LINGUISTICS OF THE TIBETO-BURMAN AREA
VOLUME 12:1 - SPRING 1989

COMPLEMENTATION IN MIZO (LUSHAI)

Thangi Chhangte
Department of Linguistics
University of Oregon

INTRODUCTION[1]

Mizo[2] is a a Tibeto-Burman language of the Kuki-Chin group. Most of the speakers live in the state of Mizoram in northeast India. There are a few speakers scattered in the adjoining hill states of Manipur and Tripura as well as along the borders of Burma and Bangladesh. The total number of speakers is roughly 600,000.

This paper is about complementation in Mizo and it is divided into two sections. Part I gives a brief explanation of the structure of simple clauses.[3] This will then provide the necessary background for the Part II which deals with complementation.

TERMINOLOGY AND SYMBOLS

Mizo is fully ergative in the NP, that is, it marks all transitive subjects with the ergative suffix -in. Thus the terms "subject" and "object" will be used in a very broad sense.[4]

PART I: Simple Clause Structure

1. Introduction

Typologically Mizo is an SOV language and is, as would be expected, postpositional. It is also ergative, like many Tibeto-Burman languages. The rest of this section (Part I) will give an overview of the basic clause structure, starting with the argument structure followed by a short section on definiteness and referentiality. Next will be an overview of the VP and the section closes with a brief description of the verb-stem alternation.

2. Argument Structure

Subjects normally precede all other arguments. Locatives precede instruments which in turn precede indirect objects. Direct objects follow all other arguments (i.e. they are always closest to the VP). Thus, the order of the NP constituents is S X IO O V.

	S	Loc	Instr	O	V
1)	lál-in	pôôn-a?	tiang-in	ui á	vua
	chief-ERG	outside-LOC	stick-OBLQ	dog 3s	hit
	'The chief hit the dog with a stick outside'				

Mizo is also a split ergative language: ergative-absolutive in the NPs and nominative-accusative[5] in the VPs. In NPs all subjects of transitive verbs are marked with the ergative suffix -in and objects are unmarked ∅ (as are subjects of intransitives).

2) ûí ∅ a tláán 'A dog is running'[6]
dog-ABS 3s run

3) ûí-in keel-∅ á se? 'A dog bit a goat'
dog-ERG goat-ABS 3s bite

2.1 Case Marking

Subject: As mentioned earlier Mizo is an ergative language and thus has a special morphological marking for subjects of transitives. This special marker, the ergative suffix **-in** marks all transitive subjects, regardless of their semantic role.

4) a. **lâl-in** ui-**ø** **â** vua
chief-ERG dog-ABS 3s hit
'The/a chief hit a dog'

b. **lâl-in** pitâr-**ø** **a** rhiá
chief-ERG old woman-ABS 3s know
'The/a chief knows the/an old woman'

Direct objects and indirect objects: These are unmarked as they can be distinguished by word order or by pragmatics.[7] The word **nhèèn-a?** 'beside' is the optional marker for indirect objects. It is used mainly to avoid ambiguous interpretations.

5) a. lâl-in nâng-â **nhèèn-a?** **ui** **â** **pee** **ø**
chief-ERG you-GEN beside-LOC dog 3s give 3o
'The chief gave a dog to you'

b. lâl-in **náng** ui **â** pee **cê**
chief-ERG you dog 3s give 2o
'The chief gave you a dog'

Obliques: Instrumentals and the rest of the oblique cases take the suffix **-in** (note tone difference from ergative suffix).

6) a. lâl-in tiang-**in** ui **â** vua
chief-ERG stick-INST dog 3s hit
'The chief hit the dog with a stick'

b. lâl-in thinrim-tak-**in** ui **â** vua
chief-ERG angry-INT-OBLQ dog 3s hit
'The chief hit the dog very angrily'

Locatives: Demonstrative locatives take the suffix **-ta?** and NP locatives take the suffix **-a?**.

7) a. lâl-in hê-**ta?** Zîr-**î** ui **â** pee
chief-ERG here-LOC **-fem** dog 3s give
'The chief gave a dog to Ziri over here'

b. lâl-in pôôn-**a?** Zîr-**î** ui **â** pee
chief-ERG outside-LOC **-fem** dog 3s give
'The chief gave a dog to Ziri outside'

These case markers are the boundary markers for NPs and will be useful later in determining the boundaries of embedded constituents.

Genitive construction: Mizo has two genitive constructions: one is marked by word order and the other is marked morphologically. When possession is indicated by word order, the possessor precedes the head, as in:

8) a. lâl úí 'the chief's dog'
chief dog

b. lâl ui còò 'the chief's dog's food'
chief dog food

The morphological indicator of possession is the genitive suffix **-â** which often coalesces with suffixal vowels, leaving a high tone as its trace, as shown in 9b:

9) a. **ûí-â** còò 'the dog's food'
dog-GEN food

b. kéí-**ma?-â** púán ---> kéí-**mââ** púán 'my cloth'
I-EMP-GEN cloth I-EMP-GEN cloth

Occasionally the feminine suffix **-î** is used for female possessors (instead of **-â**). The genitive construction serves as a useful tool for differentiating between 'noun-like' constructions and 'verb-like' constructions.

2.2 Definiteness and Referentiality

The language does not have a system for encoding definiteness. There are, however, six pairs of demonstratives which precede and follow the head.' These are:

10)

DEM1	DEM2	Gloss
hèì	hí	'this, near speaker'
khìì	khí	'that, upwards'
khùù	khû	'that, downwards'
sòò	sô	'yonder (visible)'
cùù	cû	'that (not visible)'
khàà	khâ	'that (near addressee)'

The following is an example of the demonstratives in both subject and oblique NPs.

11) hee lâl hì-**àn**(-in) hê-ta? hi-**ân**(-in) ui à vua
DEM chief-ERG-(ERG) here-LOC DEM-OBL(-OBL) dog 3s hit
'This chief (here) hit a dog right here'

With respect to position, the demonstratives always occur closest to the case markers. Moreover, they have their own case marking (**-an** 'ergative'; **-ân** 'oblique/instrumental) which make the normal case markers (**-in** and **-ín**) optional.

The first demonstrative can be replaced with a possessed noun, as in 12a. It can also occur by itself if it is a locative, as

shown in 12b.

12) a. kan lâl hì-àn ui-Ø â vua
our chief DEM-ERG dog-ABS 3s hit
'Our chief hit a dog'

b. lâl-in hê-ta? ui-Ø â vua
chief-ERG here-LOC dog-ABS 3s hit
'The chief hit a dog here'

If the demonstratives are used with both subject and object NP the object NP generally precedes the subject NP, thus compare 13a and 13b below.[9]

13) a. héé ui hî soo mìì sòò-n â vua
this dog here that man there-ERG 3s hit
'That man there hit this dog'

b. mìì-in ui â vua
man-ERG dog 3s hit
'Some man hit a dog'

3. VP Construction

As mentioned before, Mizo is a split ergative language: ergative-absolutive in the NPs, nominative-accusative in the VP. In section 2 we discussed the case marking system in the NPs. This section will now focus on the structure of the VP.

The subject-agreement clitics will be presented first followed by a brief description of the tense-aspect modality system. Finally, the section will conclude with a short description of the verb-stem alternation.[10]

3.1 Subject and Object Agreement Clitics

Mizo verbs are identifiable from the subject and object agreement clitics.[11] The agreement affixes are obligatory for all constructions except imperatives and wh-subject questions.

Intransitive construction: The intransitive paradigm is a good place to start as it is less complicated than the transitive paradigm. The subject pronoun clitics for intransitive verbs is as follows:

14)

	Sg[12]	Pl
1	ka/kâ	kán
2	i/î	ín
3	a/â	án

These clitics are also possessor clitics in NPs, as shown below:

15)	Possessor clitics		VP subj agr clitics	
a.	**ka** úí 1s dog	'my dog'	**ka** tláán 1s run	'I run'
b.	**i** úí 2s dog	'your dog'	**i** tláán 2s run	'you run'
c.	**a** úí 3s dog	'his/her dog'	**a** tláán 3s run	'(s)he runs'

Some examples of intransitive patterns are:

16) a. kéí — [ka tláán to?] — 'I have already run'
I-ABS — [1s run PERF]

b. nâng — [i tlaan dôôn to?] — 'You are about to run'
you-ABS — [2s run IRR PERF]

Transitive construction: Transitive verbs have object agreement clitics in addition to the subject clitics:

17)	Sg	Pl
1	mi/mí ~ mín	mi/mí ~ mín
2	cê	cê û
3	ø	ø

The order of these within the VP is determined by a person hierarchy where the second persons outranks third person. If the object is second person the both subject and object are marked. (The subject clitics for the transitives are the same as the subject clitics for the intransitives.)

18) a.	**kâ** veel **cê** 1s hit 2o	'I hit you'
b.	**kâ** veel **cê û** 1s hit 2o 2po	'I hit you all'
c.	**â** veel **cê** 3s hit 2o	'(S)he hit you'

Third person objects are unmarked.

19) a. **kâ veel ø** 'I hit her/him'
1s hit 3o

b. **î veel ø** 'you hit her/him'
2s hit 3o

The agreement for first person objects is slightly different. Since first person object outranks all subjects there is no subject prefix and the first person object marker **mi/mî** (**mín** for some speakers) precedes the verb.

20) a. **mî veel** '(s)he/you hit me'
1o hit
b. *î mî veel 'you hit me'
c. *â mî veel '(s)he hit me'

The transitive verb agreement paradigm (for singular subjects) has a nominative-accusative agreement system as shown below.

21)

		Object			
		1 sg/pl	2 sg	2 pl	3 sg/pl
Subject	1		ka/â V cê	ka/â V cê û	ka/â V
	2	mi/î V ~mín V			i/î V
	3	mi/î V ~mín V	a/â V cê	a/â V cê û	a/â V

3.2 Tense Aspect Modality

Aspect and modality markers follow the main verb; Mizo does not make tense distinctions. The tense-aspect modality markers do not seem to affect the syntax of Mizo.[13] Their occurrence and distribution are determined by semantic and pragmatic principles. For instance, there are two perfective aspect markers **to?** and **tàà**. The former occurs more frequently and is best translated as 'already.' The latter is used only when an anticipated event finally takes place. Thus compare:

22) a. tûî a sôû **to?** 'The water has boiled already'
water 3s boil PERF

b. tûî a sôû **tàà** 'The water has finally come to a boil'
water 3s boil PERF

Negation usually comes last in the VP.

23) ka tlaan dôôn to? lou 'I'm not going to run (again)'
1s run IRR PERF NEG

3.3 Verb-Stem Alternation

Most verbs have two stems (Stem I and Stem II). The stems generally differ in their tone and finals. However, though there

are some phonological relationships between the two, it is difficult to formulate phonological rules for deriving one from the other. The examples below are illustrative.

24)	Stem I	Stem II	Gloss
	mhââ	mhaa	'early'
	nââ	nat	'pain, hurt'
	nhîît	nhiit	'to blow nose'
	kâl	kal	'to go'
	dâm	dam	'well, alive'
	dââng	daan	'to be pale'
	dêêng	dèn	'to pelt'
	mhâng	mhàn	'to use'
	áá	àat	'mad, crazy'
	sín	sìn	'to wrap (blanket)'
	dáng	dan	'to obstruct'
	déék	deek	'to tickle'
	zááng	zaan	'lightweight'
	thúúr	thuur	'sour'
	níng	nin	'to be fed up with'
	chou	chou?	'to ascend'
	pop	po?	'to make/have a hole'
	pot	po?	'to pull'
	ak	a?	'to carry a bag'
	veel	vel?	'to hit'
	lang	làn	'to appear'
	nhiim	nhìm	'to smell'
	laa	làak	'take'
	òòk	o?	'to snare'
	àat	a?	'to cut (grass)'
	phìàt	phia?	'to sweep'
	rìàk	ria?	'to spend the night'

Stem II verbs occur in object wh-questions and in subordinate clauses like object relativized clauses, conditional clause, reason clauses and nominalized clauses.[14] Thus Stem II verbs are associated with background information. Moreover, since Stem II verbs do not occur in simple declarative clauses, they can be considered to be the Mizo equivalent of 'reduced' verbs, that is they are more nominal than verb-like.[15] For instance, Stem II verbs can occur in genitive constructions, a property of nouns and not of verbs.[16]

It will be shown further in this paper that complement types can be distinguished by the choice of verbs stem in the complement clause.

3.4 Imperatives

Imperatives do not have person agreement clitics. They consist of a bare Stem I verb followed by the imperative marker ro?. The prohibitive marker is su?. TAM markers seem to be restricted to the perfective to?. Thus compare:

25) a. (nang) kâl ro? '(You) Go!'
(you) go IMP

b. (nang) kâl su? '(You) Don't go!'
(you) go PROHIB

c. kâl to? ro? 'Go now!=be gone!'
go PERF IMP

d. *(nang) i kâl ro? '(You) Go!'
(you) 2s go IMP

There are other types of imperatives in Mizo but the above suffice to show that bare verb stems are a characteristic of imperatives and not declaratives. In terms of finiteness, imperatives lie somewhere in between Stem I verbs and Stem II verbs as they are not fully inflected and yet do not have nominal characteristics. This scale of 'finiteness' is relevant to the classification of complement types.

3.5 Reflexives and Reciprocals

These are marked by the prefix in- on the main verb. Reflexives take singular subject clitics on the verb and reciprocals take plural pronoun clitics. Another syntactic feature of this type of construction is the absence of the ergative suffix -in.

26) a. kéi-ma? le? kéi-ma? **kâ in-veel**
I-EMP and I-EMP 1s RFL-hit
'I hit myself'

b. kéima?-nìì le? kéi-ma?-nìì **kán in-veel**
I-EMP-PL and I-EMP-PL 1ps RCP-hit
'We hit ourselves/each other'

Reflexives and reciprocals are interesting in that several of them have become lexicalized. Thus words such as indu? 'RFL-want' have the primary meaning 'vain, proud, arrogant,' that is, a lover of oneself. This lexicalization restricts CTPS in instances where the CTP must have a reflexive prefix if the matrix subject is co-referential with the complement subject.

4. Summary

Thus there are specific criteria for identifying 'nouns' and

'verbs' in Mizo. The criteria for identifying 'nouns' in Mizo are as follows:

1) Case marking (ergative, absolutive, oblique).
2) Genitive marking (suffix or tone change)
3) If it precedes the second demonstrative (khâ or cû mostly) which also functions as a complementizer and relativizer.

Finite verbs are identified by:

1) The subject/object agreement clitics which are obligatory in simple declarative clauses. Subject /object agreement can be seen in the VP but only with second person object; with first person object the subject cannot be identified and third person objects are unmarked. Imperatives do not have the agreement clitics.

2) Aspect/modality markers which follow the main verb. They are, however, not very useful criteria for identifying finite verbs as they are optional.

3) Verb stem--Stem I being the 'finite' verb, Stem II verbs the non-finite verbs and imperatives falling somewhere in between.

Part II. Complementation

1. Introduction

There are five different types of complementation in Mizo. These can be identified by:

i) the degree to which the complement clause is nominalized--this is reflected by the choice of verb stem in the complement clause.
ii) the morphological markers of complementation.

The complement types will be presented according to how finite the complement clause is. That is, the complement of Type 1 has the most finite construction and the complement of Type 3 is the most nominalized (least finite). The morphological marker for each type will also be identified.

In the last section, the semantics of the complement taking predicates (CTP)" will be discussed. However, before beginning the discussion on the types of complementation, there will be a brief section on nominalization since it is an integral part of complementation.

2. Nominalization

Nominalized verbs consist of Stem II verbs optionally followed by the nominalization suffix **-nâ**. The nominalized form is usually interpreted as an instrument or location (related to the verb), as in 'the (shoes) with which one runs' or 'the place where one runs.' Stem I verbs never occur in this construction.

27) a. hèi hí kâ **tlaan-nâ** pheikhok â nii
DEM1 DEM2 my run2-NOM shoes 3s be
'These are my running shoes'

b. hèi hí kâ **tlaan-nâ** mhun â nii
DEM1 DEM2 my run2-NOM place 3s be
'This is my running place'

c. hèi hí kâ **tlaan-nâ** â nii
my run2-NOM
'This is my running (place)'

d. *hèi hí kâ **tlâán-nâ** â nii
my run1-NOM

Thus, Stem II verbs seem to be more nominal than Stem I. Moreover, since a nominalized interpretation is possible without the suffix **-nâ**, it seems perfectly reasonable to refer to Stem II verbs as the 'nominalized' forms.

3. Type 1: Finite Complements

This is the most finite of all complement types as the complement

verb is Stem I, (which is inflected for subject/object agreement and TAM). Its structure is also very simple: the complement clause simply comes between the subject of the CTP and the CTP itself.

28) S [Comp] CTP

The subtypes are divided according to the morphological markers of complementation. Type 1.1, which is the most finite, does not have any complementizer. The rest have identifiable complementizers and these will be presented separately with examples.

Type 1.1: Finite Complements with no Complementizers

Utterance Predicates fall into this category. The CTP is normally the defective verb tii 'to do' which is used as the quotative 'say' in this case.[11] The complement, which is the reported speech, does not have any morphological markings and it has a finite verb. There is no restriction on TAM or negation within the complement clause itself.

This is the only complement type where there is no overt indicator of subordination--the complement is not a reduced clause and there is no complementizer. Thus it is only with transitive complements that we see from the ergative case markers that there are two subjects.

29) a. kêî-in [nang-nìì in kâl ang] kâ tii
I-ERG [you-PL 2ps go MOD] 1s say/do

'I said you all will go'

b. kêî-in [nang-nìì in kâl lou ang] kâ tii
I-ERG [you-PL 2ps go NEG MOD] 1s say/do

'I said you all will not go'

c. Dôû-àn kâ nhèèn-a? [nang-nìì hòù in kâl to?
-msc-ERG 1s beside-LOC [you-pl group 2ps go PERF]

â tii
3s say/do
'Dova said to me that you all went already'

d. kêî-in [nâng-in keel ì ùùm ang] kâ tii
I-ERG [you-ERG goat 2s chase MOD] 1s say/do

'I said you will chase a goat'

Moreover, since Mizo does not make a syntactic distinction between direct and indirect speech, quotes with just personal pronouns can be ambiguous as the following example demonstrates.

30) nâng-in [kéí ka kâl ang] í tii
you-ERG [I 1s go MOD] 2s say/do

'You said I will go'
I=you who said this OR I who is saying this now

Type 1.2 Finite Complement with Complementizer ti?

This type of complement is also finite as it takes a fully inflected Stem I in the complement clause. It also has an obligatory complementizer: ti? the second stem of tii 'do.' Its general construction is as follows:

31) [NP_{SUBJ} V_{Stem1} COMP ti?]

In this complement type the complement clause itself is the object of the CTP as shown by the object agrement.

32) a. kêi-in náng ka rhia cê
I-ERG you 1s know 2o
'I know you'

b. kêi-in [nâng i tlâán to? ti?] ka rhiá ø
I-ERG [you 2s run PERF do2] 1s know 3o

'I know that you ran already = you ran'

c. *kêi-in [nâng i tlâán to? ti?] ka rhia cê
I-ERG [you 2s run PERF do2] 1s know 2o

'I know that you ran = you ran'

Type 1.3 Finite Complements with Complementizer -in

Complements of this type take Stem I and an obligatory complementizer -in. This is still a finite construction as the complement verb can take aspect marking.

33) [S V COMP
[NP STEM I (TAM)] -in]

Note that the complementizer in looks like the oblique case marker. Thus recall the following examples from Part I shown here again:

6) a. lâl-in tiang-în ui â vua
chief-ERG stick-INST dog 3s hit
'The chief hit the dog with a stick'

b. lâl-in thinrìm-tak-în ui â vua
chief-ERG angry-INT-OBLQ dog 3s hit
'The chief hit the dog very angrily'

The choice of TAM markers is restricted by the semantics of the CTP as will be shown in the following section on the binding hierarchy. The prototypical CTP is the verb **rîng** 'to trust or to believe.'

34) a. kêî-in náng ka rîng cê
I-ERG you 1s trust 2o
'I trust you'

b. kêî-in [nâng i kâl dôôn-în] ka rîng ø
I-ERG [you 2s go IRR-COMP] 1s believe 3o
[S V TAM]

'I believe (think) that you will go'

c. *kéî-in [nâng i kâl dôôn-în] ka rîng cê
I-ERG [you 2s go IRR-COMP] 1s believe 2o

'I believe (think) that you will go'

Another CTP of this type is the verb **rhiá** 'to know.' This and other CTPs will be discussed in greater length in Part III.

Type 1.4: Finite Complements of reports

These are similar to complements of direct speech (Type 1.1) but they have a lexical verb as the CTP. The complementizer is tii-în which roughly means 'saying thus.'

35) a. Dôû-àn kâ nhèèn-a? [nang-nii hòù in kâl to?
msc-ERG 1s beside-LOC [you-pl group 2ps go PERF

tii-în] mi rhil?
COMP] 1o tell

'Dova told me/reported that you all had left'

b. Dôû-àn [Zir-i tê an kâl to? tii-în] a soi
-msc-ERG [-fem etc 3ps go PERF COMP] 3s say

'Dova said (reported) Ziri and all left already'

It is interesting to note here that this complementizer has something in common with the other subtypes as the first part tii 'do' is the main verb in Type 1.1 and the complementizer (Stem II) in Type 1.2. The second part **-in** is the complementizer for Type 1.3.

Type 1.5: Finite Complements with Reduced Stem I

Complements of this subtype have an obligatory complementizer--the (modal) word **tuur** means something like 'it should be thus so' followed by the complementizer **-in** (cf. Type 1.3). This subtype has a less finite complement clause as we get a bare verb stem, similar to an imperative. The prototypical CTP is **du?** 'want' with no co-referential subjects. (Note that 'want' also has complement types 2 and 3).

36) a. kêi-in nang kâ du? cê
I-ERG you 1s want 2o
'I want you'

b. Type 1.5 WANT, not co-ref

kêi-in	nang	kâl tuur-in	kâ du?	cê
I-ERG	you	go COMP	1o want	2o

'I want for you to go'

c. Type 1.5 WANT with TAM, not co-ref

kêi-in	nang	kâl to? tuur-in	kâ du?	cê
I-ERG	you	go PERF COMP	1o want	2o

'I want for you to be gone already'

d. Type 1.5 WANT with person agreement on complement

*kêi-in	nang	i kâl tuur-in	kâ du?	cê
I-ERG	you	2s go COMP	1o want	2o

'I want for you to go'

In this complement type the CTP encodes co-referentiality by the reflexive/reciprocal prefix on the verb.

37) a. kêi-in kei [kâl tuur-in] kâ in-pee
I-ERG I [go MOD-COMP] 1s RFL-give

'I give myself (volunteer) to go'

b. kêi-in kei [kâl tuur-in] kâ in-tiam
I-ERG I [go MOD-COMP] 1s RFL-promise

'I promise myself to go'

This imposes a restriction on possible CTPs due to the lexicalization of reflexives mentioned in Part I. Therefore, the following is ungrammatical because the reflexive on the CTP turns it into a word meaning 'vain.'

38) *Type 1.5 WANT with co-ref

kêi-in kei [kâl tuur-in] kâ in-du?
I-ERG I [go must-COMP] 1s RFL-want

Thus, the predicate du? 'want' can not have co-referential subject with the matrix clause.

4. Type 2: Non-finite Complements (Stem II)

Complements of this type take Stem II verbs in complement the clause and they have the following structure

39) [S V Stem II]

These are the most nominalized type as the verb can be inflected like nouns (e.g. being possessed). Verbs such as fear, know and want are some of the prototypical CTPS.

40) a. Genitive Construction

kêî-in nâng-â pàà ka lháú ø
I-ERG you-GEN father 1s fear 3o

'I fear your father=I fear the father of you'

b. Type 2 Complement

kêî-in [nâng-â tlààk] ka lháú ø
I-ERG [you-GEN fall2] 1s fear 3o

'I fear your falling=I fear the falling of you'

b. *kêî-in [nâng-â tlààk] ka lhau cê
I-ERG [you-GEN fall2] 1s fear 2o

'I fear your falling'

From the examples above, it is clear that the complement clause is the object of the main verb. There are two evidences: one is the object agreement on the main verb which is with the third person (in the complement construction); the other evidence is that the complement clause can be in a genitive construction--a property of nouns rather than verbs.

If the subjects are not co-referential the complement subject is obligatory.

41) a. kêî-in [nâng-â kal] kâ du?
I-ERG [you-GEN go2] 1s want

'I want you to go/I want your going'

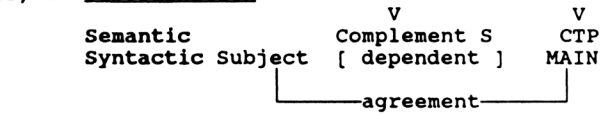
b. nâng-in [kêî-â kal] î du?
you-ERG [I-GEN go2] 2s want

'You want me to go/You want my going'

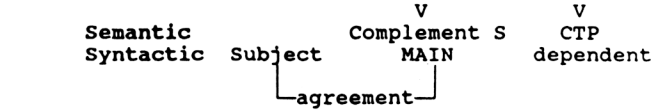
5. Type 3: "Insubordination"

In this type of complementation the verb of the complement clause controls the agreement rather than the CTP, hence the term 'insubordination.' The term 'insubordination' comes from Aviles, Hale and Salamanca (ms.) who used it to describe Insubordinate Complements in Miskito. The following illustrates the difference between 'subordination' and what I am calling 'insubordination.'

42) a. Subordination



b. "Insubordination"



Thus, if the CTP is transitive and the complement verb is intransitive, we can see from the absolutive case marking on the NP that it is the complement verb which is behaving like the main verb.

The prototypical CTPs of this type are desiderative verbs such as 'want' and 'desire.' Note also that this is the third type of complementation for 'want.'

43) a. **kéi** ka kâl 'I go'
I-ABS 1s go

b. **kêi-in** keel kâ du? 'I want a goat'
I-ERG goat 1s want

c. **kéi** ka [kâl du?] 'I want to go'
I-ABS 1s [go want]

d. ***kéi-in** ka [kâl du?] 'I want to go'
I-ERG 1s [go want]

If the complement is transitive we do get ergative case marking.

44) a. **kêi-in** keel kâ ùùm
I-ERG goat 1s chase 'I am chasing a goat'

b. **kêi-in** keel kâ ùùm du? 'I want to chase a goat'
I-ERG goat 1s chase want

Thus the subject agreement shows that the complement verbs go and chase act as main verbs.

There does not seem to be any restriction on TAM as we can get either the modal **áng** or the irrealis marker **dôôn**.

45) a. kêî-in keel kâ du? **áng**
I-ERG goat 1s want MOD
'I will want a goat'

b. kêî-in keel kâ du? **dôôn**
I-ERG goat 1s want IRR
'I will be wanting a goat'

c. kêî-in keel kâ ùùm du? **áng**
I-ERG goat 1s chase want MOD
'I will want to chase a goat'

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a detailed analysis of the insubordinate complement structure. An alternate solution is to consider it a serial-verb construction which is common in Mizo especially in causatives.[14]

6. Summary

The 'finiteness' of the predicate in the complement clause bears a direct relationship to the complement types in Mizo. The most finite types are fully inflected while the least finite types display the most nominal characteristics. The choice of verb stem also corresponds to the degree of finiteness.

The boundaries of complement clauses are marked off by complementizers. These complementizers are different for each type (and subtype). It is also interesting to note that the only subtype without a morphological complementizer is Type 1.1 which is also the most finite complement type.

The following chart summarizes the complement types of Mizo:

MIZO COMPLEMENT TYPES

	Comp V	Compl-er	Verb Stem	Semantics CTP
Type 1	FINITE	(Compl)	Stem I	
1.1	---	ø	---	Quote <u>say</u>
1.2	---	ti?	---	know, trust/believe, doubt, deny, recall, forget
1.3	---	in	---	think, trust/believe
		IRR + in		think, trust/believe
		PERF		think, trust/believe
1.4	---	tii + in	---	trust/believe, deny
1.5	---	MOD + in	Reduced Stem I	want, choose, send
Type 2	Non-Finite	ø	Stem II	know, believe, doubt, deny, fear, worry, want, choose, desire, willing, not desire, try, hope, able, know skill, dare
Type 3	Insubord	ø	Stem I	want, desire, willing, not desire, able, know skill, dare

1. This research was supported in part by the National Science Foundation under grant # BNS-8711370, Scott DeLancey, P.I.

2. Modern Mizo is the Lusei (Lushai) or Duhlian (Dulien) dialect--the lingua franca of all the Mizo tribes. The data for this paper are all my own and I take full responsibility for its interpretation. On the theoretical side I am very grateful to Colette Craig for editing the preliminary drafts and for giving me the information on "insubordination."

3. For more detailed examples of the morphology and clause structure, see Chhangte (1986).

4. The transcription is fairly standard (such as h representing aspiration and voicelessness, ng a velar nasal, etc. There are no consonant clusters in this language and the clusters in the transcription represent secondary articulation.

Tones symbols are as follows:

â	'high tone'
á	'rising tone'
à	'falling tone'
a	'low tone'

Tone sandhi will be ignored as it tends to obscure other syntactic features (such as the change in verb stem) relevant to this paper.

Other symbols and abbreviations are as follows:

1/2/3s	'1/2/3 person singular subject'
1/2/3o	'1/2/3 person singular object'
1/2/3ps	'1/2/3 person plural subject'
1/2/3po	'1/2/3 person plural object'
sg	'singular'
pl	'plural'
msc	'masculine name suffix'
fem	'feminine name suffix'
ERG	'ergative'
ABS	'absolutive'
OBLQ	'oblique case'
LOC	'locative'
EMP	'emphatic'
INT	'intensifier'
DEM	'demonstrative'
GEN	'genitive'
RFL	'reflexive'
RCP	'reciprocal'
COMP	'complementizer'
PERF	'perfective'
IRR	'irrealis'
NEG	'negation'
MOD	'modal'
IMP	'imperative'

5. The term "nominative-accusative," though not the best, will be used pending further analysis of Mizo syntax.

6. Mizo does not mark definite NPs and does not distinguish tense. Thus, the glosses will represent the most likely translation (rather than cluttering examples with a/the, etc.).

7. The case roles of the arguments can be inferred from the real world situation. That is, when there are more than two arguments, humans are generally the indirect objects and non-humans the direct objects.

8. This can include anything in the NP except case markers. It seems best to treat the two demonstratives as separate entities due to syntactic problems involved with constructions like soo nùù le? hee nùù hí 'that woman and this woman' but *soo nùù sô le? hee nùù hí.

9. This change in word order might have something to do with topicality.

10. The pronominal agreement system along with the verb-stem alternation are the main features of Kuki-Chin languages.

11. Though these may look like affixes I prefer to call them pronoun clitics for various (mainly phonological) reasons.

12. The tones for these depend on the tone of the following word.

13. That is, case marking (e.g. ergative) is not affected by the aspect (as in some Tibeto-Burman languages like Tibetan, etc.).

14. See Lehman (1982), Hillard (1974), for a discussion of verb-stem alternation in Mizo and Laai (Haka) Chin. For detailed description of other Chin languages, see Henderson (1965), Stern (1963) and Löffler (1973).

15. There are a few instances where the Stem II form of an intransitive will also be its transitive counterpart. For instance, the Stem II of chùàk 'to leave, go out' is chua? which also means 'to let something out (as an animal out of its pen).' In such instances, the transitive verbs are (separate) finite verbs and should be treated as such. However, in order to avoid confusion, this category will not be included in the examples.

16. The term 'reduced verbs' is from Noonan (1985).

17. Another term from Noonan (1985).

18. A recent paper by Saxena (1988) shows that in many languages the verb 'say' has grammaticalized to be the complementizer. Thus it is not surprising that tii 'to do' which means 'to utter/say' in this case shows up as a complementizer in two other complement types (Type 1.2 and 1.4). It should be noted, however, that the verb tii has a much wider range of function than 'say' as it is also a verb of cognition, perception, feeling/experience and its

original meaning 'to do.' There is not enough space here to mention all the various possibilities.

19. It is interesting to note that Aviles, Hale and Salamanca propose the same solution for Miskito. Unfortunately, the syntax of Mizo causatives does not offer an easy solution. There are two types of causatives: one with intransitive Stem I verbs in the complement clause and the other with transitive Stem II.

In the type with Stem I verbs, the causative verb is tii 'do' and it precedes the complement predicate. Thus the causative verb 'transitivizes' the complement and the ergative case marking on the subject proves that this is the case.

46) a. kéi ka lhîm
I 1s happy
'I am happy'

b. náng i lhîm
you 2s happy
'You are happy'

c. nâng-in kéi mi ti-lhîm
you-ERG I 1o do-happy
'You make me happy'

Comparing this to the 'insubordinate' construction we can see that the reverse is happening in insubordination where the head verb follows the complement and does not control agreement.

The other type of causative does not offer a solution either as the complement is Stem II and precedes the causative tîir 'to send on an errand.'

47) a. pôôn-a? kéi ka lââm
outside-LOC I 1s dance
'I danced outside'

b. pôôn-a? náng i lââm
outside-LOC you 2s dance
'You danced outside'

c. kêi-in náng ka tîir ang cê
I-ERG you 1s send MOD 2o
'I will send you'

d. kêi-in náng pôôn-a? ká laam-tîir ang cê
I-ERG you outside-LOC 1s dance2-send MOD 2o
'I will make you dance outside'

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