

David A. Peterson, *Dartmouth College* (david.a.peterson@dartmouth.edu)  
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## PROGRESS IN THE ANALYSIS OF KUKI-CHIN MORPHOSYNTAX\*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Goals of the talk:

survey progress made since the mid-nineties in our understanding of Kuki-Chin (South-Central Tibeto-Burman) for the domains of:

- alignment typology
- the verbal complex (valence-affecting phenomena, directionals, verbal classifiers)
- elaborate expressions

(1) South Central Tibeto-Burman (=Kuki-Chin) subgrouping (Peterson 2017):

A. Northwestern (=Old Kuki: Monsang, Lamkang, etc.)

B. Central

i. Core Central (Hakha Lai, Bawm, Laizo, Mizo, etc.)

ii. Maraic (Maraa, etc.)

C. Peripheral

i. Northeastern (Tedim, Sizang, Thadou, etc.)

ii. Southeastern

a. Cho (Daai, K'Cho)

b. Hyow, Sumtu

iii. Southwestern (Khomic: Khumi, Rengmitca, Mro-Khimi, Lemi, etc.)

### 2. ALIGNMENT TYPOLOGY

By the mid-nineties, there was a widespread understanding of SC languages as ergative, at least with regards to case marking; at that point few verbal participant marking systems had been fully analyzed, so there was less certainty about how those systems tend to pattern

#### 2.1. ALIGNMENT TYPOLOGY THEN

CASE MARKING SYSTEMS:

(2) Mizo core case marking:

a. intransitive

kán-huan-a'            keel    â-lùùt

1S.PL-garden-LOC    goat    3S-enter

'A/the goat entered our garden.' (Chhange 1993:60)

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b. transitive

keel-in      hnìm      â-pet  
 goat-ERG    grass      3S-graze

‘A/the goat is eating/grazing grass.’ (Chhangte 1993:60)

(3) Lai core case marking:

a. intransitive

paalaw      (khaa)      a-thii  
 name      DEIC      3SS-die<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘Paalaw died.’

b. transitive

paalaw=ni’      ka-zaal      (khaa)      a-Ø-ba’  
 name=ERG      1S POSS-bag    DEIC      3SA-3SO-hang<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘Paalaw hung up my bag.’

(4) Tedim core case marking:

a. intransitive

da’paa      a-xuang=tò’      in=a’      a-cia’=’a:…  
 name      3S.POSS-drum=COM    house=LOC    3S-return=AND  
 ‘Dapaa returned home with his drum, and…’ (Henderson 1965:128)

b. transitive

da’paa=in    zøj    gɛ:m-gɛ:m=in      dɔ:ipaa    a-bò’=a:…  
 name=ERG also    creep-creep=manner    spirit      3S-seize=AND  
 ‘Creeping up slowly, Dapaa seized the spirit, and…’ (Henderson 1965:126-7)

VERBAL PARTICIPANT MARKING:

(5) Lai participant marking:

	A/S	P
1s	ka-Σ	-ka-Σ
2s	na-Σ	-ń ~ -’in-Σ
3s	a-Σ	-o-Σ
1p	ka-n-Σ	-ka-n-Σ
2p	na-n-Σ	-ń-Σ-hnaa ~ -’in-Σ-hnaa
3p	a-n-Σ	-o-Σ-hnaa

(6) Mizo participant marking (Chhangte 1993):

intransitive:

S	1s	1p	2s	2p	3s	3p
	ka-Σ	kán-Σ	i-Σ	fn-Σ	a-Σ	án-Σ

transitive:

A	1	2	3
O			
1		mi/mfn-Σ	mi/mfn-Σ
2	ka-Σ-cê		a-Σ-cê
3	ka-Σ	i-Σ	? a-Σ

(7) K'cho (Bedell 2000):

Intransitive:

S	1s	1d	1d incl	1p	1p incl	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
	ka-Σ	kani-Σ	ni-Σ	kami-Σ	mi-Σ	na-Σ	nani-Σ	nami-Σ	Σ	Σ=gawi	Σ=gui

First person object:

A	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
O						
1s	naa-Σ	naani-Σ	naami-Σ	na-Σ	na-Σ=gawi	na-Σ=gui
1d	naa-Σ-gawi	naani-Σ-gawi	naami-Σ-gawi	na-Σ-gawi	na-Σ-gawi=gawi	na-Σ-gawi=gui
1p	naa-Σ-gui	naani-Σ-gui	naami-Σ-gui	na-Σ-gui	na-Σ-gawi=gui	na-Σ-gui=gui

Second person object:

A	1s	1d	1p	3s	3d	3p
O						
2s	kanij-Σ	kaninij-Σ	kaminij-Σ	nij-Σ	nij-Σ=gawi	nij-Σ=gui
2d	kanij-Σ-gawi	kaninij-Σ-gawi	kaminij-Σ-gawi	nij-Σ-gawi	nij-Σ-gawi=gawi	nij-Σ-gawi=gui
2p	kanij-Σ-gui	kaninij-Σ-gui	kaminij-Σ-gui	nij-Σ-gui	nij-Σ-gui=gawi	nij-Σ-gui=gui

Third person object

A	1s	1d	1d incl	1p	1p incl	2s	2d	2p
O								
3s	ka-Σ	kani-Σ	ni-Σ	kami-Σ	mi-Σ	na-Σ	nani-Σ	nami-Σ
3d	ka-Σ-gawi	kani-Σ-gawi	ni-Σ-gawi	kami-Σ-gawi	mi-Σ-gawi	na-Σ-gawi	nani-Σ-gawi	nami-Σ-gawi
3p	ka-Σ-gui	kani-Σ-gui	ni-Σ-gui	kami-Σ-gui	mi-Σ-gui	na-Σ-gui	nani-Σ-gui	nami-Σ-gui

A	3s	3d	3p
O			
3s	Σ	Σ=gawi	Σ=gui
3d	Σ-gawi	Σ-gawi=gawi	Σ-gawi=gui
3p	Σ-gui	Σ-gui=gawi	Σ-gui=gui

- Seemed that the proper analysis of Maraa involved (restructured) hierarchical (inverse) marking of some sort (Delancey 1989)

## 2.2. ALIGNMENT TYPOLOGY NOW

### 2.2.1. NOMINATIVE/ACCUSATIVE-LIKE CASE-MARKING

(8) Khumi tonal locative marking of P participants (see Peterson 2011, 2019b):

...ha<sup>1</sup>-rë<sup>10</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>      alu<sup>11</sup>ala<sup>1</sup>    rewn<sup>1</sup>      thiwn<sup>10</sup>      va<sup>3</sup>-yo<sup>3</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 one-NUM.LOC=TOP      itchy.leaf    garden      inside.LOC      throw-IMPV=EVID

ha<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>      alë<sup>2</sup>-yo<sup>3</sup>      ha<sup>11</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>      süng<sup>3</sup>-yo<sup>3</sup>      nö<sup>3</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 one=TOP    return-IMPV    one.LOC=TOP    bring.along-IMPV    QUOT=EVID

‘... “One (girl) they threw into an itchy leaf garden. One went back. The other one they took along,” she said.’ (24.116a)

(9) Rengmitca segmental locative marking of P participants:

dök<sup>4</sup>lö<sup>3</sup>      matnit<sup>2</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>=pä<sup>3</sup>      pan<sup>3</sup>      klång<sup>4</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>      khaj<sup>1</sup>-wet<sup>4</sup>-dök<sup>4</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 then      3D=LOC=FOC      raft      top=LOC      put-PFV-REAL=SEQ<sub>M</sub>

m<sup>7</sup>-jaw<sup>4</sup>-sut<sup>2</sup>-dök<sup>4</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup>

CAUS-float-DUR-REAL=EVID

‘Then they put them on a raft and floated them (off)’ (109.54-55)

## 2.2.2. HIERARCHICAL PARTICIPANT MARKING SYSTEMS

- inverse marking: verbs bear marking for participants; for transitives, there is a default mapping of participants to A and P roles according to a person hierarchy (e.g., 1 > 2 > 3 in Monsang or Lamkang; 1=2 > 3 in Hyow); if the reverse mapping of roles to persons is required, the verb bears an *inverse* marker

(10) Monsang (Konnerth and Wanglar 2019):

Table 20 – Imperfective affirmative paradigm of *bin* ‘beat’

IPFV AFF	1 <sup>st</sup> person			2 <sup>nd</sup> person		3 <sup>rd</sup> person		
	SG	PL.EXCL	PL.INCL	SG	PL	SG	PL	
1	SG				ki-bin-ná:-tʃə	ki-bin-ná:-tʃwù	ki-bin-ná?	ki-bin-ná:-hè
	PL.EXCL				kim-bin-ná:-tʃə	kim-bin-ná:-tʃwù	kim-bin-ná?	kim-bin-ná:-hè
	PL.INCL						i-bin-ná?	i-bin-ná:-hè
2	SG	m̄-bin-ná:-tʃə	m̄-bin ná:-tʃwù				ná-bin-ná?	ná-bin-ná:-hè
	PL	m̄-bin ná:-tʃwù					niŋ-bin-ná?	niŋ-bin-ná:-hè
3	SG	m̄-bin-ná?					á-bin-ná?	á-bin-ná:-hè
	PL	m̄-bin-ná:-hè					m̄-bin-ná? (-á-bin-ná:-hè)	m̄-bin-ná:-hè (-á-bin-ná:-hè)

(11) Hyow (Zakaria 2017):

A	O	1SG	1DL.EXC	1DL.INC	1PL.EX	1PL.INC	2SG	2DL	2PL	3SG	3DL	3PL
↓	→				c							
1SG							ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	kV-Σ	kV-Σ	kV-Σ
1DL.EXC							ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	ki-hníŋ-Σ	ki-hníŋ-Σ	ki-hníŋ-Σ
1DL.INC										i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ
1PL.EXC							ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ	kiní-Σ	ki-ní-Σ
1PL.INC										i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ
2SG		i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ						nV-Σ	nV-Σ	nV-Σ
2DL		i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ						ní-hníŋ-Σ	ní-hníŋ-Σ	ní-hníŋ-Σ
2PL		i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ						ní-ní-Σ	ní-ní-Σ	ní-ní-Σ
3SG		Ŵ/ khrōng-Ŵ- Σ	Ŵ/ khrōng- Ŵ-Σ	(khrōng) -Σ	Ŵ/ khrōng- Ŵ-Σ	(khrōng)-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	Ŵ-Σ	Ŵ-Σ	Ŵ-Σ
3DL		i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	(khrōng) -Σ	i-ní-Σ	(khrōng)-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-hníŋ-Σ	i-hníŋ-Σ	i-hníŋ-Σ
3PL		i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	(khrōng) -Σ	i-ní-Σ	(khrōng)-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ	i-ní-Σ

Table 93: The prefixal person-marking paradigm of transitive verbs

(12) Lamkang (Chelliah et al. 2019):

A / P	>1	>1pl.excl.	>1pl.incl.	>2	>2pl	>3	>3pl
1				a-k- $\Sigma$	a-k- $\Sigma$ -in	k- $\Sigma$	k- $\Sigma$ -lám
1pl.excl.				a-k- $\Sigma$ -in		k- $\Sigma$ -in	k- $\Sigma$ -in [t- $\Sigma$ -in]
1pl.incl.						n- $\Sigma$ [t- $\Sigma$ ]	n- $\Sigma$ -in [t- $\Sigma$ -in]
2	a-t- $\Sigma$ m-t- $\Sigma$					a- $\Sigma$	a- $\Sigma$ -lám
2pl	a-t- $\Sigma$ -in m-t- $\Sigma$ -in	a-t- $\Sigma$ -in m-t- $\Sigma$ -in				a- $\Sigma$ -in	[a- $\Sigma$ -in]
3	m-t- $\Sigma$	m-t- $\Sigma$ -in [mi-t- $\Sigma$ -in]	mi-t- $\Sigma$ -in	a-t- $\Sigma$	a-t- $\Sigma$ -in	m- $\Sigma$	m- $\Sigma$ -lám
3pl	m-t- $\Sigma$ -lám			a-t- $\Sigma$ -lám		m- $\Sigma$ -in	

Table 3. Participant-marking patterns for the affirmative nonfuture tense

### 2.2.3. RELATED ISSUES

- prevalence of postverbal participant marking paradigm remnants (DeLancey 2013)
- prevalence of systems where the verbal complex is more fragmented in general, with interspersed auxiliary(-like) elements rather than forming a coherent agglutinative piece

## 3. OTHER ASPECTS OF THE VERBAL COMPLEX

### 3.1. VALENCE-AFFECTING PHENOMENA

#### 3.1.1. VALENCE-AFFECTING PHENOMENA THEN

Laizo (Osburne 1973), Bawm (Reichle 1981), Mizo (Chhangte 1993), Tedim (Henderson 1965), Sizang (Stern 1963) discussions: we realized there were morphological causatives and possibly benefactives for some languages

#### 3.1.2. VALENCE-AFFECTING PHENOMENA NOW

##### 3.1.2.1. CAUSATIVES

- widespread suffixal causative *-sak* (Daai *shak*, Hyow *-shók*, marginally attested in Rengmitca)
- probably older is a *p-/m-* prefixal causative, which is also widely attested (Daai, Khumi, Rengmitca, Sorbung, Lamkang, etc.)

(13) Rengmitca prefixal causative:

m-plát<sup>2</sup>-’ö      tu<sup>3</sup>mi<sup>3</sup>    plát<sup>2</sup>-dök<sup>4</sup>la<sup>3</sup>    ki<sup>4</sup>-wet<sup>4</sup>-dök<sup>4</sup>=le<sup>3</sup>      kajnit<sup>4</sup>  
 CAUS-escape-NEG DEM    escape-SEQ    finish-PFV-REAL=EMOT    1DEXCL  
 ‘He can’t let him go. If he gets away, we’re finished.’ (354.47)

- initial voiceless stop aspiration/sonorant devoicing, widely attributed to a \*s-causative prefix seen elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman; this also has a fairly broad distribution
- more sporadic developments (Lai *-ter*, Southwestern *-haj*)

### 3.1.2.2. APPLICATIVES

(14) Family of applicative constructions in Hakha Lai (Peterson 1998):

a. *-piak*: benefactive/malefactive (/substitutive) applicative

làw a-ka-thlo'-piak  
 field 3SS-1SO-weed<sub>2</sub>-BEN  
 'He weeded the field for me.'

b. *-tse'm*: additional benefactive applicative

làw a-ka-thlo'-tse'm  
 field 3SS-1SO-weed<sub>2</sub>-ADD BEN  
 'He weeded the field for my benefit (in addition to his own benefit).'

c. *-pii*: comitative applicative

làw a-ka-thlo'-pii  
 field 3SS-1SO-weed<sub>2</sub>-COM  
 'He weeded the field along with me.'

d. *-hno'*: allative/malefactive applicative

làw a-ka-thlo'-hno'  
 field 3SS-1SO-weed<sub>2</sub>-ALL/MAL  
 'He weeded the field to my detriment.'

e. *-ka'n*: prioritive applicative

làw a-ka-thlo'-ka'n  
 field 3SS-1SO-weed<sub>2</sub>-PRIOR  
 'He weeded the field ahead of/before me.'

f. *-taak*: relinquitive (source) applicative

làw a-ka-thlo'-taak  
 field 3SS-1SO-weed<sub>2</sub>-SOURCE  
 'He left me and weeded the field.'

g. *-naak*: instrumental applicative

tuhmùy làw a-thlo'-naak  
 hoe field 3SS-weed<sub>2</sub>-INST  
 'He weeded the field with a hoe.'

(15) Daai applicatives (So-Hartmann 2009:198):

Table 7.1: Applicatives

Applicative		Gloss	Source	
Benefactive/ Malefactive	<i>v + pee:t/pe</i>	‘v on-behalf’	main verb	‘give’
Relinquitive	<i>v + taa:k/ta</i>	‘v leaving-behind’	main verb	‘put’
Comitative	<i>v + püi</i>	‘v together with’	noun	‘friend’
Advertive- Inclusive	<i>v + shih</i>	‘be included in V- ing’	not established	
Instrumental	<i>v+naa:k/na</i>	‘used to V’	main verb	‘use as’, ‘take as’

(16) Hyow (Zakaria 2017):

- pék* ‘benefactive malefactive’
- püy* ‘associative benefactive’
- nák* ‘locative/instrumental’

(17) Rengmitca benefactive/malefactive applicative:

...plítcö<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup> sǎngkhiw t’-ca<sup>1</sup>-pö<sup>2</sup> samrethaj cak<sup>2</sup>-pö<sup>2</sup>-phjang<sup>2</sup>  
 completely-EVID treeshrew NMLZR-eat-MAL galangal eat-MAL-EXHAUST  
 ‘...treeshrew ate them all on him, he ate all the galangal (roots) on him.’ (217.33)

(18) Rengmitca instrumental/comitative applicative (cf. the related element in Khumi):

p’thun=lö<sup>3</sup> mün<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup> t’-la<sup>1</sup>-haj<sup>2</sup>  
 bear (name)=TOP large.basket=EVID NMLZR-take-APP  
 ‘P’thun (bear) took along a large basket.’ (215.8)

(19) Khumi -hay with causative function:

lewng<sup>1</sup> thöyng<sup>1</sup>-phay<sup>1</sup>-rē<sup>2</sup> thung<sup>1</sup>=ma<sup>1</sup>b’lö<sup>1</sup>  
 trap CLF-300-COUNT make=ANT  
 am<sup>1</sup>yo<sup>1</sup> lēng<sup>1</sup>-t’tēng<sup>11</sup>=nay<sup>11</sup>=te<sup>1</sup> lewng<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>1</sup>-hay<sup>11</sup>=nö<sup>2</sup>  
 elder. brother big-SUPERL-NMLZR.LOC=EVID trap check-CAUS=NMLZR  
 ‘...after they made thirty traps, they had the biggest brother check the traps.’ (28.54)

(20) Khumi -hay with instrumental applicative function:

t’vöng<sup>11</sup>-lu<sup>4</sup> k’kay<sup>11</sup>-lu<sup>4</sup> khöy<sup>1</sup>-hay<sup>11</sup>=a<sup>1</sup>  
 bear-head tiger-head chop-INST=IRR  
 ‘“I’ll chop off bear and tier heads with (them=bamboo blades).”’ (18.26)

(21) Khumi -hay with locative/goal applicative function:

tlängm<sup>3</sup> uy<sup>1</sup>köy<sup>11</sup>=mö<sup>3</sup> tla<sup>1</sup>-hay<sup>11</sup>=b’lö<sup>1</sup> sung<sup>1</sup>ngay<sup>3</sup>döy<sup>1</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> tla<sup>1</sup>  
 suddenly turtle=FGD fall-LOC=SEQ jungle.boar die=NMLZR happen  
 ‘Suddenly the turtle fell on him, and the jungle boar died.’ (10.16)

- Of further note: middles

### 3.2. DIRECTIONALS

#### 3.2.1. DIRECTIONALS THEN

Attested descriptions of directional marking involved predominantly prefixal systems (LSI, Chhangte, Reichle, Osburne); Hartmann’s 1989 Daai directionals paper was an exception

(22) Widespread directional/associated motion elements identified in Peterson 2014:

- va-* andative
- hVng-* venitive
- hVng-* upwards motion
- ju(C)-* downwards motion
- hV-* additional andative

preverbal/prefixal in most cases, but Southeastern/Southwestern languages may have a mix of preverbal/prefixal and postverbal/suffixal elements or exclusively postverbal/suffixal ones

#### 3.2.2. DIRECTIONALS NOW

So-Hartmann 2009 on Daai  
Chelliah and Utt 2017 on Lamkang  
Vanbik and Tluangneh 2017 on Lai  
Zakaria 2017 on Hyow

(23) Peterson 2017b, 2019 on Rengmitca:

- ng-* ‘venitive’ (pan-SC)
- cam* ‘andative’ (apparently from Mru)
- paj* ‘andative’ (apparently from Mru?)
- khuj* ‘andative’ (BK)
- hö* ‘andative’
- khang* ‘upwards’
- thuk* ‘downwards’ (BK, L)
- (t’)kut* ‘back/again’ (apparently from Mru)
- man* ‘prioritive’ (pan-SC)

(24) Rengmitca venitive:

üh      u<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>3</sup>      tik<sup>2</sup>=wet<sup>4</sup>=be<sup>3</sup>      ng-klaw<sup>2</sup>-law<sup>2</sup>-khwa      nak<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>’</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup>  
INTERJ   mother=VOC   what=PFV=INTERR   VEN-hurt-INTENS-INTENS   say-BEN=evid  
“‘Hey mother, what hurt (=poked) us so?’ he said to her.” (183.37)

(25) Khumi venitive:

ew<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>      t’khöyng<sup>10</sup>=nö<sup>2</sup>      khang<sup>1</sup> khang<sup>1</sup> khang<sup>1</sup>=nö<sup>1</sup>=b’lö<sup>1</sup>  
pig.trough      tap=NMLZR      (sound of tapping)=QUOT=SEQ

hu<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>3</sup>      ang<sup>1</sup>-jew<sup>1</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>      tla<sup>1</sup>  
DEM      VEN-come=NMLZR      happen  
“She tapped on the pig trough, “tap, tap, tap”, and they came.’ (8:41)



- (26) Rengmitca distributed andative:  
 m'ná happe=haj<sup>3</sup> thun<sup>4</sup>-khuj<sup>1</sup>=dök<sup>4</sup>la<sup>2</sup> dang<sup>4</sup> t'=dök<sup>4</sup> t'-len<sup>4</sup>-pi<sup>3</sup>  
 fish.sp. spear=INST spear-DIST=COND get COP=REAL NMLZR-big-INTENS  
 'If you went to spear around in various places for *m'ná* fish, you would get them, really big ones.' (364:9)
- (27) Rengmitca *upwards* directional:  
 lö<sup>3</sup> tik<sup>2</sup>=kö<sup>2</sup>=be<sup>3</sup> nang<sup>3</sup> samjang=haj<sup>3</sup> m'tâm  
 so what=ADV=INTERR 2S hair=INST tie  
 m'tâm=lö m-pö<sup>4</sup>-thuk<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup> thuj-p'-khang<sup>3</sup>  
 tie=TOP VEN-give-DOWNWARDS=EVID say-BEN-UPWARDS  
 "So how? Tie it with your hair. Tying it, pass (it) down to me," she said up to her.'  
 (238.65)
- (28) Khumi *upwards* directional:  
 may<sup>1</sup>bew<sup>11</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> thëng<sup>1</sup>cë<sup>1</sup>=mö<sup>3</sup> j'vo<sup>10</sup> ang<sup>1</sup>-lång<sup>3</sup> bu<sup>1</sup>'ung<sup>1</sup>...  
 (name)=TOP (name)=FGD husband.LOC VEN-rob bow.wow  
 ...üng<sup>1</sup>=ma<sup>10</sup> vâ<sup>10</sup>-k'lâ<sup>11</sup>-yo<sup>1</sup>-täng<sup>1</sup>=bo<sup>1</sup>  
 house=LOC return-UPWARDS-IMPV-AGAIN=REAL  
 'Maybew said, "Thiengcie's robbed me of my husband, bow-wow!"...and she went back up to the house.' (24.77)
- (29) Rengmitca *downwards* directional:  
 âk<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>3</sup> löw<sup>1</sup> hng ng'waj<sup>4</sup> kaj<sup>3</sup> khüj<sup>4</sup>-thuk<sup>2</sup>=la<sup>3</sup>  
 pig-male=VOC run.away INTERJ now 1S fall-DOWNWARDS=TOP  
 nang<sup>4</sup> t'dü<sup>4</sup>-köm<sup>3</sup>=tu<sup>3</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup>  
 2S die-IRR=DEIC=EVID  
 "Hey pig, run away! If I now fall, you'll die!" he said.' (164.64)
- (30) Khumi *downwards* directional:  
 h'ni<sup>3</sup> vuy<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>11</sup>, a<sup>1</sup>yüng<sup>11</sup>=ma<sup>1</sup> abang<sup>11</sup>-k'thiw<sup>1</sup>-yo<sup>1</sup>=te<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM vine.type=ABL hang-DOWNWARDS-IMPV=EVID  
 'Hanging from this vine they (climbed) down.' (35.109)

- Of further note: Konnerth's 2015 work on relationship between venitives and participant marking systems

### 3.3. VERBAL CLASSIFIERS

#### 3.3.1. VERBAL CLASSIFIERS THEN: HENDERSON'S NOTION OF "CHIMING"

- Bhaskararao 1989 on Tedim "chiming"

- (31) Lai "ideophones":  
 a. hjaak=tshia a-vaak ua'-ma'  
 baby 3SS-crawl IDEO  
 'The [big, fat] baby crawls around.'

- b. n̄aak-tshia a-vaak ia'-ma'  
 baby 3SS-crawl IDEO  
 'The [small, thin] baby crawls around.' (Patent 1998)

### 3.3.2. VERBAL CLASSIFIERS NOW

- (32) Khumi augmentative verbal classifier:

co<sup>5</sup> deng<sup>3</sup>-mab'lö<sup>1</sup> h'ni<sup>3</sup> k'say<sup>5</sup> tlängm<sup>3</sup> apë<sup>1</sup>=ë<sup>10</sup>  
 rice pound-ANT this dlephant suddently move=SEQ

h'nay<sup>3</sup> h'ni<sup>3</sup> areng<sup>6</sup> c'niw<sup>3</sup> co<sup>5</sup> deng<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>=a<sup>1</sup>  
 thus this king.GEN daughter rice pound=NMLZR=LOC

ciw<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>1</sup>=vöyng<sup>1</sup>=bo<sup>3</sup>

step.on-AUGVCL=unfortunately=REAL

'When they were pounding rice, this elephant suddenly moved and thus stepped on and killed this king's daughter, who was pounding rice.' (33.31)

- (33) Khumi diminutive verbal classifier(s):

tuydu<sup>3</sup>=a<sup>1</sup> tuy<sup>1</sup>'ung<sup>4</sup> t'pång<sup>4</sup>=b'lö<sup>1</sup>=bo<sup>3</sup>  
 stream=LOC water.gourd carry=SEQ=REAL

biw<sup>10</sup> tōng<sup>4</sup>=b'lö<sup>1</sup> cë<sup>4</sup>-kō<sup>1</sup>=te ca<sup>1</sup>=vuy<sup>3</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 hut.LOC arrive=SEQ beat-DIMVCL=EVID eat=PFV=EVID

lu<sup>4</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> c'pay<sup>11</sup>-thång<sup>11</sup> biwng<sup>3</sup>-hä<sup>1</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 head=TOP granary-stick.LOC plant-DIMVCL=EVID

'He carried a gourd of water from the stream, and when he arrived at the field hut, he beat him [his son] with a stick, ate him, and planted his head on one of the bamboos sticking up from the rim of the granary.' (3.14)

- (34) Rengmitca augmentative verbal classifier:

tik<sup>2</sup>-kö<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> nang<sup>3</sup> uh nang<sup>3</sup> tecö<sup>2</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> tik<sup>2</sup>-kö<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> nang<sup>3</sup>  
 QUEST-ADV 2S INTERJ 2S sister=LOC QUEST-ADV 2S

bãp<sup>2</sup>-katkat=be<sup>3</sup> kajci<sup>4</sup>=lö<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>-'ö tu<sup>3</sup>-kö<sup>2</sup>=mi<sup>2</sup>=lö<sup>3</sup>  
 kill-AUGVCL=INTERR 1P=TOP eat-NEG DEM-ADV=NMLZR=TOP

m'rucö<sup>2</sup> ngan<sup>3</sup>=lö<sup>3</sup> nak<sup>2</sup>-p'=ti<sup>3</sup>  
 human meat=TOP say-BEN=EVID

' "How (could) you, oh, how could you beat your sister to death? We won't eat it, it's human meat!" he said to him.' (156.31)

- (35) a. w'khu<sup>4</sup> kek<sup>2</sup>-hüplüp<sup>2</sup> kek<sup>2</sup>-hüplüp<sup>2</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup>  
 dove go-DIMVCL go-DIMVCL=EVID  
 'The dove went and went...' (133.126)

- b. ...wãj<sup>4</sup>-huplup<sup>2</sup> im<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> ting<sup>4</sup>  
 ...return-AUGVCL house=LOC arrive  
 '...He (an elephant) returned and arrived home.' (173.29)

In Khumi, Rengmitca, (and Mru):

- may appear in *non*-reduplicated form
- central notion is size, although some bear highly idiosyncratic semantic nuances or are associated with particular imagery, resembling ideophones
- importance of the latter observation for development of lexical resources

#### 4. ELABORATE EXPRESSIONS

(36) Khumi elaborate expressions (Peterson 2010):

nay<sup>11</sup>b<sup>1</sup>lö<sup>1</sup> khëng<sup>1</sup>=te<sup>5</sup> sang<sup>1</sup>kang<sup>3</sup>=a<sup>1</sup> tuy<sup>1</sup>di<sup>11</sup>-tuy<sup>1</sup>düng<sup>4</sup> l<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-l<sup>1</sup>äng<sup>1</sup> say<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-so<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>  
 then look=EVID fireplace.shelf.LOC ELAB-water.gourd ELAB-pot plate-bowl  
 p<sup>1</sup>lang<sup>2</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> thuy<sup>3</sup>-rä<sup>1</sup>mo<sup>1</sup>=te<sup>5</sup> n<sup>1</sup>kha<sup>11</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup> ngo<sup>6</sup>-lä<sup>11</sup>=te<sup>1</sup>  
 move=NMLZR=EMOT say-PROHIB=EVID then=FOC get-NEG=EVID  
 ‘Then he (a tiger) looked (for her) on the fireplace shelf, he moved the water gourds and the pots, and the plates and the bowls so much I can’t tell you, but again, he didn’t get her.’ (1.33)

(37) Rengmitca elaborate expression:

pöjng<sup>3</sup>pöjng<sup>3</sup> t<sup>1</sup>ketl<sup>1</sup>kân<sup>3</sup> t<sup>1</sup>-dök<sup>4</sup>=ti<sup>3</sup> m<sup>1</sup>leng<sup>3</sup>-pangdäng<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> m<sup>1</sup>se<sup>2</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 really writhing.motion COP-REAL=EVID shoulder-ELAB=LOC etc.=LOC  
 t-ang-p<sup>1</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>=mi<sup>2</sup> m<sup>1</sup>se<sup>2</sup>=mi<sup>2</sup>  
 NMLZR-VEN-wind.around=NMLZR etc.=NMLZR  
 ‘Really, they came with a writhing motion, winding around his shoulders.’ (113.94)

- high frequency in Khumi (less so in Rengmitca and Mru, but still common)
- don’t necessarily conform to the usual Southeast Asian sense of elaborate expression, but have a comparable (if not identical) function (cf. *mi<sup>1</sup>-may<sup>1</sup>* ‘fire’, *tuy<sup>1</sup>-may<sup>1</sup>* ‘water’, *ka<sup>11</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-lo<sup>2</sup>* ‘moon’, *ka<sup>11</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-tä<sup>11</sup>kë<sup>1</sup>* ‘star’, etc.)
- unclear how widespread/robust the phenomenon is
- unpredictability significant for development of lexical resources

#### 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

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