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ICSTLL 51, Kyoto University, 27 September 2018

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?

* Work on Khumi has been supported by NSF #BCS-0349021. Work with Rengmitca is supported by NSF #BCS-1360770. My thanks to Ken VanBik for assistance with Lai, to Lelung Khumi and other members of the Khumi community in Bangladesh for our work on Khumi, and especially to Mangpün and Thwājnglök for helping me to learn about Rengmitca.

- (2) Phrase- or IU-final, Khumi:
 nay¹¹b¹lö¹ thang¹¹bë¹=te⁵ sam¹rüng¹ ka¹-müng⁵ ca¹⁰ jew¹=nö³
 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:
 ng¹=e¹
 INTERJ=AFFIRM
 ‘Yeah.’ (45:160)
- (4) Multiple occurrences of the same particle within a sentence, Khumi:
 [a¹reng⁶ a¹ju¹=ba¹] [kay¹=ba¹] [vay¹¹ci¹=lö¹=ba¹] [a¹reng⁶ a¹ju¹ khang¹-nö³=ba¹]
 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’=bä⁴:
 ke=nö³=c’=bä⁴ nö³ pë¹=te⁵
 bite-NR=CONF=BÄ QUOT say=EVID
 ‘“(But) they’ll bite us!” they said.’ (18.129)
- b. =bä⁴=ö¹:
 m phre⁶-lä³-yā³=bä⁴=ö¹ vay¹=lö¹ hây³-phro¹¹phra⁵=bo³=bä⁴
 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’=ö¹:
 vây⁴-täng³=c’=ö¹
 return-AGAIN=CONF=INF
 ‘Of course I’ll go back.’ (41.11)
- d. =bä⁴=h’=lö¹:
 kuy¹ti¹ (am’iw ‘a’ âni)am¹’â⁴=nö³a¹nö³ am¹’â⁴-phriw¹-vuy³=bo³=bä⁴=h’=lö¹...
 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-tso⁵=ní lú-ák í-hní?-tsán-êy-hnô?⁵=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’âj-p’aj maj=pö sa-pö-’ö=ti
 rich son=LOC=TOP mother-father fire=FOC make_B-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):
- ka-vok an-fiar=khi'
 1S-pig 3PS-steal=YONDER
 'Look! They're stealing my pig!'
 - ka-vok an-fiar=hi'
 1S-pig 3PS-steal=HERE
 'Help! They're stealing my pig here!'
 - na-faa=lee=ni' ka-vok an-fiar=kha'
 2S-child=PL=ERG 1S-pig 3PS-steal=NEAR.LISTENER
 'Your kids stole my pig!'

hu¹³ (village name)=’ë¹
 SUPERDIST name1=GEN
 ‘This-, he said, when you came to Bandarban you met this person from way
 over there in (name1).’

B: kay¹=hăy¹=a¹
 1S=COM=INTERR
 ‘With me?’

A: öng¹
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’

B: may¹ni³ khu¹¹mi¹ aw ng¹ 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:
 kek_D kek_D-döklangaj=ca klen=pö ke_B-’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 =’e¹:
 lâ¹-üng¹ pyä⁴-thay¹²-lä³=ö¹ k’ni¹¹-nay³-nö³=hăy¹
 swidden-ELAB(=house) manage-POT-NEG=EMOT rain-NR=COM
 ti=nö³=hăy¹=’e¹
 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 =BÄ⁴

5.2.1. Mirative-like usage

(23) ah h’ni³=lö¹ acë⁵=’ë¹ k’lay¹ lu⁴phe¹ a¹tâng²=bä⁴...
 INTERJ DEM=TOP 1PINCL=GEN monkey skull resemble=BÄ
 ‘“Oh, this one looks like our monkey skulls!”...’ (18.61)

(24) nay¹¹b’lö¹ râng⁴-nö³=cë⁵-cë⁵=bä⁴ n’-pë¹=b’lö¹...
 then wither-NR=COLL-COLL=BÄ QUOT-say=SEQ
 ‘Then she said, “They’re all withered!”...’ (7.39)

(25) m’nö³ nay³=’ë¹⁰ h’ni³ a⁵=lö¹ lä⁴-ngay³=bä⁴ nö³=te⁵
 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: hu¹³ tlöyng³=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: a'ti³ s'dang²=pö¹ thay¹²-lä³=bä⁴
 what news=FOC hear-NEG=BÄ

no⁴so¹=lö¹ hây³-rây⁴=bä⁴=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 a'lay⁴ kha¹⁰
 DIST=LOC 3S=FGD house one-COUNT rent time.LOC

âm²=nö³=kh'lö¹ hây³=nö³
 stay=NR=COND good.IRR-NR

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

- A: a'lay⁴=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 itilhas=bä⁴...
 clerk- name2 name2 teacher.LOC=BÄ history=BÄ
 'The clerk—(no), to (name2), (name2), the history teacher...' (41.72-73)

- (29) ...k'ni¹¹nay³=nö³ ning¹³ci²=pö¹ hi²=ma¹ rë¹to¹⁰ jew¹ kha¹⁰
 rain=NR so.much=also PROX=ABL Bandarban.LOC come time.LOC

prang⁴ ay¹=ö¹ kay¹ rë¹to¹=ma¹ vâ⁴ 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:
 h'ni³ j'vay³ kha¹⁰ nang¹ fun³ pang²=nō³
 DEM recently time.LOC 2S.LOC phone do=NR

h'ni³ fon numbar t'ko¹²-lā¹=bā⁴
 DEM phone number go-NEG=BÄ

'Recently I called you but this phone number didn't work.' (41.171)

- (31) lew¹¹hu¹ a¹ci⁵=tew² hāy¹play²-b'lō¹=bā⁴ a¹cē⁵ khu¹¹mi⁶ a¹ci⁵ ne¹²-lā³
 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 =ba¹* (sympathy, concern)

- (36) A: ...üŋ¹=ma⁴ vâ⁴-ngay³ nay³=cê⁵ a¹ti³=pö¹ thuy³=a¹
house=GOAL return-DESID QUOT=COLL what=FOC say=INTERR
‘...Did she say anything (about) wanting to return home?’

B: ngay³ ang¹-pê¹=ba¹...
want 1S-say=BA
‘She told me she wants to.’ (45.132-133)

- (37) ...ning¹³ci² a¹le¹seng¹-rö³=nö³ a¹baa¹
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 thaa-tee a-phor-khaw-mii
one each 2PS-carry-IRR and DEM DEM good-ADV 3SS-carry-POT-NR
tsuu mii-fel mii- thaa mii-ding zu’m-’ook thlaak-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 =ö¹* (informality, casualness):

- (40) a. lã¹ lã¹=pö¹ pyã⁴-thay¹²-lä³=ö¹ liw¹ngo¹=wö¹
field field=FOC finish-POT-NEG=INF nephew.in.law=INF
vay¹nöyng¹ m’nay³=mo⁴ kay¹cê⁵ a¹vang²=pö¹ pyã¹²-lä³
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: tuy¹=m³ tuy¹=a¹ krö⁶-lä³-ra¹⁰=pö¹=ö¹
 water=FGD water=LOC take.care.of-NEG-REAS.LOC=FOC=INF
 tuy¹ hây¹²-lä³-ra¹⁰=pö¹=ö¹
 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’nay³=c’=ö¹...
 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-cât-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’ni³=cê⁵ vâ⁴=nô³ lo²=m’të² ci⁶-lä³-rây⁴=lô¹
 DEM=COLL return=NR month=even pass-NEG-PERS=TOP
 kay¹ m’nô³ pe¹-rây⁴=mo⁴
 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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