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The History of Postverbal Agreement in Kuki-Chin

Kuki-Chin languages

Northern Chin (Tediim, Paite, Sizang, Zahao, etc.)
Old Kuki (Almol, Anal, Tarao, Kolreng, Sukte, Moyon, etc.)
Southern Chin (Daai, Hyow, Mindat, etc.)
Central Chin (Mizo (Lushai), Lal, Bawm)
+ Maralci (Mara / Lakher)

1 The modern Kuki-Chin verb

Tarao (Old Kuki) (C. Singh 2002):

- | | | |
|----|--------|------------------|
| 1) | ki-pa | 'my father' |
| | ki-sak | 'I eat' |
| 2) | ni-pa | 'your.sg father' |
| | ni-sak | 'you.sg. eat' |
| 3) | ə-pa | 'his/her father' |
| | ə-sak | 's/he eats' |

Agreement proclitics in Kuki-Chin languages

	Tarao	Mara	Mizo
1	ki	ei	ka
2	ni	na	i
3	ə	a	a

2 Postverbal agreement words

Tediim 6) *pài ni-ŋ*
go FUTURE-1SG
'I will go.'

Tediim 7) *pài ni te?*
go FUTURE 2SG
'You will go.'

Tediim (Northern Chin) "general" conjugation (Henderson 1965: 109)

	Singular	Plural
1	Σ ìŋ	Σ ùŋ EXC Σ hàn INC
2	Σ te?	Σ ú? te?
3	Σ	Σ u? or ú?

Koireng (Old Kuki) realized negative paradigm (C. Y. Singh 2010:113-4)

	Singular	Plural
1	Σ-mák-ìŋ	Σ-mák-uŋ
2	Σ-mák-ei	Σ-mák-ei-u
3	Σ-mák-e	Σ-mák-u

Sukte 8) *ken ən kə-ne-kay-hí*
1SG rice 1SG-eat-NEG-FINAL
'I don't eat rice.'

Sukte 9) *ken ən ne-kay-ìŋ*
1SG rice-eat-NEG-1SG
'I don't eat rice.'

The Northern Chin and Old Kuki postverbal systems compared

		1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
NC	Tiddim Sizang	ìŋ ìŋ'	ùŋ ùŋ'	te? te'	ú?te? ù·tè'	-- (a)	u? ey
		*i(-)ŋ	*u-ŋ	*te?	*u te?	(*a)	*u
OK	Tarao Moyon Kolreng	ìŋ / əŋ ìŋ ìŋ	ùŋ ùŋ ùŋ	ce cə sl	cəw co slŋ	-- ə --	əy əə u
		*i(-)ŋ	*u-ŋ	*ce	*ce-u	(*a)	*u ~ *ə

Hyow (Southern Chin) Negative paradigm (Peterson 2003)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	Σ-ŋa	Σ-hniʔ-ŋa	Σ-ʔu-ŋa / Σ-pu (Exclusive)
2	Σ-tl	Σ-hniʔ-tl	Σ-cu
3	Σ-a?	Σ-huʔy	Σ-ʔu

Mindat (Southern Chin) (Jordan 1969:48-51)

- 8) *ngaw u neh kah mi bi ci*
 slt PL.NFSIMUL 1 PL WORK FINAL
 '(We) sitting, we do (our) work' (Same subject)
- 9) *chü u ah-tah, law ci*
 call PL 1-FIN come FIN
 'We having called, he came.' (Different-subject)

Daal (Southern Chin) (So-Hartmann 2009:244-52):

- 10) *am sit be khoh=ngü*
 NEG go back able=1
 'I am/was not able to go back.' (So-Hartmann 2009:252)
- 11) *tuh=ngooi: ta ni:ng hmu lo veeng(=ngü)*
 today FOCUS 2SG.OBJ see ASPECT certainly(=1)
 'Today I will certainly see you.'

3 Remnants of the postverbal paradigm in Central and Maraic

Mizo

Familiar imperative particle *te?*

Weak imperative *-ta=cē*

2nd person *cē*:

- 12) *mín-châdg ag cē*
 1OBJ-answer HORT 2
 'you [please] answer me'
- 13) *mín-rhê-reŋ-áŋ cē*
 1OBJ-know-always-FUT-2
 'Please remember me!'

Mizo transitive paradigm (Chhangte 1993: 91-2):

Object	Subject		
	1	2	3/INTR
1		ka-Σ cē	ka-Σ
2	mi-Σ		l-Σ
3	mi-Σ	ka-Σ cē	a-Σ

Mara subjunctive conjugation (Lorrain 1951: XX18)

	Singular	Plural
1	shi aw sha-la	shi i sha-la
2	shi la	shi u-la
3	shi sha-la	shi sha-la

Mara *aw* < PKC **ig* (VanBik 2009: 371)

Mara person agreement (after Arden 2010; cp. Weldert 1985:929)

Subject	Object		
	1	2	3/INTR
1	ei cha Σ	ei Σ	ei Σ
2	ei na Σ chi		na Σ
3	e na Σ	a cha Σ	a Σ

Central-Maraic 2nd person agreement word in all 1/2 object forms with a 2nd person argument, i.e. 1→2, 3→2, 2→1:

- Mara 14) *eina ly chi*
 1SG.OBJ thank 2
 'You sg. thank me.' (Arden 2010:115)

- Mizo 15) *mín-rhê-reŋ-áŋ cē*
 1OBJ-know-always-FUT 2
 'Please remember me!' (Chhangte 1993: 92)

In Mizo, it is retained in its original postverbal position in all functions:

- Mizo 16) *kâ-ron-tlhààk-zéél-áŋ cê*
 1-come-drop-keep.on-fut 2OBJ 3-say FIN
 'I will keep on dropping them to you' (Chhangte 1993: 180)

Mara separated 2su and 2OBJ by moving the agreement word to a preverbal position:

- Mara 17) *ei cha ly*
 1 2OBJ thank
 'I thank you sg.' (Arden 2010: 114)

4 Origins and external connections of the KC postverbal paradigm

Koireng (Old Kuki) unrealized negative paradigm (C. Y. Singh 2010:114-5)

	Singular	Plural
1	Σ-no ni-ŋ	Σ-no ma-ni
2	Σ-no ti-ni	Σ-no ti-ni-u
3	Σ-no ni	Σ-no ni-u

Bantawa (Kiranti) agreement (Ral 1985: 96):

18) <i>lms-a-ŋ</i> sleep-PST-1SG 'I slept'	19) <i>tui-lms-a</i> 2-go-PST 'you.sg slept'
	1sg 2sg
Camling (Kiranti) Cogtse (rGyalrongic) Koireng-Moyon/PKC	Σ-ŋja ta-Σ Σ-ŋ tə-Σ AUX-ŋ ta-AUX

Koireng realized negative paradigm (C. Y. Singh 2010:113-4)

	Singular	Plural
1	Σ-mək-ŋj	Σ-mək-ŋj
2	Σ-mək-čl	Σ-mək-čl-u
3	Σ-mək-e	Σ-mək-u

Koireng conjugations compared

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Unrealized Neg	ni-ŋ	ma-ni	ti-ni	ti-ni-u	ni	ni-u
Realized Neg	i-ŋ	u-ŋ	ci	cl-u	e	u

Reconstructed Koireng agreement words

	Singular	Plural
1	i-ŋ	u-ŋ < i-u-ŋ
2	ci < t-i	cl-u < t-i-u
3	e	u < e/i-u

Tarao (Lakshmi 1992, C. Y. Singh 2002):

- 4) *kay dəktər aŋ*
 I doctor 1sg
 'I am a doctor.'
- 5) *nəŋ dəktər ce*
 you.sg doctor 2
 'You sg. are a doctor.'

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
NC	*i(-ŋ)	*u-ŋ	*te?	*u te?	(*a)	*u
OK	*i(-ŋ)	*u-ŋ	*ce	*ce-u	(*ə)	*u ~ *əi
SC	-ŋa	-?u-ŋa	-ti	-cu/-u-ci	-a?	-?u
PKC	*ŋ(a)	?u ŋa	*ti/te	*te u/u te	*a?	*u?
<	*i-ŋ	?u ŋa	*tə-je?	*tə-je? u?	*a?	*u?

Trung (Nungish) copula (Sun 1982):

PKC	*i-ŋ	?u ŋa	*tə-je?	*tə-je? u?	*a?	*u?
Trung	i-ŋ	f	nw-ɛ	nw-ɛ-īn	é	é

Palatalization of *te?

Northern Chin *te?* = Old Kuki *ce*

Koireng-Moyon (OK) *no-tl-ni / -mak-ci*

Central-Marati imperative *te?*, agreement word *cē / chi*
Mizo weak imperative *-ta=cē*

Southern Chin variation:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Hyow (Peterson)	tl	hni? tl	cu
Mindat (Jordan)	ci	nl cl	u cl

Possibly related forms outside of KC

	1	2	3
PKC	*l-ŋ	*tə-je?	*a?
Meyor	ang	ch-lk	yik
Bantawa	yak-ŋa	tua-yak	yak

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