A Sketch Grammar of Nagamese

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<u>1. Introduction</u>

This paper aims to present a preliminary sketch grammar of Nagamese, a creole spoken in Nagaland. There are at least twenty indigenous minorities living in Nagaland and each speaks a distinct language (Coupe, 2007). Nagamese is considered the lingua franca in Nagaland and is important for inter-tribe communication (Boruah, 1996). Nagamese is also known as an Assamese-based creole and it shares a large part of its lexicon with Assamese. This is because Nagaland was part of Assam before 1963. As the language is spoken throughout Nagaland, the Nagamese spoken by people of different tribes may vary according to the languages they speak.



Figure 1: Map of India showing the location of Nagaland

Our course coordinator, Asst. Professor Alexander Coupe, collected most of the data in this paper. The nature of text/recordings and the speakers' profiles are listed here.

- 1. 'Uncle Rencha': Interview
 - 80 year old, Male
 - Speaks Lotha (1st language), Nagamese, Hindi, English
- 2. B. B. Gurung Tiger Story: Narrative
 - 85 years old, Male
 - Speaks Nepali (1st language), Nagamese, Hindi, English, Chungli Ao
- 3. Bendangla and Purnima: Conversation
 - Bendangla: Late 20+ years old, Female
 - Speaks Chungli Ao (1st language), Nagamese, Hindi, English
 - Purnima: Mid 50+ years old, Female
 - Speaks Nepali (1st language), Nagamese, Hindi, English
- 4. Nagamese interview with students: Interview
 - Profile of students not determined

- 5. Pear story: Narrative of Chafe's (1969) film 'The Pear Story'
 - 20+ years old, Male
 - Speaks Angami (1st language), Nagamese, Hindi, English

Other than these texts, this paper is also supported by the input from consultation sessions with two native speakers, Kenei (1st language: Angami) and Pavitra (1st language: Nepali). The language data provided in this paper is not comprehensive as most were extracted from the texts.

2. Phonology

2.1 Syllable

The hierarchical structure in Figure 2 shows the syllable structure of Nagamese. Optional constituents are enclosed in parentheses. Although word boundaries are not clearly established in Nagamese yet as it is a spoken language, words recognised generally consist of one or more syllables, and each syllable is made up of an optional onset and a rhyme. The optional onset slot allows a maximum of two consonants. C_1 and C_3 can be filled with any of the consonant phonemes listed below, but according to our data set, C2 can only be filled with liquid consonants. More data needs to be collected to verify this.

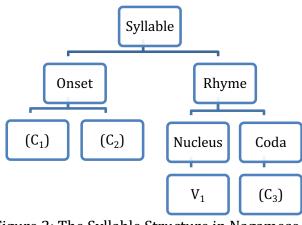


Figure 2: The Syllable Structure in Nagamese

2.2 Phonemes

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Nagamese, and they are listed in Table 1 according to the place and manner of articulation, with the orthographic symbols used for the text examples in this paper included in parentheses.

	Bilabial	Dental	Post- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive - Voiceless - Voiced	p (p) p ^h (ph) b (b) bֵ (bh)	t (t) t ^h (th) d (d) d (dh)			k (k) k ^h (kh) g (g) g (gh)	
Fricative		s (s)	∫(sh)			h (h)
Affricate - Voiceless - Voiced				tʃ (c) tʃ ^h (ch) dʒ (j) d̯ʒ (jh)		
Nasal	m (m)	n (n)			ŋ (ng)	
Approximant - Lateral - Central	w (w)	1 (1)	ג (r)	j (y)		

Table 1: Consonants in Nagamese

There are 6 vowel phonemes in Nagamese as listed in Table 2 below, with the orthographic symbols representing it in this paper's examples in parentheses. The mid-front vowel /e/ has two allophones – it is realised as [ϵ] when it occurs after plosive consonants, for example in *peth* /p ϵ th/ (belly) and *berabole* /b ϵ rabole/ (to walk); and it is realised as [e] in all other occurrences.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	е	Ð	0
Low	а		

Table 2: Vowels in Nagamese

2.3 Morpho-phonological Process

While observing the negated verbs in our data, it is found that when the verb is negated with the prefix *na*-, the end of the verb root changes to a vowel -*e* if the verb itself is disyllabic, for example if *giri* (drop) is negated, the verb form would be *na-gire*. If the verb root is monosyllabic, the –*e* will be added to the verb form, for example for *di* (give), the verb form would be *na-die*. However, there seems to be several exceptions, for example the verb *colai* (use) does not undergo any changes in its verb root when negated, having the verb form *na-colai*. Therefore, more data and elicitations need to be obtained to determine the exact rules of this morpho-phonological process.

3. Word Classes

Word classes can be identified using Schachter's (1985) formal criteria:

- Function: the word's role in a bigger structure, whether it behaves as an argument or a predicate
- Distribution: where the word occurs in a constituent structure
- Associated grammatical categories: the types of morphology that can occur on the word's root

The word classes in this paper are distinguished using the criterion above, and distinctions are also made for closed and open word classes. Closed word classes have a restricted membership in which new words are not usually added. In Nagamese, the closed word classes are identified as pronouns, numerals, classifiers, demonstratives, postpositions and conjunctions. On the other hand, open classes do not have restrictions on its membership and the addition of new words is allowed. Hence, the Nagamese open word classes are identified to be nouns and verbs.

3.1 Open word class

3.1.1 Verbs

Verbs convey actions and occurrences, and describe states of being. Nagamese verbs function as heads of verbal clauses. They can be negated with the prefix *na-* or suffix –*nai* (see section 5.1 on verbal morphology for discussion of negative affixes), and they can be inflected for tense and modality, for example *ahi-she* (come-PST) 'came'. Verb classes can be differentiated according to transitivity, determined by the number of core arguments the verb requires. Nagamese verbs can be classified as intransitive verbs, which only have a single core argument, for example *pola* 'run' and transitive verbs that have two core arguments, for example *loi* 'take'. Transitive verbs describe the relationship or state of its two arguments. Example (1) demonstrates a clause with an intransitive verb and example (2) shows a clause with a transitive verb.

- (1) ami-khan sop ulai-kena
 1-PL all out-CVB
 'we all got out and...'
- (2) *ami bili-ke mar-e* 1.SG cat-DAT **kill**-HAB 'I kill the cat.'

Nagamese seems to have a relatively small verb class; hence when there is a lack of verbs to describe a particular state, related nouns are compounded with a verb after it to express the action that is not available in the Nagamese vocabulary, as illustrated in the examples (3) and (4) below. (3) chamara ulai-she skin out-PST '(they) skinned (the tiger)'

'just like we observed'

(4) *amar deshwali itu Saguli te kam kuri-a* 1.GEN race this goat LOC **work do**-PTCL 'my deshwali worker who works in Saguli'

When a verb is borrowed into Nagamese, it undergoes the similar compounding process, as shown in the examples (5) and (6) below.

(5)	cow	DAT	<i>threate</i> BW reatened	n kuri-o do-PT as it was ch	CL	<i>tu</i> TOP	<i>khedai ase</i> chase be.pres
(6)	<i>tik</i> right			observe' w	kuri -a do -pai		<i>nishina</i> like

3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns are the heads of noun phrases and are largely lexical items referring to the names of people, objects and places, such as *manu* 'man' and *dokan* 'shop'. Abstract nouns that refer to concepts or entities are also available in Nagamese, such as *ba* 'time' and *khota* 'language'. Nouns in Nagamese are largely monosyllabic or disyllabic and they are only inflected when the noun is a dative object in the clause. This will be further elaborated in the section on grammatical relations.

3.2 Closed word classes

3.2.1 Pronouns: Personal

Pronouns are words used in place of a noun or a noun phrase. Personal pronouns in Nagamese are differentiated according to person (first, second and third) and number (singular, dual and plural).

	1	2	3
Singular	Ami	Apune	Tai
	Moi	Тоі	
Dual	Ami-jun	Apune-jun	Tai-jun
	Moi-jun	Toi-jun	
Plural	Ami-khan	Apune-khan	Tai-khan
	Moi-khan	Toi-khan	

Table 3: Personal Pronouns

3.2.2 Numerals and Classifiers

The table below shows Nagamese numerals from one to ten, and for the numerals twenty and thirty as well.

Numeral	Form	Numeral	Form
1	Ek-ta	6	Choi-ta
2	Dui-ta	7	Sat-ta
3	Tin-ta	8	At-ta
4	Char-ta	9	Hoi-ta
5	Pas-ta	10	Dos-ta
20	Bis-ta	30	Tis-ta

Table 4: Numerals

Nagamese does not have numerals for eleven and above (except twenty and thirty). To express these bigger numbers, Hindi numerals are used.

There are currently two Nagamese classifiers identified, *-ta* (as illustrated above, used when counting numerals as well) and *-jun*. The classifier *-jun* is used specifically when referring to a man, for example *ek-jun manu* (one-CL man) 'one man', *ek-jun* on itself (with *manu* absent) can also refer to one person. On the other hand the classifier *-ta* is used broadly for everything else, for example *ek-ta bacca* (one-CL child) 'one child' and *ek-ta naspati* (one-CL pear) 'one pear'.

There is a slight difference in the distribution of these two classifiers as well. Referring to the examples below, in example (7) the classifier is attached to both numerals while in example (8), the classifier is only used loosely after the two numerals. According to our language consultant, it is grammatical to attach the classifier to the numeral hence *bhas-jun choi-jun* is permitted, but it is ungrammatical to say *tin char ta**. Hence, it is speculated that the usage of *jun* is highly specific due to its semantic properties.

(7)	Tin-ta	char-ta	'bull'	thaki-she
	Three-CL	four-cl	BW	PROG-PST
	'there were t	hree to four bເ	ılls'	

(8) *deshwali-khan bhas choi jun* race-PL five six CL 'five to six deshwali workers'

3.2.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Nagamese may function as a modifier of its following noun or a determiner by modifying the noun. The table below shows the demonstratives found.

English Gloss	Form
This	Itu
That	Utu
Here	Yate
There	Tate

Table 5: Demonstratives

3.2.4 Postpositions

In Nagamese, postpositions follow noun phrases, for example *ghas te* (tree LOC) 'on a tree', marking spatial cases. The table below shows a list of postpositions found in Nagamese as obtained from the data.

Semantics	Form
Locative (in/on/at)	Те
Ablative (from)	Para
Antessive (in front)	Age
Intrative (in between)	Мајо
Comitative (with)	Logot
Subessive (under, below)	Nice
Proximative (near)	Osor

Table 6: Postpositions

In Nagamese, postpositions can also occur side by side, this is known as 'case stacking' as termed by Noonan (2008), where two or more case markers are needed to express that there is more than one reference point of the location. In the example below, the reference points are indicating 'in/at' and 'front'.

(9)	Itu	guru	dangor	wala	age	te
	this	cow	big	CL	ANT	LOC
	'the b	ig cows	were in fro	nť		

3.2.5 Conjunctions

The function of conjunctions is to join phrases and clauses. The table and example (10) below shows the conjunctions found in the data collected.

English gloss	Form	
And	Aru	
Because	Karne/kilemane	

Table 7: Conjunctions

(10)	tin-ta	char-ta	'bull'	thaki-she	aru
	three-CL	four-CL	BW	exist-PST	and
	'There wer	e three to four	r bulls and	ł'	

3.3 English Borrowings

As Nagamese is a developing creole, it does not have a huge lexicon and hence, English borrowings are commonly found in our data collected. As expected, the borrowings occur largely in the open word classes, the verbs and the nouns. The verbs are usually compounded with a Nagamese verb, as shown in example (11), similar to how the verbs are compounded. The nouns behave similarly as the Nagamese nouns syntactically, as shown in example (12). As mentioned in the section on numerals, Nagamese numerals are limited to ten and below; hence besides borrowing from Hindi, English numerals are occasionally borrowed as well. English adverbs are also used in Nagamese speech. Example (13) shows how the numerals and adverbs are borrowed.

(11)	itu	guard	kuri-kena	ahi	thaki-she
	this	BW	do-cvb	bring	exist-PST
	'this (l	biggest	bull) was guar	ding ar	nd bringing (the herd)'

- (12) *aru majo te bhi bull* and ITRT LOC ADD **BW** 'and there were bulls in the middle also'
- (13) itu guru ki jane **about hundred** guru this cow what know **BW BW** cow 'and this cow, I don't know, (there were) about a hundred cows'

4. Noun phrase and Nominal Morphology

The noun phrase is a core argument in the grammatical function of a clause, with a noun or a pronoun as its head. The structure of the noun phrase in Nagamese is as follows:

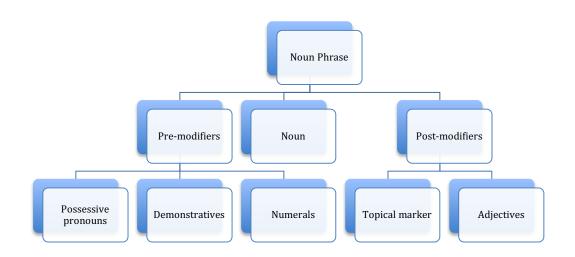


Figure 3: Structure of Noun Phrase

Pre-modifiers may be possessive pronouns, demonstratives and numerals and quantifiers. Post-modifiers are topical markers and adjectives. The example below shows a noun phrase with pre-modifiers and post-modifiers.

(14)	[itu	guru	dangor	wala] _{NP}	age	te
	this	cow	big	CL	ANT	LOC
	'this b	oig cow	was in front'			

4.1 Nominal Morphology

In nominal morphology, nouns can be inflected for genitive and plural cases. *-laga* is used to mark the genitive case, which expresses the possessive relationship between two nouns as shown in example (15). It is attached to the end of the possessing noun/pronoun, with the possessed noun following behind, for example *ami-laga naspati* (1.SG-GEN pear) 'my pear' and *bili-laga naspati* (cat-GEN pear) 'the cat's pear'. *-khan* is used to mark plurality, as demonstrated in example (16). Similarly, it is attached to the end of the referred noun, for example *anda-khan* (egg-PL) 'eggs'.

(15)	Tai-khan	bosti -laga	kotha	ase		
	3.pl	village-GEN	language	be.pres		
	'It is their v	eir village's language'				

(16) Tai naspati-khan ulai-kena basket te raki ase
3.SG pear-PL take_out-CVB BW LOC keep be.PRES
'He plucks the pears and keep (them) in the basket'

4.2 Topical marker

In Nagamese, the sentence's topic is marked by the topical marker *tu/to* (both occurs in free variation). The marker usually occurs after a noun phrase as shown in the examples below.

- (17) consignment pay kuri-kena [skin]_{NP}tu loi ani-she
 BW do-CVB BW TOP take bring-PST
 'and paid the consignment and took and brought the skin back'
- (18) saguli tai-laga $[malik]_{NP}$ tu saguli-ke tani ase goat 3-GEN owner TOP goat-DAT pull be.PRES his goat, the owner is pulling the goat

5. Verbal morphology

Verbs occur in the clause-final position in Nagamese, which is mostly typical of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nagaland (Matisoff, 1991). It is also considered a South Asian linguistic areal feature. The structure of the verb is illustrated below:

(negation-) root (-causative/benefactive)(-tense)(-negation)(-mood)(-converb)

The verb root that forms the head of the predicate can exist on itself without any inflections.

5.1 Negation

There are two negative morphemes, *na*- and *-nai* in Nagamese and they occur in complementary distribution. Examples of both morphemes are shown in the sentences below.

(19)	Kitia bhi	na- colai	itu	situation	te
	Never ADD	NEG- use	this	BW	LOC
	'You never u	ıse (it) in this	situation	n?'	

(20) Moi pola-nai
1.sg run-NEG
'I did not run/I am not running.'

The usage of these two affixes as elicited from our consultants is shown in the table below.

English gloss	Form
Don't kill	Na-mar-e
Will not kill	Na -mari-bo
Might not kill	Na -mari-bo-hobola
	1 1 1

English gloss	Form
Didn't kill/am not killing	Mari-a- nai
Am not about to kill	Mari-bole- nai
Don't want to kill	Mari-bole mon- nai

Table 9: Examples where *–nai* is used

From the examples above, it appears that the prefix *na*- is used to negate an action or event that is ongoing or may occur in the future, while the suffix *–nai* is used when the action or event has occurred or will not occur in the future. As the data collected is limited and insufficient to make comprehensive conclusions, more research has to be made to determine the accurate usage of these two suffixes.

5.2 Causative/Benefactive

The verb root *di*, which means 'give', can be used as a causative or benefactive case marker when combined with other words. In examples (21) and (22), the suffix *di* is used as a causative marker on the transitive verb 'drop', introducing the subject of the argument as a causer of the action described by the verb.

(21)	tai 3	<i>chingi</i> pluck	<i>thaki-</i> exist-		<i>time</i> BW	<i>te</i> LOC		
	one-CL	ghas tree	<i>para</i> ABL	<i>girai-c</i> drop- c	CAUS-PS	T l one from th	e tree'	
(22)	tai-lag 3-gen	ia 	<i>cycle</i> bicycle	e	<i>to</i> TOP	<i>mati</i> ground	<i>te</i> LOC	<i>girai-di-she</i> drop- cAus- PST

In examples (23) and (24), the suffix *di* is used as a benefactive marker on the transitive verbs 'pick' and 'put', introducing the dative object of the argument as a benefactor of the action described by the verb instead.

(23)	tai-laga	naspati-khan	uthai -di	ase
	3-gen	pear-PL	pick-ben	be.pres
	'they pick up	his pears for h	im'	

'he dropped his bicycle to the ground'

(24)	tai-laga	basket	te	naspati-khan	dhali- di	ase
	3-gen	BW	LOC	pear-PL	put-ben	be.pres
	'they put the	pears ii	n the ba	sket for him'		

5.3 Tense

Tense refers to the sequence of events, with the reference point usually at the moment when the speech is said. There is a distinction between the past and future tense in Nagamese. The present tense is generally not marked with any morphology. Tense is marked after the verb stem, where converb suffixes occur in complementary distribution. Hence, the tense marker usually marks the end of a verb clause and the end of a sentence.

The past tense marker is *-she/-se* (used in free variation), for example *mari-se* (kill-PST) 'killed'. More examples are shown below.

(25)	Amor	kokai	ulai -she
	1.gen	brother	out-PST
	'my broth	er came out'	

(26) bhak to khedai jai-**she** tiger TOP chase go-**PST** '(we) chased after the tiger' The future tense marker is *-bo*, for example *mari-bo* (kill-FUT) 'will kill'. More examples are shown below.

- (27) Ami itu kuri-**bo** 1.sg this do-FUT 'I will do this'
- (28) *sop jaga te inika ek-ta ek-ta to thaki-bo* all place LOC similar one-CL ONE-CL TOP exist-**FUT** 'Similarly, in all places there will only be one (language)'

While no present tense marker has been observed in Nagamese, there is an infinitive marker that is found in the data, for example *huni-bole* (hear-INF) 'to hear' and *bhabi-bole* (think-INF) 'to think'; although it behaves as a purposive marker at times, as shown in the examples below. Haspelmath (1989) claims that infinitive verb forms are mostly grammaticalized from purposive verb forms; therefore this theory might be able to explain the usage of the suffix *-bole* in Nagamese.

(29)		<i>ek-ta</i> one-CL			<i>kori</i> do	ase be.pres
	naspa pear	ti	basket BW	t para ABL		

'he is trying to pick up a pear from his basket'

(30)	Tai	bhi	Nagamese	bishi	hiki- bole	mon	ase
	3.sg	ADD	Nagamese	INT	learn- PURP	want	be.PRES
	'He also wants to learn Nagamese a lot.'						

Although we cannot conclude from our data if aspect is always marked in Nagamese, the suffix -e has been found to mark the habitual aspect, as shown in the examples below. More research needs to be done on this area.

(31)	Hoi	ami	bhi	inika		bhabi- e		
	Yes	1. SG	ADD	simila	r	think -HAB		
	'Yes i	also thi	ink in th	ne same	e way'			
(32)	<i>tai-kh</i> 3- _{PL}	an	0	r <i>kotha</i> g langua		na-jane NEG-know	<i>koi-le</i> say-cond	<i>to</i> TOP
	<i>Nagar</i> Nagar		<i>hе</i> ЕМРН	use BW	<i>kuri-e</i> do-на		<i>Nagamese</i> Nagamese	

'If they don't know how to speak Chang, they will use Nagamese'

5.4 Modality

The suffix *–le* has been found to mark irrealis conditional mood in Nagamese, as shown in the example below. This suffix usually occurs after the tense if the tense marker is present. More data is needed to determine if this suffix is also used to express other grammatical moods, or if this suffix can occur with the converb marker.

(33)	Hoi- le Happen- cond	bhi ADD	ma mother	aru and	baba father		Chang Chang		
	na-hoi- le NEG-happen- C	COND	Khiamiungan Khiamiungan			dusra differe	nt	tribe ^{BW}	to TOP

'if the mother and the father are also not Chang, if they are from Khiamiungan, if they are from different tribes...'

5.5 Converb

A converb is a clause-linking device that usually appears as an affix on a verb stem (Coupe, 2006). A converb links multiple sequences of verbs together, and the suffix *–kena* found in our data seems to fit this function. It is observed that the converb suffix mostly serves to link clauses together as shown in examples (34) and (35), but it can also be used to express the sequence of events as shown in example (36).

(34)	aru	ek-jun ghas	te	uthi- kena	naspati	chingi ase
	and	one-CL tree	LOC	ascend-сvв	pear	pluck be.pres
	'and a	guy is climbir	ng a tre	e plucking pea	rs'	

- (35) *itia ek-jun tai-laga saguli loi-kena ahi ase* now one-CL 3.SG-GEN goat take-CVB come be.PRES 'now there is a man bringing his goat and coming'
- (36) *itia tai uthai-kena ja ase* now 3.sg pick_up-**CVB** go be.PRES 'he picked it up and now he is leaving'

6. Grammatical Functions

Grammatical functions can be encoded in three possible ways: constituent order, case marking and cross-referencing (Andrews, 1985). This section will only address the first two ways, as cross-referencing was not observed in the language's data.

6.1 Constituent Order

Nagamese shows the Subject (S) – Object (O) – Verb (V) constituent order that is typical of Tibeto-Burman languages. An example of the prototypical construction from the data is shown below.

(37)	kiba	bhak-ke	khedai	ase,		
	something	tiger-DAT	chase	be.pres		
	'something chases the tiger'					

However, it is found that constituent order is not strictly observed in Nagamese, as the subject and object order may be freely dropped or restructured, and understanding depends largely on discourse-pragmatic factors.

There have been examples in the data that show the subject at the end of the clause, as illustrated in the examples below. These constructions are possibly the functional equivalent of a passive construction of the language, which takes on the word order Object (O) – Verb (V) – Subject (S).

(38)		ke	,	kuri-she	kokai	surgi
	1 iger	-DAT	nre	do-pst	brother	name
	'The t	iger wa	as fired	at by brother	Surgi'	
(39)	Aru	'450 k	oill'	bonai-kena	tai-khan	
	And	450 b	;11	send-cvb	3-pl	
	Allu	430 0	111	Senu-CVB	J-PL	
	(1	1 111 0	4 = 0	. 1 . 1		

'And a bill of 450 was sent by them'

6.2 Case Marking

Case marking patterns can be motivated by semantics and syntax. It is known that in nominative-accusative languages, the S argument of an intransitive clause and the A argument of a transitive clause are marked similarly; where as in ergative-absolutive languages, the A argument is marked distinctly from the S and O argument.

It is found that in Nagamese, there is a dative marker –*ke* that occurs on the O argument in transitive clauses, as shown in the example (37). In contrast, S and A arguments are mostly unmarked. Hence, it can be concluded that Nagamese follows a nominative-accusative pattern.

7. Clause Structures

7.1 Declarative Clauses

Nagamese clauses can be verbal, as shown in example (40) or verb-less, as shown in example (41).

(40)	utu	manu	to	itia	bhi	chinggi	ase
		man				pluck	be.pres
'That man is still plucking now.'							

(41) basket to bishi bhari ase BW TOP INT heavy be.PRES 'The basket is very heavy.'

Declarative clauses in Nagamese may use the copular *ase* as shown in the examples above. It is observed in the data that the verb *thaki* (exist) may be used as well, as shown in the example (42) below. More data needs to be collected to ascertain if there are any differences that motivate the usage of these two words.

(42)	moi-khan	murgi	hala	kuri	thaki- kena	
	1-PL	rooster	crow	do	exist-CVB	
	'We can hear a rooster crowing.'					

7.2 Imperative Clauses

The constituent order of imperative clauses differs from the declarative verbal clauses. While verbs in declarative clause take clause final position as established in the previous section, verbs take clause initial position in imperative clauses. The verb is also case marked by the suffix -bi, as shown in the example below.

(43) *bhak ase bhak ase rukhi-bi gari* tiger be.PRE tiger be.PRE stop-IMP car 'There's a tiger there's a tiger stop the car'

7.3 Interrogative Clauses

For interrogative clauses, the verb still takes the clause-final position, while the question word is usually present at the initial of the clause, as shown in the example below.

(44) *kun logot 'fire' kuri-she?* Who COM fire do-PST 'Whom did you fire at?

7.4 Relative Clauses

3-gen

From the data we have observed that the structure of the relative clauses in sentences are similar to that of possessive noun phrases, as they follow a dependent-head grammar structure with the dependent constituents marked. While the possessive noun phrases' dependent is marked by the genitive marker, the relative clause is marked with the particle -a, as shown in the examples below.

(45)	[Tai 3.sg	0	thaki-a exist-P	-	time ^{BW}	te LOC	
	ek-ta one-CL	0	para ^{ABL}	0	li-she CAUS-PST	ſ	
	'while	<u>he was</u>	pluckii	<u>ng</u> he d	ropped	one from the	tree'
(46)	[tai 3.sg	0	- a -khan PTCL-PL	-	ani-ke bring-		
	tai-lag	а	basket	te	raki	ase	itia

LOC

BW

'the ones he plucked he brings and keeps them in his basket now'

keep be.PRES

now

8. List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in glosses:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ADD	additive
ANT	antessive
BEN	benefactive
BW	borrowed word
CL	classifier
CAUS	causative
СОМ	comitative
COND	conditional
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
ЕМРН	emphatic
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
INF	infinitive
INT	intensifier
ITRT	intrative
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
PRES	present
PST	past
PL	plural
PTCL	particle
PURP	purposive
REL	relative clause
ТОР	topical

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