PL-sleep-PM=ADD very suffering=INE 1S-PL-sleep-PM
 ‘We slept in that forest also. We slept in a very suffering condition’

33. yámêy = ní èy = â píl í-ní-mêy kǎe-khól èy-khól í-ní-mêy
 because-FOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC mosquito3S-PL-exist bug-EXP EE-EXP 3S-PL-exist
 tów pétsé-khól í-ní-mêy
 forest animal-EXP 3S-PL-exist

‘Because, there is mosquito, there are bugs; there are wild animals.’

34. kǎe-shé-hô kóông í?ltsông kí-ní-tsí?-êy
 be.scared-AGNS-PM for mosquito.net 1A-PL-take.II-MID

‘Since we got scared very badly, we took a mosquito net.’

35. èy í?ltsông dúk = â = hâ í-ní-wóng-hnâng
 ANAPH.DEM mosquito.net inside=LOC=SC.ADD 3S-PL-enter-PH.CAP

píl-hmǎet-tsô í-ní-wóng-hnâng
 mosquito-little-DIM 3S-PL-enter-PH.CAP

‘They can enter even inside the mosquito net. The little mosquito can enter (inside).’

36. èydô èy pón-ông óyôn-ák = â èylúp kí-ní-íp-âl-dâ
 then ANAPH.DEM end-TEMP night-one=LOC that.way 1S-PL-sleep-DEP-ITER

‘Then, after that, we slept that way one night.’

37. èydô óló hnúp-ák khô = â khô wá-dâ-ní óló bú?-tsô ?êy-ùngâ-lá
 then again day-one time=LOC time rise-ITER-TEMP againrice-DIM eat.I-1PL-SEQ

óló kí-ní-shól-êy-dǎ shó shúy-ǎ?y-ông
 again 1PL.EXCL-start-MID-ITER wild.pig search.II-IRR-PURP

‘Then, again, one day, again, when the sun rose, eating some rice, we again started to look for the wild pig.’

38. èydô shó-ní ká-á-ní-hyúl-dǎ óló
 then wild.pig-FOC 1A-DIR-PL-follow.II-ITER again

‘Then, we again went to follow the wild pig.’

39. èydê èylúp hyûl-pé hyûl-pé shét-ák khô = â shó ní?
 then that.way follow.I-SIM follow.I-SIM time-one time=LOC wild.pig footprint
 kí-ní-khóm-dǎ

1A-PL-approach.II-ITER

‘Then, following, following, one time, we approached the wild pig’s footprint.’

40. èy shó ní? kí-ní-khóm-ní èy mǒng
 ANAPH.DEM wild.pig footprint 1A-PL-approach.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM which

dédé tsét-âl-hlô = êm èy í-ní? kí-ní-hyúl
 direction go-DEP=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM GRP-footprint 1A-PL- follow.II

‘When we approached the wild pig’s footprint, we followed the footprint where
 the wild pig went back.’

41. kéyní? hyûl-pe hyûl-pé èydê èybó kóp-æ?y-tí?

1PL follow.I-SIM follow.II-SIM then that.way shoot-IRR-NMLZ

tó?shó = â óm-dǎ tsú = â óhlómhló = â kóngtíng = â
 hunting.place-LOC₁ sit-ITER DIST-LOC distance-LOC junction.of.hills=LOC

‘Following, following, then the person who would shoot sat again on the hunting
 place far in the junction of the hills.’

42. èydê èy kóng = â kéyní? = tsê tǎm-pé tǎm-pé ey
 then ANAPH.DEM hill-LOC 1PL=TOP chase.I-SIM chase.I-SIM ANAPH.DEM

dédé èy kóngtíng dédé tó?shó óm-hmôdede sho
 directionANAPH.DEM hill direction hunting.place sit-PM direction wild.pig

tset-hmóná kéyní? = á kí-ní-tǎm
 go-MTV.PURP 1PL=DAT 1A-PL-chase.II

‘Then, chasing, chasing that on the hill along the hunting place, we chased so that
 the wild pig would go to us along the hunting place, along the direction he (the
 shooter) sat’

43. èydô kí-ní-tóm kí-ní-tóm eylup tôm-pé tôm-pé shét-ák
 then 1A-PL-chase.II 1A-PL-chase.II that.way chase.I-SIM chase.I-SIM time-one
 khô = â èy tóʔshó óm-hmô dédé hníbók kóp-tíʔ
 time=LOC ANAPH.DEM hunting.place sit-PM direction cartridge shoot.I-NMLZ
 dédé tsét-ní èydô èy = lâ kóʔ
 direction go-TEMP then ANAPH.DEM=ERG shoot.II
 ‘Then, we chased, we chased (the wild pig). Chasing, chasing (the wild pig) that
 way, one time, when the wild pig went along the hunting place, along the
 direction he (shooter) sat, to the shooter’s direction, then he shot at [the wild pig].’

44. èydô èy khô = â kúm-ák kí-ní-bún
 then ANAPH.DEM time-LOC CLS-One 1A-PL-get.II
 ‘Then, that time, we got one wild pig.’

45. shó-kúm-ák kí-ní-bún-ní èy khê = ní í-ní-pyô
 wild.pig-CLS-One 1A-PL-get.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM all=FOC 3S-PL-be.happy
 ‘When we got one wild pig, all were happy.’

46. èydô í-ní-pyô-ní kí-ní-ló-êy-âl
 then 3S-PL-be.happy-TEMP 1A-PL-bring.II-DEP
 ‘Then, when we were happy, we returned.’

47. èydô èy shó pó-êy-âl-ùngâ-lá kéyníʔ ó-wông
 then ANAPH.DEM wild.pig DV.I-MID-1PL-SEQ 1PL GRP-half
 kí-ní-ʔéy èydô ó-wông kí-ní-tsá-êy
 1A-PL-eat then GRP-half 1A-PL-dry.II-MID
 ‘Then, cutting and cleaning that wild pig, we ate half. Then, we dried half.’

48. kí-ní-hyáey-êy-hyô-khól ó-shó
 1A-PL-grill.MID-PM-EXP GRP-meat
 ‘We made kebab of the meat.’

49. èydô èy shó kúm-ák kí-ní-bún hnúp-thum pórê
 then ANAPH.DEM wild.pig CLS-one 1A-PL-get.II day-three later_B
 ‘Then, we got another pig after three days.’

50. èydê óló hnúp-ák khô = â èydê óló kí-ní-thók-dú
 then again day-one time=LOC then again 1A-PL-come.out-ITER
 ‘Then, again one day, we came out once again.’
51. èydê èy hnúp = â = há èylúp shó bân-dú-ùngâ
 then ANAPH.DEM day=LOC=ADD that.way wild.pig get.I-ITER-1PL.NEG
 ‘Then, we did not get a wild pig on that day like that.’
52. kí-ní-shúy-êy eylup ónshé-tsô-khól kí-ní-shúy-êy-âl
 1A-PL-search.II-MID that.way vegetable-DIM-EXP 1A-PL-search.II-MID-DEP
 ngó-tsô-khól kí-ní-shúy-êy-âl-dá á-yâng = êng = kó? lúp
 fish-DIM-EXP 1A-PL-search.II-MID-DEP-ITER GRP-be.fast=INE=GEN way
 ‘We looked for (other things) that way. We looked back for vegetables, we look back for small fishes like before.’
53. èydê èy khô = â = há èylúp èy hnúp = â = há
 then ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=ADD that.way ANAPH.DEM day=LOC=ADD
 bân-dú-ùngâ
 get.I-ITER 1PL.NEG
 ‘Then, also that time, also that day, we did not find (anything).’
54. èydê lásté óló khóhnúp-hngô = â thón-êy-ní óló
 then at.last_B again time-day-five=LOC happen-MID-TEMP again
 èy hnúp-hngô èy hnúp = â óló shó tóm-â
 ANAPH.DEM day-five ANAPH.DEM day=LOC again wild.pig chase.II-PURP
 kí-ní-tsét-dú èy hnúp = â
 1S-PL-go-ITER ANAPH.DEM day=LOC
 ‘Then, at last, again, when it was the fifth day, we went for chasing a wild pig again on that day.’

55. èydê ólô shó shó shám kí-ní-yók-ní èy shó
 then again wild.pig wild.pig sound 1A-PL-hear.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM wild.pig
 zág í-ní-mêy-hyô èy = â
 herd_B 3S-PL-exist-PM ANAPH.DEM=LOC
 ‘Then, again when we heard the wild pig, wild pig’s sound, there was a herd of wild pig’
56. èydê í-ní-tsón-âl shám-khôl kí-ní-yók kí-ní-khín
 then 3A-PL-run-DEP sound-EXP 1A-PL-hear.II 1A-PL-listen.II
 ‘Then, we heard the sound of their running away, we listened to that sound.’
57. èydê kéyní? kêy hmóyhmó dédé = ní shó shóng í-ní-tsón-hnô
 then 1PL 1SG front direction-FOC wild.pig CLS 3S-PL-run-PM
 ‘Then, the wild pig’s herd ran away in front of me.’
58. èydê kó? -ní èy khô = â shó kúm-ák bún
 then shoot.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM time=LOC wild.pig CLS-one get.II
 ‘Then, when he shot, he got one wild pig that time.’
59. èydê èy = lâ kó? èy dédé í-ní-tsét-ní
 then ANAPH.DEM=ERG shoot.II ANAPH.DEM direction 3S-PL-go-TEMP
 èy = la kó? èy kóp-tí? = lâ
 ANAPH.DEM=ERG shoot ANAPH.DEM shoot.I-NMLZ=ERG
 ‘Then, he shot when they went to that direction.’
60. èydê kó? -ní ey khô = â shó kúm-ák bún
 then shoot.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM time=LOC wild.pig CLS-one get.II
 ‘Then, when he shot, he got one wild pig.’
61. èydê ólô bíttô óhlómhló = â ólô hngát á-shám yók-ní èydê
 then again a.little.bit distance=LOC again one GRP-sound hear.II-TEMP then
 èy = â = kó? = á ó-kó? -ní èy = â bún
 ANAPH.DEM=LOC=GEN=ADD 3SG-shoot.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=LOC get
 ‘Then, in a small distance when he heard a sound, when he shot there, [he] got [a wild pig].’

62. èydâ kéyní? = tsâ kí-ní-hlómhló-êy-hyô
 then 1PL.EXCL-TOP 1S-PL-distance-MID-PM
 ‘Then, we were far (from the place).’
63. èydâ kí-ní-hlómhló-êy-hyô = ní èy = kón páng shó kú-bân-hnô
 then 1PL.EXCL-distance-MID-DUR-CVB DEIX-ABL call wild.pig 1SG-get-PM
 á-ló-âl-êng tîng èy kóp-tí?
 DIR-bring-back-TEMP QT ANAPH.DEM shot.II-NMLZ
 ‘Then, we were far (from the place), coming down he called from there, “I got a wild pig.” the shooter (called).’
64. èydâ kí-ní-tsét-ní èy = â shó púm-hní? tón-hní? = a
 then 1S-PL-go-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=LOC wild.pig CLS-two place-two=LOC
 kí-ní-bân-âl
 1A-PL.-get.II-DEP
 ‘Then, when we went there, we found two wild pigs in two places.’
65. èydâ èy lô-êy-âl-ùngâ-lá kí-ní-pó?-êy-âl
 then ANAPH.DEM bring.I-MID-DEP-1PL-SEQ 1A-PL-DV.II-MID-DEP
 ‘Then, returning, we cleaned up [the wild pigs].’
66. èydâ èy shó lô-êy-ùngâ-lá khóhnúp-hngô póre kéyní?
 then ANAPH.DEM wild.pig bring.I-MID-1PL-SEQ day-five after_B 1PL
 kí-ní-lò-âl îm = â
 1PL.EXCL house=LOC
 ‘Then, bringing that wild pig after five days, we returned home.’
67. èydâ èy shó shó = ní shó phâ-êy-ùngâ-lá ?êy-ùngâ-lá
 then ANAPH.DEM wild.pig meat=FOC meat divide.I-MID-1PL-SEQ eat.I-1PL-SEQ
 èydâ mrátál-tí? = ní kí-ní-yâ?-êy
 then be.extra-NMLZ=FOC 1A-PL-sell.II-MID.
 ‘Then, dividing that wild pig’s meat, eating, then we sold the remaining.’

68. èydê yá-êy-ùngâ-lá kí-ní-mêy-âl
 then sell.I-MID-1PL-SEQ 1S-PL-stay-DEP
 ‘Then, selling (the meat), we were back.’

Hyow-English Dictionary

This dictionary is created using Toolbox. The data of the dictionary comes from the lexical database in Toolbox. While doing the transcription, glossing and translation of texts of different genres, lexical input was given to the Toolbox lexical database. After finishing the input to the lexical database and corpus of Hyow, the tones of lexemes, their usages and collocational constraints were checked with the help of consultants for making the dictionary more useful. Currently, the dictionary is bilingual, but it will be made multilingual with the addition of Bangla in the future. A more polished version of the dictionary will be available soon at <http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/repository/ZM1>.

A - a

a	[a] <i>endearative</i> . END.	â₂	[â] <i>nom.suff.</i> purposive nominalizing suffix. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a verb to derive a nominal.
a	[a] <i>agrSv.pref.</i> third person singular cross-referencing prefix. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to the intransitive verb stem.	æ	[æ] <i>nom.pref.</i> derives a nominal or a nominalized adjective from a verb. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a verb to derive a noun or an adjectival verb.
a	[a] <i>poss.pref.</i> 3SG. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a verb stem to mark direction of the action.	æ	[æ] <i>gr.pref.</i> GRP.
a	[a] <i>nom.pref.</i> derives a nominal or a nominalized adjective from a verb. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a verb to derive a noun or an adjectival verb.	æ	[æ] <i>unclassified</i> . hedging.
a₄	[a] <i>gr.pref.</i> a generic-relational prefix. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.	æ	[æ] <i>imperative</i> . IMP POL.
a₆	[a] <i>v.class.</i> additive suffix, also. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a nominal constituent to denote an additive/conjunctive meaning.	é	[é] <i>agrSv.pref.</i> 3SG S.
á	[á] <i>n.</i> chicken.	é	[é] <i>agrAv.pref.</i> 3SG A.
á	[á] <i>case.cl.</i> DAT.	è	[è] <i>agrAv.pref.</i> 1SG O.
á	[á] <i>agrAv.pref.</i> third person singular cross-referencing prefix. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to the intransitive verb stem.	é	[é] <i>polite imperative</i> . marks politeness in imperatives.
á	[á] <i>scalar.additive</i> . even.	ágálwá	[ágálwá] <i>n.</i> landless.
á	[á:] <i>dir.pref.</i> a directional prefix. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a verb stem to mark direction of the action.	ægótnî	[ægótnî] <i>adv.</i> again and again.
á₆	[á] <i>additive</i> . additive suffix, also. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a nominal constituent to denote an additive/conjunctive meaning.	áh	[áh] <i>exclam.expr.</i> ah!
à	[à] <i>agrAv.pref.</i> 1SG O.	áhá	[áhá] <i>exclam.expr.</i> aha!
â	[â] <i>linker</i> . LOC.	áhéng	(from: háng) [háng] <i>agrSv.</i> be alive/raw II. <i>Usage</i> : *-ná; follows a NP.
â₁	[â] <i>case.cl.</i> a locative case clitic, in. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to a nominal to mark location.	áhêw	^{háw} : firewood [áhêw; æhæw] <i>n.</i> male.
		àhlúypô	[àhlúypô] <i>n.</i> rooster.
		àhlúyshên	[àhlúyshên] <i>n.</i> red chicken.
		éhmæt	(from: hmæt) [mæt] <i>n.</i> wee things.
		áhngá	[áhngá] <i>n.</i> servant.
		áhngá	(from: hngá) [hngá] <i>n.</i> labour.
		áhní?	[áhní?] <i>pers.pro.</i> third person dual personal pronoun. <i>Usage</i> : a personal pronoun.
		áhní?	[áhní?] <i>agrAv.pref.</i> third person dual cross-referencing prefix. <i>Usage</i> : attaches to the verb to mark the third person dual cross-referencing prefix.

áhní? [áhní?; ahní?] *agrSv.pref.* third person dual cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to the verb to mark the third person dual cross-referencing prefix.

àhyá? (from: hyá?) [hyá?] *agrSv.* be cursed. *Usage:* follows a NP; *-ná.

ák [ák] *numeral.* one, a numeral. *Usage:* a numeral.

àk [àk] *linker.* LIM TEMP.

æk [æk] *numeral.* one (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]

ækæk ^{kæk}: thunder (from: kæk) [kæk] *agrSv.* be cracked I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP; -ná (SPNT).

ækáel (from: káel) [káel] *agrSv.* be scratched by accident I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

ækdîn [ækdîn] *n.* one day. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

ækhéel ^{akhæl}: chicken house (from: kháel) [kháel] *n.* intestine.

ákháng (from: kháng) [kháng] *n.* garden.

àkhêng [àkhêng] *n.* chicken house.

àkhón [àkhón] *n.* time before dawn (when cock calls).

âl [âl] *dep.suff.* departative suffix, back. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to denote the departure of the action from a point.

álá (from: lá) [lá] *n.* place.

álák [álák] *n.* local alcohol.

ælæk (from: læk) [læk] *agrSv.* to become small in size. *Usage:* *-ná; follows a NP. [Note: hlæk 'CAUS']

álandá [álandá] *adv.* quickly.

áláng (from: lán) [láng] *n.* capital.

áláng (from: lán) [láng] *n.* own (child/parents).

álâng (from: lân) [lâng] *n.* green leave's pipe.

ælæng (from: læng) [læng] *n.* handle of spoon.

ælæng (from: læng) [læng] *agrSv.* be hot I/III. *Usage:* *-ná. [Note: hlæng 'CAUS']

áláp (from: láp) [láp] *agrSv.* be broken open I/II. *Usage:* ná (SPNT). [Note: hláp 'CAUS']

álây (from: lâ) [lây] *agrSv.* move away from one place to another I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

álây (from: lâ) [lây] *n.* middle.

æléw (from: léw) [léw] *agrSv.* be less I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); follows a NP to modify it.

ælómá? [ælómá?] *nom.attb.* indicates to the largeness of a referent. *Usage:* precedes a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

ælómá? [ælómá?] *n.* very big thing.

ám [ám] *n.* curry pot.

ámá (from: má) [má] *n.* slave.

ámánû (from: mánû) [mánû] *n.* housemaid.

áméríká [áméríká] *n.* America.

æmôn [æmôn] *n.* this type (B).

ámrát (from: mrát) [mrát] *agrSv.* be remnant I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

ánggá [ánggá] *n.* Tuesday.

ængkwáytsa (from: ængkwáytsá) [ængkwáytsa] *n.* a kind of small brown bird. *Usage:* a noun.

ángmángyó? [ángmángyó?] *n.* beauty bone.

ánggrápâ [ánggrápâ] *n.* frangipani.

áni (from: áni) [áni] *pers.pro.* third person singular polite pronoun.

ání? [ání?] *pers.pro.* 3PL POL.

æpâel (from: pâel) [pâel] *n.* lump.

æpâem (from: pâem) [pâem] *n.* finger.

ápáypây [ápáypây] *quantifier.* refers to more than two countable things. *Usage:* follows a NP.

æphâm (from: phâm) [phâm] *agrSv.* be old. *Usage:* follows a NP to modify it; -ná (SPNT).

æprâew (from: prâew) [prâew] *agrSv.* be stale (juice: date, palm) I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

áshâ [áshâ] *n.* hope (B).

áshángshêy [áshángshêy] *n.* broadleaf plantain.

áshá?n (from: shá?n) [shá?n] *agrSv.* be clean I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP to modify it ; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST), as in shágón =êng ám shá?n-nák-khô 'The pot gets clean with soap .' ; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

æshên [æshên] *n.* shalik.

ássâ [ássâ] *intj.* OK.

átýónû [átýónû] *n.* egg hatching hen.

áthâ (from: thâ) [thâ] *agrSv.* be new I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP to modify it; *-ná.

áthíkkâ [áthíkkâ] *adv.* suddenly. [Note: a loan from the local Chittagonian dialect]

ætsæ (from: tsæ) [tsæ] *n.* juice.

átsâng (from: tsâng) [tsâng] *agrSv.* be hard I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP to modify it ; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

ætsæng (from: tsæng) [tsæng] *n.* waist.

átsángnû [átsángnû] *n.* a woman who is aged.

átsángpô [átsángpô] *n.* a man who is aged.

átsá? (from: tsá?) [tsá?] *n.* border.

áwá [áwá] *n.* time after sunrise/early morning.

æy [æ:y] *unclassified.* hedging.

æyâel (from: yâel) [yâel] *agrSv.* be quiet I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT).

æyâel (from: yâel) [yâel] *agrSv.* be cold I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST).

æyâel (from: yâel) [yâel] *agrSv.* be calm I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

æyâel [æyâel] *n.* bottled cold drinks.

- àyâng** (from: yâng) [yâng] *agrSv.* swear I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- áyá?** (from: yá?) [yá?] *agrSv.* be heavy I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT), -nák (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

- á?** [á?] *neg.suff.* third person singular negative suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the negation, which agrees with the third person singular number.
- áy?** [áy?] *irrealis.* marks an unactualized event. *Usage:* marks the unactualization of an action.

B - b

- bá** [bá] *agrAv.suff.* third person singular cross referencing suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb as a third person singular cross referencing suffix.
- bá** [bá] *agrSv.suff.* third person singular cross referencing suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb as a third person singular cross referencing suffix.
- bà** [bà] *agrAv.* feed a child II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bà** [bà] *agrAv.* feed a child I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- báe** [báe] *agrAv.* beat with hand I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bâ** [bâ] *agrAv.* slap I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bágán** [bágán] *n.* garden. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- bák** [bák] *evid.suff.* denotes the evidentiality of the state or action. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the evidentiality of the state or action that is directly or indirectly experienced by the experiencer/speaker.
- bák** [bák] *linker.* connects a reason clause to a purpose clause.
- bál** [bál] *iterative.* NHITER.
- bálágát** [bálágát] *n.* Balaghat.
- bælængshôm** [bælængshôm] *n.* sideburns.
- báláy** [báláy] *agrAv.* cheat II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- báláy** [báláy] *agrAv.* cheat I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bælæ?** [bælæ?] *n.* bulbuli.
- bálor** [bálor] *nom.attb.* good (B). *Usage:* precedes a NP.
- bámá** [bámá] *n.* Burmese.
- bæmô** [bæmô] *intj.* stop.
- bánây** [bánây] *agrAv.* make (B) II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee

- is marked by dative.
- bánây** [bánây] *agrAv.* make (B) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- báng** [báng] *copula.* COP.
- bâng** [bâng] *conj.* even.
- bángkhú** [bángkhú] *n.* spider.
- bánglâ** [bánglâ] *n.* Bangladesh.
- bætál** [bætál] *n.* senseless.
- bátbátbátbátbát** [bátbátbátbátbát] *onomat.* sound of releasing shit.
- báttí?** [báttí?] *loc.noun.* without. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locate case following a demonstrative pronoun.
- bæw** [bæw] *onomat.* barking sound.
- báyú** [báyú] *n.* shirt.
- bà?ybông** [bà?ybông] *n.* plantain flower.
- bæ?** [bæ?] *agrAv.* slap II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bæ?** [bæ?] *agrAv.* beat with hand II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bæ?búng** [bæ?búng] *n.* pot to store alcohol.
- bæ?ây** [bæ?ây] *agrAv.* applaud II. *Usage:* *-nák, -nâ (agrSv 'approach each other to talk '); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative and the P (hand) is marked by the causee as a possessor. The other meaning of the clause would refer to make the causee to slap the causer himself/herself.
- bæ?ây** [bæ?ây] *agrAv.* applaud I. *Usage:* *-nák, -nâ (agrSv 'approach each other to talk '); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bæ?nák** [bæ?nák] *agrAv.* approach to talk II. *Usage:* -ây-nâ (agrSv 'approach each other to talk').
- bæ?nák** [bæ?nák] *agrAv.* approach to talk I. *Usage:* -ây-nâ (agrSv 'approach each other to talk').
- bé** [bé] *n.* word.
- bé** [bé] *n.* odd.
- bè** [bè] *n.* grandmother.
- bó** [bó] *agrAv.* make dirty II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the

causee is marked by dative.

bê [bê] *agrAv.* make dirty I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bú [bê] *agrAv.* pour on II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bù [bê] *agrAv.* pour on I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

béboštâ [béboštâ] *n.* step. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

bék [bék] *agrAv.* throw liquid here and there II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -nák (LOC) as in éy=lâ khrok è -bék-nák-khô 'He threw mud on me without any reason'; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bék [bék] *agrAv.* throw liquid here and there I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bók [bók] *agrAv.* incise date palm trunk II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bók [bók] *agrAv.* incise date palm trunk I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

békkûn [békkûn] *quantifier.* all (B). *Usage:* precedes a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bóktíng [bóktíng] *adv.* suddenly (jump).

bél [bél] *n.* grass.

ból [ból] *agrAv.* mingle/mix I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: ból.I > bólêy (agrSv 'bend into a crowd')]

bên [bên] *n.* crane.

bêngák [bêngák] *quantifier.* refers to half length. *Usage:* follows a NP.

bót [bót] *agrAv.* slit/butcher II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bót [bót] *agrAv.* slit/butcher I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bótsôm [bótsôm] *n.* cane basket.

bów [bów] *agrSv.* be mistaken (not knowing) I/II. *Usage:* *-ná. [Note: not a stative]

bów [bów] *agrSv.* get caught for a crime I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.

bów [bów] *agrAv.* refers to the action of curving cutting instruments II. *Usage:* -nák

(INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bôw [bôw] *agrAv.* refers to the action of curving cutting instruments I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bôy [bôy] *optative.* OPT.

bóybóyâ [bóybóyâ] *adv.* bowingly.

bóytíng [bóytíng] *adv.* bowingly.

ból [ból] *agrAv.* mingle/mix II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: ból.I > bólêy (agrSv 'bend into a crowd')]

bhaǵgo (from: bhaǵgô) [bhaǵgo] *n.* luck. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bháshá [bháshá] *n.* language. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bì [bì] *n.* work.

bí [bí] *agrAv.* work II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bí [bí] *agrAv.* work I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bíbingbrúbrúng [bíbingbrúbrúng] *onomat.* sound of heavy things colliding.

bídeshî [bídeshî] *n.* foreigner. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bízgónít [bízgónít] *n.* algebra. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bíl [bíl] *n.* behind someone's back.

bílit [bílit] *n.* ox.

bíłthá?y [bíłthá?y] *n.* sour fruit.

bîn [bîn] *n.* sickle.

bîn_{bîn: sickle} [bîn] *agrAv.* touch II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action without any purpose; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN) 'help holding bags, etc.'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîn_{bîn: sickle} [bîn] *agrAv.* touch I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), which refers to performing the action without any purpose; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN) 'help holding bags, etc.'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bíng [bíng] *agrAv.* close holes II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bíng [bíng] *agrAv.* close holes I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bíngkhíkhî [bíngkhíkhî] *adv.* utterly closed.

bírání [bírání] *n.* name of a rice dish.

bírí [bírí] *n.* cigarette. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bírúddhê [bírúddhê] *loc.noun.* against (B). *Usage:*

follows a NP. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

bísh [bísh] *n.* poison. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bíshôy [bíshôy] *n.* subject. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bítbát [bítbát] *adv.* state of be joined and be torn again.

bítsár [bítsár] *n.* trial. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

bítsô (from: bíttsô) [bíttsô] *quantifier.* a little bit.

bò [bò] *agrSv.* refers to the action of falling of small things out of its carrier. *Usage:* *-ná.

bó [bó] *n.* flute.

bóhí [bóhí] *conj.* so.

bóhóddâr [bóhóddâr] *n.* border.

bóhúd [bóhúd] *quantifier.* many (B). *Usage:* precedes a NP.

bóhúddîn [bóhúddîn] *n.* many days (B).

bòk [bòk] *agrSv.* bend over. *Usage:* -nák (*agrAv* 'bend over on something '); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bòk [bòk] *agrSv.* sit (animals) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS: INDIRECT), where the causee is marked by dative.

bóképák [bóképák] *adv.* whitishly.

bókphóngphông [bókphóngphông] *adv.* utterly white.

bólí [bólí] *nom.attb.* big (fat). *Usage:* follows a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bólté [bólté] *agrSv.* mean (B).

bóndhû [bóndhû] *n.* friend. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bông [bông] *n.* turban.

bóngbólók [bóngbólók] *adv.* face down bottom up.

bónglálák [bónglálák] *adv.* utterly steep.

bònkîw [bònkîw] *n.* elbow.

bóp [bóp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of hitting someone with a stick. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bóp [bóp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of hitting someone with a stick. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bóp [bóp] *audemusive.* AUD2.

bórábâr [bórábâr] *loc.noun.* to/towards. *Usage:* follows a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bót [bót] *adv.* very. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bót [bót] *agrAv.* refers to cleaning dishes whenever they are dirty I. *Usage:* -ná (INST), which refers to instruments of washing dishes e.g., soap./(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bòt [bòt] *agrAv.* hang I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bótêy [bótêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of washing one's own external body parts I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bôy [bôy] *n.* someone who is a master.

bóydô [bóydô] *n.* village doctor.

bó? [bó?] *agrAv.* refers to cleaning dishes whenever they are dirty II. *Usage:* -nák (INST), which refers to instruments of washing dishes e.g., soap./(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bó? [bó?] *agrAv.* hang II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bó?êy [bó?êy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of washing one's own external body parts II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

brát [brát] *quantifier.* refers to the whole as a unit. *Usage:* follows a NP. [Note: Does not have any meaning on its own; only used with shóng as in 'shóki shóng brát'.]

brítít [brítít] *n.* British.

brúng [brúng] *onomat.* sound of drum-beat/jumping.

bû₂ [bû] *n.* a house of birds built on a corner of a house or in tree branches. *Usage:* a noun.

búddí [búddí] *n.* wit.

búdu [búdu] *n.* Wednesday.

búdzây [búdzây] *agrAv.* make understand (B) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

búzây [búzây] *agrAv.* make understand (B) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

búkkélê [búkkélê] *n.* Bukele worship.

bûl [bûl] *adj.* wrong. [Note: loan word from Bangla]

búm [búm] *n.* bomb.

bún [bún] *agrAv.* refers to the action of having something in possession from a source, get. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

bân [bân] *agrAv.* refers to the action of having something in possession from a source, get. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

bûng [bûng] *n.* bottle.

búp [búp] *agrAv.* think holding head by hand II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

búp [búp] *agrAv.* think holding head by hand I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

bút [bút] *agrAv.* a process of preparing food by heat I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form II, infinite verb]

- bút** [bút] *agrAv.* boil II. *Usage:* -nák (INST) refers to the pot for boiling/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bùt** [bút] *agrAv.* boil I. *Usage:* -ná (INST) refers to the pot for boiling/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- bú?** [bú?] *n.* rice.

- bú?** [bú?] *agrAv.* a process of preparing food by heat II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bù?im [bù?im] *n.* kitchen.

bù?lông [bù?lông] *n.* rice pot.

bù?tsóngtsó [bù?tsóngtsó] *n.* half boiled damp rice.

bù?yó? [bù?yó?] *n.* rice and same sort.

D - d

dá [dá] *disc.part.* DP.

dá [dá] *adv.* just.

dábâl [dábâl] *substitutive/irresistive.* SUBS/IRRS.

dágú [dágú] *n.* robber.

dák [dák] *n.* scar. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

dákhát [dákhat] *n.* robber (B).

dâel [dâel] *agrAv.* swallow I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dâelung [dâelung] *n.* sand particle.

dâng [dâng] *optative.* OPT.

dát [dát] *audemusive.* AUD1.

dâetsáng [dâetsáng] *n.* desert.

dâewdâewâ (from: dâewdâewâ) [dâewdâewâ] *adv.* completely (ripen).

dây [dây] *n.* group.

dâe?l [dâe?l] *agrAv.* swallow II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dô [dô] *emphatic.* an emphatic suuffix. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal or verb to emphasize the referent or the state/action.

dó (from: dó) [dó] *agrAv.* an action of striking something with the beak. *Usage:* *-ná. [Note: dó?.II]

dédé? [dédé?] *adv.* the course on which something is moving. *Usage:* an adverb expressing the direction of the verb.

dék [dék] *n.* soil/earth.

dók [dók] *anterior.* ANT.

dóldóla [dóldóla] *n.* punishment.

dôn [dôn] *agrAv.* slant II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC), which refers to a static instrument/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dông [dông] *n.* paddy drying mat. [Note: phók: mat]

dép [dép] *num.cls.* CLS (day).

dôw [dôw] *agrAv.* throw at a distance II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dôw [dôw] *agrAv.* throw at a distance I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

déy [déy] *agrSv.* open eyes I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dó? [dó?] *agrAv.* strike with beak or lip II. *Usage:* *-nák.

dí [dí] *n.* reed. [Note: tsóngdó or môl: reed]

diâl [diâl] *n.* wall. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

díkdík [díkdi] *adv.* silent.

dîn [dîn] *n.* day (B).

dó [dó] *pref.suff.* PREF.

dóán [dóán] *n.* shop.

dódgýâ [dódgýâ] *n.* sea. [Note: a loan from the Chittagonian dialect]

dók [dók] *agrAv.* put on (clothes) CAUS I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dók [dók] *agrAv.* put on (clothes) CAUS II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dòkêy [dòkêy] *agrAv.* put on (clothes) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive.

dòkêy [dòkêy] *agrAv.* put on (clothes) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dól [dól] *n.* team. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

dóm [dóm] *elab.expr.* be cool.

dôm [dôm] *agrSv.* be lazy I/II.

dón [dón] *agrAv.* show/guide/lead II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dôn [dôn] *agrAv.* show/guide/lead I. *Usage:* -ná

- (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dóngdóngtháey** [dóngdóngtháey] *n.* ground cherry fruit.
- dóonggyó** [dóonggyó] *n.* Doonggyo.
- dórkhat** [dórkhat] *n.* need.
- dóshûn** (from: dóshûn (check)) [dóshûn] *unclassified.* equal (M).
- dów** [dów] *agrAv.* give II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dôw** [dôw] *agrAv.* give I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dú** [dú] *agrSv.* die I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- dú** [dú] *iterative.* an iterative suffix, again. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the repetition or iteration of a state or action.
- dúey** [dúey] *agrSv.* be hungry I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
- dúkhá?** [dúkhá?] *n.* a feeling of grief or sadness. *Usage:* an abstract noun. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- dúl** [dúl] *n.* yard.
- dùlmó** [dùlmó] *n.* front side of a place.
- dûm** [dûm] *n.* a group of singing beggars.
- dúm** [dúm] *agrAv.* keep/stop II. *Usage:* -nak (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dûm** [dûm] *agrAv.* keep/stop I. *Usage:* -na (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dún** [dún] *num.cls.* refers to the measurement of swidden land. [Note: a loan word from Bangla]
- dûn** [dûn] *nom.suff.* a place nominalizing suffix. *Usage:* attaches to the verb to derive a noun that denotes the place of the action.
- dúng** (from: dúng (check)) [dúng] *agrAv.* supply.
- dúp** [dúp] *n.* drop.
- dúp** [dúp] *agrAv.* attach a round thing on forehead II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dúp** [dúp] *agrAv.* attach a round thing on forehead I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- dûy** [dûy] *numeral.* two. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- dwádûy** [dwádûy] *adv.* quickly. [Note: from local CTG dialect of Bangla]
- dwátgyâ** [dwátgyâ] *n.* laundryman.
- zág** [zág] *n.* a group of animals. *Usage:* a collective noun. [Note: a loan from Bangla (zhak)]
- zágá** [zágá] *n.* place. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- zál** [zál] *n.* war.
- zâel** [zâel] *n.* hail (piece of ice that comes down with rain).
- zálá** [zálá] *n.* plant (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- zálí** [zálí] *agrAv.* burn for hunger (B).
- zánây** [zánây] *agrAv.* inform.
- záp** [záp] *n.* race/nation.
- záphân** [záphân] *n.* Japan.
- zárí** [zárí] *agrAv.* tolerate (B).
- záté** [záté] *conj.* so that. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- zé** [zé] *dem.pro.* that (B).
- zéz** [zéz] *dem.pro.* that (B).
- zî** [zî] *n.* market (M).
- zízí** [zízí] *nom.attb.* only. *Usage:* follows a NP.
- zíl** [zíl] *agrAv.* anoint I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- zílápí** [zílápí] *n.* a kind of sweet (B). [Note: a loan from BANGLA]
- zíltsîm** [zíltsîm] *n.* a place where landslide took place.
- zín** [zín] *n.* angel. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- zírô** [zírô] *n.* Ziaur.
- zí?l** [zí?l] *agrAv.* anoint II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- zógâl** [zógâl] *agrAv.* collect (B).
- zóllát** [zóllát] *n.* executioner.
- zôn** [zôn] *num.cls.* classifies a person.
- zôntrô** [zôntrô] *n.* instrument. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- zótó** [zótó] *adv.* as many. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- zúddhâ** [zúddhâ] *n.* war. [Note: A loan from Bangla]
- zúl** [zúl] *n.* even.
- zûl** (from: zûl (check)) [zûl] *n.* deep part of a river.
- zúlúmí** [zúlúmí] *n.* torture.
- zûn** [zûn] *n.* rabbit.

E - e

- e** [e] *nom.pref.* a prefix that derives a nominal or an adjectival verb from a verb. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to derive a noun or a nominalized adjective.
- e** [e] *poss.pref.* 3SG.
- e** [e] *gr.pref.* GRP.
- é** [é] *agrSv.pref.* 3SG S.
- é** [é] *agrAv.pref.* 3SG A.

- è** [è] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG O.
- ê** [ê] *case.cl.* a locative case clitic. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark the location of the referent. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- ə** [ə] *nom.pref.* NMLZ.
- ə** [ə] *poss.pref.* 3SG.
- ə** [ə] *gr.pref.* a generic-relational prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.
- é** [é] *agrAv.pref.* 3SG A.
- é** [é] *agrSv.pref.* 3SG S.
- é** [é] *agrAv.* a process of heating egg. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- é** [é] *agrSv.pref.* 3SG S.
- é** [é] *agrAv.* a process of heating egg. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- ê** [ê] *intj.* refers to the positive response of a proposition.
- ê** [ê] *ques.suff.* Q.
- ébúnák** (from: búnák) [búnák] *n.* bullshit.
- édóm** (from: dóm) [dóm] *loc.noun.* refers to the higher position of a referent over another where two referents are not attached. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locative case.
- édôn** (from: dôn) [dôn] *agrAv.* slant I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC), which refers to a static instrument/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- édík** (from: dík) [dík] *agrSv.* be silent I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify NP by following it ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- édúm** (from: dúm) [dúm] *quantifier.* refers to half portion of a carrier, e.g. sack, basket, pitcher. *Usage:* follows a NP.
- éé** (from: é) [é] *agrSv.* be burnt by fire I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- éèy** (from: éy) [éy] *agrSv.* bask in fire I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- éóp** (from: óp) [óp] *agrSv.* be well (health) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
- ééy** (from: éy) [éy] *agrAv.* adulterate II. *Usage:* *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- ééy** (from: éy) [éy] *agrAv.* adulterate I. *Usage:* *-ná;

shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

égédzét [égédzét] *adv.* truly.

égêy [égêy] *adv.* again and again.

éhómêy (from: hómêy) [hómêy] *n.* tail.

éhóng (from: hóng) [hóng] *agrSv.* be empty I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); modifies a NP by following it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

éhónhôn [éhónhôn] *adv.* utterly good smell.

éhópá? (from: hópá?) [hópá?] *n.* butt.

éhéw (from: héw) [héw] *agrSv.* be impaired I/II. *Usage:* *-ná ; modifies a NP by following it.

éhs? [éhs?] *intj.* refers to the negative response of a proposition.

éhlów (from: hlów) [hlów] *agrSv.* be loud I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; can only modify shám 'sound'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

éhmúhmóp [éhmúhmóp] *n.* dusk.

éhgôl (from: hngôl) [hngôl] *n.* throat.

éhum (from: hóm) [hóm] *agrSv.* regret I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

ékén (from: kén) [kén] *loc.noun.* refers to the position of a referent next to another referent. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with inessive and locative case.

ékhô (from: khô) [khô] *n.* an animal-living or a usual hollow place in the ground, hole. *Usage:* a noun.

ékhét [ékhét] *n.* love.

ékmó? [ékmó?] *n.* shitful thing.

ékrék (from: krék) [krék] *n.* particle.

ékrêngâ [ékrêngâ] *adv.* slowly.

ékút [ékút] *def.pro.* something.

élmáé?y [élmáé?y] *adv.* at convenience.

élen (from: lén) [lén] *agrSv.* refers to the state of being large in size. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); follows a NP. [Note: hlén 'CAUS']

élimlâng [élimlâng] *n.* time before dawn (when cock calls).

êm [êm] *ques.clt.* a question marking suffix. *Usage:* a question marking suffix.

émók [émók] *n.* foolish.

émró (from: mró) [mró] *n.* mixed curry.

émúlôm [émúlôm] *temp.word.* afternoon (the road to evening).

émyák [émyák] *n.* diamond.

énôn (from: nôn) [nôn] *n.* mouth of a funnel/chimney.

énów (from: nów) [nów] *agrSv.* be soft I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óng [óng] *n.* deep river.

ông [ông] *case.cl.* an inessive locative case clitic. *Usage:* a locative suffix.

- âng** [âŋ] *linker*. converb suffix connects two clauses. *Usage*: attaches to a verb to establish connection between two clauses.
- âng** [âŋ] *case.cl.* an instrumental case clitic.
- âng** [âŋ] *scv.suff.* SCV.
- âng** [âŋ] *durative*. DUR.
- âng** [âŋ] *case.cl.* COMT.
- òp** [òp] *agrAv.* embrace II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- òp** [òp] *agrAv.* embrace I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- épéy** (from: péy) [péy] *n.* edge of a bowl (for holding).
- óprûm** (from: prûm) [prûm] *n.* pile.
- êr** [êr] *poss.suff.* POSS. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- érshád** [érshád] *n.* Ershad.
- éshé** (from: shé) [shé] *agrSv.* refers to the inherent bad quality of an inanimate referent. *Usage*: follows a NP (inanimate) to modify it; *-ná.
- éshén** (from: shén) [shén] *agrSv.* be red I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- éshéy** (from: shéy) [shéy] *n.* leave.
- éshêy** (from: shêy) [shêy] *n.* leaf.
- ètòk** (from: tòk) [tòk] *n.* room.
- étôy** (from: étôy) [étôy] *n.* egg.
- étsék** (from: tsék) [tsék] *agrSv.* be paralyzed I/II. *Usage*: follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- étsék** (from: tsék) [tsék] *agrSv.* be stiff I/II. *Usage*: follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- étsén** (from: tsén) [tsén] *n.* queue.
- étsîng** (from: tsîng) [tsîng] *agrSv.* refers to the thickness of weaving of fabrics and bamboo made things. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- ey₄** [ej] *verbalizer*. verbalizer. *Usage*: attaches to a noun to derive a verb.
- èy** [èj] *dem.pro.* 3) ANAPH.
- èy** [èj] *pers.pro.* third person singular personal pronoun. *Usage*: a personal pronoun. [Note: it can also take the form of the anaphoric demonstrative]
- èy** [èy] *filler*. FILL.
- èy** [èj] *middle*. a translational middle marking suffix. *Usage*: as agent orientation.
- êy** [êy] *ques.suff.* Q.
- êy** [êy] *elab.expr.* EE.
- èy₅** [èj] *middle*. a reflexive marking suffix. *Usage*: used as a reflexive marking suffix.
- éydô** [éydô] *dis.conn.* then. *Usage*: for pragmatic discourse.
- áyók** (from: yók) [yók] *n.* corpse.
- áyó?** (from: yó?) [yó?] *n.* bone.
- èyhú?y** [èyhú?y] *adv.* like that. *Usage*: a noun.
- èykhôl** [èykhôl] *pers.pro.* 3PL.
- éykyô** [éykyô] *adv.* reversely.
- èyùt** (from: yùt) [yùt] *agrSv.* diminish I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyút 'CAUS']
- é?** [é?] *ques.suff.* Q.
- é?éyêy** (from: ?éyêy) [?éyêy] *agrAv.* gnash II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- é?éyêy** (from: ?éyêy) [?éyêy] *agrAv.* gnash I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- ó?l** [ó?l] *n.* hot water.

G - g

- gákágákák** [gákágákák] *onomat.* calling of duck.
- gálá** [gálá] *n.* quay.
- gańsá** [gańsá] *n.* towel.
- gígínggúgrûng** [gígínggúgrûng] *onomat.* sound of pomp.
- góángthá?y** [góángthá?y] *n.* guava. [Note: a loan from]
- gódógló** [gódógló] *n.* rubbish thing.
- gôl** [gôl] *num.conj.suff.* and.
- góláng** [góláng] *n.* tub.
- gólóktô** [gólóktô] *n.* grazier.
- góná** [góná] *n.* counting.
- góndzí** [gónzí] *n.* vest. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- górí** [górí] *linker*. doing (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- gra** [gra] *num.* one. [Note: a loan from Marma]
- gráng** [grá:ng] *onomat.* sound of slanting.
- gráng** [grá:ng] *onomat.* sound of throwing.
- grígák** [grígák] *n.* octopus. [Note: a loan from Marma]

grúmáʔ [grúmáʔ] *n.* female dove. [Note: a loan from Marma]
gúdâm [gúdâm] *n.* storage. [Note: a loan from BANGLA]
gúlûy [gúlûy] *n.* sling shot.
gûm [gûm] *n.* abduction.
gún [gún] *n.* oyster.

gúndá [gúndá] *n.* gangster.
gúnê [gúnê] *n.* reason. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]
gúnggrú [gúnggrú] *n.* Gungru. [Note: A loan from Marma 'gongphru' which means 'white head']

H - h

ha [hã] *disc.part.* DP.
há [há] *additive.* additive suffix, also. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal constituent to denote an additive/conjunctive meaning.
há [há] *SC.AD.* even.
há [há] *n.* snacks.
hâ [hâ] *n.* gold.
háháʔw [háháʔw] *agrSv.* be thirsty/hungry very much I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
hák [hák] *agrAv.* strangle I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hàk [hàk] *agrAv.* snatch/dribble II. *Usage:* *-nák; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hàk [hàk] *agrAv.* snatch/dribble I. *Usage:* *-ná; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hæk [hæk] *agrSv.* call out/shout I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hæk [hæk] *n.* lice.
hákêy [hákêy] *agrAv.* snatch/scrimmage II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hákêy [hákêy] *agrAv.* snatch/scrimmage I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hæl [hæl] *agrAv.* miss II. *Usage:* *-nák; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
hæl [hæl] *agrAv.* miss I. *Usage:* *-ná.
hálélæp (from: hálélæp (check)) [hálélæp] *adv.* severe sickness.
hálêy [hálêy] *agrSv.* be thirsty I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
hàlêy [hàlêy] *agrSv.* desire to eat I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
hælmêy [hælmêy] *n.* headman.
hámthâng [hámthâng] *n.* rice powder.
hámthóthót [hámthóthót] *adv.* utterly rough.

hên [hên] *n.* silver.
hênâl [hênâl] *agrAv.* refers to the action of saving one's life II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hênâl [hênâl] *agrAv.* refers to the action of saving one's life I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hênêy [hênêy] *agrAv.* make someone to take oath II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hênêy [hênêy] *agrAv.* make someone to take oath I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hêng [hêng] *n.* a brook is a small stream. *Usage:* a noun.
hêngêy [hêngêy] *agrSv.* be imprisoned I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it -nák 'agrAv' functions as a transitivizer/applicative and functions as a purpose applicative ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hánháng [hánháng] *indef.pro.* all.
hàngnâ [hàngnâ] *agrAv.* imprison I. *Usage:* -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hàngnâk [hàngnâk] *agrAv.* imprison II. *Usage:* -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hængphûng (from: hængphûng (check)) [hængphûng] *n.* echo.
hængshûng [hængshûng] *n.* bottom part of a brook (M).
hængtsíksík [hængtsíksík] *adv.* utterly green.
hárê [hárê] *disc.part.* a discourse particle.
hášhúli [hášhúli] *n.* gold necklace.
hácháʔy [hácháʔy] *n.* potato fruit.
háchlúmhlùm [háchlúmhlùm] *adv.* utterly edgy.
hæwhlóng [hæwhlóng] *n.* thick firewood.
hây [hây] *n.* axe.
háʔ [háʔ] *agrAv.* strangle II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

háʔ [háʔ] *hortative*. HORT.
háʔl [háʔl] *agrAv.* select/sort out II. *Usage*: -nák (INST) which refers to sorting out using an instrument, but it is not applicable for selecting an item out of a set/ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
háʔl [háʔl] *agrAv.* select/sort out I. *Usage*: -ná (INST) which refers to sorting out using an instrument, but it is not applicable for selecting an item out of a set/ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hó [hó] *agrAv.* close a hole II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hô [hô] *agrAv.* close a hole I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hò [hò] *agrAv.* fan I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hó ^{hó}: close a hole [hó] *n.* butt.
hókíʔ [hókíʔ] *n.* shithole.
hól [hól] *agrAv.* refers to the action of sticking, as in sticking flowers to make a garland. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hélíkóptâr [hélíkóptâr] *n.* helicopter. [Note: a loan from English via Bangla]
hón (*from*: hón (check)) [hón] *agrSv.* pass by (without greeting).
hôn [hôn] *n.* stomach.
hénêy [hénêy] *agrAv.* do brook worship II. *Usage*: *-nák.
hénêy [hénêy] *agrAv.* do brook worship I. *Usage*: *-ná.
héwhêw [héwhêw] *n.* hullabaloo.
hóʔy [hóʔy] *neg.suff.* 3DL.
hòʔy [hòʔy] *adv.suff.* narrowly.
hóʔ [hóʔ] *agrAv.* fan II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hóʔl [hóʔl] *agrAv.* refers to the action of sticking, as in sticking flowers to make a garland. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hí [hí] *linker.* a conditional clause-linking suffix. *Usage*: attaches to a verb.
hí [hí] *conditional.* a conditional suffix. *Usage*: attaches to a verb.
hí [hí] *agrAv.* ask II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hí [hí] *agrAv.* ask I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók

(CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
híhíhóhól [híhíhóhól] *adv.* permeably.
híl [híl] *n.* mackintosh.
híltháʔy [híltháʔy] *n.* blonde cucumber.
híp [híp] *agrAv.* constrict II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
híp [híp] *agrAv.* massage II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
híp [híp] *agrAv.* constrict I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
híp [híp] *agrAv.* massage I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hípáy [hípáy] *disc.part.* a discourse particle.
híw [híw] *onomat.* sound of going fast.
hlák [hlák] *agrAv.* peel I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlæk [hlæk] *agrAv.* pluck fruits by a stick II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlæk [hlæk] *agrAv.* pluck fruits by a stick I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlækâl ^{hlæk}: pluck fruit by a stick [hlækâl] *agrAv.* abate (big to small) II. *Usage*: *-al-nak, but -nák-âl (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlækâl ^{hlæk}: pluck fruit by a stick [hlækâl] *agrAv.* abate (big to small) I. *Usage*: *-al-na, but -ná-âl (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlækêy [hlækêy] *agrSv.* be scratched I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
hlækêy [hlækêy] *agrSv.* be beruized I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
hlêng [hlêng] *agrAv.* heat II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlêng [hlêng] *agrAv.* heat I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlêng [hlêng] *adv.suff.* quickly.
hláp [hláp] *agrAv.* break open II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hláp [hláp] *agrAv.* break open I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hlát [hlát] *agrAv.* run after II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by

dative.

hlæt [hlæt] *agrAv.* run after I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlæt (from: hlæt (Check)) [hlæt] *agrAv.* bring out.

hlây^{hlây: navel} [hlây] *agrAv.* withdraw. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlây^{hlây: change} [hlây] *agrSv.* lie I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlây [hlây] *agrAv.* exchange/change. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlâyâl [hlâyâl] *agrAv.* transfer. *Usage:* -nák-âl (SPNT), *-âl-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlá? [hlá?] *agrAv.* peel II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlâyynák [hlâyynák] *agrAv.* lie. [Note: -nák functions as a verbalizer here, since hlây is a noun; hlây-shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative]

hlé^{hlé: sling} [hlé] *n.* an area that blocks the sunlight and have a shadow. *Usage:* a noun.

hlè [hlè] *n.* sling.

hlék [hlék] *agrAv.* to soothe someone in emotional distress. *Usage:* -nák (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlékhák [hlékhák] *n.* trap.

hlông [hlông] *linker.* SIM.

hlòt [hlòt] *agrAv.* let go I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlòtâl [hlòtâl] *agrAv.* set free I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléw [hléw] *agrAv.* refers to cleaning dishes before and after taking food or cooking. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlêw^{hlêw: wash dishes} [hlêw] *agrSv.* burn (gastric) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

hlówêy^{hlów: be loud} [hlówêy] *agrSv.* yearn I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hlúhłow: mix seeds (paddy with wheat)]

hléwhóng [hléwhóng] *n.* waste water.

hléy [hléy] *agrAv.* buy I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlé? [hlé?] *n.* turn.

hlé? [hlé?] *agrAv.* turn around. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hló? [hló?] *agrAv.* let go II (without stopping). *Usage:* -nák (SPNT), which emphasizes the spontaneous personal judgement of performing an action; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hló? (from: hló?) [hló?] *agrAv.* protect II.

hlò?âl [hlò?âl] *agrAv.* set free II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlè?êy [hlè?êy] *agrSv.* change side during sleep I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlè?êy^{hlè?êy: side change in sleep} [hlè?êy] *agrSv.* behold (look back) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlé?y [hlé?y] *agrAv.* buy II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlí [lí] *numeral.* four (numeral). *Usage:* a numeral.

hlíméynák [hlíméynák] *agrAv.* fondle babies. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlíng^{(i)hlíng: thorne} [hlíng] *agrAv.* ravel II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

hlíng^{(i)hlíng: thorne} [hlíng] *agrAv.* ravel I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

hlíngêy^{(i)hlíng: thorne} [hlíngêy] *agrSv.* tangle I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.

hlí? [hlí?] *agrSv.* be tired/exhausted I/II. *Usage:* *-ná, but êy -ná (SPNT); -nák (in a restrictive clause), as in ní -hlí?-nák-khô bì póy -á? 'The work with which you are tiring is not good.' [ni refers to all referents regardless of person differences].

hlí?^{(i)hlí?: south, hlí?: peel skin of stem (green/shak)} [hlí?] *agrSv.* match I/II. *Usage:* *-nák.

hlo (from: hlo (check)) [hlo] *agrSv.* agonize.

hló [ló] *v.suff.* PM. *Usage:* attaches to verb to mark nominalization.

hló [hló] *agrAv.* EE.

hló [hló] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning someone's face. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hló [hló] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning someone's face. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlòêy [hlòêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning one's own face II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by

dative.

hlôey [hlôey] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning one's own face I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlók [hlók] *adv.* state of being astonished.

hlók [hlok] *agrAv.* gather/pick up I. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlòk [hlòk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of picking up dried paddy for storing, water for bathing, etc. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlók [hlók] *n.* ladder.

hlókbæ? [hlókbæ?] *n.* stair landing/step.

hlókshê [hlókshê] *n.* ladder (with seven steps).

hlómhló [lóm!o] *n.* the measurement of space between two places or points. *Usage:* a noun.

hlông [lông] *n.* a stream that flows in between hills. *Usage:* a noun.

hlòw [hlòw] *agrAv.* fry I. *Usage:* -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hló? [lô?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of picking up dried paddy for storing, water for bathing, etc. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlò? [lò?] *agrAv.* gather/pick up II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hló?w [hló?w] *agrAv.* fry II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlú [hlú] *agrSv.* be required I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.

hlúey [hlúey] *agrAv.* love. *Usage:* *-nák.

hlùey [hlùey] *agrAv.* want. *Usage:* *-nák.

hlúhlúk [hlúhlúk] *agrAv.* shake something strongly installed. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlúhlúm [hlúhlúm] *agrSv.* be shaken II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), -nák, as in ím hlúhlúm -nák-tí? liw pây-á? 'The earthquake by which the house is shaken is not good.'

hlúm [hlúm] *adv.* manner of hugging.

hlúm [hlúm] *num.class.* CLS (for round objects).

hlúm [hlúm] *agrAv.* make round things. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlúmhúm [hlúmhúm] *adv.* shakingly.

hlún [hlún] *agrAv.* shake. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlúngkawkâw [hlúngkawkâw] *adv.* utterly high.

hlútkhyâng [hlútkhyâng] *adv.* immediately.

hluyodəng [hluyodəng] *noun.* a name, Hluyodong.

hluyphəwəng [hluyphəwəng] *n.* Hluyphowong.

hlú?y [hlú?y] *agrAv.* fill up II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlú?y [hlú?y] *agrAv.* fill up I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hm [hm] *intj.* right.

hmák [hmák] *agrAv.* anoint. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmák [hmák] *agrAv.* dye. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmén [hmén] *agrAv.* play flute. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmát [hmát] *agrAv.* refers to an action of putting a sign on something for identification. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmó [hmó] *agrSv.* refers to the state of dimness of pictures. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), -nák (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmó (from: hmó (check)) [hmó] *n.* age/time.

hmô ^{hmó}: regret V-ing [mô] *v.suff.* a nominalizing suffix.

hmók [hmók] *n.* elder sister's husband.

hmón [hmón] *linker.* PURP.

hmóná [hmóná] *linker.* PURP.

hmóshó [hmóshó] *n.* Hmosho. [Note: a laon from Marma]

hmót [hmót] *agrAv.* know. *Usage:* *-nák.

hmôy [môj] *n.* a place before eyes. *Usage:* a noun.

hmràng [hmràng] *n.* glass.

hmrít [hmrít] *agrAv.* annihilate I. *Usage:* *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: mrít: be annihilated]

hmrí? [hmrí?] *agrAv.* annihilate II. *Usage:* *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmrûng [hmrûng] *n.* valley.

hmú [hmú] *n.* falcon.

hmù [hmù] *agrAv.* see I. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

hmú [hmú] *agrSv.* close eyes I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmùey [hmùey] *agrAv.* close eyes II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

hmúey [hmúey] *agrAv.* close eyes I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

hmúká [hmúká] *n.* maize.

hmúkrông [hmúkrông] *elab.expr.* young man.

hmúl [hmúl] *n.* weaving-bird.
hmúm [hmúm] *agrAv.* keep inside mouth. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hmúng [hmúng] *n.* skirt.
hmúng [hmúng] *n.* valley.
hmûng [hmûng] *agrAv.* disturb. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hmûng [hmûng] *agrAv.* stir. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hmúp [hmúp] *agrSv.* refers to the state of faintness of eyes. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), -nák (INST), as in ní -mík hnúp -nák-tí? tóhóng hyón -â! Throw the eye drop with which your eyes became blurry .'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hmúptîng [hmúptîng] *adv.* suddenly becoming dark.
hmút [hmút] *agrAv.* blow I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hmútó [hmútó] *n.* a human being of female sex.
hmú? [hmú?] *agrAv.* see II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
hnágá ^{hnágá: snake king} [hnágá] *n.* the creator.
hnáhnágá [hnáhnágá] *n.* creator.
hnáksháng [hnáksháng] *n.* flying vehicle. [Note: a loan from Marma]
hnámádó [hnámádó] *n.* an addressing word, wife. *Usage:* an addressing noun.
hnámpó [hnámpó] *n.* banana.
hnamsháphú [hnamsháphú] *n.* secret juice. [Note: a religious word]
hnámsho [hnámshó] *n.* Hnamsho.
hnámshóphrú [hnámshóphrú] *n.* Hnamshophru.
hnék [hnék] *agrAv.* dip I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnék [hnék] *agrAv.* drown I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnék [hnék] *agrAv.* dip II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnék [hnék] *agrAv.* drown II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnéy [hnéy] *n.* friend.
hné? [hné?] *conclusive.* a conclusive suffix, at the end, finally.
hné? [hné?] *adv.* at once.
hné? [hné?] *disc.part.* DP.
hngá [hngá] *agrSv.* snore I/II.
hngáláhngát [hngáláhngát] *pronoun.* each-other.

hngát [hngát] *numeral.* a numeral, one. *Usage:* a numeral.
hngát [hngát] *indef.pro.* an indefinite pronoun, one. *Usage:* an indefinite pronoun.
hngáy [hngáy] *adv.* ever.
hngól (*from:* hngól (check)) [hngól] *agrSv.* murmur/grumble I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
hngí [hngí] *agrAv.* solve II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hngí [hngí] *agrAv.* solve I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hngíl [hngíl] *agrAv.* forget I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
hngí? [hngí?] *agrAv.* forget II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).
hngô [hngô] *v.suff.* PM.
hngô [hngô] *numeral.* five (numeral). *Usage:* a numeral.
hngóêy [hngóêy] *agrSv.* be different I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
hngógib [hngógib] *numeral.* fifty.
hngókhngû [hngókhngû] *n.* young girl.
hngóttó? [hngóttó?] *temp.word.* tomorrow.
hngó? [hngó?] *agrSv.* refers to the state of being satisfied by eating. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hngyæêy [hngyæêy] *agrAv.* growl II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
hngyæêy [hngyæêy] *agrAv.* growl I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
hngyó [hngyó] *agrAv.* refers to the reduction of light of a lantern II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hngyô [hngyô] *agrAv.* refers to the reduction of light of a lantern I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hníbók [hníbók] *n.* rifle. *Usage:* a common noun.
hniêy [hniêy] *agrSv.* get engaged I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnihní? [hnihní?] *agrSv.pref.* 2DL INCL S.
hnihní? [hnihní?] *agrAv.pref.* 2DL INC A.
hnihní? [hnihní?] *pers.pro.* 1DL INC.
hnikrók₂ [hnikrók] *n.* the direction opposite of east. *Usage:* a noun.
hnípók [hnípók] *n.* plain cut.
hníppúpúl [hníppúpúl] *adv.* utterly sleek.
hniþó? [hniþó?] *n.* the direction opposite of west. *Usage:* a noun.
hni? [hni?] *dual.suff.* a verbal classifier. *Usage:* attaches to a verb.
hni? [hni?] *numeral.* a number. *Usage:* attaches to a numeral classifier.

hní?ngá [hní?ngá] *neg.suff.* 1DL EXC IRR NEG.
hnĩ?-tĩ- [hnĩ?-tĩ-] *neg.suff.* 2DL IRR NEG.
hnô [nô] *v.suff.* PM.
hnóbên [hnóbên] *n.* earring hole.
hnókép [hnókép] *n.* back of the ear.
hnókú [hnókú] *n.* ear.
hnóm [hnóm] *agrAv.* take smell II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnôm [hnôm] *agrAv.* take smell I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnóng [hnóng] *n.* dew.
hnó? [hnó?] *neg.suff.* third person singular delayed negative suffix.
hnó? [hnó?] *neg.suff.* DEL.NEG
hnó?thing [hnó?thing] *n.* banana tree.
hnú [hnú] *presumptive.* PRES.
hnúk [hnúk] *agrAv.* narrate I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnûm [hnûm] *n.* lump (rice).
hnúmông [hnúmông] *n.* trunk.
hnúng [hnúng] *n.* previous time, back.
hnúng [hnúng] *n.* time.
hnûng [nûng] *capabilitive.* capabilitive suffix. *Usage:* attaches to verb to mark the ability of the A/S argument.
hnúngmó [hnúngmó] *agrSv.* be back and forth I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hnúngshûm [hnúngshûm] *n.* last end.
hnúngshúnglôm [hnúngshúnglôm] *n.* back way.
hnùp [nùp] *n.* day. *Usage:* a noun.
hnùpthiâ [hnùpthiâ] *adv.* daylong.
hnúyhnéhnék [hnúyhnéhnék] *adv.* utterly dusty.
hnú? [hnú?] *agrAv.* narrate II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hó [hó:] *onomat.* sound of falling.
hô₅ [hô] *v.suff.* marks a predicate. *Usage:* attaches to a verb.
hózó [hózó] *disc.part.* see/look. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
hóhôw [hóhôw] *onomat.* loud laugh.
hók [hók] *n.* tree bark.
hók_{hók: skin of tree} [hók] *elab.expr.* snacks.
hókóptíng [hókóptíng] *adv.* manner of spreading mouth.
hókó? [hókó?] *n.* bird hunting.
hólá [hólá] *n.* magical spell.
hóláníhóláphrû [hóláníhóláphrû] *n.* hill doctor who uses magic spell.
hóm [hóm] *n.* bear.

hóm [hóm] *adv.* still.
hóm [hóm] *asp.* yet.
hóm [hóm] *agrSv.* yawn I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
hómpúngpûng [hómpúngpûng] *adv.* utterly black.
hón [hón] *n.* sky.
hón [hón] *agrAv.* put into/tuck in II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hón [hón] *agrAv.* make swidden field ready for cultivation II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hôn [hôn] *agrAv.* put into/tuck in I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hón [hón] *agrAv.* make swidden field ready for cultivation I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hòn [hòn] *n.* top/apex.
hóng [hóng] *agrSv.* call (deer) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
hóng [hóng] *onomat.* calling of deer.
hông [hông] *agrAv.* open II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hông [hông] *agrAv.* open I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hópá?shûn [hópá?shûn] *n.* gilbert's whistler.
hórâ [hórâ] *n.* magical spell. [Note: a loan from Marma]
hóstêl [hóstêl] *n.* hostel. [Note: a loan from English via Bangla]
hów_{hów: look for/seek} [hów] *agrAv.* say II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hów_{hów: look for/seek} [hów] *agrAv.* say I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówá? [hówá?] *loc.noun.* refers to the exclusion of a referent. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both the inessive and locative case following a demonstrative pronoun.
hòwá? [hòwá?] *adv.* without.
hòwêy [hòwêy] *agrAv.* search/look/ask for II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hòwêy [hòwêy] *agrAv.* claim II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówêy [hówêy] *agrAv.* search/look/ask for I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówêy [hówêy] *agrAv.* claim I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT);

shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hówêy (from: hòwêy) [hówêy] *agrAv.* take permission II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

hówêy (from: hòwêy) [hówêy] *agrAv.* take permission I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

hówôy [hówôy] *n.* wild potato.

hóy [hóy] *onomat.* sound/manner of going away.

hóyhóytsô [hóyhóytsô] *adv.* state of an empty place.

hóypê [hóypê] *n.* flattened fried rice.

hóythêy [hóythêy] *n.* mango fruit.

hóyung [hóyung] *n.* myna.

hóy [hóy] *agrAv.suff.* a dual suffix. *Usage:* a verb classifier.

hóy [hóy] *v.class.* a dual marker. *Usage:* a dual marker that attaches to a noun or a verb.

hóy [hóy] *dual.num.* a dual number suffix.

hóy [hóy] *agrSv.suff.* a dual suffix. *Usage:* a verb classifier.

hngú [hngú] *disc.part.* hold/look/see/take.

hngúdâ [hngúdâ] *disc.part.* what else?

húkum [húkum] *n.* order. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

hûl [hûl] *agrAv.* dry (cloth) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hûl [hûl] *agrAv.* dry (clothe) II. *Usage:* -nák(INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hûlêy [hûlêy] *agrAv.* domesticate I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

húlngówngôw [húlngówngôw] *adv.* utterly dry.

húm [húm] *n.* roaring cloud.

húmêy [húmêy] *agrSv.* be in debt I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

húp [húp] *onomat.* sound of burning.

hùpêy [hùpêy] *agrAv.* snatch I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hút [hút] *hab.past.* habitual past tense marker.

hùt [hùt] *relinquerative.* oddmentative marker.

hútthêy [hútthêy] *n.* gular fig tree.

hú? [hú?] *agrAv.* cook rice fully II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hú? [hú?] *agrSv.* be boiled I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hú? [hú?] *agrAv.* cook rice fully I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hù?êy [hù?êy] *agrAv.* snatch II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hú?: be cooked fully]

hù?lêy [hù?lêy] *agrAv.* domesticate II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyà [hyà] *agrAv.* stop/make stand II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyà [hyà] *agrAv.* stop/make stand I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyâel [hyâel] *agrAv.* refers to the action of comforting someone. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyâel [hyâel] *agrAv.* refers to the action of comforting someone. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyám [hyám] *agrSv.* faint I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyán [hyán] *agrAv.* spread out/unfold II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyán [hyán] *agrAv.* spread out/unfold I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyáng [hyáng] *agrAv.* disorganize II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyâng [hyâng] *agrAv.* disorganize I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyát [hyát] *agrAv.* open knot I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyáy [hyáy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of frying meat on direct heat. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyá? [hyá?] *agrAv.* open knot II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyá? [hyá?] *agrSv.* be not.

hyé? [hyé?] *hortative.* HORT.

hyá?y [hyá?y] *agrAv.* grill II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyó [hyó] *agrAv.* exile II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyô [hyô] *agrAv.* exile I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyóhyóá [hyóhyóá] *adv.* drunkenly.

hyón [hyón] *agrAv.* refers to the action of removing or cutting anything, e.g. hair. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyên [hyên] *agrAv.* refers to the action of removing or cutting anything, e.g. hair. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyów [hyów] *agrAv.* refers to the action of floating something in water, e.g. paper made boat. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyêw [hyêw] *agrAv.* make float I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyô [hjó] *v.suff.* marks a predicate. *Usage:* attaches to the verb complex.

hyók [hyók] *agrAv.* convey II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyók [hyók] *agrAv.* convey I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyòkêy [hyòkêy] *agrSv.* be ashamed. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

hyòkùêy [hyòkùêy] *agrAv.* tickle II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyòkùêy [hyòkùêy] *agrAv.* tickle I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyôl [hjól] *agrSv.* lie down I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyólitsí? [hyólitsí?] *n.* bead (half white and half red).

hyông [hyông] *num.cls.* CLS (river).

hyóngkhyâng [hyóngkhyâng] *adv.* equally/together.

hyóngphó?phó? [hyóngphó?phó?] *adv.* utterly light.

hyóp [hyóp] *onomat.* sound of throwing.

hyóphyóp [hyóphyóp] *adv.* manner of throwing.

hyót [hyót] *agrAv.* take out bean shell II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyót [hyót] *agrAv.* take out bean shell I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyów [hyów] *n.* Hyow.

hyówêy [hyówêy] *agrSv.* refers to the state of two referents being positionally close to each other. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

hyó? [hyó?] *agrAv.* loosen II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyó? [hyó?] *agrAv.* disrespect II.

hyó? [hyó?] *agrAv.* soothe.

hyó? [hyó?] *agrAv.* loosen I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyò?êy [hyò?êy] *n.* shame.

hyó?l [hyó?l] *agrAv.* make lie down I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyó?l [hyó?l] *agrAv.* make lie down II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyú [hyú:] *onomat.* sound of flying.

hyúk [hyúk] *agrSv.* whistle I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúl [hyúl] *agrAv.* to go after someone with the help of footprints. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyûl [hyûl] *agrAv.* to go after someone with the help of footprints. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyûl [hyûl] *agrAv.* make wet II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyûl [hyûl] *agrAv.* make wet I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúm [hyúm] *agrSv.* fail/lose I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST), as in ú-hyúm-nák-tí? súrí túa mông shé?y =â dô 'Now, the knife is near the king .'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúm [hyúm] *agrAv.* sharpen edge II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyûm [hyûm] *agrAv.* sharpen edge I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúmkíkkík [hyúmkíkkík] *adv.* utterly pungent.

hyûmná [hyûmná] *agrAv.* disdain I.

hyûmnák [hyûmnák] *agrAv.* disdain II.

hyúmtsúytsûy [hyúmtsúytsûy] *adv.* utterly sharp.

hyúmtsúy?thîng [hyúmtsúy?thîng] *n.* a kind of long tree.

hyún [hyún] *n.* urine.

hyùn [hyùn] *n.* creeper.

hyúng [hyúng] *agrSv.* urinate I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúngpîmpîm [hyúngpîmpîm] *adv.* pitch black darkness.

hyúp [hyúp] *agrAv.* extinguish II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúp [hyúp] *agrAv.* extinguish I. *Usage:* -ná

(INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

I - i

- i** [i] *nom.suff.* NMLZ.
í [i] *ques.suff.* TAG QUES.
i₂ [i] *gr.pref.* a generic-relational prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.
í [í] *poss.pref.* 3SG.
í [í] *agrSv.pref.* 3SG S.
í [í] *agrAv.pref.* 3SG A.
í [í] *interr.pro.* what.
í [í] *elab.expr.* EE.
ì [ì] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG O.
î [î] *elab.expr.* EE.
î [î] *elab.expr.* basket.
ĩá [iá] *indef.pro.* anything. *Usage:* used only in negative context.
í báng [í báng] *conj.* whatever.
ĩbó [íbó] *interr.pro.* what. *Usage:* an interrogative pronoun.
ibó [íbó] *interr.pro.* how. *Usage:* an interrogative pronoun.
ĩbó báng [ibó báng] *conj.* however.
ídík (*from:* dík) [dík] *n.* step (child/parents).
ihí (*from:* hí) [hí] *n.* husk.
ihí (*from:* hì) [hì] *agrSv.* be correct, be right. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
ihlím (*from:* hlím) [hlím] *agrSv.* refers to the good taste of foods, e.g. rice, snacks, tea, water, etc. (but not curry). *Usage:* *-ná, but -nák (in a restrictive clause), as in há hlím-nák-dùn ní shíní póy-hyô 'The sugar with which the biscuit is delicious, is good'; modifies a NP by following it.
ihlíng (*from:* hlíng) [hlíng] *n.* thorne.
ihlíng (*from:* hlíng) [hlíng] *n.* thorne.
ihlí? (*from:* hlí?) [ihlí?] *n.* south.
ihmîn (*from:* hmîn) [mîn] *agrSv.* be ripen. *Usage:* '.
ihnîm [ihnîm] *n.* shaded place.
í-hnî? [í-hnî?] *agrSv.pref.* third person dual cross referencing prefix..
í-hnî? [í-hnî?] *poss.pref.* third person dual cross referencing prefix.
íkî (*from:* kî) [kî] *n.* horn.
íkîw (*from:* kîw) [kîw] *n.* corner.
íkrí? (*from:* krí?) [krí?] *n.* glue.
ílíp (*from:* líp) [líp] *n.* shadow.
ìlíp (*from:* lìp) [lìp] *n.* fish scales.
ím [ím] *n.* a shelter or structure where people live. *Usage:* a noun.
imawainda [imawäinda] *n.* Imawainda.
ímhóng [ímhóng] *n.* empty house.
ímík (*from:* mík) [mík] *n.* eye.
ímthông [ímthông] *n.* family.
íngphíámâ [íngphíámâ] *n.* name of a god.
íngrédi [íngrédi] *n.* english. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
íngthæ?y [íngthæ?y] *n.* hogplum fruit.
íní [íní] *agrSv.pref.* they. *Usage:* attaches to verb.
íní [íní] *agrAv.pref.* they. *Usage:* attaches to verb.
íní [íní] *poss.pref.* 3PL.
íní? (*from:* ní?) [ní?] *n.* a mark of shoe or foot, footprint.
ínkâm [ínkâm] *n.* income (E).
íp [íp] *agrSv.* sleep. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (LOC), as in kéyní? kí -ní-íp-nák-dùn khát bún -hnô 'The bed on which we sleep is broken .'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative [verb takes otherwise nonusable Stem I verb í?].
ípíâl [ípíâl] *n.* East Pakistan Regiment.
ishíp [ishíp] *n.* flow-tide.
ítálí [ítálí] *n.* Italy.
íthîn (*from:* thîn) [thîn] *n.* liver.
ítíâ [ítíâ] *interr.pro.* when.
ítíáhá [ítíáhá] *indef.pro.* anytime.
ítúng (*from:* tûng) [tûng] *n.* edge.
ítírírí? [ítírírí?] *n.* irritating thing.
ítkhûl [ítkhûl] *n.* a place to teach and learn.
ítsím (*from:* tsím) [tsím] *agrSv.* be transparent (water) I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST).
ítsí? (*from:* tsí?) [tsí?] *n.* seed.
í?l [í?l] *n.* blanket. *Usage:* a noun.
í?ltsô [í?ltsô] *n.* towel.
í?ltsóng [í?ltsóng] *n.* a net to get rid off mosquitoes. *Usage:* a noun.

K - k

- ka** [ka] *poss.pref.* 1SG.
ká [ká] *n.* step.
ká [ká] *agrSv.pref.* 1SG S.
ká [ká] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG A.
ká [ká] *agrSv.* step I/II. *Usage:* -ná 'agrSv' (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST), as in èy=là yók'lá=ông ká-nák-khó 'He stepped with bamboo dance .'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâ [kâ] *agrAv.* hide II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâ [kâ] *agrAv.* hide I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâe [kâe] *agrSv.pref.* 1SG S.
kâe [kâe] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG A.
kâe [kâe] *n.* bean. *Usage:* a noun.
káz [káz] *n.* work. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
kâeý [kâeý] *agrSv.* be scared I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kàk [kàk] *agrAv.* make way/separate II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kàk [kàk] *agrAv.* make way/separate I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kàkêy [kàkêy] *agrAv.* avoid II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: kák: move things]
kàkêy [kàkêy] *agrAv.* avoid I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: kák: move things]
kálá [kálá] *n.* a pot to store water. [Note: a loan from Bangla (?)]
kálá? [kálá?] *n.* funnel.
kâelâey [kâelâey] *agrAv.* envy II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâelâey [kâelâey] *agrAv.* envy I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kálikálû [kálikálû] *n.* name of a goddess.
kâelók [kâelók] *n.* garden lizard.
kám [kám] *n.* luck.
kâm [kâm] *n.* camp.
kâmbálá (from: kâmbálá (check)) [kâmbálá] *n.* luck.
kâmkúthiñg (from: kâmkúthiñg) [kâmkúthiñ] *n.* Franklinia tree.
kâen [kâen] *agrAv.* bake II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâen [kâen] *agrAv.* bake I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâenâ? [kâenâ?] *quantifier.* every (temporal). *Usage:* used with the numeral one.
kânzôn [kânzôn] *n.* bindweed (B).
kâenêy [kâenêy] *agrAv.* dread I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kâenêy [kâenêy] *agrAv.* dread II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
káng [káng] *agrSv.* be unavailable I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
káng [káng] *n.* middle part of the front body.
kâng [kâng] *agrSv.* be dried completely (paddy) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kâengdítít [kâengdítít] *adv.* utterly black.
kángtsâng [kángtsâng] *n.* chest.
kánthâ [kánthâ] *n.* health.
kántsonmálâ [kántsonmálâ] *n.* Kanchonmala.
káp [káp] *agrSv.* to make water drops from the eyes due to an emotional response. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative [only with Stem II verb ká?].
kâep [kâep] *agrAv.* press II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâep [kâep] *agrAv.* press I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâepkâep [kâepkâep] *onomat.* sound of walking on a bamboo floor.
kárbárí [kárbárí] *n.* village chief.
kát kálí (from: kálí) [kálí] *agrAv.* aisle cleaning II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: the first part of the verb 'kát' means 'aisle'.]
kâethâey [kâethâey] *n.* bean fruit.
kátkálí (from: kálí) [kálí] *agrAv.* aisle cleaning I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: the first part of the verb 'kát' means 'aisle'.]
káttô [káttô] *n.* a lower ranked police officer.
kâw [kâw] *agrSv.* be separated I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kâwkûm [kâwkûm] *n.* cooking shelf.
kây [kây] *imp.verb.* come.
kâe? [kâe?] *agrAv.* refers to the state of being afraid of something or someone. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

kæʔ [kæʔ] *agrAv.* refers to the state of being afraid of something or someone. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

kæʔshé [kæʔshé] *agrSv.* be dangerous I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

káʔyláŋpâ [káʔyláŋpâ] *n.* hilly reed flower.

káʔypílá [káʔypílá] *n.* tree potato.

ke [ke] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG A.

ke [ke] *agrSv.pref.* 1SG S.

ke [ke] *poss.pref.* 1SG.

ké [ké] *agrSv.* worship I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: used only for 'bukekele' worship]

kə [kə] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG.

kə [kə] *agrSv.pref.* 1SG.

kódóhyô [kódóhyô] *n.* nonsensical words.

kól [kól] *agrSv.* wear off I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kéliækliæk [kéliækliæk] *adv.* shringkingly.

kóm [kóm] *agrSv.* descend from a place. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kén [kén] *agrSv.* have famine I/II. *Usage:* *-ná (SPNT).

kón [kón] *agrAv.* vacate by transferring II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kòn [kòn] *agrAv.* vacate by transferring I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kóng [kóng] *agrSv.* be gannet I/II.

kông [kông] *agrSv.* be skinny I/II. *Usage:* * -na. [Note: generally used term is 'úytsâ']

kép [kép] *n.* gap.

kót [kót] *agrAv.* carry on shoulder I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kótsólkáyák [kótsólkáyák] *n.* at sixes and sevens.

kéwækwæk [kéwækwæk] *adv.* utterly awry.

kówlówtîng [kówlówtîng] *adv.* manner of free fall.

kéy [kéy] *n.* tiger.

kêy [kêy] *pers.pro.* I. *Usage:* free pronoun.

kôy [kôy] *n.* relative.

kêyhníʔ [kêyhníʔ] *pers.pro.* 1DL EXC.

kéyníʔ [kéyníʔ] *pers.pro.* 1PL EXC.

kéyníʔ [kéyníʔ] *pers.pro.* first person plural inclusive pronoun. *Usage:* a personal pronoun.

kóʔ [kóʔ] *n.* wealth.

kóʔ [kóʔ] *case.cl.* GEN.

kóʔ [kóʔ] *case.cl.* a genitive case clitic that marks possession or relation. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark the possession or relation.

kóʔ [kóʔ] *agrAv.* carry on shoulder II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kóʔ [kóʔ] *n.* wealth.

kóʔ [kóʔ] *n.* bunch (firewood).

khà [khà] *agrAv.* close I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

khæ^{khæ: loin} [khæ] *quantifier.* refers to everything in a place. *Usage:* follows a NP.

khábár [khábár] *n.* food (B).

khábáʔy [khábáʔy] *n.* waistlet.

khák [khák] *agrAv.* awaken II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khàk [khàk] *agrAv.* awaken I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khàl [khàl] *n.* season.

khálák [khálák] *n.* one season.

kháláng [kháláng] *n.* gap between two thighs.

khàláng [khàláng] *n.* basket. [Note: a loanword form Bangla (Chittagonian)]

kháliáng [kháliáng] *n.* cage.

khælkhalû [khælkhalû] *n.* a kind of anklet.

khæm [khæm] *agrAv.* chew II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khæm [khæm] *agrAv.* gnaw/nibble.

khæm [khæm] *agrAv.* chew I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khámákmáʔ [khámákmáʔ] *n.* son's mother in law.

khán [khán] *n.* bedroom.

khán [khán] *agrAv.* hope I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

khánbôn [khánbôn] *n.* friend.

kháng (from: kháng (check)) [kháng] *agrSv.* refrain.

khángshíʔ [khángshíʔ] *n.* lion.

khæp [khæp] *agrAv.* govern II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khæp [khæp] *agrAv.* govern I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khápzálung [khápzálung] *n.* Marma song's word.

khæpêy [khæpêy] *agrAv.* blink II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khæpêy [khæpêy] *agrAv.* blink I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khát [khát] *agrAv.* shave I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khát [khát] *adv.* at least.

khát [khát] *linker*. CONCESS.

khát [khát] *agrAv.* touch I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khát [khát] *agrAv.* scrape I. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khàt [khàt] *agrAv.* touch II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháetrápâ [kháetrápâ] *n.* marigold.

khàetsô [khàetsô] *n.* cloth for loin.

kháw [kháw] *agrAv.* separate II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khàw [khàw] *agrAv.* separate I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khâw [khâw] *n.* language.

khâw [khâw] *disc.part.* DP.

kháwáy [kháwáy] *agrAv.* feed (B) II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháwáy [kháwáy] *agrAv.* feed (B) I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháwkhé [kháwkhé] *n.* one word.

kháey [kháey] *n.* flower.

kháeypá [kháeypá] *n.* flower.

khá? [khá?] *agrAv.* close II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khá? [khá?] *agrAv.* shave II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khá? [khá?] *agrAv.* scrape II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khá? [khá?] *n.* slave.

khá?êy [khá?êy] *agrAv.* scare II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khà?êy [khà?êy] *agrAv.* scare I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khá?n ^{khá?n: process food to cook curry} [khá?n] *agrAv.* assume II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT).

khá?n ^{khá?n: process food to cook curry} [khá?n] *agrAv.* process raw food to cook curry II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khà?n ^{khà?n: process food to cook curry} [khà?n] *agrAv.* assume I. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT).

khà?n ^{khà?n: process food to cook curry} [khà?n] *agrAv.* process

raw food to cook curry I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khá?ykhâ [khá?ykhâ] *n.* thunder.

khó [khó] *n.* a spell to kill fish.

khô [khô] *imp.suff.* let's.

khédót [khédót] *n.* subordinate.

khók [khók] *loc.noun.* near. *Usage*: follows a NP and not compatible with the inessive case.

khòk [khòk] *agrSv.* be OK I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT).

khòk [khòk] *agrSv.* be appropriate I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT).

khóihnókhénók [khóihnókhénók] *adv.* utterly thick (liquid).

khóm [khóm] *agrAv.* meet II. *Usage*: -nák (INST), which means 'to get hurt by someone'; -êy, which means to meet someone on a decided day. [Note: khómnák: get hurt]

khóm [khóm] *agrAv.* make descend I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khòm [khòm] *agrAv.* meet I. *Usage*: *-ná (INST).

khôm [khôm] *agrAv.* make descend II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóngkhô [khóngkhô] *n.* dove.

khót [khót] *agrAv.* bow I. *Usage*: shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khòt [khòt] *agrAv.* scratch I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khétí [khétí] *n.* cultivation (B).

khètná [khètná] *agrAv.* love I.

khètnák [khètnák] *agrAv.* love II.

khéw [khéw] *agrSv.* be hatched. *Usage*: *-ná.

khéw?thíng [khéw?thíng] *n.* common fig tree.

khóy [khóy] *agrAv.* sew I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôy [khôy] *agrAv.* sew II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khéyâl [khéyâl] *n.* notice. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

khó? [khó?] *reallis.* really.

khó? [khó?] *agrAv.* scratch II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khó? [khó?] *agrAv.* bow II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khé?wá [khé?wá] *n.* hayena.

khí [khí] *agrAv.* pay price I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khî [khî] *agrAv.* pay price II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khígây [khígây] *n.* purslane.

khílkhi [khílkhi] *n.* window.

khílkhiik [khílkhiik] *n.* tuntuni.

khíltîng [khíltîng] *adv.* unconsciously.

khímáeykhímáey [khímáeykhímáey] *nom.atb.* refers to a girl who has just become an adult and looks very pretty.

khín [khín] *n.* time.

khín [khín] *agrAv.* remember/predict II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khín [khín] *agrAv.* attentively attempt to perceive a sound. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khìn [khìn] *agrAv.* remember/predict I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

khîn [khîn] *agrAv.* attentively attempt to perceive a sound. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khíntú? [khíntú?] *temp.word.* two days after tomorrow.

khíwdân [khíwdân] *n.* index finger.

khí? [khí?] *agrAv.* tolerate II (weight, beating, etc.). *Usage:* *-nák.

khì? [khì?] *agrAv.* tolerate I (weight, beating, etc.). *Usage:* *-ná.

khó [khó] *n.* time.

khó [khó] *n.* rain.

khó [khó] *num.cls.* CLS (word).

khô [khô] *v.suff.* marks a predicate.

khó hlókêy (from: hlókêy) [hlókêy] *agrSv.* feel hot I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (in a restrictive clause), as in *khó nó-hlók-êy-nák-khô pángkhá pýy-á?* 'The fan with which you feel hot is not good'.

khóbór [khóbór] *n.* news (B).

khódô [khódô] *n.* Khodo.

khódông [khódông] *n.* limping leg.

khóy [khóy] *n.* search (B).

khóey [khóey] *elab.verb.* EV.

khóhmæthmæt [khóhmæthmæt] *adv.* utterly bitter.

khóhmûl [khóhmûl] *n.* beard.

khóhyung [khóhyung] *n.* cloud.

khók [khók] *n.* curry pot.

khók [khók] *n.* time.

khók [khók] *agrAv.* knock II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khók [khók] *agrSv.* be expensive I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

khòk [khòk] *agrAv.* knock I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khókêng [khókêng] *temp.word.* 1-2pm.

khókhé [khókhé] *elab.expr.* word.

khókhê [khókhê] *n.* month.

khóklú [khóklú] *n.* knee joint.

khókûm [khókûm] *n.* a year consists of 365 days. *Usage:* a noun.

khôl [khôl] *exp.suff.* PL.

khól₁ (from: khôl) [khól] *exp.suff.* EXP. *Usage:* a collective marker of nominal constituents.

khôl [khôl] *v.class.* a classifier to mark the size or shape of any of the arguments of the verb. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to classify any of the arguments by means of size and shape.

khôl [khôl] *additive.* also.

khól [khól] *agrAv.* surround II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khòl [khòl] *agrAv.* surround I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khólâ [khólâ] *n.* garden (bamboo, tree, etc.).

khólé [khólé] *n.* 12noon-1pm.

khólót [khólót] *n.* expense (B).

khólú [khólú] *n.* knee.

khóm [khóm] *agrAv.* obstruct II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóm [khóm] *agrSv.* suffer I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóm [khóm] *agrAv.* wait going ahead II. *Usage:* *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóm [khóm] *agrAv.* wait going ahead I. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khòm [khòm] *agrAv.* obstruct I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: lán khóm 'protest']

khómêy [khómêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of placing hand to beg or spreading plates for food. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khómêy [khómêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of placing hand forward to beg or spreading plates for food. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khoínhnúp [khoínhnúp] *n.* day.

khómík [khómík] *n.* ankle.

khoímtsû [khoímtsû] *n.* heel.

khómú [khómú] *n.* evening.
khón [khón] *agrAv.* bind II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khón [khón] *agrAv.* bind I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khón [khón] *agrAv.* strip off shell II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôn [khôn] *agrAv.* strip off shell I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khóng [khóng] *elab.expr.* get hurt.
khóng [khóng] *agrAv.* throw a stone II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
không [không] *agrAv.* throw a stone I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
không [không] *agrSv.* call (chicken) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
không [không] *PERCHANCE.* somehow.
khóngá? [khóngá?] *conj.* before.
khóngkhápó [khóngkhápó] *n.* executioner.
khóngóthæ?y [khóngóthæ?y] *n.* bitter melon fruit.
khónî [khónî] *n.* sun.
khónôl [khónôl] *agrSv.* be incessantly rainy I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
khóp [khóp] *agrAv.* get hold of II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
khóp [khóp] *num.cls.* CLS (span).
khóp [khóp] *agrAv.* get hold of I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
khòp [khòp] *n.* glass cup.
khóphây [khóphây] *n.* toe.
khóshún [khóshún] *n.* 10am-12noon.
khóshûn [khóshûn] *n.* noon.
khóshûn (*from:* shûn) [shûn] *agrSv.* be noon I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
khótí [khótí] *n.* loss (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
khótín [khótín] *n.* leg nail.
khótkóttsô [khótkóttsô] *adv.* healthily.
khóttsô [khóttsô] *adv.* in a well/fine manner.
khóttáthæ?y [khóttáthæ?y] *n.* tomato fruit.
khótttsô [khótttsô] *n.* harvest.
khóung [khóung] *n.* foot.
khóy [khóy] *agrAv.* break I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khóy [khóy] *agrAv.* make go up II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôy [khôy] *agrAv.* make go up I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók

(CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khóyhá [khóyhá] *n.* bee hive (white part).
khóyhnôl [khóyhnôl] *n.* seeing bee.
khóykháthæ?y [khóykháthæ?y] *n.* snake gourd fruit.
khóylá [khójlá] *n.* pocket.
khóymíkmû [khóymíkmû] *n.* blind bee.
khóytsíp [khóytsíp] *n.* ring.
khóyút [khóyút] *n.* bee hive (black part).
khó? [khó?] *agrAv.* paste (poster) II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khó? [khó?] *agrAv.* paste (poster) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khó?shûm [khó?shûm] *n.* junction.
khó?y [khó?y] *agrAv.* break II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rá [kh rá] *n.* wing.
kh rá [kh rá] *numeral.* hundred.
kh ráák gólshóggíb [kh ráák gólshóggíb] *numeral.* one hundred sixty.
kh rák [kh rák] *agrAv.* ruin I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rák [kh rák] *onomat.* sound of pouring water.
kh rá m [kh rá m] *agrAv.* take a handful I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rá m [kh rá m] *agrAv.* take a handful II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rá ng [kh rá ng] *n.* matter.
kh rá y [kh rá y] *agrAv.* scratch I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rá? [kh rá?] *agrAv.* ruin II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rá?y [kh rá?y] *agrAv.* scratch II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rêmá? [kh rêmá?] *n.* wife's younger sister.
kh ré p [kh ré p] *agrAv.* fold II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh ré p [kh ré p] *agrAv.* fold I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kh rí [kh rí] *n.* wind.
kh rí [kh rí] *agrAv.* scatter I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khri [khrî] *n.* tear.

khribóng (from: khribóng (check)) [khríbóng] *n.* young boy.

khri? [khrî?] *agrAv.* spread II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khri? [khrî?] *agrAv.* spread I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khri? [khrî?] *agrAv.* scatter II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khri?êy [khrî?êy] *agrSv.* be scattered I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khri? [khrî?] *n.* moon.

khri? [khrî?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of dropping something unintentionally. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

khrok [khrók] *agrAv.* lose II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

khrok [khrók] *agrAv.* lose I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

khrok [khrók] *n.* clay-soil.

khrok [khrók] *agrAv.* refers to the action of dropping something unintentionally. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

khrong [khrông] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG O.

khrong [khrông] *n.* a human being, person.

khrong [khrông] *n.* people.

khrow [khrów] *agrAv.* hoe I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khro?w [khró?w] *agrAv.* hoe II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khru [khrù] *agrAv.* cut down tree I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khru [khrú] *n.* kink.

khruk [khrúk] *agrAv.* cut down tree II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khrumá? [khrúmá?] *n.* son's wife.

khru [khrún] *agrAv.* amputate II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khru [khrên] *agrAv.* amputate I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khru [khrú] *agrAv.* refer to the digging of a hole by a pig I. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

khru [khrú] *agrAv.* refer to the digging of a hole by a pig II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

khruy [khrúy] *agrAv.* crush II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee

is marked by dative.

khruy [khrúy] *agrAv.* crush I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kh [kh] *n.* pigeon.

khub [khúb] *adv.* very.

khuey [khùey] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting something to get rid of rain II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khuey [khùey] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting something to get rid of rain I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khuk [khúk] *agrAv.* elbow II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khuk [khúk] *agrAv.* elbow I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khuli [khúli] *agrAv.* open (B) II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khuli [khúli] *agrAv.* open (B) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khum [khúm] *n.* pillow.

khumi [khúmí] *n.* Khumi.

khuy [khûy] *n.* story.

khuyung [khúyung] *n.* hill.

khú? [khú?] *agrSv.* cough I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

khú?y [khú?y] *agrAv.* cover with cloth II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khú?y [khú?y] *agrAv.* cover with cloth I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khwáshum [khwáshum] *n.* a trap to catch fish.

khwá? [khwá?] *n.* turning/crossing.

khwá? [khwá?] *n.* branches of horn.

khyámkhyám [khyámkhyám] *adv.* peacefully.

khyong [khyòng] *n.* stream prayer.

khyong [khyóng] *agrAv.* observe II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khyong [khyông] *agrAv.* observe I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khyong (from: khyóng) [khyóng] *agrAv.* look for a chance to beat II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

khyong (from: khyông (check)) [khyông] *agrAv.* look for a chance to beat I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

khyongshalá [khyóngshalá] *n.* goat slaughterer.

khyúp [khyúp] *n.* crown of head.
khyúp [khyúp] *agrAv.* control II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).
khyúp [khyúp] *agrAv.* control I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
ki [ki] *poss.pref.* 1SG.
kí [kí] *agrAv.pref.* 1SG A.
kí [kí] *n.* parrot.
kí [kí] *agrSv.* be over I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kíàng [kíàng] *n.* reindeer.
kíhni? [kíhni?] *agrSv.pref.* 1DL EXC.
kíhni? [kíhni?] *agrAv.pref.* 1DL EXC.
kíkóng [kíkóng] *n.* prawn.
kíkông [kíkông] *n.* shrimp.
ki-ní- (from: kí-ní-) [kíní; kini] *agrAv.pref.* first person plural. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the person agreement and the motion of the action.
kí-ní- [kí-ní-] *agrAv.pref.* 1PL EXCL A.
kí-ní- [kí-ní-] *agrSv.pref.* first person plural cross-referencing prefix.
kiniki [kiniki] *n.* the large amount of belongings of a person. *Usage:* a noun.
kíshipdí [kíshipdí] *n.* Thursday.
k'lâ [k'lâ] *agrSv.* spread legs I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), e.g. èy k 'lá-hô He spread legs , but èy =lá ám k 'lá-nák-khô 'He spread legs over the pot .'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
klànêy [klànêy] *agrAv.* disclose/reveal II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
klànêy [klànêy] *agrAv.* disclose/reveal I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
klâ [klâ] *agrSv.* fall I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
klók [klók] *agrSv.* be out of trace. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
klók [klók] *n.* bridge.
klònèy [klònèy] *agrSv.* be reversed I/II ,/ I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
klònèyâl [klònèyâl] *agrSv.* come back I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ko [ko] *poss.pref.* first person singular possessive prefix.
kó [kó] *agrAv.pref.* first person singular A argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] *agrSv.pref.* first person singular A argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] *n.* place.
kə [kə] *poss.pref.* first person singular possessive prefix.
kó [kó] *agrAv.pref.* first person singular A

argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] *agrSv.pref.* first person singular A argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] *n.* internal mouth.
kó [kó; kə] *neg.suff.* 1DL INC NEG.
kô [kô] *case.cl.* ABE.
kô [kô] *neg.suff.* 1PL INC.
kózáthæ?y [kózáthæ?y] *n.* lime.
kókkô [kókkô] *n.* a hole for a tree.
kókón [kókón] *n.* wealth.
kóktsíli [kóktsíli] *n.* water hyacinth.
kól [kól] *agrAv.* pick up I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kól [kól] *agrSv.* have high body temperature, have fever. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kôl [kôl] *n.* under.
kólæklæk [kólæklæk] *adv.* utterly curved.
kólkók [kólkók] *n.* snail.
kóló [kóló] *n.* Bangalore.
kóm [kóm] *n.* beetle.
kóm [kóm] *n.* bank.
kôm [kôm] *agrSv.* refers to the state of someone who is unemployed or has free time. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kòmîâl [kòmîâl] *agrSv.* subside (B) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kómpûm [kómpûm] *n.* stick.
kón [kón] *case.cl.* ablative case clitic. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark the source.
kón [kón] *linker.* SOURCE.
kón [kón] *n.* stock.
kón [kón] *n.* pond.
kón [kón] *agrAv.* cross over II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kôn [kôn] *agrAv.* cross over I. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kóng [kóng] *n.* reason.
kóng [kóng] *n.* small cane.
kông [kông] *n.* a place higher than plain lands but lower than mountains, hill. *Usage:* a noun.
kóng [kóng] *n.* special leaves for worshipping.
kóngbâng [kóngbâng] *expressive.* EXP.
kónghmú?sháng [kónghmú?sháng] *n.* saint/religious.
kóngkîng [kóngkîng] *n.* robin.
kóngláthæ?y [kóngláthæ?y] *n.* orange fruit.
kóngtông [kóngtông] *n.* Kongtong.
kóngúphô [kóngúphô] *n.* bullfrog.
kónnyâ [kónnyâ] *n.* daughter. [Note: a loan from

Bangla]

- kónó** [kónó] *indef.pro.* any (B).
kóp [kóp] *onomat.* sound of sitting.
kóp [kóp] *agrAv.* tie something with bamboo II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kóp [kóp] *agrAv.* tie something with bamboo I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kóp [kóp] *agrAv.* an act of discharging ammunitions from gun and similar arms. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kóp [kóp] *onomat.* sound of door closing.
kóp [kóp] *n.* calf.
kòpêy [kòpêy] *agrSv.* cling to I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kótkótâ [kótkótâ] *adv.* hurriedly.
kótsótsâ [kótsótsâ] *adv.* accordingly.
ków [ków] *agrSv.* groan I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kôy [kôy] *agrSv.* step up, climb, ascend. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); ; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN), which refers to performing a climb by sharing (half by one and half by the other); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kòyâl [kòyâl] *agrSv.* branch off I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kó? [kó?] *agrAv.* to discharge ammunitions from a gun or similar arms. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kó?l [kó?l] *agrAv.* pick up II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krâ [krâ] *n.* period.
krák [krák; klak] *n.* condition.
krák [krák] *agrSv.* be spoiled I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
krák (from: krák (check)) [krák] *agrAv.* make love.
kræk [kræk] *agrAv.* cut a ribbon into pieces. *Usage:* ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krám [krám] *agrSv.* be rough in doing anything I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (neglect), è=lâ bôy kram-nák-khô 'He neglected the book.'
kráng [kráng] *onomat.* sound of tear.
krát [krát] *agrSv.* have vetches I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kráy [kráy] *onomat.* sound of opening clothes.
krá? [krá?] *agrSv.* bloom into a bud I/II. *Usage:* -ná

(SPNT).

- kró** [kró] *n.* bad luck.
krông [krông] *num.class.* time.
króp [króp] *onomat.* sound of falling asleep suddenly.
krów [krów] *agrSv.* speak I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krówphák [krówphák] *n.* a companion for talking.
kró [kró] *agrSv.* be right I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
krò [krò] *agrSv.* be late I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krô [krô] *agrSv.* fall I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
króák [króák] *adv.* a small part of anything. *Usage:* aa adverb.
króbékbék [króbékbék] *adv.* utterly melted.
krógró? [krógró?] *n.* healthy person.
krók [krók] *agrSv.* be lost I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
krók [krók] *agrAv.* fall III. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT) refers to falling on a referent.
krókók (from: krókók (check)) [krókók] *agrAv.* spin a top.
krông [krông] *n.* a tree used to support the outer veranda. *Usage:* a noun.
króng [króng] *agrAv.* refers to the action of shifting one's living place II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krông [krông] *agrAv.* refers to the action of shifting one's living place I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krông [krông] *n.* plank.
krónggrá [krónggrá] *agrAv.* worry (M). [Note: a loan from Marma]
krôw [krôw] *adv.* haltingly.
krû [krû] *agrSv.* fall down on either side I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
krûng [krûng] *n.* roof.
krûng [krûng] *onomat.* sound of falling.
krûng [krûng] *agrSv.* fade I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krúy [krúy] *agrSv.* be crushed I/II. *Usage:* -ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krûy [krûy] *n.* a small lump of soil.
ku [ku] *poss.pref.* 1SG.
kú [kú] *agrSv.pref.* first person singular cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the A/S argument.
kú [kú] *agrAv.pref.* first person singular cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the A/S argument.

- kú** [kú] *agrSv.* get infected I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kúk [kúk] *n.* ash.
kúl [kúl] *numeral.* twenty.
kúlúná [kúlúná] *agrAv.* punish/torture I. *Usage:* ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kúlúnák [kúlúnák] *agrAv.* punish/torture II. *Usage:* ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kún^{tóysô: MHP} [kún] *agrSv.* squat I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kûn [kûn] *n.* a part of the roof. [Note: a loan from Bangla (?)]
kún [kún] *agrAv.* refers to the action of bearing something by more than one person II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kùn [kùn] *agrAv.* refers to the action of bearing something by more than one person I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kún [kên] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting a lid or things alike over food for protection II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS),

where the causee is marked by dative.

- kûn** [kûn] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting lid or things alike over food for protection I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kúp [kúp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting something over things other than food for concealment or protection. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kúp [kúp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting something over things other than food for concealment or protection. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kúshûng [kúshûng] *n.* fourth month in the calendar.
kúthlô [kúthlô] *n.* business.
kútmông [kútmông] *n.* middle finger.
kútnû [kútnû] *n.* thumb.
kúttsô [kúttsô] *n.* baby finger (pinky).
kú?y [kú?y] *num.class.* turn (between hills).
kyá?âl [kyá?âl] *agrAv.* regret II. *Usage:* *-ná.
kyá?âl [kyá?âl] *agrAv.* regret I. *Usage:* *-ná.
kyô [kyô] *n.* benefit. [Note: a loan from Marma]

L - l

- lá** [lá] *linker.* linking suffix connects two clauses. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to establish connection between two clauses.
lá [lá] *conj.* conjunction connects two nominals. *Usage:* used a phrasal conjunction.
lâ [lâ] *case.cl.* ergative case clitic. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark the ergative case.
lâè [lâè] *agrSv.* fall from a high place I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lâê [lâê] *n.* swidden field that is already cut but not burnt.
láb [láb] *n.* benefit. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
ládáná [ládáná] *n.* Ladana.
lágây [lágây] *agrAv.* refer to the action of making dispute among people. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from BANGLA]
lágây [lágây] *agrAv.* refer to the action of making dispute among people. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from BANGLA]
lákchá? [lákchá?] *n.* giantess.
lák pá?y [lák pá?y] *n.* mimosa.

- lákshúm** [lákshúm] *n.* customary food for bride and bride groom.
lák tángbók [lák tángbók] *n.* window of a bamboo sheet wall.
lálaápêy (from: lálaápêy) [lálaápêy] *indef.pro.* anywhere.
lálá hú?ypêy [lálá hú?ypêy] *adv.* by any means.
lálá kóápêy [lálá kóápêy] *adv.* anyplace.
lálá shálá [lálá shálá] *n.* movement (B). [Note: a loan word from Bangla]
lálshák [lálshák] *n.* red leaf.
lám [lám] *adv.suffix.* nearby.
láng [la'ng] *onomat.* sound of infusing.
lánggê [lánggê] *n.* Bawm.
lángiâ (from: lángiâ (Check)) [lángiâ] *n.* bride (B). [Note: a loan from the local Chittagonian dialect (?)]
lánglúk [lánglúk] *n.* the village at the face of Gungru.
lángshókshók [lángshókshók] *adv.* utterly hot.
lánshû [lánshû] *n.* enemy.
lápplép [lápplép] *onomat.* groaning sound.
lást [lást] *n.* something that comes at the end. *Usage:* a noun. [Note: a loan from English via the national language Bangla]

lát [lát] *agrAv.* pull I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lăw [lăw] *agrSv.* have loss I/II. *Usage:* ná (SPNT). [Note: hlăwêy 'CAUS' (make loss)]

láy [láy] *n.* poverty.

lây [lây] *n.* land.

lăy [lăy] *agrSv.* be excessive wicked/hyper I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

lâybil [lâybil] *n.* land.

lâywó [lâywó] *n.* Borua.

lă? [lă?] *obligative.* an obligation marking suffix.

lă? [lă?] *agrAv.* pull II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lă? [lă?] *inclusive.cl.* including/along with. *Usage:* follows a NP and does not take any case marker.

lă?ng [lă?ng] *adv.* forcefully.

lăkêy [lăkêy] *agrAv.* play II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lăkêy [lăkêy] *agrAv.* play I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lăkhóngshó [lăkhóngshó] *n.* Rakhanie.

lăklé [lăklé] *n.* Shangu river.

lălô [lălô] *adv.* truly/quite.

lém [lém] *agrAv.* strike horizontally II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lém [lém] *agrAv.* strike horizontally I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

léndén [léndén] *n.* dealing (B).

lêng [lêng] *agrAv.* hunt II.

lêng [lêng] *agrAv.* hunt I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lóng [lóng] *n.* wave.

lông [lông] *n.* larva.

lông [lông] *n.* worm.

lóngkôl [lóngkôl] *n.* pitcher holder.

lóngtsil [lóngtsil] *n.* hairy maggot.

lót [lót] *agrSv.* get free I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

lótông [lótông] *recurrentive.* again and again.

lôtêy [lôtêy] *agrSv.* refers to the action of going underneath something. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lêwlêw [lêwlêw] *adv.* fully.

lêy [lêy] *n.* tongue.

lây [lây] *agrAv.* pour I. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lây [lây] *n.* big paddy basket to put paady after

cutting.

lây [lây] *agrAv.* pour II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lây [lây] *agrAv.* refers to the action of throwing away from out of something. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lây [lây] *agrAv.* refers to the action of throwing away from out of something. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lây [lây] *agrAv.* refers to the action of throwing away from out of something. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lâyhní? [lâyhní?] *numeral.* twelve.

lí [lí] *n.* weight.

lí [lí] *agrAv.* trample I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lízànggê [lízànggê] *n.* glass of bamboo. [Note: a loan from Marma]

límlí [límlí] *n.* gamari (tree).

límtsing [límtsing] *n.* densed forest.

lípláp [lípláp] *n.* bolt.

lí? [lí?] *agrAv.* trample II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lô [lô] *agrAv.* refers to the action of carrying something from a 'source' to a 'goal' II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lô [lô] *agrAv.* refers to the action of carrying something from a 'source' to a 'goal' I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lô [lô] *agrSv.* come I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lô [lô] *agrAv.* refers to the action of going somewhere and bringing back something or someone. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lôgâ [lôgâ] *n.* sickness.

lôgónglôg [lôgónglôg] *n.* sickness.

lôháyók [lôháyók] *n.* thin stuff.

lôháyhây [lôháyhây] *adv.* utterly thin.

lók [lók] *agrSv.* vomit I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST).

lòk [lòk] *agrSv.* be sufficient I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lók [lók] *agrAv.* refers to the action of going somewhere and bringing back something or someone. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee

is marked by dative.
lók [lók] *anteisive*, ahead.
lókêy [lókêy] *agrSv.* adhere I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lókłókâ [lókłókâ] *adv.* manner of burying.
lók má? [lók má?] *n.* husband's younger sister.
lókthông [lókthông] *n.* age/period (time).
lól [lól] *n.* role. [Note: a loan from English]
lóm [lóm] *agrSv.* dance I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hlóm 'CAUS']
lóm₁ [lóm] *n.* a surface for people and vehicles to move into different directions by driving or walking, road, way, path. *Usage*: a noun.
lôn [lôn] *n.* cowpea.
lón [lón] *agrAv.* recite magical words II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lôn [lôn] *agrAv.* recite magical words I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lónđôn [lónđôn] *n.* London.
lóng [lóng] *n.* boat.
lóng [lóng] *elab.expr.* land.
lông [lông] *num.cls.* CLS (plate).
lông [lông] *agrAv.* serve II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lông [lông] *agrAv.* serve I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lônglâng (from: lónglâng (check)) [lônglâng] *agrAv.* pass through.
lônglók [lônglók] *n.* stripped skink.
lôngtsô [lôngtsô] *elab.expr.* EE.
lónthăy [lónthăy] *n.* asparagus bean fruit.
lónshúpêy [lónshúpêy] *adv.* anyone.
lów [lów] *n.* swidden agriculture field. *Usage*: a noun.
lów [lów] *agrAv.* take on hand I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lówwá? [lówwá?] *conj.* neither.
lôy [lôy] *n.* turn.
lôy [lôy] *n.* junction of two hills.
lôy [lôy] *agrSv.* be late in cultivating I/II. *Usage*: *-ná.
lôy [lôy] *agrSv.* be a matter I/II. *Usage*: *-ná.
lôygágá [lôygágá] *adv.* utterly easy.
lô? [lô?] *pretendive*. PRNTN.
lô?w [lô?w] *agrAv.* take on hand II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lô?ykhâ [lô?ykhâ] *n.* drongo.
lú [lú] *num.class.* a numeral classifier that classifies a flying referent (bird). *Usage*: a numeral classifier that classifies a flying referent (bird).
lùk [lùk] *onomat.* sound of ship.
lúkbánshêy [lúkbánshêy] *n.* bindweed.
lúkí [lúkí] *n.* head.
lúklúkâ [lúklúkâ] *adv.* buzzingly.
lúlúk [lúlúk] *agrSv.* refers to the state of a noisy place at a distant. *Usage*: *-ná.
lúm [lúm] *agrAv.* gather II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lúm [lúm] *agrAv.* gather I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lúm [lúm] *agrAv.* cross II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lúm [lúm] *agrAv.* jump over II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lúm [lúm] *agrAv.* cross I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lúm [lúm] *agrAv.* jump over I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lúmdút (from: lúmdút (check)) [lúmdút] *n.* crown (part of head).
lúmîm [lúmîm] *n.* clay house.
lúmók [lúmók] *n.* a fringe of hair of babies.
lúmpûm [lúmpûm] *n.* kidney.
lúmtsôl [lúmtsôl] *n.* forehead.
lúmûm [lúmûm] *agrSv.* have pain in the head. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST).
lûn [lûn] *n.* Tripura.
lúng [lúng] *n.* stone.
lùng [lùng] *agrSv.* roar I/II. *Usage*: -ná /(SPNT).
lúng [lúng] *n.* heart, mind.
lúngpâel [lúngpâel] *n.* stone mass.
lúngpú (from: pú) [pú] *agrSv.* worry I/II. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
lúngshâng [lúngshâng] *n.* someone who is alone, a single person.
lúngshâng [lúngshâng] *adv.* alone.
lúp [lúp] *n.* way, like. *Usage*: a common noun.
lúsháminí [lúsháminí] *n.* name of a god.
lúshây [lúshây] *n.* Lushai.
lúshó [lúshó] *elab.expr.* EE.
lúshông [lúshông] *n.* front hair.
lúshóngshê [lúshóngshê] *n.* crowd of a fair.
lútdúl [lútdúl] *n.* world.
lútp hát [lútp hát] *n.* looting. [Note: a loan from

Bangla]

lùwûn [lúwûn] *n.* head skin.**lú?dûl** [lú?dûl] *n.* family.**lú?tsô** [lú?tsô] *n.* human.**lú?yé** [lú?yé] *n.* human image.**M - m****máházôn** [máházôn] *n.* lender. [Note: a loan from Bangla]**málít** [málít] *n.* stinging nettle.**mæmból** [mæmból] *n.* member.**mân** [mân] *n.* anger.**mæng** [mæng] *agrSv.* refers to the calling of animals, e.g. bird, cow, pig, goat, buffalo, cat, frog, lizard, rabbit, monkey, cricket. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).**mæng** [mæng] *n.* pitcher.**mání** [mání] *agrAv.* agree (B) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loanword from Bangla (Chittagonian)]**mání** [mání] *agrAv.* agree (B) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loanword from Bangla (Chittagonian)]**mání** (from: mání) [mání] *agrSv.* mean. *Usage:* a loan word from Bangla.**mántsíngkhô** [mántsíngkhô] *n.* pennywort.**mástôl** [mástôl] *n.* master/teacher (E). [Note: a loan from English through Bangla]**mæt** [mæt] *n.* chilly.**máthæ?y** [máthæ?y] *n.* tamarind fruit.**mætþóytsí?** [mætþóytsí?] *n.* clove.**mátrádô** [mátrádô] *n.* bad soul. [Note: a loan from Marma]**mátsáng** [mátsáng] *n.* a place to throw away waste .**mætthæng** [mætthæng] *n.* green chilly.**mættsâ** [mættsâ] *n.* dried chilly.**má?** [má?] *n.* goat.**má?lô** [má?lô] *n.* apex.**má?phát** [má?phát] *n.* castrated goat.**má?tsôl** [má?tsôl] *n.* he goat.**mó** [mó] *agrAv.* steal I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**mók** [mók] *agrAv.* steal II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**mòk** [mòk] *agrSv.* be fool I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT).**mòk shûn** (from: shûn) [shûn] *agrAv.* sow. *Usage:* -nák (INST); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**mókshótdáwâ** [mókshótdáwâ] *n.* animal.**mòktâng** [mòktâng] *n.* black shalik.**mòktông** (from: mòktông (check)) [mòktông] *n.* south.**mól** [mól] *agrAv.* hit I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**mólókggrûngmólókggrâ** [mólókggrûngmólókggrâ] *adv.* unwillingly.**mólótgôngmólótgâ** [mólótgôngmólótgâ] *adv.* unwillingly. [Note: a loan from Marma]**mólyóngyông** [mólyóngyông] *n.* a feeling of sickness.**mông** [mông] *n.* a trap to catch fish.**mònghmûl** [mònghmûl] *n.* moustache.**mòngkhók** [mòngkhók] *n.* external mouth.**mótyôn** [mótyôn] *temp.word.* early morning (4am).**méy** [méy] *n.* fire.**mêy** [mêy] *agrSv.* exist, stay, to continue to be. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**méybám** [méybám] *n.* fire pyre.**méykhú** [méykhú] *n.* flame.**méypók** [méypók] *n.* sweet puffed rice.**mó?l** [mó?l] *agrAv.* hit II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**míákshét** [míákshét] *n.* magical spell.**míkhmûl** [míkhmûl] *n.* eyelash.**míkkhúhmûl** [míkkhúhmûl] *n.* eyebrow.**míkkóp** [míkkóp] *n.* eyelid.**míktsóngthæ?y** (from: míktsóngthæ?y) *n.* plum fruit.**míli** [míli] *agrSv.* be together I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**mín** [mín] *n.* cat.**mîng** [mîng] *n.* name.**mítí** [mítí] *n.* sweets. [Note: a loan from Bangla]**mó** [mó] *n.* bedbug.**mò** [mò] *agrSv.* stare I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.**mô** [mô] *prem.suff.* first.**mô** [mô] *nonpref.suff.* NPREF.**mòâ** [mòâ] *interr.pro.* where.**mòâbâng** [mòâbâng] *conj.* wherever.

mók [mók] *num.cls.* one hand (for measurement).
móla [móla] *n.* radish (B).
mólashên [mólashên] *n.* carrot.
món (from: món) [món] *n.* price.
món [món] *agrAv.* refers to the action of having a referent in one's grab II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
môn [môn] *agrAv.* refers to the action of having a referent in one's grab I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
móndâ [móndâ] *disc.part.* DP (suppose).
mông [mông] *n.* rice mortar.
móng [móng] *interr.pro.* which. *Usage:* an interrogative pronoun.
móng (from: móng) [móng] *n.* dream. *Usage:* a noun.
mông [mông] *n.* king.
móngbâng [móngbâng] *conj.* whichever.
móngdó [móngdó] *n.* the addressing name of the married man by the wife. *Usage:* a noun.
mónggrî [mónggrî] *n.* the king of kings, great king. *Usage:* a noun.
móngná [móngná] *agrAv.* dream I.
móngnák [móngnák] *agrAv.* dream II.
móngshórây [móngshórây] *n.* king's follower.
mónó?shô [mónó?shô] *n.* human (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla 'monuʃʃ']
móntrî [móntrî] *n.* minister. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
móp [móp] *agrSv.* glide I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), where the experiencer is not an oblique argument, rather a core argument ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

mót [mót] *n.* subject of a king.
mótgri [mótgri] *n.* minister.
mótkyâ [mótkyâ] *n.* Motkya God.
mótlá [mótlá] *n.* a high official after the position of the minister in a kingdom specially in a Muslim ruling era.
mótmótsô [mótmótsô] *adv.* finely.
móydông [móydông] *n.* pumpkin leaf.
móythæ?y [móythæ?y] *n.* pumpkin fruit.
móytîng móytông [móytîng móytông] *adv.* drunkenly.
mrák [mrák] *onomat.* sound of sticking something.
mráktîng [mráktîng] *adv.* manner of sticking together.
mrán [mrán] *agrSv.* be fast (in race) I/II. *Usage:* cannot modify a NP by following it; *-ná. [Note: hmrán 'CAUS' (make fast)]
mrát [mrát] *agrSv.* be benefitted I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
mrô [mrô] *n.* Mro.
mrô? [mrô?] *n.* town.
mrúm [mrúm] *agrSv.* refers to the state of a piece of infertile land where nothing grows, or refers to the state of an infertile animal. *Usage:* *-ná.
múzib [múzib] *n.* Muzib.
múzím [múzím] *loc.noun.* within (B).
múkh [múkh] *n.* mouth. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
mûm [mûm] *n.* pain, ache.
mút [mút] *agrSv.* starve I/II. *Usage:* -ná; follows a NP; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
mútzôn [mútzôn] *temp.word.* early morning.
mûy [mûy] *n.* elephant.

N - n

na [na] *poss.pref.* 2SG.
na [na] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
na [na] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
ná [ná] *spontaneitive.* expresses the spontaneous mood of the speaker. *Usage:* attaches to verbs.
næ [næ] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
næ [næ] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
næ [næ] *poss.pref.* 2SG.
nááy [nááy] *pers.pro.* 2PL.
nák [nák] *applicative.* an applicative suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a finite verb.
nákhúmhlâm [nákhúmhlâm] *n.* pitch black.
nám [nám] *n.* village.
námbrátshó [námbrátshó] *n.* all villagers.
námshó [námshó] *n.* villager.

næmtsóytsôy [næmtsóytsôy] *adv.* utterly low.
nándráthæ?y [nándráthæ?y] *n.* pineapple fruit.
náng [náng] *pers.pro.* second person singular pronoun.
nànghni?- [nànghni? -] *pers.pro.* 2DL.
nàngké?y [nàngké?y] *pers.pro.* 1PL INC.
nángnáng [nángnáng] *n.* his his whose whose.
nángni? [nángni?] *pers.pro.* 2PL.
nányûng [nányûng] *n.* fifth month in the Hyow calendar.
náp [náp] *num.cls.* meal time.
náptông [náptông] *n.* every meal time. [Note: 'náptông=â' is ungrammatical; it's 'náptóngá?']
naré [naré] *agrSv.* be self-reliant I/II. [Note: source of borrowing is unknown]

nárí [nárí] *n.* vein (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
nát [nát] *n.* god.
náttô [náttô] *n.* eleventh month in the Hyow calendar.
náttśálāng [náttśálāng] *n.* bamboo bed for keeping praying stuff.
náttśô [náttśô] *n.* spell.
nátyé [nátyé] *n.* god's image.
néy [néy] *agrAv.* squeeze/press II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ñey [ñey] *agrAv.* squeeze/press I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ñáylénthá?y [ñáylénthá?y] *n.* jute fruit.
ñá?êy [ñá?êy] *agrAv.* covet II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
ñá?êy [ñá?êy] *agrAv.* covet I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
ñá?nām [ñá?nām] *n.* temptation/lure.
ne [ne] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
ne [ne] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
nə [nə] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
nə [nə] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
nek [nek] *agrSv.* be drowned I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST) í-ní-nék-nák-tí? lōng lén-hnô 'The boat with which we drowned was big.'
nékré [nékré] *n.* stripped dwarf Tenggara fish.
ñów [ñów] *agrSv.* be young I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
ñówbénbên [ñówbénbên] *adv.* utterly soft.
ñówkrókrók [ñówkrókrók] *adv.* utterly blue.
nga [nga] *agrSv.suff.* 1SG.
ngá [ngá] *agrAv.* prohibit II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngá [ngá] *agrAv.* rule/govern. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngâ [ngâ] *agrAv.* prohibit I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngâ [ngâ] *neg.suff.* 1SG NEG.
ngâ [ngâ] *agrAv.suff.* 1SG.
ngâ [ngâ] *neg.suff.* first person singular future negative suffix.
ngáp [ngáp] *regulariterive.* REG.
ngébrét [ngébrét] *n.* sheat fish.
ngóêy [ngóêy] *agrAv.* threaten II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngóêy [ngóêy] *agrAv.* threaten I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngí [ngí] *agrSv.* be equal I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngíêy [ngíêy] *agrSv.* be unanimous I/II. *Usage:* -ná

(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

ngíshílípân [ngíshílípân] *n.* climbing perch fish.
ngo [ngo] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
ngo [ngo] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
ngó [ngó] *n.* fish. *Usage:* a noun.
ngók [ngók] *n.* sister-in-law (elder brother's wife).
ngók [ngók] *n.* elder brother's wife.
ngóksóktsók [ngóksóktsók] *adv.* sit silently as meditation.
ngólây [ngólây] *n.* sin.
ngóngthá?y [ngóngthá?y] *n.* eggplant fruit.
ngóshólók [ngóshólók] *n.* Hilsha fish.
ngóshólôy [ngóshólôy] *n.* sword fish.
ngóshôn [ngóshôn] *n.* onion-garlic.
ngóshônábók [ngóshônábók] *n.* garlic.
ngóshónshén [ngóshónshén] *n.* onion.
ngótsâ [ngótsâ] *n.* dried fish.
ngòwêy [ngòwêy] *agrAv.* bite (human) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngòwêy [ngòwêy] *agrAv.* bite (human) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ngúdúmú [ngúdúmú] *n.* bombay duck fish.
ngúlûy [ngúlûy] *n.* spotted snakehead fish.
ngúy [ngúy] *agrSv.* be absent minded I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
ngyâw [ngyâw] *onomat.* calling of cat.
ni [ni] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
ni [ni] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
ní [ní] *focus.cl.* a nominal clitic that focuses the nominal referent.
ní [ní] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG O.
ní [ní] *agrAv.pref.* 2PL O.
ní [ní] *num.pref.* PL.
ní [ní] *linker.* 2) temporal clause-linking suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to establish connection between two clauses.
ní [ní] *dem.pro.* a proximative deixis, this. *Usage:* a demonstrative pronoun.
níbó [níbó] *adv.* this way. *Usage:* a noun.
nízê [nízê] *ref.pro.* oneself (B). [Note: a loanword from Bangla]
niêy [niêy] *agrSv.* ache I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST) khó ní -êy-nák-dân phánáp lódô=â kâ -hlé?-êy-hyô 'I bought the shoe in Bandaran with which leg hurts.'
ní-hó?y- [ní-hó?y-] *pers.pro.* 3DL PROX.
ní-hní?- [ní-hní?-] *pers.pro.* second person dual pronoun, you two. *Usage:* a personal pronoun.
ní-hní?- [ní-hní?-] *poss.pref.* second person dual possessive prefix.
ní-hní?- [ní-hní?-] *agrSv.pref.* second person dual

prefix.
ní-hní? [ní-hní?] *agrAv.pref.* second person dual prefix.
nĩhyó? [nĩhyó?] *adv.* this much.
níngthĩng [níngthĩng] *n.* laali tree.
ní-ní- [ní-ní-] *agrAv.pref.* 2PL A.
ní-ní- [ní-ní-] *agrSv.pref.* 2PL S.
nípí? [nípí?] *n.* nappi (paste of shrimp).
no [no] *agrAv.pref.* second person singular cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb stem to cross-refer the secong person singular pronoun.
no [no] *agrSv.pref.* second person singular cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb stem to cross-refer the secong person singular pronoun.
no [no] *poss.pref.* 2SG.
no [no] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
no [no] *agrAv.pref.* 2SG A.
no [no] *poss.pref.* 2SG.
no [no] *agrSv.pref.* 2SG S.
nó [nó] *agrAv.* refers to the calling of a dog. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form II]
nò [nò] *agrAv.* marry I (for man). *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nô [nô] *agrSv.* have an ache. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv', as in kó -nô-nák-tí? kómpũm kó -hyón-âl-hlô 'I threw away the stick with which I had a pain.'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nóækæ [nóækæ] *n.* pied starling.
nók [nók] *agrAv.* marry. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nók [nók] *agrAv.* refers to the calling of a dog. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form I]
nóm [nóm] *agrAv.* milk II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pũy (ASSOC.BEN); shók

(CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nôm [nôm] *agrAv.* milk I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pũy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nómón [nómón] *n.* shark.
nómtéttét [nómtéttét] *adv.* utterly odorous.
nón [nón] *agrAv.* burn in flaming fire II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nón [nón] *agrAv.* burn in flaming fire I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
nôw [nôw] *n.* someone's sibling who is younger in age.
nôw [nôw] *elab.expr.* child.
nu [nu] *agrSv.pref.* second person singular cross-referencing prefix.
nu [nu] *agrAv.pref.* second person singular cross-referencing prefix.
nú [nú] *evid.suff.* an evidential suffix.
nú [nú] *num.cls.* CLS (fish).
nũ [nũ] *lis.suff.* motherhood marking suffix.
nũ₁ [nũ] *n.* the female parent of a child, mother. *Usage:* a noun.
núbé [núbé] *n.* siblings.
núdík [núdík] *n.* step mother.
núlâng [núlâng] *n.* own mother.
númúynũ [númúynũ] *n.* barb fish.
nâng [nâng] *agrAv.* can do II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).
nâng [nâng] *agrAv.* can do I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
núpó [núpó] *n.* the parents of a child, mother and fother.
núshóshê [núshóshê] *n.* ugly mother.
núy [núy] *agrSv.* laugh I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), as in èy =lâ kêy ù -núy-nák-khô 'He laughs at me.'. [Note: hnúyêy 'CAUS' (make laugh)]

O - o

o [o] *gr.pref.* a generic-relational prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.
o [o] *exclam.expr.* O!
o [o] *poss.pref.* 3SG.
o [o] *elab.expr.* EE.
ó [ó] *agrSv.pref.* 3SG S.
ó [ó] *agrAv.pref.* 3SG A.

ò [ò] *agrAv.pref.* 1P.
ò [ò] *agrAv.* drink I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ô [ô] *voc.cl.* a vocative clitic. *Usage:* is attached to a noun.
ɔ [ɔ] *nom.pref.* a nominalizing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to form a derived nominal or nominalized adjective.

- ɔ** [ɔ] *gr.pref.* a generic-relational prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark general relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.
- ɔ** [ɔ] *poss.pref.* third person singular possessive prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb.
- ɔ́** [ɔ́] *agrSv.pref.* 3S.
- ɔ́** [ɔ́] *agrAv.pref.* 3A.
- ɔ́** [ɔ́] *multiplicentive.* MULT.
- ɔ̀** [ɔ̀] *agrAv.pref.* third person singular cross referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb.
- òbók** ^{òbòk:} sitting posture of animals (from: 'bók) [bók] *n.* white.
- óbóng** (from: bóng) [bóng] *agrSv.* be steep I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
- óbosshôy** [óbosshôy] *adv.* obviously (B). [Note: 'láláhu?ypêy' is used as 'obviously']
- ódóng** (from: dóng) [dóng] *agrSv.* be seen I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- ódông** (from: dông) [dông] *loc.noun.* refers to the position of a referent under another referent where the two referents are not attached. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locate case, where with inessive case it refers to age.
- ógáshá?** [ógáshá?] *n.* late person (dead). [Note: a loan from Marma]
- óh** [óh] *exclam.expr.* an expression of sadness. *Usage:* an interjection.
- óhlón** (from: hlón) [lón] *agrSv.* be excessive II. *Usage:* follows a NP; *-ná.
- óhmó** (from: hmó) [hmó] *n.* faint light.
- óhmyhmó** (from: hmóyhmó) [móymó] *loc.noun.* refers to a place that faces a referent. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locative case.
- óhngó** (from: hngó) [hngó] *agrSv.* be separated from family I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); precedes a NP to modify it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- óhó** [óhó:] *exclam.expr.* Oho!
- óhóm** (from: hóm) [hóm] *agrSv.* be black I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); follows a NP to modify it; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- óhóng** (from: hóng) [hóng] *n.* juice/gravy.
- óhyôw** [óhyôw] *loc.noun.* refers to the place which is not far from a referent. *Usage:* does not modify a NP, neither takes a modifier, but can be used as a nominal predicate.
- ók** [ók] *agrAv.* drink II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

- ókêy** [ókêy] *agrSv.* be stuck I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- ókhô** (from: khô) [khô] *n.* leg.
- ókhô** (from: khô) [khô] *argSv.* be bitter.
- ókómhnúp** (from: khómhnúp) [khómhnúp] *n.* birthday.
- ókól** (from: kól) [kól] *loc.noun.* refers to the lower position of a referent in respect to another referent. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both the inessive and locative case. [Note: *thíng kólâ* 'under a tree', but *thíng kólông* 'through under a tree']
- ókólóng** ^{lông:} supply rice (from: kólóng) [kólóng] *n.* internal stomach.
- ókónông** (from: kónông) [kónông] *loc.noun.* refers to one's company. *Usage:* follows a NP and not compatible with both the inessive and locative case.
- ókóp** (from: 'kóp) [kóp; kop] *n.* skin/shell of a banana tree.
- ókôy** (from: kôy) [kôy] *agrSv.* be broken I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- ókóʔl** [ókóʔl] *n.* Chakma.
- ókró** (from: kró) [kró] *n.* vein.
- óktsúk** [óktsúk] *n.* neck.
- ólô** [ólô] *adv.* again. *Usage:* as a modifier of a verb.
- ólókó** (from: lókó) [lókó] *n.* throat.
- ólókpôn** (from: lókpôn) [lókpôn] *n.* stomach.
- ólón** (from: lón) [lón] *agrSv.* be surpassed I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT). [Note: hlón 'CAUS']
- ólông** (from: lông) [lông] *n.* light (ray).
- òlòngtàgá** [òlòngtàgá] *n.* addressing for a God. [Note: a loan from Marma]
- óm** [óm] *agrSv.* sit down somewhere. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- òm** [òm] *agrAv.* sit II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT), where the NP does not take any case clitic for location; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- òm** [òm] *agrAv.* sit I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT), where the NP does not take any case clitic for location; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- òmêy** [òmêy] *agrAv.* sit in marriage (for woman) II. *Usage:* *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- òmêy** [òmêy] *agrAv.* sit in marriage (for woman) I. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- òmêy** [òmêy] *agrSv.* learn to sit (babies) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is

marked by dative.
ómnóëy [ómnóëy] *agrsv.* marry each other I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
ómô (from: mô) [mô] *loc.noun.* front.
ómô? (from: mô?) [mô?] *n.* owner.
ón [ón] *n.* curry.
ónék [ónék] *quantifier.* refers to numerous quantity of a thing. *Usage:* precedes a NP.
óng [ón] *agrAv.* win/pass I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
óng [ón] *agrAv.* win/pass II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
óngkô (from: óngkô) [óngkô] *n.* mathematics. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
óngó (from: ngó) [ngó] *n.* morning. [Note: This word can be also used as a verb.]
óngó [óngó] *n.* morning to 10am.
óngó [óngó] *n.* crow.
ónklókdông [ónklókdông] *n.* fern leaf.
ónó (from: nó) [nó] *n.* cursed place.
ónshé [ónshé] *n.* bad curry.
ónshé [ónshé] *n.* vegetables.
óntsô [óntsô] *n.* basil.
óntsóngkhótháey [óntsóngkhótháey] *n.* sweet bitter gourd fruit.
óô [óô] *exclam.expr.* Oo!
óó [óó] *onomat.* sound of an elephant.
óp [óp] *agrAv.* give on hand II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
óp [óp] *agrAv.* give on hand I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
óphók (from: phók) [phók] *n.* insipid.
ópây (from: pây) [pây] *agrSv.* be good I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
órdék [órdék] *quantifier.* refers to half of a thing. *Usage:* precedes a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
óshô (from: shô) [shô] *n.* meat.
óshókkô [óshókkô] *n.* golden frog.
óshôw (from: shôw) [shôw] *agrSv.* be bubbles/boiled I/II. *Usage:* *-ná ; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: vermicelli payesh, rice]
ót [ót] *agrAv.* slice/adze I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
óté [óté] *loc.noun.* from (B). [Note: a loan from

Bangla]
óthínmâ [óthínmâ] *n.* Othinma.
óthóng (from: thóng) [thóng] *n.* thousand.
óthónghú (from: thónghú) [thónghú] *n.* smell of raw flesh.
óthôw [óthôw] *n.* fat.
ótsóp (from: tsóp) [tsóp] *n.* lung.
ótsów (from: tsów) [tsów] *n.* start. *Usage:* a common noun.
ótsów (from: tsów) [tsów] *n.* a bunch of banana.
ótsôy (from: tsôy) [tsôy] *n.* tusk.
ôw [ôw] *exclam.expr.* O!
ówá?y (from: wáy?) [wáy?] *n.* agonies.
ówóng (from: wóng) [wóng] *n.* one of the equal parts of something that is divided into two. *Usage:* a noun.
ówóp (from: wóp) [wóp] *agrSv.* be blurry I/II.
ôy [ôy] *n.* turmeric.
ôy [ôy] *agrAv.* sing II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ôy [ôy] *agrAv.* sing I. *Usage:* -na (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ôy [ôy] *n.* crab. *Usage:* a noun.
ôydông [ôydông] *n.* turmeric leaf.
ôyêy [ôyêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting diamond or gold on neck. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ôyêy [ôyêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting diamond or gold on neck. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ôyhâng [ôyhâng] *n.* turmeric (raw). [Note: also ôythâng]
ôylí?wlí?w [ôylí?wlí?w] *adv.* utterly yellow.
ôyôn (from: yôn) [yôn] *n.* night. *Usage:* a noun.
ô? [ô?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of locking one thing with another. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ô? [ô?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of locking one thing with another. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ô? [ô?] *agrAv.* refers to an action of cutting a referent where the cutting instrument has to be attached with the cutting object. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

P - p

pá [pá] *agrSv.* bloom I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
pák [pák] *agrSv.* be severely trampled I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pæk [pæk] *agrSv.* jump into I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pækêy [pækêy] *agrSv.* jump in one place I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pákháthníkhát [pákháthníkhát] *adv.* quickly.
pákhú [pákhú] *n.* shoulder.
pækshówshôw [pækshówshôw] *adv.* healthy and fresh.
pæl [pæl] *agrAv.* rub hard things II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pæl [pæl] *agrAv.* rub hard things I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pæl [pæl] *num.cls.* piece (curry).
pánzâng [pánzâng] *n.* kingfisher.
pânêy [pânêy] *agrSv.* be late in giving birth I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
pànêy [pànêy] *agrAv.* to call someone. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pànêy [pànêy] *agrAv.* to call someone. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pâng [pâng] *agrSv.* to speak in a loud voice in order to attract someone's attention. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pæng [pæng] *agrSv.* refers to the state of one's face for being shy. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pæng [pæng] *onomat.* sound of covering.
pæng [pæng] *agrSv.* evaporate I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pængá?lá?l [pængá?lá?l] *adv.* bright red.
pángkhálét [pángkhálét] *n.* island.
pántô [pántô] *n.* hookah.
pántsithæ?y [pántsithæ?y; pantsithæ?y] *n.* cucumber fruit.
pát [pát] *num.class.* CLS (cycle).
pát [pát] *n.* cycle/round.
páthân [páthân] *n.* Pathan.
pæthæ?y [pæthæ?y] *n.* elephant apple.

pátigónít [pátigónít] *n.* arithmetic. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
páút [páút] *n.* neck muscle.
páy [páj] *num.class.* numeral classifier for human. *Usage:* a numeral classifier for human only.
páy [páy] *agrAv.* fly II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pây [pây] *agrAv.* fly I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pây [pây] *adv.* possibly/perhaps.
páyleyhni? [páyleyhni?] *numeral.* a number, twelve. *Usage:* a noun.
pá?m [pá?m] *agrAv.* hold from falling II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pá?m [pá?m] *agrAv.* hold from falling I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pé [pé] *asp.* still/yet.
pé (from: pé) [pé] *linker.* CIR. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to establish connection between two clauses.
pék [pék] *benefactive.* a benefactive suffix. *Usage:* a benefactive suffix.
pék [pék] *agrAv.* give II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pék [pék] *agrAv.* give I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pók [pók] *agrSv.* be leaked I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST). [Note: phók 'CAUS']
pókbólbôl [pókbólbôl] *adv.* utterly big hole.
pól [pól] *agrAv.* rub/massage I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
póm [póm] *agrAv.* carry (on lap) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pôm [pôm] *agrAv.* carry (on lap) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pén [pén] *n.* wood log.
pón [pón] *terminative.* TMNT.
pón [pón] *agrAv.* finish, end, to stop doing something when it is done or completed. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pón [pón] *agrAv.* finish, end, to stop doing something when it is done or completed. *Usage:*

- ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pôn** [pôn] *n.* thami, the lower part of an indigenous dress.
- pông** [pông] *agrAv.* own II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pông** [pông] *adv.suff.* cannot but.
- pông** [pông] *agrAv.* own I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- póngkhót** (from: póngkhót) [póngkhót] *n.* hand carrying basket.
- pérínákhóm** [pérínákhóm] *n.* a court where the king makes judgements.
- pétí** [pétí] *n.* box. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- pów** [pów] *onomat.* sound of emerging from water.
- pêy** [pêy] *agrSv.* refers to the state of something, e.g. margin drawing by someone. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: cannot be used as a nom.atb]
- pêy** [pêy] *adv.* at least.
- pêy** [pêy] *conj.* even if.
- pôy** [pôy] *n.* party.
- póyáp** [póyáp] *n.* lean.
- póyté** (from: póyté) [póyté] *n.* special food for a Head Haney prayer.
- pó?l** [pó?l] *agrAv.* rub/massage II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pó?y** [pó?y] *agrSv.* end I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- phá** [phá] *n.* a trap to catch fish.
- phâ** [phâ] *n.* scab.
- phálá** [phálá] *speculative.* could.
- phálá** [phálá] *n.* crown of head.
- pháeláythá?y** [pháeláythá?y] *n.* watermelon fruit.
- phám** [phám] *n.* needle.
- phámphé?y** [phámphé?y] *n.* broom.
- phámphó** [phámphó] *n.* bamboo made flower for prayers.
- phánáp** [phánáp] *n.* shoe.
- phánápshé** [phánápshé] *n.* bad shoe.
- pháng** [pháng] *agrAv.* disperse II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phâng** [phâng] *agrAv.* disperse I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phát** [phát] *agrAv.* tear (flower) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phát** [phát] *agrAv.* tear (flower) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phàet** [phàet] *n.* tailor bird.
- phàet** [phàet] *agrAv.* scold II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phæt** [phæt] *agrAv.* scold I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phây** [phây] *agrAv.* refers to the action of apportion. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phá?y** [phá?y] *agrAv.* refers to the action to separate something into parts. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phó** [phó] *agrAv.* carry on back I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phók** [phók] *agrAv.* drill I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phók** [phók] *agrAv.* drill II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phêl** [phêl] *agrAv.* tie knot circularly I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phêl** [phêl] *n.* cycle.
- phêl** [phêl] *agrAv.* tie knot circularly II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phólkrâm** [phólkrâm] *n.* black cobra.
- phólshê** [phólshê] *n.* python.
- phólshómô** [phólshómô] *n.* snake charmer.
- phôn** [phôn] *n.* pipe.
- phéy** [phéy] *agrAv.* sweep I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phêy** [phêy] *n.* thigh.
- phéyhlêng** [phéyhlêng] *n.* thigh (whole).
- phó?** [phó?] *agrAv.* carry on back II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phé?y** [phé?y] *agrAv.* sweep II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phó?y** [phó?y] *agrAv.* complete II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phó?y** [phó?y] *agrAv.* complete I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phía** [phía] *n.* the married woman of a man, wife.
- phít** [phít] *n.* basket.
- phí?** [phí?] *purposive.* PURP.NMLZ.
- phô** [phô] *v.suff.* marks a predicate.
- phô** [phô] *agrSv.* reach I/II. *Usage:* á-, the directional

prefix is obligatorily attached to the root so that the verbfunctions as a agrSv; -ná (SPNT).

phố [phố] *agrAv.* get hold of II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phô [phô] *agrAv.* get hold of I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốá lá [phốá lá] *n.* spade.

phók [phók] *agrAv.* make burst I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phók [phók] *onomat.* sound of getting up.

phòk [phòk] *n.* mat.

phôl [phôl] *agrAv.* refers to the action of splitting apart. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôl [phôl] *agrAv.* refers to the action of splitting apart. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phố lá [phố lá] *n.* Buddha.

phốlông [phốlông] *n.* foreigner.

phôn [phôn] *agrAv.* float II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: the force follows the affectee as if the force is in P slot, as in [kêy]A [tûy=lâ]P [phôn-hnô]V 'I floated in the water = Water floated me.']

phôn [phôn] *agrAv.* float I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: the force follows the affectee as if the force is in P slot, as in [kêy]A [tûy=lâ]P [phôn-hnô]V 'I floated in the water = Water floated me.']

phốndố [phốndố] *n.* tax.

phốnnêy [phốnnêy] *agrSv.* be hanged by a rope I II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT), -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phống [phống] *n.* raft.

phòp [phòp] *agrAv.* winnow II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phòp [phòp] *agrAv.* winnow I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phòpêy [phòpêy] *agrAv.* dust II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phòpêy [phòpêy] *agrAv.* dust I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phố rê [phố rê] *adv.* later (B).

phốt [phốt] *agrAv.* read/study II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốt [phốt] *num.cls.* CLS (measuring rice by pot).

phốt [phốt] *agrAv.* read/study I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốw [phốw] *agrAv.* dry under sun II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốw [phốw] *agrAv.* reveal II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốw [phốw] *agrAv.* dry under sun I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốw [phốw] *agrAv.* reveal I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phốy [phốy] *n.* thread.

phốyhlum [phốyhlum] *n.* wool ball.

phốypí [phốypí] *n.* cotton.

phốything [phốything] *n.* cotton tree.

phố? [phố?] *agrAv.* make burst II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phố? [phố?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of spreading a piece of anything on another thing. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phố? [phố?] *n.* sponge.

phố? [phố?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of spreading a piece of anything on another thing. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phố?ng [phố?ng] *agrAv.* break a dam II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phố?ng [phố?ng] *agrAv.* break a dam I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phrán [phrán] *agrAv.* sprinkle II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phrán [phrán] *agrAv.* sprinkle I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phráns [phráns] *n.* France.

phrá?n [phrá?n] *agrAv.* lay open II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phrá?n [phrá?n] *agrAv.* lay open I. *Usage:* -nák

- (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phróp** [phróp] *agrAv.* crack bamboo II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phróp** [phróp] *agrAv.* crack bamboo I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phrétshábá** [phrétshábá] *n.* words of birthtime.
- phrêw** [phrêw] *n.* friend, companion, buddy. *Usage:* a noun.
- phríkphrókphríkphrók** [phríkphrókphríkphrók] *onomat.* sound of a fish in swallow water.
- phrók** [phrók] *onomat.* sound of a slap.
- phrú** [phrú] *n.* part. [Note: a loan from Marma]
- phrûm** [phrûm] *n.* plain land.
- phú** [phú] *adv.* ever.
- phú** [phú] *agrAv.* uproot I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phú** [phú] *tandemive.* at last.
- phú** [phú] *n.* exchange.
- phú** [phú] *agrAv.* lit fire II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phú** [phú] *agrAv.* lit fire I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phúk** [phúk] *agrAv.* uproot II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phùk** [phùk] *agrSv.* get up as a ghost I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
- phúl** [phúl] *agrAv.* refers to the action of spreading seeds. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phùl** [phùl] *agrAv.* bury II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phûl** [phûl] *agrAv.* bury I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phúlphúlâ** [phúlphúlâ] *adv.* crowdedly.
- phúm** [phúm] *agrAv.* refers to the process of burning anything putting inside coal. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phúm** [phúm] *agrAv.* refers to the process of burning anything putting inside coal. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phúng** [phúng] *n.* kingdom.
- phúngpháphá** [phúngpháphá] *adv.* swollen.
- phúráphúrí** [phúráphúrí] *adv.* completely. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- phútphút** [phútphút] *n.* loud noise.
- phú?** [phú?] *num.cls.* CLS (share).
- phú?** [phú?] *agrAv.* refers to the action of spreading seeds. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phyó** [phyó] *agrAv.* make happy II. *Usage:* -nák (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- phyò** [phyò] *agrAv.* make happy I. *Usage:* -ná (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pí** [pí] *agrAv.* refers to the state of realizing something by touching or eating II. *Usage:* *-nák.
- pĩ** [pĩ] *agrAv.* refers to the state of realizing something by touching or eating I. *Usage:* *-ná.
- pĩ** [pĩ] *n.* cane.
- píkhông** [píkhông] *n.* broadbill.
- píl** [píl] *n.* soldier.
- píl** [píl] *agrAv.* refers to an action of grinding into small pieces. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- píl** [píl] *agrAv.* refers to an action of grinding into small pieces. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
- pĩl** [pĩl] *n.* a small insect that bites animals and human, sucks blood, and is responsible for dangerous types of fever like malaria, dengue, etc. *Usage:* a noun.
- pínáythá?y** [pínáythá?y] *n.* jackfruit.
- píngêy** [píngêy] *agrAv.* pinch II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- píngêy** [píngêy] *agrAv.* pinch I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pípí** [pípí] *adv.* quite.
- píshí?** [píshí?] *n.* blessing.
- píshó** [píshó] *elab.expr.* EE.
- pítsí** [pítsí] *n.* wild animal. *Usage:* a noun.
- p'łónák** [p'łónák] *n.* joke.
- pó** [pó] *agrAv.* refers to perform something. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pó** [pó] *agrSv.* be caught (fish in net) I/II. *Usage:* -na (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- pô** [pô] *n.* the male parent of a child. *Usage:* a noun.
- pô** [pô] *gend.suff.* a masculine gender suffix.

Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark masculine gender.

pô [pô] *agrSv.* be stick to I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pók [pók] *agrSv.* blast I/II. *Usage:* -nák ('agrAv' as a LOC.APP), as in bóm =lâ kây ò -pók-nák-khô 'The bomb blasted on me.' ('agrSv' as SPNT). [Note: phok.I, pho?II 'CAUS']

pòk [pòk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of chopping something with a spade, an axe or a sickle. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pòk [pòk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of chopping something with a spade, an axe or a sickle. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pók [pók] *agrAv.* collide II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pók [pók] *agrAv.* collide I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pómhláewhlâw [pómhláewhlâw] *adv.* utterly thin (width).

pón [pón] *agrAv.* throw from up to down II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC), as in èy =lâ kây =êng pâl-ák ò -pón-nák-khô 'He threw down a stone on me from up' (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pón [pón] *agrAv.* throw from up to down I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

póng [póng] *agrAv.* refers to the process of boiling rice with smoke I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pông [pông] *agrAv.* refers to the process of boiling rice with smoke. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

póng [póng] *agrAv.* put hand on someone while sleeping I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pông [pông] *agrAv.* put hand on someone while sleeping II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pông [pông] *n.* fence.

pông [pông] *n.* red cotton tree.

póngéyâl [póngéyâl] *agrAv.* re-wear II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

póngéyâl [póngéyâl] *agrAv.* re-wear I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pónggê [pónggê] *n.* bamboo pipe to distill alcohol.

póngkép [póngkép] *n.* gap between a fence and a piller.

póngkhûm [póngkhûm] *n.* clay pot to store vaporized alcohol.

póngnâ [póngnâ] *n.* monk.

pópók [pópók] *n.* mushroom.

pôr [pôr] *conj.* after. *Usage:* a conjunction. [Note: a loan word from Bangla]

póré [póré] *conj.* afterwards. *Usage:* a conjunction. [Note: a loan word from Bangla]

póríkkhâ [póríkkhâ] *n.* exam. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

pót [pót] *agrAv.* mop II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pót [pót] *agrAv.* mop I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pót [pót] *loc.noun.* direction. *Usage:* follows a NP as weel as a nominalized stative verb.

pôt [pôt] *agrAv.* refers to the cutting of a hard substance to make an aesthetic structure. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôt [pôt] *agrAv.* refers to the cutting of a hard substance to make an aesthetic structure. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pótó [pótó] *n.* the counterpart of a woman. *Usage:* a noun.

pótsông [pótsông] *num.class.* numeral classifier for human. *Usage:* a numeral classifier for human only.

póy [póy] *agrSv.* be over (season of fruits) I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.

póyêy [póyêy] *agrSv.* be beautiful I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

póyshâ [póyshâ] *n.* pice. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

póyshêshê [póyshêshê] *adv.* utterly good.

pó? [pó?] *agrAv.* refers to perform something. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pó? [pó?] *loc.noun.* way. *Usage:* follows a NP and also a nominalized deverbal adjective.

pó?pó? (from: pó?pó?) [póp?ó?] *n.* work other than the main one, extra work, side work.

prák [prák] *onomat.* sound of sticking something attack.

práng [práng] *n.* outside.
prášó [prášó] *n.* twelfth month in the Hyow calendar.
prê [prê] *n.* country.
prékhyâng [prékhyâng] *n.* same country.
préngyâ [préngyâ] *n.* idea/wit.
préshô [préshô] *n.* countrymen.
prí [prí] *agrSv.* be filled up (wish) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
príbí [príbí] *adv.* just.
prímstô [prímstô] *n.* arum.
prîw [prîw] *agrSv.* overflow I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
prókâr [prókâr] *n.* kind.
próm [próm] *agrSv.* be abundant I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
prómân [prómân] *n.* evidence. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]
próng [próng] *n.* cannon.
prúbú [prúbú] *n.* enough light.
prúm [prúm] *n.* mound.
prúm [prúm] *agrAv.* heap II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
prûm [prûm] *agrAv.* heap I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
prút [prút] *agrSv.* loose/fall out I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
prûw [prûw] *onomat.* sound of throwing.
pú [pú] *agrAv.* borrow II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pú [pú] *agrAv.* feel. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pû [pû] *agrAv.* borrow I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pû [pû] *n.* maternal uncle.
pû [pû] *agrAv.suff.* 1DL INC.
pû [pû] *agrSv.suff.* 1DL INC.
pû [pû] *neg.suff.* 1PL INC IRR NEG.
pû [pû] *neg.suff.* 1PL INC IRR NEG.

pú [pú] *agrAv.* fill up into something I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
púhlé?y [púhlé?y] *n.* squirrel.
púkpûn [púkpûn] *n.* cradle.
pûl [pûl] *agrSv.* be burnt by hot water I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
púlîsh [púlîsh] *n.* police (E).
púlpúlâ [púlpúlâ] *adv.* secretly.
púltîng [púltîng] *adv.* secretly.
pûm [pûm] *num.class.* a numeral classifier that classifies a four legged nominal referent. *Usage:* a numeral classifier for four-legged animals, also used as a general classifier.
pûm [pûm] *n.* body.
pûmpré [pûmpré] *n.* own country.
pûng [pûng] *elab.expr.* brook.
pûng [pûng] *agrAv.* punch II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pûng [pûng] *agrAv.* punch I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
púpúk [púpúk] *onomat.* drum beat.
púshêl [púshêl] *n.* wife's father.
pút [pút] *n.* paddy basket.
púút [púút] *n.* greater coucal.
pûy [pûy] *applicative.* COMT.
pûy [pûy] *n.* wife's mother.
pú? [pú?] *agrAv.* fill up into something II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pyâ [pyâ] *elab.expr.* oil.
pyâ [pyâ] *agrSv.* spread (smell) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
pyéshóthá?y [pyéshóthá?y] *n.* life giving fruit.
pyó [pyó] *agrSv.* rejoice I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
pyó [pyó] *agrSv.* to feel pleased of something. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
pyópyôhlôhlô [pyópyôhlôhlô; pyópyôhlôhlô] *n.* happiness and so on.
pyúk [pyúk] *onomat.* sound of submerge.

R - r

rézált [rézált] *n.* result. [Note: a loan from English through Bangla]
rígók [rígók] *n.* octopus.
ríshí? [ríshí?] *n.* a person who is very wise and

recognized among others for his good deeds, sage, saint. *Usage:* a noun.

róá [róá] *n.* village (M). [Note: a loan from Marma]
rózgár [rózgár] *n.* income (B).

rókôm [rókôm] *n.* way (B).

S - s

ságáphú [ságáphú] *n.* bronze dust. [Note: a religious word]

ságáphùng [ságáphùng] *n.* heaven.

shá [shá] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting something in hot water for a while to get rid of smell or any other dirt. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shá [shá] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting something in hot water for a while to get rid of smell or any other dirt. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shá (*from: shá* (check)) [shá] *agrAv.* spread without any space between. [Note: a loan from Chittagonian dialect of Bangla]

shæ [shæ; shæ] *n.* lance.

shæ [shæ; shæ] *n.* horse.

shê [shê] *agrSv.* sneeze I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), as in èy=lâ kây à -shê-nák-khô 'He sneezed on me .'; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

sháát [sháát] *n.* valiancy (B).

shádhîn [shádhîn] *n.* free (B).

shádhîn [shádhîn] *n.* free (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]

sháêy [sháêy] *agrAv.* curse II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

sháêy [sháêy] *agrAv.* curse I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shægá (*from: pshægá*) [shægá] *n.* molasses.

shágrámóng [shágrámóng] *n.* second king. [Note: a loan from Marma]

shàk [shàk] *n.* Chakma.

shæk [shæk] *n.* checking. [Note: a loan from English]

shâel [shâel] *agrAv.* clean I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shálámá? [shálámá?] *n.* midwife.

shálây [shálây] *agrAv.* drive (B) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shálây [shálây] *agrAv.* drive (B) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS),

where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shám [shám] *onomat.* sound of running. *Usage:* a onomatopoeic word.

shám [shám] *n.* crocodile.

shám [shám] *n.* voice.

shámák [shámák] *n.* daughter's husband.

shámphô [shámphô] *n.* ship.

shámphôá [shámphôá] *n.* sweet potato.

shámphû [shámphû] *n.* glossy mat.

shámphû [shámphû] *n.* mat.

shámtông [shámtông] *n.* pot (paddy measuring).

shán [shán] *agrAv.* send II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shán [shán] *agrAv.* send I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

sháng [sháng] *elab.expr.* speak.

sháng [sháng] *agrAv.* consider/feel as a relative II. *Usage:* èy=lâ ó-kây à -sháng-hngô 'He considers me his relative.'; -nák (SPNT).

shâng [shâng; shang] *desiredative.* DES.

shâng [shâng] *opinionitive.* OPN.

shâng [shâng] *agrAv.* consider/feel as a relative I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

shánghlâyshû [shánghlâyshû] *n.* poor person.

shánghlây [shánghlây] *agrSv.* be distressed/poor.

shángphrû [shángphrû] *n.* white elephant. [Note: a loan from Marma]

shánmóní [shánmóní] *n.* Sunmoni.

shántí [shántí] *n.* peace.

sháp [sháp] *n.* curse. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

sháp [sháp] *onomat.* burning sound.

sháphíámá?góngkhángmíní

[sháphíámá?góngkhángmíní] *n.* name of a god.

sháptá [sháptá] *n.* a period of seven days. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

sháshá [sháshá] *conj.* even though (B). [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

sháshtí [sháshtí] *n.* punishment. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shát [shát] *agrAv.* cut rope I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shæt [shæt] *numeral.* eight.

sháúngphrû [sháúngphrû] *n.* Shaung Phru.

sháy [sháy] *agrAv.* refers to an action to carry paddy

from swidden field to swiddent field house repeatedly. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

sháy [sháy] *agrAv.* refers to an action to carry harvest from swidden field to swiddent field house repeatedly. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shæýdáná [shæýdáná] *n.* drum stick.

shàykêl [shàykêl] *n.* bicycle. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

shá? [shá?] *agrAv.* cut rope II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shæ? [shæ?] *numeral.* seven.

shæ?l [shæ?l] *agrAv.* clean II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shá?ng [shá?ng] *agrAv.* change (cloth) II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); PR is raised, as in èy=lâ ká-wát à-shá?ng-âl-hlô 'He changes my cloth.'

shá?ng [shá?ng] *agrAv.* change (cloth) I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); PR is raised.

shé [é] *elab.expr.* guard.

shébé [shébé] *n.* bad language.

shégóân [shégóân] *n.* teak.

shék [shék] *agrAv.* refers to the process of building a house by any animal. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

shék [shék] *agrAv.* refers to the process of cleaning or cutting bamboo shoot and snail. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

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shók [shók; shòk] *numeral.* six.

shòk [shòk] *agrAv.* shake inside something II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shòk [shòk] *agrAv.* shake inside something I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shékkhásíná [shékkhásíná] *n.* Sheikh Hasina.

shéllúm [shéllúm] *n.* byre.

shéltôy [shéltôy] *n.* adult/matured person.

shómóytsô [shómóytsô] *n.* boy.

shómshó? [shómshó?] *agrAv.* backbite II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the

causee is marked by dative.

shómshó? [shómshó?] *agrAv.* backbite I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

shón [shón] *n.* same aged.

shón [shón] *agrAv.* pick up/fetch (for someone) II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shôn [shôn] *agrAv.* pick up/fetch (for someone) I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shêng [shêng] *n.* be acute. [Note: internally progressive. not possible to use as a nom.atb.]

shéngkúm [shéngkúm] *temp.word.* next year.

shénglêng [shénglêng] *n.* bell/anklet on a baby's foot.

shénkí?kí? [shénkí?kí?] *adv.* utterly red.

shóp [shóp; shəp] *agrAv.* wash I (cloth). *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóp [shóp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of ascending a long and branchless tree, e.g. palm tree, bettle nut tree. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóp [shóp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of ascending a long and branchless tree freely, e.g. palm tree, bettle nut tree. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shépôy [shépôy] *n.* bad-good (this and that).

shéshé [shéshé] *n.* manner. [Note: bound morpheme]

shóshóhlôm (from: shóshóhlôm (check))
[shóshóhlôm] *n.* good behaviour.

shét [shét] *n.* right (as left).

shét [shét] *n.* Kg (measurement).

shót [shót] *num.class.* time, frequency, occurrence. *Usage*: a numeral classifier for frequency.

shót [shót] *agrAv.* put pillar inside I. *Usage*: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shót [shót] *agrAv.* put pillar inside II. *Usage*: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shótkhyâng [shótkhyâng] *adv.* right away.

shétóng [shétóng] *n.* left side.

shéw [shéw] *agrAv.* cut fruit into pieces I. *Usage*: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shéwshêw [shéwshêw] *onomat.* sound of going.

shóy [shóy] *agrAv.* kick forward I. *Usage*: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shó? [shó?] *agrAv.* wash II. *Usage*: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by

dative.

shé?w [shé?w] *agrAv.* cut fruit into pieces II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shó?y [shó?y] *loc.noun.* refers to the positional closeness of a referent in relation to another referent. *Usage:* follows a NP.

shó?y [shó?y] *agrAv.* kick forward II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shî [shî] *n.* oil.

shí (*from:* shí) [shí] *n.* sesame.

shíbríthæ?y (*from:* shírbíthæ?y) [shíbríthæ?y] *n.* blackberry fruit.

shídónghyók [shídónghyók] *n.* marriage by eloping.

shîèy [shîèy] *agrSv.* quarrel I/II. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shík [shík] *n.* winter.

shík [shík] *agrAv.* pluck I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shíkdútdút [shíkdútdút] *adv.* utterly insipid.

shíkéypúná [shíkéypúná] *agrAv.* scold I. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shíkéypúnák [shíkéypúnák] *agrAv.* scold II. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shíkkhâ [shíkkhâ] *n.* education. [*Note:* a loan from Bangla]

shíkshíthæ?y [shíkshíthæ?y] *n.* jujube fruit.

shîl [shîl] *agrAv.* infix II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shîl [shîl] *agrAv.* infix I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shîlshúkshúk [shîlshúkshúk] *n.* unhelathy.

shím [shím] *summative.* SUM (as much).

shîm [shîm] *agrAv.* collect honey I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).

shím [shím] *agrAv.* collect honey II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shímí [shímí] *n.* ant.

shìmúk [shìmúk] *n.* bamboo partridge.

shímúkdará [shímúkdará] *n.* sea. [*Note:* a loan from Bangla]

shín [shín] *agrAv.* carry with hand II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shín [shín] *agrAv.* touch II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shín [shín] *agrAv.* carry with hand I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shín [shín] *agrAv.* touch I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shîn [shîn] *agrAv.* convey II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shîn [shîn] *agrAv.* convey I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shíndâ [shíndâ] *n.* tension. [*Note:* a loanword from Bangla]

shíntâ [shíntâ] *n.* tension. [*Note:* a loan from Bangla]

shíôl [shíôl] *n.* necklace.

shíwshíw [shíwshíw] *onomat.* sound of infusing burning things.

shí? [shí?; shi?] *agrAv.* pluck II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

sh'lápô [sh'lápô] *n.* village doctor.

shò [shò] *agrAv.* look I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shò (*from:* shò (check)) [shò] *agrSv.* struggle.

shó [shó] *causative.* CAUS II.

shó [shó] *agrAv.* build/make I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shó₁ [shó] *n.* 1) wild pig, meat. *Usage:* wild pig.

shò [shò] *n.* veranda.

shò [shò] *agrAv.* wear lower garments I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shô [shô] *v.suff.* marks a predicate.

shô [shô] *elab.expr.* EE.

shóbshómôy [shóbshómôy] *adv.* always. [*Note:* a loanwprd frpm Bangla]

shók [shók] *agrAv.* take water (with pot or same sort) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shók [shók] *n.* life.

shók [shók; shók] *agrAv.* wear lower garments II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shók [shók] *agrAv.* build/make II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shòk [shòk] *causative.* CAUS I.

shókbók [shókbók; shokbok] *n.* Cobra.

shókí [shókí] *n.* deer.

shókrâ [shókrâ] *n.* Friday.

shôl [fôl] *n.* uncultivated field. *Usage:* a transitive

verb.
shól [shól] *agrAv.* revile I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shólây [shólây] *n.* soldier.
shólóthæ?y [shólóthæ?y] *n.* rige gourd fruit.
shómítí [shómítí] *n.* cooperative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shómklæt [shómklæt] *n.* tree frog.
shóng [shóng] *agrAv.* put into stove (rice pot) II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shông [shông] *agrAv.* put into stove (rice pot) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shóng [jón] *n.* a group of animals. *Usage:* a collective noun.
shóng [shóng] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cutting vegetables into small cubes II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shông [shông] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cutting vegetables into small cubes I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shóngêy [shóngêy] *agrAv.* fear (for being careful) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shóngêy [shóngêy] *agrAv.* fear (for being careful) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shónggrám [shónggrám] *n.* struggle. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shóngshâr [shóngshâr] *n.* family. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shóphú [shóphú] *n.* pangolin.
shórgâr [shórgâr] *n.* government. [Note: A loan from Bangl]
shórí [shórí] *agrSv.* move on (B) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shóshêshê [shóshêshê] *adv.* utterly ugly.
shót [shót] *n.* door.
shót [shót] *agrAv.* to look at something attentively. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shót [shót] *agrAv.* hack/cut horizontally I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shów [shów] *n.* sagu.
shôw [shôw] *agrSv.* be long I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
shówhyónghyông [shówhyónghyông] *adv.* utterly

long.
shóy [shóy] *agrAv.* hang one with another II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shôy [shôy] *agrAv.* hang one with another I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shóynó [shóynó] *n.* soldier.
shó? [shó?] *agrAv.* spit II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative ; -shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shó? [shó?] *agrAv.* take water (with pot or same sort) II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shó? [shó?] *agrAv.* spit I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shó? [shó?] *agrAv.* hack/cut horizontally II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shò?âl [shò?âl] *agrAv.* throw out of mouth II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shò?âl [shò?âl] *agrAv.* throw out of mouth I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shó?l [shó?l] *agrAv.* revile II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shó?ng (from: shó?ng (check)) [shó?ng] *agrAv.* put on head.
shó?púngpûng [shó?púngpûng] *adv.* utterly thick (width).
shú [shú] *n.* vagina.
shúák [shúák] *n.* vaginal fluid.
shúbúthæ?y [shúbúthæ?y] *n.* Indian gooseberry.
shúgrí [shúgrí] *n.* owner. [Note: a loan from Marma]
shúk [shúk] *n.* happiness.
shúk [shúk] *agrAv.* hit (vertically) II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúk [shúk] *agrSv.* end (road) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
shúk [shúk] *agrAv.* hit (vertically) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shùk [shùk] *agrAv.* grind II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shùk [shùk] *agrAv.* grind I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shúkhó [shúkhó] *n.* thief.
shúm [shúm] *superlative.* SUP.
shúm [shúm] *agrAv.* use II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúm [shúm] *agrAv.* use I. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shûm [shûm] *n.* grinder.
shúmshúkhol [shúmshúkhol] *n.* rice pounder.
shún [shún] *agrAv.* stab II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shûn [shûn] *agrAv.* stab I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúndróát [shúndróát] *n.* name of an ornament.
shûng [shûng] *n.* turtle.
shèngnák [shèngnák] *agrAv.* spatter II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shèngnák [shèngnák] *agrAv.* spatter I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúp [shúp] *agrAv.* count I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúrzómóní [shúrzómóní] *n.* Surjomoni.
shúshá [shúshá] *agrSv.* be cured I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

shút [shút] *n.* interest (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shùt [shùt] *agrAv.* strip I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shùtêy [shùtêy] *agrSv.* retract I/I. *Usage:* -ná; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
shúy [júy] *agrAv.* look for something II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shûy [júy] *agrAv.* look for something I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shûy [shûy] *agrAv.* polish/plane I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shú? [shú?] *agrAv.* strip II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shú? [shú?] *n.* prayers.
shú? [shú?] *agrAv.* count II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shú?y [shú?y] *agrAv.* polish/plane II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shú?y [shú?y] *n.* friend.
skúl [skúl] *n.* school. [Note: a loan from English through Bangla]
súrí [súrí] *n.* knife.

T - t

tá [tá] *n.* elder brother.
tá [tá] *n.* grandfather.
tá [tá] *agrAv.* tell I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
tæ [tæ] *agrAv.* send I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tæ [tæ] *uncer.suff.* UNCT.
táál [táál] *substitutive.* SUB.
tæbæ?y [tæbæ?y] *n.* disciple.
tágóngngthæ?y [tágóngngthæ?y] *n.* lady's finger fruit.
ták [ták] *agrAv.* to inform someone. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).
tækpákshêy [tækpákshêy] *n.* bay leaf.
tálanggúní [tálanggúní] *n.* Sunday.
tálanglâ [tálanglâ] *n.* Monday.
tæm [tæm] *n.* time (E).
tán [tán] *num.class.* class.
tán [tán] *agrAv.* cut (paddy) II. *Usage:* -nák

(INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tân [tân] *agrAv.* cut (paddy) I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tân [tân] *n.* cloth drying rope/bamboo.
tánêy (from: tánêy) [tánêy] *agrSv.* be bent down across a road I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
táng [tán] *n.* monitor lizard. *Varanus bengalensis.* *Usage:* a nominal.
tâng [tâng] *n.* giant bamboo.
tánhláng [tánhláng] *n.* steep place.
tánkhong (from: tánkhong) [tánkhong] *elab.expr.* trial.
tánkhú [tánkhú] *n.* qualification (meta).
tânkhú [tánkhú; tankhu] *n.* third month in the Hyow calendar.
tánléyák [tánléyák] *n.* eleventh grade, odd thing.

tánlýchí? [tánlýchí?] *n.* 12th grade.
tánów [tánów] *n.* brothers.
tánshá [tánshá] *agrSv.* have minstrels I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
tánshóngbú? [tánshóngbú?] *n.* tenth month in the Hyow calendar.
táphákhléng [táphákhléng] *adv.* immediately.
tápkún [tápkún] *n.* cooking place.
tár [tár] *n.* harmony.
târ [târ] *dem.pro.* that POSS (B).
tátthá?y [tátthá?y] *n.* lakoocha.
tátthá?y [tátthá?y] *n.* kind of fig fruit.
têw [têw] *onomat.* sound of plucking.
tây [tây] *agrAv.* tear I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
tá? [tá?] *agrAv.* remember II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
tá? [tá?] *agrAv.* remember I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
té? [té?] *n.* reed roof.
té? [té?] *agrAv.* send II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tè? [tè?] *agrAv.* hate II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tè? [tè?] *agrAv.* hate I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
tá?á [tá?á] *n.* taka. [Note: a loan from Bangla . The local word is 'ápæ']
tá?áyôm [tá?áyôm] *n.* necklace with a pendant of penny.
tá?y [tá?y] *agrAv.* tear II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
t'ba [t'ba] *n.* cent (M).
té [té] *agrAv.* set up II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
té [té] *agrAv.* set up I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tô [tô] *n.* medicine.
tô [tô] *n.* tobacco.
tébá?y [tébá?y] *n.* disciple.
tèbré [tèbré] *n.* country (M). [Note: a loan from Marma]
tók [tók] *agrAv.* refers to the action of combatting using traditional instruments. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BE; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dativeN).
tók [tók] *agrAv.* refers to the action of combatting using traditional instruments. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tòk [tòk] *agrAv.* coerce II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by

dative.

tòk [tòk] *agrAv.* coerce I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tékkyá [tékkýá] *n.* hat/cap.
téktren [téktren] *n.* woodpecker.
tóm [tóm] *agrAv.* chase someone. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóm [tóm] *agrAv.* chase someone. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tòmâl [tòmâl] *agrAv.* drive away/divorce II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
tòmâl [tòmâl] *agrAv.* expell II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
tómâl [tómâl] *agrAv.* drive away/divorce II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tómâl [tómâl] *agrAv.* drive away/divorce I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tómâl [tómâl] *agrAv.* expell I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
tómêy [tómêy] *agrAv.* make a company forever II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
tómêy [tómêy] *agrAv.* make a company forever I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
tòmêy [tòmêy] *agrSv.* compete in a race I/II. *Usage:* -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
tón [tón] *num.class.* a numeral classifier (one place). *Usage:* a numeral classifier for place.
tóná? [tóná?] *quantifier.* every (place).
tóng [tóng] *n.* pillar.
tóng [tóng] *agrAv.* refers to the cutting of branches of a tree II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóng [tóng] *agrAv.* refers to the cutting of branches of a tree I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóng [tóng] *agrAv.* refers to the legal process of punishing a criminal. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóng [tóng] *agrAv.* refers to the legal process of punishing a criminal. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóngá? [tóngá?] *quantifier.* every (time/frequency). *Usage:* can be used without the numeral for one.
tóngbông [tóngbông] *agrAv.* assess II. *Usage:* *-nak; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóngbông [tóngbông] *agrAv.* consult II. *Usage:* *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóngbông [tóngbông] *agrAv.* assess I. *Usage:* *-ná;

shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóngbông [tóngbông] *agrAv.* consult I. *Usage:* *-ná; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tònggêy [tònggêy] *agrAv.* want justice II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

tónggêy [tónggêy] *agrAv.* want justice I. *Usage:* *-nák.

tóntónâ [tóntónâ] *adv.* rise quickly.

tów [tów] *n.* a large area that is full of trees and bushes, forest. *Usage:* a forest.

tôy [tôy; tøy] *agrSv.* a process of bring an egg forth. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

tóyung [tóyung] *n.* herbal medicine.

tó? [tó?] *case.cl.* LIM.

tó? [tó?] *persuasive.* PERS.

tó?w [tó?w] *agrAv.* forward II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

tó?w [tó?w] *agrAv.* forward I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

thá [thá] *n.* strentgh.

thákí?wkí?w [thákí?wkí?w] *adv.* utterly new.

tháktsí? [tháktsí?] *adv.* exactly.

thálbók [thálbók] *n.* plate (B+H).

thám [thám] *agrAv.* grabble II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thám [thám] *agrAv.* grabble II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thámkhá [thámkhá] *n.* main entrance.

thánggóá? [thánggóá?] *n.* door.

thánghláy [thánghláy] *n.* sugarcane.

thánthé?y [thánthé?y] *n.* palm fruit.

thánthîng [thánthîng] *n.* palm tree.

tháshá [tháshá] *adv.* very. [Note: a loan from local Bangla]

thé?y [thé?y] *n.* fruit.

thókáewkáew [thókáewkáew] *adv.* utterly sour.

thôl [thôl] *agrSv.* be slippery I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

thólyúngyung [thólyúngyung] *adv.* utterly slippery.

thón [thón] *linker.* CONCESS.

thón [thón] *agrAv.* plow II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thôn [thôn] *agrAv.* plow I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thónâ [thónâ] *linker.* CONCESS.

thét [thét] *agrAv.* keep in a gap I. *Usage:* -ná

(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thétthô [thétthô] *agrAv.* pray II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT).

thétthô [thétthô] *agrAv.* pray I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

thêy [thêy] *n.* hunter (dog). *Usage:* a transitive verb.

thé? [thé?] *agrAv.* keep in a gap II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó?l [thó?l] *agrAv.* tree from a mountain slope. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó?l [thó?l] *agrAv.* tree from a mountain slope. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thé?y [thé?y] *agrAv.* get conscience II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

thé?y [thé?y] *sciotive.* know how to.

thé?y [thé?y] *agrAv.* get conscience I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

thé?yâ [thé?yâ] *loc.noun.* refers to the exact place of penetration by the referent. *Usage:* follows a NP and is used only with the noun alay 'middle.

thí [thí] *n.* iron.

thì [thì] *n.* umbrella.

thî [thî] *n.* blood.

thí [thí] *agrAv.* kick II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thî [thî] *agrAv.* kick I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thìk [thìk] *agrAv.* comb I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thíng [thíng] *n.* ginger.

thîng₁ [thîng] *n.* tree. *Usage:* a common noun.

thínghók [thínghók] *n.* cinnamon.

thíngúphô [thíngúphô] *n.* tree frog.

thíphléwhlêw [thíphléwhlêw] *adv.* utterly spicy.

thíwáy dô [thíwáy dô] *n.* densed forest.

thí? [thí?] *agrAv.* comb II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thí? (from: thí? (check)) [thí?] *agrAv.* roll rope.

thó [thó] *agrAv.* grate II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] *agrAv.* rinse II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] *agrAv.* rinse I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

- thó** [thó] *agrAv.* grate II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thó** [thó] *agrAv.* grate I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thó** [thó] *agrAv.* make reach II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thô** [thô] *agrAv.* make reach I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thô** [thô] *v.suff.* marks a predicate. *Usage:* attaches to the verb.
- thók** [thók] *agrSv.* to get out of a source or a place. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- thók** [thók] *conj.* than. *Usage:* *-na.
- thók** [thók] *agrSv.* itch I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- thól** [thól] *agrAv.* flip over II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thól** [thól] *agrAv.* flip over I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thól** [thól] *n.* bow.
- thóltâm** [thóltâm] *n.* arrow.
- thón** [thón] *agrSv.* happen I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- thón** [thón] *agrAv.* give/put into II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thôn** [thôn] *agrAv.* give/put into I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thônêy** [thônêy] *agrSv.* to begin to be formed to something. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- thônêy** [thônêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of wearing any ornaments on the body. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thônêy** [thônêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of wearing any ornaments on the body. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thông** [thông] *n.* jail.
- thóng** [thóng] *agrAv.* deepen II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thóng** [thóng] *agrAv.* deepen I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thóp** [thóp] *agrAv.* put one over another II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thóp** [thóp] *n.* layer/part/piece/segment.
- thóp** [thóp] *agrAv.* put one over another I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thów** [thów] *agrSv.* be fat I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST).
- thów** (from: thów) [thów] *agrSv.* get up I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- thó?** [thó?] *agrAv.* take out something from a place. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thó?** [thó?] *agrAv.* take out something from a place. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thó?** (from: thó? (check)) [thó?] *agrAv.* create.
- thó?** [thó?] *agrAv.* dislike II. *Usage:* *-nák.
- thó?** [thó?] *agrAv.* dislike I. *Usage:* *-ná.
- thó?w** [thó?w] *loc.noun.* refers to the source of a referent. *Usage:* follows a NP and does not take a case clitic.
- thò?w** [thò?w] *agrAv.* lift up someone II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thò?w** [thò?w] *agrAv.* lift up someone I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thú** [thú] *agrAv.* decompose/rot II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thû** [thû] *agrAv.* decompose/rot I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thúk** [thúk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning someone's head. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thúk** [thúk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning someone's head. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thúkêy** [thúkêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning one's own head. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thúkêy** [thúkêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cleaning one's own head. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- thúkêy** [thúkêy] *agrAv.* bolt II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
- thúkêy** [thúkêy] *agrAv.* bolt I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- thûl** [thûl] *agrAv.* alter/exchange II. *Usage:* -nák

(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúl [thúl] *agrAv.* alter/exchange I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúlthúlâ [thúlthúlâ] *adv.* manner of beating.

thûm [thûm] *numeral.* three. *Usage:* a number.

thúmdóldôl [thúmdóldôl] *adv.* utterly blunt.

thûn [thûn] *n.* chert.

thúnámkók [thúnámkók] *n.* lime pot.

thûng [thûng] *n.* custom.

thúng [thúng] *agrAv.* brush off II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thâng [thâng] *agrAv.* brush off I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúnggíb [thúnggíb] *numeral.* thirty.

thúp [thúp] *agrAv.* hide I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúpêy [thúpêy] *agrSv.* hide I/II. *Usage:* -ná/-nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thú? [thú?] *agrAv.* hide II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thú?l [thú?l] *agrAv.* enter something into a hole II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thú?l [thú?l] *agrAv.* enter something into a hole II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thú?thú?thú? [thú?thú?thú?] *onomat.* sound of spit.

tí [tí] *evid.suff.* an evidential suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb.

tí [tí] *nonrepetitive.* anymore.

tí [tí; ti] *agrAv.* say II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

tí [tí] *neg.suff.* 2SG NEG.

tí [tí] *agrAv.suff.* 2SG A.

tí [tí; ti] *agrAv.* say I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

tíêy [tíêy] *elab.expr.* become.

tíhú?y [tíhú?y] *adv.* like said.

tíng [tíng] *quot.part.* a quotative particle that marks a reported speech. *Usage:* expresses the reported speech.

títítót [títítót] *n.* river lapwing.

títú? [títú?] *temp.word.* day after tomorrow.

tí? [tí?] *nom.suff.* 2) agentive nominalizer. *Usage:* a nominalizer that is used to derive agentive nominal from a verb.

tí? [tí?] *num.suff.* denotes the plural nominal

referent, plural suffix. phrow-tí? friends *Usage:* attaches to a nominal constituent to mark the plurality.

tí? [tí?] *n.* same size. [Note: cannot be used freely]

t'ná [t'ná] *temp.word.* sometime.

tó [tó] *agrAv.* to place something somewhere. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóbé [tóbé] *conj.* CONJ (B). [Note: loanword from Bangla]

tóbôl [tóbôl] *n.* drum (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]

tóbông [tóbông] *n.* second month in the Hyow calendar.

tóbóthûy [tóbóthûy] *n.* first month in the Hyow calendar.

tóhá [tóhá] *n.* jungle potato.

tók [tók] *agrAv.* poke with horns I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

tók [tók] *agrAv.* to place something somewhere. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tók [tók] *agrAv.* shun I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tòk [tòk] *agrAv.* think II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tòk [tòk] *agrAv.* weave I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tòk [tòk] *agrAv.* think I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tól [tól] *num.cls.* CLS (da).

tóm [tóm] *agrAv.* wrap II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóm [tóm] *agrAv.* wrap I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tôn [tôn] *n.* price.

tôn [tôn] *n.* shin.

tónêy [tónêy] *agrSv.* be required (time) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

tóng [tóng] *n.* basket.

tông [tông] *agrAv.* cast/throw II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tông [tông] *agrAv.* cast/throw I. *Usage:* -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóng [tóng] *agrAv.* keep over II. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

- tóng** [tóng] *agrAv.* keep over I. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tònggêy** [tònggêy] *agrAv.* pray II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tònggêy** [tònggêy] *agrAv.* pray I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tóngphák** [tóngphák] *n.* north.
- tóngshó** [tóngshó] *n.* highlander.
- tónmây** [tónmây] *n.* calf.
- tóy** [tóy] *n.* squat.
- tòy** [tòy] *n.* bamboo shoot.
- tóy** [tóy] *elab.expr.* stay.
- tóyón** [tóyón] *temp.word.* the present night, tonight.
- tóyshúmshúm** [tóyshúmshúm] *adv.* utterly short.
- tó?** [tó?] *agrAv.* poke with horns II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
- tó?** [tó?] *agrAv.* weave II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tó?** [tó?] *agrAv.* shun II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tó?shálâng** [tó?shálâng] *n.* eighth month in the Hyow calendar.
- tó?shó** [tó?shó] *n.* a hunting place, where hunters go to hunt animals. *Usage:* a noun.
- tó?y** [tó?y] *agrAv.* make short/brief II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tó?y** [tó?y] *agrSv.* be sunk in mud I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
- tó?y** [tó?y] *agrAv.* make short/brief I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- trá** [trá] *n.* trial.
- trák** [trák] *n.* truck (E).
- tránggóní** [tránggóní] *n.* Tuesday.
- tránglâ** [tránglâ] *n.* Monday.
- tsá** [tsá] *agrAv.* to get rid of water or moisture from something. *Usage:* -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsá** [tsá] *elab.expr.* wear.
- tsá** [tsá] *agrAv.* to get rid of water or moisture from something. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsáé** [tsáé] *agrAv.* pour in drops II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsáé** [tsáé] *agrAv.* pour in drops I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsáé** [tsáé] *agrSv.* fall in drops I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsâé** [tsâé] *topic.* topicality marking clitic. *Usage:* attaches to a noun, noun phrase or verbal phrase to mark the topicality of the phrase.
- tsâé** [tsâé] *imp.verb.* let's go.
- tsák** [tsák] *completive.* complete, all.
- tsák** [tsák] *n.* Chak.
- tsákêy** [tsákêy] *agrSv.* move I/II.
- tsáktsáka** (from: tsáktsákâ) [tsáktsáka] *adv.* in drops.
- tsál** [tsál] *agrSv.* refuse I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
- tsâel** [tsâel] *agrAv.* thresh I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsâel** [tsâel] *n.* tablet for fermentation.
- tsámánák** [tsámánák] *n.* black sesame.
- tsán** [tsán] *agrAv.* bring up II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsân** [tsân] *agrAv.* bring up I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsáng** [tsáng] *agrSv.* be old (age) I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
- tsáp** [tsáp] *agrAv.* prop II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsáp** [tsáp] *agrAv.* prop I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsàt** [tsàt] *agrAv.* begin I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsátting** [tsátting] *adv.* bite quickly.
- tsáttsátâ** [tsáttsátâ] *adv.* manner of biting. [Note: For striking with beak or snake]
- tsá?** [tsá?] *agrAv.* begin II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsáé?** [tsáé?] *agrAv.* thresh II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsá?lêy** [tsá?lêy] *agrAv.* argue I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsá?lêy** [tsá?lêy] *agrAv.* argue II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsó** [tsó] *agrSv.* be soaked in water I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsô** [tsô] *n.* grave.

tsébré [tsébré] *n.* foxtail.

tsók [tsók] *agrAv.* teach II. *Usage:* -nák 'learn.II'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsók [tsók] *agrAv.* teach I. *Usage:* -ná 'learn.I'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsòk [tsòk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of searching a person or a thing. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsòk [tsòk] *agrAv.* refers to the action of searching a person or a thing. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsòkná [tsòkná] *agrAv.* learn I. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsòknák [tsòknák] *agrAv.* learn II. *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsên [tsên] *agrSv.* flee I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

tsên [tsên] *n.* endpoint.

tsép [tsép] *agrAv.* suck II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsép [tsép] *agrAv.* suck I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsèp [tsèp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of holding something like a crab or a pair of chopsticks. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsèp [tsèp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of holding something like a crab or a pair of chopsticks. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsètêy [tsètêy] *agrSv.* walk I/II. *Usage:* -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

tsétshók [tsétshók] *agrAv.* tighten II. *Usage:* -nák-shók (INST)/(SPNT).

tsétshók [tsétshók] *agrAv.* tighten I. *Usage:* -ná-shók (INST)/(SPNT).

tsótsûm [tsótsûm] *n.* death ceremony.

tséttsô [tséttsô] *agrAv.* take care II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tséttsô [tséttsô] *n.* meditation.

tséttsô [tséttsô] *n.* agreement.

tséttsô [tséttsô] *agrAv.* take care I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsów [tsów] *agrSv.* be knocked off I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

tsôw [tsôw] *onomat.* sound of throwing away a top.

tsêy [tsêy] *n.* elder sister's husband.

tsó? [tsó?] *agrAv.* sow II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsó? [tsó?] *agrAv.* sow I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsò? [tsò?] *agrAv.* bite II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsò? [tsò?] *agrAv.* bite I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsí [tsí] *freq.suff.* *FREQ.*

tsí [tsí] *adv.* each.

tsí [tsí] *adv.* regularly.

tsí [tsí] *n.* salt.

tsì [tsì] *agrAv.* take. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsígâ [tsígâ] *temp.word.* a little while ago.

tsíî [tsíî] *n.* greening.

tsîm [tsîm] *n.* da.

tsîm [tsîm] *agrSv.* collapse (landslide) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC).

tsímkhâ [tsímkhâ] *n.* da without the butt.

tsímlé [tsímlé] *n.* fermented liquid.

tsíng [tsíng] *n.* drum.

tsíng lé (from: lé) [lé] *agrAv.* announce II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT), which refers to the man who performs the action, as in *kêy èy=êng tsíng ké-lé-nák-khô* 'I made announcement by him'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsíng lé (from: lé) [lé] *agrAv.* announce I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT), which refers to the man who performs the action; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: some people say 'lêng']

tsíngdídî (from: tsintsíngdídî) [tsíngdídî] *adv.* utterly densed (distance).

tsíngphrú [tsíngphrú] *n.* Chingphru.

tsíni [tsíni] *n.* Saturday.

tsíp [tsíp] *n.* hope, wish.

tsíp [tsíp] *agrSv.* be powdered I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

tsítsên [tsítsên] *n.* lineage.

tsí? [tsí?] *n.* breast.

tsí? [tsí?] *agrAv.* take. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsì? [tsì?] *n.* milk.

tsí?tûy [tsí?tûy] *n.* spit.

tsò [tsò] *elab.expr.* EE.

tsô [tsô] *disc.part.* see.

tsó [tsó] *n.* lesson/book.

- tsò** [tsò] *elab.expr.* place.
- tsò₁** [tsò] *dim.suff.* a nominal suffix that marks something small in size. *Usage:* a diminutive is used to mark the small size of a nominal referent.
- tsò₁** [tsò] *n.* baby.
- tsògrómá?** [tsògrómá?] *n.* bastard girl (M). [Note: a loan from Marma]
- tsók** [tsók] *n.* whatever birds eat. *Usage:* a noun.
- tsókyó** [tsókyó] *n.* a glass of bamboo.
- tsóli** [tsóli] *n.* job. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
- tsóm** [tsóm] *examinative.* EXM.
- tsóm** [tsóm] *agrAv.* taste II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsóm** [tsóm] *agrAv.* taste I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsómshi** [tsómshí] *n.* thick bamboo pipe.
- tsón** [tsón] *agrSv.* run I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy-nák 'agrAv' (make the applied O romp); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsón** [tsón] *agrSv.* refers to spread of any smell. *Usage:* *-ná; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsónây** [tsónây] *agrSv.* roam around I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); -pûy-nák 'agrAv' (A roams around along with the applied O); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsóng** [tsóng] *agrAv.* guard II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsông** [tsông] *agrAv.* wait II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsóng** [tsóng] *agrAv.* graze II. *Usage:* -nák SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsông** [tsông] *agrAv.* guard I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsông** [tsông] *agrAv.* graze I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsông** [tsông] *agrAv.* wait I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsóng** [tsóng] *n.* paddy.
- tsông** [tsông] *n.* rice.
- tsóngkôw** [tsóngkôw] *n.* winnowing fan.
- tsóngkôy** [tsóngkôy] *n.* wild potato.
- tsóngkrông** [tsóngkrông] *n.* young man.
- tsóngpô** [tsóngpô] *n.* hemp.
- tsóngthôw** [tsóngthôw] *n.* bini rice.
- tsónhlâ** [tsónhlâ] *agrSv.* romp I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy-nák 'agrAv' (A romps along with the applied O for nothing /without any purpose); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsòp** [tsòp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cutting bones. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsòp** [tsòp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of cutting bones. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsóshéntsô** [tsóshéntsô] *n.* infant.
- tsóshûn** [tsóshûn] *n.* writing rules of god.
- tsôt** [tsôt] *agrAv.* burn I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsôt** [tsôt] *agrAv.* make enter continuously (leaves into a hole) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsôt** [tsôt] *agrAv.* make enter continuously (leaves into a hole) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsótsótpápót** [tsótsótpápót] *adv.* scattily.
- tsów** [tsów] *agrAv.* dig I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsôy** [tsôy] *agrAv.* illuminate (light, candle, etc). *Usage:* shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsóybây** [tsóybây] *n.* orchard grass.
- tsó?** [tsó?] *n.* trap.
- tsó?** [tsó?] *agrAv.* burn II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsó?w** [tsó?w] *agrAv.* dig II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsráp** [tsráp] *n.* resting place of monsters.
- tsú** [tsú; tsu] *dem.pro.* 2) a distall demonstrative pronoun, that. *Usage:* to indicate a place that cannot be seen from the place of speaking.
- tsù** [tsù] *n.* habit.
- tsû** [tsû] *agrAv.suff.* 2PL.
- tsû** [tsû] *agrSv.suff.* 2PL.
- tsû** [tsû] *agrSv.* referes to the action of jumping from a highland to a lowland. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
- tsû** [tsû] *neg.suff.* 2PL NEG.
- tsúbô** (from: tsúbó) [tsúbó] *adv.* that way.
- tsúhó?y** [tsúhó?y] *pers.pro.* 3DL DIST.

tsúhnú [tsúhnú] *n.* daughter, girl.
tsúm [tsúm] *agrAv.* ride II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsúm [tsúm] *agrAv.* ride I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsúmêy [tsúmêy] *agrSv.* be gathered I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsúmkûn [tsúmkûn] *n.* space above false ceiling.
tsúmpúhō [tsúmpúhō] *n.* emerald cuckoo.
tsúmtsâ [tsúmtsâ] *n.* monster.
tsún [tsún] *agrAv.* pack II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsûn [tsûn] *agrAv.* pack I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsûn [tsûn] *temp.word.* day before yesterday.
tsûnêy [tsûnêy] *agrAv.* endure II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsûnêy [tsûnêy] *agrAv.* endure I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsúng [tsúng] *agrAv.* store II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsúng [tsúng] *agrAv.* store I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsûng [tsûng] *agrAv.* set a trap II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsûng [tsûng] *agrAv.* set a trap I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsúpú [tsúpú] *n.* brothe-in-law (husband's younger brother).
tsúttsún [tsúttsún] *n.* pouch.
tsú? [tsú?] *n.* mound.
tú [tú] *n.* nephew.
tú [tú] *n.* grandchild.
tú [tú] *agrAv.* cut bamboo I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tú [tú] *agrAv.* to make someone dead. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tú [tú] *temp.word.* refers to the present time. *Usage:* follows a NP and is not compatible with the inessive case.
tú [tú] *agrAv.* push (crowd) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tú [tú] *agrAv.* push (crowd) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tû [tû] *iterative.* an iterative aspectual marker.
túêy [túêy] *agrSv.* resemble I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
túk [túk] *agrAv.* cut bamboo II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
túk [túk] *agrAv.* to make someone dead. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
túkát [túkát] *temp.word.* refers to the time of present trend.
túkúngkúk [túkúngkúk] *onomat.* calling of dove.
túl [túl] *agrAv.* swing I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
túm [túm] *agrAv.* play instrument II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
túm [túm] *agrAv.* play instrument I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tûm [tûm] *agrAv.* make plait II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tûm [tûm] *agrAv.* make plait I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
túmû [túmû] *temp.word.* this evening.
tún [tún] *n.* period/time. [Note: similar as 'hñung' (time)]
tún [tún] *agrAv.* push II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tûn [tûn] *agrAv.* push I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tún [tún] *agrAv.* measure II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tân [tân] *n.* (day/night) long.
tân [tân] *agrAv.* measure I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
túp [túp] *n.* hat.
tútúk [tútúk] *agrSv.* throb I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
tâw [tâw] *onomat.* sound of bamboo cutting.
tûy [tûy] *n.* water.
túybó [túybó] *n.* water quay.
túykúpúp [túykúpúp] *adv.* utterly sweet.
túytsók [túytsók] *n.* bamboo water-glass.
tú? [tú?] *agrAv.* infuse forcefully II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS),

- where the causee is marked by dative.
tú? [tú?] *agrAv.* infuse forcefully I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tú? [tú?] *agrAv.* swing II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tú?ûm [tú?ûm] *n.* gourd jug.

- tú?ûy** [tú?ûy] *n.* tiger.
twá? [twá?] *agrAv.* tie II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
twá? [twá?] *agrAv.* tie I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

U - u

- u** [u] *gr.pref.* a generic-relational prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.
u [u] *agrAv.pref.* third person singular A argument marker.
u [u] *poss.pref.* 3SG.
ú [ú; a; u] *agrSv.pref.* third person singular S argument marker.
ú [ú] *agrAv.suff.* 3PL.
ú [ú] *neg.suff.* 3PL NEG.
ú [ú] *agrSv.suff.* 3PL.
ú [ú] *interr.pro.* who.
ú [ú] *agrSv.suff.* 3PL.
ú [ú] *agrAv.pref.* third person singular A argument marker.
ú [ú] *agrSv.* hail I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -ná (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
ú [ú] *neg.suff.* 3PL NEG.
ú [ú] *intj.* yes.
ùá [ùá] *indef.pro.* none.
ùá bâng [ùá bâng] *conj.* whomever.
ùbâng [ùbâng] *conj.* whoever.
úddâr [úddâr] *n.* rescue (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
ùdùk (from: dùk) [dùk] *loc.noun.* an inner side or part of a place or structure. *Usage:* follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locative case. [Note: èy dùkâ 'inside that', but èy dùkóngkó? 'through that's inside']
úh [úh] *exclam.expr.* an exclamatory expression.
úhám [úhám; uham] *n.* toad.
úhlûm (from: hlûm) [hlûm] *n.* bush.
úhmûy (from: hmûy) [hmûy] *n.* tree trunk.
úhú [úhú:] *exclam.expr.* a feeling of good work.
úhúl (from: húl) [húl] *agrSv.* be dry I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úhúm (from: húm) [húm] *n.* unpounded paddy.
ùk [ùk] *agrSv.* cheer/exhilarate I/I. *Usage:* -ná

- (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
úkâw [úkâw] *n.* small frog.
ùkêy [ùkêy] *agrSv.* belch I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT);.
úkhîl [úkhîl] *n.* advocate. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
úkhô [úkhô] *n.* tiny loin.
úkhrûng (from: khrûng) [khrûng] *loc.noun.* refere to the higher position of a referent in respect of another referent where the two referents are attached. *Usage:* follows a NP, but not compatible with the locative case.
úkhú? (from: khú?) [khú?] *n.* storey.
úkút (from: kút) [kút] *n.* hand.
úkát [ákát] *indef.pro.* indicates to most number of referents in a group. *Usage:* used as a head of a NP.
úlúm [úlúm] *n.* puffed rice.
úlu?y (from: lú?y) [lú?y] *agrSv.* be full I/II. *Usage:* *-ná; -ná 'agrAv' (LOC), as in hóythá?y lú?y - ná-tí? phít-lén á-ló 'Go to fetch the big basket in which mangoes are full'; follows a NP. [Note: hlú?y 'CAUS']
úmdông [úmdông] *n.* gourd leaf.
úmthá?y [úmthá?y] *n.* gourd fruit.
úmû (from: mû) [mû] *agrSv.* refers to the state of evening time or the time till people fall asleep. *Usage:* *-ná; follows a NP. [Note: mík-mû 'blind', zín-mû 'solar eclipse']
úmúm (from: múm) [múm] *n.* pain, ache.
úmún (from: mún) [mún] *agrSv.* be wrinkled I/II. *Usage:* -ná; follows a NP ; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úmú?y (from: mu?y) [mú?y] *n.* vapor.
úmyông [úmyông] *n.* gourd plant.
úngâ [úngâ] *agrSv.suff.* 1PL EXC. *Usage:* attaches to the verb for first person plural exclusive marker.
úngâ [úngâ] *neg.suff.* 1PL EXC NEG.
úngâ₂ [úngâ] *agrAv.suff.* first person plural suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb as a cross-referencing suffix.

únnóti (from: unnoti) [únnóti; unnoti] *n.* development. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
únshítháé?y [únshítháé?y] *n.* coconut fruit.
únúng (from: núng) [núng] *agrSv.* be much I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úphún (from: phún) [phún] *n.* virtue.
úpôr [úpôr] *loc.noun.* on (B). *Usage:* follows a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
úpûm (from: pûm) [pûm] *n.* own.
úshûl (from: shûl) [shûl] *n.* balloon.
úshûl (from: shûl) [shûl] *n.* bladder.
úshút (from: shút) [shút] *n.* queue.
út [út] *agrAv.* bloat I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úthú (from: thú) [thú] *agrSv.* be rotten I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
úthúk (from: thúk) [thúk] *agrSv.* refers to the deepness of a river, sea, etc. *Usage:* follows a NP to modify it ; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the

causee is marked by dative.

úthûm (from: thûm) [thûm] *agrSv.* be blunt I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP to modify it ; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
útsúm (from: tsúm) [tsúm] *n.* a group of two, pair. *Usage:* a noun.
útû [útû] *adv.* together. *Usage:* modifies the verb when an action is done by a group of actors together.
útúl (from: túl) [túl] *n.* hillock/mound.
útûm (from: tûm) [tûm] *n.* knot.
úwûy (from: wûy) [wûy] *n.* a share.
ûy [ûy] *n.* dog. *Usage:* a noun.
úyén [úyén] *n.* garden.
úylékétháé?y [úylékétháé?y] *n.* wood apple.
úynútsô [úynútsô] *n.* son of a bitch (slang).
úytsên [úytsên] *n.* puppy.
úyûm (from: yûm) [yûm] *n.* belief.
û? [û?] *agrAv.* bloat II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

W - w

wá [wá] *agrSv.* be light I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
wágyôt [wágyôt] *n.* ninth month in the Hyow calendar.
wákhông [wákhông] *n.* seventh month in the Hyow calendar.
wáló [wáló] *n.* thin mosquito net.
wámnê (from: nê) [nê] *agrAv.* huff II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
wámnê (from: nê) [nê] *agrAv.* huff I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
wántsék [wántsék] *adv.* circularly.
wáshó [wáshó] *n.* sixth month in the Hyow calendar.
wát [wát] *n.* cloth.
wát [wát] *agrAv.* wear II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wát [wát] *agrAv.* wear I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wátsîng [wátsîng] *n.* denser mosquito net.
wátsôytsôy [wátsôytsôy] *adv.* utterly bright.
wáy [wáy] *agrSv.* refers to the action of ascending around a tree by a creeper. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
wá?krûng [wá?krûng] *onomat.* calling of pigeon.
wóêy [wóêy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting blanket, shawl, etc. on one's body. *Usage:* -ná

(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wèt [wèt] *agrAv.* wry I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wéy [wéy] *agrAv.* stir II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wêy [wêy] *agrAv.* stir I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wêy [wêy] *n.* cradle.
wé? [wé?] *agrAv.* wry II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wó?êy [wó?êy] *agrAv.* refers to the action of putting blanket, shawl, etc. on one's body. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wé?y [wé?y] *agrSv.* fart I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), as in èy=lâ kêy è -wé?y-nák-khô 'He farted on me'.
wò [wò] *agrAv.* cut jungle I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wó [wó] *n.* Marma.

wók [wók] *agrAv.* cut jungle II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wòk [wòk] *n.* pig.
wók [wók] *n.* fox.
wòkêy [wòkêy] *agrSv.* crawl I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
wòkhêw [wòkhêw] *n.* adult male pig.
wòkphát [wòkphát] *n.* castrated pig.
wòm [wòm] *n.* burrow.
wómpôy [wómpôy] *n.* duck.
wón [wón] *n.* thing.
wóng [wóng] *agrAv.* surround II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wông [wông] *agrAv.* surround I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wông [wông] *n.* fence of a field.
wông [wông] *agrSv.* to move or go into a place. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST).
wóngwóngâ [wóngwóngâ] *adv.* vulnerable.
wóp [wóp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of mauling someone without any consideration. *Usage:* -nák

(INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wóp [wóp] *agrAv.* refers to the action of mauling someone without any consideration. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wót [wót] *agrAv.* receive II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wót [wót] *agrAv.* receive I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wówwôw [wówwôw] *onomat.* sound of thunder.

wó?tsô (*from:* wó?tsô (check)) [wó?tsô] *n.* already cut swidden field.

wúngwûng [wúngwûng] *onomat.* sound of flies flying over food.

wúy [wúy] *agrAv.* divide II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wûy [wûy] *agrAv.* divide I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

Y - y

yá [já] *interr.pro.* interrogative pronoun, why. *Usage:* indefinite pronoun.
yá [yá] *agrSv.* stand I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyá 'CAUS']
yâ [yâ] *num.cls.* refers to a piece or roll of betel.
yâe [yâe] *agrAv.* to exchange for money. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); the use of this suffix as an instrumental is only possible when a verb takes a directional prefix; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form I, finite verb]
yældíkdík [yældíkdík] *adv.* utterly cold.
yán [yán] *agrAv.* start II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
yân [yân] *agrAv.* start I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
yân [yân] *n.* cherishment.
yànnêy [yànnêy] *agrAv.* fancy II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).
yánnêy [yánnêy] *agrAv.* fancy I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
yáng [yáng] *agrSv.* be unusable I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
yâng [jâng] *agrSv.* be fast I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked

by dative.

yâng [yâng] *agrSv.* take oath I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

yángbông [yángbông] *elab.expr.* EE.

yángmálâ [yángmálâ] *n.* husband and wife, two lovers, couple.

yángshî [yángshî] *n.* a spinning game tool.

yáp [yáp] *agrSv.* be ruined I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyáp 'CAUS']

yáp [yáp] *n.* type/variety.

yápshô [yápshô] *n.* nation.

yát [yát] *agrSv.* be open I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

yăťsô? [yăťsô?] *n.* a tree like Nipa Palm.

yáy [yáy] *agrSv.* be slow I/II. *Usage:* follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

yă? (*from:* yá?) [yă?] *agrAv.* move by hand (bush) II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yă? (*from:* yá?) [yă?] *agrAv.* move by hand (b0ush) I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yǎ? [yǎ?] *agrAv.* to exchange something for money. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); can be used as an INST when the verb stem is attached with a directional prefix; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form II, infinite verb]

yǎ?kríkkrík [yǎ?kríkkrík] *adv.* utterly heavy.

yǎ?lílí [yǎ?lílí] *adv.* brightly.

yó [yó] *agrAv.* write I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yè [yè] *agrAv.* grope II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yè [yè] *agrAv.* grope I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yê [yê] *n.* bamboo.

yók [yók] *agrAv.* write II.

yøk [yøk] *agrAv.* pick up I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yón [yón] *agrAv.* sip II.

yèn [yèn] *agrAv.* sip I.

yêng [yêng] *n.* plant/creeper.

yóngêy [yóngêy] *agrSv.* feel cold I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

yây [yây] *n.* rope.

yǎ? [yǎ?] *agrAv.* pick up II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yǎ? [yǎ?] *elab.expr.* rice.

yîl [yîl] *agrAv.* anoint I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yîl [yîl] *agrAv.* anoint II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yó [yó] *agrAv.* to perceive a sound through the ears.

yøk [yøk] *n.* jug.

yók [yók] *agrAv.* to perceive a sound through the ears.

yókphá? [yókphá?] *n.* wife's younger brother.

yóng [yóng] *n.* monkey.

yóng [yóng] *n.* penis.

yóntó? [yóntó?] *temp.word.* yesterday.

yónthiá [yónthiá] *adv.* nightlong.

yóntsîng [yóntsîng] *n.* deep night.

yóntúmû [yóntúmû] *temp.word.* last evening.

yónyónâ [yónyónâ] *adv.* hurriedly.

yónyónâ ^{hngát pónóng hngát: one after one} [yónyónâ] *adv.* one by one.

yówyôw [yówyôw] *adv.* glitteringly.

yóyôw *agrSv.* glitter I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

yó? [yó?] *agrSv.* abate (sickness) I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

yûl [yûl] *agrSv.* get wet I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST), as in kú -yûl-nák-tí? tûy pôy-á? 'The water which made me wet was not good.'; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyûl 'CAUS']

yúm [yúm] *agrSv.* end I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

yùmêy [yùmêy] *agrAv.* believe II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT).

yùmêy [yùmêy] *agrAv.* believe I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).

yûng [yûng] *n.* root.

yúp [yúp] *agrSv.* be extinguished I/II. *Usage:* -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyúp 'CAUS']

yút [yút] *agrSv.* fall off I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

Ź

Źéy [Źéj] *agrAv.* a process of taking food into the mouth and swallowing it II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: no Form I/Form II distinction]

Źêy [Źêj] *agrAv.* a process of taking food into the mouth and swallowing it I. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: no Form I/Form II distinction]

Źóp [Źóp] *agrAv.* submit II. *Usage:* -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by

dative.

Źóp [Źóp] *agrAv.* submit I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

Appendix I: F₀ values and rhyme durations

	0%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	100%	D (ms)
hô (bird)	144	141	138	140	134	125	121	191
hâ (gold)	138	138	140	143	139	131	126	227
khâ (white ant)	147	144	141	138	133	128	124	232
kôm (free)	153	148	143	132	118	119	120	217
tsĩ (sis)	143	143	141	136	130	122	112	176
shĩ (sesame)	149	148	144	138	129	122	117	171
kĩ (parrot)	146	145	146	144	140	135	130	206
thĩ (blood)	153	151	153	153	148	139	134	209
ê (yes)	153	151	150	153	148	144	141	236
bê (slap)	153	151	151	149	145	140	136	188
bĩ (work)	167	162	163	160	148	139	132	238
tũ (kill)	169	171	179	174	158	148	139	210
MeanF0 (41)	151	149	149	147	139	133	128	208
SD (41)	9.07	9.27	11.78	11.88	11.22	9.47	9.17	22.94
DUR (41)	0	21	52	104	156	187	208	

Table 107: F0 values and mean duration in high falling tones in smooth syllables in EGH

	0%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	100%	D (ms)
hó (joke)	138	136	138	140	139	139	138	202
há (snacks)	134	133	135	136	136	135	135	187
tsó (documents)	136	136	136	136	137	136	136	197
tsĩ (take)	144	143	144	145	143	141	143	214
shĩ (oil)	142	144	146	145	144	143	142	237
thĩ (iron)	138	137	136	138	138	138	136	221
lúng (heart)	146	146	148	146	146	146	145	244
móng (dream)	168	170	174	172	168	162	160	260
hĩl (farmer.raincoat)	140	140	138	138	136	136	135	222
hăĩl (select)	133	133	132	133	133	131	129	201
hăĩl (miss.target)	133	131	133	138	136	135	135	233
MeanF0 (44)	141	141	142	143	142	140	139	220
SD (44)	9.4 3	10.2 7	11.2 4	10.1 1	9.21	7.97	7.75	21.27
DUR (44)	0	22	55	110	165	198	220	

Table 108: F0 values and mean duration in high-level tones in smooth syllables in EGH

	0%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	100%	D (ms)
kha (hook)	118	118	118	117	116	117	117	238
thà (new)	114	116	114	116	115	115	116	168
hò (open.mouth)	128	128	128	128	126	127	128	230
bàe (tie)	128	129	133	133	133	132	129	259
thĩ (umbrella)	129	129	128	130	129	127	126	233
hĩl (inhale)	129	127	125	126	123	122	122	196
lùng (roar of tiger)	128	130	132	134	130	127	127	254
kòm (river bank)	131	131	128	128	125	127	126	263
kòm (handle)	122	120	119	119	119	121	122	163
MeanF0 (22)	125	125	125	126	124	124	124	223
SD (22)	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	38
DUR (22)	0	22	56	112	167	201	223	

Table 109: F0 values and mean duration in low-level tones in smooth syllables in EGH

	0%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	100%	D (ms)
shúk (punch)	144	142	142	142	142	141	139	90
shúk (punch.IMP)	151	151	150	151	151	148	147	77
shúk (end.of.road)	142	142	144	142	138	136	133	105
shúk (sudden.fear)	144	147	147	147	147	145	145	88
kók (burst)	144	147	145	139	137	135	132	49
túk (move slowly)	141	144	144	138	138	135	133	46
túk (tear by pulling)	142	141	139	141	141	138	139	48
shók (wear cloth)	141	141	139	133	132	131	127	61
tók (sick of eating)	152	152	150	148	145	145	145	43
MeanF0 (44)	145	145	144	142	141	139	138	67
SD (44)	4.25	4.32	4.04	5.59	5.84	5.79	6.85	23.05
DUR (44)	0	7	17	34	50	60	67	

Table 110: F0 values and mean duration in high-level tones in checked syllables in EGH

	0%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	100%	D (ms)
shùk (paddy.grinder)	132	136	139	138	135	132	127	73
kòk (eating of chicken)	130	132	136	132	129	130	129	54
tùk (chop down)	126	127	127	129	129	129	129	39
shòk (life)	137	136	135	135	135	132	132	89
shòk (make)	136	137	132	128	130	127	127	61
shòk (clean intestine)	137	136	132	130	130	129	129	65
MeanF0 (22)	133	134	134	132	131	130	129	64
SD (22)	4.25	3.56	3.99	3.68	2.65	1.95	1.86	16.97
DUR (22)	0	6	16	32	48	58	64	

Table 111: F0 values and mean duration in low-level tones in checked syllables in EGH

Appendix II: A Combinatory Matrix for Dependent Clause Verbs

(The asterisk refers to the restricted category.)

Clause types	Mood & Modality	Aspect	Adverbial
Sequential	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, DESID, CHAN, CON, PREF, DARE	*ANT, *INCH, HAB, LV, ITER, NITER, *CONT, TERM, STAT, COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG
Temporal	IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT, *INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG
Conditional	IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT, *INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	EXPR, ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG
Concessive	IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	ANT, *INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	EXPR, *ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG

Circumstantial	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, *PRTN, COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT,*INCH, *HAB, *ITER, *NITER, *CONT, *TERM, *STAT, *COMPL	EXPR, *ULT, ERR,SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG
Reason	IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT,*INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, *CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	EXPR, *ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG
Purposive	IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT,*INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, *CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	EXPR, *ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, EXTN, FREQ, REG
Purposive- Motivational	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, *COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT,*INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, *CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, ERR, SURP, PRIOR, UNPRED, *EXTN, FREQ, REG
Delimitative	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN,	*ANT,*INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, *CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, *ERR,*SURP, *PRIOR, *UNPRED, *EXTN, *FREQ,

	*COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, *CHAN		*REG
Simultaneous	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, *OBLG, *PH.CAP, *COG.CAP, *PRTN, *COMPL, *DARE, *CON, *PREF, *CHAN	*ANT, *INCH, *HAB, *ITER, *NITER, *CONT, *TERM, *STAT, *COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, *ERR, *SURP, *PRIOR, *UNPRED, *EXTN, *FREQ, *REG
Negative- Adverbial	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, *COG.CAP, PRTN, *COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, *CHAN	*ANT, *INCH, HAB, ITER, NITER, *CONT, TERM, *STAT, COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, ERR, *SURP, *PRIOR, *UNPRED, *EXTN, FREQ, REG
Comparative correlative	*IRR, *DED, *FACT, *SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM, DESID, *DEL.NEG, OBLG, PH.CAP, COG.CAP, PRTN, *COMPL, DARE, CON, PREF, CHAN	*ANT, *INCH, *HAB, *ITER, *NITER, *CONT, *TERM, *STAT, *COMPL	*EXPR, *ULT, ERR, *SURP, *PRIOR, *UNPRED, *EXTN, FREQ, REG

Appendix III: A Combinatory Matrix for Imperative Verbs

(The asterisk refers to the restricted category and the X points the position where the inflectional categories can be used. X represents the position where the MA markers can appear.)

Cohortative Σ -[X]- $\dot{\text{a}}\text{yhy}\dot{\text{o}}$ Σ -[X]- $\dot{\text{a}}\text{ngkh}\dot{\text{o}}$	*IRR, *DED, *FACT,	*ANT,*INCH,	*EXPR, ULT, ERR,
	*SPEC, ASSP, *EXTM,	*HAB, LV,	*SURP, PRIOR,
	*DESID, DEL.NEG,	ITER, NITER ²⁵ ,	*UNPRED, EXTN,
	DEL.IMP, *OBLG,	*CONT, TERM,	FREQ, REG
	*PH.CAP, COG.CAP,	*STAT, COMPL	
	PRTN, *COMPL, *DARE,		
	CON, *PREF, CHAN		
Exhortative Σ -bá?-[X]	*IRR, *DED, *FACT,	*ANT,*INCH,	*EXPR, *ULT,
	*SPEC, *ASSP, *EXTM,	*HAB, LV ³⁰ ,	ERR, *SURP,
	DESID ²⁶ , DEL.NEG,	ITER ³¹ ,	PRIOR, *UNPRED,
	DEL.IMP, OBLG,	NITER ³² ,	*EXTN, *FREQ,
	*PH.CAP, COG.CAP,	*CONT,	*REG
	PRTN, *COMPL,	*TERM,	
	*DARE ²⁷ , CON ²⁸ ,	*STAT, COMPL	
Prohibitive Σ -[X]- $\dot{\text{a}}\text{y}\dot{\text{y}}$ -tí/-hni?tí/-tsû	*IRR, *DED, *FACT,	*ANT,*INCH,	EXPR, ULT, ERR,
	*SPEC, *ASSP, EXTM,	*HAB, LV,	SURP, PRIOR,
	DESID, DEL.NEG,	ITER, NITER,	UNPRED, EXTN,
	DEL.IMP, OBLG,	*CONT,	FREQ, REG
	PH.CAP, COG.CAP,	*TERM,	
	PRTN, COMPL, DARE,	*STAT, COMPL	

²⁵ (lòk-êy)-tí- $\dot{\text{a}}\text{yhy}\dot{\text{o}}$ hyá? (play-NITER-NE.COHORT NEG.COP) ‘Let’s not play anymore.’

²⁶ tsét- $\dot{\text{a}}\text{y}$ -sháng-bá? (go-IRR-EXTM-UNPRED) ‘He wants to go.’ [bá? means that though the referent does not have the ability to go like the other people who have money and wealth or who are able to go, he/she want to. Here ba? is not an exhortative.]

²⁷ Not an exhortative construction

²⁸ $\dot{\text{a}}\text{y}$ -bá?-tsóm-tsû-dá [eat.I-EXH-CON-2PL-INSIST], ‘Just taste eating, will you?’

²⁹ Not an exhortative construction

³⁰ tsét-bá?-hút (go-EXH-LV) ‘Please go before leaving’, but tsét-hút-bá?-bôy (go-LV-EXH-DEL.IMP) ‘Please go there before coming back’.

³¹ Σ -bá?-dú/hnó?/tsóm; Σ -bá?-dú-hni?, Σ -bá?-dú-óng, Σ -bá?-dú-khól

³² tsét-bá?-tí- $\dot{\text{a}}\text{y}$ -tí/hni?tí/-tsû ‘Please don’t go anymore.’

	CON, PREF, CHAN		
Jussive			
Σ-X-V	*IRR, *DED, *FACT,	*ANT,*INCH,	*EXPR, ULT, ERR,
-ngâ	*SPEC, *ASSP, EXTM,	*HAB, LV,	*SURP, PRIOR,
-hni?ngâ/-ùngâ/	DESID, DEL.NEG,	ITER, NITER,	UNPRED, EXTN,
-á?/-hó?y/-ú	DEL.IMP, OBLG,	*CONT,	FREQ, REG
	PH.CAP, COG.CAP,	*TERM,	
	PRTN, COMPL, DARE,	*STAT, COMPL	
	CON, PREF, CHAN		

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