VERBAL AGREEMENT AND GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF HA?WA NOCTE

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I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Larin Adams for being my main advisor. You are a wonderful guide I could ever had. You always encouraged me to keep working and helped me with your knowledge to understand things better. It would not have been possible to complete this thesis without your guidance.

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I would also like to thank my family specially my mother for always encouraging me to continue my studies. Thanks for your prayers and good wishes.

Syed Iftiqar Rahman
Abstract


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 Ha`awa Nocte ซึ่งเป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่าสาขาย่อยในภาษาเหนือ ในการเรียนรู้ระบบกริยาและการกิจกรรม และให้คำอธิบายเกี่ยวกับโครงสร้างอนุประโยค การแสดงการเปลี่ยนหัวเรื่อง (topic markers) หน่วยคำแปลเป็นนาม (nominalization) คุณภาพประโยค (relative clauses) ลำดับการเปลี่ยนส่วนขยาย (modifiers) การเปลี่ยนการณ์ลักษณะ (aspect) การเปลี่ยนบุรุษ (person) และ วิเคราะห์ความสอดคล้องของหน่วยคำแบบขยาย (extended construction) เช่น ประโยคคำถาม ประโยคปฏิเสธ และอนุประโยคเติมเต็ม

ผลการวิจัยสรุปได้ดังนี้ ตัวบ่งชี้ความสอดคล้องในภาษา Nocte ได้แก่ กรัมหรือที่เติมหลังคำกริยาโดยตัวบ่งชี้ที่แสดงหัวเรื่องที่แสดงกริยา การเปลี่ยนบุรุษ และ กรัม (person) โดยตัวบ่งชี้นี้จะสอดคล้องกับกริยาที่ปรากฏในภาษา Nocte โดยแสดงตัวบ่งชี้ของเครื่องหมายความสอดคล้องในคำกริยา (DeLancey 1980, 1981a, 1988, 1989) เนื่องด้วยว่าที่ปรากฏในภาษา Jingphaw และบางภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่าโดยคำกริยาในภาษา Nocte จะสอดคล้องกับกรัมที่มีระดับชั้นสูงกว่า โดยไม่ให้ความสนใจกับการเป็นประธานหรือการกิจกรรมของกริยาในเบื้องต้น กรัมที่หนึ่งและสองจะมีระดับชั้นที่สูงกว่ากรัมที่สาม นอกจากนี้ในภาษา Nocte มีตัวบ่งชี้ /h- ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับกริยาในเบื้องต้น ที่หนึ่งที่แสดงว่ามีความสอดคล้องของกริยาภูมิ (patient) มีตัวบ่งชี้ /-h/ เพื่อกำหนดทิศทางของการเคลื่อนที่ ทั้งการเคลื่อนที่เข้าสู่ผู้พูด หรือออกจากผู้พูดก็ตาม
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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>First person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>First person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Second person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Third person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Third person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>Literal Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
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</table>
Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis is a description of the verbal agreement system and a brief phonology sketch and grammatical overview of the Ha?wa 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, Deomalii, 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 language’ 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]
   ṇa  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 hierarchy. 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]

\[
\begin{align*}
\eta\text{m} & \quad \text{atena} & \quad \nu\text{et} & \quad a\text{j} \\
\eta & \quad -m\text{e} & \quad \text{ate} & \quad -n\text{a} & \quad \nu\text{et} & \quad a\text{j} \\
1 & \quad \text{ERG} & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{ABS} & \quad \text{hit} & \quad \text{FUT.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'I will hit him'

In example sentence (2) above, the verb \( \nu\text{et} \) is marked with 1SG agreement \( a\text{j} \) as it is higher than the 3SG patient argument in the person hierarchy.

3. [elicited]

\[
\begin{align*}
\eta\text{m}\text{e} & \quad \text{atena} & \quad \nu\text{et} & \quad o \\
\eta & \quad -m\text{e} & \quad \text{ate} & \quad -n\text{a} & \quad \nu\text{et} & \quad o \\
\text{you} & \quad \text{ERG} & \quad 3\text{SG} & \quad \text{ABS} & \quad \text{hit} & \quad \text{FUT.2SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'you will hit him'

Similarly in example (3), the verb is marked with 2SG agreement \( o \) 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]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ateme } \eta \text{ana}_\eta \text{ vet ha}_\eta \\
&\text{ate } -\text{me } \eta \text{- } \text{na}_\eta \text{ vet h- } \text{a}_\eta \\
&\text{3SG } \text{ERG } 1\text{SG } \text{ABS hit } \text{INV- FUT.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'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]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{na}_\eta \text{ ka } \text{c} \\
&\text{na}_\eta \text{ ka } \text{c} \\
&\text{you go } \text{IMP.2SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'you go'

6. [elicited]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{na}_\eta \text{ ka } \text{c} \\
&\text{na}_\eta \text{ ka } \text{c} \text{ -c} \\
&\text{you go } \text{CIS } \text{IMP.2SG}
\end{align*}
\]

'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 settling 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 language 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 elicited 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>i ‘1SG.POSS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ka ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>ʋɛt ‘hit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’ ‘\(d\dot{v}ək\)’ and ‘to dive’ ‘\(t\dot{v}ək\)’. 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 monophthong vowels and 5 dipthong vowels. Table 2 and Table 3 present the consonants and vowels respectively.

Table 2 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilipal</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p, pʰ, b</td>
<td>t, tʰ, d</td>
<td></td>
<td>k, kʰ, ɡ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>Africates</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>ʋ</td>
<td>ɹ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 Monophthong vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-open</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Diphthong vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>zian ‘can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>tfien ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>natfei ‘be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>koi ‘climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>tfuan ‘tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ue</td>
<td>tfuen ‘run’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Contrasts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m and n</td>
<td><em>hum</em> ‘house’ <em>hun</em> ‘like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n and ŋ</td>
<td><em>ɹan</em> ‘dry’ <em>ɹaŋ</em> ‘for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t and k</td>
<td><em>kat</em> ‘go’ <em>kak</em> ‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k and kʰ</td>
<td><em>ko</em> ‘give’ <em>kʰo</em> ‘on top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k and ʔ</td>
<td><em>tfak</em> ‘red’ <em>tfáʔ</em> ‘eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.3.2 Vowels

Table 6 Contrastive vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Contrasts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a and e</td>
<td><em>ka</em> ‘go’ <em>ke</em> ‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a and o</td>
<td><em>wan</em> ‘dish’ <em>wən</em> ‘take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i and o</td>
<td><em>ki</em> ‘cold’ <em>ko</em> ‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e and o</td>
<td><em>tʰe</em> ‘one’ <em>tʰo</em> ‘tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o and ø</td>
<td><em>ɾoŋ</em> ‘horn’ <em>døŋ</em> ‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie and ia</td>
<td><em>tfien</em> ‘send’ <em>zian</em> ‘can’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone no.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Description of Tone</th>
<th>Pitch (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>low-falling</td>
<td>134-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>high-falling</td>
<td>184-112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sell</td>
<td>saŋ</td>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td>164-175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 Tone on closed syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone no.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Description of Tone</th>
<th>Pitch (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>saʔ</td>
<td>level with glottal constriction</td>
<td>165-163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>vok</td>
<td>level with velar stop</td>
<td>168-153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>zup</td>
<td>level with bilabial stop</td>
<td>151-159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some tonal minimal sets are presented below:

Table 9 Tonal minimal sets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>pa ‘teeth’</th>
<th>sanj ‘wing’</th>
<th>kʰo ‘nose’</th>
<th>sa ‘urine’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sanj ‘sky’</td>
<td>kʰo ‘head’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pa ‘mad’</td>
<td>sanj ‘appreciate’</td>
<td>kʰo ‘path’</td>
<td>sa ‘to clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>paʔ ‘spear’</td>
<td>kʰoʔ ‘top’</td>
<td></td>
<td>saʔ ‘tiger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ha?wa 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 Ha?wa.

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. Ha?wa has an unmarked APV word order. In Table 10 below, the basic constituent order of Ha?wa 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituent order</th>
<th>Haʔwa (Nocte)</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clause word order</td>
<td>APV</td>
<td>APV</td>
<td>APV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject and intransitive verb</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical verb and auxiliary verb</td>
<td>V AUX</td>
<td>V AUX</td>
<td>V AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun and adposition (postposition)</td>
<td>N PP</td>
<td>N PP</td>
<td>N PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective and noun</td>
<td>N ADJ</td>
<td>ADJ N</td>
<td>ADJ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause and noun</td>
<td>REL N</td>
<td>REL N</td>
<td>REL N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative and noun</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral and noun</td>
<td>N NUM or NUM N</td>
<td>NUM N</td>
<td>NUM N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifier and noun</td>
<td>N CLF</td>
<td>N CLF</td>
<td>(No classifiers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifier and adjective</td>
<td>ADJ INT</td>
<td>INT ADJ</td>
<td>INT ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative and verb</td>
<td>V NEG or NEG V</td>
<td>NEG V</td>
<td>NEG V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive and verb</td>
<td>PRHB V</td>
<td>PRHB V</td>
<td>PRHB V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb and verb</td>
<td>ADV V</td>
<td>ADV V</td>
<td>ADV V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tʃa? tak
ŋa -mɛ tʃam tʃa? t-ak
I ERG rice eat PAST-1SG

LT 'I ate rice'

8. [elicited]

*ŋamɛ tʃa? tak tʃam
ŋa -mɛ tʃa? t-ak tʃam
I ERG eat PAST-1SG rice

Intended: 'I ate rice'

9. [elicited]

*tʃam tʃa? tak ŋamɛ
tʃam tʃa? t-ak ŋa -mɛ
rice eat PAST-1SG I ERG

Intended: 'I ate rice'

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

10. [story 1]

ate zokɛkɔ ʰkʰehe ʰkʰe ta?
ate zo ke -kɔ ʰkʰehe ʰkʰe t-a?
3SG river near LOC deer see PAST-3

'he saw a deer near the river'
In Nocte, NP_POSSESSOR precedes the NP_POSSESSED 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Agreement marker</th>
<th>Example sentences (using the verb ka ‘to go’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>ŋa ka aŋ ‘I will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ni ka ɛ ‘We will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>naŋ ka ɔ ‘You will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ɛn</td>
<td>ne ka ɛn ‘You(PL) will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ate ka a ‘He will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ətʃin ka a ‘They will go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the personal 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.
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 dihjaʔŋa-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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Prohibitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>t-ak</td>
<td>ka-t-ak</td>
<td>k-aŋ</td>
<td>ka-aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>t-iʔ</td>
<td>ka-t-iʔ</td>
<td>k-i</td>
<td>ka-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>t-ɔʔ</td>
<td>ka-t-ɔʔ</td>
<td>k-ɔʔ</td>
<td>ka-ɔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ŋn</td>
<td>t-ɛt</td>
<td>ka-t-ɛt</td>
<td>k-ɛn</td>
<td>ka-ɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>t-aʔ</td>
<td>ka-t-aʔ</td>
<td>k-a</td>
<td>ka-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>t-aʔ</td>
<td>ka-t-aʔ</td>
<td>k-a</td>
<td>ka-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) dəlawame baŋp zuet t-a?
       dəlaw -me baŋ -p zuet t-a?
       man  ERG tree  ABS cut  PAST-3
       'the man cut the tree'

   b) hupi t-a?
       hu -pɛ i t-a?
       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 -me 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 -\(\*\)a that follows it. In addition, grammaticalized verb ko ‘give’ is used as a kind of applicative\(^1\) after the verb.

The schema for NP\_BENEFACTIVE is shown below:

a.  \(S_{BEN.} \quad [A \ P \ BEN \ V..ko..]\)

b.  \(NP_{BEN.} \quad [NP \ \*a]\)

19. [elicited]

ate\(\_\)me\_\(\_\)o  \(\_\)am\(\_\) \(\_\)okawahe  \(\_\)a \(\_\)be?  \(\_\)ko \(\_\)ta?
ate\(\_\)t\(\_\)en\(\_\)i  \(\_\)am\(\_\)\(-\)\(\_\)okawa\(\_\)\(-\)\(\_\)a \(\_\)be?  \(\_\)ko \(\_\)t\(-\)a?

3SG  AG  chicken  meat  PA  guest  PL  BEN  cook  APP  PAST-3

'she cooked chicken for the guests'

Here in (19), the beneficiary marker -\(\*\)a 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]

ate\(\_\)me\(\_\)t\(\_\)en\(\_\)p\(\_\)e  \(\_\)nihe  \(\_\)a  \(\_\)t\(\_\)h\(\_\)a?  \(\_\)ko  \(\_\)t\(\_\)h\(\_\)i
ate\(\_\)t\(\_\)en\(\_\)\(-\)\(\_\)p\(\_\)e  \(\_\)ni  \(-\)\(\_\)he  \(-\)\(\_\)a  \(\_\)t\(\_\)h\(\_\)a?  \(\_\)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 -\(\*\)a and applicative ko follows the verb t\(\_\)h\(\_\)aʔ ‘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. $S_{\text{CAUSE}}$: [P NP$_{\text{CAUSE}}$ V]
   b. NP$_{\text{CAUSE}}$: [NP *zun*-kɔ]

21. [elicited]

atea meleia zunkɔ i t-a?
ate -a meleia zun -kɔ i t-a?
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 NP$_{\text{CAUSE}}$. The schema and examples for this NP causal are as follows:

Reason/Cause:[NP, *daŋ* le…..]$S_{\text{CAUSE}}$-me øi V]

22. [elicited]

a) ate meleia daŋ le me øi t-a?
   ate meleia daŋ le -me øi t-a?
3SG malaria VZ NF ERG die PAST-3

'having malaria, he died'

b) ate pu kʰe le me tfuen ta?
   ate pu kʰe le -me tfuen t-a?
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]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
ate & -mɛ & vak & -pe & mittʃa & -mɛ & iitsu & t-a? \\
3SG & AG & pig & PA & knife & INST & kill.stab & PAST-3 \\
\end{array}
\]

'he killed the pig with a knife'

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

24. [elicited]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
ate & -mɛ & hukɔ & keme & vet & t-a? \\
3SG & AG & dog & ABS & stick & INST & hit & PAST-3 \\
\end{array}
\]

'she hit the dog with a stick'

Similarly, in (24), the NP object hukɔ 'dog' precedes the NP instrument keme '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. SLOC: [A (P) LOC V]

b. NPLoc: [NP kɔ/naŋ]

Some good examples are:

25. [elicited]

atemɛ  vakɛ  zokɔ  khe  taʔ
ate  -me  vak  -pe  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]

dəlawape  hum  kʰeŋkɔ  muetmoi  tʰu
dəlawa  -pe  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  anʃ
ate  pit  -naŋ  ka  anʃ
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.
Similarly, in (28) the locative case marker -nag 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]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{atem} & \text{ŋamp} & \text{səntʰəmtʰəm} & \text{be?} & \text{tə?} \\
&\text{ate} & \text{-me} & \text{ŋam} & \text{-pe} & \text{səntʰəmtʰəm} & \text{be?} & \text{t-a?} \\
&\text{3SG} & \text{ERG} & \text{meat} & \text{ABS} & \text{carefully} & \text{cook} & \text{PAST-3} \\
&\text{she cooked the meat carefully'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

30. [elicited]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{hup} & \text{tʃan} & \text{muaŋ} & \text{tʃuen} & \text{ta?} \\
&\text{hu} & \text{-pe} & \text{tʃan} & \text{muaŋ} & \text{tʃuen} & \text{t-a?} \\
&\text{dog} & \text{ABS} & \text{quickly} & \text{very} & \text{run} & \text{PAST-3} \\
&\text{the dog ran very quickly'}
\end{align*}
\]

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 occurs in between the two phrases. The schema for a time phrase is:

\[
\text{Time: } [...TP (kɔ) VP]
\]

\[
\text{NP_Time: } [TP (kɔ)]
\]

In example (31) below, locative -kɔ occurs in between the TP ɛdiwa bet ‘next week’ and the VP tʃuen ‘leave’.

31. [elicited]

atea ɛdiwa betkɔ tʃuen min
ate -a ɛdiwa bet -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 ɲin ‘about’ occurs after the NP to refer to the topic. But if there is a referent noun phrase (RT) and a patient argument (NPv), the RT will occur before the NP patient. The schema for referential clause will be:

a. \[ \text{SREF.:} [A NPRT (P) V] \]

b. \[ \text{NPRT:} [NP ɲin] \]
Some examples are shown below:

33. [elicited]

\[
\text{ate}_{\text{me}} \text{ zuak} \, \text{ŋin} \, \text{tewaŋintʃa} \, \text{t}^3 \text{o} \, \text{ko} \, \text{ta}?
\]

\[
\text{ate} \, \text{m} \, \text{zuak} \, \text{ŋin} \, \text{tewaŋintʃa} \, \text{t}^3 \text{o} \, \text{ko} \, \text{t-a}?
\]

\[
\text{3SG ERG ghost about story } \text{tell } \text{give } \text{PAST-3}
\]

'he told a story about ghost'

34. [elicited]

\[
\text{ate}_{\text{me}} \, \, \text{ŋaŋsuamt}^\text{h} \text{in} \, \text{ŋin} \, \text{t}^3 \text{o} \, \text{ko} \, \text{min}
\]

\[
\text{ate} \, \, \text{m} \, \, \text{ŋaŋsuamt}^\text{h} \text{in} \, \text{ŋin} \, \text{t}^3 \text{o} \, \text{ko} \, \text{min}
\]

\[
\text{3SG ERG church about tell give } \text{FUT}
\]

'he will talk about church'

Both in (33) and (34), referential particle \text{ŋin} 'about' occurs after the NP referent \text{zuak} 'ghost' and \text{ŋaŋsuamt}^\text{h}in '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 \text{-a} when the subject (S) is a pronoun or proper noun, or with absolutive case marker \text{-pe} when the subject (S) is a common noun. The following examples illustrate the schemas below:

\[
\text{S}_{\text{Equative}} : \quad \text{[}[\text{NP (}\text{a})\text{]}\text{NP}]
\]

\[
\text{[}[\text{NP pe}]\text{NP}]
\]

35. [elicited]

\[
\text{ate}_{\text{a}} \, \, \text{ŋap} \, \text{het}^\text{o} \, \text{te}
\]

\[
\text{ate} \, \, \text{-a} \, \, \text{ŋap} \, \text{het}^\text{o} \, \text{te}
\]

\[
\text{3SG TOP study } \text{teach } \text{NOM}
\]

'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]

\[
\text{ate wape } \eta\text{ap het}^b\text{o te}
\]
\[
\text{ate wa } -p\text{e } \eta\text{ap het}^b\text{o te}
\]
3SG father ABS study teach NOM

'her father is a teacher'

37. [elicited]

\[
\text{dəlawape } \eta\text{ap het}^b\text{o te}
\]
\[
\text{dəlawa } -p\text{e } \eta\text{ap het}^b\text{o te}
\]
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.

\[
\text{S}^{\text{Attributive}}: \quad [\text{NP (pɛ) Adj]}
\]
\[
[\text{PRO a Adj]}
\]

38. [elicited]

\[
\text{atea } \text{paŋmi}
\]
\[
\text{ate } -a \text{ paŋmi}
\]
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 -pe ŋak
I dog SUB black
‘my dog is black’

In example (40), case marker -pe 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.

\[ S_{\text{Locative}} : [\text{NPLOCATUM} [\text{NPLOCATION-}kɔ/naŋ \text{ toŋ} ...]] \]

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 toŋ follows the NPLOCATION 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 ɔŋ 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.

S EXT: [NP kɔ [NP-Ø] NEW ɔŋ]

42. [story 1]

iəkɔ vʊn ɔŋ a
iə -kɔ vʊn ɔŋ a
there LOC forest be.at 3
'there is a forest'

43. [elicited]

tebul kʰɔkɔ tʃueniakii ɔŋ a
tebul kʰo -kɔ tʃueniak -ii ɔŋ 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 ɔŋ 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 NP POSSESSED precedes the NP POSSESSOR and a copula tʰiak ‘have’ occurs clause finally. The word order in an NP possessive phrase is [NPPOSSESSED NPPOSSESSOR] which gets reversed in a possessive clause and becomes [NPPOSSESSED NPPOSSESSOR]. A schema for possessive clauses in Nocte and an example follows.

NPPOSS.: [NPPOSSESSED NPPOSSESSOR tʰiak]
Example (44) shows a possessive clause where the NP\textsubscript{possessor} follows the NP\textsubscript{possessed} and in addition a copula $t'\text{iak}$ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14 Noun phrase structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PostP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\textsuperscript{st} person singular has two forms: $\eta$ the non-possessor form and $i$ the possessor form. 1\textsuperscript{st} 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ŋa</td>
<td>ŋa or i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni or naŋ² (level, pitch is higher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>naŋ¹ (low falling tone)</td>
<td>naŋ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ətʃin</td>
<td>ətʃin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ate wa} & \quad \text{hum } \text{tʃak } \text{dɔŋ } \text{pʰaŋəmpe} \\
\text{ate wa} & \quad \text{hum } \text{tʃak } \text{dɔŋ } \text{pʰaŋə} \text{-am} \text{-pɛ} \\
3SG & \quad \text{father } \text{house } \text{red } \text{big } \text{CLF } \text{three } \text{ABS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM P</td>
<td>[DEM N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJP</td>
<td>[ADJ INTENSIFIER]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLFP</td>
<td>(CLF)+NUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL. Clause</td>
<td>[REL. N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post.P</td>
<td>[N P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVP</td>
<td>[V ADV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>[NP + CASE]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.3 Case and topic marking
This section introduces the case and topic marking in Ha?wa 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.

\[\text{Ergativity is a pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from transitive subject (Dixon 1994:1).}\]
The above definition suggests that \([\text{subject (S)} = \text{Patient (P)}] \neq [\text{Subject (A)}]\).

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 *me* whereas, marking of the subjects (S) and patients (P) is a little complicated. Subjects (S) are optionally marked with *pe* whereas, patients (P) can be marked with either *pe* or with a number of other case markings like dative *naj*, locative *kɔ*, instrumental *me*, benefactive *a* etc. The following table illustrates the Nocte case system:

**Table 17 Case markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case (A)</th>
<th>Agent (A)</th>
<th>Subject (S)</th>
<th>Patient (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>(mɛ)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>pɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(naŋ)/(pɛ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>pɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC/Patient</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some examples showing the Nocte case system.

46. [elicited]

\[
\text{hupɛ} \quad \text{.i} \quad \text{t-a?}
\]

\[
\text{hu} \quad \text{-pe} \quad \text{.i} \quad \text{t-a?}
\]

\[
\text{dog} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{PAST-3}
\]

'the dog died'

47. [elicited]

\[
\text{dolatʃape} \quad \text{zup} \quad \text{t^h}u
\]

\[
\text{dolatʃa} \quad \text{-pe} \quad \text{zup} \quad \text{t-h-}u
\]

\[
\text{boy} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{PRESENT.PROG}
\]

'the boy is sleeping'
48. [elicited]

haʔtitpɛ \ kʰaza t-a?
haʔtit -pe \ kʰaza t-a?
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(me) \ kitapɛ \ tebul \ kʰokɔ \ thien ta?
ate -me \ kitap -pe \ tebul \ kʰo -kɔ \ thien t-a?
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 -me, 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 -me and patient ‘tree’ is marked with the absolutive case marker -pɛ.

50. [elicited]

dəlawame \ banpɛ \ zuet ta?
dəlawa -me \ bəŋ -pe \ zuet t-a?
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]

dolawame hukɔ vɛt ta?
dolawa -mɛ hu -kɔ vɛt t-a?
man ERG dog PA hit PAST-3

'the man hit the dog'

52. [elicited]

atemɛ tʃɛnɛ nihe ja tʰa? ko tʰi
ate -mɛ tʃɛn -pɛ ni -he -a tʰa? ko tʰ-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 -a that occurs with 1PL.

53. [story 3]

zɔnme pupe kemɛ jитут wa
zɔn -mɛ pu -pɛ ke -mɛ jитут wa
John ERG snake ABS stick with kill PAST

‘John killed the snake with a stick’

Nocte has instrumental case marker -me as is seen in the above example. ke ‘stick’ is marked with -me.

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 me.

54. [elicited]

atea meleạ zunkɔ ji ta?
ate -a meleạ zun -kɔ ji t-a?
3SG ABS malaria disease LOC die PAST – 3

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

\begin{verbatim}
56. [story 1]
ate-\textit{puŋ}-mɛ  ṅet-wa  nga  zo-kɔ  kʰehe  kʰe  t-ak
3SG.TOP.ERG  say.PAST  water.LOC  deer  see  PAST-1SG
\end{verbatim}

\textquote{he said, 'I saw a deer at the river''}

\section*{4.4 Noun phrase modifiers}

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

\subsection*{4.4.1 Demonstratives}

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

\begin{verbatim}
57. [elicited]
i:  humpe
i:  hum  -pe
that  house  ABS
'that house'
\end{verbatim}

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

58. [elicited]
* humpe  i
   hum   -pe  i
   house  ABS  that
   'house that'

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,
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 \( p'\text{an}-t'\text{e} \ p\text{aw}i \) where, classifier \( p'\text{an} \) attaches with the 2nd syllable of numeral \( w\text{ont}'\text{e} \) ‘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]
\[ \text{lat}'\text{e} \ \text{va'?} \]
\[ \text{la-} \ t'\text{e} \ \text{va'?} \]
\[ \text{CLF} \ \text{one} \ \text{bamboo} \]

'one bamboo'
62. [elicited]
wan kʰa-baŋa
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>wəntʰe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>wənni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>wənɯam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>bəli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>bəŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>ɪək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>ɪʃit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>ɪsat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>ikʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>ɪtʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty</td>
<td>ɪoʔni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>tʃatʰe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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]

\[\text{ŋa naŋ zo kot}^b\text{aŋ miŋanp}^e\text{ t}^\text{ju}^a\text{ŋ}\]

\[\text{ŋa naŋ zo ko t}^h\text{ -aŋ miŋan -p}^e\text{ t}^\text{ju}^a\text{ŋ}\]

I for water give PAST INV 1SG man ABS tall

muŋ
muŋ
INT

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

64. [elicited]

\[\text{ŋa hu} ^m\text{e} \text{ø kaka}^?\text{ miŋanpuŋme n}^a\text{naŋ}\]

\[\text{ŋa hu} ^m\text{e} \text{kak} ^t\text{a}^?\text{ miŋan -puŋ -me n}^a\text{- naŋ}\]

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

\[\text{vet}^b\text{aŋ}\]

\[\text{vet} ^t\text{ -aŋ}\]

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 *hen* 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:
46

65. [elicited]

dəlatʃa hɛnmɛ sese təʔ 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.
### Table 19 Nominalizers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>-te agentive nominalizer</th>
<th>-wa patient nominalizer</th>
<th>-tʰin locative nominalizer</th>
<th>-tʰu? action nominalizer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sese-te</td>
<td>sese-te</td>
<td>wa-sese</td>
<td>tʰin-sese</td>
<td>tʰu?-sese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing-NZ</td>
<td>sing-NZ</td>
<td>wa-sing</td>
<td>tʰin-sing</td>
<td>tʰu?-sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'singer'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇaphetʰo-te</td>
<td>ṇaphetʰo-te</td>
<td>wa-ŋaŋdaŋ</td>
<td>tʰin-ŋaŋdaŋ</td>
<td>tʰu?-ŋaŋdaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach-NZ</td>
<td>teach-NZ</td>
<td>wa-ŋaŋdaŋ</td>
<td>tʰin-ŋaŋdaŋ</td>
<td>tʰu?-ŋaŋdaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'teacher'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some example sentences showing derivational nominalization are presented below:

66. [elicited]

\begin{align*}
\text{ŋa} & \text{ lamu} \text{ Steve} & \text{ŋa} & \text{ŋa} & \text{lam} & \text{ɾu} & \text{lam} & \text{ɾu} & \text{friend} \\
\text{ŋa} & \text{ lamu} \text{ Steve} & \text{ŋa} & \text{ŋa} & \text{lam} & \text{ɾu} & \text{lam} & \text{ɾu} & \text{ABS} \\
& \text{I} & \text{friend} & \text{Steve} & \text{ABS} & \text{teach} & \text{NZ.A} \\
\end{align*}

'my friend, Steve, is a teacher'

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

67. [elicited]

\begin{align*}
\text{ate} & \text{me} & \text{pupu} & \text{ŋaŋdaŋ} & \text{tʰin} & \text{ɾitpʰe} & \text{ta?} \\
\text{ate} & \text{me} & \text{pupu} & \text{ŋaŋdaŋ} & \text{tʰin} & \text{ɾitpʰe} & \text{t-a?} \\
& \text{3SG} & \text{ERG} & \text{snake} & \text{ABS} & \text{cook} & \text{NZ.LOC} & \text{LOC} & \text{kill} & \text{PAST-3} \\
\end{align*}

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

In (67), locative nominalizer -tʰin nominalizes the verb ŋaŋdaŋ 'cook' to produce ŋaŋdaŋ-tʰin 'kitchen'
68. [elicited]

ŋame ɹiakwa hu wak ta?
ŋa -me ɹiak -wa hu wak t-a?
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 əŋɛiɛ ʃa?  
  ate -me əŋɛi -pɛ ʃa?  
 3SG ERG fruit ABS dry PAST-3

'he dried the fruit'

b. ʃaŋpɛ ʃaʔ  
  ʃaŋ -pɛ ʃaʔ  t-ak  
  dry NZ.P eat PAST.1SG

'I ate the dried one'

In (69 a), ʃaŋ is used as a verb with the meaning ‘dry’ whereas, (in 69 b) ʃaŋ 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 ʧəmsʔaʔtʰuʔ  
  ate -me ʧəms ʧaʔ  -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 *tfam-tʃaʔ* 'eat rice' and derives *tfam-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]  
mue̤t-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]  
anəŋ kate miɲan ipʰo  
anəŋ 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]
ηα  me  jιak  -wa  man  -pe  hu  wak  t-a?
ηα  -me  jιak  -wa  man  -pe  hu  wak  t-a?
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 jιak ‘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]
ηα  naŋ  zo  ko  -t  -b  -aŋ  minanpe  t∫uŋ
ηα  naŋ  zo  kotbαŋ  minanpe  t∫uŋ
I  for  water  give  PAST  INV  FUT.1SG  man  ABS  tall

muαŋ
muαŋ
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 Ha?wa 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 occurrence 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Interrogative/Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kɛt/kɛʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
<td>ɹit</td>
<td>ɹit</td>
<td>ɹiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to stand’</td>
<td>tʃəp</td>
<td>tʃəp</td>
<td>səp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to buy’</td>
<td>ɹiak</td>
<td>ɹi</td>
<td>ɹiak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to laugh’</td>
<td>ŋe</td>
<td>əŋit</td>
<td>ŋe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>Stem 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>Intransitive &amp; Imperative</td>
<td>Interrogative &amp; Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
<td>Intransitive &amp; Imperative</td>
<td>Interrogative &amp; Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to stand’</td>
<td>Intransitive &amp; Imperative</td>
<td>Interrogative &amp; Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to buy’</td>
<td>Intransitive, Interrogative and negative</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to laugh’</td>
<td>Intransitive, Interrogative and negative</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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   ke?   min   ne?
   2SG  field.LOC  go  FUT  QP
   ‘will you go to the field?’

Negative (stem 2)

78. [elicited]
   ŋa   ket   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’ .siit, stem 1 occurs in imperative (eg. 79) and stem 2 occurs in question (eg. 80).

79. [elicited]
   lei-pe   .siit-hap   ɔʔ
   buffalo-ERG  kill-shoot  2SG
   ‘kill(shoot) the buffalo’
80. [elicited]

\[
\text{naŋ } \text{lei-} \text{pɛ } \text{iʔ-} \text{hap } \text{ts? le}
\]

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]

\[
\text{ətʃəp } \circ
\]

stand 2SG

‘(you) stand up’

82 əŋit \circ

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: [NP_{SUB} NP_{OBJ} V]

83. [elicited]

\[\text{atemε \ pupε \ sɔŋdæntʰinkɔ \ ɹitpʰε \ tə?}\]
\[\text{ate \ -me \ pu \ -pɛ \ sɔŋdæn \ -tʰin \ -kɔ \ ɹitpʰε \ t-a?}\]
3SG ERG snake ABS cook NOM LOC kill PAST-3

'h he killed the snake in the kitchen'

In example (83), NP_{SUB} ate 'he' is followed by NP_{OBJ} pu 'snake' and verb ɹitpʰε 'kill' occurs in the sentence final position. In addition optional adjuncts like locative sɔŋdæntʰin 'kitchen' can occur after the NP_{OBJ}. 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]

\[\text{kasakpɛ \ buan \ ɔ}\]
\[\text{kasak \ -pɛ \ buan \ ɔ}\]
\[\text{door \ ABS \ shut \ 2SG.IMP}\]

'(you (SG)) shut the door'

In (84) the verbal agreement entails that 2SG 'you' is asked to shut the door. The NP_{SUB} 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]

\[\text{tʃɔkɔ \ naŋ \ dak \ suen \ ɔ}\]
\[\text{tʃɔkɔ \ naŋ \ dak \ suen \ ɔ}\]

'please you hand wash 2SG-IMP'

'please wash your hand'
Here in (85), the particle \( tʃɔkɔ \) ‘please’ occurs sentence initially and the optional NPSUB \( naŋ \) ‘you’ is also overt.

In addition, Nocte has a prohibitive particle \( nak \) which can express negative commands.

86. [story 1]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tetemè} & \quad \text{ŋet} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{zope} \quad \text{nak} \quad \text{den} \quad \text{en} \\
\text{tete} & \quad \text{-me} \quad \text{ŋet} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{zo} \quad \text{-pe} \quad \text{nak} \quad \text{den} \quad \text{en}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( den \) ‘cross’ and has a meaning like ‘do not cross’.

The cislocative \( \mathcal{r}- \) 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]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naŋ} & \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ɔ} \\
\text{naŋ} & \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{-ɔ} \\
you & \quad \text{go} \quad \text{CIS} \quad \text{2SG-IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

LT 'you go towards (me)'

FT 'you come'

(87) above, is an example of an imperative clause with cislocative marker \( \mathcal{r}- \) 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]

```plaintext
naŋa  bɔzetnaŋ  ket  min  ne/le  ?
naŋ  -a  bɔzet  -naŋ  ket  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]

```plaintext
atea  waŋ  ta?  a  ?
ate  -a  waŋ  t-a?  a
3SG  TOP  go  up  PAST-3  QP

'did he go?'
```

90. [elicited]

```plaintext
naŋa  waŋ  tɔ?  le  ?
naŋ  -a  waŋ  t-ɔ?  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>tʃəni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>hɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>mɛtʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>mɛɹiŋnaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>mepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>mɛɾoʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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   hen  a  ?
ate   -a    hen  a
3SG   TOP  who  QP
'who is he ?'

93. [elicited]
naŋ  kitappe  mepe  a  ?
naŋ  kitap  -pe  mepe  a
you  book  ABS  which  QP
'which one is your book ?'

94. [elicited]
naŋ  min  tʃɔni  a  ?
naŋ  min  tʃɔni  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 grammaticalized’.

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>ŋa bəm tʰu/ ‘I am waiting’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni bəm tʰu/ ‘we are waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>naŋ bəm tʰu/ ‘you (SG) are waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ne bəm tʰu/ ‘you (PL) are waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ate bəm tʰu/ ‘he is waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ətʃin bəm tʰu/ ‘they are waiting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 24 Future tense marking auxiliaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ŋa bəm min/ ‘I will wait’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni bəm min/ ‘we will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>naŋ bəm min/ ‘you (SG) will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ne bəm min/ ‘you (PL) will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ate bəm min/ ‘he will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ətʃin bəm min/ ‘they will wait’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Habitual (Present)</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Progressive Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Prohibitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>-aŋ V aŋ</td>
<td>-t-ak</td>
<td>-ka-t-ak</td>
<td>-k-aŋ</td>
<td>-ka-aŋ</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-ɛ</td>
<td>-ɛ V ɛ</td>
<td>-t-iʔ</td>
<td>-ka-t-iʔ</td>
<td>-k-i</td>
<td>-ka-i</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-ɔ</td>
<td>-ɔ V ɔ</td>
<td>-t-ɔʔ</td>
<td>-ka-t-ɔʔ</td>
<td>-k-ɔ</td>
<td>-ka-ɔ</td>
<td>-ɔ</td>
<td>-nak-V-ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-ɛn</td>
<td>-ɛn V ɛn</td>
<td>-t-ɛt</td>
<td>-ka-t-ɛt</td>
<td>-k-ɛn</td>
<td>-ka-ɛn</td>
<td>-ɛn</td>
<td>-nak-V-ɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a V a</td>
<td>-t-aʔ</td>
<td>-ka-t-aʔ</td>
<td>-k-ɛ</td>
<td>-ka-a</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-- V a</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (re) min. Table 25 below shows the intransitive future tense markers in Nocte.

Table 25 Future tense markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Future markers</th>
<th>Semantic factors</th>
<th>Inceptive/ about to</th>
<th>Time not bound</th>
<th>Certainty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>min</td>
<td>ɛ min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ɛn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. atemέ ḳaŋṣuam²in ɲin tʰo ko min
   ate -mε ḳaŋṣuam²in ɲin 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 \textit{min} is used.

b. ate.mε pit.naŋ kɛʔ ɛe- 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.

\textbf{Table 26 Future tense markers (inceptive/about to)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ɲa pitnaŋ ka aŋ</td>
<td>I will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b ni pitnaŋ ka e</td>
<td>we will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c naŋ pitnaŋ ka o</td>
<td>you (SG) will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d ne pitnaŋ ka en</td>
<td>you (PL) will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ate pitnaŋ ka a</td>
<td>he/she will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f atʃin pitnaŋ ka a</td>
<td>they will go to the field</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 27 Future tense markers (time not bound)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a  nga pitnaŋ ka min</td>
<td>I will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b  ni pitnaŋ ka min</td>
<td>we will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c  naŋ pitnaŋ ka min</td>
<td>you (SG) will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d  ne pitnaŋ ka min</td>
<td>you (PL) will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e  ate pitnaŋ ka min</td>
<td>he/she will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f  ətʃin pitnaŋ ka min</td>
<td>they will go to the field</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 Future tense markers (certainty)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a  nga pitnaŋ ka se min</td>
<td>I will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b  ni pitnaŋ ka se min</td>
<td>we will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c  naŋ pitnaŋ ka se min</td>
<td>you (SG) will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d  ne pitnaŋ ka se min</td>
<td>you (PL) will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e  ate pitnaŋ ka se min</td>
<td>he/she will go to the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f  ətʃin pitnaŋ ka se min</td>
<td>they will go to the field</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bɔzetnəŋ ka kaŋ
   ŋa bɔzet -nəŋ 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 ɾəŋ that precedes the verb root and agreement particles. The following examples are cited from Das Gupta (1971). I have confirmed the usage of ɾəŋ ‘habitual present tense marker’ with my informant Mr. Nawang Lowang Medam.

98. [elicited]
   ŋa skul.nəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka əŋ
   1SG school.LOC always HAB go 1SG

'I always go to school'

99. [elicited]
   ate skul.nəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ko a
   3SG school.LOC always HAB go 3

‘He always goes to school’

A complete paradigm showing the use of ɾəŋ ‘HAB’ is in Table 29 below.

Table 29 Habitual present tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ŋa skulnəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka əŋ</td>
<td>I always go to school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b ni skulnəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka e</td>
<td>we always go to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c ɾəŋ skulnəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka e</td>
<td>you (SG) always go to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d ne skulnəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka en</td>
<td>you (PL) always go to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ate skulnəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka a</td>
<td>he always go to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ətʃn skulnəŋ əoantaŋ ɾəŋ ka a</td>
<td>they always go to school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>t-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>t-iʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>t-ɔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>t-ɛt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>t-aʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some good examples are:

100. [elicited]
ηa tʃam tʃaʔ t-ak
1SG rice eat PAST-1SG
'I ate rice'

101. [elicited]
hupe iʔi 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ŋa tfam tfa? t-ak</td>
<td>I ate rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b ni tfam tfa? t-i?</td>
<td>we ate rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c nag tfam tfa? t-ɔʔ</td>
<td>you (SG) ate rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d ne tfam tfa? t-et</td>
<td>you (PL) ate rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ate tfam tfa? t-aʔ</td>
<td>he/she ate rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ətʃin tfam tfa? t-aʔ</td>
<td>they ate rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Haʔwa there is another past 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>ƙɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ƙ-AG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e + ƙ-AG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inceptive (future)</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the completive aspect markers in Nocte.

102 a. [elicited]

John  hu-kɔ  ƙɛ
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-ko wet t-a?
John dog-ABS hit PAST-3
‘John hit the dog’

103. [elicited]
John hu-ko wet 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-ko wet 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-ko wet 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect markers</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-AG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>na zup k-anj</td>
<td>I am sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ni zup k-e</td>
<td>we are sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>nag zup k-ɔ</td>
<td>you (SG) are sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ne zup k-en</td>
<td>you (PL) are sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ate zup k-a</td>
<td>he/she is sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>atfin zup k-a</td>
<td>they are sleeping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3SG</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>h-aŋ</td>
<td>h-i</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>h-aŋ</td>
<td>h-i</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>en</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>h-aŋ</td>
<td>h-i</td>
<td>h-o</td>
<td>h-en a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>h-aŋ</td>
<td>h-i</td>
<td>h-o</td>
<td>h-en a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some good examples showing hierarchical agreement are as follows:

107. [elicited]
ate-mε 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-mε 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]
ηa-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 ηa (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 ηa-naŋ ko-a
3SG-ERG 1SG-ABS give-3SG
‘He gave it to me’

111. [elicited]
ate-mɛ ηa-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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]
ηαμε  ᵇαγαγα  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
ηα  -ᵐᵉ  ᵇαγ  ᵇ⁻αγ  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
I  ERG  you  ABS  hit  FUT-1PL
'we will hit you (SG)'

113. [1SG > 2PL, no inverse marking, elicited]
ηαμε  ᵇεναγα  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
ηα  -ᵐᵉ  ᵇε  ᵆ⁻αγ  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
I  ERG  2PL  ABS  hit  FUT-1SG
'we will hit you (PL)'

114. [1SG > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]
ηαμε  ᵇαταγα  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
ηα  -ᵐᵉ  ᵇατ  ᵆ⁻αγ  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
I  ERG  3SG  ABS  hit  FUT-1SG
'we will hit him'

115. [1PL > 2SG, no inverse marking, elicited]
nⁱᵐε  ᵇαγαγα  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
nⁱ  -ᵐᵉ  ᵇαγ  ᵇ⁻αγ  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
1PL  ERG  you  ABS  hit  FUT-1PL
'we will hit you (SG)'

116. [1PL > 2PL, no inverse marking, elicited]
nⁱᵐε  ᵇεναγα  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
nⁱ  -ᵐᵉ  ᵇε  ᵆ⁻αγ  ᴱ⁴⁶ ᵇε
1PL  ERG  2PL  ABS  hit  FUT-1PL
'we will hit you (PL)'

74
117. [1PL > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]

nimɛ atenaŋ vet ɛ
ni -me ate -naŋ vet ɛ
1PL ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT-1PL

'we will hit him'

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

nimɛ ətʃınnæŋ vet ɛ
ni -me ətʃin -naŋ vet ɛ
1PL ERG they ABS hit FUT-1PL

'we will hit them'

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

naŋme ɲanaŋ vet haŋ
naŋ -me ɲa- naŋ vet h- aŋ
you ERG 1SG ABS hit INV FUT-1SG

'you (SG) will hit me'

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

naŋme ninaŋ vet hi
naŋ -me ni- naŋ vet h- i
you ERG we ABS hit INV- FUT-1PL

'you (SG) will hit us'

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

naŋme atenaŋ vet ɔ
naŋ -me ate -naŋ vet ɔ
you ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT-2SG

'you (SG) will hit him'
122. [2SG > 3PL, no inverse marking, elicited]
naŋme ətʃinnəŋ ʋet ç
naŋ -me ətʃin -naŋ ʋet ç
you ERG they ABS hit FUT.2SG

'you (SG) will hit them'

123. [2PL > 1SG, inverse marking, elicited]
nem ŋanaŋ ʋet hän
ne -me ŋa- naŋ ʋet h- aŋ
2PL ERG 1SG ABS hit INV FUT-1SG

'you (PL) will hit me'

124. [2PL > 1PL, inverse marking, elicited]
nem ninaŋ ʋet hi
ne -me ni- naŋ ʋet h- i
2PL ERG we ABS hit INV FUT-1PL

'you (PL) will hit us'

125. [2PL > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]
nem ətənəŋ ʋet ěn
ne -me ate -naŋ ʋet ěn
2PL ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT-2PL

'you (PL) will hit him'

126. [2PL > 3PL, no inverse marking, elicited]
nem ətʃinnəŋ ʋet ěn
ne -me ətʃin -naŋ ʋet ěn
2PL ERG they ABS hit 2PL

'you (PL) will hit them'
127. [3SG > 1SG, inverse marking, elicited]
atemɛ ɲanaŋ ʋet haŋ
ate -me ɲa- naŋ ʋet h- aŋ
3SG ERG 1SG ABS hit INV FUT-1SG
'hhe will hit me'

128. [3SG > 1PL, inverse marking, elicited]
atemɛ ninaŋ ʋet hi
ate -me ni- naŋ ʋet h- i
3SG ERG we ABS hit INV FUT-1PL
'hhe will hit us'

129. [3SG > 2SG, inverse marking, elicited]
atemɛ naŋnaŋ ʋet ho
ate -me naŋ -naŋ ʋet h- ɔ
3SG ERG you ABS hit INV FUT.2SG
'hhe will hit you (SG)'

130. [3SG > 2PL, inverse marking, elicited]
atemɛ nenaŋ ʋet haŋ
ate -me ne -naŋ ʋet h- en
3SG ERG 2PL ABS hit INV 2PL
'hhe will hit you (PL)'

131. [3SG > 3SG, no inverse marking, elicited]
atemɛ atenaŋ ʋet a
ate -me ate -naŋ ʋet a
3SG ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT-3
'hhe will hit him'
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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ɹ-ʌŋ</td>
<td>ɹ-iʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ɹ-ɔʔ</td>
<td>ɹ-ʌn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ɹa (non-past)</td>
<td>ɹaʔ (past)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]

\[ \text{ناج} \text{مة} \text{كولم} \text{و} \text{و} \text{ن} \text{ا} \text{ك} \text{ر} \text{من} \text{م} \text{ا} \text{؟} \]

\[ \text{ناج} \text{-م} \text{-ن} \text{ا} \text{ر} \text{كولم} \text{و} \text{و} \text{ن} \text{ا} \text{ك} \text{ر} \text{من} \text{م} \text{ا} \text{؟} \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nocte</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ƞa ka ɹaŋ</td>
<td>I will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni ka ɹ-iʔ</td>
<td>we will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋ ka ɹ-ɔʔ</td>
<td>you will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne ka ɹ-en</td>
<td>you (PL) will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ate ka ɹ-a</td>
<td>he/she will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǝtfn ka ɹ-a</td>
<td>they will come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ha?wa 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]

*atʃinmɛ* ninaŋ kʰe maɓi

*atʃin* -me 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]

*nime* tʃam maʃaʔ ki

ni -me  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]

*naj* ket ho

*naj* ket 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 ket ‘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 tʃa? mɔ?
naŋ tʃam tʃa? m- ɔ?
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 latʃa? min
ate tʃam la- tʃa? 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 by invariant past tense marker wa. Negator ma- occurs as a prefix to the main verb. An example is:

140. [elicited]
ate tʃam matʃa? daŋ wa
ate tʃam ma- tʃa? daŋ wa
3SG rice NEG eat do PAST

‘he did not eat rice’
NEG 8. ‘Not yet’ constructions

\( t^uha \) ‘yet’ + /ma-/ (NEG) + V + /(-k-/ (PROG)) + Agreement

In the ‘not-yet’ constructions, negator \( ma \)- occurs between \( t^uhe \) ‘yet’ and the main verb. Here is an example:

141. [elicited]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atea} & \quad t^uhe \quad ma \quad hu \quad k^h\omega m \quad k^e \\
\text{ate} & \quad -a \quad t^uhe \quad ma \quad hu \quad k^h\omega m \quad k^e
\end{align*}
\]

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schema</th>
<th>comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. V + NZ -te + ( \text{dah} ) ‘do’ + -m- ‘NEG’ + agreement</td>
<td>This type of construction reflects speaker’s dislike or disability or attitude toward certain kind of activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. V + ( ma ) ‘NEG’ + agreement</td>
<td>It shows a kind of certainty in speaker’s speech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ( ma ) ‘NEG’ + V + agreement</td>
<td>Shows speaker’s intention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. V (stem 2) + ho ‘invariant negative copula’</td>
<td>This type of construction portrays speaker’s suggestion or conception about some event.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. V + ( m ) ‘NEG’ + agreement</td>
<td>It reflects speakers comment on some habitual present events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ( la ) ‘NEG’ + V + ( m\in) ‘invariant future marker’</td>
<td>It used to negate some action in the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ( ma ) – ‘NEG’ + V + ( \text{dah} ) ‘do’ + -wa ‘invariant past tense marker’</td>
<td>This construction is used to negate actions in simple past tense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ( t^uhe ) ‘yet’ + /ma-/ (NEG) + V + /(-k-/ (PROG)) + Agreement</td>
<td>Used to show that the action is not completed yet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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]

\[\text{ɛn} \text{nak} \text{ka} \text{ŋ}\]

\[\text{ɛn} \text{-k} \text{nak} \text{ka} \text{ŋ}\]

there LOC PRH go 2SG

'don't go there!'

143. [elicited]

\[\text{mo} \text{t} \text{nak} \text{t} \text{en}\]

\[\text{mo} \text{-} \text{t} \text{nak} \text{t} \text{en}\]

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 *t* ‘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]

\[\text{ate} \text{tʃam} \text{tʃa?} \text{le} \text{m} \text{tʃuen} \text{ta?}\]

3SG rice eat NF ERG run PAST.3

‘he ate rice and ran’

In (144) *le* connects the verb phrases *tʃa?* ‘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 *le* connects the cause and result noun phrases. In addition, an optional, possible verbalizer *daŋ* occurs after the NP*cause*. The schema for causative NPs is given below.
Reason/Cause: [[NPi...../e...V(no agreement).]sCause -mɛ øi V (agreement)]

Some good examples are:

145. [elicited]
   ate meleːja daŋ le mɛ ʔi ta?
   ate meleːja daŋ le -mɛ ʔi ta?
   3SG malaria AUX NF ERG die PAST.3

'having malaria, he died'

146. [elicited]
   ate pu kʰe le mɛ tʃuen ta?
   ate pu kʰe le -mɛ tʃuen ta?
   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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A

Story_1  (John and Peter went for hunting)

1 ȥɔŋ le փիտաւ λամւু ʧা
 ȥɔŋ le փիտաւ λաমু ʧা
  John CONJ Peter friend AUX

'John and Peter are friends'

2 ռոտինা բոդուրিয়ায় সোঁতে
 ռոտিন -a բոդুরিয়া -নাজ োঁ-২' te
  they ABS Borduria LOC live 3

'they live in Borduria village'

3 ȥো կেկো ুন তোঁ আ
 ȥো կে -কো ুন তোঁ আ
  river near LOC forest have 3

'there is a forest near the river'

4 ȥաথোোঁয়ো ȥোঁ le փিতাঙ ুননা ʧুেন ওa
 ȥաথোোঁয়ো ȥোঁ le փিতাঙ ুন -না ʧুেন ওa
  one day John CONJ Peter forest LOC run PAST

'one day John went to the forest'
'They wanted to kill a deer'

'on their way they met an old man'

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

'grandfather asked, 'where are you going?''

'John replied. 'we are going for hunting'
'grandfather said, 'I saw a deer near the river yesterday''

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

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

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

'grandfather said, 'don't cross the river'"
'There is a tiger near the river.'

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

'Grandfather gave the gun to John and went away.'

'On their way they saw a big snake.'

'John said, 'I will kill the snake.'
'John killed the snake with a snake'

'finally, they reached near the river'

'Peter saw a deer'

'the deer was drinking water'

'John shot at the deer'

'but the deer escaped'
'hearing the gunshot the tiger came near the river'

'seeing the tiger they two silently ran away'

'Joh and Peter sat silently behind a rock'

'the tiger did not see them'

'the tiger went back to the forest'

'John and Peter were very tired'
32 ətʃina senhamkə humnaŋ ŋak waŋ wa
ətʃin -a senham -kə hum -naŋ ŋak waŋ wa
they FUT.3 evening PA house LOC back go up PAST
'they went back home in the evening'

33 pita rəŋ ətʃin təŋ vo ɳam bei? ko wa
pita rəŋ ətʃin təŋ vo ɳam bei? ko wa
Peter mother they for chicken meat cook give PAST
'Peter's mother cooked chicken for them'

34 Ɂaŋpen tʃam tʃa? dik ətʃin tete humkə waŋ wa
Ɂaŋpen tʃam tʃa? dik ətʃin tete hum -kə 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 ŋame atenani vət aŋ
ŋa -me ate -naŋ vət aŋ
I ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT.1SG
'I will hit him'

3 naŋme atenani vət ɔ
naŋ -me ate -naŋ vət ɔ
you ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT.2SG
'you will hit him'

4 atemę ŋanaŋ vət haŋ
ate -me ŋa- naŋ vət 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 ɾ ɔ
naŋ ka ɾ -ɔ
you go CIS IMP.2SG
'you go'
FT 'you come'

7 ŋamɛ  tʃam tʃa? tak
  ŋa  -mɛ  tʃam tʃa? tak
  I    ERG  rice  eat  PAST.1SG
LT 'I ate rice'
FT 'I rice ate'

*8 ŋamɛ  tʃa? tak  tʃam
  ŋa  -mɛ  tʃa? tak  tʃam
  I    ERG  eat  PAST.1SG  rice
LT 'I ate rice'
FT 'I ate rice'

*9 tʃam  tʃa? tak  ŋamɛ
  tʃam  tʃa? tak  ŋa  -mɛ
  rice  eat  PAST.1SG  I    ERG
'I ate rice'
'rice ate I'

10 ate  zokɛkɔ  kʰehe  kʰe  ta?
  ate  zo  ke  -kɔ  kʰehe  kʰe  ta?
  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 tsák
hum tsák
house red
LT 'red house'
FT 'house red'

*15 tsák hum
tsák hum
red house
LT 'red house'
FT 'red house'

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

17 ate-me ɲa-naŋ ʋɛt h-aj
3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS hit INV.FUT.1SG
'she will hit me'

18 ɲa-me ate-naŋ ʋɛt aŋ
1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS hit FUT.3
'I will hit him'
18 ate\textsubscript{e} \textit{vo} \textit{ŋampɛ} \textit{zokawa}he \textit{ra} \textit{be}\textsubscript{e} ko
\textit{ate} \textit{mɛ} \textit{vo} \textit{ŋam} \textit{-pe} \textit{zokawa} \textit{-he} \textit{-ra} \textit{be}\textsubscript{e} ko
\textit{3SG AG chicken meat PA guest PL BEN cook APP}
ta?
ta?
PAST.3
'she cooked chicken for the guests'

19 ate\textsubscript{e} \textit{tʃɛnpɛ} \textit{nihe} \textit{ra} \textit{tʰa}\textsubscript{a} ko \textit{tʰi}
\textit{ate} \textit{mɛ} \textit{tʃɛn} \textit{-pe} \textit{ni} \textit{-he} \textit{-ra} \textit{tʰa}\textsubscript{a} ko \textit{tʰi}
\textit{3SG AG wood PA 1PL PL BEN cut APP PAST.INV.1PL}
'he cut the wood for us'

20 ate\textsubscript{a} \textit{mele}\textsubscript{i}a \textit{zunkɔ} \textit{ri} ta?
\textit{ate} \textit{-a} \textit{mele}\textsubscript{i}a \textit{zun} \textit{-kɔ} \textit{ri} ta?
\textit{3SG TOP malaria because LOC die PAST.3}
'he died because of Malaria'

21 ate \textit{mele}\textsubscript{i}a \textit{daŋ} le \textit{mɛ} \textit{ri} ta?
\textit{ate} \textit{mele}\textsubscript{i}a \textit{daŋ} le \textit{mɛ} \textit{ri} ta?
\textit{3SG malaria AUX NF ERG die PAST.3}
'having malaria, he died'

22 ate \textit{pu} \textit{kʰe} le \textit{mɛ} \textit{tʃuen} ta?
\textit{ate} \textit{pu} \textit{kʰe} le \textit{-mɛ} \textit{tʃuen} ta?
\textit{3SG snake see NF ERG run PAST.3}
'on seeing a snake, she ran away'}
'he killed the pig with a knife'

'she hit the dog with a stick'

'he saw the pig at the river'

'the man is working inside the house'

'he will go to the field'

'he is at home'
29 atemɛ ɲampɛ sɔntʰəmtʰəm be? ta?
ate -mɛ ɭam -pɛ sɔntʰəmtʰəm be? ta?
3SG ERG meat ABS carefully cook PAST.3
'she cooked the meat carefully'

30 hupɛ tʃan muan tʃuen ta?
hu -pɛ tʃan muan tʃuen ta?
dog ABS quickly very run PAST.3
'the dog ran very quickly'

31 atea ɛdiwa betkɔ tʃuen min
ate -a ɛdiwa bet -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 tʰo ko ta?
ate -mɛ zuak ŋin tewaŋintʃa tʰo ko ta?
3SG ERG ghost about story tell give PAST.3
'he told a story about ghost'

34 atemɛ jəŋsuamᵗ⁶in ŋin tʰo ko min
ate -mɛ jəŋsuamᵗ⁶in ŋin tʰo ko min
3SG ERG church about tell give FUT
'he will talk about church'
35 atea ɳap hetʰo te
ate -a ɳap hetʰo te
3SG TOP study teach NOM

'she is a teacher'

36 atewape ɳap hetʰo te
ate wa -pe ɳap hetʰo te
3SG father ABS study teach NOM

'her father is a teacher'

37 dəlawape ɳap hetʰo te
dəlawa -pe ɳap hetʰo te
man SUB study teach NOM

'the man is a teacher'

38 atepañmi
ate -a paŋmi
3SG TOP young

'he is young'

39 zo ki
zo ki
water cold

'water is cold'

40 ɳa hupe ɳak
ɳa hu -pe ɳak
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 iɾeqɔ  vun  tɔŋ a
    iɾe   -kɔ  vun  tɔŋ a
    there  LOC  forest  be.at  3

'there is a forest'

43 tebul  kʰokɔ  tsuenziakɔi  tɔŋ a
    tebul  kʰo  -kɔ  tsuenziak  -i  tɔŋ a
    table  top  LOC  mango  CL  be.at  3

'a mango is on the table (top)'

44 aɾe  kitappɛ  hə  tʰiak
    aɾe  kitap  -pɛ  hə  tʰiak
    this  book  ABS  I  AUX

'this book is mine'

45 ate  wa  hum  tʃak  dɔŋ  pʰaŋiɛmpɛ
    ate  wa  hum  tʃak  dɔŋ  pʰaŋ  -am  -pɛ
    3SG  father  house  red  big  CLF  three  ABS

'his father's three big red houses'

46 hupɛ  iɾi  ta?
    hu   -pɛ  iɾi  ta?
    dog  ABS  die  PAST.3

'the dog died'
47 dəlatʃape zup tʰu
   dəlatʃa -pe zup tʰu
boy ABS sleep PRESENT.PROG

'the boy is sleeping'

48 haʔtitpe kʰaza ta?
   haʔtit -pe kʰaza ta?
pot ABS break PAST.3

'the pot broke'

49 atemɛ kitappe tebul kʰokɔ thien ta?
   ate -mɛ kitap -pe tebul kʰo -ko thien ta?
3SG ERG book ABS table on LOC put PAST.3

'He put the book on the table'

50 dəlawame banpe zuet ta?
   dəlawa -mɛ ban -pe zuet ta?
man ERG tree ABS cut PAST.3

'the man cut the tree'

51 dəlawame huko vêt ta?
   dəlawa -mɛ hu -ko vêt ta?
man ERG dog PA hit PAST.3

'the man hit the dog'

52 atemɛ tjɛnpe nihe ja tʰa? ko
   ate -mɛ tjɛn -pe ni -he -ja tʰa? ko
3SG ERG wood ABS 1PL PL BEN cut give tʰi
tʰi
PAST.INV.1PL

'he cut the wood for us'
53 ʒɔ̱nme  pʊpɛ  kɛmɛ  ɬi.tu觉得自己
ʒɔ̱n-me  pu  -pɛ  ke  -me  ɬi.tu  -wa
John  ERG  snake  ABS  stick  with  kill  PAST

‘John killed the snake with a stick’

54 ətəa  ɬe.ɛ.jia  ʒʊŋkɔ  ɬi  ṭa?
ətə  -a  ɬe.ɛ.jia  ʒʊn  -kɔ  ɬi  ṭa?
3SG  ABS  malaria  disease  LOC  die  PAST.3

'he died of Malaria'

55 ətəa  ʃe.ɛ.za  ɦɔk  wa
ətə  -a  ʃe.ɛ.za  ɦɔk  wa
3SG  ABS  yesterday  arrive  PAST

'she arrived yesterday

56 ətə-puŋ-me  ɲɛt-wa  ɲa  zo-kɔ  kʰehe  kʰe
ətə-puŋ-me  ɲɛt-wa  ɲa  zo-kɔ  kʰehe  kʰe
3SG.TOP.ERG  say.PAST  water.LOC  deer  see  PAST.1SG
FT ‘he said, ‘I saw a deer at the river’"

57 i:  ɦumpɛ
    i:  ɦum  -pɛ
    that  house  ABS

'that house'

*58 ɦumpɛ  i
    ɦum  -pɛ  i
    house  ABS  that

'house that'

59 ɦum  tʃak
    ɦum  tʃak
    house  red
'red house'

*60 tʃak hum
   tʃak hum
   red house
'red house'

61 latʰe va?
   la- tʰe va?
   CLF one bamboo
'one bamboo'

62 wan kʰabəŋa
   wan kʰa- bəŋa
   dish CLF five
'five dishes'

63 ø ṇa naŋ zo kotʰaŋ miŋanpɛ tʃuəŋ
   ṇa naŋ zo ko -t -h -aŋ miŋan -pe tʃuəŋ
   I for water give PAST INV 1SG man ABS tall
muaŋ
muaŋ
INT

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

64 ṇa hume ø kakta? miŋanpuŋme ḷanaŋ
   ṇa hu -me kak -ta? miŋan -puŋ -me ḷa- naŋ
   I dog ERG bite PAST.3 man TOP ERG 1SG PA
vetʰaŋ
vet -t -h -aŋ
hit PAST INV FUT.1SG
'the man who my dog bit hit me'

65 dəlatʃa hənmə seseta? pe ŋa na
dəlatʃa hən -me sese -ta? pe ŋa na
boy REL ERG sing PAST.3 ABS I brother

'boy who sang is my brother'

66 ŋa ɬamɬu Stevepɛ ŋaphetʰote
ŋa ɬamɬu Steve -pe ŋaphetʰo -te
I friend Steve ABS teach NZ.A

'my friend, Steve, is a teacher'

67 atemɛ pupe sɔŋdaŋʰinkɔ
ate -me pu -pe sɔŋdaŋ -tʰin -ko
3SG ERG snake ABS cook NZ.LOC LOC
ˌitpʰeta?
ˌitpʰe -ta?
kil PAST.3

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

68 ɬame ɬiakwa hu wakta?
ɬa -me ɬiak -wa hu wak -ta?
I ERG purchase NZ.P theif take PAST.3

'my purchased one (thing) was stolen'

69 ɬampɛ tʃaʔtak
ɬan -pe tʃaʔ -tak
dry NZ.P eat PAST.1SG
'I ate the dried one'

70 atemɛ tʃam tʃaʔ tʰuʔ daŋwa
ate -me tʃam tʃaʔ -tʰuʔ daŋ -wa
3SG ERG rice eat NOM AUX PAST

'He did rice eating'

71 muet-te miŋan
work.NOM man
LT 'working man'
FT 'industrious man'

72 ka-te miŋan
go.NOM man
LT 'going man'
FT 'the man who is going'

73 anaŋ kate miŋan ipʰo
anaŋ ka -te miŋan 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 ɲame .iakwa manpɛ hu wakta?
ɲa -me .iak -wa man -pɛ hu wak -ta?
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  minanpe
   ŋa  naŋ  zo  ko  -t  -h  -aŋ  minan  -pe
   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  keʔ  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.pe  ɹit.hap  ɔʔ
   buffalo.ERG  kill.shoot  2SG
‘kill(shoot) the buffalo’

80 naŋ  lei.pe  ɹiʔ.hap  ɔʔ  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 ateme pupe สะ่งดาง⁴ᵗʰink⁴ ʒɪtʰ⁴ʔ taʔ
ate -mɛ pu -pɛ สะ่งداŋ -tʰin -kə ʒɪtʰ⁴ʔ taʔ
3SG ERG snake ABS cook NOM LOC kill PAST.3

'he killed the snake in the kitchen'

84 kasakpe 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 ɲɛtwa zoпе nak den en
tete -mɛ ɲɛt -wa zo -pɛ nak den en
grandfather ERG say PAST river ABS PRH cross 2PL

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

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

'you go'
FT 'you come'

88 naŋa ぼぜつなŋ kêt min ne ?
aŋ -a ぼぜt -naŋ kêt min ne
you TOP market DAT go FUT QP
'will you go to the market?'
89 atea waŋ ta? a ?
ate -a waŋ ta? a
3SG TOP go up PAST.3 QP

'did he go?'
90 naŋa waŋ tə? le ?
naŋ -a waŋ tə? le
you TOP go up PAST.2SG QP

'did you go?'
91 atea metʰu waŋ ta? a ?
ate -a metʰu waŋ ta? 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 kitappe mepe a ?
naŋ kitap -pe mepe 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 atemε aŋsuamᵗʰin ŋin Ńo ko min
   ate -mε aŋsuamᵗʰin ŋin Ńo ko min
3SG ERG church about tell give FUT

'he will talk about church'

97 ate.mε pit.naŋ ke? æe- 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
'the dog died'

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

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

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

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

107 ate-ma   dihjaʔnaʃ-nəŋ   ko   a
  3SG.ERG   girl-ABS   hit   FUT.3SG
  'He will give to the girl'

108 ate-ma   ʔa-nəŋ   ko   ɬaŋ
  3SG.ERG   1SG-ABS   give   FUT.1SG
  'He will give to me'

109 ʔa-ma   naʃ-nəŋ   ko-ʔɛ?
  1SG.ERG   2SG.ABS   give.1PL
  'I will give to you'

110 ate-ma   ʔa-nəŋ   ko-a
  3SG.ERG   1SG.ABS   give.3SG
  'He gave it to me'
111 ate-maŋaŋaŋaŋ ko-t-h-aŋ
3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS give.PAST.INV.1SG
‘He gave it to me’

112 ŋame  naŋnaŋ  vet ɛ
ŋa -me  naŋ -naŋ  vet ɛ
I ERG you ABS hit FUT.1PL
‘I will hit you (SG)’

113 ŋame  nenaŋ  vet aŋ
ŋa -me  ne -naŋ  vet aŋ
I ERG 2PL ABS hit FUT.1SG
‘I will hit you (PL)’

114 ŋame  atenaŋ  vet aŋ
ŋa -me  ate -naŋ  vet aŋ
I ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT.1SG
‘I will hit him’

115 nime  naŋnaŋ  vet ɛ
ni -me  naŋ -naŋ  vet ɛ
1PL ERG you ABS hit FUT.1PL
‘we will hit you’

116 nime  nenaŋ  vet ɛ
ni -me  ne -naŋ  vet ɛ
1PL ERG 2PL ABS hit FUT.1PL
‘we will hit you (PL)’
117 nime atenaŋ ʋet ɛ
   ni -me ate -naŋ ʋet ɛ
1PL ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT.1PL
'we will hit him'

118 nime øtʃinaŋ ʋet ɛ
   ni -me øtʃin -naŋ ʋet ɛ
1PL ERG they ABS hit FUT.1PL
'we will hit them'

119 naŋme ḥanaŋ ʋet haŋ
   naŋ -me ḥa- naŋ ʋet h- aŋ
you ERG 1SG ABS hit INV FUT.1SG
'you (SG) will hit me'

120 naŋme ninaŋ ʋet hi
   naŋ -me ni- naŋ ʋet h- i
you ERG we ABS hit INV FUT.1PL
'you (SG) will hit us'

121 naŋme atenaŋ ʋet ɔ
   naŋ -me ate -naŋ ʋet ɔ
you ERG 3SG ABS hit FUT.2SG
'you (SG) will hit him'
122  naïmɛ  ɔtʃinnaŋ  vet ɛ
   naï - ɛm  ɔtʃin  -naŋ  vet ɛ
   you  ERG  they  ABS  hit  FUT.2SG

'you (SG) will hit them'

123  nɛmɛ  ñanaŋ  vet  hɛŋ
   ne  - ɛm  ña-  naŋ  vet  h-  hɛŋ
   2PL  ERG  1SG  ABS  hit  INV  FUT.1SG

'you (PL) will hit me'

124  nɛmɛ  ninaŋ  vet  hɛ
   ne  - ɛm  ni-  naŋ  vet  h-  hɛ
   2PL  ERG  we  ABS  hit  INV  FUT.1PL

'you (PL) will hit us'

125  nɛmɛ  atenaŋ  vet  en
   ne  - ɛm  ate  -naŋ  vet  en
   2PL  ERG  3SG  ABS  hit  FUT.2PL

'you (PL) will hit him'

126  nɛmɛ  ɔtʃinnaŋ  vet  en
   ne  - ɛm  ɔtʃin  -naŋ  vet  en
   2PL  ERG  they  ABS  hit  2PL

'you (PL) will hit them'
'he will hit me'

'he will hit us'

'he will hit you (SG)'

'he will hit you (PL)'

'he will hit him'
132 atemə ətʃınnaŋ ʋet a

ate -me ətʃin -naŋ ʋet a

3SG ERG they ABS hit FUT.3

'he will hit them'

133 naŋme ɲaŋaŋ kələ cyənə a ?

naŋ -me ɲaŋ - ɲaŋ kələ cyənə - c 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 ɲa football luamte daŋmak

ɲa football luam -te daŋ -m -ak

I football play NOM do NEG 1SG

'I don't do football playing'

135 ətʃinme ninaɭ kʰe maɭi

ətʃin -me ni- naɭ kʰe ma- t -h -i

they ERG we ABS see NEG PAST INV 1PL

'they did not see us'

136 nimə ɭʃam maɭa? ki

ni -me ɭʃam ma- ɭa? k -i

1PL ERG rice NEG eat PROG 1PL

'we will not be eating rice'
137 naŋ ket ho
   naŋ ket ho
   you go not have
FT 'you do not have to go'

138 naŋ tfam tfə? mo?
   naŋ tfam tfə? m- o?
   you rice eat NEG 2SG
'you do not eat rice'

139 ate tfam latfə? min
   ate tfam la- tfə? min
   3SG rice NEG eat FUT
'he will not eat rice'

140 ate tfam matfə? daŋwa
   ate tfam ma- tfə? daŋ -wa
   3SG rice NEG eat do PAST
'he did not eat rice'

141 atea tʰuhə ma hu kʰuəm kə
   a- tʰuhə ma hu kʰuəm kə
   3SG ABS yet NEG reach walk PERF
'she has not reached it yet'
142 ɾɛnkwɛ  nak  kǝc?
   ɾɛn  -kw  nak  ka  -c?
 there  LOC  PRH  go  2SG
 'don't go there!'

143 moθo  nak  tʰoen
   mo-  tʰo  nak  tʰo  -en
 lie  tell  PRH  tell  FUT.2PL
 'don't tell a lie'

144 ate  tʃam  tʃa?
   3SG  rice  eat  NF  ERG  run  PAST.3
 'he ate rice and ran'

145 ate  meleśia  daŋ  le  ṭɛ  tʃuen  ta?
   3SG  malaria  AUX  NF  ERG  die  PAST.3
 'having malaria, he died'

146 ate  pu  kʰe  le  ṭɛ  tʃuen  ta?
   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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>‘ŋa bəm tʰu’/ ‘I am waiting’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>‘ni bəm tʰu’/ ‘we are waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>‘naŋ bəm tʰu’/ ‘you (SG) are waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>‘ne bəm tʰu’/ ‘you (PL) are waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>‘ate bəm tʰu’/ ‘he is waiting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>‘ətʃin bəm tʰu’/ ‘they are waiting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Future tense marking auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘ŋa bəm min’/ ‘I will wait’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ni bəm min’/ ‘we will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘naŋ bəm min’/ ‘you (SG) will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ne bəm min’/ ‘you (PL) will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ate bəm min’/ ‘he will wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ətʃin bəm min’/ ‘they will wait’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Future tense markers (inceptive/about to)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I will go to the field</td>
<td>ŋa pitnaj ka aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will go to the field</td>
<td>ni pitnaj ka e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (SG) will go to the field</td>
<td>naŋ pitnaj ka ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (PL) will go to the field</td>
<td>ne pitnaj ka eŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she will go to the field</td>
<td>ate pitnaj ka a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Nocte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will go to the field</td>
<td>Ńa pitnaŋ ka min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will go to the field</td>
<td>Ni pitnaŋ ka min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (SG) will go to the field</td>
<td>Naŋ pitnaŋ ka min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (PL) will go to the field</td>
<td>Ne pitnaŋ ka min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she will go to the field</td>
<td>Ate pitnaŋ ka min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they will go to the field</td>
<td>Őtʃin pitnaŋ ka min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 Future tense markers (time not bound)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I will go to the field</td>
<td>Ńa pitnaŋ ka ɻe min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will go to the field</td>
<td>Ni pitnaŋ ka ɻe min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (SG) will go to the field</td>
<td>Naŋ pitnaŋ ka ɻe min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (PL) will go to the field</td>
<td>Ne pitnaŋ ka ɻe min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she will go to the field</td>
<td>Ate pitnaŋ ka ɻe min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they will go to the field</td>
<td>Őtʃin pitnaŋ ka ɻe min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25 Future tense markers (certainty)
Table 26 Habitual present tense marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I always go to school.</td>
<td>ɳa skulnalŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we always go to school</td>
<td>ni skulnalŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (SG) always go to school</td>
<td>naŋ skulnalŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (PL) always go to school</td>
<td>ne skulnalŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka ɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he always go to school</td>
<td>ate skulnalŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they always go to school</td>
<td>ətʃín skulnalŋ ɹoantaŋ ɹaŋ ka a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 Past tense markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I ate rice</td>
<td>ɳa tʃam tʃa? t-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we ate rice</td>
<td>ni tʃam tʃa? t-i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (SG) ate rice</td>
<td>naŋ tʃam tʃa? t-ɔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (PL) ate rice</td>
<td>ne tʃam tʃa? t-ɛt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she ate rice</td>
<td>ate tʃam tʃa? t-a?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they ate rice</td>
<td>ətʃín tʃam tʃa? t-a?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present progressive aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect markers</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nocte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-AG</td>
<td>I am sleeping</td>
<td>ɳa zup k-aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we are sleeping</td>
<td>ni zup k-ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (SG) are sleeping</td>
<td>naŋ zup k-ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (PL) are sleeping</td>
<td>ne zup k-ɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he/she is sleeping</td>
<td>ate zup k-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they are sleeping</td>
<td>ətʃín zup k-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am sleeping</td>
<td>ɳa zup e k-aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we are sleeping</td>
<td>ni zup i k-ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (SG) are sleeping</td>
<td>naŋ zup e k-ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (PL) are sleeping</td>
<td>ne zup e k-ɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he/she is sleeping</td>
<td>ate zup e k-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they are sleeping</td>
<td>ətʃín zup e k-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e + k-AG</td>
<td>I am sleeping</td>
<td>ɳa zup tʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we are sleeping</td>
<td>ni zup tʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰu</td>
<td>you (SG) are sleeping</td>
<td>naŋ zup tʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Nocte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will come</td>
<td>na ka ṣaŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will come</td>
<td>ni ka ɪ-iʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you will come</td>
<td>naŋ ka ɪ-ɔʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (PL) will</td>
<td>ne ka ɪ-ɛn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she will</td>
<td>ate ka ɪ-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they will come</td>
<td>ətʃin ka ɪ-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example sentences showing cislocative marking

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

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