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An overview of valence-changing constructions in North-Western South-Central (Trans-Himalayan)

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the 16 languages Tarao, Chiru, Ranglong, Kom, Monsang, Anal, Lamkang, Aimol, Hrangkhol, Hmar and Mongmi Maring, Saihriem, Sakachep, Chorei, Purum and Chothe. These languages belong mostly to the Northwestern subgroup of the South-Central language family of the Trans-Himalayan branch and are spoken in the southern part of Northeast India and parts of Bangladesh and Myanmar. The thesis gives a descriptive overview of valence-changing (causative, reflexive and reciprocal) constructions in the languages and compares them to valence-changing constructions in the Central languages Falam Chin, Hakha Lai, Laizo and Mizo of the South-Central language family with the intention of identifying commonalities and differences within the Northwestern branch and in comparison to the Central languages. As a result, it can be seen, that there are some differences between valence-changing constructions in the Central branch and the valence-changing constructions of the Northwestern branch, but also within the Northwestern branch. Additionally, no clear language groups can be formed by the comparison of valence-changing constructions within the Northwestern branch, because the groups of languages using the same causative construction are not the same groups as the languages using the same reflexive and reciprocal constructions. Though, many commonalities can be found between some of the languages of the Northwestern South-Central language family.

Acknowledgments

Table of contents

1 The South-Central languages (Trans-Himalayan)

1.1 General information on the language family

The South-Central ("Kuki-Chin") languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family, that is a major subgroup of Trans-Himalayan (Sino-Tibetan) (Konnerth to appear 2021: 1; Matisoff 2003: 1; Peterson 2017: 190).

The languages of the South-Central (SC) language family are spoken in the southern part of Northeast India and parts of Bangladesh and Myanmar and over 40 mutually unintelligible languages are part of the language family (Konnerth to appear 2021: 1).

In the literature, the South-Central languages are often called "Kuki Chin" languages and it is often referred to the Northwestern languages as "Old Kuki", because they are presumed to be an archaic group within the Northwestern languages (Konnerth to appear 2021: 2), but because of socio-political reasons the terminology should be changed (Konnerth to appear 2021: 1).

There are several subgrouping attempts for the South-Central languages, that can be summarized in three subgrouping models, the geographical model, the Center/Periphery model and Peterson's proposal from Peterson (2017).
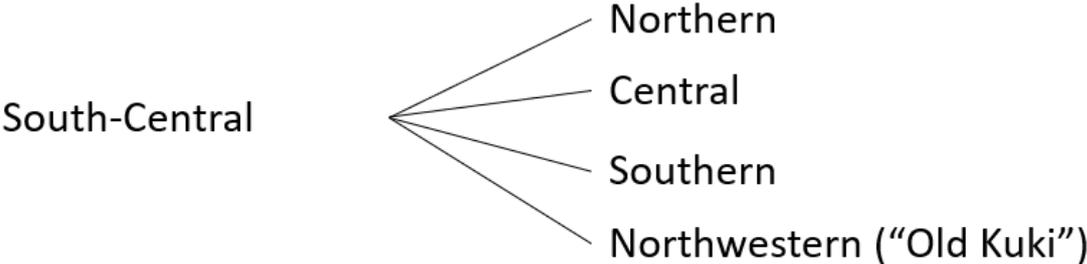
Figure 1 - Geographical Model of the South-Central languages (Peterson 2017: 195; reconstructed and modified by this author)

In the geographical model, the South-Central languages are divided into Northern, Central, Southern and Northwestern languages, while the Center/Periphery model summarized the Northeastern and Southern languages into a separate Peripheral group and differs between Khomic, Maraic, Northwestern and Central languages (Peterson 2017: 195).
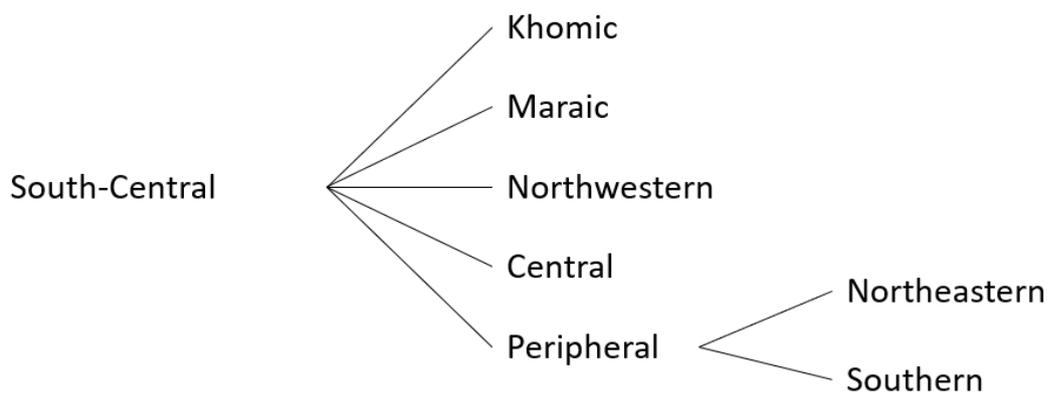
Figure 2 - Center/Periphery Model of the South-Central languages (Peterson 2017: 195; reconstructed and modified by this author)

The innovative proporsal of Peterson groups the South-Central languages into Northwestern, Central and Peripheral, while Central languages are divided into Core Cantral and Maraic and the Peripheral languages into Northeastern, Southern and Khomic (Peterson 2017: 206).
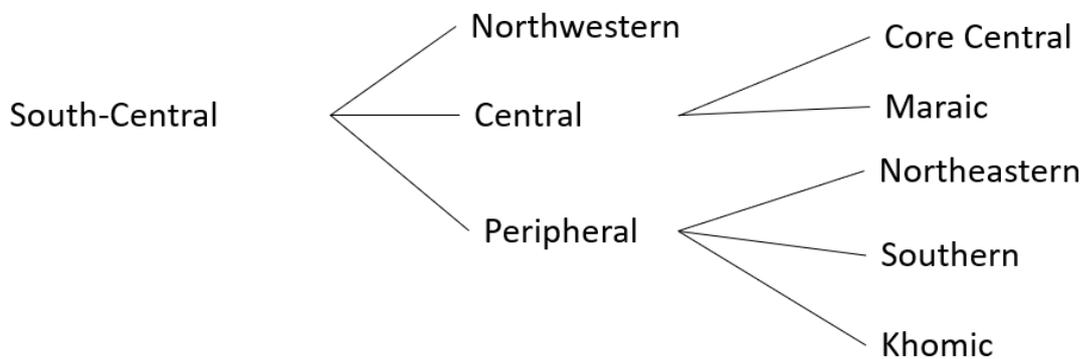
Figure 3 - Peterson's subgrouping proposal of the South-Central languages (Peterson 2017: 206)

As shown in Peterson (2017) every subgrouping attempt groups the languages within the sub-branches differently and the position of the Northwestern languages is not clear yet, because the whole region, where these languages are spoken, is underdocumented (Konnerth to appear 2021: 3).

It is not clear either, which languages belong to the Northwestern group, because this group has been excluded from research for a very long time, because of the lack of data, but according to

current knowledge the Northwestern South-Central (NWSC) languages may be grouped in four further subgroups (Konnerth to appear 2021: 3).

- Monsang, Moyon, Lamkang, Anal

- Chothe, Tarao

- Aimol, Purum, Kom, Chiru, Koireng, Kharam

- Hallam, Hrangkhol (Rangkhol), Biate, Ranglong (Langrong), Sakachep, Saihriem, Chorei

Figure 4 - Four Groups of Northwestern languages (Konnerth to appear 2021: 3; reconstructed and modified by this author)

Hrangkhol and Ranglong are called Rangkhol and Langrong in Konnerth (to appear 2021), but in this thesis I refer to them as Hrangkhol and Ranglong, because they are called so in Haokip (2018) and Haokip (2021). Data of some of the NWSC languages is analyzed in this thesis, also data of Hmar, Mongmi Maring and Chiru is included. Hmar is sometimes grouped to the Central languages, but also to the Northwestern ones in other cases. Chiru is included into the Northeastern group in some studies but it is grouped in Northwestern in other cases. Mongmi Maring actually belongs ethnically to the Maring but it is suspected to have many linguistic features in common with the Northwestern languages and that is why it is also included in this thesis (Konnerth to appear 2021: 6–7).

Since for subgrouping languages phonological but also morphosyntactical features are of importance, this thesis gives a descriptive overview of valence-changing constructions in the NWSC languages and the other languages mentioned above. The thesis deals only descriptively with the causative constructions as valence-increasing constructions and with reflexive and reciprocal constructions as valence-decreasing constructions. During the description, features of transitivity as verbal person indexation and case marking will be considered as far as possible, but the focus should lie on verbal morphology. Since the data are not always sufficient for including these features, in some cases the change of valence can only be assumed. In the end, the results are compared to the Central South-Central (CSC) languages, because it is presumed, that the NWSC languages could be more closely related to the Central languages (Konnerth to appear 2021: 5). Maybe some languages could already be grouped together by the valence-

3

changing constructions found or other conclusions can be made for further research. This topic is covered in the conclusion.

1.2 Data used in the thesis

For the descriptive overview of the valence-changing operations 16 languages, mainly of the NWSC languages, are considered. Data for causative forms were found in Tarao, Chiru, Ranglong, Kom, Monsang, Anal, Lamkang, Aimol, Hrangkhol, Hmar and Mongmi Maring. Data for either reflexive, reciprocal or both constructions were found in Ranglong, Tarao, Monsang, Kom, Hmar, Saihriem, Sakachep, Chorei, Aimol, Hrangkhol, Chiru, Anal, Purum, Lamkang, Chothe and Mongmi Maring. For section 5, data of the Central branch of the South-Central languages (CSC) Falam Chin, Hakha Lai, Mizo and Laizo are considered.

Most of the data come from grammars or other articles about the languages in consideration. If the data I refer to are quoted from reference works, it is always explicitly stated, but also data from other sources are used.

The Monsang data, I refer to, were mostly collected by Linda Konnerth in close collaboration with Koninglee Wanglar of Liwa Changning village in Chandel District, Manipur, India, during the *Descriptive Grammar Project* since 2014, if not stated otherwise. These examples are always marked with the respective text and unit (example: (pear story UK, 21.1)).

For Aimol, Tarao, Kom and Mongmi Maring, data were also provided to me by Linda Konnerth. When I refer to them, it is marked with *Linda Konnerth field notes*. These data were collected in Chandel District, Manipur, India. The data for Aimol come from a session from the December 14, 2014, that was performed with the following native speakers: Chongom Nisolal (Nick) Aimol, Ringneithong (Haowend) Aimol, Ringneiril (Ainco), Chongom Lianeskon and C.D. Aimol (Dept. of Linguistics, Manipur University). Data for Tarao are from a session on Mai 19, 2014 with native speaker More Tarao from Leishakching and the data I refer to for the language Mongmi Maring were collected in a session with David Motontin Thauman of Liwa Changning on the December 16, 2014. Data for Kom were also collected by Linda Konnerth on October 7, 2016, in consulting with Luckson Telen of Mahao Tera. Clearly, this thesis could not have been written without the contributions of all of these people.

It is always indicated to which language the respective example belongs. The language family is indicated in brackets, *CSC* stands for Central South-Central. If no language family is indi-

cated, I always refer to the NWSC languages. Glosses in the examples follow mainly the Leipzig Glossing Rules and are indicated in the list of abbreviations, if glosses are added or changed, this is always stated.

2   Valence-changing constructions

In this section, general information on valence-changing constructions is given. Payne (2006: 237) differs between semantic and syntactic valence and a mix of syntactic and semantic valence. In this thesis valence is understood always in a syntactic sense and expresses, how many arguments a verb or predicate can take. There are intransitive clauses or predicates that take only one single argument (valence of one), and transitive clauses that take two arguments or more, having the valence of two, or more. If a predicate takes more than two arguments, it can be called also ditransitive. I will refer to the subject of an intransitive clause as S, to the subject of a transitive clause as A and to the transitive object as O, but the transitive object is also called P in the literature (Dryer 2007: 250; 252).

The criteria for transitive and intransitive clauses are different in every language of the world and will be explained in the following section for the NWSC languages. The marking of intransitive and transitive clauses is dependent on the structure of the language and differs, whether the language is an ergative-absolutive or a nominative-accusative language. Nominative-accusative patterns are well known from languages as English or German, they mark both the transitive and the intransitive subject with nominative, the transitive object occurs in the accusative case. In ergative patterns, the transitive and intransitive subject occur in different cases, while the object of a transitive clause (O) and the subject of an intransitive clause (S) receive the same case marking (absolutive), the subject of the transitive clause (A) is marked with the ergative case marking. The accusative and ergative patterns are shown below, the circles mark the arguments with the same case marking.

accusative pattern ergative pattern

intransitive

transitive
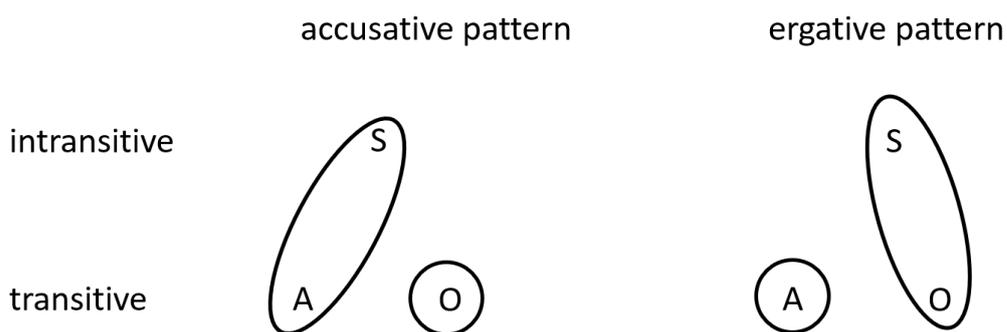
Figure 5 - Accusative and Ergative Case Marking Pattern (Dryer 2007: 253; reconstructed and modified by this author)

The marking of these arguments is different in every language, but the most common case is, that the ergative is marked morphologically and the absolutive case is marked as zero case (Dryer 2007: 250–251). How argument marking works in the NWSC languages, is shown in the section 2.2.

2.1   Causatives, reflexives and reciprocals

Valence can be changed by different valence-changing operations, decreasing the valence by one and making a transitive clause intransitive for example or increasing the valence and making an intransitive clause transitive or a transitive clause ditransitive.

Valence decreasing constructions are for example middle constructions, subject omissions, passives, object omissions, antipassives, object demotions, object corporations and reflexives and reciprocals, while valence-increasing constructions can be causatives, applicatives, dative shifts, possessor raisings and datives of interest (Payne 2006: 240). Even if there are several very common constructions in the NWSC languages, as for example antipassives or applicatives, in this thesis, I will focus only on causative constructions as valence-increasing constructions and reflexives and reciprocals as valence decreasing constructions, because of the limited data and the scope of the thesis.

Reflexives and reciprocals are very similar to each other and are expressed the same way in many languages of the world. While reflexives "combine" the two core arguments of a transitive clause, in reciprocal constructions the two participants act on each other. In both constructions the A and the O argument of a verb refer to the same entity and that is why in many languages the valence is reduced by one, resulting in an intransitive clause. There are lexical

and analytic reflexives and reciprocals and constructions where reflexive and reciprocal are expressed morphologically (Payne 2006: 241–244).

Morphological reflexives and reciprocals are examined in this thesis. These construction types express the reflexive and reciprocal function by a morpheme, most commonly a prefix in the NWSC languages, as shown below.

(1) Kom

kə-pa-ɪn   *(kei)*   *avuk*   *ɛŋ*
1.SG.POSS-father-ERG   1.SG   3.SG-beat   1SG
'My father beats me' (Kom: 114; glosses modified by this author)

(2) Kom

amani-ka   *in-vuk-hei*
3.PL-DISC   RR-beat-PL
'They beat each other' (Linda Konnerth field notes, glosses added by this author)

(3) Kom

kabiŋa   *in-muː-ɛŋ*
1.REFL   RR-see-1.SG
'I see myself' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

Example (1) shows a transitive sentence in Kom with the A argument 'father', that can be identified as transitive subject because of the ergative marking. By adding the reflexive and reciprocal morpheme *in-*, the sentence becomes intransitive, the verb requires only one argument, i.e. the valence is reduced by one. Therefore, only an S argument remains in the other two examples and the ergative marker is not present. The intransitive object is 'they' in (2) and 'I' in (3).

In causative constructions a 'causer' is added to the event, that can be fully described without the causer, i.e. no causer is necessary for the sentence to make sense. As soon, as the causer is added, the valence of the sentence is increased by one at least in morphological causative constructions and the causer is added as an argument. Causatives can be also lexical, analytic, and morphological. Again, the morphological constructions are examined in the thesis (Payne 2006: 258).

(4)   Falam Chin

    Cinte a   hni

    Cinte 3.SG   laugh.I

    'Cinte laughed.' (King 2010: 195; glosses modified by this author)

(5)   Falam Chin

    Parte   in   Cinte a   hni-ter

    Parte   ERG   Cinte 3.SG   laugh-CAUS

    'Parte made Cinte laugh.' (King 2010: 195; glosses modified by this author)

An intransitive clause is presented in (4), the sentence is complete on his own and does not need any additional information, not syntactically, nor semantically. By using a causative morpheme, as illustrated in (5) the valence is increased by one, i.e. the clause can take one additional argument and becomes transitive. The ergative marker marks the A argument *Parte*, while *Cinte* is the O argument and it is marked the same way with a zero marker as in (4), where *Cinte* is the S argument.

In the following section, information on valence and valence-changing constructions is given specifically for the NWSC languages.

2.2   Valence-changing constructions in NWSC

The group of South-Central languages shares a common feature, the verb stem alternation, which is the result of a nominalization process historically and might be important for the classification of verbs into transitive and intransitive. This feature exists in all South-Central languages but is not uniform at all. There are languages across the language family, where the use of the different verb stems (I and II) is dependent on the use of the verb either in a main clause (using stem I) or a subordinate clause (using stem II). But there also exist languages in which the use of the verb stem depends on the valence of the verb. If the verb is used intransitively, it appears in stem I and if it is used transitively, it occurs in stem II. Some languages do even have a third verb stem, stem III, that is used as causative. This verb stem alternation must always be kept in mind when talking about valence in the South-Central languages and also when talking about the Northwestern subgroup (van Bik 2006: 14–19).

As already mentioned above, case marking is an important aspect, when analyzing the valence and therefore also valence-changing constructions in the languages. The NWSC languages seem to be at least mostly languages following the ergative pattern and not the nominative-accusative pattern, because the whole Tibeto-Burman family shows this tendency and there are only few exceptions, that might show a rather nominative-accusative case pattern (DeLancey 2011: 9–11).

However, I cannot argue that the clauses analyzed below are transitive, because the A argument is marked with ergative, as it should be in an ergative-absolutive language as mentioned in section 2.1. On the one hand, the quality of the data is not sufficient for this and on the other hand, the marking of the A argument is more variable in many languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family, than it was explained in the previous section. The rule above describes rather where ergative marking is even allowed, but not where ergative marking actually occurs, because this is dependent on pragmatic aspects in many languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family (DeLancey 2011: 10–14).

During the description of the valence-changing operations, I will keep the ergative marking in mind, but I cannot argue with the ergative marking only, when analyzing whether a clause is intransitive or transitive. This is why I will try to focus mainly on the verbal morphology and try to classify the sentences into intransitive and transitive by the morphological features of verbs in each language.

In order to be able to refer to transitivity now, I orient myself mainly to the person marking on the verb forms. The verbal morphology is partially very complex in the languages and can be relevant for transitivity. While a few languages have no person marking on the verb at all – as Chothe (Singh 2008: 59) and Hmar (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 61) – some languages mark only the A or S argument – as Chiru (Chiru 2018: 190) and Lamkang (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 47) – and others mark both A/S argument and O argument – as Kom (Kom: 111–118), Anal (Ozerov 2019: 50) and the Barak Valley languages analyzed in this thesis (Haokip 2018: 175). Many languages have individually different features regarding person marking in the relation to transitivity. Monsang and Anal, for example, even make use of different types of person marking in intransitive and transitive sentences (Konnerth 2021: 35; Ozerov 2019: 50). It looks like there is a clear tendency that the 3rd person is not marked as clearly as the other persons. When 3rd person is the O-argument, it is almost never marked, when having a 3rd person A-argument it is also rarely marked and some languages do not even mark S argument if it is 3rd person (Konnerth 2021: 35; Ozerov 2019: 50; Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 47; Singh 2002;

Singh 2008: 59; Sharma & Singh 2011: 5; Chiru 2018: 190; Kom: 111–118; Baruah & Bapui 1996: 61 and Haokip 2018: 175). It is also important to note that in some languages there is a distinction between 3rd person and so-called speech-act-participants, which refer to 1st and 2nd person and are marked more strongly than 3rd person (Konnerth 2021: 35; Ozerov 2019: 50).

In the following section the description of valence-changing operation begins, the analysis starts with the causative forms.

3   Valence increasing constructions (Causative)

3.1   Overview

Morphological causatives in NWSC are mostly formed by prefixes, but sometimes also by a suffix or a combination of a prefix and a suffix. In the following section the morphological causatives are described. Starting with the prefixes used for the valence increasing construction. The table below shows a short overview of the causative constructions in the languages.

Table 1- Overview of causative constructions in NWSC

Language	Prefix	Suffix
Tarao	*m~ma- / kim-*	
Chiru	*ma-*	
Mongmi Maring	*ma-*	
Ranglong	*man-*	
Kom	*man-*	
Monsang	*miŋ-*	
Anal	*pɜ-*	
Lamkang	*pɜ-*	
Aimol		*-ti*
Hrangkhol		*-tìr / hên*
Hmar	*ín-*	*-tìr*

3.2   Prefixes

Two types of prefixes could be identified in the Northwestern languages for the formation of morphological causatives. Most of the languages use a prefix that starts with the bilabial nasal /*m*/, some of the languages use a prefix that starts with the bilabial plosive /*p*/.

In Tarao the prefix *m-* with its allomorph *ma-* could be identified for the causative construction, as shown in the examples below.

(6)   Tarao

vok-tak   kə-sa:k
pig-meat   1.SG-eat
'I'm eating pork.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

(7)   Tarao

kə-m-sa:k
1.SG-CAUS-eat
'I make him eat.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

(8)   Tarao

nə-m-sa:k
2.SG-CAUS-eat
'you make him eat.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

In comparison to the affirmative, non-causative sentence (example(6)), causative constructions are built with the prefix *m-* attached to the verb stem after the personal prefix in Tarao. In example (7) and (8) the O argument is not marked in the construction, probably because it is 3rd person singular and the A argument is a so-called 'speech act participant', i.e. 1st person singular or 2nd person singular. However, the object is marked in the following example, which also shows the use of the causative marker in combination with the negative marker *no-*. The reason for A and O marking could be, that the 2nd person singular acts on the 1st person singular.

(9)   Tarao

kə-m-sa:k   no-tsɤ
1.SG-CAUS-eat   NEG-2.SG
'You don't make me eat.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

The non-causative equivalent is:

(10) Tarao

ar-tak   *sa-no-aŋ*
chicken-meat   eat-NEG-1.SG
'I'm not eating chicken.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

It can be seen, that in both examples the A argument is marked by a personal suffix attached to the negative marker, the causative marker however is attached to the verb, after the personal prefix of the O argument and in front of the verb stem. Though, combining the negative with a 3rd person A argument and a 1st person O argument does not result in A marking with a personal suffix, as shown in the next example. Here, the negative marker receives the marking for the 1st person object, which could be again because now the 3rd person acts on a speech-act-participant.

(11) Tarao

kə-m-sa:k   *no-aŋ*
1.SG-CAUS-eat   NEG-1.SG
'He doesn't make me eat.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

An allomorph of the *m*-prefix seems to be a *ma-* prefix, which is used if the verb starts with the causative prefix, as shown in the two examples below.

(12) Tarao

ma-sa:k   *no-oŋ-tsɞ*
CAUS-eat   NEG-1.SG-2.SG
'I don't make you eat.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

(13) Tarao

ma-sa: *no-aŋ*

CAUS-eat   NEG-1.SG

'I don't make him eat.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

Here again, the A and O marking can be seen. In example (12) both A and O are marked on the negative marker, in example (13) only the A is marked, probably because a speech act participant is acting on the 3rd person.

In the literature about Tarao another form of causativation can be found, there seems to be a *kim-* prefix that is also used for the same valence-increasing construction. The prefix is shown in the examples below.

(14) Tarao

kim-troŋ

CAUS-speak

'cause to speak' (Singh 2002: 62; glosses added by this author)

(15) Tarao

kim-pa

CAUS-read

'cause to read' (Singh 2002: 62; glosses added by this author)

(16) Tarao

kim-lon

CAUS-throw

'cause to throw' (Singh 2002: 62; glosses added by this author)

I am not sure, whether this prefix is another marker for causatives or if it is just a combination of the *m-* prefix found in the field notes and some kind of *ki-* prefix, which could be a nominalizer or a marker for infinitive. It is also possible that the prefix for 1st person singular *kə-* merges with the causative prefix *m-*, which may result in the pronunciation as /*kim-*/. In Singh (2002) no indication for a *ki-* nominalizing prefix could be found, but it must be noted, that the reflexive

prefix *ki-* can be found in the language and has a detransitivizing effect. However, *kV-* as a nominalizing prefix is very common across the Tibeto-Burman languages and is used as the citation form of the verb in Lamkang for example. In Tarao it marks adjectives and refers to person groups when combined with the noun *mi* for 'person' (Konnerth 2016: 12–14). Therefore considering the data in the other NWSC languages and the fact that the citation form for Lamkang verb is the *ki-* prefix, I would assume that this is also the case in Tarao and the causative prefix is only *m-*.

The *ma-* prefix for causative constructions was also found in the data of Chiru. This prefix has also a big number of allomorphs because the vowel in the prefix assimilates to the vowel of the verb stem. The examples below show the causative construction in Chiru.

(17) Chiru

    má-tàn

    CAUS-run

    'to make someone run' (Chiru 2018: 123; glosses added by this author)

This example shows the causative prefix *ma-* with an infinite verb form. The vowel in the prefix stays /á/, because the verb stem of /*tàn*/ also contains the /*a*/. In the following two examples the causative is used with the verb form for 1st person singular (18) and 3rd person singular (19). As already mentioned below, the prefix changes its vowel to fit to the vowel of the verb stem and the personal prefix also changes and assimilates to the verb stem.

(18) Chiru

    kɔ̀-mɔ́-cɔ̀m

    ka-ma-cɔ̀m

    1.SG-CAUS-jump

    'I cause to jump' (Chiru 2018: 115; glosses added by this author)

(19) Chiru

ɛ̀-mɛ́-cɛ̀
à-má-cɛ̀
3.SG-CAUS-wake
's/he causes to wake' (Chiru 2018: 115; glosses added by this author)

It would be very interesting to see how the language works in case of object marking on the verb, but unfortunately no data was found.

Another language, that seems to use the *ma-* prefix for causative constructions is Mongmi Maring. In realis sentences no causative marking was found, as shown in the examples below. Example (20) shows the intransitive clause and example (21) the equivalent transitive clause.

(20) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

amo kathap
3.SG weep
'He weeps' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(21) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

amo amo-re   kathap-pe
3.SG 3.SG-OBJ   weep-DECL
'He makes him weep' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

In comparison to the intransitive clause, the sentence with the causative construction has a suffix *-pe*. At first, I thought, this could be the causative marker in Mongmi Maring, but the suffix can also be found in non-causative sentences as in (22) and (23) and seems to be a marker for declarative. It seems like it is a suffix consisting of a consonant and the vowel /*e*/. The consonant is always the coda consonant of the previous syllable.

(22) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

mianei	*kai*	*amo-re*	*kapʰiti-ŋe*
yesterday	1.SG	3.SG-OBJ	beat-DECL

'Yesterday I beat him.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

(23) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

kai	*ʃia-ŋe*
1.SG	go-DECL

'I go.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

However, Mongmi Maring seems to have a causative marking in irrealis or non-affirmative sentences, as shown in the examples below. I think that the *ma-* prefix could be the causative marking because it can be found as causative marker in Chiru and Tarao. Example (24) shows the occurrence of this *ma-* prefix in an imperative sentence, while example (25) shows the occurrence in a negative sentence.

(24) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

amo-re	*ma-sa-ro*
3.SG-OBJ	CAUS-eat/feed-IMP

'Feed him!' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

(25) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

kai	*nausən*	*sa*	*ma-sa*	*mo-ŋe*
1.SG	baby	eat/feed?	CAUS-eat/feed	NEG-DECL

'I didn't feed the baby.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

Another assumption about causative constructions in Mongmi Maring must be mentioned here. In the field notes, I have found the words for 'eat' and 'feed'.

(26) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

> *kasà* 'to eat'
>
> *kasá* 'to feed' (Linda Konnerth field notes)

I assume, that the tonal difference may also express the causative in Mongmi Maring, which may also be the reason, why I have not found any example in realis with a causative marker, because the tonal structure is not frequently marked in the field notes.

Another prefix, that might be related to the *m(a)*-prefixes found in the languages mentioned above is the *man-* causative prefix found in Kom and Ranglong.

(27) Ranglong

Ralngam-in	*dôikûng*	*pú*	*a-vók-ngái*
Ralngam-ERG	magic	man	3.SG-pig-2.PL

a-màn-sûal-pè-na
3.SG-CAUS-fight-BEN-SUB:then
'Ralngam caused Dôikûngpu's pigs to fight among themselves.' (Haokip 2021: 131; glosses modified by this author)

(28) Ranglong

a-pâ	*há*	*sîal*	*chûng-a*	*a-man-sut-a*
3.SG-father	DET	mithun	on-LOC	3.SG-sit-SUB:then

'He carried his father on the back of the mithun' (Haokip 2021: 132; glosses modified by this author)

Example (27) shows the causative prefix *man-* with an already transitive verb. The valence is increased from two to three by the prefix here, while in example (28) the prefix is used with an intransitive verb 'sit' and increases the valence from one to two. I would have expected an ergative marking on the A argument in example (28) as it is the case in example (27), but ergative marking might be optional in the language or depending on pragmatic features according to DeLancey (2011: 13). Concerning the verbal marking on the verb, verbs in Ranglong only agree with their A argument if the O is 3rd person in the transitive paradigm (Haokip

2018: 175). This means, that we have a transitive construction in (28) due to the causative prefix and a ditransitive construction in (27).

Below, the examples from Kom with the homophone causative prefix *man-* are shown.

(29) Kom

    kein   naŋ   ka-muː-ce
    1.SG 2.SG   1.SG-see-2.SG
    'I see you.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(30) Kom

    naŋ   ka-man-moː-ce
    2.SG 1.SG-CAUS-see-2.SG
    'I make you see it' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

By comparing example (29) and example (30) the causative prefix *man-* is attached to the verb stem after the personal prefix of the A argument, which is 1st person singular here. The 3rd person singular O is not marked in the causative example (30), which could be because of the speech-act-participant A and O arguments. It must be noted that the verb stem is a little bit different in the causative example. The reason may be because of verb stem alternation attested in the South-Central languages or because of allomorphy but could also be a simple writing error in the field notes. Example (29) shows the causative prefix with the verb 'beat'.

(31) Kom

    ka-man-vuk-ce
    1.SG-CAUS-beat-2.SG
    'I make you beat him' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses adder by this author)

In this example the A argument is marked with a preverbal marker for 1st person singular again, the 2nd person O argument is marked postverbally as in the previous example and the 3rd person O is not marked either. The *man-* prefix can be found after the personal marker for A again.

In Monsang, another bilabial prefix is used as causative marker.

(32) Monsang

mí　　　　*ńtʰùm*　*nɔ̀r-rí:-hè-nè*

person　　　three　stand-again-PL-IPFV:INTR

'three persons are standing' (pear story UK, 21.1)

(33) Monsang

kí-dʒá:r-lè

1.SG-sleep-when

'while I was sleeping' (MolW Tingtingtingpa, 80.1)

Example (32) and (33) on the one hand show simple intransitive clauses with the verb 'stand' and 'sleep'. The intransitive character of the sentence in (32) can be recognized by the *-nè* suffix, which can only be used with intransitive sentences, while example (33) has a preverbal subject marking with the 1st person singular, which actually is part of transitive paradigms. However, I assume that the sentence is still intransitive, but the preverbal marker is used because of the subordinate *-lè* suffix, which is in the postverbal position. Examples (34) and (35) on the other hand show that both the verbs 'stand' and 'sleep' can be used in transitive constructions, if they are combined with the *míŋ-* causative prefix.

(34) Monsang

sáikál　　　*á-míŋ-ŋɔ̀r-náʔ*

bicycle　　　3-CAUS-stand-IPFV:TR

'(He) makes the bicycle stand.' (pear story RW 39; glosses modified by this author)

(35) Monsang

á-mín-dʒá:r

3-CAUS-sleep

'cause them to sleep' (Two tree 20.1)

The transitive character of the verb in (34) is clear because of the imperfective marker *-náʔ*, that is only used with transitive verbs (Konnerth 2021: 40). The transitive character of the verb in (35) is not clear, but it seems like the person marker marks the O and not the A argument of

the clause, but no plural marking is attached on the verb. The two examples above show also that the nasal in the *míŋ-* prefix assimilates to the first vowel of the verb stem.

However, there is some evidence that another causative prefix existed in the language, which is not productive anymore. Still, there are some verbs that use this prefix to receive a causative meaning. Below, two examples are listed that provide strong evidence for the assumption, that there was a *be-* prefix as productive causative marker in the language. These two verbs have a causative form starting with *be-* and a corresponding intransitive form without the *be-* prefix.

(36) Monsang

bétʰɔ́ 'wake up (somebody)' (transitive) *(háŋ-)tʰɔ́* 'wake up' (intransitive)
bèʈʰò 'finish:I (something)'(transitive) *ʈò ~ ʈúʔ* 'finish' (intransitive)
(Linda Konnerth; field notes)

It must be mentioned that the verb stem becomes aspirated in the second example in (36) from intransitive *ʈò* to transitive *ʈʰò*, that could be a source of the Tibeto-Burman *s- prefix, since this aspiration is found in other South-Central languages (Peterson 2003: 418). There exists a list with several verbs that imply, at least in a metaphorical sense a causative meaning.

(37) Monsang

bédʷú   'crave'
békʰɔ́   'split'
bésàŋ   'reply'
bètʰʷù   'burn (transitive)'
bétʃʷù   'hold'
béʈʰʷúm   'finish (transitirve)'
(Linda Konnerth field notes)

Of course, there are also some verbs, that do not support the hypotheses, as shown in (38), but there is another reason to assume that a productive *be*-prefix existed in the language.

(38) Monsang

béļɔ́	'remain'
bérè	'be pregnant'
bésá	'be hot'
bésáʔ	'be thick'
béʈʰɔ̀m	'start'

(Linda Konnerth, field notes)

Although these intransitive verbs in (38) do not support the hypothesis that a *be-* causative prefix could have existed. The languages Anal and Lamkang use a prefix with a bilabial plosive to build causative constructions. This prefix is voiceless, not like the *be-* prefix in Monsang and is shown in the following examples.

There were some examples for a *pə-* causative prefix in the data of Anal. In (39) no subject marking is found on the verb, which might be because both transitive subject A and the O argument are 3rd person and 3rd person is not always marked on the verbs in the NWSC languages. In Anal the 3rd person A argument is not marked explicitly either, so the plural marking on the verb could refer to both the A and O argument formally, but not contextually (Ozerov 2019: 30).

(39) Anal

bú.tɕé   pə-báːl-ʈɔ́ːjè-nú
raw.rice   CAUS-eat.with.palm-AUG.PL-NFUT
'He fed them with a lot of rice.' (Ozerov 2019: 30; glosses modified by this author)

(40) Anal

kà-ː-a-pə-tʰé-kʰín
1-NON.AG-IMP.TR-CAUS-see.PL
'Show (sg.) it to us.' (Ozerov 2019: 32; glosses modified by this author)

There is also only an object marking on the verb in example (40). Both the preverbal marker for first person and the plural marking on the verb refer to the O argument and the transitive

imperative is used. This shows that the verb has a transitive character as soon as the causative marker *pə*- is attached.

Lamkang also seems to have a *pə*- prefix as causative marker, but this prefix seems to have allomorphs unlike the marker in Anal. See the examples below:

(41) Lamkang

pu-bul
CAUS-smear
'cause to smear' (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 35)

(42) Lamkang

pə(r)-thum
CAUS-leap
'cause to leap' (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 35)

(43) Lamkang

pə(r)-tit
CAUS-PAIN
'cause pain' (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 35)

(44) Lamkang

po-mang-da
CAUS-waste-PR
'(he) has wasted it' (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 53)

The [*r*] consonant between the causative prefix and the verb stem does not have an own meaning. In Thounaojam & Chelliah (2007: 35) it is classified as "an apparently intrusive consonant", that may occur after the first syllable of a word, mostly after a prefix. It may have had some meaning in the past, but it has lost its meaning and is meaningless now (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 36). Concerning the allomorphs, there is a hypothesis for their occurrence. The case may be vowel harmony, depending on the position of the vowel of the root, but as it can be seen in example (41), where vowel harmony can be found and (42) where the root has the

same vowel [*u*], but no vowel harmony can be attested, it is still not clear, under which conditions vowel harmony really occurs. The assumption is, that vowel harmony does not occur in unstressed syllables (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 34).

In summary, the causative prefixes can be either divided in only one group, as prefixes with a bilabial onset, or in two groups, as prefixes with a bilabial nasal /*m*/ in the onset and languages with the *p(ə)-* prefix. It cannot be said for sure, whether all languages using the bilabial nasal in the causative prefix belong together, since the prefixes are quite different. However, there is strong evidence, that at least Tarao, Chiru and maybe even Mongmi Maring use the same *ma-* prefix. Though, in Mongmi Maring it can be only attested in irrealis. Whether the Kom and Ranglong *man-* prefix and the Monsang *miŋ-* prefix have the same origin and the same origin as the prefixes in Tarao, Chiru and Mongmi Maring cannot be said. It is very interesting that there seems to exist a labial causative prefix across the languages of the Trans-Himalayan language family (Jacques 2019: 1) and many of the NWSC languages seem to share this prefix. Its origin is not clear yet, but it is assumed, that the labial historical prefixes in the NWSC languages might be historically related to the labial causative prefixes attested in the Rgyalrongic languages and are an alternative to the Proto-South-Central *s- prefix used in many other South-Central languages (Jacques 2019: 2-4; 8).

3.3 Suffixes

In the data collected from all the NWSC languages, two languages could be identified that use suffixes for causative formation. Aimol seems to use a *-ti* suffix, while two different suffixes *-tìr* and *-hên* can be found in the data for Hrangkhol. See the examples for the *-ti* suffix in Aimol below.

(45)   Aimol

   tʃul-ti-ro
   fall-CAUS-IMP
   'Drop it' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(46) Aimol

tʃul-ti-ma-ro
fall-CAUS-NEG-IMP
'Don't let it fall' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(47) Aimol

an-mel   kan-mu-ti-ro
3-PL   RR-see-CAUS-IMP
'Make them see each other.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(48) Aimol

bu   nek-ti-ro
?   eat-CAUS-IMP
'Feed' (Linda Konnerth field notes, glosses added by this author)

Example (45) and (46) show the use of the causative marker in an affirmative and a negative sentence. The marker is attached directly to the verb stem, the negative marker occurs after the suffix. It seems that the object is not marked on the verb if it is 3rd person. Subject marking cannot be examined here because the sentences are imperative. The meaning of *bu* in example (48) is not clear for me.

Unfortunately, only imperative examples were found in the Aimol data, so that it was not obvious at first, whether the suffix *-ti* or the suffix *-ro* is the marker for causative. I assume, that the *-ti* suffix marks the causative, since other South-Central languages also use the *-ro* suffix as a marker for imperative, as shown in the examples below.

(49) Monsang

tʰè:-ró
kill-IMP
'Kill!' (Friendship 109.1)

(50) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

sə-ro

eat-IMP

'Eat!' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

The other language that uses a suffix for causative marking is Hrangkhol. In the data, two suffixes were found that are used for causative marking. The suffixes are *-tìr* and *-hên. -tìr* may have the same origin as the *-ti* suffix in Aimol or to the *-ter* suffix in some of the Central South-Central languages that will be mentioned in section 5. Van Bik (2020: 295) states, that the *-ter* suffix can be traced back to the verb **tiir* in Proto-Central-South-Central, which means 'to send', so it is interesting, whether only the causative suffix *-tìr* appears in Hrangkhol or 'to send' is also related to the causative suffix in the language. The origin of the *-hên* suffix cannot be explained by the data available for me. The examples below show the suffixes of Hrangkhol.

(51) Hrangkhol

ìnchèl-tìr   a-tùm

send-CAUS   3.SG-want

'she wanted to send him' (Haokip 2021: 107; glosses modified by this author)

(52) Hrangkhol

ni-tûng-tìr-ròi

2.SG-stay-CAUS-IMP:2.PL

'Allow me to stay' (Haokip 2021: 117; glosses modified by this author)

(53) Hrangkhol

a-chŭ-tìr-tà

3.SG-teach-CAUS-PST

'he taught her (magic)' (Haokip 2021: 113; glosses modified by this author)

(54) Hrangkhol

sìlkái ìrbel   an-ìrchû-hên-tàk-a
dress wear   3.PL-teach-CAUS-PST-SUB:then
'They taught the naked people how to dress.' (Haokip 2021: 103; glosses modified by this author)

I do not know the difference between the two causative suffixes. At first, I assumed that it is depending on the verb, whether *-tìr* or *- hên* is used, but example (53) and (54) show that both prefixes can be used with the verb 'teach'. However, the verb form is different in the two examples. We have *chŭ* for 'teach' in example (53) combined with the suffix *-tìr* and we have *ìrchû* 'teach' with the suffix *- hên* for causative. Actually, I have also found an example in the data, where *ìrchû* is glossed as 'learn' (Haokip 2021: 109), so maybe the two causative forms exist separately for intransitive and transitive verbs. As for the origin of the causative prefix, the verb 'send' means indeed *-tìr* in the language as shown in (55).

(55) Hrangkhol

a-va-tìr
3.SG-DIR:away-send
'she sent […]' (Haokip 2021: 105; glosses modified by this author)

In general, it can be said that only two of the NWSC languages examined in this thesis use a suffix for causative marking. It could be possible that the suffixes *-ti* in Aimol and *-tìr* in Hrangkhol are related to each other, because Aimol might have lost the final [*r*], but there is no evidence for this. It is not possible that the [*r*] is only lost in my examples because of the following *-ro* suffix, because in example (46) the *-ma* negation suffix follows. So it is not clear, whether the *ti-* suffix in Aimol and the *-tir* suffix in Hrangkhol have the same origin, but it might be possible.

3.4   Circumfixes

One of the languages uses both a prefix *in-* and a suffix *-tir* for causative marking. The following examples show causative verbs in Hmar.

(56) Hmar

ìn-én-tìr
CAUS-see-CAUS
'cause x to see' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 63; glosses added by this author)

(57) Hmar

ìn-tièm-tír
CAUS-read-CAUS
'cause x to read' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 63; glosses added by this author)

(58) Hmar

in-cù:k-tìr
CAUS-learn-CAUS
'teach' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 63; glosses added by this author)

The language uses a prefixal *in-* and the suffix *-tir* that can also be found in Hrangkhol and may be related to the *-ter* suffix found in the Central languages. Unfortunately the verb 'send' was not found in the data, therefore it cannot be said whether only the suffix is comparable to the Central South-Central languages or also the verb 'to send'. Example (58) shows a verb, that is glossed as 'teach' in Baruah & Bapui (1996: 96), but *cù:k* can be found in Baruah & Bapui (1996: 145) glossed as 'learn', which means, that the intransitive verb 'learn' increases its valence by this construction and becomes transitive. The prefix *in-* is homophone with the presumed detransitivizing prefix in the language. There seems to be a *sùk-* prefix in Hmar, that has also a causative function as shown in the example below.

(59) Hmar

lien	'wide'	*sùk-lien*		'widen'
záu	'wide'	*sùk-záu*		'widen'
lùm	''hot'	*sùk-lúm*		'heat'

 (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 95)

I assume that there is one causative construction for intransitive verbs to make them transitive, as shown in examples (56) and (57) and another construction that turns adjectives into verbs

and therefore increases the valence from zero to one. However, another option for causativation was found in the Hmar grammar. At least two verbs can only use the *in-* prefix without the corresponding suffix for causativation, as shown below.

(60) Hmar

    ìn-lúm   'heat'

    ìn- tuŋ   'sit (cause to sitting)' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 109)

I do not know why the prefix is sufficient here, but I think that the regular causative is indeed the combination of the *in-* prefix and the *-tir* suffix. While *-tir* is also found in Hrangkhol and might be related to the causative suffix *-ter* in the Central South-Central languages, the occurrence of the prefix *in-* is not clear, but the prefix is homophone to the reflexive prefix attested in many of the NWSC languages.

4 Valence decreasing constructions

4.1 Overview

In the case of valence-decreasing constructions, due to the scope of this thesis, I have only dealt with reflexive and reciprocal constructions. However, the reflexive and reciprocal marker is often the same in the languages of the world and there are also examples for this in the NWSC languages. In addition, the reflexive and reciprocal markers can have other detransitivizing functions. Below, a short overview of the reflexive and reciprocal markers is given. The term "detransitivizer" refers to the languages that use the reflexive and reciprocal marker also for other functions.

Table 2 - Overview of detransitivizing constructions in NWSC

Language	Detransitivizer	Reflexive	Reciprocal
Monsang	*ŋ-*		
Hmar	*in- ?*		
Anal	*i-*		
Ranglong		*n-*	
Kom		*in-*	
Sakachep		*in-*	

Chorei		*in-*	
Saihriem		*ki- / in-*	*-in*
Tarao		*ki-*	*n-*
Hrangkhol		*ki- / ir-*	
Chiru	-	*ra*	
Mongmi Maring		*r(ə)-*	
Purum		*kin-*	personal prefixes
Aimol		*kan-*	
Lamkang		*- čə*	*- luŋŋe*
Chothe		*- mək*	*- thak*

4.2 Functions of detransitivizers

For Monsang and Anal there is clear evidence that the marker used for reflexive and reciprocal has also other detransitivizing functions.

Monsang uses the velar nasal *ŋ-* for reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the nasal assimilates to the following sound of the verb stem as shown in the examples below.

    (61)   Monsang

        ḿ-bɜ̀-né
        DETRANS-look.at-IPFV:INTR
        'He's looking at himself' (Konnerth 2021: 43)

    (62)   Monsang

        ǹ-dɔ́ː-hé-nè
        DETRANS-love-PL-IPFV:INTR
        'they love each other' (Konnerth 2021: 44)

Example (61) shows the reflexive function of the velar nasal, assimilated to the following bilabial consonant and realized as /m/. The clause in (62) shows the use of the nasal as reciprocal marker, the nasal assimilates to the dental consonant and is realized as /n/. The valence reduction is shown by the imperfective suffix *-ne* that can only be attached to intransitive verbs, while the verbs 'love' and 'look at' actually have a transitive character. The two examples illustrate

that singular forms with the marker are interpreted as reflexives, plural forms mostly as reciprocals (Konnerth 2021: 43). Other detransitivizing functions of the nasal are shown below.

(63)   Monsang

ŋ́-sʷúr   *ŋá-tʰoː-kʰìŋ*
DETRANS-catch   fish-with-past?
'fishes that are caught' (Fauna Flora 51.1)

(64)   Monsang

ḿ-vé-lû-ŋ
DETRANS-join-without/instead-ADVL
'without the inclusion (of the legs)' (Friendship 17.1)

In example (63) the nasal is combined with a transitive verb in a relative clause without an agent. One argument is missing and the nasal serves as detransitivizer. In clause (64) the nasal is used as some kind of nominalizer and decreases the number of arguments. It must be noted here that there is a mutually intelligible language Moyon, that uses an *in-* prefix for at least reciprocal constructions (Kongkham 2010: 74; 82), but maybe also for other functions of detransitivization. It may be an equivalent to the *ŋ-* prefix in Monsang and related to the *in-* prefixes that have reflexive functions and are described below.

In Anal, the reflexive and reciprocal prefix *i-* is used and has also another detransitivizing function, the passive (Ozerov 2019: 32). Below, the use of the prefix in a reciprocal construction can be seen.

(65)   Anal

i-lò-sín-súŋ   lho   a- tʰúː-tɕəka
DETRANS-love-INCL-SUB.IRR.SAP   friend PREF-become-INCL.FUT/HORT
'We will become 'lʰo' friends and love each other' (Ozerov 2019: 35; glosses modified by this author)

In Ozerov (2019: 32) the passive and reflexive use of this *i-* prefix is only mentioned without any examples. It is important to note that there exists a homonymic *i-* prefix as nominalizer and another for participant reference that works as an S-referring noun combined with intransitive

verbs, as shown in (66) or as A-indexing relative clause, when accompanied by an SAP posses-sive prefix, as shown in (67). Maybe, all three *i-* prefixes have the same origin and can be used as a general detransitivizer (Ozerov 2019: 34).

(66) Anal

sá   *i-tʰə̀*
animal   NMLZ-die
'a dead animal, an animal that died.' (Ozerov 2019: 34)

(67) Anal

ka-i-bùm   *sinnɨ́*
1-NMLZ-help   woman
'The wonam who helps me' (lit.: My helper, the woman) (Ozerov 2019: 34; glosses modified by this author)

It must be mentione that Monsang has also an *i-* prefix as nominalizer as shown below.

(68) Monsang

í-dʒʷúr- sáʔ
NMLZ-sell-by.oneself
'for selling' (Flora Fauna 16.1)

As it can be seen above, in Anal and Monsang there is evidence, that the reflexive and reciprocal marker serves as detransitivizer in many other cases. In Hmar there is not such strong evidence, but some indications for a general detransitivizer. In the data, no reflexive examples were fond, but two reciprocal constructions with an *in-* prefix.

(69) Hmar

in-hmá-túo ~ in-hma-tó
DETRANS?-face-?
'facing each other' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 13; glosses added by this author)

(70) Hmar

ìn-bé   *sé*   *sèr*

DETRANS?-speak   ?   ?

'whispering to each other' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 112; glosses added by this author)

I do not know the function of *sé sèr* in example (69), but I assume that it is some kind of ideophone that is needed to convert the meaning of 'speak' into 'whisper'. The problem with the *in-* prefix in Hmar is that there are some verbs that use this prefix without any indication of some detransitivizing, reflexive or reciprocal meaning. See the examples below:

(71) Hmar

ínsàŋ   'tall' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 58)

(72) Hmar

ìntém   'to taste'
ìnlùm   'to heat'
ìncèiná   'dress'
ìn-rím   'hard working'
(Baruah & Bapui 1996: 7)

(73) Hmar

ìnhnèl   'play' (Baruah & Bapui 1996: 71)

(74) Hmar

ìnfíem   'play'
inhlíem   'injure'
ìnráŋ   'quick'
(Baruah & Bapui 1996: 97)

Some of these verbs starting with *in-* have an intransitive character, because they serve as adjectives, like 'tall', 'quick' or 'hard-working'. This would be evidence for *in-* as a detransitivizing prefix like *ŋ-* in Monsang and maybe the *i-* in Anal, but there are also verbs starting with this prefix that cannot be intransitive at all, as 'play', 'injure', 'taste' or 'heat'. I assume that a

detransitivizing *in-* prefix exists, because of the reciprocal examples and the intransitive verbs used as adjectives. Moreover this *in-* prefix, that serves either as reflexive or reciprocal marker or both, as shown in the following sections, can be found in many NWSC languages.

I assume that other NWSC languages also have a general detransitivizer, but there is no evidence in the data. This is the reason why the following sections are divided into reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

4.3 Reflexive Constructions

Reflexive constructions use mostly prefixes in the NWSC languages.

Ranglong, one of the languages of the Barak Valley, has a *n-* reflexive prefix. No reciprocal examples were found in the data. The examples below show the use of this *n-* reflexive marker.

(75) Ranglong

ka=thatei=n   *ka-n-mu*

1.SG-self-ERG   1.SG-REFL-see

'I saw myself' (Haokip 2018: 202; glosses modified by this author)

(76) Ranglong

koi=ni   *na=thei=n*   *na-n-mu*

1=PL   1.PL=self=ERG   1.PL-REFL-see

'We saw ourselves' (Haokip 2018: 202; glosses modified by this author)

An ergative marker can be found on the subject in both examples, but ergativity is something quite variable in some of the South-Central languages and does not necessarily express that no valence-reduction occurred. The person marking on the verb shows only a marking of one argument, most likely the transitive or intransitive subject. This would rather mean that the verb belongs to the intransitive paradigm, because the verb agrees with A and O in transitive patterns in Ranglong (Haokip 2018: 175). It can be seen that the same reflexive marking occurs for singular (see example (75)) and plural (see example (76)). There is a difference in the personal pronouns of the clause with 1st person singular and the clause with 1st person plural. A personal pronoun with the plural marker *-ni* is added, but not only in example (76), but also for 2nd person plural in (77) and 3rd person plural in (78). This may have something to do with the

interpretation as reflexive instead of reciprocal, but since no reciprocal examples were found in the data, this cannot be checked.

(77) Ranglong

> *nang=ni*   *na=thei=n*   *na-n-mu=u*
> 2=PL   2.SG=self=ERG   2.SG-REFL-see-PL
> 'You saw yourselves' (Haokip 2018: 202; glosses modified by this author)

(78) Ranglong

> *ama-ni*   *a=thathei=n*   *a-n-mu-u*
> 3-PL   3=self=ERG   3.PL-REFL-see-PL
> 'They saw themselves' (Haokip 2018: 202; glosses modified by this author)

Other languages of the Barak Valley – Sakachep, Chorei and Saihriem – and another language – Kom – use an *in-* prefix for reflexive and Kom even for reciprocal forms. This leads me to the assumption that the *n-* prefix in Ranglong is related to the *in-* prefixes found in the other languages and is maybe a phonologically reduced form. Comparable to difference between the reciprocal form in Moyon and the detransitivizer in Monsang mentioned in section 4.2.

Starting with Kom, the *in-* reflexive prefixes are illustrated below.

(79) Kom

> *kabiŋa*   *in-muː-ɛŋ*
> 1.REFL   RR-see-1.SG
> 'I see myself' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

In intransitive paradigms the verb in Kom agrees with the S argument for 1st person, using a personal marker, that varies in the different Kom dialects and is *ɛŋ* in this example. In transitive paradigms the same marker is used for object marking and I think that the A argument is also marked by a preverbal marker, but this is not clear in the transitive examples found in the grammar of Kom (Kom: 111; 114). The transitive sentence is shown below.

(80) Kom

kə-pa-ɪn	*(kei)*	*a-vuk*	*ɛŋ*
1.SG.POSS-father-ERG	1.SG	3.SG-beat	1SG

'My father beats me' (Kom: 114; glosses modified by this author)

In Kom (114) the word *avuk* and all its variation in the different dialects are glossed as 'beat', but in Linda Konnerth's field notes, the word for 'beat' is only *vuk*, as shown in example (81). *vuk* is a common word for 'beat' in many South-Central languages as presented in van Bik (2006: 284), while the prefix *a-* is a common marker for 3rd person singular.

(81) Kom

amani-ka	*in-vuk-hei*
3.PL-DISC	RR-beat-PL

'They beat each other' (Linda Konnerth field notes, glosses added by this author)

Since in example (79) no object marker is found, this is evidence for the valence reduction by the *in-* prefix. Other languages using the *in-* prefix are the three Barak languages Sakachep, Chorei and Saihriem.

The examples for Sakachep are presented below.

(82) Sakachep

kei-le-kei	*ka-n-mu*
1.SG-CONJ-1.SG	1.SG-REFL-see

'I saw myself' (Haokip 2018: 201; glosses modified by this author)

(83) Sakachep

nang-le-nang	*na-n-mu*
2.SG-CONJ-2.SG	2.SG-REFL-see

'You saw yourself' (Haokip 2018: 201; glosses modified by this author)

(84) Sakachep

kei-ni-le-kei-ni   *kin-in-mu*
1-PL-CONJ-1-PL   1.PL-REFL-see
'We saw ourselves' (Haokip 2018: 201; glosses modified by this author)

In (82) and (83) a reduction of the *in-* prefix to *n-* is shown, which may be evidence for the *in-* prefixes in Sakachep, Chorei and Saihriem to be related to the *n-* prefix in Ranglong. The *in-* prefix in these two examples merges with the personal prefix. In (84) it is shown that the *in-* prefix appears in the plural forms without any reduction. In Chorei the same reduction can be attested in the singular forms, which is shown below.

(85) Chorei

ka=thathei=n   *ka-n-mu*
1.SG=self=ERG   1.SG-REFL-see
'I saw myself' (Haokip 2018: 201; glosses modified by this author)

(86) Chorei

na=thathei=n   *na-n-mu*
2.SG=self=ERG   2.SG-REFL-see
'You saw yourself' (Haokip 2018: 201; glosses modified by this author)

(87) Chorei

nan=thei=n   *nan=in-mu*
2.PL=self=ERG   2.PL=REFL-see
'You saw yourselves' (Haokip 2018: 201; glosses modified by this author)

Example (87) shows again the *in-* prefix, example (85) and (86) the reduced *n-* prefix. An ergative marker is added to the reflexive pronouns in all three examples. But I do not think, that the examples are transitive clauses, because no object agreement marker *mi* can be found in the 1st person example (85), which should be the case in transitive paradigms in Chorei (Haokip 2018: 175).

In Saihriem, also an *in-* prefix is used for reflexive constructions, but there is another *ki-* prefix, that serves as reflexive marker. Here again, as in the other two Barak Valley languages, the *in-*

prefix merges with the 1st and the 2nd person singular, for the 3rd person, an *i-* prefix instead of the *in-* or *n-* prefix occurs.

(88) Saihriem

ke-le-kei   *ka-n-hmu*
1.SG-CONJ-1.SG   1SG-REFL-see
'I see myself' (Haokip 2018: 200; glosses modified by this author)

(89) Saihriem

nang-le-nang   *i-n-hmu*
2.SG-CONJ-2.SG   2.SG-REFL-see
'You see yourself' (Haokip 2018: 200; glosses modified by this author)

(90) Saihriem

ama-le-ama   *a-i-hmu*
3.SG-CONJ-3.SG   3.SG-REFL-see
'He/she/it saw himself/herself/itself' Haokip 2018: 200; glosses modified by this author

Example (88) and (89) show the *n-* prefix found in many of the other Barak Valley languages, while example (90) shows the reduction of the *in-* prefix to *i-*. I do not know what the reason for this could be. In the plural forms of reflexive constructions again the *in-* prefix, that was already seen in other languages above, can be attested, as shown in (91).

(91) Saihriem

kei-ni-le-kei-ni   *kan-in-hmu*
1-PL-CONJ-1-PL   1.PL-RELF-see
'We saw ourselves' (Haokip 2018: 200; glosses modified by this author)

Since many languages have this *in-* prefix that can be reduced to *n-* in some examples and also to *i-* in example (90), I would assume, that the nasal prefixes are related to the *in-* prefixes and the *i-* prefix, that is used in Anal, may be related to them, too.

In the data, there was another prefix glossed as reflexive in Saihriem, in example as shown below.

(92) Saihriem

Ngâchângpâ nî   khàt   chĕm   ki-tâat-a
Ngâchângpâ day   one   knife REFL
'One day, Ngâchângpâ was sharpening a knife.' (Haokip 2021: 86; glosses modified by this author)

I do not know, why this example is glossed as reflexive, but there is another NWSC language, that uses the *ki-* prefix for real reflexive constructions.

(93) Tarao

ki-sak
REFL-eat
'to eat oneself' (Singh 2002: 62; glosses added by this author)

(94) Tarao

ki-pa
REFL-read
'to read oneself' (Singh 2002: 62; glosses added by this author)

In the Tarao grammar examples like (93) and (94) are found, without any person marking. So, it cannot be said, whether the clauses are transitive or intransitive and the valence reducing function of the *ki-* prefix cannot be proven. It can be seen that the *ki-* prefix is attached to the verb stem. Example (95) shows that the personal prefix for 1st person singular is homophone to this reflexive prefix and it also shows how person marking works in transitive clauses in Tarao.

(95) Tarao

kəy   bu   ki-sak
1.SG rice   1.SG-eat
'I eat rice.' (Singh 2002: 80; glosses modified by this author)

(96) Tarao

kə-taksak   ki-mu
1.SG-self   1.SG-see
'I see myself' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

Actually, no difference between the person marking in a transitive clause (95) and a reflexive clause (96) can be found. So, I cannot say anything about the valence reducing function of the prefix. But there is evidence in the other languages using this *ki-* prefix, that the prefix is a detransitivizer. In a Northern South Central language, Sizang Chin, the *ki-* prefix is used for reflexive, middle, reciprocal and passive constructions and is therefore a valence decreasing construction in this language (Davis 2017: 36). Another indication for a detransitivizing function of the *ki-* prefix in Tarao is that it is used for indicating adjectives in the language and is a nominalizer in Lamkang for example (Konnerth 2016: 12–14).

Another NWSC languages seems to have examples for *ki-* as reflexive prefix. It is another Barak Valley language, Hrangkhol. The use of the *ki-* prefix in the language is presented below.

(97) Hrangkhol

a   pú-n   *lŭng   phêer phà   chûng-a*   *ki-tôi*
3.SG grandfather-ERG   stone   flat   wide   on-LOC   REFL-sit

tîn   a-sàm-a
QUOT 3.SG-shout-SUB:then
'His grandfather said, "I will sit on a wide flat rock."'" (Haokip 2021: 112; glosses modified by this author)

Again, just as in the examples of Saihriem, I do not know, why the *ki-* prefix is glossed as reflexive prefix here. There is another prefix, that shows rather reflexive function in Hrangkhol. It is an *ir-* prefix. See the examples.

(98) Hrangkhol

a-chǔ-tìr-tà
3.SG-teach-CAUS-PST
'he taught her (magic)' (Haokip 2021: 113; glosses modified by this author)

(99) Hrangkhol

sìlkái ìrbel   an-ìrchû-hên-tàk-a

dress wear   3.PL-teach-CAUS-PST-SUB:then

'They taught the naked people how to dress.' (Haokip 2021: 103; glosses modified by this author)

Two different causative suffixes are used in (98) and (99). The reason for this could be that the clause in (98) is transitive and in (99) it is intransitive, since *ìrchû* is glossed as 'learn' in Haokip (2021: 109). The detransitivizing functions of *ir-* must be examined with more data.

(100) Hrangkhol

ki-ding=in   *k-ir-hmu*
1.SG-self=ERG   1.SG-REFL-see
'I saw myself' (Haokip 2018: 200; glosses modified by this author)

(101) Hrangkhol

ei-ding=in   *ei-ir-hmu*
1.INCL-self=ERG   1.INCL-REFL-see
'We saw ourselves' (Haokip 2018: 200; glosses added by this author)

Example (100) shows again the typical feature of the Barak Valley languages that the personal marker *ki-* merges with the reflexive marker *ir-* and results in *kir-*. This is also the case in 2nd and 3rd person. In (101) the reflexive prefix *ir-* occurs, as in all the other plural forms (Haokip 2018: 200–201).

It is possible that the *ir-* prefix is also used for other detransitivizing functions, but there is no strong evidence in the data.

The reflexive *ir-* prefix in Hrangkhol may be related to two other prefixes found in Chiru and Mongmi Maring. Both languages use an *rV*-prefix, in Chiru it is rather a *ra-* prefix, but with many allomorphs, because the language is very sensitive to vowel harmony, and in Mongmi Maring it is a *r(ə)-* prefix. The *ra-* prefix in Chiru is also used for reciprocal constructions, the reflexive use is shown below.

(102) Chiru

àmá-lè-mà   *rò-zór-ù*

3.SG-CONJ-3.SG   RR-accuse-PL

'They accuse themselves.' (Chiru 2018: 253; glosses modified by this author)

(103) Chiru

əmanə   *i-niniŋə*   *re-bek*

3.SG   3-REFL   RR-talk

'She talked to herself.' (Chiru 2018: 357; glosses added by this author)

Example (102) shows the reflexive marker with the 3rd person plural. The plural is visible on the verb, because it is marked by the plural agreement marker *-u*. In (103) the reflexive marker is used with the 3rd person singular, that is why no plural marker is on the verb. The reflexive pronoun *nìníŋà* (Chiru 2018: 189) is visible in this example. I think that the clauses in the examples are intransitive, but there is no evidence for this in the data, because 3rd person is usually unmarked in many cases.

(104) Chiru

kei   *ki niniŋə*   *tui*   *ko-ro-bo*

1SG   1-REFL   ?   1.SG-RR-bath

'I bathed myself' (Chiru 2018: 357; glosses added by this author)

In (104) the verbal morphology with 1st person singular is shown. There is a personal prefix for 1st person on the verb that may mark the S argument but could also be an A argument as shown below in a transitive clause.

(105) Chiru

kei-nà   *mè-kʰà*   *kà-sák-zòi*

1.SG-ERG   meat-DET   1-eat-PERF

'I have eaten meat.' (Chiru 2018: 121; glosses modified by this author)

The only difference between the transitive clause (105) and the reflexive clause (104) is the ergative marking that is quite variable in the NWSC languages. But I would assume that the reflexive marker reduces the valence, because it reduces the valence in many of the NWSC languages.

It is possible that there is reflexive prefix *r(ə)-* in Mongmi Maring. The reflexive examples in the data do not show any reflexive marking.

(106) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

amo   *ka-m̩-me*

3.SG   ?-see-DECL

'He sees himself' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(107) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

hu-ne   *m̩-e*   *yanei*   *kəi-re*   *ka-m̩*   *tsuʷo*

this-DECL   man-COP   yesterday   1.SG-OBJ   NMLZ-see   ?

'This is the man who saw me yesterday' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

(108) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

kai   *naŋ-re*   *ka-ʔm̩-miŋ-ŋe*

1.SG   2.SG-OBJ   ?-see-1.SG?-DECL

'I see you' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

(109) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

kai   naŋ-thok   ka-r-m̩-iŋ-e

1.SG   2.SG-COM   ?-REFL?-see-1.SG-DECL

'I meet you' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

Since (106) is the only reflexive example in the data, the *ka-* prefix is the only marker that could be interpreted as reflexive, but this *ka-* prefix is found on many other sentences, sometimes glossed as nominalizer in the relative clause illustrated in (107), but also in simple transitive clauses as shown in (108). I assume that the *-re* suffix is an O argument marker and that is why the clause is transitive. The *ka-* prefix can also be found in (109), but there is another prefix that can be recognized here. Since there is a comitative suffix in Monsang *-tʰoʔ*, as shown below in (110), I assume that the *-thok* marker in (109) could be also comitative and therefore marking an oblique instead of an O argument. Therefore, the *r-* prefix on the verb seems rather interesting. Because there was a similar prefix found in Chiru, this *r-* prefix could be a detransitivizer or even a reflexive marker. The sentence would then mean something like 'I see myself with you' in the literal translation which means 'I meet you'. That would fit to the hypothesis that the *-thok* suffix turns the O argument of 'to see' into an oblique and that is why the clause has only one argument left and verb must be detransitivized by the *r-* prefix that could also be a reflexive marker.

(110) Monasng

úttí-tʰòʔ

dog-COM

'with dogs' (Flora Fauna 111.1; glosses modified by this author)

Other examples for this *r(ə)-* prefix can be found in the following two examples.

(111) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

nə-mur   rə-sil-lo

2.SG:POSS-mouth?   REFL-wash-IMP

'Wash your mouth!' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

(112) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

amo a-kut   *ka-r-sil-le*
3.SG 3.SG:POSS-hand?   ?-REFL-wash-DECL
'He washed his hand' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

Since 'wash' is a word, that has a lexical reflexive meaning in English for example, it is also a word, that has to be explicitly marked by a reflexive marker in other languages. The reconstructed root for 'wash' for Proto-South-Central is *P-sil* (van Bik 2006: 427), therefore it is very likely, that the prefix does not belong to the root, but is in fact a reflexive prefix or maybe even a more general detransitivizer, because there can be found an intransitive, adjective-like verb in the data, as shown in (113). In (111) the imperative suffix *-ro* is added to the verb stem and assimilates to the coda consonant /l/. In (112) again the suffix is found that is most likely a declarative suffix, but this time the onset is /l/, because it assimilates to the coda consonant of the verb stem. In both examples the nouns 'mouth' and 'hand' do not receive the *-re- suffix* which leads to the assumption that the nouns are no O arguments, but rather obliques. This would support the hypothesis that the examples are intransitive sentences.

(113) Mongmi Maring (Maring)

ka-r-kʰam
?-REFL-block
'be blocked' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added, morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

In summary, there seem to be different groups of reflexive prefixes, the nasal prefixes and the *rV-* prefixes, but also the *in-* prefixes, the *ir-* prefix and the *i-* prefix. It is possible that the *in-* prefix could be grouped together with the Monsang nasal prefix and the *ir-* prefix could be grouped with the *rV-* prefixes, because there is an *in-* prefix in Moyon that is mutually intelligible with Monsang for reciprocal forms (Kongkham 2010: 74; 82) and in Monsang only the nasal is used, but this has to be checked by more data.

There are two other NWSC languages that are using prefixes to form reflexives, one of them even for forming reciprocals. Both of the prefixes found in the languages involve an /n/ as coda consonant.

A *kin-* prefix is attested for reflexive constructions in Purum that is shown in the example below. The prefix is homophone to the 1st person exclusive marker in the language as illustrated in (115).

(114) Purum

əyni   *ni-biŋ-ŋa*   *ni-kin-minreŋ*
1.PL.INCL   1.PL.INCL-self-LOC   1.PL.INCL-REFL-?-love
'We love ourselves' (Sharma & Singh 2011: 20; glosses modified by this author)

(115) Purum

kəyni   *iŋkət*   *le*   *iŋkət*   *kin-kin-rieŋ*
1.PL.EXCL   one   ASSO   one   1.PL.EXCL-1.PL.EXCL-love
'We love each other.' (Sharma & Singh 2011: 8; glosses modified by this author)

It is not clear, whether the sentence in (114) is transitive or not, because in Sharma & Singh (2011: 20) it is stated that the reflexive marker *kin-* is used instead of the object marker on the verb, but since a locative marker is used on the second personal pronoun *ni-biŋ*, it is possible, that the personal pronoun is an oblique instead of an object and the clause could also be intransitive. I do not know, what *min* means in this example, because there is another verb stem *rieŋ* that means 'love', but in Sharma & Singh (2011: 9) it is classified as just a different verb stem and *min* does not seem to have an own meaning or function.

The other example for a phonologically more complex prefix is the *kan-* prefix in Aimol. This *kan-* prefix is homophone to the preverbal 1st person plural marker in the language and may be related to the reflexive prefix *in-* in the languages Saihriem, Chorei, Ranglong and Sakachep, because the prefixes merge with the marker for 1st person singular and result also in *kan-*. The difference is that this prefix in Aimol is used for every person and has no *in-* prefix as allomorph as shown in (117) and (118), where the *kan-* prefix is used with 2nd person singular and 1st person plural.

(116) Aimol

ka-meːl   *ka-kan-mu*

1.SG-?   1.SG-RR-see

'I see myself.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(117) Aimol

na-meːl   *na-kan-mu*

2.SG-?   2.SG-RR-see

'you see yourself' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(118) Aimol

kan-meːl   *kan-kan-mu*

1.PL-?   1.PL-RR-see

'We see ourselves' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

Examples (116)-(118) show that the marker for reflexive is used for 1st, 2nd and also 3rd person singular. Example (118) shows that the *kan-* prefix for reflexive is homophone with the 1st person plural prefix which is attached to the verb as well as used as personal pronoun with a suffix. Compared to a truly transitive sentence in the language no difference on the person marking of the verb can be found, but there are differences, that refer to (in)transitivity, as shown in (119).

(119) Aimol

ama=ke   *kəi-niŋ*   *ka-mu*   *mi=ha*

3.SG=OBJ   1.SG-ERG   1.SG-see   person=DET

'This is the person I saw.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

As already mentioned, no difference in the person marking can be attested on the verb, except the missing *kan-* prefix, of course. Though, the ergative marking in (119) could be an indication for the transitivity of (119) and the intransitivity of (116)-(118), because the ergative marking

is missing here. But, as already mentioned in section 2.2., ergative marking in the NWSC languages is no reliable indication of transitivity.

Two of the languages analyzed for this thesis use suffixes instead of prefixes for plural marking. The two suffixes are not similar to each other, but cannot be used for reciprocal constructions, only for reflexives.

Chothe uses a *-mək* suffix, it is shown in the examples below.

(120) Chothe

kəy-nə   *kəy-mək*   *huk-ke*

1.SG-NOM   1.SG-self   beat-SP

'I beat myself' (Singh 2008: 85; glosses modified by this author)

(121) Chothe

nəŋ-nə   *nəŋ-mək*   *luŋsa-ye*

2.SG-NOM   2.SG-self   scold-SP

'You scold yourself' (Singh 2008: 85; glosses modified by this author)

(122) Chothe

kə-ni-nə   *kə-ni-mək*   *liŋləy-ye*

1.SG-PL-NOM 1.SG-PL-self   love-SP

'We love ourselves' (Singh 2008: 85; glosses modified by this author)

The reflexive suffix here is not attached to the verb, therefore it is not comparable to the prefixes, that were mentioned above. The reflexive marker *-mək* is attached to the personal pronoun, but there is no personal marking on the verbs either. Maybe the second personal pronouns are only prefixes and the suffix is therefore marked on the verb, but it rather seems like it is some kind of object marking. Concerning the transitivity, nothing can be said either, since there is no verbal marking on the verb. The first personal pronoun is marked with the suffix *-nə* and this marker is glossed as nominative, but this could also be an ergative marker and the clauses could be transitive.

Even less can be said of the reflexive suffix in Lamkang, since no examples are found in the data. In Thounaojam & Chelliah (2007: 56) a *-čə* suffix is mentioned, it is attached to the verb

and indicates the "self-directed […] nature of an action" (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 56), but is rather a marker for middle than for exclusively reflexive.

In summary it can be said that most of the NWSC languages use a prefix for indicating reflexive constructions and in most of the cases this prefix serves as valence reducing morpheme. Most of the prefixes involve the consonant /n/ or /r/, most often combined with an /i/. It is not clear whether the *n-* and *in-* and the *ir-* and *rV-* prefixes are related to each other, but since Moyon uses an *in-* prefix for reciprocals (Kongkham 2010: 74; 82) and Monsang a reduced nasal prefix, a reduction to *n-* from *in-* is possible and maybe also a reduction from *ir-* to *rV-* and this has to be checked. There is also an *-i* prefix, that is used without a consonant in Anal. Example (90) of Saihriem attests a reduction from *in-* to *i-*, so it must be checked, how many groups of prefixes really are in the NWSC languages. The suffixes mentioned here, that are used for reflexive constructions are either attached to the personal pronoun instead of the verb (see Chothe) or have not only a reflexive, but rather a middle meaning (see Lamkang).

In the following section, the reciprocal markers are examined.

4.4   Reciprocal Constructions

For some of the languages, there is evidence that the same marker is used for reflexives and reciprocals. Anal and Monsang are examples, that were already mentioned above in section 4.2, but there are further examples. At least, there is evidence in Kom, Chiru and Aimol, that they use the same verbal marker for reciprocals as for reflexives and I assume that there are even more languages, but unfortunately, there is no evidence in the data.

As already mentioned, Kom uses an *in-* prefix for reflexives, an example is given below in (123). As shown in (124), the same marker is used for reciprocals.

(123) Kom

kabiŋa   *in-muː-εŋ*
1.REFL   RR-see-1.SG
'I see myself' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(124) Kom

> *amani-ka*   *in-vuk-hei*
>
> 3.PL-DISC   RR-beat-PL
>
> 'They beat each other' (Linda Konnerth field notes, glosses added by this author)

I do not think that there is any difference in the verbal morphology or personal marking on the verb in the two examples, so I assume that the prefix has a detransitivizing effect on the verb. There may be difference in the personal marking though, since *kabiŋa* is the reflexive personal pronoun for 1st person singular and no similar personal pronoun is found in (124).

Chiru uses – as already mentioned above – the *ra-* prefix and its allomorphs for reflexive constructions and the examples below show its use in reciprocal constructions.

(125) Chiru

> *kéini-le-kéini*   *cùbái*   *nò-rò-tʰò*
>
> 1.PL-CONJ-1.PL   greeting   1.PL.INCL-RR-do
>
> 'We greet among us' (Chiru 2018: 253; glosses modified by this author)

The example above shows a rather comitative meaning of the reflexive and reciprocal prefix, but the example below illustrates a true reciprocal construction.

(126) Chiru

> *alen-le*   *acɔŋ*   *adin*   *re-ɛn-nənə-u*
>
> Alen-CONJ   Achawng   3.PL.DU   RR-look?-?-PL
>
> 'Alen and Achawng looked at each other' (Chiru 2018: 358; glosses modified by this author)

What is different to reflexive constructions (shown again in (127)) in this example is the verbal morphology and the personal pronoun *adin*, that is the personal pronoun for 3rd person dual in Chiru (Chiru 2018: 136). Concerning the verbal morphology, both the reflexive and the reciprocal construction have the plural marking suffix *-u. ɛn* is glossed as 'look', (Chiru 2018: 184) and is therefore the verb. The difference between the verbal morphology is the morpheme *nənə* in the reciprocal example, but its meaning is not clear to me.

49

(127) Chiru

> *àmá-lè-mà*　　　　　*rò-zór-ù*
>
> 3.SG-CONJ-3.SG　　　RR-accuse-PL
>
> 'They accuse themselves.' (Chiru 2018: 253; glosses modified by this author)

I think that the reciprocal prefix reduces the valence, if the reflexive prefix does, but this is not clear, as already stated in section 4.3.

Aimol is the last language, for that evidence is found in the data, that the reflexive and reciprocal marker are the same. Example (128) shows a reflexive clause and (129) a reciprocal construction for comparison.

(128) Aimol

> *ka-meːl*　　　*ka-kan-mu*
>
> 1.SG-?　　　　1.SG-RR-see
>
> 'I see myself' (linda Konnerth field notes; glosses added by this author)

(129) Aimol

> *an-mani (~anman)*　*an-kan-mu*
>
> 3.PL-?　　　　　　　　3.PL-RR-see
>
> 'They see each other.' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses and morpheme boundaries modified by this author)

Again, no difference in the verbal morphology is found in comparison to transitive clauses and also when comparing the reflexive in the reciprocal clause. Though, the difference in the person marking is also present here. While in the reflexive clause (128), the personal pronoun is marked by *meːl*, the marker in the reciprocal clause (129) is *mani.* As already mentioned in section 4.3 the pronoun is marked also differently in transitive sentences, therefore I assume that the difference in meaning between reflexives and reciprocals is the result of the suffix attached to the personal pronoun and not of the verbal morphology.

In Tarao another prefix could be attested, that fits to all the nasal reflexive prefixes found in 4.3. While reflexives take a *ki*-prefix in Tarao, reciprocals seem to use the nasal *n-*.

(130) Tarao

n-ʈom   ai
RECP-know   3.PL
'the know each other' (Linda Konnerth field notes; glosses modified by this author)

Unfortunately, nothing can be said about the verbal morphology or the person marking, since this is the only reciprocal example found in the data, except that Tarao actually seems to mark at least some persons on the verb by a prefix as shown below, but since the reciprocal example attested is 3rd person, it is not unusual that no person marking or a different person marking can be found. So, it is not clear whether the *n-* reciprocal prefix reduces the valence or not or whether it can be used as a general detransitivizer, as the nasal in Monsang for example.

(131) Tarao

kəy   bu   ki-sak
1.SG   rice   1.SG-eat
'I eat rice.' (Singh 2002: 80; glosses modified by this author)

As seen above, on the one hand, some of the NWSC languages use prefixes to express the reciprocal function, that may be the same as the reflexive prefix, but this is not necessarily the case. On the other hand, there are languages, that express the reciprocal meaning differently. Purum for example does not have a reciprocal prefix but uses only the personal pronoun to express the reciprocal meaning.

(132) Purum

kəyni   iŋkət   le   iŋkət   kin-kin-rieŋ
1.PL.EXCL   one   ASSO   one   1.PL.EXCL-1.PL.EXCL-love
'We love each other.' (Sharma & Singh 2011: 8; glosses modified by this author)

In (132) a reciprocal construction of Purum can be seen. It is shown that a different verb stem is used for 'love', i.e. *rieŋ* rather than *minreŋ* (Sharma & Singh 2011: 9) and the personal marking on the verb is just doubled. Instead of one personal marker *kin-* there can be found two in front of the verb stem and the valence does not seem to be reduced in this clause. It seems that

the reciprocal constructions in Purum are still transitive, with A and O argument marking by prefixes on the verb. Since example (132) is the only reciprocal example, it cannot be said whether the same *kin-* prefix is used for all persons and numbers or whether it is really only a repetition of the personal prefix. If the *kin-* prefix was used for all persons and numbers, it would be a reciprocal marker and homophone to the reflexive marking *kin-* prefix and therefore the same.

Lamkang and Chothe seem to use suffixes to express reciprocal constructions. The suffixes are different from the suffixes used for reflexive, but no really good example was found for reciprocal constructions in the data.

The suffix, that is glossed as reciprocal in the grammar of Chothe is *-tʰak*, but as shown in the examples below, the data are not that clear concerning reciprocal constructions.

(133) Chothe

> *kə-ni əkʰa-rit   əkʰa   huk-tʰak-ke*
> 1-PL   one-ASSO   one   beat-RECP-SP
> 'We beat with each other' (Singh 2008: 87; glosses modified by this author)

(134) Chothe

> *nə-ŋəy   əkʰa-rit   əkʰə   li-tʰak-ke*
> 2-PL   one-ASSO   one   see-RECP-SP
> 'You see with each other' (Singh 2008: 87; glosses modified by this author)

The constructions in the examples above seem to rather have the meaning 'doing something with each other', the suffix *-tʰak* could have the same origin as the comitative suffix in Monsang, shown again in (135), but there is the difference, that this suffix is not a case marker, but is attached to the verb. Concerning the verbal morphology and the classification I cannot say anything and I do not know whether the suffix changes the valence of the clause in Chothe.

(135) Monasng

> *útti-tʰòʔ*
> dog-COM
> 'with dogs' (Flora Fauna 111.1; glosses modified by this author)

As for Lamkang the reciprocal suffix seems to be *-luŋŋe* or at least it is glossed as reciprocal in (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 57).

(136) Lamkang

čák-luŋŋe

eat-RECP

'eat at the same time' (Thounaojam & Chelliah 2007: 57)

The translation in the example already shows that the meaning of the sentence is not really the reciprocal construction attested in the other languages, but slightly different.

Another suffix, that is glossed as reciprocal in the data is *-in* in Saihriem, as shown below.

(137) Saihriem

ka-kîtû   *hàn-chêl-in-làn*

1.SG:POSS-spade.handle   DIR:tow-hold-RECP-LOC.NF

'"Hold my spade's handle,"' (Haokip 2021: 98; glosses modified by this author)

But again, the suffix in Saihriem has no real reciprocal meaning either.

It seems that the suffixes glossed as reciprocals in the data are not real reciprocals, therefore it seems that reciprocals are only built by prefixes, except in Purum, where they are formed by the personal prefixal markers. This exception in Purum has to be checke though, as already mentioned above. In the cases where both reflexive and reciprocal prefixal constructions were found in the data, the same prefix is used for both construction types, except in Tarao, where a *ki-* prefix can be found for reflexive, but an *n-* prefix is attested in the only reciprocal example found in the data. Unfortunately there is no evidence that the prefixes have other detransitivizing functions comparable to the prefixes in Monsang and Anal and maybe Hmar, but this is something, that has to be checked by further data.

5 Comparison to valence-changing constructions in Central South-Central

In this section, I will describe briefly how causatives, reciprocals and reflexives are formed in Central South-Central languages and I will compare them to the results of the sections above. Below a short overview of the valence-changing constructions is shown in the table.

Table 3 - Overview of valence-changing constructions in Central-South-Central

Language	Causative	reflexive and reciprocal
Falam Chin	*-ter*	*-aw*
Hakha Lai	*-ter/*s-*	*ʔii-*
Mizo	**-s* **-t (-k / -ʔ)*	*in-*
Laizo		*-aw*

In Falam Chin there is a causative suffix *-ter* that seems valence-changing. It is illustrated in the examples below. Example (138) shows the intransitive equivalent to the transitive clause in (139) and (141) is the transitive equivalent of (140). There is also a *-sak* suffix in the language, but it is more a benefactive or malefactive valence-changing operation (King 2010: 290).

(138) Falam Chin

ka	*kedam*	*hri*	*a*	*cat*
1.SG	shoe	string	3.SG	broken.I

'My shoelace is broken/broke.' (King 2010: 195; glosses modified by this author)

(139) Falam Chin

Thangte	*in*	*ka*	*kedam*	*hri*	*a*	*cat-ter*
Thangte	ERG	1.SG	shoe	string	3.SG	broken.I-CAUS

'Thangte broke my shoelace.' (King 2010: 195; glosses modified by this author)

(140) Falam Chin

Cinte	*a*	*hni*
Cinte	3.SG	laugh.I

'Cinte laughed.' (King 2010: 195; glosses modified by this author)

(141) Falam Chin

Parte	*in*	*Cinte*	*a*	*hni-ter*
Parte	ERG	Cinte	3.SG	laugh-CAUS

'Parte made Cinte laugh.' (King 2010: 195; glosses modified by this author)

The *-ter* suffix can be attached to intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs and stem I is used with the causative verb, unlike other languages in the language family (King 2010: 195). In (141) even an ergative marker is used.

For reflexive and reciprocal, a suffix is used in Falam Chin, it is attached to the verb stem I, as shown in the examples below. Reflexive and reciprocal are marked the same way in the language.

(142) Falam Chin

Mangcu	*(amah*	*le*	*amah)*	*a*	*at-aw*
MangTOP	(3.SG.STD	and	3SG.STD)	3.SG	cut.I-RR

pang
accidentaly

'Mang cut himself accidentally.' (King 2010: 276; glosses modified by this author)

(143) Falam Chin

fela-nu	*le*	*tlangval-pa*	*hi*	*an*	*duh-aw*
young.woman-FEM	and	young.man-MASC	TOP	3.PL	love-RR

ngaingai
extremely

'A young woman and a young man loved each other very much.' (King 2010: 276; glosses modified by this author)

In King (2010: 276) it is also mentioned that this *-aw* suffix has an allomorph *-awk* in environments, where stem II must be used.

Hakha Lai, another language of the Central subbranch, uses the *-ter* suffix for causativation just like Falam Chin (van Bik 2020: 294), but also uses the *-sak* suffix, that has other functions in Falam Chin. In Sizang Chin, a Northern South-Central language the same *-sak* suffix is attested for causatives (Davis 2017: 36). Though the *-sak* suffix is called "older and restricted in productivity" in Peterson (2003: 418). There is also another possibility for causatives in the language. The language uses the Tibeto-Burman causative **s-* prefix, but this is restricted to non-stative intransitive verbs and forms causatives by devoicing initial sonorants and aspiration of initial stops as shown in the examples below. In some cases of stative, intransitive verbs a glottalization of the final sonorant or the change of place of final /ŋ/ to /n/ or the neutralization of the final glottal stop serves as causativation (Peterson 2003: 418).

(144) Hakha Lai

Simplex		Causative	
Form I	Form II	Form I	Form II
kăaŋ	*kaŋ* 'burn (INTR)'	*kʰăaŋ*	*kʰaŋʔ* 'burn (TR)'
tsat	*tsaʔ* 'be servered'	*tsʰat*	*tsʰaʔ* 'server'
rook	*roʔ* 'break down'	*r̥ook*	*r̥oʔ* 'destroy'

(van Bik 2020: 294; glosses modified by this author)

As already mentioned, there is a newer type of causativation in the language, the *-ter* suffix. Its use is shown in example (146), while example (145) shows the non-causative equivalent.

(145) Hakha Lai

ûytsàw   *a-tlìi*
dog   3.SG-run.I
'The dog ran' (van Bik 2020: 294; glosses modified by this author)

(146) Hakha Lai

ûytsàw   *ka-tliik-têr*
dog   1.SG-run.II-CAUS
'I made the dog run' (van Bik 2020: 294; glosses modified by this author)

The example above shows that in addition to the suffix *-ter*, also stem II is used for the causative form. Maybe this is because the verb became transitive by the suffix and transitive verbs appear with stem II in the language.

In terms of detransitivation, the language forms reflexives by a *ʔii-* prefix and its allomorphs, as shown in the examples below (Peterson 2003: 418). No example was found for reciprocals.

(147) Hakha Lai

Cùcàah	*Amnon*	*cû*	*a-it*	*ĭ*	*àa-zawt-tèr*
Therefore	Amnon	TOP	3.SG-sleep.I	CONJ	3SG.REFL-ill-SML

'So Amnon lay down and pretended to be ill' (van Bik 2020: 298; glosses modified by this author)

(148) Hakha Lai

Saya	*tsàa*	*kàa-tshimʔ-têr*
teacher	letter	1.SG.REFL-teach.II-CAUS

'I let the teacher teach me' (van Bik 2020: 298; glosses modified by this author)

The examples are not real reflexive constructions in the common sense, but they illustrate, how the *ʔii-* prefix works, it merges with the personal prefix of each person. The sentence in (147) could be intransitive, because verb stem I is used and the sentence in (148) is more likely transitive, because of the causative, but still uses the reflexive suffix and is a case of detransitivation from ditransitive to transitive. It is not clear, why 'to be ill' in (147) is reflexive, but maybe this is a specific feature of the language.

Mizo seems to use only the Tibeto-Burman **s-* prefix and a Tibeto-Burman **-t* suffix to form causatives. Causatives in Mizo seem to be linked to the verb stem alternation, because the language has three different verb stems, one of them causative, as shown in the example below. There is no evidence that another type of causative construction exists in the language (Chhangte 1993: 89).

(149) Mizo

Independent Stem (stem I)		Nominalized stem (stem II)	Valence Change (stem III)	
tîî	'to be fearful'	*tit*	*tiʔ*	'to fear someone'
rhîl	'to proclaim'	*rhil*	*rhilʔ*	'to tell someone something'
dûm	'to be blue'	*dum*	*dùm*	'to make something blue'
dîŋ	'to stand'	*din*	*dìn*	to stand something up'

(Chhangte 1993: 87; table modified by this author)

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are formed with an *in-* prefix as already seen in some of the NWSC languages. The use of this prefix is shown in (150) and (151).

(150) Mizo

âmaʔ leʔ   *âma*   *â-in-mèèr*
3.SG and   3.SG   3.SG-RR-shave
'he is shaving himself' (Chhangte 1993: 93; glosses modified by this author)

(151) Mizo

bòŋ leʔ   *keel*   *án-in-sii*
cow and   goat   3.PL-RR-butt
'a cow and a goat are butting (each other)' (Chhangte 1993: 93; glosses modified by this author)

In (150) the reflexive use of the *in*-prefix is illustrated and in (151) the reciprocal use can be found. This prefix may have the same origin as the *in-* prefixes in the NWSC languages.

For Laizo no causative construction was found in the data, only examples for detransitivizing constructions can be shown. Laizo uses the same reflexive and reciprocal suffix *-aw* as Falam Chin, as illustrated in the examples below.

(152) Laizo

ka   hmu   aw
1.SG   see   RR
'I see myself' (Bedell *et al.* 2009: 13; glosses added by this author)

(153) Laizo

kan   hmu   aw
1.PL   see   RR
'We see ourselves/each other' (Bedell *et al.* 2009: 15; glosses added by this author)

(154) Laizo

an   hmu   aw
3.PL   see   RR
'They see themselves/each other' (Bedell *et al.* 2009: 15; glosses added by this author)

The same suffix is used for every person in the language, plural forms can be interpreted either as reflexive or reciprocal, singular forms function as reflexives.

Since no causative forms were found in Laizo, at least two languages use a *-ter* suffix for causativation, that could be related to the *-tir* and *-ti* suffix in Hrangkhol, Hmar and Aimol. It is not clear whether the suffixes in the NWSC languages were borrowed from the CSC languages or the verb 'send' was borrowed, because except Hrangkhol no forms of the Proto-Central-South-Central **tiir* for 'send' were found. In Mizo there exists an additional causative verb stem, which is not typical for the NWSC languages at all. While Mizo and Hakha Lai use the Tibeto-Burman **s-* prefix, manifested as aspiration in the languages, this type of causatives could not be attested in the NWSC languages, except for Monsang. In Monsang, one causative form with aspiration was found, but only in combination with a *be-* prefix.

As for reflexive and reciprocal forms the CSC and NWSC languages have not many features in common. While the NWSC languages use mainly prefixes for reflexive and reciprocal forms, Laizo and Falam Chin share the *-aw* suffix for reflexives and reciprocals. The *in-* prefix in Mizo could be related to the *in-* and maybe also the nasal prefixes found in Hmar, Kom, Sakachep, Chorei, Saihriem, Monsang and Ranglong. The *ʔii-* prefix found in Hakha Lai does not seem to be shared by NWSC languages.

6 Conclusion

In summary, the causative constructions seem to be more homogenous than the reflexive and reciprocal constructions in the NWSC languages. Depending on whether the bilabial prefixes are grouped in one group together or are separated into prefixes with a stop and prefixes with a nasal onset, we find two or three groups of causative formation in the languages. I would group the *man-* prefix in Kom and Ranglong and the *miŋ-* prefix in Monsang together with the *m(a)-* prefixes in Tarao, Chiru and Mongmi Maring, while keeping the *p(ə)-* causative prefix of Anal and Lamkang separated. The third group is formed by the suffixal causatives *-ti* and *-tir* in Aimol and Hrangkhol, which is the group where Hmar also belongs to, even though, the language needs an *in-* prefix simultaneously in addition to the *-tir* suffix to form causatives. The *-hên* suffix in Hrangkhol cannot be compared to any of the languages and it has to be checked whether it has the same causative function as the *-tir* suffix. What also must be examined in further research is whether the *man-* prefix in Kom and Ranglong and the *miŋ-* prefix in Monsang may have the same origin as the *m(a)-* prefixes and whether they can be summarized into one group with the *p(ə)-* prefixes as 'bilabial causatives'. It is still up for debate whether the *-tir* suffixes in Hrangkhol and Hmar are borrowed from the CSC languages as grammatical suffixes or as verbs for 'send' and whether the *-ti* suffix in Aimol is related to them.

When grouping the languages, in which causative forms are attested, we find at least the following groups:

- Group 1 (*m(a)-* causative prefix): Tarao, Chiru, Mongmi Maring, (Monsang, Kom, Ranglong)

- Group 2 (*p(ə)-* causative prefix): Anal, Lamkang

- Group 3 (*-tir* suffix): Hmar, Hrangkhol, (Aimol)

Since the only forms that do not fit in the pattern are the *-hên* suffix in Hrangkhol and the additional *in-* prefix, needed for causatives in Hmar, these forms have to be examined in detail by considering more data.

Concerning the forms with detransitivizing functions, more different forms are found in the data. We have the nasal prefixes in Tarao for reciprocals, in Monsang as general detransitivizer and in Ranglong as the reflexive prefix and the *in-* prefixes in Kom used for reflexives and reciprocals and in Saihriem, Sakachep and Chorei for reflexive constructions and in Hmar for reciprocal constructions and we have the *ki-* prefix attested at least in Tarao for reflexives, but maybe also in Saihriem and Hrangkhol, a *kin-* and a *kan-* prefix in Purum and Aimol and the *i-*

detransitivizing prefix in Anal. We also find a *rV-* prefix in Mongmi Maring and Chiru and an *ir-* prefix for reciprocals in Hrangkhol. In summary, we receive at least four groups of valence-decreasing prefixes, irrespectively of their functions. The suffixes are not considered here, because their function is not really reflexive or reciprocal and they have to be checked with further data.

- Group 1 (*in-* prefix): Kom, Hmar, Saihriem, Sakachep, Chorei (Monsang, Ranglong, Tarao)

- Group 2 (*r(a)-* prefix): Mongmi Maring, Chiru, (Hrangkhol)

- Group 3 (*ki-* prefix): Tarao, (Saihriem, Hrangkhol, Purum, Aimol)

- Group 4 (*i-* prefix): Anal

The nasal prefixes are grouped to the *in-* prefixes because of the correspondence of the *in-* prefix in Moyon (Kongkham 2010: 74; 82) to the nasal detransitivizer in Monsang, since the two languages are mutually intelligible and this is also the reason, why I have grouped the *rV-* prefixes together with the *ir-* prefix of Hrangkhol. The *ir-* prefix corresponds to the *in-* forms and the *rV-* prefixes are the reduced forms, that have lost the /i/ corresponding to the nasal forms. Purum and Aimol are grouped to the *ki-* prefixes here, because they have the same onset. However, the grouping of detransitivizers, reflexives and reciprocals is still pending, since the data is not really sufficient to categorize them.

When comparing the groups of causative constructions to the groups of detransitivizing constructions no grouping of the languages based on both valence-increasing and valence-decreasing constructions is possible, except for Mongmi Maring and Chiru, that seem to use the same valence-increasing and valence-decreasing constructions. Since the forms for Mongmi Maring are not straightforward, it is even too much to say that the two languages stick together based on the valence-changing constructions.

Some of the languages have two different causative constructions, as for example Hmar, that uses the construction consisting of *in-* and *-tir* and the *sùk-* prefix and Hrangkhol, using *-hên* and *-tir*, the functions of causatives must be examined more in detail in further research. As we have detransitivizers, reflexives and reciprocals separately, but also languages, that have the same marker for reflexive and reciprocal, also functional differences might exist in the causative forms, as for example causatives used with adjectives, only intransitive verbs or only transitive verbs or differences between permissive, facilitative and coercive causatives (King 2010: 195).

This level of different functions must be elaborated for causatives in further research and also the functional differences for reflexives, reciprocals and detransitivizers must be examined in detail in the future. As already mentioned earlier this thesis is only a descriptive overview of what could be found in this very small data set and there are many open points that have to be analyzed with more data in the future and leave many issues unresolved.

7 Abbreviations

1 1st person
2 2nd person
3 3rd person
A A argument, subject of the transitive clause
ADVL adverbial?
ASSO associative, associative
AUG augmentative
BEN benfactive
CAUS causative
COM comitative
CONJ conjunction
COP copula
CSC Central South-Central
DECL declarative
DET determinator
DETRANS detransitivizer
DIR directional
DISC discourse particle, discourse particle
ERG ergative
EXCL exclusive, exclusive
FEM feminine
FUT future
HORT hortative
I verb stem I
II verb stem II
III verb stem III
IMP imperative
INCL inclusive
INTR intransitive
IPFV imperfective
IRR irrealis
LOC locative

MASC masculine
NEG negative
NF non-final particle
NFUT non-future
NMLZ nominalizer
NOM nominative
NON.AG non-agentive
NWSC Northwestern South-Central
O O argumnet, object of the transitive clause
OBJ object
P P argument, object of the transitive clause
PERF perfective
PL plural
POSS possessive, possessive
PREF prefix
PST past
QUOT quotative
RECP reciprocal
REFL reflexive
RR reflexive and reciprocal
S S argument, subject of intransitive clause
SAP speech-act-participant
SC South-Central
SG singular
SML simulative
SP sentence particle
SUB subordination
TOP topic
TR transitive

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