DIRECTIONAL AUXILIARIES IN DAAI CHIN

Helga Hartmann-So

0. Introduction

The Daai Chin language\(^1\) belongs to the Southern Branch of the Kukish Section of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by approximately 30,000 people in the townships of Matupi, Mindat, Kanpetlet and Paletwa in the Southern Chin Hills of Burma.

Within the Chin language family Daai Chin is most closely related to Műn Chin (also called Mindat Chin), Chin Pon (also called Út Pũ) and Matu Chin.

This paper is based on a dialect of Daai Chin spoken in Kanpetlet township.\(^2\)

1. The auxiliary verb system in general

Preverbal auxiliaries. Eight preverbal auxiliaries have been found so far. All of them are directional and they are mutually exclusive. They are never used as main verbs, except jáng.

Postverbal auxiliaries. The postverbal auxiliary system is much more complicated. There are more than fifty postverbal auxiliaries, which can be divided into several sets according to their position and meaning. The auxiliaries closest to the verb tend to be directionals, following them are causatives, reciprocals, attitudinals, phases, speech act indicators, and the like.

2. Preverbal auxiliaries

The eight preverbal auxiliaries form four pairs. Three of these pairs express the spatial directions forward, down and up. The fourth pair expresses the temporal direction 'in advance'. The pairs are divided by the two manners reaching out (physical or mental, without change of present position) and going.

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| reaching out | hei | down | juk | up | jän | in advance | na |
| going        | va  | jú   | jáng | ana |

Table 1: The preverbal auxiliaries

a) **hei**³ ‘to V to the front, to V in forward direction, to V over there’

    *kah hei pyen⁴ kyo*
    I forward speak futile
    I speak to them over there (though without success)

    *lóu hei bük-a⁵*
    field front look-IMP
    look in front to the field

    *lung sun ah hei xot-in*
    stone this he forward throw-quick
    he quickly throws the stone over there

b) **va** ‘to go and V to the front, to go and V in forward direction, to go and V over there’

    *ah nih va-dou u*
    he PL forward-greet mPL
    go and greet them

    *ím-a va-lut lü kah hmuh*
    house-in forward-enter and I see
    and I saw that he went and entered the house over there

    *kah va-hmuh kti*
    I forward-meet PRES
    I go and meet (him) over there

c) **juk** ‘to V downwards, to reach down and V’

    *juk kkhui hluü be kti*
    downward help want again PRES
    he wants to help (him) again from above

    *kah juk péét*
    I down give
    I reach down and give

    *juk pyén-a*
    down speak-IMP
    speak downwards
d) **ju** 'to go down and V'

\[
\textit{kah ju-}lit \textit{lut ei be kkhai ni} \\
\text{I down-go enter self again will indeed} \\
\text{I myself will go down and enter again}
\]

**ju-pe-a**

go-down-give-IMP

go down and give it

\[
\textit{ah ju-mtheh lo} \\
\text{he go-down-tell come} \\
\text{he comes to the state of going down and telling}
\]


e) **j\text{"a}n** 'to V upwards, to reach upwards and V'

\[
\textit{ah j\text{"a}n kpyaai in} \\
\text{he up discard quick} \\
\text{he quickly throws (it) away upward}
\]

\[
\textit{kah j\text{"a}n poh ei kkhai ni} \\
\text{I up do self will indeed} \\
\text{I myself will reach upwards and do (it).}
\]

**j\text{"a}n kth\text{"a}h be-a**

up ask again-IMP

ask again upwards (ask someone who is higher)

f) **j\text{"a}ng** 'to go up and V'

\[
\textit{kah j\text{"a}ng pyen} \\
\text{I go-up speak} \\
\text{I go upwards and speak}
\]

\[
\textit{im kkhaan-a ah j\text{"a}ng poh} \\
\text{house up-in he go-up does} \\
\text{he goes up into the house and does (it)}
\]

\[
\textit{ah ve n\text{"a}\text{"a}k-a j\text{"a}ng hmu-h\text{"u}t-a} \\
\text{he stay place-at go-up look-IMP} \\
\text{go up to the place where he is and look for (it) back there}
\]

g) **na** 'to V in advance, ahead'

\[
\textit{nah na-poh am ve} \\
\text{you ahead-work not is} \\
\text{you have not done it in advance}
\]

\[
\textit{kei noh kah na-ei ma kti} \\
\text{I SUBJ I ahead-eat go-ahead PRES} \\
\text{I eat in advance (of everybody else)}
\]

**ah na-mtheh**

he ahead-tell

he tells it in advance
h) **ana** 'to go and V in advance, ahead'

**ana-ngshut ip kti-é**
go-ahead-start sleep PRES-PL
they go and fall asleep in advance

**ana-pyén hū kom kti**
go-ahead tell around of:course PRES
of course he has gone and told it around in advance

**ana-poh u bā**
go-ahead do PL all-right?
go and do it in advance, will you?

3. **Postverbal semidirectional auxiliaries**

The semidirectionals, the first seven auxiliaries after the verb, do not form a tight semantic set, but are a composite of direction, phase, and distributiveness. Most of them can also be used as a main verb.

- **pha** to arrive at the state of Ving
- **lo** to come to the state of Ving
- **vaai** to go and V, to V frontward
- **seh** to V and bring along
- **hū** to V from place to place
- **táák** to V and leave behind
- **hūt** to V back there

Note that Table 2 shows **lo, vaai, and seh** as a mutually exclusive set, though their relationships with other auxiliaries are different.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
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<th>X</th>
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<td><strong>vaai</strong></td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>táák</strong></td>
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<td>R</td>
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<td><strong>hūt</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

X = fixed order
R = reversible order
O = mutually exclusive

Table 2: Postverbal semidirectionals: pairwise co-occurrence and order
3.1 Meaning and usage

a) \textit{lo}. When used as a main verb it means ‘come, bring along’. When used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘to come to the state of Ving, to V toward somebody or something’. The auxiliary \textit{lo} can co-occur with all other directional postverbal auxiliaries except \textit{vaai} and \textit{seh}, since \textit{lo} implies a movement toward and \textit{vaai} and \textit{seh} a movement away. \textit{Lok} is an allomorph of \textit{lo}, occurring before preglottalised consonants.

\begin{align*}
\text{main verbs:} \\
\textit{kah lok kkhai} & \quad \text{I will come} \\
\textit{loua ksim ah lo} & \quad \text{he brings the knife to the field}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{auxiliary:} \\
\textit{jah hmu-lok kkhai ni} & \quad \text{them see-come will indeed} \\
& \quad \text{I will come to the state of seeing them} \\
\textit{thing-kdung ah kcoh lo} & \quad \text{firewood he carry come} \\
& \quad \text{he comes to the state of carrying the firewood} \\
\textit{ip lok kti} & \quad \text{sleep come PRES} \\
& \quad \text{he falls asleep} \\
\textit{kah sá, nah dám lo hnūh kti ni} & \quad \text{my son you big come finally PRES indeed} \\
& \quad \text{my son, you have become big finally} \\
\textit{ah bóóí lo-pyéí mjoh} & \quad \text{he rich come-much told} \\
& \quad \text{he became very rich, it is told} \\
\textit{sa kah yuk lo} & \quad \text{letter I write come} \\
& \quad \text{I write a letter (to you)}
\end{align*}

b) \textit{pha}. When used as a main verb it means ‘arrive’. When used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘to arrive at the state of Ving’. The occurrence of \textit{pha} as an auxiliary verb is rather restricted. It has been found so far only occurring after the main verbs \textit{lo} ‘come’ and \textit{mán} ‘catch’. But it can co-occur with all the other directional postverbal auxiliaries except \textit{vaai}.

\begin{align*}
\text{main verb:} \\
\textit{íma pha-lobe kti} & \quad \text{he arrives coming back home}
\end{align*}
auxiliary verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ah mán pha hnuh} & \quad \text{he catch arrive finally} \\
\text{he finally arrives at the state of catching (him)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ah lo pha am kah hmuh ni} & \quad \text{he come arrive not I see indeed} \\
\text{I did not see him coming}
\end{align*}
\]

c) \textit{vaai}. Does not occur as a main verb. When used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘to V forward, to go and V’. \textit{Vaai} cannot co-occur with \textit{lo, pha, seh}, but it does co-occur with \textit{hü, táák} and \textit{hüt} and is reversible with them.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ah maláma su kshuuk-ku ah hmuh vaai} & \quad \text{his front-road on tortoise he see front} \\
\text{he sees the tortoise in front of him on the road}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sá-apyén vaai kom kti} & \quad \text{there-at speak go of course PRES} \\
\text{tell it over there of course}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lóu phyóu vaai-a} & \quad \text{field weed go-IMP} \\
\text{go and pull the weeds in the field}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mó-a ve hü vaai khüng vai} & \quad \text{jungle at stay around go probably will} \\
\text{he will probably go and stay around in the jungle}
\end{align*}
\]

d) \textit{seh}. When it is used as a main verb it means ‘go, take along’. When it is used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘bringing along’. Its occurrence as an auxiliary verb is very restricted, occurring only with the main verb \textit{lo}. It can co-occur with the auxiliaries \textit{pha, táák, hüt}, but not with \textit{lo, hü}, or \textit{vaai}.

main verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kah seh ta kah phak kkhai ni} & \quad \text{If I go then I will arrive indeed}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paai noh ksim ah seh} & \quad \text{father takes the knife along}
\end{align*}
\]

auxiliary:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thing lo seh tu bā} & \quad \text{wood come bring INTENS all-right} \\
\text{do bring the firewood along, will you?}
\end{align*}
\]
ah lo seh hlū-a ta lo seh kom
he come bring want if come bring of course
if he wants to bring it along let him do so of course

e) hlū. Does not occur as a main verb. When it is used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘Ving from place to place, Ving around, Ving aimlessly’. It can co-occur with all other directional auxiliaries except with seh.

asun kba su khūi hlū pah pah lū sit hlū kti
this like this call around go go and go around PRES
like this he calls around while going and goes from place to place

mó kpyonga long kkōng-a khūūi hlū kti
jungle jungle-at stream land-at work around PRES
he works at different places, in the jungle, at the stream and on the land

nah sit hlū kti-o
you go around PRES-doubtful
did you really go?

nah seh lo hlū kkhai ni
you run come around will indeed
you will come to run around here and there (confused and aimless)

f) tāāk. When used as a main verb it means ‘keep, put’. When used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘to V leaving (somebody) in place or behind, to V in advance of somebody’. (The one left behind may also be moving but more slowly.) Tāāk can co-occur with all the other directional auxiliaries and is reversible with all of them except with seh and pha.

main verb:

paaï noh she ah tāāk
the father keeps (raises) cows

íma ksim ah tāāk
he puts the knife in the house

auxiliary:

ah don tāāk
he run leave-behind
he runs and leaves behind (somebody running slower)

nah ve tāāk hūt ta i am do
you live leave back if GEN not good
it is not good if you live (somewhere else) and leave (him) in place

nih seh tāāk in vai u ni
we go leave quickly will PL indeed
we will quickly go in advance (of someone coming later)
g) hüt. Does not occur as a main verb. When used as an auxiliary verb it means ‘to V back there, to V at a different time or place, to V so that it stays back’. It co-occurs with all the other directional auxiliaries, and is reversible with vaaì and táák.

\[\text{ah sá ve hüt kti}\]
his child stay back PRES
his child stays back (at a different place)

\[\text{ah sük hüt}\]
he order back-there
he ordered back there (afterwards he died or went away)

\[\text{ah poh hüt am ve tì}\]
he do back not is any more
nothing remains from what he did

\[\text{ah tû hmu-hüt lû thik kti}\]
his grandchild see-there and die PRES
he saw his grandchild back there and died

\[\text{asun pyén hû hüt kom}\]
like: this talk around there of: course
talk around like this back there of course

3.2 Simple co-occurrence

The pairwise co-occurrence relations of these auxiliaries are shown in Table 2. Following are examples of each such pair.

\[\text{am man lo pha tì}\]
not catch come arrive any more
he cannot catch him any more

\[\text{ci o pha lo to khai ni}\]
eat drink arrive come proper will indeed
he will arrive in time to eat

\[\text{nah sén lo hû khai ni}\]
you run come around will indeed
you will run around confused

\[\text{nih ve lo ták u ni}\]
we live come leave PL indeed
we come to live (somewhere else) and leave him behind

\[\text{nih ve ták lo u ni}\]
we live leave come PL indeed
we come to live (somewhere else) and leave him behind
kah nih bük lo hüt kti-é ni
I we see come back PRES-PL indeed
we will see him back there

ning lo pha seh tńák kkhai ni
you come arrive take leave will indeed
they will arrive in advance to take (it) and leave you behind

lo pha hū ma she
come arrive around go:ahead let
let him arrive at these places

ning lo pha tńák kkhai-č ni
you come arrive leave will-PL indeed
they will arrive in advance of you

lo pha hüt ma kkhai shũi
come arrive here go:ahead will should
he should have come to arrive here

ning lo seh tńák kkhai ni
you come bring leave will indeed
he will come and bring it in advance and leave you behind

bebe ah lo seh hüt tata do kkhai shũi
brother he come bring here if good will should
if the elder brother would have brought it along it would have been good

mó-a ve hū vaaι khũng vai
jungle-in stay around go probably will
he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

mó-a ve vaaι hū khũng vai
jungle-in stay go around probably will
he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

kah ei hū tńák phi am kshing
I eat around leave also not know
he does not know that I have eaten in advance (without him)

nah ve tńák hū ta i am do
you stay leave around if GEN not good
it is not good that you stay around at other places and leave him behind

asun pyén hū hüt kom kti
like this talk around back of course PRES
like this he tells around of course
3.3 Co-occurrence of more than two postverbal auxiliaries

No more than three postverbal directionals have been found together, though a maximum of five is logically possible according to Table 2.

*seh* lo hü táák tü kkhai-é ni
go come around leave again will-PL indeed
y they will go again from place to place and leave him behind

*nинг* lo *pha seh táák* kkhai-é ni
you come arrive take leave will-PL indeed
they will arrive to take it in advance and leave you behind

4. Co-occurrence of preverbal and postverbal directionals

Many of the preverbal and postverbal directionals can occur together, but there are some restrictions, as shown in Table 3. Note the complementary distribution of *vaai* and *seh*. And note the somewhat defective distribution of *ana*. This table also shows that the neat semantic matrix of the preverbs given in Table 1 does not fully correlate with the distributional realities; there are apparently other semantic factors that have not yet been fully taken into account.
Directional auxiliaries in Daai Chin 91

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lo</th>
<th>pha</th>
<th>vaai</th>
<th>seh</th>
<th>hü</th>
<th>taak</th>
<th>hüt</th>
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<td>o</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X = occurring, O = non-occurring

Table 3: Co-occurrence of preverbal and postverbal directionals

NOTES

1 See also the introduction to Hartmann-So 1985.

2 The data for this paper were collected between 1975 and 1983. The basic analysis is based on about twenty different texts by several speakers from different villages in Kanpetlet township. For the composition of this paper my husband Chaing So and Mr Nääng Küüi from Nghmu Khim Mding village have been my main informants; I am grateful to them for their efforts and patience. I am also indebted to Paulette Hopple and David Thomas who gave advice and help in the analysis and writing of this paper.

3 Key to the orthography:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ph, th, kh, sh</th>
<th>represent</th>
<th>aspirates [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ, sʰ]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllable-final h</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>glottal stop [ʔ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>hm, hn, hng</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>voiceless nasals [M, N, ŋ]</td>
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<td>voiceless lateral [L]</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>preglottalised [ʔC], [ʔV]</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>long vowel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vu, Vi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>VC [Vw, Vy]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Tone: there are two contrastive tones throughout the dialect area, a plain level tone and a tense high falling tone. But there is much variation between villages as to which words take which tone, so tone is not marked in practical orthography. The tones indicated in this paper represent the speech of Yang Msaa village.

4 The verbs pyen 'to speak' and man 'to catch' belong to a verb class which has both verb Stem A and Stem B. There exists a tone alternation between these two stems (Hartmann-So, 1985). Therefore in this paper they are sometimes marked with plain-level tone and sometimes with high-tense tone.

5 Suffix -a is a mild imperative, a gentle urging (combined with appropriate intonation). Suffix -kti is a common suffix whose meaning is not yet entirely clear. It has a component of present tense, in contrast with -kkhai 'future', and may also serve to mark the end of a verb phrase.

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