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A preliminary documentation of variation in Tedim verbal person marking

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Abstract

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

Keywords

Tedim, person marking, cislocative, SAP object marking

A preliminary documentation of variation in Tedim verbal person marking[1]

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1   Introduction

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

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

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

1.1 Previous research and scope of this paper

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

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

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

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

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

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

Henderson's terms	Alternative terms	Structural terms
narrative	oratory, literary, written, formal	preverbal
colloquial	spoken, daily, informal	postverbal

Table 1. Equivalent terminology

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

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

1.2 Verb stems

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

the same verb, used in the negative. The two stems have distinct forms: *pʲa* and *pe*[3].

(1)   *aman*[4]   *amaʔ(pɛn) amaʔpʲa*
       3SG.ERG   3SG   (OBJ) 3SG   give.<u>F1</u>
       'He gives him to him.'

(2)   *aman*   *amaʔ(pɛn) amaʔ   pe   lo*
       3SG.ERG   3SG   (OBJ) 3SG   give.<u>F2</u>   NEG
       'He doesn't give him to him.'

2   Personal pronouns

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

Personal pronouns	SG	DL	PL
1.EX	*kɛi*	*ko te niʔ* *ko te gɛl*	**ko-te** *ko tɛŋ* *ko*
1.IN		*ɛi te niʔ*	**ɛi-te** *ɛi*
2	*naŋ*	*no te niʔ*	*no*
3	*amaʔ*	*amau te niʔ*	**amau-te** *amau*

Table 2. Personal pronouns

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

(3)   *Gamlai   aʔ   pʲaŋ   ina*
       Gamlai   at   be_born.F1 and
       'I was born in Gamlai, and […]'

(4)   *gʷɛj* **kɛi** *Tedim   aʔ   om   lai   niŋ   ɛ*
       VOC   1SG   tedim in   be.F1 still   1SG.FUT   FIN:REAL
       'Guys! I will stay in Tedim.'

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

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[3] According to my informants, even if it is pronounced [pe], they would write it <pia>.
[4] *aman* is a contraction of *amaʔ + in* (3SG + ERG)

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

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

(5) *kɛi   si*
     1SG   die.F1
     'I die.'

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

3   Possessive markers

Possessive prefixes	SG	PL
1.EX	*kɛima*	*komau* *koma*
1.IN		*eimau* *eima*
2	*naŋma* *naŋ*	*nomau* *noma*
3	ama	amau^

Table 3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive prefixes	SG	PL
1.EX	*ka-*	*ko-*
1.IN		*ei-*
2	*na-*	*no-*
3	*a-*	

Table 4. Possessive prefixes

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

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

4   Preverbal and postverbal person marking

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

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

Affirmative equational copula	SG	PL
1.EX	***ka-hi hi*** *hi iŋ*	***ka-hi uʔ hi*** *hi uŋ*
1.IN		***i-hi hi*** *hi haŋ*
2	***na-hi hi*** *hi teʔ*	***na-hi uʔ hi*** *hi uʔ teʔ*
3	***a-hi hi*** *hi*	***a-hi uʔ hi*** *hi uʔ*

Table 5. Affirmative equational copula paradigm 'hi'

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

(8) ***kɛi   Zomi   ka   hi   hi***
1SG   Zomi   1SG   COP   FIN
'I am Zomi'

(9)   *kɛi   Zomi*
1SG   Zomi
'I am Zomi'

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

Negative equational copula	SG	PL
1.EX	***ka-hi kɛi hi*** *hi kɛi iŋ / kɛŋ* *hi lo hi iŋ* *hi lo*	***ka-hi kɛi uʔ hi*** *hi kɛi uŋ* *hi lo hi uŋ* *hi lo*
1.IN		***i-hi kɛi hi*** *hi kɛi haŋ / kʰaŋ* *hi lo hi haŋ* *hi lo*
2	***na-hi kɛi hi*** *hi kɛi teʔ* *hi lo hi teʔ* *hi lo*	***na-hi kɛi uʔ hi*** *hi kɛi uʔ teʔ* *hi lo hi uʔ teʔ* *hi lo*
3	***a-hi kɛi hi*** *hi kɛi* *hi lo hi* *hi lo*	***a-hi kɛi uʔ hi*** *hi kɛi uʔ* *hi lo uʔ hi* *hi lo*

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[5] Full paradigms are given in the appendices.

Table 6. Negative equational copula paradigm

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

Present affirmative	SG	PL
1.EX	**ka-pai hi** pai iŋ pai	**ka-pai uʔ hi** pai uŋ pai
1.IN		**i-pai hi** pai haŋ pai
2	**na-pai hi** pai teʔ pai	**na-pai uʔ hi** pai uʔ teʔ pai
3	**a-pai hi** pai hi pai	**a-pai uʔ hi** pai uʔ pai

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

Present negative	SG	PL
1.EX	**ka-pai kɛi hi** pai kɛi iŋ / kɛŋ pai lo hi iŋ pai lo	**ka-pai kɛi uʔ hi** pai kɛi uŋ pai lo hi uŋ pai lo
1.IN		**i-pai kɛi hi** pai kɛi haŋ / kʰaŋ pai lo hi haŋ pai lo
2	**na-pai kɛi hi** pai kɛi teʔ pai lo hi teʔ pai lo	**na-pai kɛi uʔ hi** pai kɛi uʔ teʔ pai lo hi uʔ teʔ pai lo
3	**a-pai kɛi hi** pai kɛi pai lo hi pai lo	**a-pai kɛi uʔ hi** pai kɛi uʔ pai lo uʔ hi pai lo

Table 8. Present negative intransitive paradigm of pai 'go'

5 Other tense/aspect paradigms

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

(10) *zanni   aʔ   (kɛi) lam   (kʰin zo)*
       yesterday   LOC   (1SG) dance.F1   (PF)
       'Yesterday I danced.'

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

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

Table 9. Future affirmative intransitive paradigm of pai 'go'

Future negative	SG	PL
1.EX	**pai lo diŋ hi iŋ** *pai kɛi niŋ* *pai lo diŋ*	**pai lo diŋ hi uŋ** *pai kɛi nuŋ* *pai lo diŋ*
1.IN		**pai lo diŋ hi haŋ** *pai kɛi ni* *pai lo diŋ*
2	**pai lo diŋ hi teʔ** *pai kɛi ni teʔ* *pai lo diŋ*	**pai lo diŋ hi uʔ teʔ** *pai kɛi nu teʔ* *pai lo diŋ*

3	*pai lo diŋ (hi)* *pai kɛi in teʔ* *pai lo diŋ*	*pai lo diŋ uʔ (hi)* *pai kɛi un teʔ* *pai lo diŋ*

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

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

(11) *nidaŋtʃjaŋ   Tedim   aʔ*
      from.now.on   Tedim   LOC

      oŋ   tʃjaʔ   kik   diŋ   uʔ   hiam
      CIS   go.home.F1 again   FUT   PL.EXCL   Q
      'When will they come back (to you) to Tedim?'

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

6   Object marking

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

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

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

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

7 Conclusion

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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APPENDICES: LISTS OF VERBAL PERSON INDEXATION FORMS

A.1 EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

kɛi   ***Zomi***   ***ka-hi***   'I am Zomi'
Zomi hi iŋ

naŋ   ***Zomi***   ***na-hi***   'You sg. are Zomi'
Zomi hi teʔ

amaʔ   ***Zomi a-hi***   'S/he is Zomi'
Zomi hi

ko te niʔ   ***Zomi***   ***ka-hi uʔ***   'We 2 (exclusive = without you) are
Zomi'
Zomi hi uŋ

ko te   ***Zomi***   ***ka-hi uʔ***   'We pl (exclusive = without you) are
Zomi'
Zomi hi uŋ

ei te niʔ   ***Zomi i-hi***   'We 2 (you and I) are Zomi'
Zomi hi haŋ

ei te   ***Zomi***   ***i-hi***   'We pl (you and I and others) are Zomi'
Zomi hi haŋ

no te niʔ   ***Zomi***   ***na-hi uʔ***   'You two are Zomi'
Zomi hi uʔ teʔ

no te   ***Zomi***   ***na-hi uʔ***   'You pl are Zomi'
Zomi hi uʔ teʔ

amau te niʔ   ***Zomi***   ***a-hi uʔ***   'Those two are Zomi'
Zomi hi uʔ

amaute   ***Zomi***   ***a-hi uʔ***   'They pl. are Zomi'
amau   *Zomi hi uʔ*
amau   *Zomi aive (ahi ve)*

A.2 DITRANSITIVE FORMS

kɛima in naŋ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ⁶/kiangaʔ⁷ ka-oŋ pʲa hi   'I give you (sg) to him'
kɛima in ama tungaʔ naŋ ka-oŋ pʲa hi
(kɛn) naŋ (pɛn) ama kiangaʔ koŋ pʲa hi
(kɛn) ama kiangaʔ naŋ koŋ pʲa hi
(kɛn) ama tungaʔ naŋ hoŋ pʲa iŋ

kɛn amaʔ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ ka-pʲa hi   'I give him to him'
(kɛn) ama tungaʔ amaʔ ka-pʲa hi
(kɛn) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa iŋ

naŋma in kɛi (pɛn) ama tungaʔ na-oŋ pʲa hi   'you (sg) give me to him'
naŋn⁸ kɛi ama tungaʔ noŋ pʲa hi
naŋn ama tungaʔ kɛi noŋ pʲa hi
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ kɛi oŋ pʲa hi teʔ
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ kɛi oŋ pʲa teʔ
naŋn kɛi (pɛn) amaʔ pʲa
naŋma in amaʔ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ na-pʲa hi   'you give him to him'
naŋ'n ama tungaʔ amaʔ na-pʲa hi
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi teʔ
(naŋ) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa teʔ
naŋ'n amaʔ (pɛn) amaʔ pʲa

naŋma in amaʔ (pɛn) ko kiangaʔ na-oŋ pʲa hi   'you give him to us '
naŋma in ko kiangaʔ amaʔ na-oŋ pʲa hi
naŋma in amaʔ (pɛn) ko na-oŋ pʲa hi
naŋn amaʔ (pɛn) ko noŋ pʲa hi
(naŋ) amaʔ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʲa hi teʔ
(naŋ) amaʔ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʲa teʔ
naŋn amaʔ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʲa

naŋma in ko (pɛn) ama tungaʔ na-oŋ pʲa hi   'you give us to him '
naŋma in ama tungaʔ ko na-oŋ pʲa hi

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⁶ *tungaʔ*, which is contraction of *tung* and *aʔ*, literally means "on/in the hand of," used for more emphasis. *tungaʔ* and *kiangaʔ* can be interchangeably used.
⁷ *kiangaʔ*, which is contraction of *kiang* and *aʔ*, literally means "to," used for more emphasis. *tungaʔ* and *kiangaʔ* can be interchangeably used.
⁸ *naŋn* contraction of *naŋ in* (2SG + ERG).

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

amaʔ in kɛi (pɛn) ama tungaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he   gives
me to him'
amaʔ in ama tungaʔ kɛi a-oŋ pʲa hi
aman kɛi ama tungaʔ oŋ pʲa hi
aman kɛi amaʔ pʲa

amaʔ in naŋ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he gives
you to him'
amaʔ in ama tungaʔ naŋ a-oŋ pʲa hi
aman naŋ ama tungaʔ oŋ pʲa hi
aman naŋ ama tungaʔ pʲa hi ven
aman naŋ amaʔ pʲa

amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ a-pʲa hi   'he gives
him to him'
amaʔ in ama tungaʔ amaʔ a-pʲa hi
aman ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi
aman amaʔ pɛn ama tungaʔ pʲa
aman ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa

ei te in amaʔ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ i-pʲa hi   'we (you and I (and
others)) give him to him'
ei te in ama tungaʔ amaʔ i-pʲa hi
en ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi haŋ
en ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa haŋ
en ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa

ko te in amaʔ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ ka-pʲa uʔ hi   'we (excluding
you) give him to him'
ko te in ama tungaʔ amaʔ ka-pʲa uʔ hi
ko ama tungaʔ amaʔ ka-pʲa uʔ hi
(ko) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa hi uŋ
(ko) ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa uŋ
ko ama tungaʔ amaʔ pʲa

ko te in naŋ (pɛn) ama tungaʔ ka-oŋ pʲa uʔ hi   'we   give
you to him'
ko te in ama tungaʔ naŋ ka-oŋ pʲa hi
ko ama tungaʔ naŋ koŋ pʲa uʔ hi
(ko) ama tungaʔ naŋ oŋ pʲa uŋ

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ko naŋ ama tungaʔ oŋ pʲa

ko te in amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ kiangaʔ ka-oŋ pʲa uʔ hi　　　'we give him
to you'
ko te in naŋ kiangaʔ amaʔ koŋ pʲa uʔ hi
ko amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ kiangaʔ koŋ pʲa uʔhi
ko naŋ kiangaʔ amaʔ koŋ pʲa uʔ hi
(ko) amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʲa uŋ
ko amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʲa

kɛima in amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ (kiangaʔ) ka-oŋ pʲa hi　　　'I give him to
you'
kɛima in naŋ (kiangaʔ) amaʔ ka-oŋ pʲa hi
kɛn amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ koŋ pʲa hi
(kɛn) amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʲa iŋ
kɛn amaʔ naŋ oŋ pʲa

amaʔ in kɛi (pɛn) naŋ kiangaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi　　　'he gives me to
you'
amaʔ in naŋ kiangaʔ kɛi a-oŋ pʲa hi
aman kɛi (pɛn) naŋ tungaʔ oŋ pʲa hi
aman kɛi (pɛn) naŋ tungaʔ oŋ pʲa hi ven
aman kɛi (pɛn) naŋ tungaʔ oŋ pʲa

amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ a-oŋ pʲa hi　　　'he gives him
to you'
amaʔ in naŋ kiangaʔ amaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ oŋ pʲa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) naŋ oŋ pʲa hi ven

naŋma in amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi na-oŋ pʲa hi　　　'you
give him to me'
naŋma in kɛi tungaʔ amaʔ na-oŋ pʲa hi
naŋn amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi noŋ pʲa hi
(naŋn) amaʔ kɛi oŋ pʲa teʔ/hi teʔ
(naŋn) amaʔ oŋ pʲa teʔ

no te in amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi na-oŋ pʲa uʔ hi　　　'you (pl) give
him to me'
no te in kɛi tungaʔ amaʔ na-oŋ pʲa uʔ hi
no amaʔ kɛi noŋ pʲa uʔ hi
(no) amaʔ oŋ pʲa uʔ teʔ
no amaʔ kɛi oŋ pʲa

amaʔ in naŋ (pɛn) kɛi a-oŋ pʲa hi　　　'he gives you
to me'

verbal person marking

amaʔ in kɛi tungaʔ naŋ a-oŋ pʲa hi
aman naŋ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʲa hi
aman naŋ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʲa

amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he gives
him to me'
aman amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʲa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) kɛi oŋ pʲa

amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) ei a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he gives him to us
(you and me (and others))'
amaʔ in ei tungaʔ amaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) ei oŋ pʲa hi
aman amaʔ (pɛn) ei oŋ pʲa

amaʔ in amaʔ (pɛn) ko a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he gives
him to us (excluding you)'
aman amaʔ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʲa hi

amaʔ in naŋ (pɛn) ko a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he gives you
to us'
aman naŋ (pɛn) ko oŋ pʲa hi

amaʔ in ko (pɛn) naŋ tungaʔ a-oŋ pʲa hi   'he gives us to
you'
aman ko (pɛn) naŋ oŋ pʲa hi

Inanimate
(kɛimaʔ in) naŋmaʔ ka-oŋ pʲa hi   'I give it
to you'
(kɛn) naŋ oŋ pʲa iŋ
(kɛn) naŋ oŋ pʲa

amaʔ ka-pʲa hi   'I give it to him'
kɛn amaʔ pʲa iŋ
kɛn amaʔ pʲa

naŋ amaʔ pʲa ve   'You give it to him'

B. Full transitive paradigms

Future		1st person					2nd person			3rd person		
		SG	DU.EX	PL.EX	DU.IN	PL.IN	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1	SG						**koŋ[9] mu diŋ (hi)** oŋ mu niŋ oŋ mu diŋ hi iŋ oŋ mu diŋ			**ka (va)[10] mu diŋ (hi)** (va) mu niŋ (va) mu diŋ hi iŋ mu diŋ		
	DU.EX / PL.EX						**koŋ mu diŋ uʔ (hi)** oŋ mu nuŋ oŋ mu diŋ hi uŋ oŋ mu diŋ			**ka (va) mu diŋ uʔ (hi)** (va) mu nuŋ (va) mu diŋ hi uŋ mu diŋ		
	DU.IN / PL.IN						**i-oŋ mu diŋ (hi)** oŋ mu diŋ hi haŋ oŋ mu ni oŋ mu diŋ			**i (va) mu diŋ (hi)** (va) mu diŋ hi haŋ (va) mu ni mu diŋ		
2	SG	**oŋ mu ni teʔ** oŋ mu diŋ								**mu ni teʔ** mu diŋ		
	DU/PL	**oŋ mu nu teʔ** oŋ mu diŋ								**mu nu teʔ** mu diŋ		
3	SG	**oŋ mu in teʔ** oŋ mu diŋ					**oŋ mu in teʔ** oŋ mu diŋ			**mu in teʔ** mu diŋ		
	DU/PL	**oŋ mu un teʔ** oŋ mu diŋ					**oŋ mu un teʔ** oŋ mu diŋ			**mu un teʔ** mu diŋ		

Table 11. Future transitive paradigm of mu 'see'

Future negative	1st person		2nd person				3rd person		

[9] Contraction of *ka-oŋ*

[10] For 3rd person, *va*, equivalent to *oŋ* (1st and 2nd person), can be used for emphasize.

	DU / PL	**oŋ mu kɛi nu teʔ** oŋ mu lo diŋ		**mu kɛi nu teʔ** mu lo diŋ
3	SG	**oŋ mu kɛi in teʔ** oŋ mu lo diŋ	**oŋ mu kɛi in teʔ** oŋ mu lo diŋ	**mu kɛi in teʔ** mu lo diŋ
	DU/ PL	**oŋ mu kɛi un teʔ** oŋ mu lo diŋ	**oŋ mu kɛi un teʔ** oŋ mu lo diŋ	**mu kɛi un teʔ** mu lo diŋ

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

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