VERBAL AGREEMENT AND GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF HAʔWA NOCTE

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Abstract

This thesis presents a description of the Haʔwa Nocte verbal agreement system, a brief phonology sketch, and a grammar overview. Nocte belongs to the Northern Naga subgroup within the Tibeto-Burman language family with the code ISO 639-3: njb Naga, Nocte. Burling (2003) categorizes Nocte language together with Bodo-Garo, Koch, Konyak and Jingphaw languages into the Sal subgroup of greater Tibeto-Burman language family.

Apart from the agreement system, this description covers basic clause structure, noun phrases, case and topic markers, nominalizations, relative clauses and other modifiers, tense, aspect and mood and agreement in extended constructions like questions, negatives, complement clauses.

Interesting findings include: Agreement markers in Nocte are post-verbal auxiliaries that carry information about tense, aspect and person. Nocte, like Jingphaw and few other Tibeto-Burman languages, shows a hierarchy in the verb agreement marking (DeLancey 1980, 1981a, 1988, 1989). In Nocte it is seen that 1st Person and 2nd Person are higher than the 3rd person in the hierarchy. This hierarchy can be marked in one of several ways. Nocte also has an inverse marker /-h/ which is attached to the agreement morpheme to confirm that the agreement is with patient and not with the agent argument. In addition, Nocte has a cislocative morpheme /-ɹ/ that has the

function to show the direction of a motion verb in speech act event: whether the motion is towards or away from the deictic center or the speaker.

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อวิเคราะห์ภาษา Haʔwa Nocte ซึ่งเป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่า สาขาย่อยนากาเหนือ ในแง่ของระบบกริยาและอาร์กิวเมนต์ และให้คำอธิบายเกี่ยวกับโครงสร้าง อนุประโยค ตัวแสดงการเปลี่ยนหัวเรื่อง (topic markers) หน่วยคำแปลงเป็นนาม (nominalization) คุณานุประโยค (relative clauses) ส่วนขยาย (modifiers) กาล (tense) การณ์ลักษณะ (aspect) มาลา (mood) และ วิเคราะห์ความสอดคล้องของหน่วยต่างเหล่านี้ในโครงสร้างแบบขยาย (extended construction) เช่น ประโยคคำถาม ประโยคปฏิเสธ และอนุประโยคเติมเต็ม

ผลการวิจัยสรุปได้ดังนี้ ตัวบ่งชี้ความสอดคล้องในภาษา Nocte ได้แก่ กริยาช่วยที่เติมหลังคำกริยา โดยตัวบ่งชี้ดังกล่าวทำหน้าที่แสดงกาล การณ์ลักษณะ และ บุรุษ (person) โดยลักษณะดังกล่าว ที่ปรากฏในภาษา Nocte นี้ แสดงระดับชั้นของตัวบ่งชี้ความสอดคล้องในคำกริยา (DeLancey 1980, 1981a, 1988, 1989) เช่นเดียวกับที่ปรากฏในภาษา Jingphaw และบางภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่า โดยคำกริยาในภาษา Nocte จะสอดคล้องกับบุรุษที่มีระดับชั้นสูงกว่า โดยไม่ให้ความสนใจกับ การเป็นประธานหรือกรรมของอาร์กิวเมนต์ บุรุษที่หนึ่งและสองจะมีระดับชั้นที่สูงกว่าบุรุษที่สาม นอกจากนี้พบว่าภาษา Nocte มีตัวบ่งชี้ /-h/ ที่เกิดร่วมกับอาร์กิวเมนต์ ทำหน้าที่แสดงว่ามีความ สอดคล้องของกริยากับผู้รับ (patient) มิใช่ผู้กระทำ และมีการใช้ หน่วยคำ cislocative /- ɹ/ เพื่อแสดงทิศทางของการเคลื่อนที่ ทั้งการเคลื่อนที่เข้าสู่ผู้พูด หรือออกจากผู้พูดก็ตาม

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
A	Agent
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
AG	Agent
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
DAT	Dative
DEM	Demonstrative
FT	Free translation
IMP	Imperative
LT	Literal Translation
NEG	Negator
NP	Noun phrase

NUM	Numeral
NZ	Nominalizer
O	Object
P	Patient
PP	postpositional phrase
PROG	Progressive
PRS	Present
QP	Question particle
REL	Relativizer
S	Subject
SFW	Sentence final word
TOP	Topicalizer
V	Verb
VP	Verb phrase
VZ	Verbalizer

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is a description of the verbal agreement system and a brief phonology sketch and grammatical overview of the Haʔwa variety of Nocte, a language variety spoken by the Noctes settled in the Borduria village of Tirap district in Arunachal Pradesh, India. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the socio-cultural and linguistic background of Nocte. Chapter 2 focuses on the methodology used to carry out this research and to analyze the findings. Chapter 3 presents a brief phonology sketch of the language based on the data collected from different Nocte-speaking villages. Chapter 4 discusses word order, clause structure and noun phrases. In addition, it also introduces the agreement system. The agreement system is discussed in Chapter 5. Together with a verb-complex overview, Chapter 5 records the tense-aspect markers, modals, clause final morphology and other crucial features involved in the agreement system (cislocative, hierarchy and inverse marking). Chapter 6 takes agreement one step further by discussing agreement in extended constructions like: negatives, questions, complement clauses, nominalization and relative clauses. A brief description of the serial verb construction is also added in this chapter. Finally, chapter 7 concludes the thesis by summarizing all the chapters and indicating areas for further research.

1.1 Socio-cultural background

My thesis is mainly based on the data collected from Borduria village. Borduria village is situated toward the north of Khonsa, the district headquarter of Tirap district in Arunachal Pradesh with the coordinates 27.0279997 N, 95.4396921 E. The neighboring Nocte villages are Kaimai, Paniduria, Khonsa, Polung, Laptang and Pansumthong. There are also two Wancho Naga villages in the area namely Lapnan and Lokthong. Wancho is a related language variety of Nocte and this community resides in the Longding district. In Nocte, *nok* means 'village' and *te* stands for 'people', so *Nocte* refers to the people living in the village. According to a 1971 census, there were 58 Nocte villages with a population of 21,853. According to a 2001 census the population is about 33,000. There are approximately 29 Nocte villages under the Khonsa division, the district headquarter of Tirap district. The

Nocte villages I have visited so far are, Borduria, Kheti, Paltan, Dadam, Thinsa, Polung, New Tupi, Deomali, Hokan and Khonsa.

One of the earliest written historical record of the Noctes is found during the British period. Grierson (1903) records existence of Namsangia and Mohongia Naga tribes in the eastern border of Sibsagar district of Assam. In his writing, Grierson referred to the Mohongias also as the Bordurias or Panidurias whereas, Namsangias as the Jaipurias. Most importantly, he quotes Brown (1851) who claimed that the language variety spoken in both the tribes were identical. It is of course evident from my current study that both of these two varieties namely, Namsangia and Borduria are very close except some regular vowel alternations.

The Ahoms established their kingdom in Assam in the year 1228 and reigned until the British occupied Assam in 1826 after the treaty of Yandabo. In Dutta's book 'The Noctes' published in the year 1978, it is recorded that there were around 14383 Nagas in the year 1871 which were divided into seven clans namely, Namsangia, Borduria, Dadum, Joboka, Banpheria, Toopigonya and Sologuria. It is also reported that there were 6000 Namsangia and 3000 Borduria Nagas at that time.

It is noteworthy that the current names of some of the Nocte villages suggest a close relationship of the Noctes with the people from the plains, which are Assamese. There is a legend mentioned in Dutta (1978) that the Ahom king made the chief of Borduria, the guard of the main gate. Borduar in Assamese means 'the main gate'. Therefore, the people who live there are referred to as the Bordurias. The Nocte name for Borduria is chaʔla (chaʔ means tiger and la means the bird eagle). The legend about this Nocte name is that people from the Borduria village during the old days of head hunting, were very good fighters and attacked their enemies like tigers and kites.

There are several legends mentioned in Dutta (1978) about the origin and migration of the Nocte people. One such legend says that the Noctes believe that God, Jouban, created them and they were the first settlers on this earth. Another legend talks about marriage between the daughter of the sky god and the spirit of the earth and their offspring being the Noctes, the first men on this planet. Migration stories vary from village to village. This suggests that people migrated to the current villages in different time periods. Most of these legends of migration describe the journey from Burma beyond the Patkai hills to the locations of their current villages.

1.2 Linguistic background

Tirap district is the home to the greater Nocte community. Tirap shares a district border with Changlang and Longding, a state border with Nagaland and Assam, and an international border with Myanmar. There is one Nocte village in the Tinsukia district of Assam called the Paltan Basti or Dihing Kinar Nocte Gaon. Recently, I learned of a few more Nocte villages in the Changlang district as well.

Nocte belongs to the northern Naga subgroup within the Tibet-Burman with the code ISO 639:3 njb Naga Nocte. The Ethnologue records the population of the Nocte community to be 33,000 (2001 census) and the language vitality status as 6a (vigorous). Burling (2003) categorizes Nocte together with Bodo-Garo, Koch, Konyak and Jingphaw languages into the *Sal* subgroup of Tibeto-Burman languages.

1.3 Summary

This chapter was an introduction to the thesis and outlined the contents discussed in each chapter. It was an attempt to give the readers an idea about the socio-cultural and linguistic background of the Noctes. In addition, this chapter talked about the origin and migration of the community which is based on the writings available so far.

Chapter 2
Methodology

2.1 Nocte literature review

Very little linguistic description is available on Nocte. All the extant resources written about Nocte are discussed here.

'Tibeto-Burman family' by Grierson (1851): This is the second part of the third volume of Tibeto-Burman family published in the journal of the Linguistic survey of India. This volume has a description of the Boro, Naga and Kachin languages. Each of these languages have been classified into further language varieties. Boro includes Garo, Dimasa, and Rabha etc. Naga has been classified into western, central, eastern, Naga-Boro and Naga-Kuki subgroups. Nocte as I am describing in this thesis belongs to the eastern subgroup of the Nagas. However, Grierson describes only the Mohongias also known as the Bordurias or Panidurias and the Namsangias. In addition to the numerals of Mohongia variety, Grierson also provides brief grammatical description of the Namsangia variety. He reproduces the Namsangia grammar written by Robinson (1849) and briefly describes nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions. There is also a list of sentences. This is one of the earliest documentation of the language and one of the first writings on Nocte available to me. It introduced me to the geography of the area, helped me to understand the possible relation between the Namsangia and Borduria variety of Nocte and also provided me with some basic vocabulary.

'An Introduction to the Nocte langugae' by K. Das Gupta (1971): This book is one of the earliest linguistic description available on Nocte. Das Gupta's writing is based on data collected from Namsang and Borduria village. Together with a grammar overview he also includes some useful vocabulary lists and sentences in his book. After presenting a phonology sketch, the author describes word formation, noun phrases, adjectives, verb phrases, tense, aspect, interrogative and negative constructions. Tone is not marked on the data presented as example sentences. Several of my research findings match with Das Gupta's analysis which includes, agreement marking and TAM particles, negative and interrogative constructions and nominalizers. However, this sketch does not really meet modern linguistic standards.

It does not use IPA for transcriptions and does not really represent a phoneme inventory particularly on the matter of tones.

'The Noctes' by Parul Dutta (1978): Dutta's book is more about the socio-political and religious life of the Noctes. It does not give us any information about the language except a list of Nocte words with English translations. However, the words are arranged into groups and allow a first level of comparative study of the varieties, and in particular to identify Khapa as being separate. It is still a very important piece of writing as it records the important aspects of the Nocte community including information about the origin and migration of the people, their social and political life, religion, kinship system, clan organization, marriage, law and justice, cremation and festivals. This description gave me an insight to the lives of the Nocte people and thus also helped me to understand and avoid the probable sensitive issues that might arise during my field work.

Alfons Weidert's unpublished notes on Nocte: These notes were given to Scott DeLancey by Alfonso Weidert and through him I had the opportunity to study them. In the first document Weidert describes the possible tonal categories in Nocte. The second, hand written, document records elicitation of some grammar sentences. These sentences were collected to analyze the verb agreement paradigms, negatives and interrogative constructions, imperatives and TAM particles. After reading Weidert it seems that he mostly collected sentences presented as examples in K. Das Gupta's book 'An Introduction to the Nocte language'. Another document provided by Stephen Morey includes wordlist collected by Weidert and also his interpretation of the possible tonal categories in Nocte.

'Nocte and Jingphaw: Morphological correspondences' by Scott DeLancey (2011, NEILS Vol.3): This paper is an attempt by DeLancey to do a comparative study of Jingphaw and Nocte morphology to show the close relationship between the two languages and thus to confirm Burling's (2003) hypothesis which suggests a special relationship between Bodo-Garo, the Konyak Naga languages and Jingphaw. In the first section, the author presents the Jingphaw tense-aspect-agreement complex where he also introduces the sentence final word (SFW) concept labelled by Dai and Diehl in 2003. Next he moves on to describe the agreement particles and complexities of hierarchical agreement system present in both Jingphaw and Nocte. In addition to this, he also discusses the grammatical inverse system present in Nocte. A comparison between the Nocte and Jingphaw SFWs is also presented with

example sentences. This paper was immensely helpful in understanding the complex post-verbal auxiliaries present in Nocte.

2.1.1 Literature on related languages

'The Tangsa Language: A synopsis' by K. Das Gupta (1980): This book is a comparative study of eleven different Tangsa varieties. It briefly describes grammatical features like, number, gender, case, verb phrases etc. for each off the Tangsa varieties. It helped me to get an idea about the grammatical aspects of the Tangsa languages and compare with my findings from the Nocte as they are related and belong to the same northern Naga subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman.

'Northern Naga: A Tibeto-Burman Mesolanguage' by Walter French (1983): French did a first attempt at reconstruction of the Northern Naga, based on the materials available to him at the time.

'Tangsa Agreement markers' by Dr. Stephen Morey (2010): This is one of the best readings to understand the complexities of Tangsa agreement system. It describes how Tangsa varieties differ from one another in marking the categories of person and TAM on the verb. This paper also discusses the Nocte hierarchical agreement system. It was indeed helpful to understand the importance of person hierarchy in the Nocte verbal agreement.

'Relativization and Nominalization in Bodic' by Scott DeLancey (2002): This paper helped to understand the process of forming relative clauses by nominalization. Genetti (2008) also refers to this paper where DeLancey calls this process the nominalization-relativization syncretism.

'The Blue Bird of Ergativity' by Scott DeLancey (2004): This paper is focused on describing ergativity in Tibeto-Burman languages. It was interesting to see ample examples showing ergative case marking and also split ergativity from Tibetan, Mizo and some other Kuki-Chin languages.

'Tone in Tangsa languages' by Dr. Stephen Morey (unpublished): This paper is a comparative study and description of the tonal categories present in the Tangsa varieties. It helped to understand that tonal categories can vary from one Tangsa variety or a group of them from another variety or a group.

Unpublished Mueshaung Grammar Sketch by Dr. Stephen Morey: This is an unpublished grammar sketch of Mueshaung Tangsa. It gives an overview of the

grammatical aspects of the language. Certain chapters like the verb phrase and nominals were helpful in analyzing the Nocte data collected to write this thesis.

'A Grammar of Karbi' by Linda Anna Konnerth (2014): This is a grammar of the Karbi language, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the state of Assam, India. In addition, it also includes a detailed phonology sketch. Reading this helped me to understand the concept of cislocative marking which is also present in Nocte.

'A Grammar of Galo' by Mark Post (2007): This is grammar of Galo, a language spoken in the Arunachal Pradesh of India. It was interesting to know about the distinctions between a phonological word and a grammatical word.

2.2 Relevant linguistic concepts

This section discusses the relevant literature that provides the linguistic concepts for the understanding of the complex verb morphology in Haʔwa Nocte. Section 2.2.1 explains the post-verbal morphology of Nocte in general, Section 2.2.2 gives an overview of hierarchical agreement systems and inverse marking and Section 2.2.3 defines cislocative.

2.2.1 Post-verbal morphology

Nocte has a very complex post-verbal morphology. Unlike K. Das Gupta's (1971) analysis of Nocte tense and agreement markers as verbal suffixes, this thesis works in alignment with Dai & Diehl (2003), DeLancey (2011, 2014) which considers auxiliaries carrying information about TAM, negation and agreement particles as separate words from the main verb. More specifically as sentence final words (SFWs). Here, I have cited an example from DeLancey (NEILS vol. 3) to demonstrate a sentence final word in Nocte.

1. [elicited]

   ŋa   ka   t-ak
   1SG   go   past-1SG
   'I went'

As we can see in example sentence (1), *t-ak* (PAST.1SG) is the sentence final word (SFW) which carries information about tense and person. Here, *t-* is the past tense morpheme and *-ak* denotes the verb agreement for first person singular.

2.2.2 Hierarchical agreement system and inverse marking

The Nocte agreement system is based first, on person hierarchy and secondly, on the grammatical roles of the agent and patient. In other words, in a transitive verb construction in Nocte, the verb agrees with a person that is higher in the person hierarcy. In Nocte person hierarchy, first person is higher than the second person and both first person and the second person are higher than the third person i.e. 1>2>3. On the other hand, inverse marking shows whether an object (O) argument outranks the agent (A) argument or not. According to DeLancey (2011, 2014), with hierarchical agreement marking, the presence of the inverse marker confirms that the agreement is with the object and not with the agent. At this stage there is a lot more work to do on collecting conversational data and more narratives or natural texts which might produce examples contrary to my statement. In other words, after detailed study there may arise some examples defying my analysis of the hierarchical agreement. For now, I can say that Nocte do has some kind of person hierarchy in the agreement marking and potentially it also has deviations in the agreement hierarchy as discussed in Section 5.8.

The following examples illustrate this:

> 2. [elicited]
>
> ŋamɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt aŋ
>
> ŋa   -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt aŋ
>
> I   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT.1SG
>
> 'I will hit him'

In example sentence (2) above, the verb *ʋɛt* is marked with 1SG agreement *aŋ* as it is higher than the 3SG patient argument in the person hierarchy.

> 3. [elicited]
>
> naŋmɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɔ
>
> naŋ   -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt ɔ
>
> you   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT.2SG
>
> 'you will hit him'

Similarly in example (3), the verb is marked with 2SG agreement *ɔ* and not with the 3SG agreement marker as 2SG is higher than the 3SG in the person hierarchy.

This hierarchy in agreement marking still exists even if the grammatical roles of the pronouns are swapped. For example in (2), 3SG is the agent and 1SG is the patient, but the verb still agrees with the 1SG argument. It is here, we need to talk about the other important feature of Nocte verbal agreement and that is the inverse marking attached to the agreement morpheme. One good example is:

4. [elicited]

atemɛ		ŋanaŋ		ʋɛt	haŋ	
ate	-mɛ	ŋa-	naŋ	ʋɛt	h-	aŋ
3SG	ERG	1SG	ABS	hit	INV-	FUT.1SG

'he will hit me'

As we can see in example (4), the verb agrees with the 1SG patient argument and not with the 3SG agent argument. In addition, Nocte has this inverse marker *-h* that gets attached to the agreement morpheme which confirms that the agreement is with the patient argument and not with the agent argument.

2.2.3 Cislocative

Cislocative, also known as directional, has the function of showing the direction of a motion verb: whether the motion is towards or away from the deictic centre or the speaker (DeLancey, 2010). A morpheme ɹ- functions as the cislocative in Haʔwa Nocte. The following examples illustrate this:

5. [elicited]

naŋ	ka	ɔ
naŋ	ka	ɔ
you	go	IMP.2SG

'you go'

6. [elicited]

naŋ	ka	ɹɔ	
naŋ	ka	ɹ	-ɔ
you	go	CIS	IMP.2SG

'you go'

The only difference in between examples (5) & (6) is the cislocative marker -ɹ which occurs with motion verbs in Nocte to show that the movement is toward the deictic centre. In (6), the cislocative marker -ɹ occurs with the verb *ka* 'go' to mean 'come' instead.

2.3 Data collection and analysis

Two field trips were made to the Borduria village in Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh in order to collect data. Each of these trips were seven to ten days long. In addition, field trips were made to some other Nocte villages namely, Kheti, Dadam, Polung, Thinsa, Tupi, Deomali and Hokan before sttling on Borduria village and decide to study the Haʔwa variety in depth. Data collection includes grammar sentence elicitation and recording texts. All data were transcribed in the field while sitting together with the language resource person (LRP) to avoid transcription errors. Although tonal categories were tried to be figured out using the CALMSEA (Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatitical Model for SouthEast Asia) wordlist (Matisoff, 1978) and minimal pairs, sentences and texts are still unmarked for tones. Adding tone marks to the texts is a goal for future studies. Most of the data presented in this thesis are from sentence elicitation. Data was recorded using a ZOOM H1 N and a ZOOM H4 N audio recorder that records good quality .wav files.

Permission was taken from the LRPs (Language resource person) before collecting data and they are aware of the fact that I am writing a thesis on the basis of the data collected.

The first and main LRP is Mr. Nawang Lowang Medam who is a school teacher by profession and also a multilingual. Haʔwa Nocte is his first langugae but he is also fluent in Hindi, English and Assamese. Two stories as well as many grammar sentences were elicited from him.

Other informants who also contributed or helped in my data collection are Dr. Sumpam Tangjang, Mr. Gawang Sumpa, Tesah Tangjang, Mr. Sawang Tangjang, Mr. Damwang Lowang, Mr. Tiju Lowang. All of these people are multilinguals and speak Hindi and English fluently apart from Nocte, their mother tongue.

Apart from Borduria village, I also collected data from Mr. Tewang Lowang, Wangthey Gosak and Wangnom Lowang of Kheti village. Binod Nocte, Janglang Pongte of Dihing Kinar Nocte Gaon also provided me with some useful data. The dialects of Kheti village and Dihing Kinar Nocte Gaon, are little different from that

of the Haʔwa variety so I have not included those in the thesis. The data from them can be a good resource for further studies.

2.4 Limitations and scope of the research

This thesis is not a complete description of Nocte grammar; rather it describes certain grammatical features of the language and provides a brief phonology sketch. The grammatical overview includes information on noun phrases, verbal agreement, and agreement in extended constructions like negatives, questions and complement clauses. The discussion in this thesis is mostly supported by elicitated sentences. Stories were also collected, but only two of them were translated due to lack of time. Since, getting to the village also involves some difficulties like getting an inner line permit to travel, road and weather conditions as the villages are mostly situated at high altitudes, additional data were elicited using Facebook.

2.5 Contribution of the thesis

UNESCO identified Nocte as an endangered language of India. This thesis is a small step toward the documentation and preservation of the language. Moreover, this thesis might also be helpful to other researchers who are interested in documenting and describing the Nocte language. Since this thesis is not a complete description of Nocte grammar further studies are required to describe the other phonological and grammatical aspects of the language. This thesis might be a basis for such studies and will contribute some important information on the language and the people. This study can further contribute to a multilingual dictionary and a more detailed grammatical description to the Nocte community.

Chapter 3
Phonology

3.1 Introduction

This thesis is primarily a description of the verbal agreement of Haʔwa Nocte and a grammatical overview. Therefore, only a brief phonology sketch is presented in this chapter. It introduces the phonemes and the tonal categories present in the language. This general introduction to Nocte phonology is based on the CALMSEA wordlist (Matisoff, 1978) collected from seven different villages namely, Borduria, Kheti, Polung, Paltan, Dadam, Thinsa and Tupi. Tones are not marked throughout the wordlist or in the stories however, some tonal minimal pairs were elicited during the field work in the Paltan village which is expected to be similar to the Haʔwa variety. A detailed description of the tones needs further research.

Section 3.1.1 presents the syllable structure and Section 3.1.2 lists the phonemes present in Nocte. Section 3.2 describes the tones and Section 3.2 summarizes the chapter.

3.1.1 Syllable structure

Syllable structure in Nocte is very simple. A Nocte syllable can consist of just a rhyme with a vowel or an onset and a rhyme with an optional coda. Table 1 below shows the possible syllable types in the language:

Table 1 Nocte syllable structure

Syllable type	Structure	Example
Type 1	V	i 'ISG.POSS'
Type 2	CV	ka 'go'
Type 3	CVC	ʋɛt 'hit'

In Nocte, only the stops [p,t,k,ʔ] and nasals [m,n,ŋ] can occur in the coda. However, I also encountered a complex syllable type [CCVC]. But due to lack of enough data did not analyse it to be a separate type of syllable structure for now. The only two words that I elicited are 'to cut' '*dvək*' and 'to dive' '*tvək*'. These two words are the only ones with this syllable structure out of the CALMSEA wordlist of 250 words. Therefore, I am concluding the syllable formula for Nocte to be [(C)V(C)].

3.1.2 Phonemes

This section presents the consonants and vowels charts. Nocte has 20 consonants, 9 monopthong vowels and 5 dipthong vowels. Table 2 and Table 3 present the consonants and vowels respectively.

Table 2 Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p, pʰ, b		t, tʰ, d			k, kʰ, g	ʔ
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives Africates			s, z	tʃ			
Approximant		ʋ	ɹ		j	w	
Lateral approximant			l				

Table 3 Monophthong vowels

	Front		Back
	Unrounded		Rounded
Close	i	ɯ	u
Mid-close	e	ə	o
Mid-open	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

Table 4 Diphthong vowels

Dipthongs	Example
ia	*ʑian* 'can'
ie	*tʃien* 'send'
ei	*natʃei* 'be born'
oi	*koi* 'climb'
ua	*tʃuaŋ* 'tall'
ue	*tʃuen* 'run'

3.1.3 Contrast

In this section I have presented some minimal sets to show contrasts between phonemes in identical environment or analogous environment.

3.1.3.1 Consonants

The following table presents some minimal sets showing contrastive consonants.

Table 5 Contrastive consonants

Consonants	Contrasts
m and n	*hum* 'house' *hun* 'like'
n and ŋ	*ɹan* 'dry' *ɹaŋ* 'for'
t and k	*kat* 'go' *kak* 'bite'
k and kʰ	*ko* 'give' *kʰo* 'on top'
k and ʔ	*tʃak* 'red' *tʃaʔ* 'eat'

3.1.3.2 Vowels

Table 6 Contrastive vowels

Vowels	Contrasts
a and e	*ka* 'go' *ke* 'stick'
a and ə	*wan* 'dish' *wən* 'take'
i and o	*ki* 'cold' *ko* 'give'
e and o	*tʰe* 'one' *tʰo* 'tell'
o and ɔ	*ɹoŋ* 'horn' *'dɔŋ'* 'big'
ie and ia	*tʃien* 'send' *zian* 'can'

3.2 Tone

Pitch is contrastive in Nocte. Pitch variation is studied with the help of PRAAT software and also by eliciting tonal minimal sets. There are three tones on open syllables. Open syllables are syllables with vowel or nasal endings. There is only one tone on closed syllables with /p, t, k & ʔ/ in the coda. Table 7 and 8 below presents the tonal categories along with illustrative examples and Table 9 lists some tonal minimal sets. The pitch column in the tables show the contrastive pitch in Hertz.

Table 7 Tones on open syllables

Tone no.	Word	Transcription	Description of Tone	Pitch (Hz)
1	teeth	*pa*	low-falling	134-102
2	snake	*pu*	high-falling	184-112
3	sell	*saŋ*	mid-level	164-175

Table 8 Tone on closed syllable

Tone no.	Word	Transcription	Description of Tone	Pitch (Hz)
4	tiger	*saʔ*	level with glottal constriction	165-163
	belly	*vok*	level with velar stop	168-153
	sleep	*zup*	level with bilabial stop	151-159

Some tonal minimal sets are presented below:

Table 9 Tonal minimal sets

Tone				
1	*pa* 'teeth'	*ɹaŋ* 'wing'	*kʰo* 'nose'	*sa* 'urine'
2		*ɹaŋ* 'sky'	*kʰo* 'head'	
3	*pa* 'mad'	*ɹaŋ* 'appreciate'	*kʰo* 'path'	*sa* 'to clean'
4	*paʔ* 'spear'		*kʰoʔ* 'top'	*saʔ* 'tiger'

3.3 Summary

This chapter gave a brief overview of the Nocte phonology. Apart from the syllable structure and a syllable formula this chapter also listed the phoneme inventory including, vowels and consonants. In addition, a preliminary analysis of the tonal categories along with tonal minimal pairs is also presented.

Chapter 4
Grammatical Overview

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a grammatical overview of Haʔwa Nocte. It is divided into five sections. This section is the introduction to the chapter. Section 4.2 discusses the basic clause structure of the language including the word order, verbal and copular clauses and an introduction to the agreement system. Noun phrases and their sub-constituents are discussed in Section 4.3. Section 4.4 explains relative clauses and other modifiers and Section 4.5 discusses nominalizations. Section 4.5 summarizes the chapter.

4.2 Basic clause

This section introduces the word order of basic clauses and discusses the construction of basic verbal and copular clauses in the language. In addition, Section 4.2.2 gives an introduction to the agreement system of Haʔwa.

In this thesis, I do not distinguish affixes from clitics. In both the cases, the morpheme break is shown with a hyphen.

4.2.1 Word order

Word order refers to the alignment of the syntactic role markers A,P, S and V in a phrase, clause or sentence. Haʔwa has an unmarked APV word order. In Table 10 below, the basic constituent order of Haʔwa is presented along with Assamese and Hindi, the second language of the older and the younger generation respectively. The older generation (50-70 age limit) used Assamese in schools. However, the medium of instruction in schools is now either Hindi or English. Moreover, Hindi and Assamese are a kind of lingua franca in the state. This table gives the readers a view of the influence from the neighboring languages if there is any.

Table 10 Typology of Nocte and LWC

Constituent order	Haʔwa (Nocte)	Assamese	Hindi
Clause word order	APV	APV	APV
Subject and intransitive verb	SV	SV	SV
Lexical verb and auxiliary verb	V AUX	V AUX	V AUX
Noun and adposition (postposition)	N PP	N PP	N PP
Possessor and possessed	NP[POSSESSOR] N[PPOSSESSED]	NP[POSSESSOR] GEN N[PPOSSESSED]	NP[POSSESSOR] GEN N[PPOSSESSED]
Adjective and noun	N ADJ	ADJ N	ADJ N
Relative clause and noun	REL N	REL N	REL N
Demonstrative and noun	DEM N	DEM N	DEM N
Numeral and noun	N NUM or NUM N	NUM N	NUM N
Classifier and noun	N CLF	N CLF	(No classifiers)
Intensifier and adjective	ADJ INT	INT ADJ	INT ADJ
Negative and verb	V NEG or NEG V	NEG V	NEG V
Prohibitive and verb	PRHB V	PRHB V	PRHB V
Adverb and verb	ADV V	ADV V	ADV V

In this section, I exemplified the word order of some of the basic clauses of Nocte. The word order of basic clause is APV therefore, example sentence (7) below is grammatical whereas, examples (8) with the word order AVP and (9) PVA are not. The star beside the example numbers marks ungrammatical clauses in Nocte.

7. [elicited]

ŋamɛ   tʃam tʃaʔ tak

ŋa -mɛ tʃam tʃaʔ t-ak

I   ERG rice   eat   PAST-1SG

LT 'I ate rice'

8. [elicited]

*ŋamɛ   tʃaʔ tak   tʃam

 ŋa   -mɛ tʃaʔ t-ak   tʃam

 I   ERG eat   PAST-1SG rice

 Intended: 'I ate rice'

9. [elicited]

*tʃam tʃaʔ tak   ŋamɛ

 tʃam tʃaʔ t-ak   ŋa -mɛ

 rice   eat   PAST-1SG I   ERG

 Intended: 'I ate rice'

Sentence final particles in Haʔwa Nocte are marked for tense, aspect and mood and follow the lexical verb. See (10) below, lexical verb *kʰe* 'see' is followed by the sentence final particle *taʔ* which refers to past tense and 3ʳᵈ person agreement with the verb.

10. [story 1]

ate   zokɛkɔ   kʰehe kʰe taʔ

ate   zo   kɛ   -kɔ   kʰehe kʰe t-aʔ

3SG river   near   LOC deer   see   PAST-3

'he saw a deer near the river'

In Nocte, NPPOSSESSOR precedes the NPOSSESSED as in example (11) below. At the same time, it is noteworthy that the existence of prefix in Nocte can be justified with the possessive prefix *i-* in the following examples. However, changing the word order creates ungrammatical sentences like in (12).

    11. [elicited]
    i   hum
    i   hum
    1SG.POSS house

    'my home'

    12. [elicited]
    *hum i
    Intended: 'my home'

Adjectives always follow the noun as can be seen in example sentence (13) below. Changing the word order will produce ungrammatical sentences like (14).

    13 [elicited]
    hum   tʃak
    hum   tʃak
    house red

    'red house'

    14. [elicited]
    *tʃak hum
    tʃak hum
    red   house

    Intended: 'red house'

4.2.2 Introduction to the agreement system

Agreement markers in Nocte are treated as sentence final particles that carry information about tense, aspect, person and negation. The agreement markers in Nocte are similar for both transitive and intransitive verbs except when they fuse with different aspect and inverse markers. Future agreement markers in Nocte are shown in Table 11 below:

Table 11 Future agreement in intransitive

Person	Agreement marker	Example sentences (using the verb *ka* 'to go')
1SG	aŋ	*ŋa ka aŋ* 'I will go'
1PL	ɛ	*ni ka ɛ* 'We will go'
2SG	ɔ	*naŋ ka ɔ* 'You will go'
2PL	ɛn	*ne ka ɛn* 'You(PL) will go'
3SG	a	*ate ka a* 'He will go'
3PL	a	*ətʃin ka a* 'They will go'

All of the peraonal pronouns have different agreement markers whereas, 3ʳᵈ person pronouns both singular and plural have the same agreement marker and it is true irrespective of any tense or aspect.

Nocte, like Jingphaw and a few other Tibeto-Burman languages, shows a person hierarchy in verb agreement marking on transitive verbs (DeLancey 1980, 1981a, 1988, 1989). Similar evidences of agreement hierarchy is also found in the Hakhun variety of Tangsa (Boro, 2012) and (Morey, unpublished notes on Hakhun Tangsa).

Table 12 below introduces the hierarchy in Nocte agreement. In this section I show the hierarchy only in the future tense, more details will be discussed in Section 5.5.

Table 12 Agreement hierarchy

A > P	Agreement
1SG > 2SG	ɛ
1SG > 2PL	aŋ
1SG > 3	aŋ
1PL > 2	ɛ
1PL > 3	ɛ
2SG > 1SG	h-aŋ
2SG > 1PL	h-i
2SG > 3SG	ɔ
2SG > 3PL	ɔ

A > P	Agreement
2PL > 1SG	h-aŋ
2PL > 1PL	h-i
2PL > 3SG	ɛn
2PL > 3PL	ɛn
3 > 1SG	h-aŋ
3 > 1PL	h-i
3 > 2SG	h-ɔ
3 > 2PL	h-ɛn
3 > 3	a

The top row shows the agent acting on the patient and agreement markers are presented in the bottom row. The bottom row shows that the choice of agreement markers depends on which argument has the highest position in a person hierarchy ranked 1 > 2 > 3. As presented above, if 3SG acts on 2SG (3 > 2SG), the verb agrees with the patient because 2nd person is higher than the 3rd person on the hierarchy. Irrespective of the subject or the object argument, in Nocte the verb agrees with the person that is higher in the person hierarchy.

Although, Nocte has a hierarchical agreement system but there are still some irregular agreement markings. One good example from table 12 above is, when 1SG acts on 2SG (1SG > 2SG). Here, the verb neither agrees with the agent nor the patient argument rather, it agrees with the 1PL argument. This irregularity in hierarchical agreement marking can be understood only with the help of some pragmatics which is discussed in section 5.8.

In order to indicate whether the verb is agreeing with the subject or the object argument, Nocte uses the inverse marker *h-*. The inverse marker occurs as an affix with the agreement maker. In Table 3 above inverse marker *h-* is shown along with the agreement markers. The inverse marker is discussed later in this section.

15. [elicited]

ate-mɛ   dihjaʔnja-naŋ   ʋɛt   a

3SG.ERG   girl-ABS   hit   FUT-3

'she will hit the girl'

Example (15) does not show any hierarchy in the agreement marking as both the agent and the recipient are 3SG. Whereas, in example (16) below the recipient 1SG is higher in the hierarchy than 3SG therefore, the verb agrees with the 1SG.

16. [elicited]

ate-mɛ   ŋa-naŋ   ʋɛt   h-aŋ

3SG-ERG   1SG-ABS   hit   INV-FUT-1SG

'she will hit me'

17. [elicited]

ŋa-mɛ   ate-naŋ   ʋɛt   aŋ

1SG-ERG   3SG-ABS   hit   FUT.3

'I will hit him'

In (17) however, the verb agrees with 1SG argument instead of 3SG argument because 1SG is higher than 3SG in the hierarchy (1SG > 3SG) and no inverse affix is required.

4.2.3 Other agreement forms

The table below shows tense and aspect marking along with additional agreement markers in the language. These are presented together as the agreement forms often change depending on the aspect denoted.

Table 13 Tense aspect and agreement

Person	Future	Past	Progressive			Imperative	Prohibitive
			Past	Present	Future		
1SG	aŋ	t-ak	ka-t-ak	k-aŋ	ka-aŋ	--	--
1PL	ɛ	t-iʔ	ka-t-iʔ	k-i	ka-i	--	--
2SG	ɔ	t-ɔʔ	ka-t-ɔʔ	k-ɔʔ	ka-ɔʔ	ɔʔ	nak V ɔʔ
2PL	ɛn	t-ɛt	ka-t-ɛt	k-ɛn	ka-ɛn	ɛn	nak V ɛn
3SG	a	t-aʔ	ka-t-aʔ	k-a	ka-a	--	--
3PL	a	t-aʔ	ka-t-aʔ	k-a	ka-a	--	--

This table is repeated in Chapter 5 and discussed in more details there. Apart from these unmarked tense and aspect markers presented in Table 13, Nocte does have future and past tense markers which are invariant for any number or person. This is discussed in Chapter 5. Interestingly, Das Gupta (1971) records a set of prefixes marking the present progressive. These prefixes were not recorded in my earlier field trips. Recently, I confirmed the presence of such prefixes with my informants. This could suggest the co-existence of either version of progressive markers, or the dominance of one set of markers over the other or might reveal a recent shift in the language. This chapter will not go further to discuss about the tense and aspect markers which are discussed later in Section 5.4.1. The next section looks more at basic clause constructions.

4.2.4 Basic verbal clauses

This section discusses Nocte basic verbal clauses which includes causative phrases, benefactive, instrumental, location, manner, time and referential clauses. Simple intransitive and transitive clauses are exemplified below showing case marking for agent (A), intransitive subject (S) and patient (P).

18. [elicited]

    a) dəlawamɛ   baŋpɛ   zuet taʔ

       dəlawa -mɛ baŋ -pɛ zuet t-aʔ

       man   ERG tree   ABS cut   PAST-3

      'the man cut the tree'

    b) hupɛ   ɹi   taʔ

       hu   -pɛ   ɹi   t-aʔ

       dog   ABS die PAST-3

      'the dog died'

See examples (18 a) and (18 b) above. In (a), the agent (A) *dəlawa* 'man' is marked for ergative case with the case marker *-mɛ* and patient (P) *baŋ* 'tree' is marked with absolutive case marker *-pɛ*. Again in (18. b), subject (S) *hu* 'dog' is marked with absolutive case marker *-pɛ*. Case marking in Nocte is discussed in detail in Section 4.3.1.4.

4.2.4.1 Benefactive

In Haʔwa benefactive phrases, the NP beneficiary is marked by a benefactive marker -ɹa that follows it. In addition, gramaticalized verb *ko* 'give' is used as a kind of applicative[1] after the verb.

The schema for NPBENEFACTIVE is shown below:

a. SBEN.   [A P BEN V..*ko*..]

b. NPBEN.   [NP *ɹa*]

19. [elicited]

atemɛ	ʋo	ŋampɛ	zokawahe	ɹa	beʔ	ko	taʔ
ate -mɛ	ʋo	ŋam -pɛ	zokawa -he	-ɹa	beʔ	ko	t-aʔ
3SG AG	chicken	meat PA	guest	PL	BEN	cook	APP	PAST-3

'she cooked chicken for the guests'

Here in (19), the beneficiary marker -ɹa follows the NP denoting the beneficiary *zokawahe* 'guest'. In addition, the applicative *ko* follows the verb *beʔ* 'cook' to promote the oblique argument to the core. The A and the P argument precedes the oblique as is indicated in schema (a).

20. [elicited]

atemɛ	tʃɛnpɛ	nihe	ɹa	tʰaʔ	ko	tʰi
ate -mɛ	tʃɛn -pɛ	ni -he	-ɹa	tʰaʔ	ko	t-ʰ-i
3SG AG	wood PA	1PL	PL	BEN	cut	APP	PAST-INV-1PL

'he cut the wood for us'

Similarly, in example (20), the beneficiary *nihe* 'us' is marked with -ɹa and applicative *ko* follows the verb *tʰaʔ* 'cut'.

---

[1] Applicative voice is a grammatical voice which promotes an oblique argument of a verb to the (core) object argument, and indicates the oblique role within the meaning of the verb. When applicative is applied to a verb its valency may be increased by one.

4.2.4.2 Causative

Nocte causal NP constructions can be constructed in two different ways:

1. *zun* 'because or reason' occurs after the NP denoting the causing event and is marked with the locative case marker *-kɔ*. The schema for this causal phrase is as follows:

    a. SCAUSE: [P NPCAUSE V]

    b. NPCAUSE: [NP *zun-kɔ*]

    21. [elicited]

atea		meleɹia	zunkɔ		ɹi	taʔ
ate	-a	meleɹia	zun	-kɔ	ɹi	t-aʔ
3SG	TOP	malaria	because	LOC	die	PAST-3

    'because of Malaria he died'

In (21), the causing event *malaria* occurs after the *3SG NP* and is marked with locative case marker *-kɔ*.

The second type of causal construction is more like a verb serialization process where a non-finite marker *le* which also functions as the linker occurs between the NP cause and NP experiencer and replaces *zun* 'because or reason' and the locative case marker *-kɔ*. In addition an optional verbalizer *daŋ* occurs after the NPCAUSE. The schema and examples for this NP causal are as follows:

Reason/Cause:[NPi *daŋ le*…..]SCause -mɛ øi V]

    22. [elicited]

    a)

ate	meleɹia	daŋ	le	mɛ	ɹi	taʔ
ate	meleɹia	daŋ	le	-mɛ	ɹi	t-aʔ
3SG	malaria	VZ	NF	ERG	die	PAST-3

    'having malaria, he died'

    b)

ate	pu	kʰe	le	mɛ	tʃuen	taʔ
ate	pu	kʰe	le	-mɛ	tʃuen	t-aʔ
3SG	snake	see	NF	ERG	run	PAST-3

    'on seeing a snake, she ran away'

In examples (22 a) and (22 b), non-finite particles *le* connects the NP cause and NP experiencer. The agent of the main clause is also the agent of the reason clause.

4.2.4.3 Instrumental

In an instrumental clause the NP object precedes the NP instrument and an instrument marker *-mɛ* marks the NP instrument. Interestingly, the agentive marker *-mɛ* in Nocte resembles the instrument marker in Nocte as is common in many Tibeto-Burman languages.

The schema for instrumental clause is shown below:

  a. S_INST: [A P INST V]
  b. NP_INST: [NP *mɛ*]

The following examples illustrate this:

  23. [elicited]

  atemɛ   ʋakpɛ   mittʃamɛ   ɹitsu   taʔ

  ate   -mɛ ʋak   -pɛ mittʃa   -mɛ   ɹitsu   t-aʔ

  3SG   AG pig   PA knife   INST kill.stab PAST-3

  'he killed the pig with a knife'

In example (23), the NP patient *ʋak* 'pig' precedes the NP instrument *mitʃa* 'knife' and an instrumental marker *-mɛ* marks the instrument that follows.

  24. [elicited]

  atemɛ   hukɔ   kemɛ   ʋɛt taʔ

  ate   -mɛ hu   -kɔ ke   -mɛ   ʋɛt t-aʔ

  3SG   ERG dog   ABS stick   INST hit PAST-3

  'she hit the dog with a stick'

Similarly, in (24), the NP object *hu* 'dog' precedes the NP instrument *ke* 'stick' and the NP instrument is marked with *-mɛ*.

4.2.4.4 Location/Goal

In Haʔwa, locations and goals are marked with the locative case markers *-kɔ* or *-naŋ*. The schema for NP location can be shown as follows:

a. S_{LOC.}:   [A (P) LOC V]

b. NP_{LOC}:   [NP *kɔ/naŋ*]

Some good examples are:

25. [elicited]

atemɛ	ʋakpɛ	zokɔ		khe	taʔ
ate	-mɛ ʋak	-pɛ zo	-kɔ	khe	t-aʔ
3SG	ERG pig	ABS river	LOC	see	PAST-3

'he saw the pig at the river'

In example (25), locative case marker *-kɔ* follows the NP location *zo* 'river'. The locative follows the P argument.

26. [elicited]

dəlawapɛ	hum	kʰeŋkɔ		muetmoi	tʰu
dəlawa	-pɛ hum	kʰeŋ	-kɔ	muetmoi	tʰu
man	ERG house	inside	LOC	work	PRS.PROG

'the man is working inside the house'

Similarly in (26), the locative case marker *-kɔ* follows the NP location *hum kʰeŋ* 'inside house'.

27. [elicited]

ate	pitnaŋ		ka	aŋ
ate	pit	-naŋ	ka	aŋ
3SG	field	LOC	go	FUT-1SG

'he will go to the field'

In example (27) above, the locative case marker *-naŋ* follows the NP location *pit* 'field'. In this case the location is also the goal of the motion.

28. [elicited]

ate   humnaŋ   tɔŋ   a

ate   hum   -naŋ   tɔŋ   a

3SG   house   LOC   have   3

'he is at home'

Similarly, in (28) the locative case marker *-naŋ* follows the NP location *hum* 'house'.

4.2.4.5 Manner

In Haʔwa, an adverb phrase expressing manner occurs before the VP or another adverb phrase. The schema for phrases showing manner is:

Manner: [...ADVP (ADVP) VP]

The examples below illustrate this:

29. [elicited]

atemɛ   ŋampɛ   səntʰəmtʰəm be?   ta?

ate   -mɛ   ŋam   -pɛ   səntʰəmtʰəm be?   t-a?

3SG   ERG   meat   ABS   carefully   cook   PAST-3

'she cooked the meat carefully'

Here in (29), ADVP *səntʰəmtʰəm* 'carefully' occurs before the *VP be?* 'cook' to show the manner of cooking.

30. [elicited]

hupɛ   tʃan   muaŋ tʃuen ta?

hu   -pɛ   tʃan   muaŋ tʃuen t-a?

dog   ABS   quickly   very   run   PAST-3

'the dog ran very quickly'

Again in (30), after ADVP *tʃan* 'quickly' shows the manner of running. After the ADVP *tʃan* and before the VP *tʃuen* 'run', an intensifier *muaŋ* 'very' also occurs.

4.2.4.6 Time

Time phrases are constructed by placing the time phrase before the VP. Sometimes an optional locative *-kɔ* ocurrs in beween the two phrases. The schema for a time phrase is:

Time: [...TP (*kɔ*) VP]

NPTIME: [TP (*kɔ*)]

In example (31) below, locative *-kɔ* occurs in between the TP *ɛdiwa bɛt* 'next week' and the VP *tʃuen* 'leave'.

31. [elicited]

atea		ɛdiwa	bɛtkɔ		tʃuen	min
ate	-a	ɛdiwa	bɛt	-kɔ	tʃuen	min
3SG	TOP	next	week	LOC	leave	FUT

'he will leave next week'

32. [elicited]

atea		meza	hɔk	wa
ate	-a	meza	hɔk	wa
3SG	TOP	yesterday	arrive	PAST

'she arrived yesterday'

Similarly in (32), TP *meza* 'yesterday' occurs before the VP *hɔk* 'arrive'.

4.2.4.7 Referential

In Haʔwa, a referential particle *ŋin* 'about' occurs after the NP to refer to the topic. But if there is a referent noun phrase (RT) and a patient argument (NPP), the RT will occur before the NP patient. The schema for referential clause will be:

a. SREF.: [A NPRT (P) V]

b. NPRT: [NP *ŋin*]

Some examples are shown below:

33. [elicited]

atemɛ		zuak	ŋin	tewaŋintʃa	tʰo	ko	taʔ
ate	-mɛ	zuak	ŋin	tewaŋintʃa	tʰo	ko	t-aʔ
3SG	ERG	ghost	about	story	tell	give	PAST-3

'he told a story about ghost'

34. [elicited]

atemɛ		ɹaŋsuamtʰin	ŋin	tʰo	ko	min
ate	-mɛ	ɹaŋsuamtʰin	ŋin	tʰo	ko	min
3SG	ERG	church	about	tell	give	FUT

'he will talk about church'

Both in (33) and (34), referential particle *ŋin* 'about' occurs after the NP referent *zuak* 'ghost' and *ɹaŋsuamtʰin* 'church' respectively.

4.2.5 Copular clauses

Nocte copular clauses are discussed in this section. This includes equative, attributive, locative, existential and possessive clauses.

4.2.5.1 Equative clauses

In Nocte equative clauses, two NPs can occur without a copula. However, in such type of clauses, the subject (S) can be marked either with an optional topic marker -*a* when the subject (S) is a pronoun or proper noun, or with absolutive case marker -*pɛ* when the subject (S) is a common noun. The following examples illustrate the schemas below:

S$_{\text{Equative}}$: [[NP (*a*)]NP]
        [[NP *pɛ*]NP]

35. [elicited]

atea		ŋap	hetʰo	te
ate	-a	ŋap	hetʰo	te
3SG	TOP	study	teach	NOM

'she is a teacher'

In (35) there are only two NPs and the first has an optional topic marker -*a*. Both the NPs have the same referent.

36. [elicited]

ate	wapɛ		ŋap	hetʰo	te
ate	wa	-pɛ	ŋap	hetʰo	te
3SG	father	ABS	study	teach	NOM

'her father is a teacher'

37. [elicited]

dəlawapɛ		ŋap	hetʰo	te
dəlawa	-pɛ	ŋap	hetʰo	te
man	SUB	study	teach	NOM

'the man is a teacher'

In examples (36) and (37), the subjects are marked with the absolutive case marker -*pɛ* and this case marker is not optional.

4.2.5.2 Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses in Nocte have an NP that is followed by an adjective predicate that describes the attributes of the NP. NPs in attributive clauses have an optional absolutive case marker -*pɛ* and an obligatory topic marker –*a* if the subject is a personal pronoun or a proper noun. The schemas and examples follow.

S_{Attributive} : [NP (pɛ) Adj]

[PRO a Adj]

38. [elicited]

atea		paŋmi
ate	-a	paŋmi
3SG	TOP	young

'he is young'

In clause (38) the NP is marked by -*a* and is followed by an adjective.

39. [elicited]

zo   ki

zo   ki

water   cold

'water is cold'

40. [elicited]

ŋa   hupɛ   ŋak

ŋa   hu   -pɛ   ŋak

I   dog   SUB   black

'my dog is black'

In example (40), case marker *-pɛ* is present but is not required to mark the subject in example (39).

4.2.5.3 Locative and existential clauses

In Nocte a location argument is marked by the locative case marker *-kɔ* or *-naŋ* which can be suffixed to the location NP (NP that refers to the location of the object) or to the locator noun if any follows.

S<small>Locative</small> :[NP<small>LOCATUM</small>[NP<small>LOCATION</small>-*kɔ/naŋ tɔŋ...*]

One good example is given below:

41. [elicited]

ate   humnaŋ   tɔŋ   a

ate   hum   -naŋ   tɔŋ   a

3SG   house   LOC   be.at   3

'he is at home'

In (41), the locative case marker *–naŋ* is suffixed to the location NP *hum* 'home'. The copula verb *tɔŋ* follows the NP<small>LOCATION</small> and have a meaning like 'exist', 'be.at' or 'have'. This verb is used as a copula in this context, otherwise it is a lexical verb meaning 'to sit'.

In Nocte, existential clauses are constructed by using the copula *tɔŋ* which is marked for person has the meaning 'to exist'. The copula follows an NP that denotes an entity and is new to the discourse. The new NP follows another NP which is marked for location with the locative case marker *-kɔ*.

Sᴇxᴛ: [NP *kɔ* [NP-ø]ɴᴇᴡ *tɔŋ*]

42. [story 1]

iɹekɔ		ʋun	tɔŋ	a
iɹe	-kɔ	ʋun	tɔŋ	a
there	LOC	forest	be.at	3

'there is a forest'

43. [elicited]

tebul	kʰokɔ		tʃuenɹiakɹi		tɔŋ	a
tebul	kʰo	-kɔ	tʃuenɹiak	-ɹi	tɔŋ	a
table	top	LOC	mango	CL	be.at	3

'a mango is on the table (top)'

In both the examples (42) and (43), the person marked copula *tɔŋ* meaning 'have' or 'exist' follows the new NP and the new NP again follows another NP that is marked with locative case marker *-kɔ*.

4.2.5.4 Possessive clauses

In Nocte possessive clauses, the NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴇᴅ precedes the NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴏʀ and a copula *tʰiak* 'have' occurs clause finally. The word order in an NP possessive phrase is [NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴏʀ NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴇᴅ] which gets reversed in a possessive clause and becomes [NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴇᴅ NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴏʀ]. A schema for possessive clauses in Nocte and an example follows.

NPᴘᴏss.: [NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴇᴅ NPᴘᴏssᴇssᴏʀ *tʰiak*]

44. [elicited]

əɹe	kitappɛ		ŋa	tʰiak
əɹe	kitap	-pɛ	ŋa	tʰiak
this	book	ABS	I	AUX

'this book is mine'

Example (44) shows a possessive clause where the NP<small>POSSESSOR</small> follows the NP<small>POSSESSED</small> and in addition a copula *tʰiak* occurs at the end of the clause.

4.3 Noun phrases

This section discusses the noun phrase and also lists the constituents that occur in it.

4.3.1 Introduction

This section discusses the structure of the Nocte noun phrase. An attempt has been made to outline the internal structure and constituent order. Also, this section provides examples of different types of noun phrases. The most common structures of Nocte noun phrases are summarized below in Table 11. Optionality is not marked here.

Table 14 Noun phrase structure

Possession	Modifier	Head	Modifier	Quantifier	Modifier
Pronouns	DETP	N	ADJP	CLFP	CASE
NP	REL clause	DEM	PL		
	PostP	NMLZ			
	CLFP	CLF			

Some of the sub-constituents of the NP will be discussed later in this chapter.

4.3.1.1 Personal pronouns and other heads

In Nocte, the head of a noun phrase can be a noun, demonstrative pronoun, nominalized verb or a classifier. The personal pronouns in Nocte are shown in the Table 15. Except for the first person singular and plural pronouns, rest of the pronouns do not have any alternate forms for possessives. 1<small>st</small> person singular has two forms: *ŋa* the non-possessor form and *i* the possessor form. 1<small>st</small> person plural in Nocte

also has two forms: one, the non-possessive *ni* and the other is *naŋ²* with a level tone. According to Das Gupta (1971), *naŋ²* for 1PL possessive is a polite way to say that my house is also your house. However, there is clear tonal distinction between naŋ¹ (2SG) and naŋ² (1PL.POSS.).

Nocte does not show inclusive and exclusive distinctions for first person pronouns.

Table 15 Nocte personal pronouns with possessives

Person	Pronoun	Possessive
1SG	ŋa	ŋa or i
1PL	ni	ni or naŋ² (level, pitch is higher)
2SG	naŋ¹ (low falling tone)	naŋ¹
2PL	ne	ne
3SG	ate	ate
3PL	ətʃin	ətʃin

Example (45) below shows an NP containing a head noun *hum* 'house'. A possessor *ate wa* 'his father' precedes this NP head 'house', two adjective modifiers *tʃak* 'red' and *dɔŋ* 'big' follow the head and a classifier phrase that includes both the classifier and the number follows the adjectives. Finally, the NP is marked with the absolutive case marker –*pɛ*.

> 45. [elicited]
>
> ate wa hum tʃak dɔŋ pʰaŋɹampɛ
>
> ate wa hum tʃak dɔŋ pʰaŋ -ɹam -pɛ
>
> 3SG father house red big CLF three ABS
>
> 'his father's three big red houses'

4.3.1.2 Sub-constituents of an NP

Sub constituents of a Nocte noun phrase are shown below in Table 16.

Table 16 Sub-constituents of an NP

Phrase	Constituents
DEM P	[DEM N]
ADJP	[ADJ INTENSIFIER]
CLFP	(CLF)+NUM
REL. Clause	[REL. N]
Post.P	[N P]
ADVP	[V ADV]
CASE	[NP + CASE]

4.3.1.3 Case and topic marking

This section introduces the case and topic marking in Haʔwa Nocte. Section 4.3.1.4 talks about case marking and Section 4.3.1.5 discusses the topic markers.

4.3.1.4 Case marking

Nocte has an apparent ergative-absolutive case system. Case marking is somewhat optional as it is possible to have a null or covert case marker ø for NP agent (A), subject (S) or the patient (P). Case markers in Nocte are particles that optionally follow the the NP. Case markers are preferred when the sentences are elicited, which may again inicate some normative standards but again in narratives and natural texts they may be omitted and the motivation for omission is yet to be explored.

However, before analysing the case sysytem in Nocte we should be more clear with the idea of ergativity.

Ergativity is a pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from transitive subject (Dixon 1994:1).

The above definition suggests that [subject (S) = Patient (P)] ≠ [Subject (A)]. However, it is not true in the case of Nocte case system.

Considering the marked noun phrases, it can be argued that the agents (A) are marked with *mɛ* whereas, marking of the subjects (S) and patients (P) is a little complicated. Subjects (S) are optionally marked with *pɛ* whereas, patients (P) can be marked with either *pɛ* or with a number of other case markings like dative *naŋ*, locative *kɔ*, instrumental *me*, benefactive *ɹa* etc. The following table illustrates the Nocte case system:

Table 17 Case markers

	Agent (A)	Subject (S)			Patient (P)	
Case		Personal Pronouns	Proper Nouns	Common Nouns	+ motion	human
ERG	(mɛ)	--	--	--	--	--
ABS		(a)	(a)	pɛ	kɔ	(naŋ)/(pɛ)
DAT	--	--	--	--	--	kɔ
LOC/Patient	--	--	--	--	kɔ	--
BEN	--	--	--	--	--	ɹa
INST	--	--	--	--	--	mɛ

Here are some examples showing the Nocte case system.

46. [elicited]

hupɛ   ɹi   taʔ

hu   -pɛ   ɹi   t-aʔ

dog   ABS   die   PAST-3

'the dog died'

47. [elicited]

dəlatʃapɛ   zup   tʰu

dəlatʃa   -pɛ   zup   t-ʰ-u

boy   ABS   sleep   PRESENT.PROG

'the boy is sleeping'

48. [elicited]

haʔtitpɛ   kʰaza taʔ

haʔtit   -pɛ   kʰaza t-aʔ

pot   ABS break PAST-3

'the pot broke'

Example sentences (46) to (48) shows intransitive common noun subjects marked with absolutive case marker *-pɛ.*

49. [elicited]

ate(mɛ)   kitappɛ   tebul kʰokɔ   thien taʔ

ate   -mɛ kitap -pɛ tebul kʰo -kɔ   thien t-aʔ

3SG   ERG book   ABS table on   LOC put   PAST-3

'he put the book on the table'

In (49), 3SG agent is marked with optional ergative case marker *-mɛ,* Patient *kitap* 'book' is marked with absolutive case marker *-pɛ* and location *tebul* 'table' is marked with locative case marker *-kɔ.* Similarly, in (50) below, the agent 'man' is marked with the ergative case marker *-mɛ* and patient 'tree' is marked with the absolutive case marker -pɛ.

50. [elicited]

dəlawamɛ   baŋpɛ   zuet taʔ

dəlawa -mɛ   baŋ   -pɛ   zuet t-aʔ

man   ERG tree   ABS cut   PAST-3

'the man cut the tree'

However, in example (51) below the patient *hu* 'dog' is marked with absolutive case marker *-kɔ* which is different from *-pɛ.* My informant Mr. Nawang Lowang Medam interpreted the reason for having *-kɔ* instead of *-pɛ* as the fact that hitting involves some motion.

51. [elicited]

dəlawamɛ   huwkɔ   ʋɛt taʔ

dəlawa -mɛ hu   -kɔ ʋɛt t-aʔ

man   ERG dog   PA hit PAST-3

'the man hit the dog'

52. [elicited]

atemɛ   tʃɛnpɛ   nihe   ɹa   tʰaʔ ko tʰi

ate   -mɛ tʃɛn -pɛ ni   -he -ɹa tʰaʔ ko t-ʰ-i

3SG   ERG wood ABS 1PL PL BEN cut give PAST-INV-1PL

'he cut the wood for us'

Example (52) shows human beneficent marker *-ɹa* that occurs with 1PL.

53. [story 3]

zɔnmɛ   pupɛ   kemɛ   ɹitʋɛt wa

zɔn -mɛ   pu   -pɛ ke   -mɛ   ɹitʋɛt wa

John ERG snake ABS stick   with   kill   PAST

'John killed the snake with a stick'

Nocte has instrumental case marker *-mɛ* as is seen in the above example. *ke* 'stick' is marked with *-mɛ*.

4.3.1.5 Topic markers

Apart from the case markers, Nocte also has two topic markers ***a*** and ***puŋ***. ***a*** can mark the subject (S) marker position by following the NP where the head is a pronoun or proper noun whereas, ***puŋ*** occurs in between the agent (A) and the agentive case marker ***mɛ***.

54. [elicited]

atea   meleɹia zunkɔ   ɹi ta?

ate   -a   meleɹia zun   -kɔ ɹi t-a?

3SG   ABS malaria disease   LOC die PAST − 3

'he died of Malaria'

55. [elicited]

atea		meza	hɔk	wa
ate	-a	meza	hɔk	wa
3SG	ABS	yesterday	arrive	PAST

'she arrived yesterday

In (54) and (55), topic marker *a* occurs after the NP as the heads are proper nouns. Whereas in (56) below, topic marker *puŋ* occurs between the agent the agentive marker mɛ. In both the cases the function of the topic markers is to put emphasis on the subject (S) or the agent (A).

56. [story 1]

ate-puŋ-mɛ	ŋet-wa ŋa	zo-kɔ	kʰehe	kʰe	t-ak
3SG.TOP.ERG	say.PAST	water.LOC	deer	see	PAST-1SG

'he said, 'I saw a deer at the river"

4.4 Noun phrase modifiers

In this section I discussed the noun phrase modifiers in Nocte like demonstratives, adjectives, classifiers and relative clauses.

4.4.1 Demonstratives

In Nocte, demonstratives always occur before the head noun as indicated in Section 4.2.1. One good example is:

57. [elicited]

i:	humpɛ	
i:	hum	-pɛ
that	house	ABS

'that house'

In (57), demonstrative *i:* 'that' precedes the head noun *hum* 'house'. Changing this. [DEM N] order to [N DEM] is considered ungrammatical in Nocte. (58) is an example of ungrammatical phrase.

58. [elicited]

* humpɛ   i

  hum   -pɛ i

  house   ABS that

'house that'

4.4.2 Adjectives

As shown in Table 10, adjectives always occur after the head noun in an NP. Here, only attributive function of adjective is referred to and not predicative. Example (59) illustrates this:

59. [elicited]

    a) hum   tʃak

       hum   tʃak

       house red

       'red house'

In (59 a.), the adjective *tʃak* 'red' follows the head noun *hum* 'house'. Nocte NP structure does not allow a phrase with the [ADJ N] order which will produce an ungrammatical sequence like (59 b.),

    *b) tʃak hum

       tʃak hum

       red   house

       'red house'

4.4.3 Classifiers

In Nocte, classifiers can occur either before or after the head noun. Numerals generally follow the head noun; however, they can precede it as well they if co-occur with a classifier. Animate beings do not take classifiers. For example,

60. [elicited]

a. *saʔ*   *wənt^he*
    tiger   one

b. [elicited]
    miŋan   wənɹam
    man   three

c. [elicited]
    pu   bəŋa
    snake   five

d. [elicited]
    pʰaŋ-t^he   pənɹi
    CLF.one   fruit

    'one fruit'

Classifiers in Nocte always co-occur with numerals. Numerals in Nocte are disyllabic. However, during this prefixation process, classifiers replace the first syllable of the numerals if the numbers are one, two or three as shown in (60 d.). So, one fruit is called *pʰaŋ-t^he pənɹi* where, classifier *pʰaŋ* attaches with the 2nd syllable of numeral *wənt^he* 'one'.

The rest of the numerals occur as disyllables with no deletion of the first syllable when prefixed with a classifier. The following examples show some classifiers in Nocte. The following examples are taken from Das Gupta (1971). Since Das Gupta's book did not use IPA symbols for presenting the example sentences I have re-transcribed them here.

61. [elicited]

lat^he   ʋaʔ

la-   t^he   ʋaʔ

CLF   one   bamboo

'one bamboo'

62. [elicited]

wan kʰabəŋa

wan kʰa- bəŋa

dish CLF five

'five dishes'

In (61), the classifier precedes the head noun whereas in (62), classifier follows the head noun.

Nocte numerals are listed here.

Table 18 Numerals in Nocte

English	Nocte
one	*wəntʰe*
two	*wənni*
three	*wənɹam*
four	*bəli*
five	*bəŋa*
six	*iɹok*
seven	*iŋit*
eight	*isat*
nine	*ikʰu*
ten	*itʃi*
twenty	*ɹoʔni*
hundred	*tʃatʰe*

4.4.4 Relative clause

As shown in table 10, relative clauses in Nocte occur before the head noun. Relative clauses can be constructed in two different ways:

I.   The relative clause precedes the N and there is no linking word or relative pronoun and the gap is in the subject or object position of the relative clause. Examples (63) & (64) below illustrate this:

63. [elicited]

ø ŋa naŋ zo	ko"aŋ					miŋanpɛ		tʃuaŋ
ŋa naŋ zo	ko	-t	-ʰ	-aŋ	miŋan	-pɛ	tʃuaŋ
I for water	give	PAST	INV	1SG	man	ABS	tall

muaŋ

muaŋ

INT

' the man who brought water for me is very tall'

64. [elicited]

ŋa humɛ	ø kaktaʔ			miŋanpuŋmɛ			ŋanaŋ	
ŋa hu	-mɛ	kak	-taʔ	miŋan	-puŋ	-mɛ	ŋa-	naŋ
I dog	ERG	bite	PAST.3	man	TOP	ERG	1SG	PA

ʋɛttʰaŋ

ʋɛt	-t	-ʰ	-aŋ
hit	PAST	INV	FUT.1SG

'the man who my dog bit hit me'

In (63) and (64), the gap is in the subject position of the relative clause and there is no relativizer.

II.   The relative clause follows the N, and a relative pronoun or complementizer *hɛn* occurs after the N. If the main clause subject NP contains the REL clause, then the gap is in the subject position of the relative clause. One good example is:

65. [elicited]

dəlatʃa	hɛnmɛ		sese	taʔ		pɛ	ŋa	na
dəlatʃa	hɛn	-mɛ	sese	t-aʔ		pɛ	ŋa	na
boy	REL	ERG	sing	PAST-3	ABS	I	brother

'boy who sang is my brother'

In (65), it is apparent that the case marker –mɛ is making the gap. in this way it functions like a co-relative.

4.5 Nominalizations in Nocte

Comrie and Thompson (1985:349) narrowly define nominalization as, "*turning something into noun*". In the words of Genetti (2008), "*nominalization is a general process by which non-nominal elements become grammatical nominals*". Thus, we can say that nominalization is a process to derive nominals from non-nominals. Derivational nominalization applies to lexical roots whereas, clausal nominalization applies to clauses. Derivational nominalization normally applies to verb roots to produce nominals that can function as the head of a noun phrase. On the other hand, according to Genetti (2008), "*clausal nominalizations are structures where nominalization targets an entire clause without creating a derived noun as the head; apart from derivational nominalization, most of the Tibeto-Burman languages make extensive use of clausal nominalization and the nominalized clause functions as a noun phrase in the greater syntactic context*". The following paragraphs will discuss evidence from nominalization in Haʔwa Nocte.

4.5.1 Derivational nominalization deriving nouns

In Nocte, derivational nominalizer includes an action nominalizer -tʰuʔ, one patient nominalizers –wa and two participant nominalizers –te (agentive nominalizer) and -tʰin (locative nominalizer) These nominalizers get attached to verbs to form nominals.

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Table 19 Nominalizers

-te agentive nominalizer	*-wa* patient nominalizer	*-tʰin* locative nominalizer	*-tʰuʔ* action nominalizer
sese-te sing-NZ 'singer'	ɹiak-wa buy-NZ 'purchased thing'	zup-tʰin sleep-NZ 'bed'	tʃam-tʃaʔ-tʰuʔ rice-eat-NZ 'rice eating'
ŋaphetʰo-te teach-NZ 'teacher'		sɔŋdaŋ-tʰin cook-NZ 'kitchen'	tʃuen-tʰuʔ run-NZ 'running'

Some example sentences showing derivational nominalization are presented below:

66. [elicited]

ŋa lamɹu Stevepɛ   ŋaphetʰote

ŋa lamɹu Steve   -pɛ ŋaphetʰo   -te

I   friend Steve ABS teach   NZ.A

'my friend, Steve, is a teacher'

In (66), the agent nominalizer *-te* derives the nominal *ŋaphetʰo-te* 'teacher' from the verb *ŋaphetʰo* 'teach'.

67. [elicited]

atemɛ   pupɛ   sɔŋdaŋtʰinkɔ   ɹitpʰe   taʔ

ate   -mɛ pu   -pɛ sɔŋdaŋ -tʰin   -kɔ ɹitpʰe t-aʔ

3SG ERG snake ABS cook   NZ.LOC LOC kill   PAST-3

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

In (67), locative nominalizer *-tʰin* nominalizes the verb *sɔŋdaŋ* 'cook' to produce *sɔŋdaŋ-tʰin* 'kitchen'

68. [elicited]

ŋamɛ	ɹiakwa		hu	wak	taʔ
ŋa -mɛ	ɹiak	-wa	hu	wak	t-aʔ
I ERG	purchase	NZ.P	theif	take	PAST-3

'my purchased one (thing) was stolen'

In (68), the patient nominalizer -*wa* nominalizes the verb *ɹiak* 'purchase' to derive *ɹiak-wa* 'purchased' or 'something bought'.

In addition, Haʔwa Nocte also has zero derivation nominalization where a verb is also used as a noun without adding any derivational suffixes. The following examples illustrate this.

69. [elicited]

a.
atemɛ	pənɹipɛ		ɹan	taʔ
ate -mɛ	pənɹi	-pɛ	ɹan	t-aʔ
3SG ERG	fruit	ABS	dry	PAST-3

'he dried the fruit'

b.
ɹanpɛ		tʃaʔ	tak
ɹan	-pɛ	tʃaʔ	t-ak
dry	NZ.P	eat	PAST.1SG

'I ate the dried one'

In (69 a), *ɹan* is used as a verb with the meaning 'dry' whereas, (in 69 b) *ɹan* is used as a noun marked with absolutive case marker -*pɛ* which means 'the dried one'. This is a good example of zero derivation nominalization in Nocte.

70. [elicited]

atemɛ	tʃamtʃaʔtʰuʔ			daŋ	wa
ate -mɛ	tʃam	tʃaʔ	-tʰuʔ	daŋ	wa
3SG ERG	rice	eat	NOM	AUX	PAST

'He did rice eating'

In (70), the action nominalizer *-tʰuʔ* nominalizes the action of eating rice *tʃam-tʃaʔ* 'eat rice' and derives *tʃam-tʃaʔ-tʰuʔ* 'rice eating'.

Apart from this *–te* can also derive adjective-like modifiers when attached to a verb. The following examples from Das Gupta (1971) illustrate this:

71. [Das Gupta, 1971]
    muet-te   miɲan
    work-NOM man
     LT 'working man'
     FT 'industrious man'

72. [Das Gupta, 1971]
    ka-te   miɲan
    go-NOM   man
     LT 'going man'
     FT 'the man who is going'

4.5.2 Clausal nominalization

Clausal nominalization is a common feature of most of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Noticeably, Tibeto-Burman languages use nominalization to produce relative clauses. Genetti (2008) refers to DeLancey (2002) where the tendency to form relative clauses by nominalization has been termed as *nominalization-relativization syncretism*. Nocte is not an exception to this theory. It can be argued that Nocte shows the potential to modify a noun using a clause which is optionally nominalized. In other words, Nocte allows the apposition of a head noun and a clause.

Dasgupta (1971) records relative clause like structures which are a result of clausal nominalization. Here are some examples from Dasgupta (1971):

73. [elicited]
     anaŋ kate   miɲan ipʰo
     anaŋ ka   -te miɲan i-   pʰo
     here go   NZ man   my   brother

    FT 'The man who comes here is my brother'
    LT 'The here coming man is my brother'

Here in (73), nominalizer –*te* attaches to the verb *ka* 'go' and relativizes the clause and achieves a literal meaning 'the here coming man is my brother'.

74. [elicited]

ɲamɛ	ɹiakwa		manpɛ	hu	wak	taʔ
ɲa	-mɛ ɹiak	-wa	man -pɛ	hu	wak	t-aʔ
I	ERG purchase	NOM	cow ABS	steal	take	PAST-3

'My purchased cow was stolen'/'the cow which I purchased was stolen'

Similarly in (74), a [2]nominalizer –*wa* nominalizes the verb *ɹiak* 'purchase' and helps relativize the clause to yield a literal meaning like 'my purchased cow was stolen'.

As stated before, relativization is also possible without the nominalization of the modifying clause. See example (75).

75. [elicited]

ŋa	naŋ	zo	kotʰaŋ				miɲanpɛ		tʃuaŋ
ŋa	naŋ	zo	ko	-t	-ʰ	-aŋ	miɲan	-pɛ	tʃuaŋ
I	for	water	give	PAST	INV	FUT.1SG	man	ABS	tall

muaŋ
muaŋ
INT

'man brought water for me man very tall'

This section discussed the various types of nominalization processes present in Haʔwa. Apart from the derivational and clausal nominalization, Nocte also have zero derivation nominalization where a verb is used like a noun with adding any derivational suffixes.

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[2] Randy J. La Polla (2008) described the presence of a similar nominalizer –*we* in Singpho (closely related to Jingphaw, spoken in upper Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, India). However, he suggests it is derived from a distal demonstrative. Similarly, Morey (2006) explains the complexities of categorizing a morpheme –*wa* as nominalizer or a definiteness marker and concludes by calling it the later.

4.6 Summary

This chapter presented a grammatical overview of Haʔwa Nocte. It started with the introduction to the basic clause structure and verbal agreement system. Basic verbal and non-verbal clauses were discussed with illustrative examples. Other important discussions included noun phrases, case and topic marking, relative clauses and other modifiers, and nominalization processes.

Chapter 5
Verb phrase

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Haʔwa verb phrase showing the different constituents that occur within the phrase. Section 5.2 gives an introduction to the Nocte verb stem alternation. Section 5.3 discusses the verb complex overview and Section 5.4 is focused on clause final morphology including the declarative, imperative and interrogative. Auxiliary verb and tense-aspect markers are discussed in Section 5.5 and 5.6. In Section 5.7, the hierarchical agreement system is discussed in detail Section 5.8 shows some deviations in the hierarchical agreement system and Section 5.9 and 5.10 talks about inverse and cislocative marking in the Haʔwa variety of Nocte. Section 5.11 summarizes the chapter.

5.2 Verb stem

Dr. Stephen Morey provided me with his unpublished grammar sketch of Mueshaung Tangsa, where he gives an analysis of verb stem alternation in that language variety. According to Morey, verb stem alternation is a common feature of the Tangsa varieties. These language varieties normally have two verb forms: one is the verbal and the other is the nominalized form that is often but not always preceded by a vowel 'ə'. He recorded a total of 64 different verbs with stem alternation in the language variety. In my data I have come across a few verb stem alternations. One hypothesis is that tone plays a crucial role in verb stem alternation. In addition, stem alternation also involves segmental changes. Tone has not been marked yet on the text I have collected therefore, it is difficult to present a detailed discussion on this. It is an interesting topic for further studies.

Although, it is difficult to strictly categorize the verb stems on the basis of their occurence in a particular construction here, I will exemplify a few instances and try to give an idea about the possible environments for verb stem alternation.

Table 20 Verb stem alternation

Gloss	Intransitive	Imperative	Interrogative/Negative
'to go'	*ka*	*ka*	*kɛt/kɛʔ*
'to kill'	*ɹit*	*ɹit*	*ɹiʔ*
'to stand'	*tʃəp*	*tʃəp*	*səp*
'to buy'	*ɹiak*	*ɹi*	*ɹiak*
'to laugh'	*ŋe*	*əŋit*	*ŋe*

Table 20 above, shows some Nocte verbs and their alternate forms in different constructions. All of these verbs have two forms but do not alternate in identical constructions in a regular pattern. For example, for the verb *ka* 'to go' stem 1 *ka* occurs in intransitive and imperative constructions and, stem 2 *kɛt/kɛʔ* occurs in interrogative and negative constructions. On the other hand for the verb *əsəp* 'to stand' stem 1 *səp* occurs in intransitive, interrogative and negative constructions and stem 2 *əsəp* occurs only in imperative constructions. Table 18 below attempts to summarize this:

Table 21 Verb stem alternation

Gloss	Stem 1	Stem 2
'to go'	Intransitive & Imperative	Interrogative & Negative
'to kill'	Intransitive & Imperative	Interrogative & Negative
'to stand'	Intransitive & Imperative	Interrogative & Negative
'to buy'	Intransitive, Interrogative and negative	Imperative
'to laugh'	Intransitive, Interrogative and negative	Imperative

From the examples I presented below in support of tables (20) and (21) it is clear that verb stem alternation happens depending on the construction it occurs in like imperative, negative or interrogative. It appears that there can be more than two verb stem forms but the complete pattern has not yet been identified.

5.2.1 Verb stem alternation examples

Future intransitive (stem 1)

76. [elicited]

ŋa	pit.naŋ	ka	aŋ
1SG	field.LOC	go	1SG-FUT

'I will go to the field'

Question (stem 2)

77. [elicited]

naŋ	pit.naŋ	kɛʔ	min	ne?
2SG	field.LOC	go	FUT	QP

'will you go to the field?'

Negative (stem 2)

78. [elicited]

ŋa	kɛt	ho
1SG	going	V

'my going was not'

As we can see from the above example sentences stem 1 occurs in future constructions those use agreement marking whereas, stem 2 occurs in negative constructions. Possibly *ho* can be analysed as a verb with a literal meaning 'it is not the case that'.

Similarly, in the following sentences for the verb 'to kill' *ɹit,* stem 1 occurs in imperative (eg. 79) and stem 2 occurs in question (eg. 80).

79. [elicited]

lei-pɛ	ɹit-hap	ɔʔ
buffalo-ERG	kill-shoot	2SG

'kill(shoot) the buffalo'

80. [elicited]

naŋ	lei-pɛ	ɹiʔ-hap	tɔʔ	le
2SG	buffalo-ERG	kill-shoot	2SG-PAST	QP

'did you kill the buffalo?'

Again, some intransitive verbs like 'weep', 'laugh' and 'stand' take a vowel prefix 'ə' in their stem 2 form that occurs only in the imperative constructions. Examples (81) and (82) illustrate this:

81. [elicited]

ətʃəp	ɔ
stand	2SG

'(you) stand up'

82 əŋit   ɔ
   laugh   2SG
'(you) laugh'

5.3 Verb phrase

This section gives an overview of the Nocte verb phrase. Section 5.4 describes the clause final morphology focusing on declarative, imperative and interrogatives. Post verbal agreement marking may be considered as sentence final words that can have attached morphemes showing TAM, negation etc. This is discussed in detail in Section 5.5. Another interesting feature of Nocte is that they show a person hierarchy in the agreement that is discussed in details in Section 5.7. However, the cislocative and the inverse markers always occur between the verb root and the agreement morphemes. this supports the idea that agreement markers are not verb affixes.

5.4 (near) Clause final morphology

This section will discuss the clause final morphology in Nocte by exemplifying the declarative, imperative and interrogative constructions in Haʔwa Nocte. Section 5.4.1 will talk about declarative constructions whereas, 5.4.2 and 5.4.3 will discuss imperative and interrogative constructions respectively.

5.4.1 Declaratives

Nocte declarative clauses have an SOV word order. The schema and some examples of declarative sentences are given below:

S: [NPꜱᴜʙ NPᴏʙᴊ V]

83. [elicited]

atemɛ		pupɛ		sɔŋdaŋtʰinkɔ			ɹitpʰe	taʔ
ate	-mɛ	pu	-pɛ	sɔŋdaŋ	-tʰin	-kɔ	ɹitpʰe	t-aʔ
3SG	ERG	snake	ABS	cook	NOM	LOC	kill	PAST-3

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

In example (83), NPꜱᴜʙ *ate* 'he' is followed by NPᴏʙᴊ *pu* 'snake' and verb *ɹitpʰe* 'kill' occurs in the sentence final position. In addition optional adjuncts like locative *sɔŋdaŋtʰin* 'kitchen' can occur after the NPᴏʙᴊ. See chapter 4 for more on declarative clause.

5.4.2 Imperatives

In Nocte imperative clauses like (84), the addressee who is being told to do something can occur optionally but agreement is not optional.

84. [elicited]

kasakpɛ		buan	ɔ
kasak	-pɛ	buan	ɔ
door	ABS	shut	2SG.IMP

'(you (SG)) shut the door'

In (84) the verbal agreement entails that 2SG 'you' is asked to shut the door. The NPꜱᴜʙ is omitted here but still understood.

There is also a particle tʃɔkɔ 'please' to express politeness and it occurs sentence initially. The following example illustrates this.

85. [elicited]

tʃɔkɔ	naŋ	dak	suen	ɔ
tʃɔkɔ	naŋ	dak	suen	ɔ
please	you	hand	wash	2SG-IMP

'please wash your hand'

Here in (85), the particle *tʃɔkɔ* 'please' occurs sentence initially and the optional NP_{SUB} *naŋ* 'you' is also overt.

In addition, Nocte has a prohibitive particle *nak* which can express negative commands.

86. [story 1]

tetemɛ		ŋɛt	wa	zopɛ		nak	dɛn	ɛn
tete	-mɛ	ŋɛt	wa	zo	-pɛ	nak	dɛn	ɛn
grandfather	ERG	say	PAST	river	ABS	PRH	cross	2PL

'Grandfather said, 'don't cross the river'

In (86), the prohibitive particle *nak* 'do not' occurs before the verb *dɛn* 'cross' and has a meaning like 'do not cross'.

The cislocative *ɹ-* can also occur in imperative clauses as a prefix to the agreement particle. This happens only in case of motion verbs to show that the movement is towards the deictic centre. Here is an example:

87. [elicited]

naŋ	ka	ɹɔ	
naŋ	ka	ɹ	-ɔ
you	go	CIS	2SG-IMP

LT 'you go towards (me)'

FT 'you come'

(87) above, is an example of an imperative clause with cislocative marker /ɹ-/ to express that the addressee is asked to move towards the speaker and thus the verb ka 'go' achieves the meaning 'come'.

5.4.3 Interrogative

In this section yes-no questions and content questions in Nocte are discussed.

5.4.3.1 Yes-no questions

In Haʔwa question particles occur sentence finally after the agreement particles. Three different question particles *a, ne* and *le* can form yes-no questions. One

hypothesis is that *ne* and *le* are allomorphs and these two question particles however, can occur interchangeably without any difference in the meaning. But it is not possible with the question particle *a*. It cannot be replaced by *le* or *ne*. Some examples are given below:

88. [elicited]

naŋa   bɔzetnaŋ   kɛt min ne/le ?

naŋ   -a   bɔzet   -naŋ kɛt min ne

you   TOP market   DAT go FUT QP

'will you go to the market?'

In (88), question particle *ne* occurs after the constant future tense morpheme *min*.

89. [elicited]

atea   waŋ   taʔ   a   ?

ate   -a   waŋ   t-aʔ   a

3SG   TOP go up PAST-3 QP

'did he go?'

90. [elicited]

naŋa   waŋ   tɔʔ   le   ?

naŋ   -a   waŋ   t-ɔʔ   le

you   TOP go up PAST-2SG QP

'did you go?'

In (89) & (90), question particles *a* and *le* occur in sentence final position. In (90), question particle *ne* can occur in place of *le* without any change in the meaning. However, question articles *ne* or *le* neither can occur in place of *a* in (89). *ne* occurs with second person subject in yes-no questions and never occurs with content questions whereas, *a* occurs with any person as the subject in yes-no questions and it is also the only question particle that occurs in the content questions. The following section deals with content questions.

5.4.3.2 Content questions

Content questions are asked using interrogative pronouns which remain in situ. However all content questions end with a final question particle *a*. *a* seems to be the same question particle that forms yes-no questions. But then, unlike yes-no questions, in content questions *a* occurs as a constant question particle and cannot be interchanged with the other two question particle *ne* and *le*. Table 22 below lists the interrogative pronouns in Nocte and following that are some examples showing their usage:

Table 22 Interrogative pronouns

English	Nocte
what	*tʃəni*
who	*hɛn*
when	*mɛtʰu*
where	*mɛɹiaŋnaŋ*
which	*mɛpɛ*
how	*mɛɹoʔ*

It is noteworthy that several of the interrogative pronouns in the above table have *mɛ-* as the first syllable which is analogous to the *wh-* in English interrogative pronouns. (91) to (94) are some examples of content questions.

> 91. [elicited]
>
> atea   mɛtʰu waŋ taʔ   a ?
>
> ate -a   mɛtʰu waŋ t-aʔ   a
>
> 3SG   TOP when go up PAST-3 QP
>
> 'when did he go ?'

92. [elicited]

atea   hɛn   a   ?

ate   -a   hɛn   a

3SG   TOP   who   QP

'who is he ?'

93. [elicited]

naŋ kitappɛ   mɛpɛ a   ?

naŋ kitap   -pɛ   mɛpɛ a

you book   ABS which QP

'which one is your book ? '

94. [elicited]

naŋ min   tʃəni a   ?

naŋ min   tʃəni a

you name what QP

'what is your name?'

It is evident from the examples that question particle *a* occurs sentence finally even in presence of the interrogative pronouns.

5.5 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs give additional information to the main verb like tense, aspect, mood, negation etc. Nocte however, has a very complicated post-verbal morphology. There is enough evidences for calling agreement and TAM separate morphemes. But this claim does not have a very simple explanation and needs further study. Das Gupta (1971) records Nocte as having verbal suffixes to mark tense and aspect whereas, Alfons Weidert in his unpublished notes on Nocte records agreement, TAM, negation as separate words. Here, I would like to refer to Scott DeLancey's paper entitled 'Nocte and Jingphaw: Morphological correspondences' published in the 'North East Indian Linguistics Journal' (vol. 3, 2011). DeLancey discusses the complex SFWs (Sentence Final Word, coined by Dai and Diehl, 2003) in Jingphaw and Nocte. Another important paper by DeLancey entitled 'Second Person verb

forms in Tibeto-Burman' (LTBA, June, 2014) talks about the presence of similar SFW in archaic Kuki-Chin language varieties which he identifies as 'transparently gramaticalized'.

Along with specific negative verbal prefixes, auxiliary verbs carry information about tense, aspect, mood and other types of negation (Negative constructions are discussed in detail in Chapter 6) as prefixes to the verbal agreement markers.

However, Nocte also has sets of auxiliaries that do not have any agreement marking at all which means they are invariant for any person. The present progressive marker *thu* and the future tense marker *min* are invariant auxiliaries. The following tables illustrate this with exemplifying all the person. Here verb *bəm* is used which means 'to wait'.

Table 23 Present progressive marking auxiliaries

1SG	*ŋa bəm tʰu/* 'I am waiting'
1PL	*ni bəm tʰu/* 'we are waiting'
2SG	*naŋ bəm tʰu/* 'you (SG) are waiting'
2PL	*ne bəm tʰu/* 'you (PL) are waiting'
3SG	*ate bəm tʰu/* 'he is waiting'
3PL	*ətʃin bəm tʰu/* 'they are waiting'

Table 24 Future tense marking auxiliaries

ŋa bəm min/ 'I will wait'
ni bəm min/ 'we will wait'
naŋ bəm min/ 'you (SG) will wait'
ne bəm min/ 'you (PL) will wait'
ate bəm min/ 'he will wait'
ətʃin bəm min/ 'they will wait'

5.5.1 Tense and aspect markers

"Tense refers to the grammatical expression of the time of the situation described in the proposition, relative to some other time whereas, aspect defines the distribution or internal organization of the event over time" (Bybee, 1985)

In Haʔwa Nocte, tense-aspect markers are auxiliaries that sometimes carry information about verbal agreement. However, there are also some tense-aspect markings in the language variety that are invariant for any person or number. Nocte distinguishes tense on the basis of past and non-past whereas, aspect shows whether an event has an end point i.e. 'perfective' or 'imperfective', 'progressive' or 'inceptive'. Non-past in Nocte includes future and habitual. Here, I reintroduce Table 13 that lists several auxiliaries, many of which are tense-aspect markers. However, present habitual agreement markers are also added in the table this time. I also discuss the other tense-aspect markers that are not included in the table. Moreover, the present tense progressive prefixes recorded by Das Gupta (1971) also find description in this section.

Table 13 Tense and aspect markers

Person	Future	Habitual (Present)	Past	Progressive			Imperative	Prohibitive
				Past	Present	Future		
1SG	-aŋ	ɹaŋ V aŋ	-t-ak	-ka-t-ak	-k-aŋ	-ka-aŋ	--	--
1PL	-ɛ	ɹaŋ V ɛ	-t-iʔ	-ka-t-iʔ	-k-i	-ka-i	--	--
2SG	-ɔ	ɹaŋ V ɔ	-t-ɔʔ	-ka-t-ɔʔ	-k-ɔ	-ka-ɔ	-ɔ	-nak-V-ɔ
2PL	-ɛn	ɹaŋ V ɛn	-t-ɛt	-ka-t-ɛt	-k-ɛn	-ka-ɛn	-ɛn	-nak-V-ɛn
3SG	-a	ɹaŋ V a	-t-aʔ	-ka-t-aʔ	-k-ɛ	-ka-a	--	--
3PL							--	--

5.5.2 Future, habitual present and past

This section discusses the future, habitual and past tense of Haʔwa Nocte. One interesting observation form Table 13 is that agreement markers fall loosely into two classes or set. One set has open syllables (e.g. future agreement) and the other closed syllables (e.g. past agreement).

5.5.2.1 Future

In Haʔwa Nocte, future tense is either expressed with a zero morpheme that is with the post-verbal agreement morpheme or an invariant auxiliary *min* or *(ɹe) min*. Table 25 below shows the intransitive future tense markers in Nocte.

Table 25 Future tense markers

Person	Future markers		
Semantic factors	Inceptive/ about to	Time not bound	Certainty
1SG	*aŋ*		
1PL	*ɛ*		
2SG	*ɔ*	*min*	*ɹe min*
2PL	*ɛn*		
3SG	*a*		
3PL			

Example sentences below show some future tense marking in the language. Example sentences (95) shows variant future marking whereas, (96 a) and (96 b) exemplify invariant '*min*' which is less specified.

95. [elicited]

ate   pitnaŋ   ka   aŋ

ate   pit   -naŋ ka   aŋ

3SG field   LOC go   FUT-1SG

'he will go to the field'

In (95), the agent is about to leave and is known to the speaker.

96. [elicited]

a. atemɛ   ɹaŋsuamtʰin ŋin   tʰo ko   min

   ate -mɛ ɹaŋsuamtʰin ŋin   tʰo ko   min

   3SG ERG church   about tell give FUT

'he will talk about church'

But here in (96 a), the speaker is not aware of the time when the subject is going to talk about church so *min* is used.

b. ate.mɛ   pit.naŋ   kɛʔ   ɹe-   min

  3SG.ERG   field.LOC   go   Mood FUT

  'he will certainly go to the field'

In (96 b) however, the speaker has an attitude of certainty that he will surely go to the field.

The complete paradigm of examples for each different form of future is below.

Table 26 Future tense markers (inceptive/about to)

	Nocte	English
a	*ŋa pitnaŋ ka aŋ*	I will go to the field
b	*ni pitnaŋ ka ɛ*	we will go to the field
c	*naŋ pitnaŋ ka ɔ*	you (SG) will go to the field
d	*ne pitnaŋ ka ɛn*	you (PL) will go to the field
e	*ate pitnaŋ ka a*	he/she will go to the field
f	*ətʃin pitnaŋ ka a*	they will go to the field

Table 27 Future tense markers (time not bound)

	Nocte	English
a	*ŋa pitnaŋ ka min*	I will go to the field
b	*ni pitnaŋ ka min*	we will go to the field
c	*naŋ pitnaŋ ka min*	you (SG) will go to the field
d	*ne pitnaŋ ka min*	you (PL) will go to the field
e	*ate pitnaŋ ka min*	he/she will go to the field
f	*ətʃin pitnaŋ ka min*	they will go to the field

Table 28 Future tense markers (certainity)

	Nocte	English
a	*ŋa pitnaŋ ka ɹe min*	I will go to the field
b	*ni pitnaŋ ka ɹe min*	we will go to the field
c	*naŋ pitnaŋ ka ɹe min*	you (SG) will go to the field
d	*ne pitnaŋ ka ɹe min*	you (PL) will go to the field
e	*ate pitnaŋ ka ɹe min*	he/she will go to the field
f	*ətʃin pitnaŋ ka ɹe min*	they will go to the field

In addition to the above paradigms of future tense markers Nocte also has future progressive aspect which is marked by a prefix *ka-* attached to the agreement morpheme. The following examples illustrate this.

97. [elicited]

a. naŋ bɔzetnaŋ   ka kaɔ   ne

   naŋ bɔzet   -naŋ ka ka   -ɔ   ne

   you market   DAT go PROG   FUT.2SG QP

  'will you be going to the market?'

b. ŋa bɔzetnaŋ   ka kaaŋ

   ŋa bɔzet   -naŋ ka ka   -aŋ

   I   market   DAT go PROG   FUT.1SG

'I will be going to the market'

5.5.2.2 Habitual present

In Haʔwa the habitual present is expressed through a morpheme *ɹaŋ* that precedes the verb root and agreement particles. The following examples are cited from Das Gupta (1971). I have confirmed the usage of *ɹaŋ* 'habitual present tense marker' with my informant Mr. Nawang Lowang Medam.

98. [elicited]

ŋa   skul.naŋ   ɹoantaŋ   ɹaŋ   ka   aŋ

1SG   school.LOC   always   HAB   go   1SG

'I always go to school'

99. [elicited]

ate   skul.naŋ   ɹoantaŋ   ɹaŋ   ko   a

3SG   school.LOC   always   HAB   go   3

'He always goes to school'

A complete paradigm showing the use of *ɹaŋ* 'HAB' is in Table 29 below.

Table 29 Habitual present tense

	Nocte	English
a	*ŋa skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka aŋ*	I always go to school.
b	*ni skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɛ*	we always go to school
c	*naŋ skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɔ*	you (SG) always go to school
d	*ne skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɛn*	you (PL) always go to school
e	*ate skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka a*	he always go to school
f	*ətʃn skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka a*	they always go to school

5.5.2.3 Past

Past tense in Nocte is marked by a '*t-*' prefix that occurs before the agreement particle. Moreover, in the past tense all the person agreement particles become a closed syllable with a final stop which is discussed in Section 5.5.2. The following table shows the simple present tense in Haʔwa without the interference of inverse marking.

Table 30 Past tense markers

Person	Past
1SG	t-ak
1PL	t-iʔ
2SG	t-ɔʔ
2PL	t-ɛt
3SG	t-aʔ
3PL	

Some good examples are:

100. [elicited]

ŋa	tʃam	tʃaʔ	t-ak
1SG	rice	eat	PAST-1SG

'I ate rice'

101. [elicited]

hupɛ		ɹi	taʔ
hu	-pɛ	ɹi	t-aʔ
dog	SUB	die	PAST-3

'the dog died'

In (100) and (101), the past tense morpheme t- is prefixed to the agreement particle. A complete paradigm is shown in the table below.

Table 31 Past tense markers

	Nocte	English
a	*ŋa tʃam tʃaʔ t-ak*	I ate rice
b	*ni tʃam tʃaʔ t-iʔ*	we ate rice
c	*naŋ tʃam tʃaʔ t-ɔʔ*	you (SG) ate rice
d	*ne tʃam tʃaʔ t-ɛt*	you (PL) ate rice
e	*ate tʃam tʃaʔ t-aʔ*	he/she ate rice
f	*ətʃin tʃam tʃaʔ t-aʔ*	they ate rice

In Haʔwa there is another paste tense morpheme '*wa*' which is invariant for any person. However, this morpheme has more sense of progression of an event therefore it is included with the aspect markers.

5.6 Aspect (completive, progressive and inceptive)

In the texts I have collected for this thesis writing I have come across the following aspect markers in Haʔwa Nocte.

Table 32 Aspect markers

Aspect		Morpheme
Completive		*kɛ*
Progressive	Past	*wa*
	Present	*k*-AG
		e + k-AG
		tʰu
Inceptive (future)		ø

The following examples illustrate the completive aspect markers in Nocte.

> 102 a. [elicited]
>
> | John | hu-kɔ | ʋɛt | kɛ |
> |------|-------|-----|-----|
> | John | dog-ABS | hit | COMPL-3 |
>
> 'John has hit the dog'

According to my informant Mr. Nawang Lowang Medam, the action of hitting in sentence (102 a) is completed in the recent past and is different from (102 b) below which is an example of the past tense form in Nocte.

102 b. [elicited]

John	hu-kɔ	ʋɛt	t-aʔ
John	dog-ABS	hit	PAST-3

'John hit the dog'

103. [elicited]

John	hu-kɔ	wɛt	wa
John	dog-ERG	hit	PAST-PROG

'John was hitting the dog'

In (103), the action of hitting was ongoing in the past.

104. [elicited]

John	hu-kɔ	wɛt	k-a
John	dog-ERG	hit	PRS-PROG-3

'John is hitting the dog'

The action of hitting is ongoing in (104). The aspect is similar in the following example (105):

105. [elicited]

John	hu-kɔ	wɛt	tʰu
John	dog-ERG	hit	PRS-PROG

'John is hitting the dog'

The three different present progressive aspect markers are shown in Table 33 below.

Table 33 Present progressive aspect markers

Aspect markers		Nocte	English
k-AG	a	*ŋa zup k-aŋ*	I am sleeping
	b	*ni zup k-ɛ*	we are sleeping
	c	*naŋ zup k-ɔ*	you (SG) are sleeping
	d	*ne zup k-ɛn*	you (PL) are sleeping
	e	*ate zup k-a*	he/she is sleeping
	f	*ətʃin zup k-a*	they are sleeping

e + k-AG	a	*ŋa zup e k-aŋ*	I am sleeping
	b	*ni zup i k-ɛ*	we are sleeping
	c	*naŋ zup e k-ɔ*	you (SG) are sleeping
	d	*ne zup e k-ɛn*	you (PL) are sleeping
	e	*ate zup e k-a*	he/she is sleeping
	f	*ətʃin zup e k-a*	they are sleeping
tʰu	a	*ŋa zup tʰu*	I am sleeping
	b	*ni zup tʰu*	we are sleeping
	c	*naŋ zup tʰu*	you (SG) are sleeping
	d	*ne zup tʰu*	you (PL) are sleeping
	e	*ate zup tʰu*	he/she is sleeping
	f	*ətʃin zup tʰu*	they are sleeping

5.7 Hierarchical agreement

Hierarchical agreement, inverse marking and cislocative marking are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

> *"Another striking trait which Nocte shares with Jingphaw is hierarchical agreement: the verb agrees with a 1st person or 2nd person in preference to a 3rd, regardless of which is subject or object." DeLancey (2011)*

From the above quotation it is fairly clear that hierarchical agreement is a kind of special agreement system, where the transitive verb agrees with a person that is higher in the hierarchy irrespective of its semantic and grammatical role. Similar evidences of hierarchical agreement system is also found in language varieties like Muklom Tangsa (Morey, 2011) and Rawang (LaPolla, 2010). In the Nocte person hierarchy, first person is higher than the second person and both first person and the second person are higher than the third person i.e. 1P > 2P & 1P, 2P > 3P. The following table shows the person hierarchy in Haʔwa verbal agreement:

Table 34 Hierarchical agreement and inverse marking

		1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Agent	**1SG**			*ε*	*aŋ*	*aŋ*	*aŋ*
	1PL			*ε*	*ε*	*ε*	*ε*
	2SG	*h-aŋ*	*h-i*			*ɔ*	*ɔ*
	2PL	*h-aŋ*	*h-i*			*ɛn*	*ɛn*
	3SG	*h-aŋ*	*h-i*	*h-ɔ*	*h-ɛn*	*a*	*a*
	3PL	*h-aŋ*	*h-i*	*h-ɔ*	*h-ɛn*	*a*	*a*

Patient is the spanning header across the 1SG–3PL columns.

Some good examples showing hierarchical agreement are as follows:

107. [elicited]

ate-mɛ dihjaʔnja-naŋ ko a

3SG-ERG girl-ABS hit FUT-3SG

'He will give to the girl'

Example (107) does not show any hierarchy in the agreement marking as both the agent and the recipient are 3SG. Whereas, in example (108) below the recipient 1SG is higher in the hierarchy than 3SG therefore, the verb agrees with the 1SG.

108. [elicited]

ate-mɛ ŋa-naŋ ko h-aŋ

3SG-ERG 1SG-ABS give INV-FUT-1SG

'He will give to me'

Table 31 is explored in more detail in Section 5.9.

5.8 Deviations in agreement marking

However, in some cases, it is also possible that apart from tense, person and aspectual information the agreement markings can also carry some pragmatic and contextual information. This inference is required for the understanding of the apparently irregular agreement marking of the subject and objects in Nocte. Two such situations are described below:

In Nocte there is a special agreement marking between 1SG subject and 2SG object, where the verb instead of agreeing with the 1SG subject and 2SG object rather is marked with 2PL agreement. One good example is in (109).

> 109. [elicited]
> ŋa-mɛ   naŋ-naŋ   ko-ɛ
> 1SG-ERG   2SG-ABS   give-1PL
> 'I will give to you'

Here in (109), the verb instead of being marked for 1SG or 2SG is marked for 1PL which suggests that the action of giving is seen as a process that involves both the giver *ŋa* (1SG) and the receiver *naŋ* (2SG) achieving the meaning of 'we' *ni* (1PL).

The agreement marking can also suggest whether the subject or the object is prominent. For example, in the following two sentences the pragmatics and context will help the listener to understand the speaker's selective use of 3ʳᵈ person agreement marking over the 1ˢᵗ person agreement.

> 110. [elicited]
> ate-mɛ   ŋa-naŋ   ko-a
> 3SG-ERG   1SG-ABS   give-3SG
> '**He** gave it to me'

> 111. [elicited]
> ate-mɛ   ŋa-naŋ   ko-t-h-aŋ
> 3SG-ERG   1SG-ABS   give-PAST-INV-1SG
> 'He gave it to **me**'

In example (110), the verb agrees with the 3SG and thus emphasizes the 3ʳᵈ person. Pragmatically this sentence answers to the question 'Who gave to me?'. Whereas, in sentence (111) the verb agrees with the 1SG object and thus emphasizes 1SG. And this answers to the question, 'He gave to whom?'

5.9 Inverse marking

"An inverse-marking system is one in which there is a ranking of person in which SAP's outrank all 3rd persons, and a transitive verb is marked to reflect whether or not the O argument outranks the A on the hierarchy. The configuration in which the O outranks the A is called inverse, and that in which the A outranks the O is direct." DeLancey (1981a)

Thus, inverse marking system functions with the hierarchical person indexation system as it also affects the marking of the hierarchy of a person in a speech event. The inverse marker's main function is to show whether the object argument outranks the agent or not. Nocte has an inverse marker */-h-/* that occurs after the main verb. But since Nocte has already a hierarchical agreement system to depict the person hierarchy, the overt inverse marking merely serves to make the understanding of the agreement disambiguous. Table 35 showing hierarchical agreement and inverse marking is reintroduced here so that readers find it easier to observe the examples that follow.

Table 35 Hierarchical agreement and inverse marking

		Object					
		1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Subject	1SG			ε	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ
	1PL			ε	ε	ε	ε
	2SG	h-aŋ	h-i			ɔ	ɔ
	2PL	h-aŋ	h-i			ɛn	ɛn
	3SG	h-aŋ	h-i	h-ɔ	h-ɛn	a	a
	3PL	h-aŋ	h-i	h-ɔ	h-ɛn	a	a

I leave it to readers to observe how inverse marking works together with the hierarchical agreement in examples (112) to (132). Notice that the inverse marker appears when the hierarchy forces the agreement with the P argument instead of the A argument.

112. [1SG > 2SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

ŋamɛ   naŋnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

ŋa -mɛ nan -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

I   ERG you ABS hit FUT-1PL

'I will hit you (SG)'

113. [1SG > 2PL, no inverse marking, elicited]

ŋamɛ   nenaŋ   ʋɛt aŋ

ŋa -mɛ ne -naŋ ʋɛt aŋ

I   ERG 2PL ABS hit FUT-1SG

'I will hit you (PL)'

114. [1SG > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

ŋamɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt aŋ

ŋa -mɛ ate -naŋ ʋɛt aŋ

I   ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT-1SG

'I will hit him'

115. [1PL > 2SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

nimɛ   naŋnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

ni   -mɛ naŋ -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

1PL ERG you   ABS hit FUT-1PL

'we will hit you'

116. [1PL > 2PL, no inverse marking, elicited]

nimɛ   nenaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

ni   -mɛ ne -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

1PL ERG 2PL ABS hit FUT-1PL

'we will hit you (PL)'

117. [1PL > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

nimɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

ni   -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

1PL   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT-1PL

'we will hit him'

118. [1PL > 3PL, no inverse marking, elicited]

nimɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

ni   -mɛ ətʃin   -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

1PL   ERG they   ABS hit FUT-1PL

'we will hit them'

119. [2SG > 1SG, inverse marking, elicited]

naŋmɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

naŋ   -mɛ ŋa-   naŋ ʋɛt h-   aŋ

you   ERG 1SG   ABS hit INV   FUT-1SG

'you (SG) will hit me'

120. [2SG > 1PL inverse marking, elicited]

naŋmɛ   ninaŋ   ʋɛt hi

naŋ   -mɛ ni-   naŋ ʋɛt h-   i

you   ERG we   ABS hit INV-   FUT-1PL

'you (SG) will hit us'

121. [2SG > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

naŋmɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɔ

naŋ   -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt ɔ

you   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT-2SG

'you (SG) will hit him'

122. [2SG > 3PL, no inverse marking, elicited]

  naŋmɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt ɔ

  naŋ -mɛ ətʃin -naŋ ʋɛt ɔ

  you   ERG they   ABS hit FUT.2SG

'you (SG) will hit them'

123. [2PL > 1SG, inverse marking, elicited]

  nemɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

  ne -mɛ ŋa- naŋ ʋɛt h-   aŋ

  2PL ERG 1SG ABS hit INV   FUT-1SG

'you (PL) will hit me'

124. [2PL > 1PL, inverse marking, elicited]

  nemɛ   ninaŋ   ʋɛt hi

  ne -mɛ ni- naŋ ʋɛt h-   i

  2PL ERG we ABS hit INV FUT-1PL

'you (PL) will hit us'

125. [2PL > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

  nemɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɛn

  ne -mɛ ate -naŋ ʋɛt ɛn

  2PL ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT-2PL

'you (PL) will hit him'

126. [2PL > 3PL, no inverse marking, elicited]

  nemɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛn

  ne -mɛ ətʃin -naŋ ʋɛt ɛn

  2PL ERG they ABS hit 2PL

'you (PL) will hit them'

127. [3SG > 1SG, inverse marking, elicited]

atemɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

ate   -mɛ ŋa-   naŋ ʋɛt h-   aŋ

3SG   ERG 1SG   ABS hit INV   FUT-1SG

'he will hit me'

128. [3SG > 1PL, inverse marking, elicited]

atemɛ   ninaŋ   ʋɛt hi

ate   -mɛ ni-   naŋ ʋɛt h-   i

3SG   ERG we   ABS hit INV   FUT-1PL

'he will hit us'

129. [3SG > 2SG, inverse marking, elicited]

atemɛ   naŋnaŋ   ʋɛt hɔ

ate   -mɛ naŋ   -naŋ ʋɛt h-   ɔ

3SG   ERG you   ABS hit INV   FUT.2SG

'he will hit you (SG)'

130. [3SG > 2PL, inverse marking, elicited]

atemɛ   nenaŋ   ʋɛt hɛn

ate   -mɛ ne   -naŋ ʋɛt h-   ɛn

3SG   ERG 2PL   ABS hit INV   2PL

'he will hit you (PL)'

131. [3SG > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

atemɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt a

ate   -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt a

3SG   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT-3

'he will hit him'

132. [3SG>3PL, no inverse marking, elicited]

atemɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt a

ate   -mɛ ətʃin -naŋ ʋɛt a

3SG   ERG they   ABS hit FUT-3

'he will hit them'

5.10 Cislocative

Nocte has a cislocative marker /ɹ-/ that gets prefixed to the agreement morpheme. It occurs only with motion verbs to show that the motion is towards the deictic centre. DeLancey (NEILS vol. 3) describes cislocative marker and gives a comparison between Nocte and Jingphaw. DeLancey also refers to Weidert's claim that cislocative marker is possible only in the present tense. Table 36 below presents the Nocte cislocative paradigm from DeLancey (2011)

Table 36 Cislocative paradigm (DeLancey 2011)

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ɹ-ʌŋ	ɹ-iʔ
2	ɹ-ɔʔ	ɹ-ʌn
3	ɹa (non-past)	
	ɹaʔ (past)	

Similar evidence of cislocative marker was elicited in the Haʔwa variety of Nocte and I have already cited examples of cislocative in Section 2.2.3. One more example is provided in (133):

133. [elicited]

naŋmɛ   ŋaɹaŋ   kɔlɔm wən ɹɔ   a   ?

naŋ   -mɛ ŋa- ɹaŋ kɔlɔm wən ɹ   -ɔ   a

you   ERG 1SG for pen   take CIS FUT.2SG QP

 LT 'will you take a pen for me?'
 FT 'will you bring a pen for me?'

In (133), the usual meaning for the verb *wən* is 'take' but when cislocative /ɹ-/ occurs the meaning changes to 'bring' that is the motion of the action is towards the deictic centre or the speaker.

The following table shows the complete paradigm of cislocative marker with the future agreement markers.

Table 37 Example sentences showing cislocative marking

Nocte	English
ŋa ka ɹaŋ	I will come
ni ka ɹ-iʔ	we will come
naŋ ka ɹ-ɔʔ	you will come
ne ka ɹ-ɛn	you (PL) will come
ate ka ɹ-a	he/she will come
ətʃin ka ɹ-a	they will come

Therefore, it is clear that cislocative marking is not restricted to the present tense only as suggested by Weidert.

5.11 Summary

This chapter gave an introduction to the Nocte verb stem alternation and showed some of the environments where verb stem alternation happens. It also presented an overview of the verb complex. Clause final morphology focused on declarative, imperative and interrogative clause constructions. Tense and aspect markers were discussed in detail with reference to Das Gupta (1971). The primary focus of this chapter was to discuss auxiliaries and the complex verbal agreement system in the language. In addition, the person hierarchy in the agreement system was also described with examples. The chapter concluded with the descriptions of inverse and cislocative marking in Nocte.

Chapter 6
Agreement in extended constructions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes verbal agreement in extended constructions like negatives and serial verb constructions. Section 6.2 talks about the different ways negatives can be constructed in Haʔwa Nocte. Section 6.3 focuses on prohibitive constructions and 6.4 presents the serial verb construction. Section 6.5 summarizes the chapter.

6.2 Negative constructions

Nocte has fascinating but complex ways of constructing negatives. Stephen Morey in his unpublished Mueshaung (one of the Tangsa Naga varieties) grammar sketch treated negators as a part of the agreement system. It is understandable as the behavior of the negatives is similar in some ways. However, Nocte negative constructions are more complex in comparison to the Tangsa varieties as they have only one of the two types of possible negative construction one, where the negator precedes the verb and agreement particle (NEG + V + Agreement) and two, negator occurring in between the verb and agreement particle (V + Negator + Agreement). Nocte has both of these two types of constructions.

In Nocte, negative constructions can be constructed in many different ways. Here, attempts have been made to showcase each type of negative construction along with a schema and illustrative examples.

   NEG 1. V + NZ *-te* + *daŋ* 'do' + *-m-* 'NEG' + agreement

Negator *-m* occurs as an infix between the auxiliary verb *daŋ* 'do' and the agreement particle. The main verb gets nominalized by *-te*. Here is an example.

   134. [elicited]

ŋa	football	luamte		daŋmak		
ŋa	football	luam	-te	daŋ	-m	-ak
I	football	play	NOM	do	NEG	1SG

   'I don't do football playing'

In the above example (134), the verb *luam* 'play' is nominalized by *–te* and the negator *-m* occurs as an infix between the auxiliary verb *daŋ* 'do' and the agreement particle.

NEG 2. V + *ma*-'NEG' + Agreement

Negator *ma-* occurs as a prefix to the post verbal agreement particle. The following example illustrates this:

135. [elicited]

ətʃinmɛ	ninaŋ	kʰe matʰi

ətʃin	-mɛ	ni-	naŋ	kʰe	ma-	t	-ʰ	-i
they	ERG	we	ABS	see	NEG	PAST	INV	1PL

'they did not see us'

In (135) the negator *ma-* occurs as a prefix to the agreement particle.

NEG 3. *ma*-'NEG' + V + Agreement

In the third type of negative construction, negator *ma-* occurs as a prefix to the main verb.

136. [elicited]

nimɛ	tʃam matʃaʔ	ki

ni	-mɛ	tʃam	ma-	tʃaʔ	k	-i
1PL	ERG	rice	NEG	eat	PROG	1PL

'we are not eating rice'

In (136), *ma-* occurs as a prefix to the verb *tʃaʔ* 'eat'.

NEG 4. V (stem 2) + *ho* 'invariant negative copula'

In this type of negative construction an invariant copula *ho* 'not have' occurs sentence finally after the nominal form of the verb which is the second stem of the verb. The following example illustrates this:

137. [elicited]

naŋ	kɛt	ho

naŋ	kɛt	ho
you	go	have not

FT 'you do not have to go'

Here in (137), invariant negative copula *ho* 'have not' occurs sentence finally after the verb *kɛt* 'go'.

NEG 5. V + *m*-'NEG' + agreement

In this type of constructions, the negator prefix *m*- is prefixed to the agreement particle. This construction is different from the 1ˢᵗ type of negative construction because the main verb does not get nominalized here and no verbalizer (eg. *daŋ* 'do') occurs as well.

138. [elicited]

naŋ tʃam tʃaʔ mɔʔ

naŋ tʃam tʃaʔ m-   ɔʔ

you rice eat NEG 2SG

'you do not eat rice'

NEG 6. *la*-'NEG' + V + *min* 'invariant future marker'

Here, a negator *la*- occurs as a prefix to the verb. This construction is possible only in the future tense that is marked by invariant future tense particle *min*.

139. [elicited]

ate   tʃam latʃaʔ   min

ate   tʃam la-   tʃaʔ min

3SG rice NEG   eat FUT

'he will not eat rice'

In (139), negator *la*- occurs as a prefix to the verb *tʃam* 'eat' and the future tense is marked by the invariant future tense marker *min*.

NEG 7. *ma*- 'NEG' + V + *daŋ* 'do' + -*wa* 'invariant past tense marker'

This construction occurs only in the past tense which is marked my invariant past tense marker *wa*. Negator *ma*- occurs as a prefix to the main verb. An example is:

140. [elicited]

ate   tʃam matʃaʔ   daŋ   wa

ate   tʃam ma-   tʃaʔ daŋ   wa

3SG rice NEG   eat do   PAST

'he did not eat rice'

NEG 8. 'Not yet' constructions

t^huhe 'yet' + /ma-/(NEG) + V + (/-k-/(PROG)) + Agreement

In the 'not-yet' constructions, negator *ma-* occurs between t^huhe 'yet' and the main verb. Here is an example:

141. [elicited]

atea		t^huhe	ma	hu	k^huəm	kε
ate	-a	t^huhe	ma	hu	k^huəm	kε
3SG	ABS	yet	NEG	reach	walk	PERF

'she has not reached it yet'

The following table summarizes the schemas for all the different types of negative construction in Haʔwa Nocte.

Table 38 Schemas of Negative constructions

Schema	comments
1. V + NZ *-te* + *daŋ* 'do' + *-m-* 'NEG' + agreement	This type of construction reflects speaker's dislike or disability or attitude toward certain kind of activity.
2. V + *ma-*'NEG' + agreement	It shows a kind of certainty in speaker's speech.
3. *ma-*'NEG' + V + agreement	Shows speaker's intention.
4. V (stem 2) + *ho* 'invariant negative copula'	This type of construction portrays speaker's suggestion or conception about some event.
5. V + *m-*'NEG' + agreement	It reflects speakers comment on some habitual present events.
6. *la-*'NEG' + V + *min* 'invariant future marker'	It used to negate some action in the future.
7. *ma-* 'NEG' + V + *daŋ* 'do' + *-wa* 'invariant past tense marker'	This construction is used to negate actions in simple past tense.
8. t^huhe 'yet' + /ma-/(NEG) + V + (/-k-/(PROG)) + Agreement	Used to show that the action is not completed yet.

6.3 Prohibitive *nak*

nak 'prohibitive' + V + agreement

In Nocte, there is a prohibitive particle *nak* that occurs before the verb. The subject NP is mostly covert. The following examples illustrate this:

142. [story 1]

ɹɛnkɔ		nak	ka	ɔʔ
ɹɛn	-kɔ	nak	ka	ɔʔ
there	LOC	PRH	go	2SG

'don't go there!'

143. [elicited]

motʰo		nak	tʰo	ɛn
mo-	tʰo	nak	tʰo	ɛn
lie	tell	PRH	tell	FUT-2PL

'don't tell a lie'

In example (142), *nak* occurs before the verb *ka* 'go' and in (143) occurs before the verb *tʰo* 'tell'.

6.4 Serial verb construction

In Haʔwa Nocte serial verb constructions a non-finite linker *lɛ* occurs between the verb phrases and the final verb is marked for agreement. One good example is:

144. [elicited]

ate	tʃam	tʃaʔ	lɛ	mɛ	tʃuen	taʔ
3SG	rice	eat	NF	ERG	run	PAST.3

'he ate rice and ran'

In (144) *lɛ* connects the verb phrases *tʃaʔ* 'eat' and tʃuen 'run' and the the final verb *tʃuen* is followed by the agreement particle.

Causative constructions as discussed in Section 4.1.5 are also a kind of serial verb construction where the same non-finite linker *lɛ* connects the cause and result noun phrases. In addition, an optional, possible verbalizer *daŋ* occurs after the NPCAUSE. The schema for causative NPs is given below.

Reason/Cause: [[NP_i…..*le*…V(no agreement)..]_{SCause} -mɛ ø_i V (agreement)]

Some good examples are:

145. [elicited]

ate   meleɹia daŋ   le   mɛ   ɹi   taʔ

ate   meleɹia daŋ   le   -mɛ   ɹi   taʔ

3SG malaria AUX NF ERG die PAST.3

'having malaria, he died'

146. [elicited]

ate   pu   kʰe le   mɛ   tʃuen taʔ

ate   pu   kʰe le   -mɛ   tʃuen taʔ

3SG snake see NF ERG run   PAST.3

'on seeing a snake, she ran away'

In examples (145) & (146), non-finite particles *le* connects the NP cause and NP experiencer.

6.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the different ways of constructing negatives in Haʔwa Nocte. Supportive examples were also listed along with each type of negative constructions. Prohibitive construction also found description in the chapter. In addition, serial verb construction with reference to causative noun phrases was also discussed with examples.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The 1ˢᵗ chapter dealt with introduction to the socio-cultural and linguistic background of the Nocte community and their language. Chapter 2 discussed the methodology undertaken to do the research and analysis to write this thesis. In chapter 3, I presented a brief phonology of Haʔwa Nocte. However, tonal categories are analyzed only on the basis of few elicited minimal pairs and need additional study. Chapter 4 gave an overview of Nocte grammar and focused on clause structure, noun phrases, relative clauses and nominalizations. The verb phrase was discussed in chapter 5. It also explained clause final morphology, auxiliary verbs, tense and aspect markers, hierarchical agreement system, inverse marking and the cislocative. Chapter 6 presented agreement in extended constructions like negatives and prohibitive. This chapter also explores the serial verb construction. All the described grammatical aspects are provided with sufficient illustrative examples. However, tone is not marked in the data presented throughout the thesis.

This thesis contributes to the understanding of Nocte's grammar in many aspects. This thesis mainly focuses on the verbal agreement of Haʔwa Nocte but also presents a grammatical overview. One of the crucial aspects of the language is the hierarchical agreement system and inverse marking. Another interesting insight of this thesis is the discussion on the different negative constructions.

This thesis contributes to the documentation of Nocte language and at the same time can be considered as a basis for other linguists interested in undertaking a research in the language.

7.1 Further studies

Nocte is one of the endangered Tibeto-Burman languages identified by UNESCO spoken in the North East of India (www.unesco.org). Apart from the phonology section, my research findings are based only on the Haʔwa variety spoken in the Borduria village of Tirap district in Arunachal Pradesh. A more detailed study will

require a comparative study of all the other varieties or dialects of Nocte. Certain aspects of the language like: tonal categories, modality, relative clauses, and serial verb constructions need further studies.

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APPENDIX A

Story_1   (John and Peter went for hunting)

1 zɔn   le   pitaɹ lamɹu tʃa

  zɔn   le   pitaɹ lamɹu tʃa

  John CONJ Peter friend AUX

'John and Peter are friends'

'John and Peter are friends'

2 ətʃina   boɹduɹianaŋ   sɔŋte

  ətʃin -a   boɹduɹia -naŋ sɔŋ -te

  they   ABS Borduria   LOC live 3

'they live in Borduria village'

'they live in Borduria village'

3 zo   kɛkɔ   ʋun   tɔŋ   a

  zo   kɛ   -kɔ   ʋun   tɔŋ   a

  river near   LOC forest have 3

'there is a forest near the river'

4 zatʰeiɹaŋʋo zɔn le   pitaɹ ʋunnaŋ   tʃuen wa

  zatʰeiɹaŋʋo zɔn le   pitaɹ ʋun   -naŋ tʃuen wa

  one day   John CONJ Peter forest   LOC run   PAST

'one day John went to the forest'

5 ətʃinmɛ   kʰehe hap hun   wa

  ətʃin -mɛ kʰehe hap hun   wa

   they   ERG deer   kill want PAST

'They wanted to kill a deer'

6 ətʃin lamkɔ   tekawa wantʰe tʃomin wa

  ətʃin lam   -kɔ   tekawa wantʰe tʃomin wa

   they road   LOC   oldman one   meet   PAST

'on their way they met an old man'

7 tekawa tʃomin taʔ   pɛ   zɔn   tete   daŋ   wa

  tekawa tʃomin taʔ   pɛ   zɔn   tete   daŋ   wa

   oldman   meet   PAST.3 ABS John grandfather AUX PAST

'the old man they met was John's grandfather'

8 tetepuŋmɛ   tʃien wa   mɛnaŋ daŋ kɛn   a

  tete   -puŋ -mɛ tʃien wa   mɛnaŋ daŋ k-   ɛn   a

   grandfather   TOP   ERG   ask   PAST where   AUX PROG   2PL QP

'grandfather asked, 'where are you going?"

9 zɔnmɛ   dantʰaŋ wa   nia   ŋamhap tʃuen ki

  zɔn   -mɛ dantʰaŋ wa   ni   -a   ŋamhap tʃuen k   -i

   John   ERG reply   PAST 1PL   TOP hunt   run   PROG   1PL

'John replied. 'we are going for hunting"

10 tetepuŋmɛ ŋɛt wa ŋamɛ meza zo kɛkɔ

    tete -puŋ -mɛ ŋɛt wa ŋa -mɛ meza zo kɛ -kɔ

    grandfather TOP ERG say PAST I ERG yesterday river near LOC

kʰehe kʰe tak

kʰehe kʰe tak

deer see PAST.1SG

'grandfather said, 'I saw a deer near the river yesterday''

11 pitaɹmɛ tʃien wa tete naŋmɛ ɹithap ma tɔʔ ne

    pitaɹ -mɛ tʃien wa tete naŋ -mɛ ɹithap ma tɔʔ ne

    Peter ERG ask PAST grandfather you ERG kill NEG PAST.2SG QP

'Peter asked, 'grandfather didn't you kill it?''

12 tetemɛ ŋet wa aho ŋamɛ ɹithap ma tak

    tete -mɛ ŋet wa aho ŋa -mɛ ɹithap ma tak

    grandfather ERG say PAST No I ERG kill NEG PAST.1SG

'grandfather said, 'I did not kill it''

13 tʃinɹaŋmɛŋakɔ ŋa zo kɛkɔ hɔkmakɔ kʰehepɛ

    tʃinɹaŋmɛŋakɔ ŋa zo kɛ -kɔ hɔk -ma -kɔ kʰehe -pɛ

    when I river near LOC arrive NEG LOC deer ABS

tuɔktʃuen taʔ

tuɔk- tʃuen taʔ

jump run PAST.3

'because when I reached near the river the deer ran away'

14 tetemɛ ŋɛt wa zopɛ nak dɛn ɛn

    tete -mɛ ŋɛt wa zo -pɛ nak dɛn ɛn

    grandfather ERG say PAST river ABS PRH cross 2PL

'grandfather said, 'don't cross the river''

92

15 zo   kɛkɔ   saʔpɛ   tɔŋ   a
   zo   kɛ -kɔ saʔ   -pɛ tɔŋ   a
   river near LOC tiger ABS have 3

'there is a tiger near the river'

16 zɔn   le   pitaɹmɛ   ŋet wa   səna tete   nia
   zɔn   le   pitaɹ -mɛ ŋet wa   səna tete   ni   -a
   John CONJ Peter   ERG say PAST good grandfather 1PL   FUT.3
ikɔ   ka mi
i   -kɔ ka m-   -i
there   LOC go NEG   1PL

'John and Peter said, 'good grandpa, we will not go there''

17 tetemɛ   wɛntʰopɛ   zɔnnaŋ   ko   lɛ   mɛ ate tʃuen wa
   tete   -mɛ wɛntʰo -pɛ zɔn   -naŋ ko   lɛ   -mɛ ate tʃuen wa
   grandfather   ERG gun   ABS John   DAT give NF LW 3SG run   PAST

'grandfather gave the gun to John and went away'

18 ətʃin lamkɔ   pudɔŋ   wantʰe kʰe wa
   ətʃin lam -kɔ pu   dɔŋ wantʰe kʰe wa
   they   road   LOC snake   big one   see PAST

'on their way they saw a big snake'

19 zɔnmɛ   ŋet wa   ŋamɛ   pupɛ   ɹitpʰe aŋ
   zɔn   -mɛ ŋet wa   ŋa -mɛ pu   -pɛ ɹitpʰe aŋ
   John   ERG say PAST I   ERG snake   ABS kill   FUT.1SG

'John said, 'I will kill the snake''

20 zɔnmɛ   pupɛ   kemɛ   ɹitʊɛt wa

   zɔn -mɛ pu -pɛ ke   -mɛ ɹitʊɛt wa

   John ERG snake ABS stick   with kill   PAST

'John killed the snake with a snake'

21 tʰoinkɔ teni   zo   kɛkɔ   hokwak wa

   tʰoinkɔ te   -ni zo   kɛ   -kɔ hokwak wa

   finally they   two river near LOC reach   PAST

'finally, they reached near the river'

22 pitaɹmɛ   kʰehe wantʰe kʰe wa

   pitaɹ   -mɛ kʰehe wantʰe kʰe wa

   Peter   ERG deer one   see PAST

'Peter saw a deer'

23 kʰehepɛ   zo   zɔk   tʰu   daŋ   wa

   kʰehe -pɛ zo   zɔk   tʰu   daŋ   wa

   deer   ABS water drink PRESENT.PROG AUX PAST

'the deer was drinking water'

24 zɔnmɛ   kʰehekɔ   hap wa

   zɔn -mɛ kʰehe   -kɔ hap wa

   John   ERG deer   PA kill PAST

'John shot at the deer'

25 daŋakɔmin kʰehepɛ   peɹe   wa

   daŋakɔmin kʰehe -pɛ peɹe   wa

   but   deer   ABS escape PAST

'but the deer escaped'

26 wɛntʰo hap tɛt lɛ mɛ saʔ zo kɛkɔ hok wa

   wɛntʰo hap tɛt lɛ -mɛ saʔ zo kɛ -kɔ hok wa

   gun   kill hear NF LW tiger river near   LOC come PAST

'hearing the gunshot the tiger came near the river'

27 saʔpɛ   kʰe lɛ mɛ wɛnipɛ   hu   tʃuen wa

   saʔ   -pɛ kʰe lɛ -mɛ wɛni   -pɛ hu   tʃuen wa

   tiger   ABS see NF LW they two   ABS silently run   PAST

'seeing the tiger they two silently ran away'

28 zɔn le   pitaɹpɛ   lɔn binkɔ   hu   tɔŋ wa

   zɔn le   pitaɹ -pɛ lɔn bin   -kɔ hu   tɔŋ wa

   John CONJ Peter   ABS rock behind   PA silently sit PAST

'Joh and Peter sat silently behind a rock'

29 saʔpuŋmɛ   wɛnipɛ   letʃo   kʰe wa

   saʔ   -puŋ   -mɛ wɛni   -pɛ le-   tʃo kʰe wa

   tiger   TOP   ERG they two   ABS NEG   meet see PAST

'the tiger did not see them'

30 saʔpɛ   ʋunŋekɔ   ŋak waŋ   wa

   saʔ   -pɛ ʋunŋe -kɔ ŋak waŋ   wa

   tiger   ABS forest   PA back go up PAST

'the tiger went back to the forest'

31 zɔn le   pitaɹpɛ   ŋaɹaŋ buan daŋ wa

   zɔn le   pitaɹ -pɛ ŋaɹaŋ buan daŋ wa

   John CONJ Peter   ABS very   tired AUX PAST

'John and Peter were very tired'

32 ətʃina   sɛnhamkɔ   humnaŋ   ŋak waŋ wa

   ətʃin -a   sɛnham -kɔ hum   -naŋ ŋak waŋ wa

   they   FUT.3 evening PA house LOC back go up PAST

'they went back home in the evening'

33 pitaɹ ŋɔŋ   ətʃin ɹaŋ ʋo   ŋam bei? ko   wa

   pitaɹ ŋɔŋ   ətʃin ɹaŋ ʋo   ŋam bei? ko   wa

   Peter mother they for chicken meat cook give PAST

'Peter's mother cooked chicken for them'

34 ɹaŋpɛn tʃam tʃa? dikɔ ətʃin tete   humkɔ   waŋ   wa

   ɹaŋpɛn tʃam tʃa? dikɔ ətʃin tete   hum   -kɔ waŋ   wa

   night   rice eat after they grandfather house   PA go up PAST

'after dinner they went to grandfather's house'

APPENDIX B

Elicited grammar sentences:

1 ŋa   ka   t-ak
 1SG go   past.1SG
 'I went'

2 ŋamɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt aŋ

  ŋa -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt aŋ

  I   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT.1SG

'I will hit him'

3 naŋmɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɔ

  naŋ -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt ɔ

  you   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT.2SG

'you will hit him'

4 atemɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

  ate   -mɛ ŋa- naŋ ʋɛt h-   aŋ

  3SG   ERG 1SG   ABS hit INV   FUT.1SG

'he will hit me'

5 naŋ ka ɔ

  naŋ ka ɔ

  you go IMP. 2SG

'you go'

6 naŋ ka ɹɔ

  naŋ ka ɹ   -ɔ

  you go CIS   IMP. 2SG

'you go'

FT 'you come'

7 ŋamɛ   tʃam tʃaʔ tak

  ŋa   -mɛ tʃam tʃaʔ tak

  I   ERG rice   eat   PAST.1SG

LT 'I ate rice'

FT 'I rice ate'

*8 ŋamɛ   tʃaʔ tak   tʃam

  ŋa   -mɛ tʃaʔ tak   tʃam

   I   ERG eat   PAST.1SG   rice

LT 'I ate rice'

FT 'I ate rice'

*9 tʃam tʃaʔ tak   ŋamɛ

  tʃam tʃaʔ tak   ŋa   -mɛ

  rice   eat   PAST.1SG I   ERG

'I ate rice'

'rice ate I'

10 ate   zokɛkɔ   kʰehe kʰe taʔ

  ate   zo   kɛ   -kɔ   kʰehe kʰe taʔ

  3SG river   near   LOC deer   see   PAST.3

'he saw a deer near the river'

12 i   hum

  i   hum

  1SG.POSS house

LT 'my home'

FT 'my home'

*13 hum i
LT 'my home'
FT 'home my'

14 hum   tʃak
   hum   tʃak
   house red

LT 'red house'
FT 'house red'

*15 tʃak hum
    tʃak hum
    red   house

LT 'red house'
FT 'red house'

16 ate-mɛ   dihjaʔnja-naŋ   ʋɛt   a
3SG.ERG   girl.ABS   hit   FUT.3
'she will hit the girl'

17 ate-mɛ   ŋa-naŋ   ʋɛt   h-aŋ
3SG.ERG   1SG.ABS   hit   INV.FUT.1SG
'she will hit me'

18 ŋa-mɛ   ate-naŋ   ʋɛt   aŋ
1SG.ERG   3SG.ABS   hit   FUT.3
'I will hit him'

18 atemɛ   ʋo   ŋampɛ   zokawahe   ɹa   beʔ   ko

   ate   -mɛ ʋo   ŋam   -pɛ zokawa   -he -ɹa   beʔ   ko

   3SG   AG   chicken   meat   PA   guest   PL   BEN   cook   APP

taʔ

taʔ

PAST.3

'she cooked chicken for the guests'

19 atemɛ   tʃɛnpɛ   nihe   ɹa   tʰaʔ   ko   tʰi

   ate   -mɛ tʃɛn   -pɛ ni   -he -ɹa   tʰaʔ   ko   tʰi

   3SG   AG   wood   PA   1PL   PL   BEN   cut   APP   PAST.INV.1PL

'he cut the wood for us'

20 atea   meleɹia zunkɔ   ɹi   taʔ

   ate   -a   meleɹia zun   -kɔ   ɹi   taʔ

   3SG   TOP   malaria   because   LOC   die   PAST.3

'he died because of Malaria'

21 ate   meleɹia daŋ   le   mɛ   ɹi   taʔ

   ate   meleɹia daŋ   le   -mɛ   ɹi   taʔ

   3SG   malaria   AUX   NF   ERG   die   PAST.3

'having malaria, he died'

22 ate   pu   kʰe   le   mɛ   tʃuen   taʔ

   ate   pu   kʰe   le   -mɛ   tʃuen   taʔ

   3SG   snake   see   NF   ERG   run   PAST.3

'on seeing a snake, she ran away'

23 atemɛ   ʋakpɛ   mittʃamɛ   ɹitsu   taʔ

     ate   -mɛ   ʋak   -pɛ   mittʃa   -mɛ   ɹitsu   taʔ

     3SG   AG   pig   PA   knife   INST   kill.stab   PAST.3

'he killed the pig with a knife'

24 atemɛ   hukɔ   kemɛ   ʋɛt   taʔ

     ate   -mɛ   hu   -kɔ   ke   -mɛ   ʋɛt   taʔ

     3SG   ERG   dog   ABS   stick   INST   hit   PAST.3

'she hit the dog with a stick'

25 atemɛ   ʋakpɛ   zokɔ   khetaʔ

     ate   -mɛ   ʋak   -pɛ   zo   -kɔ   khe   -taʔ

     3SG   ERG   pig   ABS   river   LOC   see   PAST.3

'he saw the pig at the river'

26 dəlawapɛ   hum   kʰeŋkɔ   muetmoi   tʰu

     dəlawa   -pɛ   hum   kʰeŋ   -kɔ   muetmoi   tʰu

     man   ERG   house   inside   LOC   work   PRS.PROG

'the man is working inside the house'

27 ate   pitnaŋ   kaaŋ

     ate   pit   -naŋ   ka   -aŋ

     3SG   field   LOC   go   FUT.1SG

'he will go to the field'

28 ate   humnaŋ   tɔŋa

     ate   hum   -naŋ   tɔŋ   -a

     3SG   house   LOC   have   3

'he is at home'

29 atemɛ   ŋampɛ   sənt^həmt^həm beʔ taʔ

   ate -mɛ ŋam -pɛ sənt^həmt^həm beʔ taʔ

   3SG ERG meat ABS carefully   cook PAST.3

'she cooked the meat carefully'

30 hupɛ   tʃan   muaŋ tʃuen taʔ

   hu -pɛ tʃan   muaŋ tʃuen taʔ

   dog ABS quickly very   run   PAST.3

'the dog ran very quickly'

31 atea   ɛdiwa bɛtkɔ   tʃuen min

   ate -a ɛdiwa bɛt   -kɔ tʃuen min

   3SG TOP next   week   LOC leave FUT

'he will leave next week'

32 atea   meza   hɔk   wa

   ate -a meza   hɔk   wa

   3SG TOP yesterday arrive PAST

'she arrived yesterday'

33 atemɛ   zuak ŋin   tewaŋintʃa t^ho ko   taʔ

   ate -mɛ zuak ŋin   tewaŋintʃa t^ho ko   taʔ

   3SG ERG ghost about story   tell give PAST.3

'he told a story about ghost'

34 atemɛ   ɹaŋsuamt^hin ŋin   t^ho ko   min

   ate -mɛ ɹaŋsuamt^hin ŋin   t^ho ko   min

   3SG ERG church   about tell give FUT

'he will talk about church'

35 atea   ŋap hetʰo te

    ate   -a   ŋap hetʰo te

    3SG   TOP study teach NOM

'she is a teacher'

36 ate wapɛ   ŋap   hetʰo te

    ate wa   -pɛ ŋap   hetʰo te

    3SG father   ABS study teach NOM

'her father is a teacher'

37 dəlawapɛ   ŋap hetʰo te

    dəlawa   -pɛ ŋap   hetʰo te

    man   SUB study teach NOM

'the man is a teacher'

38 atea   paŋmi

    ate   -a   paŋmi

    3SG   TOP young

'he is young'

39 zo   ki

    zo   ki

    water cold

'water is cold'

40 ŋa hupɛ   ŋak

    ŋa hu   -pɛ ŋak

    I   dog   SUB black

'my dog is black'

41 ate   humnaŋ   tɔŋ   a

   ate   hum   -naŋ tɔŋ   a

   3SG   house   LOC be.at 3

'he is at home'

42 iɹekɔ   ʋun   tɔŋ   a

   iɹe   -kɔ   ʋun   tɔŋ   a

   there   LOC forest be.at 3

'there is a forest'

43 tebul kʰokɔ   tʃuenɹiakɹi   tɔŋ   a

   tebul kʰo   -kɔ   tʃuenɹiak -ɹi tɔŋ   a

   table top   LOC mango   CL be.at 3

'a mango is on the table (top)'

44 əɹe   kitappɛ   ŋa tʰiak

   əɹe   kitap   -pɛ   ŋa tʰiak

   this   book   ABS I   AUX

'this book is mine'

45 ate   wa   hum   tʃak dɔŋ pʰaŋɹampɛ

   ate   wa   hum   tʃak dɔŋ pʰaŋ -ɹam   -pɛ

   3SG   father house red big CLF   three   ABS

'his father's three big red houses'

46 hupɛ   ɹi   taʔ

   hu   -pɛ   ɹi   taʔ

   dog   ABS die PAST.3

'the dog died'

47 dəlatʃapɛ   zup   tʰu

   dəlatʃa -pɛ   zup   tʰu

   boy   ABS sleep PRESENT.PROG

'the boy is sleeping'

48 haʔtitpɛ   kʰaza taʔ

   haʔtit   -pɛ   kʰaza taʔ

   pot   ABS break PAST.3

'the pot broke'

49 atemɛ   kitappɛ   tebul kʰokɔ   thien taʔ

   ate   -mɛ kitap -pɛ   tebul kʰo -kɔ   thien taʔ

   3SG   ERG book   ABS table on   LOC put   PAST.3

'He put the book on the table'

50 dəlawamɛ   baŋpɛ   zuet taʔ

   dəlawa   -mɛ baŋ   -pɛ   zuet taʔ

   man   ERG tree   ABS cut   PAST.3

'the man cut the tree'

51 dəlawamɛ   hukɔ   ʋɛt taʔ

   dəlawa   -mɛ hu   -kɔ ʋɛt taʔ

   man   ERG dog   PA hit PAST.3

'the man hit the dog'

52 atemɛ   tʃɛnpɛ   nihe   ɹa   tʰaʔ ko

   ate   -mɛ tʃɛn   -pɛ   ni   -he -ɹa   tʰaʔ ko

   3SG   ERG wood   ABS 1PL   PL BEN cut   give

tʰi

tʰi

PAST.INV.1PL

'he cut the wood for us'

53 zɔnmɛ   pupɛ   kemɛ   ɹitʋɛtwa

    zɔn-mɛ   pu -pɛ   ke -me ɹitʋɛt -wa

John   ERG   snake ABS   stick with kill   PAST

'John killed the snake with a stick'

54 atea   meleɹia zunkɔ   ɹi   taʔ

   ate -a   meleɹia zun   -kɔ ɹi taʔ

   3SG ABS malaria disease   LOC die PAST. 3

'he died of Malaria'

55 atea   meza   hɔk   wa

   ate -a   meza   hɔk   wa

   3SG   ABS yesterday arrive PAST

'she arrived yesterday

56 ate-puŋ-mɛ   ŋet-wa   ŋa   zo-kɔ   kʰehe kʰe

      tak

3SG.TOP.ERG   say.PAST   water.LOC deer see   PAST.1SG

FT 'he said, 'I saw a deer at the river''

57 i: humpɛ

   i: hum   -pɛ

   that house   ABS

'that house'

*58 humpɛ   i

   hum   -pɛ i

   house   ABS that

'house that'

59 hum   tʃak

   hum   tʃak

   house red

'red house'

*60 tʃak hum

   tʃak hum

   red house

'red house'

61 latʰe   ʋaʔ

  la-   tʰe ʋaʔ

  CLF   one bamboo

'one bamboo'

62 wan kʰabəŋa

  wan kʰa-   bəŋa

  dish CLF   five

'five dishes'

63 ø ŋa naŋ zo   kotʰaŋ   miɲanpɛ   tʃuaŋ

    ŋa naŋ zo   ko   -t   -ʰ   -aŋ miɲan -pɛ tʃuaŋ

    I for water give PAST INV 1SG man   ABS tall

muaŋ

muaŋ

INT

' the man who brought water for me is very tall'

64 ŋa humɛ   ø kaktaʔ   miɲanpuŋmɛ   ŋanaŋ

  ŋa hu   -mɛ   kak   -taʔ   miɲan -puŋ -mɛ ŋa-   naŋ

  I dog ERG bite PAST.3 man   TOP   ERG 1SG   PA

ʋɛttʰaŋ

ʋɛt -t   -ʰ   -aŋ

hit   PAST INV FUT.1SG

'the man who my dog bit hit me'

65 dəlatʃa hɛnmɛ   sesetaʔ   pɛ   ŋa na

   dəlatʃa hɛn -mɛ sese -taʔ   pɛ   ŋa na

   boy   REL ERG sing PAST.3 ABS I   brother

'boy who sang is my brother'

66 ŋa lamɹu Stevepɛ   ŋaphetʰote

   ŋa lamɹu Steve -pɛ ŋaphetʰo -te

   I friend Steve ABS teach   NZ.A

'my friend, Steve, is a teacher'

67 atemɛ   pupɛ   sɔŋdaŋtʰinkɔ

   ate   -mɛ pu   -pɛ sɔŋdaŋ -tʰin   -kɔ

   3SG   ERG snake ABS cook   NZ.LOC   LOC

ɹitpʰetaʔ
ɹitpʰe -taʔ
kill   PAST.3

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

68 ŋamɛ   ɹiakwa   hu   waktaʔ

   ŋa -mɛ ɹiak   -wa hu   wak -taʔ

   I   ERG purchase NZ.P theif take PAST.3

'my purchased one (thing) was stolen'

69 ɹanpɛ   tʃaʔtak

   ɹan -pɛ tʃaʔ -tak

   dry NZ.P eat   PAST.1SG

'I ate the dried one'

70 atemɛ   tʃamtʃaʔtʰuʔ   daŋwa

   ate   -mɛ tʃam tʃaʔ -tʰuʔ daŋ   -wa

   3SG ERG rice   eat   NOM AUX   PAST

'He did rice eating'

71 muet-te   miɲan

   work.NOM man

LT 'working man'

FT 'industrious man'

72 ka-te   miɲan

   go.NOM   man

LT 'going man'

FT 'the man who is going'

73 anaŋ kate   miɲan ipʰo

   anaŋ ka   -te miɲan i-   pʰo

   here go   NZ man   my   brother

LT 'The here coming man is my brother'

FT 'The man who comes here is my brother'

74 ŋamɛ   ɹiakwa   manpɛ   hu   waktaʔ

   ŋa -mɛ ɹiak   -wa   man -pɛ hu   wak   -taʔ

   I   ERG purchase NOM cow   ABS steal take   PAST.3

'My purchased cow was stolen'

'the cow which I purchased was stolen'

75 ŋa naŋ zo kotʰaŋ miɲanpɛ

　　ŋa naŋ zo ko -t -ʰ -aŋ miɲan -pɛ

　　I for water give PAST INV FUT.1SG man ABS

tʃuaŋ muaŋ

tʃuaŋ muaŋ

tall INT

'man brought water for me man very tall'

76 ŋa pit.naŋ ka aŋ

　1SG field.LOC go 1SG.FUT

'I will go to the field'

77 naŋ pit.naŋ kɛʔ min ne?

　2SG field.LOC go FUT QP

'will you go to the field?'

78 ŋa kɛt ho

　1SG go not have

'I don't have to go'

79 lei.pɛ ɹit.hap ɔʔ

buffalo.ERG kill.shoot 2SG

'kill(shoot) the buffalo'

80 naŋ lei.pɛ ɹiʔ.hap tɔʔ le?

　2SG buffalo.ERG kill.shoot 2SG.PAST QP

'did you kill the buffalo?'

81 ətʃəp ɔ

　stand 2SG

'(you) stand up'

82 əŋit   ɔ
   laugh   2SG
   '(you) laugh'

83 atemɛ   pupɛ   sɔŋdaŋtʰinkɔ   ɹitpʰe ta?
    ate   -mɛ pu   -pɛ sɔŋdaŋ   -tʰin   -kɔ   ɹitpʰe ta?
    3SG   ERG snake   ABS cook   NOM   LOC   kill   PAST.3

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

84 kasakpɛ   buan ɔ
    kasak   -pɛ   buan ɔ
    door   ABS   shut   2SG.IMP

'(you (SG)) shut the door'

85 tʃɔkɔ   naŋ dak   suen ɔ
    tʃɔkɔ   naŋ dak   suen ɔ
    please you hand wash 2SG.IMP

'please wash your hand'

86 tetemɛ   ŋɛtwa   zopɛ   nak dɛn ɛn
    tete   -mɛ ŋɛt -wa   zo   -pɛ nak dɛn ɛn
    grandfather   ERG say   PAST river   ABS PRH cross 2PL

'grandfather said, 'don't cross the river''

87 naŋ ka ɹɔ
    naŋ ka ɹ   -ɔ
    you go CIS   2SG.IMP

    'you go'
 FT 'you come'

88 naŋa   bɔzetnaŋ   kɛt min ne ?
    naŋ -a   bɔzet   -naŋ kɛt min ne
    you   TOP market   DAT go FUT QP

'will you go to the market?'

89 atea   waŋ   taʔ   a   ?

   ate -a   waŋ   taʔ   a

   3SG   TOP go up PAST.3 QP

'did he go?'

90 naŋa   waŋ   tɔʔ   le   ?

   naŋ -a   waŋ   tɔʔ   le

   you   TOP go up PAST.2SG QP

'did you go?'

91 atea   mɛtʰu waŋ   taʔ   a   ?

   ate -a   mɛtʰu waŋ   taʔ   a

   3SG   TOP when go up PAST.3 QP

'when did he go ?'

92 atea   hɛn a   ?

   ate -a   hɛn a

   3SG   TOP who QP

'who is he ?'

93 naŋ kitappɛ   mɛpɛ a   ?

   naŋ kitap -pɛ mɛpɛ a

   you book   ABS which QP

'which one is your book ? '

94 naŋ min   tʃəni a   ?

   naŋ min   tʃəni a

   you name what QP

'what is your name?'

95 ate pitnaŋ   ka   aŋ

   ate pit   -naŋ ka   aŋ

   3SG field   LOC go   FUT.1SG

'he will go to the field'

96 atemɛ   ɹaŋsuamtʰin ŋin   tʰo ko   min

   ate   -mɛ ɹaŋsuamtʰin ŋin   tʰo ko   min

   3SG   ERG church   about tell give FUT

'he will talk about church'

97 ate.mɛ   pit.naŋ   kɛʔ   ɹe-   min

  3SG.ERG   field.LOC   go   Mood   FUT

  'he will certainly go to the field'

98 ŋa skul.naŋ   ɹoantaŋ   ɹaŋ   ka   aŋ

  1SG school.LOC   always   HAB   go   1SG

'I always go to school'

99 ate skul.naŋ   ɹoantaŋ   ɹaŋ   ko   a

  3SG school.LOC   always   HAB   go   3

  'He always goes to school'

100 ŋa   tʃam tʃaʔ t-ak

  1SG rice   eat   PAST.1SG

  'I ate rice'

101 hupɛ   ɹi   t-aʔ

    hu   -pɛ ɹi   taʔ

    dog   SUB die PAST.3

113

'the dog died'

102 John   hu.kɔ   wɛt   kɛ
  John   dog.ERG   hit   COMPL
 'John hit the dog'

103 John   hu.kɔ   wɛt   wa
  John   dog.ERG   hit   PAST.PROG
'John was hitting the dog'

104 John   hu.kɔ   wɛt   k-a
  John   dog.ERG   hit   PRS.PROG.3
'John is hitting the dog'

105 John   hu.kɔ   wɛt   tʰu
  John   dog.ERG   hit   PRS.PROG
'John is hitting the dog'

107 ate-ma   dihjaʔnja-naŋ   ko   a
3SG.ERG   girl-ABS   hit   FUT.3SG
'He will give to the girl'
108 ate-ma   ŋa-naŋ   ko   haŋ
3SG.ERG   1SG-ABS   give   FUT.1SG
'He will give to me'
109 ŋa-ma   naŋ-naŋ   ko-ɛʔ
1SG.ERG   2SG.ABS   give.1PL
'I will give to you'

 110 ate-ma   ŋa-naŋ   ko-a
    3SG.ERG   1SG.ABS   give.3SG
'**He** gave it to me'

114

111 ate-ma   ŋa-naŋ   ko-t-h-aŋ

   3SG.ERG   1SG.ABS   give.PAST.INV.1SG

'He gave it to **me**'

112 ŋamɛ   naŋnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

   ŋa   -mɛ naŋ -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

   I   ERG you   ABS hit FUT.1PL

'I will hit you (SG)'

113 ŋamɛ   nenaŋ   ʋɛt aŋ

   ŋa -mɛ ne   -naŋ ʋɛt aŋ

   I   ERG 2PL   ABS hit FUT.1SG

'I will hit you (PL)'

114 ŋamɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt aŋ

   ŋa -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt aŋ

   I   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT.1SG

'I will hit him'

115 nimɛ   naŋnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

   ni   -mɛ naŋ -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

   1PL   ERG you   ABS hit FUT.1PL

'we will hit you'

116 nimɛ   nenaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

   ni   -mɛ ne   -naŋ ʋɛt ɛ

   1PL   ERG 2PL   ABS hit FUT.1PL

'we will hit you (PL)'

117 nimɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

     ni   -mɛ   ate   -naŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

     1PL   ERG   3SG   ABS   hit   FUT.1PL

'we will hit him'

118 nimɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

     ni   -mɛ   ətʃin   -naŋ   ʋɛt ɛ

     1PL   ERG   they   ABS   hit   FUT.1PL

'we will hit them'

119 naŋmɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

     naŋ   -mɛ   ŋa-   naŋ   ʋɛt h-   aŋ

     you   ERG   1SG   ABS   hit   INV   FUT.1SG

'you (SG) will hit me'

120 naŋmɛ   ninaŋ   ʋɛt hi

     naŋ   -mɛ   ni-   naŋ   ʋɛt h-   i

     you   ERG   we   ABS   hit   INV   FUT.1PL

'you (SG) will hit us'

121 naŋmɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɔ

     naŋ   -mɛ   ate   -naŋ   ʋɛt ɔ

     you   ERG   3SG   ABS   hit   FUT.2SG

'you (SG) will hit him'

122 naŋmɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt ɔ

     naŋ   -mɛ   ətʃin   -naŋ   ʋɛt   ɔ

     you   ERG   they   ABS   hit   FUT.2SG

'you (SG) will hit them'

123 nemɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

     ne   -mɛ   ŋa-   naŋ   ʋɛt   h-   aŋ

     2PL   ERG   1SG   ABS   hit   INV   FUT.1SG

'you (PL) will hit me'

124 nemɛ   ninaŋ   ʋɛt hi

     ne   -mɛ   ni-   naŋ   ʋɛt   h-   i

     2PL   ERG   we   ABS   hit   INV   FUT.1PL

'you (PL) will hit us'

125 nemɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt ɛn

     ne   -mɛ   ate   -naŋ   ʋɛt   ɛn

     2PL   ERG   3SG   ABS   hit   FUT.2PL

'you (PL) will hit him'

126 nemɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt ɛn

     ne   -mɛ   ətʃin   -naŋ   ʋɛt   ɛn

     2PL   ERG   they   ABS   hit   2PL

'you (PL) will hit them'

127 atemɛ   ŋanaŋ   ʋɛt haŋ

   ate   -mɛ ŋa-   naŋ ʋɛt h-   aŋ

   3SG   ERG 1SG   ABS hit INV   FUT.1SG

'he will hit me'

128 atemɛ   ninaŋ   ʋɛt hi

   ate   -mɛ ni-   naŋ ʋɛt h-   i

   3SG   ERG we   ABS hit INV   FUT.1PL

'he will hit us'

129 atemɛ   naŋnaŋ   ʋɛt hɔ

   ate   -mɛ naŋ   -naŋ ʋɛt h-   ɔ

   3SG   ERG you   ABS hit INV   FUT.2SG

'he will hit you (SG)'

130 atemɛ   nenaŋ   ʋɛt hɛn

   ate   -mɛ ne   -naŋ ʋɛt h-   ɛn

   3SG   ERG 2PL   ABS hit INV   2PL

'he will hit you (PL)'

131 atemɛ   atenaŋ   ʋɛt a

   ate   -mɛ ate   -naŋ ʋɛt a

   3SG   ERG 3SG   ABS hit FUT.3

'he will hit him'

132 atemɛ   ətʃinnaŋ   ʋɛt a

     ate   -mɛ   ətʃin   -naŋ   ʋɛt   a

     3SG   ERG   they   ABS   hit   FUT.3

'he will hit them'

133 naŋmɛ   ŋaɹaŋ   kɔlɔm   wən   ɹɑ   a   ?

     naŋ   -mɛ   ŋa-   ɹaŋ   kɔlɔm   wən   ɹ   -ɔ   a

     you   ERG   1SG   for   pen   take   CIS   FUT.2SG   QP

    'will you take a pen for me?'

FT 'will you bring a pen for me?'

134 ŋa   football   luamte   daŋmak

   ŋa   football   luam   -te   daŋ   -m   -ak

   I   football   play   NOM   do   NEG   1SG

'I don't do football playing'

135 ətʃinmɛ   ninaŋ   kʰe matʰi

     ətʃin   -mɛ   ni-   naŋ   kʰe   ma-   t   -ʰ   -i

     they   ERG   we   ABS   see   NEG   PAST   INV   1PL

'they did not see us'

136 nimɛ   tʃam matʃaʔ   ki

     ni   -mɛ   tʃam   ma-   tʃaʔ   k   -i

     1PL   ERG   rice   NEG   eat   PROG   1PL

'we will not be eating rice'

137 naŋ kɛt ho

   naŋ kɛt ho

   you go not have

FT 'you do not have to go'

138 naŋ tʃam tʃaʔ mɔʔ

   naŋ tʃam tʃaʔ m-   ɔʔ

   you rice eat NEG   2SG

'you do not eat rice'

139 ate   tʃam latʃaʔ   min

   ate   tʃam la-   tʃaʔ min

   3SG rice NEG   eat FUT

'he will not eat rice'

140 ate   tʃam matʃaʔ   daŋwa

   ate   tʃam ma-   tʃaʔ daŋ   -wa

   3SG rice NEG   eat do   PAST

'he did not eat rice'

141 atea   tʰuhe ma   hu   kʰuəm kɛ

   ate   -a   tʰuhe ma   hu   kʰuəm kɛ

   3SG   ABS yet   NEG reach walk   PERF

'she has not reached it yet'

142 ɹɛnkɔ nak kaɔʔ

ɹɛn -kɔ nak ka -ɔʔ

there LOC PRH go 2SG

'don't go there!'

143 motʰo nak tʰoɛn

mo- tʰo nak tʰo -ɛn

lie tell PRH tell FUT.2PL

'don't tell a lie'

144 ate tʃam tʃaʔ lɛ mɛ tʃuen taʔ

3SG rice eat NF ERG run PAST.3

'he ate rice and ran'

145 ate meleɹia daŋ le mɛ ɹi taʔ

ate meleɹia daŋ le -mɛ ɹi taʔ

3SG malaria AUX NF ERG die PAST.3

'having malaria, he died'

146 ate pu kʰe le mɛ tʃuen taʔ

ate pu kʰe le -mɛ tʃuen taʔ

3SG snake see NF ERG run PAST.3

'on seeing a snake, she ran away'

APPENDIX C

Elicited paradigms:

Table 1 Present progressive marking auxiliaries

1SG	'ŋa bəm tʰu'/ 'I am waiting'
1PL	'ni bəm tʰu'/ 'we are waiting'
2SG	'naŋ bəm tʰu'/ 'you (SG) are waiting'
2PL	'ne bəm tʰu'/ 'you (PL) are waiting'
3SG	'ate bəm tʰu'/ 'he is waiting'
3PL	'ətʃin bəm tʰu'/ 'they are waiting'

Table 2 Future tense marking auxiliaries

'ŋa bəm min'/ 'I will wait'
'ni bəm min'/ 'we will wait'
'naŋ bəm min'/ 'you (SG) will wait'
'ne bəm min'/ 'you (PL) will wait'
'ate bəm min'/ 'he will wait'
'ətʃin bəm min'/ 'they will wait'

Table 3 Future tense markers (inceptive/about to)

English	Nocte
I will go to the field	ŋa pitnaŋ ka aŋ
we will go to the field	ni pitnaŋ ka ɛ
you (SG) will go to the field	naŋ pitnaŋ ka ɔ
you (PL) will go to the field	ne pitnaŋ ka ɛn
he/she will go to the field	ate pitnaŋ ka a

they will go to the field	ətʃin pitnaŋ ka a

Table 24 Future tense markers (time not bound)

English	Nocte
I will go to the field	ŋa pitnaŋ ka min
we will go to the field	ni pitnaŋ ka min
you (SG) will go to the field	naŋ pitnaŋ ka min
you (PL) will go to the field	ne pitnaŋ ka min
he/she will go to the field	ate pitnaŋ ka min
they will go to the field	ətʃin pitnaŋ ka min

Table 25 Future tense markers (certainity)

English	Nocte
I will go to the field	ŋa pitnaŋ ka ɹe min
we will go to the field	ni pitnaŋ ka ɹe min
you (SG) will go to the field	naŋ pitnaŋ ka ɹe min
you (PL) will go to the field	ne pitnaŋ ka ɹe min
he/she will go to the field	ate pitnaŋ ka ɹe min
they will go to the field	ətʃin pitnaŋ ka ɹe min

Table 26 Habitual present tense marker

English	Nocte
I always go to school.	ŋa skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka aŋ
we always go to school	ni skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɛ
you (SG) always go to school	naŋ skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɔ
you (PL) always go to school	ne skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɛn
he always go to school	ate skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka a
they always go to school	ətʃn skulnaŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka a

Table 28 Past tense markers

English	Nocte
I ate rice	ŋa tʃam tʃaʔ t-ak
we ate rice	ni tʃam tʃaʔ t-iʔ
you (SG) ate rice	naŋ tʃam tʃaʔ t-ɔʔ
you (PL) ate rice	ne tʃam tʃaʔ t-ɛt
he/she ate rice	ate tʃam tʃaʔ t-aʔ
they ate rice	ətʃin tʃam tʃaʔ t-aʔ

Present progressive aspect markers

Aspect markers	English	Nocte
	I am sleeping	ŋa zup k-aŋ
	we are sleeping	ni zup k-ɛ
k-AG	you (SG) are sleeping	naŋ zup k-ɔ
	you (PL) are sleeping	ne zup k-ɛn
	he/she is sleeping	ate zup k-a
	they are sleeping	ətʃin zup k-a
	I am sleeping	ŋa zup e k-aŋ
	we are sleeping	ni zup i k-ɛ
	you (SG) are sleeping	naŋ zup e k-ɔ
e + k-AG	you (PL) are sleeping	ne zup e k-ɛn
	he/she is sleeping	ate zup e k-a
	they are sleeping	ətʃin zup e k-a
	I am sleeping	ŋa zup tʰu
	we are sleeping	ni zup tʰu
tʰu	you (SG) are sleeping	naŋ zup tʰu

you (PL) are sleeping	ne zup tʰu
he/she is sleeping	ate zup tʰu
they are sleeping	ətʃin zup tʰu

Example sentences showing cislocative marking

English	Nocte
I will come	ŋa ka ɹɑŋ
we will come	ni ka ɹ-i?
you will come	naŋ ka ɹ-ɔ?
you (PL) will come	ne ka ɹ-ɛn
he/she will come	ate ka ɹ-a
they will come	ətʃin ka ɹ-a

RESUME

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