The Applicative Suffix *-na* in K'cho

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The K'cho language is spoken in southern Chin State, Myanmar, primarily in Mindat Township. The population of K'cho speakers is somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000. K'cho has no generally accepted standard orthography; we have tried to follow the most widely used conventions, as seen in Jordan (1969) and *Ng'thu K'thaì* (The New Testament, 2001) but supplemented by distinguishing long from short vowels (doubling the former) and tones (marked only for content words; a grave accent indicates a low tone and an acute accent a rising tone; unmarked syllables have a high tone). See Nolan (2002) for more details concerning K'cho phonology and orthography. Mang is responsible for the principal examples, and most of arguments and conclusions of this paper. Bedell is responsible for the structure diagrams and for the English text. Examples with chapter and verse citations are taken from 'Màtheiû' (the Gospel according to Matthew) in *Ng'thu K'thaì* (2001).

Applicative *-na*. The K'cho language has a suffix *-na*, illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1)   *Ak'hmó   noh   k'khìm   luum-na(k) ci.*
        child   P   knife   play-na   NF
        The child played with a/the knife.

(2)   *Om   lah   Tam noh   htung   cuh   ui   thah-na(k) ci   goi.*
        Om   and Tam P   stick   D   dog   beat-na   NF   DL
        Om and Tam beat a/the dog with the stick.

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If the suffix *-na* is removed, the structure and meaning of the sentence must change, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

(3)   *Ak'hmó   lùum ci.*
             child   play NF
             The child played.

(4)   *Om lah Tam noh ui   that ci   goi.*
             Om and Tam P   dog beat NF   DL
             Om and Tam beat a/the dog.

The verb *lùum* 'play' in (3) is intransitive, with a single subject argument (*ak'hmó* 'child'). The verb *luum-na* in (1) is however transitive, with an object argument (*k'khìm* 'knife') in addition to the subject. The postposition *noh* in (1) marks the subject of a transitive verb. It cannot appear in an intransitive sentence like (5), nor can an object appear whether or not *noh* is there as in (6) or (7).

(5)   **Ak'hmó   noh   lùum ci.*
             child   P   play NF

(6)   **Ak'hmó   k'khìm   lùum ci.*
             child   knife   play NF

(7)   **Ak'hmó   noh k'khìm   lùum ci.*
             child   P   knife   play NF

The verb *that* 'beat' in (4) is transitive with a subject argument (*Om lah Tam*) and an object argument (*ui* 'dog'). The verb *thah-na* in (2) is however ditransitive, with a second object argument (*htung cuh* 'the stick') in addition to the subject and object of *that*. Note that *noh* appears in both (2) and (4). But just as in (6) or (7), no second object may not appear without *-na*.

(8)   **Om lah Tam noh htung   cuh ui   that ci   goi.*
             Om   and Tam P   stick   D   dog beat NF   DL

When suffixed to a verb in cases like these, *-na* creates a derived verb with one more argument than the base verb, but without changing the status of the pre-existing arguments. Suffixes like this are often called 'applicative suffixes' and the verbs they create, 'applicative verbs'.

Stem Alternation. As illustrated in (1) and (2), *-na* appears followed by the consonant *k*. As argued in Nolan (2002), this *k* does not belong to *-na*, but is inserted following verb stems whose final syllable is open and has a short vowel before the tense markers *ci* (non-future) and *khai* (future). No such *k* appears in (3) or (4) since the phonological condition is not met. As shown in (9) and (10), when neither *ci* nor *khai* directly follows *-na*, no *k* appears.

(9)   *k'khìm   luum-na   ne*
             knife   play-na   C
             playing with a/the knife

(10)   *htung   cuh ui   thah-na   ni   ne*
             stick   D   dog beat-na   DL   C
             beating a/the dog with the stick

On the other hand, any word meeting the conditions (here the inceptive auxiliary *lo*) will appear with *k*, as in (11) and (12).

(11) *Ak'hmó   lùum lo(k)   ci.*
      child   play begin   NF
      The child began to play.

(12) *Om lah Tam noh ui   that lo(k)   ci   goi.*
      Om and Tam P   dog beat begin   NF   DL
      Om and Tam began to beat a/the dog.

The form *-na* which we see in (9) and (10) as well as in (1) and (2) when the *k* is excluded, has a high tone. But there is another form *-nák*, seen in (13) and (14), which has a rising tone and a final *k*.

(13) *Ak'hmó   noh   k'khìm   a   luum-nák   ung*
      child   P   knife   3   play-na   when
      when the child played with a/the knife

(14) *Om lah Tam noh htung   cuh ui   ani   thah-nák   ung*
      Om and Tam P   stick   D   dog 3DL   beat-na   when
      when Om and Tam beat a/the dog with the stick

Like many K'cho verbs, *-na* exhibits stem alternation: depending on the syntactic context and on pragmatic factors, either the stem I form (*-na*) or the stem II form (*-nák*) is used. In (1) and (2) we see the stem I form, but in (13) and (14) the stem II form. When *-na* attaches to a verb, that verb appears in its stem II form. Thus the stem I form *lùum* has a low tone in (3) and (11), but the stem II form *luum* has a high tone in (1), (9) and (13). The stem I form *that* has a syllable final *t* in (4) and (12), but the stem II form *thah* has a syllable glottal stop *h* in (2), (10) and (14). Some K'cho verbs do not show such stem alternation; The phonological aspect of K'cho stem alternation is discussed in Nolan (2003). For a discussion of parallel facts from closely related Daai, see Hartmann (2002).

Interestingly, the auxiliary *lo* illustrated in (11) and (12) appears between the verb stem and *-na*, as in (15) and (16).

(15) *Ak'hmó   noh   k'khìm   luum loo-na(k)   ci.*
      child   P   knife   play begin-na   NF
      The child began to play with a/the knife.

(16) *Om lah Tam noh htung   cuh ui   thah loo-na(k) ci   goi.*
      Om and Tam P   stick   D   dog beat begin-na   NF   DL
      Om and Tam began to beat a/the dog with the stick.

It also distinguishes stem I (*lo*) and stem II (*loo*) forms, the latter appearing in the same contexts as other stem II forms. Compare (15) and (16) with (11) and (12). Finally, we note that K'cho

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has a postposition *on* 'with' which can have a meaning very similar to *-na* in examples like (17) and (18).

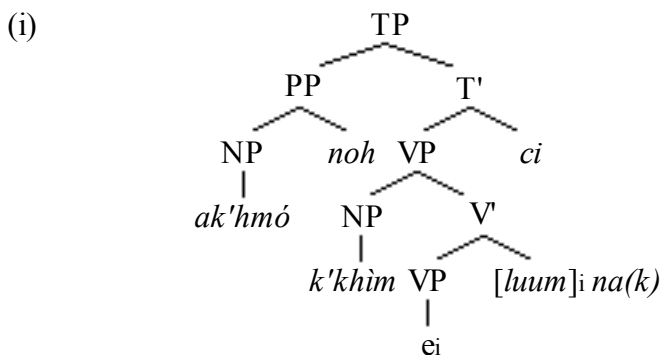(17) *Ak'hmó   cuh   k'khìm   on   lùum ci.*
      child   D   knife   with play NF
      The child played with a/the knife.

(18) *Om lah Tam noh ui   htung   on   that ci   goi.*
      Om   and Tam P   dog stick   with beat NF   DL
      Om and Tam beat the dog with a stick.

    Structures. For a sentence like (3) we assume a syntactic structure like (iii).

(iii)
```
              TP
           ／    ＼
        NP        T'
        │      ／    ＼
      ak'hmó  VP       ci
              │
             lúum
```
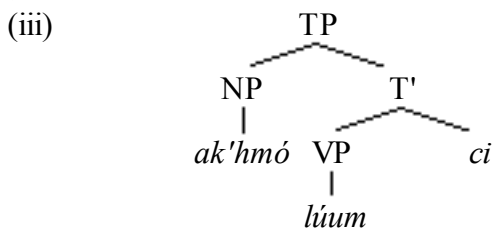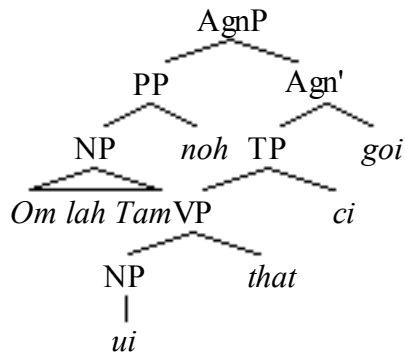
In (iii) the tense marker *ci* is the syntactic head (T); it combines with a verb phrase (VP) to form a tense phrase (T') which in turn combines with the subject to form a larger tense phrase (TP). In this example TP represents a full clause. If *-na* is present as in sentence (1) then the syntactic structure will be (i).

(i)
```
                  TP
               ／    ＼
            PP          T'
         ／    ＼     ／    ＼
       NP      noh  VP       ci
       │          ／    ＼
     ak'hmó     NP        V'
                │       ／    ＼
              k'khìm   VP      [luum]ᵢ na(k)
                       │
                       eᵢ
```

In (i) *k'khìm* 'knife' is the object of *-na* rather than of *luum* 'play'. That *-na* is a suffix rather than an independent verb is indicated by joining *luum* to it. That *luum* behaves as the syntactic head of the lower VP is shown by co-indexing it with an empty head verb (V). The symbol 'e' is not a K'cho word, but indicates that its syntactic position is empty; that is, contains no phonological substance. *Noh* is analyzed as a postposition (P) which combines with a noun phrase (NP) to form a postpositional phrase (PP).
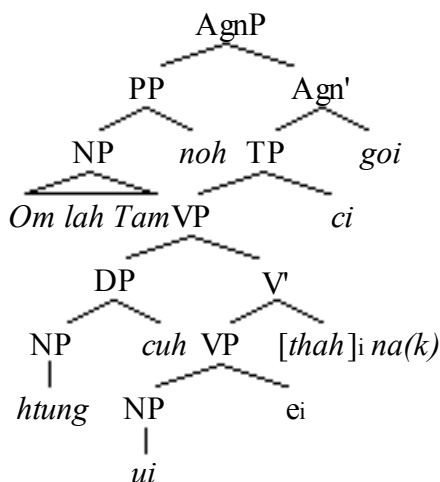
    For a sentence like (4) we assume a syntactic structure like (iv).

(iv)

```
                    AgnP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
             PP            Agn'
          ┌───┴───┐     ┌───┴───┐
         NP      noh   TP      goi
      ┌───┴───┐     ┌───┴───┐
   Om lah Tam VP            ci
           ┌───┴───┐
          NP       that
           │
          ui
```
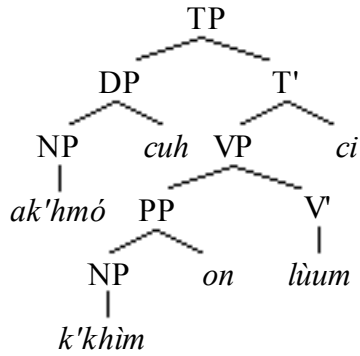
Structure (iv) differs from (iii) in several respects. Unlike *luum* in (iii), the verb *that* 'beat' in (iv) is transitive. The subject in (iv) is the conjoined noun phrase *Om lah Tam*, and the object is *ui* 'dog'. Structure (iv) contains the number agreement marker *goi*, indicating that the subject is dual. The particle *goi* belongs to the category Agn (number agreement), which combines with TP to form a number agreement phrase (Agn') and then with the subject NP to form a larger number agreement phrase (AgnP). The K'cho system of agreement between verbs and their subject and objects is described in Bedell (2000). In this example, AgnP represents a full clause. If *-na* is present as in sentence (2), then the structure will be (ii). Just as in (i), the presence of *-na* in (ii) introduces an object determiner phrase (DP; *htung cuh* 'the stick'), this time in addition to the object already there. The K'cho deictic *cuh* is roughly equivalent to English 'that'. NPs followed by *cuh* are normally definite; NPs not followed by *cuh* may be either definite or indefinite. According to this analysis, the object position in (i) and one of the object positions in (ii) are syntactically dependent on the applicative suffix *-na*. Both are understood as instrumental arguments corresponding to an English PP with *with*.

(ii)

```
                       AgnP
                 ┌──────┴──────┐
                PP            Agn'
             ┌───┴───┐     ┌───┴───┐
            NP      noh   TP      goi
         ┌───┴───┐     ┌───┴───┐
    Om lah Tam   VP            ci
              ┌───┴───┐
             DP       V'
          ┌───┴───┐ ┌───┴───┐
         NP      cuh VP   [thah]i na(k)
          │        ┌───┴───┐
        htung     NP       ei
                   │
                  ui
```

Sentences (17) and (18) with a K'cho PP will have structures like (xvii) and (xviii).

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(xvii)
```
                    TP
           ┌────────┴──────┐
          DP              T'
       ┌───┴───┐       ┌───┴───┐
      NP      cuh     VP       ci
       │            ┌───┴───┐
    ak'hmó         PP       V'
               ┌────┴───┐    │
              NP       on   lùum
               │
            k'khìm
```

(xviii)
```
                      AgnP
               ┌───────┴──────┐
              PP            Agn'
          ┌────┴────┐    ┌────┴────┐
         NP        noh  TP        goi
      ┌───┴───┐       ┌───┴───┐
   Om lah Tam        VP       ci
                 ┌────┴────┐
                PP         V'
            ┌────┴───┐  ┌───┴───┐
           NP       on NP      that
            │           │
          htung        ui
```
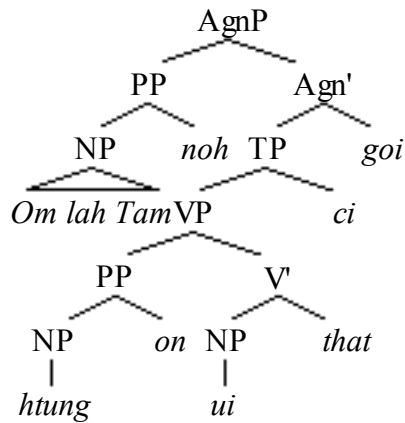
Variations 1. An example which generally fits the pattern of (1) and (2) is seen in (20) and (21).

(20)   *Om   ka   zèi-na(k)   ci.*
        Om   1   pleased-na   NF
        I like/am pleased with Om.

(21)   *cun-ah   ng'phäíng'nà   goi   cuh   kä   zèi-na(k)   ci   gùi.* (20:24)
        D-P   brother   DL   D   not   pleased-na   NF   PL
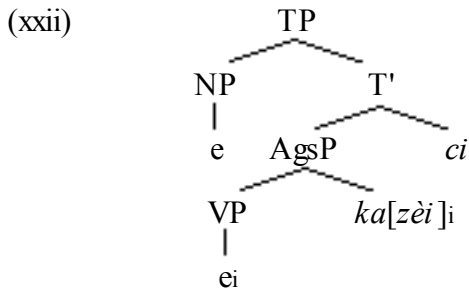   They were not pleased with the (two) brothers about that.

Here *-na* attaches to the stative verb *zèi* 'be pleased', and provides one of the most common ways to express affection or admiration in K'cho. Without *-na*, this verb (which corresponds to an English adjective) is strictly intransitive, as in (22).

(22)   *Ka   zèi   ci.*
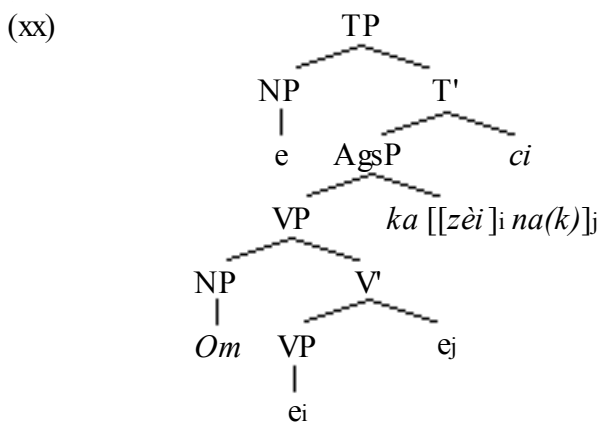   1   pleased   NF
        I am pleased.

No sentence like (23) is possible.

(23)   **Om   ka   zèi   ci.*
        Om   1   pleased   NF

Sentence (22) will have the structure shown in (xxii).

(xxii)

```
                    TP
             ┌───────┴───────┐
            NP              T'
             │         ┌─────┴─────┐
             e       AgsP          ci
                 ┌────┴────┐
                VP      ka[zèi]ᵢ
                 │
                eᵢ
```

The subject of (22) is not overtly present, and in this case is identified by the first person singular subject agreement particle *ka*, which belongs to the category Ags. Though usually written as a separate word, its order with respect to the verb stem can be accounted for by taking it to be a prefix as in (xxii). Then the structure of (20) will be (xx), parallel to (i) and (ii).

(xx)

```
                       TP
               ┌────────┴────────┐
              NP               T'
               │          ┌──────┴──────┐
               e        AgsP            ci
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                   VP    ka [[zèi]ᵢ na(k)]ⱼ
               ┌────┴────┐
              NP        V'
               │     ┌───┴───┐
              Om    VP       eⱼ
                     │
                    eᵢ
```

The subject of (xx) is the same empty pronoun as in (xxii), and *Om* is the object introduced by *-na*. Judging by English 'like' this seems to be a direct (accusative) object, though judging by 'pleased' it would be oblique. In neither case does the object argument dependent on *-na* in (20) have the same meaning as those in (1) or (2). Therefore the instrumental meaning observed in (1) and (2) cannot be attributed to *-na* alone. It depends in part on the particular verb to which *-na* attaches. The verb *zèi* does not distinguish stem I and stem II forms.

Variations 2. An example less similar to (1), (2), (20) and (21) is seen in (24) and (25).

(24)   *Tam noh Yóng k'chú-na(k) ci.*
    Tam P Yong wife-na NF
    Tam is married to Yong.

(25)   *ani ah k'chú cuh a nà noh k'chú-na tu bà hlä,* (22:24)
    he P wife D his brother P wife-na also again OPT
    Let his younger brother also remarry the wife.

Here *-na* attaches not to a verb, but to the noun *k'chú* 'wife'. Thus there is no verbal sentence if *-na* is removed; an equational sentence as in (26) must be assumed.

(26)   *Yóng Tam ah k'chú ah kya(k) ci.*

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Yong Tam P   wife P   be   NF
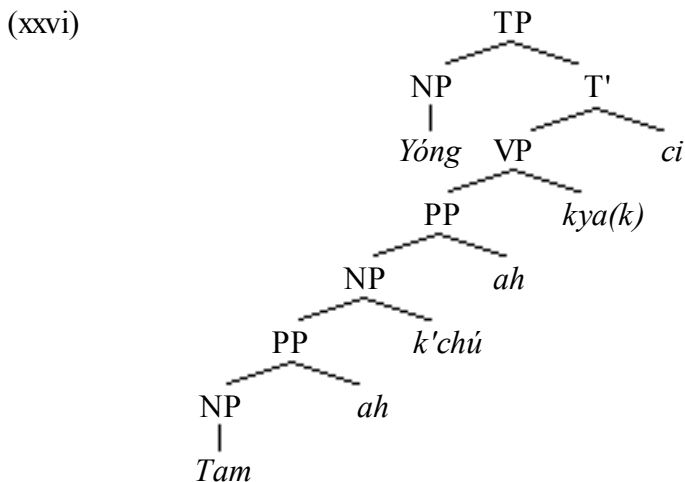Yong is Tam's wife.

Note that the relation between (24) and (26) is slightly different than that between (20) and (22). While *Yóng* is the subject of (26), the argument introduced by *-na* (*Tam*) is the subject of (24) and *Yóng* is an object. This is more like a causative than an applicative construction. Also, (24) has an active interpretation in addition to the stative one glossed; that is, it might be glossed as (24').
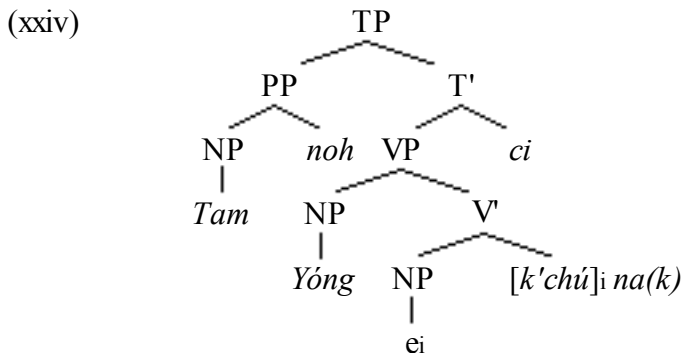
(24')   Tam married Yong.

But (26) has only a stative interpretation, and cannot be glossed as (26').

(26')   Yong became Tam's wife.

This additional semantic dimension is clearly to be attributed to *-na*. (26) will have the structure in (xxvi).

(xxvi)

```
                          TP
                     ┌────┴────┐
                    NP         T'
                    │      ┌───┴───┐
                   Yóng   VP       ci
                      ┌───┴───┐
                     PP      kya(k)
                  ┌───┴───┐
                 NP       ah
              ┌───┴───┐
             PP      k'chú
          ┌───┴───┐
         NP       ah
         │
        Tam
```

Of interest in (xxvi) is the K'cho copula *kya*, which somewhat mysteriously requires its complement (the predicate nominal) to appear with the postposition *ah*. The same postposition can mark a genitive. The structure of (24) will then be as in (xxiv). This is perhaps what we would expect if the copula *kya* is not a semantically full verb, but required in main clauses for morphosyntactic reasons which do not arise when the verbalizing *-na* is present.

(xxiv)

```
                    TP
               ┌────┴────┐
              PP         T'
           ┌──┴──┐    ┌──┴──┐
          NP    noh  VP     ci
          │        ┌──┴──┐
         Tam      NP     V'
                  │    ┌──┴──┐
                 Yóng  NP  [k'chú]ᵢ na(k)
                       │
                       eᵢ
```

Variations 3. A similar example is seen in (27) and (28). Here *-na* attaches to the noun *ng'mìng* 'name'.

(27)   *Om   ka   ng'mìng-na(k)   ci.*
          Om   1   name-na   NF
          I am named Om.

(28)   *Mattheu   ng'mìng-na(k)   ci   cuh* (9: 9)
          Matthew   name-na   NF   D
          one (who was) named Matthew

As with (24) and (26), removing *-na* leads to the equational sentence (29).
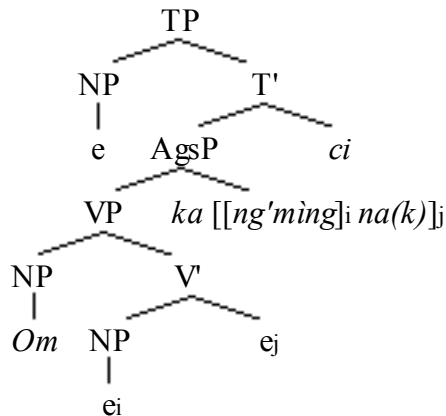
(29)   *Om   ka   ng'mìng   ah   kya(k)   ci.*
          Om   1   name   P   be   NF
          Om is my name.

In this case too there is a readjustment of argument structure. In (27), the subject is empty and the agreement particle *ka* shows that it is first person singular. The name *Om* is the object of the verb *ng'mìng-na* and is present thanks to *-na*. In (29), the name *Om* is the subject and the empty first person pronoun is not an argument at all. The particle *ka* here shows agreement with this genitive. The structure of (29) will be (xxix).

(xxix)
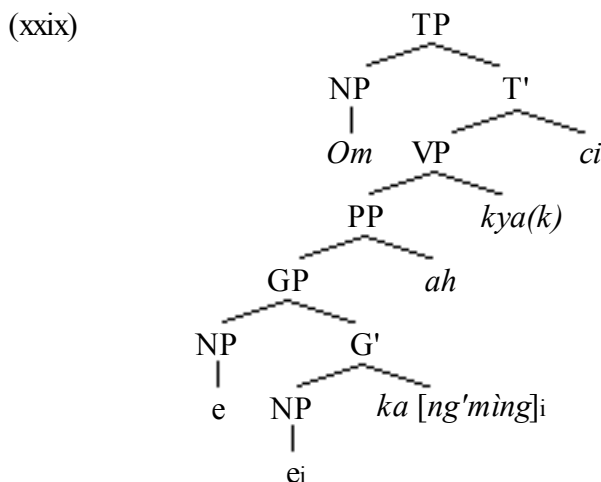
Genitive agreement particles like *ka* belong to the category G; they combine with one NP (the possessed entity) to form a genitive phrase (G') and with a second NP (the possessor) to form a larger genitive phrase (GP). The head indicates agreement with the possessor, usually empty, and appears as a prefix to the head noun of the possessed entity. For a description of the the genitive in the related Lai language, see Bedell (2002). The structure of (27) will be as in (xxvii).

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(xxvii)
```
                      TP
                    /    \
                 NP        T'
                 |        /  \
                 e    AgsP      ci
                     /    \
                  VP    ka [[ng'mìng]ᵢ na(k)]ⱼ
                /    \
             NP       V'
             |       /  \
            Om    NP     eⱼ
                  |
                  eᵢ
```

As in (xxiv), the copula *kya* does not appear, and *-na* is suffixed to the head noun. As in the case of (24) the derived verb *ng'mìng-na* can be taken as active. In that case, the English gloss would be something like (27'), but (29) cannot be glossed as (29').

(27')   I came to be named Om.

(29')   Om became my name.

Notice that *ng'mìng-na* differs from the English verb 'name' in that it has no agent argument. That meaning is expressed in K'cho by using the noun *ng'mìng* as the object of a verb: *ng'mìng hlui* 'give the name'.

  Variations 4. An example of particular interest is seen in (30) and (31). Here *-na* is suffixed to a stem *ka*, which is otherwise used as an anaphoric possessed noun.

(30)   *Sin ah tumat ka ka-na(k) khai.* (Jordan, sv. *ka-nak*, p. 58)
      this P one 1 one-na FUT
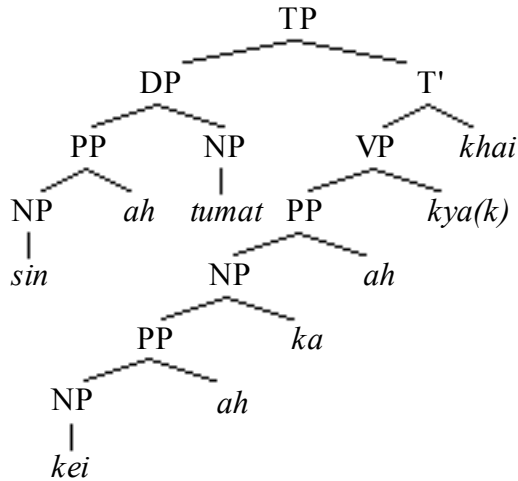   I will take this one (as my own).

(31)   *Khãnmòpí lah khàwm'dek ka-na(k) ca pá   aw,* (11:25)
      heaven and earth   one-na NF-C father !
      Father, who have heaven and earth (as your own),

As in (26) and (29), an equational sentence may result here by removing *-na*, as in (32).
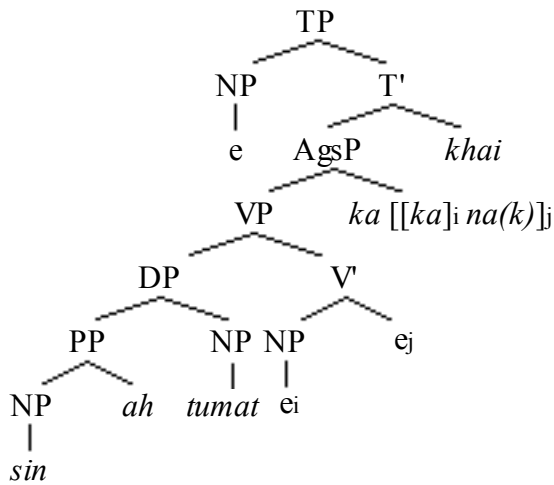
(32)   *Sin ah tumat kei ah ka ah kya(k) khai.*
      this P one I P one P be FUT
      This one will be mine.

The meaning of ownership, clearly present in (30) and (31), comes from *ka*; but the subject argument in (30) and the relatized argument in (31) are introduced via *-na*. The structures of (30) and (32) will be (xxx) and (xxxii). (xxxii) contains an overt possessor *kei* 'I' without agreement. In (xxx) the first *ka* indicates subject agreement and the second is the anaphoric possessed noun.

(xxxii)

```
                              TP
                    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                   DP                   T'
              ┌────┴────┐          ┌────┴────┐
             PP        NP         VP        khai
          ┌───┴──┐      │      ┌───┴───┐
         NP     ah    tumat   PP     kya(k)
          │            ┌───────┴───┐
         sin          NP          ah
                  ┌────┴────┐
                 PP         ka
              ┌───┴───┐
             NP       ah
              │
             kei
```

(xxx)

```
                         TP
                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                  NP           T'
                   │       ┌───┴───┐
                   e      AgsP    khai
                       ┌───┴────┐
                      VP      ka [[ka]i na(k)]j
                  ┌────┴────┐
                 DP         V'
             ┌────┴────┐  ┌──┴──┐
            PP   NP   NP      ej
          ┌──┴──┐  │    │
         NP    ah tumat ei
          │
         sin
```

Jordan's Analysis. The first discussion of K'cho *-na* that we are aware of is that in Father Marc Jordan's *Chin Dictionary and Grammar* (1969). He mentions it under Auxiliary Verbs and Verbal Affixes: remark about the verb 'to have' (*Grammar*, p. 58). Numerous examples are to be found among the entries in the dictionary. Jordan was familiar with the full range of examples above, and notes the correlation of those like (24), (27) and (30) with the notion of possession. He says, however, that in an example like (33), *na* is 'a genuine verb by itself;' it is not to be confused with examples where *-na* is a suffix. (Jordan glosses this example as 'he owns land'. As should be clear from the following discussion, this gloss is somewhat misleading.)

(33)   *Khò-na(k) ci.* (Jordan, sv. *nak,* p.157)
        land-na   NF
        He has it as his land.

It is not difficult to test this analysis: if *-na* is suffixed to *khò* 'land' then a person agreement particle will precede the derived verb *khò-na*; if it is an independent verb, such a particle will precede *-na*. Changing (33) to (34) with a non-third person subject, we see that *-na* is a suffix in this example also. (35) is not a possible K'cho sentence.

(34)   *Ka khò-na(k)   ci.*

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1   land-na   NF
        I have it as my land.

(35)   *Khò ka   na(k) ci.
        land 1   na   NF

The same point can be made with a third person subject if (33) is changed to (36) where stem II is used. Stem II verbs have a third person agreement particle. Again, (37) is not a possible K'cho phrase.

(36)   *a*   *khò-nák*   *ung*
        3   land-na   if
        if he has it as his land

(37)   **khò a*   *nák*   *ung*
        land 3   na   if

    A sentence like (34) thus corresponds to one like (38) if *-na* is removed.

(38)   *Ka*   *khò*   *ah*   *kya(k)*   *ci.*
        1   land P   be   NF
        It is my land.

(34) and (38) differ in meaning from (39) and (40).

(39)   *Khò*   *cuh*   *ka*   *ka*   *ah*   *kya(k)*   *ci.*
        land D   1   one P   be   NF
        The land is mine.

(40)   *Khò*   *cuh*   *ka*   *ka-na(k)*   *ci.*
        land D   1   one-na   NF
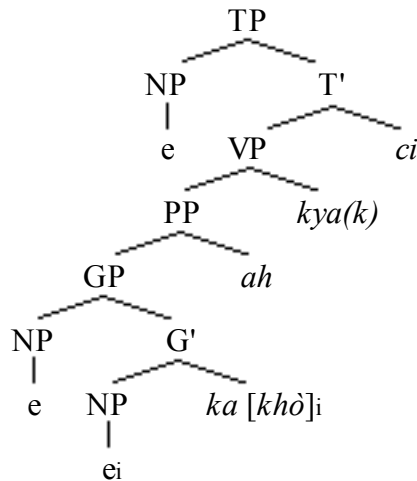   I have the land (as my own).

In (34) and (38) there is a particular piece of land identifiable in context and *khò* characterizes it rather than referring to it. If this land is called *Lunglai*, then (34) and (38) will become (34') and (38').

(33')   *Lunglai*   *ka*   *khò-na(k)*   *ci.*
        Lunglai   1   land-na   NF
        I have Lunglai as my land.

(38')   *Lunglai*   *ka*   *khò*   *ah*   *kya(k)*   *ci.*
        Lunglai   1   land P   be   NF
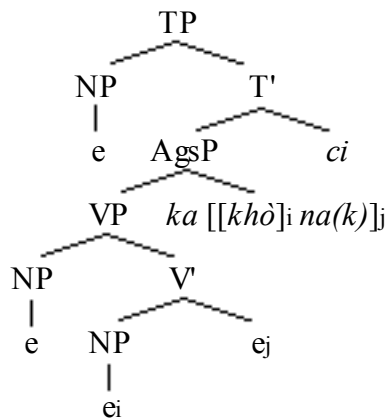   Lunglai is my land.

In (39) and (40), by contrast, *khò* refers to and identifies what it is that the speaker owns. The structures of (38) and (34) will thus be (xxxviii) and (xxxiv).

(xxxviii)

```
                              TP
                      ┌────────┴────────┐
                     NP                 T'
                      │           ┌──────┴──────┐
                      e          VP             ci
                          ┌───────┴───────┐
                         PP             kya(k)
                     ┌────┴────┐
                    GP         ah
               ┌─────┴─────┐
              NP          G'
               │      ┌────┴────┐
               e     NP      ka [khò]ᵢ
                      │
                     eᵢ
```

In (xxxviii), the empty NP attached to TP is the third person singular subject which refers to the particular piece of land whose ownership is under consideration. The empty NP under GP is the first person singular possessor of the land agreed with by the genitive particle *ka*, not an argument of any verb or noun.

(xxxiv)

```
                         TP
                  ┌───────┴───────┐
                 NP               T'
                  │         ┌──────┴──────┐
                  e        AgsP           ci
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                     VP      ka [[khò]ᵢ na(k)]ⱼ
              ┌───────┴───────┐
             NP              V'
              │         ┌─────┴─────┐
              e        NP           eⱼ
                        │
                       eᵢ
```

In (xxxiv), the empty NP attached to TP is the first person singular subject agreed with by the subject agreement particle *ka*. The empty NP attached to VP is the third person singular object of *khò-na* which refers to the particular piece of land. (xxxviii) and (xxxiv) may be compared with (xxix) and (xxvii); the syntax is the same, but the semantic relation between a piece of land and the noun *khò* is different from the relationship between a name and the noun *ng'ming*.

Variations 5. There are at least two K'cho verbs which are homophonous with -*na* in both forms.

(41)   *K'hngái   ka   na(k) ci.*
        earring   1   wear NF
        I wear earrings.

(42)   *Ui   noh na   na(k) ci.*
        dog P   1   bark NF
        The/a dog barked at me.

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(43)   *Ka   lùu   nà(k) ci.*
         1   head   ache   NF
         I have a headache.

(44)   *Khò   nàa   ci.*
         rain   continue   NF
         It rained for a long time.

The verbs *na* 'wear (rings)', *na* 'bark at' have stem I forms with a short vowel and high tone. The verb *nà* 'ache' has a stem I form with a low tone; the verb *nàa* 'rain continually' has a stem I form with a low tone and a long vowel and thus is not followed by *k* in (44). They are all independent verbs as shown by the position of the subject agreement particle *ka* in (41) or the object agreement particle *na* in (42). Use of the auxiliary *lo* 'begin' will then give (45) to (48).

(45)   *K'hngái   ka   na   lo(k)   ci.*
         earring   1   wear   begin   NF
         I began to wear earrings.

(46)   *Ui   noh   na   na   lo(k) ci.*
         dog   P   1   bark   begin NF
         The dog began to bark at me.

(47)   *Ka   lùu   nà   lo(k) ci.*
         1   head   ache   begin NF
         My head began to ache.

(48)   *Khò   nàa   lo(k) ci.*
         rain   continue   begin NF
         It began to rain continually.

And in a context requiring stem II, we will find (49) to (52).

(49)   *k'hngái   ka   nák   loo   ung*
         earring   1   wear   begin   when/if
         when/if I begin to wear earrings

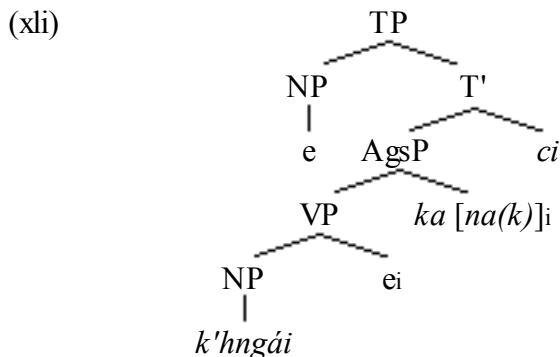(50)   *ui   noh   a   na   nák   loo   ung*
         dog   P   3   1   bark   begin   when/if
         when/if the dog begins to bark at me

(51)   *ka   lùu   a   nat   loo   ung*
         1   head   3   ache   come   when/if
         when/if my head aches

(52)   *khò   a   nàa   loo   ung*
         rain   3   rain   begin   when/if
         when/if it begins to rain for a long time

Comparing (49) to (52) with (15) and (16), we see another difference between the suffix *-na* and these verbs. If *lo* is present, *-na* must attach to it resulting in *loo-na*; no such reordering is possi-

ble with independent verbs. Note also that the verb *nà* 'ache' has a stem II form *nat*, and the verb *nàa* 'rain continually' does not distinguish a stem II form. The structure of a sentence like (41) will be (xli). Compare (xli) with (xx) or (xxxiv) above to see the difference between a suffix and a free verb.

(xli)

```
                        TP
                   ┌─────────┐
                  NP         T'
                   |      ┌──────┐
                   e    AgsP     ci
                      ┌──────┐
                     VP   ka [na(k)]i
                   ┌─────┐
                  NP     ei
                   |
                k'hngái
```

Related Languages and Conclusion. Helga Hartmann (2001) has discussed in detail the uses of the cognate form *-naak/na* in Daai, closely related to K'cho and spoken in a neighboring area of southern Chin State, Myanmar. She recognizes three uses: free verb, auxiliary and nominalizer (p. 143). The 'free verb' type covers *-naak/na* preceded by a noun. (53) is the same construction as K'cho (24), and (54) as K'cho (33). (Examples (53), (54) and (55) are numbered (2), (6) and (7) in Hartmann (2001). The word-by-word glosses have been changed to conform to the ones used here for K'cho.)

(53)   *Kah   ning   kkhyu-naak   vai   ni.* (p. 145)
           1   2   wife-na   must   EMPH
           I must indeed take you as my wife.

(54)   *Shih Sa   Ngjung   kahnih   jah   lou-na   kti   e.* (p. 146)
           (name of mountain)   1PL   3PL   field-na   NF   PL
           We planted our mountain fields on Shih Sa Ngjung.

(55)   *Ah   she   nu   kah   mshun   ah   nah   mlung-naak   ta   kah*
           3   cow   female   1   hurt   3   1   heart-na   if   1
           veei-a   lo   she. (p. 146)
           place-DIR   come   let
           If he has a grudge against me because I hurt his cow, let him come to me.

In all three Daai sentences there are agreement particles which precede the noun followed by *-naak/na* and not *-naak/na* itself. We take this to show conclusively that *-naak/na* is suffixed to the noun and not a free verb. That is, Hartmann's 'free verb' type is *-naak/na* suffixed to a noun and her auxiliary type is the same form suffixed to a verb, just as we have argued for K'cho. Our point is not that Daai *-naak/na* or K'cho *-na* is in no way verbal. Both forms have verb type stem alternation; but this does not establish that they are themselves verbs. As can be seen in our structures (i), (ii), (xx), (xxiv), (xxvii), (xxx) and (xxxiv), we take K'cho *-na* to belong to the syntactic category V; but it is a suffix and not a verb. It is no more verbal when it is suffixed to a noun than when it is suffixed to a verb. Hartmann suggests that her 'free verb' type represents the

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conservative remnant of an original verb meaning 'use', from which the other uses have derived through grammaticalization (2001; p. 155). We see no compelling reason to second this suggestion. It is perfectly plausible that Daai -*naak/na* and K'cho -*na* go back historically to a verb at some point; but it is equally plausible that attachment of these suffixes to nouns represents an innovation which occurred in Southern Chin languages and not elsewhere.

Hartmann's nominalizer type (p. 153) consists of nouns which are composed of a verb stem II followed by -*naak* (the stem II form of -*naak/na*). Such nouns are numerous in K'cho also. Jordan (*Grammar*, p.12) provides the following list of examples.

(56)   *ng'ngaihtüh-nák* 'thinking, meditation, reflection'
          zùm-nák 'faith, belief (act of believing)'
          zèi-nák 'joy, pleasure'

(57)   *kyóm-nák* 'beauty'
          hlü´ng-nák 'height'
          tan-nák 'value, preciousness'

(58)   *zùm-nák* 'belief (object of believing)'
          ääp-nák 'hope, confidence (object of trust)'
          m'hnii-nák 'love (object of desire)'

(59)   *hteih-nák* 'means of going, transportation'
          guk-nák 'means of writing, pen, pencil'
          k'daih-nák 'stabbing weapon, spear'

(60)   *hteih-nák* 'place of going, road, path'
          guk-nák 'place of writing, paper'
          k'daih-nák 'place of stabbing, wound'

A revised analysis is given in So-Hartmann (2009, 3.3.1.6, pp. 69-70).

F. K. Lehman and Ceu Hlun (2002) have discussed the historical development of nouns like (56) to (60) in Chin languages, and the use of -*naak* as a marker of relative clauses in Lai. They regard 'abstract' nouns like (56) or (57) as representing a recent extension of earlier, more concrete nouns like (59) or (60). While their general view of the relation of nouns like (56) to (60) to applicative suffixes like K'cho -*na* seems plausible enough, we see no compelling reason to think that nominalizations referring to actions (56) or states (57) have not always existed. (Lehman and Ceu Hlun (2002) refer to the suffix -*na* or -*naak* as an applicative verb. Their use of the term 'applicative' is somewhat different from ours, as defined in the opening section of this paper.) At the same time, it is likely that numbers of such abstract nouns have been augmented by the need to create words for Christian theological concepts via Bible translation. Examples of -*naak* as a relative marker in Lai (from *Lai Baibal Thiang* 1999) are (61) and (62).

(61)   *[mifirnih   an   baoh   khawh   i   an   fir   khawhnak] vawlei* (6:19)
          thief P   3PL   break-in   can   and   3PL   steal   can-naak   earth
          earth, [where thieves can break in and steal]

(62)   *[tluninn   an   in   onhnak   hna] inn* (10:11)
          lodging   3PL   2   offer   PL   house
          a house [where they offer you lodging]

In Lai, *-naak* is used in relative clauses when neither the subject nor an object is the locus of relativization. The structure of (61) will be (lxi).

(lxi)

```
                                    NP
                                  /    \
                        CP               vawlei
                      /    \
               AgsP          -nak
              /    \
    mifir nih an baoh khawh i
         an fir khawh
```
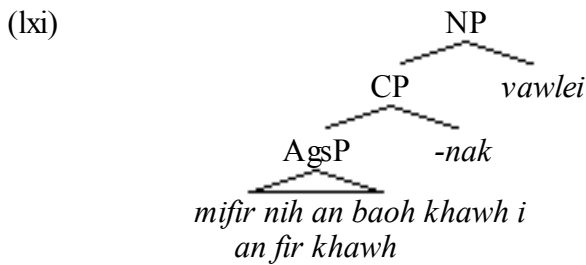
This is a typical Lai relative clause consisting of a clause followed by a complementizer (*-nak* here) which modifies a head noun (*vawlei* 'earth'). Since *-naak* is a suffix, it will be attached to the final element of the clause (the auxiliary *khawh* 'can'). The suffix *-naak* attaches to the stem II form of verbs or auxiliaries which have stem alternation; *khawh* 'can' contrasts with the stem I form *kho*.

Lehman and Ceu Hlun (2002) argue that this relative complementizer *-naak* can be plausibly derived from a homophonous Lai suffix parallel to the K'cho suffix in (56) to (60). We find their argument persuasive, and in any case have nothing to add to it here. But we would like to emphasize the distinction between the diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Lehman and Ceu Hlun are primarily concerned with the historical development of cognate morphological forms in the languages under study. Sometimes we agree with their analyses and sometimes we do not, but regardless of the diachronic facts, we would insist on the following points about the synchronic structure of K'cho. First, that *-na* as illustrated in our examples is always a suffix. Second, that the suffix *-nák* seen in (56) to (60) is a distinct suffix. Because these words are nouns rather than verbs, it must belong to the category N in the same sense as *-na* belongs to V. One might assume that these nouns contain, in addition to the applicative suffix *-na*, an inaudible nominalizing suffix which attaches to its stem II form; but there is no motivation for such a suffix other than to derive the nouns from the suffixed verbs. While the applicative suffix *-na* is fairly productive (with some semantic restrictions), the meaning attached to the argument it introduces is not always predictable, and must be learned. The suffix *-nák* is less productive and the meaning which characterizes the derived noun is not necessarily the same as that of the argument. A case in point in our examples is *zèi-na* 'like, admire' in (20) and (21) versus *zèi-nák* 'joy, pleasure' in (56). Such discrepancies entail that *-nák* cannot be synchronically derived from *-na* in K'cho (or vice-versa). Rather it must be morphologically distinct; in fact a nominalizing suffix. Though this is not the place to present detailed arguments, it seems to us that, by the same line of reasoning, Daai *-naak/-na* is always a suffix, the Daai and Lai applicative suffixes are distinct from the nominalizing suffixes, and the Lai relative complementizer seen in (61) and (62) is also morphologically distinct from both the applicative and nominalizing suffixes *-naak*.

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Abbreviations

    1 first person
    2 second person

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3 third person
C complementizer (or conjunction)
D deictic (or demonstrative)
DIR directional
DL dual
EMPH emphatic
FUT future
NF non-future
OPT optative
P postposition
PL plural

==

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