A grammar of Hyow

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A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2017
Acknowledgements

The journey of writing this Ph.D. dissertation has been possible for many people to whom I am eternally indebted. First, I would like to pay my gratitude to Dr. Alexander Robertson Coupe, my thesis supervisor, who has guided me along the Ph.D. journey right from the beginning. Dr. Coupe has not only been a remarkable mentor to me but also has always extended his never-ending helping hand to see me overcome the hardships along the Ph.D. journey. Secondly, I want to thank my co-supervisor, Professor Randy J. LaPolla, for his valuable comments on my writings. He has been always very understanding, and helpful to show me the ways to connect my thoughts. Next, I want to thank my Ph.D. thesis advisory committee member Dr. David A. Peterson for giving his valuable feedback on issues related to Chin languages and Hyow, and Dr. František Kratochvíl for helping develop technical skills in building up a corpus of Hyow.

This dissertation has not had been possible to write without the help of the Hyow language community. During field trips made in last four years, several Hyow speakers have directly assisted me in recording, transcribing and translating different genres of texts. In this regard, I want to thank Hlakroy Prue Khyang, Newjy Khyang, Hlaaung Prue Khyang, Monghla Prue Khyang, Chayhla Prue Khyang and Aungsai Prue Khyang. I would also like to thank those Hyow speakers who have generously participated in the recording sessions. Laitu Hyow speakers living in Myanmar have also helped me. Aug Kyaw Tun and Salai Lowh Htai have always responded to my queries online and over the phone.

I also want to thank my family and friends, without whom the endeavor of writing this dissertation was not possible. I want to thank my lovely wife, Rokeya Lita, for being there to support me in stressful days. I am also grateful to my mother and father. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to thank my friends in the Chittagong Hill Tracts who have supported me in every possible way. I would like to mention Lelung Khumi for his selfless support in managing the ways to go to remote areas in the CHT.
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#### 11.2 Canonical Clause Structure

#### 11.3 Non-canonical Clause Structure

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## Symbols

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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 CHT\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1} created using sitemap.com
Figure 6: A closer look at the Hyow living places (H graffitied marker) in the CHT\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{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. 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.

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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 *talaikh*=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. Bąclawski, 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.
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.
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 8: The classification of Sino-Tibetan languages by Benedict (1972)

Figure 9: Bradley’s classification of Kuki-Chin languages
The recent classification by James A. Matisoff (2003) considers Kuki-Chin under the geographic name Kamrupan 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.

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).

![Tree Diagram](image)

**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.

![Tree Diagram](image)

**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 *khrɔ̂ng means person/people. The *khr cluster can be realized as *khl idiosyncratically. A Hyow person calls himself *hyɔ̂w *khrɔ̂ng ‘Chin person’. Therefore, the exonym ‘Khyang’ and the Hyow word *khrɔ̂ng do not seem to be the same word. Lehman (1979: 2) speculates that the WB *khrang ‘mosquito’ is cognate with the *cang (Haka Chin) and *chang (Yawdin), which means creeping or flying things. VanBik (2009: 161) proposes PKC *tsang-tsel for the word ‘earthworm’ based on his data from different KC languages (no data from SC). The word for earthworm is *tsá 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 *khl/*khr cluster to *khy in 1200 CE.

The endonym *hyɔ̂w (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 *hyow⁴, 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 *sho (*źiəw).

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 *hyɔ̂w means ‘Chin’ in Southern Laitu (Minbya Township, Rakhine State, Myanmar).
eighteenth century (Myint-U, 2001: 56-57). The Mon 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 Basawpyuu 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 Arakanese 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).
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 Gungrupara 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 13: The map of migration of different tribes after the fall of Arakan (Brauns and Löffler, 1995)
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 Rangamati.$^5$ 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.

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$^5$ 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 (kʰɛpsɔ) or Monglomsaw (mɔŋlɔmɔsw) 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’ cɔʔ, pe’, étant un fruit que nous n’avons pu identifier (cf. le vocabulaire); ‘hok’cɔʔ << clan del’ecorce>>; she’jɔʔ «clan de la lance>>; shɔm’jɔʔ «clan de la canne a sucre>>; mon’cɔʔ « clan du Roi>>; khyep”cɔʔ (signification inconnue)’. The southern Rakhine Hyow have more than 100 clans.
1.7. The Language Name and The People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of clans (transliteration in English)</th>
<th>Phonemic transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pekcho</td>
<td>pé̆ktsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of elephant apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokcho</td>
<td>hó̆ktsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of tree bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongcho</td>
<td>mɔ́ngtsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monlomsaw</td>
<td>mɔ́nglômsâw</td>
<td>Clan of king’s guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seycho</td>
<td>séytsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mincho</td>
<td>mí̆ntsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khepcho</td>
<td>khéptsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of frequent eye lash movers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somcho</td>
<td>só̆mtsɔ̂</td>
<td>Clan of people who stand all together like sugarcane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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

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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 nat 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 hénéy ‘Haney’. There are two festivals of sacrificing to the river god celebrated by Hyow – hénéy ‘Haney’ and khyong ‘Khyong’. There is another festival called bükkelé ‘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 phóla ‘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.
1.9. 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 æ̰.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound words</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kho̞y-tûy̞⁷</td>
<td>‘honey (bee-water)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mik-mû</td>
<td>‘blind (eye-be.dark)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bû?-îm</td>
<td>‘kitchen (cook-house)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Examples of compound words in Hyow

There are no gender markers in Hyow. Sometimes, pɔ̂ 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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>phrów</em> = tíʔ</td>
<td>(friend-PL) ‘friends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kőp-tíʔ</em></td>
<td>(shoot-ANMLZ) ‘shooter’ or ‘the person who shoots’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral compounds</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>khrʊŋ pötsoŋ-ák</em></td>
<td>(person CLS-one) ‘one person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shaël püm-shāʔ</em></td>
<td>(cow CLS-seven) ‘seven cows’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 =lā. 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- shôk, which is used for indirect causation. Some examples of lexical causatives are given in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-causative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kôy</td>
<td>khôy</td>
<td>‘ascend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâl</td>
<td>hyâl</td>
<td>‘collapse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeîl</td>
<td>hyâel</td>
<td>‘be.cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yûmêy</td>
<td>hyûm</td>
<td>‘believe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Hyow: land, life, and language
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 ᇰ for low-level tone, ᇻ for high-level tone and ᇸ 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](image)

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable structures</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. V</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>‘good smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. CV</td>
<td>/bi/</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/wà/</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. CCV</td>
<td>/klɔ̂/</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kjúŋ/</td>
<td>‘keep an eye on someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pjà/</td>
<td>‘be happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pwák/</td>
<td>‘bloat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/blún/</td>
<td>‘sound of jumping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/mlát/</td>
<td>‘be alive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. VC</td>
<td>/ók/</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. CVC</td>
<td>/bút/</td>
<td>‘cook (Form II)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. CVCC</td>
<td>/pʰɛʔj/</td>
<td>‘broom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/hlɔʔw/</td>
<td>‘fry.II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/hɛʔl/</td>
<td>‘select (Form II)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/páʔm/</td>
<td>‘hold from falling.II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kháʔn/</td>
<td>‘assume.II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phɔʔng/</td>
<td>‘break a dam.II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. CCVCC</td>
<td>/klóʔj/</td>
<td>‘burn (Form II)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Examples attesting different syllable structures in Hyow

An onset consonant cluster is presented as $C_1C_2$ and a coda consonant cluster is presented as $C_3C_4$ in the phonotactic statement. The $C_2$ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C₁</th>
<th>C₂</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̥</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ̊</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l̥</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j̊</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: 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. \((C_1 (C_2)) \ [V \ (C_3 (C_4)) ]^T\)

Where,

- \(C_1 = [-\text{syl}] \rightarrow \text{Stops, Affricate, Fricatives, Nasals, Approximants}\)
- \(C_2 = [-\text{syl}] \rightarrow \text{Voiced Approximants}\)
- \(V = [+\text{syl}] \rightarrow \text{Modal Vowels}\)
- \(C_3 = [+\text{cons}] \rightarrow \text{Voiceless Unaspirated Stops, Voiced Nasals, Voiced Approximants}\)
- \(C_4 = [-\text{cont}] \rightarrow \text{Nasals, Voiced Approximants}\)
- \(T = \text{High Level, Low Level, High Falling}\)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(C_1)</th>
<th>(C_2)</th>
<th>(V)</th>
<th>(C_3)</th>
<th>(C_4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(p)</td>
<td>(p^h)</td>
<td>(t)</td>
<td>(t^h)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| \(\text{Table 9: The phonotactic distribution of Hyow segmental phonemes}\)

---

\(^8\) 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 /ɹ/ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyow</th>
<th>SL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɹiʃi]</td>
<td>Marma</td>
<td>‘great’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sɹa]</td>
<td>Marma</td>
<td>‘teacher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tebɹe]</td>
<td>Marma</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyow</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[goɹi]</td>
<td>Bangla</td>
<td>‘clock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[guna]</td>
<td>Bangla</td>
<td>‘wire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[guluy]</td>
<td>Bangla</td>
<td>‘slingshot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Bilateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ (ph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>unasspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pɔ́/</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰɔ́/</td>
<td>‘reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bɔ́/</td>
<td>‘folklore flute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pí/</td>
<td>‘cane rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰí/</td>
<td>‘pressurize/coerce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bí/</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰyúp/</td>
<td>‘cap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰýypí/</td>
<td>‘wool’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kɪlpʰí/</td>
<td>‘handkerchief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/làybíʔí/</td>
<td>‘farmer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kí/</td>
<td>‘parrot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰí/</td>
<td>‘full payment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ká/</td>
<td>‘step’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰá/</td>
<td>‘white ant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kòk/</td>
<td>‘burst’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tók/</td>
<td>‘tear off rope by pulling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰflkhí/</td>
<td>‘window’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kùmkɔ́y/</td>
<td>‘thunderbolt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
|-------------------|-----------------------|------|-------|--------
| *mee              | me:                   | màʔ | ‘goat’| The PKC long vowel became short in Hyow with a glottal stop at the final position.
| *tsii             | msi:                  | itsiʔ | ‘seed’| The PKC long vowel becomes shorter in Hyow, and thus the glottal stop develops. The initial prefix *m- in Daai (the corresponding prefix is *i- in Hyow) can refer to natural phenomena, names, and parts of plants (Hartmann, 2009: 56).
| *beŋ (I)          | kbeih\(^{11}\) (I)    | bæʔ (I) | ‘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.
| *beŋ (II)         | kbeei: (II)           | bǽ (II) |
| *phaʔ             | phou\(^{12}\)         | phòʔ | ‘stretch’| The PKC *a becomes /ə/ in Hyow (see Peterson, 2007: 2), and the final PKC glottal stop is preserved.
| *buʔ              | 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰáʔ/</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰàk/</td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsɔ̀ʔ/</td>
<td>‘document’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsɔ́k/</td>
<td>‘bamboo pot for bini’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰèʔwá/</td>
<td>‘fox’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bùʔtsún/</td>
<td>‘wrap of rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔèy/</td>
<td>‘eat.II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/péy/</td>
<td>‘edge of a bowl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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
2.2. Segmental Phonetics and Phonology

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃí/</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hí/</td>
<td>‘ask.IMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃó/</td>
<td>‘wild pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hó/</td>
<td>‘spread mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰóʃún/</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nihúʔj/</td>
<td>‘like this’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
--- | --- | ---
/mɔ́/ | [mɔ́] | 'stare’
/ɲɔ́/ | [ɲɔ́] | ‘pimple’
/mín/ | [mín] | ‘cat’
/ɲín/ | [ɲín] | ‘ripen’
/tûm/ | [tûm] | ‘play instruments’
/tûn/ | [tûn] | ‘straighten’
/ŋmûŋ/ | [ŋ̊mûŋ] | ‘trunk of an elephant’
/ᵐəŋmûl/ | [m̊mû] | ‘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 |
|--- | --- | ---
/nɔ́/ | [nɔ́] | ‘buffalo’
/ŋɔ́/ | [ŋɔ́] | ‘no more’
/ní/ | [ní] | ‘this’
/ŋí/ | [ŋí] | ‘two’
/tûm/ | [tûm] | ‘tree trunk’
/tûn/ | [tûn] | ‘push’
/pʰánáp/ | [pʰänáp] | ‘shoe’

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ŋɔ̂/</td>
<td>[ŋɔ̃ 52]</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋɔ̃/</td>
<td>[ŋɔ̃ 52]</td>
<td>‘be separated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mɔ́n/</td>
<td>[mɔ̃n 44]</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mɔ́ɲ/</td>
<td>[mɔ̃ɲ 44]</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/klíŋáľén/</td>
<td>[kli 44ŋã 44lẽ 44]</td>
<td>‘be adult/matured’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lɔ́/</td>
<td>‘raise hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l̥ɔ́/</td>
<td>‘obligate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/úlú/</td>
<td>‘mad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l̥ú/</td>
<td>‘donate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bél/</td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰóylá/</td>
<td>‘pocket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰáŋláy/</td>
<td>‘cane’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/júl/</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jûl/</td>
<td>‘wet.CAUS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/júm/</td>
<td>‘believe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jûm/</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/káj/</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰójún/</td>
<td>‘dark cloud’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-causative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jút/</td>
<td>/jút/</td>
<td>‘fall (e.g. fruits)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jáľ/</td>
<td>/jáľ/</td>
<td>‘collapse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jáčľ/</td>
<td>/jáčľ/</td>
<td>‘be.cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/júm/</td>
<td>/júm/</td>
<td>‘believe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/wá/</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wún/</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l̥ôw/</td>
<td>‘fresh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰów/</td>
<td>‘rise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰówálá/</td>
<td>‘belcher (the person who belches’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/       [bak²²]   ‘branch’
/pák/       [pak⁴⁴]   ‘without’
/pʰák/      [pʰak⁴⁴]  ‘company’

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

/dúm/ [dúm44] ‘fisherman’
/túm/ [túm44] ‘play’
/tʰúm/ [tʰúm44] ‘three’

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

/ʔ/ versus /p/

/kǽʔ/ [kæ44] ‘fear’
/kǽk/ [kæk̚44] ‘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/

/tsi/ [tsi52] ‘elder sister’
/di/ [di44] ‘thatch’
/ti/ [ti44] ‘time’
/tʰi/ [tʰi52] ‘blood’

The following minimal pair shows the phonemic contrast between the post-alveolar fricative and the glottal fricative in syllable initial positions.
2.2. Segmental Phonetics and Phonology 47

/ʃ/ versus /h/

/ʃi/ [ʃi] ‘veranda’

/hí/ [hi] ‘ask’

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

/m/ versus /ɱ/

/mûn/ [mûn] ‘cat’

/ɱûn/ [ɱûn] ‘be ripen’

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

/n/ versus /ŋ/

/nûy/ [nuy] ‘laugh’

/ŋûy/ [ŋuy] ‘dough’

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

/ŋ/ versus /ŋ̊/

/ŋɔ̂/ [ŋɔ̂] ‘fish’

/ŋ̊ɔ̂/ [ŋ̊ɔ̂] ‘be different’

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

/[lɪ̞]/  [li̞i̞]  ‘touch’

/[l̊i̞]/  [li̞i̞]  ‘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 /j/

/[jə̞]/  [ja̞i̞]  ‘howl’

/[j̊a̞]/  [ja̞i̞]  ‘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/

/[jũ̞]/  [jũ̞i̞]  ‘rabbit’

/[wũ̞]/  [wũ̞i̞]  ‘skin’

/[l̊w]/  [lowi̞]  ‘field’

/[l̊y]/  [loyi̞]  ‘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.
2.2 Segmental Phonetics and Phonology

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mɔ́kkʰúm/</td>
<td>[mɔkʰkʰúm]</td>
<td>‘measurement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nàk/</td>
<td>[nãkʰ]</td>
<td>‘be late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mɔ́ttʃõ/</td>
<td>[mɔtʃõ]</td>
<td>‘finely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bɔ́t/</td>
<td>[bɔtʰ]</td>
<td>‘hang’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jàpjavp/</td>
<td>[jav̩jav̩]</td>
<td>‘various ways’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kàp/</td>
<td>[kapʰ]</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [ʃ] 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.
### 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interchangeable free variants</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʈʰi̞⁴⁴] or [ʈʰi̞⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tu̞⁴⁴] or [tu̞⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɗaŋ⁴⁴] or [ɗaŋ⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘beam’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
--- | ---
[zæʰ⁴] or [jæʰ⁴] | ‘hairline’
[zæ¹¹] or [jæ¹¹] | ‘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.
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.


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

Table 31: Samples for measuring VOT of voiceless stops

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean of VOT</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-110</td>
<td>-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>7.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of tokens</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ts</th>
<th>p/t/k</th>
<th>ph/th/kh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean of VOT</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>10.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of tokens</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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.

![Comparison of duration between voiced and voiceless sonorants](image)

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.
2.2. Segmental Phonetics and Phonology

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 /ɘ/ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Central unrounded</th>
<th>Central rounded</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bɪ/</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bê/</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃɪ/</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃê/</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃǽ/</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃî/</td>
<td>‘sesame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kí/</td>
<td>‘parrot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonetics and phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰʉ/</td>
<td>‘pigeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰɘ/</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰå/</td>
<td>‘termite’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 35: Minimal pairs for front vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰʉ/</td>
<td>‘pigeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰɘ/</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰå/</td>
<td>‘termite’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /u/ and central mid /ɘ/ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰʉ/</td>
<td>‘carry on the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰɘ/</td>
<td>‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰå/</td>
<td>‘be bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʉ/</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɔ́/</td>
<td>‘keep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [æ] is found either after [k] or before [ʔ] or both, as in [kæ\textsuperscript{11}]
‘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 [æ].

1. \(/æ/ \rightarrow [\text{æ}]/\) ?
2. \(/æ/ \rightarrow [\text{æ}]/[k] \left\{ \text{C} \right\} \#\)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jæʔ/</td>
<td>[jæʔ\textsuperscript{22}]</td>
<td>‘be heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jæʔ/</td>
<td>[jæʔ\textsuperscript{22}]</td>
<td>‘sell.II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hæʔl/</td>
<td>[hæʔl\textsuperscript{22}]</td>
<td>‘discriminate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kæ/</td>
<td>[kæ\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘bean’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. \(V \rightarrow \tilde{V}/ N \left\{ \text{C} \right\} \#\)
4. \(V \rightarrow \tilde{V}/ \left\{ \text{C} \right\} \#\ N\)

Examples in Table 39 illustrate the proposition stated in 3 and 4.
Table 39: Examples showing the allophonic variant of vowels in Hyow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mɔ́/</td>
<td>[mɔ̃⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘pimple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bʊ́n/</td>
<td>[bʊ̃ⁿ⁵²]</td>
<td>‘get.1’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lʊ́ŋ/</td>
<td>[lũ̃ⁿ⁵²]</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mʊ́m/</td>
<td>[mũ̃⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘ache’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, an 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1 (Hz)</th>
<th>F2 (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[bi̠52]</td>
<td>‘work.IMP’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>2411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kʰi̠13]</td>
<td>‘full payment’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>2389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰi̠13]</td>
<td>‘pressurize’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>2449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hi̠44]</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>2331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pi̠44]</td>
<td>‘cane rope’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>2333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hi̠52]</td>
<td>‘feeling cold’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>2418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hi̠44]</td>
<td>‘correct’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʰi̠44]</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>2303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[thi̠52]</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>2370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td>358</td>
<td>2378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1 (Hz)</th>
<th>F2 (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[tse̠11]</td>
<td>‘raise hand to beat’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>2176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[je̠52]</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>2121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[be̠52]</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>2192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bel̩44]</td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>2244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td>444</td>
<td>2183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1 (Hz)</th>
<th>F2 (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kæ̩52]</td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>2145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kæ̩52]</td>
<td>‘bean’</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>2071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kæ̩44]</td>
<td>‘stop dheki’</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>2118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hæ̩44]</td>
<td>‘select’</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hæ̩44]</td>
<td>‘miss a target’</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hæ̩ʔ52]</td>
<td>‘discriminate’</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>1827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 42: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /æ/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1  (Hz)</th>
<th>F2  (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[utʰ⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘bloat’</td>
<td>ʉ</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>1620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ukʰ⁻²²]</td>
<td>‘cheer’</td>
<td>ʉ</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>1570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mu⁵²]</td>
<td>‘be blind’</td>
<td>ʉ</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʰuⁿ^⁵²]</td>
<td>‘measure.II’</td>
<td>ʉ</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰuʰ⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘lit fire’</td>
<td>ʉ</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>1693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>324</td>
<td>1728</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1  (Hz)</th>
<th>F2  (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[bə¹¹]</td>
<td>‘disarrange’</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pə¹¹]</td>
<td>‘enter hand into hole’</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʰə⁵²]</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>2080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ə⁵²]</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kʰə⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>2068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>522</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1  (Hz)</th>
<th>F2  (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[tukʰ⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘move slowly’</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃukʰ⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘punch’</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>1355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃukʰ⁴⁴]</td>
<td>‘end of road’</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>462</td>
<td>1328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 45: Tokens for the acoustic analysis of /u/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kho\textsuperscript{11}]</td>
<td>‘leg’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>1436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hyow\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>1160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pok\textsuperscript{42}]</td>
<td>‘burst’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>1503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pok\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘cut a tree with an axe’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pok\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘eating of chicken’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>1557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>549</td>
<td>1446</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[hɔ\textsuperscript{52}]</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>1242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hɔ\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘joke’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>1309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋɔ\textsuperscript{52}]</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>1577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lɔ\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘wash face’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔ\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘flute in folk drama’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>1498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mɔ\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘pimple’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>719</td>
<td>1442</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Target Vowel</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kʰa\textsuperscript{52}]</td>
<td>‘white ant’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ha\textsuperscript{52}]</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ha\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘snacks’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʰa\textsuperscript{44}]</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>1592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>843</td>
<td>1544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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](image)

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. pilšk ‘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-khôl=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 `=â`. The additive clitic becomes `=hâ` following the dative clitic `=â`. 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 `nâng`. 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) \(\text{kéyá kálá kólóng méyáʔ} \).  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kéy} &= \text{á} & \text{ká-lá} & \text{kó-óng} & \text{mèy-áʔ} \\
1\text{SG}=\text{ADD} &  \text{1SG.POSS-land} & \text{1SG.POSS-EE} & \text{exist-3SG.NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) \(\text{kótsó kútsúhnu kópóʔéyáʔyhyá}.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kó-tsó} & \text{ kú-tsúhnu} & \text{kó- póʔ-éy-áʔy-hyá} \\
1\text{SG.POSS-son} &  \text{1SG.POSS-daughter} & \text{1A-DV.II-MID-IRR-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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, têm-âl-êng becomes tô-mâ-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
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 – kół ‘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-āl ‘pick up.II-DEP’ becomes kò-łāl 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 phámphéʔ 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, phámphéʔ = ńg ‘broom=INE’ becomes phámphé = yǒng. 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 rephonomization (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kontu Hyow</th>
<th>Laitu Hyow</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Σ…V-shδ</td>
<td>Σ…V-hδ</td>
<td>hí-hδ (ask.II-PM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ…t-shδ</td>
<td>Σ…t-thδ</td>
<td>tsét-thδ (go-PM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ…p-shδ</td>
<td>Σ…p-phδ</td>
<td>ip-phδ (sleep-PM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ…k-shδ</td>
<td>Σ…k-khδ</td>
<td>pék-khδ (give.II-PM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ…l-shδ</td>
<td>Σ…l-hlδ</td>
<td>yúl-hlδ (get.wet-PM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ…n-shδ</td>
<td>Σ…n-hnδ</td>
<td>bín-hnδ (touch.II-PM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /l/ in the final position. Therefore, the predicate-marking suffix contains a voiceless lateral approximant initial.
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.
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, ọ-bóp ‘1P-beat’ means ‘He beats me’, while ọ-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic representation</th>
<th>Phonetic representation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hà/</td>
<td>[ha(^{52})]</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/há/</td>
<td>[ha(^{44})]</td>
<td>‘swidden potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hâ/</td>
<td>[ha(^{11})]</td>
<td>‘snacks’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 50: Examples showing three lexical tones in Hyow
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. kéy/náng/ání ___ kV/nV/∅-hɔw
   1SG/2SG/3SG ___ 1SG/2SG/3SG-say(s)
   ‘I/You/He say(s)___.’

2. kéy/náng/ání ___ kV/nV/∅-yɘk
   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
---|---|---
/hɔ̄/ | [hɔ\textsuperscript{52}] | ‘bird’
/hɔ́/ | [hɔ\textsuperscript{44}] | ‘spread mouth’
/hɔ̀/ | [hɔ\textsuperscript{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\textsubscript{0} of the following vowels (Ohala 1978; Yip, 2003: 33) and the F\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{0} was done following Coupe (2003). However, Coupe 2003 used the process to avoid any spurious F\textsubscript{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: F$_0$ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tʰi/</td>
<td>[tʰi$^{52}$]</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰi/</td>
<td>[tʰi$^{44}$]</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰi/</td>
<td>[tʰi$^{11}$]</td>
<td>‘umbrella’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: F$_0$ values and rhyme durations) and the low-level tone has a mean duration of 223 ms see (Table 109 in Appendix I: F$_0$ values and rhyme durations).
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 F₀ of around 145 Hz and the low tone has an initial F₀ of around 130 Hz. In his discussion of Mongsen Ao, Coupe (2003: 105) suggests that the relative height of F₀ 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.

|                | Tone | obs | rank sum | expected | p>|z| |
|----------------|------|-----|----------|----------|-----|
| 0%             |      |     |          |          | 0.0014 |
| L (22)         | 6    | 21  | 48       |          |      |
| H (44)         | 9    | 99  | 72       |          |      |
| combine        | 15   | 120 | 120      |          |      |
| 50%            |      |     |          |          | 0.0038 |
| L (22)         | 6    | 23.5| 48       |          |      |
| H (44)         | 9    | 96.5| 72       |          |      |
| combine        | 15   | 120 | 120      |          |      |
| 100%           |      |     |          |          | 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 [±stiff] and [±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 thyroartenoid 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hâ/</td>
<td>[hâ52]</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰâ/</td>
<td>[tʰa52]</td>
<td>‘be strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kî/</td>
<td>[ki52]</td>
<td>‘parrot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃî/</td>
<td>[ʃi52]</td>
<td>‘sesame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɔ̂/</td>
<td>[hɔ52]</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 F0 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 Gungrupara Hyow (EGH). One male speaker was consulted for this analysis. Similar to the analysis of monosyllabic words, the F0 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 underlingly 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 underlingly 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.

![Pitch contrast in disyllabic words (MDW with final smooth syllable)](image1)

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

![Pitch contrast in disyllabic words (MDW with final checked syllable)](image2)

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.

A. \( N + \text{EXP} \Rightarrow N-\text{EXP} \)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
H \ L \\
\hline
H \ L \\
\hline
H \ H \ L \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

B. \( N + \text{EXP} \Rightarrow N-\text{EXP} \)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
| \\
H \\
\hline
| \\
H \ L \\
\hline
L \ H \ L \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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 suffix](image)

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 -khol.

---

16 NIFN 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 -tsɔ̂. 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.
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.

2.6.3.5 Derived words

Nouns can be derived from verbs by different kinds of nominalizers in Hyow. The nominalizing prefix -tíʔ 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](image)

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 underlingly. 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 *nûpɔ́* ‘parents’ with another word *pɔ́* ‘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 *nûpɔ́* ‘parents’. The second member of the compound does not go under any tonal change due to this word formation process.
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.
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 Fonágy & 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 bù́n ‘get.II’ has a high tone. Here, the underlying tone of the verb has been downplayed by the falling intonation.

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.
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 $=\delta m$ and a polar interrogative clause is marked by the clitic $=\acute{e}y$, 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 $=\delta m$ 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 $=\acute{e}y$ 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 $-\acute{e}y$ (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 -hɔ 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.
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 43: Pitch representation at the boundary of a content interrogative clause

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 *tsêt* ‘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](image)

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.
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 §3.4.11 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 hɔ́ é-lén ‘The bird is big.’ When the stative verb é-lén follows a noun without the prefix, as in hɔ́ 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 spontaneous 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Negative suffixes on verbs in present tense</th>
<th>Negative suffixes with delayed negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>DL.INC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ-ngâ</td>
<td>Σ-pû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Σ-tî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Σ-áʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 55: Negative suffixes in Hyow

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

The example in (7) demonstrates an intransitive lómęy ‘commute’ inflected for negation, which is encoded by the third person plural marking suffix.
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) èykš? túp í-nhm?-ds̲k.
èy = kš? túp í-ní-hmù?-ds̲k
ANAPH.DE=GEN hat 3A-PL-see.II-ANT

‘They had seen his hat.’ [ZM_PSC_072015_Hyow_0040_0021]
3.3. Open Word Class

(9) úlúngtsé lèkéyhy₃ hn₃? át₃

ú-lúng = tsâélèk-éy-hy₃hn₃?á-t₃

3SG.POSS-heart=TOPbe.small-MID-PM DP3SG.POSS-brother

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

[ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0048]

(10) ngók lèkâŋf tâkh₃?tifi.

ngók lèk = â = ní tâkh₃? = tî

brother’s.wife be.small=DAT=FOCtell.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 kho₃d₃ tsùmtsé nútúkè?yhn₃nhng₃?

èy kho = â = dò tsùm = tsâélútúkè?y-hn₃nhng₃

ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=EMPHgiant=TOP2A-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) èydø èrshadlåsè túâʔ.

èydø  èrshad = là = tsåè  túâʔ
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 búʔ ká-áʔéy (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 -âl (§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 -hát (§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) èydø tông khoí mlshlhlâ.

èydø  tông  khoí  í-ní-shfl-âl-hlâ
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 mêy ‘stay’ is classified as intransitive and the verb hmúʔ ‘see.II’ is classified as transitive in Hyow.
Based on the discussion made so far, the properties of Hyow verbs are listed in Table 56.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Stative Intransitive</th>
<th>Action Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Ditransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument indexing</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directional prefix</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modality and aspect</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidentiality</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem alternation</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicatives</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of a verb clause</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form modifiers</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, *hmütstɔ́ ‘girl’* in (16) is marked by the ergative case clitic =lā, which formally defines it as a noun.

\[(16) \text{èydɔ́ hmütstu=lâ khūy hnū?pēkālhlɔ́} \]

\[
\text{èydɔ́ } \text{hmütstä}=\text{lā } \text{khūy } \text{hnū?-pēk-āl-hlā}  \\
\text{then } \text{girl=ERG } \text{story } \text{narrate.II-BEN-DEP-PM}
\]

‘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 ɔ́bɔ́ng ‗many‘ follows nouns of both animate and inanimate referents. The example in (17) shows the quantification of a noun by following it.

\[(17) \text{ê táá ɔ́bɔ́ng êbʉ́ } \]

\[
\text{ê táá } \text{ɔ́bɔ́ng } \text{ê } \text{bʉ́ } \text{yes } \text{money } \text{many } \text{3A-get.II}
\]

‘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 ɔ́bɔ́ng ‘many’ preceded by a personal name is ungrammatical, as shown in (18). On the other hand, since tsɔ́ng ‘paddy’ is a common noun in (19), the use of the quantifier bíttsɔ́ ‘a little bit’ is grammatically correct.
Gender marking is not available in Hyow. Instead, the word for ‘mother’, nû and ‘father, pû are suffixed to nouns to mark motherhood and fatherhood of animate referents respectively, as in à-nû (chicken-MO) ‘hen that has chicks’ and àhlûy-pû (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 àhlûy ‘rooster’. Since the word àhlûy ‘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) ḗydɔ̀ ḗyánt ḗhlúyɔ̀dɔ̀ tákɗáhɔ̀ndìtì.

`Then, she told the father rooster there again like before.'

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Sub-classes of nouns</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bound nouns</td>
<td>Inalienable body part term</td>
<td>ụ-kū́t (GRP-hand) ‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bound common noun</td>
<td>á-hngá (GRP-servant) ‘servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bound locative noun</td>
<td>ụ-dú́k (GRP-inside) ‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbound nouns</td>
<td>Unbound locative noun noun</td>
<td>shʃ̀ʔy ‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kinship term</td>
<td>tά ‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alienable body part term</td>
<td>ńin ‘nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proper noun</td>
<td>lódɔ̀ ‘Bandarban town’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common noun</td>
<td>lɔ́m ‘road’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 phɘ̂l 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 khǽ ‘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) ëynítsɛ ú-kút khǽnìá póyhyš.

ëyní = tsɛ    ú-kút    khǽ = ní = á    póy-hyš
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 ë-hǹn ‘belly’ is specific, which can be inferred from the context. Therefore, in (22), the prefix attached to the body-part term ë-hǹn (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) ñhǹn dükâ ëtsù hngát méyti.

ë-hǹn    dúk = â    ë-tsù    hngát    méy = 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]
3.3. Open Word Class

Table 58: Inalienable body part terms in Hyow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun subclass</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable body part terms</td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$-$\tilde{u}k\acute{i}$ (GRP-head) ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\delta$-$kh\tilde{o}$ (GRP-leg) ‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\delta$-$h\acute{o}$n (GRP-belly) ‘belly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\delta$-$hn\tilde{g}k\tilde{u}$ (GRP-ear) ‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$-$k\breve{u}tp\acute{e}m$ (GRP-finger) ‘finger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $\tilde{a}$-$l\acute{\acute{a}}$ ‘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 $l\acute{\acute{a}}$, the noun would refer to a specific possessor, which would be expressed by the anaphoric use of the distant demonstrative pronoun $ts\tilde{u}$ ‘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).
Like the inalienable body part terms, when a specific possessor is used, the bound common noun loses its generic referential prefix. For example, \( \text{ú-hnûy} \) ‘grain’ is a bound common noun. When a specific possessor is added, then the root \( \text{hnûy} \) gets rid of its generic referential prefix \( \text{ú} \), as shown in (24).

(24) \( \text{èydø dú álá fníshòt-éy} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èydø} & \quad \text{tsú} & \quad \text{á-lá} & \quad \text{fní-shòt-éy} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{DIST} & \quad \text{GRP-land} & \quad \text{3A-PL-look.II-MID}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then, they look at the land themselves.’

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_004]

‘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 \( \text{ó-hlông} \) ‘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, \( \text{khålông} \) ‘a name of a river/forefather of six clans that descend from the river (Myanmar Laitu use \( \text{ó-lông} \) instead of \( \text{ó-hlông} \).)’ refers to an ancestor.
Bound common nouns

- **ú-krấy** (GRP-lump) ‘lump’
- **é-krếk** (GRP-powder) ‘powder’
- **í-shî́p** (GRP-poison) ‘poison’
- **ú-hnû́y** (GRP-grain) ‘grain’
- **â-hngá** (GRP-servant) ‘servant’
- **ó-hlông** (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 ëy-ấy ấmánú hngát=ê̂ng.

ímthông íbó ëy-ấy á-mánú hngát = ë̂ng
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 **š-döm** (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 **kếy ím döm = a** (1SG house over=LOC) ‘over my house’. Examples of a bound locative noun are given
in (26) and (27). The bound locative noun ɔ́kɔ́l (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) shiʔmè dy hñąŋą ɔ́kɔ́l shò-yâ. ‘When he was plucking (the pears), he did not look down at that time.’

(27) thîng kɔ́l kɛy ká-kòʔl ál. ‘I went to pick up that (bird) under the tree.’

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 naŋg ‘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.
3.3. Open Word Class

(28) *èy dükáni tōkpě₃kkh₃*.

\[
[èy \quad dük = â = nî]_{NP} \quad [tōk-pě₃-kh₃]_{VCMPLEX}
\]

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

‘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 méyhyâ*

\[
ú-dúk = â \quad khán \quad méy-hyâ
\]

\[
GRP\text{-}inside=LOC \quad room \quad exist-PM
\]

‘There is a room inside.’ [ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_004]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun subclass</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bound locative nouns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á-lây (GPP-middle)</td>
<td>‘middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ỳ-kâl (GPP-under)</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ỳ-kên (GPP-near)</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ỳ-pâng (GPP-side)</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 – *khòk* ‘near’, *shòʔy* ‘near’, *thòʔw* ‘from’, *láʔ* ‘with (including)’ and *kóŋsŋ* ‘with’.

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

(30) *èyksŋ* *khòkáds* *áːmë*

èy = kɔʔ khòk = å = dɔ á-óm-æ

ANAPH.DEM=GEN near=LOC=EMPH DIR-sit-POL.IMP.SG

‘Go to sit near that.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_024]

(31) *náŋg* *slá* *khòkâ* *khòytsiptsâ* *kót-šòkhùt-šò?*.

náŋg slá khòk = å khòytsíp-tsâ kó-tók-hùt-šò?

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* *shòʔykhòlâ* *kìhnï-tsètlâ?*.

slá shòʔy-khòl = å kì-hnî-tsèt-la?

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 *láʔ* in *ú-núlâʔ* (3SG.POSS-mother with) ‘with his mother’ and in *á-tsàng-núpâ* *láʔ* (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-núpõ 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 mëy ‘stay/live’ in (33).

(33) álæktsô khrô thôʔw mëyhyô ǝ ø átsángnúpô kônsông. átsángnúpô kônsông. hyàʔhitse ø ǝ yúnuláʔ átsángnúpôláʔ útû ínímëyëhyôyô /

ǽ-læk-tsô khrô thôʔw mëy-hyô ǝ ø á-tsáng-núpô

3SG.POSS-be.small-DIM time from stay-PM ANAPH.DEM GRP-be.old-parents

kônsông á-tsáng-núpô kônsông hyàʔ- hö = tsê ø ǝy

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-nf-mëy-ǽʔy-hyô = øy

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 tông, as in tông láʔ (basket with), to say that the boy takes the pears including the basket.
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 Shō (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun subclass</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pɔ̂</em> ‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nû</em> ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship terms</td>
<td><em>tå</em> ‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tsî</em> ‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pûy</em> ‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pûshël</em> ‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $=\delta$ to the kinship terms.

(35) $\text{púyó púshéló bóhítsæ̂ kéyádétsæ̂ èy phíánåkå kétséta?yhyå tîng}$

$púy\text{-}ó$ púshél-$ó$ bóhí = tsâe kéy = å = dâ = tsâe èy

aunt=VOC uncle=VOC then=TOP 1sg-also=EMPH=TOP ANAPH.DEM

phíá nók-å ké-tséta?y-hyå 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 $=\delta$, a kinship word can be marked by a plural marker (§5.5.3). The plural suffix -tíʔ 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 pɔ̂ ‘father’ do not refer to plural numbers of the referent’s mother and father, rather it refers to the whole family in the example given 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, ngòk-tíʔ-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.
Word classes

(36) *tsiʔəyálnì, èyà nútì? póʔìkhóllà tâtsì? ngəktì?khólláni ñntákhnəʔtì?

*tsiʔ-èy-èl-ní èy = â nû-tì? pó-ìʔ-khōl = lá

take.II-MID-DEP-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=LOC mother-PL father-PL-EXP=ERG
tá-ìʔ ngəktìʔ-khōl = lá = ní í-ní-ták-hnəʔi = ti

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: *shõn* ‘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 *shõn* ‘hair’ in Hyow.

(37) *èydõ shõn phûvéyëy.*

èydõ shõn phû-èy-èy

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 =ô with a personal name.
(38) ɛydə ʊhlátsɪŋə kɒŋ hyənɛytsə.

`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 -tʰʔ 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) tsú̃ bármá ɪnləmhmə, ɛy phrúthɔ̃y-tif báʔthwɔ̃y-tif pú[tif khæ̀.

`They crossed Burma, those Phruythoy and Bahthway, 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) búʔ lóngshǽʔ ɔ́n lóngshǽʔ á-thǝ̃ʔy-hyǝ̃.

búʔ lóng-shǝ̃ʔ ɔ́n lóng-shǝ̃ʔ á-thǝ̃ʔy- hyǝ̃
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) úytsǝ̃ʔ füák hnh?-tsǝ̃nty-?hǝ̃?=tì.

úy-tsǝ̃ʔ = ní fü-ák í-hnh?-tsǝ̃n-tǝ̃y-hnǝ̃?=tì
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>khó-kǔm ‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khó-hnúp ‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khó ‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khrí ‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna</td>
<td>ūy ‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tùʔy ‘tiger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mûy ‘elephant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>khéypá ‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thíng ‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insects</td>
<td>khóy ‘bee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pîl ‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mɔ́ ‘bedbug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khlɔ́ ‘cockroach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>khôw ‘spoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hmúlang ‘mirror’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hníbók ‘gun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hêy ‘axe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsim ‘da/knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>kɔ́m ‘bank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dí ‘dirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bé ‘word’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun categories</th>
<th>Properties of nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Head of a NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body part terms</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound locative nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound common nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbound common nouns</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbound locative nouns</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 63: Properties of nouns in Hyow
### 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL.INC</th>
<th>DL.EXC</th>
<th>PL.INC</th>
<th>PL.EXC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>kéy</td>
<td>hñíhñíʔ</td>
<td>kéyhníʔ</td>
<td>nàngkéʔy</td>
<td>kéyníʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>náng</td>
<td>nànghníʔ, náháʔy</td>
<td>nànghníʔ, náʔy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>ání</td>
<td>áhníʔ</td>
<td>áníʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, náháʔy and náʔy respectively, cannot be predicted. However, the háʔy of the second person dual pronoun form, which expresses the number, seems to be related to a third person dual marker -hɘ́ʔy on verb. Examples of the alternative second person pronouns are given in (42) and (43).

(42) **náháʔydó ṭëtëálhníʔ.**

náháʔy = dó  ä́-të- ál-hñíʔ

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

‘Send us back.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_127]
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 *náʔ* 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 *ēy* in Hyow (not shown in Figure 48).
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, -hɘ́ʔy and -khôl attached to the demonstrative pronouns to form third person dual and plural pronouns respectively. Examples of the distal demonstrative and proximal demonstrative referri

(44) èydɘ̀ èy pə̀n-ȅng tsȗ̀-hɘ́ʔy=á i-hnȑʔ-tsé̀-tâl  
èydɘ̀ èy pə̀n-ȅng tsȗ̀-hɘ́ʔy=á i-hnȑʔ-tsé̀-tâl  
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) sȗ̀hóʔ nȉ-khöt lȗm-hnʉ̀ŋ-gȗ̀hɘ̀  
shoʔ nì-khöl lùm-hnùŋ-ú-hɘ̀  
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 hȗ́ʔy, bó and lùp are frequently used to form manner adverbial demonstrative, as in nȉhȗ́ʔy ‘like this’, tsȗ̀bó ‘like this’, èy/lùp ‘like that’, etc. In addition, when the demonstratives are marked by the locative and inessive case clitics, they form locative adverbial demonstratives, as
in \( ní = ā (\text{PROX} = \text{LOC}) \) ‘here’, \( tsū = ā (\text{DIST} = \text{LOC}) \) ‘there’ and \( ëy = ā (\text{ANAPH} = \text{LOC}) \) ‘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 = \( ëm \) or a polar question-marking clitic = \( ëy \) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ontological categories</th>
<th>Interrogative pronouns</th>
<th>Underline structures</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>ì</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mbıng</td>
<td>mbıng</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>ů</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>mbā</td>
<td>mó = ā (where=LOC)</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>mità</td>
<td>í-tí = ā (what-time=LOC)</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause</td>
<td>yá</td>
<td>yá</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>ibš</td>
<td>í-bš (what-way)</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>ibšng</td>
<td>í-ššng (what-many)</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>ihyšʔ</td>
<td>í-hyšʔ (what-much)</td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 65: Interrogative pronouns in Hyow

Table 65 demonstrates that four of the interrogative pronouns are based on \( ì \) (what). The Thing interrogative pronoun \( ì \) and the Process interrogative pronoun \( ibš \) 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 -š 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) *mɔ̀ngə̀ fa消防安全?m?

\[
\text{mɔ̀ng-}=\text{â} \quad \text{f-ní-}=\text{âm}
\]

**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) *tə hlə̀m?

\[
\text{f-}=\text{hlú}=\text{âm}
\]

**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) *f khèwkhôl n5krówhə̀m.

\[
f \quad \text{khèw-khôl \ n5-krów-h}=\text{âm}
\]

**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 hyáʔ‘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 = lâ = há (what=ERG=SC.ADD) ‘even who’ used in a clause with negative polarity in (49).
(49) **kēy dúkháʔ úláhá khíʔeyhnáʔá .**

kēy dúkháʔ  ú = là = há  khíʔ-ëy-hnáʔ-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 =á 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Negative indefinite pronouns</th>
<th>Underlying forms and meanings</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thing</strong></td>
<td>iá hyáʔ</td>
<td>i = á hyáʔ (what=SC.ADD be.not)</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘even what not’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person</strong></td>
<td>úá hyáʔ</td>
<td>ú = á hyáʔ (who=SC.ADD be.not)</td>
<td>‘none (no one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘even who not’</td>
<td>(S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>úláhá Σ-áʔ</td>
<td>ú = là = há Σ-áʔ (who=ERG=SC.ADD root-3SG.NEG)</td>
<td>‘none (no one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘even who not’</td>
<td>(A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place</strong></td>
<td>mòáhá hyáʔ</td>
<td>mòá = há hyáʔ (where=SC.ADD be.not)</td>
<td>‘nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘even where not’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>itláhá hiáʔ</td>
<td>itlá = há hyáʔ (when=SC.ADD be.not)</td>
<td>‘never’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘even when not’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɬkút ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Specific indefinite pronouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>ūák, ɬm</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>ɬm</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>mɔ̀ngɑ́m, mɔ́ɑ́m, ūākạ́</td>
<td>‘somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>ɬkút khọ́ạ</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 67: Specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow

Non-specific indefinite pronouns in Hyow obligatorily include the morpheme lâlâ 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 lâlâ followed by pêy. The morpheme lâlâ 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) lâlâkhọ́ẹ́pêy kînãfóáɬyhyòsdî kéynî? ɭ.

lâlâkhọ́ẹ́pêy   kí-ní-ló-áɬy-hy5 = dʒ         kéynî?

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

‘We will come anytime.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_042]

(51) kóbóyó lâlâhùɗŷpêy ápó ɭ.

kó-bóy-ó   lâlâhùɗŷpêy   á-pó

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

‘My lord! Go to mend (that) anyhow.’
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 hənť̪̪̮ng-ť̪̪̮š̪̪̮ pùm-hľ̪̮ g=k providers ləľ̪̪̮ pēy tsi-eybəy.

èy ANAPH.DE M banana.tree-DIM CLS-four=INE=GEN ləľ̪̪̮ pēy anything

tsí-êy-bəy
take.I.IMP-mid-DEL.IMP

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Non-specific indefinite pronouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>ləľ̪̪̮ pēy</td>
<td>‘anything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>ľ̪̪̮ š̪̪̮ pēy</td>
<td>‘anyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>ləľ̪̪̮ pēy</td>
<td>‘anywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>ləľ̪̪̮ ǩ̪̪̮ pēy</td>
<td>‘anytime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>ľ̪̪̮ ľ̪̪̮ hû̪̪̮̌ pēy</td>
<td>‘anyhow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hŋgát
(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. One the other hand, the plural indefinite pronoun, hâng-hâng 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 =lā. On the other hand, the generic indefinite pronoun is functioning as the S argument of the intransitive verb lò ‘come’ in (54).

(53) èydë èy hngât lā á-pék-āl.
èydë  èy   hngát = lā  á-pék-āl
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 hngät shàykèlšng lòm…
óló  hngät  shàykèl = šng  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 pòy-èy (be.good-MID) ‘beautiful’. In (56), it is functioning as P argument of the transitive verb shâël ‘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-shéʔ (cls-six). The classifier helps to identify the elided head, which is ‘woman’.

(55) **hángháng páyèy.**

hángháng páy-èy

all be.good-MID

‘All were beautiful.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0065]

(56) **èy-khōl khēn extrapol hángháng ínísheʔlāl.**

èy-khōl khē = ní hángháng i-ní-shēʔl-āl

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) **pōtō móʔdēhōn hángháng pótsóngshēktē.**

pōtō móʔ dē-hō = ní hángháng pótsóng-shēk = tsē
couple owner COP-PM=FOC all cls-six=top

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 pɔ́t (PROX way) ‘this way’ and tsú pɔ́t (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 túytsɔ́ktsɔ́ tsɔ́kshǽ? tsí-èy-hnì?*

\[ nf\ [tàytsɔ́k-tɔ́s]\text{\_\text{HEAD}} \quad tsɔ́k-shǽ? \quad tsí-èy-hnì? \]

PROX [bamboo.water.glass-DIM] M.CL.$\text{seven}$ take.I.$\text{IMP}$-MID-DEL.$\text{IMP}$

‘Take these seven bamboo water-glasses.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_130]

(59) *tsú ímá kɔ́y.*

\[ tsú\ [ím=ât]\text{\_\text{HEAD}} \quad kɔ́y \]

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 *tsɔ́k-shǽ?*(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, ëy, can function as nominal demonstrative. The anaphoric demonstrative ëy 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 wân ‘thing’, which is already mentioned in previous discourse. This use of the nominal anaphoric demonstrative allows the addressee to track down the referent.

(60) ëydë ëy wànkholšng nâmb tsëtlâhlâ.

ëydë ëy [wân-khol = šng] â [tsë-tâl-hlâ]
then ANAPH.DEM [thing-EXP=COMT] village=LOC go-DEP-PM

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

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 hyšt ‘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.
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 ɔ́bɔ́ng ‘many’ can modify both a count and a mass noun, as in tû ɔ́bɔ́ng ‘many water’ and ng ɔ́bɔ́ng ‘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-lúkt ‘his head’ by following it. Likewise, it is quantifying the anaphoric demonstrative in (64).

(63) èydɔ́ ú-lúkt hángháng khà?éýálf.

èydɔ́ ú-lúkt hángháng khà?éý-álf = tī 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]
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 *hānghāng* for inanimate referents and *khæ* for animate referents. However, textual examples show that the quantifier *hānghāng* can be used for animate referents as well.

(65) *khōytsipkhōl khæ hōwā? fnímìk tsēkhōt.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khōytsip-khōl</th>
<th>khæ</th>
<th>hōwā?</th>
<th>fnímìk</th>
<th>tsēkhōt = tî</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ring-EXP</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>without</td>
<td>3.POSS-PL-eye</td>
<td>be.impaired-PM=PM=R.EVID</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Their eyes were impaired without all rings.’

[ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0047]

The quantifying word *sēng* 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) *èy hānghāng tsōwālūlātsē fnā fmēshāyāl.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>èy</th>
<th>hānghāng</th>
<th>tsōw-āl-ū-lā = tsē</th>
<th>fnā = â</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANAPH.DEM</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>dig.I-DEP-3PL-SEQ=TOP</td>
<td>house=LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f-ní-sháy-āl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A-PL-bring.again.and.again.II-DEP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_031]
(66) **bòystsè ṣbông mèyèy.**

*bòy = tsè  ṣbông  mèy-èy*

*book*$_{\text{TOP}}$  *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 *dùm* ‘half’ is used for quantifying liquid referents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifiers</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hánghánɡ, khǽ</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣbông</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíttṣ́</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bǽngák</td>
<td>‘half’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dùm</td>
<td>‘half’ (for liquid)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *gǐp* is used in the decimal slot. This morpheme for expressing decimal originates in PTB *gǐp* (Benedict 1972) or *g(y)ip* (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.
Table 70: Cardinal numeral (1-10) in Hyow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB (Benedict 1972)</th>
<th>PTB (Matisoff 2003)</th>
<th>PKC (VanBik 2009)</th>
<th>Hyow</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*t(y)ik</td>
<td>*t(y)ak×17</td>
<td>*khat×?at×*hat</td>
<td>hŋá’t, āk</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g-nis</td>
<td>*ni</td>
<td>*ni?×*hni?</td>
<td>hniʔ</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g-sum</td>
<td>*sum</td>
<td>*thum</td>
<td>thûm</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b-liy</td>
<td>*lỳy</td>
<td>*lii</td>
<td>hlí</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l-nga</td>
<td>*nga</td>
<td>*ngaa</td>
<td>hŋgáʔ</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d-ruk</td>
<td>*kruk, *ruk</td>
<td>*ruk</td>
<td>shék</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>*ni</td>
<td>*sa-riʔ</td>
<td>shëʔ</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b-r-gyat</td>
<td>*gyat×ryat</td>
<td>*riat</td>
<td>shët</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d-kuw</td>
<td>*gow, *kow, *row</td>
<td>*kua</td>
<td>kóʔ</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gip</td>
<td>*g(y)ip, *gip</td>
<td>*hraa</td>
<td>há</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 70 demonstrates two forms for numeral one in Hyow. The unbound numeral hŋá’t originates in the PKC *khat×?at×*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 hŋáτ ‘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, āk, originates in the PTB *t(y)ik (Benedict 1972) or *t(y)ak×*t(y)ik (Matisoff 2003).

The numeral āk is bound, because it has to be attached to classifiers in order to form a numeral compound, as in hɔ̂ lù-āk (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 *hníʔ* ‘two’ originates in PTB *g-nis*. There is a voicing alternation of the nasal in Hyow. The numeral *hníʔ* also forms the first and second person dual pronouns. The numeral *thùm* ‘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.
After ten, the numerals are formed by taking the morpheme páyléy, 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 páyléy) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>páyléyák</td>
<td>páyléy-ák (after.ten-one)</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páyléyhńíʔ</td>
<td>páyléy-hńíʔ (after.ten-two)</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūl</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūlgółhngát</td>
<td>kūl-gōl-hngát (twenty-and-one)</td>
<td>‘twenty one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thúnggíp</td>
<td>thúng-gíp (three-ten)</td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thúnggíp–gółhngát</td>
<td>thúng-gíp-gōl-hngát (three-ten-and-one)</td>
<td>‘thirty one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hľígíp</td>
<td>hľí-gíp (four-ten)</td>
<td>‘forty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hngągíp</td>
<td>hngą-gíp (five-ten)</td>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrák</td>
<td>khrá-ák (hundred-one)</td>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khráhńíʔ</td>
<td>khrá-hńíʔ (hundred-two)</td>
<td>‘two hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khráhńíʔ–gółhlí</td>
<td>khrá-hńíʔ-gōl-hlí (hundred-two-and-four)</td>
<td>‘two hundred and four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thónghngát</td>
<td>thóng-hngát (thousand-one)</td>
<td>‘one thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thónghá</td>
<td>thóng-há (thousand-ten)</td>
<td>‘ten thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thóngkúl</td>
<td>thóng-kúl (thousand-twenty)</td>
<td>‘twenty thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thóngthúnggíp</td>
<td>thóng-thúng-gíp (thousand-three-ten)</td>
<td>‘thirty thousand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 71: Cardinal numerals in Hyow
could be a very old Tai loan, as it has the same meaning in Thai and other Southestern 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 gîp ‘ten’ with the bases, as in thúng-gîp (three-ten) ‘thirty’, hlí-gîp (four-ten) ‘forty’, etc. Though the numeral for three is thúm, Hyow seems to have velarized the final nasal for the numeral thúng-gîp ‘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-gîp-gól-thúm (three-ten-and-three) ‘thirty-three’.

The numeral for hundred in Hyow is khrá and the numeral for one hundred and one is khrák (khrá-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 kənʉng. The clitics =kôn and =ŋng 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 (thong-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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>pótsông</td>
<td>man, woman, boy, girl, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-legged animals</td>
<td>púm</td>
<td>tiger, goat, cow, pig, elephant, rabbit, mongoose, tree, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-legged animals</td>
<td>lú</td>
<td>birds, bat, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquatic animals</td>
<td>nú</td>
<td>fish, frog, mosquito, insects, ant, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long things</td>
<td>hyŏng</td>
<td>snake, crocodile, river, brook, boat, ship, knife, bamboo, ladder, bridge, monitor lizard, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small things that come out</td>
<td>kâng</td>
<td>bamboo flower (handmade), seedling, pelage, feather, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of a base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingredients/General</td>
<td>pây</td>
<td>stick, fruits, pillar, mat, pocket, spoon, button, book, pen, earring,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ring, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>tɔ́l</td>
<td>bill-hook, sickle, axe, spade, knife, hoe, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin and long things</td>
<td>tám</td>
<td>stick of match, cigarette, arrow, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulb shaped things</td>
<td>bú</td>
<td>onion, garlic, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lûng</td>
<td>chilly, cooked rice, snail, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things that form lumps/Piece</td>
<td>pêl</td>
<td>stone, soil, snacks, rice, and curry of small fish, meat, chinese cabbage, cauliflower, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of things</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>thé</td>
<td>shirt, pant, loin, lungi, thami, mat, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things that are used for</td>
<td>hlůi</td>
<td>fence, wood plank, door, cloud, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lûk</td>
<td>plate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flattened things</td>
<td>poʔl</td>
<td>biscuit, cake, thin snacks, (hand of) ginger, (hand of) turmeric, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categories</td>
<td>Classifiers</td>
<td>Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunch of fruits that form cluster in trees</td>
<td>shôm</td>
<td>tamarind, grape, mango, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khâm</td>
<td>lichi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finger like things separated from its base/group</td>
<td>tsák</td>
<td>piece of ginger, turmeric, banana, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>shú</td>
<td>lance, knife, fishnet, rifle, axe, spade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things that hang from neck</td>
<td>yôm</td>
<td>necklace, garland, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things that bloom</td>
<td>pâ</td>
<td>flower, clove, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circular things</td>
<td>kôl</td>
<td>bangle, wheel, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round thins</td>
<td>hlûm</td>
<td>balls, shots, tablet/pills, singaras, bunch of banana tree, bush of bamboo, bush of sugarcane, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body parts (both human and non-human)</td>
<td>wông</td>
<td>eyes, ears, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things with elongated roots</td>
<td>yûng</td>
<td>radish, carrot, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roll of things</td>
<td>yâ</td>
<td>betel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement by glass</td>
<td>khûp</td>
<td>glass/cup of water, milk, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serving measurement by plate/saucer</td>
<td>lông</td>
<td>plate/saucer of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serving measurement by bowl</td>
<td>khôk</td>
<td>bowl of curry (that does not make a lump), greens, beans, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement by sheaf</td>
<td>tsêng</td>
<td>sheaf of paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement by hand</td>
<td>môk</td>
<td>hand of cloth, tree, rope, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement from one knot to another knot</td>
<td>pûn</td>
<td>bamboo, sugarcane, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement by rotation</td>
<td>pât</td>
<td>rope, wire, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting frequency of actions</td>
<td>krông</td>
<td>time (once, twice, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shôt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categories</td>
<td>Classifiers</td>
<td>Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td><em>tsɔ̂w</em></td>
<td>hand of banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>khɘ̂ng</em></td>
<td>stem of banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td><em>lép</em></td>
<td>leaf, book page, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>shɘng</em></td>
<td>house, room, shop, umbrella, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>phάk</em></td>
<td>sandal, shoe (one piece)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tsûm</em></td>
<td>pair of anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>phù</em></td>
<td>corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>phùʔ</em></td>
<td>share of anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>phɔ́t</em></td>
<td>for measuring rice (borrowed from Bangla via English ‘pot’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>píl</em></td>
<td>stick of cinnamon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>thɔ̂w</em></td>
<td>stick of sugarcane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kúʔy</em></td>
<td>turn of roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tán</em></td>
<td>class/grade in schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>khɔ̂</em></td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lɔ́p</em></td>
<td>notes and coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>dúp</em></td>
<td>blood (drop)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *pûm*. 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 *ɔ́ntsɔ́* ‘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) ेयड़ ैन्तसँ पैलँक टसँमँॆयकउँ

 ेयड़ ैन-सः पैल-ँक टसँ टसँमँ-ॆय-कउँ
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) मँग्दःो नङ्गः खङ्कः किनै-टोकः पङ्कः

मँग्दः-ः नङ्गः = अ खङ्कः किन-टोक-पङ्कः
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 pûm and quantified by the numeral compound pûmák. 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)
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) èydē pūmāk ólōʔwéyhyš.
èydē pūm-ák ó-lōʔw-ēy-hyš
then CLS-one 3A-take.on.hand-MID-PM

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

Nouns that do not have numeral classifiers can be used as classifiers themselves. These are called autoclassifiers. That the numerals are not free and must form compounds with either autoclassifiers or numeral classifiers is evident from the internal tone sandhi process between the numeral and the autoclassifier 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 autoclassifier, as shown in (71).
Other than the temporal noun "hnúp ‘day’, temporal nouns such as "ọ́yọ́n, kúm, khŕọ́ ‘month’, etc. can be used as autoclassifiers. Some nouns can be used as mensural classifiers. For example, the noun "khọ́p ‘glass’ can be used as a mensural classifier, as in túy khọ́p-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? (kùl-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 kùlgólhné (kùl-gól-hné) ‘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.
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 pâ is the sortal numeral classifier of the referent of land and mítár, a loan word form Bangla, is the mensural numeral classifier.

(72) èy külgólpòtsónghngó kíníméyhyóë.

èy ANAPH.DEM twenty-and-CLS-five IS-PL-exist-PM
kú-gól-pòtsóng-hngó klí-ní-méy-hyóë.

‘We were those twenty five learners.’

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.

(73) èyðë álåtsë khràąkgólshëggibgólptythúm mítár méyhyóë.

èyðë GRP-land=TOP oneth-one-and-sixten-and-CLS-three meter exist-PM

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

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.
3.4. Closed word class

(74) úyts3 lùâkŋ fǹñï?tsǹëyhnë?tf.
úyts3  lù-ák = ǹg  ì-hnì?-tsòn-êy-hnì? = tf
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core case enclitics</th>
<th>Oblique case enclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>= lâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>= á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(for ditransitive verbs)</td>
<td>Genitive = kṣ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= kón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= ǹg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= ǹg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= tṣ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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
The core dative argument of a ditransitive verb is marked by the dative case clitic = ḥ (see § 10.3.1.2). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal words</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khómhnúp</td>
<td>khóm-hnúp (time-day)</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûá</td>
<td>now=LOC</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûhnúp</td>
<td>tú-hnúp (now-day)</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardar</td>
<td>Guardar (GRP-night)</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôýɔn</td>
<td>tô-5ýɔn (now-GRP-night)</td>
<td>‘tonight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóttû?</td>
<td>hót = tôî (NA=DLIM)</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiútû?</td>
<td>tiî = tôî (NA=DLIM)</td>
<td>‘one day hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khûnû?</td>
<td>khûn = tôî (NA=DLIM)</td>
<td>‘two days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kroktû?</td>
<td>krok = tôî (NA=DLIM)</td>
<td>‘three days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múntû?</td>
<td>mún = tôî (NA=DLIM)</td>
<td>‘four days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yóntû?</td>
<td>yón = tôî (night=DLIM)</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsûn</td>
<td>MONOMORPHEMIC</td>
<td>‘day before yesterday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4. Closed word class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal words</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ûmû</td>
<td>û-mû (GRP-dark)</td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsîk</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘some time ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óngó</td>
<td>ó-ngó (GRP-morning)</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôngó</td>
<td>tó-ó-ngó (now-GRP-morning)</td>
<td>‘this morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khôshûn</td>
<td>khô-shûn (time-noon)</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûmûlôm</td>
<td>û-mû-lôm (GRP-be dark-road)</td>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmûhmôp</td>
<td>MONOMORPHEMIC</td>
<td>‘dusk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsônshéng</td>
<td>MONOMORPHEMIC</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’nâ</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘a while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yônkûm</td>
<td>yôntš?-kûm (yesterday-year)</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûkûm</td>
<td>tV-kûm (now-year)</td>
<td>‘this year (now-year)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shênkûm</td>
<td>red-year</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsôkûm</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘year after next year’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 74: Temporal words in Hyow

Table 74 presents six bound temporal words. The temporal noun tûâ ‘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 tù-hûp to form the temporal word tûhûp ‘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 tsî and tî 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).
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>ɔ́lɔ́</td>
<td>MONOMORPHEMIC</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>tsí</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>ेkréṅā́</td>
<td>V-krēṅ-ā (GRP-be.slow=LOC)</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>krōṅsháṅg</td>
<td>MONOMORPHEMIC</td>
<td>‘suddenly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>mōtmtōtstṓ</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘finely/carefull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>thāshá́</td>
<td>thash-a (banging.sound=LOC)</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>ūnūṅg</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deictic adverbs</td>
<td>èyā</td>
<td>èy=ā (ANAPH.DEM=LOC)</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niā</td>
<td>ní=ā (PROX=LOC)</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4. Closed word class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsùâ</td>
<td>tsú=â (DIST=LOC)</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ęhy̬5ʔ</td>
<td>ęy-hy̬5ʔ (ANAPH.DEM-much)</td>
<td>‘that much’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihy̬5ʔ</td>
<td>ní-hy̬5ʔ (PROX-much)</td>
<td>‘this much’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 75: Adverbs in Hyow

Among the adverbs listed in Table 75, the manner adverb ękréngâ 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 mståmtstå ‘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 yšwyšw ‘glitteringly’ is formed from the verb yšyšw ‘glitter’, which itself has a quasi-reduplicated form initially. The partial reduplicated form of the verb yšyšw ‘glitter’ seems to encode the continuity of the event encoded by the verb. The reduplicated adverb yśwyšw show take the locative case marker =â obligatorily to be functional as a constituent. Other reduplicated adverbs are listed in Table 76.
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 *yɔ́nyɔ́nâ* ‘glitteringly’ modifies the state in which the pond is and the adverb with reduplicated intensifier *bɔkphōngphōngâ* ‘in utterly white’ modifies the state of the referent of the third person S argument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated adverbs</th>
<th>Possible origin</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yɔ́nyɔ́nâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘hurriedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wόngwόngâ</em></td>
<td>*wόng ‘surround’</td>
<td>‘vulnerable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsáksákâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘in drops’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>phǔphǔlâ</em></td>
<td>*phǔl ‘scatter’</td>
<td>‘crowdedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>léwléwâ</em></td>
<td>*léw ‘be less’</td>
<td>‘fully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kótsótsâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘accordingly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khyámkhyánmâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘peacefully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hóyhóytsâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘vacuously’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dǽwdwâwâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘completely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hlúmhłúmâ</em></td>
<td>*hlún ‘shake’</td>
<td>‘shakingly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hyóhyśâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘drunkedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hyóphyśpâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘manner of throwing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lśklśkâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘manner of burying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lúklúkâ</em></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>‘buzzingly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 76: Reduplicated adverbs in Hyow
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated adverbs</th>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bòkphôngphông</td>
<td>bòk-phôngphông = a (white-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hómphôngphông</td>
<td>hóm-phôngphông = ā (black-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kângdítít</td>
<td>kâng-dítít = ā (black-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyângpímpím</td>
<td>hyâng-pímpím = ā (pitch.black-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly pitch black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shênkî?kî</td>
<td>shên-kî?kî = ā (red-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khôhmâthmâ</td>
<td>khô-hmâthmâ = ā (bitter-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûykûkpûp</td>
<td>tûy-kûkpûp = ā (sweet-INTS=LOC)</td>
<td>in utterly sweet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, èyhyɔ́ʔ ‘that much’ and nìhyɔ́ʔ ‘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) ेय खोटसे ेयही े नगेटिन्ह? न.

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

Table 78 lists the manner nouns available in Hyow. The manner nouns ेयहुँय, निहुँय, and टसुहुँय refers to manners of states. These manner nouns function similar as the manner nouns ेयबो, निबो and टसुबो, which refers to manners of processes.
### Manner nouns in Hyow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner Nouns</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>èybɔ</code></td>
<td><code>èy-bɔ</code> (ANAPH.DEM-way)</td>
<td>‘that way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>nihɔ</code></td>
<td><code>nĩ-bɔ</code> (PROX-way)</td>
<td>‘this way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tsùbɔ</code></td>
<td><code>tsú-bɔ</code> (DIST-much)</td>
<td>‘that way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>èyhù/?y</code></td>
<td><code>èy-hù?y</code> (ANAPH.DEM-like)</td>
<td>‘like that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>nihù/?y</code></td>
<td><code>nĩ-hù?y</code> (PROX-like)</td>
<td>‘like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tsùhù/?y</code></td>
<td><code>tsú-hù?y</code> (DIST-like)</td>
<td>‘like that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 `tsiʔ` cannot be attached to a manner noun. In (79), the anaphoric manner noun `èyhùʔy` is marked by the inessive case clitic `ŋng`. 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) `èyhùʔyŋng núlùŋ púʔy-tǐ`.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>èyhùʔy = ŋng</th>
<th>nú-lùŋ</th>
<th>pú-ʔy-tǐ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>like.that = 1NE</td>
<td>2SG.POSS-heart</td>
<td>feel-IRR-2SG.NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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) **hnáágá nihú?yéngtsé ò̪̂máâ̰ỹhë̏ynû.**

hnáágá  nihú?y = ʔng = tsê  ḏ-tó-áɁ-ēʔ-hōʔy = 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) **nihú?yhiʔsê shénkúmáhá ̱čló ínhènèyàʔydàhô.**

nihú?y-ḣí = tsê  shénkúm = ȧ = há  ̱čló  í-ní-hènèy-ēʔ-y-dá-hô

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 -pê (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 manernoun ñ̌bó by the extensive suffix.
(82) èybö-pe èybö-pe tsɔ tän-ak tän-ak= kón

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

tän-hnì?= âng kó-kỳ-ỳ-nì

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) átàlà hlàà?hɔ̀ yá èybò=m?

á-tá = lâ ù-hlí-á?-hɔ̀ yá èyb=ɔ̀m

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 $\text{èy} = d\delta$ (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 $\text{èy-}hns\delta?-\text{la}$ (ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ). There is an adverbial suffix $-hns\delta?$ 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 $-l\alpha$ 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 $\text{èy-}l\alpha-h\alpha$ (ANAPH-SEQ-LOC) ‘after that’. The discourse connectives in Hyow are listed in Table 79.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse connectives</th>
<th>Underline forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{èy}d\delta$</td>
<td>ANAPH.DEM-EMPH ($\text{èy} = d\delta$)</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{èyn}i\alpha$</td>
<td>DIST-PROX-LOC ($\text{èy-}n\alpha =\text{LOC}$)</td>
<td>‘in this and that/infact’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{èyh}n\delta?l\alpha$</td>
<td>ANAPH.DEM-CNCL-SEQ ($\text{èy-}hns\delta?-\text{l}\alpha$)</td>
<td>‘after that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{èy}n\alpha$</td>
<td>ANAPH.DEM-INE ($\text{èy} = n\alpha$)</td>
<td>‘in that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{hy\alpha}?h\alpha$</td>
<td>NEG-COND ($\text{hy\alpha}?-\text{h}\alpha$)</td>
<td>‘if not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{èyl\alpha}h\alpha$</td>
<td>ANAPH.DEM-SEQ=LOC ($\text{èy-}l\alpha = h\alpha$)</td>
<td>‘after that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{n\alpha}h\alpha?y\alpha h\alpha$</td>
<td>PROX-like.this-COND ($n\alpha-h\alpha?y\alpha-g\alpha$)</td>
<td>‘if this way’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 79: Discourse connectives in Hyow

Table 79 also lists the discourse connectives $\text{hy\alpha}?-\text{h}\alpha$ (NEG-COND) ‘if not’ and $\text{n\alpha}-h\alpha?y\alpha-h\alpha$ (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)  hyàʔhitsè  ñmûngkèʔtsè  ínìmûngkèʔtsè  põòdè  hmûtò  mòlè  hlûhf…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hyàʔ-ḥí = tsè</th>
<th>6-mò = 5ng = kòʔ = tsè</th>
<th>ínì-ómñhí = tsè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG-COND=TOP</td>
<td>NMLZ-be.sneaky=INE=GEN=TOP 3A-PL-get.marry-CVB=TOP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>põò = dò</td>
<td>hmûtò  mò = là</td>
<td>hlû-û-hí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-same</td>
<td>woman  owner=AGT</td>
<td>like-NEG.3PL-COND.CVB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 hyàʔhí 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) èyð̊s lòwpòʔ khîná lòw ínìwòkèy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>èyð̊s</th>
<th>lòwpòʔ</th>
<th>khîná = á</th>
<th>lòw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>swidden.agriculture-DV</td>
<td>season=LOC</td>
<td>swidden.agriculture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ínì-wòk-èy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL-clear-MM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Hyow includes two interjections, which are used as one word answer to an interrogative and a declarative clause. The word ḗhó is used to say ‘no’ to give negative reply to a question or to a proposition, while the word ṣ 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.
### Word classes

#### Exclamatory words

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

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onomatopoeic words</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Onomatopoeic words</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áá</td>
<td>sound of elephant</td>
<td>kóó</td>
<td>sound of eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krâng</td>
<td>sound of tear falling</td>
<td>brûng</td>
<td>sound of jumping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>góâng</td>
<td>sound of throwing</td>
<td>shût</td>
<td>sound of snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrâk</td>
<td>sound of throwing</td>
<td>kóó</td>
<td>sound of calling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kókkâlékók</td>
<td>sound of chicken</td>
<td>tûk</td>
<td>sound of striking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrup</td>
<td>sound of sitting</td>
<td>wáw</td>
<td>sound of barking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâw</td>
<td>sound of loose fitting</td>
<td>lóp</td>
<td>sound of bone breaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of knot/bamboo cracking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shâw</td>
<td>sound of water-flow</td>
<td>hyâw</td>
<td>sound of leaves for airflow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaw?</td>
<td>sound of dry leaves</td>
<td>duk</td>
<td>sound of walking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ḡyåŋ kyò̤ tìng tsèt-dà-dë̀k.

èy = å  kyò̤ tìng tsèt-dà-dë̀k
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 mèy pháphââ

èy = â  mèy  pháphââ
ANAPH.DEM=LOC  stay  feeling.of.emptiness

‘He stayed there with a feeling of emptiness.’

Table 82: List of some expressives in Hyow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expressives</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bètbètâ</td>
<td>manner of drizzling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phétphétâ</td>
<td>manner of drizzling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséttsétâ</td>
<td>state of itching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lètlètâ</td>
<td>state/manner of shaking/fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bókbókâ</td>
<td>state of sudden fall of things one after another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lîślîpâ</td>
<td>manner of entrance one after another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sôysôyâ</td>
<td>manner of exit one after another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phápháâ</td>
<td>feeling of emptiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lûklûkâ</td>
<td>state of swelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrókmróka</td>
<td>state of legs being trapped in clay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
3.4. Closed word class

(90) ʃ nàhli-ȝyhy₃m ŋtng

f nà-hli-ȝy-hy₃ = ŋm ŋtng
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.
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 \(=nî\) (see §4.4.3.4), a topic clitic \(=tsê\) (see §4.4.3.3), a content question clitic \(=ûm\) (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 \(=nû\) (see §9.6.4.1). An example of the focus clitic is given in (83), where it has a scope over the noun \(shô\) ‘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).

(83) \(èyðô\ shô\ na\ bân\ hyû\ dû\ šîô\)

\(èyðô\ shô = nî\ \ kâ-à-nî-hyûl-dû\ \ šîô\)

then \ wild.pig=FOC 1A-DIR-follow.i-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 obligotry in a NP structure (see §4.5)

(P) (\{Rel_{nmrlz}\}; \{N (CLF+NUM)\}^{18}) (Q) (Head) (CLF+NUM) ([M]; [Q]) (C)

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 ṁɔ́y ‘be

\(^{18}\) Dependent
good’ is functioning as a predicate. Examples in (94) and (95) show the function of the stative verb ɔ́pɔ́y ‘be good’ as a verbal modifier and a predicate respectively.

(94) **wá t̩ɔ́y í-ní-hlé?y-ɛy.**

wḁ́ t̩ɔ́y í-ní-hlé?y-ɛy
dress be.good 3A-PL-buy.II-MID

‘They buy good dresses themselves.’

[ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_171]

(95) **tsú̥ wḁ́ ɔ́p̩ɔ́y h̐mùʔhɔ́at ɛy̥húʔy ʂ.**

tsú̥ = ḁ̂ wḁ́ɔ́ ɔ́p̩ɔ́y-ɛy h̐mùʔ-h̐s̥=ḁ̂=t̩s̥e̥ ɛy̥húʔy
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 =ḁ̂ is attached to the stative verb, because the stative verb functions as a modifier and forms a NP with the head noun ǎl̩a ‘place’ here.

(96) **ɛy t̩òw̩ ǎl̩a p̩ɔ̥y̥ ǎt̩̩k̩āl.**

ɛy̥ t̩òw =ḁ̂ ǎl̩a p̩ɔ̥y =ḁ̂ ǎ-t̩̩k̩-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituent</th>
<th>Structures</th>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative verbs</td>
<td>GRP-V V</td>
<td>Before the clausal head</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[N_H V]_NP V</td>
<td>After the head noun</td>
<td>Verbal modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[N_H CLS QNT]_NP ARG-V</td>
<td>After the NP</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 éphíålă, 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 trà is functioning as a P argument in (97).

(97) éphíålă trà shōt-êy-hyõ khèw.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{é-phiá=lâ} & \text{NP} & \text{trá} & \text{NP} & \text{shót-êy-hyõ} & \text{khèw} \\
3\text{SG.Poss-wif} & = \text{ERG} & [\text{trial.ABS}] & \text{look.for.II-MID-PM} & \text{DP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 ni is the S argument of the intransitive verb and the anaphoric demonstrative ëy are the oblique arguments of the verb in (98).
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.

(98) ḡyเรากตสี่ nf lò-े hyò tîng à hווw-hnâng-hnâng-gâ, ḡyงkç?

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{ŋ} = \text{kôn} = \text{tsæ̂}]_{\text{NP}} & \quad [\text{nf}]_{\text{NP}} & \quad \text{lò-े hyò} & \quad \text{tîng} = \text{á} \\
[\text{ANAPH. DEM}=\text{ABL}=\text{TOP}] & \quad [\text{PROX}] & \quad \text{come-IRR-PM} & \quad \text{QT}=\text{ADD} \\
\text{h韶-w-hnâng-hnâng-gâ} & \quad [\text{ŋ} = \text{ŋ} = \text{kç}]_{\text{NP}} \\
\text{say. I-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-1SG.NEG} & \quad [\text{ANAPH. DEM}=\text{INE}=\text{GEN}]
\end{align*}
\]

‘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]

(99) lòwìmâ tsèlùlùlùlù fùmphôwâl.

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{lò}=\text{â}] & \quad \text{tsèl-ú-lú} = \text{tsæ̂} \\
[\text{swidden.field.house}]=\text{LOC} & \quad \text{thresh.I-DEP-3PL-SEQ}=\text{TOP} \\
\text{í-ní-phô-wâl} & \\
3A-PL-dry.under.sun.II-DEP
\end{align*}
\]

‘Threshing [the paddy] in the swidden field house, they dry up the paddy under the sun.’ [ZM_HSA_UTK_122013_Hyow_0043_033]

(100) nihu؟y shâmphôkèmâmâ kètsètà?hyòy.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nihu؟y} & \quad [\text{shâmphô-kèm-âm}]=\text{â} & \quad \text{kè-tsèt-े hyòy}
\end{align*}
\]
like this  [quay]=LOC  1S-go-IRR-PM

‘I will go to the quay like this.’ [ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_073]

(101)  

ngɔ̀shúy thó?w ḥniʔílóâ?yńf…

[ngɔ̀-shúy]  thó?w  ḥniʔí-lò-â?y-ní


‘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) éydɘ̂, tsú átà[tíʔ ɔ́ngɔ̀ktìʔlàtsæ̂, èykhóllâ înkæ̀lǽʔyní.

éydɘ̂ [tsú  [á-tá-tíʔ  5-ngók-tíʔ = lâ = tsæ̂]=NP

then [DIST  [3SG.POSS-elder.brother-PL.3SG.POSS-sister.in.law=PL=ERG=TOP]]

[èy-khóî=lâ]=NP  1-ní-kæléî=yî
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) *pɔ́tɔ́ núpɔ́ lá hmútɔ́ núpɔ́ ngi̯énq̱álàtsɛ̀...*

\[pɔ́tɔ́ nú-pɔ́ lá hmútɔ́ nú-pɔ́]\(\text{NP}\) ngi̯éṉ-ông-ú-lá = tsæ̀

[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 kéy kátá kúnû kópɔ́ kúpúshél-ti? kúpúy-ti? kátátsángpɔ́tɔ́ykhöl khènì hánghàng lùmè̱ngngálàtsɛ̀, hniéyá kàtɛ̀?...*

kéy = á [kéy ká-tá kú-nû kó-pɔ́]

1SG=ADD [1SG 1SG.POSS-elder.brother 1SG.POSS-mother 1SG.POSS-father]


khà = ní hánghàng lùm-ông-ngâ-lá = tsæ̀ hni-éy-â kà-tɛ̀?

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) mɔ́ngdɔ́ó ní wàtèʔytingâ

\[\text{mɔ́ngdɔ́} = \text{ó} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{wàt-ɛʔy-tí-ngâ} \]

husband=VOC PROX wear-IRR-NITER-1SG.NEG

‘Husband, I will not wear this anymore.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_116]

(106) tsú báyá dòkéyáldâdâk Ʌ
tsú báyú dók-ēy-āl-dā-dšk
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 ââ tsɔ́k pék
èy á = â tsɔ́k 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 hngàttṣe tɔ̂kæʔhyɔ̂dš.

kó-bóy = ó tsú hngá = tsə tɔ̂kæʔ-y-hyɔ̂ = dš
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 *n* 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.

\[(109) \text{ní tsàng k’hñf-phówhñf‘}.\]

\[[\text{ní tsàng}_\text{NP} \text{ bòhì = tsæé} \quad \text{kí-hñf?-phów-hɔ́ = ní}]
[\text{PROXrice} \text{ so=TOP} \quad \text{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.

\[(110) \text{ní átsángnú hónng kláhêby ting.}\]

\[[\text{ní átsángnú}_\text{NP} \text{ hön = ñng} \quad \text{klá-hê-bêy} \quad \text{ting}]
[\text{PROX old.womanstomach=INE} \quad \text{fall-OPT-DEL.IMP} \quad \text{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 nám ‘village’ in (111).

\[(111) \text{èydı̊ èy álóŋbál-tsé, tsú námâ tsétálhlɔ́.}\]

\[èydı̊ èy álóŋ-bá-lá = tsæé \quad [\text{tsú nám = â}_\text{NP} \quad \text{tsét-âl-hlɔ́}
\text{then ANAPH.DEM DIR-bring.I-3SG-SEQ=top [\text{DIST} village=LOC} \quad \text{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 tso dɔ́ntiʔŋgkő? bɔ́y mɛ́y, Ḣykhɔ́l nɔ́shɔ́tlàʔèʔy y y.

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 Ḣy 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) shɔ́ták khɔ̃ nɔ́mánt méyìʔ khrɔ̀ng hngáʔ təá póyshá méyàʔhɔ̀ hngúdá təá póyshá méyàʔhɔ̀ sháŋgláyshù sháŋgláyshù

The function of the anaphoric Ḣy 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.
‘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) ेydɘ̂ shɘ́tāk khōɁ, ेy nāmsh髁khोɁnɁ, ेy shāŋglযysh督促khोɁnɁ, ेy mɘ́ytiʔkhɘ́kɁ, ì̂mʃsɛʔthɁh

ेydɘ̂ [shɘ́t-Ɂ kɁó = Ɂ]NP ेy nāmshɁ-khोɁ = nɁ]NP ेy then [CLS-one time=LOC ेy nɁ-ʃsɛʔthɁh

shāŋglযysh督促-khोɁ = nɁ]NP েy mɘ́y-tiʔ kɁhɘ́k = Ɂ]NP ʃ-nɁ-ʃsɛʔthɁh poor.person=EXP=FOC েy nɁ-ʃsɛʔthɁh

‘Then, one time, those villagers, those poor people, went to that rich man.’

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 ेy (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 -tɁʔ 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) ẹyɗā ẹy bǐṣh ɗ-tf? hmútɔ́nĩ ỵk̄-ɔ̣ḡ-n̄âlãṭṣẹ, p̣ṃ-ɔ̣g̣-n̄âlãṭṣẹ, pọ́tṣ-ɔ̣ŋ̣-tḥûm pọ́tṣ-ɔ̣ŋ̣ḥḷḷâ ɡâṛ=n̄í kâá-n̄îḳḥộy.

èyɗā [èy bǐṣh ɗ-tf7]REL hmútɔ́nĩ = ní np
then ANAPH.DEM [poison drink.I-NMLZ] woman=FOC

ỵk̄-ɔ̣g̣-n̄â-lâ = tɔ̣ẹ̀ p̣ṃ-ɔ̣g̣-n̄â-lâ = tɔ̣ẹ̀ pọ́tṣ-ɔ̣ŋ̣-tḥûm

lift.I-DUR-1PL.EXC-SEQ=TOP carry.I- DUR-1PL.EXC-SEQ=TOP CLS-three

pótṣ-ɔ̣ŋ̣ḥḷḷâ = lâ gâṛ = ɔ̣ng̣ kâá-n̄î-kḥộy

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 lô (1SG place come) ‘Come to my place’, but not *kêyks? álá lô (1SG=GEN GRP-place come) ‘*Come to my place’, in which construction kêyks? 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 wûn ‘my skin’ refers to my own skin, but kêyks? wûn, 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 tsû tá phíá-tî?=lâ = tsê (DIST elder.brother wife-PL=ERG=TOP) ‘that elder brothers’ wives’, tá is the possessor noun and phíá is the possessee. The square brackets mark the boundaries of the noun phrase.

(116) èy khôphûn lôñí, átû? tsû tá phíá-tî?=lâ=tsê áthâmkhôl only-

æng thámkhôl thámkhôl tsî-ì-

АНАФ.ДЭМ DAY COME-TEMPT [3SG.POSS-ELDER.BROTHER-PL DIST

tá

PHÍA-TĪ?=ŁA=TSÊ]NP á-thâm-khôl = ąng í-nî-tsî?

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) *kéyɔ̀? dúkháʔ ùá kóhmwɛ̀kɛ̀ʔhyɔ̀m?*

\[kéy=kɛ? \quad \text{dúkháʔ} \quad ùá \quad kó-hów-pék-ɛʔy-hyɔ̂m]\n
\[1\text{SG}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{trouble} \quad \text{who}=\text{LOC} \quad 1\text{A}-\text{say}.\text{II}-\text{BEN-IRR-PM}=\text{CONT.Q}\]

‘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 nùkɔ̀? khoitésp núhmùʔéyʔ?*

\[nó-bÔy \quad nù=kɔ̀? \quad \text{khóytís}p \quad nù-hmù=\text{éy}\]

\[2\text{SG.POSS-lord mother}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{ring}\]

\[2\text{A-see.II}=\text{POL.Q}\]

‘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).
4.4. Constituents of a noun phrase

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 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 = là and the focus clitic = ní.

(119) *láláhù?ypéy, máncè, dyángtsê khrông pòtsónghngsó dukóngtsê lorálèy?lâhâdê.*

\[
láláhù?ypéy \quad \text{máncè} \quad ëy = ñg = tsê \quad [[\text{khrông} \quad \text{pòtsóng-hngsó}]]
\]

\[
\text{by.any.means} \quad \text{means} \quad \text{ANAPH.DE}M = \text{INE} = \text{TOP} \quad \text{[people} \quad \text{CLS-five}]
\]

\[
dúk = ñg = tsê]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{lò-âl-êy-lâ?-hâ} = \text{dê}
\]

\[
\text{inside} = \text{INE} = \text{TOP} \quad \text{come-DEP-IRR-OBLG-PM} = \text{EMPH}
\]

‘By any means, it means that it (the trial) has to reflect what five other people think.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0117]

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.

(120) *èydê pâyhnï?lânf hnhï?tsî?hnsêtì.*

\[
éydê \quad \text{pây-hnhï} = \text{lâ} = \text{ní} \quad i-hnhï?-tsî?-hnsê = \text{tì}
\]

\[
\text{then} \quad \text{CLS-two=ERG=FOC} \quad 3\text{A-DL-take.II-ULT=R.EVID}
\]

‘Then, the two took him.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_224]
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, ê-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 ngô 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 ngô ê-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 ðây ‘be good’ without the generic referential prefix after the noun hnîbôk 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.
4.4. Constituents of a noun phrase

(122) *tsəkhollatsë, tsətulatsë, hnibok pòy, ópòy, ópòy, ópòy, tsléytsâktâkud ñ.

‘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) *shámùytsô pòy-khol  ámbong skûlā méyhyô

‘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).
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 páyhníʔ is following the head noun tánòw ‘sibling brother’.

(126) èyhníʔ-lá, tánòw páyhníʔíf fhnhíʔkáp  
èy-hnís?-lá  [tánòw  páy-hníʔíf = ní]  í-hnís?-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 páyhníʔ is following the verbal modifier pɔ́y ‘good’.

(127) èy ñsísíʔ  bông méyhyö kóngnì tû 3ì bëngëng à hngá mëyälkë
èy  [ñ-tsísíʔ  bông]  méy-.hyö
ANAPH.DEM  [GRP-child-PL  many]  exist-PM

‘She had many children’ [ZM ARG5_082015_Hyow_0008_003]
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 hnɔ̀thingtsɔ̀ pùmhlìngkš? lálápëy tsi-éy-bąy.

èy   hnɔ̀thing-tsɔ̀   pùm-hlí = ñng = kš?   lálápëy   tsi-éy-bąy
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 *tsɔ̀* in Hyow. The speaker is addressing her two sons. Therefore, the dual marker -hɔ̀y inflects the word *tsɔ̀*. 
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 kõng ‘with’ in (130) is referring to the speaker’s companion of a friend. Perhaps, the comitative case clitic = tng has grammaticalized from this locative noun in Hyow.

(130) k̂ey phrów-tí? kõng ké-tst-th̓.

k̂ey  phrów-tí?  kõng  ké-tst-th̓

1SG  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) \textit{krwēyāng̃gālāsē, kýkōn tsētīʔkhōllā, khrōngīnhōwpēkāl.}

krw-ēy-āng-ālā = tsē  
kēy = kōn  
tsēt-tïʔ-khōl = lā

\text{speak-MID-DUR-1PL.EXC-SEQ=TOP}  
\text{1SG=ABL}  
\text{go-NMLZ-EXP=ERG}

khrōng-ī-nī-hōw-pēk-āl

1P-3A-PL-say.II-BEN-DEP

‘Speaking with each other, the people who went from my side told me that.’

\[\text{ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_058}\]

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 \(=tsē\) 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, \(kēy\) ‘tiger’ and \(hōm\) ‘bear’ are topics in (132), and their predicates are functioning as their comments.
(132) *èynə̃latsè kəylatsè ātā tsiʔêy hômełatsè ñnəwŋf tsiʔêy hárê.*

èynə̃-hnə̃ʔ-łá = tsə̃  [kə̃y = lâ = tsə̃]\_{NP}  á-tá  tsiʔ-êy

FILL-ULT-SEQ = TOP  [tiger = ERG = TOP]  GRP-elder.brother  take.II-MID

[hôm = lâ = tsə̃]\_{NP}  5-nəw = ní  tsiʔ-êy  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) *tsəw* ‘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 tsəwkôntsə yəkəyəʔiʔi dá.*

tsú  tsəw = kón = tsə̃  yük-êy-áʔ-ți  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 =nî 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 khrɔ̂ng hngátlanî; èy øhlɔ́mhlɔ́kôn, nî kárbári khǽwní khínt.

èy khrɔ̂ng hngát = là = nî èy ANAPH.DEM person one = ERG = FOC ANAPH.DEM

øhlɔ́mhlɔ́ = kón nî kárbári khǽw = nî khínt = tî
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 =dît 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 =dît 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 hmütsì ‘woman’. The noun is specified here allowing the speaker to indicate to a specific referent.
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 khoâgs? hng₃n.

[áyâng     kho = â = k₃?]₉P  hng₃n
[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) tsùkhólstackoverflow.tsð; túyh喻y¥y¥d$ pitf øykøîtsø hlimhm3 dysyN.

[tsú-khøl = k₃?]₉P  ?ë=hy-hs-khøl = tsø  túy-hū?y = d₃
[DIST-EXP=GEN]  eat.II-PM-EXP=TOP  water-like=EMPH
pí=tî  [ây = k₃? = tsø]₉P  hlim-hm3-ëy
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.
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.


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.
4.5. Headless noun phrase

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 *búnn* ‘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

\[
\text{(140) } \text{èy } dóggyá \ kóm } = â \ [mèy-dân } = â = tsē ]_{\text{REL}} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM sea } _{\text{B}} \text{ bank } = \text{LOC} \ [\text{exist-PLNMLZ=LOC=TOP}]
\]

í-íp-hnš?-tš
ti
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]

\[
\text{(141) } \text{tśwà } \text{ihniʔtsèthtsè } y₃ \ \text{thuálđēnā } \text{kréngshāng } \text{tū?úyhùy } \text{kängdǐtšè } \\
\text{tū?úyhùy } \text{ālılmā } \text{tū?úyhùy } \text{póʔéyhnēl̃t } \text{tū?úyhùy } \text{póʔéy.}
\]

tw = â í-hnš?-tsét-hš = tsē [y₃ thú-âl-dân = â]_{\text{REL}} \\
forest = \text{LOC} 3S-DL-go-TEMP=TOP [\text{bamboo be.rotten-DEP-PNMLZ=LOC}]

kréngshāng tū?úy-hùy kängdǐtšè tū?úy-hùy = šng âlšmā 
right.away tiger-like utterly.black tiger-like=COMT bigM

tū?úy-hùy = nī póʔ-éy-hnš?-tš tū?úy-hùy póʔ-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]
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) \( \text{spoken} \) nìmbẹ̀nérẹ̀?y hy\(\ddot{\text{y}} \).\

\begin{verbatim}
5-p\(\ddot{\text{y}} \) y ní-ní-bùn-èy-èy-èy-\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)-hy\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)  
GRP-be.good 2A-PL-get.II-MID-IRR-PM
\end{verbatim}

‘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 m\(\ddot{\text{m}} \)s\(\ddot{\text{m}} \)t is modifying the verbal modifier s\(\ddot{\text{p}} \)y ‘good’.

(143) \( \text{spoken} \) mú\(\ddot{\text{m}} \)s\(\ddot{\text{m}} \)t s\(\ddot{\text{p}} \)y fí\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)ng\(\dot{\text{y}} \).\

\begin{verbatim}
k\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)y m\(\ddot{\text{m}} \)t\(\ddot{\text{m}} \)t s\(\ddot{\text{p}} \)y pí-\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)-\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)-ng\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)  
1SG very GRP-be.good feel.II-MID-1SG.NEG
\end{verbatim}

‘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 p\(\ddot{\text{y}} \)áʔ ‘bad’ in (144) is marked by the third person singular negative suffix -\(\ddot{\text{á}} \). Here, it is indicating to a non-specific referent, which is done by the generic referential prefix in the non-negated form.
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 ōngphɔ́ng=â bôngák tsf?**

tá      ōngphɔ́ng = lâ    [bôngák]NP   tsf? 

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) **khæ̀khɔ́lông ŋîtsètthɔ̄**

[khæ̀-khɔ́l = ŋîng]NP      i-ni-tsèt-thɔ̄
[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.
4.6. Conclusion
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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 Ḳl ‘blanket’ forms a compound word Ḳl-tsōng (blanket-guard) ‘mosquito net’, then the underlying H tone of the first element of the compound word Ḳl ‘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 nū ‘mother’ and the noun pū ‘father’ forms a compound word nū-pū ‘parents’, then the underlying F tone of the first element nū ‘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 tsīʔ ‘milk’ and the noun tūy ‘water’ forms the compound word tsīʔ-tūy (milk-water) ‘spit’, then the underlying tone of the noun tsīʔ 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 khyōy ‘bee’ and the verb tū ‘bloat’ form the compound word khyōy-tū ‘bee hive (black part), the final palatal approximant of the first constituent becomes the onset of the second constituent in the compound, as in khyōy + tū→khyō-yūt. 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, *bùʔ-tsɔ́-ɔ́n ‘*rice-curry’ is ungrammatical, but bùʔ-ɔ̀n-tsɔ̂ (rice-curry-DIM) ‘rice-curry’ is not. Similarly, the plural suffix -tíʔ cannot be attached to the first constituent of a compound word, as in *nú-tíʔ-bé (mother-PL-grandmother) ‘siblings’. In order to be inflected by the plural suffix -tíʔ, the compound word should be treated as a whole, as in nú-bè-tíʔ (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 bùʔîm ‘kitchen’ can be interpreted from its constituents – bùʔ ‘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’, màʔ-îm (goat-house) ‘goat house’, etc. Furthermore, the combination of nouns in such compound words are subject to pragmatics. For example, the noun wòk ‘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
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of compound word constituents is along the lines of the canonical word order in Hyow (see §11.2), a verb final 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 ngɔ̀-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, ngɔ́ ‘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 due to the process of tone sandhi, and do not allow any pause between them. For example, the noun a tsɔ́ ‘lesson’ and the nominalized Stem I transitive verb dɔ̀n-tíʔ (show.I-NMLZ) ‘shower’ forms the endocentric syntactic compound word tsɔ̀-dɔ̀n-tíʔ (lesson/knowledge-[show.I-NMLZ]) ‘lesson shower/tutor’, not a headless relative clause. In this compound word, dɔ̀ntíʔ ‘shower’ is the head. Moreover, a headless nominalized clause does not allow resyllabification with the
preceding patient noun. For instance, the headless relative clause ò-ψóp ?èy.I-òì (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 ò-ψóp and the initial vowel of the Stem I verb ò́y ‘eat.I’, but a compound word allows this process. And so, when the nominalized Stem I verb òèy-òìʔ (eat.I-NMLZ) ‘eater’ forms the compound with the noun ò-ψóp ‘3SG.POSS-lung’, then the resyllabification takes place, and the compound word is realized as tsò-péy-òìʔ ‘lung eater’. It is also noticeable here that the third person singular possessive prefix ò- is deleted from its noun root ψóp 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-òìʔ (lesson/knowledge-[know.I-NMLZ]) ‘knower/knowledgeable person’, tòy-khòy-òìʔ (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-mò-lòm (GRP-be.dark-road) ‘afternoon’ has two constituents – ú-mò ‘GRP-be.dark’ and lòm ‘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 lòn-khòm (enemy-meet.II) ‘fight’, tòy-hòlòʔ (water-pick.up.II) ‘bath’, tòy-bò-lòm (water-pour.II-road) ‘quay’, hòk-bèʔ ‘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 relations 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 tā ‘elder brother’ and the noun nɔ̂w ‘younger sibling’ are used appositionally to form the appositional compound word tā-nɔ̂w (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-nɔ̂w (elder.sister-younger.sibling) ‘sibling sisters’, nū-be (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 lōwîm (lōw + îm) is semantically identical to a possessive phrase. However, it is different from a phrase for several reasons. Firstly, the root lōw ‘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
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compound. Then, the modifier noun *lòw in the compound cannot be inflected, as in *lòw-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 lòwîm ‘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, lòwîm is a compound word rather than a phrase of two phonological words.

(147) lòwîmâ tɔ̀álùlàsè, ímpòwâl.

[lòw-îm]comp = â tɔ́-û-lá = tsè í-ní-phów-âl


‘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 âthǽʔ y ‘fruit’ forms an endocentric compound word with a free noun referring to a fruit. The inclusion of the word thǽʔ 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’, lònthǽʔy requires the word thǽʔy with it, as demonstrated in (148).
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(148) mák ínshùnhìsè, ëyng tū hilthë?y ëy lônthë?y khállóm mét hânghâng ëylúp
íntss?éytsák \.

mák  í-ní-shùnh-hí = tsáë  ëy = ñng
hole.for.plunging.seed  3A-PL-plunge.II-COND=TOP  ANAPH.DEM=COMT

tū  [hìl-thë?y]_{COMP}  ëy  [lôn-thë?y]_{COMP}  khállóm
together  [blonde.cucumber.fruit]  turmeric  [green.bean.fruit]  summer.bean

mât  hânghâng  ëylúp  í-ní-tsû?-ëy-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-thëng, referring to a tree, form compound nouns
with names of trees, as in hòythëng ‘mango tree’, hnôthëng ‘banana tree’, pínâyथëng
‘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 ím ‘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.
Like the compound word ɪmthông ‘family’ in (149), the exocentric compound word kùtmɔng ‘middle finger’ in (150) also defines the referent by metaphorical expression of the roots kút ‘hand’ and mɔng ‘king’. The compound word kùtmɔng 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.

Examples of similar types of exocentric noun-noun compounds can be observed in kùt-nù (hand-mother) ‘thumb’, kùt-mɔ̀t (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 tănɔ̂w ‘sibling brothers’ in (151) is composed of tá ‘elder brother’ and nɔ̂w ‘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) ëyhnɘ̀ʔlàtsë̄, tsùâ tänɔ̂w pàyhnìʔlâ lɔ̂m fnfn?yâ'y.

èy-h于是我-la = tsâ̄ tsú = â [tâ-ńɔ̂w]COMP
ANAPHDEM-ULT-SEQ = TOP DIST = LOC [elder.brother-younger.sibling]
pāy-hnìʔ = là lɔ̂m i-hnìʔ-yâ?
CLS-two = ERG road 3DL-move.by.hand
‘After that, the two sibling brothers there moved the road by hand.

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 nūbē ‘sibling brother and sister’ in (152) is composed of noun roots nû ‘mother’ and bè ‘paternal grandmother/sister’. Unlike nūpɔ̂ ‘parents’, the meaning of nūbē 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.
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(152) núbèth’um níkúlúnákà?yhy₃ hmɔ̀ttíé y hydration

[mù-bè]_com-thùm i-ní-kúlúnàk-à[y-hy₃
[mother-paternal.grandmother/sister]-three 1P-INV-torture.II-IRR-PM
hmɔ́t-tí = ə́y
know.II-2SG.NEG=POL.Q

‘Don’t you know that the three siblings will torture us?’

[zm_sat_saths_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0068]

Some bound nouns forming compounds lose part of the meaning of their roots. Words like élìk ‘step-mother’ and álàng ‘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) èyd₃, tsù̆ngk₃? ñts₃díkd₃ tsù̆ thònálìd₃ . ñts₃làngtsæ̂ hìtíâ .
èyd₃ tsú = ṭng = k₃? 5-[ts₃-dìk]_com = d₃ tsú = ə̆
then DIST = INE = GEN 3SG.POSS-[step.child] = EMPH DIST = LOC
thòn-ál-dìk 5-[ts₃-làng]_com = tsæ̆ hì-tí-â?
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 fuctions 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 ùnl₃m ‘afternoon’ in (154) is an amalgamational outcome of the verb ə-mà ‘be dark’ and a noun ì₃m ‘road’. The literal meaning of the compound word ùnl₃m is ‘road to the dark’. An example of this exocentric compound word is given in (154).
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 $h\ddot{s}-k\ddot{s}?$ (bird-shoot.II) ‘bird hunting’ in (155) refers to the name of a shooting or hunting activity.
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(155) *hɔ̀kɔ̀ hɔ́kɔ̀ tse-tun-gá-lá*

\[ \text{hɔ̀kɔ̀} \at \text{tse-tun-gá-lá} \]

\text{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 *shè-tším* ‘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-tsóm-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 *shèl* ‘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 *bùʔin* ‘rice-curry’ and the nominalized verb *pò-tí* (DV.I-NMLZ) ‘who cooks’. This nominalized relative clause has its head overtly present in (156).
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 *íʔltsông* ‘mosquito net’ in (157), in which both of the noun *íl* ‘blanket’ and *tsông* ‘guard.II’ are non-heads.

(157) *íʔltsông kínítsìʔéy.*

\[
\text{[íʔl-tsông]}_{\text{COMP}} \text{ kíní-tsìʔ-éy}
\]

\[
\text{[mosquito.net]} \text{ 1A-PL-take.II-MID}
\]

‘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’.
5.2. Compounding

Examples of similar compound words include *hnɔ̀pɔ́ng* ‘deaf’ (ear-embrace.II) ‘deaf’ and *mìkmʉ́* (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-kêm-lɔ́m* (aeroplane-descend-road) ‘airport’ in (159) is an exocentric compound word of three constituents.

(158) **éyɗ̒ ɗy múy khọtsék tsi-e ɗy tîng tāk.**

éyɗ̒ ɗy múy [khọ-tsék]_{COMP} tsi-ɗy tîng tāk
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 *hnɔ̀pɔ́ng* ‘deaf’ (ear-embrace.II) ‘deaf’ and *mìkmʉ́* (eye-be.dark) ‘blind’.

(159) **nìâ nhuʔy shámphòkêmłôm ꙕtētēʔy hyS. ñinshinéyɛʔyhySglm tîng.**

nì = â nhuʔy [shámphò-kêm-lɔ́m]_{COMP} = â ké-têt-æʔy-hyS
PROX=LOC like this [airport]=LOC 1S-SG-go-IRR-PM

ì=nì-shín-ẽy-æʔy-hyS = ðm 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 – *tìy-tsèʔ-bûʔ* (water-soak.II-rice) ‘watery rice’.

5.2.4 CMPOUNDS WITH khọ ‘TIME’

Some compounds in Hyow have a root khọ meaning ‘time’. Hartmann (2003: 85) argues that the word khọ is part of some natural nouns and it is not possible to translate the meaning of this word into another language. The word khọ 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) *èydɘ̂, khókúm, khóhnúpák khoánì, tsùánì, ángkóáytsá núni, kròkhnɘ̀ʔtî hârê.*

Èydɘ̂ [khókúm]COMP [khóhnúp]COMP-āk khô = â = ní tsù = â = ní

then [year] [day-one] time=LOC=FOC DIST=LOC=FOC

ángkóáytsá nù = ní krók-hnɘ̀ʔ-tî 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 *kho* ‘time’ can also form compounds with verbs. In Hyow, compounds like *kho-wā* (time-be bright) ‘morning’ and *kho-mù* (time-be dark) ‘evening’ possess this noun. The participating verbs of these compound words are in fact statives. An example of the compound word *khómù* ‘evening’ is given in (161).

(161) *èydɘ̂ khómù ǝyɔn tɔsíng thònêydântì, ǝáʔêydudʌ.*

Èydɘ̂ [khómù]COMP ǝ-yɔn tɔsíng thònêy-dù-ní

then [evening] GRP-night deep happen-MID-ITER-TEMP

á-á-ʔêy-dù-hʌ

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 *kho* ‘time’ is used as the head of a NP when the verbal constituent of the *kho* compound words forms a predicate. The examples in (162) and (163) illustrate the use of the noun *kho* ‘time’ as head of the respective NP.
5.2. Compounding

(162) *khô mấní bû-tsâ ʔéyálúngú látsâ…*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khô</th>
<th>mû-ní</th>
<th>bû?-tsâ</th>
<th>ʔéy-âl-õng-ú-lá = tsâ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>be.dark-TEMP</td>
<td>rice-DIM</td>
<td>eat.I-DEP-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘When the time was dark, having eaten up rice…’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0018]

(163) *khô wàní, únû shûyâł.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khô</th>
<th>wâ-ní</th>
<th>únû</th>
<th>shû-yâl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>be.bright-TEMP</td>
<td>3SG.POSS-mother</td>
<td>search.II-DEP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 *shɔ́*, as demonstrated by (164), the compound words refer to the residents of those places. The root *shɔ́* is never exemplified in isolation in the existing corpus of Hyow.
(164) \textit{námsó khé préshó khé pánéyulá, pýtsó pékéybalá, ní pékéyángulatsé, èyní méy.}

\begin{verbatim}
[villager] all [countryman] all call-MID-3PL-SEQ banquet-DIM
pék-éy-bá-lá ní pék-éy-šng-ú-lá = tsâë
give.I-MID-3SG-SEQ-TEMP PROX give.I-MID-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP
déy = ní méy
ANAPH.DEM=FOC exist
\end{verbatim}

‘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 \textit{ímbrátshó} ‘house’s whole resident’ contains three roots in (165). Here the root \textit{shó} is fossilized with the bound root \textit{brát} ‘whole’.

(165) \textit{tsúlá kéy káatsúëy kéy pó shóngshál méyàk hánháng zóbóndzápó
ínsháláyëy hyó ímbrátshólànil.}

tsu = lá kéy ká-a-tsů-éy kéy pó shóngshál méy-åk
DIST = ERG 1SG 1S-DIR-jump-IRR 1SG father familyB exist-INCEP.DEL
hánháng zóbóndzápón í-ní-sháláy-éy-hyō [ám-brát-shó]comp = lá = ní
all livelihoodB 3A-PL-driveB-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
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 *póstó* ‘man’ and *shûl* ‘balloon’ become *ó-póstó* (GRP-man) ‘husband’ and *uí-shûl* (GRP-balloon) ‘bladder’, when they have the generic referential prefix attached to them. With the generic referential prefix attached to the noun *ó-póstó* (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  ópótôl  áóktábál.*

```plaintext
èy  ó-póstó = là  á-ók-tábál
ANAPH.DEM  GRP-man=ERG  DIR-drink.II-SURP

‘That husband went to drink unexpectedly.’

[ZM_MS_MZK_072015_Hyow_0037_024]
```

(167) *èydò  èy  pótōsæ  ñhngópò  íntèáál*

```plaintext
èydò  èy  pótó = tsè  ó-hngópó = á  í-ní-téʔ-áł
then  ANAPH.DEM  man=TOP  GRP-different-side=LOC  3A-PL-send.II-DEP

‘Then, they send back the man to a different way.’

[ZMARGS8_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 ʂpɔ̱tɔ́ lâ yɔ́k.\n
èy ʂ-pɔ̱tɔ́ = lâ yɔ́k
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 ʂ-khɔ́ (GRP-hole) ‘hole’ is referring to an indefinite referent in (169), while in (170), the word khɔ́ ‘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 ɔ́-tsɔ́w (GRP-bottom) ‘bottom’ in (169) is a bound noun with the generic referential prefix. However, since there is a definite possessor thîŋ lɛ̂npɔ́ (tree be.big-AUG) ‘very big tree’, the generic referential prefix is deleted from the root.
(169) **èydh, èy dûné, thîng lènpɔ́ hngât méyhyɔ́ èy thîng lènpɔ́ tsôwâ èkhɘ́ méy.**

èydh èy dûn = â thîng lén-pɔ́ hngât méy-hyɔ́ èy
then ANAPH.DEM place=LOC tree be.big-AUG one exist-PM ANAPH.DEM

thîng lén-pɔ́ tsôw = â è-ksɔ̂ méy
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) **èydh, èy khɘ́ dûkâ èy khɘ́ dûkatsê èy táng méyhyɔ́**

èydh èy khɘ́ dûk = â èy khɘ́ dûk = â = tsɔ̂
then ANAPH.DEM hole inside=LOC ANAPH.DEM hole inside=LOC = TOP

èy táng méy-hyɔ́
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 mí́n 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) **ìní nhômngèyhyɔ́ klàǹ, èy úwùnnì shùtnìngulàtsê, mí́n wún shùtànìngulàtsê, dêk dûkà́ infîlìlkì èy wùntsê.**
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 míń 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).
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 possessees 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) èydə, kúkhrúmáʔ tsétâlhâʔ. kótsðè lôálhí kìńú.
èydə kú-khrúmáʔ tsét-âlhâʔ kótsðè = dð lô-âl-hí
then 1SG.POSS=son’s.wife go-DEP-HORT 1SG.POSS=son = EMPHcome-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
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) ímlâ amâ̄lò wâ̄là dɘ̂í̄ní kɘ̀ʔnà kæ̂y y↓ bɔ́ hi tsæ̂, tûô, kîhniʔtsâ̄  póy méyâʔ v. kîhniʔnôw pôy méyâʔ v.

ím = là lôw = là = dê í-ñï-kâʔ-ñák-âʔy bôhî = tsâ̄
house=ERG swidden.field=ERG=EMPH  3-PL-carry.II-INST-IRR so=TOP

tû-ô kî-hniʔ-tesâ̄  póy méy-âʔ  kîyhnî̄ = á
grand.son=VOC  1-DL-son  be.good  exist-3SG.NEG  1DL=DAT

kî-hniʔ-nôw  póy  méy-âʔ
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) ninîš bôngbôlôk méykhôl. ninîhmôy kânêykhôl tîng tâkhnîòi.

nf-nî-hô bôngbôlôk  méy-krôl  nf-nî-hmôy  kân-êy-khôl
2-PL-butt  face.down.butt.up  stay-IMP.PL  2-PL-face  cover.I-MID-IMP.PL

tîng  tâk-hnîòi = tô
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 -tsɔ̂ is a productive morpheme in Hyow. It has grammaticalized from the word tsɔ̂ ‘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 -tsɔ̂ in tsàʔ-tsɔ̂ (border-DIM) ‘small border’ and ìm-tsɔ̂ (house-DIM) ‘small house’ is referring to small sizes of the respective inanimate referents in (176).
(176) nám tsāʔ-tsāʔ, èyâ ímtsâ shóérông̱âʔylâtsâ, èy ímtsâŋngi fhn?mêyhy-hnâʔti.

nám  tsâʔ-tsâʔ = â  èy = â  ím-tsâʔ
village  border-DIM = LOC  ANAPH.DEM = LOC  house-DIM

shó-èy-âng-hûʔy-lâ = tsâ  èy  ím-tsâʔ = âng = nî
make.I-MID-DUR-3DL-SEQ = TOP  ANAPH.DEM  house-DIM = INE = FOC

ì-hnf?-mêy-hyâ-hnö? = tî
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 námshó-tsâ (villager-DIM) ‘villager’ and kóyshâng-tsâ refers to small numbers of the respective animate referents.

(177) hñièyâ kêtèʔ-nî  èydô  ânfîláhâtsê  èyâ pótsôŋhâ námshót-sâ  ànfî? kóyshâng-tsâ  tóŋgûlâtsê, ânfîláhâtsê  èyâ íntsông.

hnî-èy-â  kêt-tèʔ-nî  èydô  ànfî? = là = hâ = tsâ
be.engaged-MID-PURP  1A-send.II-TEMP  then  3PL=ERG=ADD=TOP

èy = â  pótsôŋ-hâ  námshó-tsâ  ànfî?  kóyshâng-tsâ
ANAPH.DEM=LOC  CLS-ten  villager-DIM  3PL  relative-DIM

tó-âng-ú-lâ = tsâ  ànfî? = là = hâ = tsâ  èy = â
keep.I-STAT-3PL-SEQ=TOP  3PL=ERG=ADD=TOP  ANAPH.DEM=LOC

ì-nî-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 *ngɔ̀-tsɔ̀* (fish-DIM) ‘small fish’ is referring to the size of the referent in (178).

\[(178)\textbf{bɔ́hìtsæ̂, ngɔ̀tsɔ̀ áshùy-ɛ́y-ɛ̀ngkhôle tìngnl ták, fìmîkrwéyhnàpìf.}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bɔ́hì} &= \text{tsæ̂ ngɔ̀-tsɔ̀ á-shùy-ɛ́y-ɛ̀ng-khôle} & \text{tìng = ní ták} \\
\text{so} &= \text{TOP fish-DIM} & \text{DIR-search.I-MID-INC.HORT-IMP.PL} & \text{QT = FOC say.II} \\
\text{í-hnì?-krw-ɛ́y-hnù?} &= \text{tì} \\
\text{3S-DL-speak-MID-ULT} &= \text{R.EVID} \\
\text{‘So, saying, “Let’s go to search some fishes.” they spoke to each other finally’.} \\
\text{[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0029]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, the diminutive suffix refers to the small amount of inanimate referents in (179) in *álák-tsɔ̀* (alcohol-DIM) and *dùm-tsɔ̀*.

\[(179)\textbf{áláktsɔ̀ thọ́yhnàngti?là náttslângátsæ̂ bûng dùntsɔ̀ ló.}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{álák-tsɔ̀} &= \text{thọ́-yhnùng-tì? = là} & \text{náttslâng = à = tsæ̂} \\
\text{alchol-DIM} &= \text{give.I-MID-PH.CAP-PM=ERG name.of.a.place=LOC=TOP} \\
\text{bûng} &= \text{dùm-tsɔ̀} & \text{ló} \\
\text{bottle} &= \text{half-DIM} & \text{bring.I.IMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The person who can give a little amount of alcohol (literally, little amount of alcohol giver), bring half bottle to the Natchalang.’

\[\text{[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_042]}\]

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.
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 phíá-ts5 (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).

(180) èydɘ̂ úytsɔ́làè ỳy úylékéthǽy zízí nɔ́khnɘ̀ʔtî tsú ða úylékéthǽʔytsɔ́nì dùkâ.
èydɘ̂ úy-ts5 = lá = tsâè ỳy úylékéthǽy zí zí
then dog-DIM=ERG=TOP ANAPH.DEM wood.apple.fruit again.and.again
nɔ́k-hnɘ̀ʔtî = tî tsú = â úylékéthǽʔy-ts5 = nî dûk = 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.’

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 phíá-ts5 (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 phíatsɔ́nî yàphnî? kòbhôwéngkî? hngàttèsè tsíkâ kòbhôw˘.

kêy tsík = â [[phíá-ts5]-n5k]COMP yáp-hnî? kò-hôw = âng = kò?
1SG ago=LOC [[wife-DIM]-marry.II] way-two 1SGA-say.II=INE=GEN

hngát = tsâè tsík = â kò-hôw
one=TOP ago=LOC 1SG-say

‘A little while ago, I told one of the two ways of marrying a wife.’

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 phíá-ts5 (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).
Some Hyow words lexicalize the diminutive suffix. Generally, these words denote small or young referents, as in *shoméy-tsò* ‘boy’, *hmúts-tsò* (woman-DIM) ‘girl’ and *i?l-tsò* (blanket-DIM) ‘towel’. The words *hmúts* and *i?l* mean ‘woman’ and ‘blanket’ respectively. With the diminutive suffix grammaticalized, their meanings have changed. Some words themself refer to small things, but they still carry the diminutive suffix, as the word *nów-tsò* (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 limited number of nouns from stative verbs. Examples of such nominalization is given in (182).

(182) ɔ́lɔ́tsæ̂ tsùâ námɘ́ngkɘ́ʔ tsángtsɔ̂ lèntsɔ́khôl èykhólâ kátâ k↓.
ɔ́lɔ́ = tsæ̂ tsú = â nâm = ñng = kò? tsâng-tsò lén-tsò̂-khôl
gain=TOP DIST=LOC village=INE=GEN be.old-DIM be.big-DIM-EXP
èy-khôl = 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, *tsâng-tsò* (be.old-DIM) ‘aged’ and *lén-tsò* (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 –*pɔ́* 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 –pɔ̂ as an augmentative, as in shōki lèn-pɔ́ (deer be.big-AUG) ‘very big deer’.

The augmentative suffix –pɔ́ can be attached to nouns referring to both animate and inanimate referents. The words phílú–pɔ́ (ogre-AUG) ‘large ogre’ and s–dɔ́m–pɔ́ (GRP-be.lazy-AUG) ‘a great lazy person’ in (183) and (184) respectively represents animate referents.

(183) kɔ̀ʔi, ̀èy kr̥ng̀sh̥aŋ̥ni, ̀èyd̥ ̀gr̥ng̥ ̀t̥̥̣̥̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̃̃...
5.5. Nominal Suffixes

(184) tápkútâ tsìdê méyhyê. ëy kõông šngôk tôplâ tsî âdômmmpô âdômpô tông tsî 
fntâkkhôtî.

tápkút = â  tsî = dê  méy-hyê  ëy  kõông
cooking-place=LOC  often=EMPH  stay-PM  ANAPH.DEM  reason.INE

š-ngôk-tôf = là  tsî  š-dôm-pô
3SG.POSS-elder.brother’s.wife-PL=ERG  often  GRP-be.lazy-AUG

š-dôm-pô  tông  tsî  í-nî-tâk-khô = tî
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 tông lôn-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 lôn ‘be big’, which already refers to a big pillar, makes the referent definite
and strong.

(185) èydô, tông lênpô álâyâkô, álâythèô tôngní, shôtêy.

èydô  tông  lênpô  á-lây = â = kô?  á-lây-thê = â
then  pillar  be.big-AUG  GRP-middle=LOC=GEN  GRP-middle-right=LOC

tông = nî  shôt-êy
pillar=FOC  plunge.II-MID

‗Then, he plunged a very big pillar right into the middle. A very big piller 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 – tôf 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, phiá-tf? (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.

èy = kón hyáʔ = èy tsú = â bármá = â ínlüm-hmó
ANAPH.DEM=ABL be.not=POL.Q DIST=LOC Burma=LOC 3-A-PL-cross.II-PM
èy phṝúthóy-tfí báʔthwáy-tfí pú-tfí khǽ
ANAPH.DEM Phruthoy-PL Bahthway-PL uncle-PL all
‘Was not it from there? They crossed Burma, all those Phruythoys, 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) *bóhítsè, tsíʔó kéyní ñbó kó-kón-áʔyámb. kéyatsè kómsí? méyhómaʔhó úhmútsúyát tákhnáʔtfí.*

bóhi = tsè  tsíʔó = ñm  kéy = ní  ñbó  kó-kón-áʔyámb = ñm
so=TOP  elder.sister=VOC  1SG=FOC  how 1A-cross.II-IRR=CONT.Q
kéy = á = tsè  kó-mó?  méy-hómb-áʔ-hó
1SG=DAT=TOP 1SG.POSS-owner  exist-yet-3SG.NEG-PM
ú-hmú-tsú-éy  tíng  ták-hnáʔ = 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]


kó-ló-ánlí  èyá = á  kí-phláʔí?  kó-tsótfí?
1S-come-DEP-TEMP  ANAPHDEM=LOC  1SG.POSS-wife-PL  1SG.POSS-son-PL
kú-tsúhńúńfí?  í-ní-pyá-ánl
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 –tfí 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-tsɔ̃ (dog-DIM) ‘puppy’, mín-tsɔ̃ (cat-DIM) ‘kitten’, hmút-tsɔ̃ (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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>LIS suffixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young male/female</td>
<td>-tsɔ̃</td>
<td>shèl-tsɔ̃</td>
<td>‘calf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>à-tsɔ̃</td>
<td>‘chick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncastrated adult male</td>
<td>-hæw</td>
<td>shèl-hæw</td>
<td>‘uncastrated adult bull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wòk-hæw</td>
<td>‘uncastrated adult boar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tsɔ́l</td>
<td>màʔ-tsɔ́l</td>
<td>‘uncastrated adult buck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-hlûy</td>
<td>à-hlûy</td>
<td>‘uncastrated adult rooster’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castrated</td>
<td>-phát</td>
<td>shèl-phát</td>
<td>‘castrated bull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult virgin female</td>
<td>-hík</td>
<td>shèl-hík</td>
<td>‘adult virgin heifer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nò-hík</td>
<td>‘adult virgin female buffalo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ló</td>
<td>mâʔ-ló</td>
<td>‘adult virgin doe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wòk-ló</td>
<td>‘adult virgin sow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motherhood</td>
<td>-nû</td>
<td>mâʔ-nû</td>
<td>‘mother goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shèl-nû</td>
<td>‘mother cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatherhood</td>
<td>-pɔ̃</td>
<td>úy-pɔ̃</td>
<td>‘father dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mâʔ-pɔ̃</td>
<td>‘father boar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -hæ̂w, 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 -hæ̂w (in (189)) like the noun referring to an adult male cow, while the noun referring to a female virgin pig is marked by –lɔ́ unlike the noun referring to a female virgin cow, which is marked by -hík.

(189) shɔ̀hæ̂wpɔ́tsɛ̀ gógógó tìng èyá dèdɔ̀k.

shɔ̀-hæ̂w-pɔ̀ = tsɛ̀ gógógó tìng èy = ā dú-dɔ̀k  

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) èyhnɘ̀ʔlàtsɛ̀, tsù́ wòknʊ wòkphát mɔ̀n.

èy-hnɘ̀ʔ-lá = tsɛ̀ tsú = ā wòk-nʊ wòk-phát mɔ̀n  

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 -ms? The inclusive suffix –ms? refers to a referent inside something.
The inclusive suffix *mɔ́ʔ* is semantically equivalent to English ‘full’, as in ‘a bottle, full of water’. The inclusive suffix –*mɔ́ʔ* in *khrɔ́ng-mɔ́ʔ = tsē* (man-ICS = TOP) is referring to a plane (elided in the clause) which was full of people.

(191) `eydɘ̂ tsù lâ kɔ́ʔhí = tsâẽ ọ-họng zízí = ọng krɔ̂-dók
then DIST=ERG shoot. II-COND=TOP GRP-be.empty only=INE fall-ANT

*khrɔ̂ng-mɔ́ʔ = tsæ̂ krɔ̂-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 -*kɔ́* 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 ọ-nèn-kɔ́ kálá (GRP-spout-ECS jug) ‘spoutless jug’, *hmütš-kɔ́ pótš* (woman-ECS man) ‘womanless man’ and *pótš-kɔ́ hmütš* (man-ECS woman) ‘manless woman’ in (192).
(192) èy méyhnɘ̀ʔlá-à, mòtgrí mòtá áhní-tàkní, "úh kó-bóyô, bôhîtsè, ènànk₃ kàlá tângléyâk. bôhîtsè, hmûtsò pòtó tângléyâk. pòtóì hmûtsô tângléyâk." 
èy mèy-hnɘ̀ʔ-lâ = tsë mòtgrí mòt = là

ANAPH.DEM stay-ULT-SEQ=TOP great.minister minister=ERG

á-á-hnɘ̀ʔ-tàk-nî úh kó-bóy = ô bôhî = tsë è-nən-kâ

3A-DIR-DL-talk.II-TEMP INTJ 3SG.POSS-lord=VOC so=TOP GRP-spout-ECS

kàlá tâng-léyâk bôhî = tsë hmûtsò-kâ pòtó = à tâng-léyâk

ejug CLS-eleven so=TOP woman-ECS man=ADD CLS-eleven

pòtó-kâ hmûtsô = à tâng-léyâk

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 –sùlm. 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).
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-hnung-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) **tsóytsé ìbó thònéyēm, úhnúngshúm=ng ètsëdë, nòwtśshúmtṣé.**

-tsóy = tsâe íbó thón-èy = ñm ú-hnung-shúm = ñng è-tsët-dû
dp=top what happen-mid=cont.q grp-back-sup=ine 3S-go-iter
nòw-tsâ-shúm = tsâe
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 ủ- khuẩn (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 ůkúngshúm in (195).


‘Then, he picked up one of the seven hanged 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 -ɔ̂, 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 ǰ-ɔ̂ (what-mul) in (196) refers to multiple referents, which can be literally translated as ‘what all’.
(196) *nɔ́tɔ̀ ngé yìhì tsæ̂ è yɘ́ ngtsæ̂ ī i nɪhèwɔ̀m. è y tsɔ̀ ī i nɪhèwɔ̀m.*

nɔ́tɔ́ng-ēy-hì = tsâè  ī-ŋ
2A-apply.II-MID-COND=TOP  ANAPHL.DEM=INE=TOP  what-MUL

ī-ní-hów = ēm  èy  tsò = ŋng
3A-PL-say.II=CONT.Q  ANAPHL.DEM  document=INE

ī-ŋ
ī-ní-hów = ēm
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) *èyə tsɔ̀kná ù ìnɪlòm. èy khrɔ́ng kíníhmɔ̀ ʔdɘ̂, èytɘ́dɘ̂.*

èy = â  tsɔ̀kná = â  ī-ŋ  ī-ní-lò = ēm  èy
ANAPHL.DEM=LOC  learn=LOC  who-MUL  3S-PL-come=CONT.Q  ANAPHL.DEM

khrɔ́ng = ŋng  kíní-hmɔ̀t-ēy  èy = tɔ̀ = dɔ̡
people=INE  1A-PL-know.II-MID  ANAPHL=DEM=DLIM=EMPH

*‘Until 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 -*bɔ́ng 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 grammaticialized from the quantifier *bɔ́ng ‘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 *ýɔ́n-hniʔ-bông* (night-two-APPX) ‘about two nights’ to generalize the number of nights required for the fermentation process.

(198) *ýɔ́nhnìʔbɔ́ng tɔ̃ngulàtsè́ èydsè ymì ētsè lò.*

*ýɔ́n-hniʔ-bông*  tɔ̃-ŋ–ù-lá = tsè  èydsè  èy = nì
gight-two-APPX keep.I-DUR-3PL-SEQ=TOP  then  ANAPH.DEM=FOC

ē-tsè    lò

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).
Nominal morphology

(199) mṍng wátkhôl mṍng dánshákhôl wástshökúlátsǽ ínwátálshô

mṍng wát- khôl mṍng dánshá-khôl wát-shôk-ú-lá = tsâ

king clothe-EXP king ornament-EXP wear-CAUS-3PL-SEQ=TOP

í-ní-wát-ál-shôk

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 -tìʔ, 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 tâ-tìʔ- 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 –ɔk 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 .descripcion{kh} (drink.I-NMLZ-EXP) in (200) takes stem I ó of the verb ‘drink’. The Stem II of the verb ‘drink’ is ók.

(200) ëy álák ćtįʔ-khől înštî̀èleǐtsaknî bûʔimâ wâng.

ëy álák ćtįʔ-khől înštî̀èleǐtsaknî bûʔimâ wâng

ANAPH.DEM alcohol drink.I-NMLZ-EXP 3S-PL-go-DEP-COMPL-TEMP

bûʔîm = â wàng

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 khɔ́y ‘pick.I’ forms a relative clause with the other constituent noun túy ‘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 túy khɔ́ytîʔ(.water pick.I-NMLZ) means ‘who picked up water’ in (201).
Some disyllabic verbs in H-yow have \(-\text{ná}k\) as a part of the stem. In Daai, \(-\text{nak}\) is a nominalizer (Hartmann 2009). However, in H-yow, it is an applicative and it is lexicalized with some verbs. The verb \(\text{tsók}\) means teach, but with \(-\text{nak}\) lexicalized, the word \(\text{tŝóknák}\) means ‘learn’. When the agentive suffix is attached to the verb \(\text{tŝóknák}\), the final unaspirated voiceless velar stop of \(-\text{nak}\) undergoes apocope, which reflects the fact that \(\text{nak}\) 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 \(-\text{ná}k\) allows the stem \(\text{tŝóknák}\) to take the agentive suffix and become a derived agentive noun \(\text{tŝóknáti}^?\) ‘learner’, as demonstrated by the example in (202).
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 kɔ̀ʔ-tiʔ (shoot.II-NMLZ) in (203), it means ‘shootee’, and when the Stem I verb kɔ́p ‘shoot.I’ takes the suffix, then it means ‘shooter’. Patientive nominalization also takes place at the clause level (see §12.4.2.2)
(203) \textit{kæ̀khò̆ng ngò̀nghiàŋ ykò̀tnkà̂tìfì bîsh \textbackslash r.}

\textit{kæ'-khól = ŋng \ ngò̀nghiàŋ = khól = ŋng i-ní-kò̃-tfì bîsh}

\textit{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 \textit{-dùn} has grammaticalized from the noun \textit{dùn} ‘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 \textit{tsò̆n-du'n} (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) \textit{tsò̆ndùná lè méyá? \textbackslash r.}

\textit{tsò̆n-dùn = á lè méy-á?}

\textit{run-PLNMLZ=LOC \ nothing exist-3SG.NEG}

‘There is no place of running away.’

[ZM\_ASPLS\_072015\_Hyow\_0012\_0038]

Likewise, the nominalized verb \textit{nè̆-mè̆y-dùn} (2S-live-PLNMLZ) in (205) refers to the living place of a second person singular argument.
5.6. Nominalization

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 -dûn in món-dûn (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 hû-dûn ‘fan’ (fan.II-NMLZ), yêk-dûn ‘paper’ (write.II-NMLZ), phôt-dûn ‘book’ (study.II-NMLZ), kôy-dûn ‘ladder/pipe’ (ascend-INMLZ), shôt-dûn ‘eye’ (look.II-NMLZ), and tsêtêy-dûn ‘leg’ (walk-INMLZ). The derived noun kôydûn in (206) refers to a pipe that is used to extinguish smoke from ships.

(205) èytsê, èyä nêmëy démûnkhôtsê èylûp-khôl pôyê.
èy = tsêèy = ânémêydûnkhôl = tsê
ANAPH.DEM=TOP ANAPH.DEM=LOC 2SGS-stay-PLNMLZ-EXP=TOP
èylûp-khôl pôy-êy
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 -dûn in món-dûn (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 hû-dûn ‘fan’ (fan.II-NMLZ), yêk-dûn ‘paper’ (write.II-NMLZ), phôt-dûn ‘book’ (study.II-NMLZ), kôy-dûn ‘ladder/pipe’ (ascend-INMLZ), shôt-dûn ‘eye’ (look.II-NMLZ), and tsêtêy-dûn ‘leg’ (walk-INMLZ). The derived noun kôydûn in (206) refers to a pipe that is used to extinguish smoke from ships.

(206) èykôn mêykhû kôydûn èyêng brûng tîng èy bûm pôkhnês? .
èy = kôn mêykhû kôy-dûn èy = ñng
ANAPH.DEM = ABL smoke ascend-INMLZ ANAPH.DEM = INE
brûng tîng èy bûm pôk-hnês?
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) kényáhatsé kínpèkæʔyphíʔ á méyáʔ túá

kény = á = há = tsè kí-ní-pék-æʔy-phíʔ ɪá méy-áʔ
1SG = DAT = ADD = TOP 1A-PL-give.II-IRR-PNMLZ nothing exist-3SG.NEG
tú = ᵃ
grand.son = VOC

‘O, grandson, we have nothing for giving.’

[ZM_BT.SPW_082015_Hyw_0013_0065]

(208) áhléʔæʔyphíʔ méyâ yá

á-hléʔ-æʔy-phíʔ méy-áʔ
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 -kho is used to derive temporal noun in Hyow. The temporal nominalizing suffix originates from the noun kho ‘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.
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 $\rightarrow$ Stem II contains stop finals/No change

2. Stem I ends with the bilabial stop $\rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$ Step II contains glottal stop finals/No change

4. Stem I ends with the velar stop $\rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$ No change

6. Stem I ends with sonorant finals $\rightarrow$ 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 $\delta'$drink.I', but $\delta k$ '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.
### Verb Stem Alternation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem I final syllable types</th>
<th>Formation types</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Glosses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smooth</td>
<td>Addition</td>
<td>Stem I</td>
<td>Stem II</td>
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<td>shò</td>
<td>shót</td>
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<td>shɔ̀</td>
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<td>hlɔ́ʔw</td>
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<td>bṍʔ</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tɔ́w</td>
<td>tɔ́ʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Checked Replacement</td>
<td>shɘ́p</td>
<td>shɘ́ʔ</td>
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<td>wǽt</td>
<td>wǽʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yɘ́k</td>
<td>yɘ́ʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hyɔ́kêy, which is a Stem I verb. The Stem II verb hyɔ́ʔêy 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) únmûŋ tsūk póyâʔ.

ú-nûŋ tūk póy-aʔ
GRP-too.much think.II be.good-3SG.NEG

‘Too much thinking is not good.’ [Elicited]
(212) ेय ह्यन पयाँ? े.

ेय         ह्यन         पयाँ?
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 lòw (swidden field) + bí (work.II) → lòw-bí ‘swidden field working/swidden field cultivation’, hmɔ́y ‘face’ + hmúʔ ‘see.II’ → hmɔ́y-hmúʔ ‘face seeing (a ritual during marriage)’, shɔ́ ‘wild pig’ + kɔ́ʔ ‘shoot.II’ → shɔ́-kɔ́ʔ ‘wild pig hunting/shooting’ etc. A comparison between the Stem II verbs hmúʔ ‘see.II’ and kɔ́ʔ ‘shoot’ in these examples, and agentive and patientive nominalizing suffix -tíʔ 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-áʔ (go-SPNT-3SG.NEG) ‘He did not go spontaneously’, but hmùʔ-nák (see.II-SPNT.II) ‘He saw spontaneously’ and hmù-nà-áʔ (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.
In order to form a grammatical construction with the intransitive verb *pɔ̂y ‘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 -thɔ̂, 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 *pɔ̂y ‘be good’.

(214) *nétsètthɔ̂ pɔ́yâʔ↘.

né-tsétthɔ̂ pɔ́yâʔ  
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 *ip is an intransitive verb, but it shows a Stem II variant *iʔ only when the verb is causativized, as in *ip-âl (sleep.I-DEP) ‘He slept’, but *iʔ-shɔ̀k-âl (sleep.II-CAUS-DEP) ‘He made him sleep’. Both the variants – *ip and *iʔ – are considered grammatical in the presence of the causative suffix -shɔ́k. The verb *káp ‘cry’ also shows the same feature of showing the Stem II *káʔ ‘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 *hyɔ̂l ‘lie down’, but *hyɔ́ʔl ‘make someone lie down’, and thów ‘get up’, but thóʔw ‘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 *krɔ́ ‘fall’* has three stem variants – *krɔ́k ‘make fall’, khrɔ̂ ‘make fall.I’* and *khrɔ́k ‘make fall.II’*. The form *krɔ́k* is supposedly derived from the historical causativization. The form *khrɔ́* is the lexical causative of the intransitive verb *krɔ́ ‘fall’*. Finally, the lexical causative verb *khrɔ́* has undergone the historical action nominalization process, which has resulted in the nominalized form *khrɔ́k ‘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’, hlɔ́ʔw ‘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 ǝn (curry) + büt (cook.I) + tīʔ (NMLZ) → ǝn-būt-tīʔ ‘curry chef’, but ǝn (curry) büt (cook.I) + tīʔ (NMLZ) → ǝn ṃittīʔ ‘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 -dàn and the temporal nominalizer -khô originate from free nouns in Hyow. And so, at one stage, these nouns, dàn ‘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 shìk and shìʔ respectively. The clause in (215) illustrates an example of agentive nominalization, where the verb takes Stem I (in bold letters).

(215) èydɘ̂, tsú, èydɘ̂ æ-thæʔy shikéytiʔ kǝmâlhlô.

cèydɘ̂ tsú èydɘ̂ æ-thæʔy shìk-éy-tiʔ kǝm-âl-hlô
then DIST then GRP-fruit pluck.I-MID-NMLZ climb.down-DEP-PM

‘Then, there, the fruit plucker climbed down.’

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 dôk ‘put on’ is used in a clauses with positive and negative polarity respectively.
(216) ęydë, shëtëk kho, ęy námshëkholní, ęy shânglnâyshëkholnë ęy méyti? khâkâ fûntseèthô.

ędë shët-àk kho = â ęy námshë-khol = ní ęy then CLS-one time=LOC ANAPH.DEM villager-EXP=FOC ANAPH.DEM shânglnâyshë-khol = ní ęy méy-tì? khôk = â poor=EXP=FOC ANAPH.DEM exist-NMLZ near=LOC i-ní-tsët-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) tsû bâyû dökëyâldâdëk.

tsû bâyû dök-ëy-âl-dâ-dëk
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) ūnûpûlâ dökëyângbâlå bâng pëyà?tì.

ū-nûpû = là dök-ëy-âng-bâ-lá bâng 3SG.POSS-parent = LOC put.on.I-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ even pëy-â?tì 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, bó́ ‘be hanged’ and dòng ‘be shown’ are used in intransitive clauses and Stem II verbs bó́ʔ ‘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) èydó, éyá ëylüp kám-ální, khómí dèngtiáʔí.

èydó èy = á ëylüp kám-ální khómí = dó
then ANAPH.DEM = LOC like.that descend-DEP-TEMP sun = EMPH

dóng-tí-áʔ = 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) ëyní dón ɺ. tsú ëy ngóláy áhlúypɔ̀lâ khôm ɺ, ngóláy, ëy klám ɺ, ëy khènìâ khóytsípíní dónhₙiptables.

èy = ní
dón tsú = â
dón
góláy
èy
áhlúy-pɔ̀ = là

ANAPH.DEM = FOC
show.II
DIST = LOC
ANAPH.DEM
sin
rooster-FA = ERG

khôm ngóláy èy = là
khôm èy
khè = ní = á

obstruct.II
sin
ANAPH.DEM = ERG
obstruct.II
ANAPH.DEM
all = FOC = ADD

khóytsíp = ní
dón-hnɘ̀ʔ = tî

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 -hnɘ̀ʔ and -khɒ́l 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 -ǽ. 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 -ǽ and -khɒ́l in (221) and (222) respectively, where Stem I verbs are used.
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, \textit{hmú}?‘see’, while the matrix clause with negative polarity has taken a Stem I verb, \textit{hmú} ‘see’ in (223). Likewise, both the matrix clauses with negative polarity in (224) have Stem I verbs.

(221) \textit{èyhnê?latsuë “phîtdë åîlêyëå” tîng tâkt.}

\begin{align*}
èy- & -hnê?-lâ = tsê & \text{phît} = dô & \text{á-}lô- & -ëy-\ddot{ê} & \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ} = \text{TOP} & \text{basket} = \text{EMPH} & \text{DIR-} & \text{bring.I-} & \text{MID-POL} & \\
\text{tîng} & \text{ták} = \ddot{t}î & \\
\text{QT} & \text{tell.II=R.EVID} & \\
\end{align*}

‘Finally after that, she said, “Go to bring a basket yourself.”’

[ZM_TDGG_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_017]

(222) \textit{èydô, èy pânhi sentencing, mà-tsô \textit{hlâk}êyâlkhôlë.}

\begin{align*}
èydô & \text{èy} & \text{pân-hî} = \text{tsê} & \text{mâ?-tsô} & \text{hlâk}- & ëy-\ddot{ê}-\ddot{â}-khoł-æ \\
\text{then} & \text{ANAPH.DEM} & \text{end.II-COND} = \text{TOP} & \text{goat-DIM} & \text{scrape.I-MID-DEP-IMP.PL-POL} & \\
\end{align*}

‘Then, if that ends, scrape off (the skin of) the goat (you all) yourselves.’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_075]
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(223) ḗy-thēn, ūhmùʔ-thēn, hmùʔ\-

\ verbally

èy-thēn ù-hmùʔ-thēn hmùʔ
dem-concess 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) ḗytetkòntsæ̂, ḗy bēnātiū. ḗytsæ̂, ḗy khōytstɨpsts krōâlnì, bēnātiū\-

\ verbally

èy = tōʔ = kōn = tsâè èy bō-nâ-tî-ú
dem=lim=abl=top dem pour.i-spnt-niter-3pl.neg

èy = tsâè èy khōytstîp-tsâ krōâ-âl-nî

dem=top dem ring-dim fall-dep-temp

bō-nâ-tî-ú

dem=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.
Verbs: forms and classifications

(225) *tsùkhôllàtsë*, *tsëtülâtsë*, *hnîbôk ūpôy ūpôy ūpôy ūpôy tskéytsàdkàkà*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tsú-khôl} & = \text{lå} = \text{tsâ} & \text{tsê-tû-lá} & = \text{tsâ} & \text{hnîbôk} & \text{ûpôy} & \text{ûpôy} \\
\text{DIST-EXP} & = \text{ERG} = \text{TOP} & \text{go-3PL-SEQ} & = \text{TOP} & \text{rifle} & \text{GRP-be.good} & \text{GRP-be.good} \\
\text{ûpôy} & \text{ûpôy} & \text{tsf-éy-tsâk-dôk-û} \\
\text{GRP-be.good} & \text{GRP-be.good} & \text{take.I-MID-COMPL-ANT-3PLA}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) *ámmâbàlà, álôbàlà, ëyòng, nàmâ, tsûtâhlâ*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{á-mò-bá-lá} & \text{á-lô-bá-lá} & \text{èy} & = \text{ñng} & \text{nàm} & = \text{à} \\
\text{DIR-steal.I-3SG-SEQ} & \text{DIR-bring.I-3SG-SEQ} & \text{ANAPH.DEM} & = \text{INE village} & = \text{LOC} \\
\text{tsê tô-á-l-hlô} \\
\text{go-DEP-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) èydɘ̂ nám = ŋng = dê hmútɘ̂ f-ní-lò-hf = tsɘ̂ mâné
then village = INE = EMPH woman 3S-PL-come-COND = TOP meanB
hmútɘ̂ f-ní-mëy-hf = tsɘ̂ hmútɘ̂ pɘ̂y = dê hmúʔ-hf = tsɘ̂
woman 3S-PL-exist-COND = TOP woman be.good = EMPH see.II-COND = TOP
èy hmútɘ̂ = ŋng = khôl hmútɘ̂ = ŋng = khôl krâk-ɘ̂y
ANAPH.DEW woman = COMT = ELAB woman = COMT = ELAB be.wicked-MID
5lô = tsɘ̂ hmútɘ̂ = ŋng = 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.
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.


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.
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) èydɘ̂, hmût恫ngtsê ânílání kēy phēlâtešè hmɔ̀tìʔ, tânhà oǹgấʔ. èykòntsê ânítsê úlûkìá mèy.
èydɘ̂ hmûtɘ̂ = ñg = tsâë âní = lá = ní kēy phîá = lá = tsâë [hmɔ̀t.I-tiʔ]RC
then woman=INE=TOP 3SG=ERG=FOC 1SG wife=ERG [know.I-NMLZ]
[tân-hâ oǹg-tiʔ]RC èy = kôn = tsâë âní = tsâë
[CLS-ten pass.I-NMLZ] ANAPH.DEM=ABL=TOP 3SG=TOP
ú-lûkf-á méy
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphosyntactic environment</th>
<th>Stem I</th>
<th>Stem II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agentive nominalization</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive clause</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Clause</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Clause (sequential, circumstantial, simultaneous, motivational purposive, anterior temporal and non-canonical)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agentive nominalization</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Clause (temporal, reason, concessive, conditional, delimitative, posterior temporal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Van Valin & 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 expresses 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’, dě-yěl (GRP-be.cold) ‘be cold’, dě-krěk (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. krůy ‘be crushed’, hydé ‘be cursed’, khɔ́k ‘be expensive’, dṹ ‘die’ etc.
The difference between verbs that express states and verbs that express accomplishments can be explained from an example. The verbs ó̄-wɔ́p (GRP-be.blurry) ‘be blurry’ and hmúp ‘be blurry’ express meaning consistent with blurriness. However, the verb ó̄-wɔ́p (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 ʉ́-mʉ̂ (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, shòtmí, èydð, émìk mʉ̂

hóng-bá-lá  shót-ní  èydð  é-mìk  mʉ̂
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.
Verbs: forms and classifications

(233) \(\text{èytë?nng fuhyâmhnë?tf.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èy} & = \text{të?} = \text{nng} & \text{i-ní-hyám-hnë?} & = \text{tf} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEML}=\text{DLIM}=\text{INE} & \quad 3\text{S-PL-faint-ULT}=\text{R.EVID}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 \(\text{kàw} ‘\text{become separated}'\) in (234) is an example of an accomplishment verb. As the verb \(\text{kàw} ‘\text{become separated}'\) does not encode an inherent state, it cannot function as a verbal modifier by following a noun.

(234) “\(\text{nëhngëg nùpùm lâ nùlikë fùkàwë?hyës.} ‘\text{tìng.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{në-hngë}l & \quad \text{nù-pùm} & \quad \text{nù-lûkî} \\
2\text{SG.POSS-throat} & \quad 2\text{SG.POSS-body} & \quad 2\text{SG.POSS-head}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i-ní-kàw-ë?y-hyë} & \quad \text{tìng} \\
3\text{S-PL-\text{be.separated}-IRR-PM} & \quad \text{QT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 \(\text{ë-hngë}(\text{GRP-\text{be.separated}}) ‘\text{be separated}'\). In a context, where a separation happens between parents and children, e.g. death, then the state verb \(\text{ë-hngë}(\text{GRP-\text{be.separated}}) ‘\text{be separated}'\) 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 \(\text{tsôn ‘run’}, \text{tsët ‘go’}, \text{thëk ‘itch’} \text{etc.}\)
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 hmɔ́yhmɔ́ dêdêni shò shɔ̀ng íntsɔ̀n-hnɔ̂ kúhmû?**

kêy hmɔ́yhmɔ́ dêdê = ní shò shɔ̀ng í-ní-tsɔ̀n-hnɔ̂ kú-hmû?
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) **ēyồ, èy pɔ̀n̩ng, tsù-hhô?yà íññi?tsètâl, íññi?tsù̂n̩al.**

ēyồ èy pɔ̀n̩ng tsù-hhô?y = â í-ññi?-tsèt-âl
then ANAPH.DEM END-TEMP DIST-DU-ADD 3S-DL-*go*-DEP

í-ññi?-tsù̂n̩-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 *tsèt* ‘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 krš is an example of an atelic event.

(237) hlókbêsngí móphálá, èykôn krš.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{hlók-bæ} & \text{mó-pál} & \text{è} & \text{kôn} & \text{krš} \\
\text{COMP} & \text{bá} & \text{lā} & \text{FOC} & \text{ABL} & \text{fall}
\end{array}
\]

‘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. Prootypical 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 lùák ñí túktùhní tì hárè.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{èy} & \text{lú-á} & \text{ní} & \text{túk-tú-hn} & \text{t} & \text{í} & \text{hárè} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM} & \text{CLS-one=FOC} & \text{kill.II-ITER=ULT=R.EVID} & \text{DP}
\end{array}
\]

‘Again like before, she killed that baby bird, understand?’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0017]
Similarly, there are two arguments of the verb shɔ́ʔ ‘hack.II’ in (239). The referent of the absent A argument acts on the referent of the P argument hmútstsɔ́ ‘girl’ in the exemplified situation in (239). Consequently, the referent of the P argument is affected.

(239) èy hmútstsɔ́ nl shɔ́ʔhnɔ̀ʔtì
èy         hmútstsɔ́ = ní     shɔ́ʔ-hnɔ̀ʔ = tì
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 hmɔ́t ‘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) èyhùʔytsæ̂ ánʔlåhå   fnhmɔ́t-thɔ́ hngúdå.
èyhùʔy = tsæ̂     ánfʔ = lá = hå   i-ní-hmɔ́t-thå    hngúdå
like.that=TOP    3PL=ERG=ADD    3A-INV-know.II-PM  DP

‘They also know you like that, OK?’

[ZM.CVST_HYHP_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 *mɘ́ ‘hit’* and *bóp ‘beat’* in (241) are monotransitives. There are two arguments of both the verbs in (241).

(241) *èyní, èyâ ūmâ ñphíá ūmɘ́lɘ́lhlò thándose bòp.phɔ̀.*

èy = ní  èy = â  ím = â  í-phíá

ANAPH.DEM=FOC  ANAPH.DEM=FOC  house=LOC  3SG.POSS-wife

5-èmesl-ål-hlò  hngúdâ  tháshá  ō-bóp-phò

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 *tük ‘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 *tük ‘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).
6.3. Basic classification of verbs

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.
During the time I liked her, I sent letters to her.

[ZM_MENZK_NZK_122013_Hyow_0043_009]

In (244), the ditransitive verb *pek* ‘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 *pek* ‘give.II in (244). The inverse marker is also attached to the verb that has a first person A and second person P.

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 -éy, 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 kûn ‘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) ánf kr̡̠n̡̠-hl̡̠ats̡̠e, “ím eyts̡̠e ký shámakl̡̠ats̡̠e ̡̠shm̡̠ydysh káménú”.

ání kr̡̠-hn̡̠-l̡̠-ts̡̠e ím éy=ts̡̠e kýy
3PL.fall-ULT-SEQ=TOP what-Q ANAPH.DEM 1SG

shámák = lá = ts̡̠e ̡̠5-hm̡̠y=d̡̠ kûn-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 bûn ‘get’ is a transitive verb. In (246), the verb bûn has two distinct participants – a human initiator, nû ‘mother’ and a non-human endpoint, dúkháʔ ‘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-pûm = â dúkháʔ pêk-èy-hyò (ANAPH. DEM = ERG own = DAT trouble give-MID-PM). Therefore, the suffix -èy in the verb bûnèy in (246) emphasizes the event of having sufferings. Without the middle suffix, the sentence will be still grammatical. The verb bûnèy in (246) also expresses that the referents of the human actors are affected by the events predicated.

(246) nû lâ dúkháʔ bûnèy. pûlâ dúkháʔ bûnèy. èytsæ̂ îá hmôtù̀.

nû = lâ dúkháʔ bûn-èy pû = lâ dúkháʔ bûn-èy
mother=ERG trouble get-MID father=ERG trouble get-MID
èy = tsæ̂ îá hmôt-ú
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) èydɘ̂ úlúkí háňgháng khâʔêyâltí.
èydɘ̂ ú-lúkí háňgháng khâʔ-êy-âl = tì
then 3SG.POSS-head all shave.II-MID-DEP=R.EVID

‘Then, he shaved all his head himself.’

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 *shí-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).


krôngshang = ní ëy-hxì î-hnnì?-shiêy î-hnnì?-bòp-êy-ní
right.away=FOC FILL-PM 3S-DL-quarrel 3A-DL-beat.II-MID-TEMP

ëydò ëy = ní = á = ní î-ní-ták = tì
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.
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 ngówēy ‘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.

\[(249) \text{èylà infngówēyɛ̀yhyɔ̂dɘ̂ tîng.}\]

èy = là  i-nf-ngówēy-ɛ̀y-hyɔ̂dɘ̂ = dɘ̂ 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 distinguishibility 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](image)

The grooming middle verbs *thukéy* ‘wash head’ and *hléy* ‘wash face’ in (250) are derived from the respective unmarked transitive verbs.

(250) *lúts5 múnts5 thukéy-ýngbálatsé, émíkts5 5hmóyts5 5hlóngts5 hléy-ýngbálatsé, úbúʔhóds5.*

- head-DIM EE-DIM *wash.II-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP 3SG.POSS-eye-DIM*
- 3SG.POSS-face-DIM 3SG.POSS-EE-DIM *wash.I-MID-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP*
- ú-búʔ-hó=dó

‘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 – *hyslIl* ‘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, *shééy* ‘sneeze’, *hiley* ‘breathe’, and *ùkéy* ‘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 *hmʉ̀ey* ‘close eyes’ in (251) and *khépēy* ‘blink’ in (262) are examples of nontranslational middle verbs. The verbs ‘close eyes’ and ‘blink’ represent events predicing nontranslational motor activities, which are treated as middle verbs in Hyow, following the typology that Kemmer 1993 presents.

(251) *Desde, úhmùuh. émikni hmuèy. ëy yòkkhô. õhmônì pòngéyshòkkhô.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yes} & \quad \text{3A-see.II-PM} \quad \text{3SG.POSS-eye=FOC} \quad \text{close.eye-MID} \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM} \\
\text{yòk-khô} & \quad \text{5-hnò = nî} \quad \text{pòngéy-shòk-khô} \\
\text{hear-PM} & \quad \text{3SG.POSS-ear=FOC} \quad \text{embrace-CAUS-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Yes, he saw. He closed his eyes. He heard that he blocked (embraced) his ears.’

[ZM_ARGS7_082015_Hyow_0010_0042]
(252) ेयध्, कोनभोटे एम्फ क्षैपे्यबाळ, एदे्याल।

èyḍ ṭ kònbóte ē-mík khāp-éy-bá-lá ē-dey-āl
then somehow 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 hlʉ̀êy ‘wave’, oklyn ‘bend’, hláêy ‘move by hands’, phɔ́pêy ‘flick’, pǽkêy ‘jump’, shòtêy ‘look for a little bit’ etc. predicate middle situations. The verb khɘ̀ʔêy ‘bow’ in (253) also has an unmarked form, without any deviation from the meaning.

(253) bóhītsê, kínkhôʔeyâyêyâyhûthô.

bɔ́hí = tsê kí-nf-khôʔ-éy-ây-hû-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’, tsônêy ‘roam’, tsâkêy ‘move’, tsètêy ‘walk, thûkêy ‘bolt’ and wɔkêy ‘crawl’. The verbs tsètêy ‘walk’ and tsônêy ‘roam’ are derived from tsèt ‘walk’ and tsôn ‘run’ respectively, which have different meanings from their derived counterparts. The example in (254) illustrates two translational middle situations.
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 *bɔ́têy* ‘be hung’ in (255), which has a Stem I form, is classified as a positional middle verb in Hyow.

(255) *èyâ pǎŋkhɔ̂ttsɔ̂ páyshǽ? bɔ́têhyɔ̂.*

èy = à pǎŋkhɔ̂t-tsɔ̂ páy-shǽ? bɔ́t-éy-hyɔ̂

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 *kɔ́pêy* ‘cling’ in (256) and (257) respectively are positional middle verbs in Hyow.

(254) *íntšèy íntʃɔ́nèy ínǐʔéyê íntʃɔ̂kɔkko-hùʔyini.*

í-ní-tsétêy í-ní-tsɔ́nèy í-ní-ʔéy-êy í-ní-ók-khɔ̂-hùʔyini

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. Middle 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 käéy ‘fear’, pyʒéy ‘be happy’, dàéy ‘be hungry’, hàl以人为 ‘be thirsty’, nàʔéy ‘covet’, hlówéy ‘weep’, théthéy ‘pray’ and yùm’éy ‘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 – käéy ‘be scared’.

(256)  gıdatànŋŋ làniʔókéyálin, èy gářim?á l₃m hmúéyáʔhọ

yáytán = 5ng  í-hnʔ-ókéy-āl-ní  èy  gáři-m?á = á
drying.rope=INE  3S-DL-be.stuck-DEP-TEMP ANAPH.DEM car-owner=ADD

l₃m  hmú-éy-áʔ-hô
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 lënnû khrá tsůwấni, kóybâłâ̍tsê, ákòpéyhnôʔtô.

èydô  hô  lën  nû  khrá  tsôw = â = ní  kóy-bâ-lá = tsâ
then  bird  be.big  mother  wing  bottom=LOC=FOC  climb.up-3SG-SEQ=TOP

á- kòpëy- hnôʔ = tô
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]
6.4.10 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 kháʔnêy ‘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) ópəməyə khrɔnglå ínkəʔlåyəʔyhyo̞ kʰàʔnêy.

ó-pəm-ê-y-â khrɔng = là í-ní-kəʔlåy-ê-y-hyo̞ kʰàʔnêy

‘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 tsəməy ‘taste’, nięy ‘ache’ and shōtəy ‘try’ belong to this category of verbs. In (260), the initiators of the action tsəməy ‘taste’ are also the experiencers.
6.4. Middle verbs

(260) èydð, òntsð pèlåktsf tsåmèykhðl, nfnì?éyéynùnghnìgð.

èydð  ón-tsð       pèl-ák-tsí
define-DEM  one-acc
then       curry-DIM  CLS-one-each

tsåmèy-khðl       ní-ní-?éy-éy-hnùng-hnìgð
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 – tûlèy ‘swing’, thònèy ‘become’, bûtèy ‘boil’, etc. The verb
tûlèy ‘swing’ encodes the affectedness of the receiver, which is absent in the text, but
can be traced from the discourse.

(261) pòpèkångbålatsè, tsùá pàkpùnùnggf tûlèyhnhòñfì.

pó-pèk-ång-bá-lá = tsåè  tsú = à    pákpùn = ång = nì
cook.I-BEN-STAT-3SG-SEQ = TOP   DIST = LOC   cradle = INE = FOC

tûlèy-ñùng? = fì
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 *phé* ‘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 *yáʔ* ‘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) *èydš, mratältîni kînîyèʔ'éy.*

\[
\text{èydš mrát-ál-tî? = ní} \quad \text{kî-nî-} \text{yáʔ-èy} \\
\text{then be.remnant-PL=FOC 1A-PL-} \text{sell.II-MID}
\]

‘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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Derived verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. óm</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>ómêy</td>
<td>‘get married’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tsé</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>tsêtêy</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pây</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
<td>pýêy</td>
<td>‘be beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. thôn</td>
<td>‘happen’</td>
<td>thônêy</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tsôn</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>tsônêy</td>
<td>‘roam around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. kǽʔ</td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td>kǽêy</td>
<td>‘be scared’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ǿk</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>ǿkêy</td>
<td>‘be stuck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. bǽʔ</td>
<td>‘slap’</td>
<td>bǽʔêy</td>
<td>‘clap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. kák</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>kákêy</td>
<td>‘avoid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tɘ́m</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
<td>tɘ́mêy</td>
<td>‘be a company’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ómêy ‘get married/sit to marry’ is used
and if the referent of the A argument is a man, the transitive verb *nɔk* ‘marry/take a wife’ (the verb *nɔk* originally means ‘take’) is used.

(263) záte hmút5lài òméyhyótsè pɔtó òméyhyó pɔtɔtsè iɔ táá póyshá.

záte hmút5 = là òm-ëy-hy5 = pɔtó òm-ëy-hy5
so.thatₜₜ woman=ERG sit-MID-PM=TOP man sit-MID-PM

pɔtó = tsâe iɔ táá póyshá

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-causative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kã̀</em></td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td><em>khã̀</em></td>
<td>‘make scared’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kɔ́y</em></td>
<td>‘ascend’</td>
<td><em>khɔ́y</em></td>
<td>‘pick up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>klók</em></td>
<td>‘be extinct’</td>
<td><em>khklók</em></td>
<td>‘make extinct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lék</em></td>
<td>‘be small’</td>
<td><em>hlék</em></td>
<td>‘shorten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lén</em></td>
<td>‘be big’</td>
<td><em>hlén</em></td>
<td>‘enlarge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lány</em></td>
<td>‘change place ownself’</td>
<td><em>hlány</em></td>
<td>‘transfer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lɔ́m</em></td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
<td><em>hlɔ́m</em></td>
<td>‘make dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nék</em></td>
<td>‘sink’</td>
<td><em>hnék</em></td>
<td>‘drown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pók</em></td>
<td>‘burst’</td>
<td><em>phpók</em></td>
<td>‘make burst’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yáʔ</em></td>
<td>‘be open’</td>
<td><em>hyáʔ</em></td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yɔ́ʔ</em></td>
<td>‘abate (sickness)’</td>
<td><em>hyɔ́ʔ</em></td>
<td>‘make abate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yúm</em></td>
<td>‘end’</td>
<td><em>hyúm</em></td>
<td>‘make end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yãël</em></td>
<td>‘be cold’</td>
<td><em>hyãël</em></td>
<td>‘make cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yãl</em></td>
<td>‘get wet’</td>
<td><em>hyãl</em></td>
<td>‘make wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yút</em></td>
<td>‘be fallen (from tree)’</td>
<td><em>hyút</em></td>
<td>‘make fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yùt</em></td>
<td>‘diminish’</td>
<td><em>hyùt</em></td>
<td>‘lessen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yúp</em></td>
<td>‘be extinguished’</td>
<td><em>hyúp</em></td>
<td>‘extinguish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 90: Some lexical causative verbs in Hyow

The verb *kɔ́y* ‘climb up’ is an intransitive verb with one participant involved in the event. On the other hand, the derived verb *khɔ́y* ‘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) \( pɔ́ shāngláyòngbhàltè s, pɔ́láhàtsè əkhòyhnàngə\)?

pɔ́ shāngláy-ông-bá-là = tsê
father be.empty-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP father=ERG=ADD=TOP

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 léng pù ‘worry’ in (265) is a result of psychocollocation process, where the psycho-mate is the verb pù ‘feel’ and the psycho-noun is the bodypart léng ‘heart’. This example of psychocollocation is the evidence why they should be treated as a unit. The verb pù ‘feel’ is a transitive verb in Hyow. If the noun úlèng ‘her heart’ were the P argument of the verb, then the A argument tsùtsè ‘that’ (DIST=TOP) should have taken an ergative case, but it is not the case in (265). The psychocollocative verb léng pù ‘worry’ is treated as a unit and belongs to the class of intransitive verb in Hyow.
Likewise, there are other psychocollocative verbs in Hyow – lúng krƎ ‘fall in love’ (heart fall), lúng hlÉy ‘change decision’ (heart change), lúkí hyá́t ‘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 hlóʔ, where tûy ‘water’ is not an argument of the verb hlóʔ ‘pick up’ rather two constituents function as a unit. In this sense, this type of verb is also metaphorical, as shown in (266).
(266) ेयखोळ शृठ्य ेया ेय कौना अयोव्य, ीय तन्हलोळ?हङाया ेया ह्योनहन्गात्रै।

ेय-खोळ  शृठ्य ेय = अ  दे  कौन = अ

ANAPH.DEM-EXP  near  ANAPH.DEM=LOC  ANAPH.DEM=LOC  pond=LOC

ाहृयोव-नित्र  तुया  इ-नित्र-हलोळ?हङाया ेय = अ

DIR-be.near-TEMP  water  3A-PL-pick.up.II-SIM  ANAPH.DEM=LOC

ह्योन-हन्गात्रै = तिह

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 -ǽʔy 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 -ǽʔy.

(267) ketsêxálhṉng̑yʔ.  

kê-tsêt-ë-y-ál-hṉng-ǽʔy  
1S-go-MID-DEP-PH.CAP-IRR  

‘I will be able to walk away.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_112]

(268) kápâyæʔyhṉnghng̑s  

kâ-páy-ǽʔy-hṉng-hng̑s  
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) **hmətndəhɔ́dɔ́.**

hmət-ná-ú-hɔ́ = dɔ́
know.I-SPNT-3PL.NEG=EMPH

‘They did not know!’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_111]

(270) **èyhnəʔlàdə hyûmdəkə خير، tsó dżapán خير.**

èy-hnəʔ-lá = dɔ́
hyûm-dʃk-ú
tsó
dżapán
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) ímā áhlókpékálólátse…

îm = â  á-hlók-pék-âl-ú-lá = tsê

house=LOC DIR-gather.I-BEN-DEP-3PL-SEQ=TOP

‘Going to gather those for her in the house…’

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 khoád ê ánilâhá snípék? ydôshânghung, hngúdá.

èy  kho = â = dâ  ânil? = là = há

 upcoming.DEM time=LOC=EMPH 3PL=ERG=ADD

í-nil-pék-âèydô-shâng-hngâ  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?’

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 tsêř ‘go’, but tsèř-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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Derivational Suffix Zone</td>
<td>Middle Suffix (§8.2.1), Departative Suffix (§8.2.2) and Spontaneitive Suffix (§8.2.3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Valency-changing Suffix Zone</td>
<td>Valence-modifying Suffixes (§8.3) and Valency-increasing Suffixes (§8.3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Variably-ordered Suffix Zone</td>
<td>Modality Suffixes (§9.2), Aspectual Suffixes (§9.2.2) and Adverbial Suffixes (§9.2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Restricted Zone</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Invariably-ordered Suffix and Clitic Zone</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Clitic Zone</td>
<td>Topic Clitic (§9.6.1), Focus Clitic (§9.6.2), Emphatic Clitic (§9.6.3) and Evidentials (§9.6.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) nàṅgá inθówpékálë?yhnángùngánú tìŋ.

náng = á  kí-ní-hów-êy₁-pék₂-ál₃-â?y₄-hǹúng₅-ùng₆ = nú₇

2SG=DAT 1A-INV-say.1-MID₁-BEN₂-DEP₃-IRR₄-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.


èy-hó?y = là  búʔ  èy-ål₁-shòk₂-tsák₃-hǹúng₄-dú₅-ná₆-dàng₇-hóʔy₈

ANAPH.DEM-DL=ERG  rice  eat.1-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.
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 $kā$ 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 $hníʔ$.

---

(275) $\text{èydõ dûnû tsûhnû khâkâ'áisêtâldêngbâlatsê, èydõ émèy émèy èybó.}$

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{èydõ} & \text{dûm} & \text{nû} & \text{tsûhnû} & \text{khâk} = \text{å} \\
\text{then} & \text{beggar.band} & \text{mother} & \text{daughter} & \text{near=LOC} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{á-tsêt-å1-dû2-ëng3-bâ4-lâ5} = \text{tsê} \\
\text{DIR-go-DEP1-ITER2-STAT3-3SG4-SEQ5=TOP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{èydõ} & \text{é-mêy} & \text{é-mêy} & \text{èybó} \\
\text{then} & \text{3S-stay} & \text{3S-stay} & \text{that.way} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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]
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) pɔ̀ tûy ká-ṅhlóʔ-â’y \(\downarrow\).

\[
\begin{align*}
pɔ̀ &= \delta & tûy & = & ká-á-ní-hlóʔ-â’y \\
father &= & water & = & 1A-DIR-INV-pick.up.II-IRR
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 hniʔ-.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>kV-Σ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>nV-Σ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>(V)-Σ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kɛ́- 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 kókrónl, thúngâ kétsètå?hɔ̃.**

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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kêy</td>
<td>é-shé</td>
<td>kó-kró-ní</td>
<td>thúng = å</td>
<td>kó-tsèt-láʔ-hɔ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>GRP-be.bad</td>
<td>1S-fall-TEMP</td>
<td>jail=LOC</td>
<td>1S-go-OBLG-PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 *hníʔ-* 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 *hníʔ-* The morphological status of the dual marker *hníʔ-* is a prefix here, which forms a non-unitary first person dual marker together with the velar stop initial syllable.

(279) **kéyhníʔ kíhníʔmêykhɘ̂ ʔ.**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kéyhníʔ</td>
<td>kíhníʔ-mêy-khɘ́ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>1S-DL-exist-FACT</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘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 *i-* of *i-nî-* is a first person inclusive marker inherited from PKC (DeLancey 2013), while *nî-* 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 *tsèt* ‘go’. The only way of functionally differentiating the two markers by the overt presence of the NP arguments in the text.
The first person plural exclusive marker *ki-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) *èyhnɘ̀ʔlàtsè, tsùání “pɔ-ð tûy kínháléyhyβ.”*

èy-hnɘ̀ʔ-tsè  tsú = â = ní  pɔ = ð  tûy

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP  DIST=LOC=FOC  father=VOC  water

**ki-ní-hál-éy-hyβ**

1S-PL.-be.thirsty-IRR-PM

‘After that, they said, “Father, we are thirsty.”’ [ZM_DD_SPW_072007_105]

(282) *nàngkḗy hæl-ôngpûlatsè, ínftsêtâlhβ.*

nàngkḗy?  hæl-ông-pû-lâ = tsè  i-ní-tsêt-âl-hlβ

1PL.INC  select.1-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 nö- on the verb tsönêy ‘roam’ in (283) shows that the vowel of the prefix nö- has harmonized with the vowel of the root-initial syllable.

(283) éyâ hnûphâ dúk̀ng móngsànî, nótsônêykhôngêdyâm?

éy = â hnûp-há dúk = ंng móng-ä = â = ní

nö-tsönêy-không-ëy = âm

2S-roam-within-IRR=CONT.Q

‘Which places will you roam within ten days there?’

[ZM_PE_THP_092015_0021]

The initial prefix nì- in (284) and (285), marked on the intransitive verb tsét ‘go’ stands for the respective second person argument. The prefix nì- has a harmonizing prefix, while hnî?- and nì- represent dual and plural numbers of the arguments respectively, which are similar to the first person dual and plural markers.

(284) khôtsö wàdànî, hnî-tsètdûdëk ʷ, bûi-tsö póòpék. nhîntsètâlëë?hyës.

khô-tsö wà-dù-nì í-hnî?-tsét-dû-dëk bûi?-tsö póò?-pék

time-DIM be.light-TEMP 3S-DL-go-ITER-ANT rice-DIM DV.II-BEN

nì-hnî?-tsét-âl-ë?y-hyës

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]
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 *hi* ‘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 – *hníʔ-* and *ní-* as exemplified in (287) and (288) respectively.

(285) **ú kónəŋ níntsétsálæʔyhyɔ́m.**

ú kónəŋ ní-tséts-ál-áʔy-ḥyɔ̀y=ðm

who with 2S-PL-go-DEP-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘Who will you be going with?’ [ZM_LS_SP_082015_0015]

(286) **kárbařílá ibó hówəm fhí-éy hyáʔéy.**

kárbaří = lá  ibó  hów = ðm  f-hi-éy  hyáʔ = èy

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]
7.3. Prefixal Zone


*ihníʔ-lúmtsɔ̂l       bǽ-bǽ-étȟ̌y̌-y̌-lâ = tsâẻ       *ihníʔ-kâp = tì

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 ilʔtsông dûkâhá infw饬nghn刼ng pîlhmât-tsâ.

*èy           ilʔtsông           dûk = à = há           *în-fw饬ng-hn刼ng

ANAPH.DEM   mosquito.net  inside=LOC=ADD 3S-PL-enter-PH.CAP

pîl-hmât-tsâ

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 khrâŋ- 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.
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<th>1DL.EXC</th>
<th>1DL.INC</th>
<th>1PL.INC</th>
<th>1PL.EXC</th>
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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 ki-, with a high front vowel harmonized with the vowel of the inverse prefix-initial syllable ni-.
There are several reasons to posit that the prefix *ni-* is an inverse marker. Firstly, the prefix *ni-* 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 *ni-* were the second person P marker in the situation exemplified in (289), then the vowel of the prefix *ni-* would have harmonized with the vowel of the root-initial syllable of the verb *hé*n ‘save.II’. Secondly, the verb *hé*n ‘save.II’ includes a first person singular A marker. Thus, *ni-* cannot be the plural marker. The prefix *ni-* could have been be 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 *ni-* 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 *ni-* and the plural marker *ni-* 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 *póʔ*‘DV.II’ in (290). However, the inverse marker *ni-* endorses that the other argument in (290) is a speech act participant, which is a second person plural argument.
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.

Example (292) demonstrates a situation involving a second person A and a first person P argument. Here, the first person P is indexed by Ɂ-, with a low-level tone, and the inverse marker nɨ- indicates that the other argument is a speech act participant.
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 *pé* ‘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 *i-*.

(293) níhú?y níhú?y “kúhlʉ̀éyhyɔ̂ tsɔ́lî kúhlʉ̀éyhyɔ̂ túâ înspèkæ̀ʔyláʔhɔ̂” tîng húdâ

like.this like.this 1A-need.II-MID-PM job 1A-need.II-MID-PM now=LOC

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 *i-ní*- (as in (295)) respectively.
Morphology of verbs I: referential and prefixal categories

(294) \textit{nínìhɘ́kíʔ kéyahú \textit{ʔykípòʔálêʔy}hyɔ̂}\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{align*}
níní-hɘ́kí? & \quad \text{kéyníhù}y \quad \textbf{ki-}\textit{n}f-póʔ-\textit{álêʔ}y-hyɔ̂ \\
\text{2PL.POSS-anus} & \quad \text{like.ours} \quad \textbf{1A-INV-DV.II-DEP-IRR-PM}
\end{align*}

‘We will make you (all) anuses like ours.’ [Elicited]

(295) \textit{nàngnì? kéynì? \textit{i}ntēyæ̀ʔy}hyɔ̂\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{align*}
nàngnì? & \quad \text{kéynì?} \quad \textit{i}-\text{ni-}\textit{té}-\textit{ê}y-\textit{â}y-hyɔ̂ \\
\text{2PL} & \quad \text{1PL.EXC} \quad \textbf{1P-INV-hold.tight.II-MID-PM}
\end{align*}

‘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 \textit{khrɔ̂ng}- 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 \textit{hnìʔ}-, the alternative first person marker \textit{khrɔ̂ng}- is used in this example. This also allows avoiding a sequence of vowels with the same quality.

(296) \textit{“púô bɔ́hítsæ̂ náháy}dɘ̂ khrɔ́ngníhníʔtæ̀álhìtsæ̂ \textit{kìhní}tsétálæ̀ʔy}shâng.” \textit{tìng tákhnì?tì} \textsuperscript{4}

\begin{align*}
pú-ô & \quad \text{bɔ́hí=tsæ̂ náhá}y?=dɘ̂ \quad \textbf{khrɔ́ng-n}f-hnìʔ-tæ̀-âl-hí=tsæ̂ \\
\text{uncle=VOC} & \quad \text{so=TOP} \quad \textbf{2DL=EMPH} \quad \textbf{1P-2A-PL-send.II-DEP-COND=TOP}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
kí-hnìʔ-tsét-âl-êʔy-shâng & \quad \textbf{tìng} \quad \textbf{ták-hnìʔ?=tì} \\
\text{1S-DL-go-DEP-IRR-DESID} & \quad \text{QT} \quad \text{say.II-ULT=R.EVID}
\end{align*}

‘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 *khrɔ̂ng*- originates from the word *khrɔ̂ng* ‘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 *khrɔ̂ng*- 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) ेy कोंग कुतुकाले?यशंघन्गोः

ेy  कोंग  कु-तुक-ाल-य-शंघ-न्गोः

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) *nítsíʔéyálæ̀ʔyhyɔ̂.

ní-tsíʔ-éy-ál-æʔy-hyɔ̂

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) *dɔ́rhárhí nɔ́hɔ̀wpékáyláʔhɔ̂dê

dɔ́rkhárhí

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 pêy nɔ́mɔ́næ̀ʔylàʔhɔ̂, hngúdâ

íñi-khó

3PL.POSS-leg

pêy

even

nɔ́-mɔ́n-æʔy -láʔ-hɔ̂ hngúdâ

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, *ki-hníʔ*-., 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 kyɔ́hlá *ki-hníʔ*-pán-êy

èy name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
kyɔ́hlá name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
*ki-hníʔ*-pán-êy name.of.a.person 1A-DEM

‘We called that Kyohla.’ [ZM_SB_PPW_082015_0016]


*ki-hníʔ*-bóp-â?y-ỳ-hyɔ́dš name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
tíngfí name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
èy-ò̂hì=yì name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
lá name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
ngèhɔ́?yì name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
lá name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
nìhúy name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
y name.of.a.person 1A-DEM
tòkhnè=tì name.of.a.person 1A-DEM

‘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 – *hníʔ* ‘1DL.INC’ and *nángkéʔy* ‘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.
The second person non-singular markers on transitive verbs in (305) and (306) are similar to their counterparts on intransitive verbs, where $hn\tilde{n}i$- and $n\tilde{f}$- mark dual and plural numbers respectively.

(305) $k\tilde{o}$? $n\tilde{h}n\tilde{f}$?-hl\={e}\-\=y\ ? t\={a}\ ámb ysh\={a}$ n\tilde{h}n\tilde{f}$?-hl\={e}\-\=y\ ?

$k\tilde{o}$? $n\tilde{f}$-hn$\tilde{f}$?-hl\={e}\-\=y\ t\={a}\ ámb ysh\={a}$

wealth $2A$-DL-want.II-MID=POL.Q $taka_B$ paisa/penny

$n\tilde{f}$-hn$\tilde{f}$?-hl\={e}\-\=y = \=y

$2A$-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) áwáth thɔ̄p-thûm nînhlæy-êy-hyò.  
á-wáth  thɔ́p-thûm  nîn-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 khrɔ̀ng- 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) bɔ́hítsæ̂, khæ̂w khrɔ̀hnìʔdò khrɔ̀ng-ßwè khrɔ̀ng-slála.  
bɔ́hí = tsæ̂  khæ̂w  khrɔ̀-hnìʔ = dò  khrɔ̀ng-ß=EMPH 1P-3A-say.II-BEN-PM master=ERG  
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) skúl=â  pò=lá  ìtsî=pùćkákhà.  
skúl=â  pò=lá  ì-tsî=EMPH-pùć-khà  
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) *hì̀ng  ǜkù̀pphɔ̀*

hì̀l = ẹ̀ng  ù-kù̀p-phɔ̀
mackingtosh=INST 3A-cover.II-PM

‘He covered him with a mackintosh.’

[Elicited from ZM_SS_DBK_082007_0015]

(310) *hì̀ng khrɔ́ngükù̀pphɔ̀*

hì̀l = ẹ̀ng khrɔ́ng-ù-kù̀p-phɔ̀
mackingtosh=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) *kèynʔ ùlà òshòtæ̀ʔy hyɔ̀m*

kèynʔ ù = là  ð-šòt-éʔy-hyɔ̀ = ẹ̀m
1PL.EXC who=ERG 1P-look.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q

‘Who will look after us?’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_0051]
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-.

(312) táböngtā nīā khrônghènggéynákkhā phǐlúnūlā

tá-bóng-tá-ô ní = â
tabung-ta-ô.ní=â

elder.brother.like.one’s.own.elder.brother=VOC

khrông-hàng-èy-nák-khā phǐlúnū = lā

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) kēy pōlā hñīhnī hnmùʔèʔhyhá

kēy pō = lā hñīhnī? hnmùʔ-iʔ-y-hyá

1SG father=ERG 1DL.INC 1P-see.II-IRR-PM

‗My father will see us.’ [Elicited]

(314) nāŋkēyʔ tūytsā méytsā nūā khrônghlōʔhōtsā? tsēţaldēk

nāŋkēyʔ tūy-tsā méy-tsā nū = lā

1PL.INC water-DIM fire-DIM mother=ERG

khrông-hlōʔ-hō-tēʔ tsēţ-āl-dēk

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, \( n \)-, 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 \( k\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{w}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{y}} \) ‘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, \( n \)- in (315).

\[(315) \, \text{èydǿèydǿnù álák ínìkháwáyèyhyñ} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{èydǿ} & \quad \text{èy} & \quad \text{dùn} = \text{á} & \quad \text{álák} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{place=LOC} & \quad \text{alcohol}
\end{align*}

\( \text{ì-} \text{mf-} \text{kháwáy-} \text{èy-} \text{hyñ} \)

\( \text{1P-INV-feed-MID-PM} \)

‘Then, they made me drink wine in that place.’

[\text{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) **nàngdɘ̂ látáłkón nétsétâlhtsàl ımkə̀ns̄hə̀lə këyní? iníkúlnákə̀?hyə̀.**

nàng = dɘ̂  lùtdúl = kón  né-tsét-ål-hí = tsə̀  [ım-kén-shó = là] këyní?
2SG=EMPH  world=ABL  2S-go-DEP-COND=TOP  [neighbor=ERG]  1PL.EXC

1-ní-kúlnák-åʔy-hyə̀

1P-INN-torture.II-IRR-PM

‘If you go away from the world, the neighbours will torture us.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_0066]

(317) **iníkëlëʔhyə̀.**

1-ní-këlëʔy-hyə̀

1P-INN-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 1*-hniʔ*- is generally used to mark third person dual participant on an intransitive verb, where hniʔ-* 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) èydõ kēy tá-tsáng-pɔ̀lâ kèy bē-tsáng-nû = lâ
then 1SG grandfather-old-FA=ERG 1SG grandmother-old-MO=ERG

khrɔ̂ng-í-hnî-tsán-āl pɔ̀
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 nî- in (319). The inverse marker nî- and the plural marker nî- 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) hîlɘ̂ng khrɔ̂ngkëpphɔ̂ phôlshômɔ̀ʔ lâ khrɔ̂ngíntêmshɔ̂

hîl = ōng khrɔ̂ng-këp-phɔ̂ phôlshômɔ́ʔ = lâ
mackintosh=inst 1P-cover.II-PM snake.charmer=ERG

khrɔ̂ng-í-nî-têm-shɔ̂
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 khrɔ̂ng- so far indicate that khrɔ̂ng- 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 khrɔ̂ng-. 
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 ni- appears on verbs where either both of the arguments or at least one of the arguments is a speech act participant.

(320) nòpölà fìníshòtë?y ə́lëmâʔ y.  

nò-pò = là  ì-nì-shòt-ë?y ə́-lëmâʔ 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) phëllà nòkòshëng khàèlkhàlù fìnhòhënyhòyòdë.  

phël = là  nò-kò = òng  khàèlkhàlù
snake=ERG 2SG.POSS-leg=INE anklet

ì-nì-thòn-ëy-hòyò = dò  
3A-INV-put.II-MID-PM=EMPH

‘The snake will put an anklet on your leg.’” [ZM.SK_THP_092015_0035]
Morphology of verbs I: referential and prefixal categories

(322) ḡylâ nwngɔ́wêy?yhyɔ́dɘ̂ tîng

èy = lâ    ñf-ngɔ́wêy-á?y-hyɔ́ = dð    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) ímlâ lówlɘ̂ phɘ̀ʔnà kæ̂ y

ím = lâ    lów = lâ = dð    ñf-phɘ̀ʔ-nák-á?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) ñydñ ántsångnû ímâ náng  ámbhyɔ̀ʔlè?yhyɔ́dɘ̂

èydñ ántsångnû ím = â    náng 6-á?y-hyɔ̀ʔl-á?y-hyɔ́ = dð
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) \(\text{phēlshòmòlà inítēmsòhò}\)

\(\text{phēlshòmòlà = lâ}\) \(\text{f-nf-tòm-shò}\)

snake.charmer=ERG \(3A-\text{INV-chase.II-PM}\)

‘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) \(\text{èyhnè?latsè eòtsètåhò hòwåldåtå? èynî tsù ètsèkhètnâkkhò èyènèyå hòwåldåtå?} \)

\(\text{èy-hnî?-lå = tsè}\) \(\text{è-tsèt-ål-nî}\) \(\text{hòw-ål-dåt-å?}\)

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP \(3S\)-go-DEP-TEMP say.I-DEP-DARE\(_1\)-3SG.NEG

\(\text{èy = nî}\) \(\text{tsù = å}\) \(\text{è-tsè-Khò}\)

ANAPH.DEM=FOC DIST=LOC \(3SG\).POSS-son \(3A\)-love.II-PM

\(\text{è-yèn-èy-å}\) \(\text{hòw-ål-dåt-å?}\)

\(3A\)-cherish.II-MID-CAUS.CV say.I-DEP-DARE\(_1\)-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) \(\text{èyåsì pàyhnî?láñì fhnî?tsî?hñêtì.}\)

\(\text{èyåsì}\) \(\text{pày-hnî? = lâ = nî}\) \(\text{f-hnî?-tsî?-hnî? = tì}\)

then \(\text{CLS-two=ERG=FOC}\) \(3A-\text{DL-take.II-ULT=R.EVID}\)

‘Then, they two took him finally.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_082015_0232]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kV-</td>
<td>1→ø, 1→2, 1→3</td>
<td>first person marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nV-</td>
<td>2→ø, 2→3</td>
<td>second person marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɨ-</td>
<td>2→1, 3NSG→1EXC</td>
<td>first person undergoer marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1DL/PL.INC→ ø, 3</td>
<td>first person inclusive actor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɨ-</td>
<td>3→2</td>
<td>third person marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɭ-, khrong-ɭ</td>
<td>3→1</td>
<td>first person undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɭ</td>
<td>3→3</td>
<td>third person actor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 94: A summary of prefixal person markers

Considering the origin of person markers in independent pronouns, the prefix ni- 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, ni-, does not have a harmonizing vowel. Secondly, the prefix ni- 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 ni- and the inverse marker ni-, 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 niʔ in their forms – kéniʔ ‘1PL.EXC’, nángniʔ ‘2pl’ and ánîʔ ‘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 *nī-* 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.
7.3. Prefixal Zone

(331) *khétyùngáthnâ kááníshôthít álâ ihûy’óm.*

khôt-éy-úngâ-thônâ ká-á-ní-shôt-hút ál-lá
bow.I-MID-1PL.EXC.NEG-CONCESS 1A-DIR-PL-look.II-HAB.PAST GRP-land

ihûy’= ñm
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) *èydó èyâ tsètpé tsètpé ní dátsångá ááníkró.*

èydó  èy = å  tsét-pé  tsét-pé  tsét-pé-ní  dátsång = å  
then  ANAPH.DEM=LOC  go-CIR  go-SIM  go-still-TEMP  desert=LOC

á-á-ní-kró
3S-DIR-PL-fall

‘Then, going, going, when they still went there, they arrived in the dessert (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) **khrángááttúʔó èyhúʔỳ, nànghúʔy pípí hngátìlà.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khráng-á-á-túʔ-hó} & \quad \text{èyhúʔy} & \quad \text{nànghúʔy} & \quad \text{pípí} & \quad \text{hngát = là} \\
\text{1P-3A-DIR-infuse.II-PM} & \quad \text{like.that} & \quad \text{like.you} & \quad \text{quite} & \quad \text{one=ERG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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→2/2→1) and mixed situations (3→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>3animate>inanimate; see §10.2.3) in Hyow, there is an inverse prefix *ní* in (334).

(334) **nàngâhâtsé iá kínfì-pékhnáŋngáʔeʔỳ.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nàng = á = há = tsâ} & \quad \text{iá} & \quad \text{kí-nfì-pék-hnáŋ-ngá-aʔeʔy} \\
\text{2SG=DAT=ADD=TOP} & \quad \text{nothing} & \quad \text{1A-INV-give.I-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG-IRR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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→1 and 3→SAP situations. As expected, in a 2→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) \( \text{yá ínöó-hóó m nöö tängí èy khrúmá?lání tákhn5?tí.} \)

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{yá} & \quad \text{í-\text{nī}-bóp-ph5 = ñm} \\
\text{why} & \quad 1\text{P-INV}-\text{beat.II-PM}=\text{CONT.Q} \\
\text{mother}=\text{VOC} & \quad \text{QT}=\text{FOC} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{say.II-ULT}=\text{R.EVID}
\end{aligned}
\]

‘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 \( \text{nī-} \) 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) \( \text{èy pòm-bóóm èyhìdè intèèyèy̌y y̌hy̌} \)

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{èy} & \quad \text{pò-n-ông} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{end-TEMP} \\
\text{èy-hí = ñð} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM-COND}=\text{EMPH}
\end{aligned}
\]

\( \text{ì-\text{nī}-tè-èy̌y̌y̌y̌-hy̌} \)

\( 1\text{P-INV-hold.tight.II-MID-IRR-PM} \)

‘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) ɛyɛlɛ fnɛngɔ́wɛyɛʔy hyɔ́dɘ̂ tîng

èy = lâ  
₁-nf-ngɔ́w-ɛʔy-ḥyɔ́dɘ̂ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Situations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nf-</td>
<td>closest to the root</td>
<td>inverse marker</td>
<td>1→2, 2→1, 3NSG→1, 3→1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hntɛʔ- (originates in numeral two) and nf- respectively.

The dual number of a third person A argument is marked by hntɛʔ- 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) èydê ñhnísànénynî, èydê, ãlên ɹ, ãlên ɹ. èylûp bibîyibêyìyìlâ ñhnísànêypé, tsànêypêñî, ãlên tsôngkrông thônêy.
èydê í-ñhnî-tsân-êy-ni èydê ã-lên ã-lên èylûp
then 3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID-TEMP then 3S-be.big 3S-be.big like.that
bi-bì-êy-hôyì-ðá í-ñhnî-tsân-êy-pé
REDUP-work.I-MID-3DLA-SEQ 3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID-SIM
í-ñhnî-tsân-êy-pé-ñí ã-lên tsôngkrông thôn-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 nî- attached to transitive verbs predicking 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) èydɘ̂èyâ álak íntɘ̀k.
èydɘ̂èy = å álak í-nf-tëk
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form (X)</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Situations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hnf?-</td>
<td>X-Σ</td>
<td>dual marker</td>
<td>1DL→3, 2DL→3, 3DL→3 2DL→1 (if the 2DL person marker is present) 3DL→1 (if the 3DL person marker is present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nf?-/</td>
<td>X-Σ</td>
<td>plural marker</td>
<td>1PL→3, 2PL→3, 3PL→3 2PL→1 (if the 2PL person marker is present) 3PL→1 (if the 3PL person marker is present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf?- → nf- / _-Σ</td>
<td>X-Σ</td>
<td>inverse marker</td>
<td>1→2, 2→1, 3NSG→1, 3→1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’. 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) tsúkhólláhá pék dóû.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsú-khôl = lâ = há</th>
<th>pék-dô-û</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIST-EXP=ERG=ADD</td>
<td>give.I=PREF-3PL.NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘They did not also preferred to give the tax.’

(ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_108)
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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Σ-ngâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Σ-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Σ-âʔ, Σ-ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 97: The paradigm of person marking suffixes in Hyow

The first person inclusive negative suffix -kû 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 -hnìʔ, which originates in numeral ‘two’. In the negative suffixal forms, the dual marker precedes the person marker, as in second person dual negative suffix -hnìʔtî in Table 97. Plurality is marked by the suffix -û, 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 méy ‘exist’ in (344) and hlům ‘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) tsóngkr̥ngtsɔ̀ ḍyhyoʔ méyúngâ kíníléw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsóngk̥rng = tsɔ̂ = á</th>
<th>ḍyhyoʔ</th>
<th>méy-úŋgâ</th>
<th>kíní-léw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young=DIM=ADD</td>
<td>this.many</td>
<td>exist.1-1PL.EXC.NEG</td>
<td>1S-PL-be.less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There were also not this many young men, we were less.’
[ZM_MENZKNZK_122013_Hyow_0043_006]

(345) kéyn̥? sh哈佛̥ụ̀ gůlûy hlům-úŋgâ-lá, hók̥ʔâ kíníf̥tsɔ̀

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kéyn̥?</th>
<th>sh哈佛̥-ák</th>
<th>gůlûy</th>
<th>hlům-éy-úŋgâ-lá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>CLS-one</td>
<td>shot</td>
<td>make.round.I-MID-1PL.EXCA-SEQ [bird.hunting]=LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kíní-tsf̥t̥</td>
<td>1S-PL-go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 hmůʔi? ‘see’ in a transitive clause with negative polarity.
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 -ŋâ also refers to the first A argument in the same clause.

(347) ेयदः, टुत्से प्लिंनु लोळ लोळनी, शोट्नी, “स किन्नेंस्नेंगतिनेंगाः हु नांग।”

‘Then, now the giantess came. When she came, when she looked, she said, ―I will not keep you anymore ultimately, OK?‖’

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 -ʔy 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) ḷàʔtsé ɪsúhnú̱hitse éyhúʔy ɪnšt̥āʔèʔyhnè̱hn5ʔ \_

líʔ-tsé ɪsúhnú̱-hí = tsè̱ ɪ-ɛyhúʔy ɪ-ɛyhnè̱-hn5ʔ
human-DIM daughter-COND=TOP like.that 3A-INV-tell.I-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG

í-ɛyhnè̱-hn5ʔ ɪ-ɛyhúʔy
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 ɛn bâŋ ?éylàʔhnàʔpû.

èy èn bâŋ ?éy-lâʔ-hn5ʔ-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.
Morphology of verbs I: referential and prefixal categories
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 *tsétêy* ‘walk’ by the middle suffix -êy, as demonstrated by the example in (350).

(350) *khrônghû?y tsètêyhnângngâ.*

`khrônghû?y  [tsét-ëy]-hnêng-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 *hlêw* ‘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 *hngò* ‘be separated from family’, *lêtêy* ‘go below’ from *lêt* ‘be free’, *ngiêy* ‘be unanimous’ from *ngí* ‘be equal’, *ômêy* ‘get married’ from *óm* ‘sit’, etc.

(351) *èy hlêwêyêyhyò.*

`èy  [hlêw-ëy]-ëy-hyò`

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 *têm* ‘follow’. This is exemplified in (352).
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 *béʔ* ‘slap’ can be used to derive the middle transitive verb *béʔêy* ‘clap’, which has a different meaning from the transitive verb. The transitive verb *béʔ* ‘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 *béʔêy* ‘clap’ is derived from the transitive verb *béʔ* ‘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 *béʔêy* ‘clap’, as shown in (353).

(353) **náng kóong hláprúlá béʔêyhyɔ̂**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>náng</th>
<th>kóong</th>
<th>hláprú = là</th>
<th>[béʔ-êy]-hyɔ̂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>name.of.a.person=ERG</td>
<td>[slap-MID]-PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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.
8.2.2 DERIVATION BY DEPARTATIVE SUFFIX

From the perspective of aktionsart, the departative suffix -âl 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 -âl 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 tômâl ‘divorce/expel/drive out’ is derived from the transitive verb tôm ‘follow’. The verb tômâl ‘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 hlêâl ‘set free.II’ in (355) also contains a similar meaning denoting an accomplished verb, which is derived from the verb hlê? ‘let go.II’.

(354) krô?qâ¿y-dâdâk ḷ, pêy kâkéy-tsâkâl-tâse.

krɔ̂-ê?qy-dû-dôk  pêy  [kâk-ê?]tsâk-û-lá = tsâ
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]


khrâng  tébré-tsû = à  kî-hñî?-hlê?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 *hlèkāl* ‘abate.II’, *hlèyāl* ‘transfer.II’ from *hlèy* ‘exchange.II’, *lɔ̀tāl* ‘overcome’ from *lɔ̀t* ‘become free’, *krɔ̀nèyāl* ‘return from half way’ from *krɔ̀nèy* ‘be reversed’, *ṭɔ̀ːl* ‘bring out’ from *ṭɔ̀* ‘throw/kick out.II’, *shɔ̀ːl* ‘throw out of mouth.II’ from *shɔ̀* ‘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-āl* (go-DEP) ‘go back’ from *tsèt* ‘go’ and *lɔ̀-āl* (come-DEP) ‘return’ from *lɔ̀* ‘come’ by the non-derivative function of it.

### 8.2.3 Derivation by Spontaneitive Suffix

The spontaneitive suffix *-nāk* 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 *–nāk* historically originated from a verb *nāk*, 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 – *-nāk* and *-nā–*, 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 *-nāk* 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 *nāk* formed compounds with its argument (noun or nominalized verb). Consequently, it became a derivational suffix over the time. Considering the meaning of the suffix *-nāk* as ‘take’, the underlying meaning of the derived verbs become clear in Hyow. Several verbs in Hyow are derived by the spontaneitive suffix *-nāk – bɛ̀nāk* ‘converse.II (take words)’ from *bɛ̀* ‘word’, *hyūmnāk* ‘disdain (take failure)’ from *hyūm* ‘fail/lose’, *khétānāk* ‘love.II (take love)’ from *khét* ‘love’, *mɔ̀ngnāk* ‘dream.II (take dreaming)’ from *mɔ̀ng* ‘dream’, *tsɔ̀knāk*
‘learn.II (take teaching)’ from tsək ‘teach.II’, tsənák ‘give birth (take a child)’ from tsə ‘child’, krùnák ‘torture.II (take falling down)’ from krú ‘fall down’, etc. The sentence in (356) exemplifies the verb tsəknák ‘learn’.

(356) ëykhól khànfí níntsəknàklàʔhô

ëy-khôl khâ = ní ní-ní-tsəknák-láʔ-hô
ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC 2A-PL-learn.II-OBLG-PM

‘You all will have to learn all those.’

Unlike Daai, Hyow does not use the suffix -nak as a nominalizer. However, some verbs, for example məŋnák ‘dream’ and tsənák ‘give birth’, are derived from nouns məng ‘dream’ and tsə ‘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 məŋnák ‘dream’ derived from the noun məng ‘dream’.

(357) èydə tsúlə məngání èy tsúlə məŋnàkkhâləʔ məŋgrílə məŋnàkkhâʔnə.

èydə tsú = â məng = â = ní èy tsú = lâ
then DIST=LOC dream=LOC=FOC ANAPH.DEM DIST=ERG

məŋnák-khâ-lâʔ məŋgrí = lâ məŋnák-khâ-lâʔ
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.”

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 hlʉ́ ‘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 hlʉ̀-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 hlʉ́ ‘be required’ by using the middle suffix -êy.
Morphology of verbs II: derivation and valency-changing

(358) èydɘ̂ àts₅ lùhng₅ hlʉ́

èydɘ̂    à-ts₅    lù-hng₅    hlʉ́
then    chicken-DIM    CLS-five    be.required

‗Then five chicks are required.’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_019]

(359) ɔ́ pɔ́ lâtáá hlʉ̀ éyhy3.

ɔ́    pɔ̂    lâ    táá    hlʉ́-éy-hy3
GRP-father=ERG    money    be.required-MID-PM

‗His father wanted money.’ [ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_016]

Similarly, the verb ộm ‘sit’ is an intransitive verb, but with the middle suffix attached to it, it becomes a transitive verb – ộm-éy (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 -éy, rather than the affectedness of the referent of the erstwhile S argument of the verb ộm ‘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 -éy. As Stem II verbs are historically nominalized (§6.2.2), the detransitivization of transitive verbs by the middle suffix -éy requires a Stem I verb. Examples of such valence decreasing process includes – hlàk-éy (peel.I-mid) ‘be bruised’, b.elem-éy (mix-MID) ‘be mixed into crowd’, krɔ̀n-éy (reverse.I-MID) ‘be reversed’, hling-éy (ravel.I-MID) ‘be tangled’, etc. The example in (360) includes the intransitive form thüp-éy (hide.I-MID) ‘hide’ of the transitive verb thüp ‘hide.I’
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 *khâd* ‘shave’ in (361) is a derived middle intransitive verb.
Indirect reflexives are also a kind of middle, since they also include coreferential 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 bùn-êy-hnúng-hn?*.

`He will not be able to find himself even a wife.’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_008]

The reciprocality 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.

\[(363)\text{ibó kínbópéyèʔyhyòm}\]

\[ibó \text{ kí-nf-bóp-èy-èʔy-hyòm} = \text{šm}\]

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 – *kɔ́p* ‘shot.I’ and *kɔ́ʔ* ‘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 *kɔ́p* ‘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) **íníkɔ̀pêyhyɔ́nî. ínîshùnë̆yhyɔ́dês.**

í-ní-kɔ̀p-êy-hyɔ̂ = ní  
3S-PL-shoot.I-MID-PM=FOC

í-ní-shùn-êy-hyɔ̂ = dī  
3S-PL-stab.I-MID-PM=EMPH

‘They shot each other. They stabbed each other.’

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 appllicative suffixes – a benefactive or malefactive suffix -pêk, an associative benefactive suffix -pûy and an instrumental/locative suffix -ná̆k. 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 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 *khrɔ̂ng*- on the verb *tɔ́k* ‘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 khènì kényá khrɔ̂nginfìtɔ́kpkèkallá? ̀v.

èy-khôl  khée = ní  këy = á

ANAPH.DEM-EXP  all=FOC  1SG=DAT

*khrɔ̂ng-*f-ní-tók-pék-áll-á?

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 *khôn* ‘tie.I' is marked on the verb in (366).

(366) **kiâng nûsê bût élén-the*y hâ*l*tâtsê âkhôn-pék.**

kiâng nû tså bût â-lén-thê?y hâ*l*tâ-lâ=tsê

deer mother child herd GRP-be.big-SUP select.I-2SG-SEQ=TOP

â-khôn-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 *hâkêy* ‘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) **inhâkêypék nitsê kéyê? nitsê.**

i-nî-[hâk-êy]-pék nî=tsê kéy=kê? nî=tsê

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) `èydə̀ y ey tsīʔé-yé-pékkhɔ̀ tōng-ák`.

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{èydə̀} & \text{ey} & \text{tsīʔ-é-yé-pék-} & \text{khɔ̀} & \text{tōng-ák} \\
\text{then} & \text{ANAPH.DEM} & \text{take.II-MID-BEN-PM} & \text{CLS-one} \\
\end{array}\]

‘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.
Morphology of verbs II: derivation and valency-changing

(369) ëydë, íntsít?pûynâk, ëydë, kûntsâkùlâtsë, íntsít?pûynâknf, ëydë ãânìkrë.

ëydë i-ní-tsì?-pûy-nâk ëydë kûn-tsâk-û-lâ = tsë
then 3A-PL-take.II-ASSO.BEN-SPNT then cover.I-COMPL-3PL-SEQ=TOP

í-ní-tsì?-pûy-nâk-ní ëy = â á-á-ní-krë
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 bëk ‘incise.II’. In such constructions, the applicative argument is not overtly marked by any case clitic.

(370) ëylâ kéy ñbëkpûyhyë.

ëy = lá kéy ñ-bëk-pûy-hyë

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 tsôn ‘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.
8.3. Valency-Changing Suffix Zone

(371) *kêy náng lámâ kínítsônplúynákhɔ̂.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kêy náng} & = \text{1SG run} \\
\text{lám} = \text{2SG} \\
\text{kí-ní-tsónplûynákhɔ̂} & = \text{1-INV-run.II-ASSO.BEN-SPNT-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 plʒ ‘make fun/joke.’ in this example. Based on the person hierarchy, there is an inverse marker for the second person P argument.

(372) *nìhuʔy kíníplʒnákhɔ̂dɘ̂*

\[
\begin{align*}
nìhuʔy & = \text{1A-INV-joke-LOC-PM=EMPH} \\
kí-ní-plʒnákhɔ̂dɘ̂ & = \text{same as (371)}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 kēȳng khèypá ɪ̀nìphì?lnàk-kh̄ā.**

\[
\begin{align*}
náng & \quad \text{kēy} = \text{âng} \quad \text{khèypá} \quad \text{1P-INV-scatter.II-Loc.App-PM} \\
2\text{SG} & \quad 1\text{SG}=\text{INE} \quad \text{1P-INV-scatter.II-Loc.App-PM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You scattered flower on me.’ [Elicited]

The third person argument in (374) is marked by the locative clitic =ā. However, the function of the suffix -nák as a locative applicative promotes the oblique third person argument to the core argument.

(374) **hnḡshú-tsɔ̂̀ ɛ̀yànì núyàkhnɔ̀?tīɭ.**

\[
\begin{align*}
hnḡshú-tsɔ̂̀ = \text{â} = \text{nì} \quad \text{ɛ̀y} = \text{â} = \text{nì} \quad \text{núy-}nàk-hnɔ̀? = \text{tī} \\
\text{young.girl=LOC=FOC} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM=LOC=FOC} \quad \text{laugh-LOC.APPL=R.EVID} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) èylá sûrí shél bənákkhɔ̀.

èy = là

súrī shél bōt-nák-khɔ̀

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 -shɔ̀k is a member of the Valency-Changing Suffix Zone of a verb complex in Hyow, which has grammaticalized from the verb shɔ̀k ‘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 lɔ̀m ‘dance’ can be causativized both lexically and morphologically, as hlɔm ‘make dance’ and lɔ̀m-shɔ̀k ‘make dance’ respectively. Some verbs can be causativized twice. For example, the verb yáʔ ‘stand’ is an intransitive verb, while the transitive counterpart of this verb is lexically causativized – hyáʔ ‘stop/stand’. The verb hyáʔ can take the morphological causative too, as in hyáʔ-shɔ̀k ‘make someone stop/stand.’

The verb íp ‘sleep’ is an intransitive verb with an S argument. When the verb selects the causative suffix -shɔ̀k 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).
Morphology of verbs II: derivation and valency-changing

(376) tsù átsângnù fmânf áántsípshôkhnôfif.

\[
tsù = â \quad â\text{-}tsâng-nù \quad ím = â = nî \\
\text{DIST=}\text{LOC} \quad \text{GRP=be.old-F} \quad \text{house=}\text{LOC=}\text{FOC}
\]

á-á-ní-fí-shôk-hnôfif = tî

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 \textit{wât} ‘wear’ in (377) is a monotransitive verb with two core arguments, but with the causative suffix \textit{-shôk} 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, than 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 wát-khôl mông dânhá-khôl wátshôk-kûlatsê fmîwátâlshôk ↘.

\[
mông \quad \text{wát-khôl} \quad mông \quad \text{dânhá-khôl} \quad \text{wát-shôk-ú-lá} = \text{tsâê} \\
\text{king} \quad \text{clothe=}\text{EXP} \quad \text{king} \quad \text{ornament=}\text{EXP} \quad \text{wear.Í-CAUS-3PL-SEQ=}\text{TOP}
\]

í-ní-wát-ûl-shôk

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 =â in
Hyow, as shown in (378), in which the causative argument dżollak ‘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) bōhítsâ’ dżolláká kóshóʔ-éyshókkhó

bōhí = tsâ’  dżollák = á  kó-shóʔ-éy-shó-k-khó
so=TOP   executionerB=DAT  1A-hack.II-IRR-CAUS-PM

‘So, I will make the executioner hack her.’

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) hłáprúlâ kény áyá khèypá hngát ínpékshók

hłáprú = lâ  kény = á  áy = á  khèypá  hngát
name.of.person=ERG 1SG=DAT ANAPH.DEM=DAT flower one

í-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.
Morphology of verbs II: derivation and valency-changing
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 títûh ‘one day hence’, múntûh ‘two day hence’, yûntûh ‘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 yûntûmh ‘last night’.

(380) ëydï yûntûmh ëy í-phiá háshpátálh íntsíhôh.

ëydï yûntûmh = å ëy í-phiá háshpátálh = å
then last.night=LOC ANAPH.DEM 3SG.POSS-wife hospitalB=LOC
í-ní-tsíhôh
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 -ǽʔy. 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 átsūhnängǽʔyêm?

ú á-tsū-hnung-ǽʔy = êm

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 herarer 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) ə́hɘ́pɔ́t bɘ́ngák ín íbʉ̀nhnɔ̂ èykhôl kááníshôt v.

`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) **náŋ í nó póʔm? kêt tsó kóphɔt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>what 2A-DV.II=CONT.Q</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>lesson</th>
<th>1S-study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(384) **kéy imâ kétsêtthɔ̂**

kéy  im = â  ké-tsê-t-thɔ̂
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 -é ŷ 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 -n 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. Semanticaly, this construction is termed as ‘possible consequence’ by Dixon (2009: 48).
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).
‘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 -hnɔʔ and -bɘ̂y 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 -bey.

(387) **thôngâktï̆ng y’àéybỳy tîng áták ɭ.**

thông-ák-tsí = âng yàé-êy tîng á-ták
thousand-one-eact=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) **şkró ?éytsδ tînghú?ynì tsiptèkbey ąngówá khôtsδ wáhí ɭ.**

ş-kró ?éy-tsδ tîng-hú?y = ní tsi-pék-bey ąngówá khô-tsδ
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 -hn5? 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) \textit{èy khoátsè èyhyà? ngèttihnsà? à.}

\begin{verbatim}
èy      kho = á = tsà   èyhyà?   ngèt-tí-hnà?-Ø
ANAPH.DEM time=LOC=TOP   that.much  be.difficult-NITER-DEL.NEG-3SG.NEG
\end{verbatim}

‘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 \textit{-hnà?}, 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) \textit{álák òtihnsà?ngà.}

\begin{verbatim}
alák      ó-tí-hnà?-ngà
alcohol   drink.I-NITER-DEL.NEG-1SG.NEG
\end{verbatim}

‘I will not drink alcohol anymore.’

[ZM_GSS2_082015_Hyow_0016_0029]

The delayed negative suffix does not co-occur with the irrealis suffix \textit{-épy}, 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 \textit{-hnà.}
9.2.1.3 Deductive

The deductive suffix -tɛ 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) ímlâ lò wâ ë̂ íníphɘ̀nàtæʔy w. kéyhnï? kïhniąphɘ̀æʔylàʔkïhётyheel
í= lâ lò = dë
house=ERG swidden.field=ERG=EMPH
[í-ní-phɘ̀-nâ-tɛ-ɛʔy]
kéyhnï?
[3A-INV-carry.on.back.II-SPNT-DED-IRR] 1DL
kï-hnï?-phɘ̀-ɛʔy-lâ?-kïhётy= ëy
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?’

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) ęy ūmâ túhnúpâ lâáltëêey /, hâwnângâʔ \.

ęy  ĭm = â  tühnúp = â  lâ-âl-ťê = ęy
ANAPH.DEM house=LOC today=LOC come-DEP-DED=POL.Q

hâw-hnâng-áʔ?
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) “šhîéyáʔbâk khôéyáʔbâk mâné ëyâng tsû ənôwtsô krâkông ëyâ hngîlhnângtângâqôy /” tîng əshôtnôhê khâw.

šhîéy-áʔ-ôk  khôéy-áʔ-ôk  mâné  ëy = ông
quarrel-3SG.NEG-CONCESS EE-3SG.NEG-CONCESS meansR  ANAPH.DEM=INE

tsû  ô-nôw-tsô  prâk = ông  ëy = â
DIST  GRP-be.cool-DIM  direction=INE  ANAPH.DEM=ADD

hngî-âl-hnâng-ťê-ŋgâ = ëy  tîng  ô-šeôt-mô-hô  khâw
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 quarelling and so on?’ [ZMARGS2_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) phɔ́lá phɔ́lá tîng ákhón pɔ́=êng phɔ́k tîng thów摁gbálātsɛ̆ 5h phlǎ dáłā tšóngkr̕̚ńgtsɔ̄ ipά̀lhɔ̀nláʔpàynù tîng ááshòtní ipáldə ƙ.

phɔ́lá phɔ́lá tîng ákhón pɔ́=êng phɔ́k tîng
Buddha Buddha QT early.morning side=INE ONOMT QT
thów-ŋ=bá-lá=tɕɐ̆ 5h phɔ́lá dáłá tšóngkr̕̚ńg-tsɔ̄
get.up-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP INTJ Buddha EE young.man-DIM
íp-áł-hn̕ɔʔ-páy=nú tîng á-á-shört-ní íp-áł-dək
sleep.II-DEP-ULTSPEC=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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(395) **hyṣkéyáʔ ǝhlʉ̀ éyhyɔ̂ hípáy átsångpɔ̂ tîngkhôl íníståkhnëʔt.**

`hyṣkéy-áʔ ǝhlʉ̀ éyhyɔ̂ hípáy átsångpɔ̂ tîngkhôl íníståkhnëʔt`

be.ashamed-3SG.NEG 3A-want-MID-PM be.right-SPEC GRP-be.old-FA

`tîng-khôl íníståkhnëʔt=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 -**hná** 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) tsétálhnɘ́ʔ tîng tàkní úh tá-bôngtáô nàngdànú kēy shôk hlêt-ti?tsẫ hyâ?hîtsẫ infimônèʔyhnêmû
.

tsét-åł hnâ? tîng tâk-nî úh tá-bông-tâ-ô

go-DEP IMM.IMP QT tell.II-TEMP INTJ elder.brother-almost-elder.brother=VOC

nâng = dô = nû kēy shôk hlêt-ti?= tsẫ hyâ?-hî = tsâ

2SG=EMPH=SS.EVID 1SG life set.free.I=NMLZ=TOP be.not-COND=TOP

1P-INV-catch.II-IRR-ASSP=SS.EVID

‗When he, said, ―Go away at once!‖ he, (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) lʉ́ʔtsɔ̂ tsúhnúhïtsê ेyhûy инфïtsêʔyhnêmû? инфïwẫʔyhnêmû? ेyhûy
.

lû?-tsẫ tsúhnú-hî = tsẫ èyhûy y 1-nî-tâ-å̃y -hnâ?=hnâ?

human-DIM daughter-COND=TOP like.that 3A-INV-tell.I-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG

ì-nf-hôw-å̃y -hnâ?=hnâ? èyhûy

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) étsètní èydéèyá “ṣ pò kòtsɔlā tsɔ̀k lōnú” tìng táknlì, “ṣhóʔ, pɔ́ nihúʔy ùhmúálèèynàhnóʔtsú bòhitsèè ní bìtsò̀lùʔtsɔ̀dèł hngát hyàʔhitsèè”.

é-tsét-ní èydéèy = â  ṣ pɔ́ kó-tsɔ́l = là tsɔ̀k
3S-go-TEMP then ANAPH.DE=LOC INTJ father 1SG.POSS-son=ERG food
lò = nú tìng ták-ní ṣhóʔ pɔ́ = ò nihúʔy
come=SS.EVID QT tell.II-TEMP INTJ father=VOC like.this
ù-hmú-ál-èʔy-ùhné-hnɔ̀ʔtsú
1P-see.I-DEP-IRR-ASSP-DEL.NEG-2PL.NEG

‘When he went, then when he said, ―O father, my son has brought food.’, he 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 -khóʔ 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.
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(399) ëylatsê nilúp nángkhêʔnú tîng kînîpêkêʔ?khs? tîng.

èy = lâ = tsê

ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP like.this be.able-FACT=SS.EVID QT

kî-nî-pêk-æʔ-y-khêʔ? 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]

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) ñpɔ́ytsê thônëyhnângâʔnú tîng khînîykhêʔ?

5-pêy = tsê

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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(401) \textit{kárbári khèw kárbári= háw-\text{-}nì hìkhèʔ tìng nìkhèw hìkhèʔnù \text{.}}

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{village.chief} & \text{word} & \text{village.chief=ERG} & \text{say.II-PM-TEMP} \\
\text{tìng} & \text{nì} & \text{hìkhèʔ} & \text{be.right-FACT} \\
\text{QT} & \text{PROX} & \text{word} & \text{be.right-FACT=SS.EVID} \\
\end{array} \]

‘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 -\textit{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.
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(402) èydɘ̂ èythɘ̀nâtsæ̂ tsú tsú tsángtsɔ́lâ ibó khìnêm tihɔ́mâmànè̂ tsángtsɔ̂lâhatsæ̂
khinshâng hâ.

èydɘ̂ èy-thònâ = tsâ
then ANAPH.DEM-CONCESS=TOP DIST DIST be.old-NMLZ=ERG

ibó khìn-ðm ti-hâ = tsâ
what think.II=CONT.Q say.II-PM=TOP meansIII

tsáng-tsâ = là = há = tsâ
be.old-PM=ERG=ADD=TOP think.II-EXTM

khin-shâng

‘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).
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 -ǽʔy (§9.2.1.2) and the existimative modality suffix -shándose (§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 irrels suffix to encode the intended desirability. Without the irrels 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) ²têmð têmâl då têng têmâl-êng-tîlâ ²hng5 nô-ál-hnâng-tî = êy têng  èyhû?y

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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(405) *kêy skûlâ tsetâ’yshàngngâ.

kêy  skûl = å  tsêt-[â?y-shâng]-ngâ
1SG  school=LOC  go-[IRR-DESID]-1SG.NEG

*‘I do not want to go to school.’ [Elicited]

(406) pûy-tsângô pû-tsângô tsetâldöshàngâ? \(.\) kûnûpô prêâ hngâtmi tsetâlâ’yshàngêy   tîngnî fîtâkhnî?tî.

pûy-tsâng = ô  pû-tsâng-ô
aunt-be.old=VOC  uncle-be.old=VOC

[tsêt-âl-dô-shâng-â?]  kû-nûpô  prê = å  hngât = nî
[go-DEP-PREF-DESID-3SG.NEG]  1SG.POSS-parents  country=LOC  one=FOC

tsêt-âl-â?y-shâng = êy  tîng = nî  â-nî-tâk-hnî? = tî
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 -dô 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 -dô originates in the PKC verb *đû? ‘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) *tōwkhólâ lèngdōhâ, hngúdâ, rophe pōhyă, hngúdâ, thâshâ.*

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{tōw}-\text{khól} = \text{â} & [\text{lēng}-\text{dō}-\text{hâ}] & \text{hngúdâ} & \text{rophe} \\
&\text{forest}-\text{EXP} = \text{LOC} & [\text{hunt}-\text{PREF}-\text{PM}] & \text{DP} & \text{GRP-be.good} \\
&\text{pōy-hyă} & \text{hngúdâ} & \text{thâshâ} \\
&\text{be.good-PM} & \text{DP} & \text{very}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) *èydò fûshînhin èydò kûmdòhâ?*

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{èydò} & \text{i-nî-shîn-nî} & \text{èydò} & \text{kûm-dô-á} \\
&\text{then} & \text{3A-PL-summon.II-TEMP} & \text{then} & \text{descend.1-PREF-3SG.NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) \textit{íhníʔshíéyh} yɔ́tsæ̂ íphíálání álák ốkdó \textit{tháshá} \textit{álák ōkhtsæ̂ kétókóhyş krówdó \textit{ápótókhól shò?ldó \textit{ápótóá šbánák tākdó}.}\) 

í-hnìʔ-shíéy-hyş = tsấ í-phíá = là = ní álák ố-ðó tháshá
3S-DL-quarrel-PM=TOP 3SG.POSS-wife=ERG=FOC alcohol drink.II-PREF very álák ốk-hi = tsấ kétókóhyş krów-ðó 5-pótó-khôl alcohol drink.II-COND = TOP nonsense speak.II-PREF 3SG.POSS-man=EXP

shòl-ðó 5-pótó = á şbánák ták-ðó 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 -\textit{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 \textit{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 – \textit{lâʔ=Šng} ‘by forcing’ in (410).
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) ɛy ʃoʈeylədə ɛy dʊn â ḫluéʔhyɔ̂səm. ḫluéʔhyɔ̂sə ɛykhɔ́lə ḫluéʔhyɔ̂sə ɛykhɔ́l ƙhæ̀nɪ nâŋ nóthɔ̀nɛyəʔylãhɔ̀ hngúdã

èy ʃoʈ-êy-láʔ = dɔ̄ ɛy dʊn = â i-š:
ANAPPH.DEM look.II=MID-OBGL=EMPH ANAPPH.DEM place=LOC what-MULT
hluéʔhyɔ̂s = ɔm i-ñí-hɔ́w-hí = tsə̄ ɛy-khɔ́l = dɔ̄
be.required-IRR-PM=CONT.Q 3A-PL-say.II-COND=top ANAPPH.DEM-EXP=EMPH
i-ñí-hɔ́w-hí = tsə̄ ɛy-khɔ́l khæ̀ = ɔ fâ nâŋ
3A-PL-say.II-COND=top ANAPPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC 2SG
nɔ́-thɔ́n-ɛy-âʔy-láʔ-hɔ̀ hngúdã
2A-give.II=MID-IRR-OBGL-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) əshètən pótsóng-hngə dùŋŋədə məyəʔ-yələʔ-hə əpytən pótsónghngə
dùŋŋədə məyəʔ-yələʔ-hə.

‘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.’

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) búʔ yəyləʔ-ngə khíná búʔ yəyləʔ-ngə tó oláʔ-ngə kóm yəyləʔ-ngə tīŋ ēyhúʔ-y.

‘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_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0118]

[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) èydø áhnfi=lâ bîhnângtíyòy y.

èydø áhnfi = lâ bî-înhnângh-tî-hû=û
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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(415) nangds³ hñupák kæná? tsøng hlayhnængthi kéy móngkón ibó kæhlé?-ë?-hy=n sm táá pùngáhí\.'

náng = dš hñúp-ák kæná? tsøng hlé-hmäng-tf-hí
2SG=EMPH CLS.day-one everyday rice buy.I-PH.CAP-2SG.NEG-COND
kéy móng = kón ibó kæ-hlè?-ë?-y=hy=ð=m táá pú-ngá-hí
1SG where=ABL what 1A-sell.I-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 -thè?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 -thè?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.
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics


kr̥ng = ng i-ní-kr̥w-êy-*th̥y* i-ní-shàng-êy-*th̥y*

people=INE 3A-PL-speak.II-MID-COG.CAP 3A-PL-EV-MID-COG.CAP

tsɔk-tʃ?-khɔl = á i-ní-pɔy i-ní-tsɔk-*th̥y*


‘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.
Unlike Daai, the cognitive capabilitive suffix is not used as a verb in Hyow. However, the cognitive capabilitive suffix -théʔy is certainly cognate with PKC *thayʔ ‘know/able/hear’ (VanBik, 2009: 133) or PKC *thiam ‘know how’ (VanBik, 2009: 136). There is a noun théʔy 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 hyɔ́ʔêy ‘shame’ (see §6.2.1).
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(418) *khônîsê mëy-phônfî, hêngpûng hêngkhyôngå hêngpûng hêngkhyôngå ëekbârê khrông thiêy tyûá?dûnå khrông mëyûdûnå tôkhûtshô.*

khônî = tsê mêy-pê-hô-nî hêng pûng hêng khyông = â

sun=TOP exist-still-PM-TEMP waterfall EE waterfall inside=LOC

hêng pûng hêng khyông = â ëekbârê khrông thiêy

waterfall EE waterfall inside=LOC completely B people consciousness

tyû-á?-dûn = â khrông mêy-ú-dûn = â

wake-3SG.NEG-PLNMLZ=LOC people exist-3PL.NEG-PLNMLZ=LOC

tôk-hût-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 -không 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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(419) *kùm-hngš-kònní 5l3 kùm-hngš áák-kál-khângâ?*, hngúdâ.

\[
kùm-hngš = kòn = ní 5l3 kùm-hngš á-á-kây-\text{không} = hngúdâ
\]

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 *đéʔl* ‘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) *èyds èy bîttsš ókthónatsè èyní ãèdèʔlkông*.

\[
èyds èy bîttsš ók-thóna = tsè èy = ní
\]

then ANAPH.DEM a.little.bit drink.II-CONCESS=TOP ANAPH.DEM=FOC

ãè-dèʔlkông

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 -bɔ́p*, 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 *-bɔ́p* 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 kòngntìng krëwðätì, shàngdätì. èyhyʔy thôn=tì. úlúltùntì pòʔéyhnìʔtì.
èy kòng = nì = ñg krëw-dát-á? shâng-dât-á?
ANAPH.DEM reason=FOC=INE speak.I-DARE1-3SG.NEG EE-DARE1-3SG.NEG
èyhyʔy thôn-èy úlúltùp = nì pòʔ-èy-hnìʔ= tì
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 mëš ‘beat.II’ and böp ‘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.

tūâ  kú-tsūhnú-tf?     ëy = ëng     kú-tsūhnú-tf?
now  1SG.POSS-daughter-EXP  ANAPH.DEM=INE  1SG.POSS-daughter-EXP
kō-tsûf?             əbânâk           í-ní-thôn-ëy-thônâ
1SG.POSS-son-EXP     lousy.thing       3S-PL-happen-MID-CONCESS
môl-ëy-ðát-ngâ        bôp-ëy-ðát-ngâ
beat.I-MID-DARĒ₁-1SG.NEG  hit.I-MID-DARĒ₁-1SG.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 -bôp encodes the same meaning when attached to a verb, as exemplified in (423) and (424).

(423) ááníhyènhnâ hngátnî, ęytsê tsètálbôptiâ? ñ, dâ.

tá-á-nil-hyén-hnô  hngánt = ní  ëy = tsê
3A-DIR-PL-throw.II-PM  one=FOC  ANAPH.DEM=TOP
tsèt-ál-bôp-tí-á?     dâ
go-DEP-DARĒ₂-NITER-3SG.NEG  DP

‘They went to throw one [person]! He did not dare go away. OK? ‘

[ZM TLW TUK 062007_Hyow 0030 251]
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(424) ɪp ʌ. áákhákbɔ̀ ʌ.

ɪ-ɪp  á-á-khá-kbɔ̀-ú

3S-sleep 3A-AND-wake.1-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 -lɔ́ʔ 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) ǝ́dʉ̀ ɛy, ɛy ɔ́ʔní ɛy ǝ́yɘ̂k ínílà ʔhɔ̂ ǝ́y tsùâ tsɔ̀ʔæ̀ʔyɘ̂ng íníhyɘ̀

ǝ́-dʉ́-ê  y  ɔ́ʔ-ní  ɛy ǝ́yɘ̂  ɛy  i-ní-lá?-hò  ɛy

3S-die-MID-PRTN-TEMP then ANAPH.DEM corpse 3A-PL-pull.II-PM ANAPH.DEM

tsú = â  tsɔ́ʔ-åʔy-ŋg  i-ní-hyǹ-dùn = 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.


óh móngdó = ó tühnúp = â = tsæ ñhúy iní-tsó dú-hó = ní
INTJ husband=VOC today=LOC=TOP like.this 1DL.INC.POSS-DIM die-PM=FOC
iní-tsó dú-hó tühnúp = â = tsæ lbó thón-ýy-â?y-y-hy=5m
2DL.INC.POSS-DIM die-PM today=LOC=TOP what become-MID-IRR-PM=CONT.Q
tíng = ní tsú = ã = ní éydv ëngkóáy-tsó nú = ní káp-êy-âl-hló
QT=FOC DIST=LOC=FOC then sparrow-DIM mother=FOC cry-MID-DEP-PM
á-á-hlów-êy-âl-tsó?-hnó? = 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 -tsám refers to experiencing, examining, observing, tasting or trying something before doing something. The conative modality suffix originates from the verb tsám ‘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) $b\text{ôhîtsê kêy khôkâ méynâtêéy} \neq \emptyset \, òmdô ómtsôntsû dâ.

\begin{align*}
bôhî &= \text{tsê} & kêy &= \text{khôk} = â & mèy-ná-tâ &= \text{êy} & òm &= dô \\
so &= \text{TOP} & ISG &= \text{near=LOC} & \text{stay-SPNT-DED} &= \text{POL.Q} & \text{sit} &= \text{EMPH} \\
óm- & \text{tsôm-} & tsû &= \text{dâ} & \text{sit.I-CON-2PL} &= \text{DP} \\
\end{align*}

‘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 hen 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) $b\text{ôhîtsê nû lôálhîtsê kôhôwpêkâltsôma?y hngûdâ tîng}.$

\begin{align*}
bôhî &= \text{tsê} & nû &= \text{lô-âl-hî} = \text{tsê} & kô-hôwp-âl- & \text{tsôm-} & â?y \\
so &= \text{TOP} & \text{mother} &= \text{come-DEP-COND=TOP} & 1A-say.II-BEN-DEP-CON-IRR \\
\text{hngûdâ} &= \text{tîng} & \text{DP} &= \text{QT} \\
\end{align*}

‘She said, “So, if mother comes back, I will try telling her [mother] for her [my firend].”’ [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 -tsâk. 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) èydɘ̂, tsú = â = ey-hnɘ́ʔ-lâ = dɘ̂ = ey then DIST=LOC ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=EMPH ANAPH.DEM

mòkshɘ́tdâwâ bé = á = hngîl-å-tsâk 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 -tsâk attached to the verb.
(430) *t’ná-bôngátsæ kúpúm dékëng hyduplicatehyhö3 thi pængëytsàkkhö dëtsângöng.

t’ná-bông = â = tsæ̂ kú-púm dék = òng hyduplicatehyhö3 thi pængëytsàkkhö dëtsângöng

A little bit later-almost=LOC=TOP 1SG.Poss-body soil=INE lie.down-IRR-PM

thî pæng=ëy-tsàkkhö dëtsâng = òng

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 bû? ?èy-dëtsàkkhö

èy = là bû? ?èy-dë-tsàkkhö

ANAPH.DEM rice eat.II-ITER-COMPL-PM

*‘He ate rice completely again like before.’ [Elicited]

(432) òwón tsångåltståkdâ?nù̀ \ .

ò-wón tsångåltstå-kâ?nù̀ = nù̀

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 -\(\text{tûn}\) in (433) expresses the beginning of pouring of water on the recipient’s hand.

(433) \(\text{èyds} \ \text{èy tûynf tsùâ \ èy mënôphrûng ãášynànìn ùkùtìng krôtûn}\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èyds} & \quad \text{èy} & \quad \text{tûy} & = nî & \quad \text{tsù} & = â & \quad \text{èy} & \quad \text{mënôphrû} & = ñng \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{water} & = \text{FOC DIST} = \text{LOC ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{name.of.a.woman} & = \text{INE} \\
\text{á-ã-ľy-nâk-ní} & \quad \text{ú-kút} & = ñng & \quad \text{krôtû} \\
\text{3A-AND-pour.II-SPNT-TEMP} & \quad \text{3SG.POSS-hand} & = \text{INE} & \quad \text{fall-INCH}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 -\(\text{ǽʔy}\). 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) \(\ast\text{krôtûnhn5}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{krôtû} & \quad \text{hn5} \\
\text{fall-INCH-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\ast\)‘He started falling.’ [Elicited]

9.2.2.3 Iterative

The iterative aspectual suffix -\(\text{dù/ù}\) 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 -\(\text{dù}\) and some speakers use the form -\(\text{ù}\). 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) *fntsɛ̀lɛn khɔ wànl ɔpɔ̀tsɛ̀n pɛ̊kdə ɔ̀. hŋú nùnù là nòpɔ̀ tsi pɛ̀kdə ɔ̀.*

`í-ní-tsét-ál-ní khó wá-ní ʒ-pɔ̂tɔ̂ = á = ní
3S-PL-go-DEP-TEMP time be.light-TEMP 3GS.POSS-husband=DAT=FOC
pék-dù hŋú nù-nù lá nó-pɔ = á
give.II-ITER INTJ 2SG.POSS-mother CONJ 2SG.POSS-father=DAT
tsì-pék-dú
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 mother and your father like before.”’

[ZM_CS_MZK_082015_Hyow_0038_062]

The iterative suffix can co-occur with modality, adverbal 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.
The use of the iterative suffix -dʉ́ is context dependent. It cannot be used everywhere. Since the iterative suffix -dʉ́ 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 -dʉ́ cannot be used here. To be a grammatically correct sentence, the verb lò in (437) requires the emphatic and evidential clitic, as in lò-æʔy-tù-hɔ́ = 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) *mɒ́nglání khìntí bèʔmõ̤ sngõ̤há lõʔy[tə̀]hɔ́.

mɒ̤ng = là = ní     khìntí = tî     bèʔ-mõ̤     sngõ̤ = â = há
king=ERG=FOC     think.II=ER.EVID     stop.I-PRIORITY     tomorrow=LOC=ADD

lò-æʔy-tù-hɔ́

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 -dök. 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.
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 -tʉ̂/dʉ̂ as ITER and the unexpected or unusual iterative aspect marker -bá 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 -dʉ̂. However, to the wife’s surprise, the husband repeats the action of bringing back his son home again, which is marked by the suffix -bá in (439).

(439) èy èy ɔ́-shów=âl-dʉ̂ á-tsáng nù=ní
ànaph dém 3A-scold.II-dep-iter=r.evid grp-be.old mother=FOC
5-lo-âl-bál-hl5 ál5 ká-á-hyš-æ?y tì-bá-lá = tsâ
3A-bring.II-dep-niter-pm again 1A-and-exile.II tell.I-3SGA-seq=top

‘She scolded him again like before. Having told the old woman “I will go to exile him (his son) again,” he brought him 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.

9.2.2.4 Non-iterative

The iterative aspectual suffix has a binary opposition in Hyow. The non-iterative aspectual suffix -$tí$ 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) ọtsọ̀ nów shòéytır?\. túátsè phiá shòéyŧrà?\. 5-tsọ̀ nów shò-ẹy-tí-á? tű̀ = tsè phiá

3SG.POSS-child EE look.I-MID-NITER-3SG.NEG now=TOP wife

shò-ẹy-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) ákọ̀lọ̀ng ālèwhọ̀tsè kwítíʔhɔ̀ kόông\

5-kọ̀l = āng ālèw-ḥɔ̀ = tsè kwí-tíʔ-ḥɔ̀

GRP-be.internal=INE burn.II(gastric)-PM=TOP tolerate.I-NITER-3SG.NEG-PM

kόông

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 -ɘ̂ng, 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 =ɘ̂ng. 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 ɗ ‘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) èydõ ɗy lɔ́-ɘ̂ng-bá-lâ tsú nâmâ tsêtáhlõ.
èydõ ɗy lɔ̄-ɘ̂ng-ɓá-lâ = tsâë
tsú nâm = â

then ANAPH.DEM bring.I-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP DIST village=LOC

tsêt-âl-hlõ
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) tsímkhê hngát hngát hngát tsí hозвê-yîngtlàtsê nîtsîʔèyɬ, hyûmîngtlàtsê tîng.

tsímkhê hngát hngát hngát-tsî ʰозвê-yîng-tî-lá = tsê
handleless.machette one one one-each ask.I-STAT-2SG-SEQ=TOP
nî-tsîʔ-ʔèyɬ hyûmîng-tî-lá = tsê tîng

‘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 pèk takes the stative suffix in (445).

(445) èy ngûlûy-tsâ ʔîtsàk ñhngàk pèkìngbàlîtsê tsètîlnàʔîtî.

eỳ ngûlûy-tsâ = á 5-tsàk 5-hngàk
ANAPh.DEM snakehead.fish-DIM=ADD 3SG.POSS-food 3S-be.content.II-DLM
pèk-5ng-bà-lá = tsê tsèt-âl-hnàʔî = tî
give.I-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP go-DEP-ULT=R.EVID

‘Having given his food to the aforementioned snakehead fish until he was content, he, 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 -ðng attached to the verb dú ‘die’ is referring to the state of death of the narrator’s mother.

(446) nûdáŋghálátsê, ?éyngâ. èy ní pôlábá átsáñhnêngngâ.

mother die-STAT-3SG-SEQ=TOP eat.I-1SG.NEG ANAPH.DEM=FOC

pô = là = hà à-tsán-hnêng-á?

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 hlá ‘want’ in (447) takes the habitual marker -hút to encode the regular or consecutive activity of wanting/longing by a woman and a man.
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(447) áyóng khóâ kíhnʔhiðéyhátthšéý ʔ?

á-yáng      khó = â      kí-hnʔ-hlú-éy-hút-thsilâ = ây
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 -hút in (448).

(448) èydɘ̂ tsíʔts̃ tsí pêkéyálhét ʔ.

eydɘ̂    tsíʔ-ts̃    tsí    pêk-éy-âl-hút
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 -hút 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 -hút in (449).

(449) dëyds̃ tsiʔts̃ tsi pêkéyálhét ʔ.

dëyds̃     tsiʔ-ts̃    tsi    pêk-éy-âl-hút

‗Then ago, did we use to want each other?’
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 love 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) níhú’ y șpóy-hȳ ș̑un dàkháy núngângáhítse dàkhóáñí núngângáhí itíá
[kûn̄ȳ y hȳš̑m tûng shëmëytsëlën tûk múŋgá].

níhú’y ș-póy-hȳ š̑un dàkhó=â=ní núng-hët-ngâ-hí=tsâ
like.this 3S-be.good-PM world=INE laugh.II-LV-1SG.NEG-COND=TOP
dë-khô=a=ní núng-hët-ngâ-hí itíá
die.II-TNMLZ=LOC=TOP laugh.I-LV-1SG.NEG-COND when
kú-núng-á?y-hȳ̄m tûng shëmëytsë=lâ=ní tûk múŋg=â
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, -hɔ́m, 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 -hɔ́m 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) ţsúkɔntsɛ̄ nîtɛʔassɛ̄ ɫɔhɔ́mʊˌ, ɦârè. ñ̄yętɛʔa ɱrɛʔtɛʔâdɛ̃ ᵃnîlɔhɔ́m dâtsô.

\[
\begin{align*}
tsú &= kón = tsa\hat{e} \\
nî &= tɔ? = â = tsa\hat{e} \\
lô-h̄ôm-û &= háre \\
\text{DIST=ABL=TOP} & \quad \text{PROX=DLIM=LOC=TOP} & \quad \text{come-CONT-3PL.NEG} & \quad \text{DP} \\
\hat{e}y &= tɔ? = â \\
mr̄ɔ? &= tɔ? = â = dô \\
i-nî-lô-h̄ôm &= dâtsô \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM=DLIM=LOC} & \quad \text{town=DLIM=LOC=EMPH} & \quad 3S-PL-come & \quad \text{DP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 -hɔ́m 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 lɘ́t ‘get rid off,I’ encodes that the speaker is still not getting rid of his father’s sin.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(452) **kéyádɘ̂ kókh mâlhlɔ̂ ëyïng tûa ëy wá?y lëthêmngâ, pâ ngólay ̀.**

kéy = á = dɘ̂  kó-khôm-âł-hlɔ̂   ëy = ñg   tûa   ëy
1SG=ADD=EMPH  1A-meet.II-DEP-PM  ANAPH.DEM=INE  NOW  ANAPH.DEM

wá?y  lôt-hóm-ngâ  pâ  ngólay

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) **nîtsè shêmôytsõdõ sûm ë hêmôtá? ë hêmôtá? ̀.**

nî = tsè  shêmôytsõ = dɘ̂ sûm  īá  hêmô-tã?   lá
PROX=TOP  boy=EMPH  still  nothing  know.I-3SG.NEG  nothing

hmô-tã?

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 -põn, which grammaticalizes from the verb põn ‘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 põn ‘end’.

(454) ...
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(454) pə̀nɛ̀ʔyhnʉ̀hnɔ́ʔ t⁶ngkhɔ́l ɛbùnák hngúdâ inlágáhyɔ̂ khæ̂w

| pə̀n- | ɛ̀ʔy | -hnʉ- | hnɔ́ʔ | t⁶ngkhɔ́l | ɛbùnák | hngúdâ |
| end- | IRR | ASSP | DEL | QT | EXP | bullshit | DP |

í-ní-lágáhyɔ̂khæ̂w
3A-PL-provoke.into.fight.IIR-PM DP

‘Saying, “That would not have ended,” [Bullshit, OK? (Narrator’s opinion)] they, provoked them, 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 -pə́n. 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) èydɔ̀ tsɔngkɔwɔ̀ ng kùn pə̀n ìpə̀n ɛng ðò shò-bɔ̀y.

| èydɔ̀ | tsɔngkɔw | = ɔng | kùn-pə̀n | ìpə̀n-ɛng | ðò | shò-bɔ̀y |
| then | winnowing.fan=INST | cover.IIR-TERM | EV-TERM-CAUS=EMPH | look.I-DEL | IMP |

‘Then, he, [healer] finished covering [the wound] with a winnowing fan. Having finished covering, he, 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 -pə́n in (456).
(456) ámánəngnĩé yố shôkbôk pôlání tâkhnɔʔtî kòókë́yppánmɔ̂ tîng

ámán = ðng = ní   èy   shôkbôk   pɔ = lâ = ní   tâ-k-hnɔʔ = tî
anger=INE=FOC   ANAPH.DEM   cobra   father=ERG=FOC   tell.II-ULT=R.EVID

kó-òk-éy-pën-mɔ̂ 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 -ðng are functioning as the anterior temporal clause linker (see §12.4.1.12).

(457) èydɔ̀ éy mɛ̀ng shànlínì éyhù̀pùnɔ̀ng éy mɛ̀ngìŋ thɔ̀'

èydɔ̀   mɛ̀ng   shán-âl-ní   éy-hù̀-pën-ðng   èy
then   pitcher   pick.up.II-DEP-TEMP   EV-LV-TERM-INE   ANAPH.DEM

mɛ̀ng = ðng   thòn
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 -hngɔ̂ 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)
illuminates a habitual event, because the verb is not marked by a predicate-marking suffix.

(458) etsêtnɘ̀ thámpó thòwânlî tsêtnângɔ̂

é-tsēt-hn̄-lâ thámpó-thòw-âl-nî tsēt-hnâng-hngɔ̂

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) èydɔ̀ tsɔ̀ng thôk

èydɔ̀ tsɔ̀ng thôk

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 -dɔk 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.
(460) **nó̱ong ɔ́mɔ́ɘ̂ng, nó̱òngmɔ̂hìtsæ̂ nó̱òngdɘ́k**.

\[
\begin{align*}
nó̱-ó̱ng & \quad ɔ́-mɘ̂ng & \quad nó̱-ó̱ng-mɘ̂-hï = tsɘ̂ & \quad nó̱-ó̱ng-dɘ̂k \\
2A-pass.II & \quad GRP-be.first=INE & \quad 2A-pass.III-PRIOR-COND=TOP & \quad 2A-pass.II-ANT
\end{align*}
\]

‘At first, you pass! If you pass at first, you have passed (the entire exam).’

[ZM.CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0078]

The anterior can be used in a situation that is held in past. Though Hyow does not have any past and present tense marking, the context and adverbs indicate the time. The following example in (461) instantiates a past event’s relevance to a past situation through the marking of the anterior.

(461) **épèkhnɘ̀ʔlàtsæ̂ tsùâ kéykɘ̀ʔtsæ̂ thɔ̀wdɘ̂**.

\[
\begin{align*}
é-ˌpék-hnɘ́ʔ-\text{là}=tsɘ̂ & \quad \text{tsùâ = â} & \quad \text{kë́ʔ-\text{kɘ́ʔ-\text{tsæ̂ thɔ́w-dɘ́k}} = \text{tsùâ = â}} \\
3A-	ext{give.II-ULT=TOP} & \quad \text{DIST=LOC} & \quad \text{tiger=GEN=TOP} & \quad \text{be.fat-ANT} & \quad \text{DIST=LOC} \\
hɘ́ʔ-kɘ́ʔ-\text{hnɘ́ʔ-tí} & \quad \text{bear=GEN=TOP} & \quad \text{be.skinny-ULT=R.EVID}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Giving the rice packet ultimately, the tiger’s one (elder brother) had become fat there. The bear’s one (younger brother) finally became skinny.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_119]

The anterior suffix can co-occur with other aspectual and adverbials, as exemplified in (462), where the anterior suffix follows the prioritive suffix and the iterative suffix.
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 capabilitive modality-marking suffix.

(463) *èy lów bimɔ̀hnùng-hng∂.

èy lów bimɔ̀hnùng-hng∂
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 -dök. Any other aspectual or adverbial markers cannot follow the anterior aspect-marking suffix. I view of that, the example in (464) contains two aspectual suffixes after the prioritive adverbial suffix.
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.
Then, when he [the snake] surprisingly swallowed her up to the throat, she said, “Father, you will not see me anymore.”

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) **èydɘ̂ námɘ́ngkɘ́ʔ kárbáríèydɘ̂ èy phɘ̀lshèní bɘ̀tæ̀ʔytíʔ ùá méydààlû**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èydɘ̂} & \quad \text{nám} = \text{ŋ} = \text{kš} \\
\text{kárbárí} & \quad \text{èydɘ̂} \quad \text{èy} \\
\text{phɘ̀lshé} & \quad = \text{ní}
\end{align*}
\]

then \hspace{1em} village=INE=GEN \hspace{1em} village.chief \hspace{1em} then \hspace{1em} ANAPH.FEM \hspace{1em} python=FOC

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bɘ́t-æʔy-tîf} & \quad \text{ùá} \quad \text{mè}-\text{dåal-ú}
\end{align*}
\]

slaughter.II-IRR-NMLZ \hspace{1em} none \hspace{1em} 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-éy-shé go-MID-AGNS ‘agonising/stressful/bad walking’
b) ð-éy-shé drink.I-MID-AGNS ‘agonising/stressful/bad drinking’
c) khát-éy-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) òméyhiːthòtylátsè fnì?tsè\ . ngòshùyà fnì?tsènì shòkbòk únúpòlà tsú kùshùngnilà? khrɔ̀ng tòy hàlèyshèhòlà? \ . kò kùngngòlòl? \ .


i-hnì?-tsèt-nì shòkbòk ú-núpò = là tsú = â kùshùngnilà?
3S-DL-go-TEMP cobra 3SG.POSS-parents=ERG DIST=LOC name.of.a.month

khrɔ̀ = âng tòy hàl-éy-shè-hò-là? kò kùng-ngòlò-là?
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 -\(\text{phí}\) 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) \(\text{bú? kéʔéytsákphíʔdák}\).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{bú?} & \text{1A-eat.II-COMPL-ERR-ANT} \\
\text{rice} & \text{1A} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I have **mistakenly** eaten the completely.’ [Elicited]

The suffix -\(\text{phí}\) also encodes the meaning ‘as well’, which refers to an additional event. In a construction in which the suffix -\(\text{phí}\) functions as an ADDITIONAL adverbial suffix, the verb has to be marked by the predicate-marking suffix, as shown in (469).

(469) \(\text{lósδókón rángámátí fi kétsé\text{-}\text{phí}h\δ}\).

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{lósδó} & = & \text{kón} & \text{Rangamati=LOC} \\
\text{Bandarban=ABL} & \text{rángámátí} & = & \text{â} \\
\text{1S-go-ADDT-PM} & \text{ké-tsé\text{-}phí} & - & \text{hδ} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘From Bandarban, I went to Rangamati as well.’

9.2.3.4 Unpredicted

The unpredicted adverbial suffix -\(\text{bá}\) 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) ákêmí òh nówlátse̱ tsó ñýnì kánbâ?à?hâ̤.

èy = ní
kôn-bâ?-à?-hâ

‘[They said], “When she came down, eh, look, younger sister did not leap over him [the old man] anyhow.’

The example in (471) provides similar evidence of the unpredictable 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) ñýnì túaâ bîttsâ kóróyálhlâ hngûðâ. tûáltse kóróyálbâ? y.

èy = ní
tú = â = dâ bîttsâ k5-pôy-âl-hlâ hngûðâ

‘That is, I became well a little bit now, OK? I unpredictedly became well now.’

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 ɪówümá ḱóngóhítsê tsêṣí. ḱóhó méhítsê ɪówümá ɪńfóáltṣí.

èy lówí=ā ḱóongó-hí=tsâ tvê-tsí
ANAPH.DEM swidden.field.house=LOC morning-COND=TOP go-REG

khó mú-hí=tsâ lówí=ā íń́-ńí-ló-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_U TK_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.
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

(473) meäk kénä? ñyônä tsì nät mông khêkâ tsì áañflom],là?tsìhö.

mû-ânk kénä? 5-ýôn=â tsí nät mông khêkâ=â tsì
be.dark-until every GRP-night=LOC often god king near=LOC regularly
á-á-ní-lm-lá?-tsì-hö
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) èyhnê?látsê tsû shõkìtsônfí hûpâk kénä? tsì thôkngàpphö.

èy-hnê?-lá=tsê tsú=â shõkì-tsô=ní hûp-ák kénä?
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP DIST=LOC deer-DIM=FOC day-one every

tsí thôk-ngáp-phö=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.
9.2.3.7 Experiential frequency

The experiential frequency suffix \(-\text{phú}\) 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 \(-\text{phú}\) in (475).

(475) \(\text{lʉ̀ʔtsɔ́á nát pɾéá ɔ́lɔ́ tîng nòyɔ́kphù tóràpàngshá ʔèyèʔyɔ́hyɔ̂ ɔ̀lò tsæ̂}.
\)

\lʉ́ʔ tsɔ̂ =á  

\nát pɾé =à  

\nɔ́lɔ́ tîng nò-yɔ́k-phù =ēy  

human-DIM=SC.ADD god country=LOC againQT 2A-hear.I-EXPR=POL.Q

tóràpàngshá  

ʔèy-əʔy-ɔ̀lò  

hì tsæ̂

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).
9.2. Variably-positioned Suffix Zone

The ultimative suffix -hnɘ́ʔ 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, -hnɘ́ʔ, shows that it is originally a copula verb. For example, the grammaticalized discourse connective èyhnɘ́ʔlátsæ̂ ‘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 hns?-lá = tsæ̂ ‘after that' (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).

(476) èyhnɘ́ʔlá tsú hngáyá yɔ̀phú-áʔ-hɔ̂=ní
èy-hnɘ́ʔ-lá tsú = à hngáyá yɔ̀-phú-áʔ-hɔ̂=ní
FILL-ULT-SEQ DIST=LOC never hear.1-EXPR-3SG.NEG-PM=FOC
èy hmtɔ́tsɔ́=ní
ANAPH DEM girl=FOC

‘After that, he has not ever heard of that girl there.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0084]
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 -hnёʔ 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.

The ultimative suffix has co-occurrence constraints with the anterior aspeptual suffix, predicate-marking suffix and the factive modality suffix.
9.2.3.9 Prioritive

The prioritive suffix -m₃ 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 premi₄ere suffix to encode such expression. The prioritive suffix originates in the PKC *h₄maa ‘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) ɔ́mɔ̀ɘ̂ngtsæ̂ búʔ íníshɔ̀ngm₃.

钯-m₃ = ɔng = tsæ̂  búʔ í-ní-shɔ̀ng-m₃

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) ánóbôteye₃m₃h₃

钯-nó-bót-æy-m₃-h₃

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 kɔ́hɔ̀wæ̀ʔyɛ̀hɔ́sm?

í kɔ́hɔ́w-æʔy-phet=m
what 1A-say.II-IRR-EXTN-PM=CONT.Q

‗What will I say more?’ [ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_117]

(482) álák ngóékɛ́ypɛ́ɛyɛ?

álák ngó-ók-ɛ́y-phet=ɛ́
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause-linking suffixes</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Syntactic status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ní</td>
<td>’TEMP’</td>
<td>relative time, conditional</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hí</td>
<td>’COND’</td>
<td>conditional, conditional</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-thón</td>
<td>’CONCESS’</td>
<td>concessive conditional</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stång</td>
<td>’REAS’</td>
<td>causal, reason, consequential</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àk</td>
<td>’INCEP.DEL’</td>
<td>temporally inceptive activity</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àká</td>
<td>’TER.DEL’</td>
<td>temporally terminal activity, boundary of an activity</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-à, æʔy-stång</td>
<td>’PURP’</td>
<td>temporal sequence, situation</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hâmónâ</td>
<td>’MTV.PUR’</td>
<td>Motivationally purposive activity</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pè</td>
<td>’SIM’</td>
<td>simultaneous activity, associated circumstance</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hlóng, -hlóngâ</td>
<td>’CIR’</td>
<td>elaboration of events, circumstantial depiction</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khôngáʔ</td>
<td>’POST.TEMP’</td>
<td>posterior activity</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bák</td>
<td>’NEG.ADV’</td>
<td>obligatory, unavoidable and unintentional circumstance, negative adverbial</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix, verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pòn-stång</td>
<td>’ANT.TEMP’</td>
<td>anterior activity</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix, verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lá</td>
<td>’SEQ’</td>
<td>sequential activity, anterior event, temporal succession</td>
<td>Clause-linking suffix, verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ëy-hò?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.


khó ngó-ní ëy á-tsáng-nû = là á-tsáng-pɔ = là
time be.dawn-TEMP ANAPH.DEM GRP-be.old-MO=ERG GRP-be.old-FA=ERG
khàn = â í-fnñi?-wɔŋ-ní fnñi?-tsúñú = tsë hmú-ëy-hò?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.
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(484) ëyɗ̆ ëlòål, ëlòânl, ëyɓò mêy, mêyhnɘʔlatsè, këbënâldèk tîng tâk.

ëyɗ̆ ë-lò-ål  ë-lò-ål-ní  ëyɓò  mêy
then  3S-come-DEP  3S-come-DEP-TEMP  like.that  stay
mêy-hnɘʔ-là = tsâ  kâ-bûn-êt-dâk  tîng  tâk
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 -hî 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 -hî 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) bõhi’të porikkhà pỳ?hî, nàngà pỳhyàndâ

bõhi = tsâ  porikkhà  pỳ?-hf  náng = á  pỳ-hyà = nú
so=TOP  exam  be.over-COND  2SG=DAT  be.good-PM=SS.SEOV

‗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 -hî sets the predicted result at the time before speech.
‘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 -ǽʔy 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).

‘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 -thɔn 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.
454    Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(488) ëynì inkhêmthēn, pòyâ? vx. khôm-kôtán pòyâ? vx.  
ëy = ní    i-ní-khôm-thân    pòy-â?
ANAPH.DEM=FOC 1INCA-PL-confront.II-CONESS be.good-3SG.NEG
khôm-kô-thân    pòy-â?    èybô    tâk-khô    khêw
confront.I-1PL-INC-NEG-CONESS 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," [ZMARGS2_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 -thân is followed by the locative suffix -â.

(489) tùâtsê bittsô krânghtsê, inîhyîndâk v. bàd! bittsô ëy ëphêmthēnâ inîhyîndâk v.  
tùâ = tsâe    bittsô    krâng-hî = tsâe    i-nî-hyîn-dîk    bàd
now=TOP    a.little.bit    fade-COND=TOP    3A-PL-throw.II-ANT    discard
bittsô    ëy    ë-phêm-thân-â    i-nî-hyîn-dîk
a.little.bit    ANAPH.DEM    3S-be.old-CONESS-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 -âng originates from the inessive case clitic = âng. 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) \textit{funhy\textsubscript{ö}lhl\textsubscript{ö}nt ts\textsubscript{ú}kh\textsubscript{ö}l\textsubscript{á} inf\textsubscript{í}kh\textsubscript{ö}h\textsubscript{ö}ng t\textsubscript{ú} funhy\textsubscript{ö}lhl\textsubscript{ö}, hng\textsubscript{ú}d\textsubscript{á}, kr\textsubscript{ö}\textsubscript{á}?b\textsubscript{á}k \textbackslash.}

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{aligned}
1-ni-hy\textsubscript{ö}l-hl\textsubscript{ö} &= n\textsubscript{i} & ts\textsubscript{ú}-kh\textsubscript{ö}l &= l\textsubscript{á} & 1-ni-k3\textsubscript{í}-h\textsubscript{á}-\textit{šng} \\
3S-PL-lie.down-PM=FOC & DIST-EXP=ERG & 3A-PL-shoot.II-PM-REAS \\
t\textsubscript{ú} & 1-ni-hy\textsubscript{ö}l-hl\textsubscript{ö} & hng\textsubscript{ú}d\textsubscript{á} & kr\textsubscript{ö}-\textit{á}?-b\textsubscript{á}k \\
right.away 3S-PL-lie.down-PM & DP & fall-NEG.3SG-NEG.ADV
\end{aligned}
\end{verbatim}

‘They\textsubscript{1} lay down. Because they\textsubscript{3} shot them\textsubscript{1}, they\textsubscript{1} lay down right away so as not to fall.’ [ZM\_TLW\_TUK\_062007\_Hyow\_0030\_207]

When a morpheme \textit{-l\textsubscript{ö}t\textit{ś}} is attached to a verb complex preceding the suffix \textit{-\textit{šng}} in a dependent clause, the morpheme in question expresses continuity of the action, process or state. This continuous suffix \textit{-l\textsubscript{ö}t\textit{ś}} is only found co-occurring with the causal suffix \textit{-\textit{šng}}.

(491) \textit{èyd\textsubscript{ë} l\textsubscript{ö}k\textsubscript{é}yt\textsubscript{î}t, òkd\textsubscript{ë} l\textsubscript{ö}k\textsubscript{é}yt\textsubscript{î}t, ë\textsubscript{ë}y\textsubscript{ë}tsi\textsubscript{h\textsubscript{ö}l\textsubscript{ë}t\textsubscript{ë}ng}.}

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{aligned}
?ë\textsubscript{ë} &= d\textsubscript{s} & l\textsubscript{ö}k-ë\textsubscript{ë}-t\textsubscript{ë}-t\textsubscript{i} & ók &= d\textsubscript{s} \\
eat.II=EMPH & get.enough-NITER-2SG.NEG & drink.II=EMPH \\
l\textsubscript{ö}k-ë\textsubscript{ë}-t\textsubscript{ë}-t\textsubscript{i} & é-?ëy-ts\textsubscript{í}-h\textsubscript{á}-l\textsubscript{öst}-\textit{šng} \\
get.enough-NITER-2SG.NEG & 3S-eat.II-REG-PM-CONT-REAS
\end{aligned}
\end{verbatim}

‘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 \textit{\texttt{--\textit{\texttt{á}k}}}, 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 ngúlúy-tsɔ́ átsɔ́ ọ̀hngɔ́ák pèkóngbàlàtsɛ̀, tsètáłhnɔ́?tì.
èy nguluy-tsɔ = á á-tʃɔ k ɔ́hngɔ́-ak
ANAPH.DEM snakehead.fish-DIM=ADD.3SG.POSS food 3S-be.content-INCEP.DLM

pèk-ɔ́ŋg-bá-lá = tsè tsét-áł-hnɔ́? = 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 -ak’ 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 hówɔ́yí ọ́yúmáká lɔ̀kpék’tì
èy hówɔ́y = ní ɔ́yúm-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 -ɔ́ŋ 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 -ǽʔy followed by the suffix -şng 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 èykholşng zúddhọ thònéyapeutics bopektıyşng shôtéyắyşng tùéyächt yşng faitsètthọ.
èy èy-khöl = şng zúddhọ thón-éy-ăy-şng
ANAPH.DEM ANAPH.DEM-EXP=COMT war happen-MID-IRR-PURP
bóp-éy-ăy-şng shôt-éy-ăy-şng tù-éy-ăy-şng
í-ní-tsét-thọ
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) tsönéyâ, tsèttthọ èyhúỹy hngúdå ƙ. 
 tsönéy-â tsèt-thọ èyhúỹy hngúdå
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 -hmşnâ 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 -hmşnâ in Hyow. A dependent clause marked by the
motivational purposive clause requires a Stem I verb. In (496), the clause marked by the suffix \(-\text{hmónâ}\) expresses that the motivation for the praying of the boy is to bring back her mother as before.

\[(496) \text{tsúlà stsùlà shù? \hspace{2em} tøng-èy-hyâ = nì \hspace{2em} èy = nì} \]

DIST=ERG 3SG.POSS-son=ERG pray pray-MID-PM=FOC ANAPH.DEM=FOC

\[\text{thåktstí \hspace{1em} á-krâ-ìl-hmónâ} \hspace{2em} \text{tsú = â} \hspace{2em} \text{póʔ-èy-hyâ} \]

‘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 \(\text{yè̂}\), which has an instance of being used in the motivational purposive clause in (497).

\[(497) \text{løhïtsæ, mông yåpëng løhëm, èykhol khæ̂nl mòtëmttsõ yåhnënghménâ hngúdå.} \]

come-COND=TOP which way=INE come-PM-CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM-EXP

\[\text{khæ̂ = nì} \hspace{2em} \text{mòtëmttsõ} \hspace{2em} \text{yå-hnéng-hmónâ} \hspace{2em} \text{hngúdå} \]

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_010]

9.3.1.8 Simultaneous clause-linking suffix

The simultaneous clause-linking suffix \(-\text{pé}\) attached to a dependent clause expresses the simultaneous events associated or attendant circumstances of an action, a process,
or a state that is predicative 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, khòn-pé, khòn-pé, ú-núú ání pré = èy méyhy̤. prèts̕à?ànì ááphè̤l.

èybó èybó khôn-pé khôn-pé ú-nû lá
like.that like.that strip.off.I-SIM strip.off.I-SIM 3SG.POSS-mother CONJ
ání pré = á èy méy-hy̤ pré-ts̕à? = á = ní 3SG country=LOC ANAPH.DEM exist.I-PM country-border=LOC=FOC
á-á-ph̕è̤-ál
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) èydǝ, èy ømɔ́nkɔ́tsæ bãñèyhnǝ? \(\text{ɬ.} \) èy kóɔŋ, tsú hmùpè, èy yɔ́pè, hmɔ́t̪pè, èy ǝamɔ́kèyhyõ khèw.

èydǝ èy ǝ-ɔ́mɔ́n-κó tǝ bãñ-èy-hnǝ?
then ANAPH.DE  GRP-price-EXCL=TOP get. I-MID-DEL.NEG

kóng = ñg tsú hmù-pè èy yɔ́pè hmɔ́t-pè
reason=INE  DIST see.I-SIM ANAPH.DE  hear.I-SIM  know.I-SIM
èy á-a-mók-è-y-hyõ khèw
ANAPH.DE  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 -hl̪õng 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 -hl̪õng in (500).

(500) kâlèyhihl̪õ ng ꜱftsètlãhnɔ̀ tñ.  

kâlèy -hl̪õng-å  i-ñf-tsèt-ål-hnɔ̀ = tñ
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) étsètnɘ̀ʔlàtsæ̂, tsùà 3nòwtsæ̂ yàʔhlɘ́ŋ, yàʔhlɘ́ŋ, yàʔhlɘ́ŋ yàʔhlɘ́ŋâ étsètnì, mònòshò lùʔtsò prè wà tîng áákrɔ̀âl

é-tsèt-hnɔ̀-lâ = tsè 3S-go-ULT-SEQ=TOP tsú = â yàʔhlɘ́ŋ yà-hlɘ́ŋ move.by.hand.I-CIR


e-3S-tsèt-nì mònòshò lùʔ-tsò prè=â wà tîng áákrɔ̀âl 3S-go-TEMP humanB human-DIM country=LOC light 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 -khɔ̀ngáʔ 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.
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 kànà?bák mèy.

èy = ní kán-á?-bák mèy

ANAPL.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 tòw-tó-thán ?éy-á?y-hÿ 5-tsá

like.that ANAPH.DEM forest.medicine-CONCESS eat.II-IRR-PM GRP-child

lã-hmàná põ?-éy-á?y-hÿ hyá?-hí = tsá

bring.I-MTV.PURP-LOC DV.II-MID-IRR-PM be.not-3SG.NEG-COND=TOP

hmú-éy-tí-á?-bák-thón põ?-éy-á?y-hÿ

see.I-MID-NITER-3SG.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 -pɘ́n and the grammaticalized locative marker -ɘ̂ng 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) bânglá shâdhnîn thôn-âl-pônąng põ dûdâbûldêk 诔.

bânglá shâdhnî thôn-âl-pônąng põ dûdâbûldêk

Banglă free 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 an 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) èyðə khrəng hngát lònf, èyni initénpék y. páláŋ tàngulá, initénpék y.

èyðə khrəng hngát lònf  èy = ní  i-ní-tún-pék
then person one come-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=FOC 3A-PL-weigh.II-BEN

pálá = ñng  tàng-ú-lá  i-ní-tún-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 -hɔ̂, e.g. V-ló-hɔ̂ ‘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-tsé-t-thɔ̂ ‘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-hnɔ̂ ‘He runs/ran.’ (3S-run.II-PM). All these variants of the predicate markers end with a back vowel ɔ.

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 -shɔ̂, which is used in rare cases in text examples in Laitu Hyow, as exemplified in (508). Instead of the form -shɔ̂, the speaker could have used -thɔ̂, 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) ḧyníl hmu?hmɔ̂shɔ̂, nɛìlpəf ɲi tɪŋ

èy = nî = â ɦnîʔ-hmɔ̂shɔ̂ nɛlûp = nî ɲi tíŋ

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 
-şhɔ̂ 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-khñ ‘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) óóy óóyhyɔ̂

5-óóy póóy-hyɔ̂

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 -şhɔ̂ and its variants in Hyow. The predicate-marking suffixes also function as
complementizers in Hyow, as shown through the example in (510). ðóyshɔ̂ ðókshɔ̂
méyhyɔ̂ ‘that the food and drink existed’ is a complement clause and functioning as
an argument of the verb *hmù‘see.II’ in (510).
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) **kéytsè hmundángô.**

| kéy = tsè | hmú-ngâ = nú |
| 1SG=TOP | see.I-1SG.NEG=SS.EVID |

‘I did not see’ [ZM_TDGE_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_027]

(512) **hmündâhô.**

| 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)  ᴷʰᵐᵘᵗˢʰ ᵟᵒˢʰᵗᵃʔʸʰʸʔʰᵃ.

hmút5 =  ᵟ  kó-shót- øʔy-hyð
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 -kh¿. 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)  *kétsétkh¿ʔhð.

ké-tsét-kh¿ʔ-hð
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 (-khô). 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 tôk ‘keep’II’ refers to rice-curry and items of similar sort (by the elaborated expression zéytsô̂), the verbal classifier -khôl denotes the keeping of expanded set of food items, not only rice-curry, but also other food items.

(515) buʔɔ̂ntsɔ̂ zéytsô̂ ánîlah tôk-èyhyôlhôl, ītsô̂khôl

bûʔn-tṣô̂ zéy-ťsô̂ ánî=lah tôk-éy-ŷồ-khôl ī-tṣô̂-khôl

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.’

[ZW_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 hmû-éy-ŷồl (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) ëyâ dîfî? ëyâ înîphûłhîlôkhôl.

ëy = â dî-ťfî? ëy = â ī-nî-phûł-hîlô-k hôl

ANAPH.DEM=LOC die-NMLZ ANAPH.DEM 3A-PL-bury.II-IPF

‘They buried those who died there.’ [ZW_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.
9.5 INVARievably-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 $=\dot{\text{y}}$ 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).

(517) *ngɔ́tki̩lâ ʃm̘k̚l̩é̞y̞ę̞hyɔ̂khól.

$ngɔ̃k-ti\text{̄}=lâ$  
wife.of.elder.brother-PL=ERG  
$î-nî-k̚l̩é̞y̞-ę̞hyɔ̂khól$  
3A-PL-envy.II-IRR-IPF-EXP

‘The wives of the elder borthers and same sort envied them.’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0114]
9.5. Invariably-ordered Suffix and Clitic Zone

9.5.1.2 Content interrogative

The content interrogative clause clitic =̄m 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) ˈtrá trá yá kʳhœ̂m?

ˈtrá trá yá kʳ-h₃=̄m
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).

(518) ˈeyhœ̂lńsk=tə̀ “ˈey gołoktsɔ̀ nhũʔy nùhmũʔey/?” tîng tāknì “shõʔ kę́ hmùŋάŋú.”

ˈey-hn=ʔ-lá=tsę́ ˈey gołók-tsɔ̀-ό nhũʔy nú-hmũʔ=ˈey
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP INTJ cow.herd-DIM=VOC like.this 2A-see.II=POL.Q

tîng tāk-ní ɗhõʔ kę́y hmú-ngâ=nú
QT tell.II-TEMP INTJ 1SG see.I-1SG.NEG=SS.EVID

‘After that, when he, [the snake catcher] said, “Hey cowherd, did you see [a snake] like this?” He, [the cowherd] said, “No, I did not see.”’

[ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_003]
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(520) èydɘ̂, “Iβ khánbóndo?”

èydɘ̂ i = § khánbón-ô
then what = CONT.Q friend = VOC


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. kókhòphàytsæ̂ phɘ́lá thònéyáldɘ́k.

shó kó-khó-pháy = tsæ̂ phɘ̂ = á thón-êy-âl-dék
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 –ǽ comes at the end of an imperative clause, as shown in (522).
9.5. Invariably-ordered Suffix and Clitic Zone

9.5.1.4 Imperative with dual addressee

The plain imperative clause with dual number is marked by the dual number suffix -hnìʔ. The mood-marking intonation interacts with the number marker, since it is the final morpheme in such a clause.

(522) èyhnìʔlìtsè phîtdì álcèyè tìng tàktì.

èy-hnìʔ-lá = tsâé phît = dò á-lò-èy-è álɔ̀èyǽ tîng tà kñìʔtì.

ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP basket=EMPH DIR-bring.1-MID-POL.IMP QT
ták = tì
tell.II=R.EVID

‘After that, she said, “Go to bring the basket yourself.”

[ZM_TDG_STK_072007_Hyow_0034_017]

An imperative clause with dual number can also take the politeness suffix -ǽ.

The politeness suffix -ǽ 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).

(523) èytsè mông dédèʔ tsétâhlì hówhnìʔ tséhàʔyò tìng tâkhnòʔti

èy = tsâé mông dédèʔ tsét-âl-hlò hów-hnìʔ
tsò-hnìʔ-yò = ò tìng ták-hnòʔ = tì
tâkh = tì
tak-DL=VOC QT tell.II-ULT=R.EVID
tak-DL-DEP=TOP which direction go-DEP-PF say.I-DL

‘He said, “Sons, tell me in which direction she went!”’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_096]
Verb morphology III: inflectional categories and clitics

(524) əhɛŋalɛʔydó tihitsɛ bɔ́hí tsɛ́t. tsɔ̀náhniʔɛ. phɔ́n əpɔ̀hniʔɛ́tì.

á-húŋ-ál-əʔy -dó tí-hí = tsấe bɔ́hí tsɛ́t tsɔ̀n-ál-hnfʔ-ɛ́

3S-be.alive-DEP-IRR-PREF be.said-COND=TOP so go.IMP run-DEP-DL-POL.IMP

phɔ́n á-pó-hnfʔ-ɛ́ = 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) bɔ́hítsɛ́, káykhôl, káykhôl. kêmáʔyhyṣ hngû

bɔ́hí = tsấe káy-khôl káy-khôl kêmáʔyhyṣ 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 -ə́ is only applicable to singular and dual imperatives in Hyow.
9.5.1.6 Cohortative

The cohortative suffixes -àëyhy₅ and -àŋkh₆ respectively encode a non-emphatic and emphatic mutual encouragement to perform an activity respectively. Since no inflectional category comes between the cohortative markers -àë and -hy₅, and -àŋ and -kh₆, I treat these as unitary categories. The examples in (526) and (527) demonstrate a non-emphatic and an emphatic cohortative clause respectively.

(526) áàëyëdàëyhy₅
á-ʔëy-dà-àëyhy₅
DIR-eat.I-ITER-NECOHORT
‘Let’s go to eat again like before.’ [Elicited]

(527) áàshòàngkh₆.
á-shò-àŋkh₆
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) bòhîtsæ, èyàdë tsîëyhy₅, tsúâ lòdîdòd₆.
bòhî = tsâè èy = â = dò
tsî-àëyhy₅ tsú = â
so=TOP ANAPH.DEM=LOC=EMPH take.I-NECOHORT DIST=LOC
lòdîdò = â = dò
Bandarban=LOC=EMPH

‘They [neighbors] said, “So, let’s take her there, there in Bandarban.”’
[ZM_GG_SPW_062007_Hyow_0033_028]
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 *tsé* means ‘let’s go’ in (530).

(530) *khr₃ngl₃hm₃u₃ʔb₃₃, t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃.*

\[
\text{khr₃ng} = \text{people=ERG see.I-3SG.NEG-NEG.ADV} \quad \text{ts₃}=\text{IMP let's.go} \quad \text{ts₃}=\text{spade}
\]
\[
\text{t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃} \quad \text{ts₃}=\text{one}
\]
\[
\text{t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃ t₃s₃₃} \quad \text{ts₃}=\text{SEQ-TEMP} \quad \text{let's.go-at.once} \quad \text{ts₃}=\text{son=VOC}
\]

\[
\text{á}-\text{ph₃₃l₃-₃₃h₃₃hy₃}
\]

\[
\text{DIR-bury.I-NECOHORT}
\]

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 burry [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) \textit{thúléyàl̲èngkhó.}

\begin{verbatim}
 thúl-éy-ál-èngkhó
 exchange-MID-DEP-ECOHORT

 ‘Let’s exchange [the brothers].’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_121]
\end{verbatim}

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 \textit{-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 \textit{-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 \textit{-báʔ} in (532).
(532) bòhiₙ₀, áhlúyp₇₈ krəák həwpəkbaʔbəy, nóm̺m̺p̺âte.

bòhi = tsə áhlúy₇₈ = o krəák həw-pək-baʔ-bəy
so=TOP rooster=VOC a.little.say.II-BEN-EXH-DEL.IMP

nóm̺m̺p̺âte = 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 -hniʔ and - lng respectively.

(533) tsètbəʔhniʔ-á.

tsēt-baʔ-hnî-á

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 -ǎʔy 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 -bəy 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.
Invariably-ordered Suffix and Clitic Zone.

9.5.1.9 Jussive

The jussive mood encoded by the suffix -\(V\acute{e}ʔ\) 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 -\(C_{v}\acute{e}ʔ\) 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. Speakers of Hyow consider a jussive suffix followed by second person marker to be ungrammatical.

The jussive suffix -\(h\acute{e}ʔ\) is followed by the first person singular marker -\(ngá\) in (535). In this example, the jussive suffix encodes a king’s desire of being dead.
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 -hnéʔ 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) kó-óm-éy-æ?y-hyṣ? gólók-tsó-thán thón-hnǽʔ tîng ëy = tî
1S-sit.II-MID-IRR-PM  be.final grazer-DIM-CONCESS happen-JUSS

tîng  ëy = ní  óm-éy = tî
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 -hế, which is followed by the delayed imperative suffix -bếy 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 -hế.

(537) kếy shíímítếsá thònéyhnáŋgábhë́yngâ tìng

kếy  shíímí-tsó=á  thón-ëy-hnáŋg-hế-bë́y-ngâ  tìng
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 khǽní lòhë́bë́yú tìhế

èy       khǽ = ní  lò-hế-bë́y-ú  tì-hế
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) *ínípèkæ̀ʔyshìmhyɔ̀ʔní hyɘ̀ nbɘ̂y óæ̀ʔ ytî.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>népék-ãy</td>
<td>-shím-hyã-ní</td>
<td>-óy-tí</td>
<td>give.II-IRR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 – =dš ‘EMPHATIC’, =tí ‘R.EVID’, =nú ‘SS.EVID’, =nì ‘FOCUS’, =tsæ ‘TOPIC’, =êy ‘POL.Q’ and =êm ‘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 =tsæ 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) *búʔ fníshòngmò.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bùʔ</td>
<td>f-ní-shòng.II-mó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They boil the rice first.’

[ZM_HMRW_NZK_122013_Hyow_0051_003]
In addition to NP (see §4.4.3.4), the focus clitic also marks a verb complex. The focus clitic \( =nî \) 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 \( =nî \).

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) níhúʔ yhmúʔtse móá kábáʔnèʔhyɔnì bòhí, áshúykhóltsạ́. èyðá, inísňhyýnì\, shóláykhólìá inísňhyýnì\.

níhúʔ yhmúʔtse móá kábáʔnèʔhyɔnì bòhí like.this woman=TOP where 1A-find.I-IRR-PM=CONT.Q so
á-shúy-khól-tsạ́ èyðá í-ní-shúy-hyɔ̃=ní shóláy-khól=lá
DIR-search.I-IMP.PL-DIM then 3A-PL-search.II-PM=FOC soldier=PL=ERG
í-ní-shúy-hyɔ̃=nf
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) èyðá, èyní khóhnúpák khoáńí, khóhyún káyhyyọ́nì\, nákhłámlạ́má tsoá kho loáʔhyýnì\.

èyðá èy=ní khóhnúp-ák kho=á=ní khóhyún káy-hyɔ̃=nf
then ANAPH.DEM=FOC day-one time=LOC=FOC cloud ascend-PM=FOC
nákhłámlạ́má=á tsú=á kho ló-áʔhyɔ̃=nf
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 =dá 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) \textit{phēllā dēʔhōʔdē, hīpāy tīŋg.}

\begin{verbatim}
phēl = lā  dēʔ-hō = dē  hī-pāy  tīng
snake=ERG  strike.II-PM=EMPH  be.right-PROB  QT
\end{verbatim}

‘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) \textit{nūpō tsāŋlēnkōʔ intēmhtīʔ, nāngkēʔyā intyēlēʔy AA hyō mēy.}

\begin{verbatim}
nūpō  tsāŋ-lēn = kōʔ  i-nī-tēm-hī = dē  nāngkēʔyō = ā
parents  be.old-be.big=GEN  3A-PL-follow.II-COND=EMPH  1PL.INC=DAT
i-nī-yēl-ēʔy-hyō  mēy
3A-PL-be.cool-IRR-PF  exist.II
\end{verbatim}

‘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 =ní 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 =dɘ̂ along with the evidential marker.

(546) bɔ́hí=tsâ ey khóytsíps=tís înspékkkódànú, pèkálé.

bɔ́hí = so=TOP tsâ ey khóytsíps=tís î-ní-pék-khò = dò = nû
so=TOP ANAPH.DEM ring-DIM 3A-INV-give.II-PM=EMPH=SS.EVID

pèk-âl-ê
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).

\[ (547) \ bòhítsè \ èyu timings émèn yèhyòtsè \ pòhyàmù. \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bòhí} &= \text{tsâ} \quad \text{èyu} \quad \text{émè} \quad \text{yèhyò} \quad \text{tsâ} \quad \text{pòhyà} \quad \text{=nú} \\
\text{so} &= \text{TOP} \quad \text{like.that} \quad 2\text{S}-\text{stay-SPNT-FUT-PM=TOP} \quad \text{be.good-PM=SS.EVID}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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).

\[ (548) \ èylàtsè “nîlúp nàngkhòmû” tìng. “kímpèkè?kòkhò?” tìng. \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èy} &= \text{là} = \text{tsâ} \quad \text{nîlúp} \quad \text{nàngkhò} \quad \text{=nú} \quad \text{tìng} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP} \quad \text{like.this} \quad \text{be.able-FACT=SS.EVID} \quad \text{QT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kí-ní-pèk-è?kòkhò? \quad \text{tìng} \\
1\text{A-PL-give.II-IRR-FACT} \quad \text{QT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 =tsè (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 shɔ̀ tɘ́ ngbà là tsæ̂ , phù hlɔ́ tî.

èy shɔ́ t-ɘ̂ ng-bá-lá = tsæ̂ phú-hlî = tî

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) **ā-yáŋg khoáŋf á-tsáng-núpó lów hngá̃t ḭnñpóʔéyhyótt.**

á-yáŋg  kho = å = ní  á-tsáng-núpó = lâ  lów  hngá̃t  
GRP-be.fast  time=LOC=FOC  GRP-be.old-parent=ERG  swidden.field  one

í-hńf?póʔ-éy-hyó = tį

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).
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 khoáti, tsùání, tsóngkrôngtsɔ́láni, lówtsoñi, bíéyhn Café hárê.

á-yâng    kho = â = tî    tsú = â = ní    tsóngkrông-tsɔ̂ = lâ = ní
GRP-be.fast    time=LOC=R.EVID    DIST=LOC=FOC    young.man-DIM=ERG=FOC

lów-tsɔ̂ = ní    bí-êy-hnñ = tî    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.
9.7 Conclusion

Verbs contain very rich morphology in the grammar of Hyow. The verb complex includes markers on 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 $b\theta$‘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 $b\theta$‘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.
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) "Then, the people build the veranda."

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) chèydš ʃətsɛ khrɒŋlæ ʃɨpø̞ɭɛy.

then [veranda=TOP] [people=ERG] [3A-PL-DV.II-MID]

‗Then, the people build the veranda.‘

[ZM_HMH_UTK_062014_Hyow_0004_0063]
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) \( \text{ngólóéy}ññ, \text{hmú útilse}. \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ngó-ló-éy-nyñ]}_v & \quad \text{[hmú útil = tsñ]}_p \\
\{2A\text{-bring.II-MID-PM}\} & \quad \{\text{woman} = \text{TOP}\}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You brought the woman for yourself.’

[\text{ZM\textunderscore BT\textunderscore SPW\textunderscore 082015\textunderscore Hyow\textunderscore 0013\textunderscore 0105]
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 coreferencing index on the verb.

(560) èyâ štákholâ bîhâr ő mŏndîr mēyhyâ. èyâ kînfîsêt ֤.

èy = â štâ-khöl = â bîhâr ő mŏndîr mēy-hyâ
ANAPG.DEM=LOC brick.field-EXP=LOC conventb andb templeb exist-PM
èy = â kî-nî-tsêt
ANAPH.DEM=LOC 1S-PL-go

‘There were a convent and a temple in the brickfield. We went there.’

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) *bíphɔ́dŋ nɔ́klɔ́hıtʃɛ̀ , kɛ́yŋiʔ kínlɔ̀æʔy.FALSE*

[trouble]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) *náŋ kéynʔ? ūddár káánípòʔhã.* 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{náŋ}_p & \quad \text{kéynʔ}_A & \quad \text{ūddár} & \quad \text{ká-á-ní-pòʔ-áʔy-hy Threshold = dë}_V \\
\text{[2SG]} & \quad \text{[1PL]} & \quad \text{[rescueB]} & \quad 1A-\text{DIR-INV-DV.II-IRR-PM}=\text{EMPH}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We went to rescue you.’ [ZM_KM_TUK_062007_Hyow_0027_039]

(563) *lʉ́ʔdʉ́l lkó n é tsè tá lìhìtsæ̂, ímkènshãlá kéynʔ? ímkúlúniakãʔ;yhyũ.* 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lʉ́ʔdʉ́l}_DC & \quad \text{= kό́ n é-tsè-tâl-hí = tsæ̂}_A & \quad \text{[ímkènshãlá = lâ]}_A & \quad \text{[kéynʔ]}_p \\
\text{[world=ABL 2S-go-DEP-COND=TOP]} & \quad \text{[[neighbor=ERG] [1PL]}
\end{align*}
\]

[í-ní-kúlúniak-áʔy-hy Threshold]_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) *náŋ nóldaléʔy 뇌.* 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{náŋ}_s & \quad \text{[nó-lò-âl-áʔy]}_V \\
\text{[2SG]} & \quad \text{[2S-come-DEP-IRR]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You will come back.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_014]
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) \textit{\text{ánf tsètnàʔtí.}}

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textit{ánf}]s \quad \text{[tsè-tnàʔ = tí]}_v \\
\item [\textit{3SG}] \quad \text{[go-ULT=R.EVID]}
\end{itemize}

‘He finally went.’ [ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0213]
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 best be explained by saying that dative argument of a transitive verb is actually a core argument in Hyow.

(570) eyhúy\'y kényá táá póyshá 浥 pékhn\'éng\'u ∊.

ëyhúy\'y këy=á táá póyshá 浥-pékhn\'éng\'u
like.that 1SG=DAT money paise 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]
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, than 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 krɔ̂ ‘fall’, hlʉ́ ‘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) kéyátsɔ̂ ōmɔ́tá hlʉ̀âʔ.

eké = á = tsɔ̂e  3-mɔ́t = á  hlʉ́-âʔ
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.
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 coreferential 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? infkáwálà? yhyh.**

\[hníhní?]_s\quad [1-\text{nf-}ká-w-\text{-}ál-\text{-}â-y\text{-}yhyh]_v  
\[\text{[1DL.INCL]}\quad [\text{[1INCL.S-}PL\text{-be.separated-DEP-IRR-PM}]

‘We will be separated.’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0081]

(574) **hníhní? imthóng íntéyéê? yhyh.**

\[hníhní?]_A\quad [ímthóng]_p\quad [1-\text{nf-}té-\text{-}ê-y\text{-}y-hyh]_v  
\[\text{[1DL.INCL]}\quad [\text{family}]\quad [\text{[1INCL.A-}PL\text{-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 náhêngêê? yllâ? hôdâ**

\[náng]_s\quad [ná-\text{-}hêng-\text{-}ê-yl-\text{-}â-\text{-}hô-\text{-}d]_v  
\[\text{[2SG]}\quad [\text{2S-}be.alive-IRR-OBLG-PM=EMPH]

‘You will have to be alive.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0063]

(576) **náng nátâklâ? hô, hngûdâ**

\[náng]_A\quad [ná-\text{-}tâk-ê-y-lâ-\text{-}hô = d]_v\quad hngûdâ  
\[\text{[2SG]}\quad [\text{2A-}tell.II-MID-OBLG=PM]\quad \text{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) \( \tilde{e}y\tilde{d}\tilde{o} \ \tilde{e}y-p\tilde{o}'n\tilde{o}ng \ \tilde{a}h\tilde{n}f?ts\tilde{e}\tilde{y}y-t\tilde{\tilde{a}}n\tilde{o}'ng \ \tilde{a}h\tilde{n}f?\tilde{o}'k\tilde{k}y\tilde{y}\tilde{l}. \)

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\tilde{e}y\tilde{d}\tilde{o} \quad \tilde{e}y-p\tilde{o}'n\tilde{o}ng \\
\text{then} \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM-ANT.TEMP} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{l}
[\tilde{a}h\tilde{n}f? = ts\tilde{e}]_S \\
[y\tilde{\tilde{a}}y-t\tilde{\tilde{a}}n = \tilde{\tilde{o}}ng]_{\text{INST}} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ [\tilde{f}-\tilde{h}n\tilde{f}?-\tilde{o}'k\tilde{k}y-\tilde{\tilde{a}}l]_V \]

\[ [3S-\text{PL}.-\text{get.stuck}.-\text{DEP}] \]

‘Then, after that, they two got stuck by a vertically hung rope.’

\[ \text{[ZM_VSO_HP_122013_Hyow_0041_027]} \]

(578) \( \tilde{e}y\tilde{n}\tilde{i} \ \tilde{a}h\tilde{n}f?ts\tilde{n}\tilde{\tilde{a}}n\tilde{\tilde{e}}y, \ \tilde{a}h\tilde{n}f?l\tilde{\tilde{a}}. \)

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\tilde{e}y\tilde{n}\tilde{i} \quad [\tilde{f}-\tilde{h}n\tilde{f}?-ts\tilde{\tilde{a}}n-\tilde{e}y]_V \\
\text{then} \quad [3A-DL.-\text{bring.up.II-MID}] \\
\end{array} \]

\[ [\tilde{a}h\tilde{n}f? = l\tilde{\tilde{a}}]_A \]

\[ [3D=\text{ERG}] \]

‘Then, they two brought him up by themselves.’

\[ \text{[ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_007]} \]

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) **nâng móâ nêtsêtthôôm?**

[**nâng**]_s_ móâ  [**né-tsêt-thô** = ñm]_v_  
[2SG] where  [2S-go-PM=CONT.Q]

‘Where did you go?’ [Elicited]

(580) **nângtsê móâ núhmû?hôöm?**

[**nâng=tsê**]_A_ móâ  [**nû-hmû?hô** = ñm]_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 ákhângkhôl méy.**

èy = â  [**ákhâng-khôl**]_S_  [Ø-méy]_v_  
ANAPH.DEM=LOC  [**garden-EXP**]  [Ø-exist]

‘There were gardens.’ [ZM_PE_THP_082015_Hyow_0020_0014]
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).

(582) \(\text{èyhnɘ̀latsè} \text{ tsùânif wàtkhôl hyàngéhyə} \).

\[ \text{èy-}hnɘ́-\text{l} = \text{tsê} \quad \text{tsú} = \text{a} = \text{nì} \quad \text{[wàt-khôl]}_s \quad \text{[Ø-hyàng-êy-hyə]}_v \]

\text{FILL-ULT-SEQ}=\text{TOP} \quad \text{DIST}=\text{LOC}=\text{FOC} \quad \text{[dress-EXP]} \quad \text{[Ø-be.disorganized-MID-PM]}

‘After that, the dresses were disorganized there.’

[ZM_SMTB_SPW_082007_Hyow_0002_0126]

(583) \(\text{èydɘ̀ pórikhôl ínkrɘ̀wəy} \).

\[ \text{èydɘ̀} \quad \text{[pórī-khôl]}_s \quad \text{[în-krɘ̀w-êy]}_v \]

then \[ \text{[angel}_B=\text{EXP]} \quad \text{[3S-PL-speak-MID]} \]

‘Then, the angels spoke.’ [ZM_SS_DK_062007_Hyow_0039_031]

(584) \(\text{n📞lā kēy ūhmùkhiəl} \).

\[ \text{nɔ́-pɔ́-lâ} = \text{kê} \quad \text{ù-hmù-khî-əʔ} \]

\[ \text{[2SG.POSS-father=ERG]} \quad \text{[1SG]} \quad \text{[1P-see.I-tolerate.I-3SG.NEG]} \]

‘Your father does not like me.’ [ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0058]
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 *nǐ- 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 *tūk ‘kill.II’ is indexed only by the person and number of the A argument.

(586) *èy shómọytsànf ínfì̃kà̃ ?yhỹ̩

\[
\text{[èy} \quad \text{shómọytsànf = nǐ]}_p \quad \text{[í-nǐ-tùk-à̃y-y-hy̩]_v}
\]

[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 bàngátsé Í nîshinéy̆̀m?**

èy = là bàng = á = tsâ

ANAPH.DEM=ERG even=SC.ADD=TOP

í í-nf-shín-êy = òm

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) **kéykŝ? tááng pêy náng kín̕hènálìë?hŷyŝd̂ŝ**

kéy = kó? táá = ñng pêy [náng]́

1SG=GEN money=INST at.least [2SG]

[kí-nf-hènálr̕-ëy-hŷyŝ = d̂ŝ]́

[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.
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) *kíthówpèkhñɔ̃ŋgå.*

[kí-ní-hw-pék-hnɔ̃-ŋgå]

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) *ítà nɔ̃-yhnąŋngå̃hɔ̃=şim?*

ítà nɔ̃-eʔ-y-hnąŋngå̃hɔ̃=şim

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.

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.
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 -hniʔtî, and a plural argument is marked by -tsû in prohibitive clauses, as exemplified in (594), (595) and (596) respectively.

(594) hyáʔtêʔytf.

hyáʔtêʔy-tî

open.I-IRR-2SG.NEG

‘Do not open the knot.’ [ZM_KP_TUK_062007_Hyow_0028_132]

(595) lêm kælšng tsétâlêʔyhnîʔtf, tûhôyô.

lêm kæl =šng tsét-ál-êʔy-hnîʔtf tû-hôʔy-ô

road clear.for.walking=INE go-DEP-IRR-2DL.NEG nephew-DEL=VOC

‘Nephews, do not go back along the cleared road.’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_132]
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) ዋወዳ ወንኔቶስ ትእዛትስ ከሌልምሁሬ?.

"Then, let the son of the bitch, the mongoose come back first."

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 -dâng does not have a negative counterpart.
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 -ǽʔy, while in positive polarity, the same suffixes follow the delayed imperative marker -bɘ̂y. 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.
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 -hs?y in the negative optative clause in (605).
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) \textit{hnámádšő kú-púm inbô?álë?yhnúnghngšy?}\?

\begin{verbatim}
hnámádš-ó  kú-púm  1-ní-bó?-ál-ë?y-hnúng-hngš = ēy
wife=VOC  1SG.POSS-body  1P-INV-wash.II-DEP-IRR-PH.CAP-PM=POL.Q
\end{verbatim}

‘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.
1. 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) ëylâ këyks? bóy ñhwêyhyâ

èy = là       këy = kâ       bóy ñ-hw-ëy-hyâ
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).
The morphology of case marking in Hyow is quite interesting and involves the features of case syncretism and case compounding. Case markers usually originate 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.


\[
[kéyhnî?]s \quad [kî-ññî?-mëy-khö?]v
\]
\[
[1DL] \quad [1S-DL-stay-FACT]
\]

‘We two really stayed.’ [ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0053]


\[
[kéyhnî?]A \quad [á-ñntsö]p \quad [ká-á-ññî?-shûy-ö?y]v
\]
\[
[1DL] \quad [curry-DIM] \quad [1A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR]
\]

‘We two will go to search for curry.

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0033]

(612) *ánîlå kómpûmõngñî kéyhnî? ðòðõnhö?tî.

\[
[ánî = lâ]A \quad [kómpûm = ñng = n]_{OBL} \quad [kéyhnî?]p \quad [ðò-ðõp-hnö? = tî]v
\]
\[
[3SG=ERG] \quad [stick=INST=FOC] \quad [1DL] \quad [1P-beat-ULT=R.EVID]
\]

‘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 lómëng náng némëynáálêʔyédëhₕ.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[náng lóm = ñng]} \text{OBL} & \quad \text{[náng]} \text{S} \\
\text{[2SG road=INE]} & \quad \text{[2SG]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You will stay back spontaneously again like before on your road.’

[ZM_SK_THP_082015_Hyow_0024_0070]

(614) *èy dánâ náhlëyâʔyâlhₕ.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[èy dán = å]} \text{OBLQ} & \quad \text{[náng]} \text{A} \\
\text{[ANAPH.DEM place=LOC]} & \quad \text{[2SG]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You will have to ask them by yourself at that place.’

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0041]

(615) *èydɔ́ ãtsângnû ímâ náng ánhyëëlêʔyhyâdₙ.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èydɔ́ [átsángnú ím = å]} \text{OBLQ} & \quad \text{[náng]} \text{P} \\
\text{then [old.woman house=LOC]} & \quad \text{[2SG]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) ánf? fníngəʔyhyŋ.

\[
\text{[ánf]}_s \quad [\text{fní-} \text{ng-} \text{əʔy} \text{-hyŋ}]_v \\
[3\text{PL}] \quad [3\text{S-PL-win-IRR-PM}]
\]

‘They will win.’ [ZM_ARGS2_082015_Hyow_0005_0087]

(617) kéyá ánf kúhláeyhyŋ.

\[
\text{[kéy} = \text{á}]_A \quad [\text{ánf}]_p \quad [\text{kú-} \text{hlá-} \text{ey} \text{-hyŋ}]_v \\
[1\text{SG}=\text{ADD}] \quad [3\text{SG}] \quad [1\text{A-want-MID-PM}]
\]

‘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 \( = lá \). 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.
10.3. Morphology of case marking

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) kěy nángá táá póyshá kínípéké?y ↘.

    kěy náng = á táá póyshá kí-nf-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 that 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).
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).


hóy-thè?y-khôl mòng=á tsi-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 hngató ūhnúkpékka*?.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ké}=\hat{á} & \text{khúy} & \text{hngát} & ū-hnúk-pék-k\hat{ä} \\
1\text{SG}=\text{DAT} & \text{story} & \text{one} & 1\text{P}-\text{tell.story.I-BEN-JUSS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Let him tell me a story.’ [Elicited]

(625) *kéyá khúy hngat ūhnúkpék æ*.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
ké=\hat{á} & \text{khúy} & \text{hngát} & ū-hnúk-pék-æ \\
1\text{SG}=\text{DAT} & \text{story} & \text{one} & 1\text{P}-\text{tell.story-BEN-IMP.POL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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) ëydøjáyânîbô nîbô tsîmɘ̂ng őrdék őrûlîni, ëydøjápô?hnʉʔtî.
èydô  èy＝â  nîbô  nîbô  [tsîm＝ɘng]OBL  őrdék
then  ANAPH.DEM=LOC  like.this  like.this  [billhook=INST]  halfB
š?-âl-nî  ëydô  pô?-hnʉʔ＝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 yɘ́y [khɔ́p-
ãk＝ɘng] (rope CLS-one=INST) — the numeral compound, while in the second sentence, the head noun is marked — yɘ́y＝ɘng ‘rope=INST’
‘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) krûng ín-tæ’-hyɔ̂ yé lá dìʃng.

krûng í-ní-tæ’-hyɔ̂ [yé lá df=ŋng] 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
The sentence seems to have ended right there. The oblique argument *thɔ́l* ‘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) *bɔ́hítsë krángshàngmí kɔ̀phɔ̀ hngúdá, thɔ́lɛ́ng.*

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) *kòl-álibá lá=tsè áhngəlɛ́ngkɔ̀ gámsá-tsɔ̀ pòtalhlɔ̀ æthɛ́ŷŷ.*

‘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 *pánɛ́y* ‘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) *kɔmduáʔbák ęyńí ęy láʔung ínpánéyf.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kóm-dó-áʔ-bák} & \quad \text{ęyńí} & \quad \text{ęy} & \quad \text{láʔ = ung} \\
\text{descend-PREF-NEG-ADV.NEG} & \quad \text{so} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{pull.II=INE}
\end{align*}
\]

í-ní-pán-ęy = 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.
10.3. Morphology of case marking

(632) áyáng khóê khuyúngângkë? tôngshõnlí phrûmâ tsétûlã, ëyákë? tôngshõng fníshëhyôntl.

áyáng     khó = â      khúyúng = ñng = kë?  tôngshõ = ní
long.ago  time=LOC high.land=INE=GEN indigenous.people=FOC

phrûm = â  tsét-ú-lá   [ëy = â = kë?          tôngshõ = ñng]OBL
plain.land  go-3PL-SEQ [ANAPH.DEM=LOC=GEN indigenous.people=COMT]

í-ní-shiëy-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) ëydsë ëy wânkholíng nâmâ tsétálhë.

ëydsë  ëy       [wán-khôl = ñng]OBL  nâm = â        tsét-âl-hlë
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 krôw-ëy ‘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) “ cô̂ng krówèhyê. pótò hngâtìngdê krówèhyènù” tìng fə[tàkkhê.

[ō-hng=ţng]OBL [krówè]-hyê [pótò hng=ţng=dê]OBL
[GRP-be.different=COMT)] [speak-MID]-PM [husband one=COMT=EMPH]

[krówè]-hyê=nú tìng i-ní-tàk-khê
[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) ëyåS hnôshô mông thôkkhêèhnsê|=fì sûrìng.

ëyåS hnôshô mông thôk-khê-hnês=tî [sûrf=ţng]OBL
then Hnosho king come.out-PM-ULT=3.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) ûsìng nèlesèyèyê?yâ?=hêsêm?

[ú-ţ=ţng]OBL nês-[kêsè]-êyê-yâ?=hês=êm
[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 nû ‘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 nô-bôy nû ‘your lord’s mother’. The referent of the noun khóytsîp ‘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) nôbôynûkô khóytsîp núhmûʔéy?'

[\text{nô-bôy} \text{nû=ksʔ}OBL \text{khóytsîp} \text{nû-hmûʔ=éy}]

\begin{align*}
\text{[2SG.Poss-lord mother=GEN]} & \text{ ring} & \text{2A-see.II=POL.Q}
\end{align*}

‘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) ánñ?ksʔ lá dûkâ dóânkhôl méy.

[\text{ánñ?=ksʔ}OBL \text{lá} \text{dûk=â} \text{dóán-khôl} \text{méy}]

\begin{align*}
\text{[3PL=GEN]} & \text{ place} & \text{inside=LOC} & \text{shop}=\text{EXP} & \text{exist}
\end{align*}

‘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 ký ‘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) **kéy láá kýbøy.**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kéy} & \text{lá=á} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{place=LOC} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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) **kéyátsë kám₃? mýchɔ̀mà?h₃.**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[kéy = á = tsë]} & \text{[k₃-m₃?]₃} \\
\text{[1SG=DAT=TOP]} & \text{[1SG.POSS-owner]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I do not have my master yet (literally, my master does not exist to me).’

[ZM_BT_SPW_082015_Hyow_0013_0053]
10.3. Morphology of case marking

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 = 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 wɔ́ng ‘enter’.

(642) tsú tɔwá áññfɔngáñý.

tsú = å [tɔw = å]OBL áññfɔngáñý

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 khɔ́k ‘near’, khɔ́y near’ and shɔ́y ‘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.
Grammatical functions and argument marking

(643) **šhó? mọng tsúhńúd gólóktsë khéká iníšiʔóńdò póyáʔhyès.**

šhó? mọng tsúhńú = dò  [gólóktsë khék = å]OBL  i-ní-tsíʔ-óń = dò  
INTJ king daughter=EMPH  [grazer near=LOC]  INCLA-PL-COND=EMPH  
póyáʔhyès  
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) **èyhnéʔlá únúshósé shóʔyá tsetsńóʔtí.**

èy-hńéʔ-lá  [ú-nú-shósé  shóʔyé = å]OBL  tsetsńóʔ = 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) **èydó kóphrów hngát kónśng tsó kásháńhnó áńi khéká.**

èy-dó  kó-phrów  hngát  kónśng  tsó  ká-sháń-hńó  
then  1SG.POSS-friend one with letter 1A-send.II-PM  
[áńi  khék = å]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 *nàm* ‘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) *nâmɘ̂ng trá shótéhyɔ̂*

\[
\begin{align*}
[nâm=ɘ̂ng]\text{OBL} & \quad [trá]\text{P} & \quad [shót-éy-hyɔ̂]\text{V} \\
[village=INE] & \quad [\text{trial}] & \quad [\text{look-MID-PM}]
\end{align*}
\]

‘She looked for a trial in the village.’

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) *èykôl dúkháʔng khrè=yshànghngò̂yɛ̂y*?

èy-kôl \quad [dúkháʔng=ɘ̂ng]\text{OBL} \quad khr3-(éʔy-shàng)-hng5 = ëy \\
ANAPH.DEM-EXP \quad [\text{sorrow=INE}] \quad \text{fall.CAUS-(IRR-OPNT)}\text{DESID-PM}=\text{POL.Q}

‘Will she want to make them fall into trouble?’

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) ёь hnúphá dükâng Ỉ ónó-?lá?sm?

[ёь  hnúp-há  dük=şng]OBL  Ỉ-ş  Ɨ-şó-?lá-şm
[ANAPH.DEHM  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 údük ‘inside’ being inflected by the inessive case clitic =şng 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) ёь nàmshó dükâng Ỉngiéyáâlyâyyyy:

[ёь  nàmshó  dük=şng]OBL  Ɨ-nî-ngiéy-âl-ây-yyy:
[ANAPH.DEHM 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 Ɨkšl ‘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 kòlélng tsetbãlā…

[thîng  kòl=şng]OBL  tset-bá-lá
[tree  under=INE]  go-3SG-SEQ

‘Going through 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>èy báttí = â = kšʔ</td>
<td>‘ANAPH.DEM without=LOC=GEN’</td>
<td>‘without/not from that place; referring to place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>èy báttí = ñng = kšʔ</td>
<td>‘ANAPH.DEM without=INE=GEN’</td>
<td>‘without/not from that one; referring to things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ñ-dóm = â = kšʔ  bôy</td>
<td>‘GRP-above=LOC=GEN book’</td>
<td>‘the books above; refers to the location of non-moving referents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñ = dóm = ñng = kšʔ  shámphó</td>
<td>‘GRP-above=INE=GEN ship’</td>
<td>‘the plane above; refers to the location of moving referents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ñ-dông = â = kšʔ  khrông</td>
<td>GRP-below=LOC=GEN man</td>
<td>‘the man below; refers to the location of a referent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñ-dông = ñng = kšʔ  khrông</td>
<td>GRP-below=INE=GEN man</td>
<td>‘the man below someone’s age’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>èy hmýyhmó = â</td>
<td>ANAPH.DEM front=LOC</td>
<td>‘in front of that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>èy hmýyhmó = ñng</td>
<td>ANAPH.DEM front=INE</td>
<td>‘through that’s front’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \(=\textit{kön}\). VanBik (2009: 148) reconstructs the ablative case marker in PKC as \(*?\textit{in}\). 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 \(\textit{thúng} = \textit{kön} \‘\textit{prison}=ABL’\).

(652) \(\textit{thúngkón lôl}\.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[thúng=} & \text{kón]}_\text{OBL} \quad \text{lô-ål} \\
\text{[prison=} & \text{ABL}] \quad \text{come-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 \(\textit{îm} \‘\textit{house’}\). 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) \(\textit{kéynîf} \textit{îmkôn} âng \textit{întsèn título\.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[kéynîf} & \quad \text{îm} = \text{kón} = \text{âng]}_\text{OBL} \quad \text{i-ní-tsén-ål-hi5} \\
\text{[IPL.EXCL house=} & \text{ABL}=\text{INE}] \quad \text{3S-PL-flee-DEP-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) tǜ̀ t̀̀nsháktɔ̀?kɔ̀nɔ̀f tàn'áhàò? bòynì mò̀ kàáshùyàʔyì'm?

tù =̀̀ [tán-shɔ̀k = tɔ̀ʔ = kɔ̀n = nf]OBL [tán-há = tɔ̀ʔ]OBL bò = ní

now =LOC [CLS-seven=DLIM=ABL=FOC] [CLS-ten=DLIM] book=FOC

mɔ̀̀ ká-á-shùy-àʔyì = ɔm

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 = tɔ̀ʔ 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) èỳ tùybhàʔ? kà́sètàldìk ʔ.

[èỳ tùybhà = tɔ̀ʔ]OBL kè-tsèt-ǎl-dìk

[ANAPH.DEM quay=DLIM] 1S-go-DEP-ANT

‘I had gone back up to that quay.’ [ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_076]

(656) phèlì̀ àɛ́tsèngtsì? dèʔlì, hmùtòtsì ʔ.

[phèlì = là à-ɛ́tsèng = tɔ̀ʔ]OBL dèʔlì = tì hmùtòtsì

[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) *tànúəŋtse tʉ̀sʉ̀bà nyètšâ bùʔtsâ hɔ̀wéyâl*

[tànú = tš = əng = tsə]_OBL_ tsú = â  nyè  nyè-tsə
[tonight=DLIM=INE=TOP]  DIST=LOC  ANAPH.DEM  FILL-DIM

bùʔ-tsə  (hòw-nyè)-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 *-nàk* ‘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 `-shɔ́k`. 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.
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.
Argument Marking in Valence Changing Constructions

(660) **kárbárílání ẹyá ẹy phɘ̂l mông tsɔ́ní ṣpànéyshkktf.**

kárbárí = là = ní ẹy = á ẹy phɘ̂l

village.chief=ERG=FOC ANAPH.DEM=DAT ANAPH.DEM snake

mông tsɔ = ní á-pán-ẹy-shɔk = tî

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 dùmùnùlà útsúhnúá mông tsɔá ẹy túyní ápèkshɔ́k.**

èy dúm nû = là ú-tsúhnú = á mông

ANAPH.DEM singing.beggar.partymother=ERG 3SG.POSS-daughter=DAT king

tsɔ = á èy túy = ní á-pék-shɔ́

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→APV; A = new introduced argument, P = S
2. APV→APD PV, A = new introduced argument, P = A, P = P
3. APDV→APD DPV, A = new introduced argument, P = 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) mɔ́ngdɔ́ô náng kóông khòkák kɔ́tɔ̀kdɘ̂k↘

mɔ́ngdɔ́=ô náng kóông khók-ák k5-t5-k-dsk
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.
Likewise, the example in (664) also shows a benefactive applicative argument marked by the dative case clitic.

(664) **èy bězítsɔ́ lá shómetrytsɔ́ phɔ̀l tɔ́yúnɡtsɔ́ álɔ̀kpâklɔ̀.**

èy  bězítsɔ́ = là      shómetrytsɔ́ = á      phɔ̀l      tɔ́yúnɡ-tsɔ́
ANAPH.DEM  mongoose=ERG  boy=DAT  snake  herbal.medicine-DIM
á-lâk-pék-âl-hlɔ̀
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. ɔ́hɔ́w ‘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) ḍpɔ́ ̀à ñhɔ̀ypék ↘.

5-p3 = á  á-á-hw-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) kêyá inhɔ̀wpék ↘.

kêy = á  1-ní-hw-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) shágonng ám sháʔnnákhɔ̀.

shágonng=ŋ  ám  sháʔn-nák-khɔ̀  
soapB=INST  pot  be.clean-INST.APP-PM

‘The soap cleans the pot (literally, the pot is clean with the soap).’ [Elicited]
Argument Marking in Valence Changing Constructions

(668) èylâ kêy ùnûynâkkhɔ̂.

èy = là  kêy  ù-nûy-nâk-khɔ̂
3SG=ERG 1SG 1P-laugh-LOC.APP-PM

‘He laughed at me.’ [Elicited]

Likewise, the instrumental oblique argument of the verb bû? ‘cook.II’ in (669) is promoted to a core argument. Nonetheless, the promoted argument still holds onto the oblique case marker.

(669) èy àmông bû? kûbû?nâkkhɔ̂.

èy  âm = ɔng  bû?  kû-bû?-nâk-khɔ̂
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) ëyłë këy ɘ̀bɘ̀ kpûyhyɔ̂.

èy = lâ        këy  ɘ̀-bɘ́k-pûy-hyɔ̂
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) ëydɘ̂ yɘ́ tükâ tsìʔpúynà,  “èmes pɔ̀ɘ̂ng kë̂thɘ̀ʔlæ̀ hyɔ̂”.

èydɘ̂  yɘ́  tük = â  tsifikasi-pûy-nàk-ní  èmes
then   bamboo   cut.II=LOC   take.II-ASS.BEN-SPNT-TEMP  GRP-bottom
pɔ́ = èmes  kë̂-thɘ̀ʔl-éʔy-hyɔ̂
side=INE   1A-throw.II-IRR-PM

‘Then, when the king took him, with him, 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) **phɘ̂l tsɔ́lâ itsĩʔpûynâk`.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phɘ̂l} & \quad \text{tsɔ̂} = \text{lâ} \\
\text{snake} & \quad \text{son=ERG} \\
\text{tsĕ̂tiʔ} & \quad \text{pûy-nák}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 *tsó̃nêy* ‘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 inntsó̃nêypûynâk`.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èy} & \quad = \text{kôn} \\
\text{ANAPH.DE} & \quad \text{metrical} \\
\text{innt} & \quad \text{-(tsó̃n-èy)-pûy-nák}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applicative types</th>
<th>Base P</th>
<th>Base Oblique</th>
<th>Applicative P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive/Malefactive</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>kóông (locative N)</td>
<td>=ά (Dative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental/Locative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>=δng (Instrumental)</td>
<td>=δng (Instrumental)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative-Benefactive</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>kònng (Locative N)</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=δng (Comitative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 100: Comparative case marking status of base and applicative P
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 ímá áipshòkkhol’ ting íntakhnì?tì:
átsángnú ím = â á-íp-shòk-kholl ting í-ní-ták-hnì? = tì
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 kéyá ípâlshòkkhô
èy = lâ kéy = á ñ-íp-âl-shòk-khô
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) “kê y kɔ́ tsɔ́h ɘ̀ ʔ y zɔ́ llá ká k占领 k占领 yshɔ́kkhɔ́ tůhnüp tǒyóná ɘ̀ ting.”

kê  kó-tsɔ̃-hɔ̀y  zɔ̀llák = á  kó-šɔ̀-ã̀y-y-shɔ́k-khɔ̀
1SG 1SG.POSS-son-DL  slaughterer=DAT  1A-slaughter.II-IRR-CAUS-PM

tuíñúp  tɔ́yɔ́n = ţ = tsɛ̂  tǐng
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) kê eyá ɔbɔ̀pɛ̀ yshɔ́kkhɔ̀

kê  ey = â  ɔ̀b  ɛ̀y-y-shɔ́k-khɔ̀
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) èyìá kêy nángá inbòpɛ̀ yshɔ́kkhɔ̀

èy = ìá  kêy  náng = â  i-ní-bóp-ã̀y-y-shɔ́k-khɔ̀
ANAPH.DEM=ERG  1SG  2SG=DAT  1P-INV-beat.II-CAUS-PM

‘He will make me beat you.’ [Elicited]
10.4. Argument Marking in Valence Changing Constructions

(679) èylá náng kéyá inibẹ̀pè̀yshókkhọ̀

èy = là  náng  kéy = á  i-ní-bóp-áè’y-shók-khọ̀
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) ánifélá kéyá góéngtháè y iníkò?lpèkálti.

ánfi? = là  kéy = á  góéngtháè y  i-ní-kó?l-pék-áíl = 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) ipftsetnt, kikôngkhół ipftsi?pèkkhọ̀.

í-ní-tsét-ní  kikông-khół  i-ní-tsí-pék-khọ̀
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.

\[(682) \, \text{'They brought me for him.' [Elicited]}\]

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).

\[(683) \, \text{'They brought me for you.' [Elicited]}\]

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.
10.4. Argument Marking in Valence Changing Constructions

(684) ḡykhôllâ náng këyá ḥnîlîpékkhô.

èy-khôl = là  náng  këy = á  î-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 thôn ‘plough.II’ in (685).

(685) lûʔtsôlâ lâyî nîthônâkkhô.

lûʔtsô = là  lâyî  î-nî-thôn-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 phô? ‘carry.II’.
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, tsít’ ‘take.II’ that the first person singular argument is functioning as a core argument.

(687) *ìntsìʔpūydős, phîtkhôl.

\[
\begin{align*}
1P-INV\text{-}take.II & \quad \text{basket=EXP} \\
1P-INV\text{-}take.II & \quad \text{basket=EXP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They had taken the baskets with me (They had helped me taking the baskets).’

[Elícited]

10.5 Conclusión
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 tsé ‘go’.

(688) ëydë ë y tsëttë.

ëydë [ëy]S [tsét-tû]VMPLX
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) kâyhní? ɔ̀ntsɔ̂ kááhníʔshúyæʔy ↘, ngɔ̀tsɔ̂ kááhníʔshúyæʔy ↘.

\[
\begin{align*}
[k\acute{y}hn\acute{i}] & \_A \quad [\acute{o}n-ts\acute{s}] & [k\acute{a}-\acute{\alpha}-\text{hnf}\acute{\i}]-\text{shúy-æ}\_y \_V_{\text{CMPLX}} \quad [\text{ngɔ̀-ts\acute{s}}] & \\
[1\_\text{DL.EXC}] & [\text{vegetable-DIM}] & [1\_\text{A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR}] & [\text{fish-DIM}] & \\
[k\acute{a}-\acute{\alpha}-\text{hnf}\acute{\i}]-\text{shúy-æ}\_y \_V_{\text{CMPLX}} & \\
[1\_\text{A-DIR-DL-search.II-IRR}] & \\ & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.
Simple clause structure

(690) èydə ip \v. èydə èmëy.
èydə \ 3S-sleep \ èydə \ èmëy

‘Then, he slept. Then, he stayed.’

In special contexts where a P argument is topicalized and marked by the topic clitic = tsɛ, 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) èydə èphiltse èpšilâ tûm \v. èpšilâ èphiltse èphiltse èpšilâ tûm \v.

[èydə \ é-phí = tsɛ] \ [3-pstå = lá] \ [tûm]_{CMPLX}(a)
then \ [GRP-wife=TOP] \ [GRP-man=ERG] \ [make. plait]

[[3-pstå = tsɛ]) \ [é-phí = lá] \ [tûm]_{CMPLX}(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 hmúcstås ‘daughter’ and màng tsstå ‘prince’ are marked by the focus clitic = ni in (692), and the P argument is preceding
the A argument in this clause. The motivation for this change in the order of words is not quite clear at present.

(692) èy hmú-tsɔ́nì èy mɔ́ng tsɔ́lǎnì tiʔeyhnəʔtì.

[èy hmú-tš = ní]p
[ANAPH.DEM girl-DIM=FOC]

ANAPH.DEM king son=ERG=FOC take.II-MID-ULT=R,EVID

‘After that, that king’s son took that girl there for himself.’

[ZM_WA_SPW_082015_Hyow_0026_0040]

11.3 Non-canonical Clause Structure

A non-canonical clause, with a VS/OVA word order, shows that an A argument follows a verb complex. This notion of placing the A argument clause finally is known as afterthought. A speaker uses an afterthought to avoid any kind of confusion, and to clarify any argument roles. According to Coupe (2007: 359), ‘This is otherwise a hallmark of postposed noun phrase arguments that have been initially elided, and restored to further clarify the reference.’ Generally, there is a pause after the predicate, which signals that the clause is not complete yet. In addition, the tone of the verb complex final remains unaffected by the clause marking intonation, if there is any.

11.3.1 S/A as Afterthoughts

Both the S and A arguments of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause respectively can have non-canonical syntactic position as afterthoughts in Hyow. The topicalized noun phrase argument kéy = tsæʔ 1SG=TOP’ has the role of an agent in the final clause in (693) and follows the verb complex, so its clause final position identifies it as an afterthought. The topic clitic is used to signal that the referent of the A argument is in reality the first person, and not another referent that might otherwise be interpreted as coreferential with the omitted noun phrase.
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) dûkhâ?îng ḷhrâkè?îng sôthô, ỳlîtsè

‘He thought of making troubles for them.’

[ZM_ARGS4_082015_Hyow_0007_0040]

Similarly, the topicalized noun phrase nô-pûtô = 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 nând ‘you’ is elided, since it is already marked on the verb ômêy ‘get.married’.

(695) nô-pôtô = tsâ (2SG.POSS-man) ‘your husband’
11.3. Non-canonical Clause Structure

(695) **dàdók, nôpôtlësë. átsándgë nôdômëhyë. nîtsë.**

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[dú-dók]_{\text{CMPLX}}] (\text{a}) & &[[\text{átsándgë}]_{\text{P}}] \\
&[[\text{die.II-ANT}] & &[[\text{2SG.POSS-husband}=\text{TOP}]] & &[[\text{old.man}]]\\
&[[nó-ómëy-hyë]_{\text{CMPLX}}] (\text{b}) & &[[2A-get.married-PM]]
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 *mëy* ‘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 form 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 kêmánlí, șhotéyní, tông hngát mëyâ? , șông hngâttsë.**

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[\text{tsú} & &[[\text{kêm-āl-nf}]_{\text{DEP}}] & &[[\text{5-shôt-èy-nf}]_{\text{DEP}}] & &[[\text{tông} & &[[\text{hngát}]_{\text{S}}] \\
&[[\text{DIST} & &[[\text{descend.II-DEP-TEMP}]] & &[[\text{3S-look.II-MID-TEMP}]] & &[[\text{basket one}]]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&mëyâ?]_{\text{CMPLX}} & &[[\text{5-}[\text{hng} & &[[\text{hngát} = \text{tsâ]_{\text{S}}}]] & &[[\text{MC}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[\text{exist-3SG.NEG} & &[[\text{GRP-be.empty} & &[[\text{one} = \text{TOP}]]
\end{align*}
\]

‘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. khèthúyytsè thò?w kólóti? tstå kúúpkhëʔnú, òptsè.

| tsó         | [khyëthúy = tsâ] | thôw?     | kó-ló-tiʔ]_{RC} | [tstå = â]_{P} |
| DP          | name.of.a.person=TOP | from      | 1A-bring.1-NMLZ | medicine=ADD |

[kú-úp-khëʔ?= nú]_{CMPLX}  úp = tsâ  

[1A-heat.II-FACT=SS.EVID]   heat.II=TOP

‘See! I heat the medicine too that I brought from Kheythuy. Heating!’

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, ेय = आ = टसें there' (ANAPH.DEM=LOC=TOP), is postposed in (698).

(698) ोमुलोमाक केना? कानिमेयनातसिखां, ेयात्सें

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{ॐ-मु-लो-म-क} & \text{kेना?} \\
\text{GRP-be.dark-road-one} & \text{every} \\
\end{array}
\]

[ेय = आ = टसें] 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](image)

**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) èydɔ̀ ey khɔ̀ pùmák kínib'n

èydɔ̀     ey      khɔ̀=â      [pùm-ák]p  [kí-ní-bûn]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 -hýɔ̀ 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) ेयदः कु़स्कु़ेध्या।

ेयदः  कु-हलु-ध्या
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 ultimative suffix -क्षो? (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 ultimative suffix operates over the verb complex of a declarative clause, as exemplified in (701).

(701) एयांग क्षो, तुड़ी, तस्क्रोन्तक्षो, लोड़ी, बीयनः, हारे।

ा-यांग  क्षो=ा=ती  तसु=ा=नि  [तस्क्रोन्त-क्षो=ला=नि]A
GRP-be.first  time=LOC=R.EVID  DIST=LOC=FOC  [young.man-DIM=ERG=FOC]

[लोड़-क्षो=नि]P  [बी-यन=हनः=ती]VCMPLEX  हारे
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 respective 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) tsùkòntsë nifò?àtsë lòhmû, hârè.

tsû = kôn = tsê  ní = tç? = á = tsê  lò-hôm-û  hârè
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 form a prohibitive since a prohibitive requires a verb
in irrealis mood.

(703) tûâ, này pûntsë pôngêyhmântsû.

tûâ  này?  pûm-tsê = â  pông-êy-hôm-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, -hnɔ́ʔ. The regular event irrealis suffix -ǽʔy 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 -hnɔ́ʔ 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 póâl ‘cure’ in (704). The negative suffix -kɔ̂ refers to a first person plural exclusive argument.

(704) póâlhnʉ̂ŋhnɔ́ʔ-kɔ̂. háshpátálá tsiàyhyɔ́ŋ tîng këyńi?khốl kîntâk .

```
po-âl-hnûng-hnɔ́ʔ-kɔ̂     háshpátál = å
DV.1-DEP-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-1PL.EXCL.NEG  hospital=LOC

tsí-áy-hyɔ̂ = dɔ̂
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, tsér ‘go’ takes the second person singular negative suffix and the delayed negative suffix -hnɔ́ʔ 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).
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 thó (become) is negated by the third person singular negative suffix -áʔ in (706). The negative indefinite pronoun, ìá ‘nothing’, referring to things, which form a negatively asserted clause.

(706) ìá thón-áʔ-hó, khêw. essages ìá námâ.

ìá thón-áʔ-hó khêw ìá ìá = á nám = á
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 \textit{ib₇ thọnéyşim} ‘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 \textit{tsët-éy} (go-MID) ‘He walks.’, but \textit{tsët =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.
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.

‘Then, he, finally told (the master), “Did she give you things before leaving?”’
He told, “No, she did not give.”’
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? lòngshǽʔ, ária lòngshǽʔ, khrɔng pótsóng-ák-hniʔ kɛʔéyhyɔ́, hmɔ́ttíé y?  

bú? lóng-shǽʔ ˈán lóng-shǽʔ khrɔng pótsóng-ák-hniʔ  
rice CLS-seven curry CLS-seven man CLS-one-two  

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) ëy bɔ̄hítsè shóynò nitsiʔèʔyè? tsìʔèʔyè? thèynòthèn tsìʔèʔyè?.

èy      bɔ̄hí = tsê      shóynò       ní-tsìʔ-èʔy = ëy
ANAPH.DEM so=TOP   soldier       2A-take.II-IRR=POL_Q

shóynò-thèn       tsì-èy-hnì?
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 hyáʔ ‘be.not’, which can be analysed into hí-áʔ ‘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 méy ‘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).
11.5. Interrogative Clauses

(711) ḡe-lék-tsɔ̂ khrɔ́ thóʔwíhníʔ-tsánh-níhngátínlí mèyáʔy hyáʔéy, ʔe-tsâ ḡetá.

ā-e-lék-tsɔ̂ khrɔ́ thóʔwíʔ-hníʔ-tsánh-níhngátínlí [hngátlí = ní]

GRP-be.small-DIM age from 3A-DL-bring.up.II-PM one=FOC

mèy-áy hyáʔ=éy èy=tsà̄]AQ

stay-IRR be.not=POL.Q ANAPH.DEM=TOP

‘They two brought up him from his young age. He will stay, won’t 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) khóytsíp-khɔ́l khrá á hówáʔ ínímík tsékkhɔ́l, hyáʔéy

khóytsíp-khɔ́l khá=á hówáʔ ínímík tsé-khɔ̂=tí

ring=EXP all=SC.ADD without 3PL.POSS-eye be.impaired-R.EVID

hyáʔ=éy

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) **nàng nèmèyæ̀ʔhyṣéy, nètsètålæʔhyṣéy?**

nàng  né-mèy-åy-hy̰ð = êy  nè-tsèt-ål-åy-hy̰ð = 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) **ìnlæyhyṣéy, ìhlæytyhṣéy.**

ì-ní-hlá-åy-hy̰ð = êy  ì-hlá-åy-tî-hy̰ð = 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, =₁m, 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 ‘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 is used alone without any noun following it, then it refers to things queried in combination with a predicated event. Alternatively, the interrogative pronoun 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 náhlèyhy$3m?” tìng.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[í ná-hlú-èy-hy$3m]_{CQ}} & \quad \text{tìng} \\
\text{[what 2A-want.II-MID-PM=CONT.Q]} & \quad \text{QT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 nópóʔéhyysɛm sháməytsɛhúʔy?” tåkti.

[púșhél = d í nó-póʔ-éy-hyysɛm sháməytsɛhúʔy]CQ tåkt = tī
counter=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) “nópóʔ énspékɛtiʔ phílâ i fnishinɛyɛm?” tīng.

[nósp = lâ i-ní-pěk-ɛtīʔ]RC [phíl = lâ]A i
2SG.POSS-father=ERG 3A-INV-give.II-MID-NMLZ [[wife=ERG] what
i-ní-shîn-ɛy = ɛm tīng]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 i 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 i before the noun kông ‘reason’ in (718) helps the speaker to ask the addressee about the specific reason for her inability to cross an old man.

[580 Simple clause structure]
(718) **infàkhnàtì, “nówò bòhîtsè ɪ kóngà kóntfhàm?”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>í-ní-ták-hnò? = tì</th>
<th>[[nów-ô bòhí = tsè] í</th>
<th>kóng = à] kón-tú-hð = ñm]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘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 *pòʔ* and the intransitive verb *thòn-êy* (happen-MID) ‘become’. The dummy verb *pòʔ* 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) **“tùhnúpà *ibó kó póʔ-ê?yhyàm, núʔ?.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tùhnúp = â</th>
<th><em>ibó</em> kó-póʔ-ê?yhyà = ñm</th>
<th>nú = ñ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>today=LOC what 1A-DV.II-IRR-PM=CONT.Q mother=VOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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’.
11.5.4.2 How (manner)

The manner interrogative pronoun includes a bound morpheme, \( b\text{ɔ́} \) ‘way’ and the generic non-human interrogative pronoun \( '{w}h\text{a}t' \). 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.
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(721) *éyhnʔlåtsə, “ibó kábänę́yəʔyəm, éynf púytsångə?” tìng.*

éy-hn̓ʔ-lá = tsə́ ibó ká-búń-éy-əʔy = ñm èy = ní
FILL-ULT-SEQ=TOP how 1A-get.II-MID-IRR=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM=FOC

púytsång-ə tìng
old.aunt=voc QT

‘Finally, after that, he said, “Old aunt, how will I get her?”’

[zm_km_kk_062007_hyow_0031_135]

(722) *ibó kíñniʔhluéyəyəm?*

ibó kí-hn̓ʔ-hlu-éy-əy = ñm
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) *tséʔál̃多种形式, ibó thonéyəm?*

tsét-âl̃-sng-bá-lá ibó thón-ēy = ñm
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) èydè láptí ták, “yá núpúáʔyláʔháʔm?”.
èydè láptí = ták [yá nú-pú-áy-láʔ-háʔm]_{CQ}
then 3SG.POSS-husband=ERG tell.II [why 2A-borrow.II-IRR-oblgl-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.
11.5. Interrogative Clauses 585

(725) “nɔ̀ wô ehyɔ̀ tsẹ̀ yá nɔ̀ pɔ̀ nhnɔ̀ m?” tìng, “yá ehyú? y dúkhá? ŋ nɔkrɔ̀ hɔm?”

[nɔw-ô ehyɔ tṣe yá nɔ̌-pɔ̀n-hnɔ̀ = ɔm]cQ tìng[yá
[younger.sister=VOC that.much=TOP why 2S-be.morose-PM=CONT.Q] QT[why
èhyú'y dúkhá? = ŋ ng nɔ̌-krɔ̀-hɔ̀ = ɔm]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? ŋ nɔkrɔ̀ hɔm?” tìngnì tâkhnɔ̀ tfí

[yá í dúkhá? = ŋ ng nɔ̌-krɔ̀-hɔ̀ = ɔm]MCQ tìng = nì tâk-hnɔ̀ = tfí
[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 ì ‘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) “khrɔ̂ng û=lâ yâ-e?y-ży?m?” tîngni tswâni, tsângni fnîhłéñ?if

[khrɔ̂ng û=lâ yâ-e?y-ży?m]CO tîng=ní tsù=â=ní
[man who=erg sell.II-IRR-PM=cont.q] QT=FOC DIST=LOC=FOC

tsîng=ní í-ní-hłé-hnê?=tî
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) “èydô ú nûhmû?jîm?” tîng. ëy tûy khêyti?ánî, hîhnê?if

èydô [ú nû-hmû?jîm]CO tîng ëy tûy
then [whom 2A-see.II=cont.q] QT ANAPH.DEM water

khêy-tî?=â=ní hî-hnê?=tî
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.
11.5. Interrogative Clauses

(729) *ùlâ ihyɔ? tsï?éyhnâng=êm* *tsï?éykhôl.*

ú = lâ  ihyɔ?  tsï?-êy-hnâng = êm  tsï?-êy-khôl
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) “*kéykø? dúkhâ? ú=êm*  kɔ̃hôw-pék-âhyɔ̀?”

kéy = kɔ̃  dúkhâ?  ú = â  kɔ̃-hôw-pék-âhyɔ̀ = êm
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 *môlà*, on which the locative case clitic is lexicalized. It is not possible to use the form *mô* 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) *kéy=êm  dúkhâ?* *ú=kôhôw-pékâhyɔ̀?

kéy = êm  dúkhâ?  ú = kôhôw-pékâhyɔ̀
1SG=GEN  sorrow  who=DAT  kôhôw-pékâhyɔ̀
Simple clause structure

(731) *tùà èyhyɔ́? bóytsè mòà kúshúy-èʔyəm?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tùà èyhyɔ́?} & \quad \text{bóy} = \text{tsè} \quad \text{mòà} \quad \text{kú-shúy-èʔy} \quad = \text{ṣm} \\
\text{now} & \quad \text{that.much} \quad \text{book=}\text{TOP} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{1A-search.II-IRR=}\text{CONT.Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) *mòà mòà nętsèt-lāʔṣm?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mòà mòà nę-tsèt-lāʔ} & = \text{ṣm} \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{where} \quad \text{2S-go-OBLG=}\text{CONT.Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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, *itàlà* ‘when’. The time interrogative pronoun in Hyow is a compound, which can be analysed as *ità-tì=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.
11.5. Interrogative Clauses

(733) **èydò khròng tsétálnì, ópsòlrò ták, “èykôntsè itlà táá nùpùm?”**

èydò  khròng  tsét-ál-ní  ʒ-pótʒ = là  ták
then  people  go-DEP-TEMP  3SG.POSS-husband=ERG  tell.II

[èy = kón = tsè  itìá  táá  nú-pú = ʒm]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 ʒ‘what’ that refers to indefinite animate and inanimate things, the interrogative pronoun mòŋ‘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 mòŋ to learn of the specific direction that his wife took.

(734) **“èynìâtsè mòŋ dèdé? tsétâlhí: nm, tsêhê:yo? ʰòw, ʰòw” tìngá tíkhnsìptì**.

èy = nì = â = tsè  mòŋ  dèdé?  tsét-ál-hlì = ʒm
ANAPH.DEM=FOC=TOP  which  direction  go-DEP-PM=CONT.Q

tsê-hê:yo-ő  ʰòw  ʰòw  tìng = nì  ták-hnìŋ = tì
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 ‘what’ and the adverbial bound morpheme ‘how much’. The interrogative word ‘how much’ refers to the quantity of interest in (735).

(735) ेय क्ह्राङ्क्ला इह्यस शुत नबुने?यह्यसम?

 사람들이ABL  how.much  interestB  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 ‘how much’ in (735).

(736) नांग इह्यस नौ नबुनेयः?

 नांग  इह्यस?  नांग  नबुने-ःय = ॐ

 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 ‘how much’ (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 ‘how much’ in (737), the speaker queries the approximate quantity of the good time that the addressee spent.
(737) bɔ́hítsè dyà tsèttìlà náng ihyɔ̀bông ɔ́pɔ̀y nípìm?

bɔ́hí = tsæè  èy = â  tsèt-tì-lá  [náng
so=TOP  ANAPH.DEDEM=LOC  go-2SG-SEQ  [2SG
ihyɔ̀-bông  ɔ́-pɔ̀y  ní-pì = ɘ̂m]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 theses 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)hú. 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 *tsé* ‘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 *mɔ́* ‘hold’ takes the dual marker to denote the number of the referents whom the speaker commands to perform the action. The dual marker -*hníʔ* 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 -*hníʔ tô*).

(738) *tsé tšét, púyô, púshélô, ámɔ̀hníʔ.*

    tsé tšét púy-ô púshél-ô á-mɔ́-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 -*hníʔ* 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 tšétáníhníʔhníʔ, náỳ prè a shámphó-ng.*

    shóynó króbá [tšét-âl-hníʔ-hníʔ náỳ? prè = â shámphó = ōng] CIC
    soldier takingm [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) €ynĩâ, nîhû?wôm hngât tsôwéykhôl.
èy = nî = â  nîhû?wôm hngât tsôw-éy-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 -hnês? is added to the imperative verb, as shown in (741).

(741) tàálhnês? tùâ.
tá-âl-hnês?  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 -bêy. 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.
11.6.1.2 Plain imperative clause with politeness

A canonical imperative clause expressing an order may be inflected with a polite suffix –ǽ 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 –ǽ, as shown in (743), allows the speaker to encode politeness with the directed order to the addressee.

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 -báʔ. 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 -báʔ in (744).
11.6. Imperative Clauses

Prohibitive clauses

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 -ǽʔy and the respective second person negative suffix expresses a prohibition, as shown in (745), while with the delayed negative suffix -hnɔ́ʔ, 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 kárbaɾflå tákkhɔ́, námsʃɔ́ tákkhɔ́ŋ, “náŋnf? lán khɔ̀m-hôm-ǽʔy-tsù”*.  
èy kárbaɾf = lâ ták-khɔ́ námsʃ = á ták-khɔ́-ŋng  
ANAPH.DEM village.chief=ERG tell.II-PM villager=DAT tell-PM-REAS  
[náŋnf? lán khɔ̀m-hôm-ǽʔy-tsù] 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, -\(hnɔ́ʔ\), draws the difference between the clause types (only for second person imperatives) of declarative and prohibitive-imperative.

\[(746) \text{nǐhúʔy tsék laʔdél ?éyhnùng-hnɔ́ʔ-tsú=nú} \text{[DECLARATIVE]}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[like.this=} & \text{TOP family eat.I-PH.CAP-DEL.NEG-2PL.NEG=SS.EVID]} \\
\text{'} & \text{You will not be able to have family like this.'} \\
\text{[ZM_ARGS3a_082015_Hyow_0006_0069]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The available markers for different types of canonical imperative clauses in Hyow are listed in Table 101.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of canonical imperative clauses</th>
<th>Person marking</th>
<th>Number marking</th>
<th>Irrealis marking</th>
<th>Adverbal suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plain imperatives</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhortatives</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitives</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ɛ̀yhyɔ́. 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 -ɛ̀yhyɔ́.

(747) “tɔ̀éyálɛ̀yhyɔ́” tîngnî, ínfɔ̀kéyáltî.

[tɔ́-êy-âl-ɛ̀yhyɔ́]_{COHORTATIVE}  tîng = ní  í-ní-tɔ̀k-ɛ́y-âl = tî

‘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 -ɔ̃ngkhé, which is a binary opposite of the non-emphatic cohortative marker -ɛ̀yhyɔ́. The example in (748) illustrates a non-emphatic cohortative imperative.
Simple clause structure


bóhí = tsɛ̀ ʊtú = lá  bù?  náp-ák  khát
so=TOP together=ERG rice  CLS-one  even.if

[ʔéy-hù̀ngkhó] COHORTATIVE  tìŋ  ták = tì
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) “khánbóŋo thù́lêýàlé, thù́lêýà́łèŋkhó” tìŋ.

khánbóŋ-o  thù́l-èý-àl-è  thù́l-èý-àl-èŋkhó
tìŋ
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.
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.

(750) “bɔ́hítsæ̂, nitsæ̂ thówáldìëhyɔ́, thówālttsɔ̀mëhyɔ́. í hìpàyɪm nín?” tîng.

[bɔ́hí = tsæ̂ ní = tsæ̂ thów-āl-ähyɔ́]_COHORTATIVE1_
[so=TOP PROX=TOP pick.up.I-DEP-NECOHORT]_COHORTATIVE1_

[thów-āl-tsɔ̀m-ähyɔ́ í-hìpày = ɔ́m ní = ní]_COHORTATIVE2 tîng_
[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]


kēy lúngshàng ká-kántthá kákhrâ?-éy-ë?y-hyɔ́ [dã-hê?-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_Hyw_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 kúkhrúmáʔ tsét-állhléʔ. kó-ts dét lállhlí kínú

èydə [kú-khrúmáʔ] \text{JUSIVE} tsét-állhléʔ \quad \text{kó-ts dét = dě}

then [1SG.POSS-son’s.wife \text{go-JUSS}] \quad 1SG.POSS-son = EMPH

ló-állhlí \quad ki=nú

come-\text{DEP-COND} \quad \text{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).


kó-ómêy-ë?y-hyó hns? gólók-tsó-thóhn thón-hnæʔ?
1S-get.married-IRR-PM be.final grazer-DIM-CONCESS happen-JUSS

ñíng \quad ëy = ní \quad ómëy = tí

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.
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 -bɘ̂y 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 -hɘ́ 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 -hɘ́ marks an optative with positive polarity, which can be preceded by any MA markers (except anterior), and is followed by the irrealis suffix -bɘ̂y and the person marking suffixes. In (754), the optative suffix -hɘ́ precedes the delayed imperative suffix -bɘ̂y 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).
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).

‘Do not quarrel with each other, understand? May you all stay finely in peace!’

[ZM_FSRG_STK_122013_Hyow_0045_122-123]
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) “shën-yähnängæyya′ ting tâŋgbâlatsæ…

[shën-ê-y-âl-hnâng-æyyâ]OPTATIVE ting tåŋg-bâ-lâ = tsâe

‘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 referes 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 hyɔʔ‘much’. An elicited example of this kind of equality clause is given in (757).
Simple clause structure

(757) **ní bóy èy bóy-hy? pɔy-kh? ’.**

ní bóy èy bóy-hy? pɔy-kh?

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 =ə̂ŋ, as demonstrated in (758).

(758) **èy hmútsɔ èy potɔs=àng dɔŋ khyâŋ.**

èy hmútsɔ èy potɔs=àng dɔŋ khyâŋ

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 húʔy. In the negative equality clause in (759), the second referent is marked with húʔy.

(759) **kûnúp-khôl ân? pð-hûʔy hyâ? ’.**

kû-núp-khôl ân? pð-hûʔy hyâ?

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 thɔk marked by the locative
11.8. Comparison clauses

Case clitics =â 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 ëykhõl ‘they’ is absent, but it is indexed by â- on the stative verb lék ‘be big’.

(760) ëykhõl thõká âlék ↘.

èy-kõl thõk =â â-lõk
ANAPH.DEM-EXP than=LOC 3S-be.small

‘He is younger than them.’ [ZM_ARG5_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 mê-y-â?-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 thõk ‘than’ and the noun kéynâ?‘1PL’ whose referent is being compared precedes the noun âni?‘3PL’ with whose referent it is compared.


kéynâ? = tsâ âni thõk =â bîtsó mêy-yâ?-tí?
1PL=TOP 3PL than=LOC a.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 *háng* ‘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 háng háng ní thók = á pòy

ní    háng háng    thók = á    pòy
PROX all    all    than=LOC    be.good

‘This is the best (This is better than all).’ [Elicited]

(763) éy níráshèn ní tán = áng háng háng ní thók = á pòy

éy    níráshèn    ní    tán = áng    háng háng
ANAPH.DEM    student    PROX    CLS=INE    all

khó thók = á pòy
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 *dá*. 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 (CVCMLPX), 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 =dɘ, 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 dɘ in (764).

(764) tsùtsê lù-tsô tsúhnû tā-tî? phîâtsê lù-tsô tsúhnû kê phîâtsê mîn dɘhô

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsû</th>
<th>=tsê</th>
<th>lù?-tsô</th>
<th>tsúhnû</th>
<th>tâ-tî?</th>
<th>phîâ</th>
<th>=tsê</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIST=TOP human-son daughter elder.brother-PL wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lû?-tsô</td>
<td>tsúhnû</td>
<td>[[kê phîâ=tsê]CT [mîn]CCOM [dɘ-hô]CVCMLPX]CC human-son daughter [[1SG wife=TOP] [cat] [COP-PM]]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 following example in (765).
Simple clause structure

(765) *èytso nát tsúhnú h3.

\[ [(èy = tså)_{CT} \quad [nat \ tsúhnú]_{CCOM} \quad [h5]_{CVCMPLX}\]CC

\[ [[ANAPH.DEM=TOP] \quad [god \ daughter] \quad [COP]] \]

‘She is god’s daughter.’ [Elicited]

For being grammatically correct, the clause in (765) has to have the morpheme \( d$h \). Furthermore, there is a pause between the noun and \( d$h \) in the CC in (764), which confirms the free morphemic status of \( d$h \).

Similar to the verb of a declarative clause, a copular verb can also take a focus clitic \( =ni\) 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) ékhrémā?-ti? dátsó nát tsúhnúkhöl dðhó ni dátsó.

\[ [é-khrémá?-ti?]_{CT} \quad dátsó \quad [nát \ tsúhnú-khöl]_{CCOM} \]

\[ [3SG.POSS-brother’s.wife-PL]_{DP} \quad [god \ daughter-EXP] \]

\[ [dó-h5 = ni]_{CVCMPLX}\]CC \quad dátsó

COP-PM=FOC \quad 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 \( d$h \) 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.
11.9. Copular clauses

(767) tsutse òhlóng élén dəh₃.

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{tsú} & = & \text{tsæ̂} \quad \text{òhlóng} \quad \text{élén} \quad \text{dəh₃} \\
\text {[DIST=TOP} & \quad \text{river}] & \quad [\text{very} \quad \text{GRP-be.big}] & \quad [\text{COP-PM}] \\
\end{array}
\]

‘That river was very big.’ [Elicited]

In addition to the copular verb \( d₃ \) in positive polarity, Hyow has a negated copular verb \( hyáʔ \), which is a negative form of the verb \( hɪ \) ‘be right’ inflected by the third person singular negative suffix \(-áʔ\). 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 \( ëyúʔy \) ‘like that’.

(768) bōhi mótgrí mótlä-ð ëyúʔy \( hyáʔnú \).

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{bōhi} & \quad \text{mótgrí} & \quad \text{mótlä-ð} \quad \text{ëyúʔy} \quad \text{[hyáʔ= nú]} \quad \text{CC} \\
\text{[so} & \quad \text{minister} & \quad \text{vizier= VOC like.that} \quad \text{[be.not= SS.EVID]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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).
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) *ziátsɛ bóytsɛ thâng mêy.*

[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 *tɔw = â* (forest=LOC) ‘in the forest’, while the location of the forest is expressed by another noun phrase in locative case.
11.10. Existential clauses

An existential clause also expresses 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 méy ‘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)̀èý ściṣ́ì!̀bònǵ mëýhỳọ́ kòng̀nì̀ tù̀̀ 3̀lò̀̀ ̀bòng̀ h̀ ng̀t̀ mëý ỳld̀ù̀ ̀.̀

[̀èý][POSSESSOR] [̀tsiṣ́-tfí̄̀] [̀bònǵ][POSSESSEE] [mëý-hỳọ́]\EC k̀ò̀ = ̀bònǵ = ǹí

[[ANAPH.DEM][GRP-child-PL many] exist-PM]] reason=INE=FOC

[̀tù̀̀ 3̀lò̀̀ [̀-h̀ǹ = ̀ng̀]OBL ̀lò̀̀ [̀h̀ng̀t̀]S [mëý-̀l̀-d̀ù̀]VCMLX]\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) tsúá ááhá méythiaʔhónhìŋ.

[tsú = â] [á-thá]POSSESEE [mey-tí-áʔ-h5 = ní]VCMPLX]BC
[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 túō, bòhítsë, kýchniʔátsë ʔá méyâʔnû” tîŋ.

[úh tū-ô] bòhí = tsâé [kýchniʔ = â = tsâé]ORL [řą]s
[INTJ nephew=VOC so=TOP] [1DL=LOC=TOP] [nothing]

[mey-áʔ = nú]VCMPLX]EC tîŋ
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.
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.
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 *yɔ́tsùtíʔ* ‘understander’ derived from the Stem I verb *yɔ́tsù* ‘understand.I’ by employing the agentive nominalizer -tíʔ 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) **nàmɛ̂ngkè̂ ánì?tsè̂ yɔ́tsùtíʔ. kè̀y núpótsè̂ ë́yùʔy yɔ́tsùáʔtíʔ kòóŋ ë́yhyšì**

*krhonghlùù.*

[nám = ɛ̂ng = kɔ? [ánìʔ = tsè̂]_{vct} [yɔ́tsù-tíʔ]_{ve} {vcc} [kè̀y núpó = tsè̂]_{vct} 
[village=INE=GEN [3PL=TOP] [understand.I-NMLZ]] [1SG parents=TOP]

ë́yùʔy yɔ́tsùáʔ-tíʔ]_{vcc} {vc} kò = ɛ̂ng è́yhyšì khrong-hlù-ù 
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

---

**Figure 53: An outline of a verbless clause**
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) èyty ây ày bi-ty? ây bi-ty? mândó třípúrá.

èyty [èy = å] [èy bi-ty?]vct èy = å
then [ANAPH.DEM=LOC [ANAPH.DEM work.I-NMLZ] ANAPH.DEM=LOC
[bí-ty?]vct [mádó mřípúrá]vccvct
[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) bõhí nàngtsê pêthí kř̠̄ng hngát.

bõhí [náng = tsê]vct [prê-thí kř̠̄ng hngát]vccvct
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 ánî 3-py (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 ánî kř̠̄ng pỳ (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 *lùfit5* ‘human child’ in the complement position takes the polar question clitic.

(779) **nífíánt fùfit5ey?**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nífíánt = níf]_{vct}} \\
\text{[fùfit5 = ēy]_{vcc}} \\
\text{[2SG.POSS-wife=FOC]} \\
\text{[human-child]=POL.Q}
\end{array}
\]

‘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 = ēm. The speaker queries the quantity of troubles that the addressee is having using a VIC in (780).

(780) **èyìdo ihy5 dúkhá?ēm.**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{èyìdo [ihy5 = dúkhá = ēm]_{vic}} \\
\text{then [how.much trouble=CONT.Q]}
\end{array}
\]

‘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 tsɔ̂ ‘son’ and nɔ́w ‘younger brother’ are followed by person interrogative pronouns. Abiding by what is said earlier, the second noun phrase takes the question clitic.

(781) èydë, “ú tsɔ̂, ú nɔ́wɛ̀m” tîng fnhфиhí.

èydë [ú tsɔ̂ ú nɔ́w = ɛ̂m]vic tîng f-hnî?-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) “nâŋ phí â môåm?” tîng.

[nâŋ phíá môâ = ɛ̂m]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).
Simple clause structure

(783) bɔ́hítsɛ̂, náng phíá ðɛm.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bɔ́hí} & = \text{tsɛ̂} \quad [\text{náng phíá} \quad \text{ú} = \text{ðɛm}]_{\text{VIC}} \\
\text{so=} & = \text{TOP} \quad [\text{2SG wife} \quad \text{who=} = \text{CONT.Q}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) bɔ́hítsɛ̂, náng phíá í mìngɛ̂m.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bɔ́hí} & = \text{tsɛ̂} \quad [\text{náng phíá í} \quad \text{mìng} = \text{ðɛm}] \\
\text{so=} & = \text{TOP} \quad [\text{2SG wife} \quad \text{what name=} = \text{CONT.Q}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘So, what is the name of your wife?’

[ZM_DD_SPW_082007_Hyow_0035_062]

A verbless clause cannot be negated in Hyow because it requires a negated copular verb *hyáʔ*‘be. not’ (*bí-áʔ*‘be.right-3SG.NEG’), as in *ání khràŋ pɔy hyáʔ* (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.
Complex sentence structure

(785) èyɗ̀, ômèəngɓalàtse, émey.

èyɗ̀ [óm-ɓng-bá-lá = tsâ]_{DC} [é-méy]_{MC}
then [sît-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 kèyɗ̀. nûŋgáhîtsê, ú nûhy-šêm.

[èy    kéy    dʑ]_{sl} [[nû-ŋá-hí = tsâ]_{DC}
[ANAPH.DEM 1SG  COP] [[laugh.I-1SG.NEG-COND=TOP]

[ú nûy-hyš = šm]_{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.
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 hmúʔ ‘see.II’
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) **hyùm-tii?tsé ɒngshōk**.

\[\text{[hyûm-tî? = tsê]}_{\text{RC}} \quad \text{[ɒng-shôk]}_{\text{MC}}\]
\[\text{[lose-NMLZ=TOP]} \quad \text{[win-CAUS]}\]

‘[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 miли ‘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) **mili½tsé útu íniméyâlê?yhy3**.

\[\text{[mi³lî-ú-lá = tsê]}_{\text{DC}} \quad \text{[útu} \quad \text{i-nî-mêy-âl-â?y-hy3]}_{\text{MC}}\]
\[\text{[reconcile-3PL-SEQ=TOP]} \quad \text{[together 3S-PL-stay-DEP-IRR-PM]}\]

‘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) “If ʔey&gt;ngtífá, némíng þænghmašm?” þíng.

[[í ʔey-ŋ-tí-lá]DC né-míng þæng-hmá = šm]MC.REPC þíng
[[what[eat.I-DUR-2SG-SEQ] 2SG.POSS-lip be.red-PM=CONT.Q]] QT

‘He said, “Why was your lip red having eaten?”’

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).
Complex sentence structure

(792) tsétálbálsé, tsíánléngbálatsé, èy phiá tsétálbálsé, ámánútsé ibó thônéyém?

[go-DEP-3SG-SEQ=TOP]  [take.I-DEP-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP]  [ANAPH.DEM wife


take.I-DEP-3SG-SEQ=TOP]  [house.keepr=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 semantosyntactic 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.
### Complex sentence structure

**Dependent clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adverbial</strong></td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relative</strong></td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Complement</strong></td>
<td>Complement Clause (§12.4.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-àl ‘come-DEP’ refers to a temporal point, not to a temporal period for the matrix clause predicated event pú ‘worry’.

(793) èyd̄á infàlání, tsùtsé úlúng pùhn̄átfì.
èyd̄á [í-ní-lò-àl-nf]\textsubscript{DC} [tsú = tsâë ú-lúng pù-hn̄á-tf]\textsubscript{MC}
\text{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 òntsɔ̂ khǽ ínî póʔéyní, èyðë, búʔtsɔ̂ ínî póʔpék ɻ.

[ópóʔ tsɔ̂ khǽ ínî póʔ-êy-ní]DC [èyðë búʔ-tsɔ̂
[rice curry-DIM all 3A-PL-DV.II-MID-TEMP] [then rice-DIM
í-ní-póʔ-pek]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 ëdæʔl ‘swallow’ has two stems in Hyow – dæl (Stem I) and ëdæʔl (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.
Complex sentence structure

(795) ə́hngɘ́ltɘ́ʔ dæ̀ʔlní, hmútståslâ tâkt, “pɔ̀, kə̀hngɘ́ltɘ́ʔ də̀də̀lədknû, phollståslâ.

[[á-hngsl̄l̄ = tś? də̀-l-ní]DC [hmútstås̄l̄ = là tâk = t̄l̄]REC
[[3SG.POSS-neck=lim.swallow.II-TEMP] [girl=erg.tell.II tell.II=er.g.evid]]

[pɔ̀ = ó kó-hngsl̄l̄ = tś? ã̀-dầl̄-dōk = nú phsl̄l̄ = là = tsḕ]REC
[father=voc 1SG.POSS-neck=lim.1P-swallow.II-ant=ss.evid.snake=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’ (shōt ‘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) shōyə̀l̄n̄l̄, tōngl̄stə̣ng, tōngeybəl̄ shāykélə̣ng.


[look.I-MID-3SG.NEG-TEMP] [throw.II-cont] [keep.over.I-MID-3SG-SEQ

shāykél = âng]DC
bicycle=INE

‘When he was not looking, keeping the basket on the bicycle, he 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) ánláhá lɔ̂m hmùéytìàání, tsùâ lɔmpɔ́ngkhôl, ëyàŋkhôl âápɔ́k \(.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ánlí = lá = há} & \quad \text{lɔ́m} \quad \text{hmù-ëy-tí-å?-nî]}_\text{DC} & & \text{[tsú = â} \\
3\text{PL}=\text{ERG}=\text{ADD} & \quad \text{road} & \quad \text{see.I-MID-NITER-3SG.NEG-TEMP} & & \text{[DIST}=\text{LOC} \\
\text{lɔ́m-pɔ́ng = ëy = ëng = khôl} & & \text{á-á-pɔ́k]}_\text{MC} & & \\
\text{road-side}=\text{INE}=\text{ELAB} & & \text{ANAPH.DEM}=\text{INE}=\text{ELAB} & & \text{3A-AND-collide.II}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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).
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 -nī 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 -dɘ́k (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 -dɘ́k 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) ááshòtnf, ipâldɘ́k n.

[á-á-shót-nf]DC [íp-âl-dɘ́k]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) *ááshòtdɘ́ktnf, ipâllhj3.

[á-á-shót-dɘ́k-nf]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 -hj.
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) ̣ēyā nētstɛn̓?yn̓, ḅsḥitsæ, p̣y ɬn̓ípɛkæn̓hy̱sṭḍ.  

[êy = ā nē-tstæʔy-ní]DC  [ḅsḥí = tsæ p̣y ɬn̓íp]DC  

[ANAPH.DEM=LOC 2S-go-IRR-TEMP] [then=TOP banquet]  

í-ní-pék-ɛʔy-hy̱sṭ = ḍ]MC  

3A-INVI-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 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 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 irreals suffix fits the given explanation. In view of that, the example in (803) is ungrammatical, where the matrix clause verb is marked by the irreals suffix, but not the verb of the temporal clause is not.

(803)  (*n̓áng nētṣṭánlí, k̓éy ɬl̓á ɬtṣṭsṭsy̱hy̱sṭm̓?)  

[n̓áng nē-tsṭ-ål-ní]DC  [k̓éy ú = là ɬtṣṭsṭ-əʔy-hy̱sṭ = ɬm]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 -éʔy attached to the dependent verb tsé́t ‘go’ in (804), the sentence is ungrammatical.

(804) *ziá nétsétæʔyní, bóy hngát ñlòpèkbòy.

[zí = â né-tsét-(éʔy)-nì]_{DC} [bóy hngát ñ-ló-pék-bòy]_{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 -nì only refers to a realis event at the point of actualization, it is ungrammatical to use a -nì/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.
Complex sentence structure

(805) ወንላህ, ከጋጆንኑ ያጋውሁስ, ከጋውሳን፣ ያቡ ዓንበኔኩንም?


ter=ha k'am-n=t ng k'o-p'o=hu hngu'da]s1

[ANPH.DEM-SEQ=ADD 1SG.POSS-anger=INE 1A-DV.II-PM DP]

[[k'o-p'o=n]dc [ib'o i-ni-thon-ey = 5m]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 -lå? ‘OBLG’ (see §9.2.1.10), a physical ability marking suffix -hnung ‘PH.CAP’ (see §9.2.1.11), and a cognitive ability-marking suffix -théy ‘COG.CAP’ (see §9.2.1.12). The temporal dependent clause in (806) encodes the obligation of the speaker via the suffix -lå?. 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) እን ክተስትላውና Myers እዩ ካንካን እንቲስትልውና Myers

[zì = å ke-tsé-t-lå=a?y-n]dc [ëy ké k'or=s]

[market=LOC 1S-go-OBLG-IRR-TEMP] [ANAPH.DEM 1SG with

ké-tsé-t=a?y-hy5]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 -şáng ‘EXTM’. The instance of the temporal clause in (807) is ungrammatical since the dependent verb of the canonical\textsuperscript{22} 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

\begin{verbatim}

[kê-tsé-(é?y-sháng)-nî] [kê-tsé-é?y-hyô]
[1S-go-(IRR-DESID)\textsubscript{EXMT-TEMP}] [1S-go-IRR-PM]

*(Lit.)‘When I should to go, I will go’ [Elicited]
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(808) tsêțshángní, tsêțé?yngáêý.

[tsé-tséng-nî] [tsé-é?y-ngá = êy]
[go-EXMT-TEMP] [1S-go-IRR-1SG.NEG=POL.Q]

‘When I should go, won’t I go?’ [Elicited]
\end{verbatim}

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

\textsuperscript{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 -nì shows the rising intonation marking the temporal dependent clause in Figure 54, while the shaded box on the verb òm ‘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 =tsê.

\[\text{(809) } \text{èyláhá, èlyéhtsê, pɔ́, ?éyàʔhítstê, pɔ́ʔaʔ. \text{·}}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{èy-lá} &= \text{há} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
?\text{éy-hí} = \text{tsê}\text{DC} \\
\text{pɔ́y}\text{MC}\text{S1}
\end{array}\right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
?\text{éy-áʔ-hí} = \text{tsê}\text{DC}
\end{array}\right] \\
\text{FILL-SEQ=} &= \text{ADD} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{eat.II-COND=} = \text{TOP} \quad \text{[be.good]} \\
\end{array}\right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{eat.I-3SG.NEG-COND=} = \text{TOP}
\end{array}\right] \\
\text{[pɔ́y-áʔ]MC} &= \text{S2} \\
\text{be.good-3SG.NEG}
\end{align*}\]

‘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 classes are deemed possible. Givón (2001: 331) differentiates an irrealis conditional and a counterfactual conditional. A state of affairs (hereafter SoA, after Christofaro 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 $\Sigma$-hi = tsæ, 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) ūh! tábong-tá̋, nángdámú, kéy shók hlötítitsæ, hyáʔhítisæ, ínimónæʔyhnænú \:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[úh tá-bóng-tá-ô náng dô = nú kény shók]} \\
\text{[INTJ elder.brother-almost-elder.brother=VOC 2SG COP=SS.EVID 1SG life]} \\
\text{hlöt-ti? = tsæ}_{S1} \quad \text{[hyáʔ-hí = tsæ e-ní-mön-aʔy -hná = nú]}_{S2} \\
\text{set.free.I-NMLZ=TOP} \quad \text{[be.not-COND=TOP 1P-INV-catch.II-IRR-ASSP=SS.EVID]}
\end{array}
\]

‘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
hi-independent clause verb also has a Stem II verb *shót* ‘look.II’.

(811) *hyōwlâ lów ūn póʔéyítse lów póékyângá? lá áánshóttéy.*

[hyów = lâ lów í-ní-póʔ-ēy-hí = tsâ]$_{DC}$ [lów
[Hyow=ERG swidden.field 3A-PL-DV.II-MID-COND=TOP] [swidden.field
pó-ēy-khóngá?]$_{DC}$ [lá á-á-ní-shót-ēy]$_{MC}$
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) *êyní, ʔéy láʔí, kî ʔéyní, wát láʔí, kî.*

[êyní [ʔéy-láʔ-ḥf]$_{DC}$ kî]$_{MC}$$_{S1}$ [êyní [wát-láʔ-ḥf]$_{DC}$ kî]$_{MC}$$_{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 *clù* ‘die’ in the independent clause does not have any stem
variants.
“bʉ̀ntsūhì, mông dḕ?yhyɔ̀” tîng tâ.


‘He said, “If you don’t find [the medicine], the king will die.”’

[ZM_TSK_THP_082015_Hyow_0050_009]

The conditional clause verb krɔ̂ ‘fall’ in (814) does not have a stem variant, but the corresponding independent clause verb, which is negated, has stem variants. Here, the verb shɔ̀t ‘butcher.I’ is in the Stem I form. The Stem II form of the verb is shɔ̀ʔ ‘butcher.II’, which is used in declarative and interrogative clauses with positive polarity.

zúldɘ̂ krɔ̀hì, shɔ̀thnʉ́nghnɔ̀ʔtî.

[zúl = dɘ̂  krɔ̀-hì = tsâ] DC  [shɔ̀t-hnʉ́ng-hnɔ̀ʔ- tô] MC

‘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 n|-í. 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) *nínishdátéyalhitsé, tû?úylâ inítmhnáŋkhês?*

[ní-ní-shot-ény-ál-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [tû?úy = là i-ní-tóm-hnúng-khês?]_{MC}


‘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 -áʔ, 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) *kárbárílâ náŋgâ?hítsé, hâléméylâ nâŋ.

[kárbárílâ = là nâŋ-áʔ-hí = tsâ]_{DC} [hâléméy = là nâŋ]_{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) ʊtʊk ál hi tə, 逺á ngó láyá khɔ̀m ay yə.  
[ʊ-tʊk- ál-hi = tsə]DC  [tsú = á  ngó láyá = á  khɔ̀m- ay 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.’

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 Nordstrom, 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.
As seen above, when the matrix clause verb is inflected by the irrealis suffix -ǽʔy, the meaning of the whole sentence is understood as non-factual, as demonstrated by the example in (818)

(818) **mõngdê hângálhtsê, ní nâmõng shûk mëy-łhy°.**

[mõng = dô hâng-âl-hí = tsê]_DC_ [ní nâm = ʂng shûk mëy-łhy°]_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]

If a independent verb of a matrix clause is marked by the irrealis suffix -ǽʔy, 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 -ǽʔy 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) bɔ́hí nétsètàlèʔyhítsè, nétsètèʔy?láʔhóʔdè; méynù̀.  

[so [[2S-go-DEP-IRR-COND=TOP] [2S-go-IRR-OBLG-PM=EMPH]]]  

[[mény-nú]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 -hñosʔ, and a delayed imperative is marked by -bòʔy. 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 -bòʔy projects the command after the speech moment, the conditional clause verb is inflected by the irrealis suffix -áʔy.
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

(821) *khòtsòdɘ̂ lòæ̀ʔyhì, ní tsɔngtsɔ̀ hlòkâltílá tãlɓøy.*

\[khó-tsò = dò \quad lò-æʔ-y-hí = tsæ̂]_{dc} \quad [ní \quad tsõng-tsò]

\[\text{rain-DIM=} \text{EMPH} \quad \text{come-IRR-COND=} \text{TOP} \quad [\text{PROX} \quad \text{paddy-DIM}]

hlók-âl-ú-lá]_{dc} \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad [tó-ál-bøy]_{MC}

pick.up.something.from.a.mat-DEP-2SG-SEQ \quad [\text{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 ŋmɔ̀ ‘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) “ɔ́-mɔ̀ ŋè́kgêsèthitse, ę́ hɔ́wє́yɓøy” tîng.

\[ʒmɔ̀ = ŋn̩ \quad ké-tsé-hí = tsæ̂ \quad ę̀ \quad hɔw-ę́y-bøy \quad tîng\]

GRP-first=INE \quad 1S-go-COND=TOP \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM} \quad \text{say.I-MID-DEL.IMP} \quad \text{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 capabilitive, or cognitive capabilitive 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 -áʔy-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 níbìéyæ̀ʔyshâng↘, nòkòyéyæ̀ʔyshânghtsâ” tîng.

[[èyhúʔy ní-bí-èy-(áʔy-sháng)]_DC
[[like.that 2A-work.II-(IRR-OPNT)DESID]]

[nò-kòy-èy-(áʔy-sháng)-hí = tsâ]_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) “lòwêŋ níbìéyæ̀ʔyshânghtsâ, ëydês lòwêŋ ëyêbêy” tîng ↘.

lòw = dó ní-bí-èy-áʔy-sháng-hí = tsâ ëydês
swidden.field=EMPH 2A-work.II-MID-IRR-DESID-COND=TOP then

lòw = ñng ëy-bêy 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) \textit{kéʔéyálnänghítse, kэ́y shóktsóni inhmátæỹy)}. \\
\begin{align*}
\text{kéʔ-éy-á̃l-hnúng-hí = tsè} & \quad \text{kéy shók-tsó = ní} & \quad \text{i-ní-hmát-æỹy} \\
\text{1A-eat.II-DEP-PH.CAP-COND=TOP} & \quad \text{1SG life-DIM=FOC} & \quad \text{1P-INV-keep.alive.II-IRR} \\
\text{‘If I am able to eat up, you will keep my life alive.’} \\
\end{align*}

\[\text{[ZM\_SMTB\_SPW\_082007\_Hyow\_0002\_0149]}\]

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) \textit{tsèthànghí, kétsétæỹhyỹ).} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{[tsét-sháng-hí]_{dc}} & \quad \text{[ké-tsét-æỹhyỹ]_{mc}} \\
\text{[go-OPNT-COND]} & \quad \text{[1S-go-IRR-PM]} \\
\text{‘If I should go, I will go.’} & \quad \text{[Elicited]} \\
\end{align*}
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 -hùt 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) “kó-taʔ-ykhó, núyhàntähí, ìtiâ kúnyâø-yhyâøm?” tìŋ shómôytsólâńf tâk \, môngá.


[[[1S-die-IRR-TNMLZ=LOC] [laugh-LV-1SG.NEG-COND]] [when


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.
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(828)  
\[tûy \text{ i-}nì-thôn-pôn-hî = \text{tsâ} \quad \text{tsîm-lé} \quad \text{thôn-} \text{ê}y\]  
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 =tsâ 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)  
\[kéydë \text{nûy-ngå} \text{hî} = \text{tsâ} \quad \text{ú} \quad \text{nûy-hy} = \text{m} \quad \text{]MC}\]  
\[1SG=EMPH \text{laugh-1SG.NEG-COND=TOP} \quad \text{who \quad laugh-PM=CONT.Q}\]

‗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) \( \text{èydõ èy nínypènhtsã, èydõ wùyéykhõl.} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[èydõèy ní-ní-pó-n-hí = tså]_{DC}} & \quad \text{[èydõwúy-èy-khõ]}_{MC} \\
\text{[then ANAPH.DEM 2A-PL-finish-COND=TOP] [then divide.I.IMP-MID-PL]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) \( \text{éhängålè?hyódõ tihitsã, bõhi, tsét, tsðnálnhi?ëå, phón ápðhni?ëå.} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[[[é-hæng-ål-é?y-hyɔ = dɔ]}_{DC} [tí-hí = tså]}_{MC} & \quad \text{[bõhi tsét]}_{MC}\text{]}_{S1} \\
\text{[[[3S-be.alive-DEP-IRR=EMPH]] [be.said-COND=TOP]] [so go.IMP]} \\
\text{[tsðn-ål-hni?-é]}_{S2} & \quad \text{[phón á-po-hni?-é]}_{S3} \\
\text{run.IMP-DEP-DL-POL} & \quad \text{[phone DIR-DV.I.IMP-DL-POL]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.
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) *tsùá fhní?shúy-thón, ëyáhá úhúl \*. 

\[tsú = å \quad \text{fhní?shúy-thón}_{\text{DC}} \quad \text{êy} = å = \text{há} \quad \text{ú-húl}_{\text{MC}}\]

[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 -thēná. 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 -thēná.

(834) *kálá?thēnātse, pók? úylá míníplë?ytsák \*. 

\[ká-lá?-thēná = tsā\]_{DC} \quad \text{pók} = kó \quad \text{úylá} \quad \text{míníplë?ytsák}_{\text{MC}} \]

[1A-pull.II-SC.CONCESS=TOP] [father=GEN dog=ERG 3A-PL-rend.II-IRR-COMP\L]

‘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
ments 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)  nútsíhə’yá bōhítsé níhú’y əy hmútō łaːktsé thōn=pétsé, ibó hmútō pêkéyt’hy=šm?

[ŋɔ̃-tsɔ̂-hə’y=á bɔ́hí=tsə̀ níhú’y əy hmútá

[2SG.POSS-son-DL=DAT so=TOP like.this ANAPH DEM woman

láːktsə̀ thōn-pé=tsə̀]DC [ibó hmútó pêk-éy-tí-hy=šm]MC

perfectM 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) kə́yátsé ęyú’y tso kóphát’al, dúkhá? bənpé ə.

[kəy =á =tsə̀ [ęyú’y tso kó-phát’ál]MC dúkhá? bən-pé]DC

[1SG=ADD=TOP [like.that lesson lA-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).
Complex sentence structure

(837) *shɔ́ inhyul \textbackslash . inhyulthɔ́n, ëyådå krók \textbackslash .*

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{[shɔ́ i-ni-hyul]}_{s1} & \quad \text{[[i-ni-hyul-thɔ́n]}_{dc} & \quad \text{[ëy = å = dɔ́} \\
\text{[pig 3A-PL-follow.II]} & \quad \text{[[3A-PL-follow.II-CONCESS]} & \quad \text{[ANAPH.DEM=LOC=EMPH}
\end{aligned}
\]

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) *kárβáři khéw khínáʔthǹatste ñpɔ́y.*

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{[kárβáři khéw khín-ʔáʔ-thǹá = tsâ]}_{dc} & \quad \text{[3-ñpɔ́y]_{MC}} \\
\text{[village.chief word listen.I-3SG.NEG-SC.CONCESS=TOP]} & \quad \text{[3S-be.good]}
\end{aligned}
\]

‘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 *-thɔ́n* or *-thǹá*. 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 *kɔ́-,* 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 *-ngɔ́* suffixally, while the S argument of the independent clause verb is unmarked. On the other hand, a non-canonical concessive clause marked by *-thɔ́n* or *-thǹá* 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) **kádaṭhènâtsè, nòpò méykhàʔ.**

\[ \text{ká-ðù-thôná} = \text{tsâ} \_{\text{DC}} \quad \text{nò-pò} \quad \text{mê-y-khâʔ} \_{\text{MC}} \]

\[ 1S-\text{die-SC.CONCESS=TOP} \quad 2S\text{G.POSS-father exist-FACT} \]

‘Even if I die, your father is there for sure.’

[ZM_SATS_THP_082015_Hyow_0022_0056]

(840) **hmùéyngàthôn, pòyéhyà.**

\[ \text{hmú-èy-ngà-thôn} \_{\text{DC}} \quad \text{pòy-èy-hy} \_ \text{tûng} \_{\text{MC}} \]

\[ \text{see.I-MID-1SG.NEG-CONCESS} \quad \text{be-good-MID-PM QT} \]

‘Though I did not give birth to her, it was wonderful.’

[ZM_ARGS5_082015_Hyow_0008_013]

(841) **tsètshàngthônâ tsètna.**

\[ \text{tsét-shâng-thôná} \_{\text{DC}} \quad \text{tsét-ngâ} \_{\text{MC}} \]

\[ \text{go-OPNT-CONCESS} \quad \text{go-1SG.NEG} \]

‘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 -âʔ 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.
Complex sentence structure

(842) *shòtshàngǎthén, kóshòtth chá*.  


[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 *hyánn* ‘throw.II’ and *lòtêy* ‘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.
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

(843) *Shyọnè?ythènè, ngòlé≤yhyɔ̀*.

[3-hyɔ̀n-áʔ-y-thòná]DC       [ngò-ló-éy-hyɔ̀]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) *tsú à dàng ọlèle≤y⁺ythènè, dàng kẹ́m*.

[tṣù = á   ọlèle = èng   ọlèle≤y-thòná]DC       [dàng = èng]
[DIST=LOC  GRP-below=INE 3S-PL-go.down-IRR-SC.CONCESS]  [GRP-below=INE]

kẹ́m]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.
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 tsëntsɔ̂ŋ thɘ̀ná nókhó tsëntsɔ̂ŋ khât ɔ̀dòwǽ” tíngni tákhnɘ́ʔtî.

[[nú-kút tsɘ̂n-tsɔ̂ = ɘ̂ ng ɔ̀dó-thɘ̀ná]DC [nó-khó
[[2SG.POSS-hand tip-DIM=INE 1P-give.I-2SG.NEG-SC.CONCESS] [2SG.POSS-leg

‘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.
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 -thôná (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 = ə̂ng, marks reason clauses in Hyow, which explains the difference in syntactic status of a reason clause marked by -ə̂ng 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 -ə̂ng 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) ə̂pyéy hmúʔhə̂ng, tɔ̀kéyhyò̂ dátsò.

[5-ə̂pyéy  hmúʔ-hØ-ə̂ng]DC  [tɔ̀k-éy-hyò̂  dátsò]MC

[3SG.POSS-beauty see.II-PM-REAS]  [keep.II-MID-PM DP]

‘Because he saw her beauty, he kept her for himself, OK?’

[Autor_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) \textit{kútsúnhúti? kótsú?átsé \textasciitilde{n}í\textcircumflex{}lúng \textasciitilde{d}úk\textasciitilde{h}á?=\textasciitilde{ng} \textasciitilde{í}\textasciitilde{m}éy, k\ý \textasciitilde{ó}ng\textasciitilde{á}h\textasciitilde{é}höng}. \]

\begin{verbatim}
[1SG.POSS-daughter-PL 1SG.POSS-son-PL=ADD=TOP 3PL.POSS-heart sorrow=INE
í-ñí-méy]_{MC} [kéy óp-ngá-há-ñng]_{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) \textit{‘	extit{ækèhöngdö, k\ýy khr\ýng \textasciitilde{ú}túk\ý y-hyödö hnúpåk’ ‘t\ýng \textasciitilde{t}ókhn\ý\ýt\ýt}.}

\begin{verbatim}
[ækáe-há-ñng = dš]_{DC} [[k\ýy khr\ýng ú-túk\ý-æ?y-hyöd = dš
[3S-be.scared-PM-REAS=EMPH] [[1SG people 1P-kill.II-IRR-PM=EMPH

hnúp-åk t\ýng]_{REPC} [t\ýk-hnö?-t\ý]\_{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)  \(\text{èy philûnûá lôál-dsk-khò-ûng, èy bit-tsô khò-mèyhnî?ti.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èy} & \quad \text{philûnû = à lô-ál-dsk-khò-ûng}_{\text{DC}} & \quad \text{èy} & \quad \text{bit-tsô} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM} & \quad \text{giantess=ADD} & \quad \text{come-DEP-ANT-PM-REAS} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM a.little.bit} \\
\text{khò} & \quad \text{mèy-ûng} = â \text{tî}_{\text{MC}} \\
\text{time=LOC} & \quad \text{stay-ULTM=R.EVID} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 ñhôwkhô-ûng, ím hngât kôshô-kpèkhô.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èy = là} & \quad \text{ñhôw-ûng}_{\text{DC}} & \quad \text{ím} & \quad \text{hngât kôshô-kpèkhô}_{\text{MC}} \\
\text{ANAPH.DEM=ERG 1P-say.II-FACT-REAS} & \quad \text{house one 1A-make.II-BEN-PM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 \(hm:ð\) ‘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 *hmšt* ‘know.I’, then there will be no cohesive meaning of the sentence.

(853) (*Èyè[d tfú bézí*–tsó tóyúng ló-ìngbálâtsæ, ló-ìálìtsæ, hmštì*i y\* y, ìtsó hângálâ*ŷhŷ-ìng ̆.\*)

*Èyè[d [tsú bézí-tsó tóyúng [ló-ìng-bál-lâ=tsâ]DC then [[DIST mongoose-DIM vaccine [bring.I-DUR-3SG-SEQ=TOP]


‘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) (*Tsètsìngshông*ãng ̆, kînîtsé ̆.\*)

[tsé-tshàng-hngâng]DC [kí-ní-tsé]DC

[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](image)

On the other hand, in a preposed reason clause, the clause-linking suffix - skł at the boundary of the clause retains its underlying falling tone, which is clearly visible in Figure 58.
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 -äk 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) áánítsæ̀ʔlàkdɘ̂, ínítày êy ↘.

[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 -àká, 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) 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 pɔ̂ shɔ́ngshál méyà hángháng zibóndzapón ínsháláyæ?hyɔ̂, ímbrátshɔ́lánî ↗.

[kêy pɔ́ shɔ́ngshál méy-àká]DC [hángháng zibóndzapón
[1SG father family exist-TER.DLM] [all livelihood
í-ní-sháláy-æ?y-hyɔ̂ ím-brát-shɔ́ = là = 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.
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(857) ḡy ḡówyí ɲyúmáká, lókpéktì.

[ekyllópекá][MC]

‘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) ḡy méyák, búʔ kéʔyáʔyhyá.

rice 1A-ECRR-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 -ák 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.
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 -ά 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 -ά originates from the general
locative case clitic =ā. 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 -ā.

(859) *tsónéyá, tsétthš èyhû?y ≠, hngúdâ.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[tsónéy-â]DC} & \quad \text{[tsét-thš èyhû?y]MC} & \quad \text{hngúdâ} \\
\text{[roam-PURP]} & \quad \text{[go-PM like.that]} & \quad \text{DP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He went for roaming like that, OK?’

[ZM_ARGS6_082015_Hyow_0009_0009]

A non-motion purposive clause is marked by -ēng, which originates from the inessive locative case marker =ēng. A non-motion purposive clause is obligatorily marked by the irrealis suffix -ēʔy. 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) *áphétní, lóálè?yâng pó? ≠.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[á-phétn-ñí]DC} & \quad \text{[ló-áł-â?y-ēng]DC} & \quad \text{[pó?]MC} \\
\text{[DIR-scold.II-TEMP]} & \quad \text{[bring.II-DEP-IRR-PURP]} & \quad \text{[DV.II]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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
Complex sentence structure

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) \textit{khrɔ̂ng ?éyâ, fntsèthɔ̃.}

\texttt{[khrɔ̂ng \ ?éy-á]\_DC [í-nís-tșt-thɔ̃]\_MC}

\texttt{[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) \textit{khúyúngáù? tôngshò fntsldòhɔ̃, ph rmsáù? tôngshò tõmɛʔyâng.}

\texttt{[khúyúng = â = kś? \ tôngshò \ í-ní-lò-hɔ̃]\_MC}

\texttt{[highland=LOC=GEN \ indigenous.people \ 3S-PL-come-PM]}

\texttt{[phrm = â = kś? \ tôngshò \ tím-əʔy-âng]\_DC}

\texttt{[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
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Construction are in fact 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 tsēt ‘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 bi khètsè pò?ydék. tûå lòkéyâ kétsètèʔyhnôʔ.¹

[èy bi khè=tsè pò-y-dék]_{S1} [[tûå lòkéy-å]_{DC}
[ANAPH.DEM work all=TOP be.finished-ANT] [[now play-PURP]
[ké-tsèt-åʔy-hnôʔ]_{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 â’yëk inlâʔhɔ̂, ëy tsùâ tsɔ́ʔyɘ̂ŋ inhyəndââ.

[èy â’yëk í-ní-lâʔ-h📍]MC [èy tsû = â]
[ANAPH.DEM GRP-corpse 3A-PL-pull.II-PM] [ANAPH.DEM DIST=LOC

[tsɔ́ʔy-ɘ̂ng]DC [í-ní-hyən-dán = 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) núlà bì pɔʔyñí, “lòkété tsêtè” tíŋ.

[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.
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.

Figure 60: Graphical representation of zero intonation at the boundary of a purposive clause
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.

(866) shůʔ fntõngéhyɔ̂, khǽní útú ákrɔ́lhmɔ́ná.

[shůʔ í-ní-tõng-éy-hyɔ̂]DC [khǽ ní útú]
[prayer3A-PL-perform.prayers-MID-PM] [all=FOC together]
á-krɔ́-ál-hmɔ́ná]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 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 tséʔ ‘go’ cannot be increased by the instrumental or locative applicative. The sentence is grammatically correct without the applicative suffix.

(867) ɔ́tsɔ̂lɔ́hmɔ́ná, póʔéyæhyɔ̂.

[ɔ́tsɔ̂lɔ́hmɔ́ná]DC [póʔ-éyæy-hyɔ̂]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]
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.

\[(869) \, ^{*}\text{èyá tsèkbåy, èylå èyá hówpèkhnúnghmónå.} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{èy} & = \text{á} \quad \text{tsèk-båy}]_{\text{MC}} \\
[\text{ANAPH.DEM}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{teach.I-DEL.IMP}] \\
[\text{gárl̩ = əng} \quad \text{tsét-nåk-hnång-hmónå}]_{\text{DC}} \\
[\text{bus}_B=\text{INST} \quad \text{go-INST.APP-PH.CAP-MTV.PURP}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

\*(Lit)‘Give him money so that he can go by a bus.’ [Elicited]

\[(869) \, ^{*}\text{èyá tsèkbåy, èylå èyá hówpèkhnúnghmónå.} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{èy} & = \text{á} \quad \text{tsèk-båy}]_{\text{MC}} \\
[\text{èy} & = \text{lå} \quad \text{èy} = \text{á}] \\
[\text{ANAPH.DEM}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{teach.I-DEL.IMP}] & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM}=\text{ERG} \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM}=\text{DAT} \\
\text{hów-pèk-hnång-hmǻnå} & \text{DC} \\
\text{say.I-BEN-PH.CAP-MTV.PURP}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Teach him, so that he, can tell him,’ [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) *èy=lâ shót-â?y-mâ-hâ]_{MC} [hêl-êy-â?y-hnûng-hmônâ]_{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 the 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) èydọ èyłúp hyúlpé, hyúlpé, shéták khọ̀ shọ̀ ní? kíníkhàmdù

èydọ [èyłúp hyúlpé hyúlpé]DC [shét-ák khọ = à shọ-ní?
then [like.that follow-SIM follow-SIM] [CLS-one time=LOC wild.pig-foot.print
kí-ní-khùm-dù]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) ḣyɖə ḣy khóə ḣyłùŋ mút-pë mút-pë, ínfvéhyòti, hŋúdá.

[łożyć ḣy khó = á [łożyć mút-pë mút-pë = á]DC
[then ANAPH.DEM time=LOC [like.that starve-SIM starve-SIM=SC.ADD]
í-nf-mé-hyò-tì]MC hŋúdá
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 káŋ ‘cry’.

(873) ḣy útsúhnútsáng-tsólláí ḣyhúʔy kàppé kàppèŋ, ḣy únúá nípf hôngkhoì pék ná.

[łożyć ú-tsúhnú-tsáng-tsół = lâ = ni [łożyć y káŋ-pë
ANAPH.DEM 3SG.POSS-daughter-old-DIM=ERG like.that cry-SIM
káŋ-pë = ní]DC łożyć ú-nú = á nípf hông-khõl 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.’

[JM_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-
ocurrence 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](image)

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 -hlɔŋə. Like the simultaneous clause, a circumstantial clause is also repeated twice or more. The first

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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) ेय हनौणे प्रह्येउँग प्रह्येउँग प्रह्येउँग गा, केम्बनुत्ती।
èy-hnɔʔ-lá = tsâ [èy hyun = ɔng = ní phɔ̀-y-hlɔŋ
ANAPH.DEM-ULT-SEQ=TOP [ANAPH.DEM rope=INST=FOC be.hung-MID-CIR
phɔ̀-y-hlɔŋ phɔ̀-y-hlɔŋâ]DC [kɔm-hnɔʔ- tô]MC
be.hung-MID-CIR be.hung-MID-CIR] [ascend-ULT-R.EVID]

‘Finally, after that, he climbed up hanging with that rope.’

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 -hlɔŋâ. 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) केलेय्हम्लेंगार, लस्तैलहनुत्ती।
kâlɛʔ-y-hlɔŋâ, lûstālhlɔntitf.
[kâlɛʔ-y-hlɔŋâ]DC [ì-nî-tsɛt-âl-hnɔʔ- tô]MC
[envy.II-CIR] [3S-PL-go-DEP-ULT-R.EVID]

‘Envyng 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) ékéuni pəyyní, ʔéyhlôngâ, étsêt.


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 – lât ‘put.I’ and láp ‘pull.II’. The use of the Stem I verb in a circumstantial clauses is instantiated in (877).

(877) ęydâ ęy nútsê ʔáyhnâ? láthlôngâ, éyâ tsî?


‘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.
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 pûhÎngâtsê, ibû kîphîâlû tûlhyôtûm?

[ú-lûng pû-hÎngâ = tsê]DC [ibû kî-phîâ = ëû]MC

[3SG.POSS-heart worry-CIR=TOP] [how 1SG.POSS-wife=ERG]

tûl-ûlhyôtû = ëûm

weave.II-DEP-PM=CONT.Q

‘He thought, “How will my wife weave worrying?”’

[Intonation does not come into play in identifying a circumstantial clause boundary. Figure 63 shows that the circumstantial clause-linking suffix -hmûnû retains its underlying falling tone at the boundary of the circumstantial clause.]

(878) èy lâm dêdé?dê phûlêynâhlôngê, tsêtê.


[ANAPH.DEM road = EMPH [spread-MID-SPNT-CIR] go-POL.IMP]

‘Spreading sand on your face, go along that road.’

[ZM_KM_KK_062007_Hyow_0031_104]
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.
Complex sentence structure

(880) **lów pó-ê-y-khôngá? lá á-ní-štót-êy.**

\[ \begin{align*}
{lów} & \quad \text{swidden.field} \\
pó-ê-y-khôngá? & \quad \text{DV.I-MID-POST.TEMP} \\
{lá} & \quad \text{land} \\
á-á-ní-štót-êy & \quad \text{3A-DIR-PL-look.II-MID}
\end{align*} \]

‘Before cultivating the swidden field, one checks the land.’

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) **fístôngâ?hyô-khôngá?tsâ, âmôngni tsiimlé thôntsâkôngâlâtsâ, infshông.**

\[ \begin{align*}
{i-ní-tông-ê?y-hyô-khôngá?} & \quad \text{tsâ} \\
{ám} & \quad \text{ng} = \text{nî} \\
{tsiimlé} & \quad \text{fermented.liquid}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
{3A-PL-pick.II-IRR-PM-POST.TEMP} & \quad \text{TOP} \\
{pot=INE=FOC} & \quad \text{fermented.liquid}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{thôn-tsâk-ông-ú-lá} & \quad \text{tsâ} \\
[i-ní-shông] & \quad \text{3A-PL-put.on.stove.II}
\end{align*} \]

‘Before they will keep the alcohol, putting the fermented liquid completely inside a pot, they put (the pot) on a stove.

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.


[[náŋ tsíttyú nó-shó?-hó dék = thng]RC [kró-khángá?]MC]DC
[2SG saliva 2A-spit.out.II-PM soil=INE] [fall-POST.TEMP]]


‘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) kèy kópkháŋga? ínhyòldòk ‘.

kèy kóp-kháŋga? í-ní-hyòldòk
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.
The temporal point of the dependent verb of a non-canonical posterior temporal clause is relative to 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.

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) *fùshòngè?yhyókhòngagâ?tsè, îbò fùnìpì?mòm?*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[i-ní-shóng-è?y-hyò-khòngá?=tsè]}_{\text{DC}} & \quad \text{[ibò]} \\
\text{[3A-PL-put.on.stove.II-IRR-PM-POST.TEMP=TOP]} & \quad \text{[what]} \\
\text{i-ní-pó?-mò = ëm]}_{\text{MC}} \\
\text{3A-PL-DV.II-PRIOR=CONT.Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) *zúdhókhòngagâ? kíñímêykhòè, ëyà.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[zúdhó-khòngâ?]}_{\text{DC}} & \quad [kí-ní-mèy-khòè? \quad ëy = â]}_{\text{MC}} \\
\text{[warí-POST.TEMP]} & \quad [1S-PL-líve-FACT \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM=} \text{LOC}]
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.
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.
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

(888) ेयदो शह बानाबाक, किनिलो।

ेयदो [शह बृन-ा-बाक]DC [किनि-लो-अ]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) ेयनिकडाबाक अमृे।

ेयनिः [कडा-आ-बाक]DC [आ-मृ]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) दूमाबाक, क्हो वाएक, टसिंग नुतुमॅयलाहृ।

[दूमा-आ-बाक]DC [क्हो वा-आ क]DC [टसिंग]

[stop.II-NEG-NEG.ADV] [time be.light-INCEP.DEL=FOC] [drum

नु-तुम-आय-ला-हृ]MC

2A-play.music.instruments.II-IRR-OBIG-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) khrɔ́nglá hmùáʔbák, tső̠ tšè tšæ̤ tîng.

‘The mother said, “Son, let’s go, lest people see (so that people do not see).”’

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) *kíbbálláʔ, tsò phôtíaʔtiáʔbák.*

\[ \text{[kí-bí-álláʔ]}_{\text{MC}} \quad \text{[tsò phôt-láʔ-tí-áʔ-bák]}_{\text{DC}} \]

[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) *kràktiáʔbák, khrônglâ tahnéngtiáʔbák, hówñéngtiáʔbák.*

\[ \text{[krák-tí-áʔ-bák]}_{\text{DC}} \quad \text{[khrông = lá]} \]

[be.wicked-NITER-NEG-ADV] [people=ERG]

tá-hnúng-tí-áʔ-bák]_{DC} \quad \text{[hów-hnúng-tí-áʔ-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
Complex sentence structure

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) *kəmdoâ?bâk, êynì ëy lâ?∂ŋ ĭmpânêytì.*

\[\text{[kóm-dó-á?-bâk]}_{\text{dc}} \quad \text{[êynì ëy \ lâ?-∂ŋ]}\]
\[\text{[descend-PREF-NEG-NEG.ADV]} \quad \text{[so ANAPH.DEM pull.II=INE]}\]
\[\text{í-nf-pán-ëy = tî]}_{\text{mc}}\]
\[\text{3A-PL-call.II-MID=R.EVID]}\]

‘Even though he did not like to come down, they called him by pulling.’

[ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_005]


\[\text{[hyá?-bâk = tså]}_{\text{dc}} \quad \text{[tè-lå?-hnɔ̀?-pû]}_{\text{mc}}\]
\[\text{[be.not-NEG.ADV=TOP]} \quad \text{[hold.tight.I-OBLG-DELNEG-1INC.DL.NEG]}\]

‘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.
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 
-𝐩òǹŋ, which is the combination of the terminative aspectual suffix -𝐩òǹ (see §9.2.2.9) and the locative marker -șң. 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) ꞗy’d ꞗʊŋ ꞗmín-𝐩òǹŋ, ꞗ_FINE phìt-șòǹ ꞗӹǹǹŋ.

ꞗy’d ꞗʊŋ ꞗmín-𝐩òǹŋ| ꞗbín = șŋ ꞗphìt-șò=șŋ
then ꞗ[paddy ꞗripe-ӹ�] ꞗ[sickle=INST ꞗbasket-DIM=INST]

í-ӹ-Ӳ-允-ӹǹŋ| ꞗ3A-ӹ-Ӳ-允-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 tsé̂ ‘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.
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 -ǽʔ 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).
After I give birth to the child, we will tell them my name.

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.

After I came, she had lain down there.

There is verbless version of the anterior temporal clause, where the unitary functional clause-linking suffix -pə̀nəŋ is attached to a noun phrase, as illustrated in (901).
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

(901) ęypənɔŋ kɛ ɔ́lɔ káshán

ęy-pənɔŋ  kɛ  ɔ́lɔ  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](image)

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 -
lá. 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) èyðﬂ hø lén nû khrá tsðwání kõybaøløtsè, ákøpëyhnøtøffe.
èyð[ [hø lén nû khrá tsðw=â=nî [kõy-bá-lá=tsè]DC
then [bird be.big mother wing bottom=LOC=FOC [ascend-3SG-SEQ=TOP]
á-kõp-êy-hnø?=tî]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 – nɔ̀ ‘marry.I’ and nɔ́k ‘marry.II’. Only Stem I can be used in this type of clause.

(903) nát tsùhnú nɔ́ʊngbálsá, ëyhyð, ëy biëyhyð.

\[\text{nát tsùhnú nɔ́-ŋbá-lá = tsá}_D \quad \text{[ëy-hyð ëy bi-ëy-hyñ]}_M\]

\[\text{[gooddaughter marry.I-stat-3sg-seq=tp]} [\text{fill-pm anaph.dem work.II-mid-pm}]

‘Having married the king’s daughter married, he cultivated that swidden field.’

\[\text{ZM_BCSF_UKC_072007_Hyow_0032_011}\]

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) kény bhnhángngá.

\[\text{kény bí-hnâng-ngá}\]

1SG work.I-ph.cap-1SG.neg

‘I cannot work.’ [ZM_ARGS1_052015_Hyow_0001_015]

(905) tòwngálsá, krówéyhnängngá.

\[\text{[tòw-ngá-lá = tsá]}_D \quad [\text{krøwéy-hnâng-ngá]}_M\]

\[\text{[look.straight.I-1sg-seq=top]} [\text{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 -hɲ?ɭ) of the sequential clause is coreferential with the third person dual A argument (marked by í-hnᶓ) of the independent clause verb here.

(906) bãnhãʔylâtsã, ñydð ímáñí thnᶓʔtsïʔ.  

[bûn-hóʔy-lâ = tsᶒ]DC [ñydð ím = â = ní í-hnᶓ-ʔtsîʔ]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) méyalùngálatšã, ñydð túák? phíá kólówéyãł.  

[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 tsóŋ-éy-úngá-lá = tsᶒ 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.
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 *hɔ́w ‘say.I’ in the sequential clause in (909) is partly reduplicated, and the reduplicated form *hɔ́ precedes the root. Likewise, the Stem I verb *lát ‘pull.I’ in the sequential clause in (910) is reduplicated, and the reduplicated form *lát precedes the root.

(909) *hɔ́w mő ínkɔ́y

\[ khápzá lúng hɔ́w-ú-lá ]_{DC} \quad [ lów \quad mő \quad í-ní-kɔ́y ]_{MC} \\
\{ song_{M} \text{ word}_{M} \text{ REDUP}-\text{say}-3\text{PL}-\text{SEQ} \} \{ \text{swidden.field front} \quad 3\text{A}-\text{PL}-\text{ascend} \} \\

‘saying, saying words of songs, they climbed up in front of the swidden field.’ 

[ZM\_BCSF\_UKC\_072007\_Hyow\_0032\_016]
‘Pulling, pulling the bamboo from a bunch, carrying on their shoulder, they weaved fence materials beside the house.

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.

‘Telling, telling that way, they searched the python.’

As for MA markers, a sequential clause verb has the same restrictions as other canonical adverbal 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.
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.

(912) \( \textit{pyọ́pyọ́?yùlá, tátíkhóltsè íntsètálè?hyý?} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{pyọ́-pyọ́-ày-ù-lá}]_{DC} & \quad [\text{tátí}-\text{khól} = \text{tsè}] \\
[\text{be.happy-be.happy-IRR-3PL-SEQ}] & \quad [\text{tell.I-NMLZ-EXP=TOP}] \\
í-ñí-tsèt-âl-à?y-hyý?}_{MC} & \quad 3S-PL-go-DEP-IRR-PM
\end{align*}
\]

\*‘Being happy, being happy, the brothers will go away.’ [Elicited]

‘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.

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 be 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 its 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’.

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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, _hmútstås5 ‘girl’, is the dative argument of the relative clause preceding it.

(914) _kêy khéypá ké-pék-ti? _hmútstås5 _kêy _ím = â _lé-hɔ.

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 agentive \(^{24}\) 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 -\(\text{-t}i\)?. The nominalizer is homophonous with the kinship plural markers -\(\text{-t}i\)?. 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 -\(\text{-t}i\)? 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 \(k\text{\-m}\) ‘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) \(\text{èydš èy thé?y shikéytí? kámálhlš}.\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èydš} & \quad \text{[èy thé?y shik-êy-ti?]}_{\text{RC}} \quad \text{[kám-âl-hlš]}_{\text{MC}} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{[ANAPH.DEIM fruit pluck.I-MID-NMLZ]} \quad \text{[descend-DEP-PM]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then [the person] who was plucking the fruits climbed back down.’

[\text{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 – \(\text{hngât} ‘\text{one}’\) (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) \textit{gáří sháláyti? hngátâni, p̄hón k̄ínpô?sh̄k}.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{[gáří \_ sháláy-ti?]_{RC} \ [hngát = á = ní \ phón \ k̄í-ní-pô?-sh̄k]_{MC}}
\item \text{[bus drive\textsubscript{B}\_NMLZ] \ [one=DAT=FOC \ phone 3A-PL-DV.II-REAS]}
\end{itemize}

‘We made him call to the one who drove a bus.’

[ZM\_SATS\_THP\_082015\_Hyow\_0022\_0083]

(917) \textit{èyhúʔy p̄̄v̄̄ȳʔti? pr̄̄th̄í̄b̄ī̄šng m̄̄ȳʔi?}.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{[èyhúʔy \_ p̄v̄̄ȳ-ê̄y-ti?]_{RC} \ [pr̄̄th̄í̄b̄ī̄ = śng \ m̄̄ȳ-áʔ]_{MC}}
\item \text{[like.her be.good-MID\_NMLZ] \ [world\textsubscript{B}=INE \ exist-3SG.NEG]}
\end{itemize}

‘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 \textit{thòn̄eČ} ‘become’. The relative clause, which has negative polarity, takes a third person negative suffix.
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

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) bɔ́hítsæ̂, kéyá kìáng Ǐkhwáʔ thókdékùʔ, kìáng nûtsóbót élênthéʔy ěhèltílætsé, ìkhônprék.

bɔ́hí = tsæ̂ [kéy = â] [kìáng Ǐkhwáʔ thók-dék-tîʔ]RC kìáng
so=TOP [1SG=DAT deer antler come.out-ANT-NMLZ] deer
nû-tsó-bót ě-lé̂n-théʔy ě-hèl-tî-lá = tsæ̂]SEQ,CL
mother-child-including GRP-be.big-SUP 1P-select.I-2SG-SEQ=TOP]

[ǐ-khôn-prék]MJC
[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) **krongshang öngë?yi?tsë öngshòk \( \rightarrow \), hyumë?yi?tsë hyumshòk \( \rightarrow \), tlá krökni.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[krongshang} & \quad \text{[öng-ë?y-ti?=tsë]}_{RC} \quad \text{óng-shòk]}_{MC} \quad [[\text{hyúm-ë?y-ti?=tsë}]]_{RC} \\
\text{immediately} & \quad [\text{win.I-IRR-NMLZ}=\text{TOP}] \quad \text{win.II-REAS} \quad [[\text{lose-IRR-NMLZ}=\text{TOP}]
\end{align*}
\]

hyum-shòk]_{MC} [tlá krök-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) **nópoks? shë? mranthë?yi? \( \rightarrow \) álô tîng tåk \( \rightarrow \).**

\[
\begin{align*}
[[\text{nó-pó=ks}] \quad \text{shë} \quad \text{mrán-thé?y-ti?}]_{RC} \quad [\text{á-ló}]}_{MC} \quad \text{tíng]}_{REPC}[\text{ták}]_{REC} \\
[[2\text{SG.POSS-father}=\text{GEN horse} \quad \text{be.fast-SUP-NMLZ}] \quad [\text{DIR-fetch.I} \ \text{QT}] \quad [\text{tell.II}]
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.
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 -tïʔ. 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).

\[(922) \text{khéytsê thô?w kóólî? tòå kóókkhö?dâ.} \]

\[
[khéy=tsê thô?w kó-lô-tì?]_{RC} \quad [tòå=å] \quad kó-ôk-khö? = dâ]_{MC}
\]

[Khey=TOP from 1A-bring.II-NMLZ] \[\text{medicine=ADD 1A-drink.II-FACT=EMPH}\]

‘For sure, I really ate the medicine too, which I brought from Khey.’

\[\text{[ZM}\_\text{SB}\_\text{PPK}_\text{082015}\_\text{Hyow}_\text{0023}_\text{0048}]\]

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.

\[(923) \text{nìå kêy kàéhëngëynàkî? hôngâltî? ù姆?} \]

\[
[[nì=å \quad kêy \quad kàé-hëng-ëy-nàk-tî?]_{RC1} \quad [hông-âl]_{MC-tî?]_{RC2}}
\]

[[\text{PROX=LOC} 1SG 1A-imprison.II-MID-LOC-NMLZ] \ [release.I-DEP]-NMLZ]

\[[û=ùm]\]

[who=CONT.Q]

‘Who is the person who released the girls whom I imprisoned here?’

\[\text{[ZM}\_\text{KM}\_\text{TUK}_\text{062007}\_\text{Hyow}_\text{0027}_\text{046}]\]

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.
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 ɛylâ, ɛy phîlûnlûlâ tsânêyti? preposing the independent clause is restrictive, which is an obligatory part of the independent clause. On the other hand, the relative clause ūnûdîlî hyótî? lûprëadî 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).
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.

\[\text{Figure 70: Intonation at the boundary of a patientive clause}\]
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 -ðûn, 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) ëy kùtûkðûn sûrf lôbûy.

[ëy kú-tûk-dûn]RC sûrf lô-bûy
[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 tô ‘medicine’ of the matrix clause verb hyôn ‘throw.II’.

(927) hôythæ?y kîhmînâkðûn tô kôhyônâldôk k.

[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 hlimnàkàndèn ní shònì póyhy₅.*

[há  hlím-nàk-dàn]RES.RC  ní  shònì  póy-hy₅
[biscuit be.delicious-INST.APP-INMLZ] PROX  sugar  be.good-PM

‘This sugar with which the biscuit is delicious is good.’ [Elicited]

(929) *kèy kómpúm hngàt kéhlèʔdék[href]₇, phèl nùtùkhñàngèʔyòdèn.*

kèy  kómpúm  hngàt  ké-hlèʔ-y-dék  [phèl
1SG  stick  one  1A-buy.II-ANT  [snake
nù-ṭùk-hnàng-èʔ-y-dùn]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 - dú̂n. 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 = öng. 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-dùn* ‘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 *hyśl* ‘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 ífikhyôdûn kàmâñì, ôhlông kàmå, èyânì, lâmâñì, hyðlhnɔ̀ʔtì.*

\[
\text{[tûy í-ní-khôy-dûn]}_\text{RC} \quad \text{kóm}=\text{â}=\text{nî} \quad \text{ôhlông} \quad \text{kóm}=\text{â}
\]

\[
\text{[water 3A-PL-pick.up-PNMLZ]} \quad \text{bank}=\text{LOC}=\text{FOC} \quad \text{river} \quad \text{bank}=\text{LOC}
\]

\[
\text{èy}=\text{â}=\text{nî} \quad \text{lâm}=\text{â}=\text{nî} \quad \text{hyśl-hnɔ̀ʔ}=\text{tì}
\]

\text{ANAPH.DEM}=\text{LOC}=\text{FOC} \quad \text{road}=\text{LOC}=\text{FOC} \quad \text{lie.down-ULT}=\text{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* – *hlök* ‘bathe.I’ and *hlóʔ* ‘bathe.II’. The nominalized relative clause in this example is referring to the place where the narrator went to drink water.
Complex sentence structure

(931) *tsú shémyâtsâ lá tû hlóʔhóʔdânaʔ? kàâokkkhâ.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tsú} = & \quad \text{shémyâtsâ} = \quad \text{lá} \quad \text{tû} \quad \text{hlóʔ-dânaʔ} = \quad â = \quad \text{kàâokkkhâ.} \\
\text{DIST=LOC} & \quad \text{boy=ERG} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{bathe.II-PNMLZ=LOC=GEN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

ká-á-ók-khâ

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 *tâw ‘forest’ marked by the locative case clitic =â is modified by both the place relative clauses in this example.

(932) *èydâ tówâ khรณ kʰèw hlówâ?dânaʔ, khรณ mèyâdânaʔ. ání lúngshâng.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èydâ} & \quad \text{tów} = \quad â \quad \text{[khรณ kʰèw} \quad \text{hlówâ?-dânaʔ = â]} \text{RC} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{forest=LOC} \quad \text{[people word be.loud-3SG.NEG-PNMLZ=LOC]} \\
\text{[khรณ mèy-ú-dânaʔ = â]} \text{RC} & \quad \text{ání} \quad \text{lúngshâng} \\
\text{[people live-3PL.NEG-PNMLZ=LOC]} & \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{alone} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) *kéynĩ? kín_sidâňa, kínméy_dâňa, kínlo ál.*


[1PL 1A-PL-work.II-PNMLZ=LOC] [1A-PL-live-PNMLZ=LOC]

kí-ní-lô-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) *pákhopšng iníkhômâ?hô mâng ômdân.*

pákhop = šng í-ní-khôm-lâ?hô [mâng ômdân] NON-RES.RC

pitcher.stand = INE 3A-set-OBLG-PM [pitcher sît-NMLZ]

‘They have to set (the picher) 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
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

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 ínkápphôkhoâ kéytsê kâpyô.

[èy-khôl í-ní-kâp-phô-khô = â]_{RC} [kêy = tsê kâ-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) ɔ́ntsɔ̂ inthù̆ʔéʔèʔhyāʔkhóâ máεʔyhyódâ.

[ɔ́ n-tsɔ̂ i-ní-bû̆-ʔéʔ-éʔy-ḥyāʔ-khóâ = â]RC má-εʔy-hyāʔ = dɔ̌
[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) *náŋ néméʔéʔèʔ khoátsâ kkey kóp̱ótsâ dáhâ.

[ŋáŋ ne-méʔ-éʔy-khóâ = â = tṣâ]RC kkey kó-p̱ótsâ dá-hâ
[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) èydỳ èynì tâ ɔgåshå tá dòónggyɔ méyåhåtkhòå èy tâlà èynì mòtmòttå spò?m.

èydỳ èynì [tâ ɔgåshå tá dòónggyɔ méyåhåtkhò = å]RC
then so [grand.fatherOngsha grand.father Doongio live-HAB-TNMLZ=LOC]
èy tá=lâ mòtmòttå spò?
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.


[like.that 3PL.POSS-heart sorrow=INE 3A-PL-live] 1SG
óp-ngå-håkhò = å
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) nɔ́tɔ̀ngéykhɔ̀ ɬi nɔ́pɔʔɭɛyʔəʔm.

[nɔ́-tɔ́ng-ɭɛy-khɔ̀ = ɑ̥]rc ɭ- ɭɔ̀pɔʔ-ɭɛ-yəʔ = əm

‗What things did you do when you applied to a job yourself?‘

[ZM_CVST_HP_MSC_072015_Hyow_0014_0010]

(941) zìâ nétsètkhɔ̀ bɔy hŋáʔ ɬłòpèkbɛy.

[zí = ə â]-ntɛt-khɔ̀ = ɑ̥]rc bɔy hŋáʔ ɬ-łó-pɛk-bɔy
[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 pyɔ̌
‗be happy‘ is downplayed by the final clause boundary marking as a function of
intonation.
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 -phiʔ in Hyow. Coupe (2017, 2013) talks about a similar type of construction in Mongsen Ao, a TB language. The suffix -phiʔ 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.
Having gone away to the forest, he did not find a tree (for himself) that he would go back to stay on.

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 shɔ́k ‘wear lower garments’, which has a Stem I form shɔ̀. The nominalized relative clause here encodes the purpose of having two inches of loin by the S argument of the independent clause.

At that time, there were not even two inches of tiny loin that we would wear.

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 iá ‘nothing’.

(944) bóhitse nttsi?éyèyphi?tsèlá méyà?nú \.  

[bóhit = tsè [níttsi?-éy-èy-phi? = tsè]RC]  
[so=TOP [2A-take.II-MID-IRR-PURP.NMLZ=TOP]  

ìá méy-á? = nù  

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.
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).
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.

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.
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 gañhatu.* (Pali)

`jo janāti so imam gañhatu`

REL knows COREL this let.take

‘He who knows let him take this.’ (Duroiselle, 1997: 153)

(949) *yāng θu, ja jəʒama ja lou? rāphōlé, yāŋcago mətai?.* (Marma)

`yāng əθu ja jəʒa=ma ja lou? rā-phō=lé`

that man what place=LOC what work must-FUT=Q.COL

`yāng = 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.
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.
12.4. Strategies of complex sentence construction

(950) ëy pɔ́tsɛ ibɔ́ mó̄ tsɛtémá höwhnàngnã.

[èy pɔ́t5=tɔ̃ ibɔ́-ḿó ŭ sèt = ňm = ñ]RC
[ANAPH.DEM man=TOP how-MULT where go=CONT.Q=SC.ADD]

[hɔ́w-hnàng-ngã]MC
[say.I-PH.CAP-1SG.NEG]

‘I cannot even say how and where that man went.’

(951) ú bɔ́rábɔ̀ r̥ yòʔ kây lâʔ hɔ́b ã ná̄ ná̄ nò̄shōtè?yàʔhɔ̀, hngúdã.

[ú bɔ́rábɔ̀ r̥ yòʔ-kây-lâʔ-hɔ̀=hm]RC ëy-khõl khê=tñ

who toB 2A-write.II-IRR-OBLG-PM=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC

ná̄ nò̄shōtè?yì̄d-hɔ̀ hngúdã

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).’

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

(952) ú bɔ́rábɔ̀ r̥ yòʔ kây lâʔ hɔ́b ã ná̄ ná̄ nò̄shōtè?yàʔhɔ̀, hngúdã.

[ú bɔ́rábɔ̀ r̥ yòʔ-kây-lâʔ-hɔ̀=hm]RC ëy-khõl khê=tñ

who toB 2A-write.II-IRR-OBLG-PM=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM-EXP all=FOC

ná̄ nò̄shōtè?yì̄d-hɔ̀ hngúdã

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).’

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) èydês ọpọ̀lọ̀lò ták tāá itiá nápùhôm nììshóìè̂yìlá?òòìsì.
èydês ọ-pọ̀lọ̀lò=lâ ták [táá itiá
then 3SG.POSS-husband=ERG tell.II [money when
nú-pú-hô=ɔm\]KC nô-hôw-áè?y-lâ?-hô=dô
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 dùkâ í mè́yhŷ̂̂̃m kóshòtè̀yhŷ̂̂̃ dâ àì.

[ní dúk=â í mè́y-hŷ̂̂̃=ɔm\]KC kó-shòt-áè?y-hŷ̂̂̃ 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 *mɔ́ng* 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) \text{èyðə ëy dänátsə mɔ́ng ínhəm ëy nánánghitsə nəhəwpékləʔhə.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èy} & \quad \text{dün} = \text{å} = \text{tsæ} & \text{mɔ́ng} & \quad \text{í-ní-hí} = \text{ðm} & \text{RC} \\
\text{then ANAPH.DEM place=LOC=TOP} & \quad \text{which} & \quad \text{3A-PL-ask.II=CONT.Q} \\
\text{èy} & \quad \text{nú-näng-hí} = \text{tsæ} & \quad \text{ná-hów-pék-láʔ-hə} & \quad \text{ANAPH.DEM} \\
\text{2S-be.able-COND=TOP} & \quad \text{2A-say.II-BEN-OBLG-PM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.
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.
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 hyɔ́ʔ‘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 hyɔ́ʔlike 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) *túátsé áthá fùbãnsùmhy5? bîttsô ákrúnghtsê fùhyándôk 噴*.

túá = tsê [á-thá f-i-n-ð-bùn-shùm-hy5?]RC bîttsô
now=LOC=TOP [NMLZ-new 3A-PL-get.II-more-much] a.little.bit
á-kürng-hî = tsê f-i-n-ð-hùn-dôk
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.


[i-ní-kàksá?y-shùm-hy5?]RC tsù = tsê lùng pù-hlôngá = ní
[3A-PL-envy.II-NMLZ-much] DIST=TOP heart worry.II-CIR=FOC

tsèt-á̂l-hnô5? = tî
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 *-hy5?. If the referent of the shared argument is a countable, then the verb of the relative clause is inflected by the suffix *-áì?. However, there are no examples in the corpus to support this explanation. Even in simple sentences, *-hy5? 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) ákàpshìmhyö? áhà kénydnú khòtí mëyëyàphyò

[á-káp-shím-hy5?]RC áhá kény = dò = nú khòtí
[3S-cry-NMLZ-much] INTJ 1SG=EMPH=SPEC lossB

‘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) ínpèkshìmhy2nì hyànbsy. òà?yèì.

[i-ní-pék-shím-hy5? = ní]RC hyàn-bsy ó-à?y-y-tí

‘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 khè ‘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).
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 nábùnɛyɛʔyɔm èydɔ nôshôtɛʔyôlâʔmôhô.*

\[
\begin{align*}
[i·hyɔʔ & nû-bûn-êy-êʔy = ɒm]RC \quad èydɔ nô-shôt-êʔy-lâʔ-ôm–hô \vspace{1em} \\
\text{[what-much2A-get.II-MID-IRR=CONT.Q]} & \quad \text{then 2A-look.II-IRR-OBLG-PRIOR-PM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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. \([\ldots \Sigma_1.II\ldots ]\text{NMLZ}\)-hyɔʔ]RC \([0]_{SA} \ldots \Sigma_2.II\ldots ]\text{CRC} (\Sigma_1, \Sigma_2 = \text{TRANSITIVE})

B. \([\ldots \Sigma_1.II\ldots ]\text{NMLZ}\)-hyɔʔ]RC \ldots \Sigma_2.II\ldots ]\text{CRC} (\Sigma_1, \Sigma_2 = \text{either one INTRANSITIVE})

C. \([i·hyɔʔ] \ldots \Sigma_1.II\ldots ]=ôm]RC \ldots \Sigma_2.II\ldots ]\text{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.
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 *hmuí?*‘see.II’ can take a P argument. In this example, the complement clause is holding the position of a P argument of the verb *hmuí?*‘see.II’.

Figure 77: Zero intonational effect at the boundary of a comparative correlative clause
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 -h₃ 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) *фнп grátis кухмў?\. 

[í-hn?]-tsé-t ál]COMPL kú-hmü? 

[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) **fûntsèílhwànd hmuʔhnæʔtí.**

\[
{[}{i-ní-tsét-âl-hlâ = nî]}_{\text{COMPL}} \text{ hmuʔ-hnâ? = tí}
\]

\[
{[}{3S-\text{PL-go-DEP-PM=FOC]} \text{ see.II-ULT=R.EVID}
\]

‘She finally saw that they went away.’

[ZM\_SFA\_MZK\_062015\_Hyow\_0036\_027]

Other than the verb *hmûʔ* ‘see.II’, the list of complement taking verbs include *ták* ‘tell.II’, *hmôr* ‘know.II’, *shâng* ‘want.II’, *hlû* ‘be required’, *dən* ‘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 *hmôr* ‘know.II’ in (967) is marked by the topic clitic = *tsê*.

(967) **nûdâbôtsê hmôtøyhîmûngâ.**

\[
{[}{nú \, dû-hâ = tsê]}_{\text{COMPL}} \text{ hmôt-êy-hôm-ûngâ}
\]

\[
{[}{\text{mother die-PM=TOP]} \text{ know.II-MID-yet-1PL.NEG}
\]

‘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.
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) **kēy kāáhōw kā-tākê?y**  

kēy    kā-á-hōw    kā-tāk-ê?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 *hmst* ‘know.II’ of the interrogative clause in (970) has taken a complement clause.

(970) **múzib méy-lâʔ-hô náhmstêy/?**  

[múzib    méy-lâʔ-hô    èybê] COMPL    nó-hmst-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) *khrɔ̂ng hæ̀nlhị íntsɛ̀knàkɗān mɛ̀y.*

```
[[khrɔ̂ng hæ̀nlhị] COMPL íntsɛ̀knàkɗān mɛ̀y
[[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 *yɔ́k ‘hear.II’.*

(972) *èylúp nát prèhá lá? lòhí nòyɔ̀kphùhùy?*

```
[èylúp nát prè = å = há lá? lò-hí] COMPL
[like.that god country=LOC=ADD human come-COND]

[nò-yòk-phú = èy
[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 *hmúť* ‘woman’ takes the content question clitic. The noun complement clause is complementing this copula complement *hmúť* ‘woman’ in (973).

(973) \text{nihó?ytsè i kókhômnákkhó hmúťšm.} \\
\text{[nihú?y = tsè i [ká-khôm-nák-khó]COMPL hmúťš = šm} \\
\text{[like.this=TOP what [1A-meet.II-PM] woman=CONT.Q} \\
\text{‘Like this, what is the woman that I met?’} \\
\text{[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.
Complex sentence structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement Clause (COMPLC)</th>
<th>Matrix Clause (MC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument indexation</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Stem I</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Stem II</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate marking</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topicalization</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>full access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of the clause</td>
<td>prepose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-canonical version</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-occurrence restrictions</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency</td>
<td>embedded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 = á kēy phrów-tî? i-ní-pán-ēy-ní shô
time-one time-LOC 1SG friend-PL 1P-INV-call.II-MID-TEMP wild.pig
tóm-á 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. èydôt tsét-pé tsét-pé tsú = â ẓhlómhlô = â pótsóng-hlí pótsóng-hngô
then go-SIM go-SIM DIST=LOC distance=LOC CLS-four CLS-five
bông kí-ní-méy
APPX 1S-PL-exist
‘Then, going, going, we were about four-five persons there in a distance.’

3. èydô khôl khê = 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. èydô hnúp-ákkí-ní-méy èy = â sîyôn = 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. ẻyđơ striction-then hung = őng = tsâe iá bun-ùngâ kí-ní-tsôn-ćy-hy5
   GRP-first day=INE=TOP nothing get.1S-PL-run-MID-PM
   kí-ní-shúy-hy5 shó kí-ní-shúy-hyơ
   1A-PL-search.11-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. ỏ shó kí-ní-shúy-ní iá ẻy hung = ă bun-ùngâ
   wild.pig 1A-PL-search-TEMP nothing anaph.DEM day=LOC get.1-PL-NEG
   ‘When we looked for a wild pig, we did not find any on that day.’

7. ẻyđơ lâm = ă tâng hngát kí-ní-hmû?
   then road=LOC monitor.lizard one 1A-PL-see.11
   ‘Then, we saw a monitor lizard on the road.’

8. ẻyđơ ẻy tâng = ńi kêynî? konơng ŭy = ă mēy-hy5 = ńi
   then anaph.DEM monitor.lizard=FOC 1PL with dog=ADD exist-PM=FOC
   ŭy-thêy-ti?
   dog-hunt-NMLZ.
   ‘Then, [we saw] that monitor lizard. We had a dog also with us, a hunting.’

9. ẻyđơ ẻy ŭy-thêy tsî-pûy-nâ-ùngâ-lá ẻy
   then ANAPH.DEM dog-hunt take.1-ASS.BEN-SPNT-1PL-SEQ ANAPH.DEM
   tâng = ńi tsú = ă őhlőmhl5 = ă kí-ní-hmû?-h5
   monitor.lizard=FOC DIST=LOC distance-LOC 1A-PL-see.11-PM
   ‘Then, taking the hunting dog for helping us, we saw a monitor lizard there in a
   distance.’

10. ẻyđơ lâm = kon kém-ùngâ-lá ẻy tâng = ńi
    then 1-ABL descend-1PL-SEQ ANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard-FOC
    kí-ní-mân-ćy-hy5 kí-ní-shot
    1A-PL-catch.11-MID-PM 1A-PL-look.11
    ‘Then, descending from the road, we tried to catch the aforementioned monitor
    lizard.’
11. ëydô úy-thêy = lâ = tsê èy táŋ ibô mêy-hyâ = ëm then dog-hunt = ERG = TOP ANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard what stay-PM = CONT.Q
ibô i-nî-môn-hnâng-hngâ = ëm 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. ëy úy-thêy = lâ = tsê i-nî-môn-hnâng-hngâ-ní ëy DEIX dog-hunt = ERG = TOP 1P-INV-catch.II-PH.CAP-PM-REAS ANAPH.DEM úy-thêy kî-nî-tsî?-éy-pûy-nák dog-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. ëydô ëy dûn = â thîng lén-pô hngât mêy-hyâ ëy then ANAPH.DEM place = LOC tree big-AUG one exist-PM ANAPH.DEM thîng lén-pô tsôw = â s-khê mêy 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. ëydô ëy khô dúk = â ëy khô dúk = â = tsê ëy then ANAPH.DEM hole inside-LOC ANAPH.DEM hole inside = LOC = TOP ANAPH.DEM táŋ mêy-hyâ monitor.lizard exist-DUR ‘Then, inside that hole! That monitor lizard was inside that whole.’

15. ëydô úy-thêy-tî? = lâ nô-nô-bâ-lá ëy then dog-hunt-NMLZ = ERG REDUP bark-3SG-TEMP ANAPH.DEM táŋ = nî môn monitor.lizard = FOC catch ‘Then, barking, the hunting dog caught that monitor lizard.’
then 1PL=ADD ANAPH.DEM dog=ERG begin.II=ABL bark.II-TEMP then
?key?= á kí-ní-tset mánè ká-á-ní-món
1PL=ADD 1S-PL-go means 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 mòn-ùgà-lá eydø kí-ní-ló-àl
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. ṇydø ëy tang hngát kí-ní-bùn-èy hnúp = à
then ANAPH.DEM monitor.lizard one 1A-PL-get.II-MID day=LOC
‘Then, we got the monitor lizard in day.’

19. ṇydø ëy pùn-ìgù 5ló hnúp-ák khò = à 5ló hnúp-ák khò = à
then ANAPH.DEM finish-TEMP again day-one time=LOC again day-one time=LOC
ọ̀ọ̀ shọ̀ shuy-a kí-ní-tsefí-dú tòw = à ëy
again wild.pig search.II-PURP 1S-PL-go-ITER forest-LOC ANAPH.DEM
kí-ní-ìp-dùn = kón ọ̀ọ̀ 5hómló = à
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. ṇydø ṣhọ ní-khòl kí-ní-hyúl móng = á mêy = ọ̀m
then wild.pig footprint-EXP 1A-PL-follow.II which=LOC exist=CONT.Q
móng dédé tset = ọ̀m
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. èydô shûy-pê shûy-pê èylûp kêy phrów-tî? hngôt=tsê
then search.I-SIM search.I-SIM that.way 1SG friend-PL one-TOP
hnîfbôk kôp-tî?=tsê 5-mô=â tsêt tsû=â kôngtîng=â
cartridge shoot.I-NMLZ=TOP-GRP-first=LOC go DIST=LOC junction.of.hills=LOC
tsêt
go
‘Then, searching, searching, one of my friends, the cartridge shooter, went ahead. He went there in the junction of the hills.’

22. èydô èy í-nî? hyûl-ûngâ-lá kéynî?=â sho
then ANAPH.DEM GRP-footprint follow.I-1PL-SEQ 1PL=ADD wild.pig
kî-nî-tôm kông-âk=âng
1A-PL-chase.I hill-one=LOC
‘Then, following the [wild pig’s] footprint, we also chased the wild pig on a hill.’

23. èydô tôm-pê tôm-pê hnûp-âk khô=â èy shō=ní
then chase.I-SIM chase.I-SIM day-one time-LOC ANAPH.DEM wild.pig=FOC
bân-dâ-ûngâ
get.I-ITER-1PL.NEG
‘Then, chasing, chasing, we did not get the wild pig in one day.’

24. yâmêy=ní tsû=â shngô deye shngô lâm hngôt
because=FOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC different direction different road one
mêy-âyî ey lâm=âng 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 tôlshô â-ôm-hmô dédé èy shô
ANAPH.DEM direction hunter DIR-sit-PM direction ANAPH.DEM wild.pig
tsêt-â?
go-3SG.NEG
‘The wild pig did not go to that direction, in the direction where the hunter went to sit.’
26. ᚠɗ ṭsѐ-áʔ-ńí ᵁ ey ᵁ shō bùn-ùngā ᵁ ey ᵁ hnúp = á
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. ᚠɗ shō bùn-áʔ-bak kí-ní-ló-áł
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-áł lóm = á ᵁ ey = á ñy-tsó-khôl kolokok-tsó-khôl
1A-PL-bring.II-DEP road=LOC ANAPH.DEM=LOC crab-DIM-EXP snail-DIM-EXP
ngó-tsó-khôl kí-ní-shúy-êy-áł ò-hlóng-tsó = á ĕnâng = á
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. ᚠɗ káyní kí-ní-búʔ-êy-áł-dé
then 1PL 1A-PL-cook.II-MID-DEP-ITER
‘Then, we cooked again.’

30. ᵁ ey bút-ʔêy-áł-ùngā-lá ᵁ ey kí-ní-ʔêy-áł-dé
‘Cooking that, we ate that [monitor lizard] again.’

31. ᚠɗ ey ñʔêy-áł-ùngā-lá ñyôn = á kí-ní-íp-áł-dé
then ANAPH.DEM eat.I-DEP-1PL-SEQ night=LOC 1A-PL-sleep-DEP-ITER
ᵉy = á tów = á kí-ní-íp-ţò
ANAPH.DEM=LOC forest-LOC 1S-PL-sleep-PM
‘Then, eating that up, we slept at night, we slept there in the forest.’

32. ᵁ ey tów = á kí-ní-íp-ţò = á thásá dúkháʔ = ŋng kí-ní-íp-ţò
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. because-FOC ANAPH.DE M=LOC mosquito 3S-PL-exist bug EXP EE-EXP 3S-PL-exist
tów pêtsê-khôl í-ní-mêy
forest animal-EXP 3S-PL-exist
‘Because, there is mosquito, there are bugs; there are wild animals.’

34. kôông i?ltsông kí-ní-tsî?-éy
be.scared-AGNS-PM for mosquito.net 1A-PL-take.II-MID
‘Since we got scared very badly, we took a mosquito net.’

35. dûk = à = hà í-ní-wông-hnàng
ANAPH.DE M mosquito.net inside=LOC=SC.ADD 3S-PL-enter-PH.CAP
‘They can enter even inside the mosquito net. The little mosquito can enter
(inside).

36. èydô èy pûn-ông 5yûn-ák = â èylûp kí-ní-íp-âl-dû
then ANAPH.DE M end-TEMP night-one=LOC that.way 1S-PL-sleep-DEP-ITER
‘Then, after that, we slept that way one night.’

37. èydô 5lô hûnûp-ák khô = à khô wá-dû-ní 5lô bú?-tsô 5êy-ùngâ-lá
then again day-one time=LOC time rise-ITER-TEMP again rice-DIM eat.I-IPL-SEQ
5lô kí-nî-shôl-êy-dû shô shûy-â?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 shô-ní kâ-â-ní-hûûl-dû 5lô
then wild.pig-FOC 1A-DIR-PL-follow.II-ITER again
‘Then, we again went to follow the wild pig.’
How to hunt a deer

39. ęydš ęylúp hyūl-pé hyūl-pé shét-ák khọ = à shọ ni?
then that.way follow.I-SIM follow.I-SIM time-one time=LOC wild.pig footprint
kí-ní-khọm-dá
1A-PL-approach.II-ITER
‘Then, following, following, one time, we approached the wild pig’s footprint.’

40. ęy shọ ni? kí-ní-khọm-ní ęy móng
ANAPH.DEM wild.pig footprint 1A-PL-approach.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM which
dédé tsét-āl-hlā =  ámb ęy i-ni?
kí-ní-hyūl
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. kéyni? hyūl-pe hyūl-pé ęydš ęybó kóp-ā?y-ti?
1PL follow.I-SIM follow.II-SIM then that.way shoot-IRR-NMLZ
tōʔshọ = à óm-dá tsú = à ńhọmhlọ = à kóngting = à
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. ęydš ęy kóng = à kéyni? = tsā kóm-pé tóm-pé ey
then ANAPH.DEM hill-LOC 1PL=TOP chase.I-SIM chase.I-SIM ANAPH.DEM
dédé ęy kóngting dédé tōʔshọ óm-hmọdédé shọ
directionANAPH.DEM hill direction hunting.place sit-PM direction wild.pig
tset-hmọná kéyni? = á kí-ní-tóm
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. 4y4dò 4kí-ní-tóm 4kí-ní-tóm 4eylup 4tóm-pé 4tóm-pé 4shét-ák
then 4A-PL-chase.II 4A-PL-chase.II 4that.way 4chase.I-4SIM 4chase.I-4SIM 4time-one
khô = à 4éy 4tô?shó 4óm-hmô 4dédé 4hnîbôk 4kâp-tî?
time=LOC 4ANAPH.DEM 4hunting.place 4sit-PM 4direction 4cartridge 4shoot.I-4NMLZ
4dédé 4tsét-ní 44y4dò 4éy = là 4kô?
direction 4go-TEMP 4then 4ANAPH.DEM=4ERG 4shoot.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. 4y4dò 4éy 4khô = à 4kúm-ák 4kí-ní-bûn
then 4ANAPH.DEM 4time-LOC 4CLS-one 41A-PL-get.II
‘Then, that time, we got one wild pig.’

45. 4shô-kúm-ák 4kí-ní-bûn-ní 4éy 4khê = nî 4í-ní-pyô
wild pig-CLS-one 41A-PL-get.II-TEMP 4ANAPH.DEM 4all=4FOC 43S-PL-be.happy
‘When we got one wild pig, all were happy.’

46. 4y4dò 4í-ní-pyô-ní 4kí-ní-lô-éy-áá
then 43S-PL-be.happy-TEMP 41A-PL-bring.II-DEP
‘Then, when we were happy, we returned.’

47. 4y4dò 4éy 4shô 4pô-éy-áá-lungá-lá 4kényfô? 45-wông
then 4ANAPH.DEM 4wild.pig 4DV.I-4MID-1PL-SEQ 41PL 4GRP-half
4kí-ní-?éy 44y4dò 45-wông 4kí-ní-tsá-éy
1A-PL-eat 4then 4GRP-half 41A-PL-dry.II-4MID
‘Then, cutting and cleaning that wild pig, we ate half. Then, we dried half.

48. 4kí-ní-hy4d4y-4éy-4hyô-khôl 45-shô
1A-PL-grill.MID-PM-EXP 4GRP-meat
‘We made kebab of the meat.’

49. 4y4dò 4éy 4shô 4kúm-ák 4kí-ní-bûn 4hnûp-thûm 4pôré
then 4ANAPH.DEM 4wild.pig 4CLS-one 41A-PL-get.II 4day-three 4laterB
‘Then, we got another pig after three days.’
How to hunt a deer

50. ęydə 5ló  hnúp-ák khô = å  ęydə 5ló  kí-ní-thók-dà
  then  again day-one time=LOC then  again 1A-PL-come.out-ITER
  ‘Then, again one day, we came out once again.’

51. ęydə ęy  hnúp = å  = há  ěylúp  shô  bán-dá-ùngå
  then  ANAPH.DEMLoc=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-shùy-ęy  ěylup  onshé-tsõ-khôl  kí-ní-shûy-ęy-ål
  1A-PL-search.II-MID  that.way  vegetable-DIM-EXP  1A-PL-search.II-MID-DEP
  ngõ-tsõ-khôl  kí-ní-shûy-ęy-ål-dà  á-yâng = ŏng = 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. ęydə ęy  khô = å = há  ěylúp ęy  hnúp = å = há
  then  ANAPH.DEMLoc=LOC time=LOC =ADD that.way  ANAPH.DEMLoc=LOC =ADD
  bán-dá-ùngå
  get.I-ITER 1PL-NEG
  ‘Then, also that time, also that day, we did not find (anything).

54. ęydə lásté 5ló  khôhnúp-hng3= å  thón-ęy-ní  5ló
  then  at.lastB  again time-day-five=LOC happen-MID-TEMP  again
  ěy  hnúp-hng3 ěy  hnúp = å 5ló  shô  tóm-å
  ANAPH.DEMLoc=five  ANAPH.DEMLoc=LOC  again  wild.pig  chase.II-PURP
  kí-ní-tsêt-dà  ěy  hnúp = å
  1S-PL-go-ITER  ANAPH.DEMLoc=LOC
  ‘Then, at last, again, when it was the fifth day, we went for chasing a wild pig
  again on that day.’
55. ëyðò ɔlà shò shò sháhm kí-ní-yśk-ní èy shò
then again.wild.pig wild.pig sound 1A-PL-hear.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM wild.pig
zág í-ní-mèy-hyś èy = å
herdB 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. ëyðò í-ní-tsón-ål sháhm-khól kí-ní-yśk 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. ëyðò kéyní? kéy hmáyhmó dédè = ní shò sháöm í-ní-tsón-hnò
then 1PL 1SG front direction-FOC wild.pig CLS 3S-PL-run-PM
‘Then, the wild pig’s herd ran away infront of me.’

58. ëyðò kɔʔ-ní èy khò = å shò kúm-ák bán
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. ëyðò èy = lâ kɔʔ èy dédè í-ní-tsét-ní
then ANAPH.DEM=ERG shoot.II ANAPH.DEM direction 3S-PL-go-TEMP
èy = la kɔʔ èy kó-p-tiʔ = lâ
ANAPH.DEM=ERG shoot ANAPH.DEM shoot.I-NMLZ=ERG
‘Then, he shot when they went to that direction.’

60. ëyðò kɔʔ-ní èy khò = å shò kúm-ák bán
then shoot.II-TEMP ANAPH.DEM time=LOC wild.pig CLS-one get.II
‘Then, when he shot, he got one wild pig.’

61. ëyðò ɔlà bittsò ðhláhmhló = å ɔlà hngát á-sháhm yśk-ní ëyðò
then again.a.little.bit distance=LOC again one GRP-sound hear.II-TEMP then
èy = å kɔʔ = å ɔ-kɔʔ-ní èy = å bán
ANAPH.DEM=LOC=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. eydø kéyni? = tsæ  kl-ní-hlómhl5-éy-hy5
   then 1PL.EXCL-TOP 1S-PL-distance-MID-PM
   ‘Then, we were far (from the place).’

63. eydø kl-ní-hlómhl5-éy-hy5 = ní  éy = kón páng shó  kú-bún-hnó
   then 1PL.EXCL-distance-MID-DUR-CVB DEIX-ABL call wild.pig 1SG-get-PM
   á-ló-ál-šng  tíng  éy  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. eydø kl-ní-tsét-ní  éy = â  shó  púm-hnî? tôn-hnî? = a
   then 1S-PL-go-TEMP ANAPH.DEM=LOC wild.pig CLS-two place-two=LOC
   kl-ní-bún-ál
   1A-PL.-get.II-DEP
   ‘Then, when we went there, we found two wild pigs in two places.’

65. eydø éy  lô-éy-ál-ùngâ-lá  kl-ní-pó?-éy-áI
   then ANAPH.DEM bring.I-MID-DEP-1PL-SEQ 1A-PL.-DV.II-MID-DEP
   ‘Then, returning, we cleaned up [the wild pigs].’

66. eydø éy  shó  lô-éy-ùngâ-lá  kóhnúp-hng5 póré kéyni?
   then ANAPH.DEM wild.pig bring.I-MID-1PL-SEQ day-five afterB 1PL
   kl-ní-lô-ál  îm = â
   1PL.EXCL house=LOC
   ‘Then, bringing that wild pig after five days, we returned home.’

67. eydø éy  shó  shó = ní  shó  phá-éy-ùngâ-lá  ?éy-ùngâ-lá
   then ANAPH.DEM wild.pig meat=FOC meat divide.I-MID-1PL-SEQ eat.I-1PL-SEQ
   eydø mràtal-tí? = ní  kl-ní-yâ?-éy
   then be.extra-NMLZ=FOC 1A-PL-sell.II-MID.
   ‘Then, dividing that wild pig’s meat, eating, then we sold the remaining.’
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>[a] endearative. END. Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>[ã] n. chicken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>[á] case.cl. DAT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>[â] agrAv.pref. third person singular cross-referencing prefix. Usage: attaches to the intransitive verb stem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>[á] scalar.additive. even.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áː</td>
<td>[áː] dir.pref. a directional prefix. Usage: attaches to a verb stem to mark direction of the action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>[â] additiv. additive suffix, also. Usage: attaches to a nominal constituent to denote an additive/conjunctive meaning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à</td>
<td>[à] agrAv.pref. 1SG O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>[ã] linker. LOC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã₁</td>
<td>[ã₁] case.cl. a locative case clitic, in. Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark location.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã₂</td>
<td>[ã₂] nom.suff. purposive nominalizing suffix. Usage: attaches to a verb to derive a nominal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>[æ] nom.pref. derives a nominal or a nominalized adjective from a verb. Usage: attaches to a verb to derive a noun or an adjectival verb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>[Æ] gr.pref. GRP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>[Æ] unclassified. hedging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ̀</td>
<td>[æ̀] imperative. IMP POL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>[â] agrAv.pref. 3SG S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>[æ] agrAv.pref. 3SG A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>[æ] agrAv.pref. 1SG O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>[ê] polite imperative. marks politeness in imperatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ágálvá</td>
<td>[ágálwá] n. landless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ágótńi</td>
<td>[ágótńi] adv. again and again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áh</td>
<td>[áh] exclam.expr. ah!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhá</td>
<td>[áhá] exclam.expr. aha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhèng</td>
<td>(from: hëng) [hëng] agrSv. be alive/raw II. Usage: *-ná; followed as a NP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhè́w</td>
<td>[áhè́w] hëw. firewood [áhèw; æhèw] n. male.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhlúypă</td>
<td>[áhlúypă] n. rooster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhúyshēn</td>
<td>[áhúyshēn] n. red chicken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhmą́t</td>
<td>(from: hṁą́t) [ṁą́t] n. wee things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhną́</td>
<td>[áhną́] n. servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhną́</td>
<td>(from: hngą́) [hngą́] n. labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhnńi</td>
<td>[áhnńi] agrAv.pref. third person dual cross-referencing prefix. Usage: attaches to the verb to mark the third person dual cross-referencing prefix.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
áhnî? [áhnî?: ahnî?] agrSv.pref. third person dual cross-referencing prefix. *Usage: attaches to the verb to mark the third person dual cross-referencing prefix.

áhyéʔ [from: hyéʔ] [hyéʔ?] agrSv. be cursed. *Usage: follows a NP; *ná.

ák [ák] numeral. one, a numeral. *Usage: a numeral.

ák [ák] linker. *LIM TEMP.

áek [áek] numeral. one (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]

áekàk, àk (from: àk) [k àk] agrSv. be cracked I/II. *Usage: follows a NP; -ná (SPNT).

áekái (from: kái) [kái] agrSv. be scratched by accident I/II. *Usage: *-ná; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

áekdínn [áekdín] n. one day. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

áékhiál [áékhiél] chicken house (from: khél) [khél] n. intestine.

akháng [from: kháng] [kháng] n. garden.

akkhêng [akkhéng] n. chicken house.

ákhoñ [ákho’n] n. time before dawn (when cock calls).

áâl [ál] dep.suff. deparative suffix, back. *Usage: attaches to a verb to denote the departure of the action from a point.

álá [from: lá] [lá] n. place.

áláak [álák] n. local alcohol.

áélék (from: lék) [láék] agrSv. to become small in size. *Usage: *ná; follows a NP. [Note: hlék 'CAUS']

áláandá [álándá] adv. quickly.

áláng (from: láng) [láng] n. capital.

áláng (from: láng) [láng] n. own (child/parents).

áláng (from: láng) [láng] n. green leave’s pipe.

áélêng (from: léng) [léng] n. handle of spoon.

áélêng (from: léng) [léng] n. agrSv. be hot I/III. *Usage: *ná. [Note: hléng 'CAUS']

áláp (from: láp) [láp] agrSv. be broken open I/II. *Usage: ná (SPNT). [Note: hláp 'CAUS']

álây (from: láy) [láy] agrSv. move away from one place to another I/II. *Usage: ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

álây (from: láy) [láy] n. middle.

áélêw (from: léw) [léw] agrSv. be less I/II. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); follows a NP to modify it.

áelômáʔ [áelômāʔ] nom.attrib. indicates to the largeness of a referent. *Usage: precedes a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

áelômáʔ [áelômāʔ] n. very big thing.

ám [ám] n. curry pot.

ámá [from: mák] [mák] n. slave.

ámnáu [from: mánu] [mánú] n. housemaid.


áêmôn [áêmôn] n. this type (B).

ámrât (from: mrât) [mrât] agrSv. be remnant I/II. *Usage: followas a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

ánggá [ánggá] n. Tuesday.

ángkwâytsa (from: ángkwâytsâ) [ángkwâytsâ] n. a kind of small brown bird. *Usage: a noun.

ángmângyáʔ [ángmângyâʔ] n. beauty bone.

ángrâpá [ángrâpá] n. frangipani.

áni (from: áni) [áni] pers.pro. third person singular polite pronoun.

ániʔ [ániʔ] pers.pro. 3PL POL.

ápêl (from: pêl) [pêl] n. lump.

ápêm (from: pêm) [pêm] n. finger.

ápâypây [ápâypây] quantifier. refers to more than two countable things. *Usage: follows a NP.

áphêm (from: phêm) [phêm] agrSv. be old. *Usage: follows a NP to modify it; -ná (SPNT).

ápêrêw (from: prêw) [prêw] agrSv. be stale (juice: date, palm) I/II. *Usage: follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT); shék, where the causee is marked by dative.

áshá [áshâ] n. hope (B).

áshângshéy [áshângshéy] n. broadleaf plantain.

áshâ'n [from: shâ’n] [shâ’n] agrSv. be clean I/II. *Usage: follows a NP to modify it; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST), as in shâgón =šng âm shâ’n-nák-khâ 'The pot gets clean with soap .'; -shék, where the causee is marked by dative.

áshên [áshên] n. shalik.

ássá [ássá] intj. OK.

átyöynû [átyöynû] n. egg hatching hen.

áthá (from: thâ) [thá] agrSv. be new I/II. *Usage: follows a NP to modify it; *ná.

áthìkkà [áthìkkâ] adv. suddenly. [Note: a loan from the local Chittagonian dialect]

átsê (from: tsê) [tsê] n. juice.

átsâng (from: tsâng) [tsâng] agrSv. be hard I/II. *Usage: follows a NP to modify it; -ná (SPNT); -shék, where the causee is marked by dative.

átsêng (from: tsêng) [tsêng] n. waist.

átsangnû [átsangnû] n. a woman who is aged.

átsangps [átsangps] n. a man who is aged.

átsâʔ (from: tsât) [tsât] n. border.

áwâ [áwâ] n. time after sunrise/early morning.

áy [áy] unclassified. hedging.

áyâl (from: yâl) [yâl] agrSv. be quiet I/II. *Usage: follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT).

áyâl (from: yâl) [yâl] agrSv. be cold I/II. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST).

áyâl (from: yâl) [yâl] agrSv. be calm I/II. *Usage: -ná (SPNT).

áyâl [áyâl] n. bottled cold drinks.
âyêng (from: âyêng) [âyêng] agrSv. swear I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

âyêʔ (from: âyê] [âyêʔ] agrSv. be heavy I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT), -nák (INST); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

áʔ [áʔ] neg.suff. third person singular negative suffix. Usage: attaches to a verb to mark the negation, which agrees with the third person singular number.

âʔy [âʔy] irrealis. marks an unactualized event. Usage: marks the unactualization of an action.

---

bá [bá] agrAv.suff. third person singular cross referencing suffix. Usage: attaches to a verb as a third person singular cross referencing suffix.

bânây [bânây] agrAv. make (B) I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

báng [bâng] copula. COP.

bânghu [bânghu] n. spider.


bâttâl [bâttâl] n. senseless.

bâtbatbâtbât [bâtbatbâtbât] onomat. sound of releasing shit.

bâtîʔ [bâtîʔ] loc.noun. without. Usage: follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locate case following a demonstrative pronoun.

bâw [bâw] onomat. barking sound.

bâyû [bâyû] n. shirt.

bâybông [bâybông] n. plantain flower.

bê [bê] agrAv. slap II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bêʔ [bêʔ] agrAv. beat with hand II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bêʔ [bêʔ] agrAv. slap I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bê [bê] agrAv. beat with hand II. Usage: -nék (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bêʔ [bêʔ] agrAv. beat with hand II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bêʔbông [bêʔbông] n. pot to store alcohol.

bêʔêy [bêʔêy] agrAv. applaud II. Usage: -*nák, -nák (agrSv ‘approach each other to talk’); shök (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 causee himself/herself.

bêʔêy [bêʔêy] agrAv. applaud I. Usage: -*nák, -nák (agrSv ‘approach each other to talk’); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bêʔnák [bêʔnák] agrAv. approach to talk II. Usage: -êy-ná (agrSv ‘approach each other to talk’).

bêʔnák [bêʔnák] agrAv. approach to talk I. Usage: -êy-ná (agrSv ‘approach each other to talk’).

bê [bê] n. word.

bê [bê] n. odd.

bê [bê] n. grandmother.

bó [bó] agrAv. make dirty II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
causee is marked by dative.

bê [bê] agrAv. make dirty I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bî [bî] agrAv. pour on II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bé [bê] agrAv. pour on I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

béboštâ [bêboštá] n. step. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

bék [bêk] agrAv. throw liquid here and there II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (LOC) as in ñâ khuôk ñ -bék-nák-khô 'He threw mud on me without any reason .'; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bék [bêk] agrAv. throw liquid here and there I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bôk [bôk] agrAv. incise date palm trunk II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bôk [bôk] agrAv. incise date palm trunk I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

békkûn [bêkkûn] quantifier. all (B). Usage: precedes a NP. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

béktîng [béktîng] adv. suddenly (jump).

bêl [bêl] n. grass.

bîl [bîl] agrAv. mingle/mix I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: bîl I > bîléy (agrSv 'bend into a crowd')]

bên [bên] n. crane.

bîngák [bîngák] quantifier. refers to half length. Usage: follows a NP.

bît [bît] agrAv. slit/butcher II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bît [bît] agrAv. slit/butcher I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîtóm [bîtóm] n. cane basket.

bîw [bîw] agrSv. be mistaken (not knowing) I/II. Usage: *-nâ. [Note: not a stative]


bîw [bîw] agrAv. refers to the action of curving cutting instruments II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîw [bîw] agrAv. refers to the action of curving cutting instruments I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bôy [bôy] optative. OPT.

bôybôyâ [bôybôyâ] adv. bowingly.

bôytîng [bôytîng] adv. bowingly.

bôl [bôl] agrAv. mingle/mix II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: bôl I > bôléy (agrSv 'bend into a crowd')]

bhaâggo (from: bhâgô) [bhaâggo] n. luck. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bhâshá [bhâshá] n. language. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bî [bî] n. work.

bî [bî] agrAv. work II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bî [bî] agrAv. work I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîngbrûbrûng [bîngbrûbrûng] onomat. sound of heavy things colliding.

bidêshî [bidêshî] n. foreigner. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bizgônít [bizgônît] n. algebra. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bîl [bîl] n. behind someone's back.

bîlit [bîlit] n. ox.

bîlthaêy [bîlthaêy] n. sour fruit.

bîn [bîn] n. sickle.

bîn [bîn] sickle. [bîn] agrAv. touch II. Usage: -nâk (SPNT), which refers to performing the action without any purpose; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN) 'help holding bags, etc.'; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîn [bîn] sickle. [bîn] agrAv. touch I. Usage: -nâk (SPNT), which refers to performing the action without any purpose; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN) 'help holding bags, etc.'; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîng [bîng] agrAv. close holes II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîng [bîng] agrAv. close holes I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

bîngkhihi [bîngkhihi] adv. utterly closed.

birâni [birâni] n. name of a rice dish.

bîrî [bîrî] n. cigarette. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

bîrûddhê [bîrûddhê] loc.noun. against (B). Usage:
bót [bót] adv. very. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/ 
bóp [bóp] agrAv. refers to the action of hitting someone with a stick. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
bót [bût] agrAv. hang I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
bóp [büp] agrAv. think holding head by hand II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).
bú [bû] n. wrong. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/ 
bú [bû] n. something in possession from a source, get one's own external body parts
bú [bû] n. a house of birds built on a corner of a house or in tree branches. Usage: a noun.
búdû [bûdû] n. a loan word from Bangla/ 
búdû [bûdû] n. wrong. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/ 
búzây [bûzây] agrAv. make understand (B) I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla/ 
bû [bû] n. wrong. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/ 
bû [bû] n. wrong. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/ 
bûl [bûl] adv. wrong. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/ 
bûm [bûm] n. bomb.
bûn [bûn] n. wrong. [Note: a loan word from Bangla/
bú? [bú?] agrAv. a process of preparing food by heat
II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


D - d

dá [dá] disc.part. DP.
dâ [dâ] adv. just.
dábâl [dâbâl] substitutive/irresistive. SUBS/IRRS.
dâgû [dâgû] n. robber.
dâk [dâk] n. scar. *Note: a loan from Bangla*
dâkhât [dâkhât] n. robber (B).
dâl [dâl] agrAv. swallow I. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dâlûng [dâlûng] n. sand particle.
dâng [dâng] optative. OPT.
dáwdâwâ (from: dáwdâwâ) [dáwdâwâ] adv. completely (ripen).
dây [dây] n. group.
dâ?l [dâ?l] agrAv. swallow II. *Usage: -nák (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dô [dô] emphatic. an emphatic suffix. *Usage: attaches to a nominal or verb to emphasize the referent or the state/action.*
dô (from:dô) [dô] agrAv. an action of striking something with the beak. *Usage: *-ná. *Note: dô? I/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.
dôk [dôk] anterior. ANT.
dôldôlâ [dôldôlâ] n. punishment.
dôn [dôn] agrAv. slant II. *Usage: -nák (LOC), which refers to a static instrument/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dông [dông] n. paddy drying mat. *Note: phôk: mat/
dép [dép] num.cls. CLS (day).
dów [dów] agrAv. throw at a distance II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôw [dôw] agrAv. throw at a distance I. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôy [dôy] agrAv. strike with beak or lip II. *Usage: *-nák.
dî [dî] n. reed. *Note: tsângdô or môl: reed/
diâl [diâl] n. wall. *Note: a loan from Bangla*
dêkditk [dêkditk] adv. silent.
dôn [dôn] n. day (B).
dô [dô] pref.suff. PREF.
dôân [dôân] n. shop.
dôtgyê [dôtgyê] n. sea. *Note: a loan from the Chittagonian dialect/
dôk [dôk] agrAv. put on (clothes) CAUS I. *Usage: -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôk [dôk] agrAv. put on (clothes) CAUS II. *Usage: -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôkêy [dôkêy] agrAv. put on (clothes) II. *Usage: -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôkêy [dôkêy] agrAv. put on (clothes) I. *Usage: -nák (SPNT), which refers to performing the action spontaneously or without any motive; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôl [dôl] n. team. *Note: a load from Bangla*
dôm [dôm] elab.exprr. be cool.
dôm [dôm] agrAv. be lazy I/II.
dôn [dôn] agrAv. show/guide/lead I. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dôn [dôn] agrAv. show/guide/lead II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dú [dú] agrAv. die I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.

dú [dú] n. a feeling of grief or sadness. Usage: an abstract noun. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
dú [dú] n. yard.
dúlm [dúlm] n. front side of a place.
dúm [dúm] n. a group of singing beggars.
dúm [dúm] agrAv. keep/stop II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dúm [dúm] agrAv. keep/stop I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -púy (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]
dún [dún] 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); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dúp [dúp] agrAv. attach a round thing on forehead I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dúy [dúy] numeral. two. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
dwáduy [dwáduy] adv. quickly. [Note: from local CTG dialect of Bangla]
dwátyā [dwátyā] n. laundryman.
zág [zág] n. a group of animals. Usage: a collective noun. [Note: a loan from Bangla (ʒhak)]
zágá [zágá] n. place. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
zál [zál] n. war.
zél [zél] n. hail (piece of ice that comes down with rain).
zállá [zállá] n. plant (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
zálí [záli] agrAv. burn for hunger (B).
zánāy [zánāy] agrAv. inform.
záp [záp] n. race/nation.
zári [zári] agrAv. tolerate (B).
záté [záté] conj. so that. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
zé [zé] dem.pro. that (B).
zé [zé] dem.pro. that (B).
zi [zi] n. market (M).
zídzi [zídzi] nom.attrib. only. Usage: follows a NP.
zíl [zíl] agrAv. anoint I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
zílapí [zílapí] n. a kind of sweet (B). [Note: a loan from BANGLA]
zíltsím [zíltsím] n. a place where landslide took place.
zín [zín] n. angel. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
zíl [zíl] agrAv. anoint II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
zógal [zógal] agrAv. collect (B).
zíllát [zíllát] n. executioner.
zón [zón] num.cls. classifies a person.
zóntró [zóntró] n. instrument. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
zótó [zótó] adv. as many. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
zúdhó [zúdhó] n. war. [Note: A loan from Bangla]
zúl [zúl] n. even.
zúl (from: zúl (check)) [zúl] n. deep part of a river.
zúlúmi [zúlúmi] n. torture.
zún [zún] n. rabbit.
só [agráv.prep. 1SG O.]
só [case.cl. a locative case clitic. Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark the location of the referent. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
ə [nom.prep. NMLZ.
ə [poss.prep. 3SG.
ə [gr.prep. a generic-relational prefix. Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.
ə [agráv.prep. 3SG A.
ə [agráv.prep. 3SG S.
ə [agráv. a process of heating egg. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ə [agráv.prep. 3SG S.
ə [agráv. a process of heating egg. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ə [intj. refers to the positive reponse of a proposition.
ə [ques.suff. Q.
Ƅúnak (from: bának) [búnak] n. bullshit.
ðóm (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.
ðódn (from: dón) [dón] agráv. slant I. Usage: -ná (LOC), which refers to a static instrument/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
édik (from: dik) [dik] agráv. be silent I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify NP by following it; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ðódum (from: dóm) [dóm] quantifier. refers to half portion of a carrier. e.g. sack, basket, pitcher. Usage: follows a NP.
ʃó (from: ʃ) [ʃá] agráv. be burnt by fire I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ʃóey (from: ʃéy) [ʃéy] agráv. bask in fire I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ʃóp (from: ʃp) [ʃp] agráv. be well (health) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it.
ʃéy (from: ʃéy) [ʃéy] agráv. adulterate II. Usage: *-ná; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ʃéy (from: ʃéy) [ʃéy] agráv. adulterate I. Usage: *-ná; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
égedzét [égézét] adv. truly.
egéy [égy] adv. again and again.
şőmey (from: hümey) [hümey] n. tail.
şówn (from: hón) [hón] agráv. be empty I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); modifies a NP by following it; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
şównn [şównn] adv. utterly good smell.
şöpá? (from: hópá?) [hópá?] n. butt.
şůew (from: hěw) [hěw] agráv. be impaired I/II. Usage: *-ná; modifies a NP by following it.
şůš [šüş] intj. refers to the negative response of a proposition.
şůłw (from: hlůw) [hlůw] agráv. be loud I/II. Usage: *-ná; can only modify shám 'sound'; shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
şımúhmáp [šımúhmáp] n. dusk.
şınğol (from: hıngol) [hıngol] n. throat.
şım (from: hım) [hım] agráv. regret I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
şık (from: k hô) [k hô] n. an animal-living or a usual hollow place in the ground, hole. Usage: a noun.
ékhét [ékhét] n. love.
ékmş? [ékmş?] n. shifty thing.
ékrék (from: krék) [krék] n. particle.
ékręngā (ékręngā) adv. slowly.
şıkut [şıkut] def.pro. something.
şımáš?y [şımáš?] adv. at convenience.
élén (from: lén) [lén] agráv. refers to the state of being large in size. Usage: -ná (SPNT); follows a NP. [Note: hên 'CAUS']
elínláng [línláng] n. time before dawn (when cock calls).
şmók [šmók] n. foolish.
şmó (from: mó) [mó] n. mixed curry.
šmůlom [šmůlom] temp.word. afternoon (the road to evening).
émyák [émyák] n. diamond.
şnó (from: nón) [nón] n. mouth of a funnel/chimney.
šnów (from: nów) [nów] agráv. be soft I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shük (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
şngn [şng] n. deep river.
ong [ong] linker. convert suffix connects two clauses. Usage: attaches to a verb to establish connection between two clauses.

ông [ông] case.cl. an instrumental case clitic.

ông [ông] scv.suff. SCV.

ông [ông] durative. DUR.

ông [ông] case.cl. COMT.

őp [őp] agrAv. embrace II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

őp [őp] agrAv. embrace I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

épéy (from: péy) [péy] n. edge of a bowl (for holding).

őprum (from: prúm) [prúm] n. pile.

ěr [ěr] poss.suff. POSS. [Note: a loan from Bangla]


éshé (from: she) [she] 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); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

éshéy (from: shéy) [shéy] n. leave.

éshéy (from: shéy) [shéy] n. leaf.

ětk (from: těk) [těk] n. room.

ětěy (from: těy) [těy] n. egg.

ětsěk (from: tsék) [tsék] agrSv. be paralyzed I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

ětsěk (from: tsék) [tsék] agrSv. be stiff I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

ětsën (from: tsën) [tsën] n. queue.

ětsǹg (from: tsǹg) [tsǹg] agrSv. refers to the thickness of weaving of fabrics and bamboo made things. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

ěy [ěj] verbalizer. verbalizer. Usage: attaches to a noun to derive a verb.

ěy [ěj] dem.pro. 3) ANAPH.

ěy [ěj] pers.pro. third person singular personal pronoun. Usage: a personal pronoun. [Note: it can also take the form of the anaphoric demonstrative]

ěy [ěj] filler. FILL.

ěy [ěj] middle. a translational middle marking suffix. Usage: as agent orientation.

ěy [ěj] ques.suff. Q.

ěy [ěj] elabor.expr. EE.

ěyɛ [ěj] middle. a reflexive marking suffix. Usage: used as a reflexive marking suffix.


ěyák [ěyák] (from: ýák) [ýák] n. corpse.

ěyó [ěyó] (from: ýó) [ýó] n. bone.


ěykhôl [ěykhôl] pers.pro. 3PL.

ěykyô [ěykyô] adv. reversely.

ěyût [ěyût] (from: yût) [yût] agrSv. diminish I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyût ‘CAUS’]

é? [ě?] ques.suff. Q.

éyêyéy (from: ŋeůy) [ŋeůy] agrAv. gnash II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

éyêyéy (from: ŋeũy) [ŋeũy] agrAv. gnash I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óżl [óżl] n. hot water.

G - g

gákgákgák [gákgákgák] onomat. calling of duck.

gála [gála] n. quay.

gánásá [gánásá] n. towel.

gigûngûgrûng [gigûngûgrûng] onomat. sound of pomp.

góângnâtây [góângnâtây] n. guava. [Note: a loan from/]

gôdśgśl [gôdśgśl] n. rubbish thing.

gôl [gól] num.conj.suff. and.

gôlăng [gôlăng] n. tub.

gólóktsô [gólóktsô] n. graizer.

góná [góná] n. counting.

góndži [góndži] n. vest. [Note: a loan from Bangla/]

góri [góri] linker. doing (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla/]

gra [gra] num. one. [Note: a loan from Marma/]

grâng [grâng] onomat. sound of slanting.

grâng [grâng] onomat. sound of throwing.

grigâk [grigâk] n. octopus. [Note: a loan from Marma/]

Note: The text appears to be a translated version of a linguistic dictionary entry in Bangla, providing definitions, usages, and examples of various morphological and syntactic elements used in the language.
| gúm [gúm] n. abduction. | |
| gún [gún] n. oyster. | |

**H - h**

| há [há] additive. additive suffix, also. Usage: attaches to a nominal constituent to denote an additive/conjunctive meaning. | hâenl [hâenl] agrAv. refers to the action of saving one’s life II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| há [há] SCAD. even. | hâenlâl [hâenlâl] agrAv. refers to the action of saving one’s life I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| há [há] n. snacks. | hâenêy [hâenêy] agrAv. make someone to take oath II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| há [há] n. gold. | hâenêy [hâenêy] agrAv. make someone to take oath I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| háhâw?w [hâhâw?] agrSr. be thirsty/hungry very much I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it. | hêng [hêng] n. a brook is a small stream. Usage: a noun. |
| hák [hâk] agrAv. strangle I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. | hânhang [hânhang] indef.pro. all. |
| hák [hâk] agrAv. snatch/dribble II. Usage: *-ná; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. | haenglâ [haenglâ] agrAv. imprison I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| hák [hâk] agrAv. snatch/dribble I. Usage: *-ná; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. | haenglâk [haenglâk] agrAv. imprison II. Usage: -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| háek [hâek] agrSr. call out/shout I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. | hângphûng (from: hângphûng (check)) [hângphûng] n. echo. |
| háek [hâek] n. lice. | hângshûng [hângshûng] n. bottom part of a brook (M). |
| hâkêy [hâkêy] agrAv. snack/scrimmage II. Usage: *-nák; -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. | hângtsiktsik [hângtsiktsik] adv. utterly green. |
| hâkêy [hâkêy] agrAv. snack/scrimmage I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. | háre [hâre] disc.part. a discourse particle. |
| hâlêy [hâlêy] agrSr. be thirsty I/II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it. | hâwhlông [hâwhlông] n. thick firewood. |
| hâlêy [hâlêy] agrSr. desire to eat I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it. | hây [hây] n. axe. |
| hâlmêy [hâlmêy] n. headman. | há? [hâ?] agrAv. strangle II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. |
| hámhâng [hámhâng] n. rice powder. | |
hélíkɔ́ptâr [hélíkɔ́ptâr] n. helicopter. [Note: a loan from English via Bangla]

hénêy [hénêy] agrAv. do brook worship II. Usage: *-nák.


héwhéw [héwhéw] n. hullabaloo.

hɔ́y? [hɔ́y?] adv.suff. narrowly.

hɔ́l [hɔ́l] agrAv. refers to the action of sticking, as in sticking flowers to make a garland. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ́l [hɔ́l] 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); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hó [hó] agrAv. close a hole II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ̀ [hɔ̀] agrAv. close a hole I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ̀ [hɔ̀] agrAv. close a hole II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ̀ [hɔ̀] agrAv. close a hole III. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ̀ [hɔ̀] agrAv. close a hole I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ̀ [hɔ̀] agrAv. fan I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hɔ̀ [hɔ̀] agrAv. fan II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
dative.

hléʔ [hléʔ] agrAv. run after I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

dlét [from: hlét (Check)] [hléʔ] agrAv. bring out.

hláʔhli: navel [hláʔ] agrAv. withdraw. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléʔhli: change [hléʔ] agrAv. lie I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléʔ [hléʔ] n. a place that blocks the sunlight and have a shadow. Usage: a noun.

hléy [hléy] n. a place that blocks the sunlight and have a shadow. Usage: a noun.

hléy [hléy] agrAv. exchange/change. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléyâl [hléyâl] agrAv. transfer. Usage: -nák-âl (SPNT), *-âl-nák; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléʔ [hléʔ] agrAv. peel II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléʔyynák [hléʔyynák] agrAv. lie. [Note: -nák functions as a verbalizer here, since hléʔy is a noun; hléʔ-shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative/}

hléʔ [hléʔ] n. an area that blocks the sunlight and have a shadow. Usage: a noun.

hlé[l] n. a place that blocks the sunlight and have a shadow. Usage: a noun.

hlék [hlék] agrAv. to soothe someone in emotional distress. Usage: -nák (INST); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléʔkhâk [hléʔkhâk] n. trap.

hléng [hléng] linker. SIM.

hlót [hlót] agrAv. let go I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlóʔtal [hlóʔtal] agrAv. set free I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (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); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


hléw [hléw] be loud [hléw] agrAv. yearn I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hléwshō: mix seeds (paddy with wheat)]

hléwhông [hléwhông] n. waste water.

hléy [hléy] agrAv. buy I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hléʔ [hléʔ] n. turn.
hlóy [hlóy] 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 [hlók] agrAv. gather/pick up I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlók [hlók] 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.

hlókbé [hlókbé] n. stair landing/step.

hlóshê [hlóshê] n. ladder (with seven steps).

hlómhló [hlómhló] n. the measurement of space between two places or points. Usage: a noun.

hlông [hlông] n. a stream that flows in between hills. Usage: a noun.

hlów [hlów] agrAv. fry I. Usage: -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hló? [hló?] 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.

hló? [hló?] agrAv. gather/pick up II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlósw [hlósw] agrAv. fry II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -puy (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.

hlú ? [hlú?] agrAv. love. 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 im hlúhlúm -nák-tí? liw püy-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); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlúmhlúm [hlúmhlúm] adv. shakingly.

hlún [hlún] agrAv. shake. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlúngkawkáw [hlúngkawkáw] adv. utterly high.

hlútkhyáng [hlútkhyáng] adv. immediately.

hluyodong [hluyodong] noun. a name, Hluyodong.


hlú?y [hlú?y] agrAv. fill up II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hlú?y [hlú?y] agrAv. fill up I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hm [hm] intj. right.

hmák [hmák] agrAv. anoint. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmák [hmák] agrAv. dye. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -puy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmán [hmán] 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); -puy (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.

hmá: múm: regret V-ing [má] v.suff. a nominalizing suffix.

hmák [hmák] n. elder sister's husband.

hmán [hmán] linker. PURP.

hmána [hmána] linker. PURP.

hmóshó [hmóshó] n. Hmoshoo. [Note: a laon from Marma]


hmoy [hmoy] n. a place before eyes. Usage: a noun.

hmóng [hmóng] n. glass.

hmó? [hmó?] agrAv. annihilate I. Usage: *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: mrt: be annihilated]

hmó? [hmó?] agrAv. annihilate II. Usage: *-nák; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmúng [hmúng] n. valley.

hmú [hmú] n. falcon.

hmù [hmù] agrAv. see I. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

hmù [hmù] agrSv. close eyes I/II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmüey [hmüey] agrAv. close eyes II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

hmüey [hmüey] agrAv. close eyes I. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

hmáká [hmáká] n. maize.

hmük? [hmük?] 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.

hmúng [hmúng] agrAv. disturb. 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-mím hnu-p-nák-ti? tánhng hyôn-âl. Throw the eye drop with which your eyes became blurry. ’; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmúpťing [hmúpťing] adv. suddenly becoming dark.

hmút [hmút] agrAv. blow I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hmútó [hmútó] n. a human being of female sex.

hmúʔ [hmúʔ] agrAv. see II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

hnáginas [hnáginas] n. the creator.

hnáñhágá [hnáñhágá] n. creator.

hnáñshàng [hnáñshàng] n. flying vehicle. [Note: a loan from Marma]


hnámpó [hnámpó] n. banana.

hnánsháphú [hnánsháphú] n. secret juice. [Note: a religious word]


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. drown II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hnék [hnék] agrAv. drown II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hnék [hnék] agrAv. get engaged I/II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

hnéy [hnéy] n. friend.

hn問い合わせ [hn問い合わせ] n. a conclusive suffix, at the end, finally.

hn問い合わせ [hn問い合わせ] adv. at once.

hn問い合わせ [hn問い合わせ] disc.part. DP.

hná [hná] agrSv. snore I/II.

hnáláhnghát [hnáláhnghát] pronoun. each-other.
hóm [hóm] adv. still.
hóm [hóm] asp. yet.
hómpúŋpúŋ [hómpúŋpúŋ] adv. utterly black.
hōn [hōn] n. sky.
hōn [hōn] agrAv. put into/tuck in II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hōn [hōn] agrAv. make swidden field ready for cultivation II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hōn [hōn] agrAv. make swidden field ready for cultivation I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hōn [hōn] agrAv. make swidden field ready for cultivation I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hōn [hōn] n. top/apex.
hóng [hóng] onomat. calling of deer.
hóng [hóng] agrSp. open II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hóng [hóng] agrSp. open I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hópáʔshún [hópáʔshún] 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] agrSp. say II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hów [hów] agrSp. say I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówâʔ [hówâʔ] 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.
hówâʔ [hówâʔ] adv. without.
hówêy [hówêy] agrSp. search/look/ask for II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówêy [hówêy] agrSp. claim II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówêy [hówêy] agrSp. search/look/ask for I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hówêy [hówêy] agrSp. claim I. Usage: -ná (SPNT);
shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hówêy (from: hówêy) [hówêy] agrAv. take permission II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).

hówêy (from: hówêy) [hówêy] agrAv. take permission I. Usage: -ná (SPNT).

hówêy [hówêy] n. wild potato.

hɔ́y [hɔ́y] onomat. sound/manner of going away.

hɔ́yhtʃɔ̀ [hɔ́yhtʃɔ̀] adv. state of an empty place.

hɔ́ypæ̀ [hɔ́ypæ̀] n. flattened fried rice.

hɔ́ythɔ̀ [hɔ́ythɔ̀] n. mango fruit.

hɔ́yʊng [hɔ́yʊng] n. myna.


hɔ́y [hɔ́y] v.class. a dual marker. Usage: a dual marker that attaches to a noun or a verb.

hɔ́y [hɔ́y] dual.num. a dual number suffix.


hɔ̀ngú [hɔ̀ngú] disc.part. hold/look/see/take.

hɔ̀ngúdà [hɔ̀ngúdà] disc.part. what else?

hɔ́kùm [hɔ́kùm] n. order. [Note: a loan from Bangla/]

hûl [hûl] agrAv. dry (cloth) I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shõk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hûl [hûl] agrAv. dry (clothe) II. Usage: -ná(STAT)/(SPNT); shõk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hûlêy [hûlêy] agrAv. domesticate I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shõk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hûlêy [hûlêy] agrAv. domesticate II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shõk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hûlêy [hûlêy] agrAv. domesticate II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shõk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

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hûlêy [hûlêy] agrAv. domesticate II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shõk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
hyë̂n [hyën] agrAv. refers to the action of removing or cutting anything, e.g. hair. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (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); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyə̂w [hyə̂w] agrAv. make float I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyó [hjɔ́] v.suff. marks a predicate. Usage: attaches to the verb complex.

hyòk [hjɔ́k] agrAv. convey II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyòk [hjɔ́k] agrAv. convey I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


hyòkùêy [hjɔ́kùêy] agrAv. tickle II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyòkùéy [hjɔ́kùéy] agrAv. tickle I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyùl [hjɔ́l] agrSv. lie down I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyùl [hjɔ́l] [hjɔ́l] agrAv. to go after someone with the help of footprints. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyùl [hjɔ́l] agrAv. to go after someone with the help of footprints. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyùl [hjɔ́l] agrAv. make wet II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyùl [hjɔ́l] agrAv. make wet I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúm [hjʊ́m] agrSv. fail/lose I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST), as in ú-hyúm-nák-ti? sû́rí túá mông shée̊y-á dê ‘Now, the knife is near the king ’; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúm [hjʊ́m] agrAv. sharpen edge II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúm [hjʊ́m] agrAv. sharpen edge I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyúmkìkkìk [hyʊ́mkìkkìk] adv. utterly pungent.

hyúmnà [hjʊ̃mnà] agrAv. disdain I.

hyúmná [hjʊ̃mná] agrAv. disdain II.

hyúmsúytsùy [hyʊ̃msúytsùy] adv. utterly sharp.

hyúmsúyʔtìŋh [hyʊ̃msúyʔtìŋh] n. a kind of long tree.

hyú̄n [hjʊ́n] n. urine.

hyûn [hjʊ̃n] n. creeper.

hyûng [hjʊ́ŋ] agrSv. urinate I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyûŋpìmpìm [hjʊ̃ŋpìmpìm] adv. pitch black darkness.

hyûp [hjʊ́p] agrAv. extinguish II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

hyûp [hjʊ́p] agrAv. extinguish I. Usage: -ná
I - i

îkîw (from: kiw) [kiw] n. corner.
îkri? (from: kri?) [kri?] n. glue.
ilip (from: lip) [lip] n. shadow.
ilip (from: lip) [lip] n. fish scales.
im [im] n. a shelter or structure where people live.
Usage: a noun.
imêk (from: mik) [mik] n. eye.
imthông [imthông] n. family.
ingphîâmá [ingphîâmá] n. name of a god.
ingrédzî [îngrédzî] n. english. [Note: a loan from Bangla/]
ií [ií] agrAv.pref. they. Usage: attaches to verb.
ií [ií] poss.pref. 3PL.
ií? (from: ní?) [nî?] n. a mark of shoe or foot, footprint.
înkám [înkám] n. income (E).
îp [îp] agrSv. sleep. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák (LOC), as in kéni? kí -nî-íp-nák-dûn khát bún -hná. The bed on which we sleep is broken.; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative [verb takes otherwise nonusable Stem I verb i?].
itâlî [îtâlî] n. Italy.
itâm (from: thîm) [thîn] n. liver.
itíá [îtíá] interr.pro. when.
itíáhá [îtíáhá] indef.pro. anytime.
itîng (from: tîng) [tîng] n. edge.
itîrírî? [îtírirî?] n. irritating thing.
itkhûl [îtikhûl] n. a place to teach and learn.
itîsîm (from: tsîm) [tsîm] agrSv. be transparent (water)
I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST).
itîsî? (from: tsî?) [tsî?] n. seed.
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); -ná 'agrAv' (INST), as in éy =lá yák lá=š ngu ká-ná-khó 'He stepped with bamboo dance .'; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ká [ká] agrAv. hide II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ká [ká] agrAv. hide I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ká [ká] agrSv. be scared I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
kák [kák] agrAv. make way/separate II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kák [kák] agrAv. make way/separate I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kák [kák] agrAv. avoid II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: kák: move things]
kák [kák] 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.
káléʔy [káléʔy] agrAv. envy II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
káléʔy [káléʔy] agrAv. envy I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kálíkálú [kálíkálú] n. name of a goddess.
kélók [kélók] n. garden lizard.
kám [kám] n. luck.
kém [kém] n. camp.
kámbará (from: kámbará (check)) [kámbará] n. luck.
kén [kén] agrAv. bake II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kén [kén] agrAv. bake I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kénáʔ [kénáʔ] quantifier. every (temporal). Usage: used with the numeral one.
kánzón [kánzón] n. bindweed (B).
kánféy [kánféy] agrAv. dread I. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
kánféy [kánféy] agrAv. dread II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
káng [káng] agrSv. be unavailable I/II. Usage: *-ná.
káng [káng] n. middle part of the front body.
kángdídit [kángdídit] adv. utterly black.
kángtsâng [kángtsâng] n. chest.
kánthâ [kánthâ] n. health.
ká [ká] 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?].
kép [kép] agrAv. press II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kép [kép] agrAv. press I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
képkâp [képkâp] onomat. sound of walking on a bamboo floor.
kârbârî [kârbârî] n. village chief.
kát káli (from: káli) [káli] 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'.]
kâthâʔy [kâthâʔy] n. bean fruit.
kátkáli (from: káli) [káli] 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 'kátkáli' means 'aisle'.]
kâttâ [kâttâ] 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.
kâwâkům [kâwâkům] n. cooking shelf.
kây [kây] imp. verb. come.
kâʔ [kâʔ] agrAv. refers to the state of being afraid of something or someone. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
káʔ [kæʔ] agrAv. refers to the state of being afraid of something or someone. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

káʔshé [kæʔʃe] agrSv. be dangerous I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).

káʔylángpá [kæʔylángpá] n. hilly reed flower.

káʔyplá [kæʔyplá] n. tree potato.

ké [ke] agrAv. pref. 1SG A.

ké [ke] agrSv. pref. 1SG S.

ké [kē] agrSv. worship I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: used only for 'bukekele' worship]

kə [kə] agrAv. pref. 1SG.

kə [kə] agrSv. pref. 1SG.

kówdy̋yô [kɔ̃dɔ̄yŏ] n. nonsensical words.

kól [köl] agrSv. wear off I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kélyɛ̃kklɛ̃k [kɛ̃lyɛ̃kklɛ̃k] adv. shringingly.

kóm [kóm] agrSv. descend from a place. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kén [kén] agrAv. have famine I/II. Usage: *-ná (SPNT).

kón [kón] agrAv. vacate by transferring II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kęp [kęp] n. gap.

kóṭ [kóṭ] agrAv. carry on shoulder I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kóṭsöl̄káyáκ [kɔ̃tsɔ̄l̄káyáʔ] n. at sixes and sevens.

kéwékewék [kɛwɛkɛwɛk] adv. utterly awry.

kówlowting [kɔwlowting] adv. manner of free fall.

kéy [kɛy] n. tiger.


kéy [kɛy] n. relative.

kéyhnïʔ [kɛyhnïʔ] pers.pro. 1DL EXC.

kéyñïʔ [kɛyñïʔ] pers.pro. 1PL EXC.


kóʔ [kɔ̃ʔ] n. wealth.

kóʔ [kɔ̃ʔ] case.cl. GEN.

kóʔ [kɔ̃ʔ] case.cl. a genitive case clitic that marks possession or relation. Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark the possession or relation.
khát [khát] linker. CONCESS.
Usage:

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); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khát [khát] agrAv. touch II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔn [kháʔn] n. marigold.

khétṣ [khétṣ] n. cloth for loin.

kháw [kháw] agrAv. separate II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháw [kháw] agrAv. separate I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháw [kháw] n. language.

khéw [khéw] disc.part. DP.

kháwáy [kháwáy] agrAv. feed (B) II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháwáy [kháwáy] agrAv. feed (B) I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháwkhé [kháwkhé] n. one word.

khéy [khéy] n. flower.

khéypá [khéypá] n. flower.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. close II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. shave II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. scrape II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. scrape I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. process food to cook curry. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. process raw food to cook curry II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔ [kháʔ] agrAv. process raw food to cook curry I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

kháʔykháʔ [kháʔykháʔ] n. thunder.

khó [khó] n. a spell to kill fish.

khó [khó] imp.suff. let's.

khéd dét [khéd dét] n. subordinate.

khók [khók] loc.noun. near. Usage: follows a NP and not compatible with the inessive case.

khók [khók] agrAv. be OK I/II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

khók [khók] agrAv. be appropriate I/II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

khólhnókhnók [khólhnókhnók] adv. utterly thick (liquid).

khóm [khóm] agrAv. meet II. Usage: -nák (INST), which means 'to get hurt by someone'; -éy, which means to meet someone on a decided day.

khóm [khóm] agrAv. make descend I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóm [khóm] agrAv. make descend II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóngkhó [khóngkhó] n. dove.

khót [khót] agrAv. bow I. Usage: shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khót [khót] agrAv. scratch I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -púy (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] agrAv. be hatched. Usage: *-ná.

khèwʔthing [khèwʔthing] n. common fig tree.

khóy [khóy] agrAv. sew I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóy [khóy] agrAv. sew II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóy [khóy] agrAv. sew I. Usage: *-ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóy [khóy] agrAv. sew II. Usage: *-nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóy [khóy] agrAv. sew II. Usage: *-nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khéyál [khéyál] n. notice. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

khóʔ [khóʔ] reallis. really.

khóʔ [khóʔ] agrAv. scratch II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóʔ [khóʔ] agrAv. bow II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khóʔwá [khóʔwá] n. hayena.

khí [khí] agrAv. pay price I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
ward to beg or spreading plates

is marked by dative (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôk [khôk] agrAv. pay price II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôkêng [khôkêng] temp.word. 1-2pm.

khôkhe [khôkhe] elab.expr. word.

khôkhrâ [khôkhrâ] n. month.

khôklú [khôklú] n. knee joint.

khôkûm [khôkûm] n. a year consists of 365 days. Usage: a noun.

khôl [khôl] exp.suff. PL.

khôl (from: khôl) [khôl] 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 additive. also.

khôl [khôl] agrAv. surround II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôl [khôl] agrAv. knock I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] agrAv. obstruct II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] agrAv. suffer I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] agrAv. wait going ahead II. Usage: *-ná; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] agrAv. wait going ahead I. Usage: *-ná; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] agrAv. refers to the action of placing hand forward to beg or spreading plates for food. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] agrAv. refers to the action of placing hand to beg or spreading plates for food. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

khôm [khôm] n. day.

khômik [khômik] n. ankle.

khômítu [khômítu] n. heel.
khómú  [khómú]  n. evening.
khón  [khón]  agrAv. bind II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôn  [khôn]  agrAv. bind I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôn  [khôn]  agrAv. strip off shell II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôn  [khôn]  agrAv. strip off shell I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
không  [không]  elab.expr. get hurt.
không  [không]  agrAv. throw a stone II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
không  [không]  agrAv. throw a stone I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
không  [không]  agrSv. call (chicken) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
không  [không]  PERCHANCE. somehow.
kônggaʔ  [kônggaʔ]  conj. before.
kôngkʰápɔ̂  [kôngkʰápɔ̂]  n. executioner.
kônggûháʔy  [kônggûháʔy]  n. bitter melon fruit.
khní  [khní]  n. sun.
khnîl  [khnîl]  agrSv. be incessantly rainy I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
khôp  [khôp]  agrAv. get hold of II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).
khôp  [khôp]  num.cl.  CLS (span).
khôp  [khôp]  agrAv. get hold of I. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
khôp  [khôp]  n. glss cup.
khôphay  [khôphay]  n. toe.
khôshûn  [khôshûn]  n. 10am-12noon.
kôshûn  [khôshûn]  n. noon.
kôshûn  (from: shûn)  [shûn]  agrSv. be noon I/II. Usage: *-ná.
kôti  [kôti]  n. loss (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
kôtin  [kôtin]  n. leg nail.
kôtkôtstsī  [kôtkôtstsī]  adv. healthily.
kôttstsī  [kôttstsī]  adv. in a well/fine manner.
kôttthèʔy  [kôttthèʔy]  n. tomato fruit.
kôttssî  [kôttssî]  n. harvest.
kôúng  [kôúng]  n. foot.
khôy  [khôy]  agrAv. break I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôy  [khôy]  agrAv. make go up I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôy  [khôy]  agrAv. make go up I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôyá  [khôyá]  n. bee hive (white part).
khôyhnâl  [khôyhnâl]  n. seeing bee.
khôykâháʔy  [khôykâháʔy]  n. snake gourd fruit.
k hôyâl  [khôyâl]  n. pocket.
kôymikmû  [kôymikmû]  n. blind bee.
kôytsîp  [kôytsîp]  n. ring.
kôyût  [khôyût]  n. bee hive (black part).
khôʔ  [khôʔ]  agrAv. paste (poster) I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôʔ  [khôʔ]  agrAv. paste (poster) I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khôshûm  [khôshûm]  n. junction.
khôʔy  [khôʔy]  agrAv. break II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrá  [khrá]  n. wing.
khrâ  [khrâ]  numeral. hundred.
khrâkôgólshâggîb  [khrâkôgólshâggîb]  numeral. one hundred sixty.
khrâ  [khrâ]  agrAv. ruin I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrâ  [khrâ]  onomat. sound of pouring water.
khrâm  [khrâm]  agrAv. take a handful I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrâng  [khrâng]  n. matter.
khrây  [khrây]  agrAv. scratch I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrâ  [khrâ]  agrAv. take a handful II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrâm  [khrâm]  agrAv. make go up II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khêmâʔ  [khêmâʔ]  n. wife’s younger sister.
khrêp  [khrêp]  agrAv. fold II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrêp  [khrêp]  agrAv. fold I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy  (ASSOC.BEN); shôk  (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrú [khrú] n. tear.
khríbong (from: khríbong (check)) [khríbong] n. young boy.
khrí [khrí] agrAv. spread II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrí [khrí] agrAv. spread I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrí [khrí] agrAv. spread II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrí [khrí] agrAv. spread I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khrí [khrí] agrAv. refer to the digging of a hole by a pig I. Usage: -nák (SPI).khrí [khrí] agrAv. refer to the digging of a hole by a pig II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).khrúy [khrúy] agrAv. crush I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khsú [khšú] n. pigeon.
khsúb [khšúb] adv. very.
khsúey [khšúey] agrAv. refers to the action of putting something to get rid of rain II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khsúey [khšúey] agrAv. refers to the action of putting something to get rid of rain I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khsúk [khšúk] agrAv. elbow II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khsúk [khšúk] agrAv. elbow I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khsuí [khšuí] agrAv. open (B) II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khsuí [khšuí] agrAv. open (B) I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khmúm [khšùm] n. pillow.
khyú [khšyú] n. story.
khyúyng [khšyúyng] n. hill.
khyú [khšyú] agrAv. cough I/II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).
khyúy [khšyúy] agrAv. cover with cloth II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khyúy [khšyúy] agrAv. cover with cloth I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khwáshám [khšáshám] n. a trap to catch fish.
khyámkhyám [khyámkhyám] adv. peacefully.
khyóng [khyóng] agrAv. observe II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khyóng [khyóng] agrAv. observe I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shík (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
khyóng [khyóng] agrAv. look for a chance to beat II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT).
khyóng (from: khyóng) [khyóng] agrAv. look for a chance to beat I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT).
khyóngshála [khyóngshála] n. goat slaughterer.
khyúp [khyúp] n. crown of head.
khyúp [khyúp] agrAv. control II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
khyúp [khyúp] agrAv. control I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
kí [kí] poss.pref. 1SG.
kí [kí] agrAv.pref. 1SG A.
kí [kí] n. parrot.
kí [kí] agrSv. be over I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
kíang [kíăng] n. reinder.
kíhni [kíhni] agrSv.pref. 1DL EXC.
kíhni [kíhni] agrAv.pref. 1DL EXC.
kíkóng [kíkóng] n. prawn.
kíkông [kíkông] n. shrimp.
kí-ní (from: kí-ní-) [kíní; kíní] 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.
k'lá [k'lá] agrSv. spread legs I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), e.g. éy k'lá-hó He spread legs, but éy -lá ám k 'lá-nák-khó 'He spread legs over the pot '; shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
klàngy [klàngy] agrAv. disclose/reveal II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
kló [kló] agrSv. fall I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
klók [klók] n. bridge.
klóny [klóny] agrSv. be reversed I/II J /II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
klónyál [klónyál] agrSv. come back I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause 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.
kó [kó] poss.pref. first person singular possessive prefix.
kó [kó] agrAv.pref. first person singular A argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] n. argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] agrAv. first person singular A argument cross-referencing prefix.
kó [kó] n. internal mouth.
kó [kó; kɔ] neg.suff. 1DL INC NEG.
kó [kó] case.cl. ABE.
kó [kó] neg.suff. 1PL INC.
kózháthéy [kózháthéy] n. lime.
kókkó [kókkó] n. a hole for a tree.
kókón [kókón] n. wealth.
kóktsíl [kóktsíl] n. water hyacinth.
kól [kól] agrAv. pick up I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
kól [kól] agrSv. have high body temperature, have fever. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
kól [kól] n. under.
kóléklék [kóléklék] adv. utterly curved.
kólkók [kólkók] n. snail.
kóm [kóm] n. bettle.
kóm [kóm] n. bank.
kóm [kóm] agrSv. refers to the state of someone who is unemployed or has free time. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
kòmiál [kòmiál] agrSv. subside (B) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
kòmpüm [kòmpüm] 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.
kòn [kòn] n. pond.
kón [kón] agrAv. cross over I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
kón [kón] agrAv. cross over I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
kóng [kóng] n. reason.
kóng [kóng] n. small cane.
kóng [kóng] n. a place higher than plain lands but lower than mountains, hill. Usage: a noun.
kóng [kóng] n. special leaves for worshipping.
kóngbàng [kóngbàng] expressive. EXP.
kóngmùshäng [kóngmùshäng] n. saint/religious.
kóngkìng [kóngkìng] n. robin.
kónglátháʔy [kónglátháʔy] n. orange fruit.
kóngúphó [kóngúphó] n. bullfrog.
kónnya [kónnya] n. daughter. [Note: a loan from
Bangla/

kóñô [kóñô] indef.pro. any (B).
kóp [kóp] onomat. sound of sitting.
kóp [kóp] agrAv. tie something with bamboo II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kóp [kóp] agrAv. tie something with bamboo I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (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); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kóp [kóp] onomat. sound of door closing.
kóp [kóp] n. calf.
kópéy [kópéy] agrSv. cling to I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kótkóta [kótkóta] adv. hurriedly.
kótshtsâ [kótshtsâ] adv. accordingly.
ków [ków] agrSv. groan I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kỳ [kỳ] agrSv. step up, climb. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN), which refers to performing a climb by sharing (half by one and half by the other ); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kỳál [kỳál] agrSv. branch off I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kỳ [kỳ] agrAv. to discharge ammunitions from a gun or similar arms. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kỳl [kỳl] agrAv. pick up II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krä [krä] n. period.
krä (from: krâ (check)) [krä] agrAv. make love.
krä [krä] agrAv. cut a ribbon into pieces. *Usage:* - shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräm [kräm] agrSv. be rough in doing anything I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák ‘agrAv’ (neglect), è-lâ bóy krâm-nák-khô ’He neglected the book.’
kräng [kräng] onomat. sound of tear.
krät [krät] agrSv. have vetches I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
kräy [kräy] onomat. sound of opening clothes.
krä [krä?] agrSv. bloom into a bud I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
krä [krä] n. bad luck.
kräng [kräng] num.class. time.
kräp [kräp] onomat. sound of falling asleep suddenly.
kräw [kräw] agrSv. speak I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -nák ‘agrAv’ (INST); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräwphâk [kräwphâk] n. a companion for talking.
krä [krä] agrSv. be right I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
krä [krä] agrSv. be late I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
krä [krä] agrSv. fall I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräk [kräk] adv. a small part of anything. *Usage:* aa adverb.
kräbbêkêk [kräbbêkêk] adv. utterly melted.
krägrô [krägrô] n. healthy person.
kräk [kräk] agrSv. be lost I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT).
krä [krä] agrSv. fall III. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT) refers to falling on a referent.
kräkôk (from: krâskôk (check)) [kräkôk] agrAv. spin a top.
kräng [kräng] n. a tree used to support the outer veranda. *Usage:* a noun.
kräng [kräng] agrAv. refers to the action of shifting one’s living place II. *Usage:* -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräng [kräng] agrAv. refers to the action of shifting one’s living place I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräng [kräng] n. plank.
kränggrâ [kränggrâ] agrAv. worry (M). [Note: a loan from Marma/ках]
kräw [kräw] adv. haltingly.
krä [krä] agrSv. fall down on either side I/II. *Usage:* *-ná.
kräung [kräung] n. roof.
kräung [kräung] onomat. sound of falling.
kräung [kräung] agrSv. fade I/II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräy [kräy] agrSv. be crushed I/II. *Usage:* -ná; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kräy [kräy] n. a small lump of soil.
ku [ku] poss.pref. 1SG.
kû [kû] agrSv.pref. first person singular cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the A/S argument.
kû [kû] agrAv.pref. first person singular cross-referencing prefix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb to mark the A/S argument.
kú [kú] agrSw. get infected I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
kúk [kúk] n. ash.
kúl [kúl] numeral. twenty.
kúlúná [kúlúná] agrAv. punish/torture I. Usage: ; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kúlúnák [kúlúnák] agrAv. punish/torture II. Usage: ; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kúnlúns [n] agrSw. squat I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kún [kún] 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 I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kán [kán] agrAv. refers to the action of bearing something by more than one person I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
kán [kán] agrAv. refers to the action of putting a lid or things alike over food for protection I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

Usage:
- between two clauses or things alike over food for protection
- causee is marked by dative
- something by more than one person
- causee is marked by dative

(Inst)/((CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative
- benefit attaches to a verb to establish a part of the roof
- something over things other than food for concealment or protection
- Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative

kúshōng [kúshōng] n. fourth month in the calendar.
kúthló [kúthló] n. business.
kútmóng [kútmóng] n. middle finger.
kútnù [kútnù] n. thumb.
kúttśó [kúttśó] n. baby finger (pinkly).
küty [küty] n. thumb.
kyáʔál [kyáʔál] agrAv. regret II. Usage: *-nák.
kyáʔál [kyáʔál] agrAv. regret I. Usage: *-ná.
kyø [kyø] 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.
là [lá] case.cl. ergative case clitic. Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark the ergative case.
lè [lè] agrSw. fall from a high place I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lê [lê] n. swidden field that is already cut but not burnt.
láb [láb] n. benefit. [Note: a loan from Bangla/
lágy [lágy] agrAv. refer to the action of making dispute among people. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from BANGLA]

lágý [lägý] agrAv. refer to the action of making dispute among people. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from BANGLA]
lákháʔ [lákʔáʔ] n. giantess.
lákpáʔy [lákpaʔy] n. mimosa.
lákshum [lákshum] n. customary food for bride and bride groom.
láktángbók [lákáltängbók] n. window of a bamboo sheet wall.
láláápany [láláápany] [láláápany] indef.pro. anywhere.
láláhúʔypéy [láláhúʔypéy] adv. by any means.
lálákoʔpéy [lálákoʔpéy] adv. anyplace.
lálálshálá [lálálshálá] n. movement (B). [Note: a loan word from Bangla]
lálshák [lálshák] n. red leaf.
lám [lám] adv.suffix. nearby.
láng [lán] onomat. sound of infusing.
lángjá [lángjá] (from: lángjá (Check)) n. bride (B). [Note: a loan from the local Chittagonian dialect (?)]
lánglúk [lánglúk] n. the village at the face of Gungru.
léngshókshók [léngshókshók] adv. utterly hot.
lánshtú [lánshtú] n. enemy.
léplép [léléplép] onomat. groaning sound.
lášt [lášt] 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); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
léw [léw] agrSv. have loss I/II. Usage: ná (SPNT). [Note: hläwêy 'CAUS' (make loss)]
láy [láy] n. poverty.
lāy [lāy] n. land.
lāy [lāy] agrSv. be excessive wicked/hyper I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
lāybîl [lāybîl] n. land.
lāʔ [lāʔ] obligative. an obligation marking suffix.
lāʔ [lāʔ] agrAv. pull II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lāʔ [lāʔ] inclusive.cl. including/along with. Usage: follows a NP and does not take any case marker.
lāʔng [lāʔŋng] adv. forcefully.
lēkêy [lēkêy] agrAv. play II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lēkêy [lēkêy] agrAv. play I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lēkhôngshâ [lēkhôngshâ] n. Rakhanie.
lêklê [lêklê] n. Shangu river.
lēlô [lēlô] adv. truly/quite.
lêm [lêm] agrAv. strike horizontally II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lêm [lêm] agrAv. strike horizontally I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lêndên [lêndên] n. dealing (B).
lêng [lêng] agrAv. hunt II.
lêng [lêng] agrAv. hunt I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lóng [lóng] n. wave.
lông [lông] n. larva.
lông [lông] n. worm.
lôngkôśl [lôngkôśl] n. pitcher holder.
lôngtśil [lôngtśil] n. hairy maggot.
lôt [lôt] agrSv. get free I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
lôtông [lôtông] recurrentive. again and again.
lôtêy [lôtêy] agrSv. refers to the action of going underneath something. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lôwlew [lôwlew] adv. fully.
lêy [lêy] n. tongue.
lêy [lêy] agrAv. pour I. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lêy [lêy] n. big paddy basket to put paady after cutting.
lôy [lôy] agrAv. pour II. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lôy [lôy] agrAv. refers to the action of throwing away from out of something. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lôy [lôy] agrAv. refers to the action of throwing away from out of something. Usage: -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lêyhnîʔ [lêyhnîʔ] numeral. twelve.
lî [lî] n. weight.
lî [lî] agrAv. trample I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lîzânggê [lîzânggê] n. glass of bamboo. [Note: a loan from Marma]
lîmli [lîmli] n. gamari (tree).
lîmtsîng [lîmtsîng] n. densed forest.
lîpláp [lîpláp] n. bolt.
lîʔ [lîʔ] agrAv. trample II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shɔ́k (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); shɔ́k (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); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lô [lô] agrAv. come I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); shɔ́k (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); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lôgâ [lôgâ] n. sickness.
lôgônglôg [lôgônglôg] n. sickness.
lôhâyâk [lôhâyâk] n. thin stuff.
lôhâyâhây [lôhâyâhây] adv. utterly thin.
lôk [lôk] agrSv. vomit I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST).
lôk [lôk] agrSv. be sufficient I/II. Usage: *-ná; shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
lôk [lôk] agrAv. refers to the action of going somewhere and bringing back something or someone. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
is marked by dative.

lök [lök] anteisive. ahead.

lökēy [lökēy] agrSv. adhere I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lökškā [lökškā] adv. manner of burying.

lökmdaʔ [lökmdaʔ] n. husband's younger sister.

lökthǹg [lökthǹg] n. age/period (time).

lǒ [lǒ] n. role. [Note: a loan from English]

lôm [lôm] agrSv. dance I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hûm 'CAUS']

lôm [lôm] 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.

lôn [lôn] agrAv. recite magical words II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lôn [lôn] agrAv. recite magical words I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


lông [lông] n. boat.

lông [lông] elig expr. land.

lông [lông] numcls. CLS (plate).

lông [lông] agrAv. serve II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lông [lông] agrAv. serve I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lông [lông] elab.expr. EE.

lôngm̥hāpy [lôngm̥hāpy] n. asparagus bean fruit.

lôshūāpy [lôshūāpy] adv. anyone.


lôw [lôw] agrAv. take on hand I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lôwâʔ [lôwâʔ] 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.

lôygâgâ [lôygâgâ] adv. utterly easy.

lôʔ [lôʔ] pretendive. PRTN.

lôʔw [lôʔw] agrAv. take on hand II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lôʔykhâ [lôʔykhâ] n. drongo.

lû [lû] num.class. a numeral classifier that classifies a flying referent (bird). Usage: a numeral classifier that classifies a flying referent (bird).

lûk [lûk] onomat. sound of ship.

lûkbnâshêy [lûkbnâshêy] n. bindweed.

lûkî [lûkî] n. head.

lûkłûkâ [lûkłûkâ] adv. buzzingly.

lûłûk [lûłûk] agrSv. refers to the state of a noisy place at a distant. Usage: *-ná.

lûm [lûm] agrAv. gather II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lûm [lûm] agrAv. gather I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lûm [lûm] agrAv. cross II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lûm [lûm] agrAv. jump over II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lûm [lûm] agrAv. cross I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lûm [lûm] agrAv. jump over I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shōk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

lûmdût (from: lûmdût (check)) [lûmdût] n. crown (part of head).

lûmûn [lûmûn] n. clay house.

lûmkû [lûmkû] n. a fringe of hair of babies.

lûmpûm [lûmpûm] n. kidney.

lûntsû [lûntsû] n. forehead.

lûmûm [lûmûm] agrSv. have pain in the head. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST).


lûng [lûng] n. stone.

lûng [lûng] agrSv. roar I/II. Usage: -ná I/(SPNT).

lûng [lûng] n. heart, mind.

lûngpâl [lûngpâl] n. stone mass.

lûngpû (from: pû) [pû] agrSv. worry I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shōk, where the causee is marked by dative.

lûngshâng [lûngshâng] n. someone who is alone, a single person.

lûngshâng [lûngshâng] adv. alone.


lûshâmûnî [lûshâmûnî] n. name of a god.


lûshh [lûshh] elab.expr. EE.

lûshhông [lûshhông] n. front hair.

lûshhôngshê [lûshhôngshê] n. crowd of a fair.

lûtdûl [lûtdûl] n. world.

lûtphât [lûtphât] n. looting. [Note: a loan from
máhungô [máhungô] n. lender. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
málit [málit] n. stinging nettle.
mámbôl [mámbôl] n. member.
mán [mán] n. anger.
máng [máng] agrSv. refers to the calling of animals, e.g. bird, cow, pig, goat, buffalo, cat, frog, lizard, rabbit, monkey, cricket. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
máng [máng] n. pitcher.
mání [mání] agrAv. agree (B) I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loanword from Bangla (Chittagonian)/mání (from: mãni) mãn] agrSv. mean. Usage: a loan word from Bangla.
mântsîngkhô [mântsîngkhô] n. pennywort.
mâstôl [mâstôl] n. master/teacher (E). [Note: a loan from English through Bangla]
mêt [mêt] n. chilly.
mâthêy [mâthêy] n. tamarind fruit.
mêtpôysê [mêtpôysê] n. clove.
mâtrôs [mâtrôs] n. bad soul. [Note: a loan from Marma]
mâtsâng [mâtsâng] n. a place to throw away waste .
mêtthâng [mêtthâng] n. green chilly.
mêttês [mêttês] n. dried chilly.
mô [mô] n. goat.
môlô [môlô] n. apex.
môphât [môphât] n. castrated goat.
môtsêl [môtsêl] n. he goat.
mô [mô] agrAv. steal I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
môk [môk] agrAv. steal II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
môk [môk] agrSv. be fool I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier; -ná (SPNT).
môkshôt ô [môkshôt ô] n. animal.
môktâng [môktâng] n. black shalik.
môktông (from: môktông (check)) [môktông] n. south.
môl [môl] agrAv. hit I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
môlôngmôlôngmôlôngmôlông [môlôngmôlôngmôlông] adv. unwillingly.
môlôngmôlôngmôlôngmôlông [môlôngmôlôngmôlông] adv. unwillingly. [Note: a loan from Marma]
môlyôngyông [môlyôngyông] n. a feeling of sickness.
mông [mông] n. a trap to catch fish.
môngmûl [môngmûl] n. moustache.
môngkhôk [môngkhôk] n. external mouth.
môtônh [môtônh] temp.word. early morning (4am).
mêy [mêy] n. fire.
mêy [mêy] agrSv. exist, stay, to continue to be. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
mêybâm [mêybâm] n. fire pyre.
mêykôh [mêykôh] n. flame.
mêypôk [mêypôk] n. sweet puffed rice.
môli [môli] agrAv. hit II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
mâkshôt [mêkshôt] n. magical spell.
mîkhâm [mîkhâm] n. eyelash.
mîkhâmühêm [mîkhâmühêm] n. eyebrow.
mîkkôp [mîkkôp] n. eyelid.
mîktsôngthêy [mîktsôngthêy] n. plum fruit.
mîfî [mîfî] agrSv. be together I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
môn [môn] n. cat.
mông [mông] n. name.
mítî [mítî] n. sweets. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
mô [mô] n. bedbug.
mô [mô] agrSv. stare I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
mô [mô] prem.suff. first.
mô [mô] nonpref.suff. NPREF.
môâ [môâ] inter. pro. where.
môâbông [môâbông] conj. wherever.
mök [mób] num.cls. one hand (for measurement).
mólá [mólá] n. radish (B).
móláshên [móláshên] n. carrot.
món (from: món) [món] n. price.
món [món] agrAvv. refers to the action of having a referent in one’s grab II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
món [món] agrAvv. refers to the action of having a referent in one’s grab I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
móndā [móndā] disc.part. DP (suppose).
móng [móng] n. rice mortar.
móng [móng] n. king.
móngbâng [móngbâng] conj. whichever.
móláshɔ́ [móláshɔ́] n. the addressing name of the married man by the wife. Usage: a noun.
móngná [móngná] agrAvv. dream I.
móngná [móngná] agrAvv. dream II.
móngghɔ́ray [móngghɔ́ray] n. king’s follower.
móngshɔ́ʔ [móngshɔ́ʔ] n. human (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla ‘monuʃʃɔ́’]
móntrı̂ [móntrı̂] n. minister. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
máp [máp] agrÁvv. glide I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák ‘agrÁv’ (LOC), where the experiencer is not an oblique argument, rather a core argument; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
mát [mát] n. subject of a king.
mátgrı̂ [mátgrı̂] n. minister.
mótklā [mótklā] n. a high official after the position of the minister in a kingdom specially in a Muslim ruling era.
mótmɔ́ttɔ́ [mótmɔ́ttɔ́] adv. finely.
múydyung [múydyung] n. pumpkin leaf.
múythæʔy [múythæʔy] n. pumpkin fruit.
múyting múytóng [múyting múytóng ] adv. drunkenly.
mrák [mrák] onomat. sound of sticking something.
mráktı̂n [mráktı̂n] 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).
mrɔ́ʔ [mrɔ́ʔ] n. town.
mrm [mrm] 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.
múzim [múzim] loc.noun. within (B).
múkh [múkh] n. mouth. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
mùt [mùt] agrÁvv. starve I/II. Usage: -ná; follows a NP, shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
mútızn [mútızn] temp.word. early morning.
múy [múy] n. elephant.

N - n

na [na] poss.pref. 2SG.
ná [na] agrÁvv. 2SG S.
ná [na] agrÁvv. 2SG A.
ná [ná] spontaneitive. expresses the spontaneous mood of the speaker. Usage: attaches to verbs.
ná [ná] agrÁvv. 2SG A.
ná [ná] agrÁvv. 2SG S.
ná [ná] poss.pref. 2SG.
náy [náy] pers.pro. 2PL.
nák [nák] applicative. an applicative suffix. Usage: attaches to a finite verb.
nákhlmúlm [nákhlmúlm] n. pitch black.
nám [nám] n. village.
námbráshɔ́ [námbráshɔ́] n. all villagers.
námshɔ́ [námshɔ́] n. villager.
**ni-hni?-** [ni-hni?] agrAv. pref. second person dual prefix.

**nóhyóʔ** [nóhyóʔ] adv. this much.

**níngthing** [níngthing] n. laali tree.

**ni-ní-** [ni-ní-] agrAv. pref. 2PL A.

**ni-ní-** [ni-ní-] agrSv. pref. 2PL S.

**nípíʔ** [nípíʔ] n. nāppi (paste of shrimp).

**no** [no] agrAv. pref. second person singular cross-referencing prefix. Usage: attaches to a verb stem to cross-refer the second person singular pronoun.

**no** [no] agrSv. pref. second person singular cross-referencing prefix. Usage: attaches to a verb stem to cross-refer the second person singular pronoun.

**no** [no] poss. pref. 2SG.

**nó** [nó] agrSv. have an ache. 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.

**nò** [nò] agrSv. have an ache. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**nógi** [nógi] n. pied starling.

**nú** [nú] agrAv. refers to the calling of a dog. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form I]

**nú** [nú] agrSv. refers to the calling of a dog. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form I]

**núm** [núm] agrAv. milk I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pú (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**nómón** [nómón] n. shark.

**nómáttétté** [nómáttétté] adv. utterly odorous.

**nûn** [nûn] agrAv. burn in flaming fire III. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**nûn** [nûn] agrAv. burn in flaming fire I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**nûw** [nûw] n. someone’s sibling who is younger in age.

**nûw** [nûw] 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).

**nû** [nû] lis. suff. motherhood marking suffix.

**nûk** [nûk] n. the female parent of a child, mother. Usage: a noun.

**nûbê** [nûbê] n. siblings.

**nûdik** [nûdik] n. step mother.

**nûlâng** [nûlâng] n. own mother.

**nûmuynû** [nûmuynû] n. barb fish.

**nûng** [nûng] agrAv. can do II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

**nûng** [nûng] agrAv. can do I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

**nûpó** [nûpó] n. the parents of a child, mother and father.

**nûshóshê** [nûshóshê] n. ugly mother.

**nûy** [nûy] agrSv. laugh I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák ‘agrAv’ (LOC), as in êy =là kéy u -núy-nák-khà ‘He laughs at me.’ [Note: Unûyé ‘CAUS’ (make laugh)]

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**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. |
| ò | [ò] voc. cl. a vocative clitic. Usage: is attached to a noun. |
| e | [e] nom. pref. a nominalizing prefix. Usage: attaches to a verb to form a derived nominal or nominalized adjective. |
ō [3] gr. pref. a generic-relational prefix. \textit{Usage:} attaches to a nominal to mark general relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.


ó [3] agrSv. pref. 3S.

ó [3] agrAv. pref. 3A.

ó [3] multiplicative. MULT.


òbók [òbok]: sitting posture of animals (from: 'bók) [bók] n. white.

òbông (from: bông) [bông] agrSv. be steep I/II. \textit{Usage:} *

òbôshôy [òbóshôy] adv. obviously (B). \textit{Note:} 'lálahû?ypréy' is used as 'obviously'/

òdông (from: dông) [dông] agrSv. be seen I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); does not modify a NP by following it; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òdông (from: dông) [dông] loc. noun. refers to the position of a referent under another referent where the two referents are not attached. \textit{Usage:} follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locative case, where with inessive case it refers to age.

ògâshá? [ògâshâ?] n. late person (dead). \textit{Note:} a loan from Marma/  


òhlôn (from: hlôn) [lôn] agrSv. be excessive I/II. \textit{Usage:} follows a NP; *-ná.

òhmô (from: hmô) [hmô] n. faint light.

òhmôhmô [òhmôhmô] [môhmô] loc. noun. refers to a place that faces a referent. \textit{Usage:} follows a NP with compatible with both inessive and locative case.

òhûng [òhûng] [hông] loc. noun. be separated from family I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); precedes a NP to modify it; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òhô (òhô) exclam. expr. Oho!

òhôm (from: hôm) [hôm] agrSv. be black I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); follows a NP to modify it; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òhông (from: hông) [hông] n. juice/gravy.

òhyôw [òhyôw] loc. noun. refers to the place which is not far from a referent. \textit{Usage:} does not modify a NP, neither takes a modifier, but can be used as a nominal predicate.

òk [òk] agrAv. drink I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òkê [òkê] agrSv. be stuck I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òkhô (from: khô) [khô] n. leg.

òkhôshôy [òkhôshôy] [khôshôy] loc. noun. be bitter.

òkhômhnûp (from: khômhnûp) [khômhnûp] n. birthday.

òkôlông [òkôlông] loc. noun. refers to the lower position of a referent in respect to another referent. \textit{Usage:} follows a NP and compatible with both the inessive and locative case. \textit{Note:} thing kôlô 'under a tree ', but thing kôlông 'through under a tree'/

òkôlông [òkôlông] supply rice (from: kôlông) [kôlông] n. internal stomach.

òkônông [òkônông] [kônông] loc. noun. refers to one's company. \textit{Usage:} follows a NP and not compatible with both the inessive and locative case.

òkôp (from: kôp) [kôp; kop] n. skin/shell of a banana tree.

òkôy (from: kôy) [kôy] agrSv. be broken I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


òkrô (from: krô) [krô] n. vein.

òkôtsûk [òkôtsûk] n. neck.


òlôkô (from: lôkô) [lôkô] n. throat.

òlôkpôn (from: lôkpôn) [lôkpôn] n. stomach.

òlôn (from: lôn) [lôn] agrSv. be surpassed I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT). \textit{Note:} lôn CAUS)'/

òlông (from: lông) [lông] n. light (ray).

òlôngtôgâ (òlôngtôgâ) n. addressing for a God. \textit{Note:} a loan from Marma/

òm [òm] agrSv. sit down somewhere. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agráV (LOC); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òm (òm) agrAv. sit II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (LOC)/(SPNT), where the NP does not take any case clitic for location; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òm (òm) agrAv. sit I. \textit{Usage:} -ná (LOC)/(SPNT), where the NP does not take any case clitic for location; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òmêy [òmêy] agrAv. sit in marriage (for woman) II. \textit{Usage:} *-ná; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òmêy [òmêy] agrAv. sit in marriage (for woman) I. \textit{Usage:} *-ná; shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

òmêy [òmêy] agrAv. learn to sit (babies) I/II. \textit{Usage:} -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is
marked by dative.

ómnéy [õnméy] agr vs. marry each other I/II. Usage: *-ná; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

ómó [from: mó] [mõ] loc.noun. front.

ómóʔ [from: móʔ] [mõʔ] n. owner.

óm [ǒn] n. curry.

ómék [ɔ́mék] quantifier. refers to numerous quantity of a thing. Usage: precedes a NP.

óm [ǒn] agrVa. win/pass I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óm [ǒn] agrVa. win/pass II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óm [ǒn] n. mathematics. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

ómó [from: ngó] [ŋgð] n. morning. [Note: This word can be alsoused as a verb.]

ómó [ŋgð] n. morning to 10am.

ómó [ŋg5] n. crow.

ñnkódkó [nkódkó] n. fern leaf.

ñó [n5] n. cursed place.

ñnhé [ŋnhé] n. bad curry.

ñnhé [ŋnhé] n. vegetables.

ñntsó [ntsó] n. basil.

ñntsñnkñtháʔy [ntsñnkñtháʔy] n. sweet bitter gourd fruit.

óó [õʊ] exclam.expr. Oo!

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] onomat. sound of an elephant.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. give on hand II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. give on hand I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. refer to the action of putting diamond or gold on neck. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. refer to the action of putting diamond or gold on neck. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] n. turmeric (raw). [Note: also ɔ́yëhãŋ]

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] adv. utterly yellow.


óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. refers to the action of locking one thing with another. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. refers to the action of locking one thing with another. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

óó [ɔ̄ʊ] agrVa. refers to an action of cutting a referent where the cutting instrument has to be attached with the cutting object. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pá [pá] agrSv. bloom I/II. Usage: *-ná.
pák [pák] agrSv. be severely trampled I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pák [pák] agrSv. jump into I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pákéy [pákéy] agrSv. jump in one place I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pástkhántíkhát [pástkhántíkhát] adv. quickly.
pákhú [pákhú] n. shoulder.
pákshówshów [pákshówshów] adv. healthy and fresh.
pél [pél] agrAv. rub hard things I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the cause 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] agrAv. give II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pék [pék] agrAv. give I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pók [pók] agrSv. be leaked I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST). [Note: pók 'CAUS']
pókbélbél [pókbélbél] adv. utterly big hole.
pél [pél] agrAv. rub/massage I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pó [pó] agrAv. finish, end, to stop doing something when it is done or completed. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
pó [pó] n. wood log.
pó [pó] terminative. TMNT.
-ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (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); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pông [pông] adv.suff. cannot but.

pông [pông] agrAv. own I. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôngkhôt (from: pôngkhôt) [pôngkhôt] n. hand carrying basket.

pón inâkôm [pón inâkôm] n. a court where the king makes judgements.

péti [péti] n. box. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

pôw [pôw] onomat. sound of emerging from water.

pêy [pêy] agrAv. refers to the state of something, e.g. margin drawing by someone. *Usage: *ná: shôk (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.

pêy [pêy] n. party.

pêyap [pêyap] n. lean.

pêyte (from: pêyte) [pêyte] n. special food for a Head Haney prayer.

pôl [pôl] agrAv. rub/massage II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôly [pôly] agrAv. end I/II. *Usage: -ná (SPNT).

phá [phá] n. a trap to catch fish.

phá [phá] n. scab.

phâl [phâl] speculative. could.

phâlâ [phâlâ] n. crown of head.

phêlêthêy [phêlêthêy] n. watermelon fruit.

phêm [phêm] n. needle.

phâmphêy [phâmphêy] n. broom.

phâmphô [phâmphô] n. bamboo made flow for prayers.

phânáp [phânáp] n. shoe.

phânâshê [phânâshê] n. bad shoe.

phâng [phâng] agrAv. disperse II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phâng [phâng] agrAv. disperse I. *Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phât [phât] agrAv. tear (flower) II. *Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phât [phât] agrAv. tear (flower) I. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phât [phât] n. tailor bird.

phât [phât] agrAv. scold II. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phat [phât] agrAv. scold I. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phây [phây] agrAv. refers to the action of apportion. *Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phây [phây] agrAv. refers to the action to separate something into parts. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôk [phôk] agrAv. carry on back I. *Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôk [phôk] agrAv. drill I. *Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phêl [phêl] agrAv. tie knot circularly I. *Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (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); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôlkâm [phôlkâm] n. black cobra.

phôlshe [phôlshe] n. python.

phôlsôm [phôlsôm] n. snake charmer.

phôn [phôn] n. pipe.

phêy [phêy] agrAv. sweep I. *Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phêy [phêy] n. thigh.

phêyhlêng [phêyhlêng] n. thigh (whole).

phôq [phôq] agrAv. carry on back II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôq [phôq] agrAv. sweep II. *Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôq [phôq] agrAv. complete II. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phôq [phôq] agrAv. complete I. *Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phia [phia] n. the married woman of a man, wife.

phit [phit] n. basket.

phô? [phô?] purposive. PURP.NMLZ.

phô [phô] v.suff. marks a predicate.

phô [phô] agrAv. reach I/II. *Usage: â-, the directional
prefix is obligatorily attached to the root so that the verb functions as a agrAv; -nák (SPNT).

phó [phó] agrAv. get hold of II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phò [phò] agrAv. get hold of I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phóllà [phóllà] n. spade.

phók [phók] agrAv. make burst I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phók [phók] n. mat.

phól [phól] agrAv. refers to the action of splitting apart. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phól [phól] agrAv. refers to the action of splitting apart. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


phólông [phólông] n. foreigner.

phôn [phôn] agrAv. float II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (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-hn]V 'I floated in the water = Water floated me.]

phôn [phôn] agrAv. float I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (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-hn]V 'I floated in the water = Water floated me.]

phús [phús] n. tax.

phúněy [phúněy] agrAv. be hanged by a rope I II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv (INST); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phúng [phúng] n. raft.

phùp [phùp] agrAv. winnow II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phùp [phùp] agrAv. winnow I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phùpêy [phùpêy] agrAv. dust II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phùpêy [phùpêy] agrAv. dust I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phró [phró] adv. later (B).

phró [phró] agrAv. read/study II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phró [phró] num.CLS. CLS (measuring rice by pot).

phró [phró] agrAv. read/study I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phów [phów] agrAv. dry under sun II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phów [phów] agrAv. reveal II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phów [phów] agrAv. dry under sun I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phów [phów] agrAv. reveal I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phóy [phóy] n. thread.

phóylhûm [phóylhûm] n. wool ball.

phóypí [phóypí] n. cotton.

phóytîng [phóytîng] n. cotton tree.

phò [phò] agrAv. make burst II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phò [phò] agrAv. refers to the action of spreading a piece of anything on another thing. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

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phò [phò] n. sponge.

phò [phò] agrAv. refers to the action of spreading a piece of anything on another thing. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phò [phò] agrAv. referes to the action of spreading a piece of anything on another thing. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phò [phò] agrAv. break a dam II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phò [phò] agrAv. break a dam I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phrán [phrán] agrAv. sprinkle II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phrán [phrán] agrAv. sprinkle I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


phránn [phránn] agrAv. lay open II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

phránn [phránn] agrAv. lay open I. Usage: -nák
phúng [phúng] n. kingdom.
phúngpháphá [phúngpháphá] adv. swollen.
phúnghá [phúnghá] n. words of birthtime.
phrú [phrú] n. part. [Note: a loan from Marma]
phrüm [phrüm] n. plain land.
phú [phú] adv. ever.
phú [phú] n. exchange.
phú [phú] agrav. lit fire II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phúk [phúk] agrav. uproot II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phùl [phùl] agrav. bury II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phùl [phùl] agrav. bury I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phùlphùl [phùlphùl] adv. crowdedly.
phúm [phúm] agrav. refers to the process of burning anything putting inside coal. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phúm [phúm] agrav. refers to the process of burning anything putting inside coal. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phúráphúri [phúráphúri] adv. completely. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
phútphút [phútphút] n. loud noise.
phù? [phù?] num.cls. CLS (share).
phùl [phùl] agrav. refers to the action of spreading seeds. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phỳ [phỳ? agrav. make happy II. Usage: -nák (INST); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
phỳ [phỳ? agrav. make happy I. Usage: -nák (INST); shök (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.
pí [pí] agrav. refers to the state of realizing something by touching or eating I. Usage: *-nák.
pí [pí] n. cane.
pikkông [pikkông] 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); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
píl [píl] agrav. refers to an action of grinding into small pieces. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
píl [píl] n. a small inset that bites animals and human, sucks blood, and is responsible for dangerous types of fever like malaria, dengue, etc. Usage: a noun.
pingles [pingles] agrav. pinch II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pingles [pingles] agrav. pinch I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pípi [pípi] adv. quite.
pishh [pishh] n. blessing.
pishh [pishh] elab.expr. EE.
pó [pó] agrav. refers to perform something. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pó [pó] agrav. be caught (fish in net) I/II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pó [pó] n. the male parent of a child. Usage: a noun.
pó [pó] gend.suff. a masculine gender suffix.
Usage: attaches to a nominal to mark masculine gender.

pông [pông] agrAv. be stick to I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

póng [pông] agrAv. refers to the action of boiling 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.

póng [pông] agrAv. refers to the process of boiling rice with smoke I. Usage: -ná (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.

pông [pông] 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.

pônggéyâl [pônggéyâl] agrAv. re-wear I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pônggê [pônggê] n. bamboo pipe to distill alcohol.

pôngkêp [pôngkêp] n. gap between a fence and a piller.

pôngkhûm [pôngkhûm] n. clay pot to store vaporized alcohol.

pôngnâ [pôngnâ] n. monk.

pôpôk [pôpôk] n. mushroom.

phôr [phôr] conj. after. Usage: a conjunction. [Note: a loan word from Bangla]

pôrê [pôrê] conj. afterwards. Usage: a conjunction. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

pôrîkkhâ [pôrîkkhâ] n. exam. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

pôt [pôt] agrAv. mop II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôt [pôt] agrAv. refers to the action of pushing 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.

pôt [pôt] agrAv. collides I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôr [pôr] adv. utterly thin (width).

pón [pón] agrAv. throw from up to down II. Usage: -nák (LOC), as in ëy= lá kéy= 5ng pêl-ák 0 pôn- nák-khô 'He threw down a stone on me from up' (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôn [pôn] agrAv. throw from up to down I. Usage: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pón [pôn] agrAv. throws from up to down II. Usage: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pón [pôn] agrAv. throws from up to down I. Usage: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pón [pôn] agrAv. refers to the cutting of a hard substance to make an aesthetic structure. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôt [pôt] agrAv. refers to performing something. Usage: -ná (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: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôt [pôt] loc.noun. direction. Usage: follows a NP as well as a nominalized stative verb.

pôt [pôt] agrAv. refers to the cutting of a hard substance to make an aesthetic structure. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


pôy [pôy] agrAv. be over (season of fruits) I/II. Usage: *-ná.

pôyê [pôyê] agrAv. be beautiful I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agráv' (INST); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pôyshâ [pôyshâ] n. pice. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

pôyshâshê [pôyshâshê] adv. utterly good.

pô [pô] agrAv. refers to perform something. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

pô? [pô?] loc.noun. way. Usage: follows a NP and also a nominalized deverbal adjective.

pôpô? (from: pôpô?) [pôpô?] n. work other than the main one, extra work, side work.

prák [prák] onomat. sound of sticking something attack.
práng [práng] n. outside.
práshó [práshó] n. twelfth month in the Hyow calendar.
pré [pré] n. country.
prékhyáng [prékhyáng] n. same country.
préngyā [préngyā] n. idea/wit.
préshó [préshó] n. countrymen.
pré [pré] agrSv. be filled up (wish) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
prébí [prébí] adv. just.
prémtsó [prémtsó] n. arum.
préw [préw] agrSv. overflow I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.
prókár [prókár] n. kind.
próm [próm] agrSv. be abundant I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
prómán [prómán] 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); -pú (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
prúm [prúm] agrAv. heap I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pú (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
prút [prút] agrSv. loose/fall out I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.
prúw [prúw] onomat. sound of throwing.
pú [pú] agrAv. borrow II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pú [pú] agrAv. feel. Usage: shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pú [pú] agrAv. borrow I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pú [pú] n. maternal uncle.
pú [pú] agrAv.suff. 1DL INC.
pú [pú] agrSv.suff. 1DL INC.
pú [pú] neg.suff. 1PL INC IRR NEG.
pú [pú] neg.suff. 1PL INC IRR NEG.

pú [pú] agrAv. fill up into something I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pú (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
púhléʔy [púhléʔy] n. squirrel.
púkùn [púkùn] n. cradle.
púl [púl] agrSv. be burnt by hot water I/II. Usage: *-ná: -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.
púlish [púlish] n. police (E).
púlpúlá [púlpúlá] adv. secretly.
púltíng [púltíng] adv. secretly.
púm [púm] n. 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.
púm [púm] n. body.
púmpré [púmpré] n. own country.
púng [púng] elab.expr. brook.
púng [púng] agrAv. punch II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
púng [púng] agrAv. punch I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
púpúk [púpúk] onomat. drum beat.
púshēl [púshēl] n. wife’s father.
pút [pút] n. paddy basket.
púut [púut] n. greater coucal.
pūy [pūy] ná appllicative. COMT.
pūy [pūy] n. greater coucal.
púy [púy] n. wife’s mother.
pūl [pūl] agrAv. fill up into something II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pú (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
pū [pū] elab.expr. oil.
pū [pū] agrAv. spread (smell) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.
pūshóthéʔy [pūshóthéʔy] n. life giving fruit.
pūy [pūy] agrSv. rejoice I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.
pūy [pūy] agrSv. to feel pleased of something. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.
pūpyóhlíhlí [pūpyóhlíhlí; pyópyóhlíhlí] n. happiness and so on.
pūyúk [pūyúk] onomat. sound of submerge.
rökêm [rökêm] n. way (B).

south [sághà] n. bronze dust. [Note: a religious word]
ságáphú [ságáphú] 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); shɔ́k (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); shɔ́k (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]
shé [shé; shæ̂] n. lance.
shæ̀ [shæ̀; shæ̂] n. horse.
shæ̀ [shæ̀] agrAv. sneeze I/I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), as in ey=lá kéy ìe-shæ̀-nák-khɔ̀ 'He sneezed on me .'; -shɔ́k, where the causee is marked by dative.
shàá [shàá] n. valiancy (B).
shàádhín [shàádhín] n. free (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shàády [shàády] agrAv. curse II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shàády [shàády] agrAv. curse I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shéggà (from: shéggà) [shéggà] n. molasses.
shàágrámíng [shàágrámíng] n. second king. [Note: a loan from Marma]
shàk [shàk] n. checking. [Note: a loan from English]
shàl [shàl] agrAv. clean I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shàlámmà? [shàlámmà?] n. midwife.
shàláý [shàláý] agrAv. drive (B) II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shàláý [shàláý] agrAv. drive (B) I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shâmàák [shâmàák] n. daughter's husband.
shâmphò [shâmphò] n. ship.
shâmphōà [shâmphōà] n. sweet potato.
shâmphù [shâmphù] n. glossy mat.
shâmphù [shâmphù] n. mat.
shâmtông [shâmtông] n. pot (paddy measuring).
shân [shân] agrAv. send II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shân [shân] agrAv. send I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shâng [shâng] elab.expr. speak.
shâng [shâng] agrAv. consider/feel as a relative II. Usage: ëy=là ṃ-kêy ì̀-shâng-hng' '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).
shânghlâyshù [shânghlâyshù] n. poor person.
shânglây [shânglây] agrSV. be distressed/poor.
shângphrù [shângphrù] n. white elephant. [Note: a loan from Marma]
shânti [shânti] n. peace.
shâp [shâp] n. curse. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shâp [shâp] onomat. burning sound.
shâptâ [shâptà] n. a period of seven days. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shâshà [shâshà] conj. even though (B). [Note: a loanword from Bangla]
shâshâ [shâshâ] n. punishment. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shât [shât] agrAv. cut rope I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shɔ́k (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shât [shât] numeral. eight.
shày [shày] agrAv. refers to an action to carry paddy
shɘ́mɘ́ytsɔ̂ shɘ́lûm  
shɘ̀k  
shɘ́k  
shék  
shék  
shék  
shék  
shégóân  
sháʔng  
shǽʔl  
shǽʔ  
sháʔ  
shàykêl  

from swidden field to swiddent field house repeatedly. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (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); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shàydná [shàydná] n. drum stick.

shàykêl [shàykêl] n. bicycle. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]

shàt? [shàt?] agrAv. cut rope II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shàt? [shàt?] numeral. seven.

shàtli [shàtli] agrAv. clean II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shàtn ng [shàtn g] agrAv. change (cloth) II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); PR is raised, as in ëy=lâ kà-wát â-shàtn-g ál-hô 'He changes my cloth.'

shàtn g [shàtn g] agrAv. change (cloth) I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); PR is raised.

shê [ʃê] elab.expr. guard.

shébê [shébê] n. bad language.

shégoân [shégoân] n. teak.

shék [shék] agrAv. refers to the process of building a house by any animal. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

shék [shék] agrAv. refers to the process of cleaning or cutting bamboo shoot and snail. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

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shök [shök] agrAv. shake inside something II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shök [shök] agrAv. shake inside something I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


shëllûm [shëllûm] n. byre.

shëltży [shëltży] n. adult/matured person.

shëmûytsɔ̂ [shëmûytsɔ̂] n. boy.

shëmshö? [shëmshö?] agrAv. backbite II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëmshö? [shëmshö?] agrAv. backbite I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).

shön [shön] n. same aged.

shön [shön] agrAv. pick up/fetch (for someone) II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shön [shön] agrAv. pick up/fetch (for someone) I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëng [shëng] n. be acute. [Note: internally progressive. not possible to use as a nom.atb.]

shëngkûm [shëngkûm] temp.word. next year.

shënglëng [shënglëng] n. bell/anklet on a baby's foot.

shëntküi? [shëntküi?] adv. utterly red.

shëp [shëp; shëp] agrAv. wash I (cloth). Usage: -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëp [shëp] agrAv. refers to the action of ascending a long and branchless tree, e.g. palm tree, bettle nut tree. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëp [shëp] agrAv. refers to the action of ascending a long and branchless tree freely, e.g. palm tree, bettle nut tree. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëpûy [shëpûy] n. bad-good (this and that).

shëshë [shëshë] n. manner. [Note: bound morpheme]

shëshëhlûm (from: shëshëhlûm (check)) [shëshëhlûm] n. good behaviour.

shët [shët] n. right (as left).

shët [shët] n. Kg (measurement).


shët [shët] agrAv. put pillar inside I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shët [shët] agrAv. put pillar inside II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëtkhyâng [shëtkhyâng] adv. right away.

shëtông [shëtông] n. left side.

shëw [shëw] agrAv. cut fruit into pieces I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëwshëw [shëwshëw] onomat. sound of going.

shëy [shëy] agrAv. kick forward I. Usage: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shëy [shëy] agrAv. wash II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by
shín [shín] agrAv. carry with hand I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shín [shín] agrAv. touch I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shín [shín] agrAv. convey II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shín [shín] agrAv. convey I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shíndā [shíndā] n. tension. [Note: a loanword from Bangla]
shíntā [shíntā] n. tension. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shíōl [shíōl] n. necklace.
shiwshiw [shiwshiw] onomat. sound of infusing burning things.
shī [shī; shī?] agrAv. pluck II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shō [shō] agrAv. look I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shō [shō] hear. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shō [shō] v.suff. marks a predicate.
shō [shō] elab.expr. EE.
shōbshōmōy [shōbshōmōy] adv. always. [Note: a loanwprd from Bangla]
shōk [shōk] agrAv. take water (with pot or same sort) I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shōk [shōk; shōk] agrAv. wear lower garments II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shōk [shōk] agrAv. build/make II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shōk [shōk] causative. CAUS I.
shōk [shōk] n. deer.
shōl [ʃōl] n. uncultivated field. Usage: a transitive
shól [shɔ̃] agrAv. revile I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shólây [shɔ́lày] n. soldier.

shólōthéʔy [shółōθéʔy] n. rige gourd fruit.

shómití [shómití] n. cooperative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shómkláét [shɔ́mkklæt] n. tree frog.

shóng [shɔ̃] agrAv. put into stove (rice pot) II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóng [shɔ̃] agrAv. put into stove (rice pot) I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóng [shɔ̃] n. a group of animals. Usage: a collective noun.

shóng [shɔ̃] agrAv. refers to the action of cutting vegetables into small cubes II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóng [shɔ̃] 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.

shóngèy [ʃɔ̃ŋgey] n. struggle. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shóngshãr [shɔ́ngshãr] n. family. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shóphù [ʃɔ́phpù] n. pangolin.

shórgãr [ʃɔ́rgãr] n. government. [Note: A loan from Bangl]

shóri [ʃɔ́ri] agrSv. move on (B) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: a loan from Bangla]

shóshëshè [ʃɔ́ʃëʃëshè] adv. utterly ugly.

shót [ʃɔ́t] n. door.

shót [ʃɔ́t] agrAv. to look at something attentively. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shút [ʃɔ́t] agrAv. hack/cut horizontally I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shów [ʃɔ́w] n. sagu.

shòw [ʃɔ́w] agrSv. be long I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

shòwhyônghyông [ʃɔ́whyônghyông] adv. utterly long.

shòy [ʃɔ́y] agrAv. hang one with another II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shòy [ʃɔ́y] agrAv. hang one with another I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóynó [ʃɔ́ynó] n. soldier.

shóʔ [ʃɔ́ʔ] agrAv. spit II. Usage: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔ [ʃɔ́ʔ] agrAv. take water (with pot or same sort) II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔ [ʃɔ́ʔ] agrAv. spit I. Usage: -ná (LOC)/(SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔ [ʃɔ́ʔ] agrAv. hack/cut horizontally II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔâl [ʃɔ́ʔâl] agrAv. throw out of mouth II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔâl [ʃɔ́ʔâl] agrAv. throw out of mouth I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔl [ʃɔ́ʔl] agrAv. revile II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shóʔng (from: shông (check)) [ʃɔ́ŋ] agrAv. put on head.

shòpùngpùng [ʃɔ́pùngpùng] adv. utterly thick (width).

shù [ʃu̯] n. vagina.

shùák [ʃu̯ák] n. vaginal fluid.


shùgrí [ʃu̯grí] n. owner. [Note: a loan from Marma]

shùk [ʃu̯k] n. happiness.

shûk [ʃu̯k] agrAv. hit (vertically) II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shûk [ʃu̯k] agrAv. end (road) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
shúkhó [shúkhó] n. thief.
shúm [shúm] superlative. SUP.
shúm [shúm] agrAv. use II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúm [shúm] agrAv. use I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúm [shúm] n. grinder.
shúmshúkhó [shúmshúkhó] n. rice pounder.
shún [shún] agrAv. stab II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shún [shún] agrAv. stab I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúndróát [shúndróát] n. name of an ornament.
shúng [shúng] n. turtle.
shúngnák [shúngnák] agrAv. spatter II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(LOC)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shùngnák [shúngnák] agrAv. spatter I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúp [shúp] agrAv. count I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

shút [shút] n. interest (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]
shút [shút] agrAv. strip I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shútéy [shútéy] agrSv. retract I/I. Usage: -ná; -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
shúy [shúy] agrAv. look for something II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúy [shúy] agrAv. polish/plane I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
shúy [shúy] 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).
táe [táe] agrAv. send I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
táe [táe] uncer.suff. UNCT.
táal [táal] substitutive. SUB.
tábéy [tábéy] n. disciple.
tágóngngthée[y] [tágóngngthée[y] n. lady's finger fruit.
ták [ták] agrAv. to inform someone. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT).
táekpákshéy [táekpákshéy] n. bay leaf.
tém [tém] n. time (E).
tán [tán] num.class. class.
tán [tán] agrAv. cut (paddy) II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tán [tán] agrAv. cut (paddy) I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tán [tán] n. cloth drying rope/bamboo.
tánéy (from: tánéy) [tánéy] agrSv. be bent down across a road I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
táng [táng] n. giant bamboo.
tánhlang [tánhlang] n. steep place.
tánkhong (from: tánkhong) [tánkhong] elab.expr. trial.
tánkhú [tánkhú] n. qualification (meta).
tánléyák [tánléyák] n. eleventh grade, odd thing.
tánlêyhnĩ? [tánléyhnĩ?] n. 12th grade.
tánsw [tánsw] n. brothers.
tánshā [tánshā] agrSw. have minstrels I/II. Usage: -*ná.
tánshōngbũ? [tánshōngbũ?] n. tenth month in the Hyow calendar.
tâphâkhâlêng [tâphâkhâlêng] adv. immediately.
tâpkûn [tâpkûn] n. cooking place.
târ [târ] n. harmony.
târ [târ] dem.pro. that POSS (B).
tâtew [tâtew] onomat. sound of plucking.
tây [tây] agrAv. tear I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
tâ? [tâ?] agrAv. remember II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT).
tâ? [tâ?] n. reed roof.
tâ? [tâ?] agrAv. send II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tê [tê?] agrAv. hate II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tê [tê?] agrAv. hate I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT).
tâʔâ [tâʔâ] n. taka. [Note: a loan from Bangla. The local word is 'āpâ'.]
tâʔâyôm [tâʔâyôm] n. necklace with a pendant of penny.
tâʔy [tâʔy] agrAv. tear II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tûbá [tûbá] n. cent (M).
té [tê] agrAv. set up II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
té [tê] agrAv. set up I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tô [tô] n. medicine.
tô [tô] n. tobacco.
têbrê [têbrê] n. country (M). [Note: a loan from Marma/]
tôk [tôk] agrAv. refers to the action of combating using traditional instruments. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN; shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative).
tôk [tôk] agrAv. refers to the action of combating using traditional instruments. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN; shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative).
tôk [tôk] agrAv. coerce II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôk [tôk] agrAv. coerce I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
têkkyâ [têkkyâ] n. hat/cap.
têktrên [têktrên] n. woodpecker.
tôm [tôm] agrAv. chase someone. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôm [tôm] agrAv. chase someone. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôm [tôm] agrAv. drive away/divorce II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN).
tôm [tôm] agrAv. drive away/divorce II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôm [tôm] agrAv. drive away/divorce I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôm [tôm] agrAv. expell II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT).
tôm [tôm] agrAv. make a company forever II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT).
tôm [tôm] agrAv. make a company forever I. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
tômêy [tômêy] agrAv. compete in a race I/II. Usage: -shôk, where the cause is marked by dative.
tôn [tôn] num.class. a numeral classifier (one place). Usage: a numeral classifier for place.
tôná? [tôná?] quantifier. every (place).
tông [tông] n. pillar.
tông [tông] agrAv. refers to the cutting of branches of a tree II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN; shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tông [tông] agrAv. refers to the cutting of branches of a tree I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN; shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tông [tông] agrAv. refers to the legal process of punishing a criminal. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tông [tông] agrAv. refers to the legal process of punishing a criminal. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tông [tông] agrAv. consult II. Usage: -*nâ; shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôngbông [tôngbông] agrAv. assess II. Usage: -*nâ; shôk (CAUS), where the cause is marked by dative.
tôngbông [tôngbông] agrAv. assess I. Usage: -*nâ;
shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóngbông [tóngbông] agrAv. consult I. Usage: *-nā; shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóngyë [tóngyë] agrAv. want justice II. Usage: -nā (SPNT).
tôntnà [ tôntnà ] adv. rise quickly.
tôw [ tôw ] n. a large area that is full of trees and bushes, forest. Usage: a forest.
tôy [ tôy ] y. a process of bring an egg forth. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk, where the causee is marked by dative.
tôyúng [ tôyúng ] n. herbal medicine.
tôi [ tôi ] case.cl. LIM.
tôil [ tôi1 ] persuasive. PERS.
tôiw [ tôiw ] agrAv. forward I. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT).
tôiw [ tôiw ] agrAv. forward II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT).
thà [ thà ] n. strength.
thákìwëkiwë [ thákìwëkiwë ] adv. utterly new.
tháktsì [ tháktsì ] adv. exactly.
thálbôk [ thálbôk ] n. plate (B+H).
thám [ thám ] agrAv. grabble II. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thám [ thám ] agrAv. grabble II. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thámkhà [ thámkhà ] n. main entrance.
thánggòa [ thánggòa ] n. door.
thánghlày [ thánghlày ] n. sugarcane.
thánthëy [ thánthëy ] n. palm fruit.
thánhìng [ thánhìng ] n. palm tree.
tháshà [ tháshà ] adv. very. [Note: a loan from local Bangla]
théʔy [ théʔy ] n. fruit.
thókàwkëw [ thókàwkëw ] adv. utterly sour.
thòl [ thòl ] agrAv. be slippery II/II. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -nā 'agrAv' (INST); -shòk, where the causee is marked by dative.
thélyúngyúng [ thélyúngyúng ] adv. utterly slippery.
thôn [ thôn ] linker. CONCESS.
thôn [ thôn ] agrAv. plow II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thôn [ thôn ] agrAv. plow I. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thônà [ thônà ] linker. CONCESS.
thét [ thét ] agrAv. keep in a gap I. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
théthò [ théthò ] agrAvv. pray II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT).
théʔ [ théʔ ] agrAv. keep in a gap II. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thóil [ thóil ] agrAv. tree from a mountain slope. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thóil [ thóil ] agrAv. tree from a mountain slope. Usage: -nā (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
théʔy [ théʔy ] agrAv. get conscience II. Usage: -nā (SPNT).
théʔy [ théʔy ] sciotic. know how to.
théʔya [ théʔya ] 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.'
thî [ thî ] n. iron.
thî [ thî ] n. umbrella.
thî [ thî ] n. blood.
thî [ thî ] agrAv. kick II. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thî [ thî ] agrAv. kick I. Usage: -nā (SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thìk [ thìk ] agrAv. comb I. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thìng [ thìng ] n. ginger.
thìnhók [ thìnhók ] n. cinnamon.
thìngúphò [ thìngúphò ] n. tree frog.
thìphléwhlèw [ thi phléwhlèw ] adv. utterly spicy.
thìwáydò [ thìwáydò ] n. dense forest.
thì [ thì ] agrAv. comb II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thì [ thì ] agrAv. comb II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thì [ thì ] agrAv. comb II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úde (from: thùi (check)) [ thùi ] agrAv. roll rope.
thó [ thó ] agrAv. grate II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úde [ thúde ] agrAv. roll II. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úde [ thúde ] agrAv. roll I. Usage: -nā (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); -shòk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thó [thó] agrAv. grate II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] agrAv. grate I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] agrAv. make reach II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] agrAv. make reach I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] 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] agrSv. itch I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

thól [thól] agrAv. flip over II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thól [thól] agrAv. flip over I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó̂l [thó̂l] n. bow.

thó̂lmám [thó̂lmám] 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); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó̂n [thó̂n] agrAv. give/put into I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó̂nêy [thó̂nêy] agrSv. to begin to be formed to something. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

thó̂nêy [thó̂nêy] agrAv. refers to the action of wearing any ornaments on the body. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó̂nêy [thó̂nêy] agrAv. refers to the action of wearing any ornaments on the body. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thông [thông] n. jail.

thông [thông] agrAv. deepen II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thông [thông] agrAv. deepen I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thóp [thóp] agrAv. put one over another II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thóp [thóp] n. layer/part/segment.

thóp [thóp] agrAv. put one over another I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (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 form a place. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thó [thó] agrAv. take out something form a place. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (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.

thów [thów] loc.noun. refers to the source of a referent. Usage: follows a NP and does not take a case clitic.

thów [thów] agrAv. lift up someone II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thów [thów] agrAv. lift up someone I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thú [thú] agrAv. decompose/rot II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thú [thú] agrAv. decompose/rot I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúk [thúk] agrAv. refers to the action of cleaning someone’s head. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúk [thúk] agrAv. refers to the action of cleaning someone’s head. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúkêy [thúkêy] agrAv. refers to the action of cleaning someone’s head. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúkêy [thúkêy] agrAv. refers to the action of cleaning someone’s head. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
thúl [thúl] agrAv. alter/exchange I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúlyálá [thúlyálá] adv. manner of beating.


thündíldí [thündíldí] adv. utterly blunt.

thún [thún] n. chert.

thúnámkók [thúnámkók] n. lime pot.

thúng [thúng] agrAv. brush off II. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúng [thúng] agrAv. brush off I. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúnggib [thúnggib] numeral thirty.

thúp [thúp] agrAv. hide I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúpèy [thúpèy] agrVv. hide I/II. Usage: -nák/ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúʔ [thúʔ] agrAv. hide II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúʔl [thúʔl] agrAv. enter something into a hole II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúʔl [thúʔl] agrAv. enter something into a hole II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

thúʔʔ [thúʔʔ] onomat. sound of spit.

tí [tí] num.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.

tíʔ [tíʔ] n. same size. [Note: cannot be used freely]

tí’ná [tí’ná] temp.word. sometime.

tó [tó] agrAv. to place something somewhere. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóbé [tóbé] conj. CONJ (B). [Note: loanword from Bangla]

tóból [tóból] n. drum (B). [Note: a loan from Bangla]

tóbông [tóbông] n. second month in the Hyow calendar.

tóbôthúy [tóbôthúy] n. first month in the Hyow calendar.

tóhá [tóhá] n. jungle potato.


tók [tók] agrAv. to place something somewhere. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tók [tók] agrAv. shun I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tók [tók] agrAv. think II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tók [tók] agrAv. weave I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tók [tók] agrAv. think I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


tóm [tóm] agrAv. wrap II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóm [tóm] agrAv. wrap I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tôn [tôn] n. price.

tôn [tôn] n. shin.

tönęy [tönęy] agrVv. be required (time) I/II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

tóng [tóng] n. basket.

tóng [tóng] agrAv. cast/throw II. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóng [tóng] agrAv. cast/throw I. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tóng [tóng] agrAv. keep over II. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tóng [tóng] agrAv. keep over I. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tôngy [tôngy] agrAv. pray II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tôngy [tôngy] agrAv. pray I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tôngphâk [tôngphâk] n. north.

tóngshó [tóngshó] n. highlander.

tómây [tómây] n. calf.

tóy [tóy] n. squat.

tóy [tóy] n. bamboo shoot.
	 tôy [tóy] elab.expr. stay.

tóyôn [tóyôn] temp.word. the present night, tonight.

tóshümshüm [tóshümshüm] adv. utterly short.

tó [tó] agrAv. poke with horns II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).

tò [tò] agrAv. weave II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tò [tò] agrAv. shun II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


tò?shó [tò?shó] n. a hunting place, where hunters go to hunt animals. Usage: a noun.

tò?y [tò?y] agrAv. make short/brief II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


tò?y [tò?y] agrAv. make short/brief I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

trà [trä] n. trial.

tràk [träk] n. truck (E).

trânggóni [trânggóni] n. Tuesday.


tsâ [tsâ] agrAv. to get rid of water or moisture from something. Usage: -nák (LOC)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâ [tsâ] elab.expr. wear.

tsâ [tsâ] agrAv. to get rid of water or moisture from something. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâ [tsâ] agrAv. pour in drops II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâ [tsâ] agrAv. pour in drops I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsè [tsè] agrAv. fall in drops I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv (LOC); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

tsè [tsè] topic. topicality marking clitic. Usage: attaches to a noun, noun phrase or verbal phrase to mark the topicality of the phrase.

tsè [tsè] imp.verb. let's go.

tsàk [tsàk] completive. complete, all.


tsâkêy [tsâkêy] agrAv. move I/II.

tsâktsâka (from: tsâkttsâka) [tsâkttsâka] adv. in drops.

tâl [tsâl] agrAv. refuse I/II. Usage: -*ná.

tsèl [tsèl] agrAv. thresh I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsèl [tsèl] n. tablet for fermentation.

tasmânâk [tasmânâk] n. black sesame.

tsàn [tsân] agrAv. bring up I. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsân [tsân] agrAv. bring up I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsàng [tsâng] agrAv. be old (age) I/II. Usage: *-ná.

tsap [tsâp] agrAv. prop II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

t sap [tsâp] agrAv. prop I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsât [tsât] agrAv. begin I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâttîng [tsâttîng] adv. bite quickly.

tsâttstâ [tsâttstâ] adv. manner of biting. [Note: For striking with beak or snake]

tsâ? [tsâ?] agrAv. begin II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâ?l [tsâ?l] agrAv. thresh II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâlêy [tsâlêy] agrAv. argue I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tsâlêy [tsâlêy] agrAv. argue II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

tô [tsô] agrAv. be soaked in water I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

tsô [tsô] n. grave.
tsébré [tsébré] n. foxtail.
tsék [tsék] agrAv. teach II. Usage: -nák 'learn II'; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsék [tsék] agrAv. teach I. Usage: -ná 'learn I'; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsék [tsék] agrAv. refers to the action of searching a person or a thing. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsék [tsék] agrAv. refers to the action of searching a person or a thing. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsék [tsék] agrAv. learn I. Usage: shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsék [tsék] agrAv. learn II. Usage: shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsén [tsén] n. endpoint.
tsép [tsép] agrAv. suck II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsép [tsép] agrAv. suck I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsép [tsép] agrAv. refers to the action of holding something like a crab or a pair of chopsticks. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsép [tsép] agrAv. refers to the action of holding something like a crab or a pair of chopsticks. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsétêy [tsétêy] agrAv. walk I/II. Usage: -shék, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsétshôk [tsétshôk] agrAv. lighten II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsétshôk [tsétshôk] agrAv. lighten I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsotsûm [tsotsûm] n. death ceremony.
tsêtsô [tsêtsô] agrAv. take care II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsêtsô [tsêtsô] agrAv. take care I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsêw [tsêw] agrAv. be knocked off I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); -shék, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsêw [tsêw] onomat. sound of throwing away a top.
tséy [tséy] n. elder sister’s husband.
tsô [tsô] n. breast.
tsô [tsô] n. milk.
tsô [tsô] disc.part. see.
tsi [tsi] adj. each.
tsi [tsi] freq.suff. FREQ.
tsìŋ [tsìŋ] n. drum.
tsìŋ [tsìŋ] from: lè [lè] agrAv. announce II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT), which refers to the man who performs the action, as in këy êy=ng tsìŋ kè-lè-nák-khô 'I made announcement by him'; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsìŋ [tsìŋ] from: lè [lè] agrAv. announce I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT), which refers to the man who performs the action; shék (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: some people say 'lêng']/
tsìngdîdi [tsìngdîdi] adv. utterly densed (distance).
tsíni [tsíni] n. Saturday.
tsíp [tsíp] n. wish.
tsíp [tsíp] agrAv. be powdered I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); -shék, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsîtsên [tsîtsên] n. lineage.
tsî [tsî] n. foxtail.
tsî [tsî] n. milk.
tsîtû [tsîtû] n. spit.
tsê [tsê] n. elder sister’s husband.
tsô [tsô] elab.expr. place.
tsô₁ [tsô₁] 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.
tsô₁ [tsô₁] n. baby.
tsôgrômâ [tsôgrômâ] n. bastard girl (M). [Note: a loan from Marma/]
tsôkyâ [tsôkyâ] n. a glass of bamboo.
tsôli [tsôli] n. job. [Note: a loan from Bangla/]
tsôm [tsôm] examinative. EXM.
tsôm [tsôm] agrAv. taste II. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôm [tsôm] agrAv. taste I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsômshi [tsômshi] n. thick bamboo pipe.
tsôn [tsôn] agrSv. run I/II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy-nâk 'agrAv' (make the applied O romp); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôn [tsôn] agrSv. refers to spread of any smell. Usage: *-nâ; -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsônê [tsônê] agrSv. roam around I/II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -nâk 'agrAv' (INST); -pûy-nâk 'agrAv' (A roams around along with the applied O); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] agrAv. guard II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] agrAv. wait II. Usage: -nâk (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] agrAv. graze II. Usage: -nâk SPNT; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] agrAv. guard I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] agrAv. graze I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] agrAv. wait I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsông [tsông] n. paddy.
tsông [tsông] n. rice.
tsôngkôw [tsôngkôw] n. winnowing fan.
tsôngkôy [tsôngkôy] n. wild potato.
tsôngkrông [tsôngkrông] n. young man.
tsôngpô [tsôngpô] n. hemp.
tsôngthôw [tsôngthôw] n. bini rice.
tsónhlû [tsónhlû] agrSv. romp I/II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy-nâk 'agrAv' (A romps along with the applied O for nothing /without any purpose); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôp [tsôp] agrAv. refers to the action of cutting bones. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôp [tsôp] agrAv. refers to the action of cutting bones. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsóshentsî [tsóshentsî] n. infant.
tsóshûn [tsóshûn] n. writing rules of god.
tsôt [tsôt] agrAv. burn I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôt [tsôt] agrAv. make enter continuously (leaves into a hole) II. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôt [tsôt] agrAv. make enter continuously (leaves into a hole) I. Usage: -nâ (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôtsôtpôpôt [tsôtsôtpôpôt] adv. scattily.
tsôw [tsôw] agrAv. dig I. Usage: -nâ (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôy [tsôy] agrAv. illuminate (light, candle, etc). Usage: shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôybûy [tsôybûy] n. orchard grass.
tsôʔ [tsôʔ] n. trap.
tsôʔ [tsôʔ] agrAv. burn II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
tsôʔw [tsôʔw] agrAv. dig II. Usage: -nâk (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
trsrap [trsráp] n. resting place of monsters.
tsû [tsû; tsu] dem.pro. 2) a distall demonstrative pronoun, that. Usage: to indicate a place that cannot be seen from the place of speaking.
tsû [tsû] n. habit.
tsû [tsû] agrAv.suff. 2PL.
tsû [tsû] agrAv.suff. 2PL.
tsû [tsû] agrSv.suff. 2PL.
tsû [tsû] n. neg.suff. 2PL NEG.
tsûbɘ́ [from: tsûbɘ́] [tsûbɘ́] adv. that way.
tsûsɘ́ [tsûsɘ́] pers.pro. 3DL DIST.
where the causee is marked by dative.

**túʔ** [túʔ] agrAv. infuse forcefully I. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**túʔl** [túʔl] agrAv. swing II. *Usage:* -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**túʔüm** [túʔüm] *n.* gourd jug.

**túʔûy** [túʔûy] *n.* tiger.

**twáʔ** [twáʔ] agrAv. tie II. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

**twáʔ** [twáʔ] agrAv. tie I. *Usage:* -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -púy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>u</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>u</strong></td>
<td>[u] gr. pref. a generic-relational prefix. <em>Usage:</em> attaches to a nominal to mark generic relationality of a nominal referent with any other nominal referent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>u</strong></td>
<td>[u] agrAv. pref. third person singular A argument marker.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>u</strong></td>
<td>[u] poss. pref. 3SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú; a; u] agrSv. pref. third person singular S argument marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] agrAv. suff. 3PL.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] neg. suff. 3PL NEG.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] agrSv. suff. 3PL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] inter. pro. who.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] agrAv. pref. third person singular A argument marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] agrSv. hail I/II. <em>Usage:</em> -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] neg. suff. 3PL NEG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ú</strong></td>
<td>[ú] interj. yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úá</strong></td>
<td>[úá] indef. pro. none.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úá bâng</strong></td>
<td>[úá bâng] conj. whomever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úbâng</strong></td>
<td>[úbâng] conj. whoever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úddâr</strong></td>
<td>[úddâr] <em>n.</em> rescue (B). <em>Note:</em> a loan from Bangla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>údûk</strong></td>
<td>[údûk] <em>from:</em> dük [dük] <em>loc. noun.</em> an inner side or part of a place or structure. <em>Usage:</em> follows a NP and compatible with both inessive and locative case. <em>Note:</em> éy dükâ 'inside that', but éy dükôngkó? 'through that's inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úh</strong></td>
<td>[úh] <em>exclam. expr.</em> an exclamatory expression.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>úhám</strong></td>
<td>[úhám; umam] <em>n.</em> toad.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>úhlûm</strong></td>
<td>[úhlûm] <em>from:</em> hlûm [hmûy] <em>n.</em> bush.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úhmûy</strong></td>
<td>[úhmûy] <em>from:</em> hmûy [hmûy] <em>n.</em> tree trunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úhû</strong></td>
<td>[úhû] <em>exclam. expr.</em> a feeling of good work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úhûl</strong></td>
<td>[úhûl] <em>from:</em> hlûl [hlûl] <em>agrSv.</em> be dry I/II. <em>Usage:</em> follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úhûm</strong></td>
<td>[úhûm] <em>from:</em> hlûm [hmûy] <em>n.</em> unpounded paddy.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ûk</strong></td>
<td>[ûk] agrSv. cheer/exhilarate I/II. <em>Usage:</em> -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>úkâw</strong></td>
<td>[ûkâw] <em>n.</em> small frog.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ûkêy</strong></td>
<td>[ûkêy] agrSv. bech I/II. <em>Usage:</em> -ná (SPNT);</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ûkhîl</strong></td>
<td>[ûkhîl] <em>n.</em> advocate. <em>Note:</em> a loan from Bangla.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ûkhô</strong></td>
<td>[ûkhô] <em>n.</em> tiny loin.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ûkhrûng</strong></td>
<td>[ûkhrûng] <em>loc. noun.</em> refers to the higher position of a referent in respect of another referent where the two referents are attached. <em>Usage:</em> follows a NP, but not compatible with the locative case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûkhuʔl</strong></td>
<td>[ûkhuʔl] <em>from:</em> khuʔl [kuʔl] <em>n.</em> storey.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ûkût</strong></td>
<td>[ûkût] <em>from:</em> kût [kût] <em>n.</em> hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûkût</strong></td>
<td>[ûkût] indef. pro. indicates to most number of referents in a group. <em>Usage:</em> used as a head of a NP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûlûm</strong></td>
<td>[ûlûm] <em>n.</em> puffed rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûlûy</strong></td>
<td>[ûlûy] <em>from:</em> lûy [lûy] <em>agrSv.</em> be full I/II. <em>Usage:</em> *-ná; -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), as in hû má hû? -nák-ti? phit-lên à-lô 'Go to fetch the big basket in which mangoes are full'; follows a NP. <em>Note:</em> hû? 'CAUS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmdûng</strong></td>
<td>[ûmdûng] <em>n.</em> gourd leaf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmtháʔy</strong></td>
<td>[ûmtháʔy] <em>n.</em> gourd fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmû</strong></td>
<td>[ûmû] <em>from:</em> mú [mû] <em>agrSv.</em> refers to the state of evening time or the time till people fall asleep. <em>Usage:</em> *-ná; follows a NP. <em>Note:</em> múk-mû 'blind', zûn-mû 'solar eclipse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmûm</strong></td>
<td>[ûmûm] <em>from:</em> múm [mûm] <em>n.</em> pain, ache.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmûn</strong></td>
<td>[ûmûn] <em>from:</em> mún [mûn] <em>agrSv.</em> be wrinkled I/II. <em>Usage:</em> -ná; follows a NP; shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmûy</strong></td>
<td>[ûmûy] <em>from:</em> múy [mûy] <em>n.</em> vapor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûmyûng</strong></td>
<td>[ûmyûng] <em>n.</em> gourd plant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûngâ</strong></td>
<td>[ûngû] <em>agrSv. suff.</em> 1PL EXC. <em>Usage:</em> attaches to the verb for first person plural exclusive marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ûngâ</strong></td>
<td>[ûngû] <em>agrSv. suff.</em> 1PL EXC NEG.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **ûngâ** | [ûngû] *agrSv. suff.* first person plural suffix. *Usage:* attaches to a verb as a cross-referencing suffix.
únóthiní (from: unnóthiní) [únóthiní; unnóthiní] n. development. [Note: a loan from Bangla]
únshtîhiyey [únshîhiyey] n. coconut fruit.
únung (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.
úphün (from: phün) [phün] 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.
úshût (from: shût) [shût] n. queue.
ú [ú] agrAv. bloat I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
úthû (from: ðû) [ðû] agrSv. be rotten I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
úthûk (from: ðûk) [ðûk] 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.
úthùm (from: thúm) [thúm] agrSv. be blunt I/II. Usage: follows a NP to modify it; -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
útsûm (from: tsûm) [tsûm] 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.
útûl (from: túl) [túl] n. hillock/mound.
útûm (from: tûm) [tûm] n. knot.
úwûy (from: wûy) [wûy] n. a share.
úyên [úyên] n. garden.
úynûntsí [úynûntsí] n. son of a bitch (slang).
úytsên [úytsên] n. puppy.
úyûm (from: yûm) [yûm] n. belief.
ú [ú] agrAv. bloat II. Usage: -ná (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.
wágyt (wágyt) n. ninth month in the Hyow calendar.
wákông [wákông] n. seventh month in the Hyow calendar.
wálí [wálí] n. thin mosquito net.
wámní (from: ní) [ní] agrAv. huff II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
wámní (from: ní) [ní] agrAv. huff I. Usage: -ná (SPNT).
wântsêk [wântsêk] adv. circularly.
wâsho [wâsho] n. sixth month in the Hyow calendar.
wát [wát] n. cloth.
wât [wât] agrAv. wear II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wât [wât] agrAv. wear I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wântsêng [wântsêng] n. densed mosquito net.
wântsêng (wântsêng) adv. utterly bright.
wây [wây] agrSv. refers to the action of ascending around a tree by a creeper. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shók, where the causee is marked by dative.
wâyâkrúng [wâyâkrúng] nomat. calling of pigeon.
wâyê [wâyê] 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.
wêt [wêt] agrAv. wry I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wêy [wêy] agrAv. stir II. Usage: -ná (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.
wê [wê] agrAv. wry II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wêyê [wêyê] 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.
wêyê [wêyê] agrSv. fart I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC), as in éy =lá kéy è -wêyê-ná-khô 'He farted on me.'
wô [wô] agrAv. cut jungle I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shók (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
wóż [wók] agrAv. cut jungle II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wók [wók] n. pig.

wôk [wók] n. fox.

wôkêy [wókêy] agrSv. crawl I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

wôkhêw [wôkhêw] n. adult male pig.

wôkphát [wôkphát] n. castrated pig.

wôm [wôm] n. burrow.

wômpôy [wômpôy] n. duck.

wôn [wôn] n. thing.

wóng [wóng] agrAv. surround II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wông [wông] agrAv. surround I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (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).


wôp [wôp] agrAv. refers to the action of mauling someone without any consideration. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wôp [wôp] agrAv. refers to the action of mauling someone without any consideration. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wôt [wôt] agrAv. receive II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wôt [wôt] agrAv. receive I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wôwwôw [wôwwôw] onomat. sound of thunder.

wôtsâ (from: wôtsâ (check)) [wôtsâ] n. already cut swidden field.

wôngwûng [wôngwûng] onomat. sound of flies flying over food.

wûy [wûy] agrAv. divide II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

wûy [wûy] agrAv. divide I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.


yá [yá] agrSv. stand I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyá 'CAUS']

yâ [yâ] num.cls. refers to a piece or roll of betel.

yê [yê] 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 ; shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form I, finite verb]

yêldîkdîk [yêldîkdîk] adv. utterly cold.

yân [yân] agrAv. start II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yân [yân] agrAv. start I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yên [yên] n. cherishment.

yênê [yênê] agrAv. fancy I/II. Usage: -nák (SPNT).


yâng [yâng] agrSv. be unusable I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

yâng [yâng] agrSv. be fast I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

yêng [yêng] agrSv. take oath I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

yângmâlâ [yângmâlâ] n. husband and wife, two lovers, couple.

yângshî [yângshî] n. a spinning game tool.

yâp [yâp] agrSv. be ruined II. Usage: followas a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -nák 'agrAv' (LOC); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyâp 'CAUS']

yâp [yâp] n. type/variety.

yâpshô [yâpshô] n. nation.

yât [yât] agrSv. be open I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).

yêtô [yêtô] n. a tree like Nipa Palm.

yây [yây] agrSv. be slow I/II. Usage: follows a NP as a modifier ; -ná (SPNT); -shôk, where the causee is marked by dative.

yây [yây] (from: yây) [yây] agrAv. move by hand (bush) II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yây [from: yây] [yây] agrAv. move by hand (bush) I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -pûy (ASSOC.BEN); shôk (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
yâ? [yâʔ] 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: shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: Form II, infinite verb]

yâʔkrikrik [ʔâʔkrikrik] adv. utterly heavy.

yâʔlílí [yâʔlílí] adv. brightly.

yỳ [yỳ] agrAv. write I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yỳ [yỳ] agrAv. grope II. Usage: -nák (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yỳ [yỳ] agrAv. grope I. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yỳ [yỳ] n. bamboo.

yỳk [yỳk] agrAv. pick up I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pùy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yỳn [yỳn] agrAv. sip II.

yỳn [yỳn] agrAv. sip I.

yỳng [yỳng] n. plant/creeper.

yỳngéy [yỳngéy] agrAv. feel cold I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

yỳy [yỳy] n. rope.

yỳʔ [yỳʔ] agrAv. pick up II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pùy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yỳʔ [yỳʔ] elab.expr. rice.

yìl [yìl] agrAv. anoint I. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pùy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yìl [yìl] agrAv. anoint II. Usage: -ná (INST)/(SPNT); -pùy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.

yì [yì] agrAv. to perceive a sound through the ears.

yòk [yòk] n. jug.

yòk [yòk] agrAv. to perceive a sound through the ears.

yòkpháʔ [yòkpháʔ] n. wife’s younger brother.

yòng [yòng] n. monkey.

yòng [yòng] n. penis.

yòntsʔ [yòntsʔ] temp.word. yesterday.

yònthiá [yònthiá] n. deep night.

yòntúmù [yòntúmù] temp.word. last evening.

yònyônâ [yònyônâ] adv. hurriedly.

yònyônâ Grügt putúng Grügt : one after one [yonyona] adv. one by one.

yòwyw [yòwyw] adv. glitteringly.

yòwyw agrSv. glitter I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

yòʔ [yòʔ] agrSv. abate (sickness) I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák (INST); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

yùl [yùl] agrSv. get wet I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -nák ‘agrAv’ (INST), as in kú-yùl-nák-tiʔ tùy pùy-áʔ The water which made me wet was not good.; -shök, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyúl ‘CAUS’]

yùm [yùm] agrSv. end I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

yùmè [yùmè] agrAv. believe II. Usage: -ná (SPNT).


yùn [yùn] n. root.

yùp [yùp] agrSv. be extinguished I/II. Usage: -shök, where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: hyùp ‘CAUS’]

yùt [yùt] agrSv. fall off I/II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); -shök, where the causee is marked by dative.

g

gèy [gèy] agrAv. a process of taking food into the mouth and swallowing it II. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pùy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dativem. [Note: no Form I/Form II distinction]

gèy [gèy] agrAv. a process of taking food into the mouth and swallowing it I. Usage: -nák (INST)/(SPNT); -pùy (ASSOC.BEN); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative. [Note: no Form I/Form II distinction]

gıp [gıp] agrAv. submit II. Usage: -ná (SPNT); shök (CAUS), where the causee is marked by dative.
Appendix I: $F_0$ values and rhyme durations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0%</th>
<th>10%</th>
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<th>50%</th>
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<th>90%</th>
<th>100%</th>
<th>D (ms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hɔ̀ (bird)</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>hà (gold)</td>
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<td>138</td>
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<td>khá (white ant)</td>
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<td>144</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>128</td>
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<td>kɔ̀m (free)</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>132</td>
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<td>tɔ̀i (sis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>shì (sesame)</td>
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<td>kì (parrot)</td>
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<td>thi (blood)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ʂ̀ (yes)</td>
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<td>151</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>141</td>
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<tr>
<td>bæ̀ (slap)</td>
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<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>bì (work)</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<td>160</td>
<td>148</td>
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<tr>
<td>tú (kill)</td>
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<td>MeanF0 (41)</td>
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<td>149</td>
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<td>SD (41)</td>
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<td>11.22</td>
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Table 107: $F_0$ values and mean duration in high falling tones in smooth syllables in EGH

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<th>D (ms)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>hɔ̀ (joke)</td>
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<td>hà (snacks)</td>
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<td>136</td>
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<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
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<td>tsɔ̀ (documents)</td>
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<td>tsì̀ (take)</td>
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<td>144</td>
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<td>shì̀ (oil)</td>
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<td>143</td>
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<td>thì̀ (iron)</td>
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<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>lúng (heart)</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
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<td>m̀ng (dream)</td>
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<td>170</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>162</td>
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<tr>
<td>hì̀ (farmer.raincoat)</td>
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<td>138</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>136</td>
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<tr>
<td>hæ̀ (select)</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>131</td>
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<tr>
<td>hæ̀ (miss.target)</td>
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<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>MeanF0 (44)</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>SD (44)</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td>7.97</td>
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<td>21.27</td>
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<td>DUR (44)</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>220</td>
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Table 108: $F_0$ values and mean duration in high-level tones in smooth syllables in EGH
### Table 109: F0 values and mean duration in low-level tones in smooth syllables in EGH

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<th>75%</th>
<th>90%</th>
<th>100%</th>
<th>D (ms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kha (hook)</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>238</td>
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<tr>
<td>thà (new)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>168</td>
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<tr>
<td>hò (open.mouth)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>230</td>
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<tr>
<td>bè (tie)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>259</td>
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<tr>
<td>thì (umbrella)</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>233</td>
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<tr>
<td>hǐl (inhale)</td>
<td>129</td>
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<td>125</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>196</td>
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<tr>
<td>lúng (roar of tiger)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>127</td>
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<td>kòm (river bank)</td>
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<td>131</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>128</td>
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<td>127</td>
<td>126</td>
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<td>kòm (handle)</td>
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<td>MeanF0 (22)</td>
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<td>125</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>223</td>
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<tr>
<td>SD (22)</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>DUR (22)</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>223</td>
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### Table 110: F0 values and mean duration in high-level tones in checked syllables in EGH

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<th>100%</th>
<th>D (ms)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shúk (punch)</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>shúk (punch.IMP)</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>148</td>
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<td>shúk (end.of.road)</td>
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<td>144</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>136</td>
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<tr>
<td>shúk (sudden.fear)</td>
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<td>145</td>
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<td>kók (burst)</td>
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<td>147</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>tūk (move slowly)</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>144</td>
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<td>138</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>133</td>
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<tr>
<td>tūk (tear by pulling)</td>
<td>142</td>
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<td>shúk (wear cloth)</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>127</td>
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<tr>
<td>tók (sick of eating)</td>
<td>152</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
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<td>MeanF0 (44)</td>
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<td>142</td>
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<td>SD (44)</td>
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<td>4.32</td>
<td>4.04</td>
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<td>90%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>D (ms)</td>
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<tr>
<td>shûk</td>
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<td>138</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>132</td>
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<td>(chop down)</td>
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<td>(life)</td>
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<td>128</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>(make)</td>
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<td>130</td>
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<td>3.99</td>
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<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>16.97</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
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</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause types</th>
<th>Mood &amp; Modality</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
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<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Simultaneous</strong></td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Negative-Adverbial</strong></th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Comparative-correlative</strong></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
</table>
**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.)

|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|

|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|

|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|

25 (l̖-l̖)-t̖-i̖-hy̗ hy̗? (play-niter-ne.cohort neg.cop) ‘Let’s not play anymore.’
26 t̖-t̖-y-sh̖ng-báʔ (go-IRR-EXTM-UNPRED) ‘He wants to go.’ [báʔ 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 baʔ is not an exhortative.]
27 Not an exhortative construction
28 t̖-y-báʔ-ts̖m-t̖-dá [eat.I-EXH-CON-2PL-INSIST], ‘Just taste eating, will you?’
29 Not an exhortative construction
31 t̖-báʔ-tí-l̖-y-tí/hn̖t̖/ts̖m, t̖-báʔ-dá-l̖-hn̖ʔ, t̖-báʔ-dá-ńng, t̖-báʔ-dá-kh̖l
32 t̖-t̖-tí-l̖-y-tí/hn̖t̖/ts̖m ‘Please don’t go anymore.’
### Jussive

|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

**Appendix III**
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