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Agreement in Thadou

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the agreement system of Thadou in intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. The 1ˢᵗ person agreement clitic *ng* (ŋ) occurs post-verbally in intransitives clauses. A transitive verb in Thadou has the same agreement system in affirmative and negative paradigms and may agree with both its A and P or only its A for person and may agree with its A and its P for number. Ditransitive verbs in Thadou occur with both *hi* and declarative clause ending in *e*. The difference between a ditransitive verb in *hi* clause and *e* clause is that in the case of *hi* clause the verb occurs in stem 2 form, while the in case of the *e* clause, the verb occurs in stem 1 form. The *hi* constructions in Thadou are bi-clausal in structure. That is, they are composed of a subordinate clause followed by the main clause. A ditransitive verb in Thadou agrees with its A for person in the embedded clause and with its T in the main clause and may agree with either the A or T for number.

Agreement in Thadou

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1 Introduction[1]

Verbal agreement systems are often used as the defining criterion for the classification of Tibeto-Burman languages (LSI Vol 3, Part 1, Grierson (ed), (1909), Voegelin and Voegelin 1977, Thurgood, 1985), etc). This practice goes back to Hodgson (1874: 16 footnote), who distinguished between "pronomenalized [sic] and complex" and "non-pronomenalized and simple languages". Hodgson's terminology comes from the use of pronominal elements for person-indexing in verbal forms/complexes, or the absence thereof, in the relevant languages. Hodgson's article may also be consulted by readers who are interested in agreement phenomena but are not specialized in TB languages and therefore do not know what "pronominalised" means in a TB context). According to Henderson (1957:323)

> 'Pronominalization has been taken to mean pronominal usage of a certain kind, particularly within the verbal complex, and has on the whole been regarded as a non-typical feature of Tibeto-Burman languages, probably to be accounted for by alien influences, and restricted, within the Tibeto-Burman family, to the languages grouped together by Konow under the name 'Himalayan' [in LSI Vol 3, Part 1]".

Note that Hodgson himself dealt only with "pronominalised" languages spoken in Nepal, and Konow (in Konow 1905: 122 and LSI Vol 3, Part1) also included Himalayan languages from India, which he divided in an eastern and western sub-group, then Henderson (1957, 1965) included the Kuki-Chin languages. Konow's LSI Vol3, Part 3, Grierson (ed) (1904), excludes the Kuki-Chin languages under the pronominalized group. Henderson (1957, 1965) describes verbal agreement system of one the Northern Chin languages, Tiddim-Chin. Latter, Thurgood (1985) lists the pronoun forms along with the agreement forms from the Northern Chin, Central Chin and Old Kuki. The list does not include only the postverbal agreement forms which are considered more archaic. DeLancey (2013a, 2013b) discusses the postverbal agreement system of the Kuki-Chin languages, drawing examples from various Kuki-Chin languages and argues that the agreement system of the Kuki-Chin is a

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[1] Throughout this paper the orthographic form of the language is used. The orthographic forms which correspond to the IPA are as follows: *ph, th, kh* represent the voiceless aspirated stops; *ng* represents the velar nasal; *lh* represents the voiceless alveolar lateral; *ch* represents the voiceless alveolar affricate and *h* in the final position represents a glottal stop. In the gloss, the numeral 1, 2, 3 represent first, second and third agreement; 1PERS, 2PERS and 3PERS are used in the text, when there is no associated number; S and A represent the subject of intransitive and transitive verb respectively. Similarly, P and R represent the patient or direct object and the recipient or indirect object respectively. Despite Thadou being a tone language, tones are not represented in the orthography. Other glosses used are as follows: AUX =auxiliary; CONJ=conjunction; DECL=declarative; DU=dual; ERG=ergative; EXCL=exclusive; FUT=future; HORT=hortative; IMP=imperative; INCL=inclusive; LOC=locative; NEG=negative; PL=plural; SG=singular; E=verbal stem; PST=past; T=theme; TAM= tense, aspect and mood.

shared innovation which characterizes the Kuki-Chin and set it off from the rest of the family. DeLancey also argues that the agreement prefixes which are also the possessive pronominal forms are later innovations prior to the Proto-Kuki-Chin but, the postverbal agreement forms are inherited from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

Thadou (ISO 639-3: tcz), a Tibeto-Burman language of the Kuki-Chin subgroup spoken in Northeast India and Myanmar, exhibits the preverbal agreement system and traces of the postverbal agreement system survived only in the negative paradigm as seen in other Northern and Old Kuki languages. Konow (LSI Vol 3, Part 3: 66, Grierson ed. 1904: 66) recognized the conjugation of verbs in person by means of pronominal prefixes but did not elaborate further. Krishan (1980) in his book *Thadou: A Grammatical Sketch* did not present the full paradigm of agreement system in Thadou although, he makes mention of person agreement in (1980: 60, 69-70). Hence, this is the first exhaustive work on the agreement system of Thadou. Thadou or Kuki as it is sometimes called is one of the largest Kuki-Chin languages spoken by 1,90,595 people (Census of India 2001). The socio-history of Thadou has been described in Haokip (2008, 2011), and will not be elaborated here again. This paper is arranged as follows: Section 2 deals with Thadou prounouns and agreement clitics. Section 3 discusses the agreement system of Thadou in intransitive clauses in affirmative, copular and negative paradigms. Section 4 discusses the agreement system of Thadou in transitive clause in affirmative and negative paradigms. Section 5 discusses the agreement system of Thadou ending in *hi* construction. Finally, the paper concludes with a summary of the agreement system of Thadou in a nutshell.

2 Thadou pronouns and agreement clitics

In the pronoun system, Thadou distinguishes between three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural), with an inclusive/exclusive distinction made for the 1st person dual and plural, as shown in Table 1. However, unlike old Kuki-Chin languages like Saihriem, Hranglong, Chorei (Haokip 2018), the agreement proclitics in Thadou only indicate person whereas number is marked separately. In other words, the number distinction is not present with the agreement clitic, but occurs separately and is usually flanked by verbal root and TAM. In the pronoun system, the number is shown by a suffix, *-ni* for dual and *-ho* for plural, added to the singular stem. Thadou distinguishes exclusive and inclusive in first person dual and plural.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First (excl)	*kei*	*keini*	*keiho*
(incl)		*eini*	*eiho*
Second	*nang*	*nangni*	*nangho*
Third	*ama*[2]	*amani*	*amaho*

Table 1. Pronoun system of Thadou

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[2] Note that *-ma* is an emphatic suffix which can be used with 1SG and 2SG pronouns, yielding an interpretation similar or akin to emphatic reflexives in English ("I myself", "you yourself").

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First (excl) (incl)	*ka=*	*ka=* *i=*	*ka=* *i=*
Second	*na=*	*na=*	*na=*
Third	*a=*	*a=*	*a=*

Table 2. Person proclitics in Thadou

In addition to the proclitics given in Table 2, verbal forms may also display the 2→1 and 3→1 proclitics *nei=* and *i=* (see §4.1.1). Note that the agreement affix is also used before nouns to indicate possession as in *kapa* 'my father' *napa* 'your father' *apa* 'his/her father'. Note that it also possible to suffix the plural marker –*u*, for example, *na=pa-u* 'your (pl) father'. Like in Mizo and Hmar and the other Kuki-Chin languages, the personal agreement markers and the possessive pronouns are homophonous. As noted in Haokip (2014: 39) in imperatives, no agreement clitics appear and no number distinctions are made.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First (excl) (incl)	*ka=pa*	*ka=pa* *i=pa*	*ka=pa* *i=pa*
Second	*na=pa*	*na=pa*	*na=pa*
Third	*a=pa*	*a=pa*	*a=pa*

Table 3. Thadou possessive paradigmfor *father*

3 Intransitive clauses

3.1 *Affirmative paradigm*

3.1.1 *Declarative paradigm*

A simple declarative statement in Thadou usually ends in -*e* or one of its allomorphs *ne, te, le, nge, ve,* etc. An intransitive verb such as *nui* 'laugh' agrees with its S for person and number. Note that when two vowels concatenate in a clause either one (usually the first of the preceding syllable) gets deleted or a glide –*y* or –*w* is inserted to break up the vowel cluster. That is, if the verbal root ends with a front vowel and is followed by a declarative marker –*e*, a glide –*y* is inserted to break up the vowel cluster. Similarly, if a verbal root ends in a back vowel, a glide –*w* is inserted. But, when a plural marker –*u* is inserted between the vowel of the verbal root and the declarative marker –*e*, a voiced bilabial fricative –*v* is inserted according to Thadou phonotactics.

(1)   *ka=nui-ye*
        1EXCL=laugh-DECL
        'I laugh.'

(2)   *ka=nui–lhon–ne*
        1EXCL =laugh-DU-DECL
        'We two (excl. listener) laugh.'

(3)   *ka=nui–u–ve*
        1EXCL=laugh-PL-DECL
        'We all (excl. listener) laugh.'

(4)   *i=nui–lhon–ne*
        1INCL=laugh-DU-DECL
        'We two (incl. listener) laugh.'

(5)   *i=nui–u–ve*
        1INCL=laugh-PL-DECL
        'We (incl. listener) laugh.'

(6)   *na=nui–ye*
        2=laugh-DECL
        'You (sg) laugh.'

(7)   *na=nui–lhon–ne*
        2=laugh-DU-DECL
        'You (two) laugh.'

(8)   *na=nui–u–ve*
        2=laugh-PL-DECL
        'You all laugh.'

(9)   *a=nui–ye*
        3=laugh-DECL
        'He/she laughs.'

(10)   *a=nui–lhon–ne*
        3=laugh-DU-DECL
        'They (two) laugh.'

(11)   *a=nui–u–ve*
        3=laugh-PL-DECL
        'They (all) laugh.'

Table 4 provides the agreement paradigm of intransitive verb in declarative clause.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First (excl)	*ka=Σ-*	*ka=Σ-lhon-*	*ka=Σ-u-*
(incl)		*i=Σ-lhon-*	*i=Σ-u-*
Second	*na=Σ-*	*na=Σ-lhon-*	*na=Σ-u-*
Third	*a=Σ-*	*a=Σ-lhon-*	*a=Σ-u-*

Table 4. Intransitive agreement paradigm in declarative clause

3.1.2 *The copular clause*

The copula paradigm shows the same agreement clitics as the intransitive verb paradigm. The difference between the two is that the copula *hi*, unlike intransitive verbs, does not carry the declarative suffix -*Ce*. Examples (12)-(22) show that a copular clause with the copula *hi* in Thadou agrees with its S for person and number, and exhibits an inclusive-exclusive distinction with 1PERS dual and plural.

(12)   *kei   pusal   ka=hi*
       1   boy   1=be
       'I am a boy.'

(13)   *kei-ni   pusal   ka=hi-lhon-ne*
       1.EXCL-DU   boy   1=be-DU-DECL
       'We two (excl. listener) are boys.'

(14)   *kei-ho   pusal   ka=hi   u-ve*
       1.EXCL-PL   boy   1=be   PL-DECL
       'We all (excl. listener) are boys.'

(15)   *ei-ni   pusal   i=hi-lhon-ne*
       1.INCL-DU   boy   1.INCL=be-DU-DECL
       'We two (incl. listener) are boys.'

(16)   *ei-ho   pusal   i=hi-u-ve*
       1.INCL-PL   boy   1.INCL=be-PL-DECL
       'We all (incl. listener) are boys.'

(17)   *nang   pusal   na=hi*
       2   boy   2=be
       'You (sg) are a boy.'

(18)   *nang-ni   pusal   na=hi-lhon-ne*
       2-DU   boy   2=be-DU-DECL
       'You (two) are boys.'

(19) *nang-ho   pusal   na=hi-u-ve*
 2-PL   boy   2=be-PL-DECL
 'You (pl) are boys.'

(20) *ama   pusal   a=hi*
 3   boy   3=be
 'He is a boy.'

(21) *ama-ni   pusal   a=hi-lhon-ne*
 3-DU   boy   3=be-DU-DECL
 'They (two) are boys'

(22) *ama-ho   pusal   a=hi-u-ve*
 3-PL   boy   3=be-PL-DECL
 'They all are boys.'

3.1.3 *Periphrastic future forms with a=hi*

A periphrastic construction is used when expressing the future in Thadou. This construction consists of a copular main clause and a complement clause containing the lexical verb and the future marker *ding*. In 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person forms, the main verb takes the respective proclitic person markers and the copular verb takes a 3ʳᵈ person dummy proclitic whereas in 3rd person forms the main verb occurs without a person-indexing proclitic and the proclitic on the copula is the only marking of person. The construction of dual forms differs from the construction of plural forms in that the dual marker *lhon* precedes the FUT marker (*ding*) whereas the PL marker –*u* follows the FUT marker. Examples (23) – (33) below show that an intransitive verb agrees with its S for person and number in the complement clause and the 3ʳᵈ person marker *a=* agrees with the dummy subject 'it' in the main clause.

(23) *ka=chi   ding   a=hi*
 1=go   FUT   3=be
 'I will go.' (Lit: 'it is (that) I will go.')

(24) *ka=chi-lhon   ding   a=hi*
 1=go-DU   FUT   3=be
 'We (two, excl. listener) will go.'

(25) *ka=chi   ding-u   a=hi*
 1=go   FUT=PL   3=be
 'We (all, excl. listener) will go.'

(26) *i=chi-lhon   ding   a=hi*
 1.INCL=go-DU   FUT   3=be
 'We (two, incl. listener) will go.'

(27) *i=chi*   *ding–u*   *a=hi*
      1.INCL=go   FUT-PL   3=be
      'We (all, incl. listener) will go.'

(28) *na=chi*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      2=go   FUT   3=be
      'You will go.'

(29) *na=chi–lhon*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      2=go-DU   FUT   3=be
      'You (two) will go.'

(30) *na=chi*   *ding–u*   *a=hi*
      2=go   FUT-PL   3=be
      'You (all) will not go.'

(31) *chi*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      go   FUT   3=be
      'He/she will go.'

(32) *chi–lhon*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      go-DU   FUT   3=be
      'They (two) will go.'

(33) *chi*   *ding–u*   *a=hi*
      go   FUT-PL   3=be
      'They (all) will go.'

Table 5 provides the agreement paradigm of intransitive verb in *a=hi* clause.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First (excl)	*ka*=Σ FUT 3=be	*ka*=Σ-*lhon* FUT 3=be	*ka*=Σ FUT-PL 3=be
(incl)		*i*=Σ-*lhon* FUT 3=be	*i*=Σ FUT-PL 3=be
Second	*na*=Σ FUT 3=be	*na*=Σ-*lhon* FUT 3=be	*na*=Σ FUT-PL 3=be
Third	Σ FUT 3=be	Σ-*lhon* FUT 3=be	Σ FUT-PL 3=be

Table 5. Intransitive agreement paradigm in *a=hi* clause

3.2 Negative paradigm

    This section discusses the agreement system of Thadou in the negative paradigm. In the negative paradigm, Thadou exhibits both the older and innovated agreement system in the simple declarative and hortative declarative clauses, but not in emphatic declarative clauses. That is, the

postverbal agreement clitics do not occur with an emphatic declarative clause. Note the dual and plural markers do not occupy the same slot in the surface string but occur in different places.

3.2.1 Simple declarative

A declarative statement in Thadou usually ends in *e* or one of its allomorphs *ne, te, le, nge, ve* etc., which speakers use when they wish to make statements he has knowledge of. Examples (34) – (36) show that the first person agreement clitic *=ng* [ŋ] occurs post-verbally in all the forms (singular, dual and plural) in the declarative clause. Note that the dual marker precedes the negative marker whereas the plural marker follows the negative marker. With the negative particle *-po*, the future marker appears as *-ing* rather than *-ding*. The negative particle *-po* is used to negate ordinary declarative sentences ending in *e*. The simple declarative future construction is only used with first person subjects.

(34)　*chi-po=ing-nge*
　　　go-NEG-1.FUT-DECL
　　　'I will not go.'

(35)　*chi-lhon-po=ing-nge*
　　　go-DU NEG=1.FUT-DECL
　　　'We (two) will not go.'

(36)　*chi-po-u=ing-nge*
　　　go-NEG-PL=1.FUT-DECL
　　　'We (all) will not go.'

3.2.2 Hortative declarative

Examples (37) and (38) show that the first agreement clitic *ng* [ŋ] occurs post-verbally only in singular and dual form in the hortative declarative clause. A hortative declarative statement contains *ta* 'hort' which a speaker makes use of when he/she wishes to negate a statement already made known to the hearer/listener. The whole construction with the negative particle is used to negate a proposal which a speaker had proposed.

(37)　*chi-da-ta=ing-nge*
　　　go-NEG-HORT=1.FUT-DECL
　　　'I will not go (although I had previously agreed that I would).'

(38)　*chi-da-lhon-ta=ing-nge*
　　　go-NEG-DU-HORT=1.FUT-DECL
　　　'We (two excl) will not go (although we had previously agreed that we would).'

As stated above, only the 1PERS singular and dual survived post-verbally. Example (39) – (46) shows the absence of postverbal agreement clitics with 1PERS plural, 2PERS, and 3 PERS. The dual marker *–lhon* precedes the hortative marker *–ta* whereas the plural marker *–u* follows it. Hortative declarative

clauses involve a proposal between the interlocutor and the addresses as a group and not as isolated group.

(39)   *chi-da-ta-u-te*
        go-NEG-HORT-PL-AUX
        'We (all) will not go.'
        or
(40)   *chi-po –u-te*
        go-NEG-PL-AUX
        'We (all) will not go.'

(41)   *chi-da-ta-n*
        go-NEG-HORT-IMP
        'You (sg) will not go.'

(42)   *chi-da-lhon-ta-n*
        go-NEG-DU-HORT-IMP
        'You (two) will not go.'

(43)   *chi-da-ta-u-vin*
        go-NEG-HORT-PL-IMP
        'You (all) will not go.'
(44)   *chi=da-ta-hen*
        go=NEG-HORT-DECL
        'He/she will not go.'

(45)   *chi-da-lhon-ta-hen*
        go-NEG-DU-HORT-DECL
        'They (two) will not go.'

(46)   *chi-da-ta-u-hen*
        go-NEG-HORT-PL-DECL
        'They (all) will not go.'

3.2.3 *Emphatic declarative*

An emphatic statement is a declarative clause which a speaker uses when he/she wishes to emphatically negate a question/proposal made by an interlocutor. Note that the postverbal agreement clitics do not occur with an emphatic declarative clause. The reason why emphatic declarative clauses do not show proclitics on the verb but the proclitics *ka=* and *na=* attached to the declarative marker with 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person forms is something which cannot be ascertained here and require further investigation. Also note that the third person proclitic *a=* is absent. The dual marker *–lhon* occurs before the negative marker and the plural marker *–u* follows the negative marker.

(47) *chi-po-ng*   *ka=te*
      go-NEG-FUT   1= AUX
      'I will not go.'

(48) *chi-lhon-po-ng*   *ka=te*
      go-DU-NEG-FUT   1=AUX
      'We (two) will not go.'

(49) *chi-po-u-ng*   *ka=te*
      go-NEG-PL-FUT   1=AUX
      'We (all) will not go.'

(50) *chi-po-n*   *na=te*
      go-NEG-FUT   2=AUX
      'You will not go.'

(51) *chi-lhon-po-n*   *na=te*
      go-DU-NEG-FUT   2=AUX
      'You (two) will not go.'

(52) *chi-po-u-vin*   *na=te*
      go-NEG-PL-FUT   2=AUX
      'You (pl) will not go.'

(53) *chi-po-n-te*
      go-NEG-FUT-AUX
      'He/she will not go.'

(54) *chi-lhon-po-n-te*
      go-DU-NEG-FUT-AUX
      'They (two) will not go.'

(55) *chi-po-u-vin-te*
      go-NEG-PL-FUT-AUX
      'They (all) will not go.'

Table 6 provides the agreement paradigms of negated intransitive verb in negative clause that have been discussed so far.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
Simple declarative	Σ-NEG-FUT 1.DECL	Σ-du-NEG-FUT 1. DECL	Σ-NEG -PL-FUT 1. DECL
Hortative declarative 1PERS	Σ-NEG-HORT-FUT 1.DECL	Σ-NEG-DU-HORT-FUT =1. DECL	Σ-NEG-HORT-PL-DECL
2PERS	Σ-NEG-HORT-DECL	Σ-NEG-DU-HORT-DECL	Σ-NEG-HORT-PL-DECL
3PERS	Σ-NEG-HORT-DECL	Σ-NEG-DU-HORT-DECL	Σ-NEG-HORT-PL-DECL
Emphatic Declarative 1PERS	Σ-NEG-FUT 1=AUX	Σ-DU-NEG-FUT 1=AUX	Σ-NEG -PL-FUT 1=AUX
2PERS	Σ-NEG-FUT 2=AUX	Σ-DU-NEG-FUT 2=AUX	Σ-NEG-PL-FUT 2=AUX
3PERS	Σ-NEG-FUT-DECL	Σ-DU-NEG-FUT-DECL	Σ-NEG-PL-FUT-DECL

Table 6. Agreement paradigm of intransitive verb in negative clause

3.2.4 *Negative paradigm in* a=hi *clause*

As in the affirmative paradigm (section 3.1.3), an intransitive verb in the negative paradigm in *a=hi* construction agrees with its S for person and number in the complement clause, *a* in the main clause agrees with a dummy subject *it* in the main clause. Such construction is used when the speaker under some circumstances wishes to negate the statement already made known to the hearer/listener. Note that the dual marker *lhon* occurs after the matrix verb, and the plural marker *=u* occurs after the future tense marker *ding* in the complement clause. The negative particle *lou* is on the other hand is used to negate declarative clause ending in a-hi construction.

(56)   *ka=chi–lou   ding   a=hi*
       1=go-NEG   FUT   3=be
       'It is (that) I will not go.'

(57)   *ka=chi–lhon–lou   ding   a=hi*
       1=go-DU-NEG   FUT   3=be
       'It is (that) we (two) will not go.'

(58)   *ka=chi–lou   ding-u   a=hi*
       1=go-NEG   FUT-PL   3=be
       'It is (that) we (all) will not go.'

(59) *i=chi-lhon-lou*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      1INCL=go-DU-NEG   FUT   3=be
      'It is (that) we (two DU) will not go.'

(60) *i=chi-lou*   *ding-u*   *a=hi*
      1INCL=go-NEG   FUT-PL   3=be
      'It is (that) we (all) will not go.'

(61) *na=chi-lou*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      2=go-NEG   FUT   3=be
      'It is (that) you will not go.'

(62) *na=chi-lhon-lou*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      2=go-DU-NEG   FUT   3=be
      'You (two) will not go.'

(63) *na=chi-lou*   *ding-u*   *a=hi*
      2=go-NEG   FUT-PL   3=be
      'It is (that) you (all) will not go.'

(64) *chi-lou*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      go-NEG   FUT   3=be
      'It is (that) he/she will not go.'

(65) *chi-lhon-lou*   *ding*   *a=hi*
      go-DU-NEG   FUT   3=be
      'It is (that) they (two) will not go.'

(66) *chi-lou*   *ding-u*   *a=hi*
      go-NEG   FUT-PL   3=be
      'It is (that) they (all) will not go.'

Table 7 provides the agreement of intransitive verb in negative paradigm with *a=hi* clause

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First(excl) (incl)	*ka*=Σ-NEG FUT 3=be	*ka*=Σ-DU-NEG FUT 3=be *i*=Σ-DU–NEG FUT 3=be	*ka*=Σ-NEG FUT-PL 3=be *i*=Σ-NEG FUT-PL 3=be
Second	*na*=Σ-NEG FUT 3=be	*na*=Σ-DU-NEG FUT 3=be	*na*=Σ-NEG FUT=PL 3=be
Third	Σ-NEG FUT 3=be	Σ-DU-NEG FUT 3=be	Σ-NEG FUT-PL 3=be

Table 7. Agreement in negative paradigm with *a=hi* clause

4 Transitive clauses

4.1 Affirmative paradigm

This section deals with the agreement between a transitive verb and its A and P in the affirmative paradigm. It is divided into first person object, second person object and third person object. While the independent pronoun P may be omitted, the presence of the A is required to avoid ambiguity.

4.1.1 First person patient

When the P is first person and the A either 2 or 3PERS as in (67) – (70), a transitive verb such as *mu* 'see' agrees with both its A and P in person and number. But when the A is singular and the P dual, a transitive verb agrees with its dual P for number as shown in (68). The agreement clitic *nei* marks 2→1 person and *i* marks 3→1.

(67)   *nang=in   kei   nei=mu-e*
        2=ERG   1   2→1=see-DECL
        'You (sg) see me.'

(68)   *nang=in   kei-ni   nei=mu-lhon-ne*
        2=ERG   1-DU   2→1=see-DU-DECL
        'You (sg) see us two.'

(69)   *nang=in   kei-ho   nei=mu-e*
        2=ERG   1-PL   2→1=see-DECL
        'You (sg) see us (pl).'

(70)   *nang-ho=n   kei   nei=mu-u-ve*
        2-PL=ERG   1   2→1=see-PL-DECL
        'You (pl) see me.'

(71)   *nang-ho=n   kei-ho   nei=mu-u-ve*
        2-PL=ERG   1-PL   2→1=see-PL-DECL
        'You (pl) see us.'

When the P is 1PERS and the A is 3PERS, a transitive verb such as *mu* 'see' agrees with both its A and P for person and number. But when the A is singular and the P dual, a transitive verb agrees with its dual P for number as shown in (73).

(72)   *ama=in   kei   i=mu-e*
        3=ERG   1   3→1=see-DECL
        'He/she sees me.'

(73)   *ama=n   kei-ni   i=mu-lhon-ne*
       3=ERG   1-DU   3→1=see-DU-DECL
       'He/she sees us (two, excl. listener).'

(74)   *ama=n   ei-ni   i =mu-lhon-ne*
       3= ERG   1-DU   3→1=see-DU-DECL
       'He/she sees us (two.incl. listener)'

(75)   *ama=in   kei-ho   i=mu-e*
       3=ERG   1-PL   3→1=see-DECL
       'He/she sees us (pl.excl. listeners).'

(76)   *ama=in   ei-ho   i=mu-uve*
       3=ERG   1-PL   3→1=see-PL.DECL
       'He/she sees us (pl. Incl. listeners).'

(77)   *ama-ho=n   kei   i=mu-uve*
       3-PL=ERG   1   3→1=see-PL.DECL
       'They see me.'

(78)   *ama-ho=n   kei-ho   i=mu-uve*
       3=PL=ERG   1-PL   3→1=see-PL.DECL
       'They see us (pl. excl).'

4.1.2 *Second person patient*

When the P is 2PERS and the A 1PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number.

(79)   *ki=n   nang   ka=mu-e*
       1=ERG 2   1=SEE-DECL
       'I saw you (sg).'

(80)   *ki=n   nang-ho   ka=mu-e*
       1=ERG   2=PL   1=see-DECL
       'I saw you (pl).'

(81)   *kei-ho=n   nang   ka=mu-uve*
       1-PL=ERG   2   1=see-PL.DECL
       'We saw you (sg).'

(82)   *kei-ho=n   nang-ho   ka=mu-uve*
       1-PL=ERG   2-PL   1=see-PL.DECL
       'We saw you (pl).'

When the P is 2PERS and the A is 3PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its P for person as shown in (83) – (86) and agrees with its A for number.

(83)   *ama=n   nang   na=mu-e*
       3=ERG   2   2=SEE-DECL
       'He/she saw you (sg).'

(84)   *ama=n   nang-ho   na=mu-e*
       ama=ERG   2-PL   2=see-DECL
       'He/she saw you (pl).'

(85)   *ama-ho=n   nang   na=mu-uve*
       3-PL=ERG   2   2=see-PL.DECL
       'They saw you (sg).'

(86)   *ama-ho=n   nang-ho   na=mu-uve*
       3-PL=ERG   2-PL   2=see-PL.DECL
       'They saw you (pl).'

4.1.3 Third person patient

When the P is 3PERS, and the A is 1PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number.

(87)   *ki=n   ama   ka=mu-e*
       1=ERG 3   1=see-DECL
       'I saw him/her.'

(88)   *ki=n   ama-ho   ka=mu-e*
       1=ERG   3-PL   1=see-DECL
       'I saw them.'

(89)   *kei-ho=n   ama   ka=mu-uve*
       1-PL=ERG   3   1=see-PL.DECL
       'We saw him/her.'

(90)   *kei-ho=n   ama-ho   ka=mu-uve*
       1-PL=ERG   3-PL   1=see-PL.DECL
       'We saw them.'

(91)   *kei-ni=n   nang-ho   ka=mu-uve*
       1-DU=ERG   2-PL   1=see-PL.DECL
       'We (dual) see you (pl).'

(92) *kei-ho-n*   *nang-ni*   *ka=mu-uve*
      1-PL-ERG   2-DU   1=see-PL.DECL
      'We see you (dual).'

When the P is 3PERS and the A is 2PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number as shown in (93) – 0 below.

(93) *nang=in*   *ama*   *na=mu-e*
      2=ERG   3   2=see-DECL
      'You saw him/her.'

(94) *nang=in*   *ama-ho*   *na=mu-e*
      2=ERG   3-PL   2=see-DECL
      'You (sg) saw them.'

(95) *nang-ho=n*   *ama*   *na=mu-uve*
      2-PL=ERG   3   2=see-PL.DECL
      'You (pl) saw him/her.'

(96) *nang-ho=n*   *ama-ho*   *na=mu-uve*
      2-PL=ERG   3-PL   2=see-PL.DECL
      'You (pl) saw them.'

When the P and A are 3PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number, as in (97) – (100).

(97) *ama=n*   *ama*   *a=mu-e*
      3=ERG   3   3=see-DECL
      'He/she sees him/her.'

(98) *ama=n* *ama-ho*   *a=mu-e*
      3=ERG   3-PL   3=see-DECL
      'He/she sees them.'

(99) *ama-ho=n*   *ama*   *a=mu-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   3   3=see-PL.DECL
      'They saw him/her.'

(100) *ama-ho=n*   *ama-ho* *a=mu*   *uve*
      3-PL=ERG   3-PL   3=see   PL.DECL
      'They saw them'

Table 8 provides the agreement of transitive verbs in the affirmative paradigm.

O A	1SG	1PL (EXCL)	1PL (INCL)	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG				ka=...	ka=...	ka=...	ka=...
1PL EXCL				ka=…u	ka=…u	ka=...u	ka=…=u
2SG	nei=…e	nei=….u				na=...	na=..e
2PL	nei=…u	nei=…u				na=...u	na=…u
3SG	i=…e	i=...u	i=….u	na=..e	na=...u	a=...	a=...
3PL	i=...u	i=…u	i=….u	na=...u	na=…=u	a=...u	a=...u

Table 8. Transitive verb agreement paradigm in the affirmative

4.2 Negative paradigm

The negative non-future works the same as the affirmative non-future paradigm shown above.

4.2.1 First person patient

Just as in the affirmative above, in the negative paradigm too, when the P is 1PERS and its A is 2PERS, a transitive verb such as *mu* 'see' agrees with both its A and P for person and with only it is A for number.

(101) *nang=in   kei   nei=mu–poi*
        2=ERG   1   2→1=see-NEG.DECL
        'You (sg) did not see me.'

(102) *nang=in   kei–ho nei=mu–poi*
        2=ERG   1-PL   2→1=see-NEG.DECL
        'You (sg) did not see us.'

(103) *nang–ho=n   kei   nei=mu–po–uve*
        2-PL=ERG   1   2→1=see-NEG-PL.DECL
        'You (pl) did not see me.'

(104) *nang–ho=n   kei–ho nei=mu–po–uve*
        2-PL=ERG   1-PL   2→1=see-NEG-PL.DECL
        'You (pl) did not see us.'

Again, just as in the affirmative paradigm, when the A is 3PERS and the P is 1PERS, a transitive verb in the negative paradigm agrees with both its A and P for person and with only its A for number.

(105) *ama=in*   *kei*   *i=mu-po*
      3=ERG   1   3→1=see-NEG.DECL
      'He/she did not see me.'

(106) *ama=in*   *kei-ho*   *i=mu-poi*
      3=ERG   1-PL   3→1=see=NEG.DECL
      'He/she did not see us.'

(107) *ama-ho=n*   *kei*   *i=mu-po-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   1   3→1=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'They did not see me.'

(108) *ama-ho=n*   *kei-ho* *i=mu-po-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   1-PL   3→1=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'They see us.'

4.2.2 *Second person patient*

Like in the affirmative paradigm, when the P is 2PERS and the A is 1PERS, a transitive verb in the negative paradigm agrees with its A for person and number as shown in (109) – (112) below.

(109) *ki=n*   *nang* *ka=mu*   *poi*
      1=ERG   2   1=see   NEG.DECL
      'I do not see you.'

(110) *ki=n* *nang-ho*   *ka=mu*   *poi*
      1=ERG 2-PL   1=see   NEG.DECL
      'I do not see you (pl).'

(111) *kei-ho=n*   *nang* *ka=mu*   *po-uve*
      1-PL=ERG   2   1=see   NEG-PL.DECL
      'We do not see you (sg).'

(112) *kei-ho=n*   *nang-ho*   *ka=mu*   *po-uve*
      1-PL=ERG   2-PL   1=see   NEG-PL.DECL
      'We do not saw you (pl).'

But when the P is 2PERS and the A is 3PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its P for person and and with its A for number.

(113) *ama=n*   *nang* *na=mu-poi*
      3=ERG   2   2=see-NEG.DECL
      'He/she does not see you (sg).'

(114)   *ama=n*   *nang-ho*   *na=mu-poi*
      ama=ERG   2-PL   2=see-NEG.DECL
      'He/she does not see you (pl).'

(115)   *ama-ho=n*   *nang*   *mu-po-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   2   see-PL.-DECL
      'They do not see you (sg).'

(116)   *ama-ho=n*   *nang-ho*   *na=mu-po-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   2-PL   2=see-NEG= PL.DECL
      'They do not see you (pl).'

4.2.3 *Third person patient*

When the P is 3PERS and the A is 1PERS, a transitive agrees with its A for person and number.

(117)   *ki=n*   *ama*   *ka=mu-poi*
      1=ERG   3   1=see-NEG.DECL
      'I do not him/her.'

(118)   *ki=n*   *ama-ho*   *ka=mu-poi*
      1=ERG   3-PL   1=see-NEG.DECL
      'I do not see them.'

(119)   *kei-ho=n*   *ama*   *ka=mu-po-uve*
      1-PL=ERG   3   1=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'We saw him/her.'

(120)   *kei-ho=n*   *ama-ho*   *ka=mu-po-uve*
      1-PL=ERG   3-PL   1=see=NEG-PL.DECL
      'We do not see them.'

When the P is 3PERS and A is 2PERS, a transitive verb such as *mu* 'see' agrees with its A for person and number irrespective of whether the P is singular or plural.

(121)   *nang=in*   *ama*   *na=mu-poi*
      2=ERG   3   2=see-NEG.DECL
      'You do not him/her.'

(122)   *nang=in*   *ama-ho*   *na=mu-poi*
      2=ERG   3-PL   2=see-NEG.DECL
      'You (sg) do not see them.'

(123) *nang-ho=n   ama   na=mu-po-uve*
      2-PL=ERG   3   2=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'You (pl) do not see him/her.'

(124) *nang-ho=n   ama-ho   na=mu-po-uve*
      2-PL=ERG   3-PL   2=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'You (pl) do not see them.'

But when both the A and P are 3PERS, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number.

(125) *ama=n   ama   a=mu-poi*
      3=ERG   3   3=see-NEG.DECL
      'He/she does not see him/her.'

(126) *ama=n   ama-ho   a=mu-poi*
      3=ERG   3-PL   3=see-NEG.DECL
      'He/she does not see them.'

(127) *ama-ho=n   ama   a=mu-po-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   3   3=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'They do not see him/her.'

(128) *ama-ho=n   ama-ho   a=mu-po-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   3-PL   3=see-NEG-PL.DECL
      'They do not see them.'

Table 9 provides the agreement of transitive verbs in the negative paradigm.

O A	1sg	1pl (excl)	2sg	2pl	3sg	3pl
1sg			*ka=po*	*ka=po*	*ka=po*	*ka=po*
1pl excl			*ka=po-u*	*ka=po-u*	*ka=po-.u*	*ka=po-u*
2sg	*nei=po*	*nei=po*			*na=po*	*na=po*
2pl	*nei=po-u*	*nei=po-u*			*na=po-.u*	*na=po-u*
3sg	*i=po*	*i=po*	*na=po*	*na=po*	*a=po*	*a=po*
3pl	*i=po-u*	*i=po-u*	*na=po-u*	*na=po-u*	*a=po-u*	*a=po-u*

Table 9.   Transitive agreement in the negative paradigm

5 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive verbs in Thadou occur with both *hi* and declarative clause ending in *e*. The difference between a ditransitive verb in *hi* clause and *e* clause is that in the case of *hi* clause the verb occurs in stem 2 form, while the in case of the *e* clause, the verb occurs in stem 1 form.

(129) *ki=n   ama   chu   hai   ka=pe-ye*
       1=ERG   3   FOC   mango   1=give:stem1-DECL
       'I gave him a mango.'

(130) *ki=n   ama   chu   hai   ka=peh   a=hi*
       1=ERG   3   FOC   mango   1=give:stem2   3=be
       'I gave him a mango.'

This section provides examples of transitive verbs ending in *hi* construction.

5.1 The hi construction

The *hi* construction in Thadou is bi-clausal[3] in structure. That is, they are composed of a subordinate clause followed by the main clause (an auxiliary/copula *hi*). In some of the ditransitive examples, we can get 2nd person indexation on *hi*. Before we discuss agreement in ditransitive clause, an explanation of what theme and recipient stand for may be required. For the purpose of the present exposition, a theme is the entity that is moved by the action or event denoted by the predicate. A recipient is the living entity that receives the entity that is moved by the action or event denoted by the predicate

5.1.1 First person A, second person T and third R

When the T is 2PERS and the R is 3PERS, a ditransitive verb such as *peh* 'give' agrees with its A for person in the embedded clause and with its T in the main clause and may agree with either the A or T for number. That is, when the A is singular and the T is plural, a ditransitive verb agrees with its T for number (in 132). Similarly, when the A is plural, a ditransitive verb agrees with A for number, with the plural marker *–u* occurring after the main verb as in (133) .

(131) *ki=n   nang   ama   ka=peh   na=hi*
       1=ERG 2SG   3SG   1=give   2=be
       'I give you (sg) to him/her.'

(132) *kin   nang-ho   ama   ka=peh   na=hi-uve*
       1=ERG   2-PL   3SG   1=give   2=be-PL.DECL
       'I give you (pl) to him/her.'

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[3] The reason why *hi* constructions are treated as biclausal is that the agreement proclitics occur on both the auxiliary *hi* and the main verb.

(133) *kei-ho=n   nang   ama   ka=peh-u   na=hi*
      1-PL=ERG   2SG   3SG   1=give-PL   2=be
      'We give you (sg) to him/her.'

When both the A and T are plural, a ditransitive verb such as *peh* 'give' agrees in number with the A in (134) and with both its A and T in (135). The number (singular or plural) of the R is of no consequence for agreement and that there is neither person agreement nor number agreement with R (see 136) below.

(134) *kei-ho=n   nang-ho   ama   ka=peh-u   na=hi*
      1-PL=ERG   2-PL   3SG   1=give-PL   2=be
      'We give you (pl) to him/her.'

(135) *kei-ho=n   nang-ho   ama   ka=peh -u   na=hi   u-ve*
      1-PL=ERG   2-PL   3SG   1=give-pl   2=be   PL-DECL
      'We give you (pl) to him/her.'

(136) *ki=n   nang   ama-ho   ka=peh   na=hi*
      1=erg   2   3=pl   1=give   2=be
      'I give them to you (sg).'

5.1.2 First person A, third person T and second person R

When the T is 3PERS and the R is 2PERS, a ditransitive verb agrees with its A in the embedded clause and with its R is the main clause. In such instances, a ditransitive verb may agree in number with its R in (138) or with its A in (139). The number (singular or plural of the T is of no consequence for number agreement and that there is no person agreement with T either (as the text leads one to assume). Example (138) shows that there is neither a plural agreement marker nor a 3rd person agreement marker on the main verb.

(137) *ki=n   ama   nang   ka=peh   na=hi*
      1=ERG   3SG   2SG   1=give   2=be
      'I give him/her to you.'

(138) *ki=n   ama   nang-ho   ka=peh   na=hi   u-ve*
      1=ERG   3SG   2-PL   1=give   2=be   PL-DECL
      'I give him/her to you (pl).'

(139) *kei-ho=n   ama   nang   ka=peh-u   na=hi*
      1-PL=ERG   3SG   2SG   1=give-PL   2=be
      'We give him to you (sg)'

(140) *ki=n   ama-ho   nang   ka=peh   na=hi*
      1=ERG   3-PL   2SG   1=give   2=be
      'I give them to you (sg).'

5.1.3 Second person A, first person T, and third person R

When the T is 1PERS and the R is 3PERS, a ditransitive verb agrees with both its second person A and first person T for person and with only its A for number. Note that with ditransitive verbs, the 2>1 agreement prefix *nei=* cross-references a 2ⁿᵈ person agent and its 1ˢᵗ person co-argument, and that the latter could be either a patient/theme or a recipient. Likewise, plural agreement on the verb occurs with either a plural 2ⁿᵈ agent, but not with a 3ʳᵈ person theme or recipient. The copular does not partake in agreement and the 3ʳᵈ person proclitic on the copular is an expletive ("dummy") here. The absence of agreement with a 3ʳᵈ person theme or recipient is shown in (145-146) below. In such cases, there is no optional movement for the plural marker.

(141) *nang=in*   *kei*   *ama*   *nei*   *peh*   *a=hi*
      2SG=ERG   1SG   3SG   2→1   give   3=be
      'You (sg) give me to him/her.'

(142) *nang=in*   *kei-ho* *ama*   *nei*   *peh*   *a=hi*
      2=ERG   1-PL   3SG   2→1   give   3=be
      'You (sg) give us to him/her.'

(143) *nang-ho=n*   *kei*   *ama*   *nei*   *peh-u*   *a=hi*
      2-PL=ERG   1SG   3SG   2→1   give-PL   3=be
      'You (pl) give me to him/her.'

(144) **nang=in*   *kei-ho* *ama*   *nei*   *peh*   *a=hi*   *u-ve*
      2=ERG   1-PL   3SG   2→1   give   3=be   PL-DECL
      'You (sg) give us to him/her.'

(145) *nang=in*   *kei*   *ama-ho*   *nei=peh*   *a=hi*
      2=ERG   1   3-PL   2→1=give   3=be
      'You (sg) give me to them.'

(146) *nang=in*   *ama-ho*   *kei*   *nei=peh*   *a=hi*
      2=ERG   3-PL   1   2→1=give   3=be
      'You (sg) give them to me.'

When the T is 3PERS and the R is 1PERS, a ditransitive verb agrees with both its A and R for person and with only its A for number. But the plurality of T in (148), is of no consequence for agreement.

(147) *nang=in*   *ama*   *kei*   *nei*   *peh*   *a=hi*
      2=ERG   3SG   1SG   2→1   give   3=be
      'You (sg) give him/her to me.'

(148)   *nang=in*   *ama-ho*   *kei*   *nei*   *peh*   *a=hi*
      2=ERG   3-PL   1SG   2→1   give   3=be
      'You (sg) give them to me.'

(149)   *nang=in*   *ama*   *kei=ho*   *nei*   *peh*   *a=hi*
      2=ERG   3SG   1=PL   2→1   give   3=be
      'You (sg) give him/her to us.'

(150)   *nang-ho=n*   *ama*   *kei*   *nei*   *peh-u*   *a=hi*
      2-PL=ERG   3SG   1SG   2→1   give-PL   3=be
      'You (pl) give him/her to me.'

5.1.4 *Third person A, first person T and second person R*

When the T is 1PERS and the R is 2PERS, a ditransitive verb such as *peh* 'give' agrees with both the T and R for person and number with only its A. The 3→1 agreement prefix *i=* cross-references a 3rd person agent and its 1st person co-argument, The copular does not partake in agreement and the 3rd person proclitic on the copular is an expletive ("dummy") here. Note here that the number (singular or plural) of the T is of no consequence for agreement as shown in (154) below.

(151)   *ama=n*   *(kei)*   *nang*   *i=peh*   *a=hi*
      3=ERG   (1SG)   2SG   3→1=give   3=be
      'He/she gives me to you.'

(152)   *ama=n*   *(kei)*   *nang-ho*   *i=peh*   *a=hi*
      3=ERG   1SG   2-PL   3→1=give   3=be
      'He/she gives me to you (pl).'

(153)   *ama=n*   *(kei-ho)*   *nang-ho*   *i=peh*   *a=hi*
      3=ERG   1SG-PL   2-PL   3→1=give   3=be
      'He/she gives me to you (pl).'

(154)   *ama-ho=n*   *(kei/kei-ho)*   *nang*   *i=peh-u*   *a=hi*
      3-PL=ERG   1SG/1-PL   2SG   3→1=give-PL   3=be
      'They give me to you (pl).'

5.1.5 *Third person A, second person T and first person R*

Just as with the first T and the second person R, a transitive verb such as *peh* 'give' in Thadou agrees with both its A and R for person and only with the A for number. The copular does not partake in agreement and the 3rd person proclitic on the copular is an expletive ("dummy") here. Note here that the number (singular or plural) of the T is of no consequence for agreement as shown in (158-159) below.

(155) *ama=n*   *nang*   *kei*   *i=peh*   *a=hi*
       3=ERG   2SG   1SG   3→1=give   3=be
       'He/she gives you to me.'

(156) *ama=n*   *nang*   *kei-ho* *i=peh*   *a=hi*
       3=ERG   2SG   1-PL   3→1=give   3=be
       'He/she gives you to us.'

(157) *ama=n*   *nang-ho*   *kei-ho* *i=peh*   *a=hi*
       3=ERG   2SG-PL   1-PL   3→1=give   3=be
       'He/she gives you to us.'

(158) *ama-ho=n*   *nang*   *kei*   *i=peh-u*   *a=hi*
       3-PL=ERG   2SG   1SG   3→1=give-PL   3=be
       'They give you to me.'

(159) *ama=n*   *nang-ho*   *kei-ho* *i=peh-u*   *a=hi*
       3=ERG   2SG-PL   1-PL   3→1=give-PL   3=be
       'She/he gives you to us.'

5.1.6 *Third person T and R*

When A, T and R is third person, a ditransitive verb such as *peh* 'give' agrees with its A for person and number (in the embedded clause). Thus, the number (singular or plural) of the T and R are of no consequence for number agreement. The copular does not partake in agreement and the 3rd person proclitic on the copular is an expletive ("dummy") here.

(160) *ama=in*   *ama*   *ama*   *a=peh* *a=hi*
       3SG=ERG   3SG   3SG   3=give 3=be
       'He/she gives him_i to him_j.'

(161) *ama=in*   *ama*   *ama-ho*   *a=peh* *a=hi*
       3SG=ERG   3SG   3-PL   3=give 3=be
       'He/she gives him to them.'

(162) *ama=in*   *ama-ho*   *ama*   *a=peh* *a=hi*
       3SG=ERG   3SG-PL   3   3=give 3=be
       'He/she gives him to them.'

(163) *ama-ho=n*   *ama*   *ama*   *a=peh-u*   *a=hi*
       3-PL=ERG   3SG   3SG   3=give-PL   3=be
       'They give him_i to him_j.'

(164) **ama-ho=n   ama   ama   a=peh   a=hi-uve*
      3-PL=ERG   3SG   3SG   3=give   3=be-pl.decl
      'They give him$_i$ to him$_j$.'

When the T and R is third person and the A is first person, a ditransitive verb agrees with the A for person and number in the embedded clause. The copular does not partake in agreement and the 3rd person proclitic on the copular is an expletive ("dummy") here.

(165) *ki=n   ama   ama   ka=peh   a=hi*
      1=ERG 3SG   3SG   1=give   3=be
      'I give him to him.'

(166) *ki=n   ama   ama-ho   ka=peh   a=hi*
      1=ERG   3SG   3-PL   1=give   3=be
      'I give him to him.'

(167) *ki=n   ama   ama-ho   ka=peh   a=hi*
      1=ERG   3SG   3-PL   1=give   3=be
      'I give him to them.'

(168) *kei-ho=n   ama   ama   ka=peh-u   a=hi*
      1-PL=ERG   3SG   3SG   1=give-PL   3=be
      'We give him to him.'

When the A is 2PERS and the T and the R are 3PERS, a ditransitive verb such as *give* agrees with its A for person and number. The number (singular or plural) of the T and the R are of no consequence for agreement.

(169) *nang=in   ama   ama   na=peh   a=hi*
      2=ERG   3SG   3SG   2=give   3=be
      'You (sg) give him to him.'

(170) *nang=in   ama   ama-ho   na=peh   a=hi*
      2=ERG   3SG   3-PL   2=give   3=be
      'You (sg) give him to them'

(171) *nang-ho=in   ama   ama   na=peh-u   a-hi*
      2-PL=ERG   3SG   3SG   2=give-PL   3=be
      'You (pl) give him to him.'

6 Conclusion

This paper has discussed the agreement system of Thadou in intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. The paper discusses intransitive clauses involving affirmative and negative paradigms. Affirmative paradigm is further divided into three clauses: declarative, copular and

periphrastic. A declarative clause usually ends in *e* whereas a copular clause end with *hi* to which the agreement proclitics are attached. A periphrastic clause, on the other hand, consists of a copular verb which end in *a=hi* and a complement clause containing a lexical verb and the future marker *ding*. In a periphrastic clause, the main verb takes the respective proclitic marker, whereas the copular verb takes a 3rd person dummy proclitic. Negative paradigm is divided into simple declarative, directive declarative, emphatic declarative, and *a=hi* clause. In simple declarative clause, 1st person agreement clitic *ng* (ŋ) occurs post-verbally in all forms (singular, dual, and plural). In directive declarative clause, 1st person agreement clitic *ng* occurs post-verbally only in singular and dual form. In emphatic declarative clause, the regular proclitic occurs and not the post-verbal form. Like the affirmative paradigm, the *a=hi* clause in the negative paradigm consists of a complement clause and the main clause. The main verb takes the proclitic markers and the 3rd person marker which occurs in the copular is just a dummy subject.

Section 4 discusses the agreement system of Thadou in transitive clause; affirmative and negative paradigms. In the affirmative paradigm, a transitive verb may agree with both its A and P for person and with only its A when the P is 1st person and the A either 2nd or 3rd person. When the P is 2nd person and the A 1st person, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number. On the contrary, when the P is 2nd person and the A is 3rd person, a transitive verb agrees with its P for person and with its A for number. But, when the P is 3rd person, and the A either 1st or 2nd person, a transitive verb agrees with its A for person and number. Similarly, when the P and A are 3rd person, a transitive agrees with its A for person and number. Just as in the affirmative above, in the negative paradigm too, when the P is 1st person and its A either 2nd or 3rd person, a transitive verb agrees with both its A and P for person and with only its A for number. Again, just as in the affirmative, when the P is 2nd person and the A 1st person, a transitive verb in the negative paradigm agrees with its A for person and number. But when the P is 2nd person, and the A 3rd person, a transitive verb in the negative paradigm agrees with its P for person and with only its A for number. When the P is 3rd person and the A either 1st or 2nd person, a transitive verb in the negative paradigm agrees with its A for person and number. Similarly, when both the A and P are 3rd person, a transitive verb in the negative paradigm agrees with its A for person and number.

Ditransitive verbs in Thadou occur with both *hi* and declarative clause ending in *e*. The difference between a ditransitive verb in *hi* clause and *e* clause is that in the case of *hi* clause the verb occurs in stem 2 form, while the in case of the *e* clause, the verb occurs in stem 1 form. The *hi* constructions in Thadou are bi-clausal in structure. That is, they are composed of a subordinate clause followed by the main clause. The following agreement system is observed in *hi* construction in ditransitive clause.

First, when the T is 2nd person and the R is 3rd person, a ditransitive verb agrees with its A for person in the embedded clause and with its T in the main clause and may agree with either the A or T for number.

Second, when the T is 3rd person and the R is 2nd person, a ditransitive verb agrees with its A in the embedded clause and with its R is the main clause. In such instances, a ditransitive verb may agree in number with its R or with its A.

Third, when the T is 1st person and the R is 3rd person, a ditransitive verb agrees with both its 2nd person A and 1st person T for person and with only its A for number. Similarly, when the T is 3rd person and the R is 1st person, a ditransitive verb agrees with both its A and R for person and with only its A for number. Note that the copular in *hi* construction does not partake in agreement and the 3rd person proclitic on the copular is an expletive.

Fourth, when the T is 1st person and the R is 2nd person, a ditransitive verb agrees with both the T and R for person and number with only its A. Just as with the 1st person T and the 2nd person R, a transitive verb agrees with both its A and R for person and only with the A for number.

Fifth, when A, T and R is 3rd person, a ditransitive verb agrees with its A for person and number in the embedded and main clause. On the other hand, when the T and R is 3rd person and the A is 1st person, a ditransitive verb agrees with the A for person and number in the embedded clause. Finally, when the A is 2nd person and the T and the R are 3 person, a ditransitive verb agrees with its A for person and number.

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