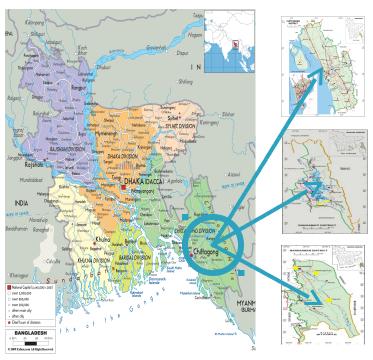
IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT IN HYOW

Zakaria Muhammad, NTU, Singapore

Presentation at a glance

- Language background
- Aspectual markers in Hyow
- Polyfunctional nominalizers in Hyow
- Imperfective aspect of Type A and Type B verbs
- Findings

Language background



Laitu Buddhist Approx. 600

Laitu & Kontu Buddhist, Christian Approx. 1500 Laitu & Kontu Buddhist, Christian Approx. 2100

- Southern Kuki-Chin
- Locally called Khyang
- Approx. 4200-4500
- Two varieties: Laitu & Kontu
- Laitu: Buddhist
- Kontu: Christian
- Multilinguals
- Contact with Bangla, Marma, Bawm, Tripura, Tanchaingya and Chakma

Aspectual markers in Hyow

```
(1)
        o-tso=hoy=la
                                        ey=tsak=dək=hoy
                                                                   (example of anterior aspect)
     3SG:POSS-child=DL=ERG
                                     eat=all=ANT=DL
     'Those (two) children ate all.'
                                                      (example of imperfective aspect of a dynamic verb in Laitu Hyow)
(2)key
             ka-kap
                          pho
                1SG-cry:IPFV COP
     1SG
     'I am crying.'
(3)
                ka-kap
                                                            (example of imperfective aspect of a dynamic verb in Kontu
     kev
                             SO
Hyow)
                1SG-cry:IPFV COP
     1SG
     'I am crying.'
(2)ey=la
               shel hat e-hle=ev
                                           cyd
                                                      (example of imperfective aspect of stative verb in Hyow)
     3SG=ERG
                cow one 3SG-buy=IPFV COP
     'They are buying a cow.'
```

Aspectual markers in Hyow

```
(5) a-kap=hno=la=tsε tsu=a=ni a-myak=ni kro=hno=ti 3SG-cry=PFV=CONJ=TOP there=LOC=DET3SG-diamond=DET fall=PFV=EVID 'When he cried, the diamond fell there.'
```

Hyow forms
-dək
-0 (Type A), -ey (Type B)
-hnɔ

Table 1: Hyow aspectual markers

Polyfunctional suffixes in

Hyow agentive nominalizer -ti is also used as a secondary (hearsay) evidential marker and second person negative marker on verb. The agentive nominalizer -ti takes a verb root to form a noun out of the verb.

(6)	ey	laybi= ti =la lay=a		bi		ch	(Laitu, field notes)	
DEM	field.work=NMLZ=ERG		field=LOC		work:IPFV	COP	'That farmer is	
working on the field.'								
(7)	a-kap=hnɔ	=la=tsε	tsu=a=ni	a-myak=ni		kro=hno=t	i3SG-cry=P	FV=CONJ=TOP
	there=LOC=DET 3SG-diamond=DET fall=			fall=PFV=	EVID			
'When he cried, the diamond fell there.'								
(8)	key	ko-hmot=kho?		nang	bu	ey= ti	(Laitu, field	notes)
	1SG	1SG-know	=PAST	2SG	rice	eat=NEG		
	'I knew that you did not eat rice.'							

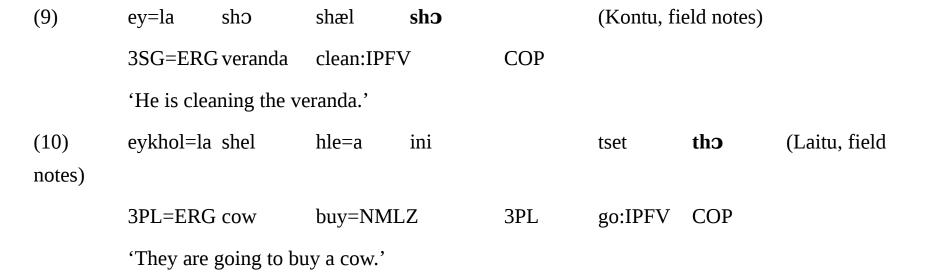
Imperfective aspect in Hyow

Hyow Type A verbs do not use any overt imperfective marking, while there is a polyfunctional suffix —*ey*, which is used to encode imperfective aspect of Hyow Type B verbs. The following table lists some of the Type A and Type B verbs in Hyow.

Type A (0 i	mperfective marker)	Type B (impe	rfective marker -ey).
Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
tsoy	lit fire	yæ	sell
thi	kick	tok	get hurt by something sharp
tuk	kill	dok	wear tops
hi	ask	yɣŋ	feel cold
yɔk	hear	shi	quarrel
эу	sing	Tsi	take
y _k k	write	tsaŋ	clean
shæ	sneeze	lok	play
ух	pick up	pu	lend
shok	wear bottoms	tset	walk
phæt	rebuke	ni	pain
shok	make	thok	itch

Type A verbs

Type A verbs of Hyow do not use any overt imperfective aspectual markers. The verb root with a final equational/existential copula gives an interpretation of imperfective aspect of the verb.



Type B verbs

Hyow Type B verbs use a grammaticalized suffix for encoding imperfective aspect of the verbs. This polyfunctional suffix is also a nominalizer and a polar question marker in both Kontu and Laitu Hyow. The imperfective suffix –ey originated in an old PTB copula *wey.

(17)	Key	tse= ey	ki-pi	(Laitu, field	d notes)	
	1SG	walk=NMI	LZ	1SG-like		
	'I like walking.'					
(18)	key	long	kɔ-hɔ= ey	hyo		(Laitu, field notes)
	1SG	boat	1SG-row=I	MPF	COP	
	'I am rowir	ng a boat.'				
(19)	eykhol=la	shi= ey	hyo	(Laitu, field	d notes)	
	3PL=ERG	quarrel=IM	IPF	COP		
	'They are quarrelling.					

Findings

- Nominalizers have tendencies to be grammaticalized as TAM marker in TB languages;
- Nominalizers are polyfunctional;
- Imperfective aspect in Hyow are not overtly marked for Type A verbs;
- Type verbs can enter into the Type B class with the affixation of the Type B verb imperfective suffix –*ey*;
- Laitu declarative sentence final copulas are reminiscent of old final copula in Hyow. This is another example of *s* developing into *h* in Hyow as can be found in some examples like *s-nung>hnung (back), *s-mut>hmu (blow), etc.

References

Bickel, B. 1999. Nominalization and focus constructions in some Kiranti languages. *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*, 271-296. Royal Nepal Academy. Kathmundu.

Coupe, Alec. 2013. Tense, but in the Mood: Diachronic Perspectives on the Representation of Time in Ao. Language and Linguistics, 14.6: 1005-1138.

DeLancey, S. 2011. Finite structures from clausal nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages. In Yap, Foong Ha, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona (eds.), *Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives*, 342-362. [Typological Studies in Language 96]. John Benjamins. Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

LaPolla, R. J. 2003. *Overview of Sino-Tibetan morphosyntax*. In Graham Thurgood and Randy LaPolla. *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, 22-42. Routledge. London/New York.

Matisoff, J. A. 2003. Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: system and philosophy of Sino Tibetan reconstruction. STEDT.

Noonan, M. 2008. Nominalizations in Bodic languages. Typological Studies in Language, 76, 219.

Noonan, M. 1997. Versatile nominalizations. Essays on language function and language type, 373-394.

So-Hartmann, H. 2009. A descriptive grammar of Daai Chin. Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project. STEDT.