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Author(s)	Peterson, David A.
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David A. Peterson, *Dartmouth College* (david.a.peterson@dartmouth.edu)  
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## KUKI-CHIN UTTERANCE-FINAL PARTICLES\*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

(1) South Central Tibeto-Burman (=Kuki-Chin) subgrouping (Peterson 2017):

- A. Northwestern (=Old Kuki: Monsang, Anal, etc.)
  - B. Central
    - i. Core Central (Hakha Lai, Mizo, etc.)
    - ii. Maraic
  - C. Peripheral
    - i. Northeastern (Tedim, Sizang, Vaiphei, etc.)
    - ii. Southeastern
      - a. Cho (Daai)
      - b. Hyow/Asho
    - iii. Southwestern (Khomic: Khumi, Mro-Khimi, Lemi, Rengmitca, etc.)
- generally assumed prevalence of utterance-final (sentence-final) particles in SEA languages (Goddard 2005, Enfield 2005, Vittrant and Watkins, to appear): closed-class elements typically encoding illocutionary force, *evidentiality*, *aspects of speaker attitude or stance*
  - while many descriptions of South Central languages have made use of notions like *particle* and *final particle*, they have rarely had much to say about elements in these latter categories

goals of the talk:

- look at some high-frequency utterance-final particles in selected languages, concentrating on ones related to the non-illocutionary force distinctions
- assess these phenomena across SC as a whole
- provide outlines of a framework for the future study of such elements for individual languages

### 2. FURTHER PRELIMINARIES

- what is the exact distribution (sentence, utterance, phrase, intonation unit)?
- what constitutes an utterance *-final* particle?
- must every sentence contain one (and only one)?
- utterance-final particle *complex* or *zone* rather than a single position?

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- (2) Phrase- or IU-final, Khumi:  
 nay<sup>11</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>ö</sup><sup>1</sup> thang<sup>11</sup>b<sup>ë</sup><sup>1</sup>te<sup>5</sup> sam<sup>1</sup>r<sup>ü</sup>ng<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>-m<sup>ü</sup>ng<sup>5</sup> ca<sup>10</sup> jew<sup>1</sup>=n<sup>ö</sup><sup>3</sup>  
 then nightingale=EVID chili NR-ripe eat.IRR come=NR  
 ‘Then a nightingale came to eat red chilis.’ (1.75)
- (3) Not sentence-final, but utterance- or IU-final, Khumi:  
 ng<sup>1</sup>=e<sup>1</sup>  
 INTERJ=AFFIRM  
 ‘Yeah.’ (45:160)
- (4) Multiple occurrences of the same particle within a sentence, Khumi:  
 [a<sup>1</sup>reng<sup>6</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ju<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>] [kay<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>] [vay<sup>11</sup>ci<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>] [a<sup>1</sup>reng<sup>6</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ju<sup>1</sup> khang<sup>1</sup>-n<sup>ö</sup><sup>3</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>]  
 king.GEN wife=BA I s=BA before=TOP=BA king.GEN wife become-NR=BA  
 ‘...“I am the king’s wife. Before I became the king’s wife.”’ (24:116b.)
- (5) Particle sequences, Khumi:  
 a. =c<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>:  
 ke=n<sup>ö</sup><sup>3</sup>=c<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> n<sup>ö</sup><sup>3</sup> p<sup>ë</sup><sup>1</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 bite-NR=CONF=BÄ QUOT say=EVID  
 ‘“(But) they’ll bite us!” they said.’ (18.129)
- b. =bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>:  
 m phre<sup>6</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>-yá<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> háy<sup>3</sup>-phro<sup>11</sup>phra<sup>5</sup>=bo<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 INTERJ happen-NEG-PERS=BÄ=INF now=TOP good-little.by.little=REAL=BÄ  
 ‘Yes, nothing has happened. Now they’ve gotten better, little by little.’ (45.7)
- c. =c<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>:  
 v<sup>ä</sup><sup>4</sup>-täng<sup>3</sup>=c<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 return-AGAIN=CONF=INF  
 ‘Of course I’ll go back.’ (41.11)
- d. =bä<sup>4</sup>=h<sup>7</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>:  
 kuy<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> (am<sup>1</sup>iw ‘a’ áni)am<sup>1</sup>á<sup>4</sup>=n<sup>ö</sup><sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup>n<sup>ö</sup><sup>3</sup> am<sup>1</sup>á<sup>4</sup>-phriw<sup>1</sup>-vuy<sup>3</sup>=bo<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=h<sup>7</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>...  
 banana (false starts) golden=NR like golden-AUGVCL-PFV=REAL=BÄ=DEIC=TOP  
 ‘It (rice crop) has become golden-colored like bananas.’ (45.51)

### 3. EVIDENTIALS

#### 3.1. HEARSAY EVIDENTIAL

- (6) Hyow =tî:  
 ûy-tso<sup>5</sup>=ní lú-ák í-hní? -tsán-êy-hnô?<sup>5</sup>=tî  
 dog-DIM=FOC CLS-one 3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID-ULT=REPORTED.EVID  
 ‘The two brought up a puppy.’ (Zakaria 2017:122)
- (7) Rengmitca =ti:  
 angreng c’pa=nö=lö n’áj-p’aj maj=pö sa-pö-’ö=ti  
 rich son=LOC=TOP mother-father fire=FOC make<sub>B</sub>-BEN-NEG=EVID  
 ‘The rich son, his parents didn’t make a fire for him.’ (72.9)

### 3.2. OTHER ELEMENTS WITH EVIDENTIAL NUANCES

- (8) Lai =*taa* (sudden realization of something, often based on visual evidence):  
 ...alee rimnampaa=ni' a-ka-hlen-hoy-tsang=kaw=hii=taa  
 alas stinker=ERG 3SS-1SO-deceive-REGR-PERF=AFFIRM=DEIC=TAA  
 '... "Alas! The stinker has tricked me again!"...' (VLP.14)
- (9) ahman=kaw=hii=taa  
 true=AFFIRM=DEIC=TAA  
 '“Look, it is true!”' (NGTN.13)
- (10) aa ma'-hii-hii bia-law a-sii=hii=taa  
 interj DEM-DEM-DEM word-NEG 3sS-COP=DEIC=TAA  
 '“Ah, this isn't going to work!”' (TL.24)

(Note: there are other attestations of =*taa* which don't seem to have exactly this sense; ultimately, it may be best compared with the inferential marker in Daai, seen below, and perhaps is relatable to Zakaria's (2017:390ff.) *deductive* marker in Hyow.)

- (11) Hyow =*nu* (sensory evidential involving visual evidence):  
 èy=lâ=tsæ' nílúp núng-khó?=nú tǐng...  
 ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP like.this be.able-FACT=SS.EVID QT  
 'They will say, "He is really able (to do the job) like this."...' (Zakaria 2017:487)
- (12) Daai (So-Hartmann 2009:293-298)  
 mirative: *-in*  
 direct experience: *vanikba/=kba* (based on sensory evidence;  
 all examples appear to be exclamatory)  
 inferential: *lek*  
 hearsay: *mjoh*

### 4. UTTERANCE/SENTENCE-FINAL DEICTIC ELEMENTS

- (13) Lai (Barnes 1998:55-56):
- a. ka-vok an-fiar=khi'  
 1S-pig 3PS-steal=YONDER  
 'Look! They're stealing my pig!'
- b. ka-vok an-fiar=hi'  
 1S-pig 3PS-steal=HERE  
 'Help! They're stealing my pig here!'
- c. na-faa=lee=ni' ka-vok an-fiar=kha'  
 2S-child=PL=ERG 1S-pig 3PS-steal=NEAR.LISTENER  
 'Your kids stole my pig!'

- (14) Khumi:  
 a. A: a<sup>1</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>=ü<sup>1</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>    khew<sup>11</sup>khu<sup>1</sup>    no<sup>4</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>    khëng<sup>1</sup>-cang<sup>2</sup>=he<sup>1</sup>  
 INTERJ=EMOT INTERJ      knee      hurt=NR    look-try=DEIC  
 ‘Ow! Ouch, ouch, ouch! Look at me, how my knee hurts.’ (48.215)  
 b. B: ew<sup>1</sup>khung<sup>10</sup>      a<sup>5</sup>      khëng<sup>1</sup>-cang<sup>2</sup>=ho<sup>1</sup>  
 entryroom.LOC    chicken    look-try=DEIC  
 ‘Got to the entryway and look at the chickens’ (48.216)

- (15) Rengmitca:  
 âk-la=ö      löw      hng    ng’waj    kaj      khüj-thuk=la  
 pig-male=VOC    run.away    INTERJ now    1S      fall-DOWNWARDS=TOP  
 nang    t’-dü-köm=tu=ti  
 2S    NR-die-IRR=DEIC=EVID  
 ‘“Hey pig, run away! If I now fall on you, you’ll die!” he said.’ (164.64)

- (16) Lai (Barnes 1998:55):  
 ka-vok      an-fiar=tu’  
 1S.POSS-pig    3PS-steal=THERE.NOT VISIBLE  
 ‘They are stealing my pig!’  
 (noises from the sty alert the speaker to the unseen theft) (Barnes 1998:55)

- the use of deictic elements in this way may have nuances of evidentiality or other categories frequently associated with utterance-final particles
- they may occur internal to utterance-final particle complexes in specific languages

## 5. MARKERS OF SPEAKER ATTITUDE OR STANCE

### 5.1. MARKERS OF AFFIRMATION/CONFIRMATION

- (17) Lai =kaw:  
 ...thoong ka-tha’y=kaw      a-tii      an-tii  
 noise    1SS-hear=AFFIRM    3SS-say    3PS-say  
 ‘...“I certainly did hear the noise,” she said, they say.’ (MRH.57)
- (18) ee      a- t̥haa=kaw  
 INTERJ    3SS-good=AFFIRM  
 ‘“Okay, that’s certainly good.”...’ (TL.40)
- (19) Khumi =cö<sup>4</sup>:  
 uh    ne<sup>3</sup>=yö<sup>1</sup>      kay<sup>1</sup>    p’nö<sup>3</sup>=cö<sup>4</sup>  
 INTERJ elder.sister=EMOT    1S    know=CONF  
 ‘“Oh, elder sister, I certainly know...”’
- (20) A: h’ni<sup>3</sup>-    rë<sup>1</sup>to<sup>10</sup>      jew<sup>1</sup>    kha<sup>10</sup>      h’ni<sup>1</sup>    khu<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>=hây<sup>1</sup>    avung<sup>4</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 this-    Bandarban.LOC    come    time.LOC    DEM    person=COM    meet=EVID=BÄ

hu<sup>13</sup> (village name)=’ë<sup>1</sup>  
 SUPERDIST name1=GEN  
 ‘This-, he said, when you came to Bandarban you met this person from way  
 over there in (name1).’

B: kay<sup>1</sup>=hây<sup>1</sup>=a<sup>1</sup>  
 1S=COM=INTERR  
 ‘With me?’

A: öng<sup>1</sup>  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’

B: may<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> khu<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>1</sup> aw ng<sup>1</sup> ng<sup>1</sup> ng<sup>1</sup> (village.name)=nö<sup>3</sup> avung<sup>4</sup>=cö<sup>4</sup>  
 which person oh yeah yeah yeah name1.GEN=NR meet=CONF  
 ‘Which person? Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. The one from (name1). Sure, I met with  
 him.’ (41.202-205)

(21) Rengmitca =ca:  
 kek<sub>D</sub> kek<sub>D</sub>-döklangaj=ca klen=pö ke<sub>B</sub>-’ö=dökla ngaj-’ö  
 go go-SEQ want=AFFIRM once=FOC go-NEG=SEQ want-NEG  
 ‘If he goes regularly, he’ll want to (go). If he doesn’t go even once, he won’t want  
 to.’ (351.21)

(22) Khumi =’e<sup>1</sup>:  
 lä<sup>1</sup>-üng<sup>1</sup> pyä<sup>4</sup>-thay<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> k’ni<sup>11</sup>-nay<sup>3</sup>-nö<sup>3</sup>=hây<sup>1</sup>  
 swidden-ELAB(=house) manage-POT-NEG=EMOT rain-NR=COM  
 ti=nö<sup>3</sup>=hây<sup>1</sup>=’e<sup>1</sup>  
 etc.=NR=COM=AFFIRM  
 ‘They sure won’t be able to finish the field (work) with it raining and all.’ (41.163)

## 5.2. KHUMI =BÄ<sup>4</sup>

### 5.2.1. Mirative-like usage

(23) ah h’ni<sup>3</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> acë<sup>5</sup>=’ë<sup>1</sup> k’lay<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>4</sup>phe<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>täng<sup>2</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>...  
 INTERJ DEM=TOP 1PINCL=GEN monkey skull resemble=BÄ  
 ‘“Oh, this one looks like our monkey skulls!”...’ (18.61)

(24) nay<sup>11</sup>b’lö<sup>1</sup> räng<sup>4</sup>-nö<sup>3</sup>=cë<sup>5</sup>-cë<sup>5</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> n’-pë<sup>1</sup>=b’lö<sup>1</sup>...  
 then wither-NR=COLL-COLL=BÄ QUOT-say=SEQ  
 ‘Then she said, “They’re all withered!”...’ (7.39)

(25) m’nö<sup>3</sup> nay<sup>3</sup>=’ë<sup>10</sup> h’ni<sup>3</sup> a<sup>5</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> lä<sup>4</sup>-ngay<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> nö<sup>3</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 how thus=REAS DEM chicken=TOP run.away-DESID.NEG=BÄ QUOT=EVID  
 ‘“What’s going on? These chickens don’t want to run away!” she said.’ (34.227)

### 5.2.2. Answering a content question

(26) B: hu<sup>13</sup> tlöyng<sup>3</sup>=ma<sup>6</sup> s'dang<sup>2</sup>-p'lang<sup>2</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> m'nö<sup>3</sup>=lew<sup>1</sup> a'taa<sup>4</sup>  
 SUPERDIST top=ABL.GEN news-ELAB=TOP how=QUEST grandfather

(name1)-cë<sup>5</sup>=ma<sup>6</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> hu<sup>13</sup> (name2)=ma<sup>6</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 name1-COLL=ABL.GEN=NR SUPERDIST name2=ABL.GEN=NR

'How is the news from way over there on top? From grandfather (name1)'s people, from way over there in (name2)?

A: a'ti<sup>3</sup> s'dang<sup>2</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup> thay<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 what news=FOC hear-NEG=BÄ

no<sup>4</sup>so<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> häy<sup>3</sup>-rây<sup>4</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 sickness=TOP good-PERS=BÄ=INF

'I haven't heard any news. Everyone is well.' (41.108-110)

### 5.2.3. Providing relevant newsworthy information

(27) B: ...hu<sup>2</sup>=wa<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>=mö<sup>3</sup> üm<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>-rë<sup>1</sup> a'lay<sup>4</sup> kha<sup>10</sup>  
 DIST=LOC 3S=FGD house one-COUNT rent time.LOC

âm<sup>2</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>=kh'lö<sup>1</sup> häy<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 stay=NR=COND good.IRR-NR

'...if he took a house there [in the market] and stayed there, it would be good.'

A: a'lay<sup>4</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 rent=BÄ=INF  
 'He's rented one.' (41.180-181)

### 5.2.4. Correcting a mistaken assumption

(28) A: ng<sup>1</sup> h'ni<sup>3</sup> h'ni<sup>3</sup> (name1)=a<sup>1</sup>  
 yeah this this name1.LOC=INTERR  
 'Yes, this one [a letter] to (name1)?'

B: kenan- (name2) (name2) ma<sup>1</sup>sto<sup>1</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> itihäs=bä<sup>4</sup>...  
 clerk- name2 name2 teacher.LOC=BÄ history=BÄ  
 'The clerk—(no), to (name2), (name2), the history teacher...' (41.72-73)

(29) ...k'ni<sup>11</sup>nay<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> ning<sup>13</sup>ci<sup>2</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>=ma<sup>1</sup> rë<sup>1</sup>to<sup>10</sup> jew<sup>1</sup> kha<sup>10</sup>  
 rain=NR so.much=also PROX=ABL Bandarban.LOC come time.LOC

prang<sup>4</sup> ay<sup>1</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> kay<sup>1</sup> rë<sup>1</sup>to<sup>1</sup>=ma<sup>1</sup> vây<sup>4</sup> kha<sup>10</sup> cit'kewng<sup>2</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 uncle.in.law uncle=INF 1S Bandarban=ABL return time.LOC Chittagong.LOC=BÄ

'It rained so much when I came to Bandarban from here, uncle-in-law, I mean, when I returned to Chittagong from Bandarban.' (45.60)

### 5.2.5. Marking an abrupt topic shift (cf. by the way)

- (30) A and B have talked for several turns about the weeding back home. Suddenly A says:  
 h'ni<sup>3</sup> j'vay<sup>3</sup> kha<sup>10</sup> nang<sup>1</sup> fun<sup>3</sup> pang<sup>2</sup>=nō<sup>3</sup>  
 DEM recently time.LOC 2S.LOC phone do=NR

h'ni<sup>3</sup> fon numbar t'ko<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>1</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 DEM phone number go-NEG=BÄ  
 'Recently I called you but this phone number didn't work.' (41.171)

- (31) lew<sup>11</sup>hu<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ci<sup>5</sup>=tew<sup>2</sup> hây<sup>1</sup>play<sup>2</sup>-b'lö<sup>1</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> a<sup>1</sup>cē<sup>5</sup> khu<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>6</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ci<sup>5</sup> ne<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>  
 Mru story=COP well-SEQ=BÄ 1PINCL Khumi.GEN story correct-NEG  
 'Actually it's a Mru story. It's not one of our Khumi stories.' (21.20)

## 5.3. OTHER STANCE MARKING

### 5.3.1. Lai ='ee (lament, sentimentality)

- (32) moo ka-faa='oo tia' khan an-tii='ii  
 INTERJ 1SPOSS-child=VOC QUOT DEM.OBL 3PS-say=AND

a-ʈap-lengmang khoykaa=da' na-'um-hngaa='ee khoykaa=hen  
 3SS-cry-ITER where=QUEST 2SS-stay-SUBJ='EE where=INDEF.QUEST

na-sii tia' khan a-ʈap-lengmang an-tii  
 2SS-COP QUOT DEM.OBL 3SS-cry-ITER 3SS-say

““Oh, my child,” she said, and kept crying, “Where can you be? Wherever else might you be?” she said, and kept crying, they say.’ (MK)

- (33) ma'khan a-fanuu tsuu a-thii-kaw='ee an-tii  
 then 3SPOSS-daughter DEM 3S-die-AFFIRM='EE 3PS-say  
 'Then, her daughter truly died, they say.' (NHNF.19)

### 5.3.2. Lai ='aay (dismay, reproach):

- (34) ...a-nuupii=ni' tsun a-faa tsuu a-thii='aay  
 3sposs-wife=erg dem.obl 3sposs.child dem 3sS-die='aay  
 "...his wife said, about the baby, 'Oh my gosh, it's dead!'" (TL)

- (35) ...an-thal-le' an-lii=pool khaa tsaaytsim-tee=ni' khan  
 3P-bow-AND 3P-string=COLL DEM mouse-DIM=ERG DEM

a-rak-'ay-di='ii an-hmang-khaw-tii-law='aay  
 3SS-PERF-eat;\_DISTR-CONN 3PS-use1-able1-no longer-NEG='AAY

'...the little mouse had eaten their bows and strings, and they weren't able to use them any more.' (PL.28)



### 5.3.3. *Khumi =ba<sup>1</sup>* (sympathy, concern)

(36) A: ...üng<sup>1</sup>=ma<sup>4</sup>      vâ<sup>4</sup>-ngay<sup>3</sup>      nay<sup>3</sup>=cê<sup>5</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>      thuy<sup>3</sup>=’a<sup>1</sup>  
house=GOAL      return-DESID      QUOT=COLL      what=FOC      say=INTERR  
‘...Did she say anything (about) wanting to return home?’

B: ngay<sup>3</sup>      ang<sup>1</sup>-pë<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>...  
want      1S-say=BA  
‘She told me she wants to.’ (45.132-133)

(37) ...ning<sup>13</sup>ci<sup>2</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup>seng<sup>1</sup>-rö<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>baa<sup>1</sup>  
so.much      be.problem-INCEPT=NR      INTERJ  
‘...it really would have been a problem, gosh.’ (45.154)

## 5.4. REGISTER MARKING

### 5.4.1. *Lai =’ee* (politeness)

(38) ma’      tsaa=’a’      tsun      nan-nuu      tsaa=’a’      hin      tshangrew  
dem      sake=LOC      DEM.OBL      2P-mother      sake=LOC      DEM.OBL      rice.cake  
  
pakhat tsiaw      nan-pho’r-laay      ’ii      ma’      hii      t̃haa-tee      a-phor-khaw-mii  
one      each      2PS-carry-IRR      and      DEM      DEM      good-ADV      3SS-carry-POT-NR  
  
tsuu      mii-fel      mii- t̃haa      mii-ding      zu’ m-’ook      t̃hlaak-mii  
DEM      person-dutiful      person-good      person-straight      believe-PURP      possible-nr  
  
minung      nan-sii      tii      khaa aa-hngal-lay=’ee      tia’      khan  
person      2PS-COP      say      DEM      3SSREFL-know-IRR=’EE      QUOT      DEM  
  
a-ø-tsa’-hnaa=’ee      tii      a-sii  
3SS-3O-say-PO=’EE      say      3SS-COP  
‘“So, each of you carry a rice cake for your mother. And the one who carries it well, it will be known that he is a dutiful, good, honest, trustworthy person,” it’s said.’

(39) aye’!      kayma’      ka-sii=’ee      tia’      a-tii      an-tii  
interj      1S      1SS-COP=’EE      QUOT      3SS-say      3PS-say  
‘“Oh dear! It’s me,” she said, they say.’ (MRH.52)

### 5.4.2. *Khumi =ö<sup>1</sup>* (informality, casualness):

(40) a. lâ<sup>1</sup>      lâ<sup>1</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>      pyã<sup>4</sup>-thay<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>      liw<sup>1</sup>ngo<sup>1</sup>=wö<sup>1</sup>  
field      field=FOC      finish-POT-NEG=INF      nephew.in.law=INF  
  
vay<sup>1</sup>nöyng<sup>1</sup>      m’nay<sup>3</sup>=mo<sup>4</sup>      kay<sup>1</sup>cê<sup>5</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>vang<sup>2</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>      pyã<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>  
this.year      why=QUEST      1P.EXCL.GEN      village.GEN=FOC      finish-NEG  
‘We can’t finish weeding the fields this year, nephew-in-law, for whatever reason, also our village’s (fields) we can’t finish.’ (45.4)

- (41) b. A: tuy<sup>1</sup>=m<sup>3</sup>      tuy<sup>1</sup>=a<sup>1</sup>      krö<sup>6</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>-ra<sup>10</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 water=FGD      water=LOC      take.care.of-NEG-REAS.LOC=FOC=INF  
 tuy<sup>1</sup>    häy<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>-ra<sup>10</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 water    good-NEG-REA.LOC=FOC=INF  
 ‘The water, they aren’t taking care of the water, that’s why. Because the water isn’t good.’
- B: mm... h’nay<sup>3</sup>=c’=ö<sup>1</sup>...  
 yeah    thus=CONF=INF  
 ‘Yeah, that’s surely it...’ (45:14-15)

## 6. UTTERANCE-FINAL TOPIC MARKER USAGE

- (42) a. Rengmitca:  
 uh      nang    jöm-p’-haj-cät-dök=la=ti      thuj-pö  
 INTERJ 2S    fly-MAL-APP-motion.away-REAL=TOP=EVID    say-BEN  
 ‘“Huh! You’ll fly away with them on me!” he said to him.’ (165.79)
- b. Khumi:  
 h’ni<sup>3</sup>=c<sup>5</sup>      vāy<sup>4</sup>=n<sup>3</sup>      lo<sup>2</sup>=m’tē<sup>2</sup>      ci<sup>6</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>-rāy<sup>4</sup>=lō<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM=COLL    return=NR      month=even    pass-NEG-PERS=TOP  
 kay<sup>1</sup>    m’nō<sup>3</sup>    pe<sup>1</sup>-rāy<sup>4</sup>=mo<sup>4</sup>  
 1S      why    give-PERS=QUEST  
 ‘Not even a month has passed since they returned! Why would I have given (money to him) already?’ (45.172)

(Also occurs in Mru; similar phenomena involving information status markers noted for Hyow.)

## 7. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

- major categories found in the SC final particle complex:
  - evidentials
  - deictic elements
  - stance/register marking (certainty, newsworthiness/unexpectedness, speaker attitude, formality/informality/politeness)
  - final topic marker
- non-discrete nature of the phenomena
- conversation data crucial; narrative can also be of (more limited) use due to occurrence of directly quoted discourse internal to narrative
- tonal considerations

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