CHAPTER 6
GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the marking and description of grammatical relations in Tedim Chin. Payne (2006) observed grammatical relations as “structurally defined relations between words in phrases and clauses”. This is facilitated by the presence of at least two elements that are related. There are three main structural features for the identification of grammatical relations in a clause: (i) Case marking on nouns; (ii) Participant reference marking on verbs (agreement, concord); (iii) Constituent order.

Palmer (1994: 14) states that the subject (S), agent (A) and patient (P) in a language are the grammatical roles whereas the relation that holds together these roles are called grammatical relations. In an ergative system, the relationship among the grammatical roles is S=P and in an accusative system, S=A. In this chapter, the types of relation between subject, object and verb in Tedim Chin are examined.

Payne (1997: 128) described grammatical relations as relations between arguments and predicates operating in a level of linguistic structures. The predicate is constituted by the verb or verb phrase and the argument position is filled by nouns or noun phrases which are the subjects and objects of the predicate. The valency of the verb decides the number of arguments the predicate can take.

The chapter is structured as follows: §6.2 discusses grammatical relations in a noun phrase; §6.3 focuses on grammatical relations in clauses; §6.4 identifies subjects and objects; §6.5 examines oblique object and adjuncts; §6.6 describes valency and voice of a sentence. There are two types of voice: active and passive constructions. Valence is further divided into valence increasing operations (§6.6.1) constituted by causatives (§6.6.1.1) and applicatives (§6.6.1.2) and valence decreasing devices (§6.6.2) such as reflexives (§6.6.2.1), reciprocals (§6.6.2.2) and passives (§6.6.2.3)
6.2 Grammatical relations within Noun Phrase

In a noun phrase, grammatical relation is expressed when two nouns are in genitive relation. In Tedim Chin, the relation is marked on the genitive noun. The first noun carries an acute high tone to show the genitival relationship with the other noun. naŋŋék ‘baby’ is in genitival relation with án ‘food’.

(404) naŋŋék án
    baby.GEN food
    ‘The baby’s food’

nī ‘aunt’; nī ‘of aunt/belonging to aunt’

sám ‘hair’

(405) kà nī sám
    1POSS paternal aunt.GEN hair
    ‘My aunt’s hair’

6.3 Grammatical relations in Clauses

In an intransitive clause, in examples (406), the personal pronouns occupy the subject position. It shows person and number agreement with the pronominal enclitic which follows the verb. When the subject is in first person, the corresponding enclitic also takes first person. So, the subject is directly related to the enclitic form. The first person singular pronoun shows agreement with the first person singular enclitic which marks realis. Similarly, the first person plural shows agreement with the first person plural enclitic with realis marker. The subject pronoun and the enclitic cannot exchange their position. It is ungrammatical to use the verb agreement prefix with enclitic as shown in (407).

(406) keí paí íŋ
    1SG go.1 1SG.RLS
    ‘I went’
The third person singular pronoun does not take an agreement. In third person plural, the agreement comes as the plural marker which follows the verb.

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(410) ámâʔ paï
 3SG  go.1
‘He/she went’
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(411) ámaú paï úʔ
 3PL  go.1  PL
‘They went’
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The subject can exhibit or assume various semantic roles such as agent, instrument, patient etc.

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SUBJECT=AGENT

S  IO     DO  V
(412) ké-n tēmtéʔ tōʔ laï tēp
 1SG-ERG scissor  COM  paper cut.1
‘I cut a paper with a scissor’
```
6.4 Subjects and Objects

The grammatical relation of subject in Tedim Chin is defined as subject (S) together with agent (A) and the object can be defined as patient (P). This is clearly illustrated in (415) and (416). The first example (415) shows an intransitive clause which has a verb with one argument. This argument is the subject of the verb. In (416), the verb has two arguments which are assigned different roles according to its occurrence in the clause. The argument which is marked with an ergative case and occurs before the verb is A and which occurs between A and the verb is P. Tedim Chin has no case marking on S in an intransitive clause and similarly for P in a transitive clause in contrast to languages such as Yup’ik Eskimo (Alaska) as discussed in (Payne 1997: 135) which takes absolutive case marking on both S and P.

(415) niäŋbɔ́í käp
  Niangbawi cry.1
  ‘Niangbawi cries/cried’

(416) niäŋbɔ́í-ín laibú sìm
  Niangbawi-ERG book read.1
  ‘Niangbawi reads/is reading a book’
The subject niāŋbɔí is the only argument in an intransitive clause in (415). It can occupy the object position in passive sentence and has a peripheral status which is marked by a preposition in many languages. The subject can be omitted in a passive construction. In a passive construction, the object can be either demoted as an oblique object or promoted to the subject position. This will be discussed in the section on passives (§.6.6.2.3).

### 6.5 Oblique Objects and Adjuncts

The subject and the object are the obligatory arguments in a clause. The oblique object is a constituent of the dependent clause which acts as argument of the main clause. It is optional and lacks in expressing grammatical relation categories (Payne 1997: 129). In other words, arguments which are not subject and object are oblique (Kroeger 2005). The example in (417) illustrates oblique argument in parentheses. This shows that the clause can still be meaningful without it. In the example, the obligatory arguments are the subject keí ‘first person singular’ which is followed by an ergative case marker -ìn and the object xèdàp ‘shoe’ which precedes the verb leí ‘buy’.

(417) ké-n [kà lɔ́ m-nú tɔ̀ Ɂ] xèdàp leí

1SG-ERG 1POSS friend-FEM COM shoe buy.1

‘I bought a shoe with my friend (girl)’

### 6.6 Valency

Valency is a term associated with the arguments or participants in a verbal structure. Crystal (2003) defined valency as “the number and type of bonds that syntactic elements may form with each other”. A monovalent verb has one valency, a bivalent verb has two and trivalent has three as exemplified in (418), (419) and (420).

(418) limlàn təm

mirror break

‘A mirror breaks/broke’
Transitivity and valence of a verb are often relatable as an intransitive verb has only one argument, a transitive verb has two arguments and a ditransitive verb has three arguments and so on.

6.6.1 Valence Increasing Categories

Valence increasing categories means the verbs which can raise the number of participants or arguments. Valence can be either added or reduced depending on the nature of the operators. Causatives and applicatives are the two valence increasing operations in Tedim Chin like many other languages. It increases the number of participant roles in a verb predicate.

6.6.1.1 Causatives

A causative is a grammatical category which expresses causal relationships (Crystal 1994). Dixon (2012: 262) described a causative construction as involving ‘two events’ which are ‘a precipitating event’ and ‘a result’ as mentioned in Frawley (1992: 159), and ‘a causing event’ and ‘a caused event’ as discussed in Shibatani (1976b: 1). In simple terms, these can be represented as ‘a causer (one which causes an event)’ and ‘a causee (one on which an event is caused)’.

Dixon (2012: 263) listed nine ways of marking causatives through morphological processes in a verb clause. These are: (a) internal change, for example in vowel quality or consonant mutation; (b) repeating a consonant; (c) lengthening a vowel; (d) tone change; (e) reduplication; or various processes of affixation, with (f) a
prefix, (g) a suffix, (h) a circumfix (combination of prefix and suffix), or (j) an infix. In Tedim Chin, among all the points given by Dixon, only (g), that is, a suffix is productive in forming causative although lexical causative also occurs in the language.

In Tedim Chin, there are two types of causatives. These are: lexical causative and morphological causative. These are discussed in §6.6.1.1.1 and §6.6.1.1.2.

6.6.1.1.1 Lexical Causative

Payne (1997) refers to a lexical causative as a condition in which the notion of cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb itself. It is also expressed by any additional operator. The examples in Table 36 show causal distinction between causative and non-causative verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Causatives</th>
<th>Causatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sī ‘die’</td>
<td>tʰàt ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paī ‘go’</td>
<td>səl ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né ‘eat’</td>
<td>bāk ‘feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lùm ‘lie down’</td>
<td>siál ‘lay down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sín ‘learn’</td>
<td>hilʔ ‘teach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mù ‘see’</td>
<td>làk ‘show’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-causative verbs are intransitives and do not need an object. The causatives show transitivity as it increased the valency by one. It also takes ergative case marker on the subject. A causative and non-causative distinction is shown with transitive and intransitive verbs in examples (422) and (424). The verb sī ‘die’ is a non-causative verb in an intransitive construction and the verb tʰàt ‘kill’ is a causative verb occurring in a transitive clause.

Non-Causative

(422) túnī dāmlɔú ʃət sī
today patient one die.1
‘Today a sick person (patient) died’
There are also sets of lexical verbs which have causative function. These verbs have aspirated and unaspirated distinction in bilabial and alveolar stops in its causal behaviour. It also shows distinction between unaspirated velar stop and velar fricative of which the latter is represented in the orthography as “kh” as already discussed in §2.2.1. This could be an interesting diachronic study on velar fricative and aspirated velar stop. This feature needs to be undertaken for investigation in future. Table 37 presents list of aspiration distinction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Causatives</th>
<th>Causatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>púk ‘fall’</td>
<td>pʰúk ‘fell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tām 'stay back'</td>
<td>tʰām 'delayed stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kià ‘fall down’</td>
<td>xià ‘drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaì ‘suspense’</td>
<td>xaì ‘hang’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The aspirated stop shows causative action and increase the number of argument to one whereas the unaspirated stop occurs in an intransitive clause which is illustrated in (426), (427), (428) and (429).

Non-Causative

(426) kɔlsíŋ-kúŋ púk-sùk
   guava-tree fall.1-down
   ‘The guava tree fell down’

(427) bàn tån và tăm dìŋ ná hiá
   what till away stay back PURP 2SG Q
   ‘How long will you stay back (there)?’

Causative

(428) gënpū-īn heī tɔ̀ kɔlsíŋ-kúŋ pʰúk
   Genpu-ERG axe COM guava-tree fell.1
   ‘Genpu fell the guava tree with an axe’

(429) guàʔ tám luát máñín s̪tpí và tʰām
   rain abundant very reason long time away delayed stay
dēn-xá īŋ
   DUR-MIR 1SG.RLS
   ‘Because of excessive rain, my stay was unexpectedly delayed for longtime’

6.6.1.1.2 Morphological Causative

According to Henderson (1965: 83), when Stem 1 verb (which she called it as Form I) is followed by -sàk, it resulted in derived causative verbs. This causative suffix occurs with verbs and adjectives. However, the term ‘morphological causative’ is used here instead of ‘derived causative verbs’. This causative marker expresses causation, permission etc. when used with Stem 1 verb. Some examples of the usage of morphological causatives are given in (430), (431) and (432).
Tedim Chin also employs a causative prefix \textit{sù-}. In example (433), the verb is not accompanied by any affix which implies that the action is done automatically. When \textit{sù-} is prefixed to the same verb in (434), it changes the meaning thereby showing that the action is done by another person, in this case the watchman. The occurrence of this marker is shown in examples below.

(433) níták naī kuá-īn meí mit

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\text{night} & \text{watch} & \text{nine-ADV} & \text{light} & \text{off.1} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\text{\textquoteleft The light goes off at nine o\’clock at night\textquoteright} \\
\end{tabular}

(434) níták naī kuá sím-ín ñcĩŋpá-n meí

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{night} & \text{watch} & \text{nine} & \text{every-ADV} & \text{watchman-ERG} & \text{light} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\text{sù-mít} & \text{dèn} & \text{CAUS-off.1} & \text{DUR} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\text{\textquoteleft At every nine o\’clock at night, the watchman regularly put off the light\textquoteright} \\
\end{tabular}

(435) m̀i ġîlò̀ t̀e-n m̀i-dàŋ-té lùŋs̀ìn
person bad PL-ERG person-other-PL mind

sù-siá-xìn ù?
CAUS-bad.1-already PL
‘Bad people have already made/cause bad thoughts to other people’

Similar function with sù- is hìʔ which is an independent verb by itself. It occurs with stative verbs thus giving a causative meaning. It changes the form of a concrete object/noun from one state to another. This type of causative is very common as it can be used with any stative verb.

(436) hìʔ v̀m
do black
‘make it black/blacken’

(437) hìʔ tuí
do water
‘make it watery/liquify’

6.6.1.1.3 Co-occurrence of two Causatives
As already mentioned earlier, the morphological causatives can co-occur in a sentence. These are shown in examples (438) and in (439), which both takes Stem 1 verbs.

(438) māŋpū-ín lámpí mɔtɔ hìʔ-siá-sàk
Mangpu-ERG road motor CAUS-bad.1-CAUS
‘Mangpu cause/make vehicle to destroy the road’

(439) à pū-ún naūpáŋ-té meí
3POSS grandfather-ERG.PL child-PL fire

sù-mít-sàk
CAUS-off.1-CAUS
‘Their grandfather cause/make the children off (the light)’
6.6.1.2 Applicatives
Applicatives are valence increasing devices which increases the valency of the verb. It is also called “object-adding” categories (Haspelmath to appear as cited in Hartmann 2009: 197).

6.6.1.2.1 Benefactive
When Stem 2 verb occurs with the suffix -sàk, it acts as a valence increasing operator and gives a benefactive meaning. The benefactive suffix occurs with the purposive marker in (440) and (441) to indicate the purpose of the sentence. However, example (442) does not take the purposive marker which usually accompanies the benefactive in the other two examples.

(440) kàmpū-ín  dìmnú  sáŋsáp díŋ  piák-sàk
Kampu-ERG Dimnu  schoolfee PURP give.2-BENF
‘Kampu paid for Dimnu’s school fee’

(441) niāŋpí-ín  à  nú  puánzā díŋ  lei-sàk
Niangpi-ERG 3POSS mother shawl PU PURP
        lei-sàk
        take.2-BENF
‘Niangpi bought a shawl for her mother’

(442) úi-ín  naŋeék  án  nék-sàk
dog-ERG baby.GEN food eat.2-BENF
‘The dog has eaten the baby’s food’

6.6.1.2.2 Comitative
A comitative applicative occurs after Stem 2 verb. It is marked by -piʔ. The examples in (443) and (445) illustrate comitative applicative in Tedim Chin. It is ungrammatical to use the comitative marker with Stem 1 as in (444).
(443) pá hāŋ-ín à ín-àʔ zín-té án
father Hang-ERG 3POSS house-LOC guest-PL food

nék-pìʔ
eat.2-COM
‘Uncle Hang ate food (together) with the guests at his house’

(444) *pá hāŋ-ín à ín-àʔ zín-té án
father Hang-ERG 3POSS house-LOC guest-PL food

né-pìʔ
eat.1-COM
‘Uncle Hang ate food (together) with the guests at his house’

(445) siànnù-ìn à ú-nú tuí tɔi-pìʔ
tiannu-ERG 3POSS elder-FEM water carry.2-COM
‘Siannu carried water (together) with her sister’

The examples in (446) and (447) show the absence and presence of the comitative marker in the sentence.

(446) liàn xaī lámpí-àʔ paï-sük
Lian Khai road-LOC go.1-down
‘Lian Khai is walking down the road’

(447) liàn xaï-ín à naú-nú lámpí-àʔ
Lian Khai-ERG 3POSS younger-FEM road-LOC
paï-pìʔ-sük
go.2-COM-down
‘Lian Khai walked down along with his younger sister on the road’
6.6.1.2.3 Relinquitive

Relinquitive is another subtype of applicative in Tedim Chin. It involves two participants, one which is stative and the other which does the action. It is marked with -sàn and occurs with Stem 2 verb. The term ‘relinquitive’ is first used by Peterson (1998) to describe Hakha Lai as cited in King (2010: 229).

(448) ginpū ín-ä? ciāʔ
ginpu house-LOC return home
‘Ginpu went/return home’

(449) ginpū-ín à nī ín-ä? ciāʔ-sàn
ginpu-ERG 3POSS aunt house-LOC return.2-RELQ
‘Ginpu left his aunt for home’

6.6.1.2.4 Additional Benefactive Applicative

Valency can also be increased by another type of verb suffix which occurs with Stem 1 verb. As mentioned in Peterson (2002), an applicative can also have an additional benefactive meaning which is also observed in Tedim Chin.

(450) kà ínvēŋ-pá-ín kà síŋ dìŋ zɔ́ŋ
1POSS neighbour-MAS-ERG 1POSS wood PURP also
puá-xɔ̀m
carry.1-together
‘My neighbour carried (for) my firewood also’

6.6.2 Valence Decreasing Categories

Valence decreasing operations in Tedim Chin are reflexives, reciprocals and passives. These are discussed in the subsequent sections in §6.6.2.1, §6.6.2.2 and §6.6.2.3.

6.6.2.1 Reflexives

Payne (1997: 198) described a prototypical reflexive construction as one in which subject and object are the same entity. A reflexive marker is a valence decreasing device which is morphologically prefixed in case of verbs and occurs independently in nouns. When it is attached to the verb, it becomes reflexive thus changing the
valency (that is the argument) by reducing it by one. There are two types of reflexives- nominal and verbal.

6.6.2.1 Nominal Reflexive

A nominal reflexive is morphologically the same as a reflexive pronoun as discussed in §3.2.5. It is formed by joining two personal pronouns with lèʔ. In this type of reflexive, the verbal reflexive usually follows the nominal reflexive. The nominal reflexive in (451), though it is a repetition of the third person singular pronoun, is the agent of the verb. It has only one argument. In (452), the agent is a third person plural pronoun. So it also takes a plural marker after the verbal reflexive.

(451) ámAʔ lèʔ ámAʔ kī-nɔ́

3SG and 3SG REFL-scrub.1

‘He scrub (by) himself’

(452) ámaú lèʔ ámaú kī-mù üʔ

3PL and 3PL REFL-see.1 PL

‘They saw themselves’

6.6.2.1.2 Verbal Reflexive

A verbal reflexive occurs with or without the nominal reflexive. It can drop the reflexive pronoun and take only the personal pronoun thus giving a reflexive meaning. The agent and the object both have the same anaphoric reference in (454). In this way the number of arguments is reduced from two to one.

Non-Verbal reflexive

(453) ámAʔ lèʔ ámAʔ-in sèm

3SG and 3SG-ERG do.1/work.1

‘He/she did by him/herself’

Verbal reflexive

(454) ámAʔ kī-sèp

3SG REFL-work.2

‘He/she did by him/herself’
6.6.2.2 Reciprocals
Reciprocal is another type of valence decreasing device in Tedim Chin. The reciprocal marker *tuàʔ* draws its antecedent from the personal pronoun which occurs at the subject position of an intransitive sentence. A reciprocal construction also takes a plural subject as it involves two persons. In examples (455) and (456), *ámaù* is the subject and *tuàʔ* is the reciprocal marker. In other words, *tuàʔ* is an anaphor of *ámaù* in both the sentences.

(455) ámaù  kì-hùʔ  tuàʔ  ūʔ
   3PL    REFL-help RECP   PL
   ‘They helped each other’

(456) ámaù  kì-én  tuàʔ  ūʔ
   3PL    REFL-look.1 RECP   PL
   ‘They looked at each other’

6.6.2.3 Passive like construction
Tedim Chin has its own way of expressing passive construction. Basically, in a passive sentence, the patient is marked as the subject and the agent may be either retained or omitted (Palmer 1994) whereas the active sentence is given in (453). The passive in Tedim is not marked with an adposition or any other markers. It is achieved through the occurrence of the object occupying the subject position in a passive construction and is followed by the agent. In some languages including Tedim, the subject in an active sentence is dropped in order to get a passive sentence as shown in (459). This occurs with the prefixation of the verbal reflexive to the verb. This type of passive is referred to as ‘agentless passive’ (Palmer 1994: 117).

(457) cìŋnú-ìn  án  huán   [Active]
   Cingnu-ERG   food  cook.1
   ‘Cingnu cooks food’

(458) án  (pēn)  cìŋnú-ìn  huán   [Passive]
   food  TOP  Cingnu-ERG  cook.1
   ‘Food is cooked by Cingnu’
\[(459) \text{ án kì-huán} \quad \text{[Passive]}\]

food REFL-cook.1’

‘Food is cooked’