

## **PRENASALIZATION AND PREGLOTTALIZATION IN DAAI CHIN WITH PARALLEL EXAMPLES FROM MRO AND MARA\***

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### **0. INTRODUCTION**

The initial research for this paper was done many years ago<sup>1</sup> and should have been part of an “Analysis and Description of the Verb Phrase in Daai Chin”, an opus which has yet to be written.

The Daai Chin language belongs to the Southern Branch of the Kukish Section of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by approximately 45,000 people in the townships of Matupi, Mindat, Kanpetlet and Paletwa in the Southern Chin Hills of Myanmar. In the literature we hardly ever find any reference to a ‘Daai Chin’ language or people group (except in my own papers). The name most frequently found in older literature is ‘Yin Tu’, or ‘Chinbok’; the latter is not a real term for any particular ethnic group at all, but is rather a derogatory expression, referring to a whole group of Southern Chin peoples (Hartmann-So 1988:102).

The data for Daai Chin is based on the speech of a subgroup called “Yang”, who live in the Kanpetlet township along the Pulong river.

I propose to show in this paper that in Daai Chin *prenasalization* and *preglottalization* are not fully lexicalized, but still perform a variety of grammatical functions. Though I will not be dealing with pronominal prefixes in this paper, I will make reference to PTB prefixes and their relationship to prenasalization and preglottalization.

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<sup>1</sup> The Daai Chin data for this paper has been collected since 1975. The main analysis is based on a large corpus of texts that had been recorded and transcribed mainly by my late husband U Chaing So, U Nääng Küüi, and U Ling So, and that has been checked with various other speakers of the language, to all of whom I am indebted.

## 1. TIBETO-BURMAN PREFIXES

In talking about 'prenasalization' and 'preglottalization' we are dealing with Tibeto-Burman prefixes, and in Daai Chin the only realizations or preservations of Benedict's six reconstructed Tibeto-Burman prefixes happen to be:

*m-* and *ng-* [ŋ], what I have termed 'prenasalization' and  
*k-* [ʔ], what I have termed 'preglottalization'.

Benedict (1972:103) says about the Tibeto-Burman prefixes in general:

"Two general points must be borne in mind as prefixed elements (*s-*, *r-*, *b-*, *g-*, *d-*, *m-*) are reviewed: (a) these elements are peculiarly subject to replacement or loss, (b) they frequently, as unstressed units, exhibit phonetic shifts differing from those that obtain for phonemes within roots....This fact (prefix variation) suggests that TB prefixes remained separable and largely functional well into the proto-TB period and that the rigid schematizations found in modern TB languages have been developed secondarily".

On discovering this quote, I began to see Daai 'prenasalizations' and 'preglottalizations', in a new light. Though also in Daai these prefixes have frequently already developed into inseparable elements and lost their grammatical functions, yet in this language there are not only *traces* of functioning prefixes, as in some of the northern Chin languages (see Henderson 1965; Stern 1954), but they still represent a vital part of the grammar of today's spoken language.

## 2. PHONETIC FEATURES OF PRENASALIZATION AND PREGLOTTALIZATION

The syllabic nasals and syllabic [ʔ] are unstressed syllables, and the transition between these elements and the following initial consonant of a noun or verb root is a very close one - there is no trace of a transitional [ə] in between. If a syllabic nasal precedes a vowel, a very distinct glottal stop can be noticed between the syllabic nasal and the following vowel.

Preglottalization will have to be interpreted as appearing with different allophones, i.e. fortis, lenis, and in some cases, especially when preceding vowels, we are dealing with a double or two-segmented stop, something like [ʔʔ].

### 3. PREFIXED *m-* IN DAAI CHIN

#### 3.1. *Examples of prefixed m- with uncertain function and inseparable from their respective verb or noun roots*

##### 3.1.1. *Prefixed m- with verb roots*

In the following examples the verb root without prefixed *m-* has no lexical meaning:

*mbei* 'feed', *mtheh* 'instruct', *mtun* 'strive/work hard',  
*mpyeen ei* 'be poor', *mhnat* 'have a fever', *mtät* 'wait',  
*mhlä* 'like/love', *mjo* 'swallow', *msi* 'spit'

We see from this data that 'lexical' prefixed *m-* occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs, derivations, and (which is not obvious from these examples) with verbs from all three verb classes. I should mention at this point that the Daai Chin verb is categorized into three Classes. Class I has no verb stem alternation or changes in prosodic features, while the remaining verbs show verb stem alternation and prosodic changes which fall into two distinct classes, Classes II + III (see Hartmann-So 1989).

##### 3.1.2. *Prefixed m- with noun roots*

It would be very nice if we could categorize the Daai nouns neatly into groups taking one of the three different prefixes, but although I have attempted a kind of categorization, it does not work too well.

- a. Natural phenomena: *mhnüüp* 'day', *mthan* 'night', *mkhya* 'shadow, spirit', *mdek* 'earth/soil', *mse* 'earth', *msuung* 'mountain', *mdi* 'sand', *mput* 'dust', *msi* 'salt', *mlik* (~ *mlik tui*) 'big water/river/sea'
- b. Plants or parts of plants: *mdi* 'thatch', *mpai* 'grass', *msaai* 'pine tree', *mpapüm* 'corn', *mpya* 'root', *msi ui* 'seed'
- c. Animals: *mnge* 'wild boar', *mna* 'buffalo', *mpui* 'elephant', *mpyäh* 'tiger', *mti* 'worm', *mliing* 'ant', *mpät* 'leech'
- d. Body parts: *mja* 'palm of the hand', *mjuung* 'finger', *mtin* 'nail (finger or toe)', *mkhuuk lu* 'knee', *mtan* 'calf', *mpyong* 'mouth', *mkha* 'chin', *mlei* 'tongue', *mni* 'lip', *mlung* 'heart', *mthin* 'liver'

### 3.2. *Prefixed m- functional with verb roots*

#### 3.2.1. *Descriptive verbs: with change of meaning to 'intensive' or 'causative'*

<i>do</i>	'be good'	>	<i>mdo</i>	'make well/heal'
<i>küüi</i>	'be precious'	>	<i>mküüi</i>	'praise'
<i>thei</i>	'be clever'	>	<i>mthei</i>	'teach'
<i>saih</i>	'be clean'	>	<i>msaih</i>	'clean/make clean'
<i>thu</i>	'rot'	>	<i>mthu</i>	'cause to rot'

#### 3.2.2. *Intransitive verbs: with change of meaning to 'transitive' + 'causative'*

<i>shot</i>	'leave'	>	<i>mshot</i>	'drive out'
<i>kyüh</i>	'be afraid'	>	<i>mkyüh</i>	'make afraid/threaten'
<i>kaai</i>	'climb up'	>	<i>mkaai</i>	'cause to climb up'
<i>don</i>	'run'	>	<i>mdon</i>	'cause to run away'
<i>som</i>	'come into being'	>	<i>msom</i>	'create'
<i>khyüh</i>	'disappear'	>	<i>mkhyüh</i>	'bury/cause to disappear'
<i>hlai</i>	'change'	>	<i>mhlai</i>	'cause to change'

#### 3.2.3. *Transitive verbs: with intensified meaning, semantic specification, or sometimes derivation*

<i>shüüm</i>	'remember'	>	<i>mshüüm</i>	'show the way'
<i>däai</i>	'burn'	>	<i>mdäai</i>	'kindle a fire'
<i>shak</i>	'wear'	>	<i>mshak</i>	'cause to wear'
<i>säai</i>	'worry'	>	<i>msäai</i>	'warn'
<i>hlo</i>	'persuade'	>	<i>mhlo</i>	'stir up'
<i>süm</i>	'store'	>	<i>msüm</i>	'put the burned bones of a dead person in a special place'

### 3.3. *Prefixed m- with nouns*

There are some rare cases when prefixed *m-* can act as a verbalizer:

<i>kkhu</i>	'smoke'	>	<i>mkhu</i>	'make smoke'
<i>tuui</i>	'cure/medicine'	>	<i>mtuui ei</i>	'cure'

### 3.4. *Prefixed m- in Daai Chin and Benedict's TB prefixes*

As we have seen, prefixed *m-* in Daai Chin corresponds functionally with reconstructed TB prefixed *\*s-*, to which is ascribed a causative, directive or intensive function with verb roots (Benedict 1972:105). It does not at all correspond with TB prefixed *\*m-*, which is supposed to function as a durative, intransitive or reflexive marker (Benedict 1972:117).

#### 4. PREFIXED NG- IN DAAI CHIN

##### 4.1. *Examples of prefixed ng- with uncertain function and inseparable from the respective verb or noun root*

###### 4.1.1. *Prefixed ng- with verb roots*

As in the examples under 3.1.1., these verb roots have no lexical meaning without the prefixed **ng-**, or at most a meaning with no recognizable semantic relationship with the prefixed verb forms.

**ngngaih** 'think', **ngjaak** 'hear', **nghui** 'plead', **ng'äi** 'sing', **ng'üün** 'groan', **ngdüih** 'stand', **ngshut** 'sit', **ngdääng** 'kneel', **nglaam** 'dance', **nglin** 'plant'

###### 4.1.2. *Prefixed ng- with noun roots*

Again I have made an attempt to group the **ng-** prefixed nouns into categories, but comparing the prefixed **ng-** noun roots with the prefixed **m-** noun roots, one must recognize that the categories overlap.

- a. Natural phenomena: **ngngi** 'sun', **nghu** 'shadow', **ngmei** 'cloud'
- b. Plants or parts of plants: **ngnjuun** 'creeper', **ngling** 'thorn', **ngbaan** 'branch', **ngbu** 'nest'
- c. Animals and their body parts: **ngluui** 'rooster', **ngmu** 'eagle', **nglúi** 'squirrel', **ngphya** 'wing', **ngmei** 'tail'
- d. Body parts: **ngbeeng** 'cheek', **ngnga** 'ear', **ngngü** 'throat, neck'
- e. Humans: **ngngi siim** 'human being', **ngnu** 'female', **ngla** 'young girl', **nghmaak** 'brother-in-law'

##### 4.2. *Prefixed ng- functional with verb roots*

4.2.1. *Descriptive or intransitive verbs: often remain intransitive, or change function to 'durative', representing an 'undergoing, enduring' subject*

<b>thei</b>	'be able to'	>	<b>ngthei</b>	'learn'
<b>vaai</b>	'shine'	>	<b>ngvaai</b>	'be educated/be enlightened'
<b>püi</b>	'be together'	>	<b>ngpüi</b>	'be included'
<b>tüüi</b>	'come into being'	>	<b>ngtüüi</b>	'be created'

4.2.2. *Transitive verbs can become:*

a.) intransitive and 'durative' or 'passive'

<i>yuk</i>	'write'	>	<i>ng'yuk</i>	'be written'
<i>pääng</i>	'finish'	>	<i>ngpääng</i>	'be finished'
<i>mäh</i>	'carry (child)'	>	<i>ngmäh</i>	'be carried'
<i>phuh</i>	'sew'	>	<i>ngphuh</i>	'be thrown'

b.) reflexive or expressing mutuality

<i>hmuh</i>	'see/meet'	>	<i>nghmuh</i>	'meet each other'
<i>saam</i>	'test'	>	<i>ngsaam</i>	'compete with each other'
<i>khü</i>	'call'	>	<i>ngkhü</i>	'call each other'
<i>tuk</i>	'stab'	>	<i>ngtuk</i>	'fight with each other'
<i>yet</i>	'give freely'	>	<i>ng'yet</i>	'share around'

4.3. *Prefixed ng- functioning with nouns*Prefixed *ng-* can bring two nouns into a special relationship with each other:N + N :      *ng-+N ng-+N*      >      'group'

<i>be</i>	'older brother'	}	<i>+ng-</i>	>	<i>ngbe ngna</i>	'the pair of brothers'
<i>na</i>	'younger brother'					

<i>si</i>	'older sister'	}	<i>+ng-</i>	>	<i>ngsi ngna</i>	'the pair of sisters'
<i>na</i>	'younger sister'					

<i>nu</i>	'mother'	}	<i>+ng-</i>	>	<i>ngnu ngsa</i>	'mother and child'
<i>sa</i>	'child'					

4.4. *Prefixed ng- functioning as verbalizer*Prefixed *ng-* sometimes acts as a verbalizer:

a.)	N + V	:	<i>ng- + N_</i>	<i>ng- + V</i>	>	<b>reflexive compound verb</b>
	<i>kkhyu la</i>				>	<i>ngkkhyu ngla</i> 'marry each other'
	'wife'					'take'

b.)	V + N	:	<i>ng- + V_</i>	<i>ng- + N</i>	>	<b>durative compound verb</b>
	<i>lou thang</i>				>	<i>nglou ngthang</i> 'be famous'
	'spread'					'news'

	<i>hlüh püi</i>				>	<i>nghlüh ngpüi</i> 'lovers'
	'love'					'friend'

c.)	N + N	:	<i>ng- + N_</i>	<i>ng- + N</i>	>	<b>compound verb</b>
	<i>shui shak</i>				>	<i>ngshui ngshak</i> 'be dressed' (durative)
	'cloth'					'cloth'

	<i>püi po</i>				>	<i>ngpüi ngpo</i> 'be friends' (reflexive)
	'friend'					'friend'

#### 4.5. Prefixed *ng-* in Daai Chin and Benedict's TB prefixes

These examples show that prefixed *ng-* verbs correspond with TB prefixed *\*m-* which Benedict interprets as durative, intransitive, or reflexive. It seems that in Daai a phonetic shift has taken place.

Benedict mentions that "Wolfenden draws a sharp distinction between prefixed *\*m-* with verbs and prefixed *\*m-* with nouns...", which Benedict did not see as very likely (Benedict 1972:118). In fact I wonder whether in Daai one should not draw 'a sharp distinction' between prefixed *ng-* with verbs and prefixed *ng-* with nouns. Reconsidering the examples of prefixed *m-* and prefixed *ng-* with noun roots (inseparable), I can imagine that once there was only one nasal prefix - 'prenasalization'. On the other hand, looking at prefixed *m-* and prefixed *ng-* with verb roots, in their role as functional separable items, it seems obvious that they must be interpreted as two different prefixes.

The examples for prefixed *ng-* functioning with nouns (4.3), functioning as verbalizer (4.4), and also with some of the verb roots (4.2.2. b.) show not only mutuality but also very often, though not exclusively, a dual reflexive or mutual relationship, involving just two persons acting on each other.

#### 4.6. Prefixed *m-* and prefixed *ng-* occurring with the same verb root

<i>verb root</i>	<i>m- + verb root</i>	<i>ng- + verb root</i>
<i>hlai</i> 'change'	<i>mhlai</i> 'cause to change'	<i>nghlai</i> 'exchange'
<i>saam</i> 'test'	<i>msaam</i> 'test food'	<i>ngsaa</i> 'compete'
<i>thuh</i> 'hide'	<i>mthuh</i> 'hide' (v.t.)	<i>ngthuh</i> 'be hidden'
<i>tüüi</i> 'come into being'	<i>mtüüi</i> 'start' (v.t.)	<i>ngtüüi</i> 'be created'
<i>khääm</i> 'put together'	<i>mkhääm</i> 'call together'	<i>ngkhääm</i> 'come together'
<i>deih</i> 'be calm'	<i>mdeih</i> 'make calm'	<i>ngdeih</i> 'be made calm'

### 5. PREFIXED *K-* IN DAAI

Though the practical orthography writes the prefix *k-* as "k", it must be remembered that phonetically this prefix is usually realized as [ʔ].

#### 5.1. Prefixed *k-* with uncertain function

##### 5.1.1. Prefixed *k-* with verb roots

In contrast to the examples under 3.1.1 and 4.1.1 that show roots inseparably prefixed by *m-* and *ng-*, the following verb roots have lexical meaning also without prefixed *k-*:

*kthäh* 'ask', *ktäm* 'follow', *k'ut* 'bury', *kphya* 'love', *kpom* 'hug',  
*kkoh* 'carry, lift', *kshing* 'know'

### 5.1.2. Prefixed *k-* with noun roots

- a. Animals: *kkhom* 'bear', *kkei* 'tiger', *kkha* 'bird', *kki* 'parrot',  
*kphyu* 'rat', *k'u* 'frog', *kpi* 'fly', *kkhyüng shei* 'animal', *kki*  
 'horn'
- b. Humans: *kkhyaang* 'man/human being', *kpa mi* 'man (male)',  
*kkhyu* 'wife'
- c. Items of daily usage: *ksim* 'knife', *k'am* 'pot', *k'e* 'pot', *kpäi*  
 'bowl', *kbe* 'small bowl', *kshum* 'mortar'
- d. Parts of the house: *ksha* 'veranda', *ksi* 'floor', *ktih* 'roof', *ktung*  
 'post', *kkit* 'corner', *kshoh* 'door', *kkep* 'storage place', *kdang*  
 'shelf over the fireplace'

### 5.2. Prefixed *k-* functional with verb roots

Prefixed *k-* acts very similarly to prefixed *m-*. With descriptive verbs, *k-* adds an *intensive* or *causative* meaning; with intransitive verbs, *k-* makes the verb *transitive*, *causative*, or *directive*.

<i>sang</i>	'be right'	>	<i>ksang</i>	'take one's part'
<i>bäü</i>	'be/do wrong'	>	<i>kbäü</i>	'blame'
<i>sim pyak</i>	'fall apart'	>	<i>ksim kpyak</i>	'destroy'
<i>pha</i>	'arrive'	>	<i>kpha</i>	'catch up/cause to arrive'
<i>pou</i>	'appear'	>	<i>kpou</i>	'bring out'
<i>bi</i>	'hold'	>	<i>kbi</i>	'send'

### 5.3. Prefixed *k-* as an adjectival prefix

Prefixed *k-* in Daai has its widest range of distribution as an adjectival prefix, changing the function of descriptive verbs to adjectives. When a head noun precedes, this structure may be interpreted as a minimal relative clause:

<i>do</i>	'good'	<i>kkhyaang kdo</i>	'good man'
<i>däm</i>	'big'	<i>nga kdäm</i>	'big fish'
<i>küüi</i>	'precious'	<i>muti kküüi</i>	'precious bead necklace'
<i>dam</i>	'lazy'	<i>ngpyang kdam</i>	'lazy young man'



#### 5.4. Prefixed *k-* as relativizer in nominalizations

<i>lou</i> 'field'	<i>k'ei</i> <i>k-</i> + 'eat'	<i>kkhom</i> 'bear'	'the bear who ate the field/the field-eating-bear'
<i>mei</i> 'fire'	<i>k'uui</i> <i>k-</i> + 'burn'		'the one burned with fire'
<i>nga</i> 'fish'	<i>k'shui</i> <i>k-</i> + 'look for'		'the one who is fishing/fisherman'
<i>msi ui</i> 'seed'	<i>ksot</i> <i>k-</i> + 'sprout'		'the seed that is sprouting/young plant'
<i>she</i> 'cow'	<i>kshääm</i> <i>k-</i> + 'watch'		'the one who watches the cow'

#### 5.5. Prefixed *k-* as nominalizer in combination with prefix *a-*

<i>theem</i>	'wise'	>	<i>aktheem</i>	'wise man'
<i>thi</i>	'dead'	>	<i>akthi</i>	'dead person/dead animal'
<i>vaai</i>	'shine'	>	<i>akvaai</i>	'the/a light'
<i>do</i>	'good'	>	<i>akdo</i>	'something good'

#### 5.6. Prefixed *k-* as postposition marker

In Daai all postpositions have an obligatory prefixed *k-*. Some postpositions are prefixed noun or verb roots, e.g.:

*kke* 'under', *kkheh* 'in between', *kpung* 'outside' (*pung* 'surrounding'),  
*k'um* 'inside' (*um* 'be inside'), *kkhaan* 'above, upon', *kshuung* 'middle'

#### 5.7. Daai prefixed *k-* and TB prefixed \**g-*

It can be seen that prefixed *k-* in Daai Chin is a specially productive prefix with a wide variety of functions. Benedict's remarks that PTB \**g-* is rare and its function unknown. However, he also mentions that in some languages (e.g. Gyarung, Kachin, Bodo-Garo, and Mikir) prefixed *g-* ~ *k-* is found as an adjectival (or verbal-noun) prefix (Benedict 1972:113), which corresponds with some of the functions of prefixed *k-* in Daai.

### 6. PREFIXES IN MRO

#### 6.0. Introductory remarks about Mro

The Mro Chin people live in the Southern Chin Hills of Myanmar, in the township of Paletwa and on the plains of Arakan State, in the township of Kyauktaw and around Mrauk Oo. Their overall population is estimated to be 200 000, most of them living now in Arakan State.

The Mro language of Myanmar is very different from the language called "Mru" in Bangladesh (see Löffler 1994, Ebersole 1996). In fact, a comparison of wordlists of Bangladesh Mru and Myanmar Mro revealed a cognate count of only 16%. However, the language called 'Khaungshaw', spoken in the Paletwa area, towards the border of Bangladesh, shows a cognate count of 45% when compared with Bangladesh Mru and only 15% when compared with Myanmar Mro.

I fully agree with Löffler, that Bangladesh Mru cannot be classified as a Chin language, whereas Myanmar Mro definitely belongs to the Southern Branch of the Chin languages.

The Mro in the area around Paletwa call themselves *Wakung*;<sup>2</sup> they were first called 'Mro' by their Arakanese neighbours, and have now decided to identify themselves as 'Mro-Khimi'. Note that this is not the Khimi language Shafer dealt with (Shafer 1944).

### 6.1. *Mro prefixes in general*

In Mro<sup>3</sup> five of the TB \*prefixes are realized or preserved, but only three of them have remained separable and functional. All five of them show an open transition between the prefixed element and the following consonant/consonant cluster of the verb or noun root. Daai *mna* 'buffalo' and Mro *mna* 'buffalo' are written alike in the practical orthography, but in Mro 'buffalo' is pronounced [m<sup>ə</sup>na].

### 6.2. *Mro prefixes with unknown function, having also become inseparable items*

#### 6.2.1. *Prefixed s- ~ sh-*

Occurrence is rather limited and its function is unknown. It occurs most frequently with:

- a. Terms for descendants: *spi* 'child', *shnau* 'child', *spa* 'son', *shnu* 'daughter', *shre* 'young man'
- b. Natural phenomena: *shni* 'year', *shdin* 'winter', *shnan* 'dew drops'
- c. In names of plants and fruits for which we were not able to establish the Burmese terminology (*sxoe* 'name of a fruit')

<sup>2</sup> See Hartmann-So 1988.

<sup>3</sup> For the Mro data I am specially indebted to U Kyaw Tha Aung, Arakan State, Kyauktaw township, who has recorded and transcribed about 20 Mro texts, and with whom I have been working on an analysis of his language for the past two years. The data used in this paper has been checked with U Kyaw Mya, also from the Kyauktaw township.

d. Prefixed *s-* ~ *sh-* is even more rare with verb roots: *shtan* 'teach/advise', *shtau* 'agree', *shbau* 'blow at', *spa* 'worship', *skra* 'descend', *shla* 'moving upwards'.

With this data I do not find it possible to draw comparisons with TB prefixed *\*s-*. But it seems likely to me, that in some of this data (especially the terms for descendants) the prefixed *s-* ~ *sh-*, is derived from *sa* 'child' (< PTB *\*za*).

Compare Mro *spa* 'son' with Daai *sa kpa* 'son', Mro *shnu* 'daughter' with Daai *sa nghnu* 'daughter'. Benedict derives PTB *\*s-* with words for parts of the body and animals from PTB *\*sya* 'flesh, animal' (Benedict 1972:106).

#### 6.2.2. Prefixed *x-*

This prefix has been found only twice so far, with one example before a noun root: *x'on* 'clay pot' (compare with Daai *k'am*, *k'e*).

The second occurrence is an adjectival construction: N + *x'dyn* 'the only N'. Though Mro prefixed *x-* is phonetically a uvular fricative [χ], there are no points of comparison with TB prefixed *\*r-*, but rather with Daai Chin prefixed *k-*.

### 7. PREFIXED *M-* IN MRO

Of all the Mro prefixes, *m-* has the widest distribution, occurring especially frequently with verb roots.

#### 7.1. Prefixed *m-* with uncertain function

##### 7.1.1 Prefixed *m-* with verb roots

In most of the following examples the verb root without prefixed *m-* is lexically meaningful, but no relationship with the prefixed verb form can be established.

- a. Transitive verbs: *mkhan* 'hinder', *mxien* 'pity', *mke* 'ask for', *mhe* 'bring along', *msan* 'test', *mjie* 'swallow', *mxu* 'steal', *mny* 'know'
- b. Intransitive and descriptive verbs: *mna* 'be full', *mlang* 'dance', *msui* 'be pointed', *mliw* 'go down', *mjau* 'float'

##### 7.1.2. Prefixed *m-* with noun roots

- a. Natural phenomena: *mdiwn* 'night', *mkhoen* 'morning', *mni* 'noon', *mxaka* 'lightning', *mxu* 'thunder'
- b. Plants: *mxu pau* 'cotton flower', *mxuh* 'kapok', *msui* 'sugar cane', *mle the* 'jackfruit', *mry* 'red pepper'

- c. Animals: *mju* 'rat', *mna* 'buffalo', *mxui* 'snake', *mthau* 'a fly', *mting xa* 'scorpion'
- d. Body parts: *mlung* 'heart', *mkha* 'mouth', *mle* 'tongue', *mthien* 'liver', *mja* 'palm of the hand', *msing* 'nail (finger or toe)', *mkhu* 'knee', *mtaan* 'calf', *mtui* 'heel', *mnang xu* 'rib'

## 7.2. *Mro prefixed m- functional with verb roots*

Mro prefixed *m-* acts very much like Daai prefixed *m-*.

### 7.2.1. *Intransitive verbs: change of function to 'transitive' and 'causative'*

<i>thau</i>	'stand'	>	<i>mthau</i>	'raise up/cause to get up'
<i>koen</i>	'enter'	>	<i>mkoen</i>	'cause to enter'
<i>tho</i>	'arrive'	>	<i>mtho</i>	'cause to appear'
<i>xin</i>	'live'	>	<i>mxin</i>	'keep alive/breed'

### 7.2.2. *Transitive verbs: 'causative', 'intensive', sometimes semantic specification*

<i>thoe</i>	'stir/move (v.t.)'	>	<i>mthoe</i>	'drive out'
<i>koi</i>	'fill'	>	<i>mkoi</i>	'repay'
<i>la</i>	'take'	>	<i>mle</i>	'hold'
<i>sa</i>	'eat'	>	<i>msa</i>	'feed'
<i>nu</i>	'see'	>	<i>mnui</i>	'show'
<i>shoi</i>	'bind/tie'	>	<i>mshoi</i>	'tie together/join'

## 7.3. *Prefixed m- functioning with nouns*

Prefixed *m-* very rarely functions with nouns, but there are some cases of derivation or specification.

<i>kung</i>	'stem'	>	<i>mkung</i>	'origin'
<i>lang</i>	'way'	>	<i>mlang</i>	'custom'

## 8. PREFIXED T- IN MRO

### 8.1. *Prefixed t- with uncertain function*

Most of the Mro verb and noun roots are lexically meaningful without prefixed *t-*, and no semantic relationship with the prefixed roots can be established.

#### 8.1.1. *Prefixed t- with verb roots.*

*tkie* 'walk', *tkhoen* 'look', *txu* 'order', *tbie* 'cut off', *tbiw* 'boil'

### 8.1.2. Prefixed *t-* with noun roots.

- a. Nature-related nouns: *tkhoen* 'mountain', *txun* 'stone', *tme* 'cloud'
- b. Animals: *tke* 'tiger', *tmu* 'eagle', *t'uh* 'frog', *tli* 'turtle', *tva* 'bird'
- c. Items of daily usage: *tbu* 'nest/habitation', *tpe* 'granary', *tpau* 'bundle of rice', *tpoe* 'weaving', *txa* 'bamboo container', *tbun* 'basket'

### 8.2. Prefixed *t-* functioning with verb roots

Prefixed *t-* acts very much like prefixed *m-*, changing function from 'intransitive' to 'causative', only it is very rare:

<i>bi</i>	'be hot'	>	<i>tbi</i>	'heat up'
<i>poe</i>	'climb up'	>	<i>tpoe</i>	'cause to climb up'

### 8.3. Prefixed *t-* functioning with noun roots

With noun roots prefixed *t-* can act as verbalizer, but this is also very rare:

<i>pie</i>	'word'	>	<i>tpie</i>	'speak'
<i>pau pu</i>	'pole'	>	<i>tpu</i>	'carry with pole or yoke'

### 8.4. Prefixed *t-* as postposition marker

Prefixed *t-* can act as a postposition marker, but is not obligatory with all postpositions, as is prefixed *k-* in Daai:

*txe* 'beside', *tkoi* 'under', *txui* 'behind'

### 8.5. Mro prefixed *t-* and Daai prefixed *ng-*

Prefixed *m-* in Daai and Mro are functioning more or less in the same way, so I first supposed that Daai prefixed *ng-* could have shifted to Mro prefixed *t-*. There are actually a few supporting examples:

Daai	Mro	gloss
<i>ngmu</i>	<i>tmu</i>	'eagle'
<i>ngmei</i>	<i>tme</i>	'cloud'
<i>ngbu</i>	<i>tbu</i>	'nest'
<i>ngla</i>	<i>tla</i>	'young girl'

But we have also examples of Daai prefixed *k-* shifted to Mro prefixed *t-*:

<i>kkei</i>	<i>tke</i>	'tiger'
<i>k'u</i>	<i>t'uh</i>	'frog'
<i>kki</i>	<i>tki</i>	'horn'

It is clearly recognizable from the comparison of (4.2, 4.3, 4.4) with (8.2, 8.3, and 8.4) that the functions of Daai prefixed *ng-* and Mro prefixed *t-* do not correspond.

## 9. PREFIXED K- IN MRO

### 9.1. *Prefixed k- with uncertain function*

In Mro prefixed *k-* has a rather restricted range of distribution, especially when compared with Daai prefixed *k-*.

#### 9.1.1. *Prefixed k- with verb roots*

*knau* 'rest', *kne* 'listen/obey', *knoen* 'sit', *klon* 'help', *kvui* 'bury', *kxan* 'be hungry', *kto* 'be busy', *kson* 'carry', *kdoen* 'long for', *kna* 'win/overcome'

#### 9.1.2. *Prefixed k- with noun roots*

- Nature related nouns: *kledina* 'earth', *kli* 'storm'
- Items woven from bamboo: *kshie* 'rainshield', *kriepo* 'basket for catching fish', *ksui* 'basket for a child', *klepo* 'basket for knife'

### 9.2. *Prefixed k- functioning as verbalizer*

(a) <i>the</i>	'fruit'	>	<i>kthe</i>	'bear fruit'
(a) <i>pau</i>	'flower'	>	<i>kpau</i>	'flower/blossom'

### 9.3. *Prefixed k- as an adjectival prefix*

As in Daai, in Mro prefixed *k-* also functions as an adjectival prefix, but it does not have a very wide range of distribution, and there are only a few cases where the verb root still functions as verb.

<i>shi</i>	'bad'	>	<i>khimi kshi</i>	'bad man'
<i>hoi</i>	'good'	>	<i>tui k'hoi</i>	'good water'
<i>hoe</i>	'big'	>	<i>mui k'hoe</i>	'big fish'

### 9.4. *Mro prefixed k- and Daai prefixed k-*

Though Mro prefixed *k-* is much more limited in its occurrence and functions than Daai prefixed *k-*, we can certainly find a corresponding function as adjectival prefix (see 5.3 and 10.3).

## 10. MRO PREFIXED KA-

Eventually I made a surprising discovery: Mro has yet another prefix, *ka-*, that is phonetically very distinct from *k-* [*k*<sup>3</sup> -]. It is an unstressed prefix, or

pre-syllable, but with the distinct vowel [a~ʌ]. Therefore I first misinterpreted it as the 1S pronominal prefix. Actually it may have been once a pronominal prefix (compare Benedict 1972:113). Prefixed *ka-* occurs only with verb roots.

### 10.1. Prefixed *ka-*, reflexive or expressing mutuality

<i>ho</i>	'speak'	>	<i>kaho</i>	'speak with each other'
<i>mkon</i>	'answer'	>	<i>kamkon</i>	'discuss'
<i>khei</i>	'love'	>	<i>kakhei</i>	'love each other'
<i>mliē</i>	'kill'	>	<i>kalie tie</i>	'fight with each other'
<i>msyn</i>	'decorate'	>	<i>kamsyn</i>	'make oneself beautiful'
<i>mshie</i>	'wash'	>	<i>kamshie</i>	'wash oneself'

### 10.2. Prefixed *ka-*, adding a durative, passive, or other increment of meaning

<i>mtu</i>	'teach'	>	<i>katu</i>	'learn'
<i>poe</i>	'give'	>	<i>kapoe</i>	'be fitting'
<i>shtau</i>	'agree'	>	<i>kashtau</i>	'betroth one's son or daughter'
<i>krhau</i>	'become/change to'	>	<i>kamrhau</i>	'(we must) become together' (husband and wife)
		>	<i>kamkrhau</i>	'(they) become together' (husband and wife)
<i>mxoe</i>	'send'	>	<i>kamxoe</i>	'send on behalf of oneself/ send on behalf of each other'

### 10.3. Prefixed *ka-* as nominalizer

<i>mti</i>	'set up' (household, ricefield)	>	<i>kamti</i>	'one who plants rice'
<i>mxu</i>	'steal'	>	<i>kamxu</i>	'thief'
<i>tpu</i>	'carry'	>	<i>katpu</i>	'one who carries'
<i>mlang</i>	'dancing'	>	<i>kamlang</i>	'people dancing'
<i>mxin</i>	'breed/raise'	>	<i>kamxin</i>	'one who fosters (a child)'

Note that when the verb root is already prefixed by a recognizable functioning prefix, *ka-* does not always replace that prefix, but precedes:

<i>xin</i>	'live'	<i>mxin</i>	'keep alive, to raise'	<i>kamxin</i>	'one who fosters'
<i>pau pu</i>	'pole'	<i>tpu</i>	'carry'	<i>katpu</i>	'one who carries'

But there are also examples of *ka-* replacing the otherwise inseparable prefix *m-*:

<i>mtu</i>	'teach'	<i>katu</i>	'learn'
<i>mliē</i>	'kill'	<i>kalie tie</i>	'fight with each other'

#### 10.4. *Mro prefixed ka- and Daai prefixed ng-*

Though Mro prefixed *ka-* does not have as wide a range of functions and distribution as Daai prefixed *ng-*, both prefixes can carry the function 'durative' and 'reflexive' and can be seen as corresponding.

Daai		Mro	gloss
<i>mthei</i>	'teach'	<i>mtu</i>	'teach'
<i>ngthei</i>	'learn'	<i>katu</i>	'learn'
<i>kthäh</i>	'ask'	<i>mkon</i>	'answer'
<i>ngthäh ngkhyah</i>	'discuss'	<i>kamkon</i>	'discuss'

#### 10.5. *Parallel examples from Tiddim Chin and Siyin Chin*

##### 10.5.1. *Tiddim Chin*

Henderson (1965:99), refers to the Tiddim prefix *ki-* as follows:

"*ki-* with a following indicative verb form usually calls for translation by what are frequently called 'passive' or 'reflexive' constructions in English:

ki it ni	'let us love one another'
ka ki sat kha	'I hit myself by mistake'
a kici hi	'it is called'

##### 10.5.2. *Siyin Chin*

Stern (1955:255-256) says:

"One of the most productive particles is /*ki*./, which precedes the verb head in close juncture. It denotes (a) reciprocity.....(b) stative voice."

- a. \ki--ha.u \hi. "They fight each other"
- b. \ki~\ti. mɔ.\ hi. "Cannot (mɔ) be said (ti)"

Though there are not a lot of data available for comparison, the corresponding function of Tiddim and Siyin prefix *ki-* with Mro prefixed *ka-* and Daai prefixed *ng-* is obvious.

### 11. PARALLEL EXAMPLES FROM MARA

Though I have not done an extensive study of Mara Chin, I have started to look for functional prefixes in this language. First I was told that there were no functioning prefixes except pronominal ones; then I found out that there are actually functioning prefixes in Mara<sup>4</sup> that are themselves prefixed by pronominal prefixes, so they are actually infixes. But in this paper I will call them prefixes.

<sup>4</sup> For the data from Mara I am indebted to U Khay Kyaing.



### 11.1. *Mara prefixed p-*

Mara prefixed *p-* is phonetically realized as [pʰ-], written in the Mara orthography as *pa-*

<i>ahrei</i>	3S 'lives'	>	<i>apahrei</i> [apʰxe]	3S 'causes to live'	3S>3S
			<i>ama pahrei</i> [amə pʰxe]	'they cause him to live'	3P>3S
<i>athi</i>	3S 'dies'	>	<i>apathi</i>	3S 'causes to die'	
<i>achi</i>	3S 'is bad'	>	<i>apachi</i>	3S 'makes bad'	

This causative prefix corresponds to Daai prefixed *m-* and Mro prefixed *m-*.

### 11.2. *Examples of cognates with the causative prefix m- ~ mʰ- ~ pʰ-*

	Daai	Mro	Mara	Gloss
verb root	<i>thoh</i>	<i>thau</i>	(a) <i>thao</i>	'get up/wake up'
pref+verb root	<i>mthoh</i>	<i>mthau</i>	(a) <i>pathao</i>	'cause to wake up'
verb root	<i>thu</i>		(a) <i>thu</i>	'rotten'
pref+verb root	<i>mthu</i>		(a) <i>pathu</i>	'cause to rot'
verb root		<i>xin</i>	(a) <i>hrei</i>	'live'
pref+verb root		<i>mxin</i>	(a) <i>pahrei</i>	'cause to live'

### 11.3. *Mara prefixed m-*

Mara prefixed *m-* is phonetically realized as [mʰ-], written in the Mara orthography as *ma-*. It is a reflexive prefix, expressing also mutuality.

<i>athei</i>	3S 'kills'	>	<i>ama thei</i>	'kill each other'
<i>acih</i>	3S 'fears'	>	<i>ama cih</i>	'be afraid of each other'

It is obvious that Mara prefixed *m-* corresponds to TB prefixed \**m-*, and to some of the functions of Daai prefixed *ng-*.

### 11.4. *Examples of cognates with the reflexive prefix ng- ~ ka- ~ m-*

	Mro	Daai	Mara	gloss
verb root	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	(a) <i>lae</i>	'take'
pref+verb root	<i>kamla</i> 'hold oneself'	(ngkhyu) <i>ngla</i>	(a) <i>ma lae</i>	'marry'
verb root		<i>tuh</i>	(a) <i>tuh</i>	'beat/stab'
pref+verb root		<i>ngtuh</i>	(a) <i>ma tuh</i>	'fight with each other'
verb root	<i>khei</i>		(a) <i>khei</i>	'love'
pref+verb root	<i>kakhei</i>		(a) <i>ma khei</i>	'love each other'

## 12. CONCLUSION

In presenting this data, I hope I have been able to demonstrate that Daai Chin 'prenasalization' and 'preglottalization' - the language's remnants of the Tibeto-Burman prefixes - have retained a wide range and great variety of grammatical functions, and still partly correspond with the functions of the prefixes reconstructed for TB.

Though I have not yet discovered in any other Chin language the same range of distribution or variety of functions for these prefixes or their equivalent realizations, I have also tried to show that there are other Chin languages that have retained some parallel patterns.

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