

## Passives and Clefts in Lai<sup>1</sup>

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Consider the following Lai sentences.

- (1) Biak Thawng nih Par Zing a hnamh.  
BT kissed PZ.
- (2) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamh a si.  
PZ was kissed by BT.
- (3) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih a hnamhmi a si.  
PZ was (the one) who BT kissed.

All three sentences may refer to the same event: an interaction between the two Lai individuals Biak Thawng (a young man) and Par Zing (a young woman). Example (1) is a simple transitive active sentence, as indicated by the English gloss. Example (2) we take to be a passive sentence, and example (3) a cleft sentence, again as indicated by the English glosses.<sup>2</sup>

The Lai sentences (2) and (3) are superficially rather similar, more so than their corresponding glosses are in English. They differ only in whether the third person singular subject agreement marker a and the subordinating marker -mi appear with the verb hnamh 'kiss'.<sup>3</sup> If they appear as in (3), hnamh is understood actively and belongs to a relative clause functioning as the predicate nominal of the copula si 'be'; if they do not as in (2), hnamh is understood passively and functions as a complement to the passive auxiliary si 'be'. As in English, the same verb functions both as copula and passive auxiliary.

However, the apparent similarity between (2) and (3) is deceptive; it is not difficult to see that they must have quite different syntactic structures. As in English, it is possible to supply an overt head noun for the relative clause in the cleft sentence; no such noun may appear in the passive, which contains no relative clause. (4) is a grammatical Lai sentence, but (5) is not.

- (4) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih a hnamhmi ngaknu a si.  
PZ was the girl who BT kissed.
- (5) \*Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamh ngaknu a si.

As in English, the cleft sentence may be inverted exchanging the subject and predicate nominal; this is impossible in a passive, which contains no predicate nominal. (6) is a grammatical Lai sentence, but not (7).

- (6) Biak Thawng nih a hnamhmi cu Par Zing a si.  
The one who BT kissed was PZ.  
It was PZ who BT kissed.
- (7) \*Biak Thawng nih hnamh cu Par Zing a si.

Again as in English, a cleft sentence may be constructed focussing the subject rather than the object of a transitive verb, but no passive analog is possible. (8) and (9) are grammatical Lai sentences, but not (10) or (11). Notice that in this case the subordinating marker is -tu rather than -mi.

- (8) Biak Thawng cu Par Zing a hnamtu a si.  
BT was (the one) who kissed PZ.
- (9) Par Zing a hnamtu cu Biak Thawng a si.  
The one who kissed PZ was BT.  
It was BT who kissed PZ.
- (10) \*Biak Thawng cu Par Zing hnam a si.
- (11) \*Par Zing hnam cu Biak Thawng a si.

The Lai verb meaning 'kiss' may be used intransitively as a reciprocal verb, as in (12).

- (12) Biak Thawng le Par Zing (pakhat le pakhat) an i hnam.  
BT and PZ kissed (each other).

The subject of an intransitive verb may be focussed in a cleft sentence, but no analogous passives are possible. (13) and (14) are grammatical Lai sentences, but not (15) or (16). Here, even though a subject is focussed, the subordinating marker is not -tu but -mi.<sup>4</sup>

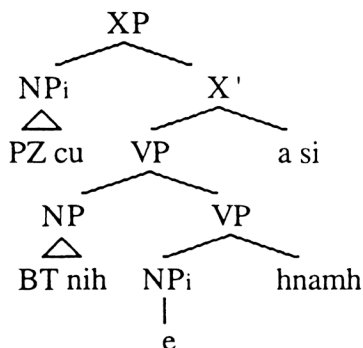
- (13) Biak Thawng le Par Zing cu aa hnammi an si.  
BT and PZ were (the ones) who kissed.
- (14) Aa hnammi cu Biak Thawng le Par Zing an si.  
The ones who kissed were BT and PZ.  
It was BT and PZ who kissed.
- (15) \*Biak Thawng le Par Zing cu hnam an si.
- (16) \*Hnam cu Biak Thawng le Par Zing an si.

In a cleft sentence, the two verbs may be negated independently, with the same difference in meaning as in English; in a passive sentence negation may appear only with the finite verb si. (18) is a grammatical Lai sentence, but (20) is not.

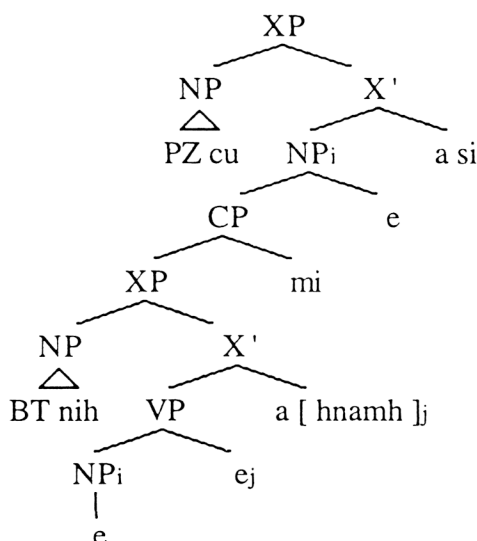
- (17) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih a hnamhmi cu a si lo.  
PZ was not (the one) who BT kissed.
- (18) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih a hnamh lomi a si.  
PZ was (the one) who BT didn't kiss.
- (19) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamh a si lo.  
PZ was not kissed by BT.
- (20) \*Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamh lo a si.

We propose syntactic structures like (ii) and (iii) for sentences (2) and (3), in order to account for the contrasts observed in examples (4) through (20).

(ii)



(iii)



In (iii), the index *i* represents the coreference between the phrase Biak Thawng nih a hnamh*mi* and the (empty) object of hnamh; this is a typical relative clause construction, with an empty head noun position. The structure of (4) is identical except that this position is filled by the noun ngaknu. The phrase Par Zing cu is the subject of the entire sentence, while the phrase Biak Thawng nih is the subject of the relative clause. In (ii), on the other hand, the phrase Biak Thawng nih hnamh is not a referring phrase (NP) at all, and has no head noun position. Par Zing cu is the subject of this sentence also, but Biak Thawng nih is not a syntactic subject, though semantically it has the same relation to hnamh in both (2) and (3). In (iii) *-mi* is analyzed as a complementizer syntactically parallel to English that, which can appear in place of the relative pronoun who in the English glosses for the Lai examples.

(3') Par Zing was the one that Biak Thawng kissed.

There is no doubt a historical relation between this *-mi* and the noun mi 'person, human being' but sentences like (4) show that the two are distinct; the complementizer *-mi* is used whether or not the reference of the phrase it heads is human.

In sentences like (3) and (4), si is the Lai copula, just as

in simple sentences like (21).

- (21) Par Zing cu ngaknu a si.  
PZ is a girl.

Though si is in some sense a verb, sharing the syntactic position of verbs, it is not shown in (iii) as the head of any VP. The predicate in (3) or (21) is the NP complement to the head X (subject agreement) of the main clause. The head noun of a predicate NP cannot appear in the X position, and si is there to meet a morphological requirement that it contain a verbal element. It would be desirable to account for si in passives like (2) in the same way. But it is not immediately clear why in (ii) the verb hnamh should be barred from appearing in the main clause X position, as it does in (1). To permit that would eliminate the active/passive distinction, or at least render that distinction extremely opaque. It is primarily the presence of si which marks sentences like (2) as passive; the non-finite status of the main verb in Lai passives, which is necessary to account for the presence of si, must be independently derived.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to subject agreement, marked for third person singular by a and third person plural by an in examples (1) through (20), Lai also has overt object agreement for non-third person objects. First consider sentences (22) to (24) in contrast with (1) to (3). The difference is that the (semantic) subject of hnamh is first rather than third person.

- (22) Par Zing ka hnamh.  
I kissed PZ.
- (23) Par Zing cu (keimah nih) hnamh a si.  
PZ was kissed (by me).
- (24) Par Zing cu (keimah nih) ka hnamhmi a si.  
PZ was (the one) who I kissed.

It is clear in (24) that keimah nih is the subject of the relative clause and not of the entire sentence. Due to the first person subject agreement marker ka, specification of the subject by a pronoun (keimah) is quite redundant and none will appear unless contrasted. This is also the situation with respect to the subject in (22). In (23) however, omitting keimah nih will have the same effect as omitting the agent phrase by me in the English

gloss: the identity of the agent (i. e. the 'semantic subject' of the verb hnamh or kiss) will become unspecified.

Next consider sentences (25) to (27) in contrast with (1) to (3). Here the difference is that the object of hnamh is first rather than third person.

(25) Biak Thawng nih a ka hnamh.  
BT kissed me.

(26) (Keimah cu) Biak Thawng nih hnamh ka si.  
I was kissed by BT.

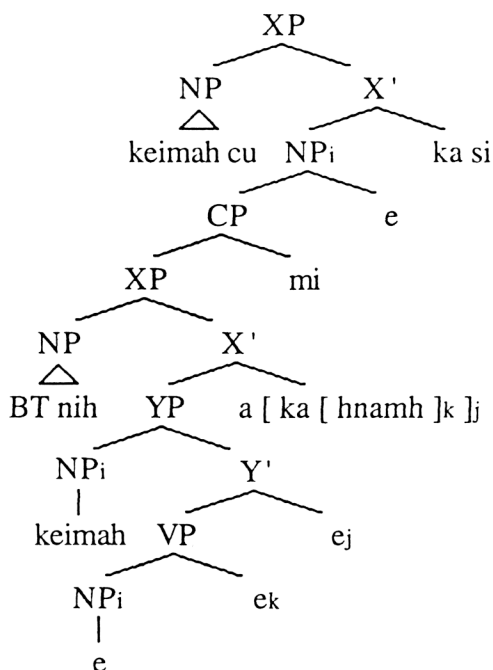
(27) (Keimah cu) Biak Thawng nih a (ka) hnamhmi ka si.  
I was (the one) who BT kissed.

It is clear in both (26) and (27) that keimah cu is the subject of the entire sentence; due to the subject agreement marker ka, specification of these subjects with a pronoun is redundant, and none will appear unless contrasted. This is also the situation with respect to the object in (25).

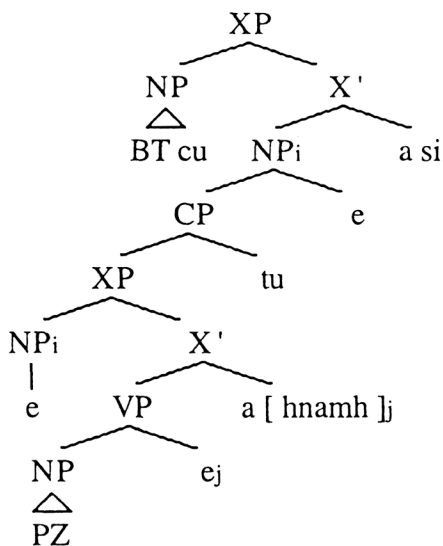
A point of interest here is that the first person object agreement marker ka, though required in (24) whether or not a pronoun appears, becomes optional in (27). As argued in Bedell (1996), object agreement can be provided for by an additional projection from the category Y (object agreement) parallel to the projection of X in (iii). If the object agreement marker is present, the structure will be as in (xxvii). It can then be suggested why object agreement is optional in (27): the empty object of hnamh can be identified by agreement (the subject agreement marker ka in the main clause) regardless of whether the Y projection appears in (xxvii). The coreference of the empty object with the predicate nominal, as noted earlier, is a characteristic of the relative structure; the further coreference with the main subject keimah cu is asserted (rather than presupposed) as the force of the copula sentence (NP predicate) construction. Comparing (27) with (8), which will have a structure like (viii), reveals an asymmetry between subject and object agreement in Lai: the former is obligatory (a cannot be omitted in (8) despite its identifiability via the a of the main clause), but the latter optional, in the relative clause of a cleft sentence. The comparison between (xxvii) and (viii) also suggests an explanation for this asymmetry: that the complement of C must be a sentence (XP), while the

complement of X need not be a YP (or there could not be intransitive verbs).

(xxvii)



(viii)



Finally, consider sentences (28) to (30) in contrast with (1) to (3). Here both subject and object of hnamh are non-third person, and in the absence of contrast, each of the sentences will consist solely of a verb complex.

(28) (Keimah nih) kan hnamh.  
I kissed you.

(29) (Nangmah cu) (keimah nih) hnamh na si.  
You were kissed (by me).

(30) (Nangmah cu) (keimah nih) ka(n) hnamhmi na si.  
You were (the one) who I kissed.

In (30), as in (27), the object agreement marker, here the suffixed -n of kan, is optional.

Let us return briefly to Lai passive sentences like (2), (19), (23), (26) and (29). According to one influential view, the subject of a passive sentence is the object of the corresponding active sentence, which is obliged to appear where it does because it cannot be appropriately case marked in object position. We have already argued with respect to these examples that the first NP, marked with cu, is the subject of the sentence. This must be so to account for the subject agreement marking that accompanies si, the only finite verb in these sentences. But we also need to consider the particles nih and cu, which accompany NPs in these examples. A natural assumption is that these function as case markers. Certainly they distinguish the semantic roles of the NPs they occur with. But there are a number of problems for this view. Nih marks the subject of a transitive verb, and cu marks the subject of an intransitive verb; but nih also marks the 'agent' in a passive sentence, which we argued is not a subject. Cu may, but nih may not, mark the object of a transitive sentence. Compare (31) and (1).

(31) Biak Thawng nih Par Zing cu a hnamh.  
BT kissed PZ.

The two NPs in (31) may be inverted without effect on meaning; but to interchange nih and cu will interchange subject and object.



- (32) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih a hnamh.  
BT kissed PZ.

If nih and cu are case markers, then there is no difference in case marking between corresponding active and passive sentences in Lai. Furthermore, as we observe in comparing sentences like (31) and (32) with (1), cu is not obligatory as a case marker of the object. There are also cases where nih is not obligatory. In active or passive main clauses, nih is required to appear with the subject or agent; (33) and (34) are not grammatical Lai sentences. But in the relative clause of cleft sentences, regardless of whether it belongs to the subject or predicate nominal, nih may be omitted without change of meaning; (35) and (36) are grammatical Lai sentences.<sup>6</sup>

- (33) \*Biak Thawng Par Zing a hnamh.  
(34) \*Par Zing cu Biak Thawng a hnamh a si.  
(35) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng a hnamhmi a si.  
(36) Biak Thawng a hnamhmi cu Par Zing a si.

Cu is rather clearly not a case marker, but a kind of discourse demonstrative of the same status as other Lai demonstratives (kha, hi and khi) all of which may serve a topicalizing function. Nih is more difficult to classify, but it appears to mark not case (a syntactic notion) but rather agency (a semantic one). To conclude from the usage of nih and cu, or from the usage of the complementizers -tu and -mi, that Lai is an ergative language is dubious at best.

In comparing sentences (2) and (3), we saw the association between subject agreement and subordination marking and the cleft construction. Agreement marking may not be omitted in a simple transitive sentence; (37) is ungrammatical.

- (37) \*Biak Thawng nih Par Zing (cu) hnamh.

But it is possible to omit the complementizers -tu and -mi in cleft sentences; (38) and (39) are possible variants of (3) and (8).<sup>7</sup>

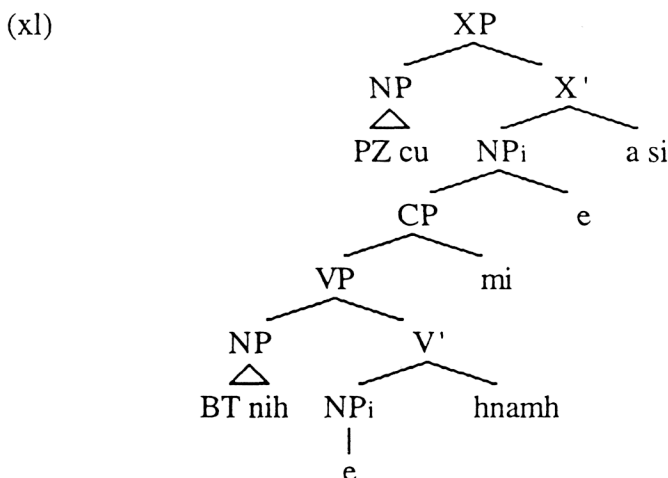
- (38) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih a hnamh a si.

(39) Biak Thawng cu Par Zing a hnamh a si.

It is also possible to omit the subject agreement marker from (3), as in (40).<sup>8</sup>

(40) Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamhmi a si.  
PZ was (the one) who was kissed by BT.

But this omission is not simply a stylistic variant; (40) is a kind of passive. As indicated by the English gloss, we take this sentence to be a cleft with a passive relative clause, and to have the structure in (x1).



Given (2) and (3), we might expect that the meaning of (40) could be expressed by the ungrammatical (41).

(41) \*Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamh a simi a si.

That si is not only unnecessary but in fact impossible in the subordinate passive clause in (41) is a further consequence of its non-lexical status.<sup>9</sup>

Examples (42) through (48) are a selection of passives to be found in the 1978 Lai translation of the Bible. They raise two issues of interest with regard to the Lai passive construction.

- (42) an dihlak in an thih dih caah a trap lengmang ko i ngamh khawh a si lo (Mt. 2: 18)  
because they all died she kept crying and could not be comforted
- (43) zeicahtiah vancung khua ah laksawng tampi chiahpiak nan si ko (Mt. 5: 12)  
because a great reward is set aside for you in heaven
- (44) cite kha a alnak cu a loh ahcun, zeitindah alter khawh a si thran ti lai? (Mt. 5: 13)  
if salt loses its saltiness, how can it be made salty once more?
- (45) cuka nan phak hnuhnu ah cun biaceihntu sinah khan hluai nan si lai (Mt. 5: 25)  
after you arrive there you will be led to the judge
- (46) inn ah va trin law na zumhmi cu tuahpiak na si lai (Mt. 8: 13)  
return to your house and may what you believe be done for you
- (47) na sualnak cu ngaihthiam na si cang (Mt. 9: 2)  
you have been forgiven your sins
- (48) vancung le vawlei cung i a ummi nawlIngeihnak vialte cu pek ka si cang (Mt. 28: 18)  
I have been given all power which is in heaven and on earth

Consider first the underlined verb complex in (42), which is a passive corresponding to the active (49).

- (49) a ngamh khawh lo  
he could not comfort her

Here the verb ngamh 'comfort' is accompanied by the potential particle khawh and the negative particle lo; in (42), the latter goes with the passive auxiliary si, but the former stays with ngamh. As already noted in (20), lo cannot remain with the passive verb; (50) is ungrammatical. This is perhaps expected, since negation often accompanies the finite verb. But khawh

cannot appear with the auxiliary; (51) is also ungrammatical. This is not expected; in English a modal like could occurs only as a finite verb. Khawh looks like a verb, but does not behave like one in this instance.<sup>10</sup>

(50) \*ngamh khawh lo a si

(51) \*ngamh a si kho lo

(52) \*ngamh lo a si kho

In a cleft construction khawh may occur in either clause, with a difference in meaning depending on where it is located.

(53) a ngamhmi a si kho  
could be (the one) who he comforted

(54) a ngamh khawhmi a si  
was (the one) who he could comfort

A similar case is (44), a passive corresponding to the active (55).

(55) zeitindah a alter khawh thran ti lai?  
how can he make it salty once more?

Here, while ti 'yet' and the future lai must appear with si, thran 'once more' may appear either with si as in (44), or with the passive verb as in (56), apparently without effect on the meaning.

(56) zeitindah alter khawh thran a si ti lai?

It is not clear what syntactic or semantic property might be responsible for the distribution of khawh and thran.

Also of interest is the treatment of ditransitive verbs, seen in (43), (46), (47) and (48). The active corresponding to passive (47) is (57).

(57) na sualnak cu a(n) ngaihthiam cang  
he has forgiven (you) your sins

English allows two passives of the verb forgive, as in (58), but

Lai does not appear to allow a passive on the direct object in the presence of an indirect object.

- (58) you have been forgiven your sins  
your sins have been forgiven you

- (59) \*na sualnak cu in ngaihthiam an si  
\*na sualnak cu ngaihthiam an in si

A similar case is (48) corresponding to the active (60).

- (60) nawlŋgeihnak vialte cu (ka sinah) a ka pek cang  
he has given me all power  
he has given all power to me

English give allows so-called dative movement, but only one object may be passivized freely. Lai allows the indirect object to appear with the postposition sinah 'to' as in (60); if this is present, the direct object may be passivized as in (62). But no agreement with the indirect object is then allowed.

- (61) ?all power has been given me  
all power has been given to me  
I have been given all power  
\*I have been given all power to

- (62) nawlŋgeihnak vialte cu ka sinah pek a si cang  
\*nawlŋgeihnak vialte cu ka pek a si cang  
\*nawlŋgeihnak vialte cu pek a ka si cang

Finally, (43) and (46) are passives corresponding to the actives (63) and (64).

- (63) na zumhmi cu (na caah) an tuahpiak lai  
may he do what you believe for you  
\*may he do you what you believe

- (64) laksawng tampi (nan caah) an chiahpiak ko hna  
he set aside a great reward for you  
?he set you aside a great reward

English do does not tolerate dative movement, and set aside does so only marginally. In Lai, benefactive verbs with -piak allow the indirect object to appear with the postposition caah 'for' in

(63) and (64). If the indirect object is independently present, the direct object may be passivized, as in (67) and (68), but no agreement with it is possible.<sup>11</sup>

- (65) \*may you be done what you believe  
may what you believe be done for you
- (66) ?you are set aside a great reward  
a great reward is set aside for you
- (67) na zumhmi cu na caah tuahipiak a si lai  
\*na zumhmi cu in tuahipiak a si lai  
\*na zumhmi cu tuahipiak an si lai
- (68) laksawng tampi nan caah chiahpiak a si ko  
\*laksawng tampi in chiahpiak hna a si ko  
\*laksawng tampi chiahpiak an si ko hna

As a result of these various strictures, Lai (43) and (46) cannot be literally translated into English; (47) and (48) can be, but nevertheless differ from what English versions say.<sup>12</sup>

According to Hay-Neave (1948), Lai has no passives.<sup>13</sup> This is corroborated even more recently by F. K. Lehman (personal communication) who reports being unable to elicit them during his field work in Chin State in the 1960s. He suggests that passives are a recent innovation in Lai syntax under the influence of languages with passives, in particular via translation of the Bible, and modelled on the cleft construction. The passives in the the 1978 Lai Bible do not correspond one to one with passives in any other version of the Bible known to me, and cannot be attributed to overliteral translation. Passive sentences are less frequent than in some other language versions, and there are many strategies (including clefts) which are available to the translator. If Lehman is right, it seems to me that the theoretical interest of the Lai passive construction is enhanced rather than diminished thereby. What has been 'borrowed' is no superficial resemblance, but a fully developed linguistic structure with its own complex properties, as has been demonstrated in the foregoing. If this is an instance of recent or ongoing syntactic change, it has much to tell us about how languages may be organized syntactically.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Lai is spoken in and around the town of Hakha, present administrative capital of Chin State, Myanmar. It is often called (Hakha) Chin in linguistic literature. I am grateful to Rev. Samuel Ngun Ling for teaching me what I know about Lai, to various members of CACC in Hakha and Yangon, to F. K. Lehman, and to those who attended its presentation at the sixth meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, Eugene, Oregon, 10–12 May 1996, for numerous helpful comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘cleft’ is applied in a narrow sense to English sentences beginning with expletive *it* and a postposed relative clause, as in the second gloss given for example (6). By contrast, sentences with the relative clause in subject position, as in the first gloss given for example (6), are often called ‘pseudo-cleft’ by those who see a relation between them. There seems to be no special term for those in which the relative clause is in predicate position, as in the gloss given for example (3). In the narrow sense, Lai has to cleft sentences, which is normal for an SOV language. The term ‘cleft’ is used in this paper in a broad sense to include all three sentence types.

<sup>3</sup> The motivations for regarding *a* as a subject agreement marker are discussed in Bedell (1995).

<sup>4</sup> It is characteristic of Lai relative clauses that the number of the relativized NP is not marked by agreement within the clause. The marker *aa* is third person (singular) reflexive corresponding to third person plural *an i*.

<sup>5</sup> In English, the main verb appears as a past participle whose adjectival nature requires the presence of a copula. This particular mechanism cannot be extended to Lai, since it lacks the category A (adjective) in this sense: intransitive predicates referring to qualities or states are normally verbs with the same finite status as active verbs.

<sup>6</sup> Examples like (35) and (36) have a conversational flavor and may be judged inappropriate in formal Lai.

<sup>7</sup> Examples like (38) and (39) have a conversational flavor and may be judged inappropriate in formal Lai. The complementizer cannot be omitted if there is an overt head noun as in (4).

<sup>8</sup> An overt head noun may appear in sentences like (40):

(40') Par Zing cu Biak Thawng nih hnamhmi ngaknu a si.  
PZ was the girl (who was) kissed by BT.

<sup>9</sup> It is tempting to relate this phenomenon to so-called ‘whiz deletion’ in English; see the gloss given for example (40') above. But this is optional in English.

<sup>10</sup> This particle shows morphological variation characteristic of a verb: khawh versus kho. The latter form must appear when it belongs to a verb complex with si.

<sup>11</sup> In Spanish, clitic pronouns may appear in passives. Of the examples discussed here, the following are Spanish equivalents.

- (46') como creíste, te sea hecho (Mt. 8: 13)
- (47') tus pecados te son perdonados (Mt. 9: 2)
- (48') toda potestad me es dada en el cielo y en la tierra (Mt. 28: 18)

These are not canonical cases of clitic climbing, since in the usual analysis ser is an auxiliary rather than a main verb with a clause complement. Nevertheless, the contrast with Lai is of interest from the perspective developed in Bedell (1996). It no doubt follows from the difference between clitic pronouns and agreement.

<sup>12</sup> The Revised Standard Version says:

- (46") be it done for you as you have believed
- (47") your sins are forgiven
- (48") all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me

Compare these with the Spanish wording above. Interestingly, (43) is not a passive in either language.

- (43') vuestro galardón es grande en los cielos
- (43") your reward is great in heaven

<sup>13</sup> Hay-Neave says: “There is no passive voice. When a passive construction occurs in English this is altered in Lai-Chin to the active voice in such a way as to give the same meaning. Thus ... ‘He is loved by the girl’ becomes ‘The girl loves him’.” (Verbs, 1., page 13). Hay-Neave’s book was scheduled to be published by the colonial government in Rangoon in 1948. A set of corrected proofs may be found in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. I am grateful to F. K. Lehman for this reference.



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