

## **Morphophonemic Changes in Daai Chin**

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### **A. Introduction**

#### **1. The Daai Chin language**

The Daai Chin language 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, Kampelet, and Paletwa, in the Southern Chin Hills of Burma. Within the Chin language group Daai Chin is most closely related to Mūn Chin (also called Mindat Chin), Chin Pon (also called Ūt Pū) and Matu Chin.

Not all of the Daai Chin population call themselves "Daai". Only in recent years have young people, especially those with some school education, started to call themselves and their tribe "Daai". Some of the other names that have been used for the Daai Chins or part of the Daai Chins are: K'khyou, Ng'hmo Ye, Ng'xang, Kho Ng'lung, K'khyaang.

The Daai Chin language comprises several dialects, whose boundaries have yet to be determined. This study is based on the dialect spoken in Kampelet township, particularly in Yang M'saai village and its surrounding area.\*

## 2. Outline of phonology

### 2.1 Initial Consonants

		bilab.	alv.	pal.	vel.	glot.
stop	vl.	p	t		k	ʔ
	vl.asp.	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	
	vd.	b	d			
fric.	vl.		s		x	h
	vl.asp.		s <sup>h</sup>			
nas.	vl.	hm	hn		hŋ	
	vd.	m	n		ŋ	
lat.	vl.		ɬ			
	vd.		l			
semivowels		w		y	ɣ	

Consonant modifications:

Palatalization: py, p<sup>h</sup>y, ky, k<sup>h</sup>y, hy, my, ny, ŋy, wy

Preglottalization (not implosion): can occur with all consonants

Prenasalization: can also occur with all consonants

### 2.2 Final Consonants

p [pʔ]	t [tʔ]	k [kʔ]
m	n	ŋ
w		y
wʔ [wʔkʔ]		yʔ

\* The data for this paper was collected in Rangoon over several years time between 1975 and 1981. It is based on the speech of Chaing So, to whom I am greatly indebted, and partially checked against the speech of others from his village.

Dr. David Thomas and Paulette Hopple gave advice in the analysis and writing of the paper.

### 2.3 Vowels

	front	central	back	
			spread	round
high	i [i],[ɪ]		u	u [u],[ʊ]
mid	ɛ	ə		ɔ [ɔ],[ʊ]
low		a [a],[ʌ]		

Vowel modifications:

Length: all vowels may be short or long. Open syllable vowels are a little shorter than the long vowels.

Tone: plain level tone and tense high falling tone. The high tense tone does not occur on short syllables with final stop.

### 2.4. Syllable Structure

The general syllable pattern is (C<sub>1</sub>) (C<sub>2</sub>) (C<sub>3</sub>) V (C<sub>4</sub>), where:

C<sub>1</sub>: ʔ, m

C<sub>2</sub>: all initial consonants

C<sub>3</sub>: ɣ

V: all vowels

C<sub>4</sub>: all final consonants

Most morphemes in the Daai Chin language are monosyllabic.

### B. Rules for Morphophonemic Changes in Noun-Compounding

In the Daai Chin language, phonologically conditioned changes in the morphemes follow certain rules. Since these rules can be seen most completely in the compound noun, they will be presented first in this paper in the compound nouns. These same rules also apply, though less fully, to other morpheme constructions, e.g. the numeral phrase, the prepositional phrase, and the verb phrase. There are also morphologically conditioned variants of verb stems to which some of these rules apply.

These morphophonemic changes take place at normal conversational speed, but in very slow speech or singing the morphemes retain their basic form without morphophonemic changes. But the verb stem variations of Verb Class II and Verb Class III retain their basic forms at all rates of speed.

## 1. Rule I. Vowel shortening

$$CV: + CVx > C\check{V}CVx$$

If the first member of compound is an open syllable, the longer vowel of the open syllable is shortened in compounding.

1.  $k^h\alpha:$  mĩk >  $k^h\check{\alpha}mĩk$   
earth eye 'sun'
2.  $s^h\epsilon:$  mú: >  $s^h\check{\epsilon}mú:$   
cow fur 'cow's hair'
3.  $lu:$   $s^h\check{a}m$  >  $l\check{u}s^h\check{a}m$   
head hair, string 'hair of the head'
4.  $k^h\alpha:$  nú: >  $k^h\check{\alpha}nú:$   
foot big 'big toe'
5.  $k^h\alpha:$   $ʔaay$  >  $k^h\check{\alpha}ʔaay$   
spirit chicken 'wild chicken'
6.  $s^h\epsilon:$   $ʔ\check{\alpha}\eta$  >  $s^h\check{\epsilon}ʔ\check{\alpha}\eta$   
cow trading 'cow trading'

## 2. Rule II. Loss of high tense tone

## 2.1 Unconditional loss of high tense tone

$$\text{Rule IIa: } CV: + (?)CVx > C\bar{V}(?)CVx$$

If the first member of compound noun is an open syllable with high tense tone and is followed by a simple consonant or preglottalization, it always changes into a plain tone (unmarked in the transcription).

1.  $l\acute{\alpha}:$   $p\check{\alpha}k$  >  $l\check{\alpha}p\check{\alpha}k$   
arrow bundle 'gun'
2.  $l\acute{\alpha}:$   $\gamma\check{u}ʔ$  >  $l\check{\alpha}\gamma\check{u}ʔ$   
throat bone 'Adam's apple'
3.  $m\acute{\alpha}:$   $s^h\acute{\alpha}:$  >  $m\check{\alpha}s^h\acute{\alpha}:$   
jungle meat 'meat of wild animals'

- |             |                 |   |                                     |
|-------------|-----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 4. mé:      | mĭk             | > | měmĭk                               |
| goat        | eye             |   | 'goat's eye'                        |
| 5. ɬé:      | ʔuum            | > | ɬěʔuum                              |
| palm tree   | hole, container |   | 'a palm tree which is empty inside' |
| 6. mé:      | ʔěy             | > | měʔěy                               |
| goat        | eat             |   | 'goat feed'                         |
| 7. nú:      | ʔpũy            | > | nũk-pũy                             |
| mother, big | old             |   | 'old woman'                         |
| 8. pá:      | ʔshé:           | > | păk-shé:                            |
| father      | bad, intense    |   | 'old man'                           |

Rule IIb:  $C\check{V}N + ʔCVx > C\check{V}NʔCVx$

If the first member of compound noun has a short vowel with a nasal ending and is followed by preglottalization, the high tense tone of the first member always changes into a plain tone. There is always concurrent resyllabification and assimilation (cf. Rule III).

- |          |                  |   |                       |
|----------|------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. ʔĩm   | ʔsi:             | > | ʔĩp-si:               |
| house    | floor            |   | 'floor of a house'    |
| 2. ɣnẵm | ʔsɔɔŋ            | > | ɣnẵp-sɔɔŋ            |
| village  | outside          |   | 'outside the village' |
| 3. lẵm  | ʔse:             | > | lẵp-se:              |
| road     | other, different |   | 'the other road'      |
| 4. ʔsɔ̃ŋ | ʔkʰéét           | > | ʔsɔ̃k-kʰéét           |
| left     | right            |   | 'both sides'          |

## 2.2 Conditional loss of high tense tone

Rule IIc:  $C\acute{V}: + NC\acute{V}x > C\bar{V}NC\acute{V}x$

If the first member is an open syllable with high tense tone, and if the second member has prenasalization and a high tense tone also, the first member changes to a plain tone. There is always concurrent resyllabification (cf. Rule III).

1. sá:      ɲpyǎŋ      >    sǎŋ-pyǎŋ  
child      man, male      'son'
2. shá:      ɲlǎy      >    shǎŋ-lǎy  
deer      field      'place where deer rest in the field'

If the second member of the compound has a plain tone, the high tone on the first member remains unchanged.

3. ɲá:      mpaan      >    ɲám-paan  
fish      fork      'name of a fish'
4. sá:      ɲhnu:      >    sǎŋ-hnu:  
child      woman, female      'daughter'

Rule IIId: CṼY + CṼx > CṼYCṼx

If the first member has a high tense tone and a final semi-vowel and if the second member has a high tense tone also, the first high tense tone changes to a plain tone.

1. shěy      měy      >    shěyměy  
tobacco    fire      'pipe'
2. túy      nú:      >    tũynú:  
water      big      'river'
3. lǎw      ʔúy      >    lǎwʔúy  
field      dog      'dog that is kept in the field'
4. ʔúy      shá:      >    ʔũy shá:  
dog      flesh      'flesh of a dog'

If the second member of the compound has a plain tone, the high tense tone of the first member remains unchanged.

5. shěy      ʔũy      >    shěyʔũy  
tobacco    seed      'tobacco seed'
6. túy      ʔěy      >    tũyʔěy  
water      eat      'eating together'

Rule IIe:  $C\acute{V}:N + ?C\acute{V}x > C\bar{V}:N?C\acute{V}x$

If the first member has a long vowel, a high tense tone and a final nasal, and if the second member has preglottalization and a high tense tone, the first high tense tone changes to a plain tone.

1.  $s\acute{o}n \quad ?d\acute{i}k > s\bar{o}t-d\acute{i}k$   
 spoon      small      'little spoon'

If the second member of the compound has a plain tone, the high tense tone of the first member remains unchanged.

2.  $ml\acute{i}n \quad ?t^hi: > ml\acute{i}k-t^hi:$   
 ant      dead      'dead ant'

3. **Rule III.** Consonant resyllabification and assimilation

Rule IIIa: Nasal - preglottal  $CVN + ?CVx > CVT.CVx$

If the first member has a final nasal and the second member has preglottalization, the nasal becomes a homorganic stop ( $m > p$ ,  $n > t$ ,  $\eta > k$ ) and the preglottalization disappears. Or we could say that the glottalization is resyllabified into the preceding syllable and merged with the nasal to make a stop.

1.  $?im \quad ?si: > ?ip-si:$   
 house      floor      'floor of a house'
2.  $\eta n\acute{a}m \quad ?s\bar{o}\eta > \eta n\acute{a}p-s\bar{o}\eta$   
 village      outside      'outside the village'
3.  $s\acute{o}n \quad ?d\acute{i}k > s\bar{o}t-d\acute{i}k$   
 spoon      small      'little spoon'
4.  $mpy\check{\eta} \quad ?sh\acute{e}: > mpy\check{k}-sh\acute{e}:$   
 mouth      bad      'evil tongue'
5.  $?k^hyaan \quad ?sh\acute{e}: > ?k^hyaak-sh\acute{e}:$   
 man      bad      'wicked man'

Rule IIIb: Nasal - prenasal  $CVN^1 + N^2CVx > CVN^2.CVx$

If the first member has a final nasal and the second member has prenasalization, the nasal ending of the first word assimilates to the point of articulation of the following nasal, and the prenasalization disappears.

1.  $\eta n\check{a}m$        $\eta l\check{o}w$       >    $\eta n\check{a}\eta-l\check{o}w$   
village      obvious      'prominent village'
2.  $?k^h yaa\eta$     $msi:$       >    $?k^h yaam-si:$   
man      seed      'only offspring'

Rule IIIc: Open syllable preglottal or prenasal

$$CV + ?CVx > CVk.CVx$$

$$CV + NCVx > CVN.CVx$$

If the first member is an open syllable, and if the second member has preglottalization or prenasalization, the glottal or nasal phoneme joins the first member to close the open syllable. In the process, the glottal changes into a velar stop.

1.  $k^h\check{o}:$        $??á:$       >    $k^h\check{o}k-?á:$   
earth      rain      'rain'
2.  $k^h ya:$        $?wáá y$       >    $k^h y\check{a}k-waay$   
moon      light, beam      'moonlight'
3.  $?sha:$        $\eta l\check{u}\eta$       >    $?sh\check{a}\eta-l\check{u}\eta$   
veranda      middle      'in the middle of the veranda'
4.  $sh\epsilon:$        $\eta l\check{o}w$       >    $sh\check{e}\eta-l\check{o}w$   
cow      stray      'a straying cow'
5.  $sh\epsilon:$        $ml\check{o}?$       >    $sh\check{e}m-l\check{o}?$   
cow      vomit      'cow vomit'
6.  $yu:$        $ml\check{u}\eta$       >    $y\check{u}m-l\check{u}\eta$   
rice wine      cover      'cover of a rice wine pot'

Rule IIIId: Semivowel - Preglottal

$$CVy + ?CVx > CVy?.CVx \text{ or } CVyk.CVx$$

$$CVw + ?CVx > CVwk.CVx \text{ or } CVk.CVx$$



If the first member ends in a semivowel, and the second starts with a preglottal, generally the glottal stop joins the first syllable. In the process, the semivowel [w] may drop out, and the glottal may change to [k] (always, if the semivowel is [w]).

- |                            |                   |   |   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---|---|
| 1. ʔúy<br>dog              | ʔthěy<br>train    | > | ʔúyʔ-thěy<br>'trained dog'              |
| 2. shěy<br>tobacco         | ʔʔám<br>container | > | shěyk-ʔám<br>'tobacco container'        |
| 3. khaaw<br>rope from bark | ʔthá:<br>strong   | > | khaak-thá:<br>'strength of a bark rope' |
| 4. lǝw<br>field            | ʔsǝŋ<br>hut       | > | lǝwk-sǝŋ<br>'hut in the field'          |

#### 4. Rule IV. Loss of preglottal

$$CVT + ʔCVx > CVTCVx$$

If the first member has a final stop, and the second member has preglottalization, the preglottalization disappears.

- |                        |                  |   |  |
|------------------------|------------------|---|--|
| 1. sǎlaap<br>resthouse | ʔsi:<br>floor    | > | sǎlaap-ʔsi:<br>'floor of the resthouse'            |
| 2. mǝk<br>eye          | ʔtǝŋ<br>straight | > | mǝk-tǝŋ<br>'one who has a sharp eye in shooting'   |
| 3. kǝt<br>hand         | ʔtǝŋ<br>straight | > | kǝt-tǝŋ<br>'one who has a steady hand in shooting' |

#### C. Combined application of morphophonemic rules

Two or more morphophonemic rules may be applicable to the same compounds or sequences:

##### 1. Rule I + Rule II: Vowel shortening and loss of high tense tone

- |                 |               |   |                |
|-----------------|---------------|---|----------------|
| 1. lí:<br>arrow | pǝk<br>bundle | > | lǝpǝk<br>'gun' |
|-----------------|---------------|---|----------------|

2. mé:      mǐk      >   mǎmǐk  
goat      eye      'goat's eye'

**2. Rule I + Rule III:** Vowel shortening and consonant resyllabification and assimilation

1. k<sup>h</sup>ya:      ʔwááy      >   k<sup>h</sup>yǎk-waay  
moon      light, beam      'moonlight'
2. shɛ:      ŋlǎw      >   shǎŋ-lǎw  
cow      stray      'a straying cow'

**3. Rule II + Rule III:** Loss of high tense tone and consonant resyllabification and assimilation

1. lǎm      ʔsɛ:      >   lǎp-sɛ:  
road      other, different      'the other road'
2. ʔsɔŋ      ʔk<sup>h</sup>ɛ́ɛ́t      >   ʔsɔ́k-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ́ɛ́t  
left      right      'both sides'

**4. Rule I + Rule II + Rule III:** Vowel shortening, loss of high tense tone, consonant resyllabification and assimilation

1. nú:      ʔpǔ́y      >   nǔk-pǔ́y  
mother, big      old      'old woman'
2. sá:      ŋpyǎ́ŋ      >   sǎŋ-pyǎ́ŋ  
child      man, male      'son'

Rule IV does not co-occur with other rules because it requires a final stop in the first member, but Rules I, II, and III do not apply if there is a final stop.

**D. Morphophonemic Changes in Other Nominal Phrases**

**1. Prepositions**

Prepositions (actually postpositions) combine with nouns in ways similar to the preceding.

1. Rule I:      lu:      pǎy      >   lǔpǎy  
head      beside      'beside the head'

- |               |                            |                           |   |   |
|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| 2. Rule IIa:  | ηνός:<br>edge of the field | pěy<br>beside             | > | ηνόςpěy<br>'beside the field'             |
| 3. Rule IIb:  | ?ím<br>house               | ?ké:<br>under             | > | ?íp-ké:<br>'under the house'              |
| 4. Rule IIId: | ησεέy<br>chimbél           | ?ké:<br>under             | > | ησεεy?-ké:<br>'under the chimbél'         |
| 5. Rule IIe:  | γόςmsíη<br>kind of bamboo  | ?ké:<br>under             | > | γόςmsíík-ké:<br>'under the bamboo'        |
| 6. Rule IIIa: | ?ím<br>house               | ?k <sup>h</sup> aan<br>on | > | ?íp-k <sup>h</sup> aan<br>'on the house'  |
| 7. Rule IIIb: | ?ím<br>house               | ηlűη<br>middle            | > | ?íp-lűη<br>'in the middle of the house'   |
| 8. Rule IIIc: | msw:<br>pot                | ?k <sup>h</sup> aan<br>on | > | msűk-k <sup>h</sup> aan<br>'on the pot'   |
| 9. Rule IIId: | lőw<br>field               | ?shuη<br>middle           | > | lőwk-shuη<br>'in the middle of the field' |
| 10. Rule IV:  | sălaap<br>resthouse        | ??űm<br>inside            | > | sălaap-?űm<br>'in the resthouse'          |

All rules except IIc have thus been observed. Rule IIc is lacking because no prepositions have yet been found with the form NCÝx.

## 2. Numbers

Numbers combine with their preceding nouns in similar fashion.

- |              |             |                             |   |   |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Rule I:   | msw:<br>pot | p <sup>h</sup> ya:<br>100   | > | msűp <sup>h</sup> ya:<br>'hundred pots' |
| 2. Rule IIa: | mé:<br>goat | p <sup>h</sup> ya:<br>100   | > | měp <sup>h</sup> ya:<br>'hundred goats' |
| 3. Rule IIb: | lăm<br>road | ?t <sup>h</sup> űm<br>three | > | lăp-t <sup>h</sup> űm<br>'three roads'  |

- |               |               |                |   |                            |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|---|----------------------------|
| 4. Rule IIc:  | sóón<br>spoon | ?kó:<br>nine   | > | sóót-kó:<br>'nine spoons'  |
| 5. Rule IIIa: | ?ím<br>house  | ?tħũm<br>three | > | ?íp-tħũm<br>'three houses' |
| 6. Rule IIIb: | ?ím<br>house  | ḡhḡĩ?<br>two   | > | ?ĩḡ-hḡĩ?<br>'two houses'   |
| 7. Rule IV:   | wók<br>pig    | ?pħyw:<br>four | > | wók-pħyw:<br>'four pigs'   |

Rule IIc is lacking because no numbers have been found with the form NCÝx. The requisite conditions for Rules IId, IIc, and IIId do occur, but these rules are inoperative for numerals:

- |                           |              |                |   |                             |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Inoperative Rule IId:  | ?ũy<br>dog   | ?kó:<br>nine   | > | ?ũy.?kó:<br>'nine dogs'     |
| 2. Inoperative Rule IIc:  | shɛ:<br>cow  | ?tħũm<br>three | > | shɛ:.?tħũm<br>'three cows'  |
| 3. Inoperative Rule IIId: | lów<br>field | ?pħyw:<br>four | > | lów.?pħyw:<br>'four fields' |

### E. Morphophonemic Changes in the Verb Phrase

There are morphophonemic changes of the verb root depending upon the verb class. Verb Class I has only one verb stem, whereas Verb Class II and III each have two stems to which various morphophonemic rules apply, sometimes depending upon the phonological environment, sometimes not. The most frequent changes of the verb root occur before the preglottalized morphemes [ʔti:] (verb phrase final marker, present tense) and [ʔkħǎy] (verb phrase final marker, future tense).

#### 1. Verb class I

- 1.1. *If the verb root has a final nasal, the nasal changes into a stop, following Rule IIIa.*

1.  $\text{shwum} \quad ?ti: > \text{shwup-ti:}$       2.  $\text{sh\ddot{e}n} \quad ?ti: > \text{sh\ddot{e}t-ti:}$   
 remember                      'remember'                      red                      'red'
3.  $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔɔŋ} \quad ?ti: > \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔɔk-ti:}$       4.  $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔɔŋ} \quad ?\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy} > \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔɔk-k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy}$   
 push                      'push'                      push                      'will push'

1.2. *Contrary to Rule IIIc, if the verb root is an open syllable, there is no change when [?ti:] or [?k<sup>h</sup>ǎy] follows.*

1.  $\text{bú:} \quad ?ti: > \text{bú:}?\text{ti:}$       2.  $\text{tɛ:} \quad ?\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy} > \text{tɛ:}?\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy}$   
 cover                      'cover'                      beat                      'will beat'

1.3. *If the verb root has a final semivowel before [?ti:] or [?k<sup>h</sup>ǎy], it resyllabifies and assimilates, following Rule III d.*

1.  $\text{mǎw} \quad ?ti: > \text{mǎk-ti:}$       2.  $?\text{ǎw} \quad ?\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy} > ?\text{ǎk-k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy}$   
 stare                      'stare at smn.'                      broad                      'will be broad'
3.  $\text{mběy} \quad ?ti: > \text{mběy}?\text{-ti:}$   
 feed                      'feed'

1.4 *If the verb root has a final stop, the preglottalization of [?ti:] and [?k<sup>h</sup>ǎy] disappears, following Rule IV.*

1.  $\text{ʧɔ́ɔp} \quad ?ti: > \text{ʧɔ́ɔp-ti:}$       2.  $\text{bɔ́ɔk} \quad ?ti: > \text{bɔ́ɔk-ti:}$   
 break                      'break'                      white                      'white'
2.  $\text{nshut} \quad ?\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy} > \text{nshut-k}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎy}$   
 sit                      'will sit'

## 2. Verb class II

There are two stems for verbs of Verb Class II: Stem A and Stem B. Stem A is realized in environment I, Stem B in environment II, occurring only as a bound morpheme. The following lists of environments are not exhaustive, but are indicative of and true to the data thus far analyzed.

### *Environment I*

1. following personal pronouns
2. before [wǎy], purpose marker
3. before [ʔwŋ], durational/conditional marker
4. before [ta:], conditional marker

## Environment II

1. before [ $\text{ʔti:}$ ], verb phrase final marker, present tense
2. before [ $\text{ʔkhǎy}$ ], verb phrase final marker, future tense
3. before [ $\text{lw:}$ ], clause co-ordinator
4. before [ $\text{wǎy}$ ], hortatory marker

Stem A		Stem B		Stem A		Stem B
péét	'give'	pě-		hmǔʔ	'meet, see'	hmǔ-
ʔśśk	'drink'	ʔś-		thǐʔ	'die'	thǐ-
tūk	'fight'	tū-		wɛ:	'be, exist'	wě-
kyūk	'fall'	kyū-		ti:	'speak'	tǐ-

2.1. Verb Class II Stem A is not activated by the morphophonemic rules. With open syllables, the requisite condition for Rule I does occur, but Rule I proves to be inoperative.

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. wɛ: ta: > wɛ:ta:       | 2. ti: ta: > ti:ta:       |
| be if 'if (he) is (here)' | speak if 'if (he) speaks' |

2.2. Since Verb Class II Stem B morphemes all contain short vowels, Rule I cannot operate.

2.3. If Verb Class II Stem B morphemes are followed by [ $\text{ʔti:}$ ] or [ $\text{ʔkhǎy}$ ], Rule IIIc applies.

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. pě- ʔti: > pěk-ti: | 2. hmǔ- ʔti: > hmǔk-ti: |
| give 'give'           | see 'see'               |
3. tǐ- ʔkhǎy > tǐk-khǎy  
speak 'will speak'

## 3. Verb Class III

There are also two stems for verbs of Verb Class III, Stem A and Stem B. They are realized in the same environments listed for verbs of Verb Class II: Stem A in Environment I, and Stem B in Environment II.

Stem A		Stem B		Stem A		Stem B
sěʔ	'go'	sǐt		kǎʔ	'shoot'	kááp

ʔiʔ	'sleep'	ʔip	kyǎʔ	'weep'	kyǎp
bɔyʔ	'cook'	bɔɔy	tʰɔʔ	'get up'	tʰɔɔw
tǎʔ	'weave'	tǎk	ʔɔm	'stay, rest'	ʔɔm

3.1. The morphophonemic rules do not apply to morphemes of Verb Class III Stem A, because Environment I and the syllable structures of the verb stem do not provide the required conditions.

3.2. If Stem B has a final nasal, it follows Rule IIb.

- |        |      |   |         |        |       |   |             |
|--------|------|---|---------|--------|-------|---|-------------|
| 1. ʔɔm | ʔti: | > | ʔɔp-ti: | 2. súm | ʔkhǎy | > | súp-khǎy    |
| rest   |      |   | 'rest'  | hide   |       |   | 'will hide' |

3.3. If Stem B has a final nasal, it also follows Rule IIIa.

- |         |      |   |           |        |       |   |            |
|---------|------|---|-----------|--------|-------|---|------------|
| 1. hním | ʔti: | > | hníp-ʔti: | 2. dɔŋ | ʔkhǎy | > | dɔk-khǎy   |
| kill    |      |   | 'kill'    | run    |       |   | 'will run' |
- 
- |        |       |   |              |
|--------|-------|---|--------------|
| 3. mǎn | ʔkhǎy | > | mǎt-khǎy     |
| catch  |       |   | 'will catch' |

3.4. If Stem B has a final semivowel [w], it follows Rule IIIc.

- |          |      |   |            |
|----------|------|---|------------|
| 1. phýɔw | ʔti: | > | phýɔwk-ti: |
| kill     |      |   | 'kill'     |

If Stem B has a final semivowel [y], Rule IIIc is ignored.

- |         |      |   |           |
|---------|------|---|-----------|
| 1. bɔɔy | ʔti: | > | bɔɔy.ʔti: |
| cook    |      |   | 'cook'    |

3.5. If Stem B has a final stop, it follows Rule IV.

- |        |      |   |         |         |      |   |          |
|--------|------|---|---------|---------|------|---|----------|
| 1. tǎk | ʔti: | > | tǎk-ti: | 2. kǎáp | ʔti: | > | kǎáp-ti: |
| weave  |      |   | 'weave' | shoot   |      |   | 'shoot'  |
- 
- |        |       |   |          |
|--------|-------|---|----------|
| 3. lüt | ʔkhǎy | > | lüt-khǎy |
| enter  |       |   | 'enter'  |

Rules I, IIa, IIc, IIe, IIIb, and IIIc do not apply, because Stem B has no open syllables or CV:N pattern, and there are no prenasalized particles of Environment II.