

DIRECTIONAL AUXILIARIES IN DAAI CHIN

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0. Introduction

The Daai Chin language¹ belongs to the Southern Branch of the Kukish Section of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by approximately 30,000 people in the townships of Matupi, Mindat, Kanpetlet and Paletwa in the Southern Chin Hills of Burma.

Within the Chin language family Daai Chin is most closely related to MÜN Chin (also called Mindat Chin), Chin Pon (also called Üt Pü) and Matu Chin.

This paper is based on a dialect of Daai Chin spoken in Kanpetlet township.²

1. The auxiliary verb system in general

Preverbal auxiliaries. Eight preverbal auxiliaries have been found so far. All of them are directional and they are mutually exclusive. They are never used as main verbs, except *jǎng*.

Postverbal auxiliaries. The postverbal auxiliary system is much more complicated. There are more than fifty postverbal auxiliaries, which can be divided into several sets according to their position and meaning. The auxiliaries closest to the verb tend to be directionals, following them are causatives, reciprocals, attitudinals, phases, speech act indicators, and the like.

2. Preverbal auxiliaries

The eight preverbal auxiliaries form four pairs. Three of these pairs express the spatial directions forward, down and up. The fourth pair expresses the temporal direction 'in advance'. The pairs are divided by the two manners reaching out (physical or mental, without change of present position) and going.

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	forward	down	up	in advance
reaching out	<i>hei</i>	<i>juk</i>	<i>jän</i>	<i>na</i>
going	<i>va</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>jäng</i>	<i>ana</i>

Table 1: The preverbal auxiliaries

- a) **hei**³ 'to V to the front, to V in forward direction, to V over there'

kah hei pyen⁴ kyo
 I forward speak futile
 I speak to them over there (though without success)

lóu hei bük-a⁵
 field front look-IMP
 look in front to the field

lung sun ah hei xot-in
 stone this he forward throw-quick
 he quickly throws the stone over there

- b) **va** 'to go and V to the front, to go and V in forward direction, to go and V over there'

ah nih va-dou u
 he PL forward-greet mPL
 go and greet them

ím-a va-lut lü kah hmuh
 house-in forward-enter and I see
 and I saw that he went and entered the house over there

kah va-hmuh kti
 I forward-meet PRES
 I go and meet (him) over there

- c) **juk** 'to V downwards, to reach down and V'

juk kkhuui hlü be kti
 downward help want again PRES
 he wants to help (him) again from above

kah juk péét
 I down give
 I reach down and give

juk pyén-a
 down speak-IMP
 speak downwards

d) **ju** 'to go down and V'

kah ju-lit lut ei be kkhai ni
 I down-go enter self again will indeed
 I myself will go down and enter again

ju-pe-a
 go-down-give-IMP
 go down and give it

ah ju-mtheh lo
 he go-down-tell come
 he comes to the state of going down and telling

e) **jän** 'to V upwards, to reach upwards and V'

ah jän kpyaai in
 he up discard quick
 he quickly throws (it) away upward

kah jän poh ei kkhai ni
 I up do self will indeed
 I myself will reach upwards and do (it).

jän kthäh be-a
 up ask again-IMP
 ask again upwards (ask someone who is higher)

f) **jǎng** 'to go up and V'

kah jǎng pyen
 I go-up speak
 I go upwards and speak

im kkhaan-a ah jǎng poh
 house up-in he go-up does
 he goes up into the house and does (it)

ah ve náák-a jǎng hmu-hüt-a
 he stay place-at go-up look-IMP
 go up to the place where he is and look for (it) back there

g) **na** 'to V in advance, ahead'

nah na-poh am ve
 you ahead-work not is
 you have not done it in advance

kei noh kah na-ei ma kti
 I SUBJ I ahead-eat go-ahead PRES
 I eat in advance (of everybody else)

ah na-mtheh
 he ahead-tell
 he tells it in advance

h) *ana* 'to go and V in advance, ahead'

ana-ngshut ip kti-é
 go-ahead-start sleep PRES-PL
 they go and fall asleep in advance

ana-pyén hü kom kti
 go-ahead tell around of:course PRES
 of course he has gone and told it around in advance

ana-poh u bä
 go-ahead do PL all-right?
 go and do it in advance, will you?

3. Postverbal semidirectional auxiliaries

The semidirectionals, the first seven auxiliaries after the verb, do not form a tight semantic set, but are a composite of direction, phase, and distributiveness. Most of them can also be used as a main verb.

pha to arrive at the state of Ving
lo to come to the state of Ving
vaai to go and V, to V frontward
seh to V and bring along
hü to V from place to place
táák to V and leave behind
hüt to V back there

Note that Table 2 shows *lo*, *vaai*, and *seh* as a mutually exclusive set, though their relationships with other auxiliaries are different.

<i>pha</i>	R	O	X	X	X	X
<i>lo</i>		O	O	X	R	X
		<i>vaai</i>	O	R	R	R
			<i>seh</i>	O	X	X
				<i>hü</i>	R	X
					<i>táák</i>	R
						<i>hüt</i>

X = fixed order
 R = reversible order
 O = mutually exclusive

Table 2: Postverbal semidirectionals: pairwise co-occurrence and order

3.1 Meaning and usage

a) *lo*. When used as a main verb it means 'come, bring along'. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to come to the state of Ving, to V toward somebody or something'. The auxiliary *lo* can co-occur with all other directional postverbal auxiliaries except *vaai* and *seh*, since *lo* implies a movement toward and *vaai* and *seh* a movement away. *Lok* is an allomorph of *lo*, occurring before preglottalised consonants.

main verbs:

<i>kah lok kkhai</i>	I will come
<i>loua ksim ah lo</i>	he brings the knife to the field

auxiliary:

jah hmu-lok kkhai ni
 them see-come will indeed
 I will come to the state of seeing them

thing-kdung ah kkoh lo
 firewood he carry come
 he comes to the state of carrying the firewood

ip lok kti
 sleep come PRES
 he falls asleep

kah sá, nah däm lo hnüh kti ni
 my son you big come finally PRES indeed
 my son, you have become big finally

ah bóóí lo-pyéí mjoh
 he rich come-much told
 he became very rich, it is told

sa kah yuk lo
 letter I write come
 I write a letter (to you)

b) *pha*. When used as a main verb it means 'arrive'. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to arrive at the state of Ving'. The occurrence of *pha* as an auxiliary verb is rather restricted. It has been found so far only occurring after the main verbs *lo* 'come' and *mán* 'catch'. But it can co-occur with all the other directional postverbal auxiliaries except *vaai*.

main verb:

íma pha-lobe kti
 he arrives coming back home

auxiliary verb:

ah mán pha hnüh
 he catch arrive finally
 he finally arrives at the state of catching (him)

ah lo pha am kah hmuh ni
 he come arrive not I see indeed
 I did not see him coming

c) *vaai*. Does not occur as a main verb. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to V forward, to go and V'. *Vaai* cannot co-occur with *lo*, *pha*, *seh*, but it does co-occur with *hü*, *táák* and *hüt* and is reversible with them.

ah maláma su kshuuk-ku ah hmuh vaai
 his front-road on tortoise he see front
 he sees the tortoise in front of him on the road

sá-apyén vaai kom kti
 there-at speak go of course PRES
 tell it over there of course

lóu phyóu vaai-a
 field weed go-IMP
 go and pull the weeds in the field

mó-a ve hü vaai khüng vai
 jungle at stay around go probably will
 he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

d) *seh*. When it is used as a main verb it means 'go, take along'. When it is used as an auxiliary verb it means 'bringing along'. Its occurrence as an auxiliary verb is very restricted, occurring only with the main verb *lo*. It can co-occur with the auxiliaries *pha*, *táák*, *hüt*, but not with *lo*, *hü*, or *vaai*.

main verb:

kah seh ta kah phak kkhai ni
 If I go then I will arrive indeed

paai noh ksim ah seh
 father takes the knife along

auxiliary:

thing lo seh tu bǎ
 wood come bring INTENS all-right
 do bring the firewood along, will you?

ah lo seh hlü-a ta lo seh kom
 he come bring want if come bring of course
 if he wants to bring it along let him do so of course

e) *hü*. Does not occur as a main verb. When it is used as an auxiliary verb it means 'Ving from place to place, Ving around, Ving aimlessly'. It can co-occur with all other directional auxiliaries except with *seh*.

asun kba su khü hü pah pah lü sit hü kti
 this like this call around go go and go around PRES
 like this he calls around while going and goes from place to place

mó kpyonga long kkóng-a khúúü hü kti
 jungle jungle-at stream land-at work around PRES
 he works at different places, in the jungle, at the stream and on the land

nah sit hü kti-o
 you go around PRES-doubtful
 did you really go?

nah seh lo hü kkhai ni
 you run come around will indeed
 you will come to run around here and there (confused and aimless)

f) *táák*. When used as a main verb it means 'keep, put'. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to V leaving (somebody) in place or behind, to V in advance of somebody'. (The one left behind may also be moving but more slowly.) *Táák* can co-occur with all the other directional auxiliaries and is reversible with all of them except with *seh* and *pha*.

main verb:

paai noh she ah táák
 the father keeps (raises) cows

íma ksim ah táák
 he puts the knife in the house

auxiliary:

ah don táák
 he run leave-behind
 he runs and leaves behind (somebody running slower)

nah ve táák hüt ta i am do
 you live leave back if GEN not good
 it is not good if you live (somewhere else) and leave (him) in place

nih seh táák in vai u ni
 we go leave quickly will PL indeed
 we will quickly go in advance (of someone coming later)

g) *hüt*. Does not occur as a main verb. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to V back there, to V at a different time or place, to V so that it stays back'. It co-occurs with all the other directional auxiliaries, and is reversible with *vaai* and *táák*.

ah sá ve hüt kti
 his child stay back PRES
 his child stays back (at a different place)

ah sük hüt
 he order back-there
 he ordered back there (afterwards he died or went away)

ah poh hüt am ve tí
 he do back not is any more
 nothing remains from what he did

ah tú hmu-hüt lü thik kti
 his grandchild see-there and die PRES
 he saw his grandchild back there and died

asun pyén hü hüt kom
 like:this talk around there of:course
 talk around like this back there of course

3.2 Simple co-occurrence

The pairwise co-occurrence relations of these auxiliaries are shown in Table 2. Following are examples of each such pair.

am man lo pha tí
 not catch come arrive any more
 he cannot catch him any more

ei o pha lo to kkhai ni
 eat drink arrive come proper will indeed
 he will arrive in time to eat

nah sén lo hü kkhai ni
 you run come around will indeed
 you will run around confused

nih ve lo táák u ni
 we live come leave PL indeed
 we come to live (somewhere else) and leave him behind

nih ve táák lo u ni
 we live leave come PL indeed
 we come to live (somewhere else) and leave him behind

kah nih бүк lo hüt kti-é ni
 I we see come back PRES-PL indeed
 we will see him back there

ning lo pha seh táák kkhai ni
 you come arrive take leave will indeed
 they will arrive in advance to take (it) and leave you behind

lo pha hū ma she
 come arrive around go:ahead let
 let him arrive at these places

ning lo pha táák kkhai-é ni
 you come arrive leave will-PL indeed
 they will arrive in advance of you

lo pha hüt ma kkhai shü
 come arrive here go-ahead will should
 he should have come to arrive here

ning lo seh táák kkhai ni
 you come bring leave will indeed
 he will come and bring it in advance and leave you behind

bebe ah lo seh hüt tata do kkhai shü
 brother he come bring here if good will should
 if the elder brother would have brought it along it would have been good

mó-a ve hū vaai khüng vai
 jungle-in stay around go probably will
 he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

mó-a ve vaai hū khüng vai
 jungle-in stay go around probably will
 he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

kah ei hū táák phi am kshing
 I eat around leave also not know
 he does not know that I have eaten in advance (without him)

nah ve táák hū ta i am do
 you stay leave around if GEN not good
 it is not good that you stay around at other places and leave him behind

asun pyén hū hüt kom kti
 like this talk around back of course PRES
 like this he tells around of course

püi ei vaai táák am do
 friend eat go leave not good
 it is not good to go and eat and leave your friend behind

püi ei táák vaai am do
 friend eat leave go not good
 it is not good to go and eat and leave your friend behind

pyén vaai hüt kom u
 talk go back course PL
 go and tell it back there of course

seh hüt vaii shü
 go back go should
 he should have gone back there

ve táák hüt ta mpyeen-seh-hlü-kba
 stay leave back if pitiful
 if he is left behind he is to be pitied

ve hüt táák ta mpyeen-seh-hlü-kba
 stay back leave if pitiful
 if he is left behind he is to be pitied

3.3 Co-occurrence of more than two postverbal auxiliaries

No more than three postverbal directionals have been found together, though a maximum of five is logically possible according to Table 2.

seh lo hü táák tü kkhai-é ni
 go come around leave again will-PL indeed
 they will go again from place to place and leave him behind

ning lo pha seh táák kkhai-é ni
 you come arrive take leave will-PL indeed
 they will arrive to take it in advance and leave you behind

4. Co-occurrence of preverbal and postverbal directionals

Many of the preverbal and postverbal directionals can occur together, but there are some restrictions, as shown in Table 3. Note the complementary distribution of *vaai* and *seh*. And note the somewhat defective distribution of *ana*. This table also shows that the neat semantic matrix of the preverbals given in Table 1 does not fully correlate with the distributional realities; there are apparently other semantic factors that have not yet been fully taken into account.

	<i>lo</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>vaai</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>hü</i>	<i>taak</i>	<i>hüt</i>
<i>hei</i>	X	O	O	X	X	X	X
<i>va</i>	X	O	O	X	X	X	X
<i>juk</i>	X	O	O	X	O	X	X
<i>ju</i>	X	O	X	O	O	X	X
<i>jän</i>	X	O	O	X	O	X	X
<i>jäng</i>	X	O	X	O	X	X	X
<i>na</i>	X	O	X	O	X	X	X
<i>ana</i>	O	O	X	O	X	X	O

X = occurring, O = non-occurring

Table 3: Co-occurrence of preverbal and postverbal directionals

NOTES

- See also the introduction to Hartmann-So 1985.
- The data for this paper were collected between 1975 and 1983. The basic analysis is based on about twenty different texts by several speakers from different villages in Kanpetlet township. For the composition of this paper my husband Chaing So and Mr Nääng Küüi from Nghmu Khim Mding village have been my main informants; I am grateful to them for their efforts and patience. I am also indebted to Paulette Hopple and David Thomas who gave advice and help in the analysis and writing of this paper.
- Key to the orthography:

ph, th, kh, sh	represent	aspirates [p ^h , t ^h , k ^h , s ^h]
syllable-final h	"	glottal stop [ʔ]
hm, hn, hng	"	voiceless nasals [M, N, ŋ]
hl	"	voiceless lateral [L]
x	"	voiceless velar fricative [χ]
v, j, y	"	semivowels [w, y, ɹ]
kC, k'C, k'V	"	preglottalised [ʔC], [ʔV]
mC, m'V, ngC, ng'V	"	prenasalised [mC, mV, ŋ C, ŋ V]
Cy	"	palatalised [C ^y]
i, ü, u	"	high vowels [i, i̥, u]
e, ä, o	"	mid vowels [ɛ, ə, ɔ]
a	"	low central vowel [a]
VV	"	long vowel
Vu, Vi	"	VC [V̄w, Vy]

Tone: there are two contrastive tones throughout the dialect area, a plain level tone and a tense high falling tone. But there is much variation between villages as to which words take which tone, so tone is not marked in practical orthography. The tones indicated in this paper represent the speech of Yang Msaai village.

- 4 The verbs *pyen* 'to speak' and *man* 'to catch' belong to a verb class which has both verb Stem A and Stem B. There exists a tone alternation between these two stems (Hartmann-So, 1985). Therefore in this paper they are sometimes marked with plain-level tone and sometimes with high-tense tone.
- 5 Suffix *-a* is a mild imperative, a gentle urging (combined with appropriate intonation). Suffix *-kti* is a common suffix whose meaning is not yet entirely clear. It has a component of present tense, in contrast with *-kkhai* 'future', and may also serve to mark the end of a verb phrase.

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