

Agreement in K'cho

การแสดงความสอดคล้องในภาษาโซ

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Abstract

Like other Kuki-Chin languages, K'cho (spoken in Southern Chin State, Myanmar; our consultant is from Sit Hmawi village, Mindat township) has a system of subject and object agreement particles which accompany a finite verb. In this paper, we compare the agreement system in K'cho with that in Lai as described in Bedell (1995).

Similarities between the K'cho and Lai systems include the following:

- (i) Person agreement particles precede the verb, with subject agreement particles preceding object agreement particles when both are present.
- (ii) Some number agreement particles follow the verb.
- (iii) There is syncretism of some person agreement particles with others.
- (iv) The absence of third person object agreement particles.

Differences include:

- (i) The presence of a distinct dual number and inclusive versus exclusive first person plural distinction in K'cho, which are absent in Lai.
- (ii) The possibility of two post verbal number agreement particles in K'cho, while only one is possible in Lai. If two are present, the object number marker precedes the subject number marker.
- (iii) The absence of a third person subject agreement marker in K'cho under certain conditions, while it is required in Lai.

บทคัดย่อ

ภาษาโซเป็นภาษาที่พูดกันในทางตอนใต้ของรัฐชิน ในประเทศเมียนมาร์ (ผู้ให้ข้อมูลภาษาโซในบทความนี้มาจากหมู่บ้านสิตมาวี เมืองมิงคัต) เช่นเดียวกับกับภาษาอื่นในกลุ่มกุกิ-ชิน ภาษาโซมีระบบอนุภาคที่แสดงความสอดคล้องระหว่างประธานและกรรมที่เกิดขึ้นพร้อมกับกริยาแท้ ในบทความนี้ ผู้เขียนได้เปรียบเทียบระบบแสดงความสอดคล้องในภาษาโซกับภาษาไล ตามที่บีเดล (Bedell, 1995) ได้ศึกษาไว้

ความคล้ายคลึงกันระหว่างภาษาโซและภาษาไล มีดังนี้

- (1) มีการใช้อนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องบุรุษนำหน้าคำกริยา โดยที่อนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องประธานอยู่หน้าอนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องกรรม เมื่ออนุภาคทั้งสองประเภทปรากฏพร้อมกัน
- (2) อนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องพจน์บางอนุภาคจะปรากฏอยู่หลังคำกริยา
- (3) มีการผสมผสานระหว่างอนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องบุรุษบางอนุภาค กับอนุภาคอื่นๆ
- (4) การไม่มีอนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องกรรมที่เป็นบุรุษที่สาม

ความแตกต่างระหว่างภาษาโซและภาษาไล มีดังนี้

- (1) ในภาษาโซ จะปรากฏทวิพจน์บุรุษที่หนึ่งแบบรวมผู้พูด และทวิพจน์บุรุษที่หนึ่งแบบไม่รวมผู้พูด ซึ่งลักษณะดังกล่าวไม่ปรากฏในภาษาไล
- (2) ในภาษาโซ เป็นไปได้ที่จะมีอนุภาคแสดงความสอดคล้องของพจน์ได้สองอนุภาคหลังคำกริยา แต่ภาษาไลจะมีอนุภาคดังกล่าวได้หนึ่งอนุภาคเท่านั้น ถ้ามีอนุภาคปรากฏอยู่สองอนุภาค ตัวบ่งชี้พจน์ของกรรมจะต้องปรากฏอยู่หน้าตัวบ่งชี้พจน์ของประธาน
- (3) ในภาษาโซ ตัวบ่งชี้แสดงความสอดคล้องของประธานบุรุษที่สามอาจไม่ปรากฏภายใต้เงื่อนไขบางประการ ขณะที่ภาษาไล ตัวบ่งชี้ดังกล่าวมีลักษณะบังคับปรากฏ

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1. Pronouns and Agreement Categories

A system of agreement between a finite verb and its subject and object is characteristic of Chin languages.¹ The system in Lai has been described in Bedell (1995) and subsequent work. In this discussion, we outline the corresponding system in K'cho, and compare it with Lai. The two languages are relatively closely related,² but show some striking variations on the common theme.

In Lai, the categories relevant to agreement are person (first, second and third; abbreviated 1, 2 and 3) and number (singular and plural, abbreviated s and pl). The Lai pronouns which correlate with these categories are the six in (i).³

(i)	s	pl
1	<i>kei</i> 'I'	<i>kannah</i> 'we'
2	<i>nang</i> 'you'	<i>nannah</i> 'you'
3	<i>anih</i> 'he/she/it'	<i>annah</i> 'they'

K'cho has a richer system; in addition to the categories present in Lai, it distinguishes dual number (abbreviated d) from singular and plural, and it distinguishes inclusive (abbreviated 12) from exclusive in the first person dual and plural. It therefore has eleven pronouns, as in (ii), in comparison with six in Lai.⁴

(ii)	s	d	pl
1	<i>kei</i> 'I'	<i>keini</i> 'we'	<i>keimi</i> 'we'
12		<i>nihni</i> 'we'	<i>mihmi</i> 'we'
2	<i>nang</i> 'you'	<i>nangni</i> 'you'	<i>nangmi</i> 'you'
3	<i>ani</i> 'he/she/it'	<i>ngani</i> 'they'	<i>ngami</i> 'they'

2. Subject Agreement

The subject agreement particles (or affixes) in Lai are as illustrated in (iii) for intransitive verbs (and also for transitive verbs with third person singular objects).

(iii)	s	pl
1	<i>ka kal</i> 'I go'	<i>kan kal</i> 'we go'
2	<i>na kal</i> 'you go'	<i>nan kal</i> 'you go'
3	<i>a kal</i> 'he/she/it goes'	<i>an kal</i> 'they go'

The corresponding K'cho paradigm is as in (iv).⁵

(iv)	s	d	pl
1	<i>ka hteit ci</i> 'I go'	<i>kani hteit ci</i> 'we go'	<i>kami hteit ci</i> 'we go'
12		<i>ni hteit ci</i> 'we go'	<i>mi hteit ci</i> 'we go'
2	<i>na hteit ci</i> 'you go'	<i>nani hteit ci</i> 'you go'	<i>nami hteit ci</i> 'you go'
3	<i>hteit ci</i> 'he/she goes'	<i>hteit ci gawi</i> 'they go'	<i>hteit ci gui</i> 'they go'

The Lai verb *kal* and the K'cho verb *hteit* both mean 'go'. In K'cho the verb is followed by the tense/aspect/mood particle *ci*, which might be described as non-future indicative. While in Lai no such particle is required, in K'cho one is. In Lai, the plural agreement particle has a syllable final *n* added to the singular; in K'cho, this is replaced by *ni* in the dual or *mi* in the plural in the first or second person. But in the third person K'cho lacks a subject agreement particle corresponding to Lai *a* or *an*. The number of a third person subject can be indicated by the particles *gawi* in the dual or *gui* in the plural, which follow *ci*. The particle *gawi*

may be used alone meaning 'two' in K'cho.

It should be clearly understood that the preverbal particles illustrated in (iii), (iv) and (v) are syntactically distinct from the pronouns in (i) and (ii) in spite of the apparent morphological similarity, and the tendency in the literature to confuse them.⁶ The reasons for insisting on the distinction were enumerated in Bedell (1995) for the case of Lai. Analogous considerations will establish the same analysis for K'cho. Thus pronouns and the corresponding agreement particles may co-occur in the same sentence. Normally they do not, with the agreement particles being obligatorily present and the subject and or object positions (where the pronouns would appear) being empty.

3. Object Agreement with a First Person Subject

The agreement pattern for transitive verbs is rather complex, and we will approach it one step at a time. First we consider verbs with first person subjects. In Lai there are ten forms, as in (v) and (vi).

- (v) s
- | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <i>kaa hmu</i> | 'I see myself' |
| 2 | <i>kan hmuh</i> | 'I see you' |
| 3 | <i>ka hmuh</i> | 'I see him/her/it' |

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------|
| 2pl | <i>kan hmuh hna</i> | 'I see you' |
| 3pl | <i>ka hmuh hna</i> | 'I see them' |

- (vi) pl
- | | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| 2 | <i>kan in hmuh</i> | 'we see you' |
| 3 | <i>kan hmuh</i> | 'we see him/her/it' |

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1pl | <i>kan i hmu</i> | 'we see ourselves
/each other' |
| 2pl | <i>kan in hmuh hna</i> | 'we see you' |
| 3pl | <i>kan hmuh hna</i> | 'we see them' |

The properties of Lai agreement which are of interest here are: (a) the object number agreement particle *hna*, which follows the verb; (b) the absence of object third person agreement; (c) the coalescence of the second person object agreement particle *in* with the first person singular subject agreement particle *ka*, producing *kan*; and (d) the coalescence of the reflexive object agreement particle *i* with the first person singular subject agreement particle *ka*, producing *kaa*. The number agreement particle *hna* is homophonous with the most common noun plural particle.⁷ In the reflexive or reciprocal forms, the verb stem changes from *hmuh* to *hmu*; this seems to correspond to a change from transitive to intransitive. The coalescence of *ka* with *in* results in potential ambiguity: *kan* can show agreement with a first person singular subject and a second person object, or alternatively a first person plural subject and a third person object.⁸

The corresponding twenty-four K'cho forms are given in (vii) to (xi).

- (vii) s
- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 2 | <i>ka ning hnguh ci</i> | 'I see you' |
| 3 | <i>ka hnguh ci</i> | 'I see him/her/it' |
- 2d *ka ning hnguh gawi ci* 'I see you'
- 3d *ka hnguh gawi ci* 'I see them'

- 2pl *ka ning hnguh gui ci* 'I see you'
 3pl *ka hnguh gui ci* 'I see them'
- (viii) d
 2 *kani ning hnguh ci* 'we see you'
 3 *kani hnguh ci* 'we see him
 /her/it'
- 2d *kani ning hnguh gawi ci* 'we see you'
 3d *kani hnguh gawi ci* 'we see them'
- 2pl *kani ning hnguh gui ci* 'we see you'
 3pl *kani hnguh gui ci* 'we see them'
- (ix) pl
 2 *kami ning hnguh ci* 'we see you'
 3 *kami hnguh ci* 'we see him
 /her/it'
- 2d *kami ning hnguh gawi ci* 'we see you'
 3d *kami hnguh gawi ci* 'we see them'
- 2pl *kami ning hnguh gui ci* 'we see you'
 3pl *kami hnguh gui ci* 'we see them'
- (x) d
 3 *ni hnguh ci* 'you and I see
 him/her/it'
 3d *ni hnguh gawi ci* 'you and I see
 them'
 3pl *ni hnguh gui ci* 'you and I see
 them'

- (xi) pl
 3 *mi hnguh ci* 'we see him
 /her/it'
 3d *mi hnguh gawi ci* 'we see them'
 3pl *mi hnguh gui ci* 'we see them'

In K'cho, there are two object number agreement particles, *gawi* and *gui*, which distinguish dual and plural; as in Lai, a singular third person object is unmarked. These are the same particles which appeared as third person subject number agreement particles, but in a different position: preceding rather than following the particle *ci*. As in Lai, they also appear as number particles with nouns. K'cho, like Lai, has no object third person agreement. Unlike Lai, the K'cho second person object agreement particle *ning* remains intact in the presence of a first person subject agreement particle, regardless of number. K'cho does not distinguish first person plural inclusive from exclusive objects in the agreement system; it also shows no ambiguity among these forms.

4. Object Agreement with a Second Person Subject

In Lai there are an additional ten agreement forms for transitive verbs with a second person subject, as in (xii) and (xiii).

- (xii) s
 1 *na ka hmuh* 'you see me'
 2 *naa hmu* 'you see yourself'
 3 *na hmuh* 'you see him/her/it'

2pl *na kan hmuh* 'you see us'
 3pl *na hmuh hna* 'you see them'

1pl *naa hnguh gui ci* 'you see us'
 3pl *na hnguh gui ci* 'you see them'

(xiii) pl
 1 *nan ka hmuh* 'you see me'
 3 *nan hmuh* 'you see him/her/it'

(xv) d
 1 *naani hnguh ci* 'you see me'
 3 *nani hnguh ci* 'you see him
 /her/it'

1pl *nan kan hmuh* 'you see us'
 2pl *nan i hmu* 'you see yourselves
 /each other'
 3pl *nan hmuh hna* 'you see them'

1d *naani hnguh gawi ci* 'you see us'
 3d *nani hnguh gawi ci* 'you see them'

1pl *naani hnguh gui ci* 'you see us'
 3pl *nani hnguh gui ci* 'you see them'

Lai agreement has the following properties of interest here in addition to those already noted: (a) the first person object agreement particles are *ka* and *kan*, identical to the corresponding first person subject agreement particles; (b) the object number agreement particle *hna* is not used with a first person object; (c) the first person object agreement particles remain intact in the presence of a second person subject agreement particle;⁹ and (d) no ambiguity arises with the first person agreement particles *ka* and *kan*: they show object agreement if preceded by a distinct subject agreement particle, and subject agreement otherwise.

(xvi) pl
 1 *naami hnguh ci* 'you see me'
 3 *nami hnguh ci* 'you see him
 /her/it'

1d *naami hnguh gawi ci* 'you see us'
 3d *nami hnguh gawi ci* 'you see them'

1pl *naami hnguh gui ci* 'you see us'
 3pl *nami hnguh gui ci* 'you see them'

The corresponding eighteen K'cho forms are given in (xiv) to (xvi).

In K'cho, the first person object agreement particle is *na*, homophonous with the second person singular subject agreement particle. It does not show number agreement, which is marked by *gawi* or *gui* as for second person objects. It does show coalescence with a second person subject agreement particle: *na na* becoming *naa*, *nani na* becoming *naani*, and *nami na* becoming *naami*.¹⁰

(xiv) s
 1 *naa hnguh ci* 'you see me'
 3 *na hnguh ci* 'you see him/her/it'

1d *naa hnguh gawi ci* 'you see us'
 3d *na hnguh gawi ci* 'you see them'

5. Object Agreement with a Third Person Subject

In Lai there are an additional fourteen agreement forms for transitive verbs with a third person subject, as in (xvii) and (xviii).

- (xvii) s
- | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>a ka hmuh</i> | 'he/she/it sees me' |
| 2 | <i>an hmuh</i> | 'he/she/it sees you' |
| 3 | <i>a hmuh</i> | 'he/she/it sees him
/her/it' |
| | <i>aa hmu</i> | 'he/she/it sees him
/her/itself' |
-
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1pl | <i>a kan hmuh</i> | 'he/she/it sees us' |
| 2pl | <i>an hmuh hna</i> | 'he/she/it sees you' |
| 3pl | <i>a hmuh hna</i> | 'he/she/it sees them' |

- (xviii) pl
- | | | |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | <i>an kan hmuh</i> | 'they see me' |
| 2 | <i>an in hmu</i> | 'they see you' |
| 3 | <i>an hmuh</i> | 'they see him/her/it' |
-
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1pl | <i>an kan hmuh</i> | 'they see us' |
| 2pl | <i>an in hmuh hna</i> | 'they see you' |
| 3pl | <i>an hmuh hna</i> | 'they see them' |
| | <i>an i hmu</i> | 'they see themselves
/each other' |

Lai agreement has the following properties of interest here in addition to those already noted: (a) there is coalescence between the second person object agreement particle *in* and the reflexive object agreement particle *i* with the third person singular subject agreement particle *a*, producing *an* and *aa*, parallel to those with the first person

singular subject, *kan* and *kaa*; and (b) the reflexive forms co-exist with non-reflexive forms, the former in case the subject and object have the same referent, the latter in case they do not. In the same way as for first person subjects, the coalescence of *a* and *in* results in potential ambiguity; *an* can show agreement with a third person singular subject and a second person object, or alternatively with a third person plural subject and a third person object.¹¹

The corresponding twenty-seven K'cho forms are given in (xix) to (xxi).

- (xix) s
- | | | |
|---|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>na hnguh ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees me' |
| 2 | <i>ning hnguh ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees you' |
| 3 | <i>hnguh ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees him
/her/it' |
-
- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1d | <i>na hnguh
gawi ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees us' |
| 2d | <i>ning hnguh
gawi ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees you' |
| 3d | <i>hnguh gawi ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees them' |
-
- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1pl | <i>na hnguh
gui ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees us' |
| 2pl | <i>ning hnguh
gui ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees you' |
| 3pl | <i>hnguh gui ci</i> | 'he/she/it sees them' |
-
- (xx) d
- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | <i>na hnguh ci gawi</i> | 'they see me' |
| 2 | <i>ning hnguh ci gawi</i> | 'they see you' |

3	<i>hnguh ci gawi</i>	‘they see him /her/it’
1d	<i>na hnguh gawi ci gawi</i>	‘they see us’
2d	<i>ning hnguh gawi ci gawi</i>	‘they see you’
3d	<i>hnguh gawi ci gawi</i>	‘they see them’
1pl	<i>na hnguh gui ci gawi</i>	‘they see us’
2pl	<i>ning hnguh gui ci gawi</i>	‘they see you’
3pl	<i>hnguh gui ci gawi</i>	‘they see them’

(xxi)	pl	
1	<i>na hnguh ci gui</i>	‘they see me’
2	<i>ning hnguh ci gui</i>	‘they see you’
3	<i>hnguh ci gui</i>	‘they see him /her/it’
1d	<i>na hnguh gawi ci gui</i>	‘they see us’
2d	<i>ning hnguh gawi ci gui</i>	‘they see you’
3d	<i>hnguh gawi ci gui</i>	‘they see them’
1pl	<i>na hnguh gui ci gui</i>	‘they see us’
2pl	<i>ning hnguh gui ci gui</i>	‘they see you’
3pl	<i>hnguh gui ci gui</i>	‘they see them’

In K’cho, there is no coalescence, and no ambiguity among the forms in (xix), (xx) and (xxi). Because of the homophony of *na* as second person singular subject agreement as well as first person object agreement, the three forms *na hnguh ci*, *na hnguh gawi ci* and *na hnguh gui ci* are ambiguous between agreement with a second person singular

subject and a third person object, or alternatively a third person singular subject and a first person object.

6. K’cho Reflexives and Reciprocals

The forms in (vii) to (xi), (xiv) to (xvi) and (xix) to (xxi) do not include reflexives or reciprocals. Unlike Lai, which marks reflexivity/reciprocity in its agreement system, K’cho uses a derived intransitive verb stem *ng’hnguh* ‘see oneself/each other’, which agrees with its subject in the same way as other intransitive verbs.¹²

(xxii)	s	
1	<i>ka ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘I see myself’
2	<i>na ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘you see yourself’
3	<i>ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘he/she/it sees at him/her/itself’

	d	
1d	<i>kani ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘we see ourselves /each other’
12d	<i>ni ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘we see ourselves /each other’
2d	<i>nani ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘you see your- selves/each other’
3d	<i>ng’hnguh ci gawi</i>	‘they see them- selves/each other’

	pl	
1pl	<i>kami ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘we see ourselves/ each other’
12pl	<i>mi ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘we see ourselves/ each other’
2pl	<i>nami ng’hnguh ci</i>	‘you see your- selves/each other’

3pl *ng'hnguh ci gui* 'they see themselves/each other'

7. Intransitive Imperatives

The agreement pattern in the imperative mood differs in the treatment of subjects.¹³ The pre-verbal particles illustrated in (iii) through (xxi) are replaced by post-verbal particles which combine person and number with mood. The Lai intransitive (or transitive with third person singular object) particles are as in (xxiii).

(xxiii)

1	s	<i>kal ning</i>	'let me go'
	pl	<i>kal u sih</i>	'let us go'
2	s	<i>kal</i>	'go!'
	pl	<i>kal u</i>	'go!'
3	s	<i>kal seh</i>	'may he/she/it go'
	pl	<i>kal hna seh</i>	'may they go'

The first person singular imperative particle is *ning*; in the plural, the number particle *u* is distinct from the person particle *sih*. The ordinary second person imperative is the bare verb stem, with the plural particle *u*. The third person imperative particle is *seh*, with the plural particle *hna*, homophonous with the second and third person object plural particle. The corresponding K'cho particles are as in (xxiv).¹⁴

(xxiv)

1	s	<i>hteit kawng</i>	'let me go'
	d	<i>hteit ni kawng</i>	'let us go'
	pl	<i>hteit u kawng</i>	'let us go'

12	s	-	
	d	<i>ni hteit kaw</i>	'let us go'
	pl	<i>mi hteit kaw</i>	'let us go'
2	s	<i>hteit ä</i>	'go!'
	d	<i>hteit nä</i>	'go!'
	pl	<i>hteit vä</i>	'go!'
3	s	<i>hteit hlä</i>	'may he/she go'
	d	<i>hteit ni hlä</i>	'may they go'
	pl	<i>hteit u hlä</i>	'may they go'

In K'cho, second person imperatives have a particle which varies with number: *ä*, *nä* or *vä*. First person exclusive and third person imperatives have a particle *kawng* or *hlä* with number particles *ni* in the dual and *u* in the plural.¹⁵ The pattern is different in the first person inclusives, where the mood particle is *kaw*, but the number particles *ni* and *mi* precede the verb.

8. Transitive Imperatives

Transitive imperatives in general preserve the same object agreement particles as in indicatives. Thus in Lai we find the ten forms in (xxv) and (xxvi), the ten in (xxvii) and (xxviii) and the fourteen in (xxix) and (xxx).

(xxv)

	s		
1	<i>i zoh ning</i>	'let me look at myself'	
2	<i>in zoh ning</i>	'let me look at you'	
3	<i>zoh ning</i>	'let me look at him/her/it'	
2pl	<i>in zoh hna ning</i>	'let me look at you'	
3pl	<i>zoh hna ning</i>	'let me look at them'	

- (xxvi) pl
 2 *in zoh u sih* 'let us look at you'
 3 *zoh u sih* 'let us look at him/
 her/it'

- 1pl *i zoh u sih* 'let us look at ourselves'
 2pl *in zoh hna u sih* 'let us look at you'
 3pl *zoh hna u sih* 'let us look at them'

- (xxvii) s
 1 *ka zoh* 'look at me!'
 2 *i zoh* 'look at yourself!'
 3 *zoh* 'look at him/her/it!'

- 1pl *kan zoh* 'look at us!'
 3pl *zoh hna* 'look at them!'

- (xxviii) pl
 1 *ka zoh u* 'look at me!'
 3 *zoh u* 'look at him/her/it!'

- 1pl *kan zoh u* 'look at us!'
 2pl *i zoh u* 'look at yourselves!'
 3pl *zoh hna u* 'look at them!'

- (xxix) s
 1 *ka zoh seh* 'may he/she/it
 look at me'
 2 *in zoh seh* 'may he/she/it
 look at you'
 3 *zoh seh* 'may he/she/it
 look at him/her/it'
i zoh seh 'may he/she/it look at
 himself/herself/itself'

- 1pl *kan zoh seh* 'may he/she/it
 look at us'

- 2pl *in zoh hna seh* 'may he/she/it
 look at you'
 3pl *zoh hna seh* 'may he/she/it
 look at them'

- (xxx) pl
 1 *ka zoh hna seh* 'may they look at
 me'
 2 *in zoh hna seh* 'may they look at
 you'
 3 *zoh hna seh* 'may they look at
 him/her/it'

- 1pl *kan zoh hna seh* 'may they look at
 us'
 2pl *in zoh hna seh* 'may they look at
 you'
 3pl *zoh hna seh* 'may they look at
 them'
i zoh hna seh 'may they look at
 themselves'

Because of the overlap of *hna* as marking plurality of a third person imperative subject or of a second or third person object, the forms *in zoh hna seh* and *zoh hna seh* must have either a plural subject or a plural object, or both. Only one *hna* may appear per verb.

In K'cho, we find the twenty-four forms in (xxxi) to (xxxv), the eighteen in (xxxvi) to (xxxviii) and the twenty-seven in (xxxix) to (xli).

- (xxxi) s
 2 *ning teng kawng* 'let me look at
 you'

3	<i>teng kawng</i>	'let me look at him/her/it'	3d	<i>teng gawi u kawng</i>	'let us look at them'
2d	<i>ning teng gawi kawng</i>	'let me look at you'	2pl	<i>ning teng gui u kawng</i>	'let us look at you'
3d	<i>teng gawi kawng</i>	'let me look at them'	3pl	<i>teng gui u kawng</i>	'let us look at them'
2pl	<i>ning teng gui kawng</i>	'let me look at you'	(xxxiv)	d	
3pl	<i>teng gui kawng</i>	'let me look at them'	3	<i>ni teng kaw</i>	'let us look at him/her/it'
(xxxii)	d		3d	<i>ni teng gawi kaw</i>	'let us look at them'
2	<i>ning teng ni kawng</i>	'let us look at you'	3pl	<i>ni teng gui kaw</i>	'let us look at them'
3	<i>teng ni kawng</i>	'let us look at him/her/it'	(xxxv)	pl	
2d	<i>ning teng gawi ni kawng</i>	'let us look at you'	3	<i>mi teng kaw</i>	'let us look at him/her/it'
3d	<i>teng gawi ni kawng</i>	'let us look at them'	3d	<i>mi teng gawi kaw</i>	'let us look at them'
2pl	<i>ning teng gui ni kawng</i>	'let us look at you'	3pl	<i>mi teng gui kaw</i>	'let us look at them'
3pl	<i>teng gui ni kawng</i>	'let us look at them'	(xxxvi)	s	
(xxxiii)	pl		1	<i>na teng ä</i>	'look at me!'
2	<i>ning teng u kawng</i>	'let us look at you'	3	<i>teng ä</i>	'look at him/her/it!'
3	<i>teng u kawng</i>	'let us look at him/her/it'	1d	<i>na teng gawi ä</i>	'look at us!'
2d	<i>ning teng gawi u kawng</i>	'let us look at you'	3d	<i>teng gawi ä</i>	'look at them!'
			1pl	<i>na teng gui ä</i>	'look at us!'
			3pl	<i>teng gui ä</i>	'look at them!'
			(xxxvii)	d	
			1	<i>na teng nä</i>	'look at me!'
			3	<i>teng nä</i>	'look at him/her/it!'

- 1d *na teng gawi nä* ‘look at us!’
 3d *teng gawi nä* ‘look at them!’
- 1pl *na teng gui nä* ‘look at us!’
 3pl *teng gui nä* ‘look at them!’
- (xxxviii) pl
 1 *na teng vä* ‘look at me!’
 3 *teng vä* ‘look at him/her/it!’
- 1d *na teng gawi vä* ‘look at us!’
 3d *teng gawi vä* ‘look at them!’
- 1pl *na teng gui vä* ‘look at us!’
 3pl *teng gui vä* ‘look at them!’
- (xxxix) s
 1 *na teng hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at me’
 2 *ning teng hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at you’
 3 *teng hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at him/her/it’
- 1d *na teng gawi hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at us’
 2d *ning teng gawi hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at you’
 3d *teng gawi hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at them’
- 1pl *na teng gui hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at us’
 2pl *ning teng gui hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at you’
 3pl *teng gui hlä* ‘may he/she/it
 look at them’
- (xli) d
 1 *na teng ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at me’
 2 *ning teng ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at you’
 3 *teng ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at him/her/it’
- 1d *na teng gawi ni hlä* ‘may they look at us’
 2d *ning teng gawi ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at you’
 3d *teng gawi ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at them’
- 1pl *na teng gui ni hlä* ‘may they look at us’
 2pl *ning teng gui ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at you’
 3pl *teng gui ni hlä* ‘may they
 look at them’
- (xli) pl
 1 *na teng u hlä* ‘may they
 look at me’
 2 *ning teng u hlä* ‘may they
 look at you’
 3 *teng u hlä* ‘may they
 look at him/her/it’
- 1d *na teng gawi u hlä* ‘may they look at us’
 2d *ning teng gawi u hlä* ‘may they
 look at you’
 3d *teng gawi u hlä* ‘may they
 look at them’

- 1pl *na teng gui u hlä* 'may they look at us'
 2pl *ning teng gui u hlä* 'may they look at you'
 3pl *teng gui u hlä* 'may they look at them'

Just as with the verb *hnguh* 'see' in (xxii), the verb *teng* 'look at' has a derived intransitive *ng'teng* 'look at oneself/each other'; its imperative forms are as in (xlii).

- (xlii) s
- 1 *ng'teng kawng* 'let me look at myself'
 2 *ng'teng ä* 'look at yourself!'
 3 *ng'teng hlä* 'may he/she/it look at him/her/itself'
- d
- 1d *ng'teng ni kawng* 'let us look at ourselves/each other'
 12d *ni ng'teng kaw* 'let us look at ourselves/each other'
 2d *ng'teng nä* 'look at yourselves /each other!'
 3d *ng'teng ni hlä* 'may they look at themselves/each other'
- pl
- 1pl *ng'teng u kawng* 'let us look at ourselves/each other'
 12pl *mi ng'teng kaw* 'let us look at ourselves/each other'
 2pl *ng'teng vä* 'look at yourselves /each other!'
 3pl *ng'teng u hlä* 'may they look at themselves/each other'

9 Text Examples

As a simple measure of complexity of agreement systems, we note that for transitive verbs, Lai has a maximum of 34 forms (10 + 10 + 14), including reflexives and reciprocals. K'cho has a corresponding 69 forms (24 + 18 + 27), not including reflexives and reciprocals. We might wish to reduce the Lai total by four, and the K'cho total by three, because of the ambiguous forms noted. In either case, K'cho agreement is roughly twice as complex as Lai. This paper will conclude with a selection of K'cho examples taken from the recent translation of the New Testament (2000).¹⁶

(1) *Kei cu nang naw tuinimnak na na pek khai ah kiak ci, cun ung phi kei ah nang na law ci ma?* (3: 14)

'I should be baptized by you, and you come to me?'

Example (1) contains the pronouns *kei* 'I' and *nang* 'you', and the agreement particles *na* for second person singular subject and *na* for first person object.

(2) *Shin cu kei ah ka m'hni ah Ka Htapa nei, ani cu a ng'hteih ah ka zeinak ci nei.* (3: 16)

'This is my son that I love, and I am very pleased with him.'

Example (2) contains the pronouns *kei* 'I' and *ani* 'he', as well as the first person singular subject agreement particle *ka*.

In (3) through (7) are examples of duals and plurals.

(3) *A i ka ning bipeit gawi vai ang, nani ng'zak hlü?* (20:32)

'What do you want me to do for you?'

Example (3) contains the first person singular subject agreement particle *ka*, the second person dual subject agreement particle *nani*, and the second person dual object agreement particles *ning ... gawi*.

(4) *Bawipa, kani mik na na m'dei sak gawi vai, kani ng'za hlü ci nei.* (20:33)

'Lord, we want you to open our eyes.'

Example (4) contains the second person singular subject agreement particle *na*, the first person dual subject agreement particle *kani*, and the first person dual object agreement particles *na ... gawi*.

(5) *Kä kami hmat ci nei.* (21:27)

'We do not know.'

Example (5) contains the first person plural subject agreement particle *kami*.

(6) *Nangmi naw a i hawkcha ah nami ng'ngai ci ang?* (21:28)

'What do you think?'

Example (6) contains the second person plural pronoun *nangmi*, and the second person plural subject agreement particle *nami*.

(7) *Chang gui naw a k'düm ah ani om vai ah k'se nak gawi ci gui.* (20:31)

'The people scolded them (saying) they must keep quiet.'

Example (7) contains the (third person) plural subject and dual object agreement particles *gui* and *gawi*. It also contains a third person subject agreement particle *ani*.¹⁷

Imperatives appear in (8) and (9).

(8) *Thaw law ne a k'hkaw la a nu cu Ejip khaw ah dawngpüi gawi ä.* (2:13)

'Get up, and take the child and his mother to Egypt.'

Example (8) contains the singular imperative particle *ä* preceded by the (third person) dual object agreement particle *gawi*.

(9) *Kei naw 'Law ba vä,' kä ka ci pha ah chuih a cu ah na ompüi gawi vai nei.*(2:13)

'You must keep them there until I say "Come back".'

Example (9) contains the plural imperative particle *vä*, the first person singular pronoun *kei*, the first person and second person singular subject agreement particles *ka* and *na*, and the (third person) dual object agreement particle *gawi*.

Endnotes

1. This paper was presented to the 33rd International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, held at Ramkhamhaeng University, Bangkok and Trang Province, October 2-6, 2000. I am grateful to Kee Shein Mang for teaching me what I know about K'cho, and to Stephen Hre Kio for providing me with a copy of the K'cho New Testament (2000).

2. According to the standard view, which dates back in essence to the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1904), Lai belongs to the Central subgroup, and K'cho to the Southern subgroup of the Kuki-Chin group within Tibeto-Burman. The variety of K'cho cited here, and the basis of Jordan (1969), is that of the Ng'men area in Mindat Township, Chin State, Myanmar. For some discussion of the range of K'cho, see So-Hartmann (1988). For more details on K'cho and its speakers, see Mang (2006).

Comparison of syntax or morphology is often facilitated by using related languages. However, the clarification of the precise historical relation between Lai and K'cho is not our task in this paper. In addition to historical origins, morphology and syntax are shaped by borrowing as well as by universal properties of the human language faculty.

3. Lai has a second set of pronouns as in (i').

(i')	s		pl
1	<i>keimah</i> 'I'		<i>kanmah</i> 'we'
2	<i>nangmah</i> 'you'		<i>nanmah</i> 'you'

3 *amah* 'he/she/it' *anmah* 'they'

The element *mah* in these pronouns is clearly related to a word meaning 'self'. Nevertheless, they are more or less interchangeable with those in (1) in current Lai.

4. K'cho has two additional sets of pronouns as in (ii') and (ii'').

(ii')

1	s	<i>keimät</i> 'I'
	d	<i>keinimät</i> 'we'
	pl	<i>keinimät</i> 'we'
12	d	<i>ninimät</i> 'we'
	pl	<i>mimimät</i> 'we'
2	s	<i>nangmät</i> 'you'
	d	<i>nangnimät</i> 'you'
	pl	<i>nangmimät</i> 'you'
3	s	<i>animät</i> 'he/she/it'
	d	<i>nganimät</i> 'they'
	pl	<i>nganimät</i> 'they'

(ii'')

1	s	<i>kamät</i> 'I'
	d	<i>kanimät</i> 'we'
	pl	<i>kanimät</i> 'we'
12	d	<i>nimät</i> 'we'
	pl	<i>mimät</i> 'we'
2	s	<i>namät</i> 'you'
	d	<i>nanimät</i> 'you'
	pl	<i>namimät</i> 'you'
3	s	<i>amät</i> 'he/she/it'
	d	<i>animät</i> 'they'
	pl	<i>amimät</i> 'they'

These are formed by adding *mät* ‘self’ to the pronouns in (ii) or by attaching to it the corresponding possessive prefix. Though these resemble the Lai pronouns in (i’), they are not interchangeable with the K’cho pronouns in (ii), but always have the meaning of reflexivity or contrast. (ii’) and (ii’’) are more or less interchangeable among themselves.

K’cho orthography is variable in some respects. The pronouns with two syllables in (ii) are written in Jordan (1969) as two words, and the first elements in *ngani* and *ngami* are often spelled with a final *h*: *nih ni*, *mih mi*, *ngah ni* and *ngah mi*. In *ngah*, the *h* indicates a short vowel rather than a glottal stop as in other cases.

5. Almost all of the facts of agreement in K’cho are described in Jordan (1969). As with the pronouns, he writes the two syllable subject agreement prefixes as two words, and the elements *ka* and *na* as *kah* and *nah*: thus *kah hteit ci*, *nah ni hteit ci*, and so on. There are third person particles parallel to the first and second in certain constructions: *a hteh*, *ani hteh*, *ami hteh*. The *a* here is not short. Since the particle *ci* cannot be used in these constructions, and the verb appears in its ‘stem II’ form, we take them to be nominalized and the particles in question to be possessives rather than subject agreement. See example in (7) below.

6. So for example Hay-Neave (1953) calls them all pronouns, though he points out that

kei ka kal lai ‘I will go’ differs from *ka kal lai* in placing emphasis on the first person subject. Similarly, Jordan (1969) has a distinction between ‘expanded’ and ‘contracted’ pronouns, noting that the ‘expanded’ pronoun is usually omitted: *ngani cu ka chü gawi ci* ‘I called them both’ versus *ka chü gawi ci*.

7. See Lehman (2000) for a slightly different semantic and syntactic account of this Lai number particle. His analysis can perhaps be extended to K’cho *gawi* and *gui*.

8. In some varieties of Lai the two *kans* remain distinct in vowel length. Some Lais distinguish them by writing the coalesced form as *kaan* or *ka’n*. In other varieties, they are phonologically the same. Lai has particles which are positioned between the subject and object agreement particles. In that case coalescence is blocked: *ka rak in ...* or *ka rak i ...*

9. The coalescence of the second person singular *na* with the reflexive *i* can be blocked: *na rak i ...*

10. The coalescence is regular in Ng’men K’cho, but not in Hlet Lawng K’cho. See example (1) below. The dual and plural *naani* and *naami* have variants *naana* and *naama*.

11. The remarks in footnotes 8 and 9 apply also to the third person singular coalesced *aa* and *an*.

12. Depending on the particular verb, there might not be such a derived intransitive, or its meaning might be specialized in some way. With *ng'nguh*, in the plural the meaning 'meet each other' predominates, so that to get the meaning 'see' or a reflexive sense, reflexive pronouns as in note 4 above will be used. On derivation with prefixed consonants in another variety of K'cho, see Hartmann (1999).

It is also possible to make reflexive or reciprocal sentences from the base transitive verb using reflexive or reciprocal pronouns. In that case the agreement will be for a third person singular object (i. e. unmarked) regardless of the person and number of the subject. For example:

(a) *Kei naw kamät ka hnguh ci.*

'I see myself.'

(b) *Kanimät naw tumat la tumat kani hnguh ci.*

'We saw each other.'

13. The grouping of these forms as first, second and third person 'imperatives' is solely for convenience, and probably cannot be maintained on semantic grounds. Possibly 'precative' or 'subjunctive' would be more apt for the non-second person forms.

14. Additional forms for the 1 and 12 subject forms would replace *kawng* with *vang* or *veng*, and *kaw* with *vai* or *ve*. The last has a slightly different meaning. I am grateful to Stephen Nolan for calling my attention to these variants.

15. Possibly *nä* comes from *ni + ä* and *vä* from *u + ä*.

16. The variety of K'cho used in this translation differs slightly from that used in the foregoing examples. It belongs to the Hlet Lawng area. See note 10 for one relevant difference.

17. This *ani* differs from the one above in (2), though they have the same form. This one is a dual agreement particle and that one is a singular pronoun.

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