THE GRAMMAR OF SIMPLE CLAUSES IN MIZO

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1. INTRODUCTION

Mizo, formerly known as Lushai, is the language of the Indian State of Mizoram in North-East India. It is also spoken in adjacent states such as Manipur and Tripura, and by smaller numbers in Burma and Bangladesh. It is a Tibeto-Burman language, in the Central subgroup of the Kukish or Kuki-Chin branch.

While the phonology of Lushai has been extensively studied, the morphology and syntax are less well described. Studies by Henderson (1948), Burling (1957), Bright (1957), Weidert (1975) and Chhangte (1985, 1986) have dealt with some aspects of phonology, but more work, especially on the current sociolinguistic situation, remains to be done.

The transcription used here and the analysis that it is based on are described in detail in Chhangte (1986). Basically it follows the traditional Mizo orthography but adds final glottal stop and tones. There are four tones: mid/low (unmarked), high (1), rising (2) and falling (3). There are phonetic differences in the realisations of these tones depending on syllable type and vowel length.

The dialect described is my own, the standard Southern Duhlian dialect of the Lunglei area.

2. PHRASE STRUCTURE AND MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

Mizo grammar has received much less attention than phonology. For one, the area is basically inaccessible to foreigners so that fieldwork is virtually impossible. Also, very few, if any, Mizos are trained sufficiently in theoretical linguistics so that non-Mizos attempting to study the language...
have very scant resources. Moreover, since most of the literature about Mizos has been written by foreigners, the available information is not completely reliable either. I will comment on some of these errors and explain why they are unacceptable. I will also clarify some issues in instances where they have not been explained adequately.

In this grammar I will clarify some of the issues relating to Mizo syntax. I will spend a considerable amount of time explaining the mixed ergative system. Before I do that, however, I will briefly survey what has been written about Mizo syntax and comment on its relevance to this paper.

2.1.1 Overview of the literature

The work of the missionaries, Lorrain and Savidge (1898), provides the most thorough and accurate representation of Mizo grammar. All other attempts at describing the language have borrowed heavily from Lorrain and Savidge. The volume is fairly exhaustive and gives several useful examples. In spite of its scholastic excellence, the work suffers from a strong Indo-European bias and other technical shortcomings of that era. For instance, they list several examples of ‘tense’, even though the Mizo examples they give are identical! The other problems are absence of tone markings and inaccurate phonological data. The latter was corrected in a later revision of the dictionary by Lorrain (1940). However, in spite of such flaws, the work of Lorrain and Savidge is a masterpiece of linguistic fieldwork. The technical flaws reflect the shortcomings of the linguistics of that era and not of the linguists themselves.

In addition to Lorrain and Savidge, there were several word lists prepared by British officers such as Lewin (1874) and Shakespear (1921). Most of these are not very accurate as the writers had idiosyncratic ways of transcribing data.

A detailed and extensive volume was written by a Bengali surgeon, Brojo Nath Shaha (1884). This work is well-organised and adequately illustrated. Unfortunately, most of the examples are either grammatically unacceptable or their glosses are wrong and for that reason I do not recommend it as a data source. The writer either did not get native speakers as informants or his interpreter was linguistically incompetent. It is also likely that the writer was influenced by his own language as the examples he gives are what a Mizo would consider ‘Vai Mizo’, that is, a version of Mizo used by Bengalis or Assamese.

Grierson (1904) used most of the above sources in his survey. The section on Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages not only compares the related languages but also gives data. Many of the languages mentioned in the survey, such as Ralte, are now extinct. The texts, though inadequately glossed, were useful in comparing certain grammatical features. For instance, I was interested in the ergative marker and the oblique marker, both of which are present in Mizo. It turns out that the grammatical structure of Hmar is the most similar to that of Mizo, even though it is a more distant relative than some of the other languages. Perhaps this has to do with the close contact these two groups have had.

More recently, Lehman has written several articles on Mizo grammar, many of them in relation to Burmese or Haka (Laai) Chin. Most of my analysis is based on his articles and comments
through personal correspondence. Various articles in the *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* series dealing with morphologies of TB languages have also been extremely helpful.

Pedagogical grammars are not very helpful in terms of analysis. They are usually based on the grammar written by Lorrain and Savidge, which, as I have mentioned already, is based on Latin grammar. Nevertheless, they are useful as a source for data, and I have benefitted from the textbooks written by Khiangte (1964) and Remkunga (1977).

2.1.2 Overview of purpose and methodology

The major aim of this paper is to describe the basic syntactic structure of modern Mizo using current linguistic theories. My approach will be typological and I will refer to linguistic universals and not restrict myself to the TB language group. My main aim is to describe the language as the Mizos themselves see it. Some of my assumptions are based on comments people made to me in Mizoram. Furthermore, this being a synchronic study, comparative discussions will be kept to a minimum. I will, however, refer occasionally to Thadou, a member of the northern branch of the Kuki-Chin languages, as I have a fairly good description of its syntax and phonology. Unfortunately, Krishan's (1980) grammar of Thadou, though published recently, was actually written in the early 1970s and does not refer to any current linguistic theory.

This description of Mizo grammar will be comprehensive and it will also try to relate some of the grammatical features to the phonological system. This will be mainly in the area of defining word boundaries. For the moment, I have decided to mark only two grammatical boundaries: morpheme boundaries are indicated by - and word boundaries are marked with a space. My decisions are based on the guidelines given by Hyman (1978) and Zwicky (1985). These boundaries correspond to phonological boundaries as follows: the phonological word corresponds to the grammatical phrase; internal word boundaries in phonology correspond to grammatical word boundaries; morpheme boundaries are the same, though they are much more significant in the grammar than in the phonology. I have not marked the grammatical phrase boundary as it is marked morphologically by the final case markers.

The following sections are an attempt to bring together the works mentioned above, using more recent linguistic tools. I have used terms, such as N', in the manner of Radford (1981) and the categorisations are based roughly on Givón's (1984) typological approach to syntax. Even though this paper will not get into the theoretical details, I will make theoretical assumptions based on current linguistic theories. In particular, the notion of ergativity will be a major consideration of the following sections. In this area I am indebted to Lehman's (1985) and DeLancey's (1981a) discussions of ergativity in TB languages.

2.2 Noun phrase structure

The noun phrase structure of Mizo is fairly complex. The most characteristic feature of the NPs is that they can be demarcated on the left by a demonstrative pronoun and on the right by a case marker (CM). The obligatory case markers for the NP are preceded by the determiner: plurality markers and locational markers are suffixed on the demonstrative pronoun.
Since every NP must possess a case marker (although the absolutive case is encoded with zero) it is thus not subcategorised for the N'. Moreover, since no constituent may follow the case marker, I assume that a node N'' separates the determiner noun from its case marker.

There are several reasons for this NP structure. First of all, there is no subcategorisation between the case marker and the rest of the NP. Furthermore, the case marker (CM) is obligatory and always comes last, even when there is a full determiner (with case markings). There is also evidence from relative clauses that demonstrates that the CM is on the rest of the NP. Take for instance:

(1) *nu-laal* thing2 *phur1* in
maiden wood carryII ERG
The wood that the maiden carried ... 

In the above example, the CM is over the relativised construction, which is an incorporated object. The above example in its main clause form is:

(2) *nu-laal* in thing2 ø a *phur1*
maiden ERG wood ABS 3NOM carry
The maiden carried firewood. 

Evidence from phonology also favours the analysis that the CM is a separate word. Take for instance the GLIDE HARDENING RULE\(^2\) which operates over phonological word boundaries only. The case marker is affected by this rule so that we get:

(3) //thou + in// → /thou vin/
fly ERG

Thus, the basic unmodified NP would have a structure

(4)

```
NP
   /\   
  N''- DET
   |    /\  
   N'   CM  O 
      /\    |
      N''   hi1
      |    /\  
      N'   this
      |    /\    
      N   vok  
      |    /\     
      N   pig 
      |    /\         
     hee3-ng   'these pigs'
     here-PL
```

Thus, the basic unmodified NP would have a structure
It is claimed that the demonstrative pronoun and the determiner demarcate the extremities of the NP because they occur before the first and after the last in compound NPs, i.e.

(5)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{CM} \\
\text{DET} \\
\text{O} \\
\text{N''} \\
\text{N'} \\
\text{le?} & \text{and} & \text{Soi} \\
\text{N'} \\
\text{DPRO} & \text{N'} \\
\text{hee2} & \text{vok} \\
\text{here} & \text{pig} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{DPRO} & \text{N} \\
\text{So2} & \text{vok} \\
\text{there} & \text{pig} \\
\end{array}
\]

'this pig here and that pig there'

Structures such as (5) are further support for the analysis placing the demonstrative pronoun \textit{hee2} and the determiner \textit{soi} at different levels and not as constituents of the NP. The demonstrative pronouns \textit{hee2} etc. are much more noun-like in that they are incompatible with proper names; sometimes they occur alone; other times they are replaced by possessive pronouns or wh-question words. Occasionally they will co-occur with a proper name, as in \textit{hee Lal 1-i 1} meaning 'this here Lali', when the speaker wishes to emphasise that it is \textit{this Lali} and not \textit{any other Lali}. This type of usage is probably a form of reduplication since both proper name and demonstrative pronoun are not necessary and yet the presence of both gives an emphatic effect.

The basic structure of the NP can be elaborated by modifiers of quality and quantity. These occur in that order after the head noun and before the determiner. Though modifiers typically precede in SOV languages, as in Japanese, cf. Greenberg (1963), postpositional modifiers are not uncommon either, cf. Comrie (1981). Thus, the maximally modified NP would have a structure:
Some examples of NPs are:

(7)  a. Both demonstrative pronoun and determiner

\[ \text{heee3- ng aar1 vaar1 pa-liii hi1 (ka1 du?)} \]
DPRO-PL hen white unit-four DET (1NOM want)
(I want) these four white hens.

b. Possessed noun

\[ i aar1 vaar1 pa-liii hi1 (ka1 du?) \]
2P hen white unit-four DET (1NOM want)
(I want) your four white hens over here.

c. Full pronoun

\[ nang-ma-a1 aar1 vaar1 pa-lii1 (ka1 du?) \]
2PRO-EMP-REL hen white unit-four (1NOM want)
(I want) your (not X's) four white hens.
d. No demonstrative pronoun or determiner

\textit{aart vaar1 pa-\textit{l}i\textit{l}1 (ka1 \textit{du}?)}
hen white unit-four (1NOM want)
(I want) four white hens.

e. No head noun

\textit{he\textit{i}3 \textit{hi}1 (ka1 \textit{du}?)}
DPRO DET (1NOM want)
(I want) this one.

All of these will be explained in subsequent sections.

2.3 Noun phrase constituents

The major constituents can be further subdivided as follows:

2.3.1 Demonstrative pronoun and determiner

The demonstrative pronoun and the determiner usually agree for the deictic degree, e.g. proximal demonstrative goes with the proximal determiner, etc. There are six pronoun-determiner pairs that occur, cf. 136. The plural suffix -\textit{ng} and the locative marker \textit{a(?)} follow the demonstrative pronoun and case markers -\textit{an} and -\textit{an1} follow the determiner. In the surface structure, number, location and case markers all suffix to the elements on their immediate left and thereby lose their ability to stand alone as syntactic units.

There are also certain phonological changes which are peculiar to demonstrative pronouns and determiners. Of the two, the demonstrative pronoun undergoes tone changes depending on its syntactic environment.

In addition to the tone changes, the demonstrative pronoun \textit{he\textit{i}3} undergoes segmental changes. If it is followed by a full noun it becomes \textit{hee} which is shortened to \textit{he} if followed by a locative marker. With regard to the tone changes, the demonstrative pronoun acquires a falling tone if it is followed by the determiner only.

(8) Singular, normal form

\textit{he\textit{i}3 \textit{hi}1}
DPRO DET
this one here

But if the following word is a noun the demonstrative pronoun changes to a rising tone.

(9) a. Singular form followed by noun with low tone

\textit{hee2 \textit{vok} \textit{hi}1}
DPRO pig DET
this pig here
b. Singular form followed by noun with rising tone

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hee2} & \text{ ui2-tee} \quad \text{hi1} \\
\text{DPRO dog-small} & \text{ DET} \\
\text{this puppy here}
\end{align*}
\]

Furthermore, because of the LONG CONTOUR TONE SANDHI RULE, the demonstrative pronoun becomes a low tone if the following word is either high tone or falling tone.

(10) a. Singular form followed by noun with high tone

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hee} & \text{ aar1 hi1} \\
\text{DPRO hen} & \text{ DET} \\
\text{this hen here}
\end{align*}
\]

b. Singular form followed by noun with falling tone

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hee} & \text{ boong3 hi1} \\
\text{DPRO cow} & \text{ DET} \\
\text{this cow here}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, if it is followed by a locative marker, it becomes a high tone.

(11) Singular form followed by locative marker

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he1} & \text{ ta1 vok hi1} \\
\text{DPRO LOC pig} & \text{ DET} \\
\text{this pig here}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus, the demonstrative pronoun can have any of the four Mizo tones depending on its environment. (This environment is not phonologically conditioned.) The plural form does not undergo any tone change but retains a falling tone.

(12) Plural form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hee3-ng} & \text{ vok (te1) hi1} \\
\text{DPRO-PL pig (EX)} & \text{ DET} \\
\text{these pigs here (and such)}
\end{align*}
\]

In all of these instances, the syllable shape of the following word does not affect the tone changes.

The determiners do not display such a wide variety of segmental or tone changes. The only segmental change involves so1 which, when followed by the ergative (or oblique) marker becomes soon3 instead of soan3. The reason for this change may be that because Mizo does not allow the vowel sequence //oa//, it changes it to /oo/. 
2.3.1.1 **Plural marker**

The demonstrative pronoun carries the suffix *-ng* for the plural and Ø for the singular.

(13) *hee3-ng aar1 hi1*  
DPRO-PL hen DET  
these hens here

2.3.1.2 **Location markers**

The demonstrative pronoun can also take a suffix for location. See also section 2.6.2.4 for other locative forms.

(14) *he1 ta1 aar1 hi1*  
DPRO LOC-REL hen DET  
this hen here

2.3.1.3 **Case markers**

The ergative suffix *-an* or the oblique suffix *-an1* are suffixed to the determiner.

(15) a. *hee aar1 hi-an3 mii cuk*  
DPRO hen DET-ERG 1ABS peck  
This hen here pecked me.

b. *hee aar1 hi-an1 ka1 theng3*  
this hen DET-OBLQ 1NOM exchange  
I exchanged it with this hen.

Determiners such as *hi1*, if it belongs to an NP that is the subject of the clause that contains it, requires the ergative suffix *-an*. This ergative suffix is often obscured by the ergative case marker *in* because in non-emphatic contexts the two collapse and undergo predictable tone sandhi, for example:

(16) //hi1 + an# in// → /hian3/

In emphatic contexts, however, this rule may be inhibited leaving both ergative suffix and ergative case marker intact, as in:

(17) //hi1 + an# in// → /hian3 in/

The same is true for the oblique marker *in1*.

Plurals, location markers, gender suffixes and nominalisers are separated from noun stems by formative boundaries whereas case markers are separated by internal word boundaries.
2.3.2 Nouns

Nouns occur in all syllable types and in all four tones. Generally, they have only one basic form unlike verb-stems which show two suppletive manifestations depending on their syntactic environment. They undergo changes of tone because of their internal structure; some have affixes, some are compounds.

The sub-classes of nouns include:

2.3.2.1 Non-derived nouns

There are very few non-derived, morphologically simple nouns. Common everyday objects and domestic animals tend to fall into this category, as in:

(18) a. vok  pig
    b. ruul1  snake
    c. thing2  tree
    d. tlaang1  mountain
    e. cem1  knife
    f. ip  bag
    g. sam2  hair
    h. mit  eye

2.3.2.2 Derived nouns

Derived, polysyllabic, morphologically complex nouns are the most common type of nouns. They form one phonological word where the second morpheme is some sort of modifier of the first morpheme. In a few cases, the meaning of the individual morphemes is opaque. The following words illustrate a number of these combinations:

(19) a. saa3 + mak = sa-mak
      animal strange rhinoceros
    b. faa3 + paa = fa-paa
      offspring male = son
    c. mi3 + paa = mi-paa
      person male = man/boy
    d. seer + thuur2 = seer-thuur2
      citrus sour lemon
    e. bee3 + tee2 = be-tee2
      beans small type of bean

Names of birds and animals are usually prefixed by vaa3 'bird' and saa3 'animal' respectively. However, in most cases the second morpheme is not a free form. For instance:
(20) a. \textit{saa3} + \textit{vom1} = \textit{sa-vom1} bear
b. \textit{vaa3} + \textit{rak} = \textit{va-rak} duck

Thus, the word is ‘non-Fregean’, that is, it cannot be divided into meaningful parts.

(21) a. \textit{cing1-nhia2} wolf
b. \textit{cai-ciim1} mouse
c. \textit{fang3-mhiir} ant
d. \textit{be-raam} sheep

2.3.2.3 Nominalised nouns

Abstract nouns are derived by nominalising adjectives or verbs (see also section 2.6.1.5). For example:

(22) a. \textit{mooi} + \textit{na1} = \textit{moi-na1}
beautiful II
beauty
b. \textit{rhiat3} + \textit{na1} = \textit{rhiat3-na1}
to hear II
knowledge

2.3.2.4 Proper nouns

Given names usually contain two to four syllables. The full form is rarely used, as nicknames or diminutive forms of the given name are preferred. It is also not uncommon for terms of endearment to be affixed to names.

Proper names of people are not taken from any specific lexical domain. For example, the names of women and men may be identical except for the gender suffix. The male gender suffix is -\textit{a1} and the female gender suffix is -\textit{i1}. Both gender suffixes have high tone except in citation form where the male gender suffix takes low tone. See also section 2.6.1.1.

(23) a. Full name
\textit{Lal1-rin3-om3-a}
-MSUF
Variants
\textit{Rin3-a, Rin3-tee3-a, Maa1-rin3-a}
-MSUF -sm-MSUF EMT- -MSUF
b. Full name
\textit{Zou1-than-paar1-i1}
-FSUF
Variants

Zou1-i1, Than-i1, Paar1-i1, -FSUF -FSUF -FSUF
Zou1-te1-i1, Paar1-tel-i1, -sm-FSUF -sm-FSUF
Than-pui1-i1, Zoul-than-i1 -big-FSUF -FSUF
Aa1-than-i1 EMT- -FSUF

Titles and kinship terms precede the name:

(24) a. Pu1 Rem-a Mr Rema
     b. Pi1 Kuung3-i1 Ms Kungi
     c. ka uu1 my elder (sibling/cousin)
     d. pa tee3-a youngest paternal uncle

Adults who are on more intimate terms generally use tekonyms, as in:

(25) a. Vaal1-a1 paa3 father of Vala
     b. Vaal1-a1 nuu3 mother of Vala

where Vala is the firstborn. Parents also address each other this way.

Mythological characters sometimes have different names. Female characters take the suffix nuu3 probably to indicate that they are full grown females, as in:

(26) a. cing1-pir1-i1-nuu3 Chingpirinu
     b. mhui-cuk-cu-ru-duun3-i1-nuu3 hmuichukchuruduninu
     c. phuung3-pui-nuu3 Phungpuinu

Male characters are suffixed either by paa3 or puu1, as in:

(27) a. baak-vom1-tel1-puu1 Bakvawmtepu
     b. sa-zal-te1-paa3 Sazaltepa

Names of places generally describe the terrain or some event associated with the place. Here are some examples:

(28) a. Ai1-zool1 Aizawl
     b. Lung2-lei Lunglei
     c. Hna2-thial Hnahthial
     d. Lung-raang1 Lungrang
     e. Thil1-tlaang1 Thiltlang
     f. Seer-chiip3 Serchhip

In the past, most places, except for Aizawl and Lunglei, were small villages. In recent years, some of these villages have become towns. Places with a sizeable population often subdivide into smaller sections called veeng1.
2.3.2.5 Pronouns

Pronouns come in two forms: free forms and clitic forms. The free forms are found only in the noun phrase, whereas the clitic forms can be found in both noun phrase and verb phrase. The free forms are optional in sentences whereas the clitic forms are obligatory, cf. section 2.6.2.1 for a further discussion of pronoun clitics in the VP.

(29) a. Free forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kei3</td>
<td>kei-nii3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nang2</td>
<td>nang-nii3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a1 nii3</td>
<td>an-nii3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Clitic forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ka1/ka</td>
<td>ka2-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>i1/f</td>
<td>i2-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a1/a</td>
<td>a2-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The free forms are used mainly for emphasis. Thus we have:

(30) a. *kei2 ka kal1 ang2*

1PRO INOM go MOD
I will go (whether or not others go).

b. *kei-nii3 pa-lii1 ka-n kal1 ang2*

1PRO-PL unit-four INOM-PL go MOD
We four (not anyone else) will go.

c. *an-nii3 le? nang-nii3 i-n kal1 ang2*

3PRO-PL and 2PRO-PL 2NOM-PL go MOD
You and they (not anyone else) will go.

The clitic forms are used in the NP to denote possession, as in:

(31) a. *ka aar1 a1 nii*

1P hen 3NOM is
It is my hen.

b. *i aar1 a1 nii*

2P hen 3NOM is
It is your hen.

The pronoun clitics can also precede comparatives and quantifiers:

(32) a. *a1-trhaa ber1 ks1 du?*

it-good most 1NOM want
I want the best one.
b. a-vaai2 in1 ka ei1
   it-all OBLQ INOM ate
   I ate all of it

In the above examples, the third person nominative marker is used to indicate part of a greater whole, cf. 118.

2.3.3 Possession

Possession is indicated by word order: the possessor precedes the possessed item. It also appears that genitival- of constructions in Mizo are marked with what I call the relativiser, -a l. In most instances it coalesces with the preceding segment so that only the high tone remains. This same relativiser shows up in relative clause constructions.

(33) a. Thang1-kuur1-a1 ui2
       -MSUF-REL dog
       Thangkura's dog

b. ka ui2
   1P dog
   my dog

c. Thang1-kuur1-a1 puu1
    -MSUF-REL master
    Thangkura's master

d. Thang1-kuur1-a1 puu1 ui2
    -MSUF-REL master dog
    Thangkura's master's dog

If the possessed item is not specified, the word taa3, meaning 'owned; possessed' is used in place of the noun.

(34) a. Thang1-kuur1-a1 taa3
       -MSUF-REL own
       Thangkura's own

b. ka taa3
   1P own
   my own

The word taa3 has often been mistaken for the possessor word. However, it is not a modifier and should not be treated as such; taa3 is simply a word meaning something like 'I own this' and the relationship is indicated by word order, cf. above.
2.3.4 Qualification

Adjectives in Mizo are syntactically verbs. They are usually preceded by the subject pronoun clitics, as in:

(35) \( al \) \( thaa \)
3NOM  good
It is good.

In the NP, however, they follow the noun they qualify. The qualifiers are adjectives of colour, quality and size. These three can come in any order though the order just mentioned is the preferred one. The adjective-type words have this construction:

(36)

\[ \text{QIP} \]
\[ \text{Ql'} \]
\[ \text{Ql'} \]
\[ \text{Ql} \]
\[ \text{Adj} \]
\[ lian \]
\[ \text{big} \]
\[ thar1 \]
\[ \text{new} \]
\[ vaar1 \]
\[ \text{white} \]

'white, new, big

Because the qualifiers can occur in various orders I assume that Ql' are recursively embedded. The following illustrate the possible combinations:

37)  a. Colour, quality:
\[ puau-sen1-baal \]
cloth-red-dirty
dirty red cloth

b. Colour, size:
\[ in -sen1-lian \]
house-red-big
big red house

c. Quality, size:
\[ in -lhui1-lian \]
house-old-big
big old house
d. Colour, quality, size:
\[ aar1-vaar1-thar1-lian \]
\[ \text{hen-white-new-big} \]
big new white hen
2.3.5 Quantification

Quantification is perhaps the least important constituent of the NP since plurality can be indicated elsewhere. When it does occur, quantification is preceded by all the other constituents within the NP, except for the determiner and the case marker. Unlike qualifiers, quantifiers show a much more rigid word order:

(38)

```
          QnP
            Qn'
              Num'
                Num
                  CLF
                    pa
                    unit
                Num
                  kua2
                nine
              Qn
                hou3
                group
            te1
            etc.
```

'group of nine and such'

The quantifiers in the NP agree in number with the subject pronoun clitics in the VP. The logic of quantification in Mizo is more involved and it will be discussed separately in section 3.1.2. See also Lehman (1979b).

2.3.5.1 Numeral quantifiers

Unlike most other south-east Asian languages, Mizo does not have a semantically based system of noun classifiers, cf. Lehman (1979a). The numbering system, however, does display a system of classifiers where the unit classifier is *pa-* (as suggested by Lehman in personal communications). The classifiers for tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. are *soom*, *zza*, *saang2*, respectively. The numbering system is decimal, as shown below:

(39) a. *pa-khat* one     f. *pa-ruk* six
b. *pa-nhi?* two      g. *pa-sa-ri?* seven
c. *pa-thum 1* three   h. *pa-riat3* eight
d. *pa-lii1* four      i. *pa-kua2* nine
e. *pa-ngaa 1* five    j. *soom* ten
k. zaa one hundred
l. saang2 one thousand
m. siing2 ten thousand
n. nuai3 one hundred thousand
o. mak-ta-duai3 one million
p. vai1-beel1-chia3 ten million (lit. broken tobacco pipes)
q. vai1-beel1-che-tak one hundred million
r. tluuk3 le? din3 oon2 one trillion

The following examples illustrate the numbering system. Multipliers follow the multiplicant:

(40) a. som-nhi?
   ten-two
   twenty

b. za-nhi?
   HRD-two
   two hundred

c. siing2-nhi?
   ten TH-two
   twenty thousand

Lower numbers follow higher numbers, as in:

(41) a. soom (le?) pa-nhi?
   ten (and) unit-two
   twelve

b. za-nhi? som-nhi?
   HRD-two ten-two
   two hundred and twenty

   HRD-two ten-two and unit-two
   two hundred and twenty two

Combination of numerals with nouns: non-animates generally do not take classifiers, that is, they become the classifiers themselves.

(42) a. nu pa-khat one woman
b. boong3 pa-sa-ri? seven cows
c. ni1-thum1 three days
d. in-thum1 three houses
If the value of the noun (its weight, volume or price) is measured, then the noun becomes the classifier, as in:

(43) thing2-pui-nou1-khat
    tea -cup -one
    one cup of tea

Compare this with:

(44) nou1 pa-khat
    one cup

Ordinal numbers: These are formed by suffixing -nat to the cardinal number. Furthermore, numerals with high tone or rising tone become low tone. Since there is no obvious phonetic motivation for this change in tone, I assume the numerals have a Stem II form which surfaces only in this particular construction. This explains why the low tone and the rising tone, the only possible tones for Stem II forms, do not change. Moreover, the suffix -nat always affixes to Stem II forms. Some examples of cardinal and ordinal numbers in NPs are:

(45) a. aar1 pa-lii1 ka1 du?
    hen four 1NOM want
    I want four hens.

b. aar1 pa-lii-na1 ka1 du?
    hen unit-four-NLZ 1nom want
    I want the fourth hen.

c. aar1 pa-kua2 ka1 du?
    hen unit-nine 1NOM want
    I want nine hens.

d. aar1 pa-kua-na1 ka1 du?
    hen unit-nine-NLZ 1NOM want
    I want the ninth hen.

e. aar1 pa-riat3 ka1 du?
    hen unit-eight 1NOM want
    I want eight hens.

f. aar1 pa-riat3-na1 ka1 du?
    hen unit-eight-NLZ 1NOM want
    I want the eighth hen.

Alternate numbers are indicated by the word dan meaning 'every other', followed by the locative marker a?. There is no tone change in this case.

(46) ni1-thum1 dan a? ka11 ro?
    day-three every LOC go IMP
    Go every three days.
2.3.5.2 General quantifiers

General quantifiers are either particles or clitics and can occur both in the NP and VP. The more common NP quantifiers are: *zong zong3* 'each and every', *trhen1 khat* 'some (of the whole)', *vaai2* 'all/everything', *zaa* 'all/every', *tam2 tak* 'several, many', *tlem2 tee2* 'very few' and *tin3* 'each' (refer to section 2.6.3.3 for VP quantifiers). See also section 2.6.1.2 for plural markers.

These are examples of NP quantifiers:

(47) a. *aar1 zong zong3*
    hen all
    all the hens

b. *aar1 tam2 tak*
    hen many INT
    many hens

c. *aar1 tlem1 te2*
    hen few little
    few hens

d. *aar1 hou3*
    hen group
    group of hens

e. *a2-n vaai2 in1 a-n kal1*
    3P-PL all OBLQ 3NOM-PL went
    they all went

f. *mi1 zong zong3 a-n kal1*
    people all 3NOM-PL went
    all the people went

g. *mi tin3 a-n kal1*
    person each 3NOM-PL go
    each person went

h. *an-nii3 hou3 a-n kal1*
    3PRO-PL group 3NOM-PL go
    they went (together)

i. *an hou3 te1 a-n kal1*
    3P PL group EX 3NOM-PL go
    their party went
2.3.5.3 Plurality

Number is indicated either by morphology or by cardinal numbers. There is another optional plural particle, *tei*. When it occurs without the other number markers, *tei* has a slightly different meaning. In this instance, *tei* does not signify 'several of the specified item’ but rather, ‘the specified item plus others associated with it’. Compare the following examples:

(48) a. *ka1 nuu3 tei ka1 paa3 tei*
    IP mother EX IP father EX
    my mother, father, etc.

    b. *ka luu1 tei ka1 cal tei*
    IP head EX IP forehead EX
    my head, forehead, etc.

The above examples clearly show that the particle *tei* does not indicate plurality even though it indicates a collection of subjects. Its true contribution, however, more resembles English etc. which indicates that the overt forms are merely examples of a longer list. Therefore, it is understandable that *tei* occurs in plural NPs, as the listed forms may only be indicative of a larger set, e.g.

(49)   *hee3-ng tei hi1*
    DPRO-PL EX DET
    these (and such)

2.4 Verb phrase structure

The verb phrase structure is the most complex part of Mizo grammar. Part of the complexity comes from the numerous particles that accompany the main verb. In many instances, it is very difficult to decide if the particle is an innovation in the language or if it is derived from some other source. Take for example the subject pronoun clitic. It appears in many of the related languages (such as Laai Chin, Hmar, Thadou) but its phonological form and usage varies widely from language to language. Even in languages that are more distant relatives of Mizo, verb morphology continues to be a rather complex and controversial issue. Furthermore, it is difficult to find sufficient data for comparison as one has to rely mostly on isolated examples cited in the literature. It would be much easier to analyse and compare the syntactic structure of related languages if one had access to a standard text in the various languages. Grierson's survey is helpful in this area as he uses the same text throughout, even when the data is not sufficiently marked for tone. Thus, it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the verb morphology in exhaustive detail.
The constituents to be discussed in this section are displayed in the chart below:

(50)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP} & \quad \text{V''} \\
(\text{ADV NP}) & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{V'} \\
\quad & \quad \text{MOD} \\
\quad & \quad \text{NEG} \\
\quad & \quad \text{ASP} \\
\quad & \quad \text{Adv bl} \\
\quad & \quad \text{DMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

First of all, this analysis is supported by the sub-categorisation restrictions on Mizo. Adverbs and direct object NPs are optional constituents of the VP just as in many other languages. The clitic pronoun, however, is required in every sentence (except for relative clauses, imperatives and subjectless wh-questions, cf. 3.4.1). Therefore, I assign it to a special level of the VP called V''. The remaining particles for mode, negation, aspect, etc. are optional again. So these can be dominated by a recursive V' constituent. A second and very persuasive argument that the pronoun clitics require their own V-bar constituent (here V'') is seen in the behaviour of the second person accusative pronoun clitic ce1 'you', ce1 u1 'you (p1)', cf. example 51 below.

(51) a. \textit{mi-sual2 in a man1 ce1}  
man-evil ERG 3NOM catch 2ACC  
A criminal has caught you.

b. \textit{mi-sual2 in a man1 doon1 ce1}  
man-evil ERG 3NOM catch ASP 2ACC  
A criminal is going to catch you.

At present I know of no tests to decide which of the two clitics is higher in the structure. Therefore, I assume for this preliminary account of Mizo a structure:
2.5 Verb phrase constituents

The following are the major constituents of the verb phrase. Morphology will be dealt with in greater detail in section 2.6.

2.5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs generally precede the main verb. Manner adverbs can follow the main verb under certain circumstances. The adverbs are manner adverbs, adverbs of time and adverbs of place. The last two adverbs are very similar. Adverbs that precede the verb require some sort of modifier, such as the oblique marker or the locative marker. There is no such restriction on post-verbal adverbs.

2.5.1.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs can either precede or follow the verb, depending on the relationship between the verb and the adverb. Manner adverbs of speed can come before or after the verb, as in:

(53) a. rang2 tak in1 a thou2
       fast very OBLQ 3NOM arise
       (S)he got up very quickly.

       b. a thou2 rang2
           3NOM arise fast
           (S)he gets up quickly.

Unexpected events also fall into the above category:

(54) a. a1-tloon in1 a kal1
       it-in vain OBLQ 3NOM go
       (S)he went in vain.

       b. a kal1 tloon
           3NOM go in vain
           (S)he went in vain.
If the manner adverb is not directly related to the verb, it precedes the verb. These adverbs that precede verbs are really cognitive adjectives that must be turned into adverbs with modifier particles and oblique marker, such as: *tak in1* ‘very’, *deu?i in1* ‘somewhat’, *em3 em3 in1* ‘very much’ and *lu1-tuk in1* ‘excessively’.

(55) a. *lhim1 tak in1 a2-n om2*
    happy very OBLQ 3NOM-PL exist
    They lived happily.

b. *thin-rim3 deu?i in1 a1 chuak3*
    angry very OBLQ 3NOM exit
    (S)he went out angrily.

c. *mhan3-mho? em3 em3 in1 a1 chuak3*
    hurry very much OBLQ 3NOM left
    (S)he left in a great hurry.

d. *lhau2 lu1-tuk in1 a2-n om2*
    fear excessive OBLQ 3NOM-PL exist
    They lived in great fear.

From the above examples we can see that verbs of action are related to speed and to probability. On the other hand, attitudes and feelings of the subject have less in common with the verb and are, consequently, restricted in their usage.

2.5.1.2 Time adverbs

Locative markers follow time adverbs, as in:

(56) a. *ni-min1 a? a thii1*
    yesterday LOC 3NOM die
    (S)he died yesterday.

b. *tuuk3-in1 a? a1 chuak3*
    morning LOC 3NOM leave
    (s)he left this morning.

c. *ni1-kum a? a thii1*
    last year LOC 3NOM die
    (S)he died last year.

2.5.1.3 Place adverbs

Place adverbs also take the locative marker, as in:

(57) a. *kho1-pui1 a? a peem1*
    town-big LOC 3NOM move to
    (S)he moved to the city.
b. Ail-zool1 a? zuu1 a zuar1
   Aizawl LOC beer 3NOM sell
   (S)he sells beer in Aizawl.

2.5.1.4 Adverbal particles

Adverbal particles have often been called ‘double adverbs’, for various reasons. First of all, they function as adverbs in that they modify the verb. Secondly, they are usually reduplicated.

However, there are phonological and grammatical reasons to distinguish these from the true adverbs mentioned above. Unlike the true adverbs, adverbal particles are iconic and convey a significant amount of information. Some of these include: speaker attitude, size and shape of subject/object, speed of action and aspect. For this reason, they are indispensable in narrative discourse where they are often used to dramatise and highlight significant events. Yet, in spite of their versatility, they do not have lexical meaning in and of themselves. For this reason it is better to consider them as particles rather than independent words.

The vowels in adverbal particles are iconic. Front vowels are used for smaller sizes (children, women, small animals, etc.). A back vowel is used to represent larger sizes (men, large animals, etc.). It is also used for insults or for comic effect. The low vowel a is used for in between sizes (older children, small adults, etc.). This phenomenon is also found in other south-east Asian languages, cf. Gregerson (1984).

Most adverbal particles are reduplicated (hence the term ‘double adverbs’). In instances where the two forms are not the same, the first will have a front vowel and the second will have a back vowel, cf. 60a, b. These adverbs can modify active verbs, as in:

(58) a. a tlan2 per per3
   3NOM ran small, fast
   (S)he (small) ran smoothly and rapidly.

b. a tlan2 par par3
   3NOM ran med, fast
   (S)he (med) ran smoothly and rapidly.

c. a tlan2 pur pur3
   3NOM ran big, fast
   (S)he (big) ran smoothly and rapidly.

They can also modify non-active verb, as in:

(59) a. a nui1 sen sen3
   3NOM smile small, pleasant
   (S)he (small) smiled unpleasantly.

b. a nui1 san san3
   3NOM smile med, pleasant
   (S)he (med) smiled unpleasantly.
c. a nui1 sun sun3  
3NOM smile big, pleasant  
(S)he (big) smiled pleasantly.

d. a nui1 thuu1  
3NOM smile big, teeth showing  
(S)he (big) smiled broadly (with teeth showing).

e. a nui1 ker2 ker2  
3NOM laugh small, happy  
(S)he (small) laughed merrily.

f. a nui1 kur2 kur2  
3NOM laugh big, happy  
She (big) laughed heartily.

Note in the above examples that the difference between ‘to smile’ and ‘to laugh’ is not in the verb but in the accompanying adverbial particles.

Adverbial particles can modify even the most stative verbs.

(60) a. a luu1 a1 thur3 bim bem  
3P head 3NOM tousled small  
His/her (small) hair is tousled

b. a luu1 a1 thur3 bem bum  
3P head 3NOM tousled big  
His/her (big) hair is tousled.

Thadou has a slightly different way of using the adverbial particles. Where Mizo uses front vowels to represent smaller sizes, Thadou uses them for showing pleasure. Similarly, the vowels used in Mizo for representing larger sizes are used to represent displeasure in Thadou, cf. Krishan (1980: 53-55).

2.5.1.5 Adverbs of degree/intensity

These adverbs show the degree or intensity of the verb. They usually follow active verbs, as shown below. (See also section 2.5.1.1).

(61) a. a haau1 rhep1  
3NOM scold INT  
(S)he gave him a piece of her/his mind.

b. a viin2 tuar2  
3NOM yell forceful  
(S)he spoke sharply and forcefully.
2.5.2 Pronoun clitics

The pronoun clitic in the VP is obligatory in all clause types except in: relative clauses, imperatives and in wh-questions without a subject. Only the deictic motion particles and the reciprocal/reflexive marker can come between it and the verb. See also section 2.3.2.5 for full form pronouns and pronoun clitics in NPs. The influence of cases to produce the different types of pronoun clitics, i.e., the nominative and accusative forms, will be discussed in section 2.5.4.2.

These, then, are some examples of pronoun clitics.

(62) a. ka kal1 I go
    b. i kal1 you go
    c. a kal1 (s)he goes
    d. ka-n kal1 we go
    e. i-n kal1 you (pl) go
    f. a-n kal1 they go

2.5.3 Deictic motion particles

One of the characteristics of TB languages is the deictic motion verbs (DeLancey 1985c). In Mizo, these are not verbs but preverbal particles which I call deictic motion particles (DMP). The DMPs cliticise before main verb stems and cause the verbal complex to receive an interpretation of the subject’s carrying out the action in a certain manner involving locomotion. In all instances it is the individual expressed by the pronoun, which immediately precedes the DMP, that moves.

The DMPs are limited to five lexical items: val ‘away from the speaker’; rom ‘towards addressee’ in questions when the questioner is the subject and ‘towards speaker’ in all other cases; lou2 ‘toward speaker’; ham2 ‘up and away from speaker’; and zuk ‘down and away from speaker’. These will also agree semantically with the demonstrative pronoun and determiner on NPs, i.e.

(63) a. khi1-ta? khi-an1 han kal1 ro?
    up there DET-OBLQ up there go IMP
    Go up there!
b. he1-lam1 a? hi-an1 ron son3 ro?
    this-side LOC DET-OBLQ hither move IMP
    Move it hither.

c. ka1 ron da? doon1 em2 nii
    1NOM thither put ASP Q be
    Should I (bring it and) put it there?

The DMPs va1 and lou2 can be used only with verbs of emotion. If they are used with stative verbs, then the sense of the whole becomes a change of state to an excessive degree, as in:

(64) a. a va1 thaa1 vee
    3NOM how fat EXCL
    It's too fat!

b. a lou2 tla khop mai2
    3NOM here good DEG very
    (S)he was in good health (surprisingly).

This special restriction can cause some drastic changes in meaning. Thus, even though lou2 and ron both mean ‘towards speaker’ when used with directional verbs, lou2 has a completely different meaning when used with a non-directional verb. In this instance, it means something like ‘meanwhile’ or ‘contrary to expectations’. The following are some examples of deictic motion particles. Note how they give a sense of motion to non-versatile verbs. See also DeLancey (1985c).

(65) a. ka va1 pee ang2
    1NOM thither give MOD
    I will go thither and give (it to someone).

b. ka1 ron tii ang2
    1NOM come there do MOD
    I will come there and do (it).

c. ka1 han kou ang2
    1NOM up there call MOD
    I will go up there and call (someone).

d. ka1 zuk biaa ang2
    1NOM down there speak MOD
    I will go down there and speak (to someone).

e. a lou theng1 ang2
    3NOM to here arrive MOD
    (S)he will arrive here.

2.5.4 Verbs

Mizo has two verbal paradigms: one I call Stem I: the other Stem II. The Stem I verbs and Stem II verbs differ in their phonological shapes. However, it has not been possible to postulate a
phonological rule (see Hillard 1974) relating these suppletive forms to the Stem I forms even though there is some regularity. Usually, the two forms differ both in tone and in the final segment. The Stem II form has mostly low tone or sometimes falling tone; the final segment is either a stop or a glottalised vowel. Stem II verbs are extremely important in Mizo grammar, as explained in section 2.5.4.3. In my description of verbs, I will be using terms as used by Givón (1984).

The Stem I verbs can be further subdivided into two main classes: active and static verbs. The best test for distinguishing between the two types is the durative aspect marker meek1. This marker can be applied only to incomplete actions so that one gets:

(66)  a  zaai1 meek1
3NOM sing PROG
(S)he is singing.

but not:

(67)  *a  thi1 meek1
3NOM die PROG
(S)he is dying.

Adjectives and the verb ‘to be’ usually fall into the static category. Another condition for meek1 is that the action should be observable, so that one can say:

(68)  a  thru1 meek1
3NOM sit PROG
(S)he is sitting.

only if one actually sees the person getting into a sitting position. Once the person has sat down, the above can no longer be said. Thus, there are times when a static verb can become an active verb.

These two types of verbs combine to form change-of-state verbs. For example

(69)  le?-khaa3  a1  pot-som3
paper 3NOM tear-pieces
(S)he tore up the paper.

Active verbs become causatives when used with static adjectives, as shown:

(70)  a.  mi1  ti-buai2
1ABS make-confuse
(S)he confused me.

b.  a  soi2-buai2
3NOM say-confuse
(S)he got it (story/instructions) mixed up.

c.  a  siam1-trhaa
3NOM make-good
(S)he repaired it
d. *a1 daʔ-trhaa*
   3NOM put-good
   (S)he put it away in a safe place.

In the above examples, there is a change of state either from good to bad or from bad to worse. The change of state is brought about by an active verb acting on a stative verb so that the active verb is in effect a causative. See also section 2.5.4.4.

### 2.5.4.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitives are those that have at least one nominatively case-marked NP and a nominative clitic pronoun. They can be either *active* or *stative*.

Some examples of active verbs are:

(71) a. *Zou1-i1 a1 khuʔ*
    -FSUF 3NOM coughs
    Zovi is coughing.

b. *Dou1-a a zuang1*
    -MSUF 3NOM jumps
    Dova is jumping.

c. *Nau1-seen1 a1 trap*
    infant 3NOM cry
    A baby is crying.

Stative verbs can take the following forms:

(72) a. *Zou1-i1 in1 aʔ a om2*
    -FSUF house LOC 3NOM exist
    Zovi is in the house.

b. *ka1 nuu3 a1 nii*
    IP mother 3NOM is She is my mother.

c. *Rin3-a zir1-tiir1-tuu3 a1 nii*
    -MSUF SUF teacher 3NOM is
    Rina is a teacher.

Intransitives can have locative or temporal complements, as in:

(73) a. *Rou-a thing1 aʔ a loon1*
    -MSUF tree LOC 3NOM climb
    Rova climbed a tree.

b. *ziing1 aʔ a-n chuak3*
    morning 3NOM-PL left
    They left in the morning.
Sentences with reflexives and reciprocals count as intransitive with regard to their case marking, as in:

(74) a. a1 in -vit
   3NOM REF-stab
   (S)he stabbed herself/himself

   b. a2-n in -haau1
   3NOM-PL RCP-scold
   The are quarrelling

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are intransitive in Mizo because one can have:

(75) Zou1-a  a1 in-vit
   -MSUF 3NOM REF-stab
   Zova stabbed himself.

but not

(76) *Zou1-a in  a1 in-vit
   -MSUF ERG 3NOM REF-vit
   Zova stabbed himself.

That is, reflexives or reciprocals cannot take the ergative case marking, even though the verb is a transitive verb. However, since both markers have the same phonological shape, it is possible that the reflexive or reciprocal detransitivises a normally transitive verb.

Meteorological verbs are also intransitive:

(77) a. rua? a suur1
   rain 3NOM rains
   It is raining.

   b. kool1 a phee2
   sky 3NOM flash
   There is lightning.

Another type of intransitive construction involves emotive verbs (inner emotions or physical states).

(78) a. ka1 luak3 a1 chuak3
   1P vomit 3NOM come out
   I'm nauseated.

   b. ka1 thin a1 raim3
   1P heart 3NOM works hard
   I'm angry.
2.5.4.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive sentences have the most complex morphology. The NPs display an ergative-absolutive system and the verb has a largely nominative-accusative encoding system. That is, the subjects of both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb are encoded alike in the VP. In the NP, the ergative case marker is in, and the absolutive case marker is ø.

(79) nau1-pang1 in aar1 ø a1 uum3
    child   ERG   chicken   ABS 3NOM   chase

A child is chasing a chicken.

Thus, the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in Mizo refer to what is encoded by the case markers. For instance, ‘subject’ in Mizo does not always involve an active agent, cf.

(80) a. bang1 in kil-lii1 ø a1 nei
    wall   ERG   corner-four   ABS 3NOM   has
    A wall has four corners

b. nin-hei3 in to1-peeng1 ø a1 nei
    mischief   ERG   consequence   ABS 3NOM   has
    Mischief has it’s (undesirable) consequence.

c. pi1-tar1 in Thang1-kuur1-a ø a rhiaa2
    woman-old   ERG -MSUF   ABS 3NOM   knows
    The old woman knows Thangkura.

Therefore, I will define a transitive ‘subject’ in Mizo as one that is marked with the ergative marker in the NP. The transitive ‘object’ and the intransitive ‘subject’ are marked with the absolutive marker in the NP. From here on, the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ will be used in this specialised sense.

If there is more than one subject, the ergative marker comes at the end of the NP.

(81) nau1-pang2 le? ui1 in aar1 ø a-n uum3
    child and dog   ERG   chicken   ABS 3NOM-PL   chase

A child and a dog are chasing a chicken.

Instruments are marked with the oblique marker in 1, as in:

(82) nau1-pang1 in tiang in1 ui ø a1 vuaa
    child   ERG   stick OBLQ   dog   ABS 3NOM   hit

A child is hitting a dog with a stick.

When it comes to the object (direct or indirect), there is a further complication. If the object is first person, the object is marked before the verb, instead of a second or third person subject marker, as in:

(83) lal1 in mi haau1
    chief   ERG 1ACC scold

The chief scolded me.
The first person accusative marker is phonologically unstable: it does not always follow the PRONOUN CLITIC TONE SANDHI RULE⁶ (cf. 84a, b) and also alternates with the plural form (cf. 84c). So, one can get any of the following synonymous sentences:

(84) a. \text{mi} \text{ pe} \text{ ro}^? \\
    1\text{ACC} \text{ give} \text{ IMP} \\
    Give it to me.

b. \text{mi} \text{ pe} \text{ ro}^? \\
    1\text{ACC} \text{ give} \text{ IMP} \\
    Give it to me.

c. \text{min}2 \text{ pe} \text{ ro}^? \\
    1\text{ACC-(PL)} \text{ give} \text{ IMP} \\
    Give it to me (us).

Nowadays, many people use the last example, 84c, for either singular or plural.

If the object is second person, it is marked both nominative and accusative (the only time there is an accusative marking) so that we get:

(85) \text{la}l1 \text{ in} \text{ a} \text{ haau1} \text{ ce}1 \\
    chief ERG 3NOM scold 2ACC \\
    The chief scolded you.

If the object is third person, there is no marking, as in:

(86) \text{la}l1 \text{ in} \text{ a} \text{ haau1} \text{ } \phi \\
    chief ERG 3NOM scold 3ACC \\
    The chief scolded him/her.

The pronoun clitic system can be summarised thus:

(87) \begin{array}{ll}
    1 & \text{ka-} \text{ mina-} \\
    2 & \text{i-} \text{ -ce}1 \\
    3 & \text{a-} \text{ } \phi
\end{array}

The accusative clitics are used for direct objects, and also for indirect objects; see section 3.2.8.

Transitive verbs are generally active verbs. They usually reflect some kind of change that is registered by the patient/object. Thus, if the object is created, we get:

(88) a. \text{in} \text{ } \phi \text{ a1 ssa} \\
    house ABS 3NOM build \\
    (S)he is building a house.

b. \text{sum} \text{ } \phi \text{ a1 sui}^? \\
    mortar ABS 3NOM carve \\
    (S)he is carving a mortar.
c. *lhaa φ a1 phua?
   song ABS 3NOM compose
   (S)he composed a song.

d. *beel1 φ a1 vuaa
   pot ABS 3NOM hit
   (S)he is making a (clay) pot.

The verbs can also refer to totally destroyed objects, as in:

(89) *in 2 φ a-n *thrhiat 3
   house ABS 3NOM-PL undo
   They tore down the house.

Most transitive verbs, however, encode some sort of change in the object/patient's state. The change can be a physical change in the object, as in:

(90) a. *cem1 φ a1 *taat3-rhiaam1
   knife ABS 3NOM whet-sharp
   (S)he sharpened the knife.

b. *leʔ-khaa3 φ a1 *pot-soom3
   paper ABS 3NOM pull-pieces
   (S)he tore the paper to pieces.

c. *nou1 φ a1 *vo-keʔ
   cup ABS 3NOM hit-break
   (S)he hit and broke the cup.

Other transitive verbs refer to the change in the object's location, as in:

(91) a. *beel1 φ a *suan2
   pot ABS 3NOM move from fire
   (S)he took the pot off the fire.

b. *aar1-in2 φ a-n son3
   chicken-house ABS 3NOM-PL move
   They moved the chicken house.

Some transitive verbs encode change with an implied instrument, as in:

(92) a. *saa3 φ a2-n *can2
   meat ABS 3NOM-PL cut
   They are cutting the meat (with a knife).

b. *pang-qaar1 φ a-n *tlhiak3
   flower ABS 3NOM-PL break-off
   They broke off the flower (with their hands).
c. *tual1* ə *a2-n* ə *saarm2*  
field ABS 3NOM-PL clear  
They are weeding the fields.

Some changes can be considered to be surface change, as in:

(93) a. *puan* ə *a1* ə *suv*  
clothes ABS 3NOM wash  
(S)he is washing clothes.

b. *beel1* ə *a1* ə *noot3*  
pot ABS 3NOM scrub  
(S)he is scrubbing pots.

c. *aar1* ə *a1* ə *puat*  
chicken ABS 3NOM pluck feathers  
(S)he is dressing the chicken.

Other changes can be internal, as in:

(94) a. *be-kang1* ə *a-n* ə *um1*  
soy beans ABS 3NOM-PL ferment  
They are fermenting soy beans.

b. *saa3* ə *a2-n* ə *reek2*  
meat ABS 3NOM-PL dry  
They smoked the meat.

Thus, the above examples demonstrate that a minimal transitive clause requires an object and a pronoun clitic.

There are a few transitive verbs that seem more stative than active, that is, they cannot usually take the progressive marker *meek1* (probably because these events occur over a longer period), as in:

(95) a. *pi1-tar1* ə *vok* ə *a1* ə *vul*?  
woman-old ERG pigs ABS 3NOM raise  
The old woman raises pigs.

b. *saap3* ə *fa-rha?* ə *a2-n* ə *coom2*  
British ERG orphan ABS 3NOM-PL feed  
The British are taking care of orphans.

Verbs of cognition such as *rhia2* ‘to know’, *tii* ‘to think/consider’ and *thiam2* ‘to know (a skill)’ are also stative in this sense, as in:

(96) a. *pi1-tar1* ə *Zou1-a* ə *a* ə *rhia2*  
woman-old ERG -MSUF ABS 3NOM knows  
The old woman knows Zova.
b. *pi1-tar1 in Zou1-a ø trhaa a1 tii*
   woman-old ERG -MSUF ABS good 3NOM thinks
   The old woman thinks Zova is nice.

c. *pi1-tar1 in puang2-ta? ø a thiam2*
   woman-old ERG cloth-weave ABS 3NOM knows
   The old woman knows how to weave.

### 2.5.4.3 Stem II verbs

The phonological aspects of Stem II verbs have received considerable attention. With regard to their historical origin and their relationship to Stem I verbs, Löfler (1973), Hillard (1974) and Lehman (1982) have dealt with the pertinent data in related Chin languages. The issue is far from resolved but I will not comment any further except to emphasise that the phonological relationship between Stem I and Stem II is no longer productive. Various evidence points to this. First of all, some of the major differences between the ‘North’ and ‘South’ dialects involve differences in Stem II forms. Secondly, children do not master both forms until age five or later.

In this paper, the distinction between Stem I and Stem II is a purely phonological one. I do not consider them to be separate verb classes. For instance, there are some cases where the Stem II form of an intransitive verb is the Stem I of a transitive verb.

(97) a. *nau1-seen1 a muul1*
   infant 3NOM sleepI
   An infant is sleeping.

b. *nau1-seen ø ka1 mut*
   infant ABS 1NOM sleepII
   I put an infant to sleep.

There are also instances where the Stem I form is a verb and the Stem II form is a noun.7

It is also possible that the relationship is iconic as Stem II forms are predominantly used for background or known information (as in embedded clauses). Stem II forms are also less active and more restricted in their choice of environments. Thus, in word formation morphology, the derived form uses the Stem II verb if the derived form is less animate (or more abstract) than its original form. For instance, one finds:

(98) a. *co-chuum-tuul3*
   rice-cookI-AGT
   a cook

b. *co-chuum3-na1*
   rice-cookII-NLZ
   kitchen (place for cooking)/cooking utensil

There thus seems to be a relationship between tone, information and syntactic construction. That is, Stem II forms which are mostly low tone (with a few falling tones) are used for known
information and more passive constructions. Indeed, Lehman (1982) mentions that Stem II is used when the focus changes from the (more salient) agent to the (more passive) patient. This relationship between tone and grammatical constructions has been noted in African languages, cf. Bearth (1980) and Ubels (1983) and it would not be too far-fetched to assume that a similar correlation exists in Mizo.\textsuperscript{8}

Here are some examples of Stem II verbs with their Stem I counterparts:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
(99) & Stem I & Stem II & Gloss \\
a. & \textit{puu1} & \textit{put} & to carry \\
b. & \textit{rhing1} & \textit{rhin3} & to give birth to \\
c. & \textit{ral2} & \textit{ral} & to disappear \\
d. & \textit{hua2} & \textit{huat3} & to hate \\
e. & \textit{ruak3} & \textit{rua}? & to empty out \\
f. & \textit{tlheng3} & \textit{tlheng3} & to exchange \\
g. & \textit{tii} & \textit{ti}? & to do \\
h. & \textit{rii} & \textit{riik3} & to make noise \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Note that the Stem II verbs are glossed ‘II’ (as in Hillard 1974).

2.5.4.4 Serial verbs and derived verbs

Like many South-east Asian languages, Mizo has a productive system of serial verbs, cf. Matisoff (1974). There are two major types: one I call change-of-state verbs; the others are derived from what I call \textit{derived} verbs. The change-of-state verbs are the most common. Typically these consist of an active verb followed by a stative verb.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
(100) & a. \textit{nou1 a1 ti-ke?} & \\
 & cup 3NOM make-break \\
 & (S)he broke the cup. \\
b. \textit{nou1 a1 vo-ke?} & \\
 & cup 3NOM hit-break \\
 & (S)he hit the cup and broke it. \\
c. \textit{nou1 a1 thau?-ke?} & \\
 & cup 3NOM drop-break \\
 & (S)he dropped and broke the cup. \\
d. \textit{nou1 a1 pai?-ke?} & \\
 & cup 3NOM throw-break \\
 & (S)he threw and broke the cup. \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Thus, from the above examples we can see that the first part of the serial verb indicates the manner or means by which the object reached its current state. In other words, there is a change of state from an unbroken cup to a broken cup via the actions indicated by the active verbs.
In some serial verb constructions, the second verb can no longer exist as a main verb stem, even though it still has a distinct meaning of its own. I shall call this type of verb derived verbs for the time being as they are related to the preceding verb. The most common of all is -lhum meaning ‘to become dead’.

(101) a. tui1  aʔ  a1  tla-lhum
    water  LOC  3NOM  fall-dead
    (S)he drowned.

b. lung1  in  a1  deʔ-ʔ-ʔ-lhum
    rock  ERG  3NOM  fall on-dead
    A rock crushed him/her to death.

c. mii3  a-n  ook3-lhum
    person  3NOM-PL  hang-dead
    They hanged someone (to death).

In the following examples, the second part of the derived verb indicates the attitude or intentions or purpose of the subject.

(102) a. a1  tlui-lui
    3NOM  fall-purpose
    (S)he fell on purpose.

b. a1  tlui-tralʔ3
    3NOM  fall-in spite of
    (S)he (stubbornly) fell on purpose.

c. a1  tlui-palʔ
    3NOM  fall-accidentally
    (S)he accidentally fell.

d. a  mu1-der1
    3NOM  sleep-feign
    (S)he feigned sleep.

e. a1  en3-look3
    3NOM  look-ahead
    (S)he looked ahead of time/revised.

f. a1  en3-rhaam2
    3NOM  look-with great difficulty
    (S)he looked with great difficulty.

Another type of verb concatenation involves DMPs and motion verbs that form one syntactic unit.

(103) a. a  lou-kali
    3NOM  hither-go
    (S)he came (hither).
b. \( a1 \) chuk-\textit{thaa}  
3NOM descend-downwards  
(S)he descended.

Note that in each of these examples the DMP's (\textit{lo}u2 and \textit{thaa}) can no longer stand as a lexical main verb. This lexicalisation of motion verbs has been attested to in several TB languages; see DeLancey (1983) and (1985c).

The other type of derived verbs modify only Stem II verbs. These are adjectival verbs expressing degree or manner (something like ‘-ness’ in English).

(104) a. \( i1 \) aat3 - \textit{ziaa}  
2P foolishII-ness  
your foolishness

b. \( i1 \) aat3 - \textit{daan}  
2P foolishII-manner  
the manner of your folly

c. \( a1 \) aat3 - \textit{thaaak}  
3P foolishII-ness  
it is (very) foolish

The others express benefactive or causative relationships.

(105) a. \( kor \) \( mi1 \) lei-\textit{sak}  
dress 1ABS buyII-BEN  
(S)he bought a dress for/from me.

b. \( kor \) \( mi1 \) lei-\textit{pui}  
dress 1ABS buyII-with  
(S)he helped me buy a dress.

c. \( kor \) \( mi1 \) lei-\textit{tiir1}  
dress 1ABS buyII-compel  
(S)he made me buy a dress.

Still others show movement away from or over the object.

(106) a. \( ui \) \( kal \) zuan-\textit{khum} 3  
dog 1NOM jumpII-over  
I jumped over a dog

b. \( in \) \( kal \) kal-\textit{san} 3  
house 1NOM goII-desert  
I deserted the house.
2.5.5 Aspect markers

Aspect markers are particles and not lexical words. Their position is immediately following the adverbial particles (which can also mark aspect). Aspect markers relate an event to the time axis. They indicate if an event has happened yet, and if the event is completed or about to be completed. They also indicate how soon one can expect an event to take place and whether or not the event has been a long-awaited one. Several aspect markers have similar meanings with just shades of difference in their interpretation. Traditional grammarians have mistaken them for tense markers, even though their examples clearly show that Mizo does not mark tense (see Lorrain and Savidge (1898)). The following examples illustrate the versatility of aspect markers:

(107) a. a kal1 to?
   3NOM go PST/COMPL
   (S)he already left.

b. a kal1 taa3
   3NOM go at last
   (S)he has left at last.

c. a kal1 cia?l
   3NOM go just now
   (S)he just left.

d. a kal1 meck1
   3NOM go PROG
   (S)he is going.

e. a kal1 treep3
   3NOM go IMM FUT
   (S)he is just about to leave.

f. a kal1 doon1
   3NOM go ASP
   (S)he is going to leave/go.

g. a kal1 doon1 to?
   3NOM go ASP PST/COMPL
   (S)he is going to leave/go shortly.

h. a kal1 doon1 treep3
   3NOM go ASP IMM FUT
   (S)he is almost leaving.

2.5.6 Mode marker

The mode marker ang2 marks a probable event or state. Because it is connected to a future event, it is often mistaken for a future tense marker. The examples below will demonstrate that it is different from the future tense marker for several reasons. For instance, it follows the negation
marker whereas the future tense marker precedes it. The fact that they can both occur within the same phrase indicates that their functions are different.

(108) a. a kal1 ang2  
3NOM go MOD  
(S)he will go.

b. a kal1 lou ang2  
3NOM go NEG MOD  
(S)he will not go.

c. a kal1 doon1 lou ang2  
3NOM go ASP NEG MOD  
(S)he will not be going.

Lehman calls both ang2 and doon1 ‘future irrealis mode markers’, (in personal communication). I have decided not to make this distinction until I find a satisfactory explanation for their syntactic difference.

2.5.7 Negation marker

The negation word in Mizo, lou, follows what it negates.

(109) a. a kal1 du? lou  
3NOM go desire NEG  
(S)he does not want to go.

b. a mu1 lou  
3NOM sleep NEG  
(S)he is not sleeping.

c. a mu1 doon1 lou  
3NOM sleep ASP NEG  
(S)he is not going to sleep

d. a mu1 lou ang2  
3NOM sleep NEG MOD  
(S)he will not sleep.

2.6 Morphology and cliticisation

Tibeto-Burman languages tend to have complex morphology, cf. Bauman (1974), Michailovsky (1974) and DeLancey (1983). Mizo is no exception and I will deal very briefly with some of the verb morphology.

To start with, it will be useful to set up some criteria for distinguishing between particles, clitics and affixes. Zwicky (1985) has given some useful guidelines. For the time being I will distinguish between grammatical words and affixes as the latter are inflectional. Moreover, affixes
have a wide variety of phonological shapes and generally also have a wide variety of tones; cf. plural affixes. I have further subdivided grammatical words into three categories: clitics, particles and words. Of these, only the last can constitute the major word classes while the others are modifiers of some sort. The distinction between clitics and particles is not very clear at this point. In general, clitics are obligatory whereas particles are not. Particles can also be distinguished by their phonological properties. For instance, particles and words have similar phonological shapes but particles usually do not undergo the SYLLABLE STRENGTHENING RULE\textsuperscript{9} and are affected by intonation. Moreover, particles have very little lexical content but are highly functional.

The test to differentiate between clitics and affixes is even more difficult to conduct. Phonological rules are helpful in distinguishing between the two. For instance, clitics behave like independent words whereas affixes can change their phonological shape under certain conditions. A good example is the determiners where the tone of the ergative suffix combines with the tone of the determiner to form a different tone. Moreover, affixes are often one phonological unit: the demonstrative pronoun plural marker -\textit{ng}, for instance.

2.6.1 Affixes

There are relatively few affixes. These are some of the more important ones:

2.6.1.1 Gender suffix

All proper names must have a gender suffix (see also section 2.3.2.4). The female gender suffix -\textit{ii} and the male gender suffix -\textit{a} are dropped in the vocative case, if the name is longer than two syllables. The vocative case is indicated by a low tone on the final syllable. For female names, the low tone of the vocative combines with the high tone of the affix so that the tone becomes a falling tone. Thus we get TONE CONTOURING\textsuperscript{10} as in the case of determiners followed by ergative markers. (Tone contouring does not apply to male names because they are low tone in citation form.) Consider the following examples:

\begin{align*}
(110) & \quad \text{a. } \textit{Maam1-a} & \quad \text{Mama (boy's nickname)} \\
& \quad \text{b. } \textit{Maam1-aa} & \quad \text{Mama! (vocative)} \\
& \quad \text{c. } \textit{Maam1-ii} & \quad \text{Mami (girl's nickname)} \\
& \quad \text{d. } \textit{Maam1-ii3} & \quad \text{Mami! (vocative)} \\
& \quad \text{e. } \textit{Maam1-boi?-a} & \quad \text{Mambawiha (usually firstborn son)} \\
& \qquad \text{EMT-MSUF} & \\
& \quad \text{f. } \textit{Maam1-boi?-ii} & \quad \text{Mambawihi} \\
& \qquad \text{EMT-FSUF} & \\
& \quad \text{g. } \textit{Maam1-boi?} & \quad \text{Mambawih! (vocative)}
\end{align*}
2.6.1.2 Plural suffix

Pronouns are the only items marked for number. Each of the different types of pronouns have their own plural form. Thus, -nii3 is the plural marker for full pronouns, -n is the plural marker for subject pronoun clitics and -ng is the plural marker for the demonstrative pronouns. (See also section 2.3.1.1 and section 2.3.2.5.) For example:

(111) a. kei2 ka zaa1
    1PRO INOM sing
    I sing

b. kei-nii3 ka-n zaa1
    1PRO-PL INOM-PL sing
    we sing

c. ka zaa1
    INOM sing
    I sing

d. ka-n zaa1
    INOM-PL sing
    we sing

e. hEE nou1 hii1
    DPRO cup DET
    this cup

f. hEE3-ng nou1 hii1
    DPRO-PL cup DET
    these cups

The plural marker for the demonstrative pronoun is restricted to non-humans. Thus one cannot have:

(112) *hEE3-ng mii3 hii1
    DPRO-PL cup DET
    these people

Instead, the preferred form is:

(113) hEE mii3 te1 hii1
    DPRO person EX DET
    these people and such

2.6.1.3 Relativiser

The relativiser -a and the third person nominative clitic a probably have the same historical origin, cf. Lehman (1975b). It is used both in relative clause constructions and in genitival constructions. In relative clauses, the relativiser optionally follows the relative clause.
(114) \(pu1\)-tar1 vok lei1 (-a) kha1
old-man pig buy (-REL) DET
the old man who bought a pig

If the subject of the relative clause is female 
-\(i1\) may be used instead.

(115) \(pi1\)-tar1 vok lei (-\(i1\)) kha1
old-woman pig buy (-REL) DET
the old woman who bought the pig

In genitival-of constructions, the relativiser carries a high tone, as in.

(116) nang1-a1 faa3
2PRO-REL child
the child of yours

Furthermore, the relativiser will coalesce with the final vowel of the preceding word, and change the tone of the preceding word as well.

(117) //tuu-a1 ui2// \(\rightarrow\) /tuu1 ui2/
WH -REL dog WH-REL dog
whose dog/dog of whom?

There is a homophonous and perhaps related nominalising prefix \(a1\) which occurs before verbs and bound noun stems that are nominalised. One may perhaps instead compare this with the third person nominative verb clitic \(a\).

(118) a. \(a1\)-trhaaa trha3
of-good good
the best ones (out of the rest)

b. \(a1\)-nuu \(a1\)-paa
it-female it-male
both male and female

c. \(a1\)-lian a-tee2
it-big it-small
both great and small

There are also instances where \(a1\)- has become lexicalised, as in the following conjunctions, cf. 3.4.3.

(119) a. \(a1\)-trang1 from
b. \(a1\)-piang1 whoever
c. \(a1\)-vaang because

The above examples also show that the prefix \(a1\)- is probably not the third person nominative clitic since it does not undergo tone sandhi.
2.6.1.4 Ergative and oblique suffixes on determiners

The determiners have their own markers which are similar to the regular ergative marker and the oblique marker, see section 2.3.1.3. The markers on the determiners can co-occur with the other marker, without causing any changes in the meaning, though the complete form sounds more emphatic. Thus, the ergative marker and the oblique marker are optional for determiners. Compare the following examples:

(120) a. hei3 hi-an3 a1 vuua
   DPRO DET-ERG 3NOM hit
   This (one) hit him.

b. hei3 hi-an3 in a1 vuua
   DPRO DET-ERG ERG 3NOM hit
   This (one) hit him.

c. hei3 hi-an1 a1 vuua
   DPRO DET-OBLQ 3NOM hit
   (S)he hit it with this.

d. hei3 hi-an1 in1 a1 vuua
   DPRO DET-OBLQ OBLQ 3NOM hit
   (S)he hit it with this.

2.6.1.5 Nominaliser

Verbs and adjectives are nominalised by the suffix -na1. See also section 2.3.2.3 on nominalised nouns. The same suffix is used for ordinal numbers.

(121) a. a-nheel1 a? mooi-na1 a om2 lou
   3P face LOC pretty-NLZ 3NOM exist NEG
   There was no beauty on his face.

b. ka1 trhuat-na1 a? i trhuu1
   1P sitII-NLZ LOC 2NOM sit
   You're sitting where I sat/my chair

c. pa-khat-na1 a1 nii
   unit-one-NLZ 3NOM is
   (S)he was first

2.6.1.6 Agentiviser

The agentiviser -tuu3 is equivalent to the English ' -er', as demonstrated in the following examples.
(122) a. puan trhui1-tuu3
cloth sew -AGT
tailor
b. khoool1 chu1-tuu3
machine strike-AGT
typist
c. be-naam veeng1-tuu3
sheep guard-AGT
shepherd

It seems that both the nominaliser and the agentiviser are rather recent developments since both are used mainly for things that are foreign to traditional Mizo society. Another similarity between the two is that both are suffixed to a similar class of words. The major difference between the two is that the nominaliser is used on words derived from Stems II verbs, whereas the agentiviser is used on words derived from Stem I verbs.

2.6.1.7 Reflexive/reciprocal prefix

The reflexive and reciprocal prefix are the same. The difference between the two is indicated by the preceding nominative marker where the singular form is used for reflexives and the plural form for reciprocals. Reciprocity (of an action) is indicated by prefixing in- to the main verb. For example:

(123) a. a1 in-meet3
3NOM REF-shave
He is shaving himself.
b. a2-n in-suual1
3NOM-PL RCP-fight
They are fighting (each other).

Reflexives with full NPs are as follows:

(124) a. kei2-ma? le? kei2-ma? ka1 in-biaa
1PRO-EMP and 1PRO-EMP 1NOM REF-speak to
I'm talking to myself.
b. nang2-ma? le? nang2-ma? il in-biaa
2PRO-EMP and 2PRO-EMP 2NOM REF-speak to
You are talking to yourself.
c. a1-ma? le? a1-ma? a1 in-biaa
3PRO-EMP and 3PRO-EMP 3NOM REF-speak to
(S)he is talking to herself/himself.
d. a2-n maʔ-nii3 leʔ a2-n maʔ-nii3 a2-n in-bum
   3PRO-PL EMP-PL and 3PRO-PL EMP-PL 3NOM-PL REF-cheat
   They are cheating each other/one is cheating the other.

I have chosen to call in- a prefix because in many cases, words containing this prefix have become one lexical item. That is, a word such as in-duʔ means ‘to be proud’ and is no longer associated with its original meaning ‘to desire oneself’.

(125) a. in-suŋ1
   RCP-fight
   to fight

b. in-dou1
   RCP-war
   to be at war

c. in-cei1
   RCP-decorate
   to be dressed up

d. in-khoon3
   RCP-gather
   to meet as a group

e. in-duʔ
   RCP-want
   to be proud

f. in-tiat3
   RCP-same size
   to be of the same size

When the direct cause of an event cannot be determined for sure, the prefix in- is used (sometimes to clear oneself of blame).

(126) a. kong1-kaa1 a1 in-hong1
   door 3NOM REF-open
   The door is open (who knows who opened it).

b. ka1 la-phiaar a1 in-triat3
   1PRO-thread-knit(II) 3NOM REF-undo
   My knitting got undone (by itself).

The reflexive usually suggests volitional action by the subject, so that

(127) cem1 in1 ka1 in-aat3
   knife OBLQ 1NOM REF-cut
   I cut myself with a knife.
implies that the subject was careless. That is, the above example could be interpreted to mean 'I wasn't watching what I was doing so I cut myself'. On the other hand, the following sentence implies that the action was accidental;

(128)  cem1 in  mi1 aat3
       knife  ERG 1ABS  cut
       A knife cut me.

This example could mean that 'the knife slipped and cut me'. The case markers on 'knife' are different in the above examples. In 127 it is marked with the instrumental or oblique marker but in 128 it is marked with the ergative marker. Similarly, the first person nominative becomes first person accusative, that is, the subject in 127 is the object in 128. Thus, when there is no reflexive, the speaker becomes the object, that is, the patient of an action beyond his/her control. It is also interesting to note that Tibetan has a way of distinguishing between volitional and non-volitional, cf. DeLancey (1985a, b).

2.6.2 Clitics

Because their phonological shapes and properties are so similar, it is often difficult to distinguish between particles and clitics. Historically, they might all have been particles. However, it seems as though clitics have lost their grammatical independence, and in the case of pronoun clitics, even their phonological independence. Clitics are obligatory in certain constructions whereas particles are not.

2.6.2.1 Pronoun clitics

As mentioned earlier, pronoun clitics are tightly bound to whatever they precede. There are only three types in the noun phrase (see section 2.3.2.5) whereas in the verb phrase there are two more besides these: the prefixed first person accusative marker and the suffixed second person accusative marker. The following examples will demonstrate how the different forms are used in a transitive clause.

The subject pronoun clitics in an intransitive clause are as follows:

(129)  a.  poon1 a?  ka1 chuak3
       outside  LOC 1NOM  exit
       I went outside.

b.  poon1 a?  i1 chuak3
    outside  LOC 2NOM  exit
    You went outside.

c.  poon1 a?  a1 chuak3
    outside  LOC 3NOM  leave
    (S)he went outside
The pronoun clitics for objects are as follows:

(130) a. *aar1 in mi1 cuk*
    hen ERG 1ACC peck
    A hen pecked me.

b. *aar1 in a1 cuk ce1*
    hen ERG 3NOM peck 2ACC
    A hen pecked you.

c. *aar1 in a1 cuk ø*
    hen ERG 3NOM peck 3ACC
    A hen pecked (her/him/it).

Plural forms of the pronoun clitics are as follows:

(131) a. *aar1-ral in a2-n cuk ø*
    hen-flock ERG 3NOM-PL peck 3ACC
    A flock of hens pecked it.

b. *aar1 in a1 cuk ce1 u1*
    hen ERG 3NOM peck 2ACC PL
    A hens pecked you (pl).

c. *aar1 in a2-n cuk ce1 u1*
    hen ERG 3NOM-PL peck 2ACC PL
    (Several) hens pecked you (pl).

2.6.2.2 Ergative marker

Like many languages of this area, Mizo is a partially ergative language. In a transitive clause, the agent is marked by a case marker on the noun phrase. At the same time, the obligatory pronoun clitics in the verb phrase are organised according to nominative-accusative principles (see the preceding section and section 2.5.4.2).

The ergative case marker is a clitic and not an affix because it follows the whole noun phrase (including conjoined NPs), and is attached to whatever happens to be the last item in the noun phrase. It is optional when there are determiners. See also section 2.3.1.3.

(132) a. *Dou1-an3 mi1 vuaa*
    -MSUF ERG 1ACC hit
    Dova hit me.

b. *ka1 nuu3 in mi1 vuaa*
    1P mother ERG 1ACC beat
    My mother beat me.
c. \(ka1\) \(nuu3\) \(le?\) \(ka1\) \(paa3\) \(in\) \(min2\) \(vuua\)
1P mother and 1P father ERG 1ACC beat
My mother and my father beat me.

d. \(hee\) \(naau1\) \(le?\) \(soo\) \(naau1\) \(soo3-n\) \(in\) \(mi1\) \(veel\)
this child and that child DET-ERG ERG 1ACC hit
This child and that child hit me.

2.6.2.3 Oblique marker

The oblique marker also marks instruments. Furthermore, it has two phonological forms: \(in\) for words and the suffix \(-an\) for determiners and relative clause constructions. The ergative marker and the oblique marker are identical except for their tone (see also section 3.1.1). For example:

(133) a. \(tiang\) \(in1\) \(mi1\) \(vuua\)
stick OBLQ 1ACC beat
(Someone) beat me with a stick.

b. \(tui2\) \(le?\) \(chang\) \(in1\) \(ka\) \(tla1\)
water and bread OBLQ 1NOM be satisfied
I am satisfied with (just) bread and water.

c. \(la-sen1\) \(le?\) \(la-pool\) \(in1\) \(ka1\) \(triaal\)
yarn-red and yarn-blue OBLQ 1NOM stripedII
I made the stripes with red and blue yarn.

2.6.2.4 Locative marker

As mentioned earlier (section 2.3.1.2 and 2.5.1.3), the locative marker has two basic forms: \(a?\) for any noun and \(ta?\) for determiners.

(134) a. \(Aii-zool1\) \(a?\) \(ka\) \(peem1\) \(doon1\)
Aizawl LOC 1NOM move to ASP
I am going to move to Aizawl.

b. \(so1\) \(ta?\) \(soo1-n\) \(ka\) \(kal1\) \(du?\)
DPRO LOC DET-OBLQ 1NOM go desire
I want to go there

The above two forms are further modified in non-main clauses (e.g. relative clauses) or in transitive clauses by the addition of the relativiser, \(-a1\).

(135) a. \(Aii-zool\) \(a1\) \(ka1\) \(kal\) \(nii1\) \(kha-an1\)
Aizawl LOC-REL 1NOM goII day DET-OBLQ
On the day that I went to Aizawl …
b. *So1 ta1 mii3 so1 ka1 en3*
   there LOC-REL person DET INOM look
   I'm looking at that man over there.

### 2.6.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns and determiners

As mentioned earlier, the demonstrative pronoun and the determiner agree in deictic degree. Refer to sections 2.3.1, 2.3.1.1, 2.3.1.2, 2.3.1.3, 2.6.1.2 and 2.6.1.4 for demonstrative pronoun and determiner morphologies. See also Benedict (1983). The following are the six possible pairs in Mizo:

\[(136) \quad \text{Dem pro and det}\]

\[a. \ hei3 \ hi1 \quad \text{this (near speaker)}\]
\[b. \ khaa3 \ kha1 \quad \text{that (near addressee)}\]
\[c. \ khi3 \ khi1 \quad \text{that (up there)}\]
\[d. \ khuu3 \ khu1 \quad \text{that (down there)}\]
\[e. \ soo3 \ so1 \quad \text{that (far)}\]
\[f. \ cuu3 \ cu1 \quad \text{that (out of sight)}\]

It is worth noting here that out of the above determiners, there are two that have a different meaning within the context of a discourse. The two *kha1* 'that' and *cu1* are anaphoric, where *kha1* refers to something that the speaker has heard or seen but that the addressee has maybe only seen or heard of; and *cu1* refers to something the addressee has seen or heard of but the speaker has only heard of. When used in this sense (that is, to refer to something in the past) the determiners *kha1* and *cu1* can follow any of the other demonstrative pronouns, as in:

\[(137) \quad \text{a. } he1 \ ta1 \ mii3 \ kha1\]
   here LOC-REL person that
   the person who was over here.

\[\text{b. } so1-laai1 \ a1 \ mii3 \ cu1\]
   that-about LOC-REL person there
   (I wonder about) that person over there.

The anaphoric function of the determiners becomes obvious when one compares the above examples with the examples shown below:
(138) a. hei1 ta1 mii3 hi1
   this LOC-REL person this
   this person over here

   b. soi-lai1 a1 mii3 soi
   that-about LOC-REL person that
   that person over there

Moreover, the determiner cu1 is the only determiner that can follow any of the other
demonstrative pronoun and determiner pairs. When this happens, cu1 effectively negates the
whole NP, as in:

(139) hei3 hi1 cu1
   this this that
   not this one

2.6.3.2 Emphatic particles

The emphatic particle for demonstrative pronouns is maʔ. It can be roughly translated to mean

(140) a. eng3 maʔ ka1 mhu lou
   WH EMP 1NOM see NEG
   I don’t see anything.

   b. a1-ni13 maʔ a lou-ka11
   3PRO-PL EMP 3NOM come
   Even (s)he came.

2.6.3.3 Quantifying particles

Quantifying particles can occur both in the noun phrase and the verb phrase. The most
important ones in the noun phrase were shown in section 2.3.5.2. Those in the verb phrase are
modal in character and are postverbal. It is usually not necessary to have quantifying particles in
both noun phrase and verb phrase.

The examples below will show the difference between the two types.

(141) a. ka aar1 zong zong3 mi1 lei sak
   IP hen all 1ACC buyII BEN
   (S)he bought all my hens for/from me.

   b. ka aar1 min2 lei sak vek1
   IP hen 1ACC buyII BEN all
   (S)he bought all my hens for/from me.
c. *aar1 tam2 tak .a lei2*
   hen many INT 3NOM bought
   (S) he bought several hens.

d. *aar1 a lei treuʔ1*
   hen 3NOM buy many
   (S) he bought several hens.

e. *a2-n vaai2 in1 a-n chuak3*
   3PRO-PL all OBLQ 3NOM-PL exit
   They all left.

f. *a-n chuak3 vek1*
   3NOM-PL exit all
   They all left.

Thus, from the above it appears as though the quantifiers in both the noun phrase and the verb phrase have similar meanings. However, there are fewer types of quantifiers in the verb phrase. The postverbal quantifiers also seem to express degree, besides quantity. They are used mostly for uncountable items whereas the quantifiers in the noun phrase are usually countable.

Compare the following examples:

(142) a. *voi3 tam2 tak mii vuaa*
   times many INT 1ACC beat
   (S) he beat me several times.

   b. *mii wo rhep1*
   1ACC beat severely
   (S) he gave me a severe beating.

2.6.3.4 Intensifiers

Intensifiers generally follow a general quantifier or an adjective, as in:

(143) a. *pang-paar1 tam2 tak ka lei2*
   flower many INT 1NOM buy
   I bought many flowers.

   b. *pang-paar1 mooi1 tak ka1 mhuu*
   flower pretty INT 1NOM see
   I saw a very beautiful flower.

   c. *pang-paar1 mooi1 em3 em3 ka1 mhuu*
   flower pretty INT 1NOM see
   I saw a very, very beautiful flower.
d. *pang-paarl mooi1 lu1-tuk ka1 mhuu*
   flower pretty INT INOM see
   I saw a gorgeous flower.

Intensifiers, when they modify the verb, are postverbal (like the VP quantifying particles). Thus we can have:

(144) a. *coo3 ka ei1 nhem3 lu1-tuk*
   rice INOM eat much INT
   I ate too much (rice).

b. *a1 trap na1-sa1 lu1-tuk*
   3NOM cry very much INT
   (S)he cried too much.

c. *coo3 ka ei1 nghek1*
   food INOM eat INT
   I ate a lot/had a huge meal.

2.6.3.5 Non-final and final particles

The non-final particle is *aa1*, and the final particles are *ei* for declaratives and *vee* for exclamations, cf. 64.

(145) a. *coo3 ka ei aa1 ka muu*
   food INOM eat NFP INOM sleep
   I ate and then I slept.

b. *coo3 ka ei1 ei1*
   food INOM eat DECL
   (I declare) I am eating.

c. *coo3 i-n va ei1 mhaa1 vee*
   food 2NOM-PL how eat early EXCL
   You are dining so early!

2.7 Conclusion

This section has provided a brief glance at the basic syntactic structure of Mizo. Being an SOV language, the NPs precede the VP with the indirect object preceding the direct object. The internal structure of the phrases is not always consistent with those of typical SOV languages. Thus, quantifiers and qualifiers follow the head. Each phrase is made up of words, clitics, particles and affixes, some of which are more important than others. The general principle of organisation is left-branching with some important exceptions. Each NP has a case marker and each VP a pronoun clitic.
Some of the important features of the language, such as ergativity and questions, will be discussed in the following section.

3. Simple sentences

This section will deal with simple sentences as well as the various forms of questions and imperatives. These examples will be an expanded form of what has already been mentioned in the preceding section. Grammatical roles and agreements will also be discussed in this section. Thus, this section will give the reader a view of what Mizo sentences really look like and how they relate to the larger context of speech acts and syntactic constraints. As in the previous section, most of the terminology used in describing the various sentences is from Givón (1984).

3.1 Grammatical roles and relations

The grammatical roles and relations are clearly marked both in the noun phrase and the verb phrase. It is interesting to note that the noun phrase displays an ergative system while the verb phrase displays a nominative-accusative system.

3.1.1 Ergativity

As a comparison of transitive and intransitive clauses show the direct object in the transitive requires the same case marking as that in the intransitive, e.g.

(1) a. boong3 ø a thii1
    cow ABS 3NOM die
    A cow has died.

   b. boong3 in nhim3 ø a1 pet
    cow ERG grass ABS 3NOM graze
    A cow is grazing (eating grass).

The ergative case marker comes at the end of the subject NP in the transitive clause, as shown:

(2) a. boong3 le? keel in nhim3 ø a2-n pet
    cow and goat ERG grass ABS 3NOM-PL graze
    A cow and goat are grazing.

   b. kai boong3 zong-zong1 in nhim3 ø a2-n pet
    1P cow all ERG grass ABS 3NOM-PL graze
    All my cows are grazing.

As mentioned before (section 2.6.2.2 and 2.6.2.3), the ergative marker and the instrument/oblique marker are phonologically similar, as is widely the case in ergative languages, the only difference between them being their tone. Often this subtle difference in tone causes dramatic changes of interpretation, that is, the agent in one becomes the patient in the other. When there are two full NPs with case markers, it is easier to see the role of the pronoun clitic.
The grammar of simple clauses in Mizo

(3) a. lal1 in
    \[ \emptyset \, \emptyset \, hria1 \, in1 \, a1-chun \]
    ERG ABS needle OBLQ 3NOM-pierced
    The chief/someone pierced someone/something with a needle.

b. lal1 \[ \emptyset \, hria1 \, in \, a1-chun \]
    ABS needle ERG 3NOM-pierced
    The needle pierced the chief/someone.

The following are some examples to show the importance of this tone difference.

(4) a. rhia1 in1 a1 chun
    needle OBLQ 3NOM pierced
    (S)he pierced (it) with a needle.

b. rhia1 in \[ \emptyset \, a1 \, chun \]
    needle ERG ABS 3NOM pierced
    A needle pierced him/her.

c. tu11 in1 a1 leiʔ-huʔ
    water OBLQ 3NOM pour-wet
    (S)he poured/wet it with water.

d. tu11 in \[ \emptyset \, a1 \, leiʔ-huʔ \]
    water ERG ABS 3NOM pour-wet
    (S)he got soaked (by water).

e. a1 kee in1 a daal1
    3P leg OBLQ 3NOM block
    (S)he blocked it with her/his leg.

f. a1 kee in \[ \emptyset \, a \, daal2 \]
    3P leg ERG ABS 3NOM block
    Her/his leg blocked (it).

3.1.2 Subject clitic agreement with NP

The subject markers generally agree in number with the subject. There are, however, some exceptions as shown below.

Non-human mass nouns are generally singular, as in:

(5) a. ka puan2-phou a1 tlaa
    1P cloth -to sunII 3NOM fall
    My laundry has fallen (to the ground).
b. i2-n huan a1 pang-kaar a moo1
2P-PL garden LOC-REL flower 3NOM pretty
The flowers in your garden are beautiful.

c. in ran1-vul? a1 thee
2P-PL animals-raise 3NOM good
Your (domestic) animals are in good health.

Animate subjects with the quantifier tin meaning 'each and all', or a1 piang1 meaning 'whoever/whichever', require plural agreement with the subject clitic. Thus:

(6) a. nulaa1 tin in thing2 ø a-n phur1
maidens each ERG wood ABS 3NOM-PL carry
Each maiden is carrying firewood.

b. nulaa1 a1-piang1 in thing2 ø a-n phur1
maidens whoever ERG wood ABS 3NOM-PL carry
Whoever was a maiden carried firewood.

c. a1 thee a1-piang1 a-n kal1
3NOM can whoever 3NOM-PL go
Whoever could go went.

d. u12 tin in aar1 a-n uum3
dogs each ERG hen 3NOM-PL chase
Each dog chased a chicken.

Non-humans, however, require singular agreement with the subject clitic. Compare example 6 above with those below:

(7) a. pang-kaar tin a1 taa
flower each 3NOM fall
Each of the flowers fell.

b. a1-tui1 tin a1 keh
egg each 3NOM break
Each of the eggs broke.

When there is more than one subject, then the person of the subject pronoun is determined by the following hierarchy: first person outranks second person which outranks third person. Thus, if all three are in the subject NP, then the subject clitic is determined by the first person, as in:

(8) kei2 le? nang2 le? a1-nui3 ka-n kal1 ang2
1PRO and 2PRO and 3PRO-PL 1NOM-PL go MOD
(S)he, you and I will go.

If there is only first person with either one, then first person outranks the others, as in:

(9) a. kei2 le? nang2 ka-n kal1 ang2
1PRO and 2PRO 1NOM-PL go MO
You and I will go.
b. kei2 le? a1-nii3 ka-n kal1 ang2
   1PRO and 3PRO-PL 3NOM-PL go MOD
   (S)he and I will go.

If there is only second and third person, then the subject agreement is with the second person, as in:

(10) nang2 le? a1-nii i-n kal1 ang2
   2PRO and 3PRO-PL 2NOM-PL go MOD
   You and (s)he will go.

Objects are also ranked similarly. In this case, the accusative markers indicate agreement, as in:

(11) a. ui1 in kei2 le? nang2 le? a1-nii3 mi1 uum3
dog ERG 1PRO and 2PRO and 3PRO-PL 1ACC chase
A dog is chasing you, him/her and I.

b. ui1 in nang2 le? a1-nii3 a1 uum3 ce1 u1
dog ERG you and 3PRO-PL 3NOM chase 2ACC PL
A dog is chasing you and him/her.

The above agreement rules are true for all clause types except hortatives, in which case one finds the second person marking in both nominative and accusative forms, i.e. i, and uu1:

(12)  i kal1 ang uu1
   2NOM go MOD HORT
   Let us go!

The second person object marker, i may be a dual inclusive as in Thadou, cf. Krishan (1980).

3.1.3 Word order

Mizo is a fairly rigid SOV language. In the previous section we have seen the internal structure of the phrases: attributes follow the head noun (see section 2.3.4 and 2.3.5); case markers follow the head noun (see sections 2.6.2.2 and 2.6.2.3): genitival-of constructions precede the head noun (sections 2.3.3 and 2.6.1.3). Moreover, as we will see in section 4, relative clauses precede the main clause.

At the sentence level, the normal order is SOV.

(13) nau1-pang1 in sa-zuu3 o a man1
    child ERG rat ABS 3NOM catch
    The child caught a rat.

Permutation is allowed when there is a change in focus. Thus, if the object is in focus, the word order is OSV.

(14) sa-zuu3 o nau1-pang1 in a man1
    rat ABS child ERG 3NOM catch
    The child caught a rat (not a cat).
If the event is in focus, then the word order is OVS.

(15) sa-zuu 3 φ a man 1 nau 1-pang 1 in
     rat ABS 3NOM catch child ERG
     The child caught a rat!

Example 15 is rather awkward as it sounds like two incomplete sentences. If there is more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object.

(16) pi1-tar1 in nau1-pang2 ip φ a1 pee
     old-woman ERG child bag ABS 3NOM give
     The old woman gave the child a bag.

Locatives usually come between the subject and the object, as in:

(17) nau1-pang1 in poon1 a? ui φ a1 uum3
     child ERG outside LOC dog ABS 3NOM chase
     A child is chasing a dog outside.

It is also possible to have both instrument and locative

(18) nau1-pang1 in poon1 a? tiang in1 ui φ a1 vuaa
     child ERG outside LOC stick OBLQ dog ABS 3NOM hit
     A child is hitting a dog with a stick outside.

Furthermore, one can also get an adverbial NP preceding the nominative clitic marker, so that a maximally modified sentence would look like.

(19) nau1-pang1 in ... poon1 a? tiang in1 ui φ na deu? in1 a1 vuaa
     child ERG outside LOC stick OBLQ dog ABS hard INT OBLQ 3NOM hit
     A child is beating a dog with great force outside.

3.2 Verbal sentences

Verbs with a single argument (objectless verbs) become the subject/topic in a simple sentence. Such verbs may denote either temporary or permanent states of the subject/object. Various semantic case roles occur for NPs in verbal sentences. Verbal sentences in which the subject is patient-of-state are:

(20) a. keel a thii1
     goat 3NOM dead
     A goat is dead.

b. cem1 a rhiaam1
     knife 3NOM sharp
     The knife is sharp.
c. *nou1 a1 ke?
cup 3NOM broken
The cup is broken.

The subject can also be dative-of-state

(21) a. *Zou1-a a dam1-lou
-MSUF 3NOM well-NEG
Zova is sick.

b. *pi1-tar1 a lhim1
woman-old 3NOM happy
The old woman is happy.

Sentences where the subject is patient-of-change are:

(22). a. *in a1 cim
house 3NOM collapse
The house collapsed.

b. *thaa1 a1 troi?
vegetables 3NOM rotten
The vegetables have rotted.

c. *ar1-tui1 a1 keu3
egg 3NOM hatch
The egg hatched.

Sometimes the change in the object is brought about by an external agent or an instrument, as in:

(23) a. *tiang in1 nou1 ka1 wo-ke?
stick OBLQ cup 1NOM hit-break
I (hit) broke the cup with a stick.

b. *co-mhe? ka1 chuum-mhin1
food-side 1NOM cook-cooked
I (completed) cooked the side dishes.

In sentences with both the subject and object, the subject can be dative-of-state, as in:

(24) a. *il paa3 ka rhiaa2
2P father 1NOM know
I know your father.

b. *kong1-kaa1 ka hong1 thiam2
door 1NOM open know
I know how to open the door.

c. *phuung3-pui-nuu3 ka lhau2
1NOM fear
I'm afraid of Phungpuinu (an evil witch).
Other verbs are subject-of-change, as in:

(25) a. *lhaa2 ka-n zir1*
    song 1NOM-PL learn
    We are learning a song.

b. *caang1 a vong2*
    verse 3NOM memorise
    (S)he is memorising verses.

Still others are object-of-change verbs, as in:

(26) a. *Maam1-i1 ka1 ti?-trhai?*
    -FSUF 1NOM frighten
    I frightened Mami.

b. *Rual1-a ka1 ti-thin-rim3*
    -MSUF 1NOM make-angry
    I made Ruala angry.

c. *nau1-pang2 ka1 zir-tüer1*
    children 1NOM learn-II-make
    I'm teaching the children.

Sometimes the objects of sentences coding a physical change do not directly impact the dative object, as in:

(27) a. *nau1-pang2 le?-kha-buu3 ka1 pce*
    child book 1NOM give
    I gave a book to the child.

b. *zual-kou1 ka-n tiür1*
    messenger 1NOM-PL send
    We sent a messenger.

c. *le?-khaa3 ka-n thou3*
    letter 3NOM-PL send
    We sent a letter.

### 3.2.1 Obligatoriness of subjects

The Mizo subject is obligatory in VPs for all clause types, except non-first person subjects with a first person object and imperatives. From the examples in the previous section, one can see that the subject is coded the same, whether it is (semantically) an agent or a patient. Moreover, the subject pronoun clitics are the same for both transitive and intransitive clauses.

The subject NP is obligatory for certain verbs. For instance, meteorological verbs cannot have a dummy subject like ‘it’, as in English.
(28)  
   a. *nii1 a saa1*
   sun 3NOM shining
   The sun is shining.
   b. *thii1 a thoo2*
   wind 3NOM blowing
   The wind is blowing.
   c. *khua1 a1 voot3*
   place 3NOM cold
   The weather is cold.

Emotive verbs also require a subject, as in:

(29)  
   a. *ka lung1 a leeng1*
   1P heart 3NOM gone away
   My heart is lonesome.
   b. *ka luu1 a hai1*
   1P head 3NOM dizzy
   My head is dizzy.
   c. *ka khua1 a1 sik*
   1P place 3NOM fever
   My disposition is feverish.
   d. *ka1 tra7 a1 chuak3*
   1P cryII 3NOM leave
   My tears are coming out.

3.2.2 Sentences with obligatory objects

In transitive sentences, the subject must be represented by the obligatory pronoun clitic in the VP but the full NPs are often omitted, see example 33. Some sentences require an object. These are usually change-of-state verbs where the object either causes the change or is affected by the change. The object can be animate or inanimate. Thus, consider:

(30)  
   a. *ui a1 vo-lhum*
   dog 3NOM beat-dead
   (S)he beat a dog to death.
   b. *cem1 a1 taat3-rhiaam1*
   knife 3NOM sharpen-sharp
   (S)he sharpened the knife.
   c. *tui1 a7 a1 tla-lhum*
   water LOC 3NOM fall-dead
   (S)he fell in the water and died (drowned).
3.2.3 Adjectival sentences

Objectless sentences are stative verbs, as in:

(31) a. a ngou1
    3NOM fair
    (S)he is fair (complexion).

b. a thaau1
    2NOM fat
    (S)he is fat.

c. a ngui2
    3NOM sad
    (S)he is sad/despondent.

d. a thiaam1
    3NOM sharp
    It is sharp.

3.2.4 Copula sentences

The copula verb *nii* can be used with NPs, as in:

(32) a. mi-sual a1 nii
    person-bad 3NOM be
    (S)he is evil.

b. nou1-thar1 a1 nii
    cup-new 3NOM be
    It is a new cup.

c. zaan a1 nii
    night 3NOM be
    It is night time.

3.2.5 Transitive sentences

Transitive verbs are characterised by the ergative marker *in* on the agent NP and an absolutive marker *φ* on the patient NP. Moreover, the nominative and accusative pronoun clitics are found in the VP. Since the NP is optional in most cases it will be shown in parentheses to show that its omission is possible.
(33)  
a. (kei₁ in) thing₂ ø ka phur₁  
(1PRO ERG) wood ABS 1NOM carry  
I'm carrying firewood.

b. (nang₁ in) thing₂ ø i phur₁  
(2PRO ERG) wood ABS 2NOM carry  
You are carrying firewood.

c. (a₁ nii₃ in) thing₂ ø a phur₁  
(3PRO-PL ERG) wood ABS 3NOM carry  
(S)he is carrying firewood.

d. (Zou₁ in₃) thing₂ ø a phur₁  
( -FSUF ERG) wood ABS 3NOM carry  
Zovi is carrying firewood.

e. (Zou₁-i₁ le? kei₁ in) thing₂ ø ka-n phur₁  
( -FSUF and 1PRO ERG) wood ABS 1NOM-PL carry  
Zovi and I are carrying firewood.

f. (Zou₁-i₁ le? nang₁ in) thing₂ ø i-n phur₁  
( -FSUF and 2PRO ERG) wood ABS 2NOM-PL carry  
You and Zovi are carrying firewood.

g. (Zou₁-i₁ le? Moi₁ in₃) thing₂ ø a-n phur₁  
( -FSUF and -FSUF ERG) wood ABS 3NOM-PL carry  
Zovi and Mawii are carrying firewood.

Transitive verbs can also have an instrumental NP, as in:

(34)  
a. nau₁-seen₁ ø puan in₁ ka tuam₂  
baby ABS cloth OBLQ 1NOM wrap  
I wrapped the baby with a blanket.

b. pu₄-tar₁ in₄ tiang in₁ nau₄-pang ø a₁ vu₄₄a  
old man ERG stick OBLQ child ABS 3NOM beat  
The old man beat the child with a stick.

3.2.6 Sentences with instrumental NP's

Instrumental NPs are formally very similar to ergative NPs since the morphological markings are similar. The instrumental marker in₁ functions to mark the instrument and manner adverbs, e.g.

(35)  
a. tiang in₁ ka₁ vu₄₄a  
stick OBLQ 1NOM hit  
I hit (it) with a stick.
b. tiang2 lian-pui1 in1 ka1 vuua
   stick big-very OBLQ 1NOM hit
   I hit it with a big stick.

c. tiang in1 il vuua
   stick OBLQ 2NOM hit
   You hit (it) with a stick.

d. tiang in1 a1 vuua
   stick OBLQ 3NOM hit
   (S)he hit (it) with a stick.

e. tiang in1 mi1 vuua
   stick OBLQ 1ACC hit
   (Someone) hit me with a stick.

f. tiang in1 a1 vuua ce1
   stick OBLQ 3NOM hit 2ACC
   (Someone) hit you with a stick.

Note that the oblique marker can occur in both transitive and intransitive sentences. In transitive clauses the instrument is usually something concrete whereas intransitive instruments are generally abstract, as in:

(36) lung1-nga1ª-na1 in1 a1 khat
    sad-NLZ OBLQ 3NOM full
    (S)he was full of sadness.

3.2.7 Sentences with locative NPs

Intransitive sentences often have locative NPs, as in:

(37) a. in-chuang1 aº a1 luut3
    house inside LOC 3NOM enter
    (S)he went inside the house.

b. sa-kor2 cung1 aº a cuang1
   horse top LOC 3NOM ride
   (S)he rode on a horse.

c. Ai1-zool1 aº a-n peem1
   LOC 3NOM-PL move to
   They moved to Aizawl.

Locatives can also occur in transitive sentences, as in:

(38) a. doº-kaan cung1 aº nou1 ø a huung1
    table top LOC cup ABS 3NOM place
    (S)he set the cup on the table.
b. *sum2 - mhun aʔ puan ø a1 taʔ*  
mortar-place LOC cloth ABS 3NOM place  
She is weaving on the porch

c. *in-cung1 aʔ puan2 ø a phou1*  
house-top LOC clothes ABS 3NON to sun  
(S)he is drying the laundry on the roof.

d. *poon1 aʔ buʔ ø a-n deeng1*  
outside LOC rice ABS 3NOM-PL pound  
They are pounding rice outside.

3.2.8 Sentences with three NPs

The following are examples of verbs with three NPs: subject, object and indirect object.

(39)  

a. *Zou1 in3 ip mi1 pee*  
-FSUF ERG bag 1ACC give  
Zovi gave me/us a bag.

b. *Zou1-i1 leʔ Dou1-an3 ip mi1 pee*  
-FSUF and -MSUF ERG bag 1ACC give  
Zovi and Dova gave me/us a bag.

c. *Zou1 in3 ip a1 pee ce1*  
-FSUF ERG bag 3NOM give 2ACC  
Zovi gave you a bag.

d. *Dou1-a leʔ Zou1-in3 ip a2-n pee ce1*  
-MSUF and -FSUF ERG bag 3NOM-PL give 2ACC  
Dova and Zovi gave you a bag.

e. *Zou1 in3 ip a1 pee ce1 u1*  
-FSUF ERG bag 3NOM give 2ACC PL  
Zovi gave you all a bag.

f. *Zou1-i1 leʔ Dou1-an3 ip a2-n pee ce1 u1*  
-FSUF and -MSUF ERG bag 3NOM-PL give 2ACC PL  
Zovi and Dova gave you (pl) a bag.

g. *Dou1-an3 Zou1-i1 ø ip a1 pee*  
-MSUF ERG -FSUF ABS bag 3NOM give  
Dova gave Zovi a bag.

h. *Dou1-an3 ip a1 pee*  
-MSUF ERG bag 3NOM give  
Dova gave someone a bag.
3.3 Comparison

Comparisons can be made either by comparing two items, or the standard of comparison need not be mentioned. Comparatives and superlatives are the most common forms of comparison. These can occur both with the full NP or with just the determiners, as shown in the following sections.

3.3.1 Comparatives

In Mizo, comparisons are made by adding aai1 in1 to the object being compared and zook3 to the standard of comparison.

(40) a. ka2-n in aii1 in1 i2-n in a1 lian zook3
    1P-PL house than OBLQ 2P-PL house 3NOM big more
    Your house is bigger than our house.

b. i2-n in a1 lian zook3
    2P-PL house 3NOM big more
    Your house is bigger.

c. hei3 aii1 hian1 soo3 so1 a1 thra zook3
    this than DET-OBLQ that DET 3NOM good more
    This here is better than that there.

d. hei3 hi1 a1 thra zook3
    this DET 3NOM good more
    This one is better.

3.3.2 Superlatives

The construction of superlatives is similar to that of comparatives. The only difference is that the object of comparison is extended to include a whole class of something related to it. This is generally done by adding zong zong3 meaning ‘all, the whole set’ or zong zong3 ziing1 a? meaning ‘amongst all’.

(41) a. hee nuu3 hi1 nuu3 zong zong3 aii1 in1 a saang1 ber
    DPRO woman DET woman all than OBLQ 3NOM tall most
    This woman is the tallest of all (other) women.

b. hee nuu3 hi1 nuu3 zong zong3 aii1 in1 a saang1
    this woman DET woman all than OBLQ 3NOM tall
    This woman is taller than all the other women.
3.4 Questions

There are two types of questions in Mizo: wh-question and yes-no questions. These two types of questions have two different constructions. Wh-questions are marked in the NP while yes-no questions are marked in the VP. Furthermore, wh-questions have both a wh word and a question word. Both types of questions can be modified to fit the situation. Thus, one can have alternative questions where the speaker offers an alternative to which the hearer must respond. Then there are questions to confirm what has just been said or to clarify a point. These types of questions are rhetorical because the speaker already knows the answer but asks a question to let the hearer know that his or her statement has been understood. Lastly, there are some questions that can be stated only in the negative.

3.4.1 Wh-questions

The wh-question consists of a question word ngee3 and a wh word such as tuu, for humans, eng, for non-humans and khoi3 for deictic questions. There are several variations of wh-questions. The basic form consists of the wh word followed by the question word. Of these, eng can be modified for questions involving time, reason or purpose, see 45c, d. The deictic wh word khoi3 can also be used for questions involving spatial location and spatial direction.

Wh-questions are further classified according to whether or not the subject is known. If the subject is unknown but the object is known, then the question takes the regular class of verbs. Moreover, nominative markers are absent in this type of wh-question. Therefore, questioned subject and object will be differentiated not only in the NPs but also in the choice of verb stem. Wh-questions with Stem I verbs are shown in the next three examples. All wh-questions have the same construction, the only difference being in the choice of the wh word. Questions involving humans are stated thus:

(42) a. tuu ngee3 chuak3      
    WH Q leave
    Who left?

b. tuu in ngee3 mti kou
    WH ERG Q 1ACC call
    Who is calling me?
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c. *tuu in ngee3 hau1 ce1*
 WH ERG Q scold 2ACC
 Who scolded you?

Questions about non-humans have a different wh word but are similar in all other respects.

(43) a. *eng ngee3 tlaa*
 WH Q fall
 What fell?

b. *eng in ngee3 mi daal2*
 WH ERG Q 1ACC block
 What is blocking/hindering me?

c. *eng in ngee3 daal ce1*
 WH ERG Q block 2ACC
 What is blocking/hindering you?

Deictic questions are similar to the other wh-questions.

(44) a. *khoi3 in ngee3 ciim*
 WH house Q collapse
 Which house collapsed?

b. *khoi3 puan ngee3 kaang*
 WH cloth Q burn
 Which cloth burned?

c. *khoi3 lail1 ngee3 naa1*
 WH about Q hurt
 Whereabouts does it hurt?

Stem II verbs are used in these types of questions:

(45) a. *tu ngee3 i1 tha?*
 WH Q 2NOM killII
 Whom did you kill?

b. *eng ngee3 i1 ti?*
 WH Q 2NOM doII
 What are you doing?

c. *eng a? ngee3 i1 ti?*
 WH LOC Q 2NOM doII
 Why did you do it? / For what do you want it?

d. *eng tik a? ngee3 i1 zo? doon1*
 WH time LOC Q 2NOM finishII ASP
 When are you going to finish it?
A question can be made more specific by including a noun or any of its modifiers such as the ergative marker, oblique marker and the locative marker. Thus, the wh-question word basically replaces the head noun in the NP. In genitival-of constructions, the wh word is relativised as shown by the change in tone from low tone to high tone, see section 2.6.1.3. The above can be expanded further, thus:

(46) a. tuu1 vok ngee3 i1 ki
   WH-REL pig Q 2NOM buyII
   Whose pig did you buy?

b. eng a1-taan1 ngee3 i1 tt?
   WH purpose Q 2NOM doII
   For what purpose do you want it?

c. eng vaang in1 ngee3 i lou2-kal
   WH reason OBLQ Q 2NOM comeII
   For what reason did you come?

d. eng cen3 ngee3 i1 caam doon1
   WH length Q 2NOM stayII ASP
   How long are you staying?

e. khoi3 laai1 a? ngee3 a1 tlaak3
   WH around LOC Q 3NOM fallIII
   Whereabouts did (s)he fall?

f. khoi3 vok hi1 ngee3 i1 du?
   WH pig DET Q 2NOM wantII
   Which one of these pigs do you want?

g. hei3 hi1 tuu1 ui ngee3 nii
   DPRO DET WH-REL dog Q be
   Whose dog is this dog here?

h. tuu1 nheen a? ngee3 i1 om
   WH-REL with LOC Q 2NOM liveII
   Who are you living/staying with?
3.4.2 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are simpler than the wh-questions. This type of question requires only one question marker *em2* at the end of the sentence, with the verb taking the stem appropriate for its clause type. Thus, for example:

(47) a. *i dam1 em2*
    2NOM well Q
    Are you well? (traditional greeting)

b. *i2-n lou-kal1 doon1 em2*
    2NOM-PL come ASP Q
    Are you planning to come?

c. *vok i2-n vul? doon1 em2*
    pig 2NOM-PL raise ASP Q
    Are you going to raise pigs?

d. *coo3 i-n ei1 ang1 em2*
    food 2NOM-PL eat MOD Q
    Will you be eating?

3.4.3 Alternative questions

Wh-questions take the prefix *a1*- when the question is about one particular item out of a larger set, cf. example 118 in section 2.6.1.3.

(48) a. *a1-tuu te1 ngee3 lou-kal1*
    of-WH EX Q come
    Who all came (out of those we invited)?

b. *a1-eng te1 ngee3 i1 kei*
    of-WH EX Q 2NOM buyII
    Which ones/what all did you buy?

c. *a1-eng khu1 ngee3 ka-n peek3 ang2*
    of-WH DET Q 1NOM-PL giveII MOD
    Which of the things down there should we give?

The above types can sometimes be ambiguous. For instance, example 48b can also mean ‘Which of these did you buy for him/her?’.

3.4.4 Echo questions

The simplest form of echo question is an unmodified wh-question, following a statement. The question ‘who?’ or ‘what?’ is inserted mainly for the speaker’s benefit. This type of question uses *moo2* instead of *ngee3*. 
(49) a. a eiʔ2 lou. tuu moo2
   3NOM answer NEG who. Q
   He did not answer. Who (didn't answer)?

   b. a2-n vol a bou1. tuu
   3P-PL pig 3NOM lost. who
   Their pig is lost. Whose (pig is lost)?

   c. a u11 a-n zong1. tuu1 u12
   3P dog 3NOM-PL search. WH-REL dog
   They are looking for his dog. Whose dog (....) ?

   With yes-no echo questions, the speaker must repeat part of the question in the answer, as in:

   (50) a. i2-n zin doon1 em2
   2NOM-PL travel ASP Q
   Are you going on a trip?

   b. kei-nii3 moo3. doon1 lou ang2
   1PRO-PL Q . ASP NEG MOD
   Us? We won't (be going on a trip).

3.4.5 Requests

Requests are similar to questions except that they have no morphological markings of other question forms. The question is indicated by intonation and by the word oo3 which means 'yes'.

(51) a. ka kal1 ang oo3
   1NOM go MOD yes
   Can I go, (yes)?

   b. ka ei1 ang oo3
   1NOM eat MOD yes
   Can I eat this (yes)?

   The above forms are frequently used by children when requesting permission for something they are normally allowed to do.

3.4.6 Alternative questions

Questions can be stated so that the expected answer has to be either in the affirmative or negative. To indicate that a positive reply is expected, a form of the verb 'to be' nii after the yes-no question marker em2 is used. Another common tag is e1-lou which means something like 'Is it really?'. Unlike English there is no reversal of polarity; the tag is basically on the question marker itself.
Questions can also be stated so that the answer has to be in the negative, as in:

(53) a. ka kor2 i la1 thrui1 lou em2 nii
    1P dress 2NOM yet sew NEG Q be
    You have not sewn my dress yet, have you?

b. hei3 hi1 ii1 du? lou em2 nii
    this DET 2NOM want NEG Q be
    You don't want this, do you?

Sometimes lou em2 nii is shortened to loom2 nii so that one has:

(54) ka2-n in-mhu to? a1 ni loom2 nii
    1NOM-PL meet already 3NOM be NEG-Q be
    We have met already, haven't we?

The wh-question has a special negation form na-ngee3 which is sometimes used in place of the negated yes-no question. Thus, we can have.

(55) i la1 thou2 na-ngee3
    2NOM yet arise NEG-Q
    You still have not got up, have you?

instead of

(56) i la1 thou2 lou em2 nii
    2NOM yet arise NEG Q be
    You still have not got up, have you?

Sometimes the speaker will assume that the other person does not want to do something, in which case the yes-no question word is replaced by e1-mo, which means something like 'perhaps'.

(57) a. min biak3 i1 caak3 e1-mo
    1ACC speakII 2NOM desire perhaps
    Perhaps you (don't) desire to speak to me.

b. zin i1 du? e1-mo
    travelII 2NOM desire perhaps
    Perhaps you'd like to go on a trip.
3.5 Imperatives

There are two types of imperatives, one I call standard imperative since this is the normal form; and the other I call familiar imperative since it is used more among close friends and family. The two have been called ‘strong imperative’ and ‘polite/weak imperative’ but I will show that this is not the case since the politeness or impoliteness of a request is indicated by the tone of voice. The appropriateness of the request within the social context also determines if an imperative will be considered polite or impolite.

3.5.1 Standard imperative

The standard imperative is the one used more often. In its simplest form, an imperative consists of the verb followed by the imperative marker ro?, as in

(58)  a. trhu1 ro?
sit IMP
Sit down!

b. lou-kal1 ro?
come IMP
Come here!

c. muang1 tee in1 kal1 ro?
slowly very OBLQ go IMP
Go slowly!

d. kha1 ta? kha-an1 trhu1 ro?
DPRO LOC DET-OBLQ sit IMP
Sit over there!

The plural form is the same as the plural for the second person accusative, thus:

(59)  lou leeng1 ro? uu1
hither visit IMP PL
You all come and visit us!

3.5.2 Familiar imperative

The other imperative te? is used in a similar manner:

(60)  a. trhu1 te?
sit IMP
Sit!

b. lou-kal1 te?
come IMP
Come here!
The plural form is the same as the other imperative, thus:

(61) \text{trhu1 te? uu1}
    \text{sit IMP PL}

You all sit!

The standard imperative is certainly not less polite than the familiar because one is expected to say example 58a to a guest who has just entered the house. On the other hand, one would say example 60a to a child who is misbehaving. Thus, the politeness or impoliteness of an imperative depends entirely on the context. The second form does not carry as much force as the first one and is usually used among close friends and relatives. For instance, children use it when they are trying to get the attention of their parents or relatives; mothers use it when they are annoyed with their children. An imperative can be softened by using the plural form but even this is not necessarily more polite.

3.5.3 Weak imperatives

Weak imperatives sound more like a direct statement to a person. This form is used to encourage or goad a person. The weak imperative is indicated by \text{ta cee3} which roughly means ‘I say to you’.

(62) \text{kal1 ta cee3}
    \text{go IMP}

Go (why don’t you)!

The negative weak imperative is indicated by \text{ma-ta cee3}.

(63) \text{kal1 ma-ta cee3}
    \text{go NEG-IMP}

Don’t (bother to) go!

Another form of request is stated with the future-irrealis mode markers. Thus we get:

(64) a. \text{lou leeng1 ang cee1}
    \text{hither visit MOD you}

Come, and visit us!

b. \text{i2-n lou leeng1 doon1 niaa1}
    \text{2NOM-PL hither visit ASP be-FP}

You will have to visit us some day.

3.6 Optatives

Optatives are indicated by adding \text{se1} after any one of the imperatives mentioned above. Thus one gets:
The grammar of simple clauses in Mizo

3.7 Prohibitives

Prohibitives are the same for both negative standard imperative and negative optatives. Prohibition is indicated by using su? in place of the standard imperative form.

(66) a. kal1 su?
go PROHIB
Don't go!

b. kal1 su? sele
  go PROHIB OPT
  (S)he should not go / Don't let him (her) go!

For the negative familiar imperative su? is simply added after the imperative, as in:

(67) kal1 te? su?
go IMP PROHIB
Don't you go!

3.8 Hortatives

Hortatives can be stated in any of the following ways; all contain the irrealis marker ang2, as in 64a. This may be followed by a hortative as in 68a and 68b; preceded by the familiar imperative as in 68c; followed by an adverb as in 68b; or alone, as in 68e.

(68) a. i kal1 ang uu1
  us go MOD PL
  Let us go!

b. i ti lou mai1 ang uu1
  us do NEG just MOD PL
  Let's not do it!

c. i kal1 te? ang2
  us go IMP MOD
  Let's go (it's time)!
d. *kal1 ang2 mhiang3*
   go MOD sure
   Let us go then (if you want to)!

e. *kal1 ang2*
   go MOD
   Let's go (now)!

3.9 Performatives

These are as follows.

(69) a. *kal nei a1-ce1*
   INOM marry PERF
   I now marry you.

b. *kal fak a1-ce1*
   INOM praise PERF
   I praise you now.

Some speakers combine performatives with adjectives or adverbial particles to express their annoyance or pleasure. Depending on the modifier that the speaker uses, this type of statement can have the force of an expletive. Thus, many people use it negatively to insult someone else. The positive form is generally reserved for small children, and this is equivalent to the expression in English, 'How cute'!

The following are some examples of negative usage. Some of the expressions are difficult to translate into English.

(70) a. *teʔ-rok1 a1-ce1*
   impertinent PERF
   How presumptuous of you!

b. *teʔ-vet1 a1-ce1*
   persistent PERF
   You are such a nuisance!

Similarly, one can also express pleasure, as in:

(71) a. *teʔ-reuʔi a1-ce1*
   small PERF
   How cute (of you)!

b. *liam1 liam1 a1-ce1*
   talking in a cute way PERF
   You have a cute way of talking.
3.10 Conclusion

This section has examined the structure of simple sentences in Mizo. Transitive sentences are distinguished from intransitive sentences by the ergative-absolutive case markers in the NP and nominative-accusative clitics on the VP.

The two types of questions, wh-questions and yes-no questions, were also examined. These two types of questions have different constructions. Wh-questions have both the wh word and the question word in the NP, where the wh word replaces the head noun in the NP. In contrast, yes-no question words have the question word in the VP; yes-no question can also be stated in the negative. A further complication to the wh-question is the use of the Stem II verb form when the object is unknown. The only time a Stem I verb is used in a wh-question is when the object is known but the subject is not.

There are several types of imperatives, these along with optatives, hortatives and performatives have basically the same construction.

Much more work remains to be done on the syntax of complex sentences in Mizo. Hillard (1977) and Chhangte (1986) have considered the relative clause, and Chhangte (1986) has briefly discussed other clause types as well. Future work on Mizo syntax and phonology is planned by the author.

NOTES

1 Most of the data for this paper comes from my own experience as a native speaker. The sociolinguistic data was gathered during my brief visit to Mizoram (September to November 1986). It is based on chapters 3 and 4 of my thesis, Chhangte (1986).

I am greatly indebted to the following for their contributions; I never would have finished the thesis without their guidance and encouragement. First, I would like to thank the members of my committee: Dr J.A. Edmondson, chairman of the committee, for his enthusiastic help in all matters concerning the thesis, especially with the analysis and presentation of data; Dr Shin Ja Hwang for her thorough revisions and suggestions; and Dr D.A. Burquest for clarifying critical issues, especially those related to phonology.

I also would like to thank the ‘honourable’ committee members who spent a considerable amount of time critiquing my initial drafts: Dr F.K. Lehman (University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana) for supplying me with hard-to-locate reference materials and for giving me introductory lessons in Tibeto-Burman linguistics through personal communications; Dr K.J. Gregerson for helping me with the initial organisation of data and for introducing me to the typological features of South-east Asian languages.

I would also like to thank the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) for their financial sponsorship of this study. Moreover, I have benefitted greatly from the resource materials at the SIL library.

Finally, I would like to thank family and friends from Mizoram who patiently taught me all they knew about the language and culture, and corrected me when they thought it was necessary.

To all of the above I say, ka lawm e (ka-loom e t), thank you.
2 See Chhantge (1986: 32-33) for details; briefly, [w] produced by intervocalic glide insertion is hardened to [v].

3 See Chhantge (1986: 49-50) for details; briefly, a rising tone becomes a low tone when followed by a high tone or a falling tone.

4 It is interesting that the first two names are also names of birds, an owl and a dove respectively. Their names are often used to frighten children.

5 Many Mizo verbs have two stems. Bright (1957) suggests that there is a regular phonological relationship between the two forms, but further data vitiates this suggestion. However, in most cases the two stems have the same initial and a similar vowel. For more details see section 2.5.4.3 and Chhantge (1986: 34ff).

6 See Chhantge (1986: 42-45) for details; briefly, the tone of a singular pronoun clitic dissimilates in pitch to the endpoint of the tone of the preceding word.

7 These are far less numerous than the verb pairs; for example see Changte (1986: 35).

8 I am indebted to Ken Gregerson for bringing this to my attention.

9 See Chhantge (1986: 31-32) for details; briefly, the final of the last syllable before a word boundary is geminated.

10 See Chhantge (1986: 38-99) for details; briefly, a contour tone is created when two syllables with different tones are reduced to one.

**SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
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