Title
Tedim verb person marking

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A preliminary documentation of variation in Tedim verbal person marking

Jade Mroueh

INALCO (Paris) and CNRS-Lacito

ABSTRACT
This study documents the variation in Tedim verb forms regarding person marking. As noted first by Henderson (1965), subject indexation in Tedim can occur via preverbal person markers or postverbal person markers. This study reports that a third option is to leave out verbal person marking entirely. In addition, speech act participant objects are indicated with preverbal oŋ independent of subject indexation.

KEYWORDS
Tedim, person marking, cislocative, SAP object marking

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A preliminary documentation of variation in Tedim verbal person marking

Jade Mroueh
INALCO (Paris) and CNRS-Lacito

1 Introduction

Tedim Chin (also called Tiddim, Zopau, Kamhau), of the Northern Kuki-Chin sub-branch, is spoken by about 190,000 speakers in Myanmar. Previous studies have been carried out by Eugénie J. A. Henderson (1965).

All the examples below come from interviews with Tedim people. The majority are from a conversation between a woman and her son-in-law about her daily life, recorded in Tedim in July 2016. Tones are not indicated here as it could not be consistently studied until now.

The present data confirms person indexation forms found in Henderson’s work but also provides more comprehensive paradigms. In addition, my data shows that there is even more variation, as verb forms without subject person indexation are also commonly used. The goal of this paper is therefore to present comprehensive paradigms and document the variation found for the various verb forms. The factors underlying this variation, which appear to involve a complex interaction of sociolinguistic, discourse-pragmatic, morphosyntactic, and possibly other factors, remains a topic for further research.

1.1 Previous research and scope of this paper

Henderson’s analysis of the language is quite comprehensive, although it is based on only two texts that she recorded from two Tedim speakers during a four week fieldtrip to Tedim in 1954. Her main focus was to analyse the “narrative style,” as these texts were mostly narration; and to a lesser extent, the “colloquial style,” as the texts included only few spoken parts. According to her research, there appeared to be a clear distinction between

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1 This paper is the result of research conducted with the help of INALCO (Paris) and CNRS-Lacito.
2 Examples (1) (2) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (13) and (14) were elicited thanks to the help of three native speakers, Pau Lian Mang, Veronica Sannu and Thang Van Lian.
narrative and colloquial style in the verbal morphology. In the narrative style, prefixes indicate the person and suffixes specify the number. In the colloquial style, suffixes give information on both the person and the number.

According to my informants, this “narrative” style indicates formal speech, and is used nowadays, for example, for religious preaching and for the written medium, the Bible or newspapers, while the “colloquial” style would designate spoken, daily conversation. The “narrative” style can as well be used to show more emphasis.

When eliciting paradigms with my informants, they also reported a clear distinction in formality, which is indicated in the tables of this paper. Bold is used to indicate what my informants called “formal” style, while non-bold is used for “informal”. If there is only one form, it is used for all registers. If there are several forms, they appear in the order of formality according to native speakers.

However, a preliminary consideration of my texts suggests that a difference in formality does not fully correlate with the use of the different forms. In order to be neutral about the function of these forms, I will use in the present paper the purely structural terms “preverbal” and “postverbal” (see Table 1 for corresponding terminology).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Henderson’s terms</th>
<th>Alternative terms</th>
<th>Structural terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>oratory, literary, written, formal</td>
<td>preverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colloquial</td>
<td>spoken, daily, informal</td>
<td>postverbal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Equivalent terminology

Moreover, in addition to the opposition between preverbal vs. postverbal marking, a third form, never mentioned so far, appeared in my data. This was an unmarked form with no mark of person or number (Mroueh 2017). In daily speech, almost all the paradigms listed in this paper could be, in fact, used with no person marking; this simplification could be a syntactic loan from Burmese, the official language of education in Myanmar, Burmese language having no verbal person marking.

We have then three different options for verbal person indexation in Tedim: preverbal indexation, postverbal indexation, and no indexation.

### 1.2 Verb stems

In Tedim, according to Henderson (1965: 32, 84-89), “all verbs have two alternating forms, dependent upon grammatical context” according to their “mood,” which can be either “indicative” or “subjunctive”. Below, two verb forms without person indexation show the difference. Example (1) shows the first form, or form 1, of the verb, while (2) gives the second form, or form 2, of
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verbal person marking

the same verb, used in the negative. The two stems have distinct forms: \( p^a \) and \( pe \).^3

(1) \( aman^4 \ amap\( (p\epsilon n) \ amap\( p^a \)
\( 3SG.ERG 3SG (OBJ) 3SG \) give.F1
‘He gives him to him.’

(2) \( aman\ amap\( (p\epsilon n) \ amap\ pe \) lo
\( 3SG.ERG 3SG (OBJ) 3SG \) give.F2 NEG
‘He doesn’t give him to him.’

2 Personal pronouns

Usually in Tedim, there is no need to mention the personal pronouns, the ergative or object marker, if the context allows to understand,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal pronouns</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td>kɛi</td>
<td>ko te ni?</td>
<td>ko-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ko te gel</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td>ɛi te ni?</td>
<td>ɛi-te</td>
<td>ɛi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>no te ni?</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>amap\ amau te ni?</td>
<td>amau-te</td>
<td>amau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Personal pronouns

Any overt mention of the pronouns would give more emphasis, as in (4).

(3) Gamlai a? p\'an\ ina
Gamlai at be_born.F1 and
‘I was born in Gamlai, and […]’

(4) g\"ɛj kɛi Tedim a? om lai niŋ \( \epsilon \)
VOC 1SG tedim in be.F1 still 1SG.FUT FIN:REAL
‘Guys! I will stay in Tedim.’

The dual forms given in Table 2, which include the numeral \( ni? \) ‘two’, are not commonly used in Tedim, or as naturally as the 1\textsuperscript{st} plural exclusive and 1\textsuperscript{st} plural inclusives forms are. Apart from the dual, other enumerated forms can be constructed, such as \( ko \ teŋ \ thum \) ‘three of us’, \( ko \ teŋ \ li \) ‘four of us’ and \( ki \ teŋ \)

^3 According to my informants, even if it is pronounced [pe], they would write it <pia>.

^4 aman is a contraction of \( ama? + in \) (3SG + ERG)
ŋa ‘five of us’. For six person and above, ko teŋ is used, without mentioning the number.

The agent of transitive or ditransitive verbs is marked with the ergative in, and when it is the 1st person singular personal pronoun, it takes the form kɛn (kɛi + in), as in (6). In intransitive constructions, it will remain kɛi, as in (5).

(5) kɛi si
    1SG die.F1
    ‘I die.’

(6) ke-n ne
    1SG-ERG eat.F1
    ‘I eat (something).’

3 Possessive markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive prefixes</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td>kɛima</td>
<td>komau koma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td></td>
<td>eimau eima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>naŋma naŋ</td>
<td>nomau noma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>amau^</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive prefixes</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td></td>
<td>ei-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Possessive prefixes
An example of the first person singular possessive prefix is given in (7).

(7) ka sam tan iŋ
    POSS.1SG hair cut.F11SG
    ‘I cut my hair.’

4 Preverbal and postverbal person marking

   Preverbal person indexation consists of the forms ka-, na- and a-, similar to the possessive prefixes (ka-, na- and ama) as in most Kuki-Chin languages. The plural marker -uɁ occurs after the verb.

   Inclusive and exclusive person marking are distinguished. There is no specific person marking for the dual, which is the same as plural.
Table 5. Affirmative equational copula paradigm ‘hi’

In formal style, an equational clause ends with a final particle *hi*, as in (8). In spoken style, the copula can be left out and the equational clause can be reduced to a juxtaposition of *personal pronoun + noun*, as in (9)\(^5\).

(8) *kɛi Zomi ka hi hi*
1SG Zomi 1SG COP FIN
‘I am Zomi’

(9) *kɛi Zomi*
1SG Zomi
‘I am Zomi’

The paradigm of the negated equational copula is given in Table 6.

Table 6. Negative equational copula paradigm ‘*hi*’

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\(^5\) Full paradigms are given in the appendices.

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### Table 6. Negative equational copula paradigm

Intransitive verbs are indexed the same way as the equational copula, as seen in Table 7 and Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present affirmative</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td><em>ka-pai hi</em></td>
<td><em>ka-pai u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai iŋ</em></td>
<td><em>pai uŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td><em>i-pai hi</em></td>
<td><em>i-pai haŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>na-pai hi</em></td>
<td><em>na-pai u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai teʔ</em></td>
<td><em>pai u? teʔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>a-pai hi</em></td>
<td><em>a-pai u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai hi</em></td>
<td><em>pai u?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Present affirmative intransitive paradigm of pai ‘go’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present negative</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td><em>ka-pai kei hi</em></td>
<td><em>ka-pai kei u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai kei iŋ / keŋ</em></td>
<td><em>pai kei uŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi iŋ</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi uŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td><em>i-pai kei hi</em></td>
<td><em>i-pai kei haŋ / kʰaŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi iŋ</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi haŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>na-pai kei hi</em></td>
<td><em>na-pai kei u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai kei teʔ</em></td>
<td><em>pai kei u? teʔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi teʔ</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi u? teʔ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>a-pai kei hi</em></td>
<td><em>a-pai kei u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai kei</em></td>
<td><em>pai kei u?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo hi</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo u? hi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
<td><em>pai lo</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Other tense/aspect paradigms

Tedim has separate person marking paradigms for the future but not for the past/perfective. To express the perfective, the literary style uses $k^h in$ or $k^h in$ zo, while in the colloquial style, just using a temporal phrase as in (10) makes it clear enough. In the recorded data, no utterance of $k^h in$ or $k^h in$ zo were found.

(10) zanni aʔ (kɛi) lam (kʰin zo) yesterday loc (1SG) dance.F1 (PF) ‘Yesterday I danced.’

The intransitive paradigms of the affirmative and negative future are given in Table 9 and Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future affirmative</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td>pai diŋ hi iŋ</td>
<td>pai diŋ hi uŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai niŋ</td>
<td>pai nuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai diŋ</td>
<td>pai diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td>pai diŋ hi teʔ</td>
<td>pai diŋ hi haŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai ni teʔ</td>
<td>pai ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai diŋ</td>
<td>pai diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pai diŋ (hi)</td>
<td>pai diŋ uʔ (hi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai in teʔ</td>
<td>pai un teʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai diŋ</td>
<td>pai diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi iŋ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi uŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai kɛi niŋ</td>
<td>pai kɛi nuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Future affirmative intransitive paradigm of pai ‘go’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future negative</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.EX</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi iŋ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi uŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai kɛi niŋ</td>
<td>pai kɛi nuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.IN</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi teʔ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi haŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai kɛi ni teʔ</td>
<td>pai kɛi ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi teʔ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ hi uʔ teʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai kɛi ni teʔ</td>
<td>pai kɛi nu teʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part I: South-Central or "Kuki-Chin"  

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verbal person marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pai lo diŋ (hi)</th>
<th>pai kei in te?</th>
<th>pai lo diŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>pai kei un te?</td>
<td>pai lo diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Future negative intransitive paradigm of pai ‘go’

The future particle *niŋ* (only used with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular) / *diŋ* is obligatory, as seen in (11) and (12):

(11) *nidaŋtfjaŋ Tedim aʔ*

from.now.on Tedim LOC

*onŋ tʃjaʔ kik diŋ uʔ hiam*

CIS go.home:F1 again FUT PL.EXCL Q

‘When will they come back (to you) to Tedim?’

(12) *si baiʔ taktak niŋ e die.F1 soon surely 1SG.FUT FIN:REAL*

‘I will die quickly’

6 Object marking

The object is never marked directly on Tedim verbs, but in ditransitive constructions, *oŋ* is used to mark the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person R in both preverbal style, as in (13), and postverbal style, as in (14). In preverbal style, the preverbal person marking is placed before *oŋ* and can be contracted as follows:

- for 1<sup>st</sup> person: *ka-oŋ* or *koŋ*
- for 2<sup>nd</sup> person: *na-oŋ* or *noŋ*
- for 3<sup>rd</sup> person: *a-oŋ* or *oŋ*

(13) *keima in naŋ (pɛn)ama tungaʔ pa ho 1-SAP:OBJ give.F1*

1SG ERG 2SG (OBJ) 3SG to FIN

‘I give you to him’

(14) *ama tungaʔ naŋ oŋ pja iŋ 1-SAP:OBJ give.F1 1SG*

3SG to 2SG give.F1 1SG

‘I give you to him’
7 Conclusion

This study has provided a preliminary documentation of the variation in Tedim verb forms regarding person marking. Subject indexation in Tedim can occur via preverbal person markers or postverbal person markers but may also be left out entirely. In addition, speech act participant objects are indicated with preverbal oŋ independent of subject indexation.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>Final particle</td>
</tr>
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<td>Form 1</td>
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<td>F2</td>
<td>Form 2</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REAL</td>
<td>Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>speech act participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(^)</td>
<td>Tone change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(..)</td>
<td>Can be omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Space where person marking should be found</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

REFERENCES


APPENDICES: LISTS OF VERBAL PERSON INDEXATION FORMS

A.1 EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

**kɛi**
Zomi ka-hi
Zomi hi iŋ

‘I am Zomi’

**naŋ**
Zomi na-hi
Zomi hi teʔ?

‘You sg. are Zomi’

**amaʔ**
Zomi a-hi
Zomi hi

‘S/he is Zomi’

**ko te niʔ**
Zomi ka-hi uʔ?
Zomi hi uŋ

‘We 2 (exclusive = without you) are Zomi’

**ko te**
Zomi ka-hi uʔ?
Zomi hi uŋ

‘We pl (exclusive = without you) are Zomi’

**ei te niʔ**
Zomi i-hi
Zomi hi haŋ

‘We 2 (you and I) are Zomi’

**ei te**
Zomi i-hi
Zomi hi haŋ

‘We pl (you and I and others) are Zomi’

**no te niʔ**
Zomi na-hi uʔ?
Zomi hi uʔ teʔ?

‘You two are Zomi’

**no te**
Zomi na-hi uʔ?
Zomi hi uʔ teʔ?

‘You pl are Zomi’

**amau te niʔ**
Zomi a-hi uʔ?
Zomi hi uʔ

‘Those two are Zomi’

**amaute**
Zomi a-hi uʔ?
Zomi hi uʔ

‘They pl. are Zomi’

amau Zomi aive (ahi ve)
A.2 Ditransitive forms

\[ \text{keima in naŋ (pɛn) ama tunga?}^6/\text{kianga?}^7 \text{ ka-oŋ p'a hi} \]
\( (\text{sg) to him' } \)

\[ \text{keima in ama tunga? naŋ ka-oŋ p'a hi} \]
\( (\text{ken}) \text{ naŋ} (\text{pɛn}) \text{ ama kianga? koŋ p'a hi} \)
\( (\text{ken}) \text{ ama kianga? naŋ koŋ p'a hi} \)
\( (\text{ken}) \text{ ama tunga? naŋ hoŋ p'a iŋ} \)

\[ \text{kɛn ama? (pɛn) ama tunga? ka-p'a hi} \]
\( (\text{ken}) \text{ ama tunga? ama? ka-p'a hi} \)
\( (\text{ken}) \text{ ama tunga? ama? p'a iŋ} \)

\[ \text{naŋma in kei (pɛn) ama tunga? na-oŋ p'a hi} \]
\( \text{give me to him'} \)
\( \text{naŋ}^8 \text{ kei ama tunga? noŋ p'a hi} \)
\( \text{naŋ} \text{ ama tunga? kei noŋ p'a hi} \)
\( (\text{naŋ}) \text{ ama tunga? kei oŋ p'a hi te?} \)
\( (\text{naŋ}) \text{ ama tunga? kei oŋ p'a te?} \)
\( \text{naŋ} \text{ kei (pɛn) ama? p'a} \)

\[ \text{naŋma in ama? (pɛn) ama tunga? na-p'a hi} \]
\( \text{him to him'} \)
\( \text{naŋ'n ama tunga? ama? na-p'a hi} \)
\( (\text{naŋ}) \text{ ama tunga? ama? p'a hi te?} \)
\( (\text{naŋ}) \text{ ama tunga? ama? p'a te?} \)
\( \text{naŋ'n ama? (pɛn) ama? p'a} \)

\[ \text{naŋma in ama? (pɛn) ko kianga? na-oŋ p'a hi} \]
\( \text{him to us'} \)
\( \text{naŋma in ko kianga? ama? na-oŋ p'a hi} \)
\( \text{naŋma in ama? (pɛn) ko na-oŋ p'a hi} \)
\( \text{naŋ} \text{ ama? (pɛn) ko noŋ p'a hi} \)
\( (\text{naŋ}) \text{ ama? (pɛn) ko oŋ p'a hi te?} \)
\( (\text{naŋ}) \text{ ama? (pɛn) ko oŋ p'a te?} \)
\( \text{naŋ} \text{ ama? (pɛn) ko oŋ p'a} \)

\[ \text{naŋma in ko (pɛn) ama tunga? na-oŋ p'a hi} \]
\( \text{you give us to him'} \)
\[ \text{naŋma in ama tunga? ko na-oŋ p'a hi} \]

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6. *tunga?*, which is contraction of *tung* and *aʔ*, literally means "on/in the hand of," used for more emphasis. *tunga?* and *kianga?* can be interchangeably used.

7. *kianga?*, which is contraction of *kiang* and *aʔ*, literally means "to," used for more emphasis. *tunga?* and *kianga?* can be interchangeably used.

8. *naŋn* contraction of *naŋ* in (2SG + ERG).
Part I: South-Central or "Kuki-Chin"

verbal person marking

ama tunga ko noŋ p'a hi
ama tunga ko oŋ p'a na hi
ama tunga ko oŋ p'a hi te?
ama tunga ko oŋ p'a te?
ko ama tunga oŋ p'a te?

ama? in kei (pɛn) ama tunga? a-onŋ p'a hi
'me to him'

ama? in ama tunga? kei a-onŋ p'a hi
aman kei ama tunga? oŋ p'a hi
aman kei ama p'a

ama? in naŋ (pɛn) ama tunga? a-onŋ p'a hi
'you to him'

ama? in ama tunga? naŋ a-onŋ p'a hi
aman naŋ ama tunga? oŋ p'a hi
aman naŋ ama tunga? p'a hi ven
aman naŋ ama? p'a

ama? in ama? (pɛn) ama tunga? a-p'a hi
'him to him'

ama? in ama tunga? ama? a-p'a hi
aman ama tunga? ama? p'a hi
aman ama? pɛn ama tunga? p'a
aman ama tunga? ama? p'a

ei te in ama? (pɛn) ama tunga? i-p'a hi
'we (you and I (and others)) give him to him'

ei te in ama tunga? ama? i-p'a hi
en ama tunga? ama? p'a hi haŋ
en ama tunga? ama? p'a haŋ
en ama tunga? ama? p'a

ko te in ama? (pɛn) ama tunga? ka-p'a u? hi
'we (excluding you) give him to him'

ko te in ama tunga? ama? ka-p'a u? hi
ko ama tunga? ama? ka-p'a u? hi
(ko) ama tunga? ama? p'a hi uŋ
(ko) ama tunga? ama? p'a uŋ
ko ama tunga? ama? p'a

ko te in naŋ (pɛn) ama tunga? ka-onŋ p'a u? hi
'we give you to him'

ko te in ama tunga? naŋ ka-onŋ p'a hi
ko ama tunga? naŋ k'oŋ p'a u? hi
(ko) ama tunga? naŋ oŋ p'a uŋ

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ko naŋ ama tunga? oŋ p'ia

do te in ama? (p'en) naŋ kianga? ka-oŋ p'ia u? hi to you
ko te in naŋ kianga? ama? koŋ p'ia u? hi
ko ama? (p'en) naŋ kianga? koŋ p'ia u? hi
ko naŋ kianga? ama? koŋ p'ia u? hi
(ko) ama? naŋ oŋ p'ia uŋ
ko ama? naŋ oŋ p'ia

do te in ama? (p'en) naŋ kianga? ka-oŋ p'ia hi
‘we give him to you’
do te in naŋ kianga? ama? koŋ p'ia u? hi
ko ama? (p'en) naŋ kianga? koŋ p'ia u? hi
ko naŋ kianga? ama? koŋ p'ia u? hi
(ko) ama? naŋ oŋ p'ia uŋ
ko ama? naŋ oŋ p'ia

ko te in ama? (p'en) naŋ kianga? ka-oŋ p'ia hi
‘I give him to you’
djema in naŋ (kianga?) ama? ka-oŋ p'ia hi
jena ama? (p'en) naŋ koŋ p'ia hi
(jen) ama? naŋ oŋ p'ia iŋ
jena ama? naŋ oŋ p'ia

do ame in kεi (p'en) naŋ kianga? a-oŋ p'ia hi
‘he gives me to you’
djena in naŋ kianga? kεi a-oŋ p'ia hi
amena kεi (p'en) naŋ tunga? oŋ p'ia hi
amena kεi (p'en) naŋ tunga? oŋ p'ia hi ven
amena kεi (p'en) naŋ tunga? oŋ p'ia

do ame in ama? (p'en) naŋ a-oŋ p'ia hi
‘he gives him to you’
djena in naŋ kianga? ama? a-oŋ p'ia hi
amena ama? (p'en) naŋ oŋ p'ia hi
amena ama? (p'en) naŋ oŋ p'ia hi ven

naŋma in ama? (p'en) kεi na-oŋ p'ia hi
‘you give him to me’
djena in kεi tunga? ama? na-oŋ p'ia hi
naŋma ama? (p'en) kεi noŋ p'ia hi
(naŋm) ama? kεi oŋ p'ia te?/hi te?
(naŋm) ama? oŋ p'ia te?

no te in ama? (p'en) kεi na-oŋ p'ia u? hi
‘you (pl) give’
nu te in kεi tunga? ama? na-oŋ p'ia u? hi
no ama? kεi noŋ p'ia u? hi
(no) ama? oŋ p'ia u? te?
no ama? kεi oŋ p'ia

amo? in naŋ (p'en) kεi a-oŋ p'ia hi
‘he gives you to me’

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Part I: South-Central or "Kuki-Chin"

verbal person marking

**amaʔ in kɛi tungaʔ naŋ a-oŋ pʼa hi**
aman naŋ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʼa hi
aman naŋ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi a-oŋ pʼa hi**
‘he gives him to me’
aman amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʼa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) ei a-oŋ pʼa hi**
(you and me (and others))’
aman amaʔ (pɛn) ei oŋ pʼa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) ei oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) ko a-oŋ pʼa hi**
‘he gives him to us (excluding you)’
aman amaʔ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʼa hi

**amaʔ in naŋ (pɛn) ko a-oŋ pʼa hi**
‘he gives you to us’
aman naŋ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʼa hi

**amaʔ in ko (pɛn) naŋ tungaʔ a-oŋ pʼa hi**
‘he gives us to you’
aman ko (pɛn) naŋ oŋ pʼa hi

Inanimate

**kɛimaʔ in) naŋmaʔ ka-oŋ pʼa hi**
‘I give it to you’
(kɛn) naŋ oŋ pʼa iŋ
(kɛn) naŋ oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ ka-pʼa hi**
‘I give it to him’
kɛn amaʔ pʼa iŋ
kɛn amaʔ pʼa

**naŋ amaʔ pʼa ve**
‘You give it to him’
### B. Full transitive paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>1(^{st}) person</th>
<th>2(^{nd}) person</th>
<th>3(^{rd}) person</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>DU.EX</td>
<td>PL.EX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>koŋ(^9) mu diŋ (hi)</td>
<td>oŋ mu niŋ</td>
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<tr>
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<td>DU.EX / PL.EX</td>
<td>koŋ mu diŋ u? (hi)</td>
<td>oŋ mu nuŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DU.IN / PL.IN</td>
<td>i-oŋ mu diŋ (hi)</td>
<td>oŋ mu diŋ hi haŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>oŋ mu ni teʔ</td>
<td>oŋ mu diŋ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>DU/PL</td>
<td>oŋ mu nu teʔ</td>
<td>oŋ mu diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>oŋ mu in teʔ</td>
<td>oŋ mu diŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DU/PL</td>
<td>oŋ mu un teʔ</td>
<td>oŋ mu diŋ</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 11. Future transitive paradigm of mu ‘see’

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10 For 3\(^{rd}\) person, va, equivalent to oŋ (1\(^{st}\) and 2\(^{nd}\) person), can be used for emphasize.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>oŋ mu kɛi in teʔ</td>
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<td>oŋ mu kɛi un teʔ</td>
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<td>oŋ mu kɛi un teʔ</td>
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<td>oŋ mu lo diŋ</td>
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</table>

Table 12. Future negative transitive paradigm of mu ‘see’