VERB STEM ALTERNATION IN DAAI CHIN

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0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to show the phonological patterns of verb stem alternation in Daai Chin, and to describe the syntactic conditions that lead to the manifestations of the alternating verb stems. I would like to regard this paper as only a preliminary account of verb stem alternation in Daai.

I assume the phonological patterns of stem alternation to be rather complete, though an accurate tonal analysis cannot be given at this point.¹ This paper shows the most frequent occurrences of the two alternating verb stems, but no claim is made that this is an exhaustive account or analysis of the topic.

Though verb stem alternation is considered by some to be one of the principal distinguishing features of Chin languages, and most verbs of Central and Northern Chin languages seem to have two alternating stem forms, in Daai Chin verb stem alternation is not really a frequently occurring phenomenon. So far 1115 verbs have been investigated. For 927 verbs, stem alternation cannot be established. Only 189 verbs show alternating stems, which is about 17% of all the Daai verbs recorded to date.

¹ In the Daai orthography tone is not marked. There was once an attempt to mark tone; it has since been abandoned, as tone differs from village to village. For this paper texts have been consulted that were transcribed when tone marking was used, and I have worked with two informants to restore the old tone marking. Therefore in this paper high tone is marked with a colon following the vowel, and mid-level tone is unmarked. But Daai Chin has more than one high tone. There are at least high falling and high tense (creaky) tones to be distinguished. High falling tone occurs most frequently in closed syllables with long vowel, high tense tone with open syllables or closed syllable with short vowels. But there are cases when high tense tone and high falling tone do not occur in complementary distribution. The orthography used in this paper does not show this differentiation. Also, apart from mid level tone (unmarked) and the two high tones, there is a low falling tone unmarked in the orthography and in this paper.
I. VERB CLASSES

Previously I had attempted to categorize the Daai Chin verbs into three classes: Class I, showing no stem alternation; Class II and Class III showing alternating forms of the stem, that I call stem A and stem B. In verb Class II the base form is realized in stem A, in Class III the base form is realized in stem B. In order to give a clearer picture of the different morphophonological changes taking place in the verb classes, I have now recategorized the Daai verbs into four classes; that is, I have broken up the former Class III into Class III and Class IV.

1.1. Verb classes and transitivity

In the northern Central Chin language Lai (Lehman 1996: 46), the selection of stem I or stem II (equivalent to my stem A and stem B) seems to depend on the transitivity of the verb. Intransitive verbs use stem I for everything except gerundives and nominalizations. For transitive verbs only negatives take stem II. Daai does not show this same distinction, though in some verb classes more transitive verbs can be found than in others.

1.2. Verb Class I

Of the 1116 verbs investigated, 927 verbs belong to Class I and do not have alternating verb stems. Intransitive verbs (including descriptive verbs or adjectives) and transitive verbs can be found in nearly equal number. As shown in Table 1, all types of syllabic patterns are represented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>je</th>
<th>koop</th>
<th>kkyee:t</th>
<th>ak</th>
<th>nam</th>
<th>ngthiim</th>
<th>näääng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glad</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>koop</td>
<td>kkyee:t</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>ngthiim</td>
<td>näääng</td>
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<tr>
<td>roll together</td>
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</tr>
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<td>broken</td>
<td>ak</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>overcome</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Examples of Verb Class I

2 See Hartmann 2000.
1.3. Verb Class II

53 verbs belong to Class II. For verbs of Class II, stem A gives the base form and phonologically more ‘complete’ form of the verb. It may consist of an open syllable or a syllable closed with a stop (labial, alveolar, velar or glottal). The nucleus can consist of either a long or a short vowel; the syllable can carry mid-level or high tone. Stem B has always dropped the coda and has a very short vowel as nucleus. Stem B verbs tend to behave like bound morphemes and become phonologically linked to the following particle of the verb phrase or clause. But in a sentence-final negative clause, stem B can occur as the final word of a sentence, though this is rather rare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem A</th>
<th>stem B</th>
<th>transitivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hold</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>ve-</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive</td>
<td>pha</td>
<td>pha-</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>hmuh</td>
<td>hmu-</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>thih</td>
<td>thi-</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall over</td>
<td>kyuk</td>
<td>kyu-</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>hoot</td>
<td>ho-</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>khyeet</td>
<td>khye-</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insult</td>
<td>bee:t</td>
<td>be-</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>kya:k</td>
<td>kya-</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>oo:k</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Phonological Patterns of Stem Alternation for Verb Class II

1.4. Verb Class III

This class consists of 80 verbs. In Class III, stem B shows the base form and may consist of a variety of syllabic patterns: open syllables, glides, or any of the four stops as coda. The nucleus can be a long or short vowel; the syllable usually carries usually high tone, but occasionally mid-level tone. Stem A always has a final glottal stop and shows vowel shortening. ‘[I]-glides’ are usually retained, with shortening of the preceding vowel. ‘[U]-glides’, only occurring when preceded by o, are lost. High tone changes to the tone occurring with glottal stop, which is higher than mid-level tone.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem A</th>
<th>stem B</th>
<th>transitivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>touch</td>
<td>hneh</td>
<td>hne:</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>loh</td>
<td>lou:</td>
<td>trans</td>
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<tr>
<td>get up</td>
<td>thoh</td>
<td>thou:</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raise up</td>
<td>mthoh</td>
<td>mthou:</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>kkhyäih</td>
<td>kkhyäi</td>
<td>trans</td>
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<td>think</td>
<td>ngngaih</td>
<td>ngngaai</td>
<td>intrans</td>
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<tr>
<td>weep</td>
<td>mboih</td>
<td>mboo:</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
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<td>sleep</td>
<td>ih</td>
<td>ip</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>seh</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>kkoh</td>
<td>kkot</td>
<td>trans</td>
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<td>shoot</td>
<td>kah</td>
<td>kaa:p</td>
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<td>ah</td>
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<td>trans</td>
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<td>cut down</td>
<td>shah</td>
<td>shaa:t</td>
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<td>instruct</td>
<td>msuh</td>
<td>msuu:k</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3. Phonological Patterns of Stem Alternation for Verb Class III*

### 1.5. Verb Class IV

This verb class comprises three subgroups with very similar patterns of alternation, and consists of altogether 56 verbs, where stem B appears to be the base form. In subgroup (a) the coda of stem A is always realized as the alveolar nasal, and the coda of stem B as the velar nasal. Long vowels are retained in both stems; stem B may have high tone, stem A never has high tone. In subgroup (b) labial, alveolar and velar nasals can occur as coda in stem A and stem B, both stems can have long or short vowels, and stem B always has high tone. In subgroup (c) stem A and stem B contain ‘[I]-glides’, with so far only one exception, a ‘[U]-glide’. Vowel length and vowel quality are the same for stem A and stem B, but stem B always has high tone.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem A</th>
<th>stem B</th>
<th>transitivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Subgroup  (a)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>don</td>
<td>do:ng</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold firm</td>
<td>ksün</td>
<td>ksü:ng</td>
<td>trans</td>
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<tr>
<td>put upright</td>
<td>mtun</td>
<td>mtung</td>
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<tr>
<td>leave</td>
<td>joon</td>
<td>joong</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put into</td>
<td>mtaan</td>
<td>mtaa:ng</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subgroup  (b)</td>
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<td>pyen</td>
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<td>neem</td>
<td>nee:m</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
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<td>transgress</td>
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<td>kkaa:n</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heap up</td>
<td>kkuung</td>
<td>kkuu:ng</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subgroup  (c)</td>
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<td>appear</td>
<td>pou</td>
<td>pou:</td>
<td>intrans</td>
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<td>stitch/sew</td>
<td>khyüi</td>
<td>khyüi:</td>
<td>trans</td>
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<td>work</td>
<td>khüüi</td>
<td>khüüi:</td>
<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dried up</td>
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<td>intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waste sthg</td>
<td>phyooi</td>
<td>phyooi:</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Phonological Patterns of Stem Alternation for Verb Class IV

2. SYNTACTIC CONDITIONS FOR THE SELECTION OF VERB STEM A

To provide a graphic picture of how verb stem alternation is working in the context of the clause and the sentence, a Daai Chin text, the folktale The pig's work is the dog's profit has been chosen, and all verbs showing alternating forms (Class II to Class IV) have been charted. The first chart, Table 5, shows the occurrence of stem A forms in finite clauses. The second chart, Table 6, shows the occurrence of stem A in non-finite clauses.

2.1. Results of charting a natural text

In Table 5, we see that in a finite clause, stem A always occurs after subject agreement and can be followed by one or more auxiliary verbs. It is never followed by the tense markers kti (non-future) or kkhai (future).

Table 6 shows the occurrence of stem A in the non-finite clause. Again we see that stem A is nearly always preceded by subject agreement. These non-finite clauses are all subordinate, and linked to the following clauses by conjunctions referring back to the verb (action, condition) presented by stem A.
Table 5. Stem A in the finite clause (Dog text)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ref.N</th>
<th>CONJ</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>SAGR</th>
<th>v-stem + stem</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>CONJ</th>
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<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>vai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Stem A in the non-finite clause (Dog text)
Clausal conjunctions requiring stem A: 

- суж  'if'
- จ่าฬ  'as soon as'
-  lưng  'when'
-  lưng  'when/after'
- <![CDATA[ k'um üng]]></CDATA>  'while/during'
- vai  'in order/so that'
- phāh  'because'

The study of other texts further supplemented by elicited data seems to give the following conditions for selection of stem A:

Stem A occurs:

(a) following subject agreement
(b) preceding the particle vai that marks exhortative and suggestive clauses and frustrated purpose
(c) in non-finite clauses with the above listed conjunctions
(d) nominalizations

Examples: The examples below show stem A of the verb phyoh/phyou: 'weed' — a very important work process in mountain rice cultivation. Examples marked with (T) are taken from the folktale The pig’s work is the dog’s profit.

(1T) Lou: phi kah pät noh ni kah phyoh
Mountain field also AGR:1S ANAP ERG only AGR:1S weed-A
'The mountain field I also weeded by myself.'

(2) Ling So noh lou: ah phyoh vai shū
Ling So ERG mountain field AGR:1S weed-A PURP IRREAL
'Ling So should have weeded the mountain field (but did not do it).'

(3) Lou: nih phyoh vai -a
Mountain field AGR:INC.DU/PL weed-A EXH IMP
'Let us weed the field!'

(4) Ling So noh lou: kāh ah phyoh vai shū
Ling So ERG mountain field NEG AGR:3P weed-A PURP IRREAL
'Ling So should not have weeded the field (but he did it).'

(5T) Vok noh lou: ah phyoh k'um üng ui:
pig ERG field AGR:3P weed-A while dog

- tā \- ip \- ei \- kti
FOC sleep-B INT TNS
'While the pig weeded the field the dog slept.'

(6) Ling So noh lou:- phyoh am yū-na
Ling So ERG weeding NEG like-B
'Ling So does not like weeding.'
3. SYNTACTIC CONDITIONS FOR THE SELECTION OF VERB STEM B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ref.N</th>
<th>CONJ</th>
<th>S</th>
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<th>NEG</th>
<th>O.AGR</th>
<th>v-stem + stem</th>
<th>AUX</th>
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<th>AUX</th>
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<td>lü</td>
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<td>ve-</td>
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Table 7. Stem B in the non-finite clause (Dog text)

3.1. Result of charting stem B

Table 7 shows stem B in the non-final clause and makes it obvious that stem B always occurs before the conjunction *lü* and never with any of the other conjunctions listed under 2.1. *Lü* is a non-specific clause-chaining conjunction, occurring frequently in complex sentences, and can string together several clauses, frequently consisting just of a single verb or verb phrase.

In Table 8 we see that stem B is realized in the finite clause when followed by the tense markers *kii* (non-future) or *kkhái* (future), and that several auxiliary verbs can be inserted between the main verb and the tense marker. Stem B also occurs in imperative clauses, in question clauses and in negative clauses. Subject agreement may occur before stem B, but is not frequent.
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*Table 8. Stem B in the finite clause (Dog text)*
3.2. Summary

Stem B occurs:

(a) before tense markers kti (non-future) and kkhai (future)
(b) in imperative clauses
(c) in permissive clauses
(d) in negative clauses
(e) in interrogative clauses
(f) in non-finite clauses before the conjunction lü

EXAMPLES:

(8 T) Vok ta kho-mū veia lou: mtu:n-ei lü phyou: kti
     Pig FOC evening until mountain field strive-hard CONJ weed-B TNS
     ‘As for the pig, it strove hard and weeded the field till evening.’

(9) Ling So noh lou: phyou: kkhai
     Ling So ERG mountain field weed-B TNS
     ‘Ling So will weed the field.’

(10T) Lou: hin phyou: vaai -a
     Mountain field this weed-B DIR-go IMP
     ‘Go weed this field.’

(11T) Mtu:n-ei lü phyou: bā
     Strive-hard CONJ weed-B POL.IMP
     ‘Strive hard and weed!’

(12) Lou: phyou: she
     Field weed-B let
     ‘Let (him) weed the field!’

(13) Lou: kāh phyou: -a
     Field NEG weed-B IMP
     ‘Don’t weed the field!’

(14) Ling So noh lou: phyou: kkhai am ni
     Ling So ERG field weed-B TNS NEG EMP
     ‘Ling So will not weed the field.’

(15) Ling So noh lou: phyou: kti mà
     Ling So ERG field weed-B TNS QUEST
     ‘Does/did Ling So weed the field?’

(16) Ling So noh lou: phyou: kkhai mà
     Ling So ERG field weed-B TNS QUEST
     ‘Will Ling So weed the field?’

(17) Ling So noh lou: am phyou: lü ip kti
     Ling So ERG field NEG weed-B CONJ sleep-B TNS
     ‘Ling So did not weed the field and slept.’
4. APPLICATIVES

The pattern of distribution for stem A and stem B described above seemed quite reliable till I came across sentences like example (18), in the folktale *The two flutes*. Example (18T) shows stem A in a syntactic environment where stem B would have been expected, i.e. in a non-final clause before the conjunction lü.

(18 T) Nghnu:mi sa: -a thoon ni- lü kshu:m shuk
woman young GR become DU CONJ paddy pound-A

'(They) became young women and pounded the rice (for him)

pee:t ni- lü mü su buh khüün pee:t
APPL-BEN DU CONJ evening DEM rice cook APPL-BEN

and cooked the evening meal and

ni- lü tui: laa:k pee:t ni- lü
DU CONJ water fetch-A APPL-BEN DU CONJ

fetched the water (for him) and

ana- khüüi: khüüi: mjoh kti xooi:
DIR-in_advance work-B work-B EVID TNS DU

worked in advance.'

A few sentences further on in the story we again find stem B as expected.

(19 T) Mat noh kshu:m shu- lo- lü mat
One ERG paddy pound-B AUX-come CONJ one

'One pounded the rice and one

noh tui: la- fetch-B lo- lü
ERG water fetch-B AUX-come CONJ

fetched the water and

mek-mek -a khüüi: lo- mjoh kti xooi:
diligently GR work AUX-come EVID TNS DU

(they) worked diligently.'

Note that in (18 T) verb stem A is used and the verb is followed by the benefactive applicative ‘pee:t’ ‘V_on behalf’.

Applicatives are operators - in the case of Daai Chin, verb phrase particles - that mark the verb for the semantic role of a direct object.\(^3\) A peripheral participant is made into a direct object. Transitive verbs that already have one

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\(^3\) For a discussion of applicatives in Lai Chin, see Peterson 1998:96ff. [Ed.]
direct object are changed to ditransitive verbs and the result is a three-argument construction.

(a) **Benefactive applicative**: V+pee:t ‘V-on-behalf’; main verb pee:t ‘give’
The agent does something for or on behalf of somebody, who is made into a direct object, and we find object agreement.

(b) **Causative applicative**: V+shak ‘cause-to-V’; no longer occurs as main verb
The agent causes somebody else to act. The undergoer, who is caused to act, is marked as indirect object with the postposition ūng, and is to be regarded as second object.

c.) **Comitative applicative**: V+piii ‘V-together-with’; noun piii ‘friend’
The agent acts together with somebody else. The person with whom the agent acts is made direct object, and is referred to by object agreement.

d.) **Relinquitive applicative**: V+taa:k ‘V-leaving-smb-behind’; main verb taa:k ‘put, keep’
The agent acts (mostly contrary to expectation) without anyone else, or leaves someone behind while acting. Note that taa:k shows verb-stem alternation even when occurring as applicative (see examples 29. and 33.)

### 4.1. Examples from narrative texts

(20 T) Nah-nih ei k’hleei nah taa:k pee:t ni- bā
AGR:2DU/PL eat left-over O.AGR:1S keep-A APPL-BEN DU POL.IMP
‘Keep for me what you leave over from eating, will you.’

(21 T) Ah kkhyyu sun noh khya-xang uum sun ūng
POSS:3S wife DEM ERG brass vessel DEM from

\[ oo:k \quad lo \quad shak \quad lū \]
\[ drink-A \quad AUX-come \quad APPL-CAUS \quad CONJ \]
‘His wife caused (him) to drink from a brass cup and...’

In the collection of texts consulted for this paper, V+taa:k could not be found in the syntactic environment for stem-B.

(22 T) Kpami sa noh vah jah voo:k
man young ERG new-field O.AGR:3DU/PL cut-A

\[ vaai \quad piii \quad mjoh \quad kti. \]
\[ DIR-go \quad APPL-COM \quad EVID \quad TNS \]
‘The young man went to cut down (the wood for) the new field together with them.’
Note that the benefactive argument is especially likely to trigger the selection of stem-A. The following examples show that a verb expressing an action done for somebody else seems to require stem-A even if not followed by the benefactive applicative ‘pee:t’.

Example (23 T) is a variation of (20 T), taken from the same narrative:

(23 T)  
\[ 
\text{Nah-nih ei k'hleei nah taa:k kom ni-kti} \\
\quad \text{AGR:2DU/PL eat left-over O.AGR:1S keep-A surely DU TNS} \\
\]  
‘You surely keep for me what you have left over from eating.’

(24 T)  
\[ 
\text{Pakshe Nääng nöh ju jah buih lü} \\
\quad \text{Old-man Nääng ERG rice wine O.AGR:3DU/PL pour-A CONJ} \\
\]  
‘The elder Nääng, poured out ricewine for them and....’

(25 T)  
\[ 
\text{Ah be-be nöh ah na-na üng} \\
\quad \text{POSS:3S older-brother ERG POSS:3S younger-brother POSTPOS} \\
\quad \text{aai nghlüü boo:k yoh lü} \\
\quad \text{chicken male white kill-A CONJ} \\
\]  
‘The elder brother killed a white rooster for the younger brother and...’

4.2. Elicited data

4.2.1. Declarative clause

(26)  
\[ 
\text{Ling So nöh lou: näh phyöh pee:t kti} \\
\quad \text{Ling So ERG field O.AGR:1S weed-A APPL-BEN TNS} \\
\]  
‘Ling So weeds the field for me.’

(27)  
\[ 
\text{Ling So üng lou: kah phyöh shak kti} \\
\quad \text{Ling So POSTPOS field S.AGR:1S weed-A APPL-CAUS TNS} \\
\]  
‘I cause Ling So to weed the field.’

(28)  
\[ 
\text{Ling So nöh lou: näh phyöh püü kti} \\
\quad \text{Ling So ERG field O.AGR:1S weed-A APPL-COM TNS} \\
\]  
‘Ling So weeds the field with me.’

(29)  
\[ 
\text{Ling So nöh lou: näh phyöh ta-phyöh kti} \\
\quad \text{Ling So ERG field O.AGR:1S weed-A APPL-RELIN TNS} \\
\]  
‘Ling So weeds the field leaving me behind.’ (This could mean ‘He finished weeding the field without waiting for me,’ or ‘He started without waiting for me.’)
4.2.2. Imperative clause

(30) 
Lou: phyoh  peet -a  
Field weed-A APPL-BEN IMP  
‘Weed the field for me!’ (or for somebody else)

(31) 
Ling So üng lou: phyoh  shak -a  
Ling So POSTPOS field weed-A APPL-CAUS IMP  
‘Cause Ling So to weed the field.’

(32) 
Lou: phyoh  pii -a  
Field weed-A APPL-CAUS IMP  
‘Weed the field together!’ (with me or somebody else)

(33) 
Lou: phyoh  ta- -a  
Field weed-A APPL-RELIN IMP  
‘Weed the field leaving me behind’, i.e. ‘Weed the field without waiting for me.’

4.2.3. Negative clause

(34) 
Ling So lou: am phyoh  peet  
Ling So field NEG weed-A APPL-BEN  
‘Ling So does not weed the field (for me or anyone else).’

(35) 
Ling So üng lou: am phyoh  shak ngü  
Ling So POSTPOS field NEG weed-A APPL-CAUS IMP  
‘I don’t cause Ling So to weed the field.’

(36) 
Ling So noh lou: am phyoh  pii  
Ling So ERG field NEG weed-A APPL-COM  
‘Ling So does not weed the field together (with me or anyone else).’

(37) 
Ling So noh lou: am phyoh  ta  
Ling So ERG field NEG weed-A APPL-RELIN  
‘Ling So does not weed the field without waiting for me.’

The same pattern works for most of the syntactic conditions listed in 3.1 above: negative imperative, question and negative question.

This works also for intransitive clauses with action verbs like ‘don/do:ng’ ‘run’ or ‘seh/sit’ ‘go’ and these four applicatives change intransitive verbs into transitives.
5. RELATIVIZATION AND NOMINALIZATION

5.1. Relativization of the agent requires stem B

(38) Lou: phyou: kti lo- kti
    Field weed-B REL come-B TNS
    ‘The one who weeds/has weeded the field comes.’

(39) Lou: phyou: kkhai Ling So kah hlü-ei kti.
    Field weed-B REL Ling So AGR:1S want TNS
    ‘I want the Ling So who will weed the field.’

5.2. Relativization of place of the action and quality of the action requires stem A

(40) Lou: kah phyoh naa:k lou:-ma thuu:k kti
    Field AGR:1S weed-A NOM-LOC field-plot far-away TNS
    ‘The field that I weeded is far away.’

(41) Ling So -a lou: phyoh am do
    Ling So POSS field weed-A NEG good
    ‘Ling So’s weeding is not good’—or: ‘the weeding Ling So did is not good.’

Examples (40) and (41) show that relativization of the place of action and of the action itself lead to nominalization.
ABBREVIATIONS

1PM  first person marker  IMP  imperative
1S   first person singular  INC  inclusive
3S   third person singular  INT  intentionally
ANAP  anaphor  IO  indirect object
AGR  agreement  IRREAL  irrealis
APPL  applicative  LOC-NOM  locative nominalization
AUX  auxiliary  NEG  negative
BEN  benefactive  O  (direct) object
CAUS  causative  O.AGR  object agreement
COM  comitative  P  person
CONJ  conjunction  PL  plural
DEM  demonstrative  POL.IMP  polite imperative
DIR  directional  POSS  possessive
DU/PL  dual/plural  POSTPOS  postposition
DU  dual marker  PURP  purpose
EMP  emphasis  QU, QUES  question
ERG  ergative  REF.N  reference number
EVID  evidential  REL  relativizing marker
EX  exclusive  RELIN  relinquitive
EXH  exhortative  S  singular; subject
FOC  focus marker  S.AGR  subject agreement
FUT  future  S.FIN  sentence final particle
GR  general relator  TNS  tense

KEY TO ORTHOGRAPHY

ph, th, kh, sh  aspirates [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ, sʰ]
syllable final h  glottal stop [ʔ]
hm, hn, hng  voiceless nasals
hl  voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ]
x  voiceless velar fricative [χ]
y  voiced velar fricative [ɣ]
v, j  voiced approximants [β, j]
kC  preglottalized [ʔ] consonant
k’V  preglottalized [ʔ] vowel
mC, nC, ngC  prenasalized [m, n, ɲ] consonant
m’V, n’V, ng’V  prenasalized [m, n, ɲ] vowel
Cy  velarised [Cɭ]
i, ü, u  high vowels [i, u, u]
e, ä, o  mid vowels [ɛ, ə, ɔ]
a  low central vowel [a ~ ə]
BIBLIOGRAPHY


