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Kyoto University
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\textsuperscript{11}lö\textsuperscript{1} thang\textsuperscript{11}bë\textsuperscript{5}=te\textsuperscript{5} sam\textsuperscript{1}rëng\textsuperscript{1} ka\textsuperscript{10}mëng\textsuperscript{5} ca\textsuperscript{10} jëw\textsuperscript{1}=nô\textsuperscript{3} 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:
nô\textsuperscript{3} thë\textsuperscript{1}bë\textsuperscript{5}=sam\textsuperscript{1}rëng\textsuperscript{1} ka\textsuperscript{10}mëng\textsuperscript{5} ca\textsuperscript{10} jëw\textsuperscript{1}=nô\textsuperscript{3} then nightingale=EVID chili NR-ripe eat.IRR come=NR
‘…“I am the king’s wife. Before I became the king’s wife.”’ (24:116b.)

(4) Multiple occurrences of the same particle within a sentence, Khumi:
[a\textsuperscript{1}reng\textsuperscript{6} a\textsuperscript{1}ju=ba\textsuperscript{4}] [kay\textsuperscript{1}=ba\textsuperscript{4}] [a\textsuperscript{1}reng\textsuperscript{6} a\textsuperscript{1}ju=khang\textsuperscript{1}-nô\textsuperscript{3}=ba\textsuperscript{4}] king.GEN wife=BA 1s=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’=bä\textsuperscript{4}:
  ke=nô\textsuperscript{3} =c’=bä\textsuperscript{4} nô\textsuperscript{3} pe\textsuperscript{1}=te\textsuperscript{5}
bite-NR=CONF=BA QUOT say=EVID
  ‘(But) they’ll bite us!’ they said.’ (18.129)

- b. =bä\textsuperscript{4}=ô\textsuperscript{1}:
  m phre\textsuperscript{6}=lë\textsuperscript{3}-yâ\textsuperscript{3}=bä\textsuperscript{4}=ô\textsuperscript{1} vay\textsuperscript{1}=lö\textsuperscript{1} há\textsuperscript{3} phra\textsuperscript{5}=bô\textsuperscript{3}=bä\textsuperscript{4}
INTERJ happen-NEG-PERS=BA=INF now=TOP good-little.by.little=REAL=BA
  ‘Yes, nothing has happened. Now they’ve gotten better, little by little.’ (45.7)

- c. =c’=ô\textsuperscript{1}:
  vây\textsuperscript{4}=tâng\textsuperscript{3} =c’=ô\textsuperscript{1}
return-AGAIN=CONF=INF
  ‘Of course I’ll go back.’ (41.11)

- d. =bä\textsuperscript{4}=h’=lö\textsuperscript{1}:
  kuy\textsuperscript{1}ti’ (am’iw ‘a’ âni)am\textsuperscript{1}=â=am\textsuperscript{3} a nô\textsuperscript{3} am\textsuperscript{1}=â=phre\textsuperscript{1}=vuy\textsuperscript{3}=bô\textsuperscript{3}=bä\textsuperscript{4}=h’=lö\textsuperscript{1}…
banana (false starts) golden=NR like golden-AUGVCL-PFV=REAL=BA=DEIC=TOP
  ‘It (rice crop) has become golden-colored like bananas.’ (45.51)

3. EVIDENTIALS

3.1. HEARSAY EVIDENTIAL

(6) Hyow =tî:
úy-tsô=ni lú-ák í-hnî2-tsân-êy-hnâ2=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 =tî:
angreng c’pa=nô=lö n’âj-p’aj maj=pô sa-pô’-ô=tî
rich son=LOC=TOP mother-father fire=FOC make=BA 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 rinnampa=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) aas 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’ nîlûp nûng-khô?=nû ting…
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-峇a=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'ray\(^2\)=ü\(^1\) a'ray\(^2\)=ray\(^2\) khew\(^{11}\)=khu\(^1\) no\(^4\)=nö\(^3\) kheng\(^1\)=cang\(^3\)=he\(^l\) 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\(^1\)=khung\(^{10}\) a\(^5\) kheng\(^1\)=cang\(^2\)=ho\(^l\) entryroom.LOC chicken look-try=DEIC

‘Got to the entryway and look at the chickens’ (48.216)

(15) Rengmitca:
åk-la=ö lôw hng ng’waj kaj khuj-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=tsu’
1S.POSS-pig 3P-SS-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 1sSS-hear=AFFIRM 3sSS-say 3pSS-say
‘…’I certainly did hear the noise,” she said, they say.’ (MRH.57)

(18) ee a-thaa=kaw INTERJ 3ssSS-good=AFFIRM

‘“Okay, that’s certainly good.”…”’ (TL.40)

(19) Khumi =cö\(^4\):
uh ne\(^2\)=yö\(^i\) kay\(^1\) p’nö\(^3\)=cö\(^4\) INTERJ elder.sister=EMOT 1S know=CONF

‘“Oh, elder sister, I certainly know…”’

(20) A: h’ni\(^3\)=re\(^{10}\)=to\(^{10}\) jew\(^j\) kha\(^{10}\) h’ni\(^1\) khu\(^{11}\)=mi\(^1\)=håy\(^l\) avung\(^4\)=te\(^5\)=bä\(^4\) this- Bandarban.LOC come time.LOC DEM person=COM meet=EVID=BÄ
'This-, he said, when you came to Bandarban you met this person from way over there in (name1).'</n>‘With me?’
A: öng
yeah
‘Yeah.’
B: mayni³ khu¹mi¹ aw ng¹ ng¹ (village.name)=nö³ avung⁴=cö⁴ 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:
kekD kekD-doklangaj=ca klen=pö keŋ-‘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 =’ê¹:
lâ¹-üng¹ pyâ³-thay¹²-lâ³=ö¹ k’ni¹¹-nay¹³-nö³=håy¹
swidden-ELAB(=house) manage-POT-NEG=EMOT rain-NR=COM
ti=nö²=håy¹=’ê¹
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 =BÂ⁴
5.2.1. Mirative-like usage
(23) ah h’ni³=lö³ acê⁵=’ê¹ k’lay¹ lu¹phe¹ a’tâng²=bâ⁴…
INTERJ DEM=TOP 1PINCL=GEN monkey skull resemble=BÂ
“Oh, this one looks like our monkey skulls!”…’ (18.61)
(24) nay¹¹b’lö¹ râng⁴-nö³=ce⁵-cê⁵=bâ⁴ n’-pe¹=b’lö¹…
then wither-NR=COLL-COLL=BÂ QUOT-say=SEQ
‘Then she said, “They’re all withered!”…’ (7.39)
(25) m’nö³ nay³=’ê¹⁰ h’ni³ a⁵=lö¹ lá³-ngay³=bâ⁴ nö³=te⁵
how thus=REAS DEM chicken=TOP run.away-DESID.NEG=BÂ 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: hu₁³ tlöyng⁴=ma⁶ s’dang²-p’lang²=lö¹ m’nö³=lew¹ a’taa⁴
SUPERDIST top=ABL.GEN news-ELAB=TOP how=QUEST grandfather

(name1)-cë⁵=ma⁶=nö³ hu₁³ (name2)=ma⁶=nö³
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: a¹ti³ s’dang²=po¹ thay¹²-lä³=ba⁴
what news=FOC hear-NEG=BÄ

no¹so¹=lö¹ háy³-rãy⁴=ba⁴=ö¹
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: …hu²=wa¹ ni³=mö³ üm¹ ha¹-rë¹ a¹lay⁴ kha¹⁰
DIST=LOC 3S=FGD house one-COUNT rent time.LOC

âm²=nö³=kh’lo¹ háy³=nö³
stay=NR=COND good.IRR-NR
‘…if he took a house there [in the market] and stayed there, it would be good.’

A: a¹lay⁴=bä⁴=ö¹
rent=BÄ=INF
‘He’s rented one.’ (41.180-181)

5.2.4. Correcting a mistaken assumption

(28) A: ng¹ h’ni³ h’ni³ (name1)=a¹
yeah this this name1.LOC=INTERR
‘Yes, this one [a letter] to (name1)?’

B: kenan- (name2) (name2) ma¹sto¹=bä⁴ itihas=bä⁴…
clerk name2 name2 teacher.LOC=ABL history=BÄ
‘The clerk—(no), to (name2), (name2), the history teacher…’ (41.72-73)

(29) …k’n¹¹nay³=nö³ ning¹³ci²=pö¹ hi²=ma¹ rë¹to¹⁰ jew¹ kha¹⁰
rain=NR so.much=also PROX=ABL Bandarban.LOC=ABL time.LOC

prang⁴ ay¹=ö¹ kay¹ rë¹to¹=ma¹ vày⁴ kha¹⁰ cit’kewng²=bä⁴
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:

\[ \begin{align*}
&h’ni^3 \quad j’vay^3 \quad kha^{10} \quad nang^1 \quad fun^3 \quad pang^2=no^3 \\
&DEm \quad \text{recently} \quad \text{time.Loc} \quad 2s.Loc \ \text{phone} \ \text{do=NR} \\
&h’ni^3 \ \text{fon numbar} \quad t’ko^{12}-lå^1=ba^4 \\
&DEm \ \text{phone number} \ \text{go=NEG=BÅ} \\
&‘Recently I called you but this phone number didn’t work.’ \ (41.171)
\end{align*} \]

5.3. OTHER STANCE MARKING

5.3.1. Lai =’ee (lament, sentimentality)

(32) moo ka-faa=’oo tia’ khan an-tii=’ii

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{INTERJ} \ \text{1SPOSS-child=VOC} \ \text{QUOT} \ \text{DEm.OBL} \ \text{3P$S$-say=AND} \\
a- \ ʈ-\text{tap-lengmang} \ \text{khoykaa=da’} \ \text{na-’um-hngaa=’ee} \ \text{khoykaa=hen} \\
&\text{3S$S$-cry-ITER} \ \text{where=QUEST} \ \text{2S$S$-stay-SUBJ=’EE} \ \text{where=INDEF.QUEST} \\
&\text{na-sii} \ \text{tia’ khan} \ \text{a- \ ʈ-\text{tap-lengmang} \ an-tii} \\
&\text{2S$S$-COP} \ \text{QUOT} \ \text{DEm.OBL} \ \text{3S$S$-cry-ITER} \ \text{3S$S$-say} \\
&‘Oh, my child,’” she said, and kept crying, “Where can you be? Wherever else might you be?” she said, and kept crying, they say.’ \ (MK)
\end{align*} \]

(33) ma’khan a-fanuu tsuu a-thii-kaw=’ee an-tii

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{then} \ \text{3SPOSS-daughter} \ \text{DEm} \ \text{3S$S$-die-AFFIRM=’EE} \ \text{3P$S$-say} \\
&‘Then, her daughter truly died, they say.’ \ (NHNF.19)
\end{align*} \]

5.3.2. Lai =’aay (dismay, reproach):

(34) …a-nuupii=ni’ tsun a-faa tsuu a-thii=’aay

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{3SPOSS-wife=erg} \ \text{dem.obl} \ \text{3SPOSS.child \ dem} \ \text{3S$S$-die=’aay} \\
&‘…his wife said, about the baby, ‘Oh my gosh, it’s dead!’’ \ (TL)
\end{align*} \]

(35) …an-thal-le’ an-lii=pool khaa tsaytsim-tee=ni’ khan

\[ \begin{align*}
&a-\text{rak-’ay-di}=’ii \ \text{an-hmang-khaw-tii-law=’aay} \\
&a-\text{rak-’ay-di}=’ii \ \text{an-hmang-khaw-tii-law=’aay} \ \text{3S$S$-PERF-eat$$_1$$-DISTR-CONN} \ \text{3P$S$-use$$_1$$-able$$ _1$$-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\(^1\) (sympathy, concern)

(36) A: …üng\(^1\)=ma\(^4\) vāy\(^4\)-ngay\(^3\) nay\(^3\)=cē\(^5\) a\(^1\)ti\(^3\)=pō\(^1\) thuy\(^3\)=’a\(^1\) house=GOAL return-DESID QUOT=COLL what=FOC say=INTERR
‘…Did she say anything (about) wanting to return home?’

B: ngay\(^3\) ang\(^1\)-pō\(^1\)=ba\(^1\)…
want 1S-say=BA
‘She told me she wants to.’ (45.132-133)

(37) …ning\(^13\)ci\(^2\) a\(^1\)le’seng\(^1\)-rō\(^3\)=nō\(^3\) a\(^1\)baa\(^1\)
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 tshawrew dem sake=LOC DEM.OBL 2P-mother sake=LOC DEM.OBL rice.cake
pakhat tsia=m-pho’r-laay ’ii ma’ hii ṭhaa-tee a-phor-khaw-mii one each 2P-carry-IRR and DEM DEM good-ADV 3S-carry-POT-NR
tsuu mii-fel mii-ṭhaa mii-ding zu’m’’ook thlaak-mii DEM person-dutyful person-good person-straight believe-PURP possible-nr
minung nan-sii tii khaa aa-hngal-lay=’ee tia’ khan person 2P-S-COP say DEM 3S-SREFL-know-IRR=’EE QUOT DEM
a- ø-tsaa’-hnaa=’ee tii a-sii
3S-3O-say=P=’EE say 3S-S-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 1S-S-COP=’EE QUOT 3S-S-say 3P-S-say
“‘Oh dear! It’s me,” she said, they say.’ (MRH.52)

5.4.2. Khumi =ö\(^1\) (informality, casualness):

(40) a. lā\(^1\) lā\(^1\)=pō\(^1\) pyā\(^4\)-thay\(^12\)-lā\(^3\)=ö\(^1\) liw\(^1\)ngo\(^1\)=wō\(^1\)
field field=FOC finish-POT-NEG=INF nephew.in.law=INF
vay\(^1\)nöyng\(^1\) m’nay\(^3\)=mo\(^4\) kay’cē\(^5\) a’vang\(^2\)=pō\(^1\) pyā\(^12\)-lā\(^3\)
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^1=mö^3 tuy^1=a^1 krö^6-lä^3-ra^10=pö^1=ö^1
  water=FGD   water=LOC   take.care.of-NEG-REAS.LOC=FOC=INF
  tuy^1 hāy^12-lä^1-ra^10=pö^1=ö^1
  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^3=c’=ö^1…
      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-cat-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^3=cë^5 vāy^4=nö^3 lo^2=m’të^2 ci^6-lä^3-rāy^4=lo^1
  DEM=COLL return=NR month=even pass-NEG-PERS=TOP
  kay^1 m’nö^3 pe^1-rāy^4=mö^4
  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
REFERENCES