

# himalayan linguistics

A free refereed web journal and archive devoted to the study of the  
languages of the Himalayas

Himalayan Linguistics

---

*A preliminary documentation of variation in Tedim verbal person marking*

**Jade Mroueh**

INALCO (Paris) and CNRS-Lacito

**ABSTRACT**

This study documents the variation in Tedim verb forms regarding person marking. As noted first by Henderson (1965), subject indexation in Tedim can occur via preverbal person markers or postverbal person markers. This study reports that a third option is to leave out verbal person marking entirely. In addition, speech act participant objects are indicated with preverbal *oŋ* independent of subject indexation.

**KEYWORDS**

Tedim, person marking, cislocative, SAP object marking

This is a contribution from *Himalayan Linguistics*, Vol. 18(1): 119–133.  
ISSN 1544-7502  
© 2019. All rights reserved.

This Portable Document Format (PDF) file may not be altered in any way.

Tables of contents, abstracts, and submission guidelines are available at  
[escholarship.org/uc/himalayanlinguistics](http://escholarship.org/uc/himalayanlinguistics)

# ***A preliminary documentation of variation in Tedim verbal person marking<sup>1</sup>***

**Jade Mroueh**

INALCO (Paris) and CNRS-Lacito

## 1 Introduction

Tedim Chin (also called Tiddim, Zopau, Kamhau), of the Northern Kuki-Chin sub-branch, is spoken by about 190,000 speakers in Myanmar. Previous studies have been carried out by Eugénie J. A. Henderson (1965).

All the examples below come from interviews with Tedim people. The majority are from a conversation between a woman and her son-in-law about her daily life, recorded in Tedim in July 2016.<sup>2</sup> Tones are not indicated here as it could not be consistently studied until now.

The present data confirms person indexation forms found in Henderson's work but also provides more comprehensive paradigms. In addition, my data shows that there is even more variation, as verb forms without subject person indexation are also commonly used. The goal of this paper is therefore to present comprehensive paradigms and document the variation found for the various verb forms. The factors underlying this variation, which appear to involve a complex interaction of sociolinguistic, discourse-pragmatic, morphosyntactic, and possibly other factors, remains a topic for further research.

### ***1.1 Previous research and scope of this paper***

Henderson's analysis of the language is quite comprehensive, although it is based on only two texts that she recorded from two Tedim speakers during a four week fieldtrip to Tedim in 1954. Her main focus was to analyse the "narrative style," as these texts were mostly narration; and to a lesser extent, the "colloquial style," as the texts included only few spoken parts. According to her research, there appeared to be a clear distinction between

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper is the result of research conducted with the help of INALCO (Paris) and CNRS-Lacito.

<sup>2</sup> Examples (1) (2) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (13) and (14) were elicited thanks to the help of three native speakers, Pau Lian Mang, Veronica Sannu and Thang Van Lian.

narrative and colloquial style in the verbal morphology. In the narrative style, prefixes indicate the person and suffixes specify the number. In the colloquial style, suffixes give information on both the person and the number.

According to my informants, this “narrative” style indicates formal speech, and is used nowadays, for example, for religious preaching and for the written medium, the Bible or newspapers, while the “colloquial” style would designate spoken, daily conversation. The “narrative” style can as well be used to show more emphasis.

When eliciting paradigms with my informants, they also reported a clear distinction in formality, which is indicated in the tables of this paper. Bold is used to indicate what my informants called “formal” style, while non-bold is used for “informal”. If there is only one form, it is used for all registers. If there are several forms, they appear in the order of formality according to native speakers.

However, a preliminary consideration of my texts suggests that a difference in formality does not fully correlate with the use of the different forms. In order to be neutral about the function of these forms, I will use in the present paper the purely structural terms “preverbal” and “postverbal” (see Table 1 for corresponding terminology).

<b>Henderson’s terms</b>	<b>Alternative terms</b>	<b>Structural terms</b>
narrative	oratory, literary, written, formal	preverbal
colloquial	spoken, daily, informal	postverbal

Table 1. Equivalent terminology

Moreover, in addition to the opposition between preverbal vs. postverbal marking, a third form, never mentioned so far, appeared in my data. This was an unmarked form with no mark of person or number (Mroueh 2017). In daily speech, almost all the paradigms listed in this paper could be, in fact, used with no person marking; this simplification could be a syntactic loan from Burmese, the official language of education in Myanmar, Burmese language having no verbal person marking.

We have then three different options for verbal person indexation in Tedim: preverbal indexation, postverbal indexation, and no indexation.

## **1.2 Verb stems**

In Tedim, according to Henderson (1965: 32, 84-89), “all verbs have two alternating forms, dependent upon grammatical context” according to their “mood,” which can be either “indicative” or “subjunctive”. Below, two verb forms without person indexation show the difference. Example (1) shows the first form, or form 1, of the verb, while (2) gives the second form, or form 2, of

the same verb, used in the negative. The two stems have distinct forms: *pia* and *pe*<sup>3</sup>.

- (1) *aman*<sup>4</sup>                      *amaʔ(pɛn) amaʔpia*  
 3SG.ERG    3SG (OBJ) 3SG give.F1  
 'He gives him to him.'
- (2) *aman*                      *amaʔ(pɛn) amaʔ                      pe                      lo*  
 3SG.ERG    3SG (OBJ) 3SG give.F2                      NEG  
 'He doesn't give him to him.'

## 2 Personal pronouns

Usually in Tedim, there is no need to mention the personal pronouns, the ergative or object marker, if the context allows to understand,

Personal pronouns	SG	DL	PL
1.EX	<i>kɛi</i>	<i>ko te niʔ</i> <i>ko te gɛl</i>	<b><i>ko-te</i></b> <i>ko tɛŋ</i> <i>ko</i>
1.IN		<i>ɛi te niʔ</i>	<b><i>ɛi-te</i></b> <i>ɛi</i>
2	<i>naŋ</i>	<i>no te niʔ</i>	<i>no</i>
3	<i>amaʔ</i>	<i>amau    te</i> <i>niʔ</i>	<b><i>amau-te</i></b> <i>amau</i>

Table 2. Personal pronouns

Any overt mention of the pronouns would give more emphasis, as in (4).

- (3) *Gamlai aʔ piaŋ ina*  
 Gamlai                      at    be\_born.F1 and  
 'I was born in Gamlai, and [...]'
- (4) *g<sup>w</sup>ɛj kɛi Tedim aʔ om lai niŋ                      ɛ*  
 VOC 1SG tedimin be.F1 still 1SG.FUT                      FIN:REAL  
 'Guys! I will stay in Tedim.'

The dual forms given in Table 2, which include the numeral *niʔ* 'two', are not commonly used in Tedim, or as naturally as the 1<sup>st</sup> plural exclusive and 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusives forms are. Apart from the dual, other enumerated forms can be constructed, such as *ko tɛŋ thum* 'three of us', *ko tɛŋ li* 'four of us' and *ki tɛŋ*

<sup>3</sup> According to my informants, even if it is pronounced [pe], they would write it <pia>.

<sup>4</sup> *aman* is a contraction of *amaʔ + in* (3SG + ERG)

*ŋa* ‘five of us’. For six person and above, *ko teŋ* is used, without mentioning the number.

The agent of transitive or ditransitive verbs is marked with the ergative *in*, and when it is the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular personal pronoun, it takes the form *ken* (*kei* + *in*), as in (6). In intransitive constructions, it will remain *kei*, as in (5).

(5) *kei si*  
1SG die.F1  
‘I die.’

(6) *ke-n ne*  
1SG-ERG eat.F1  
‘I eat (something).’

### 3 Possessive markers

Possessive prefixes	SG	PL
1.EX	<i>keima</i>	<i>komau</i> <i>koma</i>
1.IN		<i>eimau</i> <i>eima</i>
2	<i>naŋma</i> <i>naŋ</i>	<i>nomau</i> <i>noma</i>
3	<i>ama</i>	<i>amau</i> <sup>^</sup>

Table 3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive prefixes	SG	PL
1.EX	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ko-</i>
1.IN		<i>ei-</i>
2	<i>na-</i>	<i>no-</i>
3	<i>a-</i>	

Table 4. Possessive prefixes

An example of the first person singular possessive prefix is given in (7).

- (7) *ka sam tan ij*  
POSS.1SG hair cut.F11SG  
'I cut my hair.'

#### 4 Preverbal and postverbal person marking

Preverbal person indexation consists of the forms *ka-*, *na-* and *a-*, similar to the possessive prefixes (*ka-*, *na-* and *ama*) as in most Kuki-Chin languages. The plural marker *-uʔ* occurs after the verb.

Inclusive and exclusive person marking are distinguished. There is no specific person marking for the dual, which is the same as plural.

Affirmative equational copula	SG	PL
1.EX	<b>ka-hi hi</b> <i>hi iŋ</i>	<b>ka-hi u? hi</b> <i>hi uŋ</i>
1.IN		<b>i-hi hi</b> <i>hi haŋ</i>
2	<b>na-hi hi</b> <i>hi te?</i>	<b>na-hi u? hi</b> <i>hi u? te?</i>
3	<b>a-hi hi</b> <i>hi</i>	<b>a-hi u? hi</b> <i>hi u?</i>

Table 5. Affirmative equational copula paradigm ‘hi’

In formal style, an equational clause ends with a final particle *hi*, as in (8). In spoken style, the copula can be left out and the equational clause can be reduced to a juxtaposition of *personal pronoun* + *noun*, as in (9)<sup>5</sup>.

(8) **kei Zomi ka hi hi**  
1SG Zomi 1SG COP FIN  
‘I am Zomi’

(9) *kei Zomi*  
1SG Zomi  
‘I am Zomi’

The paradigm of the negated equational copula is given in Table 6.

Negative equational copula	SG	PL
1.EX	<b>ka-hi kei hi</b> <i>hi kei iŋ / keŋ</i>	<b>ka-hi kei u? hi</b> <i>hi kei uŋ</i> <i>hi lo hi uŋ</i> <i>hi lo</i>
1.IN	<i>hi lo hi iŋ</i> <i>hi lo</i>	<b>i-hi kei hi</b> <i>hi kei haŋ / k<sup>h</sup>aŋ</i> <i>hi lo hi haŋ</i> <i>hi lo</i>
2	<b>na-hi kei hi</b> <i>hi kei te?</i> <i>hi lo hi te?</i> <i>hi lo</i>	<b>na-hi kei u? hi</b> <i>hi kei u? te?</i> <i>hi lo hi u? te?</i> <i>hi lo</i>
3	<b>a-hi kei hi</b> <i>hi kei</i> <i>hi lo hi</i> <i>hi lo</i>	<b>a-hi kei u? hi</b> <i>hi kei u?</i> <i>hi lo u? hi</i> <i>hi lo</i>

<sup>5</sup> Full paradigms are given in the appendices.

Table 6. Negative equational copula paradigm

Intransitive verbs are indexed the same way as the equational copula, as seen in Table 7 and Table 8.

<b>Present affirmative</b>	<b>SG</b>	<b>PL</b>
1.EX	<b>ka-pai hi</b> pai iŋ pai	<b>ka-pai u? hi</b> pai uŋ pai
1.IN		<b>i-pai hi</b> pai haŋ pai
2	<b>na-pai hi</b> pai teʔ pai	<b>na-pai u? hi</b> pai uʔ teʔ pai
3	<b>a-pai hi</b> pai hi pai	<b>a-pai u? hi</b> pai uʔ pai

Table 7. Present affirmative intransitive paradigm of pai 'go'

<b>Present negative</b>	<b>SG</b>	<b>PL</b>
1.EX	<b>ka-pai kei hi</b> pai kei iŋ / keŋ pai lo hi iŋ pai lo	<b>ka-pai kei u? hi</b> pai kei uŋ pai lo hi uŋ pai lo
1.IN		<b>i-pai kei hi</b> pai kei haŋ / k <sup>h</sup> aŋ pai lo hi haŋ pai lo
2	<b>na-pai kei hi</b> pai kei teʔ pai lo hi teʔ pai lo	<b>na-pai kei u? hi</b> pai kei uʔ teʔ pai lo hi uʔ teʔ pai lo
3	<b>a-pai kei hi</b> pai kei pai lo hi pai lo	<b>a-pai kei u? hi</b> pai kei uʔ pai lo uʔ hi pai lo

Table 8. Present negative intransitive paradigm of pai ‘go’

### 5 Other tense/aspect paradigms

Tedim has separate person marking paradigms for the future but not for the past/perfective. To express the perfective, the literary style uses *k<sup>h</sup>in* or *k<sup>h</sup>in zo*, while in the colloquial style, just using a temporal phrase as in (10) makes it clear enough. In the recorded data, no utterance of *k<sup>h</sup>in* or *k<sup>h</sup>in zo* were found.

- (10) *zanni aʔ (kɛi) lam (k<sup>h</sup>in zo)*  
 yesterday LOC (1SG) dance.F1 (PF)  
 ‘Yesterday I danced.’

The intransitive paradigms of the affirmative and negative future are given in Table 9 and Table 10.

Future affirmative	SG	PL
1.EX	<b><i>pai diŋ hi iŋ</i></b> <i>pai niŋ</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>	<b><i>pai diŋ hi uŋ</i></b> <i>pai nuŋ</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>
1.IN		<b><i>pai diŋ hi haŋ</i></b> <i>pai ni</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>
2	<b><i>pai diŋ hi teʔ</i></b> <i>pai ni teʔ</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>	<b><i>pai diŋ hi uʔ teʔ</i></b> <i>pai nu teʔ</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>
3	<b><i>pai diŋ (hi)</i></b> <i>pai in teʔ</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>	<b><i>pai diŋ uʔ (hi)</i></b> <i>pai un teʔ</i> <i>pai diŋ</i>

Table 9. Future affirmative intransitive paradigm of pai ‘go’

Future negative	SG	PL
1.EX	<b><i>pai lo diŋ hi iŋ</i></b> <i>pai kɛi niŋ</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>	<b><i>pai lo diŋ hi uŋ</i></b> <i>pai kɛi nuŋ</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>
1.IN		<b><i>pai lo diŋ hi haŋ</i></b> <i>pai kɛi ni</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>
2	<b><i>pai lo diŋ hi teʔ</i></b> <i>pai kɛi ni teʔ</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>	<b><i>pai lo diŋ hi uʔ teʔ</i></b> <i>pai kɛi nu teʔ</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>

3	<b><i>pai lo diŋ (hi)</i></b> <i>pai kɛi in teʔ</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>	<b><i>pai lo diŋ uʔ (hi)</i></b> <i>pai kɛi un teʔ</i> <i>pai lo diŋ</i>
---	---	--

Table 10. Future negative intransitive paradigm of *pai* 'go'

The future particle *niŋ* (only used with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular) / *diŋ* is obligatory, as seen in (11) and (12):

- (11) *nidaŋtʃjaŋ Tedim aʔ*  
 from.now.on Tedim LOC
- oŋ tʃjaʔ kik diŋ uʔ hiam*  
 CIS go.home.F1 again FUT PL.EXCL Q  
 'When will they come back (to you) to Tedim?'

- (12) *si baiʔ taktak niŋ e*  
 die.F1 soon surely 1SG.FUT FIN:REAL  
 'I will die quickly'

## 6 Object marking

The object is never marked directly on Tedim verbs, but in ditransitive constructions, *oŋ* is used to mark the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person R in both preverbal style, as in (13), and postverbal style, as in (14). In preverbal style, the preverbal person marking is placed before *oŋ* and can be contracted as follows:

- for 1<sup>st</sup> person : *ka-oŋ* or *koŋ*
- for 2<sup>nd</sup> person : *na-oŋ* or *noŋ*
- for 3<sup>rd</sup> person : *a-oŋ* or *oŋ*

- (13) ***kɛima in naŋ (pɛn)ama tungaʔ ka-oŋ***  
***pia hi***  
 1SG ERG 2SG (OBJ) 3SG to 1-SAP:OBJ give.F1  
 FIN  
 'I give you to him'

- (14) *ama tungaʔ naŋ oŋ pia iŋ*  
 3SG to 2SG SAP:OBJ give.F1 1SG  
 'I give you to him'

## 7 Conclusion

This study has provided a preliminary documentation of the variation in Tedim verb forms regarding person marking. Subject indexation in Tedim can occur via preverbal person markers or postverbal person markers but may also be left out entirely. In addition, speech act participant objects are indicated with preverbal *oŋ* independent of subject indexation.

### ABBREVIATIONS

CIS	Cislocative	OBJ	Object
COP	Copula	PF	Perfective
DEM	Demonstrative	PL	Plural
DU	Dual	R	Recipient argument in a ditransitive clause
ERG	Ergative	REAL	Realis
EX	Exclusive	SAP	speech act participant
IN	Inclusive	SG	Singular
FIN	Final particle	VOC	Vocative
F1	Form 1	(..)	Can be omitted
F2	Form 2	^	Tone change
LOC	Locative	∅	Space where person marking should be found
NEG	Negative		

### REFERENCES

- DeLancey, S. (2013). "Argument indexation (verb agreement) in Kuki-Chin". Workshop on Issues in Kuki-Chin Linguistics, 46th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Dartmouth College. [Available at: academia.edu](http://academia.edu) [Accessed 30 August 2017]
- Henderson, E. J. A. (1965). *Tiddim Chin - a descriptive analysis of two texts*. London: Oxford University Press.

Mroueh, J. (2017). Tedim Chin verbal morphology : a register distinction? Paper presented at *Chulalongkorn International Student Symposium on Southeast Asia Linguistics*. Chulalongkorn, Thailand.

APPENDICES: LISTS OF VERBAL PERSON INDEXATION FORMS

A.1 EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

<b>kɛi</b>	<b>Zomi ka-hi</b> Zomi hi iŋ	'I am Zomi'
<b>naŋ</b>	<b>Zomi na-hi</b> Zomi hi teʔ	'You sg. are Zomi'
<b>amaʔ</b>	<b>Zomi a-hi</b> Zomi hi	'S/he is Zomi'
<b>ko te niʔ</b> Zomi'	<b>Zomi ka-hi uʔ</b> Zomi hi uŋ	'We 2 (exclusive = without you) are Zomi'
<b>ko te</b> Zomi'	<b>Zomi ka-hi uʔ</b> Zomi hi uŋ	'We pl (exclusive = without you) are Zomi'
<b>ei te niʔ</b>	<b>Zomi i-hi</b> Zomi hi haŋ	'We 2 (you and I) are Zomi'
<b>ei te</b>	<b>Zomi i-hi</b> Zomi hi haŋ	'We pl (you and I and others) are Zomi'
<b>no te niʔ</b>	<b>Zomi na-hi uʔ</b> Zomi hi uʔ teʔ	'You two are Zomi'
<b>no te</b>	<b>Zomi na-hi uʔ</b> Zomi hi uʔ teʔ	'You pl are Zomi'
<b>amau te niʔ</b>	<b>Zomi a-hi uʔ</b> Zomi hi uʔ	'Those two are Zomi'
<b>amaute</b> amau amau	<b>Zomi a-hi uʔ</b> Zomi hi uʔ Zomi aive (ahi ve)	'They pl. are Zomi'

A.2 DITRANSITIVE FORMS

***keima in naŋ (pen) ama tungaʔ<sup>6</sup>/kiangaʔ<sup>7</sup> ka-oŋ pʼa hi*** 'I give you  
(sg) to him'

***keima in ama tungaʔ naŋ ka-oŋ pʼa hi***  
(ken) naŋ (pen) ama kiangaʔ koŋ pʼa hi  
(ken) ama kiangaʔ naŋ koŋ pʼa hi  
(ken) ama tungaʔ naŋ hoŋ pʼa iŋ

***ken amaʔ (pen) ama tungaʔ ka-pʼa hi*** 'I give him to him'  
(ken) ama tungaʔ amaʔ ka-pʼa hi  
(ken) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʼa iŋ

***naŋma in kei (pen) ama tungaʔ na-oŋ pʼa hi*** 'you (sg)  
give me to him'

naŋn<sup>8</sup> kei ama tungaʔ noŋ pʼa hi  
naŋn ama tungaʔ kei noŋ pʼa hi  
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ kei oŋ pʼa hi teʔ  
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ kei oŋ pʼa teʔ  
naŋn kei (pen) amaʔ pʼa

***naŋma in amaʔ (pen) ama tungaʔ na-pʼa hi*** 'you give  
him to him'

***naŋ'n ama tungaʔ amaʔ na-pʼa hi***  
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʼa hi teʔ  
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʼa teʔ  
naŋ'n amaʔ (pen) amaʔ pʼa

***naŋma in amaʔ (pen) ko kiangaʔ na-oŋ pʼa hi*** 'you give  
him to us'

***naŋma in ko kiangaʔ amaʔ na-oŋ pʼa hi***  
***naŋma in amaʔ (pen) ko na-oŋ pʼa hi***  
naŋn amaʔ (pen) ko noŋ pʼa hi  
(naŋ) amaʔ (pen) ko oŋ pʼa hi teʔ  
(naŋ) amaʔ (pen) ko oŋ pʼa teʔ  
naŋn amaʔ (pen) ko oŋ pʼa

***naŋma in ko (pen) ama tungaʔ na-oŋ pʼa hi*** 'you give us  
to him'

***naŋma in ama tungaʔ ko na-oŋ pʼa hi***

<sup>6</sup> *tungaʔ*, which is contraction of *tung* and *aʔ*, literally means "on/in the hand of," used for more emphasis. *tungaʔ* and *kiangaʔ* can be interchangeably used.

<sup>7</sup> *kiangaʔ*, which is contraction of *kiang* and *aʔ*, literally means "to," used for more emphasis. *tungaʔ* and *kiangaʔ* can be interchangeably used.

<sup>8</sup> *naŋn* contraction of *naŋ in* (2SG + ERG).

*ama tungaʔ ko noŋ pʲa hi*  
*ama tungaʔ ko oŋ pʲa na hi*  
*ama tungaʔ ko oŋ pʲa hi teʔ*  
*ama tungaʔ ko oŋ pʲa teʔ*  
*ko ama tungaʔ oŋ pʲa teʔ*

***amaʔ in kei (pen) ama tungaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi***  
me to him'

'he gives

***amaʔ in ama tungaʔ kei a-oŋ pʲa hi***  
*aman kei ama tungaʔ oŋ pʲa hi*  
*aman kei amaʔ pʲa*

***amaʔ in naŋ (pen) ama tungaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi***  
you to him'

'he gives

***amaʔ in ama tungaʔ naŋ a-oŋ pʲa hi***  
*aman naŋ ama tungaʔ oŋ pʲa hi*  
*aman naŋ ama tungaʔ pʲa hi ven*  
*aman naŋ amaʔ pʲa*

***amaʔ in amaʔ (pen) ama tungaʔ a-pʲa hi***  
him to him'

'he gives

***amaʔ in ama tungaʔ amaʔ a-pʲa hi***  
*aman ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi*  
*aman amaʔ pen ama tungaʔ pʲa*  
*aman ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa*

***ei te in amaʔ (pen) ama tungaʔ i-pʲa hi***  
others)) give him to him'

'we (you and I (and

***ei te in ama tungaʔ amaʔ i-pʲa hi***  
*en ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi haŋ*  
*en ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa haŋ*  
*en ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa*

***ko te in amaʔ (pen) ama tungaʔ ka-pʲa uʔ hi***  
you) give him to him'

'we (excluding

***ko te in ama tungaʔ amaʔ ka-pʲa uʔ hi***  
*ko ama tungaʔ amaʔ ka-pʲa uʔ hi*  
*(ko) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi uŋ*  
*(ko) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa uŋ*  
*ko ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa*

***ko te in naŋ (pen) ama tungaʔ ka-oŋ pʲa uʔ hi***  
you to him'

'we give

***ko te in ama tungaʔ naŋ ka-oŋ pʲa hi***  
*ko ama tungaʔ naŋ koŋ pʲa uʔ hi*  
*(ko) ama tungaʔ naŋ oŋ pʲa uŋ*

ko naŋ ama tungaʔ oŋ pʼa

**ko te in amaʔ (pen) naŋ kiangaʔ ka-oŋ pʼa uʔ hi**  
to you'

'we give him

**ko te in naŋ kiangaʔ amaʔ koŋ pʼa uʔ hi**

ko amaʔ (pen) naŋ kiangaʔ koŋ pʼa uʔ hi  
ko naŋ kiangaʔ amaʔ koŋ pʼa uʔ hi  
(ko) amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʼa uŋ  
ko amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʼa

**keima in amaʔ (pen) naŋ (kiangaʔ) ka-oŋ pʼa hi**  
you'

'I give him to

**keima in naŋ (kiangaʔ) amaʔ ka-oŋ pʼa hi**

ken amaʔ (pen) naŋ koŋ pʼa hi  
(ken) amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʼa iŋ  
ken amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ in kei (pen) naŋ kiangaʔ a-oŋ pʼa hi**  
you'

'he gives me to

**amaʔ in naŋ kiangaʔ kei a-oŋ pʼa hi**

aman kei (pen) naŋ tungaʔ oŋ pʼa hi  
aman kei (pen) naŋ tungaʔ oŋ pʼa hi ven  
aman kei (pen) naŋ tungaʔ oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ in amaʔ (pen) naŋ a-oŋ pʼa hi**  
to you'

'he gives him

**amaʔ in naŋ kiangaʔ amaʔ a-oŋ pʼa hi**

aman amaʔ (pen) naŋ oŋ pʼa hi  
aman amaʔ (pen) naŋ oŋ pʼa hi ven

**naŋma in amaʔ (pen) kei na-oŋ pʼa hi**  
give him to me'

'you

**naŋma in kei tungaʔ amaʔ na-oŋ pʼa hi**

naŋn amaʔ (pen) kei noŋ pʼa hi  
(naŋn) amaʔ kei oŋ pʼa teʔ/hi teʔ  
(naŋn) amaʔ oŋ pʼa teʔ

**no te in amaʔ (pen) kei na-oŋ pʼa uʔ hi**  
him to me'

'you (pl) give

**no te in kei tungaʔ amaʔ na-oŋ pʼa uʔ hi**

no amaʔ kei noŋ pʼa uʔ hi  
(no) amaʔ oŋ pʼa uʔ teʔ  
no amaʔ kei oŋ pʼa

**amaʔ in naŋ (pen) kei a-oŋ pʼa hi**  
to me'

'he gives you

**ama? in kei tunga? naŋ a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
aman naŋ (pen) kei oŋ p'ja hi  
aman naŋ (pen) kei oŋ p'ja

**ama? in ama? (pen) kei a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
him to me'  
aman ama? (pen) kei oŋ p'ja hi  
aman ama? (pen) kei oŋ p'ja

'he gives

**ama? in ama? (pen) ei a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
(you and me (and others))'  
**ama? in ei tunga? ama? a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
aman ama? (pen) ei oŋ p'ja hi  
aman ama? (pen) ei oŋ p'ja

'he gives him to us

**ama? in ama? (pen) ko a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
him to us (excluding you)'  
aman ama? (pen) ko oŋ p'ja hi

'he gives

**ama? in naŋ (pen) ko a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
to us'  
aman naŋ (pen) ko oŋ p'ja hi

'he gives you

**ama? in ko (pen) naŋ tunga? a-oŋ p'ja hi**  
you'  
aman ko (pen) naŋ oŋ p'ja hi

'he gives us to

Inanimate  
**(keima? in) naŋma? ka-oŋ p'ja hi**  
to you'  
(ken) naŋ oŋ p'ja iŋ  
(ken) naŋ oŋ p'ja

'I give it

**ama? ka-p'ja hi**  
ken ama? p'ja iŋ  
ken ama? p'ja

'I give it to him'

naŋ ama? p'ja ve

'You give it to him'

B. FULL TRANSITIVE PARADIGMS

Future		1 <sup>st</sup> person					2 <sup>nd</sup> person			3 <sup>rd</sup> person		
		SG	DU.EX	PL.EX	DU.IN	PL.IN	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1	SG						<b>koŋ<sup>9</sup> mu diŋ (hi)</b> oŋ mu niŋ oŋ mu diŋ hi iŋ oŋ mu diŋ			<b>ka (va)<sup>10</sup> mu diŋ (hi)</b> (va) mu niŋ (va) mu diŋ hi iŋ mu diŋ		
	DU.EX / PL.EX						<b>koŋ mu diŋ u? (hi)</b> oŋ mu nuŋ oŋ mu diŋ hi uŋ oŋ mu diŋ			<b>ka (va) mu diŋ u? (hi)</b> (va) mu nuŋ (va) mu diŋ hi uŋ mu diŋ		
	DU.IN / PL.IN						<b>i-oŋ mu diŋ (hi)</b> oŋ mu diŋ hi haŋ oŋ mu ni oŋ mu diŋ			<b>i (va) mu diŋ (hi)</b> (va) mu diŋ hi haŋ (va) mu ni mu diŋ		
2	SG	<b>oŋ mu ni te?</b> oŋ mu diŋ								<b>mu ni te?</b> mu diŋ		
	DU/PL	<b>oŋ mu nu te?</b> oŋ mu diŋ								<b>mu nu te?</b> mu diŋ		
3	SG	<b>oŋ mu in te?</b> oŋ mu diŋ				<b>oŋ mu in te?</b> oŋ mu diŋ			<b>mu in te?</b> mu diŋ			
	DU/PL	<b>oŋ mu un te?</b> oŋ mu diŋ				<b>oŋ mu un te?</b> oŋ mu diŋ			<b>mu un te?</b> mu diŋ			

Table 11. Future transitive paradigm of mu 'see'

Future negative	1 <sup>st</sup> person					2 <sup>nd</sup> person			3 <sup>rd</sup> person		
	Contraction of <i>ka-oŋ</i> <sup>10</sup> For 3 <sup>rd</sup> person, <i>va</i> , equivalent to <i>oŋ</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> person), can be used for emphasize.										

	DU / PL	<b>oŋ mu kɛi nu teʔ</b> oŋ mu lo diŋ		<b>mu kɛi nu teʔ</b> mu lo diŋ
3	SG	<b>oŋ mu kɛi in teʔ</b> oŋ mu lo diŋ	<b>oŋ mu kɛi in teʔ</b> oŋ mu lo diŋ	<b>mu kɛi in teʔ</b> mu lo diŋ
	DU/ PL	<b>oŋ mu kɛi un teʔ</b> oŋ mu lo diŋ	<b>oŋ mu kɛi un teʔ</b> oŋ mu lo diŋ	<b>mu kɛi un teʔ</b> mu lo diŋ

Table 12. Future negative transitive paradigm of mu 'see'

JADE MROUEH

< [JADEMROUEH@YAHOO.FR](mailto:JADEMROUEH@YAHOO.FR) >