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# TIDDIM CHIN

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS  
OF TWO TEXTS

BY

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## FOREWORD

IN the autumn of 1954 the author of this volume, in company with Professor Gordon H. Luce of Rangoon University and Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon, spent six weeks engaged in linguistic research in the Northern Chin Hills. The expedition was sponsored by the University of Rangoon, without whose generosity and support it could not have taken place. Professor Luce was temporarily released from his duties as Professor of Far Eastern History in the University in order to take part, while my own work in Burma, which was made possible in the first instance by study leave granted by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, was greatly facilitated by my appointment as Visiting Professor in the University of Rangoon for the period of my visit. Our American colleague, Dr. Stern, who is Associate Professor of Anthropology in the University of Oregon, was at the time working at Rangoon University as a research fellow in linguistics under the Fulbright scheme. A fourth and most helpful participant in the first two weeks of our tour was U Khin Maung Saw of the Anthropology Department of Rangoon University. The especially warm acknowledgements and thanks of all of us are due to Dr. Htin Aung, at that time Rector of the University, whose personal enthusiasm and vigorous official backing for this project were as inspiring as they were invaluable. It was a great disappointment to us all that urgent official business at the last moment prevented him from leading our party. We also owe an immense debt of gratitude to Mr. Zahre Lian, then Minister for Chin Affairs, who supported the project from the start with all the means at his disposal, and in whose company we had the honour of travelling for part of the time. I take this opportunity of expressing our grateful thanks to all the officials of the Chin Hills, from the Commissioner downwards, and to all our numerous informants, Government servants, merchants, missionaries, schoolmasters, schoolboys, and even road-coolies, who, one and all, did their utmost to help us. I am also greatly indebted to the authorities of the School of Oriental and African Studies for generously providing a full subvention for the publication of the study presented here, which brings to fruition a major part of my own share in those weeks of intensive research.

Professor Luce, in an article entitled 'Chin Hills—Linguistic tour (Dec. 1954)—University Project' (*Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. xlii, pt. 1, 1959), has given an account of the expedition and of what was accomplished. Despite the varying pre-occupations and interests of the individual members of the expedition, we found much profit in working together and frequently called upon each other to check, listen, and advise. I gratefully acknowledge the wise counsel and warm encouragement of my two colleagues, and in particular that of Professor Luce, whose enthusiasm was the mainspring of our work and whose erudition was its guide.

EUGÉNIE J. A. HENDERSON

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## CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	I
II. THE TEXTS	4
III. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION	9
IV. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	15
1. The Phonetic Material	15
2. The Phonological Structure of Syllables	19
A. <i>Tone</i>	19
B. <i>Quantity</i>	20
C. <i>Syllable-closing features</i>	21
D. <i>Syllable-opening features</i>	22
E. <i>The nature, number, and sequence of the placed elements</i>	23
<i>Nuclear phonematic units</i>	23
<i>Pre-nuclear phonematic units</i>	26
<i>Post-nuclear phonematic units</i>	27
V. THE NARRATIVE STYLE	29
1. Sentences	29
A. <i>The nature, number, and sequence of the placed elements</i>	29
<i>Phrases</i>	29
<i>Sentence particles</i>	30
B. <i>Sentence intonation</i>	30
C. <i>Mood as a characteristic of sentences</i>	32
D. <i>Pronominal concord within the sentence</i>	32
2. Phrases	33
A. <i>Phrase intonation</i>	33
<i>Rising phrase intonation</i>	34
<i>Falling phrase intonation</i>	35
<i>Level phrase intonation</i>	36
<i>Figure-linking intonation</i>	36
B. <i>Reduplication as a characteristic of the phrase</i>	39
C. <i>Mood as a characteristic of the phrase</i>	40
D. <i>Pronominal concord within the phrase</i>	40

## CONTENTS

E. <i>The nature, number, and sequence of the constituent placed elements</i>	40
<i>Phrase particles</i>	41
<i>The subjective phrase</i>	41
<i>The predicative phrase</i>	43
<i>The adjunctive phrase</i>	48
F. <i>Summary of the properties of the different types of phrases</i>	51
3. <i>Figures</i>	52
A. <i>Figure intonation</i>	52
B. <i>Reduplication and pairing</i>	57
<i>Reduplication of adverb</i>	57
<i>Reduplication of verb</i>	57
C. <i>Figure stress</i>	58
D. <i>Mood as a characteristic of figures</i>	59
E. <i>Case as a characteristic of the nominal figure</i>	59
F. <i>Figure-final glottalization</i>	60
G. <i>The nature, number, and arrangement of the constituent placed elements</i>	62
<i>The nominal figure</i>	62
<i>The verbal figure</i>	66
<i>The adverbial figure</i>	69
<i>The citational figure</i>	69
4. <i>Words and Affixes</i>	69
(i) <i>Independent Words</i>	69
A. <i>Nouns</i>	69
<i>The syllabic structure of nouns</i>	71
B. <i>Verbs</i>	72
<i>Regular verbs</i>	72
<i>Irregular verbs</i>	80
<i>Derived verbs</i>	82
<i>Use of the verb forms I and II</i>	84
<i>The syllabic structure of verbs</i>	89
C. <i>Quantifiers</i>	90
D. <i>Adverbial conjunctions</i>	91
(ii) <i>Dependent words</i>	92
A. <i>Nominal auxiliaries</i>	92
B. <i>Verbal auxiliaries</i>	92
C. <i>Adverbs</i>	92
<i>The syllabic structure of adverbs</i>	94

## CONTENTS

(iii) <i>Affixes</i>	95
A. <i>Prefixes</i>	95
<i>Pronominal prefixes</i>	95
<i>The use of the pronominal prefixes</i>	96
<i>Verbal prefixes</i>	97
<i>The use of the verbal prefixes</i>	97
<i>The syllabic structure of prefixes</i>	99
B. <i>Suffixes</i>	100
<i>Nominal suffixes</i>	100
<i>Pronominal suffixes</i>	101
<i>Nomino-verbal suffixes</i>	102
<i>The syllabic structure of suffixes</i>	102
C. <i>Particles</i>	103
<i>Sentence particles</i>	103
<i>Phrase-final particles</i>	103
<i>Figure-linking particles</i>	103
<i>Post-nominal particles</i>	104
<i>The syllabic structure of particles</i>	104
VI. <i>THE COLLOQUIAL STYLE</i>	106
(i) <i>Richer variety of particles and particle groups</i>	107
(ii) <i>The use of pronominal suffixes</i>	108
(iii) <i>Difference of usage as regards mood</i>	111
(iv) <i>'Fusion' of elements</i>	112
(v) <i>New word-classes</i>	113
<i>Grammatical Analysis of the Colloquial Material</i>	113
VII. <i>THE DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS</i>	118
VIII. <i>VOCABULARY</i>	145

# I

## INTRODUCTION

THE material on which this study is based was gathered in the course of a four weeks' visit to Tiddim, in the Northern Chin hills, in the autumn of 1954. The dialect studied is that spoken in and around Tiddim itself, and is often referred to as Kamhau, sometimes as Sokte. My informants preferred the designation 'Tiddim Chin', which is accordingly that adopted here.

It was obvious from the beginning that it would not be possible in so short a time to assemble sufficient reliable material to justify an attempt at anything approaching a full-scale grammar and phonology of the dialect. The great danger was that the material collected, when sorted and re-examined at leisure, would amount to no more than a jumble of disjointed notes on this and that feature of the language, without the co-ordination or completeness necessary to build up a reasonably coherent picture. It was for this reason that I decided to take a specific passage of continuous text as the focal point for my investigations, in the belief that a coherent and comprehensive analysis of the structure of such a text might be expected, with certain expansions and minor modifications, to provide a good working basis for the handling of a far wider range of material. The concentration upon a specific text has not meant that I have felt obliged to present an academic exercise in analysis based upon that text alone. The inquiries called forth by the text itself often carried us far afield, and I have incorporated what it seemed useful to extract from such excursions in the analysis presented.

As my first and principal text I have chosen a Chin story which was written down for me, and subsequently spoken as often as I required, by Mr. Vul Za Thang (henceforward referred to briefly as VZT), who was at the time a teacher at Tiddim Secondary School and who later became its head. I have also included a second much shorter story because it exhibits certain interesting differences from the first both in style and delivery. My informant for the second story was the Rev. Hau Go (henceforward referred to

as HG), who was at the time of our visit in charge of the Baptist Mission at Tiddim. I am greatly indebted to both my informants for their patience and goodwill, and for their ready grasp of linguistic problems, in which both were deeply interested.

Both stories are related in what I have here termed the 'narrative style', that is, the style appropriate to the writing and reading of simple tales of this nature. The narrative style is the main subject of investigation here. The passages of direct speech in the first story are in a quite different style, which I have termed 'colloquial'. A brief study is made of this colloquial style in order to indicate the main lines along which it differs from the more formal style of the greater part of the material. The interest of the second story lies in the traces it shows, in a narrative context, of the colloquial style, and it is of interest to note here that HG, as a minister, had been concerned with some of the first attempts at writing down for use in religious pamphlets the everyday language as spoken in the home.

The method of presentation chosen starts with the larger linguistic structures and works downwards through the smaller ones of which they are built up. This involves the examination successively, and in descending order of size, of grammatical units referred to as sentences, phrases, figures, words, and affixes. Such a method does not, of course, always reflect the order or manner of working out the material in the preliminary stages during which there must necessarily be continual reference and cross-reference from one section of the analysis to another. It does, however, have the advantage of affording the investigator a means of handling certain phenomena characteristic of the larger structures, such as intonation and stress, at a conveniently early stage in the analysis so that they present fewer complications when the time comes to deal with the smaller units. The pursuit of the method to its logical conclusion would require that the treatment of the smallest grammatical units postulated in this study, namely words and affixes, should be followed by an account of syllable structure. It has, however, been found more convenient to present the section dealing with syllable structure before those dealing with grammatical units, since the phonological generalizations arrived at make for a clearer and more economical exposition of the grammatical units themselves.

Phonology in this study is understood to mean the ordering and

presentation of the phonetic features of utterances in the manner which best relates such utterances to the grammatical statement. Unfortunately, it is here that the incompleteness of the material makes itself felt most keenly. While it is possible to point out certain phonological characteristics of grammatical structures of all sizes, it is not possible on the evidence to hand to provide an exhaustive list of the syllable-building factors operating within the various word-classes. It is clear from the available evidence that these factors are not the same for all word-classes (see pp. 89, 94, 99, 104). A far greater body of material is required before certain apparent gaps and discrepancies (see p. 15) in phonetic distribution can convincingly be demonstrated as systematic or accidental. Meanwhile, in the detailed analysis of the texts only very general formulae for syllable structure are suggested, and in the vocabulary, where ideally the complete phonological structure of each entry should be given, there is instead a representation of its pronunciation in general phonetic terms. In the main body of this study, the material is presented either in its orthographic form, or, where this seems insufficient for the point at issue, in a phonetic transcription.

In order to make good some of the gaps in my own material, I have been glad to be able to draw upon an excellent little book by VZT and J. Gin Za Twang entitled *How to Spell, Pronounce and Learn Tiddim-Chin Words*, published by the Baptist Board of Publications in Rangoon in 1953. I have felt that it is useful to include as many as possible of the words listed in that book in the vocabulary at the end of this study for the sake of those who wish to form as complete a picture as possible of the phonetic possibilities of the language to whom VZT's book may not be available. The pronunciation of all the words included was checked with VZT himself. When a word given by VZT does not occur in my texts or in the accompanying descriptive matter it is preceded in the vocabulary by an asterisk. Where I have insufficient evidence at my disposal to establish the appropriate grammatical designation of such a word, the designation that appears most likely is set down followed by a question mark, e.g. *n.?*; where no one grammatical designation appears more likely than another only a question mark is used, e.g. *-ma:t ? reserved* (see p. 154).

## II

## THE TEXTS

THE texts are presented here in the orthographic form used by VZT and HG respectively when writing them out for me. Chin orthography is still fluid in some respects and a certain variety in usage was observed. I have felt it more useful to reproduce the texts exactly as they appear in my manuscripts rather than to impose on them a uniformity of my own devising, but it may well be that in so doing I have included forms which my informants might have wished to correct if they had had the opportunity to do so. I, and not they, must be held responsible, therefore, for any misspellings there may be. When citing passages from the texts in the main part of this study I have felt free to depart on occasions from the word-division shown in my manuscripts in order to illustrate more clearly the point at issue.

Following each text is a free rendering into English. For ease of reference, the sentences in each text are numbered consecutively, the same numbers appearing for the corresponding English sentences. The titles of the stories are referred to by the number 0.

A detailed grammatical analysis of the texts, sentence by sentence, is given on pp. 120-44.

## I. 0. Dahpa Thu

1. Dahpa in lo a kuan nuam kei a, a inn kuan pih te in a tai zel uh hi.
2. Zing sang tung a ah tai uh ciangin, 'Tu ni in kuan mah ning in, hi ci khawh ning', ci in a tap tung teng uh a tu tawh a kal hi.
3. Zing sang an neck khit ciangin, a innkuan pih te kuan masa sak a, amah a nunung hi.
4. Zu beel tung khat in lup sim a, pial khang ah puan a khuh khit ciangin, amah zong a kuan hi.
5. Khua gal a tun ciangin 'Hawi' ci in dawng zel zal a, 'Inn ah mi khat in hing sam', ci in a ciah kik hi.
6. Inn a tun ciangin 'Mi ih sak leh zobel hi khong veh e', ci in a leih pah a, a ne hi.
7. Lo a kuan nawn kei hi.
8. Innkuan pih te in, a tai tai uh a, a sawt pi ciangin Dahpa a lo

uh ah a va kuan hi. 9. Sun ni loh in lo a kho a, ni tak ciangin a ciah hi. 10. A zing ciangin kuan kik leuh leu a, ahah hangin a lopa khawh khat sa teng na po kik a, khawh lo a bang hi. 11. Sun niloh in kho kik leu leu a, ni tak ciangin a ciah hi. 12. A kuan kik ciangin a khawh sa teng khawh lo a na suak pah pah hi.

13. Tua bangin ni tampi a pian khit ciangin, Dahpa in, 'Bang thu hi peuh mah hiam? Pang ning', ci in a pang hi. 14. Dawi te khat in lo lai ah vak in, 'Dahpa lo khawh sa khawh loh bang hen', ci in khuang khat a tum hi. 15. Khuang a tum ciangin, lopa a kikho khia sa te tho nai nai uh a, a hing kik hi. 16. Dahpa in zong gem gem in, dawipa a bawh a a khuang a sut hi.

17. Dahpa in khuang a ngah khit ciangin, 'Ka lo cing pi khawh sa suak hen oh', ci in khuang a beng a, a lo cing pi in khawh sa a suak kik takpi hi. 18. Tua khit ciangin, an minsa a ngen a, a om takpi hi. 19. Zu khaih sa a ngen a, a kiang ah a om pah a, a ne pah hi.

20. Dahpa a khuang tawh inn ah a ciah a, a deih peuh peuh khuang tum kawm a a gen ciangin a om lua lua hi. 21. Sawt lo in amah a hau mah mah hi.

22. Tua ciangin Dahpa zu nung a, mihing ganhing zusa vasa te kheempeuh zong a sam hi. 23. Ni sagih tawn tung sa go, sane zune in a lam lam uh hi. 24. Sa a muat loh na dingin khua dam a ngen a, tu dong in, kum sim in Phalbi khua dam hun ih nei hi. 25. Zan ciang a lam na dingin, khua vak a ngen a, khapi a piang hi.

26. Tangteuh sasem a hi a, sa lak a a bual bual na in, tu dongin a ci pumpi in a zol hi. 27. Baibek gual nuam lua kisa in, vok gawl dawn a tuang kawm a a lam leh, kia a, vok gawl dawn hiam in a nel a sun sisan a, tu dongin a san lai hi. 28. Thankik in a mei tawh thang a siah leh sakhi khat awk a, sakhi in a lehlam in a tai pih hi. 29. Tua ahah man in 'Than kik' kici den hi. 30. Bui in khuang tum in lam a makai hi. 31. Thankik a muh ciang in, a nui nui a, tu dongin a mit a vung hi. 32. 'Nui nui kei un la, na khuang uh tum un la lam un', ci a Dahpa in bui a tai leh, nuak a, a khuang tawh a kua ah a ciah hi. 33. Kua mah in a sam kik zo kei hi. 34. A sawt ciangin bilpi va pai a, 'Bui aw, pu Dahpa in, "Tu a hong pai kei leh, a kua ah tui sa sung ding hing", ci hi', ci a a va khem leh tak sang a, khuang la in a pai kik hi.

35. Ni sagih khit, zunun a ven ciangin Dahpa' khuang dol lua a, nisa ah a pho uh hi. 36. Ni in deih gawh in a guk sak hi. 37. Dahpa in, 'Ka khuang ka lak kik zawh na ding in, tau sang ka lam

ding hi. Mihing ganhing, zusa vasa, miksi thovai in hing awi un,'  
ci in tua te kheempeuh a bia hi. 38. Ahih hangin leikha a bia  
mangngilh hi. 39. Tau sangpi a lam ciangin, leikha in a bul na ne  
ne a, a tuk hi. 40. Dahpa zong a si ta hi.

### I. o. A Dahpa Story

1. As Dahpa did not like to go to work in the fields, his family used to scold him often about it. 2. Early one morning, when they were scolding him, he said: 'This morning I really will go, and I shall dig like this', and so saying, he raked all over the hearth with a hoe. 3. After breakfast, he let his family go on in front of him while he stayed behind. 4. After he had secretly covered an upright beer-pot with a blanket in the inner room, he too went out. 5. When they had got outside the village, he called out loudly, as if answering someone: 'Ho there! There is someone at home calling me', and he turned back again. 6. When he got home he said: 'We thought there was someone here, but it is only a beer-pot after all', and he at once poured water on the beer and began to drink it. 7. He did not go out to work any more that day.

8. His family continued to reproach him for a long time until in the end he went off to work in the fields. 9. All day long he cultivated the fields and when evening came he went home. 10. In the morning he returned to the fields again but all the grass he had already weeded out had grown again in his absence, and it was as if the field had never been cultivated. 11. Once again he worked away at it all day long and returned home in the evening, 12. but when he went back to work next day all the land he had cultivated had once again reverted to its uncultivated state in his absence.

13. When this had happened for many days, Dahpa said to himself: 'What is really going on, I wonder? I shall lie in wait and see', and he did so. 14. He saw a spirit walk to the middle of the field and say: 'Let the land Dahpa has already weeded be as if he had not done so', and as he spoke he beat on a drum. 15. When he beat the drum, the grass which had been weeded out sprang up all over the place and grew once more. 16. Then Dahpa crept stealthily up to the spirit and caught hold of him and snatched his drum.

17. When he had got possession of the drum, Dahpa said solemnly, 'Let the whole of my field be cultivated', and as he spoke

he slapped the drum with his palm, and the whole of his field became really thoroughly cultivated once more. 18. After that, he asked for some ready-cooked food, and at once there was some in front of him. 19. He then asked for ready-filtered beer, and at once there it was beside him, and he ate and drank without delay.

20. Dahpa went home with the drum, and from then on if he asked for anything he wanted and beat the drum at the same time, it appeared in abundance. 21. It was not long before he was a very rich man.

22. When he became rich, Dahpa gave a feast, and invited all living things to it, both men and animals, and the smaller creatures and birds. 23. For seven whole days they slaughtered beasts and ate meat and drank beer, and danced continuously. 24. So that the meat should not spoil, Dahpa asked for cool weather, and to this day, we still have a cool winter season every year. 25. When night came he asked for light to dance by, and the moon appeared.

26. The skink acted as meat-carver, and to this day the skin all over his body is greasy from splashing about in the meat. 27. The red-vented bulbul enjoyed himself so excessively that he fell as he was dancing on top of the fence round the pig-sty and the sharp points of the fence pierced his vent so that it bled, and it is still blood-red today. 28. When the chameleon set a snare with his tail and caught a barking deer, the barking deer ran backwards dragging him along with him. 29. It is for this reason that the chameleon is always called 'Noble Backwards'. 30. Now the bamboo rat was beating his drum as he led the row of dancers. 31. When he saw the chameleon he laughed and laughed so much that his eyes are still swollen to this day. 32. Dahpa said 'Do not laugh all the time, beat your drum and dance, all of you', but when he was rebuked in this way, the bamboo rat sulked and went back to his hole with his drum. 33. Nobody could persuade him to return. 34. In the end the rabbit went to him and said: 'Bamboo rat, Lord Dahpa says that if you do not come he is going to pour boiling water down your hole!' The bamboo rat believed the rabbit when he tricked him in this way, and taking up his drum he returned to the feast.

35. After seven days, when the feast was over, Dahpa's drum was very damp and they set it in the sun to dry. 36. Now the sun coveted the drum and stole it. 37. Dahpa said: 'In order to recover my drum I shall build a high tower', and he called upon all living



creatures, humans and animals, birds and insects, to support him, and he propitiated all of them. 38. However, he forgot to propitiate the white ants, 39. and when the tower was very high they came and ate away the foot of the tower while the builders were busy up above, and it collapsed. 40. Dahpa perished along with it.

## II. o. Khua Lei

1. Ni dang lai-in Khaw Lei a kici mi khat khual a zin leh, lampi-ah galte in a that hi. 2. A thah khit uh ciangin a ngawng a tan uh a, a baan leh a phei lang khat zong a tan uh hi. 3. Tua khit ciangin a ui a khe lang khat ah khiih sa-in a nusia uh hi. 4. Tua Khua Lei leh a ui pen, aksi suak a, tu-in Khaw Lei Ui Kai kici hi. 5. Zan ciangin tua aksi en lecin, Khaw Lei' Khuk kiangah Khaw Lei' ui zong a phe lekkek na mu ding hi.

## II. o. The Chin Story of the Origin of the Great Bear

1. In former times, a man named Khua Lei was killed by enemies on the road while he was travelling away from home. 2. After they had killed him they cut off his head and arms and one of his legs. 3. Then they left his dog tied to his remaining leg. 4. Khua Lei and his dog became a group of stars we now call 'Khua Lei leading his Dog'. 5. If you look at these stars at night, you will see Khua Lei's dog twinkling away near his knee.

## III

### SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION

THE roman orthography in common use for Tiddim Chin is in the main a phonetic one, though the fact that tone is never and vowel length very infrequently indicated makes it necessary, when these features are relevant to the point at issue, to cite examples in phonetic transcription.

At the beginnings of syllables the following consonant letters and combinations of letters are used: b-, c-, d-, g-, h-, k-, kh-, l-, m-, n-, ng-, p-, ph-, s-, t-, th-, v-, z-.

'b-' [b] represents a lightly voiced bilabial plosive.

'c-' [c] represents for VZT an affricate pronounced with the tongue-tip down, and with contact of the blade of the tongue in the alveolar region. In HG's pronunciation the tongue-tip was up, and the articulation much clearer and more ts-like than with VZT.

'd-' [d] represents a lightly voiced alveolar plosive. The glottalization of [b] and [d] observed in the pronunciation of some Chin speakers was absent from the speech of VZT, who was willing, however, to accept a slightly glottalized pronunciation of these sounds. There appeared to me to be very slight glottalization in HG's pronunciation on occasions.

'g-' [g] represents a lightly voiced velar plosive.

'h-' [h] represents a voiceless glottal fricative.

'k-' [k] represents a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive.

'kh-' [x] represents a voiceless velar fricative.

'l-' [l] represents a voiced alveolar lateral with a central resonance. HG was aware that the contact for this sound was further back than for initial [t] and [th].

'm-' [m] represents a voiced bilabial nasal.

'n-' [n] represents a voiced alveolar nasal.

'ng-' [ŋ] represents a voiced velar nasal.

'p-' [p] represents a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive.

'ph-' [ph] represents a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive.

's-' [s] represents for VZT a voiceless alveolar fricative, pronounced with the tongue-tip up. There is a thickish buzzing

quality to his pronunciation of the sound, possibly to be accounted for in part by a slightly retroflex position of the tongue, and in part by a rather wide area of narrowing. In HG's pronunciation the sound is much clearer, and was to me indistinguishable from my own southern English [s] in quality.

't-' [t] represents a voiceless unaspirated alveolar plosive.

'th-' [th] represents a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive.

'v-' [v] represents a voiced labiodental fricative.

'z-' [z] represents a voiced alveolar fricative, pronounced with the tip down, and with narrowing in the alveolar region. HG felt that the narrowing was a little further back than for his [s]. In VZT's pronunciation [z] is frequently palatalized, especially before front vowels, and quite a strong palatal offglide is then heard.

At the ends of syllables the following consonant letters and combinations of letters are found: -h, -k, -l, -lh, -m, -n, -ng, -p, -t, -w, -wh, -wk, wl, -wm, -wn, -wng, -wp, -wt.

'-h' in the great majority of cases represents a glottal stop [ʔ] when used finally. My informants occasionally wrote a final '-h', however, where they would not pronounce a glottal stop, as in the pronominal prefix 'ih', and more rarely in the pronominal prefix which is usually written 'a'. In the manuscript of my texts I note the spelling 'leuh leu' (I 11) where no glottal stop was pronounced, and for contrast the spelling 'khawh lo' (I 10) where both pronunciation and grammar lead one to expect 'khawh loh'.

'-k' [k] represents a voiceless velar plosive or unexploded stop.

'-l' [l] represents a voiced alveolar or post-alveolar lateral with a slightly retroflex articulation and resonance.

'-lh' [lʰ] represents the preceding sound immediately followed by a glottal stop.

'-m' [m] represents a voiced bilabial nasal.

'-n' [n] represents a voiced alveolar nasal with a contact rather more retracted than in syllable initial position. The digraph '-nn' is used in the common word 'inn' *house* to differentiate it from the even commoner particle 'in'.

'-ng' [ŋ] represents a voiced velar nasal.

'-p' [p] represents a voiceless bilabial plosive or unexploded stop.

'-t' [t] represents a voiceless alveolar plosive or unexploded stop, with a contact slightly more retracted than in syllable initial position.

'-w' occurs in the digraph '-aw' [ɔː], which represents a long half-open back rounded vowel.

'-wh' occurs in the trigraph '-awh' [ɔʔ], which represents a short half-open back rounded vowel followed by a glottal stop.

'-wk, -wl, -wm, -wn, -wng, -wp,' and '-wt' are found preceded by the letter 'a' in sequences which represent a long half-open back rounded vowel followed by the consonant sound indicated by the last letter.

The roman vowel letters are used singly and in combinations with the following values:

The letter 'a' used singly at the end of a syllable represents a long open back vowel [aː]. Before a following consonant letter other than 'w' or 'h' it may represent either a long back open vowel [aː] or a more fronted short open vowel [a]. Occasionally, but not regularly, the long vowel is indicated by doubling of the letter, e.g. 'baan' *arm* (II 2). Before '-h' it always represents the short open vowel. Used with a following '-w' it represents a long half-open back rounded vowel (see above).

The digraphs 'ai' and 'au' represent closing diphthongs beginning with either a short rather front open vowel or a long back open vowel [ai], [aɪ], [au] or [aʊ]. When the digraph is followed by the letter '-h', the diphthong always begins with the short vowel, e.g. 'haih' [-haiʰ].

The letter 'e' when used singly in an open syllable represents a long half-open front vowel [ɛː]. Before a following '-h' it represents a short half-open front vowel [ɛ]. Before any other consonant letter it represents either a short half-close front vowel [e], or a long half-open front vowel [ɛː]. Occasionally, but not regularly, the digraph 'ee' is used to represent the long vowel. Before a final [l] a markedly centralized pronunciation of the short vowel is often heard. Between the long open vowel and a following velar consonant there is commonly a marked central glide, e.g. 'neek' [-neːk].

The digraph 'ei' represents a closing diphthong starting either from a short half-close front vowel [ei] or from a long half-open front vowel [ɛɪ], and moving to a closer front position. The trigraph 'eii' is occasionally used to differentiate a word in frequent use from other common words which would otherwise be homographs, e.g. 'leii' [-lei] *tongue*, which would otherwise be indistinguishable in appearance from two other very common words 'lei' [-lei] *to buy*, and 'lei' [-lei] *bridge*.

'eu' represents a closing diphthong starting either from a short half-close front vowel [eu] or from a long half-open front vowel [ɛ:u] and moving to a closer back rounded position.

The letter 'i' used singly in an open syllable represents a long close front vowel [i:]. Before any consonant other than '-h' it represents either a short or a long close front vowel [i] or [i:]. Before '-h' it always represents a short vowel. A centralized on-glide to a following velar consonant is frequently heard after the long vowel, e.g. 'cing' [-ciŋ].

The digraph 'ia' [ia] represents an opening diphthong moving from a close front vowel position to an open central vowel position.

'iu' represents a diphthong beginning either with a long or with a short close front vowel and moving towards a close back rounded vowel, i.e. either [iu] or [i:u].

'iai' [iai] and 'iau' [iau] represent triphthongs beginning with close front vowel positions, moving towards a more open central vowel, and then towards a close front or close back rounded vowel position respectively.

The letter 'o' used singly in an open syllable or before a following '-h' represents a closing diphthong starting with a very slightly rounded half-close back vowel and moving to a closer back rounded vowel [ou]. Before a consonant other than '-h' or '-l' it represents a short half-close back rounded vowel [o]. Before a final lateral a short half-close back vowel without lip-rounding is most commonly heard.

'oi' [oi] represents a short diphthong starting from a half-close back rounded vowel and moving towards a close front vowel.

The letter 'u' used singly in an open syllable represents a long close back rounded vowel [u:]. Before a following consonant other than '-h' it represents either a short or a long close back rounded vowel [u] or [u:]. Before '-h' it always represents a short vowel. When the following consonant is [n] a fronted pronunciation of the vowel is common, followed by an on-glide to the [n].

The digraph 'ua' [ua] represents an opening diphthong moving from a close back rounded vowel position to an open central vowel position. This is usually pronounced as a falling diphthong, but is occasionally pronounced as a rising diphthong.

'uai' [uai] and 'uau' [uau] represent triphthongs moving from a close back rounded vowel position to a more open central position, and then towards a close front unrounded or close back rounded

position respectively. Prominence may be on either the first or the second element.

'ui' commonly represents a diphthong starting with either a long or a short close back rounded vowel and moving towards a front unrounded vowel, i.e. [ui] or [u:i]. In the word 'ui' *dog*, however, the letters represent a sequence of glottal stop, labiovelar semi-vowel, and long close front unrounded vowel [-<sup>h</sup>wi:].

As has been said already (see p. 9), tones are not indicated in the orthography. My informants, however, recognized three possible tones for monosyllables. These were called by VZT 'high', 'mid', and 'low', and correspond in the main to tones 1, 2, and 3 here postulated for syllables (see pp. 19-20). Except where the intonation patterns of larger structures intervene, VZT's 'high' tone is pronounced with a rising pitch in all open and long syllables, and with a high level or short high rising pitch in short syllables closed by a stop. His 'mid' tone is pronounced with level pitch, and his 'low' tone with a falling pitch in open and long syllables, and with a low level or short low falling pitch in syllables closed by a stop (see p. 18). None of these pitches can be deduced with certainty from the spelling, although in the great majority of cases short syllables closed by a stop, i.e. those ending in the spelling with '-h, -lh, -k, -t, -p' or '-wh', are pronounced with a low level pitch. The relative starting pitches of the different tones vary considerably from utterance to utterance and context to context. Uttered as a series of isolated words, the starting pitches of 'hai' [-haxi] *basket*, 'hai' [-haxi] *mango*, and 'hai' [-haxi] *cup*, would probably be, relatively speaking, low, mid, and high. When uttered in sequence in a sentence, however, the starting pitches of the words for *basket* or *cup* might be either the same as, or higher or lower than, that of the word for *mango*. VZT felt that variation here depends sometimes upon differences in usage from village to village, sometimes upon emphasis, and sometimes it is clear that grammatical considerations come into play. VZT, for instance, distinguishes in his usage between 'hai hai khat' *a cup full of mangos* and 'hai hai khat' *a cup made of a mango*. The intonation used in the first instance may be represented [-\~], and that used in the second instance [-\~].

In attempts to compare such intonations phonetically, the following pitch marks are used: [-] for a mid level pitch; [-] for a high level pitch; [-] for a low level pitch; [-] for a high falling

pitch; [˘] for a mid falling pitch; [˙] for a low falling pitch; [˚] for a mid rising pitch; [˛] for a high rising pitch; and [˜] for a low rising pitch.

These pitch marks, to which must be added the dots sometimes used to indicate unstressed syllables in a sequence, are not used for the notation of syllable-tone as such, which is indicated by raised numbers (see p. 19). In the pronunciations given for entries in the vocabulary at the end of this study, all tone 2 syllables are marked as mid level, and all tone 1 syllables as mid rising. Short tone 3 syllables closed by a stop are marked as either high level or low level according to the frequency with which such pitches occur in texts. All other tone 3 syllables are marked as mid falling.

The mark ˘ is used in phonetic texts to indicate a short unstressed vowel.

## IV

### SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A FULL statement of the phonological structure of the Tiddim Chin syllable would require as its starting-point a complete inventory of the syllables occurring in the language, paying due attention to the kind of words in which they are found. The present study does not encompass so much, and can therefore claim to hold only for the material in hand. The range of syllable finals appears to be fairly wide, so that the occasional gap (e.g. u:m) may with some confidence be regarded as accidental. It seems, however, warrantable to assume that we have examples of all syllable initials. The data is, however, insufficient to justify any but the most tentative statements based upon the relative frequency of initials or finals, or upon the possible combinations of initials and finals. It is perhaps permissible to observe that c is found only before a close front vowel, which suggests an alignment with some other sound, e.g. t, which is never found before a close front vowel. Less readily dealt with are the initial possibilities before the opening diphthongs ia and ua. Here the incompleteness of the material prevents us from deciding whether the absence of g, m, n, and ph before ia, or of h and d before ua, or of ŋ and v before either ia or ua, is systematic or accidental. We cannot go further than our material allows. There are clear indications in it of a number of the factors that must be taken into account in any attempt to link the phonetic features of utterances with the grammatical statement, but it is not comprehensive enough to permit an exhaustive list of such factors to be drawn up.

#### 1. THE PHONETIC MATERIAL

The phonetic material upon which the phonological statements are based is briefly summarized below.

In phonetic descriptions in this study the term *syllable* is used to refer to a sound sequence containing one vowel, diphthong, or triphthong (see p. 16). The minimum utterance is a single syllable with or without certain initial and final consonantal articulations



	u:		u <sup>ʔ</sup>	ua	ua <sup>ʔ</sup>
u:ŋ	u:k	uŋ	uk	uaŋ	uak
u:n	u:t	un	ut	uan	uat
	u:p	um		uam	
u:l		ul	ul <sup>ʔ</sup>	ual	
u:i		ui	ui <sup>ʔ</sup>	uai	uai <sup>ʔ</sup>
				uau	

With the exception of certain particles (see pp. 104-5), all syllables containing a long vowel or an opening diphthong and all short syllables closed by a continuant may be lexically differentiated according to whether they are pronounced with falling, rising, or level pitches. The rising pitch is frequently accompanied by glottal constriction towards its end, especially in pre-pausal position. This final glottalization is functionally quite distinct from syllable-final glottal stop and appears to differ from it phonetically in the slower and less vigorous nature of the muscular movements involved. Syllables with a short vowel followed by a stop (including the post-glottalized continuant) are with one exception always pronounced, without lexical differentiation, with a low level or low falling pitch, except in certain special grammatical contexts when they are pronounced with a high pitch which is postulated as an exponent of sentence, phrase, or figure intonation (see pp. 19-20, 31, 36-37, 54). The exception is the word *thak to be new*, which is discussed more fully in the section dealing with Tone on p. 20.

*Unstressed syllables.* Syllables pronounced with markedly less stress than their neighbours in the texts are, unlike stressed syllables, never differentiated by vowel length or pitch, and are never closed by a consonant. Their vowels are always short and only five distinctions of quality are recorded:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Open	ɛ	a	ɔ

Initial consonantal possibilities appear to be the same as for stressed syllables. The pitch on which unstressed syllables are pronounced is never distinctive, and varies according to the word or figure of which the syllable is a part, and to some extent according to the idiosyncrasies of the speaker. (See pp. 52-56.)

## 2. THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF SYLLABLES

From the phonological point of view, syllables are regarded as constituted of appropriate placed and unplaced elements. The placed elements of syllable structure are phonematic units. The unplaced elements of syllable structure, that is to say those properties which characterize the syllable as a whole, are of five kinds:

- Tone.
- Quantity.
- Syllable-closing features.
- Syllable-opening features.
- The number, nature, and sequence of the placed elements.

### A. Tone

The account of pitch behaviour on p. 18 suggests that for the phonological statement of syllable structure we require to postulate three tones, which will be labelled numerically 1, 2, and 3. Tone 1 is realized by a low rising pitch, tone 2 by a level pitch, and tone 3 by a high falling pitch for most syllable types, and by a low falling or low level pitch in short syllables with abrupt syllable closure (see p. 18).

As has already been stated, pitch is generally not contrastive for syllables of this latter type. In the very rare cases in which two words containing such syllables appear to be lexically differentiated by pitch alone, the pitch of one of the pair, usually a dependent word (see p. 69), is contextually determined by the larger grammatical structure of which it is a part and is thus looked upon as an exponent of a phonological characteristic of that structure, and not as an exponent of syllable-tone. Compare, for example, *de<sup>ʔ</sup>* (an exclamation used in warning) with *de<sup>ʔ</sup>* (verb) *to sting*, *hak* (adverb) *with difficulty*, with *hak* (verb) *to be awake*, *la<sup>ʔ</sup>* (adverb) *lightly, deftly* with *la<sup>ʔ</sup>* (verb) *to be incapable*, *ke<sup>ʔ</sup>* (fused form of *kei not* and *le<sup>ʔ</sup> if*) with *ke<sup>ʔ</sup>* (verb) *to leak*. The low pitch common to all the verb forms above is a phonetic exponent of syllable tone (see above). The high pitch of *de<sup>ʔ</sup>* on the other hand is an exponent of the high sentence intonation proper to exclamatory sentences (see p. 115), while the high pitch of the adverbs is an exponent of the rising intonation appropriate to the verbal figure of which they are a constituent (see p. 54). *ke<sup>ʔ</sup>* is a fusion of the adverb *kei*

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(B.W. 57.  
Fitzroy)

and the sentence particle ɩɛ<sup>ʔ</sup> (see p. 112), and its high pitch is an exponent of the high sentence intonation that is a mark of inconclusive sentences (see pp. 30-31).

Pitch is, with one exception, never contrastive for independent words, i.e. nouns, verbs, quantifiers, adverbial conjunctions, and exclaimers (see pp. 18, 69, 113), constituted of short syllables with abrupt syllable closure. Nouns and verbs of this structure in the texts are always pronounced with a low level pitch or a slight low fall. Despite this absence of contrastive pitch at the syllable level, it is desirable for grammatical reasons to regard such words as bearing tone 3 rather than as being toneless (see pp. 79-80). Adverbial conjunctions are not found with abrupt syllable closure (see p. 91). The quantifier *\_xat one* is recorded in the texts with both low level and high level pitches, according to the intonation pattern of the figure of which it is a constituent, but here again there is no lexically contrastive function at the word or syllable level, and since the pronunciation given in isolation was always the low level one, tone 3 may be postulated here also. Exclamers, which are frequently co-terminous with figure, phrase, and sentence, are hence, like particles, the vehicles for the pitch exponents of the intonation of the larger structures, and are possibly best regarded as toneless in themselves (see p. 104). The one pair of independent words in the material whose differentiation by pitch cannot be ascribed to the workings of figure, phrase, or sentence-intonation, since both are verbs and hence found in very similar grammatical contexts, is the following: *\_thak to itch*, *~thak to be new*. Following the usage of my informant VZT, the high pitch of the latter is taken to be an exponent of tone 1 (see p. 13). The historical explanation of how a syllable of this structure comes to have a tone not found elsewhere in the company of syllabic shortness and abrupt syllable-closure is perhaps suggested by its cognates in the Central Chin dialects, in which the final consonant sound is -r.

### B. Quantity

The phonetic material shows that vowel length, with or without concomitant vowel quality features, is significant before final consonants (except <sup>ʔ</sup>) and in the closing diphthongs. Quantity may therefore be stated as an unplaced element of the phonological

structure of such syllables, with length or shortness of vowel the co-exponents with appropriate vowel quality of *long* (:) and *short* (ʔ) syllable quantity.

Vowel length does not appear to be significant before an immediately following glottal stop or in syllables containing an opening diphthong. It is convenient, however, to regard the latter (except before the glottal stop) as phonologically long, since their pitch behaviour is that appropriate to long rather than short syllables; that is to say, they may be pronounced with either high, level, or rising pitch. All syllables ending with a glottal stop, on the other hand, are taken as phonologically short, since like all syllables containing a short vowel with an immediately following stop consonant they may only be pronounced with the low level or low falling pitch already postulated as the exponent of tone 3 in short syllables (see p. 19).

In phonetically open syllables with a final pure vowel, length and shortness of vowel are bound to strong or weak stress on the syllables concerned. Since the juxtaposition of strong and weak stress is treated as a feature of certain polysyllabic structures, whether words or figures (see p. 52), it does not enter into the statement of the phonological structure of individual syllables. It need only be noted here that short quantity of the weaker syllables is one of the exponents of word- and figure-stress (see pp. 58, 72).

### C. Syllable-closing Features

The arrangement of the phonetic material on pp. 17-18 reflects the importance in the language of two contrasting ways of ending syllables. Almost all continuant finals have a corresponding stopped final. The contrast between continuant and stopped syllable-closure is of prime grammatical consequence in the verb (see p. 79) and is hence accorded phonological status by the postulation of the manner of syllable-closure as a characteristic of the syllable as a whole. All syllables ending in a vowel, diphthong, triphthong, or continuant consonant are held to have *gradual* syllable-closure (-), all syllables ending in a stopped consonant, including the glottal stop, are held to have *abrupt* syllable-closure (ʔ).

The non-occurrence of abrupt correlates of syllables with long diphthongs or long vowels before final 1, which appears to be too

general to be accidental, remains phonologically unaccounted for. Contrast  $al/al^p$ ,  $ai/ai^p$ ,  $au/au^p$ , &c., with  $a:l$ ,  $a:i$ ,  $a:u$ , &c.

Calling for special consideration is the glottal constriction sometimes associated with certain open syllables with rising pitch, usually in pre-pausal position (see p. 18). This final glottalization, which is never vigorous enough to be confused with final glottal stop, is for reasons which are set out fully in the relevant sections of this study (see pp. 60-62, 104-5) interpreted not as an integral part of the syllabic structure of the forms affected but as a mark of the boundaries of larger linguistic units.

#### D. Syllable-opening features

There are no clear indications in the present material of syllable-opening features comparable in function to the syllable-closure features already discussed. There are a few examples, however, of the use of the phonetic relationship between stops and spirants as a formal mark of the semantic relationship obtaining between some verbs, e.g.

~ki:nj	to raise oneself	~xa:nj	to lift
~kia	to fall	~xia	to drop (tr.)
~tu:k	to roll (intr.)	~xu:k	to roll (tr.)
~pu:k	to fall	~phu:k	to fell

Other examples will be found on p. 84. Further investigation might support the abstraction of syllable-onset features which might be termed *abrupt* or *gradual*, by analogy with the syllable-closure features already described, but it appears that their grammatical importance would be far less than that of the syllable-closure features with the same label.

More material is needed to show whether the gaps in the distribution of initial consonants before opening diphthongs should be regarded as systematic or fortuitous (see p. 15). A more comprehensive body of texts might suggest the phonological interpretation of the first element of such diphthongs as front or back modifications of the phonematic unit before a following central nuclear phonematic unit (see p. 23), and might point to a systematic relation between such modification and pre-nuclear units with which it could be associated. Such an interpretation would entail

the postulation of two or more syllable-beginning properties pertinent to the structure of the syllable as a whole, and of five nuclear phonematic units instead of seven (see below).

#### E. The nature, number, and sequence of the placed elements

The phonematic units which are the placed elements of syllable structure are of three kinds, *nuclear*, *pre-nuclear*, and *post-nuclear*.

All syllables have a vocalic nucleus, which will be represented in structural formulae by V. This vocalic nucleus may stand by itself as the only placed element of a syllable, or it may be preceded and/or followed by consonantal elements. Pre-nuclear elements, which are always consonantal in substance, are represented in structural formulae by C, post-nuclear elements by c. The possible sequences of these elements in Tiddim Chin syllables are as follows: V, CV, CVc, Vc.

*Nuclear Phonematic Units.* The phonetic information summarized on pp. 17-18 shows that the quality of the half-open and half-close vowels  $\epsilon$ ,  $e$ ,  $\text{ɔ}$ , and  $o$  is correlated with vowel length, except before the glottal stop. The vowels  $i$ ,  $i:$ ,  $e$ ,  $e:$ ,  $a$ ,  $a:$ ,  $o$ ,  $\text{ɔ}:$ ,  $u$ ,  $u:$  may therefore be regarded as the exponents of a series of nuclear phonematic units  $i$ ,  $e$ ,  $a$ ,  $o$ , and  $u$  in syllables characterized by one of two degrees of quantity (see pp. 20-21). The closing diphthongs are regarded as sequences of appropriate nuclear units and palatal or labio-velar post-nuclear units (see p. 27).

The full tally of nuclear units necessary to accommodate the material available is achieved by the addition of two further units  $ua$  and  $ia$ .

Classification of the nuclear units by relative degree of openness appears to be phonologically pertinent, since formal use is made of this relation in reduplicated adverbs such as ~diu~deu *in a straight line*, ~deu~dau *one after the other*, ~ɲlu~ɲɛu *in coils*. The nuclear unit of the second syllable of such forms in the texts is always one degree more open than that of the first. In all other respects the structure of the two syllables is the same. This phenomenon is referred to elsewhere in this study as 'chiming' (see p. 57).

A problem is posed by the reduced phonetic possibilities for vowels in unstressed syllables (see p. 18). The absence of long vowels makes no difficulty since short quantity is invariably a



property of unstressed syllables (see pp. 18, 21), but the relation of the five vowel qualities observed in unstressed syllables to the seven nuclear phonematic units of syllable structure remains to be stated. The most satisfactory phonological solution is to regard the short open back rounded vowel ɔ as the phonetic exponent of *ua* in a short syllable. Compare, for example, the variants of the name Khua Lei in Text II, *ˈxua-lei* with double stress, beside *ˈxɔ̃-lei* with a weak stress followed by a strong stress, and the variants *ˈxua-dam* and *ˈxɔ̃-dam* *cold weather*. The phonetic exponents of the nuclear phonematic units in syllables with gradual syllable closure may be stated as follows:

Phonematic units	Phonetic exponents			
	CV:~	CVc:~	CV <sup>u</sup> ~	CVc <sup>u</sup> ~
<i>i</i>	i: ˈmi: <i>person</i>	i: ˈki:n <i>to move</i>	ĩ ˈmi-hiŋ <i>human being</i>	i ˈmin <i>to be crooked</i>
<i>e</i>	ɛ: ˈtɛ: <i>to glitter</i>	ɛ: ˈŋɛ:n <i>to ask for</i>	ě ˈtě-dim <i>Tiddim</i>	e ˈtem <i>knife</i>
<i>a</i>	a: ˈxa: <i>month</i>	a: ˈxa:l <i>groin</i>	ǎ ˈxǎ-pi: <i>moon</i>	a ˈxam <i>gold</i>
<i>o</i>	ɔ: ˈgɔ: <i>to dry up</i>	ɔ: ˈgɔ:l <i>fence</i>	ɔ̃ (not re- corded)	o ˈdoŋ <i>until</i>
<i>u</i>	u: ˈzu: <i>beer</i>	u: ˈsu:n <i>day time</i>	ũ ˈnũ-nuŋ <i>to be behind</i>	u ˈnuŋ <i>back</i>
<i>ua</i>	ua ˈxua <i>village</i>	ua ˈxuaŋ <i>drum</i>	ɔ̃ ˈxɔ̃-dam <i>cold weather</i>	(see p. 18)
<i>ia</i>	ia ˈsia <i>to spoil</i>	ia ˈpiaŋ <i>to happen</i>	(not re- corded)	(see p. 18)

Such syllables as *ˈxuaŋ* and *ˈpiaŋ* are regarded as phonologically long by analogy with similar syllables with abrupt syllable-closure (see second following paragraph and p. 21). It is submitted, however, that the postulation of phonologically short correlates of such syllables may be a convenient way of dealing with an 'irregular' verb like *ˈnuam* *to want (to do something)*, the subjunctive form of which is not *ˈnuam* but *ˈnop* (see p. 80). The indicative and subjunctive forms of the verbs in the material are frequently distinguished from each other by differences of tone, quantity, syllable-closure, or post-nuclear units, but never by differences in the nuclear units. It seems preferable, therefore, to regard *ˈnuam* and *ˈnop* as having the same phonematic structure but different tones, degrees of quantity, and syllable-closure features rather than to insist, in addition, upon an alternation of nuclear phonematic units without parallel in other verb forms.

Syllables of the structure CV<sup>u</sup>~ are always unstressed and are thus always a characteristic mark of some larger structure, either word or figure (see p. 21).

Syllables of the CVc type with abrupt syllable-closure realize the nuclear phonematic units in the same way as their gradual correlates, viz. *ˈki:k* *again*, *ˈmit* *eye*, *ˈtɛ:t* *to glitter* (Form II), *ˈsek* *hammer*; *ˈxa:p* *span*, *ˈxat* *one*; *ˈso:p* *to watch*, *ˈphot* *firstly*; *ˈlɔ:t* *to enter*, *ˈsut* *to snatch*; *ˈsuak* *to be born*; *ˈbiak* *to propitiate* (Form II). The last two examples are stated to be phonologically long, despite the absence of contrast with corresponding short forms, on account of their tonal behaviour (see p. 21).

The phonetic finals *i<sup>ɔ̃</sup>*, *ɛ<sup>ɔ̃</sup>*, *a<sup>ɔ̃</sup>*, *ɔ<sup>ɔ̃</sup>*, *u<sup>ɔ̃</sup>*, *ua<sup>ɔ̃</sup>*, and *ia<sup>ɔ̃</sup>* are interpreted as the nuclear units of CV or V type syllables, the glottal stop being the phonetic exponent of abrupt syllable-closure and not of a post-nuclear phonematic unit. Such syllables present special problems in that the vowels are always short while the vowel quality is that more commonly associated with vowel length (see p. 23). This supports the hypothesis of a CV or V rather than a CVc or Vc structure. That they are to be regarded as phonologically short is indicated by the fact that their pitch behaviour is that of other syllables with a short vowel followed by a stop, and not that of those with a long vowel followed by a stop (see p. 18). The absence of any contrasts of pitch or vowel length might suggest that it should be held that syllable quantity and tone are not phonological properties of these syllables, but the grammatical

role of syllable quantity and tone in the verb demands the postulation of short quantity and tone 3 for them (see pp. 72-84).

*Pre-nuclear phonematic units.* The phonetic information available for the establishment of the pre-nuclear elements of syllable structure can most conveniently be referred to in the vocabulary at the end of this study. As has always been stressed, the material so far assembled is too incomplete for a systematic study of the relative distribution of initial consonants and following vowels and consonants to be made. In the absence of such a study it is futile to attempt to draw up an exhaustive inventory of pre-nuclear phonematic units. The best that can be done is to draw attention to some of the factors which examination of the present material suggests require to be taken into account when such an inventory comes to be made.

Mention has already been made of the possible desirability of abstracting certain phonological features of syllable-onset (see pp. 22-23). Clearly any such abstraction would be likely to affect the number and nature of the pre-nuclear elements. Further clues as to their nature might be found in the distribution of accompanying back and front modification (see p. 22).

Another factor of great potential interest is the varying frequency of occurrence of the different initial consonants. The following list shows in descending order of frequency the number of entries in the vocabulary on pp. 146-62 beginning with each consonant sound:

s 89, t 87, k 81, l 80, h and n 78 each, m 67, x 66, d 64, p 61,  
(no initial consonant) 59, z 58, g 53, b 47, v 45, th 41, ph  
25, ŋ 24, c 9.

While the incompleteness of the material precludes any assumption that the above figures represent the frequency ratio obtaining in the language as a whole, the disparity in functional load between some of the consonants is great enough to excite curiosity and to call for an explanation in terms of structure. The frequent occurrence of t is particularly striking, and is still more so if c and t are interpreted as reflexes of the same phonological unit, as their complementary distribution would justify. An explanation is offered by comparison with words from a variety of Chin dialects which show that Tiddim Chin initial t corresponds to both initial t and f in

other dialects. The infrequency of ŋ as compared with n and m suggests that its natural phonetic grouping with these two is probably not to be taken as a guide to its phonological status. The aspirated plosives th and ph are initially less frequent than the homorganic unaspirated plosives t and p. x, on the other hand, is not much less frequent than k. Semantically linked pairs of words such as those already cited on p. 22 point the way to a structural explanation of this relatively high frequency of x, which appears to show convergence of the phonetic exponents of the 'breathy' or 'gradual onset' correlates of both k and t. This means that the phonetic classification of th and ph as two of a kind does not necessarily reflect a similar phonological alignment.

*Post-nuclear phonematic units.* When the two syllable-closure properties are abstracted from the phonetic finals shown on pp. 17-18 the post-nuclear phonematic system is revealed as one of six terms only, which we may symbolize as follows:

P (labial), T (denti-alveolar), K (velar), L (alveolo-lateral), Y (palatal), and W (labio-velar).

The phonological interpretation of the phonetic finals on pp. 17-18 is given below in terms of nuclear and post-nuclear phonematic units with accompanying syllable quantity and syllable-closure features. A complete statement of the structure of any given syllable in the language would of course require the addition of an appropriate pre-nuclear phonematic unit with accompanying syllable-onset features, and of a tone.

	$i^{\sim}$		$i^{\sim}$	$ia^{\sim}$	$ia^{\sim}$
$iK^{\sim}$	$iK^{\sim}$	$iK^{\sim}$		$iaK^{\sim}$	$iaK^{\sim}$
$iT^{\sim}$		$iT^{\sim}$	$iT^{\sim}$	$iaT^{\sim}$	$iaT^{\sim}$
$iP^{\sim}$	$iP^{\sim}$	$iP^{\sim}$	$iP^{\sim}$	$iaP^{\sim}$	$iaP^{\sim}$
		$iL^{\sim}$	$iL^{\sim}$	$iaL^{\sim}$	
				$iaY^{\sim}$	
$iW^{\sim}$		$iW^{\sim}$	$iW^{\sim}$	$iaW^{\sim}$	
	$e^{\sim}$		$e^{\sim}$		
$eK^{\sim}$	$eK^{\sim}$	$eK^{\sim}$	$eK^{\sim}$		
$eT^{\sim}$	$eT^{\sim}$	$eT^{\sim}$	$eT^{\sim}$		
$eP^{\sim}$	$eP^{\sim}$	$eP^{\sim}$	$eP^{\sim}$		
$eL^{\sim}$		$eL^{\sim}$	$eL^{\sim}$		
$eY^{\sim}$		$eY^{\sim}$	$eY^{\sim}$		
$eW^{\sim}$		$eW^{\sim}$	$eW^{\sim}$		

$aK: \sim$	$aK: \text{'}$	$aK^{\sim}$	$aK^{\text{'}}$
$aT: \sim$	$aT: \text{'}$	$aT^{\sim}$	$aT^{\text{'}}$
$aP: \sim$	$aP: \text{'}$	$aP^{\sim}$	$aP^{\text{'}}$
$aL: \sim$		$aL^{\sim}$	$aL^{\text{'}}$
$aY: \sim$		$aY^{\sim}$	$aY^{\text{'}}$
$aW: \sim$		$aW^{\sim}$	$aW^{\text{'}}$

$oK: \sim$	$oK: \text{'}$	$oK^{\sim}$	$oK^{\text{'}}$
$oT: \sim$	$oT: \text{'}$	$oT^{\sim}$	$oT^{\text{'}}$
$oP: \sim$	$oP: \text{'}$	$oP^{\sim}$	$oP^{\text{'}}$
$oL: \sim$		$oL^{\sim}$	$oL^{\text{'}}$
$oY: \sim$		$oY^{\sim}$	$oY^{\text{'}}$
		$oW^{\sim}$	$oW^{\text{'}}$

$uK: \sim$	$uK: \text{'}$	$uK^{\sim}$	$uK^{\text{'}}$	$ua: \sim$	$ua^{\text{'}}$
$uT: \sim$	$uT: \text{'}$	$uT^{\sim}$	$uT^{\text{'}}$	$uak: \sim$	$uaK: \text{'}$
	$uP: \text{'}$	$uP^{\sim}$		$uaT: \sim$	$uaT: \text{'}$
$uL: \sim$		$uL^{\sim}$	$uL^{\text{'}}$	$uaP: \sim$	$uaP: \text{'}$
$uY: \sim$		$uY^{\sim}$	$uY^{\text{'}}$	$uaL: \sim$	
				$uaY: \sim$	$uaY: \text{'}$
				$uaW: \sim$	

Some of the gaps in the above series have already been commented upon (see pp. 15, 21-22). Some will no doubt be filled when more material is forthcoming.

## V

## THE NARRATIVE STYLE

## I. SENTENCES

THE largest structure selected for analysis is the *sentence*.

A sentence is, for the purpose of this analysis, a structure constituted of appropriate placed and unplaced elements, as defined and described in the analysis.

The unplaced elements of sentence structure are certain properties which characterize the sentence as a whole, namely:

- A. The nature, number, and sequence of the placed elements.
- B. Sentence intonation.
- C. Mood.
- D. Pronominal concord within the sentence.

The placed elements of sentence structure are *phrases* and *sentence particles*.

A. *The nature, number, and sequence of the placed elements*

*Phrases*

Phrases are of three kinds, *subjective*, *predicative*, and *adjunctive*, represented in the structural formulae by **S**, **P**, and **A** respectively.

The simple sentences in the texts may be grouped into types according to the number and sequence of their constituent phrases as follows:

S (I 0, II 0)	P (I 7, II 5b)	AP (I 12, 29, 38, II 1a, 5a)
SP (I 28a, 33, 40, II 1b)	PP (I 32b)	ASP (I 21)
SPP (I 30, 36, 37)	PPP (I 19, 34b)	APP (I 3, 15, 18, 22, 23, 35, II 2, 3)
SPPP (I 14, 16, 27a)	PSP (I 32a)	AAPP (I 2, 25)
SPSP (I 1)	PAP (I 4)	APPP (I 6, 34a)

SPAP (I 8, II 4)

PSPP (I 28b)

APPPP (I 5)

PSPAP (I 27b)

APAP (I 9, II, 31)

SAPPSP (I 17)

PASPP (I 13, 26)

APAPP (I 10)

SPSAP (I 20)

APAAP (I 24)

ASPP (I 39)

It will be seen that the number of phrases in a sentence may range from one to six, though sentences with five or six constituent phrases are rare. A considerable number of the sentence types are found only once in the texts under examination. It may be assumed that if a greater number of texts were examined, further examples of these types, and probably of new types also, would be forthcoming.

Sentences consisting of one subjective phrase are found only in the titles of the texts. All other sentences have a predicative phrase in final place in the sequence. The commonest type of sentence in this style appears to be one with an adjunctive phrase in first place, followed by one or more predicative phrases.

#### *Sentence particles*

In the narrative style of these texts only two sentence particles are recognized, both occurring finally, namely 'hi' and 'leh'. A sentence containing the sentence particle 'hi' may be termed *conclusive*; one containing the sentence particle 'leh' may be termed *inconclusive*. Conclusive and inconclusive sentences are further distinguished by mood (see p. 32). By far the majority of the sentences in the texts are conclusive. An inconclusive sentence together with the following conclusive sentence constitutes a *compound sentence*. All other sentences are *simple*. Each of the constituent sentences of a compound sentence is regarded as simple when examined by itself.

#### B. *Sentence intonation*

The intonational features that are a property of the sentence as a structure are not to be confused with the intonational features characteristic of structures of lesser extent, as for example, phrases, figures, words, or syllables. Characteristic of the sentence are the following intonational features:

(a) the gradual downward drift, by which each succeeding

phrase tends to be pitched in a key slightly lower than the preceding one; and

(b) the pitch-contour of the final sentence particle or particle group.

The downward drift appears to characterize all sentences in the texts.

The pitch-contour of the final sentence particle or particle group (see pp. 103, 107) is in the great majority of cases low level or low falling in relation to the preceding pitches in the sentence. In a few inconclusive sentences a final high level pitch is observed, and in one case, that of a final particle group, the contour is low falling in the first syllable of the group followed by a rapid rise to a relatively high pitch (II 5a). It is convenient to generalize these patterns by postulating two intonational possibilities, one in which the pitch contour of the final particle or particle group ends on a pitch that is high in relation to the preceding pitches in the phrase, and one in which it ends on a pitch low in relation to the preceding pitches. These two possibilities will be referred to as *high* and *low* sentence intonation respectively, and are marked <sup>h</sup> and <sup>l</sup> in the detailed textual analysis given on pp. 120-40.

Low sentence intonation is commonly realized in a conclusive sentence by a low falling or low level pitch on the sentence particle 'hi'. In inconclusive sentences only a low level pitch has been observed (I 28a, II 1a).

High sentence intonation appears in this style to be restricted to inconclusive sentences. It is commonly realized by a high level or short high rising pitch on the sentence particle 'leh'. In the particle group 'le cin' (II 5a) it is realized by a pitch-contour which starts with a low fall and rises abruptly to a pitch somewhat higher than that at the beginning of the contour.

In a number of respects, the titles of the narratives differ in structure from the other sentences of the narrative style. In addition to the exceptional phrase arrangement already noted (see p. 30), titles differ from all other sentences in this style by the absence of a sentence-final particle, and hence by the absence of a final pitch-contour which can be referred to high or low intonation in the manner discussed above. Such sentences may be said to be characterized by *neutral* sentence intonation, for which the mark <sup>n</sup> is used in structural formulae.

### C. Mood as a characteristic of sentences

In the narrative style, the final predicative phrase of all conclusive sentences contains a verb or verbs in Form I (see p. 72). Such sentences are said to be characterized by the *indicative mood*. In the same style, the final verbal phrase of all inconclusive sentences contains a verb or verbs in Form II (see p. 30). Such sentences are said to be characterized by the *subjunctive mood*. The alternating forms of the verb are described at some length in the section on 'Verbs' (see pp. 72-82). Mood and its functions are further discussed on pp. 84-89. Indicative mood is marked in structural formulae by a raised <sup>i</sup>, subjunctive mood by a raised <sup>a</sup>.

### D. Pronominal concord within the sentence

There are almost always concordial relations to be stated between a figure (see p. 33) opened by a pronominal prefix and some preceding nominal structure. Where this concord extends over phrase boundaries it may be said to be a property of the sentence of which the phrases are constituents. With very rare exceptions, pronominal concord always obtains between a subjective phrase and some succeeding predicative phrase within the same sentence. This is in itself a characteristic of subjective phrases and distinguishes them from adjunctive phrases with similar constituent placed elements (see p. 50), since there is never pronominal concord between adjunctive phrases of this structure and following predicative phrases. There may also be pronominal concord between a subjective phrase and following subjective phrases within the same sentence. For example, in the first sentence of the first text, 'Dahpa in lo a kuan nuam kei a, a inn kuan pih te in a tai zel uh hi' *Dahpa did not like to go to work in the fields, and his family used to scold him often about it*, there is pronominal concord between 'Dahpa' and the prefix in 'a kuan' and 'a inn kuan', while the prefix of 'a tai' concords with 'a inn kuan pih te in'.

For all nominal forms except 'kei, keimah', &c., *I*, 'nang, nang-mah', &c., *you*, 'ei, eite', &c., *we*, 'ko, kote', &c., *we*, 'no, note', &c., *you*, concord obtains with the pronominal prefix 'a-'. For the words listed above, the concordant pronominal prefixes are 'ka-, na-, i-, ka-', and 'na-' respectively. In the cases where the sequence of

nominal form and pronominal prefix is unpredictable there is held to be no pronominal concord. Examples of such cases will be found on p. 71.

Pronominal concord within the sentence is shown in the detailed analysis of the texts by raised arrows,  $\rightarrow$ , or  $\leftarrow$ , in the formulae for the relevant phrases. Pronominal concord which oversteps sentence boundaries is not marked in the analysis, since this study does not concern itself with structures larger than sentences. No pronominal concord can be stated for the subjective phrases which form the sole constituents of the titles of the texts since there is no following predicative phrase with which they can concord.

## 2. PHRASES

Phrases, which are regarded as placed elements of the sentence as a structure, are themselves structures built up in similar fashion of appropriate placed and unplaced elements as hereafter set out and described.

The unplaced elements which are to be regarded as properties of the phrase as a whole are the following:

- A. Phrase intonation.
- B. Certain reduplicative patterns of the constituent placed elements.
- C. Mood as a characteristic of the phrase.
- D. Pronominal concord within the phrase.
- E. The nature, number, and sequence of the constituent placed elements.

The placed elements which go to constitute a phrase are structures smaller than phrases but larger than words for which the term *figure* is used, and *phrase particles*.

### A. Phrase intonation

The intonation of the same phrase-final particle may vary from phrase to phrase, and is therefore to be regarded as a property of the phrase and not of the particle as such. The pitch-contour of the phrase-final particle may be rising, falling, or level. We shall accordingly refer to *rising*, *falling*, or *level* phrase intonation, and indicate these by  $\uparrow$ ,  $\downarrow$ ,  $\bar{\phantom{a}}$ , in structural formulae.

*Rising phrase intonation*

Sometimes the rise in pitch proper to a phrase with rising intonation is observed on the word immediately preceding the phrase-final particle. Thus 'ni dang lai in' *in former times* (II 1a) may be pronounced with a rising pitch on 'lai' followed by a high level pitch on the particle 'in', i.e. [ˈ-], or with a level pitch on 'lai' followed by a rise on 'in', i.e. [-ˈ], or with a low rise on 'lai' followed by a higher rise on 'in', i.e. [ˈ-]. The type of realization appears to be a matter of personal idiosyncrasy. On the whole HG preferred the first pronunciation, VZT the last two pronunciations. Other phrases in the text where this pre-particle rise in pitch was observed are 'a bual bual na in' *through his splashing about* (I 26), 'tuang kawm a' *while he perched* (I 27), 'a deih peuh peuh khuang tum kawm a' *whatever he wished for while he was beating the drum* (I 20), 'a sun si san a' *he pierced so that it bled*. In all the above examples from a lexical standpoint the pitch to be expected of the pre-particle word is level. Special cases of a pre-particle rise in pitch as the realization of rising phrase intonation are afforded by the adjunctive phrases 'tu in' *now* (II 4) and 'lam na ding in', where the lexically expected rise in pitch on the words 'tu' and 'ding' appears to be sufficient in itself, without a concomitant pitch rise in the phrase particle, to mark the rising intonation which always accompanies adjunctive phrases (see also p. 50). The rise in pitch on these two words, therefore, is in this context the simultaneous realization of both syllable tone and phrase intonation. It would, of course, be possible in these two cases to take the pitch of the particles as the criterion and so to posit level phrase intonation for them. This would, however, run counter to the pattern observable everywhere else for adjunctive phrases, which were always recorded with final pitch features ascribable to rising phrase intonation.

In other contexts the rise in pitch usually starts at a pitch which may be referred to that of the immediately preceding syllable in the phrase in the following way: where the preceding syllable has a rising pitch-contour the rise on the particle tends to begin at about the final pitch reached in this syllable or very slightly lower, e.g. the intonation of the phrase 'zing san an neek khit ciangin' *after they had eaten breakfast* (I 3) may be represented graphically [ˈ-ˈ-ˈ-], that of 'a ci pumpi in' *his body* (I 26) [ˈ-ˈ-], and 'Dahpa zunung a' *Dahpa gave a feast* (I 22) [ˈ-ˈ-]. Where the

preceding syllable has a falling pitch-contour, as in 'sawt lo in' [ˈ-ˈ] *not long after* (I 21), the rise begins at a point appreciably higher in pitch than the endpoint of the preceding contour. Where the preceding syllable has a mid or low level pitch, the rise appears to start from approximately the same pitch, e.g. 'sun ni loh in' [ˈ-ˈ] *the whole day long* (I 9), 'bilpi vapai a' [ˈ-ˈ] *the rabbit went off* (I 33). Where the preceding syllable is high level in pitch, the rise begins at a slightly lower pitch, e.g. 'a tai tai uh a' [ˈ-ˈ] *they scolded him again and again* (I 8).

*Falling phrase intonation*

In phrases with falling intonation the fall in pitch is on the phrase particle, the highest point of its pitch-contour being related to the pitch of the preceding syllable. If the preceding syllable has a falling pitch-contour, the pitch-fall of the particle will start at a pitch rather lower than the highest pitch of the contour of the preceding syllable, as for example 'Dahpa in' [ˈ-ˈ] *Dahpa* (I 1 and elsewhere), 'khapi a piang hi' [ˈ-ˈ] the moon appeared (I 25). Where the preceding syllable has a rising or a high level pitch, the pitch-contour of the particle will start its fall from a pitch appreciably lower than the highest pitch of the preceding contour, e.g. 'a tai zel uh hi' [ˈ-ˈ] *they scolded him often* (I 1), 'innkuan pih te in' [ˈ-ˈ] *his whole family* (I 8), 'amah a nunung hi' [ˈ-ˈ] *he followed behind* (I 3), 'a ciah kik hi' [ˈ-ˈ] *he went home again* (I 5). When the pitch of the preceding syllable is level, the fall is perceived as starting from approximately the same pitch, e.g. 'a zol hi' [ˈ-ˈ] *he is greasy* (I 26), 'sakhi in' [ˈ-ˈ] *the barking deer* (I 28), 'amah a hau mah mah hi' [ˈ-ˈ] *he grew very rich* (I 21), 'dawi te khat in' [ˈ-ˈ] *one of the spirits* (I 14).

A realization of falling phrase intonation unusual in narrative style was observed in the first sentence of the second text. 'Galte in' *enemies* was variously pronounced ˈgɑ:l-tɛ: in and ˈgɑ:l-tɛ:n. This second pronunciation, with the fall in pitch on the syllable preceding the particle, and the special form of the particle itself, shows similarities to certain features characteristic of colloquial style (see p. 112).

A further unusual case is afforded by the pronunciation ˈã-piɑŋ hi: recorded for the phrase 'a piang hi' *it appeared* (I 25), alongside the more usual ˈã-piɑŋ hi:. The unexpected fall in pitch on the word 'piang' must be attributed to a pre-particle fall in pitch

as part of the realization of falling phrase intonation, analogous to the far commoner pre-particle rise already described (p. 34).

#### *Level phrase intonation*

Level intonation in phrases is realized as follows:

After a preceding syllable with a rising pitch, the pitch of the phrase particle is perceived as about the same as the highest pitch of the preceding contour, e.g. 'dawng zel zal a' [---] *he answered loudly* (I 5), 'zing sang tung a' [---] *early in the morning* (I 2), 'a tai uh ciangin' [·-·-] *when they scolded him* (I 1), 'tu dong in' [---] *now* (I 27), 'a bul na ne ne a' [·-·-] *they nibbled away at the foot* (I 39), 'a ui pen' [·-] *as for his dog* (II 4).

After a preceding syllable with a falling pitch-contour, the pitch of the phrase particle is appreciably higher than the lowest pitch of the preceding contour, and is often approximately that of its highest pitch, e.g. 'ci in' [·-] *he said* (I 6 and elsewhere), 'zu khaih sa a ngen a' [·-·-] *he asked for ready-prepared beer* (I 19), 'kia a' [·-] *he fell* (I 27).

The pitch of the phrase particle in a phrase with level intonation is a little higher than a preceding syllable on a low level pitch, e.g. 'a ciah a' [·-] *he went back* (I 20). Preceded by a syllable with a high level pitch, the phrase particle is pronounced with a slightly lower pitch, e.g. 'a tai tai uh a' *they continued to reproach him* (I 8) [·-·-]. No examples are recorded in the texts of phrases with level intonation in which the phrase particle is immediately preceded by a syllable pronounced on a mid level pitch.

The correlation of the three types of phrase intonation, rising, falling, and level with the three types of phrase, subjective, predicative, and adjunctive, is set out on pp. 41-53 in the section dealing with the phrase types individually.

#### *Figure-linking intonation*

The figure-linking particle 'leh' is always found in the texts on a pitch that is high in relation to the pitches of neighbouring syllables, e.g.:

- 'a baan leh a phei lang khat' [·-·-·-] *his arms and one of his legs* (II 2)  
 'tua Khua Lei leh a ui pen' [·-·-·-] *that Khua Lei and his dog* (II 4)

The pitch-contour of the particle may be level or very slightly rising, but is always high relative to the other pitches close to it in the phrase. This lack of an alternative pronunciation in phrases of this kind might lead one to regard the high pitch as characteristic of the word as such, and not of the phrase as a whole. High pitch is, however, not a regular realization of tone in syllables of this structure (see p. 18) so that it is rather to be interpreted as a feature of the intonation of the phrase. The figure-linking particle 'zong', on the other hand, is always pronounced with a falling pitch-contour, which is a perfectly regular tonal possibility for words of this structure. Since there are considerations which suggest that in general the pitch of particles of all kinds is most conveniently regarded as expressing the intonation of a larger structure (see pp. 104-5) this falling pitch-contour of 'zong' is regarded in this study as the realization of a special type of phrase intonation for which the label *figure-linking intonation* is suggested.

In the phrases containing the figure-linking particle 'leh' there is a special low-high pitch relationship between the last syllable of the first constituent figure and the figure-linking particle, and a corresponding high-low pitch relationship between the particle and the second constituent figure. The intonation pattern low-high-low at the junction of the two constituent figures may therefore also be regarded as a type of figure-linking intonation. Figure-linking intonation does not, like phrase intonation, define phrase boundaries but the boundaries of the figures of which the phrase is built up. Phonetically, the intonation patterns observed are frequently identical with those observed elsewhere (see pp. 52-56) for figures. Very short phrases, in which the constituent figures may be co-terminous with single words, are sometimes held together as structures by the same intonational links as may obtain between the constituent words of a figure. Figure-linking intonation of the type just described, where the essential characteristics are an upward pitch leap followed by a downward pitch leap, will be shown in structural formulae by the symbol  $\Gamma \sqcap$  preceding the relevant phrase intonation symbol. The pattern occurs twice in the long predicative phrase which constitutes a citational figure within I 32a (see p. 115). The relevant figure-linking particle, 'la', is appropriate to the colloquial style (see p. 107).

The unexpectedly (from a lexical point of view) high rising pitch of 'inn' in the phrase 'inn a tun ciang in' [in̄ã ·tun·ciang·in

when he arrived home (I 6) is regarded as providing a high-low intonation pattern linking the nominal figure 'inn' with the following verbal figure 'a tun'. The intonational characteristics of the phrase, *qua* phrase, are, therefore, a high-low figure-linking intonation binding the first two constituent figures and a rising phrase intonation for the phrase as a whole, as realized in the rising pitch of the adverbial figure 'ciang'. This combination of features is indicated in the structural formulae by the symbol sequence  $\neg$  (see p. 122). Similar intonation patterns are posited for the following phrases:

'tu dong in'  $\neg$ tu: -don -in to this day (I 27b),

in which there is a high-low figure-linking intonation between the nominal figure 'tu' and the adverbial figure 'dong' and rising phrase intonation realized in the rising pitch of the latter. Contrast the pronunciation recorded for this instance of the phrase with that recorded for the same phrase in I 24 and I 26 where there is no special figure-linking intonation (see pp. 130, 131).

'a hih hang in'  $\neg$ ã hi? -ha:ŋ -in, however (I 38),

in which the levelling figure-intonation of 'a hih' (see p. 55) is the means of expressing a high-low figure-linking intonation between the verbal figure 'a hih' and the following adverbial figure 'hang', the pitch of which is in its turn the expression of rising phrase intonation. Contrast this with I 10 in which the pronunciation recorded for this same phrase does not exhibit any special figure-linking features.

The frequent instances in the texts of a low falling pitch on the word 'ci' following a citational figure is always interpreted as the realization of a high-low link between that figure and the one-word verbal figure 'ci'. The phrases in question are always closed in the texts by one of the phrase particles 'in' or 'a' with a level pitch (cf. I 2, 5, 6, 13, 32a, 34a, 37). The special intonational characteristics of such phrases are, therefore, high-low figure-linking intonation and level phrase intonation ( $\neg$ ). The same pattern is recorded for the phrase 'sawt lo in' [ $\neg$ -] *not long after* (I 21) in which the unexpectedly low fall on the one-word verbal figure 'lo' marks a high-low linking intonation with the preceding one-word nominal figure 'sawt'.

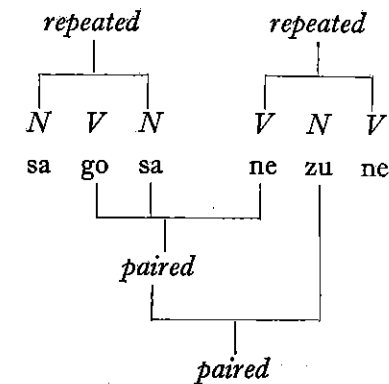
The reverse figure-linking intonation pattern, i.e. a low-high

pitch relationship between two consecutive figures in a phrase ( $\neg$ ), is also exemplified in the texts. The phrase 'tua khit ciang in', which occurs twice in the texts (see I 18 and II 3), is recorded in both places with the intonation [ $\neg$ -]. Here the figure-linking intonation is expressed in the upward leap in pitch from the one-word figure 'tua' to the one-word figure 'khit', for which, on structural grounds, a low pitch is ordinarily to be expected (see p. 18). The low falling pitch of 'lam' in 'lam a makai hi' [ $\neg$ ···] (I 30) is similarly interpreted as marking a low-high pitch relationship with the following verbal figure.

In the long final predicative phrase of sentence II 2 (see p. 138), the first figure is linked to the second by the figure-linking particle 'leh' and low-high intonation, while the second is linked to the third by the figure-linking particle 'zong' and high-low-high intonation. The compound figure-linking intonation pattern for the whole phrase is thus marked  $\neg$   $\neg$   $\neg$ .

### B. Reduplication as a characteristic of the phrase

The phrase 'sa go sa ne zu ne in' *killing meat and eating it and drinking beer* (I 23) exemplifies what may be termed multiple reduplication. The exponent of reduplication in the first four words may be expressed as *repeated noun plus paired verb*, and for the last four words as *paired noun plus repeated verb*, so that there is an overlapping of the elements, which binds the whole sequence into a single verbal phrase for which one may state the formula  $NV^2$  (where  $N$  = nominal figure,  $V$  = verbal figure, see p. 41), built up thus:





For a description of reduplication as a feature of other structures, and for 'pairing', see p. 57.

### C. Mood as a characteristic of the phrase

The verbal figures which may constitute a phrase (see p. 41) contain verbs which may be in one of two forms (see p. 72). The verbs in the verbal figures of all predicative phrases except the last phrase of an inconclusive sentence (see p. 30) are in Form I. Verbs in Form II are found in the last predicative phrase of an inconclusive sentence, and in all adjunctive phrases containing a verbal figure (see p. 51). Predicative phrases, the verbs of whose constituent verbal figures are in Form I, are said to be characterized by the indicative mood. Predicative and adjunctive phrases whose constituent verbal figures contain verbs in Form II are said to be characterized by the subjunctive mood. Mood is marked in the formulae for phrases by a raised <sup>1</sup> or <sup>s</sup>.

Mood is not a characteristic of subjective phrases.

### D. Pronominal concord within the phrase

Pronominal concord may obtain between the nominal and verbal figures within a phrase as in 'amah a nunung hi' *he remained behind* (I 3). Contrast 'lo a kuan nuam kei a' *he didn't like going to work in the fields* (I 1), where the pronominal concord is with a nominal figure in the preceding phrase, and not with 'lo'. Absence of concord between nominal and verbal figures within the phrase may sometimes be marked by the oblique form of the noun (see p. 70). In other instances, the clue may lie in the mood of the verbal figure, e.g. in 'lo pa a kikho khia sa te' (I 15) the indicative verb forms 'ko khia' mark pronominal concord with 'lo pa', hence *the grass which was weeded out already*. The phrase 'lo pa a khawh khia sa te', with subjunctive verb forms, would point to an absence of concord, i.e. *the grass which he had weeded out already*.

### E. The nature, number, and sequence of the constituent placed elements

The placed elements of the phrase as a structure are its constituent figures and phrase particles.

The constituent figures which contribute to the construction of

phrases are of four kinds, namely: *nominal*, *verbal*, *adverbial*, and *citational*, for which the abbreviated notation *N*, *V*, *A*, and *Q* will be used in structural formulae.

The arrangement of the figures within the phrase is so closely bound up with the identification of the different kinds of phrase, that it is best treated separately under headings for each kind of phrase.

#### Phrase particles

Phrase particles are of two kinds. By far the commonest are *phrase-final* since all phrases, except those which go to constitute 'titles', are terminated by a phrase particle. Particles are, however, sometimes observed within the body of a phrase, when their function may be regarded as the linking together of two constituent figures. Such *figure-linking particles* are relatively rare in these texts.

The phrase-final particles in the narrative style are 'in, a, pen, hi' and 'leh'. As phrase-final particles, 'hi' and 'leh' are co-terminous with sentence particles, that is to say, they are only found in the last phrase of a sentence. It follows that 'in, pen' and 'a' are proper to non-final phrases only. Examples of the use of these particles are abundant and obvious in the texts. The phrase-final particles proper to the different kinds of phrases, i.e. subjective, predicative, and adjunctive, are set out on pp. 42-52, where the structure of these phrases is described in some detail.

The figure-linking particles in this style are 'leh' and 'zong'. 'leh' always links nominal figure with nominal figure; 'zong' always links a nominal figure with a following verbal figure. Both particles are found in II 2, viz.:

a baan leh a phei lang khat zong a tan uh hi  
*They cut off his arms and one of his legs*

Here 'leh', which is translated by *and*, links the nominal figure 'a baan' *his arms* with the nominal figure 'a phei lang khat' *one of his legs*, while 'zong', which may be translated *also*, links 'a phei lang khat' with the verbal figure 'a tan uh' *they cut off*.

#### The subjective phrase

A subjective phrase in the present study is a structure whose placed elements are nominal figures and certain specified phrase

particles, and whose unplaced elements are the phrase properties set out below.

Classified according to the arrangement of the constituent figures, only two types of subjective phrase are recognized:

- (a) a phrase consisting of one nominal figure and appropriate particles and properties (*N*);
- (b) a phrase consisting of two nominal figures and appropriate particles and properties (*NN*).

(a) *Phrases with one constituent nominal figure.* Such phrases are very numerous in the texts. In the examples cited below a slanting line is used to separate the placed elements, i.e. in this instance nominal figure and phrase-final or figure-linking particle, if any.

Dahpa Thu	<i>a Dahpa story</i> (I 0)
Dahpa / in	<i>Dahpa</i> (I 1 and elsewhere)
a innkuan pih te / in	<i>his whole family</i> (I 1)
dawi te khat / in	<i>one of the spirits</i> (I 14)
a lo cingpi / in	<i>his whole field</i> (I 17)
bui / in	<i>the bamboo rat</i> (I 30)
kua mah / in	<i>anybody</i> (I 33)
vok gawl dawn hiam / in	<i>the sharp top of the pig fence</i> (I 27)
Khua Lei	<i>Khua Lei</i> (personal name) (II 0)

(b) *Phrases with two constituent nominal figures.* Examples of these are:

lampi ah / galte / in	<i>enemies on the road</i> (II 1)
tua Khua Lei / leh / a ui / pen	<i>as for Khua Lei and his dog</i> (II 4)

In the last example above there is, in addition to the two figures and the final particle, a further particle linking the two figures (see p. 41).

*Particles.* All subjective phrases in the texts except those which constitute the titles of the texts themselves are terminated by a phrase-final particle. It may be observed here that the regular presence of phrase-final particles is a characteristic of narrative as opposed to colloquial style. In the latter style, phrases without final particles are common. In this respect the usage in the titles resembles colloquial rather than narrative style, and would perhaps best be treated outside narrative style as such.

The phrase-final particles appropriate to the subjective phrase in the narrative style are 'in' and 'pen'. 'a' and 'hi' are not used in subjective phrases, while 'pen' is reserved exclusively for subjective phrases.

The figure-linking particle appropriate to subjective phrases is 'leh', which links one nominal figure with another (see pp. 41, 42).

*Intonation.* The vast majority of subjective phrases have falling phrase intonation. The phrase-final particle 'pen', which is relatively rare, favours level intonation. A few isolated examples were observed of subjective phrases with the final particle 'in' pronounced with level intonation, e.g.:

a lo cingpi / in	<i>the whole of his field</i> (I 17)
a ci pumpi / in	<i>his body</i> (I 26)

Rising phrase intonation is not a property of subjective phrases.

*Pronominal concord.* As has already been stated (on p. 32), pronominal concord almost always obtains between a subjective phrase and a following predicative phrase in the same sentence. This is a characteristic feature of the subjective phrase since no such concord can be stated between predicative phrases and only rarely between an adjunctive phrase and some other phrase in the sentence. It is not a characteristic of adjunctive phrases as such, nor of predicative phrases, since for many of these, i.e. those not preceded in the same sentence by a subjective phrase, no pronominal concord obtains.

#### *The predicative phrase*

A predicative phrase is a structure whose placed elements are verbal, nominal, and citational figures, arranged in certain specified sequences, together with certain phrase particles, and whose unplaced elements are the phrase properties described below as being appropriate to such a structure.

The sequences of constituent figures appropriate to predicative phrases are the following:

(a) <i>V</i>	(c) <i>NNV</i>	(e) <i>NNNV</i>
(b) <i>NV</i>	(d) <i>NNVV</i>	(f) <i>QV</i>

Such sequences of figures are always followed by an appropriate phrase-final particle.

(a) *Phrases with a single constituent verbal figure—V.* Examples of such phrases are very numerous in the texts. A selection is given here:

- a tai zel uh / hi  
*they scolded him often* (I 1)
- a ciah kik / hi  
*he went back again* (I 5)
- a leih pah / a  
*he at once added water to it* (I 6)
- kuan kik leu leu / a  
*he went to work once again* (I 10)
- a lam lam uh / hi  
*they danced continuously* (I 23)
- a va khem / leh  
*when he deceived him* (I 34)
- deih gawh / in  
*(the sun) coveted it* (I 36)

(b) *Phrases with a nominal figure followed by a verbal figure—NV.*

- lo / a kuan nuam kei / a  
*he didn't want to go to work in the fields* (I 1)
- a inn kuan pih te / kuan masa sak / a  
*he got his family to go on ahead* (I 3)
- amah / a nunung / hi  
*he himself went behind* (I 3)
- amah / zong / a kuan / hi  
*he also returned home* (I 4)
- (the nominal figure is here linked to the following verbal figure by the particle 'zong')
- a lopa khawh khiat sa teng / na po kik / a  
*all the grass that had been weeded out already grew up again*  
 (I 10)
- khawh loh / a bang / hi  
*it was as if it had not been cultivated* (I 10)
- lo lai ah / vak / in  
*walked in the middle of the field* (I 14)

- khuang khat / a tum / hi  
*he beat a drum* (I 14)
- phalbi khuadam hun / ih nei / hi  
*we have a cold winter season* (I 24)

An interesting special case of the above phrase-type has already been described in the section dealing with reduplication as a feature of the phrase (see p. 39).

(c) *Phrases with two consecutive nominal figures followed by a verbal figure—NNV.*

- a tap tung teng uh / a tu tawh / a kal / hi  
*he raked over the whole of their hearth with a hoe* (I 2)
- Dahpa / a lo uh a / a va kuan / hi  
*Dahpa went off to work in the family fields* (I 8)
- tangteuh / sa sem / a hi / a  
*the skink was the carver* (I 26)
- a khawh sa teng / khawh loh / a nasuak pah pah / hi  
*what had previously been cultivated immediately became uncultivated* (I 12)
- a mei tawh / thang / a siah / leh  
*when he set a trap with his tail* (I 28)
- a deih peuh peuh / khuang / tum kawm / a  
*whatever he wished for while beating his drum* (I 20)
- a khuang tawh / a kua ah / a ciah / hi  
*he went back to his hole with his drum* (I 32)
- Khaw Lei a kici mi khat / khual / a zin / leh  
*while a man named Khua Lei was travelling away from home*  
 (II 1)
- a ui / a khe lang khat ah / khih sa / in  
*having tied his dog to one of his legs* (II 3)

In phrases of this type, the first two figures may be linked by the particle 'leh' and the last two by the particle 'zong' (see p. 41), as in the following example:

- a baan / leh / a phei lang khat / zong / a tan uh / hi  
*they cut off his arms and one of his legs* (II 2)

(d) One example is recorded of a phrase of the structure NNVV:

Khaw Lei khuk kiang ah / Khaw Lei ui / zong / a phe lek lek /  
na mu ding / hi  
near Khua Lei's knee you will also see Khua Lei's dog twinkling  
away (II 5b)

(e) One example is recorded of a phrase of the structure NNNV:

Dahpa / a khuang tawh / inn ah / a ciah / a  
Dahpa returned to his house with the drum (I 20)

(f) Phrases with a citational figure followed by a verbal figure—QV.  
Such phrases are very numerous in the texts. The verbal figure is usually, but not invariably, 'ci' and is followed by one of the final particles appropriate to predicative phrases. The citational figure always consists of a passage of direct speech in the colloquial style (see pp. 106-17). This passage may comprise one or more sentences in the colloquial style, or a single item of 'naming', e.g.:

'Ka khuang ka lak kik zawh nading in, tau sang ka lam ding hi.  
Mihing ganhing zusa vasa kiksi thovai in hing awi un', / ci in  
'In order to get my drum back again I shall build a high tower.  
I must get all living creatures, animals, birds and insects, to  
agree to this', he said (I 37)

'Thankik' / ki ci den hi  
he has been called 'Noble backwards' ever since (I 29)

In the first example cited above, the whole of the passage of direct speech constitutes one citational figure, followed by the verbal figure 'ci' and the phrase-final particle 'in'. In the second example the single name 'Thankik' constitutes the citational figure, followed by the verbal figure 'ki ci den' and the phrase-final particle 'hi'.

Other examples of phrases of this type are:

'Mi ih sak leh zu bel hi khong veh e' / ci in  
'We thought it was a man, but it is only a beer pot after all',  
he said (I 6)

'Khaw Lei Ui Kai' / ki ci hi  
it is called 'Khua Lei Leading his Dog' (II 4)

Sometimes there is a further passage of direct speech within the citational figure itself, as in

'Bui aw, pu Dahpa in "Tu a hong hing" ci hi', ci a  
'Bamboo-rat! Lord Dahpa says: "If he won't come out at once  
I'm going to put boiling water down his hole",' he said (I 34)

Citational figures are built up of one or more sentences in colloquial style, the grammar of which is dealt with in a separate section on pp. 106-17.

*Particles.* All predicative phrases are terminated by one of the phrase-final particles 'hi, leh, in', or 'a'. Of these the first two are co-terminous with sentence-final particles, and are restricted to the final phrase in a sentence. They are an exclusive characteristic of the predicative phrase. 'in' and 'a' are both also found in adjunctive phrases, but are then accompanied by differences in the other phrase-properties (see pp. 48-53).

Both the figure-linking particles 'leh' and 'zong' may occur within a predicative phrase, as for example in sentence II 2b.

*Intonation.* The last phrase in a conclusive sentence always has falling intonation; that in an inconclusive sentence may be falling or level.

*Level:* Khaw Lei a kici mi khat khual a zin leh  
When a man named Khua Lei was travelling away from  
home (II 1a)

*Falling:* tua aksj en le cin  
If you look at those stars (II 5a)

Predicative phrases other than the last one in the sentence are most commonly characterized by level intonation, but an occasional use of falling intonation was observed, as for example in the phrase 'dawi pa a bawh a' he seized hold of the spirit (I 16).

Where a predicative phrase was characterized by rising intonation, this was frequently realized as a rise in pitch on the syllable preceding the final particle, the particle itself being pronounced either with a level pitch or with a slight rise in pitch, e.g.:

a deih peuh peuh khuang tum kawm a  
Whatever he wished for as he was beating his drum (I 20)  
lug sim a  
having secretly filled it and prepared it ready for drinking (I 4)

In the above two phrases the expected realization of the syllable tone of 'kawm' and 'sim' is a level pitch, but in these examples both words are pronounced with a rising pitch, which is interpreted as being simultaneously a property of the phrase as a whole and of the relevant verbal figure.

*Mood of constituent verbal figures.* In verbal figures which are constituent elements of a predicative phrase in a conclusive sentence the verb in the figure has Form I. In the final phrase of an inconclusive sentence the verb has Form II (see pp. 32, 84). This usage is to be contrasted with that in adjunctive phrases, where the verb always has Form II (see p. 51). Since the last phrase in a sentence is never adjunctive (see p. 30), this use of the verb form clearly sets off predicative from adjunctive phrases, and is accordingly to be regarded as a property of the phrase. Predicative phrases may be said to be characterized by indicative or subjunctive mood, according to the form of their constituent verbal figures. Adjunctive phrases are never in the indicative mood.

#### *The adjunctive phrase*

An adjunctive phrase is a structure whose placed elements are nominal, verbal, and adverbial figures in specified sequences, together with certain phrase particles. The unplaced elements of an adjunctive phrase are the phrase properties hereafter described. In contrast to subjective and predicative phrases, an adjunctive phrase may never stand alone in a sentence but only in conjunction with others (cf. p. 30).

The sequences of constituent figures that may with or without appropriate particles constitute an adjunctive phrase are the following:

- (a) NA (b) NVA (c) NNVA (d) NVNVA (e) VA  
(f) N (g) NN

(a) *Phrases with a constituent nominal figure followed by an adverbial figure—NA.*

- a sawt pi / ciang / in  
after some considerable time (I 8)  
ni tak / ciang / in  
at night (I 9)

Post-verbal  
adverbial

- a zing / ciang / in  
when it was morning (I 10)  
tua / ciang / in  
after that (I 22)  
ni sagih / tawntung  
for seven days continuously (I 23)  
tu / dong / in  
to this day (I 24)  
zan / ciang / a  
in the night time (I 25)

(b) *Phrases with the structure NVA.*

- zing sang an / neek khit / ciang / in  
after they had eaten breakfast (I 3)  
inn / a tun / ciang / in  
when he reached the house (I 6)  
khua gal / a tun / ciang / in  
when they got outside the village (I 5)  
ni tampi / a pian khit / ciang / in  
when this had been happening for many days (I 13)  
khuang / a tum / ciang / in  
when he beat the drum (I 15)  
tua / khit / ciang / in  
after that (I 18)  
tua / a hih / man / in  
for this reason (I 29)  
khuang / a ngah / ciang / in  
when he had got the drum (I 17)

(c) *Phrases with the structure NNVA.* Only one example of an adjunctive phrase of this structure is recorded:

- pial khang ah / puan / a khuh khit / ciang / in  
after he had covered it with a blanket in the inner room (I 4)

(d) *Phrases with the structure NVNVA.* Only one example is recorded:

- ni sagih / khit / zunun / a ven / ciang / in  
after seven days when the feast was over (I 35)

(e) *Phrases with the structure VA.*

- ah tai uh / ciang / in  
*when they scolded him* (I 2)
- a kuan kik / ciang / in  
*when he went to work again* (I 12)
- a gen / ciang / in  
*when he announced it* (I 20)

(f) *Phrases with a single nominal figure—N.*

- sun niloh / in  
*all day long* (I 9)
- kum sim / in  
*every year* (I 24)
- sa a muat loh na ding / in  
*for the sake of the meat not going bad* (I 24)
- lam na ding / in  
*for the sake of the dancing* (I 25)
- tu / in  
*now* (II 4)

(g) *Phrases with two consecutive nominal figures—NN.* One example is recorded:

- sa lak a / a bual bual na / in  
*through his splashing about in the meat* (I 26)

It will be observed that the placed elements of types (f) and (g) above are the same as those postulated for subjective phrases. The adjunctive and subjective phrases are, however, kept apart by differences of phrase intonation (see pp. 43, 53), and of pronominal concord (see p. 32), which does not obtain between adjunctive phrases of this structure and other phrases in the sentence.

*Particles.* The phrase-final particles appropriate to the adjunctive phrase are 'in' and 'a'. It is a distinctive property of adjunctive phrases that they may be found in the body of the texts without a phrase-final particle, e.g. 'ni sagih tawntung' *for seven days continuously* (I 23).

*Intonation.* The phrase intonation of all adjunctive phrases is rising. Where the last constituent figure is adverbial, phrase intonation is realized by a rising pitch on the adverbial conjunction,

followed, apparently at random, by either a relatively high rising pitch or high level pitch on the phrase-final particle. Thus, 'tua ciangin' *then* (I 22) may be pronounced [---] or [---], and so on. Where there is no adverbial figure, the rise in pitch must take place either on the phrase-final particle or on the syllable preceding this particle (see p. 34). Thus 'kum sim in' *every year* (I 24) is pronounced [---] or [---], though the pitch of 'sim' in another context would be level. In 'sun niloh in' *all day long* (I 9) a rise in pitch on the final particle is always observed, as rising pitch on a syllable of the structure of 'loh' would be irregular (see p. 18). In 'lam na ding in' *for the sake of the dancing* (I 25) the rising pitch on 'ding' is the simultaneous realization of syllable tone and phrase intonation.

*Mood of constituent verbal figures.* Where one of the constituent figures of an adjunctive phrase is verbal, the form of the verb in that figure will be the second or subjunctive one (see p. 40). Where mood is a property of an adjunctive phrase, therefore, it is always subjunctive. This is in contrast with the usage in predicative phrases which may be indicative or subjunctive (see p. 40). Thus, in the adjunctive phrase 'khuang a tum ciangin' *when he beat the drum* (I 15) 'tum' has the falling pitch which is the mark of Form II in this verb (see p. 75). In the predicative phrase 'khuang khat a tum hi' *he was beating a drum* (I 14) 'tum' has the rising pitch which is the mark of Form I.

*Pronominal concord.* The one adjunctive phrase in the texts for which pronominal concord with a succeeding predicative phrase can be stated is 'tau sangpi a lam ciangin' *when they had built a very tall tower* (I 39), which concurs with the prefix 'a' in the subsequent phrase 'a tuk hi' *it collapsed*. In sentence I 17, the adjunctive phrase 'khuang a ngah khit ciangin' concurs with the preceding subjective phrase 'Dahpa in' (see p. 127).

*Summary of the properties of the different types of phrases*

A study of the foregoing description of the characteristics of phrases collectively, and of phrase-types individually, will show that each phrase-type has certain properties in common with other phrase-types, and certain other properties exclusive to itself. There is no overlapping of structures. Every phrase in the texts can be unequivocally identified as being subjective, predicative, or adjunctive on the basis of the description given. Thus, while both

subjective and adjunctive phrases may have a single constituent nominal figure, the phrase-final particle may or may not be the same, but the phrase intonation and concord will always be different. Similarly, while predicative and adjunctive phrases may both contain constituent verbal figures and be terminated by the same phrase-final particle, the verbal figure in such phrases will have a different form in the two phrase-types.

Both shared and exclusive properties are summarized in the comparative table on the opposite page.

### 3. FIGURES

The term *figure* is applied to linguistic structures which are smaller in extent than phrases, but which may be greater than words. The constituent placed elements of the figure are *words* and *affixes*. The properties that may be characteristic of the figure as a whole are the following:

- A. Certain intonational features referred to as *figure intonation*
- B. Reduplication and pairing
- C. Certain stress phenomena which will be referred to as *figure stress*
- D. The case of the nouns in nominal figures
- E. A special use of glottal constriction which will be referred to as *figure-final glottalization*
- F. The nature, number, and arrangement of the constituent placed elements.

#### A. Figure intonation

The intonational features characteristic of figures are the following:

(a) A high-low pitch relation linking a prefix or prefixes with the first syllable of the succeeding word. This pitch relation is represented by the symbol 7. It is always accompanied by certain stress phenomena described below (see p. 58). Thus 'a inn' *his house* is pronounced with a combination of pitch and stress which may be represented graphically by [·-], 'a tu' *his hoe* by [·-], 'ka pai' *I go* by [·-], 'a sita' *he died instantaneously* by [·-], 'ka na pai ding' *I will go on ahead* by [·-].

A high-low pitch relation with accompanying stress pattern is

#### PROPERTIES OF PHRASES

Phrase-type	Co-extensive with sentence	Constituent figures		Sequences of figures		Mood	Pronominal concord	Final particles		Intonation
		Shared	Excl.	Shared	Excl.			Shared	Excl.	
S	In titles only	N		N NN		None	Almost always present except in titles. Usually with following P, occasionally with following A	in	pen	Falling or level
P	Other than in titles	N V	Q	V NV NNV NNNV NNVV OV		Indic. Subj.	Frequently with preceding S	in a	hi leh le	Falling, level, or rising
A	Never	N V	A	N V NVA NNVA NVVA	N NN	Subj.	With following P or preceding S. Very rare	in a	None	Rising only

also sometimes used to weld together two successive words, or a word and a suffix, within the figure, e.g.

- mi hing [-] *human being* (cf. 'mi' [-] *person* and 'hing' [-] *to be alive*).  
 zusa vasa [-' -] *small animals and birds* (cf. 'zu' [-] *rat, mouse*, 'va' [-] *bird*, 'sa' [-] *wild game*).  
 tapa [-] *son* (cf. 'ta' [-] *child*, 'pa' [-] (masculine suffix)).  
 ni sa [-] *sunlight* (cf. 'ni' [-] *day*, 'sa' [-] *to be bright*).  
 ki ci den [-] *he is always called* (cf. 'ki-' *vpf.*, 'ci' [-] *to say*, 'den' [-] *always*).

(b) A low-high pitch relation, without characteristic correlating stress features, used to link a pronominal suffix or post-nominal particle with the preceding word. This pattern is represented by the symbol  $\Gamma$ . It will be seen from the following examples that both high-low and low-high patterns may be combined within the same figure.

a $\Gamma$ tai zel $\Gamma$ uh	<i>they scolded him frequently</i> (I 1)
a $\Gamma$ lo $\Gamma$ uh	<i>their field</i> (I 8)
a $\Gamma$ tap tung teng $\Gamma$ uh	<i>all over their hearth</i> (I 2)
tho nai nai $\Gamma$ uh	<i>sprang up all over the place</i> (I 15)
a $\Gamma$ kiang $\Gamma$ ah	<i>near him</i> (I 19)
a $\Gamma$ khuang $\Gamma$ tawh	<i>with his drum</i> (I 20)
pial khang $\Gamma$ ah	<i>in the inner room</i> (I 4)

In all the above examples the final suffix was uttered by the informant on a pitch high in relation to the preceding pitches in the figure, and was closed by a glottal stop. A similar pattern is frequently found linking adverbs with the preceding verb in the figure, and the quantifier 'khat' *one* with the preceding word in the figure, e.g.

zu beel tung $\Gamma$ khat	<i>an upright pot of beer</i> (I 4)
a $\Gamma$ phe lang $\Gamma$ khat	<i>one of his thighs</i> (II 2)
a $\Gamma$ phe $\Gamma$ lek lek	<i>it twinkles away</i> (II 5)

In the pronunciation recorded for 'kum sim' [-] *every year* (I 24) the unusually low pitch of the first word and the high rise of the second are also interpreted as low-high figure intonation.

VZT almost always used the  $\Gamma$  pattern to link a pronominal suffix or post-nominal particle with the preceding word. He was, however, observed sometimes to pronounce the suffix or particle on a relatively low pitch after a preceding word with falling pitch, e.g. in 'a tai  $\Gamma$  uh ciang' *when they scolded* (I 2) and in 'a tu  $\Gamma$  tawh' *with a hoe* (I 2). In HG's pronunciation a relatively low pitch was commonest in both these contexts. He appeared to use the  $\Gamma$  pattern regularly after preceding words with rising or falling pitch, and the  $\Gamma$  pattern after words with level pitch, e.g. 'lampi  $\Gamma$  ah' (II 1) [-], 'inn nuai  $\Gamma$  ah' [-], 'Phalam  $\Gamma$  ah' [-], but 'kiang  $\Gamma$  ah' [-], 'inn sung  $\Gamma$  ah' [-], 'Tedim  $\Gamma$  ah' [-], 'Khaw Lei a kici mi  $\Gamma$  khat' (II 1) [-], 'a tan  $\Gamma$  uh' (II 2) [-], 'a nu sia  $\Gamma$  uh' (II 3) [-].

The figure 'a khe lang khat ah' *to one of his legs* (II 3) is of interest in that it contains both the quantifier 'khat' and a following post-nominal particle. Here HG's usage was the  $\Gamma$  link between 'lang' and 'khat' followed by a  $\Gamma$  link between 'khat' and 'ah'.

(c) Certain other intonation patterns were observed which must be classed as figure properties, e.g. the pattern [-] heard in 'kuan masa sak' *he let them go on in front* (I 3) is to be regarded as a special figure intonation. The pattern that one might have expected here for 'ma sa' is [-]. Note also two similar 'levelling' intonation patterns used by HG, [-] for 'na mu ding' (II 5) instead of the expected [-], and [-] for 'a khe lang' (II 3), instead of [-]. The pronunciation - $\check{a}$ -hi $\check{a}$  recorded for 'a hih' in I 38, instead of the more usual - $\check{a}$ -hi $\check{a}$  is taken as yet another instance of levelling figure intonation. (Formulaic notation: =.)

(d) The intonation of adverbial figures is always rising. (Formulaic notation: //.)

(e) A special rising intonation pattern (//) was observed in certain verbal figures in which there is reduplication (see following section) of a verbal form ordinarily pronounced with a level pitch. In such figures the reiterated form is pronounced with a rising pitch. Examples are 'a lam lam uh' (I 23) and 'a nui nui' (I 31).

(f) A further rising intonation pattern (//) must be posited for certain verbal and nominal figures in which the rising pitch of the final constituent word is associated with rising phrase intonation (see pp. 33-35, 47-48, 50-51). Examples are 'khuang tum kawm' *while beating the drum* (I 20), 'a sun si san' *he pierced so that it bled* (I 27b), 'a bual bual na' *his splashing about* (I 26).



(g) A special falling intonation pattern (\\) within the figure was observed in one case only, namely 'a piang' *it appeared* (I 25), in which the pitch of 'piang' is falling, not level as might be expected from the lexical form of the word. Here, also, phrase intonation appears to be at work (see pp. 35-36).

In some figures in the texts combinations of the above intonation patterns are found.

In the pronunciation recorded for 'a ㄋ kuan nawn ㄍ kei' [·-·] *he didn't go to work any more* (I 7) the low fall of 'nawn' is interpreted as a continuation of the high-low pattern found in 'a kuan', while the high rise on the following 'kei' indicates a low-high pattern linking 'nawn' and 'kei'. This compound pattern, high-low-high, is marked ㄋㄍ in the textual analysis. Other examples of comparable patterns are: 'a ㄋ khuang ㄍ tawh' [·-·] *with his drum* (I 20), 'a ㄋ lo ㄍ pa' [·-·] *the grass* (I 10). In the latter example, it is the unexpectedly low pitch of the middle syllable that leads to the postulation of a low-high link between it and the following syllable.

The compound pattern low-high-low (ㄍ ㄋ) is seen in 'lam ㄍ na ㄋ ding' [·-·] *for the sake of the dancing* (I 25).

In the figure 'a ㄋ lo ㄍ uh ㄋ ah' [·-·] *to their field* (I 8) we have the triple compound pattern high-low-high-low (ㄋㄍㄋ).

The figure 'a ㄋ lam // lam ㄍ uh' [·-·] *they danced continuously* (I 23) exemplifies both the rising intonation found in reduplicated verbal figures (see p. 55), a high-low link between the first two words, and a low-high link between the last two words (ㄋ//ㄍ).

'a ㄋ sun si ㄋ // san' [·-·] *it bled* (I 27a) is a compound of two high-low patterns and a rise (ㄋㄋ//), since without the operation here of a special rising figure intonation the expected pitch of the last word would be level.

'A ㄋ khe = lang ㄍ khat ㄋ ah' [·-·] *to one of his legs* (II 3), as pronounced by HG, is an example of a quadruple compound intonation pattern (ㄋ=ㄍㄋ) built up as follows: high-low link between 'a' and 'khe', 'levelling' of the pitch of 'khe' (lexical form ˩xɛ˩), low-high link between 'lang' and 'khat', high-low link between 'khat' and 'ah'.

## B. Reduplication and pairing

Within the verbal figure there may be a reduplication of either a verb or an adverb, shown in structural formulae by a raised ʳ.

### Reduplication of adverb:

kuan kik leu leu	<i>went to work once again</i> (I 10)
kho kik leu leu	<i>cultivated it once more</i> (I 11)
a na suak pah pah hi	<i>in his absence it at once became . . .</i> (I 12)
tho nai nai uh	<i>sprang up all over the place</i> (I 15)
a om lua lua	<i>it was present in abundance</i> (I 20)
a hau mah mah	<i>he was very rich</i> (I 21)
a phe lek lek	<i>it twinkles away</i> (II 5b)

The figure 'dawng zel zal' (I 5) *answering loudly* illustrates a special kind of reduplicated adverb, very common in the colloquial style, in which there is a variation in the vowels of the adverb and which is referred to as *chiming*. This type of reduplication is noted in structural formulae by ʳc.

### Reduplication of verb:

a tai tai uh	<i>they scolded him continuously</i> (I 8)
gem gem	<i>crept up gradually</i> (I 16)
na ne ne	<i>ate away</i> (I 39)
a lam lam uh	<i>they danced continuously</i> (I 23)
a nui nui	<i>he laughed and laughed</i> (I 31)

The special intonation pattern characteristic of the last two figures cited above is described in the preceding section.

Within the nominal figure, reduplication may be accompanied by pairing (see p. 39), as in 'mihing ganhing zusa vasa te' *all living things, humans, animals and small creatures* (I 22) where 'mi' is paired with 'gan', 'zu' with 'va', and 'hing' and 'sa' are reduplicated. Nominal figures consisting of verbal sequences nominalized by a nominal suffix (see p. 65) may exhibit reduplication of the verb or adverb in the same way as verbal figures, e.g.

a bual bual na *his splashing about* (I 26)

## C. Figure stress

Prefixes, whether pronominal or verbal, are always lightly stressed in relation to the following word. Where there is a sequence of two prefixes, both are lightly stressed in relation to the next following full word. This stress pattern, which serves to bind together the constituent elements of the figure, is always accompanied by certain characteristic intonational features (see pp. 52-55) and by relative shortness of the vowel of the prefix. Its formulaic notation is <sup>v</sup>-.

The nominal suffix 'na' has a similar stress relationship with a following nominal auxiliary within the nominal figure, e.g.

sa a muat loh na [<sup>v</sup>nã] ding *in order that the meat might not spoil* (I 24)

lam na [<sup>v</sup>nã] ding *so that they might dance* (I 25)

The pronunciation of the nominal suffix 'na' in these two examples is to be contrasted with its pronunciation fully long and fully stressed when it is final in the figure, e.g. 'a bual bual na [<sup>v</sup>na:]' *his splashing about* (I 26).

Examples of a pronominal prefix and a following stress-linked noun or verb are too numerous in the texts to require separate citation here. It may be useful, however, to note the following examples of two consecutive prefixes at the beginning of a figure:

<sup>v</sup>- a nasuak *in his absence it became . . .* (I 12)

<sup>v</sup>- a makai *he went in front* (I 30)

The same stress relationship may sometimes operate between two or more words within a figure or between a word and an affix, thus welding them the more closely together, e.g.

<sup>v</sup>- sita *v. + a. die instantaneously* (I 40)

<sup>v</sup>- mihing *n. + v. human being* (I 22)

<sup>v</sup>- vasa *n. + n. birds* (I 22)

<sup>v</sup>- nisa *n. + v. sunlight* (I 35)

<sup>v</sup>- khapi *n. + nvs. moon* (I 25)

<sup>v</sup>- sasem *n. + v. meat-carver* (I 26)

<sup>v</sup>- ki ci den *vpf. + v. + a. he is always called* (I 29)

<sup>v</sup>- vasabu *n. + n. + n. bird's nest*

(For the abbreviations of the names of word-classes see p. 62.)

## D. Mood as a characteristic of figures

Figures may be said to be characterized by mood according to whether the verbs which they contain are in Form I or Form II (see pp. 40, 72). The verbs in a given figure are always all in the same form (see p. 86). Verbal figures containing a verb or verbs in Form I are characterized by the indicative mood; verbal and adverbial figures containing a verb or verbs in Form II are characterized by the subjunctive mood. Mood is not held to be a property of nominal figures although these also may contain verbs (see pp. 64-66).

## E. Case as a characteristic of the nominal figure

All nouns have two possible forms. One, referred to as the *direct form*, is appropriate to the great majority of linguistic situations; the other, referred to as the *oblique form*, is restricted to certain types of nominal figure, or to certain semantic contexts. Where this formal variation (which is described on p. 70) expresses a grammatical relationship between placed elements of the nominal figure, this relationship is stated as one of *case*. When two consecutive nouns within the same nominal figure are both in the direct form, the case relationship between them is described as direct; when the first noun is in the oblique form, the case relationship is described as oblique. The commonest example of an oblique case relationship within the nominal figure is supplied by a construction which corresponds closely to the genitival construction in English. In such constructions the noun which constitutes the first placed element of a nominal figure of the type *n. + n.* is in the oblique form. This is recognized orthographically by the writing of an apostrophe after the noun concerned, e.g. 'Dahpa' khuang' *Dahpa's drum*. In similar constructions of the type *n. + ns. + n.* the nominal suffix attached to the first noun is in the oblique form. In the grammatical formulae the oblique form of noun or suffix is indicated by a raised ° after the appropriate abbreviation. The direct form, which is by far the commonest, is left unmarked, e.g.

<sub>da</sub>°-pa: *n. Dahpa*, but <sub>da</sub>°-pa: -xuanj (I 35) *n.° + n. Dahpa's drum*.

gen N

The oblique case is a characteristic of nominal figures consisting of a noun followed by the nominal suffixes 'pa' and 'nu', e.g. -*ga:l* *n.* war, enemy, -*ga:l* *(te: n. + ns. enemies, but -ga:l pa: n.° + ns. an enemy. Compare also -u: n. with -u: pa: n.° + ns., both meaning elder brother, and -na:u n. younger sibling, -na:u pa: n.° + ns. younger brother, -na:u nu: n.° + ns. younger sister.*

Some nominal figures consisting of a noun followed by a verb also show the noun in the oblique form. Compare -*mi: n.* person with -*mi: -hiŋ n.° + v. I human being.*

With nouns of inanimate or abstract reference in the texts (see also p. 141) the oblique form is not the exponent of case but of a difference in semantic content which finds lexical expression in the English translation. Compare -*za:n n.* night with -*za:n n.°* yesterday, and -*tu: ni: n.° + n.°* today with -*tu: n.* now and -*ni: n.* day.

#### F. Figure-final glottalization

The glottal constriction which is frequently heard towards the end of the rising pitch-contour of certain words and affixes when they occur in figure-final position in the texts (see p. 18) appears to function as a mark of the boundaries between figures, and is thus interpreted as the realization of an element of figure structure for which the term *figure-final glottalization* is used.

The syllables most regularly affected by it are the nominal suffixes 'te' and 'pa' (see pp. 101, 103), the nomino-verbal suffix 'pi' (see pp. 102-3), and the adverb 'sa'. This is, however, not an indication that the feature is to be regarded as an integral part of the syllabic structure of such forms but is rather the result of their relative frequency in the texts and of the fact that their grammatical functions dictate that they are most commonly found at the end of figures (see p. 69). That figure-final glottalization is not peculiar to affixes is proved by a few instances in the texts of its occurrence with tone 3 nouns. It is perhaps worth remarking that no instance is recorded of its occurrence with verbs.

The following are examples of passages in the texts which were regularly pronounced with the type of figure-final glottalization under discussion: 'Dahpa Thu' (I 0), 'a sawt pi' (I 8), 'tua te' (I 37), 'lo khawh sa' (I 14), 'dawi pa' (I 16), 'a lopa' (I 10), 'ni tampi' (I 13), 'an min sa' (I 18), 'a om takpi' (I 18), 'a suak kik

takpi' (I 17). Glottalization was never present when a figure was immediately followed in the phrase by the particle 'in', even when the last syllable in the figure was one of the suffixes 'pa', 'te', or 'pi'. Contrast, for example, in the pronunciation of the texts set out in Section VII (pp. 120-40), 'tua te' (I 37) with 'a innkuan pih te in' (I 1 and 8), 'ka lo cing pi' (I 17) with 'a lo cing pi in' later in the same sentence, and 'leikha' (I 38) with 'leikha in' in the following sentence.

In this study passages such as 'a lopa khawh khiat sa teng' *all the grass that had been weeded out already* (I 10) are analysed as single nominal figures (see p. 66). It is clear, however, that we are confronted here by the problem familiar to all grammarians of the operation of grammatical structures as constituent elements within larger grammatical structures of the same order. The boundaries of these 'figures within figures' in the passage cited were clearly defined in utterance by the regular glottalization of 'pa' and 'sa'. Similarly marked are other composite nominal figures such as 'a khawh sa teng' (I 12), with a boundary between 'sa' and 'teng' and 'lopa a kikho khia sa te' (I 15), with boundaries between 'lopa' and 'a' and between 'sa' and 'te'. The final glottalization of 'sa' *meat* in the composite figure 'sa a muat loh na ding' *for the sake of the meat not going bad* (I 24) serves the same purpose.

Elsewhere in the texts usage was variable. In 'zusa vasa te' *small animals and birds* (I 22 and 37), glottalization was usually present in the second 'sa', frequently absent in the first. 'khapi' *moon* (I 25) was sometimes glottalized, sometimes not: 'bilpi' *rabbit* (I 34) was on no occasion recorded with final glottalization. Clearly, the careful recording of many more examples is needed before the role of final glottalization of this type could be formulated with any degree of precision, but it has been decided for the purposes of this study to treat it as a figure-final, not as a syllable-final, feature.

Also interpreted as the realization of figure-final glottalization is the glottal stop heard at the end of the post-nominal particles 'tawh' and 'ah'. The reasons for regarding this glottal stop as an element of figure rather than of word or syllable structure are set out in the section on pp. 104-5 dealing with the syllabic structure of particles.

In structural formulae in the detailed analysis of the texts on pp. 120-40 figure-final glottalization is noted by a raised comma'

after the relevant symbol for the figure concerned. Where the figure concerned is a composite one (see p. 61) with more than one boundary marked in this way, the number of raised commas is increased accordingly, e.g. *N''''*.

G. *The nature, number, and arrangement of the constituent placed elements*

The constituent placed elements of figures are *words* and *affixes*.

The words which constitute placed elements of figures are assigned to the following classes: *nouns, verbs, quantifiers, adverbs, verbal auxiliaries, nominal auxiliaries, and adverbial conjunctions*. In structural formulae nouns are represented by the abbreviation *n.*, verbs by *v.*, quantifiers by *q.*, adverbs by *a.*, verbal auxiliaries by *va.*, nominal auxiliaries by *na.*, and adverbial conjunctions by *ac.*

The affixes which, in combination with words from the classes referred to above, may go to make up figures are classified as *pronominal prefixes (ppf.)*, *verbal prefixes (vpf.)*, *pronominal suffixes (ps.)*, *nomino-verbal suffixes (nvs.)*, *nominal suffixes (ns.)*, and *post-nominal particles (pnp.)*.

A figure may consist of an independent word (see p. 69) by itself, but never of a dependent word (see p. 69) or affix by itself.

A post-nominal particle always marks the end of a nominal figure.

A pronominal prefix always marks the beginning of a figure, nominal or verbal, except in the special cases set out on p. 61.

Figures may, however, begin and end without prefixes, suffixes, or particles.

*The nominal figure*

The nominal figures in the texts are constituted in the following ways:

(a) By a single noun, with or without a pronominal prefix and with or without suffixes, e.g.

<i>n.</i>	zingsang	morning (I 2)
	Dahpa	Dahpa (I 1 et al.)
	amah	he (I 3)
	inn	house (I 6)
	lo	fields (I 7)

has pronominal prefix (a)

<i>ppf.-n.</i>	a zing	the morning (I 10)
	a khuang	his drum (I 16)
	a mit	his eyes (I 31)
<i>n.-ns.</i>	galte	enemies (II 1)
<i>n.-nvs.</i>	bilpi	the rabbit (I 34)
<i>ppf.-n.-nvs.</i>	a sawt pi	a long time (I 8)
<i>n.-nvs.-ns.</i>	innkuan pih te	the family (I 8)
<i>ppf.-n.-nvs.-ns.</i>	a innkuan pih te	his family (I 1)

(b) By a single noun, with or without affixes, and a post-nominal particle, e.g.

<i>n.-pnp.</i>	inn ah	to his house (I 20)
	pialkhang ah	in the inner room (I 4)
<i>ppf.-n.-pnp.</i>	a tu tawh	with his hoe (I 2)
	a khuang tawh	with his drum (I 20)
	a kua ah	to his hole (I 32)
<i>n.-nvs.-pnp.</i>	lampi ah	on the road (II 1)
<i>ppf.-n.-ps.-pnp.</i>	a lo uh ah	to their fields (I 8)

(c) By two successive nouns, with or without affixes, e.g.

<i>n.-n.</i>	Dahpa Thu	the story of Dahpa (I 0)
	zingsang an	breakfast (I 3)
	tua aksi	that star (II 5)
<i>n.<sup>o</sup>-n.</i>	Dahpa' khuang	Dahpa's drum (I 35)
	Khua Lei' ui	Khua Lei's dog (II 5)
<i>ppf.-n.-n.-nvs.</i>	a ci pumpi	his body (I 26)

(d) By a noun and a nominal auxiliary, followed by a post-nominal particle, e.g.

<i>n.-na.-pnp.</i>	lo lai ah	in the middle of the field (I 14)
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(e) By two successive nouns and a nominal auxiliary followed by a post-nominal particle, e.g.

<i>n.-n.-na.-pnp.</i>	vok gawl dawn a(h)	on the top of the pig fence (I 27)
<i>n.<sup>o</sup>-n.-na.-pnp.</i>	Khua Lei' khuk kiang ah	near Khua Lei's knee (II 5)

(f) By a nominal auxiliary preceded by a pronominal prefix and followed by a post-nominal particle, e.g.

*ppf.-na.-pnp.*      a kiang ah      *at hand, near by* (I 19)

(g) By a quantifier by itself

khat      *one* (I 14)  
kheempueh      *all* (I 37)

(h) By a noun with or without affixes, followed by a quantifier, with or without a following suffix, e.g.

*h-nam* ~~kuang~~  
*n.-q.*      khuang khat      *a drum* (I 14)  
ni sagih      *seven days* (I 23)  
sakhi khat      *a barking deer* (I 28)  
kum sim      *every year* (I 24)  
*ppf.-n.-q.-nvs.*      a lo cingpi      *his whole field* (I 17)

(i) By a noun, with or without a prefix, followed by a nominal auxiliary and a quantifier, with or without a suffix, e.g.

*ppf.-n.-na.-q.*      a pheii lang khat      *one of his thighs* (II 2)  
*ppf.-n.-na.-q.-ps.*      a tap tung teng uh      *all over their hearth* (I 2)

(j) By a sequence of a noun with or without a prefix, a nominal auxiliary, and a quantifier, followed by a post-nominal particle, e.g.

*ppf.-n.-na.-q.-pnp.*      a khe lang khat ah      *to one of his legs* (II 3)

(k) By a sequence of a noun, prefixed or otherwise, and a verb in Form I, linked by features of stress and intonation (see p. 58), e.g.

*n.-v.<sup>I</sup>*      khuadam      *the cold weather* (I 24)  
khuavak      *light* (I 25)  
sasem      *meat-carver* (I 26)  
*n.<sup>o</sup>-v.<sup>I</sup>*      mihing      *human being* (I 22)

(l) By the same sequence as at (k) followed by a post-nominal particle or nomino-verbal suffix, e.g.

*n.-v.<sup>I</sup>-nvs.*      ni tampi      *many days* (I 13)  
*n.-v.<sup>I</sup>-pnp.*      nisa ah      *in the sunlight* (I 35)

(m) By a sequence of nouns, prefixed or otherwise, verb in Form I, and adverb, e.g.

*n.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.*      an min sa      *ready-cooked food* (I 18)  
zu khaih sa      *ready-prepared beer* (I 19)

(n) By a sequence of two nouns, a nominal auxiliary, and a verb in Form I, e.g.

*n.-n.-na.-v.<sup>I</sup>*      vok gawl dawn      *the sharp top of the pig*  
hiam      *fence* (I 27)

(o) By a sequence of a noun, a verb in Form I, and a noun, e.g.

*n.-v.<sup>I</sup>-n.*      ni dang lai      *in other times* (II 1)

(p) By a sequence of two nouns, a verb in Form I, and a noun, e.g.

*n.-n.-v.<sup>I</sup>-n.*      phalbi khuadam      *a cold winter season* (I 24)  
hun

(q) Nominal suffixes are constituent elements exclusive to nominal figures (see p. 100) and as such may have the effect of nominalizing an otherwise predominantly verbal sequence. The affixation of a nominal suffix to a verb marks the figure concerned as nominal. The verb is in such cases in Form II, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-ns.*      a bual bual(na)      *his splashing about* (I 26)  
*n.-ppf.-vppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup>*      lopa a kikho khia      *the grass which had been*  
*-a.-ns.*      sa:te      *weeded out already* (I 15)

It will be seen from the above examples that the figures cited here show exceptional features and are, in fact, composite structures which may be regarded as composed of 'figures within figures' (see also p. 61).

(r) Nominalized sequences such as those described in (q) may be followed, in this same figure, by a nominal auxiliary, e.g.

*v.<sup>II</sup>-ns.-na.*      lam na ding      *for the sake of the dancing*  
(I 25)  
*n.-ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup>*      sa a muat loh na      *for the sake of the not-*  
*-ns.-na.*      ding      *going-bad of the meat*  
(I 24)

(s) The presence of a quantifier is also a mark of a nominal figure and has, like that of a nominal suffix, a nominalizing effect on a preceding verbal sequence, e.g.

<i>ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-a.-q.</i>	a khawh sa teng	<i>all that had been cultivated already (I 12)</i>
<i>ppf.-n.-v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup>-a.-q.</i>	a lopa khawh khiat sa teng	<i>all the grass that had been weeded out already (I 10)</i>

Other examples of nominal figures closed by a quantifier are:

<i>n.-n.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.-q.</i>	zu beel tung khat	<i>an upright pot of beer (I 4)</i>
<i>n.-ppf.-vpf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-n.-q.</i>	Khawlei a kici mi khat	<i>a person called Khua Lei (II 1)</i>
<i>(n.-v.<sup>I</sup>)<sup>r</sup>p-(n.-n.)<sup>r</sup>p-ns.-q.</i>	mihing ganhing zusa vasa kheempueh	<i>all living creatures, humans, animals, small creatures and birds (I 22)</i>

(t) Form II of the verb, with or without following adverb, may sometimes function as a nominal figure without an accompanying nominal suffix or quantifier (see also p. 86), e.g.

<i>v.<sup>II</sup></i>	zunun	<i>beer feast (I 35)</i>
<i>v.<sup>II</sup>-a.</i>	khawh sa	<i>already cultivated (I 17)</i>
<i>v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup></i>	khawh loh	<i>uncultivated (I 10)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-a.<sup>r</sup></i>	a deih peuh peuh	<i>whatever he wanted (I 20)</i>

Not occurring in the texts, but clearly illustrating this nominal function of Form II of the verb, are such common words as *-la:m* a dance (cf. *-la:m*, *-la:m* to dance) and *-na:k* nose (cf. *-na:k*, *-na:k* to breathe).

#### The verbal figure

The verbal figures in the texts are constituted as follows:

(a) By a single verb with or without affixes, e.g.

<i>v.<sup>I</sup></i>	vak	<i>walking (I 14)</i>
	ci	<i>saying (I 2 et al.)</i>
<i>v.<sup>I</sup>r</i>	gem gem	<i>creeping up gradually (I 16)</i>

<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup></i>	a nunung	<i>he went behind (I 3)</i>
	a ciah	<i>he returned (I 9)</i>
	a tum [-tum]	<i>he beat (I 14)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup></i>	a tum [-tum]	<i>he beat (I 15)</i>
<i>vpf.-v.<sup>I</sup>r</i>	na ne ne	<i>eating away unbeknown to him (I 39)</i>
<i>ppf.-vpf.-v.<sup>I</sup></i>	a vakuan	<i>he went off to work (I 8)</i>
	a makai	<i>he led (I 30)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-nvs.</i>	a tai pih	<i>he dragged with him (I 28b)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-ps.</i>	a tan uh	<i>they cut off (II 2)</i>
	a pho uh	<i>they dried (it) (I 35)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-ps.</i>	a tai uh	<i>they scolded (him) (I 2)</i>

(b) By a verb, prefixed or otherwise, followed by an adverb, with or without a following suffix, e.g.

<i>v.<sup>I</sup>-a.</i>	lup sim	<i>filled and prepared it secretly (I 4)</i>
<i>v.<sup>I</sup>-a.<sup>r</sup>-ps.</i>	tho nai nai uh	<i>sprang up all over the place (I 15)</i>
<i>v.<sup>I</sup>-a.<sup>r</sup>o</i>	dawng zel zal	<i>answering loudly (I 5)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.</i>	a ciah kik	<i>he went back (I 5)</i>
	a leih pah	<i>he at once added water (I 6)</i>
	a ne pah	<i>he ate it at once (I 19)</i>
<i>vpf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.</i>	na po kik	<i>growing again in his absence (I 10)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.<sup>r</sup></i>	a hau mah mah	<i>he was very rich (I 21)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.-ps.</i>	a tai zel uh	<i>they scolded him often (I 1)</i>
<i>ppf.-vpf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.<sup>r</sup></i>	a nasuak pah pah	<i>it immediately became in his absence (I 12)</i>

(c) By a sequence of two verbs, with or without affixes, e.g.

<i>v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup></i>	neek khit	<i>after eating (I 3)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup></i>	a khuh khit	<i>after he had covered (I 4)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-v.<sup>I</sup>-nvs.</i>	a om takpi	<i>there it really was (I 18)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>II</sup>-v.<sup>II</sup>-ps.</i>	a thah khit uh	<i>after they had killed him (II 2)</i>
<i>ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-v.<sup>I</sup></i>	a bia mangngilh	<i>he forgot to propitiate (I 38)</i>

(d) By a sequence of two verbs, prefixed or otherwise, followed by an adverb, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.*      a kuan nuam kei      *he didn't like to go to work (I 1)*

(e) By a sequence of three verbs with or without prefixes, e.g.

*v.<sup>I</sup>-ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-v.<sup>I</sup>*      kuan masa sak      *(he) let them go on ahead (I 3)*

(f) By a sequence of a verb and an adverb followed by a second verb and adverb, with or without prefixes, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.*      a sam kik zo kei      *they couldn't call him back again (I 33)*

(g) By a verb, prefixed or otherwise, followed by two adverbs, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.-a.*      a kuan nawn kei      *he never went again (I 7)*  
*v.<sup>I</sup>-a.-a.<sup>r</sup>*      kho kik leu leu      *(he) cultivated all over again (I 11)*

(h) By a verb, with or without affixes, followed by a verbal auxiliary, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-va.*      na mu ding      *you will see (II 5)*

(i) By a sequence of verb, with or without prefixes, adverb, verb, and suffix, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-a.-v.<sup>I</sup>-nvs.*      a suak kik takpi      *it really once more became (I 17)*

(j) By a sequence of prefixed verb and a noun with a stress intonation relationship between them, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-n.*      a leh lam      *he went backwards (I 28b)*

(k) By a sequence of prefixed verb, noun, and verb, with a stress intonation relationship between the noun and the second verb, e.g.

*ppf.-v.<sup>I</sup>-n.-v.<sup>I</sup>*      a sun sisan      *it pierced so that it bled (I 27b)*

### *The adverbial figure*

The only placed elements of adverbial figures in the texts are adverbial conjunctions (see p. 91).

### *The citational figure*

A citational figure is a passage of direct speech functioning as a constituent of a predicative phrase (see pp. 46-47). The passages which occur in the texts are discussed and analysed in the section of this study which deals with the colloquial style (see pp. 113-117).

## 4. WORDS AND AFFIXES

Words and affixes are the ultimate grammatical constituents; that is to say, they are not regarded as structures consisting of yet smaller grammatical elements. As phonological structures, however, they are regarded as constituted of syllables and other word properties, which in their turn are built up of phonematic and prosodic elements (see p. 19).

Words are classified as *independent* or *dependent*.

Independent words, which are subdivided into four classes, *nouns*, *verbs*, *quantifiers*, and *adverbial conjunctions*, may be co-extensive with figures, or indeed with the larger structures, phrases, and sentences. Dependent words never occur except as constituents of grammatical structures alongside other words or affixes. Dependent words are subdivided into three classes, *verbal auxiliaries*, *nominal auxiliaries*, and *adverbs*.

Affixes always occur, either singly or in groups, at the junction points of figures, phrases, and sentences. They can never, by definition, form the sole constituent of figure, phrase, or sentence. Affixes are subdivided into three classes, *prefixes*, *suffixes*, and *particles*. These classes are further subdivided into *pronominal prefixes*, *verbal prefixes*; *pronominal suffixes*, *nominal suffixes*, *nomino-verbal suffixes*; *sentence particles*, *phrase particles*, *figure-linking particles*, and *post-nominal particles*.

### *Independent Words*

#### A. Nouns

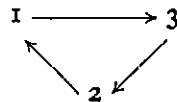
All nouns have two forms. This formal variation distinguishes nouns from all other classes of words. It will be seen that the formal

variation is quite distinct from that characteristic of verbs (see pp. 72-89).

The alternance is a tonal one. Where the noun has more than one syllable, this alternance operates in the last syllable only. The form of the noun that is by far the commonest in the texts is referred to as the *direct form*, the less common form is referred to as the *oblique form* (see p. 59). The alternance appears to be absolutely regular, and is as follows:

<i>Tone of direct form</i>	<i>Tone of oblique form</i>
1 (rising)	3 (falling or low level)
2 (level)	1 (rising)
3 (falling or low level)	2 (level)

This may be simply represented as follows



It will be seen that the two forms are mutually predictable in so far as their tonal structure is concerned. Nouns with more than one syllable show variation in the final syllable only. The phonematic structure of the two forms is always the same but there may be alternation of quantity and syllable closure features. Nouns the final syllables of whose direct form is of the structure (C)V<sup>3</sup> have an oblique form of the structure (C)V<sup>2</sup>~. It is possible that the shortness of the vowel and the final glottal stop of such direct forms, which are always final in the figure, should be regarded as pertinent to figure rather than to word or syllable structure, as in the case of some other words (see pp. 104-5), e.g.

<i>Direct form</i>	<i>Oblique form</i>
amah ˊă .ma <sup>ʔ</sup> he	ama ˊă-ma: his

#### *The use of the oblique form*

The use of the forms of the noun as the exponents of direct or oblique case within the nominal figure has already been described on pp. 59-60. Further examples at this point may be useful.

Compare:

- ˊha:u ˊgou *Haugo* (a name), with  
 ˊha:u ˊgou ˊwi: *Haugo's dog*  
 ˊvul ˊzǎ ˊthaŋ *Vul Za Thang*, with  
 ˊvul ˊzǎ ˊthaŋ ˊwi: *Vul Za Thang's dog*  
 ˊŋul ˊlaŋ *Ngul Lang*, with  
 ˊŋul ˊlaŋ ˊwi: *Ngul Lang's dog*  
 ˊxǒ ˊlei *Khua Lei* (II o), with  
 ˊxǒ ˊlei ˊxu:k ˊkiaŋ ˊa<sup>ʔ</sup> *near Khua Lei's knee* (II 5b)

In the last example cited, there is an oblique case relationship between 'Khua Lei' and 'khuk', and a direct case relationship between 'khuk' and 'kiang'.

Other special uses of the oblique form in certain grammatical and semantic contexts have already been mentioned (see p. 60). Yet another instance of its use is illustrated by sentences such as 'keima (oblique) a hi hi' *it is mine*, 'Dahpa' (oblique) a hi hi' *it is Dahpa's*, &c. The first example, in which there is no pronominal concord to be stated between 'keima' and the prefix 'a-', may be compared with 'keimah ka pai hi' *I went* where there is such concord between the nominal form 'keimah' *I*, and the pronominal prefix at the beginning of the verbal figure (see p. 32). The pronominal prefix in 'Dahpa' a hi hi' is ambiguous, as formally it could concord with 'Dahpa'. The only formal expression of the absence of concord in the sentence cited is the use of the oblique form of the noun.

#### *The syllabic structure of nouns*

The great majority of the nouns in the texts are monosyllabic, and call for no special mention from the point of view of syllabic structure.

Of the disyllabic forms here classed as nouns, further research into both Tiddim Chin and the Chin dialects would almost certainly suggest the reclassification of a number of these, such as 'zingsang, pialkhang, aksi, niloh, nitak, sakhi, kuamah, keimah', &c., as nominal figures consisting of two nouns in direct or oblique case relationship, or of a noun and following verbal form. Until it is possible, however, to relate both elements of such forms with certainty to the figure types already discussed (see pp. 62-66), or



to new ones it is found desirable to postulate, it seems best to treat them as single words (see remarks on 'innkuan' and 'gualnuam' on pp. 87 and 89).

The two syllables of what are here classed as disyllabic nouns are frequently bound together by stress and pitch features recalling those already discussed as features of figures (see pp. 52-58). For instance, in 'sakhi', 'niloh', 'nitak', and 'amah', the first syllables have a high-low pitch relation with the second syllable, and a weak-strong stress relationship, e.g.

˧˧ ˩ sakhi, ˧˧ ˩ niloh, ˧˧ ˩ nitak, ˧˧ ˩ amah.

A low-high pitch relationship without accompanying stress features obtains between the two syllables of such words as 'baibek', 'tangteuh', and 'taksang'.

### B. Verbs

Verbs are distinguished from all other classes of words by their formal scatter. All verbs have two alternating forms, dependent upon grammatical context (see pp. 84-89). In the great majority of the verbs recorded one of these forms, hereafter referred to as Form II, can always be predicted from the other, hereafter referred to as Form I. Such verbs may be termed *regular*. All other verbs are *irregular*.

The formal scatter of regular verbs is correlated with the phonological structure of the last syllable of Form I.

#### *Regular verbs*

All verbs whose Form I has a long final syllable with tone 1 or 2 have tone 3 in Form II. There is no other change except that when the final consonant in Form I is a velar nasal, the final consonant in Form II is always an alveolar nasal. This special relationship between velar and alveolar finals, which is peculiar to verbs as a class, suggests that both post-nuclear K and T are realized as alveolars in the Form II of verbs whose Form I is accompanied by gradual syllable ending. That the alveolar realization of post-nuclear K is not bound to tone 3 syllables as such is clear from such forms as ˩da:ŋ *to be pale*, ˩la:ŋ *to appear*, and others (see p. 78). That it is bound to gradual closure in Form I is shown by such a series as ˩xa:k, ˩xa:k *to close*, ˩xa:ŋ, ˩xa:n *to lift up*, ˩ma:k,

˩ma:k *to form a rash*, ˩da:ŋ, ˩dat *to be pale*. An alternative solution would be to postulate a change of post-nuclear unit in Form II for such verbs, but this would be without parallel elsewhere in the language and is therefore rejected in this study.

Examples are given in phonetic transcription, since the traditional orthography seldom indicates vowel length.

#### *Verbs with Tone 1 in Form I, Tone 3 in Form II (Long Syllables)*

Phonological summary: (C)Vc<sup>1</sup>: ~or' / (C)Vc<sup>3</sup>: ~or'

The examples are shown in Form I.

˩kuan <i>to go to work</i>	˩xam <i>to forbid</i>
˩a:m <i>to be jealous</i>	˩xa:k <i>to close</i>
˩a:t <i>to cut</i>	˩xe:m <i>to deceive</i>
˩da:ɪ <i>to protect</i>	˩sa:m <i>to accelerate</i>
˩da:k <i>to look beyond</i>	˩ta:i <i>to scold</i>
˩ga:k <i>to tighten</i>	˩va:t <i>to beat down</i>
˩ge:n <i>to tell</i>	˩zuau <i>to lie</i>
˩ha:ɪ <i>to burn</i>	˩lu:t <i>to enter</i>
˩ka:n <i>to jump over</i>	˩la:i <i>to wrestle</i>
˩ma:p <i>to exempt</i>	˩la:u <i>to be afraid</i>
˩mɔ:l <i>to be blunt</i>	˩muat <i>to decay</i>
˩pe:k <i>to be flat</i>	˩na:i <i>to be near</i>
˩so:p <i>to watch</i>	˩ne:u <i>to be small</i>
˩va:k <i>to walk</i>	˩nuak <i>to sulk</i>
˩za:p <i>to fan</i>	˩ŋa:k <i>to wait</i>
˩za:m <i>to fall to the ground</i>	˩ŋa:t <i>to be strict</i>
˩ha:m <i>to utter wild cries</i>	˩pa:i <i>to be pregnant</i>
˩ka:p <i>to shoot at</i>	˩sa:u <i>to be long</i>
˩ka:i <i>to bend the head sideways</i>	˩ta:u <i>to groan</i>
˩ki:n <i>to move</i>	˩za:n <i>to break to pieces</i>
˩ku:n <i>to bow</i>	˩pa:t <i>to shred, fray</i>
˩ki:k <i>to be reversed</i>	

*Verbs with Tone 2 in Form I, Tone 3 in Form II*  
(Long Syllables)

Phonological summary: (C)Vc<sup>2</sup> ~ or' / (C)Vc<sup>3</sup> ~ or'

The examples are shown in Form I.

-ɔ:i to agree	-ka:k to dilate
-sa:n to foretell the future	-xa:k to open wide
-sa:p to rent	-xa:t to be old
-sa:i to press a trigger	-xa:i to hang
-ba:i to be lame	-se:p to winnow
-bua:l to swim	-la:m to dance
-ta:m to spend the night	-tu:k to collapse
-tɔ:p to stop	-la:k to expose
-va:k to feed	-liau to pay a fine
-za:m to grow, shoot up	-lu:p to prepare (beer pot)
-pa:u to speak	-lu:i to be old
-phuai to scratch (e.g. with the finger-nail)	-ma:m to be straight
-za:k to spread (a blanket)	-ma:n to be true
-di:k to inhale	-ma:i to be null and void
-ga:i to conceive	-mɔ:l to play
-ha:m to be old	-na:k to breathe
-hu:p to attract	-ŋi:m to aim at
-hiam to be sharp	-ta:n to be deprived of
	-pa:i to worship

The following have a final velar nasal in Form I and a final alveolar nasal in Form II (see p. 72):

-xa:ŋ, -xa:n to lift up	-za:ŋ, -za:n to be light
-pa:ŋ, -pa:n to defend	-tuaŋ, -tuan to perch

All verbs whose Form I has a short final syllable with tone 1 or 2 and gradual syllable closure also have tone 3 in Form II, with no other change except as specified above for verbs whose Form I ends in a velar nasal.

*Verbs with Tone 1 in Form I, Tone 3 in Form II*  
(Short Syllables)

Phonological summary: (C)Vc<sup>1</sup> ~ ~ / (C)Vc<sup>3</sup> ~ ~

The examples are shown in Form I.

-bal to tear off	-tuŋ to arrive
-dai to be shallow	-vaŋ to be sparse
-gam to be dry	-om to be present
-ham to be coarse	-gaŋ to be profuse
-hai to be foolish	-kaŋ to dry up
-heu to wither away	-pal to stumble
-mai to grope for	-pan to be very thin
-xam to be replete	-phu to be dry
-zin to travel	-tam to be many
-dei to separate	-tan to cut off
-lal to migrate	-tum to beat
-lam to build	-vau to strike
-lei to buy	-zai to be wide
-man to finish	-daŋ to be different
-maŋ to be lost	

*Verbs with Tone 2 in Form I, Tone 3 in Form II*  
(Short syllables)

Phonological summary: (C)Vc<sup>2</sup> ~ ~ / (C)Vc<sup>3</sup> ~ ~

The examples are shown in Form I.

-san to be red	-dau to be insipid
-sam to incant	-dou to fight
-sai to take charge of	-hai to be greedy
-tam to be level	-kan to inquire
-taŋ to be straight	-keu to be dry
-vaŋ to form a hole	-xam to lay crosswise
-veŋ to be over	-xal to control
-vom to be black	-pou to grow
-zan to stretch	-xoi to suckle
-zaŋ to be capable of reaching far	-man to be sticky
-zol to be greasy	-mal to tear to pieces
-ban to slash	-min to be cooked
-dam to be well	-nam to be smelly

Since short syllables with abrupt syllable closure, i.e. those closed by a glottalized continuant, or by a voiceless stop, or by a glottal stop, are precluded by their syllabic structure from the tonal variation common to other syllables, being always pronounced on a low level pitch regarded as a realization of tone 3 (see p. 19), regular verbs whose Form I has a final syllable of this structure show no change in Form II.

## EXAMPLES:

Phonological summary: (C)V(c)<sup>3</sup>~ / (C)V(c)<sup>3</sup>~

_nai <sup>3</sup> to draw near (tr.)	_dei <sup>3</sup> _go <sup>3</sup> to envy
_ŋa <sup>3</sup> to receive, get	~man_ŋil <sup>3</sup> to forget
_ŋat to face towards	_dei <sup>3</sup> to want
_pal <sup>3</sup> to blossom	_ga <sup>3</sup> to bear fruit
_pha <sup>3</sup> to lay, spread	_lei <sup>3</sup> to add water (to beer)
_sa <sup>3</sup> to be thick	_xai <sup>3</sup> to filter
_sak to cause to be done	_mal <sup>3</sup> to swell with moisture
_sil <sup>3</sup> to wear	_se <sup>3</sup> to cover with a blanket
_tak to be right	_gel <sup>3</sup> to write
_tai <sup>3</sup> to rob	_ha <sup>3</sup> to clear away
_te <sup>3</sup> to measure	_hoi <sup>3</sup> to be good, beautiful
_val <sup>3</sup> to swallow	_hai <sup>3</sup> to miss, go astray
_la <sup>3</sup> to be incapable	_heu <sup>3</sup> to prune
_lou <sup>3</sup> to settle down	_ka <sup>3</sup> to climb
_le <sup>3</sup> to return	_kal <sup>3</sup> to bolt (a door)
_lai <sup>3</sup> to change	_ke <sup>3</sup> to leak
_al <sup>3</sup> to taste bitter	_xa <sup>3</sup> to set fire to
_ap to be mouldy	_xi <sup>3</sup> to tie
_ba <sup>3</sup> to be tired	_xe <sup>3</sup> to crack open
_bak to catch in the mouth	_xu <sup>3</sup> to cover
_bat to wear in the ear	_ne <sup>3</sup> to huddle together
_bo <sup>3</sup> to seize	_pe <sup>3</sup> to join up
_cia <sup>3</sup> to return home	_mai <sup>3</sup> to plaster with mud
_da <sup>3</sup> to be sad	

Regular verbs whose Form I has a long final syllable with tone 3 and abrupt syllable closure are unchanged in Form II, e.g.

Phonological summary: (C)Vc<sup>3</sup>' / (C)Vc<sup>3</sup>'

~a:p to entrust	~le:k to outweigh
~ci:k to be concentrated	~ma:k to form a rash

Regular verbs whose Form I consists of either a long or a short tone 3 syllable with gradual closure have a short syllable with abrupt closure in Form II, accompanied by the low pitch which is the appropriate exponent of tone 3 in syllables of this structure (see p. 19).

Examples of verbs of this type, whose alternating forms may be summarized phonologically as (C)V(c)<sup>3</sup>~ or :~ / (C)V(c)<sup>3</sup>~ are:

Form I	Form II
(a) Final open vowel: CV <sup>3</sup> :~	Final glottal stop, short vowel: CV <sup>3</sup> ~
e.g. ~ci: to say	_ci <sup>3</sup>
~hi: to be	_hi <sup>3</sup>
~mu: to see	_mu <sup>3</sup>
(b) Final lateral, vowel long or short: CVL <sup>3</sup> : or ~	Final glottalized lateral, short vowel: CVL <sup>3</sup> ~
e.g. ~ba:l to be covered with juice	_bal <sup>3</sup>
~dol to be damp	_dol <sup>3</sup>
~kal to rake up	_kal <sup>3</sup>
(c) Final open diphthong, long or short: CVY or W <sup>3</sup> : or ~	Final short glottalized diphthong: CVY or W <sup>3</sup> ~
e.g. ~ka:ri to pull, drag	_kai <sup>3</sup>
~ki:u to knock	_kiu <sup>3</sup>
~lou not to be	_lou <sup>3</sup>
~thei to know, to be able to	_thei <sup>3</sup>
~gai to consume	_gai <sup>3</sup>
(d) Final bilabial nasal, vowel long or short: CVP <sup>3</sup> : or ~	Final glottalized bilabial stop, short vowel: CVP <sup>3</sup> ~
e.g. ~kam to be dispersed	_kap
~am to be perplexed, giddy	_ap
~la:m to lift up	_lap
~ge:m to creep up on	_gep
~i:m to keep secret	_ip
~ga:m to exact a fine	_gap

(e) Final velar or alveolar nasal, vowel long or short: CVK or T<sup>3</sup>: or ~<sup>v</sup> ~ Final glottalized alveolar stop, short vowel: CVT/K<sup>3</sup>~

e.g. ~lanj to appear	_lat
~lan to gape	_lat
~man to cost	_mat
~nanj to be weak	_nat
~ne:n to ask for	_net
~pan to start	_pat
~da:nj to be pale	_dat
~ba:n to reach for	_bat
~banj to be like	_bat

The quantity relation between Form I and Form II in regular verbs is realized phonetically by the features of vowel duration and vowel quality set out in the phonological description of long and short syllables (see pp. 20-21). The final -t in the form in the second column above is the regular realization of post-nuclear K and T in Form II when accompanied by abrupt syllable closure (see pp. 72-73).

The alternation of the last syllables of regular verbs in phonetic terms is shown below:

FORM I			FORM II		
Pitch rising or level	Vowel length	Final	Pitch	Vowel length	Final
"	long	open	falling	long	open
"	"	-m	"	"	-m
"	"	-n	"	"	-n
"	"	-ŋ	"	"	-n
"	"	-p	"	"	-p
"	"	-t	"	"	-t
"	"	-k	"	"	-k
"	"	-l	"	"	-l
"	"	-i*	"	"	-i*
"	"	-u*	"	"	-u*
"	short	-m	"	short	-m
"	"	-n	"	"	-n
"	"	-ŋ	"	"	-n
"	"	-l	"	"	-l
"	"	-i*	"	"	-i*
"	"	-u*	"	"	-u*

FORM I			FORM II		
Pitch	Vowel length	Final	Pitch	Vowel length	Final
falling	long	-p			
"	"	-t			No change
"	"	-k			
low level	short	-ʔ			
"	"	-p			
"	"	-t			
"	"	-k			No change
"	"	-lʔ			
"	"	-iʔ*			
"	"	-uʔ*			
	long or short	open	low level	short	-ʔ
falling	"	-m	"	"	-p
"	"	-n	"	"	-t
"	"	-ŋ	"	"	-t
"	"	-l	"	"	-lʔ
"	"	-i*	"	"	-iʔ*
"	"	-u*	"	"	-uʔ*

i\*, u\*, iʔ\*, uʔ\* in this table represent the end points of the diphthongs moving towards close front and close back vowels, without or with final glottal stop, respectively.

The foregoing phonetic account of Chin verbal behaviour may be briefly summarized by means of phonological formulae as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (C)Vc^{1or2:~} / (C)Vc^{3:~} \\
 (C)Vc^{1or2:ʔ} / (C)Vc^{3:ʔ} \\
 (C)Vc^{1or2:~} / (C)Vc^{3:~} \\
 (C)Vc^{3:ʔ} / (C)Vc^{3:ʔ} \\
 (C)V(c)^{3:~} / (C)V(c)^{3:~} \\
 (C)V(c)^{3:or~} / (C)V(c)^{3:~}
 \end{array}$$

It will be seen that for all verbs having tone 1 or 2 in Form I, the alternance is tonal only. All verbs with tone 3 in Form I accompanied by abrupt syllable closure are invariable. Verbs with a short

tone 3 syllable with gradual closure in Form I alternate syllable closure features only, while verbs with a long tone 3 syllable with gradual closure in Form I alternate both as to syllable closure and quantity.

The verbs, relatively few in number, which do not comply with the foregoing patterns are classed as irregular.

It is worthy of note that regular verbs with the phonematic structure CV are very rare except on tone 3 (see p. 77). Verbs with a CV syllable as one of their forms frequently alternate with a form of the structure CVc. Since the post-nuclear unit in the CVc forms of such pairs is always unpredictable they are regarded as irregular, even if tone and other features follow the regular pattern.

#### *Irregular verbs*

In the verbs classed as irregular the correlation of tone, quantity, syllable closure features, and phonematic structure between Forms I and II differs in some respects from that observed for the great majority of verbs in the language. Form II of such verbs is thus not predictable from Form I by the rules laid down hitherto. Such verbs may be grouped together for consideration as follows:

(a) Verbs with a long or short syllable, tone 1 or 2, and gradual closure in Form I, and a short abrupt syllable in Form II:

CVc <sup>1</sup> :~ / CVc <sup>3</sup> <sup>u</sup>	~nuam	_nop	to want to do something
CVc <sup>2</sup> :~ / CVc <sup>3</sup> <sup>u</sup>	~nui	_nui <sup>p</sup>	to laugh
	~si:	_si <sup>p</sup>	to die
	~ɲaxi	_ɲai <sup>p</sup>	to love
CVc <sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup> ~ / CVc <sup>3</sup> <sup>u</sup>	~en	_et	to look at
CVc <sup>2</sup> <sup>u</sup> ~ / CVc <sup>3</sup> <sup>u</sup>	~xin	_xit	to be over
CVc <sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup> ~ / CV <sup>3</sup> <sup>u</sup>	~xou	_xɔ <sup>p</sup>	to cultivate
	~zou	_zɔ <sup>p</sup>	to finish
	~thou	_thɔ <sup>p</sup>	to spring up

It will be seen that the Form II of these verbs is in every case such as would in a regular verb presuppose a Form I with tone 3 (see pp. 73-75).

The Form I of the first four examples would in regular verbs be partnered in Form II by a long syllable with gradual closure, instead of a short syllable with abrupt closure.

The Form I of the last five examples would in regular verbs alternate with a Form II with tone 3, but otherwise identical, i.e. as regards syllable quantity, syllable closure, and phonematic structure.

It will be observed that the phonological interpretation of the Tiddim Chin vowel sounds proposed in this study (see p. 24) makes it unnecessary to posit a change of nuclear phonematic units as between the two forms of the last three examples.

(b) A number of verbs with open syllables in Form I have either a velar or alveolar final stop in Form II. The tonal correspondence in such verbs may or may not be regular.

*With regular tone and quantity alternation:*

~phɛ:	~phɛ:t	to tremble
~si:	_sik	to fight (with horns)
~pha:	_phat	to be good
~ɲa:	_ɲak	to lay down
~sa:	_sak	to sing
~va:	_vak	to have an aptitude for
~mã~sa:	~mã_sak	to be in front

*With regular tonal alternation but irregular quantity correspondence:*

~dɛ:	_det	to appear (of moon)
~ba:	_bat	to owe
~za:	_zat	to be broad
~sa:	_sak	to be hot

*With irregular tonal alternation but regular quantity correspondence:*

~tɛ:	~tɛ:t	to glitter
~gɔ:	~gɔ:t	to dry up
~pua	~puak	to carry
~bia	~biak	to propitiate

Among verbs of this type there are small sub-groups operating within minor regular patterns of their own, e.g.

~nɛ:	~nɛ:k	to eat
~la:	~la:k	to take
~gu:	~gu:k	to be stolen
~pha:	~pha:k	to overtake
~za:	~za:k	to hear
~ha:	~hart	to be solid
~hã~za:	~hã~za:t	to covet

ˋka:	ˋka:t	to be forked
ˋpa:	ˋpa:t	to be thin
ˋsia	ˋsiat	to spoil
ˋkia	ˋkiat	to fall
ˋxia	ˋxiat	to fell
ˋnũˋsia	ˋnũˋsiat	to leave

(c) A small group of verbs has a final glottal stop in Form II, with either a velar, labial, or alveolar final stop in Form I. Most of such verbs comprise short syllables in both forms but some examples of verbs belonging to this group with long syllables in Form I were noted.

## EXAMPLES:

ˋba:k	ˋbaʔ	to feed forcibly
ˋsuak	ˋsuaʔ	to be born
ˋhak	ˋhaʔ	to be awake
ˋlak	ˋlaʔ	to show
ˋpak	ˋpaʔ	to be of loose character
ˋsak	ˋsaʔ	to be hard
ˋkap	ˋkaʔ	to cry
ˋpap	ˋpaʔ	to immerse
ˋsat	ˋsaʔ	to jerk
ˋsut	ˋsuʔ	to snatch
ˋtat	ˋtaʔ	to strike against
ˋthat	ˋthaʔ	to kill

## Derived verbs

A few verbs which appear at first sight to be irregular may be regarded as derived from other verbs and hence as in a class of their own. Form I of the derived verb is identical with Form II of the original verb.

Compare, for instance, ˋdam to be well, with a regular Form II ˋdam, and ˋdam to heal (tr.). Both Form I and Form II of the latter verb are ˋdam, whereas we should expect ˋdap for Form II in a regular verb (see p. 77).

Compare also: ˋdan, ˋdan to be different; ˋdan, ˋdan to differentiate.

Other sets of verbs which appear to be semantically linked are quite regular, e.g.

ˋta:nj, ˋta:n	to be bright
ˋta:n, ˋtat	to flash a light at or on something
ˋla:m, ˋla:m	to dance
ˋla:m, ˋlap	to perform a ceremonial dance holding an animal's head in the hand
ˋna:i, ˋna:i	to be near
ˋna:i, ˋnaiʔ	to draw near (intr.)
ˋnaiʔ, ˋnaiʔ	to draw someone near (tr.)
ˋnam, ˋnam	to smell (intr.)
ˋnam, ˋnap	to smell (tr.)
ˋlam, ˋlam	to earn for oneself
ˋlam, ˋlap	to earn for someone else, e.g. one's family
ˋdim, ˋdim	to be full
ˋdim, ˋdip	to fill

There appear to be vestiges here of a regular causative relation expressed by means of tonal progression and manner of syllable closure. This does not, however, appear to be a living process today, and my informant was of the opinion that people nowadays tended to use the verb 'sak' to cause to be done to replace the causative derivative. Let us compare the following sentences, for instance:

ˋā ˋdam ˋhi:	it has healed
(ˋā ˋmaʔ) ˋā ˋdam ˋhi:	he healed him
or ˋā ˋdam ˋsak ˋhi:	he healed him

The second sentence uses Form I of the derived causative verb, this form being identical with the Form II of the verb in the first sentence. In the third sentence, which is contextually interchangeable with the second sentence, we have Form I of the non-derived form followed by 'sak'. (The high pitch on the word in this sentence is to be attributed to figure intonation of the type described on p. 54.)

Tonal progression and the manner of syllable closure are not the only phonological means of expressing causation in the verb, since the following pairs of words suggest that certain syllable-onset features may play a role here (see also p. 22):

~kia to fall	~xia to drop (tr.)
~kaxi to be suspended	~xaxi to hang (tr.)
~kaxk to dilate (intr.)	~xaxk to open wide (tr.)
~tuk to roll (intr.)	~xuk to roll (e.g. a stone)
~pu:k to fall	~phu:k to fell
~kaxŋ to raise (oneself)	~xaxŋ to lift (tr.)

#### Use of the verb Forms I and II

As has already been stated, mood as a grammatical category may be a characteristic of (a) sentences, (b) predicative and adjunctive phrases, and (c) certain of the figures which constitute phrases (see pp. 32, 40). The indicative mood is realized by Form I of the verb, the subjunctive by Form II (see pp. 32, 40).

(a) *Mood as a characteristic of sentences.* In the narrative style, all conclusive sentences are characterized by the indicative mood, that is to say, the final predicative phrase contains a verb or verbs in Form I. In the same style, all inconclusive sentences are characterized by the subjunctive mood, that is to say, the final predicative phrase contains a verb or verbs in Form II (see p. 32).

In the colloquial style, as used in the passages of direct speech in the texts, conclusive sentences may also be characterized by the subjunctive mood. Such sentences as have been recorded frequently contain the figure 'hi ci' *like this*, or the word 'hong' (see p. 113). Many subjunctive sentences recorded convey the sense of doing something for someone else. The following colloquial sentences, which are all conclusive, may usefully be compared:

Indicative mood	Subjunctive mood
sa a go hi <i>he killed an animal, e.g. for a feast</i>	sa a gawh hi <i>he killed an animal for me</i>
kei a ding in lup <sup>I</sup> hi <i>he prepared beer on my behalf</i>	zu hong lup <sup>II</sup> hi <i>he prepared beer for me</i>
hi bang in kho ning <i>I'll cultivate it like this (in this manner)</i>	hi ci khawh ning <i>I'll cultivate it like this</i>

The use of the subjunctive mood to express what in English one must often translate as 'doing something for someone else' recalls some of the derived verbs already described (see p. 83). 'Zu hong lup<sup>II</sup> hi' *he prepared beer for me* may be contrasted with 'hong pai<sup>I</sup> hi' *he came to see me (not on my behalf)*. Compare here 'pai<sup>II</sup> sak in' *go on his behalf* with 'pai<sup>I</sup> sak in' *let him go*. In an indicative sentence, therefore, 'sak' is to be translated as *to let or cause to be done* and in a subjunctive sentence by *to do on someone else's behalf*. Forms I and II in a verb of the phonological structure of 'sak' are identical (see p. 76), but Form I is postulated for the indicative sentence and Form II for the subjunctive sentence.

#### EXAMPLES:

kong mat <sup>II</sup> sak <sup>II</sup> hi	<i>I've caught it for you</i>
na lo kong khawh <sup>II</sup> sak <sup>II</sup> hi	<i>I'll cultivate your fields for you</i>
but,	
a dam <sup>I</sup> sak <sup>I</sup> hi	<i>he healed him</i>

There are also indications in my material that in the colloquial style inconclusive sentences may be characterized by the indicative mood. For example, in the sentence 'amah pai<sup>I</sup> hen la, a upa va-sam<sup>I</sup> hen' *let him go and call his elder brother*, 'la' appears to function as an inconclusive sentence-final particle in much the same way as 'leh' in the narrative style, but Form I and not Form II of the preceding verb is used.

(b) *Mood as a characteristic of phrases.* All adjunctive phrases containing a verbal figure are characterized by the subjunctive mood (see p. 51). This means that the verbal figure will have a verb or verbs in Form II.

All predicative phrases in conclusive sentences in the narrative style in the texts are characterized by the indicative mood (see p. 48). This means that the final verbal figures always have a verb or verbs in Form I.

Mood is not a property of subjective phrases.

(c) *Mood as a characteristic of figures.* It follows from the foregoing section that verbal figures within an adjunctive phrase are always in the subjunctive mood.

Verbal figures within a predicative phrase may be indicative or subjunctive. Subjunctive verbal figures, i.e. those in which the verb

or verbs are in Form II, are in the narrative style only to be found in the final predicative phrase of an inconclusive sentence. Indicative verbal figures, i.e. those in which the verb or verbs are in Form I, are greatly in the majority. It is to be remarked that all the verbs in a given verbal figure will be either in Form I or Form II; that is to say, the mood of a figure may be either indicative or subjunctive, but never 'mixed'.

The mood of verbal forms within nominal figures is of particular interest. Where a nominal figure consists wholly of verbal forms these are always in Form II. Thus, beside *-la:m*, *-la:m to dance*, we have *-la:m a dance*; beside *-zū-nun*, *-zū-nun to feast*, we have *-zū-nun a feast*, and so on. Sometimes the verbal forms are accompanied by adverbs, and sometimes followed by quantifiers or nominal suffixes (see pp. 65-66), e.g.

(I 12) a khawh sa teng khawh lo a nasuak pah pah hi  
 ppf. v.<sup>II</sup> a. q. v.<sup>II</sup> v.<sup>II</sup> ppf. vpf. v.<sup>I</sup> a' sp  
 N N V

*All that he had cultivated already uncultivated it became at once*

(I 25) lam na ding  
 v.<sup>II</sup> ns. na.  
 N

*For the sake of dancing*

When a nominal figure comprises nouns as well as verbs there are two possibilities. When the verbal constituents refer to some recent change in the state of the object referred to by the noun element, the verbal forms are in Form II, except when prefixed by the verbal prefix 'ki' (see p. 99), e.g.

lopa khawh<sup>II</sup> khiat<sup>II</sup> sa te  
*The already weeded-out grass*

lopa a khawh<sup>II</sup> khiat<sup>II</sup> sa te  
*The grass which he had already weeded out*

but

lopa a ki-kho<sup>I</sup> khia<sup>I</sup> sa te (I 15)  
*The grass which had already been weeded out*

In the second example above, the pronominal prefix 'a' refers to the person who has done the weeding; in the third example it refers to the grass itself.

Compare also:

an ki-huan<sup>I</sup> sa  
*the food that has already been cooked*

a ka huan<sup>II</sup> sa  
*the food I have cooked already*

When the verbal constituents of the figure refer to what may be called the 'permanent' or 'abiding' state of the object referred to by the noun element, the verbs are in Form I. Under this head come those constructions which are often regarded as compound nouns and those which must usually be translated into English by a noun and qualifying adjective, e.g.

(I 37) mi hing *human being* (mi person, hing<sup>I</sup> to live)

(I 24) khua dam *cold season* (khua village, dam<sup>I</sup> to be cold)

(II 1) ni dang lai *once upon a time* (ni day, dang<sup>I</sup> to be other, different, lai period when)

(I 27) vok gawl dawn hiam *the sharp top of the pig fence* (vok pig, gawl fence, dawn top, hiam<sup>I</sup> to be sharp)

(I 4) zu beel tung khat *an upright pot of beer* (zu beer, beel pot, tung<sup>I</sup> to be upright, khat one)

N.B. This is a reference to a particular type of beer pot, not to its position.

(I 35) ni sa ah *in the sunshine* (ni sun, sa<sup>I</sup> to be warm, ah in)

It is because the regular pattern for such nominal constructions is *noun + Form I of verb* that 'innkuan' family, household is treated in this analysis as a disyllabic word, and not as a figure comprising 'inn' house and 'kuan' to work, to go to work. The pitch of the second syllable of 'innkuan' is falling and would thus be referable to Form II rather than Form I of the verb 'kuan'. This would be exceptional in the face of the other material recorded, and an analysis of the word along these lines, although tempting, has therefore been rejected in this study.



The operation of mood in the verbal forms of both verbal and nominal figures is demonstrated in the following series of sentences:

1. *I killed a mithan*

Sial	khat	ka	go	hi
n.	q.	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N		P <sup>i</sup>		

2. *The mithan I killed was black*

Ka	sial	gawh	a	vom	hi
ppf.	n.	v. <sup>II</sup>	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N		P <sup>i</sup>			

3. *I killed a black mithan*

Sial	vom	khat	ka	go	hi
n.	v. <sup>I</sup>	q.	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N		P <sup>i</sup>			

4. *I killed a fat black mithan*

Sial	vom	thau	khat	ka	go	hi
n.	v. <sup>I</sup>	v. <sup>I</sup>	q.	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N		P <sup>i</sup>				

5. *The mithan I killed was a fat black one*

Ka	sial	gawh	a	vom	thau	khat	a	hi
ppf.	n.	v. <sup>II</sup>	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	v. <sup>I</sup>	q.	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>
N		N			P <sup>i</sup>		V <sup>i</sup>	

6. *If your mithan is black, I want it*

Na	sial	a	vom	leh	ka	deih	hi
ppf.	n.	ppf.	v. <sup>II</sup>	sp.	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N		V <sup>s</sup>			V <sup>i</sup>		P <sup>i</sup>

7. *I have killed the mithan you sold me recently*

Nong	sial	zuak	ka	go	zo	hi
ppf.+pv.	n.	v. <sup>II</sup>	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N			P <sup>i</sup>			

8. *The mithan that was killed was yours*

Sial	ki	go	pen	nang	a	a	hi	hi
n.	vpf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	pp.	n. <sup>o</sup>	ns.	ppf.	v. <sup>I</sup>	sp.
N		N			P <sup>i</sup>			

9. *A mithan has been killed for the headman*

Hau	sa	pa	sial	a	ki	gawh	hi
v. <sup>I</sup>	v. <sup>I</sup>	ns.	n.	ppf.	vpf.	v. <sup>II</sup>	sp.
N		N			V <sup>s</sup>		

*The syllabic structure of verbs*

From the phonetic standpoint there are no special features distinguishing verbs from other word classes. Phonologically, however, account requires to be taken of such phenomena as the relationship between final [ŋ] and [n] (see pp. 72-73), and between non-glottalized and glottalized finals (see pp. 77-99) in the indicative and subjunctive forms, and that between the unaspirated and aspirated or fricative initials in intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively (see p. 84).

The remarks already made about the possible re-classification of certain disyllabic nouns as a result of further research applies equally to the disyllabic forms here classed as verbs. Such forms as 'gualnuam' to be convivial and 'guksak' to steal suggest possible connexions with 'gual' friend and 'nuam' to yearn for; 'gu, guk' to be stolen and 'sak' to cause to be. In the material so far assembled, however, we have no precedents for the constructions such connexions would entail. In the first example, the second syllable has tone 3, whereas the verb form 'nuam' has tone 1 ('gualnop', the Form II of 'gualnuam' presents no such difficulty, as 'nop' is also the Form II of the verb 'nuam'). In the second example the problem is the form 'guk', which could be taken as Form II of the verb 'gu' to steal. The regular pattern, however, for causative constructions containing the verb 'sak', has Form I of the verb (see p. 85).

C. *Quantifiers*

Quantifiers occur in nominal figures only, and include in addition to counting units such expressions as 'sim' *every*, 'teng' *the whole*, 'kheempeuh' *all*.

A quantifier may constitute the only placed element of a nominal figure. Examples of this are to be found in I 22 and I 14, where 'kheempeuh' and 'khat' are to be regarded as constituting nominal figures separated from the preceding nominal figures by the figure-closing nominal suffix 'te'.

Quantifiers are very commonly final in the figure, but may be followed by a pronominal suffix or by a post-nominal particle, e.g.

*Final:*

a phei lang khat	<i>one of his legs</i> (II 2)
ni sagih	<i>seven days</i> (I 23)
kum sim	<i>every year</i> (I 24)

*With following pronominal suffix:*

a tap tung teng uh	<i>all over the whole of the hearth</i> (I 2)
--------------------	--

*With following post-nominal particle:*

a khe lang khat ah	<i>to one of his legs</i> (II 3)
--------------------	----------------------------------

Unless they constitute the only placed element of a figure (see above), quantifiers are almost always preceded in the figure by a noun. In nominal figures which include nominalized verbal constructions, however, they may be preceded by a verb or adverb, e.g.

zu beel tung khat	<i>an upright pot of beer</i> (I 4)
a lopa khawh khiat sa teng	<i>all the grass that was already weeded out</i> (I 10)
a khawh sa teng	<i>all that was already cultivated</i> (I 12)

Quantifiers are distinguished from nouns by their invariability of form, their exclusion from verbal and adverbial figures, and by their much greater syntactic limitations in general. They appear to have no distinctive phonological characteristics.

D. *Adverbial conjunctions*

These are restricted to adverbial figures, of which in the texts examined they constitute the only placed element. Their distinctive syntactic character is that they are always preceded by a verbal or nominal figure within an adjunctive phrase. The adverbial conjunctions occurring in the texts are the following:

tung, ciang, tawntung, dong, man, hang

They are usually, but not always, followed by a phrase particle to complete the adjunctive phrase.

## EXAMPLES:

zing sang tung a	<i>early in the morning</i> (I 2)
ni sagih tawntung	<i>for seven days without ceasing</i> (I 23)
zan ciang a	<i>when it was night</i> (I 25)
a sawt pi ciang in	<i>after some time</i> (I 8)
a kuan kik ciang in	<i>when he went back to work</i> (I 12)
a hih hang in	<i>but</i> (I 10)
tu dong in	<i>until this day</i> (I 31)
a hih man in	<i>for this reason</i> (I 29)

It will be observed that all the adverbial conjunctions cited above are pronounced with a rising pitch (on the second syllable in the case of the disyllabic 'tawntung'). Tone 3 has accordingly been postulated as the word tone of these forms, but it would also be possible to regard them as 'toneless' in themselves (see p. 104 for discussion of particles), and to regard their pitch-contour solely as the exponent of the rising intonation proper to adjunctive phrases (see p. 50).

It is also remarked that all adverbial conjunctions in the texts end in nasal consonants. This characteristic and the tone-pitch feature referred to in the preceding paragraph are the only indications of a phonological structure special to these words.

### Dependent Words

#### A. Nominal auxiliaries

Nominal auxiliaries are, like quantifiers, restricted to nominal figures. They are noun-like in syntactic function except that they are never the sole constituents of nominal figures. They are usually accompanied in the figure by a noun or nouns, but may be accompanied only by affixes, as in 'a kiang ah' *at hand, near by* (I 19). Unlike nouns, nominal auxiliaries are invariable in form.

The nominal auxiliaries occurring in the texts are 'tung' *over, on (on the surface of)* (I 2); 'ding' *for (for the sake of)* (I 25 *et al.*); 'lak' *among, in (in the midst of)* (I 26); 'dawn' *on (on the top of)* (I 27); 'lang' *beside (at one side of)* (II 2 and 3); 'kiang' *near (in the neighbourhood of)* (II 5 *et al.*); 'gal' *beyond, outside (beyond the boundaries of)* (I 5). 'lai' in 'ni dang lai in' *in former times* (II 1) has been tentatively classified as a noun (see p. 137), but it appears not improbable that further material would favour its re-classification as a nominal auxiliary. Other words of the same class, gathered in the course of the investigation though not found in the texts, include 'nuai' *below, underneath (on the lower surface of)*, and 'sung' *in, inside (in the interior of)*.

Nominal auxiliaries do not appear to have any distinctive phonological characteristics.

#### B. Verbal auxiliaries

The only example of this word class in the narrative texts is the word 'ding' in 'na mu ding' *you will see* (II 5). Inquiries indicated that words of the class appear to be restricted to verbal figures, and always to be preceded by a verb. They are usually final in the verbal figure, but may be followed by a pronominal suffix, as in 'ka hong pai ding uh' *we shall come*. The verbal auxiliary is distinguished from the verb by its invariability of form.

#### C. Adverbs

Adverbs are principally to be found in verbal figures, but also occur in verbal constructions within certain nominal figures (see

pp. 66-68). They are always preceded by a verb or by another adverb.

Examples of sentences with two consecutive adverbs, one of which may be reduplicated, are

a kuan nawn kei	<i>he didn't go to work any more</i> (I 7)
kuan kik leu leu	<i>he went back to work once again</i> (I 10)

It may be observed here that although there is a verb 'kik' *-kik to be backwards, to be reversed*, 'kik' *-kik* used after a verb in the sense of *again* must be regarded as an adverb, as it is formally invariable, and thus does not accord with the usage already described for sequences of verbs within a figure (see p. 86).

Adverbs are almost always final in the verbal figure of which they are a constituent element. They may sometimes, however, be followed by a pronominal suffix, or by a second verb in the same figure.

#### EXAMPLES:

*With a following pronominal suffix:*

a tai zel uh	<i>they scolded him vigorously</i> (I 1)
tho nai nai uh	<i>sprang up all over the place</i> (I 15)

*With a following verb:*

a sam kik zo kei	<i>he could not call him back</i> (I 33)
suak kik takpi	<i>it did indeed become (uncultivated) again</i> (I 17)
gualnuam lua kisa	<i>enjoying himself too much</i> (I 27)

When an adverb is a constituent element of a nominal figure, it may be followed by a nominal suffix or by a quantifier.

#### EXAMPLES:

*With a following quantifier:*

a khawh sa teng	<i>all that was cultivated already</i> (I 12)
-----------------	---

*With a following nominal suffix:*

lopa a kikho khia	<i>the grass that was already weeded out</i> (I 15)
sa te	

*The syllabic structure of adverbs*

The adverbs occurring in the texts are all of monosyllabic structure (except, of course, when reduplicated), and, as far as phonematic units are concerned, are not formally distinguishable from invariable monosyllabic words of other classes. It may be noted, however, that of the five examples in my material of one rare syllable type, four are adverbs. The words in question are 'diai' *slowly*, 'liai' (with Tone 1) *barely*, 'liai' (with Tone 2) *harmoniously*, 'thuau' *fleecily*, 'zuau' *to tell a lie*. The structure of this type of syllable permits the same semivocalic modification of both syllable-initial and syllable-final, whereas the language as a whole appears to avoid such repetition, preferring to associate labiovelar modification of the initial with palatal modification of the final, and vice versa. In contrast to the five recorded examples of words with the repeated labiovelar or palatal modification, mixed forms such as 'liau' *to pay a fine*, 'luai' *cradle*, 'kuai' *to bend*, are fairly common in most classes.

The tonal properties of adverbs call for special mention. It will be seen from the vocabulary that a number of adverbs consisting of short syllable closed by a stop are regularly pronounced with a high level pitch rather than with the low level pitch characteristic of syllables of this structure (see p. 19). Examples are *phot firstly*, *hak with difficulty*, *la<sup>2</sup> deftly*, *bek only*. It would be possible to interpret the pitch of such words as the phonetic exponent of Tone 1 and to regard the occurrence of Tone 1 on syllables of this structure as a distinctive phonological characteristic of adverbs as a class. Since, however, as dependent words adverbs are never (except in hypostasis) uttered in isolation, it has been preferred to interpret the high level pitch, when it occurs, as an exponent of low-high figure intonation of the kind described on p. 54.

Reduplication, whilst not exclusively the property of adverbs (see p. 57), is so common a feature of the class as to warrant special mention. When this feature is allied to the vowel alternance referred to as 'chiming' (see p. 57), as in 'zel zal' *loudly*, 'ngiu neuu' *slender, coiled*, we are indeed dealing with a phonological structure peculiar to adverbs as a class. There is only one example of such a structure in the texts presented ('zel zal' in I 5), but a rich variety of them is in common use in the colloquial style.

*Affixes**A. Prefixes*

Two classes of prefixes are to be distinguished, *pronominal* and *verbal*.

*Pronominal prefixes*

The pronominal prefixes always precede either a following noun or nominal auxiliary, or a following verb or verbal prefix. They always form part of the same figure as the next following word. Those occurring in the narrative texts are: 'a-', 'i-', 'na-'. Also noted in the colloquial passages is 'ka-'. 'a-' refers to the third person, singular or plural, 'i-' to the first person plural inclusive, 'na-' to the second person singular or plural, 'ka-' to the first person singular or plural (exclusive).

## EXAMPLES:

*Before nouns:*

a innkuan pih te	<i>his household</i> (I 1)
a tu tawh	<i>with a hoe</i> (I 2)
a sawt pi	<i>a long time</i> (I 8)
a lo uh	<i>their field</i> (I 8)
a zing	<i>the morning</i> (I 10)
a khuang	<i>his drum</i> (I 16)
ka lo	<i>my field</i> (I 17)
a lo	<i>his field</i> (I 17)
a lopa	<i>the grass</i> (I 10)
a ci pumpi	<i>the skin all over his body</i> (I 26)
na khuang uh	<i>your drums</i> (I 32)
ka khuang	<i>my drum</i> (I 37)
a kiang ah	<i>near him</i> (I 19)

It will be seen that in addition to its reference to the third person, singular or plural, 'a-' may also have what may be called an impersonal reference in such expressions as 'a sawt pi' *a long time*, 'a zing' (*in*) *the morning*, 'a lopa' *the grass*, and possibly also in 'a bul' *the foot (of the tower)* in I 39.

*Before verbs:*

a kuan nuam kei	<i>he didn't want to go to work</i> (I 1)
a om pah a, a ne pah hi	<i>it was there at once, and at once he drank it</i> (I 19)
a lam lam uh hi	<i>they danced continuously</i> (I 23)
ka lam ding hi	<i>I will build</i> (I 37)
a tan uh	<i>they cut off</i> (II 2)
na mu ding hi	<i>you will see</i> (II 5)

*Before verbal prefixes:*

a va khem leh	<i>when he deceived him</i> (I 34)
a va kuan hi	<i>he went off</i> (I 8)
a kikho khia sa te	<i>that which had already been weeded out</i> (I 15)
a makai hi	<i>he led (the dance)</i> (I 30)
ka napai hi	<i>I will go on ahead (without you)</i>
a kici hi	<i>it is called</i>
ka ki sat kha hi	<i>I hit myself by mistake</i>

*The use of the pronominal prefixes.* When a verbal construction of which the first placed element is a pronominal prefix is preceded in the same phrase by a single nominal figure or in the same figure by a noun, there is frequently an element of 'concord' or 'mutual expectancy' between the two, for which the term *pronominal concord* is used. The prefix 'ka-' concords with the nouns and nominal figures 'kei, keimah' *I*, 'ko, komau, kote' *we (exclusive)*, &c.; the prefix 'na-' with 'nang, nangmah, no, note' *you*, &c., and the prefix 'i-' with 'ei, eite, eimah, eimau', &c., *we (inclusive)*. The concordant prefix for all other nominal forms is 'a-'. (See pp. 32, 40, 71.)

## EXAMPLES:

gal te 'n / a that hi	<i>enemies killed (him)</i> (II 1)
kei in / khual ka hi hi	<i>I am a stranger</i>
kua mah in / a sam kik zo kei hi	<i>No one could call him back again</i> (I 33)
eite / Tapidaw i suak hi	<i>We became Christians</i>

*Verbal prefixes*

The verbal prefixes recorded in the texts are 'ma-', 'va-', 'na-', 'ki-'. They always immediately precede a verb.

## EXAMPLES:

'ma-' (i) kuan masa sak a	<i>letting (them) go on ahead</i> (I 3)
(ii) lam a makai hi	<i>he led the dance</i> (I 30)
'va-' (iii) Dahpa a lo uh ah a va kuan hi	<i>Dahpa went off to their farm</i> (I 8)
(iv) bilpi va pai a	<i>the rabbit went off</i> (I 34)
(v) a va khem leh	<i>when he had thus deceived him</i> (I 34)
'na-' (vi) a lopa . . . na po kik a	<i>the grass . . . grew up again in his absence</i> (I 10)
(vii) khaw loh a na suak pah pah	<i>again and again it became un- cultivated once more</i> (I 12)
(viii) a bul na ne ne a	<i>they gnawed away at the foot</i> (I 39)
'ki-' (ix) lopa a kikho khia sa te	<i>the grass which had already been weeded out</i> (I 15)
(x) baibek gualnuam lua kisa in	<i>the red-vented bulbul was enjoying himself so excès- sively</i> (I 27a)
(xi) 'thankik' kici den hi	<i>From that time on he has been called 'noble backwards'</i> (I 29)
(xii) Khaw Lei a kici mi khat	<i>a man called Khaw Lei</i> (II 1)
(xiii) 'Khaw Lei Ui Kai' kici hi	<i>it is called 'Khaw Lei Lead- ing his Dog'</i> (II 4)

*The use of the verbal prefixes.* 'ma-' is frequently prefixed to verbs referring to motion of some kind to convey what may best be translated as *in front*. 'Masa' itself may be translated *to be in front*, and has no obvious link with 'sa, sak' *to sing* or *to be impressed*. 'Makai' on the other hand, meaning *to lead (the row of dancers)*, *to be at the head of (the row of dancers)*, is clearly referable to 'kai' *to lead*. Compare also 'masuan, masuat' *to let someone (usually women and children) walk in front of one along the path*.

'na-' and 'va-' require careful distinction. 'va pai in' and 'na pai in' are both commands to someone to go somewhere, but while the second implies that the speaker will be following on later, the first on the contrary implies that he will *not* be going himself. 'Va pai in' might therefore be translated as *Be off with you!* while 'na pai in' is rather *You go on ahead*, or *You go on without me*. With 'va-' the emphasis appears to be on what we express in English by such words as *away* or *off* after the verb, while with 'na-' the emphasis is rather on the fact that the action is taking place or being suggested in the (temporary) absence of the speaker. For example, someone in Falam instructing someone in Tiddim, by telephone or letter, to go to Tonzaang would say 'Tonzaang ah na pai in', thus drawing attention to his own absence. If both speaker and person addressed were in Tiddim and there was no question of the speaker's following on later, the sentence used would be 'Tonzaang ah va pai in'. Compare also:

Za to ah ka pai leh, sia vuanpa na ciah khin hi  
*When I got to the hospital the doctor had already gone home*  
 Kong tun ma in, an na huan in  
*Cook the meal before I arrive*

Given an appropriate context one could equally well drop the first part of the last sentence, i.e. 'kong tun ma in' *before I arrive*, as the prefix 'na' before 'huan' *cook* makes it quite clear that the cooking is to take place in the temporary absence of the speaker, i.e. *before I arrive*. The force of these two prefixes in the examples given on p. 97 may now be appreciated. In (iii) Dahpa goes off to the field by himself—there being no question of his being followed later by any other member of his household. In (iv) and (v) the rabbit is playing a lone hand in his dealings with the bamboo rat. In (vi) and (vii), however, we are reminded that the grass grew up again during Dahpa's short absence from the farm, and in (viii) we have the picture of the ants gnawing at the base of the tower while Dahpa and his helpers are busy building at the summit. The last three examples quoted show that the temporary absence referred to is not necessarily that of the speaker or narrator. Even when the pronominal prefix 'ka-' is used, the following verbal prefix 'na-' may refer to the temporary absence of some other person, e.g. 'ka na pai ding hi' *I will go on ahead* (without either the

person addressed or some third person). It is to be noted that *to go on ahead* in this sense is not equivalent to *to go in front*, where the appropriate prefix would be 'ma-'.

'ki-' with a following indicative verb form usually calls for translation by what are frequently called 'passive' or 'reflexive' constructions in English, e.g.

ki it ni	<i>let us love one another</i>
a ki ci hi	<i>it is called</i>
ka ki sat kha	<i>I hit myself by mistake</i>
amau gel a ki it uh hi	<i>they love one another</i>

In some cases, e.g. 'kisa' *to feel*, 'kikou' *to call out*, *to exclaim*, the most convenient English translation happens to be neither 'passive' nor 'reflexive', but French usage, for example, would maintain the correspondence.

With a following subjunctive verbal form the sense to be conveyed by the translation is that of an action performed for or on behalf of someone else; cf.

sial ki go pen	<i>the mithan that was killed</i>
hausapa sial a ki gawh hi	<i>a mithan was killed for the head-man</i>

#### *The syllabic structure of prefixes*

Prefixes are distinguished from all other classes of word or affix by the fact that they are never stressed. Syllable structure is always open, i.e. an initial consonant followed by a short vowel, or a short vowel by itself, with no final consonant. Since there is no contrast in this class of words between long and short vowels or between continuant and stopped finals, quantity and syllable-closure are not statable as elements in their phonological structure. The limited range of consonants and vowels in the prefixes discussed above is perhaps not phonologically significant in view of the few members of the class recorded, but it is noted that, as far as the material goes, vowels are restricted to two, an open central vowel [a] and a close front vowel [i].

Prefixes are regarded as toneless, since variations in pitch, which are in any case slight, are never significant in the same way as the pitch of words held to have a tone. The pitch of a prefix is commonly high in relation to the pitch of the following word. In a sequence of two prefixes the first is usually higher than the second.

B. *Suffixes*

Three kinds of suffix are distinguished, namely *nominal*, *pro-nominal*, and *nomino-verbal*.

*Nominal suffixes*

The nominal suffixes occurring in the texts are 'na', 'te', and 'pa'. Others which came to light in the course of investigation are 'nu' and 'a'. Such suffixes are exclusive to nominal figures, and their presence after a verbal sequence has the effect of nominalizing the sequence. Compare, for example, the following two sentences:

inn sung ah / kua / om hiam?

*Who is in the house?*

inn sung / a om pa / kua hiam?

*Who is the person who is in the house?*

In the second sentence the figure 'a om pa' *the person who is present* is nominalized by the presence of the nominal suffix 'pa' after the verbal sequence 'a om'.

Other examples from the texts are:

sa a muat loh na ding

*for the sake of the-meat-not-going-bad (i.e. in order that the meat might not go bad) (I 24)*

lopa a ki kho khia sa te

*the grass-which-had-been-weeded-out-already (I 15)*

lam na ding

*for the sake of the dancing (i.e. so that they might dance) (I 25)*

The nominal suffix 'na' -na:, which is perhaps to be regarded as in origin the oblique form of 'na' ~na: *thing, object*, has a special stress and pitch relationship of the "1 type (see p. 58) with any following word, usually a nominal auxiliary, in the same figure. Two of the sentences cited above illustrate this. When the suffix is final in the figure, as in 'a bual bual na' *his splashing about* (I 26),

it is stressed, fully long, and has the pitch contour appropriate to the context (see p. 55).

The suffixes 'pa', 'te', 'a', and 'nu' are all regarded as having Tone 1, and are usually pronounced with a rising pitch, and in prepausal position with quite marked glottal closure (see p. 60). Nouns preceding 'te' are always in the direct form, whereas those preceding 'pa', 'nu', and 'a' are always in the oblique form (see also p. 60).

## EXAMPLES:

~ā ma' ~ā hi:	<i>it is he</i>
~ā ma: a: ~ā hi:	<i>it is his</i>
~kei ma: a: ~ā hi:	<i>it is mine</i>
~ā ma: a: di:ŋ	<i>for his own</i>
~da' pa: a: ~ā hi:	<i>it is Dahpa's</i>
~ga:l te:	<i>enemies</i>
~ga:l pa:	<i>an enemy</i>
~u:	<i>older brother or sister</i>
~u: pa:	<i>older brother</i>
~u: nu:	<i>older sister</i>

When the suffixes nominalize a preceding verbal sequence, the verb forms before 'pa' and 'te' are indicative, whereas before 'pa' they are always subjunctive. (See examples already cited on pp. 100-1.)

When the context demands an oblique form for a nominal construction with a final nominal suffix, the suffix shows this oblique form in the regular way, just as would the second syllable of a disyllabic noun (see p. 70), e.g. ~ga:l te: *enemies*, but ~ga:l te: ~wi: *the enemies' dog*.

*Pronominal suffixes*

Pronominal suffixes are, on the whole, rare in the narrative style. One of the features distinguishing the narrative from the colloquial style is the far greater incidence of pronominal suffixes in the latter. The pronominal suffixes in use in the colloquial style are described in some detail in the section of this study that deals with the colloquial style (see pp. 107-13).

In the narrative texts, the most frequent example of the class is

the pluralizing suffix 'uh', which is found in both verbal and nominal figures. Instances of its use in the texts are numerous: e.g. (in a nominal figure) 'a lo uh ah' *to their farm* (I 8); (in a verbal figure) 'a tai zel uh' *they scolded him vigorously* (I 1).

Another example of a pronominal suffix in the texts is 'cin' in 'en le cin' *if you look* (II 5a). As has been previously pointed out, the style of the speaker of the second text was closer to colloquial usage than that of the speaker of the first text.

#### *Nomino-verbal suffixes*

Nomino-verbal suffixes are those which are found affixed to both nouns and verbs, in both nominal and verbal figures. They differ from nominal suffixes in that the latter exercise a nominalizing effect on any preceding verbal sequence by making it part of a nominal, never a verbal, figure. The presence of a nomino-verbal suffix has no effect on the status of the figure of which it is a constituent.

A common example of the class in the texts is 'pi', which is always pronounced with a rising pitch, and with marked final glottal closure in pre-pausal position (see p. 60). Another example is 'pih', which may perhaps be regarded as a variant of 'pi' (see p. 103).

#### EXAMPLES:

Affixed to nouns, in nominal figures:

a ci pumpi	<i>the skin all over his body</i> (I 26) (cf. 'ci' <i>skin</i> 'pum' <i>body</i> )
lampi	<i>high road</i> (II 1) (cf. 'lam' <i>road</i> )
bilpi	<i>rabbit</i> (I 34) (cf. 'bil' <i>ear</i> )
khapi	<i>moon</i> (cf. 'kha' <i>month</i> )
a innkuan pih te	<i>his whole family</i> (I 3)

Affixed to verbs, in verbal figures:

takpi	<i>really, indeed, truly</i> (I 18) (cf. 'tak' <i>to be</i> <i>true</i> )
tampi	<i>many</i> (cf. 'tam' <i>to be much</i> )

#### *The syllabic structure of suffixes*

It is noteworthy that the instances in the texts of nominal and nomino-verbal suffixes are all V or CV structures, and that all of

them except 'pih' are long syllables with an accompanying Tone 1. 'Pih' in the texts is never final in the figure, being always found before a following nominal suffix. Further material might eliminate this apparent exception by justifying the interpretation of 'pih' as the oblique form of 'pi' with figure-final glottalization marking the boundary of a 'figure within a figure' (see p. 61).

Pronominal suffixes do not appear to align themselves with the other two types phonologically. Both (C)V and (C)VC structures are found, the former with either gradual or abrupt syllable ending, e.g. 'ni', 'uh', 'teh', the latter with gradual syllable ending only, e.g. 'ing', 'in', 'cin', and with contrastive vowel length, e.g. 'ung' ~uŋ and 'nung' ~nuŋ (see pp. 109-11).

### C. Particles

Particles are of four kinds: *sentence particles*, which are always final in the sentence; *phrase particles*, which are of two kinds, *phrase-final* (pp.) and *figure-linking* (fp.), the latter being always found in the body of the phrase; *post-nominal particles*, which are always found at the end of a nominal figure.

#### *Sentence particles*

The sentence particles occurring in the narrative texts are 'hi', 'leh', and 'le' (see pp. 30, 105). Others appropriate to the narrative style are 'hiam', 'hia'. In the less formal style, we find many other particles and particle groups, such as 'dia', 'diam', 'eita', 'la', 'mah tawh', 'veh e', and forms fused with pronominal suffixes (see pp. 107-8, 112).

#### *Phrase-final particles*

In addition to the sentence particles already listed, which are co-terminous with the phrase-final particles for the last phrase of any sentence, 'in', 'a', and 'pen' occur as phrase-final particles in the texts (see p. 41).

#### *Figure-linking particles*

The two figure-linking particles occurring in the narrative texts are 'leh' and 'zong', which have been discussed at some length as a characteristic of phrases (see p. 41). 'in' and 'la' appear to be used in a similar way in the colloquial style (see p. 107).



*Post-nominal particles*

The texts show frequent examples of the post-nominal particles 'tawh' and 'ah'. These are always a mark of a nominal figure and are always final in such figures.

## EXAMPLES:

a tu tawh	<i>with his hoe</i> (I 2)
pialkhang ah	<i>in the inner room</i> (I 4)
a kua ah	<i>in his hole</i> (I 32)
a khe lang khat ah	<i>to one of his legs</i> (II 3)
ni sa ah	<i>in the sunlight</i> (I 35)

A further post-nominal particle occurring, not in the texts presented, but in my other material, is 'pan' *from*, as in 'a mawh na uh pan' *from their sins*.

*The syllabic structure of particles*

The statement of the phonological structure of particles presents special problems since so many of their phonetic characteristics may be linked in some way with the larger structures of which they are a part.

The relation of the pitch features of particles to these larger structures has already been discussed (see pp. 33 ff., 54), and the pitch variation of particles is such that it may be doubted whether tone can usefully be described as entering into their structure as syllables. It appears preferable to treat them as toneless in themselves and to interpret the pitch contours with which they are uttered as the expression of the intonation appropriate to larger structures.

Vowel length and the presence or absence of a final glottal stop present similar problems of phonological interpretation. On the face of it, the structure of particles appears to be limited in much the same way as that of suffixes as far as phonematic units, syllable-closure, and quantity are concerned. Both (C)V:~ ('hi', 'a') and (C)V'' ('leh', 'tawh') are found, with quantity and syllable-closure linked, as is regularly the case in stressed syllables of this type (see pp. 27-28). (C)Vc~ occurs either long or short ('in', 'pen'), but (C)Vc' never. Occasional unusual pronunciations such as ɿɛ:ʔ (I 6) for the sentence particle elsewhere pronounced ɿɛʔ or ɿɛʔ,

and ɿa: (I 27a) instead of ɿaʔ or ɿaʔ for the post-nominal particle, suggest that the presence or absence of final glottal stop, together with accompanying shortness or length of vowel, are perhaps also best interpreted as sentence-, phrase-, or figure-final features rather than as elements of syllable structure. Such an interpretation would enable us formally to identify the ɿɛ: of 'le cin' (II 5) and the colloquial conditional conjugation (see p. 111) with the more common form 'leh', but in the absence of further corroborative material, especially as regards the other phrase and sentence particles, the manner of syllable-closure is posited in this study as an element of the syllabic structure of phrase and sentence particles, and not as a property of phrases or sentences as a whole.

Since vowel length is very variable in particles of the structure (C)V, quantity is not regarded as a phonological feature of such syllables. For particles of the structure (C)Vc on the other hand, vowel length is constant, and quantity must therefore be regarded as an element of the syllabic structure of such forms.

## VI

## THE COLLOQUIAL STYLE

As has already been observed (see p. 69) the citational figures which may be constituents of predicative phrases consist of passages of direct speech. Such passages may comprise one or more sentences in the colloquial style. There are some dozen such sentences in the texts under examination. So small a body of material clearly cannot form the basis of a detailed description of colloquial Chin, but it does nevertheless demonstrate some of the ways in which the colloquial differs from the narrative style that is the principal concern of this study.

For ready reference, the sentences in direct speech in the texts are assembled below:

- (a) 'Tuni in, kuan mah ning in, hi ci khawh ning.'  
*Today I really will go to work, and will cultivate like this.* (I 2)
- (b) 'Hawi!'  
*Ho, there!* (I 5)
- (c) 'Inn ah mi khat in hong sam.'  
*There is someone in the house calling to me.* (I 5)
- (d) 'Mi ih sak leh zubei hi khong veh e.'  
*I thought there was a man there, but it was only a beer pot after all.* (I 6)
- (e) 'Bang thu hi peuh mah hiam?'  
*What is going on?* (I 13)
- (f) 'Pang ning.'  
*I shall lie in wait and see.* (I 13)
- (g) 'Dahpa lo khawh loh bang hen.'  
*Let Dahpa's field be as if it had not been cultivated.* (I 14)
- (h) 'Ka lo cing pi khawh sa suak hen oh.'  
*Oh, let the whole of my field become cultivated already!* (I 17)
- (j) 'Nui nui kei un la, na khuang un tum un la, lam un.'  
*Don't go on laughing, but beat your drums and dance.* (I 32a)

- (k) 'Bui aw, pu Dahpa in, "Tu a hong pai kei leh, a kua ah tui sa sung ding hing," ci hi.'  
*O bamboo rat! Lord Dahpa says, 'If he doesn't come home at once, I shall pour boiling water down his hole.'* (I 34)
- (l) 'Ka khuang ka lak kik zawh na ding in, tau sang ka lam ding hi.'  
*In order to get back my drum, I shall build a high tower.* (I 37)
- (m) 'Mihing ganhing, zusa vasa, miksi thovai in hong awi un.'  
*All living creatures, men, animals, birds and insects give me your consent.* (I 37)

An examination of the scanty material at our disposal focuses attention on a number of features which serve to differentiate the colloquial from the narrative style, namely:

- (i) the richer variety of particles and particle groups;
- (ii) the elaborate use of pronominal suffixes in verbal figures, balanced by the relatively infrequent use of pronominal prefixes in such figures;
- (iii) different usage as to mood;
- (iv) a tendency for certain particles and affixes to 'fuse' with other elements;
- (v) new word classes.

(i) *Richer variety of particles and particle groups.* In the sentences cited we find 'la', 'veh e', 'hiam', and, possibly, 'khong'. In other material collected on the colloquial style I find 'ven', 'aw leh', 'hia', 'ei ta', 'mah tau', 'tam'. There are doubtless many more.

'la' in sentence (j), which is pronounced on a level or high rising pitch, serves to link the simple sentences that compose a compound sentence, and indicates that the sentences preceding it are inconclusive in much the same way as 'leh' in the narrative style. The mood of the sentences is, however, indicative, not subjunctive.

In sentence (a) we find 'in' functioning as a figure-linking particle, binding the preceding and following verbal figures. In the narrative style 'in' with falling intonation functions more commonly as a phrase-final particle (see pp. 35-36).

Both 'veh e' and 'khong' are used to express the emotion of surprise or unexpectedness. There is sometimes a stress-pitch relationship of the type described on p. 58 with the preceding verb, e.g. 'na veh e' -nã -vɛ<sup>9</sup> -ɛ: (*Stop it, it hurts!* (cf. -nax: *to hurt*). Consider

also: 'pai veh e' *So he's gone after all*, 'sa lua veh e' *But it's too hot!* (e.g. of a bath). One may also say: 'sa lua khong' *It's too hot*. The effect here is rather less forceful than when 'veh e' is used. Both 'khong' and 'veh e' may be used together to form a final particle group, e.g. 'sa lua khong veh e'.

'hiam' in sentence (e) is an interrogative final particle common to both narrative and colloquial styles. 'hia' is used in the same way, e.g. 'bang na cih na a hia?' *What is your meaning, i.e. what do you mean?*

'ei ta' ㄝㄨㄞ ㄊㄚˊ is an interrogative particle group proper to the colloquial style, e.g. 'bang laibu ei ta?' *What book is it?* A more formal way of framing the same question would be 'bang laibu a hi?'

'aw leh' and 'sin aw leh', with the intonation patterns [ˀˀ] and [ˀˀˀ], are used in the colloquial style as imperative particle groups, e.g. 'ci (sin) aw leh' *Tell!*; 'pai (sin) aw leh' *Go!*

'ven' appears in my material after the verb 'hi' *to be* with a ˀˀ stress-pitch relationship, and is used to close sentences giving a statement of a reason or answer to some question. The following question and answer from a religious tract illustrate this:

Zeisu hong hon pa na cih, bang na cih na a hia?

*What do you mean when you call Jesus our Saviour?*

Mi hing te a mawh na u pan, a hon khia ding a, Zeisu hong pai hi ven.

*I mean that (lit. it is that) Jesus comes in order to save men from their sins.*

'tam' is an interrogative particle in the colloquial style, e.g. 'ka pai tam?' *Shall I go?*

'mah tau' is a final particle group used in some interrogative sentences, e.g. 'pai ni te mah tau?' *Are you going to go?* 'mah' is perhaps to be associated with the very common adverb with the same pronunciation, but as the two syllables are always together when used in this context it appears best to deal with them together in the absence of further material.

(ii) *The use of pronominal suffixes.* The use of pronominal suffixes, where the narrative style would commonly use a pronominal prefix before and a sentence particle after the verb, is perhaps the most

characteristic mark of the colloquial as opposed to the narrative style.

In sentences (a) and (f) we have 'ning' where the narrative style would have 'ka — ding hi'; in sentences (g) and (h) we have the third person singular imperative suffix 'hen', and in (j) and (m) the second person plural imperative suffix 'un'. By contrast, in sentence (l) the regular narrative form 'ka lam ding hi' is used, instead of the colloquial 'lam ning'. I did not at the time inquire as to the reason for this but it may be that Dahpa in making his resolve to build a tower to reach the sun uses the more formal style as in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion.

The instances in the texts, supplemented by other material I was able to collect, whilst not presenting anything like a complete picture of the pronominal suffixation possibilities of the language, offer at least a glimpse of them. It will be observed that the use of a pronominal suffix almost always precludes the use of a pronominal prefix in the same verbal figure. An exception is the pluralizing suffix 'uh', which must therefore be classed apart from the other pronominal suffixes. From the limited material at my disposal one seems to discern what may be regarded as different verbal conjugations, differing from each other in their pronominal suffixes only. I shall refer to these conjugations tentatively as *general, negative general, future, assertive, imperative, negative imperative, and conditional*, and shall set them out as comprehensively as the material allows, with the corresponding narrative forms alongside for comparison:

	COLLOQUIAL STYLE	NARRATIVE STYLE
	<i>General Conjugation</i>	
1st P.S.	v. 1 ing [-iŋ]	ka v. 1 hi
2nd P.S.	„ teh [-teʔ]	na „ „
3rd P.S.	„ (no suffix)	a „ „
1st P.P.	„ hang [-haŋ]	ka „ uh hi
(inclusive)		
1st P.P.	„ ung [-uŋ]	i „ hi „
(exclusive)		
2nd P.P.	„ uh te [-uʔ -teʔ]	na „ uh „
3rd P.P.	„ uh [-uʔ, or -uʔ]	a „ uh „

Translation: *I am (going), I (went); you are (going), you (went), &c.*

*Negative General Conjugation* (see also p. 112)

1st P.S.	v. <sup>1</sup> keng [-ken]	ka v. <sup>1</sup> kei hi, &c.
2nd P.S.	„ keng teh [-ken _tɛʔ]	
3rd P.S.	„ kei [-kei]	
1st P.P.	„ khang [-xan]	
(inclusive)		
1st P.P.	„ kei ung [-kei ~uŋ]	
(exclusive)		
2nd P.P.	„ kei uh te [-kei _uʔ _tɛʔ]	
3rd P.P.	„ kei uh [-kei _uʔ]	

Translation: *I'm not (going), I didn't (go), &c.*

*Imperative Conjugation*

2nd P.S.	v. <sup>1</sup> in [-in]
3rd P.S.	„ hen [-hɛ:n]
1st P.P.	„ ni [-ni:]
(inclusive)	
2nd P.P.	„ un [-un]

Translation: *(Go)! Let him (go)! &c.*

*Negative Imperative Conjugation* (see also p. 112)

2nd P.S.	v. <sup>1</sup> ken [-ken]
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Translation: *Don't (go)!*

*Future Conjugation*

1st P.S.	v. <sup>1</sup> ning [-niŋ]	ka v. <sup>1</sup> ding hi, &c.
2nd P.S.	„ ni teh [-ni _tɛʔ]	
3rd P.S.	„ in teh [-in _tɛʔ]	
1st P.P.	„ ni [-ni:]	
(inclusive)		

1st P.P.	v. <sup>1</sup> nung [-nu:ŋ]
(exclusive)	
2nd P.P.	„ nu teh [-nũ _tɛʔ]
3rd P.P.	„ un teh [-un _tɛʔ]

Translation: *I will (go), I intend to (go), &c.*

*Conditional Conjugation* (see also p. 112)

1st P.S.	v. <sup>1</sup> leng [-leŋ]	ka v. <sup>11</sup> leh, &c.
2nd P.S.	„ le teh, le cin [-le: _tɛʔ, ~le: ~cin]	
3rd P.S.	„ leh [-leʔ]	
1st P.P.	„ leng [-le:ŋ]	
(inclusive)		
2nd P.P.	„ le uh cin [-le: _uʔ ~cin] or le uh teh [-le: _uʔ _tɛʔ]	
3rd P.P.	„ uh leh [-uʔ ~leʔ]	

Translation: *If I (go), &c.*

There is a form 'hing' [-hi:ŋ] in sentence (k) which suggests that there is also an assertive conjugation. (See following section.)

(iii) *Difference of usage as regards mood.* The conditional conjugation mentioned in the preceding section demonstrates a difference of mood between the narrative and the colloquial styles. In the conditional conjugation the verb is in Form I, that is to say, verbal figures containing a conditional verbal construction (i.e. verb+conditional pronominal suffix) are in the indicative mood, whereas in corresponding constructions in the narrative style the verb is always in Form II (see pp. 30, 32), i.e. the verbal figure is subjunctive in mood.

It has already been noted that inconclusive sentences in the colloquial style may be indicative in mood (see p. 107), whereas such sentences in the narrative style are always subjunctive. Compare also such special usages as the Form II in 'hi ci khawh ning' *I will cultivate it like this* in sentence (a), with an alternative construction with the same meaning 'hi bang in kho ning', in which the verb is in Form I. After the expression 'hi ci' Form II

of the verb is regularly used, while after 'hi bang in' it is always Form I.

(iv) 'Fusion' of elements. In the colloquial style a pronominal suffix frequently takes the place of a sentence-final particle in the narrative style as the last element of the sentence (see p. 108). In some cases there is what may be regarded as a 'fusion' of the particle we should expect in the narrative style and the appropriate pronominal suffix, which gives rise to a new suffixed form. The forms of the negative conjugation listed above are in this sense fusions of the adverb of negation 'kei' and pronominal suffixes, the conditional forms of the sentence particles 'leh' or 'le' and suffixes, and the assertive of 'hi' and suffix. Since there is often no suffix for the third person singular, there can be no fusion in such cases, e.g. 'pai leh', 'pai kei', &c., beside 'pei leng', 'pai keng' (see pp. 110-11). The future conjugation suggests that it might be regarded as fusion of some future particle beginning with a nasal and the pronominal suffixes. Other fused forms noted in the material collected are as follows:

~dia, ~diam	for ~di:ŋ ~hia, ~di:ŋ ~hiam
~ken, ~naŋ, ~ã~man, ~en, &c.	„ ~kei ~in, ~naŋ ~in, ~ã~ma: ~in, ~ei ~in, &c.
~naŋ	„ ~nä ~di:ŋ (ns+na)
~te:n	„ ~te: (ns) ~in (see p. 35)
~koŋ, ~noŋ	„ ~kä~hoŋ, ~nä ~hoŋ (see following section)
~kei ~ta:, &c.	„ ~kei ~ei ~ta:, &c.

With regard to this last, compare

~ci: ~nei ~ta:	What did you say?
~ci: ~kei ~ta:	What did I say?
~ci: ~ei ~ta:	What did he say?
~ci: ~i ~hiai ~ta:	What did we say?
~ci: ~ü ~ei ~ta:	What did they say?
~ci: ~nei ~ta: ~ua	What did you (pl.) say?

A number of points of interest arise here, each calling for further investigation, e.g. the form 'hiai', the prefix 'u' which is presumably to be associated with the pluralizing suffix 'uh', and the form 'ua' suffixed after the particle, and perhaps also to be associated with 'uh'.

(v) *New word-classes*. In colloquial texts we find a new class of words for which the term *exclamator* (*x*) will be used. Since such words are independent, and may be co-terminous with figures, phrases, and sentences, it is also necessary to postulate *exclamatory figures* (*X*) and *exclamatory phrases* (*X*). Examples of exclamators in the texts are 'hawi', 'oh', and 'aw'. In 'hawi' in sentence (b) above, sentence, phrase, figure, and word are co-terminous.

In sentences (c), (k), and (m) we find the word 'hong' or 'ong', which is very common in the colloquial style, but missing in narrative texts. One of my informants claimed that this word used to be a verb meaning 'to come' and that it is so still in the Valvum dialect near Tiddim. In present-day Tiddim Chin, however, it appears to be invariable in form, and so cannot be regarded as a verb. It is always placed before a verb, being tied to the verb in much the same way as a verbal auxiliary, but always preceding it. Its effect is to convey the notion of 'direction towards', and it may perhaps tentatively be referred to as a *preverb* (*pv*). It may be 'fused' with a pronominal prefix to form new preverbs, e.g. 'kong', 'nong'. In Valvum the meaning of 'hong' is *to come*, but in Tiddim Chin *to come* is 'hong pai'. The following sentences illustrate the use of the preverbs:

	a hong sat hi	he (came and) beat me
(rather formal)	kong pai ding hi	I shall be coming
(colloquial)	hong pai ning	I shall be coming
	nong pai ding hi	you will be coming
	na lo kong khawh sak hi	I've dug your field for you
	kong mat sak hi	I've caught it for you
	zan a nong sial zuak	the mithan you sold me yesterday . . .

### Grammatical Analysis of the Colloquial Material

A provisional grammatical analysis of the colloquial sentences in the texts is appended below. The syllabic analysis will be found in the following section on pp. 120-37. A reminder of the notational conventions used will be found on pp. 118-20.

(a)	<sup>ns</sup>	~tu:	~ni:	~in	~kuan	~ma <sup>o</sup>	~niŋ	~in	~hi:	~ci	~xo <sup>o</sup>	~niŋ
		n. <sup>o</sup>	n. <sup>o</sup>	pp.	v. <sup>1</sup>	a.	ps.	fp.	n.	?	v. <sup>11</sup>	ps.
		N <sup>o</sup>				V <sup>1</sup>					V <sup>11</sup>	
		A <sup>o</sup>									P <sup>11</sup>	

The first phrase is adjunctive by virtue of the rising pitch on the

particle 'in' (see p. 51). The two verbal figures are linked as figures within the same predicative phrase by the use of 'in' as a connective particle after the first 'ning' (see p. 107). The falling pitch of the figure-linking particle 'in' is interpreted as high-low intonation linking the two figures in the phrase. Although there is no phrase final particle here such as is found in the narrative style, the phrase itself is held to have rising intonation, realized by the rise in pitch of the final pronominal suffix. On the material available, it is not possible to establish the word-class to which 'ci' in this sentence belongs.

- (b) <sup>h</sup> -hə:i  
 x.  
 X  
 X'

Syllable tone, rising phrase intonation, and high sentence intonation are realized simultaneously by the rising pitch of 'hawi' in this exclamatory sentence (cf. p. 113).

- (c) <sup>ni</sup> -in -a<sup>o</sup> -mi: -xat -in -hoŋ -sam  
 n. pnp. n. q. pp. pv. v.<sup>1</sup>  
 N<sup>u</sup> N<sup>i</sup> V<sup>1</sup>  
 S<sup>-</sup>→ ←P<sup>-1</sup>

- (d) <sup>hs</sup> -mi: -i -sak -le:<sup>o</sup> <sup>ni</sup> -zū -be:i -hi -xoŋ -ve<sup>o</sup> -e:  
 n. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> sp. n. n. v.<sup>1</sup> sp. sp.  
 N V<sup>u-s</sup> N<sup>u-s</sup> V<sup>1</sup> P<sup>-s</sup> P<sup>1-s-1</sup>

The above sentence is a compound one consisting of an inconclusive sentence closed by the particle 'le' followed by a conclusive sentence closed by the particle group 'khong veh e' (see pp. 107-8).

- (e) <sup>ii</sup> -baŋ -thu: -hi -peu<sup>o</sup> -ma<sup>o</sup> -hiam  
 n. n. v.<sup>1</sup> a. sp.  
 N V<sup>u-1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

- (f) <sup>ni</sup> -paŋ -niŋ  
 v.<sup>1</sup> ps.  
 V<sup>1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

- (g) <sup>ni</sup> -da<sup>o</sup> -pa: -lou -xə<sup>o</sup> -sa:<sup>o</sup> -xə<sup>o</sup> -lou<sup>o</sup> -baŋ -he:n  
 n. n. v.<sup>11</sup> a. v.<sup>11</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> ps.  
 N<sup>i</sup> N V<sup>1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

- (h) <sup>hi</sup> -kä -lou -ci:ŋ -pi:<sup>o</sup> -xə<sup>o</sup> -sa:<sup>o</sup> -suak -he:n -ou<sup>o</sup>  
 ppf. n. q. nvs. v.<sup>11</sup> a. v.<sup>1</sup> ps. x.  
 N<sup>u-s</sup> N<sup>i</sup> V<sup>1</sup> X<sup>1</sup>

In the above sentence, the exclamator at the end is pronounced with great vigour. Its presence intensifies the whole sentence, which is thus to be regarded as exclamatory in type. The high pitch of the exclamator is regarded as the simultaneous exponent of rising phrase intonation, and of high sentence intonation.

- (j) <sup>ni</sup> -nu:i -nu:i -kei -un -la -nä -xuaŋ -u<sup>o</sup> -tum -un -la  
 v.<sup>11</sup> a. ps. fp. ppf. n. ps. v.<sup>1</sup> ps. fp.  
 V<sup>11</sup> N<sup>u-s</sup> V<sup>1</sup> P<sup>11-s</sup>

- la:m -un  
 v.<sup>1</sup> ps.  
 V<sup>1</sup> (P<sup>11-s</sup>)

My informant explained that Dahpa uses the plural suffix 'un' in the above sentence in order to soften his rebuke. By using the plural form he avoids explicitly singling out the bamboo-rat from the others. The pitch-leaps at the boundaries of the constituent figures of this phrase, which are linked by the particle 'la', give rise to a complex sequence of figure-linking intonation patterns (see pp. 36-39). The intonation for the phrase as a whole is held to be falling.

Passage (k) is of unusual interest in that it exemplifies a passage of direct speech within a passage of direct speech. The passage as a whole functions as a citational figure within a predicative phrase in sentence 34. It consists of two sentences the second of which itself contains a citational figure. The first sentence is a short exclamatory one with low sentence intonation, viz.:

- <sup>i</sup> -bui -ə:  
 n. x.  
 X  
 X'

The second sentence is analysed as of the SP type as follows:

" -pu: -da<sup>o</sup> -pa: -in "tu: -ä-hoŋ -pai -kel -le<sup>o</sup>  
*n. n.*  
*N S<sup>~</sup>* *Q P<sup>~1</sup>*

-ä -kua -a<sup>o</sup> -tu:l -sa: -suŋ -di:ŋ -hi:ŋ" -ci: -hi:  
*v.<sup>1</sup> sp.*  
*(Q) V<sup>1</sup>*  
*(P<sup>~1</sup>)*

Note that in the absence of a pronominal prefix before 'ci' the expected pronominal concord between the two phrases (see p. 32) cannot be said to obtain here. The citational figure within the predicative phrase itself is further analysed as a compound sentence consisting of an inconclusive sentence closed by the particle 'leh', followed by a conclusive sentence (see p. 30).

" tu: -ä -hoŋ -pai -kel -le<sup>o</sup> " -ä -kua -a<sup>o</sup>  
*n. ppf. pv. v.<sup>11</sup> a. sp. ppf. n. pnp.*  
*N V<sup>11-1</sup> N<sup>11-1</sup>*  
*P<sup>~1</sup>*

-tu:l -sa: -suŋ -di:ŋ -hi:ŋ  
*n. v.<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> va. sp.+ps.*  
*N V<sup>1</sup>*  
*P<sup>~1</sup>*

Note the levelling intonation of 'a hong pai' (cf. p. 55). A variant pronunciation -ä -kua -a<sup>o</sup> was also recorded for the figure 'a kua ah' (cf. pp. 104-5). For 'hing' see pp. 111, 112.

(l) " -kä -xuəŋ -kä -la:k -ki:k -zo<sup>o</sup> -nä -di:ŋ -in  
*ppf. n. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> a. v.<sup>11</sup> ns. na. pp.*  
*N<sup>11-1</sup> N<sup>11-1</sup>*  
*A<sup>1</sup>*

-taru -sa:ŋ -kä -lam -di:ŋ -hi:  
*n. v.<sup>1</sup> ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> va. sp.*  
*N V<sup>11-1</sup>*  
*P<sup>~1</sup>*

For the intonation of the adjunctive phrase see p. 51.

(m) " -mi -hiŋ -gañ -hiŋ -zü -sa: -vä -sa:  
*n. v.<sup>1</sup> n. v.<sup>1</sup> n. n. n. n.*  
*N<sup>11-1</sup>rp S<sup>~</sup> N<sup>11-1</sup>rp*

-mi:k -si: -thou -vai -in -hoŋ -oi -un  
*n. n.<sup>1</sup> pp. pv. v.<sup>1</sup> ps.*  
*N (S<sup>~</sup>) V<sup>1</sup> P<sup>~1</sup>*

Note that in the above sentence there is no pronominal prefix in the predicative phrase to concord with the preceding subjective phrase as we should expect in the narrative style (see pp. 32-33). Pronominal suffixes may, however, perhaps be regarded as fulfilling the same function in the colloquial style.

VII

THE DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

IN this section the phonological and grammatical analysis of the selected texts is set out in detail. Each sentence is displayed in five horizontal lines. The first line comprises the phonetic transcription of one of the utterances recorded for the sentence in question. The second line sets out the placed and unplaced elements of the syllables. The syllables are the placed elements of words or affixes whose grammatical designation and characteristic properties as words are shown in line three. The words and affixes in line three are the placed elements of the figures shown in line four, and these latter in turn are the placed elements of the phrases shown in line five. The phrases themselves are the placed elements of the sentence under analysis, the unplaced elements of which are shown in raised type to the right of the sentence number. The simple sentences which constitute a compound sentence (see p. 30) are marked in the texts by a lower case letter following the main sentence number, viz. 27a, 27b, &c. Figures and phrases carried forward from the preceding line are shown in parentheses.

The placed and unplaced elements of the structures analysed, their notation in the detailed analysis and the reference to the relevant descriptive passages in this study are shown below:

*Syllable structure*

<i>Placed elements</i>	<i>Notation</i>	<i>pp.</i>
Pre-nuclear phonematic units	(generalized as C only)	19, 26-27
Nuclear phonematic units	<i>i, e, a, o, u, ua, ia</i> (generalized as V)	19, 23-26
Post-nuclear phonematic units	P, T, K, L, Y, W (generalized as c)	19, 27-28
<i>Unplaced elements</i>		
Tones 1, 2, and 3	1, 2, 3,	19-20
Long and short quantity	ː, ˘	20-21
Abrupt and gradual syllable closure	ˑ, ˒	21-22

*Structure of words and affixes*

<i>Placed elements</i>		<i>pp.</i>
Syllables	V, CV, CVc, Vc	19-28
<i>Unplaced elements</i>		
Formal variation	1, 11, 0	69-71, 72-89
Intonation	ˑ, ˒	72
Stress	ˑ-	72

*Figure structure*

<i>Placed elements</i>	<i>Notation</i>	
Words, i.e. nouns, verbs, quantifiers, adverbial conjunctions, nominal auxiliaries, verbal auxiliaries, adverbs, exclaimators, preverbs	<i>n, v, q, ac, na, va, a, x, pv.</i>	69-94, 113
Affixes, i.e. pronominal prefixes, verbal prefixes, nominal suffixes, pronominal suffixes, nomino-verbal suffixes, post-nominal particles	<i>ppf, vpf, ns, ps, nus, pnp.</i>	95-104

<i>Unplaced elements</i>		
Intonation	ˑ, ˒, =, ≠	52-56
Stress	ˑ-, ˒-	58
Case	o	59-60
Mood	1, 2	59
Final glottalization	ˑ, ˒, ˑˑ	60-62
Reduplication	ˑ,	57
Pairing	p,	57
Chiming	c,	57

*Phrase structure*

<i>Placed elements</i>		
Nominal, verbal, adverbial, citational, and exclamatory figures	<i>N, V, A, Q, X</i>	33, 40-52, 113
Phrase-final particles	<i>pp.</i>	33, 41, 42, 47, 50
Figure-linking particles	<i>fp.</i>	33, 41, 43, 47
<i>Unplaced elements</i>		
Intonation	ˑ, ˒, ˑˑ, ˒˒, ˑˑˑ, ˒˒˒	33-39
Reduplication and pairing	ˑp	39
Mood	1, 2	40, 85



Sentence structure

Placed elements		<i>pp.</i>
Subjective, predicative, adjunctive, and exclamatory phrases	S, P, A, X	29-30, 113
Sentence particles	<i>sp.</i>	29, 30
Unplaced elements		
Intonation	<i>h, l, n</i>	30-31
Mood	<i>l, s</i>	32
Pronominal concord	e.g. S →, ← P	32-33

Appended to the analysis are some short notes on variant pronunciations, the interpretation of intonational features, and other points of interest in the sentences analysed.

TEXT I

	O. <sup>a</sup> Pronunciation:	<i>_da<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\pa:</i>	<i>\thu:</i>					
	Syllables:	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Cu<sup>1</sup></i>					
	Words:	<i>n.</i>	<i>n.</i>						
	Figures:		<i>N<sup>o</sup></i>						
	Phrases:		<i>S</i>						
1. <sup>11</sup>	Pron.:	<i>_da<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\pa:</i>	<i>\in</i>	<i>\lou</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\kuan</i>		
	Syll.:	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>CoW<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>CuaT<sup>1</sup></i>		
	Words:	<i>n.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>			
	Figs.:	<i>N</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>V<sup>1</sup>-1</i>			
	Phrases:	<i>S<sup>o</sup>→</i>				<i>←P<sup>1</sup></i>			
	Pron.:	<i>\nuam</i>	<i>\kei</i>	<i>\a:</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\in</i>	<i>\kuan</i>		
	Syll.:	<i>CuaP<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CeY<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>iT<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CuaT<sup>3</sup></i>		
	Words:	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>n.</i>			
	Figs.:	<i>(V<sup>1</sup>-1)</i>				<i>N<sup>1</sup></i>			
	Phrases:		<i>(←P<sup>1</sup>)</i>			<i>S<sup>o</sup>→</i>			
	Pron.:	<i>_pi<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\te:</i>	<i>\in</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\tai</i>	<i>\zei</i>	<i>-u<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\hi:</i>
	Syll.:	<i>Ci<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ce<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>CaY<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CeL<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>u<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>o</sup></i>
	Words:	<i>ns.</i>	<i>ns.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>ps.</i>	<i>sp.</i>
	Figs.:	<i>(N<sup>1</sup>-)</i>				<i>V<sup>1</sup>-1</i>			
	Phrases:	<i>(S<sup>o</sup>)</i>				<i>←P<sup>1</sup></i>			
2. <sup>11</sup>	Pron.:	<i>-zi:ŋ</i>	<i>-saŋ</i>	<i>\tuŋ</i>	<i>-a:</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\tai</i>	<i>-u<sup>o</sup></i>	
	Syll.:	<i>CiK<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CaK<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CuK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>CaY<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>u<sup>3</sup></i>	
	Words:	<i>n.</i>	<i>ac.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>ps.</i>	<i>ps.</i>	
	Figs.:	<i>N</i>	<i>A<sup>o</sup></i>			<i>V<sup>1</sup>-1</i>			
	Phrases:		<i>A<sup>o</sup></i>			<i>A<sup>o</sup></i>			

Pron.:	<i>\clap</i>	<i>-in,</i>	<i>"\tu:</i>	<i>\ni:</i>	<i>\in</i>	<i>\kuan</i>	<i>_ma<sup>o</sup></i>
Syll.:	<i>CiaK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>Cu<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>CuaT<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>
Words:	<i>ac</i>	<i>pp.</i>					(see p. 113)
Figs.:	<i>A<sup>o</sup></i>				<i>Q</i>		
Phrases:	<i>(A<sup>o</sup>)</i>				<i>P<sup>1</sup>-1</i>		

Pron.:	<i>\niŋ</i>	<i>\in,</i>	<i>-hi:</i>	<i>_ci</i>	<i>_xə<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\niŋ<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\ci:</i>	<i>-in</i>
Syll.:	<i>CiK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>Co<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>CiK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>
Words:			(see p. 113)				<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>pp.</i>
Figs.:						<i>Q</i>		<i>V<sup>1</sup></i>
Phrases:			<i>(P<sup>1</sup>-1)</i>					

Pron.:	<i>-ä</i>	<i>_tap</i>	<i>\tuŋ</i>	<i>-teŋ</i>	<i>-u<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\tu:</i>	<i>_tə<sup>o</sup></i>
Syll.:	<i>a</i>	<i>CaP<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>CuK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CeK<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>u<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Cu<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Co</i>
Words:	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>na.</i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>ps.</i>	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>ppn.</i>
Figs.:			<i>N<sup>1</sup>-</i>					<i>N<sup>1</sup>-</i>
Phrases:								<i>P<sup>1</sup></i>

Pron.:	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\kal</i>	<i>\hi:</i>
Syll.:	<i>a</i>	<i>CaL<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>o</sup></i>
Words:	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>sp.</i>
Figs.:		<i>V<sup>1</sup>-1</i>	
Phrases:		<i>(P<sup>1</sup>)</i>	

3. <sup>11</sup>	Pron.:	<i>-zi:ŋ</i>	<i>-saŋ</i>	<i>\an</i>	<i>\ne:k</i>	<i>_xit</i>	<i>\clap</i>	<i>\in</i>
	Syll.:	<i>CiK<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CaK<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>aT<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CeK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CiT<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>CiaK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>
	Words:	<i>n.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>v.<sup>11</sup></i>	<i>v.<sup>11</sup></i>	<i>ac.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>pp.</i>
	Figs.:		<i>N</i>		<i>V<sup>11</sup></i>	<i>A<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>A<sup>o</sup></i>	
	Phrases:							

Pron.:	<i>-ä</i>	<i>\in</i>	<i>\kuan</i>	<i>_pi<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>\te:</i>	<i>\kuan</i>	<i>-mä</i>
Syll.:	<i>a</i>	<i>iT<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CuaT<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Ce<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>CuaT<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Ca</i>
Words:	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>n.</i>		<i>q.</i>	<i>ns.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>vppf.</i>
Figs.:			<i>N<sup>1</sup>-</i>			<i>V<sup>1</sup>-1</i>	
Phrases:						<i>P-1</i>	

Pron.:	<i>_sä</i>	<i>_sak</i>	<i>-a:</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>_ma<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>-nü</i>	<i>\nuŋ</i>	<i>\hi:</i>
Syll.:	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>CaK<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Ca<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Cu</i>	<i>CuK<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Ci<sup>o</sup></i>
Words:	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>n.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>ppf.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>sp.</i>	
Figs.:	<i>(V<sup>1</sup>-1)</i>			<i>N</i>		<i>V<sup>1</sup>-1</i>			
Phrases:	<i>(P-1)</i>					<i>P<sup>1</sup></i>			

4. <sup>11</sup>	Pron.:	<i>-zu:</i>	<i>-be:l</i>	<i>-tuŋ</i>	<i>\xat</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>_lu:p</i>	<i>\sim</i>	<i>\a:</i>
	Syll.:	<i>Cu<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CeL<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CuK<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CaT<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>iT<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>CuP<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>CiP<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>o</sup></i>
	Words:	<i>n.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>fp.</i>	<i>v.<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>pp.</i>
	Figs.:			<i>N<sup>o</sup></i>			<i>V<sup>1</sup></i>		
	Phrases:						<i>P<sup>1</sup>-1</i>		

Pron.: -pial -xap -a<sup>o</sup> -puan -ä -xu<sup>o</sup> -xit  
 Syll.: CiaL<sup>2</sup> CaK<sup>2</sup> a CuaT<sup>1</sup> a Cu<sup>3</sup> CiT<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: n. pnp. n. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>11</sup>  
 Figs.: N<sup>o</sup> N V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>1</sup>s

Pron.: -ciap -in -ä -ma<sup>o</sup> -zop -ä -kuan -hi:  
 Syll.: CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> a Ca<sup>3</sup> CoK<sup>1</sup> a CuaT<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: ac. pp. n.<sup>1</sup> fp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: A<sup>o</sup> N V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>1</sup>s P<sup>1</sup>

5. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -xö -ga:l -ä -tun -ciap -in "ho:l"  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>2</sup> CaL<sup>1</sup> a CuT<sup>3</sup> CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> CoY<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: n. na. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> ac. pp. (see p. 114)  
 Figs.: N<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1-1</sup> A<sup>o</sup> Q P<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>1</sup>s

Pron.: -ci: -in -dø:ŋ -zel -zal -a:  
 Syll.: Ci<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> CoK<sup>2</sup> CeL<sup>1</sup> CaL<sup>1</sup> a<sup>o</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> pp. v.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>1c</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1c1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1-1</sup>) P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -in -a<sup>o</sup> -mi: -xat -in -hog -sam" -ci:  
 Syll.: iT<sup>1</sup> a Ci<sup>1</sup> CaT<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> CoK<sup>1</sup> CaP<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: (see p. 114) v.<sup>1</sup>  
 Figs.: Q V<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>1-1</sup>

Pron.: -in -ä -cia<sup>o</sup> -kik -hi:  
 Syll.: iT<sup>1</sup> a Cia<sup>3</sup> CiK<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: pp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a. sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1-1</sup>) P<sup>1</sup>

6. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -in -ä -tun -ciap -in "mi: -i sak  
 Syll.: iT<sup>1</sup> a CuT<sup>3</sup> CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup> i CaK<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: n. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> ac. pp. (see p. 114)  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1-1</sup> A<sup>o</sup> Q  
 Phrases: A<sup>1</sup>s

Pron.: -le:<sup>o</sup> -zü -be:l -hi -xop -ve<sup>o</sup> -e:<sup>o</sup>,  
 Syll.: Ce<sup>1</sup> Cu<sup>2</sup> CeL<sup>2</sup> Ci<sup>3</sup> CoK<sup>1</sup> Ce<sup>3</sup> e<sup>o</sup>  
 Words: (see p. 114)  
 Figs.: (Q)  
 Phrases: P<sup>1-1</sup>

Pron.: -ci: -in -ä -lei<sup>o</sup> -pa<sup>o</sup> -a:<sup>o</sup> -ä -ne:<sup>o</sup> -hi:  
 Syll.: Ci<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> a CeY<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> a a Ce<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> pp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a. pp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1-1</sup> V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1-1</sup>) P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>

7. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -lou -ä -kuan -no:n -kei -hi:  
 Syll.: CoW<sup>1</sup> a CuaT<sup>1</sup> CoT<sup>3</sup> CeY<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: n. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a. a. sp.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>1</sup>

8. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -in -kuan -pi<sup>o</sup> -te: -in,  
 Syll.: iT<sup>1</sup> CuaT<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>3</sup> Ce<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>1</sup> q. ns. pp.  
 Figs.: N  
 Phrases: S<sup>1</sup>→

Pron.: -ä -tai -tai -u<sup>o</sup> -a:<sup>o</sup> -ä -so:t -pi:  
 Syll.: a CaY<sup>1</sup> CaY<sup>1</sup> u<sup>3</sup> a<sup>o</sup> a CoT<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> ps. pp. ppf. n. nus.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1-1</sup> N<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: ←P<sup>1</sup> A<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -ciap -in -da<sup>o</sup> -pa: -ä -lou -u<sup>o</sup> -a<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> a CoW<sup>1</sup> u<sup>3</sup> a  
 Words: ac. pp. n. ppf. n. ps. pnp.  
 Figs.: A<sup>o</sup> N N<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: (A<sup>1</sup>) P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -ä -vä -kuan -hi:  
 Syll.: a Ca CuaT<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: ppf. vpf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

9. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -sun -ni -lou<sup>o</sup> -in -lou -ä -xou -a:<sup>o</sup>,  
 Syll.: CuT<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>2</sup> CoW<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> CoW<sup>1</sup> a CoW<sup>1</sup> a<sup>o</sup>  
 Words: n. n.<sup>1</sup> pp. n. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: N N V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -ni -ta:k -ciap -in -ä -cia<sup>o</sup> -hi:  
 Syll.: Ci<sup>2</sup> CaK<sup>1</sup> CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> a Cia<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>1</sup> ac. pp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: N A<sup>o</sup> V<sup>1-1</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>

10. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -ä zɪŋ ɿciap -in ɿkuan ɿki:k  
 Syll.: a CiK1:~ CiK1:~ iT~ CuaT1:~ CiK1:~  
 Words: ppf. n.° ac. pp. v.1 a.  
 Figs.: N1~ A< V1  
 Phrases: A< P1

Pron.: ɿle:u ɿle:u -a: -ä ɿhi° ɿha:p -in  
 Syll.: CeW3:~ CeW3:~ a~ a Ci3~ CaK1:~ iT~  
 Words: a.1 pp. ppf. v.11 ac. pp.  
 Figs.: (V1) V1~ A< P1  
 Phrases: (P1) A<

Pron.: -ä ɿlou ɿpa: ɿxə° ɿɿat ɿsa: -tep  
 Syll.: a CoW2~ Ca1:~ Co3~ CiaT1:~ Ca1:~ CeK2:~  
 Words: ppf. n.°? ns. v.11 v.11 a. q.  
 Figs.: N1~ P1  
 Phrases: P1

Pron.: -nä -pou ɿki:k -a: ɿxə° ɿlou°  
 Syll.: Ca CoW2~ CiK1:~ a~ Co3~ CoW3~  
 Words: upf. v.1 a. pp. v.11 v.11  
 Figs.: V1~ N  
 Phrases: (P1) P1

Pron.: -ä ɿbag ɿhi:  
 Syll.: a CaK3~ Ci~  
 Words: ppf. v.1 sp.  
 Figs.: V1~  
 Phrases: (P1)

11. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: ɿsu:n ɿni ɿlou° ɿin ɿxou ɿki:k  
 Syll.: CuT3:~ Ci2:~ CoW3~ iT~ CoW1~ CiK1:~  
 Words: n. n.1~ pp. v.1 a.  
 Figs.: N V1  
 Phrases: A< P1

Pron.: ɿle:u ɿle:u -a: ɿni ɿta:k ɿciap -in  
 Syll.: CeW3:~ CeW3:~ a~ Ci2:~ CaK1:~ CiaK1:~ iT~  
 Words: a.1 pp. n.1~ ac. pp.  
 Figs.: (V1) N A< P1  
 Phrases: (P1) A<

Pron.: -ä ɿcia° ɿhi:  
 Syll.: a Cia3~ Ci~  
 Words: ppf. v.1 sp.  
 Figs.: V1~  
 Phrases: P1

12. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -ä ɿkuan ɿki:k ɿciap -in -ä ɿxə°  
 Syll.: a CuaT3:~ CiK1:~ CiaK1:~ iT~ a Co3~  
 Words: ppf. v.11 a. ac. pp. ppf. v.11  
 Figs.: V1~ A< N1~  
 Phrases: A< P1

Pron.: ɿsa: -tep ɿxə° ɿlou° -ä -nä ɿsuak  
 Syll.: Ca1:~ CeK2~ Co3~ CoW3~ a Ca CuaK1:~  
 Words: a. q. v.11 v.11 ppf. upf. v.1  
 Figs.: (N1~) N V1~  
 Phrases: (P1)

Pron.: -pa° -pa° ɿhi:  
 Syll.: Ca3~ Ca3~ Ci~  
 Words: a.1 sp.  
 Figs.: (V1~) P1  
 Phrases: (P1)

13. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -tua ɿbag -in ɿni ɿtam ɿpi: -ä  
 Syll.: Cua2:~ CaK3~ iT~ Ci2:~ CaP1~ Ci1:~ a  
 Words: n. v.1 pp. n. v.1 ns. ppf.  
 Figs.: N V1 N1~ V1~  
 Phrases: P1 A<

Pron.: ɿpian ɿxit ɿciap -in ɿda° ɿpa: ɿin  
 Syll.: CiaT3:~ CiT3~ CiaK1:~ iT~ Ca3~ Ca3~ iT~  
 Words: v.11 v.11 ac. pp. n. pp.  
 Figs.: (V1~) A< N  
 Phrases: (A<) S~

Pron.: ɿbag ɿthu: ɿhi ɿpeu° ɿma° ɿhiam°  
 Syll.: CaK3~ Cu1:~ Ci3:~ CeW3~ Ca3~ CiaP~  
 Words: (see p. 114)  
 Figs.: Q  
 Phrases: P1

Pron.: -pap ɿniŋ, ɿci: -in -ä -pap ɿhi:  
 Syll.: CaK2~ CiK1~ Ci2:~ iT~ a CaK2~ Ci~  
 Words: v.1 pp. ppf. v.1 sp.  
 Figs.: (Q) V1 V1~  
 Phrases: (P1) P1

14. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: ɿdɔ:l ɿte: ɿxat ɿin ɿlou ɿla:l -a°  
 Syll.: CoY3~ Ce1:~ CaT3~ iT~ CoW1~ CaY2:~ a  
 Words: n. ns. q. pp. n. na. pp.  
 Figs.: N N  
 Phrases: S~ P1

- Pron.:  $\backslash$ va:k -in, "da<sup>o</sup> \pa: \lou -xə<sup>o</sup> \sa:<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: CaK<sup>11</sup> iT<sup>11</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> CoW<sup>11</sup> Co<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>11</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> pp. (see p. 115)  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> Q  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: -xə<sup>o</sup> \lou<sup>o</sup> \haŋ \he:n, \ci: -in  
 Syll.: Co<sup>3</sup> CoW<sup>3</sup> CaK<sup>3</sup> CeT<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>11</sup>  
 Words: (see p. 115) v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: (Q) V<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)
- Pron.: -xuəŋ \xat -ä \tum \hi:  
 Syll.: CuaK<sup>2</sup> CaT<sup>3</sup> a CuP<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>-</sup>  
 Words: n. q. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>r</sup> V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: ←P<sup>-1</sup>
15. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -xuəŋ -ä \tum \ciaŋ -in,  
 Syll.: CuaK<sup>2</sup> a CuP<sup>3</sup> CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>11</sup>  
 Words: n. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> ac. pp.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup>-s A<sup>s</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>s</sup>
- Pron.: -lou \pa:<sup>o</sup> -ä -ki \xou \xia \sa:<sup>o</sup> \te:<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: CoW<sup>2</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> a Ci CoW<sup>1</sup> Cia<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>11</sup> Ce<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>o</sup>? ns. ppf. vpf. v.<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> a. ns.  
 Figs.: N<sup>1</sup>-s  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: \thou \nari \nari -u<sup>o</sup> -a:  
 Syll.: CoW<sup>1</sup> CaY<sup>3</sup> CaY<sup>3</sup> u<sup>3</sup> a<sup>-</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>r</sup> ps. pp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)
- Pron.: -ä -hiŋ \ki:k \hi:  
 Syll.: a CiK CiK Ci<sup>-</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a. sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>
16. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -da<sup>o</sup> \pa: \in \zoŋ \ge:m \ge:m -in  
 Syll.: Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>11</sup> CoK<sup>11</sup> CeP<sup>3</sup> CeP<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>11</sup>  
 Words: n. pp. fp. v.<sup>11</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: S<sup>-></sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

- Pron.: \dəi \pa:<sup>o</sup> -ä -bə<sup>o</sup> \a:<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: CoY<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>11</sup> a Co<sup>3</sup> a<sup>-</sup>  
 Words: n. ns. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>r</sup> V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: ←P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: -ä -xuəŋ -ä -sut \hi:  
 Syll.: a CuaK<sup>2</sup> a CuT<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>-</sup>  
 Words: ppf. n. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>1</sup>-s V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: ←P<sup>-1</sup>
17. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -da<sup>o</sup> \pa: \in -xuəŋ -ä -pa<sup>o</sup> -xit  
 Syll.: Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>11</sup> CuaK<sup>2</sup> a Ca<sup>3</sup> CiT<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: n. pp. n. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> v.<sup>11</sup>  
 Figs.: N N V<sup>1</sup>-s  
 Phrases: S<sup>-></sup> ←A<sup>s</sup>
- Pron.: \ciaŋ -in "kä \lou \ci:ŋ \pi:<sup>o</sup> -xə<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: CiaK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>11</sup> Ca CoW<sup>1</sup> CiK<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup> Co<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: ac. sp. (see p. 115)  
 Figs.: A<sup>s</sup> Q  
 Phrases: (←A<sup>s</sup>) P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: \sa:<sup>o</sup> \suak \he:n "ou<sup>o</sup>, \ci: -in -xuəŋ  
 Syll.: Ca<sup>1</sup> CuaK<sup>1</sup> CeT<sup>3</sup> oW<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>11</sup> CuaK<sup>2</sup>  
 Words: (see p. 115) v.<sup>1</sup> pp. n.  
 Figs.: (Q) V<sup>1</sup> N  
 Phrases: p<sup>-1</sup> ←P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: -ä \beŋ -a:<sup>o</sup> -ä \lou \ci:ŋ \pi:<sup>o</sup> -in,  
 Syll.: a CeK<sup>3</sup> a<sup>-</sup> a CoW<sup>1</sup> CiK<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>11</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp. ppf. n. q. nus. pp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1 N<sup>1</sup>-s  
 Phrases: (←P<sup>-1</sup>) S<sup>-></sup>
- Pron.: -xə<sup>o</sup> \sa:<sup>o</sup> -ä \suak \ki:k \tak \pi:<sup>o</sup> \hi:  
 Syll.: Co<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>1</sup> a CuaK<sup>1</sup> CiK<sup>1</sup> CaK<sup>3</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>-</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>11</sup> a. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a. v.<sup>1</sup> nus. sp.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup>-1  
 Phrases: ←P<sup>-1</sup>
18. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -tua -xit \ciaŋ -in, \an -min \sa:<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>2</sup> CiT<sup>3</sup> CiK<sup>1</sup> iT<sup>11</sup> aT<sup>1</sup> CiT<sup>2</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: n. v.<sup>11</sup> ac. pp. n. v.<sup>1</sup> a.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup> A<sup>s</sup> N<sup>r</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>s</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

19. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -ǎ ǎpe:n -a: -ǎ ǎom tak ǎpl: hi:  
Syll.: a CeT<sup>3</sup>: a a oP<sup>1</sup> CaK<sup>3</sup> Ci: Ci  
Words: p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> n<sup>s</sup>. sp.  
Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1 V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>) P<sup>-1</sup>

19. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -zū ǎxai<sup>o</sup> ǎsar<sup>o</sup> -ǎ ǎpe:n -a:  
Syll.: Cu<sup>2</sup>: CaY<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>1</sup>: a CeT<sup>3</sup>: a  
Words: n. v.<sup>1</sup> a. p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup>.  
Figs.: N<sup>1</sup>-1 V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: -ǎ -kian<sup>o</sup> -a<sup>o</sup> -ǎ ǎom pa<sup>o</sup> -a:  
Syll.: a CiaK<sup>2</sup>: a a oP<sup>1</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> a  
Words: p<sup>1</sup> na. p<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> a. p<sup>1</sup>.  
Figs.: N<sup>1</sup>-1 V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: -ǎ ǎne: pa<sup>o</sup> hi:  
Syll.: a Ce<sup>1</sup>: Ca<sup>3</sup> Ci  
Words: p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> a. sp.  
Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

20. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -da<sup>o</sup> ǎpa: -ǎ -xuaŋ -ta<sup>o</sup> -in -a<sup>o</sup>  
Syll.: Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>1</sup>: a CuaK<sup>2</sup>: Co iT<sup>1</sup> a  
Words: n. p<sup>1</sup> n. p<sup>1</sup> n. p<sup>1</sup>.  
Figs.: N N<sup>1</sup>-1 N<sup>1</sup>  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: -ǎ -cia<sup>o</sup> -a: -ǎ -dei<sup>o</sup> -peu<sup>o</sup> -peu<sup>o</sup> -xuaŋ  
Syll.: a Cia<sup>3</sup> a a CeY<sup>3</sup> CeW<sup>3</sup> CeW<sup>3</sup> CuaK<sup>2</sup>:  
Words: p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>1</sup> n.  
Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1 N<sup>1</sup>-1 N  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: ǎtum ǎkəum ǎa: -ǎ ǎge:n ǎciaŋ -in  
Syll.: CuP<sup>1</sup> CoP<sup>2</sup>: a a CeT<sup>3</sup>: CiaK<sup>1</sup>: iT<sup>1</sup>  
Words: v.<sup>1</sup> a. p<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> ac. p<sup>1</sup>.  
Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>-1 A<sup>o</sup>  
Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>) A<sup>o</sup>

Pron.: -ǎ ǎom ǎlua ǎlua hi:  
Syll.: a oP<sup>1</sup> Cua<sup>1</sup>: Cua<sup>1</sup>: Ci  
Words: p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

21. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: ǎsərt ǎlou -in -ǎ ma<sup>o</sup> -ǎ ǎha:u  
Syll.: CoT<sup>1</sup>: CoW<sup>3</sup> iT<sup>1</sup> a Ca<sup>3</sup> a CaW<sup>3</sup>  
Words: n. v.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup>. n.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup>  
Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup> N V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: -ma<sup>o</sup> -ma<sup>o</sup> hi:  
Syll.: Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> Ci  
Words: a.<sup>1</sup> sp  
Figs.: (V<sup>1</sup>-1)  
Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)

22. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -tua ǎciaŋ -in -da<sup>o</sup> ǎpa: -zū ǎnuŋ  
Syll.: Cua<sup>2</sup>: CiaK<sup>1</sup>: iT<sup>1</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> Ca<sup>3</sup> Cu<sup>2</sup>: CuK<sup>1</sup>: a:  
Words: n. ac. p<sup>1</sup>. n. v.<sup>1</sup> a  
Figs.: N A<sup>o</sup> N V<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup>  
Phrases: A<sup>o</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: -mi -hiŋ -gan -hiŋ -zū ǎsar<sup>o</sup> ǎvǎ  
Syll.: Ci<sup>3</sup>: CiK<sup>2</sup>: CaT<sup>2</sup>: CiK<sup>2</sup>: Cu<sup>1</sup>: Ca<sup>1</sup>: Ca<sup>1</sup>:  
Words: n.<sup>o</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> n. v.<sup>1</sup> n. n. n.  
Figs.: N<sup>1</sup>-1 P<sup>-1</sup>  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: ǎsar<sup>o</sup> ǎte: ǎxə:m ǎpeu<sup>o</sup> ǎzoŋ -ǎ ǎsam hi:  
Syll.: Ca<sup>1</sup>: Ce<sup>1</sup>: CeP<sup>3</sup>: CeW<sup>3</sup> CoK<sup>1</sup> a CaP<sup>1</sup>: Ci  
Words: n. n<sup>s</sup>. q. p<sup>1</sup>. p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
Figs.: (N<sup>1</sup>-1) N V<sup>1</sup>-1  
Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)

23. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -ni: -sǎ -gi<sup>o</sup> ǎtə:m ǎtuŋ ǎsar<sup>o</sup> ǎgou  
Syll.: Ci<sup>2</sup>: Ca<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>3</sup> CoT<sup>3</sup>: CuK<sup>1</sup>: Ca<sup>1</sup>: CoW<sup>3</sup>  
Words: n. q. ac. n. v.<sup>1</sup>  
Figs.: N<sup>1</sup> A<sup>o</sup> NV<sup>1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>  
Phrases: A<sup>o</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>

Pron.: ǎsar<sup>o</sup> ǎne: -zu: ǎne: ǎin  
Syll.: Ca<sup>1</sup>: Ce<sup>1</sup>: Cu<sup>2</sup>: Ce<sup>1</sup>: iT<sup>1</sup>  
Words: n. v.<sup>1</sup> n. v.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup>.  
Figs.: (NV<sup>1</sup>)  
Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)

Pron.: -ǎ -la:m ǎla:m -u<sup>o</sup> hi:  
Syll.: a CaP<sup>2</sup>: CaP<sup>2</sup>: u<sup>3</sup> Ci  
Words: p<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> p<sup>1</sup>. sp.  
Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>  
Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

24. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: /sar/ -ă /muat /lou<sup>9</sup> -nă /di:ŋ -in  
 Syll.: Ca<sup>1:~</sup> a CuaT<sup>3:~</sup> CoW<sup>3:~</sup> Ca<sup>2:~</sup> CiK<sup>1:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> ns. na. pp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>~</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>~</sup>
- Pron.: /xǒ -dam -ă /pɛ:m -a: /tu: /doŋ -in,  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>2:~</sup> CaP<sup>2:~</sup> a CeT<sup>1:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup> Cu<sup>1:~</sup> CoK<sup>1:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n. v.<sup>1</sup> ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp. n. ac. pp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>~</sup> V<sup>~</sup>-1 N A<sup>~</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup> A<sup>~</sup>
- Pron.: /kum /sim /in /phal /bi:  
 Syll.: CuP<sup>3:~</sup> CiP<sup>2:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup> CaL<sup>3:~</sup> Ci<sup>3:~</sup>  
 Words: n. q. pp. n.  
 Figs.: N<sup>~</sup> N<sup>~</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>~</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: /xǒ -dam /hun -i /nei /hi:  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>2:~</sup> CaP<sup>2:~</sup> CuT<sup>1:~</sup> i CeY<sup>3:~</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n. n. n. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: (N<sup>~</sup>) V<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)
25. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: /za:m /ciap -a: /lam -nă /di:ŋ -in  
 Syll.: CaT<sup>3:~</sup> CiaK<sup>1:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup> CaP<sup>3:~</sup> Ca<sup>2:~</sup> CiK<sup>1:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n. ac. pp. v.<sup>11</sup> ns. na. pp.  
 Figs.: N A<sup>~</sup> N<sup>~</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>~</sup> A<sup>~</sup>
- Pron.: /xǒ -va:k -ă /pɛ:m -a: /xǎ /pi:<sup>9</sup>  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>2:~</sup> CaK<sup>2:~</sup> Ca CeT<sup>3:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup> Ca<sup>1:~</sup> Ci<sup>1:~</sup>  
 Words: n. v.<sup>1</sup> ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp. n. ns.  
 Figs.: N<sup>~</sup> V<sup>~</sup>-1 N<sup>~</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup> P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: -ă /piap /hi:  
 Syll.: Ca CiaK<sup>2:~</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>)
26. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: /-taŋ /-teu<sup>9</sup> /sǎ /sem -ă /hi: -a:  
 Syll.: CaK<sup>2:~</sup> CeW<sup>3:~</sup> Ca<sup>1:~</sup> CeP<sup>1:~</sup> a Ci<sup>3:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>1</sup> n. v.<sup>1</sup> ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: N N<sup>~</sup> V<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>

- Pron.: /sǎ /lak -a: -ă /bual /bual /na: /in,  
 Syll.: Ca<sup>1:~</sup> CaK<sup>3:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup> a CuaL<sup>3:~</sup> CuaL<sup>3:~</sup> Ca<sup>2:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n. na. pnp. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> ns. pp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>~</sup> N<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: A<sup>~</sup>
- Pron.: /tu: /doŋ -in -ă -ci /pum /pi: -in  
 Syll.: Cu<sup>1:~</sup> CoK<sup>1:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup> a Ci<sup>1:~</sup> CuP<sup>1:~</sup> Ci<sup>1:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: n. ac. pp. ppf. n. n. ns. pp.  
 Figs.: N A<sup>~</sup> N<sup>~</sup>  
 Phrases: A<sup>~</sup> S<sup>-</sup>→
- Pron.: -ă -zol /hi:  
 Syll.: a CoL<sup>2:~</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: <P<sup>-1</sup>
- 27a. <sup>13</sup> Pron.: /-bai /-bek /-gual /nuam /lua  
 Syll.: CaY<sup>2:~</sup> CeK<sup>3:~</sup> CuaL<sup>2:~</sup> CuaP<sup>3:~</sup> Cua<sup>1:~</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>1</sup> v.<sup>1</sup> a.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: /-ki /sar/ -in /vok /gə:l /də:m -a:  
 Syll.: Ci Ca<sup>3:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup> CoK<sup>3:~</sup> CoL<sup>3:~</sup> CoT<sup>3:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: vpf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp. n. n. na. pnp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>~</sup>-1 N  
 Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>) P<sup>-1</sup>
- Pron.: /-tuap /kə:m -a: -ă /lam /le<sup>9</sup>,  
 Syll.: CuaK<sup>2:~</sup> CoP<sup>2:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup> a CaP<sup>3:~</sup> Ce<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> a. pp. ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>~</sup> V<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: (P<sup>-1</sup>) P<sup>-1</sup>
- 27b. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: /-kia -a: /vok /gə:l /də:m /hiam /in  
 Syll.: Cia<sup>3:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup> CoK<sup>3:~</sup> CoL<sup>3:~</sup> CoT<sup>3:~</sup> CiaP<sup>2:~</sup> iT<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> pp. n. n. na. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> N  
 Phrases: P<sup>-1</sup> S<sup>-</sup>→
- Pron.: -ă /nei /-ă /sun /si /san /a:  
 Syll.: a CeL<sup>3:~</sup> a CuT<sup>3:~</sup> Ci<sup>1:~</sup> CaT<sup>2:~</sup> a<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. n. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> n. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: N<sup>~</sup> V<sup>~</sup>-1  
 Phrases: <P<sup>-1</sup>

- Pron.:  $\acute{t}u:$   $\acute{d}oŋ$   $-in$   $-ä$   $-san$   $-lai$   $\backslash hi:$   
 Syll.:  $Cu^{1:}$   $CoK^{1:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $a$   $CaT^{2:}$   $CaY^{2:}$   $Ci^{v-}$   
 Words: *n.* *ac.* *pp.* *ppf.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *a.* *pp.*  
 Figs.: *N* *A*  $V^{v-1}$   
 Phrases:  $A^{v-}$   $P^{v-1}$
- 28a.<sup>19</sup> Pron.:  $\backslash than$   $\backslash ki:k$   $\backslash in$   $-ä$   $\backslash mei$   $-to^{\circ}$   $\backslash tha:ŋ$   
 Syll.:  $CaT^{3:}$   $CiK^{3:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $a$   $CeY^{1:}$   $Co$   $CaK^{1:}$   
 Words: *n.* *pp.* *ppf.* *n.* *ppp.* *n.*  
 Figs.: *N*  $N^{v-1}$  *N*  
 Phrases:  $S^{v-}$   $\leftarrow P^{v-3}$
- Pron.:  $-ä$   $-sia^{\circ}$   $-le^{\circ}$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $Cia^{3:}$   $Ce^{\circ}$   
 Words: *ppf.* *v.*<sup>11</sup> *sp.*  
 Figs.:  $V^{v-5}$   
 Phrases:  $(\leftarrow P^{v-5})$
- 28b.<sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $-sä$   $-xi:$   $-xat$   $\backslash o:k$   $-a:$   $-sä$   $-xi:$   $\backslash in$   
 Syll.:  $Ca^{v-}$   $Ci^{2:}$   $CaT^{3:}$   $oK^{1:}$   $a^{v-}$   $Ca^{v-}$   $Ci^{2:}$   $iT^{v-}$   
 Words: *n.*<sup>v-</sup> *q.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *pp.* *n.*<sup>v-</sup> *pp.*  
 Figs.: *N*  $V^1$  *N*  
 Phrases:  $P^{-1}$   $S^{v-}$
- Pron.:  $-ä$   $-le^{\circ}$   $\backslash lam$   $-in$   $-ä$   $-tai$   $-pi^{\circ}$   $\backslash hi:$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $Ce^{3:}$   $CaP^{1:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $a$   $CaY^{2:}$   $Ci^{3:}$   $Ci^{v-}$   
 Words: *ppf.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *pp.* *ppf.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *nv.* *sp.*  
 Figs.:  $V^{v-1}$   $V^{v-1}$   
 Phrases:  $\leftarrow P^{-1}$   $\leftarrow P^{-1}$
- 29.<sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $-tua$   $-ä$   $\backslash hi^{\circ}$   $\backslash man$   $-in$   $\backslash than$   $\backslash ki:k$   
 Syll.:  $Cua^{2:}$   $a$   $Ci^{3:}$   $CaT^{1:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $CaT^{3:}$   $CiK^{3:}$   
 Words: *n.* *ppf.* *v.*<sup>11</sup> *ac.* *pp.* *v.*<sup>11</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup>  
 Figs.: *N*  $V^{v-5}$  *A*  $Q^{\circ}$   
 Phrases:  $A^{v-}$   $P^{v-1}$
- Pron.:  $\backslash ki$   $-ci$   $\backslash den$   $\backslash hi:$   
 Syll.:  $Ci$   $Ci^{3:}$   $CeT^{3:}$   $Ci^{v-}$   
 Words: *vpf.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *a.* *sp.*  
 Figs.:  $V^{v-1}$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{v-1})$
- 30.<sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $-bul$   $\backslash in$   $-xuaŋ$   $\backslash tum$   $-in$   $\backslash lam$   
 Syll.:  $CuY^{2:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $CuaK^{2:}$   $CuP^{1:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $CaP^{3:}$   
 Words: *n.* *pp.* *n.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *pp.* *v.*<sup>11</sup>  
 Figs.: *N* *N*  $V^1$  *N*  
 Phrases:  $S^{v-}$   $P^{-1}$   $\leftarrow P^{v-1}$

- Pron.:  $-ä$   $-mä$   $\backslash ka:i$   $\backslash hi:$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $Ca$   $CaY^{3:}$   $Ci^{v-}$   
 Words: *ppf.* *vpf.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *sp.*  
 Figs.:  $V^{v-1}$   
 Phrases:  $(\leftarrow P^{v-1})$
- 31.<sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $\backslash than$   $\backslash ki:k$   $-ä$   $\backslash mu^{\circ}$   $\backslash ciaŋ$   $-in,$   
 Syll.:  $CaT^{3:}$   $CiK^{3:}$   $a$   $Cu^{3:}$   $CiaK^{1:}$   $iT^{v-}$   
 Words: *n.* *ppf.* *v.*<sup>11</sup> *ac.* *pp.*  
 Figs.: *N*  $V^{v-5}$  *A*  
 Phrases:  $A^{v-}$
- Pron.:  $-ä$   $-nu:l$   $\backslash nu:l$   $-a:$   $\backslash tu:$   $\backslash doŋ$   $-in$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $CuY^{2:}$   $CuY^{2:}$   $a^{v-}$   $Cu^{1:}$   $CoK^{1:}$   $iT^{v-}$   
 Words: *ppf.* *v.*<sup>11</sup> *pp.* *n.* *ac.* *pp.*  
 Figs.:  $V^{v-1}$  *N* *A*  
 Phrases:  $P^{-1}$   $A^{v-}$
- Pron.:  $-ä$   $\backslash mit$   $-ä$   $\backslash vu:ŋ$   $\backslash hi:$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $CiT^{3:}$   $a$   $CuK^{1:}$   $Ci^{v-}$   
 Words: *ppf.* *n.* *ppf.* *v.*<sup>1</sup> *sp.*  
 Figs.:  $N^{v-}$   $V^{v-1}$   
 Phrases:  $P^{v-1}$
- 32a.<sup>15</sup> Pron.:  $\backslash nu:l$   $-nu:l$   $\backslash kei$   $\backslash un$   $-la,$   $\backslash nä$   $\backslash xuaŋ$   
 Syll.:  $CuY^{2:}$   $CuY^{2:}$   $CeY^{1:}$   $uT^{3:}$   $Ca^{v-}$   $Ca$   $CuaK^{2:}$   
 Words: (see p. 115)  
 Figs.:  $Q$   
 Phrases:  $P^{v-1}$
- Pron.:  $\backslash u^{\circ}$   $\backslash tum$   $\backslash un$   $-la,$   $\backslash la:m$   $\backslash un^{\circ},$   $\backslash ci:$   $-a:$   
 Syll.:  $u^{3:}$   $CuP^{1:}$   $uT^{3:}$   $Ca^{v-}$   $CaP^{2:}$   $uT^{3:}$   $Ci^{3:}$   $a^{v-}$   
 Words: (see p. 115) *v.*<sup>1</sup> *pp.*  
 Figs.:  $(Q)$   $V^1$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{v-1})$
- Pron.:  $\backslash da^{\circ}$   $\backslash pa:$   $\backslash in$   $-bul$   $-ä$   $\backslash tai$   $\backslash le^{\circ},$   
 Syll.:  $Ca^{3:}$   $Ca^{3:}$   $iT^{v-}$   $CuY^{2:}$   $a$   $CaY^{3:}$   $Ce^{\circ}$   
 Words: *n.* *pp.* *n.* *ppf.* *v.*<sup>11</sup> *sp.*  
 Figs.: *N* *N*  $V^{v-5}$   
 Phrases:  $S^{v-}$   $\leftarrow P^{v-5}$
- 32b.<sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $\backslash nuak$   $-a:$   $-ä$   $-xuaŋ$   $-to^{\circ}$   $-ä$   $\backslash kua$   $-a^{\circ}$   
 Syll.:  $CuaK^{1:}$   $a^{v-}$   $a$   $CuaK^{2:}$   $Co$   $a$   $Cua^{3:}$   $a$   
 Words: *v.*<sup>1</sup> *pp.* *ppf.* *n.* *ppp.* *ppf.* *n.* *ppp.*  
 Figs.:  $V^1$   $N^{v-1}$   $N^{v-1}$   
 Phrases:  $P^{-1}$   $P^{v-1}$

Pron.: -ä -cia<sup>o</sup> hi:  
 Syll.: a Cia<sup>3v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1v-1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

33. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -kua -ma<sup>o</sup> -in -ä -sam -ki:k  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>3v</sup> Cua<sup>3v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup> a CaP<sup>1v</sup> CiK<sup>1v</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>r</sup> pp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1v-1</sup>  
 Phrases: S<sup>~</sup>→ ←P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -zou -kei hi:  
 Syll.: CoW<sup>1v</sup> CeY<sup>1v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> a. sp.  
 Figs.: (V<sup>1v-1</sup>)  
 Phrases: (←P<sup>1</sup>)

34a. <sup>18</sup> Pron.: -ä -sə:t -ciəp -in -bil -pi:  
 Syll.: a CoT<sup>1v</sup> CiaK<sup>1v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup> CiL<sup>1v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. n. ac. pp. n. nvs.  
 Figs.: N<sup>1v</sup> A<sup>z</sup> N  
 Phrases: A<sup>~</sup> P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -vä -pai -a:, -bui -ə:, -pu: -da<sup>o</sup> -pa: -in,  
 Syll.: Ca CaY<sup>2v</sup> a<sup>~</sup> CuY<sup>2v</sup> ə:<sup>~</sup> Cu:<sup>2v</sup> Ca<sup>3v</sup> Ca:<sup>3v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup>  
 Words: vpf. v.<sup>1</sup> pp. (see pp. 115-16)  
 Figs.: V<sup>1v-1</sup> Q  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>) P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -tu: -ä -hop -pai -kei -le<sup>o</sup>, -ä -kua -a<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: Cu:<sup>1v</sup> a CoK<sup>1v</sup> CaY<sup>3v</sup> CeY<sup>1v</sup> Ce<sup>o</sup> a Cua<sup>3v</sup> a  
 Words: (see p. 116)  
 Figs.: (Q)  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

Pron.: -tu: -sa: -sup -di:ŋ -hi:ŋ<sup>o</sup> -ci: -hi:<sup>o</sup>,  
 Syll.: CuY<sup>1v</sup> Ca:<sup>2v</sup> CuK<sup>1v</sup> CiK<sup>1v</sup> CiK<sup>3v</sup> Ci:<sup>3v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: (see p. 116)  
 Figs.: (Q)  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

Pron.: -ci: -a: -ä -vä -xem -le<sup>o</sup>,  
 Syll.: Ci:<sup>3v</sup> a<sup>~</sup> a Ca CeP<sup>3v</sup> Ce<sup>o</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> pp. ppf. vpf. v.<sup>11</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1v-s</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>) P<sup>1s</sup>

34b. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -tak -səp -a:, -xuaŋ -la: -in  
 Syll.: CaK<sup>3v</sup> CaK<sup>2v</sup> a<sup>~</sup> CuaK<sup>2v</sup> Ca:<sup>1v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup>  
 Words: v.<sup>1v</sup> pp. n. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> N V<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -ä -pai -ki:k hi:  
 Syll.: a CaY<sup>2v</sup> CiK<sup>1v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a. sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1v-1</sup>  
 Phrases: P<sup>1</sup>

35. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -ni: -sä -gi<sup>o</sup> -xlt, -zü -nun  
 Syll.: Ci:<sup>2v</sup> Ca Ci:<sup>3v</sup> CiT<sup>3v</sup> Cu CuT<sup>3v</sup>  
 Words: n. q.<sup>1v</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> v.<sup>11v</sup>  
 Figs.: N V<sup>s</sup> N  
 Phrases: A<sup>1s</sup>

Pron.: -ä -ven -ciəp -in, -da<sup>o</sup> -pa: -xuaŋ  
 Syll.: a CeT<sup>3v</sup> CiaK<sup>1v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup> Ca<sup>3v</sup> Ca:<sup>2v</sup> CuaK<sup>2v</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>11</sup> ac. pp. n.<sup>o</sup> n.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1v-s</sup> A<sup>z</sup> N<sup>o</sup>  
 Phrases: (A<sup>1s</sup>) P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -dol -lua -a:, -ni -sa: -a<sup>o</sup>  
 Syll.: CoL<sup>3v</sup> Cua:<sup>1v</sup> a<sup>~</sup> Ci:<sup>2v</sup> Ca:<sup>2v</sup> a  
 Words: v.<sup>1</sup> a. pp. n. v.<sup>1</sup> pnp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup> N<sup>1v</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>) P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -ä -phou -u<sup>o</sup> hi:  
 Syll.: a CoW<sup>1v</sup> u<sup>3v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> ps. sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1v-1</sup>  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

36. <sup>11</sup> Pron.: -ni: -in -dei<sup>o</sup> -gə<sup>o</sup> -in  
 Syll.: Ci:<sup>2v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup> CeY<sup>3v</sup> Co:<sup>3v</sup> iT<sup>v</sup>  
 Words: n. pp. v.<sup>1</sup> pp.  
 Figs.: N V<sup>1</sup>  
 Phrases: S<sup>~</sup>→ P<sup>1</sup>

Pron.: -ä -gu:k -sak hi:  
 Syll.: a CuaK<sup>1v</sup> CaK<sup>3v</sup> Ci<sup>~</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1v-1</sup>  
 Phrases: ←P<sup>1</sup>



37. <sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $\_da^{\circ}$   $\_pa:$   $\_in$   $\_k\ddot{a}$   $\_xua\eta$   $\_k\ddot{a}$   $\_la:k$   $\_ki:k$   
 Syll.:  $Ca^{3''}$   $Ca^{3''}$   $iT^{''}$   $Ca$   $CuaK^{2''}$   $Ca$   $CaK^{1''}$   $CiK^{1''}$   
 Words:  $n.$   $pp.$  (see p. 116)  
 Figs.:  $N$   $Q$   
 Phrases:  $S^{\rightarrow}$   $P^{1\rightarrow}$

Pron.:  $\_za^{\circ}$   $\_n\ddot{a}$   $\_di:\eta$   $\_in,$   $\_ta:u$   $\_sa:\eta$   $\_k\ddot{a}$   $\_lam$   
 Syll.:  $Co^{3''}$   $Ca^{2''}$   $CiK^{1''}$   $iT^{''}$   $CaW^{3''}$   $CaK^{2''}$   $Ca$   $CaP^{1''}$   
 Words: (see p. 116)  
 Figs.:  $(Q)$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{1\rightarrow})$

Pron.:  $\_di:\eta$   $\_hi:$   $\_mi$   $\_hi\eta$   $\_gan$   $\_hi\eta$   $\_z\ddot{u}$   
 Syll.:  $CiK^{1''}$   $Ci$   $Ci^{3''}$   $CiK^{2''}$   $CaT^{2''}$   $CiK^{2''}$   $Cu^{1''}$   
 Words: (see p. 116-17)  
 Figs.:  $(Q)$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{1\rightarrow})$

Pron.:  $\_sa:$   $\_v\ddot{a}$   $\_sa:$   $\_mi:k$   $\_si:$   $\_thou$   $\_va:i$   $\_in$   
 Syll.:  $Ca^{1''}$   $Ca^{1''}$   $Ca^{1''}$   $CiK^{3''}$   $Ci^{2''}$   $CoW^{3''}$   $CaY^{2''}$   $iT^{''}$   
 Words: (see p. 117)  
 Figs.:  $(Q)$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{1\rightarrow})$

Pron.:  $\_ho\eta$   $\_o:i$   $\_un''$   $\_ci:$   $\_in,$   $\_tua$   $\_te:'$   
 Syll.:  $CoK^{1''}$   $oY^{2''}$   $uT^{3''}$   $Ci^{3''}$   $iT^{''}$   $Cua^{2''}$   $Ce^{1''}$   
 Words: (see p. 116)  $v.^1$   $pp.$   $n.$   $ns.$   
 Figs.:  $(Q)$   $V^1$   $N'$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{1\rightarrow})$   $\leftarrow P^{1\rightarrow}$

Pron.:  $\_xe:m$   $\_peu^{\circ}$   $\_a$   $\_bia$   $\_hi:$   
 Syll.:  $CeP^{3''}$   $CeW^{3''}$   $a$   $Cia^{3''}$   $Ci''$   
 Words:  $q.$   $ppf.$   $v.^1$   $sp.$   
 Figs.:  $N$   $V^{1''-1}$   
 Phrases:  $(\leftarrow P^{1\rightarrow})$

38. <sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $\_a$   $\_hi^{\circ}$   $\_ha:\eta$   $\_in$   $\_lei$   $\_xa:$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $Ci^{3''}$   $CaK^{1''}$   $iT^{''}$   $CeY^{1''}$   $Ca^{1''}$   
 Words:  $ppf.$   $v.^{11}$   $ac.$   $pp.$   $n.$   
 Figs.:  $V^{''-s}$   $A^{\neq}$   $N'$   
 Phrases:  $A^{''}$   $P^{1\rightarrow}$

Pron.:  $\_a$   $\_bia$   $\_ma\eta$   $\_pil^{\circ}$   $\_hi:$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $Cia^{3''}$   $CaK^{1''}$   $CiL^{3''}$   $Ci''$   
 Words:  $ppf.$   $v.^1$   $v.^1$   $sp.$   
 Figs.:  $V^{''-1}$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{1\rightarrow})$

39. <sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $\_ta:u$   $\_sa:\eta$   $\_pi:$   $\_a$   $\_lam$   $\_ciap$   $\_in$   
 Syll.:  $CaW^{3''}$   $CaK^{2''}$   $Ci^{1''}$   $a$   $CaP^{3''}$   $CiaK^{1''}$   $iT^{''}$   
 Words:  $n.$   $v.^1$   $ns.$   $ppf.$   $v.^{11}$   $ac.$   $pp.$   
 Figs.:  $N$   $V^{''-s}$   $A^{\neq}$   
 Phrases:  $A^{''-s}$

Pron.:  $\_lei$   $\_xa:$   $\_in$   $\_a$   $\_bul$   
 Syll.:  $CeY^{1''}$   $Ca^{1''}$   $iT^{''}$   $a$   $CuL^{1''}$   
 Words:  $n.$   $pp.$   $ppf.$   $n.$   
 Figs.:  $N$   $N^{1''-}$   
 Phrases:  $S^{\rightarrow}$   $\leftarrow P^{1\rightarrow}$

Pron.:  $\_n\ddot{a}$   $\_ne:$   $\_ne:$   $\_a:$   $\_a$   $\_tu:k$   $\_hi:$   
 Syll.:  $Ca$   $Ce^{1''}$   $Ce^{1''}$   $a''$   $a$   $CuK^{2''}$   $Ci''$   
 Words:  $upf.$   $v.^{11}$   $pp.$   $ppf.$   $v.^1$   $sp.$   
 Figs.:  $V^{''-1}$   $V^{''-1}$   
 Phrases:  $(\leftarrow P^{1\rightarrow})$   $\leftarrow P^{1\rightarrow}$

40. <sup>11</sup> Pron.:  $\_da^{\circ}$   $\_pa:$   $\_zo\eta$   $\_a$   $\_si$   $\_ta:$   $\_hi:$   
 Syll.:  $Ca^{3''}$   $Ca^{3''}$   $CoK^{''}$   $a$   $Ci^{2''}$   $Ca^{3''}$   $Ci''$   
 Words:  $n.$   $fp.$   $ppf.$   $v.^1$   $a.$   $sp.$   
 Figs.:  $N$   $V^{''-1}$   
 Phrases:  $P^{1\rightarrow}$

## TEXT II

O.<sup>11</sup> Pronunciation:  $\_x\ddot{o}$   $\_lei$   
 Syllables:  $Cua^{3''}$   $CeY^{2''}$   
 Words:  $n.^{''-}$   
 Figures:  $N$   
 Phrases:  $S$

1a. <sup>1s</sup> Pron.:  $\_ni$   $\_dap$   $\_la:i$   $\_in$   $\_x\ddot{o}$   $\_lei$   
 Syll.:  $Ci^{2''}$   $CaK^{1''}$   $CaY^{2''}$   $iT^{''}$   $Cua^{3''}$   $CeY^{2''}$   
 Words:  $n.$   $v.^1$   $n.$   $pp.$   $n.^{''-}$   
 Figs.:  $N^{''-}$   $N^{''-}$   
 Phrases:  $A^{''}$   $P^{''-s}$

Pron.:  $\_a$   $\_ki$   $\_ci:$   $\_mi:$   $\_xat$   $\_xual$   
 Syll.:  $a$   $Ci$   $Ci^{3''}$   $Ci^{1''}$   $CaT^{3''}$   $CuaL^{3''}$   
 Words:  $ppf.$   $upf.$   $v.^1$   $n.$   $q.$   $n.$   
 Figs.:  $(N^{''-})$   $N$   
 Phrases:  $(P^{''-s})$

- Pron.: ˈä ˈzin ˈleʰ,  
Syll.: a CiT³ˣ Ce'  
Words: p̄p̄f. v.¹¹ sp.  
Figs.: V¹ˣˣˣ  
Phrases: (Pˣ)
- 1b. ¹¹ Pron.: ˈlam ˈpiː ˈaʰ ˈgail ˈte:n  
Syll.: CaP¹ˣ Ciːˣ a CaL²ˣ CeT³ˣ  
Words: n. ns. p̄np. n. ns.+p̄p̄.  
Figs.: N¹ˣ Nˣ  
Phrases: Sˣ→
- Pron.: ˈä ˈthat ˈhi:  
Syll.: a CaT³ˣ Ciːˣ  
Words: p̄p̄f. v.¹ sp.  
Figs.: V¹ˣˣˣ  
Phrases: ←Pˣ
2. ¹¹ Pron.: ˈä ˈthaʰ ˈxit ˈuʰ ˈciag ˈin ˈä ˈp̄o:ŋ  
Syll.: a Ca³ˣ CiT³ˣ u³ˣ CiaK¹ˣ iTˣˣ a CoK²ˣ  
Words: p̄p̄f. v.¹¹ v.¹¹ ps. ac. p̄p̄. p̄p̄f. n.  
Figs.: V¹ˣˣˣ Aˣ N¹ˣˣ  
Phrases: Aˣ Pˣ
- Pron.: ˈä ˈtan ˈuʰ ˈa: ˈä ˈba:n ˈleʰ  
Syll.: a CaT¹ˣ u³ˣ a a CaT²ˣ Ce'  
Words: p̄p̄f. v.¹ ps. p̄p̄. p̄p̄f. n. fp.  
Figs.: V¹ˣˣˣ N¹ˣˣ  
Phrases: (Pˣ) Pˣˣˣ
- Pron.: ˈä ˈp̄hei ˈlaŋ ˈxat ˈzoŋ  
Syll.: a CeY³ˣ CaK²ˣ CaT³ˣ CoKˣ  
Words: p̄p̄f. n. na. q. fp.  
Figs.: N¹ˣˣˣ  
Phrases: (Pˣˣˣ)
- Pron.: ˈä ˈtan ˈuʰ ˈhi:  
Syll.: a CaT¹ˣ u³ˣ Ciːˣ  
Words: p̄p̄f. v.¹ ps. sp.  
Figs.: V¹ˣˣˣ  
Phrases: (Pˣˣˣ)
3. ¹¹ Pron.: ˈtua ˈxit ˈciag ˈin ˈä ˈwi:  
Syll.: Cua²ˣ CiT³ˣ CiaK¹ˣ iTˣˣ a Ciːˣ  
Words: n. v.¹¹ ac. p̄p̄. p̄p̄f. n.  
Figs.: N Vˣ Aˣ N¹ˣˣ  
Phrases: Aˣ Pˣ

- Pron.: ˈä ˈxe: ˈlaŋ ˈxat ˈaʰ ˈxiʰ ˈsa: ˈin  
Syll.: a Ce³ˣ CaK²ˣ CaT³ˣ a Ci³ˣ Caːˣ iTˣˣ  
Words: p̄p̄f. n. na. q. p̄np. v.¹ a. p̄p̄.  
Figs.: N¹ˣˣˣ V¹  
Phrases: (Pˣ)
- Pron.: ˈä ˈnü ˈsia ˈuʰ ˈhi:  
Syll.: a Cu Cia³ˣ u³ˣ Ciːˣ  
Words: p̄p̄f. v.¹ˣˣ ps. sp.  
Figs.: V¹ˣˣˣ  
Phrases: Pˣ
4. ¹¹ Pron.: ˈtua ˈxõ ˈlei ˈleʰ ˈä ˈwi: ˈpe:n  
Syll.: Cua²ˣ Cua³ˣ CeY²ˣ Ce' a Ciːˣ CeTˣ  
Words: n. n.ˣˣ fp. p̄p̄f. n. p̄p̄.  
Figs.: N N¹ˣˣ  
Phrases: Sˣˣ
- Pron.: ˈa:k ˈsi: ˈsuak ˈa: ˈtu: ˈin  
Syll.: aK²ˣ Ciːˣ CuaK¹ˣ a Cuːˣ iTˣˣ  
Words: n. v.¹ p̄p̄. n. p̄p̄.  
Figs.: N V¹ N  
Phrases: Pˣ Aˣ
- Pron.: ˈxõ ˈlei ˈwi: ˈka:l ˈki ˈci: ˈhi:  
Syll.: Cua³ˣ CeY²ˣ Ciːˣ CaY³ˣ Ci Ci³ˣ Ciːˣ  
Words: n.ˣˣ n. v.¹ v̄p̄f. v.¹ sp.  
Figs.: Q V¹ˣˣˣ  
Phrases: Pˣ
- 5a. ¹¹ Pron.: ˈzarn ˈciag ˈin ˈtua ˈa:k ˈsi:  
Syll.: CaT³ˣ CiaK¹ˣ iTˣˣ Cua²ˣ aK²ˣ Ciːˣ  
Words: n. ac. p̄p̄. n. n.  
Figs.: N Aˣ N  
Phrases: Aˣ Pˣ
- Pron.: ˈen ˈle: ˈcin,  
Syll.: eT¹ˣ Ceː CiT²ˣ  
Words: v.¹ sp. ps.  
Figs.: V¹  
Phrases: (Pˣ)
- 5b. ¹¹ Pron.: ˈxõ ˈlei ˈxurk ˈkian ˈaʰ  
Syll.: Cua³ˣ CeY¹ˣ CuK¹ˣ CiaK²ˣ a  
Words: n.ˣˣ n. na. p̄np̄.  
Figs.: Nˣˣ Nˣˣ  
Phrases: Pˣ

Pron.: ˩xɔ̃ ˩lei ˩wi: ˩zoŋ ˩ä -phɛ: ˩lek ˩lek  
 Syll.: Cua<sup>3</sup> CeY<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup> CoK<sup>3</sup> a Ce<sup>2</sup> CeK<sup>3</sup> CeK<sup>3</sup>  
 Words: n.<sup>o</sup> n. sp. ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>1</sup>  
 Figs.: N<sup>o</sup> V<sup>1</sup>-i  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

Pron.: ˩nä -mu: ˩diŋ ˩hi:  
 Syll.: Ca Cu<sup>3</sup> CiK<sup>1</sup> Ci<sup>1</sup>  
 Words: ppf. v.<sup>1</sup> va. sp.  
 Figs.: V<sup>1</sup>-i  
 Phrases: (P<sup>1</sup>)

## NOTES

## Sentence

- 10 For the special characteristics of titles see pp. 30, 31, 33.  
 11 The high rising pitch recorded for 'kei' in this sentence is interpreted as an exponent of low-high figure intonation (see pp. 54-55). The phrase-final particle 'a' was recorded sometimes with a falling and sometimes with a level pitch, that is to say, either falling or level phrase intonation is acceptable for this phrase.  
 2 The low falling pitch of 'ci' here, as in many other places in the texts, marks high-low phrase intonation linking the constituent citational and verbal figures (see p. 38).  
 3 The sequence of pitch-contours, low level, high rising, mid-falling, in 'a innkuan' are the phonetic exponents of a low-high-low figure intonation pattern as described on p. 56. For the intonation of 'masa sak' see p. 55.  
 4 VZT insisted upon a high pitch for 'khat' in this context (cf. notes on following sentence). The passage 'zu beel tung khat in' is not subjective here, as is hinted by the level pitch of 'in' as contrasted with the falling pitch commonly characteristic of subjective phrases (see p. 43). The particle 'in' is to be regarded as figure-linking rather than phrase-final in this instance (see p. 107), with a high-low figure-linking intonation starting with the high pitch of 'khat' and ending with the low pitch of 'lup'.

For the intonation of 'lup sim a' see p. 47.

A high rising pitch was also recorded for the post-nominal particle 'ah'. See the section on the syllabic structure of particles on pp. 104-5.

## Sentence

Note the ˩ intonation linking 'puan' and the following verbal figure.

For the interpretation of the pitch of 'zong' as high-low figure-linking intonation see p. 37.

- 5 'khua gal' was variously recorded with the short fully unstressed pronunciation xɔ̃ and also with a short weakly stressed opening diphthong xɔ̃a.

Both vowels of the form 'zel zal' were markedly centralized (see p. 11).

VZT accepted both high level and low level pitches for 'ah' and 'khat' in the phrase 'inn ah mi khat in', but preferred a low pitch in each case. See the discussion of the intonation of this and similar passages on pp. 54-55.

- 6 The high rising pitch of 'inn' forms the starting-point of a high-low intonation pattern for this phrase (see pp. 37-38).

'ih' was variously pronounced ˩i, or ˩i:, never ˩i<sup>2</sup> (see p. 10).

The unusual pronunciation of the particle 'leh' in this sentence is discussed on pp. 104-5.

- 7 For the intonation of 'lo a kuan nawn kei' see p. 56.  
 8 Both falling and rising pitches were acceptable for the phrase-final particle 'a'. A short falling pitch was recorded on one occasion for the post-nominal particle 'ah' alongside the more usual low level pitch. Note the complex intonation pattern for this figure (see p. 56).  
 9 Both level and rising pitches were recorded for the phrase-final particle 'a'.

It appears probable that the forms 'nitak' and 'niloh' are compound nominal figures like 'nisa' (q.v. on p. 58) but they are treated as unitary nouns in this study since the second elements cannot be identified with any other items in the material to hand.

- 10 In isolation VZT always pronounced 'zing' and 'zing sang' *morning* with level pitches. The rising pitch of 'zing' in this context was at first regarded as an exponent of the rising intonation proper to adjunctive phrases. VZT, however, was unable to accept a level variant here, and insisted that the last syllable of 'zing sang' in the same context must also be pronounced with a rising pitch. It is, therefore, suggested that we are here dealing with the oblique form of the noun, meaning *next morning*. Compare a similar use of the forms ˩zɑ:n n. *night* and ˩zɑ:n n.<sup>o</sup> *yesterday*.

## Sentence

For the use of figure-final glottalization in 'a lopa khawh khiat sa teng' see p. 61. For the intonation of this figure see p. 56.

It is tempting to attempt to analyse 'lo pa' -lou-pa: as a *n.* + *pp.* structure, composed of 'lo' -lou, *taungya*, *field* followed by the post-nominal particle 'pa' -pa:. Unfortunately, the level pitch of 'lo' belies this hypothesis, which would require that the pitch should be falling (see pp. 60, 101).

- 16 Note the special use of 'zong' here to link phrases as well as figures (see p. 41).  
The first particle 'in' with falling pitch is the mark of a subjective phrase; the second 'in', which was pronounced with either mid level or high rising pitch, is the mark of a non-sentence-final predicative phrase.  
The only pronunciation recorded for 'dawipa' was -də:i -pa:. Nouns preceding the nominal suffix 'pa' are commonly in the oblique form (see p. 101), which for 'dawi' should be -də:i.
- 17 For the pronominal concord between the first two phrases see p. 51.  
'a lo cingpi in' is analysed as a subjective phrase with concordial relations with the following predicative phrase. Level phrase intonation is far less common than falling intonation for phrases of this kind (see p. 43).
- 18 For the intonation of the first phrase see p. 39.
- 19 Formally, 'khaih' in 'zu khaih' might be either Form I or Form II, but it is here regarded as being Form I, by analogy with 'an min sa'. See also pp. 86-87 on the use of Forms I and II of the verb.  
'ah' was recorded with both high level and high rising pitches, both regarded as phonetic exponents of low-high figure intonation.
- 20 For the intonation of 'kawm a' see pp. 47-48, 55.  
The nominal figure 'a deih peuh peuh' is phonologically ambiguous in that one cannot tell from its form whether it is subjunctive or indicative. It is posited as subjunctive here by analogy with similar constructions (cf. p. 66).
- 21 For the intonation of 'sawt lo in' see p. 38.
- 22 A semantic link between 'zu' and 'zu nung' suggests itself but cannot be confirmed from the material collected.

## Sentence

For the use of figure-final glottalization in this sentence see p. 61.

- 23 For the intonation of 'a lam lam' see p. 55.
- 24 The figures 'khua dam' and 'khua vak' (sentence 25) are analysed as *n.* + *v.*<sup>1</sup> (see p. 64), but the identification of the noun constituent is doubtful, since the only noun -xua means *village*, which may or may not be the relevant word here.
- 25 VZT preferred a low level pitch on the unstressed first syllable of 'khapi'.  
For the pitch of 'piang' see pp. 35-36, 56.
- 26 For the pitch of 'na' see pp. 55, 100-101.  
For the intonation of 'a a pumpi in' see p. 43.  
The vowel in 'zol' was almost completely unrounded.  
Note the pronunciation of the post-nominal particle 'ah' (see pp. 104-5).
- 27a The post-nominal particle in 'vok gawl dawn ah' was recorded as pronounced long and without final glottal stop on at least one occasion. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that VZT had written 'a' instead of 'ah' in this text (see pp. 104-5).  
For the intonation of 'tuang kawm a' see p. 55.
- 27b For the intonation of 'sisan' and 'tu dong in' see pp. 56, 38.
- 28b Both level and rising pitches were recorded for the final particle of the predicative phrase 'a leh lam in', i.e. both level and rising phrase intonation are acceptable. For the final particle in the preceding subjective phrase, 'sakhi in', on the other hand, only falling pitches were recorded, i.e. falling phrase intonation is preferred, if not compulsory.
- 30 The unusually low falling pitch of 'lam' is regarded as an exponent of low-high phrase intonation linking the nominal figure 'lam' with the following verbal figure 'a makai' (see p. 39).
- 31 For the intonation of 'nui nui' see p. 55.
- 34a The level pitch of 'hong' in the figure 'a hong pai kei' is an exponent of levelling figure intonation (see p. 55).
- 34b It is possible that further material would justify the analysis of 'taksang' as a verbal figure comprised of the verb 'tak' to *be correct* and some other word at present unidentified (cf. p. 89).

## Sentence

- 36 For the structure of 'guksak' see p. 89.
- 38 For the intonation of 'ahih hangin' see pp. 38, 55.
- 39 The operation of pronominal concord within this sentence is not clear. The phrase 'leikha in', which is interpreted as subjective by reason of its placed elements (noun+phrase-final particle 'in') and phrase intonation, is to be expected to concord with a pronominal prefix in a following predicative phrase in the same sentence (see p. 32). Taking the meaning as a guide, we should expect the concordant prefix to be found in the phrase 'a bul na ne ne a'. In this phrase, however, the prefix 'a' appears to refer back to the 'tau sangpi' of the adjunctive phrase, and not to 'leikha in'. The form we should expect to find is 'a bul a na ne ne a' in which the second 'a' would concord with 'leikha in'. Unfortunately, the matter was not taken up with VZT at the time and must therefore be left open. For the concord between 'a tuk hi' and 'tau sangpi' see p. 51. For the use of the verbal prefix 'na-' in this sentence see p. 98.
- II o The name Khua Lei was spelt by HG 'Khua Lei' or 'Khaw Lei'. The first syllable was usually pronounced unstressed, on a high pitch, with a short half-open back vowel *ə*, but a pronunciation with a falling pitch and an opening diphthong *ua* was also used.
- 1a For the intonation of 'ni dang lai in' see p. 34.  
On the classification of 'lai' see p. 92.
- 1b See p. 35 for the pronunciation *-ga:l ~tə:n*. The nominal figure 'galte' is interpreted as having levelling figure intonation, and the whole phrase 'lampi ah galte in' as having falling phrase intonation.
- 2 For the intonation of the last predicative phrase see p. 39.
- 3 For the intonation of 'a khe lang khat ah' see p. 56.
- 4 The rising pitch of 'tu' in this sentence is the simultaneous realization of syllable tone and phrase intonation. See p. 48.  
The absence of a pronominal prefix in the constituent verbal figure of the first predicative phrase precludes the statement of pronominal concord between this phase and the preceding subjective phrase.
- 5a For 'le' see p. 105. For 'cin' see p. 111. For the intonation of this sentence see pp. 31, 47.
- 5b For the intonation of 'na mu ding' see p. 55.

## VIII

## VOCABULARY

THE entries in the vocabulary are arranged in alphabetical order under the following letter heads: a, b, c, d, e, g, h, i, k, kh, l, m, n, ng, o, p, ph, s, t, th, u, v, z. Homographs are ordered first according to vowel length, and then according to tone; i.e. words pronounced with short vowels are entered before homographs pronounced with long vowels, homographs pronounced with the same length vowel are arranged in the order: rising tone, level tone, falling tone. Where homographs are also homophones they are arranged alphabetically with reference to their abbreviated grammatical designation, e.g. *a.*, *ac.*, *n.*, *na.*, *nvs.*, &c.

All entries comprise the orthographic form of the word, immediately followed by a representation in bold phonetic type of its pronunciation, followed in turn by an abbreviation in italics of its grammatical designation. In all entries except cross-references the grammatical designation is followed by an English translation. These translations are either glosses to the texts or merely a means of identifying the words concerned. They are in no sense to be regarded as a comprehensive statement of the meaning of the words.

Where orthographic variants were found, these are indicated by the use of parentheses, e.g. *be(e)l*.

The pronunciations recorded are to be interpreted in the light of the remarks on pronunciation on pp. 9-18 and elsewhere. Where, as in the case of some particles, pitch levels or contours appeared to be very variable, the commonest of these are recorded.

The abbreviations used to indicate the grammatical designation of entries and the pages in this study in which the relevant grammatical descriptions are to be found are as follows:

<i>a.</i>	adverb	pp. 92-94	<i>na.</i>	nominal auxiliary	p. 92
<i>ac.</i>	adverbial conjunction	p. 91	<i>ns.</i>	nominal suffix	pp. 100-1
			<i>nvs.</i>	nomino-verbal suffix	p. 102
<i>n.</i>	noun	pp. 69-72	<i>p.</i>	particle	pp. 103-5
<i>n.<sup>o</sup></i>	oblique form of noun	pp. 70-71	<i>fp.</i>	figure-linking particle	p. 103

<i>pnf.</i> post-nominal particle	p. 104	<i>sp.</i> sentence particle	p. 103
<i>pp.</i> phrase-final particle	p. 103	<i>v.</i> verb	pp. 72-89
<i>ppf.</i> pronominal prefix	pp. 95-96	<i>v.<sup>11</sup></i> Form II of verb	pp. 72-89
<i>ps.</i> pronominal suffix	pp. 101-2	<i>va.</i> verbal auxiliary	p. 92
<i>q.</i> quantifier	p. 90	<i>vpf.</i> verbal prefix	pp. 97-99

All verbs except those whose Form I and II are homophonous are entered twice, once in the alphabetical place appropriate to their Form I, and again in the alphabetical place appropriate to their Form II, with a cross-reference to their Form I. The Form I entry in every case includes the relevant Form II with an indication of the pronunciation of both forms. This somewhat cumbersome procedure has been adopted for two reasons: firstly, since the Form I of a verb can never be predicted from its Form II it is necessary for anyone attempting to construe texts to be able to look up either form; and secondly, the separate entry of every attested syllabic form is a great convenience for those interested in the total phonological range of the language.

The occasional use in the vocabulary of asterisks and question-marks is explained on p. 3.

## A

a <sup>~</sup>ā, <sup>~</sup>ā *ppf.* he, she, it, they; his, her, its, their (*also used impersonally, see p. 95*).  
 a <sup>~</sup>a: *ns.* (*see pp. 100-1*). ama a a hi <sup>~</sup>ā-ma: <sup>~</sup>a: <sup>~</sup>ā <sup>~</sup>hi: it is his (*see p. 110*).  
 a <sup>~</sup>a:, <sup>~</sup>a:, <sup>~</sup>a: *pp.* (*see pp. 41-53*).  
 ah <sup>~</sup>a°, <sup>~</sup>a° *pnf.* in, on, at (*see pp. 63-64, 103-105*).  
 \*ak <sup>~</sup>a:k *n.* fowl.  
 \*ak <sup>~</sup>a:k *x.* the sound made by a crow.  
 aksi <sup>~</sup>a:k <sup>~</sup>si: *n.* star.  
 alh <sup>~</sup>al°, <sup>~</sup>al° *v.* to have an unpleasant, bitter taste.  
 am, ap <sup>~</sup>am, <sup>~</sup>ap *v.* to be perplexed, to feel giddy.  
 am, am <sup>~</sup>am, <sup>~</sup>am *v.* to be jealous.  
 \*am, ap <sup>~</sup>am, <sup>~</sup>ap *v.* to glow (of embers).  
 ama <sup>~</sup>ā-ma: *n.*° his, her(s). *See foll.*

amah <sup>~</sup>ā-ma° *n.* he, she.  
 amau <sup>~</sup>ā-ma:u *n.* + *ps.* they.  
 an <sup>~</sup>an *n.* food.  
 \*an <sup>~</sup>an *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see ang* <sup>~</sup>aj.  
 \*ang <sup>~</sup>aj *n.* arms, bosom.  
 \*ang, an <sup>~</sup>aj, <sup>~</sup>an *v.* to be half-ripe.  
 ap, ap <sup>~</sup>ap, <sup>~</sup>ap *v.* to be mouldy.  
 ap, ap <sup>~</sup>a:p, <sup>~</sup>a:p *v.* to entrust.  
 ap <sup>~</sup>ap *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see am* <sup>~</sup>am and *am* <sup>~</sup>am.  
 at, at <sup>~</sup>at, <sup>~</sup>at *v.* to cut.  
 at, at <sup>~</sup>at, <sup>~</sup>at *v.* to cut a portion for someone, to cut on someone's behalf (*see p. 84*).  
 \*aw <sup>~</sup>ə: *n.* sound, voice.  
 aw <sup>~</sup>ə: *x.* used in addressing someone.  
 aw in aw leh, sin aw leh <sup>~</sup>ə: <sup>~</sup>le°, <sup>~</sup>sin <sup>~</sup>ə: <sup>~</sup>le° *sp.* (*see p. 108*).  
 awi, awi <sup>~</sup>ə:i, <sup>~</sup>ə:i *v.* to agree.  
 awi <sup>~</sup>ə:i *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 awk, awk <sup>~</sup>ə:k, <sup>~</sup>ə:k *v.* to be caught.  
 awk <sup>~</sup>ə:k *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*

## B

ba <sup>~</sup>ba: *n.* lock of hair, whiskers.  
 ba, ba <sup>~</sup>ba:, <sup>~</sup>ba *v.* to owe.  
 bah, bah <sup>~</sup>ba°, <sup>~</sup>ba° *v.* to be tired.  
 bah <sup>~</sup>ba° *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see bak* <sup>~</sup>ba:k.  
 bai, bai <sup>~</sup>ba:i, <sup>~</sup>ba:i *v.* to be lame.  
 bai <sup>~</sup>ba:i *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 baibek <sup>~</sup>ba:i<sup>~</sup>bek *n.* red-vented bulbul.  
 bak, bak <sup>~</sup>bak, <sup>~</sup>bak *v.* to catch in the mouth.  
 bak <sup>~</sup>ba:k *n.* bat.  
 bak <sup>~</sup>ba:k *n.* twig.  
 bak, bah <sup>~</sup>ba:k, <sup>~</sup>ba° *v.* to feed forcibly.  
 bal, bal <sup>~</sup>bal, <sup>~</sup>bal *v.* to tear off.  
 bal <sup>~</sup>bal *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 bal <sup>~</sup>ba:l *n.* taro.  
 bal, balh <sup>~</sup>ba:l, <sup>~</sup>bal° *v.* to be all juicy, covered with juice.  
 balh <sup>~</sup>bal° *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 ban, ban <sup>~</sup>ban, <sup>~</sup>ban *v.* to slash, cut at a stroke.  
 ban <sup>~</sup>ban *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 ban <sup>~</sup>ban *n.* arm.  
 ban, bat <sup>~</sup>ban, <sup>~</sup>bat *v.* to reach for.  
 ban <sup>~</sup>ban *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see bang* <sup>~</sup>ba:ŋ.  
 bang <sup>~</sup>baŋ *n.* what.  
 bang, bat <sup>~</sup>baŋ, <sup>~</sup>bat *v.* to be like.  
 \*bang <sup>~</sup>baŋ ? remaining.  
 bang, ban <sup>~</sup>baŋ, <sup>~</sup>ban *v.* to hang (*tr.*); to call at.  
 bat, bat <sup>~</sup>bat, <sup>~</sup>bat *v.* to wear in the ear.  
 bat <sup>~</sup>bat *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see ba* <sup>~</sup>ba:, bang <sup>~</sup>baŋ and *ban* <sup>~</sup>ban.  
 \*bau <sup>~</sup>bau *x.* with a heavy thud.  
 bawh, bawh <sup>~</sup>ba°, <sup>~</sup>ba° *v.* to seize, catch hold of.  
 \*be <sup>~</sup>be: *n.* bean.  
 be(e)l <sup>~</sup>be:l *n.* pot.  
 \*beh <sup>~</sup>be° *n.* relative.  
 bek <sup>~</sup>bek *a.* only (*see p. 94*).  
 \*beng <sup>~</sup>beng *n.* opium.  
 beng, bet <sup>~</sup>be:ŋ, <sup>~</sup>bet *v.* to strike with the palm of the hand.  
 bet <sup>~</sup>bet *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 \*beu <sup>~</sup>beu *n.* piece.  
 bia, biak <sup>~</sup>bia, <sup>~</sup>biak *v.* to propitiate.  
 biak <sup>~</sup>biak *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 bil <sup>~</sup>bil *n.* ear.  
 bilpi <sup>~</sup>bil<sup>~</sup>pi: *n.* + *ns.* rabbit, hare.  
 bu <sup>~</sup>bu: *n.* nest. laibu <sup>~</sup>la:i<sup>~</sup>bu:

*n.* + *n.* collection of papers, book.  
 vasabu <sup>~</sup>vā-sā<sup>~</sup>bu: *n.* + *n.* + *n.* bird's nest.  
 bual, bual <sup>~</sup>bual, <sup>~</sup>bual *v.* to swim.  
 bualbual, bualbual <sup>~</sup>bual<sup>~</sup>bual, <sup>~</sup>bual<sup>~</sup>bual *v.* to swim about in, be immersed in.  
 bual <sup>~</sup>bual *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see bual* <sup>~</sup>bual.  
 bui <sup>~</sup>bui *n.* bamboo-rat.  
 \*buk <sup>~</sup>buk *n.* cough.  
 bul <sup>~</sup>bul *n.* bottom, base, foot (e.g. of a building).

## C

ci <sup>~</sup>ci:, *n.* skin.  
 ci, cih <sup>~</sup>ci:, <sup>~</sup>ci° *v.* to say.  
 ci <sup>~</sup>ci, ?in hi ci + *v.<sup>11</sup>* (to do) like this.  
 ciah, ciah <sup>~</sup>cia°, <sup>~</sup>cia° *v.* to return home.  
 ciang <sup>~</sup>ciap *ac.* in ciang in, ciang a, when.  
 cik <sup>~</sup>ci° *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see ci* <sup>~</sup>ci:  
 cik, cik <sup>~</sup>ci:k, <sup>~</sup>ci:k *v.* to be concentrated, strong.  
 cin <sup>~</sup>cin *ps.* (*see p. 111*).  
 cingpi <sup>~</sup>ciŋ<sup>~</sup>pi: *q?* + *ns.* the whole, all.

## D

dah, dah <sup>~</sup>da°, <sup>~</sup>da° *v.* to be sad.  
 Dahpa <sup>~</sup>da°<sup>~</sup>pa: *n.* the name of the hero of a number of well-known Chin folk-tales.  
 dai, dai <sup>~</sup>dai, <sup>~</sup>dai *v.* to be shallow.  
 dai <sup>~</sup>dai *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see prec.*  
 \*dai <sup>~</sup>dai *n.* dew.  
 dak, dak <sup>~</sup>da:k, <sup>~</sup>da:k *v.* to look beyond.  
 \*dak <sup>~</sup>da:k *n.* a small gong.  
 dak <sup>~</sup>da:k *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see dak* <sup>~</sup>da:k.  
 \*dal <sup>~</sup>dal *n.* sheet.  
 dal, dal <sup>~</sup>dal, <sup>~</sup>dai *v.* to protect.  
 \*dal <sup>~</sup>dai *n.* bronze.  
 dal <sup>~</sup>dai *v.<sup>11</sup>* *see dal* <sup>~</sup>dai.  
 dam, dam <sup>~</sup>dam, <sup>~</sup>dam *v.* to be well.  
 dam, dam <sup>~</sup>dam, <sup>~</sup>dam *v.* to heal, make well (*cf. prec. and pp. 82-83*).  
 \*dam, dap <sup>~</sup>dam, <sup>~</sup>dap *v.* to be shut off from the sun, to be in perpetual shadow.  
 dan, dan <sup>~</sup>dan, <sup>~</sup>dan *v.* to differentiate; to be left over (*cf. dang* <sup>~</sup>daŋ, and *see pp. 82-83*).

dan \dan v.<sup>11</sup> see dang <daŋ.  
 \*dan -dam n. punishment.  
 dan \da:n v.<sup>11</sup> see dang <da:ŋ.  
 \*danbeel -da:n-be:l ? + n. aluminium pot.  
 dang, dan <daŋ, \dan v. to be different, other.  
 \*dang -daŋ n. throat.  
 \*dang -daŋ na. under.  
 \*dang, dan <da:ŋ, \da:n v. to be infrequent.  
 dang, dat \da:ŋ, \dat v. to be pale.  
 dap <da:p v.<sup>11</sup> see dam <da:m.  
 dat <da:t v.<sup>11</sup> see dang <da:ŋ.  
 \*dat <da:t n. electricity.  
 dau, dau <dau, \dau v. to be insipid.  
 dau <dau v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*daudau <dau\da:u a. one after the other in single file.  
 dawi <də:l n. demon, spirit (usually mischievous). dawipa <də:l\pa:r n. + ns. a spirit. dawite <də:l\te: n. + ns. the spirits.  
 dawn <də:n na. top (e.g. of a fence).  
 dawn <də:n v.<sup>11</sup> see dawng <də:ŋ.  
 dawng, dawn <də:ŋ, \də:n v. to answer.  
 de, det <de:, \det v. to light (a torch), to appear (e.g. of the new moon).  
 deh, deh <de°, \de° v. to sting.  
 deh <de° x. a warning exclamation.  
 dei, dei <dei, \del v. to separate, partition off.  
 dei <dei v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 deih, deih <dei°, \del° v. to like, to want.  
 deihgawh, deihgawh <dei°\gə°, \dei°\gə° v. to covet, envy.  
 den <den a. always, ever.  
 det <det v.<sup>11</sup> see de <de:.  
 deudau <deu\da:u a. one after the other, in single file.  
 dia <dia va. + sp. (see p. 112).  
 diai <dial a. slowly.  
 diam <diam va. + sp. (see p. 112).  
 dik, dik <dik, \dik v. to inhale.  
 dik <dik v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 dim, dim <dim, \dim v. to be full.  
 dim, dip <dim, \dip v. to fill (see prec.).  
 ding <di:ŋ na. for, on behalf of, for the sake of.  
 ding <di:ŋ va. will, must (see p. 92).

dip <dip v.<sup>11</sup> see dim <dim.  
 \*dip <dip n. epigastrium.  
 diudeu <diu\deu a. in a straight row.  
 do, do <dou, \dou v. to fight.  
 do <dou v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 dol, dolh <dol, \dol° v. to be damp.  
 dolh <dol° v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 dong <doŋ ac. up to, until.

## E

ei <ei n. we (inclusive). eite <ei\te: n. + ns. we (inclusive).  
 ei ta <ei\ta: sp. + ? (see p. 108).  
 en, et <en, \et v. to look at.  
 et <et v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## G

\*ga <ga: n. sulphur beans; handle of axe or hoe.  
 gah, gah <ga°, \ga° v. to bear fruit.  
 \*gai <gai n. party.  
 gai, gaih <gai, \gai° v. to consume, to eat up.  
 gai, gai <gai, \gai v. to conceive.  
 gai <gai v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 gaih <gai° v.<sup>11</sup> see gai <gai.  
 gak, gak <gak, \gak v. to tighten.  
 gak <gak v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 gal <gal n. battle, war, enemy. galpa <gal\pa: n. + ns. enemy. galte <gal\te: n. + ns. enemies.  
 gal <gal na. beyond, on the other side of. khuagal <xua\gal beyond the village, outside the village boundaries.  
 galte <gal\te: n. + ns. enemies (see gal <gal).  
 gam, gam <gam, \gam v. to be dry.  
 gam <gam n. land, country, forest. gamlak <gam\lak n. + na. jungle.  
 \*gam <gam n. inheritance.  
 gam <gam v.<sup>11</sup> see gam <gam. \*  
 gam, gap <gam, \gap v. to exact a fine.  
 gan <gan n. animal. ganhing <gan\hip n. + v.<sup>1</sup> livestock, animals.  
 gan <gan v.<sup>11</sup> see gang <gaŋ.  
 \*gan, gat <gam, \gat v. to weave.  
 gang, gan <gaŋ, \gan v. to be profuse.  
 \*gang <gaŋ n. father's sister's husband.

gap <gap v.<sup>11</sup> see gam <gam.  
 \*gap <gap n. pod.  
 gat <gat v.<sup>11</sup> see gan <gan.  
 \*gau <garu n. evil influence.  
 \*gau, gau <garu, \gau v. to be ripe (e.g. corn).  
 gau <garu v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 gaw, gawt <gə:, \gə:t v. to dry up, become hardened, seasoned.  
 gawh <gə° see go <gəu.  
 gawl <gə:l n. fence.  
 gawt <gə:t v.<sup>11</sup> see gaw <gə.  
 \*geh <ge° n. castration.  
 gel <ge:l ? in amau gel — they — each other.  
 gelh, gelh <gel°, \gel° v. to write.  
 gem, gep <ge:m, \ge:p v. to creep up on something, to stalk.  
 \*geŋe:m <ge:m\ge:m, \ge:p\ge:p v. to creep up very slowly, very gradually.  
 gen, gen <ge:m, \ge:n v. to tell.  
 gen <ge:m v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 gep <ge:p v.<sup>11</sup> see gem <ge:m.  
 \*gil <gil n. abdomen.  
 \*gip <gip n. lac.  
 go, gawh <gəu, \gə° v. to kill, to slaughter.  
 gu, guk <gu:, \gu:k v. to be stolen.  
 guksak <gu:k\sak, \gu:k\sak v. to steal (see p. 89).  
 \*gua <gua n. bamboo.  
 \*guah <gua° n. rain.  
 gual <gual n. companion, friend.  
 gualnuam, gualnop <gual\nuam, \gual\nop v. to be convivial, to enjoy oneself (as at a feast), to make merry with one's friends (cf. prec. and p. 89).  
 \*guh <gu° n. bone.  
 \*gui <gui n. root.  
 guk <guk q. six.  
 guk <gu:k v.<sup>11</sup> see gu <gu:.  
 guksak <gu:k\sak see gu <gu:.  
 \*gul <gul n. snake.

## H

ha, hat <ha:, \hat v. to be solid.  
 \*ha <ha n. tooth.  
 hah, hah <ha°, \ha° v. to clear away, to cleanse.  
 hah <ha° v.<sup>11</sup> see hak <hak.

hai, hai <hai, \hai v. to be foolish.  
 hai, hai <hai, \hai v. to be greedy.  
 hai <hai v.<sup>11</sup> see hai <hai and hai <hai.  
 hai <hai: n. basket-tray.  
 hai <hai: n. mango.  
 \*hai <hai:, \hai: v. to roast.  
 hai <hai: n. cup.  
 hai <hai: v.<sup>11</sup> see hai <hai.  
 haih, haih <hai°, \hai° v. to miss; to show signs of pregnancy; to go astray.  
 hak, hah <hak, \ha° v. to be awake.  
 hak <hak a. with difficulty (see p. 94).  
 haksā, haksat <hak\sā:, \hak\sat v. to be difficult.  
 \*hak <hak n. lead.  
 haksā, haksat <hak\sā:, \hak\sat v. see hak <hak.  
 haksat <hak\sat v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*hal, hal <hal, \hal v. to separate.  
 \*hal <hal a. at intervals (cf. prec.).  
 hal <hal v.<sup>11</sup> see hal <hal.  
 hal, hal <hal:, \hal: v. to set fire to, to burn.  
 hal <hal: v.<sup>11</sup> see hal <hal:.  
 \*halh <hal° n. diaphragm.  
 ham, ham, <ham, \ham v. to be dry, coarse.  
 \*ham, ham <ham, \ham v. to separate a solid from a liquid.  
 \*ham, hap <ham, \hap v. to be choked with grass and weeds, covered with undergrowth (cf. ham <ham).  
 ham <ham v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally the dry weeds and undergrowth in a field (cf. prec.).  
 ham <ham v.<sup>11</sup> see ham <ham and ham <ham.  
 ham, ham <ham, \ham v. to utter animal cries.  
 ham, ham <ham, \ham v. to be old.  
 \*ham, hap <ham, \hap v. to yawn.  
 ham <ham v.<sup>11</sup> see ham <ham and ham <ham.  
 han <han v.<sup>11</sup> see hang <haŋ.  
 han <han n. grave.  
 han <han v.<sup>11</sup> see hang <ha:ŋ.  
 \*hang, han <haŋ, \han v. to roast.  
 hang <haŋ ps. (see p. 109).  
 hang <haŋ ac. notwithstanding. a hih hangin <ā\hi°\ha:ŋ-in but, however.

\*hang, han -hɑŋ, -hɑn v. to be brave; to curse.  
 hap -hɑp v.<sup>11</sup> see ham -hɑm and ham -hɑm.  
 \*hat, hat -hɑt, -hɑt v. to be strong.  
 hat -hɑt v.<sup>11</sup> see ha -hɑ:  
 hau, hau -hɑu, -hɑu<sup>2</sup> v. to be rich.  
 hauh -hɑu<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 hausapa -hɑu sɑ pa: v.<sup>1</sup> + ? + ns. headman (cf. hau -hɑ:u).  
 hawi -hɑi x. hallo? (a response in answer to a call).  
 haza, hazat -hɑ za:, -hɑ zɑt v. to covet.  
 hazat -hɑ zɑt v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*he -hɛ: x. (expression of assent).  
 \*heh, heh -hɛ<sup>2</sup>, -hɛ<sup>2</sup> v. to be angry.  
 hen -hɛ:n ps. (see p. 110).  
 heu, heu -hɛu, -hɛu v. to wither away.  
 heu -hɛu v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 heuh, heuh -hɛu<sup>2</sup>, -hɛu<sup>2</sup> v. to prune.  
 hi -hi: n. this.  
 hi -hi: sp. (see p. 30).  
 hia -hɪa sp. used interrogatively (see pp. 103, 108).  
 hiai -hɪai in i hiai ta (see p. 112).  
 hiam, hiam -hɪam, -hɪam v. to be sharp.  
 hiam -hɪam sp. used interrogatively (see pp. 103, 107-8).  
 hiam -hɪam v.<sup>11</sup> see hiam -hɪam.  
 hih -hi<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see hi -hi:  
 hin -hin v.<sup>11</sup> see foll.  
 hing, hin -hiŋ, -hiŋ v. to be alive.  
 mihing -mi:hiŋ n. + v.<sup>1</sup> human being. ganhing -gan-hiŋ n. + v.<sup>1</sup> animal.  
 hing -hiŋ v. + ps (see p. 111).  
 hoih, hoih -hoi<sup>2</sup>, -hoi<sup>2</sup> v. to be good, beautiful. hoih lou, hoih louh -hoi<sup>2</sup> -lou, -hoi<sup>2</sup> -lou<sup>2</sup> v. + v. to be bad.  
 hon, hot -hɔn, -hɔt v. to save.  
 honpa -hɔn pa: v.<sup>1</sup> + ns. saviour.  
 hong -hɔŋ ps. (see p. 113).  
 hot -hɔt v.<sup>11</sup> see hon -hɔn.  
 huan, huan -huan, -huan v. to cook.  
 kihuan -ki huan vpf. + v. to be cooked.  
 huan -huan v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

\*hui -hui n. windpipe.  
 \*huih -hui<sup>2</sup> n. air, wind.  
 hun -hun n. time, season.  
 \*hup -hu:p n. root.  
 hup, hup -hu:p, -hu:p v. to attract.  
 hup -hu:p v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## I

i, ih -i, -i: ppf. we, our (inclusive)  
 im, ip -i:m, -i:p v. to keep secret.  
 in -in, -in, -in ps. (see pp. 43-53).  
 in -in ps. (see p. 110).  
 in -in ps. (see p. 110).  
 in -in, -in fp. (see p. 107).  
 ing -iŋ ps. (see p. 109).  
 inn -in n. house.  
 innkuan -in kuan n. family, household (see p. 87).  
 ip -ip v.<sup>11</sup> see im -i:m.  
 it, it -it, -it v. to love. ki it -ki it vpf. + v. to love one another.  
 it -it v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## K

ka -kɑ, -kɑ ppf. I, my; we, our (exclusive).  
 \*ka -kɑ: n. fork.  
 ka, kat -kɑ:, -kɑ:t v. to be fork-shaped.  
 kah, kah -kɑ<sup>2</sup>, -kɑ<sup>2</sup> v. to climb, ascend.  
 kah -kɑ<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see kap -kɑp.  
 \*kai -kɑi n. afternoon.  
 \*kai, kai -kɑi, -kɑi v. to bend the head sideways.  
 kai, kai -kɑi, -kɑi v. to be suspended.  
 kai, kaih -kɑi, -kɑi<sup>2</sup> v. to pull, drag, lead.  
 kai -kɑi v.<sup>11</sup> see kai -kɑi and kai -kɑi.  
 kaih -kɑi<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see kai -kɑi.  
 kak, kak -kɑ:k, -kɑ:k v. to dilate.  
 kak -kɑ:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*kal -kɑl n. kidney.  
 \*kal -kɑl n. step.  
 kal, kalh -kɑl, -kɑl<sup>2</sup> v. to lever up, to rake up.  
 \*kal -kɑ:l na. in between.  
 \*kal -kɑ:l n. (a kind of tree).  
 kalh, kalh -kɑl<sup>2</sup>, -kɑl<sup>2</sup> v. to bolt (a door).

kalh -kɑl<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see kal kal.  
 \*kam -kɑm n. mouth, speech, language.  
 kam, kap -kɑm, -kɑp to be dispersed.  
 \*kam -kɑ:m n. destiny.  
 kan, kaŋ -kɑn, -kɑn v. to inquire.  
 \*kan -kɑn n. earth wall.  
 kan -kɑn v.<sup>11</sup> see kan -kɑn, kang -kɑŋ and kang -kɑŋ.  
 kan, kan -kɑ:n, -kɑ:n v. to walk over, jump over.  
 \*kan, kan -kɑ:n, -kɑ:n v. to entangle.  
 kan -kɑ:n v.<sup>11</sup> see kan -kɑ:n, kan -kɑ:n, kang -kɑ:ŋ, and kang -kɑ:ŋ.  
 kang, kan -kɑŋ, -kɑn v. to dry up.  
 kang, kan -kɑŋ, -kɑn v. to stretch; to fry.  
 kang, kan -kɑ:ŋ, -kɑ:n v. to raise oneself, lift oneself up a little.  
 \*kang, kan -kɑ:ŋ, -kɑ:n v. to be white; to burn.  
 kap, kah -kɑp, -kɑ<sup>2</sup> v. to cry.  
 kap -kɑp v.<sup>11</sup> see kam -kɑm.  
 kap, kap -kɑ:p, -kɑ:p v. to shoot at.  
 kap -kɑ:p v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 kat -kɑ:t v.<sup>11</sup> see ka -kɑ:  
 \*kat -kɑ:t n. sulphur.  
 \*kau -kɑu n. butterfly; evil spirit.  
 kawm -kɑ:m a. at the same time.  
 keh, keh -kɛ<sup>2</sup>, -kɛ<sup>2</sup> v. to leak, be leaky.  
 k'eh -kɛ<sup>2</sup> n. + sp. if I (for kei leh).  
 kei -kɛl a. not.  
 kei -kɛi n. I. keimah -kɛi ma<sup>2</sup> n. I.  
 keima -kɛi ma: n.<sup>2</sup> my, mine.  
 kei in kei ta -kɛi ta: n. + sp. ? for kei eita (see p. 112).  
 \*kei -kɛi a. with pleasure.  
 keimah n. see kei -kɛi.  
 ken -kɛn a. + ps. (see p. 112).  
 ken -kɛn n. + pp. (see p. 112).  
 keng -kɛŋ a. + ps. (see p. 110).  
 keu, keu -keu, -keu v. to be dry.  
 keu -keu v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 ki -ki vpf. (see p. 99). kici -ki ci: vpf. + v. to be called (cf. ci -ci:).  
 kikhokhia -ki xou xia vpf. + v. to be weeded out (cf. kho -xou and khia -xia).  
 kia, kiat -kia, -kiat v. to fall.  
 kiang -kiɑŋ na. (in) the neighbourhood of, near.  
 kiat -kiat v.<sup>11</sup> see kia -kia.  
 kici -ki ci: vpf. + v. see ki -ki.

kik -ki:k a. again.  
 kik, kik -ki:k, -ki:k v. to be back to front, to be reversed.  
 kik -ki:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 kikhokhia -ki xou xia vpf. + v. + v. see ki -ki.  
 kiko -ki kou (Form II not recorded) vpf. + v. to call out, to exclaim (cf. ki -ki and ko -kou).  
 kin, kin -ki:n, -ki:n v. to move.  
 kin -ki:n v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 kisa, kisa -ki sa:, -ki sak vpf. + v. to feel.  
 kiu -kiu n. elbow, corner.  
 kiu, kiu -kiu, -kiu<sup>2</sup> v. to knock.  
 kiu -kiu<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 ko -kou (Form II not recorded) v. to ridicule.  
 ko -kou n. we (exclusive). kote -kou te: n. + ns. we (exclusive).  
 kong -kɔŋ ppf. + pv. (see p. 112).  
 kua -kua n. hole.  
 kua -kua n. who. kuamah -kua ma<sup>2</sup> n. whosoever, anybody.  
 kuni, kuni -kui, -kui<sup>2</sup> v. to bend.  
 kuaih -kui<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 kuan, kuan -kuan, -kuan v. to go (to work).  
 kuan -kuan v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 kulh -kul<sup>2</sup> n. wall, fort.  
 kum -kum n. year.  
 kun, kun -kum, -kum v. to bow.  
 kun -kum v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## KH

kha, khak -xɑ:, -xɑ:k v. to be bitter.  
 kha -xɑ: n. soul, spirit.  
 kha -xɑ: month. khapi -xɑ pi: n. + ns. moon.  
 khah, khah -xɑ<sup>2</sup>, -xɑ<sup>2</sup> v. to set on fire.  
 khai, khai -xɑi, -xɑi v. to hang (cf. kai -kɑi).  
 khai -xɑi v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 khaih, khaih -xɑi<sup>2</sup>, -xɑi<sup>2</sup> v. to filter, siphon off (of beer).  
 khak, khak -xɑ:k, -xɑ:k v. to send (a letter); to close.  
 khak -xɑ:k v.<sup>11</sup> see kha -xɑ:  
 khak, khak -xɑ:k, -xɑ:k v. to open wide (cf. kak -kɑ:k).



khak \xa:k v.<sup>11</sup> see khak \xa:k and khak -xa:k.  
 khal, khal -xal, \xal v. to train, control.  
 \*khal, khalh \xal, \xal<sup>o</sup> v. to be in solid lumps.  
 khal \xal v.<sup>11</sup> see khal -xal.  
 khal \xa:l n. groin.  
 khalh \xal<sup>o</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see khal \xal.  
 kham, kham \xam, \xam v. to be replete; to have eaten one's fill.  
 kham, kham -xam, \xam v. to lay a thing crosswise.  
 kham \xam n. gold.  
 \*kham, kham \xam, \xap v. to slant (cf. kham -xam).  
 kham \xam v.<sup>11</sup> see kham \xam and kham -xam.  
 \*kham, kham \xa:m, \xa:m v. to forbid; to protect.  
 kham \xa:m v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*khan \xan v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally growth (cf. khang -xap).  
 khan \xan v.<sup>11</sup> see khang -xap.  
 khan \xa:n v.<sup>11</sup> see khang \xa:n and khang -xa:n.  
 \*khang -xap n. generation.  
 \*khang, khang -xap, \xan v. to grow up (cf. prec.).  
 \*khang \xap n. a period of sleep.  
 khang \xap a. +ps. (see p. 110).  
 khang, khang \xa:n, \xan v. to lift (something) up, to raise (cf. kang, \ka:n).  
 khang, khang -xa:n, \xan v. to crack.  
 khap \xap v.<sup>11</sup> see kham \xam.  
 khap \xa:p n. span.  
 khapi \xá:pi: n. +nvs. moon (see kha \xa:).  
 khat \xat, \xat q. one.  
 khat, khat -xat, \xat v. to be old.  
 khat \xat v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*khau -xau n. rope, string.  
 \*khauh, khauh \xau<sup>o</sup>, \xau<sup>o</sup> v. to be stiff, strong, rigid.  
 khawh \xá<sup>o</sup> see kho \xou.  
 khe \xe: n. leg.  
 kkeh, kkeh \xe<sup>o</sup>, \xe<sup>o</sup> v. to crack open.  
 khem, khem \xe:m, \xe:m v. to deceive.  
 khem \xe:m v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 khe(e)mpeuh \xe:m\_peu<sup>o</sup> q. all of them, the whole lot.

khia, khia \xia, \xiat v. to chop, to fell (cf. kia \kia). khokhia \xou\xia v. +v. to weed out.  
 khia \xiat v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 khiah, khiah \xi<sup>o</sup>, \xi<sup>o</sup> v. to tie.  
 \*khin -xin n. shelf.  
 khin, khin -xin, \xit v. to be finished, to be over.  
 khit \xit v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 kho, khawh \xou, \xá<sup>o</sup> v. to cultivate.  
 khokhia \xou\xia v. +v. to weed out.  
 khoi, khoi -xoi, \xoi v. to nurse, suckle, rear.  
 khoi \xoi v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 khong \xox sp. (expressing surprise or unexpectedness).  
 khua -xua n. village. khuagal \xá:ga:l n. +na. beyond the village.  
 khuadam \xá-dam n. +v.<sup>1</sup> cold, cold weather.  
 khuagal \xá:ga:l n. +na. beyond the village (cf. khua -xua).  
 khual \xual n. away from home.  
 khuang -xuap n. drum.  
 khuavak \xá-va:k n. +v.<sup>1</sup> light, brightness (cf. vak -va:k).  
 khuh, khuh \xu<sup>o</sup>, \xu<sup>o</sup> v. to cover.  
 khuk \xu:k n. knee.  
 khuk, khuk -xu:k, \xu:k v. to roll (tr.) (cf. tuk -tu:k).  
 khuk \xu:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## L

la \la, -la sp. (see p. 107).  
 \*la \la: n. song; enlarged spleen.  
 la, lak \la:, \la:k v. to take.  
 \*la \la: n. mule.  
 lah, lah \la<sup>o</sup>, \la<sup>o</sup> v. to be incapable.  
 lah \la<sup>o</sup> a. lightly, with easy skill, deftly.  
 lah \la<sup>o</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see lak \lak.  
 lai, lai \lai, \lai v. to wrestle, fight, brawl.  
 lai \lai a. still, yet.  
 lai -lai n. the period when . . . (see p. 92).  
 lai \lai na. middle.  
 lai \lai n. paper, letter. lai bu \lai:bu: n. +n. collection of papers, book.  
 lai \lai v.<sup>11</sup> see lai \lai.  
 laih, laih \lai<sup>o</sup>, \lai<sup>o</sup> v. to change.

lak, lah \lak, \la<sup>o</sup> v. to show.  
 lak \lak, \lak na. among, (in) the midst of. salak \sá\_lak in amongst the meat (cf. sa \sa:). gamlak \gam\_lak in the jungle (cf. gam -gam).  
 lak \la:k v.<sup>11</sup> see la \la:.  
 lak, lak -la:k, \la:k v. to expose (cf. lak, lah \lak, \la<sup>o</sup>).  
 lak \la:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 lai, lai \lai, \lai v. to migrate.  
 lai \lai n. ruler, lord.  
 lai \lai v.<sup>11</sup> see lai \lai.  
 lam \lam n. way, road. lampi \lam\_pi: n. +nvs. road, highway.  
 lam, lam \lam, \lam v. to build (a house); to earn, acquire (wealth).  
 \*lam \lam n. placenta.  
 lam, lam \lam, \lap v. to earn for someone else, e.g. one's family (cf. lam \lam).  
 lam \lam v.<sup>11</sup> see lam \lam.  
 \*lam -lam n. fathom.  
 lam, lam -lam, \lam v. to dance.  
 lam \lam v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally dance, dancing (see prec.).  
 lam, lam \lam, \lap v. to dance carrying an animal's head; to lift up.  
 lampi \lam\_pi: n. +nvs. road, highway (see lam \lam).  
 lan, lat \lan, \lat v. to be wide at the mouth, gape.  
 lan \lan v.<sup>11</sup> see lang -lan.  
 lang \lan na. beside, to one side of (a pair).  
 lang, lat \lan, \lat v. to appear.  
 \*lang \lan, \lan n. stretcher.  
 \*lang, lang -lan, \lan v. to be at large.  
 \*lang \lan n. a look-out platform on a tree.  
 lap \lap v.<sup>11</sup> see lam \lam and lam \lam.  
 lat \lat v.<sup>11</sup> see lan \lan and lang \lan.  
 \*lau, lau \lau, \lau v. to be afraid.  
 lau \lau v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*lawi -læ: n. buffalo.  
 \*le \le: n. armpit; name of a scented mountain flower.  
 le \le: sp. variant of leh (q.v.) found in particle groups with a following ps. (see p. 111).  
 lecin \le:-cin sp. +ps. if you (see prec.).  
 leh, leh \le<sup>o</sup>, \le<sup>o</sup> v. to return.  
 lehlam, lehlam \le<sup>o</sup>\_lam, \le<sup>o</sup>\_lam v. +n. to go backwards (cf. lam \lam road).  
 leh \le<sup>o</sup>, \le<sup>o</sup> sp. and, with.  
 leh \le<sup>o</sup>, \le<sup>o</sup> sp. if, as.  
 lei, lei \lei, \lei v. to buy.  
 lei \lei n. tongue.  
 lei \lei n. bridge.  
 lei \lei v.<sup>11</sup> see lei \lei.  
 leih, leih \lei<sup>o</sup>, \lei<sup>o</sup> v. to add water to the beer pot.  
 leikha \lei\_xa: n. white ant.  
 lek, lek \lek, \lek v. to outweigh.  
 leklek \lek\_lek a. twinkling.  
 leng \lej sp. +ps. (see p. 111).  
 leng \lej sp. +ps. (see p. 111).  
 leuleu \leu\_leu a. once again.  
 liai \lai a. barely.  
 liai \lai a. harmoniously.  
 liau, liau \liau, \liau v. to pay a fine.  
 liau \liau v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally a fine (see prec.).  
 lo \lou n. taungya, field.  
 lo, loh \lou, \lou v. not to be, to be non-existent.  
 loh, loh \lou<sup>o</sup>, \lou<sup>o</sup> v. to settle down.  
 loh \lou<sup>o</sup> v.<sup>11</sup> see lo \lou.  
 lopa \lou\_pa: n.<sup>o</sup> +ns. grass (see p. 142).  
 lua \lua a. so much, too much. lua lua \lua \lua a. in abundance, in large quantities.  
 luai \luai n. cradle.  
 lui, lui \lui, \lui v. to be old.  
 lui \lui n. stream.  
 lui \lui v.<sup>11</sup> see lui \lui.  
 lup, lup \lu:p, \lu:p v. to fill, to prepare the beer pot ready for drinking.  
 lup \lu:p v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 lut, lut \lut, \lut v. to surrender; to enter.  
 lut \lut v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## M

ma -mä vpf. conveying sense of 'in front' (see p. 97, and cf. foll.).  
 makai \mä\_kai vpf. +v. to lead (a row of dancers) (cf. kai \kai).  
 ma \ma: ac. before.  
 \*ma -ma: n. sharp edge of a knife; wound.

mah **ma**<sup>o</sup>, **ma**<sup>o</sup> *a.* very, positively.  
 mah mah **ma**<sup>o</sup> **ma**<sup>o</sup> *a.* very. mah  
 taw **ma**<sup>o</sup> **to**: *a.?* + *sp.* interrogative  
 particle group (see p. 108).  
 \*mai, mai **mai**, **mai** *v.* to grope  
 after, feel for with the hand.  
 mai **mai** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 \*mai **mai** *n.* face.  
 \*mai **mai** *n.* golden pumpkin.  
 mai, mai **mai**, **mai** *v.* to be null,  
 void, to be dismissed (of a case at law.)  
 mai **mai** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 maih, maih **mai**<sup>o</sup>, **mai**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to plaster  
 with mud.  
 \*mak **mak** *n.* son-in-law; brother-  
 in-law.  
 mak, mak **mak**, **mak** *v.* to form  
 a rash.  
 makai, makaih **mai**<sup>o</sup> **kai**, **mai**<sup>o</sup> **kai**<sup>o</sup>  
*vpf.* + *v.* to lead.  
 makaih **mai**<sup>o</sup> **kai**<sup>o</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 \*mal, mal **mal**, **mal** *v.* to tear to  
 pieces.  
 mal **mal** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 \*mal **mal** *n.* a Chin who wears his  
 hair-knot at the back of his head.  
 malh, malh **mal**<sup>o</sup>, **mal**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to ex-  
 pand due to moisture, to swell with  
 moisture.  
 mam, mam **mam**, **mam** *v.* to  
 be straight.  
 mam **mam** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 man **man** *ac.* because. a hih man in  
**a** **hi**<sup>o</sup> **man** **in** for this reason,  
 because.  
 man, man **man**, **man** *v.* to finish.  
 man, man **man**, **man** *v.* to be  
 sticky.  
 man, mat **man**, **mat** *v.* to catch.  
 \*man, **man** *n.* price (see *fol.*).  
 man, mat **man**, **mat** *v.* to cost.  
 man **man** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see man **man** man  
**man** mang **map**, and mang  
**map**.  
 \*man **man** *n.* photograph.  
 man, man **man**, **man** *v.* to be  
 true.  
 \*man **man** *a.* easily, with little  
 effort.  
 man **man** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see man **man** and  
 mang **map**.  
 \*mang **map** *n.* dream.  
 mang, man **map**, **man** *v.* to be lost.

\*mang, man **map**, **man** *v.* to  
 accept, obey.  
 \*mang **map** *n.* official, lord.  
 \*mang, man **map**, **man** *v.* to be  
 exempted from duty.  
 manggilh, manggilh **map** **gil**<sup>o</sup>,  
**map** **gil**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to forget.  
 map, map **map**, **map** *v.* to exempt.  
 map **map** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 masa, masak **ma**<sup>o</sup> **sak**, **ma**<sup>o</sup> **sak**  
*vpf.* + *v.* to go in front, to be in front.  
 masak **ma**<sup>o</sup> **sak**  
*vpf.* + *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 masuan, masuat **ma**<sup>o</sup> **suan**, **ma**<sup>o</sup>  
**suat**  
*vpf.* + *v.* to let s. (usually  
 women or children) walk in front  
 along the path.  
 masuat **ma**<sup>o</sup> **suat**  
*vpf.* + *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 mat **mat** *v.*<sup>11</sup> used nominally prisoner,  
 captive (see man **man**).  
 mat **mat** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see man **man** and man  
**man**.  
 \*mat **mat** ? reserved. matgam  
**mat** **gam** ? + *n.* reserved forest.  
 \*mat **mat** *n.* four-anna piece.  
 \*mat **mat** *n.* mark.  
 \*mau **mau** *n.* (a kind of bamboo).  
 mawh, mawh **ma**<sup>o</sup>, **ma**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to be  
 guilty, to sin.  
 mawl, mawl **ma**<sup>o</sup>, **ma**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to be  
 blunt.  
 mawl, mawl **ma**<sup>o</sup>, **ma**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to play.  
 \*mawl **ma**<sup>o</sup> *n.* elephant's trunk.  
 mawl **ma**<sup>o</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup> see mawl **ma**<sup>o</sup> and  
 mawl **ma**<sup>o</sup>.  
 \*meh **me**<sup>o</sup> *n.* curry.  
 mei **mei** *n.* tail.  
 mi **mi**: *n.* person. mihing **mi**: **hiq**,  
**mi** **hiq** *n.*<sup>o</sup> + *v.*<sup>1</sup> human being.  
 miksi **mi**: **si**: *n.* ants.  
 min, min **min**, **min** *v.* to be cooked.  
 min **min** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 mit **mit** *n.* eye.  
 molh **mol**<sup>o</sup> *n.* club, cudgel.  
 mu, muh **mu**: **mu**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to see.  
 muat, muat **muat**, **muat** *v.* to  
 decay, go bad.  
 muat **muat** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 muh **mu**<sup>o</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup> see mu **mu**:.

## N

na- **na** *ppf.* you, your.  
 na- **na** *vpf.* (see pp. 98-99). napai

**na**-**pai**, **na**-**pai** *vpf.* + *v.* to go on  
 ahead (by oneself). napo **na**-**pou**,  
**na**-**pou** *vpf.* + *v.* to grow by itself.  
 na-**na**: **na** *ns.* (see pp. 100-1).  
 na, nat **na**: **na** *v.* to be ill, to be  
 painful, to hurt.  
 na **na**: *n.* thing, object.  
 \*nah, **na**<sup>o</sup> *n.* leaf.  
 \*nai **nai** *n.* hour, clock, watch.  
 nai, nai **nai**, **nai** *v.* to be near  
 (*intr.*) (see p. 83).  
 \*nai **nai** *n.* silk; pus.  
 nai, naih **nai**, **nai**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to draw near  
 (*intr.*) (see p. 83).  
 nai **nai** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nai **nai**.  
 naih, naih **nai**<sup>o</sup>, **nai**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to draw  
 (someone) near (*tr.*) (see p. 83).  
 naih **nai**<sup>o</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nai **nai**.  
 nainai **na**: **nai** *a.* all over the place.  
 \*nak **nak** *a.* spitefully.  
 \*nak **nak** *n.* rib.  
 \*nak **nak** *n.* source.  
 nak, nak **nak**, **nak** *v.* to breathe.  
 nak **nak** *v.*<sup>11</sup> used nominally nose (see  
*prec.*).  
 \*nam **nam** *n.* family, clan; a strap  
 for carrying loads.  
 nam, nam **nam**, **nam** *v.* to be smelly,  
 to smell (*intr.*).  
 nam, nap **nam**, **nap** *v.* to smell  
 (*tr.*) (cf. *prec.*).  
 nam **nam** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nam **nam**.  
 \*nam **nam** *n.* dagger.  
 nan **nan** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nang **nap**.  
 nang **nap** *n.* you.  
 \*nang, nan **nap**, **nan** *v.* to defend,  
 protect; to reach.  
 nang **nap** *n.*<sup>o</sup> your (cf. nang **nap**).  
 nang **na** **na** *a.* *n.*<sup>o</sup> + *ns.* yours.  
 nang **nap** *n.* + *pp.* (see p. 112).  
 nang, nat **nap**, **nat** *v.* to be weak.  
 nang **nap** *ns.* + *na.* (see pp. 100, 112).  
 \*nang **nap** *n.* a plait of bamboo.  
 nangmah **nap** **ma**<sup>o</sup> *n.* you (cf. nang  
**nap**).  
 \*nap **nap** *n.* mucus, snot.  
 nap, **nap** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nam **nam**.  
 napai, napai **na**-**pai**, **na**-**pai** *vpf.* +  
*v.* to go on ahead by oneself (see  
 na- **na**).  
 napai **na**-**pai** *vpf.* + *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 napo **na**-**pou**, **na**-**pou** *vpf.* + *v.* to  
 grow by itself (see na- **na**).

napo **na**-**pou** *vpf.* + *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 nat **nat** *v.*<sup>11</sup> used nominally illness,  
 disease (cf. na- **na**).  
 nat **nat** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nang **nap**.  
 nau **nau** *n.* younger brother or  
 sister. nau **nau** *n.*<sup>o</sup> + *ns.*  
 younger brother. nau **nau** *n.*<sup>o</sup> + *ns.*  
 younger sister.  
 \*nawi **nai** *n.* nipple, breast, milk.  
 nawn **nai** *a.* any more, no more.  
 ne, ne(e)k **ne**: **ne**: *v.* to eat or  
 drink, consume.  
 neek **ne**: *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 \*neh **ne**<sup>o</sup> *n.* lower lip.  
 neh, neh **ne**<sup>o</sup>, **ne**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to draw close  
 together, to cuddle up close to one  
 another.  
 nei in neita **nei**: **ta**: *n.* + *sp.*? for nang  
 eita (see p. 112).  
 nei, neih **nei**, **nei**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to have (of  
 weather, &c.).  
 neih **nei**<sup>o</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 nek **ne**: *v.*<sup>11</sup> see ne **ne**:.  
 nel **nel** *n.* anus, vent.  
 neu, neu **neu**, **neu** *v.* to be small.  
 neu **neu** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 ni **ni** *ps.* (see p. 110).  
 ni **ni**: *n.* sun, day. tuni **tu**: **ni**: *n.*<sup>o</sup> +  
*n.*<sup>o</sup> today. niloh **ni** **lou** *n.* (+?) all  
 day long (see p. 141). nisa **ni**-**sa**:  
*n.* + *v.*<sup>1</sup> sunshine (cf. sa **sa**:). nitak  
**ni** **ta**: *n.* (+?) evening (see p. 141).  
 ni **ni**: *ps.* (see p. 110).  
 niloh **ni** **lou** *n.* all day long (see ni  
**ni**:).  
 ning **niq** *ps.* (see p. 110).  
 nisa **ni**-**sa**: *n.* + *v.*<sup>1</sup> see ni **ni**:.  
 nitak **ni** **ta**: *n.* see ni **ni**:.  
 nong **nop** *ppf.* + *pv.* (see p. 112).  
 nop **nop** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see nuam **nuam**.  
 nu **nu** *ps.* (see p. 111).  
 \*nu **nu**: *n.* mother.  
 nu **nu** *ns.* (see pp. 100-1).  
 nuai **nuai** *na.* underneath, below.  
 nuak, nuak **nuak**, **nuak** *v.* to sulk,  
 go off in a huff, go on strike.  
 nuak **nuak** *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 nuam, nop **nuam**, **nop** *v.* to want  
 (to do something), to yearn for.  
 nui, nuih **nui**: **nui**<sup>o</sup> *v.* to laugh.  
 nuih **nui**<sup>o</sup> *v.*<sup>11</sup> see *prec.*  
 nung **nuq** *n.* back.  
 nung **nuq** *ps.* (see p. 111).

nunun ˈnũːnun v.<sup>11</sup> see foll.  
 nunung, nunun ˈnũːnuŋ, ˈnũːnun v.  
 to be behind (cf. nung ˈnuŋ).  
 nusia, nusiat ˈnũːsia, ˈnũːsiat v. to  
 leave.  
 nusiat ˈnũːsiat v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## NG

\*nga ˈŋa: n. fish. ngasa ˈŋãːsa:  
 n. + n. fish, fishes.  
 nga, ngak ˈŋa:, ˈŋak v. to lay down.  
 ngah, ngah ˈŋaʔ, ˈŋaʔ v. to receive,  
 get.  
 ngai, ngaih ˈŋai:, ˈŋaiʔ v. to love, to  
 fall in love.  
 \*ngaih, ngaih ˈŋaiʔ, ˈŋaiʔ to be sweet,  
 harmonious, melodious (cf. prec.).  
 ngaih ˈŋaiʔ v.<sup>11</sup> see ngai ˈŋai.  
 ngak ˈŋak v.<sup>11</sup> see nga ˈŋa:  
 ngak, ngak ˈŋa:k, ˈŋa:k v. to wait.  
 ngak ˈŋa:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*ngal ˈŋal n. wild pig.  
 ngasa ˈŋãːsa: n.n. see nga ˈŋa:  
 ngat, ngat ˈŋat, ˈŋat v. to face to-  
 wards, point at.  
 ngat, ngat ˈŋa:t, ˈŋa:t v. to be slen-  
 der; to be strict.  
 ngat ˈŋa:t v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*ngau ˈŋau n. ape.  
 ngawng ˈŋəŋ n. neck.  
 \*ngei ˈŋe:i a. tenderly.  
 \*ngei ˈŋe:i a. certainly, to be sure.  
 ngen, nget ˈŋe:n, ˈŋet v. to ask for.  
 nget ˈŋet v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*ngim, ngim ˈŋim, ˈŋim v. to aim  
 at.  
 ngim ˈŋim v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 ngiungeu ˈŋi:uŋe:u a. very slender;  
 in coils.  
 \*ngoi ˈŋoi n. intestines.

## O

oh ˈouʔ x. (see p. 115).  
 om, om ˈom, ˈom v. to be present.  
 om ˈom v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 ong ˈoŋ p. variant of hong ˈhoŋ (see  
 p. 113).

## P

\*pa ˈpa: n. father.  
 pa ˈpa: ns. see pp. 100-1 (cf. pa  
 ˈpa).  
 pa, pat ˈpa:, ˈpat v. to be thin.

\*pa ˈpa: n. male person.  
 pah ˈpaʔ, ˈpaʔ a. instantly, at once.  
 pahpah ˈpaʔˈpaʔ a. again and  
 again.  
 pah ˈpaʔ v.<sup>11</sup> see pak ˈpak and pap  
 ˈpap.  
 pai, pai ˈpai, ˈpai v. to go.  
 pai ˈpai v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 pai, pai ˈpai, ˈpai v. to conceive, be  
 pregnant, carry a child.  
 \*pai, pai ˈpai:, ˈpai v. to worship,  
 pray.  
 \*pai, paih ˈpai:, ˈpaiʔ v. to throw  
 away.  
 pai ˈpai v.<sup>11</sup> see pai ˈpai and pai  
 ˈpai.  
 paih ˈpaiʔ v.<sup>11</sup> see pai ˈpai.  
 pak, pah ˈpak, ˈpaʔ v. to be of loose  
 character.  
 \*pak ˈpak a. immediately (cf. pah  
 ˈpaʔ, and see p. 94).  
 \*pak ˈpak n. flower.  
 pal, pal ˈpal, ˈpal v. to stumble.  
 \*pal ˈpal a. early.  
 pal ˈpal v.<sup>11</sup> see pal ˈpal.  
 palh, palh ˈpalʔ, ˈpalʔ v. to open up,  
 to blossom.  
 \*pam, ˈpa:m a. nearly.  
 pan, pan ˈpan, ˈpan v. to be very  
 thin.  
 pan ˈpan pnp. from.  
 pan, pat ˈpan, ˈpat v. to start.  
 pan ˈpan v.<sup>11</sup> see pan ˈpan and pang  
 ˈpaŋ.  
 pan ˈpa:n v.<sup>11</sup> see pang ˈpa:ŋ.  
 pang, pan ˈpaŋ, ˈpan v. to lie in wait.  
 \*pang ˈpaŋ n. side.  
 pang, pan ˈpaŋ, ˈpa:n v. to stop; to  
 defend.  
 \*pang ˈpa:ŋ n. side of the head;  
 cheek (cf. pang ˈpaŋ).  
 \*pang ˈpa:ŋ a. carelessly.  
 pap, pah ˈpap, ˈpaʔ v. to immerse.  
 \*pat ˈpat n. cotton.  
 pat ˈpat v.<sup>11</sup> see pan ˈpan.  
 pat, pat ˈpat, ˈpat v. to pound into  
 shreds, to shred, to fray.  
 pat ˈpat v.<sup>11</sup> see pa ˈpa:  
 pat ˈpat v.<sup>11</sup> see pat ˈpat.  
 pau, pau ˈpau, ˈpau v. to speak.  
 pau ˈpau v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*pawi ˈpə:i n. a Chin who wears his  
 hair-knot on the top of his head.

\*pe ˈpe: n. anna.  
 \*peek ˈpe:k n. sheet.  
 peek, peek ˈpe:k, ˈpe:k v. to be flat.  
 peek ˈpe:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 peh, peh ˈpeʔ, ˈpeʔ v. to join up.  
 pen ˈpe:n pp. (see p. 43).  
 peuh a. in peuhmah ˈpeuʔˈmaʔ  
 a. + a. really, actually. peuh peuh  
 ˈpeuʔˈpeuʔ a. whatsoever.  
 pi ˈpi: ns. khapi ˈxãːpi: n. + ns.  
 moon (cf. kha ˈxa:). sangpi  
 ˈsa:ŋpi: v. + ns. to be very high.  
 pial khang ˈpial-xaŋ n. inner room.  
 pian ˈpian v.<sup>11</sup> see foll.  
 piang, pian ˈpiãŋ, ˈpian v. to happen,  
 occur.  
 pih ˈpiʔ, ˈpiʔ ns. all, together. a  
 innkuan pih te ˈãːin-kuan-piʔˈte:  
 all his family.  
 po, po ˈpou, ˈpou v. to grow.  
 po ˈpou v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 pu ˈpu: n. grandfather (respectful  
 form of address).  
 pua, puak ˈpua, ˈpuak v. to carry.  
 puak ˈpuak v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 puan ˈpuan n. cloth, blanket.  
 puk, puk ˈpu:k, ˈpu:k v. to fall.  
 puk ˈpu:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 pum ˈpum n. body. pumpi ˈpum-pi:  
 or ˈpum-pi: n. + ns. body.

## PH

pha, phak ˈpha:, ˈpha:k v. to over-  
 take.  
 pha, phat ˈpha:, ˈphat v. to be good.  
 phah, phah ˈphaʔ, ˈphaʔ v. to lay, to  
 spread.  
 phak ˈpha:k v.<sup>11</sup> see pha ˈpha:  
 \*phak, phak ˈpha:k, ˈpha:k v. to be  
 leprous.  
 phak ˈpha:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*phal, phal ˈphal, ˈphal v. to allow.  
 phal ˈphal v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 phalbi ˈphal-bi: n. winter.  
 \*pham, pham ˈpham, ˈpham v. to  
 die (poetic).  
 pham ˈpham v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*phan, phan ˈphan, ˈphan v. to  
 weave, plait (a basket).  
 phan ˈphan v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 phat ˈphat v.<sup>11</sup> see pha ˈpha:  
 \*phe ˈphe: n. fin.

phe, phet ˈphe:, ˈphet v. to tremble,  
 to twinkle.  
 phe ˈphe: n. thigh.  
 phet ˈphet v.<sup>11</sup> see phe ˈphe:  
 pho, pho ˈphou, ˈphou v. to dry.  
 pho ˈphou v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 phot ˈphot a. firstly (see p. 94).  
 phuai, phuai ˈphuai, ˈphuai v. to  
 scratch with a nail or claw.  
 phuai ˈphuai v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 phuk, phuk ˈphu:k, ˈphu:k v. to fell  
 (cf. puk ˈpu:k).  
 phuk ˈphu:k v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

## S

sa ˈsa: a. already.  
 sa ˈsa: n. flesh, meat; wild game.  
 salak ˈsãːlak n. + na. in among the  
 meat. sasem ˈsãːsem n. + v. meat-  
 carver.  
 sa, sak ˈsa:, ˈsak v. to be hot; to  
 hope, believe. nisa ˈniːsa: n. + v. 1  
 sunshine.  
 sa, sak ˈsa:, ˈsak v. to sing; to be im-  
 pressed. kisa, kisak ˈkiːsa:, ˈkiːsak  
 vpf. + v. to feel.  
 sagih ˈsãːgiʔ q. seven.  
 sah, sah ˈsaʔ, ˈsaʔ v. to be thick.  
 sah ˈsaʔ v.<sup>11</sup> see sat ˈsat and sak ˈsak.  
 sai, sai ˈsai, ˈsai v. to take charge of,  
 look after.  
 sai ˈsai v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*sai ˈsai n. elephant.  
 sai, sai ˈsai, ˈsai v. to press a trigger.  
 sai ˈsai v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*sak ˈsak n. north.  
 sak ˈsak v.<sup>11</sup> see sa ˈsa: and sa ˈsa:  
 sak, sah ˈsak, ˈsaʔ v. to be hard,  
 rigid.  
 sak, sak, ˈsak, ˈsak v. to let, cause  
 (to be done.)  
 sakhi ˈsãːxi: n. barking deer.  
 \*sal ˈsal n. slave.  
 \*sal, salh ˈsal, ˈsalʔ v. to stare at; to  
 flash a torch.  
 \*sal ˈsal n. barn.  
 salak see sa ˈsa:  
 salh ˈsalʔ v.<sup>11</sup> see sal ˈsal.  
 \*sam ˈsam n. hair.  
 sam, sap ˈsam, ˈsap v. to call, to  
 invite.  
 sam, sam ˈsam, ˈsam v. to incant.

\*sam, sap \sam, \sap v. to be short of.  
 sam \sam v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally incantation (cf. sam -sam).  
 san, san -san, \san v. to be red.  
 \*san \san n. place, spot, point.  
 san \san v.<sup>11</sup> see san -san.  
 san, san \sain, \sain v. to accelerate.  
 san, san -sain, \sain v. to pull taut, stretch; to foretell the future.  
 san \sain v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally act of acceptance (cf. sang -sang).  
 san \sain v.<sup>11</sup> see san \sain, san -sain, and sang -sang.  
 sane \sain:ne: n. + v.<sup>1</sup> eating meat (cf. sa \sa: and ne \ne:).  
 \*sang \sang n. school.  
 sang, san -sang, \sang v. to be high; to accept. sangpi -sangpi: v. + nvs. to be very high.  
 sap \sap v.<sup>11</sup> see sam \sam, and sam \sam.  
 sap, sap -sap, \sap v. to rent.  
 sap \sap v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 sasem \saisem n. + v.<sup>1</sup> meat-carver (see sa \sa: and sem \sem).  
 sat, sah \sat, \sa v. to jerk, to pull up (creepers).  
 sat, sat \sart, \sart v. to hit, beat. kisat kha \ki\sart \xa: vpf. + v. + v. to hit oneself by mistake.  
 sat \sart v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 sau, sau \sau, \sau v. to be long.  
 sau \sau v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 sawp, sawp \sawp, \sawp v. to watch.  
 sawp \sawp v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 sawt \sawt n. a long time. sawtpi \sawtpi: n. + nvs. a very long time.  
 \*se -se: a. defiantly, in defiance of prohibition, in deliberate disobedience. amah pai se(se) he went without permission.  
 \*seem, sep \seem, \sep v. to do, perform (work).  
 \*seeng \seeng n. a woman's basket.  
 seep, seep -seep, \seep v. to winnow.  
 seep \seep v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 seh, seh \se, \se v. to design; to cover with a blanket.  
 sek \sek n. hammer.  
 \*sem \sem n. crowbar.  
 sem, sem \sem, \sem v. to cut, carve. sasem \saisem n. + v.<sup>1</sup> meat-carver.

sem \sem v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 sep \sep v.<sup>11</sup> see seem \seem.  
 \*seu -seu n. a big cone-shaped basket.  
 seusau \seu \sau a. abundantly.  
 si \si: n. blood; sesamum. sisan, sisan \si-san, \si-san n. + v. to bleed (cf. san -san).  
 si, sih -si:, \si v. to die. sita \si-tar v. + a. to die instantly.  
 si, sik \si:, \sik v. to fight with horns (e.g. of mithans).  
 sia, siat \sia, \siat v. to spoil.  
 sia -sia n. teacher, master.  
 siah \sia v. n. tax.  
 siah, siah \sia, \sia v. to set (a trap).  
 sial -sial n. mithan.  
 siat \siat v.<sup>11</sup> see sia \sia.  
 sih \si v.<sup>11</sup> see si -si.  
 sik \sik v.<sup>11</sup> see si -si.  
 silh, silh \sil, \sil v. to wear.  
 sim \sim a. secretly.  
 sim -sim q. every. nisim \ni-sim n. + q. every day.  
 sin \sin in sin aw leh \sin -ə: \le<sup>o</sup> particle group, see p. 108.  
 suah \sua v.<sup>11</sup> see foll.  
 suak, suah \suak, \sua v. to become; to be born.  
 suh \su v.<sup>11</sup> see sut \sut.  
 \*sum \sum n. mortar.  
 \*sum -sum n. money.  
 sun, sut \sun, \sut v. to pierce.  
 sun \sun v.<sup>11</sup> see sung \sup.  
 sun \sun n. daytime.  
 sung, sun \sup, \sun v. to pour.  
 sung -sup na. inside, in.  
 sut, suh \sut, \su v. to snatch.  
 sut \sut v.<sup>11</sup> see sun \sun.

## T

\*ta \ta: n. offspring, child. tapa \tapa: n. + ns. son.  
 ta \ta: a. now, at once. sita \si-ta: to die instantly (cf. si -si).  
 \*tah \ta, \ta a. already.  
 tah \ta v.<sup>11</sup> see tat \tat.  
 \*tai -tai n. mile.  
 tai, tai \tai, \tai v. to scold, blame, nag.  
 tai, tai -tai, \tai v. to run, to flee.  
 \*tai, taih \tai, \tai v. to plane wood.  
 tai \tai v.<sup>11</sup> see tai \tai and tai -tai.

taih, taih \tai, \tai v. to rob; to tackle (in football).  
 taih \tai v.<sup>11</sup> see tai \tai.  
 \*tak \tak n. the right (side) (cf. foll.).  
 tak, tak \tak, \tak v. to be right, correct. takpi \takpi: v. + nvs. really, truly, thoroughly.  
 \*tak -tak n. pine tree.  
 \*tak, tak -tak, \tak v. to be strong; to be old.  
 tak \tak v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 takpi \takpi: v. + nvs. really, truly, thoroughly (see tak \tak v.).  
 taksan, taksan \tak-sang, \tak-san v. to believe (cf. tak \tak v.).  
 taksan \tak-san v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*tal \tal n. forehead.  
 tam, tam, \tam, \tam v. to be many, much. tampi \tampi: v. + nvs. many.  
 tam -tam sp. (see p. 108).  
 tam, tam -tam, \tam v. to be level.  
 tam \tam v.<sup>11</sup> see tam \tam and tam -tam.  
 \*tam, tam \tam, \tap v. to break; to name after.  
 tam, tam -tam, \tam v. to spend the night, to stay overnight.  
 tam \tam v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 tampi \tampi: v. + nvs. many (see tam \tam).  
 tan, tan \tan, \tan v. to cut off.  
 tan -tan n. calf (of the leg).  
 \*tan, tat \tan, \tat v. to give a share to; to deliver, to purchase.  
 tan \tan v.<sup>11</sup> see tan \tan, tang \tang, and tang -tang.  
 \*tan \tan n. standard.  
 \*tan, tan -tam, \tam v. to be deprived of.  
 tan, tat \tam, \tat v. to throw light, flash light at s. (cf. tang -tang, and see p. 83).  
 tan \tam v.<sup>11</sup> see tan -tam and tang -tang.  
 \*tang \tang n. seed.  
 \*tang, tan \tang, \tan v. to own.  
 tang, tan -tang, \tan v. to be straight.  
 \*tang \tang n. chickenpox.  
 \*tang \tang na. instead of.  
 \*tang -tang n. millet.  
 tang, tan -tang, \tan v. to be bright.

\*tang, tat \tang, \tat v. to be ancient; to move.  
 tangteuh -tang-teu n. skink.  
 tap \tap n. earthwork forming a hearth in the floor of a house.  
 tap \tap v.<sup>11</sup> see tam \tam.  
 tat, tah \tat, \ta v. to strike against.  
 tat \tat v.<sup>11</sup> see tan \tan, tan \tan, and tang \tang.  
 tau, tau \tauau, \tauau v. to groan, moan.  
 \*tau -tau n. bangle.  
 tau \tauau n. platform, tower.  
 tau \tauau v.<sup>11</sup> see tau \tauau.  
 tau \tauau: in mah tau \ma<sup>o</sup> \tauau: (see mah \ma<sup>o</sup>, \ma<sup>o</sup>).  
 \*tawh \tau<sup>o</sup> n. key.  
 tawh \tau<sup>o</sup>, \tau<sup>o</sup> pnp. with (see pp. 63, 104).  
 tawntung \tau<sup>o</sup>n-tung ac. always.  
 tawp, tawp -tau:p, \tau<sup>o</sup>:p v. to stop.  
 tawp \tau<sup>o</sup>:p v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 te \te: ns. see pp. 100-1.  
 te, tet -te:, \tet v. to glitter.  
 \*teh \te<sup>o</sup> n. leaf.  
 te(h) \te<sup>o</sup>, \te<sup>o</sup> ps. (see pp. 110-11).  
 teh, teh \te<sup>o</sup>, \te<sup>o</sup> v. to measure; to give rein to uncontrollable feelings.  
 tem -tem n. knife.  
 te'n \te:n ns. + pp. (see pp. 35, 112).  
 teng -teq q. all.  
 tet \tet v.<sup>11</sup> see te -te:  
 \*tiuteu \tiu-teu a. very tiny.  
 to \tou n. building (usually a public building, not a dwelling house).  
 tu \tu: n. now. tu dong \tu: \dong n. + ac. up to now, to this day.  
 tu \tu: n. hoe.  
 tu \tu: n.<sup>o</sup> this (cf. tu \tu:). tu ni \tu:ni: n.<sup>o</sup> + n.<sup>o</sup> today.  
 tua -tua n. that. tua te -tua \te: n. + ns. those.  
 tuan \tuan v.<sup>11</sup> see foll.  
 tuang, tuan -tuang, \tuan v. to perch.  
 tui \tui n. water.  
 \*tui \tui n. egg.  
 tuk, tuk -tuk, \tuk v. to collapse, fall down, to roll (intr.).  
 tuk \tuk v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 tum, tum \tum, \tum v. to beat.  
 tum \tum v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 tun \tun v.<sup>11</sup> see tung \tung and tung -tung.

tung  $\langle$ tup na. over, on.  
 tung, tun  $\langle$ tup,  $\langle$ tun v. to arrive.  
 tung, tun  $\langle$ tup,  $\langle$ tun v. to be set  
 upright.  
 tung  $\langle$ tup ac. early.

## TH

\*tha  $\langle$ tha: n. strength.  
 thah  $\langle$ tha: v.<sup>11</sup> see that  $\langle$ that and  
 thak  $\langle$ thak.  
 \*thai, thai  $\langle$ thai,  $\langle$ thai v. to scratch  
 the soil.  
 \*thai  $\langle$ thai n. cards, dice.  
 thai  $\langle$ thai v.<sup>11</sup> see thai  $\langle$ thai.  
 thak, thah  $\langle$ thak,  $\langle$ tha v. to be hot  
 (e.g. of chillies); to itch.  
 thak, thak  $\langle$ thak,  $\langle$ thak v. to be new  
 (see pp. 18, 20).  
 \*thal  $\langle$ thal n. bow.  
 \*thal  $\langle$ thal n. (a kind of tree).  
 \*thalh, thalh  $\langle$ thal,  $\langle$ thal v. to  
 choke.  
 \*tham  $\langle$ tham n. python.  
 \*tham, tham  $\langle$ tham,  $\langle$ tham v. to  
 delay, to remain.  
 tham  $\langle$ tham v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*than  $\langle$ than n. maggot.  
 than  $\langle$ than v.<sup>11</sup> see than  $\langle$ thap.  
 thankik  $\langle$ than-kik n. chameleon.  
 thang, than  $\langle$ thap,  $\langle$ than v. to be  
 famous, renowned.  
 thang  $\langle$ thap n. snare, trap.  
 \*thang  $\langle$ thap a. publicly, widely.  
 that, thah  $\langle$ that,  $\langle$ tha v. to kill.  
 thau, thau  $\langle$ thau,  $\langle$ thau v. to be  
 fat.  
 thau  $\langle$ thau n. gun.  
 thau  $\langle$ thau v.<sup>11</sup> see thau  $\langle$ thau.  
 thawh  $\langle$ thaw v.<sup>11</sup> see tho  $\langle$ thou.  
 \*the  $\langle$ the: n. cicada.  
 \*theh, theh  $\langle$ the,  $\langle$ the v. to throw,  
 scatter.  
 thei, theih  $\langle$ thei,  $\langle$ thei v. to know,  
 to be able to.  
 theih  $\langle$ thei v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*Thiau  $\langle$ thiau n. (a personal name).  
 tho, thawh  $\langle$ thou,  $\langle$ thaw v. to spring  
 up, rise up.  
 thovai  $\langle$ thou-va: n. small flies,  
 &c.  
 thu  $\langle$ thu: n. story, affair.  
 thuau  $\langle$ thuau a. fleecily (sic VZT).

## U

u  $\langle$ u: n. elder brother or sister. upa  
 $\langle$ u:pa: n.<sup>o</sup>+ns. elder brother.  
 ua  $\langle$ ua ps.? (see p. 112).  
 u, uh  $\langle$ u,  $\langle$ u ps. (see pp. 102, 109-  
 10).  
 ui  $\langle$ wi: n. dog.  
 un  $\langle$ un ps. (see p. 111).  
 un  $\langle$ un ps. (see p. 110).  
 ung  $\langle$ ung ps. (see pp. 109-10).  
 upa  $\langle$ u:pa n.<sup>o</sup>+ns. elder brother  
 (see u  $\langle$ u:).

## V

va-  $\langle$ va vpf. indicating 'away from  
 speaker' (see p. 98). vakheem  
 $\langle$ va-xe:m vpf.+v. to go off and de-  
 ceive. vapai  $\langle$ va-pai vpf.+v. to go  
 away.  
 va  $\langle$ va: n. bird. valah  $\langle$ va-la n.+?  
 a small game bird. vasa  $\langle$ va-sa:  
 n.+n. birds. vasabu  $\langle$ va-sa-bu:  
 n.+n.+n. bird's nest.  
 va, vak  $\langle$ va:,  $\langle$ vak v. to have an  
 aptitude for.  
 vah, vah  $\langle$ va,  $\langle$ va v. to be replete.  
 vai  $\langle$ vai n. husk, chaff.  
 vai  $\langle$ vai v. to be giddy (Form II  
 probably vaih, but not attested).  
 vak  $\langle$ vak v.<sup>11</sup> see va  $\langle$ va:  
 vak, vak  $\langle$ va:k,  $\langle$ va:k v. to walk.  
 vak, vak  $\langle$ va:k,  $\langle$ va:k v. to feed, to  
 light (a lamp).  
 vak  $\langle$ va:k v.<sup>11</sup> see vak  $\langle$ va:k and vak  
 $\langle$ va:k.  
 \*val, val  $\langle$ val,  $\langle$ val v. to be flirta-  
 tious.  
 val  $\langle$ val v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*val  $\langle$ val a. in excess, extra.  
 valah  $\langle$ va-la n.+? see va  $\langle$ va:  
 valh, valh  $\langle$ val,  $\langle$ val v. to swallow.  
 \*vam  $\langle$ vam n. ashes (when a taungya  
 is burnt).  
 \*van  $\langle$ van n. load.  
 van  $\langle$ van v.<sup>11</sup> see vang  $\langle$ vang and vang  
 $\langle$ vang.  
 \*van  $\langle$ vam n. sky, heaven.  
 vang, van  $\langle$ vang,  $\langle$ van v. to be sparse,  
 far apart.  
 vang  $\langle$ vang n. hole.  
 vang, van  $\langle$ vang,  $\langle$ van v. to form a  
 hole (cf. prec.).

\*vang  $\langle$ vang n. (a kind of tree).  
 \*vang  $\langle$ vang n. twilight.  
 \*vang  $\langle$ vang n. power.  
 vasa  $\langle$ va-sa: n.+n. birds (see va  
 $\langle$ va:).  
 vasam, vasap  $\langle$ va-sam,  $\langle$ va-sap vpf.  
 +v. to (go and) call.  
 vasap  $\langle$ va-sap v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 vat, vat  $\langle$ vat,  $\langle$ vat v. to beat down.  
 vat  $\langle$ vat v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*vat  $\langle$ vat a. forcefully (see p. 94).  
 vau, vau  $\langle$ vau,  $\langle$ vau v. to strike, to  
 threaten, raise the arm as if to  
 strike.  
 vau  $\langle$ vau v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*veh, veh  $\langle$ ve,  $\langle$ ve v. to comfort the  
 sick.  
 veh e  $\langle$ ve -e: participle group ex-  
 pressing surprise or unexpectedness  
 (see pp. 107-8).  
 ven  $\langle$ ven v.<sup>11</sup> see veng  $\langle$ veng.  
 ven  $\langle$ ven sp. (see p. 108).  
 veng, ven  $\langle$ veng,  $\langle$ ven v. to be over.  
 vok  $\langle$ vok n. pig. vokgawl  $\langle$ vok-go:l  
 n.+n. pig fence.  
 \*vom  $\langle$ vom n. bear.  
 vom, vom  $\langle$ vom,  $\langle$ vom v. to be black.  
 vom  $\langle$ vom v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 vuanpa  $\langle$ vuan-pa: ?+ns. doctor.  
 vun  $\langle$ vun v.<sup>11</sup> see foll.  
 vung, vun  $\langle$ vung  $\langle$ vun v. to be  
 swollen.

## Z

\*za  $\langle$ za: n. rank.  
 za, zak  $\langle$ za:,  $\langle$ zak v. to hear.  
 za  $\langle$ za: n. medicine. zato  $\langle$ za-tou  
 n.+n. hospital (cf. to  $\langle$ to).  
 za, zat  $\langle$ za:,  $\langle$ zat v. to be broad, wide.  
 \*za  $\langle$ za: q. hundred.  
 \*zah  $\langle$ za: a. much.  
 zai, zai  $\langle$ zai,  $\langle$ zai v. to be wide, broad.  
 zai  $\langle$ zai v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 \*zak  $\langle$ zak a. with full force (see p.  
 94).  
 zak  $\langle$ zak v.<sup>11</sup> used nominally that  
 which is heard, something heard  
 (cf. za  $\langle$ za:).  
 zak  $\langle$ zak v.<sup>11</sup> see za  $\langle$ za:  
 zak, zak  $\langle$ zak,  $\langle$ zak v. to spread a  
 blanket.  
 zak  $\langle$ zak v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.

zam, zam  $\langle$ za:m,  $\langle$ za:m v. to fall to  
 the ground.  
 zam, zam  $\langle$ za:m,  $\langle$ za:m v. to shoot,  
 grow up, like creepers.  
 \*zam  $\langle$ za:m n. gong.  
 zam  $\langle$ za:m v.<sup>11</sup> see zam  $\langle$ za:m and  
 zam  $\langle$ za:m.  
 zan, zan  $\langle$ zan,  $\langle$ zan v. to stretch.  
 zan  $\langle$ zan v.<sup>11</sup> see zan  $\langle$ zan, zang  $\langle$ zang,  
 and zang  $\langle$ zang.  
 zan, zan  $\langle$ zan,  $\langle$ zan v. to break to  
 pieces.  
 zan  $\langle$ zan n.<sup>o</sup> yesterday (cf. foll.).  
 zan  $\langle$ zan n. night.  
 zan  $\langle$ zan v.<sup>11</sup> see zan  $\langle$ zan, zang  
 $\langle$ zang, and zang  $\langle$ zang.  
 \*zang  $\langle$ zang n. strand (of hair, or  
 cord).  
 zang, zang  $\langle$ zang,  $\langle$ zan v. to be capable  
 of reaching far or of revolving for a  
 long time.  
 \*zang, zan  $\langle$ zang,  $\langle$ zan v. to use.  
 zang, zan  $\langle$ zang,  $\langle$ zan v. to be light.  
 zang  $\langle$ zang n. level ground (cf. foll.).  
 zang, zan  $\langle$ zang,  $\langle$ zan v. to be level.  
 zang, zat  $\langle$ zang,  $\langle$ zat v. to lose.  
 \*zap, zap  $\langle$ zap,  $\langle$ zap v. to fan.  
 zap  $\langle$ zap v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 zat v.<sup>11</sup> see za  $\langle$ za: and zang  
 $\langle$ zang.  
 \*zau, zauh  $\langle$ zau,  $\langle$ zau v. to stir.  
 zauh  $\langle$ zau v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 zawh  $\langle$ zaw v.<sup>11</sup> see zo  $\langle$ zou.  
 \*zeh  $\langle$ ze n. ritual observance.  
 zel  $\langle$ ze: a. often, constantly.  
 zel zal  $\langle$ zel  $\langle$ zal a. loudly.  
 zin, zin  $\langle$ zin,  $\langle$ zin v. to travel.  
 zin  $\langle$ zin v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 zing  $\langle$ zing n. morning. a zing  $\langle$ zing  
 ppf.+n.<sup>o</sup> next morning (see p. 141).  
 zingsang  $\langle$ zing-sang n. morning.  
 \*ziuzeu  $\langle$ zi-zeu a. gracefully (of a  
 tall person).  
 zo, zauh  $\langle$ zou,  $\langle$ zaw v. to be able to; to  
 finish, complete satisfactorily.  
 zol, zol  $\langle$ zol,  $\langle$ zol v. to be greasy.  
 zol  $\langle$ zol v.<sup>11</sup> see prec.  
 zong  $\langle$ zong fp. also.  
 zu  $\langle$ zu: n. mouse, rat. zusa  $\langle$ zu-sa:  
 n.+n. rats and mice, vermin.  
 zu  $\langle$ zu: n. beer made of millet, rice, or  
 certain other substances. zu be(e)l  
 $\langle$ zu-be:l,  $\langle$ zu-be:l beer pot.

- zuak, zuak -zuak, ~zuak *v.* to sell.  
 zuak ~zuak *v.*<sup>11</sup> *see prec.*  
 zuau, zuau ~zuau, ~zuau *v.* to lie.  
 zuau ~zuau *v.*<sup>11</sup> *see prec.*  
 zube(e)l -zu:-be:l, ~zū-be:l *see zu*  
 -zu:.
- zunun ~zū~nun *v.*<sup>11</sup> *used nominally*  
 feast, feasting (cf. *fol.*).  
 zunung, zunun ~zū~nuŋ, ~zū~nun *v.*  
 to give a feast.  
 zusa ~zū~sa: *n. + n.* rats and mice,  
 vermin (cf. *zu* ~zu:).

## INDEX

- abrupt onset, 22.  
 abrupt syllable-closure, 19, 20, 21-22,  
 76.  
 adjunctive phrases, 29, 48-51.  
 and pronominal concord, 43, 50, 51.  
 intonation of, 36, 50-51, 114, 116.  
 mood of, 40, 48, 51, 85.  
 particles proper to, 41, 48, 50.  
 placed elements of, 48.  
 sequences of constituent figures in,  
 48-50.  
 summary of properties of, 51-53.  
 unplaced elements of, 48, 50-51.  
 adverbial conjunctions, 62, 91.  
 and syllable-closure, 20, 91.  
 as constituents of adverbial figures,  
 69, 91.  
 pitch of, 20, 50, 91.  
 syllabic structure of, 20, 91.  
 adverbial figures, 41, 48-50.  
 intonation of, 55.  
 placed elements of, 69.  
 adverbs, 62, 92-94.  
 and chiming, 57, 94.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 93.  
 as constituents of verbal figures,  
 67-68, 92-93.  
 fusion of, 112.  
 of negation, 112.  
 pitch of, 19, 54, 94, 140.  
 reduplication of, 57, 93-94.  
 syllabic structure of, 94.  
 tonal properties of, 94.  
 vowel variation in, 57, 94.  
 affixes, 95-105.  
 as constituents of figures, 52, 62-68.  
 figure-final glottalization of, 60-62.  
 alternation:  
 of alveolar and velar consonants, 72,  
 74, 78.  
 of final consonants, 72, 74, 77-79.  
 of tones, 70, 72-84.  
 of vowels, 94.  
 assertive conjugation, 109, 110.  
 asterisks:  
 use of, 3.  
 auxiliaries:  
 nominal, 58, 62, 63-65, 92.  
 verbal, 62, 68, 92.  
 boundaries:  
 of 'figures within figures', 61, 103.  
 of linguistic units, 22, 37, 60, 62,  
 115, 143.  
 case:  
 and nominal suffixes, 59-60, 142.  
 as a characteristic of nominal figures,  
 59-60, 71.  
 direct, 59-60, 71  
 exponents of, 59-60, 70-71.  
 notation of, 59.  
 oblique, 59-60, 71.  
 causative forms, 83-84.  
 Central Chin, 20.  
 centralization of vowels, 11, 141.  
 chiming, 23, 57, 94.  
 notation of, 57.  
 Chin dialects, 1, 20, 26, 113.  
 citational figures, 41, 43, 46-47, 106,  
 115, 116.  
 intonation of, 38.  
 colloquial material:  
 grammatical analysis of, 113-17.  
 syllabic analysis of, 120-37.  
 colloquial style, 2, 106-17.  
 absence of particles in, 114.  
 in citational figures, 46, 47, 106.  
 in passages of direct speech, 46, 47,  
 106.  
 intonation of, 35, 107.  
 mood in, 84-85, 107, 111.  
 particles appropriate to, 37, 103,  
 107-8.  
 special characteristics of, 35, 42, 94,  
 101, 107-13.  
 word-classes characteristic of, 113.  
 conclusive sentences, 30, 31, 114, 116.  
 intonation of, 31.  
 intonation of constituent phrases of,  
 47.  
 mood of, 48, 84.

- concord, pronominal, 29, 32-33, 40, 43, 50, 51, 71, 96, 116, 117.
- conditional conjugation, 105, 109, 111.  
form of verb in, 111.
- conjugation:  
assertive, 109, 110.  
conditional, 105, 109, 111.  
future, 109, 110, 112.  
general, 109.  
imperative, 109, 110.  
negative general, 109, 110.  
negative imperative, 109, 110.
- conjunctions, adverbial, 62, 91.  
and syllable-closure, 20.  
as constituents of adverbial figures, 69, 91.  
phonological structure of, 20, 91.  
pitch of, 20, 50, 91.
- consonants:  
final, distribution of, 17.  
final, of stressed syllables, 17.  
initial, distribution of, 15, 16, 22.  
initial, frequency of occurrence of, 26.  
initial, of stressed syllables, 16.  
initial, of unstressed syllables, 18.  
pronunciation of, 9-11, 17.
- dependent words, 19, 62, 69, 92-94.  
as constituents of figures, 62.
- digraphs, 9-13.
- diphthongs, 11-12, 16.  
closing, 11, 12.  
falling, 12.  
initial possibilities before, 15.  
opening, 12.  
pronunciation of, 11-12.  
rising, 12.  
short weakly stressed, 141.
- direct case, 59-60, 71.
- direct form:  
notation of, 59.  
of nouns, 59, 70.  
tone of, 70.
- direct speech, 2.  
'direct speech within direct speech', 47, 115.  
style of, 46, 106.  
treatment of, 46, 47.
- elements:  
of figure structure, 52-69.  
of phrase structure, 33-52.  
of sentence structure, 29-33.  
of syllable structure, 19-28.
- exclamators, 113, 115.  
co-terminous with larger structures, 20, 113.  
pitch of, 19, 20, 115.  
'tonelessness' of, 20.
- exclamatory figures, 113.
- exclamatory phrases, 113.
- exclamatory sentences, 113, 114, 115.  
intonation of, 19, 114, 115.
- exponents:  
of abrupt syllable-closure, 25.  
of absence of concord, 71.  
of case, 59-60, 70-71.  
of figure intonation, 18, 19, 20, 48, 52-56, 94, 140, 142.  
of figure-final glottalization, 60-62.  
of figure-stress, 21, 58.  
of mood, 40, 48, 51.  
of phonematic units, 24, 72-73, 78.  
of phrase intonation, 18, 20, 33-39, 47-48, 50-51, 114, 115, 140, 141, 143.  
of pronominal concord, 71.  
of reduplication, 39.  
of sentence intonation, 18, 19, 20, 115.  
of syllable quantity, 21, 78.  
of syllable-tone, 19-20, 48, 51.  
of word-stress, 21.  
of word-tone, 94.  
simultaneous, 115.
- figure intonation, 38, 52-56, 58.  
and phrase intonation, 38, 55-56.  
compound patterns, 56, 140, 141.  
exponents of, 18, 19, 20, 48, 52-56, 94, 140, 142, 143.  
falling, 56.  
high-low, 52-54, 140, 141.  
levelling, 38, 55, 56, 116, 143, 144.  
low-high, 54-55, 94, 140, 142, 143.  
rising, 19, 55, 56, 114.  
special patterns, 55-56.
- figure-final glottalization, 60-62, 103, 142, 143.
- figure-linking intonation, 36-39, 114, 115, 140, 141, 143.  
compound, 39.
- figure-linking particles, 36-37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 103, 107, 114, 140, 142.
- used to link phrases, 142.
- figure-stress, 58.  
and intonation, 52-55, 58.  
exponents of, 21, 58.

- figures, 52-69.  
adverbial, 41, 48-50, 55, 69.  
citational, 38, 41, 43, 46-47, 106, 115, 116.  
composite, 61-62, 103.  
constituent, of adjunctive phrases, 48-50.  
constituent, of predicative phrases, 43-47.  
constituent, of subjective phrases, 42.  
co-terminous with words, 37.  
exclamatory, 113.  
final glottalization of, 60-62, 103, 142, 143.  
intonation of, 18, 19, 20, 38, 48, 52-56, 58, 94, 116, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144.  
linking particles, 36-37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 103, 107, 114, 140, 142.  
mood of, 59.  
nominal, 42, 43, 48-50, 55, 141.  
placed elements of, 52, 62, 69.  
properties (unplaced elements) of, 52-69.  
reduplication within, 55, 57.  
stress of, 21, 52-55, 58.  
verbal, 19, 20, 38, 42-47, 51, 55, 59.
- Form I (of verbs), 40, 48, 59, 72-89.  
use of, 84-89, 111-12.
- Form II (of verbs), 40, 48, 59, 72-89.  
in nominal figures, 65-66.  
use of, 84-89, 111-12.
- formal variation:  
of nominal suffixes, 59-60.  
of nouns, 40, 59-60, 69.  
of verbs, 40, 59, 72-89.
- fronting of vowels, 12.
- fused forms, 112, 113.  
pitch of, 19.
- fusion, 19, 103, 112-13.
- future conjugation, 109, 110, 112.  
fusion in, 112.
- general conjugation, 109.
- Gin Za Twang, J., 3.
- glide:  
before [n], 12.  
central, before velar consonant, 11, 12.
- glottal constriction, 18, 22, 60.
- glottal stop:  
and syllable quantity, 21, 25-26.
- as an exponent of figure-final glottalization, 61, 70.  
distinguished from glottalization, 18, 22.  
final, 18, 61, 70, 104.  
final, in particles, 104, 143.  
initial, 13.  
spelling of, 10, 143.  
glottalization, 9, 18, 60-62.  
distinguished from glottal stop, 18, 22.  
final, 18, 22, 60-62, 102-3.  
in composite nominal figures, 61, 103.  
gradual onset, 22, 27.  
gradual syllable-closure, 21, 72, 74.
- Hau Go 1-2, 4, 9-10, 34, 55, 144.
- homographs, 145.
- homophones, 145, 146.
- imperative conjugation, 109, 110.
- impersonal reference of pronominal prefixes, 95.
- inconclusive sentences, 30, 114, 116.  
intonation of, 20, 31.  
intonation of constituent phrases, 47.  
mood of, 40, 48, 84-85, 107, 111-12.
- independent words, 62, 69-91.  
as constituents of figures, 62.  
pitch of, 20.
- indicative mood, 32, 59, 84-86, 111, 142.  
and nominal suffixes, 101.
- informants, 1, 3, 4.  
differences in pronunciation of, 9-10, 34, 55.  
orthographic forms used by, 4, 10.
- intonation:  
and tone, 13-14, 18-20, 34.  
compound patterns, 56.  
exponents of, 18, 19, 20, 33-39, 47, 48, 50-51, 52-56, 94, 114, 115, 140, 141, 143.  
figure, 18, 19, 20, 48, 52-56, 58, 94, 116, 140, 142, 143, 144.  
figure-linking, 36-39, 114, 115, 140, 141, 143.  
high-low, 37-38, 52-54, 56, 140, 141.  
high-low-high, 39, 56.  
high-low-high-low, 56.  
levelling, 38, 55, 56, 116, 143, 144.

- intonation (*cont.*):  
 low-high, 37, 38, 39, 54-55, 56, 140, 142, 143.  
 low-high-low, 37, 56, 140.  
 notation of, 31, 33, 37-39, 52-56.  
 of adjunctive phrases, 36, 50-51, 114, 116.  
 of colloquial style, 35, 107.  
 of conclusive sentences, 30, 31, 47.  
 of inconclusive sentences, 20, 31, 47.  
 of predicative phrases, 36, 47, 142.  
 of subjective phrases, 36, 43, 50, 142, 143.  
 patterns of grammatical structures, 13, 18-20, 33-39.  
 phrase, 18, 20, 33-39, 47, 55-56, 114, 115, 116, 140, 142, 143, 144.  
 sentence, 18, 19, 20, 30-31, 114, 115.
- Kamhau, 1.
- material:  
 collection of, 2.  
 incompleteness of, 3, 15.  
 phonetic, 15-18.
- modification:  
 of syllable-initials, 22, 94.  
 of syllable-initials and syllable-finals, 94.
- monosyllables, tonal possibilities of, 13.
- mood:  
 and pronominal concord, 40.  
 as a characteristic of figures, 48, 51, 59, 85-89.  
 exponents of, 40, 48, 51, 59, 84.  
 in the colloquial style, 84, 107, 111-12.  
 indicative, 32, 59, 84-86, 101, 111.  
 notation of, 32, 40.  
 of phrases, 33, 40, 48, 51, 85.  
 of sentences, 29, 30, 32, 48, 84-85, 107, 111-12.  
 of verbal figures, 48, 51, 59, 85-89, 111-12.  
 subjunctive, 32, 59, 84-86, 101, 107, 111.
- 'naming', 46.
- narrative style, 2.  
 intonation of, 35.  
 mood in, 111.  
 particles appropriate to, 103.  
 special characteristics of, 42, 101, 107-12.
- negative general conjugation, 109, 110.  
 negative imperative conjugation, 109, 110.
- nominal auxiliaries, 62, 92.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 63-65, 92.  
 stress of, 58.
- nominal figures, 42, 43-46, 62-66.  
 case of, 59-60.  
 composite, 61.  
 compound, 141.  
 consisting of verbal sequences, 57.  
 constituents of, 52, 61, 62-66, 92.  
 intonation of, 55.  
 pairing within, 57.  
 reduplication within, 57.  
 stress patterns of, 58.
- nominal suffixes, 57, 62, 100-1.  
 and case, 59-60, 142.  
 and mood, 101.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 62-66, 100.  
 glottal closure of, 101.  
 pitch of, 100-1.  
 stress of, 58, 100-1.  
 tone of, 101.
- nominalization of verbal sequences, 57, 65-66, 100, 101.
- nomino-verbal suffixes, 62, 100, 102, 103.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 62-64, 102.  
 as constituents of verbal figures, 67-68, 102.  
 final glottal closure of, 102.  
 pitch of, 102.
- notation:  
 conventions in analysis of texts, 118-20.  
 of a short unstressed vowel, 14.  
 of case, 59.  
 of chiming, 57.  
 of figure intonation, 52-56.  
 of figure-final glottalization, 61-62.  
 of figures, 43.  
 of mood, 32, 40.  
 of oblique forms, 59.  
 of phrase intonation, 33, 37-39.  
 of phrases, 29.  
 of pairing, 39.  
 of pitch, 13-14.  
 of pronominal concord, 33.  
 of reduplication, 39, 57.  
 of sentence intonation, 31.

- notation (*cont.*):  
 of stress, 58.  
 of syllable-tone, 14.  
 of unstressed syllables, 14.  
 of word-classes, 62.
- nouns, 62, 69-72:  
 and pronominal concord, 40.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 62-66.  
 as constituents of verbal figures, 68.  
 direct form of, 40, 59-60.  
 disyllabic, 71-72, 141, 142.  
 form before nominal suffixes, 101, 142.  
 formal variation in, 40, 59-60, 101.  
 oblique form of, 40, 59-60, 70-71.  
 pitch of, 20, 72, 142.  
 stress of, 72.  
 syllabic structure of, 70, 71-72.  
 tones of, 70.
- nuclear phonematic units, 22, 23-26.
- oblique case, 59-60, 71.  
 and nominal suffixes, 60.  
 notation of, 59.
- oblique form:  
 and lexical differentiation, 60, 141.  
 and nomino-verbal suffixes, 103.  
 and pronominal concord, 71.  
 notation of, 59.  
 of nominal suffixes, 59, 101.  
 of nouns, 40, 59-60, 70, 100-1, 141, 142.  
 tone of, 70.  
 use of, 70-71.
- on-glide  
 centralized, to velar consonant, 11, 12.  
 to [n], 12.
- openness, degrees of, 23.
- orthographic variants, 144, 145.
- orthography, 4.  
 and case, 59.  
 and pronunciation, 9-13, 143.  
 use of digraphs in, 9-13.  
 variation in, 144, 145.
- pairing, 39, 57.  
 notation of, 39.
- particles, 62, 103-5.  
 and figure-final glottalization, 61.  
 appropriate to colloquial style, 37, 103, 107-8, 114.  
 appropriate to narrative style, 103.
- as constituents of nominal figures, 63-64, 104.  
 figure-linking, 36-37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 103, 107, 114, 140, 142.  
 fusion of, 103, 112.  
 interrogative, 108.  
 phrase, 33, 34-39, 41, 42-43, 47, 48, 50, 61, 107, 114.  
 phrase-final, 33, 41, 43, 47, 50-51, 103, 107, 114.  
 pitch of, 18, 31, 33, 37, 47, 55, 104, 107, 114, 140.  
 post-nominal, 55, 61, 62, 63-64, 104, 105, 140, 142, 143.  
 proper to predicative phrases, 41, 43, 47.  
 proper to subjective phrases, 41, 42-43.  
 sentence, 20, 30, 103, 114.  
 sentence-final, 31.  
 syllabic structure of, 61, 104-5.  
 use of, in colloquial style, 107-8.  
 vowel length in, 104-5, 143.  
 with final glottal stop, 104-5, 143.
- particle groups, 31, 103, 107-8, 114.  
 imperative, 108.  
 interrogative, 108.  
 pitch of, 31.  
 use of, 107-8.
- phonematic units, 19, 23-28.  
 exponents of, 24, 72-73, 78.  
 nuclear, 22, 23-26.  
 pre-nuclear, 22, 23, 26-27.  
 post-nuclear, 23, 27-28, 72-73, 78.
- phonological ambiguity, 142.
- phonological marks:  
 of linguistic boundaries, 22, 37, 60-62, 115, 143.  
 of semantic relationship, 22, 60.
- phonology:  
 as understood in this study, 2-3.  
 of syllables, 15, 19-28.
- phrase intonation, 33-39.  
 and figure intonation, 55-56.  
 exponents of, 18, 20, 33-39, 47-48, 50-51, 114, 115, 140, 141, 143.  
 falling, 33, 35-36, 43, 47, 115, 140, 143, 144.  
 figure-linking, 36-39, 114, 115, 140, 141, 143.  
 level, 33, 36, 43, 47, 140, 142, 143.  
 notation of, 33, 37-39.  
 rising, 33-35, 43, 47, 50-51, 55, 114, 143.



- phrases, 33-53.  
 adjunctive, 29, 36, 48-51, 114, 116.  
 as constituents of sentences, 29-30, 33.  
 exclamatory, 113.  
 final particles of, 33, 42, 50-51, 103, 141.  
 intonation of, 18, 20, 33-39, 43, 47, 50-51, 55, 114, 115, 140, 143, 144.  
 linked by particle, 142.  
 mood in, 40, 48, 51.  
 notation of, 29.  
 particles proper to, 33, 34-39, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 103, 114, 141.  
 placed elements of, 33, 40-51.  
 predicative, 29, 36, 39, 43-48.  
 pronominal concord in, 33, 40, 43, 50, 51, 96.  
 reduplication in, 33, 39-40.  
 subjective, 29, 36, 41-43.  
 summary of properties of, 51-53.  
 unplaced elements of, 42-43, 47-48, 50-51.
- pitch:  
 and intonation, 13-14, 18-20, 50-51, 104, 140.  
 and tone, 13-14, 18-20.  
 behaviour of long and short syllables, 21.  
 contextually determined, 19.  
 correlated with stress, 52-54, 107, 108.  
 falling, 13, 18, 35, 37, 55, 140, 141, 142, 143.  
 high, 18, 20, 37, 140.  
 high falling, 13, 19.  
 high level, 13, 18, 20, 35, 51, 94, 141.  
 high rising, 14, 37, 51, 54, 107, 140, 141, 142.  
 leaps, 37, 39, 115.  
 level, 13, 18, 19, 37, 55, 107, 140, 141, 142, 143.  
 lexically contrastive, 18.  
 low, 54, 56, 140.  
 low falling, 13, 14, 18, 19, 38, 39, 56, 143.  
 low level, 13, 18, 19, 20, 35, 140, 141, 143.  
 low rising, 14, 19.  
 mid, 35.  
 mid falling, 14, 140.  
 mid level, 13, 142.  
 mid rising, 14.  
 non-contrastive, 18, 19.
- notation of, 13-14.  
 of adverbs, 94.  
 of nouns, 20, 141.  
 of particles, 13, 18, 31, 33, 34, 37, 47, 50-51, 55, 104, 105, 107, 114, 140, 141, 142, 143.  
 of prefixes, 52, 99.  
 of quantifiers, 20, 54, 140, 141.  
 of short syllables closed by a stop, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21.  
 of suffixes, 54-55, 101-2.  
 of unstressed syllables, 18, 52-56, 143.  
 of verbs, 19, 20, 54.  
 relationship, low-high, 37, 54-55, 72.  
 relationship, high-low, 38, 52-54, 72.  
 relative starting, 13, 34-39.  
 rising, 13, 18, 34, 37, 55, 141.  
 variation in, 13, 18, 34, 52-56, 99, 104.
- placed elements:  
 of adjunctive phrases, 48-50.  
 of adverbial figures, 69.  
 of figures, 52, 62-69.  
 of nominal figures, 62-66.  
 of phrase structure, 33, 40-51.  
 of predicative phrases, 43-47.  
 of sentences, 29-30, 33, 47.  
 of subjective phrases, 41-42.  
 of syllable structure, 19, 23-28.  
 of verbal figures, 66-68.
- pluralizing suffix, 102, 109, 112-13.  
 polysyllabic structures, stress of, 21.  
 post-glottalized continuant, 17, 18.  
 post-nominal particles, 62, 63-64, 104, 105.  
 and final glottal stop, 61, 105.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 63-64, 104, 142.  
 length of vowel in, 105, 143.  
 pitch of, 55, 105, 140, 142.  
 post-nuclear phonematic units, 23, 27-28.  
 realization of, 72-73, 78.  
 pre-nuclear phonematic units, 22, 23, 26-27.  
 predicative phrases, 29, 43-48.  
 and pronominal concord, 32, 43, 142.  
 intonation of, 36, 39, 47, 142, 143.  
 mood of, 40, 48, 85.  
 particles proper to, 41, 43, 47.  
 placed elements of, 43-47.

- predicative phrases (*cont.*):  
 sequences of constituent figures in, 43-47.  
 summary of properties of, 51-53.  
 unplaced elements of, 47-48.
- prefixes, 62, 95-99.  
 as constituents of figures, 62-68, 95-97.  
 concordant, 32, 96, 144.  
 pitch of, 52, 99.  
 pronominal, 62-68, 71, 95-96.  
 shortness of vowel in, 58.  
 stress of, 52, 58.  
 syllabic structure of, 99.  
 verbal, 58, 62, 97-99.
- presentation, method of, 2.  
 preverbs, 113.  
 pronominal concord:  
 absence of, 40, 43, 71.  
 and mood, 40.  
 and oblique form of nouns, 40, 71.  
 and pronominal prefixes, 32, 96, 116, 117.  
 and pronominal suffixes, 117.  
 notation of, 33.  
 within the phrase, 33, 40, 43, 50, 51, 96.  
 within the sentence, 29, 32-33, 43, 144.
- pronominal prefixes, 62, 95-96.  
 ambiguity in, 71.  
 and pronominal concord, 32, 96, 116, 117.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 62-66, 95-96.  
 as constituents of verbal figures, 66-68, 95-96.  
 pronunciation of, 10, 141.  
 spelling of, 10.  
 stress of, 58.  
 use of, 96.
- pronominal suffixes, 62, 100, 101-2.  
 and conjugation, 109-11.  
 and pronominal concord, 117.  
 and pronominal prefixes, 109.  
 as constituents of verbal figures, 67-68.  
 fusion of, 103, 112.  
 phonology of, 103.  
 pluralizing, 102.
- quantifiers, 62, 90.  
 as constituents of nominal figures, 62, 63-66.
- pitch of, 20, 54, 140, 141.
- quantity:  
 alternation of, 70.  
 and the glottal stop, 21.  
 notation of, 21.  
 of syllables, 19, 20-21, 25-26, 72-84, 105.
- question-marks, use of, 3.
- realization:  
 of figure-final glottalization, 61.  
 of phonematic units, 72-73, 78.  
 simultaneous, 114, 144.  
 of tone, 19, 37, 48, 51.
- reduplication:  
 and pairing, 57.  
 and pitch, 55-56.  
 as a characteristic of figures, 55, 56, 57.  
 as a characteristic of phrases, 33, 39-40.  
 exponents of, 39.  
 multiple, 39.  
 notation of, 39, 57.  
 of adverbs, 57, 93-94.  
 of verbs, 57.
- sentence intonation, 30-31.  
 exponents of, 18, 19, 20, 114, 115.  
 high, 20, 31, 114, 115.  
 low, 31, 115.  
 neutral, 31.  
 notation of, 31.  
 of conclusive sentences, 31.  
 of exclamatory sentences, 115.  
 of inconclusive sentences, 20, 31, 47.  
 of titles, 31.
- sentences, 29-33.  
 compound, 30, 107, 114.  
 exclamatory, 30, 31, 114, 116.  
 exclamatory, 19, 113, 114, 115.  
 inconclusive, 20, 30, 31, 47, 84-85, 107, 111-12, 114, 116.  
 intonation of, 18, 19, 20, 30-31, 114, 115.  
 mood of, 29, 30, 32, 84-85, 107, 111-12.  
 particles proper to, 20, 30, 103, 114.  
 placed elements of, 29-30, 33, 47.  
 sequence of constituent phrases, 29-30.  
 simple, 30, 107.  
 types of, 29-30.  
 unplaced elements of, 29, 30-33.

- Sokte, 1.  
 spelling:  
   and pronunciation, 9-13.  
   of the glottal stop, 10, 143.  
   use of digraphs in, 9-13.  
   use of trigraphs in, 11-12.  
   variations in, 144, 145.  
 stops, pronunciation of final, 10, 17.  
 stress:  
   and intonation, 58, 72.  
   correlated with pitch, 52-54, 107, 108.  
   linking words or words and affixes, 54, 58.  
   notation of, 58.  
   of disyllabic nouns, 72.  
   of figures, 21, 52, 54, 58.  
   of polysyllables, 21.  
   of prefixes, 52, 58.  
   of suffixes, 54-55, 58.  
   of syllables, 14, 16-18, 21.  
   of words, 21, 54.  
   relationship, weak-strong, 21, 72.  
 style, 2.  
   colloquial, 2, 35, 37, 42, 46, 47, 84-85, 94, 101, 103, 106-17.  
   narrative, 2, 35, 42, 101, 103, 107-12.  
 subjective phrases, 29, 41-43.  
   and pronominal concord, 32, 43, 50, 142.  
   arrangement of constituent figures in, 42.  
   intonation of, 36, 43, 50, 142, 143.  
   particles proper to, 41, 42-43.  
   placed elements of, 41-42.  
   summary of properties of, 51-53.  
   unplaced elements of, 42-43.  
 subjunctive mood, 32, 59, 84-86, 107, 111.  
   and nominal suffixes, 101.  
   use of, 84-85.  
 suffixes, 54-55, 62, 100-3, 109, 112-13.  
   as constituents of nominal figures, 62-66, 100, 102.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 67-68, 102.  
   final glottalization of, 101, 102-3.  
   formal variation of, 59-60.  
   fusion of, 112.  
   nominal, 57, 58, 59-60, 100-1.  
   nomino-verbal, 102.  
   pitch of, 54, 100-1, 102.  
   plural, 115.  
   pronominal, 101-2, 111.  
   stress of, 54, 58.  
   syllabic structure of, 102-3.  
   tone of, 101, 103.  
 syllable-closing features, 19, 20, 21-22, 60, 70, 76, 102, 103, 104-5.  
 syllable finals:  
   combinations of, with initials, 15.  
   gaps in the range of, 15.  
   modification of, 94.  
   table of, 17-18.  
 syllable initials:  
   combination of, with finals, 15.  
   modification of, 22, 94.  
   non-occurrence of, before [ia] and [ua], 15.  
 syllable-onset, 22, 26, 84.  
 syllable-opening features, 19, 22-23.  
 syllable-tone, 14, 19-20, 37, 48, 51.  
 syllables:  
   abrupt closure of, 19, 20, 21-22, 76.  
   as a phonetic term, 15-16.  
   as a phonological term, 19.  
   final consonants of, 17-18.  
   final glottalization of, 60-62.  
   gradual closure of, 21, 72, 74.  
   initial consonants of, 16.  
   open, 21.  
   phonological structure of, 15, 19-28.  
   pitch of short abrupt, 19, 20, 76.  
   quantity of, 19, 20-21, 23, 25-26, 72-84, 105.  
   stressed, 16-18.  
   structure of, 15-28.  
   unstressed, 14, 18, 141.  
 texts, 4.  
   detailed analysis of, 120-44.  
   English rendering of, 6-8.  
   orthographic version of, 4-6, 8.  
   phonetic transcription of, 120-40.  
 titles, characteristics of, 30, 31, 33, 42.  
 tonal alternance:  
   of nouns, 70.  
   of verbs, 73-84.  
 tonal progression, 83.  
 tones:  
   alternation of, 70, 72-84.  
   and intonation, 13-14, 18-20, 34, 94, 144.  
   exponents of, 19.  
   'high', 13.  
   'low', 13.  
   'mid', 13.  
   not indicated in orthography, 9, 13.  
   of adverbs, 94.  
   of monosyllables, 13.  
   of nouns, 70.  
   of suffixes, 101.  
   of syllables, 13-14, 18-20, 114.  
   pitch variation of, 13-14.  
   pronunciation of, 13.  
   recognition of, by informants, 13.  
   relative starting pitches of, 13.  
 'tonelessness':  
   of adverbial conjunctions, 91.  
   of exclaimers, 20.  
   of particles, 20, 104.  
   of prefixes, 99.  
 trigraphs, 11-12.  
 triphthongs, 12, 13.  
   'opening-closing', 16.  
 unexploded final stops, 17.  
 unplaced elements:  
   of adjunctive phrases, 48, 50-51.  
   of figures, 52-69.  
   of phrase structure, 33-40.  
   of predicative phrases, 47-48.  
   of sentences, 29, 30-33.  
   of subjective phrases, 42-43.  
   of syllable structure, 19-23.  
 unrounding of back vowel, 143.  
 unstressed syllables, 14, 18, 141.  
   initial consonants of, 18.  
   notation of, 14.  
   pitch of, 18, 143.  
   pitch variation in, 18, 52-56.  
   vowel length in, 18, 141.  
   vowels of, 18, 23-24.  
 variation:  
   formal, of nominal suffixes, 59-60.  
   formal, of nouns, 40, 59-60, 69.  
   formal, of verbs, 40, 72-89.  
   in pitch, 13, 18, 52-56, 99, 104.  
   in spelling, 144, 145.  
   of vowel length, 105.  
   of vowels, 57, 94.  
 verbal alternance:  
   irregular, 80-82.  
   regular, 73-80.  
 verbal auxiliaries, 62, 92.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 68.  
   constituents of, 20, 66-68, 92.  
   intonation of, 38, 55, 56.  
   mood of, 59.  
   reduplication in, 55, 56.  
 verbal prefixes, 62, 97-99.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 67-68, 97.  
   stress of, 58.  
   use of, 97-99.  
 verbs, 72-89.  
   as constituents of nominal figures, 57, 59, 64-66, 86-89.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 66-68.  
   causative relation in, 83-84.  
   derived, 82-83.  
   formal variation of, 40, 59, 72-89.  
   grammatical importance of syllable closure in, 21, 73-84.  
   irregular, 80-82.  
   pitch of, 19, 20, 54.  
   reduplication of, 57.  
   regular, 72-80.  
   syllabic structure of, 72-73, 77-79, 89.  
 vocabulary, 145-62.  
   arrangement of, 145.  
   doubtful grammatical designations in, 3.  
   treatment of homographs in, 145.  
   treatment of homophones in, 145.  
   use of asterisks in, 3.  
   use of question-marks in, 3.  
 vocalic nucleus, 23.  
 vowels:  
   alternance of, in adverbs, 94.  
   and final consonants, 17-18.  
   centralization of, 11, 141.  
   distribution of, 16, 17.  
   in particles, 104-5, 143.  
   in unstressed syllables, 18, 23-24, 141.  
   length of, 9, 11, 12, 16-17, 18, 20-21, 104-5, 141, 143.  
   of stressed syllables, 16-18.  
   pronunciation of, 11-13.  
   quality of, in unstressed syllables, 18.  
   spelling of, 11-13.  
   unrounding of, 12, 143.  
   unstressed, 14.  
 Vul Za Thang, 1.

- tones (*cont.*):  
   'low', 13.  
   'mid', 13.  
   not indicated in orthography, 9, 13.  
   of adverbs, 94.  
   of monosyllables, 13.  
   of nouns, 70.  
   of suffixes, 101.  
   of syllables, 13-14, 18-20, 114.  
   pitch variation of, 13-14.  
   pronunciation of, 13.  
   recognition of, by informants, 13.  
   relative starting pitches of, 13.  
 'tonelessness':  
   of adverbial conjunctions, 91.  
   of exclaimers, 20.  
   of particles, 20, 104.  
   of prefixes, 99.  
 trigraphs, 11-12.  
 triphthongs, 12, 13.  
   'opening-closing', 16.  
 unexploded final stops, 17.  
 unplaced elements:  
   of adjunctive phrases, 48, 50-51.  
   of figures, 52-69.  
   of phrase structure, 33-40.  
   of predicative phrases, 47-48.  
   of sentences, 29, 30-33.  
   of subjective phrases, 42-43.  
   of syllable structure, 19-23.  
 unrounding of back vowel, 143.  
 unstressed syllables, 14, 18, 141.  
   initial consonants of, 18.  
   notation of, 14.  
   pitch of, 18, 143.  
   pitch variation in, 18, 52-56.  
   vowel length in, 18, 141.  
   vowels of, 18, 23-24.  
 variation:  
   formal, of nominal suffixes, 59-60.  
   formal, of nouns, 40, 59-60, 69.  
   formal, of verbs, 40, 72-89.  
   in pitch, 13, 18, 52-56, 99, 104.  
   in spelling, 144, 145.  
   of vowel length, 105.  
   of vowels, 57, 94.  
 verbal alternance:  
   irregular, 80-82.  
   regular, 73-80.  
 verbal auxiliaries, 62, 92.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 68.  
   constituents of, 20, 66-68, 92.  
   intonation of, 38, 55, 56.  
   mood of, 59.  
   reduplication in, 55, 56.  
 verbal prefixes, 62, 97-99.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 67-68, 97.  
   stress of, 58.  
   use of, 97-99.  
 verbs, 72-89.  
   as constituents of nominal figures, 57, 59, 64-66, 86-89.  
   as constituents of verbal figures, 66-68.  
   causative relation in, 83-84.  
   derived, 82-83.  
   formal variation of, 40, 59, 72-89.  
   grammatical importance of syllable closure in, 21, 73-84.  
   irregular, 80-82.  
   pitch of, 19, 20, 54.  
   reduplication of, 57.  
   regular, 72-80.  
   syllabic structure of, 72-73, 77-79, 89.  
 vocabulary, 145-62.  
   arrangement of, 145.  
   doubtful grammatical designations in, 3.  
   treatment of homographs in, 145.  
   treatment of homophones in, 145.  
   use of asterisks in, 3.  
   use of question-marks in, 3.  
 vocalic nucleus, 23.  
 vowels:  
   alternance of, in adverbs, 94.  
   and final consonants, 17-18.  
   centralization of, 11, 141.  
   distribution of, 16, 17.  
   in particles, 104-5, 143.  
   in unstressed syllables, 18, 23-24, 141.  
   length of, 9, 11, 12, 16-17, 18, 20-21, 104-5, 141, 143.  
   of stressed syllables, 16-18.  
   pronunciation of, 11-13.  
   quality of, in unstressed syllables, 18.  
   spelling of, 11-13.  
   unrounding of, 12, 143.  
   unstressed, 14.  
 Vul Za Thang, 1.